The Language of Literature

Linguistic Approaches to Classical Texts

Edited by

Rutger J. Allan
Michel Buijs

BRILL

The Language of Literature

Amsterdam Studies in Classical Philology

VOLUME 13

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LEIDEN • BOSTON
2007

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Rutger J. Allan & Michel Buijs

> *(...) il n'est plus guère possible de concevoir la littérature comme une art qui se désintéresserait de tout rapport avec le langage, dès qu'elle en aurait usé comme d'un instrument pour exprimer l'idée, la passion ou la beauté: le langage ne cesse d'accompagner le discours en lui tendant le miroir de sa propre structure (...)*
> Roland Barthes, 'Introduction à l'analyse structurale des récits'

Over the last two decades, a significant converging tendency has taken place within the field of classical scholarship. On the one hand, literary scholarship has started to apply more formal, narratological models in the interpretation of classical literary texts. On the other, linguists expanded their object of study, which had been restricted to the grammar of the *sentence*, beyond the sentence, to the 'grammar' of *discourse*. Both approaches have developed into full-blown, self-contained disciplines within the field of classical scholarship, and have proven their enormous value to the interpretation of classical literary texts.

The flourishing of these two relatively novel branches of scholarship can provide us with an excellent opportunity for cross-fertilization between the literary and linguistic study of the classics. This will bring a period to an end in which the two approaches existed relatively independent of one another and a fruitful exchange of scholarly findings was hindered by the lack of a common method and a common conceptual apparatus. This collection of papers aims to be a step in the *rapprochement* of literary and linguistic scholarship of classical texts.

Ever since their inception, there has been a close conceptual relation between the narratological and the discourse linguistic

paradigm. This relation is perhaps best illustrated by Genette's use of originally linguistic categories such as *tense*, *mood* and *voice* to characterize the relation between the narrated world, narrative, and narrating. Yet, at the same time, the way in which Genette gave a new meaning to these terms reveals that the two theoretical frameworks are far from constituting an integrated paradigm. Although there are strong integrative tendencies at work in the study of narrative, a seamless connection between narratology and linguistics on a theoretical level — if possible at all — still remains a *desideratum*. However, even if a complete theoretical convergence cannot be accomplished, a fruitful line of research can still be set up using a more bottom-up, text-oriented, approach. Such an integrated approach to the text may provide us with the best of both worlds, combining the strong interpretative potential of the narratological conceptual apparatus with the empirical robustness of the linguistic analytical tools.

This book is dedicated in honour of Albert Rijksbaron on the occasion of his retirement from the position of Professor of Greek Linguistics at the University of Amsterdam. Albert Rijksbaron is one of the most prominent representatives of the strong Dutch tradition of Greek and Latin linguistics. In his scholarly work, Albert has always demonstrated the great importance of linguistic analysis for literary interpretation. Shining examples of this work are his grammatical commentary on Euripides' *Bacchae*, and his studies on the expression of emotions in Homer. In the same vein, he is currently working on a text edition and a linguistic commentary on Plato's *Ion.* Moreover, Albert Rijksbaron's work has made a significant contribution to the development of Ancient Greek discourse linguistics as a full-blown scholarly discipline. In this connection, one may think of his important studies on subordination, tense and aspect, discourse particles, the article and the anaphoric pronoun. In order to appreciate the full range and depth of Albert Rijksbaron's scholarship, a complete list of his publications has been included in this volume.

The contributions to this volume aim to explore the still considerable *terra nullius* between the literary and linguistic approaches to classical texts. Literary-oriented papers have made use of recent linguistic insights to support and enrich our understanding of the text. Linguistically-oriented papers, on the

other hand, have focused on the analysis of larger (mostly narrative) discourse structures, thereby contributing to the over-all interpretation of the text. Most papers were read at the *Conference on Greek and Latin Linguistics* (Katwijk, 16-17 December 2005), held in honour of Albert Rijksbaron and organized through the generous support of OIKOS, the National Research School in Classical Studies in the Netherlands. Many contributors to this volume were, at some time, Albert's pupils.

Irene J.F. de Jong challenges the often articulated view that the opening of Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, spoken by Deianira, is to be interpreted as a monologue. Instead, it should be taken as part of a dialogue. De Jong shows that there is a number of narratological and linguistic signs (such as narratorial interventions, interactional particles, and the use of tenses) in the text that point towards a narratee. The Nurse, present on stage, is expected to identify with the narratee implied in the text. By contrast, Euripidean prologues – which are called 'diaphonic monologues' by De Jong – imply that the spectators indentify with the narratee.

The interpretation of Greek poetical texts with the help of linguistic phenomena is explored further by Lukas van den Berge, who addresses the question whether we should, and how we can, establish the relative chronology of past events in the myths of Pindar's *Pythian* 10 and *Olympian* 3. Focusing both on linguistic features, especially aspectual choice, and the content of the text, Van den Berge arrives at the conclusion that the event order is generally not coded in the odes he discusses, and that in *Pythian* 10, the chronology is intentionally ambiguous, whereas in *Olympian* 3, the chronological order of events can be inferred from the context. This is not to say, however, that Pindar, or his audience, did not care about relative chronology at all. On the contrary, the ways in which the stories are told in both myths are claimed to reflect the poet's rhetorical aims.

The next four papers explore the relationship between the *discourse type* of the text and its linguistic properties.

Suzanne M. Adema discusses the ways Vergil presents the narrator's wide variety of activities throughout the *Aeneid*. Taking the parameters *discourse mode* and *base* as her point of departure, Adema distinguishes four relevant discourse modes on the basis of an analysis of tense usage (*report*, *registering*, *narrative* and

description), and two bases (*the time of the narrator* and *reference time*) from which the narrator chooses to use these different discourse modes. Therewith, every discourse mode has a *transposed* variant. One of these transposed modes, the *directing mode*, which is the counterpart of the *registering mode* and the most important mode in the *Aeneid*, is then discussed in more detail, the upshot being that the so-called historic or narrative present should be seen as the basic tense of most parts of the *Aeneid*.

The importance of indentifying different sections in the *Aeneid* according to discourse modes and bases becomes conspicuously clear when the results are compared with and contrasted to the outcome of Caroline H.M. Kroon's linguistic analysis of the internal coherence of a number of stories in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Kroon's starting point is the common literary observation that, compared to the dynamic way of narrative presentation in the *Aeneid*, the narrative of the *Metamorphoses* is static and pictorial. By distinguishing between the discourse modes *narrative*, *report* and *description*, and by meticulously analysing tense marking, Kroon shows that, as opposed to the *Aeneid*, the discourse mode *description* prevails in the *Metamorphoses*, and that in the latter epic, the advancement of the story usually takes its base in the time of the narrator and not in reference time. Also in contrast to the *Aeneid*, the historic present in the *Metamorphoses* generally turns out to be used as a tense in descriptive passages ('vignettes'), rather than as a narrative tense. While connecting this special use of the present with a number of different narrative techniques typical of Ovid (such as ambiguity between historic and actual/eternal reading, hint of universality, zoom, and fragmentation), Kroon shows that it can be related in all cases to the specific semantic value of the present tense, that is, simultaneity with speaker's time.

To explain the alternation of a complex, periodic style and a more simple, paratactic style in Thucydides, Rutger J. Allan demonstrates the relevance of two *narrative modes*. Thucydides' *Histories* are typically told in the *displaced* narrative mode. In this mode, the narrator is in full control of the narration, telling the story from a retrospective point of view. By narrating in the *immediate* mode, on the other hand, the narrator involves the reader in the drama of the actions in a more direct way by pretending to be an eyewitness to the narrated events, narrating the events as they unfold. The

contrast between these two narrative modes accounts not only for the variation in sentence complexity, but also for the distribution of connective particles and tense and aspect forms in Thucydides' narrative.

Michel Buijs discusses six parallel passages in two of Xenophon's works that belong to different discourse types: the historical narrative *Hellenica* and the encomium *Agesilaus*, in which narrative episodes copied from the *Hellenica* perform the function of illustrations of Agesilaus' qualities as a general. These parallel passages show differences in the aspectual choice of the verbal constituents, while the exact same real-world situation is being described. It is demonstrated that these differences are not to be regarded as due to mere coincidence; rather, the discourse potential of the imperfect is explored to the extent that it should be considered a device to present an action from 'within' the diegetic world in on-going narrative, thereby indicating that more information will be conveyed. The aorist, which lacks this continuation-indicating potential, is often used to indicate 'completeness' of a discourse unit. In the discussion of the parallel passages it is shown that Xenophon, as part of his narrative technique, deliberately substituted one aspectual form for the other, adapting the text of the *Hellenica* to his encomiastic aim.

Aspectual choice is also the topic of Albert Rijksbaron's long-time friend and colleague Jean Lallot. He demonstrates a subtle feel for the distribution of present and aorist tense stem forms in the Law Code of Gortyn, the Cretan inscription dating from the beginning of the fifth century BCE, which offers prescriptions of private law. After discussing the present infinitive syntagm ὀμνύντα κρίνεν as a general procedural, formular expression and opposing it to the more specific ὀμνύντα κρῖναι, and expanding the analysis of the aspectual distribution of the present and aorist tense stem in (κατα)δικάζω, Lallot finally turns to a *lacuna* into which both a present imperative and an aorist imperative of δικάζω fit, and offers a decisive solution to the problem.

Gerry C. Wakker takes us from the past into the future in her contribution on the semantic and/or pragmatic differences between expressions of future States of Affairs in Herodotus, starting off with three passages in which future expressions of different types seem to be used without any clear semantic difference. While her special

interest goes out to the distinction between the simple future tense and μέλλω, she also discusses the use of ἔρχομαι + participle, βούλομαι and ἐθέλω. Wakker shows that in the case of μέλλω the semantic focus is typically on the *present* intention or expectation (either of the subject or of the narrator) — not on its other semantic aspect, that is, the *future realization* of the state of affairs. In this respect μέλλω differs from the simple future, which presents the future realization of the state of affairs as a fact. However, in cases in which the future tense can not serve as an alternative, the semantic focus of μέλλω is not on the intention, but rather on the aspect of relative futurity. In those cases, μέλλω can be characterized as a semi-auxiliary of the relative future. Eventually, all expressions with future reference turn out to have their own basic meaning, and that these meanings differ from each other. In every single instance, then, the texts should be interpreted in accordance with the basic meaning of the expression in question.

A more refined and precise interpretation of Herodotus's text is also obtained by taking heed of adjective ordering in the Noun Phrase, the topic of Stéphanie J. Bakker's paper. She discusses the various possible orderings of two or more adjectives in one noun phrase, and identifies the factors that determine any given pattern. At the heart of her analysis is the pragmatic 'first things first'-principle, i.e. the most informative constituent is expressed first. This explains the position of multiple adjectives, whether co-ordinated or not, vis-à-vis the noun, and the order among multiple adjectives themselves.

That our understanding of Greek, and Latin, word order can improve from ancient rhetorical theory is a lesson we learn from the comparative approach to the subject offered by Casper C. de Jonge, who argues that both the ancient rhetorical and the modern pragmatic approach regard language primarily as an instrument of communication. In the final contribution to this volume, De Jonge bridges the gap between past and present, between Greek and Latin, between linguistic and literary studies, between sentence-level approach and discourse-centered linguistics, between semantics and pragmatics, in short: between ancient and modern interest in the language of literature.

CHAPTER TWO

SOPHOCLES *TRACHINIAE* 1-48, EURIPIDEAN PROLOGUES, AND THEIR AUDIENCES[1]

Irene J.F. de Jong

1 *Introduction*

The opening of Sophocles'*Trachiniae* is exceptional:[2] instead of the customary dialogue, we find a long speech by Deanira (48 lines), who, though another character (the nurse) is present on stage, nowhere addresses her. Thus most scholars consider Deanira's *rhesis* a monologue, and some suggest that for once Sophocles may have followed the example of Euripides, who invariably opens with a monologue.[3]

In this paper I will try to kill two birds with one stone. Applying both narratological and linguistic arguments I will question the monological status of both (groups of) texts. I will first argue that the opening of Sophocles' *Trachiniae* does imply an audience, a role that the nurse is supposed to — and does — slip into. I will then turn to the Euripidean prologue and, using the same type of criteria, argue that these texts, too, imply an audience, which in their case can only be the spectators.

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[2] Though perhaps not unique: one of the fragmentary plays of Sophocles, the satyr-play *Ichneutae*, also seems to open with a single long speech.
[3] Two apparent exceptions are the *IA*, which in its present form opens with a dialogue, but which originally may have opened with the customary monologue (a relic of which may be lines 49-105) and the (spurious) *Rh.*, which according to its second hypothesis, however, originally did have a monologue opening.

2   *Sophocles* Trachiniae *1-48*

Though Deanira nowhere addresses her nurse, there are only few scholars who doubt that this character is present on stage right from the beginning.[4] In my view there can be no doubt on this point for two reasons. In the first place, the very absence of any reference to the nurse by Deanira exactly suggests her presence, since, in the words of Taplin, 'a minor character, if his entry is not explicitly marked, should be supposed to have entered with the superior character to which he is attached.'[5] In the second place, the nurse in her opening speech clearly reacts to the content of Deanira's speech: 'Often in the past I have seen you bewail with tearful lamentations the going forth of Heracles. Now I must tell you what to do: why when you have so many sons do you not send one to search for your husband?'; 'the going forth of Heracles' refers to Deanira's account of Heracles' absence in 40-48[6] and 'the many sons' refers back to her mention of the engendering of children in 31.[7]

Even though most scholars agree that the nurse is present on stage, they consider Deanira's speech a monologue, because she nowhere refers to her: e.g. 'Deanira does not address the latter [the nurse], but in a monologue she gives an exposition of her present situation as it arose from her past life' (Kamerbeek 1959: 9).[8] If Deanira is not addressing the nurse, we are either to imagine that she is talking to *herself* ('Deanira is really talking to herself; she is overheard by the nurse (49ff.), and her words are thus seen to be no artificial soliloquy, but naturally open expression': Hulton 1969: 52)

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[4] Doubt in Schwinge (1962: 36); Schmidt (1971: 8): 'der anwesenden oder irgendwann hinzutretenden Amme'; Heiden (1989: 31): 'Deanira's nurse, who has listened in silence to part or all of her mistress' lament'; and Ringer (1998: 53): 'It is unclear from the text if the Nurse enters with Deianira at the opening of the tragedy, though she must be onstage and ready to speak at line 49'.

[5] Taplin (1977: 8).

[6] Cf. Jebb (1903: xlix); Leo (1908: 14); Webster ([1936]1969: 110).

[7] Indeed, it could be argued that the Nurse's νῦν in 52 directly echoes Deanira's νῦν in 36: Nestle (1930: 46). I would even suggest that the obvious echo of Deaniara's opening words 1-2 in the Nurse's last words 945-6 could be seen as an indication that she heard her mistress' speech from the beginning.

[8] Cf. further Schlegel (1809-11: 109); Wilamowitz ([1917]1977: 116); Whitman ([1951]1966: 107); Imhof (1957: 17); Schwinge (1962: 35-6); Hulton (1969: 52); Schmidt (1971: 8); Martina (1980: 2); Easterling (1982: 71).

or that she is addressing *the audience* ('Sophokles hat sogar für die eigentliche Exposition die Form des Dialogs aufgegeben, die er sonst immer festgehalten hat, und ganz wie Euripides so oft tut, die von ihm vorausgesetzte Vorgeschichte in einer im Grunde nur an den Zuschauer gerichteten zusammenhängenden Erzählung durch die Hauptperson mitteilen lassen': Wilamowitz [1917]1977: 116).[9]

But not all scholars consider Deanira's speech a monologue, not the least among them Jebb: 'Deanira's speech is no soliloquy — though it is true that she is rather communing with her own thoughts than directly addressing the nurse; it gives the cue for the Nurse's suggestion that Hyllus should be sent to seek his father, and thus serves to set the drama in motion.'[10] We may observe that Jebb's formulation comes close to that of Hulton quoted above, and in the end it seems a matter of formulation whether to call Deanira's speech a dialogical speech with a monological flavour or a monologue which is heard and reacted to. There is one scholar who has clearly seen this: 'Es ist kein Monolog, denn die alte Dienerin ist entgegegen und antwortet; es ist kein Dialog, denn die Anrede fehlt... Deianira ist mit ihrer Vertrauten zusammen, sie ist gewohn in deren Gegenwart halb mit sich selbst zu reden und zu klagen und immer wieder in ihrer Erinnerungen zu wühlen.' (Leo 1908: 14).[11] Should we leave it at this and conclude that Deanira is holding something between a monologue and a dialogical speech, is speaking half to herself and half to the nurse? Before attempting to answer this question, there is one more recurrent issue in the scholarship on Deanira's speech which deserves our attention.

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[9] Cf. Heiden (1989: 21) and Ringer (1998: 53).

[10] Jebb (1903: xlix). Cf. Adams (1957: 111): 'The play opens with Deianeira's speech to the Nurse'; Kirkwood ([1958]1971: 110-11); and Ronnet (1969: 42): 'Il [le prologue] est fait de deux dialogues de Déjanira, d'abord avec sa nourrice, puis avec son fils Hyllos. Le premier est presque un monologue...'. It may be significant that Schadewaldt ([1926]1966) in his study on the monologue in drama does not include Deanira's *rhesis.*

[11] Cf. Imhof (1957: 17): '[die Exposition ist] nicht in dramatischer Situation gestaltet, sondern monologisch, obgleich äusserlich mit der Gestalt der Amme die gewöhnliche dialogisch-dramatische Art des Prologs gewahrt ist'.

3 *Relation with the Euripidean Prologues*

Since Euripides invariably opens his plays with a monologue, scholars have been led to call the opening of the *Trachiniae* Euripidean: 'Deaneira spricht in Euripideischer Manier das monologische Proöm der Trachiniae' (Schmidt 1971: 8).[12] But many more scholars have shown that though superficially or formally resembling the Euripidean prologue monologue, there are in fact many differences:[13] whereas a Euripidean prologue monologue does not form part of the action of the play and gives an analytical and comprehensive narrative of the past, the opening rhesis of the *Trachiniae* forms part of the action (see Jebb, quoted above) and gives only a highly selective account of the past. Thus Deanira recounts how as a young girl she lived in the house of her father Oeneus in Pleuron, was wooed by the river-god Achelous, and saved from a dreaded marriage with him by Heracles, who defeated the god in a fight which she explicitly says she cannot describe. She next recounts her married life with Heracles, how they got children whom he only saw occasionally because he was away so much in the service of 'someone' (=Eurystheus). She now lives in Trachis as the guest of 'a hospitable man' (=the king of Trachis, Ceyx), after Heracles had killed Iphitus. She does not know where Heracles is, who is away already for fifteen months, and she fears for him on account of a tablet containing an oracle which he gave her before he left.

Deanira's narrative is conspicuously unspecific (she does not mention her own name, as do — nearly — all Euripidean prologue speakers,[14] nor that of Heracles' master or her present host) and full

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[12] Cf. Leo (1908: 14); Wilamowitz ([1917]1977: 116); Whitman ([1951]1966: 107). There is one very different voice: according to Schwinge (1962: 40-1), it was Sophocles' *Trachiniae* which formed the model for Euripides.

[13] Cf. Jebb (1903: xlix); Reinhardt ([1933]1943: 45); Webster ([1936] 1969: 110); Adams (1957: 111); Kirkwood ([1958]1971: 290-1); Kamerbeek (1959: 9-10); Schwinge (1962: 34-5); Ronnet (1969: 42, note 2); Hulton (1969: 51); Martina (1980: 55-6); Easterling (1982: 71); Erbse (1984: 291-3). Most of these scholars also claim that there is a marked difference in tone, Deanira's account being much more emotional than the objective Euripidean prologue *rhesis*. In my view, the objectivity of the latter is only superficial. To argue this point falls outside the scope of this paper.

[14] The only exceptions are the nurse of the *Med.* and the farmer of the *El.*, who, however, remain nameless in the entire play.

of gaps, not only those flagged by Deanira herself, who cannot describe the fight between Achelous and Heracles nor tell where Heracles is now, but also those which the spectators may note and either fill in on account of their prior knowledge or bear with them until they are informed in the course of the play: Heracles' labours are only briefly alluded to in the words λατρεύοντα (35) and ἄθλων (36); the details of his fight with Achelous are passed over, only to be filled in by the chorus in 507-30; the fatal encounter with the centaur Nessus on their way home after the wedding is not mentioned at all and will only be recounted by Deanira in 555-77; why Heracles killed Iphitus is again passed over, to be recounted in full by Lichas in 252-80; and the content of the tablet with the oracle is not disclosed, and will be revealed only gradually by Deanira in 76-81 and 164-9.[15]

The allusive, elliptical, and unspecific nature of Deanira's speech not only makes it very different from the highly informative Euripidean prologues, but also makes it highly unlikely that she is addressing the spectators, as Wilamowitz suggests. To the Nurse, however, who herself stresses that she has heard Deanira's story many times before, the speech is perfectly understandable.

I will now further substantiate my claim that Deanira is directing her *rhesis* at the nurse. My line of reasoning is as follows: Deanira's *rhesis* is a narrative,[16] so let us see whether we can detect what narratologists call 'signs of the narratee'.[17] If we find such signs, we may assume that even though Deanira does not *address* the nurse *directly* she intends her to listen to her story.[18]

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[15] Such abstaining from a full exposition is of course entirely in the Sophoclean manner, who likes to fill in his audience on the past of the plot only gradually.

[16] For the status of Deanira's *rhesis* as narrative, see the transition from gnomic opening to narrative with a relative pronoun (common in Homer and Pindar), the opening of sections with γάρ following after a 'headline', and the 'there is/was a man/place X' motif. For a valuable discussion of Deanira's narrative as the first in a series of narratives, see Kraus (1991).

[17] See Prince ([1973]1980) and for examples from classical texts, de Jong-Nünlist-Bowie (2004: *passim*).

[18] Since Deanira is not aware of the presence of spectators, the only narratee she can reckon with is the intra-dramatic narratee on stage, the nurse. Of course, the spectators, as extra-dramatic narratees, hear her story too. See de Jong-Nünlist-Bowie (2004: 7-8) for these two types of narratee in a dramatic narrative and Pfister (1988: 4-5) for the 'absolute autonomy' of dramatic texts: 'a dramatic utterance is not addressed to the spectator any more than it is a statement by the author'.

4   *Signs of the Narratee 1: Narratorial Interventions*

The narrator Deanira uses quite a few narratorial interventions (comments, explanations, or metanarrative remarks), which are aimed at — and hence presuppose — a narratee.

[1]   Sophocles *Trachiniae* 9
μνηστὴρ γὰρ ἦν μοι ποταμός, Ἀχελῷον λέγω

My wooer was a river-god, I mean Achelous

Deanira here uses a type of expression, an explanatory parenthesis with λέγω, which is common in Greek tragedy, and which we always find in dialogical speeches. A clear example is: γυναῖκα δ' αἰχμαλώτον, Ἀνδρομάχην λέγω, Μολοσσίαν γῆν χρὴ κατοικῆσαι, γέρον,.. (E. *Andr.* 1243-4), where Thetis is addressing 'the old man' Peleus.[19] What is the intended effect of this type of narratorial intervention? According to Kühner-Gerth, it serves to add emphasis to a name.[20] This may be true for most cases, but not all,[21] including our place in the *Trachiniae*. For, as I noted earlier, Deanira is very sparing with her use of names. Rather, the effect of her truncating the sentence ('my wooer was a river-god, I mean Achelous' instead of the normal 'my wooer was the river-god Achelous') seems to be to emphasise the fact that she was wooed by a river-god, a terrifying monster, a marriage with whom she dreaded so much that she would rather die (16-17).

[2]   Sophocles *Trachiniae* 21-23
                                  καὶ τρόπον μὲν ἂν πόνων
οὐκ ἂν διείποιμ'· οὐ γὰρ οἶδ'· ἀλλ' ὅστις ἦν
θακῶν ἀταρβὴς τῆς θέας, ὅδ' ἂν λέγοι.

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[19]   Cf. further *Aj.* 569; *Ant.* 198; *Ph.* 1261; A. *A.* 1035; *Cho.* 252; *Th.* 609, 658; E. *Heracl.* 642; *Andr.* 804; *Suppl.* 928; *Ph.* 987; *Ba.* 230, 913. Occasionally, the apposition does not contain a name but a periphrasis: S. *Aj.* 1228; E. *El.* 339; *Hel.* 1673. This type of expression is also regularly found in the speeches of Demosthenes, e.g. 19.152.4; 23.189.5; 24.7.1.
[20]   Kühner-Gerth (1898-1904: 1.283): 'An der Stelle einer erklärenden Apposition wird, wenn dieselbe nachdrücklich hervorgehoben werden soll, bisweilen der Verb λέγω (ich meine) gebraucht... Bei den Tragikern wird auf diese Weise der Eigenname hervorgehoben.'
[21]   I think of E. *Andr.* 804; *Ba.* 230 (*variatio*); *Hel.* 1673.

And the manner of his struggle I cannot tell; for I do not know it. Someone sitting there who was not terrified by the spectacle could tell (but I was too terrified to watch).

This is a very marked narratorial intervention, which consists of two elements. In the first place, the narrator Deanira states that she is not able to tell a certain part of her story. The same happens in four other Sophoclean narratives, and the creation of 'defective narrators' seems a specialism of this playwright.[22] Deanira increases the effect of this narratorial intervention by adding the device of the 'anonymous witness', for which one could compare *Iliad* 13.343-4:

[3] Homer *Iliad* 13.343-344
                    μάλα κεν θρασυκάρδιος εἴη
ὅς τότε γηθήσειεν ἰδὼν πόνον οὐδ' ἀκάχαιτο.

And very stouthearted would be the man who could then, seeing their toil, rejoice and not feel sorrow.[23]

The total effect of these two combined comments is to impress on the narratee the enormity of the clash between god (in bull shape: cf. 507-8) and hero.

[4] Sophocles *Trachiniae* 26-27
τέλος δ' ἔθηκε Ζεὺς ἀγώνιος καλῶς,
εἰ δὴ καλῶς.

But finally Zeus of battles well ended the battle, if indeed it is well.

We are here dealing with a metanarrative comment, i.e. a comment through which a narrator comments on his own presentation of the story. Its form, an elliptic conditional with the particle δή, has been discussed by Wakker in her study on the Greek conditional.[24] She analyses it as an instance of an illocutional conditional, i.e., a conditional which specifies 'a condition for the appropriateness or relevance (for the addressee) of the speech act currently performed by the speaker' (1994: 238). Deanira here comments on the appropriateness of her use of the word καλῶς. Wakker's analysis

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[22] The other instances are *Aj.* 294-6; *Ant.* 249-52; *OT* 1251-5; *OC* 656-62. For discussion see Barrett (2002: 190-222) and De Jong (forthc.).
[23] For discussion in Homer, see De Jong ([1987]2004²: 57-60); for examples from other authors, see De Jong-Nünlist-Bowie (2004: index).
[24] Wakker (1994: 356).

confirms from the linguistic side that this narratorial intervention is directed at a narratee.

5   *Signs of the Narratee 2: Interactional Particles*

Another sign of the narratee is the presence of interactional particles, i.e. particles which deal with 'the relation of a discourse unit to its non-verbal, communicative environment'.[25] Deanira's speech appears to contain three instances of such an interactional particle, namely δή:[26]

> [4]   Sophocles *Trachiniae* 26-27
> τέλος δ᾽ ἔθηκε Ζεὺς ἀγώνιος καλῶς,
> εἰ **δὴ** καλῶς.

> [5]   Sophocles *Trachiniae* 31
> κἀφύσαμεν **δὴ** παῖδας

> [6]   Sophocles *Trachiniae* 36-37
> νῦν δ᾽ ἡνίκ᾽ ἄθλων τῶνδ᾽ ὑπερτελὴς ἔφυ,
> ἐνταῦθα **δὴ** μάλιστα ταρβήσας ἔχω.

The repeated presence of this interactional particle in itself suggests once again the existence of a narratee. But I can strengthen my position by comparing Deanira's *rhesis* with two *rheseis* the status of which as real monologues is not doubted by anyone: the opening speech of the watchman in Aeschylus *Agamemnon* (1-21) and Ajax' monologue before his suicide in Sophocles *Ajax* (815-65). In both these monologues the particle δή does not appear once.[27]

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[25]   Wakker (1997: 211), who bases herself on Kroon (1995: 61-2 and 103-108).
[26]   The exact value of this interactional particle is debated: emphatic (Denniston 1954: 203-229), marking importance (Ruijgh 1971: 646-7, followed by Wakker 1994: 351), or evidential, 'as you and I know' (Sicking & Van Ophuijsen 1993: 81-3 and 140-51; Bakker 1997b: 75-6, 78-9). I am inclined to accept the evidential value, noting that this value often will have emphasis as a corrolary effect.
[27]   At first sight the presence of δή in Prometheus' monologue in A. *Pr.* (118) would seem to be a counterexample. However, Prometheus at this stage of his monologue has already noticed the presence of the chorus, which is entering the orchestra, and is addressing them. The one instance of δή in Electra's monologue in S. *El.* (103) seems triggered by the fact that from 100 onwards she is apostrophizing her father Agamemnon.

What is the effect of δή in the prologue of the *Trachiniae*? Regarding line 27 Jebb (1903: ad loc.) sets the tone when writing 'the tone of εἰ δή is sceptical', a view which is followed by Easterling (1982: *ad loc.*). This view is correct, provided we realize, with Denniston and Wakker, that this combination does not always, or automatically, or in itself express scepsis, but only in certain contexts.[28] The presence of δή in 37 is discussed neither by Jebb or Easterling, which may be due to the fact that, according to Denniston (1954: 224), 'the use of δή with or without a temporal or modal adverb to mark the opening of the apodosis after a temporal, causal, relative, or conditional protasis is exceedingly common in Homer and frequent throughout Greek literature.' Common or not, we may still ask ourselves what its effect is, and here I would say that it stresses the fact, known to both speaker and addressee, that exactly at the moment when Heracles' labours were over Deanira's fears increased. She thus points up the strange pattern of her life where every time the situation seems changed for the best, a new situation brings new fears.[29] The third instance of δή, in 31, is again not discussed by the commentators. Jebb translates 'And then children were born to us', Easterling 'Well (δή), we had children'. Both translations do not seem to me to do full justice to the force of the particle. Denniston hesitates between taking δή with καί or taking both particles separately.[30] I feel a slight preference for the second option: 'and we *did* (as you and I know) engender children'. In this way it prepares for the contrast to follow in the relative clause: we had children, but Heracles only very rarely saw them.

Deanira's repeated use of the interactional particle δή adds to the plaintive tone of her speech, which is clearly picked up by the nurse, who qualifies her words as πανδάκρυτ' ὀδύρματα, 'tearful lamentation' (50-1).

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[28] Denniston (1954: 223); Wakker (1994: 356).
[29] A good analysis of this pattern in Kraus (1991: 79-81).
[30] Denniston (1954: 254-5).

6   *Signs of the Narratee 3: Tenses*

In Deanira's narrative we find — for the main storyline — three
tenses: aorist (bold), imperfect (underlined), and present (italic):

[7] Sophocles *Trachiniae* 6-48

ἥτις πατρὸς μὲν ἐν δόμοισιν Οἰνέως
ναίουσ' ἔτ' ἐν Πλευρῶνι νυμφείων ὄτλον
ἄλγιστον **ἔσχον**, εἴ τις Αἰτωλὶς γυνή.
μνηστὴρ γὰρ ἦ̲ν̲ μοι ποταμός, Ἀχελῷον λέγω,
ὅς μ' ἐν τρισὶν μορφαῖσιν ἐ̲ξ̲ῄ̲τ̲ε̲ι̲ πατρός,   10
φοιτῶν ἐναργὴς ταῦρος, ἄλλοτ' αἰόλος
δράκων ἑλικτός, ἄλλοτ' ἀνδρείῳ κύτει
βούπρῳρος· ἐκ δὲ δασκίου γενειάδος
κρουνοὶ δ̲ι̲ε̲ρ̲ρ̲α̲ί̲ν̲ο̲ν̲τ̲ο̲ κρηναίου ποτοῦ.
τοιόνδ' ἐγὼ μνηστῆρα προσδεδεγμένη   15
δύστηνος ἀεὶ κατθανεῖν ἐ̲π̲η̲υ̲χ̲ό̲μ̲η̲ν̲,
πρὶν τῆσδε κοίτης ἐμπελασθῆναί ποτε.
χρόνῳ δ' ἐν ὑστέρῳ μέν, ἀσμένη δέ μοι,
ὁ κλεινὸς **ἦλθε** Ζηνὸς Ἀλκμήνης τε παῖς·
ὃς εἰς ἀγῶνα τῷδε συμπεσὼν μάχης   20
ἐκλύεταί με. καὶ τρόπον μὲν ἂν πόνων
οὐκ ἂν διείποιμ'· οὐ γὰρ οἶδ'· ἀλλ' ὅστις ἦν
θακῶν ἀταρβὴς τῆς θέας, ὅδ' ἂν λέγοι.
ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤ̲μ̲η̲ν̲ ἐκπεπληγμένη φόβῳ
μή μοι τὸ κάλλος ἄλγος ἐξεύροι ποτέ.   25
τέλος δ' **ἔθηκε** Ζεὺς ἀγώνιος καλῶς,
εἰ δὴ καλῶς. λέχος γὰρ Ἡρακλεῖ κριτὸν
ξυστᾶς ἀεί τιν' ἐκ φόβου φόβον τρέφω,
κείνου προκηραίνουσα. νὺξ γὰρ εἰσάγει
καὶ νὺξ ἀπωθεῖ διαδεδεγμένη πόνον.   30
κἀφύσαμεν δὴ παῖδας, οὓς κεῖνός ποτε,
γῄτης ὅπως ἄρουραν ἔκτοπον λαβών,
σπείρων μόνον **προσεῖδε** κἀξαμῶν ἅπαξ·
τοιοῦτος αἰὼν εἰς δόμους τε κἀκ δόμων
ἀεὶ τὸν ἄνδρ' ἔ̲π̲ε̲μ̲π̲ε̲ λατρεύοντά τῳ.   35
νῦν δ' ἡνίκ' ἄθλων τῶνδ' ὑπερτελὴς **ἔφυ**,
ἐνταῦθα δὴ μάλιστα ταρβήσας ἔχω.
ἐξ οὗ γὰρ **ἔκτα** κεῖνος Ἰφίτου βίαν,
ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐν Τραχῖνι τῇδ' ἀνάστατοι
ξένῳ παρ' ἀνδρὶ *ναίομεν*, κεῖνος δ' ὅπου   40
βέβηκεν οὐδεὶς οἶδε· πλὴν ἐμοὶ πικρὰς
ὠδῖνας αὐτοῦ προσβαλὼν *ἀποίχεται*.
σχεδὸν δ' *ἐπίσταμαί* τι πῆμ' ἔχοντά νιν·
χρόνον γὰρ οὐχὶ βαιόν, ἀλλ' ἤδη δέκα
μῆνας πρὸς ἄλλοις πέντ' ἀκήρυκτος *μένει*.   45

κἄστιν τι δεινὸν πῆμα· τοιαύτην ἐμοὶ
δέλτον λιπὼν ἔστειχε· τὴν ἐγὼ θαμὰ
θεοῖς ἀρῶμαι πημονῆς ἄτερ λαβεῖν.

Most presents refer to events at the moment of speaking (40, 42, 43, 45, 46, 48), but there is one historic present (21), by which Deanira marks a decisive moment in her story, her rescue by Heracles.[31] For the imperfects and aorists I would, combining the ideas of Rijksbaron and Sicking,[32] propose the following analysis: the aorists in 8, 19, 26, 31, 33, 36, and 38 give the main events of Deanira's story: her wooing by Achelous, the timely arrival of Heracles, his victory with the help of Zeus, their getting children, and Heracles' killing of Iphitus. The series of imperfects in 9-16 work out the (complexive) aorist ὄτλον ἄλγιστον ἔσχον and scenically paint the wooing by Achelous. In the same way the imperfect ἤμην in 24 evokes the picture of Deanira sitting near the place where the two men fight for her hand. Or, in the terminology of Bakker, using the imperfects Deanira employs a 'mimetic' mode of narration, which means that she recounts as an observer, the observer she has actually been in the past.[33] The imperfect ἔστειχε in 47, finally, is a typical case of what Rijksbaron has called the expectation raising use of the imperfect:[34] Heracles went away some fifteen months ago and Deanira is eager to know how the story proceeds, what has happened to him since.

In my view this careful and functional alternation of tenses is one more indication that Deanira is directing her story at someone. In particular the historic present in 21 and the scenic or mimetic imperfects in 9-16 and 24 add relief to her account: she seems to relive the past and thereby make her narratee experience it with her.[35]

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[31] For recent views on the historic present, see Sicking & Stork (1997) and Rijksbaron (2006). The latter gives the following definition: 'An important function of these presents is to present events that the narrator considers crucial or decisive for the development of the plot' (128).

[32] Rijksbaron (2002³a: 11-14) and Sicking (1996: 74-105).

[33] Bakker (1997a).

[34] Rijksbaron (2002³a: 13-14).

[35] I therefore disagree with Kraus (1991: 79), when she claims that Deanira 'underscores her own distance from the happenings — and hence their status as reported rather than experienced events — by describing the fight as a spectacle (θέας: 23)'; similarly Heiden (1989: 21) and Ringer (1998: 53). I would explain θέας

7   Trachiniae *1-48: a New Appraisal*

In 1811 the German literary critic A.W. Schlegel called Deanira's *rhesis* 'wholly uncalled for'.[36] This negative appreciation has been replaced by a more positive one by, amongst others, Hulton and Martina.[37] The above analysis has, I hope, further contributed to its — and Sophocles' — rehabilitation. Deanira is telling her story not merely to herself, but in her narrative is staging a narratee, a role which she expects the one person present on stage, the nurse, to slip into. Her speech, therefore, in my view is part of a dialogue.

A final question is why Sophocles gave the prologue this particular form. Here it is instructive to compare the opening of his *Antigone*: Antigone utters a speech of ten lines which, though containing a similar kind of information as Deanira's (the life of Antigone and Ismene is one chain of sorrows, the latest of which is Creon's proclamation forbidding the burial of their brother Polynices), has a very different form: she starts with a verse-long address of Ismene and proceeds with a series of questions directed to her. Antigone obviously not merely provides her sister with information, but wants to persuade her to act upon that information. Against this background we may better understand Deanira's *rhesis*: though she is sharing her feelings with her servant, she is not actively seeking her help or advice. This observation fits in well with the thesis of March, who argues that Sophocles' Deanira is a very different character than she was in the tradition before him: 'from a jealous and deliberate murderess he transformed her into woman who acts foolishly but in all innocence from love'.[38] In order to impress this new Deanira on his audience he portrays her in the prologue as a very fearful and inactive person. The unusual form of her opening speech, which though part of a dialogue, nevertheless

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differently and connect it with ἀγώνων and ῥαβδονόμει in 506, 516: the fight over Deanira is consistently presented in terms of an (athletic) contest.

[36] Schlegel (1809-11: 109); I quote the English translation from 1846. Cf. also Whitman ([1951]1966: 48): 'Even the prologue, with its direct expository narrative ... gives a homely and thoroughly Euripidean picture, *having little to do with the main action*. This prologue is not stiff or archaic; it is only a little *inorganic...*'(my italics).

[37] Hulton (1969) and Martina (1980).

[38] March (1987: 62-77).

nowhere directly addresses its interlocutor, forms an important part of this portrayal and reveals Sophocles' sure hand in character drawing.

I now turn to the second part of my paper, in which I will discuss the monological status of the Euripidean prologues, to which Deanira's speech has so often been compared.

8   *Euripidean Prologues and Audience Address*

The plays of Euripides open with a *rhesis* by a person who either is alone on stage or (occasionally) surrounded by non-speaking protagonists or mutes.[39] Since the prologue-speaker is either alone or, when other persons are present on stage, not addressing them and referring to them in the third person (and hence ignoring them *qua* interlocutors), his *rhesis* is generally labeled a monologue. In his opening *rhesis* he gives a fairly comprehensive account of the prehistory of the play about to start. In most cases these narratives are unmotivated: the speaker has not been asked by someone to tell something, as is the case e.g. in the narratives told by messengers, but spontaneously and without any direct reason embarks on his story. Only occasionally has Euripides attempted some mild form of motivation, e.g. by making the narrative a *Selbstgespräch*, a prayer, or by making prologue-speakers apostrophize part of the (imagined or scenically represented) setting and telling their story to these inanimate objects.[40]

Scholars agree that the Euripidean prologue-*rhesis* is an efficient instrument which the playwright uses to inform his audience about the particular version of the myth he is following, his own adaptations, and often about the play's *dénouement*. Giving them an advantage in knowledge Euripides could create all kind of special

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[39] *Heracl.* (mutes); *Suppl.* (mutes, chorus, Adrastus); *HF* (mutes, Megara); *Tro.* (Hecuba); *Or.* (sleeping Orestes).
[40] *Selbstgespräch*: *Med.* (cf. 51); prayer: *Suppl.*; speaking to the air: *IT* (cf. 43); apostrophe: *Alc., Andr., El., Ph.*

effects in the ensuing play, in which we see characters act who are not endowed with this vital information, usually at their cost.[41]

There is less consensus, however, on the exact status of the prologue-*rhesis*. Most scholars assume that the prologue-*rhesis* is directed at the spectators, in other words, that this is a case where the 'absolute autonomy' of a dramatic utterance is ruptured (see note 18) and a dramatic character does acknowledge the presence of the spectators. Some assume direct audience address (1-3), others indirect audience address (4-5):

1) νῦν δὲ ψυχρῶς τῷ θεάτρῳ προσδιαλέγεται, 'now he [Poseidon] in a cold manner speaks to the audience' (scholion ad *Tro* 36).

2) the prologue is 'spoken to no-one but the audience in the theatre' (Goldhill 1986: 246).

3) 'Im Prolog wendet sich der Dichter unmittelbar an die Zuschauer' (Pohlenz [1930]1954: 436).

4) 'Die in ihnen [Prologen] enthaltenene Informationen sind deutlich, ja oft überdeutlich als Informationen markiert, die im inneren Kommunikationssystem keine Funktion haben, also als Adressaten — auch wenn nie eine ausdrückliche Wendung *ad spectatores* erfolgt — das Publikum ansprechen' (Danek 1992: 19-20).

5) 'Although the audience is nowhere explicitly addressed in Greek tragedy there are many places in the prologues of Euripides where the distinction between direct address to the audience and a manner of speech which the audience could interpret as addressed to itself is of no importance in the practical circumstances of theatrical performance' (Hunter 1985: 25).[42]

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[41] Cf., e.g. Lessing ([1769]1963: 195-7): increases tragic nature and raises the spectators' pity; Grube ([1941]1961: 64); Erbse (1984: 7-8): 'Der rechtzeitig augeklärte Zuschauer nimmt gewissermassen einen erhöhten Standpunkt ein, von dem aus er den Fortgang des Spieles mit innerer Überlegenheit verfolgen und beurteilen kann, ohne indessen sein Mitleid mit der tragischen Verblendung des Handelnden zu verlieren'; Danek (1992: 35-6).

[42] Cf. further, e.g.. Lessing ([1769]1963: 194); Leo (1908: 25); Schadewaldt ([1926]1966: 10); Erbse (1984: 64); Cropp (2000: 171).

There are also scholars, however, notably Bain and Taplin, who claim that Attic drama does not feature any form of audience address, and hence reject positions 1-3, and, it would seem, also positions 4-5.[43]

In the following I will defend the position of indirect audience address. I will investigate the same narratological and linguistic criteria as in the first part of my paper and again argue that these conjure up the picture of a narratee, with whom in this case — in the absence of onstage interlocutors — the spectators are supposed to identify.

9   *Signs of the Narratee 1: Deictic Pronouns*

In his paper on audience address Bain discusses one example from a prologue, *Tro.* 36-7, which had traditionally been adduced as an instance of audience address:

> [8]   Euripides *Troades* 36-37
>   τὴν δ' ἀθλίαν **τήνδ**' εἴ **τις** εἰσορᾶν θέλει,
> πάρεστιν Ἑκάβη κειμένη πυλῶν πάρος

> If anyone wants to see the poor woman here, Hecuba is present lying in front of the door

'Der Zuschauer, der diese Worte unbefangen vernimmt, muss sich mit dem τις angesprochen fühlen', writes Schadewaldt ([1926]1966: 10).[44] But Bain counters: it need not be the spectators who feel

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[43] Bain (1975), reiterated in Bain (1987: 2); Taplin (1977: 129-34), reiterated in Taplin (1986: 166). I find it difficult to make out whether Bain would allow the prologue to be indirectly addressed to the public; cf. Bain (1987: 2): 'There are in tragedy occasions *when it is easy to gain the impression* that there is some such direct communication between actor and audience and an admission that proceedings are taking place in a theatre. This is particularly true of the prologues of Euripides...Even so such passages contain no mention of spectators or second-person plural verbs.' (my italics); is this a 'yes' or 'no'? Taplin does not consider the question of the addressee relevant at all: 'Some unnecessary complication has been made by the rigid application of the question 'who is this addressed to?'; for in many theatrical contexts, most notably in prologues and choral songs, the question does not really arise.'(1977: 131-2, note 4).

[44] Cf. scholion; Leo (1908: 25); Erbse (1984 : 64). Contrast Lee (1976: ad 37-8): 'the words constitute a stage-direction addressed *to the producer* wich Eur. has integrated into Poseidon's speech as best as he could' (my italics). Cf. Barlow (1986: ad 36-7): 'It

themselves addressed when hearing *tis*; 'of mortals' can as easily be mentally supplied. This may be true, but there is also the demonstrative τήνδε, not discussed by Bain, by which the speaker points at Hecuba, a gesture which can only be intended for the spectators.

Indeed, the prologues abound with this demonstrative pronoun with deictic force, and this has led scholars to take them as arguments in favour of audience address. I tend to agree with them, but the case needs careful arguing, since in fact we do find the same pronoun in the monologues of the watchman in Aeschylus *Agamenon* and of Ajax in Sophocles *Ajax*;[45] so in principle speakers can also use ὅδε when they are alone and speaking with themselves.

In the prologues of Euripides we find the pronoun used in the first place to indicate the scene where the play is set, e.g. *Ba.* 1:

[9] Euripides *Bacchae* 1
Ἥκω Διὸς παῖς **τήνδε** Θηβαίαν χθόνα

I, son of Zeus, has come to the Theban land here[46]

These instances do not seem to imply a gesture. Things are getting different when the pronoun is used in connection with the *skènè*-building or props. An example is *Tro.* 32-3:

[10] Euripides *Troades* 32-33
ὅσαι δ ἄκληροι Τρωιάδων', ὑπὸ στέγαις
ταῖσδε εἰσί[47]

The Trojan women who have not been assigned yet are in this tent

It seems highly plausible that the pronoun has its full deictic force and is accompanied by a gesture here.[48] And such a gesture implies

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is by way of a stage-direction *to the audience and producer* indicating Hecuba's position' (my italics).
   [45] *Ag.* 18 (οἴκου τοῦδε), 35 (τῇδε...χερί); *Aj.* 828 (τῷδε...ξίφει), 834 (τῷδε φασγάνῳ).
   [46] Cf. *Alc.* 8; *Med.* 10; *Heracl.* 34; *Hipp.* 12; *Andr.* 16; *Hec.* 8; *Suppl.* 1-2; *El.* 6; *HF* 8; *Tro.* 4; *IT* 30; *Ion* 5; *Hel.* 4; *Ph.* 5-6; *Or.* 46.
   [47] Cf. *Alc.* 9, 23; *Heracl.* 42; *Andr.* 21, 24, 34-5, 43-4; *Suppl.* 30; *HF* 44, 48, 51; *IT* 34, 41, 65-6; *Ion* 39, 66, 69, 76, *Hel.* 8, 46, 64; *Ph.* 68, 79; *Ba.* 6-7, 60. It should be noted that the use of deictic demonstratives need not imply the presence of painted decors. We may be dealing with a *Deixis am Phantasma* rather than a *demonstratio ad oculos*.
   [48] Cf. England ([1886]1960: ad *IT* 66): "I will go into this house (pointing to it)".

an addressee, a narratee. There can, finally, be no doubt that the pronoun is accompanied by a gesture, when it is used to refer to silent persons on stage. An example is *Tro.* 36-7, already mentioned, and there are many more. A particular forceful instance is *Suppl.* 20-2:

> [11] Euripides *Supplices* 20-22
> κοινὸν δὲ φόρτον **ταῖσδ**’ ἔχων χρείας ἐμῆς
> Ἄδραστος ὄμμα δάκρυσιν τέγγων **ὅδε**
> κεῖται[49]

> Sharing the burden of these women's appeal to me Adrastus here lies upon the ground, his face wet with tears

Here we still could take ταῖσδ’ as anaphoric, referring back to the 'mothers' of the previous sentence;[50] but we really need a gesture or at least a gaze of the speaker in order to understand who 'Adrastus here' is.[51]

10   *Signs of the Narratee 2: Narratorial Interventions*

Like the prologue of the *Trachiniae*, Euripidean prologues regularly contain narratorial interventions. The prologue of the *Orestes*, spoken by Electra, in particular abounds with them (11-27):

> [12] Euripides *Orestes* 11-27
> 'This man begot Pelops, who was the father of Atreus.
> For Atreus the Goddess ... spun a destiny
> of strife, that he should make war on his brother Thyestes.
> **But why should I go over this shocking tale**?
> To Atreus (**I pass over intervening events**) were born

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[49] Cf. *Alc.* 24 (announcement of entrance new character); *Med.* 46-8; *Heracl.* 11, 24, 37, 40, 49 (announcement), 53; *Hipp.* 51 (announcement); *Hec.* 53 (announcement); *Suppl.* 8-9; *HF* 9, 42; *Ion* 79 (announcement); *Or.* 35. Special instances are *El.* 43 and *HF* 3, where ὅδε is used as an emphatic variant of 'I'; cf. Kühner-Gerth (1898-1904: 1.643). This idiom regularly occurs in dialogue (S. *Ph.* 1036, 1375; *Aj.* 78; *Ant.* 1035; *OC* 1329; E. *Alc.* 331, 689; *Med.* 1337), but once in a monologue (*Aj.* 822).

[50] Other instances of anaphoric or kataphoric ὅδε: *Alc.* 7; *Med.* 39; *Heracl.* 17; *Hipp.* 7, 9, 20, 41; *Andr.* 37; *Hec.* 42; *Suppl.* 8, 17, 35; *El.* 25, 31; *IT* 33, 43, 53; *Ion* 28; *Hel.* 37, 56; *Ph.* 9.

[51] Cf. Allan (2001: ad *Heracl.*11): 'Iol. points to the suppliants grouped around him at the altar'; Willink (1986: ad *Or.*35): 'ὅδε is indispensable (with a gesture)'.

Agamemnon the glorious and Menelaus...
Clytemnestra entangled her husband in an endless woven garment
and killed him. Why she did so **it does not befit a maiden
to say: for discussion in public I leave this unclear**.'[52]

Electra's expression 'for discussion in public', ἐν κοινῷ σκοπεῖν, is
perhaps most significant for my argument: it is made explicitly clear
that Electra is not narrating to herself or talking to the sleeping
Orestes on stage but addressing a public.

   Under this heading I would also range the use of a rhetorical
question, such as found in *HF* 1-2:

[13] Euripides *Hercules Furens* 1-2
τίς τὸν Διὸς σύλλεκτρον οὐκ οἶδεν βροτῶν,
Ἀργεῖον Ἀμφιτρύων' (...);

What mortal does not know the man who shared his bed with Zeus,
Amphitryon of Argos (...)?

As the addition βροτῶν makes clear, the spectators are not supposed
to feel directly addressed by the τίς, but it is the use of a rhetorical
question *itself* which presupposes an addressee.

11   *Signs of the Narratee 3: Entrance Announcements*

My third category of signs is of a dramaturgical nature. In the course
of a meticulous study on 'announced entrances in Greek tragedy'
Hamilton lays down the rule that 'if there is only one person on
stage, the entrance will not be announced'.[53] In a number of
prologues we do find entrance announcements, despite the fact that
the prologue-speaker is alone, and 'the natural conclusion', writes
Hamilton, is that the speaker 'is speaking to the audience'. An
example is *Ion* 76-9:

[14] Euripides *Ion* 76-79
ἀλλ' ἐς δαφνώδη γύαλα βήσομαι τάδε
(...).
ὁρῶ γὰρ ἐκβαίνοντα Λοξίου γόνον
τόνδε

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[52] Other examples: *El.* 43; *IT* 37; *Hel.* 21, 22-3; *Ph.* 43.
[53] Hamilton (1978: 68).

But I will hide in this laurel-bush (...). For I see the son of Loxias here coming out[54]

The analysis of passages like these as being directed at the spectators is underscored by the invariable presence of deictic ὅδε.

12   *Signs of the Narratee 4+5: Interactional Particles and Tenses*

A fourth category, which so far has not been brought forward in connection with the Euripidean prologue, is, again, the interactional particle δή. It is found in increasing frequency in Euripidean prologues. The absolute champion here is the prologue of the *Orestes,* where it is found no less than 6 times.[55]

A last category is, again, the use of tenses. Euripidean prologues do not feature the kind of alternation between aorist and imperfect which we observed in S. *Trachiniae.* The main story line is told in a series of aorists.[56] However, we do regularly find historic presents which are a way of marking events as important and again presuppose an audience, to whom this special importance should be pointed out. An example is *Hel.* 22-36:

> [15] Euripides *Helena* 22-35
> Ἑλένη δ’ ἐκλήθην. ἃ δὲ πεπόνθαμεν κακὰ
> λέγοιμ’ ἄν. **ἦλθον** τρεῖς θεαὶ κάλλους πέρι
> Ἰδαῖον ἐς κευθμῶν’ Ἀλέξανδρον πάρα,
> Ἥρα Κύπρις τε διογενής τε παρθένος,   25
> μορφῆς θέλουσαι διαπεράνασθαι κρίσιν.
> τοὐμὸν δὲ κάλλος, εἰ καλὸν τὸ δυστυχές,
> Κύπρις προτείνασ’ ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος γαμεῖ,
> **νικᾶι.** λιπὼν δὲ βούσταθμ’ Ἰδαῖος Πάρις
> Σπάρτην **ἀφίκεθ**’ ὡς ἐμὸν σχήσων λέχος.   30
> Ἥρα δὲ μεμφθεῖσ’ οὕνεκ’ οὐ νικᾶι θεὰς
> **ἐξηνέμωσε** τἄμ’ Ἀλεξάνδρωι λέχη,
> **δίδωσι** δ’ οὐκ ἔμ’ ἀλλ’ ὁμοιώσασ’ ἐμοὶ
> εἴδωλον ἔμπνουν οὐρανοῦ ξυνθεῖσ’ ἄπο
> Πριάμου τυράννου παιδί   35

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[54] For other examples, see note 49.
[55] *Alc.* 5; *Hipp.* 7, 38; *El.* 31, 34, 36, 37, 43; *HF* 26, 41; *IT* 10, 43; *Hel.* 7, 17; *Or.* 17, 32, 39, 52, 56, 62.
[56] A complete inventory and discussion of the tenses (and moods) used in Euripidean prologues can be found in Van Wolferen (2003).

The main storyline proceeds by means of aorists (24, 31, 33), but Paris' choice of Helen's beauty and Hera's gift of the phantom to Paris are marked as crucial through historic presents (30, 34).

13   *Euripidean Prologues as Diaphonic Monologues*

Having argued that the Euripidean prologues contain many signs of a narratee, with which the spectators are invited to identify, I end up with a terminological problem: can we still call such prologue-*rheseis* monologues? A perusal of the commentaries on Euripides learns that though most scholars agree that the Euripidean prologues are directed at the spectators, they continue calling them monologues: 'Eur. regularly begins his play with a monologue which is directed to the audience' runs a fairly representative quotation, taken from the commentary on the *Ion* by Lee (1997: 160). In remarks such as these the term monologue seems to be taken in a rather broad sense, such as is defined, e.g. in Cuddon's *Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*: 'a single person speaking alone — with or without an audience'.

This may be a fitting definition when one takes into account the entire European literature, as Cuddon does, who takes his examples from Strindberg, Shakespeare, and Tennyson. It remains to be seen, however, whether the situation in early Greek literature does not ask for a more restricted definition. Here it would seem that what constitutes a monologue is not merely that a speaker is alone on stage but foremost that he is not addressing someone, but speaking to himself. This is very clear in the case of what can be considered the forerunner of the monologue in drama, the Homeric monologue: the speaker is alone and addresses his *thumos* (cf., e.g. *Il.* 11.403, 407). In the Euripidean prologue, with the exception of the prologue of the *Medea,* there is no sign of a character addressing himself. This led Schadewaldt ([1926]1966: 11) to the following conclusion: 'als Monologe im eigentlichem Sinn kann die grosse Menge der euripideischen Prologreden nicht angesehen werden'. My investigation of the many signs of a narratee supports Schadewaldt's conclusion: not only is the prologue-speaker not talking to himself, but he is clearly envisaging an addressee. How are we to classify such texts?

Here I take recourse, once again and much in the spirit of the theme of this volume, to linguistic theory, specifically the terminology introduced into classical scholarship by Kroon (1995). The prologue *rheseis* would at first sight have to be classified as monological monologal discourse, i.e. a text which is produced by one speaker and which consists of a single move.[57] But at the same time these monological monologal prologues contain so many 'dialogical' features as to belong to the diaphonic discourse type: 'The label 'diaphonic' (...) can be attached to any monological stretch of text that somehow displays the features of a communicative interaction, without having all formal characteristics of a dialogical discourse type (i.e. without having an actual exchange structure)'.[58] Interestingly enough, many of the diaphonic features which Kroon (1995: 114-15) lists resemble my narratological signs of the narratee: historic presents, metacommunicative expressions, and rhetorical questions.

Taking all these observations together my suggestion would be to consider the Euripidean prologues diaphonic monologues, monologues, that is, which are spoken by one speaker who is alone or surrounded by mute characters, but which contain many signs of a narratee /diaphonic elements, and thereby invite the spectators to feel addressed. If I would have to give a parallel for this kind of storytelling, by one speaker but with obvious acknowledgement of an audience, it would be the Homeric epics.[59] It has often been remarked, from Plato in his *Ion* onwards,[60] that the Homeric rhapsodes in fact were some sort of actors. Why would Euripides not have hit upon the idea to turn his prologue-speaker into some kind of rhapsode?[61]

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[57] Kroon (1995: 109-10).

[58] Kroon (1995: 112).

[59] I owe this suggestion to Michael Lloyd. For signs of the narratee in the Homeric epics, see De Jong ([1987]2004²: 54-60).

[60] *Ion* 536a1, 532d7.

