and not the construction of the wall by the Athenians described in (7c). In contrast to that, the AGENT for μετά 'after' + abstract verbal nouns occur in (8b).

(8) a. Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξώμαχοι ... ἦσαν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ...
   The Peloponnesians and their allies invaded Attica ...

b. Μετὰ δέ τὴν ἑσολιμὲν τῶν Πελοποννήσιων εὐθὺς Λέσβος ...
   Shortly after the invasion of the Peloponnesians the island Lesbos deserted (Frendlich ibid.: 69)

c. μετά δέ τὴν ἑσολιμὸν τῶν Πελοποννήσιων ἑρεθήν τὰν ἈΣΣPiF invasion-ACC.SG.F of-the-GEN.PL.M Peloponnesians
   Peloponnesians-GEN.PL.M

The term 'to invade a country' depicts an event that ends in a specific resultant state of the AGENT. It is in the invaded country.

d. e1 The Peloponnesians invade (and enter) (Attica).
   e2 The Peloponnesians have invaded (and are in) (Attica).

The AGENT realized as genitivus subjectivus is thus the only genitive possible. The situation is different in (9). The preposition μετά 'after' refers first of all to the previous foundation of a city: Gela was founded by both Antiphemus from Rhodes and Entimus from Crete. At the same time μετὰ τὴν ἑσολιμαρα τοῦ κισιν 'after their own foundation' refers to the resultant state of the following complex event:

(9) a. e1 Antiphemus und Entimus found Gela.
   e2 Gela is founded.

b. Ἐσολιμαρὰ τοῦ κισιν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσσιάς ἐκ τῆς Ἅλως καὶ Ἐμπύντος ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης...
   It was Gela that both Antiphemus from Rhodes and Entimus from Crete, who brought settlers, founded ...

c. e4,4 ἔτσι δὲ ἐγγυῖτα ὁ κτώκαι ἐκ κατόν μετὰ τὴν ἑσολιμαρα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσσιάς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσσιάς
   and almost one hundred-eight years after its own foundation the inhabitants of Gela founded Acragas.

d. ἔτσι δὲ ἐγγυῖτα ὁ κτώκαι ἐκ κατόν years-DAT.PL.N however almost completely eight and one hundred
   ἑσολιμαρα τοῦ κισιν after the-ACC.SG.F own-ACC.SG.F foundation-ACC.SG.F

Thucydides only uses the reflexive pronoun σφετέρος 'himself' to indicate the PATIENT, just like Latin *suus*, for truly reflexive verbs. That is
when they can refer to the subject of the sentence. It obviously serves the purpose of contextual disambiguation. For instance, if instead αὐτῶν 'from them' were to be used with the nominalization of an "abstract applicative verb" as Ehrich & Rapp (ibid.: 288f.) refer to verbs like gründen 'found' with the following lexical semantic structure, then it could refer to either the AGENT or the RELATUM:

c. λύ λα λε [DO_{Gründen-'found'} ((x, y) r) & BEC ((APPL ((f, y) s)) e)]

2.2 Locational modification

Locational modifiers of events are also to be found in connection with the abstract verbal nouns of Thucydides. One such case is the previously discussed example (6):

(6) b. ἔν τῷ Ἀισθήματα
the-NOM.SG.F as well as at the-DAT.SG.M Isthmus-DAT.SG.M
έπι 
become-PTC.AOR.MED.NOM.SG.F the most
μάλιστα
however the-NOM.SG.F in the-DAT.SG.F Oeneo-DAT.SG.F

Literally: the -at-Isthmus-having-taken-place stop over ... the most
however the stop over in Oenoe

A further example with a durative verb as the derivational basis can be found in (10).

(10) a. The Athenians live in the country.

b. 116,1 Τῇ τῇ οὔν ἐπὶ πολὺ κατὰ τὴν χάραν αὐτονόμωοικήσει

As the Athenians had lived in independent country communities for a long time, ... it was a hard for them to decide to move to the city
(Freundlich ibid.: 105, 145f.).

c. τῇ τῇ οὔν ἐπὶ πολὺ κατὰ τὴν χάραν αὐτονόμωοικήσει
country-ACC.SG.F independent-DAT.SG.F live-DAT.SG.F

Literally: and (they enjoyed) the long term in-the-country independent living.

