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NASAL-INFIXED IMPERFECTS AND THEIR COLLATERAL AORISTS IN HOMERIC GREEK: A DIACHRONIC APPROACH[1]

С. И. Дмитриева. Имперфекты с назальным инфиксом и их однокоренные аористы у Гомера и в диахронии

В статье проводится сопоставительный анализ употреблений форм имперфекта с назальным инфиксом и однокоренных аористных форм у Гомера с привлечением данных более поздних авторов (Геродот, Платон, Аполлоний Родосский). Имперфекты от предельных презенсов часто выражают значение перфектива. В таких случаях формы имперфекта и аориста демонстрируют тенденцию к дополнительной дистрибуции за счет ограничения сферы употребления. Эта тенденция лучше представлена у Гомера; позднее конкуренция между формами нейтрализуется: как правило, выбор склоняется в сторону аориста, и назальный имперфект перестает употребляться. В ходе истории древнегреческого языка можно наблюдать тенденцию выравнивания парадигмы за счет употребления только одного типа претерита. Сравнительно высокая конкуренция между рассмотренными формами имперфекта и аориста у Гомера свидетельствует о более тесном взаимодействии категорий аспекта и акциональности в греческом языке более раннего периода.

Ключевые слова: аспект, акциональность, назальный инфикс, предельность, имперфект, аорист, перфектив

Introduction

The semantic difference between imperfects and aorists in Ancient Greek has been subject to close attention and interest from earlier grammatics to recent years (cf.: Crespo 2014, Hedin 2000, Krasukhin 2007). The present study analyses the uses of the Greek verbs derived from the IE present stems with the nasal infix[2] and their collateral aoristic formations attested in the poems of Homer and compared with the later authors (Herodotus, Plato and Apollonius of Rhodes).

Indo-European nasal-infixed presents are known to be connected with transitivisation (Meiser 1993; Sihler 1995; Shatskov 2016). It

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[2] Of the type $R(C_1C_2)$-né/n-$R(C_3)$- or $R(C_1)$-né/n-$R(C_2)$- (LIV^2).

has also been noted that the Greek nasal verbs, along with higher degree of transitivity, demonstrate higher degree of telicity in comparison with the verbs of the same roots without the nasal infix. This feature had been mentioned particularly concerning the nasal presents in -ανω (Vendryes 1923; Chantraine 1961) and was recently addressed with regard to other Greek nasal presents (Dmitrieva 2017).

It should be considered that lexical aspect played a significant role in the earlier periods of Ancient Greek (Moser 2017). Imperfects from telic verbs can often express perfective meaning; the employment of imperfectives "pro perfective" has been discussed in the studies dealing with Homeric aspect (Napoli 2006: 191). In this respect the nasal verbs provide a good opportunity to study the employment of the telic imperfect forms, to investigate to what extent they compete with the corresponding aorists and to outline the patterns of correlation between the preterites.

The study is focused on the verbs with the old nasal present stems listed in the lexicon of the Indo-European verbs that have both aoristic forms and nasal imperfects in Homer[3], making a set of 30 imperfects and 47 aorists[4], which is then traced in the works of Herodotus, Plato and Apollonius of Rhodes. The research is based on more than 1400 instances, which had been retrieved with the help

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[3] ἐπιτέλλω 'enjoin, prescribe, command', ἀνδάνω 'please, delight, gratify', ἄνυμι 'effect, accomplish', ἀπειλέω 'promise; threaten', ἀρνέομαι 'deny, disown', βάλλω 'throw, hit', δαμνημι 'tame, break in', δύναμαι 'be able', δύνω 'cause to sink, sink', καμνω trans. 'work'; intrans. 'toil, labour', κιρνημι 'mix', κλίνω 'lean, rest', κρίνω 'choose; decide', κυνεω 'kiss', λαμπω 'give light, shine', μαραινω 'die away, go slowly out', ὄμνυμι 'swear', ὀμοργνυμι 'wipe', ὀρινω 'stir, raise', παλλω 'poise, sway', περνημι 'export for sale', πηγνυμι 'stick or fix on; fasten', πιλναμαι 'draw near to, approach', πιτνημι 'spread out', πυνθανομαι 'learn', σκιδναμαι 'to be spread or scattered, disperse', ταμνω 'cut', ὑφαινω 'contrive, plan', φαίνω 'bring to light; reveal', χανδανω 'hold, include, contain'.

[4] ἔτλη, ἐπέτειλα, εὔαδε, ἤσατο, ἤνυσα, ἀπείλησαν, ἀρνήσασθαι, βλῆτο, ἔβαλον, ἐδάμασα, δαμάσθη, δυνήσατο, δυνάσθη, ἔδυν, ἔδυσα, ἔκαμον, κέρασσε, ἔκλινα, ἐκλίνθη, ἔκρινα, ἔκυσσε, ἐπέλαμψε, ἐμαράνθη, ὤμοσε, ὄμόρξα, ἀπομόρξατο, ὄρινα, ὠρίνθη, ἀμπεπαλών, πῆλα, ἐπέρασσα, ἐπάγη, ἔπηξεν, πλῆτο, ἐπέλασα, πέλασθεν, πέτασα, πετάσθησαν, ἐπυθόμην, πεπύθοιτο, ἐσκέδασα, ἐκέδασθεν, ἔταμον, ὕφηνα, ἔφηνα, ἐφάνην, ἔχαδον. Active and middle forms were counted as one instance. For some verbs there were taken the aorists that synchronically belong to different presents, but historically represent the old root aorist (this is the case of ἔτλην), or the ones that are semantically close (like ἤσατο, which corresponds to the present ἥδομαι).

of the TLG database[5]. All contexts were examined in terms of lexical and grammatical semantics, pragmatical features and the distribution of usages.

I. Nasal imperfects in Homer

1. Imperfects and aorists displaying aspectual opposition

In a number of uses the difference between the preterites conforms to the generally held definition of the imperfect / aorist aspectual opposition. The nasal imperfects describe an ongoing or repeated action and the aorists are punctual or completed (cf. Rijksbaron 2006: 11).