[61] I only make this comparison where the *performance* of the narratives is concerned; turning to their content and narrative situation, we may observe many differences between epic narrators and prologue-narrators. Traditionally, it is the Euripidean messenger-speech which is compared to epic storytelling, in my view unconvincingly: see de Jong (1991); the idea is taken up again by Barrett (2002).

14   *Conclusion*

In this paper I have discussed two (groups of) dramatic texts which are generally considered monologues: S. *Trachiniae* 1-48 and Euripidean prologues. Using a combined set of narratological and linguistic criteria I have pointed out a considerable number of signs of the narratee, which make the qualification of monologue questionable. In the case of the *Trachiniae* the allusive narrative style, clearly meant for an insider, and the presence of the Nurse on stage, who moreover in her opening speech reacts to Deanira's words, suggest that Deanira's speech is part of a dialogue and that she expects the Nurse to identify with this narratee. In the case of Euripidean prologues their detailed nature and the absence of possible interlocutors on stage points at the spectators as the ones who are supposed to identify with this narratee. Rather than monologues *tout court* I have suggested to call Euripidean prologues 'diaphonic' monologues. Euripides as good as breaks the dramatic illusion or ruptures the 'absolute autonomy' of his drama, allowing himself indirect audience address. Dramatists coming after him will take the last step and, instead of using the construction of a text-internal narratee with whom the spectators can identify, will allow their prologue-speakers to address the spectators directly.[62]

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[62] Cf. e.g. Menander *Dysc.* 45-6.

MYTHICAL CHRONOLOGY IN THE ODES OF PINDAR. THE CASES OF *PYTHIAN* 10 AND *OLYMPIAN* 3

Lukas van den Berge

1 *Introduction*[1]

In his *Vorlesungen über Syntax*, Wackernagel argues that Greek tenses do not differentiate between different levels in the past. This lack of differentiation is ascribed to a disinterest in relative chronology on the part of the language user:

> Es war dem Griechen eben (...) nicht daran gelegen, zwischen verschiedenen Vergangenheiten zu unterscheiden.[2]

Along the same lines, Schwyzer and Debrunner's analysis of the Greek tenses presupposes a similar indifference with regard to various temporal levels, or *Zeitstufen*, of the past. In their *Griechische Grammatik*, they attribute this to what they presume to be Ancient Greek *Weltanschaung*, with more prominence given to the present and the future than to the past:

> Ein Volk und eine Sprache, die in ihrer Gegenwart aufgehen, brauchen diese [Zeitstufen] nicht durch besondere Verbalformen auszudrücken, und die Zukunft wird ihnen wichtiger sein als die Vergangenheit.[3]

How do Pindar's myths fit in with this (supposed) disregard for levels in time?

Instead of representing the past in a chronologically straightforward manner, Pindar's stories are usually characterized by an intricate ordering of their events. How are we, while

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[2] Wackernagel (1926: 152).
[3] Schwyzer & Debrunner (1950: 253-254).

interpreting Pindar's odes, supposed to rearrange these events in their chronological sequence? Or should we follow critics like Hermann Fränkel, who argues that Pindar's odes reflect an archaic awareness of time in which the relative chronology of past events is often disregarded?[4] In that case, we may not have to bother about a chronological sequence, assuming that Pindar and his audience did not care about dividing the past in various *Zeitstufen.* In this paper, the issue of chronology will be investigated with specific regard to the myths of *Pythian* 10 and *Olympian* 3.

2   *The Myth of* Pythian *10*

In the myth of *Pythian* 10, we learn about Perseus' visit to the sacred abode of the Hyperboreans:[5]

[1] Pindar *Pythian* 10.29-49
   Ναυσὶ δ' οὔτε πεζὸς ἰών <κεν> εὕροις
ἐς Ὑπερβορέων ἀγῶνα θαυμαστὰν ὁδόν,   30

παρ' οἷς ποτε Περσεὺς ἐδαίσατο λαγέτας,
δώματ' ἐσελθών,
κλειτὰς ὄνων ἑκατόμβας θεῷ
ῥέζοντας· ὧν θαλίαις ἔμπεδον
εὐφαμίαις τε μάλιστ' Ἀπόλλων   35
χαίρει, γελᾷ θ' ὁρῶν ὕβριν ὀρθίαν κνωδάλων.

Μοῖσα δ' οὐκ ἀποδαμεῖ
τρόποις ἐπὶ σφετέροισι· παντᾷ δὲ
    χοροὶ παρθένων
λυρᾶν τε βοαὶ καναχαί τ' αὐλῶν δονέονται·
δάφνᾳ τε χρυσέᾳ κόμας ἀναδησαν-   40
    τες εἰλαπινάζοισιν εὐφρόνως.
Νόσοι δ' οὔτε γῆρας οὐλόμενον κέκραται
ἱερᾷ γενεᾷ· πόνων δὲ καὶ μαχᾶν ἄτερ

οἰκέοισι φυγόντες
ὑπέρδικον Νέμεσιν. Θρασείᾳ δὲ πνέων καρδίᾳ
μόλεν Δανάας ποτὲ παῖς, ἁγεῖτο δ' Ἀθάνα,   45
ἐς ἀνδρῶν μακάρων ὅμιλον· ἔπεφνεν
      τε Γοργόνα, καὶ ποικίλον κάρα
δρακόντων φόβαισιν ἤλυθε νασιώταις
λίθινον θάνατον φέρων.

Neither by ships nor on foot could one find
the marvelous road to the assembly of Hyperboreans.   30

Perseus once feasted with them, leader of men,
upon entering their halls,
while they sacrificed their glorious hecatombs
of asses to the god; in their banquets
and joyful speech Apollo finds greatest   35
delight, and laughs to see the beast's braying insolence.

Neither is the Muse absent
from their ways; everywhere choruses of maidens, sounds
of lyres and
shrillings of flutes are whirling;
with their hair crowned by golden laurel   40
      they feast joyfully.
Neither disease or bitter old age has mixed
with their holy race; without toils or battles

they dwell there, having escaped
severely just Nemesis. Breathing courage in his heart, the
son of Danae once came, Athena led him, to the throng of   45
the blessed; he slew the
      Gorgon, and, bearing her head adorned
with locks of serpents, came to the islanders,
bringing them stony death.

Syntactically, a reconstruction of the chronological sequence of the events in this myth is difficult to make. In line 31, παρ' οἷς ποτε, followed by the aorist ἐδαίσατο, takes us back to a mythical past, in which Perseus feasted with the Hyperboreans. What follows is a lengthy account of this people and their abode, which 'could neither be reached by ships nor on foot' (29-30); in line 44, the theme of Perseus and his adventures is taken up again, informing the audience about the guiding role of Athene, who had helped the hero to obtain the winged sandals that enabled him to travel where he wanted. Thus, the description of the Hyperboreans is firmly

embedded in a structure of ring-composition, indicating that ἐδαίσατο in line 31 and μόλεν in line 45 refer to events of the same expedition, both only vaguely located in a mythical past by means of the temporal adverb ποτε (31).

But what about the aorists ἔπεφνεν and ἤλυθε, which follow, respectively, in lines 46 and 47? The verbs refer to the slaying of the Gorgon and Perseus' revenge on Polydectes and his circle on the island of Seriphos, with the aorist stem characterizing these actions as completed.[6] The temporal point of orientation of these aorists, however, is not clear. For each particular verb, a reference point in time is not (to use a familiar phrase) *given by* the context, but can instead be *inferred from* the context in two distinctive ways. The first possibility is to relate the verbs to coding time, characterizing Perseus' actions as completed with regard to the moment of utterance. Another possibility would be to interpret the aorists as denoting a 'past-in-the-past', with a past reference point in time provided by the imperfect ἀγεῖτο.[7]

Scholarship on this passage has proved that solving this problem is not easy. Köhnken, for example, has argued that Perseus' slaying of the Gorgon and the petrification of his enemies on Seriphos should both be understood as *preceding* his stay with the Hyperboreans.[8] In that case, the Hyperborean bliss in which the hero is allowed to partake is presented as a reward for his outstanding achievement, which may thus be analogous with the victor's accomplishment in the games at Delphi. Within the web of analogies that may be created in this way, the Hyperborean banquet can be seen as representing the festive celebration as a part of which the ode may have been originally performed: the victorious return of Hippokleas, winner of the boys' *diaulos* in the Pythian games of the year 498 BC, to his native Thessaly, in northern Greece.

In an important article on ring-composition, however, Slater has argued for the opposite chronological sequence.[9] His argument is based on a structural analysis of the Perseus-myth; Slater describes

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[6] Cf., e.g. Rijksbaron (2002³a: 1-3).
[7] For the use of the aorist indicative to describe a 'past-in-the-past', see, e.g. Rijksbaron (2002³a: 20).
[8] Köhnken (1971: 177-178).
[9] Slater (1983: 128-132).

its lay-out as a case of epic regression, a form of multiple ring-composition that typically starts with a short synopsis of the story, unravels, to a certain point, the story backwards in time, and then moves forward again to reach its original point of departure. While analyzing the myth in this way, Slater points out that Perseus' actions in lines 46 and 47 are excluded from this epic regressive design, as they are only mentioned afterwards. Calling them 'terminal exploits', he indicates that, as a rule, terminal exploits chronologically follow after the body of the myth. Therefore, Perseus goes to the Hyperboreans first, and kills the Gorgon and petrifies the Seriphians later. According to Slater, Köhnken's quest for analogic function has led him astray while insisting on the opposite sequence; in Slater's view, the interpreter of the ode should not resort to *hyperexegesis*, but should instead be contented with the idea that Pindar's reference to Perseus' heroic actions has no encomiastic relevance at all.

In my view, Slater's analysis is forceful, but not entirely persuasive. First of all, one could question whether the myth should be analyzed as a *real* case of epic regression, thus identifying Perseus' courageous deeds as *real* terminal exploits. The life and abode of the Hyperboreans, for example, are described in the present tense only, without any movement backward or forward in time; in this way, their state of godlike bliss is presented as eternal.

But what is more: even if one accepts Slater's chronology, there is no need, I think, to interpret Perseus' heroic actions as irrelevant with regard to the ode's supposed encomiastic rhetoric. As has been widely studied and acknowledged since Jane Harrison's work on Greek religion, victors in sacred games were thought to return home with some sort of divine and talismanic power that they did not possess before.[10] This power could, of course, be beneficial to their native *polis*, but it could also be seen as a threat to the community's internal social harmony. One of the greatest threats that endanger this harmony would be embodied in *phthonos* from the part of the victor's fellow citizens. Therefore, it is one of the encomiast's central tasks to oppose this *phthonos* before it could even arise, thus assuring the victor of a harmonious return.

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[10] See, e.g. Harrison 1912; Crotty 1982; Kurke 1993.

Along these lines, analogies may be created differing considerably from the parallels that I have indicated above, which had Köhnken's chronological sequence as their point of departure. Within Slater's chronology, Perseus' *nostos* is directed to Seriphos, where he petrifies his enemies by showing them the Gorgon's head. Perhaps, Perseus' revengeful arrival may be thought of as a reference to Hippokleas' homecoming. In this way, Slater's redundant 'terminal exploits' would serve as a rhetoric of warning: it is not wise to be envious of a *Pythian* victor; any envy or slander will be mirrored and re-directed towards its originator.

By way of conclusion of my analysis of *Pythian* 10, I would say that there is no way in which the chronological sequence of the mythical events of the ode can be ascertained. It would be a mistake, however, to ascribe this either to some sort of archaic conception of time, in which different levels of pastness are not conceptualized, or to an utter disregard of temporal affairs. Instead, Pindar's ambiguous representation of the myth's chronological structure could be seen as highly effective from a rhetorical point of view. On the one hand, the blissful Hyperborean banquet in which Perseus once participated may be viewed as resembling the Thessalian celebration of the victor's achievements in Delphi. On the other hand, and at the same time, the audience may be warned implicitly not to aim any *phthonos* towards the victor, thus risking a divine resentment being directed towards themselves.

3   *The Myth of* Olympian *3*

In a number of ways, the case of Pindar's *Olympian* 3 is similar to that of *Pythian* 10. Again, the myth, describes an encounter with the Hyperboreans; and again, the chronological sequence of the events is heavily debated. The story runs as follows:

> [2]   Pindar *Olympian* 3.12-35
> (...) κόσμον ἐλαίας, τάν ποτε
> Ἴστρου ἀπὸ σκιαρᾶν
>   παγᾶν ἔνεικεν Ἀμφιτρυωνιάδας,
> μνᾶμα τῶν Ὀλυμπίᾳ κάλλιστον ἀέθλων,   15
>
> δᾶμον Ὑπερβορέων πείσαις Ἀπόλ-
>   λωνος θεράποντα λόγῳ·

πιστὰ φρονέων Διὸς αἴτει πανδόκῳ
ἄλσει σκιαρόν τε φύτευμα
    ξυνὸν ἀνθρώποις στέφανόν τ' ἀρετᾶν.
Ἤδη γὰρ αὐτῷ, πατρὶ μὲν βωμῶν ἁγι-
    σθέντων, διχόμηνις ὅλον χρυσάρματος
ἑσπέρας ὀφθαλμὸν ἀντέφλεξε Μήνα,   20

καὶ μεγάλων ἀέθλων ἁγνὰν κρίσιν
    καὶ πενταετηρίδ' ἁμᾶ
θῆκε ζαθέοις ἐπὶ κρημνοῖς Ἀλφεοῦ·
ἀλλ' οὐ καλὰ δένδρε' ἔθαλλεν
    χῶρος ἐν βάσσαις Κρονίου Πέλοπος.
Τούτων ἔδοξεν γυμνὸς αὐτῷ κᾶπος ὀ-
    ξείαις ὑπακουέμεν αὐγαῖς ἀελίου.
Δὴ τότ' ἐς γαῖαν πορεύεν θυμὸς ὥρμα   25

Ἰστρίαν νιν· ἔνθα Λατοῦς ἱπποσόα θυγάτηρ
δέξατ' ἐλθόντ' Ἀρκαδίας ἀπὸ δειρᾶν
    καὶ πολυγνάμπτων μυχῶν,
εὖτέ νιν ἀγγελίαις
    Εὐρυσθέος ἔντυ' ἀνάγκα πατρόθεν
χρυσόκερων ἔλαφον
    θήλειαν ἄξονθ', ἄν ποτε Ταϋγέτα
ἀντιθεῖσ' Ὀρθωσίας ἔγραψεν ἱεράν.   30

τὰν μεθέπων ἴδε καὶ κείναν χθόνα
    πνοιαῖς ὄπιθεν Βορέα
ψυχροῦ· τόθι θάμβαινε σταθείς.
Τῶν νιν γλυκὺς ἵμερος ἔσχεν
    δωδεκάγναμπτον περὶ τέρμα δρόμου
ἵππων φυτεῦσαι. καί νυν ἐς ταύταν ἑορ-
    τὰν ἵλαος ἀντιθέοισιν νίσεται
σὺν βαθυζώνου διδύμοις παισὶ Λήδας.   35

(...) adornment of olive, which once
Amphitryon's son brought
    from the shady springs of Ister
as the fairest memorial of the contests at Olympia,   15

after he persuaded the Hyperborean people,
    Apollo's servants, with his speech;
in sincerity of heart he requested for Zeus' all-welcoming
precinct a shady plant
    for men to share, and a crown for deeds of excellence.
Already the altars had been
    dedicated to his father, and Moon in golden chariot at

mid-month had her evening's full eye,   20

and he had established the holy judging of the
    great games, together with a four-year festival, on
Alpheos' sacred banks.
But the land of Pelops in the vales of Kronos'
    hill, was not flourishing with beautiful trees. Without
them, the enclosure seemed naked to
    him, and subject to the sun's piercing rays.
Then it was that his heart urged him to go   25

to the Istrian land, where Leto's horse-driving daughter
received him on his arrival from
    Arcadia's ridges and much-winding valleys,
when through the commands of Eurystheus
    his father's compulsion
impelled him to bring back
    the golden-horned doe, which once Taygeta
inscribed as a holy offering to Orthosia.   30

In pursuit of her he saw, among other places,
    that land behind the blasts of cold
Boreas; there he stood and wondered at the trees.
A sweet desire seized him
    to plant the trees around the twelve-lap turn
of the hippodrome. So, now he graciously
    comes to that festival, together with
the godlike twins, sons of deep-girdled Leda.   35

First, a quick glance at the story as it unfolds. In line 14, we are informed that Heracles, Amphitryon's son, 'once' introduced (ἔνεικεν) the olive tree in Olympia; thus, its foliage could serve as the fairest memorial of the sacred games. Subsequently, the story traces its steps backward in time, first mentioning the request that Heracles poses to the Hyperboreans to obtain the tree in line 17 (αἴτει). The movement backward is continued in lines 19-25, which explain the hero's desperate need for the olive tree and its shadowy foliage. Having founded the games in Olympia, Heracles realized that a lack of trees and shadow was a major threat to his festival; thus, it is stated in lines 25 and 26 that his heart then urged him to travel to the Hyperboreans to fetch the tree. From a structural point of view, the myth now seems complete, as δὴ τότε line 25 (referring back to ἤδη γάρ in line 19) and γαῖαν Ἰστρίαν in line 25/26 (referring back to Ἴστρου ἀπὸ σκιαρᾶν παγᾶν in line 14) both conclude a ring-like

pattern; in this way, it seems that nothing prevents the ode from readily turning to the present.

By means of the relative ἔνθα, followed by the aorist δέξατο, however, something else happens. But what exactly? The story tells us of Artemis, Leto's horse-driving daughter, who once received the hero in the land of the Ister, where the Hyperboreans live. We are informed that Heracles was sent by Eurystheus to pursue the Cerynean hind, one of Artemis' sacred animals. While chasing this hind, Heracles marvels at the Hyperborean olive trees; only after a repeated reference in lines 33 and 34 to his desire to plant these trees at the site of the games in Olympia, the ode returns to the present.

How, if at all, should the chronological sequence of the events of this myth be reconstructed? Scholars are far from unanimous on this point. The discussion focuses especially on δέξατο in line 27. The aorist stem characterizes this action as completed, but its temporal point of orientation is not immediately clear. Whereas some believe that the verb brings us back to a level of time that *precedes* Heracles' expedition to fetch the olive tree, others believe that the aorist propels the story *forward* in time, shifting the scene from Heracles' departure from Olympia to his advent in the land of the Ister. Along similar lines, scholars have counted the number of journeys Heracles makes to the Hyperboreans in various ways. Whereas some believe that the chase of the Cerynean hind should be understood as preceding his journey to fetch the olive tree, others consider the hero to bring the hind back to Eurystheus and the olive tree to Zeus' precinct in Olympia as a result of one and the same trip.

A proponent of the latter view is Illig.[11] To ground his thesis of one trip, Illig gives an interesting explanation, arguing that the same journey is motivated in two different ways. While pointing towards a contrast between Hercules' own initiative and Eurystheus' cruel commands, Illig indicates that the hero's expedition is accounted for from both an internal (θυμὸς ὧρμα, 25) and an external (ἀγγελίαις Εὐρυσθέος ἔντυ' ἀνάγκα, 28) point of view. According to Illig, the same goes for θάμβαινε (32) and αἴτει (17), which would refer to the same event, giving its psychological motivation (θάμβαινε, 32) as

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[11] Illig (1932: 58; 66).

well as its immediate externalization in the form of the hero's request (αἴτει, 17).

In my view, Illig's interpretation of one journey is attractive, but nevertheless untenable. One of the problems is the explicit reference in line 27 to *Arcadia* instead of the environments of Elian Olympia as the starting point of Heracles' chase of the hind (ἐλθόντ' Ἀρκαδίας ἀπὸ δειρᾶν καὶ πολυγνάμπτων μυχῶν, 27).[12] Another matter is Heracles' knowledge of the existence of the Hyperborean olive trees. How could the hero, in need of shadowy foliage, have thought of these trees without having visited the Hyperborean abode on a previous occasion? Segal has argued that we shouldn't bother about inconsistencies and illogicalities like this, claiming that Pindar fused two stories into one without bothering to match the details.[13]

But is it really necessary to accuse Pindar of such carelessness? I do not think so. In fact, I believe that the story quite clearly demarcates two journeys, with δέξατο in line 27 entering upon a level of time that precedes Heracles' founding of the games. The explicit reference to *Arcadia* instead of *Elis* as the hero's point of departure should, I think, not be taken as an inconsistency, but (with, e.g. Robbins 1982: 297) as a 'specifying phrase' that distinguishes Heracles' chase of the hind as a separate episode. In this way, the audience is guided to interpret δέξατο as a past-in-the-past, with a past reference point in time provided by the imperfect ὧρμα in line 25.

But what about τῶν νιν γλυκὺς ἵμερος ἔσχεν in line 33? Many commentators (e.g. Hamilton 1974; Lehnus 1981) are puzzled by this line, maintaining that the temporal orientation of the sentence alters as it unfolds. Hamilton puts it like this:

> The first part of the sentence definitely refers to the trip on which he first saw he olive (...) and the second seems to but could not since the racecourse had not been built yet (...). A marvelous confusion.[14]

With Robbins (1982) and Köhnken (1983), however, I think there is no need for any confusion; the ode's recipient is helped, I think, by means of ring-composition. In line 32, τόθι picks up ἔνθα in line 26,

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[12] Cf., e.g. Robbins (1982: 296-297).
[13] Segal (1964: 265).
[14] Hamilton (1974: 61).

thus forging lines 26-32 into a solid unit. In this way it may not be very difficult to understand that the relative τῶν in the subsequent line propels the story forward in time instead of elaborating upon Heracles' chase of the hind;[15] this interpretation, moreover, is corroborated by the back-reference of γλυκὺς ἵμερος ἔσχεν in line 33 to θυμὸς ὥρμα in line 25. In this way, we can be sure that lines 33 and 34 refer to Heracles' trip to fetch the olive tree, which he undertook on behalf of his own sweet desire.

While concluding the analysis of the Heracles-myth in *Olympian* 3, it could be stated that a clear chronological sequence of the mythical events can be dependably reconstructed by means of a close analysis of the story. Its order of events has been neither lexicalized nor grammatically formalized; instead, it can be reliably inferred from the context in two different ways. Firstly, a phrase of specification enables the ode's recipient to use his knowledge of the world to arrive at the correct interpretation. Moreover, the recipient is guided by means of ring-composition, differentiating two separate episodes, reflecting two separate journeys to the Hyperboreans.

But why does Pindar present his story in such an exceedingly complex fashion? Part of the answer can perhaps be found in the theme of guest-friendship that pervades the ode.

As most scholars agree, Pindar's *Olympian* 3 was (most probably) first performed as part of a festival of *theoxenia*,[16] which celebrated the advent of Castor and Pollux in Acragas. In the poem's opening lines, the presence of the twins in their local precinct is hinted at:

[3] Pindar *Olympian* 3.1-3
Τυνδαρίδαις τε φιλοξείνοις ἁδεῖν
    καλλιπλοκάμῳ θ᾽ Ἑλένᾳ
κλεινὰν Ἀκράγαντα γεραίρων εὔχομαι,
Θήρωνος Ὀλυμπιονίκαν
    ὕμνον ὀρθώσαις

I pray to please the hospitable Tyndarids
    and Helen with beautiful locks
while rewarding renowned Akragas with my gift,

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[15] Cf., e.g. Robbins (1982: 289).
[16] For dissenting views, see esp. Fränkel (1961) and Shelmerdine (1987). Compelling arguments for theoxenia as the festive context of the ode's original performance, however, have been provided by Robbins (1984) and Krummen (1991).

raising a hymn in celebration
   of Theron's Olympic victory

In lines 39-41, moreover, the victory of Theron, the ode's *laudandus*,
is presented as a gift in return for his and his family's habit of
welcoming the Tyndarids with splendid feasts of celebration. We
may assume that *theoxenia* are meant:

[4]   Pindar *Olympian* 3.38-41
(...) ἐμὲ δ' ὦν πα
         θυμὸς ὀτρύνει φάμεν Ἐμμενίδαις
Θήρωνί τ' ἐλθεῖν κῦδος εὐίππων διδόν-
         των Τυνδαριδᾶν, ὅτι πλείσταισι βροτῶν
ξεινίαις αὐτοὺς ἐποίχονται τραπέζαις,
         εὐσεβεῖ γνώμᾳ φυλάσσοντες μακάρων τελετάς.

(...) Somehow, then, my heart urges me to declare
that to the Emmenids and Theron glory has come as a gift
         from Tyndareos' sons with splendid horses, because of all mortals
they honour them with the most numerous welcoming tables,
         preserving the rites of the blessed with pious mind.

Heracles' request for the olive tree embodies the same spirit of
friendship and harmony. The hero's strategy in overcoming
difficulties is often characterized by the brutal use of force.[17] While
obtaining the olive tree, however, Heracles persuades the
Hyperboreans by upholding a plea (λόγῳ, line 16) in which he
politely justifies his request. As such, the hero's peaceful journey to
obtain the tree, undertaken on Heracles' own account, is strictly
differentiated from his chase of the hind, undertaken on behalf of
Eurystheus, his cruel master. Some versions of this latter story
report an unpleasant or even violent encounter with Artemis.[18] For
any violence or imminent violence, however, the myth indicates that
only Eurystheus is to blame (ἀγγελίαις Εὐρυσθέος ἔντυ' ἀνάγκα, 28).
Ultimately, Heracles' conduct during his first visit to the
Hyperboreans could even be ascribed to his divine father (πατρόθεν,
28); after all, it was Zeus whose oath (deceitfully taken from him by
Hera) had made Eurystheus so powerful.[19]

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[17]   Cf., e.g. Shelmerdine (1987: 73).
[18]   See Devereux (1966: 294-295).
[19]   See, e.g. Hom. *Il.* 19. 95-133.

On his second trip to the Hyperboreans, however, Eurystheus' cruel commands are not to be feared. To emphasize this, the story both starts (πείσαις λόγῳ, 15; πιστὰ φρονέων, 17) and ends (γλυκὺς ἵμερος, 33) with a reference or references to Heracles' peaceful and trustworthy intentions while fetching the olive tree. Any transgressive behaviour during his chase of the Cerynean hind is thus structurally embedded in a sphere of honest friendship that may perfectly befit the ode's original festive occasion.

4 Conclusion

In conclusion, with regard to both *Olympian* 3 and *Pythian* 10, there is no need to assume that Pindar and his audience had no interest in different levels of pastness. Admittedly, the event order is not indefeasibly coded in either of these odes. In *Pythian* 10, however, the chronological ambiguity may serve to enhance the ode's encomiastic rhetoric, whereas in *Olympian* 3, the chronological order of the mythical events can be reliably inferred from the context. In fact, the ordering of the mythical events in both odes seems to reflect the astute skills of the poet in presenting his stories in ways that best serve his rhetorical purposes.

DISCOURSE MODES AND BASES IN VERGIL'S *AENEID* [1]

Suzanne M. Adema

1 *Introduction*

The main story of the *Aeneid* starts when Aeneas is sailing towards Italy and ends when the hero has reached these shores and kills Turnus, thereby ending a war and paving the way for Rome's foundation. In between, the narrator of the *Aeneid* engages in a wide variety of activities: he communicates with the Muses, his readers and his characters, he describes and he tells the story. The aim of this paper is to give an overview of these activities. That is, to give an indication of the different ways in which Vergil presents his epic.

These ways of presentation may be described by means of two parameters: *discourse modes* (Smith 2003) and the *base* from which the narrator chooses to use these discourse modes (Cutrer 1994). First, I will discuss the characteristics of the four *discourse modes* occurring in the *Aeneid*, focusing on tense usage. The second section explains, by means of the concept *base*, that the narrator does not only present his story from his own point in time, but that he also has another point in time available for his presentation, namely *reference time*.[2] This insight will be used to show that each of the four discourse modes is also used from a base in reference time, and thus

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[2] I use this term in a strict sense: the moment that is considered in a particular part of the story is the *reference time* (Kamp & Rohrer 1983). The term *reference point* or *time* is also used by Hinrichs (1986) and Partee (1983). As the narrator continues his story, the reference time constantly shifts to a next part of the story time (Partee 1983: 254; Dry 1983; Almeida 1995). Kamp & Rohrer derive their use of the term explicitly from Reichenbach's theory (Reichenbach, 1947), in which it is used in a somewhat broader sense, i.e. in Reichenbach's theory *reference time* may refer to past, present, or future orientation moments.

has a *transposed* variant. The last section considers one of these transposed modes, the *directing mode,* in more detail, and presents my view on the use of the so-called historic or narrative present as the basic tense of most parts of the *Aeneid.*

2   Discourse Modes

In her book *Modes of Discourse* (2003), Smith provides tools to describe the different ways of presentation in written texts by distinguishing several *discourse modes.* The discourse mode *Narrative*, for instance, covers past events and situations, usually presented in chronological order. When engaging in *Description,* the narrator takes his time to give the (physical) characteristics of, for instance, a certain object or character in his story world. The *reporting mode* is similar to spoken communication, as a narrator who is *reporting* actually 'stops' being a narrator for a moment and talks about his present, future or past. In addition to these discourse modes, we may also discern the *registering mode,* which occurs less frequently and contains present tense forms *registering* what is going on at the moment in which the narrator writes or performs his story.[3]

The interpretation of tense forms is an important key to recognize each of these discourse modes, but often not the only one: their interpretations can be (partly) derived from linguistic elements in the context, or from the semantic content. The use of tenses in the several discourse modes can be neatly arranged in a Table.[4]

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[3] The other two discourse modes as presented in Smith (2003) are *Information* and *Argument*; cf. also Kroon's contribution (this volume).

[4] The *infinitivus historicus* is used in the *Aeneid* in the narrative mode and in the directing mode (Adema forthc.).

Table 1: The use of tenses in Discourse Modes

Discourse Mode	Tense	Interpretation[5]
Report	Present tense	Contemporaneous to time of narrator, universal truths
	Perfect tense	Anterior to time of narrator
	Imperfect tense	Contemporaneous to orientation moment in past of narrator
	Future tense	Posterior to time of narrator
Registering	Present tense	Contemporaneous to moment of speech
Narrative	Perfect tense	Bounded in reference time (in past of narrator)
	Imperfect tense	Unbounded in reference time (in past of narrator)
	Pluperfect tense	Anterior to reference time (in past of narrator)
Description	Present tense	Contemporaneous to time of narrator
	Imperfect tense	Unbounded in reference time

In the next section I will elaborate on the elements that characterize each of these discourse modes, starting with the discourse modes *reporting* and *registering*.[6]

3   *Reporting and Registering*

Report is similar to spoken, everyday communication in that it refers to states of affairs presented in connection with the time of speech.

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[5] All interpretations of the tenses are derived from their semantic value, as described in Pinkster (1983, 1990).

[6] In my PhD-project I divided the *Aeneid* up according to the *discourse modes*. The discussion that follows here is concerned with the features that are indicative of a certain discourse mode, as they were found in the text of the *Aeneid*. Distributional data will be part of my dissertation, which will also elaborate on why the narrator might choose a certain discourse mode.

The registering mode (example [3]) contains those states of affairs that focus on the moment of utterance. It may be seen as a specific type of report. As far as tense usage in the reporting mode is concerned, the narrator uses present tense forms to communicate states of affairs contemporaneous to his own point in time and perfect tense forms to refer to states of affairs in his past.[7] In the reporting mode, we find perfect tense forms, for instance, where we would have expected imperfect tense forms if the narrative discourse mode (see below) had been used, as is illustrated by the following example. An imperfect tense form would have suggested the actual start of a story, taking place in Carthage, whereas the perfect tense form *fuit* presents its existence as a mere fact.

> [1]   Vergil *Aeneid* 1.12-17
> Urbs antiqua **fuit**, Tyrii **tenuere** coloni,
> Karthago, Italiam contra Tiberinaque longe
> ostia, diues opum studiisque asperrima belli;
> quam Iuno **fertur** terris magis omnibus unam
> posthabita **coluisse** Samo; hic illius arma,
> hic currus **fuit**
>
> There was an ancient city, the home of Tyrian settlers,
> Carthage, over against Italy and the Tiber's mouth afar,
> rich in wealth and stern in war's pursuits.
> This, 't is said, Juno loved above all other lands,
> holding Samos itself less dear. Here was her armor,
> here her chariot[8]

Apart from the use of the perfect, the construction of a *verbum dicendi* in the actual present (*fertur*) and the perfect infinitive (*coluisse*) is also typical for report.[9]

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[7]   The imperfect tense is seldom used in the reporting mode; it may be used when an explicit orientation moment or time span in the past of the narrator is given (e.g. 6.239ff. in which the perfect tense form *fuit* functions as a past orientation moment). An example of the future tense in the reporting mode is found in 9.447.

[8]   All translations are taken from: H. Fairclough, V*irgil: Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid,* part 1&2 (Loeb 1999).

[9]   Other examples are found in, for instance, 3.578; 4.204; 5.588; 6.14; 7.409; 7.735; 7.765; 8.600; 9.82; 9.591; 12.735 (see also Heinze 1903: 242). A remarkable feature of this construction is that it may present a part of the story's time line by means of the non-narrative discourse mode of *reporting* (e.g. 4.203). The position of the state of affairs expressed by the perfect infinitive on the time line of the story is disregarded in these cases; instead, the narrator presents the state of affairs in

The identification of the reporting mode may sometimes also benefit from the content of the text. When, for instance, the narrator uses the present tense to give information about Roman nomenclature, the combination of the name of a Roman *gens* and the present tense results in the realization that the present tense form refers to the time of the narrator (and is not a *praesens historicum*), as is illustrated by '*domus tenet a quo Sergia nomen*' in the following example.[10]

> [2]   Vergil *Aeneid* 5.116-123
> uelocem Mnestheus **agit** acri remige Pristim,
> mox Italus Mnestheus, genus a quo nomine Memmi,
> ingentemque Gyas ingenti mole Chimaeram,
> urbis opus, triplici pubes quam Dardana uersu
> **impellunt**, terno **consurgunt** ordine remi;
> Sergestusque, domus **tenet** a quo Sergia nomen,
> Centauro **inuehitur** magna, Scyllaque Cloanthus
> caerulea, genus unde tibi, Romane Cluenti.
>
> Mnestheus with his eager crew drives the swift Sea Dragon,
> soon to be Mnestheus of Italy, from whose name comes the Memmian line; Gyas the huge Chimaera of huge bulk,
> a city afloat, driven forward by the Dardan youth in triple tier,
> with oars rising in threefold rank.
> Sergestus from whom the Sergian house has its name,
> rises in the great Centaur and in the sea-blue Scylla Clianthus,
> whence comes your family, Cluentius of Rome!

Thus, the references to the time of the narrator make us interpret the present tense form *tenet* in a different way than the present tense forms *agit, impellunt, consurgunt* and *inuehitur* which are instances of the *praesens historicum* (see below).

The present tense form *tenet* in *domus tenet a quo Sergia nomen* is used because it refers to a state of affairs that is contemporaneous to the moment of speech (Pinkster 1983). The scope of this tense form is, however, somewhat wider than just the moment of speech. That is, the state of affairs of *tenet* was also going on in the (more or less immediate) past of the narrator and his expectation is that it will

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connection with his own time by presenting it as a perfect infinitive subordinated to a real present tense form of a *verbum dicendi.*
  [10] Of course this relative clause is not the only reported relative clause in this passage. This passage contains three reported clauses about Roman *gentes.*

also continue to be valid in his future. As a result, the interpretation of the verb form *tenet* is of a more general character than that of *horresco*, for instance, in the parenthetical clause *horresco referens*, which interrupts Aeneas' story about the death of Laocoon.[11]

> [3]   Vergil *Aeneid* 2.203-205
> ecce autem gemini a Tenedo tranquilla per alta
> (**horresco** referens) immensis orbibus angues
> incumbunt pelago pariterque ad litora tendunt;
>
> and lo! from Tenedos, over the peaceful depths
> — I shudder as I speak — a pair of serpents with endless coils
> are breasting the sea and side by side making for the shore.

In accordance with this observation, we may discern a specific and small group of present tense forms such as *horresco,* which *register* what is going on at the moment of speech, in contrast to the present tense forms in the reporting mode, which represent states of affairs that imply a longer time span. The *registering mode* covers those instances in a work of literature in which the narrator refers to the very moment in which he utters (in written or spoken form) his story.[12]

Returning to the reporting mode, I would like to add that this mode may also be recognized by proximal deictic adverbs such as *nunc*, but *only* if they refer to the time or place of the narrator. After all, these proximal deictic adverbs may also refer to another time or place than the world of the narrator (see below). Other characteristics of report are first person verb forms, vocatives, imperatives and interrogative words, often co-occurring in apostrophes. The use of superlatives and comparatives is also found in report, often in combination with the perfect tense form *fuit*. In instances like these, it is the narrator who judges a character from his own point in time, and assigns to him an appropriate

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[11] This also holds for present tense forms which represent universal truths: they are presented in the present tense as they are valid in the time of the speaker, and we interpret them as generally valid because of their content, e.g. 7.327ff. (cf. Pinkster 1998: 64-5).

[12] It has to be said that the registering mode rarely occurs in the *Aeneid*. Apart from this instance it is found at 1.1; 2.91; 2.134; 2.432; 2.506; 3.39; 6.528; 6.601; 7.44f. and 9.525. I point out this mode because it is helpful in explaining the *directing mode*, which I will present as the most important mode of the *Aeneid* (see below).

comparative or superlative adjective, i.e. it is the narrator who tells us that no one was more beautiful than Euryalus in example [4].[13]

> [4]   Vergil *Aeneid* 9.176-181
> Nisus erat portae custos, acerrimus armis,
> Hyrtacides, comitem Aeneae quem miserat Ida
> uenatrix iaculo celerem leuibusque sagittis,
> et iuxta comes Euryalus, *quo pulchrior alter*
> *non* **fuit** *Aeneadum Troiana neque induit arma*,
> ora puer prima signans intonsa iuuenta.
>
> Nisus was guardian of the gate, most valiant of warriors,
> son of Hyrtacus, whom Ida the huntress had sent in Aeneas' train,
> quick with javelin and light arrows.
> At his side was Euryalus — none fairer
> was among the Aeneadae, or wore Trojan armor
> — a boy who showed on his unshaven cheeck the first bloom of youth.

A very important feature of the reporting mode is the absence of advancement of reference time, a feature that distinguishes it from the discourse mode narrative. The discourse mode narrative takes the relation between states of affairs into consideration, and presents them as single elements on a larger time line. The reporting mode considers the relation between an individual state of affairs and *the time of speech*. This criterion usually helps to distinguish between the narrative and the reporting mode, as may be illustrated by a short sequence of reported perfect tense forms. The perfect tense forms in this example serve to organize the story in that they give an *abstract* of the scene to come.[14] That is, they do not indicate successive events on the time line, but summarize the actions that Mars will perform in the next scene.

> [5]   Vergil *Aeneid* 9.717-719
> Hic Mars armipotens animum uirisque Latinis
> **addidit** et stimulos acris sub pectore **uertit**,
> **immisitque** Fugam Teucris atrumque Timorem.
> undique **conueniunt**, quoniam data copia pugnae,
> bellatorque animo deus **incidit**.

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[13]   The reporting mode is used in the subordinate clause which is embedded in a sequence presented in the discourse mode narrative (see below).
[14]   The term *abstract* is used in the sense of Labov (1972); see also Allan's contribution (this volume).

> At this Mars, the mighty in war, lent fresh strength and valor
> to the Latins, and in their hearts plied his keen goads,
> and let slip Flight and dark Terror among the Teucrians.
> From all sides gather the Latins, since scope for fight is given,
> and the god of battle seizes on their souls.

The perfect tense forms *addidit, uertit* and *immisit* announce that, in the ensuing scene, Mars adds strength to the Latin soldiers, stimulates them and sends fear to the Trojans without specifying the order of these states of affairs. The actual scene then starts with the present tense form *conueniunt,* and the present tense form *incidit* indicates the carrying out of what was announced in the abstract. In contrast to the perfect tense forms in this example, perfect tense forms that do represent successive events on the time line of the story are part of the discourse mode narrative.

4   *Narrative*

The tenses used in the discourse mode narrative are the perfect, imperfect and pluperfect tense. The difference between the perfect tense and the imperfect tense *in the discourse mode narrative* is that the perfect tense denotes bounded states of affairs, whereas the imperfect gives expression to unbounded states of affairs.[15] This difference is illustrated in the example below, which starts with a description of how and where the Italian peoples sought omens. The imperfect tense forms *mactabat* and *iacebat* represent unbounded states of affairs, i.e. their beginning and end are left implicit. The perfect tense form *reddita est* refers to a bounded state of affairs, as this state of affairs is presented as coming to an end.

[6]   Vergil *Aeneid* 7.85-95
hinc Italae gentes omnisque Oenotria tellus
in dubiis responsa petunt; huc dona sacerdos
cum tulit et caesarum ouium sub nocte silenti
pellibus incubuit stratis somnosque petiuit,
multa modis simulacra uidet uolitantia miris
et uarias audit uoces fruiturque deorum
conloquio atque imis Acheronta adfatur Auernis.

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[15]   I use the terms bounded and unbounded in the sense of Depraetere (1995).

hic et tum pater ipse petens responsa Latinus
centum lanigeras **mactabat** rite bidentis,
atque harum effultus tergo stratisque **iacebat**
uelleribus: subita ex alto uox **reddita** luco **est**...

From this place the tribes of Italy and all the Oenotrian land
seek responses in days of doubt: to it the priestess
brings the offerings, and as she lies under the silent night
on the outspread fleeces of slaughtered sheep and woos slumber,
she sees many phantoms flitting in wondrous wise,
hears many voices, holds converse with the gods,
and speaks with Acheron in lowest Avernus.
Here then, also, King Latinus himself, seeking an answer,
duly slaughtered a hundred woolly sheep,
and lay couched on their hides and outspread
fleeces. Suddenly a voice came from the deep grove...

In this example, *et tum* indicates the transition from a non-narrative sequence back to a narrated sequence, more specifically, the transition from a more general description of an Italian custom to Latinus actually performing this custom. The imperfect tense forms *mactabat* and *iacebat* are used to indicate what was taking place in the reference time to which we return, before the narrator relates the event of *uox reddita est,* thereby advancing reference time.

This advancement of reference time in the discourse mode narrative plays a vital role in distinguishing it from the reporting mode (as we have seen).[16] The temporal progression in the discourse mode narrative may be made explicit by means of adverbs marking the sequence of the states of affairs such as *deinde, inde, hinc, dehinc, tum* and *post,* as can be observed in the following passage.[17]

[7]   Vergil *Aeneid* 1.728-740
Hic regina grauem gemmis auroque **poposcit**
impleuitque mero pateram, quam Belus et omnes
a Belo soliti; <u>tum</u> facta silentia tectis:
'Iuppiter, hospitibus nam te dare iura loquuntur,

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[16] The distinction between states of affairs which advance reference time (usually bounded states of affairs) and states of affairs that do not (usually unbounded) in the narrative mode may be used as a distinction between foreground and background. For my opinion on the distinction of narrative texts into foreground and background see Adema (2002), cf. also Smith (2003: 34f).

[17] As in example [5], the adverb *hic* indicates a change in discourse mode, namely a change from the directing mode to the narrative mode (cf. Bolkestein 2000).

hunc laetum Tyriisque diem Troiaque profectis
esse uelis, nostrosque huius meminisse minores.
Adsit laetitiae Bacchus dator, et bona Iuno;
et uos, O, coetum, Tyrii, celebrate fauentes.'
Dixit, et in mensam laticum **libauit** honorem,
primaque, libato, summo tenus **attigit** ore,
tum Bitiae **dedit** increpitans; ille impiger **hausit**
spumantem pateram et pleno se **proluit** auro
post alii proceres.

Then the queen called for a cup, heavy with jewels and gold,
and filled it with wine — one that Belus and all of
Belus' line had been wont to use. Then through the hall fell silence:
'Jupiter — for they say that you appoint laws for host and guest —
grant that this be a day of joy for Tyrians and the voyagers from Troy,
and that our children may remember it!
May Bacchus, giver of joy, be near, and bounteous Juno;
and do you, Tyrians, grace the gathering with friendly spirit!'
She spoke, and on the board offered a libation of wine,
and, after the libation, was first to touch the goblet with her lip;
then with a challenge gave it to Bitias. He briskly drained
the foaming cup, and drank deep in the brimming gold;
then other lords drank.

In reference time queen Dido asked for a specific cup, *then* (*tum*) everyone was silent. After her short speech, she was the first to drink (*prima*), followed by Bitias, and eventually (*post*) the others. Contrary to the perfect tense forms in example [5], those in example [7] clearly represent successive events on the time line of the story.

In short, the discourse mode narrative is characterized by progression along the story's time line (Smith 2003: 14), whereas in case of report this time line is left out of consideration and it is all about the relation between the state of affairs and the narrator's time (Smith 2003: 16). A discourse mode in which reference time temporarily comes to a halt is the *describing mode* (Smith 2003: 28).

5   *Description*

The describing mode is characterized by the absence of temporal progression. Reference time does not advance, but the narrator takes the time to describe an object in the fictive world. Instead of adverbs that record temporal progression, words indicating location and

spatial progression are found, such as *ante, contra, ex ordine, nec procul hinc* and *proxima.* One could imagine that present tense forms are used in the describing mode, in a description of an object or place that also exists in the time of the narrator, but this does not seem to happen in the *Aeneid.*[18]

The narrator uses the imperfect tense to describe an object or location in his past, as is illustrated by example [8]. The imperfect tense forms *condebat, surgebant* and *stridebat* denote unbounded states of affairs that are contemporaneous to reference time.

> [8]   Vergil *Aeneid* 1.446-449
> Hic templum Iunoni ingens Sidonia Dido
> **condebat**, donis opulentum et numine diuae,
> aerea cui gradibus **surgebant** limina, nexaeque
> aere trabes, foribus cardo **stridebat** aënis.
>
> Here Sidonian Dido was founding to Juno a mighty
> temple, rich in gifts and the presence of the goddess.
> Brazen was its threshold uprising on steps; bronze plates
> were its lintel beams, on doors of bronze creaked the hinges.

Reference time does not move while Dido's devotional creation is described, but this description certainly involves movement: the narrator takes us up from the threshold and its stairs to the bronze doors, adding sound to his description by means of *stridebat.* Although reference time stands still, the picture definitely does not.[19]

Narrators may thus *narrate, describe, report,* and *register,* and the narrator of the *Aeneid* does all four. However, a division of the *Aeneid* into these four discourse modes does not yield an appropriate description of the tense usage in this epic work, since it does not

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[18]   See example [13] for a description in historic present tense forms. Cf. also Livy 22.4 for a present tense description which seems to be valid in his own time: *et iam peruenerant ad loca nata insidiis, ubi maxime montes Cortonenses in Trasumennum sidunt. Via tantum interest perangusta, uelut ad [id] ipsum de industria relicto spatio; deinde paulo latior patescit campus; inde colles adsurgunt.* (The Carthaginians had by now reached a spot naturally suited to an ambush, the area where Trasimene is at its closest to the mountains of Cortona. Between the two there is no more than a narrow pathway, almost as if just enough space had been deliberately left for Hannibal's purpose! After this, the terrain widens a little to form a plain, and beyond that rise some hills. Translation: J.C. Yardley (2006)).

[19]   See Kroon (this volume) for further characteristics of the describing mode and its use in Ovid's *Metamorphoses.*

account for the extensive use of the present tense as the basic tense of the story. The discourse modes as provided by Smith seem to represent — as a result of her corpus — a speaker or narrator who is based in his own point in time, whereas this is not always the case with the narrator of the *Aeneid.* In fact, he usually positions himself in the time of the story, using the present tense (the so-called *praesens historicum*) to inform his readers of what is happening there.

6   *Bases*

Present tense forms which do not refer to the real life present of the speaker generally occur in many contexts: recipes, stage directions, synopses et cetera (Langacker 2001: 269). The function of the present tense form, however, is the same in all these environments: the speaker indicates that the state of affairs expressed by the present tense takes place in what he has chosen to be his *base* (Pinkster 1983, 1990, Cutrer 1994, Langacker 2001).

In case of the so-called historic present the *base* is *reference time.* This may be illustrated by means of an example. In the following passage, a truce called earlier by Italians and Trojans is severely threatened and eventually broken. We enter the scene after a speech by Juturna, the sister of Aeneas' main enemy Turnus. The present tense forms *serpit, uolunt, precantur* and *miserantur* indicate what is going on in reference time.

> [9]   Vergil *Aeneid* 12.238-243
> Talibus **incensa est** iuuenum sententia dictis
> iam magis atque magis, **serpit**que per agmina murmur:
> ipsi Laurentes **mutati** ipsique Latini.
> qui sibi iam requiem pugnae rebusque salutem
> **sperabant**, nunc arma **uolunt** foedusque **precantur**
> infectum et Turni sortem **miserantur** iniquam.
>
> With such words the warriors' resolve is kindled
> yet more and more, and a murmur creeps from rank to rank.
> Even the Laurentines, even the Latins are changed;
> and they who but lately hoped for rest from the fray, and safety
> for their fortunes, now long for arms, pray that the covenant be
> undone, and pity Turnus' unjust fate.

Here, the *reference time* is contrasted to a time in the past of this *reference time:* the Rutulians want to fight now, whereas in the past they were hoping for a peaceful solution. The adverb *nunc* emphasizes this contrast. At the same time, this adverb shows that reference time is indeed available as a substitute 'now', or, in more technical terms, it shows that reference time is available as a *base*.[20] Not only do we find the present tense and the adverb *nunc* here, indicating that the narrator takes reference time as his base, the imperfect tense form *sperabant* and the perfect tense forms *incensa est* and *mutati* confirm this. In accordance with their semantic value (as given by Pinkster 1983, 1990), the imperfect tense form *sperabant* refers to a state of affairs that is contemporaneous to an orientation moment in the past of reference time (i.e. when everything was still relatively peaceful), whereas the perfect tense form indicates anteriority to the reference time. That is, Turnus' resolve had already been kindled in reference time, and the Latines had already been changed.

The use of the present subjunctive in indirect speech and final clauses also reflects the existence of a base in reference time, as is illustrated by the example below: the indirect question depending on *edocet* contains a present subjunctive *constet*.

> [10] Vergil *Aeneid* 5.746-748
> Extemplo socios primumque **accersit** Acesten
> et Iouis imperium et cari praecepta parentis
> **edocet** et quae nunc animo sententia **constet**.
>
> Straightway he summons his comrades — Acestes first —
> and instructs them of Jove's command, the counsel of his dear father,
> and the resolve now settled in his soul.

According to the rule of the sequence of tenses, an imperfect subjunctive should have been used here. However, there is a tendency for the so-called historic present to govern subordinate clauses containing present or perfect subjunctives instead of imperfect or pluperfect subjunctives respectively (Kühner-Stegmann

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[20] See Risselada (1998) for this use of *nunc*. Other deictic adverbs which take reference time as their base (temporal or spatial) are *procul* (e.g. 2.42), *ibi* (e.g. 6.333)*, modo* (e.g. 11.141) and *nuper* (e.g. 6.338).

1912: II.2 176). This tendency is very strong in the *Aeneid*, and I think we may, in the case of indirect speech, even call it a rule.[21]

In short, the narrator of the *Aeneid* may use two points in time as his *base*: his own point in time and the *reference time* of his story. He employs the aforementioned *discourse modes* from each of these two bases, resulting in a set of eight ways of presentation, which can be represented in diagram form.

Table 2: Overview of discourse modes and bases in *Aeneid*

Base	Time of narrator	Reference time
Discourse	*Registering*	*Transposed Registering:* **Directing**
Mode	*Report*	*Transposed Report*
	Narrative	*Transposed Narrative*
	Description	*Transposed Description*

As can be seen, the *directing mode* (which will be the subject of a separate section) is the counterpart of the registering mode.[22] The counterpart of the other discourse modes are *transposed report, transposed narrative* and *transposed description.* As I will show below, the interpretation of the tenses is the same in these transposed modes as the interpretation in their counterparts; however, these tenses relate to a base in reference time instead of a base in the time of the narrator.

This means that in *transposed report* the present tense refers to states of affairs that are valid in reference time because they are valid in the fictive world as a whole, whereas the perfect tense indicates anteriority to reference time. This may be illustrated with reference to the ensuing passage, which is part of the catalogue of

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[21] The imperfect or pluperfect subjunctive is never used in case of indirect speech governed by a main clause in the present tense in the Aeneid, whereas it contains 63 present subjunctives and 10 perfect subjunctives in indirect speech. Only five final clauses governed by a present tense taking its base in reference time contain a pluperfect or imperfect subjunctive (against 52 present subjunctives).

[22] Whereas the other discourse modes used from a base in reference time simply get the addition *transposed*, the *directing mode* has been given a separate name. The reason is that it slightly differs from its counterpart, the *registering mode*, and, moreover, occurs far more often than *registering,* which is rare.

Etruscan peoples in book 7. Within these catalogues, the narrator provides elaborate information about the participating peoples. This information is universal from the point of view of the fictive world; the present tense *colunt* in line 714 is generally valid in that context (as is *bibunt* in 714), but not contemporaneous to the narrator's time.

> [11]   Vergil *Aeneid* 7.711-716
> una ingens Amiterna cohors priscique Quirites,
> Ereti manus omnis oliuiferaeque Mutuscae;
> qui Nomentum urbem, qui Rosea rura Velini,
> qui Tetricae horrentis rupes montemque Seuerum
> Casperiamque **colunt** Forulosque et flumen Himellae,
> qui Tiberim Fabarimque **bibunt**, quos frigida **misit**
> Nursia, et Ortinae classes populique Latini...
>
> With him came Amiternum's vast cohort, and the ancient Quirites,
> the whole band of Eretum and olive-bearing Mutusca;
> those who dwell in Nomentum's city and the Rosean country
> by Velinus, on Tetrica's rugged crags and Mount Severus,
> in Xasperia and Foruli, and by Himella's stream;
> those who drink of Tiber and Fabaris, those whom cold Nursia sent,
> the Ortine squadrons, the Latin peoples...

This passage also exemplifies the use of the perfect tense in the transposed reporting mode: the perfect tense form *misit* in line 715 denotes a state of affairs that took place in the remote past of reference time. The city of *Nursia* has sent the people which are 'now', i.e. in reference time, marching on the plains of Italy, hence the perfect tense form *misit*.[23]

Apart from the perfect and present tenses, future tense forms also occur in one instance of the transposed reporting mode (12.500). The narrator announces that the day will come (*erit*) that Turnus will regret taking Pallas' armor (cf. Pinkster 1999). The imperfect tense form *sperabant* in example [9] is an instance of an imperfect tense

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[23] It has to be said, however, that the base often is not clear in case of perfect tense forms denoting states of affairs that took place in the remote past of reference time. That is, one often cannot, and perhaps should not, decide between normal reporting and transposed reporting: what matters is that the state of affairs took place before reference time (i.e. *analepsis* in narratological terms). Such ambiguous perfect tense forms are found, for instance, in facts about the origin of a character, e.g. in 5.39 where *genuit* is a perfect tense form denoting a state of affairs both anterior to the narrator's time *and* anterior to reference time.

form in transposed report. It obviously denotes a state of affairs that is contemporaneous to an orientation moment in the past of reference time (i.e. when everything was still peaceful).

Transposed narrative, like narrative presented from the time of the narrator, may contain perfect, imperfect and pluperfect tense forms. Transposed narratives are narratives which, for some reason, are presented from the point of reference time. The reason for this may be that the narrator first informs his readers about one character and later on fills them in on the actions of another by engaging in a short narrative (e.g. 9.1ff.). Another reason may be that the narrator relates these states of affairs because it is not until this point in his story that they are relevant, and I think we should read the passage below in this way. Dido has decided to commit suicide not only because of Aeneas' behaviour, but also because of signs she received earlier.

> [12]   Vergil *Aeneid* 4.450-456
> Tum uero infelix fatis exterrita Dido
> mortem orat; taedet caeli conuexa tueri.
> quo magis inceptum peragat lucemque relinquat,
> **uidit**, *turicremis cum dona* **imponeret** *aris,*
> *(horrendum dictu) latices nigrescere sacros*
> *fusaque in obscenum se uertere uina cruorem;*
> *hoc uisum nulli, non ipsi* **effata** *sorori.*
>
> Then, indeed, awed by her doom, luckless Dido
> prays for death; she is weary of gazing on the arch of heaven.
> And to make her more surely fulfil her purpose and leave the light,
> she had seen, as she laid her gifts on the altars ablaze with incense
> — fearful to tell — the holy water darken
> and the outpoured wine change into loathsome gore.
> Of this sight she spoke to no one — not even her sister.

The states of affairs of *uidit, imponeret* and *effata* together form a narrated sequence of events which is anterior to reference time. The narrator looks back on a separate time line on which these events took place while taking his base in the reference time of *orat, taedet* and the subjunctives *peragat* and *relinquat*.[24] The narrator has thus

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[24] Of course, it is not only the narrator who looks back on these events: the subjunctives suggest that Dido herself is also remembering them (i.e. focalization; see Bal 1997², De Jong [1987] 2004²).

stopped *directing* the states of affairs (see below) to *narrate* what happened in the past of reference time, while reference time remains his base (i.e. the discourse mode changes whereas the base remains the same).

Transposed description contains present tense forms which denote unbounded situations in reference time, connected to each other by means of spatial rather than temporal adverbs (see Kroon, this volume). The example below contains nine present tense forms, none of which advances reference time. However, adverbs do indicate *spatial* progression through the scenery: first a description is given of how the waves break on the sand, then the narrator turns his and our eyes to the huge cliffs enclosing the scenery and proceeds to describe the part in the middle of these cliffs. Non-visual characteristics end this description.

> [13]   Vergil *Aeneid* 1.159-169
> **Est** in secessu longo locus: insula portum
> **efficit** obiectu laterum, quibus omnis ab alto
> **frangitur** inque sinus **scindit** sese unda reductos.
> Hinc atque hinc uastae rupes geminique **minantur**
> in caelum scopuli, quorum sub uertice late
> aequora tuta **silent**; tum siluis scaena coruscis
> desuper, horrentique atrum nemus **imminet** umbra.
> Fronte sub aduersa scopulis pendentibus antrum,
> intus aquae dulces uiuoque sedilia saxo,
> nympharum domus. hic fessas non uincula nauis
> ulla **tenent**, unco non **alligat** ancora morsu.
>
> There in a deep inlet lies a spot, where an island forms a harbor
> with the barrier of its sides, on which every wave from the main
> is broken, then parts into receding ripples.
> On either side loom heavenward huge cliffs and twin
> peaks, beneath whose crest far and wide is the stillness
> of sheltered water; above, too, is a background of shimmering woods
> with an overhanging grove, black with gloomy shade.
> Under the brow of the fronting cliff is a cave of hanging rocks;
> within are fresh waters and seats in the living stone,
> a haunt for nymphs. Here no fetters imprison weary ships,
> no anchor holds them fast with hooked bite.