The AGENT of the construction containing the abstract verbal noun is the AGENT of the sentence and as such in the immediate context.
2.3 Modal modification

Modal modifications are also evident in the abstract verbal nouns of Thucydides. A verb like 'cross/pass over' in (11) consists of two partial events, the action of the AGENT with respect to the bridge and the resultant state of the AGENT:

(11) a. έ' Brasidas crosses the bridge.
    έ' Brasidas has crossed the bridge.

The modal modification 'surprising for those in the city' is connected to the second of these two partial events. The AGENT is identified by the genitive αὐτοῦ and the abstract verbal noun integrated into an absolute genitive construction with a perfect participle.

b. IV 103,5 ὁ Βρασίδας ... δείξῃ τὴν γέφυραν ...
   Brasidas ... went over the bridge...

c. IV 104,1 Τῆς δὲ διαβάσοντος αὐτοῦ ἄφρω τοῖς ἐν τῷ πόλει
    γεγενημένης ... οἱ Ἀμφιπόλιται ἐς δόξαν μέγαν κατέστησαν
    Because his crossing was surprising for those in the city... the
    Amphipolitans became very confused (Freundlich ibid.; 21f.)

d. τῆς δὲ διαβάσοντος αὐτοῦ
   of the-GEN.SG.F however crossing-GEN.SG.F of his-GEN.SG.M
   ἄφρω τοῖς ἐν τῷ
   surprising-ADV for those-DAT.PL.M in the-DAT.SG.F
   πόλει γεγενημένης
city-DAT.SG.F had become-PTC.PF.MED.GEN.SG.F
   Literally: because of his unexpected for those in the city happening...

Until now different modifications have been seen for the abstract verbal nouns used by Thucydides: temporal modification with internal or external references, locational modification and modal modification. In the case of complex events such modifications can apply to different partial events. The contextual indicators for which partial event the abstract verbal noun does refer to are primarily adverbs and agent-expressions. These Greek constructions are strikingly different from German -ung-constructions as they permit a pre-nominal genitive subjunctive position in addition to the normal German post-nominal genitive objectivus. Beyond that verbal anteriority is not expressed by prepositions like 'after' but rather by adding the double prefix προ- to the abstract verbal noun or by using the aorist participle for derivations from durative verbs. Especially with respect to temporal modifiers and the identification of the AGENT by a pre-nominal genitive Greek does have more expression possibilities at its disposal than German.
3 Infinitive constructions

If we now turn our attention to the infinitive construction as the competing alternative to an abstract verbal noun construction it is important to keep in mind what they have in common. That is the article. The following is what the definitive Greek grammar of Schwyzser & Debrunner (1950: 369) has to say about infinitive constructions with an article:

Völlig frei, aber auch zugleich bewußt, braucht die attische Prosa (bes. häufig Thukydides ...) ... den Infinitiv mit Artikel im Dienste gestraften abstrakter Ausdrucksweise. ... Der Artikel ermöglicht es, eine Reihe von Bestimmungen, bes. auch Partizipialkonstruktionen und sogar Nebensätze, in attributiver Stellung zweifelsfrei auf den Infinitiv zu beziehen und mit diesem in ein Gan zes zusammenzufassen; in steigendem Maß macht Präd. + Infinitiv den Ne bensätzen Konkurrenz. Trotz dem Artikel bleibt der Infinitiv verbaler als die Verbalabstrakta: er bleibt auf den Singular beschränkt; er bewahrt die Unter schiede der Diathese und der Aspekte, ebenso die verbale Kasusrektion und das Adverb statt eines attributiven Adjektivs; er kann auch modal sein. Der Agens des Infinitivs wird normalerweise durch den Akkusativ, nur in besonde ren Fällen durch einen genitivus subjectivus ausgedrückt.

Attic prose (especially frequent for Thucydides ...) makes completely free, yet at the same time deliberate use of the infinitive with an article to achieve a tight abstract form of expression. ... The article permits the unambiguous attributive association of a series of modifications to the infinitive, especially participial constructions and even sub-ordinate clauses and thereby forging all into one unit. The combination of preposition + infinitive is competing with sub-ordinate clauses more and more. Despite the occurrence of the article the infinitive construction remains more of a verb than the respective abstract verbal noun: it is restricted to singular forms; it differentiates mood and aspect as well a verbal case assignment and the adverb instead of an attributive adjective; it can also be modal. The Agent of the infinitive is normally expressed by an accusative. Only in special cases it is expressed by a genitivus subjectivus.