1.1 Durative imperfects

The imperfects from δάμνημι refer to ongoing actions: Il. 14, 439 αὖτις δ' ἐξοπίσω πλῆτο χθονί, τὼ δέ οἱ ὄσσε // νὺξ ἐκάλυψε μέλαινα· βέλος δ' ἔτι θυμὸν **ἐδάμνα**. 'Then again he sank back upon the ground, and both his eyes were enfolded in black night; and the blow <u>still</u> **overwhelmed** his spirit'. The corresponding aorists refer to completed actions: Od. 22, 413 τούσδε δὲ μοῖρ' **ἐδάμασσε** θεῶν καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα· 'These men here **has** the fate of the gods **destroyed** and their own reckless deed'.

The imperfects from λάμπω are durative: Hector's armour is shining during the attack at the gates in Il. 12, 463 **λάμπε** δὲ χαλκῷ // σμερδαλέῳ, τὸν ἕστο περὶ χροΐ, δοιὰ δὲ χερσὶ // δοῦρ' ἔχεν 'and he **shone** in terrible bronze wherewith his body was clothed about, and in his hands he held two spears'. Sigmatic aorist ἐπέλαμψε is attested only once (with a prefix) and has a perfective meaning: the sun appeared and the entire battle field became visible. Il. 17, 650 ἠέλιος δ' **ἐπέλαμψε**, μάχη δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσα φαάνθη 'and the sun **shone forth** upon them and all the battle was made plain to view'.

1.2 Iterative, distributive, habitual imperfects

More nasal imperfects are attested in the contexts where the action is repeated or a verb has distributed objects or subjects.

The verb βάλλω is polysemous (s. Cunliffe 1963 s. v.), and the grammatical semantics of the imperfect seems to differ according to the lexical value. This is especially remarkable for the meaning 'to

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[5] The English translations of the passages are taken from (Murray 1919 and 1924) for Homer, (Godley 1921–24) for Herodotus, (Fowler, Lamb 1914) for Plato and (Seaton 1912) for Apollonius of Rhodes.

strike, wound', where the imperfect is always different from the aorists and has either distributive or iterative value. The distributive action is marked with the pronoun ἀλλήλους 'one another': Il. 18, 534 στησάμενοι δ' ἐμάχοντο μάχην ποταμοῖο παρ' ὄχθας, // **βάλλον** δ' <u>ἀλλήλους</u> χαλκήρεσιν ἐγχείῃσιν. 'Then set they their battle in array and fought beside the river banks, and **were ever smiting** <u>one another</u> with bronze-tipped spears'. The aoristic contexts with *(ἔ)βάλον* and *(ἔ)βλῆτο* have perfective semantics: Il. 4, 518 Ἔνθ' Ἀμαρυγκείδην Διώρεα μοῖρα πέδησε· // χερμαδίῳ γὰρ **βλῆτο** παρὰ σφυρὸν ὀκριόεντι // κνήμην δεξιτερήν· **βάλε** δὲ Θρηκῶν ἀγὸς ἀνδρῶν 'Then was Amarynceus' son, Diores, caught in the snare of fate; for with a jagged stone **was he smitten** on the right leg by the ankle, and it was the leader of the Thracians that **made the cast**'.

Imperfect middle *πίλνατο* is iterative and marked with *ἄλλοτε μὲν... ἄλλοτε δ'*: Il. 23, 368 ἄρματα δ' <u>ἄλλοτε μὲν</u> χθονὶ **πίλνατο** πουλυβοτείρῃ, // <u>ἄλλοτε δ'</u> ἀΐξασκε μετήορα· 'And the chariots <u>would now</u> **course** over the bounteous earth, <u>and now again would bound</u> on high'. The corresponding aorists[6] are perfective: Il. 14, 438 αὖτις δ' ἐξοπίσω **πλῆτο** χθονί, τὼ δέ οἱ ὄσσε // νὺξ ἐκάλυψε μέλαινα· 'Then again he **sank** back upon the ground, and both his eyes were enfolded in black night'; Il. 12, 420 οὔτέ ποτ' αἰχμηταὶ Δαναοὶ Λυκίους ἐδύναντο // τείχεος ἂψ ὤσασθαι, ἐπεὶ τὰ πρῶτα **πέλασθεν** 'nor ever could the Danaan spearmen thrust back the Lycians from the walI, when once **they had drawn nigh** thereto'.

Imperfect middle *ἐσκίδναντο* is distributive: Il. 1, 487 αὐτοὶ δ' **ἐσκίδναντο** <u>κατὰ κλισίας τε νέας τε</u> 'and themselves **scattered** <u>among the tents and ships</u>'. Passive sigmatic aorist *ἐκέδασθεν* does not convey this semantical nuance, though it is used in the sense that could possibly be interpreted as conative – the Argives did not attempt to scatter because of shame and fear: Il. 15, 657 Ἀργεῖοι δὲ... **οὐδ' ἐκέδασθεν** ἀνὰ στρατόν· ἴσχε γὰρ αἰδὼς // καὶ δέος 'And the Argives... **scattered not** throughout the camp; for shame withheld them and fear'.

2. Imperfects applied "pro perfective": avoiding the competition

2.1 Different distribution and valency

Complementary distribution of forms is one of the ways to eliminate the competition between the telic imperfects and their collateral aorists.

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[6] Aor. ind. med. *πλῆτο*; sigmatic aorist *ἐπέλᾰσα* is built on the root aorist (LIV[2]: 470); aor. pass. *πελάσθη*.

The imperfect ἀπομόργνυ in the active voice is attested with the prefix (Il. 5, 416; Il. 5, 798; Il. 18, 414). The aorist with the prefix ἀπο- is only attested in the middle voice (ἀπομόρξατο)[7]. Middle imperfect ὠμόργνυντο (Od. 11, 527) is attested in a personal form, sigmatic aorist without prefixes is restricted to the participle ὀμορξάμενος (Il. 18, 124; Od. 8, 88; Od. 11, 530).