Of course, present tense descriptions of scenery such as this one are ambiguous with respect to the base used: the narrator may be describing actual places from a base in his own point in time, and the reader is left wondering whether this place could possibly be real.

The base is always clear, however, in case of the use of the so-called historic present: these present tense forms are valid in reference time alone and clearly identify reference time as their base. These present tense forms form part of the *directing mode.*

7   Directing Mode

The *directing mode* is the counterpart of the *registering mode.* Concretely, they have in common that their present tense forms denote states of affairs that are valid in a relatively short period of time, either the moment of speech or reference time. They represent what the narrator experiences in his immediate environment, i.e. his *base.* As such, both the registering mode and the directing mode are characterized by the use of the present tense. The perfect tense and the imperfect tense also occur in the directing mode, when they indicate states of affairs that happened or were happening immediately before reference time.[25] However, instances of these tenses in the registering mode are not found in the *Aeneid.*

The narrator of the *Aeneid* rarely registers what he experiences in his own immediate environment. In contrast to the rare occurrence of the registering mode in the *Aeneid*, its counterpart, the directing mode, is the discourse mode used most frequently. In this discourse mode, the narrator registers what he experiences, or rather *pretends to experience*, in the reference time of his fictive world, and the reference time advances as the narrator goes through his story.[26] This means that, since reference time functions as a base, the *base* also advances, like present time does in real life: as one speaks, time ticks away. This specific type of temporal progression is what characterizes the directing mode. The particular type of temporal progression in the directing mode is explained best by means of an example in which advancement of reference time is indisputable,

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[25] E.g. *incensa est* in 12.238 (example [9] above), and *tenebant* and *lambebant* in 2.209ff.: *fit sonitus spumante salo; iamque arua tenebant | ardentisque oculos suffecti sanguine et igni | sibila lambebant linguis uibrantibus ora.* (Adema 2004).

[26] Cf. Pinkster (1990: 225) and Kroon (2002), who describe the use of the present tense by means of the metaphor of (the pretense of) an eye-witness report.

such as the subsequent finishing of the three best contesters in the running contest in book 5.

> [14]   Vergil *Aeneid* 5.337-339
> **emicat** Euryalus et munere uictor amici
> prima **tenet**, plausuque **uolat** fremituque secundo.
> post Helymus **subit** et nunc tertia palma Diores.
>
> Euryalus darts by and, winning by the graces of his friend,
> takes first place, and flies on amid favoring applause and cheers.
> Behind come Helymus, and Diores, now third prize.

Here, the reference time advances from the time in which Euryalus emerges and finishes (*emicat, tenet, uolat*) to that in which Helymus completes the race (*subit*) and ultimately to Diores' finish (*nunc*). The present tense forms represent a base in reference time, and, therefore, it is not only reference time that advances: the base and the narrator are inextricably linked to reference time and, as a result, they also move ahead. The temporal progression seems similar to that in real life; reference time, base and narrator advance as story time is progressing, like time ticking away in, for instance, the sports commentaries of our own time. Nevertheless, there is a very important difference between the advancement of reference time and that of real time: whereas real time moves by itself, reference time does not. It is, in all respects, the narrator who makes time tick.[27]

   In short, the narrator is responsible for progression of reference time as he advances along the time line of his story and, as such, is in control. Moreover, he still has access to his knowledge about the story as a whole (Quinn, 1968: 91), while using reference time as his base, and may, for instance, refer to the further course of events from a base in reference time (e.g. 9.315). The narrator of the *Aeneid*

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[27] The advancement of reference time is often marked by means of adverbs indicating the sequence of the states of affairs such as *tum, deinde, inde, hinc* and *dehinc*. Apart from these adverbs which indicate the sequence in a rather neutral way, the narrator also uses sequencing adverbs with a sense of suddenness or surprise such as *continuo, ecce, extemplo, repente, subito, nunc, ocius, tum uero* and perhaps even *iam* (see Risselada & Kroon 2004). I would like to stress here that it is not the narrator for whom these states of affairs are surprising: he intends to make it apparent that the characters were not expecting this (i.e. focalization), at the same time evoking a feeling of surprise *in his audience.*

may also add his own reflections when he uses the historic present in rhetorical questions and apostrophes.[28] When he relates how Pallas is carried away from the battlefield, the narrator adds his own comment to this horrible event by means of an apostrophe, containing the present tense forms *aufert* and *linquis* (which are contemporaneous to reference time).

> [15] Vergil *Aeneid* 10.505-509
> at socii multo gemitu lacrimisque
> impositum scuto **referunt** Pallanta frequentes.
> dolor atque decus magnum rediture parenti,
> haec te prima dies bello **dedit**, haec eadem **aufert**,
> cum tamen ingentis Rutulorum **linquis** aceruos!
>
> But with many moans and tears his friends
> throng round Pallas and bear him back lying on his shield.
> O you who will go home as a great grief and yet great glory to your
> father, this day first gave you to war, this also takes you from it,
> the day when yet you leave behind vast piles of Rutulian deaths.

As is also shown by the future participle *rediture* and the proximal pronoun *haec*, the narrator maintains a base in reference time while taking his time to comment. By keeping a base in reference time and commenting on Pallas' death as he is taken from the battlefield, the narrator is able to both maintain and enforce the picture of Pallas lying on his shield, thereby creating a powerful dramatic effect.

As Chafe (1994: 208) points out, the present tense as used in stories is merely a *pretense* that the speaker perceives the state of affairs at the moment of speech. Such a view of the present tense takes into consideration that the narrator shows that he knows more than his adopted position in time, if pursued in full, would allow. Chafe's theory provides another fruitful perspective on the use of the present tense taking its base in reference time in the *Aeneid.* His term *displaced immediacy* (1994: 195ff.) describes the possibility for written fiction of combining features of language which are 'immediate', i.e. which refer to the time and place of a speaker, and features of language which are displaced, i.e. features that refer to

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[28] An example of a present tense form related to a base in reference time in a rhetorical question is found in 4.66. An apostrophe which contains questions and has an announcing function starts in 11.665.

other times and places than the speaker's (e.g. his past or future). Immediate deictic adverbs such as 'now' and 'today' are for instance combined with displaced past tense forms in English literature.[29] In these terms, the narrator of the *Aeneid* combines the *deixis* of immediacy (both adverbs and tense) with the *knowledge* of displacement, hence creating an effect of *displaced immediacy*.[30]

A metaphor explaining the use of the present tense as a basic tense of the story in the *Aeneid* should allow for this displaced immediacy. It may be fruitful to see the narrator of the *Aeneid* in the role of the *director of a play* which is taking place on a mental stage not merely simultaneously to his directions, but exactly *because of these directions* (Bakker 2005: 169). That is, the narrator evokes the events and situations of his story in the minds of his readers by uttering them (cf. Langacker 2001: 269). The term *directing mode* (instead of, for instance, *immediate* or *mimetic stance*, terms used by Bakker 1997c and Kroon 2002) makes clear that the use of reference time as an alternative base is a presentational game of which both narrator and reader are aware (Bakker 1997c: 78), as is illustrated in the invocation in [16].[31] The questions in this sequence are part of the reporting mode, whereas the relative clause (*nunc agit*) concerns the events 'on stage'.

> [16] Vergil *Aeneid* 12.500-504
> Quis mihi nunc tot acerba deus, quis carmine caedes
> diuersas obitumque ducum, quos aequore toto
> inque uicem nunc Turnus **agit**, nunc Troius heros,
> **expediat**? tanton **placuit** concurrere motu,
> Iuppiter, aeterna gentis in pace futuras?
>
> Which god can now unfold for me so many horrors, who in song can

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[29] See Chafe (1994: 250) for an example.
[30] I simplify Chafe's distinction between immediacy and displacement for clarity's sake. Please note that the present tense does not occur in Chafe's examples of *displaced immediacy*. As far as deixis is concerned, his *displaced immediacy* combines proximate (i.e. immediate) spatiotemporal adverbs with past (displaced) tenses (Chafe 1994: 236). He states that 'this use of the past tense to establish displaced immediacy is more effective than an extended use of the historic present, above all because displaced immediacy creates the duality that is essential to art.' (Chafe 1994: 236) Although in the *Aeneid* such duality may not be created by means of combining proximal adverbs with past tense forms, its occurrence is certainly shown in the combination of immediate deixis and displaced knowledge.
[31] Cf. also 10.163ff.

tell such diverse deaths, and the fall of captains, whom now Turnus,
now the Trojan hero, drives in turn all over the plain?
Was it your will, Jupiter, that in so vast a shock nations should clash
that thereafter would dwell in everlasting peace?

It seems as if the narrator is standing halfway between the stage and
his own world: one leg stands besides the stage, a position from
which he may report and ask the gods for help, and the other is
placed upon this stage, thus enabling him to effectively direct what
is going on 'live on stage'.

Not only does the metaphor of a mental stage allow for a narrator
in control of what is happening 'now' in the fictive world, it also
leaves room for the long recognized visual aspect of the style of the
narrator of the *Aeneid*, on which the metaphor of the eye-witness
report focuses (cf. also Fowler 1997).

The narrator of the *Aeneid* seems to use the directing mode to give
his readers the illusion of actually witnessing the directed states of
affairs whereas they are, at the same time, still guided by the
narrator. Seeing the narrator of the *Aeneid* as a director in charge of
what happens on the (virtual or mental) stage combines well with
views on those epics which were orally composed. The epic genre is
seen as a genre of *performance*: the poet does not merely narrate his
story, but performs it (Bakker 1997b: 55; 2005: 175).[32] In writing his
epic poem, Vergil uses the present tense to achieve the effect of an
oral performer who entertains his audience by conjuring up events
and situations on a (mental) stage, as he advances through the times
and places of this fictive world (cf. Fleischman 1990: 93).[33]

8   *Conclusion*

In this paper, I have given an overview of the ways of presentation
used by the narrator of the *Aeneid*, and I have paid special attention
to how we may recognize the discourse mode and base used.

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[32] See Nagy (1992, 1996) and Bakker (1997b, 1999) for a discussion of the Homeric
epics as performed poetry. Fleischman (1990) discusses medieval performed epics.
[33] Perhaps Vergil took this from Ennius (cf. *Ann.* 1.83-100). Note that Homer does
not use the present tense as a basic tense of his story. He has other means to
'verbalize things as if they are seen' (Bakker 1997b: 55, see also Bakker 2005).

Unfortunately, it is impossible to give unequivocal criteria such as: 'whenever you see *nunc,* the narrator is reporting'. Instead, it is the combination of adverbs, tenses and content which leads the reader to a certain interpretation of these adverbs, tenses and content.

A division into discourse modes seems to provide a useful alternative to the somewhat vague distinction between the *foreground* and *background* in a story or other written text (Smith 2003: 34-35). The directing mode is the most important mode in the *Aeneid*, and we might even call it the 'default mode'. The other modes may be seen as modes with which the narrator provides material that is in some way subsidiary to the directing mode or, rather, material that *provides the preliminaries* in order to make the directing possible. The reporting mode, for instance, may be seen as subsidiary to the directing mode in that it structures the story and provides the (first century B.C.) reader with the information necessary to understand the story and see it in the light of his own time. The description mode provides the literal background, in that it 'sets up the stage' on which the directed states of affairs take place.

Classifying the *Aeneid* into different sections according to discourse modes and bases may also prove to be fruitful in contrasting this particular epic to works of other genres, for instance historiography, or to other works within the epic genre, as Kroon does in her contribution (this volume) on Ovid.[34]

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[34] In my dissertation, the *Aeneid* is contrasted with parts of Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita.* Michiel van der Keur has contrasted the use of tenses and discourse modes in the Aeneid with an excerpt of book 13 of Silius' *Punica* as part of his master's thesis (Vrije Universiteit 2006).

DISCOURSE MODES AND THE USE OF TENSES IN OVID'S
METAMORPHOSES

Caroline H.M. Kroon

1 Introduction: Ovid as a Static Storyteller[1]

There are many ways in which Ovid's *Metamorphoses* differs from
more prototypical manifestations of the epic genre like Vergil's
Aeneid. A widespread view for instance, elaborated in literary studies
like Döscher (1971) and Solodow (1988) is that the narrative of the
Metamorphoses is static and pictorial, especially when compared to
the dynamic way of narrative presentation in the *Aeneid.* In my
contribution, I would like to show that this observation can be
supported and qualified by a linguistic analysis of the internal
coherence of a number of stories in the *Metamorphoses.*[2] If we start
from the common assumption that coherence in narrative is
essentially based on the *dynamic* progress of successive events, a
relevant question would be how textual coherence and textual
advancement is achieved in a narrative text considered to be quite

[2] The corpus consists of ten stories in books 2, 4, 6 and 8 of the *Metamorphoses*.
For details see Table 3 below. As yet, the structure and coherence of individual
stories in the *Metamorphoses* has received little attention in Ovid *Forschung*. Rare
examples are the analysis of the Pygmalion story by Klug (1999) and of the story of
the daughters of Anius by von Albrecht (1999: 201-207), both based on the use of
tenses. Useful observations on episode structure more in general can be found in
Döscher (1971: 238 f.) and Bernbeck (1967). For an overview of the abundant
literature on the macrostructure of the *Metamorphoses* as a whole, see Crabbe (1981)
and Tsitsiou-Chelidoni (1999: 269-271, note 2); not included in these overviews is the
more recent study by Wheeler (2001).

static in nature. Textual coherence, more specifically use of tenses creating coherence, thus functions as a starting point and frame of reference for this discussion of an essentially literary observation.

Fundamental for my analysis is the insight that texts are usually not monolithic, and that narrative texts rarely consist of sequentially related events only. In addition to such narrative sequences in a strict sense, the episodes of a narrative may also contain, for instance, descriptive or argumentative passages. As I argued in earlier studies (Kroon 2000; 2002), and has also been shown by Smith (2003), these alternating narrative, descriptive, argumentative, etc. passages can be described in terms of various different *discourse modes*, a term I derive from Smith.[3] These discourse modes, which, in a sense, can be seen as the linguistic and local correlate of what in today's research into text linguistics is usually called *text type*, can each be characterized by a different set of linguistic features. These features reflect different principles of textual advancement and, hence, of textual coherence.

I assume that in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* — not unlike what we find in Vergil's *Aeneid* — individual stories are commonly mixtures of three different types of discourse mode, which each display different principles of text progression: *Narrative* (in a strict sense), *Report* and *Description*. However, the presentation of the stories in the *Metamorphoses* seems to differ, as we will see later on, in two important ways from Vergil's approach in the *Aeneid*. Firstly, I will argue that in the *Metamorphoses* the discourse mode Description is used more pervasively and freely than in the *Aeneid*; and secondly, I will try to show that in the *Metamorphoses*, in contrast to what appears to be the case in the *Aeneid* (see Pinkster 1999 and Adema this volume), the advancement of the story usually takes its base in the time of the narrator and not in reference time.[4]

After an introduction of the various discourse modes and the general use of tenses in the *Metamorphoses* (section 2), I will concentrate in section 3 on the particular use of the historic present

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[3] In Kroon (2000; 2002) I use the term discourse mode in a different way. For the sake of clarity, and in conformity with Adema's contribution in this volume, I adopt Smith's terminology here.

[4] By reference time I mean the *hic et nunc* of the story, i.e. the particular moment that is considered at a certain point in the narrative. See also Adema (this volume).

in this poem, which will appear to be the pivotal point in a discussion on Ovid's narrative style, when compared to, for instance, Vergil's style in the *Aeneid.*

2   *Discourse Modes, Text Advancement, and Interpretation of Tense*

A good starting point for the discussion, as already observed above, is the fact that texts (literary or not) are usually not monolithic. For an essentially narrative text this means that it is not only composed of series of sequentially related events (which is a common definition of the narrative text type), but also, for instance, of a number of smaller or larger descriptive, argumentative or informative segments. These alternating segments can be described in terms of various different *discourse modes.* Smith (2003) distinguishes six of these modes: *Narrative, Report, Description, Information, Argument* and *Direct Discourse*.[5] Each of these modes is characterized by a number of distinguishing principles of textual coherence and textual advancement and, therefore, by a distinct set of linguistic features. A passage in the narrative discourse mode, for instance, is assumed to advance in a different way than a descriptive passage, thus displaying a different set of linguistic coherence phenomena.

Similar to the story of the *Aeneid* (Adema, this volume), the individual stories in the *Metamorphoses* mainly involve the discourse modes Narrative, Description and Report. Both works also contain, of course, a considerable amount of Direct Discourse, which I will leave out of my discussion.[6] As hinted upon above, however, the presentation of the stories in the *Metamorphoses* appears to differ in two significant ways from the presentation of the story in the *Aeneid*:

- In the *Metamorphoses,* the narrative advancement of the story usually takes its base in the time of the narrator (retrospective base; basic tense is the perfect), and not in

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[5] Smith does not claim exhaustivity on this point.
[6] I.e., in as far as they do not have the form of an extended embedded story, which is often the case in the *Metamorphoses.*

reference time (story-internal base; basic tense is the historic present);

- In the *Metamorphoses,* the discourse mode Description is used more pervasively and with more variation than in the *Aeneid*, displaying a significant use of the present tense.

In the remainder of this article, I intend to relate the qualification of Ovid's narrative style as relatively 'static' to (i) the observation that the investigated sample of stories displays a more frequent and a more varied use of the discourse mode Description than of the discourse mode Narrative; and (ii) to the observation that if the poet *does* use a narrative discourse mode, this mode is usually short-lived and more often characterized by a retrospective base (= base in narrator's time) than by an internal base (= base in reference time).[7] The use of tenses will serve as the main guide line in the discussion.

2.1   *Discourse Modes*

Let us first have a closer look at the various discourse modes and their characteristic features, by means of an illustrative passage. The excerpt below is taken from the story of Procne and Philomela in the sixth book of the *Metamorphoses*, and displays a clear alternation of the discourse modes Narrative (NAR), Description (DES), and Report (REP).

[1]   Ovid *Metamorphoses* 6.553-562 (Procne and Philomela)[8]
                  iugulum Philomela **parabat**   NAR
spemque suae mortis uiso **conceperat** ense;
ille indignantem et nomen patris usque uocantem
luctantemque loqui comprensam forcipe linguam
abstulit ense fero.

               radix **micat** ultima linguae,   DES

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[7] These observations seem to be in line with Solodow's conclusion (1988: 72; 132) that Ovid's narrative style, in contrast to Vergil's, does not allow any of Ovid's characters to engage our interest for long, and that it is the author himself (rather than any figure in the poem) who is the center of interest.

[8] For the Latin text, I follow the edition of Tarrant (2004). The translations are, with slight adaptations in the representation of the Latin tenses, taken from D.E. Hill, *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, vol. 1-2, Warminster (1985-1992).

ipsa **iacet** terraeque tremens **immurmurat** atrae,
utque salire solet mutilatae cauda colubrae,
palpitat et moriens dominae uestigia **quaerit**.

hoc quoque post facinus (uix ausim credere) fertur   REP
saepe sua lacerum repetisse libidine corpus.

           Philomela was offering him her throat
and, when she saw his sword, had conceived a hope of death;
as her tongue protested, calling all the time on the name
of her father, and struggling to speak, he caught it in pincers
and took it out with his cruel sword.

           The end of its root flickers while
the tongue itself lays trembling and muttering on the black earth,
and as the tail of a mutilated snake will jump,
it quivers and, as it dies, is looking for its mistresses' tracks.

Even after this crime (I would scarcely dare to believe it), they say
he often sought her torn body again in his lust.

Narrative is defined by Smith as a mode which is characterized by
events and *states*, and in which advancement is mainly achieved by
the succession of bounded events.[9] The interpretation of sequence
may arise when verbal forms convey that the initial endpoint of one
event follows the endpoint of another, like in the sequence *ueni uidi
uici*. Together these states of affairs form a series of subsequent
reference times along which the narrative evolves. Whether an
event is bounded depends on the semantic type of state of affairs
(dynamic or static), and on the aspectual viewpoint (perfective or
imperfective) from which the state of affairs is presented.

    Absent in Smith's account, but essential for the present
investigation, is the insight that it is possible to distinguish two
different narrator positions (or *bases;* cf. also the contribution by
Adema):
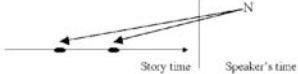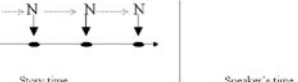
-    *retrospective* position (base in narrator's time); basic tense
  (i.e. the tense that is responsible for the advancement of
  reference time) in Latin is the perfect. From this position the

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[9] In addition, narrative advancement may be indicated by temporal adverbs like
deinde, *tum*, etcetera. For the difference between states (or 'situations') and events,
see e.g. Pinkster (1990: 16-19).

narrator recounts, with his own time as temporal anchor, what took place in reference time.[10]

- *(story-)internal* position (base in reference time); basic tense (i.e. the tense that is responsible for the advancement of reference time) in Latin is the (historic) present. By using this position, the narrator pretends that the moment of narration coincides with reference time, i.e. the moment in the story at which the narrated events actually take place. As the reference time advances, the base also moves.[11]

Figure 1: Narrator positions in the narrative discourse mode[12]

retrospective	• basic tense: perfect • implication of distance between reference time and narrator/audience • reference time advances
internal	• basic tense: present • reference time and narrator's position are pretended to coincide • both reference time and narrator advance

In example [1] above, the first five lines are presented in the discourse mode Narrative, and from a retrospective narrator position. There is one bounded event in the perfect tense, by means of which the reference time of the story is moved up: *abstulit*, the cutting off of Philomela's tongue. In addition there is one unbounded event in the imperfect, *parabat*, which is valid during (and before) the reference time indicated by *abstulit*, but which does not, by itself, serve to advance the story in a forward direction. The same holds for the state implied by the pluperfect *conceperat*.

The discourse mode *Report* is also characterized by events and states (including certain types of general statives[13]), but in this

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[10] This is what Adema (this volume) refers to as the narrative mode; see also n. 15.

[11] This is what Adema (this volume) refers to as the directing mode, which, as I will argue below, seems to be a less relevant concept as far as Ovid is concerned.

[12] Figure 1 is adapted from Adema (2005). N stands for Narrator.

[13] The term *general statives* is reserved by Smith (2003) for patterns and regularities, both generic and non-generic.

particular mode, the individual events are not necessarily related to one another in a strictly consecutive way: rather, they are each, individually, related to the speaker's time. What advances the text in this mode is not the dynamism of subsequent events creating subsequent reference times, but rather the position of the reporter, which gradually advances in time. In example [1] *repetisse* (the fact that Thereus kept visiting Philomela on a regular basis) is presented in the discourse mode Report, as is indicated by a number of elements in the surrounding context: *uix ausim credere*, *fertur*, and *saepe* are all signals of a speaker reporting past events as essentially related to his own present rather than to each other.

Description, finally, is a mode which is characterized mainly by states and ongoing events, as well as by repeated, habitual or otherwise generalizing events.[14] The reference time in this mode is stable or suspended, without dynamism, and the text advancement is spatial rather than temporal in nature: the text advances as the focus of interest moves from one part of the depicted scene or object to another. The interpretation of tense is not, as in the narrative discourse mode, continuous and progressive, but anaphoric: all sentences of a passage in the description mode have the same reference time, which they usually borrow from a state of affairs in the directly preceding context. In example [1] the central part of the passage is presented in the description mode. The tense of the states of affairs described (*micat*, *iacet*, *immurmurat*, *palpitat*, *quaerit*) is anaphoric in the sense that they do not each by themselves introduce a new reference time, but rather take their reference time from the preceding *abstulit* and the moment of the tongue falling onto the ground, implied by *abstulit*.

The above can be summarized as follows:

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[14] Smith (2003) uses the term *general statives* for the latter category, see also note 13.

Table 1: Characteristics of the main discourse modes in the
Metamorphoses and the *Aeneid*[15]

	Narrative	*Report*	*Description*
Type of state of affairs	events states	events states general statives	states ongoing events general statives (patterns)
Type of text advancement	temporal (advancement of reference time)	temporal (advancement of the position of the speaker)	spatial
Interpretation of tense	continuous	deictic (related to the speaker)	anaphoric
Position of speaker (= base)	speaker's time (= retrospective) reference time (= internal)	speaker's time	speaker's time (= retrospective) reference time (= internal)

2.2 *The Use of Tenses in Ovid and Vergil: Some Hypotheses*

After this brief introduction of the concept of discourse mode we can now turn to the actual use of tenses in the *Metamorphoses*, and the hypotheses we might formulate in the light of the dynamic/static discussion. In view of the common evaluation of Ovid's narrative style as more static than Vergil's, we might expect to find, in comparison to the *Aeneid*, a relatively high amount of pluperfects and imperfects in the *Metamorphoses* (both tenses which do not advance reference time), and a relatively low amount of perfects, the reference time advancer *par excellence*. This expectation is, however, not borne out by the statistics, as appears from Tables 2 and 3, which

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[15] The discourse mode Narrative might be split into two subcategories, according to whether the base of the narrator is in speaker's time or in reference time. With regard to Vergil, Adema (this volume) refers to these two subcategories as Narrative and Directing, respectively. For the sake of clarity, and because the directing submode does not seem to play a significant role in Ovid (see below), I prefer to present the two submodes under one heading.

show the distribution of narrative tenses in main clauses in a sample of 1604 verses from Vergil's *Aeneid* and of 1354 verses from Ovid's *Metamorphoses.* The data for Vergil are from Pinkster (1999), those for Ovid are based on my own sample of ten stories.[16]

Table 2: Distribution of narrative tenses in main clauses in Vergil's *Aeneid*[17] and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*[18]

	narr. pr	narr. pf	auth. pf[19] (report)	impf	plqpf	total
Virgil (1604 lines)	467	127	19	66	13	692
	67%	18%	3%	10%	2%	100%
Ovid (1354 lines)	440	239	28	89	36	832
	53%	29%	3%	11%	4%	100%

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[16] The sample is arbitrary in the sense that the stories chosen formed the assignment for the Dutch final school exams in Latin in 2005. Although it is my impression that the sample is more or less representative for the *Metamorphoses* as a whole, there are some indications that in the later books (when myth gradually turns into history and the subject matter partially overlaps with that of the *Aeneid*; cf. also Solodow 1988, ch. 4) Ovid's way of presenting the story comes closer to Vergils' style in the *Aeneid*. In a sample consisting of two stories from book 13 and 14 (13.408-575; 14.75-157), the bounded events appear to be almost as frequent as the unbounded events, whereas in five of the ten stories of the original sample the unbounded events clearly outweigh the bounded events (research papers by Cecilia Orbán and Paulien Out, master seminar on *Latin Text Linguistics* (spring 2006)). See also below.

[17] *Aen.* Book 2; book 4 (1-400); book 5 (1-400); the data for the *Aeneid* are based on Pinkster (1999). For more statistics on the *Aeneid* see also Quinn (1968).

[18] Instances that are ambiguous between a present and a perfect reading, I have assigned to either the category perfect or the category present, mainly on the basis of content and surrounding context. The inaccuracy that this may have caused in the statistics is, however, negligible.

[19] Auth. pf. stands for 'authorial perfect', a term which Pinkster more or less seems to use for what I call, in this article, the use of the perfect in the report mode.

Table 3: Distribution of narrative tenses in main clauses in ten stories
of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*

	narr. pr	narr. pf	auth. pf (report)	impf	plqpf	total
1. Mercury, Herse & Aglauros	48[20]	24	1	8	4	85
Met. 2.708-832 (125 l.)	56%	28%	1%	9%	5%	100%
2. Pyramus & Thisbe	27	23	6	6	2	64
Met. 4.55-166 (112 l.)	42%	36%	9%	9%	3%	100%
3. Hermaphroditus & Salmacis	40	20	-	3	-	63
Met. 4.288-388 (101 l.)	63%	32%		5%		100%
4. Niobe	46	28	-	9	11	94
Met. 6.146-312 (167 l.)	49%	30%		10%	12%	100%
5. Lycian farmers	22	13	4	3	3	45
Met. 6.313-381 (69 l.)	49%	29%	9%	7%	7%	100%
6. Procne & Philomela	119	42	-	15	5	181
Met. 6.424-674 (251 l.)	66%	23%		8%	3%	100%
7. Scylla & Minos	14	11	3	13	6	47
Met. 8.6-151 (146 l.)	30%	23%	6%	28%	13%	100%
8. Althaea & Meleager	40	25	-	6	2	73
Met. 8.414-532 (128 l.)	55%	34%		8%	3%	100%
9. Philemon & Baucis	41	23	13	8	1	86
Met. 8.611-724 (114 l.)	48%	27%	15%	9%	1%	100%
10. Erysichthon	43	30	1	18	2	94
Met. 8.738-878 (141 l.)	46%	32%	1%	20%	2%	100%
TOTAL (1354 lines)	440	239	28	89	36	832
	53%	29%	3%	11%	4%	100%

What do these figures tell us? For one thing, that the use of the 'backgrounding' tenses imperfect and pluperfect (which usually designate states and ongoing events) is not significantly more frequent in the Ovid sample than in the Vergil sample. Hence, the impression of a 'static' or 'pictorial' presentation in the

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[20] Not included are 12 present tense forms of which the designation of actual or historic reading is ambiguous (11 verb forms in lines 775-782; and *est* in l. 761).

Metamorphoses cannot simply be ascribed to, and explained by, a relatively frequent use of these tenses.

Another observation from the Tables above is that the relative frequency of the 'narrative' perfect (i.e. the frequency of the narrative perfect as compared to the other tenses) is significantly higher in the *Metamorphoses*-sample than in the *Aeneid*-sample. There is a big difference also in an absolute sense between the frequency of the perfect tense in the Ovid-sample and in the Vergil-sample: whereas in the *Metamorphoses*-sample, the perfect occurs once every 5.7 lines, in the *Aeneid*-sample this is the case only once in every 12.6 lines.[21] At first sight, this observation seems contrary to the impression that Ovid's narrative presentation is more static than the presentation in the *Aeneid*, on the assumption that a dynamic way of story-telling relies especially on the use of the perfect tense.

All in all, these figures, combined with what we know about the use of the present tense in Vergil (Pinkster 1999, Adema 2005; this volume), may lead to the conclusion that the difference in narrative presentation (dynamic versus more static) may be related to how both authors make use of the historic present. My hypothesis on the basis of Table 2 is, therefore, that the *Aeneid* and the *Metamorphoses* differ significantly as to their use of the (historic) present tense, and that the observed differences in narrative style between both works is reflected by a different use of this particular tense. In the following section, I will focus on Ovid's specific use of the present tense, and on the various narrative techniques in which this tense plays a role.

3   *The Use of the Present Tense in Ovid's* Metamorphoses

The historic present is usually considered a stylistic alternative to the perfect tense. As such, it is the basic tense for continuous narrative in the *Aeneid* (Pinkster 1999; Adema, this volume). Section 3.1 discusses this particular use of the present tense in the

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[21] Although the *Metamorphoses* sample is relatively dense in main clause narrative tenses (once every 1.6 lines, against once every 2.3 lines in the *Aeneid* sample), this difference cannot fully explain the difference in frequency of the perfect tense in both poems.

Metamorphoses, which will appear, in fact, to be quite marginal. In section 3.2 we will focus on the use of the historic present as an alternative to the imperfect, which, by contrast, will prove to be a highly characteristic feature of the *Metamorphoses*, and indicative of the work's alleged lack of narrative dynamicity. In both sections, special attention will be given to the possible motivations for using the present tense, which will point to a number of typically Ovidian narrative techniques.

3.1   *The Present as an Alternative for the Perfect?*

In the *Aeneid*, the historic present is the basic tense for continuous narrative, that is, for consecutive bounded events which gradually advance the reference time, with the special effect of an eyewitness account which is typical of a mode in which reference time and narrative base are pretended to coincide (Pinkster 1990; 1999).[22] This particular use of the present tense is, however, quite marginal in my *Metamorphoses*-sample, and usually confined to isolated instances instead of longer series. In the cases involved, the perfect tense would indeed also have been possible, but the use of the present tense always seems to be clearly motivated on account of its particular semantic value, which in Pinkster (1990, ch. 8; 1999) is described in terms of *simultaneity with speech time*. There are two groups of instances in my sample, one in which the events in the present indicate a *narrative peak* (example [2]), and one in which the present tense forms are used for what I call *zoom* (example [3]).

> [2]   Ovid *Metamorphoses* 6.343-348 (Lycian farmers)
> forte lacum mediocris aquae **prospexit** in imis
> uallibus; agrestes illic fruticosa **legebant**
> uimina cum iuncis gratamque paludibus uluam;
> **accessit** positoque genu Titania terram
> **pressit**, ut hauriret gelidos potura liquores.
> rustica turba **uetat**; dea sic **adfata** uetantes:
> 'quid prohibetis aquis?'
>
> By chance she saw before her a lake of moderate size at the bottom

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of the valley; the country people were gathering bushy osiers
there and rushes and the sedge that favours marshes.
Titania approached and knelt down
upon the ground to scoop up the cool water to drink it.
The rustic mob forbids her. As they forbade the goddess spoke so:
'Why do you keep me from the water?'

In the example above, a retrospective narrative discourse mode, carried by three perfect forms (*prospexit*, *accessit*, *pressit*, indicating successive events) and one imperfect form (*legebant*), is temporarily interrupted by one brief 'internal' moment in the present tense (*rustica turba uetat*), which is undeniably the most central and emotional event in the entire story of the Lycian farmers, with some far-reaching consequences: the farmers prevent Latona from the logical next step in the narrative sequence, Latona's drinking from the pool. After this brief moment of internal presentation the story continues with another perfect form, *adfata*.

In [3], from the story of Hermaphroditus and Salmacis, the present is used for 'zooming in', a technique also known from the *Aeneid* and for which Quinn (1968: 94) uses the term 'tracking forward'[23]: the camera starts, so to speak, at a certain distance and gradually moves closer, spatially *and* temporally, to the events and location which are to be the centre of the narrative. We arrive in Lycia, and eventually at the actual scene of the action in Caria, via a 'previous history' of *ignotis locis* and *ignota flumina* The alternation of narrative tenses and, hence, of narrative bases (from retrospective to story-internal) clearly has a text structural effect. This structuralizing effect is enhanced further by the use of the relatively 'heavy' anaphoric pronoun *ille* in a position where, on account of the fact that the current discourse topic is continued, we could have expected a 'lighter' form of anaphoric reference, or even a zero anaphora (i.e. ellipsis of the subject).[24]

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[23] See also Döscher (1971: 243f) for the *Metamorphoses*.

[24] For the use of *ille* at boundaries in the structure of the text, see also Bolkestein (2000) and De Greef (2004). The anaphoric pronoun *ille* is typically used when the attention in a text shifts from a person or object with topic status to another person or object present in the scene. When used by Ovid in an environment of topic continuity, the anaphoric use of *ille* always seems to coincide with some other type of break in the continuity of the text, as is the case in example [3], where *ille* coincides with a shift in narrative base, and also e.g. in *Met.* 1. 322-323, where *ille* occurs at the transition from a narrative mode to a report mode (research papers by

[3]   Ovid *Metamorphoses* 4.292-298 (Hermaphroditus & Salmacis)
is tria cum primum fecit quinquennia, montes
deseruit patrios Idaque altrice relicta
ignotis errare locis, ignota uidere
flumina **gaudebat**, studio minuente laborem.
ille etiam Lycias urbes Lyciaeque propinquos
Caras **adit**: **uidet** hic stagnum lucentis ad imum
usque solum lymphae;

As soon as he had lived three times five years, he left his father's
mountains and abandoned Ida where he'd been brought up
and began to enjoy wandering in unfamiliar places and seeing
unfamiliar rivers with a zeal that made light of toil.
He even went to the Lycian cities and to the Lyceans' neighbours,
the Carians; here he sees a pond of water
gleaming all the way to the bottom.

3.2   *The Present as an Alternative for the Imperfect?*

Much more frequently, however, than as an alternative for the
perfect tense in a narrative discourse mode, the present tense in the
Metamorphoses appears to be used in a description mode, for
indicating states of affairs which refer to states, ongoing events, and
habitual or repetitive events — in other words, for states of affairs
that do not contribute to the advancement of the reference time of
the story. As such, the present tense seems to be in competition with
the imperfect more often than with the perfect.[25] The use of the
present tense instead of the imperfect, is, again, quite
understandable on the basis of the semantic function of the present.
In my sample of ten stories, we can distinguish four types of
motivations for using the present instead of the imperfect, which are
exemplified in [4]-[11].

    A first motivation seems to be a deliberate play with the potential
ambiguity of the present tense in a narrative text, which can get an

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Inez van Egeraat and Mark Woertman, master seminar on *Latin Text Linguistics*
(spring 2006); Michiel van der Keur, research report (July 2006)).
    [25] This particular use of the present can also be found in the *Aeneid*, but on a
much smaller scale (Pinkster 1999; Adema, personal communication). According to
Oldsjö (2001, § 9.1), in Latin historiography the historic present does not function as
an alternative for the imperfect at all.

actual, historic, or universal/eternal reading. This ambiguity can be illustrated by example [4] below, which continues the passage cited under [3]:

> [4]   Ovid *Metamorphoses* 4.297-304 (Hermaphroditus and Salmacis)
>   **uidet** hic stagnum lucentis ad imum
> usque solum lymphae; non illic canna palustris
> nec steriles uluae nec acuta cuspide iunci;
> perspicuus liquor **est;** stagni tamen ultima uiuo
> caespite **cinguntur** semperque uirentibus herbis.
> nympha **colit**, sed nec uenatibus apta nec arcus
> flectere quae soleat nec quae contendere cursu,
> solaque naiadum celeri non nota Dianae.
>
>   Here he sees a pond of water
> gleaming all the way to the bottom. There is[26] no marsh reed there,
> nor barren sedge, nor rushes with pointed tips:
> the water is clear, but the edge of the pond is surrounded
> by a fresh lawn, with grass that was always green.
> A nymph liues there, not one that is good at hunting or used
> to bending a bow or competing in a chase,
> and the only one of the Naiads unknown to swift Diana.

In the first line of example [4] we are dealing, as we have seen, with the discourse mode Narrative, in which the present tense form *videt* requires a historic interpretation: Hermaphroditus has reached Caria, where he discovers a pond (*adit*, *uidet*; historic presents). A description of the pond follows, ending in the observation that it is the residence of a nymph (*nympha colit*, 302), who, in turn, now becomes the object of a description herself (not cited here). By means of the (continued) use of the present tense, the narrator seems to deliberately leave it undecided whether the present tense in the description would call for a specific and historic reading, or for an eternal reading (i.e. as continuing outside the borders of the specific story world referred to here and still valid at the narrator's time).[27] Ovid seems to prefer this type of ambiguity over the transparancy of the imperfect, which, of course, can only be given a historic interpretation.

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[26]   Hill translates: 'There *was* no marsh reed there'. He also uses past tenses for all the other verbs in this passage.

[27]   Perhaps *illic* in l. 298 may be seen as an explicit indication for the latter interpretation; more research on deictic words is needed here.

A comparable use of the ambiguity of the present tense can be seen in example [5]. The passage, taken from the story of Mercury, Herse and Aglauros in book 2, illustrates a frequent Ovidian technique which I call *hint of universality*. It concerns the gradual and almost unnoticed fading from the specific and time-bound to the general (perhaps even generic) and timeless.

> [5] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 2.773-783 (Mercury, Herse and Aglauros)
> utque deam uidit formaque armisque decoram,   NAR
> **ingemuit** uultumque una ac suspiria **duxit**.
> pallor in ore **sedet**, macies in corpore toto,   DES
> nusquam recta acies, **liuent** rubigine dentes,
> pectora felle **uirent**, lingua **est** suffusa ueneno.
> risus **abest**, nisi quem uisi mouere dolores,
> nec **fruitur** somno, uigilacibus excita curis,
> sed **uidet** ingratos **intabescit**que uidendo
> successus hominum **carpit**que et **carpitur** una
> suppliciumque suum **est**. quamuis tamen oderat illam,
> talibus **adfata est** breuiter Tritonia dictis: NAR
>
> And, when she saw the goddess resplendent in beauty and in arms,
> she groaned and screwed up her expression in a deep sigh.
> Her face has a settled pallor, she is gaunt in all her body,
> her gaze is never straight, her teeth are foul with decay,
> her breasts are green with bile and her tongue is drenched in poison.
> She has no smile, except one brought by the sight of other's sorrows,
> and she never enjoys sleep, roused as she is by wakeful cares,
> but she looks at men's unwelcome success
> and wastes away as she looks; gnawing and gnawed together,
> she is her own punishment. But, however much she hated her,
> Tritonia still spoke briefly to her with words like this:

In the preceding context, the narrator has told us how Minerva, plotting revenge on Aglauros, arrived at the house of personified envy, the highly unattractive Invidia. The first lines of the fragment cited here (773-774), show us Invidia's reaction on the arrival of the goddess, after which there is a description of Invidia in the form of a series of states in the present tense. As a result of the semantic coherence evoked by the succession of the words *uultum* and *ore* (774 and 775), the description seems to start out as merely valid within the time frame of the specific story world referred to: when the description starts, time is suspended and *sedet* seems to be anaphorically related to the reference time established in the

previous text by *duxit*. But gradually, starting from *nusquam* in line 776, the present tense forms appear to break out of the specific time frame of the story, and acquire a universal and generic validity. This universal description is rounded off by the paradox *carpitque et carpitur*, from which we return to the actual story world.[28]

In a text in which metamorphoses play such a prominent role and in which the story world described in fact pertains to a dimension out of time[29], this gradual fading from specific to general/generic, and from time-bound to timeless, does not come as a surprise and finds a suitable conveyance in the use of present tense, which, in contrast to the imperfect, is always able to evoke and underline this ambiguity. This is not to say that we do not come across longer descriptions in the imperfect tense in the *Metamorphoses*, as is illustrated by example [6], which contains a comparable description of Fames, hunger personified. It is my impression, however, that the use of the imperfect in the description mode is rare in the *Metamorphoses*.[30]

[6]   Ovid *Metamorphoses* 8.799-809 (Erysichthon)

quaesitamque Famem lapidoso **uidit** in agro	NAR
unguibus et raras uellentem dentibus herbas.	
hirtus **erat** crinis, caua lumina, pallor in ore,	DES
labra incana situ, scabrae rubigine fauces,	
dura cutis, per quam spectari uiscera possent;	
ossa sub incuruis **exstabant** arida lumbis,	
uentris **erat** pro uentre locus; pendere putares	
pectus et a spinae tantummodo crate teneri.	
auxerat articulos macies genuumque **tumebat**	

_____

[28] For the role of paradoxes and sententiae in the *Metamorphoses,* cf. Döscher (1971: 256) and Solodow (1988: 46-52); see also below, in the discussion of example [7].

[29] Cf. Solodow (1988: 122): 'All the stories, and all their parts almost, might be taking place in a single moment, an eternal present'.

[30] As a matter of fact, the passage in [6] seems to be one of the very few examples in the *Metamorphoses* in which a description mode is characterized by the imperfect tense. Suzana Rensburg-Dapcevska (research paper, master seminar on *Latin Text Linguistics* (spring 2006)) found no close parallels in the *Metamorphoses*. The use of the imperfect (instead of the present) in this particular instance may have been triggered by the embedded focalization (we see Fames through the eyes of the nymph, cf. *uidit* in line 799 and 809), but obviously more research is needed here. Cf. also Smith (2002: 71): 'The imperfective viewpoint is known to be hospitable to particular perspectives. The imperfect focuses on an internal interval of a situation and is traditionally said to involve an 'internal perspective' (Comrie 1976)'.

orbis et inmodico **prodibant** tubere tali.
hanc procul ut uidit....   **NAR**

Searching for Hunger, she saw her in a stony field
tearing at the sparse vegetation with her fingernails and teeth.
Her hair was shaggy, she had hollow eyes, a pallid face,
lips white from disuse, throat raw and blighted,
and hard skin through which her bowels could be seen;
shrivelled bones stood out under her hollow loins,
her belly was a space for a belly; you would think her breasts
were hanging off and only just held up by the rib cage on her spine;
her thinness had enlarged her joints, her knee joints
were bulging and her ankles stood out immensely swollen.
When she saw her from afar...

A third motivation for using the present instead of the imperfect has to do with the technique of '*zoom*', a phenomenon we have encountered already, in a slightly different form, in the context of the narrative discourse mode (see example [3] above). Examples [7] and [8] below serve as an illustration. Both involve an extended passage in the description mode, which *as a whole* has a preparative function with regard to a central narrative incident that follows later on (indicated in the examples by NAR). In both descriptive passages the imperfect tense is, at a certain point, replaced by the present, as if to announce that the text is gradually approaching a major focus of interest (i.e. the narrative incident that is to follow the description). Another way of saying this, is that the retrospective base from which the description is presented at first, is changed into a story-internal base for a certain reason.

The Description passage in [7] is a good example of Ovid's static and pictorial narrative style. The passage is taken from the beginning of the story of Mercury, Herse and Aglauros, in which the poet describes how Mercury falls in love with the beautiful Herse. The passage quoted is the introduction to a second part of the story, in which we will be confronted with the ruses of Herse's jealous sister Aglauros, and which will eventually lead to the description of Invidia cited in example [5] above.

[7]   Ovid *Metamorphoses* 2.708-726 (Mercury, Herse and Aglauros)
Hinc se **sustulerat** paribus Caducifer alis,   **DES**
Munychiosque uolans agros gratamque Mineruae
despectabat humum cultique arbusta Lycei.
illa forte die castae de more puellae

uertice supposito festas in Pallados arces
pura coronatis **portabant** sacra canistris.
inde reuertentes deus **aspicit** ales iterque   *ZOOM*
non **agit** in rectum sed in orbem **curuat** eundem
ut uolucris uisis rapidissima miluus extis,   *SIM*
dum timet et densi circumstant sacra ministri,
flectitur in gyrum nec longius audet abire
spemque suam motis auidus circumuolat alis,
sic super Actaeas agilis Cyllenius arces
inclinat cursus et easdem **circinat** auras.
quanto splendidior quam cetera sidera fulget   *SIM*
Lucifer et quanto quam Lucifer aurea Phoebe,
tanto uirginibus praestantior omnibus Herse
ibat eratque decus pompae comitumque suarum.
obstipuit forma Ioue natus…   **NAR**

The staffbearer took himself up away from here on his balanced wings
and, as he flew, looked down upon the Mun. fields and Minerva's
favourite earth and the woods of the cultured Lyceum.
It happened on that day that chaste girls in accordance with the
custom,were carrying on top of their heads pure and sacred objects
in garlanded baskets to the citadel of Pallas on the festival.
The winged god notices them as they are coming back from there and
does not take a straight path but veers round into the same arc.
Just as the kite, swiftest of birds when it has seen entrails,
wheels round in a circle while it is afraid and the priests
stand crowding around the sacrifice, and it dares not go too far away
but, with flapping wings, flies eagerly around what it is hoping for;
even so the eager Cyllenian diverts his course above
the Actaean citadels and circles through the same air.
Just as Lucifer shines more brightly than the other
stars, and just as Phoebe outshines Lucifer,
even so was Herse outstanding over all the maidens
as she went and was the glory of the procession and her companions.
Jove's son was dumbfounded by her beauty…

In the above example we first see Mercury, flying high in the air and
looking down on the Athenian earth, where at the same time a group
of girls, among whom the beautiful Herse, is heading to the temple
of Pallas. Mercury then narrows his view and keeps circling above
the procession of the girls. The use of the present tense (*adspicit*, *agit*,
curuat) is quite explainable here, considering that there is a

transition from visual 'distance' to visual 'proximity'.[31] With the exception of the final verse of the fragment, the entire passage 708-725 may be regarded as a Description: the states of affairs referred to are all unbounded events, which are presented as continuing or in progress. This means that they do not, by themselves, establish a shift forward in the reference time of the story. It is in this sense that the episode can indeed be said to be lacking in narrative dynamism. As is common in the description mode, the textual progression is mainly of a spatial nature: the text does not so much advance by a gradual shift of the story's reference time, as by shifting the attention, within one and the same scene and one and the same reference time, alternately from Mercury high in the air, to Athens and the procession of Athenian girls below.

It is significant how, shortly before zooming in (see the indication ZOOM in line 714), the narrator skillfully manages to imply a shift in reference time (the only one in the entire passage) without having to switch to a narrative discourse mode: by means of the participle *reuertentes* it is implied (rather than stated), that the inherently telic state of affairs *sacra portare in arces*, which, by virtue of the imperfect tense, was presented as being in progress, has indeed reached completion and is now followed by a next event on the time line. The narrative discourse mode is apparently overruled here by the description mode: the narrator adroitly jumps from picture to picture, while keeping the dynamic narrative framework to a minimum.

After this subtle, non-dynamic way of shifting the reference time, the description is continued, this time by means of present tense forms which suggest a gradual zooming in or focusing, in the sense of working up to a narrative incident that is to follow. It is possible to consider *aspicit* here as a brief narrative moment in an otherwise descriptive environment, as Hill's translation seems to imply. This is, however, not strictly necessary: in addition to the momentaneous meaning 'to catch sight of', *aspicere* can also mean 'gaze upon' or 'to examine with the eyes', states of affairs that in essence can be

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[31] Zooming in (from general to specific, from the outside to the inside, from broad to narrow, etc.) is a common narrative technique in the *Metamorphoses* (cf. Döscher 1971), as well as in the *Aeneid* (cf. Quinn 1968).

presented as being in progress, as is the case in, for instance, line 748 of this story (not cited here).[32]

The impression of a description in separate images, instead of the narration of a series of bounded events, is enhanced further by the insertion of two similes, indicated in example [7] by the abbreviation SIM. In my sample (cf. also example [1] above and [11] below), similes appear to be a recurrent feature of the discourse mode description, and have the effect of a picture within a picture. Like the use of paradoxes and sententiae, and the use of the present tense, they can be seen as a means to release the descriptions from their specific and time-bound framework, and to 'raise' them to a general and timeless plane.[33]

Example [8] offers a comparable instance of a description mode in which, for reasons of 'zoom', the imperfect tense is substituted, after several lines, by the present tense.[34] The structural boundary involved here is not only signalled by a change in tense (pointing to a change in the narrator's base), but also by the significant use of the relatively strong anaphoric pronoun *illi* in line 48, in a case of continuity of the discourse topic (see also example [3] above, and note 24).

> [8]   Ovid *Metamorphoses* 8.32-45 (Scylla & Minos)
> cum uero faciem dempto nudauerat aere   DES
> purpureusque albi stratis insignia pictis
> terga **premebat** equi spumantiaque ora **regebat**,
> uix sua, uix sanae uirgo Niseia compos
> mentis **erat**: felix iaculum quod tangeret ille,
> quaeque manu premeret felicia frena **uocabat**.
> impetus **est** *illi*, liceat modo, ferre per agmen   *ZOOM*
> uirgineos hostile gradus, **est** impetus illi
> turribus e summis in Cnosia mittere corpus
> castra uel aeratas hosti recludere portas,
> uel si quid Minos aliud uelit.
>   utque sedebat   **NAR**

---

[32]   OLD *sv aspicio*, 2. Cf. Liv. 44.45.4 *situm urbis undique aspiciens.*
[33]   Note that the two similes in example [7] both hint at a next phase of 'zooming in', which follows immediately afterwards: after zooming in from Athens on the procession of the girls (change from imperfect to present), the similes prepare us for the final stage of focusing: the singling out of one specific girl, Herse.
[34]   Note that *impetus est* in line 38 is not a bounded event but a state, as is indicated by the addition *liceat modo.*

candida Dictaei spectans tentoria regis,
'laeter,' **ait** 'doleamne geri lacrimabile bellum,
in dubio est...'

But when he had removed his bronze helmet and bared his face,
and in his purple was pressing down upon the back of his white horse,
glorious (....), and was controlling its foaming mouth,
scarcely her own self, scarcely possessed of her right mind was the
Nisean maiden: she called his javelin lucky because it was touched by
him, and his reins lucky because they were pressed into his hand.
It is her impulse, if only it were allowed, to take her maiden's
steps through the enemy line, it is her impulse
to throw her body from the top of the towers into the Cnossian
camp, or to open the bronze gates to the enemy,
or anything else that Minos might wish.
                                        And as she sat down
and gazed upon the gleaming tents of the Dictaean king,
'I am in doubt', she said, 'whether to rejoice or grieve that this
lamentable war is being waged; ...'

A final motivation for the use of the historic present instead of the imperfect I subsume under the category *fragmentation*. By this term I refer to series of historic presents in the description mode which *together* fill in the specific details of one, more general, bounded event/reference time in the narrative discourse mode. In narratological terms, we might speak of 'summaries' and 'scenes' in such instances. We already came across one instance of fragmentation in example [1], where the fragmented bounded event — the falling on the ground of Philomela's tongue — remained, however, implicit. In [9] below there *is* an explicit bounded event, *deriguit* (referring to Niobe's petrification), which is spelled out in a number of sub-events and –states filling in the details. As is usual in the description mode, the ongoing events and states involved are related to one another in a spatial rather than in a temporal way:

[9]   Ovid *Metamorphoses* 6.303-312 (Niobe)
deriguitque malis.   NAR

                        nullos **mouet** aura capillos,   DES
in uultu color **est** sine sanguine, lumina maestis
stant inmota genis; nihil **est** in imagine uiuum.
ipsa quoque interius cum duro lingua palato
congelat, et uenae **desistunt** posse moueri;
nec flecti ceruix nec bracchia reddere motus

nec pes ire **potest**; intra quoque uiscera saxum **est**.
flet tamen et ualidi circumdata turbine uenti

in patriam **rapta est**: ibi fixa cacumine montis   REP
liquitur, et lacrimas etiam nunc marmora **manant**.

And she grew rigid from her woes.

                              The breeze moves not a hair,
the colour in her face is bloodless, her eyes stand unmoving
in their sad sockets; there is nothing living in her appearence.
Even her tongue itself freezes inside her together with her hardened
palate, and her veins lose the ability to be moved;
her neck can not be bent nor her arms make movements
nor her foot go ; inside her bowels too it is stone.
And yet she weeps and, wrapped in a mighty whirlwind,

was snatched off to her native land; there fixed to a mountain peak
she melts away and even now as marble flows with tears.

The coherence and advancement of the descriptive passage in
example [9] is clearly enhanced by the iconic nature of the
description, which is in compliance with the prescripts of ancient
rhetoric: the camera scans the petrified Niobe from head to feet and
from the outside to the inside (*uiscera*, l. 309), quite comparable to
the way in which Hunger is described in the story of Erysichthon
(see example [6] above). The choice for the present tense instead of
the imperfect seems to be motivated in a negative as well as in a
positive way. Negatively, because it is not quite feasible that after
the mentioning of a bounded event (*deriguit*), this state of affairs will
be specified further by a series of progressives and states in the
imperfect tense, considering that series of imperfects are commonly
used for *working up* to a particular bounded event (narrative
technique of building up narrative tension), rather than
retrospectively *filling in* its details. At the same time, the choice of
the present tense seems to be motivated positively, as in this way the
description can be 'promoted' from its initial specific and time-
bound narrative frame to a more general and timeless frame.

    Thus, what we see in example [9], and also in [10] and [11] below,
is a narrator who 'freezes' the ongoing story at a certain reference
time by exchanging the narrative discourse mode for a description
mode — or, stated otherwise, by 'fragmenting' the perfect tense

event in reference time into a number of unbounded sub-events and states in the present. As the reference time in this typically Ovidian technique does not proceed with these sub-events, and the sub-events themselves do not necessarily maintain a consecutive relationship, these series of presents contribute, in a certain sense, to the impression of a static way of story-telling: although the individual states of affairs may display a certain degree of internal dynamism, there is no real progress of the reference time of the story as a whole.

In [10] the reference time constituted by the perfect tense form *arsit* (the ignition of the wooden stick that Althaea has thrown into the fire) is filled in by a number of present tense events describing the miraculous contemporaneous effects of this event on Meleager, who is at a different location. As most of the events seem to be presented here as ongoing or repeated, there is only a weak sense of temporal succession and advancement of reference time.[35] As such, the passage can be considered as belonging to the description mode. With the perfect forms *est exstinctus* and *abiit* we return to the narrative discourse mode and to the next reference time.

[10]   Ovid *Metamorphoses* 8.514-525 (Althaea & Meleager)

	(...)
stipes, et inuitis correptus ab ignibus **arsit**.	NAR
Inscius atque absens flamma Meleagros ab illa	DES
uritur et caecis torreri uiscera **sentit**	
ignibus ac magnos **superat** uirtute dolores.	
quod tamen ignauo cadat et sine sanguine leto,	
maeret et Ancaei felicia uulnera **dicit**	
grandaeuumque patrem fratresque piasque sorores	
cum gemitu sociamque tori **uocat** ore supremo,	
forsitan et matrem. **crescunt** ignisque dolorque	
languescuntque iterum;	
simul **est exstinctus** uterque,	NAR
inque leues **abiit** paulatim spiritus auras	
paulatim cana prunam uelante fauilla.	

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[35] The position of the iterative sentence *crescunt ignisque dolorque languescuntque iterum* after the words *uocat ore supremo* in the preceding line, can be taken as an argument for an iterative interpretation of *uocat ore supremo* as well, and as contributing to the weak sense of temporal succession in the entire passage 515-523.

The stick (...), seized by unwilling fires, caught alight.

Though unaware and absent, Meleager is burnt by that
flame and feels his flesh scorched by unseen
fires, but he overcomes the great pains with his courage.
And yet that he is falling to an ignoble death without bloodshed
is grievous to him, and he calls Ancaeus' wounds happy
and, with a groan, he summons his aged father, his brothers, his pious
sisters and, with his last words, the companion of his marriage bed,
perhaps his mother too. The fire and pain grow
and subside again;

                        both were extinguished together,
and his spirit slowly went away into the light air
as a white ash slowly clothed the embers.

A final, very good example of fragmentation comes from the story of
Hermaphroditus and Salmacis:

[11]   Ovid *Metamorphoses* 4.346-355 (Hermaphroditus & Salmacis)
tum uero **placuit**, nudaeque cupidine formae
Salmacis **exarsit**;   NAR

                        flagrant quoque lumina nymphae,   DES 1
non aliter quam cum puro nitidissimus orbe
opposita speculi referitur imagine Phoebus;
uixque moram **patitur** uix iam sua gaudia **differt**,
iam **cupit** amplecti, iam se male **continet** amens.
ille cauis uelox adplauso corpore palmis   DES 2
desilit in latices alternaque bracchia ducens
in liquidis **translucet** aquis, ut eburnea si quis
signa tegat claro uel candida lilia uitro.

Then indeed he gave pleasure and Salmacis burnt with desire
for his naked beauty:

                        and the nymph's eyes are aflame too
just as when Phoebus' orb, clear and at its brightest,
is reflected in the image of a mirror facing it.
She can scarcely bear delay, scarcely put off her pleasure,
now she wants to embrace him, now she can in her madness
                                    hardly contain herself.