Because both the infinitive construction and the abstract verbal noun construction make aspect distinctions when using the article they can still express temporal relationships. All semantic arguments of a verb can appear in an infinitive construction. The following are a few examples of the construction preposition + infinitive, which is the most comparable to an abstract verbal noun: When depicting durative events, as in (12) through (14) the AGENT of the infinitive construction is identi-

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5 Cf. Kurzová (ibid.) in this respect.
cal to the AGENT of the main clause and therefore remains unexpressed.

(12) a. e some
one is a slave, a member of the same tribe.

b. I 34,1 ὃς γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτου δοῦλοι, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὁ μονοὶ τοῖς λειτουργεόντας
not namely to the-DAT.SG.N slave-NOM.PL.M but rather to τοῖς the-DAT.SG.N member of the tribe-NOM.PL.M leitourgeōντας εἶναι staying home-PTC.PRS.MED.DAT.PL.M be-INF.PRS.ACT
Literally: 'not namely because of being the slave but rather because of being the tribal member for those staying home (are they sent out?') with the negation referring to the finite verb.

c. οὖ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν δοῦλων, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ not namely to the-DAT.SG.N slave-NOM.PL.M but rather to τῶν τοῖς the-DAT.SG.N member of the tribe-NOM.PL.M leitourgeōντας εἰναι staying home-PTC.PRS.MED.DAT.PL.M be-INF.PRS.ACT
Literally: 'not namely because of being the slave but rather because of being the tribal member for those staying home (are they sent out?') with the negation referring to the finite verb.

(13) a. e Deceleia is a city.

b. VII 28,1 άντι τοῦ πόλεως εἶναι φυσικήν κατέστη and from a city became a fortification

(14) a. e Artaxerxes seems agreed.

b. I 138,2 ὃς φιλόμενος δὲ μετὰ τὸν ἰαστικόν γίγνεται παρ’ αὐτῷ μέγας καὶ ὁ σοὶ οὐδὲς τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ διά τήν προσφορὰν αὐτῷ χριστάς καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ εἰπταὶ ἢν ὑπετίθει αὐτῷ δοξιάσειν, μεῖστα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πειρατῆ παρὸς εἰναι φαινεῖσθαι.

When he came [to Artaxerxes] after one year, he received more respect (from Artaxerxes) than any other Greek ever had, on the one hand because of the glory he previously enjoyed, on the other hand because he led (Artaxerxes) to expect the subjection of the Greeks, in particular because he offered clear proof of his cleverness.

c. μεῖστα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πειρατῆ the most however because of theGEN.SG.N proof-ACC.SG.F didoicis xerotics offering-PTC.PRS.ACT.NOM.SG.M understanding-NOM.SG.M xainestein seem-INF.PRS.MED

Literally: the most because of proving himself by trials (actually: offering proof) seeming agreed

And a verb with the meaning 'attack' as already mentioned above yields the basis for the following in (15b):

(15) a. e The Peloponnesians attack the Athenians.

b. The Athenians are attacked.
b. I 69.5 ἀντί τοῦ ἐπελθέων αὐτοὶ ἀμένεσθαι βούλεσθε μάλλον ἐπίστασκα καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄρσεν τοῖς πολλοῖς δυνατοτέροις ἄγωνισίμενοι κατηστάναι
Instead of attacking them, you should rather want to defend yourself against their attack and expose yourselves to the chances in battle with a far more powerful enemy.
c. ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπελθεῖν instead of the-GEN.SG.N attack-INF.AOR.ACT

The overt expression of an AGENT is also missing here because the AGENT of the infinitive is identical to that of the main clause. The next is the infinitive of a "destruction verb" comprising of three partial events.