There also are four cases, where the aorists are only attested in non-finite forms and outside indicative: ipf. ἠρνεῖτο (Il. 19, 304 ff.) – inf. aor. ἀρνήσασθαι (Il. 14, 212; Od. 8, 358; Od. 21, 345), opt. aor. ἀρνήσαιο (Il. 14, 191); ipf. πάλλον (Il. 3, 316 ff.) – part. aor. ἀμπεπαλών (Od. 24, 519 ff.); ipf. πυνθανόμην (Od. 13, 256) – opt. aor. πεπύθοιτο (Il. 6, 50; Il. 10, 381; Il. 11, 135); ipf. ὕφαινε (Il. 3, 212 ff.) – conj. aor. ὑφήνω (Od. 13, 303), imperat. aor. ὕφηνον (Od. 13, 386).

Their corresponding imperfects can be used "pro perfective": Il. 23, 42 αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' **ἠρνεῖτο** στερεῶς, ἐπὶ δ' ὅρκον ὄμοσσεν· 'But he steadfastly **denied** them, and swore an oath thereto';

Il. 6, 187 τῷ δ' ἄρ' ἀνερχομένῳ πυκινὸν δόλον ἄλλον **ὕφαινε**: // κρίνας ἐκ Λυκίης εὐρείης φῶτας ἀρίστους // εἷσε λόχον 'And against him, as he journeyed back therefrom, the king **wove** another cunning wile; he chose out of wide Lycia the bravest men and set an ambush'.

The preterites ἐδύναντο and δυνήσατο appear in similar contexts, both are used in negations and have aoristic participles beside them. The aorist indicative is attested less frequently, and it seems that these forms could have been introduced *metri gratia*, providing 4-syllabic (δυνήσατο) and 5-syllabic (ἐδυνήσατο) metrical options for the 3rd person singular (having 2-syllabic δύνατ' and 3-syllabic δύνατο). It is interesting that the 4-syllabic augmented imperfect ἐδύνατο is not attested in Homer [8] (yet it is well-attested in Herodotus, cf. Hdt. 1, 10, 1; 1, 26, 10; 1, 185, 7; 2, 2, 6 etc.).

Il. 13, 436 τὸν τόθ' ὑπ' Ἰδομενῆϊ Ποσειδάων ἐδάμασσε // θέλξας ὄσσε φαεινά, πέδησε δὲ φαίδιμα γυῖα· // οὔτε γὰρ ἐξοπίσω φυγέειν **δύνατ'** οὔτ' ἀλέασθαι 'this Alcathous did Poseidon subdue beneath Idomeneus, for he cast a spell upon his bright eyes and ensnared his glorious limbs that **he might nowise** flee backwards nor avoid the spear';

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[7] And with perfective value, while the active imperfect ἀπομόργνυ has progressive (Il. 5, 798) or distributive (Il. 18, 414) values.
[8] There are also no attestations with a final -ε before δύνατο where the re-interpreted word border could have implied the presence of the augment (cf. Il. 3, 451 οὔ τις δύνατο etc.).

Il. 3, 451 ἀλλ᾽ οὔ τις **δύνατο** Τρώων κλειτῶν τ᾽ ἐπικούρων // δεῖξαι Ἀλέξανδρον τότ᾽ ἀρηϊφίλῳ Μενελάῳ· 'But **none** of the Trojans or their famed allies **could** then discover Alexander to Menelaus, dear to Ares';

Od. 17, 303 δὴ τότε γ᾽, ὡς ἐνόησεν Ὀδυσσέα ἐγγὺς ἐόντα, // οὐρῇ μέν ῥ᾽ ὅ γ᾽ ἔσηνε καὶ οὔατα κάββαλεν ἄμφω, // ἆσσον δ᾽ οὐκέτ᾽ ἔπειτα **δυνήσατο** οἷο ἄνακτος // ἐλθέμεν· 'when he marked Odysseus standing near, he wagged his tail and dropped both his ears, but nearer to his master **he had no longer strength** to move'.

2.2 Pragmatical difference: temporal reference

For the verbs ἀνύω, κάμνω and μαραίνω, while the imperfects might have perfective value, the aorists denote a preceding event (especially when used with the adverbs ἐπεί and πρίν).

The work of Odysseus was quickly finished: Od. 5, 243 θοῶς δέ οἱ **ἤνυτο** ἔργον.

In the aoristic passage Agamemnon in Hades tells Achilleus about his funeral: Od. 24, 71 αὐτὰρ <u>ἐπεὶ</u> δή σε φλὸξ **ἤνυσεν** Ἡφαίστοιο, // ἠῶθεν δή τοι λέγομεν λεύκ᾽ ὀστέ᾽, Ἀχιλλεῦ, // οἴνῳ ἐν ἀκρήτῳ καὶ ἀλείφατι. 'But <u>when</u> the flame of Hephaestus **had made an end** of thee, in the morning we gathered thy white bones, Achilles, and laid them in unmixed wine and unguents'.

One of the wooers had exhausted his hands before he could draw up the string: Od. 21, 150 στῆ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἐπ᾽ οὐδὸν ἰὼν καὶ τόξου πειρήτιζεν // οὐδέ μιν ἐντάνυσε· <u>πρὶν</u> γὰρ **κάμε** χεῖρας ἀνέλκων // ἀτρίπτους ἀπαλάς. 'he went and stood upon the threshold, and began to try the bow; but he could not string it. <u>Ere that might be</u> his hands **grew weary**, as he sought to draw up the string, his unworn delicate hands'.

The Patroclus' pyre died out at the hour of dawn: Il. 23, 228 <u>Ἦμος δ᾽</u> ἑωσφόρος εἶσι φόως ἐρέων ἐπὶ γαῖαν..., <u>τῆμος</u> πυρκαϊὴ **ἐμαραίνετο**, παύσατο δὲ φλόξ. 'But <u>at the hour when</u> the star of morning goeth forth to herald light over the face of the earth... – <u>even then</u> **grew** the burning **faint**, and the flame thereof died down'.

