

# THE GREEK PARTICLES

BY

J. D. DENNISTON

FELLOW OF HERTFORD COLLEGE, OXFORD  
UNIVERSITY LECTURER IN GREEK AND  
LATIN LITERATURE

SECOND EDITION

OXFORD  
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS



Oxford University Press, Amen House, London E.C. 4

GLASGOW NEW YORK TORONTO MELBOURNE WELLINGTON  
BOMBAY CALCUTTA MADRAS KARACHI CAPE TOWN IBADAN

Geoffrey Cumberlege, Publisher to the University



615/1954

FIRST EDITION 1934  
SECOND EDITION REPRINTED LITHOGRAPHICALLY IN GREAT BRITAIN  
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, OXFORD,  
FROM CORRECTED SHEETS OF THE FIRST EDITION  
1954

## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

DURING the fifteen years between the first edition of this book and his death in 1949 Denniston made notes of a large number of additional examples and on many points changed his mind in the light of this fresh material. My principal task in the preparation of this second edition has been to incorporate all these additions and corrections. For the sake of speed and economy photographic reproduction from the first edition has been employed. This has meant that no insertion could be made in the text without an omission of corresponding size on the same or the next page. Accordingly, I have reduced many quotations to bare references; the choice of what to omit or condense has not always been easy, but in all cases I have weighed the new matter against the old and omitted whatever contributed least to the argument. Above all, I have taken the opportunity to redistribute matter between the text and the *addenda* in such a way that, as far as possible, the *addenda* do not accumulate additional examples but are confined to discussion of difficulties of text and interpretation.

The notes which Denniston made in his interleaved copy nearly always made it quite clear what he wanted to insert and where; some other notes, in the margins of review offprints and correspondence, did not make it clear, and I have accordingly been very cautious in using them. In general, I have tried to admit nothing into the text without being certain that it represented Denniston's considered view. But in a few cases the fresh examples which he had added seemed to me to necessitate a slight modification of his original views, and I have rewritten a sentence or two accordingly (p. 188, on postponed  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  in Middle and New Comedy; pp. 290-1, on  $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$  linking qualitative attributes; p. 462, on  $\delta' \omicron\upsilon\nu$  in the sense of  $\delta\grave{\epsilon} \delta\acute{\eta}$ ; p. 501, on  $\tau\epsilon$  linking qualitative attributes).

As thoroughgoing a correction as possible has been made of the few printers' errors and fewer wrong references which appeared in the first edition.

Inevitably, in carrying out a revision of this kind one is faced with two temptations; to add material of one's own, and to modify interpretations of the author's with which one disagrees. The

I use italics in translation to mark the word stressed in my English: this is not necessarily the word rendering the word stressed in the Greek.

On the whole, I have avoided the indication 'etc.', which in a work of this kind is often dangerously ambiguous. '*Id. saep.*' denotes that the particle or usage occurs often in the author last cited, '*ib. saep.*' that it occurs often in the work last cited, '*et saep.*' that it occurs often in Greek as a whole.

Where a particle is given in brackets as an emendation, it is to be taken as a substitute for the particle under discussion. E.g. on p. 170 (*s.v. δέ*) '(γάρ Reiske)' means that Reiske conjectures γάρ for δέ. But I have been more explicit in cases where ambiguity was to be feared.

## AID TO THE READER (SECOND EDITION)

References to Bacchylides are to the edition of Snell (1949). Fragments of lyric and elegiac poets are numbered as in Diehl's *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca* (second edition); tragic fragments as in Nauck; comic fragments as in Kock; but Arn., Diehl, Mette, and Mette (*Nachtrag*) after a tragic fragment refer respectively to the *Supplementum Euripideum* of von Arnim, the *Supplementum Sophocleum* of Diehl, the *Supplementum Aeschyleum* of Mette, and *Nachtrag zu dem Supplementum Aeschyleum*; Dem. after a comic fragment refers to the *Supplementum Comicum* of Demiańczuk. Fragments of Pindar are numbered as in Bowra, with Schroeder's number in brackets; of the Presocratics, as in Diels (fifth edition); of the historians, as in Jacoby; of Epicharmus and Sophron, as in Kaibel's *Comoediae Graecae Fragmenta*.

An asterisk indicates that the *Additional Notes* at the end of the book should be referred to.

## CONTENTS<sup>1</sup>

FROM AID TO THE READER (FIRST EDITION)	ix
AID TO THE READER (SECOND EDITION)	x
INTRODUCTION	xxxvii
I. THE ORIGINS AND FUNCTIONS OF PARTICLES	xxxvii
(1) Definition of 'particle'. Particles originally other forms of speech	xxxvii
(2) Particles denoting a mode of thought in isolation. Emphatic particles: affirmative, intensive, determinative, limitative	xxxvii
(3) Particles conveying moods of emotion, nuances	xxxviii
(4) Particles of emphasis and nuance grouped as 'adverbial'. Difficulty of rendering these particles	xxxix
(5) Particles establishing a relationship between ideas. Connective, hypotactic, 'responsive', apodotic and resumptive, and 'corresponsive' uses	xxxix
II. CONNECTING PARTICLES	xliii
(1) The origin of connectives	xliii
(2) Connexion and asyndeton. Cases where asyndeton is often employed. Polysyndeton. Use of asyndeton for emotional effect	xliii
(3) Nature of connexion omitted when asyndeton is employed	xlvi
(4) Tests of admissibility of asyndeton in a given case	xlvi
(5) Apparently superfluous connexion. (i) In answer to question or command. (ii) At opening of speech or work. (iii) At opening of reported speech	xlvi
(6) The different methods of connexion: additional, adversative, confirmatory, and inferential. Distinction between additional and 'progressive' uses. 'Eliminative' and 'balancing' adversatives	xlvi
(7) Abnormalities of reference in connexion	l
III. COMBINATIONS AND COLLOCATIONS OF PARTICLES	li
(1) The distinction between combinations and collocations. (i) Change of meaning in combination. (ii) Dependence of one particle on another. (iii) Other tests of coherence. (iv) Fortuitous collocations. Gravitation of certain particles towards certain other parts of speech	li
(2) Avoided collocations	liii
(3) Split combinations	liv
(4) Exceptional combinations	lv
(5) Double connexions	lv

<sup>1</sup> In the summary of the text square brackets denote an unimportant, illusory, or highly doubtful usage.

IV. DIVERSITY IN THE USAGES AND MEANINGS OF PARTICLES. Deviations from normal meaning even in case of apparently stereotyped idioms. Ambiguities more frequent in case of combinations. Occasional logical separation of two particles which normally form a combination. Different meanings in close proximity . . . . .	Ivi
V. THE POSITION OF PARTICLES . . . . .	Iviii
(1) The position of particles in sentence and clause. Adverbial particles gravitate to opening. Position of enclitics. Position of <i>γε</i> , <i>δη</i> , and adverbial <i>καί</i> relative to emphasized word. Position of connectives. Types of postponement . . . . .	Iviii
(2) Order of precedence in combinations. (i) Adverbial particles and connectives. (ii) Preparatory particles and connectives. (iii) Preparatory and adverbial particles. (iv) Two adverbial particles . . . . .	Ix
VI. THE STYLISTIC IMPORTANCE OF PARTICLES . . . . .	Ixi
(1) Repetition of particles. Greek tolerance of repetition. Designed repetition. 'Gregarious' tendency of particles . . . . .	Ixii
(2) The employment of particles in different periods, dialects, and styles, and by different authors. Difficulty of inquiry . . . . .	Ixiv
(3) Chronological differences. Exacter delimitation of functions in post-Homeric Greek. Emergence of stereotyped combinations. In other cases increased diversity of usage. The development of <i>δη</i> , <i>οὐν</i> , <i>μήν</i> , and other particles: obsolescence of others. Development in individual authors: Aeschylus, Plato. Post-classical usages in Hippocrates . . . . .	Ixv
(4) Differences in dialect. Ionic usages in certain Attic writers. <i>οὐν</i> and <i>τοι</i> combinations. Other examples. Ionicisms in Sophocles . . . . .	Ixx
(5) Differences in genre. Dialogue and continuous speech. Particles especially common at opening of answer: usually omitted in <i>oratio obliqua</i> , but sometimes retained. Usages transferred from answers to continuous speech (imaginary dialogue). Certain particles mainly confined in Homer and the historians to speeches. The orators stand midway between dialogue works and formal treatises. Vivid usages in Demosthenes. Political and forensic oratory . . . . .	Ixxii
(6) Colloquial and poetical uses. Possibly colloquial uses in Homer. Colloquialisms in Euripides, and occasionally in Aeschylus. Epic uses in Aeschylus. Other uses peculiar to the high style. Certain Epic particles not found in later Greek. Differences between verse (including comedy) and prose . . . . .	Ixxv
(7) Personal preferences of various authors. Usages of Demosthenes and pseudo-Demosthenes compared . . . . .	Ixxviii

'Ἄλλά	I
I. GENERAL ADVERSATIVE USE . . . . .	I
(1) Eliminative. . . . .	I
(i) Usually either (a) <i>ἄλλά</i> clause or (b) clause to which it is opposed . . . . .	I
	I
	I

(iii) Particular varieties of <i>ἄλλά</i> following negative clause. (a) <i>οὐ μόνον (οὐχ ὅπως) . . . ἄλλά καί</i> , etc. (b) <i>ἄλλά</i> , following negative clause, meaning 'except'. <i>πλὴν ἄλλά</i> . (c) With comparative adverb in negative clause. (d) <i>μᾶλλον</i> . (e) Rhetorical question taking place of negative clause . . . . .	3
(2) Balancing. (i) Without preceding <i>μέν</i> . (ii) <i>μέν . . . ἄλλά (ἄλλ' ὁμως)</i> . <i>ἄλλά</i> answering negative <i>μέν</i> clause . . . . .	5
(3) <i>ἄλλά</i> expressing opposition in general. (i) In answers. (ii) In continuous speech. (iii) In anticipated objections (usually <i>ἄλλά νῆ Δία</i> ) . . . . .	7
II. SPECIAL USES . . . . .	9
(1) Following a rejected suggestion. (i) Introducing a question, 'Well, what?' (etc.). (ii) Alternative suggestion offered. (iii) <i>δ' ἄλλά</i> . (iv) Hypophora . . . . .	9
(2) In apodosis (often <i>ἄλλά . . . γε</i> : for <i>ἄλλ' οὐν</i> , see p. 444) . . . . .	11
(3) With protasis understood, 'At least' . . . . .	13
(4) In commands and exhortations. Sometimes repeated at short interval . . . . .	13
(5) In wishes and prayers. (i) Answer taking form of wish or prayer. (ii) Wish or prayer expressed during course of speech . . . . .	15
(6) Assentient. (i) Practical consent. With echoed word, especially in Plato. Consent implied: (a) enjoined task described as easy or unobjectionable: (b) person conveys his readiness to speak by speaking. (ii) Assent, expressed (a) by favourable judgement of preceding words: (b) by form of words implying that what has been said is correct. (iii) Expressing (a) acquiescence: (b) a sympathetic reaction . . . . .	16
(7) Introducing substantiation of hypothesis or wish . . . . .	20
(8) Inceptive. (i) Adversative. (ii) Response to invitation to speak. (iii) Response or approval in general . . . . .	20
(9) Progressive. Sometimes <i>ἄλλά καί</i> , <i>ἄλλ' οὐδέ</i> . . . . .	21
III. POSITION. Postponement after apostrophe or oath . . . . .	22
IV. COMBINATIONS . . . . .	23
(1) <i>ἄλλά γε</i> . For <i>ἄλλά . . . γε</i> , see II. 2 . . . . .	23
(2) <i>ἄλλ' οὐδέ</i> , 'Why, not even . . .'. For sense 'Nor, again', see II. 9 . . . . .	23
(3) <i>ἄλλ' ἢ</i> . (i) Negation, containing word of comparison, followed by exception. (ii) Negation, not containing word of comparison, followed by exception. (iii) Instead of general negation, particular instance of it given. Explanation of the combination <i>ἄλλ' ἢ</i> . . . . .	24
(4) <i>ἄλλ' ἢ</i> . Usually at opening of answer: sometimes following exclamation or apostrophe. Only used in questions. <i>ἄλλ' . . . ἢ</i> hardly a distinctive usage. <i>ἄλλ' ἢ</i> wrongly read for <i>ἄλλ' ἦ</i> . . . . .	27
(5) <i>οὐ μὴν ἄλλά</i> : <i>οὐ μὴν . . . ἄλλά</i> . (i) General adversative use. <i>μέν . . . οὐ μὴν ἄλλά</i> . (ii) Introducing supplementary argument taking marked precedence over previous one. (iii) Argument thus stressed representing second line of defence. <i>οὐ μὴν ἄλλά . . . γάρ</i> . . . . .	28
(6) <i>οὐ μέντοι ἄλλά</i> : <i>οὐ μέντοι . . . ἄλλά</i> . . . . .	30
(7) <i>οὐ γὰρ ἄλλά</i> . . . . .	31



Ἄρα (ἄρ, ῥα) . . . . .	32
I. PRIMARY USE, EXPRESSING LIVELY FEELING OF INTEREST . . . . .	33
II. SECONDARY USE, EXPRESSING SURPRISE ATTENDANT UPON DISILLUSIONMENT . . . . .	35
(1) Verb in present. (2) Verb in past. Special uses: (i) with μέλλειν, etc.: (ii) with imperfect, especially of εἰμί. (3) Verb in future. (4) ταῦτ' ἄρα . . . . .	35
III. PARTICULAR VARIETIES OF SECONDARY USE . . . . .	37
(1) εἰ ἄρα . . . . .	37
(2) In reported speech, and after verbs of thinking and seeming. Especially ὡς ἄρα . . . . .	38
(3) In questions, following an interrogative. (i) Direct questions. (ii) Indirect questions. ὅστις ἄρα . . . . .	39
(4) Logical . . . . .	40
IV. POSITION. Usually second word when connective: but postponement not infrequent . . . . .	41
V. COMBINATIONS. ἀλλ' ἄρα, ἀλλ' . . . ἄρα. εἴτε ἄρα. οὔτε ἄρα. ἀντάρ ἄρα. γε ἄρα. ἄρα γε. δ' ἄρα. δὴ ἄρα. καὶ ῥα. μὲν ἄρα. οὖν ἄρα. τ' ἄρα. βαβαῖ ἄρα. For ἦ ἄρα, ἦ ῥα, see p. 284. For γάρ ἄρα, γάρ ῥα, see p. 56. For τοι ἄρα, ἄρα τοι, see pp. 554-5 . . . . .	42
Ἄρα . . . . .	44
I. EQUIVALENT IN SENSE TO ἄρα. (1) Adding liveliness. (2) Marking realization of truth or drawing conclusion. (3) εἰ ἄρα. (4) ὡς ἄρα. (5) Following interrogative pronoun . . . . .	44
II. AS INTERROGATIVE PARTICLE. (1) Leaving answer open. (2) Expecting negative answer. (3) Expecting positive answer. (4) ἄρ' οὐ. (5) ἄρα μή . . . . .	46
III. POSITION. In I normally second or third word: in New Comedy sometimes first word. In II normally first word, but often postponed by dramatists and Plato. Repeated interrogative ἄρα. Occasionally introducing indirect question . . . . .	48
IV. COMBINATIONS. (1) ἄρα γε, ἄρα . . . γε. (2) ἀλλ' ἄρα. (3) ἄρα δὴ. (4) ἄρ' οὖν. (5) καὶ ἄρα . . . . .	50
Ἄτάρ . . . . .	51
(1) Adversative. (2) Progressive. (3) μὲν . . . ἀτάρ. (i) Strong adversative force. (ii) Weaker adversative force. (4) Position. Occasionally postponed after apostrophe. (5) Combinations. ἀτάρ δὴ. ἀτάρ οὖν. ἀτάρ οὖν δὴ. ἀτάρ τε. ἀτάρ τοι. For ἀτάρ καί, ἀτάρ οὐδέ, see p. 53, for ἀτάρ μὲν, p. 391 . . . . .	51
Αὐτάρ . . . . .	55
(1) Strongly adversative. (2) Weakly adversative or purely progressive. (3) Apodotic . . . . .	55

Γάρ . . . . .	56
I. CONFIRMATORY AND CAUSAL . . . . .	58
II. EXPLANATORY. (1) After τεκμήριον δέ, σημεῖον δέ, etc. (2) After an expression denoting the giving or receiving of information. (3) After a forward-pointing pronominal adjective or adverb. (4) After a neuter superlative adjective. (5) Miscellaneous . . . . .	58
III. PECULIARITIES IN THE USE OF CAUSAL AND EXPLANATORY γάρ . . . . .	60
(1) Giving the motive for saying that which has just been said . . . . .	60
(2) Connexion of thought sometimes lacking in logical precision . . . . .	61
(3) Meaning 'for otherwise' . . . . .	62
(4) Referring to remoter context . . . . .	63
(5) Used by a speaker in continuing his own train of thought . . . . .	63
(6) Successive γάρ's with a common reference . . . . .	64
(7) γάρ referring (i) to single clause: (ii) to individual word or phrase . . . . .	65
(8) Introducing an instance . . . . .	66
(9) Appositional, 'that is to say'. (i) With μὲν and δέ. (ii) With disjunctive ἢ. (iii) Other cases. For appositional καὶ γάρ, see p. 109 (3) . . . . .	67
IV. ANTICIPATORY . . . . .	68
(1) Parenthetical. With vocative preceding γάρ clause. In sentence opening with καί . . . . .	68
(2) Anticipatory in strict sense . . . . .	69
(3) Resumption or inception of main clause marked by particle or demonstrative pronoun. (i) δέ. (ii) ἀλλά, hortative or adversative. (iii) τῶ. (iv) νυν. (v) οὖν (οὖν δὴ). (vi) δὴ (δὴ οὖν). (vii) διὰ ταῦτα, διὼ δὴ. (viii) καὶ (doubtful). (ix) Demonstrative pronoun . . . . .	70
(4) Fusion of clauses . . . . .	72
V. IN ANSWERS. . . . .	73
(1) Supporting implied assent: 'yes, for', 'no, for' . . . . .	73
(2) Supporting implied dissent . . . . .	74
(3) Providing motive for language used by previous speaker . . . . .	75
(4) Presupposing qualified agreement . . . . .	75
(5) Connexion of thought obscured by compression . . . . .	76
(6) Answer in form of question. (i) Rhetorical question giving grounds for implied assent. For elliptical πῶς γάρ οὐ; see p. 86. (ii) Surprised question, throwing doubt on grounds of previous speaker's words. (iii) Asking why cause of which precedes has been brought into operation. (iv) Conveying surprised recognition of grounds of preceding question. (v) Implying that preceding question need not have been put: 'Why, of course' . . . . .	76
(7) Statement or question referring to subordinate clause or individual word . . . . .	80
(8) Exclamation, apostrophe, or question interposed before γάρ clause . . . . .	80
Explanation of γάρ in answers . . . . .	80

VI. PROGRESSIVE USE, IN ANSWER-QUESTIONS . . . . .	81
(1) Speaker proffers new suggestion after elimination of previous hypothesis . . . . .	81
(2) Speaker, after being satisfied on one subject, wishes to learn something further. (i) Further information required concerning cause of facts already known. (ii) Non-explanatory supplementary information required. (i) and (ii) with ellipse: <i>τί γάρ</i> ; . . . . .	82
Progressive <i>γάρ</i> in questions in continuous speech. Explanation of progressive <i>γάρ</i> in questions . . . . .	84
VII. ELLIPTICAL QUESTIONS: <i>τί γάρ</i> ; (cf. pp. 82-3): <i>ἦ γάρ</i> ; (see p. 285): <i>οὐ γάρ</i> ; <i>πῶς γάρ</i> ; <i>πῶς γάρ οὐ</i> ; . . . . .	85
VIII. ASSENTIENT. (1) In general. (2) With word echoed from preceding speech. (3) <i>γάρ τοι</i> (for which see, in general, pp. 549-50), conveying assent, and adding something to it. (4) <i>γάρ</i> expressing approval. (5) Assent or approval, with word echoed from preceding speech . . . . .	86
IX. IN WISHES, <i>εἰ γάρ</i> , <i>αἰ γάρ</i> . . . . .	89
(1) The use of <i>εἰ</i> . (i) Conditions. (ii) Wish-conditions. (iii) Pure wish-clauses . . . . .	90
(2) The use of <i>γάρ</i> . (i) Possible causal relationship. (ii) In dialogue, expressing wish that something stated or wished by previous speaker might come true. (iii) Wish for something supplementary to fact just stated. Exclamation sometimes preceding wish in (i), (ii), and (iii). (iv) Logical connexion not falling under above heads . . . . .	91
Summary of evidence regarding the significance of <i>γάρ</i> in <i>εἰ γάρ</i> wishes. Supposed use of <i>γάρ</i> , apart from <i>εἰ</i> , in wishes . . . . .	94
X. SPECIAL DIFFICULTIES . . . . .	95
XI. POSITION. Postponement (1) with <i>μέν</i> : (2) with article, preposition, and <i>καί</i> meaning 'also', 'both': (3) in other cases, especially in Middle and New Comedy . . . . .	95
<i>Ἄλλα γάρ, ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ</i> . . . . .	98
I. <i>ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ</i> , complex. <i>ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ</i> followed by <i>τῷ</i> ( <i>τῶ</i> ), <i>οὖν</i> , <i>δή</i> . . . . .	98
II. <i>ἀλλὰ γάρ</i> , complex . . . . .	99
III. <i>ἀλλὰ γάρ, ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ</i> , simple. (1) Marking contrast between subsidiary and primary. <i>μέν . . . ἀλλὰ γάρ</i> . (2) Breaking off. (3) Resuming after digression. (4) Marking appearance of new character on stage. (5) Marking non-fulfilment of condition. (6) In dialogue, introducing objection. (7) Introducing imaginary objection ( <i>hypophora</i> ). (8) Progressive. (9) Following negative clause. (10) <i>ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ</i> in questions . . . . .	100
For <i>ἀλλὰ γάρ δή, ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ δή</i> , see p. 244. For <i>ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ οὖν</i> , see p. 448 . . . . .	108
<i>Καὶ γάρ</i> . . . . .	108
I. With connective <i>γάρ</i> . (1) <i>καί</i> meaning 'also' or 'even'. (2) <i>καί</i> meaning 'in fact'. (3) <i>καί</i> meaning 'both' . . . . .	108

II. With connective <i>καί</i> , in answers: 'yes, and . . .'. Probably not so used in continuous speech . . . . .	109
<i>καί . . . γάρ</i> . For <i>καὶ γάρ δή</i> , see p. 244 . . . . .	110
<i>Οὐδὲ γάρ: οὐδὲ . . . γάρ</i> . . . . .	111
I. With connective <i>γάρ</i> . . . . .	111
II. With connective <i>οὐδέ</i> , in answers . . . . .	111
For <i>οὐδέ γάρ οὐδέ</i> , see p. 197 . . . . .	112
<i>Καὶ γὰρ οὖν</i> . . . . .	112
I. With connective <i>γάρ</i> . . . . .	112
II. Approximating in sense to <i>τοιγαροῦν</i> [ <i>καὶ γὰρ οὖν δή</i> ] . . . . .	112
<i>Καὶ γάρ τοι</i> . . . . .	113
I. With connective <i>γάρ</i> . . . . .	113
II. 'And in consequence': 'and in fact': 'and further' . . . . .	113
<i>Γε</i> . . . . .	114
I. EMPHATIC (DETERMINATIVE AND INTENSIVE) . . . . .	115
(1) General use. (i) Unsupported by a connecting particle. (ii) After connecting particles. <i>ἦ (ἦτοι) . . . γε. ἀλλὰ . . . γε. ἀτὰρ . . . γε. ἀλλὰ μὴν . . . γε. καὶ μὴν . . . γε. καίτοι . . . γε. ἀλλὰ μὲν δὴ . . . γε. καὶ μὲν δὴ . . . γε. οὐ μὲν δὴ . . . γε. οὐκοῦν . . . γε. ἄρα . . . γε</i> . For <i>ἄρα γε, γε ἄρα</i> , see p. 43 . . . . .	116
(2) With adjectives and adverbs expressing number, size, etc. With numerals . . . . .	120
(3) With <i>ἄλλος</i> , in negative or virtually negative sentences. In set phrases. <i>οὐδὲν ἄλλο γ' ἢ. τί δ' ἄλλο γ' ἢ; etc. τί δέ, εἰ μὴ . . . γε; εἰ μὴ . . . γε</i> . . . . .	121
(4) With pronouns . . . . .	121
(5) With relatives. <i>ὥσπερ γε, ὥσπερ . . . γε, ὥσπερ γε καί</i> . For limitative <i>γε</i> with relatives, see pp. 141-3 . . . . .	123
(6) After interrogatives . . . . .	124
(7) In commands. In wishes . . . . .	125
(8) In conditional protasis, <i>εἴ γε, εἰ . . . γε</i> , 'even if' . . . . .	126
(9) Apodotic. Resumptive . . . . .	126
(10) Exclamatory, with (i) adjectives, (ii) adverbs, (iii) verbs, (iv) nouns. In sarcastic exclamations. Preceded by (a) interjection, oath, etc.: (b) apostrophe: (c) repetition of previous speaker's words. Sometimes in nud speech. Occasionally in reported speech. In indignant questions . . . . .	126
(11) In answers. (i) Affirmative answers to question or statement. Answering command or wish. (ii) Negative answers. With exclamations. With rhetorical questions. (iii) Affirmative answers contradicting a denial. (iv) Answers to neutral questions. In reported speech. (v) Affirmative answers,	

adding something to implied affirmation. In imaginary dialogue. (vi) Adding detail to expressed assent. (vii) In formulae of assent, <i>καλῶς γε ποιῶν</i> , etc. (viii) Speech continued by second character (a) interrupting, (b) carrying on already complete sentence. (ix) First speaker amplifying his original statement . . . . .	130
(12) Epexegetic, with (i) substantive or pronoun in apposition, (ii) participial clause, (iii) relative clause, (iv) repeated word, (v) adverb or adverbial phrase, (vi) consecutive or final clause . . . . .	138
II. LIMITATIVE . . . . .	140
(1) In general. (i) Extension of application not excluded. (ii) Extension of application excluded . . . . .	140
(2) (i) With relative pronouns. (ii) With conditional and causal conjunctions . . . . .	141
(3) <i>ὡς</i> ('for') . . . <i>γε</i> . . . . .	143
(4) With participle . . . . .	143
(5) <i>A fortiori</i> , negative . . . . .	143
(6) Duplication of <i>γε</i> . . . . .	144
III. QUASI-CONNECTIVE. (1) For <i>γούν</i> or <i>γάρ</i> . (2) <i>ἔπειτά γε</i> . . . . .	144
IV. POSITION. Normally following emphasized word. (1) Order with article, with prepositions, and with negatives. (2) (i) Preceding emphatic word. (ii) Unemphatic word interposed between emphatic word and <i>γε</i> . . . . .	146
V. COMBINATIONS. (1) With word or words intervening. (2) Juxtaposition with preceding or following particle. For <i>δέ γε</i> , <i>καί γε</i> , <i>μέν γε</i> , <i>τέ γε</i> , see below. See also pp. 23 ( <i>ἀλλά γε</i> ), 247 ( <i>δὴ γε</i> ), 309 ( <i>μέντοι γε</i> ), 420 ( <i>μήτ' οὖν γε</i> ), 422 (5) <i>οὐκ οὖν γε</i> , 442 ( <i>ἀλλ' οὖν γε</i> ), 564 ( <i>καίτοι γε</i> ). For <i>γε</i> preceding <i>δὴ</i> , <i>μέν</i> , <i>μέντοι</i> , <i>μήν</i> , <i>που</i> , <i>οὖν</i> , <i>τοι</i> , see those particles . . . . .	150
<i>Δέ γε</i> : <i>δὲ . . . γε</i> . . . . .	152
(1) In retorts and lively rejoinders. In imaginary dialogue . . . . .	153
(2) Picking up thread after interpellation by another speaker . . . . .	154
Syllogistic use in answers . . . . .	154
(3) In answers, otherwise than in (1) and (2) . . . . .	154
(4) In continuous speech. (i) Strongly adversative. (ii) Weakly adversative, or purely continuative . . . . .	155
<i>Οὐδέ γε</i> : <i>οὐδὲ . . . γε</i> ( <i>μηδέ γε</i> : <i>μηδὲ . . . γε</i> ) . . . . .	156
(1) Connective, 'Nor yet'. (i) In answers. (ii) In continuous speech . . . . .	156
(2) Non-connective, 'Not . . . either', 'not even' . . . . .	156
<i>Καί γε</i> : <i>καὶ . . . γε</i> . . . . .	157
[ <i>καί γε</i> .] <i>καὶ . . . γε</i> . (1) With connective <i>καὶ</i> . (2) With adverbial <i>καὶ</i> . (i) <i>καὶ</i> meaning 'also', 'even'. (ii) <i>καὶ</i> meaning 'both'. (iii) <i>καὶ</i> meaning 'actually'. (iv) With the two particles independent of one another. For <i>καὶ . . . γε δὴ</i> , see p. 246 . . . . .	157

<i>Μέν γε</i> . . . . .	159
<i>μέν . . . γε</i> . <i>μέν γε</i> approximating to <i>μέν γάρ</i> or <i>μέν γούν</i> in force. <i>μέν γε δὴ</i> , <i>μέν γε οὖν</i> . . . . .	159
<i>Τέ γε</i> ( <i>εἴτε γε</i> : <i>οὔτε γε</i> ) . . . . .	161
For <i>τέ γε δὴ</i> , <i>τε . . . γε δὴ</i> , see p. 246 . . . . .	162
<i>Δέ</i> . . . . .	162
I. CONNECTIVE . . . . .	162
A. <i>Continuative</i> . Special usages. (1) In apposition. (2) In anaphora, sometimes without preceding <i>μέν</i> . (3) Joining participial addition to understood main verb. (4) Connexion varied with asyndeton . . . . .	162
B. <i>Adversative</i> . . . . .	165
(1) Normally a balancing adversative. For <i>μέν . . . δέ</i> , see pp. 369-74. (i) Omission of preceding <i>μέν</i> . (ii) <i>ὁ μέν</i> , etc., understood before <i>ὁ δέ</i> , etc. . . . .	165
(2) Sometimes a strong adversative . . . . .	166
(3) After preceding negative clause, sometimes answering <i>μέν</i> . For <i>μέν . . . οὐδέ</i> , see p. 191 . . . . .	167
C. <i>Particular uses of connective δέ</i> . . . . .	169
(1) For <i>γάρ</i> , <i>οὖν</i> , or <i>ἤ</i> . (i) For <i>γάρ</i> . (ii) For <i>οὖν</i> or <i>δὴ</i> : especially (a) introducing new suggestion, after rejection of previous one: (b) marking transition from introduction to opening of speech proper. (iii) For <i>ἤ</i> . . . . .	169
(2) Apparently superfluous <i>δέ</i> . (i) Introducing answer to second question. (ii) In passionate or lively exclamations. (iii) Inceptive . . . . .	171
(3) In questions. (i) In general. (ii) After apostrophe, etc. (iii) In an exclamation. (iv) <i>τί δ' ἔστι</i> ; <i>τί δέ</i> ; <i>τί δέ δὴ</i> ; (v) In other elliptical questions. For <i>τί δ' ἄλλο γ' ἤ</i> ; <i>τί δέ</i> , <i>εἰ μή . . . γε</i> ; see p. 121. (vi) In questions not containing an interrogative . . . . .	173
II. NON-CONNECTIVE . . . . .	177
(1) Apodotic. (i) Relative protasis. (ii) Temporal protasis. (iii) Comparative protasis. (iv) Causal protasis. (v) Conditional protasis. (vi) After <i>πλήν</i> . . . . .	177
(2) After a participial clause . . . . .	181
(3) Resumptive . . . . .	182
(4) Duplication of <i>δέ</i> . For <i>μέν . . . μέν . . . δέ</i> (. . . <i>δέ</i> ), see pp. 385-6. (i) With demonstrative answering relative. (ii) With demonstrative in apposition. (iii) In protasis and apodosis of conditional sentence . . . . .	183
III. POSITION . . . . .	183
A. Common types of postponement. (1) After preposition and substantive. (2) After article and substantive. (3) After preposition, article, and substantive. (4) After two particles and substantive. (5) Late position after negative. . . . .	185

B. Other types of postponement. (1) In general. (2) Postponement after apostrophe . . . . .	187
Οὐδέ, μηδέ . . . . .	190
I. CONNECTIVE . . . . .	190
(1) Without preceding negative clause. (i) As balancing adversative. (ii) For ἀλλ' οὐ. (iii) For καὶ οὐ. τε . . . οὐδέ . . .	191
(2) With preceding negative clause. Irregular responses. (i) οὔτε . . . οὐδέ. (ii) τε . . . οὐ . . . οὐδέ. (iii) Negative omitted in first clause (οὐδέ for οὐ . . . οὐδέ). (iv) Only last two units connected . . . . .	192
II. RESPONSIVE . . . . .	194
(1) Simply adding negative idea, 'not . . . either'. (i) In general. (ii) With inversion. (iii) Corresponsive . . . . .	194
(2) With sense of climax, 'not even'. (i) In general. (ii) Negativizing succeeding idea <i>in toto</i> . . . . .	196
(3) Duplication of negative. (i) οὐ . . . οὐδέ, οὐδέ . . . οὐ. (ii) In combination with other particles. οὐ μέντοι οὐδέ, οὐ γὰρ οὐδέ. For οὐ μὴν οὐδέ, οὐ μὲν οὐδέ, see pp. 338-9 and 363. Duplicated οὐδέ. οὐδέ ὦν οὐδέ, οὐδέ γὰρ οὐδέ. For οὐδέ μὴν οὐδέ, οὐδέ μὲν οὐδέ, see pp. 340 and 363 . . . . .	196
III. AS EMPHATIC NEGATIVE, 'not at all' . . . . .	197
IV. DOUBTFUL PASSAGES . . . . .	198
V. POSITION. Responsive οὐδέ usually immediately preceding word with which it is connected, but sometimes separated from it . . . . .	199
Καὶ δέ: καὶ . . . δέ . . . . .	199
(1) καὶ δέ . . . . .	199
(2) καὶ . . . δέ. (i) In general. Occasionally after strong stops. (ii) Introducing new instance. (iii) Introducing last item of series. After asyndeton . . . . .	200
καὶ ('both') . . . καὶ . . . δέ. τε . . . καὶ . . . δέ. μὲν . . . καὶ . . . δέ. [καὶ . . . δέ meaning 'also'.] οὐδέ . . . δέ . . . . .	202
Δῆ . . . . .	203
I. EMPHATIC . . . . .	204
(1) With adjectives. (i) In general. With comparatives. (ii) With δῆλος. (iii) With adjectives expressing indefinite quantity or number (πολύς, πᾶς, etc.). (iv) With numerals . . . . .	204
(2) With adverbs. (i) In general. (ii) With adverbs expressing frequency, intensity, etc. (iii) With temporal and local adverbs . . . . .	206
(3) With superlative adjectives and adverbs . . . . .	207
(4) With pronouns. (i) ἐγώ. (ii) σύ. (iii) νῶν. (iv) ὑμεῖς. (v) ὁ. (vi) ἐκείνος. (vii) ὅδε. (viii) οὗτος. (ix) resumptive οὗτος. (x) οὕτω, ὡδε. (xi) οὕτω in surprised or indignant questions. (xii) οὕτω (ὡδε) δῆ τι. τοιοῦτος (etc.) δῆ τις. (xiii) αὐτός. (xiv) Possessives . . . . .	207

(5) With interrogatives. (i) Direct. (a) In general. Sometimes preceding interrogative. (b) With καὶ before interrogative. (c) In subordinate clause, with ὡς, etc. (ii) Indirect . . . . .	210
In exclamations . . . . .	212
(6) With indefinite pronouns and pronominal adverbs. (i) δῆ τις. (a) <i>aliquis</i> . (b) <i>quidam</i> . For τοιοῦτος (etc.) δῆ τις, see p. 210. (ii) δῆ ποτε. (a) <i>olim</i> . (b) <i>aliquando</i> . (c) <i>unquam</i> . . . . .	212
(7) With substantives . . . . .	213
(8) With verbs. (i) At moments of strong emotion. (ii) With less emotional force. (a) With ὀρᾶν. (b) With other verbs. (iii) With imperatives. (a) In general. (b) Particularly with certain verbs (ὄρα δῆ, ἄγε δῆ, etc.). εἶα δῆ, θεῦρο δῆ. δῆ νυν (δῆ νῦν). (iv) With jussive subjunctive. (v) In wishes . . . . .	214
(9) With relatives. (i) Relative pronouns. (ii) Relative local adverbs. (iii) Relative temporal adverbs. (iv) Comparative modal adverbs. (v) With οἷος. (a) Adjectival. (b) Adverbial (οἷα δῆ, οἷον δῆ). ἄτε δῆ. (vi) With universalizing relatives (ὅστις, ὅποῖος, etc.). (vii) Approximative, 'about' . . . . .	218
(10) With negatives. (i) In general. (ii) οὐ δῆ in surprised questions (Sophocles). (iii) οὐκ ἂν δῆ in polite requests (Homer). (iv) μὴ δῆ in negative commands. (v) μὴ δῆ in dependent clauses. (vi) <i>A fortiori</i> (μὴ τι δῆ, μὴ ὅτι δῆ). (For μὴ τί (ὅτι) γε δῆ, μὴ ὅτι δῆ γε, see pp. 246 (4) and 247) . . . . .	222
(11) In conditional protasis, εἰ δῆ, εἰ . . . δῆ . . . . .	223
(12) <i>In apodosis</i> . After (i) temporal protasis: (ii) causal protasis: (iii) relative protasis: (iv) conditional protasis: (v) final clause: (vi) participial clause . . . . .	224
(13) Resumptive. (i) With demonstrative pronoun in apposition. (ii) Picking up participial clause . . . . .	225
(14) Assentient. Expressing practical consent. ταῦτα δῆ. δῆ for δῆτι, echoing word or thought . . . . .	227
II. POSITION OF EMPHATIC δῆ. Normally immediately following emphasized word. But sometimes (1) emphasizing word not immediately preceding: (2) preceding emphasized word. δῆ αὐτε, δῆντε, δῆντε. In Homer, sometimes first in sentence. Following preposition. In tmesis. For δῆ preceding interrogative, see p. 211: preceding τις, pp. 212-13 . . . . .	227
III. IRONICAL . . . . .	228
(1) In comparative clauses with ὡς. (i) With finite verb. For ὡςπερ δῆ, κατὰ περ δῆ, without irony, see p. 220. For ὡς δῆ λέγεται, etc., see p. 234. (ii) With participle . . . . .	229
(2) In causal clauses (ὅτι δῆ, etc.) . . . . .	231
(3) In final clauses (ἴνα δῆ, etc.). (i) Denoting that object is trivial or unworthy. (ii) Describing ingenious stratagem or device. (iii) Introducing pretended object. (iv) In general . . . . .	232
(4) After verbs of saying, thinking, etc. . . . .	233
(5) Attached to verb of saying or thinking . . . . .	233
(6) Without verb of saying or thinking, denoting that words are not to be taken at their face value . . . . .	234
(7) In definite quotations. τὸ σὸν δῆ, τὸ λεγόμενον δῆ, etc. . . . .	235
(8) Other ironical and indignant uses of δῆ . . . . .	236

IV. CONNECTIVE. (1) Development of connective sense. (2) Temporal, logical, and intermediate force. Occasionally used in lighter transitions . . . . .	236
V. POSITION OF CONNECTIVE δῆ. Occasional postponement after coalescing words . . . . .	240
'Αλλά δῆ: ἀλλά . . . δῆ . . . . .	240
(1) General adversative sense. (2) Brushing aside irrelevancy. (3) Progressive. (4) After rejected suggestion. (5) Assentient. Occasionally following light stop, or no stop at all . . . . .	240
[Ἄλλά γε δῆ: ἀλλά δῆ γε] . . . . .	242
Γὰρ δῆ . . . . .	243
(1) Arresting attention at opening of narrative. (2) οὐ γὰρ δῆ, μὴ γὰρ δῆ. (3) Reinforcing assentient γάρ. (4) With elliptical γάρ in answer. (5) Reinforcing progressive γάρ . . . . .	243
[γάρ . . . δῆ.] καὶ γὰρ δῆ. ἀλλά γὰρ δῆ. ἀλλά . . . γὰρ δῆ . . . . .	244
Γε δῆ . . . . .	244
(1) Emphatic limitative. (2) Purely emphatic. (3) In answers. (4) <i>A fortiori</i> . For μὴ τι (ὄτι) δῆ, see p. 223. For μὴ ὅτι δῆ γε, see p. 247. (5) καὶ . . . γε δῆ. (6) μὲν γε δῆ. (7) τέ γε δῆ: τε . . . γε δῆ. For [ἀλλά γε δῆ], see p. 242 . . . . .	245
Δῆ γε . . . . .	247
Καὶ δῆ . . . . .	248
(1) Connective. καὶ δῆ for καὶ δῆ καί. Special usages. (i) Argument from precedent. (ii) Surprised question . . . . .	248
(2) Non-connective. (i) Marking vivid perception. (ii) Introducing new character on stage. (iii) Marking completion of something required: often in response to definite command. (iv) Approaching ἤδη in sense. (v) Imaginary realization, 'suppose that'. (vi) <i>In apodosis</i> . . . . .	250
Καὶ . . . δῆ . . . . .	253
(1) Joining sentences, clauses, and words. (2) Non-connective . . . . .	254
Καὶ δῆ καὶ . . . . .	255
(1) In general. Rarely marking a new departure. (2) Transition from general to particular, rarely vice versa. (3) Apodotic. (4) Introducing hypothesis. (5) In surprised question . . . . .	255
καὶ δῆ . . . καί. καὶ δῆ οὖν καὶ . . . . .	257
Μὲν δῆ: δὲ δῆ . . . . .	257
Sometimes μὲν δῆ . . . δὲ δῆ . . . . .	257

Μὲν δῆ . . . . .	258
Rarely in anaphora. In historians, as formula of transition. Analysis of μὲν δῆ. Is δῆ connective, or does it strengthen μὲν? For δῆ strengthening affirmative and adversative μὲν, see pp. 392 ff. . . . .	258
Δὲ δῆ . . . . .	259
With or without preceding μὲν. In surprised or emphatic questions . . . . .	259
Τε δῆ . . . . .	259
(1) τε = 'both'. (2) τε = 'and'. (i) Joining words, phrases, or clauses. (ii) Joining sentences. (3) Doubtful cases. (4) εἶτε δῆ, οὔτε δῆ. (5) τε δῆ ὡν. τε . . . δῆ . . . . .	260
Δαί . . . . .	262
(1) Emphatic, in lively questions. (2) Connective, in questions motivated by what precedes. Especially (i) after rejection of idea, 'Well, what?': (ii) transitional. τί δαί δῆ; . . . . .	263
Δῆθεν . . . . .	264
(1) After final conjunctions. (2) With causal conjunctions. (3) With ὡς and (usually) participle. ἄτε δῆθεν. (4) In general, expressing incredulity. (5) Indignant. (6) Without scepticism or indignation. (7) Position . . . . .	264
Δήπου . . . . .	267
(For καὶ δῆ καὶ in Herodotus, see p. 494.) (1) In statements. (2) In questions. (3) οὐ δήπου in surprised questions. (4) Special Platonic uses. (5) Position. (6) Combinations. γὰρ δήπου. δὲ δήπου. καὶ δήπου. γε δήπου. οὐ δήπου γε. οὖν δήπου. τε δήπου . . . . .	267
Δήπουθεν . . . . .	268
Δῆτα . . . . .	269
I. IN QUESTIONS (connective) . . . . .	269
(1) After interrogative, at opening of speech. (2) After interrogative, in middle of speech. (3) Not immediately following interrogative. (4) After ἦ, ἄρα, πότερον. (5) In questions where interrogative note is conveyed by tone of voice. Often third or fourth word. ταῦτα (εἶτα, εἰπειτα) δῆτα . . . . .	270
(6) Following other particles. (i) οὖν . . . δῆτα, οὐκ οὖν . . . δῆτα, οὖν δῆτα, οὐκ οὖν δῆτα, δῆτ' οὖν, δῆ . . . δῆτα. (ii) καὶ . . . δῆτα, καὶ δῆτα . . . . .	273
(7) ἀλλὰ δῆτα, ἀλλὰ . . . δῆτα (mainly in questions). (1) In questions following rejected suggestion. (ii) Other uses . . . . .	273

II. EMPHATIC . . . . .	274
(1) In negative statements, οὐ δῆτα. (2) In negative commands or wishes, μὴ δῆτα. (3) In affirmative answers, echoing word. Sometimes echoing word of speaker's own. For δῆτα with resumed negative, see pp. 274-6. (4) Other uses of emphatic δῆτα. In general. In exclamations. After relatives . . . . .	274
III. CONNECTIVE (non-interrogative) . . . . .	278
IV. COMBINATIONS. (For ἀλλὰ δῆτα, and for οὖν . . . δῆτα, οὐκοῦν . . . δῆτα, καὶ . . . δῆτα in questions, see pp. 272-4.) (1) καὶ δῆτα. (2) Other combinations. μὲν δῆτα. γὰρ δῆτα. γε δῆτα. [δῆτά γε.] ἢ (ῆ?) δῆτα. οὐκοῦν . . . δῆτα. ἀτὰρ . . . δῆτα . . . . .	278
V. TEXTUALLY UNCERTAIN CASES . . . . .	279
<b>H</b> . . . . .	279
I. AFFIRMATIVE . . . . .	280
(1) In general. (2) Position. (i) Postponed after vocative. (ii) Postponed after exclamation or oath. (iii) At opening of apodosis. (iv) Other cases of postponement. (3) Repetition of ἦ. (4) ἦ που (. . . γε), a fortiori . . . . .	280
II. INTERROGATIVE . . . . .	282
(1) In general. (2) Introducing suggested answer. (3) Position. (i) Postponement after vocative. (ii) Other cases of postponement. (4) Indirect questions (Homer) . . . . .	282
III. COMBINATIONS. (1) ἦ ἄρα, ἦ ἄρ, ἦ ῥα, ἦρα. (2) ἦ γάρ, ἦ . . . γάρ. (3) ἦ δῆ. (4) [ἦ δῆτα] (see p. 278). (5) ἦ θην (see p. 289). (6) ἦ καί. (7) ἦ νυ. (8) ἦ οὖν, ἦ . . . οὖν. (9) ἦ που, ἦ . . . που. (10) ἦ τε, ἦ τοι (see pp. 532 and 553-4). (11) ἐπεὶ ἦ, τὴ, ὅτι. (12) ἦ μὲν, ἦδέ. ἰδέ. For ἦ μὲν, see pp. 350-1 . . . . .	284
Θην . . . . .	288
Καί . . . . .	289
I. COPULATIVE . . . . .	289
Special uses. (1) Linking last two units of asyndetic series. (2) πολὺς and qualitative attribute linked by καί. (3) Linking qualitative attributes. (4) In anaphora. (5) Connecting appositionally related ideas. (6) With sense of climax. (7) After words expressing sameness or contrast. (8) Linking alternatives. (9) With adversative force, 'and yet'. (10) First clause giving time or circumstances of action of second linked by καί . . . . .	289
II. RESPONSIVE . . . . .	293
A. In general. (1) Marking ascending climax, 'also', 'even'. (2) Marking descending climax. With exclamatory infinitive. (3) καὶ τι καὶ . . . . .	293
B. Structural uses. (1) In relative clauses. (i) In general. (ii) With limitative force. (iii) Inversion (cf. inversion between sentences). (iv) ὥστερ καί, etc. . . . .	294
(2) In causal clauses. ὅτε καί . . . . .	296
(3) In final clauses. μὴ καί: also in indirect questions . . . . .	298

(4) In consecutive clauses, ὥστε καί, sometimes limitative . . . . .	299
(5) In comparative clauses, ἢ καί following negative . . . . .	299
(6) In conditional clauses, εἰ καί, καὶ εἰ. (i) εἰ καί. (ii) καὶ εἰ. (iii) Convertibility of εἰ καί and καὶ εἰ. κἄν εἰ, κἄν. (iv) Various senses of εἰ καί: (a) 'If indeed': (b) εἰ καί, εἰ καὶ . . . γε = <i>siguident</i> : (c) καί following εἰ, but not cohering with it. (v) Inversion. εἴπερ καί . . . . .	299
(7) In co-ordinated clauses, with other particles. (i) εἴτε καί. (ii) δέ καί. Inversion, μὲν καί. Corresponsive, καί in both clauses. (iii) ἢ καί. (iv) γὰρ καί . . . . .	305
(8) Following demonstratives . . . . .	307
(9) Apodotic. (i) In general (Epic and Lyric). (ii) κἄτα, κἄπειτα. (iii) Other examples of apodotic καί in prose . . . . .	308
(10) In questions. (i) καί preceding interrogative. (a) Simply requiring further information. (b) With note of surprise, etc. Sometimes in mid speech. Exceptionally in reported speech . . . . .	309
(ii) καί, not followed by interrogative, introducing surprised question. (a) Especially κἄτα, κἄπειτα. (b) In general . . . . .	311
(iii) καί following interrogative. (a) Simply requiring further information. Direct and indirect questions. (b) Question cutting at foundations of problem. (a) Possibility denied. Especially with potential ἄν. (β) With future indicative. (γ) With δεῖ, χρῆ, etc. (δ) καί calling motive in question. (ε) In general. In indirect questions . . . . .	312
(iv) καί, not opening question, conveying surprise . . . . .	316
(v) καί in exclamations . . . . .	316
C. As particle of emphasis, meaning 'actually'. (1) With intensive and quantitative adverbs and adjectives (κἄτα, μάλα, πάνυ, πολὺς, etc.). (2) With comparatives and superlatives. (3) With other adjectives and adverbs. With numerals. (4) With substantives. (5) With pronouns. (6) With verbs. (7) Emphasizing objective reality of idea: in relative clauses: in main clauses . . . . .	316
III. CORRESPONSIVE καὶ . . . καί . . . . .	323
(1) 'Both . . . and.' (2) καί (main clause) . . . καί (subordinate clause), both adverbial. With (i) Relative (ii) Causal (iii) Conditional clauses. Corresponsion between independent clauses. For μὲν καί . . . δέ καί, see p. 306 . . . . .	323
IV. SPECIAL DIFFICULTIES . . . . .	325
V. POSITION. When adverbial, normally immediately preceding emphatic word (sometimes even interposed between preposition and substantive). But sometimes placed before less emphatic of two words . . . . .	325
Μάν, μὴν, μὲν . . . . .	328
Μήν (μάν) . . . . .	329
I. EMPHATIC . . . . .	330
(1) In statements, negative and positive. (2) With imperatives. (3) With optative . . . . .	330

(4) In questions. (i) μήν simply giving liveliness. (ii) ἀλλά τί (τίς) μήν; (a) 'Well, what? (who?)' (b) Elliptical ἀλλά τί μήν; 'Of course'. (iii) τί μήν; etc. (a) Following rejection of supposition, 'Well, what?' (b) 'Of course.' (c) Introducing objection in interrogative form. (iv) οὐ μήν . . . ; tentatively introducing alternative suggestion . . . . .	332
II. ADVERSATIVE . . . . .	334
(1) As balancing adversative, positive and negative. μέν . . . μήν (οὐ μήν). (2) As strong adversative . . . . .	334
III. PROGRESSIVE . . . . .	336
(1) In positive statements. Especially (i) marking fulfilment of condition: (ii) marking transition from major to minor premise: (iii) marking transition to discussion of problem (inceptive) . . . . .	336
(2) In negative statements. (i) οὐ μήν, 'Nor, again'. (ii) οὐ μήν οὐδέ. (iii) οὐδέ μήν . . . . .	338
IV. SUPPOSED CONCESSIVE USE . . . . .	340
V. POSITION. Sometimes postponed after article and after preposition . . . . .	340
VI. COMBINATIONS. (1) δέ μήν. (2) δὴ μὲν. (3) ἢ μήν. (4) οὐδέ ('not even') μήν. (5) τε μήν, οὔτε μήν. For οὐ μήν ἀλλά, see pp. 28-30 . . . . .	340
Ἄλλα μήν: ἀλλά . . . μήν . . . . .	341
(For ἀλλά τί (τίς, etc.) μήν; see p. 332.)	
(1) Adversative . . . . .	341
(2) Assentient. (i) In sphere of action, consent. Inceptive-responsive. (ii) In sphere of thought, assent. (iii) Indicating favourable reaction . . . . .	342
(3) Substantiating condition, often with echoed word . . . . .	343
(4) Progressive, proceeding to new item, or marking new stage in march of thought. (i) Positive. (ii) Negative. (a) ἀλλ' οὐδέ μήν. (b) ἀλλά μήν οὐδέ. (c) ἀλλ' οὐ μήν . . . . .	344
(5) Transition to calling of evidence. (6) Transition from major to minor premise, or vice versa. (7) Transition to consideration of wider implications. (8) Exceptional passages . . . . .	346
Γε μήν . . . . .	347
(1) Affirmative. (2) Adversative, often answering μέν. (3) Progressive. <i>A fortiori</i> . (4) Introducing minor or major premise . . . . .	348
(5) Combinations. δέ γα μὲν. καὶ . . . γα μὲν. δέ γε μήν. ἀλλά . . . γε μήν . . . . .	350
(6) Position . . . . .	350
Ἡ μήν . . . . .	350
(1) General use. (2) In oaths and pledges . . . . .	350

Καὶ μήν . . . . .	351
(1) Progressive, usually after strong stops. (2) Transition from major to minor premise, or vice versa. (3) Substantiating condition, usually with echoed word. (4) Assentient. (5) Inceptive-responsive. (6) Marking entrance of new character upon stage. (7) 'See!' 'Hark!' (8) Adversative. Exceptionally, for ἀλλά or μέν οὐν. (9) Apodotic . . . . .	351
Καὶ . . . μήν . . . . .	358
Μέν . . . . .	359
I. EMPHATIC . . . . .	359
A. Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, and Ionic verse . . . . .	359
With (1) substantives: (2) pronouns: quasi-connective: (3) relatives: (4) adjectives: (5) adverbs: (6) verbs. With negatives: (7) οὐ μέν. (i) Emphatic. (ii) Adversative (perhaps). (iii) Progressive (possibly), 'Nor, again'. (8) οὐδέ μέν. οὐδέ μέν οὐδέ. (9) οὐ μέν οὐδέ. (i) and (ii) Progressive. (iii) Adversative . . . . .	360
B. Attic. (1) In statements. ἀλλά . . . μέν (Xenophon). (2) In questions . . . . .	364
II. [ADVERSATIVE] . . . . .	368
III. PREPARATORY . . . . .	369
(1) Normal use. (i) Varying strength of antithesis. (ii) Strong contrast. Order of clauses. (iii) ὁ μέν . . . ὁ δέ, variety of reference. (iv) Order of words. Normally (a) μέν and δέ second in their clauses: (b) strongly contrasted ideas precede the particles. Exceptions. Non-symmetrical order. Postponement with article, prepositions, and negatives . . . . .	369
(2) Second clause introduced by non-adversative particle. (i) μέν . . . καί. (ii) μέν . . . ἠδέ (see p. 287). (iii) μέν . . . τε. (iv) μέν . . . αὐτε (αὐ). For μέν . . . τοίνυν, see p. 575 . . . . .	374
(3) Second clause not introduced by any particle. Especially πρῶτον μέν . . . ἐπειτα, etc. . . . .	376
(4) Contrasted idea not expressed in following co-ordinated clause. (i) μέν clause contrasted with what precedes. Especially ἀλλά . . . μέν. (ii) One clause subordinated to the other. (a) μέν clause subordinate. Sometimes both μέν and δέ retained. (b) δέ clause subordinate . . . . .	377
(5) Contrasted idea not expressed (μέν <i>solitarium</i> ). (i) In general. (ii) With pronouns. (iii) With words denoting opinion, etc. (iv) With πρῶτον, πρῶτα. (v) Inceptive. For inceptive ἀλλά . . . μέν in Xenophon, see pp. 365-6 . . . . .	380
IV. DUPLICATION. (1) Resumption of clause. (2) Single μέν clause containing two μέν's. (i) With substantive and appositional οὗτος. (ii) μέν following both relative and demonstrative. (3) μέν duplicated at short interval within limits of single indivisible clause . . . . .	384

Γε μὲν . . . . .	386
(1) Adversative. (2) Progressive. (3) Affirmative. (4) Concessive. γε μὲν δὲν . . . . .	387
Ἦ μὲν . . . . .	389
(1) In oaths. (2) In strong asseverations. ἦ μὲν δή. ἦ τοι μὲν. μὴ μὲν . . . . .	389
Καὶ μὲν . . . . .	390
(1) Progressive. (2) Affirmative. [(3) Adversative.] [καὶ . . . μὲν.] ἰσὶν μὲν. [δὲ μὲν. ἀλλὰ μὲν.] For ἀλλὰ . . . μὲν in Xenophon, see pp. 365-6 . . . . .	390 391
Μὲν δή . . . . .	391
(For preparatory μὲν strengthened by δή, and for μὲν . . . δὲ complex introduced by connective δή, see pp. 258-9. For ἦ μὲν δή, see p. 389) . . . . .	391
Epic and Elegiac, affirmative . . . . .	391
Plato and Xenophon. I. Affirmative. (1) Assent, with echoed word. (2) Negative answer, following μὰ Δία, etc. . . . .	392
II. Adversative. (1) Protesting. (2) Answering μὲν . . . . .	393
III. Progressive. (1) In negative statements. (2) In positive state- ments . . . . .	393
Ἀλλὰ μὲν δή: ἀλλὰ . . . μὲν δή . . . . .	394
(1) Adversative. (2) Assentient. (3) Substantiation of condition. (4) Progressive. Introducing minor premise . . . . .	394
Γε μὲν δή . . . . .	395
Καὶ μὲν δή . . . . .	395
(1) Assentient. (2) Inceptive. (3) Adversative. (4) Progressive . . . . . [καὶ . . . μὲν δή] . . . . .	396 396
For μὲν οὖν with adversative or affirmative μὲν, see pp. 475-80.	
Μέντοι . . . . .	397
μὲν τοι <i>separatim</i> . . . . .	397
I. μὲν τοι, μέντοι IN EPIC, ELEGIAC, AND EARLY IAMBIC . . . . .	398
(1) Epic, μὲν τοι. (i) Affirmative. (ii) Adversative. (iii) Preparatory (possibly). μὲν γάρ τοι. (2) Iambic and Elegiac, μέντοι . . . . .	398
II. μέντοι IN IONIC PROSE AND IN ATTIC . . . . .	399
(1) Emphatic. (i) In general. With ταιωδτος, etc. With οὐ. Rarely late in sentence. Rarely in continuous speech. (ii) Assen- tient. (a) Conveying favourable opinion of previous speaker's words. (b) Assent, with echoed word. μέντοι νή (μὴ) Δία.	

(iii) In potential statements, μέντων. (iv) In questions. (a) Impatient questions. (b) Questions of <i>nonne</i> form. In an indirect question. In an exclamation. (v) In commands. (vi) In <i>apodosis</i> . [(vii) In subordinate clause] . . . . .	399
(2) Adversative. (i) With or without preceding μὲν. (ii) μέντοι γε, μέντοι . . . γε. (iii) Occasionally as strong adversative. (iv) With ellipsis. (v) In subordinate clause . . . . .	404
(3) Progressive. (i) Temporal sequence. (ii) Proceeding to new point, 'again'. Often following demonstrative. Syllogistic or quasi-syllogistic. Following example or analogy. μὲν . . . μέντοι . . . . .	406
III. COMBINATIONS. μέντοι γε, μέντοι . . . γε. γε μέντοι. μέντων. ἦ . . . μέντοι. δὲ μέντοι. οὐδὲ μέντοι. οὐ μέντοι οὐδέ. For οὐ μέντοι ἀλλά, see pp. 30-1. (For other combinations see pp. 410-15) . . . . .	409
Ἀλλὰ μέντοι, ἀλλὰ . . . μέντοι . . . . .	410
(1) Adversative. (2) Assentient. (3) Inceptive-responsive. (4) Sub- stantiating condition. (5) Progressive. (6) Introducing minor or major premise . . . . .	410
Γε μέντοι . . . . .	412
(1) Adversative. Introducing objection in dialogue. Answering μὲν. (2) Progressive. (3) Giving partial confirmation, like γέ τοι. [ἀλλὰ . . . γε μέντοι] . . . . .	412
Καὶ μέντοι, καὶ . . . μέντοι . . . . .	413
(1) Progressive. (i) Introducing sentence. (ii) Introducing phrase or clause. (2) Adversative (doubtful) . . . . .	414
Οὖν (ὄν) . . . . .	415
I. SPECIFICALLY HOMERIC USE. (1) ἐπεὶ οὖν. (2) ὡς οὖν . . . . .	417
II. οὖν AS AN ANCILLARY STRENGTHENING PARTICLE . . . . .	418
(1) εἴτ' οὖν. (i) εἴτ' οὖν . . . εἴτε. (ii) εἴτε . . . εἴτ' οὖν (εἴ . . . εἴτ' οὖν . . . εἴτ' οὖν). εἴτ' οὖν . . . εἴτ' οὖν . . . . .	418
(2) οὐτ' οὖν. (i) οὐτ' οὖν . . . οὔτε (τε οὐ, δὲ, οὐ). (ii) οὔτε . . . οὐτ' οὖν. For οὐ . . . οὐτ' οὖν, see p. 510. . . . .	419
(3) τ' οὖν. οὐδ' οὖν. οὐδέ . . . οὖν. καὶ οὐδ' οὖν . . . . . For οὖν combined with ἀλλά, καί, γάρ, γε, δέ, ὅτι, μὲν, see pp. 441-81. . . . .	419
(4) With relatives. (i) Stressing closeness of relation. (ii) Stressing objective reality. (iii) With indefinite relatives . . . . .	
(5) Emphasizing negatives. (i) οὐκ οὖν . . . γε, negative form of γοῦν. Especially in answers. οὐκ οὖν δὴ . . . γε. Less frequently in continuous speech. In <i>apodosis</i> . (ii) οὐκ οὖν . . . . . οὖν, οὐκ . . . οὖν) . . . γε. (iii) Without followings, γε = γοῦν . . . . .	
III. οὖν AS A CONNECTING PARTICLE . . . . .	
(1) Normal use. Progressive and inferential. (2) For <i>apodosis</i> . οὐκ οὖν. (For apodotic οὐκ οὖν . . . γε. Resumptive. (5) In <i>imesis</i> . . . . .	



IV. Οὐκουν, οὐκοῦν . . . . .	430
(1) οὐκουν in questions. With 2nd pers. fut. ind. in impatient questions. οὐκουν δη̄τα, οὐκουν . . . δη̄τα (see also p. 272). Interrogative οὐκουν often to be restored, for οὐκοῦν, in prose . . . . .	431
(2) οὐκοῦν in questions. In Plato and Xenophon (a) strictly inferential, 'therefore', 'then': (b) introducing minor or major premise: (c) in enumeration of details, 'again': (d) in general, proceeding to new point or new step in argument: (e) introducing disquisition for which interlocutor has declared himself ready, 'well'. In oratory and drama perhaps read οὐκουν . . . ; everywhere. οὐκοῦν οὐ, οὐκοῦν . . . οὐ . . . . .	433
(3) οὐκοῦν in statements. In drama often read οὐκουν . . . ; In Plato οὐκοῦν perhaps quasi-interrogative even (a) with imperative and (b) in οὐκοῦν χρη̄ (assentient). Possible traces of assentient οὐκοῦν in drama. οὐκοῦν in statements rare in early prose: common in Demosthenes and Aeschines. (i) With full logical force, 'therefore'. (ii) Less strictly logical, 'then', 'well'. (iii) Progressive. (iv) Introducing minor premise. (v) Inceptive, 'well', 'now'. οὐκοῦν οὐ . . . . .	436
(4) οὐκουν in statements . . . . .	439
(5) οὐκ οὖν <i>separatim</i> . . . . .	439
Chronological sequence of forms (1)-(4) . . . . .	440
V. COMBINATIONS. τε οὖν. [οὖν τοίνυν.] For οὖν ἄρα, see p. 43. For οὖν δη̄τα, οὐκουν δη̄τα, δη̄τ' οὖν, see pp. 272 and 279. For εἴτ' οὖν, οὐτ' οὖν, τε οὖν (οὖν reinforcing τε), οὐδ' οὖν, see pp. 418-21. For οὐκουν γε, οὐκουν . . . γε, οὖν . . . γε, see pp. 422-5. For other combinations, see below . . . . .	441
'Ἄλλ' οὖν . . . . .	441
Frequently ἄλλ' οὖν . . . γε (not ἄλλ' οὖν γε) . . . . .	442
(1) In answers, introducing objection or protest. (2) In continuous speech. (3) Following rejection of suggestion. (4) Signifying break-off in thought. (5) μέν . . . ἄλλ' οὖν. (6) Apodotic. (7) With ellipse of contrasted idea, 'at least'. ἄλλ' οὖν δή . . . . .	442
Καὶ οὖν, καὶ . . . οὖν . . . . .	445
Γὰρ οὖν . . . . .	445
Homeric and post-Homeric uses . . . . .	445
(1) In general. (2) In parenthesis. (3) As stronger form of assentient γάρ. (4) γάρ οὖν δή. Assentient. (5) γάρ οὖν, γάρ οὖν δή as forward-pointing connectives (an extension of explanatory γάρ). (6) ἀλλά . . . γάρ οὖν. For καὶ γάρ οὖν, see p. 112 . . . . .	445
Γοῦν . . . . .	448
Negative normally οὐκουν . . . γε (see pp. 422-5). γοῦν and γ' οὖν. γ' ἄν οὖν . . . . .	448
I. WITH γε PREDOMINATING . . . . .	450
(1) With . . . γε. (i) In general. (ii) 'Part proof'. Formulae οὐκουν, οὐκοῦν, οὐκοῦν γοῦν, etc. <i>Pro tanto</i> reason for following	

suggested course. In parentheses, relative clauses, and questions. (iii) <i>In apodosi</i> . Also οὐκουν . . . γε (see further p. 424). For apodotic ἀλλά . . . γοῦν, see pp. 458-9. (iv) With pronouns . . . . .	450
(2) With emphatic γε. (i) In affirmative answers. (ii) In exclamations, sometimes ironical or sarcastic (see also p. 449) . . . . .	454
II. WITH οὖν PREDOMINATING . . . . .	455
(1) Passages wrongly so classed. (2) True examples. Resumptive, for δ' οὖν . . . . .	455
III. COMBINATIONS. (1) ἀλλά . . . γοῦν ( <i>in apodosi</i> ). γοῦν ἀλλά. (2) μέν γοῦν. (3) ἤγοον . . . . .	458
IV. TEXTUAL QUESTIONS . . . . .	459
Δ' οὖν . . . . .	460
Particles rarely separated. Distinction between δ' οὖν and δε̄ δη̄ . . . . .	460
I. IN GENERAL. (1) μέν . . . δ' οὖν. (2) δ' οὖν without preceding μέν. Passages where δ' οὖν appears to be equivalent to δε̄ δη̄ (cf. p. 466) . . . . .	461
II. SPECIAL USES. (1) At end of series of details. (2) Resumptive. (3) εἰ δ' οὖν. Sometimes elliptical. (4) Permissive. (5) Apodotic . . . . .	463
III. TEXTUAL DIFFICULTIES . . . . .	467
καὶ . . . δε̄ οὖν . . . . .	468
Οὖν δή: δή οὖν . . . . .	468
οὖν δή. οὐκοῦν δή . . . . .	469
δή οὖν. δή . . . οὖν . . . . .	470
δή οὖν and οὖν δή reinforcing other particles. εἴτε δή ὦν. δε̄ δη̄ οὖν. καὶ δη̄ οὖν. οὐτ' οὖν δή. καὶ . . . δη̄ οὖν. γοῦν δή. ἀτὰρ οὖν δή. For γάρ οὖν δή, see p. 447. For οὖν δήπου, μέν οὖν δήπου, see p. 268. οὖν δή universalizing relative . . . . .	470
Μέν οὖν . . . . .	470
(1) Retrospective and transitional οὖν with prospective μέν . . . . .	470
(2) οὖν emphasizing prospective μέν . . . . .	
(3) οὖν emphasizing adversative or affirmative μέν, in dialogue. (i) Adversative, 'No', 'on the contrary'. (ii) Substitution of stronger form of expression. (iii) Assentient in full sense. (a) With echoed word. (b) With variation of previous speaker's words. (c) With intensive adverbs, πανῡ μέν οὖν, etc., elliptical and non-elliptical. Position οὐ μέν οὖν in answers. Usage (3) in continuous speech . . . . .	
Combinations. καὶ . . . μέν οὖν. καὶ δη̄ μέν οὖν. οὕτοι μέν οὖν. For γε μέν ὦν, see p. 389 . . . . .	470
Analysis of the meanings of μέν οὖν . . . . .	470
(4) Textual questions . . . . .	480

Περ . . . . .	481
I. EPIC (OR MAINLY EPIC) USE . . . . .	481
(1) Intensive. (2) Determinative. (3) Limitative . . . . .	482
(4) Both contrasted ideas expressed. (i) <i>περ</i> in first co-ordinate clause. (ii) <i>περ</i> in second clause. (iii) <i>περ</i> in main clause. (iv) <i>περ</i> in subordinate clause . . . . .	483
(5) Climax. (6) Concessive, especially with participle . . . . .	484
<i>καὶ . . . περ, καίπερ. οὐδὲ . . . περ, οὐδέ περ</i> . . . . .	486
II. ANCILLARY <i>περ</i> . . . . .	487
(1) <i>ἤπερ</i> , comparative . . . . .	487
(2) <i>εἴπερ, εἰ . . . περ.</i> (i) 'If really'. (ii) 'Even if'. With ellipse, <i>εἴπερ τις</i> , etc. <i>εἴπερ</i> by itself, 'if at all'. Elliptical <i>εἴπερ γε δῆ</i> , in answer . . . . .	487
(3) With relatives and relative conjunctions, <i>ὅσπερ, ἐπειπερ</i> , etc. . . . .	490
III. COMBINATIONS. <i>ἄτε περ. δῆ περ. περ δῆ.</i> For <i>καὶ . . . περ, καίπερ, οὐδὲ . . . περ, οὐδέ περ</i> , see pp. 486-7. For <i>ἀλλά περ, ἀλλὰ . . . περ</i> , see pp. 483-4. For <i>εἴπερ γε, εἴπερ δῆ, εἴπερ γε δῆ, εἴπερ ἄρα</i> , see pp. 488-90. For <i>ὅσπερ δῆ</i> , see II. 3 above . . . . .	490
Που . . . . .	490
(1) In direct statements. In numerical approximations (Herodotus, <i>κου</i> ). In answers (Plato) . . . . .	491
(2) In questions. Especially <i>οὐ τί που, οὐ που</i> , in incredulous or reluctant questions . . . . .	492
(3) In subordinate clauses and reported speech. With infinitive. With participle . . . . .	492
(4) Position. Occasionally placed late . . . . .	493
(5) Combinations. <i>ἄρ που. ἀτίρ που. γάρ που. γέ που. δέ που. καὶ δῆ κου. καὶ δῆ καὶ . . . γέ που. οὐ γὰρ δῆ . . . γέ που. ἦ που. θῆν που. καὶ που. καὶ . . . γέ που. μέν που. μέν γέ που. ἀλλὰ μὴν που. καὶ μὴν που. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ που. μέντοι . . . γέ που. ἀλλ' οὐν . . . γέ που. τέ που. γέ τοι που.</i> For <i>δήπου, δηπουθει</i> , see pp. 267-9: for <i>ἦ που</i> , p. 282, pp. 285-6 . . . . .	493
Τε . . . . .	495
I. CONNECTIVE AND CORRESPONSIVE . . . . .	497
(1) Single <i>τε</i> . (i) Connecting single words and phrases. (ii) Connecting clauses: (a) participial: (b) infinitival: (c) finite. (iii) Connecting sentences . . . . .	497
Peculiarities in use of single <i>τε</i> . (a) Introducing last item of series, previous items being connected by <i>καὶ</i> or <i>δέ</i> . (a) Single words. (β) Clauses. (γ) Sentences. (b) Word or clause connected by <i>τε</i> followed by another connected by <i>καὶ</i> or <i>δέ</i> . (a) Single words and phrases. (β) Clauses. (c) Coupling last two units of otherwise asyndetic series. <i>τε</i> following asyndetic series succeeded by another connective. [(d) Coupling <i>πολλά</i> and qualitative epithet.] (e) Connexion where English prefers appositional construction. (f) In anaphora. (g) Occasional other irregularities. (h) <i>οὔτε</i> meaning 'and not' . . . . .	500
(2) Corresponsive, <i>τε . . . τε</i> . Rarely with anaphora. Joining single words, phrases, and clauses. <i>τε . . . τε . . . τε</i> . . . . .	503

(3) <i>εἴτε . . . εἴτε</i> . Different types . . . . .	505
Exceptional forms. (i) <i>εἴτε . . . εἴτε</i> . (ii) <i>εἴτε . . . εἰ δέ</i> . (iii) <i>εἴτε . . . ἦ</i> . <i>ἦ . . . εἴτε</i> . (iv) <i>εἴτε</i> omitted in first clause. For <i>εἴτε καί</i> , see further p. 305. For <i>εἴτ' οὐν</i> , see pp. 418-19 . . . . .	506
(4) <i>οὔτε . . . οὔτε (μήτε . . . μήτε). οὔτε (μήτε) . . . τε</i> . For <i>οὔτ' οὐν</i> , see pp. 419-20 . . . . .	508
Exceptional forms. (i) <i>οὔτε . . . τε . . . οὐ (τ' οὐ)</i> . (ii) <i>τε . . . οὔτε</i> . (iii) <i>οὐ . . . οὔτε. οὐ . . . οὔτ' οὐν. οὐδέ . . . οὔτε</i> . (iv) <i>οὔτε . . . οὐ</i> . (v) <i>οὔτε</i> for <i>οὔτε . . . οὔτε</i> . (vi) <i>οὔτε . . . δέ</i> . For <i>οὔτε . . . οὐδέ</i> , see p. 193 . . . . .	508
(5) Corresponsive, <i>τε καί, τε . . . καί</i> . Rarely in anaphora. <i>τε καί</i> and <i>τε . . . καί</i> . . . . .	511
(6) Irregular correspondences. (i) <i>μὲν . . . τε</i> (see pp. 374-6). (ii) <i>τε . . . δέ</i> . Exceptionally in anaphora. <i>τε . . . οὐδέ</i> . (iii) <i>ἦ . . . τε</i> . (iv) <i>τε . . . ἦ</i> . (v) <i>τε . . . ἀτάρ, τε . . . ἀτάρ</i> . (vi) <i>τε . . . ἔπειτα</i> . For <i>τε . . . ἠδέ, τε . . . ἰδέ</i> , see pp. 287-8. For <i>τε</i> answered by <i>καὶ . . . δέ</i> , see p. 203 . . . . .	513
(7) <i>τε</i> used for <i>δέ</i> . <i>τε . . . τε, οὔτε . . . οὔτε, τε . . . καί</i> , meaning 'just as . . . so', 'not only . . . but also', 'when . . . then', 'either . . . or', and for <i>μὲν . . . δέ. οὔτε . . . τε</i> for <i>μὲν . . . οὐ . . . δέ</i> . . . . .	514
(8) Position. Types of postponement. (i) Article—substantive—particle. (ii) Preposition—substantive—particle. (iii) Preposition—article—substantive—particle. (iv) Other cases of postponement . . . . .	515
(v) Preposition supplied. (vi) Article supplied. (vii) Other word supplied . . . . .	518
(viii) Other irregularities . . . . .	519
II. EPIC <i>τε</i> . . . . .	520
(1) With relatives. <i>ὡς τε, ὡς εἴτε</i> in comparisons. <i>τε</i> giving causal colour to relative. Rare in particular statements . . . . .	521
Survivals of Epic <i>τε</i> following relatives in fifth and fourth centuries. In general, <i>ὅς τε</i> . Particular varieties. (i) With local and temporal adverbs. (ii) <i>ὅσον τε</i> . (iii) <i>οἷός τε</i> . (iv) <i>ἄτε</i> , adverbial, usually with participle. <i>ἄτε</i> in comparisons. For <i>ἄτε δῆ</i> , see p. 221. <i>ἄτε περ</i> . (v) <i>ὥστε</i> (Pindar <i>ὥτε</i> ) in comparisons. In Herodotus and Thucydides, giving causal force to participle. <i>ὥστε</i> , consecutive. <i>ὥσειτε</i> . (vi) <i>ἐφ' ὥτε</i> . . . . .	522
(2) <i>τε</i> following other particles. (i) <i>μὲν τε, δέ τε</i> . (ii) <i>οὐδέ τε</i> . (iii) <i>γάρ τε</i> . (iv) <i>ἦ τε</i> (disjunctive and comparative). (v) <i>καὶ τε</i> . (vi) <i>ἀλλά τε</i> . (vii) <i>ἀτάρ τε</i> . (viii) <i>πέρ τε</i> . (ix) <i>οὔτε . . . τε</i> . (x) <i>μὲν τε</i> (affirmative <i>μὲν</i> ). (xi) <i>οὐ τε</i> . (xii) <i>καὶ δέ τε</i> . . . . .	528
<i>τε</i> with other particles in particular statements . . . . .	530
(xiii) <i>ἦ τε</i> . . . . .	532
<i>τε</i> after other particles in drama and prose (perhaps everywhere to be emended). <i>γάρ τε, δέ τε, μέν τε, καὶ τε</i> . . . . .	532
(3) Other uses of <i>τε</i> in Homer. (i) With indefinite <i>τις</i> . (ii) With interrogatives. (iii) With <i>ἄλλος</i> . (iv) With <i>ὅδε</i> . (v) Apodotic . . . . .	533
Generalizing <i>τε</i> rare except in association with certain words . . . . .	534
III. SUPPOSED SENSE 'ALSO'. (1) <i>καὶ . . . τε</i> . (2) <i>τε γάρ</i> . (3) Other instances . . . . .	

