VERBAL USAGE IN FIFTH – CENTURY ATHENIAN INSCRIPTIONS

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The problems investigated in the present thesis relate to specific functions of tenses and moods in the Athenian decrees of the fifth century B. C.

After a general review of the aspect theory and its application to the Ancient Greek verbal stems, we investigate the specific problems which the verbs of the decrees raise at this point. Taking into consideration that an absolute correspondence to the requirements of the aspect theory cannot be found anywhere in Ancient Greek literature, we attempt an explanation of the deviations by dividing them into two groups, of which one is related to analogous deviations found in the Ancient Greek language and the other to cases dealing with the peculiarity of the language of the decrees itself.

With regard to the moods, the greatest problems arise from the use of the imperative and the infinitive. It is observed that imperative and infinitive forms are both used to indicate orders and that, because of this phenomenon, the infinitive occurs with unexpected frequency. Moreover, the whole question becames complicated by the constant recurrence of the second aorist εἶπε, whose exact function it is very difficult to clarify. The other moods do not raise problems except for some specific cases concerning the use of the participle.

The peculiar characteristic of a linguistic study of the epigraphical texts is that we do not have to investigate either the personal language and style of any specific author or a specific literary field, but rather we extend our research over all the expressive features of public and private life in a definite place and period. Moreover, the epigraphical texts are the only ones which can be found relating to every area of Ancient Greek life, so that sometimes they are the only sources through which we obtain knowledge of the local dialects, whose existence without epigraphical texts would be completely unknown. Indeed, while in Attica there was extensive literary activity of every type, in other places language is represented only by inscriptions, as for example in Crete, in Epirus, and elsewhere.

From one point of view we might expect that the epigraphical texts would approach more closely than anything else the linguistic facts of a specific place and period, since inscriptions, usually being free from every affectation which

characterizes systematic literature, should keep a close recationship with the oral language of daily life. This is partly true ; but specifically in the decrees the condition seems to be exactly the opposite. Since the decrees were meant to remain indefinitely as texts representative of the decisions which had been made by the Boule and demos, their construction would be influenced by the official character of the state. Therefore, while the language of the decrees has the tendency to eliminate the personal style and to apply its expressive features in a manner more or less approaching the general linguistic «norm» [1], on the other hand it hesitates to adopt elements corresponding to the natural modernization of the language. Thus, the language of the decrees becomes conservative and, consequently, it does not keep any close relationship with the linguistic reality of the daily life. The tendency of the language of the decrees to insist on a traditional use is very important, because such a particular situation will sometimes be the only way to explain usages whose occurrence would be impossible if the language of the decrees were in accordance with normal linguistic developments. Indeed, we often notice that several expressions are regularly repeated with slight differences. The following passages are representative examples of this traditional repetition [2] :

28, 16—18 : . . . [ἡόπ]ος δ' ἄμ μὲ ἀδι-
[κε̄ται μέτε αὐτὸς μέτε ἑοι παῖ]δες αὐτο̄, τέ-
[ν] τε βολὲν ἐπιμέλεσθαι καὶ [τὸ]ς π[ρ]υ[τάνες],

56, 2—5 : . . . ἐ[π]-
ιμέλεσθαι δὲ αὐτο̄ Ἀθένεσι μ-
[ὲ]ν τὸς πρυτάνες καὶ τὲμ βολέ-
ν,

106α, 3—6 : . . . [τὴν]
[δὲ βολὴν τὴ]ν ἀεὶ βο[λε]ύοσαν [καὶ τὸς πρυ]-
τάνες καὶ τ]-
[ὸς στρατη]γὸς ἐπιμ[έ]λεσθαι αὐ[τοῖν, ὅπως ἀμ
μὴ ἀδικ]-
[ῶνται],

110, 32—35 : . . . [ἐπιμέλ]εσθαι αὐτὸν τὲν βολὲν
τὲν ἀεὶ β[ολεύοσαν κα]ὶ τὸς πρυτάνες, ἡόπος ἀ
ν μὲ ἀδ[ικο̄νται],

118, 16—19 : ὅπως ἂν μὴ ἀδικῆται ἐπιμέ-
λεσθαι τήν τε βολὲν τὴν ἀεὶ β-
ολεύοσαν καὶ τὸς στρατεγ-
ὸς καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα,

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1) By the term we mean «the usage of the majority of the speakers of a language, which determines the standard form of the language» ; cf. M. Pei, *Glossary of Linguistic Terminology*, Garden City, New York, 1966, p. 149.

2) All references, unless otherwise indicated, are to *Inscriptiones Graecae*, I², ed. Hiller von Gaertringen, Berlin, 1924.

147, 2— 6 : [. h]όπο[ς δ' ἂν μεδ' hυφ' hενὸς]
                  [ἄ]δικε͂[ται . . . .]
                  [ἐ]πιμέ[λεσθαι αὐτο͂ τὸς ἄρ]-
                  [χ]οντα[ς καὶ τὸς ἐκεῖ στρα]-
                  [τ]εγός.

35, 4— 6 :   . . . [ἐπαινέσαι μὲν Κολοφονί]ος,
                                          ὅτι ἐσ-
                  [ὶ ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ περὶ 'Αθεναίος καὶ νῦν καὶ]
                                          ἐν τõι π-
                  [ρόσθεν χρόνοι],

59, 9—11 : ['Απολλοφ]άνε[ι δ]ὲ τõι Κολοφονίοι ἐ(παι-
                                          νέσαι ἐ)-
                  [πειδὲ ἀνὲρ] ἐστιν [ἀ]γαθὸς περὶ τὸν δε͂μ-
                  [ον τὸν 'Αθ]εναίον,

72, 5— 8 : [ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς παισὶ αὐτõ . . . .]
                          . . . [h]ος ὅσι ἀν[δράσι ἀ]-
                  [γαθοῖς ἐς 'Αθεναίος καὶ προθύμοι]ς ποιε͂ν ὅ,-
                                          [τι ἂν δυ-
                  [νατοὶ õσι].

82, 8— 9 : ἐπαινέσαι 'Αστέαν τὸν 'Αλε-
                  όν, hότι εὖ ποιεῖ 'Αθεναίος,

105, 31—34 :   . . . ἐπα-
                  [ι]νέσαι 'Αρχέλαι hος ὄν]τι ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθõι
                  [καὶ προθύμοι ποιε͂ν hό,]τι δύναται ἀγαθ-
                  [ὸν],

108, 51—52 :   . . . ἐπαινέσαι . . .
                  . . . [ὅτι] πρόθυμοί εἰσι ποιε͂ν hό,τι δύναν-
                                          ται ἀ[γαθὸν],

110α 5— 7 :   . . . [ἐπ]αινέσαι τοῖς 'Αλ-
                  [ικαρνασεῦσι ὡς οὖσι]ν ἀνδράσιν ἀγα-
                  θοῖς [περὶ τὴν στρατιά]ν καὶ τὴν πόλιν,

119, 5— 7 : . . . [ἐπαινέσαι] . . . hος ὄντι ἀνδρὶ ἀγα-
                  [θõι περὶ τὸν δε͂μον τὸν 'Αθεναίον καὶ νῦν καὶ
                  ἐν τõι πρόσθεν χρόνοι κα]ὶ προθύ[μοι ποε͂ν hό,
                  [τι δύναται ἀγαθὸν],

160, 5— 7 : . . . [ἐπαινέσαι hότι ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός] ἐστιν π-
                  [ερὶ 'Αθεναίος ποιõν hό, τι δύνατ]αι ἀγαθὸ-
                  [ν τὲν πόλιν καὶ τὲν στρατιὰν],

SEG X,13, 6— 9 :   . . . [ἐπαινέσαι μὲν]
                  [Σι]γειεῦ[σ]ιν [ός ὅσιν ἀνδράσι]-
                  [ν ἀγ]αθοῖς ἐς [τὸν δε͂μον τὸν 'Αθ]-
                  [εναίον],

SEG X,84, 14—26 : . . . ἐπαινέσαι Ποταμ[όδορον τὸν hερχο]-
μένιον
καὶ τὸν huὸν Εὐρυτίονα hότι [ἐστὸν ἄν-
δρε ἀγ]-
αθὸ περὶ ᾿Αθεναίος.

19,   2— 5 :   . . . [hοι δὲ π-
[ολεταὶ ἀπομισθοσάντ]ον· ho[ι] δὲ κολακρέται
[δό[ν]το[ν τὸ ἀρ]-
[γύριον· καλέσαι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ χσένια] τὲν πρεσ-
βείαν τῶν ᾿Εγεσταίον
[ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἐς τὸν νομιζόμενον χρόνον,

49,   2— 4 :   . . . οἱ δὲ [πο]-
[λεταὶ ἀπομισθοσάντον τὲν στέ]λεν· οἱ δὲ κο[λα-
[κρέται δόντον τὸ ἀργύριον],

67,   4— 7 : hοι δὲ πολεταὶ ἀπομισθοσάντον τὲν στέ]λεν·
[hοι δὲ κολακρέται δόντον τὸ] ἀργύρ-
[ιον· καλέσαι δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ ἐπὶ χσ]ένια ἐς τὸ
[πρυτανεῖον ἐς αὔριον]. ³

27,   7—11 :   . . . [ἀνα]-
γράφσαι τὸν [γραμματέα τὲς β]-
ολὲς . . . .
. . . . [προχσένος]
᾿Αθεναίον,

36,   3— 6 :   . . . [ἀνα]-
[γρά]φσαι προχσένος καὶ εὐεργέτα-
[ς] ᾿Αθεναίον καὶ τὸς παῖδας τὸς
[ἐκένο]ν,

82, 13—15 :   . . . ἀν-
αγραφσάτο πρόχσενον καὶ
εὐεργέτεν ᾿Αθεναίον,

93,   6— 8 : ἐπειδὴ εὖ ποεῖ ᾿Αθεναίο-
[ς], ἀναγραψάτο πρόξενον κα-
ὶ εὐεργέτην ᾿Αθεναίον,

_____

3) Cf. *hοι πολεταὶ ἀπομισθοσάντον τὲν στέλεν* : 19, 13 ; 36, 7—8 ; 49, 3 ; 63, 25 ;
65, 56—7 ; 67, 4 ; 73, 23 ; 76, 51 ; 110, 34—5 ; 115, 8 ; 169, 5—6 ; 170, 4—5 ; *SEG*
XXI, 37, 21 ; *οἱ κολακρέται δόντον τὸ ἀργύριον* : 49, 4—5 ; 71, 39 ; 73, 22 ; 76, 51 ; 82,
18—20 ; 87, 31 ; 87 , 42—3 ; 94, 28 ; 137, 4 ; 166, 2 ; 169, 6—7 ; 170, 5—6 ; *SEC* X,
33, 9 ; *SEG* XXI, 37, 21—2 ; *καλέσαι δὲ ἐπὶ χσένια* : 35, 21—2 ; 47, 4—5 ; 39, 14—5 ;
58, 7—9 ; 60, 16—18 ; 95, 3—4 ; 106, 23—4 ; 106a, 10—11 ; 118, 24—6 ; 136, 2—3 ;
144, 11—2 ; 148, 1—2 ; 157, 7—9 ; *SEG* X, 33, 9.

118, 6—15 : ἐπειδὴ ἀνήρ ἐστιν ἀγαθὸς . . .
   (13) . . . . ἀναγράψαι αὐτὸν
   πρόξενον καὶ εὐεργέτην ᾿Αθη-
   ναίων καὶ τὸς ἐκγόνος αὐτō,
18, 4— 5 : ὅ[πως δ' ἂν ὀμόσωσι ἅπ]-
   [αντες] ἐπιμελόσ[θο]ν οἱ στρατεγοί,
39, 19—20 : hόπος δ' ἂν [ὀ]μόσοσιν hάπαντες, ἐπιμελ-
   όσθον hοι στρατεγοί,
39, 43—44 :   . . . hόπος δ' ἂν τάχιστ-
   α γίγνεται, ἐπιμελόσθον hοι στρατεγοί.

Some developments, of course, did take place in the language of the decrees ; it is noticed that the more traditional use of the infinitive for the imperative is more frequent in the earlier inscriptions. Taking 421 B. C. as a dividing line, i. e. decree numbers 1—80, we observe that the proportion between the cases of indirect speech and those of the imperative is 2.91 : 1 (473 : 161) ; on the other hand the rest of the decrees (numbers 81—190) yield a proportion of 0.91 : 1 (157 : 173) ; the variation between these two groups is really too great to be considered as accidental [4].

A probable explanation of this development would be given by two reasons. First, the natural evolution of the language does not permit any absolute stagnation of the expressive futures ; although the number of the thematic unities included in the decrees is rather limited, and, consequently, convenient for repetitions, it would be impossible for their language not to be affected by the general tendency toward a limited use of indirect speech in long passages.

The other reason is that in no way can the language of the decrees be considered as very official in the strictest meaning of the term. The responsibility of each secretary was limited to one year ; in addition, apart from the gradual formulation of the beginning of the decrees, the writer was not bound by a developed structure. The influence of the preceding decrees was great, of course, but there were grounds for personal innovations in cases which were in accordance with general stylistic forms.

From a syntactical point of view, we could say that the case above is almost the only one which demostrates the failure of the tradition to inhibit evolutionary developments. Indeed, in cases permitting a freer choice we notice that the structure is very conservative. For example, in conditional sentences the

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4) These numbers include only *IG* I² original and restored imperative and infinitive forms with an imperative meaning. However, the proportions are not changed by the addition of equal forms collected from new fragments published in *SEG* X, and XXI.

use of the particle ἦν is regularly unknown [5], although its use is frequent enough in the prose and poetry of the fifth century [6].

On the other hand we observe that ἄν is generally used in final clauses introduced by ὅπως. This syntactical form first appears in Aeschylus, and remains in acceptable Attic use, but usually in cases requiring a combined final and conditional force [7]. Thus, in the example πολέμους κινεῖ, ὅπως ἄν τούτους μετὰ προφάσεως ἀπολλύη (he tries to cause wars in order that he may destroy them), Pl. Rep. 567 A, the use of ἄν is necessary because the fulfilment of the aim is still uncertain ; but in the case of the decrees such circumstances do not exist ; the context is clearly final and the use of ἄν would be entirely uunecessary if the language were unifluenced by the traditional style.

A great number of similar ordinary usages can be easily found in the use of other particles and of many other syntactical phenomena. Thus, ἕως is always followed by ἄν [8], although in prose and literature it usually occurs without the particle [9] ; ὥσπερ, one of the commonest particles in Homer and in all the Greek dialects, is rare in the decrees ; the infinitive does not occur with either article or preposition, the use of the absolute participle is very rare.

We observe also that the traditional character of the decrees limited several verbs to a one-stem function. In some cases this was necessary because of the aspectual requirements of the action ; for instance, the use of the verb καλέω occurs mostly in the aorist stem because the expression καλέσαι δὲ ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον . . . . . , which is repeated in a great number of decrees, excludes every possibility of a durative aspect. But there are other cases in which the choice of the stem depends entirely on traditional reasons. Such a case is the use of the verb δύναμαι (used only in the present stem), ἀπομισθόω (used only in the aorist stem), ἐμμένω (used only in the future).

A similar condition is noticeable in the use of moods. There are verbs whose activity is limited to only one or two moods, or only to the infinitive, although their nature is clearly more flexible.

A representative table of verbs used in a traditional manner could be organized as follows :

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5) See K. Meisterhans - E. Schwyzer, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*, Berlin 1900, p. 256 (because of a typographical error, ἄν has been printed instead of ἦν ; cf. Meisterhans's first edition, Berlin, 1888, p. 213, 1. 19.

6) See E. Hermann, *Griechische Forschungen*. I. *Die Nebensätze in den griechischen Dialektinschriften in Vergleich mit den Nebensätzen in der Griechischen Literatur*, Leipzig und Berlin, 1912, pp. 69—70 ; J. M. Stahl, *Kritisch - historische Syntax des griechischen Verbums der klassischen Zeit*, Heidelberg, 1907, pp. 391 ff.