The preceding event expressed by the aorist ἐμαράνθη is emphasized with ἐπεί: Il. 9, 212 αὐτὰρ <u>ἐπεὶ</u> κατὰ πῦρ ἐκάη καὶ φλὸξ **ἐμαράνθη**, // ἀνθρακιὴν στορέσας ὀβελοὺς ἐφύπερθε τάνυσσε 'But <u>when</u> the fire **had burned down** and the flame was abated, he scattered the embers and laid thereover the spits'.

2.3 Preterites demonstrating differences in lexical semantics

Lexical differences between the preterites, including a tendency of one form to be involved in a certain formula, can be observed in general for polysemous and frequently attested verbs like *βάλλω, δύνω* and *φαίνω*. However, there are two verbs that carry this difference as the only criterion for distinction between the imperfects and the aorists.

The imperfect *ἐπέτελλε* 'prescribed, commanded' and the root aorist *ἔτλην* 'suffered, underwent; dared' are inherited from the same IE root **télh₂- /*tl̥h₂-,* but have different lexical meanings.

The imperfect *χάνδανεν* denotes a possibility to physically contain a certain volume or amount (Il. 23, 742; Od. 17, 344): Il. 23, 742 κρητῆρα… ἓξ δ' ἄρα μέτρα **χάνδανεν** 'mixing bowl… six measures it **held**'.

The aorist *ἔχαδον* has the meaning 'to sustain': Il. 11, 462 τρὶς μὲν ἔπειτ' ἤϋσεν ὅσον κεφαλὴ **χάδε** φωτός 'thrice shouted he then loud as a man's head **can** shout'. The metaphorical semantics of the aorist *ἔχαδον* could support the idea that it had been built on the nasal stem, which is suggested to be a possible development (LIV²: 194).

3. Competition between the preterites[9]

ἀνδάνω – εὔαδε

The imperfect *ἐήνδανε* is intensified with the adverb *πάμπαν* which makes the passage even more deliberate than the aoristic context with the negation in Od. 24, 465.

Od. 3, 143 ἔνθ' ἦ τοι Μενέλαος ἀνώγει πάντας Ἀχαιοὺς // νόστου μιμνήσκεσθαι ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης· // **οὐδ'** Ἀγαμέμνονι <u>πάμπαν</u> **ἐήνδανε**· 'Then in truth Menelaus bade all the Achaeans think of their return over the broad back of the sea, but <u>in no wise</u> **did he please** Agamemnon'.

Od. 24, 465 ὣς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἀνήϊξαν μεγάλῳ ἀλαλητῷ // ἡμίσεων πλείους· – τοὶ δ' ἀθρόοι αὐτόθι μεῖναν· – // οὐ γάρ σφιν **ἅδε** μῦθος ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἀλλ' Εὐπείθει // πείθοντ' 'So he spoke, but they sprang up with loud cries, more than half of them, but the rest

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[9] Semantical and functional equivalence in Homer is not restricted to "perfective" imperfects: some of the examined aorists take the "imperfective" semantics, although such examples are much less common (iteratives *ἔβαλον* Il. 7, 176 and *πάγεν* Il. 11, 572).

remained together in their seats; for his speech **was not to their mind**, but they hearkened to Eupeithes'.

ἀπείλεον – ἀπείλησαν

Some imperfects from *ἀπειλέω* are retrospective (Il. 13, 143; Il. 16, 201; Il. 13, 220) and some aorists have different lexical meaning 'to vow' (Il. 23, 863; Il. 23, 872), but there are contexts where the aorists and imperfects are used in the same situation, starting the reported speech:

Il. 15, 179 εἰ δέ οἱ οὐκ ἐπέεσσ' ἐπιπείσεαι, ἀλλ' ἀλογήσεις, // **ἠπείλει** καὶ κεῖνος ἐναντίβιον πολεμίξων // ἐνθάδ' ἐλεύσεσθαι· 'And if so be thou wilt not obey his words, but shalt set them at naught, **he threateneth** that he will himself come hither to set his might against thine in battle';

Il. 9, 682 αὐτὸς δ' **ἠπείλησεν** ἄμ' ἠοῖ φαινομένηφι // νῆας ἐϋσσέλμους ἅλαδ' ἐλκέμεν ἀμφιελίσσας. 'But himself **he threateneth** that at break of day he will launch upon the sea his well-benched curved ships'.

ἔβαλλον – ἔβαλον

In certain lexical meanings[10] the imperfects from *βάλλω* are used "pro perfective" and are equivalent to the thematic aorist (which is almost always perfective).

Penelope greets Odysseus and Telemachus in the passages that are nearly identical: Od. 23, 208 δακρύσασα δ' ἔπειτ' ἰθὺς κίεν, ἀμφὶ δὲ χεῖρας // δειρῇ **βάλλ'** Ὀδυσῆϊ, κάρη δ' ἔκυσ' ἠδὲ προσηύδα· 'Then with a burst of tears she ran straight toward him, and **flung** her arms about the neck of Odysseus, and kissed his head, and spoke, saying';

Od. 17, 38 ἀμφὶ δὲ παιδὶ φίλῳ **βάλε** πήχεε δακρύσασα, // κύσσε δέ μιν κεφαλήν τε καὶ ἄμφω φάεα καλά 'and bursting into tears she **flung** her arms about her dear son, and kissed his head and both his beautiful eyes'.