<b>Τοι</b>	537
τοι implies an audience. Examination of this principle . . .	537
<b>I. IN DIRECT STATEMENTS</b>	539
(1) In general. (2) Boasting. (3) Threatening. (4) Hortatory, deprecatory, etc. (5) In response to command. (6) Revealing speaker's emotional or intellectual state. (7) Conveying criticism of previous speaker's words. (8) With σέ, summons to attention. (9) Directing attention to sight or sound, 'Lo!', 'Hark!' (10) With proverb or general reflexion. (11) In negative statements, οὔτοι. οὔτοι . . . μή. κούτοι. ἀλλ' οὔτοι. γάρ οὔτοι. οὔτοι . . . οὐδέ. (12) In potential clauses with ἄν: by crasis, τᾶν. For ἦ τᾶν, see p. 554 . . .	539
<b>II. IN OTHER INDEPENDENT CLAUSES</b>	545
(1) Questions. (2) Commands, positive and negative. (3) Prayers and wishes . . .	545
<b>III. IN SUBORDINATE CLAUSES</b>	546
(1) Causal, ἐπεὶ τοι (καί), ὅτι τοι. (2) In conditional protasis. (3) In relative clause. (4) In final clause. (5) In indirect speech. (6) μή τοι . . . γε, with infinitive . . .	546
<b>IV. POSITION</b>	547
Usually early in sentence, but sometimes (1) Early in apodosis, especially of conditional sentence. (2) Generally, late in sentence or clause. (3) Often between article and substantive, or preposition and substantive. In tmesis . . .	547
<b>V. REPETITION OF τοι</b>	548
<b>VI. COMBINATIONS.</b> For καίτοι, μέντοι, τοιγάρτοι, τοίνυν, see those particles. (1) ἀλλά τοι, ἀλλά . . . τοι. ἀλλ' οὔτοι . . . γε. ἀλλ' οὖν . . . τοι. (2) αὐτάρ τοι, ἀτάρ τοι. (3) γάρ τοι. ἀλλά . . . γάρ τοι. For καὶ γάρ τοι, see pp. 113-14 . . .	548
(4) γέ τοι. (i) <i>Pro tanto</i> reason for accepting proposition. (ii) Restrictive γέ τοι in general. (iii) γε emphatic or exclamatory, with τοι standing apart. (iv) γέ τοι δή. γέ τοι που . . .	550
(5) δέ τοι. καὶ . . . δέ τοι. οὐδέ τοι. ἀλλ' οὐδέ τοι. καὶ γάρ οὐδέ τοι. (6) δή τοι, τοι δή. (i) δή τοι after relatives in Epic. Occasionally in prose. ὡς δή τοι (Plato). γάρ δή τοι. (ii) τοι δή. οὔτοι δή, οὔτοι δή . . . γε . . .	552
(7) ἦτοι (. . . γε), 'either'. ἦτοι, 'or'. ἦτοι . . . ἦτοι. (8) ἦτοι = ἦ τοι. ἦ τᾶν. ἦ τᾶρα ἦτοι μέν. (i) With indicative. (ii) With imperative or optative . . .	553
(9) τοι ἄρα (τᾶρα). ἄρα τοι. ἦτᾶρα . . . ἦ. ἦρ τοι. (10) νύ τοι, νύν τοι. (11) οὔτοι μέν οὖν . . .	555
<b>Καίτοι</b>	555
(1) Adversative. (i) In general. (ii) Used by speaker in pulling himself up abruptly. (iii) Objection introduced by καίτοι countered by a following adversative clause. (iv) Forecasting of following adversative by μέν. (v) Rarely at opening of speech. (vi) In parenthesis. (vii) With participle . . .	556

(2) Continuative. καίτοι καὶ . . .	559
(3) Logical. (i) Rarely in complete syllogism. (ii) Usually conclusion of syllogism left to imagination. (iii) Relationship of καίτοι sentence to preceding sentence usually, if regarded in isolation, adversative: but sometimes positive . . .	561
(4) Combinations. (i) καίτοι γε, καίτοι . . . γε. (ii) καίτοι περ (see p. 559 (vii)). (iii) [καίτοι μέν]. [καίτοι γε μὴν] . . .	564
καίτοι in crasis . . .	564
<b>Τοιγάρ, Τοιγαροῦν, Τοιγάρτοι</b>	565
<b>Τοιγάρ</b>	565
(i) In Homer, used by person preparing to speak or act at another's request. (ii) In subsequent Greek, wider range of meaning . . .	565
<b>Τοιγαροῦν, Τοιγάρτοι</b>	566
<b>Τοίνυν</b>	568
Essentially an Attic and colloquial particle . . .	568
<b>I. LOGICAL</b>	569
(1) In general. (i) In continuous speech. (ii) In dialogue, with answer springing from words or attitude of previous speaker . . .	569
(2) In conclusions of formal syllogisms (rare). (3) Responding to invitation to speak. (4) Conveying comment on previous speaker's words. Especially καλῶς τοίνυν, etc., often with ellipse of verb. (5) At opening of narration announced in advance. (6) At opening of set speech (Xenophon). (7) Rounding off long argument . . .	571
<b>II. TRANSITIONAL</b>	574
(1) Marking fresh stage in march of thought. (i) Dialogue. (ii) Continuous speech . . .	574
(2) Introducing fresh item in series. (i) Dialogue. (ii) Continuous speech. ἔτι τοίνυν. τοίνυν . . . ἔτι . . .	575
(3) Transition from enunciation of general proposition to consideration of particular instance. Introducing minor premise. (4) General proposition implied from particular instance of its application . . .	576
(5) Seldom after light stop. (6) Apodotic . . .	577
<b>III. COMBINATIONS.</b> (1) καὶ τοίνυν, καὶ . . . τοίνυν. (2) δή τοίνυν, [τοίνυν δή]. (3) Other combinations . . .	577
<b>IV. POSITION</b>	579
<b>ADDITIONAL NOTES.</b>	
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	589
<b>INDEXES</b>	

# INTRODUCTION

## I. THE ORIGINS AND FUNCTIONS OF PARTICLES.

(1) Difficult as it is to arrive at a satisfactory definition of *particle*, an attempt must be made at the outset. I will define it as a word expressing a mode of thought, considered either in isolation or in relation to another thought,<sup>1</sup> or a mood of emotion. It is a probable assumption that the evolution of particles represents a relatively late stage in the development of expression. Their existence betokens a certain self-consciousness. A few Greek particles can be clearly seen to have been, at an earlier stage, other parts of speech. Thus *ἀλλά* was originally *ἄλλα*, 'other things', and *τοί* (pretty certainly) the dative of the second person singular pronoun. *που* was probably 'somewhere', and the *τοί* in *τοιγάρ* a case (perhaps the instrumental) of demonstrative *τό*. So in English 'well', 'come', 'now', 'why', have come to be used as particles. A loss of definiteness has been accompanied by increased subtlety of nuance. There is less body, more bouquet.

(2) The particles which, in origin, express a mode of thought in isolation are *γε*, *δή*, *ἦ*, *θην*, *μήν*, *περ*, *τοί*, *που*. Of these, *τοί* presses an idea upon the attention of the person addressed; 'I would have you know (or remember)': *που* conveys doubt, 'I

<sup>1</sup> This distinction cannot, however, be rigidly maintained everywhere. While in the case of adjectives and adverbs, and verbs derived from adjectives, emphasis may be added without any external reference (*Καλόν γε*, 'Fine!' *Εὖ γε*, 'Excellent!': *Εὐτυχῶ γε*, 'I am lucky'), emphasis on substantives and most verbs necessarily implies a contrast with some other thing or action, however dimly the contrasted idea may be envisaged. 'It's a *cloud!*' (*sc.* 'not a mountain top', or 'not anything else'). And this external reference, which underlies what I shall call 'determinative' emphasis, becomes patent in limitative emphasis: *οἶμαι γε*, 'I think so' (*sc.* 'but I may be mistaken'). Hence limitative *γε* comes near to *μὲν* in sense. Conversely, *μὲν solitarius* often approximates to *γε*, and *καί*, from meaning 'even', 'also', sometimes comes to be little more than a particle of emphasis, when the external reference which 'even' and 'also' imply is only vaguely conceived.

suppose'. The remainder primarily carry emphasis. Further, emphasis may take different forms: (i) Affirmative, denoting that something really and truly is so: (ii) Intensive, denoting that something is very much so: (iii) Determinative, concentrating the attention on one idea to the exclusion of all else: (iv) Limitative, implying that beyond the prescribed limits the reverse may be true. Naturally, fixed lines cannot be drawn between these forms. Thus (i) 'I am really sorry' implies, almost of necessity, (ii) 'I am very sorry'. (i) 'It's really James' suggests (iii) 'It's James and no other'. In certain contexts (iii) suggests (iv). We should not therefore expect to find, and we do not in fact find, precise delimitation of the usages of emphatic particles. Affirmation is expressed *par excellence* by ἦ, which (as its regular position, first word in the sentence, indicates) affects the thought as a whole: while δὴ and γε tend to cohere with the preceding word. ἦ πολλοὶ τοῦτο ποιοῦσι, 'in truth many do this': in πολλοὶ δὴ τοῦτο ποιοῦσι, δὴ is almost an adverb, going closely with πολλοί: but not quite an adverb, and πολλοὶ δὴ, 'really many', is not quite the same as μάλα πολλοί, 'very many'. Of the other emphatic particles, μὲν perhaps comes nearest in force to ἦ, though less subjective in tone: and in Homer οὐ μὲν in negation appears to be the counterpart of ἦ in affirmation. The intensive and determinative functions are shared by γε, δὴ, and περ: limitation is expressed by γε and περ. Taking Greek as a whole, γε is the particle most commonly used for expressing determination and limitation.

Interrogation is expressed by ἦ (from which, combined with ἄρα, interrogative ἄρα is probably derived): though, strictly speaking, the interrogation is not expressed by the particle, but understood: Ποιεῖς τοῦτο; 'Do you do this?' ἦ Ποιεῖς τοῦτο; 'Do you really do this?'

(3) Besides expressing modes of thought, these particles, with some now to be mentioned for the first time, also indicate moods of emotion, nuances.<sup>1</sup> Thus pathos is often suggested by δὴ, irony or sarcasm by δὴ and δὴθεν (sometimes by γε), interest and

<sup>1</sup> It may be objected that the particle merely emphasizes, while the emotional nuance lies in the context. But the particle, from constant use in a particular kind of context, acquires a specific emotional tone.

surprise by ἄρα and γε, sympathy, encouragement, threatening hostility, and other attitudes by τοι, sudden perception or apprehension by καὶ μὲν and καὶ δὴ.

(4) These particles of emphasis and nuance I will style 'adverbial'<sup>1</sup> since they are in most cases naturally translated by adverbs, 'really', *profecto*, *certe*, etc.: I shall apply this term to all uses other than connective and preparatory (apodotic uses are difficult to classify: see 5.d below). The contribution which these particles make to the force and vividness of Greek has been universally recognized. Often they cannot be appropriately translated into a modern language,<sup>2</sup> and their effect must be suggested by inflexions of the voice in speaking, or by italics, exclamation marks, or inverted commas in writing. It would be too much to claim that the whole expression that a sensitive and intelligent reader can put into a page of English is present already in the corresponding Greek, owing to the presence of particles. Rather, the particles may be compared to the marks of expression in a musical score, which suggest interpretation rather than dictate it. To carry the analogy further, a page of Thucydides bears somewhat the same relation to a page of Plato as a page of Bach to a page of Beethoven.

(5) Hitherto we have considered the function of particles as expressing a mode of thought or mood of feeling in isolation. We have now to discuss their function as establishing a relationship between separate ideas. Relationships may be established in different ways.

(a) The second idea is linked to the first by a connecting particle,<sup>3</sup> which may do no more than connect, but may also give

<sup>1</sup> This is not a very happy term, but it is a convenient and customary one. Dr. R. W. Chapman, in some of his notes on the Greek particles, styles the group 'self-contained', 'independent'. We must include among the 'independent' particles the Epic τε of habitual action, which, from its purely objective nature, stands apart from the other members of the group.

<sup>2</sup> German is richer than English in particles, and offers more equivalents. German writers on the subject start at some advantage in this respect.

<sup>3</sup> Naturally, the units connected are normally *eternally* particles. But this is by no means a hard and fast rule. Eg. in *A. Supp.* 302, τὸν ἀνδρῶν ἀνδρῶν is linked to a participial clause. Cases in which a finite verb is linked by a connective

a logical turn (adversative, causal, or inferential) to the connexion.

(b) As expression develops, subordination largely replaces co-ordination, the λέξις κατεστραμμένη the λέξις εἰρομένη, and to that extent hypotactic conjunctions replace connectives. These conjunctions, ἐπεὶ, εἰ, and so forth, must themselves be regarded as particles.<sup>1</sup> The only reason that I do not discuss them, as some other writers on the particles have done, is that their importance is grammatical rather than stylistic.

(c) The capacity of particles to establish a relationship between ideas is not limited to the sphere of connectives and hypotactic conjunctions. καί and οὐδέ,<sup>2</sup> in the adverbial senses 'also', 'also . . . not', or, with a sense of climax, 'even', 'not even', point a reference to a second idea either expressed in the context or supplied by the imagination. Since this use of particles denotes that one term answers another, I term it 'responsive'.<sup>3</sup> (In this class we must perhaps include οὖν in its Homeric use, 'in accordance with what I have said', and δέ in καὶ . . . δέ, if (or when) καί is the connective in this combination (p. 199, n. 1).) In certain cases this responsive use has a structural importance: as when, for instance, καί in relative and final clauses marks the addition of the content of the subordinate to that of the main clause.

(d) *Apodotic uses.* Even in hypotactic constructions paratactic particles (ἀλλά (ἀλλ' οὖν), αὐτάρ, δέ (δ' οὖν), καί (καὶ μὴν), οὖν, τοίνυν) are not infrequently found at the opening of an apodosis. This apodotic use is probably a legacy from the earlier, paratactic, stage of expression, retained, perhaps, from a Greek love of clearness and logic: it is significant in this connexion that apodotic δέ and καί are common in Homer (the former also in early prose, Herodotus). But it is no doubt alternatively possible to regard the apodotic use of at any rate some particles as a relic of an earlier, adverbial, use. For it is by no means certain to a qualifying word, phrase, or participial clause are due to a form of ellipse common in all languages. λέγεις, καὶ ὀρθῶς γε (λέγεις). Cf. δέ (p. 164, (3)), μῆντοι (p. 406, Th. iv. 51: cf. Pl. *Ap.* 29c), τε (p. 502(g)). See further p. 497, n. 2.

<sup>1</sup> The line between parataxis and hypotaxis is a very thin one where e.g. ἐπεὶ or ὡς introduces an independent sentence, and thus virtually = γάρ. See Kühner, II ii 461, Anm. 1.

<sup>2</sup> That τε can ever mean 'also' is highly doubtful. See pp. 535-6.

<sup>3</sup> I borrow this term from Hartung, but give it a narrower denotation.

that the connective sense of any Greek particle is the original sense.

Further, I class as apodotic the use of an emphatic particle at the opening of an apodosis: γε (γοῦν, with its negative form οὐκοῦν . . . γε), ἦ (ἦ πού, ἦ τε), μέντοι (p. 402). Apodotic δὴ clearly belongs to this category, for it makes its appearance long before δὴ has begun to acquire connective force.

Thus I include as apodotic both connectives transferred from parataxis to hypotaxis and purely emphatic particles like γε and δὴ which do no more than underline the opening of the main clause. There is some illogicality, but great practical convenience, in embracing both types in a single term. Sometimes, indeed, it is difficult to distinguish one type from the other. Thus apodotic καὶ δὴ may be either connective or adverbial in origin (the latter, I think):<sup>1</sup> apodotic οὖν and αὐτάρ, and apodotic τε (if we are to recognize it at all) similarly admit of either explanation.<sup>2</sup> In both its varieties, the apodotic use possesses a structural function in the architecture of the sentence, serving to stress or clarify the relation between clauses. For this reason I do not, for example, regard οὐδέ in S. *OC* 590 (see p. 195) as apodotic. Here οὐδέ is not, I think, 'the negative counterpart of δέ in apodosis' (Jebb). Rather, οὐδὲ σοί seems to be the negative of καὶ σοί ('you also', 'you, on your side') and the particle goes closely with the word that immediately follows it. The same consideration leads me to deny the title 'apodotic' to καί cohering with a single word at the opening of an apodosis (see p. 309). But the distinction is delicate, perhaps precarious.

Closely allied to the apodotic use is the resumptive, in which δέ, δὴ, and οὖν pick up the thread of a thought which is beginning to wander.

(e) *The corresponsive use of particles.* Coherence of thought is adequately secured by the presence of a backward-pointing particle. The reader or listener, when he has reached a certain

<sup>1</sup> An apodotic use of καὶ δὴ καί, based on the connective use of that combination, appears occasionally to present itself, but crumbles to nothingness at the touch (p. 257).

<sup>2</sup> For example, Kühner (II ii 327) regards apodotic οὖν as adverbial, and the Homeric use of the particle gives him some support. An adverbial force is also clearly present in αὐτάρ, if αὐτάρ = αὐτε + ἄρ.

point, meets a particle which looks back to the road he has traversed, and beckons him on in a certain direction. But greater coherence is attained if in addition a forward-pointing particle warns him in advance what path he will soon have to travel, the connexion being expressed reciprocally, from rear to van and from van to rear. It is characteristic of the Greek love of orderliness and lucidity that this double method of connexion is already present in Homer. The forward-pointing particles, which we may describe as 'preparatory',<sup>1</sup> are μέν, τε, and καί. μέν is most frequently answered by δέ, but often, too, by other particles: τε by τε or καί, καί by καί. The mutual relationship between the earlier and the later particle may be expressed by the term 'corresponsive'. In particular, the commonness of μέν . . . δέ in all periods of classical Greek has often been noticed. The tendency to view one idea in the light of another idea more or less sharply contrasted with it was indeed innate in the Greek mentality (and occasionally led to the employment of merely formal antithesis for its own sake).<sup>2</sup> The result is a great gain in clearness and precision. Often, when a writer embarks upon a disquisition which appears to invalidate his own point of view, μέν indicates that the aberration is only temporary, and that he will return after a time to the straight path.<sup>3</sup>

The responsive use of καί and οὐδέ noticed above leads also to a corresponsive use in hypotactic constructions when the particle is present in both the subordinate and the main clause. Thus, ὡσπερ καὶ ἐκεῖνον φιλῶ, οὕτω καὶ σὲ φιλῶ: 'as I love him as well as you, so I love you as well as him.' The reciprocal relation between καί and καί is as clearly marked here as in paratactic construction, φιλῶ καὶ ἐκεῖνον καὶ σέ.

<sup>1</sup> A forward-pointing particle demands a backward-pointing one to answer it. Anticipatory γάρ is not strictly preparatory: it arises, as the word 'anticipatory' suggests, from a dislocation of the natural order. Nor, consequently, can we class anticipatory γάρ picked up by οὖν, δὴ, etc., as corresponsive.

<sup>2</sup> Demetrius, *De Elocutione* 24, in discussing this matter, quotes Epicharmus' parody: τόκα μὲν ἐν τήναις ἐγὼν ἦν, τόκα δὲ παρὰ τήναις ἐγὼν. Pearson, *Fragments of Sophocles*, vol. ii, p. 298, observes: 'The Greeks saw a contrast everywhere, and sometimes overdid it'.

<sup>3</sup> Writers of Greek prose versions sometimes fall short of the Greek standard of lucidity in this respect.

## II. CONNECTING PARTICLES.

(1) *The origin of connectives.* I have remarked above (I) that certain particles (ἀλλά, που, τοι, and τῷ in τοιγάρ) can be traced back to other parts of speech. In other cases, where the derivation of the particle itself is unknown, we can trace the evolution of a connective from an adverbial sense in extant Greek literature. Thus μήν and δὴ, in Homer affirmative particles, later acquire respectively (among other uses) an adversative and an inferential force.<sup>1</sup> An adversative force of μέν, hardly to be found in Homer, is later present in μέντοι, μὲν οὖν, μὲν δὴ. An inferential force of ἄρα and οὖν, no more than nascent in Homer, grows to maturity. On the other hand ἀτάρ, γάρ, δέ, καί, τε cannot be traced back to an adverbial stage. But it is on general grounds probable (since the connexion of ideas, even in the simplest form, is not a primitive process) that here also an adverbial sense lies behind. And the plausible derivation of γάρ from γε ἄρ (however little it may help us to understand γάρ) points, if correct, in the same direction.

(2) *Connexion and asyndeton.* As a general rule, Greek sentences, clauses, phrases, and single words are linked by a connecting particle<sup>2</sup> to what precedes. Connexion is, on the whole, not often omitted in verse, still less often in prose. There are, however, certain well-marked exceptions to this principle, and Greek frequently dispenses with connexion in the following cases. (I will call this 'formal', as distinct from 'stylistic', asyndeton.)

(i) The preceding context makes the connexion obvious, and no particle is required to point it. This is the case where a writer or speaker directly or indirectly announces his theme in advance, and where a forward-pointing pronoun or demonstrative adverb, or some other word or phrase (especially such an expression

<sup>1</sup> For tendencies which may have led to the evolution of connective δὴ, see δὴ, IV.1, *ad init.*

<sup>2</sup> The line between connectives and non-connectives cannot be rigidly drawn. Thus οὖν in Homer, although it has not yet developed a connective function, shows in μὲν οὖν a tendency to develop one. γε, and in a more marked degree μέν γε, mitigate to some extent the harshness of an asyndeton: while γοῦν in the 'part-proof' usage is almost a full connective. μὲν, again, occasionally appears to have a quasi-connective force (p. 360).



as τεκμήριον δέ, σημεῖον δέ), supplies the link. E.g. Th.vi 90.2 . . . μάθετε ἤδη. ἐπλεύσαμεν . . . : D.vi 17 λογίζεσθε γάρ. ἀρχεῖν βούλεται : xv 9 . . . τῶν γεγενημένων ὑμᾶς τι . . . ὑπομνήσω. ὑμεῖς ἐξεπέμψατε . . . : Th.iii 20.3 ἐνέμειναν τῇ ἐξόδῳ ἐθελονταὶ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. κλίμακας ἐποίησαντο. But in such cases connexion by explanatory γάρ is probably commoner than asyndeton.

(ii) To a less degree, a backward-pointing pronoun or demonstrative adverb, usually at or near the opening of the sentence, similarly diminishes the necessity for a connecting particle (δή, οὖν, or τοίνυν). E.g. in X.An.i 2 over twenty sentences begin with ἐνταῦθα, ἐντεῦθεν, ταύτην, etc., without a connecting particle. Occasionally the pronoun is placed comparatively late : Th.iii 28.2 ἡ μὲν ξύμβασις αὕτη ἐγένετο : Ant.vi 14 καθειστήκει μὲν ἡ χορηγία οὕτω : X.An.i 8.9 : And.i 14 : D.xviii 235 : xx 55.

(iii) In a long series of co-ordinated nouns, adjectives, or verbs connectives are, on the whole, more often omitted than inserted. Th.ii 9.2 Μεγαρήσ, Βοιωτοί, Λοκροί, Φωκῆς, Ἀμπρακιῶται, Λευκάδιοι, Ἀνακτόριοι : Pl.Phdr. 253E (adjectives). But sometimes, and in Epic normally, connectives are inserted : the ancient critics styled this *polysyndeton*. Thus, Hes.Th. 205-6 and 320 (series of τε) : ib. 243-62 (τε and καί alternating) : Th.iii 101.2 Ἰπνέας καὶ Μεσσαπίους καὶ Τριταίεας καὶ Χαλαίους καὶ Τολοφωνίους καὶ Ἡσίου καὶ Οἰανθείας : Hdt.iv 102 : Pl.R. 618D : Lg. 758E, 842D, 942B. (Our convention of linking the last two units only, leaving the rest unconnected, is on the whole alien to Greek usage : see δέ (p. 164), καὶ . . . δέ (p. 202), καί (pp. 289-90), τε (p. 501).) Pl.Lg. 897A is a good example of varied asyndeton and connexion.

In a negated series, while the employment of asyndeton without repetition of the negative is not excluded, repeated negatives, with or without connectives (οὔτε . . . οὔτε . . . οὔτε : οὐ . . . οὐδέ . . . οὐδέ : οὐ . . . οὐ . . . οὐ) give an effect of greater force, by eliminating each item individually ('not A, nor B, nor C' : 'not A, not B, not C'), instead of eliminating the entire series *en bloc* ('not A, B, C'). E.g. Pl.Lg. 832C (5 οὔτε's) : 898B (8 μηδέ's) : 902D, 935B. In Pl.Smp. 211A the great series of οὔτε's and οὐδέ's, enumerating one thing after another that true beauty is *not*, and leading up to the revelation of what true beauty *is*, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ μεθ' αὐτοῦ μονοειδὲς αἰεὶ ἐν, lends an astonishing power and passion to the period. Cf. Hom.I 369-92, where the οὐδέ's (connective and

adverbial) are like hammer strokes : 'No, no, no!' In English, compare St. Paul, *Romans* viii 38-9 : 'For I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.'

The truth of the matter is that a great chain or series is of its essence impressive, whether connectives are inserted or omitted. Whether asyndeton or polysyndeton is the more impressive in a particular place, depends on the nature of the context. The Greek critics rightly regarded both as rhetorical 'figures'.

Stylistic, as distinct from formal, asyndeton is used, sparingly by some writers, freely by others, for emotional effect : the impression given is that the speaker's or writer's feelings are too deeply engaged to allow him to trouble about logical coherence. Longinus has some admirable chapters (19-21) on this subject. He quotes Hom.κ 251-2 as an example of asyndeton in rapid narrative, and acutely analyses the telling use of this device in D.xxi 72. In verse there is no finer example of the effect of asyndeton, combined here, as often, with repetition, than the lines of Aeschylus quoted by Plato, *R.* 383B. Of prose writers, Thucydides and (of course) Isocrates rarely employ asyndeton, while Demosthenes exploits its possibilities to the full. As Aristotle remarks (*Rh.* 1413b 17-31), asyndeton is essentially a dramatic device, and is for this reason appropriate to oratory : one must 'act the passage, not merely speak it'. A good instance of accumulated asyndeta is to be found in D.xxiv 11-14, where, to say nothing of clauses, ten consecutive sentences, covering twenty-seven lines, open without a connecting particle. Out of many fine Demosthenic examples I will cite xviii 67, 299 (the latter perhaps the finest of all), and xix 76 (where asyndeton expresses the stunning rapidity of disaster). In Lycurg. 33 asyndeton gives pithiness : τί γὰρ ἔδει προφάσεων ἢ λόγων ἢ σκήψεως ; ἀπλοῦν τὸ δίκαιον, ῥάδιον τὸ ἀληθές, βραχὺς ὁ ἔλεγχος.

In contrast with this stylistic employment of asyndeton Andocides and Xenophon often omit connectives in narrative with a certain naive awkwardness, and without any apparent rhetorical justification. E.g. And.i 41, 42, 82, 120, 123 : X.An.iii 2. 33 : iv 5. 33 : v 6. 25 : vi 4. 18 : *Cyr.* ii 1. 18 : iii 3. 40.



(3) The mode of connexion omitted when stylistic asyndeton is used is in most cases 'and'. Less frequently γάρ or γοῦν has to be supplied, as in E.Or.234: D.xviii 299. Sometimes 'then' or 'therefore' has to be supplied: Pl.Pr.339E. σὸς μέντοι Σιμωνίδης πολίτης· δίκαιος εἰ βοηθεῖν τῷ ἀνδρὶ: Pl.O.3.45.

(4) In deciding whether asyndeton is tolerable in a particular place, the usage of the author and the character of the passage must be taken into account. These considerations are sometimes of importance for determining the text. Thus in X.Hier.6.6 (p.551) ὁ γέ τοι φόβος κτλ. (τε ACM) a connective seems needed to mark the introduction of a new point: the γοῦν sense of γέ τοι will not suit, and the analogy of An.vi.5.24, where γάρ has to be supplied in thought, does not support the asyndeton here. δέ τοι (Bach) should perhaps be read. Again, in Pl.Grg.459A (p. 578) Ἐλεγές τοι νυνδὴ κτλ. a connective is badly needed: nowhere else in this passage of formal dialogue (458E-459C) are the successive stages in Socrates' argument introduced without a connective (γε in 459B carries on the thread from his previous speech). I believe τοίνυν νυνδὴ (τοίνυν νῦν δὴ F) to be the right reading (C.R.xlvii (1933) 216). In E.IT50 Porson's emendation produces a most improbable asyndeton: *ib.* 1175 the asyndeton is difficult, and Paley's defence of it hardly convincing: in HF722 I believe Nauck's (δ') to be necessary.

The question of the permissibility of asyndeton is of vital importance for the true explanation of anticipatory γάρ. The asyndeta resulting from the view that γάρ is adverbial here are often intolerable: see γάρ, IV, and ἀλλὰ γάρ (p. 100).

(5) *Apparently superfluous connectives.* In certain cases connectives are inserted where they are, strictly speaking, unnecessary.

(i) In answers to questions. μὲν οὖν (with preparatory μέν and connective οὖν: 'Well'): Pl.Philb.51B: Sph.229D: X.HG vi 3.13 (answering a rhetorical question). δέ: Pl.Chrm.172C ἄρα . . . ;—Τάχα δ' ἄν, ἔφη, οὕτως ἔχοι ('And perhaps it may be so'): often in answering a second question (pp. 171-2).

In answers to commands. Pl.Euthphr.15E εἰπέ . . . —Εἰς αὐθις τοίνυν, ὦ Σώκρατες ('Well, another time, then'): R.337D ἀπότεισον ἀργύριον.—Οὐκοῦν ἐπειδάν μοι γένηται ('When I get

some, then'.) For a curious τοίνυν in a rejoinder to a statement, cf. Ar.V.1141 (p. 573).

(ii) At the opening of a speech or oracle, or of a whole work. The explanation of this inceptive use of connectives is perhaps not everywhere the same. Often the speaker wishes to put his thoughts into relation to the view of the persons he is addressing, or what he takes to be the generally prevailing view. But often, again, this use of connectives appears to be a mere mannerism of style. It has always a touch of *naïveté* such as is characteristic of Xenophon. See ἀλλά (II.8), δέ (I.C.2.iii), τοίνυν (I.6). μέν is similarly employed in openings: though not a connective, it seems to mitigate the abruptness of the initial plunge (p. 382). In a political or forensic speech, after the recitation of documents, the practice varies, connexion being usually inserted, but sometimes omitted.

(iii) In reported speech an opening connective is naturally omitted. 'He said, "Then I'll come"' becomes 'He said he'd go'. But there are cases where the connective is retained: καί, X.HG v 3.10: 3.15: νῦν, E.Tr.1138: οὖν, Pl.Pr.322C (p. 426): τοιγαρῶν, Hdt.iv 149.1 (p. 567, n.1): τοίνυν, X.Cyr.vi 3.17 (p. 571).

For possibly superfluous δέ in exclamations, see p. 172.

(6) *The different methods of connexion.* These are, broadly speaking, four: (a) Additional, (b) Adversative, (c) Confirmatory, (d) Inferential. But the divisions are everywhere fluid. (a) is represented at its purest by καί and τε (though δέ is often hardly tinged with adversative colour): one idea is simply added to another without any indication of a logical relation between the two.<sup>1</sup> A variant of (a) is what I shall term the 'progressive'<sup>2</sup> use of particles, or combinations of particles, conveying not merely the static piling-up of ideas, but movement of thought: 'now', 'again', 'further', 'to proceed': e.g. μὴν, ἀλλὰ μὴν, γε

<sup>1</sup> The logical relation may be inherent in the context, though not expressed by the particle. καί, like 'and', sometimes stands where 'and yet' is implied (pp. 292-3). So, occasionally, τε (p. 514 *αἰ. π. μ.*). Again, δέ, meaning 'and', is sometimes used where the logical relation would properly be expressed by γάρ, οὖν, or ἢ (pp. 169-71).

<sup>2</sup> I prefer this term to 'continuative', which some writers have employed. A man going round in circles in the desert 'continues', but does not 'progress'.

μήν, καὶ μήν, μέντοι.<sup>1</sup> The same significance may be reached from the direction of (*d*), when οὖν and οὐκοῦν degenerate from *propter hoc* into *post hoc*.<sup>2</sup> In this progressive sense particles mark something of a new departure in the march of thought. They convey an effect approximating to that produced by paragraphing, though not usually denoting quite so strong a break. An example *ex contrario* will illustrate this. In Pl.*R.*338A Εἰπόντος δέ μου ταῦτα starts a new paragraph in the Oxford Text, and is printed, as here, with an initial capital. At such an important joint in the structure οὖν or τοίνυν would have been more normal. (Cf. the not infrequent use of δέ in resuming after μαρτυρίαι: e.g. D.xlvii 52.) It goes without saying that particles, when used in the progressive sense, must follow strong stops. But certain particles and combinations regularly so used occasionally follow weak stops: e.g. δῆ (p. 239), ἀλλὰ δῆ (p. 242), καὶ μήν (p. 352), τοίνυν (p. 577 (5)). καὶ δῆ, καὶ . . . δῆ, and καὶ δῆ καὶ occupy a position between the purely additional and the progressive particles. Broadly speaking, they are to be classed with the former. But καὶ δῆ sometimes introduces a new point, like καὶ μήν (p. 249), and so, rather more often, does καὶ δῆ καί, which tends to follow a heavier stop than καὶ δῆ and καὶ . . . δῆ. καὶ . . . δέ, on the other hand, is rare after strong stops (p. 201). Even among the particles which I have described as denoting addition pure and simple some difference of structural function can be detected. There is a certain tendency, I think, to use δέ, rather than καί, for connecting sentences (in the same way as many English writers avoid 'and' at the opening of a sentence), while it is hardly used at all for connecting single words (p. 162). The case of τε is complicated, some writers preferring to use it for joining sentences, others for joining clauses, phrases, or single words.

The line between additional-progressive and adversative is

<sup>1</sup> Even within the limits of this class a certain distinction may be drawn, in the uses of such combinations as καὶ μήν and τοίνυν, between the mere transition to a new item in an enumerative series, or to a fresh argument, and the arrival at a new stage in the logical process. The former may usually best be rendered 'again', 'further', the latter, 'now', 'well'.

<sup>2</sup> The *post hoc* sense is clearly the later in οὖν, and also, I think, in οὐκοῦν. In τοίνυν, on the other hand, if Wackernagel's etymology is right (p. 568), the *propter hoc* sense is the later.

more sharply drawn in English than in Greek and in Latin. ἀλλά, ἀτάρ, αὐτάρ, δέ, μήν, ἀλλὰ μήν, γε μήν, καὶ μήν, καίτοι, μέντοι, etc., like *at* and *autem*, are used both to add and to contrast.<sup>1</sup> On the one hand, the adversative force of a particle like ἀλλά is at times weakened: on the other, custom attaches an adversative force to a pure connective like καίτοι,<sup>2</sup> or to an originally emphatic particle like μήν, or, in certain combinations (μὲν δῆ, μὲν οὖν, μέντοι), to μέν. By these new developments the range and variety of adversative expression is considerably increased in post-Homeric Greek.

(*b*) Adversatives are of two kinds: eliminative<sup>3</sup> adversatives, used often where one of two contrasted members is negative, the true being substituted for the false (*par excellence* μὲν οὖν and normally ἀλλά), and balancing<sup>3</sup> adversatives, where two truths of divergent tendency are presented (δέ, μήν, μέντοι, etc.). Intermediate between the two we have adversatives like ἀτάρ and καίτοι (and sometimes ἀλλά) which simply raise an objection, leaving it uncertain whether the objection is a fatal one or not. These distinctions are important in principle, though the dividing lines are everywhere fluid. For example, the readiness of ἀλλά and δέ to exchange functions is illustrated by the abnormal, but not uncommon, use of ἀλλά to answer μέν, and of δέ to contrast a positive with a negative clause. μήν, καὶ μήν, and μέντοι occasionally approach the eliminative force of μὲν οὖν (pp. 335, 358, 405).

Class (*c*) is represented throughout Greek literature by γάρ alone (though γοῦν often approaches γάρ in force, giving partial confirmation). (*d*) is less prominent in Homeric Greek, since

<sup>1</sup> When ἀλλὰ μήν, καὶ μήν, καίτοι, δέ γε, etc., introduce the second (major or minor) premise in a syllogism, it is often difficult to say whether they are adversative or progressive. See καίτοι, p. 563, and *Aditenda* to p. 353.

<sup>2</sup> Adversative καίτοι is so common that one may legitimately reckon an adversative sense as one of the senses of the particle. On the other hand, where καί appears to be adversative, the opposition is inherent in the context rather than expressed by the particle (p. xlvii, n. 1). Decision between these two explanations is often a delicate matter. We should not, I think, resort to the second in the case of well-established usages. Thus I cannot agree with des Places when he says (p. 107) that in corrective μὲν οὖν 'l'opposition réside uniquement dans la pensée, non dans la particule'.

<sup>3</sup> I think that these terms express the essence of the distinction better than 'strong' and 'weak'.

supplying an explanation is a more primitive and natural process than drawing an inference. In Homer (*d*) is represented by τῶ and τοιγάρ, the inferential force of οὖν being still in embryo. Subsequently τῶ almost entirely disappears, while τοιγάρ remains (in prose almost only in the strengthened forms τοιγάρτοι and τοιγαροῦν), and additional inferential particles are found in οὖν, δῆ, δῆτα, ἄρα.

(7) *Abnormalities of reference in connexion.* The connexion established is normally, of course, between consecutive units of speech: words, phrases, clauses, or sentences. There are, however, certain exceptions. In dialogue, owing to the quickness of thrust and parry, or the self-absorption of one of the participants, a speaker sometimes links the opening of his speech to his own preceding words, not to the intervening words of the other person.<sup>1</sup> Thus S.O.T.1357 (οὐκουν . . . γε): Ph.1257 (καίτοι): E.Hel.1259 (γε μὲν δῆ): Or.793 (οὖν): Ph.608 (γε): δέ γε (p. 154): perhaps εἰ γάρ in A.Pr.152<sup>2</sup>, Ch.345 (p. 92). This is often the case with γάρ (III.5). In S.El.1035 (p. 443) ἀλλ' οὖν looks back to 1017-26: or perhaps it would be truer to say that its *point d'appui* is the general situation, the whole attitude of Chrysothemis, rather than any particular set of words, an explanation which applies also to E.Alc.713 (καὶ μὴν, p. 354), and IT637 (μέντοι, p. 405).<sup>3</sup> γάρ (III) presents, in general, many abnormalities of connexion. Thus it sometimes refers to the motive of the preceding words (not to their content), to a far-back remark in a continuous discourse, to an individual word or phrase, or to an idea suggested rather than expressed. Sometimes, again, two successive γάρ's share a common reference.

<sup>1</sup> The ignoring of this possibility has sometimes led to misunderstandings. A certain flexibility of mind is required in such cases. Jebb on S.El.1035, Paley on E.Alc.713, have, I think, interpreted the sequence of thought too rigidly.

<sup>2</sup> But see *Addenda* to p. 92.

<sup>3</sup> In some of these examples the opening of the second speech is marked by a particle which is not, strictly speaking, a connective. But the line between connectives and non-connectives is a shadowy one (see p. xliii, n. 2), and the principle illustrated is the same in both cases.

### III. COMBINATIONS AND COLLOCATIONS OF PARTICLES.

(1) *The distinction between combinations and collocations.* There has often been occasion in the preceding pages to cite combinations of particles. It is now time to consider how far particles may be said to cohere so as to form a real unity of expression, as opposed to a merely fortuitous collocation.<sup>1</sup>

(i) The combinations which have the most indisputable claim to the title are those in which one or other of the two particles (either the more or the less important of the two) could not have been used without the other, and also bears in the combination a sense which it cannot bear in isolation: for example, adverbial οὖν reinforcing ἀλλά, γάρ, γε, δέ, or preparatory μὲν: adversative μὲν preceding δῆ, οὖν, or τοι. In corrective μὲν οὖν neither particle could have been used without the other, and each bears in the combination a sense quite different from its independent sense.

(ii) In other cases, while neither of the two particles bears an unwonted force in the combination, still, the presence of the one depends, at any rate to some extent, on the presence of the other. E.g. Pl.Lg.666A μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο (νομοθετήσομεν) οἴνου μὲν δῆ γεύεσθαι τοῦ μετρίου . . . μέθης δὲ . . . ἀπέχεσθαι. Here it might at first sight appear that δῆ does not adhere to μὲν, but emphasizes οἴνου, or the phrase οἴνου . . . γεύεσθαι. But, as we find that in prose δῆ rarely emphasizes substantives or phrases, while it very frequently follows preparatory μὲν, there seems no doubt that the function of δῆ here is to stress the antithetical form of the sentence, not to underline a single element in the content of it. Similarly, γάρ δῆ usually<sup>2</sup> denotes that what is presented as a cause is in truth a fact: 'for actually'. The case of γε μὴν is instructive. From the point of view of

<sup>1</sup> I have not seen this question discussed in any treatment of the particles. My thanks are due to Dr. Chapman for urging me to clear up my ideas on the subject. I have not, however, attempted in this book to use the distinction between 'combination' and 'collocation' as a basis of classification. To have done so would have complicated matters needlessly.

<sup>2</sup> For exceptions, see IV below.

abstract analysis, *γε* emphasizes the word it follows, and *μήν* is the connective, both particles exercising their forces independently. But *γε μήν* is used in positive adversative clauses by writers who use simple adversative *μήν* in negative clauses only. The association of *γε* with *μήν* is therefore stylistically important, and the two particles may justly be regarded as forming a real combination. So, too, may *ἤ γάρ* and *ἤ καί*, which are used by Plato and Xenophon far more freely than *ἤ simplex*. On the same principle, in Attic, where connective *καὶ δὴ* without a following *καί* is rare, *καὶ δὴ καί* must be regarded as a combination, whereas in *καὶ μήν καί*, where the addition of a second *καί* is not prescribed by custom, there is less coherence between the first two particles and the third.

(iii) Sometimes, again, while either particle could stand without the support of the other, the two nevertheless tend to cohere. Thus, with *καὶ γάρ*, though *καί* often goes closely with a word following *γάρ*,<sup>1</sup> there are cases where *καί* seems to bear upon the sentence as a whole, and to cling to *γάρ*: 'for there is a further fact'. Again, the very frequent occurrence of *καὶ δὴ καί* in Herodotus seems to suggest that, although he, unlike Attic writers, freely uses connective *καὶ δὴ* without a second *καί*, still even in him the second *καί*, where it does appear, is an integral part of the combination.

(iv) In other cases the collocation of two particles is purely fortuitous. For example, I see nothing significant in the frequent juxtaposition of preparatory *μέν* with *γάρ* and *τοίνυν*:<sup>2</sup> and if I mention in my text those uses of *μέν δὴ*, *μέν οὖν* in which the first particle is preparatory and the second connective, I only do so because of their bearing on the evolution of connective *δὴ* and *οὖν*, and in order to call attention to the importance of distinguishing between two entirely separate usages. This is perhaps the place to mention the tendency of certain particles to gravitate towards certain other words which are not particles, especially towards pronouns. Thus *γε*, especially in Homer, but also to some extent in later Greek, tends to attach itself to pronouns (pp. 121-2):

<sup>1</sup> See IV below.

<sup>2</sup> Des Places (p. 308) attributes stylistic importance to *μέν τοίνυν*, and Shorey (*C.Phil.* xxviii 2) calls attention to the frequency of *μέν γάρ* in *Pl.Prf.* 337A-C.

so does emphatic *μέν* in Homer (p. 360). *μέντοι* in its affirmative and syllogistic senses is frequently associated with *σύ*, *οὗτος*, *τοιοῦτος*, *τοιόσδε*, etc. (pp. 400, 408-9). *γε* tends to follow (often with a word or words intervening) *ὡς*, *εἰ*, *ὅταν*,<sup>1</sup> etc. (p. 151, n. 1). *δὴ* tends to adhere to certain words and types of word: e.g. to adjectives expressing indefinite quantity or number, to *νῦν*, to *δῆλος*, to superlatives, to *ὄραν* (pp. 204-18). *μήν* is predominantly used after negatives (pp. 330, 334-40).

(2) *Avoided collocations.*<sup>2</sup> Certain collocations of particles, which are in themselves natural enough, are for some reason or other wholly or generally avoided. *τοῦτό γε γὰρ οὐκ ἐρεῖς* seems as unobjectionable as *τοῦτό γε μήν οὐκ ἐρεῖς*. But while *γε μήν* is not merely a tolerated collocation but an established combination, *γε γάρ* never, I think, occurs (the analogy of *γε μήν* tells strongly against the explanation I have offered on p. 151). The derivation of *γάρ* from *γε ἄρ* might perhaps be the cause of this avoidance (just as *δὴ δῆτα* is eschewed). For though *γὰρ ἄρα* is found, a language may tolerate a harshness in one case while avoiding it in another. But I doubt if the Greeks apprehended, whether consciously or unconsciously, this derivation of *γάρ* (if, indeed, it is the true one). The similar avoidance of *γάρ γε*<sup>3</sup> is more easily understood, as it violates the normal order of precedence (see V.2.i below). While *γάρ που* is common (in Plato), *δέ που* and *καί που* not rare, and *ἀλλὰ μήν που*, *καὶ μήν που* occur several times, *που* never seems to follow an inferential particle such as connective *δὴ*, *οὖν*, *τοίνυν*. *τε οὖν* (*τε* prospective and *οὖν* ancillary), in marked contrast with *εἴτε οὖν*, *οὔτε οὖν*, is only found once (p. 420), while the collocation of prospective *τε* with connective *οὖν* is almost entirely avoided, except by Plato (p. 441). *μέντοι* (*separatim*, with preparatory *μέν*), *τέτοι*,<sup>4</sup> and *οὖντοι* seem to be avoided, in contrast with *γέτοι*, *δέτοι*, *γάρτοι*: so, on the whole, is *τέγε* (p. 161).

<sup>1</sup> I do not include these conjunctions among particles. See I.5.δ. Nor do I include the negatives, *οὐ* and *μή*.

<sup>2</sup> See further IV below.

<sup>3</sup> In *E.Ion* 847 *γάρ γε*, which Grégoire (in the Budé edition) surprisingly retains, is generally held to be corrupt.

<sup>4</sup> Conjectured by Buttmann in *S.Ph.* 823.

and see IV below). *τε μέν* (*τε* = 'both'), which might have been expected to occur sporadically,<sup>1</sup> seems not to be found.

Other avoided juxtapositions are *οὐ* (*μή*) and *γε* (p. 148), *εἰ* and *τε simplex*, *οὐ* and preparatory *μέν* (in that order).<sup>2</sup> See also (3) below, *ad fin.*

In some cases it is the toleration of an apparently harsh or awkward collocation that calls for remark. Thus non-connective *καὶ δὴ* and corrective *μέν οὖν* are juxtaposed with each other, and with other particles (pp. 250-3, 479).

(3) *Split combinations.* Particles may form a combination even when not juxtaposed.<sup>3</sup> There is no distinction in meaning between *δέ γε* and *δὲ . . . γε*, *ἀλλὰ γάρ* and *ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ*, *καὶ μέντοι* and *καὶ . . . μέντοι*. In certain passages *μέν* and *γε* separate but in close proximity have almost the same effect as *μέν γε*. *μέν . . . τοίνυν* is occasionally used for *μέν τοίνυν*. In poetry metrical considerations often tilt the balance towards juxtaposition or separation. In other cases custom changes, or individual preference plays a part. Thus Homer writes *καὶ . . . περ, οὐδέ . . . περ*, later authors *καίπερ, οὐδέ περ*: *ἀλλὰ γάρ* replaces *ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ* during the fourth century: Plato prefers *καὶ μέντοι*, Xenophon *καὶ . . . μέντοι*. Sometimes the juxtaposition of logically cohering particles is actually avoided: notably in the case of *γε* following an earlier particle or combination (p. 152).

<sup>1</sup> Plato writes (*Lg.* 655A: see p. 373) *ἀλλ' ἐν γὰρ μουσικῇ καὶ σχήματα μέν καὶ μέλη ἔνεστιν . . .* If he had used *τε . . . καί* instead of *καὶ . . . καί*, the passage would have run *ἀλλ' ἐν γὰρ μουσικῇ σχήματά τε μέν καὶ μέλη ἔνεστιν . . .* That nothing of the kind turns up in the whole of Greek literature is perhaps not accidental. *τε μέν*, though logical enough, would have been felt to clash. Even as it stands, the sentence is exceptional. The intrusion of *μέν* between the corresponsive *καί*'s is awkward, and the natural order would have been *ἔνεστι μέν σχήματά τε καὶ μέλη*. In *A. Ag.* 396 *λιτῶν δ' ἀκούει μέν οὐτις θεῶν* avoids *λιτῶν δὲ μέν ἀκούει*. *τε μέν* (*τε* = 'and') is found in *Hp. Morb.* ii 53 (p. 373). But it looks highly suspicious.

<sup>2</sup> Conjectured by Wilamowitz in *S. Ph.* 811 (p. 331). This taboo is evidence against taking *μέν* in *οὐ μέν δὴ* in *Pl. Phil.* 46B (pp. 292-3) as preparatory. My Oxford colleagues tell me that their pupils frequently write *οὐ μέν*.

<sup>3</sup> But this does not apply to *all* combinations. Thus *ἀλλ' οὖν* is never split, and Jebb is certainly wrong in associating the particles in *S. Ant.* 925 (see p. 473). *καὶ μήν* is hardly ever split (p. 358).

I have referred above ((1) *ad fin.*) to the association of *γε* with conjunctions, *ὡς*, *εἰ*, *ὅταν*, etc. Here, again, the association is not dissolved by spatial separation, and it appears to make no difference to the sense whether *γε* follows at once or after an interval (pp. 142-3). The juxtaposition of *εἰ* and *γε* seems to be mainly,<sup>1</sup> that of *ὡς* and *γε* (with *ὡς* = 'for': p. 143) wholly avoided.

(4) *Exceptional combinations.* Generally speaking, a combination cannot rightly be described as such unless it is more or less established in the language. Occasionally, however, we meet with an *ad hoc* combination, in which, though it may be found only once in Greek, there is a close and essential cohesion between the separate parts: thus, *οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ* (p. 30), *ἀλλὰ μὴν . . . γάρ* (p. 347).

(5) *Double connexions.* In a combination of particles it is normally the case either that one particle (whether the first or the second) is connective or preparatory, the other adverbial (e.g. *τε δὴ, γε μήν, γὰρ οὖν*), or that both are adverbial (e.g. *γε δὴ, (γὰρ) οὖν δὴ, ἦ τοι μέν*). For the order of precedence, see V.2 below. In a few cases, however, each particle appears to be connective, the connexions being of different kinds. See *ἀλλὰ γάρ*, (9) and (10) (pp. 107-8): *γὰρ . . . δῆτα, καὶ . . . δῆτα* (pp. 272-3): *ἀλλὰ . . . τοίνυν, δὲ . . . τοίνυν* (p. 579). Adversative *καὶ μήν, καὶ μέντοι*, should not, I think, be so explained, though the analogy of 'and yet' is tempting (pp. 357, 415).

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps this is putting it too strongly. Certainly Sophocles always separates *εἰ* from *γε*. But there are many examples in other authors of *εἰ γε*. *εἰν γε, ἦν γε*: e.g. *E. HF* 719: *Or.* 1106, 1593: *Ar. Fr.* 105: *Antiph. Fr.* 10: *Hdt.* iii 73: *Pl. La.* 192C: *Phdr.* 242D: 253C (conjectured): *X. Mem.* ii 1.17: *Demosthenes*, see Preuss's Index. (In *B. 13.228* Blass conjectured *εἰ γ' ὡς* for *εἰ*.) Wilamowitz is therefore wrong in saying (on *E. Ion* 847) 'ὡς εἰγε ist unzulässig, da man in alter Zeit εἰ und γε durch ein Wort trennt'.

On the juxtaposition of *γε* and *οὖν*, see Neil, Appendix to *Antiph.*, p. 115; Pearson on *E. Ph.* 1215.

## IV. DIVERSITY IN THE USAGES AND MEANINGS OF PARTICLES.

We have seen (and the pages of this book will prove it abundantly) that few Greek particles possess one meaning and one alone. New uses develop out of old, and the old, though they sometimes wither and die, more frequently prolong their existence, often in altered forms, by the side of the new. The meanings of particles, more than those of any other part of speech, are fluid. *πάντα ρεῖ*. Some, indeed, like *ἀλλά* (and, with all its detailed subtleties, *καί*) remain more or less true to type throughout their course. Others behave more eccentrically, and of these the most unaccountable is *τε*, whose two main currents no philologist has traced convincingly to a common source.

Even in usages which appear rigid and stereotyped, the possibility of unexpected deviations from the normal has to be borne in mind.<sup>1</sup> Thus, while *εἰ καί* usually means 'even if', there are places where 'even if' makes nonsense, and *καί*, detaching itself from *εἰ*, adheres closely to a following expression (p. 304). *καί* following interrogatives is of three distinct types (p. 312). *τοῦτον καὶ λέγω* can mean either 'He is just the man I mean', or 'I do mean him' (p. 322). *εἴ γε* is usually 'if, but not otherwise', but sometimes 'even if' (p. 126). *μήν* has perhaps different meanings in the apparently similar idioms *τί μήν*; and *ἀλλά τί μήν*; (p. 333). *οὐδέ* in Herodotean *οὐ μὲν οὐδέ* has not always the same force (p. 363).

In combinations of particles the possibilities of ambiguity are naturally increased: all the more so since, as we have seen, spatially separated particles may logically go together, and, as we shall shortly see, juxtaposed particles need not necessarily go together. In *καὶ γάρ, οὐδὲ γάρ, καὶ γάρ τοι* there is nothing but the context to show whether (as usually) *γάρ* is connective and *καί* or *οὐδέ* adverbial, or vice versa (pp. 109-111). Similarly, in progressive *ἀλλὰ γάρ* (p. 105), *γάρ* seems to be adverbial, which in this combination it normally is not. While in *γὰρ δὴ* the coherence of the two particles is usually beyond doubt (Hdt. i 34 *ἦν γὰρ δὴ κωφός*,

<sup>1</sup> Some scholars have gone astray in discussing S.OT219-21 through assuming that *οὐ γὰρ ἄν*, which often means 'for else', must mean that. See Jebb.

'For in point of fact he was deaf'), in D.xxi 44 they clearly do not cohere: for *τί γὰρ δὴ ποτ' . . .*; is followed by *καὶ πάλιν τί δὴ ποτ' . . .*; and in both cases *δὴ* must go with the interrogative, and strengthen it. Similarly, in *καὶ γάρ, καί* sometimes refers to a following word or phrase, while contrariwise in *καὶ . . . γάρ* the particles sometimes, though separated, cohere.

Where *καί*, at the opening of a sentence or clause, is followed at a short interval by a second particle possessing both adverbial and connective functions, there are two possibilities. Either (as usually) *καί* gives the connexion, and the second particle is adverbial: or *καί* is adverbial, and the second particle is connective. Thus in X.*Mem.* iv 7.4 *καί* means 'also' and *μέντοι* 'but'. *καί* is also occasionally adverbial in *καὶ . . . δὴ* (p. 255), *καὶ . . . τοίνυν* (p. 578), and, probably, *καὶ . . . δέ* (p. 199, n. 1).

That two particles form an established combination does not mean that in no circumstances whatever can they part company and exercise their functions independently. (It is easy to go astray over this matter in reading. The eye catches the juxtaposition, and the brain assumes a logical coherence. In some cases, if the passage were spoken, the ear might detect the distinction by a slight change in inflexion.) In *γούν*, for example, while *οὖν* usually stresses *γε*, there are cases where *οὖν* is connective, detached from *γε*, which goes closely with the preceding word.<sup>1</sup> In *γέ τοι* the stereotyping of the 'part-proof' sense (as in *γούν*) does not preclude the juxtaposition of the two particles in independent capacities (p. 551). In *οὐ γὰρ ἀλλά* we sometimes find *ἀλλά* separated in sense from *οὐ γάρ*: 'No, but . . .' (p. 31). Here, obviously, pronunciation would indicate the grouping of the words, and a comma after *γάρ* would make all clear to the eye. In one passage a similar division of *οὐ μὲντοι ἀλλά* is possible (p. 405).

When we find a Greek author using a collocation of particles which the language in general avoids, we shall often find on closer examination that there is no real coherence between the two particles. Thus, the only instances of *δὴ γε* which appear to be sound are those in which *δὴ* and *γε* do not coalesce (p. 247).

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps in such cases *γ' οὖν* should be written, *separatim*, to mark the distinction. See p. 448, n. 1.



The same is probably true of τέ γε (p. 161). In *Pl.Grg.* 454E the γε goes with ἀλλὰ μὴν, in *Phd.* 59C it is epexegetic of ναί: τέ γε is far less objectionable in these two passages, and in *X.Mem.* i 2.54, than in *E.Alc.* 647 and *Pl.Phd.* 106D, in both of which the γε can only be taken in close conjunction with the τε. Similar considerations justify the rare juxtaposition μέντοι γε in two Aristophanic passages (pp. 404, 410).

Passages in which two particles normally forming a well-established combination exercise their forces independently are discussed on pp. 132 (οὐδέ γε), 153 (δέ γε), 159 (καὶ . . . γε), 160 (μέν γε), 245 (γε δῆ), 402 (γε μένταν), 412 (γε μέντοι, perhaps), 413 (γε μέντοι).

Different meanings of the same particle or combination are even found in close proximity. Thus it seems likely that in *Hes. Op.* 772 γε μὲν is adversative, while in 774 the μὲν looks forward to a δέ (pp. 387-8). In *Hdt.* i 214 τε δῆ is apparently 'and' in one place, 'both' in another. In *Pl.Grg.* 503B-C the first τί δέ; is, I think, 'Well' ('And what of this?'), going on to a new question: the second is a surprised question, with no connective force, 'What?' In *Euthd.* 298D the first Καὶ . . . γε is 'Yes, also', the second is 'Yes, and . . .' In *S.OC* 539 and 546 τί γάρ; bears different meanings (pp. 82-3), in *Ar.Nu.* 254, 255 τοίνυν ('then' and 'now': p. 574), in *Hom.M* 344, 357 μὲν (p. 368). In the last example we have different meanings not only in close proximity, but in identical phrases: cf. the different meanings of μὲν in *Ω92*, *β318*<sup>1</sup> (p. 368), and of περ in *A* 131, *T* 155<sup>1</sup> (p. 485, n. 1). Cf. also καὶ μὴν in *Ant.v* 44 (p. 358).

## V. THE POSITION OF PARTICLES.

(1) *The position of particles in sentence and clause.* Adverbial particles, especially when they apply to the sentence as a whole, tend to gravitate to its opening,<sup>2</sup> where the emphasis in Greek usually lies. ἦ is in fact almost tied down to the position of

<sup>1</sup> In these two cases the variation of meaning may be ascribed to the repetition of a stereotyped phrase in different contexts.

<sup>2</sup> Neil (*Knights*, p. 186) has called attention to this in the case of γε.

first word in the sentence.<sup>1</sup> The position of certain enclitic particles is further affected, as Wackernagel (*Indog. Forsch.* I (1891) 333-436) has shown, by the general tendency of enclitics to come second in the sentence: a tendency strongly marked in Homer, but considerably modified in later Greek. Thus in *Hom.NIP* που occurs fourteen times, always as the second word. Epic τε and βα also occupy the second place, and so does τοι, which even in post-Homeric Greek presses to the fore so insistently that it sometimes cuts a compound verb in two: *E. Or.* 1047 Ἐκ τοί με τήξεις.<sup>2</sup> θην in Homer, and usually in Theocritus, comes second word, except where two particles precede it (e.g. καὶ γάρ θην). But where the emphasis or tone of nuance is postponed, the particle is postponed with it, and γε and δῆ sometimes come near the end, or actually at the very end, of a sentence. Even particles like τοι and που, which bear on the general thought, are sometimes postponed. Thus in *D.xviii* 117 δῆπου ends a sentence: for postponement of τοι and affirmative μέντοι, see pp. 547-8, 400-1.

Particles which affect the thought as a whole are comparatively rare in post-positive subordinate clauses. (Where the sentence opens with a subordinate clause, a particle contained in that clause is often to be regarded as belonging to the following main clause: εἴ τοι ταῦτα λέγεις, ψεύδει = ψεύδει τοι, εἰ ταῦτα λέγεις.) But we find γοῦν, for example, in a post-positive relative clause in *Pl.Grg.* 509A: and τοι (q.v., III) is quite common in post-positive subordinate clauses.

Where γε (as usually) or δῆ (as often) emphasizes an individual word, it normally follows it immediately, while καί ('also',

<sup>1</sup> Interrogative ἦ and ἄρα naturally open a sentence, or at least a clause: but there are exceptions. Wackernagel (*Indog. Forsch.* i. 377) suggests that the non-enclitic 'post-positive' particles ἄρα, γάρ, δέ, δήτα, μὲν, μὴν, οὖν perhaps gradually became post-positive, like enim, and namque on the analogy of enim, itaque on the analogy of igitur. δῆ in Homer can open a sentence, but is beginning to be post-positive. (τοίνυν Wackernagel rightly regards as formed by two enclitics, τοι and νυν: see p. 568.) In τοιγαροῦν, I will add, we can watch a particle becoming post-positive (see VI. 3 below). The converse process is to be seen in ἄρα (in the sense of ἄρα), which writers of the New Comedy sometimes put at the opening of a sentence (p. 48, n. 2).

<sup>2</sup> On particles in tmesis, see Kühner, II i 530-7, and cf. pp. 429-30, 437 ((iv): Archipp.*Fr.* 35.2).

'even', 'actually') immediately precedes the emphasized word. But there are many exceptions in verse, and some in prose. Thus the most emphatic word sometimes does not immediately follow *καί*, and sometimes follows, instead of preceding, *γε* or *δή*.

The position of connectives is, naturally, far more definitely fixed. *καί*, *τοιγάρ*, *τοιγάρτοι* always, *τοιγαροῦν* almost always,<sup>1</sup> occupy first place in clause or sentence. Other connectives normally occupy the second place. The main exceptions to this rule are:

(i) Postponement after closely cohering word-groups, particularly where article, preposition, or negative (or more than one of these in combination) cling tenaciously to a following word.

(ii) Postponement after an apostrophe, oath, or exclamation.

(iii) In verse, postponement due apparently to metrical convenience. Here the practice of different authors varies considerably. Thus Aeschylus postpones *δέ* more freely than Sophocles (though Sophocles often postpones *οὔν*) and Euripides, and they more freely than the comic poets: while *per contra* the postponement of *γάρ* goes to surprising lengths in Middle and New Comedy.

(2) *Order of precedence in combinations.* (i) An adverbial particle attached to a connective usually follows it, either immediately or at a short interval: *γὰρ δή*, *ἀλλ' οὔν*, *καὶ δή*, *καὶ . . . δή*. (In Epic *δὴ γάρ*, *δή* has greater independence.)

Except in *δέ γε*, *γε* seldom immediately follows a connective. *ἀλλά γε*, *καὶ γε*, *καίτοι γε*, *μέντοι γε* are all either rare or unknown in classical Greek. Normally *γε* either precedes the connective (*γε μὴν*, *γε μέντοι*, *γε μὲν δή*) or follows at an interval (*καὶ μὴν . . . γε*, *ἀλλὰ μέντοι . . . γε*). The truth seems to be that *γε*, even in combinations, demands a firmer *point d'appui* than a mere particle can give.

(ii) Preparatory *μέν* and *τε* take precedence of a connective: clearness is gained by placing these particles immediately after the word (or the first word of the group) to which they refer. *Σωκράτης μὲν γὰρ . . . : οἷ τε γὰρ ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄντες . . .*

(iii) Preparatory *μέν* and *τε* also take precedence of ad-

<sup>1</sup> For the position of *τοιγαροῦν* second in sentence in Hippocrates and in post-classical Greek, see VI.3 below, and p. 567.

verbial particles. Thus *μὲν δή*, *μέν γε*, *τε δή*. (But *γε μὲν* seems occasionally to be used for *μέν γε* in Epic and Elegiac. See p. 388.)

(iv) Precedence between two combined adverbial particles.

*γε* takes precedence of other adverbial particles, as in *γοῦν*, *γέ τοι*, *γε δή*. (The rare reverse order in *δή γε* is due to special considerations. See IV above.) *οὔν* almost always takes precedence of *δή* where neither particle is connective: thus *γὰρ οὔν δή*, *ἀλλ' οὔν δή*, *μὲν οὔν δή*. (*μὲν δὴ οὔν* is very rare.) Affirmative *μέν* takes precedence of *τοι* and becomes *μέντοι*. (But *τοι* ousts *μέν* in Homeric *ἦ τοι μέν*.) *δή τοι* is almost always preferred to *τοι δή*, except in *οὔτοι δή*. *που*, a modest particle, readily yields place: *γέ που*, *δήπου*.

## VI. THE STYLISTIC IMPORTANCE OF PARTICLES.

In the preceding pages I have been concerned with particles mainly from the point of view of grammar and logic, with their origins, natures, and functions. In what follows I shall consider their stylistic features and their distribution over the field of Greek literature, taking into account the distinctions which spring from differences of period, differences of genre, and the individual preferences of various writers. This is a study of great interest and importance. It helps us to appreciate the colour of various styles, to which the use of particles contributes in no slight degree. It may also be of occasional value in establishing the text of a passage, and perhaps even in determining, within broad limits, the date and authorship of a work.<sup>1</sup> For the most part, this aspect of the particles has been neglected. Writers on the subject have

<sup>1</sup> On the whole it must be confessed that the harvest is disappointingly meagre. Particles do not help us to date Sophocles' plays, or to determine whether Euripides wrote the *Rhesus*. On the other hand, as I hope to have shown below, they point to certain conclusions regarding the *Prometheus* and in the dating of Plato's dialogues they have played a not unimportant part. Here the circumstances are exceptionally favourable. We have in our hands almost the whole of the very considerable output, extending over a long life, of an author whose use of particles varies markedly in different works.



largely ignored these distinctions,<sup>1</sup> except where they are very striking, though Kühner is superior to his predecessors in this respect, and the specialized studies provide more information than the general works.

(1) *Repetition of particles.* Before discussing differences of period and so forth, it will be well to consider the general Greek practice with regard to the repetition of particles at a short interval. The Greeks seem to have felt about the repetition of words in general that, while artistic repetition is stylistically effective, accidental repetition is not a thing to be sedulously and artificially avoided. (Their attitude to assonance was precisely the same.) The exactness of the significance of Greek pronouns, it is true, often makes repetition of nouns unnecessary. But where repetition is the most convenient course, the Greeks do not boggle at it, and their writings are mostly free from the pitiful periphrases by which some of our own authors have sought to avoid calling a spade a spade more than once. (*τὸ προειρημένον* is, happily, a good deal rarer in Greek than its English counterparts.) The Greeks felt the same about the repetition of particles. When it is convenient to use the same particle two or three times at short intervals, the same particle is used two or three times (though, when undergraduates write Greek prose, they will cut themselves with knives rather than do this). Thus we find accumulations of *γάρ* (Hdt.i 160.2, 199.4: Ant.v 86-7: Pl.*Ap.*30C, 40A: *Th.* 155D: Hyp.*Epit.* 18-19: Arist.*Pol.* 1261a24-6): *γε* (Hom.*E*258: Π30: and see p. 144): *δέ* (E.*El.*73-5: *IT*45-52: Pherecyd.*Fr.* 18a, 105 (*δέ* and *καί*): Hdt.i 216.3-4): E.*Ba.*965-6 has *δέ* thrice in two lines (but see Murray's *app. crit.* and Dodds's note): *οὐδέ*, connective and adverbial (Pl.*Clit.*408A): adverbial *καί* Pl.*R*445C: X.*Cyr.*v 4.42: D.xxxv 50): *οὖν* (Hdt.v 82.1-2): *γούν* (Pl.*R*554B): *πὸν* (Pl.*Cra.*409B): *τε . . . καί* (Hdt.ix 31.3-5: Pl.*Phd.*82B-C, 108A, 110E: *Ti.*40E). In Hom.ξ 151, S.*Tr.* 1151, *ἀλλά* comes twice in a line: twice in successive lines, S.*Aj.*852-3, *El.*881-2. In Ar.*Th.*274-5, Pl.648-9, two consecutive lines are introduced by *ταίνυν* (cf. *Nu.* 254-5). In *Pax*820-1 *ἔμοιγέ τοι* immediately follows *ἔγωγέ τοι*.

<sup>1</sup> As will often appear in the course of this book, scholars have not infrequently introduced by emendation usages of particles which conflict with the practice of their author, as far as we can know it.

That I draw largely on Herodotus for examples suggests that there is often a certain naïveté in the repetition: but other of my examples are from more formal and self-conscious prose.

Through forgetfulness of this Greek tolerance of repetition, the text has sometimes been needlessly suspected. See S.*Ph.*757-62 (*δῆτα* four times in six lines), with Jebb's excellent note<sup>1</sup> on this passage and on the threefold *ἀλλά* in 645-51.<sup>2</sup> It is equally mistaken to see design in repetitions which are really fortuitous. Thus, van Leeuwen, on Ar.*Lys.*848, 'Ipsam dein particulam illudens repetit Lysistrata'. I do not think the repetition is intentional here, or in Ar.*Th.*274-5. But I do not mean to deny that there are places where a character in a play throws another character's particle back at him. Thus in S.*OT* 1005 the Messenger, with a touch of the pawkiness which characterizes Sophoclean messengers, retorts rather impudently with *καὶ μὴν*, as Xanthias does, most effectively, in Ar.*Ra.*526 with *οὐ τί ποῦ* ('Surely you can't mean . . .?'). Cf. *δὲ δὴ* E.*El.*236-7. In Ar.*Lys.*902 *τοιγάρ*, *ἦν δοκῆ* echoes the same words in the preceding line (that *τοιγάρ* belongs to the grand style adds to the joke), just as in Pl.929 *οὐκοῦν ἐκείνός εἰμ' ἐγώ* echoes 918. In all these cases the repetition has a mocking tone. Cf. also (with more serious intention) A.*Eu.*727-9 (pp. 540-1): S.*OT*549-51. In S.*Ph.*854-5 the repeated *τοι* gives urgency to the appeal.

The natural frequency with which common particles recur is not, then, artificially limited by the Greek writers, but is regarded as unobjectionable. In certain cases repetition, while natural or even unavoidable in the context, gives positive gain. I have discussed above (II.2) the effect produced by *καί* and *οὐδέ* in polysyndeton.

Further, in addition to the natural tendency of common words to recur, it is probably true that a word will run in a writer's head at a particular time. Like other words,<sup>3</sup> particles have, as

<sup>1</sup> I doubt, however, whether the iteration, if a shade careless, demands much 'palliation'.

<sup>2</sup> See also Pearson's Index to Jebb's Sophocles, and Radermacher in *Wien. Stud.* xlv (1929), pp. 130-2.

<sup>3</sup> For example, Mr. D. L. Page points out to me that *ἀφίρ* occurs four times in the *Trachiniae*, nowhere else in Sophocles. *εὐτυχος* in tragedy is confined to A.*Supp.* (959(?), 974, 994). The frequency of *πλήθος* in the *Persiae* and *πορθέμιος* in *IT* is largely explained by the subject-matter.

Dr. Chapman remarks, 'a certain gregarious tendency'. He points out that in Isoc. xii *τοίνυν* occurs nine times in §§ 42-102, not at all in §§ 103-272: in xv, twelve times in §§ 30-121, not at all in §§ 122-204. I note that out of sixteen examples of *τοίνυν* in Herodotus, three are in vii 50.2-4. Comparative *ὥστε* is commoner in *Trachiniae* and *Bacchae* than in other plays. Most of the Sophoclean examples of *ἦ που* are in the *Ajax*. *ἐφ' ᾧ τε* is particularly common in [D.] lvi.<sup>1</sup> All the examples of *τοιγάρ* in comedy are in the *Lysistrata*. *καί τε* is especially common in the *Hymn to Aphrodite*.<sup>1</sup> *ἦ μήν* occurs fifteen times in the *Parmenides*, as often as in all the remaining Platonic dialogues put together.

(2) *Variations in the employment of particles in different periods, dialects, and styles, and by different authors.* Here, owing to the loss of so much Greek literature, we are on slippery ground. For instance, fourth-century tragedy and comedy have vanished, with the exception of meagre fragments. When we find a fourth-century prose usage to be absent from fifth-century tragedy or comedy, or from both, can we assume that it was known to the fifth century, but deliberately avoided by the tragedians as alien to the tragic style, or avoided both in tragedy and in comedy as inappropriate to verse? Is it not equally possible that the usage is a late comer, that Aeschylus and Sophocles would have employed it had they known it, and that Moschion, say, actually did employ it? Contrariwise, we have very little Attic prose earlier than 400 B.C. (It is true that Aristophanes does something to make good the paucity of prose in the last quarter of the fifth century. Where, as often, we find his practice agreeing with that of Plato and Xenophon, we may usually safely regard it as colloquial practice.) Again, when we are tempted to talk of individual preferences, may we not be mistaking the characteristics of a type for personal characteristics? With the ten orators and, to a smaller degree, with the three tragedians, the risk of confusion is less serious. But other types of composition are not so well represented. The extant historians and philosophers, for

<sup>1</sup> In cases like these, where the authorship of a work is unknown, the recurrence of a particle may be due either to 'gregariousness' or to individual preference.

example, form far less homogeneous groups. Certainly our path is beset with dangers here, and many of the distinctions which I shall draw are highly speculative. Still, it seemed worth while to include all the material which might appear to point to various conclusions, even at the risk of having a certain amount of chaff mixed up with the grain.

(3) *Chronological differences.* In Homeric Greek particles of emphasis (*γε*, *δή*, *ἦ*, *μήν*), and certain other particles, such as *ἄρα* and 'Epic' *τε*, are heaped on in almost reckless profusion, and with but little definiteness of application. As the language develops, it tends, in the first place, towards an exacter delimitation of the functions of particles (especially in prose). Thus emphatic *δή* comes to be mainly used in association with certain types of word, and *ἄρα*, from denoting interest in general, becomes specifically an expression of enlightenment or disillusionment. *μέν* no longer simply expresses emphasis, but emphasis as an element in contrast. *περ* loses its independence, and survives only in an ancillary capacity. The use of apodotic *ἀλλά* is confined within narrower limits.

This is not, of course, to say that delimitation is everywhere exact. There is frequent overlapping, the same idea<sup>1</sup> being often expressed by several different particles or combinations. Expression thus loses in clarity, but gains correspondingly in variety, since it is thereby possible, for example, to ring the changes on *ἀλλά μήν, καὶ μήν, τοίνυν*, in an enumerative series.

The crystallizing process is especially discernible in the case of combinations. Particles are, for the most part, no longer simply piled on one another without regard for redundancy. *ἦ δὴ* and *ἦ δὴ μάν* hardly survive in post-Homeric Greek: *ἦ το* gradually goes out of use. Contrariwise, certain combinations become stereotyped, and in some cases (e.g. *μέν οὖν, μέν τε*) meanings irreconcilable with the current usage of their component parts. *καί* develops an adversative sense in *καίτοι* (not yet in Homer) and *καὶ μήν*.

I spoke above of the exacter delimitation of the functions of

<sup>1</sup> Sematologically speaking, I suppose it is inaccurate to say that words or word-combinations can mean the same thing. I do not believe that the Greeks felt any essential difference between *ἀλλά μήν* and *καὶ μήν* in many contexts, or between *μέν οὖν* and *μέν τε*.

some particles in post-Homeric Greek. The functions of others become more diversified. Thus οὖν, which in Homer is strictly confined to certain associations, with ἐπεὶ, ὡς, etc., subsequently widens the range of its activities, as τοιγάρ also does. In particular, certain emphatic particles develop a connective sense. (See II.1 above.)

The authors who lie between the Epic and Attic periods are unfortunately represented for the most part by scanty fragments. With the dawn of Attic literature in the early fifth century the thread of development can be picked up again, and we can often trace the adolescence or obsolescence of a usage in the course of the fifth and fourth centuries. We can trace, for example, the gradual growth of connective δὴ right up to the end of the fourth century, when this use predominates over all others. The case of οὖν is instructive. Transitional μὲν οὖν occurs but once in the *Iliad*, five times in the *Odyssey*. In these passages οὖν has the backward reference ('as I have described, or implied') which normally accompanies it in the two epics. But a connective force is already beginning to appear. In the *Hymns* μὲν οὖν is proportionately commoner (four examples), and the backward reference begins to disappear. We are on the threshold of a new stage, where οὖν is a full connective. In Aeschylus, οὖν is fully established as a connecting particle, but is almost confined to questions, a restriction later removed. A similar restriction applies to οὐκοῦν, first found as a connective in statements in *E. Med.* 890. οὐκοῦν in statements is another late development, and Demosthenes and Aeschines are the first writers to use it with any freedom. μὴν is, on the whole, relatively a late-comer in the field of Attic literature. In general, its frequency increases in the later works of Plato, Lysias, Isocrates, and Xenophon. The common use of καὶ μὴν in introducing a new character on the stage is hardly yet to be found in Aeschylus. Adversative καὶ μὴν is not found in Pindar, and in Aeschylus it only appears in *Agamemnon* and *Prometheus Vinc-tus*. While ἀλλὰ μὴν and καὶ μὴν can be seen coming into use, ἀλλὰ μὲν δὴ and καὶ μὲν δὴ can be seen passing out of use. The latter are almost confined to Plato, Xenophon, and the earlier orators<sup>1</sup> (Antiphon, Andocides, Lysias,

<sup>1</sup> The appearance of καὶ μὲν δὴ in [D.] xi 13 is perhaps of some significance for determining the date of this composition.

and Isocrates). The assentient force of μὲν οὖν, as distinct from the corrective, is absent from fifth-century literature. The formulae of assent, πάνν μὲν οὖν, κομιδῆ μὲν οὖν, etc., of which Plato was so fond, are common in the *Plutus* (388 B.C.): see especially 833-8 of that play, where κομιδῆ μὲν οὖν is clearly made fun of.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, assentient γάρ is rarely found before the fourth century. Its use with an echoed word, common in Plato and in Xenophon's Socratic works, is clearly parodied, as a new fashion, in *Ar. Ec.* 773-6. Single τε and corresponsive τε . . . τε<sup>2</sup> (excluding εἴτε . . . εἴτε and οὔτε . . . οὔτε) grow rarer, on the whole, during the fourth century.

As further instances of chronological development, we may notice the replacement of τοιγάρτοι by τοιγαροῦν and of ἀλλὰ γάρ by ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ, the increased tendency in the fourth century to add γε to apodotic ἀλλά, and the appearance in the Homeric *Hymns* of corresponsive καὶ . . . καὶ, hardly found in *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

In certain cases we can detect a difference in an author's use of particles between his earlier and his later works. Thus juxtaposed τε καὶ gets progressively rarer in Andocides. Perhaps, as Fuhr suggests, Andocides gradually adapted himself to oratorical usage in this respect (p. 512). δὴ ὦν and ὦν δὴ are rarer in the later books of Herodotus, which are held by some to have been composed first, than in the earlier. These are but isolated phenomena: but Aeschylus and Plato afford evidence of a more general and more significant character.

Aeschylus has left us only seven plays: but, with one exception, they can be dated exactly, or almost exactly, while the dates of Sophocles' and Euripides' plays are usually quite uncertain. The *Supplixes* is beyond doubt very early. The *Persae* was produced in 472 B.C., the *Septem* in 467, and the *Trilogy* in 458. There remains only the *Prometheus Vinc-tus*, which has been assigned by some scholars to about 470, by others to the last

<sup>1</sup> The appearance of πάνν μὲν οὖν in *Epich. Fr.* 171.1 is perhaps an argument against the genuineness of this fragment, which Diels assigns on other grounds to the fourth century.

<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to say how far the varying frequency of τε . . . τε is to be attributed to difference of period, how far to difference of style. (See (5) *ad fin.* below.)

two years of the poet's life, 458-6. On the whole, a greater variety of particles is to be found in the later plays than in the earlier ones. There is hardly a single instance of a particle or usage being employed in the earlier plays and dropped in the later, though ἡδέ is specially common in the lyrics of the *Persae*,<sup>1</sup> and δῆτα with an echoed word or thought is found only in *Supplices* (3), *Persae* (2), and *Septem* (4). On the other hand, we find a number of usages confined to *Prometheus* and the *Trilogy* (sometimes with *Septem* thrown in). Thus:—

οὐ δῆτα, μὴ δῆτα: *Pr.* only (3).

ἦ μήν: *Th.* (1): *Pr.* (3): *Ag.* (? 1).

καὶ μήν (adversative): *Pr.* (2): *Ag.* (2). (This use is absent from Pindar.)

μέντοι (excluding γε μέντοι, already found in *Supplices*): *Th.* (1): *Pr.* (5), including the only (possibly) adversative example: *Ag.* (3).

οὖν following relatives: *Trilogy* only.

εἴτ' οὖν, οὔτ' οὖν: *Trilogy* and fragments only.

ἀλλ' οὖν: *Th.* (1): *Pr.* (2).

γὰρ οὖν: *Ag.* (2): *Eu.* (1).

γοῦν: *Ag.* (2): *Eu.* (1).

δ' οὖν: *Th.* (1): *Pr.* (2): *Trilogy* (9).

οὔκουν . . . γε, negative of γοῦν: *Pr.* (2): but see p. 425 on *Supp.* 392.

καίτοι: *Pr.* (3): (*Eu.* 849 is corrupt).

ἔστε: <sup>2</sup> *Pr.* (5): *Ag.* (1), conjectured in line 308: *Eu.* (1).

We must be cautious in drawing conclusions here. In the first place, we have only seven plays to work on. In the second place, we have no contemporary Attic literature with which to compare the Aeschylean practice. But, when we find particles and combinations which were commonly used in the second half of the fifth century occurring in Aeschylus in the later plays only, we can hardly be wrong in concluding that they were coming into use towards the end of his lifetime, rather than that they had been in use all along, but were only adopted by him in his later works. Further, when we find that the *Prometheus* agrees strikingly

<sup>1</sup> For a possible explanation of this, see p. 287.

<sup>2</sup> I include ἔστε here, though it lies outside the purview of this book (p. 528).

with the later plays, as against the earlier ones,<sup>1</sup> we may legitimately adduce this as evidence in support of the view that the *Prometheus* was one of Aeschylus' latest plays (or, if we can bring ourselves to accept the possibility—I find it hard to do so—, was written by an unknown later author).

Plato's employment of particles in his later works diverges in many respects from his earlier practice. The following uses are all either much commoner in the late dialogues, or wholly confined to them:—

οὐ μὴν ἀλλά: καὶ . . . δέ: καὶ δὴ καί, transitional, = καὶ μὴν: ὁ μὲν, etc., omitted before ὁ δέ, etc.: progressive μὴν (once only in dialogues earlier than the *Republic*): καὶ . . . μὴν, with intervening word: οὐκοῦν χρή; elliptical, in answers: εἴτ' οὖν, οὔτ' οὖν: γὰρ οὖν, for οὖν: γοῦν, progressive, with οὖν as the dominant partner: οὖν δὴ (commoner in the late works, both absolutely, and relatively to δὴ οὖν): εἴπερ, elliptical, 'if at all': τε coupling single words: the series καὶ . . . τε . . . καί: εἴαντε . . . καὶ ἂν μὴ: δὴ τοίνυν: καὶ τοίνυν, καὶ . . . τοίνυν.

In discussing the cause of the divergencies between the earlier and the later Aeschylus we lacked the evidence of contemporary literature, which could have afforded a standard of comparison. In the case of Plato, there is contemporary literature in abundance: but the evidence it affords does not suggest that the variations are due to Plato's adoption of new usages which were coming into existence during his lifetime. Rather, they seem due to a personal, stylistic preference on his part. His employment of particles in his late works is at times (as far as we can tell) purely individual, as in the case of καὶ . . . μὴν, δὴ τοίνυν: at other times, it manifests a growing predilection for poetical or Ionic idioms (ὁ δέ, without preceding μέν: εἴτ' οὖν, οὔτ' οὖν: τε coupling words: οὖν δὴ).