7) Cf. Asch. Cho. 579 : Φύλασσε τἀν οἴκῳ καλῶς, ὅπως ἄν ἀρτίκολλα συμβαίνῃ τάδε.

8) Meisterhans - Schwyzer, *op. cit.*, pp. 242, 251.

9) Hermann, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

Stem			Mood
Present	Aorist	Future	
ἀδικέω		ἀμύνω	
	ἀναγράφω [10]		
ἀπάγω [11]			in ifinitive and indicative
ἀπάρχομαι			
	ἀπογράφω		
	ἀπομισθόω [12]		
ἀποτ(ε)ίνω [13]			
		αὐτομο- λέω	
βοηθέω [14]			
βούλομαι			
δέομαι			in indicative and subjunctive
	διαχειροτονέω		
δύναμαι			in indicative and subjunctive
ἐάω			
εἰσάγω [15]			
	ἐκφέρω [16]		
ἐξάγω		ἐμμένω	
ἔξεστι		ἐμπεδόω	
	ἐπαινέω		only in infinitive
ἐπιμέλομαι			
εὐθύνω			
	καλέω [17]		
	κατατίθημι [18]		
κελεύω			

10) Once in indicative passive perfect, 66, 2—3 : *[ἀν]/αγεγράφαται.*

11) Once in indicative passive future, 65, 43—44 : *[hόπος μὲ ἀπαχθέ]/[σετ]αι.*

12) Twice in infinitive present, but very ambiquous, 188, 9—10 : *ἀ[πομι]/σθ[ōν]*; 188, 18—11 : *ἀπ[o]μ[ισθ]/[ōν.*

13) Once in infinitive aorist entirely restored, 6, 36 : *[ἀποτεῖσαι].*

14) Twice in future to denote oath, 39, 29—30 : *τōι δέμοι βεεθέσ/o* ; 71, 21 : *[βοεθέσο τōι] δέμοι.*

15) Twice in subjunctive aorist entirely restored, 55, 10—11 : *ἕως ἂ[ν][εἰσαγά/γηι].*

16) Once in indicative present, 94, 37 : *hόσον ἐκφέροσι.*

17) Once in indicative future, 65, 51—2 : *[hοίτινες καλ]/έσ[o]σι* : once in participle perfect, 114, 25 : *κεκλεμ[έν]o.*

18) Three times in infinitive and participle present, 28, 5 : *[μὲ κατα][τιθέντας];* 92, 51 : *κατατιθέναι κ[ατὰ τὸ]ν ἐνιαυτόν* ; 10, 17 : *κα[τ]ατιθέναι ἀπὸ [τōν Ἀθεναίον].*

κρατέω		
κωλύω		
	λαγχάνω [19]	
	μεταγράφω	
μισθοφορέω		
	ξυγγράφω [20]	
οἰκέω		
	ὁρίζω	only in infinitive
ὀφείλω		
	ὀφλισκάνω	
παραβαίνω		only in subjunctive
πάρειμι [21]		
πλέω		only in infinitive
συνεπιμέλομαι		
	σώζω	
ταμιεύω		
τελέω		
τυγχάνω		
φέρω		
φεύγω		
χρήομαι		

Apart from these elements, which are sufficient proof for the traditional nature of the decrees, another remark may reinforce this idea. When considering religious decrees, we notice that the conservative tendency is stronger here than elsewhere ; this can be proved by the persistence of a constant use of the indirect speech in several decrees of this type [22].

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19) Once in perfect participle, 97, 13 : τὸν ἐλεχότον.
20) Once in perfect participle, *SEG* X, 38, 11—12 : χσυνγεγραμμένα.
21) Once in the aorist participle entirely restored, 97, 4 : [πλευσάντον].
22) Cf. decrees numbered 3/4, 24/5, 80 (once in imperative, line 9), 188.

CHAPTER II

ASPECTUAL REVIEW OF THE GREEK STEMS

The question of the aspectual differences among the Greek stems has already been investigated by many scholars [1]. This question concerns the verbal function from various points of view that indicate whether an action is viewed as completed or progressive, instantaneous or enduring, momentary or habitual.

The aspectual quality of the Ancient Greek verb is founded upon the antithesis of the present and aorist stems, the basic notion of which lies in the element of duration. According to Ruipérez' theory the present stem is more important, so it expresses the basic notion of the antithesis. The aorist stem is more objective, so it denotes the absence of the basic notion. Accordingly the aorist stem expresses the contrary of the basic notion, i. e. punctuality (negative value), or it is completely indifferent to the expression of the basic notion (neutral value) [2].

With regard to the future the correspondence to each one of the stems above depends entirely upon the meaning of the whole sentence, and sometimes of the whole period. Even though the modern Greek future is absolutely clear [3], the ancient one cannot be distinguished in its aspectual value by the stem itself. So, for example, it is impossible to realize at first glance when the future ἀδι-κήσω of the verb ἀδικέω denotes a durative aspect and when this of the punctual action [4]. Besides, the peculiarity of this tense consists in the fact that it is the only one which has the ability to refer the verbal action in only one time, i. e. completely in the future and never in the present or in the past [5].

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1) Concerning the theoretical analysis of this problem, found in every hanbook of Greek Syntax, see especially : K. Brugmann, *Kurıe vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprache*, Strassburg, 1904, pp. 493—554 ; J. Brunel, *L' aspect verbal et l' emploi des préverbes en grec, particulierement en attic*, Paris, 1939 ; B. Delbrück, *Vergleichende Syntax der indogermanischen Sprache* II, Strassburg, 1900, pp. 7—54 ; G. Guillaume, *Temps et verb. Théorie des aspects, des modes, et des temps*, Paris, 1929 ; F. Hartmann, «Aorist und Imperfektum», *KZ*, XLVIII (1918), pp. 1—47 ; G. Herbig, «Aktionsart und Zeitstufe», *IF*, VI (1896), pp. 157—269 : E. Hermann, «Objektive und subjenktive Aktionsart», *IF*, XLV (1927), pp. 207—28 ; J. Humbert, *Syntaxe greque*, Paris, 1945, pp. 109—14 ; H. Melzer, «Zur Lehre von den Aktionen bes. im Griechischen», *IF*, XVII (1904), pp. 186—277 ; E. Rodenbusch, «Beiträge zur Geschichte der griechischen Aktionsarten», *IF*, XXI (1907), pp. 116—45 ; M. Ruipérez, *Estructura del sistema de aspectos y tempos de verbo griego antiquo*, Salamanca, 1954 : E. Schwyzer - A. Debrunner, *Griechische Grammatik*. II, München, MLM, pp. 246—301 ; J. M. Stahl, *Kritisch - historische Syntax des griechischen Verbum der klassischen Zeit*, Heidelberg, 1907, pp. 74—147 : J. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax*. I, Basel, 1920, pp. 149—57.

2) See also W. F. Bakker, *The Greek Imperatif*, Amsterdam, 1966, pp. 20—21.

3) Humbert, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

4) Humbert, *op. cit.*, pp. 132—34.

5) Humbert, *op. cit.*, pp. 131—32.

While the present and aorist stems are in contrast to each other, the aspectual position of the perfect tense remains absolutely uninfluenced. It indicates that the verbal action or state is already finished in the present time, although it implies the performance of the action in the past. Its principal function was at first the denotion of the state ; [6] but as it was evolved into a transitive effective (resultative) tense, it was confused with the aorist, for it lost its primary peculiarity by which it could be considered as a self existent tense. Thus, while this confusion is entirely unknown to the Homeric language [7], on the other hand we observe that from the classical period the use of the perfect loses ground gradually or it is identified in its meaning with that of the aorist. A representative example of a perfect usage in an aorist meaning can be found in Demosthenes, XVIII, 111 : ὥσθ' ἅπαντα τὸν βίον ὑπεύθυνος εἶναι ὁμολογῶ ὧν διακεχείρικα ἢ πεπολίτευμαι . . . · ὧν μέντοι . . . ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας . . . δέδωκα τῷ δήμῳ.

A good example of a coexistence of those three basic stems of the Greek verb occurs in 81, 5—11 :

. . . τὸν Ῥετὸν τὸμ παρὰ τō [ἄ]-
στεος γεφυρōσαι λίθος χρομέ[ν]-
ος Ἐλευσινόθεν τōν καθειρεμέ[ν]
ον ἐκ τō νεō τō ἀρχαίο, ηος ἔλιπον
ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἀναλίσκοντες, ηος ἄ-
ν τὰ ηιερὰ φέροσιν ηαι ηιέρειαι ἀ-
[σ]φαλέστατα.

The use of the forms γεφυρōσαι, ἔλιπον—χρομένος, ἀναλίσκοντες, φέροσιν —καθειρεμένον should be explained from an aspectual point of view as follows : By the aorists γεφυρōσαι, ἔλεπον the verbal action is stated as a punctual fact, the objective duration of which is indifferent for the proposer [8]. Indeed, if the Greek tenses were used in an inflexible system, we would expect the perfect λελοίπασι instead of the aorist ἔλιπον ; for the objective circumstances of the action do not suit to the punctual value of the aorist stem. Since the stones which had been brought down remained in the same place as a result of the καθαίρεσις, the use of the perfect tense should be necessary.

On the other hand the duration is indicated by the present stems χρομένος, ἀναλίσκοντες [9], φέροσιν while the perfect καθειρεμένον indicates that an

6) P. Chantraine, *Histoire du parfait grec*, Paris, 1927, pp. 4ff.

7) P. Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique*, tome II. Syntaxe, Paris, 1952, pp. 197ff.

8) For analogous functions of the aorist in the Indoeuropean language see A. Meillet, *Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues indoeuropèennes*, 8th ed., Paris, 1937, p. 249.

9) The form ἀναλίσκοντες is used as an imperfect *(ὅτε ἀνήλισκον)* ; see W. W. Goodwin, *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verbs* (new edition), New York, 1965, p. 47.

action having been completed in the past preserves its value as a result in the present.

But, as we have already seen in the case of the aorist ἔλιπον, it is a peculiarity of the use of Greek tenses that, in spite of the apportionment of the function of each stem, there are many cases which might give the impression that the use of the basic stems was entirely casual. A representative example of this confusion could be a parataxis of two imperative forms in 57, 23—25, of which the first is present and the second aorist :

> . . . καὶ ἐὰμ μὲν ὁμολ[ο]γῶσιν [hεκ]-
> [άτερ]οι, χσυ[μβι]βασάντον hοι πρέσβες, ἐὰν δὲ μέ,
> [πρεσ]-
> [βεί]αν ἑκάτ[ερ]ο[ι] πεμπόντον ἐς Διονύσια 10.

Such an apparent contradiction, not unusual in many texts of the Ancient Greek language, led scholars to the theory that above all the choice of the verbal stem does not depend on the objective circumstances of the action, but on the speaker's or doer's position, i. e., the verbal action is adjusted to the personal attitude of the subject 11. Thus, Thucydides, mentioning an action which is considered by him as very important, uses the present in a place where the aorist should be the only expected stem : I, 91 : κελεύει πέμψαι ἄνδρας· ἀπο-στέλλουσιν οὖν, καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς κρύφα πέμπει.

As we begin with the aspectual investigation of verbs belonging to the context of the decrees, we notice at first that a great number of stems are in accordance with their natural aspectual value. The basic denotion of the present stem, duration—repetition, is found in a great number of examples.

1. Duration

56, 2—7 :   . . . ἐ[π]-
ιμέλεσθαι δὲ αὐτō 'Αθένεσι μ-
[ὲ]ν τὸς πρυτάνες καὶ τὲμ βολὲ-
ν, ἐν δὲ τῆσι ἄλλεσι πόλεσι hο-
ίτινες 'Αθεναίον ἄρχοσι ἐν τ-
ῆι hυπερορίαι,

78, 6—8 :   . . . καὶ κα[λλιερέσ]-
[αντες βōν διανε]μόντον οἱ ἐπιστάται πᾶσ[ι]
[τοῖς πολί]-
[ταις τὰ κρέα, αὐ]τοὶ ἀναλίσκοντες μέχ[ρι μνᾶς],

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10) An explanation of this phenomenon is given by Meisterhans - Schwyzer, op. cit., p. 243.

11) Humbert, op. cit., p. 111 ; cf. also Herbig, op. cit., p. 267 : «Die Aktionsart hängt mit der Verbalhandlung (actio) unlösbar zusammen . . . Die subjektiven Zeitstufen sind eine ausserhalb und überhalb der einfachen Verbalhandlung stehende Kategorie».

91, 12—3 : ἀποφαινόντον δὲ τὰ γεγραμμένα hοί τε hιερ-
[ες κ]αὶ οἱ hιεροποιοὶ ᵏκαὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος οἶδεν,

SEG X, 24, 17—8 : ἄρχεν δὲ ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸ[ν] ὀμόσαντας με-
ταχσὺ τοῖν βομοῖν 'Ελευσῖνι.

2. Repetition

82, 8—12 : ἐπαινέσαι 'Αστέαν τὸν 'Αλε-
όν, hότι εὖ ποεῖ 'Αθεναίος κ-
αὶ ἰδίαι καὶ δεμοσίαι τὸν ἀ-
φικνόμενον καὶ νῦν καὶ ἐν
τōι πρόσθεν χρόνοι,

39, 24 : οὐδὲ τōι ἀφισταμένοι πείσομαι [12],

76, 7— 8 : ἐὰν δέ τις πλείο καρπὸν ποιεῖ ἒ τ[οσοῦτο]-
ν ἒ ὀλείζο, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἀπάρχεσθαι,

108, 45 :   τὸς ἄρχ[οντ]ας τοὺς 'Αθεναίον hοι ἄν hεκ-
[άστοτε ἄρχοσι],

SEG X, 31, 39—40 : ὅταν δὲ δόχσει [ἀδικε̄]-
ν, γνόμας πο[ιόντον· hοι πρυ]τάνες.

It is obvious that the choice of present stems in the examples above is in accordance with the objective aspectual requirements of the action. Therefore, the meaning of the infinitive ἐ[π]ιμέλεσθαι (56,2) is that the prytanes, the Boule, and the ἄρχοντες must have the responsibility for something in a continuous way ; also the meaning of ποεῖ . . . ἀφικνόμενον (82, 8f.) is that of an action which is repeated from time to time in the same manner, i. e. the behaviour of Asteas towards the Athenians was always the same.

The only example of the use of the present stems above which seems to be difficult to justify is in 78, 6f. It could be argued that a use of the aorist stem would be more reasonable, because on the one hand there would be a correspondence to the aorist participle κα[λλιερέσαντες] and on the other hand because of the rather limited duration of the action. But the real cause of this apparent contradiction lies in the relative importance of the various actions. The sacrifice of the cow is considered as punctual and this is correct by every consideration ; from the time that the cow has been sacrificed, another action begins, whose accomplishment is reported according to the participation of those who share the meat (the ἐπιστάται) and those who accept it (the πολῖται).

If all these actions had been reported in the aorist, we should have a neutralization by which the aorist thus used (διανεμάντον, ἀναλόσαντες) would be entirely indifferent to the expression of the basic notion.

With regard to the imperfect there are no problems at all. Apart from the

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12) With a conative signification ; this is much more common in the imperfect ; see W. W. Goodwin, op. cit., p. 9.

successive use of those imperfects ἐγραμμάτευε, ἐπρυτάνευε, ἐπεστάτε, ἦρχε [13], which are the intermediate verbal forms of the beginnings of the decrees, the rest of the imperfects occur rarely and always in a normal use. This tense indicates the durative development or the repetition of an action in the past. Its aspectual difference from the aorist lies exactly at the same point as that of the present, but now both the actions are regularly referred to the past. Thus, observing the juxtaposition of the aorist and imperfect forms in the beginning of the decrees, ἔδοχσε . . . ἐγραμμάτευε . . . ἐπρυτάνευε . . . ἐπεστάτε . . . εἶπε, we realize that the choice of aorist and imperfect forms corresponds to the demands of meaning, that is, that a specific proposition and decision took place during the time when certain persons possessed offices indicated by the terms ἐγραμμάτευε, ἐπρυτάνευε, ἐπεστάτε, ἦρχε. Their common element is that of the reference of the action to the past, but from an aspectual point of view the difference between them is great : the aorists express only the occurrence of the action, while the imperfects express it as going on.

