

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

- (8) a. III 1,1 Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ... ἐστράτευσαν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ...  
The Peloponnesians and their allies invaded Attica ...
- b. III 2,1 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐσβολὴν τῶν Πελοποννησίων εὐθὺς Λέσβος ... ἀπέστη  
Shortly after the invasion of the Peloponnesians the island Lesbos deserted (Freundlich *ibid.*: 69)
- c. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐσβολὴν τῶν  
after however the ACC.SG.F invasion-ACC.SG.F of the-GEN.PL.M  
Πελοποννησίων  
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. e<sup>1</sup> The Peloponnesians invade (and enter) (Attica) .  
e<sup>2</sup> The Peloponnesians have invaded (and are in) (Attica).

The AGENT realized as genitivus subiectivus 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 σφετέραν οἷ κισιν 'after their own foundation' refers to the resultant state of the following complex event:

- (9) a. e<sup>1</sup> Antiphemus und Entimus found Gela.  
e<sup>2</sup> Gela is founded.
- b. VI 4,3 Γέλαν δὲ Ἀντίφημος ἐκ Ῥόδου καὶ Ἔντιμος ἐκ Κρήτης ἐποίκουσ ἀγαγόντες κοινῇ ἔκτισαν ...  
It was Gela that both Antiphemus from Rhodes and Entimus from Crete, who brought settlers, founded ...
- c. VI 4,4 ἔτεσι δὲ ἐγγύτατα ὀκτώκαὶ ἑκατὸν μετὰ τὴν σφετέραν οἷ κισιν Γελῶνι Ἀκράγαντα ἄκισαν.  
and almost one hundred-eight years after its own foundation the inhabitants of Gela founded Acragas.
- d. ἔτεσι δὲ ἐγγύτατα ὀκτώκαὶ ἑκατὸν  
years-DAT.PL.N however almost completely eight and one hundred  
μετὰ τὴν σφετέραν οἷ κισιν  
after the-ACC.SG.F own-ACC.SG.F foundation-ACC.SG.F

Thucydides only uses the reflexive pronoun σφέτερος '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 ἀὐτῶν '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:

- e. λy λx λe [DO<sub>Gründen='found'</sub> ((x, y) r) & BEC ((APPL ((z, 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. ἡ τε ἐν τῷ Ἴσθμῷ  
 the-NOM.SG.F as well as at the-DAT.SG.M Isthmus-DAT.SG.M  
 ἐπιμονῇ γενομένη ... μάλιστα  
 stop over-NOM.SG.F become-PTC.AOR.MED.NOM.SG.F the most  
 δὲ ἡ ἐν τῇ Οἰνῳ  
 however the-NOM.SG.F in the-DAT.SG.F Oenoe-DAT.SG.F  
 ἐπίσχεσις.  
 stop over-NOM.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. e The Athenians live in the country.  
 b. Π 16,1 Τῇ τε οὖν ἐπὶ πολὺ κατὰ τὴν χώραν αὐτονόμῳ οἰκῆσει  
 μετείχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ... οὐ ῥαδίως ... τὰς μεταναστάσεις ἐποιῶντο  
 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 τε οὖν ἐπὶ πολὺ κατὰ τὴν  
 to the-DAT.SG.F and now very-ADV in the-ACC.SG.F  
 χώραν αὐτονόμῳ οἰκῆσει  
 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. e<sup>1</sup> Brasidas crosses the bridge.  
e<sup>2</sup> 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 Βρασιδάς ...διέβη τὴν γέφυραν ...  
Brasidas ... went over the bridge...
- c. IV 104,1 Τῆς δὲ διαβάσεως αὐτοῦ ἄρνω τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει  
γεγεννημένης ... οἱ Ἀμφιπολιταὶ ἐς θόρυβον μέγαν κατέστησαν  
Because his crossing was surprising for those in the city.... the  
Amphipolitans became very confused (Freundlich *ibid.*: 21f.)
- d. τῆς δὲ διαβάσεως αὐτοῦ  
of the-GEN.SG.F however crossing-GEN.SG.F of his-GEN.SG.M  
ἄρνω τοῖς ἐν τῇ  
surprising-ADV for those-DAT.PL.M in the-DAT.SG.F  
πόλει γεγεννημένης  
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 genitivus subiectivus position in addition to the normal German post-nominal genitivus obiectivus. 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 Schwyzer & 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 gestraffter 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 Ganzes zusammenzufassen; in steigendem Maß macht Präp. + Infinitiv den Nebensätzen Konkurrenz.<sup>4</sup> Trotz dem Artikel bleibt der Infinitiv verbaler als die Verbalabstrakta: er bleibt auf den Singular beschränkt; er bewahrt die Unterschiede 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 besonderen 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.<sup>5</sup> 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 is it 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-