Other usages, again, such as juxtaposed ἀλλά γε and καί γε, seem to be mainly, or wholly, confined to post-classical Greek. Here an interesting point arises in connexion with the Hippocratic corpus. The experts tell us that these works, though few of them are from the hand of Hippocrates, almost all date from the fifth

<sup>1</sup> Certain metrical peculiarities of the play, which have been little noticed hitherto, point in the same direction. I hope to discuss them on another occasion.

and fourth centuries. It is remarkable, then, to find in them *ἤγουν* (meaning 'that is to say', *videlicet*), a word found in the pseudo-Aristotelian *de Plantis* and in grammarians' glosses, but not elsewhere in classical Greek, and to find *τοιγαροῦν* placed second, not first, in the sentence, which again can only be paralleled in post-classical writers. Further, *γοῦν* often appears as a synonym for *οὔν*, as it does, very occasionally, in Plato's later works (see above), and in the *de Plantis*. It seems possible that these medical treatises, remaining, as they did, practical manuals for doctors throughout many centuries, were edited with more freedom and less reverence than works of a more purely literary value, and that in them the use of particles was brought into conformity with the practice of the day.

(4) *Differences in Dialect*. Differences in dialect play a certain part, but, except for purely formal variations such as *μέν—μήν—μάν*, *ῶν—οὔν*, perhaps a rather smaller part than we should have expected. There is not, for instance, a great deal in common between the Herodotean and Hippocratic uses. Probably more divergencies would appear if we possessed a greater bulk of non-Attic Greek, particularly Doric. But, even as it is, certain dialectal distinctions can be detected. *μήν* (*μάν*) seems to be Doric in origin, and its employment with imperatives is confined to Doric and Epic. *θην* is hardly found outside Homer and Sicilian literature. *δητα* and *τοίνυν*<sup>1</sup> are characteristically Attic, *δηθεν* Ionic. *οὔν* (*ῶν*) in tmesis, between preposition and verb, is Ionic and Doric.

But the line of cleavage between dialects is for the most part less clear cut. What we usually find is, on the one side, Aristophanes and the orators, representing the purest Attic usage: on the other, the tragedians, Herodotus, Plato, and Xenophon (and sometimes Thucydides). This grouping is, on the whole, not unexpected. The tragedians wrote in an Attic which had not completely dissociated itself from Ionic. Thucydides, though later in date, continues to use the *ἀρχαία Ἀθῆναις*. Xenophon spent much of his life in Asia Minor. The Ionic proclivities of Plato in his use of particles may be explained partly as con-

<sup>1</sup> It is significant that Thucydides uses *τοίνυν* in *Athenian* speeches only.

sistent with the poetical colour of his style, partly by the fact that Ionic was the language of learning.

The use of ancillary *οὔν* with other particles is instructive in this respect. Except for *ἀλλ' οὔν*, *γοῦν*, *δ' οὔν*, and *μέν οὔν* in the sense *immo*, these combinations are far more frequent in what I will call the semi-Ionic group than in the purest Attic.<sup>1</sup> Thus *εἴτ' οὔν*, *οὔτ' οὔν* are found in tragedy, Herodotus, and Plato, but never in comedy or the orators. *γὰρ οὔν* (tragedy, Herodotus, and Plato) is absent from oratory, and rare in comedy. *δὴ οὔν* and *οὔν δὴ* are almost confined to Herodotus and Plato. *καὶ οὔν* and *καὶ . . . οὔν* are found only in Hippocrates and Plato. *περ οὔν* after relatives is found only in the tragedians (especially Aeschylus), Herodotus, and Plato.

The use of ancillary *τοι* illustrates a somewhat similar grouping of writers. *δὴ τοι* and *τοι δὴ* are almost confined to Epic and Plato<sup>2</sup> (*ὡς δὴ τοι* being peculiar to Plato). *ἤτοι* ('either') is rare in oratory, and unknown to comedy (I ignore *Ar. Fr.* 905).

I subjoin further examples of usages which are rarely, or never, found in strict Attic prose composition:

*ἄρα* in its more general sense, expressing lively interest (mainly Epic, Herodotus, and Xenophon).

*δέ*, following a pronoun, 'marking an antithesis, not of persons, but of clauses' (Jebb on *S. El.* 448): Homer, tragedy, Herodotus, Xenophon.

*οὐδέ*, connective, without preceding negative: Homer, tragedy, Herodotus: rare in Aristophanes: hardly ever in Attic prose (p. 190).

*δὴ τις*: tragedy, Herodotus, Plato: once in Thucydides: never in oratory: hardly ever in Aristophanes.

*δοτις* (etc.) *δή*, in the sense of *nescioquis*, not of *quicumque*: common in Herodotus: also found in Xenophon and in Aeneas Tacticus (whose diction approximates to the *κοινή*), but not in strict Attic, verse or prose (in *Ar. Ach.* 753 a Megarian is speaking).

*καὶ δὴ*, connective, without a second *καί* following: Homer, Herodotus, Hippocrates, Plato: very rare in drama, almost all

<sup>1</sup> *Per contra*, *ἀλλ' ῶν*, *γῶν*, and corrective *μέν ῶν* are hardly found in Herodotus.

<sup>2</sup> This tells against the conjecture *δὴ τοι* in *A. Pers.* 706.

apparent instances being better taken as non-connective: hardly ever found in the orators (once in Andocides, and conjectured in Lysias xiii 4).

δηθεν: mainly Ionic: sometimes found in tragedians and Thucydides: once apiece in Plato and Xenophon: never in comedy or oratory.

μέντοι, progressive: Hippocrates, Xenophon: occasionally in tragedy, Herodotus, and Thucydides.

ώστε (relative): tragedy, Herodotus, Thucydides (rarely).

Sophocles' employment of particles is sometimes more Ionic than that of the other tragedians.<sup>1</sup> He is the only tragedian to use οὐν δή (for which, see above), or οὐν strengthening a prospective μέν (found in philosophical Epic, and in Hippocrates, Thucydides, Plato, Xenophon, and Aristotle: never in comedy or in oratory, except for Hyperides, in whom traces of the κοινή are beginning to appear).<sup>2</sup> Apodotic δέ, frequent in Homer and Herodotus, is rather commoner in Sophocles than in the other tragedians. μή τοι . . . γε, with infinitive or participle, is confined to Sophocles, Plato, and Aristotle.

(5) *Differences in genre.* Here the main line of cleavage is not so much between poetry and prose as between dialogue and continuous speech or formal exposition. Particles, apart from the necessary connectives,<sup>3</sup> are like ignition sparks: they flash at the kindling of a new thought, which, once kindled, burns with a steadier and less vivid flame. Hence the tendency of γε, for example, to occur near the opening of an answer. δήτα, in all its uses, affirmative μέντοι, που, and τοι are mainly found in dialogue. οὐκουν . . . γε is much commoner in answers than in continuous speech. It cannot be doubted that Greek conversation was full of particles: at moments of excitement and emotional tension the dialogue of tragedy and comedy fairly

<sup>1</sup> His language shows Ionic tendencies in other respects. See Christ, *Gesch. d. griech. Lit.* i. 323.

<sup>2</sup> See Blass, *Att. Ber.* III. ii<sup>1</sup>. 34.

<sup>3</sup> But here, too, we find some divergence between dialogue and continuous speech. Thus καιτοι, normally used in continuous speech, is but rarely used in answers (p. 558). Plato for the most part uses μέν τοίνυν in answers, μέν οὐν in continuous speech (des Places, p. 308, n. 1), and τοίνυν is, in general, much commoner in answers.

bristles with them. Perhaps women, on the principle that τὸ θῆλυ μᾶλλον οἰκτρὸν ἀρσένος, were peculiarly addicted to the use of particles, just as women to-day are fond of underlining words in their letters. (Tucker's suggestion that γε denotes 'feminine underlining' in the Plathane scene in the *Frogs* is attractive.) Of modern languages, German is much richer in particles than the Romance languages, while English, perhaps because of its hybrid nature,<sup>1</sup> occupies an intermediate position.

An emphatic or expressive particle occurring at the opening of a speech is usually omitted when the speech is reported in *oratio obliqua*. Occasionally, however, it is retained.<sup>2</sup> Thus, μέντοι in a question is retained in Pl. *Phdr.* 266D λεκτέον δὲ τί μέντοι καὶ ἔστι τὸ λειπόμενον τῆς ῥητορικῆς: so is γε in an answer in Pl. *Smp.* 199D (p. 133). For further examples, see p. 211 (δή), pp. 313, 316 (καί), p. 402 (μέντοι).

I have observed that many usages belong, *par excellence*, to answers in dialogue. But a speaker or writer sometimes employs one of these usages in the middle of a long continuous passage, thereby giving the impression of a man answering his own question, or reaffirming or rejecting his own statement. In some cases this impression of imaginary dialogue is strongly marked. Thus in Pl. *Prt.* 310C Hippocrates says Νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς, ἑσπέρας γε (ἦκει Πρωταγόρας), and then, sitting down on Socrates' bed, continues Ἐσπέρας δήτα ('Yes, in the evening'), δήτα accompanying an echo of the speaker's own words, just as it very frequently accompanies an echo of another person's. Similarly δέ γε ('Yes, but', 'Yes, and'), καί preceding an interrogative, καὶ γάρ meaning 'Yes, and', exclamatory γε, and corrective μὲν οὐν ('No'), are in essence proper to dialogue, and, when transferred to continuous speech, convey the impression of imaginary question and answer: epexegetic γε is a development of γε in answers. If in such cases we do not catch the nuance of dialogue (a nuance more pronounced in some cases than in others) we miss something of the colour of the style.

In Homer and the historians certain particles and combinations

<sup>1</sup> I owe this suggestion to Prof. G. E. K. Brauholtz.

<sup>2</sup> For the occasional retention of an opening connective in *oratio obliqua* see II.5.iii.



are absent from the narrative portions of their works, and are only found in the speeches. Thus in Homer ἦ,<sup>1</sup> ἦ μὲν, τοι, μὲν τοι, are almost confined to speeches. In Thucydides and Xenophon τοι is hardly used except in speeches. In Thucydides τοίνυν is confined to Athenian speeches.

Particles are commonest, then, at the opening of a speech in verse or prose dialogue: less common during the progress of such a speech: and rarest in formal treatises like the works of Aristotle or the history of Thucydides. (The more conversational style of Herodotus and Xenophon employs particles more lavishly.) The orators occupy an intermediate position. They write works to be spoken to an audience, but there is no close personal touch between the speaker and the persons addressed.<sup>2</sup> Hence one is not surprised to find that intimate particles like τοι<sup>3</sup> or hortative ἀλλά are rare in oratory. The vividness of Demosthenes' style leads him to employ a number of lively, conversational idioms which are not to be found in the other orators. For example: exclamatory γε (ix 66 δουλεύουσί γε, 'They are slaves!': *ib.* 65): καὶ δὴ, non-connective, introducing an imaginary supposition, or at the opening of an apodosis, or elsewhere: μέντ' ἄν (i26 τῶν ἀτοπωτάτων μέντ' ἄν εἶη, 'It would be ridiculous!': cf. *Is.* x 13): καί following demonstratives: corrective μὲν οὖν (five times in the speeches attributed to Demosthenes, never in the remaining orators).<sup>4</sup>

It is sometimes, perhaps, possible to detect a difference between the usage of the Assembly and that of the lawcourts. Thus τε . . . τε, which is never found (apart from εἴτε . . . εἴτε, οὔτε . . . οὔτε) in the political speeches of Demosthenes or in inscriptions of the classical period, occurs 36 times in the forensic speeches attributed to him.<sup>5</sup> τοίνυν, again, is commoner in his forensic speeches, and the sole example of ἄτε<sup>6</sup> in oratory is in

<sup>1</sup> In prose ἦ is mainly found in dialogue.

<sup>2</sup> These differences will not appear surprising if we compare the narrow range of vocal inflexions used by an average speaker in the House of Commons with the numerous and subtle nuances employed on the Shakespearean stage and in everyday conversation.

<sup>3</sup> Curiously enough, however, καὶ γάρ τοι is almost confined to oratory.

<sup>4</sup> See further, p. lxxxi (6).

<sup>5</sup> But see p. lxxvii, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> The distribution of causal ἄτε (pp. 525-6) is extremely puzzling. As it is absent from tragedy, but fairly frequent in comedy, one might suppose

one of these (xliv24). In the use of particles, as in other respects, the diction of the lawcourts perhaps comes nearer to the usage of everyday life.

(6) *Colloquial and poetical uses.* I have observed that Greek drama reproduces, as far as one can tell, the free use of particles in everyday speech. Particles are on the whole, I think, rather more often employed in comedy than in tragedy. As regards individual particles and individual usages there is, broadly speaking, not much difference between tragic and comic practice. But there are cases where a particle or combination seems to have been felt to be beneath the dignity of tragedy, or (more rarely) too dignified for comedy. Thus μὲν γε is found in comedy and often in prose, but is probably unknown to tragedy.<sup>1</sup> ὥσπερ γε is almost confined to Aristophanes, Plato, and Xenophon. Certain uses of δέ γε (*q.v.* (2) and 4.ii) are almost confined to Aristophanes and Plato. δῆπου is frequent in comedy and prose, rare in tragedy. ἀλλ' ἦ, ὅτιῃ (metrically intractable, it is true), καὶ δῆτα in statements, exclamatory μέντ' ἄν, assentient μέντοι (with or without an echoed word), and μέντοι in questions, are all found in comedy and, except ὅτιῃ, in prose (mainly Plato and Xenophon), but not in tragedy. γέ τοι and καὶ . . . μέντοι are a good deal more frequent in comedy than in tragedy. Other uses which have the appearance of being colloquial are: ἀλλὰ τί (πῶς, etc.); after a rejected suggestion, 'Well, what?': ἀλλ' οὐδέ, 'why, not even': καλῶς γε ποιῶν, etc., in answers: οὐ γὰρ . . .; presenting an answer as obvious (Aristophanes and Xenophon).

In some cases a particle or usage already found in Homer is more frequent in comedy than in tragedy. Though Homer's dialect is an artificial one and his vocabulary is packed with sonorous compounds, the basis of his style is simple, and I suspect that the particles he employs were, in the main, those of everyday speech, and that some of them were only banished from

that it is colloquial. But von Essen cites eight examples (one is doubtful) from Thucydides. Ast cites 26 from Plato, and three times adds 'ad.': Sturz some 30 from Xenophon.

<sup>1</sup> This tells against the genuineness of *E.Fr.* 909, a very lame piece of work.

serious poetry when the Greek language became self-conscious. I believe, then, that such a word as *τιή*, found only in Homer, Hesiod, and Attic comedy, was colloquial from first to last, though it seems to have gone out of use before the days of Plato and Xenophon. *ἀτάρ*, and *δή* after imperatives, are commoner in Homer and comedy than in tragedy. The same is true of *δαί*, though textual uncertainties complicate matters here.

Euripides, as we should expect, is more colloquial in his use of particles than Aeschylus and Sophocles. Thus he uses *ἀτάρ* and *δαί*, and purely affirmative *γε* in answers (pp. 130-1, 133), more freely than they do, and, unlike them, adopts elliptical *ὡς τί δῆ . . .*; (paralleled by analogous idioms in Aristophanes and Plato), and *κᾶτα*, *κᾶπειτα* in indignant questions (also used by Aristophanes). *μέν* in questions (e.g. *Ἔγχεῖναι μὲν*;) is confined to Euripides, Aristophanes, and Plato, and certainly looks colloquial. So does *ὡς . . . γε* (Euripides and Aristophanes: rare in Aeschylus and Sophocles), though it is rare in prose also. *οὐ γὰρ ἀλλά* is confined to the Iambographers, comedy, Euripides, and Plato: *γούν* in exclamations, to Euripides and Aristophanes. I have observed that *δή* following imperatives is rare in tragedy: but *ἄκουε δή νυν* (never in Aeschylus, once in Sophocles) is a common Euripidean formula. Assentient *γάρ τοι* following a demonstrative, otherwise confined to Aristophanes and Xenophon, is found once in Euripides. *τοι* in soliloquies and asides (obviously a homely use, if *τοι* means 'you know') occurs once or twice in Euripides, otherwise in Aristophanes only. *οὐ τί που* questions are characteristic of Euripides and Aristophanes.

But Aeschylus does not shrink from an occasional colloquialism in this respect, any more than in others. *τί δ' ἄλλο γ' ἤ, οὐδὲν ἄλλο γ' ἤ*, certainly look colloquial: yet the first is found in a chorus (*Th.* 852), the second, on the lips of a queen (*Pers.* 209): and Aeschylus is the only tragedian to use the Aristophanic *μάλλά*.

Contrariwise, certain particles and usages which we find in Homer, and which in him were not, perhaps, associated with any special elevation of style, are in later Greek mainly or wholly confined to serious poetry. Here it is natural that Aeschylus, whose tragedies were 'slices from the great banquet of Homer', should stand nearer than the other tragedians to

Epic usage. He, alone of the three, uses concessive *περ* without a participle, and separates *καί* from *περ* in *καίπερ*: he uses *ἤδέ* more freely than the others: he uses fairly often, even in dialogue, *ὅς τε* (Epic *τε*), which is rarely found, in lyrics only, in Sophocles and Euripides. All these usages are virtually speaking absent from comedy and from prose. The following uses also are, in the main, peculiar to serious poetry:

*εἰ γάρ* wishes: *δέ* postponed after apostrophe: *ἦ*, affirmative and interrogative (except in combination with other particles):<sup>1</sup> omission of *μέν* before *δέ* in the first limb of an anaphora (very rare in comedy: sometimes in Herodotus and Plato): *γε μὲν δῆ*: *τε* in anaphora: *οὐ . . . οὔτε*: *οὔτε . . . οὐ* (twice in Herodotus): *εἴτε* for *εἴτε . . . εἴτε*: *οὔτε* for *οὔτε . . . οὔτε*: *τοιγάρ*.

A few Epic particles or combinations pass entirely, or almost entirely, out of usage, even poetical usage. Witness the extinction, complete or virtually complete, of *αὐτάρ*, *ἡμὲν*, *ιδέ*, *ἦ τοι μὲν*, and (except in one or two specialized usages) Epic *τε*. There are a few curious Epicisms in the Hippocratic corpus: *ἠδέ* (on Galen's authority), and in the *de Victu* *δέ τε*, *καί τε*. For Epicisms in Herodotus, see pp. 524-5.

In other cases, again, the dividing line comes, not between the high and the low style, but between prose and verse (including comedy). Thus the following are either wholly avoided in verse or far rarer in verse than in prose:<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *ἦ που* in the *a fortiori* sense is common in prose as well as in verse. So, too, is *ἦ μὴν* introducing an oath. It is not surprising that an archaic and poetical word should be used in a solemn legal formula ('So help me God!'): and I think that *ἦ μὴν* always suggested an oath to a Greek: *Ar. Kaz. 104* 'Ἡ μὴν κόβαλα γ' ἐστίν, 'I swear it's rubbish'. Curiously enough, interrogative *ἦ γάρ*, *ἦ καί* etc used by the tragedians, Plato, and Xenophon, but not by Aristophanes. It is difficult to believe that any poetical colour attaches to them in Plato and Xenophon. Were they, perhaps, regarded as poetical in the fifth century, but introduced into everyday speech in the fourth? Similarly the virtual restriction of *οὔτοι* in Aristophanes to oaths is curious, in view of the commonness of *τοι* in his plays, and of the unrestricted use of *οὔτοι* in fourth-century prose. Perhaps *οὔτοι* had a solemnity in the fifth century which it subsequently lost.

<sup>2</sup> The reason for this grouping, by which comedy is ranged with tragedy in contradistinction to prose, is not easy to find. In no case does metrical convenience appear to have much to do with the matter. *οὐ μὲν ἄλλα* is not intractable metrically, and if *τοιγάρτοι* can be fitted into an iambic line, why



οὐ μὴν ἀλλά: εἰ ἄρα: ὡς ἄρα: τὶ δέ; (transitional): καὶ . . . δέ: γε δὴ: δὴ following final conjunctions: καὶ δὴ καί: καί in causal and final clauses: corresponsive καὶ . . . καί in subordinate and in main clause respectively: duplicated μέν: ἀλλὰ μὴν: οὖν with indefinite relatives: apodotic ἀλλ' οὖν: δ' οὖν at the end of a series of details, and resumptive.

Contrariwise, one or two uses are commoner in tragedy and comedy than in prose: ἀλλά meaning 'at least': δ' ἀλλά: ἢ μὴν in its general use, as distinct from its special use in oaths: permissive δ' οὖν (which one would expect to find in Plato and Xenophon).

(7) *Individual preferences.* The element of personal choice has played some part in the differences of period, dialect, and genre which I have discussed above. We have seen that authors do not always remain true to type in their use of particles: that an Attic writer, for example, may draw on Ionic or Doric usage, an orator on colloquial usage, a dramatist with his head full of Homer on Epic usage. There remain a number of cases where a writer employs particles in a way which is not merely alien to the period, dialect, or genre in which he writes, but peculiar, as far as our knowledge goes, to himself. Caution is necessary here. Only a fraction of ancient Greek literature survives, and if we had the whole of it in our hands many uses which are at present only found in a single author would no doubt be found in others too. But the evidence of the facts, and considerations of general probability, warrant us in hazarding the guess that, even if we possessed the whole literature, instances of personal preference would remain, and that, just as authors had their favourite nouns, adjectives, and verbs, e.g. Aesch. γοεδνός, τιμαλφεῖν (cf. Schol. *Eu.* 626), Eur. ὄρφνη, πίτυλος, ἐξώπιος (cf. Sandys on *Ba.* 638), so, too, they had their favourite particles. That a particle is too colourless a thing to be the object of a personal predilection no one who has read Greek literature with understanding will affirm. Nor are such

not καὶ δὴ καί? In the case of οὐ μὴν ἀλλά and ἀλλὰ μὴν, the late appearance of most μὴν compounds in Attic literature may be the cause of the cleavage between verse and prose: and it is probable that other of these differences are differences of period rather than of genre.

predilections lacking in modern languages. Anatole France parodied Ferdinand Brunetière's fondness for *car*.<sup>1</sup> One of the best lecturers I ever listened to (an artillery captain, not a don) had a curious love of 'consequently therefore'. His audience used to count the number of times it came in an hour's lecture, and the record total was a very high one.

Some of the subjoined examples of individual preference are very striking: others less so. But here, again, I have preferred to include what is of possible, though doubtful, value.<sup>2</sup>

Aeschylus. γε μὲν δὴ (commoner than in the other tragedians): τοι in choruses (rare in the other tragedians).<sup>3</sup>

Sophocles. ἀλλὰ . . . μὲν δὴ (not in Aeschylus, Euripides, or Aristophanes): δέ used as a strong adversative, for ἀλλά or μὲν οὖν: οὐ δὴ introducing an incredulous question, 'surely not': οὐ γὰρ δὴ clearing the ground by eliminating at least one possibility (especially common in Sophocles and Thucydides): postponement of ἢ που: postponement of οὖν (whereas Aeschylus freely postpones δέ).

Euripides. ἀλλά in hypophora (characteristic of the typically Euripidean ἀγών): ἀλλ' εἶτα: μὲν . . . ἀλλ' ὅμως: ὥστε . . . γε, adding something to an affirmative answer: γε with the *ῥιζιτα etymologiae* in answers: δὲ δὴ preceding the interrogative in emphatic or crucial questions (also Aristophanes): καὶ δὴ introducing surprised questions (where other authors use simple καί): γοῦν giving a *pro tanto* reason for following a suggested course.

Aristophanes. γε following interrogatives: εἰ μὴ . . . γε: apodotic καῖτα, κάπειτα: καὶ μὴν responding to an invitation to speak, 'Very well, then' (also Plato): οὖν . . . δὴτα, οὐκουν . . . δὴτα in questions.

Herodotus. Anticipatory γάρ (Homer and Herodotus: but νῦν δὲ . . . γὰρ . . . οὖν (δὴ) is found in Plato: fusion of clauses is characteristic of Herodotus, though sometimes found in Thucydides also): οὐδέ as an emphatic negative, 'not at all': οὗτος

<sup>1</sup> See P. Shorey in *C. Phil.* xxviii.2.132.

<sup>2</sup> I include some examples of preferences common to two writers: also some cases where the absence or rarity of an idiom in a particular writer, who might be expected to employ it freely, calls for remark.

<sup>3</sup> This tells against the conjecture τοι in *S. Ph.* 680.

*δή* referring to a person previously mentioned: οὕτω (ὡδε) *δή* τι: καὶ *δή* καί (conversely, rare in Xenophon): τε *δή*: εἰ καί = *siquidem*.

Hippocrates. Progressive *ἀλλά*.

Thucydides. *δή* with superlatives: οὐ μέντοι (while Isocrates prefers οὐ μὴν, and Demosthenes uses both indifferently).

Plato. *ἀλλά* substantiating an hypothesis: οὐ μέντοι *ἀλλά* (once in Thucydides): οὐδέ negating an idea *in toto* (also Aristotle): *ἀλλὰ* *δή*: ἵνα *δή* (also Herodotus): postponement of interrogative ἦ: καί in anaphora: positive adversative μὴν: καὶ μὴν substantiating a condition (also Sophocles): *ἀλλὰ* . . . μὲν (p. 378): μὲν *δή*, affirmative and adversative (also Xenophon: pp. 392-3): interrogative οὐκοῦν (also Xenophon, in Socratic works): ἐπεὶ τοι καί (also Euripides).

Xenophon. Inceptive *ἀλλὰ* and τοίνυν: καὶ γὰρ οἶν = τοιγαροῦν: τί δέ, εἰ μὴ . . . γε . . . ; καὶ . . . δέ (especially with a repeated word): καὶ τίς (πῶς, etc.) *δή* . . . ; γε μὴν (the most remarkable of all instances of individual preference): μὲν *δή* in anaphora (p. 258): οὐ μὲν *δή* in answers, following an oath (p. 392): *ἀλλὰ* . . . μὲν (distinct from the Platonic use: pp. 365-6): progressive *ἀλλὰ* μέντοι: γε μέντοι: καὶ . . . μέντοι: transitional τί γάρ; ('Well, and what of this?': the absence of this idiom from Plato is remarkable): δέ τοι. μέντ' ἄν is surprisingly absent from Xenophon.

Aristotle. Appositional γάρ.

Antiphon. τοι (a puzzling preference: that this most unbending and austere of orators should adopt towards the jury the kind of attitude that τοι implies, seems somehow not to fit).

Lysias. καὶ μὲν *δή* (common also in Pl. *Phdr.* 230E-34C, a passage either written by Lysias or composed in his manner).

Demosthenes. οὐ μὴν *ἀλλά* (also Isocrates): *ἀλλὰ* μὴν in calling for evidence (also Isaeus): *ἀλλὰ* μὴν in enthymemes.

With regard to Demosthenes I must warn the reader that throughout this book I have usually spoken as though Demosthenes were the author of all the speeches that bear his name, except for one or two that are very obviously not his work. I do not, in fact, wish to suggest anything so unorthodox. But I shrank, both here and in most other cases, from the task of attempting to separate the genuine from the spurious. I give below a list

of the speeches attributed to Demosthenes in which usages are to be found which appear to be characteristic of his style, as contrasted with that of the other orators (though, as I have observed, (1) and (3) are shared by him with Isocrates and Isaeus respectively). I give arabic figures, as a string of roman numerals is confusing to the eye: and I bracket the speeches usually held to be spurious.<sup>1</sup>

(1) οὐ μὴν *ἀλλά*: 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, [10], [12], 14, 15, 16, 19, 22, 23, [26], [34], 37, 38, 41, 45, 54, 57, [60].

(2) καὶ *δή*: 2, 4, 5, 18, 20, 23, 29, 39, 55.

(3) *ἀλλὰ* μὴν in a transition to the calling of evidence: 19, 20, 21, 27, 29, 30, 36, 37, 38, 45, [46].

(4) *ἀλλὰ* μὴν introducing the major premise of an enthymeme: 1, 3, 18, 21, 24, [25], [34], 37, 41, [46], 55, 57, [60].

(5) μέντ' ἄν: 1, 8, 18, 19, 21, [34], [40].

(6) μὲν οὔν (corrective): 18, [25], [42]. Here it may be observed that, of five instances, three are in 18: and that 25 is regarded by Blass as genuine (see footnote below).

The speeches which the Oxford editors regard as genuine cover 767 pages of their text: the speeches they regard as spurious, 411 pages. In view of this proportion, my statistics show that most of the uses that I have styled Demosthenic are markedly commoner in the genuine speeches than in the spurious. Their occasional appearance in the spurious speeches may be attributed to the influence which Demosthenes exercised on his contemporaries, an influence very clearly seen in Deinarchus's work.

The group of speeches, 46, 47, 49, 50, 52, 53, 59, which Blass and Thalheim hold to be the work of one writer (perhaps Apollodorus), present two peculiarities in the use of particles. In four places (xlvi 15: 17: lix 17, 79) μὲν . . . τοίνυν, with a word intervening, is used in resuming the speech after the recitation of evidence, instead of the common μὲν τοίνυν. This split form is occasionally found in Plato (p. 580), but I know of no other instance in oratory. For the frequency of τε . . . καὶ in these speeches, see p. 513.

<sup>1</sup> Except in the case of the *Zenothemis* (32), which does not occur in my lists, the Oxford Text agrees with Thalheim in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Demosthenes*. Blass regards 25 (the first speech against Aristogeiton) as Demosthenic (an 'Uebungsrede').

These examples show that the Greek writers are often highly individual in their employment of particles. This is a consideration which may well be borne in mind when discussing whether, for example, Thucydides can have used *καὶ . . . τε* in the sense 'and also', or Aristotle *τε γάρ* in the sense *etenim* (pp. 535-6). Such abnormalities, which recur reasonably often in particular authors (interrogative *γε* in Aristophanes (pp. 124-5) is perhaps another instance), have a certain right to be taken seriously. But the frequency of the examples, and their homogeneity, must be appreciable. On these tests, we can, I think, reject the possibility of Sophocles' having used *τε* in the sense of 'also', (p. 536). Decision in such cases is precarious. And it is, in general, extremely difficult to decide, when discussing particles or any other element of language, how far the abnormal is to be accepted. I feel that in the course of writing this book I have developed a certain avidity for the recondite, and perhaps admitted out-of-the-way usages too readily here and there. They are often like a rare flower that a botanist thinks he espies in the distance, only to find, on coming nearer, that it is a buttercup with two petals missing. But the quest is not always in vain, and a genuine rarity sometimes rewards the seeker.

## Ἄλλά

Ἄλλά presents singularly few difficulties. Its clear and unchallenged etymology (from the neuter plural of ἄλλος, with change of accent<sup>1</sup>) is in complete accordance with its usage. The primary sense of 'otherness', diversity, contrast, runs through all the shades of meaning, from the strongest to the weakest: from 'but', or even 'no', to 'further', 'again'.

I. General use, as an adversative connecting particle. The adversative force of ἄλλά is usually strong (eliminative or objecting): less frequently, the particle is employed as a weaker (balancing) adversative. The distinction in force between ἄλλά and δέ is well illustrated in Pl. *R.* 335A τὸν δὲ δοκοῦντα μὲν, ὄντα δὲ μῆ, δοκεῖν ἄλλὰ μῆ εἶναι φίλον: that between ἄλλά and μέντοι in Pl. *Cra.* 432A.

(i) Eliminative, substituting the true for the false. (i) Here usually, in the nature of things, either (a) the ἄλλά clause (or sentence), or (b) the clause to which it is opposed, is negative. (a) Pl. *Phdr.* 229D ἐκείθεν, ἄλλ' οὐκ ἐνθένδε, ἠρπάσθη: 260A ἐκ τούτων εἶναι τὸ πείθειν, ἄλλ' οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας: Isoc. *inv.* 137 ταῦτα πάντα γέγονε διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἄνοιαν, ἄλλ' οὐ διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμιν. (b) S. *Ant.* 523 οὔτοι συνέχθειν, ἀλλὰ συμφιλεῖν ἔφυν: Th. *i.* 2.1 φαίνεται γὰρ ἡ νῦν Ἑλλάς καλουμένη οὐ πάλαι βεβαίως οἰκουμένη, ἀλλὰ μεταναστάσεις τε οὔσαι τὰ πρότερα: D. *i.* 5 οὐ περὶ δόξης . . . πολεμοῦσιν, ἄλλ' ἀναστάσεως . . . τῆς πατρίδος: Hdt. *i.* 88: Pl. *Lj.* 223A. (a) and (b) combined. Pl. *Pt.* 283E Διττὰς ἄρα ταύτας οὐσίας καὶ κρίσεις τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ τοῦ μικροῦ θετέον, ἄλλ' οὐχ ὡς ἔφαμεν ἄρτι πρὸς ἄλληλα μόνον δεῖν, ἀλλ' ὡσπερ νῦν εἴρηται μᾶλλον τὴν μὲν πρὸς ἄλληλα λεκτέον, τὴν δ' αὖ πρὸς τὸ μέτριον: *R.* 443C: *Smp.* 211E. (ii) ἄλλ' οὐ and καὶ οὐ.<sup>2</sup> The distinction between the two

<sup>1</sup> Or rather loss of accent. For the presence of a grave accent denotes nothing more than the absence of an acute or circumflex accent: see Wackernagel, *Beiträge zur Lehre vom griechischen Akzent*, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> I owe much here to Dr. R. W. Chapman's analysis of Platonic usages.

theoretically resides herein, that, strictly speaking, ἀλλ' οὐ expresses the incompatibility of two ideas, καὶ οὐ merely adds a negative idea to a positive. Hence the frequent use of ἀλλ' οὐ in contrasting what Chapman calls 'permanent opposites': ὕπαρ ἀλλ' οὐκ ὄντα: δωριστὶ ἀλλ' οὐκ ἰαστί: ἐμπειρίαν ἀλλ' οὐ τέχνην: ἀγαθὰ ἀλλὰ μὴ κακά. Hence also, as Chapman observes, the 'slackening of interest' in the ἀλλ' οὐ clause, which merely restates negatively something already stated positively: whereas καὶ οὐ adds something really new and important. E. *Heracle*.270 Κλαίων ἄρ' ἄψη τῶνδε κοῦκ ἐς ἀμβολάς ('and soon, too'): Pl. *R.*372A καὶ σκεπτέον γε καὶ οὐκ ἀποκνητέον (you can carry out an examination in a half-hearted way): 397E ἐν μόνῃ τῇ τοιαύτῃ πόλει τόν τε σκυτοτόμον σκυτοτόμον εὐρήσομεν καὶ οὐ κυβερνήτην πρὸς τῇ σκυτοτομίᾳ ('a cobbler, and nothing more than a cobbler'): Lg.809A τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα οἷς λέγομεν καὶ μὴ κολάζοντα. In rhetorical questions the order of relative importance is reversed, and the ἀλλ' οὐ clause bears the stress. Pl. *La.*185A ἡ περὶ μικροῦ οἴεσθε νυνὶ κινδυνεύειν . . . ἀλλ' οὐ περὶ τούτου τοῦ κτήματος ὃ τῶν ὑμετέρων μέγιστον ὄν τυγχάνει; R.366C. In English, καὶ οὐ is usually best rendered 'and not', ἀλλ' οὐ 'not'. 'I want some blotting paper; red, and not too thick.' 'I want some blotting paper: red, not white.' Greek, like English, often dispenses with a connecting particle altogether: E. *IT*369 Αἰδης Ἀχιλλεύς ἦν ἄρ', οὐχ ὁ Πηλέως.

The above distinction between ἀλλ' οὐ and καὶ οὐ is not, however, by any means always observed, even in the case of 'permanent opposites'. Deviations should be attributed, perhaps, to mere indifference rather than to any subtler motive. S. *Ph.*91 πρὸς βίαν . . . καὶ μὴ δόλοισιν: OT58 γνωτὰ κοῦκ ἄγνωτα: 1275 πολλάκις τε κοῦχ ἄπαξ: E. *Cyc.*211 ἄνω καὶ μὴ κάτω: Hdt.iii.25 ἐμμανῆς τε ἔων καὶ οὐ φρενήρης: 115 Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ οὐ βάρβαρον: Pl. *Prt.*337B μάλιστ' ἂν οὕτως . . . εὐδοκιμοῖτε καὶ οὐκ ἐπαινοῖσθε—εὐδοκιμεῖν μὲν γὰρ . . . ἐπαινεῖσθαι δὲ . . . (but there is no sense of substitution here, οὐκ ἐπαινοῖσθε being merely a parenthetical afterthought: hence neither ἀλλ' οὐ nor καὶ οὐ is really appropriate, and no connecting particle at all is needed. So, below, μάλιστ' ἂν οὕτως εὐφραίνοιμεθα, οὐχ ἠδοίμεσθα—εὐφραίνεσθαι μὲν γὰρ ἔστιν . . .): K.366C πολλήν που συγγνώμην ἔχει καὶ οὐκ ὀργίζεται τοῖς ἀδίκους: 454C ἀνερωτῶν

ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς εἰ ἢ αὐτῇ φύσει φαλακρῶν καὶ κομητῶν καὶ οὐχ ἢ ἐναντία: 602B ἀλλ' εἶναι παιδιάν τινα καὶ οὐ σπουδὴν τὴν μίμησιν: X. *An.*ii.1.10 τί δεῖ αὐτὸν αἰτεῖν καὶ οὐ λαβεῖν ἐλθόντα; Sometimes ἀλλ' οὐ and καὶ οὐ are used indifferently in closely parallel and nearly situated passages. Pl. *Chrm.*174E Ἡ κἂν ὑγιαίνειν ποιοῖ . . . αὐτῇ, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἡ ἰατρικῇ; καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ τῶν τεχνῶν αὐτῇ ἂν ποιοῖ, καὶ οὐχ αἱ ἄλλαι τὸ αὐτῆς ἔργον ἐκάστη; R.493E αὐτὸ τὸ καλὸν ἀλλὰ μὴ τὰ πολλὰ καλὰ, ἢ αὐτό τι ἕκαστον καὶ μὴ τὰ πολλὰ ἕκαστα, ἔσθ' ὅπως πλῆθος ἀνέξεται ἢ ἠγῆσεται εἶναι; S. *OT*1230: *Ph.*1349: *OC*397: E. *Hipp.*1043: *Heracle.*531, 944: *Supp.*684: *Hel.*1185, 1529: *Or.*575: *Rh.*967: *Ar. V.*786: *Av.*378, 1650: *Hdt.*191, 173, 188: viii.16.2: 134.1. See Jebb on S. *OT*58: Pearson in *C. Q.*1930, p. 162. For τε καὶ coupling opposites see τε I.5.

(iii) Certain varieties of the use of ἀλλά following a negative clause deserve especial notice.

(a) οὐ μόνον (οὐχ ὅπως) . . . ἀλλὰ καί is too familiar to need illustration. For this we occasionally find οὐ μόνον . . . ἀλλά, without καί. S. *Ph.*556 κοῦ μόνον βουλευματα, ἀλλ' ἔργα δρώμεν': 52: X. *Mem.*i.6.2 ἱμάτιον ἡμφίεσαι οὐ μόνον φαῦλον, ἀλλὰ τὸ αὐτὸ θέρους τε καὶ χειμῶνος: Pl. *Phdr.*233E οὐδὲ τοῖς προσαιτούσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τοῦ πράγματος ἀξίοις: D.xix.276: xxxvi.29: *Aeschin.*ii.62: *Is.*vi.21 οὐχ ὅπως . . . ἀλλά: Pl. *Ap.*40D μὴ ὅτι . . . ἀλλά: D.xix.265 οὐχ ὅτι . . . ἀλλά. In our less logical English the omission of 'also' is the rule rather than the exception. But in cases where the first idea is included in the second, as the less in the greater, the omission of καί is logically correct. *Isoc.*v.146 οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ τούτων . . . ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πάντων ὁμοίως: xii.87: D.xviii.26. (See Kühner, II.ii.257, and authorities there cited.) Conversely, in S. *Aj.*1313 καί is retained and μόνον omitted: ὄρα μὴ ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ σόν: Pl. *Phdr.*233B: in *Lys.*vi.13 καί, if sound, probably means 'actually'.

(b) In some passages ἀλλά following a negative clause appears to mean 'except' (like ἀλλ' ἢ): as we say in English 'no one but you'. The Aristotelian passages quoted in Bonitz's Index vary considerably in character. E. *N.*1176a22 ἡδέα δ' οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλλὰ τούτοις. Here (as Dr. W. D. Ross points out to me) the meaning is οὐχ ἡδέα ἀλλὰ τούτοις (ἡδέα): 'except' would be inaccurate and misleading rendering. In 1152b30 ἀλλά

obviously normal in sense. *Pol.* 1316b15 πολλῶν τε οὐσῶν αἰτιῶν . . . οὐ λέγει ἀλλὰ μίαν. Here, it is true, we can supply in thought πολλὰς after λέγει: but the ellipse is an artificial one. *Rh.* 1402a27 ἐν οὐδεμίᾳ τέχνῃ ἀλλ' ἐν ῥητορικῇ καὶ ἐριστικῇ. Here the rendering 'except' seems to be absolutely necessary, rhetoric being, *ex hypothesis*, an art. Outside Aristotle, I can find no parallel except *S.O.T.* 1332 ἐπαίσει δ' αὐτόχειρ νιν οὔτις ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τλάμων. Passages in which some form of ἄλλος precedes have been cited as parallel, but are really not so: ἄλλος makes the ἀλλά normal, 'no one else, but': e.g. *Hom.* θ312 οὐ τί μοι αἴτιος ἄλλος, ἀλλὰ τοκῆε δύω: *Φ*276. Nor, again, is *E.Hipp.* 638 parallel: as Hadley suggests, τό before μηδέν makes a vital difference: and the text is not entirely above suspicion. We

may perhaps assume an ellipse of some form of ἄλλος in the negative clause. The elliptical origin is forgotten, and ἀλλά is used as a mere synonym of πλὴν. The redundant form πλὴν ἀλλά is found several times in Hippocrates: *Vict.* 41 ἐπὶ δὲ γάλακτι τρόφιμοι μὲν πάντες, πλὴν ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν οἶον ἴσθησι (ἀτάρ, for πλὴν ἀλλά, some MSS.): 85 μεθυσθῆναι δὲ ἅπαξ ἢ δὶς, πλὴν ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐς ὑπερβολήν (text uncertain): *Epid.* v89 (πλὴν ἀλλ' *om.C*). Kühner (II ii 285, Anm. 5) quotes examples from Lucian. For πλὴν ἀλλ' ἢ, see ἀλλ' ἢ (ii).

(c) Thucydides sometimes inserts a comparative adverb in the negative clause, and it has been said (e.g. *L. & S. s.v. ἀλλά*, I. 3) that in such cases ἀλλά has the force of ἢ. It seems more natural to regard οὐκ . . . ἀλλά as the primary construction, and the comparative as secondary and redundant. (So Klotz i 17.) *Th.* i 83.2 καὶ ἔστιν ὁ πόλεμος οὐχ ὄπλων τὸ πλεον ἀλλὰ δαπάνης: ii 43.2 τὸν τάφον ἐπισημότατον, οὐκ ἐν ᾧ κείνται μᾶλλον, ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧ ἡ δόξα αὐτῶν . . . καταλείπεται: v 99.

(d) The colloquial (see Tucker on *A.Ch.* 918) μάλλά (μὴ ἀλλά<sup>1</sup>), 'No, don't say that, but', 'No, rather' (Aristophanes only, except for μὴ ἀλλά in *A.Ch.* 918, retained by most modern

<sup>1</sup> Kühner (I i 219), following Ahrens (*De Crasi et Aphaeresi*), regards μάλλά as representing, not μὴ ἀλλά, but μὰ ἀλλά (the successive stages being οὐ μὰ Δί' ἀλλά, μὰ Δί' ἀλλά, μὰ ἀλλίῃ), and would write μὴ ἀλλά (synizesis) where an imperative follows (cf. also *Ar.Th.* 288). In *Ar.Ach.* 292 Meineke's μάλλ' ἀκούσατε seems, in itself, quite possible, though it does not open the speech.

editors, and *Pl.Alc.* I 114E (both with imperative)), has usually very much the force of μὲν οὖν, contradicting, or substituting a stronger form of expression. *Ar.Au.* 109 Μῶν ἡλιαστά;—Μάλλὰ θατέρου τρόπου, ἀπηλιαστά: *Ra.* 745 Χαίρεις, ἰκετεύω;—Μάλλ' ἐποπτεύειν δοκῶ: 103, 611, 751: *Ach.* 458 (with imperative): *Th.* 646. In almost all cases a question precedes.

(e) A rhetorical question often takes the place of a negative clause. *E.Med.* 310 σὺ γὰρ τί μ' ἠδίκηκας; . . . ἀλλ' ἐμὸν πόσιν μισῶ ('No, it is my husband I hate'): *Heracl.* 467 τί γὰρ γέροντος ἀνδρὸς Εὐρύσθει πλεον θανόντος; ἀλλὰ τοῦσδε βούλεται κτανεῖν: *X.Mem.* i 2.2 πῶς οὖν αὐτὸς ὦν τοιοῦτος ἄλλους ἂν ἡ ἀσεβεῖς ἢ . . . ἐποίησεν; ἀλλ' ἔπαυσε μὲν τούτων πολλούς: *An.* iv 6.19 καὶ τί δεῖ σὲ ἰέναι . . .; ἀλλὰ ἄλλους πέμψον: *S.El.* 807.

(2) Balancing, sometimes answering a μὲν in the preceding clause: in the main, a poetical use. The strong adversative particle disturbs the equipoise between the clauses, and the second clause states a consideration which goes some way towards invalidating the first: 'Aye, but'.

(i) Without preceding μὲν. *Hom.* Γ150 γῆραι δὴ πολέμοιο πεπαυμένοι, ἀλλ' ἀγορηταὶ ἐσθλοὶ ('but, for all that, good counsellors'): ι 27 τρηχεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴ κουροτρόφος: *Archil.Fr.* 103 πόλλ' οἶδ' ἀλώπηξ, ἀλλ' ἐχίνος ἐν μέγα: *S.Aj.* 1355 ὄδ' ἐχθρὸς ἀνὴρ, ἀλλὰ γενναῖός ποτ' ἦν: *Ant.* 1059 σοφὸς σὺ μάντις, ἀλλὰ τὰδικεῖν φιλῶν: *OC* 208 ὦ ξένοι, ἀπόπολις: ἀλλὰ μὴ . . . μ' ἀνέρη τίς εἰμι: *E.El.* 293 λόγους ἀτερπεῖς, ἀλλ' ἀναγκαίους κλύειν: *Ph.* 918 Σοί γ' (κακά), ἀλλὰ πατρίδι μεγάλα καὶ σωτήρια: *Ar.Ec.* 201 Ἀργεῖος ἀμαθής, ἀλλ' Ἱερώνυμος σοφός: *Pl.Euthphr.* 3A Βουλοίμην ἄν . . . ἀλλ' ὀρρωδῶ μὴ τούναντίον γένηται: *R.* 348A Ἥκουσα, ἔφη, ἀλλ' οὐ πείθομαι: *Chrm.* 154A Οἶσθά που σύ γε, ἔφη, ἀλλ' οὐπω ἐν ἡλικίᾳ ἦν πρὶν σε ἀπιέναι: *Th.* 159B: *Smp.* 179C.

(ii) μὲν . . . ἀλλά. *Hom.* Γ214 παῦρα μὲν, ἀλλὰ μάλα λιγέως: *E80i* μικρὸς μὲν ἔην δέμας, ἀλλὰ μαχητής: *S.Tr.* 328 κακὴ μὲν αὐτῇ γ', ἀλλὰ συγγνώμην ἔχει: *E.Alc.* 749 πολλοὺς μὲν ἤδη . . . ἀλλὰ τοῦδ' . . .: *Ar.V.* 482 ἀλλὰ νῦν μὲν οὐδὲν ἀλγεῖς, ἀλλ' ὅταν . . .: *CalliasFr.* 19: *Pl.* 0.9.51: *P.* 1.23: *A.Pers.* 179: *C4.* 747: *E.Hec.* 382, 799: *Hel.* 281, 510: *Rh.* 65: *Ar.Au.* 1118: *Hp.*

*Fract.* 42 ἐλαχιστάκις μὲν τοῦτο γίνεται, ἀλλὰ τί ἂν ἐξαπιναίῃ ἐκπάλησις οὐκ ἐκβάλλοι; *Hdt.* viii 46.1 ἦσαν μὲν σφι καὶ ἄλλαι πεπληρωμένοι νέες, ἀλλὰ τῆσι μὲν τὴν ἐωυτῶν ἐφύλασσον: *Pl. Cra.* 431C γράμματα μὲν καὶ εἰκόνας ἐργάζεται καὶ οὗτος, ἀλλὰ πονηράς; *Prtm.* 154A ἔστι μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἔχον τε καὶ γεγονός. ἀλλὰ τί αὐτὸ περὶ τοῦ γίγνεσθαι αὐτὸ . . . ; *Thit.* 146B ἠκιστα μὲν . . . τὸ τοιοῦτον ἂν εἴη ἀγροικόν, ἀλλὰ τῶν μεираκίων τι κέλευέ σοι ἀποκρίνεσθαι: *X. Cyr.* vii 1.16 ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ καλῶς ἔχειν· ἀλλὰ τὰ πλάγια λυπεῖ με: *Arist. Rh.* 1372a8 μὴ δοῦναι δίκην, ἢ δοῦναι μὲν ἀλλ' ἐλάττω τὴν ζημίαν εἶναι τοῦ κέρδους: *D.* viii 52 τὰ μὲν ἀλλ' εἰσώσω· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν . . . (viii 63: ix 26: xviii 139: xix 145, 331: lvii 63 are very similar): *Pl. R.* 348E: *Phdr.* 240A: *Lg.* 655C: *Prt.* 344A-B: *Grg.* 511B: *Phd.* 91D: *La.* 191E: *Thg.* 125E-126A: *Arist. Pol.* 1260a14, 1278a6: *Ant.* i 18: *Isoc.* iv 145: *D.* xlv 11 (In *Pl. R.* 400C, 463A, 497C a second speaker's expression of assent intervenes between the two clauses).

*Hp. Gland.* 8 contains a curious example of μὲν . . . ἀλλά without any adversative sense: *μασχάλησι δὲ ξυρρέει μὲν καὶ ἐνταῦθα, ἀλλ' ὅταν πλήθος ἦ, δριμεῖς ἰχώρες, καὶ ὧδε γίνονται φύματα.* (Cf. II.9, Progressive.)

μὲν . . . ἀλλ' ὅμως (μὲν, ἀλλ' ὅμως) is particularly common in Euripides, and occurs also in Sophocles and Aristophanes. It is not found in Aeschylus, nor, I think, in prose. *E. Hipp.* 47 εὐκλείης μὲν, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἀπόλλυται: *Hel.* 1232 χρόνια μὲν ἦλθεν, ἀλλ' ὅμως αἰνῶ τάδε: *Ba.* 1027 ὡς σε στενάζω, δούλος ὢν μὲν, ἀλλ' ὅμως: *Ar. Nu.* 1363 μόλις μὲν, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἠνεσχόμην: *Ra.* 602 ὅτι μὲν οὖν . . . εὐ οἶδ' ὅτι. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐγὼ παρέξω: *Ec.* 413 ὀρᾶτε μὲν με . . . ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐρῶ: *S. El.* 450: *OT* 998: *Ph.* 1373: *E. Alc.* 353: *Heracl.* 928: *Hipp.* 795: *Hec.* 825: *Ph.* 438, 1069: *Or.* 1023: *Ba.* 776: *IA* 688, 904: *Tr.* 366: *El.* 753: *HF* 1365: *Ar. Ach.* 956.

Passages in which ἀλλά answers a negative μὲν clause are somewhere on the border-line between (1) and (2). *Ar. V.* 765 ἐκείσε μὲν μηκέτι βιάδιζ', ἀλλ' ἐνθάδε αὐτοῦ μένων δίκασε τοῖσιν οἰκέταις (where μὲν subtly represents the suggested concession as a bargain, not as a surrender: 'enjoy your trial all the same, although not going to the courts'); *Anaxilas, Fr.* 22.23 αἰ λαλοῦσ' ἀπλῶς μὲν οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἐν αἰνιγμοῖς τισιν (where μὲν certainly seems pretty otiose): *Hp. Fract.* 29 πεπιέχθω μὲν μή, ἀλλὰ ὅσον

έρμασμού ἐνεκεν τοῦ ἔλκεος προσκείσθω (where μὲν is otiose unless προσκείσθω can imply something like pressure, 'fit closely': 'though there should be no compression, they (the compresses) should be applied firmly', Withington): *Hdt.* ii 49 ἀτρεκέως μὲν οὐ πάντα συλλαβῶν τὸν λόγον ἔφηνε, ἀλλ' οἱ ἐπιγενόμενοι τούτῳ σοφισταὶ μεζόνως ἐξέφηναν: *Pl. La.* 182E εἰ δ' ἔστιν μὲν μὴ μάθημα, ἀλλ' ἐξαπατῶσιν οἱ ὑπισχνούμενοι (where μὲν . . . μὴ μέντοι follows in the second alternative).

(3) In a great number of passages, intermediate between (1) and (2), ἀλλά simply expresses opposition, and it is left undetermined whether the opposite ideas are, or are not, incompatible. These examples occur most frequently in answers, less frequently in continuous speech, where the milder καίτοι is more regular. Some of the instances I shall give incline to (1), others to (2): a pedantically rigid delimitation is not possible or desirable.

(i) In answers, objecting to the previous speaker's words or behaviour. *S. El.* 731 'Αλλ', ὦ φίλη, τούτων μὲν ὧν ἔχεις χεροῖν τύμβῳ προσάψης μηδέν ('Nay, dear one'): *Ant.* 1253 Οὐκ οἶδ' . . . —'Αλλ' εἰσόμεσθα ('But we will know'): *E. Cyc.* 688 κερτομεῖτέ μ' ἐν κακοῖς.—'Αλλ' οὐκέτ': *Alc.* 44 Καὶ νοσφιεῖς με τοῦδε δευτέρου νεκροῦ; —'Αλλ' οὐδ' ἐκείνον πρὸς βίαν σ' ἀφειλόμην: *Ar. Nu.* 33 'Απαγε τὸν ἵππον ἐξαλίσας οἰκάδε.—'Αλλ' ὦ μέλ' ἐξήλικας ἐμέ γ' ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν: *Ach.* 407-8 ὑπάκουσον . . . —'Αλλ' οὐ σχολή.—'Αλλ' ἐκκυκλήθητ'.—'Αλλ' ἀδύνατον.—'Αλλ' ὅμως: *S. Tr.* 67, 981: *Ph.* 839: *E. El.* 577: *IT* 754: *Ar. Nu.* 660: *Pl. Grg.* 473B βούλει καὶ τοῦτο ἐλέγχειν; —'Αλλ' ἔτι τοῦτ' ἐκείνου χαλεπώτερόν ἐστιν . . . ἐξελέγξαι: *R.* 396B: *X. An.* v 8.7 τὰ δὲ τῶν ἐμῶν συσκήνων σκευὴ διέρριψας.—'Αλλ' ἢ μὲν διάρριψις . . . τοιαύτη τις ἐγένετο ('Yes, but').

(ii) In continuous speech. Common in Plato and the orators, rare in *unspoken* Greek (but cf. *Th.* i 11.2: 132.5: v 64.4: vi 31.3). Usually, but not always, the objection is to the speaker's own words. *S. Ph.* 497 πολλὰ γὰρ τοῖς ἰγμένοις ἔστελλον αὐτὸν . . . πέμψαντά μ' ἐκσῶσαι δόμους. ἀλλ' ἢ τέθνηκεν, ἢ . . . : *E. Tr.* 669 'I loathe a faithless wife. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πῶλος ἦτις ἂν διασυγῇ τῆς συντραφείσης, ραδίως ἔλξει ζυγόν' ('Why, even a colt'): *El.* 948 ὑβρίζεις, ὧν δὲ . . . ἄλλοι.

τ' ἀραρώς. ἀλλ' ἔμοιγ' εἴη πόσις μη παρθενωπός ('Nay, give me no girl-faced husband'): *Alc.* 832 ἀλλὰ σοῦ τὸ μὴ φράσαι...: *Med.* 550 εἶτα σοὶ μέγας φίλος καὶ παισὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖσιν—ἀλλ' ἔχ' ἥσυχος (checking Medea's angry gesture): 1051 *τολμητέον τὰδ'*. ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐμῆς κακῆς ('Nay, but fie on my craven spirit'): *Hipp.* 846 οἶον εἶδον ἄλγος δόμων, οὐ τλητὸν οὐδὲ ῥητόν. ἀλλ' ἀπωλόμην (a protest against the inevitable: 'Oh, I am undone'): *Ag. Ach.* 428 οὐ Βελλεροφόντης· ἀλλὰ κάκεινος μὲν ἦν χωλὸς προσαιτῶν ('Yet he too'): *Pl. Euthphr.* 3C φθονοῦσιν ἡμῖν πᾶσι τοῖς τοιοῦτοις. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν αὐτῶν χρὴ φροντίζειν, ἀλλ' ὁμόσε ἶέναι. Sometimes, like ἀτάρ or ἀλλὰ γάρ, marking a break-off in the thought. *E. Alc.* 1034 ἀλλ', ὥσπερ εἶπον, σοὶ μέλειν γυναῖκα χρή: *El.* 1123 παῦσαι λόγων τῶνδ'· ἀλλὰ τί μ' ἐκάλεις, τέκνον; *Ag. Ach.* 186 Οἱ δ' οὖν βοῶντων. ἀλλὰ τὰς σπονδὰς φέρεις; 1056 ἀλλ' αὐτῇ τίς ἔστιν; *Pax* 1061 *Μεμνήμεθα*. ἀλλ' οἴσθ' ὃ δρᾶσον; *E. Med.* 731.

A particular variety of this use is with the future indicative. The speaker breaks off his reflections, and announces his plan of action. Especially with verbs of motion. ἀλλ' εἶμι: *A. Ag.* 1313; *E. Heracl.* 678; *Ph.* 753, 1009; *IT* 636. ἀλλ' . . . ἄπειμι: *E. Hec.* 1054; *Ag. Th.* 457. Also *E. Ion* 76 ἀλλ' . . . βήσομαι: *Supp.* 1014 ἀλλὰ . . . ὀρμάσω; *Ag. Av.* 1162 ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἀποτρέχων ἀπονύψομαι: *Pax* 49. Of the same type are: *Ag. Nu.* 78 ἀλλ' ἐξεγεῖραι πρῶτον αὐτὸν βούλομαι: *Th.* 924 ἀλλ' ὑπαποκινήτέον.

Sometimes the objection is couched in the form of a shocked, indignant, or surprised question. *S. Ant.* 568 Ἀλλὰ κτενεῖς νυμφεῖα τοῦ σαυτοῦ τέκνου; *E. Med.* 326 Ἀλλ' ἐξελαῖς με κούδεν αἰδέσση λιτάς; *Hel.* 1630 Ἀλλὰ δεσποτῶν κρατήσεις δούλος ὦν; 'What!' So, more commonly, ἀλλ' ἦ;

(iii) The speaker anticipates an objection which another is likely to make, 'But, you will say'. Usually he makes it clear that he is not speaking *propria persona* by adding to ἀλλά either νῆ Δία or an explicit statement that he is quoting: sometimes both. *X. An.* vii 6.16 ἀλλ' εἴποιτ' ἂν ὅτι . . . : vii 6.23 ἀλλά, φαίητε ἂν, . . . : *D.* vi 13 ἀλλὰ νῆ Δι', εἴποι τις ἂν ὡς πάντα ταῦτ' εἰδῶς . . . : 14 ἀλλ' ἐβιάσθη νῆ Δία: *xix* 158 ἀλλὰ νῆ Δι' ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τοὺς ὄρκους ἔλαβον. But in other passages only the context shows that the objection is attributed to another person. *E. IAsco* ἀλλ' ἐς μεταβολὰς ἦλθον ἀπὸ δεινῶν λόγων; *X. An.* ii

5.22 ἀλλὰ τί δὴ ὑμᾶς ἐξὸν ἀπολέσαι οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἦλθομεν; *Aeschin.* i 113 Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τὰς κληρωτὰς ἀρχὰς ἐστὶ τοιοῦτος, περὶ δὲ τὰς χειροτονητὰς βελτίων. Again, the addition of νῆ Δία does not of necessity imply that the objection is an imaginary one. *D.* xviii 129 ἀλλὰ νῆ τὸν Δία καὶ θεοὺς ὀκνῶ μὴ . . . οὐ προσήκοντας ἐμαυτῷ δόξω προηρῆσθαι λόγους.

II. Special uses. (i) Following a rejected suggestion or supposition. That which remains *sub iudice*, and may still therefore be true, is contrasted with that which is already out of court. We may usually render 'well' or 'well then'.

(i) Ἀλλά introduces, not a fresh suggestion, but a question. The speaker throws the burden of selection on the rejecter, and leaves the alternative as an indeterminate, an 'x'. This use appears to be absent from tragedy: perhaps it is colloquial. (In *S. OC* 524 Ἀλλ' ἐς τί; does not, of course, mean 'Well, in what respect?', but 'Why, in what respect?')

*Ag. Nu.* 827 Οὐκ ἐστὶν, ὦ Φειδιππίδη, Ζεὺς.—Ἀλλὰ τίς; ('Well, who does exist?'): *Pax* 198 Ποῖ γῆς;—Ἰδοὺ γῆς.—Ἀλλὰ ποῖ; *Eq.* 955 Οὐ τὸ θρίον.—Ἀλλὰ τί; *Pax* 1080: *Av.* 98, 1015: *Ra.* 488: *Ec.* 928: *Pl. Phd.* 89B Οὐκ, ἂν γε ἐμοὶ πείθῃ.—Ἀλλὰ τί; ἦν δ' ἐγώ: *X. Cyr.* i 3.11: *Mem.* ii 6.4. (Or a rhetorical question repudiates the possibility of any alternative: *Pl. R.* 349D Ἀλλὰ τί μέλλει; 'Of course': 332C Ἀλλὰ τί οἶει; For ἀλλὰ τί μὴν, see μὴν, I. 4.ii.)

(ii) The speaker himself offers an alternative suggestion, either affirmative, interrogative, or imperative in form. *E. Ph.* 615-18 πατέρα δέ μοι δὸς εἰσιδεῖν.—Οὐκ ἂν τύχοις.—Ἀλλὰ παρθένους ἀδελφάς.—Οὐδὲ τὰσδ' ὄψῃ ποτέ. . .—Μῆτερ, ἀλλά μοι σὺ χαίρει (in 618 ἀλλά is not so much connective as adverbial in force, as in δ' ἀλλά and in (3) below): *Ag. Ach.* 194 Dicaeopolis has refused the five-year and ten-year truces. *Am.* Ἀλλ' αὐταὶ σποιαὶ τριακοντούτιδες: *V.* 1154 Οὐκ ἀναβαλεῖ;—Μὰ Δι' οὐκ ἐγώ; . . . —Φέρ' ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σε περιβαλῶ ('Well, I'll put it on for you'): *Pl.* 1155-7 *Στροφαῖον*; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔργον ἐστ' οὐδὲν στροφαῖον.—Ἀλλ' ἐμπολαῖον.—Ἀλλὰ πλουτοῦμεν. . .—Ἀλλὰ δόλιον *S. Tr.* 1211: *E. Or.* 777: *Ba.* 818: *Tr.* 716: *Ag. Eq.* 1104 *Lys.* 823: *Ra.* 56-7, 123: *Ec.* 251-2: *Pl. R.* 335C, 382D-2, 402B *Chrm.* 173E: *Euthphr.* 2B: *X. Mem.* iii 8.3: 11.4: *Supp.* 3.8: 6.10.



Normally *ἀλλά* stands first in the speech: but *Pl.Hp.Ma.283B* *Πῶς φῆς; ἀλλ' ἐλάχιστον;*

(iii) The use of *δ' ἀλλά* in drama, and occasionally in prose dialogue, is similar, though here *ἀλλά* is adverbial rather than connective. (Cf. *E.Ph.1667-9*, *Ar.Ach.191-4*, where successive suggestions are introduced by *σὺ δ' ἀλλά* and *ἀλλά*). *E.Iou.978* *Τὰ δυνατά νυν τόλμησον, ἄνδρα σὸν κτανεῖν.—Αἰδούμεθ' εὐνὰς τὰς τόθ' ἠνίκ' ἐσθλὸς ἦν.—Νῦν δ' ἀλλά παῖδα τὸν ἐπὶ σοὶ πεφνηότα:* *Ar.Nu.1369* Pheidippides refuses to recite Aeschylus. *Strepsiadēs: Σὺ δ' ἀλλά τούτων λέξον τι τῶν νεωτέρων* ('Well, give us a bit of the modern school, then'): *E.Med.942* (Medea takes Jason's hesitation for a refusal): *Heracl.565: Hec.391: Rh.167: Ar.Ach.1033: Pax.660: Lys.904: Antiph.Fr.163.1: Pl.Sph.235D φαίνομαι δύο καθορᾶν εἶδη τῆς μιμητικῆς: τὴν δὲ ζητουμένην ιδέααν . . . καταμαθεῖν οὐδέπω μοι δοκῶ νῦν δυνατὸς εἶναι.—Σὺ δ' ἀλλ' εἰπέ πρῶτον καὶ δῖελε ἡμῖν τίνα τῶ δύο λέγεις* ('Well, anyhow, describe the two'): *X.HGiii.4.26*.

The use of *δ' ἀλλά* is strictly circumscribed. It is always followed by an imperative, expressed or understood: and it is nearly always preceded by *σὺ*. (I find one instance each of *νῦν δ' ἀλλά*, *ἢ δ' ἀλλά*, *ὕμεις δ' ἀλλά*.) In *Hec.391* a word intervenes between the particles: *ὕμεις δέ μ' ἀλλά θυγατρὶ συμφονεύσατε*. The primary sense of *ἀλλά*, in *δ' ἀλλά*, is substitution pure and simple. The idea of inadequate substitution, or *pis aller*, is secondary, and, if present at all, is derived from the context. In *Hec.391* it clearly is present, for Hecuba is only partially consoled by the hope of accompanying her daughter to execution, instead of saving her from it. And it is probably to be felt in most of the other passages: clearly not, however, in *Rh.167: Δο. Οὐ σῆς ἐρῶμεν πολιόχου τυραννίδος.—Εκ. Σὺ δ' ἀλλά γήμας Πριάμιδῶν γαμβρὸς γενοῦ* ('Well, then'): where Hector's whole purpose is to offer an alternative reward adequate in Dolon's eyes. The habit of rendering *ἀλλά* as '*certe*', 'at least', has its dangers. (In *E.Ph. 1749-51* it is possible that *δ'* and *ἀλλά* go together: and in Achaeus *Fr.7 κεκερματίσθω δ' ἄλλα μοι παροψίδων . . . παραφλογίσματα* perhaps *δ' ἀλλά* should be read.

(iv) Hypophora. Again, the proffering and rejecting of successive suggestions may be done by a single speaker, who conducts, as it were, a dialogue with himself. This stylistic

device, known as hypophora, is freely used, for liveliness and variety, by the Greek orators. Gorgias, in the *Palamedes*, rides it to death (*Fr.112,(7)-(12)*). *Ant.v.58* *τίνας γε δὴ ἔνεκα τὸν ἄνδρα ἀπέκτεινα; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔχθρα οὐδεμία ἦν ἐμοὶ κακείνῳ. λέγειν δὲ τολμῶσιν ὡς ἐγὼ χάριτι τὸν ἄνδρα ἀπέκτεινα. καὶ τίς πώποτε χαριζόμενος ἐτέρῳ τοῦτο εἰργάσατο; . . . εἶεν, ἀλλὰ δείσας περὶ ἑμαυτοῦ . . .; . . . ἀλλ' οὐδέν μοι τοιοῦτον ὑπῆρκετο εἰς αὐτόν. ἀλλὰ χρήματα ἐμελλον λήψεσθαι ἀποκτείνας αὐτόν; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ: And.i.148* *τίνα γὰρ καὶ ἀναβιβάσομαι δεησόμενον ὑπὲρ ἑμαυτοῦ; τὸν πατέρα; ἀλλὰ τέθνηκεν. ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀδελφούς; ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰσίν. ἀλλὰ τοὺς παῖδας; ἀλλ' οὐπω γεγένηται: Lys.xxx.26-7: Isoc.xii.23: xv.223,225: xvii.47: Is.xi.25: D.viii.17: xxi.148: Hyp.Phil.10: Epit.30-1*. So, too, in speeches in the historians. *Th.180.4: vi.38.5* *ἀλλὰ δὴ* (the only examples, I think, in Thucydides): *X.HGii.4.41: Cyr.vii.5.83: An.v.8.4*. (The last passage has the peculiarity that the successive suggestions are not explicitly rejected, but dismissed by contemptuous silence: *πότερον ἤτουν τί σε καὶ ἐπεὶ μοι οὐκ ἐδίδους ἔπαιον; ἀλλ' ἀπήτουν; ἀλλὰ περὶ παιδικῶν μαχόμενος; ἀλλὰ μεθύων ἐπαρῶνησα*; In *An.ii.5.18* the rejection takes the form of a rhetorical question.) Euripides, the ποιητῆς ῥηματίων δικανικῶν, uses hypophora freely in his set speeches: *Hipp.1013: Ph.1618-19: Heracl.515: El.377: HF.298,1285-6,1382: IA.1188: cf. Anaxand. Fr.52.9-11: S.El.537: OT.1375 (ἀλλὰ . . . δῆτα): Aj.466 (ἀλλὰ δῆτα)*. In Plato, *Ap.37C* is perhaps the only example (see p. 242). Naturally, where you have a live person to talk to, there is less need for a dummy.

(2) In the apodosis of a conditional (sometimes of a causal) sentence. *ἀλλά* contrasts the ideas expressed in protasis and apodosis: 'if . . . on the other hand': 'even though . . . still'. *Hom.A.281* *εἰ δὲ σὺ καρτερός ἐσσι . . . ἀλλ' ὃ γε φέρτερός ἐστι* ('yet he, on the other hand'): *Θ.154* *εἰ περ γὰρ σ' Ἐκτωρ γαυροῦ κακὸν καὶ ἀνάλκιδα φήσει, ἀλλ' οὐ πείσονται Τρῶες: AS.2: K.226: M.349: T.165: Φ.577: X.192: Ω.771: ξ.151 (ἐπεὶ . . . ἀλλ')*: τδ. In post-Homeric Greek, there is a tendency to limit the use of apodotic *ἀλλά* to cases in which a negative protasis precedes, and

<sup>1</sup> In *Arist.Pol.1278a.9* *ἀλλά* is not, strictly speaking, apodotic: it marks contrast, not with the protasis, but with the preceding sentence.

the apodosis gives a more or less inadequate substitute for what is left unrealized in the protasis: 'at all events', with a notion of *pis aller*. Some instances, it is true, are of the more general, Homeric, type. Sapph. *Fr.* 1.22 αἰ δὲ δῶρα μὴ δέκετ', ἀλλὰ δώσει ('ultro tamen dabit'): Hdt. ix 48.3 νῦν ὧν ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ὑμεῖς ἤρξατε τούτου τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἄρξομεν ('we shall begin it instead'): Pl. *Pr.* 357C εἰ μὴ ἔστι τοῦτο τὸ πάθημα ἡδονῆς ἠττᾶσθαι, ἀλλὰ τί ποτ' ἔστιν . . . ; (ἀλλὰ *T* Stobaeus: ἄλλο *B*: 'well, what is it?'): X. *Cyr.* vi 1.14 στέγαι δέ, εἰ καὶ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ μὰ Δί' οὐχ ἵπποις. Pl. *R.* 383A is noteworthy in that the protasis is expressed participially: πολλὰ ἄρα Ὀμήρου ἐπαινοῦντες, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐπαινεσόμεθα. But the more limited, *pis aller*, sense is much commoner in the fifth and fourth centuries. S. *OC* 241 ἐπεὶ γεράων πατέρα τόνδ' ἐμόν οὐκ ἀνέτλατ' . . . ἀλλ' ἐμὲ . . . οἰκτίραθ': *Tr.* 801 μάλιστα μὲν . . . εἰ δ' οἶκτον ἴσχεις, ἀλλὰ μ' ἔκ γε τῆσδε γῆς πόρθμευσον: E. *Hec.* 843 παράσχεις χεῖρα τῆ πρεσβυτίδι τιμωρόν, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ὅμως: *Hel.* 990 εἰ μὴ πρὸς οἶκους δυνάμεθ', ἀλλὰ πρὸς νεκρούς: *Ph.* 946 κεί μὴ γὰρ εὐνῆς ἠψατ', ἀλλ' ἔχει λέχος: *IA* 1239 ἴν' ἀλλὰ τοῦτο κατθανοῦσ' ἔχω σέθεν μνημείον, ἣν μὴ τοῖς ἐμοῖς πεισθῆς λόγοις (the apodosis coming first): Ar. *Th.* 288 πολλὰ πολλάκις μέ σοι θύειν ἔχουσαν, εἰ δὲ μάλλὰ νῦν λαθεῖν: S. *Fr.* 22.2: Pl. *R.* 502A ἴνα, εἰ μὴ τι, ἀλλὰ αἰσχυρθέντες ὁμολογήσωσιν (cf. 509C): *Lg.* 646B (ἀκουσόμεθα) κἂν εἰ μηδενὸς ἄλλου χάριν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ: *Lg.* 814A, 860C: X. *HG.* vi 3.15 ὅτι ἡμεῖς, ἂν μὴ νῦν, ἀλλ' αὐθὶς ποτε εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμήσομεν: *An.* vii 1.31: 7.43: *Ages.* 5.4.

Often the emphatic word or phrase in the ἀλλά-clause (which word or phrase follows immediately, or almost immediately, after the particle) is limitatively qualified by γε, which accentuates the notion of *pis aller*. The tendency to add γε in this case increased during the fourth century. Homer never has ἀλλὰ . . . γε. The dramatists also prefer plain ἀλλά. Herodotus has plain ἀλλά ten times (ii 172: iii 72: iv 120: v 39.2: vii 103: 11.2: 104.5: ix 27.5: 42.2: 48.3): ἀλλὰ . . . γε only once (iii 140 ἔδωκας, εἰ καὶ μικρά, ἀλλ' ὧν ἴση γε ἡ χάρις: ὧν MSS., but see ἀλλ' οὖν). For plain ἀλλά in Plato and Xenophon, see above. ἀλλὰ . . . γε: Pl. *Grg.* 470D εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀλλ' ἀκούω γε: *La.* 183A εἰ δ' ἐκείνους λέληθεν, ἀλλ' οὐ τούτους γε τοὺς διδασκάλους αὐτοῦ λέληθεν: *Men.* 86E εἰ μὴ τι οὖν ἀλλὰ μικρόν γέ μοι τῆς ἀρχῆς

χάλασον (with ellipse in protasis: cf. *R.* 502A above): X. *Mem.* iii 3.7 εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀλλὰ νῦν γε πειράσομαι: *HG.* iv 6.13: *An.* ii 5.19: iii 2.3: *Cyr.* i 3.6: viii 6.18 (γε om. CE): 7.22: *Hier.* 2.10: *Arist. Pol.* 1269b7. Demosthenes has plain ἀλλά in xviii 191: xli 16: ἀλλὰ . . . γε in xv 27: xxii 57: lvi 12.

For the reinforcement of ἀλλά by οὖν, see ἀλλ' οὖν.

(3) A development of this use of ἀλλά in apodosis is to omit the protasis, the sense of which can easily be supplied from the context. 'At least.' 'At any rate.' 'Well.' (Here, again, the *pis aller* note is usually, but not invariably, present.) This is common in tragedy and comedy, but very rare in prose. *Lys.* x 15 ἂν πως ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος παιδευθῆ: D. iii 33 ἐὰν οὖν ἀλλὰ νῦν γ' ἔτι . . . ἐβελήσητε. In verse the commonest forms are ἀλλὰ νῦν (*S. El.* 411: *Ant.* 552: *Ar. Av.* 1598) and ἀλλὰ τῷ (or σὺν) χρόνῳ (*S. El.* 1013: *Tr.* 201: *Ph.* 1041: *E. Med.* 912). Also, *S. El.* 415 λέγ' ἀλλὰ τοῦτο: *E. HF* 331 ὡς ἀλλὰ ταῦτά γ' ἀπολάχωσ': *IA* 1239 ἴν' ἀλλὰ τοῦτο κατθανοῦσ' ἔχω σέθεν μνημείον: *S. Ant.* 779 ἢ γνώσεται γοῦν ἀλλὰ τηνικαῦθ': *Tr.* 320 εἶπ', ὦ τάλαιν', ἀλλ' ἡμῖν ἐκ σαυτῆς ('Well, tell me yourself, since Lichas cannot.' Not 'at least', Jebb.): *OC* 1276 πειράσατ' ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς γε ('since I have failed'): 1405 ὦ τοῦδ' ὄμαιμοι παῖδες, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς, ἐπεὶ τὰ σκληρὰ πατρὸς κλύετε τοῦδ' ἀρωμένον, μὴ τοί με πρὸς θεῶν σφῶ γ' . . . μὴ μ' ἀτιμάσητέ γε (Jebb, perhaps rightly, prefers to take ἀλλά as 'beginning the appeal'. The position of the particle after the apostrophe does not tell against this view: see III below): *E. Ion* 1304 'Ἡμῖν δέ γ' ἀλλὰ πατρικῆς οὐκ ἦν μέρος; *Med.* 1073 εὐδαιμονοῖτον ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ<sup>1</sup>: *Or.* 1562 ὡς ἂν ἀλλὰ παῖδ' ἐμὴν ρυσώμεθ': *Ar. Nu.* 1364 ἐκέλευσ' αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ μυρρίνην λαβόντα τῶν Αἰσχύλου λέξαι τί μοι ('I said "Well, give us a bit of Aeschylus"'): *Th.* 424 - τὸ τοῦ μὲν οὖν ἦν ἀλλ' ὑποῖξαι τὴν θύραν: 449 τέως μὲν οὖν ἀλλ' ἡμικάκως ἐβουκόμην ('I did manage to get along in a sort of fashion'): *Hr. Ict.* 1. In *E. Ion* 426, Δοξίας δ' ἐὰν θέλη νῦν ἀλλὰ τὰς πρὶν ἀναλαβεῖν ἀμαρτίας, the position of ἀλλὰ after νῦν is remarkable.

(4) In commands and exhortations. Baumlein (p. 17) explains ἀλλά here as combating the indecision or reluctance of another

<sup>1</sup> But Prof. Murray's punctuation εὐδαιμονοῖτον, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ makes the expression far more poignant.

person. But it rather expresses, as Hartung says (ii 35), a break-off in the thought: or, as Klotz (i5) more specifically and more accurately puts it, a transition from arguments for action to a statement of the action required. Hence ἀλλά, in this sense, usually occurs near the end of a speech, as a clinching and final appeal (whereas at the opening of a speech it introduces an objection in the form of a command: *S.El.*431 'Nay'): as we say, 'Oh, but do'. 'Come' or 'come now' will often get the meaning. This usage is very rare in oratory, being probably too intimate in tone. *D.Iv*9 ἀλλὰ προσέχετε . . . τον νοῦν: *Lys.*xix 54: xx 35.

With imperative, usually second person. *Hom.*A565 Zeus, after giving some good advice to Hera: ἀλλ' ἀκέουσα κάθησο: *Δ100* Athena has impressed upon Pandarus what he will gain by shooting Menelaus: ἀλλ' ἄγ' οἴστευσον Μενελάου κυδαλίμοιο: 264 'Idomeneus, I honour you most of all the Danaans. ἀλλ' ὄρσεν πόλεμόνδ': *Tyrt.*Fr.6-7.15 ὦ νέοι, ἀλλὰ μάχεσθε: *S.Aj.*565 Ajax, after addressing his son: ἀλλ', ἄνδρες ἀσπιστῆρες . . . ὑμῖν τε κοινήν τήνδ' ἐπισκήπτω χάριν, κείνω τ' ἐμὴν ἀγγεῖλατ' ἐντολήν: *Hom.*A393: *B*331,360: *Δ*268: *E*605: *A.Pers.*619: *Pr.*317: *Ag.*524: *S.El.*1009: *Ant.*718: *E.Hipp.*887: *Ar.*V.428,1009. *Pl.*598: *Pl.**Euthyphr.*12A τρυφᾶς ὑπὸ πλούτου τῆς σοφίας. ἀλλ', ὦ μακάριε, σύντεινέ σαυτόν ('Come, my good man, pull yourself together'): *Phd.*117E 'I sent the women away because I wanted no noisy demonstrations. ἀλλ' ἡσυχίαν τε ἄγετε καὶ καρτερεῖτε': *R.*328A 'It will all be most enjoyable. ἀλλὰ μένετε καὶ μὴ ἄλλως ποιεῖτε' ('Do stop': clinching and reiterating the previous appeal in 327C, μένετ' αὐτοῦ): 358D ἀλλ' ὄρα εἴ σοι βουλομένω ἂ λέγω (last sentence of speech: getting to business, after stating his method of procedure in advance): *Hdt.*vi 11.3: viii 79.4: 140β4: *Pl.**Supp.*192E,213A: *R.*327B: *Cri.*44B,45A. Ἄλλ' ἄγε, ἀλλ' ἄγετε, ἀλλ' ἴθι are common in Homer. In *Pl.**Phd.*116D ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ . . . πειθόμεθα αὐτῷ is clearly a Homeric reminiscence. ἀλλ' εἶα, with second person imperative, is common in Euripides, and perhaps confined to him: *A.*Fr.78 (εἶ' *add.* Nauck): *E.**Med.*401,820: *HF*622,704,833: *Tr.*880: *Ph.*970,990,1708: *Or.*1618: *IA*435: with ὅπως and fut. ind., *E.**Or.*1060. In certain phrases the imperative is understood: ἀλλ' ἄνα, often in Homer: *Z*331 ἀλλ' ἄνα, μὴ τάχα ἄστὺ πυρὸς δηϊοῖο θέρηται:

*I*247: *S.Aj.*192 ἀλλ' ἄνα ἐξ ἐδράνων. *Ar.**Ach.*239 ἀλλὰ δεῦρο πᾶς ἐκποδῶν: *Eq.*751 ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ πρόσθε. With 3rd pers. imperative, or with subjunctive: *Callin.* *Fr.*1.9 ἀλλά τις ἰθὺς ἴτω: *Tyrt.*Fr.6-7.31 ἀλλά τις εὐ διαβάς μενέτω: *S.**Ph.*486 ἀλλὰ μὴ μ' ἀφῆς: *Pl.**Cri.*54C ἀλλὰ μὴ σε πείση Κρίτων ποιεῖν ἂ λέγει μάλλον ἢ ἡμεῖς (last sentence of the Laws' appeal to Socrates): *S.**Tr.*492: *OC*1475: *Ar.**Ach.*627: *V.*860,1008: *Th.*v 10.5: *Pl.**Lg.*625C. With verbal adjective: *Pl.**Phd.*91C Ἄλλ' ἰτέον, ἔφη. With χρῆ, δεῖ, &c.: *Ar.**Ach.*234 ἀλλὰ δεῖ ζητεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα: *Pl.**Phd.*115E ἀλλὰ θαρρεῖν τε χρῆ: *E.**Med.*950: *Ar.**Au.*1718. With ὅπως and fut. ind.: *E.**Cyc.*595 ἀλλ' ὅπως ἀνήρ ἔση: *HF*503.