Sometimes the parallel use of these tenses may give the impression that they were not used correctly. Such an example would be that of *SEG*, X, 24, 10f :

. . . τοῦτο-
[ς] δὲ ἐπισ[τε͞]ναι [τ]οῖς χρέμασι τοῖς τοῖν θ-
[ε]οῖν καθάπερ ηοι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐμ πό[λ]ει ἔργ[ο]-
[ι]ς ἐπεστ[ά]το[ν].

Since the action, which is renoted by ἐπισ[τε͞]ναι, is going to be objectively durative, the normal form would be the present ἐπίστασθαι ; but the whole question is related to the aspectual peculiarity of the aorist, as we will see below. Here the action, indicated by ἐπισ[τε͞]ναι has been concentrated only at its beginning, i. e., the speaker is not interested in the objective duration of the action, but only in the fact that certain persons will undertake the responsibility to supervise money belonging to the gods (ingressive aorist).

The use of the future is generally limited. It occurs only 101 times ; of those 62 as active, 36 as middle, and only three as passive [14]. Its use occurs in independent and dependent sentences ; in independent usages the future occurs especially in oaths (1st person) and in the apodosis of conditional clauses ; in dependent usage it occurs in final clauses, introduced by *(h)όπος, καθότι*, and relative final clauses, introduced by *(h)όστις* (especially *(h)οίτινες)* [15].

Examples :

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13) The nse of ἦρχε regularly begins from 421 B. C., but in treaties earlier ; see S. Louria, «Zur Geschichte der Präskripte in den attischen Volksbeschlüssen», *Hermes*, LXII, (1927), p. 275.

14) About the rare use of this form in Attic see V. Magnien, *Le futur grec*, tom. I, Paris, 1917, p. 375.

15) Meisterhans - Schwyzer, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

1. In oaths

39, 21—2 :   . . . οὐκ ἀπο[σ]τέ-
σομαι ἀπὸ τō [δ]έμο τō ᾿Αθεναίον.

2. In apodosis of conditional clauses

57, 27—9 :. . . ε[ἴ]πēν δὲ [Π]ερδίκκαι, ηότι ἐὰν ηοι
στρατι[ōται]
[ηοι] ἐμ Ποτειδ[ά]αι ἐπαινōσι, γνόμας ἀ-
γαθὰς ηέ[χσοσι]
[περὶ] αὐτō ᾿Αθε[ν]αῖοι.

3) In final clauses

92, 41—2 : [ἐπιμ]ελέσ[θο] . . . ηόπος ἄρισ[τα καὶ λαμ]-
[πρό]-
[τατα κοσμεθ]έσεται ηε ἀκρ[όπολι]ς καὶ
ἐπισκευασθέ[σεται],
24, 18—9 :   . . . ἐπ[ιδεῖχσαι τē
[ι βολ]ē˙ καθότι ἀπομ[ισθόσεται].

4. In relative final clauses

56, 27—8 : . . . ἄνδρα δὲ προελέσθο Λεονίδ-
ες ηόστις ἄχσει τεστέλεν καὶ στέσει.

There are some examples which are close to the meaning of the present tense in cases in which the present refers the action into the future. Thus in 84, 30—32

. . . τὸς δ[ὲ β]ōῦ]ς ἐχσēναι αὐτοῖς σ]-
φίνγοσι[ν αἴρεσθαι πρὸς τ]ὸν βομόν˙ ηοίτινες δὲ ἀρōνται
[τὸς βōῦς ἐφέβος ηοι]
ηιεροποιο[ὶ ηαιρέσθον],

the only difference between ἀρōνται and αἴρεσθαι lies in the fact that, with ἀρōνται, the action is contracted into the moment of the ἄρσις, while αἴρεσθαι keeps its normal aspect [16].

Serious problems are caused by the aorist. As a matter of fact this tense can be considered as the most objective. It is this obscurity which led the stoics to call it ἀόριστος, i. e. the tense whose nature cannot be clearly defined.

Putting aside the different theories about the exact function of the aorist [17],

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16) Cf. Magnien, *op. cit.*, tom. II, p. 278 : «Le futur grec n' indique pas l' action à venir en elle-même, mais l' état actuel qui prépare cette action, et, foudamentalement, l' intention de l' accomplir. Il est un véritable présent, mais un présent de sens particulier».

17) For bibliography see Bakker, *op. cit.*, pp. 19—20.

we adopt the theory of Ruipérez, on the basis of which we have already explained several cases of aorists used in combination with other stems. Moroover two other things are necessary to explain its theory : The aorist stem contrasted to that of the present by its weakness in indicating duration ; therefore, it denotes the punctuality of the action (negative value) or is entirely indifferent for the duration (neutral value). Also, the punctual aorist can be ingressive or effective ; it is ingressive in transformative verbs and effective in non - transformative [18]. Representative examples of all these uses are found in the context of a great number of the decrees :

1. Negative value - punctuality

116, 24—5 : ὤ[μο]σαν 'Αθεναίον οἱ στρατεγοί
[καὶ hοι τριέραρχοι καὶ hοι hοπλῖται].

2. Neutral value - indifference for the duration

16, 6—9 : ... ἂν μὲ[ν] 'Αθ-
[ήνησι ξ]υ[μβό]λαιον γένηται
πρὸς Φ[αρσηλιτ]ῶν τινα, 'Αθή[ν]η-
[σι δεῖ δ]ίκας γίγνεσθαι.

3. Ingressive aorist

45, 3—5 : πο[ίμνια]
[δὲ αἰγō]ν αὐτοῖς παρασχόντον hοι ἀπ[οικιστ]-
[αὶ καλλιε]ρēσαι hυπὲρ τēς ἀποικίας.

4. Effective aorist

28, 10—11 : ... [καθάπερ ἐὰν 'Αθεναί]-
ον τις ἀποθά[νει].

The perfect generally occurs in the participial form, and especially in the middle—passive. Thus, from a total of 107 perfect forms, 75 occur as participle, 65 of which are middle—passive. Apart from the formal and traditional style of the decrees, there seem to be no other reasons justifying such a frequency. Indeed, a great number of these forms belong to several verbs which are used in a traditional manner ; so the middle—passive perfect participle of the verb ψηφίζω occurs eighteen times, usually following the preposition κατά (κατὰ τὰ ἐφσεφισμένα) [19], while that ot the verb γράφω occurs six times, etc [20]. That the intervention of the tradition is here very strong can be pointed out by the fact that

18) Ruipérez, op. cit., p. 69.
19) Cf. 14, 11 ; 39, 49 ; 49, 12 ; 58, 15—6 ; 92, 36 ; 114, 52.
20) Cf. 4, 25 ; 25, 7 ; 40, 27—8 ; 77, 18 ; 92, 37 : 106, 21—2 ; cf. also λελευκομένος, 66, 31 ; 17, 5 ; hειρεμένος, 84, 37 ; SEG X, 24, 14—5 ; SEG X, 24, 37, etc.

we never have ἀναγεγραμμένα in place of γεγραμμένα, although the semantic meaniug favors the second form in many cases [21]. This inconsistency is due to the isolation of the verb ἀναγράφω in only the aorist stem, as we saw above.

Generally the use of the perfect in the decrees is in accordance with the development which this tense exibited in the literary works of the fifth century [22]. This accounts for its infrequent usage in the moods.

There are only six pluperfect forms, all of them in the middle—passive voice [23]. The future perfect is unknown.

We begin now with the investigation of deviations observed in the usage of the verbal stems of the decrees.

At first there are several verbs, partly or entirely restored, which can be modified in a form corresponding to the aspect theory. Such would be the case in the following examples :

57, 55—6 :   . . . ἄλλο δὲ προχρεμα[τίσαι]
[το]ύ[το]ν μεδέν, ἐὰμ μέ τι οἱ στρατε[γ]οὶ δέοντα[ι].

The aorist stem of προχρεματίζω seems to be unexpected because of its connection with the present δέονται. If the meaning is that it is possible to transact business before hand, as often as the generals need something, then we should have προχρεμα[τίζεν] instead of προχρεμα[τίσαι]. Such a substitution is possihle, for in both cases there are five letters restored.

88, 6—7 : [τὸν δὲ β]ολόμενον γράφσαντα ἀποδ]εικνύναι γράμμα]
[δέ]κα ἐμερῶν, ἐπειδὰν δόχσει.

There is no reason here for the infinitive to be in the present. A replacement by the aorist form ἀποδ[εῖχσαι] would be more convenient, for we thus avoid the expression of durative value. That this is correct is indicated by the fact that we now have room to restore the more normal γράμματα instead of γράμμα in the following word.

92, 52—56 :   [ἐπε]-
[ιδὰν δὲ ἐκ τō[ν διακοσίον τα[λάντο]ν, hὰ ἐς
ἀπόδοσιν ἐφ[σεφίσατο h]-
[ο δēμος τοῖς] ἄλλοις θεοῖς, ἀ[ποδοθ]ēι τὰ ὀ]-
φελόμενα, τα[μιεύεσθο τ]-
[ὰ μὲν τēς Ἀθε]ναίας χρέματα [ἐν τōι] ὀπισ-
[θοδόμοι, τὰ δ]-
[ὲ τὸν ἄλλον θ]εὸν ἐν τōι ἐπ' ἀρ[ιστερ[ά.

Since the temporal clause ἐπειδάν . . , ἀ[οδοθ]ēι excludes the possibility of denotion of repetition, the action of ταμιεύομαι should be indicated by the aorist

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21) Cf. 4, 25 τōι λί[θοι γεγραμμένα], 25, 6—7 τὰς γεγραμμένας ἐν τῆι στήλ[ηι], 77, 18 [κατα τὰ ἐς τ]ὲν στέλε[ν] γεγραμ[μ]ένα.

22) See above pp. 15—6.

23) Cf. 58, 9, 31 ; 64, 2—3 ; 91, 4 ; 108, 3 ; 116, 10—11.

stem. The passive corresponds absolutely to the restored letters. Thus, we can read ταƒμιευθέτο] instead of ταƒμιενέσθο].

105, 10—12 : ἀποσ-
[τελάντον hοι στρατεγ]οί· εἰ δὲ μέ, ἐσαγό-
[σθον προδοσίας ἐς τὸ δ]ικαστέριον.

Here the repetition is clear because of the form ἐσαγό[σθον] and the lines following. To indicate repetition we should use the present form. We can maintain the same letter count by dropping the h from the article ; so we will have :

ἀποσ[τελλόντον οἱ στρατεγ]οί.

110, 19—20 : [εἶναι δὲ καὶ εὑρέσθαι αὐτōι π]αρὰ 'Αθεναίον κ-
[αὶ ἄλλο ἀγαθόν, ἐάν το δέεται].

The case is almost the same as in 56, 55—56. A substitution of the aorist εὑρέσθαι by the present εὑρίσκεσθαι is possible if we exclude the superfluous conjunction καὶ from the first line. By this modification we will have :

[εἶναι δὲ εὑρίσκεσθαι (or δ' ηευρίσκεσθαι) αὐτōι]
[π]αρὰ 'Αθεναίον κ[αὶ ἄλλο ἀγαθόν, ἐάν το δέεται]. [24]

Many other apparent deviations are due to the fact that the verbs fall into the category of those which occur in the decrees in only one stem for traditional reasons. These verbs, which have been listed above (pp. 45—46), represent 25, 4⁰/₀ of the total number of verbal forms (2412 : 613) and 10, 7⁰/₀ of the total number of verbs which occur in the language of the decrees (42 : 392). Such being the case, it is natural to assume that the traditional use of these verbs caused a further confusion by influence upon other verbal usages ; since the writer had the tendency to use a great number of verbs in only one stem - whether or not these forms corresponded precisely to the meaning -. further deviation from the normal meaning in other verbs was to be expected.

On the other hand we notice that a great part of the untraditional deviations can be classified in the following categories :

1. Subjective duration of the present stem

39, 41—43 : ποēσθαι τὸν hόρκον 'Αθεναίος καὶ Χαλ-
κιδέας . . . . hόπος δ' ἂν τάχιστ-
α γίγνεται, ἐπιμελόσθον hοι στρατεγοί.

In the example above the underlined present stems should be given in aorist because of the instantaneous nature of the actions [25]. The deviation is due,

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24) For analogous uses cf : 61, 4f. ἐὰν [δέ τινος δέεται, τὸς π]|ρυτάνες [προσάγεν αὐτὸν πρὸς τ]ὲν βολέν. —SEG X 121 (=IGI² 123) 10/11 καὶ ἐὰν δέ[ονται ἄλλο τινὸς hοι στ]ρατεγοί, χρόσθο[ν].

25) The imperative ἐπιμελόσθον is excluded because of the traditional use of that verb.

perhaps, to the special conditions of the oath, which urges the writer to give an emphasis to the action through the use of present stems [26].

2. Objective consideration of the action

76, 12—14 . . . τὸ[ν δὲ κα]-

ρπὸν ἐνταυθοῖ ἐμβάλλεν ἱὸν ἂν παραλάβοσι παρὰ τὸν δεμάρ-
[χον], ἀπάρχεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὸς συμμάχος κατὰ ταὐτά.

The aorist *παραλάβοσι* seems to be entirely unexpected. The meaning of the passage is that the collecting and the storing of the grain will be done periodically, so that the present stem is necessary. But the action indicated by *παρα-λάβοσι* is concentrated only as an occurrence, as an event whose duration is entirely indifferent to the subject [27].

In a way we might classify this example with the category of ingressive aorists on the basis that it indicates the beginning of the action. But such an arrangement seems impossible because the aspectual value of the presents here is repeated and not durative.

3. Correspondence to time limits and frequency of actions

16, 15—22 : . . . ἐὰν δέ τ-

[ις κατ᾽ ἄστ]υ ἄρχων δέξηται δ-
[ίκην κατὰ]Φασηλιτῶν τινος
[παρόντος, ε]ἰ μὲν καταδικάσ-
[ει, ἡ καταδίκ]η ἄκυρος ἔστω. ἐ-
[ὰν δέ τις παραβα]α[ί]νηι τὰ ἐψη-
[φισμένα, ὀφ]ε[λέτ]ω [μ]υρίας δ[ρ]-
[αχμάς].

It is noticed that sometimes the verbal stem in conditional clauses depends upon the time limits and the frequency of the actions reported by them. The example above includes actions whose verbs are used in a different way. Thus, we have : ἐάν τις ἄρχων δέξηται (aorist), ἐάν τις παραβαίνηι (present). On the other hand the apodosis is reported by present in both clauses *(ἔστω, ὀφελέτω)*. This happens because the expected frequency of the actions is considered as different by the subject ; so the limited number of cases concerning trials against *Φασηλῖται* is denoted by the aorist, while the present tense is used to indicate

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26) See also Melzer, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

27) A very satisfactory analysis is given by Humbert ; speaking about the difference between the examples ἀπέθανε—ἀπέθνησκε says (p. 111) : «Si je constate la vaillance que Socrate a montrée devant la mort, j' emploie l' aoriste «Σωκράτης ἀπέθανε γενναίως» parce que les détails, le developpement même de cette mort ne m'interrest pas ; au contraire si j'en fait le récit, c'est l'imparfait qui convient : «Σωκράτης τοιῷδε τῷ τρόπῳ ἀπέθνησκε» encore que les conditions objectives de la mort du philosophe n'aient pas changé».

that from now on every violation of the ἐψηφισμένα will have a specific penalty [28].