In the middle voice with the value 'to put on clothes / armour' both forms appear in the same passage: Il. 2, 43-45 ἕζετο δ' ὀρθωθείς, μαλακὸν δ' ἔνδυνε χιτῶνα // καλὸν νηγάτεον, περὶ δὲ μέγα **βάλλετο** φᾶρος· // ποσσὶ δ' ὑπὸ λιπαροῖσιν ἐδήσατο καλὰ πέδιλα, // ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ὤμοισιν **βάλετο** ξίφος ἀργυρόηλον· 'He sat upright and did on his soft tunic, fair and glistering, and about him

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[10] 'To throw, cast'; 'to put'; 'to let fall', 'to fling (the arms)' and, in the middle voice, 'to put on (clothes or armour)'.

cast his great cloak, and beneath his shining feet he bound his fair sandals, and about his shoulders **flung** his silver-studded sword'.

ἔδυνον – ἔδυν[11]

For the verb δύνω the uses of all preterital forms (imperfects, root aorists and sigmatic middle aorists) overlap in the meanings 'to enter, go into', 'to put on clothes, armour' and 'to come upon, befall (of feelings, physical and mental states)', for example:

Il. 15, 219 Ὣς εἰπὼν λίπε λαὸν Ἀχαιϊκὸν ἐννοσίγαιος, // **δῦνε** δὲ πόντον ἰών, πόθεσαν δ᾿ ἥρωες Ἀχαιοί. 'So saying, the Shaker of Earth left the host of the Achaeans, and fared to the sea and **plunged** therein; and the Achaean warriors missed him sore';

Il. 6, 19 ...αὐτὸν καὶ θεράποντα Καλήσιον, ὅς ῥα τόθ᾿ ἵππων // ἔσκεν ὑφηνίοχος· τὼ δ᾿ ἄμφω γαῖαν **ἐδύτην**. '...himself and his squire Calesius, that was then the driver of his car; so they two **passed beneath** the earth';

Od. 7, 336 ἀγχίμολον δὲ μετ᾿ αὐτὸν **ἐδύσετο** δώματ᾿ Ὀδυσσεύς, // πτωχῷ λευγαλέῳ ἐναλίγκιος ἠδὲ γέροντι, // σκηπτόμενος· 'Night after him Odysseus **entered** the palace in the likeness of a woeful and aged beggar, leaning on a staff'.

Il. 11, 19 δεύτερον αὖ θώρηκα περὶ στήθεσσιν **ἔδυνε**, // τόν ποτέ οἱ Κινύρης δῶκε ξεινήϊον εἶναι. 'Next he **did on** about his chest the corselet that on a time Cinyras had given him for a guest-gift';

Il. 18, 416 σπόγγῳ δ᾿ ἀμφὶ πρόσωπα καὶ ἄμφω χεῖρ᾿ ἀπομόργνυ // αὐχένα τε στιβαρὸν καὶ στήθεα λαχνήεντα, // **δῦ** δὲ χιτῶν᾿, ἕλε δὲ σκῆπτρον παχύ, βῆ δὲ θύραζε // χωλεύων· 'And with a sponge wiped he his face and his two hands withal, and his mighty neck and shaggy breast, and **put upon him** a tunic, and grasped a stout staff, and went forth halting';

Il. 13, 241 Ἰδομενεὺς δ᾿ ὅτε δὴ κλισίην εὔτυκτον ἵκανε // **δύσετο** τεύχεα καλὰ περὶ χροΐ 'and Idomeneus, as soon as he was come to his well-built hut, **did on** his fair armour about his body'.

It looks like the better attested verbs, like βάλλω and δύνω show competition between the forms in order to provide the variety of lexemes and overcome tautology.

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[11] The imperfect contains long *ū*, so the form 3 sg. *ἔδυνε / δῦνε* could formally be a sigmatic aorist. However, unlike the other three examples with ambiguous 3 sg. (*κλίνω, κρίνω, ὀρίνω*), the verb δύνω does have the 1sg imperfect form *δῦνον*. The long vowel is considered to be inherited from the root aorist (LIV[2]: 130).

There are also cases where one of the preterites is attested occasionally, whereas the other is used more frequently.

ὄμνυε–ὤμοσε

The imperfects from ὄμνυμι appear only twice, and one instance is identical to the aoristic passage. Odysseus, pretending to be a Cretan beggar, tells Eumaeus that the king Pheidon had promised to send Odysseus home.

Od. 14, 331 **ὤμοσε** δὲ πρὸς ἔμ᾽ αὐτόν, ἀποσπένδων ἐνὶ οἴκῳ, // νῆα κατειρύσθαι καὶ ἐπαρτέας ἔμμεν ἑταίρους, // οἳ δή μιν πέμψουσι φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν. 'He **swore** in my own presence, as he poured libations in his halls, that the ship was launched and the men ready who were to convey him to his dear native land'.

Later in the poem Odysseys tells the same story to Penelope, but in this passage the verb is in the imperfect form: Od. 19, 288 **ὄμνυε** δὲ πρὸς ἔμ᾽ αὐτόν, ἀποσπένδων ἐνὶ οἴκῳ, // νῆα κατειρύσθαι καὶ ἐπαρτέας ἔμμεν ἑταίρους, // οἳ δή μιν πέμψουσι φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν. 'He **swore** in my own presence, as he poured libations in his halls, that the ship was launched and the men ready who were to convey him to his dear native land'

ἐπέτελλε – ἐπέτειλα

Sigmatic aorist ἐπέτειλα (Il. 5, 818; Od. 1, 327) is in competition with the imperfects.

Il. 5, 818 οὔτέ τί με δέος ἴσχει ἀκήριον οὔτέ τις ὄκνος, // ἀλλ᾽ ἔτι σέων μέμνημαι ἐφετμέων ἃς **ἐπέτειλας**· 'In no wise doth spiritless terror possess me nor any slackness, but I am still mindful of thy behest which **thou didst lay upon me**';

Il. 5, 320 οὐδ᾽ υἱὸς Καπανῆος ἐλήθετο συνθεσιάων // τάων ἃς **ἐπέτελλε** βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης 'but the son of Capaneus forgat not the commands that Diomedes good at the war-cry **laid upon** him'.