Ἄλλά in commands and exhortations is sometimes repeated at a short interval. *S.**Ph.*950 (ἀλλ') ἀπόδος, ἀλλὰ νῦν ἔτ' ἐν σαυτῷ γενοῦ (I do not think Jebb is right in taking the second ἀλλά as 'limiting': the first ἀλλά is due to Turnebus): *Ar.**Eq.*244-6 ἀλλ' ἀμύνου κάπαναστρέφου πάλιν . . . ἀλλ' ἀμύνου: *V.*240-5 ἀλλ' ἐγκονῶμεν ὄνδρες . . . ἀλλὰ σπεύδωμεν ὄνδρες ἡλικες ('Come, hurry, lads: . . . come hasten'): *E.**HF.*622-4 ἀλλ' εἰ' ὀμαρτεῖτ', ὦ τέκν' . . . ἀλλὰ θάρσος ἴσχετε: *Or.*1337-40: *Pl.**Cri.*46A.

(5) In wishes and prayers. This use is usually classed with (4), but (as regards (i)) it is essentially distinct.

(i) An answer takes the form of a wish or prayer. There is no strong break-off, as in (4): ἀλλά merely marks a gentle transition from the known present to the unknown and desired future, corresponding very closely with the English 'well'. *A.**Ch.*306 Orestes has determined on vengeance. *Xo.* Ἄλλ' ὦ μεγάλοι Μοῖραι, Διόθεν τῆδε τελευτᾶν: 1063 ἐλαύνομαι δὲ κούκ' ἂν μείναιμ' ἐγώ.—Ἄλλ' εὐτυχοῖς (a stronger contrasting force would be in place here: but Ἄλλ' εὐτυχοῖς is a stereotyped phrase, perhaps 'a familiar form of parting blessing' (Tucker): cf. *S.**OT*1478: *E.**Alc.*1153: *Med.*688: *I.*1716 Ἄλλ' εὐτυχοῖτην): *Supp.*966 The king has promised help. *Xo.* Ἄλλ' ἀντ' ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθοῖσι βρύοις: *S.**OC*44 'These are the Eumenides'.—Ἄλλ' ἄεφ μὲν τὸν ἰκέτην δεξαίατο ('Well, may they receive the suppliant kindly'): *OT*929 γυνὴ δὲ μῆτηρ ἦδε τῶν κείνου τέκνων.—Ἄλλ' ὀλβία . . . γένοιτ': *E.**Supp.*1182 Χαῖρ' . . . —Ἔσται ταῦθ' ἀλλὰ καὶ σὺ τῶν αὐτῶν τύχοις: *Rh.*216 Dolon has explained his plan.

—'Ἄλλ' εὖ σ' . . . πέμψειεν Ἑρμῆς: *S.OC*308: *El.*387: *Ant.*327: *Pl.Cri.*43D ἀνάγκη δὴ εἰς αὐριον ἔσται . . . τὸν βίον σε τελευτᾶν.—'Ἄλλ', ὦ Κρίτων, τύχη ἀγαθῇ . . . ταύτη ἔστω. The wish may be a curse: *E.Ph.*151 'This is Parthenopaeus.'—'Ἄλλά νιν . . . Ἄρτεμις . . . ὀλέσειεν: *S.OC*421: *Ar.Pl.*592.

(ii) A wish or prayer is expressed, not at the opening of a speech, but during its course. There is a stronger sense of break-off, and the idiom is more closely in line with (4). *A.Pers.*628 (the Chorus turns from Atossa to Heaven): *S.OT*904 (a formal prayer at the end of a chorus): *Ph.*1040, at the end of a speech: ἄλλ', ὦ πατρώα γῆ θεοί τ' ἐπόψιοι, τείσασθε τείσασθ': *OC*1552 (a wish closing a long speech): *E.Ion*1456 Θεῖον τόδ' ἄλλα τάπιλοιπα τῆς τύχης εὐδαιμονοῖμεν.

(6) Assentient. This use is at first sight diametrically opposed to the adversative. But in fact assent may include the idea of opposition in two contrary ways. (a) Agreement is presented as self-evident and inevitable. The speaker not only agrees, but repudiates the very idea that dissent is possible. In modern languages 'mais oui', 'aber ja', 'but of course', are similarly used. This force of ἀλλά is most clearly present where a question precedes: the particle protests, in effect, against the asking of a superfluous question. (b) Agreement is presented, not as self-evident, but as wrung from the speaker *malgré lui*. ἀλλά then points the contrast between the assent given and the considerations which have militated against the giving of it. In (a) 'Why', in (b) 'Well' is usually the best translation. The assentient force of ἀλλά thus appears to be derived from two contrary elements. While in certain passages (e.g. *S.Tr.*490, 600: *Pl.Grg.*481B) the first of these, in others (e.g. *S.Ant.*98: *Tr.*472: *El.*1055: *Ph.*645, 1278) the second is clearly in evidence, and the note of eagerness or of reluctance is unmistakable, other passages remain in which decision is difficult or impossible. This is no mere matter of theory, it concerns the manner in which certain lines are to be read, or spoken on the stage. E.g. in *S.El.*944, 1472 does ἀλλά convey a ready or a reluctant acquiescence? Perhaps to the Greeks there was never any ambiguity, and never any temptation to confuse (a) and (b): though it is also possible that (a) and (b) merge in a specifically

assentient force, in which all that is present to the mind is the removal of an obstacle, whether an actual or a supposed obstacle.

(i) Practical consent, expression of willingness to act in a required way. The first speaker usually speaks in the imperative, the second usually in the future indicative, but sometimes in the present (or even the perfect), as though he had forestalled the command: in which latter case the adversative force has a more obvious reference.

*S.Ph.*48 τὸν οὖν παρόντα πέμψον ἐς κατασκοπήν . . .—'Ἄλλ' ἔρχεται τε καὶ φυλάζεται στίβος (see Jebb): *Tr.*389 πεύθου μολοῦσα . . .—'Ἄλλ' εἶμι: *OC*1284 Λέγ' . . .—'Ἄλλ' ἐξερῶ: *Ph.*645 Philoctetes has been urging Neoptolemus to set sail. *Ne.* Ἄλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ, χωρῶμεν (cf. *A.Ag.*944): *Tr.*490 στέργε τὴν γυναῖκα . . .—'Ἄλλ' ὧδε καὶ φρονοῦμεν ὥστε ταῦτα δρᾶν: 600 σήμαινε . . .—'Ἄλλ' αὐτὰ δὴ σοι ταῦτα καὶ πράσσω: *Ar.Nu.*431 δέομαι τοίνυν ὑμῶν τουτί . . .—'Ἄλλ' ἔσται σοι τοῦτο παρ' ἡμῶν: *S.Aj.*1400: *El.*944, 1472: *Tr.*472, 620: *E.Hel.*702: *El.*420: *IA*1540: *Ar.* *Ach.*409 (after four adversative ἀλλά's): *Nu.*11 ('All right, if you like'): *V.*457: *Pax*1103: *Ar.*665: *Lys.*1030: *Pl.Grg.*462B ἐρώτα ἢ ἀποκρίνου.—'Ἄλλα ποιήσω ταῦτα: 481B οὐδὲν μέντοι οἶον τὸ αὐτὸν ἐρωτᾶν.—*Nῆ* τοὺς θεοὺς ἀλλ' ἐπιθυμῶ: *Smr.*185D δίκαιος εἶ ἢ παῦσαι με τῆς λυγγὸς ἢ λέγειν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ. . .—'Ἄλλα ποιήσω ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτα: *Euthphr.*6E: *La.*181D: *Men.*82A.

Very frequently in Plato, not seldom in Xenophon, and occasionally in other writers, a word used in command is echoed in consent. *S.Tr.*86 οὐκ εἶ ξυνέρξων . . .;—'Ἄλλ' εἶμι: *Ph.*1278 παῦε . . .—'Ἄλλ' ἤθελον μὲν ἂν . . . εἰ δὲ μὴ . . . πέπαιμαι: *Ar.* *Ach.*1232 ἔπεσθε . . .—'Ἄλλ' ἐψόμεσθα: *Pl.Grg.*449C καὶ μοι ἐπίδειξιν αὐτοῦ τούτου ποιῆσαι . . .—'Ἄλλα ποιήσω: *Smr.*199C πάρες . . .—'Ἄλλα παρήμι: *R.*327B ἀλλὰ περιμένετε.—'Ἄλλα περιμενοῦμεν: *X.Mem.*iii 3.15 πειρῶ . . .—'Ἄλλα νῆ δια πειράσομαι: 11.18 βούλομαι . . . σὲ . . . πορεύεσθαι.—'Ἄλλα πορεύσομαι, ἔφη: *An.*vii 1.6 κελεύει Ξενοφῶντα συμπροθυμείσθαι ὅπως διαδῆ τὸ στράτευμα . . . ὁ δ' ἔπεν Ἄλλα τὸ μὲν στράτευμα διαδῆσεται: *Pl.Thi.*165D, 190D, 195F: *R.*431B: *Pr.*320C: *Cri.*49A.

Consent may be implied without being directly expressed:

(a) The enjoined task is described as easy or unobjectionable. *S.Tr.*1257 Ἄλλ' οὐδὲν εἶργει σοὶ τελειοῦσθαι ταῦτα: *Ar.*



ἀμύνεις τῷ τῆς ἡδονῆς . . . λόγῳ τὰ νῦν. ('Why, you are an enthusiastic champion of the cause of pleasure!'. Ironic admiration).

(7) We may perhaps class as assentient those passages in which ἀλλά introduces the substantiation by the second speaker of an hypothesis or wish expressed by the first, confirming as actual what has hitherto been presented as imaginary.

*S.O.T.848* εἰ δ' ἀνδρ' ἔν' οἰόζωνον αὐδήσει . . .—'Ἄλλ' ὡς φανέν γε τοῦτοπος ᾧδ' ἐπίστασο, κοῦκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ τοῦτό γ' ἐκβαλεῖν πάλιν ('Well, rest assured that that was the report'): 769 δι' ἃ νιν εἰσιδεῖν θέλω.—'Ἄλλ' ἴξεται μέν: 1158 ὀλέσθαι δ' ὄφελον τῆδ' ἡμέρα.—'Ἄλλ' ἐς τόδ' ἦξεις ('Well, that is what you'll come to'): *S.Ph.647* (ὄτου virtually = εἶ του): *Aj.529*: *Ar.Nu.420*. Sometimes a word from the hypothetical clause is echoed (by exact repetition or by the substitution of a synonym) in the ἀλλά clause. This is a favourite idiom of Plato's. I have counted quite twenty<sup>1</sup> instances in him, several in Xenophon, and a few in other authors. *S.El.1204* εἰ τὸ τῶνδ' εὖνον πάρα.—'Ἄλλ' ἔστιν εὖνον: *OT370* Εἶπερ τί γ' ἐστὶ τῆς ἀληθείας σθένος.—'Ἄλλ' ἔστι, πλὴν σοί: *E.IA1360* Ὀναίο τῶν φρενῶν.—'Ἄλλ' ὀνησόμεσθα: *Ar.V.181* τί στένεις, εἰ μὴ φέρεις Ὀδυσσεά τιν';—'Ἄλλὰ ναὶ μὰ Δία φέρει κάτω γε τουτονί τιν' ὑποδευκότα: *Nu.797* εἶ σοί τις υἱός ἐστιν . . .—'Ἄλλ' ἔστ' ἔμοιγ' υἱός: *Pl.Euthid.275B* εἰ μὴ τι διαφέρει . . .—'Ἄλλ' οὐδὲν διαφέρει: *Phlb.41B* εἶπερ γε εἰσίν.—'Ἄλλ' . . . εἰσίν: *Cri.49E* εἰ δ' ἐμμένεις . . . ἄκουε.—'Ἄλλ' ἐμμένω: *Cra.433A* εἰ μέμνησαι . . .—'Ἄλλὰ μέμνημαι: *Chrm.155B* μόνον ἐλθέτω.—'Ἄλλ' ἦξει, ἔφη: *R.394C* εἶ μοι μανθάνεις.—'Ἄλλὰ συνήμι: *Grg.469C* (where a slightly different turn is given to the idiom): *Euthphr.9C*: *Chrm.162E*: *Tht.207D*: *Hp.Mi.363C*: *X.Cyr.v.1.1*: *HGiii.4.5*: *iv.3.2*: *Mem.iii.10.10*: *An.vii.3.9*. Indirect questions with εἰ may be included here: *Pl.Cri.48B*: *Grg.476D*.

(8) Inceptive. (Cf. δέ, I.C.2.iii.) Speeches in Xenophon often open with ἀλλά. Logically speaking, this cannot be regarded as a distinct usage, since the examples fall under one or other of the heads, adversative or assentient, enumerated above. (E.g.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Chapman has collected more than thirty.

*Pl.La.182D* Λάχητος δ', εἴ τι παρὰ ταῦτα λέγει, κὰν αὐτὸς ἡδέως ἀκούσαιμι.—'Ἄλλ' ἔστι μὲν . . . χαλεπὸν λέγειν περὶ ὀτουοῦν μαθήματος ὡς οὐ χρὴ μανθάνειν.) But Xenophon's fondness for this form of opening has some stylistic importance. Where the particle marks assent or complaisance, it corresponds roughly to the English 'Well', and has the same vague and colloquial tone: hence its absence in the more formal speeches of Thucydides.

(i) Adversative. *HGii.3.35* (opening a speech for the defence: cf. *vii.3.7*: *An.vii.6.11*: 7.4): *HG.iv.1.34*: *Cyr.ii.2.18* (introducing a change of topic). (ii) Responding to an invitation to speak. (Cf. 6.i.b above.) *An.iii.1.35*: *Cyr.ii.3.5*: *v.1.24*. (iii) Response or approval in general (cf. 6.iii above). *An.iii.1.45*: 2.4: 2.33: *vii.6.9*: *Cyr.v.2.8*: 4.32: *iv.3.15*.

The occurrence of ἀλλά at the beginning of the Xenophontine *Symposium* and *Respublica Lacedaemoniensium* is somewhat similar, and may perhaps be due to naïveté, real or assumed: though Bäumllein (p. 13) may conceivably be right in attributing this usage to a desire to make these small works look like fragments of a larger whole. (The *Oeconomicus* and the Xenophontine *Apology* open with δέ: so does the pseudo-Xenophontine *Resp. Ath.*). Oracles, too, have a way of beginning with ἀλλ' ὅταν: *Ar.Au.967*: *Hdt.155*: *iii.57*: *vi.77.2*.

(9) Progressive. We have observed above that ἀλλά, though normally a strong adversative, is sometimes used where we should expect the weaker δέ. And we shall see later that in δέ, except where preceded by μέν, the sense of contrast is normally so slight that the particle denotes little more than mere addition, like καί and τε. The same is occasionally true of ἀλλά which is then used as an almost purely connective or progressive particle ('further', 'again'), being sometimes reinforced by καί or οὐδέ. This progressive use is commoner in Hippocrates than in other writers.

*VC14* ἀφίκει ἐς πρίσιν ἢ τοιαύτη ξυμφορῆ. ἀλλὰ χρὴ πρίσιν πάντα τὰ λοιπὰ ἰητρεύειν τὸ ἔλκος: *Prog.7*. In particular, we often find ἀλλὰ χρὴ after a detailing of symptoms, introducing a description of the regimen recommended: 'Well'. *VC14* *Int.19,20*: *Vict.73,74*: *Mul.241* (ἀλλὰ δεῖ). Ἄλλὰ καί

188 πρόσωπον ἀγλαΐζει ἦπαρ ταύρου . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ χυλὸς τῆς πτισάνης ὁμοίως λαμπρύνει: *Vict.*93: *Gland.*16. Ἄλλ' οὐδέ. *Vict.*90 Κατακλυζομένην γῆν . . . ὄρῃν νοῦσον σημαίνει . . . ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μέλαιναν ὄρῃν τὴν γῆν οὐδὲ κατακεκαυμένην δοκεῖ ἀγαθὸν (ἀλλ' *om.* (*H restit. al. manu*) θ).

In other prose-writers progressive ἀλλά is rarer, though ἀλλά μὴν is regularly so used. (In such a passage as *Lys.*xiii79 ἀλλά rather denotes a break-off: ἀλλ' ἕτερον, 'But there is another point'.)

Plato and Xenophon, proceeding to a new item in a series. *Pl.R.*470E Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἀγαθοὶ . . . ἔσονται;—Σφόδρα γε.—Ἄλλ' οὐ φιλέλληνες; *Thit.*178C (fresh example): *Smpr.*197A πρῶτον μὲν . . . καὶ μὲν δὴ . . . ἀλλὰ . . . γε μὴν: *Mi.*316A Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἐν Πέρσῃσι;—Καὶ ἐν Πέρσῃσι.—Ἄλλ' ἀεὶ δήπου; *R.*487A: *X. Mem.*12.27 (a fresh parallel). Marking transition from major to minor premise (cf. ἀλλὰ μὴν): *Pl.R.*335C: cf. *Phd.*93D. ἀλλὰ καί. *D.*xix54 ἦσαν ἀπιστοῦντές τινες . . . ἦσαν ἄλλοι τινὲς οἱ . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ μεταμέλειν ὑμῖν φοντό τινες: 257,258: xliii82: liv36: *X.Cyr.*viii8.19 (in a series with καὶ μὴν, ἀλλὰ μὴν, γε μὴν): *Oec.*20.10 (preceded by adversative ἀλλὰ καί): *Smpr.*4.32. ἀλλ' οὐδέ. *Lys.*x10.

There are few verse examples. *Alcm.Fr.*1.71 οὔτε . . . οὔτε . . . οὐδὲ . . . οὐδὲ καὶ . . . ἀλλ' οὐδ': *Pi.N.*10.45 'They came with cups from Sicyon and cloaks from Pellene. ἀλλὰ χαλκὸν μυρίον οὐ δυνατὸν ἐξελέγχειν': *E.Alc.*79 Τί σεσίγηται δόμος Ἀδμήτου;—Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ φίλων πέλας οὐδεῖς, ὅστις ἂν εἴποι πότερον φθιμένην βασιλεῖαν πενθεῖν χρή μ' ('Nor yet is there any friend at hand'): *Ar.Eq.*985 ἀλλὰ καὶ τόδ' ἔγωγε θαυμάζω τῆς ὑομενσίας αὐτοῦ: *Eub.Fr.*120.4 'The Achaeans in Homer never got fish to eat. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μίαν ἄλλην ἐταίραν εἶδέ τις αὐτῶν'. (Add, perhaps, *E.Ion* 26: 'She put golden snakes in the basket with the child. ἀλλ' ἦν εἶχε παρθένος χλιδὴν τέκνω προσάψασ' ἔλιπεν': 'Besides'. But ἀλλά may be adversative here. See Paley and Wilamowitz and A. S. Owen. Hartung (ii 40) explains ἀλλά as resuming after the parenthesis, perhaps rightly.)

III. Position. As a strong adversative, ἀλλά naturally takes the first place in clause or sentence, while δέ, μέντοι and μὴν take the second. The only exception to this rule is that an

apostrophe, or oath, sometimes precedes the particle. This postponement after apostrophe is also found after other connectives (e.g. δέ and γάρ), and is to be attributed, perhaps, to the liveliness of the Greek temperament, the emotional here out-running the logical. *Ar.Ach.*579 ὦ Λάμαχ' ἦρως, ἀλλὰ συγγνώμην ἔχε (cf. the postponement of γάρ in 576): *S.OT*1503: *OC*238: *Ph.*799: *Hdt.*v72.3 ὦ γυναῖκα, ἀλλ' οὐ Δωριεὺς εἰμι: *Pl.Euthphr.*3C: *Lg.*898C. *S.El.*881 Μὰ τὴν πατρώαν ἐστίαν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑβρεῖ λέγω τάδ' (whereas in the passages cited by Jebb ἀλλά contrasts with the negative oath, not with the preceding speech: *Ar.Ra.*174 Δύο δραχμὰς μισθὸν τελεῖς;—Μὰ Δί' ἀλλ' ἔλαττον: 'No, less'). For a similar displacement of ἀλλά by an exclamation, cf. *Pl.Hp.Ma.*283B (II.1.ii). In *E.Supp.*951 the text has been suspected: a full stop after παύσασθ' would, I think, remove all difficulty. For postponement after ἀλλ' ἦ, *v. s. v.*

#### IV. Ἄλλά combined with other particles.

(1) Ἄλλά γε. The juxtaposition is very rare in classical Greek. Neil (*Knights*, p. 193) and Klotz (i.15) are perhaps justified in doubting its occurrence in classical Greek. Kühner (II ii 177) cites *Pl.Hp.Ma.*287B (ἀλλ' ἄγ' *scr. recs.*: ἀλλά γ' *TWF*): *R.*331B (ἀλλ' ἔν γε Stobaeus): *Phdr.*262A (ἀλλά γε δὴ B: ἀλλά δὴ T: ἀλλὰ μὴν Galenus): as well as instances from Arrian and Polybius (to whom Neil adds Pausanias and *N.T.*). In *Pl.Hp.Ma.*287B ἀλλ' ἄγ' should certainly be read: cf. *Phd.*86E (where all MSS. read ἀλλά γε): *R.*543C (ἀλλ' ἄγε D Thomas Magister: ἀλλά γ' *AFM*). In *Hom.A*82 τε is no doubt right. Add *Gorg.Fr.*11a.10 ἀλλά γε τὸ φῶς πολεμεῖ τοῖς τοιούτοις (objecting, in hypophora: cf. *id. ib.* 14): Archestratus, *ap. Ath.*319D ἀλλά γε χρή (τί Wil.): *Aristot.EE*1216b20 οὐ μὴν ἀλλά γε: *Pseud.-Aristot. Oec.*1343b25. For ἀλλά . . . γε see II.2 above.

(2) Ἄλλ' οὐδέ, 'Why, not even . . .' (For ἀλλ' οὐδέ meaning 'Nor, again' see II.9 above.) *Ar.Nu.*1396 εἰ γὰρ . . . ἀναπέσει, τὸ δέρμα τῶν γεραιτέρων λάβοιμεν ἂν ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐρεβίθου: *Com. Adesp.Fr.*178: *Men.Sam.*144: *D.*xix37 ὑπὲρ δὲ Φωκίω. Ἄλλ'



οὐδὲ μικρόν (ἔνεστιν): *xxi14: xxv5* ὁ δὲ κρινόμενος τῶν μὲν εἰς σωτηρίαν φερόντων ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὀτιοῦν πάρεστιν ἔχων: *Prooem. 48*. In all these closely similar passages the speaker makes as though he would mention something of trifling value or importance, but corrects his unspoken thought by saying that even that trifle is too much. A dash in the text before ἀλλά would bring out the meaning. Pickard-Cambridge renders *D.xix 37* well: 'But as to the Phocians . . .—why, there is not the slightest mention of them!' *Diph.Fr.61.8* seems similar: εὐθέως νοῶ ὅτι τοῦτό μοι τὸ δεῖπνον ἀλλ' οὐδ' αἶμ' ἔχει. *X.Cyr.iv 3.14* is different: ὁ γε μὴν μάλιστα ἄν τις φοβηθείη, μὴ . . . , ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀμήχανον. Here there is a definite anacoluthon, as though a main verb had preceded: cf. *An.i 8.13: D.xix 264*.

(3) Ἄλλ' ἢ (absent from serious poetry) is used only after negatives and questions expecting a negative answer. The explanation of the combination has been much discussed, and it is not even agreed whether ἀλλ' represents ἀλλά or ἄλλο (with loss of accent caused by fusion with the following word). It will be convenient, before examining the rival views, to set out the evidence, in grouping which I follow Cook Wilson, 'On the use of ἀλλ' ἢ in Aristotle', *C.Q.*iii 121-4, while distinguishing (as he and other writers do not) between (a) cases where ἀλλ' ἢ introduces the second of two co-ordinated clauses ('except that', 'but merely'), and (b) cases where the ἀλλ' ἢ clause, which often consists of a single word or phrase, has no such independence, but is subordinated to the structure of the immediately preceding words ('except').

(i) A negation (or question expecting a negative answer), containing a word of comparison (some part of ἄλλος), is followed by an exception. (a) *X.Oec.2.13* οὔτε ἄλλος πώποτε μοι παρέσχε τὰ ἑαυτοῦ διοικεῖν ἀλλ' ἢ σὺ νυνὶ ἐθέλεις παρέχειν ('It is only you now that are willing . . .'). (b) *Pl.Phd.81B* ὥστε μηδὲν ἄλλο δοκεῖν εἶναι ἀληθές ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ σωματοειδές: *Ar.34B* τίνα ἄλλον ἔχουσι λόγον βοηθοῦντες ἐμοὶ ἀλλ' ἢ τὸν ὀρθόν τε καὶ δίκαιον; *Phd.68E* μηδαμοῦ ἄλλοθι . . . ἀλλ' ἢ ἐκεῖ: *101C* οὐκ ἔχεις ἄλλην τινὰ αἰτίαν . . . ἀλλ' ἢ τὴν τῆς δυάδος μετάσχεσιν: *Isoc.iv 7* εἰ μὲν μηδαμῶς ἄλλως οἶόν τ' ἦν δηλοῦν τὰς αὐτὰς πράξεις ἀλλ' ἢ διὰ μίας ἰδέας: *D.xxvii 53* μήτ' ἄλλου μηδενός εἰσιν ἀλλ' ἢ τοῦ

πλείονος: *Arist.Cat.3b19* οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο σημαίνει τὸ λευκὸν ἀλλ' ἢ ποῖον: *Pl.Phd.97D: R.427C,429B,553D: Prt.356A: Thg. 123D: Mx.244D: Mi.313B: Arist.Top.103a21: EN1125a1*. (Juxtaposition of ἀλλ' ἢ with the word of comparison is very rare. *Hr.Vict.72* προσφέρειν μηδὲν ἄλλο ἀλλ' ἢ ὕδωρ (text uncertain): *Flat.3* μετέχοιεν δὲ πῶς ἂν ἄλλως ἀλλ' ἢ διὰ τοῦ ὕδατος . . .)

(ii) A negation, not containing a word of comparison, is followed by an exception. Cook Wilson points out that, while the use of ἢ in such cases is, strictly speaking, irregular, the notion of comparison may be involved in a negative expression: cf. *X.Cyr.vii 5.41* μηδένα παριέναι ἢ τοὺς φίλους. (a) *Th.v 60.1* καὶ οὐ μετὰ τῶν πλεόνων οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ('on his side') βουλευσάμενος ἀλλ' ἢ ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ κοινώσας ('except that he consulted with one individual'): *Is.x 12* κατὰ τὸν νόμον δὲ οὐκ ἔᾶ τῶν τῆς ἐπικλήρου κύριον εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἢ τοὺς παῖδας ἐπὶ διέτες ἠβήσαντας κρατεῖν τῶν χρημάτων (but the last three words have often, and with reason, been suspected: *v. Wyse ad loc.* If they are omitted, this example must be transferred to (b) below): *X.Cyr. iv 4.10* οὐδ' ὀτιοῦν καινὸν ἔσται ὑμῖν ἀλλ' ἢ οὐχ ὁ αὐτὸς ἄρξει ὑμῶν ὅσπερ καὶ πρότερον: *Hr.Epid.19* οὐδ' ἠμορράγησεν ἐκ ρινῶν οὐδενὶ . . . ἀλλ' ἢ σμικρὰ ἔσταξεν (ἀλλ' ἢ *W. H. S. Jones* in *Loeb: ἀλλά Littré*, with no mention of variants). (b) *Ar.Eq. 779* οὐχὶ φιλεῖ σ' . . . ἀλλ' ἢ διὰ τοῦτ' αὐθ' ὀτιή σου τῆς ἀνθρακίᾳς ἀπολαύει: *V.984* οὐδὲν ποτ' ἀλλ' ἢ τῆς φακῆς ἐμπλήμενος: *Ra. 227* οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐστ' ἀλλ' ἢ κοᾶξ: *Lys.427: Ra.443,1073,1130: Pl.1172: Th.iii 71.1* μηδετέρους δέχεσθαι ἀλλ' ἢ μιᾶ νηὶ ἠσυχάζοντας: *vii 50.3* ὡς αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ ὁ Νικίας ἔτι ὁμοίως ἐνηντιοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἢ μὴ φανερῶς γε ἀξιῶν ψηφίζεσθαι (ἀλλ' ἢ *Stephanus: ἄλλο εἰ codd.* The demand for a secret ballot is a part of τὸ ὁμοίως ἐναντιοῦσθαι: cf. 48.1): *Pl.La.187D* αὐτῷ δ' οὐ συγγεγονέναι ἀλλ' ἢ παιδὶ ὄντι: *Prt.334C* μὴ χρῆσθαι ἐλαίῳ ἀλλ' ἢ ὅτι σμικροτάτῳ: *Phdr.258E* τίνος μὲν οὖν ἔνεκα κᾶν τις ὡς εἰπεῖν ζῶη, ἀλλ' ἢ τῶν τοιούτων ἡδονῶν ἔνεκα; *Arist.Po.1455a5* ὁμοῖος δὲ οὐθεὶς ἀλλ' ἢ Ὀρέστης: *Lys.xix 28* γῆ μὲν οὐκ ἦν ἀλλ' ἢ χωρίδιον μικρόν: *D.17* οὐκ ἦλθον οἱ ναῦται . . . ἀλλ' ἢ ὀλίγοι: *Pl.R.601A: Cra.438B: X.HG17.15: vi 4.4: An.iv 6.11*. πλὴν ἀλλ' ἢ is similarly used in *Arist.Metaph.981a18* οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρώπου ὑγιαίνει ὁ ἰατρῶν, πλὴν ἀλλ' ἢ κατὰ συμβεβηκός.

(iii) Instead of a general negation, which has to be supplied

in thought, a particular instance of it is given. Cook Wilson cites from Aristotle:—(a) *HA* 563b19 ἔστι δὲ ὁ μὲν ἰέραξ γαμψώνυχος, ὁ δὲ κόκκυξ οὐ γαμψώνυχος· ἔτι δὲ οὐδὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔοικεν ἰέρακι . . . ἀλλ' ἢ κατὰ τὸ χρῶμα μόνον προσέοικεν ἰέρακι ('Nor is the cuckoo like the falcon in the head either: (indeed there is no likeness) except that it is like the falcon in colour only'): (b) *HA* 580a20 εἰ δ' ἔστιν ὁ χρόνος οὗτος τῆς κυήσεως ἢ μὴ ἔστιν, οὐδὲν πω συνῶπται μέχρι γε τοῦ νῦν, ἀλλ' ἢ ὅτι λέγεται μόνον ('We have not the evidence of searching observation: (nor indeed any evidence) but hearsay'): *Metaph.* 1038a14: *Pol.* 1257b21. Instances of this use outside Aristotle are few. Cook Wilson, rightly classing *Th.*v 60.1 under (2), cites doubtfully *D.*iv 19 (where, however, ἀλλ' ἢ . . . ἔσται must surely be right) and xxxvi 43 (where Reiske's ἀλλ' ἢ gains some support from *A*'s αλλη (*sic*). Add: (a) *Ar.**Par.* 476 οὐδ' οἶδε γ' εἶλλον οὐδὲν ἀργεῖοι πάλαι ἀλλ' ἢ κατεγέλων τῶν τάλαιπυρουμένων ('they did nothing but laugh'): *Eq.* 1397 τὸν δὲ Παιφλαγόνα . . . εἶψ' ὅ τι ποιήσεις κακόν.—Οὐδὲν μέγ' ἀλλ' ἢ τὴν ἐμὴν ἔξει τέχνην ('I won't punish him severely (or indeed at all), except that he'll just have to ply my trade'): *Hp.**Loc.**Hom.* 13 μὴ ἔγχιριε μηδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ κλύσαι κάτω ('Do not rub anything on (or do anything else at all), except give an aperient'). In all such instances I should print a comma before the particles. (b) *Hp.**de**Art.* 6 τὸ αὐτόματον οὐ φαίνεται οὐσίην ἔχον οὐδεμίην ἀλλ' ἢ οὐνομα μούνον ('but merely': οὐσίην clearly excludes οὐνομα).

Explanation of the combination ἀλλ' ἢ. There are two main views:—(a) That ἀλλ', whether it represents ἄλλο (Klotz), or ἀλλά (Hartung), is adverbial, meaning 'except', not conjunctive: and that ἀλλ' ἢ is analogous to *praeterquam*. Neil (on *Ar.**Eq.* 780) is inclined to favour this view. Cf. Brugmann, p. 634. (b) That ἀλλ' ἢ represents a fusion of constructions, 'but' and 'than'. So Stallbaum, Kühner, and Cook Wilson, who compares μάλλον ἢ οὐ. (G.T.A. Krueger's explanation combines (a) and (b).) The 'fusion' theory is at its most successful in accounting for the passages grouped under (i), ἀλλά being taken as referring to the negative and ἢ to the word of comparison. And Cook Wilson regards (i) as the 'natural origin of the idiom'. On this view, the word of comparison is an integral part of the original construction. But an examination of the instances shows a marked chronological

priority in (ii): which suggests that the word of comparison is not integral, but redundant (Brugmann, *loc. cit.*, compares πρὶν . . . πρὶν ἢ), and that the frequency with which it is added by Plato is due to the leisurely fullness of his style. Moreover, Baumlein quotes a number of instances of οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ and οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ between which it is impossible to draw any essential distinction. E.g.: *A.**Pers.* 209 ὁ δ' οὐδὲν ἄλλο γ' ἢ πτήξας δέμας παρεῖχε: *Th.*iv 14.3 οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι . . . ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἢ ἐκ γῆς ἐναυμάχουν: *Pl.**Euthd.* 277E οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ χορεύετον περὶ σέ: *Ar.* 20D δι' οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ διὰ σοφίαν τινά: *Men.* 76B: *Sph.* 226A: *X.**An.* iii 2.18: *D.*xiv 12. I therefore believe that Klotz is right in maintaining that ἀλλ' ἢ originates in ἄλλο ἢ.\* There appear to be four stages:—(i) οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ, substantival, where we could, and sometimes do, have ἄλλο ἢ. (ii) ἀλλ' ἢ = 'except', where ἄλλο, substantival, would be ungrammatical. (iii) ἀλλ' ἢ = 'except that', ἀλλ' ἢ having its own clause. (iv) ἀλλ' ἢ = 'merely' (an exception to an implied generalization). Cf. πλήν *S.**OC* 1643.

(4) Ἄλλ' ἢ. In ἀλλ' ἢ, ἀλλά puts an objection in interrogative form, giving lively expression to a feeling of surprise or incredulity. 'Why?' See also Neil on *Ar.**Eq.* 953: Starkie on *Ar.**V.* 8.

Most commonly, at the opening of an answer-question. *A.**Ch.* 220 Ἄλλ' ἢ δόλον τιν', ὦ ξέν', ἀμφί μοι πλέκεις; *S.**El.* 879 Ἄλλ' ἢ μέμνησας . . .; *E.**Heracl.* 425 Ἄλλ' ἢ . . . οὐκ εἶθ' θεὸς . . .; *Ar.**V.* 8 Ἄλλ' ἢ παραφρονεῖς ἔτεδον . . .; *A.**Ag.* 276 ('Have you dreamed it?'—'No.'—'Well, have you lent an over-credulous ear to rumour?'): *E.**Hipp.* 932: *Rh.* 560 (divided chorus): *Ar.**Fr.* 125: *Pl.**Pr.* 309C Ἄλλ' ἢ σοφῶ τινι . . . ἐντυχῶν πάρει; *Grg.* 447A: *Phdr.* 261B: *X.**An.* vii 6.4 Ἄλλ' ἢ δημαγωγεῖ ὁ ἀνὴρ τοὺς ἀνδρας; *Cyr.* i 4.28 Ἄλλ' ἢ, φάναι, ἐπελάθου τι ὧν ἐβούλου εἰπεῖν;

After an exclamation or apostrophe. *E.**Alc.* 58 Πῶς εἶπας: ἀλλ' ἢ καὶ σοφὸς λέληθας ὦν; *Ph.* 1704 Ὁ ποῖος; ἀλλ' ἢ . . .; *X.**Cyr.* ii 2.28 Ὡς Σαμβαύλα, εἶφη, ἀλλ' ἢ καὶ σὺ . . .; *S.**Ph.* 414: *Ar.**Fr.* 607 τί τὸ κακόν; ἀλλ' ἢ . . .; Less often, later in a speech. *E.**Hel.* 490 Διὸς δ' ἔλεξε παῖδά νιν πεφυκέναι. ἀλλ' ἢ τίς ἐστὶ Ζηνὸς ὄνομ' ἔχων ἀνὴρ Νείλου παρ' ὄχθας; (essentially, though not formally, an opening: 'Why, is there a man called Zeus . . .'): *A.**Supp.* 913: *E.**Hipp.* 858: *Ba.* 922: *Rh.* 26.

In *Ar. Ach.* 424-6 ἀλλ' ἦ follows a rejected suggestion: 'Well'. Ποίας ποθ' ἀνὴρ λακίδας αἰτεῖται πέπλων; ἀλλ' ἦ Φιλοκτήτου τὰ τοῦ πτωχοῦ λέγεις;—Οὐκ . . .—Ἀλλ' ἦ τὰ δυσπινῆ 'θέλεις πεπλώματα . . .;

It is usually, and rightly, maintained that ἀλλ' ἦ is used only in questions. Kühner (II ii 145) thinks that the particles can also mean 'At profecto', in a statement: but cites only *E. Alc.* 816, which is clearly a question: Ἀλλ' ἦ πέπονθα δεῖν ὑπὸ ξένων ἐμῶν; Herakles can hardly credit the truth which dawns upon him. Diehl prints *Fragm. Iamb. Adesp.* 14 without a question-mark: ἀλλ' ἦ λύκος τὰς αἴγας ἐκκαλεῖ μολῶν: which, in the absence of context, tells us nothing.

Ἀλλ' . . . ἦ, *separatim*, is hardly to be regarded as a distinctive usage. In *S. OC* 26 Ἀλλ' ὅστις ὁ τόπος ἦ μάθω . . .; ('Well, shall I find out . . .?'), as Jebb remarks (on *Ph.* 414), 'the peculiar force of ἀλλ' ἦ is not present.'

In several passages where the MSS. give ἀλλ' ἦ . . ., ἀλλ' ἦ . . .; appears to be the right reading. See Neil on *Ar. Eq.* 953. *Ar. Ach.* 1111-12 (ἀλλ' ἦ Starkie): *Th.* 97 (see μέν, I.B.2): *Eq.* 953 (third line of speech), 1162: *Lys.* 928. In *X. Smph.* 1.15 Τί τοῦτ', ἔφη, ὦ Φίλιππε; ἀλλ' ἦ ὀδύνη σε εἴληφε; read certainly ἀλλ' ἦ.

(5) Οὐ μὴν ἀλλά. The authorities explain οὐ μὴν ἀλλά, οὐ μέντοι ἀλλά and οὐ γὰρ ἀλλά as elliptical idioms, in which a verb from the preceding clause or sentence has to be supplied before the ἀλλά: citing in support of this view *X. Cyr.* 1.4.8 ὁ ἵππος πίπτει εἰς γόνατα, καὶ μικροῦ κάκεινον ἐξετραχήλισεν: οὐ μὴν (sc. ἐξετραχήλισεν) ἀλλ' ἐπέμεινεν ὁ Κῦρος μόλις πως. (Hartung ii 48: Bäumlein, p. 156.) But this artificial explanation does not fit other cases. Ellipse of some kind there certainly seems to be, but not, I think, ellipse of any specific idea contained in the preceding words. Rather 'but nothing happens, or happened, or will or shall happen other than . . .'. In any case, the meaning of οὐ μὴν ἀλλά is clear enough. It normally denotes that what is being said cannot be gainsaid, however strong the arguments to the contrary: marking, in fact, the deliberate surmounting of an obstacle recognized as considerable.

The combination first occurs, in the split form οὐ μὴν . . . ἀλλά, in *E. IT* 630: 'Your sister cannot bury you. οὐ μὴν, ἐπειδὴ τυγ-

χάνεις Ἀργεῖος ὦν, ἀλλ' ὦν γε δυνατὸν οὐδ' ἐγὼ λείψω χάριν'. I know no other example of the split form, though Hartung says it occurs 'bisweilen'. The authorities note that οὐ μὴν ἀλλά is confined to Attic Greek. (But see *Hr. Art.* 7, below.) They do not go on to observe that its distribution over Attic Greek is extremely uneven. It is never found (except for the solitary instance of οὐ μὴν . . . ἀλλά) in verse. I know of but one example in Xenophon: of but one in any orator other than Isocrates and Demosthenes (*Lyc.* 124): and of none in Thucydides. There are some ten in Plato (according to R. W. Chapman's statistics: eight are in late works, *Politicus* and *Laus*), more in Aristotle, over twenty in Demosthenes, and about thirty-six in Isocrates. The last two writers, particularly Demosthenes, use οὐ μὴν ἀλλά with great variety and flexibility. οὐ μὴν ἀλλά . . . γε is relatively common in Plato and Isocrates: in Demosthenes, only [xxvi]20, and inferior MSS. in [x]28 (not counting ἐγωγε).

(i) General adversative use. *Pl. Lg.* 722A ταῦτὸν τοῦτ' ἂν αἰροῖμην. οὐ μὴν ἀλλά που καὶ Κλεινία τῶδ' ἀρέσκειν δεῖ τὰ νῦν νομοθετούμενα: *Isoc.* xii 75 διὸ δέδοικα μὴ . . . οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' αἰροῦμαι βοηθῆσαι: *D.* 1.4 'Philip's power is formidable. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπικικῶς . . . τοῦθ' ὁ δυσμαχώτατόν ἐστι τῶν Φιλίππου πραγμάτων καὶ βέλτιστον ὑμῖν': v 3 συμβαίνει . . . τὰ δὲ πράγματα . . . ἐκφεύγειν ὑμᾶς. οὐ μὴν ἀλλά καίπερ τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων . . .: *Pl. Plt.* 263B, 302B: *Lg.* 739A, 770B, 867A, 876D: *Amat.* 133A: *Isoc.* xii 113: *D.* ii 22: iv 38: xxiii 101.

Answering μέν. *Pl. Grg.* 453B σαφῶς μὲν . . . οὐκ οἶδα, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὑποπτεύω γε: *Lg.* 636E λέγεται μὲν ταῦτα . . . καλῶς πως: οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἀφασία γ' ἡμᾶς λαμβάνει: *D.* xiv 33 ἔστι μὲν χαλεπὸς πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁ περὶ τούτων λόγος . . . οὐ μὴν ἀλλά δεῖ . . .: xix 201 ἔστι μὲν ἐγγυτάτω μανίας, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἴσως τῷ μηδὲν ἔχοντι δίκαιον ἀλλ' εἰπεῖν ἀνάγκη πάντα μηχανᾶσθαι: *Pl. Grg.* 449B: *Isoc.* iii 10: xii 201: xv 198.

(ii) In Demosthenes and Aristotle οὐ μὴν ἀλλά sometimes introduces a supplementary argument which takes such marked precedence over the previous argument that it is represented as contrasted with it, rather than as reinforcing it.

*D.* viii 8 ὅτι μὲν δήπουθεν οὐθ' ὅσι' οὐτ' ἀνεκτὰ λέγουσιν . . . δηλόν ἐστιν ἅπασιν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐναντία συμβαίνει ταῖς κατηγορίαις ἃς Διοπείθους κατηγοροῦσι: xxxiv 4 οἱ μὲν οὖν νόμοι . . .

οὐχ οὕτως λέγουσιν . . . οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἔγωγε ἐλπίζω καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πράγματος δείξω ('But I think that I shall prove, on the evidence of the bare facts'): xxxvii 23 μεμαρτύρηται μὲν δὴ . . . ὡς ἀπεδήμουν . . . οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐγκλήματος τούτου δῆλόν ἐστιν: xxxviii 11: lvii 46: Arist. *Pol.* 1262a14, 1264a11 (where Newman is puzzled), 1276b36. Cf. Isoc. ix 33.

(iii) Sometimes the argument thus stressed represents the speaker's second line of defence, or reserve position. It is then followed by a conditional protasis, in which the speaker affirms (or denies), for the sake of argument, something which he has just denied (or affirmed), the apodosis showing that the position is still impregnable.

D. xv. 28 δίκαιον μὲν εἶναι νομίζω κατάγειν τὸν 'Ροδίων δῆμον' οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ μὴ δίκαιον ἦν . . . προσήκειν οἶμαι παραινεῖν κατάγειν: xxii 37 ὡς δ' οὐδ' ἐστὶν ἀπάσης τὸ πρᾶγμα τῆς βουλῆς, ἀλλὰ τιῶν, . . . ἔχω λέγειν . . . οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα πάσης ἐσθ' ἀγὼν τῆς βουλῆς, ὅσῳ συμφέρει μᾶλλον ὑμῖν καταγνοῦσιν ἢ μὴ θεάσασθε: xxii 6: xli 15, 26. Cf. Isoc. viii 137 (where ὁπότερον ἂν ποιήσωσιν means 'if they do either of these things'): xiv 12: Arist. *Pol.* 1270a37.

Conversely, in the following, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ marks the first line of defence. D. xix 135 'They say that to condemn the ambassadors will be an ἀρχὴ πρὸς Φίλιππον ἔχθρας. This, if true, is the strongest possible condemnation of Aeschines. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ φιλίας ἀρχὴ . . . γενήσεται, καὶ τοῦτ' οἶμαι δείξω.' The reality of the supposed state of affairs being disproved, its moral implications, if it *were* real, do not come into question. ἀλλὰ γάρ would perhaps have been more regular here.

οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ is curiously combined with ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ in H. *Art.* 7, if the text is sound: οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐμβάλλειν γάρ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ οὕτω πεπαλαιωμένον ἔκπτωμα τοῦ βραχίονος.

(6) Οὐ μέντοι ἀλλὰ. This combination, much rarer than οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ, is identical with it in sense. Th. v 43.2 ᾧ ἐδόκει μὲν καὶ ἄμεινον εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους μᾶλλον χωρεῖν, οὐ μέντοι ἀλλὰ καὶ φρονήματι φιλονικῶν ἠναντιοῦτο ('but nevertheless his opposition was also due to personal pride and ambition'): Pl. *Cra.* 436D μέγιστον δέ σοι ἴστω τεκμήριον ὅτι οὐκ ἴσφαλται τῆς ἀληθείας ὁ τιθέμενος

(τὰ ὀνόματα): οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε οὕτω σύμφωνα ἦν αὐτῷ ἅπαντα . . . —'That is an unsound argument. συμφωνία proves nothing. οὐ μέντοι ἀλλὰ θαυμάζοιμ' ἂν εἰ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα συμφωνεῖ αὐτὰ αὐτοῖς' ('But there is no συμφωνία: therefore conclusions drawn from it do not come into question'. Cf. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ, D. xix 135. above): *Phd.* 62B, bis: *Smr.* 173B, 199A.

οὐ μέντοι . . . ἀλλὰ. Pl. *Men.* 86C Βούλει . . . ἐπιχειρήσωμεν κοινῇ ζητεῖν τί ποτ' ἐστὶν ἀρετή;—Πάνυ μὲν οὖν. οὐ μέντοι, ᾧ Σώκρατες, ἀλλ' ἔγωγε ἐκείνο ἂν ἥδιστα . . . καὶ σκεψαίμην καὶ ἀκούσαιοι, πότερον ὡς διδακτῷ ὄντι αὐτῷ δεῖ ἐπιχειρεῖν. (See, however, μέντοι, II. 2. iii.)

(7) Οὐ γὰρ ἀλλὰ. This combination is confined to the Iambographers, Old Comedy, Euripides and Plato (οὐ γὰρ τοι ἀλλὰ). (See Neil on *Ar. Eq.* 1205. His explanation, that οὐ γὰρ means 'Oh, no, no', does not meet the facts.) 'For really'. Hippon. *Fr.* 1.1 ἀκούσατ' Ἰππώνακτος: οὐ γὰρ ἀλλ' ἦκω: Phocn. *Fr.* 3.15 οὐ γὰρ ἀλλὰ κηρύσσω (ἄλια Wil.): *Ar. Nu.* 232 οὐ γὰρ ἀλλ' ἢ γῆ βία ἔλκει πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ἰκμάδα τῆς φροντίδος: *Ra.* 58 Μὴ σκῶπτέ μ', ᾧδέλφ': οὐ γὰρ ἀλλ' ἔχω κακῶς ('I really am in a bad way'): 498 οὐ γὰρ ἀλλὰ πειστέον ('It's no good, I must give in'): *Ar. Eq.* 1205: *Ec.* 386: *Eur. Fr.* 73 (ἀλλὰ Bentley: ἄλλο *codd.*): *E. Ba.* 785 οὐ γὰρ ἀλλ' ὑπερβάλλει τάδε ('this really is beyond everything'): *IT* 1005: *Supp.* 570. οὐ γὰρ . . . ἀλλὰ. *Ar. Ra.* 1180 οὐ γὰρ μούστιν ἀλλ' ἀκουστέα. Pl. *Euthd.* 286B οὐ γὰρ τοι ἀλλὰ (305E).

In *Ar. Ra.* 192 it is perhaps best to take οὐ γὰρ by itself (cf. γάρ, VIII. 2), and punctuate before ἀλλὰ: Δούλον οὐκ ἄγω, εἰ μὴ νευαυμάχηκε τὴν περὶ τῶν κρεῶν.—Μὰ τὸν Δί' οὐ γάρ, ἀλλ' ἔτυχον ὀφθαλμιῶν ('No, not I: I happened to have ophthalmia'). I should take Pl. *R.* 492E similarly: Οἶμαι μὲν οὐδένα, ἢ δ' ὅς.—Οὐ γάρ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐπιχειρεῖν πολλὴ ἄνοια. So, clearly, *R.* 495A, *Phd.* 84A, both rightly punctuated by Burnet. Cf. also *Ar. Lys.* 55 (γάρ, VIII. 2). Arist. *MM* 1209a15 should probably also be similarly punctuated: ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔσται γε κατὰ τὸ φιλητὸν ἢ τοιαύτη φιλία. φιλητὸν γὰρ ἦν τάγαθόν, ὁ δὲ φαῦλος οὐ φιλητὸς. οὐ γάρ, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ φιλητέον. The passage is virtually a dialogue, as the use of μὲν οὖν indicates. The proposition εἰ σπουδαῖος τῷ φαύλῳ οὐκ ἔσται φίλος is met by the objection ἔσται

μέν οὖν κ.τ.λ. The counter-objection, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔσται κ.τ.λ., is met by the rejoinder οὐ γάρ, ἀλλὰ κ.τ.λ.: 'No, but it *will* exist on the basis of τὸ φιλητέον'

## Ἄρα

The form ἄρ is often used in Epic before consonants: the enclitic ῥά, usually following a monosyllable (ἦ, ὄς, γάρ, etc.), sometimes also after a disyllable ending in a vowel or diphthong (e.g. ἐπεί), is found in Epic and also in lyric poets and the lyrics of tragedy. The particle is perhaps connected with Lithuanian *iŗ*, 'and'.

According to the most widely-held view, ἄρα denotes connexion (consequence or mere succession). Thus Kühner: 'Es dient zunächst zur Anreihung, und zwar zur Anreihung von Begriffen, die miteinander in einem gewissen natürlichen Zusammenhange stehen.' Hartung arrives at the quite different conclusion that the root-meaning is 'quickness', and hence 'surprise' (deriving the particle from the same root as ἀρπάζω, an impossible etymology). Neither side has much difficulty in collecting evidence to confound the other. It is, for example, as natural for a cook to cut up meat, or for a host to shake hands with his guest, as it is unnatural for waters to part asunder in the midst, or for a man to enter into conversation with a fish. But Hartung's definition seems to widen as he expounds it. After giving examples of Homeric usage, he sums up (i 430) by saying that ἄρα is used 'bei allen Handlungen und Vorgängen, welche stärker oder schwächer das Gemuth aufregen', and that it marks the impression made by anything 'neu und interessant'. It stands, in fact, for something like 'Siehe!', though it is a word to be felt rather than translated. Whatever one may think of Hartung's etymology, his interpretation, in its wider form, seems to me the only one which will account for the wealth and variety of the Homeric use. The examples given below will show that the idea of 'connexion' is often inappropriate, except

in so far as some kind of connexion must be present in all speech or action. Moreover, ἄρα is one of the commonest of all Homeric particles (β413-17 and τ435-66 are instances of the almost reckless profusion with which it is used). And it is surely improbable that in Homer, where logical relationships are, broadly speaking, seldom emphasized or very precisely defined, the idea of connexion should thus be obtruded at every turn. On the other hand, if ἄρα betokens 'interest', its frequency, even in the most apparently commonplace scenes, is not surprising. For Homer, as for a child, the most ordinary things in daily life are profoundly interesting.

Here, as always, it is safer to guide our steps by the clearer light of usage than by the will-o'-the-wisp of etymology, and to accept Hartung's explanation, while admitting that the freshness of ἄρα, in Epic, may be to some extent staled by constant repetition, so that it sinks almost to the level of a mere Epic formula, like the 'all' of our own ballads.

I. Primary use, expressing a lively feeling of interest: in subordinate as well as in main clauses. This is extremely common in Epic, and occurs also in Lyric, δ' ἄρα being particularly frequent in narrative. It continues to be found fairly often in Herodotus, and in the not wholly Attic Xenophon. In purely Attic writers, prose and verse, it is but occasionally met with, having a precarious footing in tragedy (mainly in lyrics), comedy, and Plato. Its character is quite foreign to the more formal style of Thucydides and the orators.<sup>1</sup>

Epic. Hom. A46 ἐκλαγξαν δ' ἄρ' οἰστοί: B59 θεῖός μοι ἐνύπνιον ἦλθεν Ὀνειρος . . . στῆ δ' ἄρ' ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς: 103 αὐτὰρ ἄρα Ζεὺς δῶκε διακτόρῳ ἀργεῖφόντῃ: 309-10 δράκων . . . τόν ῥ' αὐτὸς Ὀλύμπιος ἦκε φόωσδε, βωμοῦ ὑπαίξας πρὸς ῥα πλατάνιστον ὄρουσεν: 620 τῶν μὲν ἄρ' Ἀμφίμαχος καὶ Θάλπιος ἠγησάσθην: E582 βάλε . . . χερμαδίῳ . . . ἐκ δ' ἄρα χειρῶν ἠνία λεύκ' ἐλέφαντι χαμαὶ πέσον: 587 τύχε γάρ ῥ' ἀμάθοιο βαθείης: Z418 οὐδέ μιν ἐξενάριξε . . . ἀλλ' ἄρα μιν κατέκχε: H472 ἐνθεν ἄρ' οἰνίζοντο κάρη κομοῶντες Ἀχαιοί: Θ386 πέπλον . . . ὄν ῥ' αὐτῇ

<sup>1</sup> Hartung (i 432-3) is surely wrong in drawing the line between Epic and Lyric on the one hand, and Herodotus and Attic (including Xenophon) on the other.

ποιήσατο: M406 στυφέλιξε δέ μιν μεμαῶτα. χώρησεν δ' ἄρα τυτθὸν ἐπάλξιος: N672 ὄκα δὲ θυμὸς ᾤχετ' ἀπὸ μελέων, στυγερός δ' ἄρα μιν σκότος εἶλεν: Φ382 ἄψορρον δ' ἄρα κῦμα κατέσσυτο: 495 φύγεν ὡς τε πέλεια, ἢ ῥα . . . εἰσέπτατο πέτρην: Ω96 βῆ δ' ἰέναι . . . ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρα σφι λιάζετο κῦμα θαλάσσης: η301 'My daughter should have escorted you. σὺ δ' ἄρα πρώτην ἰκέτευσας': θ326 ἄσβεστος δ' ἄρ' ἐνῶρτο γέλωσ μακάρεσσι θεοῖσι: τ184 ὄπλοτερος γενεῆ' ὁ δ' ἄρα πρότερος καὶ ἀρείων: ω234 τὸν δ' ὡς οὖν ἐνόησε . . . στὰς ἄρ' ὑπὸ βλωθρὴν ὄγχνην κατὰ δάκρυον εἶβε: Hes.Th.867 ἐτήκετο, κασσίτερος ὡς . . . ὡς ἄρα τήκετο γαῖα: Sc.46 παννύχιος δ' ἄρ' ἔλεκτο: Hom.B16,522,572,642: Δ520: Η267: Λ464: Μ28: η100: μ413: ν33: Hes.Th.689, 848. Lyric. Sapph.Fr.136 κῆνοι δ' ἄρα πάντες καρχῆσιά τ' ἤχον κάλειβον: Pi.O.10.52 ταῦτα δ' . . . παρέσταν μὲν ἄρα Μοῖραι σχεδόν: P.4.121 ἐκ δ' ἄρ' αὐτοῦ πομφόλυξαν δάκρυα: N.10.69 ἐφορμαθεῖς δ' ἄρ' ἄκοντι θεῶ ἤλασε: I.6.49 ταῦτ' ἄρα οἱ φαμένω πέμψεν θεὸς . . . μέγαν αἰετόν: Mimn.Fr.13.5: Stesich.Fr.5.2: 15.2: Ibyc.Fr.3.41: Phoc.Fr.17.3: Thgn.599: Simon.Fr.67.1: Pi.O.6.52: 10.43: P.3.27,57: 4.156: N.1.48. Prose. Hdt.i111 τῷ δ' ἄρα καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ γυνὴ ἐπίτεξ ἐοῦσα . . . τίκτει: 141 ἰδόντα δὲ παλλομένους εἰπεῖν ἄρα αὐτὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἰχθύς: ii 58 πανηγύριος δὲ ἄρα . . . πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων Αἰγύπτιοί εἰσι οἱ ποιησάμενοι: 141 ὀλοφυρόμενον δ' ἄρα μιν ἐπελθεῖν ὕπνον: iii 34 πρότερον γὰρ δὴ ἄρα . . . εἶρετο ὁ Καμβύσης: iv 45 πρότερον δὲ ἦν ἄρα ἀνώνυμος: 134 πυθόμενος δὲ . . . εἶπε ἄρα: 189 τὴν δὲ ἄρα ἐσθῆτα . . . ἐκ τῶν Διβυσσέων ἐποίησαντο οἱ Ἕλληνες: v 87.2 ἀπολέσθαι τρόπῳ τοιῷδε κομισθεῖς ἄρα ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας . . .: ix 9.2 ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Χίλεος ἔλεγε ἄρα σφι τάδε (ὡς δ' ἄρα is common in Herodotus: i 24,27,86: ii 140: iii 134: *id.sacr.*: i 112 ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐπειθε ἄρα τὸν ἄνδρα): Hp.Fract.6 ἤπερ καὶ ἡ ἐπίδεσις ἐχάλα ἄρα μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπίεζεν (ἐχαλάρα *codd.*): X.HGiv 2.22 λέγεται ἄρα τις ἀναβοῆσαι: An.iv 6.15 ὅπως δὲ ὡς κράτιστα κλέπτητε . . . νόμιμον ἄρα ὑμῖν ἐστιν . . . μαστιγοῦσθαι (ἄρα *det.*: μὲν γάρ CBE: γάρ A): Cyr.i 3.2 ἀπεκρίνατο ἄρα ὁ Κῦρος: 3.8 ὁ δὲ Σάκας ἄρα καλὸς τε ὦν ἐτύγχανε: 3.9 οἱ δ' ἄρα τῶν βασιλέων οἰνοχόοι, ἐπειδὴν διδῶσι τὴν φιάλην . . . καταρροφοῦσι: 4.10 ὁ δ' Ἀστυάγης ἄρα εἶπεν: iv 6.4 καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ ἀνιαιθεῖς ἄρ' οὗτος κατέσχευεν ὑπὸ σκότου τὸν φθόνον: vii 3.6 ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Κῦρος ἐπαῖσατο ἄρα τὸν μηρόν: viii 3.25 Σακῶν δὲ . . . ἀπέλιπεν ἄρα τῷ ἵππῳ τοὺς ἄλλους ἵππους:

4.7 ἐπεὶ ἐδεδειπνήκεσαν . . . εἶπεν ἄρα ὁ Γωβρύας: Oec.12.20 ὅτε βασιλεὺς ἄρα ἵππου ἐπιτυχῶν ἀγαθοῦ . . . ἤρετο: 18.9 καὶ πάλαι ἐννοῶ ἄρα εἰ λέληθα (εἰ ἄρα Cobet): Ar.27 ὡς δὲ ἤσθετο ἄρα . . .: 28 παρῶν δὲ τις Ἀπολλόδωρος . . . εἶπεν ἄρα: Ages.7.5 οὐκ ἐφησθεῖς φανερός ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' εἶπεν ἄρα.

Attic (excluding Xenophon). A.Pers.568 τοὶ δ' ἄρα πρωτόμοιροι, φεῦ, ληφθέντες πρὸς ἀνάγκας, ἡέ, ἀκτὰς ἀμφὶ Κυχρείας, ὁᾶ, ἔρρουσι: E.IT1222 Τοῦσδ' ἄρ' ἐκβαίνοντας ἤδη δωμάτων ὀρῶ ξένους (very odd, and suspected by Kirchhoff and Paley): Ba.166 ἡδομένα δ' ἄρα . . . κῶλον ἄγει ταχύπουν σκιρτήμασι βάκχα: IA1103 μνήμην δ' ἄρ' εἶχον πλησίον βεβηκότος Ἀγαμέμνονος τοῦδ': Rh. 823 μετὰ σέ, ναί, μετὰ σέ . . . τότ' ἄρ' ἔμολον: Ar.Nu.410 κᾶτ' οὐκ ἔσχω ἀμελήσας (the haggis) ἡ δ' ἄρ' ἐφυσᾶτ': Av.495 κᾶρτι καθῆυδον, καὶ πρὶν δειπνεῖν τοὺς ἄλλους οὗτος ἄρ' ἤσεν: Pl.Grg.524B ἐπειδὴν δὲ διαλυθῆτον ἄρα ἀπ' ἀλλήλοιν: Cra.412C ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πορεύεται τὰ ὄντα, ἐνὶ μὲν ἄρ' αὐτοῖς τάχος, ἐνὶ δὲ βραδύτης: Thet.156E ἐπειδὴν . . . , ὁ μὲν ὀφθαλμὸς ἄρα ὄψεως ἔμπλεως ἐγένετο: 200E Ὁ τὸν ποταμὸν καθηγούμενος . . . ἔφη ἄρα δείξειν αὐτό: R.598E ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὸν ἀγαθὸν ποιητὴν, εἰ μέλλει περὶ ὧν ἂν ποιῆ καλῶς ποιῆσειν, εἰδόντα ἄρα ποιεῖν: Lg. 894E ἀλλ' ὅταν ἄρα αὐτὸ αὐτὸ κινήσαν ἕτερον ἀλλοιώσῃ . . .: 943E μὴ διαμαρτῶν τις ἄρα τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀποβολῶν . . . ἀναξίω ἀναξίας ἐπάγη δίκας: Ant.vi 35 καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐκ μὲν τῶν πεπραγμένων οὐδεμία ἦν ἐλπίς ἀποφεύξασθαι—τοιαῦτα ἄρ' ἦν τὰ ἡδίκημένα—: Pl.Thet. 199B: Lys.iii 30.

This is not a long list of Attic examples, and it might be further reduced by assigning some of the passages quoted to the more limited uses which we must now discuss. In this, the predominant Attic usage (but already present, in most of its varieties, in Homer), ἄρα denotes, not interest in general, but in particular the interest or surprise occasioned by enlightenment or disillusionment.

## II. ἄρα expressing the surprise attendant upon disillusionment.

(1) Verb in the present. The reality of an event is presented as apprehended at some moment during its occurrence. S.Tr.1 καὶ ἀγεννήτων ἄρα μῦθοι καλῶς πίπτουσιν: OC534 Σαί τ' εἰς ἄρ' ἀπόγονοί τε καὶ . . .: E.Hel.793 Πάντ' οἶσθ' ἄρ', ὡς ζοικας Ar.V.10 Τὸν αὐτὸν ἄρ' ἐμοὶ βουκολεῖς Σαβάζιον: S.El.1454



*Rh.* 1101: *E.El.* 965: *Pl.Prt.* 325C ταῦτα δ' ἄρα οὐ διδάσκονται . . . ; *Clit.* 408B εἰ δὲ . . . , δούλω ἄμεινον ἢ ἐλευθέρω διάγειν τῷ τοιούτῳ τὸν βίον ἐστὶν ἄρα: *R.* 438A πάντες γὰρ ἄρα τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐπιθυμοῦσιν: *Ar.* 26C καὶ αὐτὸς ἄρα νομίζω εἶναι θεοῦς: *Grg.* 493B τὸ δὲ κόσκινον ἄρα λέγει . . . τὴν ψυχὴν εἶναι: *Hdt.* iv 205: vii 35.2: *Lys.* xii 36.

(2) Verb in the past. The reality of a past event is presented as apprehended either during its occurrence (as in (1) above): or at the moment of speaking or writing: or at some intermediate moment ('as it subsequently transpired'). *Hom.* *A* 604 κακοῦ δ' ἄρα οἱ πέλεν ἀρχή: *ψ* 29 Τηλέμαχος δ' ἄρα μιν πάλαι ἤδεν ἐνδον ἐόντα: *S.Aj.* 1026 κνώδοντος . . . ὑφ' οὗ φονέως ἄρ' ἐξέπνευσας: *Tr.* 962 ἀγχοῦ δ' ἄρα κοῦ μακρὰν προύκλαιον: *E.Andr.* 274 Ἡ μεγάλων ἀχέων ἄρ' ὑπήρξεν, ὅτ' . . . : *HF* 339 μάτην ἄρ' ὁμόγαμόν σ' ἐκτησάμην: *Ar.* *Av.* 513 ὁ δ' ἄρ' εἰστήκει τὸν Λυσικράτη τηρῶν: *Hom.* *E* 85: *Φ* 604: *Pi.N.* 8.32: *A.Pers.* 472, 934: *S.El.* 935: *Ant.* 1178, 1273: *Hdt.* vi 62.1 τὸν δὲ Ἀρίστων ἀκνίζε ἄρα τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης ἔρωσ: viii 8.1 ἐν νόῳ μὲν εἶχε ἄρα καὶ πρότερον αὐτομολήσειν: *Pl.* *Th.* 161C ἡμεῖς μὲν αὐτὸν ὥσπερ θεὸν ἐθαυμάζομεν ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ, ὁ δ' ἄρα ἐτύχανεν ὧν εἰς φρόνησιν οὐδὲν βελτίω βατράχου γυρίνου: *Prt.* 315C ἐπεδήμει γὰρ ἄρα καὶ Πρόδικος: *D.* xxxv 8 πλείστον δ' ἄρα ἦν ἐψευσμένος: *Hdt.* iii 64.70: vii 130.2 (*bis*): *Th.* vi 76.4: *Pl.* *Men.* 91E: *Lys.* viii 12.

Two idiomatic usages deserve special notice:—

(i) With μέλλειν and similar expressions, denoting that the predestination of an event is realised *ex post facto*. *Hom.* *M* 113 οὐδ' ἄρ' ἐμελλε . . . ἀψ ἀπονοστήσειν: *δ* 107 τῷ δ' ἄρ' ἐμελλεν . . . ἔσεσθαι: *E* 674 οὐδ' ἄρ' Ὀδυσσῆϊ . . . μύρσιμον ἦεν: *O* 274 οὐδ' ἄρα . . . κιχήμεναι αἴσιμον ἦεν: *S.Aj.* 926 ἐμελλες, τάλας, ἐμελλες χρόνῳ στερεόφρων ἄρ' ἐξανύσσειν: *Rh.* 1083 ὡς σ' οὐκ ἐμελλον ἄρ', ὦ τάλας, λείψειν οὐδέποτε: *Ar.* *Ach.* 347 Ἐμέλλετ' ἄρα πάντως ἀνήσειν τῆς βοῆς: *Ra.* 269 ἐμελλον ἄρα παύσειν ποθ' ὑμᾶς: *Eg.* 138 Τὸν προβατοπώλην ἦν ἄρ' ἀπολέσθαι χρεῶν. . . ;

(ii) With the imperfect, especially of εἰμί, denoting that something which has been, and still is, has only just been realized. In such cases Greek tends to stress the past, English the present, existence of the fact. *Hom.* *I* 316 ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄρα τις χάρις ἦεν

μάρνασθαι δηίοισιν ἐπ' ἀνδράσι νωλεμὲς αἰεὶ: *Π* 60 οὐδ' ἄρα πως ἦν ἀσπερχὲς κεχολῶσθαι: *P* 142 Ἐκτορ, εἶδος ἀριστε, μάχης ἄρα πολλὸν ἐδεύεο: *Thgn.* 788 οὕτως οὐδὲν ἄρ' ἦν φίλτερον ἄλλο πάτρης: *A.Ag.* 542 Τερπνῆς ἄρ' ἦτε τῆσδ' ἐπήβολοι νόσου: *S.OC* 1697 Πόθος τοι καὶ κακῶν ἄρ' ἦν τις: *E.IT* 369 Ἄιδης Ἀχιλλεὺς ἦν ἄρ', οὐχ ὁ Πηλέως: *Hipp.* 359 Κύπρις οὐκ ἄρ' ἦν θεός: *IA* 1330 ἢ πολύμοχθον ἄρ' ἦν γένος . . . ἀμερίων: *Ar.Eg.* 1170 Ὡς μέγαν ἄρ' εἶχες ὦ πότνια τὸν δάκτυλον: *Nu.* 1271 Κακῶς ἄρ' ὄντως εἶχες, ὡς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖς: *Av.* 19 τῷ δ' οὐκ ἄρ' ἦστην οὐδὲν ἄλλο πλὴν δάκνειν: *E.Andr.* 418: *Hel.* 616: *Or.* 1667: *Tr.* 412, 1161, 1240: *Ar.Eg.* 384, 386: *V.* 314, 451, 821: *Pa* 676: *Hdt.* iv 64 'They use human skin for making cloaks and quiver-cases. δέρμα δὲ ἀνθρώπου καὶ παχὺ καὶ λαμπρὸν ἦν ἄρα': *Pl.* *Smr.* 198D τὸ δ' ἄρα, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐ τοῦτο ἦν τὸ καλῶς ἐπαινεῖν ὀτιοῦν: *Phd.* 68B ἰκανόν σοι τεκμήριον . . . ὅτι οὐκ ἄρ' ἦν φιλόσοφος: *Ti.* 51C τὸ δ' οὐδὲν ἄρ' ἦν πλὴν λόγος: *D.* lv 1 οὐκ ἦν ἄρα . . . χαλεπώτερον οὐδὲν ἢ γείτονος πονηροῦ καὶ πλεονέκτου τυχεῖν (a characteristically naïve opening to a naïve little speech): *Hdt.* iii 65: *Th.* i 69.5. With variation of tense. *Hes.* *Op.* 11 οὐκ ἄρα μῦνον ἔην Ἐρίδων γένος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γαίαν εἰσὶ δύω: *Timocr.* *Fr.* 3.1 οὐκ ἄρα Τιμοκρέων μῦνος Μῆδοισιν ὀρκιατόμει: ἀλλ' ἐντὶ κἄλλοι δὴ πονηροί.

(3) Verb in the future (mostly in questions). *S.O* *T* 1444 Οὕτως ἄρ' ἀνδρὸς ἀθλίου πεύσεισθ' ὑπερ; *Ar.* *Nu.* 465 Ἄρα γε τοῦτ' ἄρ' ἐγὼ ποτ' ὄψομαι; *E.Ph.* 1658: *Or.* 794, 1525: *IA* 676, 1360: *Pl.* *Grg.* 515B ἢ ἄλλου του ἄρα ἐπιμελήσῃ . . . ; *Ar.* 34C ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδὲν ἄρα τούτων ποιήσω: 37D ἄλλοι δὲ ἄρα αὐτὰς οἴσουσι ραδίως; *Phd.* 68A φρονήσεως δὲ ἄρα τις τῷ ὄντι ἐρῶν . . . ἀγανακτήσει . . . ; *Th.* i 121.5: *Lys.* x 22. ἄρα repeated, with variation of tense. *Pl.* *Cri.* 50E ἢ πρὸς μὲν ἄρα σοι τὸν πατέρα οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου ἦν . . . πρὸς δὲ τὴν πατρίδα ἄρα . . . ἐξέσται σοι . . .

ταῦτ' ἄρα is common in Aristophanes. 'I see: that's why . . .' *Ach.* 90 Ταῦτ' ἄρ' ἐφενάκιζες σὺ δύο δραχμὰς φέρων: *E.* 125: *Nu.* 319, 335, 353, 394: *Pa* 414, 617: *Hdt.* vii 130.2.

III. The following varieties of the secondary use are present.

(1) εἰ ἄρα, ἐὰν ἄρα. ἄρα in a conditional protasis denotes that the hypothesis is one of which the possibility has not yet been realized: 'If, after all'. This usage occurs sometimes in



comedy, but is almost confined to prose, where it is common in all styles. (In Thucydides it predominates strongly over other uses.) *Ar. Av.* 601 πλὴν εἴ τις ἄρ' ὄρνις: *Th.* 532 πλὴν ἄρ' εἰ γυναῖκες: *Ra.* 74 εἰ καὶ τοῦτ' ἄρα: *Hdt.* ii 28 εἰ ἄρα ταῦτα γινόμενα ἔλεγε: iii 45 ἦν ἄρα προδιδῶσι οὗτοι: *Th.* i 27 2 εἰ ἄρα κωλύοντο ὑπὸ Κερκυραίων πλεῖν: 93.7 ἦν ἄρα ποτὲ κατὰ γῆν βιασθῶσι: *Pl. La.* 187E εἰ ἄρα καὶ περὶ ἄλλου του πρότερον ἀρξήται διαλέγεσθαι: *Isoc.* vi 72 ἂν δ' ἄρα ψευσθῶμεν: *D.* iii 26 τὴν Ἀριστείδου . . . οἰκίαν, εἴ τις ἄρ' οἶδεν ὑμῶν ὅποια ποτ' ἐστίν: xiv 5 εἰ ἄρ' ἐγχειρεῖν ἔγνωκε τοῖς Ἕλλησι: *Hdt.* iv 32: ix 90.2: *Th.* i 70.7: 84.2: *Pl. Ar.* 17B: *Phidr.* 233C, 238D, 243A, 255A: *Lg.* 626B: *Ant.* vi 1: *And.* iii 15: *Lys.* iii 40. (Obviously different are passages in which εἰ and ἄρα are not connected in thought. *Hom. Γ* 374 εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ὄξυ νόησε (*id. saep.*): *Simon. Fr.* 62.) Aristotle occasionally uses εἰ ἄρα elliptically, 'if anything', 'if at all' (cf. εἰ δ' οὖν, εἴπερ). *Cat.* 5b10 τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οὐδὲν καθ' αὐτό, ἀλλ', εἰ ἄρα, κατὰ συμβεβηκός: *Top.* 106b7 ἐν φωνῇ δ' οὐδέν, ἦ, εἰ ἄρα, τὸ σομφόν: *D.* xxi 138 εἰ δ' ἄρα.

(2) In reported speech, and after verbs of thinking and seeming, ἄρα denotes the apprehension of an idea not before envisaged. Usually ἄρα conveys either, at the most, actual scepticism, or, at the least, the disclaiming of responsibility for the accuracy of the statement. But sometimes the context implies acceptance of the idea, and ἄρα merely denotes that its truth has not before been realized.

*Hdt.* viii 135.1 θῶμά μοι μέγιστον γενέσθαι λέγεται ὑπὸ Θηβαίων, ἐλθεῖν ἄρα . . . : *Pl. Grg.* 524D ταῦτ' οὐκ εἶναι δὴ μοι δοκεῖ τοῦτ' ἄρα καὶ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν εἶναι: *Smpr.* 198C καὶ ἐνενόησα τότε ἄρα καταγέλαστος ὢν: *X. Cyr.* i 6.31 λέγεται . . . γενέσθαι ποτὲ ἀνὴρ διδάσκαλος τῶν παιδῶν, ὃς ἐδίδασκεν ἄρα . . . : *D.* xix 160 οὐδὲ τοῦτο δειχθῆναι πᾶσιν, ὅτι οὐκ ἄρ' ἡ πόλις ἢ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἠττητο τῷ πολέμῳ. With variation of tense and repetition of the particle. *Pl. R.* 600C-D.

Especially ὡς ἄρα (rarely ὅτι ἄρα). Like εἰ ἄρα, this is almost confined to prose. It is peculiarly common in Demosthenes, with whom the sceptical sense preponderates strongly. In Plato the preponderance is less marked.

Sceptical. *E. HF* 759 ἀφρονα λόγον . . . ὡς ἄρ' οὐ σθένουσιν

θεοί. *Γ.* 364B λόγοι . . . θαυμασιώτατοι λέγονται, ὡς ἄρα καὶ θεοὶ πολλοῖς μὲν ἀγαθοῖς δυστυχίας . . . ἐνειμαν: *Smpr.* 192C οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἂν δόξειεν τοῦτ' εἶναι ἢ τῶν ἀφροδισίων συνουσία, ὡς ἄρα τοῦτου ἔνεκα . . . : *Men.* 80E ἐριστικὸν λόγον κατάγεις, ὡς οὐκ ἄρα . . . : *X. An.* v 7.5 ἀκούω τινὰ διαβάλλειν ἐμέ, ὡς ἐγὼ ἄρα . . . μέλλω: *Isoc.* viii 66 καὶ μὴ καταγνῶναί μου τοιαύτην μανίαν, ὡς ἄρ' ἐγὼ προειλόμην ἂν . . . : *And.* i 54, 137: *D.* viii 73. Without scepticism. *Ant. Soph. Fr.* 54 ἔστι δὲ τις λόγος, ὡς ἄρα ἰδὼν ἀνὴρ ἀνδρα ἕτερον ἀργύριον ἀναιρούμενον πολὺ ἐδειτό οἱ δανείσαι ἐπὶ τόκῳ: *Pl. Phdr.* 249E ἔστι δὴ οὖν δεῦρο ὁ πᾶς ἡκων λόγος . . . ὡς ἄρα . . . : *Ar.* 40E καὶ ἀληθῆ ἐστὶν τὰ λεγόμενα, ὡς ἄρα . . . : *R.* 495A οὐ κακῶς ἐλέγομεν ὡς ἄρα . . . : *D.* xix 256 ἀληθῆ λόγον . . . ὡς ἄρ' οἱ θεοὶ σφύζουσιν ἡμῶν τὴν πόλιν: *Iviii* 24 ἀκούω δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων . . . ὡς ἄρα . . . : *Pl. R.* 375D, 392A, 572B: *Ly.* 215C, E: *Smpr.* 174B: *Ti.* 90A: *Lg.* 657A. Sometimes the particle is postponed to a later point in the oratio obliqua. *Pl. Grg.* 493A ἤδη γάρ του ἔγωγε καὶ ἤκουσα τῶν σοφῶν ὡς . . . , καὶ τοῦτο ἄρα . . . : *Lg.* 698D καί τινα λόγον . . . ἀφῆκεν φοβερὸν, ὡς οὐδεὶς Ἐρετριῶν αὐτὸν ἀποπεφευγῶς εἶη· συνάψαντες γὰρ ἄρα τὰς χεῖρας σαγηνεύσαιεν πᾶσαν τὴν Ἐρετρικὴν. Sometimes the particle is repeated. *Pl. Phd.* 97A θαυμάζω γὰρ εἰ, ὅτε μὲν . . . ἦν, ἐν ἄρα ἐκάτερον ἦν . . . , ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπλησίασαν ἀλλήλοις, αὐτῆ ἄρα αἰτία αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο: *Lg.* 931C μὴ δὴ τις ἀτιμαζομένῳ μὲν . . . ἠγείσθω . . . , τιμωμένῳ δὲ ἄρα . . . , οὐκ ἄρα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀκούειν . . . ἠγησόμεθα; *Er.* 315D λέγειν . . . ὡς ἄρα σοῦ ποτε λέγοντος ἀκούσας . . . , ταῦτ' ἄρα σὲ μὲν τότε διεκώλυσα . . . , νῦν δὲ . . .