4. Avoidance of repetition

SEC X, 31, 16—18 :   ... τὸς δὲ ἀ-
πάγοντας ἀποδō[ναι] τὸ γραμματεῖον
ἐν τῆι βολῆι ἀ-
ναγνōναι hόταμ[π]ερ τὸμ φόρον ἀποδιδōσι.

The deviation observed in the form ἀποδōναι [29] could be explained perhaps by the tendency to avoid a repetition in cases when we have to repeat not only the same stem, but the same verb as well. This tendency is also seen in the literary works of the fifth century [30]. So, for example, Herodotus (7, 63) uses the verb καλέω in a parataxis of both the stems, although the objective circumstances of the meaning require only one :

οὗτοι δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκαλέοντο Σύριοι, ὑπὸ
δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων Ἀσσύριοι ἐκλήθησαν.

With relation to the decrees this kind of deviation is noticed mostly in the imperative, as we will see below.

On the investigation which we attempted above, we did not include all the verbal forms which do not correspond to the requirements of the aspect theory. Some of them will be classified in accordance with their specific function as infinitive or imperative forms in the relevant chapters ; some others will remain entirely unexplained. None of the reasons mentioned above could be urgued to justify their appearance. But by this we do not mean that the language of the decrees is extremely peculiar, at least not becauee of these deviations. The result would be almost the same if we investigated verbal uses in Greek texts of every period. In a way F. Hartmann is partly right when, reporting on the relationship between the imperfect and the aorist, says : «Suchen wir auch hier das Ergebnis der Untersuchungen abschliessend darzustellen, so sind die Schwierigkeiten noch grösser als bei den rein sprachwissenschaftlichen Forschungen. Die Grenzen der Tempusbedeutung von Aorist und Imperfektum fliessen an vielen Stellen ineinander, besonders bei einzelnen Bedeutungsgruppen scheinen sie ganz zu verschwinden. Nach dem Prinzip *divide et impera* sucht man des Stoffes Herr zu werden, in der Tat aber wird trotz mancher Fortschritte in der Erkenntnis der Einzelheiten das Gesamtbild nur verworrener und übersichtlicher» [31].

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28) Cf. also Eur. Or. 1533ff. εἰ γὰρ Ἀργείους ἐπάξει . . . κἀμὲ μὴ σῴζειν θέλῃ . . . , δύο νεκρὼ κατόψεται. Dem. X 289 οὐδὲ φοβεῖ με Φίλιππος, ἂν τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν ὑγιαίνῃ, ἀλλ' εἰ παρ' ὑμῖν ἄδεια γενήσεται τοῖς παρ' ἐκείνου μισθαρνεῖν βουλομένοις. For a theoretical discussion about the choice of the present and the aorist stems in the conditional clauses, see. O. Riemann—Ch. Cucuel, *Syntaxe grecque*, Paris, 1941, pp. 157—163.

29) That the infinitive ἀποδō[ναι] is a deviation can be demonstrated by the participle ἀπάγοντας and the temporal clause introduced by hόταμ[π]ερ *(whenever)*.

30) See Humbert, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

31) Cf. F. Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

CHAPTER III

THE USE OF THE IMPERATIVE

Although this chapter and also the following one are both related to the aspect theory, nevertheless it is necessary that the imperative and the infinitive be investigated separately for particular reasons :

First, with relation to the imperative, it seems to be entirely correct to state with Bakker that it «appears to have caused the greatest trouble» in the Ancient Greek language [1]. There is no doubt that, apart from the expected deviations which occur in every mood, the imperative seems to be used in the present and aorist stems in a more confused and incomprehensible way. Secondly, the various meanings of the imperative expressions require particular attention to understand the psychological reasons which sometimes lead the speaker to express his desires in a more or less unexpected manner. Of course, in cases when an order is given by someone who possesses the power to do so, there are not usually strong psychological conditions, and this is reflected in the language of the decrees [2]. But, even in them, the peculiarity of the imperative will also be observed for reasons which will be analyzed below.

It is remarkable that modern scholarship has brought back the theory of Apollonius Dyscolus concerning the function of the present and aorist stems in the imperative [3]. According to him the choice of these stems depends basically upon whether the action is objectively considered to be of a continuous or instantaneous value :

«Ὁ γὰρ ἀποφαινόμενος οὕτω, γράφε, σάρου, σκάπτε, ἐν παρατάσει τῆς διαθέσεως τὴν πρόσταξιν ποιεῖται . . . ὅ γε μὴν λέγων . . . γράφον, σκάψον, οὐ μόνον τὸ μὴ γενόμενον προστάσσει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ γινόμενον τῇ παρατάσσει ἀπαγορεύει, εἴ γε καὶ τοῖς γράφουσιν ἐν πλείονι χρόνῳ προσφωνοῦμεν τὸ «γράψον», τοιοῦτόν τι φάσκοντες, μὴ ἐμμένειν τῇ παρατάσει, ἀνύσαι δὲ τὸ γράφειν» [4].

Apollonius leaves grounds for a subjective consideration of the action when the aorist stem is used. The aorist stem is sometimes instantaneous and sometimes not ; in the second case it is used to make clear that the duration of the action must be as short as possible.

Stattstical research has demonstrated that the imparative present is generally more frequent than the aorist in cases dealing with admonitions and general

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1) Cf. Bakker, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

2) For this reason Post thinks that the investigation of the imperative in the inscriptions does not cause great difficulties ; see *L. A. Post*, «Dramatic Uses of the Greek Imperative», *AJP*, LIX (1938), p. 32, note 1.

3) See J. P. Louw, «On Greek Prohibitions», *Act. Cl.*, II (1959), pp. 43—47.

4) Cf. *Grammatici Graeci*, vol. II² , Lipsiae, 1910, p. 253.

prohibitions [5]. This also holds true in the decrees, as can be observed from proportions of present and aorist : (222 : 151) [6].

But the substitution for the imperative of the infinitive in an imperative meaning, which is very common in the decrees for reasons analyzed in the next chapter, caused the following peculiarity :

The imperative as a mood is usually used in the decrees to denote either commands of secondary importance or those concerning the decree itself without any connection with preceding orders or with actions reflecting the general political position of the state. This applies not only to the use of the imperative in the Athenian decrees, but to its use in the other dialects as well. Thus, Jacobstahl, reporting on the use of the imperative in the Cretan inscriptions, remarks that «der Imperativ an einen spezielen Fall oder an eine bestimmte Person angeknüpft wird» [7]. Similar is the position of Fohlen on the Thessalian inscriptisns [8], and that of Kocewalow on the inscriptions of Pontus Euxenus [9].

There are many examples demostrating the secondary value of the imperative, especially in the decrees No 1—80 :

1. No 16 : With regard to the importance of the context, this decree can be divided into two parts : the first part (l. 1—15) contains the principal meaning :

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1—15 : [ ἔδο ]ξεν . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
        [ ε ]ΐ[ πε· τοῖς ] Φασηλίταις τὸ ψ[ ήφι ]σ-
        [ σμα ἀν ]αγράψαι, ὅτι, ἂν μὲ[ ν ] Ἀθ-
        [ ήνησι ξ ]υ[ μβό ]λαιον γένηται
        [ πρὸς Φ ]ασηλιτ[ ῶ ]ν τινα, Ἀθή[ ν ]η-
        [ σι δεῖ δ ]ίκας γίγνεσθαι παρ-
        [ ὰ τῶι πο ]λεμάρχωι, καθάπερ Χ-
        [ ίοις, καὶ ] ἄλλοθι μηδὲ ἀμō· τῶ-
        [ ν δ' ἄλλοθι ], ἀπὸ ξυμβόλων κατ-
        [ ὰ τὰς ὅσας ] ξυμβολὰς πρὸς Φα-
        [ σηλίτας ] τὰς δίκας ἔναι· τὰς
        [ δὲ ἐκκλή ]το[ ς ] ἀφελὲν.
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5) According to the statistics of Poutsma the proportion between present and aorist stems is : Hesiod, *Opera et Dies*, 2 : 1 ; Xenophon, *De Venatione*, 8 : 1 ; in the work of Theognis it occurs only the present.—In the prohibitions the proportion is greater ; see A. Poutsma, «Over de tempora van de imperativus en de conjunctivus hortativus - prohibitivus in het Grieks», *Verhandlingen der koniklijke Akademie van Wetenschapper te Amsterdam*, (1928), p. 41, note 1.

6) In the passive voice the proportion favors the present more (64 : 14).

7) Cf. H. Jacobstahl, *Der Gebrauch der Tempora und Modi in den kretischen Dialektinschriften*, *IF*, XXI (1907), Beiheft, p. 129.

8) G. Fohlen, *Untersuchungen zur thessalischen Dialekte*, Diss., Strassburg, 1910, p. 66.

9) A. Kocewalow, *Syntaxis inscriptionum antiquarum coloniarum Graecarum Orae Septenitonalis Ponti Euxini*, *Eos*, Supplementum, vol. XII, Leopoli, 1935, p. 111.

We observe that the orders above are given in an infinitive and accusative constraction, but thereafter orders are given in the imperative because they do not add anything important to the general meaning of the decree ; they are used to clarify and complete the principal decisions :

15f.　　　　　　ἐὰν δέ τ-
[ις κατ' ἄστ]υ ἄρχων δέξηται δ-
[ίκην κατὰ] Φασηλιτῶν τινος
[παρόντος, ε]ἰ μὲν καταδικάσ-
[ει, ἡ καταδίκ]η ἄκυρος ἔστω. ἐ-
[ὰν δέ τις παραβ]α[ί]νηι τὰ ἐψη-
[φισμένα, ὀφ]ε[λέτ]ω [μ]υρίας δ[ρ]-
[αχμὰς ἱερ]ὰς τῆι 'Αθηναίαι. τ-
[ὸ δὲ ψήφισ]μα τό[δε], ἀναγραψά-
[τω ὁ γραμμ]ατεὺς ὁ τῆς βολῆς
[ἐστήληι λιθ]ίνηι καὶ καταθ-
[έτω ἐμ πόλει τ]έλεσι τοῖς τῶ-
[ν Φασηλιτῶν].

The last two orders tend to occur in the infinitive [10]. The reason is that these orders are not only given in this decree, but are also repeated in a great majority of cases. Regularly they should always be expected in the infinitive form ; yet the repetition of the same orders sometimes gave the impression that the actions represented by them were of a secondary nature.

2. No 36, 1, 9 : ... εἶπε· Κορ[ρα]γί δ εν κ[αὶ]
Θαλυκίδεν καὶ Μενέστρατον κ-
αὶ 'Αθέναιον τὸς Θεσπιᾶς ἀναγρ-
[ά]φσαι προχσένος καὶ εὐεργέτα-
[ς] 'Αθεναίον καὶ τὸς παῖδας τὸς
[ἐκένο]ν ἐμ πόλ[ε]ι ἐν στέλει λιθί-
[νει· hοι δὲ] πολετ[α]ὶ ἀπομισθοσά-
[ντον τὲν στέλεν, τ]ὸ δὲ ἀργύριον
[παρασχόντον οἱ κολακρ]έται.

It is obvious here that the important action is that of the recording of the προχσενία ; because the following actions are secondary, they are stated in the imperative.

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10) ἀναγράφω : infinitive 44 times, imperative 23 ; κατατίθημι infinitive 25 times, imperative 23.

3. No 45a:

6—20 :   . . . γεονόμος δὲ hελέσθ[αι δέκα]
           [ἄνδρας], ἕνα ἐχ φυλε͂ς· hοῦτοι δὲ νεμάντ[ον τὲν]
           [γε͂ν. Δεμ]οκλέδεν δὲ καταστε͂σαι τὲν ἀ[ποικί]-
           [αν αὐτο]κράτορα, καθότι ἂν δύνεται ἄ[ριστα. τ]-
           [ὰ δὲ τεμ]ένε τὰ ἐχσειρεμένα ἐᾶν καθά[περ ἐστ]-
           [ί, καὶ ἄλ]λα μὲ τεμενίζεν. βοῦν δὲ καὶ π[ανhοπλ]-
           [ίαν ἀπά]γεν ἐς Παναθέναια τὰ μεγάλ[α καὶ ἐς Δ]-
           [ιονύσι]α φαλλόν. ἐὰν δέ τις ἐπιστρα[τεύει ἐπ]-
           [ὶ τὲν γε͂]ν τὲν τὸν ἀποίκον, βοεθε͂ν τὰ[ς πόλες h]-
(15—6)   . . . .
           . . . . γράφσαι δ[ὲ ταῦτα]
           [ἐν στέλ]ει καὶ καταθε͂ναι ἐμπόλει· πα[ρασχόν]-
           [τον δὲ τ]ὲν στέλεν hοι ἄποικοι σφο͂ν α[ὐτο͂ν τέ/λεσιν].

The two imperative forms are a supplement to the principal actions, indicated by infinitives. Thus, the form *νεμάντ[ον]* clarifies the purpose of the choice of the ten surveyors ; its function corresponds absolutely to that of a final clause, or an infinitive of purpose ; so, instead of the imperative we would have :

a) *γεονόμος δὲ hελέσθαι . . . . . hόπος τὲν γε͂ν νέμοσιν,*

b) *γεονόμος δὲ hελέσθαι . . . . . νε͂μαι τὲν γε͂ν.*

Also, the second imperative form, *παρασχόντον*, expresses a secondary detail concerning the erecting of the stele. The general orders are reported by the infinitives *γράφεσθαι, καταθε͂ναι* ; but the imperative is used in the enumeration of persons obliged to undertake the expenses of the stele.

Examples like the above are really numerous, but we cannot maintain that the secondary function of the imperative in the language of the decrees is repeated so frequently as to establish a real rule. In several cases the infinitive and imperative forms are used successively without any discernible cause. Such an example is found in 41, 13—19 :

                              διδόντο[ν ἄ]-
           [νδρας κατ]ὰ δέμος ἐν [h]εστιαίαι τρ[ιάκο]-
           [ντα· δο͂ναι] δὲ τὸς αὐτὸς καὶ ἐν Δίο[ι, δο͂να]-
           [ι δὲ καὶ ἐν]'Ελλοπία[ι h]έτερον δι[καστέρ]-
           . . . .
                    κυαμευσάντον [δικα/στὰς . . . .
           . . . . [δικάζ]εν δὲ τούτος . . . . .

As can be seen, there seems to be no explanation for the use of both forms of *δίδωμι.*

So far we have considered only the general position of the imperative in

the language of the decrees as compared with the infinitives. But the greatest problem lies in the use of the tense stems. As has already been stated, the imperative seems to be the only mood which ignores in great part the aspect theory [11]. Indeed, the basic distinctions of Apollonius Dyscolus correspond to a theoretical classification, which can be supported by a great number of examples ; but a great many imperative forms cannot be explained, unless we follow the practical method of dealing with each specific case individually. That means that, whatever is the result of our investigation, it will be limited to the language of the decrees [12], and, consequently, will not have any close relationship with the imperative as a mood dealing with the main body of Ancient Greek literature. Thus, the imperative forms will be divided into two categories : In the first will be included usages corresponding to the aspect theory as it has been analyzed above (pp. 14—32), and also to the basic distinctions made by Apollonius Dyscolus ; in the second will be included imperative forms whose justification can be made on the basis ef practical criteria.

With regard to the first category, i. e. to the normal uses of the imperative forms, there is no reason to quote here representative examples. This work has already been done during the elucidation of the general principles of the aspect theory, which agrees with the thoughts of Apollonius, at least in its basic elements.

Before we begin with the investigation of imperative forms belonging to the second group, it is necessary to say a few words about recent scholarship on this subject.

As a matter of fact we can say that, apart from those who gave up any attempt to classify the imperative in some specific functions [13], recent scholarhip has limited itself either to an investigation of some particular use in all the Greek literature or to a general treatment of the imperative in some specific genre.