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Kurzová (1968: 98ff.) in this respect.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Kurzová (ibid.) in this respect.

cal to the AGENT of the main clause and therefore remains unexpressed.

- (12) a. e someone is a slave<sub>2</sub>, a member of the same tribe.  
 b. I 34,1 οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ δούλοι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ ὁμοῖοι τοῖς λειπομένοις  
 εἶναι ἐκπέμπονται  
 for (colonists) are not sent to become the slaves of those staying home,  
 but rather their equal friends.  
 c. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ δούλοι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ  
 not namely to the-DAT.SG.N slave-NOM.PL.M but rather to  
 τῷ ὁμοῖοι τοῖς  
 the-DAT.SG.N member of the tribe-NOM.PL.M the-DAT.PL.M  
 λειπομένοις 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.
- (13) a. e Deceleia is a city.  
 b. VII 28,1 ἀντὶ τοῦ πόλις εἶναι φρούραον κατέστη  
 and from a city became a fortification  
 c. ἀντὶ τοῦ πόλις εἶναι  
 instead of the-GEN.SG.N city-NOM.SG.F be-INF.PRS.ACT  
 Literally: instead of being a city (it would be a fortification)
- (14) a. e Artaxerxes seems agreed.  
 b. I 138,2 ἀφικόμενος δὲ μετὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν γίγνεται παρ' αὐτῷ μέγας  
 καὶ ὁ σὸς οὐδέεις πῶ Ἑλλήνων διὰ τε τὴν προὔποχουσαν ἀξίωσιν  
 καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐλπιδὰ ἦν ὑπετίθει αὐτῷ δουλώσειν, μάλιστα δὲ  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ πείρασαν διδοῦς ξυνετὸς φαίνεσθαι.  
 When he came [to Artaxerxes] after one year, he received more respect  
 (from Artaxerxes) than any other Greek ever had, on the one hand be-  
 cause of the glory he previously enjoyed, on the other hand because he  
 led (Artaxerxes) to expect the subjection of the Greeks, in particular be-  
 cause he offered clear proof of his cleverness.  
 c. μάλιστα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πείρασαν  
 the most however because of the GEN.SG.N. proof-ACC.SG.F  
 διδοῦς ξυνετὸς  
 offering-PTC.PRS.ACT.NOM.SG.M understanding-NOM.SG.M  
 φαίνεσθαι  
 seem-INF.PRS.MED  
 Literally: the most because of proving himself by trials (actually: of-  
 fering 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<sup>1</sup> The Peloponnesians attack the Athenians.  
 e<sup>2</sup> The Athenians are attacked.

- b. I 69,5 ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπελθεῖν αὐτοὶ ἀμύνεσθαι βούλεσθε μᾶλλον  
 ἐπιόντας καὶ ἐς τύχας πρὸς πολλῶν δυνατωτέρων ἀγωνιζόμενοι  
 καταστήναι  
 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. e<sup>1</sup> The Athenians and the Corcyraeans break (their) treaties.  
 e<sup>2</sup> The contracts are being broken.  
 e<sup>3</sup> The contracts have been broken.
- b. λυ λx λε [DO ((x, y) r) & BEC (BE ((y) s)) e]  
 (Ehrich & Rapp *ibid.*: 284f. – cf. (1))
- c. I 45,3 προείπον δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ μὴ λύειν ἔνεκα τῶν σπονδῶν  
 The command was given so that the treaties would not be broken.
- d. τοῦ μὴ λύειν ἔνεκα  
 the-GEN.SG.N not dissolve-INF.PRS.ACT because of  
 τῶν σπονδῶν  
 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 προείπον '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.<sup>6</sup> The difference is evident in the contrasting information structure, the background-focus classification (cf. Matić 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