(16) a. ἔνθε The Athenians and the Corcyraeans break (their) treaties.
   ἔνθε The contracts are being broken.
   ἔνθε The contracts have been broken.
   ἔνθε The contracts have been broken.
   b. λυτικεῖ [DO ((τοῦ τοῦ) r) & BEC (BE ((τοῦ) s)) ε]
   (Ehrich & Rapp ibid.: 284f. – cf. (1))
   c. I 45.3 προεκούσθη τοῦ τῶν μὴ λέειν ἐνεκα τάς σπονδάς
   The command was given so that the treaties would not be broken.
   d. τοῦ μὴ λέειν ἐνεκα τάς σπονδάς
   the-GEN.SG.N not dissolve-INF.PRS.ACT because of
   the-ACC.PL.F. treaties-ACC.PL.F
   Literally: (they declared this) because of the non-dissolution of the treaties

The infinitive refers to the first partial event. As above the agent of the infinitive construction is missing. It is, however, implicit in the 3-person plural aorist form προεκούσθη 'they declared'. These few examples of infinitive constructions already clearly demonstrate the difference between themselves and constructions with abstract verbal nouns: abstract verbal nouns with articles bind known information to the background. The infinitive constructions, in contrast, create focus domains in which new information is articulated, as demonstrated elsewhere. The difference is evident in the contrasting information structure, the background-focus classification (cf. Matic 2003 in this respect). The use of the article fits this pattern very well. It is used anaphorically with abstract verbal nouns because such nouns serve to take up previously introduced information (Freundlich ibid.: 21ff.). In opposition to that the article in an infinitive construction serves to explicate the function of grammatical case, more specifically the use of genitive or dative and

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6 In detail see Lühr (2004) – dealing with the thesis of Behrendt (1886), that the substantivized infinitive would indicate a "known state".
compulsorily following prepositions as seen in the above-mentioned examples. Indeed, the use of an article with the infinitive proves to be a chronologically younger pattern in Greek. According to Blass & Debrunner (1970: §398; cf. Schwyzer and Debrunner 1950: 361) for the Greek sense of use the article is "oft nur ein Mittel, den inflexiblen Infinitiv zu flektieren" ("often merely a means of inflecting the otherwise non-inflecting infinitive"). This functional determination for the use of the article also fits very nicely with the use of negation. For abstract verbal nouns the form ὅν occurs and for infinitive constructions the form is μή. This corresponds to the rule that ὅν negates the validity of a statement, whereas μή is generally used when the "realization of an idea is rejected" (Bornemann & Risch 1973: 259).

(17) a. Β 35,2 ὑπότετον δὲ ἀλλήλους εὐθὺς μετά τὸς σπονδᾶς οἱ τε Ἀθηναίοι καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατά τὴν τῶν χωρίων ἀλλήλους οὐκ ἀπόδοσιν.

however, distrust between Athenians and Lacedaemonians cropped up immediately after the settlement of the treaty because the arranged areas were not relinquished (Freundlich ibid.: 125).

b. κατὰ τὴν τῶν χωρίων because of the -ACC.SG.F of the -GEN.PL.N areas-GEN.PL.N ἀλλήλους one another-DAT.PL.M non relinquishment-ACC.SG.F

Literally: because of the mutual non-occurring return of the lands (with a pre-nominal genitivus objectivus)

(18) a. VII 34,6 δὲ μοῖς δὲ τῶν νασαχίων κατηρτισάτων τῶν Ἀθηναίων διὰ τῆς τοῦ ἀνέμου ἄπωσιν αέτων ἐς τὸ πέλαγος καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν Κορινθίων ὀὐκέτι ἑ παναγωγὴν nevertheless the Athenians could take control of the ship wrecks, because the wind blew them out on the high seas and the Corinthians did not pursue them.

b. διὰ τῆς τῶν because of however the-ACC.SG.F of the-GEN.SG.M ἀνέμου ἄπωσιν αέτων wind-GEN.SG.M driving away-ACC.SG.F of them-GEN.PL.M ἐς τὸ πέλαγος καὶ διὰ τὴν into the-ACC.SG.M sea-ACC.SG.N and because of the-ACC.SG.F

It can only occasionally be interpreted anaphorically:

a. 1 6,5 ἐγερνοθέσαν τε πρῶτοι καὶ ἐς τὸ φανερὸν ἄποδντες λίπα μετὰ τοῦ γυμνασθῆναι ἔσχεσθαι.

They [the Spartans] were also the first to undress and publicly removed their clothing and oiled themselves at physical training.

b. μετὰ τοῦ γυμνασθῆναι

after of the-GEN.SG.N doing physical training-INF.PRS.MED
Access to separate partial events, modification by temporal relationships for the most part but also locational and modal relationships, differential links to semantic arguments, compression of sentence contents and the constitution of the background for the structure of information are all properties of the Greek abstract verbal noun, which make the historical descriptions of Thucydides a most practical means of expression.
Bibliography