In several cases there are positive results. Thus, it has been noticed that the aorist is almost the only tense used in prayers. This has been well covered [14]. It is also well - known that prohibitions in the socond person of the imperative are regularly expressed in the present, while in the same person of the subjunc-

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11) About similar difficulties in the literary works of the Ancient Greek language, see Post, *op. cit.,* pp. 31—32.

12) A close relationship with decrees in other dialects is, of course, not excluded.

13) See R. Kühner - B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechisehen Sprache.* II. Satzlehre, Hannover, 1898. 1904, p. 191 ; H. Hirt, *Indogermanische Grammatik.* Teil VI. Syntax I. Syntaktische Verwendung der Kasus und der Verbalformen, Heidelberg, 1934, p. 263 ; W. Headlam, «Some Passages of Aeschylus and Others», *ClR,* XVII (1903), p. 294.

14) Bakker, *op. cit.,* pp. 98—127 ; see also B. Gildersleeve, *The Apologies of Justin Martyr and the Epistle to Diognetus,* New York, 1877, p. 137.

tive they are always expressed in the aorist. This question, dealing with basic tendencies of the Indoeuropean language, has already been solved [15].

The greatest difficulty seems to be caused by imperative usages in general admonitions. The relative priority of the present, mentioned above, does not have any importance, because the present is generally the more frequently used tense. Confining ourselves to the language of the courts, which are closer to the official atmosphere of the decrees, we observe that orders given to clerks or withnesses occur in present or aorist without any distinction :

To witnesses : (almost always) μαρτύρησον ;[16] but Andoc. I, 18 βλέπετε εἰς τούτους καὶ μαρτυρεῖτε εἰ . . . λέγω, Dem. De Cor. I, 60 ἢ μαρτυρεῖτε ἢ ἐξομόσασθε.

To clerks : (always) λαβὲ τὴν μαρτυρίαν ; but Lys. VII, 10 δεῦρ' ἴτε, μάρτυρες· ἀναγίγνωσκε, ἀνάγνωθι, λέγε, Dem. Tim. 32 ἀνάγνωθι δέ μοι λαβών . . . ἀναγίγνωσκε, Dem. Macart. 71 γνώσεσθε δέ, ἐπειδὰν ἀκούσητε. ἀναγίγνωσκε τὸν νόμον, Andoc. I, 47 ἀναγίγνωσκε, σὺ δ' ἐπίλαβε τὸ ὕδωρ, Din. I, 27 ἀνάγνωθι τὸ ψήφισμα τῶν Θηβαίων. λέγε τὰς μαρτυρίας, ἀναγίγνωσκε.

Cases like the above are explained by Bakker as due to the fact that the hearer is prepared to receive the command. Following in great part Post's theory, he says that orders to hearers who are prepared to receive them are generally given in the aorist, followed by a present imperative of the same or similar verb [18]. Also, Post thinks that «the reinforcement or repetition of a request in the aorist is regularly given in the present» [19] as well.

Another classification has been made by Humbert. According to him the present reports actions of which the circumstances of the beginning and end are indifferent to the subject (présent indéterminé), while the aorist insists on their accuracy (aorist déterminé) [20]. His general view on the problem of the imperative is summarized in the following words : «Il est nécessaire de prouver que le tableau s' accorde avec des observations empiriques, mais certains, sur les emplois d' impératif et qu' il apporte quelque lumière aux difficultés reconnues dans la valeur respective des deux thèmes» [21].

With regard to the Athenian decrees the position of Meisterhans and Schwyzer is as follows :

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15) See especially A. Music, «Zum Gebrauch des negierten Konjunktivs für den negierten Imperative im Griechischen», *Glotta*, VI (1915), pp. 206—210.

16) Cf. also Lys. XVI, 8 ; Andoc. I, 112, etc.

17) For a discussion of this problem see F. Blass, «Demosthenische Studien», *RhM*, CLIV (1889), pp. 406—430.—According to statistics given by Miller the proportion among imperative present, aorist, and perfect in the orators is : presents 1323, aorists 1105, perfects 7 ; cf. E. Miller, «The Limitation of the Imperative in the Attic Orators», *AJP*, XIII, 4 (1892), p. 425.

18) Bakker, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

19) Cf. Post, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

20) Humbert, *op. cit.*, pp. 166—7.

21) cf. Humbert, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

When orders require immediate performance, the aorist is the regular tense, but not for any repetition of the performance [22].
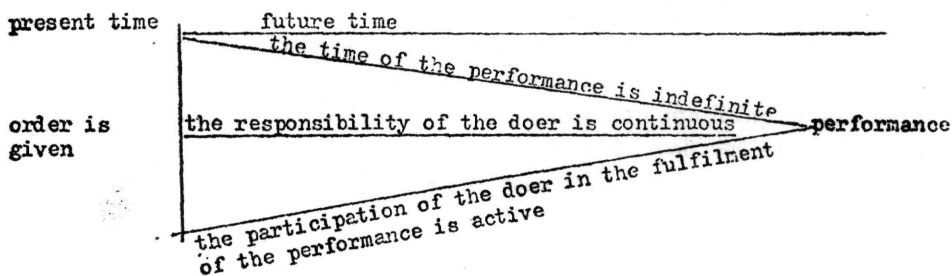
In the apodosis of conditional sentences referring to future conditions, we can have either the present or the aorist ; but, when present and aorist stems are used in a parataxis, the principal meaning is reported by the aorist [23].

Usually the aorist is used to denote the principal orders, while the present indicates secondary actions [24].

From the above we observe that all the solutions which have been given to the question of the present and aorist stem in the imperative are grounded on an empiric basis. But, as Riemann remarks, it would be unreasonable to assume that the imperative forms were used mostly by chance ; it is to our weakness that we cannot recognize the reason which leads the speaker to express his admonition at one time by the present and at another by the aorist [25].

According to our observations, the real explanation must be based upon the connectien between the speaker and the action itself [26]. If the speaker considers his order as an action which the doer is responsible to perform from the moment he receives the order, the present is the expected tense ; on the other hand, if there is no close connection between speaker and action, if the order is considered as an action which is going to be done at some point of the future, the aorist stem seems to be necessary. Diagrammaticaly this classification should be as follows :