He swiftly jumps down in the waters, slapping his body
with hollowed palms and, plying his arms in turn,
he gleams through the transparent waters just like an ivory
statue or white lilies if someone encases them in clear glass.

In this example, the technique of fragmentation seems to be applied twice. First, the perfect form *exarsit* (belonging to the narrative discourse mode) is 'visually' filled in with descriptive details of Salmacis' emotional state of mind (line 347b-351). After this, the poet continues by giving the details of Hermaphroditus' contemporaneous taking pleasure in the water. In this second description, introduced by the topic shift marker *ille* (see above), I take *desilit* as an unbounded, iterative event, although the alternative interpretation (bounded event which advances reference time) is, of course, not excluded here. Note that in the next verse *translucet* describes the visual effect of an action that itself is only referred to in an embedded participle construction (*bracchia ducens*): another technique that contributes to a static and pictorial way of storytelling. Note also that the two descriptions are more or less equal in length, and that both contain a simile. The length of the descriptions, as compared to their unfragmented narrative 'counterpart' in line 346-7a, as well as the emphatic expressions *uix ... uix* and *iam ... iam ... iam* in the first description, support the impression that the vignettes form the actual focus of the poet's attention.

4 *Conclusion*

The general aim of this contribution was to show how an analysis of an author's manipulation of the linguistic resources (in this case, especially those of tense marking) can enhance our understanding of a literary Latin text, and to give an indication of how such an analysis can serve as an instrument for stylistic comparison between different texts within the same genre (in this case, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as compared to Vergil's *Aeneid*). More specifically, the paper has attempted to illustrate how linguistics may contribute to operationalizing such notoriously difficult concepts as narrative style and text type. By linking the literary notion of narrative dynamism to the linguistically defined concept of discourse mode (in which tense and semantic type of state of affairs play an essential role), I have tried, for a selection of stories in the *Metamorphoses*, to demonstrate how Ovid's narrative style can indeed be regarded as pictorial and static — an analysis which, at the same time, revealed

some of the major principles of textual coherence and textual structure in the stories of the *Metamorphoses*.

It appears that Ovid tells his stories preferably in the form of series of separate pictures, an observation that is in accordance with Solodow's literary analysis of the Aeneas-story in books 13 and 14 of the *Metamorphoses*.[36] These series of 'snapshots' are held together by a rather broadly sketched and economical narrative framework, which is conveyed mainly by perfect tense forms in a retrospective narrative mode, and by scattered Report. Longer series of perfect tense verb forms are rare and usually confined to passages with the function of previous history.[37] The snapshots, which form the main body of the stories, usually display a relatively low degree of temporal dynamics (in the sense of a steady succession of bounded events), as is indicated especially by the type of states of affairs they contain: states, progressives, and so-called general statives. Textual advancement in these 'vignettes' is spatial rather than temporal, and if temporal advancement is at all present, this has to be inferred more often than that it is indicated explicitly (see e.g. the discussion on example [7] above). The prevalent discourse mode in the vignettes is Description rather than Narrative.

In the discourse mode Description, so highly characteristic of Ovid's style in the *Metamorphoses*, we do come across, as expected, the imperfect tense. Significant, however, is the much more frequent use of the present tense, which in the *Metamorphoses*, in contrast to the *Aeneid*, is usually not a narrative tense in the strict sense of the word, but rather a 'description' tense. This particular use of the

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[36] Solodow (1988, chapter 4; see especially p. 124).

[37] Perfect tense forms in main clauses tend to be isolated, or to occur in short series of two or three perfect forms. They usually involve movements in time and space in between individual scenes. Longer series of perfects in the sample are found in 4.55-79 (Pyramus and Thisbe); 6.424-438 (Thereus, Procne & Philomela); 8.611-634 (Philemon and Baucis); 8.738-776 (Erysichthon). In all these cases, we are dealing with previous history, in which a deceleration of the tempo would be out of place. In the story of Hermaphroditus and Salmacis, as well as in the story of Althaea and Meleager, series of perfects are lacking altogether. Longer series of perfect forms outside previous history are 6.621-636 (the murdering of Ithys, in the story of Procne and Philomela), and 4.100-106 (from the story of Pyramus and Thisbe, which in other respects also appears to be the most dynamic story of the sample). Data: research paper Miriam Vallinga, master seminar on *Latin Text Linguistics* (spring 2006).

historic present instead of the imperfect tense does occur in the *Aeneid*, but less pervasively[38], while according to Oldsjö (2001) this use is altogether lacking in Roman historiography. There always seems to be a positive motivation for the use of the present (instead of the imperfect) in these descriptive passages, which in all cases can be related to the specific semantic value of the present (i.e. simultaneity with speaker's time). These motivations can be described in terms of four, typically Ovidean, narrative techniques: deliberate ambiguity between a historic and an actual/eternal reading; hint of universality; zoom; and fragmentation.

All in all, we can say that the difference between Ovid and Vergil in narrative style and treatment of the epic genre comes to the fore most explicitly in the different ways in which they make use of the historic present: Vergil for continuous, connected action and movement through (historical) time, Ovid for 'the arrested moment, the unchanging picture'[39], which always tends to break loose from the specific and timebound narrative frame by which it is enclosed.

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[38] Adema, personal communication.
[39] Solodow (1988: 127).

CHAPTER SIX

SENSE AND SENTENCE COMPLEXITY
SENTENCE STRUCTURE, SENTENCE CONNECTION, AND TENSE-ASPECT AS INDICATORS OF NARRATIVE MODE IN THUCYDIDES' *HISTORIES* [1]

Rutger J. Allan

1 *Introduction: Two Styles*

Thucydides' unique literary style is particularly known for its striking complexity, which often verges on obscurity. However, Thucydides' style is not homogenous in this respect. In his narrative he frequently employs a style that is more simple and straightforward. Such passages, in turn, are characterized by chains of relatively short, paratactic clauses which are connected by καί. In the extended passage from Thucydides book 6 (example [1]), the stretches of text that reveal a simple, paratactic style are printed in bold-face.[2]

[1]   Thucydides 6.100-102

Paratactic style, <u>Historic Present</u>, <u>Imperfect</u>, <u>Aorist</u>, <u>Perfect</u>, <mark>Immediate mode</mark>

6.100 EPISODE I [In a surprise attack, the Athenians take the Syracusan counter wall and destroy it.]	
6.100.1	1. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῖς Συρακοσίοις ἀρκούντως ἐδόκει ἔχειν

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   [2] In the passage cited the sentences are numbered (1) to (36). I define *sentence* here as a syntactic unit consisting of a single main clause with a finite verb, which may be combined with one or more finite subordinate clauses, participial clauses or infinitives. The terms *immediate* and *displaced mode*, *Complication*, *Peak* and *Resolution* will be explained at a later point.

COMPLICATION Displaced Mode	ὅσα τε ἐσταυρώθη καὶ ᾠκοδομήθη τοῦ ὑποτειχίσματος, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἦλθον κωλύσοντες, φοβούμενοι μὴ σφίσι δίχα γιγνομένοις ῥᾶον μάχωνται, καὶ ἅμα τὴν καθ' αὐτοὺς περιτείχισιν ἐπειγόμενοι, οἱ μὲν Συρακόσιοι φυλὴν μίαν κατα-λιπόντες φύλακα τοῦ οἰκοδομήματος ἀνεχώρησαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, 2. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τούς τε ὀχετοὺς αὐτῶν, οἳ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ὑπονομηδὸν ποτοῦ ὕδατος ἠγμένοι ἦσαν, διέφθειραν, 3. καὶ τηρήσαντες τούς τε ἄλλους Συρακοσίους κατὰ σκηνὰς ὄντας ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ καί τινας καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀποκεχωρηκότας καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ σταυρώματι ἀμελῶς φυλάσσοντας, τριακοσίους μὲν σφῶν αὐτῶν λογάδας καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν τινὰς ἐκλεκτοὺς ὡπλισμένους προύταξαν θεῖν δρόμῳ ἐξαπιναίως πρὸς τὸ ὑπο-τείχισμα, 4. ἡ δ' ἄλλη στρατιὰ δίχα, ἡ μὲν μετὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου στρατηγοῦ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, εἰ ἐπιβοηθοῖεν, ἐχώρουν, ἡ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου πρὸς τὸ σταύρωμα τὸ παρὰ τὴν πυλίδα.
6.100.2 PEAK Immediate Mode	**5. καὶ προσβαλόντες οἱ τριακόσιοι αἱροῦσι τὸ σταύρωμα·**
6.100.2-3 RESOLUTION Immediate Mode	**6. καὶ οἱ φύλακες αὐτὸ ἐκλιπόντες κατέφυγον ἐς τὸ προτείχισμα τὸ περὶ τὸν Τεμενίτην.** **7. καὶ αὐτοῖς ξυνεσέπεσον οἱ διώκοντες,** **8. καὶ ἐντὸς γενόμενοι βίᾳ ἐξεκρούσθησαν πάλιν ὑπὸ τῶν Συρακοσίων,** **9. καὶ τῶν ἀργείων τινὲς αὐτόθι καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐ πολλοὶ διεφθάρησαν.** **10. καὶ ἐπαναχωρήσασα ἡ πᾶσα στρατιὰ τήν τε ὑποτείχισιν καθεῖλον** **11. καὶ τὸ σταύρωμα ἀνέσπασαν** **12. καὶ διεφόρησαν τοὺς σταυροὺς παρ' ἑαυτοὺς** **13. καὶ τροπαῖον ἔστησαν.**
6.101 EPISODE II [The second Syracusan counter-wall is captured by the Athenians. The Syracusans are defeated]	

6.101.1-3 COMPLICATION Displaced Mode	14. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπὸ τοῦ κύκλου ἐτείχιζον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν κρημνὸν τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἕλους, ὃς τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν ταύτῃ πρὸς τὸν μέγαν λιμένα ὁρᾷ, καὶ ᾗπερ αὐτοῖς βραχύτατον ἐγίγνετο καταβᾶσι διὰ τοῦ ὁμαλοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἕλους ἐς τὸν λιμένα τὸ περιτείχισμα. 6.101.2 15. καὶ οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἐν τούτῳ ἐξελθόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπεσταύρουν αὖθις ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως διὰ μέσου τοῦ ἕλους, 16. καὶ τάφρον ἅμα παρώρυσσον, ὅπως μὴ οἷόν τε ᾖ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης ἀποτειχίσαι. 6.101.3 17. οἱ δ', ἐπειδὴ τὸ πρὸς τὸν κρημνὸν αὐτοῖς ἐξείργαστο, ἐπιχειροῦσιν αὖθις τῷ τῶν Συρακοσίων σταυρώματι καὶ τάφρῳ, τὰς μὲν ναῦς κελεύσαντες περιπλεῦσαι ἐκ τῆς Θάψου ἐς τὸν μέγαν λιμένα τὸν τῶν Συρακοσίων, 18. αὐτοὶ δὲ περὶ ὄρθρον καταβάντες ἀπὸ τῶν Ἐπι-πολῶν ἐς τὸ ὁμαλὸν καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἕλους, ᾗ πηλῶδες ἦν καὶ στεριφώτατον, θύρας καὶ ξύλα πλατέα ἐπιθέντες καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν διαβαδίσαντες,
6.101.3 PEAK Immediate Mode	αἱροῦσιν ἅμα ἕῳ τό τε σταύρωμα πλὴν ὀλίγου καὶ τὴν τάφρον,
6.101.4 RESOLUTION Immediate Mode	**19. καὶ ὕστερον καὶ τὸ ὑπολειφθὲν εἷλον.** **20. καὶ μάχη ἐγένετο,** **21. καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐνίκων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι.** **22. Καὶ τῶν Συρακοσίων οἱ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἔχοντες πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔφευγον, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν.**
6.101.4-5 Episode III [The Syracusans launch a counter attack]	
6.101.4-5 COMPLICATION Displaced Mode	23. καὶ αὐτοὺς βουλόμενοι ἀποκλῇσασθαι τῆς διαβάσεως οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τριακόσιοι λογάδες δρόμῳ ἠπείγοντο πρὸς τὴν γέφυραν. 25. δείσαντες δὲ οἱ Συρακόσιοι 24. (ᾖσαν γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων αὐτοῖς οἱ πολλοὶ ἐνταῦθα)
6.101.5 PEAK Immediate Mode	25 ὁμόσε χωροῦσι τοῖς τριακοσίοις τούτοις, **26. καὶ τρέπουσί τε αὐτοὺς** **27. καὶ ἐσβάλλουσιν ἐς τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας τῶν Ἀθηναίων·**

6.101.5 RESOLUTION Immediate Mode	**28. καὶ προσπεσόντων αὐτῶν ξυνεφοβήθη καὶ ἡ πρώτη φυλὴ τοῦ κέρως**
6.101.6 Episode IV [Lamachus is killed]	
6.101.6 COMPLICATION Displaced Mode	29. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Λάμαχος παρεβοήθει ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐωνύμου τοῦ ἑαυτῶν μετὰ τοξοτῶν τε οὐ πολλῶν καὶ τοὺς Ἀργείους παραλαβών, 30. καὶ ἐπιδιαβὰς τάφρον τινὰ καὶ μονωθεὶς μετ᾽ ὀλίγων τῶν ξυνδιαβάντων
6.101.6 PEAK Immediate Mode	<u>ἀποθνῄσκει</u> αὐτός τε καὶ πέντε ἢ ἓξ τῶν μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ. **31. καὶ τούτους μὲν οἱ Συρακόσιοι εὐθὺς κατὰ τάχος <u>φθάνουσιν</u> ἁρπάσαντες πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλές,**
6.101.6 RESOLUTION Displaced Mode	32. αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐπιόντος ἤδη καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου στρατεύματος τῶν Ἀθηναίων <u>ἀπεχώρουν</u>.
6.102 EPISODE V [The Syracusans attack the Athenians on the plain and at the Circle fort on Epipolae. Nicias saves the Circle]	
6.102.1 COMPLICATION Displaced Mode	33. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν τὸ πρῶτον καταφυγόντες ὡς <u>ἑώρων</u> ταῦτα γιγνόμενα, αὐτοί τε πάλιν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀναθαρσήσαντες <u>ἀντετάξαντο</u> πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ σφᾶς Ἀθηναίους,
6.102.1-2 PEAK Immediate Mode	**34. καὶ μέρος τι αὐτῶν <u>πέμπουσιν</u> ἐπὶ τὸν κύκλον τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐπιπολαῖς, ἡγούμενοι ἐρῆμον αἱρήσειν. 35. καὶ τὸ μὲν δεκάπλεθρον προτείχισμα αὐτῶν <u>αἱροῦσι</u>**
6.102.2 RESOLUTION Immediate Mode	**36. καὶ <u>διεπόρθησαν</u>**

2 *Narrative Mode*

The question I would like to address in this paper is how we should explain this striking alternation of narrative styles. I will argue that these alternations of narrative style can be explained by means of the concept of *narrative mode.* But before I turn to the issue of narrative mode, let us take a closer look at some linguistic properties of the passage from book 6.

Table 1: Linguistic properties of Th. 6.100-102

		'Complex style' (Displaced mode)	'Simple style' (Immediate mode)
Sentence Complexity	Predicates per Sentence[3]	**4.54** (n=59)	1.52 (n=35)
	Finite Verbs in Main Clause per Sentence[4]	1.00 (13)	1.00 (23)
	Participles per Sentence	**2.23** (29)	0.43 (10)
	Infinitives per Sentence	**0.38** (5)	0.04 (1)
	Finite Verbs in Subordinate Clauses per Sentence	**0.92** (12)	0.04 (1)
Connective Particles	Sentences	100% (16)	100% (20)
	καί	31% (5)	**100% (20)**
	(μέν) δέ	**63% (10)**	0% (0)
	γάρ	**6% (1)**	0% (0)
Tense-Aspect	Finite Verbs	100% (21)	100% (22)
	Historic Present	5% (1)	**41% (9)**
	Imperfect	**52% (11)**	9% (2)
	Aorist	33% (7)	**50% (11)**
	Pluperfect	**10% (2)**	0% (0)

Table 1 shows that in the passages with a complex style the number of predicates — which roughly equals the number of clauses per sentence — is about three times as high as in the simple style, namely 4.54 versus 1.52 predicates per sentence. In the complex style, sentences contain significantly more participles, more infinitives, and more subordinated clauses.

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[3] The total number of predicates is the sum of the participles, infinitives and finite verbs (in main and subordinate clauses). Note that, because all numbers are rounded off, the totals (4.54 and 1.52) do not exactly equal the sum of finite verbs, participles and infinitives.
[4] The ratio of finite verbs in the main clause per sentence is exactly 1.00 by definition (see note 2).

However, if we take a closer look at the text, the two narrative styles also differ in other respects. We see a preference for the connective particle δέ in the complex style (63 %), whereas the simple style is characterized by the use of καί (100 %!). There are also differences in the use of tense and aspect. From the Table we can read that the imperfect is mainly used in the complex style (52 %), while the historic present tends to occur in the simple style (41 %).[5] In other words, apart from their difference in syntactic complexity, the two styles also show differences in sentence connection and in the use of tense and aspect. Note, however, that the difference between the two styles is relative rather than absolute, that is, features that are typical of one style also occur in the other (albeit less frequently). For example, although the use of participial clauses is typical of the complex style, participles also occur in the simple style. The distinction between the two styles should thus be seen as a sliding scale rather than as clear-cut. I will return to this issue later.

The question to be answered now is why these three, seemingly unrelated, linguistic categories, co-occur. I would like to argue that the notion of narrative mode may provide an explanation for this phenomenon. These three linguistic features of the text are, in my view, to be seen as indicators of narrative mode.

Now what is narrative mode? Narrative mode relates to the *distance* the narrator takes with respect to the narrated events (Genette 1972: 183-5). In this paper I will build on the Wallace Chafe's definition of narrative mode (Chafe 1994). He distinguishes two modes of narration, which occur both in conversational and in literary language. On the one hand, there is the *displaced* mode, in which the narrator's consciousness is 'focused (...) on experiences that were derived from another, earlier consciousness, not from his immediate environment' (Chafe 1994: 198). On the other hand, we have the *displaced immediate* mode, which 'conveys the impression of reliving past experiences as if they were immediate experiences'

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[5] In Latin a similar use of the historic present is mentioned by Schlicher (1931: 49-50). He states that the most characteristic use of the historic present 'is found in passages which record a swift succession of acts performed in a tense and exciting situation'. According to Schlicher, distinguishing features of such passages are — among others — brief and simple sentences, a scarcity of modifiers, and a marked absence of subordinate clauses.

(Chafe 1994: 235).[6] For the sake of terminological clarity, I will refer to Chafe's *displaced immediate* mode from here on simply as the *immediate* mode.

The narrative situations of the two narrative modes are represented in Figure 1. In the displaced mode the narrator, who is situated in Narrator's Time, looks back on events (indicated by a capital E) which happened earlier on the time-line. The act of viewing is represented (following the conventions of Cognitive Grammar) by a dashed arrow. In the immediate mode, the narrator pretends to be present in the world of the Story Time, observing events simultaneously as they take place.

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[6] In conversational language, Chafe (1994: 196) also distinguishes an *immediate mode* in which 'people verbalize experiences that are directly related to their immediate environments'. This mode is obviously relevant to the analysis of direct speech in Ancient Greek texts, but it need not concern us here.

Figure 1: Narrative situations of the immediate and the displaced
          mode: [N = Narrator, E = Event]

Displaced Mode

Story Time		Narrator's Time

Time line

Immediate Mode

Story Time		Narrator's Time
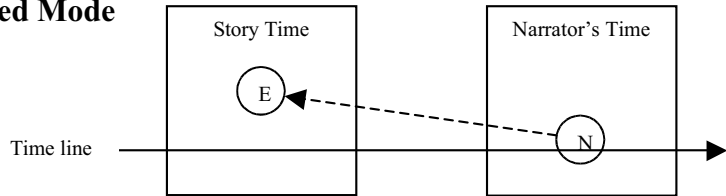
Time line
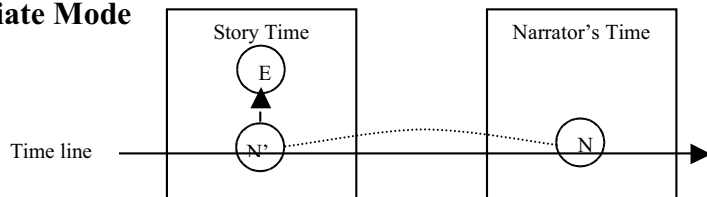
As of yet there have been very few comprehensive studies on the linguistic and narratological features of the narrative modes.[7] Chafe, for instance, mentions only a few linguistic properties of the narrative modes. According to Chafe, properties of the immediate mode are the use of the *historic present,* the use of *proximal deictic adverbs* such as *here* and *now*, and the use of *direct speech* or *free indirect speech*. The displaced mode, on the other hand, is associated with the adverbs *there* and *then*, the *past tense*, and *indirect speech*.

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[7] Suzanne Adema is currently preparing a PhD dissertation aiming at a comprehensive treatment of narrative mode in Vergil's *Aeneid*. See also Adema (2005) and her contribution to this volume.

Table 2: Linguistic features of the narrative modes in English
(Chafe 1994)

Immediate Mode	Displaced Mode
• Historic Present	• Past Tense
• Proximal deictics: *here, now*	• Distal deictics: *there, then*
• Direct Speech/ Free Indirect Speech	• Indirect Speech

A number of additional linguistic properties of the two modes have been proposed by Caroline Kroon in her 2002 article, which deals with the issue of narrative mode in one of Pliny's letters.[8] According to Kroon, the most characteristic feature of the *diegetic* mode — which is more or less identical to the *displaced* mode — is its high degree of *narratorial control* (see Kroon 2002: 191). The narrator recounts the events from a point of view outside the story world, and he has, therefore, a complete overview of the entire complex of events. This overview enables him to manipulate the presentation of events in all kinds of ways. For example, he can make a distinction between *foreground* and *background* in the story. Another consequence of the narrator's retrospective knowledge is that he is able to indicate the exact temporal or causal relation between two events.

In the *mimetic* mode, according to Kroon, the narrator pretends that there is no spatial and temporal distance between the experience and the reporting of the events. This gives the suggestion of an eyewitness report. The consequence of this mode of narration is that the narrator will pretend to have little control over the way the story is told. The events are, therefore, narrated necessarily in their chronological order, without variations in speed. All narrated events are treated as equally significant and foregrounded. The narrator, being 'overcome' by the impact of the scene, does not express his personal view on the events.

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[8] See also Kroon's contribution to this volume.

Table 3: Linguistic features of the narrative modes in Latin
              (selection from Kroon 2002)

Mimetic Mode (= Immediate Mode) [low degree of narratorial control]	**Diegetic Mode** (= Displaced Mode) [high degree of narratorial control]
• Historic Present • Use of brief and non-complex sentences, usually occurring in clusters • Absence of clear foreground-background structure	• Perfect Tense (in alternation with Imperfect) • Complex clause structures • Use of connectives (e.g. causal and adversative)

At this point, it is best to return to our passage from Thucydides'
book 6. I will try to show that the alternation in styles can be
accounted for by means of the two narrative modes. The 'complex
style', as I will argue, can be identified with the *displaced* mode, and
the 'simple style' with the *immediate* mode.[9]

Table 4: Features of the narrative modes in Thuc. 6.100-102
              and their relation to narratorial control

Displaced mode ('complex style'):		**Immediate mode** ('simple style'):	
Complex sentences	• Background-foreground structure • Focalizations	Simple sentences	• Only foreground • No focalizations
δέ	• (Slight) discontinuity	καί	• Continuity
Imperfects, pluperfects and Aorists	• Background-foreground structure	Historic Presents and Aorists	• Immediacy • Only foreground

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[9] Although I conceive of the *immediate* and *displaced* modes in very much the
same way as Kroon's *mimetic* and *diegetic* modes, I do not adopt her terminology. The
reason for this is to avoid confusion with the way in which Egbert Bakker has used
the terms *diegetic* and *mimetic* earlier (Bakker 1997b). As will become clear later, it is
especially my notion of immediate mode which differs substantially from Bakker's
mimetic mode.

3 *Sentence Complexity*

The use of participial clauses and subordinated clauses can be considered an important indicator of the displaced mode. Because the narrator is looking back with hindsight on the events, he recognizes which events were central to the story — the foreground — and which events turned out to be only circumstantial — the background. As we know, background events are typically coded by participial and subordinated clauses (Fox 1983). Consider, for example, sentence number (1). Here, a long subordinate clause introduced by ἐπειδή informs us of the motivation of the Syracusans to return to the city. Other examples of background subordinate and participial clauses in 6.100 are: φοβούμενοι (sentence 1), γιγνομένοις (1), ἐπειγόμενοι (1), καταλιπόντες (1), οἳ ... ἠγμένοι ἦσαν (2), τηρήσαντες (3), and ὡπλισμένους (3).

In the immediate mode, however, the narrator pretends to observe the events as they unfold, and he is therefore unable to make a distinction between foreground and background events. The narrator presents the events as if they all impinge on his consciousness with the same psychological force; all events are conceived of as equally important. In the immediate mode, therefore, the narration only consists of foregrounded events, and foregrounded events are typically coded as finite main clauses.[10] For example, in the sentences (5) through (13) most narrated event are highly significant and foregrounded: the capture of the stockade, the flight and pursuit of the Syracusans, and the destruction of the counter wall. There are, however, also a few simple participial clauses προσβαλόντες (sentence 5), αὐτὸ ἐκλιπόντες (6), ἐντὸς γενόμενοι (8), ἐπαναχωρήσασα (10), containing secondary information. The occurrence of these 4 participles in 9 sentences is about average for the immediate (the average rate being 0.43 participles per sentence; see Table 1). At this point I would like to

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[10] Similar passages in Latin are adequately described by Schlicher: 'The brevity of the sentences and their uniformity of structure indicate that the narrator is under strong pressure to move forward, that the successive acts crowd close upon one another in his mind. The absence of connecting words and subordinate clauses shows that he does not consciously realize the precise relation between the acts. (...) He is merely a recorder, and a helpless one at that.' (Schlicher 1931: 5).

stress that the occurrence of participles in the immediate mode is unproblematic for my analysis. The narrative modes appear in their ideal-typical form only very rarely, if at all. Kroon characterizes the appearance of the narrative modes in narrative thus: 'Narrative texts usually display a steady alternation of more diegetic and more mimetic sections' (Kroon 2002: 193). That is to say, in the end, one can only state that a particular stretch of text is *relatively* more diegetic (= displaced) or more mimetic (= immediate) than another. As I noted before regarding the complex and simple styles, the distinction between the immediate and the displaced mode should be thought of as gradual rather than clear-cut.

Another source of sentence complexity are those participial and infinitival constructions which represent the mental state of a character in the story, that is, their thoughts, intentions or vision. For example, in sentence (3) we find a threefold accusative and participle construction depending on τηρήσαντες. By means of this internal focalization we are informed, through the eyes of the Athenians, that the Syracusans were not guarding the stockade properly. Other examples of participles, infinitives and subordinate clauses involving internal focalizations in 6.100 are: (ἐδόκει) ἔχειν (1), (ἦλθον) κωλύσοντες (1), (φοβούμενοι) μὴ ... μάχωνται (1), (προύταξαν) θεῖν (3), and εἰ ἐπιβοηθοῖεν (4).[11]

The occurrence of these participle and infinitive constructions can be explained adequately in terms of the narrative modes. Since the narrator in the displaced mode pretends to be omniscient, he is able to represent the internal mental states of the characters in the story. The occurrence of internal focalizations can thus be seen as a typical feature of the displaced mode.

4   *Connective Particles*

The use of δέ can, in my view, be seen as an indicator of the displaced mode, whereas καί points to the immediate mode. This difference in use can be explained by the different roles of the

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[11] The only case of internal focalization in an immediate mode section is ἡγούμενοι ἐρῆμον αἱρήσειν in sentence (34).

narrator. As we know, the particle δέ is typically used to indicate a slight boundary in the discourse (Ruijgh 1971: 129-135, Levinsohn 1987, Bakker 1993). In many cases, a new discourse topic is introduced. For example, in sentence (1), δέ marks that the topic switches to the Syracusans; in sentence (2), δέ indicates a topic-switch to the Athenians.

In other words, by means of the particle δέ, the narrator divides the text into thematic units. These thematic units tend to have an internal temporal, causal and referential unity. The task of observing thematic discontinuities in the course of events can only be performed by a displaced narrator, who has complete knowledge of the course of events. We may compare this task with the work of a film editor, who 'cuts' the raw material of the *fabula* into scenes and sub-scenes.

In the immediate mode, on the other hand, the narrator has no such control over the presentation of the narration — or at least he *pretends* to have no such control. The narrator verbalizes the narration simultaneously with the experience of the events. The preference for καί in this context can be taken as an indicator of the immediate mode. Καί is typically used to indicate that two syntactic units are thematically closely connected. Whereas δέ is associated with *discontinuity* in discourse, καί indicates *continuity*. The narrator in the immediate mode observes a continuous sequence of events, and the natural way to verbalize this continuous experience is to use καί as a connective device.[12] For example, in the sentences (5) through (13) a chain of events is connected by means of καί. The

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[12] In this connection, it is worthy of note that syntactically simple sentences, connected by καί are also typical of *oral* prose narrative (see also Trenkner 1960). We may hypothesize, therefore, that Thucydides consciously exploited these typical oral features to create the effect of a somewhat naive and artless style. By doing so, we might say that the narrator temporarily lays down his *persona* of a literary historian, and takes on the *persona* of a reporting eyewitness. This switch of roles, in my view, serves to enhance a sense of involvement and immediacy. Trenkner characterizes passages marked by καί in the historians as follows: 'Le 'style' de ces passages chez les historiens consiste précisément (...) dans la négligence de l'art littéraire, c'est-à-dire dans l'emploi du langage oral familier' (Trenkner 1960: 62). Also paratactic syntax (see e.g. Fleischman 1990: 185) and the historic present (Dover 1997: 68) may have been a conspicuous features of oral prose narrative. For the relations between oral language and the sense of involvement, see Chafe (1982), Tannen (1982). For the idea of different *narrative personae* in connection with narrative modes, see also Fleischman (1990: 61-2).

events are causally and temporally tightly connected. Each subsequent event is directly caused by, or immediately follows on, the previous one.[13] There is also a continuity of the discourse topic. The Athenians are the discourse topic throughout, with the exception of sentence (6), in which the Syracusan guards are briefly chosen as the topic.

5   Tense and Aspect: Imperfect and Aorist

We have seen that variations in sentence structure and sentence connection can be taken as indicators of switches in narrative mode. I would like to argue now that the narrative modes are also relevant to the use of tenses and aspects. I will start with the distribution of imperfect and aorist forms. As can be seen in the Table, the imperfect occurs in the displaced mode more frequently than in the immediate mode (52 % against 9 %). This unequal distribution of aspect forms makes sense if we take into consideration their functions in narrative discourse. As known, the imperfect tends to mark states of affairs that create 'a framework within which other SoAs may occur' (Rijksbaron 2002³a: 11). Examples from our passage are: ἐδόκει (sentence 1), ἐχώρουν (4), ἐτείχιζον (14), and ἐγίγνετο (14). As Rijksbaron has rightly stated in his study of the Greek verb,

> Since the imperfect characterizes the state of affairs as 'not-completed' it creates a framework within which other states of affairs may occur, while the aorist indicative characterizes the state of affairs as 'completed', as a mere event. This difference in value between imperfect and aorist indicative is significant for the way a story is told. The imperfect creates a certain expectation on the part of the reader/hearer: what else happened?; the aorist indicative, on the other hand, does not have this effect: the state of affairs has simply occurred.[14]

As I noted before with regard to participial and subordinated clauses, it takes a displaced narrator, that is, a narrator with hindsight, to make a distinction between backgrounded and foregrounded events.

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[13]   Sentence (19) is an exception to the rule. The adverb ὕστερον indicates a *prolepsis*-a narratological device typical of a displaced (omniscient) narrator.

[14]   Rijksbaron (2002³a: 11).

When a narrator marks some events as imperfects, and others as aorists, he makes a distinction between, on the one hand, events serving as a framework and, on the other hand, purely sequential events. In making this distinction the narrator shows that he has a complete overview of the course of events. It is, therefore, to be expected that we find the imperfect creating a framework mainly in the displaced mode. For example, in sentence (4), we find the imperfect ἐχώρουν. The two divisions of the Athenian army are advancing, one in the direction of the city, the other towards the stockade. The imperfect sets up a framework for the events to come, that is, the attack on the stockade. After the stockade is taken in sentence (5), the narrative continues with aorist verbs. These designate events which are foregrounded, non-overlapping,[15] and equally important to the story-line.

There are, however, two imperfect verbs in a section which I consider immediate: ἐνίκων (sentence 21) and ἔφευγον (22). As for ἐνίκων, there is a special division of labour between the imperfect and the aorist of νικάω. The imperfect is typically used in contexts in which the identity of the winner of the battle is in focus. The typical case might be paraphrased as 'There was a battle, and *the winner was* (ἐνίκα) X'. Ἐνίκων in (21) is an instance of this type. The aorist is typically used in cases in which the winner is already the discourse topic ('X did such and so, and *won* (ἐνίκησε)').[16] Although the reading imperfect ἔφευγον in (22) is only found in ms. B (the others have the aorist ἔφυγον), it is probably sound. The imperfect ('they were fleeing') indicates that the Syracusans did not get into safety, thus providing a framework (in the Rijksbaronian sense) to the following events.

6   Historic Present

Another tense-aspect distinction relevant here is the use of the historic present. In the Table, we can see that the historic present

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[15] With the possible exception of the events described in sentences (8) and (9) which — as Gerard Boter pointed out to me — probably coincide.

[16] Perhaps the focus on the identity of the winner (which is a *state*) explains the use of the imperfect, whereas the aorist designates a completed action.

tends to occur in the immediate mode. A fine example is αἱροῦσι in sentence (5). Here we see that the decisive moment, that is, the capturing of the stockade is marked by the historic present. The historic present then starts off a chain of paratactically connected sentences. This phenomenon can also be observed in the subsequent episodes. The other examples of historic presents in 6.100-102 are: ἐπιχειροῦσι (sentence 17)[17], χωροῦσι (25), τρέπουσι (26), ἐσβάλλουσιν (27), ἀποθνῄσκει (30)[18], φθάνουσιν (31), πέμπουσιν (34), αἱροῦσι (35).

What I would like to claim here is that the historic present is an important device with which the narrator can switch from the displaced to the immediate mode. The nature of the historic present, in my view, is closely related to the nature of the immediate mode.[19] Let us first consider what the function of the historic present is. Albert Rijksbaron characterizes the historic present in narrative as follows:

> [In a number of nuances of the historic present] the notion of 'present' may play a part to the extent that a 'pseudo-present' or 'pseudo-moment of utterance' is created: the narrator plays the role of an eyewitness.[20]

The historic present, in other words, is often used to create the impression of *immediacy*, of *presence* at the scene.[21]

At this point the question may arise why both historic presents and aorists (see section 5) can occur in the immediate mode. I would

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[17] In spite of the historic present ἐπιχειροῦσι, sentence (17) is not in the immediate mode. The overall character of sentence (17) is more displaced than immediate due to features that are more typical of the displaced mode: complex syntax, connective δέ, perfect tense ἐξείργαστο, and embedded focalization (κελεύσαντες).

[18] The pathos of the description of Lamachus' unexpected death is — apart from the use of the historic present — also effected by the mentioning of the number ('five or six') of men that were killed with him. This descriptive (pseudo-)precision makes it more easy to visualize the event (Hornblower 1987a: 84, Hornblower 1987b: 151).

[19] The deployment of the historic present in the immediate narrative mode has also been noted by Chafe (1994: 207-11). Similar observations can be found in Fleischman (1990) and Kroon (2002) with regard to the mimetic mode.

[20] Rijksbaron (2002³a: 22).

[21] Langacker describes the English historic present in similar terms: '[T]he speaker describes a previous sequence of events as if they were unfolding right now, before his eyes; he takes a hearer through them step by step, achieving a sort of 'vividness' by portraying them as immediate' (Langacker 1991: 267).

like to explain this as follows. Because it conveys a sense of presence and immediacy, the historic present can be considered a positive marker of the immediate mode. The aorist, on the other hand, is the unmarked narrative tense.[22] The more neutral character of the aorist allows it to occur in more immediate as well as more displaced passages. This difference in character between the historic present and the aorist is not without consequences. As I have mentioned previously, the narrative modes have to be thought of as sliding scales: some passage are relatively more immediate, others more displaced. Passages in the historic present (since they are positively marked as immediate) will be perceived as more immediate than passages marked by the more neutral aorist tense. In the extended passage from book 6, we have seen that the decisive moments (or: Peaks, see section 8) are marked by the historic present. They are, therefore, presented as more immediate than the following events, which represent the outcome (or: Resolution, see section 8) of the decisive moment.

7 *Mode-switching within a Sentence*

An observant reader of Table 1 may have noticed that the number of finite verbs in clauses does not equal the number of sentences. I have counted 13 finite verbs in main clauses against 16 sentences in the displaced mode, and 24 finite verbs in main clauses against 21 sentences in the immediate mode. This discrepancy can be explained by the fact that the switch from displaced to the immediate mode may also take place *within* a sentence. In the extended passage, there are three examples of this type of switch, namely, in sentence (18), (25), and (30). Each of these three sentences represents a turning point in the story. In sentence (18) the Athenians take the Syracusan counter wall; in (25) the alarmed Syracusans launch a counter attack; in (30) Lamachus, the Athenian general, is killed. In each of these three sentences, aorist participles designate the — not very significant — events leading up to the sudden climactic event,

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[22] Compare also Fleischman (1990: 24), who states that the unmarked tense of narration is the perfective past tense.

expressed by a historic present. This historic present then initiates a narrative sequence in the immediate mode. The aorist participles denote relatively insignificant events — as participles typically do — and serve to build up the tension. The reader is briefly held in suspense by the series of participles until the sentence is syntactically completed by the main verb.[23] Then, the tension reaches a peak marked by the historic present through which the narrator suddenly 'zooms in' on the climactic event. The sequence of participles prepares, as it were, the 'launching' of the historic present.[24]

Rounding off the discussion of tense and aspect, I conclude that the notion of narrative mode can potentially explain many of the linguistic properties of the text. The explanatory power of narrative mode is shown, in my view, by the fact that it may offer a uniform explanation for the use of three — at first glance completely unrelated — linguistic categories, that is, sentence structure, sentence connection, and tense/aspect.

8   *Narrative Structure*

Now in the second part of my paper I would like to examine which textual factors motivate the switch from one mode to another. The appearance of the immediate mode is often explained by resorting to the rather vague and unsatisfactory notion of 'vividness'.[25] In my view, however, the occurrence of the immediate mode can be explained more adequately by looking at the global structure of narratives as it has been described by Labov (1972) and Fleischman (1990).

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[23] Cf. Leech & Short's remark: '[P]eriodic sentences (...) have a dramatic quality: they combine the principle of climax with the principle of subordination, and so progress from a build-up of tension to a final climactic point of resolution' (Leech & Short 1981: 226).

[24] More examples of this type of sentence are Th. 1.58.1, 1.105.6, 1.132.5, 8.42.2. A fine Herodotean example is 1.45.3.

[25] For example, Genette (1972: 185) says that the mimetic mode (which is related to the immediate mode) tells the story in an 'alive' manner ('façon 'vivante''). In the same vein, the historic present is often claimed to have a 'vivid' effect. For critical discussions of the notion of *vividness* in connection with the historic present, see Sicking & Stork 1997: 131-4, Rijksbaron 2002b: 257, 261-2)

Table 5: The Global Structure of Narrative
         (Labov 1972: 362-70, Fleischman 1990: 135-154)

a. Abstract:	Point of story or summary of significant events
b. Orientation:	Identification of the time, place, participants, and their activities
c. Complication:	Build-up of Tension
d. Peak:	Climax
e. Evaluation:	Narrator's comment
f. Resolution:	Outcome/ result
g. Coda:	Closure

Narratives frequently start off by giving the point of the story or by telling the most significant events. This is called the Abstract. Then, at the outset of the narrative proper, the time, place, participants, and their activities are presented. This is the Orientation of the story. The Complication consists of the action by which tension gradually builds up, eventually leading to the climax of the story: the Peak. In the Evaluation section the narrator comments on the content of the story and its significance. Evaluative elements tend to appear around the Peak, but they may also occur interspersed throughout the story. After the Peak, the story comes to a Resolution, in which the outcome of the story is told. The story ends with a Coda, which is often of a formulaic character (of the type 'and they lived happily ever after'). Stories typically show an episodic structure, that is, stories tend to contain multiple Peaks, providing a profiled pattern of build-ups and relaxations of tension. In other words, most stories show a recursive structure of Complications, Peaks and Resolutions.[26] This pattern is represented schematically in Table 6:

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[26] This episodic narrative schema is similar to the schema presented by Fludernik (1996: 65).

Table 6: Episodic Structure of Narrative

- Abstract
- Orientation
- [Complication — Peak — Resolution]$_{Episode\ 1}$
- [Complication — Peak — Resolution]$_{Episode\ 2}$
- ...
- [Complication — Peak — Resolution]$_{Episode\ n}$
- Evaluation
- Coda

The relation between narrative structure and narrative mode becomes clear if we consider at which moments in the story switches of narrative mode occur. It appears that *if* Thucydides switches to the immediate mode, he switches at the Peak of the episode. He may, consequently, remain in the immediate mode in (part of) the Resolution section.[27] By entering the immediate mode at the Peak, he 'zoom in' on the scene to effect a stronger sense of dramatic involvement at the climax and the final outcome of the story. On the other hand, it appears that the Orientation, the Complication and the Evaluation are narrated in the displaced mode. In these parts of the story, the narrator has to remain in full control of the narration in order to give the story a spatiotemporal orientation, to gradually build up the tension, and, finally, to evaluate the significance of the story to the communicative context of the story-telling. The typical pattern of switches in narrative modes is presented in Table 7:

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[27] In section 6, I noted that the Resolution sections in 6.100-102 are in a less marked immediate mode than the Peaks because most finite verbs are in the aorist tense. As can be seen in the extended passage, I regard sentence (32) as displaced due to its connective particle δέ and its imperfect tense ἀπεχώρουν. Furthermore, the genitive absolute clause ἐπιόντος ἤδη καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου στρατεύματος τῶν Ἀθηναίων is a case of focalization which states the internal motivation of the Syracusans to withdraw. The imperfect tense provides a framework to the following events which were meanwhile (ἐν τούτῳ) taking place elsewhere. Thus it creates a cohesive link between the end of the Resolution section and the start of the following Complication section. An imperfect with a comparable function is ἔφευγον in (22).

Table 7: Typical Pattern of Narrative Modes

Abstract	Displaced Mode
Orientation	Displaced Mode
Complication	Displaced Mode
Peak	Immediate Mode
Resolution	Immediate or Displaced Mode
Evaluation	Displaced Mode
Coda	Displaced Mode

That the immediate mode typically appears at Peaks in the story is born out by the passage from book 6. To demonstrate this point, I will make a short analysis of the narrative structure of the passage. The passage cited from book 6 is, of course, only a small part of the story of the Sicilian expedition told in book 6 and 7. The story of the expedition to Sicily shows an episodic structure as represented in Table 8:

Table 8: Narrative structure of the story of the Sicilian expedition

- Abstract (6.1.1)
- Orientation (6.1.2-6.6) [History settlements; war Egesta vs. Selinus]
- Episode 1 (6.7.1-2) [Spartans plunder Argos, Argos demolishes Orneae]
- ...
- Episodes I-V (6.100-6.102) [cited above]
- ...
- Episode n (7.86-87) [The Athenians are being held in quarries]
- Evaluation (7.87.5-6)
- Coda (7.87.6)

In 6.1, we find the Abstract of the story:

[2]   Thucydides 6.1.1
τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος Ἀθηναῖοι ἐβούλοντο αὖθις μείζονι παρασκευῇ τῆς μετὰ Λάχητος καὶ Εὐρυμέδοντος ἐπὶ Σικελίαν πλεύσαντες καταστρέψασθαι, εἰ δύναιντο.

In the same winter the Athenians wanted to sail again to Sicily, with a greater armament than that under Laches and Eurymedon, and to conquer it, if they could.

The abstract is followed by an extended Orientation (6.1.2-6.6). In this excursus, the background of the Sicilian story is set by an

account of the history of the settlements on Sicily, followed by an account of the way in which Athens had become involved in the war between Egesta and Selinus.[28] At 6.7, the first episode of the Sicily-story is narrated, followed by a long series of episodes.[29] For lack of space, here I will only focus on the episode told in chapter 6.100, in which the Athenians attack the Syracusan counter wall and destroy it.

In the Complication section of this episode, tension builds up as the Athenians prepare for a confrontation while the Syracusans do not suspect an attack. The complication in this section obviously consists mainly in the opposite goals of the Athenians and the Syracusans. The Syracusans intend to protect the counter wall, while the Athenians aim at its demolition. The reader is informed of their intentions and conflicting goals by means of a number of internal focalizations.

As I noted before, focalizations tend not to occur at the Peak and the Resolution. Whereas in the Complication section the *internal*, psychological world of the characters is of major importance, the Peak and Resolution are concerned with the *external*, visible world, consisting of actions. As we have seen, the Complication section is characterized by a number of linguistic features which are typical of the displaced mode. We find relatively complex sentences with many embedded participles and infinitive clauses. The sentences are connected by the particle δέ 3 out of 4 times, and we find imperfect verb forms. The tension reaches its climax when the Athenians take the stockade at (6.100.2). Here, as is often the case at the Peak of an episode, the tense switches to the historic present.[30] The historic present is often said to mark states of affairs that are of decisive importance to the story. After the Peak, the episode reaches its

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[28] An account of the anterior events (analepsis) is a common element of Orientations (see also Bonheim 1982: 101-7, Fleischman 1990: 140).

[29] Note, however, that only chapters 6.54-59 (the excursus about Aristogiton and Harmodius) do not belong to the story-line of the Sicilian expedition. This notable exception may be explained as a mirror text (see also Rood 1998: 180). I would also like to note here that a number of thematically linked episodes may constitute a larger narrative unit ('macro-episode'). For example, the events at Epipolae told in 6.96-6.103 (of which my extended sample in [1] is a part) can be seen as such a 'macro-episode', that is, a larger unit of thematically linked episodes.

[30] For the historic present as a typical marker of narrative Peaks, see Fleischman (1990: 142), Fludernik (1991: 375).

Resolution. The 300 chosen Athenians pursue the Syracusans, who have taken refuge round the statue of Apollo Temenites, but they are driven out. The Athenians then retire, carry the stakes of the counter wall to their own lines, and set up a trophy. In the Resolution section (6.100.2-3), we can see that the events of the story are mainly marked by the aorist indicative. Apart from the changes in tense marking at the Peak and the Resolution, we also find a change in the way sentences are connected. At the Peak and the Resolution (6.100.2-3) sentences are consistently connected by means of καί. Finally, it can be seen that at the Peak and the Resolution sentences become significantly shorter than in the Complication section.

For the sake of completeness, I will finish my analysis of the global structure of book 6 and 7 by noting that we can also find an Evaluation section and a Coda at the end of the Sicily episode.[31] Ch. 7.87.5-6 contains an Evaluation. There, Thucydides makes a personal statement about the great significance of the Sicilian expedition for Hellenic history. The narrative of the Sicilian expedition terminates with a short Coda, summarizing and rounding off the events: ταῦτα μὲν τὰ περὶ Σικελίαν γενόμενα (Th. 7.87.6).[32]

The combination of historic presents, paratactic syntax and καί as connective can also be found in other passages in the *Histories.*

> [3] Thucydides 7.83.3-5
> [Nicias is informed by the Syracusans of Demosthenes' surrender. Nicias proposes to pay for his army's liberty.]
> a. οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι καὶ Γύλιππος οὐ προσεδέχοντο τοὺς λόγους,
> b. ἀλλὰ προσπεσόντες καὶ περιστάντες πανταχόθεν ἔβαλλον καὶ τούτους μέχρι ὀψέ.
> c. εἶχον δὲ καὶ οὗτοι πονήρως σίτου τε καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπορίᾳ.
> d. ὅμως δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς φυλάξαντες τὸ ἡσυχάζον ἔμελλον πορεύσεσθαι.
> e. καὶ ἀναλαμβάνουσί τε τὰ ὅπλα
> f. καὶ οἱ Συρακόσιοι αἰσθάνονται

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[31] The tragic story of the Sicilian Expedition clearly stands out within the *Histories* as a self-contained literary unit. '[T]he language at the end of book 7', as Hornblower notes, 'seems devastatingly final and the 'closure' absolute. (...) One wonders if the 'Sicilian books' were meant originally for recitation' (Hornblower 2002[3]: 172).

[32] Note the particle μέν (followed by δέ in 8.1), which is frequent in clauses rounding off a discourse unit (see Bakker 1993: 303).

g. καὶ <u>ἐπαιάνισαν</u>.
h. γνόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὅτι οὐ λανθάνουσι, <u>κατέθεντο</u> πάλιν πλὴν τριακοσίων μάλιστα ἀνδρῶν·
i. οὗτοι δὲ διὰ τῶν φυλάκων βιασάμενοι <u>ἐχώρουν</u> τῆς νυκτὸς ᾗ <u>ἐδύναντο</u>.

Gylippus and the Syracusans did not accept these proposals, but attacked and surrounded them and hurled missiles at them from every side until the evening. They too were wretched off in want of food and other necessities. Nevertheless they intended to wait for the dead of night and then to march on. And they took up their arms, and the Syracusans discovered them and raised the Paean. The Athenians, realizing that they were detected, laid down their arms again, except for about 300 men who forced their way through the enemy's guard, and went on through the night as best they could.

In this passage, a typical pattern can be discerned. In the first sentences of this passage we are told that the Syracusans reject Nicias offer, and continue to attack Nicias' men. Nicias intends to march away. These events constitute the Complication of this episode characterized by a number of displaced linguistic features. The scene is set by means of a number of imperfects describing the nature of the Athenians' desperate situation ([οὐ] προσεδέχοντο, ἔβαλλον, εἶχον) and their intention to escape it (ἔμελλον).[33] Furthermore, the sentences are linked by the particle δέ (οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι …, εἶχον δέ …, ὅμως δέ …) and once by ἀλλά[34], and their syntactic structure is relatively complex. At the Peak — the Athenians take up their arms but are discovered — the narrator switches to the immediate mode by shifting to historic presents (ἀναλαμβάνουσι, αἰσθάνονται), to the connective particle καί, and to a paratactic syntax. After the Peak, the narrative switches back to the displaced mode, by the alternation of aorists (κατέθεντο) and imperfects (ἐχώρουν, ἐδύναντο), and by the use of δέ (γνόντες δέ …, οὗτοι δέ …). There is also a case of internal focalization by the Athenians: γνόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὅτι οὐ λανθάνουσι.

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[33] The verb ἔμελλον represents a case of internal focalization — a typical feature of the displaced mode.
[34] Recall that the use of specific causal or, in this case, adversative connectives is a feature of the displaced mode.

The last example to be discussed here is of a somewhat different character in that it shows an extraordinarily persistent use of the historic present, creating an extended Peak:

[4]   Thucydides 8.34
[Nicias is informed by the Syracusans of Demosthenes' surrender. Nicias proposes to pay for his army's liberty.]

a.   Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατιὰ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐκ τοῦ Κωρύκου περιπλέουσα
b.   κατ' Ἀργῖνον <u>ἐπιτυγχάνει</u> τρισὶ ναυσὶ τῶν Χίων μακραῖς,
c.   καὶ ὡς <u>εἶδον</u>, <u>ἐδίωκον</u>
d.   καὶ χειμών τε μέγας <u>ἐπιγίγνεται</u>
e.   καὶ αἱ μὲν τῶν Χίων μόλις <u>καταφεύγουσιν</u> ἐς τὸν λιμένα,
f.   αἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων αἱ μὲν μάλιστα ὁρμήσασαι τρεῖς <u>διαφθείρονται</u>
g.   καὶ <u>ἐκπίπτουσι</u> πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τῶν Χίων,
h.   καὶ ἄνδρες οἱ μὲν <u>ἁλίσκονται</u>,
i.   οἱ δ' <u>ἀποθνῄσκουσιν</u>,
j.   αἱ δ' ἄλλαι <u>καταφεύγουσιν</u> ἐς τὸν ὑπὸ τῷ Μίμαντι λιμένα Φοινικοῦντα καλούμενον.

Meanwhile also the Athenian force that was sailing round from Corycus fell in with three Chian warships off Arginus, and went after them as soon as they saw them. And a great storm came on, and the Chian ships with difficulty took refuge in the harbour, but the three Athenian ships farthest in front were wrecked and driven ashore near the city of Chios, and the crews were either killed or taken prisoners. The other ships took refuge in the harbour called Phoenicus, under Mount Mimas.

In this episode, the narrator exploits the effect of the historic present to draw the reader into the scene, turning the reader into an eye-witness experiencing the drama of the events. Apart from the remarkable number of historic presents we also find other indicators of the immediate mode — paratactic syntax and a repeated use of καί as sentence connective.[35]

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[35] There are more passages in Thucydides which display the combination of linguistic features mentioned above, that is, frequent use of the historic present, predominant use of καί as a connective particle, and paratactic syntax. Examples of this type are: 2.79.3-7 (climax of the battle between the Athenians and the Chalcidians at Spartolus), 3.89.3 (tsunami at Atalanta), 8.10.4.7-9 (the Athenians disable the enemy ships and kill their commander), 8.19.3-4 (The Athenians take four Chian ships), 8.22.2 (the Peloponessians and the Chians incite the revolt of Methymna and Mytilene), 8.55.3.9-12 (the Athenians rout the Chians and kill

A special feature of this passage is its partial lack of temporal progression. First, the narrative events ἐπιτυγχάνει, ἐδίωκον and ἐπιγίγνεται are ordered sequentially. Then, story time comes to a pause as two simultaneously occurring events are described. The first concerns the Chian ships (αἱ μέν ...), the latter the fastest Athenian ships (αἱ δέ ...): (1) αἱ μὲν τῶν Χίων μόλις καταφεύγουσιν ἐς τὸν λιμένα, (2) αἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων αἱ μὲν μάλιστα ὁρμήσασαι τρεῖς διαφθείρονται.[36] The story then focuses on the fastest Athenian ships of which it is told that they are driven ashore (ἐκπίπτουσι). Again, narrative time comes to a standstill, and two simultaneous events are narrated: the men aboard the ships are either (οἱ μέν ...) caught, or (οἱ δ' ...) killed. Finally, the syntactic construction indicates that the historic present αἱ δ' ἄλλαι καταφεύγουσιν should be interpreted as being simultaneous with αἱ μὲν μάλιστα ὁρμήσασαι τρεῖς (...) — and thereby also simultaneous with αἱ μὲν τῶν Χίων μόλις καταφεύγουσιν ἐς τὸν λιμένα. Again, there is no temporal progression. This mixture of sequential events, propelling the narrative forward, and simultaneous events, pausing the narrative, gives this passage a somewhat hybrid character — it is neither purely narrative, nor purely descriptive. In this way, Thucydides presents us with a lively *tableau* which is partly dynamic, partly static.

9   *The Status of the Narrator*

A final issue I would like to discuss concerns the status of the narrator in the immediate mode. In the *Histories*, narration by an omniscient, heterodiegetic narrator (i.e. zero focalization) typically alternates with character-bound (internal) focalization. It appears, however, that the 'lapses' into the immediate mode represent deviations of these typical narrative situations in the *Histories*.

Pedaritus). Note that every one of these passages describes a dramatic climax (Peak) of some kind. In general, however, Thucydides' narrative style is to be characterized as displaced.

[36] As an important instrument to organize the informational structure of the story, the μέν...δέ-construction requires a narrator in control. It shows, again, that the narrator may at times employ — if needs be — devices which are more typical of the displaced mode.

Firstly, the narrator in the immediate mode suspends, albeit briefly, the idea that he is omniscient and telling the story from a retrospective point of view. The authorial narrator, in other words, 'steps back' (or, rather, pretends to do so). Secondly, the absence of internal points of view and the exclusive focus on the narration of perceptible events implies that we are dealing with *external* focalization.[37] And, finally, although the 'immediate' narrator should be seen as *heterodiegetic*, he is clearly an atypical one. By assuming the role of an eyewitness, the narrator 'intrudes' on the level of the story and the characters.

It is perhaps elucidating to contrast the narrator in the immediate mode with the so-called 'camera eye' narrator. The camera eye technique was first described by Norman Friedman defining it as follows: [It is] '(...) the ultimate in authorial exclusion. Here the aim is to transmit, without apparent selection or arrangement, a 'slice of life' as it passes before the recording medium' (Friedman 1955: 1178). As an example of a narrator who proclaims to assume the role of a camera, Friedman quotes from the first page of Isherwood's novel *Goodbye to Berlin* (1939): 'I am a camera with its shutter open, quite passive, recording, not thinking (...)'. The camera eye technique involves a depersonalization of the narrator's consciousness. The camera eye has no access to memory; it is only directed at the registration of the external world: 'There is the reflection on the retina, but not the reflection in the mind', as Casparis (1975: 51) formulates it.[38] Clearly, the camera eye technique is similar to our immediate mode in the manner in which reality is presented. However, the two narration types differ in, at least, two important respects. Firstly, the camera eye technique involves *internal* focalization. As has been indicated by Stanzel, camera eye narration involves an internal perspective (*Innenperspektiv*), albeit one of a

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[37] Cf. Bal's characterization of external focalization: '(...) an anonymous agent, situated outside the fabula, is functioning as the focalizor' (Bal 1997²: 148).