(3) In questions following an interrogative. Here, strictly speaking, ἄρα forecasts the effect of the enlightenment which the answer will bring: 'who, if one only knew . . . ?' But, in effect, the particle does little more than add liveliness to the question.

(i) Direct questions. *Hom. A* 8 τίς τ' ἄρ σφωε θεῶν ἐριδι ζυγνέηκε μάχεσθαι; *Γ* 226 ἐρέειν' ὁ γεραιός' τίς τ' ἄρ' ὄδ' ἄλλος . . . : *Pl. P.* 11.22 πότερόν νιν ἄρ' Ἰφιγένει' ἐπ' Εὐρίπῳ σφαχθεῖσα τῆλε πάτρας ἐκνίξεν . . . ; *A. Th.* 91 τίς ἄρα ρύσεται, τίς ἄρ' ἐπαρκέσει . . . : *S. Aj.* 1185 Τίς ἄρα νέατος ἐς πότε λήξει πολυπλάγκτων ἐτέρων ἀριθμὸς . . . ; *OT* 1099 τίς σ' ἔτικτε τῶν μακραιώνων . . . : *OC* 117 Ὅρα' τίς ἄρ' ἦν; *E. Ba.* 556 πόθι Νύκτας ἄρα . . . θυρο-

φορεῖς . . . ; 639 τί ποτ' ἄρ' ἐκ τούτων ερεῖ; *IT*492 Πότερος ἄρ' ὑμῶν . . . Πυλάδης κέκληται; *Ion* 324 τίς ποτ' ἦν ἄρα; *Ph.*1288 δίδυμα τέκεα πότερος ἄρα πότερον αἰμάξει . . . ; *Or.*1269 τίς ὄδ' ἄρ' ἀμφὶ μέλαθρον πολεῖ . . . ; *Ar.V.*273 τί ποτ' οὐ πρὸ θυρῶν φαίνεται ἄρ' ἡμῖν ὁ γέρων . . . ; *Au.*517 τίνος οὐνεκα ταῦτ' ἄρ' ἔχουσιν; 1498 Πηνίκ' ἐστὶν ἄρα τῆς ἡμέρας; *Ra.*461 πῶς ἐνθάδ' ἄρα κόπτουσιν οὐπιχώριοι; *Ec.*91 τί γὰρ ἂν χεῖρον ἀκροάμην ἄρα ξαίνουσα; *S.Ant.*1285,1296: *OC*1715: *E.Ph.*1515: *IA*6, 790,1036: *Ar.V.*143,266: *Rax*1045,1048: *Au.*310,311,314: *Eur.Fr.*206: *Pl.Euthd.*279A ἀγαθὰ δὲ ποῖα ἄρα . . . τυγχάνει ἡμῖν ὄντα; *Lg.*895A εἰ σταίη πῶς τὰ πάντα . . . , τίν' ἄρα ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀνάγκη πρῶτην κίνησιν γενέσθαι . . . ; 944D ζημία δὴ . . . τίς ἄρα γίγνεται ἂν πρόσφορος; *Plt.*290A Τί δὲ ἄρα τοὺς τὰ τοιάδε διακονοῦντας . . . ; *Euthd.*279B: *Sph.*243E.

Preceding the interrogative. *S.Tr.*504 ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τάνδ' ἄρ' ἀκοῖτιν τίνες ἀμφίγνοι κατέβαν πρὸ γάμων . . . ;

(ii) Indirect questions. *Hom.H.*415 ποτιδέγμενοι ὀππότε ἄρ' ἔλθοι; *A.Pers.*144 φροντίδα . . . θώμεθα . . . πῶς ἄρα πράσσει Ζέρξης; *Pr.*594 εἶπέ μοι . . . τίς ἂν, τίς ἄρα . . . : *S.Ph.*689 τόδε θαῦμά μ' ἔχει . . . πῶς ἄρα . . . βιοτὰν κατέσχευεν; *E.Rh.*135 κατόπταν μολεῖν . . . ὃ τί ποτ' ἄρα . . . : *Ar.Eg.*119 φέρ' ἴδω τί ἄρ' ἐνεστὶν αὐτόθι; *Ra.*1253 φροντίζειν . . . τίν' ἄρα μέμψιν ἐποίσει; *Ec.*231: *Pi.O.*10.57: *Pl.Prt.*343C ἐπισκεψώμεθα . . . εἰ ἄρα . . . : *Phdr.*228D δείξας . . . τί ἄρα . . . ἔχεις ὑπὸ τῷ ἱματίῳ; *Phd.*78B δεῖ ἡμᾶς ἀνερέσθαι ἑαυτούς, τῷ ποίῳ τινὶ ἄρα προσήκει; 95B πειρώμεθα εἰ ἄρα τι λέγεις; *Cra.*424B ἴδωμεν πότερον ἄρα . . . : *D.*xx 68 πρῶτον τοίνυν Κόνωνα σκοπεῖτε, εἰ ἄρα ἄξιον . . .

The use of ἄρα after ὅστις is essentially similar. *E.Hec.*1119 ὅστις ἦν ἄρα; *Ba.*894 ἰσχὺν τόδ' ἔχειν, ὃ τι ποτ' ἄρα τὸ δαιμόνιον; *Pl.Lg.*692B καὶ τοῖς τότε νομοθέταις, οἵτινες ἄρα ἦσαν νομοθετοῦντες; *Hr.Epid.*ii 2.15 (reading uncertain).

(4) Logical. A particle which marks realization or enlightenment is half-way to becoming a logical connective particle, since enlightenment naturally results from something which has just been said or done: 'Hullo, you're here': 'So you're here!' In some of the examples given above a logical force is plainly discernible: more plainly in the following: *S.Aj.*269 Τό τοι δίπλαζον, ὦ γύναι, μείζον κακόν.—'Ἡμεῖς ἄρ' οὐ νοσοῦντος ἀτώ-

μεσθα νῦν: *E.Ion* 312 Οὐκ οἶδα πλὴν ἐν' Λοξίου κεκλήμεθα.—'Ἡμεῖς σ' ἄρ' αὖθις, ὦ ξέν', ἀντοικτίρομεν: *HF*581: *IT*542: *Gorg.Fr.*11a.12 ἀλλὰ διελὼν τοῦ τείχους; ἅπασιν ἄρα φανερὰ γένοιτ' ἂν: *ib.* πάντως ἄρα καὶ πάντῃ πάντα πράττειν ἀδύνατον ἦν μοι.

The connective use of ἄρα is rare in early Greek prose. *Th.*iii 113.4 (introducing an answer in a conversation): cf. v 100 Ἡ πον ἄρα (Melian Dialogue). It is not till we come to Plato that we find ἄρα used practically as a variant for οὖν and δὴ, though even in Plato ἄρα perhaps conveys a slightly less formal and more conversational connexion than those particles: 'so', instead of 'therefore' or 'then'.<sup>1</sup> *Chrm.*161A Ἔστιν ἄρα, ὡς ἔοικεν, αἰδῶς οὐκ ἀγαθόν: 171B: *La.*186A: *Ly.* 220D. In Demosthenes connective ἄρα has always a colloquial tone. v 24 τὰ κελευόμεν' ἡμᾶς ἄρα δεῖ ποιεῖν ταῦτα φοβουμένους; καὶ σὺ ταῦτα κελεύεις; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δέω: xxiv 203 τοῦτον . . . οὐκ ἀποκτενεῖτε; δόξετ' ἄρα . . . κρίσεις βούλεσθαι καὶ πράγματ' ἔχειν: xxix 40 καὶ δὴ λέγει. διὰ τοῦτ' ἄρ' οὐκ ἔχει; xx 57: xxiii 96,174,197: xlv 70. But in Aristotle<sup>2</sup> the particle has become completely devitalized, and is a pure connective. (In its occasional apodotic use it must be regarded as connective, not emphatic: *P.*1642a13 ἐπεὶ . . . , ἀνάγκη ἄρα . . .)

IV. Position. Connective ἄρα, like most connectives, is usually the second word of clause or sentence. But a later position is by no means infrequent. *Pl.Chrm.*171B Ἐν τοῖς ὑγιεινοῖς ἄρα: *La.*193B Καὶ τὸν μετ' ἐπιστήμης ἄρα ἱππικῆς καρτεροῦντα: *Ly.* 219B Τὸ οὔτε κακὸν οὔτε ἀγαθὸν ἄρα: *Phid.*58A Οἰδὲ τὰ περὶ τῆς δίκης ἄρα ἐπύθεσθε . . . ; *Cra.*387A Κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἄρα φύσιν: 394E Καὶ τῷ ἐκ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς ἄρα γενομένῳ ἀσεβεῖ: *R.*426B: *Lycurg.*78 ῥάδιον ἔσται παρ' ὑμῖν ἄρα μεγάλα ἀδικεῖν.

When ἄρα is not a connective, though here too it tends to an early position, there is naturally greater freedom. *E.Ion* 790 τὸν δ' ἐμὸν ἄτεκνον ἄτεκνον ἔλακεν ἄρα βίον: *IT*886 ἀλλὰ ποδῶν

<sup>1</sup> Des Places (p. 229): 'Chez Platon . . . alors même que la particule marque une conclusion ou une inférence, elle indique la surprise de la découverte'. But Dr. Chapman is, perhaps rightly, sceptical as to this distinction.

<sup>2</sup> For statistics of the relative frequency of ἄρα in various Aristotelean works, see Eucken, pp. 50-1

ρίπῃ θανάτῳ πελάσεις ἄρα βάρβαρα φύλα: *Fr.*54 κακόν τι παίδευμ' ἦν ἄρα: *Fr.*377 μάτην δὲ θνητοὶ τοὺς νόθους φεύγουσ' ἄρα: *Pl.Grg.*524D ταῦτόν δὴ μοι δοκεῖ τοῦτ' ἄρα . . . εἶναι: *Sph.*235A Γόητα μὲν δὴ καὶ μιμητὴν ἄρα θετέον: *Lg.*803D τὸ δὲ ἦν ἐν πολέμῳ μὲν ἄρα: 889D αἰ δέ τι καὶ σπουδαῖον ἄρα γεννῶσι τῶν τεχνῶν: *Alc.*II145D Δοκεῖ οὖν σοι ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὸν περὶ τούτων τι ἐπιστήμονα ὄντα ἄρα καὶ ἄνδρα φρόνιμον εἶναι . . .; *Clit.*408B (see II.1 above): *R.*598E (I above): *Grg.*519B: *Lg.*840C, 906B.

V. Ἄρα combined with other particles. Few of these combinations have any very particular significance. But they are perhaps worth illustrating. Sometimes ἄρα is connective, sometimes not.

ἀλλ' ἄρα, ἀλλ' . . . ἄρα. *Hom.*N716 οὐδ' ἔχον ἀσπίδας . . . ἀλλ' ἄρα τόξοισιν . . . ἄμ' ἔποντο πεποιθότες: *T96*: *Ω699*: *Hes.Th.*899: *Op.*132: *Sc.*259: *Thgn.*711: *Phoc.Fr.*16: *Pl.Lg.*905E ἄρχοντας μὲν ἀναγκαῖον πῶς γίνεσθαι . . .—Οὕτως.—Ἄλλ' ἄρα τίσιν προσφερεῖς τῶν ἀρχόντων; ('Well then'): *X.Hier.*1.13 εἴποις οὖν ἂν ἴσως σύ, ἀλλ' ἄρα ἔρχεται αὐτοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ οἴκοι μένουσιν ('But after all'): *Pl.R.*374B. Following on the rejection of a suggestion: ἀλλά marks the new departure, while ἄρα connects it logically with the preceding rejection. 'Well then'. *Pl.Euthd.*290E 'The boy can't have said that.'—'Ἄλλ' ἄρα . . . μὴ ὁ Κτήσιππος ἦν ὁ ταῦτ' εἰπὼν . . .; ('Well then perhaps it was Ctesippus?'): 293E ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἄρα ἐπίστασθον; 300C: *Ap.*25A: *Alc.*I130B: *Hr.Ma.*296D: *X.Mem.*iii 3.2: iv 2.22.

εἴτε ἄρα. We may perhaps compare ὅστις ἄρα (II.3 above): 'whether, if one knew the truth . . .'. *Hom.*A65 εἴτ' ἄρ' ὁ γ' εὐχολῆς ἐπιμέμφεται εἴθ' ἑκατόμβης: *S.Ph.*345 λέγοντες, εἴτ' ἀληθὲς εἴτ' ἄρ' οὖν μάτην: *Ag.Nu.*272 εἴτ' . . . εἴτ' . . . εἴτ' ἄρα: *Th.*vi 60.2 ἀναπέιθεται εἰς τῶν δεδεμένων . . . εἴτε ἄρα καὶ τὰ ὄντα μνηῦσαι εἴτε καὶ οὐ: *Pl.Phid.*70C εἴτε ἄρα . . . εἴτε καὶ οὐ: *Lg.*932E εἴτε τις ἄρα πώμασιν ἢ καὶ βρώμασιν ἢ . . . πημαίνει: *X.Cyr.*vii 2.29 εἴτε ἄρα καὶ . . . εἴτε καί.

οὔτε (μήτε) ἄρα. *Hom.*A93 οὐτ' ἄρ' ὁ γ' εὐχολῆς ἐπιμέμφεται οὐθ' ἑκατόμβης: *T8* οὔτε τις οὖν ποταμῶν . . . οὐτ' ἄρα νυμφῶν: *Hes.Op.*489 μήτ' ἄρ' ὑπερβάλλων . . . μήτ' ἀπυλείπων: 784 οὔτε γενέσθαι πρῶτ' οὐτ' ἄρ γάμου ἀντιβουλήσαι: *Phoc.Fr.*2.5 ἢ δὲ

σὺς βλοσυρῆς οὐτ' ἄρ κακῆ οὐδὲ μὲν ἐσθλή: *Emp.Fr.*17.30 οὐτ' ἄρ τέ τι γίνεται οὐτ' ἀπολήγει: *Hom.O72*: 8605: *Hes.Sc.*217: *Emp.Fr.*142.

αὐτὰρ ἄρα. *Hom.*B103 αὐτὰρ ἄρα Ζεὺς δῶκε διακτόρῳ ἀργεῖ-φόντη: *h.Merc.*69.

γε ἄρα. *Hom.*M305 ἀλλ' ὁ γ' ἄρ' ἠ ἤρπαξε . . .: *Hes.Th.*466,532: *Ag.Lys.*31 ἐπ' ὀλίγου γ' ἄρ' εἶχετο (γάρ *al.*): *Ec.*558 μακαρία γ' ἄρ' ἠ πόλις ἔσται (cf. *Av.*1542 γ' ἄρ'): *Democr.Fr.*191 ταύτης γ' ἄρ' ἐχόμενος τῆς γνώμης εὐθυμότερόν τε διάξεις . . . (γάρ *υιλο*): *Pl.Philb.*46A Συμμεικτὸν τοῦτό γ' ἄρα, ὃ Σώκρατες, εἶκε γίγνεσθαι τι κακόν (γ' ἄρ' *B*: γε *T*): *Thl.*171C ἀδηλον εἰ καὶ παραθέομεν τὸ ὀρθόν. εἰκός γε ἄρα ἐκείνον πρεσβύτερον ὄντα σοφώτερον ἡμῶν εἶναι (γάρ *W*): *Chrm.*159D (ἄρα *T*: γ' ἄρα *B*): *Philb.*35B (ἄρα *T*: γ' ἄρα *B*).

ἄρα γε. *X.Oec.*1.8 Κἂν ἄρα γέ τις . . . μὴ ἐπίσθηται . . . οὐ . . .; *ibid.* οὐδ' ἄρα γε (γε *om.* some MSS.): *Arist.EN*1130a22 ἔστιν ἄρα γε ἄλλη τις ἀδικία (suspected by Bonitz: γάρ *A<sup>b</sup>*).

δ' ἄρα is too common, particularly in Homer, to need illustration. Examples are to be found under I above.

δὴ ἄρα. *Hom.*η18 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ἄρ' ἔμελλε: *Demod.Fr.*5.4 ἦν δ' ἄρα . . . δὴ ῥα τότε: *Hes.Th.*58,883,888: *Pl.R.*369C Οὕτω δὴ ἄρα: 425A: *Phdr.*273E οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἄρα.

καί ῥα. *Hom.*A360: 5233: *Hes.Th.*177,1000: *Sc.*453: *Pi.O.*7.59: *P.*4.134,189.

μὲν ἄρα. *Hom.*E48 τὸν μὲν ἄρ' Ἰδομενῆος ἐσύλευον θεράποντες: *N301*: *Σ79*: *κ403*: *λ139*: *Hes.Th.*289: *Pl.Phdr.*258D: *R.*467D.

οὖν ἄρα. *Pl.Chrm.*160E Οὐ μόνον οὖν ἄρα καλόν: *Thl.*149B μὲν οὖν ἄρα . . . δὲ . . . (the only instances in Plato: see des Places): *X.Oec.*6.2 Τί οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἄρα, εἰ . . . ἐπανελθοίμεν . . .;

τ' ἄρα, common in surprised questions in Homer. 1838 Πῶς τ' ἄρ' εἶο τάδε ἔργα; *M409*: *N307*.

With an exclamation. *Βαβαῖ ἄρα*: *Pl.Philb.*23B: *Alc.*I118B: *Hr.Ma.*294E: *Sph.*249D (text uncertain).

(For ἦ ἄρα, ἦ ῥα, see ἦ, III.1. For γὰρ ἄρα, see γάρ. For τοι ἄρα, ἄρα τοι, see τοι, VI.8-9.)

## ᾶρα

ᾶρα is used (1) in poetry only, as a substitute for ἄρα, in various uses of that particle: (2) as an interrogative particle. In both uses, ᾶρα is almost confined to Attic. Of (1), which is the first to appear, there are three examples in Archilochus (*Fr. 45, 81.5, 89.2*). The first instances of interrogative ᾶρα are in Aeschylus (who almost always uses the particle interrogatively). In Pindar ᾶρα is read by Boeckh in five places where the MSS. give ἄρα: in four of these Schroeder reads ἦρα, in one ἄρα. In none of them has the particle an interrogative force (*O. 8.46: P. 4.78: N. 5.30: I. 6.55, 8.59*). In Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes, the two meanings are found side by side: but the interrogative use strongly predominates, and it is the only use to be found in prose.

According to Apollonius (Bekker's *Anecdota* ii p. 490) ᾶρα is formed by crasis from ἦ ἄρα. This view, which has been generally accepted, certainly suits (2) above, though it has to face the objection, perhaps not necessarily insuperable, that ἦ is almost always placed at, or near, the beginning of a sentence, while ᾶρα is not infrequently postponed. On the other hand (1) diverges markedly from the usage of ἦ, and coincides markedly with the usage of ἄρα: and (1), as we have seen, is found earlier than (2). It seems conceivable that in (1) ᾶρα is merely a *metri gratia* lengthening of ἄρα (that it should be a phonological lengthening appears hardly possible): while in (2), which is in origin quite distinct, ᾶρα does represent ἦ ἄρα, replacing in Attic writers the Epic and Lyric ἦ ῥα, ἦ ἄρα, ἦ ἄρ, ἦρα.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, Attic poets continue, for metrical reasons, to avail themselves of (1), for which the prose writers have no need.<sup>2</sup>

## I. Equivalent in sense to ἄρα.

(1) Adding liveliness. Archil. *Fr. 81.5* πίθηκος ἦει . . . τῶ δ'

<sup>1</sup> See ἦ, III.1, and Schroeder's Pindar, *Prolegomena* II §39.

<sup>2</sup> Ahrens (*De Crasi et Aphaeresti*), accepting the crasis, rejects the *metri gratia* view, and holds that ᾶρα 'extra interrogationem ubique gravem affirmationem continet'.

ἄρ' ἀλώπηξ κερδαλή συνήντετο. (*Pi. O. 8.46: P. 4.78: I. 6.55: if Boeckh's ᾶρα, for ἄρα, is right.*)

(2) Marking realization of the truth, or drawing a conclusion. (The two usages are not to be sharply distinguished in drama: cf. ἄρα, III.4.) *A. Pers. 348* θεοὶ πόλιν σώζουσι Παλλάδος θεᾶς.—*Ἐτ' ἄρ' Ἀθηνῶν ἔστ' ἀπόρθητος πόλις; S. Aj. 738* Οὐκ ἔνδον . . . —*Ἴου ἰού. βραδείαν ἡμᾶς ἄρ' ὁ τήνδε τὴν ὁδὸν πέμπων ἔπεμψεν: OC 408-9* Οἱ. Ἡ καὶ κατασκιῶσι Θηβαία κόνει;—*Ισ. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔᾶ τοῦμφυλον αἰμά σ', ὦ πάτερ.—Οἱ. Οὐκ ἄρ' ἐμοῦ γε μὴ κρατήσωσιν ποτε.—Ισ. Ἔσται ποτ' ᾶρα τοῦτο Καδμείοις βάρος: Ph. 106* Ἴουὸς ἀφύκτους καὶ προπέμποντας φόνον (ἔχει).—*Οὐκ ἄρ' ἐκείνῳ γ' οὐδὲ προσμεῖξαι θρασύ; 114* Αἰρεῖ τὰ τόξα ταῦτα τὴν Τροίαν μόνα.—*Οὐκ ἄρ' ὁ πέρσων, ὡς ἐφάσκει, εἴμ' ἐγώ; E. Hipp. 1086* Κλαίων τις αὐτῶν ἄρ' ἐμοῦ τεθίξεται (cf. *Andr. 758* κλαίων ἄρα ψεύσει): *Andr. 1114* τῶ δὲ ξιφήρης ἄρ' ὑφειστήκει λόχος (ἄρα *codd.* 'as he found to his cost'): *Ag. Nu. 1301* ἐμελλόν σ' ᾶρα κινήσειν ἐγώ (cf. *Ra. 268* ἐμελλον ἄρα παύσειν): *Av. 161* Ὑμεῖς μὲν ᾶρα ζῆτε νυμφίων βίον: 1688 Ἐσ καιρὸν ᾶρα κατεκόπησαν οὐτοί: *S. Aj. 980, 1238, 1368: El. 1179: OC 858, 1400: OT 1395: Fr. 845 (= Pearson 931: see his note): E. Cyc. 638: Heracl. 116, 268, 895: Hipp. 1012: El. 374, 1229: Ph. 566, 1675: Or. 190, 1207: IA 311: Fr. 36 (ἄρα *codd.*): Ag. Av. 91, 1530: V. 3, 839: Lys. 933: Pl. 579, 920. (Pi. I. 8.59, ᾶρα Boeckh.)*

(3) εἰ ᾶρα. *E. Rh. 118* πῶς δ' αὖ γεφύρας διαβαλοῦσ' ἱππηλάται, ἦν ᾶρα μὴ θραύσαντες ἀντύγων χνόας; (ἄρα *codd.* But the text seems doubtful: see Paley.)

(4) ὡς ᾶρα. Archil. *Fr. 89.2* αἰνός τις ἀνθρώπων ὄδε, ὡς ἄρ' ἀλώπηξ καίετος ξυνωνίην ἔμειξαν. (*Pi. N. 5.30* λόγον, ὡς ᾶρα νυμφείας ἐπέιρα (ᾶρα Boeckh).)

(5) Following an interrogative pronoun. *S. Aj. 905* 'Ajax is dead'.—*Τίνος ποτ' ἄρ' ἔπραξε χειρὶ δύσμορος; E. Ion 563* ὦ φίλη μήτηρ, πότ' ᾶρα καὶ σὸν ὄψομαι δέμας; *Tr. 247* Τοῦμόν τις ἄρ' ἔλαχε τέκος . . . ; (ἄρ' *P: om. 1*): 293 τὰς δ' ἐμὰς τύχας τις ἄρ' Ἀχαιῶν . . . ἔχει; *IT 472* τίς ᾶρα μήτηρ ἢ τεκοῦσ' ὑμᾶς ποτε πατήρ τ'; *Ag. Pax 1240* Τί δ' ᾶρα τῇ σάλπιγγι τῆδε χρῆσομαι . . . ; ('And what, I should like to know, . . .?'). But

in *V.893* ἀρα is better taken as a connective. *Τίς ἀρ' ὁ φεύγων*; ('Who's the defendant, then?'). *S.Fr.790*: *E.IA1228*: *Fr.403.1*: *Philem.Fr.108.1* (ἀρα *codd.*).

II. Ἄρα as an interrogative particle. Strictly speaking, ἀρα does not imply any expectation of a positive or of a negative answer. Practically, however, in Greek as in English, the mere putting of a proposition in an interrogative form implies, in certain contexts, a doubt of its truth, and ἀρα, by itself, often has a sceptical tone. *Per contra*, ἀρ' οὐ more definitely and more frequently expects a positive answer. (For the widespread, but erroneous, view that ἀρα μή expects a negative answer, see (5) below.) A rigid separation of questions expecting a positive from those expecting a negative answer would be misleading. But an approximate grouping must be attempted.

(1) Leaving the question open. *S.OC316* ἀρ' ἔστιν; ἀρ' οὐκ ἔστιν; ἢ γνώμη πλανᾶ; καὶ φημι κάποφημι κοῦκ ἔχω τί φῶ; *E.El.229* ὦ φίλτατ', ἀρα ζῶντος ἢ τεθνηκότος; *S.OCI486*: *Pl. Smpr.212E* ἀρα καταγελάσεσθέ μου ὡς μεθύοντος; *D.xxiii.82* ἀρά τις ἡμῖν ἔτι λοιπός ἐστι νόμος; δειξόν. οὐτοσί: *i 12*: *viii 18*: *xviii 195*: *lii 5*.

(2) Expecting a negative answer. *S.El.816* ἤδη δεῖ με δουλεύειν . . . ἀρά μοι καλῶς ἔχει; *S.El.804*: *And.i 102* ἀρ' ἂν οἴεσθε, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἄλλων τινῶν τυχεῖν με δι' ὑμᾶς, εἰ ἐλήφθην ὑπ' αὐτῶν; *D.vi 20,22*: *viii 75* ἀρ' ἂν ἦν γεγονός . . . ; οὐχ οἶόν τε (the expected negative answer following: cf. *xix 141*: *xxi 115*, *224*: *xxiii 31*: *Lys.xxvi 7*).

(3) Expecting a positive answer. But whereas ἀρ' οὐ definitely forecasts an affirmative reply, ἀρα ostensibly leaves the issue open to the person addressed, and the appeal for confirmation is the more confident because less obviously stressed.\* *A.Pr.735* ἀρ' ὑμῖν δοκεῖ ὁ τῶν θεῶν τύραννος ἐς τὰ πάνθ' ὁμῶς βίαιος εἶναι; ('Are you satisfied now that . . .?'): *Ch.297* τοιοῖσδε χρησμοῖς ἀρα χρῆ πεποιθέναι; *S.OT822* ἀρ' ἔφυν κακός; ἀρ' οὐχὶ πᾶς ἀναγνος; (Jebb well observes that 'the transition from ἀρα to ἀρ' οὐχί is from bitter irony to despairing earnest'): *El.614* ἀρά σοι δοκεῖ χωρεῖν ἂν ἐς πᾶν ἔργον αἰσχύνης ἄτερ;

(where again see Jebb): *E.Alc.341* ἀρά μοι στένειν πάρα τοιαῶδ' ἀμαρτάνοντι συζύγου σέθεν; *A.Ch.495-6* (the sense approaches 'nonne', though Tucker's 'Dost not' is a little too strong): *S.Aj.1282*: *OC753*: *E.Alc.771*: *Ar.Av.797*: *Th.i 75.1* ἀρ' ἀξιοί ἐσμεν . . . ἀρχῆς . . . μὴ οὕτως ἄγαν ἐπιφθόνως διακεῖσθαι; (the only example of ἀρα in Thucydides): *Pl. Euthphr.5A* Ἄρ' οὐν μοι . . . κράτιστόν ἐστι μαθητῆ σῶ γενέσθαι . . . ; *X.Cyr.iv 6.4* καὶ εἶπεν Ἄρα βέβληκα δις ἐφεξῆς καὶ καταβέβληκα θῆρα ἑκατεράκις; (ἀρα *D*: ἀρα *cett.*: ὄρα Naber, but ἀρα is perhaps right: 'I ask you, have I . . .?')<sup>1</sup>: *vii 5.40* (ἀρα *codd.*: ὦρα Cobet): *Lys.x 28*: *xxxii 21*: *D.lv 15*. With the expected positive answer following. *Pl. Phlb.33D* ἀρ' ὀρθότατα ἐροῦμεν;—Πῶς γὰρ οὐ; *R.566A* ἀρα τῷ τοιοῦτῳ ἀνάγκη . . . ;—Πολλὴ ἀνάγκη: *Plt.296D,309D*: *Cra.430C*: *Phd.64E*: *X.Mem.iii 6.4*: *10.1*.

(4) ἀρ' οὐ. *S.OC791* ἀρ' οὐκ ἄμεινον ἢ σὺ τὰν Θήβαις φρονῶ; *Ar.V.620* ἀρ' οὐ μεγάλην ἀρχὴν ἀρχω . . . ; *Pl.Grg.453C* ἀρ' οὐκ ἂν δικαίως σε ἠρόμην . . . ; *Lys.xxvi 13*: *D.xix 130*: *et saep.*

(5) ἀρα μή. It is commonly, but wrongly, said that ἀρα μή expects a negative answer. Now the questions which, *par excellence*, expect an answer of a particular kind, positive or negative, are rhetorical questions: and it is significant that the orators never use ἀρα μή, though they use ἀρ' οὐ very freely. ἀρα μή is in fact exceedingly rare altogether. In classical Greek, there are two doubtful examples in Aeschylus, two in Sophocles, eight in Plato, four in Xenophon (three of them in Socratic writings): none in any other author. The force of ἀρα μή is, not *num*, but 'Can it be that . . .?' ('Doch nicht etwa', Stallbaum on *Pl.Ly.213D*). It does not necessarily imply the expectation of a negative reply, but merely that the suggestion made is difficult of acceptance (though the alternative may be even more difficult, or actually impossible). It expresses, in fact, an antinomy, a dilemma, an *impasse* of thought, or, at the least, a certain hesitancy. This interpretation is excluded in none of the passages, and is imperiously demanded in some. As a

<sup>1</sup> On second thoughts, I believe that ἀρα should be retained, punctuating καὶ εἶπεν Ἄρα: βέβληκα . . . Cf. *X.Ap.28*: *Agas.7.5*: and, for the position of ἀρα, *Hdt.iii 64*.

cautious and tentative form of expression, ἄρα μή questions, like μή questions, are naturally commoner in Plato than elsewhere.

A. *Th.* 208 Τί οὖν; ὁ ναύτης ἄρα μὴ ἴσ' πρῶταν φυγῶν πρύμνηθεν ἤυρε μηχανὴν σωτηρίας . . . ; (but here, though *M* gives ἄρα μή, the ἄρά γ' of inferior MSS. may well be right): *Fr.* 62 is unintelligible: †μακροσκελῆς μὲν ἄρα (sic) μὴ χλοῦνης τις ἦ†: *S. El.* 446 ἄρα μὴ δοκεῖς λυτήρι' αὐτῇ ταῦτα τοῦ φόνου φέρειν; ('Canst thou believe . . .?'), *Jebb*: it is incredible that Chrysothemis should believe this: but her conduct shows that she does): *Ant.* 632 ὦ παῖ, τελείαν ψῆφον ἄρα μὴ κλύων τῆς μελλονύμφου πατρὶ λυσσαίνων πάρε; ἢ σοὶ μὲν ἡμεῖς πανταχῆ δρῶντες φίλοι; ('Can it be that . . .?'), *Jebb*): *Pl. Cri.* 44E ἄρά γε μὴ ἐμοῦ προμηθῆ . . . ; ('Can it be that you are thinking of me?'): *Chrm.* 174A (the sequel implies that an affirmative reply has been given): *Ly.* 213D Ἄρα μὴ . . . τὸ παράπαν οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐζητοῦμεν; (the context clearly envisages an affirmative reply as conceivable): *Prm.* 163C ἄρα μὴ τι ἄλλο σημαίνει ἢ . . . ;—Οὐδὲν ἄλλο: *Phd.* 64C, *bis*: 103C: *R.* 405A: *X. Mem.* ii 6.34: iv 2.10: *An.* vii 6.5: *Oec.* 4.4.<sup>1</sup>

III. Position. In I the particle is normally placed second or third, or at any rate early in the sentence.<sup>2</sup> In II it is normally placed first: but there are many exceptions. In drama, it is often difficult to determine whether the interrogative force resides in the particle or is independent of it, in which case the force of

<sup>1</sup> Long after writing this section, I find confirmation both of the extreme relative rarity of ἄρα μή, and of the failure of scholars to observe this, in Prof. J. E. Harry's 'Indicative questions with μή and ἄρα μή'. I had collected all except one of his examples which can be assigned with certainty to the classical period. Add *Pl. Phlb.* 27C (ἄρα μὴ *T*: ἄρα *B*): [*Pl.*] *Virt.* 376D ἄλλ' ἄρα μή: *Amat.* 135C. Harry omits *X. Oec.* 4.4 Ἄρ', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, μὴ αἰσχυνθῶμεν . . . ; This (though it has been suspected, e.g. by Marchant) seems sound: the cutting in half of the combination by ἔφη ὁ Σ. is paralleled by *X. An.* vii 6.5 Ἄρ' οὖν, ἔφασαν, μὴ καὶ ἡμῖν ἐναντιώσεται . . . ; and by the usage of other particles. (In the second of the two examples from *Pl. Phd.* 64C ἄρα μὴ is followed by a subjunctive: in *Cri.* 44E προμηθῆ is, I think, indicative: in *X. Oec.* 4.4 αἰσχυνθῶμεν is deliberative (*Goodwin, M. T.* § 287), and the subjunctive has nothing to do with ἄρα μή: elsewhere the verb is in the indicative, or is omitted).

<sup>2</sup> In New Comedy ἄρα = ἄρα sometimes stands first, in a sentence of gnomic or reflective character, marking the realization of a universal truth. *Men. Fr.* 164 ἄρ' ἐστὶ πάντων ἀγρυπνία λαλίστατον. ἐμὲ γοῦν ἀναστήσασιν διυρὶ προύγεται λαλεῖν . . . : 281, 408, 427: *Diph. Fr.* 99: *Philem. Fr.* 112.

the particle is as in I. (The point is of some literary importance, as it affects the tone of the words.) The following examples illustrate the precariousness of interpretation:

A. *Pers.* 639 νέρθεν ἄρα κλύει μου; (presumably interrogative: cf. 633 ἦ ῥ' αἶει μου . . .); *Eu.* 745 ὦ Νύξ μέλαινα μήτηρ, ἄρ' ὄρα's τάδε; (clearly interrogative; the early position of the apostrophe is common in the case of other particles: cf. *E. El.* 229): *Th.* 208 (see under ἄρα μή): *Ag.* 1646 Ὀρέσθης ἄρά που βλέπει φάος . . . ; (ἄρα perhaps meaning 'after all', or 'I wonder'): *E. IT* 932 Ταῦτ' ἄρ' ἐπ' ἀκταῖς κἀνθάδ' ἠγγέλης μανείς; (perhaps to be read as a statement: cf. ταῦτ' ἄρα): *Or.* 1512 ἀξιώτερος γὰρ εἶ.—Ἐνδίκως ἢ Τυνδάρειος ἄρα παῖς διώλετο; (ironical. 'So Helen deserved all she got, did she?'): *IA* 876 ὦ τάλαιν' ἐγώ. μεμνηῶς ἄρα τυγχάνει πόσις; ('So my husband is mad, it seems?'): 1228 πρεσβὺν ἄρ' ἐσδέξομαι . . . ; *Hec.* 469 ἢ Παλλάδος ἐν πόλει . . . ζεύξομαι ἄρα πώλους . . . ; *HF* 1127 ὦ Ζεῦ, παρ' Ἡρας ἄρ' ὄρα's θρόνων τάδε; *Heracl.* 640 ὦ φίλταθ', ἦκεις ἄρα . . . ; *Alc.* 477 Ἄδμητον ἐν δόμοισιν ἄρα κιχάνω; *Ar. Th.* 1 ὦ Ζεῦ χελιδῶν ἄρά ποτε φανήσεται; *Ach.* 238 Εὐφημεῖτε, εὐφημεῖτε.—Σίγα πᾶς. ἠκούσατ' ἄνδρες ἄρα τῆς εὐφημίας; *V.* 234 ὦ Στρυμόδωρε . . . Εὐεργίδης ἄρ' ἐστὶ που ἄρα νταῦθ' . . . ; *Ec.* 462 Οὐδὲ στένειν τὸν ὀρθρον ἔτι πρᾶγμ' ἄρά μοι; (cf. 460 Οὐδ' ἐς δικαστήριον ἄρ' εἶμ' ἀλλ' ἢ γυνή;); 672 Οὐδὲ κυβεύσουσ' ἄρ' ἀνθρωποι; (cf. 668 Οὐδ' ἀποδύσουσ' ἄρα τῶν νεκτῶν.).

There are, then, not a few cases in the dramatists where interrogative ἄρα is placed late. Prose writers are, on the whole, far stricter, and the particle almost invariably opens the sentence: with this important exception, that Plato postpones ἄρα far more freely than the poets.

*Hr. Protrrh.* 163 τὸ καρῶδες ἄρά γε πανταχοῦ κακόν; *Pl. Grg.* 467E Τὰ δὲ μήτε ἀγαθὰ μήτε κακὰ ἄρα τοιάδε λέγεις . . . ; *Prm.* 358C ἀμαθίαν ἄρα τὸ τοιόνδε λέγετε . . . ; *Phd.* 67C Κάθαρσις δὲ εἶναι ἄρα οὐ τοῦτο συμβαίνει . . . ; *Lg.* 807A τοῖς δὴ ταύτη κεκοσμημένοις ἄρα . . . ; *Prm.* 156A Τὸ δὴ οὐσίας μεταλαμβάνειν ἄρα γε οὐ γίγνεσθαι καλεῖς; *ib.* Τὸ δὲ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι οὐσίας ἄρα οὐκ ἀπόλλυσθαι; 160B εἰ δὲ . . . , τί χρὴ συμβαίνειν ἄρ' οὐ σκοπέτον μετὰ τοῦτο; *Phlb.* 27B τὴν δὲ τῆς μείξεως αἰτίαν καὶ γενέσεως τετάρτην λέγων ἄρα μὴ πλημμελοῖην ἄν τι; *R.* 437D οὐκ εἶπα ἐστὶ δίψα ἄρα γε θερμοῦ ποτοῦ . . . *Lys. Fr.* 11 πο.

δ' ἀρ' οὐ δώσετε; Pl.*Euthphr.*6B: *Cra.*410B,414A: *Lg.*832E: *Alc.*II138C,139A: *Grg.*472D,476A: *R.*405A(bis),436C,476B,487A: *Smph.*201B.

Repeated interrogative ἀρα. Pl.*Cra.*429D: *R.*565E-566A.

Occasionally ἀρα introduces an indirect question. Pl.*Phd.*70E τοῦτο οὖν σκεψώμεθα, ἀρα ἀναγκαῖον: *Grg.*512E σκεπτέον τίν' ἂν τρόπον τοῦτον δν μέλλοι χρόνον βιῶναι ὡς ἀριστα βιοίη, ἀρα ἐξομοίων αὐτὸν τῇ πολιτείᾳ. . . : *Arist.Pol.*127βα1 καίτοι καὶ τοῦτό τις ἔτι προσαπορήσειεν, ἀρα, εἰ μὴ δικαίως πολίτης, οὐ πολίτης: Pl.*R.*462A,526C: *Grg.*459C: *Arist.Ph.*204b3.

#### IV. ἀρα combined with other particles.

(1) ἀρά γε, ἀρα . . . γε. γε adds liveliness and emphasis to the question. In verse, probably for metrical convenience,<sup>1</sup> the particles are sometimes separated, while still cohering in thought. Cf. δέ γε, δὲ . . . γε. *E.Hec.*745 Ἄρ' ἐκλογίζομαι γε . . . ; *Ar.V.*4 ἀρ' οἴσθ' ἄ γ' οἶον κνώδαλον φυλάττομεν; (contrast *Au.*668 Ἄρά γ' οἴσθ' . . . ; (1221): *V.*1336 ἀρά γ' ἴσθ' . . . ;): *Au.*307 ἀρ' ἀπειλοῦσιν γε νῶν; *Pl.*546 ἀρά γε πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν . . . ἀποφαίνω σ' αἴτιον οὔσαν; (ironical): *Nu.*465: *Pax*114: *Cratin.Fr.*360: *Alex.Fr.*27c.4. Often in prose. Pl.*Euthphr.*6A Ἄρά γε τοῦτ' ἐστίν οὐνεκα τὴν γραφὴν φεύγω . . . ; *Cri.*44E: *And.*141 ἀρά γε σὲ οἶδε περιμένουσι; *D.*iii27 ἀρά γ' ὁμοίως ἢ παραπλησίως; *xxiii*43 ἀρά γε μικρὸν ἢ τὸ τυχόν ἐστιν . . . ; Pl.*R.*328A,422C: *Lg.*830C (late position: *R.*437D: *Prm.*156A: *Hp.Prorrh.*i63): *X.Mem.*i5.4: *iii*2,1: 2,2: 8,3: 8,8: *D.*xxiii122: *Lycurg.*119.

(2) ἀλλ' ἀρα. Each particle retains its separate force. Pl.*Euthd.*292C Ἄρ' οὖν ἡ βασιλικὴ σοφὸς ποιεῖ . . . ;—Τί γὰρ κωλύει . . . ;—Ἄλλ' ἀρα πάντας καὶ πάντα ἀγαθούς; *Euthphr.*9D ὥστε τούτου μὲν ἀφίημί σε . . . ἀλλ' ἀρα τοῦτο . . . ; *Philb.*51D ἀλλ' ἀρα μανθάνομεν, ἢ πῶς; (ἀλλά here seems to convey a summons to attention: 'Come, do we grasp that?'): *X.Cyr.*i4.11. After the rejection of a suggestion. Pl.*Thl.*188B: *Prm.*138C, 146C.

(3) ἀρα δή. [*X.*] *Ath.*3.2 ἀρα δή τι θαυμαστόν ἐστιν. . . ;

(4) ἀρ' οὖν. Pl.*R.*545A (342 times in Plato, according to J. E.

<sup>1</sup> The distinction drawn by Hartung (i 377) and Klotz (i 191) that in ἀρά γε, γε applies to the whole question, in ἀρα . . . γε to the word it follows, is not of much practical importance.

Harry, *Studies in honor of B. L. Gildersleeve*, Baltimore, 1902, pp. 428-30): *D.*xviii140,282: *id. saep.*

(5) καὶ ἀρα . . . ; Pl.*Alc.*I126D: *R.*376C,480A.

## 'Ατάρ

The particle has often been connected, like ἄτερ, with Old High German 'suntar',<sup>1</sup> which is used both as an adverb, 'separately', and as a conjunction, 'but'. Brugmann, however (p. 623), prefers to connect it with the Latin *at*, with the addition of ἄρ (cf. αὐτάρ).

Homer uses ἀτάρ and αὐτάρ indifferently, according to metrical convenience. In later Greek, while αὐτάρ practically vanishes, ἀτάρ is used freely by some writers, by others rarely, by others not at all. There are five examples in Pindar, three apiece in Aeschylus and Sophocles, considerably more in Euripides and Aristophanes. In prose, ἀτάρ is common in Hippocrates, fairly common in Herodotus, Plato, and Xenophon, unknown in the orators, Thucydides, and Aristotle. (Eucken, p. 36, cites Theophrastus, *HP*ix 20.3.) It would appear that in post-Homeric Greek, at any rate in Attic, ἀτάρ was felt to be colloquial in tone, and was consequently avoided in formal language. Hence its frequency in Aristophanes, in Euripides (who aimed at realistic expression), and in those prose-writers whose style approximates most closely to every-day conversation. Like αὐτάρ, ἀτάρ may be either adversative or possessive in sense. The latter is the commoner in Hippocrates, but the former predominates strongly in Attic.

(1) Adversative. *Hom.*A500α Ζεῦ πατερ, . . . τμησὸν υἱὸν . . . ἀτάρ μιν . . . ἄγαμέμνων ἠτίμησεν: *Eiz.* . . . γ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖς ἀντικρὺ μάχεσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις: *Di.* Διὸς θυγατὴρ . . . : Z429 (in an impassioned appeal, *Eccl.* . . . Ἐκτορ, ἀτὰρ σὺ μοί ἐσσι πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ: *Ψ*104 . . . τίς ἐστι καὶ εἰν Ἄϊδαο δόμοισι ψυχὴ καὶ εἶδωλοι . . . )

<sup>1</sup> See Neil on *Ar.* *Eq.* 111.



ἐνὶ πᾶμπαν: β240 ἦσθ' ἀνεφ, ἀτὰρ οὐ τι . . . μνηστῆρας κατερύκετε: γ138 μάψ, ἀτὰρ οὐ κατὰ κόσμον: Callin.Fr.1.4 ἐν εἰρήνῃ δὲ δοκεῖτε ἦσθαι, ἀτὰρ πόλεμος γαίαν ἅπασαν ἔχει: A.Pr.1011 ὡς νεοζυγῆς πῶλος βιάζει καὶ πρὸς ἡνίας μάχει. ἀτὰρ σφοδρύνει γ' ἀσθενεῖ σοφίσματι: E.Hipp.728 πικροῦ δ' ἔρωτος ἠσσηθήσομαι. ἀτὰρ κακὸν γε χᾶτέρῳ γενήσομαι: 1398 Οὐκ ἔστι σοι κυναγὸς . . . — Οὐ δῆτ' ἀτάρ μοι προσφιλέης γ' ἀπόλλυσαι: Ag.Eg.111 Ταῦτ' ἀτὰρ τοῦ δαίμονος δέδοιχ' ὅπως μὴ τεύξομαι κακοδαίμονος: 427 Εὐ γε ξυνέβαλεν αὐτ' ἀτὰρ δῆλόν γ' ἀφ' οὗ ξυνέγνω: Nu.403 Οὐκ οἶδ' ἀτὰρ εὖ σὺ λέγειν φαίνει: V.981 καίτοι τὸ κατάβα τοῦτο πολλοὺς δὴ πάνυ ἐξηπάτηκεν. ἀτὰρ ὅμως καταβήσομαι: 1141 μὰ τὸν Δί' οὐ τοίνυν (γιγνώσκω) ἀτὰρ δοκεῖ γέ μοι εἰκέσαι . . . : Hom.T.348: β122: γ298: δ236: Pi.P.3.98: Fr.116(131).3: E.Ba.516: Ag.Nu.761: Pl.572: Hdt.ii 135 μεγάλη ἐκτήσατο χρήματα ὡς εἶναι 'Ροδῶπιν, ἀτὰρ οὐκ ὡς γε ἐς πυραμίδα τοιαύτην ἐξικέσθαι. (In Hom.X.331 ἀτάρ expresses the contrast between Hector's boast and his fate. ὁ δ' ἐπεύξατο δῖος 'Αχιλλεύς: "Ἐκτορ, ἀτάρ που ἔφησ Πατροκλῆ' ἐξεναρίζων σῶς ἔσσεσθ'. In δ236 the particle is most naturally taken as marking a contrast with ἐσθλῶν: it has also been explained as looking forward to δαίνυσθε: see Merry and Riddell.)

In particular, Attic writers employ ἀτάρ to express a break-off, a sudden change of topic. This is the prevailing sense in Euripides, Aristophanes, Plato, and Xenophon.

A.Pers.333 κακῶν ὑψιστα δὴ κλύω τάδε . . . ἀτὰρ φράσον μοι τοῦτ' ἀναστρέψας πάλιν: E.Hel.86 Οὐ τᾶρα σ' Ἑλένην εἰ στυγεῖς θαυμαστόεν. ἀτὰρ τίς εἶ πόθεν; Ph.1643 εἰς ἅπαντα δυστυχῆς ἔφυσ, πατέρ. (Turning to Creon) ἀτὰρ σ' ἔρωτῶ, τὸν νεωστὶ κοίρανον: Supp.750 (after a digression on human folly) ἀτὰρ τί ταῦτα; κείνο βούλομαι μαθεῖν, πῶς ἐξεσώθης: Ion 433 'What does the woman mean by her hints? ἀτὰρ θυγατρὸς τῆς Ἐρεχθέως τί μοι μέλει;' Ag.Pax 177 ὦ μηχανοποιε πρόσεχε τὸν νοῦν ὡς ἐμέ . . . ἀτὰρ ἐγγύς εἶναι τῶν θεῶν ἐμοὶ δοκῶ: Av. 144 τῶν κακῶν οἴων ἐρᾶς. ἀτὰρ ἔστι γ' ὁποῖαν λέγετον εὐδαίμων πόλις: E.Heracl.661,879: Hec.258,671: Hel.860,1076: Ph.382: Or.861: Ba.248,453: HF1353: Tr.266: IT672,719: Ag.Ach. 412,448: Nu.39,187,382,677,801,1220: V.15,28,147,150,530,815,1514: id.saep.: Pl.Phdr.227B καλῶς γὰρ . . . λέγει. ἀτὰρ Δυσίας ἦν, ὡς εἰκεν, ἐν ἄστει: 230A ἀτάρ, ὦ ἑταῖρε, μεταξύ τῶν

λόγων . . . : Men.72A σμῆνός τι ἀνηύρηκα ἀρετῶν παρὰ σοὶ κείμενον. ἀτάρ, ὦ Μένων, κατὰ ταύτην τὴν εἰκόνα τὴν περὶ τὰ σμῆνη . . . : Thl.142C 'I am not surprised that he is brave. ἀτὰρ πῶς οὐκ αὐτοῦ Μεγαροῖ κατέλυεν;' Prt.339C Φαίνεται ἔμοιγε (καὶ ἅμα μέντοι ἐφοβούμην μή τι λέγοι). ἀτάρ, ἔφην ἐγώ, σοὶ οὐ φαίνεται; Pl.Phdr.238C: Euthd.304D,305B: Thl.142D, 147C,154D: Sph.226B: Lg.702E: X.Mem.iii 1.5: 1.11: 10.10: 11.5: An.iv 6.14: vii 7.10: Cyr.ii 1.3: Vect.4.16.

(2) Progressive, with little or no idea of contrast. Hom.B.313 ὀκτώ, ἀτὰρ μήτηρ ἐνάτη ἦν: Δ448 σύν ῥ' ἔβαλον ῥινοὺς . . . ἀτὰρ ἀσπίδες ὀμφαλοέσσαι ἔπληντ' ἀλλήλησι: α181 Ἀγχιάλιο δαΐφρονος εὐχομαι εἶναι νίος, ἀτὰρ Ταφίοισι φιληρέτμοισιν ἀνάσσω: ν358 νῦν δ' εὐχολῆς ἀγανῆσι χαίρετ'. ἀτὰρ καὶ δῶρα διδώσομεν: π151 ἀλλὰ σύ γ' ἀγγείλας ὀπίσω κίε . . . ἀτὰρ πρὸς μητέρα εἰπεῖν: τ443 ὡς ἄρα πυκνή ἦεν, ἀτὰρ φύλλων ἐνέην χύσις ἤλιθα πολλή: χ373 ὄφρα γνῶς κατὰ θυμόν, ἀτὰρ εἴπησθα καὶ ἄλλῳ: Sol.Fr.1.24 λάμπει δ' ἡελίοιο μένος κατὰ πῖονα γαίαν καλόν, ἀτὰρ νεφέων οὐδὲν ἔτ' ἔστιν ἰδεῖν: Pi.N.4.47 Κύπρω, ἐνθα Τεῦκρος ἀπάρχει ὁ Τελαμωνιάδας: ἀτὰρ Αἴας Σαλαμῖν' ἔχει πατρῶαν' ἐν δ' Εὐξείνῳ πελάγει φαεννὰν Ἀχιλεὺς νᾶσον: Hes. Th.198: Sc.470: Hp.Art.9 πολλῶν ἔμπειρον δεῖ εἶναι τὸν ἰητρὸν, ἀτὰρ δὴ καὶ ἀνατρίψιος: Carn.1 ἐτέρων τε τῶν ἔμπροσθεν, ἀτὰρ καὶ ἔμεωντοῦ: Epid.ii 3.1 μάλιστα δὲ . . . ἀτὰρ καὶ . . . ἀτὰρ καὶ . . . : Hum.14 ἀτὰρ ἀνύδριαι . . . : Art.7 ἀτὰρ τὸν ἄνθρωπον καθίσαι: Mul.17 οὔτε ἡ ὑγρηδόνα ἔχουσα, ἀτὰρ οὐδὲ ἡ αὐαινομένη (ἀτὰρ οὐδέ, Art.1: Acut.1,18). ἀτὰρ καὶ is a common form of connexion in Hippocrates: Art.5,6,7: Pl.Phlb.66C "Ἐκτη δ' ἐν γενεᾷ", φησὶν Ὀρφεύς, "καταπαύσατε κόσμον ἀοιδῆς" ἀτὰρ κινδυνεύει καὶ ὁ ἡμέτερος λόγος ἐν ἔκτη καταπεπαυμένος εἶναι κρίσει: Phd.60D καὶ ('both') ἄλλοι τινὲς με ἤδη ἤροντο, ἀτὰρ καὶ Εὐηνος πρῶην: Mi.319C πολλαχοῦ καὶ ἄλλοι δηλοῖ, ἀτὰρ καὶ ἐνταῦθα: Hp.Ma.296A τά τε γοῦν ἄλλα . . . ἀτὰρ οὖν καὶ τὰ πολιτικά. In Thl.144E ἀτάρ may be simply 'Now': but it is probably more strongly adversative. (Hom. M144 should be included among the above. The apodosis is introduced, not by ἀτάρ, as L. & S. suggest, but by δέ in 145: so Ebeling.)

(3) μὲν . . . ἀτάρ. This combination, like μὲν . . . δέ, may denote either strong opposition, or little more than mere addition, or anything between the two.

(i) Strong adversative force. Hom. A166 ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πλεῖον πολυαῖκος πολέμοιο χεῖρες ἐμαὶ διέπουσ'· ἀτὰρ ἦν ποτε δασμὸς ἴκηται, σοὶ τὸ γέρας πολὺ μείζον: Thgn. 1038 ἦδεα μὲν καὶ πρόσθεν, ἀτὰρ πολὺ λώιον ἦδη: A.Pr. 343 Τὰ μὲν σ' ἐπαινῶ . . . ἀτὰρ μηδὲν πόνει: S.O.T1052 Οἶμαι μὲν . . . ἀτὰρ ἦδ' ἄν . . . λέγοι: Tr. 54 πῶς παισὶ μὲν τοσοῖσδε πληθύεις, ἀτὰρ . . .: E.Med. 84 ὄλοιο μὲν μὴ . . . ἀτὰρ κακός γ' ὦν . . . ἀλίσκεται: Hipp. 1250 δοῦλος μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε . . . ἀτὰρ τοσοῦτόν γ' οὐ δυνήσομαί ποτε . . . πιθέσθαι: Ar. Ach. 513 ἐγὼ δὲ μισῶ μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους σφόδρα . . . ἀτὰρ . . . τί ταῦτα τοὺς Λάκωνας αἰτιώμεθα; Hom. Z86, 125: E.Tr. 344, 416: Hdt. iv 178 λωτῶ μὲν καὶ οὔτοι χρεώμενοι, ἀτὰρ ἦσσόν γε τῶν πρότερον λεχθέντων: v 66. 1 οἰκίης μὲν ἐὼν δοκίμου, ἀτὰρ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι: Pl. Plt. 269D πολλῶν μὲν καὶ μακαρίων . . . μετείληφεν, ἀτὰρ οὖν δὴ κεκοινώνηκέ γε καὶ σώματος: Spli. 225C ταῦτα θετέον μὲν εἶδος . . . ἀτὰρ ἐπωνυμίας οὔτε ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν ἔτυχεν . . .: Hdt. vi 35. 1: 133. 1: vii 50. 1: viii 144. 1.

(ii) Weaker adversative force. Hom. I 217 Πάτροκλος μὲν σῆτον ἐλὼν ἐπένειμε τραπέζῃ . . . ἀτὰρ κρέα νεῖμεν Ἀχιλλεύς: Pl. P. 4. 169 οἱ μὲν κρίθην· ἀτὰρ Ἰάσων αὐτὸς ἦδη ὠρνευεν κάρυκας: Parm. Fr. 8. 58: Emp. Fr. 109: S.Tr. 761: Hdt. ii 175 ταῦτα μὲν τὰ μέτρα ἐξώθεν . . . ἀτὰρ ἔσωθεν: Pl. Thl. 172C καὶ πολλάκις μὲν γε δὴ . . . καὶ ἄλλοτε κατενόησα, ἀτὰρ καὶ νῦν . . .: R. 367E αἰὲ μὲν δὴ . . . ἀτὰρ οὖν καὶ τότε . . .: Meliss. Fr. 8: Hdt. iv 18: Hp. Fract. 6: Epid. iii 5: Pl. Prt. 335D: Alc. I 124D: X. HGv 3. 7: Archyt. Fr. 4.

(4) Position. Normally first in sentence or clause: but in Homer occasionally postponed after apostrophe: Z86: X331.

(5) ἀτάρ combined with other particles. (For ἀτὰρ καί, ἀτὰρ οὐδέ, see (2) above). ἀτὰρ δὴ. E. Cyc. 84: Andr. 883: Tr. 63: Hp. Art. 9, 14: Pl. Spli. 232E. ἀτὰρ οὖν. Pl. R. 367E: Hp. Ma. 296A: X. Oec. 18. 1. ἀτὰρ οὖν δὴ. Pl. Chrm. 154B: Plt. 269D. ἀτάρ τε. Thgn. 597 δὴν δὴ καὶ φίλοι ὦμεν· ἀτάρ τ' ἄλλοισιν ὀμίλει ἀνδράσιν. ἀτὰρ μὲν. See μὲν. ἀτάρ τοι. Hdt. iii 29.

## Αὐτάρ

αὐτάρ seems to represent αὐτε + ἄρ. If so, the evolution of 'on the contrary' from 'again' is paralleled in the Latin *rursus*. The particle is virtually confined to Epic (and, later, Pastoral) poetry, its place elsewhere being taken by ἀτάρ. The only example in drama seems to be Hermipp. Fr. 63. 17 (in hexameters, mock-epic.) M's αὐτάρ in E. Ph. 1643 is clearly a slip. In Hp. Morb. iii 15 some MSS. read αὐτάρ, but the ἀτάρ of others is no doubt right. L. & S. cite ἀφυτάρ from IG. I<sup>2</sup>. 1012, and αὐτάρ from Inscr. Cypri. 57H. There appears to be no distinction in sense between αὐτάρ and ἀτάρ. Like ἀτάρ, αὐτάρ often answers μὲν: Hom. A51, 127: *id. saep.*

(1) Strongly adversative. Hom. A118 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἐθέλω δομέναι πάλιν . . . αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ γέρας αὐτίχ' ἐτοιμάσατ': 333 οὐδέ τί μιν προσεφώνεον οὐδ' ἐρέοντο· αὐτὰρ ὁ ἔγνω: 8259 ἐνθ' ἄλλαι Τρῳαὶ λίγ' ἐκώκυν· αὐτὰρ ἐμὸν κῆρ χαίρε. μὲν . . . αὐτάρ, T63.

(2) Weakly adversative, or purely progressive. (A commoner use.) Hom. B218 τὼ δέ οἱ ὦμω κυρτῶ . . . αὐτὰρ ὑπερθε φοξὸς ἔην κεφαλῆν: 465 ἐς πεδῖον προχέοντο Σκαμάνδριον· αὐτὰρ ὑπὸ χθῶν . . . κονάβιζε: E729 τοῦ δ' ἐξ ἀργύρεος ῥυμὸς πέλεν· αὐτὰρ ἐπ' ἄκρω δῆσε . . . ζυγόν: Z243 ξεστῆς αἰθούσῃσι τετυγμένον— αὐτὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ πεντήκοντ' ἔνεσαν θάλαμοι: 1335 τέσσαρες. αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ πέμπτος μετὰ τοῖσιν ἐλέγμην: φ290. αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ἔπει ρ' εὔξαντο: 464 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατὰ μῆρ' ἐκάη: 467 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ παύσαντο πόνου: 469 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο.

(3) Apodotic. Hom. Γ290 εἰ δ' . . ., αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ ἔπειτα μαχήσομαι: X390 εἰ δὲ θανόντων περ καταλήθοντ' εἰν Αἴδαο. αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ κείθι φίλου μεμνήσομ' ἐταίρου. If αὐτάρ is αὐτε + ἄρ, these examples perhaps illustrate the original, adverbial, sense of the particle. Cf. also Hom. A133 ἦ ἐθέλεις, ὄφρ' αὐτὸς ἔχῃς γέρας, αὐτὰρ ἐμ' αὐτῶς ἦσθαι δευόμενον . . .; But the interpretation is uncertain (see Leaf).

The derivation of γάρ from γε and ἄρ, though occasionally challenged (as, e.g., by H. Weber in *Phil.Rundsch.* iv 1078), has been pretty generally accepted by scholars. It is adopted in the Brugmann-Thumb grammar, Boisacq's *Dictionnaire Étymologique*, and the new edition of Liddell and Scott. There appears little reason to doubt this etymology, though it may be remarked (1) that the form γάρρα is nowhere found; (2) that the combinations γὰρ ἄρα, γάρ ῥα, are tolerated. (Pl.*Prt.* 315C ἐπεδήμει γὰρ ἄρα Πρόδικος: R. 438A: Smp. 205B: Grg. 469D: γάρ ῥα, Hom. A 113: *id. saep.*) The fusion, if it occurred, must have occurred at an early date.

Hartung and his successors base their theories of γάρ on the supposed meaning of the supposed component parts: and divergent views of γε and ἄρα beget divergent views of γάρ in bewildering multiplicity. To pursue these various theories through all their ramifications would be unprofitable. It need only be said that the tendency of nineteenth-century research has been to question the old view that 'for' is the only, or at any rate the original, meaning of γάρ, all apparent deviations being explained by ellipse; and to give prominence to two other uses: (1) affirmative, adverbial, 'beziehungslos' (Bäumlein); (2) inferential, in exclamations and questions (a use affirmed by Hartung and Klotz, but denied by Bäumlein). More recently, however, a reaction has set in. Sernatinger and Prof. Misener (see her admirable dissertation) derive all uses of γάρ from the causal, and freely assume ellipse, where necessary. The latter scholar points out that the so-called 'affirmative' uses are commoner in the later Greek authors than in the earlier, from which she argues that they are derivative, not primary. Further, they are commoner in dramatic dialogue, which is, in general, highly compressed and elliptical, than in other literature.

The truth lies, I believe, somewhere between the two extremes. On the one hand, many peculiarities which γάρ exhibits, especially in dialogue, can be reasonably explained as elliptical variants of the 'for' sense; on the other, any attempt to confine γάρ everywhere to that sense breaks down finally at some point or other.

To begin with, etymological considerations apart, it is unlikely that 'for' is the primary meaning; and it would still, perhaps, be unlikely if γάρ undeniably meant 'for' in every single passage in which it occurred in extant Greek literature. Probably few Greek connecting particles started their careers as conjunctions. And the analogy of δή and μήν (the case of οὖν is more complicated) would suggest that an earlier, asseverative force lay behind the causal sense of γάρ. This supposition accords well with the derivation from γε and ἄρα, particularly if γε is regarded here as limitative in force. The combination would then mean 'this, at any rate (γε) is true, as I realize (ἄρα)'; and the development of a connective force, 'for', would be closely paralleled by the quasi-connective force of γοῦν (and, more rarely, simple γε), to which γάρ sometimes, as we shall see (III.8), comes very near in significance. Further, as with δή and μήν, so with γάρ, the original asseverative force remains in existence after the development of the connective, and side by side with it, at any rate in combinations (just as the asseverative force of μήν persists in ἀλλὰ μήν, καὶ μήν, and ἦ μήν): καὶ γάρ, καὶ γὰρ οὖν, καὶ γάρ τοι, τοιγάρ, τοιγαροῦν, τοιγάρτοι, and sometimes, perhaps, ἀλλὰ γάρ (*q.v.*, III. 8). That γάρ is asseverative anywhere except in these combinations (and perhaps in εἰ γάρ) is highly doubtful. (But cf. Plautus, *Bacchides* 1162: An amas?—*Ναὶ γάρ*). Some scholars regard explanatory, anticipatory, and assentient γάρ, and γάρ in ἀλλὰ γάρ, as affirmative. But these uses are nothing more than particular aspects of the causal. Little importance can be attached to the heterogeneous passages quoted in X (*ad init.*).

'Asseverative' γάρ must, then, be admitted, but probably only within narrowly defined limits. On the other hand 'inferential' γάρ (with ἄρα predominating) has little or no claim to recognition. An inferential force is, it is true, appropriate enough in interrogative answers. But a causal force fits interrogative and categorical answers alike with equal ease. (Θανοῦμαι.—*Νοσεῖς γάρ*; ('I shall die'.—'Because you're ill, are you?') *Νοσεῖς ἄρα*; ('So you're ill, are you?') gives a totally different, but equally appropriate, connexion.) The case for the 'inferential' explanation is certainly much stronger in progressive γάρ questions (VI). But I shall give reasons for believing that this use also is ultimately derived from the causal sense.

I. Confirmatory and causal, giving the ground for belief, or the motive for action. This usage may be illustrated from any page of any Greek author. It is, however, commoner in writers whose mode of thought is simple than in those whose logical faculties are more fully developed. The former tend to state a fact before investigating its reason, while the latter more frequently follow the logical order, cause and effect, whether they employ subordination or co-ordination of clauses. Broschmann calls attention to the commonness of γάρ in Homer and Herodotus, and to the comparative rarity in Herodotus of the syntactical conjunctions, ἐπεὶ, ἐπειδὴ, ὅτι, ὡς. He gives examples from these two writers of successions of γάρ clauses or sentences, each clause dependent on the preceding one: Hom. B12-14 (three): Ω66-70 (four): Hdt. iii 80-82 (γάρ used eighteen times in all): iv 1 six sentences opening with γάρ, consecutive except for an intermediate one opening with δέ. For a similar accumulation, cf. Pl. *Ap.* 39E-40A (in a work marked by conscious naïveté of style: see 17B-C): Arist. *Pol.* 1261a24-6. In Sophocles, γάρ not infrequently introduces successive clauses in successive lines: *Aj.* 20, 215, 514, 1262: *OT* 317: *Ant.* 1255: *Ph.* 1158: *E. Ion* 373: *El.* 368: *IA* 1422. See Jebb on *S. El.* 180 (III.6 below). γάρ twice in a line, *S. OT* 1117: *E. IT* 1325: *IA* 425: *Hcl.* 1430: *Callias Fr.* 12.

II. Explanatory. This usage, as Hartung (i469) and Bäumlein (p. 86) rightly observe, is nearly related to the confirmatory. (There is no need, with Kühner, to regard the particle as 'adverbial' here.) It is rare in Homer, where some apparent examples are probably better explained as anticipatory (*N*736: *P*221: 1319: κ190: ψ362: see IV.2 below), or as ordinary causal (*δ*722: λ508). While the use of γάρ in explanations is regular, asyndeton is very often employed (Kühner, II ii 344).

Explanatory γάρ is most commonly found:—

(1) After τεκμήριον δέ, σημείον δέ, and similar expressions. *S. OC* 146 δηλῶ δ' οὐ γάρ . . . : 1145 δείκνυμι δ' ὧν γάρ . . . : *Hdt.* viii 120 μέγα δὲ καὶ τότε μαρτύριον φαίνεται γάρ Ξέρξης . . . : *Th.* i 3.1 δηλοῖ δέ μοι τότε τῶν παλαιῶν ἀσθένειαν οὐχ ἥκιστα: πρὸ γάρ τῶν Τρωικῶν . . . : 1143.5 σκέψασθε δέ: εἰ γάρ ἡμεν νησιῶται . . . : *Lys.* i 37 σκέψασθε δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες: κατηγοροῦσι γάρ μου:

*Isoc.* vii 35 κεφαλαῖον δὲ τοῦ καλῶς ἀλλήλοισι ὀμιλεῖν: αἱ μὲν γάρ κτήσεις ἀσφαλεῖς ἦσαν: iv 87 σημείον δὲ τοῦ τάχους καὶ τῆς ἀμίλλης: τοὺς μὲν γάρ . . . : *X. Mem.* i 2.32 ἐδήλωσε δέ: ἐπεὶ γάρ οἱ τριάκοντα . . . : *Smpr.* 4.17 τεκμήριον δέ: θαλλοφόρους γάρ . . . : *Th.* i 2.6: 8.1: *X. HG* vi 4.13: *Isoc.* vii 17.

(2) After an expression denoting the giving or receiving of information, or conveying a summons to attention. *Hom.* μ59 ἐρέω δέ τοι ἀμφοτέρωθεν: ἔνθεν μὲν γάρ πέτραι . . . : *Pi. P.* 4.70 ἀπὸ δ' αὐτὸν ἐγὼ Μοῖσαισι δώσω . . . τίς γάρ ἀρχὰ δέξατο ναυτιλίας: *A. Pers.* 255 ὁμως δ' ἀνάγκη πᾶν ἀναπτύξαι πάθος, Πέρσαι: στρατὸς γάρ πᾶς ὄλωλε βαρβάρων: *Ag.* 267 πεύσει δὲ χάρμα μείζον ἐλπίδος κλύειν: Πριάμου γάρ ἠρήκασιν Ἀργεῖοι πόλιν: *S. Tr.* 475 πᾶν σοι φράσω τάληθές . . . ἔστιν γάρ οὕτως: *Ag. Pl.* 78 ἀκούετον δὴ . . . ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι Πλοῦτος: *S. OT* 346, 711, 994: *Ph.* 915, 1049, 1326: *E. Cys.* 313: *Heracl.* 800: *Hec.* 1181: *Th.* i 73.4 ἀνάγκη λέγειν . . . ῥηθήσεται δὲ . . . φάμεν γάρ . . . : ii 49.1 λέξω . . . δηλώσω . . . τὸ μὲν γάρ ἔτος . . . : *Pl. Smpr.* 217B προσέχετε τὸν νοῦν, καὶ εἰ ψεύδομαι, Σώκρατες, ἐξέλεγχε: συνεγιγνόμεν γάρ . . . : *Phlb.* 37A διορισώμεθα δὴ σαφέστερον . . . ἔστιν γάρ πού τι δοξάζειν ἡμῖν; *Prt.* 318D χαίρω ἀποκρινόμενος: Ἴπποκράτης γάρ . . . : 320C δοκεῖ . . . χαριέστερον εἶναι μῦθον ὑμῖν λέγειν. ἦν γάρ ποτε χρόνος ('Well, once upon a time'): *Phid.* 86E λέγω δὴ . . . ἐμοὶ γάρ φαίνεται . . . : *Ap.* 20D πᾶσαν ὑμῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐρῶ. ἐγὼ γάρ . . . : *R.* 329A ἐρῶ . . . πολλάκις γάρ συνερχόμεθα: *Isoc.* iv 28 ὁμως αὐτῷ (τῷ λόγῳ) καὶ νῦν ῥηθῆναι προσήκει. Δήμητρος γάρ ἀφικομένης . . . : *Pl. Euthphr.* 12D: *R.* 451C: *Lg.* 626E, 695C: *Phld.* 29D: *Lys.* iii 5, 6: ix 13: xiii 19.

(3) After a forward-pointing pronominal adjective or adverb. *Hom.* Θ148 ἀλλὰ τόδ' αἶνον ἄχος κραδίην καὶ θυμὸν ἰκάνει: Ἐκτωρ γάρ ποτε φήσει . . . : *S. OT* 779 πρὶν μοι τύχη τοιαύτ' ἐπέστη . . . ἀνὴρ γάρ . . . : *E. HF* 1295 ἐς τοῦτο δ' ἤξειν συμφορᾶς οἶμαί ποτε: φωνὴν γάρ ἤσει χθών: *S. Tr.* 572: *E. IT* 352: *Hdt.* i 191 ἐποίησε τοιαῦτα . . . τὸν γάρ ποταμὸν . . . : *Lys.* xii 19 εἰς τοσαύτην . . . πληστίαν . . . ἀφίκοντο . . . τῆς γάρ Πολεμάρχου γυναικὸς . . . : *Pi. Prt.* 349D ὧδε δὲ γνώση ὅτι ἐγὼ ἀληθῆ λέγω: εὐρήσεις γάρ πολλοὺς . . . : *X. Mem.* i 1.6 ἐποίει καὶ τάδε . . . τὰ μὲν γάρ ἀναγκαῖα συνεβούλευε: *Pl. Ap.* 31B: *Lys.* xvii 6: *Isoc.* iii 31.

(4) After a neuter superlative adjective. *Ar. Av.* 514 δ δὲ δεινότατόν γ' ἐστὶν ἀπάντων, ὁ Ζεὺς γὰρ ὁ νῦν βασιλεύων . . . : *Hdt.* iii 80 ἀναρμοστέατον δὲ πάντων ἦν τε γὰρ . . . : *Isoc.* iii 21 τὸ δὲ μέγιστον τοῖς γὰρ κοινοῖς . . . : *viii* 53 δ δὲ πάντων σχετλιώτατον οὖς γὰρ . . .

(5) Other examples do not fall under any of the above headings. *S. OC* 1161 Οὐκ οἶδα πλὴν ἔν' σοῦ γὰρ . . . βραχύν τιν' αἰτεῖ μῦθον : *E. Tr.* 688 ἐπίσταμαι (life on board ship). ναύταις γὰρ . . . : *Hdt.* i 59 Ἴπποκράτει . . . τέρας ἐγένετο μέγα θύσαντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ . . . : *ix* 50 ἄλλα γὰρ τούτων τοιοῦτων ἐόντων μᾶλλον σφεας ἐλύπεε. οὔτε γὰρ σιτία εἶχον ἔτι : *Pl. Ar.* 40A ἐμοὶ . . . θαυμάσιόν τι γέγονεν. ἡ γὰρ εἰωθυῖά μοι μαντικὴ . . . : *Lys.* xiii 79 : ἀλλ' ἕτερον οὔτε γὰρ . . . : *Pl. Ti.* 21B, 82A. (In some of these examples the explanatory sense merges in the confirmatory.) See further γὰρ οὖν (5).

### III. Peculiarities in the use of causal and explanatory γάρ.

(1) *Γάρ* gives the motive for saying that which has just been said : 'I say this because . . .'. *S. OT* 559 δέδρακε ποῖον ἔργον ; οὐ γὰρ ἐννοῶ ('I ask you, because I don't understand' : cf. *Ph.* 28) : *Aj.* 1265 Εἶθ' ὑμῖν ἀμφοῖν νοῦς γένοιτο σωφρονεῖν τούτου γὰρ οὐδὲν σφῶν ἔχω λῶον φράσαι : *Tr.* 289 φρόνει νιν ὡς ἤξοντα τοῦτο γὰρ λόγου πολλοῦ καλῶς λεχθέντος ἡδιστον κλύειν : 817 ('γάρ justifies his unfilial language', *Jebb*) : *E. Med.* 465 ὦ παγκάκιστε, τοῦτο γὰρ σ' εἰπεῖν ἔχω γλώσση μέγιστον εἰς ἀνανδρίαν κακόν : 663 Μήδεια, χαίρει τοῦδε γὰρ προοίμιον κάλλιον οὐδεὶς οἶδε προσφωνεῖν φίλους : 1370 Οἶδ' οὐκέτ' εἰσί τοῦτο γὰρ σε δήξεται ('Ayc, that will sting thee!') : *Tr.* 983 Κύπριν δ' ἔλεξας—ταῦτα γὰρ γέλωσ πολὺς—ἐλθεῖν ('I refer to it because it is so absurd') : *Heracl.* 134 : *Ion.* 122 : *Or.* 75 : *Ar. Ec.* 607 : *Hdt.* vi 111.2 τελευταῖοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο . . . Πλαταιέες. ἀπὸ ταύτης γὰρ σφι τῆς μάχης Ἀθηναίων θυσίας ἀναγόντων . . . κατεύχεται ὁ κῆρυξ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἅμα τε Ἀθηναίοισι λέγων γίνεσθαι τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ Πλαταιεῦσι (introducing a particular reason for mentioning the Plataeans here) : *Pl. Smp.* 215B ὑβριστῆς εἶ ἢ οὐ ; ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ ὁμολογήης, μάρτυρας παρέξομαι (the motive for demanding a voluntary confession is that, failing it, witnesses will have to be produced) : *Phdr.* 229A Εἰς καιρὸν . . . ἀνυπόδητος ὦν ἔτυχον· σὺ μὲν γὰρ δὴ αἰεὶ (γάρ explains why Phaedrus says ἔτυ-

χον, not ἐτύχομεν : cf. *Lg.* 629B ὅδε μὲν γὰρ explains the use of the singular σύ, instead of ὑμεῖς) : *Euthphr.* 12C ἔπη γὰρ που νῦν γε ; ('I think you can follow me now' : 'I put it like that because in that form it ought to be intelligible to you'. Cf. *R.* 413B, 491C (the etcetera is intelligible, because it adequately denotes the type)) : *D.* xlv 20 χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον οὐ πολλῶ—τοῖς γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτα λόγοις ἤδη σφόδρα τὸν νοῦν προσέχετε ('I mention these facts, because they are particularly deserving of attention') : *Pl. Smp.* 192D : *Ar.* 20B : *R.* 347A, 590A : *Lg.* 711A.

Conversely, in *S. Ph.* 1054, the use of the words contained in the γάρ clause forms a confirmation of what precedes : νῦν δὲ σοὶ γ' ἐκὼν ἐκστήσομαι. (To the attendants) ἄφετε γὰρ αὐτόν ('For I say, release him'). Converted into the form of the examples given above, this would run : ἄφετε αὐτόν· σοὶ γὰρ ἐκὼν ἐκστήσομαι.

(2) The connexion of thought is sometimes lacking in logical precision. *Verrall* well observes, on *E. Med.* 573, that 'the use of γάρ is regulated by the substance of the thought, and not by its form'. Compression of thought is often the source of difficulty, and formal exactitude can then be achieved by supposing an ellipse, as in the passages quoted in the previous section. But this, though a convenient method of exposition, is psychologically somewhat misleading.

*Hom. O.* 612 ὅς μιν . . . τίμα καὶ κέδαινε. μινυθάδιος γὰρ ἔμελλεν ἔσσεσθ' ('gave him glory', sc. 'but not long life' : cf. *Z.* 447, 'aiming at glory, not the preservation of Troy') : *a.* 411 οὐδ' ὑπέμενε γνωμέναι ('as we would gladly have done') : *οὐ μὲν γὰρ τι κακῶ εἰς ὧπα ἐφκει* : *S. OT* 317 (see *Jebb*) : 569 Οὐκ οἶδ' ('and will not guess') : *ἐφ' οἷς γὰρ μὴ φρονῶ σιγᾶν φιλῶ* : *OC* 1301 ('the connexion shows that the μάντιες are the soothsayers of his new army', *Campbell* : see also *Jebb*) : *Ph.* 91 ('and we can easily force him, for . . .') : 1167 ('and it is worth escaping, for . . .') : *E. Med.* 122 ('for they lack the salutary effects of an equal status') : 573 ('for woman is nothing but a badly contrived machine for reproduction', *Verrall* : ἄρ' *Porson* : cf. *Or.* 755 (*M* γάρ for ἄρ')) : perhaps τᾶρ) : *El.* 1068 ('Your excuse carries some conviction, because other people do not know you as I do') : *Ph.* 961 ('Yet I am not surprised at your silence . . .')

too am dumbfounded'): *Ar. Av.* 1220 Ποία γὰρ ἄλλη χρὴ πέτεσθαι τοὺς θεοὺς;—Οὐκ οἶδα μὰ Δί' ἔγωγε· τῆδε μὲν γὰρ οὗ ('I don't know: (but it must be *some* other way) for it isn't *this*): *Lys.* 636 (Οὐ γὰρ seems impossible, and Dobree's Οὐκ ἄρ' right): *Th.* 120.1 τοὺς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους . . . οὐκ ἂν ἔτι αἰτιασαίμεθα ὡς οὐ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐψηφισμένοι τὸν πόλεμόν εἰσι . . . χρὴ γὰρ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας . . . τὰ κοινὰ προσκοπεῖν (γὰρ substantiates the legitimacy, in principle, of such a grievance): *Pl. R.* 328A παννυχίδα ποιήσουσιν, ἣν ἄξιον θεάσασθαι ('and we can conveniently do so') ἐξαναστησόμεθα γὰρ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον καὶ τὴν παννυχίδα θεασόμεθα: *Thg.* 127A (his rejection of the so-called καλοὶ κάγαθοὶ is motivated by his conviction that Socrates, who is just as καλὸς κάγαθός as they, is good enough for him): *Phd.* 64C (γὰρ introduces, not the individual sentence εἴπωμεν . . . ἐκείνοις, but the whole argument in support of λέληθεν . . . φιλόσοφοι): *Smr.* 173D: 'I don't know why you are called *μανικός* (but you have some right to the title)'—*μανικός*, not *μαλακός*, must be right—'you are *μανικός* enough ἐν τοῖς λόγοις'. γὰρ approximates to γοῦν here (cf. III.8: Badham's γε is possible): *Lg.* 794D (two thoughts are blended here. The speaker lays stress on this branch of education (1) because of its importance: (2) because he has original views on the subject. γὰρ explains (2)): *Ant.* v36 μὲν γὰρ (μὲν *om. N*: γὰρ is very difficult: read perhaps μὲν [γὰρ], or μὲν γε): 56 ('they could not now get rid of the document (as they would gladly have done), for . . .'). On *Arist. Pol.* 1270a15 see Susemihl-Hicks and Newman.\*

In other cases the γὰρ clause explains the tone of the preceding words, rather than their content. *S. Pl.* 624 ἦ κείνος . . . ἐμ' εἰς Ἀχαιοὺς ὤμοσεν πείσας στελεῖν; πεισθήσομαι γὰρ ὧδε καὶ Αἴδου θανῶν πρὸς φῶς ἀνελεῖν (Philoctetes justifies the incredulous question: 'Why, in that case . . .'. To suppose, with Jebb, an ellipse of οὔτοι στελεῖ is unnecessary): *Ar. Ach.* 588 Οὗτος τί δράσεις; τῷ πτίλῳ μέλλεις ἐμεῖν; πτίλον γὰρ ἐστίν . . . ('Why, it's a feather . . .': 'you mustn't, for . . .').