1. **Present**


```
present time          future time
                      the time of the performance is indefinite
order is         the responsibility of the doer is continuous ──►performance
given
                      the participation of the doer in the fulfilment
                      of the performance is active
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22) Cf. 91a, 22f.
23) Cf. 57, 23f.
24) Meisterhans - Schwyzer, *op. cit.*, pp. 243—4.
25) Cf. O. Riemann, «La question de l'aorist grec», *Mèlanges Graux*, Paris, 1884, p. 598 : «Les forms λῦε et λῦσον ne s'employaient pas toujours au hasard ; il y avait entre elles une différence de sens réelle, dont la langue avait conscience, et que l'existence d'une double forme permettait aux Grecs de rendre lorsqu' ils se voulaient, des nuances qui manquent à notre langue ; mais en même temps il me paraît bien certain que cette différence de sens ètait trop délicate pour être observée toujours, que dans bien des cas elle était indifférente, que souvent elle était entièrement negligée. Ici, comme ailleurs, l'usage devait avoir ses caprices, et chaque auteur ses particularités».
26) See also Bakker, *op. eit,*, pp. 65—66.

2. Aorist

present time | future time | performance

order is given

Examples :

57, 23—5 :   . . . καὶ ἐὰμ μὲν ὁμολ[ο]γῶσιν [hεκ]-

[άτερ]οι, χσυ[μβι]βασάντον hοι πρέσβες. ἐὰν δὲ μέ, [πρεσ]-

[βεί]αν ἑκάτ[ερ]ο[ι] πεμπόντον ἐς Διονύσια,

76, 21—5 :   [χέρ]υ-

[κα]ς δὲ hελομένε hε βολὲ πεμφσάτο ἐς τὰς πόλες ἀ[γ]γέλον[τ]ας [τὰ]

[νῦν] hεφσεφισμένα τõι δέμοι, τὸ μὲν νῦν ἔναι hος τάχιστα, τὸ δὲ [λ]-

οιπὸν ὅταν δοκῆι. κελευέτο δὲ καὶ ho h-ιεροφάντες καὶ [ὁ]

δαιδõχος μυστερίοις ἀπάρχεσθαι τὸς Ἕλλενας,

91, 7—11 :   λογισάσθον δὲ h-

[οι λ]ογισταὶ hοι τριάκοντα hοίπερ νῦν τὰ ὀφελό-μενα τοῖς θεοῖς ἀκρ-

[ιβõ]ς, συναγογὲς δὲ τõλ λογιστõν ἐ βολὲ αὐτοκρά-τορ ἔστο. ἀποδόντον

[δὲ] τὰ χρέματα hοι πρυτάνες μετὰ τὲς βολὲς καὶ ἐχσαλειφόντον ἐπει-

[δὰν] ἀποδõσιν.

In 57, 23—5 the antithesis *χσυ[μβι]βασάντον - πεμπόντον* is due to the different visualization of the actions by the speaker ; while *χσυ[μβι]βασάντον* is an order whose interval between the moment of its anouncement and performance is indifferent to the speaker, the form *πεμπόντον* insists on the consideration that the doer must have the responsibility of the performance soon after receiving the order. The common starting - point is the subjunctive form *ὁμολ[ο]γῶσιν*, given in a positive and negative meaning *(ἐὰμ μὲν ὁμολ[ο]γῶσιν, . . . ἐὰν δὲ μέ)* ; thus, in the first case (positive meaning) the order is given in the aorist as a simple fact, through which the whole question will be closed ; in the second case (negative meaning) the order is given in the present to indicate that there must be a constant connection between doer and action until its complete performance. Under such a consideration the passage above should be translated as follows :

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and if each one of them agrees, let the ambassadors reconcile them : if not, let each one of them undertake the responsibility to send an embassy during the Dionysia.

In 76, 21f. the antithesis πεμφσάτο - κελευέτο is clearer than the preceding ; there is no doubt, if the whole sentence is taken into censideration, that the form πεμφσάτο should be given in the present ; for the action provided by it requires repetition indicated by the temporal clause ὅταν δοκēι αὐτēι. In reality we have to do with two actions expressed by one verbal form : the heralds are to be sent at once *(τὸ μὲν νῦν ēναι ͱος τάχιστα)*, and for this the aorist πεμφσάτο is correct ; but the addition of the temporal clause enlarges the cases, and the present should be necessary. The only reason for the appearance of the aorist here is that the speaker looks directly at the fulfillment of the action, at present, before considering repetition of its performance in the future.

With regard to the present κελευέτο the circumstances of its use seem to be exactly the same as those of the preceding example *(πεμπόντον)*.

In 91, 7f. we have the double antithesis λογισάσθον- ἔστο, ἀποδόντον- ἐχσαλειφόντον. An objective consideration of the actions would require aorist in all cases, so the trouble is caused here by the present stems. It is clear that the actions reported by ἔστο [27], ἐχσαλειφόντον are beyond every duration or repetition concerning the actions themselves. The idea of duration is in reality the future time from the moment when the order is given to the moment when the action is performed. This «ueutral» future time is emphasized by the present stem, and this is the difference between these cases and those classified as «subjective duration of the present stem» (pp. 28- 9). Thus we could translate the passage :

and let the thirty calculators, who are now on duty, account exactly for what is owed to the gods ; and let the Boule be in charge of the meeting of the calculators. Also, let the Boule and the prytanis pay back the money, and, after they have paid it back, let them erase the record of the debts.

The imperative perfect is not represented at all. This is normal, because the use of this tense in the imperative is very rare in the literary work of the Ancient Greek language [28].

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27) The form ἔστο could be an aorist as well. It is noticed that the aorist ἐγενόμην is not used as an aorist of the verb εἰμί in the decrees.

28) See J. E. Harry, «The Perfect Subjunctive, Optative, and Imperative in Greek», *Cl. R.* XIX (1905), p. 353.—About the very rare use of the imperative perfect in the Ancient Indian language, see Hirt, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

CHAPTER IV

THE USE OF THE INFINITIVE

It is well-known that in the Ancient Greek language the infinitive is employed with many syntactical functions. Its flexibility, allowing it to be used sometimes as a noun and sometimes as a verb, resulted in its frequent appearance in all texts, and so, at first glance, we should expect that the analogous abudance of the infinitive in the language of the decrees is natural. But as a matter of fact the use of the infinitive in the decrees raises many serious problems. Its peculiarity lies in the fact that it is very often found in one of the most unusual uses of the infinitive in the Ancient Greek language. Thus, while the infinitive occurs in the literary works with great syntactical variations, in the decrees it is almost limited to the function of substitution for the imperative.

It has been demonstrated that the use of the infinitive with imperative meaning is very old and occurs in all the representative branches of the Indoeuropean language [1]. In Latin the condition is somewhat different : while such a use was almost entirely unknown to the written language, in the oral such a use was very common [2].

With regard to the Ancient Greek language, its frequency depends upon the person of the imperative for which it ts substituted. Thus, when it refers to the second person, it occurs much more frequently than when it refers to the third. For instance, the total number of examples of infinitive forms corresponding to the third person of the imperative in Homer is only six [3]. The proportion remains analogous in all the literary work through the koine, when this use became more frequent [4].

The origin of the use of the infinitive rather than the imperative has not yet been clarified. According to Gaedicke this use is due to a semantic difference depending upon time of the performance of the action. Thus, using as examples theses passages, Thuc. V, 9, 7 σὺ δέ . . . ἐπεχθεῖν καὶ ἐπείγεσθαι and Il. X 473f. ἄρχετε νῦν νέκυας φέρειν . . . αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα θρόνους καθαίρειν, he

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1) See B. Delbrück, *Syntaktische Forschungen*, I—V. Halle. 1871—88, p. 453 ; K. Brugmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Crammatik der idg. Sprache*, II, 3 Aufl., 1909—11, pp. 939—43 ; C. B. Hofmann - M. Leumann, *Lateinische Grammatik*, 5 Aufl., München, 1926—28, pp. 590f. ; Hirt, *op. cit.*, p. 186, Wackernagel, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

2) There is only one example in the literary language : cf. Val. Fl. 3, 412 *tu socios adhibere sacris* ; but such an isolated use raises suspicions ; see Ernout - Thomas, *Syntaxe latine*, Paris, 1951, pp. 329—30.—See also P. Kretschmer, «Zur Erklärung des sogenannten infinitivus historicus», *Glotta*, II (1910), p. 275.

3) Cf. Γ 284f., Z 86f., H 77f., H 372f., λ 443, ο 125f.

4) Schwyzer, *op. cit.*, p. 380.

says that the action reported by the infinitive is removed to the more distant future, exactly as happens in Latin with the imperative future [5].

Another explanation has been given by Kretschmer : this type of infinitive corresponds to a nominal sentence, and, consequently, it is nothing other than a substantive infinitive [6].

According to the theory of Wackernagel the starting point of this use, at least with regard to the third person imperative, was the omission of verbs of decision, like ἔδοξε, ἔαδε [7].

Also, Hentze, speaking about infinitive uses refering only to the third person imperative, thinks that this tendency is very close to the use of the indicative future with an imperative meaning [8].

Finally Chantraine seems to accept the idea that this use is due to an attempt to reinforce the indirect style [9].

From a total of 776 infinitive forms, which occur in the decrees of IG I², 670 are used with an imperative force. This seems to be strange, but almost the same phenomenon occurs in decrees inscribed in other dialects. For example, the inscription of Gortys (about 450 B. C.) includes 169 verbal forms with imperative value, refering to the third singular or plural persons, 130 of which are infinitives, and 13 indicative futures [10].

The reason for such frequent use of this type of infinitive in the decrees can be found in the verbal form on which it depends. This form whose semantic value must approximately mean «to propose», is usually the second aorist εἶπε, occuring constantly in the introductory lines just before the body of the decrees. After this verbal form the use of the infinitive becomes natural, and, at first glance, we might maintain that it does not bear any relationship to an imperative

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5) See C. Gaedicke, *Der Akkusativ im Veda*, 1880, p. 81 ; see also Wackernagel, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

6) Cf. Kretschmer, «Erklärung ... », *op. cit.*, p. 282 ; «der imperativische Infinitiv ist ein im Befehlston gesprochene Nominalsatz, der in substantivierten Infinitiv besteht».

7) Cf. Wackernagel, *op. cit.*, 267—68 : «Ebenfalls ist wohl auf eine Ellipse zurückzuführen die in der Gesetzsprache schon von Alters her geltende Gewonheit, Anordnungen in Akkusativ c. Inf. zu geben. Die Verbindung eines Verbums des Beschliessens wie ἔδοξε, ἔαδε mit Akkusativen c. Inf. bildete den Ausgangpunkt». See also *Schwyzer*, op. cit., p. 380.

8) Cf. C. Hentze, «Der imperativische Infinitiv in den homerischen Gedichten», *BB*, 27 (1902), pp. 132—3 : «Die erörteren Beispiele des imperativischen Infinitiv 3. Person sind nur die spärlichen Reste eines ursprünglich umfassenden Gebrauchs. In den homerischen Gedichten wird die Function eines futurischen Imperativs 3. Person regelmässig durch den Imperativ 3. Person versehen».

9) Cf. Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique*, *op. cit.*, p. 317 : «On a pensé qu' il avait (the infinitive with an imperative meaning) là une sorte de tentative de style indirect».

10) Hirt, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

meaning at all ; for the imperative meaning is given by εἶπε itself, and, consequently, the use of the infinitive could be considered as limited to a regular function.

However, there is no doubt that, from a linguistic point of view, the aorist εἶπε is the most important word of those which constitute the typical beginning of the decrees. Since this word expresses the motions made by someone which have already been approved by the assembly, it is sure that the essential text which follows must depend on it. In this case the most common use should be the indirect speech in an accusative and infinitive construction [11].

The frequency of this construction is really common enough, especially in the inscriptions of the period before 421 B. C., but the whole matter is involved in the peculiar use of the indirect speech in the Ancient Greek language.

As a matter of fact we can say that a regular pattern of indirect speech was not always strictly maintained. Indeed, a great number of examples of inconsistencies in this type of structure could be easily found in the works of representative authors of each period. The character of the ancient Greeks, the content of their writings, when free from the official style, and the fact that the Ancient Greek language does not possess any mood of hypotaxis all contributed to the loosening of the construction in indirect speech, especialiy in long passages [12]. Besides, it is possible to find the same inconsistency in other languages as well. With regard to this question Jespersen remarks the following :

«A direct quotation may be introduced by the conjuction (that) usually reserved for indirect quotation ; thus not infrequently in Greek . . . Human forgetfulness or incapacity to keep for a long time the changed attitudc of mind implied in indirect discourse causes the frequent phenomenon that a reported speech begins indirectly and is then suddenly in the direct form» [13].

Such being the case, we might expect the lack of absolute consistency in the inderect speech of the Athenian decrees. Moreover two other elements may contribute to the inconsistency in this case. On the one hand the real meaning of εἶπε is not very clear ; we know that the subject of εἶπε made the motion, but we do not know whether this has been transferred word by word to the stone or has been modified by debate or even by the secretary [14]. So it is very

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11) See G. Klaffenbach, *Griechische Epigraphik,* Göttingen, 1957, p 69 ; A. G. Woodhead, *The Study of Greek Inscriptions,* Cambridge Univ. Press, 1967, p. 38 : H. F. Claflin, *The Syntax of the Boeotian Dialect Inscriptions,* Baltimore, 1905, p. 81.

12) A similar loosening is also observed in Latin although this language codified the indirect speech very early ; see A. Ernout - F, Thomas, *op. cit.,* p. 368.—See also J. Bayet, ‹Le style indirect libre en latin», *Rev. Phil.,* V (57), 1931, pp. 326—42, Vi (58), 1932, pp. 5—23.

13) Cf. O Jespersen, *The Philosophy of Grammar,* 10th ed , New York, 1965, p. 299.

14) It would be interesting to mention here a remark made by W. Larfeld (*Griechische Epigraphik,* München, 1914, p 108) : ‹Die Hinterlegung eines Dekretes im

pifficult to distinguish which of the inscriptions have been accurately engraved according to the wording ot the proposer who made them and which ones have been modified in such a way that intervention of the state introduced a more conservative kind of expression.

On the other hand, the form εἶπε itself is not used very often outside the decrees with an accusative and infinitive construction in cases, of course, when it preserves its exact meaning, i. e. «to say», «to notify», etc. [15]. The tendency of the language was to use the form ἔφη instead of εἶπε in such cases ; this perhaps caused stylistic difficulties, when a long text had to depend upon a verbal form (εἶπε) the special use of which required a construction more or less strange to its character.

However we can be sure that the accusative and infinitive construction was at first the only regular construction. That the appearance of the imperative forms is later can be proved by several arguments :

First, as we saw in the preceding chapter, the imperative is regularly used to indicate secondary actions ; secondly the use of the infinitive is more frequent, at least in the decrees before 421 B. C., and thirdly the first verbal form after εἶπε is always the infinitive except for one decree, IG I² 93 [16].

This kind of mixed use of imperative and infinitive forms is rare, but not unknown in the literary works of the Ancient Greek language, as in the representative examples here quoted :

Il. H 78f. τεύχεα συλήσας φερέτω κοίλας ἐπὶ νῆας, σῶμα δὲ οἴκαδ' ἐμὸν δόμεναι πάλιν ; Aristoph. *Pax* 551 ἀκούετε λεώ· τοὺς γεωργοὺς ἀπιέναι ; 999f. μεῖζον δ' ἡμᾶς . . . φιλίας χυλῷ . . . καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀγαθῶν ἐμπλησθῆναι Plat. *Leg.* 868a, c δοῦλον δ' ὁ κτείνας ἑαυτοῦ μὲν καθηράσθω . . . ἂν δ' . . . διὰ θυμὸν πατὴρ ἢ μήτηρ υἱὸν ἢ . . . κτείνῃ καθαίρεσθαι Theocr. XXIV, 94 ῥιψάτω . . . ἀψ δὲ νέεσθαι.

Through the examples used in the chapter on the imperative the priority of the infinitive to indicate the principal actions became clear. To reinforce this idea we could add the following remarks :