[38] Obviously, the depersonalization of the representation of reality by means of the camera eye technique cannot be carried through in literature to the same degree as in film: 'There can be no pretence of reflecting like a mirror. Camera eye technique is linked to 'humanity physiologically in terms of *Gestalt* perception not to speak of its dependence on human language. It can merely *aspire* to present sensation detached from cognition, mental reflection, evaluation, emotion, within the limits of language' (Casparis 1975: 53).

strongly depersonalized character (Stanzel 2001[7]: 295). Thus, Stanzel follows Casparis in his view that the camera eye is related to the interior monologue, which is also a form of internal focalization. Secondly, the camera eye involves a *homodiegetic* narrator.[39]

A second issue I would like to address here briefly is the relation of the immediate mode with Bakker's *mimetic mode* as it has been set out in Bakker (1997c).[40] Both modes of narration involve a narrator who pretends to be an observer at the centre of the narrated events. There are, however, a number of differences: the first difference concerns their respective use of tense and aspect. Bakker's mimetic mode is chiefly conveyed by imperfect verb forms, whereas the immediate mode is typically marked by the historic present. Contrary to the immediate mode, therefore, the mimetic mode is explicitly marked as being *displaced* by its use of past (imperfect) tenses (see also Bakker 1997c: 18). A second difference is that the mimetic mode *may* involve the description of static situations (e.g. Bakker 1997c: 8-9). The immediate mode, conversely, is typically dynamic in character: events are narrated while they are (rapidly) following on one another.[41] A third difference relates to the issue of focalization. As I argued above, the immediate mode involves *external* focalization. Bakker's mimetic mode, on the other hand, may at times also involve *internal* focalization (or character focalization, see Bakker 1997c: 29). The exact relationship, however, between Bakker's mimetic mode and my immediate mode and their function in narrative remains a topic for further research.

10   *Conclusion*

The usefulness of the concept of narrative mode resides especially in its ability to account for many different aspects of the text, linguistic as well as narratological ones. Furthermore, the narrative modes are

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[39] Stanzel's paradigm example of the camera eye technique is *La Jalousie* by Robbe-Grillet. In this novel, the 'owner' of the camera eye is a jealous spouse peeping through the blinds.

[40] Bakker's diegetic mode can be compared with my displaced mode.

[41] Thucydides 8.34, with its alternation of sequential and simultaneous events, appears to be exceptional in this respect.

also relevant to the analysis of the overall structure of the story. The link between narrative mode and narrative structure can be explained by the rhetorical function of narrative mode. Switching narrative modes is a technique to involve the reader more directly in the drama of the story (such as the rapid reversals of the battle). The dramatic quality of Thucydides' narrative in general has been emphasized by Connor: 'We do not usually think of Thucydides as a writer who keeps drawing his readers into the narrative until they feel they are present, actually experiencing them. But Thucydides achieves this implication to an extraordinary degree. We do not often let ourselves be caught up in the vicarious experience he describes, but we should' (Connor 1985: 10). According to Connor, this 'experiential', or 'participatory' aspect of Thucydides' work is perhaps even the most important source of its authority (Connor 1985: 9-10). Already Plutarch praised Thucydides for his ability to render the reader a spectator of the events he describes as well as for his striving for ἐνάργεια ('vividness') (*De glor. Ath.* 347a). Thucydides' employment of the immediate mode can be thought of as yet another technique to achieve ἐνάργεια in his writing.[42]

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[42] It interesting to note, in this connection, that Quintilian (*Inst.* 9.2.41) regards the use of the (historic) present — one of the features of the immediate mode — as a device to achieve *euidentia.* For a study of ἐνάργεια in historiography, see Walker (1993).

ASPECTUAL DIFFERENCES AND NARRATIVE TECHNIQUE:
XENOPHON'S *HELLENICA* & *AGESILAUS*

Michel Buijs

1 *Introduction*

In the study of the opposition aorist indicative/imperfect in Ancient Greek, it is often considered helpful to substitute the one member of this so-called 'aspectual' opposition for the other, and see what difference this would make. In the case of modern languages, linguists have the possibility of producing two texts that differ in aspectual forms only, and of asking a native speaker how he experiences the two texts. In the case of a dead language such as Ancient Greek, we cannot consult a native speaker, but we have parallel passages in Xenophon's *Hellenica* and *Agesilaus* that in some cases show differences in the aspectual choice of their verbal constituents, while the exact same real-world situation is being described. Neither in the discussion of Ancient Greek aspect, nor in discourse-centered linguistics have these passages received full consideration. In this paper I present a treatment of these parallel passages in terms of discourse organization and narrative technique.

2 *Genre and Types of Discourse*

The *Hellenica* can be regarded as a historical narrative, that is, one of its main characteristics is the linguistic representation of historical events[1] in temporal sequence.[2] Yet Xenophon has not narrated them

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[1] For an overview of the problems connected with the notion of 'event', see Fleischman (1990: 97-100).

[2] The temporal orientation of the *Hellenica* manifests itself at the immediate beginning of the work, when Xenophon continues where Thucydides had stopped

in strict chronological order; some thematically linked events are grouped together for reasons of convenience in narrating. There is no 'main narrative line' for the work as a whole; rather, the *Hellenica* consists of different narrative lines brought in connection with one another within the over-all structure of the text. Often a given narrative line is interrupted by a change in orientation towards time, place, or cast of participants, sometimes to be taken up later.

The *Agesilaus* is an encomium.[3] It opens with a proem (1.1), followed by a short treatment of Agesilaus' high birth (1.2-5). Sections 1.6-2.31 are dedicated to the actions (ἔργα) of his reign;[4] this treatment covers more than half of the text. Section 3.1 establishes the transition from the hero's actions to his virtues (ἀρεταί), which are discussed one by one in 3.2-9.7.[5] The *Agesilaus* closes off with what might be called an epilogue (10) and a summary (11).

In his account of Agesilaus' actions, Xenophon uses narrative episodes to illustrate Agesilaus' qualities as a general, for, he says, *I believe that from his deeds his qualities, too, will be given the clearest impression of.*[6] He has chosen the form of narrative, for *how could one give a clearer impression of what kind of general he was than by narrating*

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with μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὕστερον...: *after this, not many days later...* (note the particle δέ); compare also the final sentence of the *Hellenica*: ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ μέχρι τούτου γραφέσθω· τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἴσως ἄλλῳ μελήσει: *thus far be it written by me; the events after these will perhaps be the concern of another.*

[3] It is characterized as such by Xenophon in *Agesilaus* 10.3: ἀλλὰ γὰρ μὴ ὅτι τετελευτηκὼς ἐπαινεῖται τούτου ἕνεκα θρῆνόν τις τοῦτον τὸν λόγον νομισάτω, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐγκώμιον: *But let it not be thought that, because one whose life is ended is praised, for this reason this text is a funeral dirge; it should rather be regarded as an encomium.*

[4] The opening and closure of this part of the text are explicitly indicated: 1.6: ὅσα γε μὴν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ διεπράξατο νῦν ἤδη διηγήσομαι: *I will now give a narrative of the achievements of his reign...*3.1: καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ εἴρηται ὅσα τῶν ἐκείνου ἔργων μετὰ πλείστων μαρτύρων ἐπράχθη: *such, then, is the record of my hero's deeds, so far as they were done before a crowd of witnesses.* Similarly, the account of Agesilaus' activities in Asia is explicitly introduced and rounded off: 1.10: ἐν τοίνυν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἥδε πρώτη πρᾶξις ἐγένετο: *well, his first act in Asia was the following...*1.38: τῶν μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πράξεων τοῦτο τέλος ἐγένετο: *this then was the end of his activities in Asia.*

[5] This part of the text is framed by the sentences νῦν δὲ τὴν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ ἀρετὴν πειράσομαι δηλοῦν, δι᾽ ἣν ταῦτα ἔπραττε καὶ πάντων τῶν καλῶν ἤρα καὶ πάντα <τὰ> αἰσχρὰ ἐξεδίωκεν: *now I will attempt to show the virtue that was in his soul, the virtue through which he wrought those deeds and loved all that is honourable and put away all that is base* (3.1) and ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτα ἐπαινῶ Ἀγησίλαον: *such, then, are the qualities for which I praise Agesilaus* (10.1).

[6] *Agesilaus* 1.6.

the things he did?[7] The text is agent oriented, time is not projected, and Agesilaus' actions are narrated in chronological order, yet temporal succession is not contingent: narrative episodes are presented in 'blocks' that are selected for the purpose of eulogy. It is clearly the speaker who presents the narrative episodes as examples: he is, explicitly or implicitly, present throughout the text, often commenting upon the actions by giving an evaluative statement. Thus, the *Agesilaus* on the whole might be regarded as 'behavioural discourse', albeit with narrative chunks interwoven in the account of the hero's actions.[8]

The two distinct discursive systems operating in the account of Agesilaus' actions may be conveniently investigated by dividing the different parts of this account into 'diegesis'[9] and 'commentary', as defined by Fleischman:

> The term 'diegesis,' which goes back to Plato's *Republic*, is used here to refer to sentences of *narration proper*. As used in this sense, diegesis contrasts, on the one hand, with *directly quoted speech*, which is 'mimetic' (an imitation of real speech), and, on the other, with *commentary* by the narrator, which is neither mimetic — in that it is not a representation of speech but speech itself — nor diegetic — in that it refers not to the story-world but to the world of the narrator at the time of the narrating.[10]

Using Fleischman's terms,[11] I present a survey of the structure of *Agesilaus* 1.6-3.1 in Table 1:[12]

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[7] *Agesilaus* 1.9.
[8] For a characterization of discourse types, see Longacre (1983).
[9] The verb διηγέομαι is used three times in introductory sentences (1.6. 1.9, and 2.9).
[10] Fleischman (1990: 376 n.22).
[11] 'Diegesis' and 'commentary' would roughly correspond to the discourse modes of 'Narrative' and 'Argument' in the terminology of Smith (2003, especially 33: 'An argument passage brings something to the attention of the reader, makes a claim, *comment*, or argument and supports it in some way'; my italics).
[12] In the Tables, b, m, and e indicate the beginning, middle, and end of a section in the Oxford Classical Text, respectively.

Table 1: Xenophon, *Agesilaus* 1.6-3.1: Structure

1.1-6^b: Commentary	1.38: Diegesis	2.22: Diegesis
1.6-8: Diegesis	1.38^e: Commentary	2.23^b: Commentary
1.9-10^b: Commentary	2.1-6: Diegesis	2.23-24: Diegesis
1.10-11: Diegesis	2.7: Commentary	2.25^b: Commentary
1.12: Commentary	2.8: Diegesis	2.25-26: Diegesis
1.13-16: Diegesis	2.9^b: Commentary	2.27^b: Commentary
1.17: Commentary	2.9-11: Diegesis	2.27: Diegesis
1.18-24: Diegesis	2.12^b: Commentary	2.28^b: Commentary
1.24^e: Commentary	2.12-21: Diegesis	2.28-31: Diegesis
1.25-35: Diegesis	2.21^e: Commentary	3.1^b: Commentary
1.36-37: Commentary		

The diegetic episodes are either 'copied' from the *Hellenica* and 'pasted' into the *Agesilaus* with slight alterations, or based upon this earlier written text. It is, in my opinion, most probable that Xenophon had a copy of the *Hellenica* at hand when he wrote the *Agesilaus*.[13] Although the capacity of the Greek's memory may have surpassed ours by far, claiming that Xenophon wrote the duplicates from memory would in view of the large number of literal correspondences be overjudging his skills.

Table 2 presents an overview of these parallel passages ('≈' indicates near-literal correspondence; 'cf.' means that the text of the *Agesilaus* is merely based upon that of the *Hellenica*).

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[13] Terwelp (1873: 26-27), although he does not ascribe the *Agesilaus* to Xenophon, holds the same position as to the generation of the text: 'ex iis, quae attuli, satis opinor elucet, laudatorem, *Xenophontis historia sub oculis posita* plurima ad uerbum transscripsisse, aliis usum esse ita, ut breuior uberiorem, obscurior illustriorem secutus esse uideatur'; my italics.

Table 2: Xenophon, *Agesilaus* 1.6-3.1: parallel passages

1.6-8	Cf. *Hell.* 3.4.1-4	2.15-16	≈*Hell.* 4.3.20-21
1.10-11	1.10: *Hell.* 3.4.5-6[b] concise	2.17	Cf. *Hell.* 4.4.19
	1.11≈*Hell.* 3.4.6[e]	2.18-19	Cf. *Hell.* 4.5.1-3
1.13-16	≈*Hell.* 3.4.11-12	2.20	Cf. *Hell.* 4.6.1-12
1.18-24	1.23-24≈*Hell.* 3.4.15	2.21	2.21[b]: cf. *Hell.* 5.1.32-34;
1.25-35	1.25-32≈*Hell.* 3.4.16-24;		2.21[m]: cf. *Hell.* 5.2.8-10;
	1.35[b] ≈*Hell.* 3.4.25[b]		5.3.10-17
2.1-6	2.2-5≈*Hell.* 4.3.3-9;	2.22	Cf. *Hell.* 5.4.38-41; 5.4.47-54
	2.6: cf. *Hell.* 4.3.15-16	2.23	Cf. *Hell.* 6.5.10-21
2.9-13	≈*Hell.* 4.3.16-20	2.24	Cf. *Hell.* 6.5.23-32

As will be clear from the preceding, the commentaries by the author form the backbone of the treatment of Agesilaus' achievements, the diegetic passages being illustrations. They structure the text, in that they introduce or evaluate a certain action, or introduce/break off a discourse (sub)topic. Various linguistic characteristics recur in these commentaries, such as certain particles — οὖν in evaluations and γε μήν in introductions —, first person reference, non-diegetic tenses (future and perfect tense stems), anaphoric and cataphoric deictic elements, and rhetorical questions. The recurring features serve as guides to the meaning of the alternating passages of diegesis and commentary in this text. A survey of these recurring linguistic characteristics and the structuring function in the commentaries is presented in Table 3:

Table 3: Xenophon, *Agesilaus* 1.6-3.1: Commentaries

	Linguistic characteristics	Structuring function
1.6[b]	γε μήν; νῦν ἤδη; first person verbs with future reference (διηγήσομαι; νομίζω...ἔσεσθαι).	Introduction of discourse topic 'Activities'.
1.9	γε μήν; rhetorical question: πῶς ἄν τις...ἐπιδείξειεν...ἢ εἰ...διηγήσαιτο...;	Announcement of treatment by means of diegesis.
1.10[b]	τοίνυν; deictic element (ἥδε).	Abstract: introduction of discourse subtopic 'Activities

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[14] Lac. indicavit Marchant : κἀνταῦθα οὖν add. det. : καὶ ταῦτα δὲ H. Sauppe.

	Linguistic characteristics	Structuring function
		in Asia'.
1.12	οὖν; first person reference (ἐμοί... δοκεῖ); deictic element (τοῦτο).	Evaluation.
1.17	οὖν; deictic element (τοῦτο).	Evaluation.
1.24[e]	οὖν; deictic element (τοῦτ').	Evaluation.
1.36	γε μήν; ἄξιον (sc. ἐστιν); deictic element (ἐντεῦθεν); ὅστις...	Introduction and evaluation of another achievement.
1.37	γε μήν; rhetorical question: πῶς οὐκ ἀξιεπαίνου...; ὅστις...	Introduction and evaluation of another achievement.
1.38[e]	μὲν δή; deictic element (τοῦτο).	Summary: discourse subtopic: 'Activities in Asia' abandoned.
2.7	First person verbs (λέξων ἔρχομαι; λέγοιμι; δοκῶ; ἐπαινοίην; ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ...ἄγαμαι); first person reference (μοι; ἐμαυτόν); εἰ clauses+optative; deictic elements (τοῦτο; ταῦτα; τάδ').	Introduction and evaluation of another achievement.
2.9[b]	First person future (διηγήσομαι); first person reference (ἐφ' ἡμῶν).	Introduction of discourse subtopic: 'battle'.[15]
2.12[b]	Deictic element (ἐνταῦθα)+ δή; ἔξεστιν εἰπεῖν; μέντοι...γε.	Evaluation.
2.21[e]	εἰ δέ τις; deictic element (ταῦτα); ἀλλ' οὖν...γε; φανερά ἐστι.	Evaluation.
2.23[b]	τὰ μὲν δὴ μέχρι τούτου...ὅσα γε μὴν μετὰ τοῦτο; optative (οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴποι).	Temporal transition.
2.25[b]	γε μήν; rhetorical question (πῶς οὐκ ἂν φαίη τις...;).	Introduction and evaluation of another achievement.
2.27[b]	<κἀνταῦθα οὖν>;[14] ἄξια θαύματος.	Evaluation.
2.28[b]	ἤδη; pluperfect (ἐγεγόνει).	Temporal transition.
3.1[b]	καί...μὲν δή; deictic element (ταῦτα); perfect (εἴρηται).	Summary: discourse topic 'Activities' abandoned.

[15] The discourse (sub)topic 'battle' is abandoned in 2.14 in a diegetic passage with the subordinate clause ἐπεί γε μὴν ἔληξεν ἡ μάχη (note the particle combination γε μήν, which is extremely rare in diegesis), before a description of the battle-field is given (παρῆν δὴ θεάσασθαι...).

3   *Aspectual Differences*

The question that will be addressed in this paper is: how are the aspectual differences in the parallel passages of diegesis to be accounted for? Of course one may maintain that the distribution of aspectual forms should be regarded as 'free', that the alteration is due to mere coincidence, and that the relevant factors underlying the difference in aspectual usage cannot be recovered by modern linguists. In my opinion, such an attitude is undesirable in that any linguistic analysis would raise suspicion once mere chance is considered a factor to be reckoned with, especially when an explanation seems available. Further, the number of passages in both the *Agesilaus* and the *Hellenica* in which aspectual differences are found is too great to hold such a position. Moreover, it cannot be maintained that substituting one member of the opposition aorist indicative/imperfect for the other yields a change in the description of a given real-world situation; this would result in an undesirable situation for the passages in question, as in both texts the exact same real-world situation is narrated in narrative passages.

It will be clear that these questions cannot be answered on the level of the sentence. To answer them, we have to look in a different direction; cf. Rijksbaron (1988: 250-254) on the discourse function of the imperfect in Herodotus. It is the hypothesis of this paper that a text grammar-oriented approach will yield better results; cf. Rijksbaron:

> Since the imperfect characterizes the state of affairs as 'not-completed' it creates a framework within which other states of affairs may occur, while the aorist indicative characterizes the state of affairs as 'completed', as a mere event. This difference in value between imperfect and aorist indicative is significant for the way in which a story is told. The imperfect creates a certain expectation on the part of the reader/hearer: what else happened?; the aorist indicative, on the other hand, does not have this effect: the state of affairs has simply occurred. These values are applied in various ways.[16]

My thesis is that Xenophon deliberately substituted the one aspectual form for the other, adapting the text of the *Hellenica* to his

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[16]   Rijksbaron (2002³a: 11).

encomiastic aim. Different factors may underly this adaptation, as I hope to show in the discussion of individual instances. In any case, the appearance of an imperfect, an aorist indicative, or, for that matter, a historic present will be explained by taking into account the discourse-organizing function of the aspectual form in question.

4 *Imperfect vs. Aorist: (Dis-)Continuity of Discourse Units*

In Sicking (1991 and 1996) it is argued that one of the factors underlying the distribution of aorists and imperfects in Ancient Greek is the structure of the narrative or other communication: we often find a series of actions expressed by an imperfect concluded by an action in the aorist. An example of this is [1]:

> [1] Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 1.1.18-20
> ἐκεῖθεν δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ **ἔπλεον** οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ Κύζικον. οἱ δὲ Κυζικηνοὶ τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Φαρναβάζου ἐκλιπόντων αὐτὴν **ἐδέχοντο** τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ μείνας αὐτοῦ εἴκοσιν ἡμέρας καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ λαβὼν παρὰ τῶν Κυζικηνῶν, οὐδὲν ἄλλο κακὸν ἐργασάμενος ἐν τῇ πόλει **ἀπέπλευσεν** εἰς Προκόννησον.
>
> From Proconnesus the Athenians sailed on the next day against Cyzicus. The Cyzicenes, inasmuch as the Peloponnesians and Pharnabazus had evacuated the city, admitted them. There Alcibiades remained for twenty days, and obtained a great deal of money from the Cyzicenes, but without doing any further harm in the city, he sailed back to Proconnesus.

The attention of the hearer is directed towards the sequel by the imperfects ἔπλεον and ἐδέχοντο, as the narrative continues; the aorist ἀπέπλευσεν is the final verbal action of this narrative sequence.[17] We may say that the aorist indicates 'completedness', as long as this term is not applied to the *verbal action*, but to the *discourse unit*: note that the actions ἔπλεον and ἐδέχοντο may be said to be complete(d) in themselves, and that they advance narrative time, despite the fact that an imperfect is used.

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[17] For the prepositions ἐπί (after the imperfect) and εἰς (after the aorist indicative), see also parallel passage V.

The imperfect, on the other hand, may rather be said to present an action from 'within' the diegetic world. It gives the sign 'to be continued', indicating that more information will be conveyed. This continuation may also relate to the verbal action itself. Here is an example:

[2] Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, 2.22
καὶ γὰρ ἐπεὶ τοὺς ἐν Θήβαις τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων κατέκανον οἱ ἐναντίοι, βοηθῶν αὖ τούτοις στρατεύει ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας. εὑρὼν δὲ ἀποτεταφρευμένα καὶ ἀπεσταυρωμένα ἅπαντα, ὑπερβὰς τὰς Κυνὸς κεφαλὰς **ἐδῄου** τὴν χώραν μέχρι τοῦ ἄστεως, παρέχων καὶ ἐν πεδίῳ καὶ ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη μάχεσθαι Θηβαίοις, εἰ βούλοιντο. **ἐστράτευσε δὲ** καὶ τῷ ἐπιόντι ἔτει πάλιν ἐπὶ Θήβας· **καὶ** ὑπερβὰς τὰ κατὰ Σκῶλον σταυρώματα καὶ τάφρους **ἐδῄωσε** τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Βοιωτίας.

For at another time — the Lacedaemonians in Thebes were murdered by their opponents — he (*sc.* Agesilaus) made an expedition against Thebes to relieve them. He found the city protected on all sides by a trench and a stockade, crossed the pass of Cynoscephalae, and laid waste the country up to the city walls, offering battle to the Thebans both on the plain and on the hills, if they chose to fight. He made another expedition against Thebes in the following year: he crossed the stockade and trenches at Scolus and laid waste the rest of Boeotia.

The imperfect ἐδῄου is used where a discourse unit is continued. On the level of the verbal action 'laying waste', the final sentence of this discourse unit completes the information, as appears from the lexical overlap ἐδῄου (τὴν χώραν μέχρι τοῦ ἄστεως)... ἐδῄωσε (τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Βοιωτίας). On the discourse level, this unit is completed by the aorists ἐστράτευσε and ἐδῄωσε; the two clauses are combined by καί, operating under the scope of δέ, which separates, and at the same time links, the two sentences of this discourse unit (See Bakker 1993).

On an even higher discourse level, the continuation-indicating potential of the imperfect is seen when the verbal action expressed by an imperfect is the final action of a narrative line that is temporarily abandoned, to be picked up later on.[18] This happens in [3]:

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[18] Cf. Rijksbaron (1988: 254): 'on the level of large-scale narrative units it establishes cohesion between different and, more specifically, distant parts of a given narrative, if, for some reason or other, this is split up.'

[3]   Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 3.4.29-4.1.1

ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος, ὥσπερ ὥρμησεν, ἐπὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν **ἐπορεύετο**. ὁ μέντοι Τιθραύστης...πέμπει Τιμοκράτην τὸν Ῥόδιον εἰς Ἑλλάδα, δοὺς χρυσίον εἰς πεντήκοντα τάλαντα ἀργυρίου, καὶ κελεύει πειρᾶσθαι πιστὰ τὰ μέγιστα λαμβάνοντα διδόναι τοῖς προεστηκόσιν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐφ' ᾧτε πόλεμον ἐξοίσειν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους. (...) κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο ἅμα μετοπώρῳ εἰς τὴν τοῦ Φαρναβάζου Φρυγίαν, τὴν μὲν χώραν ἔκαε καὶ ἐπόρθει, πόλεις δὲ τὰς μὲν βίᾳ, τὰς δ' ἑκούσας προσελάμβανε.

Agesilaus continued the march to Phrygia on which he had set out. Now Tithraustes...sent Timocrates the Rhodian to Greece — he gave him gold to the value of fifty talents of silver; he bade him to undertake, on receipt of the surest pledges, to give this money to the leaders in the various states on condition that they should make war upon the Lacedaemonians. (...) These, then, were the events that took place in Greece. As for Agesilaus, upon his arriving, at the beginning of autumn, in Pharnabazus' province of Phrygia, he laid the land waste with fire and sword and gained possession of cities, some by force, others by their voluntary surrender.

The imperfect ἐπορεύετο at least creates the expectation that more information concerning Agesilaus' march will be conveyed in the sequel. Yet this does not happen immediately; the narrative line concerning Agesilaus is left open-ended, and a new narrative line is started with ὁ μέντοι Τιθραύστης.[19] After about 6 pages OCT, the narrative line concerning what happened in Greece with the gold of Tithraustes is explicitly closed off by a clause that summarizes the preceding episode, and the account of Agesilaus' march is eventually continued (note that the transition from the one thematic discourse segment to the other is overtly marked by linguistic means, such as οὖν, transitional μέν...δέ, a theme construction, and an ἐπεί clause introducing a new spatial setting).

The use of the imperfect in the case of a continuous discourse unit, whatever its length, and of the aorist in the case of completion of a discourse unit, indicating textual discontinuity, will be taken as the starting point for the discussion of the aspectual differences in six parallel passages in the *Hellenica* and *Agesilaus*. I cover all

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[19]   The particle μέντοι indicates that the reader's expectation that the current narrative line is continued, is denied; therewith, is μέντοι is used as a PUSH-particle (see Slings 1997: 114-122, especially 120 on *De dicto*-PUSH).

instances where an imperfect is replaced with an aorist or vice versa; moreover, one instance will be discussed where a historic present is replaced with an aorist. I hope to show that Xenophon adapted his text of the *Hellenica* to the specific needs of the encomium, in which the pieces of diegesis perform the function of an illustration of Agesilaus' qualities.

5   *Parallel Passage I*

Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 3.4.6-7

6 ἐπὶ τούτοις ῥηθεῖσι Τισσαφέρνης μὲν ὤμοσε τοῖς πεμφθεῖσι πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἡριππίδᾳ καὶ Δερκυλίδᾳ καὶ Μεγίλλῳ ἦ μὴν πράξειν ἀδόλως τὴν εἰρήνην, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἀντώμοσαν ὑπὲρ Ἀγησιλάου Τισσαφέρνει ἦ μὴν ταῦτα πράττοντος αὐτοῦ ἐμπεδώσειν τὰς σπονδάς.

ὁ μὲν δὴ Τισσαφέρνης ἃ ὤμοσεν εὐθὺς ἐψεύσατο· ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ εἰρήνην ἔχειν στράτευμα πολὺ παρὰ βασιλέως πρὸς ᾧ εἶχε πρόσθεν μετεπέμπετο. Ἀγησίλαος δέ, καίπερ **αἰσθανόμενος** ταῦτα, ὅμως **ἐπέμενε**[20] ταῖς σπονδαῖς.

Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, 1.10-12

10 ἐν τοίνυν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἥδε πρώτη πρᾶξις ἐγένετο. Τισσαφέρνης μὲν ὤμοσεν Ἀγησιλάῳ, εἰ σπείσαιτο ἕως ἔλθοιεν οὓς πέμψειε πρὸς βασιλέα ἀγγέλους, διαπράξεσθαι αὐτῷ ἀφεθῆναι αὐτονόμους τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας, Ἀγησίλαος δὲ ἀντώμοσε σπονδὰς ἄξειν ἀδόλως, ὁρισάμενος τῆς πράξεως τρεῖς μῆνας.

11 ὁ μὲν δὴ Τισσαφέρνης ἃ ὤμοσεν εὐθὺς ἐψεύσατο· ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ εἰρήνην πράττειν στράτευμα πολὺ παρὰ βασιλέως πρὸς ᾧ πρόσθεν εἶχε μετεπέμπετο. Ἀγησίλαος δὲ καίπερ **αἰσθόμενος** ταῦτα ὅμως **ἐνέμεινε** ταῖς σπονδαῖς.

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[20] ἐπέμενε : ἐνέμεινε Cobet coll. *Ages.* 1.11; ἐπέμεινε F^CN. F (Perizonianus Lugduno-Batavus 6, s. XV. medii) and N (Neapolitanus XXII 1, s. XV.—*qui codici F maxime affinis est*: Hude) belong to the *codices deteriores*.

Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 3.4.6-7

7 ὡς δὲ ἡσυχίαν τε καὶ σχολὴν ἔχων ὁ Ἀγησίλαος διέτριβεν ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ, ἅτε συντεταραγμένων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τῶν πολιτειῶν, καὶ οὔτε δημοκρατίας ἔτι οὔσης, ὥσπερ ἐπ’ Ἀθηναίων, οὔτε δεκαρχίας, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Λυσάνδρου, ἅτε γιγνώσκοντες πάντες τὸν Λύσανδρον, προσέκειντο αὐτῷ ἀξιοῦντες διαπράττεσθαι αὐτὸν παρ’ Ἀγησιλάου ὧν ἐδέοντο

6 At these words Tissaphernes made oath to the commissioners who were sent to him, Herippidas, Dercylidas, and Megillus, that in very truth and without guile he would negotiate the peace, and they in turn made oath on behalf of Agesilaus to Tissaphernes that in very truth, given that he did this, Agesilaus would steadfastly observe the truce.

The one, Tissaphernes, straightway violated the oaths which he had sworn; for instead of keeping peace he sent to the King for a large army in addition to that which he had before. As for Agesilaus, though he was aware of this, he nevertheless abided by the truce.

Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, 1.10-12

12 ἐμοὶ οὖν τοῦτο πρῶτον καλὸν δοκεῖ διαπράξασθαι, ὅτι Τισσαφέρνην μὲν ἐμφανίσας ἐπίορκον ἄπιστον πᾶσιν ἐποίησεν, ἑαυτὸν δ’ ἀντεπιδείξας πρῶτον μὲν ὅρκους ἐμπεδοῦντα, ἔπειτα συνθήκας μὴ ψευδόμενον, πάντας ἐποίησε καὶ Ἕλληνας καὶ βαρβάρους θαρροῦντας συντίθεσθαι ἑαυτῷ, εἴ τι βούλοιτο.

10 Well, his first act in Asia was the following. Tissaphernes made oath to Agesilaus that if he arranged a truce to last until the return of the messengers who were to be sent to the King, he would do his utmost to obtain independence for the Greek cities in Asia; Agesilaus in turn made oath that he would observe the truce without guile — he allowed three months for the transaction.

11 The one, Tissaphernes, straightway violated the oaths which he had sworn; for instead of arranging a peace he sent to the King for a large army in addition to that which he had before. As for Agesilaus, though he was aware of this, he nevertheless abided by the truce.

Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 3.4.6-7

7 When Agesilaus spent time in quiet and leisure at Ephesus, since the governments in the cities were in a state of confusion — it was no longer democracy, as in the time of Athenian rule, nor decarchy, as in the time of Lysander — and since the people all knew Lysander, they beset him with requests that he should obtain from Agesilaus the granting of their petitions.

Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, 1.10-12

12 I think, therefore, that here we have his first noble achievement: by showing up Tissaphernes as a perjurer, he made him distrusted everywhere; and, contrariwise, by proving himself to be a man of his word and true to his agreements, he encouraged all, Greeks and Barbarians alike, to enter into an agreement with him whenever he wished it.

The parallel passage describes Tissaphernes' and Agesilaus' reaction to peace negotiations, the two statements being balanced by μέν...δέ. In both texts we have an aorist in the μέν-member expressing Tissaphernes' violation of the oaths (ἐψεύσατο), followed by a backgrounded sentence with an imperfect, which is formally marked as elaborating on the preceding statement by γάρ. In this sentence the *Agesilaus* reads πράττειν where the *Hellenica* reads ἔχειν. The δέ-member in the *Agesilaus* differs from that in the *Hellenica* in that it has an aorist participle and an aorist main verb instead of a present participle and an imperfect;[21] moreover, it has ἐμμένω instead of ἐπιμένω.[22]

These differences can be accounted for in terms of narrative technique. In the *Hellenica*, the section under consideration is part of an on-going narration. Although there is a thematic break (cf. ὡς δέ at the beginning of 3.4.7),[23] the diegesis continues, as the ὡς-clause makes the preceding statement where the imperfect is used a starting-point for what follows by the repetition of an idea expressed in the preceding discourse, a device known as 'propositional overlap' by which discourse units are segmented and at the same time linked (see Thompson and Longacre [1985: 212]; Bakker [1993: 287]). In the

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[21] With the better manuscripts; see the preceding footnote.
[22] Although ἐπιμένω τινι is rare, it is attested, e.g. in X. *Oec.* 14.7, *the New Testament*, and the *Corpus medicorum Graecorum*.
[23] For sentence-initially placed subclauses marking thematic discontinuity, see Buijs (2005).

Agesilaus, there are several indications that Xenophon adapted his text of the *Hellenica* to the specific needs of the encomium, in which the piece of diegesis performs the function of an illustration. First, we may note that *Hellenica* 3.4.5-6, where we have a dialogue between Tissaphernes and Agesilaus' commissioners, and a more direct citation of the oaths with ἦ μήν, has been condensed for this purpose to what is said in *Agesilaus* 1.10, where the antagonist is Agesilaus himself, of course. Second, we have in the *Agesilaus* πράττειν instead of ἔχειν, and ἐμμένω instead of ἐπιμένω, which seem to intensify the contrast between the two protagonists to the advantage of Agesilaus, and therefore fit the occasion of an encomium better. Third, the piece of diegesis is followed by an evaluative statement — cf. the particle οὖν, which marks the preceding as introductory (see Sicking [1993: 48]; Van Ophuijsen [1993: 91]; for the linguistic characteristics of evaluation, see figure 3). The aorist ἐνέμεινε in the *Agesilaus*, therefore, 'closes off' a discourse unit, viz., a piece of diegesis used for special purposes. The use of the aorist instead of the imperfect and of the aorist participle instead of the present participle[24] indicates that the actions expressed by the aorist are presented from the viewpoint of the writer of the encomium; the imperfect and the present participle in the *Hellenica*, on the other hand, present the actions they descibe from 'within' the diegetic world.

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[24] Compare the discussion of ἐλπίζων/ἐλπίσας by Sicking (1996: 53-65) who, following an idea of E.J. Bakker, describes the distribution of ἐλπίζων/ἐλπίσας as reflecting a difference in point of view.

6 *Parallel Passage II*

Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 3.4.11-13

11 ἐκ δὲ τούτου εὐθὺς τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις παρήγγειλε συσκευάζεσθαι ὡς εἰς στρατείαν, ταῖς δὲ πόλεσιν εἰς ἃς ἀνάγκη ἦν ἀφικνεῖσθαι στρατευομένῳ ἐπὶ Καρίαν προεῖπεν ἀγορὰν παρασκευάζειν. ἐπέστειλε δὲ καὶ Ἴωσι καὶ Αἰολεῦσι καὶ Ἑλλησποντίοις πέμπειν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν εἰς Ἔφεσον τοὺς συστρατευσομένους.

12 ὁ **δὲ** Τισσαφέρνης, καὶ ὅτι ἱππικὸν οὐκ εἶχεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ἡ δὲ Καρία ἄφιππος ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ἡγεῖτο αὐτὸν ὀργίζεσθαι αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἀπάτην, τῷ ὄντι νομίσας ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ οἶκον εἰς Καρίαν αὐτὸν ὁρμήσειν, τὸ μὲν πεζὸν ἅπαν διεβίβασεν ἐκεῖσε, τὸ δ᾽ ἱππικὸν εἰς τὸ Μαιάνδρου πεδίον **περιῆγε**,[25] νομίζων ἱκανὸς εἶναι καταπατῆσαι τῇ ἵππῳ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, πρὶν εἰς τὰ δύσιππα ἀφικέσθαι.

ὁ δ᾽ Ἀγησίλαος ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ Καρίαν ἰέναι εὐθὺς τἀναντία ἀποστρέψας ἐπὶ Φρυγίας ἐπορεύετο, καὶ τάς τ᾽ ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ πόλεις κατεστρέφετο καὶ ἐμβαλὼν ἀπροσδοκήτοις παμπλήθη χρήματα **ἐλάμβανε**.

Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, 1.14-17

14 ἐκ δὲ τούτου εὐθὺς τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις παρήγγειλε συσκευάζεσθαι ὡς εἰς στρατείαν· ταῖς δὲ πόλεσιν εἰς ἃς ἀνάγκη ἦν ἀφικνεῖσθαι στρατευομένῳ ἐπὶ Καρίαν προεῖπεν ἀγορὰν παρασκευάζειν. ἐπέστειλε δὲ καὶ Ἴωσι καὶ Αἰολεῦσι καὶ Ἑλλησποντίοις πέμπειν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς Ἔφεσον τοὺς συστρατευσομένους.

15 ὁ **μὲν οὖν** Τισσαφέρνης, καὶ ὅτι ἱππικὸν οὐκ εἶχεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ἡ δὲ Καρία ἄφιππος ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ἡγεῖτο αὐτὸν ὀργίζεσθαι αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἀπάτην, τῷ ὄντι νομίσας ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ οἶκον εἰς Καρίαν ὁρμήσειν αὐτόν, τὸ μὲν πεζὸν ἅπαν διεβίβασεν ἐκεῖσε, τὸ δὲ ἱππικὸν εἰς τὸ Μαιάνδρου πεδίον **περιήγαγε**, νομίζων ἱκανὸς εἶναι καταπατῆσαι τῇ ἵππῳ τοὺς Ἕλληνας πρὶν εἰς τὰ δύσιππα ἀφικέσθαι.

16 ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ Καρίαν ἰέναι εὐθὺς ἀντιστρέψας ἐπὶ Φρυγίας ἐπορεύετο· καὶ τάς τε ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ ἀπαντώσας δυνάμεις ἀναλαμβάνων ἦγε καὶ τὰς πόλεις κατεστρέφετο καὶ ἐμβαλὼν ἀπροσδοκήτως παμπλήθη χρήματα **ἔλαβε**.

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[25] περιῆγε MSS : περιήγαγε Cobet, Hude.

Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 3.4.11-13

καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἀσφαλῶς διεπορεύετο· **13** οὐ πόρρω δ' ὄντος Δασκυλείου, προϊόντος αὐτοῦ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἤλαυνον ἐπὶ λόφον τινά, ὡς προΐδοιεν τί τἄμπροσθεν εἴη. κατὰ τύχην δέ τινα καὶ οἱ τοῦ Φαρναβάζου ἱππεῖς οἱ περὶ Ῥαθίνην καὶ Βαγαῖον τὸν νόθον ἀδελφόν, ὄντες παρόμοιοι τοῖς Ἕλλησι τὸν ἀριθμόν, πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου ἤλαυνον καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον λόφον.

Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, 1.14-17

17 στρατηγικὸν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο ἐδόκει διαπράξασθαι, ὅτι ἐπεὶ πόλεμος προερρήθη καὶ τὸ ἐξαπατᾶν ὅσιόν τε καὶ δίκαιον ἐξ ἐκείνου ἐγένετο, παῖδα ἀπέδειξε τὸν Τισσαφέρνην τῇ ἀπάτῃ, φρονίμως δὲ καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐνταῦθα ἔδοξε πλουτίσαι·

11 Then he straightway gave orders to the soldiers to pack up for a campaign, and sent word to the cities which had to be visited by anyone who marched upon Caria, that they should make ready a market. He also dispatched orders to the Ionians, Aeolians, and Hellespontines to send to him at Ephesus troops which should take part in the campaign.

14 Then he straightway gave orders to the soldiers to pack up for a campaign, and sent word to the cities which had to be visited by anyone who marched upon Caria, that they should make ready a market. He also dispatched orders to the Ionians, Aeolians, and Hellespontines to send to him at Ephesus troops which should take part in the campaign.

Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 3.4.11-13

12 And he, Tissaphernes, both because Agesilaus had no cavalry — and Caria was unsuited for cavalry — , and because he believed that he was angry with him on account of his treachery, he really thought that he was going to march against his own residence in Caria, and accordingly sent all his infantry across into that province and took his cavalry round into the plain of the Maeander, thinking that he was strong enough to trample the Greeks under foot with his horsemen before they should reach the regions which were unfit for cavalry. And he, Agesilaus, instead of proceeding against Caria, straightway turned in the opposite direction and marched towards Phrygia, and he subdued the cities which he passed through on the march, and, by falling upon them unexpectedly, obtained great quantities of booty.

Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, 1.14-17

15 Now the one, Tissaphernes, both because Agesilaus had no cavalry — and Caria was unsuited for cavalry — , and because he believed that he was angry with him on account of his treachery, he really thought that he was going to march against his own residence in Caria, and accordingly sent all his infantry across into that province and took his cavalry round into the plain of the Maeander, thinking that he was strong enough to trample the Greeks under foot with his horsemen before they should reach the regions which were unfit for cavalry. **16** The other, Agesilaus, instead of proceeding against Caria, straightway turned round and marched towards Phrygia, and he picked up and led along with him the contingents which met him on the march, subdued the cities, and, by falling upon them unexpectedly, obtained great quantities of booty.

Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 3.4.11-13
And most of the time he marched through the country in safety; **13** but when he was not far from Dascyleium, his horsemen, who went on ahead of him, rode to the top of a hill so as to see what was in front. And by chance the horsemen of Pharnabazus, under the command of Rhathines and Bagaeus, his bastard brother, just about equal to the Greek cavalry in number, had been sent out by Pharnabazus and likewise rode to the top of this same hill.

Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, 1.14-17
17 This achievement also was thought to be a proof of sound generalship, that when war was declared and cozening in consequence became righteous and fair dealing, he showed Tissaphernes to be a child at deception. It was thought, too, that he made shrewd use of this occasion to enrich his friends.

The passage quoted here is part of Xenophon's account of Agesilaus' activities in Asia. Two main verbs in this section of the *Agesilaus* are an aorist (περιήγαγε and ἔλαβε), whereas the corresponding passage in the *Hellenica* has imperfects (περιῆγε — the manuscript reading — and ἐλάμβανε). The decisive factor seems to be that the two pieces of narrative are structured differently, according to the discourse type in which they occur: *Hellenica* 3.4.12 is part of an on-going narrative sequence, while *Agesilaus* 1.15-16 is a diegetic passage selected to perform the function of an example in an encomium.

In this connection one should note the usage of particles in the two passages. In *Hellenica* 3.4.12, twice a sentence is connected to the preceding context by δέ, which marks each sentence as the next independent step in the narrative; moreover, δέ marks the discontinuity on the point of a participant (ὁ δὲ Τισσαφέρνης...ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος). In *Agesilaus* 1.15-16 we have μὲν οὖν...δέ; the particle combination must be analysed as μέν...δέ, balancing the two sentences (and the two 'topics') and marking antithesis, while οὖν, here, marks the whole section as being the part of the narrative example that is of special importance for the point the author wanted to make: it is especially this part of the narrative (viz., Agesilaus' deceiving Tissaphernes) that is evaluated in 1.17.

In the two texts we have two sentences: one about what Tissaphernes did, and one about what Agesilaus did. Concentrating on the main verbs, the sentence structure is the following:

Hellenica 3.4.12:
ὁ δὲ Τισσαφέρνης   (μέν) διεβίβασεν...(δ') περιῆγε
ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος   ἐπορεύετο
                          καί
                          (τ') κατεστρέφετο (καί) ἐλάμβανε

Agesilaus I.15-16:
ὁ μὲν οὖν Τισσαφέρνης   (μέν) διεβίβασεν...(δέ) περιήγαγε
ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος   ἐπορεύετο
                          καί
                          (τε) ἦγε (καί) κατεστρέφετο (καί) ἔλαβε

In the *Hellenica*, the main verbs of the sentence about Tissaphernes are an aorist (διεβίβασεν) and an imperfect (περιῆγε). The action expressed in the μέν-member is not related to other actions in the sequel, whereas in the δέ-member the verbal constituent directs the attention of the hearer towards the sequel. After all, Tissaphernes clearly expected to meet Agesilaus by leading round the cavalry into the plain of the Maeander, because Agesilaus would have encountered Tissaphernes' cavalry first, if he had proceeded against Caria, as appears from the participial clause νομίζων ἱκανὸς εἶναι καταπατῆσαι τῇ ἵππῳ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, πρὶν εἰς τὰ δύσιππα ἀφικέσθαι. As such, the imperfect περιῆγε performs a function within the structure of an on-going narrative. This narrative function is not present in the *Agesilaus*, where we have the aorist περιήγαγε. And so the imperfect is not used here, as the diegetic passage is not an on-going narrative (contrast ὁ δὲ Τισσαφέρνης...ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος), but an antithesis of two pericopes: ὁ μὲν (οὖν) Τισσαφέρνης...ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος. The structure is imposed on the passage not by the aspectual choice of the verbal constituent, but by the particles articulating an 'antithetical paragraph' (see Longacre [1979: 122]; Bakker [1993: 300]).

The sentence about Agesilaus has its own internal structure: first, we have the imperfect (ἐπὶ Φρυγίας) ἐπορεύετο, which creates a certain expectation that more information concerning this march will be conveyed (*cf.* the use of ἐπί...ἐπορεύετο in example [3] above and *Hellenica*, 4.3.9, to be discussed below). This happens in the following sentence; the co-ordinator καί is used because the second

statement adds specificity to the first one. In the *Hellenica*, two imperfects co-ordinated by τε...καί are used, indicating continuity of the discourse unit. This discourse unit is in fact continued, as appears from the subsequent sentence (3.4.12: καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἀσφαλῶς διεπορεύετο); the co-ordinator is again καί. In the *Agesilaus*, where three main verbs are coordinated by τε...καί...καί in the corresponding sentence, the final verbal constituent is ἔλαβε, used where the *Hellenica* has ἐλάμβανε. This aorist closes of a discourse unit consisting of a sequence of actions expressed by imperfects (cf. example [1] above); the next section is an evaluation of the narrative example (for the linguistic characteristics of evaluation, see Table 3). The difference between ἀπροσδοκήτοις in the *Hellenica* and ἀπροσδοκήτως in the *Agesilaus* further brings out the difference in focalization of the two passages.[26]

7   *Parallel Passage III*

Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 4.3.8-10	Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, 2.4-6
8 Πολύχαρμος μέντοι ὁ Φαρσάλιος ἱππαρχῶν ἀνέστρεψέ τε καὶ μαχόμενος σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀποθνήσκει. ὡς δὲ τοῦτ᾽ ἐγένετο, φυγὴ τῶν Θετταλῶν ἐξαισία γίγνεται· ὥστε οἱ μὲν ἀπέθνησκον αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἡλίσκοντο. ἔστησαν δ᾽ οὖν οὐ πρόσθεν, πρὶν ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Ναρθακίῳ ἐγένοντο.	**4** Πολύχαρμος μέντοι ὁ Φαρσάλιος ἱππαρχῶν ἀνέστρεψέ τε καὶ μαχόμενος σὺν τοῖς ἀμφ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀποθνήσκει. ὡς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, φυγὴ γίγνεται ἐξαισία· ὥσθ᾽ οἱ μὲν ἀπέθνησκον αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ζῶντες ἡλίσκοντο. ἔστησαν δ᾽ οὖν οὐ πρόσθεν πρὶν ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρει τῷ Ναρθακίῳ ἐγένοντο.

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[26] This was suggested to me by A. Culioli at a meeting of the *groupe de recherche sur l'aspect en grec ancien* in Paris, France.

Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 4.3.8-10

9 καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τροπαῖόν τ' ἐστήσατο μεταξὺ Πραντὸς καὶ Ναρθακίου, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἔμεινε, μάλα ἡδόμενος τῷ ἔργῳ, ὅτι τοὺς μέγιστον φρονοῦντας ἐπὶ ἱππικῇ ἐνενικήκει σὺν ᾧ αὐτὸς συνέλεξεν ἱππικῷ. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ὑπερβάλλων τὰ Ἀχαϊκὰ τῆς Φθίας ὄρη τὴν λοιπὴν πᾶσαν διὰ φιλίας **ἐπορεύετο μέχρι πρὸς** τὰ Βοιωτῶν ὅρια.

10 ὄντος δ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐμβολῇ ὁ ἥλιος μηνοειδὴς ἔδοξε φανῆναι, καὶ ἠγγέλθη ὅτι ἡττημένοι εἶεν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ καὶ ὁ ναύαρχος Πείσανδρος τεθναίη.

Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, 2.4-6

5 καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τρόπαιόν τε ἐστήσατο μεταξὺ Πραντὸς καὶ Ναρθακίου· καὶ αὐτοῦ κατέμεινε, μάλα ἡδόμενος τῷ ἔργῳ, ὅτι τοὺς μέγιστον φρονοῦντας ἐφ' ἱππικῇ ἐνενικήκει σὺν ᾧ αὐτὸς ἐμηχανήσατο ἱππικῷ. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ὑπερβάλλων τὰ Ἀχαϊκὰ τῆς Φθίας ὄρη τὴν λοιπὴν [ἤδη] πᾶσαν διὰ φιλίας **ἐπορεύθη εἰς** τὰ Βοιωτῶν ὅρια.

6 ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀντιτεταγμένους εὑρὼν Θηβαίους, Ἀθηναίους, <Ἀργείους>, Κορινθίους, Αἰνιᾶνας, Εὐβοέας καὶ Λοκροὺς ἀμφοτέρους, οὐδὲν ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἀντιπαρέταττε, Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν ἔχων μόραν καὶ ἥμισυ, τῶν δ' αὐτόθεν συμμάχων Φωκέας καὶ Ὀρχομενίους μόνους, τό τ' ἄλλο στράτευμα ὅπερ ἠγάγετο αὐτός.

8 Polycharmus the Pharsalian, commander of the cavalry did indeed turn, and fell fighting, together with those about him. Hereupon ensued a headlong flight on the part of the Thessalians, so that some of them were killed and others were captured. At any rate they did not stop until they reached Mount Narthacium.

4 Polycharmus the Pharsalian, commander of the cavalry did indeed turn, and fell fighting, together with those about him. Hereupon ensued a headlong flight so that some of them were killed and others were captured alive. At any rate they did not stop until they reached Mount Narthacium.

Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 4.3.8-10

9 On that day Agesilaus set up a trophy between Pras and Narthacium, and here he paused, mightily pleased with his exploit, in that he had defeated an enemy inordinately proud of his horsemanship with the cavalry that he had himself gathered together. On the following day he crossed the Achaean mountains of Phthia and marched on through a friendly country all the rest of the way, even to the borders of Boeotia.

10 When he was at the entrance (to Boeotia), the sun seemed to appear crescent-shaped, and word was brought to him that the Lacedaemonians had been defeated in the naval battle and the admiral, Peisander, had been killed.

Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, 2.4-6

5 On that day Agesilaus set up a trophy between Pras and Narthacium, and here for the moment he paused, mightily pleased with his exploit, in that he had defeated an enemy inordinately proud of his horsemanship with the cavalry that he had himself created together. On the following day he crossed the Achaean mountains of Phthia and marched on through a friendly country all the rest of the way, till he reached the borders of Boeotia.

6 Here he found arrayed against him the Thebans, Athenians, <Argives>, Corinthians, Aenianians, Euboeans, and both the Locrian tribes, and did not delay — no, in full view of the enemy, he drew up his army for battle, having a regiment and a half of Lacedaemonians, and of the local allies only the Phocians and Orchomenians, in addition to the army that he had brought with him.

The passage quoted here is part of Xenophon's account of Agesilaus' retreat from Asia, on his way home. His march to the borders of Boeotia is expressed by an imperfect (ἐπορεύετο) + μέχρι πρός in the *Hellenica* ('he marched...to'), whereas Xenophon used an aorist (ἐπορεύθη) + εἰς when he copied this piece of diegesis into the *Agesilaus* (he marched...until he reached).

In diegesis, 'marching to' creates a certain expectation on the part of the hearer that more information will be conveyed; the imperfect is a signal that this discourse-unit is continued (cf. example [3] and passage II above). In *Hellenica* 4.3.9 ἐπορεύετο μέχρι πρός is used at a moment when the narrative line concerning Agesilaus' march to Boeotia is abandoned; the genitive absolute construction ὄντος δ'

αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐμβολῇ, occupying sentence-initial position in 4.3.10, may be said to 'clear the ground' for a report of what happened at the entrance to Boeotia. We learn that the sun seemed to appear crescent shaped (a bad omen), that indeed word was brought to him that the Lacedaemonians had been defeated in a naval battle and that Peisander had been killed, and that it was also stated in what way the battle had been fought, this report being subsequently given in a γάρ-clause by means of the accusative with the infinitive. After this, we return to the main narrative line (4.3.13: ὁ οὖν Ἀγησίλαος); we learn Agesilaus' reaction to the bad news, before an account is given of the forces preparing for battle (4.3.15: ἦσαν δ' οἱ μὲν ἀντιτεταγμένοι τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ Βοιωτοί, Ἀθηναῖοι, Ἀργεῖοι, Κορίνθιοι, Αἰνιᾶνες, Εὐβοεῖς, Λοκροὶ ἀμφότεροι).

Of course, the bad news is not mentioned in the encomium, and so there is no need for internal organization of the narration; Xenophon simply states that Agesilaus marched on until he reached the borders of Boeotia, with an aorist verb (ἐπορεύθη) and the preposition εἰς, because Agesilaus has to actually reach these borders as the diegetic example continues there (ἐνταῦθα δή) with the forces preparing for battle.

8 Parallel Passage IV

Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 4.3.20-21
20 τότε μὲν οὖν, καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἤδη ὀψέ, δειπνοποιησάμενοι ἐκοιμήθησαν.

21 πρῲ δὲ Γῦλιν τὸν πολέμαρχον παρατάξαι τε **ἐκέλευε** τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τροπαῖον ἵστασθαι, καὶ στεφανοῦσθαι πάντας τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοὺς αὐλητὰς πάντας αὐλεῖν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτ' ἐποίουν.

20 Then — as it was already late — they took dinner and lay down to rest.

Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, 2.15-16
15 τότε μὲν οὖν (καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἤδη ὀψέ) συνελκύσαντες τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων νεκροὺς εἴσω φάλαγγος ἐδειπνοποιήσαντο καὶ ἐκοιμήθησαν· πρῲ δὲ Γῦλιν τὸν πολέμαρχον παρατάξαι τε **ἐκέλευσε** τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τρόπαιον ἵστασθαι καὶ στεφανοῦσθαι πάντας τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοὺς αὐλητὰς πάντας αὐλεῖν. **16** καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτ' ἐποίουν·

15 Then — as it was already late — they dragged the enemy's dead within their battle line, took dinner and lay down to rest.

Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 4.3.20-21
21 In the morning, he (sc. Agesilaus) gave orders that Gylis, the polemarch, should draw up the army in line of battle and set up a trophy, that all should deck themselves with garlands in honour of the god, and that all the flute-players should play.
And they did these things.

Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, 2.15-16
In the morning, he (sc. Agesilaus) gave orders that Gylis, the polemarch, should draw up the army in line of battle and set up a trophy, that all should deck themselves with garlands in honour of the god, and that all the flute-players should play.
16 And they did these things.

A further adaptation of a piece of historical narrative to Xenophon's encomiastic goal is seen in this example, *viz.*, the replacement of the imperfect ἐκέλευε with the aorist ἐκέλευσε. Whether the one aspectual form or the other is used does not make any difference for the description of the real-world situation. As it belongs to the 'discourse-organizing' potential of the imperfect to relate the action it expresses to other actions in the sequel, the imperfect is at its place in the on-going narrative sequence of the *Hellenica*, as opposed to the *Agesilaus*, where Xenophon-the-encomiast, rather than with telling a story, is concerned with illustrating Agesilaus' qualities. After all, it is Agesilaus, the subject of the encomium, who gives the order.

9   Parallel Passage V

Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 3.4.23-24

23 ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος γιγνώσκων ὅτι τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις οὔπω παρείη τὸ πεζόν, αὐτῷ δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπείη τῶν παρεσκευασμένων, καιρὸν ἡγήσατο μάχην συνάψαι, εἰ δύναιτο. σφαγιασάμενος οὖν τὴν μὲν φάλαγγα εὐθὺς ἦγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς παρατεταγμένους ἱππέας, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν ἐκέλευσε τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἥβης θεῖν ὁμόσε αὐτοῖς, τοῖς δὲ πελτασταῖς εἶπε δρόμῳ ὑφηγεῖσθαι. παρήγγειλε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐμβάλλειν, ὡς αὐτοῦ τε καὶ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος ἑπομένου.

24 τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἱππέας ἐδέξαντο οἱ Πέρσαι· ἐπεὶ δ' ἅμα πάντα τὰ δεινὰ παρῆν, ἐνέκλιναν, καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ἔπεσον, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἔφευγον.[27] οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες ἐπακολουθοῦντες αἱροῦσι καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν. καὶ οἱ μὲν πελτασταί, ὥσπερ εἰκός, εἰς ἁρπαγὴν **ἐτράποντο**· ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος κύκλῳ πάντα καὶ φίλια καὶ πολέμια περιεστρατοπεδεύσατο.

Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, 1.31-33

31 ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος γιγνώσκων ὅτι τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις οὔπω παρείη τὸ πεζόν, αὐτῷ δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπείη τῶν παρεσκευασμένων, καιρὸν ἡγήσατο μάχην συνάψαι, εἰ δύναιτο. σφαγιασάμενος οὖν τὴν μὲν φάλαγγα εὐθὺς ἦγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀντιτεταγμένους ἱππέας, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν ἐκέλευσε τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἥβης θεῖν ὁμόσε αὐτοῖς, τοῖς δὲ πελτασταῖς εἶπε δρόμῳ ὑφηγεῖσθαι·παρήγγειλε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐμβάλλειν, ὡς αὐτοῦ τε καὶ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος ἑπομένου.

32 τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἱππέας ἐδέξαντο οἱ ἀγαθοὶ τῶν Περσῶν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἅμα πάντα τὰ δεινὰ παρῆν ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἐνέκλιναν, καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ἔπεσον, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἔφευγον. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἑπόμενοι αἱροῦσι καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν. καὶ οἱ μὲν πελτασταὶ ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἐφ' ἁρπαγὴν **ἐτρέποντο**· ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἔχων κύκλῳ πάντα καὶ φίλια καὶ πολέμια περιεστρατοπεδεύσατο.

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[27]   The OCT correctly reads ἔφευγον in the *Hellenica*, without any critical remarks. Schneider (Oxford, 1819) reads ἔφυγον in the *Hellenica*. In his edition of the *Agesilaus* (Oxford, 1812), Schneider notes 'ἔφευγον Weiske ex Hellen. mutavit in ἔφυγον, lectore non monito', which proves that Weiske also read ἔφυγον in the *Hellenica*. Schneider himself reads ἔφυγον in the *Agesilaus*.

The reading ἔφυγον cannot be correct in the *Hellenica*: it would mean that the enemies escaped, which is strange in view of the fact that the Greeks pursued them (ἐπακολουθοῦντες). The reading ἔφευγον 'they fled' must therefore be preferred.

Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 3.4.23-24
καὶ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ χρήματα ἐλήφθη, ἃ ηὗρε πλέον ἢ ἑβδομήκοντα τάλαντα, καὶ αἱ κάμηλοι δὲ τότε ἐλήφθησαν, ἃς Ἀγησίλαος εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπήγαγεν.

Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, 1.31-33
33 ὡς δ' ἤκουσε τοὺς πολεμίους ταράττεσθαι διὰ τὸ αἰτιᾶσθαι ἀλλήλους τοῦ γεγενημένου, εὐθὺς ἦγεν ἐπὶ Σάρδεις. κἀκεῖ ἅμα μὲν ἔκαιε καὶ ἐπόρθει τὰ περὶ τὸ ἄστυ, ἅμα δὲ καὶ κηρύγματι ἐδήλου τοὺς μὲν ἐλευθερίας δεομένους ὡς πρὸς σύμμαχον αὐτὸν παρεῖναι· εἰ δέ τινες τὴν Ἀσίαν ἑαυτῶν ποιοῦνται, πρὸς τοὺς ἐλευθεροῦντας διακρινου-μένους ἐν ὅπλοις παρεῖναι.

23 Then Agesilaus, aware that the infantry of the enemy was not yet at hand, while on his side none of the arms which had been made ready was missing, deemed it a fit time to join battle if he could. Thus, he offered sacrifice, and at once led his phalanx against the opposing line of horsemen, ordered the first ten year-classes of the hoplites to run to close quarters with the enemy, and told the peltasts to lead the way at a double-quick. He also sent word to his cavalry to attack, in the assurance that he and the whole army were following them.

31 Then Agesilaus, aware that the infantry of the enemy was not yet at hand, while on his side none of the arms which had been made ready was missing, deemed it a fit time to join battle if he could. Thus, he offered sacrifice, and at once led his phalanx against the opposing line of horsemen, ordered the first ten year-classes of the hoplites to run to close quarters with the enemy, and told the peltasts to lead the way at a double-quick. He also sent word to his cavalry to attack, in the assurance that he and the whole army were following them.

Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 3.4.23-24

24 The charge of the cavalry was met by the Persians: but as soon as the full weight of the attack fell on them, they gave way, and some of them were cut down immediately in the river, while the rest fled. And the Greeks, pursuing them, captured their camp as well. And the peltasts, as was natural, betook themselves to plundering; but Agesilaus enclosed the property of all, friends and foes alike, within the circle of his camp.

And not only was much other property captured, which fetched more than seventy talents, but it was at this time that the camels also were captured which Agesilaus brought back with him to Greece.

Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, 1.31-33

32 The charge of the cavalry was met by the flower of the Persians: but as soon as the full weight of the attack fell on them, they gave way, and some of them were cut down immediately in the river, while the rest fled. And the Greeks followed up their succes and captured their camp. And the peltasts, as was natural, betook themselves to plundering; but Agesilaus drew the lines of his camp round so as to enclose the property of all, friends and foes alike.

33 On hearing that there was confusion among the enemy, because everyone put the blame for what had happened on his neighbour, he advanced forthwith on Sardis. There he burned and pillaged the suburbs, and meantime issued a proclamation calling on those who wanted freedom to join his standard, and challenging any who claimed a right to Asia to seek a decision between themselves and the liberators by an appeal to arms.

Here, the situation is reversed. In the *Hellenica* we have an aorist where the *Agesilaus* reads an imperfect. The final two sentences of the passage under consideration are connected with the preceding sentence by καί; these sentences are balanced by μέν...δέ. In my opinion, the replacement of ἐτράποντο + εἰς with ἐτρέποντο + ἐφ' in the μέν-member effects a different status of the μέν-member vis-à-vis the δέ-member in the two texts.

   After it has been mentioned that the Greeks captured the enemy's camp, two statements are made: we are informed about what the peltasts did on the one hand, and about an activity of Agesilaus on

the other. In the *Hellenica*, the two actions have simply been recorded by an aorist; they are equally important in this text, as they are actions of war. In the *Agesilaus*, the μέν...δέ sequence has internal structure: the μέν-member of the corresponding sentences is used as a preliminary statement, hence the imperfect ἐτρέποντο, creating tension and suggesting questions about the δέ-member. A different structure is imposed on the passage not only by the aspectual forms, but also by the prepositions: ἐπί, rather than εἰς, creates a certain expectation on the part of the hearer that more information will be conveyed, as in ἔπλεον...ἐπί vs. ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς in ex. [1]; compare also ἐπορεύετο μέχρι πρός vs. ἐπορεύθη εἰς in passage III. In the encomium, the δέ-member, being a statement about Agesilaus, is the important member for his purpose, as Xenophon uses the narrative passages[28] in this text as an illustration of Agesilaus' qualities as a general. On a conative interpretation of the imperfect ἐτρέποντο in the *Agesilaus*, the act of plundering by the peltast did not come about by Agesilaus' magnanimity. Either way, the use of the imperfect ἐτρέποντο in the *Agesilaus* instead of aorist ἐτράποντο should be explained in terms of the adaptation of a piece of historical narrative to the purpose of a narrative example in a different genre: the encomium.

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[28] Note that the historic present αἱροῦσι is a sure sign that this is a narrative passage.

10   *Parallel Passage VI*

Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 3.4.25

Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, 1.34-35

34 ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὐδεὶς ἀντεξῄει, ἀδεῶς δὴ τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου ἐστρατεύετο, τοὺς μὲν πρόσθεν προσκυνεῖν Ἕλληνας ἀναγκαζομένους ὁρῶν τιμωμένους ὑφ’ ὧν ὑβρίζοντο, τοὺς δὲ ἀξιοῦντας καὶ τὰς τῶν θεῶν τιμὰς καρποῦσθαι, τούτους ποιήσας μηδ’ ἀντιβλέπειν τοῖς Ἕλλησι δύνασθαι, καὶ τὴν μὲν τῶν φίλων χώραν ἀδῄωτον παρέχων, τὴν δὲ τῶν πολεμίων οὕτω καρπούμενος ὥστε ἐν δυοῖν ἐτοῖν πλέον τῶν ἑκατὸν ταλάντων τῷ θεῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς δεκάτην ἀποθῦσαι.

25 ὅτε δ’ αὕτη ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, Τισσαφέρνης ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἔτυχεν ὤν· ὥστε ἡτιῶντο οἱ Πέρσαι προδεδόσθαι ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ.

γνοὺς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς Τισσαφέρνην αἴτιον εἶναι τοῦ κακῶς φέρεσθαι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ, Τιθραύστην καταπέμψας **ἀποτέμνει** αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλήν.

35 ὁ μέντοι Περσῶν βασιλεύς, νομίσας Τισσαφέρνην αἴτιον εἶναι τοῦ κακῶς φέρεσθαι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ, Τιθραύστην καταπέμψας **ἀπέτεμεν**[29] αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλήν.

τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ὁ Τιθραύστης πέμπει πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον πρέσβεις λέγοντας· Ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, ὁ μὲν αἴτιος τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἡμῖν ἔχει τὴν δίκην· βασιλεὺς δὲ ἀξιοῖ σὲ μὲν ἀποπλεῖν οἴκαδε, τὰς δ’ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις αὐτονόμους οὔσας τὸν ἀρχαῖον δασμὸν αὐτῷ ἀποφέρειν.

μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὰ μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων ἔτι ἀθυμότερα ἐγένετο, τὰ δὲ Ἀγησιλάου πολὺ ἐρρωμενέστερα. ἀπὸ πάντων γὰρ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπρεσβεύοντο περὶ φιλίας, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἀφίσταντο πρὸς αὐτόν, ὀρεγόμενοι τῆς ἐλευθερίας, ὥστε οὐκέτι Ἑλλήνων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβάρων πολλῶν ἡγεμὼν ἦν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος.

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[29]   ἀπέτεμεν : ἀποκόπτει (Ps.-) Aristides, *Rh.,* 2.135.

Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 3.4.25

Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, 1.34-35

34 As no one came out to oppose him, he prosecuted the campaign henceforward in complete confidence; he beheld the Greeks, compelled erstwhile to cringe, now honoured by their oppressors; those who arrogantly claimed for themselves the honours paid to the gods, those people he caused to shrink even from looking the Greeks in the face; rendered the country of his friends inviolate, and stripped the enemy's country so thoroughly that in two years he consecrated to the god at Delphi more than two hundred talents as tithe.

25 When this battle took place, Tissaphernes chanced to be at Sardis, so that the Persians charged him with having betrayed them.

Furthermore, the Persian King himself concluded that Tissaphernes was responsible for the bad turn in his affairs, and accordingly sent down Tithraustes and beheaded Tissaphernes.

35 But the Persian King believed that Tissaphernes was responsible for the bad turn in his affairs, and accordingly sent down Tithraustes and beheaded Tissaphernes.

Having done this, Tithraustes sent ambassadors to Agesilaus with this message: 'Agesilaus, the man who was responsible for the trouble in your eyes and ours has received his punishment; and the King deems it fitting that you should sail back home, and that the cities in Asia, retaining their independence, should render him the ancient tribute.'

After this the outlook became still more hopeless for the barbarians, while Agesilaus received large accessions of strength. For all the nations of the empire sent embassies seeking his friendship, and the desire for freedom caused may to revolt to him, so that not of Greeks alone, but of many barbarians also Agesilaus was now the leader.

In the *Agesilaus*, Xenophon has opted for an aorist to express the cutting off the head of Tissaphernes. In the *Hellenica* the same action is reported, but there a historic present has been preferred, in order to make stand out the death of one of the main characters of his

historical narrative.[30] In the *Agesilaus*, such highlighting is uncalled for. The event is simply recorded, and so is the effect of this event for Agesilaus: μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὰ μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων ἔτι ἀθυμότερα ἐγένετο, τὰ δὲ Ἀγησιλάου πολὺ ἐρρωμενέστερα, exemplified by a following γάρ-clause. This example shows once more that the aspectual usage may depend upon the discourse type it occurs in.

11 *Conclusion*

In this paper six passages that occur in both Xenophon's *Hellenica* and *Agesilaus* and differ, all other things being equal, in the aspectual choice of their verbal constituents, have been discussed. It was argued that these differences should not be regarded as due to mere coincidence. Moreover, it was claimed that any view on aspect by which substituting one member of the opposition aorist indicative/imperfect for the other would yield a change in the description of a given real-world situation, fails to explain the passages in question, as in both texts the exact same real-world situation is narrated in narrative passages.

It was argued that in an on-going narrative sequence, the imperfect is the appropriate choice to relate the action it expresses to other actions in the sequel. It thus performs a function within the structure of an on-going narrative: the author may present an action from 'within' the diegetic world by using an imperfect, which often gives the sign 'to be continued', indicating that more information will be conveyed. The aorist, then, lacks this continuation-indicating potential. Whereas the imperfect indicates the continuation of a discourse unit, the aorist is often used to close off such a discourse

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[30] Note that the alternative for a historic present is, usually, an aorist indicative, rather than an imperfect, although the historic present and the aorist indicative are derived from a different tense stem; compare (Ps.-) Aristides, *Rh.,* 2.134 (quoting Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 1.1.2): καὶ ἡ τοῦ χρόνου παραλλαγὴ τῆς ἀφελείας ἐστί· τὸ γὰρ παρεληλυθὸς εἰς τὸν ἐνεστῶτα ὁρίζονται, οἷον Κῦρον δὲ μεταπέμπεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς **ἀντὶ τοῦ μετεπέμψατο**· ὁ χρόνος γὰρ μεταβληθεὶς τὴν ἀφέλειαν ἐποίησε (*the alternation of tense is also characteristic of 'simplicity' of style: one expresses a past action in the present tense as in 'but Cyrus he summons* (historic present) *from the province' instead of 'he summoned* (aorist)*'; it is the substitution of the tense that has brought about the 'simplicity'*). For a recent discussion of the 'historic present', see Sicking & Stork (1997).

unit. We may perhaps say that the imperfect indicates 'non-completeness' and the aorist indicates 'completeness', but only as long as this term is applied to the discourse unit in which it occurs.

In order to account for the aspectual differences, it is necessary to realise that the two texts in which the corresponding passages occur belong to different discourse types. The *Hellenica* is a historical narrative, whereas the *Agesilaus* is an encomium, in which the narrative episodes copied from the *Hellenica* perform the function of illustrations of Agesilaus' qualities as a general. My thesis was that Xenophon deliberately substituted the one aspectual form for the other, adapting the text of the *Hellenica* to his encomiastic aim. Different factors may underly this adaptation, as I hope to have shown in the discussion of individual instances. All in all I would claim that the aorist and imperfect will be regarded as devices used to articulate the text. All passages discussed have in common that the replacement of the one alternative with the other yields a different communicative situation, and that the distribution of 'aspectual' differences in the *Agesilaus* and *Hellenica* reflects Xenophon's narrative technique.

L'OPPOSITION ASPECTUELLE 'PRÉSENT' — AORISTE[1]
DANS LA GRANDE LOI DE GORTYNE

Jean Lallot

1 *Introduction*

Cet article reprend en bonne partie le travail que j'avais effectué il y a un peu plus d'un an pour un colloque qui s'est tenu à Saint-Étienne et auquel je n'avais pas pu participer physiquement. Les résultats auxquels j'étais parvenu avaient été présentés par ma collègue Monique Bile, professeur à Metz et spécialiste de dialectologie crétoise. Si j'ai choisi de revenir sur ce sujet, c'est moins parce que mes interprétations se seraient significativement modifiées depuis l'an dernier, que parce que, par un heureux hasard, mon corpus de recherche comportait un passage problématique dont le traitement m'a paru concorder (tant bien que mal) avec l'orientation spécifique qui a été définie pour le colloque organisé en l'honneur d'Albert Rijksbaron, à qui il m'est agréable de pouvoir témoigner ainsi mon amitié.

L'inscription crétoise communément appelée la 'Grande Loi de Gortyne', gravée au début du Ve siècle av. J.-C., constitue un des textes épigraphiques grecs les plus importants, tant par sa longueur (environ 600 lignes de 25 caractères en moyenne sont conservées) que par son contenu. L'unité thématique du texte, d'une part, — il s'agit de prescriptions de droit privé —, et son ampleur, d'autre part, créent des conditions particulièrement favorables pour l'étude linguistique — entre autres pour l'observation du fonctionnement de l'aspect verbal. En effet, comme on va le voir, un bon nombre de

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[1] Pour écarter toute confusion entre les désignations des *paradigmes flexionnels* et celles des *aspects verbaux*, j'utiliserai systématiquement, dans le présent article, les abréviations 'PR' et 'AO' pour désigner les *thèmes aspectuels*, de 'présent' et d'aoriste respectivement.

verbes à caractère technique (ceux qui signifient 'ester en justice', 'juger', 'condamner', 'payer une amende', 'donner', 'recevoir', 'acheter', 'vendre', 'épouser', 'libérer', 'laisser / recevoir (en héritage)', etc.) reviennent assez souvent, et dans des contextes suffisamment variés, pour qu'il soit pertinent d'observer, de comparer et — dans certains cas, espérons-le — d'interpréter leurs emplois, notamment aspectuels.

Yves Duhoux (2001), a livré les résultats de comptages très utiles portant sur les verbes attestés dans la Grande Loi. J'en ai extrait quelques chiffres sur lesquels je ne m'attarderai pas, mais qui donnent une idée, si j'ose dire, du 'paysage verbal' auquel nous avons affaire. Selon Duhoux, la Loi de Gortyne contient (sous réserve de quelques incertitudes mineures):[2]

- 664 formes verbales, tirées de
- 81 verbes différents.

Cela donne déjà une idée du taux moyen de récurrence des formes d'un même verbe.

Parmi les 81 verbes attestés, 59 (73%) ne sont attestés qu'à un seul aspect

- dont 39 (66%) au PR, 17 (29%) à l'AO, 3 (5%) au PFT.

Il serait naturellement intéressant d'examiner de près la liste de chacun de ces verbes et de se demander si on peut interpréter leur affinité avec l'un ou l'autre aspect, mais ce n'est pas mon objet ici et je ne m'y attarderai pas.

Je m'intéresserai au contraire aux quelque 27% de verbes qui donnent lieu à un choix aspectuel. Pour alléger mon exposé, je ne prendrai en compte que ceux qui sont attestés au PR et à l'AO (pour certains aussi au PFT et au Futur, mais je n'en ferai pas ici une classe à part). D'après les relevés que nous avons effectués avec Monique Bile, il y a 22 verbes qui apparaissent dans la Loi tantôt au thème de PR tantôt au thème d'AO (nous avons compté pour un seul les verbes à supplétisme, mais, à la différence de Duhoux, répertorié comme

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[2] Duhoux parle en fait d'archilemmes, et compte comme relevant d'un seul et même archilemme toutes les formes, *simples ou préverbées*, comportant un même radical lexical (les couples PR αἰλ- / AO ἐλ-, PR λεγ- ou φωνε- [mais non -αγορευ-/ AO ϝειπ-, ὠνε- / πρια-] considérés comme supplétifs, sont comptés chacun comme un seul archilemme). Sauf indication contraire de ma part, les chiffres de Duhoux que je citerai seront à interpréter comme présupposant ces décisions.

verbes distincts les simples et les composés). Voici la liste de ces verbes,[3] avec l'indication du nombre d'occurrences de chaque thème aspectuel tous modes confondus) et d'une traduction française (indications éventuellement affectées d'un '?', quand le chiffre ou le sens n'est pas sûr):

ἄγω (8) — αγαγ- (1), 'se saisir de' ou 'détenir après saisie'
ἀναιρέομαι (en fait αναιλ-, 5) — ανελ- (1), 'hériter de'
ἀναλύομαι (en fait αλλυ-, 1) — αλλυσ(α)- (3), 'racheter en versant une rançon'
ἀναφαίνομαι (en fait αμπαιν-, 2) — αμπαν(α)- (1), 'adopter (un enfant)'
? ἀπαγορεύω (2) — αποϝειπ(α)- (2) / ἀπορρηθ- (1), 'parler (en public)' / 'renier une adoption'
ἀποδατέομαι (1) — αποδαττ(α) (1), 'donner une part d'héritage'
ἀποδίδωμι (1) — αποδ- (10), 'rendre, restituer'
ἀποδίδομαι (1) — αποδ- (7), 'rendre, restituer'
ἀπολαγχάνω (3) — απολακ- (3), 'recevoir une part d'héritage'
δατέομαι (8) — δαττ(α)- (1), 'partager'
διαλαγχάνω (3) — διαλακ- (1), 'recevoir une part d'héritage'
δίδωμι (3) — δο- (9), 'donner'
δικάζω (6 ou 7?) — δικακσ(α)- (7 ou 6?), 'décider'
καθίστημι (1) — καταστα- (1), 'payer'
καταδικάζω (1) — καταδικακσ(α)- (2), 'condamner'
κατατίθεμαι (1) — καταθε- (7), 'prendre, recevoir en hypothèque'
κρίνω (8) — κριν(α)- (1), 'juger'
κρίνομαι (1) — κριθ- (1), 'se séparer (de son mari)'
λαγχάνω (2) — λακ- (2), 'obtenir (sa part d'héritage)'
νικάω (2) — νικασ(α)- (2), 'gagner en justice'
ὄμνυμι (8) — ομοσ(α)- (2), 'prêter serment'
συνεξάττω (1) — συνεσσ(α)- (1), 'prendre part à un détournement'

Quelques observations sur cette liste.

1. À l'exception du premier (ἄγω dans son sens de 'détenir qqn'), tous ces verbes sont de ceux que Ruipérez aurait appelés 'transformatifs', ou que d'autres appelleraient 'téliques'. On est donc fondé à considérer que, par leur *Aktionsart*, ils ont une certaine affinité avec l'AO dans sa valeur perfective. S'il en est bien ainsi, on doit s'attendre à

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[3] Pour faciliter l'identification des verbes, je les recense ici dans une version atticisée (en indiquant au besoin la forme épigraphique correspondante). En revanche, dans les *citations* de la Loi, je suivrai la graphie de l'édition Willetts (1967).

devoir plus souvent se mettre en frais pour justifier les formes d'aspect PR de ces verbes.

2. En fait, si l'on considère globalement les occurrences correspondant à cette liste, on constate qu'elles représentent 69 (ou 70) PR contre 67 (ou 66) AO. Le groupe comme tel ne manifeste donc pas d'affinité particulière pour l'AO.

3. Si l'on s'intéresse davantage au détail, on observera que, si quelques verbes ont une préférence marquée pour l'AO — ainsi δίδωμι (PR 3 / AO 9), ἀποδίδωμι (1 / 10), ἀποδίδομαι (1 / 7), κατατίθεμαι (1 / 7) —, d'autres au contraire apparaissent beaucoup plus fréquemment au PR — ainsi ἄγω (PR 8 / AO 1), ἀναιρέομαι (5 / 1), δατέομαι (8 / 1), κρίνω (8 / 1), ὄμνυμι (8 / 2).

Ne pouvant examiner ici tous ces verbes avec leurs quelque 140 occurrences, j'en sélectionnerai quelques-uns dont les contextes m'ont paru éclairants pour avancer des hypothèses sur les raisons qui justifient l'apparition des thèmes de PR ou d'AO respectivement.

Une remarque préalable sur la phraséologie particulière de la Loi. Le mieux pour illustrer cette phraséologie est de partir d'un exemple. Je cite en traduction française[4] le début de la loi (I 2-12), en donnant au passage les formes verbales du grec:

> [1] La Loi de Gortyne I.2-12
> Celui qui va plaider (ὅς κ(α) μέλλēι ἀνπιμōλḗν) au sujet d'un homme libre ou d'un esclave ne l'emmènera (μḕ ἄγεν) pas avant jugement. S'il l'emmène (αἰ δέ κ' ἄγēι), **que** (le juge) **le condamne** (καταδικα**κcάτō**) à (payer) dix statères pour un homme libre et cinq pour un esclave, pour le fait de l'avoir emmené (ὅτι ἄγει), et **qu'il lui enjoigne** de le relâcher (δικα**κcάτō** λαγάcαι) dans les dix jours. S'il ne le relâche pas (αἰ [δέ] κα μḕ [λαγ]άcει), **que** (le juge) **le condamne** (καταδικα**δδέτō**) (à payer) pour un homme libre un statère, pour un esclave une drachme, par jour de retard, jusqu'à ce qu'il l'ait relâché (πρίν κα λαγάcει). Pour le calcul du temps, le juge **doit statuer sous serment** (ὀμνύντα κρίνεν).

Cet exemple, très représentatif de la phraséologie de la Loi, montre que les verbes y apparaissent typiquement

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1. à une forme injonctive: impératif ou infinitif,[5] pour l'énoncé de la prescription légale; le contenu de la prescription, quand il est exprimé par un verbe, est à l'infinitif (dynamique);

2. au subjonctif éventuel, assez souvent aussi à l'optatif,[6] dans des subordonnées, relatives, conditionnelles ou temporelles énonçant les faits et circonstances donnant lieu à jugement.

Impératif, subjonctif, optatif, infinitif, il est clair que les formes verbales que présente la Loi sont massivement des formes donnant lieu à choix aspectuel. Inversement, le présent de l'indicatif, temps sans concurrent véritable sur thème aoristique, est très faiblement représenté dans le texte de la Loi (6% des formes verbales selon Duhoux).

Nous pouvons avantageusement commencer à raisonner sur les exemples que nous offrent les quelques lignes que nous venons de citer.

2   *ὀμνύντα κρίνεν*

Ce syntagme a, dans la Loi, le caractère d'une véritable *formule*, qui ne s'y rencontre pas moins de 6 fois.[7] Il s'agit, à l'infinitif *pro imperativo*,[8] de l'énoncé d'une règle de procédure — celle de la *décision sous serment* — que les spécialistes du droit gortynien opposent diamétralement à celle du *jugement*, ou *verdict*, prononcé *sans serment*, mais en accord avec les dispositions spécifiques écrites de la Loi ou avec des témoignages, toujours particuliers. Ce deuxième cas de figure juridique est exprimé par le verbe δικάζω (et son

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[5] La répartition impératif — infinitif *pro imperativo* a été étudiée par Garcia Ramón (2001). La conclusion de l'auteur est que les deux tours sont rigoureusement synonymes et interchangeables dans la Loi. M'autorisant de cette conclusion, je considérerai dans la présente étude que l'opposition PR-AO fonctionne *entre* ces deux modes comme *à l'intérieur* de chacun d'eux — autrement dit que, par exemple, δικάδδεν (en valeur impérative) s'oppose identiquement à δικακσάτō et à δικάκσαι (en valeur impérative).

[6] On trouve aussi l'optatif potentiel, ainsi que des tours au participe.

[7] I 12, 13-14, 23-24, III 1, VI 54, XI 29-30.

[8] Il faut ajouter une variante à l'impératif, PR lui aussi, ὀ δ[ικ]αςτὰς ὀμνὺς κρινέτō (IX 21).

composé καταδικάζω), dont nous allons nous occuper un peu plus loin.

Pour ce qui est de la décision sous serment, il me semble que l'expression au PR doit pouvoir se justifier de deux façons complémentaires.

1. D'une part, la formule énonce *comme telle* une *procédure type* (opposée à l'autre), applicable de manière récurrente dans des cas multiples et divers (ici le calcul du temps, ailleurs l'établissement des faits en litige) sans que le contenu de la décision soit jamais précisé; le PR, moins déterminé et moins 'casuistique' que l'AO, semble adapté à ce genre de prescription.

2. D'autre part, je suggérerai (tout en étant conscient ici de donner prise à une accusation de circularité) que *l'expression formulaire* en tant que telle se conçoit mieux au PR qu'à l'AO — ce à cause de la généralité même de son application. En tout cas, le fait est qu'il n'y a pas dans la Loi de formule à l'AO.[9]

Ce qu'il y a en revanche, c'est une occurrence du syntagme ὀμνύντα κρῖναι (V 43).

3 *ὀμνύντα κρῖναι*

On est dans un cas de litige successoral. S'il y a désaccord entre des héritiers sur le partage de certains biens, « il revient au juge de juger sous serment suivant les données de la cause: τὸν δικαςτὰν ὀμνύντα **κρῖναι** πορτὶ τὰ μōλιόμενα ». Rapproché de XI 30 où on lit, dans un contexte très parallèle, τὸν δικαςτὰν ὀμνύντα **κρίνεν** πορτὶ τὰ μōλιόμενα, l'AO de V 43 ne peut que nous laisser perplexes. Aucun élément contextuel ne paraissant de nature à *expliquer* le choix de l'AO κρῖναι, nous nous contenterons simplement de constater que la formule au PR ne s'impose pas mécaniquement. Peut-être l'AO n'est-

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[9] Si l'on appelle 'formule' une association fréquemment attestée de plusieurs mots sous forme identique, on ne peut pas dire qu'il y ait beaucoup de formules dans la Loi. S'agissant de tours verbaux, on pourrait citer αἴ κα λῆι 's'il / elle veut' (avec un verbe λῆν qui n'est connu qu'au PR), attesté 4 fois. Pour un tour formulaire avec δικάζω (au PR !) voir la suite.

il pas rigoureusement synonyme du présent (on envisagerait davantage le *cas*), mais pourquoi ici, et comment en être sûr? La prudence me paraît ici la meilleure attitude. Malgré que nous en ayons, nous devons savoir parfois nous résigner, au moins provisoirement, à ne pas tout expliquer.

4   *(κατα)δικάζω*

Examinons maintenant, comme nous y invite le texte du début de la Loi que j'ai cité plus haut, les prescriptions relatives au prononcé d'un verdict, les injonctions faisant intervenir les verbes **δικάζω** et **καταδικάζω**. Onze occurrences nous intéressent ici: six sont au PR (3 impératifs, 3 infinitifs), quatre à l'AO (2 impératifs, 2 infinitifs). Une dernière occurrence fait problème, la pierre étant érasée juste à l'endroit crucial où le PR se distingue de l'AO; je l'étudierai en dernier.

Commençons par le texte que nous connaissons déjà (I 2-12, cité plus haut en traduction), et qui a la générosité (ou la perfidie) de nous présenter à quelques lignes d'intervalle l'impératif AO, puis l'impératif PR de καταδικάζω, avec en prime un δικακσάτō entre les deux. Les deux formes καταδικακσάτō et κατδικαδδέτō s'inscrivent dans des structures parallèles: elles constituent l'une et l'autre le prédicat central d'une apodose conditionnelle dont la protase est au subjonctif — paradoxalement subjonctif PR (ἄγēι) pour la première, subjonctif AO pour la seconde (λαγάcει), mais il peut se faire ici que l'*Aktionsart* des verbes ἄγειν 'saisir', mais aussi 'détenir après saisie' (cf. ὅτι ἄγει) et λαγάcαι 'relâcher' influence le choix aspectuel: en tout cas, λαγάcαι est un AO *tantum* dans la Loi, et le verbe ἄγειν ne fournit qu'un AO (indicatif ἄγαγε en proposition temporelle, I 54) pour six PR modaux (4 subjonctifs, 2 infinitifs). Καταδικακσάτō et καταδικαδδέτō sont construits identiquement avec un objet à l'accusatif, désignant précisément le contenu du verdict (en l'occurrence, le montant de l'amende à payer). La seule dissymétrie que j'observe entre la prescription à l'AO καταδικακσατō + δικακσάτō et la suivante au PR καταδικαδδέτō, réside en ce que, outre leur ordre même, la seconde *présuppose* une infraction à la première. Le schéma n'est donc pas

'si A, alors B et si C, alors D',

mais

'si A, alors B et si **non-B** alors C'.

Je suggérerai, sous bénéfice de vérification s'il se trouve des contextes parallèles, que le PR en deuxième position a quelque chose à voir avec le fait qu'on a affaire à un *enchaînement* procédural. Gardons cette hypothèse en tête pour l'examen qui suit, où il sera question des emplois injonctifs (impératif et infinitif) du simple δικάζω (il n'y a pas d'autres exemples de καταδικάζω en tour injonctif que ceux qui ont été mentionnés).[10]

Examinons d'abord les occurrences de δικάζω à l'AO.

4.1 *δικακϲάτō, δικάκϲαι*

1. I 5: δικακϲάτō λαγάϲαι, c'est le texte que nous venons de voir. Je suis porté à considérer que, comme καταδικακϲάτō auquel il est coordonné, cet AO représente, pour le verbe télique auquel nous avons affaire, la forme normale de la prescription de *verdict*, le *cas* où elle s'applique étant mentionné sous la forme αἴ κα + subj., et le verdict lui-même étant précisé: λαγάϲαι.

2. On pourra vérifier qu'on a le même cas de figure en III 6 et V 31, où l'infinitif AO δικάκϲαι, complété par un infinitif dynamique, énonce une prescription de verdict après une protase à l'éventuel précisant le cas dans lequel la prescription s'applique — la protase étant elle-même à l'AO (III 6 ἐκϲαννϝε͂ϲεται), sauf quand son verbe est un de ceux qui n'ont pas d'AO (V 32 λείōντι).

3. I 23: ε͂ δέ κα νικαθε͂ι ὀ ἔκōν, τὸμ μὲν ἐλεύθερον λαγάϲαι τᾶν πέ[ν]τ' ἀμερᾶν, τὸν δὲ δō̃λο[ν] ἐϲ κε͂ρανϲ ἀποδόμε͂ν. αἰ δέ κα με͂̀ λαγάϲει ε͂̀ με͂̀ ἀποδō̃ι, **δικακϲάτō** νικε͂ν τō̃ μὲν ἐλευθέρō… « quand celui qui détient (illégalement un homme) perd son procès, (il doit), (s'il détient un) homme libre, le relâcher dans les cinq jours, (s'il détient un) esclave, le remettre entre les mains (de son propriétaire légitime). S'il ne relâche pas

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[10] Seule autre occurrence de ce verbe, le subjonctif AO dans une temporelle-causale en ἠ, I 34.

(l'homme libre), ni ne remet (l'esclave), que le juge lui
inflige une amende (de tant) pour l'homme libre, etc.) ».
J'ai cité un peu longuement ce passage pour faire apparaître que
nous avons affaire à un ensemble du type rencontré plus haut, 'si A
(νικαθε̄ι ὁ ἕκο̄ν), alors B (injonction: λαγάcαι / ἀποδόμε̄ν); si non-B
(μὲ̄ λαγάcει ὲ̄ μὲ̄ ἀποδο͂ι), alors C (injonction **δικακcάτο̄** νικε͂ν)'. On
a donc, comme en I 11, un enchaînement procédural, mais cette fois
l'injonction 'C' est aussi à l'AO. On pourrait être tenté de s'en étonner
et suggérer que, parallèllement à notre καταδικαδδέτο̄ de tout à
l'heure, un PR δικαδδέτο̄ serait ici à sa place. Ce serait sans doute
imprudent, car il y a une différence notable entre les deux passages:
dans celui que nous étudions maintenant, s'il y a bien enchaînement
procédural, le parallélisme est très partiel entre les deux phrases
successives. La première prescription (infinitifs injonctifs) s'adresse
au condamné, à qui il n'est pas prescrit de 'juger' (il n'y a pas de
premier verbe δικάζω à l'injonctif), mais de se soumettre à une
sentence, la deuxième prescription seule étant une injonction de
juger, adressée au juge et formulée à l'impératif. Changement de
destinataire, changement de verbe, changement de mode de
l'injonction, cela nous éloigne beaucoup de notre premier exemple
et nous amène opportunément à modifier l'interprétation que j'avais
suggérée de l'impératif PR καταδικαδδέτο̄ en deuxième position:
plutôt que d'enchaînement procédural, formule trop exclusivement
référentielle, peut-être vaudrait-il mieux envisager que, dans le
cadre référentiel d'un enchaînement procédural, ce soit *la récurrence
du même verbe* δικάζω, toutes choses égales d'ailleurs, qui induit le
choix de l'aspect PR, avec une valeur que je propose de qualifier,
dans un sens assez lâche, d' 'anaphorique'.[11] Simple hypothèse, qui
mériterait d'être soumise à vérification.

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[11] Il y aurait peut-être lieu de parler plutôt ici d'ἀκολουθία, au sens qu'Antoine
Culioli donne à ce mot, dans une note (inédite) de 2002, consacrée à l'imparfait en
grec ancien. Je cite : « L'imparfait marque, dans ce cas, une relation que l'on peut
caractériser comme suit: 'étant donné un 1er terme *p*, (une fois posé *p*, puisque…, ceci
étant le cas, etc.) — c'est-à-dire : ayant établi l'existence de *p*, en tant qu'occurrence
située d'une notion — *il s'ensuit* un 2nd terme *q*, dont (a) l'existence découle de
l'existence de *p*, et dont (b) la valeur notionnelle va-avec (accompagne) celle de *p*. En
bref, *p* fraie le chemin à *q*'. J'ai employé le mot grec, parce que *implication* est trop
fort, *entraînement* (que j'utilise) a besoin d'un commentaire, tandis que *akolouthia*
(sans en conserver toute la teneur stoïcienne) marque la continuité qualitative, 'le
mouvement de passage vers une autre partie' (V. Goldschmidt). On n'a pas affaire à

J'en viens maintenant aux passages de δικάζω au PR.

4.2   δικαδδέτō

Les trois **impératifs** sont concentrés en IX 30, 38 et 50. (Je simplifie le texte en ne gardant que le grec littéralement pertinent et en résumant le reste.)

> [2]   La Loi de Gortyne IX.30, 38, 50
> … ἐπιμōλὲν ἰō πρὸ τō ἐνιαυτō ὁ δὲ δικαστὰς **δικαδδέτō** (30) <u>πορτὶ τὰ ἀποπōνιόμενα</u>·
>
> (…) ἒ δέ κ' ἀποϝείποντι, **δικαδδέτō** (38) ὀμόσα<ν>τα αὐτὸν καὶ τὸνς μαίτυρανς _νικε͂ν τὸ ἀπλοόν. {vac.} υἰὺc αἶ κ' ἀνδέκσεται, ἇc κ' ὁ πατὲ͂<δ> δο͂ει, αὐτὸν ἀτε͂θαι καὶ τὰ κρήματα ἄτι κα πέπαται.
>
> (…) **δικαδδέτō** (50) <u>πορτὶ τὰ ἀποπō[ν]ιόμενα</u>.
>
> (*Si l'une des parties dans un jugement ancien créant une obligation pour le perdant vient à mourir,*) l'affaire sera portée en justice dans l'année. **Que le juge statue** <u>suivant les déclarations des témoins</u>) (*Dispositions concernant l'identité des témoins.*) <u>Après que les témoins auront fait leur déclaration,</u> **que (le juge) statue** le paiement au simple (à l'héritier de la créance), celui-ci et les témoins ayant prêté serment. (*Si quelqu'un s'est astreint à une obligation financière et ne tient pas ses engagements, on fera appel à témoins et*) **que (le juge) statue** <u>suivant les déclarations des témoins.</u>

Je dois être assez précis sur le problème juridique qui est traité ici. Il s'agit de la question de la *confirmation de validité d'un verdict ancien* — en particulier en cas de mort de l'une des parties, et, dans ce cas, de la *transmission* à un héritier d'une obligation contractée antérieurement par la personne dont il hérite. Je cite le commentaire de Dareste-Haussoulier-Reinach (1895: 477 sq.): « La loi consacre le principe de cette transmission, mais, comme cela est nécessaire dans une société où l'écriture n'est pas d'un usage courant, la transmission constitue un véritable <u>renouvellement</u> [c'est moi qui souligne] qui doit se faire en justice. ». La clé de la procédure est ici l'appel à la déposition de témoins. La règle de droit est alors que le

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une relation logique, ni à une succession temporelle, mais à un frayage d'ordre notionnel, lié à des représentations valuées d'ordre (inter)subjectif. »

juge *prononce selon les dépositions des témoins*: ὁ δὲ δικαστὰς δικαδδέτō πορτὶ τὰ ἀποπōνιόμενα (πορτὶ τὰ ἀποπōνιόμενα restant implicite en 38).

On ne peut pas ne pas être frappé ici par le caractère *formulaire* de l'énoncé à l'impératif PR, qui ne prescrit pas un verdict, mais définit le mode de procédure et le fondement du prononcé. Le tour au PR est en fait très comparable à l'autre formule que nous connaissons: ὀμνύντα κρίνεν, et il est intéressant de constater que les commentateurs de ce passage (Dareste-Haussoulier-Reinach (1895: 435)) rapprochent eux aussi, pour des raisons de contenu juridique, et qui n'ont rien de grammatical, δικάδδεν πορτὶ τὰ ἀποπōνιόμενα et ὀμνύντα κρίνεν (les procédures visées relèveraient respectivement de l'ordre du *judicium* et de *l'arbitrium* de l'ancien droit romain). Formules procédurales donc, je pense que nous avons là une justification suffisante du recours à l'aspect PR.

Cela ne doit pas nous empêcher de nous demander si le rédacteur de la Loi a aussi été influencé ici par le fait que, dans ce cas particulier, le jugement est en fait une confirmation, *mutatis mutandis*, d'un jugement antérieur, une prolongation de sa validité. Je signale le problème en passant, puisque après tout nous ne savons pas grand chose sur les potentialités connotatives du thème de PR, et que dès lors toute hypothèse tant soit peu plausible mérite considération. Cependant, je ne m'engagerais pas trop résolument dans cette voie. En effet, s'il y a bien ici, incontestablement, enchaînement procédural, les conditions *linguistiques* de l'anaphore (ou de l'ἀκολουθία, si l'on préfère) ne sont pas réunies: les impératifs PR sont autonomes et ne se réfèrent à rien d'explicite dans le contexte antérieur. Restons-en donc là, et passons aux trois exemples de l'infinitif injonctif δικάδδεν (I 20 et XI 27 et 28).

4.3   *δικάδδεν*

Ici, les exemples comblent nos attentes, et s'il n'existaient pas il faudrait les inventer.

[3]   La Loi de Gortyne I.20
Désaccord entre deux parties à propos du statut, libre ou servile, d'une personne. Le juge, qui doit trancher, a deux procédures à sa disposition
αἰ μέν κα μαῖτυς ἀποπōνῆι, κατὰ τὸν μαίτυρα **δικάδδεν**, αἰ δέ κ' ε̄̄ ἀνποτέροις ἀποπōνίōντι ε̄̄ με̄δατέρōι, τὸν δικαστὰν ὀμνύντα **κρίνεν**.

S'il y a déposition d'un (seul) témoin, (le juge doit) **prononcer** en suivant le témoin; s'il y a des témoignages divergents, il (doit) **décider** sous serment.

[4]   La Loi de Gortyne XI.27 et 28
Ici encore double procédure possible, et même, semble-t-il, possibilité de procédure mixte (?)
τὸν δικαστάν, ὅτι μὲν κατὰ μαίτυρανς ἔγρατται **δικάδδεν** ἢ ἀπό̄μοτον, **δικάδδεν** ἇι ἔγρατται, τῶν δ' ἀλλῶν ὀμνύντα **κρίνεν** πορτὶ τὰ μο̄λιόμενα.

le juge (doit), quand (?) la loi prescrit de **prononcer** selon les témoignages ou sous serment, **prononcer** selon la prescription légale, dans les autes cas **décider** sous serment selon les dépositions.

Avec de légères variantes d'expression qui sont peut-être simplement stylistiques (κατὰ μαίτυρανς / πορτὶ τὰ μο̄λιόμενα, ἀπό̄μοτον / ὀμνύντα), les deux modes de procédure fondamentaux sont juxtaposés, voire mixés, mais toujours au PR, pour notre plus grande satisfaction. (Noter que le δικάδδεν de VII 27 dépend en fait de ἔγρατται: l'infinitif dynamique dépendant d'un tel verbe révèle en quelque sorte la source contextuelle des infinitifs *pro imperativo* présents dans le texte de la Loi.)

4.4   *δικαδδέτο̄ ou δικακϲάτο̄?*

Puisque je suis atteint d'un accès d'autosatisfaction, allons jusqu'au bout en examinant le dernier exemple d'impératif de δικάζω. Il s'agit du passage VII 45, où la Loi précise minutieusement tout ce qui touche au mariage de la fille héritière ('patrôoque').

[5]   La Loi de Gortyne VII.45
Prescriptions concernant l'obligation faite à un ayant-droit d'épouser une fille héritière
αἰ δέ κα δρομεὺϲ ἰο̄ν ὁ ἐπιβάλλο̄ν ἐ̄βίονϲαν λείονϲαν ὀπυίεθαι μὲ̄ λε̄ι ὀπυίεν, μο̄λὲν τὸϲ καδεϲτὰνϲ τὸϲ τᾶϲ πατρο̄ιό̄κο, ὁ δὲ δικαϲτὰ̣[ϲ] **δικ**(lac. 4 lettres)**το̄** ὀπυίεν ἐν τοῖϲ δ[υ]οῖϲ μηνϲί.

Si l'ayant-droit, majeur, ne veut pas épouser la patrôoque, nubile et consentant au mariage, les parents de la patrôoque (doivent) aller en justice; quant au juge, **qu'il prononce** que le mariage ait lieu dans les deux mois.

On a clairement affaire ici à une prescription du *verdict*, spécifique à un cas défini: on est exactement dans les conditions où, d'après ce que nous avons observé précédemment, l'impératif AO est attendu. Or il se trouve que, quand j'ai commencé à travailler sur ce texte, j'avais sous les yeux l'édition Dareste-Haussoulier-Reinach (1895) de la Loi, où on lit, pour la forme mutilée, le PR δικ[αδδέ]τō, la convention éditoriale (formulée p. 353) étant que sont placées « entre crochets les lettres qui ne se lisent plus sur la pierre et dont la restitution est certaine ». Restitution certaine? Bien entendu, cette 'certitude' n'est pas argumentée: les questions de syntaxe, surtout s'il s'agit de choix aspectuel, passionnent rarement les épigraphistes. À examiner les choses de plus près, en comparant différentes éditions de la Loi, on peut observer ce qui suit.

Les premières éditions, pratiquement simultanées, sont celles de Ernst Fabricius (1885) et de Domenico Comparetti (1885, avec une 2ᵉ édition du même savant en 1894). Les Français Dareste-Haussoulier-Reinach, qui éditent à leur tour le texte de la Loi en 1895, déclarent expressément s'être appuyés sur les éditions de Comparetti. Pour le passage qui nous occupe, on lit effectivement le PR δικ[αδδέ]τō chez Comparetti (qui, dans le fac-similé de l'inscription, indique une lacune pure et simple de 4 lettres au milieu du mot). Je note que, dans l'édition de Fabricius, mieux inspirée sur ce point à mon avis que celle de Comparetti, on lit la conjecture δικ[αξά]τō. *So far so good*, mais ce ne sont toujours là que des conjectures pour combler une lacune.

La suite de mon enquête m'a évidemment conduit aux deux grandes éditions du XXᵉ siècle, celles de Margarita Guarducci (1950) et de Ronald F. Willetts (1967). Là, surprise — divine surprise! — Guarducci, puis Willetts après (et d'après?) elle, impriment δικ[α]ϙϲ[ά]τō, où les consonnes caractéristiques de l'AO n'ont plus le statut d'une pure conjecture, mais sont données comme une interprétation possible de traces demeurées sur la pierre. J'ai essayé d'en savoir plus sur les données strictement épigraphiques, mais je n'ai rien pu obtenir de décisif: d'après l'épigraphiste Charalampos Kritzas (que je remercie d'avoir fait pour moi le voyage de Gortyne), la pierre est aujourd'hui muette, et les estampages de Guarducci conservés, je crois, à Rome, me sont restés inaccessibles.

5 *Conclusion*

Nous en sommes donc là. Les choses étant ce qu'elles sont, je me plais à croire que le témoignage de Guarducci est fiable. Cette foi me donne la satisfaction de penser qu'un témoignage épigraphique du Ve siècle avant J.-C. confirme quelque peu l'opinion que, comme philologue et linguiste, je me suis faite sur le jeu de l'opposition PR-AO dans la Loi de Gortyne. Modeste satisfaction certes, mais plutôt rare dans notre profession, et précieuse à ce titre.

CHAPTER NINE

INTENTIONS AND FUTURE REALISATIONS IN HERODOTUS

Gerry C. Wakker

1 *Introduction*[1]

We all know, to quote the famous line of a song by Doris Day, that 'the future is not ours to see', and that 'whatever will be, will be'. Nevertheless we all speak, with more or less confidence, about the future and about future states of affairs.

All grammars and handbooks on Ancient Greek agree that the Greek future is not the only expression of the future time. There are other expressions as well. The question now arises what the semantic and/or pragmatic differences are between these various future expressions. In this paper I want to focus on the way the future expressions are used in Herodotus, in the hope that we will be able to clarify passages in which — at first sight — the future expressions seem to be used without any clear semantic difference, such as in:

[1] Herodotus 8.70.2[2]
The Greek were afraid, especially the Peloponesians
ἀρρώδεον δὲ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι κατήμενοι ὑπὲρ γῆς τῆς Ἀθηναίων **ναυμαχέειν μέλλοιεν**, νικηθέντες τε ἐν νήσῳ ἀπολαμφθέντες **πολιορκήσονται**, ἀπέντες τὴν ἑωυτῶν ἀφύλακτον·

They were afraid, because they were themselves stationed in Salamis and were about to fight at sea on behalf of the land of the Athenians,

and, in the event of defeat, they would be trapped on an island and besieged, leaving their own land unguarded.

or in [2] as compared to [3]:

[2]   Herodotus 8.106.3
The gods have delivered you into my power
ὥστε σε μὴ μέμψεσθαι **τὴν** ἀπὸ ἐμέο τοι **ἐσομένην δίκην**

So that you cannot now complain of the vengeance I will execute upon you

[3]   Herodotus 7.223.4
Ἄτε γὰρ ἐπιστάμενοι **τὸν μέλλοντά** σφι **ἔσεσθαι θάνατον** ἐκ τῶν περιιόντων τὸ ὄρος

Since they knew that they must die at the hands of those who had come around the mountain

2   μέλλω vs. the Future Tense

Let us start by discussing the difference between μέλλω + infinitive and the simple future. On the basis of previous studies and descriptions[3] I claim the basic, semantic opposition between the two expressions to be the following: the future expresses, in a factual way, that a State of Affairs[4] (henceforth: SoA) will be the case or will be realised at some future moment, whereas μέλλω denotes a *present* (or, in case of ἔμελλον, *past*) intention or arrangement for the (relatively) *future* realisation of a SoA. One could say, then, that μέλλω inherently has two semantic features: first, the modal feature of *present intention* or *arrangement* for some future realisation, second the temporal feature of the (relatively) *future realisation* itself. In most cases it is precisely the element of the present intention or

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[3]   Cf. especially Basset (1979); Bakker (2000), Rijksbaron (2002³a: 34-5n3); Wakker (2006). Cf. also Chantraine (1963: 307-9); Duhoux (2000: 161-3); Gildersleeve ([1900] 1980: 94-5, 118-20); Goodwin (1889: 20-1); Humbert (1960³: 154); Kühner-Gerth (1898-1904: 1.177-9); Magnien (1912: 99-119); Schwyzer-Debrunner (1950: I 811, II 291, 293); Stahl (1907: 147).
[4]   I use the term State of Affairs as an all-encompassing term covering the entity to which the whole of the predicate with its arguments refers, irrespective of whether this entity is an event, an action, a situation etc. Cf. Lyons (1977: 443).

arrangement that is the dominant semantic feature. Often, as the context indicates, the future realisation is or can be interrupted, postponed or even prevented. We find such examples both with μέλλω and with ἔμελλον, both with future, present and aorist infinitive,[5] cf. [4]-[6]:

[4] Herodotus 7.8.1
A year after Darius' death Xerxes conquered Egypt and turned it over to his brother.
Ξέρξης δὲ μετὰ Αἰγύπτου ἅλωσιν ὡς **ἔμελλε ἐς χεῖρας ἄξεσθαι** τὸ στράτευμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, σύλλογον ἐπίκλητον Περσέων τῶν ἀρίστων ἐποιέετο, ἵνα γνώμας τε πύθηταί σφεων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν πᾶσι εἴπῃ τὰ θέλει.

After the conquest of Egypt, when he was intending to take in hand the expedition against Athens, Xerxes called a conference of the noblest among the Persians, to find out their opinions and explain to them his own wishes

[5] Herodotus 3.72.4, cf. 3.72.5
οἱ μέν γε ψεύδονται τότε ἐπεάν τι **μέλλωσι** τοῖσι ψεύδεσι πείσαντες **κερδήσεσθαι**, οἱ δ᾽ ἀληθίζονται ἵνα τι τῇ ἀληθείῃ ἐπισπάσωνται κέρδος καί τις μᾶλλόν σφι ἐπιτράπηται.

Men lie when they are to profit by deception, and they tell the truth in order to get something they want, and to be the better trusted for their honesty.

[6] Herodotus 7.10 α3, cf. 4.97.3
Artabanus addresses Xerxes: I warned your father, Darius, not to attack the Scythians. He did not listen and lost many soldiers. Σὺ δέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, **μέλλεις** ἐπ᾽ ἄνδρας **στρατεύεσθαι** πολλὸν ἔτι ἀμείνονας ἢ Σκύθας.

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[5] For lack of space I will not discuss the question about the factors determining the choice between present, aorist and future infinitive. On a whole, I agree with Ruijgh's description (1985: 328): a present infinitive denotes the immediate future (*to be about to*, inceptive interpretation, e.g. Hdt. 3.57.1) or is continuative (Hdt. 1.120.4), a future infinitive lacks the notion of immediateness and denotes, in a neutral way, *I am intended to, it is likely that I will*; an aorist infinitive denotes, in a marked way: *ever, one unforeseeable day* (Hdt. 2.39.3). One can say, then, that if a speaker wants to express aspectual distinctions about the future time, he has to use μέλλω with an infinitive, rather than the simple future tense, the latter lacking any aspectual notion.

> You, my lord, are about to lead your army against far better men than the Scythians.

In [4] the actual realisation of the expedition is postponed by the conference. In the description of human behaviour in [5] it is said that people lie when they have the expectation and intention to profit, but of course it is only this expectation on the basis of which they act. They do not yet know for sure that they will indeed profit. Example [6] is part of the speech of Artabanus, who, during the conference concerning the expedition against the Greeks — cf. [4] —, wants to prevent the expedition. For this reason he does not say 'you will attack', but 'you are about to attack', explicitly leaving open the possibility of cancelling the whole expedition.

In such cases, then, the focus of the meaning of μέλλω is clearly on its modal feature: the intention to do something, and μέλλω seems thus comparable to modal verbs like θέλω, βούλομαι and to mental expressions such as ἐν νῷ ἔχω etc., rather than to the future indicative. Compare [7]:

> [7] Herodotus 7.206.1-207, cf. also 9.98.4
> μετὰ δέ, Κάρνεια γάρ σφι ἦν ἐμποδών, **ἔμελλον** ὁρτάσαντες καὶ φύλακας λιπόντες ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ κατὰ τάχος **βοηθέειν** πανδημεί. Ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων **ἐνένωντο** καὶ αὐτοὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ποιήσειν· (...) Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ οὕτω **διενένωντο** ποιήσειν.
>
> At present the Carneia was in their way, but they intended to complete the festival, to leave a garrison at Sparta and march out in full force with all speed. The rest of the allies planned (ἐνένωντο) to do themselves likewise (...) They proposed (διενένωντο) to act in that way.

Here ἔμελλον seems to be used in more or less the same way as ἐνένωντο ('they planned'). Both verbs are resumed by διενένωντο ('they proposed').

The notion of not realising or interrupting the intended SoA can be so strong that we even find ἔμελλον in contexts in which a counterfactual might have been used as well, cf. [8]. Example [8] belongs to Herodotus' argumentation that names such as Heracles came from Egypt to Greece, and not *vice versa*. He argues:

> [8] Herodotus 2.43.3
> καὶ μὲν εἴ γε παρ' Ἑλλήνων ἔλαβον οὔνομά τεο δαίμονος, τούτων οὐκ ἥκιστα ἀλλὰ μάλιστα **ἔμελλον** μνήμην **ἕξειν**.

> Yet if they got the name of any deity from the Greeks, of these not least but in particular would they preserve a recollection.

However, Herodotus goes on, the Egyptians do not preserve any recollection, so they did not get the name of any deity from the Greeks. In my opinion, ἔμελλον μνήμην ἕξειν expresses the idea of past intention and expectation ('they were to preserve'), which, however, is not realised, whereas a normal counterfactual εἶχον ἄν would only focus on the counterfactuality, not on the previous expectation. Note that in this example it is not the expectation of the subject, as in the previous examples, but of the narrator that is expressed.

The simple future, on the contrary, presents the realisation of the future SoA as a fact in the future. Of course, logically future facts cannot exist, but a language user can present the future as factual. Often speakers seem to have (rhetorical) reasons to present the future course of events as certain.

First, the future is often presented as certain when realisation is controlled by the speaker, e.g.

> [9] Herodotus 1.11.5
> ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μὲν χωρίου ἡ ὁρμὴ **ἔσται** ὅθεν περ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐμὲ ἐπεδέξατο γυμνήν, ὑπνωμένῳ δὲ ἡ ἐπιχείρησις **ἔσται**.

> The attack will take place from the same place where he made you view me naked and you will attack him in his sleep.

The speaker is Kandaules' wife, who gives instructions to Gyges. It is their common project and the woman controls it. For this reason she uses the simple future, which, in this case, strongly resembles an order: 'you will attack him'≈ 'you must attack him'.

Second, the simple future is often used as a persuasive means by presenting the positive or negative future results of some other SoA as certain. As such it functions as a strong incentive to do something [10], or as a strong dissuasion [11].

> [10] Herodotus 1.97.3
> φέρε στήσωμεν ἡμέων αὐτῶν βασιλέα· καὶ οὕτω ἥ τε χώρη **εὐνομήσεται** καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἔργα **τρεψόμεθα** οὐδὲ ὑπ' ἀνομίης ἀνάστατοι **ἐσόμεθα**.

> Come, let us set up a king over us; and in this way the land will be well governed, and we ourselves shall attend to our business and not be routed by lawlessness.

By confidently summing up the positive results of the appointment of a king, the speakers, the Medes, enforce their plea and proposal στήσωμεν ἡμέων αὐτῶν βασιλέα.

[11]   Herodotus 7.14
εὖ νυν τόδ' ἴσθι, ἤν περ μὴ αὐτίκα στρατηλατέῃς, τάδε τοι ἐξ αὐτῶν **ἀνασχήσει**· ὡς καὶ μέγας καὶ πολλὸς ἐγένεο ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, οὕτω καὶ ταπεινὸς ὀπίσω κατὰ τάχος **ἔσεαι**.

> Know for certain that, if you do not lead out your army immediately, this will be the outcome of it: as you became great and mighty in a short time, so in a moment will you be brought low again.

The dream tries to dissuade Xerxes from the expedition to Greece and hopes to discourage him from leading the expedition by summing up the awful consequences it will have for him, and, of course, the dream presents these consequences as certain facts in the future.

Of course, in cases like [10]-[11], it would be rhetorically less effective or even ineffective if the speaker, by the use of μέλλω, would explicitly indicate that only an intention or expectation of a future realisation is concerned, and that it is inherently so that this realisation may be interrupted, postponed or even prevented.

Summing up, in the above cases of μέλλω the focus of the meaning of μέλλω is on the present intention or expectation (either of the subject or of the narrator), not on its other semantic feature, the (relatively) future realisation. It is exactly this semantic characteristic in which it differs from the simple future, which, in a factual manner, presents the future realisation of a SoA as a fact.

In some cases, however, I would claim that the focus of the meaning of μέλλω is primarily on the *future* realisation itself, i.e. in those cases where it expresses the relative future (a notion that cannot be expressed by the simple future) and fills in the gap of the non-existing future past indicative, subjunctive or optative and is used to express the relative future in past [4] , iterative [5] or in potential [12] situations.

[12]   Herodotus 3.72.5; cf. [5]
εἰ δὲ μηδὲν **κερδήσεσθαι μέλλοιεν**, ὁμοίως ἂν ὅ τε ἀληθιζόμενος
ψευδὴς εἴη καὶ ὁ ψευδόμενος ἀληθής.

If they were not to profit, the truth-teller would be as ready to lie as
the liar to tell the truth.

In all these cases, one could say, the focus of the meaning of μέλλω is
not so much on the intention, but rather on the feature of the
relative future. Here there are no alternatives, and μέλλω may be
characterised as a *semi-auxiliary*[6] *of the relative future*. Sometimes its
full meaning is still discernible — cf. [4], [5] and [12] —, but it may
also play only a minor role in the context in question, as in [13],
where the actual realisation of what the narrator expects to happen
is mentioned immediately afterwards.

[13]   Herodotus 8.86
Since the Hellenes, contrary to the barbarians, fought in an orderly
fashion,
ἔμελλε τοιοῦτό σφι **συνοίσεσθαι** οἷόν περ ἀπέβη.