πίτνα– πέτασα

For πίτνημι the grammatical equivalence with the aorist is only present in the active voice[12]:

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[12] Outside the active voice there is a difference between the perfective passive aorist and the progressive imperfect middle: Il. 22, 402 τοῦ δ᾽ ἦν ἑλκομένοιο κονίσαλος, ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται // κυάνεαι **πίτναντο**, κάρη δ᾽ ἅπαν ἐν κονίῃσι // κεῖτο πάρος χαρίεν· 'And from Hector as he was dragged the dust rose up, and on either side his dark hair **flowed outspread**, and all in the dust lay the head that was before so fair'

Il. 21, 7 ἠέρα δ’ Ἥρη // **πίτνα** πρόσθε βαθεῖαν ἐρυκέμεν· 'and Hera **spread** before them a thick mist to hinder them';

Il. 1, 480 οἳ δ’ ἱστὸν στήσαντ’ ἀνά θ’ ἱστία λευκὰ **πέτασσαν** 'and they set up the mast and **spread** the white sail'.

πυνθανόμην – ἐπυθόμην

The imperfect middle *πυνθανόμην* is attested once and has a perfective value: Od. 13, 256 **πυνθανόμην** Ἰθάκης γε καὶ ἐν Κρήτῃ εὐρείῃ, // τηλοῦ ὑπὲρ πόντου· νῦν δ’ εἰλήλουθα καὶ αὐτὸς // χρήμασι σὺν τοίσδεσσι· 'I **heard** of Ithaca, even in broad Crete, far over the sea; and now have I myself come hither with these my goods'. The Greek nasal present could have been derived from the root aorist as well (LIV^2: 83).

The aorist is attested in a similar passage in Od. 14, 321 ἔνθ’ Ὀδυσῆος ἐγὼ **πυθόμην**· κεῖνος γὰρ ἔφασκε // ξεινίσαι ἠδὲ φιλῆσαι ἰόντ’ ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν 'There I **learned** of Odysseus, for the king said that he had entertained him, and given him welcome on his way to his native land'.

ἔφαινον, med. φαίνετο – ἔφηνα, pass. ἐφάνην

The active imperfect *ἔφαινον* appears in one context similar to the active aorist with the meaning 'bring to light or notice, display':

Od. 18, 67 ὣς ἔφαθ’, οἱ δ’ ἄρα πάντες ἐπήνεον. αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς // ζώσατο μὲν ·άκεσιν περὶ μήδεα, **φαῖνε** δὲ μηρούς // καλούς τε μεγάλους τε, φάνεν δέ οἱ εὐρέες ὦμοι // στήθεά τε στιβαροί τε βραχίονες· 'So he spoke, and they all praised his words. But Odysseus girded his rags about his loins and **showed** his thighs, comely and great, and his broad shoulders came to view, and his chest and mighty arms';

Il. 2, 324 τίπτ’ ἄνεῳ ἐγένεσθε κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοί; // ἡμῖν μὲν τόδ’ **ἔφηνε** τέρας μέγα μητίετα Ζεὺς // ὄψιμον ὀψιτέλεστον 'Why are ye thus silent, ye long-haired Achaeans? To us hath Zeus the counsellor **shewed** this great sign, late in coming, late in fulfillment '.

In the middle voice there are more examples of similar uses, particularly with the meanings 'to appear, be seen' and 'to be so and so (with adjectives)':

Ares appeared to Diomedes *τοῖος* 'in such wise': Il. 5, 867 τοῖος Τυδεΐδῃ Διομήδεϊ χάλκεος Ἄρης // **φαίνεθ’** ὁμοῦ νεφέεσσιν ἰὼν εἰς οὐρανὸν εὐρύν 'even in such wise unto Diomedes, son of Tydeus, **did** brazen Ares **appear**, as he fared amid the clouds unto broad heaven';

Odysseus with his friends were dear to see on their safe return from the cave of Cyclops: Od. 9, 466 ἀσπάσιοι δὲ φίλοισ' ἑτάροισι **φάνημεν**, // οἳ φύγομεν θάνατον· 'And welcome to our dear comrades **was the sight of us** who had escaped death'.

Aorists homonymic to imperfects: ἔκλῑνε, ἔκρῑνε, ὄρῑνε

When the nasal infix spread to the entire verbal paradigm, the -s- in sigmatic aorists was lost after it with the subsequent compensatory lengthening: ἔκλῑνα < *ἔκλινσα, ἔκρῑνα < *ἔκρινσα, ὄρῑνα < *ὄρινσα (Chantraine 1961: 412; Sihler 1995: 517-518, Beekes 2010: 781).

As a result, in the active voice 3rd person singular (with the ending -ε(ν)), the imperfect forms became undescernable from the aorists, as can be observed for the preterites ἔκλῑνε, ἔκρῑνε, ὄρῑνε.

In the 3rd person plural, in the passive voice and in the non-finite forms the aorists can be identified: 3 pl. ἔκριναν (Od. 18, 264), med. ἐκρίνατ' (Od. 4, 778), 2 sg. ὤρινας (Od. 8, 178), ὄρινας (Od. 14, 361; Od. 15, 486), 1 sg. ὄρινα (Od. 4, 366), med. ὠρίνετο (Od. 18, 75), pass. ὀρίνθη (Il. 5, 29).

As seen in the examples below, the preterites ἔκλινε, ἔκρινεν are similar to the aorists ἔκλιναν, ἐκρίνατο.