1. The official political position of the state is most often represented by infinitives. Thus, cases dealing with decisions approaching the power of the law,

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Metroon aber und dessen Niederschrift auf dauerhaftes Material (Stein oder Metal) waren in Athen zwei gänzlich verschiedene Dinge. Während die Hinterlegung im Archiv unerlässlich und selbverständlich war, bildete die inschriftliche Aufzeichnung nicht die Regel, noch viel weniger was sie zur Rechtsgültigkeit der Dekrete erforderlich ; vielmehr bedurfte sie eines ausdrücklichen Volksbeschlüsses, der dann dem Tenor des Dekretes einverliebt wurde».

15) See H. Fournier, *Les verbes «dire» en grec ancien,* Paris, 1946, pp. 148, 186.

16) Cf. 93, 5f. (419/18) : εἶπε· Λύκωνα τὸν Ἀχαιόν, ἐπειδὴ εὖ ποεῖ Ἀθεναίο[ς], ἀναγραψάτω πρόξενον , . . ὁ γραμματεύς.

with treaties, proxsenia, and analogous subjects are regularly given in that verbal form.

- Examples :

24, 4—15 :   ... εἶπε· [τēι]
['Αθεναίαι τēι Νίκ]ει hιέρεαν hὲ ἂ[ν δι]-
[ὰ βίο hιερᾶτα]ι ἐχς 'Αθεναίον hαπα[σō]-
[ν καθίστα]σθαι καὶ τὸ hιερὸν θυρōσα-
ι καθότι ἂν Καλλικράτες χσυγγράφσ-
ει· ἀπομισθōσαι δὲ τὸς πολετὰς ἐπὶ τ-
τēς Λεοντίδος πρυτανείας· φέρεν δὲ τ-
ὲν hιέρεαν πεντέκοντα δραχμὰς καὶ
τὰ σκέλε, καὶ τὰ δέρματα φέρεν τὸ δε-
μόσιον· νεὸν δὲ οἰκοδομēσαι καθότι
ἂν Καλλικράτες χσυγγράφσει καὶ βο-
μὸν λίθινον,

52, 16,—21 : ... τὲμ μὲν χσυμμαχί-
ν εἶναι 'Αθεναίοις καὶ
Λεοντίνοις καὶ τὸν ὅ[ρ]-
κον δōναι καὶ δέχσασ-
[θαι. ὀμόσ]αι δὲ 'Αθεναί-
[ος τάδε],

94, 1—11 : [ε]ῖπε· ἔρχσαι τὸ hιερὸν τὸ Κόδρο καὶ τὸ Νελέος
καὶ τ̄ες Βασίλες κ[α]-
ι μισθōσαι τὸ τέμενος κατὰ τὰς συνγραφάς. οἱ δὲ
πολεταὶ τὲν ἔρχσ[ι]-
[ν] ἀπομισθοσάντον. τὸ δὲ τέμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀ-
πομισθοσάτο κατὰ [τ]-
ὰς χσυνγραφάς, καὶ τὸς ὁριστὰς ἐπιπέμφσαι ὁρίσαι
τὰ hιερὰ ταῦτα,
ὅπος ἂν ἔχει ὁς βέλτιστα καὶ εὐσεβέστατα. τὸ
δὲ ἀργύριον ἐς τὲν ἔρχ-
σιν ἀπὸ τō τεμένος εἶναι. πρᾶχσαι δὲ ταῦτα πρὶν
ἢ ἐχσιέναι τένδε
τὲν βολέν, ἢ εὐθύνεσθαι χιλίαισι δραχμēσι ἕκαστ-
ον κατὰ τὰ εἰρε-
μένα.

2. In most cases orders repeated word by word in many decrees are expressed by the infinitive. Representative examples of this tendency have been quoted in the chapter on the traditional features of the language of the decrees.

We turn now to a discussion of the four stems of the infinitive ; apart

from the present and aorist, we have also to investigate the future and perfect.

These stems occur in a very limited number : thus, from a total number of 885 infinitive forms 570 occur in the present, 304 in the aorist, only four in the future, and seven in the perfect. This proportion seems to be asymmetrical, but in reality there is nothing strange about it. Since 84 % of the infinitives are used in the place of the imperative, there is no reason to think that so small a number of future and perfect infinitive forms is unnatural. Besides, we saw in the preceding chapter that orders are regularly given by present and aorist ; the imperative perfect and the indicative future in place of the imperative are not represented at all.

This investigation of tbe infinitive will be divided into two sections. In the first section will be included those infinitives, in all tenses, which are used as pure verbal forms in place of the imperative ; in the second part will be included the rest of the infinitive usages with dependent functions.

I. Infinitive tenses.

As a matter of fact we can say that, in comparison with the imperative tenses, those of the infinitive correspond more to the requirements of the aspect theory. This is important, because such an observation leads us to accept the idea that, beyond the different use of a grammatical form, there remains the stem's basic function, which is not easily altered through specialized uses. The fact that the infinitive occurs very often in place of the imperative in the decrees does not eliminate the phenomenon of a specialized use, because, as we saw above, such a use, althouhh very infrequent, does occur in the literature of the Ancient Greek language. Thus, we notice that from an aspectual point of view the deviations of the infinitive uses are limited to a number which could be characterized as natural.

As we said above, when the infinitive is used as a verb, the aspectual value of its stems corresponds to that of the pure verbal forms [17]. Taking into consideration the fact that the infinitive is regularly used in dependence upon another verbal form, we might thing that the choice of its stem should relate very closely to the verb upon which it depends. But, although in reality we have to work with a pair of verbal forms, the one of which is an elliptic verb and the other an infinitive which fulfills the unclear semantic meaning of the elliptic verb, yet the infinitive has an absolute independence in the matter of the choice of its stem. Thus, in the decrees, the meaning of the aorist εἶπε is defective, so that the necessary relationship must be expressed through the infinitive. But the choice of the infinitive stem is determined by more than this dependence, i.e. while the aorist εἶπε is used as a basic denotation, the choice of the

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17) See P. Burgière, *Histoire de l' infinitif en grec*, Paris, 1960, p. 57.

infinitive stem will take place in accordance with the aspectual requirements of the action which is denoted by it.

It is remarkable that the observations of the ancient grammarians about the essential function of the infinitive to fulfill the elliptic meaning of another verb are still up-to-date. Thus, Choeroboscus, commenting on this subject, remarks :

«ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ὅτι οὐ μετὰ πάντων τῶν ῥημάτων συνταττόμενα τὰ ἀπαρέμφατα τέλειον λόγον ποιοῦσι . . ., ἀλλὰ μετὰ μόνον τῶν προαιρετικῶν φημὶ δὴ τοῦ θέλω, καὶ βούλομαι, καὶ προαιροῦμαι, καὶ τῶν ἐφετικῶν . . ., οἷον ἐπιθυμῶ φιλοσοφεῖν . . ., καὶ τῶν εὐκτικῶν, οἷον εὔχομαι ὑγιαίνειν, καὶ ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν μετὰ τῶν σημαινόντων ἔλλειψιν πράγματος, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ χρὴ γράφειν, δεῖ διαλέγεσθαι, χρεωστῶ παιδεύειν . . . Τὰ ἀπαρέμφατα μετὰ τούτων συντασσόμενα τέλειον λόγον ἀποτελοῦσιν, ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα, λέγω δὴ τὸ θέλω, καὶ βούλομαι, καὶ προαιροῦμαι, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια, ἔχουσι θέλημα ψυχῆς, ἔχουσι πρόσωπα, ἔχουσιν ἀριθμούς, πράγματι δὲ μόνον ἐλλείπουσιν . . . τὰ δὲ ἀπαρέμφατα ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου πραγμάτων μόνον δηλωτικά εἰσι· . . . εἴ τι οὖν λείπει τοῖς ἀπαρέμφασι, ἀναπληροῦται διὰ τούτων, καὶ εἴ τι λείπει τούτοις, ἀναπληροῦται διὰ τῶν ἀπαρεμφάτων» [18].

The closer relationship of the infinitive present and aorist to the basic aspectual distinctions, duration, (repetition) - punctuation, is also observed in decrees written in other dialects [19]. As for the deviations noticed in these tenses, the explanations given in the chapter on the aspectual review are sufficient to justify those deviations which can be justified.

The infinitive future does not raise serious problems ; it is represented by four examples, which occur in the following passages :

45, 26—7 : hόσοι δι' ἂν γράφσοντα[ι ἐποικ]-
[έσεν τō]ν στρατιοτōν,

87, 26 : ὀμ[νύντον δὲ καὶ 'Αθεναίον hε βολὲ καὶ hοι σ]τρατεγοὶ ἐμμε[νēν τοῖς hόρκοις],

SEG X, 2, 22—4 : ὑποσχομ[μένος]
ἐν τōι hιερōι ὅς ἂν οἴ[οι ōσ]-
ι χσυνδιαθέσεν τὸν ἀ[γōνα],

SEG X, 64, 5—6 : εὔχεσ[θαι - - - δέκα ἄνδρας, ἔνα ἐκ] τēς φυλēς ἑκάστε-
ς, [θ]ύσεν.

The only infinitive future form which seems to be suspicious is that of the first example : to accept that the restored tense is future we must consider the meaning of γράφσοντα[ι] metaphorically, i.e. instead of γράφομαι «to write

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18) Cf. *Grammatici Graeci*, vol. IV², Lipsiae, 1894, p. 212.
19) Jacobstahl, *op. cit.*, p. 44 ; Fohlen, *op cit*, p. 66, 2 ; Kocewalow, *op. cit.*, pp. 99—100.

down» we must have «to promiss in writing» ; such an unusual interpretation is not necessary, because the restored form could also be aorist *([ἐποικε̄σαι[)*, which would agree with the principal meaning of the verb.

The second restoration in undoubtedly correct ; according to rule, infinitives depending upon verbs of swearing are usually given in lhe future stem.

The seven infinitive perfect forms occur in the following passages :

6, 115—9 : τō δὲ hιερō ἀργυρί[ο τὸ τρίτο]-
ν ἐσκα[τι]ἐναι 'Αθέν[αζε καὶ κεῖ]-
σθαι πάνπαν τὸ λο[ιπὸν ὄπισ]-
[θ]εν τō τε̄ς 'Αθεναία[ς ἀρχαίο ν]-
εō ἐμ πόλει,

22, 68 : [ἐφσεφ]ίσθαι αὐ[το]ῖς ἔτι εἴτε ἄλλο τι,

26, 13—5 : . . . ἐ[φσ]-
[εφίσθαι δὲ hεμερōν] τριōν π[έν]-
[τε ἄνδρας ἀποστε̄λαι] ἐς Πύλ[ας],

29, 5—6 : [ἐφσεφίσθαι τυγχάνεν αὐτὸς παρὰ τō] δέμο τō
'Αθεναίον ōν δέοντα-
[ι],

57, 47—9 : . . . hὰ δὲ hυπὸ Περδ[ίκκ]-
[ο ἐδικε̄σ]θαί φασι, βολεύσασθαι 'Αθεναίος hό,τι
ἂ[ν δο]-
[κ]ε̄ι [ἄχσι]ον εἶναι,

66, 4—6 : . . . [ἐὰν δ]-
έ τις τōμ πόλεον ἀμ[φισβετε̄ι περὶ φόρον ἀποδ]-
όσεος, φάσκοσα ἀπ[οδεδοκέναι],

115, 37—8 : [καὶ ἐὰν φέροντα ε̄ ἄγοντα βίαι ἀδίκος εὐθὺς]
[ἀμυν]όμενο-
ς κτ[ένει, νεποινεὶ τεθνάναι].

As we see, apart from the second example, whose original text *(-ίσθαι)* is acceptable as an infinitive perfect, the rest of them are partly or entirely restored. Yet all of the passages in which the restored infinitive perfects have been placed seem to favour such a restoration.

However, if we accept those restored forms as being correct, we observe that their function is variable : the function of the infinitive perfects, occurring in the third, fourth, and seventh passages, corresponds to that of the aorist, and also the infinitive perfect *[κεῖ]σθαι* of the first passage does not differ from the function of a real present form at all. Thus, apart from the infinitive perfect form of the second passage, which belongs to a decree so damaged, that it is difficult to form any certain opinion, there remain only two examples whose function is in accordance with the aspectual requirements of this tense.

It is also to be noted that both of these real perfect forms depend upon the verb φημί (φασὶ ἐδικēσθαι, φάσκοσα ἀποδεδοκέναι), which is pre-eminently convenient to emphasize the action reported by itself and also by the infinitive [20].

That the actions, reported in both the examples, require an emphatic tone becomes clear by the particular interest in the subject.

Translation :

57, 47—9 : *With relation to those things which they maintain, that they have been injured by Perdikkas, let the Athenians decide what is the best* (to do),

66, 4—6 : *And if any of the cities objects to pay taxes in the contention that they have already paid* · · ·

2. Other infinitive uses

a) ὥστε + infinitive

Since the syntax of the infinitive introduced by ὥστε started to become common at the fifth century [21], the occurrence of only two examples in the decrees is natural, because of the conservative character of their language. Besides, those two examples occur in decrees dated in a period after 423 B.C., i.e. when the syntax ὥστε + infinitive had already been consolidated in such a way that its function had the tendency to be equated with that of the simple infinitive [22].

Both the examples are completely restored :

80, 7—9 : τὸ δὲ ἀργύριο[ν hόστε ἀμφιέννυσθαι τὸ hέ]-
[δος] τēς θεō κατὰ τὰ πάτρι[α καὶ τὲν μαντείαν τō θεō]
[ho]ι κολακρέται διδόντον,

84, 33—5 : . . . ποιόντο[ν δ]ὲ [h]οι hιεροπ[οιοὶ hούτος hόστε]
[τὲ]ν λαμπαδ[οδρομίαν καί] τὸν ἄλλον ἀγōνα γίγνεθαι
καθά[περ τοῖς Προμεθί]-
[οις τὲ]ν θεὰ[ν hοι λαμπάδαρχ]οι ποιōσι.

In the first example the result aims at a purpose, and so the consecutive clause introduced by ὥστε becomes also final.

In the second example ὥστε is almost a relative particle approaching the meaning of «as». Its correlative «so» is expressed by the demonstrative adverb hούτος [23].

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20) Cf. Fournier, *op. cit.*, p. 18 : «φημί est subjectif et emphatique devant infinitif, objectif et inexpressif en formules et en incises».

21) Burgière, *op. cit.*, p. 75.—Two examples of this syntax occur in Homer ; see Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique, op. cit.*, p. 314.

22) This equalization is already noticed in the work of Plato : from a total number of about 300 examples in 50 cases the use of the simple infinitive was possible ; see Burgière, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

23) For further examples of the literary work see Goodwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 221—22, 224.

b) πρὶν + infinitive

Contrary to the preceding syntax, ὥστε + infinitive, this one is already common in Homer, but in a more simple function than that of the classical period. Thus, while in Homer the infinitive follows πρὶν after both affirmative and negative clauses, in Attic it is usually used after πρὶν when the sentence on which it depends is affirmative. In this case the meaning of πρὶν is regularly «before» and not «until» [25].

A more developed form of πρὶν is the case in which it is followed by ἤ with a comparative meaning. This form is fund twice in Homer and occurs very frequently in Herodotus [26] ; but sometimes periphrastic forms such as πρότερον ἤ, πρότερον πρὶν are used instead of a simple πρὶν [27].

The syntax πρὶν + infinitive occurs in the decrees in four examples :

10, 13—6 : ... βολεύεν δὲ μὲ ἐντ[ὸ]ς τεττάρον ἐ[ι]τōν - - -
κυαμεῦσα[ι δ]ὲ καὶ κατασ[τ]ε̄σαι [τ]ὲν μὲν ν[ῦ]ν
βολὲν [τ]ὸς [ἐπισκ]-
[ὸπ]ος καὶ [τὸν] φρ[ό]ραρχον, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τὲν
βολὲν καὶ τὸν [φρόρ]-
αρχον μὲ ὄλε[ζ]ον ἒ τριάκοντα ἐμ[έ]ρας πρὶν ἐχσιέναι
[τὲν βολ]έν [28],

60, 10—13 : [κ]αὶ τοῖς κλε[ρό]χοις hόσα ἐπο[λέθε ὑπ' αὐτōν πρό]-
[τε]ρον πρὶν ἀ[πο]δοθε̄ναι αὐτοῖς [τὲν γε̄ν hυπὸ τōν]
[στ]ρατεγōν καὶ τὸν στρατιοτōν, [ἀποδōναι Μυτιλ]-
[εν]αίον τὸς ἔχοντας,

94, 9—10 : πρᾶχσαι δὲ ταῦτα πρὶν ἢ ἐχσιέναι τένδε
τὲν βολέν,

114 45—6 : [τὸν δε̄]μον κατὰ ταὐτὰ hαιρε̄σθαι τὰ χρέματα τὰ δε-
[μόσια - - -]
[- - - τ]ὸς πεντακοσίος πρὶν παύεσθαι τε̄ς ἀρχε̄ς - - -.

c) Infinitive of purpose

The so-called infinitive of purpose [29] occurs four times, one of which is entirely restored :

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25) Goodwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 243—4.—About the aspectual form of this syntax, requiring the aorist stem, see Humbert, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

26) Stahl, *op. cit.*, p. 183, 2 ; Goodwin, *op cit.*, pp. 251—2.

27) Stahl, *op. cit.*, p. 463, 3.

28) Since the restoration of the inscription No 10 in IG I² is very ambiguous, we quote from its last publication in *GHI*, p. 90.

29) On the question whether the function of iufinitives depending on verbs signifying «to choose» or «apoint», «to give» or «take», «to bring» or «send», denotes really the goal of the action or not, see Humbert, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

45, 3—5 :   . . . πο[ἱμνια]
[δὲ αἰγō]ν αὐτοῖς παρασχόντον hοι ἀπ[οικιστ]-
[αὶ καλλ]ιερε̄σαι hυπὲρ τε̄ς ἀποικίας,
94, 7 :   τὸς ὁριστὰς ἐπιπέμφσαι ὁρίσαι τὰ hιερά,
127, 10—11 : . . [καὶ θέντον ἔμπροσθεν τō ἀγορα]-
[ν]ομίο [σκ]οπε̄ν τōι ϝολομένοι,
SEG X, 84, 6 : προσα[γ]αγόν[τον heυρέσθαι].

d) The lack of the infinitive with article

The absolute lack of the infinitive with article raises an interesting question. Regularly we should expect it to occur in many examples, for such a use was common at least in the second half of the fifth century.

Indeed, although it is very ambiguous whether this syntactical form really occurs in the Homeric language [31], yet it is certainly found twice in Hesiod [32], twelve times in the lyrics [33], and in frequent examples of tragic poetry and the rest of the literary work of the fifth century. To indicate this frequency, it would be sufficient to say that in several instances it is used with the simple infinitive in exactly the same function, as for example happens in Soph. *O. C.*, 1244f. μὴ φῦναι τὸν ἄπαντα χρόνον νικᾷ λόγον· τὸ δ', ἐπεὶ φανῇ, βῆναι κεῖθεν ὅθεν περ ἥκει, πολὺ δεύτερον, and elsewhere.

We think that the absolute absence of this syntax from the decrees can be considered natural for two reasons : first, the usual function of the infinitive with an article is that of an abstract substantive, whose use was excluded by the very nature of the decrees themselves. Since the context of the deerees refers to specific orders and to specific persons, who undertake the responsibility of fulfilling such orders, there is no place for such a use of the infinitive, because that use is usually either of the subject or the object of a sentence.

Besides, in the first period, the infinitive with an article was regularly used to emphasize moral meanings [34], as happens in all the examples occuring in Hesiod, the lyric poets, and in numerous instances of tragic poetry.