(3) A γὰρ clause supports the truth of an assertion by the argument that, were it untrue, something else known to be true would also be untrue: 'for otherwise'. See Jebb, Appendix to *OT*, p. 221.

*Hom. A.* 232 ἐπεὶ οὐτιδανοῖσιν ἀνάσσεις· ἦ γὰρ ἄν, Ἀτρεΐδῃ, νῦν ὕστατα λωβήσαιο: *A. Eu.* 607: *S. Aj.* 1330: *El.* 1448: *OT* 82, 318: *Tr.* 1118: *E. HF* 274: *IT* 666, 1201: *IA* 1256: *Hdt.* i 124 ὦ παῖ Καμβύσῃ, σὲ γὰρ θεοὶ ἐπορώσι, οὐ γὰρ ἄν κοτε ἐς τοσοῦτο τύχης ἀπίκεν: ii 49: iii 38: iv 32: ix 45.2: *Pl. Smr.* 222C: *Cra.* 413E, 436C: *R.* 554B: *Arist. Metaph.* 1038b29: *Pol.* 1280a32, b8, 1283a1: *D.* xix 293.

(4) Γὰρ refers, not to the immediately preceding sentence, but to something further back. This looseness of structure is characteristic of Homer and Herodotus: the Attic examples are few, and not remarkable. The Herodotean passages are discussed by Broschmann, pp. 17–18.

*Hom. B.* 119 αἰσχρὸν γὰρ τόδε γ' ἐστὶ (referring to *δυσκλέα* in 115): 392 οὐ μὲν γὰρ τι κακὸν βασιλεύεμεν (referring to 390): ρ400 δὸς οἱ ἐλών· οὗτοι φθονέω· κέλομαι γὰρ ἐγώ γε: υ273 οὐ γὰρ Ζεὺς εἴασε (referring to 271): *Hes. Sc.* 357 (referring to 350–3: unless γὰρ is adverbial: cf. X): *A. Ag.* 272 Τί γὰρ τὸ πιστόν; (referring to 269): 555 μόχθους γὰρ εἰ λέγοιμι (referring to 553 τὰ δ' αὐτὲ κάπιμομφα): *S. Aj.* 25 (referring to 21–2): *OC* 25 τὰς γοῦν Ἀθήνας οἶδα, τὸν δὲ χῶρον οὐ.—Πᾶς γὰρ τις ἡῦδα τοῦτό γ' ἡμῖν ἐμπόρων (referring to the former of two paratactic clauses): *E. HF.* 1176 (referring to 1174, with ellipse: 'They cannot have been killed in battle, for . . .'): *Med.* 1228 (referring to 1224: but see Verrall): *Hdt.* i 71 (Sandanis has been contrasting Persian asceticism with Lydian luxury) ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἐπειθε τὸν Κροῖσον. Πέρσησι γὰρ, πρὶν Λυδοὺς καταστρέψασθαι, ἦν οὔτε ἄβρον οὔτε ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν: iii 89 (Δαρείος) ἐτάξατο φόρους. Then details of the tribute. ἐπὶ γὰρ Κύρου ἀρχοντος καὶ αὐτὶς Καμβύσῃ ἦν κατεστηκὸς οὐδέν φόρου πέρι: iii 102 αἱ γὰρ σφι κάμηλοι vii 22.2 ὁ γὰρ Ἄθως . . .: 106.1 κατέστασαν γὰρ . . . λέγεται γὰρ Μίνων . . .

(5) In dramatic dialogue, a speaker continues his own train of thought with γὰρ, ignoring the intervening speech of another person. *S. OC* 837 Εἵργον.—Σοῦ μὲν οὐ, τάδε γε μωμένον.—Πῶς μαχῆ γὰρ, εἴ τι πημανεῖς ἐμέ: *E. Or.* 1516 Ἐνδικώτατος λητο) . . .—Δειλία γλώσση χαρίζῃ . . .—Οὐ γὰρ; ἦτις ἔλλατο διελυμῆνατο; 1616 Πόνους πονήσας μυρίους.—Πλὴν γ' εἰς ἐμέ.—Πέπονθα δεινά.—Τότε γὰρ ἦσθ' ἀνωφελής: *Hel.* 348 πότερα

κεται φάος (πόσις) . . . ;—'Ες τὸ φέρτερον τίθει τὸ μέλλον . . . —  
Σὲ γὰρ . . . κατόμοσα, τὸν . . . Εὐρώταν ('that if he is dead I will  
kill myself'): *Ar.V.300* 'I won't give you figs'.—*Μὰ Δί' οὐ*  
*τᾶρα προπέμψω σε τὸ λοιπὸν.*—*Ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦδέ με τοῦ μισθαρίου*  
*τρίτον αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἄλφιστα δεῖ:* *Ra.1088* 'You must not make  
peace yet'.—*Ἄρα φενακίζων ποτ' Ἀθηναίους ἔτι παύσει;*—*Ποῖον*  
*γὰρ κατὰ χρησμὸν ἐκαύσατε μῆρα θεοῖσιν;* *Pl.418* τί φεύγετον;  
*οὐ μενεΐτον;*—*Ἡράκλεις.*—*Ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐξολῶ κακοὺς κακῶς*  
(the prospect of immediate destruction is humorously given as a  
reason for not running away: 'Dilly dilly duckling, come and be  
killed').

(6) Successive γάρ's have the same reference (Broschmann,  
pp. 32-3. Some of his examples are better explained other-  
wise. I add others of my own). *A.Ag.559-60* τὰ δ' αὐτε χέρσφ  
*καὶ προσῆν πλέον στύγος· εὐναὶ γὰρ ἦσαν δαῖων πρὸς τείχεσιν.*  
*ἐξ οὐρανοῦ γὰρ κάπὸ γῆς λειμώνια δρόσοι κατεψάκαζον* (but see  
Verrall's punctuation, below: δέ Pearson): *S.El. 179-80* (the  
healing effect of time, and the possibility of future retribution,  
are both urged as reasons for calmness. Jebb makes the second  
γάρ clause refer to the first: but his notes are evasive): *Aj.*  
*182-5* (a negative argument reinforced by a positive one): *Ant.*  
*659-61* ἀλλὰ κτενῶ. πρὸς ταῦτ' ἐφυμνείτω Δία ξύναιμον· εἰ γὰρ  
*δὴ τά γ' ἐγγενῆ φύσει ἄκοσμα θρέψω, κάρτα τοὺς ἔξω γένους. ἐν*  
*τοῖς γὰρ οἰκείοισιν ὅστις ἔστ' ἀνὴρ χρηστός, φανεῖται κὰν πόλει*  
*δίκαιος ὢν* (the same argument twice, in differing forms): *E.Hel.*  
*477-9, IA1423-4* (see England): *Hdt.vii 51.2* τούτους ὢν τοὺς  
*ἀνδρας συμβουλεύω τοι μηδεμιῇ μηχανῇ ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας.*  
*καὶ γὰρ ἄνευ τούτων οἰοί τέ εἶμεν τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατυπέρτεροι γίνε-*  
*σθαι. ἢ γὰρ σφεας, ἢν ἔπωνται, δεῖ ἀδικωτάτους γίνεσθαι κατα-*  
*δουλουμένους τὴν μητρόπολιν, ἢ δικαιοτάτους συνελευθεροῦντας*  
(‘Their help is not needed: and they cannot be relied upon’): *Th.*  
*140.5-6* δικαιοί γ' ἐστὲ . . . τὸν νόμον μὴ καθιστάναι ὥστε τοὺς  
*ἐτέρων ἀφισταμένους δέχεσθαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡμεῖς Σαμίων ἀποστάντων*  
*ψῆφον προσεθέμεθα ἐναντίαν ὑμῖν . . . εἰ γὰρ τοὺς κακόν τι δρῶντας*  
*δεχόμενοι τιμωρήσετε, φανεῖται καὶ ἅ τῶν ὑμετέρων οὐκ ἐλάσσω*  
*ἡμῖν πρόσεισι* (a passage exactly parallel to *Hdt.vii 51.2*: two  
independent arguments—here, gratitude and self-interest—are  
urged in favour of a course of action): *X.An.v6.4* (the solemn

oath is motivated by two considerations: that giving counsel is,  
in general, a ‘holy thing’; and that, in the present case, the  
reputation of the counsellor is deeply involved): *D.xx117* (οὐ  
γὰρ and εἰ μὲν γὰρ both look back to the last sentence of §116.  
The passage, therefore, lends no support to Stahl's view (*Rh.M.*  
*1902,1-7*) that γάρ is sometimes concessive). Perhaps, *Ant.v6*  
(‘malim δέ’, for the second γάρ, Thalheim): 86-7 (a repetition of  
the trial is to be desired (1) because that is the best way of  
arriving at the truth (τοσοῦτω γὰρ ἄμεινον κ.τ.λ.): (2) because  
the consequences of condemnation are irreparable (φόνου γὰρ  
δίκη κ.τ.λ.): φόνου δέ, Reiske). Cf. also *Arist.Pol.1265a29-31*.\*

We must distinguish from the above passages others in which  
the first γάρ clause is parenthetical, and the references in the two  
γάρ clauses are therefore not parallel. *Hom.υ305-6* *Κτήσιππ',*  
*ἦ μάλα τοι τόδε κέρδιον ἐπλετο θυμῷ· οὐκ ἔβαλες τὸν ξεῖνον·*  
*ἀλεύατο γὰρ βέλος αὐτός. ἦ γὰρ κέν·σε μέσον βάλον ἐγχεί*  
*ὀξυόεντι* (the first γάρ explaining οὐκ ἔβαλες, the second, κέρδιον  
ἐπλετο): *S.OC 980-2* γάμους . . . οἴους ἐρῶ τάχ'· οὐ γὰρ οὖν  
*σιγήσομαι . . . ἔτικτε γὰρ μ' ἔτικτεν* (the first γάρ being causal,  
the second explanatory): *Pi.P.4.68-70*: *Th.191.3*: *ii 5.4*: *Pl.*  
*Chrm.174A*: *X.An.v 6.6*: *Lys.ii 3-4*: *D.lvi 4-5*: *Hyp.Epit.10*. In  
*A.Ag. 558-61*, if Verrall's punctuation is adopted, the first γάρ  
clause is in a parenthesis which reaches from καὶ προσῆν to τεί-  
χεσιν: the second γάρ explains τὰ δ' αὐτε χέρσφ. (Similarly, in  
*E.Or. 1091-4* I should make καὶ τῆδ' . . . δάμαρτα a parenthesis:  
see *C.R.xliv(1930)215*.) In *Th.iii 2.2-3* τῶν τε γὰρ λιμένων κ.τ.λ.  
explains ἀναγκασθέντες and πρότερον ἢ διεννοῦντο: *Τενέδιοι γὰρ*  
*κ.τ.λ.* explains ἀπέστη. We may, perhaps, include here a curious  
use of repeated γάρ in anaphora: *Hr.Ant.14* τοῦτο γὰρ ἔχει  
*κίνησιν, τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ ἀποστὰν ἀπὸ τῆς φύσιος.*

(7) Γάρ refers, not to the main idea of the preceding sentence,  
but (i) to a single clause, or (ii) to an individual word or phrase.  
Here, again, the force of the argument may be brought out by  
supposing an ellipse.<sup>1</sup>

(i) *Hom.A342* εἴ ποτε δὴ αὐτε χρεῖῳ ἐμεῖο γένηται ἀεικία  
*λοιγὸν ἀμῦναι τοῖς ἄλλοις· ἢ γὰρ ὁ γ' ὀλοῖῃσι φρεσὶ θύει* ('and

<sup>1</sup> This section should be read in conjunction with III.3. Some of the  
examples there given might well have been grouped here. Cf. also V.7.





νικῆς, συμβάλλειν τε τὴν ταχίστην: 60.2 νῦν ὃν δέδοκται τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν τὸ ποιητέον ἡμῖν, ἀμυνομένους γὰρ τῇ δυνάμεθα ἄριστα περιστέλλειν ἀλλήλους: Arist. *de An.* 410b4 πολλὰ δ' ἀγνοήσει. πάντα γὰρ τὰλλα: *Rh.* 200b5 ἴσως δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ ἐστὶ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ὀρισμένῳ γὰρ τὸ ἔργον: *GC* 318b35: 325b6.

(For appositional καὶ γάρ, see καὶ γάρ, I.3.)

These examples are certainly remarkable, and in hardly any of them is it possible to suppose an ellipse of a verb. Hude's other instances are less impressive, and some of them can be otherwise explained (*Th.* 125.3: vii 28.3). Vahlen (*Poetics*, Ed. 3, 1885, pp. 128–32) compares Aristotle's use of γάρ meaning 'in fact', 'that is to say', with conjunctions. *Po.* 1450b18 ὡς γάρ (ὡς *A<sup>c</sup>B<sup>c</sup>*: ἡ *cett.*): *EN* 1159b11 ἐπὶ πλεῖον διαμένουσιν ἕως γὰρ ἂν πορίζωσιν ἡδονὰς ἢ ὠφελείας ἀλλήλοις ('as long, that is, as . . .'): 1157b2: οἱ δ' ἀγαθοὶ δι' αὐτοὺς φίλοι ἦ γὰρ ἀγαθοί: *Rh.* 1402b26 ἐπεὶ γάρ. ἐπειδὴ γάρ is similarly used by Aristodemus and Philo.

IV. Anticipatory γάρ. Here the γάρ clause, instead of following the clause which it explains, precedes it, or is inserted parenthetically within it. Many authorities, denying that such an order of ideas is possible, interpret γάρ as asseverative, taking the γάρ clause as independent, and the next sentence as following asyndetically. Thus Hartung, Klotz, Baumlein, and Kühner render 'ja', 'nämlich', 'profecto', and the like. But this procedure, as Misener points out, severs the logical connexion between ideas which plainly are so connected. It seems clear that γάρ here bears its normal force, and that the early position of the γάρ clause is to be explained, as Misener suggests, on stylistic and rhetorical grounds.

(1) Parenthetical. (Parenthesis approximates to anticipation where nothing of substantial import precedes the parenthesis.) *Hoim.* Ω 223 νῦν δ', αὐτὸς γὰρ ἄκουσα θεοῦ καὶ ἐσέδρακον ἄντην, εἶμι: *E.Tr.* 998 εἶεν βία γὰρ παῖδα φῆς σ' ἀγειν ἐμόν: τίς Σπαρτιατῶν ἦσθετ'; *Hom.* α 301: *A.Ag.* 1069: *Eu.* 230: *E.Med.* 80: *IT* 95: *Ar.Ach.* 513: *Ec.* 610: *Pl.Phlb.* 16A ὁμῶς δέ, μανθάνομεν γὰρ δ λέγεις, εἴ τις τρόπος ἐστὶ . . . ἀνευρεῖν, σὺ τε προθυμοῦ τοῦτο.

In the above passages the parenthesis is brief: in the following it is longer, and there is rather more ground for regarding

the γάρ clause as independent. *Pl.Grg.* 449C Φέρε δὴ ῥητορικῆς γὰρ φῆς ἐπιστήμων τέχνης εἶναι καὶ ποιῆσαι ἂν καὶ ἄλλον ῥήτορα ἢ ῥητορικὴ περὶ τί τῶν ὄντων τυγχάνει οὐσα; *A.Ch.* 75 (where see Tucker).

Where a vocative precedes the γάρ clause, γάρ may either give a reason for addressing the person in question, or an anticipatory reason for what follows.\* In most cases both factors are present. In the following the former predominates: *Hom.* Ψ 156 Ἀτρεΐδη, σοὶ γάρ τε μάλιστα γε λαὸς Ἀχαιῶν πείσονται μύθοισι, γόοιο μὲν ἔστι καὶ ἄσαι, νῦν δ' ἀπὸ πυρκαϊῆς σκέδασον (the request is addressed to Agamemnon because he is capable of carrying it out. But there is, as Misener points out, a forward reference as well): *Pi.O.* 4.2: *E.Rh.* 608: *Ar.Ach.* 1020: *V.* 389: *Pl.Phd.* 117A Εἶεν, ὦ βέλτιστε, σὺ γὰρ τούτων ἐπιστήμων, τί χρῆ ποιεῖν;

In the following, the latter: *Hom.* ρ 78 Πείραι', οὐ γὰρ ἴδμεν ὅπως ἔσται τάδε ἔργα, εἴ κεν . . . δάσωνται, . . . βούλομ': Ω 334: ε 29: *Hdt.* i 8 Γύγη, οὐ γάρ σε δοκέω πείθεσθαι μοι λέγοντι περὶ τοῦ εἶδους τῆς γυναικὸς . . . ποιεῖ ὅπως ἐκείνην θεήσεται γυμνήν. (In *E.El.* 82ff., after *Πυλάδη*, σὲ γὰρ δὴ πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων ἐγὼ πιστὸν νομίζω, the sentence loses itself in the sand. The γάρ no doubt motivates in general both the narration which follows and the appeal for common action in 102 ff.)

In Herodotus a sentence often opens with καί, followed at once by the γάρ clause: iv 125 καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἀνίει ἐπιῶν ὁ Δαρείος, οἱ Σκύθαι . . . ὑπέφευγον: iv 152: v 33.2: vi 61.2. There are also examples in Thucydides: i 31.2 καὶ (ἦσαν γὰρ οὐδενὸς Ἑλλήνων ἐνσπονδοὶ . . .) ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς: iii 107.3 καὶ (μείζον γὰρ ἐγένετο . . .) ὁ Δημοσθένης . . .: vii 48.2. (Whether, or not, in such cases, we should put a bracket (or comma) after καί, is a question to be determined by considering whether our punctuation is to be based on logical grounds, or is only to reproduce the pauses actually made in speaking or reading.)

(2) Anticipatory, in the strict sense. The sentence opens with the γάρ clause, the whole of the main clause being postponed. γάρ would here naturally be rendered 'since' or 'as'. *Hom.* ψ 362 σοὶ δέ, γύναι, τὰδ' ἐπιτέλλω πινυτῇ περ' εἴουση: αὐτίκα γὰρ φάτις εἶσιν . . . εἰς ὑπερῷ ἀναβῆσα . . . ἦσθαι (to take γάρ as

explanatory would assume an unlikely asyndeton at 364): *E.Ba.*477 Τὸν θεὸν ὄραν γὰρ φῆς σαφῶς, ποῖός τις ἦν; *S.Ph.*852 (reading uncertain): *Hdt.*iv79 Ἡμῖν γὰρ καταγελάτε, ὦ Σκύθαι, ὅτι βακχεύομεν καὶ ἡμέας ὁ θεὸς λαμβάνει· νῦν οὗτος ὁ δαίμων καὶ τὸν ὑμέτερον βασιλέα λελάβηκε (δέ, for γάρ, *PRSI*): i97: iv162: vi11.2. (See also II, Explanatory, *ad init.*)

(3) The resumption or inception (for the examples to be given fall under both headings given above, (1) and (2)) of the main clause is often marked by a particle or demonstrative pronoun. Analysis here is complicated by various factors. (a) It is often difficult, particularly in Homer, to determine whether γάρ looks forward or backward. (b) The ensuing particle, where it is inferential, and therefore expresses a logical relationship inverse to that of γάρ, brings out the reciprocal interdependence of the two clauses (though here, as elsewhere, οὖν and δὴ may possibly be explained as apodotic): where it is copulative or adversative, it supplements a causal relationship by one of a different kind: where it is hortative ἀλλά, it bears no relationship whatever to the γάρ clause. Most of the examples are from Homer and Herodotus. There are very few in Attic: with the exception that in Plato an inferential particle, or its equivalent, not infrequently follows the γάρ clause, which is often preceded by νῦν δέ. In Plato, the γάρ clause, as modern punctuation implies, often tends to acquire independence, by anacoluthon. This is clearly illustrated in *Ar.*38B, where τοσοῦτου οὖν τιμῶμαι refers to the afterthought εἰ μὴ . . . ἀργυρίου, not to οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν. Cf. also *Chrm.* 175B.

(i) δέ (copulative or adversative). *Hom.*τ350 Ζεῖνε φίλ'. οὐ γάρ πώ τις ἀνὴρ πεπνυμένος ὦδε . . . ἐμὸν ἴκετο δῶμα . . . ἔστι δέ μοι γρη῏ς . . . ἢ σε πόδας νίψει (γάρ explains both the epithet φίλε and the granting of Odysseus' request): 407 τίθεσθ' ὄνομα ὅττι κεν εἴπω· πολλοῖσιν γὰρ ἐγὼ γε Ὀδυσσεύμενος τόδ' ἰκάνω . . . τῷ δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ὄνομα ἔστω ἐπώνυμον (where γάρ might, less well, be taken as exclamation): μ320: *Th.*iv 132.2: *And.*i27 ἐπειδὴ αἱ μηνύσεις ἐγένοντο, περὶ τῶν μηνύτρων, ἦσαν γὰρ . . . χίλια δραχμαί . . . περὶ δὲ τούτων ἠμφισβήτησαν . . .

(ii) ἀλλά, hortative. *Hom.*κ176 ὦ φίλοι, οὐ γάρ πω καταδυσόμεθ' . . . εἰς Αἴδου δόμους . . . ἀλλ' ἄγετ': χ70 ὦ φίλοι, οὐ

γὰρ σχήσει ἀνὴρ ὅδε χεῖρας ἀάπτους . . . ἀλλὰ μνησώμεθα χάρμης: N736: P475: Ψ890: κ190,226: ψ248.

ἀλλά, adversative. *Hom.*μ154 ὦ φίλοι, οὐ γὰρ χρὴ ἔνα ἰδμέναι οὐδὲ δὴ οἴους θέσφαθ' . . . ἀλλ' ἐρέω μὲν ἐγὼν, ἵνα εἰδότες ἢ κε θάνωμεν ἢ κεν . . . φύγοιμεν: *E.IT*646 Κατολοφύρομαι σὲ . . .—Οἶκτος γὰρ οὐ ταῦτ', ἀλλὰ χαίρειτ', ὦ ξένοι ('Since this is no matter for lamentation, do ye rather rejoice': a fusion of οὐκ οἶκτος ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ χαίρετε and χαίρετε, οὐ γὰρ οἶκτος ταῦτα): *Hdt.*ix93.3 καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἔλαθε τοὺς Ἀπολλωνιήτας ταῦτα γέγονε, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπύθοντο, ὑπαγαγόντες μιν ὑπὸ δικαστήριον κατέκριναν (ἀλλά κως Stein). (In *Pl.Com.Fr.*168 the text is perhaps rightly thus emended: ὁ δ' οὐ γὰρ ἠττίκιζεν, ὦ Μοῖραι φίλαι, ἀλλ' ὅποτε μὲν χρεῖη 'διητώμην' λέγειν, ἔφασκε 'δητώμην'.)

(iii) τῷ. *Hom.*H328 Ἀτρεΐδη τε καὶ ἄλλοι . . . πολλοὶ γὰρ τεθνῶσι . . . τῷ σε χρὴ πόλεμον . . . παῦσαι: N228 ἀλλά, Θόαν. καὶ γὰρ τὸ πάρος μενεδήϊος ἦσθα . . . τῷ νῦν μὴτ' ἀπόληγε: σ259 ὦ γύναι, οὐ γὰρ οἶω . . . τῷ οὐκ οἶδ'.

(iv) νῦν. *Hdt.*i124 ὦ παῖ Καμβύσῳ, σὲ γὰρ θεοὶ ἐπορώσι . . . σὺ νῦν . . . τεῖσαι: i85: iii83: iv97.

(v) οὖν (οὖν δὴ). *Ar.*Eq.1278 νῦν δ' Ἀρίγνωτον γὰρ οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐκ ἐπίσταται . . . ἔστιν οὖν ἀδελφὸς αὐτῷ: *Hdt.*iii63 ὦ ἄνθρωπε, φῆς γὰρ ἦκειν . . . νῦν ὧν εἶπας τὴν ἀληθείην ἀπιθί: i30,69,121,166: v19.2: vi11.2: 87: ix17.4 (ὧν *om.* *ABCP*): *Hp.*de*Arte*3 περὶ δὲ ἰητρικῆς, ἐς ταύτην γὰρ ὁ λόγος, ταύτης οὖν τὴν ἀπόδειξιν ποιήσομαι: *Pl.La.*200E νῦν δὲ ὁμοίως γὰρ πάντες ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ἐγενόμεθα· τί οὖν . . .; *Simp.*180C νῦν δὲ οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν εἰς· μὴ ὄντος δὲ ἐνὸς ὀρθότερόν ἐστι πρότερον προρρηθῆναι ὁποῖον δεῖ ἐπαινεῖν· ἐγὼ οὖν πειράσομαι: *Prm.*137A ὁμως δὲ δεῖ γὰρ χαρίζεσθαι . . . πόθεν οὖν δὴ ἀρξόμεθα; *Chrm.*157C ἐγὼ οὖν—ὁμῶμοκα γὰρ αὐτῷ, καὶ μοι ἀνάγκη πείθεσθαι—πέισομαι οὖν: *Alc.*III47E: *Amat.*132B: *X.*An.i5.14.\*

(vi) δὴ (δὴ οὖν). *Hdt.*i129 Ἀρπαγὸς δὲ ἔφη, αὐτὸς γὰρ γράψαι, τὸ πρῆγμα ἐωυτοῦ δὴ δικαίως εἶναι: v124.1 ἀλίσκομένων δὲ τῶν πολίων, ἦν γὰρ . . . πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ ὧν . . .: *Pl.Th.*143D ἡττον γὰρ ἐκείνους ἢ τοῦσδε φιλῶ . . . ταῦτα δὴ αὐτὸς τῶν . . .: *Ti.*32B νῦν δὲ στερεοειδῆ γὰρ αὐτὸν προσῆκεν εἶναι . . . δὴ . . .: *La.*184D: *Euthphr.*11C,14C. Add perhaps *Ar.*4. . . but there δὴ is more probably emphatic.

(vii) διὰ ταῦτα, διὰ δὴ. *Pl.Pr.*347A νῦν δὲ σφόδρα γὰρ καὶ

περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ψευδόμενος δοκεῖς ἀληθῆ λέγειν, διὰ ταῦτά σε ἐγὼ ψέγω: *Lg.875D* νῦν δὲ οὐ γάρ ἐστιν . . . διὸ δὴ . . .

(viii) καί (doubtful). *Hdt.iii 105* τοὺς μὲν νῦν ἔρσενας τῶν καμήλων, εἶναι γὰρ ἤσσανας θέειν τῶν θηλέων, [καί] παραλύεσθαι ἐπελκομένους (καί *om. PRSV*). Perhaps τε is similarly used in *Hdt.viii 101.4* (see p. 536(3)).

(ix) A demonstrative pronoun referring back to some idea contained in the γάρ clause (very common in Herodotus). *Hom. B803* "Ἐκτορ, σοὶ δὲ μάλιστ' ἐπιτέλλομαι, ὧδε δὲ ρέξαι πολλοὶ γὰρ κατὰ ἄστν . . . ἐπικούροι . . . τοῖσιν ἕκαστος ἀνὴρ σημαινέτω οἷσὶ περ ἄρχει: *a337: 1432: Hdt.i 8* ὥστε δὲ ταῦτα νομίζων, ἦν γὰρ οἱ τῶν αἰχμοφόρων Γύγης ὁ Δασκύλου ἀρεσκόμενος μάλιστα, τούτῳ τῷ Γύγῃ . . .: *i 119, 126: iii 78: v 67, 111: id. saep.*

(In *X.An.iii 2.11* an anticipatory γάρ is exceptionally answered by an explanatory γάρ: ἔπειτα δ' ἀναμνήσω γὰρ ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἡμετέρων κινδύνους, ἵνα εἰδῆτε . . . ἐλθόντων μὲν γὰρ Περσῶν . . . There is an anacoluthon here, and Xenophon forgets that ἀναμνήσω was introduced parenthetically.)

(4) Fusion of clauses. A closer connexion is sometimes established between the γάρ clause and the main clause, by attracting the subject (or other element) of the latter into a case which suits the former.<sup>1</sup> *Hdt.i 24* καὶ τοῖσι ἐσελθεῖν γὰρ ἡδονὴν εἰ μέλλοιεν ἀκούσεσθαι . . . ἀναχωρῆσαι: *27* καὶ οἱ προσφυέως γὰρ δόξαι λέγειν, πειθόμενον παύσασθαι τῆς ναυπηγίης (for punctuation, see Broschmann, p. 63): *155* τὰ δὲ νῦν παρεόντα Πακτύης γὰρ ἐστὶ ὁ ἀδικέων . . . οὗτος δότω τοὶ δίκην (for τῶν παρεόντων): *ii 101* τῶν δὲ ἄλλων βασιλέων οὐ γὰρ ἔλεγον οὐδεμίαν ἀπόδεξιν, κατ' οὐδὲν εἶναι λαμπρότητος: *iv 149.2* τοῖσι δὲ ἐν τῇ φυλῇ ταύτῃ ἀνδράσι οὐ γὰρ ὑπέμειναν τὰ τέκνα, ἰδρύσαντο . . . ἱρόν: *200* τῶν δὲ πᾶν γὰρ ἦν τὸ πλῆθος μεταίτιον, οὐκ ἐδέκοντο τοὺς λόγους: *viii 142.1* ταῦτά σφι ἡπιώτερα γὰρ . . . ἐδόκεε εἶναι, συγγραψάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο (object attracted): *viii 94: ix 109.2*. (*Th.i 115.4* is a little different: τῶν δὲ Σαμίων ἦσαν γὰρ τινες οἱ οὐχ ὑπέμειναν . . . ξυνθέμενοι . . . διέβησαν. Here there is fusion, but no attraction, τινές, the subject of the main verb,

<sup>1</sup> For full discussion of Herodotean passages, and references to earlier authorities, see Broschmann, pp. 62 ff.

being contained in the γάρ clause. Cf. *Th.i 51.2*, with Steup's note.) In two passages an object from the main clause, having been attracted into the nominative as the subject of the γάρ clause, is picked up by αὐτόν: *Hdt.i 114* εἰς δὴ τούτων τῶν παίδων . . . οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐποίησε . . . ἐκέλευε αὐτόν τοὺς ἄλλους παῖδας διαλαβεῖν: *iv 149.1* ὁ δὲ παῖς οὐ γὰρ ἔφη οἱ συμπλεύσεσθαι, τοιγαρῶν ἔφη αὐτόν καταλείψειν. Occasionally, perhaps, the main clause is introduced by a connecting particle. (Cf. (3) above.) *Hdt.iv 149.1* (above: but see τοιγαροῦν, n. 1): *Th.i 72.1* τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἔτυχε γὰρ πρεσβεία . . . παροῦσα, καὶ ὡς ἦσθοντο τῶν λόγων, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς (καὶ *del.* Krüger). But in *viii 30.1* καὶ probably means 'also': τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος τοῖς ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ Ἀθηναίοις προσαφιγμένοι γὰρ ἦσαν . . . νῆες . . . καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ Χίου καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πάσας ξυναγαγόντες ἐβούλοντο . . . ἐφορμεῖν.

Fusion of clauses is, as Scrnatinger remarks, an idiom characteristic of Herodotus and (in a less degree) Thucydides, who no doubt adopted it from Herodotus. There is, however, an isolated instance of it in Homer, if, as seems probable, δ' ἐν γάρ is the right reading: *H 73* ὑμῖν δ' ἐν γὰρ ἔασιν ἀριστῆες Παναχαιῶν τῶν νῦν ὃν τινα θυμὸς ἐμοὶ μαχέσασθαι ἀνώγη, δεῦρ' ἴτω.

## V. In answers.

(1) Frequently in dialogue, after one speaker has made a statement (or asked a question which suggests its own answer), another speaker supports his implied assent by a γάρ clause: 'Yes, for': 'No, for': whereas in English it is the assent that is expressed, while the logical connexion is left implied. This elliptical form of answer is rare in Homer.

*Hom. o 545* "τὸν ξεῖνον ἄγων . . . ἐνδुकέως φιλέειν . . ." τὸν δ' αὖ Πείραιος δουρικλυτὸς ἀντίον ἠῦδα: "Τηλέμαχ', εἰ γὰρ κεν σὺ πολὺν χρόνον ἐνθάδε μίμνους, τόνδε τ' ἐγὼ κομιῶ": *S. Aj. 593* Πόλλ' ἄγαν ἤδη θροεῖς.—*Tarβῶ γάρ: 1357* ἐχθρὸν ὧδ' αἰδῶ νέκυν;—*Κινεῖ γὰρ ἀρετὴ με τῆς ἐχθρας πολὺ* ('Aye: worth moves me far more than enmity'): *E. Alc. 42* Καὶ τοῖσδε γ' οἴκοις ἐκδίκως προσωφελεῖν.—*Φίλου γὰρ ἀνδρὸς συμφοραῖς βασιλοῦσσι: 147* Ἐλπίς μὲν οὐκέτ' ἐστὶ σῶζεσθαι βίον;—*Πεπρωμένη: 147* βιάζεται ('No, for'): *Ar. Ka. 662* Ξα. "Ἠλγησεν" οὐκ ἤθελε. *Δι. Οὐκ ἔγωγ' . . .*—*Ξα. (to Aeacus) Οὐδὲν ποιεῖς γὰρ . . .* No,

you're not doing any good': lit. '(He did not suffer pain,) for you are doing nothing'): *Ec.603* Τοῦτ' ἐς τὸ μέσον καταθήσει, καὶ μὴ καταθεῖς ψευδορκήσει.—Κάκῆσατο γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο (here a new turn is given to the idiom, by the second speaker's giving primary importance to a suggestion made incidentally by the first). Very common in stichomythia: *E.Or.410,430,444,490,794,798*. *Hdt.vii46.2* μακαρίσας γὰρ σεωυτὸν δακρύεις. ὁ δὲ εἶπε· Ἐσῆλθε γὰρ με λογισάμενον κατοικτῖραι: *Pl.Smp.194A* νῦν δὲ ὁμως θαρρῶ. τὸν οὖν Σωκράτη εἰπεῖν· Καλῶς γὰρ αὐτὸς ἠγώνισαι, ὦ Ἐρυξίμαχε ('That's because you've performed so well yourself'): *R.337A* καὶ ταῦτ' ἐγὼ ἤδη τε καὶ τούτοις προῦλεγον, ὅτι...—Σοφὸς γὰρ εἶ, ἦν δ' ἐγὼ, ὦ Θρασύμαχε· εὐ οὖν ἤδησθα ὅτι... ('Ah, you're a clever fellow, Thrasymachus': 'Your foreknowledge springs from cleverness'): *509C* Ἀπολλων, ἔφη, δαιμονίας ὑπερβολῆς.—Σὺ γὰρ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, αἴτιος, ἀναγκάζων τὰ ἐμοὶ δοκοῦντα περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγειν ('Why, that's your fault': 'I exaggerate, for you cause me to do so'): *531C* ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς προβλήματα ἀνίαςιν...—Δαιμόνιον γὰρ, ἔφη, πρᾶγμα λέγεις (*sc.* τὸ εἰς προβλήματα ἀνιέναι: 'No, that's a formidable task'): *X.An.ii5.40* Ὡ κάκιστε ἀνθρώπων Ἀριαίε καὶ... οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε... οἵτινες... ξὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἔρχεσθε; ὁ δὲ Ἀριαῖος εἶπε· Κλέαρχος γὰρ πρόσθεν ἐπιβουλεύων φανερὸς ἐγένετο... ἡμῖν ('We act so, because Clearchus has given us provocation': or, perhaps, 'No, we are not ashamed, for...'): *Cyr.iv2.46* συνεῖπε δ' αὐτῷ Ὑστάσπας... Δεινὸν γὰρ τᾶν εἴη... εἰ... ('Yes, it would be monstrous if...'): *Pl.Euthphr.14D*: *Thet.142A*: *R.351C*: *id. saep.*

(2) Less frequently, it is dissent, not assent, that is implied. *S.Oc864* Αὐδῶ σιωπᾶν.—Μὴ γὰρ αἶδε δαίμονες θεῖέν μ' ἄφωνον: *E.Hel.446* μῆδ' ὤθει βία.—Πείθη γὰρ οὐδὲν ὦν λέγω ('Yes, I will, for...'): *Ar.Nu.1366* ἐκέλευσ' αὐτὸν... τῶν Αἰσχύλου λέξαι τί μοι κᾶθ' οὗτος εὐθύς εἶπεν· ἐγὼ γὰρ Αἰσχυλον νομίζω πρῶτον ἐν ποιηταῖς ψύφου πλέων ἀξύστατον ('No, I won't, for...': 'Why, I think Aeschylus the greatest wind-bag ever'): *1440* Σκέψαι δὲ χἀτέραν ἔτι γνώμην.—Ἀπὸ γὰρ ὀλοῦμαι ('No, for a second γνώμη, like the first, will be the end of me.' Schol., less probably, ἐὰν μὴ πρόσσω γὰρ, ἀπολοῦμαι. Perhaps τᾶρ'). Here, again, neither assent nor dissent is in question, the first

speaker having given no lead: *X.Cyr.viii3.30* Καὶ πῶς, ἔφη, οὐδὲ μεταστρέφεται; καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἔφη· Μαινόμενος γὰρ τις ἐστίν, ὡς ἔοικεν ('Because, said Cyrus...'): *Arist.Pol.1281a16*.

(3) In other passages γάρ does not express assent or dissent but provides a motive for the language used, or the tone adopted, by the previous speaker. 'You say this (or talk like this) because...'. This use is closely analogous to that described above in III.1. The force of the particle can often be brought out by 'Ah!' or 'Yes'.

*E.Hel.311* Χο. Πόλλ' ἂν γένοιτο καὶ διὰ ψευδῶν ἔπη.—Ελ. Καὶ τᾶμπαλὶν γε τῶνδ' ἀληθεία σαφῆ.—Χο. Ἐς ξυμφορὰν γὰρ ἀντὶ τἀγαθοῦ φέρη ('You say so because you are inclined to pessimism'): *Pl.R.337D* καὶ ἐγὼ οὖν τοῦτο ἀξιῶ παθεῖν (*sc.* μαθεῖν παρὰ τοῦ εἰδότος).—Ἡδὺς γὰρ εἶ, ἔφη ('Yes, you talk like that in your charming innocence'): *338D* Βδελυρὸς γὰρ εἶ, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, καὶ ταύτη ὑπολαμβάνεις ἢ ἂν κακουργήσais μάλιστα τὸν λόγον: *340C* Ἐγωγε, εἶπον, ὦμην σε τοῦτο λέγειν...—Συκοφάντης γὰρ εἶ, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐν τοῖς λόγοις: *Hr.Ma.282D* 'Gorgias, Prodicus and Protagoras have made more money as sophists than anyone in another profession.'—Οὐδὲν γὰρ, ὦ Σώκρατες, οἶσθα τῶν καλῶν περὶ τοῦτο. εἰ γὰρ εἰδείης ὅσον ἀργύριον εἰργασμαι ἐγώ, θαυμάσαις ἂν ('Ah, Socrates, you've no standard in these matters').

(4) The γάρ clause sometimes presupposes only a partial and qualified agreement with the previous speaker's words. *Hom.A.293* Agamemnon protests against Achilles' intolerably autocratic behaviour. Achilles answers: Ἦ γὰρ κεν δειλὸς... καλεοίμην, εἰ δὴ σοὶ πᾶν ἔργον ὑπέξομαι ('I agree I won't stand browbeating at your hands: I should be a poor creature if I did'): *Ar.Nu.655* Strepsiades has made a long nose at Socrates. Σω. Ἀγρείος εἶ καὶ σκαιός.—Στ. Οὐ γὰρ, ὦ Ζυρέ, τούτων ἐπιθυμῶ μαθάνειν οὐδὲν ('Why, confound you, I don't want to learn *this*': 'I have given you some excuse for saying that: but it's because I don't want to be pestered with a useless knowledge'): *E.All.715* (where Admetus *nothos* implies that 713 is a εὐχή, not an ἀρά): *Ar.Ach.398*.

(5) The connexion of thought is sometimes obscured by compression. Cf. III.2. Hom.θ355 Poseidon has offered to go bail for Ares. Hephaestus answers: Impossible. πῶς ἂν ἐγὼ σε δέοιμι μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν, εἴ κεν Ἄρης οἴχοιτο χρέος καὶ δεσμὸν ἀλύξας; τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων· Ἥφαιστ', εἴ περ γὰρ κεν Ἄρης χρέος ὑπαλύξας οἴχηται φεύγων, αὐτὸς τοι ἐγὼ τάδε τίσω ('You need not fear, for...'): S.Ph. 1280 εἰ δὲ μή τι πρὸς καιρὸν λέγων κυρῶ, πέπαυμαι.—Πάντα γὰρ φράσεις μάτην ('Yes, you will avail nothing by your words': 'You are right to stop, for...'): Ar.Ach.71 Καὶ δῆτ' ἐτρυχόμεσθα... μαλθακῶς κατακείμενοι, ἀπολλύμενοι.—Σφόδρα γὰρ ἐσφρόμην ἐγὼ ('Yes, I was in clover, wasn't I'? Happiness is relative, and therefore the private soldier's supposed luxury is ironically represented as a ground for admitting the ambassador's supposed privations. A much, but needlessly, discussed passage): Pl.Phd.69A τοῦτο δ' ὁμοίον ἐστὶν ᾧ νυνδὴ ἐλέγετο, τῷ τρόπῳ τινὰ δι' ἀκολασίαν αὐτοὺς σεσωφρονίσθαι.—Ἔοικε γάρ.—Ω μακάριε Σιμμία, μὴ γὰρ οὐχ αὕτη ἢ ἡ ὀρθὴ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἀλλαγὴ (γάρ σμ. T. 'We have been led to this *reductio ad absurdum* by the adoption of a wrong standard of exchange'. Cf. Cra.432A): D.viii68 αὐτοὶ δ' οὐ δύνανται παρ' ὑμῖν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν οὐδενὸς αὐτοὺς ἀδικοῦντος. εἶτα φησὶν δὲ ἂν τύχη παρελθὼν "οὐ γὰρ ἐθέλεις γράφειν, οὐδὲ κινδυνεύειν, ἀλλ' ἀτολμος εἶ καὶ μαλακός" ('Yes, because you won't...'. Demosthenes' opponents offer his inactivity as an excuse for their own excessive activity).

(6) The answer is in the form of a question. The following types are to be distinguished:

(i) The question is rhetorical, and virtually constitutes a statement, which gives the grounds for an implied assent. The connexion of thought is that illustrated in V.1 above.

Pl.La.184D τούτοις μέλλεις χρῆσθαι;—Τί γὰρ ἂν τις καὶ ποιῶ...; (= Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν ἄλλο τις ποιῶ: 'Well, what can one do?'): Euthyphr.9D ἄρ' οὕτω βούλει...;—Τί γὰρ κωλύει; ('Why not?'): Ar.Nu.1359 ἀρχαῖον εἶν' ἔφασκε τὸ κιθαρίζειν...—Οὐ γὰρ τότε εὐθὺς χρῆν σ' ἄρα τύπτεσθαι...; ('Your request deserved a beating as well as a snub'): Av.1219 διαπέτει διὰ τῆς πόλεως...;—Ποῖα γὰρ ἄλλη χρῆ πέτεσθαι τοὺς θεούς; ('Why, where else...?'): D.ix68 'Unless you take precautions against

Philip, you will share the fate of Eretria and other cities. καὶ μὴν ἐκείνὸ γ' αἰσχρὸν ὑστερόν ποτ' εἶπειν· "τίς γὰρ ἂν φήθη ταῦτα γενέσθαι;" ('Why, who would have expected this to happen?' 'We took no precautions against these disasters, because no one could have believed them possible'): Pl.La. 193C: R.564E, 578D: Sph.253C.

For elliptical answers of this type, Πῶς γὰρ οὐ; &c., see VII.

(ii) The question is rhetorical, or, at least, surprised and incredulous, often ironical; and implies that the speaker throws doubt on the grounds of the previous speaker's words. The tone is dissentient. We may often render 'why', 'what?' (or 'what!') Frequently the second speaker echoes, with contempt, indignation, or surprise, a word or words used by the first. Hom. A122 γέρας αὐτίχ' ἐτοιμάσατ'...—Πῶς γὰρ τοι δώσουσι γέρας μεγάθυμοι Ἀχαιοί; (Agamemnon's request assumes that there is a possible way in which it can be granted: this possibility is called in question by Achilles): O201 'Let Zeus threaten his children. I care nothing for him.'—Οὕτω γὰρ δὴ τοι... τόνδε φέρω Διὶ μῦθον ἀπηνέα τε κρατερόν τε; (the specific terms of Poseidon's message presuppose the advisability or propriety of sending a message of such a kind: this Iris calls in question): A.Ch.909 σὺν δὲ γηράναι θέλω.—Πατροκτονοῦσα γὰρ ξυνοικήσεις ἐμοί; ('What! Live with me, after killing my father?'): S.Aj. 1126 Ἡ γλῶσσά σου τὸν θυμὸν ὡς δεινὸν τρέφει.—Ἔν τῷ δικαίῳ γὰρ μέγ' ἔξεστιν φρονεῖν.—Δίκαια γὰρ τόνδ' εὐτυχεῖν κτείναντά με; El.1221-2 ψεύδος οὐδὲν ὦν λέγω.—Ἡ ζῆ γὰρ ἀνήρ;—Εἶπερ ἔμψυχός γ' ἐγώ.—Ἡ γὰρ σὺ κείνος; OT1029 ποιμνίους ἐπεστάτων.—Ποιμὴν γὰρ ἦσθα...; OC1583... Οἰδίπουν ὀλωλότα.—Ὀλωλε γὰρ δύστηνος; ('What? Dead, unhappy man?'): Ant.734 Οὐ φησι... λεώς.—Πόλις γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀμέ χρη τάσσειν ἐρεῖ; 744 Ὡ παγκάκιστε, διὰ δίκης ἰὼν πατρί.—Οὐ γὰρ δικαία σ' ἐξαμαρτάνονθ' ὀρῶ.—Ἀμαρτάνω γὰρ τὰς ἐμὰς ἀρχὰς σέβων;—Οὐ γὰρ σέβεις, τιμὰς γε τὰς θεῶν πατῶν: E.Hipp.328 Κάκ', ὦ τάλαινα, σοὶ τάδ', εἰ πύση, κακά.—Μεῖζον γὰρ ἢ σοῦ μὴ τυχεῖν τί μοι κακόν; Andr.590 Με. Ψαυσόν γ', ἴν' εἰδῆς, καὶ πέλας πρόσελθέ μου.—Σὺ γὰρ μετ' ἀνδρῶν...; (Menelaus's threat presupposes the manliness to carry it out): Or.483 φίλου μοι πατρός ἐστιν ἔκγονος.—Κείνου γὰρ ὄδε πέφυκε τοιοῦτος γεγώς; ('What!



that villain his son?'): 1071 εἰ ζῆν με χρήζειν σοῦ θανόντος ἡλπίσας.—Τί γάρ προσήκει καθανεῖν σ' ἐμοῦ μέτα; *Ar.V.1159* ὑπόδυθι τὰς Λακωνικάς.—'Εγὼ γάρ ἂν τλαίην ὑποδήσασθαι ποτε ἐχθρῶν παρ' ἀνδρῶν δυσμενῆ καττύματα; *Antiph.Fr.207.8* ὡς ἔφασκ' Εὐριπίδης.—Εὐριπίδης γάρ τοῦτ' ἔφασκεν; ('What! Euripides say that?'): *Hom.κ337,383,501* (cf. 490): *E.Hipp.702*: *Ar.Pl.429*: *Hdt.iii.120* κρινομένων δὲ περὶ ἀρετῆς εἰπεῖν τὸν Μιτροβάτεα τῷ Ὀροίτη προφέροντα· Σὺ γάρ ἐν ἀνθρώπων λόγῳ, ὅς . . .; *X.Mem.ii.8.4* ὡς χρῆ σκοπεῖν ὅ τι ἀπολογήσεται. τὸν δὲ . . . εἰπεῖν· Οὐ γὰρ δοκῶ σοι τοῦτο μελετῶν διαβεβιωκέναι; *Oec.19.2* οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι.—Οὐ γὰρ σύ, ἔφη . . . ἐπίστασαι; *Cyr.v.1.9* δέδοικα μὴ . . . ἀναπέιση καὶ πάλιν ἐλθεῖν θεασόμενον . . . καὶ ὁ νεανίσκος ἀναγελάσας εἶπεν· Οἶε γάρ, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, ἰκανὸν εἶναι κάλλος ἀνθρώπου ἀναγκάζειν . . .; *D.viii.27* τοῦτ' εἰσὶν οἱ λόγοι· "μέλλει πολιορκεῖν", "τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐκδίδωσιν". μέλει γάρ τινι τούτων τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκούντων Ἑλλήνων; *Aeschin.iii.167* "ὁμολογῶ τὰ Λακωνικὰ συστήσαι . . ." σὺ γάρ ἂν κώμην ἀποστήσας; *Pl.R.341C,504D*: *La.185C*: *X.Mem.ii.3.16*: *iii.11.17*: *Smpr.4.23*: *An.i.7.9*: *Cyr.i.3.4*.

(iii) Rarely, the γάρ clause gives the cause of what precedes, and, by putting it in question form, the speaker asks why the cause has been brought into operation. *Ar.Nu.57* Ἐλαιον ἡμῖν οὐκ ἔνεστ' ἐν τῷ λύχνῳ.—Οἶμοι· τί γάρ μοι τὸν πότην ἤπτες λύχνον; ('That's because you lit the thirsty lamp: and why did you?'): *1506* κατακαυθήσομαι.—Τί γάρ μαθόντες τοὺς θεοὺς ὑβρίζετε . . .; ('Well, what put it into your heads to insult the gods?'). In the following two passages the logical connexion is not at first sight obvious: *E.Med.689* Μη. Ἄλλ' εὐτυχοίης καὶ τύχοις ὅσων ἐράς.—Αἰ. Τί γάρ σὸν ὄμμα χρώς τε συντέτηχ' ὄδε; (*Medea's* words, and the tone in which they are uttered, imply that she is unhappy. This is corroborated by her haggard face. *Aegeus* notes the corroboration, and asks for an explanation of it. 'A curious example of elliptical compression', *Verrall*): *El.64* The farmer, finding *Electra* drawing water, breaks in upon her soliloquy. Τί γάρ τάδ', ὦ δύστην', ἐμὴν μοχθεῖς χάριν; (*Her* action is explained by her desire to save her husband trouble. He enquires the cause of that desire.)

(iv) Sometimes a γάρ question, forming the answer to a preceding question, conveys a surprised recognition of the grounds

which occasioned that question. *S.El.1477* Τίνων . . . ἐν μέσοις ἀρκυστάτοις πέπτωχ' ὁ τλήμων;—Οὐ γάρ αἰσθάνη πάλαι ζῶντας θανούσιν οὐνεκ' ἀνταυδᾶς ἴσα; (if *Aegisthus* had realized that *Orestes* was alive, not dead, he would not have asked his question): *Rh.249-50* Οὐ γάρ δὴ σύ γ' ἦσθα ναυβάτης ἡμῖν κατ' ἀρχὴν τοῦ πρὸς Ἴλιον στόλου.—Ἡ γὰρ μετέσχεσ καὶ σὺ τοῦδε τοῦ πόνου;—Ἔ τέκνον, οὐ γὰρ οἶσθά μ' ὄντιν' εἰσοράς;—Πῶς γὰρ κάτοιδ' ὄν γ' εἶδον οὐδεπώποτε; *Pl.Phdr.234D* Εἶεν· οὕτω δὲ δοκεῖ παίζειν;—Δοκῶ γάρ σοι παίζειν καὶ οὐχὶ ἐσπουδακέναι; ('What? Do you think I'm joking?'): *X.Smpr.3.12* ἐπὶ τίνι μέγα φρονεῖς; καὶ ὅς ἔφη· Οὐ γὰρ ἅπαντες ἴστε, ἔφη, ὅτι ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ υἱεῖ; ('Why, don't you all know . . .?'): *D.iv.10* ἢ βούλεσθ' . . . περιιόντες αὐτῶν πυρθάνεσθαι, "λέγεται τι καινόν;" γένοιτο γάρ ἂν τι καινότερον ἢ *Μακεδῶν* ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναίου καταπολεμῶν . . .; ('Why, could there be anything more novel . . .?'): *Pl.R.344E*: *X.Cyr.i.4.12*: *Smpr.4.50*.

(v) In other passages an οὐ γάρ question gives, in rhetorically interrogative form, the answer to the preceding question, and γάρ denotes that that question need never have been put, had not the questioner overlooked an answer rhetorically presented as obvious. 'Why?' 'Why, of course'. ('You ask that because, I suppose, so-and-so did'nt notoriously happen.') This highly colloquial idiom is almost confined to *Aristophanes* and *Xenophon*. (These passages are essentially distinct from those given under (iv), because here the question does really convey the required information. Hence *Jebb*, on *S.Lnt.21*, is misleading when he cites in comparison *S.Ph.249*, and renders 'What, has not...?' Such translations are misleading in these cases, because they imply that the first speaker already knew the answer.)

*S.Ant.21* Τί δ' ἔστι; . . .—Οὐ γάρ τάφου νῶν τῷ κασιγνήτῳ Κρέων τὸν μὲν προτίσας τὸν δ' ἀτιμάσας ἔχει; *Ar.Eq.1302* Πῶς ἔλαβες αὐτὰς ἐτέον;—Οὐ γάρ ὁ Παφλαγῶν ἀπέκρυπτε ταύτας ἐνδον . . .; ('Why, of course, the *Paphlagonian* was keeping them hid'): *Ach.576* Ἔ μάμαχ', οὐ γὰρ οὗτος ἀνθρώπος πάλαι . . . (referring to the questions in 572-4): *V.1299* Τί δ' ἔστιν, ὦ παῖ . . .;—Οὐ γάρ ὁ γέρων . . .; *X.Mem.i.3.10* Καὶ τί δ' ἔφη . . ., ἰδὼν ποιῶντα τοιαῦτα κατέγνωκας αὐτοῦ;—Οὐ γάρ οὗτος, ἔφη, ἐτόλμησε . . .; *Cyr.iii.1.38* ποῦ δὲ ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν . . . Οὐ γάρ, ἔφη, ἀπέκτεται αὐτὸν αὐτὰρ ὁ εὐδὸς πατήρ; *Mem.ii.1.1*



Τίνες . . . στρατηγοὶ ἤρηνται; καὶ ὅς, Οὐ γάρ, ἔφη, . . . τοιοῦτοί  
εἰσιν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥστε ἐμὲ μὲν οὐχ εἶλοντο . . . ;

(7) The statement or question sometimes refers to a subordinate clause, or individual word, in the preceding speech. Cf. III.7. *S.Aj.*1320 τηλόθεν γάρ ἠσθόμην βοήν Ἀτρείδων . . . — Οὐ γάρ κλύοντές ἐσμεν αἰσχίστους λόγους . . . ; (referring to βοήν): *OT*324 οὐτ' ἔννομ' εἶπας . . . τήνδ' ἀποστερῶν φάτιν.— 'Ορῶ γάρ οὐδὲ σοὶ τὸ σὸν φώνημ' ἰὸν πρὸς καιρὸν (referring to participial clause): 433 οὐδ' ἰκόμην ἔγωγ' ἄν, εἰ σὺ μὴ 'κάλεις.— Οὐ γάρ τί σ' ἤδη μῶρα φωνήσονται' (referring to protasis): 1151 (ἀμαρτάνεις) Οὐκ ἐννέπων τὸν παῖδ' ὃν οὗτος ἱστορεῖ.— Λέγει γάρ εἰδὼς οὐδέν (referring to οὐκ ἐννέπων): *E.Med.*59 ἱμερός μ' ὑπῆλθε . . . λέξαι . . . δεσποίνης τύχας.— Οὐπω γάρ ἡ τάλαινα παύεται γῶν; *S.Aj.*1128: *El.*837.

(8) Sometimes an exclamation, apostrophe, or question is interposed before the γάρ clause. *A.Pers.*798 Πῶς εἶπας; οὐ γάρ . . . ; *S.OT*1017 Πῶς εἶπας; οὐ γάρ Πόλυβος . . . ; *Tr.*1124 ὦ παγκάκιστε, καὶ παρεμνήσω γάρ αὐ . . . ; *OC*863 ὦ φθέγγ' ἀναιδές, ἧ σὺ γάρ ψαύσεις ἐμοῦ; *E.Alc.*1089 Τί δ'; οὐ γαμείσ γάρ . . . ; *Med.*670 Πρὸς θεῶν—ἀπαις γάρ δεῦρ' αἰεὶ τείνεις βίον; *El.*969 Φεῦ! πῶς γάρ κτάνω νιν . . . ; *Ar.Eq.*32 †Ποῖον βρέτασ†; ἐτεὸν ἠγεῖ γάρ θεούς; 858 Οἶμοι τάλας! ἔχουσι γάρ πόρπακας; *Au.*815 'Ἡράκλεις' Σπάρτην γάρ ἂν θείμην . . . ; 1049 Ἄληθες οὗτος; ἔτι γάρ ἐνταῦθ' ἦσθα σὺ; *Ra.*116 ὦ σχέτλιε, τολμήσεις γάρ . . . ; *Pl.*124 Ἄληθες, ὦ δειλότατε πάντων δαιμόνων; οἶε γάρ εἶναι τὴν Διὸς τυραννίδα . . . ; *Hom.*κ337: *S.El.*930: *Ph.*249: *E.El.*243: *Ar.Ach.*576: *Nu.*57,200,1470: *V.*1126: *Pl.*429: *Pl.Euthd.*284C Πῶς λέγεις . . . , ὦ Κτήσιππε; εἰσὶν γάρ τινες . . . ; *Phlb.*13B: *X.Mem.*ii.3.16: *Cyr.*i.3.4.

Sometimes, on the other hand, γάρ explains the exclamation, apostrophe, or question. *E.HF*1140 Αἰαῖ! στεναγμῶν γάρ με περιβάλλει νέφος: *Rh.*608 Δέσποινα Ἀθάνα, φθέγματος γάρ ἠσθόμην τοῦ σοῦ συνήθη γῆρυν: *Hel.*857. Cf., in mid-speech, *E.Tr.*106. (In *Ar.Pax* 566 γάρ is extremely doubtful.)

On a review of the above evidence, there appears no reason to doubt that γάρ in answers means 'for'. This explanation,

formerly accepted without question, was challenged by Hartung and Klotz, but has recently again been upheld by Sernatinger and Misener. The transition from the use in continuous speech to the use in affirmative answers, and then to the use in answers of interrogative form, is easily made: and the postulated ellipse is of a type very common in Greek dialogue. Alternative explanations are far less natural. Hartung (i473-8) says that γάρ in answers serves to connect the answer closely with the preceding speech, which it takes up and continues: while in questions he attributes a conclusive meaning to the particle. Bäumlein (p. 73) shrinks from ever regarding γάρ as conclusive, and holds that its effect in a question is to ask whether something is decidedly and undoubtedly so. But this has the disadvantage of leaving a logical gulf between two speeches which clearly are connected logically.

VI. Progressive use, in answer-questions. In answers which take the form of a question γάρ sometimes marks a transition to a fresh point, when a speaker either (1) proffers a new suggestion after the elimination of a previous hypothesis, or (2), having been satisfied on one subject, wishes to learn something further. In both idioms there is a parallel use of ἀλλά.

(1) This presents no difficulty. The rejection of the previous hypothesis is founded on, or explained by, the fact that something else is true instead. The second speaker asks what that something is. The passages here noticed are to be distinguished from those cited under V.6 above, in so far as the note of incredulity or surprise is absent or less prominent, the force of the particle being 'well' rather than 'why', though it is impossible to draw this distinction rigidly.

*S.OC*581 Χρόνω μάθοις ἄν, οὐχὶ τῷ παρόντι που.—Ποῖω γάρ ἡ σὴ προσφορὰ δηλώσεται; ('Why, when . . .?' or 'Well, when . . .?'): 598 Ἡ τὴν παλαιὰν ξυμφορὰν γένους ἐρεῖς;—Οὐ δῆτ' ἐπεὶ πᾶς τοῦτό γ' Ἑλλήνων θροεῖ.—Τί γάρ τὸ μείζον ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώπων νοσεῖς; *El.*942 Οὐκ ἐς τὸδ' εἶπον . . .—Τί γάρ κελεύεις . . . ; *E.Heracl.*656 οὐκ Ἀργόθεν κῆρυξ ἀφίεται πολεμίους λόγους ἔχων.—Τί γάρ βοήν ἔστησας ἀγγελὸν φόβου; *Ar.Pax.*41 Ἀφροδίτης μὲν γάρ οὐ μοι φαίνεται . . .—Τοῦ γάρ ἐστ'; ('Well, whose is it?'): *Nu.*403 τί γάρ ἐστὶν δῆθ' ὁ κεραυνός; ('Well, what is the thunder-

bolt then (if it doesn't come from Zeus?'): *E.Hipp.*322: *Ion* 971. With ellipse of verb. *S.OC*539 \**Ερεξας—Οὐκ ἔρεξα—Τί γάρ;* (" 'Why, what else?' if not *ἔρεξα*", Jebb.)

(2) is more puzzling. (i)<sup>1</sup> In cases where the further information required concerns the cause or origin of the facts already known, we have again, perhaps, simply a variety of the ordinary causal γάρ. 'So-and-so happened.'—'Because it was caused by—what?' *S.Aj.*282 \**Ὡς ὧδ' ἐχόντων τῶνδ' ἐπίστασθαι σε χρή.—Τίς γάρ ποτ' ἀρχὴ τοῦ κακοῦ προσέπτατο;* *Ph.*327 'May I be revenged on the Atridae.'—*Εὐ γ', ὦ τέκνον' τίνος γὰρ ὧδε τὸν μέγαν χόλον κατ' αὐτῶν ἐκκαλῶν ἐλήλυθας;* *E.Supp.*647 'The Athenian army is safe and victorious.'—*Πῶς γὰρ τροπαία Ζηνὸς Αἰγέως τόκος ἔστησεν . . . ; A.Ag.*634: *E.Supp.*108: *Ion* 954: *Ph.*1086: *IT*936: *Ar.Eg.*1002.

(ii) But in other passages the supplementary information required is in no sense explanatory. *A.Pers.*239 *πλοῦτος ἐξαρκῆς δόμοις;—Ἀργύρου πηγὴ τις αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ . . .—Πότερα γὰρ τοξουλκὸς αἰχμὴ . . . ; Ag.*630 'Agamemnon was caught by a storm, as you guessed.'—*Πότερα γὰρ αὐτοῦ ζῶντος ἢ τεθνηκότος φάτις . . . ἐκλήζετο;* *S.Aj.*101 'I have killed the Atreidae.'—*Εἶεν' τί γὰρ δὴ παῖς ὁ τοῦ Λαερτίου;* 983 'Ajax is dead.'—*Φεῦ τάλας. τί γὰρ τέκνον τὸ τοῦδε, ποῦ . . . κυρεῖ . . . ; Ph.*161 *Οἶκον μὲν ὄρας . . .—Ποῦ γὰρ ὁ τλήμων αὐτὸς ἄπεισιν;* (Jebb misunderstands γάρ here): 421 (if Badham's *Τί γάρ* is right): 433 'Ajax and Antilochus are dead.'—*Φέρ' εἰπέ πρὸς θεῶν, ποῦ γὰρ ἦν ἐνταῦθά σοι Πάτροκλος . . . ; 651 Ἄλλ' ἔκφερ' αὐτό. τί γὰρ ἔτ' ἄλλ' ἐρᾶς λαβεῖν;* 1405 *Αἰτίαν δὲ πῶς Ἀχαιῶν φεύξομαι;—Μὴ φροντίσης.—Τί γάρ, ἐὰν πορθῶσι χώραν τὴν ἐμήν;* ('And what of their hostile acts?'): *E.IT*533 'Calchas is dead.'—*Ἔπνι', ὡς εὐ. τί γὰρ ὁ Λαρτίου γόνος;* *Ar.Nu.*191 *Ζητοῦσιν οὗτοι τὰ κατὰ γῆς.—Βολβοὺς ἄρα ζητοῦσι . . . τί γὰρ οἶδε δρῶσιν . . . ;* ('And what are these doing?'): 218 Strepsiadēs (after having the map explained to him) *φέρε τίς γὰρ οὗτος οὐπὶ τῆς κρεμάθρας ἀνὴρ;* 351 *κᾶτ' ἦν μὲν ἰδῶσι κομήτην . . . κενταύροις ἤκασαν αὐτάς.—Τί γὰρ ἦν ἄρπαγα τῶν δημοσίων κατίδῶσι Σίμωνα, τί δρῶσιν;* *Rax*838 *Καὶ τίς ἐστὶν ἀστὴρ νῦν ἐκεῖ;—Ἴων ὁ Χῖος . . .—Τίνες γὰρ εἰς' οἱ διατρέχοντες ἀστέρες . . . ; Av.*299 *ἐκεινηὶ δέ γ'*

<sup>1</sup> Here again it is difficult to draw a sharp line between (i) and (ii).

*ἀλκυῶν.—Τίς γὰρ ἐσθ' οὐπισθεν αὐτῆς;* 1501 *Τί γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς ποιεῖ;* (Prometheus, having, as he imagines, been told the time, goes on to ask about the weather): *E.Alc.*1143: *HF*1198: *Hel.*111: *Rh.*540. (Merry seems to take γάρ in *Ar.V.*538 in this way, since he compares *Ec.*72 \**Τμεῖς δὲ τί φατε;* More probably γάρ looks back to 532-6, 537 being an aside.) It will be observed that in some of the above passages an exclamation, or even a substantial part of the speech, precedes the γάρ clause.

Both the above forms, (i) and (ii), admit of ellipse, leaving only interrogative and particle expressed. (i) Asking for a more detailed explanation. *S.OC*545 \**Ἐκανον. ἔχει δέ μοι—Τί τοῦτο;—Πρὸς δίκας τι.—Τί γάρ;* *E.Cyr.*686 *Οὐ ταύτη λέγω.—Πῆ γάρ;* ('Well, and what way is that?'). (ii) Purely transitional. *A.Eu* 211 *Χο. Τοὺς μητραλοίας ἐκ δόμων ἐλαύνομεν.—Απ. Τί γάρ; γυναικὸς ἦτις ἀνδρα νοσφίση;* ('And what of women who kill their husbands?'): 678 Athena, after obtaining the Erinyes' assent to the taking of the vote, turns to Apollo and Orestes. *Τί γάρ; πρὸς ὑμῶν πῶς τιθεῖσ' ἄμομφος ὦ;* (Verrall's 'Of course' is surely wrong): *S.OC*542 *Δύστανε, τί γάρ; ἔθου φόνον . . . πατρός;* ('Marking the transition from the topic of the marriage to that of the parricide', Jebb, who rightly remarks that *τί γάρ;* is tame if taken with *δύστανε*, meaning 'of course' (cf. VII below). 'And then, unhappy man . . .?'): *E.IT*820 *Καὶ λούτρ' . . . ἀνεδέξω . . . ;—'Yes'.—Τί γάρ; κόμας σὰς μητρὶ δοῦσα σῆ φέρειν;* *Ion* 212 *Δεύσω Παλλάδ', ἐμὰν θεόν.—Τί γάρ; κεραυνὸν ἀμφίπυρον . . . ;* ('And the thunderbolt . . .?'). Often in Xenophon: *Mem.*ii 6.2-3 *Τί γάρ; ἔφη, ὅστις δαπανηρὸς ὦν ('Well, he said, and what of the spendthrift?') . . . Τί γάρ; ὅστις χρηματίζεσθαι μὲν δύναται . . . ;* (the two following questions are introduced, for variety, by *Τί δέ;*): iii 10.3 'Do you select in painting?'—'Yes'.—*Τί γάρ; ἔφη, τὸ πιθανώτατον . . . ἀπομεισθε τῆς ψυχῆς ἠθος;* *Smpr.*3.7 *τί γὰρ σὺ . . . ἐπὶ τίνι μέγιστον φρονεῖς;* *Cyr.*16.5 *μέμνημαι ἀκούσας ποτέ σου . . .—Τί γάρ, ἔφη. ὦ παῖ, μέμνησαι ἐκεῖνα . . . ; Mem.*iii 3.6: *Oec.*17.7: 17.14: *Smpr.*3.8: 3.9: *Cyr.*16.12: v 2.27: 5.18: 5.19: *Hier.*1.22. (I give the Oxford Text punctuations: perhaps we should uniformly put a question mark after γάρ. At the opening of Plato's *Hippiarchus*, if, as seems likely, γάρ is of this kind, we should perhaps punctuate, with Bocckh, *Τί γάρ; τὸ φιλοκερδές*

The use of purely progressive γάρ in questions is probably confined to drama, with the exception of elliptical τί γάρ; in Xenophon. Its absence in Plato is noticeable. There are a few apparent, but textually uncertain, examples in Homer. Κ61 Agamemnon has told Menelaus to summon Ajax and Idomeneus. Menelaus answers, asking for supplementary instructions: Πῶς γάρ μοι μύθῳ ἐπιτέλλεται ἠδὲ κελεύεις; αὐθι μένω μετὰ τοῖσι δεδεγμένους εἰς ὃ κεν ἔλθῃς, ἦε θέω μετὰ σ' αὐτίς...; 424 πολὺκλήτοι ἐπικούροι εὐδουσι...—Πῶς γὰρ νῦν, Τρώεσσι μεμυγμένοι ἰπποδάμοισιν εὐδουσι, ἦ ἀπάνευθε; (In both passages τάρ, found in some MSS., is perhaps to be preferred, with Leaf.) π222 is different (206 ἤλυθον εἰκοστῶ ἔτει ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν): Telemachus, after weeping on his father's neck, says Ποίη γὰρ νῦν δεῦρο... νηῖ σε ναῦται ἤγαγον εἰς Ἰθάκην; Here the explanatory force is still present, in spite of the interval. The same is true of ξ 115, where τίς γὰρ σε πρίατο looks back to Eumaeus's preceding speeches in general, and 96 ff. in particular.

In E.Ph.376 (see Pearson) progressive γάρ is used in a question in the middle of a speech: (371) ἀλλ' ἐκ γὰρ ἄλγους ἄλγος αὐτὴ σὲ (Jocasta) δέρκομαι ἔχουσιν... τί γὰρ πατήρ μοι πρέσβυς ἐν δόμοισι δρᾶ...; ('Well, and what of my old father?'). This is perhaps an instance of the occasional transference of the idioms of dialogue to continuous speech, as in certain uses of γε, δῆτα, and μὲν οὖν. We might perhaps compare Pi.O.13.20 ταὶ Διονύσου πόθεν ἐξέφανε σὺν βοηλάτα χάριτες διθυράμβῳ; τίς γὰρ ἰππέοις ἐν ἔντεσσι μέτρα... ἐπέθηκ'; (τίς δ' ἄρ', Hermann, 'probabiliter', Christ). 1.5.41 might also be cited in support of γάρ here, were it not that the metre requires a short syllable before the particle (C. M. Bowra, C.Q. 1930, p. 178). Schmid's ἄρ' is almost certain. See, further, on γὰρ δῆ, p. 244(5).

This use of progressive γάρ in questions, which has not, on the whole, been sufficiently recognized, is difficult to explain, particularly in the passages cited under 2.ii. Misener (pp. 50-1) analyses it as originating in the omission of ἀλλά in ἀλλά γάρ. 'The interrogative... besides arresting the attention, has associated with it that slightly contrasting sense which makes an ἀλλά unnecessary... γάρ gives the reason for the intention to change the topic or pass to a new item in the same... Possibly, in conversation, where most of the instances occur,

facial expression and gesture were effective aids in indicating transition.' This explanation can hardly be called satisfactory. The idiom under discussion bears no resemblance to ἀλλά γάρ. It is difficult both to find a 'contrasting sense' in the examples given above, and to account for the omission of its explicit expression, if felt by the speaker. For 'facial expression and gesture', though they play some part in Greek drama (cf. E.Med.689: Ion 241), are hardly important enough to form the basis of a grammatical idiom, particularly an idiom not normally associated with strong emotion. Nor is Wecklein's supposed ellipse (in E.IT533) convincing ('Stop, another person occurs to me, for...'). Neil may perhaps be right (Ar.Eq.p.201) in seeing here an instance of the 'original' sense of γάρ (γ' ἄρα, 'well, then': for which see above, *ad init.*). But I would suggest, tentatively, another explanation: that γάρ is originally explanatory here, as in the examples quoted in (1) and 2.i: but that, owing to the frequency with which supplementary questions are requests for explanation, the explanatory sense becomes forgotten, and γάρ is used in questions as a purely transitional particle. If this is so, we can trace here the stereotyping of an idiom in a sense alien to its original significance; a process not without parallel in the history of language.

VII. The elliptical questions, τί γάρ;—ἦ γάρ;—οὐ γάρ;—πῶς γάρ;—πῶς γὰρ οὐ;—deserve special notice.

τί γάρ; We have seen above (VI.1) that a γάρ question, which may be elliptical in form, sometimes follows upon the rejection of an hypothesis. (Since in such cases 'what?' implies 'what else?', we may, if we like, speak of an ellipse of ἄλλο also. ἄλλο is, in fact, not invariably omitted: Pl.R.392D ἄρ' οὐ πάντα... διήγησις οὐσα τυγχάνει...;—Τί γάρ, ἔφη, ἄλλο;) Hence τί γάρ;, like τί μὴν;, when the question is rhetorical, comes to mean 'of course'. A.Ag.1139 οὐδέν ποτ' εἰ μὴ ξυνθαινομένην. τί γάρ; 1239 καὶ τῶνδ' ὁμοιον εἴ τι μὴ πείθω τί γάρ; S.O.C.1679 Βέβηκεν.—Ὡς μάλιστ' ἂν ἐν πόθῳ λάβοις. τί γάρ; ὄψ' μὴτ' Ἄρης μῆτε Πόντος ἀντέκυσεν: Fr.90 βοτήρα νικᾷ ἄνδρας ἀστίτας. τί γάρ; E.Or.482 προσφθέγγη νῦν γάρ; φίλου μοι πατρός ἐστιν ἔκγονος: Supp.51: Pl.R.393C φησὶ μὲν τί γάρ; Plt.259C Οὐκοῦν... φανερόν...;—Τί γάρ;

A.Ch.880 τί γάρ; following a negative statement, bears the opposite meaning, 'for how so?', 'of course not': οὐχ ὥστ' ἀρῆξαι διαπεπραγμένῳ τί γάρ; cf. Fr.94 οὗτοι γυναιξὶ (δεῖ) κυδάζεσθαι τί γάρ;

Introducing an example: Arist.Pol.1281a14 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα ἔχειν φαίνεται δυσκολίαν. τί γάρ; ἂν οἱ πένητες . . . (*quid enim?*).

(For the various progressive uses of τί γάρ; see VI above. The diverse shades of meaning expressed by the phrase are well illustrated in S.OC539-46.)

ἦ γάρ; 'Is not that so?': an appeal for confirmation, common in Plato. See ἦ.

οὐ γάρ; This is identical in meaning with ἦ γάρ; Pl.Tht.163A: Grg.480A: D.xviii136 ὁμοίον γε, οὐ γάρ; xix253: xxi209: xxii73: xxiii161,162,186. The Demosthenic instances are all ironical.

(In Epich.Fr.171.4 οὐ γάρ; is curiously fused with ἦ οὐ; τίς εἰμέν τοι δοκεῖ; ἄνθρωπος, ἦ οὐ γάρ;).

πῶς γάρ; confirms a negative statement. S.El.911 οὐδ' αὖ σὺ πῶς γάρ; Pl.R.379B οὐδ' ἂν τινος εἴη κακοῦ αἴτιον.—Πῶς γάρ; Lg.640C Ἔστιν δέ γε . . . οὐκ ἀθόρυβος. ἦ γάρ;—Πῶς γάρ; ἀλλ' οἶμαι πᾶν τούναντίον: Lys.i27 οὐκ εἰσαρπασθεῖς ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν καταφυγῶν . . . πῶς γάρ ἂν (*sc. κατέφυγε*) . . .; Pl.R.425B,515A: D.xviii312. (In S.Aj.279 πῶς γάρ is curiously used in the sense of πῶς γὰρ ἄλλως;)

πῶς γὰρ οὐ; confirms a positive statement. A.Ch.754: S.El.865, 1307: Pl.Grg.487B: Euthphr.10A: *id. saep.*: X.Mem.iv 4.13. Also τί γὰρ οὐ; Pl.R.425C,558D: Prm.134D. τί δὲ γὰρ οὐ; Prm. 138B,140E.

VIII. Assentient. We have seen above that γάρ, in answers, often introduces the reason for an assent which is left unexpressed. From this it is but a short step to the use of γάρ as an assentient particle *per se*. The transitional stage occurs where that which is a reason is almost identical with that of which it is a reason. Thus, in the common Platonic formulae εἰκὸς γάρ, εἰκε γάρ, seeming is not sharply distinguished from being, and the force of γάρ here is very much what it is in the less equivocal ἔστι γάρ. Phd.69A ὁμοίον ἐστίν . . .—Ἔοικε γάρ: R.445E

οὔτε γὰρ . . . κινήσειεν ἂν . . .—Οὐ γὰρ εἰκὸς, ἔφη. Thus assentient γάρ, while originating in an ellipse, shakes itself free from its elliptical origin, and acquires an independent existence. (To suppose an actual ellipse everywhere, and to fill up with such words as 'You are right, for' (cf. Jebb on S.OT1117), is unnecessary and artificial.) Those scholars who are in general disinclined to accept ellipse in interpreting γάρ naturally explain this usage differently. Hartung (i 474) derives it from affirmative γε: Bäumlein (pp. 68-72) from ἄρα denoting that which is directly obvious and needs no proof.

Assentient γάρ, as a fully developed idiom, rarely appears before the fourth century. Earlier examples are less striking, and some of them (as my suggested renderings below indicate) admit of a different explanation.

(1) In general. A.Ag.271 Χαρά μ' ὑφέρπει δάκρυν ἐκκαλουμένη.—Εὐ γὰρ φρονούντος ὄμμα σοῦ κατηγορεῖ ('Aye, truly.' Clytaemnestra agrees both that the man is weeping, and that he is weeping tears of loyal joy): S.OT731 Ἔδοξ' ἀκούσαι σοῦ τόδ', ὡς . . .—Ἡὐδάτο γὰρ ταῦτ' ('Aye, 'twas said so': better than 'I said so because it was the common report'): 1117 τῆ δ' ἐπιστήμη σὺ μου προὔχοις τάχ' ἂν που, τὸν βοτῆρ' ἰδὼν πάρος.—Ἔγνωκα γάρ, σάφ' ἴσθι ('Aye, I know him, sure enough'): E.IT520 Φασίν νιν . . . οἴχεσθαι δορί.—Ἔστιν γὰρ οὕτως: 539 Οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλως λέκτρ' ἔγημι ἐν Αὐλίδι.—Δόλια γάρ (not, probably, 'It was ἄλλως because it was δόλια'): Hel.565 Ἔγνωσ γὰρ ὀρθῶς (ἄρ' *codd.* Ar.Th.911): Pl.R.426A ἰατρευόμενοι γὰρ οὐδὲν περαίνουσιν, πλήν γε . . . μείζω ποιοῦσι τὰ νοσήματα . . .—Πάνυ γάρ, ἔφη, τῶν οὕτω καμνόντων τὰ τοιαῦτα πάθη ('Yes, that is their condition, exactly'): 465B 'Fear and shame will deter the young from assaulting the old'.—Συμβαίνει γὰρ οὕτως, ἔφη: 490A ἠγεῖτο δ' αὐτῶ, εἰ νῶ ἔχεις, . . . ἀλήθεια . . .—Ἦν γὰρ οὕτω λεγόμενον: X.Cyr.ii 4.12 μέμνημαι ἀκούσας ὡς ὁ Ἀρμένιος καταφρονοῖ σου . . .—Ποιεῖ γὰρ ταῦτα, ἔφη: v 1.13 ἀλλὰ καὶ φυλάττουσι . . .—Ποιοῦσι γάρ, ἔφη, ταῦτα. In A.Ag. 551 Εὐ γὰρ πέπρακται, γάρ seems to be assentient: 'Aye, 'tis well done'. The Herald returns to the reflections of his opening speech 503-37. (In S.OC1426 γάρ seems to be causal: v. Jebb *ad loc.*). The following also may perhaps be classed

as assentient: Pl.*Phdr.*228C ὡς μοι δοκεῖς σὺ οὐδαμῶς με ἀφήσειν . . .—Πάνυ γάρ σοι ἀληθῆ δοκῶ (cf. *R.*567E): *Grg.* 506D ἄρα ἔστιν ταῦτα;—'Εγὼ μὲν γάρ φημι (γάρ *BPF*: γάρ δὴ *T*). (In *Is.*viii 33 γάρ after δῆλον may be classed as assentient, the expected alternative being selected; 'I need not ask, for . . .')