It was likely to turn out as it did

In all other cases μέλλω is a more marked, modal expression, and,
hence, semantically differs from the simple future. This semantic
difference is often the reason for choosing μέλλω instead of the
simple future.

3   *Future Expressions in the Same Type of Context*

Let us now turn to some contexts in which it is very difficult — at
least at first sight — to see in which respect μέλλω and the simple
future differ from each other, and also sometimes differ from other
expressions with future reference. I will distinguish 3 types of
contexts.

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[6] For the arguments why μέλλω is a semi-auxiliary rather than an auxiliary, see
Wakker (2006).

3.1 Contexts of Future Predictions

Gods, oracles, dreams sent by a god, and the like tend to use simple futures, when they predict the future. That is what one also expects them to do, since they know the future course of events. One famous example may suffice to illustrate this.

> [14] Herodotus 1.53.1
> Such was their inquiry.
> τῶν δὲ μαντηίων ἀμφοτέρων ἐς τώυτὸ αἱ γνῶμαι συνέδραμον, προλέγουσαι Κροίσῳ, ἢν στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, μεγάλην ἀρχήν μιν **καταλύσειν**·
>
> And the judgment given to Croesus by each of the two oracles was the same: namely, that if he should send an army against the Persians he would destroy a great empire.

Men may fail to interpret such predictions correctly, but, of course, the entity predicting the future exactly knows what will happen.[7] This explains why in such contexts where in direct or indirect speech the prediction is presented we generally find future tenses. Nevertheless μέλλω is found 14 times (= 12 % of the total number of examples of μέλλω) in seemingly the same type of context. The question rises whether we can explain this use of μέλλω.

Since in the end the future is always fixed (by the gods, or to use more general terms, by fate) and cannot be altered by men, the meaning of μέλλω seems to shift from 'I am intended to', 'I am to' (which inherently leaves room for changes of the future course of events) to 'I am destined to', where the future course of events can no longer be changed. As a reminiscence of its basic meaning we see this use of μέλλω in two types of context where the idea of 'trying to change the future course of events' seems to play a role.

In the first place, some examples present the perception of the prediction by one of the characters. Of course, if the prediction is unfavourable for this person, he or she hopes that the future course of events can be changed and often perceives and interprets the message in this manner (even if at that moment the future course of events is already 'arranged' and fixed), cf.

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[7] For the function of prophecies in the *Histories* see, for instance, Harrison (2000: 122-57; 2003: 252-4) who mentions further literature.

[15] Herodotus 2.133.1[8]
ἐλθεῖν οἱ μαντήιον ἐκ Βουτοῦς πόλιος ὡς **μέλλοι** ἓξ ἔτεα μοῦνον
βιοὺς τῷ ἑβδόμῳ **τελευτήσειν**.

An oracle came to him (= the king) from the city of Buto, announcing
that he had just six years to live and was to die in the seventh

The king blamed the god that his father and his uncle, though they
disregarded the gods, had lived for a long time, but that he who was
pious was going to die so soon. The king made many lamps, lit these
at nightfall and drank and enjoyed himself so that by turning night
into day he might make his six years into twelve and so prove the
oracle false. Of course, he did not succeed.

In the second place, we see this use of μέλλω often in contexts
where a character will indeed try or has tried to change the future
course of events, but where this effort will be or was in vain. There
are eight examples, one of which is

[16] Herodotus 1.34.1[9]
αὐτίκα δέ οἱ εὕδοντι ἐπέστη ὄνειρος, ὅς οἱ τὴν ἀληθείην ἔφαινε **τῶν
μελλόντων γενέσθαι** κακῶν κατὰ τὸν παῖδα.

Immediately when he slept he had a dream, which tried to show him
the truth of the evil things which were going to happen concerning
his son.

This passage already foretells the reader what is going to happen
and indicates that the evil things are inevitable and that this can
already be foreseen at that moment. However, the character in the
story, Croesus, tries to save his son Atys, although the
reader/listener already knows in advance that his efforts will be in
vain (a case of dramatic irony).

The last example in the context of predictions is remarkable in
that μέλλω is coordinated with a (present) oblique optative:

[17] Herodotus 1.210.1
Cyrus said this, thinking that Darius was plotting against him.
τῷ δὲ ὁ δαίμων προέφαινε ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν **τελευτήσειν** αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ
μέλλοι, ἡ δὲ βασιληίη αὐτοῦ **περιχωρέοι** ἐς Δαρεῖον.

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[8] Cf. 1.108.2; 1.158.1; 2.133.2; 3.16.6.
[9] Cf. 1.45.2; 3.65.3; 3.65.4; 6.27.1; 6.98.1; 7.148.2; 8.65.6. In [16] I interpret ἔφαινε as
a conative imperfect. The same holds for προέφαινε in [17].

> But in fact, heaven tried to show him that he himself was (destined) to die in the land where he was and that his kingdom was transferred to/came in succession to Darius.

Here again, the character thinks the future can be altered, whereas the reader is told in advance that this cannot be done. Here τελευτήσειν μέλλοι is coordinated with περιχωρέοι, a present likelyhood or even destination coordinated with a present process of succession, a process that has already started and cannot be altered.

Note that in these contexts μέλλω is either found in indirect speech (uttered by the oracle or dream [15], but not believed by the character), or in the narrator's text in situations where the characters try to alter the future [16]-[17], but where the reader is told that this will not succeed. This is never the case when a future tense is used. Future tenses simply present the future course of events (in direct or indirect speech). In the contexts in question the issue of the changeability and/or the inevitability of the future is simply not raised, cf. [18] with [16] above:

> [18] Herodotus 1.34.2
> Directly, as he slept, he had a dream, which tried to show him the truth of the evil things which were going to happen concerning his son. (= ex. [16]). He had two sons, one of whom was ruined, for he was mute, but the other, whose name was Atys, was by far the best in every way of all of his peers.
>
> τοῦτον δὴ ὦν τὸν Ἄτυν σημαίνει τῷ Κροίσῳ ὁ ὄνειρος ὡς **ἀπολέει** μιν αἰχμῇ σιδηρέῃ βληθέντα.
>
> The dream showed this Atys to Croesus, that he would lose him struck and killed by a spear of iron

While in [16] the perspective of Croesus is incorporated, in [18] only the perspective of the dream is presented, which knows the future for sure. Note that the use of the future *indicative* (instead of an oblique optative) may also be interpreted as a sign that in this respect the direct wording of the dream is cited as closely as possible.[10]

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[10] Cf. Wakker (1994: 294-302), Rijksbaron (2002³a: 51-54) for the difference between tense and mood of the direct speech and the oblique optative.

3.2 *Context of Announcement of What One is Going to Say Immediately Afterwards*

When a speaker, either the narrator or one of the characters, wants to mark a transition in his speech and wants to announce a (slight) change of subject, about which he starts talking immediately afterwards, we find two different expressions. ἔρχομαι with future participle and the future indicative, cf. [19]-[21]:[11]

> [19] Herodotus 4.99.1-2
> Thrace runs farther out into the sea than Scythia; and Scythia begins where a bay is formed in its coast, and the mouth of the Ister, facing southeast, is in that country.
> τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἴστρου **ἔρχομαι σημανέων** τὸ πρὸς θάλασσαν αὐτῆς, τῆς Σκυθικῆς χώρης ἐς μέτρησιν. ἀπὸ Ἴστρου αὕτη ἤδη <ἡ> ἀκταίη Σκυθική ἐστι
>
> Now I am going to describe the coast of the true Scythia from the Ister, and give its measurements. The ancient Scythian land begins at the Ister
>
> [20] Herodotus 2.9.2[12]
> οὗτοι συντιθέμενοι οἱ στάδιοι Αἰγύπτου, τὸ μὲν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἤδη μοι καὶ πρότερον δεδήλωται ὅτι ἑξακοσίων τέ ἐστι σταδίων καὶ τρισχιλίων, ὅσον δέ τι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς μεσόγαιαν μέχρι Θηβέων ἐστί, **σημανέω**· στάδιοι γάρ εἰσι εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι·
>
> This, then, is a full statement of all the distances in Egypt: the seaboard is four hundred and fifty miles long; and I will now declare the distance inland from the sea to Thebes: it is seven hundred and sixty-five miles.
>
> [21] Herodotus 2.35.1
> It is sufficient to say this much concerning the Nile.
> **ἔρχομαι** δὲ περὶ Αἰγύπτου **μηκυνέων** τὸν λόγον, ὅτι πλεῖστα θωμάσια ἔχει [ἢ ἡ ἄλλη πᾶσα χώρη] καὶ ἔργα λόγου μέζω παρέχεται

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[11] We find ἔρχομαι ἐρέων/φράσων/μηκυνέων/λέξων as well as ἐρέω, ἐρέομεν, φράσω, λέξω. Remarkably, μέλλω (contrary to the situation in Plato, see Wakker 2006) is never found in such contexts. There are also 3 examples of φήσω, but these are different. They never announce what the speaker is about to say but simply introduce the dependent statement, e.g. Hdt. 3.155.4. See also Brock (2003: 8-9).

[12] Cf. e.g. (with φράσω) 2.42.1; 2.147.1; 2.155.3; 3.6.2; 3.103; 5.49.5; 5.65.5; 5.111.3; 8.55.1; (with σημανέω) 1.209.3; 2.9.2; 3.37.2; 4.127.2; 5.54.1.

πρὸς πᾶσαν <ἄλλην> χώρην· τούτων εἵνεκα πλέω περὶ αὐτῆς **εἰρήσεται**.

But concerning Egypt, I am going to speak at length, because it has the most wonders, and everywhere presents works beyond description; therefore, I shall say the more concerning Egypt.

It is difficult to detect any semantic differences between the two constructions, although originally they are semantically different. As Létoublon (1982) has convincingly shown, ἔρχομαι with a future participle of a verb of saying may be seen as a metaphoric expression, the course of speech being depicted as a journey. This metaphor is used in all 12 examples of this kind.[13] The verb form is always a first person singular, and they all mark a change of topic and announce what the narrator/speaker is presenting directly afterwards. The expression may thus be said to explicitly indicate the immediate future. Only one example is slightly different in that it announces that the proposed change of topic will *not* be further explored:

[22] Herodotus 1.5.3
These are the stories of the Persians and the Phoenicians.
ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν τούτων **οὐκ ἔρχομαι ἐρέων** ὡς οὕτως ἢ ἄλλως κως ταῦτα ἐγένετο, τὸν δὲ οἶδα αὐτὸς πρῶτον ὑπάρξαντα ἀδίκων ἔργων ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, **τοῦτον σημήνας προβήσομαι** ἐς τὸ πρόσω τοῦ λόγου

For my part, I shall not say that this or that story is true, but I shall identify the one who I myself know did the Greeks unjust deeds, and thus proceed with my history.

The future indicative (φράσω and the like) concerns the announcement of a future fact: 'I will say'. It is not explicitly indicated whether this will be realised in the immediate future or later on. Very often, however, the announcement is immediately fulfilled and implies a change of topic, as in [20] above. In these cases

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[13] Hdt. 1.5.3, 1.194.1; 2.11.1; 2.35.1, 2.40.1; 2.99.1; 3.6.1; 3.80.5; 4.99.2; 6.109.4; 7.49.3; 7.102.2. Slightly different are 4.82 and 5.62.1 where τὸν κατ' ἀρχὰς ἤια λέξων λόγον refers to a story which the speaker wanted to tell, but had broken off and wants now to resume. Here ἤια marks that the speaker was going to speak about it, but had not come thus far. In this respect ἤια resembles ἔμελλον, which is, however, never found in such context combined with a *verbum dicendi*.

the semantic difference with ἔρχομαι ἐρέων/φράσων seems to be neutralised. Cf. also [21], where εἰρήσεται repeats ἔρχομαι μηκυνέων, apparently without any clear semantic difference. However, future indicatives are also found in contexts in which the expression with ἔρχομαι is never found, since the notion of 'immediateness' expressed by ἔρχομαι is not apt in the context in question; these are contexts where the notion 'later on' is evident, as ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ in [23] explicitly indicates. Compare also [22], where προβήσομαι will be realised only after the identification of the person in question (τοῦτον σημήνας). The same holds for contexts where the expression with the future indicative concerns a kind of characterization of what the narrator is going to tell, rather than an announcement of what he is going to tell, as in [24].

> [23]   Herodotus 6.39[14]
> οἵ μιν καὶ ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι ἐποίευν εὖ ὡς οὐ συνειδότες δῆθεν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Κίμωνος τὸν θάνατον, τὸν ἐγὼ ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ **σημανέω** ὡς ἐγένετο.
>
> They had already treated him well at Athens, feigning that they had not been accessory to the death of Cimon his father, which I will relate in another place.

> [24]   Herodotus 4.129.1[15]
> τὸ δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσί τε ἦν σύμμαχον καὶ τοῖσι Σκύθῃσι ἀντίξοον ἐπιτιθεμένοισι τῷ Δαρείου στρατοπέδῳ, **θῶμα μέγιστον ἐρέω**, τῶν τε ὄνων ἡ φωνὴ καὶ τῶν ἡμιόνων τὸ εἶδος.
>
> Very strange to say, what aided the Persians and thwarted the Scythians in their attacks on Darius' army was the braying of the asses and the appearance of the mules.

3.3 *Expressions of Purpose or Intention*

Most future participles are used predicatively with a purpose value,[16] 'going to do x' generally implying 'with the purpose to do x', cf. [25].

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[14] Cf e.g. (with ἐρέω) 2.38.2; (with φράσω) 2.51.1; 2.156.6; (with σημανέω) 1.75.1; 6.39.1; 7.77.1; 7.213.3.
[15] Cf e.g. 6.43.13; 7.104.1.
[16] Notably in the context of 'sending' or 'going'. Also when used attributively, the future participle may have this value, cf. e.g. Rijksbaron (2002³a: 125-6).

Sometimes ὡς is added to explicitly indicate that the purpose of the subject is expressed, cf. [26].

[25]   Herodotus 4.83.1
παρασκευαζομένου Δαρείου ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκύθας καὶ περιπέμποντος ἀγγέλους **ἐπιτάξοντας** τοῖσι μὲν πεζὸν στρατόν, τοῖσι δὲ νέας παρέχειν, τοῖσι δὲ ζευγνύναι τὸν Θρηίκιον Βόσπορον

While Darius was making preparations against the Scythians, and sending messengers to direct some to furnish infantry and some to furnish ships, and others again to bridge the Thracian Bosporus (Artabanus did not want him to make the expedition)

[26]   Herodotus 9.18.1-2
But when the horsemen had encircled the Phocians ἐπήλαυνον **ὡς ἀπολέοντες**, καὶ δὴ διετείνοντο τὰ βέλεα **ὡς ἀπήσοντες**, καί κού τις καὶ ἀπῆκε· καὶ οἳ ἀντίοι ἔστησαν, ... Ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἱππόται ὑπέστρεφον καὶ ἀπήλαυνον ὀπίσω. Οὐκ ἔχω δ' ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν οὔτε εἰ ἦλθον μὲν **ἀπολέοντες** τοὺς Φωκέας δεηθέντων Θεσσαλῶν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὥρων πρὸς ἀλέξησιν τραπομένους, δείσαντες μὴ [καὶ] σφίσι γένηται τρῶμα, οὕτω δὴ ἀπήλαυνον ὀπίσω

They rode at them as if to slay them, and drew their bows as if to shoot; it is likely too that some did in fact shoot. The Phocians opposed them ... At this the horsemen wheeled about and rode back and away. Now I cannot with exactness say whether they came at the Thessalians' desire to slay the Phocians, but when they saw the men preparing to defend themselves, they feared lest they themselves should suffer some hurt, and so rode away

Note that the intention of the horsemen to kill the Phocians is first expressed from the perspective of the horsemen themselves, but is later mentioned by the narrator, without ὡς.

   The question whether or not the purpose is realised is not explicitly raised, and can only be answered on the basis of contextual information, as in [26], where it is not realised, and as in [27], where the purpose is not immediately realised, but after some intervening event.

[27]   Herodotus 6.81.1
Then Cleomenes sent most of his army back to Sparta.χιλίους δὲ αὐτὸς λαβὼν τοὺς ἀριστέας ἤιε ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον **θύσων**. Βουλομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ θύειν ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ὁ ἱρεὺς ἀπηγόρευε, φὰς οὐκ ὅσιον εἶναι ξείνῳ αὐτόθι θύειν. Ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης τὸν ἱρέα ἐκέλευε τοὺς εἵλωτας ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἀπαγαγόντας μαστιγῶσαι, καὶ **αὐτὸς ἔθυσε**.

He himself took a thousand of the best warriors and went to the temple of Hera to sacrifice. When he wished to sacrifice at the altar the priest forbade him, saying that it was not holy for a stranger to sacrifice there. Cleomenes ordered the helots to carry the priest away from the altar and whip him, and he performed himself the sacrifice.

The future participle, one can say, is neutral as to the realisation of the purpose. Μέλλων, which means, as argued above, 'with the intention to', 'being intended to', 'about to', indicates more explicitly that someone's intention and/or expectation is involved. Hence it is never marked by ὡς (the information conveyed by ὡς being redundant) and it occurs most often in contexts in which the SoA expressed by the infinitive is intended, but not certain [28] or in which it is put off [29]:

[28]   Herodotus 8.109.5
ταῦτα ἔλεγε ἀποθήκην **μέλλων ποιήσεσθαι** ἐς τὸν Πέρσην, ἵνα, ἢν ἄρα τί μιν καταλαμβάνῃ πρὸς Ἀθηναίων πάθος, ἔχῃ ἀποστροφήν· τά περ ὦν καὶ ἐγένετο.

This he said with intent to have something to his credit with the Persian, so that he might have a place of refuge if ever (as might chance) he should suffer anything at the hands of the Athenians — and just that did in fact happen.

[29]   Herodotus 5.72.3
The prophetic voice that Cleomenes heard accordingly had its fulfillment.
ὡς γὰρ ἀνέβη ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν **μέλλων δὴ αὐτὴν κατασχήσειν**, ἤιε ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον τῆς θεοῦ ὡς προσερέων· (but the priestess said it was not lawful that Dorians should enter. He answered that he was an Achaean.) ὁ μὲν δὴ τῇ κληδόνι οὐδὲν χρεώμενος ἐπεχείρησέ τε καὶ τότε πάλιν ἐξέπιπτε μετὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων.

For when he went up to the acropolis clearly with the intention of taking possession of it, he approached the shrine of the goddess to address himself to her. (...) So without taking heed of the omen, he tried to do as he pleased and was, as I have said, then again cast out together with his Lacedaemonians.

Note that the fact that in [28] μέλλων is collocated (and not coordinated) with a purpose-clause also indicates that there is a semantic difference with pure purpose-expressions. In [29] it is difficult to detect any clear semantic difference between μέλλων δή

and ὡς + future participle, as in [26] (ὡς ἀπολέοντες) and [29] (ὡς προερέων).

Since μέλλων seems to focus on the (present/past) intention and expectation rather than on the actual realisation itself, one may wonder in which respect the μέλλων-examples differ from the rather frequent comparable examples of βουλόμενος (about 70 examples) and (ἐ)θέλων (about 35 examples). In my opinion, in most examples βουλόμενος 'willing, wishing, being willing' implies a (more or less conscious) choice or preference to do something and (ἐ)θέλων 'willing, wishing' often implies consent or being prepared, rather than preference or desire, as is shown by [30]-[31].[17]

[30] Herodotus 5.11.2
αἰτέει δὲ Μύρκινον τὴν Ἠδωνῶν, **βουλόμενος** ἐν αὐτῇ πόλιν **κτίσαι**. οὗτος μὲν δὴ ταύτην αἱρέεται

He (Histiaeus) asked for Myrcinus in the Edonian land because he wished to build a city there. This, then, was his choice

[31] Herodotus 3.128.1
Δαρεῖος μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα, τῶν δὲ ἄνδρες τριήκοντα ὑπέστησαν, αὐτὸς ἕκαστος **ἐθέλων ποιέειν** ταῦτα.

Darius asked this and thirty men of them promised, each wanting/being prepared to do it himself.

The notions of choice or consent are clearly absent from the meaning of μέλλων, which in principle focuses on the intention or expectation, as is shown by [28]-[29]. However, there are contexts in which the focus is not prominently on choice, consent or expectation. In these contexts all three expressions may be used, with only barely discernible differences in semantics:

[32] Herodotus 1.86.2
ἀνεβίβασε ἐπὶ τὴν πυρήν, **βουλόμενος εἰδέναι** εἴ τίς μιν δαιμόνων ῥύσεται τοῦ μὴ ζώοντα κατακαυθῆναι.

He put him atop the pyre because he wished to know if some divinity would deliver him from being burned alive.

_____

[17] Cf. for a more elaborate description of both verbs of 'wishing' Allan (2003: 236-43).

[33] Herodotus 2.3.1

καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Θήβας τε καὶ ἐς Ἡλίου πόλιν αὐτῶν τούτων εἵνεκεν ἐτραπόμην, **ἐθέλων εἰδέναι** εἰ συμβήσονται τοῖσι λόγοισι τοῖσι ἐν Μέμφι·

I visited Thebes and Heliopolis, too, for this very purpose, because I wished to know if the people of those places would tell me the same story as the priests at Memphis.

Could the choice for βουλόμενος in [32] and for ἐθέλων in [33] be explained by the fact that in [32] realisation depends on the gods, whereas in [33] it is controlled by the narrator, or is the semantic difference more or less neutralised here?

Compare also [27], where the future participle θύσων is resumed by βουλομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ θύειν, in a context where μέλλοντος θύσειν/θύειν seems fully appropriate, cf. e.g. Herodotus 4.43.3.

4   *Problematic Cases*

It is now time to return to the examples I started with. With all we have seen in mind, can we now explain in which respect these examples differ? Let us first study [1]:

[1] Herodotus 8.70.2
The Greek were afraid, especially the Peloponesians
ἀρρώδεον δὲ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι κατήμενοι ὑπὲρ γῆς τῆς Ἀθηναίων **ναυμαχέειν μέλλοιεν**, νικηθέντες τε ἐν νήσῳ ἀπολαμφθέντες **πολιορκήσονται**, ἀπέντες τὴν ἑωυτῶν ἀφύλακτον·

They were afraid, because they were themselves stationed in Salamis and were about to fight at sea on behalf of the land of the Athenians, and, in the event of defeat, they would be trapped on an island and besieged, leaving their own land unguarded.

There are two difficulties: what does it mean that an oblique optative is coordinated with a future indicative and what does it mean that μέλλω is coordinated with a simple future? I think the oblique optative may be explained as an explicit sign that the thoughts of the Peloponnesians are concerned. μέλλω indicates that they expect a fight: they were about/were to fight/it was likely that they would fight. Of course they do not know it for sure. It is exactly this expectation that makes them afraid. However, should they be

defeated during this possible fight, it is a certain consequence that they will be trapped on the island. This explains the use of the future tense. The indicative, a sign that the direct wording of the Peloponnesians is presented,[18] indicates that it is this SoA they fear most, more in any case than the possible sea fight.

There are two more or less comparable examples:

[34] Herodotus 4.135.2
κατέλιπε δὲ τούς τε ὄνους καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενέας τῆς στρατιῆς τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ἵνα οἱ μὲν ὄνοι βοὴν παρέχωνται· οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι ἀσθενείης μὲν εἵνεκεν κατελείποντο, προφάσιος δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῆσδε δηλαδή, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν σὺν τῷ καθαρῷ τοῦ στρατοῦ **ἐπιθήσεσθαι μέλλοι** τοῖσι Σκύθῃσι, οὗτοι δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον **ῥυοίατο**.

His reasons for leaving the asses, and the infirm among his soldiers, were the following: the asses, so that they would bray; the men were left because of their infirmity, but he pretended that he was to attack the Scythians with the fit part of his army, while they guarded the camp.

In my opinion, Darius can only express his intention to attack the Scythians, for he is not certain that he will find his enemy. On the other hand he knows the infirm soldiers will stay behind and will continue to guard the camp (on his orders), which explains the use of the present tense. The other comparable example is [17], which we have already discussed.

Finally, let us compare [2] and [3]:

[2] Herodotus 8.106.3
The gods have delivered you into my power
ὥστε σε μὴ μέμψεσθαι **τὴν** ἀπὸ ἐμέο τοι **ἐσομένην δίκην**

So that you cannot now complain of the vengeance I will execute upon you

[3] Herodotus 7. 223.4
Ἅτε γὰρ ἐπιστάμενοι **τὸν μέλλοντά** σφι **ἔσεσθαι θάνατον** ἐκ τῶν περιιόντων τὸ ὄρος

Since they knew that they must die at the hands of those who had come around the mountain

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[18] Compare n. 10.

Examples with an attributive participle of μέλλω, such as [3],[19] mostly occur in contexts of fate or predictions, just like [16] above. However much the persons would perhaps like to change the future course of events, it will not be possible, the future course of events already being fixed. Thus, in [3], death is inevitable.

There is one other use of the participle of μέλλω used attributively:

> [35] Herodotus 8.3.1
> οἱ γὰρ σύμμαχοι οὐκ ἔφασαν, ἢν μὴ ὁ Λάκων ἡγεμονεύῃ, Ἀθηναίοισι ἕψεσθαι ἡγεομένοισι, ἀλλὰ λύσειν **τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι στράτευμα**.

> For the allies said that if the Laconian were not their leader, they would not be led by the Athenians, but would rather make an end of the fleet that was to be assembled.

Here μέλλω is used to focus upon the possibility of making an end to the assembling of the fleet.

The future participle in [2], on the other hand, does not allow for any interruption or breaking off. It is used in a threat: 'I will execute vengeance upon you'. Of course it would be rhetorically ineffective to explicitly indicate that the future is never certain, cf. [9]-[11]. All other examples with an attributive, future participle may be explained along the same lines. Future participles, just like other forms of the simple future, present the future as certain, either for rhetorical reasons [2] or because it is used in the neutral and clear opposition past vs. future:

> [36] Herodotus 7.9.1
> τῶν γενομένων Περσέων ..... τῶν ἐσομένων

> The Persians that have been born and that will be/live

5 *Conclusion*

On the basis of all examples discussed I would claim that all expressions with future reference (future participle and indicative, μέλλω, ἔρχομαι + participle, βούλομαι and ἐθέλω) have their own

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[19] Cf. 1.45; 6.98; 7.219.1; 8.76.2 (here the author interrupts his story to say what is going to happen).

basic meaning, and that basically these meanings differ from each other. However, there are contexts in which two or more of these expressions may be used. Sometimes the basic meaning may still be easily detected; sometimes, however, the semantic difference seems minimal. The semantic difference seems to be neutralized or in any case minimized in that case. This conclusion seems compatible with the so called Prototype Theory.[20] All in all, however, interpreting the text in accordance with the basic meaning of the expression in question leads to a more refined interpretation of the text. Every expression presents the future course of events in its own manner.

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[20] For a clear and short description of Prototype Theory see, for instance, Bakker (1988: 14-18).

CHAPTER TEN

ADJECTIVE ORDERING IN HERODOTUS: A PRAGMATIC EXPLANATION

Stéphanie J. Bakker

1 *Introduction*[1]

Nearly no one who reads or translates Herodotus will pay attention
to the order of the adjectives in the following two examples:

> [1] Herodotus 1.25.2
> ἀνέθηκε (…) οὗτος ἐς Δελφοὺς **κρητῆρά ἀργύρεον μέγαν** καὶ
> ὑποκρητηρίδιον σιδήρεον κολλητόν.

> He made an offering to Delphi of a great silver bowl on a stand of
> welded iron.

> [2] Herodotus 2.170.2[2]
> καὶ ἐν τῷ τεμένεϊ **ὀβελοὶ** ἑστᾶσι **μεγάλοι λίθινοι**

> And in the precinct stand great stone obelisks.

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[2] In this paper on the order of the adjectives within the noun phrase (NP), I will
not distinguish between continuous and discontinuous NPs. That means that I
discuss the ordering of the adjectives (and in section 3, their position in relation to
the noun) irrespective of whether and how many constituents of the level of the
sentence intervene. The reason for this generalisation is that in my corpus the
ordering of the adjectives and their position in relation to the noun does not seem
to be affected by these intervening elements. By claiming that the order of the NP
elements is not affected by intervening elements, I do — of course — not want to
suggest that discontinuity is meaningless. I do, however, doubt many of the
conclusions on discontinuity arrived at by Devine and Stephens (1999). Since they
examine the factors that influence discontinuity without paying attention to the
factors that determine the ordering in continuous NPs, their conclusions on the
effects of discontinuity are often influenced more by the position of the
constituents in relation to each other than by their discontinuity.

Unjustly so, since there is a reason why the adjective μέγας in [1] follows ἀργύρεον, while it precedes λίθινοι in [2]. In this paper, I will discuss what determines the choice between the various possible orderings of two or more adjectives in one noun phrase, and I will show that awareness of the order of adjectives will lead to a much more precise interpretation of the Greek text.

2 *An Overview of the Literature on Adjective Ordering*

For Ancient Greek itself, the order of multiple adjectives has never been analysed (the grammars only observe that everything is possible). For other Indo-European languages, however, adjective ordering has been the subject of some exploratory studies.[3] The general outcome of these studies is that the order of adjectives tends to be rather fixed. The *great silver bowl* from the first example, for instance, is more likely to be translated with the (a) examples than with the (b) examples:

    [3a]   a great silver bowl
    [3b]   [?]a silver great bowl
    [4a]   ein großer silberner Mischkrug
    [4b]   [?]ein silberner großer Mischkrug
    [5a]   magna argentea cratera
    [5b]   [?]argentea magna cratera

The various studies do not agree what determines this rather fixed order of the adjectives. Fugier and Corbin (1977) and Seiler (1978) assume that adjective order is determined by the function of the adjectives. According to Fugier and Corbin (1977), Latin modifiers are to be divided in identifying ('*déterminatives*') and qualifying modifiers ('*qualificatives*'). While the former modifiers help to identify the referent by specifying the reference (e.g. *populus Romanus*, as opposed to *populus Albanus*), the latter attribute a quality to the head of the NP (e.g. *hortus pulcher*). Fugier and Corbin assume that this difference in function is reflected in some syntactic

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    [3] Among (many) others: Fugier and Corbin 1977 (Latin), Hetzron 1978 (several languages), Risselada 1984 (Latin), Seiler 1978 (German), Biber *et al.* 1999 (English), Wulff 2003 (English) and Devine and Stephens 2006 (Latin).

differences, for instance, the fact that identifying modifiers are expressed in the periphery of the noun, while qualifying modifiers may be expressed at greater distance from the noun:[4]

[6a]   populus Romanus imperiosus
[6b]   gentes Africae vagae

Seiler (1978) also supposes that the position of a modifier depends on its function, but he assumes a continuum from more *Inhalts-* to more *Referentzfestlegende* modifiers instead of a dichotomy between qualifying and identifying modifiers. Besides, he assumes that in German NPs, the relation between the function and the position of the modifier is exactly the other way round: the more a modifier contributes to the identification of the reference, the further from the noun it has to be expressed, whereas the more it expresses inherent properties of the referent, the closer to the noun it has to be expressed. Consequently, Seiler concludes that adjectives expressing material stand closer to the noun than those expressing colour, evaluation, and affection:

[7]   affective adjectives > evaluative adjectives > colour adjectives > material adjectives > N

Whether we assume a dichotomy between identifying and classifying adjectives or a continuum from identifying to classifying adjectives, both approaches seem to ignore the fact that adjectives may and often will combine the two functions. The two identifying adjectives in Fugier's examples (examples 6a-b), for instance, do not only specify the reference, but also provide qualifying information.[5] A second objection to Seiler's approach is that, while he states that the position of the modifier is determined by its function, he eventually formulates an adjective ordering on the basis of their semantics. I fail to see why material adjectives are by definition less useless for the sake of identification than an affective or evaluating adjective,

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[4] In his account of adjective ordering in English, Bache (1978) arrives at a similar classification of adjective function. Yet, apart from identifying adjectives (which he names classifying or Mod III), and qualifying adjectives (which he names characterising or Mod II), Bache also distinguishes defining adjectives (Mod I), which define or specify the referent (e.g. *own, same, many, usual*). The exact nature of this third category is not clear to me, as I fail to see the general characteristic of modifiers like *own, same, many* and *usual.*

[5] The same objections can be found in Risselada (1984: 206).

since I can think of several contexts in which a material or colour adjective is much more *Referentzfestlegend* than an affective or evaluative adjective (e.g. *Could you pass me that lovely green sweater instead of that ugly blue one?*).

By eventually formulating a semantic order of adjectives, Seiler's approach bears some likeness to those of Hetzron (1978)[6] and Risselada (1984)[7], who argue that adjective order is determined by semantics.[8] According to Hetzron and Risselada, the position of adjectives is determined by the objectivity or subjectivity of the qualities expressed. An adjective expresses a subjective quality if it expresses an opinion or judgement, which may be disagreed with by other people (e.g. affective and evaluating adjectives like *dreadful* and *beautiful*). Objective adjectives, on the other hand, express qualities that are more a matter of recognition instead of opinion (e.g. substance, origin, colour). Hetzron and Risselada suppose that the more objective the quality expressed by the adjective, the closer it is to the noun.[9] Hence, they would explain the preference of the (a)

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[6] Hetzron (1978) bases his account of adjective order on an unspecified sample of genetically and culturally unrelated languages with a morphological class of adjectives, since the goal of his research is to find out whether there is a universally preferred order of adjectives.

[7] Risselada (1984) studies adjective order in Latin. The main concern of her paper is not the order of adjectives itself, but the factors that determine juxtaposition or co-ordination of adjectives (see section 5).

[8] For a similar view, see Quirk *et al.* (1972), Martin (1969), Posner (1986), Biber *et al.* (1999), Wulff (2003) and Devine and Stephens (2006). Like Hetzron and Risselada, Quirk *et al.* (1972) and Devine and Stephens (2006) assume the subjectivity/objectivity of the adjectives to be the crucial factor for their ordering (although Devine and Stephens (2006) assume the extensionality or intensionality of the property expressed by the adjective to play a role, too). Martin (1969) and Posner (1986), on the other hand, assume that the crucial factor for adjective ordering is their (in)dependence on comparison (i.e. the degree in which recognition of the feature asks for comparison with other objects). They argue that the less dependent on comparison, the nearer the adjective is placed to the noun. Biber *et al.* (1999) argue that (English) adjectives expressing inherent features have to stand closer to the noun than those expressing non-inherent features (e.g. a new red ball). Wulff (2003), finally, concludes on the basis of a (very statistical) corpus analysis that although many factors affect adjective ordering, (in)dependence from comparison, affective load and the subjectivity/objectivity of the adjective are most influential.

[9] Both Hetzron and Risselada warn that other factors may also influence the order of the adjectives. Risselada (1984: 224) states that pragmatic factors such as emphasis, contrast or topicalisation may disturb the semantic ordering by 'moving' one of the adjectives to the first position of the NP. Hetzron (1978: 175-8) also

examples over the (b) examples in [3]-[5] by the fact that silver is a more objective quality than great.

3   *Adjective Ordering in Ancient Greek*

Although a semantic analysis seems fruitful for the rather fixed adjective orderings in many Indo-European languages,[10] my data[11] show that the much more flexible adjective ordering in Greek cannot be determined by the semantics of the adjectives. A clear counter-indication is that semantically comparable adjectives often occur in alternating order:

> [1]   Herodotus 1.25.2
> ἀνέθηκε (...) οὗτος ἐς Δελφοὺς **κρητῆρά ἀργύρεον μέγαν** καὶ ὑποκρητηρίδιον σιδήρεον κολλητόν.
>
> He made an offering to Delphi of a great silver bowl on a stand of welded iron.
>
> [2]   Herodotus 2.170.2
> καὶ ἐν τῷ τεμένει **ὀβελοὶ** ἑστᾶσι **μεγάλοι λίθινοι**
>
> And in the precinct stand great stone obelisks.

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identifies idiomacy, euphony, causal relations, the interaction between the semantics of the noun and adjective and avoidance of ambiguity as possible disturbers of the basic semantic ordering.

[10] I doubt, however, whether Latin adjectives are indeed ordered by their semantics. Although 70% of the NPs in Risselada's corpus is ordered according to her hypothesis, this does not necessarily imply that the semantics of the adjectives is the decisive factor in adjective ordering. In my own corpus, the greater part of the NP's is also in accordance with the semantic ordering principle. As I will defend below, however, semantics does not play a role in adjective ordering in Greek. The high number of examples answering the semantic ordering principle will be due to the fact that there is a rather strong correlation between the semantics of an adjective and its informativeness (which I will show below to be the decisive factor for the ordering of the adjectives in Ancient Greek).

[11] For this paper, I studied all NPs with two or more attributive adjectives in Herodotus. The choice for Herodotus is based on the fact that his work contains a lot of description, which is a necessary condition for finding NPs with multiple adjectives. Adjectives modifying proper names (e.g. Red Bull, the Black Sea) were left out of consideration, since they may have become a fixed expression no longer obeying the normal noun phrase formation rules.

[8]   Herodotus 7.64.1
Βάκτριοι δὲ περὶ μὲν τῆσι κεφαλῆσι ἀγχοτάτω τῶν Μηδικῶν ἔχοντες
ἐστρατεύοντο, **τόξα δὲ καλάμινα ἐπιχώρια** καὶ αἰχμὰς βραχέας.

The Baktrians in the army wore a headgear very similar to the
Median, carrying their native reed bows and short spears.

[9]   Herodotus 7.67.1
Κάσπιοι δὲ σισύρνας τε ἐνδεδυκότες καὶ **τόξα ἐπιχώρια καλάμινα**
ἔχοντες καὶ ἀκινάκεας ἐστρατεύοντο

The Kaspians in the army wore cloaks and carried native reed bows
and short swords.

Example [1] is in line with the semantic ordering principle of
Hetzron and Risselada in that the rather subjective adjective μέγαν
follows the more objective ἀργύρεον. In example [2], on the other
hand, the subjective adjective μεγάλοι precedes the more objective
λίθινοι. In example [8] and [9], it is hard to decide which of the two
adjectives provides the most objective information. If we follow
Hetzron (1978: 178-9) that material is more objective than
origin/provenance,[12] the order of the adjectives in [8] does, but in [9]
does not confirm the semantic ordering principle.
It is worth noting that the counterexamples in [2] and [9] cannot be
explained by assuming that, for some pragmatic reason, the first
adjective is moved from the basic semantic order to the front of the
NP.[13] Both μεγάλοι in [2] and in ἐπιχώρια [9] do not provide
pragmatically marked information. But although pragmatics cannot
explain the 'improper' position of the first adjectives in [2] and [9], it
may explain the order of the constituents in the NP as a whole. My
data seem to suggest that the position of the adjectives is dependent
on their informativeness: the more informative the adjective, the

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[12]   In Hetzron's opinion (1978: 178-9), material is more objective than origin since
the latter requires more expertise or factual knowledge than the former. Risselada
(1984: 216-7), on the other hand, concludes, on the basis of her data, that substance
is more subjective than provenance. This difference might be explained by the fact
that Risselada classes provenance under the category of location, while Hetzron
distinguishes a separate category for provenance.
[13]   Both Hetzron and Risselada allow pragmatically marked adjectives to be
'moved' out of their proper position in the NP (see n. 9). For a detailed account of
the influence of pragmatic factors on word order within the Latin NP, see De Jong
(1983).

further to the left it is expressed. The reason that ἀργύρεον in example [1] is placed before μέγαν is not that ἀργύρεον is more objective than μέγαν, but that it contrasts the silver bowl with its iron stand (it is a 'great *silver* bowl'). In [2], on the other hand, the size of the obelisks is more informative than their substance, since stone is the usual material for obelisks. This is the reason why μεγάλοι precedes λίθινοι (they are '*huge* stone obelisks' instead of 'huge *stone* obelisks'). The alternating order of the adjectives in [8] and [9] can also be explained by their informativeness: example [8] is the first mention of a nation equipped with reed bows in Xerxes' army. So, in this example, the adjective καλάμινα is more informative than ἐπιχώρια. In example [9], on the other hand, the existence of reed bows is familiar because of the preceding examples of nations with similar equipment (among which my example [8]). Consequently, the fact that the Kaspians have their own type of reed bows is more informative than that their bows are reed.

Since examples like [1], [2], [8] and [9] prove that semantic factors do not play a role in adjective ordering in the Greek NP, distinguishing more 'basic' adjectives like ἀγαθὸς, μέγας and χρύσεος and more 'peripheral' adjectives like πᾶς, τοσοῦτος and ἄλλος is useless. Adjectives like the latter are 'peripheral' in that they — despite similarities in form and behaviour — have a different function than more basic adjectives, as they do not provide information on a quality of the referent, but on its quantity (οὐδείς, πολύς, πᾶς) or its identification (ἄλλος, ἕτερος, λοιπός).[14] As the examples [10] and [11] show, their position is as much a matter of pragmatics as the position of more 'basic' adjectives:

[10] Herodotus 1.202.1
ὁ δὲ Ἀράξης λέγεται καὶ μέζων καὶ ἐλάσσων εἶναι τοῦ Ἴστρου. **νήσους** δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ **Λέσβῳ μεγάθεα παραπλησίας συχνάς** φασι εἶναι.

The Araxes is said by some to be greater and by some to be less than the Ister. It is reported that there are many islands in it as big as Lesbos.

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[14] For a classification of these 'peripheral' adjectives in Latin, see Fugier and Corbin (1977) and Risselada (1984).

[11] Herodotus 9.75
τούτου τοῦ δήμου ἐὼν ὁ Σωφάνης καὶ ἀριστεύσας τότε Ἀθηναίων διξοὺς λόγους λεγομένους ἔχει· (…) ἔστι δὲ **καὶ ἕτερον** Σωφάνεϊ **λαμπρὸν ἔργον** ἐξεργασμένον, ὅτε …

From that town was Sophanes, who now was the best Athenian fighter in the battle, and about him two tales are told. (…) There is yet another glorious deed that Sophanes did, when …

In example [10], the adjectival phrase Λέσβῳ μεγάθεα παραπλησίας is expressed before συχνάς since it is more informative than συχνάς. The river Araxis was not famous for its many islands, but for the fact that these islands had such an immense size (Lesbos was by far the biggest of the Ionian islands).[15] In example [11], the scope particle καί confirms my hypothesis that ἕτερον is more informative than the following λαμπρόν.[16]

4 *The Position of the Adjectives in Relation to the Noun*

The examples discussed above showed that in NPs with multiple adjectives, the most informative adjective, whether prototypical or peripheral, is expressed first. However, not only the order of the adjectives themselves but also their position in relation to the noun is determined by their information value. As H. Dik (1997) argued, the position of a single adjective in relation to the noun depends on its pragmatic marking: an adjective that is contrastive or otherwise the most informative element of the NP precedes the noun (example 12 and 13), otherwise it follows it (example 14 and 15):

[12] Herodotus 1.163.2
ἐναυτίλλοντο δὲ οὐ **στρογγύλῃσι νηυσὶ** ἀλλὰ πεντηκοντέροισι.

They do not sail in round freightships but in fifty-oared vessels.

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[15] The fact that the rather heavy adjectival phrase Λέσβῳ μεγάθεα παραπλησίας precedes the less informative συχνάς shows that the 'heaviness' of the adjectives, though influential in the case of co-ordinated adjectives, does not play a decisive role in the position of juxtaposed adjectives.
[16] On καί as a scope particle, see Wakker (1994: 329).

[13]   Herodotus 1.152.1
ὁ δὲ **πορφύρεόν τε εἶμα** περιβαλόμενος, ὡς ἂν πυνθανόμενοι πλεῖστοι συνέλθοιεν Σπαρτιητέων, καὶ καταστὰς ἔλεγε πολλὰ τιμωρέειν ἑωυτοῖσι χρηίζων.

He then put on a purple cloak, so that as many Spartans as possible might assemble to hear him, and stood up and made a long speech asking aid for his people.

[14]   Herodotus 7.65
Ἰνδοὶ δὲ εἵματα μὲν ἐνδεδυκότες ἀπὸ ξύλων πεποιημένα, **τόξα δὲ καλάμινα** εἶχον καὶ **ὀϊστοὺς καλαμίνους**·

The Indians wore garments of tree-wool, and carried reed bows and reed arrows.

[15]   Herodotus 8.41.2
λέγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι **ὄφιν μέγαν** φύλακα τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ἐνδιαιτᾶσθαι ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ·

The Athenians say that a great snake lives in the sacred precinct guarding the acropolis.

In example [12], στρογγύλῃσι contrasts with the following πεντηκοντέροισι and for that reason the adjective precedes the noun. In example [13], the adjective also precedes the noun, not because it is contrastive, but because it gives expression to the most informative element of the NP: Herodotus informs us that Pythermos wore a *purple* cloak, as to attract the attention of as many Spartans as possible. In example [14], it is the nouns that are contrastive and therefore the first element of the NP. In example [15], finally, the noun-adjective order is used since both the noun and the adjective lack a special pragmatic marking (the postposition of the adjective being the default situation).

Dik's hypothesis that the order of noun and adjective is dependent on their pragmatic marking also turns out to be valid for NPs with multiple adjectives. In both example [16] and [17] the adjectives precede the noun since they are more informative than the following noun:

[16]   Herodotus 1.135
γαμέουσι δὲ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν **πολλὰς μὲν κουριδίας γυναῖκας**, πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλέονας παλλακὰς κτῶνται.

Every Persian marries many lawful wives, and keeps still more concubines.

[17]   Herodotus 1.151.1
(Herodotus gives a description of the twelve Ionian and twelve Aiolian cities)
αὗται μέν νυν **αἱ ἠπειρώτιδες Αἰολίδες πόλιες**, ἔξω τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἴδῃ οἰκημένων· κεχωρίδαται γὰρ αὗται. αἱ δὲ τὰς νήσους ἔχουσαι πέντε μὲν πόλιες τὴν Λέσβον νέμονται.

These then are the Aiolian cities on the mainland, besides those that are situated on Ida and are separate. Among those on the islands, five divide Lesbos among them.

In example [16], the adjectives πολλὰς and κουριδίας are more informative than the noun since they contrast the large number of lawful women with the even larger (πολλῷ δ' ἔτι) number of concubines. In example [17], the adjectives are also preposed because of their contrastive value, though the contrast is somewhat less obvious in this case: ἠπειρώτιδες contrasts with αἱ τὰς νήσους ἔχουσαι and Αἰολίδες with the previously mentioned Ionian cities. In both examples, the first adjective precedes the second one since they express the main contrast: the contrast between 'many' and 'even more' and between 'on the mainland' and 'on the islands' is more prominent than the contrast between 'lawful' women and 'concubines' and between 'Aiolian' and 'Ionian' cities.

   If the adjectives is less informative than the noun, they are postposed, as can be seen in example [18] and [1]:

[18]   Herodotus 4.183.1
ἀπὸ δὲ Αὐγίλων διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων ἀλλέων ὁδοῦ ἕτερος ἁλὸς κολωνὸς καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ **φοίνικες καρποφόροι πολλοί**, κατά περ καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ἑτέροισι·

After ten days' journey again from Augila there is yet another hill of salt and springs of water and many fruit-bearing palms, as at the other places.

[1]   Herodotus 1.25.2
ἀνέθηκε (...) οὗτος ἐς Δελφοὺς **κρητῆρά ἀργύρεον μέγαν** καὶ ὑποκρητηρίδιον σιδήρεον κολλητόν.

He made an offering to Delphi of a great silver bowl on a stand of welded iron.

In the description of the oasis at a ten-day's travel from Augila in example [18], the noun φοίνικες is the most informative element of the NP because of the enumeration of salt, water and trees. Of the less informative, and therefore postposed adjectives, the former is more informative than the latter since it is the fact the trees bear fruit that is more relevant for travellers in the desert than their number. Example [1] seems to be a counterexample to the informativeness principle, as a contrastive adjective follows the noun. However, this contrastive adjective is still less informative than the preceding noun, which is contrastive itself.

By assuming that the position of the adjectives in relation to the noun is dependent on their informativeness, I can also account for the frequently attested noun phrase pattern in which one or more adjectives precede and one or more adjectives follow the noun:[17]

[19]   Herodotus 1.188.2
τούτου δὲ τοῦ Ξοάσπεω τοῦ ὕδατος ἀπεψημένου **πολλαὶ κάρτα ἅμαξαι τετράκυκλοι ἡμιόνεαι** κομίζουσαι ἐν ἀγγείοισι ἀργυρέοισι ἕπονται ὅκῃ ἂν ἐλαύνῃ ἑκάστοτε.

This water of the Choaspes is boiled, and very many four-wheeled wagons drawn by mules carry it in silver vessels, following the king wherever he goes at any time.

[20]   Herodotus 2.60.3
ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπίκωνται ἐς τὴν Βούβαστιν, ὀρτάζουσι μεγάλας ἀνάγοντες θυσίας, καὶ οἶνος ἀμπέλινος ἀναισιμοῦται πλέων ἐν τῇ ὀρτῇ ταύτῃ ἢ ἐν **τῷ ἅπαντι ἐνιαυτῷ τῷ ἐπιλοίπῳ**.

But when they have reached Boubastis, they make a festival with great sacrifices, and more wine is drunk at this feast than in the whole year besides.

In example [19], the adjective πολλαί is more informative, but τετράκυκλοι and ἡμιόνεαι are less informative than the noun in between. Whereas Herodotus wanted to stress the enormous number of drinking water wagons following the king (cf. κάρτα), he

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[17] This pattern cannot be dealt with within the functional and semantic approach of Fugier and Corbin and Risselada (see section 1), since the adjectives do not differ in their distance to the noun. Risselada (1984) has therefore restricted her analysis of adjective order in Latin to those NPs in which both adjectives preceded or followed the noun.

considered the nature of these wagons of secondary importance. In the same way, the first adjective in example [20], though lacking an explicit indication such as κάρτα in example [19], is more informative than the following noun: they drink more wine at the festival than in the *whole* year besides. The second adjective, on the other hand, follows the noun as the information it provides is rather predictable: it is only logical that the consumption of wine during the festival is compared to the consumption of wine during the remainder of the year.

5   *Juxtaposition and Co-ordination*

Apart from being juxtaposed, two or more adjectives in one NP may also be coordinated by a connection particle (e.g. δέ, καί, οὔτε) or pause.[18] For these co-ordinated adjectives,[19] the principle that NPs with multiple adjectives are ordered from more informative constituents on the left to less informative constituents on the right does not seem to be valid. For although the position of the adjectives in relation to the noun is in accordance with the informativeness

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[18] Since a pause — due to the lack of punctuation marks — left no trace in the written text, it is hard to distinguish adjectives co-ordinated by means of a pause from juxtaposed ones. In her study of the difference between co-ordinated and juxtaposed Latin adjectives, Risselada (1984: 202) suggests that in the case of so-called zero-co-ordination, an overt co-ordinator can be inserted without changing the meaning of the NP. This criterion, however, sounds easier than it is, for in practice it is often hard to decide whether an overt co-ordinator may be inserted without any effect on the meaning of the NP (in Hdt. 4.25.1 τὸ δὲ τῶν φαλακρῶν κατύπερθε οὐδεὶς ἀτρεκέως οἶδε φράσαι· ὄρεα γὰρ ὑψηλὰ ἀποτάμνει ἄβατα, 'but what lies north of the bald men no one can say with exact knowledge; for high impassable mountains bar the way', for instance, I find it hard to decide whether an overt co-ordinator can or cannot be inserted). Furthermore, one runs the risk of judging the Latin or Greek examples on the basis of the acceptability of the English translation. Despite these objections to Risselada's criterion, I cannot offer a better alternative.

[19] It is important to note that not all sequences of noun-adjective-co-ordinator-adjective or adjective-co-ordinator-adjective-noun make up one NP with two co-ordinated adjectives. Examples like Hdt. 7.112 χρύσεά τε καὶ ἀργύρεα μέταλλα ('gold and silver mines') and Hdt. 1.180.3 οἰκιέων τριορόφων καὶ τετραρόφων ('houses with three and four floors') do not consist of one NP with two co-ordinated adjectives, but of two co-ordinated NPs, of which the first, respectively the last is elliptical. Examples like these fall outside the scope of the present paper, which studies adjective ordering *within* the NP.

principle,[20] the order of the adjectives themselves seems more dependent on their heaviness[21] than on their informativeness. The strong influence of the heaviness of the adjectives on their ordering is most evident in those cases in which the meaning of the adjectives differs so little that their informativeness cannot play any role:

[21]   Herodotus 7.83.2
σκευὴν μὲν τοιαύτην εἶχον ἥ περ εἴρηται, χωρὶς δὲ **χρυσόν τε πολλὸν καὶ ἄφθονον** ἔχοντες ἐνέπρεπον.

Their equipment was such as I have said; beyond this they stood out by the abundance of gold that they had.

[22]   Herodotus 7.153.4
ὁ δὲ λέγεται πρὸς τῆς Σικελίης τῶν οἰκητόρων τὰ ὑπεναντία τούτων πεφυκέναι **θηλυδρίης τε καὶ μαλακώτερος ἀνήρ**.

He (=Telines), on the contrary, is reported by the dwellers in Sicily to be a soft and effeminate man.

On the basis of examples like [21] and [22], it seems legitimate to draw the conclusion that the order of co-ordinated adjectives is determined by their heaviness. For a number of reasons, however, this conclusion is a bit oversimplified. First of all, it would not do justice to the fact that, in many cases, the ordering of the adjectives is also in accordance with the informativeness principle. For instance:

[23]   Herodotus 8.73.2
Δωριέων μὲν **πολλαί τε καὶ δόκιμοι πόλιες**, Αἰτωλῶν δὲ Ἦλις μούνη, Δρυόπων δὲ Ἑρμιών τε καὶ Ἀσίνη ἡ πρὸς Καρδαμύλῃ τῇ Λακωνικῇ, Λημνίων δὲ Παρωρεῆται πάντες.

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[20]   This may be demonstrated by the difference between example [21] and [22]. In example [21], the adjectives follow the noun since the noun is more informative than the adjectives. It is the fact that the Immortals are all covered with *gold* that amazes Herodotus. The adjectives in example [22], on the other hand, precede the noun since the qualifications expressed by the adjectives are more informative than the noun itself (it is not very surprising that Telines is a man).

[21]   Heaviness is understood to mean the length or complexity of the constituent at issue. That languages have a preference for ordering constituents in an order of increasing complexity was first formulated by Behaghel (1932) as the *Gesetz der wachsenden Glieder*.

The Dorians have many, famous cities, the Aitolians only Elis, the Dryopians Hermione and Asine near Lakonian Kardamyle, the Lemnians all the Paroreatae.

[24] Herodotus 8.60α
(Themistokles tries to persuade the commanders of the fleet to join battle at the strait at Salamis rather than in the open sea at the Isthmos).
πρὸς μὲν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ συμβάλλων ἐν πελάγεϊ ἀναπεπταμένῳ ναυμαχήσεις, ἐς τὸ ἥκιστα ἡμῖν σύμφορόν ἐστι **νέας** ἔχουσι **βαρυτέρας καὶ ἀριθμὸν ἐλάσσονας·**

If you join battle at the Isthmus, you will fight in the open sea where it is least to our advantage, since our ships are heavier and fewer in number.

In example [23], the adjective πολλαί, apart from being the least heavy adjective, may also be said to precede δόκιμοι because of the contrast between the many cities of the Dorians and the single Aitolian city (cf. μούνη). Similarly, the preposition of the first adjective (βαρυτέρας) in example [24] may not only be due to its being less heavy, but also to its being more informative than the following ἐλάσσονας: it is mainly the unwieldiness, and therefore the lack of manoeuvrability, of the Greek ships that makes a battle at open sea so unattractive. In a small strait, this disadvantage is annulled as there is scarce room for complex manoeuvres.

Secondly, there is a small number of examples in which the order of the adjectives does not confirm the heaviness principle:

[25] Herodotus 3.42.1
ἀνὴρ ἁλιεὺς λαβὼν **ἰχθὺν μέγαν τε καὶ καλὸν** ἠξίου μιν Πολυκράτεϊ δῶρον δοθῆναι.

A fisherman, who had taken a fine and great fish, desired to make a gift of it to Polykrates.

[26] Herodotus 3.3.1
λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὅδε λόγος, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιθανός, ὡς τῶν Περσίδων γυναικῶν ἐσελθοῦσά τις παρὰ τὰς Κύρου γυναῖκας, ὡς εἶδε τῇ Κασσανδάνῃ παρεστεῶτα **τέκνα εὐειδέα τε καὶ μεγάλα**, πολλῷ ἐχρᾶτο τῷ ἐπαίνῳ ὑπερθωμάζουσα.

The following story, incredible to me, is also told: that one of the Persian women who came to visit Kyros' wives, and saw the tall and

attractive children who stood by Kasandane, expressed her admiration in extravagant terms.

In example [25], the heaviness principle cannot be decisive for the order of the adjectives since the adjectives do not differ in their length. In example [26], the order of the adjectives even runs counter to the heaviness principle in that the first adjective is heavier than the second one. Although the influence of pragmatics is not as clear as in the examples [23] and [24] above, it might be defended that the order of the adjectives in [25] and [26] is determined by their informativeness. In example [25], the size of the fish might be argued to be more informative than its beauty on the basis of the argument that a small fish, no matter how beautiful, would never have been brought to the King. In example [26], the relatively higher importance of the first adjective becomes clearer if we compare this example to another example with the same adjectives in a different order:

[27] Herodotus 5.56.1
ἐν τῇ προτέρῃ νυκτὶ τῶν Παναθηναίων ἐδόκεε ὁ Ἵππαρχος **ἄνδρα** οἱ ἐπιστάντα **μέγαν καὶ εὐειδέα** αἰνίσσεσθαι τάδε τὰ ἔπεα·

In the night before the Panathenaea he thought that a tall and handsome man stood over him uttering these riddling verses.

Whereas in example [27] the size of the man is of primary importance, since it is exactly this characteristic that reveals the divine nature of the night-time visitor, the women in example [26] are, apparently, mainly impressed by the beauty of the children of Kassandane.

A third objection to the conclusion that the order of co-ordinated adjectives is determined by their heaviness is that it would pass over the fact that the order of co-ordinated adjectives may be determined by their semantics:

[28] Herodotus 6.44.2
ἐκ δὲ Ἀκάνθου ὁρμώμενοι τὸν Ἄθων περιέβαλλον. ἐπιπεσὼν δέ σφι περιπλέουσι βορῆς **ἄνεμος μέγας τε καὶ ἄπορος** κάρτα τρηχέως περιέσπε πλήθεϊ πολλὰς τῶν νεῶν ἐκβάλλων πρὸς τὸν Ἄθων.

But a great and irresistible north wind fell upon them as they sailed past and dealt very roughly with them, driving many of their ships upon Athos.