<sup>6</sup> 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. Schwyzler 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')<sup>7</sup>. This functional determination for the use of the article also fits very nicely with the use of negation. For abstract verbal nouns the form οὐ occurs and for infinitive constructions the form is μή. This corresponds to the rule that οὐ 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. V 35,2 ὑπώπτεον δὲ ἀλλήλους εὐθὺς μετὰ τὰς σπονδὰς οἱ τε Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατὰ τὴν τῶν χωρίων ἀλλήλοισι 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  
ἀλλήλοισι οὐκ ἀπόδοσιν  
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 genitive obiectivus)
- (18) a. VII 34,6 ὁ μὲν δὲ τῶν ναυαγίων κρατησάντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων διὰ τε τὴν τοῦ ἀνέμου ἄπωσιν αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν Κορινθίων οὐκέτι ἐπαναγωγὴν  
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 τε τὴν τοῦ  
because of however the-ACC.SG.F of the-GEN.SG.M  
ἀνέμου ἄπωσιν αὐτῶν  
wind-GEN.SG.M driving out-ACC.SG.F of them-GEN.PL.M  
ἐς τὸ πέλαγος καὶ διὰ τὴν  
into the-ACC.SG.N sea-ACC.SG.N and because of the-ACC.SG.F

<sup>7</sup> It can only occasionally be interpreted anaphorically:

- a. I 6,5 ἐγυμνάθησάν τε πρώτοι καὶ ἐς τὸ φανερόν ἀποδύντες λίπα μετὰ τοῦ γυμνάζεσθαι ἤλειψαντο.  
They [the Spartans] were also the first to undress and publicly removed their clothing and oiled themselves at physical training.
- b. μετὰ τοῦ γυμνάζεσθαι  
after of the-GEN.SG.N doing physical training-INF.PRS.MED

τῶν Κορινθίων οὐκέτι  
 of the-GEN.PL.M Corinthians-GEN.PL.M no further  
 ἐπαναγωγὴν  
 pursuit-ACC.SG.F  
 Literally: because of their drift out to sea caused by the wind and the  
 Corinthians non-pursuit (cf. (1) as well).

In contrast to the infinitive construction:

- (16) c. I 45,3 προείπον δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ μὴ λυεῖν ἕνεκα τῶν σπονδῶν  
 The command was given so that the treaty would not be broken.  
 d. τοῦ μὴ λυεῖν ἕνεκα  
 of the-GEN.SG.N non- dissolution-INF.PRS.ACT because of  
 τῶν σπονδῶν  
 the -ACC.PL.F treaties-ACC.PL.F  
 Literally: (they declared this) because of the non-breaking of the treaties

and the infinitive in another constructions:

- (19) a. VIII 15,1 τά τε χίλια τάλαντα, ὧν διὰ παντὸς τοῦ πολέμου  
 ἐγλίχοντο μὴ ἄψασθαι, εὐθύς ἔλυσαν τὰς ἐπικειμένας ζημίας τῶ  
 εἰπόντι ἢ ἐπιψηφίσαντι ὑπὸ τῆς παρουσίας ἐκπλήξεως  
 Those thousand talents, that they attempted to leave untouched through  
 the whole war – suddenly, under the influence of the shock they imme-  
 diately rescinded the punishment requirements against the candidate  
 and director of the election ...  
 b. ὧν διὰ παντὸς τοῦ  
 of which-GEN.PL.N through of all-GEN.SG.M of the-GEN.SG.M  
 πολέμου ἐγλίχοντο μὴ  
 war-GEN.SG.M they attempted-3.PL.IND.IPF.MED not  
 ἄψασθαι  
 to touch-INF.AOR.MED  
 Literally: they [that they] through the whole war tried not to touch ...

#### 4 Summary

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.



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