Od. 22, 121 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ λίπον ἰοὶ ὀϊστεύοντα ἄνακτα, // τόξον μὲν πρὸς σταθμὸν ἐϋσταθέος μεγάροιο // **ἔκλιν'** ἑστάμεναι, πρὸς ἐνώπια παμφανόωντα 'But when the arrows failed the prince, as he shot, he **leaned** the bow against the door-post of the well-built hall, and let it stand against the bright entrance wall';

Il. 8, 435 καὶ τοὺς μὲν κατέδησαν ἐπ' ἀμβροσίῃσι κάπῃσιν, // ἅρματα δ' **ἔκλιναν** πρὸς ἐνώπια παμφανόωντα· 'and tethered them at their ambrosial mangers, and **leaned** the chariot against the bright entrance wall';

Il. 1, 309 Ἀτρεΐδης δ' ἄρα νῆα θοὴν ἅλα δὲ προέρυσσεν, // ἐν δ' ἐρέτας **ἔκρινεν** ἐείκοσιν 'Atreus launched a swift ship on the sea, and **chose** for it twenty rowers';

Od. 4, 778 ὣς εἰπὼν **ἐκρίνατ'** ἐείκοσι φῶτας ἀρίστους, // βὰν δ' ἰέναι ἐπὶ νῆα θοὴν καὶ θῖνα θαλάσσης. 'So he spoke, and **chose** twenty men that were best, and they went their way to the swift ship and the shore of the sea'.

The coincidence in 3sg. is not exclusively formal, since the clearly imperfect forms also have perfective values. For example, the middle form ὠρίνετο which is an imperfect, is semantically similar to the passive aorist ὀρίνθη:

Od. 18, 75 ὣς ἄρ’ ἔφαν, Ἴρῳ δὲ κακῶς **ὠρίνετο** θυμός. 'So they spoke, and the mind of Irus **was** miserably **shaken’;**

l. 5, 29 Τρῶες δὲ μεγάθυμοι ἐπεὶ ἴδον υἷε Δάρητος... πᾶσιν **ὀρίνθη** θυμός· ‘But when the great souled Trojans beheld the two sons of Dares... the hearts of all **were dismayed’**.

II. A diachronic overview

The Homeric set of preterite pairs was addressed in the works of three later authors. Unsurprisingly, some of the verbs from that list were not attested; moreover, some verbs show no uses of preterital forms at all. These cases excluded, the initial Homeric list is represented by 13 verbs in Herodotus[13], 11 in Plato[14] and 20 in Apollonius of Rhodes[15] that have at least one preterite attested (imperfect or aorist indicative).

As seen in the *Table 1*, most of the examined imperfects are able to express perfective value, although the percentage tends to lower from 70% in Homer to 40% in Apollonius of Rhodes. Frequently attested and polysemous verbs provide greater semantical variety.

Table 1

Imperfects applied “pro perfective”

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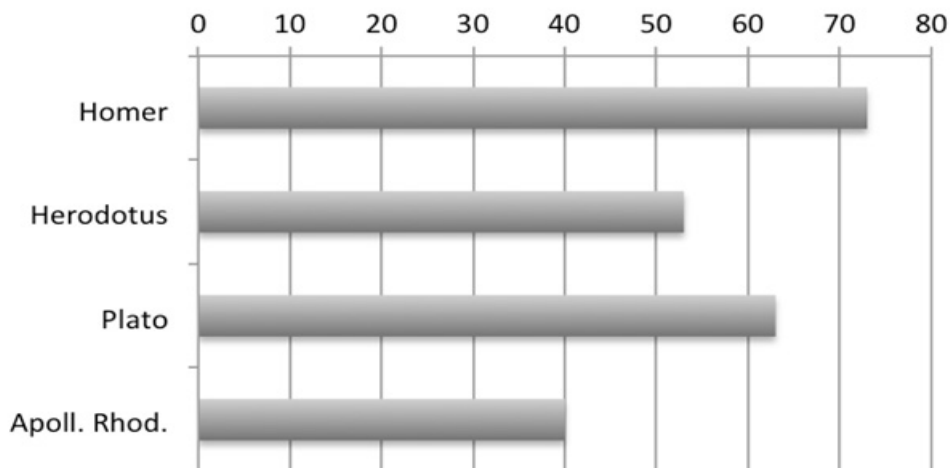
[13] ἀνδάνω, ἄνυμι, ἀπειλέω, ἀρνέομαι, βάλλω, δύναμαι, κάμνω, κρίνω, ὄμνυμι, πάλλω, πυνθάνομαι, ταμνω, φαίνω.

[14] ἄνυμι, ἀπειλέω, βάλλω, δύναμαι, δύνω, κρίνω, ὄμνυμι, πήγνυμι, πυνθάνομαι, ταμνω, φαίνω.

[15] ἐπιτέλλω, ἀνδάνω, ἄνυμι, ἀπειλέω, βάλλω, δύναμαι, δύνω, κάμνω, κλίνω, κρίνω, κυνέω, λαμπω, ὄμνυμι, ὀρίνω, πάλλω, πήγνυμι, πίλναμαι, σκίδναμαι, ταμνω, φαίνω.