The only case in which we would expect the infinitive with article is, perhaps, that in which it follows the genitive τοῦ ; this syntax was already known to Aeschylus [35]. Its flexibility to denote several functions could make it available for use in the language of the decrees. But such a use was relatively new and in opposition to the traditional character of this language. For the same reason we do not find even one example of the infinitive after the preposition and article, although this syntactical form was frequent during the second half of the fifth century [36].

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30) The usual syntax of σκοπεῖν in like cases is in a final clause introduced by (h)όπος ἄν ; cf. 97, 30—31 ; 167, 7.
31) Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique, op. cit.*, p. 305 ; Burgière, *op. cit.*, p. 99.
32) Cf. Hesiod, *Op.* 314 ; *frg.* 164.
33) Cf. Cleob. 2 ; Crates 16, 2 ; Alc. 30 ; Simon. 76 ; 100, 1 : Pind. *Ol.* 2, 51 ; 8, 59 ; 9, 37 ; *Pyth.* 1, 99 ; 2, 56 ; *Nem.* 5, 18.
34) Burgière, *op cit* , p. 100.
35) Burgière, *op. cit*, p. 128.
36) Burgière, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

CHAPTER V

THE USE OF THE PARTICIPLE

In the chapter on the aspectual review we saw that the participle is the verbal form by which the perfect tense is pre-eminently represented. Such a case is peculiar to ths perfect, and the phenomenon was justified by the traditional use of some verbs ; but such a particular frequency in the perfect, i. e. in a tense whose occurrence is generally rare, does not mean that the participle is not frequent in the other tenses, especially in the present and the aorist. The ability of the perfect participle to be used either as a verb or as an adjective, and, sometimes, as a real substantive, is responsible for its numerous occurrences throughout the Ancient Greek language.

The situation seems to be analogous in the decrees : we notice that from the total number of 3,025 verbal forms which occur in the decrees 475 are participles, 251 of which are presents, 131 aorists, 18 futures, and 75 perfects. The proportions are regular except, of course, for that of the perfect.

As for the use of the participle in the decrees, we would say that it does not raise serious problems. Its function is generally regular except in some cases dealing with the attributive participle and with the adverbial participle expressing purpose or cause.

We observe that the attributive participle is unusually frequent [1]. This could be a serious problem, but here it is easy to justify it by the epigrammatical character of the decrees ; since the context of the decrees consists of orders and similar meanings, whose nature excludes long sentences, there is no place for the adverbial participle unless such a use is absolutely necessary. Besides, the adverbial participle, being in reality a regular dependent clause [2], is usually followed by other words, which are necessary to complete its meaning. Thus, the relative scarcity of adverbial participles is due to the same reasons as in the scarcity of dependent clauses, the latter being a very common phenomenon in the decrees.

On the other hand there is no reason to expect similar limits in the use of the attributive participle. This form is self-sufficient and necessary to express functions dealing with important syntactical terms, like the subject, the object of a sentence, etc.

The specific functions of the participle in the decrees are as follows :

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1) Of participles whose specific function can be recognized in the decrees, 254 refer to an attributive function and 141 to an adverbial one.
2) Humbert, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

1) Attributive participle

a) as a subject, 45. 2—3 :   . . . ἐνεχ[υραζέ]-
[το αὐτὸν] ho φένας ἒ ho γραφσάμενος.

b) as object ; in accusative, 6, 31 : [ἐὰν δὲ μὲ] ἐγδοῖ τὸν ὀ-
φλόντα,
in genitive, 110, 42—3 : κολάζεν τῶν [δ]ορο-
[δοκεσάντον],
in dative, 39, 24 : οὐδὲ τῶι ἀφισταμένοι πείσομαι.

c) as predicate, 57, 10—11 : . . . hὰ γεγράφαται . . . . .
. . Μεθοναῖοι ὀφείλοντες.

d) as partitive genitive, 45, 22 : λύεν τι τῶν hεφσεφι[σμένον].

e) as appositive, 91, 5—6 : τῶν χρεμάτον, ἃ ἐς ἀπόδοσίν ἐστιν . . .
τά τε . . . ὄντα νῦν καὶ τἆλλα.

f) as adjective qualifying noun, 25, 6—7 : πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς τὰ-
ς γεγραμμένας ἐν τῆι
στήλ[ηι].

g) as personal dative, 94, 26 : ὅπος ἄν ἐι εἰδέναι τῶ[ι] βολο-
μένοι.

h) with preposition

ἐκ+gen., 40, 17—11 :   . . . hέος πρὸ-
[ς τριάκον]τα ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν οἰκόντον,
ἐν+dat., 4, 1—2 : . . . π[λ]ὲν hόσα
[ἐν τοῖς σεσεμ]ασμένοις,
ἕνεκα+gen., 90, 15—6 : [καὶ οὐ μνε]σικακέσο τῶ[ν]
[παρ]οιχομένον ἕ[νεκα],
ἐπί+acc., 65, 15—6 :   [ἐπ]ὶ δὲ τὰς ὀφ-
[ελόσας πέ]μπεν πέ[ντε ἄνδρας],
κατά+acc., 94, 10—11 : εὐθύνεσθαι . . . κατὰ τὰ εἰρε-
μένα,
μέχρι+gen., 57, 40 : ἐχσάγε[ν] μέχρι τῶ τεταγμένο,
παρά+acc., SEG X, 60, 18—9 : [hόπος ἂν με]δὲς ἐσίει παρὰ
τὰ hεφσε-
[φισμένα],
περί+gen., 105, 12f. : ho[ι/δὲ hελιασταὶ περὶ τῶ μ]ὲ
ἐθέλοντος ἀπι/[έναι κρινόντον],
ὑπό+gen., 88, 10—11 : [ἐὰ]ν κ[ρι]θῆι . . . [hυπὸ τῶν βολο]-
[μέ]νο[ν],

ὡς+acc., 74, 20—21 :   ... ἀναγ[έ]-
        [σθον ὁς τὸς τὰς και]νὰς ναῦ[ς π]-
                οιō[ν]τ[ας].

2. Adverbial participle

a) of time, 24, 17—8 : τούτος δὲ μετ[ὰ] Καλλικρά-
        [το]ς χσυγγράφσαντας ἐπ[ιδεῖχσαι].

b) of condition, 39, 14—5 :   ταῦτα δὲ ἐμπ-
        [ε]δόσο Χαλκιδεῦσιν πειθομένοις
                τōι δέ[μ]οι.

c) of manner, 66, 4f. : [ἐὰν δ/]έ τις τōμ πόλεον ἀμ[φισβε]-
        [τēι ...]/φάσκοσα ἀπ[οδεδοκέναι].

d) of concession, 4, 21—2 :   ... [hὸς δ' ἂν λεί]πει δυν-
        [ατὸς ὄν, ἀποτίνε]ν,"

e) of cause. We notice here that the participle is always introduced by one of the particles (h)ος or hάτε [3], the former emphasizing the subjective cause [4] and the latter the objective one. But whenever the cause is reported without emphasis, the causal clause is regularly used [5]. Thus, while numerous examples of causal clauses occur, this syntax is more often after ἐπαινέσαι, the adverbial participle, expressing cause, is limited to causes refering to emphasized meanings :

105, 31—2 :   ἐπα-
        [αινέσαι 'Αρχέλαι hος ὄν]τι ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθōι,
108, 27—8 : ... [τιμᾶσθαι αὐτ]-
        οῖς ὁς ἀνδράσιν οὖσιν ἀγαθο[ῖ]ς [6],
SEC X, 60, 15 : ἀμ[φισβετēι hάτε ἔδε παραδεδοκός].

f) of purpose. It is observed that purpose is reported not only through the future participle, but through the present participle as well [7]. Since this tendency is known to the literary works, beginning with Homer [8], it should not be peculiar in the decrees :

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3) There occurs only one example of hάτε+participle quated above.
4) Meisterhans - Schwyzer, op cit., p. 249.
5) Cf. 29, 2f. ; 35, 5f. ; 59, 9f ; 70, 8 ; 78, 4f. : 82, 8f. ; 93, 6f. ; 103, 5f. ; 105, 24f. ; 106, 1f. ; 108, 40f. ; 108, 41f. ; 108, 42f. ; 110a, 13f. ; 113, 33f. ; 118, 6f. ; 125, 6f.
6) Cf. also 72, 5f. ; 105, 31—2 ; 110, 6 ; 110a, 5—6 ; 108, 39 ; 119, 5 ; SEG X, 13 (IG I² 32), 6—7.
7) Meisterhans - Schwyzer, op. cit., pp. 241—2.
8) Goodwin, op. cit., p. 335.

In the present participle, 76, 21f. : [κέρ]υ[κας]/ . . . hε βολὲ πεμ-
φσάτο ἐς τὰς πόλες ἀ[γ]γέλ-
λον[τ]ας [τά] . . . hεφσεφισμένα,

In the future participle, 106, 16f : [ἀπο]στελάντον Πολ/[υκλέ]α
καὶ Πειραιᾶ . . . /συνπράξοντ/-
α[ς καὶ] χσυνβολεύσοντ[ας].

The absolute participle occurs in a limited number of examples almost
entirely restored. The scarcity of this type of participle is natural for two reasons :
first, because the use of the absolute participle is most fully developed in the
Attic orators [9], and, secondly, because of the tendency of the language of the
decrees to be conservative in its expressive elements. There occur the following
examples :

86, 19—20 : [μεδὲ (ἐὰν) κατὰ θάλατταν, ἐὰν μὲ φσεφισαμένον]
[τōν πόλεον] hαπασōν τ]-
[ἐν δίοδον ēναι],

87, 7—8 : καὶ λ[εελατομένον τōν hορίον μὲ α]ὐτ[ὸς λ]είζε[σ]-
θαι,

87, 17—8 : [εἰρένες δὲ γενομένες ἐπὶ τ]ὲν σφετέραν αὐτō-
[ν hαλιēς πάλιν κομιζέσθον],

92, 48—9 : ἐὰν δέ τις [εἴπει ὲ] ἐπιφσεφ[ί]σει, μὲ ἐ[φσεφι]-
[σμένε]-
[ς πο τēς ἀδε]ίας . . . , [ἐνεχέσθο],

186, 11—15 : . . . τάδε
[φέρ]εν πλὲν τō κόμα-
[τος], ὸς [τōδε] τō δερμά-
[ρχο] [τόδε] τὸ δέρμα δ-
[ιδόντ]ος.

9) See E. Spieker, «On the So-called Genitive Absolute and its Use especially in
the Attic Orators», *AJP*, VI (1885), pp. 310—43 ; see also, K. Kunst, «Vom Wesen und
Ursprung des absoluten Genetivs», *Glotta*, XII (1923), pp. 29—50.

STATISTICAL LISTS

A. Frequency of tenses and moods

1. Indicative [1]

Voice	Tense										Total
	Present	Imperfect	Future	1st Aorist	2nd Aorist	Perfect	Pluperf.	Fut. Perf.	Pass. Fut.	Pass. Aor.	
Active	98	281	62	105	126	10	—	—			682
Middle-Passive	24	8	36	9	11	8	7	—	3	5	111
Total	122	289	98	114	137	18	7	—	3	5	793

2. Subjunctive

Voice	Tense					Total
	Present	1st Aorist	2nd Aorist	Perfect	Passive Aorist	
Active	213	49	33	1	—	296
Middle – Passive	118	20	16	4	38	196
Total	331	69	49	5	38	492

3. Optative

Voice	Tense							Total
	Present	Future	1st Aorist	2nd Aorist	Perfect	Pass. Fut.	Pass. Aor.	
Active	5							5
Middle-Passive								
Total	5							5

1) Mostly in dependent clauses.

4. Imperative

Voice	Tense					Total
	Present	1st Aorist	2nd Aorist	Perfect	Pass. Aor.	
Active	159	68	69	—		296
Middle-Passive	64	8	4	—	2	78
Total	223	76	73	—	2	374

5. Infinitive

Voice	Tense								Total
	Present	Future	1st Aorist	2nd Aorist	Perfect	Fut. Perf.	Pass. Fut.	Pass. Aor.	
Active	444	4	183	75	2	—			708
Middle-Passive	126	—	21	22	5	—	1	3	178
Total	570	4	204	97	7	—	1	3	886

6. Participle

Voice	Tense								Total
	Present	Future	1st Aorist	2nd Aorist	Perfect	Fut. Perf.	Pass. Fut.	Pass. Aor.	
Active	179	15	55	28	10	—			287
Middle-Passive	72	3	22	19	65	—	—	7	188
Total	251	18	77	47	75	—	—	7	475

B. General frequency of moods.—Proportions

Mood	Occurrences	Proportion
Indicative	793	26,2
Subjunctive	492	16,2
Optative	5	00,2
Imperative	374	12,4
Infinitive	886	29,3
Participle	475	15,7
Total	3.025	100,00

C. General frequency of tenses.—Proportions

Tense	Occurrences	Proportion
Present	1.503	49,7
Imperfect	289	9,6
Future	124	4,1
Aorist	997	32,9
Perfect	105	3,5
Pluperfect	7	00,2
Future perfect	—	—
Total	3.025	100,00

CONCLUSION

The results of this investigation of the use of tenses and moods in the Athenian decrees of the fifth century may be summarized as follows :

1). The language of the decrees is traditional. As for verbal uses, this tendency can be demonstrated in their syntactical functions. Thus, we notice that a great number of verbs are used in only one stem, or in only one or two moods, although, sometimes, the objective circumstances of the text seem to require a greater variety of forms. Also, for traditional reasons, which are reinforced by the limited number of the thematic units of the decrees, several expressions are regularly repeated word by word or with slight variations.

2. From an aspectual point of view the use of tenses and moods in the Anhenian decrees raises serious problems. There occur many deviations, a great nnmber of which have been justified by analogous deviations noticed in the literary work of the Ancient Greek language. Thus, apart from the use of verbal stems corresponding to the requirements of the aspect theory, these justifiable deviations have been divided into four categories for the following reasons :

    a. Subjective duration of the present stem,
    b. Objective consideration of the action,
    c. Correspondence to time limits and frequency of actions,
    d. Avoidance of repetition.

3. With respect to the imperative, we observe that this mood is usually used to denote secondary actions ; an analogous phenomenon is noticed in decrees written in other dialects as well.

Another observation, concerning the choice of the present and the aorist tense in the imperative, is that this choice seems to be made in accordance with the question whether there exists a close connection between speaker and action itself. Thus, when this connection exists, we usually find the present stem ; when this connection does not exist the use of the aorist stems seems to be more normal.

4. The infinitive is primarily used with an imperative meaning. The basic semantic difference between this type of infinitive and the realimperative forms lies in the importance of the actions. It is generally observed that the infinitive deals with principal orders, by which it represents the political position of the state on subjects such as treaties, proxsenia, religious behavior, etc.

Statistically the infinitive with an imperative meaning is more

frequent than the pure imperative forms. This is due basically to the fact that the context of the decrees has a close relationship with the second aorist εἶπε, which regularly requires the infinitive with accusative construction. For reasons concerning the whole development of the indirect construction in the Ancient Greek language, the dependence on εἶπε became loose, so that a parallel use of infinitive and imperative forms appeared: In the earlier inscriptions (before 421 B. C.) the priority of the infinitive with imperative meaning is constant, and so we notice that, in comparison with the pure imperative forms, the infinitive is favored in a proportion of 3 : 1.

5. With regard to the participle, we notice that the atributive participle is more frequent than the adverbial one. This can be justified by the epigrammatical character of the decrees, which excludes sentences enlarged through adverbial participles, because this type of participle usually requires aditional elements to denote a complete meaning *.

ABREVIATIONS

Act. Cl.	Acta Classica
AJP.	The American Journal of Philology
BB	Beiträge zur Kunde der Indogermanischen Sprache
GIA	Meiggs R. - Lewis D., A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions
Glotta	Zeitschrift für griechische und lateinische Sprache
Cl. R	Classical Review
Hermes	Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie
IF	Indogermanische Forschungen
KZ	Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiet der indogermanischen Sprachen
RhM	Rheinisches Museum für Philologie
Rev. Ph.	Revue de Philologie, de Litterature et d' Histoire anciennes
SEG	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum

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ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΙΣ

Εἰς τὴν παροῦσαν διατριβὴν ἐξετάζεται ἡ χρῆσις ἐγκλίσεων καὶ χρονικῶν θεμάτων εἰς τὰ Ἀττικὰ ψηφίσματα τοῦ Ε' αἰ. π. Χ.

Παρατηρεῖται ὅτι ὁ κύριος κορμὸς τοῦ κειμένου τῶν ψηφισμάτων παρουσιάζει ἰδιάζουσαν ἀστάθειαν περὶ τὴν χρῆσιν τῶν χρονικῶν θεμάτων καὶ τὴν δια· τύπωσιν τῶν προτάσεων διὰ προστακτικῆς ἢ ἀπαρεμφάτου ἀντὶ προστακτικῆς. Οὕτως, ἐνῷ ὁ πρῶτος ῥηματικὸς τύπος ὁ ἀπαντῶν εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν τυπικὴν διατύπωσιν ἔδοξε, ἐπρυτάνευε, ἐγραμμάτευε, ἐπεστάτει, (ἦρχε), εἶπε εἶναι κατὰ κανόνα ἀπαρέμφατον, ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ τοῦ κειμένου παρατηρεῖται συχνὴ ἐναλλαγὴ αὐτοῦ διὰ προστακτικῆς, συνηθέστατα δὲ καὶ σάλος περὶ τὴν ἐκλογὴν τοῦ ἐνεστωτικοῦ ἢ ἀοριστικοῦ θέματος.

Τὰ γενικὰ συμπεράσματα ἐκ τῆς ἐρεύνης τῶν προβλημάτων τούτων ἔχουν δι' ὀλίγων ὡς ἑξῆς :

1. Ἡ παραδοσιακὴ γλῶσσα τῶν ψηφισμάτων ἐγένετο αἰτία περιορισμοῦ τῆς χρήσεως ἱκανοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ῥημάτων εἰς μόνον τὸ ἐνεστωτικὸν ἢ τὸ ἀοριστικὸν θέμα, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ εἰς μίαν ἀποκλειστικῶς ἔγκλισιν.

2. Ὑπὸ τὴν ἔποψιν τοῦ ποιοῦ ἐνεργείας ἡ γλῶσσα τῶν ψηφισμάτων παρουσιάζει σημαντικὰς ἀποκλίσεις. Τῶν ἀποκλίσεων τούτων μέρος μὲν ἡρμηνεύθη ἐπὶ τῇ βάσει ἀναλόγων περιπτώσεων, ἀπαντωσῶν καὶ εἰς κείμενα τῆς κατὰ πεζὸν ἢ ποιητικὸν λόγον ἀρχαίας ἑλληνικῆς γραμματείας, μέρος δὲ κατ' ἀντιστοιχίαν πρὸς τὴν ἰδιότυπον χρῆσιν τῶν γλωσσικῶν στοιχείων τῶν κειμένων τούτων, παρατηρουμένων ἄλλωστε καὶ εἰς ἄλλα γεγραμμένα κατὰ διάφορον διαλεκτικὸν τύπον ψηφίσματα. Ὡσαύτως, ἰδιαιτέρα ἔμφασις ἐδόθη εἰς τὴν ἑρμηνείαν τῆς χρήσεως τοῦ ἐνεστωτικοῦ ἢ ἀοριστικοῦ θέματος εἰς τὴν προστακτικὴν καί, τέλος, ἐπεχειρήθη νέα ἀποκατάστασις τοῦ κειμένου τινῶν ψηφισμάτων ἐπὶ τῇ βάσει τῶν περὶ ποιοῦ ἐνεργείας θεωριῶν.

3. Ἐν ἀναφορᾷ εἰς τὴν παρατηρουμένην ἐναλλαγὴν τύπων προστακτικῆς καὶ ἀπαρεμφάτου ἀντὶ προστακτικῆς διαπιστοῦται ὅτι :

α) Κατὰ κανόνα τὸ ἀπαρέμφατον χρησιμοποιεῖται πρὸς διατύπωσιν τῶν σημαντικωτέρων ἐννοιῶν, ἀποτελουσῶν καὶ τὸν κύριον κορμὸν ἑκάστου ψηφίσματος. Ἀντιθέτως, ἡ προστακτικὴ ἀπαντᾷ μόνον εἰς δευτερευούσας ἐννοίας, διὰ τῶν ὁποίων συμπληροῦνται τὰ δι' ἀπαρεμφάτων προτεινόμενα. Αἱ πλεῖσται ἀποκλίσεις ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος τούτου ἑρμηνεύονται ὡς ὀφειλόμεναι εἰς τὴν κατὰ παραδοσιακὸν τρόπον χρῆσιν ὡρισμένων ῥημάτων.

β) Ἡ διάσπασις τῆς συνεχείας τῶν δι' ἀπαρεμφάτων διατυπουμένων προτάσεων ἑρμηνεύεται καὶ ἄλλως ὡς φυσιολογική, διότι, κατὰ γενικὴν παρατήρησιν, ἰσχύουσαν καὶ δι' ἄλλας γλώσσας, ὁ πλάγιος λόγος δὲν δύναται νὰ παραμείνη ἀδιάσπαστος εἰς ἔστω καὶ σχετικῶς μεγάλης ἐκτάσεως κείμενα.