(2) Very frequently in Plato, sometimes in the Socratic works of Xenophon, and occasionally elsewhere, the answer echoes a word from the preceding speech. *Epich.Fr.*170b4 Οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδ' . . .;—Οὐ γάρ: *S.Ph.*756 Δεινὸν γε τοῦπίσαγμα τοῦ νοσήματος.—Δεινὸν γάρ, οὐδὲ ῥητόν: *Ar.Au.*611 πολλῶ κρείττους οὗτοι . . .—Οὐ γάρ πολλῶ; ('Yes, aren't they? Much.'): *Ec.* 773-6 Λέγουσι γοῦν ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς.—Λέξουσι γάρ.—Καί φασιν οἴσειν ἀράμενοι.—Φήσουσι γάρ.—'Απολείς ἀπιστῶν πάντ'.—'Απιστήσουσι γάρ.—'Ο Ζεὺς σέ γ' ἐπιτρίψειεν.—'Επιτρίψουσι γάρ ('Aye, they'll say it', etc.): *Alex.Fr.*95.3 ἄρ' ἦν . . .;—*Nῆ τὸν Δί'*, ἦν γάρ: *Pl.Chrm.*164A Οὐκ . . . ἐλέγετο . . .;—'Ελέγετο γάρ: 168A φαμέν τινα εἶναι τοιαύτην . . .;—Φαμέν γάρ: *R.*397D ἡδιστος . . .—'Ηδιστος γάρ: 432D ἰτέον.—'Ιτέον γάρ: 353E, 376B, 445B, 502B: *Men.*85A: *Euthphr.*7B: *Phd.*90B: *Tht.*147B: *Prm.* 138B, 145B: *Lg.*680D: *id. saep.*: *X.Mem.*ii 1.2 Οὐκοῦν . . . εἰκὸς . . .;—'Εἰκὸς γάρ: iii 5.2 οἴσθα . . .;—'Οἶδα γάρ: *Oec.*16.11 Οὐκοῦν . . . οἴσθα . . .;—'Οἶδα γάρ. The nonsensical string in *Ar.Ec.*773-6 is suggestive. It looks as though this idiom was coming into prominence in certain circles early in the fourth century.

A slightly different turn is given to the idiom in the following:—

*Ar.Lys.*55 Ἄρ' οὐ παρεῖναι τὰς γυναῖκας δῆτ' ἔχρην;—Οὐ γάρ μὰ Δί' ἀλλὰ πετομένας ἦκειν πάλαι ('No, more than that, they ought to have flown here on wings long ago'. ἄρ' οὐ expects an affirmative answer: it gets a negative answer, which rejects the expected affirmative in favour of a stronger one. οὐ γάρ . . . ἀλλά thus corresponds to μὲν οὖν (cf. *S.El.*1453). I do not think this is an instance of οὐ γάρ ἀλλά (*q.v.*): *Pl.R.*509C ἐκὼν οὐκ ἀπολείψω.—*Mῆ γάρ*, ἔφη ('No, don't').

(3) *Γάρ τοι*, following a demonstrative pronoun, sometimes conveys assent, while adding something to it. (A colloquial idiom.) *E.Heracl.*716 Οἶδ' οὐ προδώσουσίν σε . . .—*Τοσόνδε γάρ*

τοὶ θάρσος, οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἔχω ('Aye, therein is my trust; and in naught beside'): *Ar.Th.*81 τρίτη ὅτι Θεοδορίων ἡ μέση.—*Τοῦτ' αὐτὸ γάρ τοι κάπολεῖν με προσδοκῶ* ('Yes, that's what'll be the ruin of me'): 171 'A man's poetry resembles his personal appearance'.—'Ἄπασ' ἀνάγκη ταῦτα γάρ τοι γυνὸς ἐγὼ ἐμαυτὸν ἐθεράπευσα ('that's why I've got myself up so fine'): *X.Mem.*ii 3.6 ἡ ἔστιν οἷς καὶ πάνυ ἀρέσκει;—*Διὰ τοῦτο γάρ τοι*, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἀξιὸν ἔστιν ἐμοὶ μισεῖν αὐτόν, ὅτι ἄλλοις μὲν ἀρέσκειν δύναται, ἐμοὶ δὲ . . .: iii 5.19: *Ar.Lys.*46: *Ra.*73. (*Ar.V.*588 is slightly different, approval rather than assent being conveyed, as in (4) below: *Τοῦτὶ γάρ τοι σεμνόν*, 'Yes, that's fine'). (For γάρ τοι in general, see *τοι*, VI. 3.)

(4) Approval is closely allied to assent, and γάρ, like ἀλλά, can be used to signify the one as well as the other. *S.Ant.*639 'I am your obedient son'.—*Οὔτω γάρ*, ὦ παῖ, χρὴ διὰ στέρνων ἔχειν: *E.IA*1355 Ἀπεκρίνω δὲ τί;—*Τὴν ἐμὴν μέλλουσαν εὐνήν μὴ κτανεῖν*.—*Δίκαια γάρ* ('A proper answer'): *Ar.Nu.*679 *Τὴν καρδόπην θηλείαν* (χρὴ καλεῖν);—*Ορθῶς γὰρ λέγεις*: *Pl.R.*440D Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, ἔοικε τοῦτο ᾧ λέγεις καίτοι γ' . . . τοὺς ἐπικούρους ὥσπερ κύνας ἐθέμεθα . . .—*Καλῶς γάρ*, ἦν δ' ἐγὼ, νοεῖς δ βούλομαι λέγειν ('You get my meaning admirably'): *Alc.*1134E ὑμᾶς ἐθέλω ἐγγυήσασθαι ἢ μὴν εὐδαιμονήσειν.—*Ἀσφαλῆς γὰρ εἰ ἐγγυητῆς* ('Well, you're a guarantor one can trust'): *X.Mem.* iii 6.2 προστατεύειν διανενόησαι τῆς πόλεως;—'Εγωγε, ἔφη . . .—*Nῆ Δί'*, ἔφη, καλὸν γάρ ('And a very noble ambition,' he said).

(5) Plato often echoes a word from the preceding speech, when the second speaker endorses a view put forward by the first. *La.*180B οἶμαι δὲ . . .—*Ἀληθῆ γὰρ οἶει*: *Phd.*85E οὐ πάνυ φαίνεται . . . *Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης*, ἴσως γάρ, ἔφη, . . . ἀληθῆ σοι φαίνεται: *Tht.*187A τοῦτό γε καλεῖται, ὡς ἐγῶμαι, δοξάζειν.—*Ορθῶς γὰρ οἶει* (196B): *R.*327C δοκεῖτέ μοι . . .—*Οὐ γὰρ κακῶς δοξάζεις*: 506A μαντεύομαι δὲ . . .—*Καλῶς γάρ*, ἔφη, μαντεύη: *Phlb.*25E φαίνη . . .—*Ορθῶς γὰρ φαίνομαι*: *Phdr.*227B φησὶ . . .—*Καλῶς γάρ*, ὦ ἑταῖρε, λέγει.

IX. In wishes: *εἰ γάρ*, *αἶ γάρ*. In post-Homeric Greek, *εἰ γάρ* is mostly found in the exalted style of tragedy, occurring but seldom in comedy and prose. We have two problems here: (1) the use of *εἰ* (*αἶ*): (2) the use of γάρ.

(1) The natural supposition is that an *εἰ* wish is a conditional protasis with suppressed apodosis, an ellipse paralleled in Latin, English, and other languages. A contrary view has been maintained by Lange, Monro (*H.G.* §321), Kühner, and Liddell and Scott, that *εἰ* in wishes is interjectional, and that from this primary use the conditional is, at least partly, derived. This theory certainly makes it easier to connect *εἰ* in wishes with *εἰ* in *εἰ δ' ἄγε*: and it accords with the development of hypotactic from paratactic forms of construction in other cases. But it is difficult to doubt that in practice (etymological history apart) even Homer, not to speak of later writers, regarded *εἰ* in wishes as conditional. The distinction between wish and condition is, in fact, hard to draw, as the variation in editors' punctuation shows. The difference between 'If only James were here! He would help me', and 'If only James were here, he would help me', is merely the difference between an apodosis at first vaguely conceived, and then clearly defined, and an apodosis clearly envisaged at the outset. (i) Condition, and (iii) Wish are bridged by an intermediate stage (ii) Wish-Condition.

(i) Condition. Hom.N276 Οἶδ' ἀρετὴν οἶός ἐσσι . . . εἰ γὰρ νῦν παρὰ νηυσὶ λεγοίμεθα πάντες ἄριστοι ἐς λόχον . . . (287) οὐδέ κέν ἔνθα τεόν γε μένος καὶ χεῖρας ὄνοιτο: 0545 εἰ γὰρ κεν σὺ πολὺν χρόνον ἐνθάδε μίμοις, τόνδε τ' ἐγὼ κομιῶ, ξενίων δέ οἱ οὐ ποθὴ ἔσται.

(ii) Wish-Condition (especially *εἰ γὰρ* . . . τῷ κε). Hom.B371 ἀγορῇ νικᾶς . . . αἶ γὰρ . . . τοιοῦτοι δέκα μοι συμφράδμονες εἶεν Ἀχαιῶν τῷ κε τάχ' ἡμύσειε πόλις Πριάμοιο: H132 αἶ γὰρ . . . ἡβῶμ' ὡς ὅτε . . . (157) εἴθ' ὡς ἡβῶοιμι . . . τῷ κε τάχ' . . .: ρ496 Εἰ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀρῆσιν τέλος ἡμετέρησι γένοιτο· οὐκ ἄν τις τούτων γε ἐϋθρονον Ἠῶ ἴκοιτο: Δ288: δ732: 0536: π99: φ372: ω376. These mixed wish-conditionals are characteristic of the fluidity of Homeric structure: they are rarely found in later Greek, where condition and wish crystallize as distinct modes of thought. A.Ch.345 εἰ γὰρ ὑπ' Ἰλίου . . . κατηναρίσθησ' ἑλπίων ἂν εὐκλειαν . . . πολύχωστον ἂν εἶχες τάφον: Th.550.

(iii) Pure wish-clauses. *εἰ γὰρ* and *αἶ γὰρ* are often used in Homer when a speaker confirms the certainty of a fact by ex-

<sup>1</sup> Tucker, whose note well expresses the difficulty of analysing such constructions, prints a colon here: Sidgwick, a comma.

pressing the wish that something desired by him might be as certainly fulfilled: *εἰ γὰρ* . . . ὡς . . .: 'Would that . . . as surely as . . .'. (See Misener, 'The *εἰ γὰρ* wishes'.) Hom.N825 *εἰ γὰρ* ἐγὼν οὕτω γε Διὸς παῖς αἰγιόχοιο εἶην . . . ὡς νῦν ἡμέρη ἦδε κακὸν φέρει Ἀργείοισι: Σ464 αἶ γὰρ μιν θανάτοιο δυσσηχέος ὦδε δυναίμην νόσφιν ἀποκρύψαι . . . ὡς οἱ τεύχεα καλὰ παρέσσεται: Θ538: X346: ι523: ρ251: σ235: φ402 (with an ironical *ὡς* clause). Without a following *ὡς* clause: γ205: ο156: Pi.P.1.46 *εἰ γὰρ* ὁ πᾶς χρόνος ὄλβον μὲν οὕτω καὶ κτεάνων δόσιν εὐθύνοι (where see schol.).

Apart from the above idiom, Homer appears to use only *αἶ γὰρ* (never *εἰ γὰρ*) in pure wish-clauses: though the distinction has not been noticed. In post-Homeric Greek, the almost complete disappearance of *αἶ* (*αἶ γὰρ* in Hdt.i27) makes differentiation no longer possible. Δ189: Π97: Σ272: X454: δ627: ζ244: η311.

(2) The function of *γάρ* in *εἰ γὰρ* wishes has been variously explained. Hartung and Klotz connect it with a supposed use of *γάρ* in exclamations, while Bäumlein and Kühner regard it as adding emphasis or liveliness (though the latter adds that 'originally *γάρ* served here too to mark a thought as the direct result of the existing situation'). Liddell and Scott merely say that '*γάρ* is used to strengthen a wish'. Prof. Misener, however, has recently argued that *γάρ* in *εἰ γὰρ* wishes is causal. It will be well to review the evidence, and to discover what logical relationships, if any, are present where *εἰ γὰρ* wishes are found, before attempting to solve the difficult question, whether, or not, these relationships are expressed by the particle *γάρ*.

(i) In many passages in Homer a causal relationship is admitted, or even required, by the context. Θ538 κείσεται οὐτηθεῖς, πολέες δ' ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἑταῖροι . . . εἰ γὰρ ἐγὼν ὡς εἶην ἀθάνατος . . . ὡς νῦν ἡμέρη ἦδε κακὸν φέρει Ἀργείοισιν: Σ465 Θάρσει μή τοι ταῦτα . . . μελόντων. αἶ γὰρ . . . δυναίμην . . . ὡς οἱ τεύχεα καλὰ παρέσσεται (the certainty that the arms will be forthcoming is a ground for the encouragement given): B371: Δ288: H132: Π97: X346: δ341: η311: ο156: σ235.

In the following passages also *γάρ* can be taken as causal, if we assume an elliptical answer, '(No,) for'. ι523 αὐτὸς δ' . . .



ἴησεται (ἐννοσίγαιος) . . .—*Αἰ γάρ δὴ . . . δυναίμην, ὡς οὐκ ὀφθαλμόν γ' ἴησεται οὐδ' ἐνοσίχθων: σ366 οὐκ ἐθελήσεις ἔργον ἐποίχεσθαι . . .—Εὐρύμαχ', εἰ γὰρ νῶϊν ἔρις ἔργοιο γένοιτο ('You are wrong to call me idle, for I could beat you at work'): φ402 'He looks like an archer'.—*Αἰ γάρ δὴ τοσσοῦτον ὀνήσιος ἀντιάσειεν, ὡς οὗτός ποτε τοῦτο δυνήσεται ἐντανύσασθαι (ironical).**

There are few examples in post-Homeric Greek. *Pi.P.1.46: A.Ch.345* (reference to 338-9). In the last case the intervening words of another speaker are ignored in the logical connexion.\* Cf. III.5.

(ii) In dialogue, a wish is expressed that something stated or wished by the previous speaker may come true or might have come true. This type of connexion is not infrequent in Homer, and is almost invariably present in post-Homeric *εἰ γάρ* wishes. *γάρ* seems here to have an assentient or approving force: 'Aye, truly'.<sup>1</sup>

*Hom.τ309 τοῦδ' αὐτοῦ λυκάβαντος ἐλεύσεται ἐνθάδ' Ὀδυσσεὺς . . .—Αἰ γάρ τοῦτο, ξεῖνε, ἔπος τετελεσμένον εἶη: ρ496 Αἴθ' οὕτως αὐτόν σε βάλοι κλυτότοξος Ἀπόλλων. . .—Εἰ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀρῆσιν τέλος ἡμετέρησι γένοιτο: Δ189: θ339: ο536: ρ163,513: υ236: φ200. A.Th.550 ἀπειλεῖ . . . ἃ μὴ κραίνοι θεός.—Εἰ γὰρ τύχοιεν ὦν φρονοῦσι πρὸς θεῶν ('Aye, in sooth'): E.Or.1209 ἢ ζῶν μακάριον κτήσει λέχος.—Εἰ γὰρ γένοιτο ('Would God I might'): 1100 ὡς ἂν Μενέλεως συνδυστυχῆ.—<sup>2</sup>Ω φίλτατ', εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο κατθάνοιμ' ἰδῶν ('Oh, could I but see that before I die!'): 1580 Ἐλένην φονεύσας ἐπὶ φόνῳ πράσσεις φόνον.—Εἰ γὰρ κατέσχον μὴ θεῶν κλεφθεῖς ὑπο: 1614 Σὲ σφάγιον ἔκομισ' ἐκ Φρυγῶν—Εἰ γὰρ τόδ' ἦν: Alc.1072 (1066 δοκῶ γὰρ αὐτὴν εἰσορῶν γυναῖχ' ὄραν ἐμὴν . . .) Εἰ γὰρ τοσαύτην δύναμιν εἶχον ὥστε σὴν ἐς φῶς πορεύσαι . . . γυναῖκα: Cys.437 σώθητι μετ' ἐμοῦ . . .—<sup>3</sup>Ω φίλτατ', εἰ γὰρ τήνδ' ἴδοιμεν ἡμέραν: IT1221 Τὰ*

<sup>1</sup> It is to be noted that *εἰ γάρ* is in drama almost confined to answers. In *E.Supp.1145*, with Murray's text, the speaker himself answers his own suggestion: *ἀρ' ἀσπιδούχος ἔτι=ποτ' ἀντιτάσσομαι σὸν φόνον—εἰ γὰρ γένοιτο—τεκνῶν*; But *τεκνῶν* is difficult, and *L* and *p* mark a new speaker at *εἰ γάρ γένοιτο*. In *Alc. 90* the mark *Ἡμιχ.* in *VBL* (for which see Murray's *Arr. Crit.*) hardly justifies the supposition of a change of speaker (the connexion of thought here seems to be as in 2. iii: 86-90 'Alcestis is not yet dead': 90-2 'And may Apollo come to save her from dying'). *Rh. 464.*

*τῆς θεοῦ πρᾶσσ' . . . καλῶς.—Εἰ γὰρ ὡς θέλω καθαρμὸς ὄδε πέσοι: Ion 979 παῖδα (τόλμησον κτανεῖν) . . .—Πῶς; εἰ γὰρ εἴη δυνατόν: Ar.Ec.380 Τὸ τριώβολον δῆτ' ἔλαβες;—Εἰ γὰρ ὄφελον: Com.Nov.Adesp.13Dem.: E.Supp.369: EI.663: Ion 410: Or.1582: Ar.Pax346: Pl.Cri.44D οἰοί τ' εἰσὶν οἱ πολλοὶ οὐ τὰ μικρότατα τῶν κακῶν ἐξεργάζεσθαι . . .—Εἰ γὰρ ὄφελον . . . οἰοί τ' εἶναι οἱ πολλοὶ τὰ μέγιστα κακὰ ἐργάζεσθαι: Pri 310D ποιήσει καὶ σέ σοφόν.—Εἰ γάρ, ἦ δ' ὅς . . . ἐν τούτῳ εἶη: Hdt.1 27.3: Pl.R.432C: X.Cyr.vi 1.38. In *E.Hipp.1410* Theseus echoes, and amplifies, the wish suggested by his own last words, *οὐδέ μοι χάρις βίου*, which imply *τεθναίνην*: 'Aye, would I were a corpse in thy stead!'*

(iii) In other passages the wish is for something supplementary to, and usually similar to, a fact just stated as true. *Hom.K536 ἵππων μ' ὠκυπόδων ἀμφὶ κτύπος οὐατα βάλλει. αἰ γὰρ δὴ Ὀδυσσεὺς τε καὶ ὁ κρατερὸς Διομήδης ὧδ' ἄφαρ ἐκ Τρώων ἐλασαίατο μώνυχας ἵππους ('I hear horses: and I hope they are the horses of O. and D.): γ205 καὶ λίην κείνος μὲν ἐτίσατο . . . αἰ γὰρ ἐμοὶ τοσσηνδε θεοὶ δύναμιν περιθεῖεν, τίσασθαι μνηστῆρας ('I wish I could punish the suitors like that'): φ372 βίηφι δὲ φέρτερός εἰμι. αἰ γὰρ πάντων τόσσον . . . μνηστῆρων . . . φέρτερος εἶην: ω376 <sup>2</sup>Ω πάτερ, ἦ μάλα τίς σε θεῶν . . . ἀμείνονα θῆκεν ἰδέσθαι . . .—Αἰ γὰρ . . . οἶος Νήρικον εἶλον . . . τοῖος ἔων τοι χθιζὸς . . . ἀμύνειν ἄνδρας μνηστῆρας ('I wish I had been rejuvenated like that for yesterday's fight'): *Pi.N.7.98* δύνασαι δὲ βροτοῖσιν ἀλκὰν . . . διδόμεν. εἰ γὰρ σφισιν ἐμπεδοσθειέα βίοτον ἀρμόσαις: *S.El.1416* Κλ. <sup>3</sup>Ωμοι μάλ' αὐθις.—*Ηλ. Εἰ γὰρ Αἰγίσθω θ' ὁμοῦ: OT80* Κρέοντα προσστείχοντα σημαίνουσί μοι.—<sup>4</sup>Ωναξ <sup>5</sup>Απολλων, εἰ γὰρ ἐν τύχῃ γέ τω σωτῆρι βαίη ('Creon is coming.—'And may he bring good news.')*

It will be noticed that in (i), (ii), and (iii) an exclamation or apostrophe sometimes precedes the wish. Cf. V.8.

(iv) In other Homeric passages the logical connexion does not fall under any of the above heads. *Σ272* πολλοὺς δὲ κύνας καὶ γῦπες ἔδονται Τρώων· αἰ γὰρ δὴ μοι ἀπ' οὐατος ὧδε γένοιτο: *X454* ἐγγὺς δὴ τι κακὸν Πριάμοιο τέκεσσι. αἰ γὰρ ἀπ' οὐατος εἶη ἐμεῦ ἔπος: δ647 'The suitors are devouring my substance.—*Αἰ γὰρ δὴ, βασιλεία, τόδε πλεῖστον κακὸν εἶη: ζ244* νῦν δὲ θεοῖσιν ἔοικε, τοὶ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν. αἰ γὰρ ἐμοὶ τοιούτῳ πόσις κεκλημένος εἶη.



Hom.*h.Ap.*51 stands apart from all other examples of εἰ γάρ, in that the particles occur at the opening of a conversation, without any obvious logical connexion. (ἦ ἄρ κ', Matthiae: cf. σ357.) In Alc.*Fr.*16,17 the absence of context makes it impossible to determine the connexion, if any. So, too, Ar.*Fr.*109.

On reviewing the above evidence, it is not easy to say whether γάρ in εἰ γάρ wishes has (1) a connective force, or (2) a merely adverbial or emphatic one. In favour of (1) we may remark: (a) that, in the great majority of cases, those grouped under (i), (ii), and perhaps (iii) above, εἰ γάρ is used in contexts which admit of, or even require, a causal or assentient γάρ: (b) that there does not appear to be very much evidence, in general, for the supposed 'adverbial' use of the particle. On the other hand it may be pleaded in favour of (2): (a) that, in a not inconsiderable minority of cases, γάρ in εἰ γάρ cannot reasonably be interpreted as causal or assentient: (b) that simple εἰ wishes are relatively rare (see Kühner, II i 226): a consideration which may suggest that γάρ, like -θε, reinforces εἰ, converting 'if' into 'if only'. A decision between the rival views is perhaps not possible: but, on the whole, the 'adverbial' view seems preferable.

In A.*Th.*566 εἴθε γάρ, the reading of the later manuscripts, is a form not otherwise attested, and no doubt unsound.

(Hartung and Kühner cite E.*Cyc.*261 as indicating a distinctive use of γάρ, apart from εἰ, in wishes; ἐπεὶ κατελήφθη σοῦ λάθρα πωλῶν τὰ σά.—'Εγώ; κακῶς γὰρ ἐξόλοιο'. But one swallow does not make a summer. I should assign κακῶς γὰρ ἐξόλοιο to Odysseus, which removes all difficulty in the use of the particle (see C.*R.*xliv(1930)214-15). A few other passages in which γάρ might at first sight appear to have an optative force are better explained otherwise, or emended. In S.*OC*864 γάρ has nothing to do with the wish: Αὐδῶ σιωπᾶν.—Μὴ γὰρ αἶδε δαίμονες θεῖεν μ' ἄφωνον ('No, for . . .'. Cf. V.2). The same is true of A.*Ag.*215 εὐ γάρ εἴη. (Here the γάρ in 214 and the γάρ in 215 perhaps both look back to the question πῶς λιπόναις γένωμαι; The reasonable anger of the army, and the hope that all may yet be well, are both reasons for not offending the army by refusing to

sacrifice Iphigeneia. Cf. III.6.) E.*Hipp.*640 'I don't like clever women: they're a bit too clever.' Harry's 'surely then (γε + ἄρ)' is unnecessary. *Ph.*1604: Pearson explains σωζόμεσθα as 'I was so unfortunate as to be saved': but δ' ἄρ' is tempting. *Hel.*1201: Pearson is probably right in accepting Dobree's δ' ἄρ'. D.xix285 μὴ γὰρ οὕτω γένοιτο (γάρ is connective).

X. Special difficulties. There remains a certain residue of passages which are difficult to interpret on any of the lines suggested above. Few of them can be regarded as textually certain.

The following passages might appear to lend some support to the theory of an 'adverbial' γάρ. (In any of them δὴ would be natural enough.) Hom.*K*127 ἐν φυλάκεσσ', ἵνα γάρ σφιν ἐπέφραδον ἠγερέθουσθαι (γ' ἄρ has been suggested, though γε is rare after relatives in Homer: also τ' ἄρ, which violates the general, but not unbroken, principle that Epic (non-connective) τε has a universalizing force: a variation between γάρ and τ' ἄρ is found elsewhere, as Leaf points out: e.g. *K*61: Σ182,188: perhaps Peppmüller's ἄρα is right): *h.Ap.*464 Ξεῖν', ἐπεὶ οὐ μὲν γάρ τι καταθητοῖσιν ἔοικας (Allen and Sikes suppose a fusion of ἐπεὶ οὐ μὲν and οὐ μὲν γάρ, which appears scarcely probable): *Hr.Morb.Sacr.*1 κῆν μὲν γὰρ αἶγα μιμῶνται . . . ἦν δὲ . . . (but this seems to stand for καὶ γὰρ ἦν μὲν . . . ἦν δέ). In *Th.*vii58.4 γάρ, read by *B* after ὅτι, cannot stand. *Hr.deArtes* τὰ γὰρ τῶ ὠφελῆσθαι κ.τ.λ. has been adduced by Stahl (*Rh.M.*1902,1-7) as evidence for a concessive use of γάρ, 'freilich', with other passages which can all be otherwise explained. γάρ is normal if the sentence is read as a rhetorical question (see C.*R.*xliii(1929)125). In A.*Eu.*747 Wecklein's 'allerdings' is inappropriate ('γάρ explains their cry l. 745', Sidgwick: but 747 clearly answers 746: perhaps δ' ἄρ'). In *Hr.Off.*15 the alternative reading δέ must be right.

XI. Position. Γάρ normally comes second in its clause.

(1) Μέν takes precedence over it in this position

(2) Certain words coalesce closely enough with the following word to be regarded as forming a unity with it: e.g. article, positions, and καί in the sense of 'also' or 'both'. Thus

tragedy, we sometimes find γάρ third or fourth word in such cases as the following:—

A.Ch.641 τὸ μὴ θέμις γάρ: S.Ant.1096 τό τ' εἰκαθεῖν γάρ: Ph.1268 καὶ τὰ πρὶν γάρ: E.Alc.365 ἐν ταῖσιν αὐταῖς γάρ: El.68 ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς γάρ: Tr.1020 ἐν τοῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου γάρ (but S.Ant.661 ἐν τοῖς γὰρ οἰκείοισιν): HF309 τὰς τῶν θεῶν γάρ: IT676 καὶ δειλίαν γάρ: Ion.1022 καὶ σὺ γάρ: Fr.252 ἐκ τῶν δικαίων γάρ (ἐκ Meineke, for εἰ): Fr.502 τῆς γυναικὸς γάρ: HF1396 καὶ τοὺς σθένοντας γάρ: Or.684 καὶ χρῆ γάρ: 706 καὶ ναῦς γάρ: 1089 καὶ συγκατέκτανον γάρ.

(3) But the postponement of γάρ in tragedy is not confined to the above limits.

3rd. A.Ag.222 βροτοὺς θρασύνει γάρ: 758 τὸ δυσσεβὲς γὰρ ἔργον (δυσσεβὲς γάρ, for γὰρ δυσσεβές, Pauw: τὸ δυσσεβὲς γάρ, substantival, would be normal): S.Aj.522 χάρις χάριν γάρ: El.492 ἄλεκτρ' ἀνυμφα γάρ: Ant.141 ἑπτα λοχαγοὶ γάρ: 732 Οὐχ ἦδε γάρ . . .; OT255 οὐδ' εἰ γὰρ ἦν: 277 οὐτ' ἔκτανον γάρ: OC837 πόλει μαχῆ γάρ: Tr.338: Ph.209 διάσημα θροεῖ γάρ (Triclinius: γὰρ θροεῖ MSS.): E.Andr.764 πολλῶν νέων γάρ: Tr.621 κακῶ κακὸν γάρ: Ion.690 ἄτοπος ἄτοπα γὰρ παραδίδωσί μοι: Supp.99 προσδοκῶ τι γάρ: IT1036: Hec.865: HF1126 ἀρκεῖ σιωπῆ γάρ: Med.1268 ἀμείβεται χαλεπὰ γάρ: Or.1244 τρισσοῖς φίλοις γάρ: IA1560 σιγῆ παρέξω γάρ: Rh.17 (anap.) τί σὺ γὰρ . . .; Fr.1063.1 (? Euripides) δεῖ πυνθάνεσθαι γάρ.

4th. S.Ph.884 ὡς οὐκέτ' ὄντος γάρ: OT1520 ἂ μὴ φρονῶ γάρ: Aj.867 πᾶ πᾶ πᾶ γάρ; E.Ba.477: IA122: Fr.142.

5th and 6th. In E.Or.314 κἂν μὴ νοσηῆς γάρ, Supp.303 τᾶλλ' εὖ φρονῶν γάρ (Marchant), crasis helps to mitigate the postponement. S.Ph.1451 stands alone in classical Greek, with the exception of Middle and New Comedy: καιρὸς καὶ πλοῦς ὄδ' ἐπείγει γάρ. (For B.3.22 see Jebb. In A.Th.114 Tucker reads κῦμα περὶ πτόλιν δοχμολόφων γὰρ ἀνδρῶν, for κῦμα γάρ κ.τ.λ., comparing Diph.Fr.60.3 (below), where two MSS. read ταιπωρότερον γάρ.)

In Aristophanes the postponement of γάρ is rather commoner and more violent:—

3rd. Eq.32 ἔτεδν ἠγεῖ γάρ: 777 κάγω γάρ: 789 καὶ σὺ γάρ: V.653 εἰ μὴ γάρ: 814 αὐτοῦ μένων γάρ: Lys.119 οὐ δεῖ γάρ: 144 δεῖ τὰς γὰρ εἰράνας (a curious order, perhaps adopted metri

gratia: cf. Alex.Fr.146.6 ἢ τῶν γάρ): Av.342 πῶς κλαύσει γάρ: 1546 μόνον θεῶν γὰρ διὰ σέ: Ra.634 εἴπερ θεὸς γάρ ἐστιν: Pl.1188 καλῶς ἔσται γάρ: Archipp.Fr.15.1.

4th. Ach.581 ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους γάρ: 1076 ὑπὸ τοὺς Χοᾶς γάρ: 1087 ὁ τοῦ Διονύσου γάρ: Nu.1198 ὅπερ οἱ προτένθαι γάρ: Av.1545 ἀεὶ ποτ' ἀνθρώποις γάρ: Lys.595 ὁ μὲν ἦκων γάρ: Ra.867 οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου γάρ: 1434 ὁ μὲν σοφῶς γὰρ εἶπεν: Ec.984 τὰς ἐντὸς εἴκοσιν γάρ: Pl.65 εἰ μὴ φράσεις γάρ: 146 ἅπαντα τῷ πλουτεῖν γάρ.

5th. Lys.489 διὰ τὰργύριον πολεμοῦμεν γάρ; Pl.1189 ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ σωτήρ γάρ. In Ra.340 γάρ may possibly come 5th: but the text is almost certainly corrupt.

Late position after φέρ' ἴδω V.563: after φέρε, Ar.Nu.218 (cf. δέ E.Hel.1043): for similar postponement of γάρ in answers, etc., see V.8.

In Middle and New Comedy:—

4th. Xenarch.Fr.7.2 οὐδὲ ἐν καινὸν γὰρ εὐρίσκουσιν: Diph.Fr.60.3 ταιπωρότερον οὐδέν ἐστι γάρ.

5th. Philem.Fr.56.2 μετέχειν ἀνάγκη τῶν κακῶν γὰρ γίγνεται: Fr.79.17 οἱ μὲν ἤρπασάν τι γάρ: Fr.106.2 διὰ λύπην καὶ μανία γὰρ γίγνεται: Diph.Fr.102.1 ἀνδρὸς φίλου καὶ συγγενοῦς γὰρ οἰκίαν: Antiph.Fr.163.4 οὐ μὲν ἦμεν ἄρτι γάρ.

6th. Antiph.Fr.26.22 ἐπὶ τὸ τὰριχὸς ἐστιν ὠρμηκυῖα γάρ: Fr.164 ταῖς εὐτελείαις οἱ θεοὶ χαίρουσι γάρ.

7th and 8th. Alex.Fr.36 ὁ δεσπότης οὐμὸς περὶ λόγους γάρ ποτε διέτριψε: Philem.Fr.60.2 τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει μάρτυρας ἔχω γάρ: Alex.Fr.136.2 οὐκ εὐψυχία τοῦτ' ἔσθ' ὁ ποιεῖς νῦν γάρ, ἀλλ' ἀνανδρία.

9th. Antiph.Fr.212.7 αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι τοῦνομα βλάπτουσι τοῖς τρόποις γὰρ ὄντως ὄν καλόν.

The position of γάρ as first word in the line (lyr.), Ar.Ec.299, 913 is remarkable: cf. S.OT1103: OC1723. At end of iambic line: S.OT231 (without stop): E.IT1036 (before full stop).

In prose we, for the most part, find only the less violent types of postponement mentioned under (2). Hdt.1.94.5 ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμὸν γάρ: ix.49.3: v.92.δὶ ἡ Λάβδα γάρ: Th.iii.58.2 οὐκ ἐχθροὺς γάρ: Pl.R.431A ὁ αὐτὸς γάρ<sup>1</sup>: 518D τῷ ὄντι

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Chapman cites fourteen instances of ὁ αὐτὸς γάρ (&c.) in Plato, and only one of γάρ placed between article and αὐτός: Phlb.33A τὰ γὰρ αὐτ' ἐπισθεν αὐ.

γάρ<sup>1</sup>: 620A κατὰ συνήθειαν γάρ: *Alc.II*15C κατὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν γάρ: *I*24E παρὰ τοὺς ἰππικοὺς γάρ (but *Smp.*209B ἐν τῷ γὰρ αἰσχυρῷ: for this splitting of an integral phrase by γάρ, cf. *Ar.*22B ὡς ἔπος γὰρ εἰπεῖν): *Sph.*238E τὸ μὴ ὄν γάρ: *Lg.*728E τὰ μὲν ὑπέρογκα γάρ: *Cra.*389C τὸ φύσει γάρ . . . πεφυκός: *X.Cyr.*VI.16 καὶ πυρὸς γάρ τοι.

More violent transpositions are: *Hr.Cord.*9 βέβλαπται ἔς τι γὰρ τὸ θερμόν: *Pl.Sph.*255E ἐν ἕκαστον γάρ: *Lg.*681E "κτίσσε δὲ Δαρδανίην" γάρ πού φησιν: *D.*xiii136 οὐδ' ὅτι οὖν ἔστι γάρ (ἔστι γάρ *SF*: γάρ ἔστι *al.*): *lix*55 οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ γὰρ ὕστερον (γὰρ χρόνῳ *r*).

In earlier Greek postponement of γάρ is rare: *Hom.P*363 οὐδ' οἱ γάρ: *Φ*331 ἄντα σέθεν γάρ. *Semon.Fr.*7.106 ὅκου γυνὴ γάρ.

### Ἄλλα γάρ: ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ

The two forms must be considered together, as their uses overlap to a considerable extent. Both are used in two ways. Either ἀλλά goes with the main clause, and γάρ with a dependent clause: or both go with the main clause. The first use I will style 'complex', the second 'simple': preferring this nomenclature to Prof. Misener's 'complete' and 'elliptical', since the latter term begs the question with regard to the explanation of the idiom. We thus have four forms: (1) ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ, complex: (2) ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ, simple: (3) ἀλλὰ γάρ complex: (4) ἀλλὰ γάρ, simple. (3) is exceedingly rare. For the complex construction compare, in general, what has been said above regarding anticipatory γάρ.

I. ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ, complex. Here ἀλλά and γάρ fulfil their normal functions independently. But in cases where only one or two words intervene, the particles may rightly be regarded as forming a unity. This form is mainly found in Sophocles, Euripides, and Herodotus. It seldom occurs in Attic prose.

*Hom.ξ*355 ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ σφιν ἐφαίνετο κέρδιον εἶναι μαίεσθαι προτέρω, τοῖ μὲν πάλιν αὖτις ἔβαινον: *Tyrt.Fr.*8.1 Ἄλλ'—

*Dr.* Chapman cites four other instances of this order from *Phdr.*, *R.*, and *Hf. Ma.*: but τῷ γὰρ οὖν *Thl.*146B, 174B: *Sph.*217E (late dialogues).

'*Ηρακλῆος γὰρ ἀνικῆτου γένος ἐστέ—θαρσεῖτ'*: *Pi.Paeon*6.54 ἀλλὰ παρθένοι γὰρ ἴστε Μοῖσαι πάντα . . . κλύτε νῦν: *A.Ch.*375 ἀλλὰ διπλῆς γὰρ τῆσδε μαράγνης δοῦπος ἰκνεῖται, τῶν μὲν ἀρωγοὶ κατὰ γῆς ἤδη (see Tucker): *S.Ph.*81 ἀλλ' ἠδὺ γὰρ τι κτῆμα τῆς νίκης λαβεῖν, τόλμα: *OC*797 ἀλλ' οἶδα γάρ σε ταῦτα μὴ πείθων, ἴθι: *E.IT*118 ἀλλ' εὖ γὰρ εἶπας, πειστέον: *EL*1245 ἀλλ' ἀναξ γάρ ἐστ' ἐμός, σιγῶ: *Ar.Nu.*798 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐθέλει γὰρ μανθάνειν, τί ἐγὼ πάθω; (rightly so punctuated, I think): *Th.*264 ἀλλ' ἔχεις γὰρ ὦν δέει, εἴσω τις ὡς τάχιστα μ' ἐσκυκλησάτω: *S.El.*256: *Ph.*874.1020: *OC*624, 755, 1267: *Ant.*392: *E.Alc.*422: *Heracl.*80: *Hipp.*923: *EL*391: *Ph.*371, 891: *Tr.*706: *Hdt.*vi135.3 ἀλλὰ δεῖν γὰρ Μιλτιάδεα τελευτᾶν μὴ εὖ, φανῆναί οἱ: vii209.1 ἀλλ' αὐτῷ γελοῖα γὰρ ἐφαίνοντο ποιέειν, μετεπέμψατο: i14, 191: ii116: iv83: vii214: ix27.6: *ic*9.3: *X.An.*iii1.24. (*Hom.H*242 must count as an example of the complex construction, the act of throwing, as Hentze observes, really constituting the main clause.)

In passages where the ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ clause is followed by a clause introduced by τῷ (τῶ), οὖν or δῆ, we may hesitate whether to regard the ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ construction as self-contained, or to take the οὖν or δῆ as apodotic, and the construction as 'complex'. These cases are, in fact, on the borderline between 'simple' and 'complex'. Cf. γάρ, IV.3.

*Hom.O*739 ἀλλ' ἐν γὰρ Τρώων πεδίῳ . . . ἡμεθα . . . τῷ ἐν χερσὶ φῶως: *P*338: *Ψ*607: *Hdt.*viii108.4 ἀλλὰ δοκέειν γὰρ . . . οὐ μένειν . . . τὸν Πέρσην ἐατέον ὦν εἶναι φεύγειν: *Pl.Chrm.*165B τὸ δ' οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, ἀλλὰ ζητῶ γὰρ . . . σκεψάμενος οὖν . . .: *Cra.*406B.

II. Ἄλλα γάρ, complex. Of this there are very few examples. *S.Ant.*148 Ἄλλα γὰρ ἄ μεγαλώνυμος ἦλθε Νίκα τῷ πολυαρμάτῳ ἀντιχαρεῖσα Θήβα, ἐκ μὲν δὴ πολέμων τῶν νῦν θέσθαι (imperative infinitive) λημοσύναν ("γάρ introduces the reason given by ἦλθε", Jebb): *E.Ph.*1308 (see III.4 below). To these we should probably add *Ar.V.*318 τήκομαι . . . ὑπακ . . . ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐχ οἶός τ' εἶμ' ἄδειν, τί ποιήσω; (where a stronger ἄδειν produces a harsh asyndeton): conceivably also *Pl.*228A εἰ ἐγὼ Φαῖδρον ἀγνοῶ, καὶ ἐμαυτοῦ ἐπιλέλυται . . . ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐδέτερά ἐστι τούτων· εὖ οἶδα ὅτι . . . οὐκ ἀδύνατον ἔστιν ἄλλοις

(Prof. Misener here reads only a comma after *τούτων*: but in this case the asyndeton appears to me less objectionable: εὖ δ', *T*).

III. Ἀλλὰ γάρ, ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ, simple. The explanation of these uses, which go back to Simonides and Pindar, has been much discussed. Most earlier writers on the particles suppose an ellipse of the ἀλλά clause, and Jebb, in his *Sophocles*, everywhere supplies the missing sense. Wilamowitz (on *E.HF*138) says that the missing sense must always be completed explicitly or implicitly 'in good Greek': but that later (first in Isocrates) ἀλλὰ γάρ becomes 'practically a strong adversative particle'. (It is difficult, however, to draw any distinction between the usage of Pindar and Hippocrates, and that of the later fourth century.) On the other hand, Bäumlein, Kühner, and others deny that γάρ in ἀλλὰ γάρ is ever causal, and interpret it everywhere as 'adverbial'. Hartung admits ellipse, but only 'within reasonable limits'. The earlier theory has, however, been revived by Sernatinger, followed by Broschmann and Prof. Misener in their valuable analyses. But the latter, when she speaks of ellipse, does not mean an ellipse which can be supplied by certain definite words: and she has an alternative way of putting her view, which perhaps expresses it more clearly, when she says that γάρ explains 'the ἀλλά feeling'. This is substantially the same as Wilamowitz's 'aber das tut nichts: denn . . .'. Misener conjecturally supposes three stages of development: (1) normal order, ἀλλά clause followed by γάρ clause (e.g. *Ar.Lys*.1107): (2) γάρ clause inserted in main sentence: (3) omission of main clause, the purport of which is made plain by the context. This explanation is, on the face of it, a likely one, though its proposer admits that we are dealing with linguistic developments so remote that certainty is unattainable. Certainly the 'adverbial' theory of γάρ, here as in most other places, has little to recommend it.<sup>1</sup> In the complex construction, unless we are to tolerate unnatural asyndeta,<sup>2</sup> γάρ must be causal: and the complex construction, as we have seen (*I, ad fin.*), merges so insensibly into the simple, that the explanation of γάρ must, surely, be the same in both

<sup>1</sup> Except in (8) below. <sup>2</sup> Though similar asyndeta occur in *A.Pers*.150-2, *S.Ph*.1153, *E.Alc*.136-7, *Ph*.99. (In *HF*1202 the εἰς συναλογοῦντ' of the MSS cannot be right.)

cases. We are driven, then, to assume either ellipse of some kind, or the petrification of the particles into a set formula, a tendency setting in at an early stage of Greek literature, and progressing with the passage of time, but never becoming so complete as to disallow the occasional use (though very rarely when the particles are juxtaposed) of the complex construction in which each particle plays its full part.

Linguistic theory apart, 'aber das tut nichts: denn . . .', 'but, as a matter of fact,' is the meaning in the great majority of cases (though, as we shall see, there are certain marked deviations). The sense conveyed is that what precedes is irrelevant, unimportant, or subsidiary, and is consequently to be ruled out of discussion, or at least put in the shade.

Between the uses of ἀλλὰ γάρ and ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ there is no essential distinction of meaning. But ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ predominates in verse, ἀλλὰ γάρ (very strongly) in prose.

(1) In general, marking the contrast between what is irrelevant or subsidiary and what is vital, primary, or decisive.

(i) ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ. *Hom.κ*202 κλαῖον δὲ λιγέως . . . ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ τις πρῆξις ἐγίγνετο μυρομένοισιν: *λ*393 ὄρέξασθαι μενεαίνων ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ οἱ ἔτ' ἦν ἰς ἔμπεδος: *Pi.I.4*.16 'They were glorious in prowess. ἀλλ' ἀμέρα γάρ ἐν μιᾷ τραχεῖα νιφὰς πολέμοιο τεσσάρων ἀνδρῶν ἐρημῶσεν μάκαιραν ἐστίαν': *7*.16 (after describing the ancient glories of Thebes) ἀλλὰ παλαιὰ γάρ εὔδει χάρις: *B.5*.162 ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ τις ἐστὶν πράξις τάδε μυρομένοις: *S.El*.223 οὐ λάθει μ' ὄργα ἀλλ' ἐν γὰρ δεινοῖς οὐ σχήσω ταύτας ἄτας: *6*19 *Eυ* νυν ἐπίστω τῶνδ' ἐμ' αἰσχύνην ἔχειν . . . ἀλλ' ἡ γὰρ ἐκ σοῦ δυσμένεια . . . ἐξαναγκάζει με ταῦτα δρᾶν: *Ar.Eq*.328 Ἄρα δῆτ' οὐκ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐδήλους ἀναίδειαν . . . ; . . . ἀλλ' ἐφάνη γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἕτερος πολὺ σοῦ μιαιώτερος: *Hom.τ*591: *Archil.Fr*.75: *Pi.N.7*.30: *O.6*.54: *Ar.V.1*271: *Hdt.viii*8.1 ἐν νόῳ εἶχε καὶ πρότερον . . . ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ οἱ παρέιχε ἐς τότε: *Pl.Pr*t.336A πολὺ σοῦ μᾶλλον ἐγὼ ἐμαυτοῦ δέομαι . . . ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ δύναμαι: *Arist.Éti.* 1275b13 ἀλλ' ἔχει γὰρ διόρθωσιν ὁ τοῦ πολίτου διορισμός: *Lys.* vi50 Ἀθηναῖοι, μνήσθητε . . . ἀλλ' ἐστὲ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἤδη καταπλήγεις: *D.xix*181 ἀλλ' ἔτι γὰρ τῶν ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι (in this, the sole example of ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ in Demosthenes, the order is perhaps dictated by a desire to avoid

a sequence of short syllables): Hdt.vii 158.3: Pl.Lg.636A,655A: X.Cyr.i 4.3: ii 1.13.

(ii) *ἀλλά γάρ*. Simon.Fr.140 Ἄνθρωπ', οὐ Κροίσου λεύσσεις τάφον· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀνδρὸς χερνήτω· μικρὸς τύμβος, ἐμοὶ δ' ἰκανός (perhaps ἐμοίγ', with no stop between ἀλλά and ἰκανός): Pi.O. 1.56 'Tantalus was honoured by the gods. ἀλλὰ γὰρ καταπέψαι μέγαν ὄλβον οὐκ ἐδυνάσθη': P.4.32 φιλίων δ' ἐπέων ἄρχετο, ξείνοισ ἄτ' ἐλθόντεσσιν εὐεργέται δεῖπν' ἐπαγγέλλοντι πρῶτον. ἀλλὰ γὰρ νόστου πρόφασις γλυκεροῦ κώλυεν μέναι: E.Med.1085 πρὸς ἀμίλλας ἦλθον μείζους ἢ χρῆ γενεὰν θῆλυν ἐρευνᾶν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔστιν μοῦσα καὶ ἡμῖν: Ag.V.1114 πάντα γὰρ κεντοῦμεν ἄνδρα κάκπορίζομεν βίον. ἀλλὰ γὰρ κηφήνες ἡμῖν εἰσιν ἐγκαθήμενοι ('But our efforts are rendered nugatory by the drones'): Hp.Fract.9 συμφέρεει δὲ κατακεῖσθαι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ τολμέωσιν ὑπερορῶντες τὸ νόσημα ('But expediency goes for nothing, for...'): Ait.22 'People try to win health from heaven by bribes. ἀλλὰ γὰρ diseases are not caused supernaturally': Hdt.vii 4 Δαρείος ὀρμᾶτο στρατεύεσθαι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτα... συνηνείκε Δαρείον... ἀποθανεῖν: ix 46 3 ἐν νόφ ἐγένετο εἰπεῖν... ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀρρωδέομεν μὴ ὑμῖν οὐχ ἡδέες γένωνται οἱ λόγοι: Pl.Grg.517B (the crux of the matter): Thl.144B Ἀκήκοα μὲν τοῦνομα, μνημονεύω δ' οὐ. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔστι τῶνδε τῶν προσιόντων ὁ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ: Ti.53C ἐπιχειρητέον... ἀήθει λόγω πρὸς ὑμᾶς δηλοῦν, ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐπεὶ μετέχετε... συνέψετε: R.432C δύσβατος ὁ τόπος φαίνεται... ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁμως ἰτέον: Thl.148E: Smr 172B,199A,220E: Phid.95C,102B: R.467D,607C: Lg.751D: Pri.310E: Grg.448D: Lys.ix 17: D.lvii 33.

μὲν... ἀλλὰ γὰρ (ἀλλά... γάρ). S.OCI615 σκληρὰν μὲν, οἶδα, παῖδες· ἀλλ' ἐν γὰρ μόνον τὰ πάντα λύει ταῦτ' ἔπος μοχθήματα: Ag.Th.384 Φιλοτιμία μὲν οὐδεμιᾶ... λέξουσ' ἀνέστην, ὧ γυναικες· ἀλλὰ γὰρ βαρέως φέρω: Ag.V.316: X.Cyr.vii 1.49 καὶ χρήσιμον μὲν ἐδόκει εἶναι (the use of camels against cavalry). ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὔτε τρέφειν οὐδεὶς ἐθέλει καλὸς κάγαθος κάμηλον: Pl.Plt.262B: Lg.839C: R.487B.

(2) Breaking off (a very common prose usage).

(i) *ἀλλά... γάρ*. S.El.595 ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ οὐδὲ νοθετεῖν ἔξεστί σε: Tr.552 ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ὀργαίνειν καλόν: E.Med. 1301 'Where is Medea? ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ αὐτῆς φροντίδ' ὡς τέκνων

ἔχω': S.OC988: E.Cyc.432: Med.252,1344: Ion 144: IA 511: Ag.Eg.1063: Ach.738: Lys.286: Hdt.ix 27.4 ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ τι προέχει τούτων ἐπιμεμνήσθαι.

(ii) *ἀλλά γάρ*. Pi.N.7.52 θράσσυ μοι τόδ' εἰπεῖν... ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀνάπαυσις ἐν παντὶ γλυκεῖα ἔργῳ: E.Tr.444 ἀλλὰ γὰρ τί τοὺς Ὀδυσσεῶς ἐξακοντίζω πόνους; Ag.Eg.1086 'You have interpreted the oracle wrongly. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐμοὶ χρησμὸς...': E.Andr.264: Ph.1762: Pl.Phdr.261C Ἴσως· ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοὺτους ἐῶμεν: Men.92C ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ τοὺτους ἐπιζητοῦμεν: Lys.vii 9 ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὦ βουλή, ... ἰκανὰ νομίζω τὰ εἰρημένα: D.xv 34 (after strictures on the Athenian politicians) ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐχ ὁ τι τις κατηγορήσῃ τούτων... χαλεπὸν εὐρεῖν: xviii 42 ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐμπέπτωκ' εἰς λόγους, οὓς αὐτίκα μᾶλλον ἴσως ἀρμόσει λέγειν: Pl.Ap.19C,D,25B,26A,28A,42A: Plt.257C: Lg.707C: Hp.Ma.295C: X.Oec.11.11: 12.1: An.v 7.11: Cyr.v 5.13: viii 7.26: Ages.10.3: Lys.vii 42: xii 99: xxiv 21: D.xviii 211,263: xxiv 49.

(3) Resuming after a digression.

(i) *ἀλλά... γάρ*. Ag.Th.531 (resumption of the main topic, after the general reflections in ἀλλ' ἅπαν... ἀθρεῖν).

(ii) *ἀλλά γάρ*. Pl.Grg.525E 'Homer made his chief criminals in Hades kings. (No private individual has the chance to be incurably bad.) ἀλλὰ γὰρ... ἐκ τῶν δυναμένων εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ σφόδρα πονηροὶ γιγνόμενοι' ('Well, anyhow'): Smr.180A 'The gods rewarded Achilles for avenging his lover Patroclus. (Achilles was not Patroclus's lover.) ἀλλὰ γὰρ τῷ ὄντι μάλιστα μὲν... μᾶλλον μέντοι θαυμάζουσιν... ὅταν ὁ ἐρώμενος τὸν ἐραστὴν ἀγαπᾷ': Philb.43A (line 6): R.530C: Sph.229D: Ion 541E: X.HG.vii 3.4: And.173,130,132.

(4) Marking the appearance of a new character on the stage. The particles are here almost invariably separated.

(i) *ἀλλά... γάρ*. S.Ant.155 ἀλλ' ὅδε γὰρ δὴ βασιλεὺς... χωρεῖ: E.HF138 ἀλλ' εἰσορῶ γὰρ... Λύκον περῶντα: Ag.Arch. 40 ἀλλ' οἱ πρυτάνεις γὰρ οὐτοὶ μεσημβρινοί: E.Ol.735: HF.441: Ag.Arch.175: An.1168: Lys.1239: Ec.951.

(ii) *ἀλλά γάρ*. Ag.Th.861 ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἤκουσ' αἰδ'.

In some cases the construction is complex (a further indication of the close relation existing between the simple and complex constructions).

(i) *ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ.* *A.Pr.*941 *ἀλλ' εἰσορῶ γὰρ τόνδε τὸν Διδὸς τρόχιν . . . πάντως τι καινὸν ἀγγελῶν ἐλήλυθεν* (perhaps to be classed as 'simple'): *E.Hipp.*51: *Hec.*724: *El.*107: *Hel.*1385.

(ii) *ἀλλὰ γάρ.* *E.Ph.*1308 *ἀλλὰ γὰρ Κρέοντα λεύσσω τόνδε δεῦρο συννεφεῖ πρὸς δόμους στείχοντα, παύσω τοὺς παρεστῶτας γούους.*

(5) Marking the non-fulfilment of a condition (while *ἀλλὰ μὴν* (*q.v.* (3)) marks its fulfilment).

(i) *ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ.* *Hdt.*ii 120 *εἰ ἦν Ἑλένη ἐν Ἰλίῳ, ἀποδοθῆναι ἂν αὐτὴν τοῖσι Ἑλλησι . . . ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ εἶχον Ἑλένην ἀποδοῦναι:* *Pl.Ar.*20C *εἰ ἠπιστάμην ταῦτα ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἐπίσταμαι.*

(ii) *ἀλλὰ γάρ.* *Hdt.*ix 113.2 *τά περ ἂν καὶ ἐγένετο . . . εἴ περ ἔφθη . . . ἀλλὰ γὰρ Ξέρξης πυθόμενος . . .:* *Pl.La.*200D *εἰ ἐθέλοι οὗτος ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἄλλους μοι ἐκάστοτε συνίστησιν . . . αὐτὸς δὲ οὐκ ἐθέλει:* *Men.*94E *εἴπερ ἦν τοῦτο διδακτὸν . . . ἀλλὰ γὰρ . . . μὴ οὐκ ἦ διδακτὸν ἀρετῆ:* *Hdt.*v 3.1: vii 143.2: *Pl.Phil.*43A (line 1: cf. 42E, line 7): *Euthphr.*14B.

Marking the non-fulfilment of a wish. *E.Rh.*106 *Εἴθ' ἦσθ' ἀνὴρ εὐβουλος ὡς δρᾶσαι χερί. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸς πάντ' ἐπίστασθαι βροτῶν πέφυκεν.*

(6) In dialogue, introducing an objection.

(i) *ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ.* *Ar.Pl.*425 *Ἴσως Ἐρινύς ἐστιν ἐκ τραγωδίας . . . —Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἔχει γὰρ δᾶδας.*

(ii) *ἀλλὰ γάρ.* *Ar.Ach.*338 *Οὐδ' ἐμοῦ λέγοντος ὑμεῖς ἀρτίως ἠκούσατε.—Ἄλλὰ γὰρ νῦν λέγ', εἴ σοι δοκεῖ ('Yes, but you can speak now, if you like'):* *Pl.Euthphr.*6D *'You have only told me one particular ὅσιον'.—Καὶ ἀληθῆ γ' ἔλεγον.—Ἴσως. ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ φῆς εἶναι ὅσια ('But the point is . . .'):* *Plt.*263A *'Ορθότατα: ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοῦτο αὐτὸ . . . πῶς ἂν τις γένος καὶ μέρος ἐναργέστερον γνοίη . . .:* *R.*471C: *Hr.Ma.*301B (*Ἄλλὰ γὰρ δῆ*).

(7) Introducing an imaginary objection (Hypophora). (It is sometimes said, incorrectly, that *ἀλλὰ γάρ* is here equivalent to *ἀλλὰ νῆ Δία*. Actually the two idioms differ in so far that *νῆ Δία* marks<sup>1</sup> the objection as imaginary, while *γάρ* marks it as fundamental or important. 'But (it may be urged) the essential point

<sup>1</sup> Usually, but not invariably: see *ἀλλά*, I. 3. iii.

is that . . .'. Where *ἴσως* follows *ἀλλὰ γάρ*, it to some extent replaces *νῆ Δία*.)

(i) *ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ.* *Lys.*vi 40 *δεινὸν ἂν εἴη, εἰ περὶ Ἀνδοκίδου . . . ἐπεμελήθημεν . . . ἀλλὰ Λακεδαιμόνιοι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πρὸς αὐτοὺς συνθήκαις ἐπεμελήθησαν Ἀνδοκίδου . . . ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς ἐπεμελήθητέ γε αὐτοῦ; vi 48 (46 *εἰς τί σκεψαμένους χρῆ ὑμᾶς Ἀνδοκίδου ἀποψηφίσασθαι; πότερον ὡς στρατιώτης ἀγαθός; ἀλλ' οὐδεπώποτε . . . ἐστρατεύσατο . . .) ἀλλὰ πλουτῶν γάρ . . . (εἰσέφερε)— ποίαν εἰσφορὰν;**

(ii) *ἀλλὰ γάρ.* *Hdt.*vi 124.1 *ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἴσως τι ἐπιμεμφόμενοι . . .:* *Gorg.Fr.*11a,32 *ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἐμὸν ἐμαυτὸν ἐπαινεῖν:* *Pl.Men.*94D *ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἴσως ὁ Θεουκιδίδης φαῦλος ἦν:* *Phid.*87D *ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἂν φαίη . . .:* *R.*365C *ἀλλὰ γάρ, φησί τις, οὐ ράδιον ἀεὶ λανθάνειν:* 366A *ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐν Αἴδου δίκην δώσομεν:* *Ant.*v 62 *'He did not ruin him on that occasion. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα μὲν ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν οὐδ' ἔδει . . . ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐπεβούλευεν':* *And.*iv 37 *ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἴσως μετὰ μικρᾶς διαβολῆς . . . ἐκινδύνευον:* *Isoc.*iv 175 *ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἴσως διὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἄξιον ἐπισχεῖν (ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἴσως also vi 80, xi 48, xvii 49, xix 36):* *X.An.*vii 7.35 *ἀλλὰ γὰρ Ἑρακλείδῃ . . . πάμπλου δοκεῖ τοῦτο τὸ ἀργύριον εἶναι (an actual, quoted objection.)*

(8) Progressive.

In (1)–(7) *ἀλλὰ γάρ* (*ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ*) is strongly adversative: it not only opposes what precedes, but rules it out of court as non-existent or inessential. In a few passages, however (proportionately numerous in Andocides i), *ἀλλὰ γάρ* appears to be weakly adversative or merely progressive. It simply adds something new and important, and is found in contexts where *καὶ μὴν* or *ἀλλὰ μὴν* would be natural.

Analysis is difficult here. It might, theoretically, be maintained that here too *ἀλλὰ γάρ* is, at bottom, strongly adversative, and means 'but that does not matter, for . . .'; and that the new matter is presented as so far outstripping the old in importance as to contrast with it and supplant it (cf. *οὐ μὴν ἀλλά*, (ii)). But this is an artificial explanation: and it certainly seems preferable to regard the adversative force of *ἀλλά* as weakened in *ἀλλὰ γάρ* (as in simple *ἀλλά* (sometimes), *ἀλλὰ καί* and *ἀλλὰ μὴν*), and *γάρ* as purely ancillary or 'adverbial'. If it be objected that it is equally artificial to posit two quite different meanings for *ἀλλά*



'but that does not matter, for . . .', and 'further indeed', we may reply, in general, that the Greek particles present many such ambiguities: and, in particular, that *καὶ γάρ* (cf. *οὐδὲ γάρ*) similarly bears two distinct meanings, 'for also (even)' and 'and indeed'. The line between adversative and progressive cannot, of course, be rigidly drawn, either here or in other similar cases. Many passages may reasonably be grouped under either heading.

(i) *ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ*. There is no certain instance of the separation of the particles in this usage. *Anaxandr.Fr.33.9* is textually doubtful. 'What other art causes such excitement as cookery? *ἀλλ' οὐ μόνη γὰρ τὰς συνοουσίας ποιεῖ εὖψος ἀγορά;*' 'Again, does not a good cuisine . . .?'

(ii) *ἀλλὰ γάρ*. *Hr.Cord.5* *περίβολον δὲ ἔχει παχύν, καὶ βόθρον ἐμβεβόθρωται τὸ εἶδος εἴκελον ὄλμφ. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἤδη καὶ τοῦ πνεύμονος ἐνδύεται μετὰ προσηνίης* ('Further'): *X.Lac.8.1* 'Moneyhoarding is punished in Sparta. *ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅτι μὲν ἐν Σπάρτῃ μάλιστα πείθονται ταῖς ἀρχαῖς . . . ἴσμεν ἅπαντες*': 10.8 'Lycurgus honoured the law-abiding and punished the lawless. *ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅτι μὲν παλαιότατοι οὗτοι οἱ νόμοι εἰσὶ σαφές . . . οὕτω δὲ παλαιοὶ ὄντες ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἄλλοις καινότατοί εἰσι*' ('Now'): *And.122* (*ἀλλὰ γὰρ καί* introduces a fourth argument, the second and third being introduced by *καὶ μὲν δὴ* and *φέρει δὴ τοίνυν*): 101 'This man, who has led a shameful life, accuses others, when he is not legally entitled to defend himself. *ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες, καθήμενος ἠνίκα μὲν κατηγορεῖ, βλέπων εἰς αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα συνειλημμένος ἔδοξα κρίνεσθαι*' (for *καὶ μὴν*): 103 'Is it not monstrous if, whereas the Thirty would have condemned me for my patriotism, you refuse to save me for it? *ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες, τὴν μὲν ἐνδειξίν ἐποιήσαντό μου κατὰ νόμον κείμενον, τὴν δὲ κατηγορίαν κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα*' ('Again'): 124 (perhaps rather to be regarded as resumptive): 128 'He divorced the daughter in favour of her mother, and now wants to divorce the mother in favour of her grand-daughter. *ἀλλὰ γὰρ τῷ παιδί αὐτοῦ τί χρὴ τούνομα θεῖσθαι; . . . Οἰδίπους, ἢ Αἴγισθος;*' (here *καίτοι* would be more regular ('Now what is the son to be called?')). So also in *X.HG. vii.2.1* *διεκαρτέρουν (οἱ Φλειάσιοι) ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ. ἀλλὰ γὰρ* the exploits of great cities are celebrated, but those of small ones are even more meritorious. *Φλειάσιοι τοίνυν. . .* ('Now')): *Lys.Fr.*

The two following usages differ widely from those discussed in (1)–(7), in that *γάρ* here substantiates, not the suppressed *ἀλλά* clause, or the 'ἀλλά feeling', but the preceding clause or sentence. The two particles independently express distinct connexions of thought, and either might stand without the other.

(9) Following a negative clause. *ἀλλά* contrasts what is affirmed with what has just been denied: *γάρ* substantiates the denial: 'for, on the contrary.'

(i) *ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ*. *Alcm.Fr.49.7* *οὔτι γὰρ ἤν τετυγμένον ἔσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὰ κοινὰ γάρ, ὥσπερ ὁ δᾶμος, ζατεύει* ('He doesn't eat dainty food, for he prefers common food instead'): *Pi.O.6.54* *οὔτ' ἰδεῖν εὖχοντο πεμπταῖον γεγενημένον. ἀλλ' ἐν κέκρυπτο γὰρ σχοίνῳ* ('They couldn't find him, but (for) he was hidden'): *A.Eu.797* *ἀλλ' ἰσόψηφος δίκη ἐξῆλθ' ἀληθῶς, οὐκ ἀτιμία σέθεν. ἀλλ' ἐκ Διὸς γὰρ λαμπρὰ μαρτύρια παρῆν*: *Ar.Lys.1023* 'Ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐξωμίδ' ἐνδύσω σε προσιούσ' ἐγώ.—Τοῦτο μὲν μὰ τὸν Δί' οὐ πονηρὸν ἐποίησατε. ἀλλ' ὑπ' ὀργῆς γὰρ πονηρᾶς καὶ τότε ἀπέδυν ἐγώ: *Pl.R.455E* ἢ οὐν ἀνδράσι πάντα προστάξομεν, γυναικὶ δ' οὐδέν;—Καὶ πῶς;—Ἄλλ' ἔστι γὰρ οἶμαι . . . καὶ γυνὴ ἰατρικὴ ('We won't assign everything to men, because, on the contrary, women are good at things like medicine'). In *E.Fr.555* the correct text is irrecoverable. *τοῦ δῆκται πῶς κύνες οἱ θεοί, † ἀλλ' ἢ Δίκη γὰρ καὶ διὰ σκότου βλέπει*.

(ii) *ἀλλὰ γάρ*. *Hdt.ii.139* *οὐκ ὦν ποιήσῃν ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ γὰρ οἱ ἐξεληλυθέναι τὸν χρόνον ὀκόσον κεχρησθαι ἄρξαντα Αἰγύπτου ἐκχωρήσῃν*: *Hr.Morb.Sacr.3* 'This disease is not sacred. *ἀλλὰ γὰρ αἴτιος ὁ ἐγκέφαλος τούτου τοῦ πάθεος*': *Pl.Chrm.106C* *καὶ ταῦτά σε πολλοῦ δεῖ λεληθέναι, ἀλλὰ γὰρ οἶμαι . . . τοῦτο ποιεῖς* 'ἐμὲ γὰρ ἐπιχειρεῖς ἐλέγχειν, ἐάσας περὶ οὗ ὁ λόγος ἐστίν' ('Your conduct is not due to forgetfulness, but (for) it is due to design'): *X.An.v.7.8* *τοῦτ' οὐν ἐστίν ὅπως τις ἂν ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατήσῃ ὥστε ἐμβαίνειν ὅπταν νότος πνέῃ; ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅπταν γαλήνη ἢ ἐμβιβῶ* ('No, for'): *D.xliv.35* *οὐκ ἐπιλογισάμενος οὐθ' ὅτι . . . οὐθ' ὅτι . . . ἀλλὰ γὰρ οἶμαι ἀπλοῦν τι διελογίσαστο, δεῖν αὐτὸν. . .* (We may mention here *Eur.Fr.68*, though it is clearly different: *αἰετὸς τῆτος ὦν κούδεν βεβρωκῶς, ἀλλὰ γὰρ στέφανον ἔχων*: *Bekk.1.100.377.8*, and *Suidas*: *ἀλλὰ γάρ. ἀντὶ τοῦ δέ. Εὐπολις Βάπταις*. In spite of the gloss, the sense seems to be 'but for all that'.)



(10) ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ in questions. *Ar.Ach.* 594 Ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι πτωχός;—Ἀλλὰ τίς γάρ εἶ; ('Well, what are you?') We may illustrate the connexion between (9) and (10) by imagining a sentence like: οὐκ εἰμι πτωχός, ἀλλὰ πλούσιος γάρ εἰμι): *Pax* 222 οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ ποτ' Εἰρήνην ἔτι τὸ λοιπὸν ὄψεσθ'.—Ἀλλὰ ποῖ γὰρ οἴχεται; ('Why, where has she gone, then?': 'For, on the contrary, she has gone—where?') Cf. γάρ, VI.1): *Lys.* 463 Οἶμ' ὡς κακῶς πέπραγέ μου τὸ τοξικόν.—Ἀλλὰ τί γὰρ ᾧου; ('Well, what did you expect?'): *Pl.Hp.Ma.* 287D Ὀντι γέ τιμι τούτῳ;—Ὀντι ἀλλὰ τί γὰρ μέλλει; ('For what else on the contrary is likely to be true?').

γάρ in ἀλλὰ γάρ is sometimes strengthened by δὴ or οὖν. For ἀλλὰ γὰρ δὴ, ἀλλὰ . . . γὰρ δὴ, see γὰρ δὴ. For ἀλλὰ . . . γὰρ οὖν, see γὰρ οὖν.

### Καὶ γάρ: καὶ . . . γάρ

I. Normally γάρ is the connective, and καί means either (1) 'also' or 'even': or (2) 'in fact': or (3) 'both', being answered by another καί.

(1) It is sometimes hard to say whether καί refers to a single word, or to the clause or sentence as a whole (as it clearly does, e.g., in *Ar.Eg.* 250 πολλάκις γὰρ αὐτ' ἐρῶ. καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἦν πανοῦργος πολλάκις τῆς ἡμέρας). 'Also' and 'even' are often hard to distinguish. Clear examples of the sense 'also' are:—*Hom.N.* 228 ἀλλά, Θόαν, καὶ γὰρ τὸ πάρος μενεδήϊος ἦσθα: *E.Rh.* 267 καὶ γὰρ σὺ . . . ('You are as stupid as the rest'): *Ar.Eg.* 252 καὶ βδελύττου, καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ('For so do we'). 'Even': *S.Aj.* 669 καὶ γὰρ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ τὰ καρτερώτατα . . . : *OC* 1698 καὶ γὰρ ὁ μηδαμὰ δὴ φίλον, ἦν φίλον: *E.Med.* 314 καὶ γὰρ ἡδίκημένοι σιγησόμεσθα: *Heracl.* 998 καὶ γὰρ ἐχθρὸς ὧν ἀκούσεται 'μοί γ' ἐσθλὰ χρηστὸς ὧν ἀνήρ: *Ion* 1277 καὶ γὰρ εἰ τὸ σῶμά μοι ἄπεστιν αὐτῆς, τοῦνομ' οὐκ ἄπεστί πω: *S.OT* 334: *Tr.* 92 (where see Jebb): *Fr.* 85.9: *E.Med.* 463, 1249: *Ba.* 317: *D.* xix 12 καὶ γὰρ νῦν φθονεῖν τιὰς αὐτῶ.

(2) *S.Tr.* 416 καὶ γὰρ οὐ σιγηλὸς εἶ: *OC* 547 ἐγὼ φράσω. καὶ γὰρ ἀνους ἐφόνευσ' (explanatory): *E.HF.* 632 καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἀναίνομαι

θεράπευμα τέκνων: *Ion* 276 καὶ γὰρ οὐ κάμνω σχολῆ: *Ar.Eg.* 253 καὶ γὰρ οἶδε τὰς ὁδοὺς: *Hdt.* vi 108.1 (καὶ γὰρ καί): *Pl.Smp.* 192A μέγα δὲ τεκμήριον καὶ γὰρ . . . (explanatory): *Euthphr.* 12A καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ χαλεπὸν κατανοῆσαι ὃ λέγω: *Pl.Phd.* 57A, 86D: *R.* 441 A: *D.* xviii 138, 269: xix 198. Isocrates, as R. W. Chapman points out, often uses καὶ γάρ 'in sentences which disclaim an absurdity, inconsistency, or the like; the absurdity being expressed by εἰ or by μὲν . . . δέ': in 181 καὶ γὰρ αἰσχροὺς ἰδίᾳ μὲν . . . δημοσίᾳ δέ: x141 καὶ γὰρ ἄλογον, εἰ . . . : in 160: xii 64: xiv 52, 53: *id.saepr.* Cf. *D.* xix 267 καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ ὑπερφυῖες εἴη.

Often in answers, in Plato. *Cri.* 43B Καὶ γὰρ ἂν πλημμελὲς εἴη: *R.* 431B Καὶ γὰρ ἔοικεν: 433C Καὶ γὰρ ἀνάγκη: *Grg.* 459A Ἐλεγε . . . —Καὶ γὰρ ἔλεγον (assentient: 'Yes, I did say so'): *Chrm.* 165C: *Euthd.* 287B: *R.* 377E.

(3) (It is not always easy to determine whether the two καί's are really correlative.) *S.El.* 1167 καὶ γὰρ ἠνίκ' ἦσθ' ἄνω . . . καὶ νῦν ποθῶ: *Pl.Phd.* 66C καὶ γὰρ πολέμους καὶ στάσεις καὶ μάχας οὐδὲν ἄλλο παρέχει ἢ τὸ σῶμα: *Cra.* 395B καὶ γὰρ κατὰ τὸ ἀτειρὲς καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἄτρεστον καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἀτηρόν: *R.* 450C καὶ γὰρ ὡς δυνατὰ λέγεται, ἀπιστοῖτ' ἂν, καὶ . . . ὡς ἄριστ' ἂν εἴη ταῦτα: *X.Mem.* iii 1.6 καὶ γὰρ παρασκευαστικὸν τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν στρατηγὸν εἶναι χρή, καὶ ποριωτικὸν . . . καὶ μηχανικὸν καὶ ἐργαστικόν: *D.* xviii 171 εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἀμφοτέρω ταῦτα, καὶ εὐνοὺς τῇ πόλει καὶ πλουσίους, οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὰς μεγάλας ἐπιδόσεις ἐπιδόντες: καὶ γὰρ εὐνοία καὶ πλούτῳ τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν: *Isoc.* ii. 18: viii 19: xv 168: *D.* 123: xviii 144: xix 36.

In *Hdt.* vi 86β2 γάρ is appositional (cf. γάρ, III.9): βούλομαι . . . ποιέειν πᾶν τὸ δίκαιον, καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἔλαβον, ὀρθῶς ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ εἴ γε ἀρχὴν μὴ ἔλαβον, νόμοισι . . . χρῆσομαι: probably καὶ . . . καὶ is 'both . . . and . . .', and there is anacoluthon.

II. But sometimes, in answers, καί is the connective, and καὶ γάρ means 'yes, and', or 'and further'. Usually, the particles are followed by a pronoun, or by a word repeated from the preceding speech: sometimes by both. There is often ellipse of the verb. *A.Ag.* 1255 Καὶ μὴν ἄγαν γ' Ἑλλην' ἐπίσταμαι φάτιν.—Καὶ γὰρ τὰ πυθόκραντα: δυσμαθῆ δ' ὅμως ('Aye, and so are Pytho's oracles (spoken in Greek)'): *E.Ph.* 611 ὦ πάτερ, κλύεις ἃ πάσχω;—Καὶ

γὰρ οἷα δρᾶς κλύει: *IA641* ὦ πάτερ, ἐσειδὼν σ' ἀσμένῃ πολλῶ χρόνῳ.—Καὶ γὰρ πατήρ σέ: *Ar.Eg.1088* ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐμοὶ χρησμός . . .—Καὶ γὰρ ἐμοί: *1092* Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ εἶδον ὄναρ . . .—*Nῆ Δία* καὶ γὰρ ἐγώ: *Lys.12* νενομίσμεθα εἶναι πανοῦργοι—Καὶ γὰρ ἐσμεν νῆ Δία: *1181* Τοῖσι γῶν ναι τῶ σιῶ ἀμοῖσι.—Καὶ γὰρ ναι μὰ Δία *Καρυστίοις*: *Pl.Grg.467B* Οὐκ ἄρτι ὠμολόγεις . . .;—Καὶ γὰρ νῦν ὁμολογῶ: *Thit.145D* Προθυμοῦμαί γε δὴ (μανθάνειν).—Καὶ γὰρ ἐγώ, ὦ παῖ ('Why, so do I': *La.191A*: *R.473B*): *Smpr.214B* χαίρει.—Καὶ γὰρ σύ: *R.430C* Ἀποδέχομαι τοίνυν τοῦτο ἀνδρείαν εἶναι.—Καὶ γὰρ ἀποδέχου, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, πολιτικὴν γε: *465A* Ὀρθῶς, ἔφη.—Καὶ γὰρ τόδε ὀρθὸν ἔχει, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, οὗτος ὁ νόμος: *506D* ἀρκέσει γὰρ ἡμῖν . . .—Καὶ γὰρ ἐμοί . . . καὶ μάλα ἀρκέσει: *Euthphr.14A* Πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ (οἱ θεοὶ ἀπεργάζονται) . . .—Καὶ γὰρ οἱ στρατηγοί, ὦ φίλε: *Euthd. 298D* Καὶ γὰρ σύ, ἔφη. . .—Καὶ γὰρ σοί, ἔφη: *Hr.Ma.285A* Ἔστι δέ γε Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὡς σὺ φῆς, ὠφελιμώτερον . . .—Καὶ ἀληθῆ γε λέγω.—Καὶ γὰρ ὅτι τὰ ὠφελιμώτερα νομιμώτερά ἐστι, καὶ τοῦτο λέγεις . . .; *Prm.148C* Ἔχει . . . καὶ τοιοῦτον λόγον.—Καὶ γὰρ τόνδε ἔχει: *X.An.v8.11* ἤττόν τι ἀπέθανεν . . .;—Καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς . . . πάντες ἀποθανοῦμεθα: *Pl.Grg.495B*: *Chrm.161E*: *La.195C*: *Sph.231A*: *R.333A,340A*: *X.Mem.iii 7.8*.

Whether *καὶ γάρ* (as distinct from *καὶ γὰρ οὖν*, *καὶ γὰρ τοι*, for which see below) is ever so used in continuous speech, may be questioned. In *And.i 101* *καὶ γὰρ νῦν* seems to mean 'For that is what he is doing now' (*καί* going closely with *νῦν*, and emphasizing it): not 'And that . . .' *D.xxxiv 33* λέγει δ' ὡς ἡ συγγραφὴ . . . αὐτὸν ἀποδοῦναι κελεύει τὰ χρήματα. καὶ γὰρ ἐνθέσθαι τάγοράσματα εἰς τὴν ναῦν κελεύει σε. But virtually speaking this is dialogue (*παρενθέσθαι*, for *γὰρ ἐνθέσθαι*, *SD*), and so is *Arist.Pol.1280a 13*. In *Lys.xxxi 10* *καίτοι*, or *καίτοι γε*, for *καὶ γάρ*, seems pretty certainly right.

*καὶ . . . γάρ*. Where the particles are separated, *καί* usually goes closely with the following word or words. *E.Ba.333* *καὶ μὴ γὰρ ἐστὶν . . . παρὰ σοὶ λεγέσθω*: *Ar.Lys.801* Τὴν λόχμην πολλὴν φορεῖς.—Καὶ *Μυρωνίδης* γὰρ ἦν τραχὺς ἐντεῦθεν ('Yes, for *Myronides* too . . .'): *Pi.O.7.48*: *Ar.Eg.1201*. But sometimes there is a closer connexion between the particles. *Hom.p 317* *καὶ ἴχνησι γὰρ περιήδη* (where the sense, in the context, must

be 'for in fact he was a skilled tracker', not 'for he was skilled at tracking too'): *Ar.V.781* καὶ λέγεται γὰρ τουτογί ('for in fact they say this'): *S.Ph.527* (I think, but see *Jebb*).

In the following *καί* is answered by *καί*: *E.Fr.365* καὶ δεῖ γὰρ αὐτῆς κάστιν αὖ κακὸν μέγα ('for she is both a necessity and a plague'): *Or.1089* καὶ συγκατέκτανον γὰρ . . . καὶ πάντ' ἐβούλευσ' (where, however, the two *καί*'s are perhaps not co-ordinated).

For *καὶ γὰρ* δὴ see *γὰρ* δὴ.

### Οὐδὲ γάρ: οὐδὲ . . . γάρ

This is the negative counterpart of *καὶ γάρ*. Here again either (I) the second particle, or, more rarely, (II) the first, may be the connective.