The greater frequency of the perfective contexts leads to a higher competition between the forms, which is decreased in Herodotus, raises slightly in Plato and then drops in Apoll. Rhod. (*Table 2*).
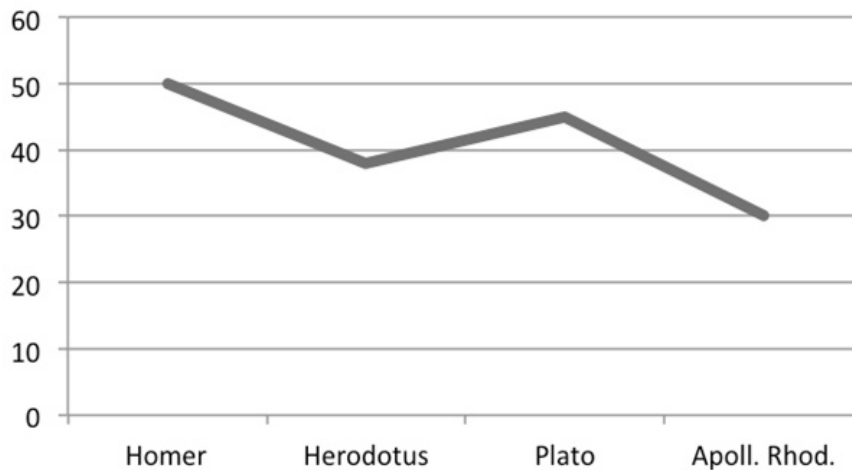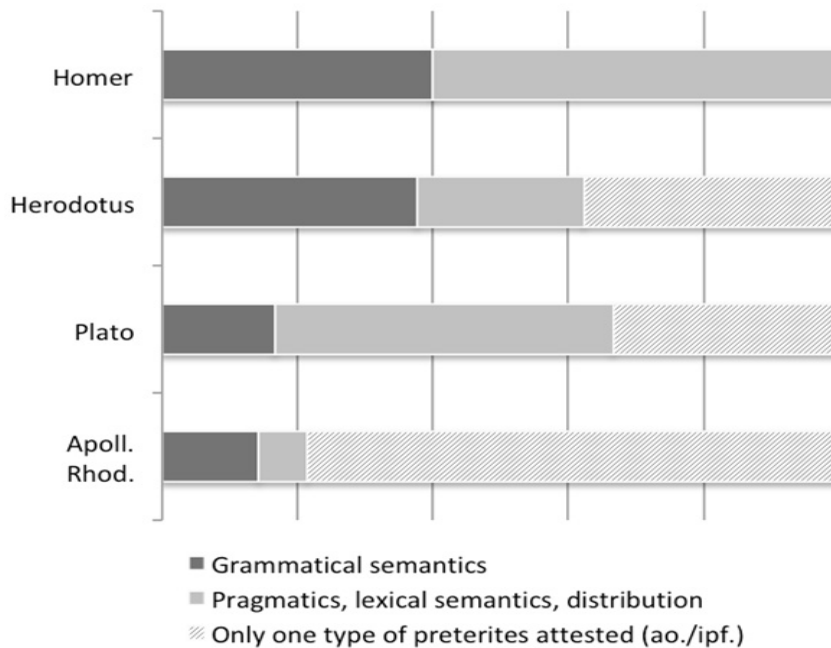
Table 2

Competition

Table 3 describes the ways of handling the competition between the preterites.

Table 3

Avoiding the competition

- Grammatical semantics
- Pragmatics, lexical semantics, distribution
- Only one type of preterites attested (ao./ipf.)

In Herodotus, the correlation between the forms is similar to those in Homer: the percent of grammatically different forms is almost the same, but the set of verbs is different. For example, the preterites from *ἀνδάνω* in Herodotus have different valency: the aorists are used with infinitives: Λακεδαιμονίοισι δὲ **ἔαδε** δέκεσθαι τοὺς Μινύας ἐπ' οἷσι θέλουσι αὐτοί. 'The Lacedaemonians **were happy** to receive the Minyae on the terms which their guests desired' (4, 145, 18); the imperfects are accompanied exclusively by pronouns ταῦτα, τά, ἐκεῖνα: οἱ λοιποὶ Πελοποννήσιοι τοῖσι τὰ ἀμείνω **ἐάνδανε** 'the rest of the Peloponnesians who **chose** the better cause' (9, 19, 3).

The process of setting the forms apart could be related to lexical semantics. In Homer the verb *πυνθάνομαι* means 'to learn', in Herodotus it aquires the value 'to ask', in Plato that lexical difference forms the base for the distribution between the preterites: the imperfects always mean 'to ask, inquire' whereas the aorists have the value 'to learn': Μετὰ ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἐγὼ προθυμούμενος σαφῶς εἰδέναι ὅτι λέγοι, **ἐπυνθανόμην** αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς πότερον χρησίμους ἢ ἀχρήστους εἶναι ὑπολαμβάνοι. 'Well, after this answer I was eager to know clearly what he meant, so I **inquired** of him whether he conceived of good men as useful or useless.' (Amatores, 136b 4); Οὐδὲ τὰ περὶ τῆς δίκης ἄρα **ἐπύθεσθε** ὃν τρόπον ἐγένετο; 'Did you not even **hear** about the trial and how it was conducted?' (Phaed. 58a, 1).

The initial set of pairs attested in Homeric Greek has significantly depleted throughout history, which is especially remarkable for Apollonius of Rhodes. On the one hand, he tends to use the Homeric formulas and lexemes, on the other hand, he deals with the preterital pairs differently: in the 'Argonautica' 11 verbs out of 20 have only one preterite attested (9 imperfects and 2 aorists are lost): *ἄνυμι, κάμνω, κλίνω, κρίνω, κυνέω, ὄμνυμι, πήγνυμι, πίλναμαι, σκίδναμαι* have no imperfects, no aorists are attested for *ἀπειλέω* and *δύναμαι*.

Conclusion

Nasal infixed presents, like all other presents, demonstrate in the past tense aspectual opposition with the aorists. However, a significant number of the imperfects with the infix does happen to be applied "pro perfective".

Cases of functional equivalence are inevitable, especially for frequently attested verbs, but the competition between the perfective

forms is in most cases avoided by different means: distribution of the uses, temporal reference and lexical semantics and, later, – by eliminating one of the preterites (usually the nasal imperfect is the one that is lost).

Keeping only one telic preterite along with the functional distribution between the stems point to a tendency of the paradigm leveling over the time.

The higher competition of the preterites in Homeric poems illustrates closer interrelation of Aktionsart and aspect in the Greek verbal paradigm of the earlier periods.

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S. I. Dmitrieva. Nasal-infixed presents and their collateral aorists in Homeric Greek: a diachronic approach

The paper is focused on the verbs with the old nasal present stems that have both aoristic forms and nasal imperfects attested in Homer. All contexts were examined in terms of lexical and grammatical semantics, pragmatical features and distribution of usages. The study investigates the extent to which the nasal imperfects compete with the corresponding aorists and outlines the patterns of correlation between the preterites. The Homeric data is compared to the attestations in the works of Herodotus, Plato and Apollonius of Rhodes. It is observed that the competition between the forms tends to lower over time and the verbal paradigm is leveled by employing only one type of telic preterite.

Key words: aspect, Aktionstart, nasal infix, telicity, imperfect, aorist, perfective.