[29]   Herodotus 7.198.1
περὶ δὲ τὸν χῶρον **ὄρεα ὑψηλὰ καὶ ἄβατα** περικληίει πᾶσαν τὴν Μηλίδα γῆν, Τρηχίνιαι πέτραι καλεόμεναι.

And around the ground high and inaccessible mountains enclose the whole of Malis and are called the Rocks of Trachis.

Although the order of the adjectives in the examples [28] is in accordance with the heaviness principle, I would like to argue that it is not the heaviness, but the semantics of the adjectives that determine their order. Like in example [29], the second adjective follows the first one not since it is heavier, but since it expresses a consequence of the first adjective. In example [29], ἄβατα follows ὑψηλά to express that the inaccessibility of the mountains is a consequence of their height: the mountains are high and *therefore* inaccessible. Similarly, ἄπορος in example [28] expresses a consequence of μέγας, so that its position after μέγας is only natural.[22]

On the basis of the examples above, we have to conclude that even though almost all examples of co-ordinated adjectives are ordered from less heavy adjectives on the left to more heavy adjectives on the right, the ordering of co-ordinated adjectives is not exclusively determined by the heaviness principle. Both the informativeness and the semantics of the adjectives also play a role, even though the role of the former is much smaller than in the case of juxtaposed adjectives.

The examples above might have raised the question in which aspect co-ordinated adjectives differ from juxtaposed ones. In most of the articles discussed in the first section, this difference remains undiscussed, even though most of them explicitly state that co-ordinated adjectives are left out of consideration because of their deviant behaviour. For Fugier and Corbin (1977) and Risselada (1984), however, the difference between co-ordination and juxtaposition is

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[22] Traditionally, it was assumed that the consecutive interpretation of the second adjective in cases like these was due to the explicative value of the co-ordinator. It was argued that καί, apart from expressing plain co-ordination, could also be used in a so-called explicative mode (cf. Kühner-Gerth 1898-1904: 2.247). It seems more sound, however, to assume that the consecutive interpretation of the second adjective is a consequence of the semantics of the adjectives (in combination with the reader's knowledge of the world), not of the value of the co-ordinator.

their primary concern. According to Fugier and Corbin (1977), adjectives are co-ordinated if they both have a qualifying function, and are juxtaposed if they do not.[23] Risselada, who considers the semantics of the adjective the crucial factor, rather than its function, argues, on the other hand, that adjectives are co-ordinated if they 'are equivalent as to semantic relationship with the head' (Risselada 1984: 210) and are juxtaposed if they are not.[24] Both views, however, turn out to be invalid for Ancient Greek.[25] Example [30], for instance, contradicts the view of Fugier and Corbin, as the adjectives are juxtaposed, although both have a qualifying function (cf. also example [1]).

> [30]   Herodotus 1.24.8
> ταῦτα μέν νυν Κορίνθιοί τε καὶ Λέσβιοι λέγουσι, καὶ Ἀρίονος ἔστι **ἀνάθημα χάλκεον οὐ μέγα** ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ, ἐπὶ δελφῖνος ἐπεὼν ἄνθρωπος.
>
> This is what the Korinthians and Lesbians say, and there is a little bronze memorial of Arion on Taenaros, the figure of a man riding upon a dolphin.

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[23] For a short description of the difference between qualifying and identifying adjective, see section 1.

[24] Being equivalent as to semantic relationship with the head means that the adjectives give information on the same feature of the referent (e.g. provenance, colour, size). Risselada concretises the rather vague 'same feature of the referent' by setting up a classification of adjectives after the example of Hetzron. Useful though this classification may be, the fact that she first argues that juxtaposition or co-ordination depends on the semantic classes of the adjectives and subsequently sets up a classification *on the basis of* the behaviour with respect to co-ordination and juxtaposition makes her account quite circular.

[25] I seriously doubt whether they are valid for Latin. As indicated above, Fugier's classification of adjectives is problematic in that adjectives may be qualifying and identifying at the same time (see page 190). Risselada's semantic approach, apart from being circular (see the previous note), is disputed by her own remark that a writer may co-ordinate two adjectives of different semantic classes if he chooses to put them on the same level. If the writer can influence the juxtaposition/co-ordination in these cases, why not also make him responsible for the choice juxtaposition/co-ordination in all other instances?

Although I did not find any example in my corpus of juxtaposition of semantically similar adjectives, Risselada's view is nonetheless contested by examples like the following, in which the adjectives are co-ordinated although they do obviously not belong to the same semantic class:[26]

> [31]   Herodotus 9.109.1[27]
> ἐξυφήνασα Ἄμηστρις ἡ Ξέρξεω γυνὴ **φᾶρος μέγα τε καὶ ποικίλον καὶ θέης ἄξιον** διδοῖ Ξέρξῃ.

> Xerxes' wife, Amestris, wove and gave to him a great, gaily-coloured mantle, marvellous to see.

> [32]   Herodotus 4.50.3
> αὕτη τε δὴ ἡ χιὼν ἐκδιδοῦσα ἐς αὐτὸν συμπληθύει καὶ **ὄμβροι πολλοί τε καὶ λάβροι** σὺν αὐτῇ·

> So this snow-melt pours into the river and helps to swell it and much violent rain besides.

In my opinion, the difference between juxtaposed and co-ordinated adjectives has nothing to do with their function or semantic class, but with their scope.[28] In the case of juxtaposed adjectives, one of the adjectives has scope over the combination of the noun plus the other adjective(s). Co-ordinated adjectives, on the other hand, do not have scope over each other, but only modify the noun itself. Schematically, the difference may be depicted as follows:

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[26] Other examples of co-ordinated adjectives belonging to different semantic classes can be found in [23] and [24].

[27] To us, the co-ordination of the three adjectives by means of the co-ordinator καί (instead of by a comma/pause) sounds very emphatic. It is uncertain, however, whether the use of an explicit co-ordinator in Ancient Greek was as emphatic as it is in English and other modern European language, cf. Smyth (1956: 651): 'in a series of more than two ideas καί is used before each, where English would use *and* only before the last'. As a consequence of the fact that zero-coordination can hardly be distinguished from juxtaposition (see n. 18), it is almost impossible to study the differences between (the effects of) explicit and zero-coordination in Greek.

[28] The same opinion can be found in Dik (1997a: 136).

[33a] juxtaposition: A_x (A_y N) or (N A_y) A_x[29]

e.g. *beautiful old cars* (= old cars which are beautiful)

[33b] co-ordination: A_x + A_y (N) or (N) A_x + A_y

e.g. *beautiful, old cars* (= cars which are beautiful and old)[30]

Small though the difference may seem for NPs in isolation, within their context the difference in meaning and — especially — implications turns out to be considerable. In example [23] (repeated below for convenience), for instance, juxtaposition of the same adjectives would lead to the interpretation that the Dorians had many cities of the kind 'famous' instead of many cities, which were all famous. Whereas juxtaposition of the adjectives would leave the possibility open that the Dorians also had many non-famous cities, co-ordination of the adjectives explicitly excludes this interpretation.

> [23] Herodotus 8.73.2
> Δωριέων μὲν **πολλαί τε καὶ δόκιμοι πόλιες**, Αἰτωλῶν δὲ Ἦλις μούνη, Δρυόπων δὲ Ἑρμιών τε καὶ Ἀσίνη ἡ πρὸς Καρδαμύλῃ τῇ Λακωνικῇ, Λημνίων δὲ Παρωρεῆται πάντες.
>
> The Dorians have many, famous cities, the Aitolians only Elis, the Dryopians Hermione and Asine near Lakonian Kardamyle, the Lemnians all the Paroreatae.

Similarly, if the adjectives in example [34] were juxtaposed, it would be possible to interpret that the bushes, apart from bearing much

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[29] It is important to note that this scheme is meant as a semantic representation of a NP with two juxtaposed adjectives, not a syntactic one. As I hope to have shown in section 2, in Ancient Greek, the position of an adjective is dependent on its information value. An adjective that has scope over the combination noun plus adjective is thus not necessarily expressed further from the noun than the adjective(s) in its scope.

[30] In the English example, the co-ordination is expressed by a comma, symbolising a pause in spoken discourse, since in English a pause is the most neutral way to co-ordinate two adjectives.

stinking fruit, also bore sweet-smelling fruit. This interpretation, however, is surely blocked now the adjectives are co-ordinated.

[34]   Herodotus 2.94.2[31]
ἀλείφατι δὲ χρέωνται Αἰγυπτίων οἱ περὶ τὰ ἕλεα οἰκέοντες ἀπὸ τῶν σιλλικυπρίων τοῦ καρποῦ, τὸ καλέουσι μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι κίκι, (…) ταῦτα ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ σπειρόμενα **καρπὸν** φέρει **πολλὸν μέν, δυσώδεα δέ**·

The Egyptians who live around the marshes use an oil drawn from the castor-berry, which they call kiki. (…) sown in Egypt, it produces abundant fruit, though malodorous.

In conclusion, I support Risselada's assumption that the difference between juxtaposed and co-ordinated adjectives is semantic. Yet, it is, in my opinion, not their (dis)similar semantic relationship with the head, but their scope that determines whether the adjectives are juxtaposed or co-ordinated. The fact that adjectives belonging to the same semantic class seldom have scope over each other explains why such a high percentage of Risselada's data answered her hypothesis.

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[31] It is not entirely clear whether the order of the adjectives in this example, which is in accordance with the heaviness principle, also endorses the informativeness principle. On the basis of the preceding information that the Egyptians use the fruit of the kiki to produce oil, it might be defended that the first adjective is more informative, as the abundance of the fruit is more relevant for the production of oil than its unpleasant odour. It is also possible, however, to interpret the second adjective as more informative than the first one: the fruit is abundant, yet (and that's the main point) malodorous. Apart from the fact that the context is not very helpful, the decision for one interpretation or the other is complicated by the fact that we do not know the exact function of δέ within NPs. Does it just add new information in a discontinuous way (as Sicking and Van Ophuijsen (1993: 10-7) assume to be the basic function of δέ at the level of the sentence), or is this new information presented as more important, more informative or more relevant than the preceding information? The number of adjectives co-ordinated by means of (μέν) δέ in my corpus is too limited to answer this question. Incidentally, the order of the modifiers in an example like [34] might also be influenced by the 'affective load principle', which says that positively loaded adjectives prefer to precede negatively loaded ones (see Wulff 2003: 264-6).

6   *The Informativeness Principle and Text Interpretation*

In the previous sections, I hope to have shown that NPs with multiple adjectives, both juxtaposed and co-ordinated, are ordered from more informative constituents on the left to less informative constituents on the right. Not only the order of the adjectives themselves, but also their position in relation to the noun turned out to depend on their pragmatic marking. In examples shown above, knowledge of the ordering principle was unnecessary for a proper interpretation of the NP, as the context provided essential clues. Of course, it was exactly the fact *that* the context was so clear that made these examples suitable for proving the informativeness principle. Yet, there are many examples in which the context is not decisive for the proper interpretation of the noun phrase. In these cases, awareness of the informativeness principle often leads to a better understanding of the Greek text. The first part of example [35], for instance,

> [35]   Herodotus 7.10γ1
> ἐγὼ δὲ **οὐδεμιῆ σοφίη οἰκηίη** αὐτὸς ταῦτα συμβάλλομαι, ἀλλ᾽ οἷόν κοτε ἡμέας ὀλίγου ἐδέησε καταλαβεῖν πάθος, ὅτε πατὴρ ὁ σός (...) διέβη ἐπὶ Σκύθας.
>
> It is from no own wisdom that I thus conjecture, but because of the disaster that once almost overtook us, when your father (...) crossed over to attack the Skythians.

is usually translated with 'I haven't thought this up myself' or 'it is from no wisdom of my own'.[32] These translations clearly fail to recognise the subtle nuances the ordering of the NP constituents brings about, as they give much weight to οἰκηίη, although it is the last constituent of the NP. According to the informativeness principle, both οὐδεμιῆ and σοφίη should be interpreted as more informative than the final οἰκηίη. Most probably, οὐδεμιῆ is most informative because of emphasis ('none'), and σοφίη is informative in that it contrasts with πάθος in the following line. So, Artabanos

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[32] See, for instance, the English translation by A.D. Godley (to be found at www.perseus.tufts.edu), S. Felberbaum (to be found at www.losttrails.com) and A. de Sélincourt & A.R. Burn, *The Histories*, Harmondsworth (1954).

does not want to communicate that it is from no wisdom OF HIS OWN, but that it is from NO WISDOM, but disaster.

Another example in which knowledge of the informativeness principle might increase our understanding of the text, is [36]:

[36]   Herodotus 9.22.1-2
κατ' ἀρχὰς οὐ δυνάμενοι. ἐσκεύαστο γὰρ οὕτω· ἐντὸς **θώρηκα** εἶχε **χρύσεον λεπιδωτόν**, κατύπερθε δὲ τοῦ θώρηκος κιθῶνα φοινίκεον ἐνεδεδύκεε· τύπτοντες δὲ ἐς τὸν θώρηκα ἐποίευν οὐδέν, πρίν γε δὴ μαθών τις τὸ ποιεύμενον παίει μιν ἐς τὸν ὀφθαλμόν·

They could not, however, kill him (=Masistios) at first, for he was outfitted in the following manner: he had on a cuirass of golden scales, with a purple tunic covering it; thus they accomplished nothing by striking at the cuirass, until someone saw what was happening and stabbed him in the eye.

Without knowledge of the informativeness principle, the average reader will assume that it is the scaly structure of Masistios' cuirass that deserves special attention, as this protects him from being killed, at least for a while. The fact that adjective λεπιδωτόν is preceded by the adjective χρύσεον, however, should be interpreted as indication that it is the material rather than the structure of the cuirass that is significant. As example [37] proves, ring-armour was a typical part of the Persians' equipment:

[37]   Herodotus 7.61
Οἱ δὲ στρατευόμενοι οἵδε ἦσαν. Πέρσαι μὲν ὧδε ἐσκευασμένοι· περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον τιάρας καλεομένους πίλους ἀπαγέας, περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα κιθῶνας χειριδωτοὺς ποικίλους, … λεπίδος σιδηρέης ὄψιν ἰχθυοειδέος, περὶ δὲ τὰ σκέλεα ἀναξυρίδας.

The men who served in the army were the following: the Persians were equipped in this way: they wore on their heads loose caps called tiaras, and on their bodies embroidered sleeved tunics, with scales of iron like the scales of fish in appearance, and trousers on their legs.

The outstanding material of Masistios' cuirass, however, was not. Awareness of the informativeness principle helps the reader to arrive at the correct interpretation of the NP, even if he does not remember anymore what the standard Persian equipment looked like (and has no commentary at hand to help him remember).

7   *Conclusion*

The last two examples were meant to illustrate that even in a text which is relatively easy to understand awareness of the order of the adjectives in the NP may lead to a better interpretation of the text. That the order of the adjectives contributes to the understanding of the text is due to the fact that in Greek, adjective order does not (as in other languages) depend on the semantics or function of the adjectives, but on pragmatics. It is the message the speaker wants to convey that determines the position of the adjectives, both in relation to themselves and to the noun. The general rule is that the most informative constituent is expressed first. Consequently, Greek NPs with multiple adjectives are ordered from more informative constituents on the left to less informative constituents on the right.

In NPs with co-ordinated adjectives, however, the constituents' informativeness is less influential for their ordering. Although the position of these adjectives in relation to the noun is still determined by their informativeness, the order of the adjectives themselves is determined by a combination of their heaviness, informativeness and semantics.

FROM DEMETRIUS TO DIK
ANCIENT AND MODERN VIEWS ON GREEK AND LATIN WORD ORDER

Casper C. de Jonge

1 *Introduction*

Over the last decades, the interrelationship between linguistics and literature has become a major field of interest in classical studies. However, consideration of the connections between linguistic analysis and literary observations is not altogether new. In antiquity, there is one discipline that systematically combines linguistic and literary approaches to texts, namely rhetorical theory. Within that discipline, it is the subject of style that clearly illustrates the ancient interest in 'the language of literature'. On the one hand, rhetoricians tell their students how they should use grammar in order to create literary effects. On the other hand, they discuss the linguistic aspects of classical texts in which they find good examples of effective writing. Thus, Longinus, the author of *On the Sublime*, investigates how the use of the historic present contributes to sublime writing.[1] Dionysius of Halicarnassus shows how word order influences the literary character of a text when he rewrites sentences from Herodotus in the style of Thucydides and Hegesias.[2] And the same rhetorician discusses Thucydides' syntax (the use of the parts of speech, gender, cases, tenses, voice and number) in order to show how his style becomes obscure.[3] In this article, I will focus on ancient rhetorical views on word order, a subject in which linguistics and literature are combined in an effective way. I will investigate

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[1] For Longinus on the historic present, see *Subl.* 25.

[2] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Comp.* 4.18.4-19.18 (ed. Usener & Radermacher). See De Jonge (2005: 476-8).

[3] For Dionysius' observations on Thucydides' syntax, see esp. *Amm.* II. On Dionysius' integration of linguistics and literature, see De Jonge (2006).

whether ancient theory can contribute to our understanding of Greek and Latin word order.

2   *Ancient Theory and Modern Research*

What do we do with ancient theory? This is an important question that we all have to face from time to time, whether we are working on linguistics or on literary theory. In general, there are two ways in which one can study ancient views on language and literature. On the one hand, one can interpret ancient theory for its own sake. This is what Richard Rorty calls 'historical reconstruction'.[4] When adopting this approach, one will carefully reconstruct the historical contexts in which ancient views were developed, and the results thus obtained will contribute to our knowledge of the history of linguistics, or of the history of literary theory. On the other hand, we can approach ancient grammarians, rhetoricians, literary critics and philosophers as our own colleagues. This is what Richard Rorty calls 'rational reconstruction'.[5] When adopting this method, we reconstruct the answers that earlier thinkers would have given to our questions. A scholar who adopts the latter approach looks for theories that have been developed in antiquity, hoping that these ancient theories may solve a modern problem. As far as the historiography of linguistics is concerned, the difference between those two approaches has been discussed by Sluiter, who distinguishes between the 'external' and the 'internal' approach to the history of grammar.[6] Although the former type of the study of ancient theory (historical reconstruction) is perfectly legitimate in itself and even necessary as a prerequisite for the latter, it is the second type (rational reconstruction) that will be the subject of this contribution.[7]

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[4] Rorty (1984: 49-56). Rorty focuses on the historiography of philosophy, but his distinctions also apply to the history of linguistics or literary theory. Apart from historical and rational reconstruction, he distinguishes two more genres, namely 'Geistesgeschichte' and doxography. See also De Jonge (2006: 5-6).

[5] Rorty (1984: 49-56) compares historical and rational reconstruction.

[6] Sluiter (1998: 24-5).

[7] Albert Rijksbaron, who is honoured with this volume on *The Linguistics of Literature*, has frequently interpreted ancient linguistic theories in order to gain a

3   *Ancient Theory and Functional Grammar: the Case of Word Order*

This article will investigate whether ancient theory can support or even increase our understanding of Greek and Latin word order. Word order is one of the problems of Greek and Latin syntax for which Functional Grammar has proven to be a fruitful paradigm.[8] Helma Dik (1995) has convincingly argued that the distribution of pragmatic functions, which specify the informational status of the constituents in a sentence, provides a more coherent explanation of the word order of Greek sentences than the traditional approach, which starts from syntactic functions. In the field of Latin syntax, the work of Panhuis (1982), Pinkster (1990) and Devine & Stephens (2006) has shown that a pragmatic approach may explain at least part of the variation of Latin word order as well.

Some of the modern scholars who work on Greek or Latin word order refer to ancient grammatical and rhetorical theories.[9] In my view, however, their interpretation of the ancient views is not in all respects satisfactory. I will discuss some of the views on word order that were developed in ancient rhetorical theory. I will argue that these views seem to support the most recent accounts of Greek and Latin word order, which have been developed within the framework of Functional Grammar. First, I will point to the importance of the concept of 'order' in ancient grammatical and rhetorical theory (section 4). Then I will focus on the views of two rhetoricians in particular, namely Demetrius and Quintilian (sections 5 and 6). Finally, I will briefly investigate the historical line that may be drawn between ancient rhetoric and modern linguistic theory (section 7).

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better understanding of certain grammatical problems. Successful examples of this method are Rijksbaron (1986) and Rijksbaron (1989).

[8] For Functional Grammar, see Dik (1997a and b).

[9] See Weil (1978 [1844]: 14-15), Dover (1960: 9), Pinkster (1991: 70) and Dik (1995: 1-2).

4   *Order in Ancient Grammatical and Rhetorical Theory*

Order (τάξις, *ordo*) is a central concept in ancient rhetorical theory, both in the treatment of thoughts (*dispositio*) and in the treatment of expression (*elocutio*).[10] In grammatical theory, order plays an equally important role, not only on a practical level, but also on a theoretical one. On the one hand, grammarians are concerned with the correct order of words in a sentence.[11] On the other, they discuss the theoretical order in which the parts of speech and their *accidentia* should be treated in a grammar.[12] One view occurs frequently in both grammatical and rhetorical discussions of τάξις (*ordo*) on all the levels mentioned: the idea that there is one particular order that is *natural* (φυσικός, *naturalis*).[13] Thus, the grammarian Apollonius Dyscolus argues that there is a fixed theoretical order of the parts of speech, which is mainly based on logical rules.[14]

Similar theories lie behind the famous discussion of natural word order in Dionysius of Halicarnassus' work *On Composition* (*De compositione verborum*). In the fifth chapter of that treatise, Dionysius reports on a language experiment: he tried out whether the juxtaposition of words according to their grammatical word class results in beautiful composition. For example, nouns should be placed before verbs, 'since the former indicate the substance, and the latter the accident, and the substance is naturally prior to its accidents'. For similar reasons, verbs should precede adverbs; substantives should come before adjectives, and so on. Dionysius tests these rules on his corpus, which consists of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. He observes that some of the beautiful Homeric lines are indeed composed according to natural word order, but many of

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[10]   On *ordo* and its Greek equivalents (τάξις, κόσμος, οἰκονομία) in ancient rhetoric, see Ernst (2003).

[11]   See e.g. Apollonius Dyscolus, *Synt.* I.132. Cf. Sluiter (1990: 61-9).

[12]   For the theoretical order of the parts of speech, see Apollonius Dyscolus, *Synt.* I.13-29. For the order of the moods, see *Synt.* III.59 and III.62. For the order of the voices, see *Synt.* III.87. On the ancient views on natural word order, see De Jonge (2001).

[13]   Cf. Ernst (2003: 416). In rhetoric, the distinction between an *ordo naturalis* and an *ordo artificialis* occurs both on the level of thoughts (the order of the parts of a speech, the arguments, and the narrated events) and on the level of expression (the order of letters, syllables, and words).

[14]   See *Synt.* I.13-27. Cf. De Jonge (2001: 162-3).

them are not. Therefore, he rejects the grammatical approach to word order. I have argued elsewhere that his discussion is largely based on the Stoic theory of categories.[15]

Helma Dik quotes Dionysius on the first two pages of her book and she presents his experiment as the prototype of the syntactic approach to word order. Having mentioned some modern linguists who adopt a more pragmatic approach (in particular Frisk, Loepfe and Dover), she concludes that we should not think 'that there has been no *progress* since the days of Dionysius'.[16] This statement is problematic in two respects. First, we should be aware of the function of Dionysius' passage on natural word order within the context of his work *On Composition.* Right from the start, he presents the experiment concerning the order of the parts of speech as an unfruitful approach: the subject of his treatise is *stylistic* composition that results in charm and beauty; the means to achieve these effects are music (or sound), rhythm, variety and propriety. Thus, within the treatise *On Composition*, the passage on natural word order functions as a foil for his actual theories on artistic devices such as euphony and rhythm. The second point that I would like to make is that when looking for support for the pragmatic approach, we could find more appropriate parallels in ancient rhetorical theory than the passage from Dionysius' *On Composition.* In particular, we should turn to the views of Demetrius.

5   *Demetrius on Natural Word Order*

Demetrius is the conventional name of the author of the treatise *On Style* (Περὶ ἑρμηνείας).[17] The date of the work is uncertain, but most scholars now agree that its contents reflect the second century BC. The author of *On Style* discusses 'the natural order of words' (ἡ φυσικὴ τάξις τῶν ὀνομάτων) in his account of the simple style (χαρακτὴρ ἰσχνός):

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[15] See De Jonge (2001: 160-1) and De Jonge (2006: 221-79).
[16] Dik (1995: 1-2). My italics.
[17] On date and authorship of Demetrius' *On Style*, see Innes (1995: 312-21).

[1]   Demetrius, *Eloc.* 199-201

καὶ ὅλως τῇ φυσικῇ τάξει τῶν ὀνομάτων χρηστέον, ὡς τὸ ‘‘Ἐπίδαμνός ἐστι πόλις ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐσπλέοντι εἰς τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον’· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ὠνόμασται τὸ περὶ οὗ, δεύτερον δὲ ὃ τοῦτό ἐστιν, ὅτι πόλις, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐφεξῆς. γίγνοιτο μὲν οὖν ἂν καὶ τὸ ἔμπαλιν, ὡς τὸ ‘ἔστι πόλις Ἐφύρη.’ οὐ γὰρ πάντη ταύτην δοκιμάζομεν τὴν τάξιν, οὐδὲ τὴν ἑτέραν ἀποδοκιμάζομεν, καθὰ ἐκτιθέμεθα μόνον τὸ φυσικὸν εἶδος τῆς τάξεως. ἐν δὲ τοῖς διηγήμασιν ἤτοι ἀπὸ τῆς ὀρθῆς ἀρκτέον, ‘Ἐπίδαμνός ἐστι πόλις,’ ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς αἰτιατικῆς, ὡς τὸ ‘λέγεται Ἐπίδαμνον τὴν πόλιν.’ αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι πτώσεις ἀσάφειάν τινα παρέξουσι καὶ βάσανον τῷ τε λέγοντι αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ ἀκούοντι.

In general, one should follow the natural word order, for example [Th. 1.24.1] 'Epidamnos is a city on your right as you sail into the Ionian gulf.' The topic is mentioned first, then what it is (that it is a city), and then the rest follows. The order can also be reversed, for example [Homer, *Il.* 6.152] 'There is a city, Ephyre.' We do not rigidly approve the one nor condemn the other order; we are simply setting out the natural way to arrange words. In narrative passages begin either with the nominative case (e.g. 'Epidamnus is a city') or with the accusative (e.g. 'It is said that the city Epidamnus...'). Use of the other cases will cause some obscurity and torture for the speaker himself and also for the listener. (Translation adapted from Innes)

As an example of natural word order, Demetrius quotes a sentence in which τὸ περὶ οὗ ('the matter about which') is mentioned in the first place (πρῶτον), and ὃ τοῦτό ἐστιν ('what it is') in the second place (δεύτερον):

[2]   Thucydides 1.24.1

Ἐπίδαμνός ἐστι πόλις ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐσπλέοντι εἰς τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον.

Epidamnos is a city on your right as you sail into the Ionian gulf.

In Thucydides, this sentence follows the *Methodenkapitel* (Th. 1.20-22) and the subsequent passage in which the historian discusses the importance of the Peloponnesian War (Th. 1.23). The introduction of Epidamnos starts the story about the war between Corcyra and Corinth, which is also the first part of the narrative as a whole. In my view, the best interpretation of Demetrius' expression τὸ περὶ οὗ would be that it is (in a non-technical sense) 'the topic'. It is the subject 'about which' something is going to be stated. Given the fact

that Demetrius' treatise is deeply influenced by the Peripatetic tradition, I would suggest that the expression τὸ περὶ οὗ is related to Aristotelian rhetorical theory.[18] According to Aristotle, a λόγος consists of three parts, namely the speaker (ὁ λέγων), the thing 'about which' he speaks (περὶ οὗ λέγει) and the person to whom the speech is addressed (πρὸς ὅν).[19] Aristotle also states that the introductions of forensic speeches and epic poems provide 'a sample of the argument' so that the hearers know beforehand 'what the argument is about' (περὶ οὗ ὁ λόγος).[20]

It seems clear, then, that Demetrius uses Aristotelian terminology. Where Aristotle recommends starting a text by mentioning 'what it is about' (περὶ οὗ ὁ λόγος), as Homer did in the first lines of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, Demetrius expresses the same view with regard to *the order of words* (ἡ φυσικὴ τάξις τῶν ὀνομάτων). I should emphasise that neither Aristotle nor Demetrius uses the expression περὶ οὗ in the technical sense in which modern linguists use the term Topic. Nevertheless, Demetrius' statement on the position of τὸ περὶ οὗ reminds us of modern pragmatic approaches to word order. The

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[18] For the Peripatetic influence on Demetrius, see Solmsen (1931).

[19] Aristotle, *Rh.* 1358a37-b2: σύγκειται μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τριῶν ὁ λόγος, ἔκ τε τοῦ λέγοντος καὶ περὶ οὗ λέγει καὶ πρὸς ὅν, καὶ τὸ τέλος πρὸς τοῦτόν ἐστιν, λέγω δὲ τὸν ἀκροατήν. 'For every speech is composed of three parts: the speaker, the subject about which he speaks and the person addressed; and the objective of the speech relates to him, I mean the hearer.' My translation of Aristotle is based on the translations by Freese (1926) and Kennedy (1991).

[20] Aristotle, *Rh.* 1415a12-21: ἐν δὲ προλόγοις καὶ ἔπεσι δεῖγμά ἐστιν τοῦ λόγου, ἵνα προειδῶσι περὶ οὗ [ᾖ] ὁ λόγος καὶ μὴ κρέμηται ἡ διάνοια· τὸ γὰρ ἀόριστον πλανᾷ· ὁ δοὺς οὖν ὥσπερ εἰς τὴν χεῖρα τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιεῖ ἐχόμενον ἀκολουθεῖν τῷ λόγῳ, διὰ τοῦτο
'μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά'. 'ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, μοῦσα.'
...
καὶ οἱ τραγικοὶ δηλοῦσι περὶ <οὗ> τὸ δρᾶμα, κἂν μὴ εὐθὺς ὥσπερ Εὐριπίδης ἐν τῷ προλόγῳ, ἀλλά πού γε, ὥσπερ [καὶ] Σοφοκλῆς 'ἐμοὶ πατὴρ ἦν Πόλυβος'.
'In prologues and in epic poems there is a sample of the argument, in order that the hearers may know beforehand what the speech is about, and that the mind may not be kept in suspense: for that which is undefined leads astray. He who gives, so to say, the beginning into the hand [of the hearer], enables him, if he holds fast to it, to follow the argument. Hence the following exordia:
'Sing the wrath, Muse', 'Tell me of the man, Muse'.
(...)
And the tragedians make the topic of their drama clear, if not at the outset, like Euripides in the prologue, at least somewhere, like Sophocles, [Soph., *OT* 774] 'My father was Polybos'.'

expression τὸ περὶ οὗ could be the Greek translation of part of Simon Dik's definition of Topic function:[21]

> A constituent with Topic function presents the entity 'about' which the Predication predicates something in the given setting.
> A constituent with Focus function presents the relatively most important or salient information with respect to the pragmatic information of the Speaker and the Addressee.

Demetrius' view that the topic (in a non-technical sense) takes the first position in the order of words can be compared with the views of Helma Dik. The 'clause pattern' that she proposes for Ancient Greek is as follows:[22]

> P1   PØ   V   X
> in which
> •P1 is the position for elements with Topic function;
> •PØ is the Focus position immediately preceding the verb;
> •V is the default position for the verb (if the verb is assigned Topic or Focus function, it will go to the position appropriate for that pragmatic function, *viz.* P1 or PØ);
> •X is the position for the remaining elements.

The first position is reserved for elements with Topic function; the position immediately preceding the verb is the Focus position; the verb takes the next place, unless it is assigned Topic or Focus function. The remaining elements follow, or, as Demetrius says, τὰ ἄλλα ἐφεξῆς.

    At this point I should clarify that I do not claim that the theories of Demetrius and Dik are the same. Instead, I argue that *if* one looks at ancient theory from a modern perspective, it is Demetrius whose views are most *similar* to the modern pragmatic views on word order. Of course, close attention should be paid to the context of Demetrius' views. In his treatise, Demetrius distinguishes four styles (χαρακτῆρες), namely the grand style, the elegant style, the plain style, and the forceful style. The discussion of natural word order is part of the treatment of the plain or simple style. This style (ὁ χαρακτὴρ ἰσχνός) makes use of simple subjects, diction and arrangement. The examples that he cites under the treatment of the

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[21] Dik (1978: 130).
[22] Dik (1995: 12).

plain style are mainly taken from private speeches (e.g. Lysias 1), Socratic dialogues, and narrative passages. Clarity (σαφήνεια) is one of the most important characteristics of the plain style, which Demetrius describes with a term like συνήθης, which means 'usual', 'customary', or 'familiar'.[23] It seems clear, then, that, in his conception, 'natural word order' corresponds to (or rather imitates) the word order of everyday language. While hyperbaton fits the grand style, the φυσικὴ τάξις is appropriate for the simple style.[24]

There are two important differences between the theories of Demetrius and Dik. First, Demetrius is primarily prescriptive, whereas Dik is descriptive. In general, Demetrius intends to instruct the future writer by analysing classical examples. He does not give a description of the standard word order of Greek, but explains how one *should* arrange the words in order to write effective texts. Second, the subject of Demetrius' treatise is 'style' or 'expression' (ἑρμηνεία), that is, he deals with conscious and artistic arrangement, which may also include aspects of rhythm and euphony. Dik, on the other hand, selects Herodotus as a corpus precisely in order to exclude euphony and rhythm as possible factors. Although both of these differences should be taken into account, I do think that we are allowed to connect Demetrius' views on natural word order with the modern pragmatic results, for the following reason. In ancient theory, it is precisely the plain style that is presented as an imitation of everyday language. In Demetrius' account of word order, the 'natural' corresponds to the 'normal' and the 'unmodified'. Thus, in the treatment of the plain style, the 'prescriptive' largely coincides with the 'descriptive'.

On a more general level, there are two important similarities between ancient rhetorical theory and Functional Grammar. First, both disciplines focus on the communicative function of language: sentences have a function in the communication between speaker and addressee (ὁ λέγων and ὁ ἀκούων according to Demetrius). Demetrius presents natural order as contributing to the *clarity* (σαφήνεια) of the information that is to be communicated.[25] Second,

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[23] See esp. *Eloc.* 190 and 221. Cf. *Eloc.* 60.
[24] Cf. Rhys Roberts (1969: 245).
[25] See Demetrius, *Eloc.* 192-203, esp. 196-7. As we have seen, he argues that sentences should begin with either a nominative or an accusative, because use of

both the ancient rhetorical and the modern pragmatic approach deal with discourse as a whole rather than with isolated sentences. In this respect, rhetoric differs from ancient grammar, which focuses on the word as the central unit of language. The teaching of rhetoricians aims at the composition of a text as a whole.[26] For these reasons, one can hardly find a more appropriate parallel to the modern pragmatic account of word order than the ancient rhetorical treatment of word order in the plain style.[27]

It may be instructive to analyse Demetrius' examples from the perspective of Functional Grammar. How would Helma Dik analyse the following sentence from Thucydides?

> [2]   Thucydides 1.24.1
> Ἐπίδαμνός ἐστι πόλις ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐσπλέοντι εἰς τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον.
>
> Epidamnos is a city on your right as you sail into the Ionian gulf.

Modern linguists who adopt the framework of Functional Grammar would hold that this sentence is a statement *about* Epidamnos, and that Epidamnos is the Topic of its clause. We may compare the sentence from Herodotus 1.6, which is one of Dik's favourite examples:[28]

> [3]   Herodotus 1.6
> Κροῖσος ἦν Λυδὸς μὲν γένος, παῖς δὲ Ἀλυάττεω, τύραννος δὲ ἐθνέων τῶν ἐντὸς Ἅλυος ποταμοῦ, ὃς ... ἐξίει πρὸς βορῆν ἄνεμον ἐς τὸν Εὔξεινον καλεόμενον πόντον. οὗτος ὁ Κροῖσος ...
>
> Croesus was by birth a Lydian, son of Alyattes, and monarch of all the nations west of the river Halys, which ... issues northward into the sea called Euxinus. This Croesus ... (Translation Godley)

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the other cases would cause obscurity (ἀσάφεια) for both the speaker himself and the listener (τῷ τε λέγοντι αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ ἀκούοντι). Although this is in itself a grammatical rather than a pragmatic rule, it is clear that it is based on the idea that the plain style should aim at clarity for the sake of communication.

[26] Even if Demetrius cites one specific sentence from Thucydides, he presumably expects the reader to know the context.

[27] Since ancient grammarians concentrate on words and their combinations, they do not pay much attention to matters of text cohesion: in antiquity, this subject belongs to the field of rhetoric rather than grammar.

[28] See Dik (1995: 26 and 230-1).

In Thucydides 1.24.1, Helma Dik would probably analyse ἐστι πόλις as having Focus: it is the 'relatively most important or salient information' in this clause. Demetrius states that after the topic (Epidamnos), the second thing that is mentioned is ὃ τοῦτό ἐστιν ('what it is'), namely a πόλις. Demetrius' terminology ὃ τοῦτό ἐστιν seems to be prompted by the particular example that he cites (Ἐπίδαμνός ἐστι πόλις), and therefore we should not interpret this expression as an equivalent of the modern term Focus: that would be *hineininterpretieren*. It might seem attractive to state that Demetrius makes a distinction between Topic and Comment, but in that case we would read too much in the expression ὃ τοῦτό ἐστιν.

It should be noted that Demetrius does not strictly adhere to the natural order of words, but that he makes clear that the reversed order is also allowed. He illustrates this with three words from Homer's *Iliad*: ἔστι πόλις Ἐφύρη ('there is a city, Ephyre'):

[4] Homer, *Iliad* 6.152-154
ἔστι πόλις Ἐφύρη μυχῷ Ἄργεος ἱπποβότοιο,
ἔνθα δὲ Σίσυφος ἔσκεν, ὃ κέρδιστος γένετ' ἀνδρῶν,
Σίσυφος Αἰολίδης· ὁ δ' ἄρα Γλαῦκον τέκεθ' υἱόν

There is a city Ephyre in a corner of Argos, pastureland of horses, and there dwelt Sisyphus who was craftiest of men, Sisyphus, son of Aeolus; and he begot a son Glaucus (Translation Murray / Wyatt)

This text is part of the speech that Glaucus directs to Diomedes, when the latter has asked him who he is. Glaucus introduces himself by mentioning the city where his forefather Sisyphus was born. If we follow Demetrius, the order of this sentence would be the reverse (τὸ ἔμπαλιν) of that of Thucydides 1.24 (above). In *Iliad* 6.152, ὃ τοῦτό ἐστιν ('what it is') would thus precede τὸ περὶ οὗ (the topic): πόλις precedes Ἐφύρη. Here, modern linguists would probably disagree with Demetrius. Both Dik and Slings have discussed the type of presentative clauses starting with ἦν or ἔστι.[29] They point out that these sentences are often used to introduce important new participants or Discourse Topics. Helma Dik argues that clause-initial forms of εἶναι have Topic function: in her words, they are 'dummy

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[29] See Dik (1995: 221-8), Slings (2002a: 55-7) and Slings (2002b: 28).

Topics' that 'provide a stepping stone for the Focus constituent'.[30] In this type of clauses, a constituent with Focus function follows the clause-initial verb. In other words, Dik would presumably analyse πόλις Ἐφύρη as the Focus of its clause, the new Discourse Topic (the city Ephyra) having Focus function in the clause in which it is introduced. We may compare Herodotus 1.7.2, where Candaules is introduced in a clause starting with ἦν.

> [5]   Herodotus 1.7.2
> ἦν Κανδαύλης, τὸν οἱ Ἕλληνες Μυρσίλον ὀνομάζουσι, τύραννος Σαρδίων, ἀπόγονος δὲ Ἀλκαίου τοῦ Ἡρακλέος.
>
> Candaules, whom the Greeks call Myrsilus, was the ruler of Sardis; he was descended from Alcaeus, son of Heracles. (Translation Godley)

In the above discussion of Demetrius' account of the natural word order of the plain style, I have argued that his approach, despite some differences with modern theory, supports the pragmatic interpretation of Ancient Greek word order. Two aspects of his approach in particular are useful for modern scholars. First, his account of word order is based on the idea that language has a communicative function: natural word order is the order that aims at clarity for the listener or reader (ὁ ἀκούων). Second, Demetrius argues that according to the natural order of words one should start with 'the matter about which' (τὸ περὶ οὗ) and this idea corresponds to the theories that have been developed within the framework of Functional Grammar.

Given the potential of Demetrius' discussion, it is remarkable that some modern linguists have completely misunderstood his views.[31] In his book *Greek Word Order*, Dover states the following:[32]

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[30] Dik (1995: 229).
[31] In his famous treatise on word order, Henri Weil (1978 [1844]: 14) states the following (I quote from the English translation by Super [1887]): 'The author of the treatise *De Elocutione* recommends the order of words which he calls natural (φυσικὴ τάξις), and he does not speak of substantives and verbs, but has in view, to judge from his expressions, what are called subject and attribute. This rhetorician uses exaggerated expressions to establish a theory which he has not himself practiced in the treatise which contains it.' Apart from the fact that 'subject' and 'attribute' are perhaps not the most fortunate interpretations of Demetrius' expressions, Weil's analysis contains some remarkable statements. First, he ignores the fact that Demetrius explicitly states that his natural word order is not the only possible one. Further, I think that close analysis of Demetrius' treatise would in fact show that in

> The order subject-verb is described by Demetrius *Eloc.* 199 as 'natural' (ἡ φυσικὴ τάξις), and noun-verb by Dionysius *Comp. Verb.* 5 as τῇ φύσει ἑπόμενον. But any inclination which the statistician may feel to welcome the ancient critics as allies may falter when he considers their reasons. Demetrius, speaking specifically of narrative, says that the subject-matter (τὸ περὶ οὗ) of a sentence should be stated first, and ὃ τοῦτό ἐστιν second, which is not quite the same as saying that the syntactical subject precedes the syntactical predicate.

Dover's approach is not a very useful way of dealing with ancient theory. His misunderstanding seems to be caused by the fact that he is working within the paradigm of a syntactical approach: although he admits that 'syntactical rules' of Greek word order cannot be established, it seems that in his interpretation of Demetrius he is guided by the syntactical framework.[33] He first misinterprets Demetrius as saying that the 'subject' should precede the 'verb'. Then, he seems to think that this would actually be welcome support for modern views. Finally, he is disappointed again when it turns out that Demetrius actually discusses the order of τὸ περὶ οὗ and ὃ τοῦτό ἐστιν.[34] He does not consider the possibility that this might in fact be a helpful idea. This example clearly illustrates the dangers of rational reconstruction, the interpretation of ancient theory for modern purposes.[35]

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many cases he starts his clauses with the topic, so I would not agree with Weil's accusation of inconsistency. One might object that Demetrius does not always start with a nominative or an accusative, but Demetrius formulates *this* rule only for 'narratives' (τοῖς διηγήμασιν), and not for treatises on style. On Weil and his relation to Demetrius and later linguists, see below (section 7).

[32] Dover (1960: 9).

[33] See Dover (1960: 25-31).

[34] Elsewhere, Dover (1960: 34) uses the expression τὸ περὶ οὗ for the 'subject-matter', but there he does not refer to Demetrius.

[35] In a recent article on word order in stichic verse, Fraser (2002) briefly refers to Demetrius and he interprets τὸ περὶ οὗ as the topic. However he is not very interested in Demetrius' views, presumably because his approach is syntactic rather than pragmatic. Fraser argues that word order is based partly on syntactic aspects, partly on prosodic prominence, and partly on the size of words. He rejects the 'pragmatic' approach of both Demetrius and Dik.

6 *Quintilian on Word Order*

In 1990, Pinkster remarked that the study of Latin word order was 'still relatively underdeveloped'.[36] The standard explanation is that Latin has a basic S(ubject) O(bject) V(erb) order, but Pinkster has warned that there is in fact not much evidence.[37] A particular problem concerns the final position of the Latin sentence. Traditional grammars point out that the verb is normally found at the end of the sentence, although this tendency is not equally strong in different authors.[38] On the other hand, they also state that the final position is sometimes used for constituents that have more *emphasis* than other constituents.[39] In his *Latin Syntax and Semantics*, Pinkster examines the final position of the sentence in a number of Cicero's letters. He concludes that when the final constituent is not a verb, it is in most cases a Focus constituent, but he adds that one should also examine whether the verbs that take the final position also have Focus function.[40]

Quintilian struggles with the same problem concerning the final position of the Latin sentence.[41] He states that one should normally end the sentence with a verb (*Inst. orat.* 9.4.26), although one could change this order for the sake of rhythm.

> [6] Quintilian, Inst. 9.4.24-26
> Illa nimia quorundam fuit obseruatio, ut uocabula uerbis, uerba rursus aduerbiis, nomina adpositis et pronomin<a nomin>ibus essent priora: nam fit contra quoque frequenter non indecore. Nec non et illud nimiae superstitionis, uti quaeque sint tempore, ea facere etiam

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[36] Pinkster (1990: 163). I regret that the important new book by Devine & Stephens (2006) appeared too late for me to include it in my discussion of Latin word order. Devine & Stephens pay close attention to pragmatic categories. They distinguish focus (strong and weak), topic (strong and weak) and tail (2006: 14). Earlier studies on Latin word order include the work by De Jong (1989 and 1994) and Panhuis (1981 and 1982), who adopts the framework of the Prague School (see below, section 7) and deals with the communicative organization of the information within the sentence.

[37] Pinkster (1991: 70).

[38] According to Panhuis (1982: 145), the verb in classical Latin is final 'by literary convention'.

[39] Linde (1923: 178): 'Betonte Worte verdrängen das V[erbum] oft vom Satzende.'

[40] Pinkster (1990: 178).

[41] For Quintilian's views on word order, see also De Jonge (2006: 284-90) and the literature mentioned there.

ordine priora, non quin frequenter sit hoc melius, sed quia interim plus ualent ante gesta ideoque leuioribus superponenda sunt. Verbo sensum cludere multo, si compositio patiatur, optimum est: in uerbis enim sermonis uis est. Si id asperum erit, cedet haec ratio numeris, ut fit apud summos Graecos Latinosque oratores frequentissime. Sine dubio erit omne quod non cludet hyperbaton, sed ipsum hoc inter tropos uel figuras, quae sunt uirtutes, receptum est.

The rule given by some theorists, that nouns should precede verbs, verbs adverbs, nouns adjectives, and pronouns nouns, is much too rigid, for the contrary order is often excellent. Another piece of gross superstition is the idea that as things come first in time, so they should also come first in order. It is not that this is not frequently the better course, but earlier events are sometimes more important and so have to be given a position of climax over the less significant. If composition allows, it is much best to end with a verb, for the force of language is in the verbs. If this proves harsh, the principle will give way to rhythm, as often happens in the greatest orators, both Greek and Latin. Of course, every verb which does not come at the end will give us a hyperbaton; but this itself counts as a trope or a figure, and these are good features. (Translation Russell)

Pinkster has rightly pointed out that Quintilian's observation is 'normative' and not descriptive.[42] Nevertheless, the rhetorician's account may be helpful. His argument for the placement of verbs is pragmatic rather than syntactical: he says that verbs should take the final position because 'the force of language' (*sermonis uis*) is in the verbs'. The idea that verbs express the *uis sermonis* also appears in the first book of Quintilian's work. In his survey of grammatical teaching, Quintilian tells us that Aristotle and Theodectes listed only three parts of speech, namely verbs (ῥήματα), nouns (ὀνόματα) and conjunctions (σύνδεσμοι). He points out that they made these distinctions 'evidently since they thought that the force of language (*uim sermonis*) is in the verbs, and the substance (*materiam*) in the nouns, because the one is what we say, the other is what we speak about' (*quia alterum est quod loquimur, alterum de quo loquimur*).[43] Here,

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[42] Pinkster (1991: 70).

[43] Quintilian, *Inst.* 1.4.18: *Veteres enim, quorum fuerunt Aristoteles quoque atque Theodectes, uerba modo et nomina et coniunctiones tradiderunt, uidelicet quod in uerbis uim sermonis, in nominibus materiam (quia alterum est quod loquimur, alterum de quo loquimur), in coniunctionibus autem complexum eorum esse iudicauerunt.* 'Earlier writers, including also Aristotle and Theodectes, listed only verbs, nouns and conjunctions,

we again recognise a distinction that looks like the modern one between Topic (*de quo loquimur*) and Comment (*quod loquimur*); this distinction is connected to the one between *materia* (substance, subject) and *uis sermonis*. It should be noted that the term *materia* is also used to designate the topic or theme of a speech or treatise.[44] Quintilian's analysis of the early Greek use of the terms ὄνομα, ῥῆμα and σύνδεσμος largely corresponds to modern explanations. Plato's terms ὄνομα and ῥῆμα have indeed been interpreted as 'topic' and 'focus':[45] it would be correct to state that the ὄνομα ('appellation') names something, while the ῥῆμα ('attribute') 'says something about it'.[46]

What is most striking in Quintilian's account of word order is that he argues that verbs take the final position in Latin *because* they express the force of language' (*sermonis uis*) or, in other words, they designate 'that which we say' (*quod loquimur*). In our modern terminology, we might say that verbs take the final position because they are in many cases the Focus constituents. Quintilian seems to argue, then, (again in modern terminology) that it is often the predicate that imparts the most salient information in a sentence and that *this* is the reason that the verb takes the final position. However, the focus constituent is of course not always a verb. Quintilian argues that a word that carries 'powerful significance' (*uehemens sensus*) should be placed *in clausula* (at the end of the sentence):

> [7] Quintilian, Inst. 9.4.29-30
> Saepe tamen est uehemens aliquis sensus in uerbo, quod si in media parte sententiae latet, transire intentionem et obscurari circumiacentibus solet, in clausula positum adsignatur auditori et infigitur, quale illud est Ciceronis: 'ut tibi necesse esset in conspectu populi Romani uomere postridie.' Transfer hoc ultimum: minus ualebit. Nam totius ductus hic est quasi mucro, ut per se foeda

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evidently since they thought that the force of language is in the verbs, and the substance in the nouns (because the one is what we say, the other is what we speak about), while the conjunctions provided the connections between them.' (Translation adapted from Russell).

[44] See Cicero, *Or.* 119; Quintilian, *Inst.* 1.pr.3.
[45] Sluiter (1993: 131).
[46] See Sedley (2003: 162-4).

uomendi necessitas iam nihil ultra expectantibus hanc quoque adiceret deformitatem, ut cibus teneri non posset postridie.

> However, there is often a powerful significance in a single word; if this is then concealed in the middle of a sentence, it tends to escape attention and be overshadowed by its surroundings, whereas if it is placed at the end it is impressed upon the hearer and fixed in his mind, as in Cicero's [Phil. 2.63] 'so that you were obliged to vomit in the sight of the Roman people the day after.' Move the last word and it will lose its force. This is the sharp end of the whole passage, as it were: Antony's need to vomit, disgusting in itself, acquires the further hideousness — not expected by the audience — that he could not keep his food down the day after. (Translation Russell)

If a word is placed at the end, 'it is impressed upon the hearer and fixed in his mind'. Quintilian's account of word order might be taken as support for the view that the final position in the Latin sentence is the position for Focus constituents. Of course, it is much too early to draw far-reaching conclusions from this brief discussion. I have not argued that the study of ancient theory could replace modern statistic research. However, Quintilian's account at least suggests that pragmatic factors deserve to be taken into account with regard to Latin word order, just as they have successfully been applied to the study of Greek word order.[47]

7   Between Demetrius and Dik

In the foregoing sections, I have discussed some similarities between ancient rhetorical views on word order on the one hand and modern pragmatic ideas on the other. As I have pointed out, ancient rhetoric and Functional Grammar share two characteristics in particular: they pay due attention to the communicative role of language, and they deal with larger texts rather than with isolated sentences. It is not a coincidence that the approaches of rhetoricians and modern linguists are similar in these respects. In fact, it is possible to draw a historical line between Demetrius and Dik, which involves at least

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[47] See now Devine & Stephens (2006).

the classical scholar and linguist Henri Weil (1818-1909) and the Prague School of Linguistics.[48]

In 1844, Henri Weil published his influential thesis *De l'ordre des mots dans les langues anciennes comparées aux langues modernes*.[49] Although he criticises Demetrius for using 'exaggerated expressions' and for being inconsistent with his own theory, Weil seems to have been influenced (directly or indirectly) by Demetrius and other ancient rhetoricians.[50] Where Demetrius, in his analysis of Thucydides 1.24.1, distinguishes between the topic of the statement and ὃ τοῦτό ἐστιν ('what it is'), Weil argues that a proposition consists of 'the subject and the attribute'. Concerning the logical order of words, Weil states the following: 'We are obliged to express first the subject and then the attribute under penalty of violating the logical order.'[51] Still, Weil thinks that the real order of words is independent of logic: his basic principle is that word order is the order of ideas ('le marche des idées'):[52] 'general ideas' are stated before 'special ideas', the given information precedes the new information: '[I]t was necessary to lean on something present and known, in order to reach out to something less present, nearer, or unknown. There is then a point of departure, an initial notion which is equally present to him who speaks and to him who hears, which forms, as it were, the ground upon which the two intelligences meet; and another part of discourse which forms the statement (*l'énonciation*), properly so called.'[53] It is clear that Weil's 'point of departure' corresponds to Demetrius' topic (τὸ περὶ οὗ). Interestingly, Weil mentions the same examples that Demetrius cites

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[48] I wish to thank Rutger Allan for his valuable suggestions concerning the relationship between Functional Grammar and early modern linguistics.

[49] Paris, Joubert. In 1887, Charles W. Super published an English translation of this work. I refer to the new edition of this English translation by Aldo Scaglione (Amsterdam 1978). On Weil and his views on word order, see also Scaglione (1972: 338-45).

[50] For his criticism on Demetrius, see Weil (1978 [1844]: 14). Cf. n. 31 above. Weil (1978 [1844]: 15) acknowledges his debt to the French grammarians Beauzée and Batteux, who were in their turn deeply influenced by ancient rhetorical theories. See Scaglione (1972: 258-74). Batteux' *Traité de la construction oratoire* (1763) includes a translation of Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *On Composition*.

[51] Weil (1978 [1844]: 22).

[52] Weil (1978 [1844]: 21-51).

[53] Weil (1978 [1844]: 29).

(albeit without mentioning the rhetorician as the source for these quotations). In Weil's treatise, Thucydides 1.24.1 ('Epidamnos is a city…') illustrates the view that the order of words is the 'marche des idées'.[54] His explanation of the second example, Homer's ἔστι πόλις Ἐφύρη ('there is a city Ephyre'), is different from Demetrius' analysis: 'I propose to tell you something that you do not yet know or that you are supposed not to know (otherwise I should not tell it); it is evident that I must lay hold on something that you already know, that I must make a beginning, be it only for the form's sake.' Unlike Demetrius, who describes the word order ἔστι πόλις Ἐφύρη as the reverse (τὸ ἔμπαλιν) of Thucydides 1.24.1, Weil thinks that both sentences display the march of ideas, in which the general precedes the more specific. According to Weil, this example starts with 'that which is most general, most indispensable, but also most insignificant; namely with the idea of existence pure and simple.'[55]

Weil's distinction between the two essential elements of a sentence was further developed in the twentieth century. In 1928, Ammann introduced the terms *Thema* and *Rhema*.[56] In the Prague School of Linguistics, it was Vilém Mathesius who introduced similar notions and showed their importance to word order, in particular by way of a comparison between Czech and English.[57] In his 'Functional Sentence Analysis', Mathesius explicitly refers to his predecessor Henri Weil, with whom he shares the functional approach to syntax.[58] Concerning the two pragmatic units in which a sentence can be divided, Mathesius uses various terms: 'The element about which something is stated may be said to be the basis of the utterance or the theme, and what is stated about the basis is the nucleus of the utterance or the rheme.'[59] Mathesius' concern with clear communication reminds us of Demetrius' discussion of word order in the simple style: 'If a sentence is to be formulated clearly, especially in writing, we should make a clear-cut distinction between

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[54] Weil (1978 [1844]: 34).
[55] Weil (1978) [1844]: 33).
[56] See Ammann ([1928]1969: 140-1).
[57] See esp. Mathesius (1975: 81-5), the English translation of Mathesius (1961). On Topic and Focus in the Prague School, see Hajicová (1994), who also discusses Mathesius.
[58] Mathesius (1975: 81).
[59] Mathesius (1975: 81).

these two basic elements, i.e. we should employ a clear functional sentence perspective.'[60] From the latter statement, it is a relatively small step to the Functional Grammar developed by Simon Dik (1978), who inspired Helma Dik's work on Greek word order (1995).[61]

There are of course many differences between the exact ideas and terminology of the linguists mentioned above, which lie outside the scope of this article. In fact, a historian of linguistics should avoid connecting the ideas of linguists from different schools and periods without paying close attention to their respective historical contexts. However, it seems justified to hold that all scholars mentioned share an interest in the communicative function of language as an important factor in the explanation of word order. Thus, from a modern perspective, Henri Weil and Vilém Mathesius can be considered links in a historical chain that connects Demetrius and Helma Dik.[62]

8   Conclusion

In many respects, ancient rhetorical theory foreshadows current linguistic approaches to classical texts: the ancient rhetoricians investigate how grammar contributes to literary effects, and, unlike the grammarians, they pay attention to the structure of a complete discourse. I have shown that close analysis of ancient theory can contribute to our understanding of linguistic problems, in particular that of Greek and Latin word order. Ancient theory cannot offer decisive answers to our modern questions, but I do think that it can be helpful to reconsider the results obtained by modern research by comparing these results with ancient views on language and literature. It is an important condition for this approach to ancient theory that we pay attention to its historical context: rational

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[60]   Mathesius (1975: 82).
[61]   Dik (1997a: 3 n. 3) refers to the Prague School of Linguistics when sketching the history of the functional paradigm.
[62]   But the relations between various linguists are of course more complex than this necessarily brief overview might suggest. Helma Dik (1995: 259-81) discusses her predecessors and devotes a number of pages to the pragmatic approach of Loepfe (1940), who was clearly influenced by Weil (1844).

reconstruction cannot do without historical reconstruction. For this reason, Dover's discussion of Demetrius was unsatisfactory.

I have argued that the rhetorical accounts of word order in Demetrius and Quintilian support the modern views that have been developed within the framework of Functional Grammar. The similarity between the ancient rhetorical and the modern pragmatic approach can be explained by the fact that both rhetoric and Functional Grammar regard language primarily as an instrument of communication. Consequently, both disciplines deal with larger discourse units rather than with isolated sentences, and they focus on the distribution of information within the sentence. This linguistic approach to classical texts is characteristic of both Demetrius and Dik.[63]

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