I. *Hom.ψ266* οὐ μὲν τοι θυμὸς κεχαρήσεται· οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὸς χαίρω (though this might conceivably be classed under II): *X.An.v 5.9* ἀξιούμεν . . . ἀγαθὸν μὲν· τι πάσχειν, κακὸν δὲ μηδέν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν πώποτε ὑπῆρξαμεν κακῶς ποιῶντες: *Isoc.v 27* 'The written word suffers in comparison with the spoken. ἄπερ καὶ τὸν νῦν ἐπιδεικνύμενον (λόγον) μάλιστ' ἂν βλάψει . . . οὐδὲ γὰρ ταῖς περὶ τὴν λέξιν εὐρυθμίαις . . . κεκοσμήκαμεν αὐτόν' ('for I haven't ornamented it, either'. An added reason: cf. vii 53): *v 114* λέγω δ' οὐχ ὡς δυνησόμενον . . . σε . . . οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν τῶν θεῶν ἔνιοι δυνηθεῖεν: viii 137 ('for no other city will wrong them, any more than you will'): xii 245: xvi 36: *Pl.R.506B*.

II. Like the corresponding use of *καὶ γάρ*, this is confined to answers,<sup>1</sup> and is associated with *ἐγώ*, and with word-echoes. *E.El.580* Οὐδέποτε δόξασ'.—Οὐδ' ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤλπισα: *Ar.Lys.130* Οὐκ ἂν ποιήσαιμ'. . .—Μὰ Δί' οὐδ' ἐγὼ γάρ: *Ec.344* Οὐκ οὖν λαβεῖν γ' αὐτὰς ἐδυνάμην οὐδαμοῦ.—Μὰ τὸν Διόνυσον οὐδ' ἐγὼ γὰρ τὰς ἐμάς: *Pl.Philb.22C* τὴν γε Φιλήβου θεὸν οὐ δεῖ διανοεῖσθαι ταῦτον καὶ τὰγαθόν . . .—Οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ σὸς νοῦς . . . ἔστι τὰγαθόν ('Well, and your "Mind" isn't the Good, either'): *Euthphr.13C* Μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἔγωγε (συγχωρήσαιμ' ἂν).—Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐγὼ . . . οἶμαί σε τοῦ λέγειν: *R.424D* ὡς . . . κακὸν οὐδὲν ἐργαζομένη.—Οὐδὲ ἐργάζεται: *X.Mem.14.9* οὐ γὰρ ὀρῶ τοὺς κυρίους . . .—Οὐδὲ τὴν σαυτοῦ σύ γε ψυχὴν ὀρῶς: *Pl.Euthd.292A*: *Hr.M.*

<sup>1</sup> In *E.Hipp.1005* γάρ can be taken as causal.

(In Hom.θ159 it might appear that οὐ γὰρ . . . οὐδέ introduces a new point: 'I am too depressed to join in the games'.—'And you don't look like an athlete, either' (cf. the relationship between οὐ μὴν οὐδέ and οὐδέ μὴν). But far more probably there is a loose causal connexion.)

For οὐδέ γὰρ οὐδέ, see οὐδέ.

It will be convenient to examine καὶ γὰρ οὖν and καὶ γὰρ τοι in this place, since a division of senses analogous to that observed in καὶ γὰρ and οὐδέ γὰρ obtains here also.

### Καὶ γὰρ οὖν

I. Connective γάρ. A.Ag.524 ἀλλ' εὖ νιν ἀσπάσασθε, καὶ γὰρ οὖν πρέπει: S.Ant.489: E.Heracl.202: Pl.R. 495C Καὶ γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη, τὰ γε λεγόμενα ταῦτα (assentient): Democr.Fr.182: Pl.Phd. 86B: Sph.223C: Lg.711C: Prt.340A: Simp.221D: La.184B.

II. In Xenophon (there are no examples of this use in any other author), καὶ γὰρ οὖν appears always to be nearly equivalent to τοιγαροῦν: 'and in consequence'. Six out of the eight instances come from the *Anabasis*.

An.i.9.8 ἐπέδειξεν αὐτὸν ὅτι περὶ πλείστου ποιοῖτο . . . μηδὲν ψεύδεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἐπίστευον μὲν αὐτῷ αἱ πόλεις: 12 'He rewarded both injuries and benefits. καὶ γὰρ οὖν πλείστοι δὲ αὐτῷ . . . ἐπεθύμησαν . . . τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα προέσθαι': 17 'He rewarded just-dealing. καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἄλλα τε πολλὰ δικαίως αὐτῷ διεχειρίζετο καὶ στρατεύματι ἀληθινῷ ἐχρήσατο' (here καὶ γὰρ οὖν is precisely parallel to τοιγαροῦν in 15): vii.6.37 'I have done my best to save you from the enmity of the Greeks. καὶ γὰρ οὖν νῦν ὑμῖν ἔξεστιν ἀνεπιλήπτως πορεύεσθαι ὅπη ἂν ἔλησθε' ('and, as a result of what I have done . . .'): Cyr.vii.3.10: An.ii.6.13: v.8.17.

In an answer. Simp.2.20 ἐχειρονόμου δὲ . . . —Νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Φίλιππος, καὶ γὰρ οὖν οὕτω τὰ σκέλη τοῖς ὤμοις φαίνει ἰσηφόρα ἔχειν. ὥστε . . . ('and, as a result of your exercises . . .').

(The form καὶ γὰρ οὖν δὴ is not attested by Pl.Hp.Ma.297E, where δὴ coheres with the following τι.)

### Καὶ γὰρ τοι

This combination is almost confined to the Attic orators: <sup>1</sup> it is fairly common in Lysias, Isocrates, and Demosthenes: and there is one instance in Aeschines.

I. Connective γάρ. (Some of these passages might possibly be classed under II.<sup>2</sup>) D.xix.56 ὑποσχέσεσιν . . . αἰσπερ οἱ Φωκεῖς πιστεύσαντες ἀπώλοντο. καὶ γὰρ τοι παραδόντες αὐτοὺς Φιλίππῳ . . . ἀπάντων τῶν ἐναντίων ὧν πρὸς ὑμᾶς οὗτος ἀπήγγειλ' ἔτυχον: Lys.xxvii.10 (confirming §9 οὔτοι . . . πένητες): D.xiii.22: xix.325: xxiii.198,200: li.14,22: Aeschin.iii.191.

II. 'And in consequence': or 'and in fact', 'and further'. It is sometimes difficult to decide between the two renderings. But the notion of 'consequence' is almost always appropriate, and is sometimes demanded by the context. R. W. Chapman observes that in Isocrates καὶ γὰρ τοι 'rather states a consequence than assigns a reason'. Hesychius glosses καὶ γὰρ τοι by τοιγαροῦν.

Lys.ii.26 'The arrival of the barbarians and the victory of our ancestors were announced simultaneously. καὶ γὰρ τοι οὐδεὶς τῶν ἄλλων ἔδεισεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέλλοντος κινδύνου, ἀλλ' ἀκούσαντες ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν ἐλευθερίας ἠσθησαν' ('And, as a result'): Isoc.v.108 'Philip the Great knew how to treat Hellenes and barbarians. καὶ γὰρ τοι συνέβη διὰ τὸ γνῶναι περὶ τούτων αὐτὸν ἰδίως καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν γεγενῆσθαι πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξηλλαγμένην': vii.30 (καὶ γὰρ τοι καὶ) 'Your ancestors knew what true piety means. καὶ γὰρ τοι καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν οὐκ ἐμπλήκτως οὐδέ παραχωδῶς αὐτοῖς συνέβαινε ἀλλ' εὐκαίρως': D.ix.58 οἱ ταλαίπωροι . . . Ἐρετριεῖς τελευτῶντες ἐπέισθησαν τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λέγοντας ἐκβαλεῖν. καὶ γὰρ τοι πέμψας Ἰππόνικον ὁ σύμμαχος αὐτοῖς Φίλιππος καὶ ξένους χιλίους, τὰ τεῖχη περιεῖλε τοῦ Πορθμοῦ καὶ τρεῖς κατέστησε τυράννους: xix.137 'The King of Persia bribed

<sup>1</sup> Thgn. 525: X.Cyr.i.1.4. In A.Ag.1040 καὶ παῖδα γὰρ τοι: Pl.Eur.1040: 18 καὶ ἐμοὺ γὰρ τοι: Grg.498E καὶ δις γὰρ τοι καὶ τρίς: X.Cyr.v.1.16 καὶ π. . . τοι there is no cohesion between καὶ and γάρ. The negative form οὐδέ γάρ τοι in Pl.Grg.488C,506A: A.595C.

<sup>2</sup> Decision is, in fact, often very difficult. Tournier (Ann. de Phil. vii (1883) 33-44) discusses all the Demosthenic examples, citing the renderings of Voemel and Schaefer, and concluding that in all of them καὶ γὰρ τοι means 'therefore': in xix.56 he suggests καὶ γὰρ οὔτοι.

Timagoras, but afterwards found he had backed the wrong horse. *καὶ γάρ τοι* he restored Amphipolis to you, and never bribed anyone again': xxiv 140 'The Locrians make the proposer of a new law speak with a halter round his neck. *καὶ γάρ τοι καινοῦς μὲν οὐ τολμῶσι τιθέναι, τοῖς δὲ πάλαι κειμένοις ἀκριβῶς χρῶνται*': Lys. ii 20, 63, 79, 80: xxx 4: Isoc. ii 4: vii 35, 69: x 37: xv 286: D. iv 6: viii 66: xviii 99: xix 141: xx 69, 91: xxi 150: xxiii 104, 206: lxi 29.

It is exceedingly difficult to account for the idea of consequence so often contained in *καὶ γὰρ οὖν* and *καὶ γάρ τοι*. In *τοιγαροῦν* and *τοιγάρτοι*, to which these combinations approximate closely in their usage, the initial *τοι-* (= τῶ or τῷ) gives the connexion.<sup>1</sup>

## Γε

Γε has been connected with the Sanskrit particles *gha* and *ha*, and the Gothic *k* in *mi-k*. (Kühner, II ii 171, and authorities there quoted: Neil, Appendix I to Aristophanes, *Knights*, p. 185: Brugmann § 613.)

(1) The essential force of the particle appears to be concentration. It serves to focus the attention upon a single idea, and place it, as it were, in the limelight: differing thus from *δή*, which emphasizes the reality of a concept (though in certain respects the usages of the two particles are similar). From this original use, to describe which we may borrow Hartung's term 'determinative', two others are easily derived.

(2) Concentration entails limitation. Hence γε frequently has a restrictive force. The speaker or writer confines the applicability of his statement within certain limits. In some contexts he implies that its applicability beyond those limits is conceivable: and then the common rendering 'at least' is on

<sup>1</sup> It would be a counsel of despair to suggest that *καὶ γὰρ οὖν* and *καὶ γάρ τοι* express, in certain passages, a double connexion, 'and therefore', *τοι* being here really equivalent to τῶ (τῷ), as in *τοιγάρτοι*, but losing its accent under the influence of the other usage, in which *τοι* is an enclitic auxiliary.

the right lines, though it gives excessive weight to the particle, which should rather be rendered in English by an inflexion of the voice, or by italics. In others, he implies the impossibility of such an extension, and has in mind a contrasted case: 'We don't do this in *Oxford* (but you evidently do in *Cambridge*)'. γε then approximates to μὲν in force, *quidem* covering both in Latin. But the view-point of γε and μὲν is not quite the same. γε shuts itself up in the house, while μὲν, even when it is termed 'solitary', looks at a neighbour, real or imaginary, over the garden wall.

(3) We naturally tend, in describing anything, to concentrate our attention on those of its qualities which are present in a marked degree. Hence, in the case of adjectives and adverbs, and, to a lesser extent, of verbs, the idea of intensification accompanies that of concentration.

γε thus bears three forces, which may be illustrated by the varying inflexion given to the adjective in the following sentences. (1) Determinative. 'He is a *good* man'. (I am not concerned with his non-ethical qualities.) (2) Limitative. 'He is a *good* man.' (But not, or perhaps not, a clever one.) (3) Intensive. 'He is a *good* man.' (A very good man.) The stress is the same, or approximately so, in the three instances. But the pitch varies. To take another example: 'Have you been to those places I recommended?' (1) Determinative. 'I've been to *Paris*.' (This interests me so much that I can't bother to talk about the rest.) The pitch is high. (2) Limitative. 'I've been to *Paris*.' (Quite apart from whether I've been to the rest, and you may guess that I haven't.) The pitch is lower.

The test of pitch is, I think, of value in classifying the uses of γε. But γε is one of the subtlest and most elusive of particles, and any classification must necessarily be approximate. It will be convenient to adopt a two-fold division, between Determinative and Intensive γε (which may be grouped together as **Emphatic**) on the one hand, and Limitative γε on the other.

I. **Emphatic** (Determinative and Intensive). This use plays a bigger part than some scholars allow: hence they (and the copyists have sometimes been before them) often eject this γε summarily from the texts, or force it down upon the Procrustean bed of limitation. It therefore needs fuller illus:

the more familiar limitative γε. To illustrate it adequately, we must go to drama and prose dialogue. R. W. Chapman remarks of γε in general (and the observation is peculiarly true of emphatic γε) that it is a particle of conversation, of question and reply. Thus it tends to come near the beginning of the first sentence of a speech. In the Republic Myth (614B-621B) there is only one γε, and that in the first sentence. On the whole, γε is frequent in rapid dialogue, rare in long speeches.

Emphatic γε is but rarely to be met with in historians and orators, except in combination with other particles (and sometimes, in the livelier passages of oratory, in the particular 'exclamatory' form: see (10)). We have here one among many instances of a lively, conversational particle tending to be restricted in formal prose within certain stereotyped limits.

(1) General use. (i) In general, unsupported by a connecting particle.<sup>1</sup>

Hom.E446 Περγάμῳ εἰν ἱερῇ, ὅθι οἱ νηὸς γ' ἐτέτυκτο ('where his temple was'): Z479 καὶ ποτέ τις εἶποι "πατρός γ' ὅδε πολλὸν ἀμείνων" (where γε almost means 'even': a limitative force would attribute undue humility to Hector): K59 τοῖσιν γὰρ ἐπετράπομέν γε μάλιστα: 1458 τῷ κέ οἱ ἐγκέφαλός γε . . . ραίοιτο: ξ325 καὶ νῦ κεν ἐς δεκάτην γενεὴν ἕτερόν γ' ἔτι βόσκοι ('support even another'): ρ244 τῷ κέ τοι ἀγλαΐας γε διασκεδάσειεν ἀπάσας: Thgn.1274 ἐκ δὲ θυελλῶν ἡκά γ' ἐνωρμίσθη: Simon. Fr.13.16 εἰ δέ τοι δεινὸν τό γε δεινὸν ἦν: S.Aj.476 προσθεῖσα κἀναθεῖσα τοῦ γε καθανεῖν (where δὴ *ratheticum* would be more natural): Tr.945 οὐ γὰρ ἐσθ' ἢ γ' αὔριον, πρὶν εὖ παρῆ τις τὴν παροῦσαν ἡμέραν: Ph.584 πόλλ' ἐγὼ κείνων ὑπο δρῶν ἀντιπάσχω χρηστά γ', οἷ' ἀνὴρ πένης (θ' Dobree): 895 τί δῆτ' ἂν δρῶμ' ἐγὼ τούνθενδε γε; ('next': concentration on the future. Text uncertain): OC79 οἶδε γὰρ κρινοῦσί γε εἰ χρή σε μίμνειν ('they shall judge': σοι (for γε) Lac): E.Cyc.195 ποῖ χρὴ φυγεῖν;—Ἔσσω πέτρας τῆσδ' οὐπὲρ ἂν λάθοιτέ γε ('where you won't be seen'): 566 Λαβῶν, ξέν', αὐτὸς οἶνοχόος γέ μου γενοῦ (λάβ', ὦ . . . τε Dobree): Med.124 ἐμοὶ γοῦν ἐν μὴ μεγάλοις ὀχυρῶς γ' εἶη καταγηράσκειν (γ' Reiske, τ' *codd.*):

<sup>1</sup> In many of these passages a connecting particle occurs shortly before: but I do not trace any coherence, as in (ii), between the connective and the γε.

1132 Ἐχω τι κάγῳ τοῖς γε σοῖς ἐναντίον λόγοισιν εἰπεῖν: Hes.602 δίδαξιν ἐσθλοῦ τοῦτο δ' ἦν τις εὖ μάθη, οἶδεν τό γ' αἰσχρόν, κανόνι τοῦ καλοῦ μαθῶν ('he knows the bad as well'): 848 φίλους τιθέντες τοὺς γε πολεμιωτάτους ('their bitterest foes': cf. the use of δὴ with superlatives): Supp.206 ὡς τὰ γ' ἐκ γαίας τρέφῃ: El.101 ὡς συγγένωμαι καὶ φόνου ξυνεργάτιν λαβῶν τὰ γ' εἶσω τειχέων σαφῶς μάθω (Paley makes γε limitative: wrongly, I think): HF631 ὦδ' ἔβητ' ἐπὶ ξυροῦ; ἄξω λαβῶν γε τούσδ' ἐφολκίδας χεροῖν: IT200 ἐνθεν τῶν πρόσθεν δμαθέντων Τανταλιδᾶν ἐκβαίνει ποινά γ' εἰς οἴκους: 414 φίλα γὰρ ἐλπίς γ', ἐπὶ τε πῆμασιν βροτῶν ἄπληστος (γ' ἐπὶ τε Murray: γένετ' ἐπὶ LP): Hel.1038 ἐσφέρεις γὰρ ἐλπίδας ὡς δὴ τι δράσων χρηστὸν ἐς κοινόν γε νῶν ('to both of us'): IA900 Οὐκ ἐπαιδεσθήσομαί γε προσπεσεῖν τὸ σὸν γόνυ (*fortasse* κούκ Murray): Ag.Eg.384 Ἦν ἄρα πυρός γ' ἕτερα θερμότερα: 413 ἡ μάτην γ' ἂν . . . ἐκτραφείην: Nu.295 νυνὶ γ' ἦδη ('this very moment'): 1217 ὅτε τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ γ' ἔνεκα νυνὶ χρημάτων . . . ('my own money': γε should not, I think, be taken closely with ὅτε): V.833 αὐτὸς κομιοῦμαι τό γε παραυτίκ' ἐνδοθεν ('right now'): Pax.625 κᾶτα τάκεινων γε κέρδη τοῖς γεωργοῖς ἦν κακά ('their gains'): 894 Ἐπειτ' ἀγῶνά γ' εὐθύς ἐξέσται ποιεῖν: 1074 Τοῖσδ' ἀλσί γε παστέα ταυτί: Av.378 αὐτίχ' αἰ πόλεις παρ' ἀνδρῶν γ' ἔμαθον ἐχθρῶν κού φίλων (emphasis on ἐχθρῶν): 642 πρῶτον δέ γε εἰσέλθετ' ἐς νεοττίαν γε τὴν ἐμήν: Hp.Epid.i.1 τὸ ζύνολον ἐς γε χειμῶνα ὀκοῖον ἦρ γίγνεται: Art.50 καὶ μὴ εὖ ἐξίπουται τῇ γε ἀλθέξει: Aff.11 ἡ γλῶσσα . . . μέλαινα γίγνεται τοῦ πνεύματος ὑπό γε θερμότητος: Vict.80 καὶ τῶν βοτρυῶν . . . ἐμπορεῖσθαι ἐν γε τοῖσι σιτίοισι: Philol.Fr.6 ἀ φύσις θείαν γα καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνην ἐνδέχεται γνῶσιν: Pl.Grg.504E 'The true orator will try to implant justice in his hearers' souls'.—'Yes'.—Τί γὰρ ὄφελος . . . σώματί γε κάμνοντι καὶ μοχθηρῶς διακειμένῳ σιτία πολλὰ δίδοναι καὶ τὰ ἥδιστα . . .; ('For in the case of *badly* sickness . . .': γε emphasizes the appositeness of the comparison): 515B Φιλόδικος εἶ . . .—Ἄλλ' οὐ φιλονικία γ' ἐρωτῶ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀληθῶς βουλόμενος εἶδέναι (here γε stresses the denied idea, in contrast with the affirmed. Distinguish Thl.165B, where γε is limitative: Οὐ φήσω οἶμαι τούτῳ γε (τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ ὄραν), τῷ μέντοι ἐτέρῳ: the denial of vision is limited to the case of the one eye): Grg. 517E τέχνη . . . ἢ δὴ τῷ ὄντι γε ἐστὶν σώματος

θεραπεία ('an art which is *really* . . .': contrasted with *δόξαι* . . . θεραπευτήν εἶναι σώματος just before): *Thit.*187D ἄρτι γὰρ οὐ κακῶς γε . . . ἐλέγετε: *Smp* 185A δοκεῖ γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος τό γε αὐτοῦ ἐπιδείξαι ('A man like that reveals his *own* character'. The light that the incident throws on the other party's character does not concern us): 220D τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ δίκαιόν γε αὐτῷ ἀποδοῦναι ('It's only *fair* to grant him that): *Chrm.*163B οὐκ οἶσθαί γε χρῆ ('Don't you believe it!' cf. *Cri.*53D,54B): *La.* 189E δῆλον ὅτι αὐτό γε ἴσμεν τοῦτο ('If we know how to produce anything, we must, *ex hypothesi*, know the thing *itself*'. Cf. 190A δῆλον ὅτι ὄψιν γε ἴσμεν αὐτὴν ὅτι ποτ' ἐστίν. In neither case is γε limitative, *sc.* 'whatever else we don't know'. Here again, in English, the stress is accompanied by a high, not a low pitch): *Men.*71B δὲ δὲ μὴ οἶδα τί ἐστίν, πῶς ἂν ὁποῖόν γέ τι εἰδείην; ('How can I know what it is *like*?'): *Euthd.*302D Ἄλλ' ἄρκεῖ γε ('Well, that's good *enough*'): *Alc.*1105A ᾧ καὶ γνώση ὅτι προσέχων γέ σοι τὸν νοῦν διατετέλεκα ('that I have throughout paid much *attention* to you'): *Phlb.*19D φῆς . . . τὸ προσρηθησόμενον ὀρθῶς ἄμεινον ἡδονῆς γε ἀγαθὸν εἶναι νοῦν ('what may correctly be called *better than pleasure*): *X.Oec.*21.7 πρὸς ὄντινα . . ., οὗτοι δὲ ἐρρωμένοι γε ἄρχοντες γίγνονται: *Lac.*2.7 καὶ ὡς μὲν οὐκ ἀπορῶν ὅ τι δοίη ἐφήκεν αὐτοῖς γε μηχανᾶσθαι τὴν τροφήν, οὐδένα οἶμαι τοῦτο ἀγνοεῖν ('left it to the boys *themselves*': τό (for γε) Weiske): *Lys.*xxx123 ὅστις γὰρ περὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ἀναγκαίους τοιαῦτα ἀμαρτάνει ἀμαρτήματα, τί ἂν περὶ γε τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους ποιήσειεν; ('what is he likely to do in the case of *strangers*?') *A fortiori*: cf. *ib.* 10<sup>1</sup>): *D.*xviii 190 ἦν . . . ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς τοῦ γε φροντίζοντος ἀνδρὸς τῆς πόλεως: xix 191 οἱ

<sup>1</sup> Here we have a positive *a fortiori* statement of the form 'if A is true, B will certainly be true'. For γε in negative *a fortiori* statements, see II. 5: 'if A is not true, certainly B will not be true' (there γε is restrictive, the implication being that B anyhow can be denied, even if, contrary to expectation, A *might* be true. ('Certainly', like γε, can be either purely emphatic or restrictive.) *Lys.*xxx123 can be converted into a negative *a fortiori* statement thus: 'If he does not refrain from such actions in the case of his relatives, he certainly won't refrain from them in the case of *strangers*'.

This distinction may appear pedantic: but it is based on a real difference in the thought, as can be seen from the different pitch given to 'strangers' in the two sentences: high in the positive, where γε is emphatic, low in the negative, where it is restrictive (cf. p. 115).

ἀδικοῦντες δηλονότι τὰς ὄλης γε τῆς πατρίδος σπονδὰς . . . οὐ μόνον τὰς ἰδίας: *Pl.R.*529A: *Prm.*132B,158B: *Lg.*645C (line 6), 746E,805D.

(ii) Determinative γε is most commonly found after connecting particles. Whether these express disjunction, opposition, progression, or inference, γε serves to define more sharply the new idea introduced: 'this, and nothing else.' I reserve καὶ . . . γε and δέ γε, δὲ . . . γε for separate treatment. For further examples of the combinations illustrated below, see the various connectives in question, and also V below.

ἢ (ἢτοι) . . . γε (in either limb of a disjunction). *Hom.*δ546 ἢ γὰρ μιν ζῶν γε κιχήσει, ἢ . . .: *S.Aj.*1312 μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς σῆς ὑπὲρ γυναικός, ἢ τοῦ σοῦ γ' ὀμαίμονος λέγω (γ' Bothe: θ' *codd.*): *E.Med.*1296 (Elmsley's γε for σφε is probably right): *Ion* 431 ἢτοι φιλοῦσά γ' . . . ἢ καὶ τι σιγῶσ': *Rh.*623 ἢ σὺ κτεῖνε . . . ἢ 'μοὶ πάρες γε ('or leave it to *me*): 817 ἢτοι μάραγνά γ' ἢ καραμιστῆς μόρος: *Pl.Grg.*467E ἢτοι ἀγαθὸν γ' ἐστίν ἢ κακόν: *Prt.* 331B ὅτι ἢτοι ταῦτόν γ' ἐστίν . . . ἢ ὅτι ὁμοιότατον: *Thit.*182D ἄρα ποτε οἶόν τέ τι προσειπεῖν χρῶμα . . .;—Καὶ τίς μηχανή, ᾧ Σώκρατες; ἢ ἄλλο γέ τι τῶν τοιούτων . . .; ('or anything *else* of the kind'): *Hr.Ma.*301A ἢ σοφοὶ ἢ τίμιοι ἢ γέροντές γε ἢ νέοι: *Phd.*76A: *Thit.*189E.

ἀλλὰ . . . γε. *Ag.Nu.*401 ἀλλὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ γε νεῶν βάλλει ('but he strikes his *own* temple'): 676 ἀλλ' ἐν θυεῖα στρογγύλη γ' ἂν ἐμάττετο: *Pl.Euthphr.*8E 'They agree on the general principle'.—'Yes.'—'Ἄλλ' ἕκαστόν γε, οἶμαι, . . . τῶν πραχθέντων ἀμφισβητοῦσιν ('but they differ about the *individual* action'): 12B Οὐ δοκεῖ μοι εἶναι "ἵνα δέος ἐνθα καὶ αἰδῶς" . . . Ἄλλ' ἵνα γε αἰδῶς ἐνθα καὶ δέος εἶναι (stressing the correct view, as opposed to the incorrect: cf. 12C ἀλλ' ἵνα μὲν αἰδῶς ἐνθα καὶ δέος, οὐ μέντοι ἵνα γε δέος πανταχοῦ αἰδῶς: stressing the incorrect as opposed to the correct): *Cra.*417D Ἄλλὰ "βλαβερόν" γε καὶ "ζημιῶδες": *Phd.*74A,81C,103D,107C: *Cra.*391A: *Thit.* 200A: *X.Mem.*12.49: *D.*xlv 48.

ἀτὰρ . . . γε. *Ag.Ach.*448 ἀτὰρ δέομαί γε πτωχικοῦ βακτηρίου: *V.*1514 ἀτὰρ καταβατέον γ': *Eg.*427: *Nu.*801: *Ec.*1067: *X.Oec.*21.1.

ἀλλὰ μὴν . . . γε. *D.*123 ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸν γε Παίονα . . . ἠγείσθαι χρῆ: *Pl.Cra.*386D,412B.



καὶ μὴν . . . γε. *E. Alc.* 713 Καὶ μὴν Διὸς γε μείζονα ζῶης χρόνον: *Hipp.* 862 καὶ μὴν τύποι γε . . . ('And look, the seal!'): *ib.* 589: *Ar. Ra.* 1198: *Pl. Cra.* 412A, 414A: *R.* 328D.

καίτοι . . . γε. *Pl. Lg.* 663E καίτοι μέγα γ' ἐστὶ νομοθέτη παράδειγμα: *Clit.* 407C καίτοι διὰ γε ταύτην . . . ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τὴν . . .

ἀλλὰ μὲν δὴ . . . γε. *Pl. Phd.* 75A. καὶ μὲν δὴ . . . γε. *Pl. Cra.* 396D. οὐ μὲν δὴ . . . γε. *X. An.* ii 4.6. οὐκοῦν . . . γε. *Pl. Phd.* 67D Οὐκοῦν τοῦτό γε θάνατος ὀνομάζεται . . .; *Cra.* 414B: *Grg.* 494B: *Philb.* 54C, 55A: *Hr. Mi.* 367E: *Alc. II* 138B.

ἄρα . . . γε. *Pl. Phd.* 93A Οὐκ ἄρα ἠγεῖσθαι γε προσήκει . . . ἀλλὰ ἔπεισθαι. For ἄρα γε, γε ἄρα see ἄρα, V.

Particular uses. (2) With adjectives and adverbs expressing number, size, and intensity, corresponding to the far more frequent use of δὴ. (This is not a striking or homogeneous class, and many of the examples can be grouped under other heads.)

*Ar. Ach.* 127 τοὺς δὲ ξενίζειν οὐδέποτε γ' ἴσχει θύρα: *Pl.* 892 διαρραγείης μηδενός γ' ἐμπλήμενος: *Hdt.* ix 57.1 Ἀμομφάρετος δὲ ἀρχὴν γε οὐδαμὰ δοκέων Πausanίην πολμήσειν (τε L: γε Schweighaeuser): *Pl. Thl.* 178E Νῆ Δί', ὦ μέλε: ἢ οὐδεὶς γ' ἂν αὐτῷ διελέγετο: *Ar. Av.* 1542 Ἄπαντά γ' ἄρ' αὐτῷ ταμιεύει; ('Does she manage everything for him, then?'): *Pl. Smpr.* 185B οὕτω πᾶν πάντως γε καλὸν ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα χαρίζεσθαι: *Phd.* 89D καὶ ἠγήσασθαι παντάπασί γ' ἀληθῆ εἶναι (τε B): *Euthphr.* 15B αὐτὸς ὦν πολὺ γε τεχνικώτερος (γε om. T): *X. Cyr.* ii 2.3 ὁ δὲ μάλα γε τοῦτο εὐτάκτως ὑπήκουσεν: *Hom.* O 383 ἢ γάρ τε μάλιστά γε κύματ' ὀφέλλει: Ψ 156 σοὶ γάρ τε μάλιστά γε λαὸς Ἀχαιῶν πείσονται μύθοισι: θ 453 τόφρα δέ οἱ κομιδὴ γε θεῶ ὡς ἔμπεδος ἦεν: *E. IT* 580 τὸ δ' εὖ μάλιστά γ' οὕτω γίγνεται: *Pl. Phdr.* 246E τούτοις δὴ τρέφεται τε καὶ αὔξεται μάλιστά γε τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς πτέρωμα (γε b: τε B: om. T): *S. El.* 1437 Δί' ὥτὸς ἂν παῦρα γ' ὡς ἠπίως ἐννέπειν . . . συμφέροι: *Ar. Ra.* 1136 Ἄλλ' ὀλίγον γέ μοι μέλει: *A. Ag.* 1656 πημονῆς δ' ἄλις γ' ὑπάρχει.

Rarely with numerals. *Pi. O.* 2.93 τεκεῖν μὴ τιν' ἑκατόν γε ἐτίων πόλιν . . . ἀνδρα: *Ar. V.* 680 Μὰ Δί' ἀλλὰ παρ' Εὐχαρίδου καὐτὸς τρεῖς γ' ἀγλιθας μετέπεμψα: *Lys.* 589 Καὶ μὴν ὦ παγκατάρατε πλεῖν ἢ γε διπλοῦν αὐτὸν (τὸν πόλεμον) φέρομεν ('our share in it is more than double'): *Pl.* 1083 διεσπλεκωμένη ὑπὸ

μυρίων ἐτῶν γε καὶ τρισχιλίων (order remarkable): *Din.* i 74 τότε διὰ τρεῖς γ' ἀνθρώπους οὓς εἶπον. . .

(3) With ἄλλος, in negative or virtually negative sentences. 'Nothing else': 'What else?'. *S. Tr.* 630 Τί δῆτ' ἂν ἄλλο γ' ἐννέποις; *Hdt.* i 49 οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν . . . ἄλλο γε ἢ ὅτι . . .: iii 37 ἐς τὸ οὐ θεμιτόν ἐστι εἰσέναι ἄλλον γε ἢ τὸν ἱρέα: *Pl. Prt.* 311E τί ὄνομα ἄλλο γε λεγόμενον περὶ Πρωταγόρου ἀκούομεν; *Hdt.* vi 868: vii 152.1: ix 8.2.

So also in set phrases: οὐδὲν ἄλλο γ' ἢ . . .: *A. Pers.* 209 ὁ δ' οὐδὲν ἄλλο γ' ἢ πτήξας δέμας παρείχε. τί δ' ἄλλο γ' ἢ . . .; *A. Th.* 852 τί φῶ; τί δ' ἄλλο γ' ἢ πόνοι πόνων . . .; *Ar. Nu.* 1287, 1495: *Pax* 103, 923: *Av.* 25: *Ra.* 198: *Ec.* 395: *Pl. Phdr.* 268B: *Phd.* 63D. τί δ' ἄλλο γ' εἰ μὴ . . .; *Ar. Eq.* 615: *X. Cyr.* ii 2.11. τί γὰρ ἄλλο γ' ἢ . . .; *Ar. Ec.* 771. τί ἄλλο γ' ἢ . . .; *Pl. Euthd.* 287E: *Men.* 73C. (In *Ar. Nu.* 1447 Kock's *τί δ' ἄλλο γ' ἢ ταῦτ' ἦν ποιῆς* is clearly right.)

Alternatively, the emphasis may fall, not on ἄλλος, which is understood, but on its correlative. And so we get, in Xenophon, τί δέ, εἰ μὴ . . . γε in questions. *Oec.* 9.1 ἢ γυνὴ ἐδόκει σοι . . . πῶς τι ὑπακούειν ὦν σὺ ἐσπούδαζες διδάσκων;—Τί δέ, εἰ μὴ ὑπισχνεῖτό γε ἐπιμελήσεσθαι καὶ φανερά ἦν ἠδομένη ἰσχυρῶς ('Why, of course she said she'd be careful'): 9.2: 9.18: 10.9: *Cyr.* 1.4.13.

The curious Aristophanic εἰ μὴ . . . γε ('merely') is probably derived, by a further ellipse, from the above. *Ar. Eq.* 186 μῶν ἐκ καλῶν εἴ κάγαθῶν:—Μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, εἰ μὴ 'κ πονηρῶν γ' ('Good gracious, no, I'm just a poor low-born fellow'): *Lys.* 943 Οὐχ ἠδὲ τὸ μύρον . . . τουτογί, εἰ μὴ διατριπτικόν γε: *Th.* 898 Αὐτῆ Θεονόη Πρωτέως.—Μὰ τὸ θεῶ εἰ μὴ Κριτυλλά γ' Ἀπτ:θεῶν ('it's only *Critylla*'). For other possible instances in Aristophanes, see Neil on *Eq.* 186. (For εἰ μὴ, without γε meaning 'just', cf. Philostr. *Imag.* 124.2.)

(4) With pronouns. Neil remarks (Appendix to *Κριτυλλῆ* p. 186) that 'in Homer γε occurs after pronouns much more than in other combinations. It is not very often second in the Homeric sentence or line: for here the favourite use is to have γε with the second of two pronouns . . . or with a pr.



preceded by a particle or particles'. B55 τοὺς δ γε συγκαλέσας: E301 τὸν κτάμεναι μεμαώς, ὃς τις τοῦ γ' ἀντίος ἔλθοι: A116 εἰ τό γ' ἄμεινον: 286 ναὶ δὴ ταῦτά γε πάντα . . . εἶπες: 320 ἀλλ' ὃ γε . . .: 342 ἦ γὰρ ὃ γ' ὀλοῖησι φρεσὶ θύει: ζ120 ἦ ῥ' οἷ γ' ὕβρισταί τε καὶ ἄγριοι. The formulae ἀλλ' ὃ γε, ἔνθ' ὃ γε are common. In Hesiod also γε is predominantly used with pronouns. Th.523 αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' ἦπαρ ἦσθιεν: 621 ἔνθ' οἷ γ' ἄλγε' ἔχοντες . . . ἦατ': Op.206 τὴν ὃ γ' ἐπικρατέως πρὸς μῦθον εἶπεν: Th.532 ταῦτά γ' ἄρ' ἀζόμενος: 605 ὃ γ' οὐ βιότου ἐπιδευῆς ζῶει: Op.265 οἷ γ' αὐτῷ κακὰ τεύχει ἀνήρ.

In later Greek, particularly in dialogue (dramatic, especially comic, and Platonic), this tendency of γε to attach itself to pronouns still persists, though to a less extent. Naturally, in many cases γε is limitative: but in many others it is determinative: often it seems to be otiose, the pronoun apparently requiring no stress, or at most a secondary stress. The same tendency occasionally shows itself in English, as when we say 'Not I', meaning 'I certainly did not'.

Mimn.Fr.13.6 εὐθ' ὃ γ' ἀνὰ προμάχους σεύαιθ': Thgn.560 ὥστε σε μήτε . . . μήτε σέ γ' . . .: 1031 τόλμα, θυμέ, . . . μηδὲ σύ γ' . . .: Simon.Fr.30.3 ἔτικτε δ' Ἄτλας ἐπτὰ ἰοπλοκάμων φιλᾶν θυγατρῶν τάν γ' ἔξοχον εἶδος: B.11.23 οὐκ εἶδέ νιν ἀέλιος κείνω γε σὺν ἄματι πρὸς γαῖα πεσόντα: A.Pr.934 Ἄλλ' ἄθλον ἂν σοι τοῦδέ γ' ἀλγίω πόροι ('even than this': τοῦδ' ἔτ' Elmsley, perhaps unnecessarily): S.Aj.519 ἐν σοὶ πᾶσ' ἔγωγε σώζομαι: 529 πάντ' ἔγωγε πείσομαι: Tr.321 καὶ συμφορὰ τοι μὴ εἶδέναι σέ γ' ἦτις εἶ: El.1146 οὔτε γὰρ ποτε μητρὸς σύ γ' ἦσθα μᾶλλον ἢ κάμου φίλος: Ant.789 καὶ σ' οὔτ' ἀθανάτων φύξιμος οὐδεὶς οὔθ' ἀμερίων σέ γ' ἀνθρώπων: Ph.1117 πότμος σε δαιμόνων τάδ', οὐδὲ σέ γε δόλος ἔσχ' ὑπὸ χειρὸς ἐμᾶς: E.Med.1056 μὴ δῆτα, θυμέ, μὴ σύ γ' ἐργάση τάδε (μὴ σύ γε is common: S.OC1441: E.Ph.532: Hec.408: Ion 439,1335: Ba.951: Pl.R.345B. So also μὴ 'μοί γε: Ar.Eq.18: Nu.84,433: V.1179,1400): Or. 1528 οὔτε γὰρ γυνὴ πέφυκας οὔτ' ἐν ἀνδράσιν σύ γ' εἶ: 1617 Σαυτὸν σύ γ' ἔλαβες: Supp.771 Δοκῶ μὲν, αὐταί γ' εἰσὶν αἱ διδάσκαλοι: Ar.Ach.108 Οὐκ, ἀλλ' ἀχάνας ὃδε γε χρυσοῦ λέγει: 1192 Ἄτταταὶ ἀτταταὶ στυγερὰ τάδε γε κρυερὰ πάθεια: Nu.785 Ἄλλ' εὐθύς ἐπιλήθει σύ γ': 1275 Οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως σύ γ' αὐτὸς ὑγιαίνει: V.144 Κάπνος ἔγωγ' ἐξέρχομαι ('I'm the smoke

going up'): 371 Διατέτρωκται τοῦτό γ': 518 Οὐ σύ γε ('Not you!'): 940 ἀλλ' ἔτι σύ γ' οὔρεις . . .; 953 Κλέπτῃς μὲν οὖν οὗτός γε: Av.85 Κακῶς σύ γ' ἀπόλοι': 357 Τί δὲ χύτρα νῶ γ' ὠφελήσει; ('And what good 'll a pot be to us?'): 1391 Οὐ δῆτ' ἔγωγε.— Nῆ τὸν Ἡρακλῆα σύ γε ('Not I.—'Yes, by Heracles, you do'): Th.1004 Οἶμοι κακοδαίμων, μᾶλλον ἐπικρούεις σύ γε: 1224 ὅς τοῦμπαλιν τρέχεις σύ γε: S.OT432,815: Ant.930: Tr.328, 1208: Ph.330,904: OC1134: E.Alc.719: Ar.Ach.769: Eq.6, 275: V.945,1371,1502: Pax 913: Th.518: Ec.776: Pl.74: Hdt.1117 φᾶς σέ γε εἶναι τὸν κελεύοντα: ii 173 ἦτοι μανεῖς ἢ ὃ γε ἀπόπληκτος γενόμενος: v 53 εἰ . . . ὃ παρασάγγης δύναται τριήκοντα στάδια ὥσπερ οὗτός γε δύναται ταῦτα (where we might expect ὥσπερ γε (see I.5), or rather, perhaps, ὥσπερ οὖν): vi 12.3 πρό τε τούτων τῶν κακῶν ἡμῖν γε κρέσσον καὶ ὃ τι ὦν ἄλλο παθεῖν ἐστι: vii 10θ3 ἦ κου ἐν γῆ τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἢ σέ γε ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων: Pl.Phdr.243D Τοῦτόν γε τοῖνυν ἔγωγε αἰσχυρόμενος . . .: Euthd.271C πάσσοφοι ἀτεχνῶς τῷ γε: 278C δῆλον ὅτι τούτῳ γέ σοι αὐτῷ τὰ σπουδαῖα ἐνδείξεσθον: 302B Ταλαίπωρος ἄρα τις σύ γε ἄνθρωπος εἶ: Amat.132B ἀδολεσχοῦσι μὲν οὖν οὗτοί γε: X.HG.17.29 μὴ ὑμεῖς γε, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι: Cyr.1v 1.19 τὸ μὲν γὰρ πλῆθος ἡμεῖς γε τῶν πολεμίων οὐδὲ διωζόμεθα: Hier.17 ἔξω τούτων ὦν εἶρηκας σύ γε: D.xix 242 μὴ σύ γε: Pl.Chrm. 154A: Cra.393B,400D.

(5) With relatives. (For limitative γε with relatives, see II.2.) Except for ὥσπερ γε, for which see below, this is not a well-defined usage. The particle which normally stresses a relative relation is δῆ, and γε but rarely takes over this function.

Hom.τ511 κοίτοιο τάχ' ἔσσεται ἠδέος ὄρη, ὃν τινά γ' ἔπειθε ἔλοι: Emp.Fr.12.3 αἰεὶ γὰρ τῇ γ' ἔσται, ὅπη γέ τις αἰὲν ἐσθ' ἔσται (γε in both limbs, as often καί: 'just there, precisely where . . .': θήσεσθαι *codd.*): S.Ph. 559 φράσον δ' ἄπερ γ' ἐλεξας (so *codd.*: 'just those things which . . .', Jebb): E.Ion 942 ἄρ' ἦν ταῦθ' ἔγ' ἦσθόμην ἐγώ; El.910 οὔποτ' ἐξελίμπανον θρυλοῦσ' ἄρ' ἠθελον κατ' ὄμμα σόν ('those same words which . . .': 479 Ἄρ' οἴσθ' ὅσοι γ' αὐτῶν ἔχονται τοῦ ξύλου, μόνοι π . . . ('just those who . . . alone. . .'). But in Hom.η214 it is δῆ that stresses the relative, while γε rather picks up πλείονα exegetically (cf. I. 12. iii): πλείον' ἐγὼ κακὰ μυθήσα.

δὴ . . . μόγησα : 'even all that . . .') : Pl. *Cra.* 422B Ἄρ' οὖν καὶ νῦν ἃ γ' ἐρωτᾷς τὰ ὀνόματα στοιχεῖα ὄντα τυγχάνει . . . ; ('Perhaps those very names you are asking about are elements?') : D. *liv* 33 ἀλλ' ὑφ' οὗ γε πρώτου ἐπλήγην . . . τούτῳ καὶ δικάζομαι (ἀλλὰ . . . γε) : Pl. *Alc.* II 146D.

In the following, with a word intervening, γε is completely detached from the relative. S. *Ant.* 323 ἢ δεινόν, ᾧ δοκῆ γε, καὶ ψευδῆ δοκεῖν ('when a man *does* harbour suspicions', Jebb) : Pl. *Ph.* 1276 μὴ λέξης πέρα. μάτην γὰρ ἂν εἴπης γε πάντ' εἰρήσεται ('anything you *do* say will be said in vain': Jebb, less probably, 'all thy *words* . . . (though I cannot resist force)'). καί is more commonly used in such cases (*q.v.* II.C.7). In Hp. *Nat.* Hom. I γε seems to have little force : μαρτύριά τε καὶ τεκμήρια, ἃ γε ἔστιν οὐδέν (γε *om.* AC).

γε not infrequently strengthens ὡσπερ in Aristophanes, Plato and Xenophon : 'precisely as'. Ar. *Eq.* 716 ὡσπερ αἱ τίτθαι γε : Ra. 1158 : Pl. *Grg.* 484E καταγέλαστοι γίνονται, ὡσπερ γε οἶμαι οἱ πολιτικοί : Pl. *Cra.* 427A : X. *Oec.* I. 10 : Smp. 4. 17 : Cyr. vi 2. 21. ὡσπερ γε καί. Ar. *Nu.* 673 ὡσπερ γε καὶ Κλεώνυμον : Pl. *La.* 183A : *Cra.* 394E : X. *Cyr.* i 6. 34 : ii 1. 27 : 3. 9 : *Hier.* I. 24 : δ. 15 : Arist. *Pol.* 1276b4.

(6) After interrogatives. On the whole there is little trace of this usage, δὴ being the particle normally used to strengthen an interrogative. S. *Ph.* 441 ἀναξίου μὲν φωτὸς ἐξερήσομαι, γλώσση δὲ δεινοῦ . . . —Ποίου δὲ τούτου πλήν γ' Ὀδυσσέως ἐρεῖς ; (γε some later MSS. : but δέ is no doubt right) : OC 977 εἰ δ' . . . πῶς γ' ἂν τό γ' ἄκον πρᾶγμ' ἂν εἰκότως ψέγεις ; (πῶς ἂν Elmsley) : E. *Hec.* 774 Θνήσκει δὲ πρὸς τοῦ . . . ; —Τίνος γ' ὑπ' ἄλλου ; Θρήξ νιν ὤλεσε ξένος ('Whom *else*'?) : Ion 999 (ἢ τί γ' οὐ *suprascr.* L is no doubt wrong) : Ar. *Nu.* 689 ἐπεὶ πῶς γ' ἂν καλέσειας ἐντυχὼν Ἀμυνία ; (γ' R : *om.* *cell.* : 'a curious error', Starkie) : Ra. 138 Εἶτα πῶς περαιωθήσομαι ; (πῶς V : πῶς γε RAM, but the stress is inappropriate) : 515 Πῶς λέγεις ; ὀρχηστρίδες ; (πῶς γε RM) : 936 Σὺ δ' ᾧ θεοῖσιν ἐχθρὲ ποῖ' ἄττ' ἔστιν ἄττ' ἐποίεις ; (ποῖ' ἄγ' R : ποῖά γ' AM) : Pl. 485 Οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιτον τοῦτο πράττοντ', ἢ τί γ' ἂν ἔχοι τις ἂν δίκαιον ἀντειπεῖν ἔτι ; (τί γ' ἂν AAld. : *al. al.*) : 583 εἰ γὰρ ἐπλούτει, πῶς ἂν ποῖων . . . ; (πῶς γ' ἂν one inferior MS.).

In the following, where another particle precedes, γε seems to adhere to the interrogative, rather than to that particle. Ar. *Ach.* 307 εἰ καλῶς ἐσπείσαμην. — Πῶς δέ γ' ἂν καλῶς λέγοις ἂν . . . ; ('And *how* can you say καλῶς . . . ?') : Aeschin. ii 163 ἐν δὲ τούτοις, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐγὼ διαφανῆς ἦν . . . καὶ τῷ γε δῆλος ἦν . . . ; ('And *whose* notice did I attract . . . ?')

These instances are not impressive, and are for the most part textually doubtful. But it is perhaps significant that the majority are from Aristophanes, where we should expect to find a lively idiom of this type. For instances in later Greek, see Klotz 1292.

In indirect questions. Ar. *V.* 310 μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἔγωγε νῶν οἶδ' ὀπόθεν γε δεῖπνον ἔσται ('where on earth our dinner's coming from': τό Cobet) : Hdt. i 111 ἀναλαβὼν ἔφερον, δοκέων τῶν τινος οἰκετέων εἶναι οὐ γὰρ ἂν κοτε κατέδοξα ἔνθεν γε ἦν (but the stress is different here : 'where he *did* come from': γενεήν for γε ἦν RSV).

In Ar. *Ach.* 5 the subordinate clause is relative rather than interrogative : ἐγῶδ' ἐφ' ᾧ γε τὸ κέαρ ηὐφράνθην ἰδῶν.

(I have dealt above with γε following an interrogative. In general, γε can of course emphasize a word or phrase in a question, just as well as in a statement : E. *Cyc.* 207 ἢ πρὸς γε μαστοῖς εἰσι . . . ; X. *Cyr.* viii 4. 23 Ἐπειτ' οὐκ ἂν πρίαίό γε παμπόλου . . . ; Elmsley's attempt (on E. *Med.* 1367 : 1334 in his edition), to banish γε from the texts in such cases, is mistaken. In Pl. *Lg.* 781C γε seems suspicious.)

(7) In commands. γε occasionally sharpens the tone of an imperative. The usage seems established, though few examples of it are critically above suspicion. S. *El.* 345 ἐπειθ' ἐλοῦ γε θάτερ' : 411 ὦ θεοὶ πατρῶοι, συγγένεσθέ γ' ἀλλὰ νῦν : Pl. 1003 Ἐυλλάβετέ γ' αὐτόν (γ' A : *om.* L) : E. *Andr.* 589 Ψαῦσόν γ', ἴν' εἰδῆς (γ' A : δ' L : *om.* V) : *Supp.* 842 εἰπέ γ' ὡς σοφώτερος (πέ γ' *in rasura* L<sup>2</sup> : *fort.* εἰπόν, Murray) : I. 1817 δρᾶ γ', εἴ τι δράσεις (δρᾶ γ' P<sup>3</sup> : δρᾶ LP) : Pl. R. 336E οἶον γε σύ, ὦ φίλε (γε Bekker : τε AFD.M : cf. οἶεσθαί γε χρή *Cri.* 53D, 54B). In E. *Alc.* 1127 read perhaps Ὀρῶ γε for Ὀρα γε (C.R. xliii 119).

With jussive subjunctive. Pl. *Thet.* 201A Ὀρθῶς λέγεις ἔλλ' ἴωμέν γε καὶ σκοπῶμεν (τε W).

In negative commands. E.IT912 Μηδέν μ' ἐπίσχη γ' (μηδέν Murray: οὐδέν codd.): Ar.V.922 Μή νυν ἀφήτέ γ' αὐτόν ('Don't you let him off!'). S.OC1409 is different: μή μ' ἀτιμάσητέ γε ('at least do not dishonour me').

In wishes. E.Ion 632 εἴη γ' ἐμοὶ (μὲν) μέτρια μὴ λυπουμένῳ (εἴη δ' ἐμοίγε Lenting): S.OT80 εἰ γὰρ ἐν τύχῃ γέ τῳ σωτήρι βαίη (but the particle adheres to τύχῃ σωτήρι).

(8) In a conditional protasis, usually following a negative, 'even if' (perhaps colloquial in tone). Contrast εἴ γε limitative, 'if, but not unless'. Hom.γ115 τίς κεν ἐκεῖνα πάντα γε μυθήσαιο . . . ; οὐδ' εἰ πεντάετες γε . . . παραμίνων ἐξέρεοις: cf. E258 (p. 448): E.Or.1513 'Ἐνδικώτατ' (διώλετο), εἴ γε λαιμοὺς εἶχε τριπτύχους θανεῖν: Ar.Ach.968 Οὐκ ἂν μὰ Δί' εἰ δοίη γέ μοι τὴν ἀσπίδα: Pl.Lg.886E Χαλεπὸν γε λόγον . . . εἰρηκῶς τυγχάνεις, εἴ γε εἰς ἦν μόνον νῦν δὲ ὅτε πάμπολλοι τυγχάνουσιν, ἔτι χαλεπώτερον ἂν εἴη: X.Ages.5.5 Οὐ τῷ σιώ, οὐδ' εἰ μέλλοιμί γε . . . : Ar.Nu.108: V.298: Pl.924. Stressing a participial clause within the protasis. D.xix172 ἐξώλης ἀπολοίμην . . . εἰ προσλαβὼν γ' ἂν ἀργύριον πάνυ πολὺ μετὰ τούτων ἐπρέσβευσα.

(9) Apodotic. (See Neil, pp. 199–200; Pearson, *Fragments of Sophocles*, ii. 27.) The opening of an apodosis is seldom stressed by γε (normally by δὴ). Hes.Th.800 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ . . . , ἄλλος γ' ἐξ ἄλλου δέχεται: S.Ant.657 ἐπεὶ γὰρ . . . , ψευδῆ γ' ἐμαυτὸν οὐ καταστήσω πόλει: E.Tr.388 οὐδ' ἔλοι δόρυ, νέκροι γ' ἐς οἴκους φερόμενοι . . . περιβολὰς εἶχον χθονός (γ' V: δ' P): HF861 εἰ δὲ δὴ . . . ἀναγκαίως ἔχει . . . , εἰμί γ': Hipp.472 εἰ . . . , κάρτα γ' εὐ πράξειας ἂν (κάρτ' εὐ L: corr. l): Ba.445 ἄς δ' αὖ σὺ Βάκχας εἶρξας . . . , φροῦδαί γ' ἐκεῖναι: Ar.Lys.658 εἰ δὲ λυπήσεις τί με, τῷδ' εἴ γ' ἀψήκτω πατάξω τῷ κοθόρνῳ τὴν γνάθον: E.Hel.1323: Hdt.ix42.2 (γε Gomperz): X.An.vii7.54. (In Pl.R.453D γε seems to give a limitative stress to νεῖ, in spite of the order: 'he swims all the same.)

Resumptive. (Here, again, δὴ is normally used.) D.xviii261 ἐπειδὴ δ' εἰς τοὺς δημότας ἐνεγράφησ ὅπωςδὴποτε (εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο), ἐπειδὴ γ' ἐνεγράφησ (δ' O).

(10) Exclamatory. The tendency in Greek is for emphatic

words to be placed early. Emphatic γε similarly gravitates to the opening of sentence and speech (see above, I, *ad init.*). Often when following an adjective or adverb, less frequently after verbs and nouns, it has a force which may fairly be described as exclamatory.

(i) Adjectives. (Ellipse of ἐστι is common). A.Pers.286 Στυγαί γ' Ἀθᾶναι δάοις: Ch.777 Οὐπῶ κακός γε μάντις ἂν γνοίη τάδε: S.El.341 Δεινόν γε (Ph.755,1225): E.Cyc.148 Καλὴν γε κρήνην εἶπας: 283 Αἰσχροὺν στρατεύμα γ' (order exceptional): 670 Αἰσχρός γε φαίνη: Hes.846 Δεινόν γε, θνητοῖς ὡς ἅπαντα συμπίτνει: Ba.800 Ἀπῶρω γε τῷδε συμπεπλέγμεθα ξένῳ: Supp.426 Κομψός γ' ὁ κῆρυξ: Ion 381 Πολλάι γε πολλοῖς εἰσι συμφοραὶ βροτῶν: Ar.Ach.115 'Ἐλληνικόν γ' ἐπένευσαν ἄνδρες: 909 Μικκός γα μᾶκος οὔτος: Eq.124 Πολλῶ γ' ὁ Βάκκις ἐχρήτο τῷ ποτηρίῳ: 1377 Σοφός γ' ὁ Φαίαιξ: Nu.135 Ἀμαθῆς γε νῆ Δί': 984 Ἀρχαία γ': A.Pr.953: E.Andr.909: Hel.808: Supp.151,296: HF1116: Ar.Ach.1105,1106: Eq.609,616,1368: Av.158,1208,1269: Ra.1370,1482: Pl.Grg.467B Σχέτλια γ' λέγεις: 470C Χαλεπὸν γέ σε ἐλέγξαι: Prt.361A Ἄτοποι γ' ἐστέ: Phldr.242A Θεῖός γ' εἶ: Ar.25A Πολλὴν γέ μου κατέγνωκας δυστυχίαν: Cra.409C Διθυραμβῶδες γε τοῦτο τοῦνομα: 417E Ποικίλα γέ σοι . . . ἐκβαίνει τὰ ὀνόματα: Tht.161A Φιλόλογός γ' εἶ ἀτεχνῶς: X.Mem.ii3.9 Θαυμαστά γε λέγεις: Pl.Grg.473A: Phldr.257C: Euthd.288A: Ly.204C: Men.92A: Smpr.175A,260B: Prm.136C: Phlb.34C,65D.

(ii) Adverbs. (Here, again, ellipse of verb is frequent.) A.Pr.696 Πρῶ γε στενάξεις: S.Aj.589 Ἄγαν γε λυπεῖς (Ant.573): Ant.241 Εὐ γε στιχίζη: Ph.327 Εὐ γ', ὦ τέκνον (the only example in tragedy of this colloquial εὐ γε without a verb. Jebb): E.Or.99 Ὀψέ γε φρονεῖς εὐ: 386 Εὐ γ' εἶπας (Ba.824): IT1212 Εὐ γε κηδεύεις πόλιν: Ar.Ach.952 Μόλις γ' ἐνέδησα: Eq.1180 Καλῶς γ' ἐποίησε: Nu.773 Σοφῶς γε: V.46 Ὀρθῶς γε: Pax 856 Εὐδαιμονικῶς γε: Eq.1402: Av.1442: Pl.Grg.492D Οὐκ ἀγεννῶς γε . . . ἐπεξέρχη: Tht.146D Γενναίως γε καὶ φιλοδώρως . . . πολλὰ δίδως: 148B Ἀριστά γ' ἀνθρώπων, ὦ παῖδες: 205A Ἀνδρικῶς γε . . . μάχη: R.472A: La.181A: Tht.151E, 154D,163C: Phlb.24B,25B: X.An.vii1.22.

With repetition. Ar.Pax 285 Εὐ γ', εὐ γε (Eq.470): Ec.213 Εὐ γ', εὐ γε, νῆ Δί', εὐ γε.

(iii) Verbs. *E.Ion* 1290 Οὐκ εὖσεβείς γε: *Ar.Ach.* 836 Εὐδαιμονεῖ γ' ἄνθρωπος: *V.* 1162 Ἄδικεῖς γέ με: 1387 Νῆ τὸν Δί' ἐξέμαθές γε ('you have learned...'): 1450 Ζηλῶ γε: *Pax* 1127 Ἦδομαί γ', ἦδομαι: *Av.* 177 Νῆ Δία, ἀπολαύσομαί τί γ'. In *Pl.Lg.* 886A Φοβοῦμαί γε the tone of γε is quieter. (*Pl.Smp.* 189B is difficult to class: *Βαλῶν γε, φάναι, ὦ Ἀριστόφανες, οἶει ἐκφεύξεσθαι.*)

(iv) Nouns. *Pl.Men.* 76A Ὑβριστής γ' εἶ: *X.HG* vii 1.37 Νῆ Δία, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὦρα γε ὑμῖν... ζητεῖν: *Smp.* 4.54 Νῆ τὴν Ἦραν... εὐτύχημά γέ σου μέγα. (In *E.Hipp.* 1070 read perhaps *δακρύων γ' ἔγγυς τόδε*, for τ'.)

The exclamation is sometimes sarcastic in tone, especially with *καλός, καλῶς*. *S.OT* 1035 Καλόν γ' ὄνειδος σπαργάνων ἀνειλόμην: *Ant.* 739 Καλῶς ἐρήμης γ' ἂν σὺ γῆς ἄρχοις μόνος: *E.Cyc.* 551 Καλόν γε τὸ γέρας τῷ ξένῳ δίδως, Κύκλωψ: 664 Καλός γ' ὁ παιάν: *Ar.Nu.* 647 ταχύ γ' ἂν δύναιο μανθάνειν περὶ ρυθμῶν: 1064 Μάχαιραν; ἀστείον γε κέρδος ἔλαβεν ὁ κακοδαίμων: *Av.* 1401 χαριέντά γ' ὦ πρεσβῦτ' ἐσοφίσω καὶ σοφά (a whipping): *E.Med.* 504, 514, 588: *IA* 305: *Ar.Eq.* 344: *Av.* 139: *Pl.Prm.* 131B Ἠδέως γε... ἐν ταῦτὸν ἅμα πολλαχοῦ ποιεῖς: *R.* 574C Σφόδρα γε μακάριον... ἔοικεν εἶναι τὸ τυραννικὸν ὑὸν τεκεῖν. (For examples from the orators see p. 129 below.)

The word stressed by γε is sometimes preceded:—

(a) By an exclamation or oath, with or without apostrophe. *A.Pers.* 739 Φεῦ, ταχεῖά γ' ἦλθε χρησμῶν πρᾶξις: *S.OT* 1169 Οἶμοι, πρὸς αὐτῷ γ' εἰμὶ τῷ δεινῷ λέγειν: *E.Cyc.* 572 Παπαί, σοφόν γε τὸ ξύλον τῆς ἀμπέλου: *Andr.* 184 Φεῦ φεῦ κακόν γε...: *IA* 1132 Ἔα, τλήμονά γ' ἔλεξας: *Fr.* 636.2 ἔα, ἔα ὄρω γ' ἐπ' ἀκταῖς: *Ar.Nu.* 102 Αἰβοῖ, πονηροί γ': 1462 Ὀμοι, πονηρά γ'...: *Ar.Ach.* 811 Νῆ τὸν Δί', ἀστείω γε...: 860 Ἰττω Ἡρακλῆς ἔκαμόν γα τὰν τύλαν: 867 Νεὶ τὸν Ἰόλαον ἐπεχαρίττα γ' ὦ ξένη: *E.Hel.* 777: *IA* 710: *Ion* 1312: *Ar.Eq.* 1035: *V.* 1474: *Av.* 135, 1370: *Lys.* 403, 1033: *Th.* 20: *Ra.* 1433: *Ec.* 1045: *Pl.* 220: *Pl.Phd.* 88C Νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς, ὦ Φαίδων, συγγνώμην γ' ἔχω ὑμῖν: *Phdr.* 230B Νῆ τὴν Ἦραν, καλή γε ἡ καταγωγὴ: 273C Φεῦ, δεινῶς γ'...: *X.Cyn.* 6.17 Ἰὼ κύνες, ἰώ, καλῶς, σοφῶς γε, ὦ κύνες: *Pl.Grg.* 449D: *Pri.* 340E: *Euthid.* 292E: *Phd.* 60C: *Hp.Ma.* 285E: *X.HG* vii 1.37: *Oec.* 11.19: *Smp.* 4.54.

So, too, after ἦ θην, ἦ μὲν, ἦ μὴν. *Hom.* *A* 365: τ 235: *Ar.Ra.* 104.

Less frequently, γε is attached to the exclamation or oath itself (especially Ἰδοῦ γε, followed by a contemptuous repetition of the previous speaker's words). *Ar.Eq.* 87 ἄκρατον...—Ἰδοῦ γ' ἄκρατον: *Nu.* 818 μὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Ὀλύμπιον.—Ἰδοῦ γ' ἰδοῦ, Δί' Ὀλύμπιον: *Av.* 11 Οὐδ' ἂν μὰ Δία γ' ἐντεῦθεν Ἐξηκεστίδης: *Th.* 225 οὐ γὰρ μὰ τὴν Δήμητρά γ' ἐνταυθοῖ μενῶ: *Ec.* 748 μὰ τὸν Ποσειδῶ γ' οὐδέποτ': *Eq.* 698 (γ' in R only): *Nu.* 1469: *Lys.* 441: *Ec.* 93, 136.

(b) By an apostrophe alone. *E.El.* 971 ὦ Φοῖβε, πολλήν γ' ἀμαθίαν ἐθέσπισας: *Ar.Eq.* 421 ὦ δεξιώτατον κρέας, σοφῶς γε προὔνοήσω: 1111 ὦ Δῆμε, καλήν γ' ἔχεις ἀρχήν.

(c) By a shocked, contemptuous, or surprised repetition of the previous speaker's words. *S.Aj.* 1127 κτείναντά με;—Κτείναντα; δεινόν γ' εἶπας: *Ar.V.* 1336 προσκαλούμενοι.—Ἰὴ ἰεῦ, καλούμενοι. ἀρχαῖά γ' ὑμῶν: *Av.* 1691 ὀπτῶ τὰ κρέα...—Ὀπτᾶς τὰ κρέα; πολλήν γε τευθείαν λέγεις: *Eq.* 344: *Nu.* 667, 1064 (v.l.): *Ec.* 190: *Pl.R.* 328A ἀφ' ἵππων...—Ἀφ' ἵππων; ἦν δ' ἐγώ, καινόν γε τοῦτο. Cf. *E.El.* 275 Ἦρου τόδ'; αἰσχρόν γ' εἶπας.

Occasionally this exclamatory note can also be detected in γε in the middle of a speech. *E.El.* 374 πλούτῳ (κρινεῖ); πονηρῷ γ' ἄρα χρήσεται κριτῆ (τᾶρα Π: γ' ἄρα LP): *Smp.* 458 κλαίων γ' ἂν ἦλθες: 547 σκαιόν γε τὰνάλωμα: *Andr.* 220 αἰσχρόν γε: *Rh.* 837 μακροῦ γε δεῖ σε... λόγου: *Tr.* 1191 αἰσχρόν τοῦπίγραμμά γ' Ἑλλάδι (order remarkable): *Hipp.* 480 ἦ τάρ' ἂν ὄψέ γ' ἄνδρες ἐξεύροιεν ἄν: *Ion* 128 (in Ion's monody): *IA* 596: *Ar.Ach.* 447 (second line): *Nu.* 647 (second line): 1349 δῆλόν γε τὰνθρώπου ὅτι τὸ λῆμα: *Pax* 618 πολλά γ' ἡμᾶς λανθάνει ('What a lot of things we don't know!'): 1272 ἀμαθές γ' εἶ: *Ec.* 95 οὐκοῦν καλά γ' ἂν πάθοιμεν: *Pl.Alc II* 150A πολλῷ γε μᾶλλον, οἶμαι. Exclamatory γε may even, exceptionally, occur late in the sentence: *Ar.Pl.* 1043 Ἀρχαῖα φίλη, πολὶὰ γεγέννηται ταχύ γε νῆ τὸν οὐρανόν ('You have gone grey quickly!').

There are also examples of this lively usage in the orators (almost all in Demosthenes). *Lys.* iv 1 (opening of speech) θαυμαστόν γε, ὦ βουλή, τὸ διαμάχεσθαι περὶ τούτου: *Isoc.* v 103 ἡ πάντων γ' ἂν εἴη σχετλιώτατος: *Dix* 66 δουλεύουσι γε: xxxix 33 ἡ δεινόν γ' ἂν εἴη. Ironical: *D.vii* 32 σφόδρα γε βούλεται:

τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐλευθέρους εἶναι: ix65 καλήν γε (66): κxiv181 ὁμοίον γε, οὐ γάρ; τοῦτο τοῖς προτέροις: Din.179 δημοτικός γ': D.xviii136,266: xix253: xxi209: xxii73: xxiii161,162,186: κxiv106: κxv62 (bis), 95 (apodotic: cf. κxiii121): κxviii6: κliii72: κlv56: lviii15,18,29.

The idiom is even occasionally transplanted to reported speech. A.Ag.1241 ἄγαν γ' ἀληθόμαντιν οἰκτεῖρας ἐρεῖς ('You will say ἄγαν γ' ἀληθόμαντις'): Pl.Chrm.172E κἀνταῦθα καὶ ἄρτι ἀποβλέψας ἄτοπά γ' ἔφην μοι προφαίνεσθαι (a free quotation of 172C ὅτι μοι ἄτοπ' ἄττα καταφαίνεται). In both these passages editors have needlessly excised γε: both are rightly explained by Neil on Ar.Eg.667 (though I do not agree with the rest of his note).

The use of γε in indignant questions is a branch of the exclamatory. Ar.Ach.120 ὦ . . . , τοιόνδε γ', ὦ πίθηκε, τὸν πάγων' ἔχων . . . ἦλθες . . . ; Nu.1378 οὐκ Εὐριπίδην ἐπαινεῖς σοφώτατον; —Σοφώτατόν γ' ἐκείνον . . . ; (In E.HF557, if Scaliger's Αἰδῶ γε is right, which it probably is not, it must be taken as a question.) With οἶος: Eur.Fr.314 οἶόν γε πού'στι γλῶσσα.

(11) In answers. This extremely common and diversified use is an off-shoot of emphatic γε. It is not strictly true to say, as has often been said, that γε here means 'yes', though 'yes' is sometimes a convenient rendering. (Often, if anything, it stands for 'no'.) More accurately, it gives an air of liveliness, interest, or intensity to the opening of an answer. The Greek for 'yes' is ναί: but ναί is much rarer than 'yes', because the lively Greek mind was seldom satisfied with the baldness of an unqualified answer: and where ναί does occur it is often followed by a γε which gives additional detail. An answer may, of course, be limited in its content. And in what follows it is often difficult to distinguish between the limitative and intensive forces of γε.

(i) Affirmative answers to a question or statement. E.Alc.149 Οὐκουν ἐπ' αὐτῇ πράσσεται τὰ πρόσφορα;—Κόσμος γ' ἔτοιμος: 201 Ἡ που στενάζει . . . ;—Κλαίει γε ('Aye, he weeps'): Cyc.250 ὡς ἐκπλεῶς γε δαιτός εἰμ' ὄρεσκόν . . . χρόνιος δ' εἰμ' ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων βοράς.—Τὰ καινά γ' ἐκ τῶν ἠθάδων . . . ἠδίον' ἐστίν ('Aye, change is sweet'): Ar.Eg.1388 Μακάριος ἐς τάρχαῖα δὴ

καθίσταμαι.—Φήσεις γ', ἐπειδὴν . . . (cf. Pax1351, D.xxx30: not limitative, I think. In Pl.R.457C the tone is *dissentient*: οὐ σμικρὸν κῦμα διαφεύγεις.—Φήσεις γε, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, οὐ μέγα αὐτὸ εἶναι, ὅταν τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἴδης): Ec.933 Σοὶ γὰρ φίλος τίς ἐστίν ἄλλος ἢ Γέρης;—Δείξει γε καὶ σοί (Δείξει Ald.: Δόξει codd.): Pl.Thg.122E οὐκ ἐδιδάξατό σε ὁ πατήρ . . . ;—'Εμέ γε ('Yes, he did'): Prm.131C Μεριστὰ ἄρα . . . ἐστίν αὐτὰ τὰ εἶδη . . .—Φαίνεται οὕτω γε ('It appears that that is so'): R.575C κακὰ δρῶσι σμικρὰ πολλὰ . . .—Σμικρά γ', ἔφη, κακὰ λέγεις: 610E . . . σχολῇ . . .—Σχολῇ γ', ἔφη: Philb.36D τοῦτο σκεπτέον.—'Ἴσως τοῦτό γε ('Yes, perhaps that is the problem'). But normally, where a word is echoed in agreement, δῆτα or μέντοι is the particle used.

Answering a command or wish. No certain case; in E.Alc.420 γε is *v.l.* and τε is inappropriate. Wilamowitz read γε for τε in Rh.219, and γε is worth considering in S.OC113,494. Headlam (on A.Ag.539) objected to the idiom; but it is artificial to distinguish 'answering a command' from 'answering a statement'.

In combination with other particles. Pl.Phd.58D εἰ μὴ τίς σοι ἀσχολία τυγχάνει οὔσα.—Ἄλλὰ σχολάζω γε (γε B: τε T: 'Well, I have leisure'): 96A ἐὰν βούλη . . .—Ἄλλὰ μὴν βούλομαί γε (τε T): Ar.Av.144.

(ii) Negative answers. E.Ion404 μῶν χρόνιος ἐλθὼν σ' ἐξέπληξ' ὄρρωδία;—Οὐδέν γε: IT564 ἔστι τις λόγος;—Οὐδεῖς γε, πλὴν . . . : IA144C ἀπολέσασά σε;—Οὐ σύ γε σέσωσμαι: Ar.Ach.176 χαῖρ' Ἀμφίθεε.—Μήπω γε πρὶν γ' ἂν στῶ τρέχων: Nu.734 Οὐδέν πάνυ (ἔχεις);—Οὐδέν γε πλὴν . . . : V.518 ὅστις ἄρχω τῶν ἀπάντων.—Οὐ σύ γ', ἀλλ' ὑπηρετεῖς: Av.1360 Ἀπέλαυσά τ' ἄρα . . . ἐλθὼν ἐνθαδὶ . . .—Οὐδέν γε ('Not at all'): Pl.Prt.310B μή τι νεώτερον ἀγγέλλεις;—Οὐδέν γ', ἦ δ' ὅς, εἰ μὴ ἀγαθὰ γε: Philb.38A προθύμως ἀμύνεις τῷ τῆς ἡδονῆς . . . φ τὰ νῦν.—Οὐδέν γε, ἀλλ' ἄπερ ἀκούω λέγω ('Not at all: I'm just saying what I hear'): S.Ph.999 μεθ' ὧν Τροίαν σ' ἐλεῖν δεῖ . . .—Οὐδέποτε γ' ('Never!'): Ar.V.486): Pl.Phd.74C Οὐδέποτε γ': Ar.Nu.688 Οὐδαμῶς γ' (V.76,1393: Pl.Grg.402E: Prm.144A): Pax1260 Ἀπίωμεν, ὦ δορυξέ.—V.1299 X Mem.iii9.4 προσερωτώμενος δὲ εἰ . . . νομίζοι, Οὐδέν γε μάλλοι, ἔφη, ἦ . . . : Pl.Euthd.272B Ἡκιστά γε (Chrm.162B: X.Mem. iv6.10): Pl.Alc.1130B Πάντων γε ἡκιστα: X.Mem.iv6.10 ἔφη, γε νῆ Δί' ἦττον. Similarly Ar.Ach.295 Μάλλ' ἀκούσατε—296 ἀκούσωμεν;

With exclamations (cf. (10) above) *Ar.V.163* ἔκφρες με . . . — *Μὰ τὸν Ποσειδῶ, Φιλοκλέων, οὐδέποτε γε: 1507* ὠψώνηκ' ἄρα. — *Μὰ τὸν Δί' οὐδέν γ' ἄλλο πλὴν γε καρκίνους.*

After rhetorical questions. *S.OT1386* ὀρθοῖς ἔμελλον ὄμμασιν τούτους ὄραν; ἤκιστα γ': *E.Hipp.1014* ἀλλ' ὡς τυραννεῖν ἠδύ; τοῖσι σώφροσιν ἤκιστα γ': *Ar.Nu.1215* εἶτ' ἄνδρα τῶν αὐτοῦ τι χρῆ προίεναι; οὐδέποτε γ': *Ec.748*; *D.xix.221* ἠδὺ . . .; οὐδέ γ' ἀσφαλές (γε marks the answer: οὐδέ goes closely with ἀσφαλές): *lv13* τίς . . .; οὐδεὶς γε: *lv15* ἡμεῖς ἀναιρώμεθα; οὐδέν γε μᾶλλον ἢ ὀτιοῦν. *A.Pr.961* μή τί σοι δοκῶ ταρβεῖν . . .; πολλοῦ γε καὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἐλλείπω: *Ar.Ach.543* καθῆσθ' ἂν ἐν δόμοισιν; ἢ πολλοῦ γε δεῖ: *Pl.Tht.166B* αὐτίκα γὰρ δοκεῖς . . .; πολλοῦ γε δεῖ: *D.v24* καὶ σὺ ταῦτα κελεύεις; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δέω: *xviii.47*. πολλοῦ γε δεῖ interrogative: *Pl.Lg.790A* . . . γράφωμεν; ἢ πολλοῦ γε δεῖ; (γε *L*: τε *AO*).

(iii) Affirmative answers contradicting a denial: cf. German 'doch', French 'si'. *E.Heracl.257* ἀλλ' οὐ σοὶ βλάβος. — 'Εμοὶ γε ('Yes, it is'): *IA364* ὡς φονεὺς οὐκέτι θυγατρὸς σῆς ἔση. μάλιστα γε ('Yes, you will'): *Hec.396*; *Ba.484*; *Ar.Ach.794* Οὐ χοῖρος Ἀφροδίτα; μόνα γὰρ δαιμόνων ('To her alone!'): *V.27* οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔσται δεινὸν οὐ μὰ τοὺς θεούς. — Δεινὸν γέ πού 'στ' ἄνθρωπος ἀποβαλὼν ὄπλα ('It is an awful thing'): *Eg.411* Οὔτοι μ' ὑπερβαλεῖσθ' ἀναιδεία . . . — 'Εγὼ γε νῆ τοὺς κούδύλους . . . ὑπερβαλεῖσθαί σ' οἶομαι: *Av.1391*; *Pl.Cri.53D* καὶ οὐκ οἶει . . .; οἶεσθαί γε χρῆ (cf. *ib.* 54B: *R.336E*: *X.Cyr.viii.3.29* Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, σὺ γε ('Yes, you did'): *Pl.Grg.491E* (perhaps: reading and interpretation are disputed: see Thompson). Answering a rhetorical question: *Pl.Smp.216D* ὡς τὸ σχῆμα αὐτοῦ τοῦτο οὐ σιληνῶδες; σφόδρα γε: *D.xxiii.197* οὐκ ἄρα . . . χάριν εἶχον; σφόδρα γε.

Sometimes the γε seems to do double duty, both affirming and limiting. *E.Or.1074* Οὐκ ἔκτανες σὴν μητέρ', ὡς ἐγὼ τάλας. — Σὺν σοὶ γε κοινῇ ('Yes, I did: I shared the deed'): *Ba.484* Φρονούσι γὰρ κάκιον Ἑλλήνων πολὺ. — Τάδ' εὖ γε μᾶλλον ('Better in this'): *Heracl.272* Μὴ πρὸς θεῶν κήρυκα τολμήσης θενεῖν. — Εἰ μὴ γ' ὁ κῆρυξ σωφρονεῖν μαθήσεται ('Yes I will, unless the Herald behaves himself'): *IT555*; *Ar.Nu.930*; *Pl.Cri.54A* πότερον . . . οὐχὶ ἐπιμελήσονται; εἶπερ γέ τι ὄφελος αὐτῶν ἐστὶν τῶν σοὶ φασκόντων ἐπιτηδείων εἶναι, οἶεσθαί γε χρῆ.

(On 'corrective': γε see Jebb on *S.Ph.33.35*. But I doubt whether γε should be regarded as corrective there.)

(iv) In answers to questions which give the answerer no lead (those, that is, which suggest, without prejudice, alternative answers, and those which contain interrogative pronouns or adverbs.) Slightly colloquial in tone, I think.

*S.Ph.1385* Λέγεις δ' Ἀτρεΐδαις ὄφελος, ἢ 'π' ἐμοὶ τόδε; — Σοὶ που φίλος γ' ὢν ('I speak as your friend'. Jebb puts a comma after που, wrongly, I think): *E.Cyc.107* Πόθεν . . . πάρει; — 'Εξ Ἰλίου γε κατὰ Τρωικῶν πόνων ('From *Ilium*': τε Hermann): *Hel.1521* τίς δέ νιν ναυκληρία . . . ἀπήρε . . .; — 'Ην γε ξένω δίδως σὺ (τῷ ξένω Wilamowitz). *Or.398* Πῶς φῆς; . . . — Λύπη μάλιστα γ' ἢ διαφθείρουσά με: *Ar.V.816* τί τὸν ὄρνιν ὡς ἐμ' ἐξηνέγκατε; — 'Ινα γ' . . .: *Rax675* Ποῖός τις οὖν εἶναι δοκεῖ τὰ πολεμικὰ ὁ Κλεώνυμος; — Ψυχὴν γ' ἄριστος πλὴν γ' ὅτι . . . ('A very stout fellow'): *Ec.455* Τί δῆτ' ἔδοξεν; — 'Επιτρέπειν γε τὴν πόλιν ταύταις: *Lys.1167* Κᾶτα τίνα κινήσομεν; — 'Ετερόν γ' ἀπαιτεῖτ' ἀντὶ τούτου χωρίον: *Pl.Ly.204A* διδάσκει δὲ τίς αὐτόθι; — Σὸς ἐταῖρός γε, ἢ δ' ὄς, καὶ ἐπαιέτης, Μίκκος (γε *scr. recs.*: τε *BTW* ('A friend of yours')): *Phdr.260D* ποῖόν τιν' ἂν οἶει . . . καρπὸν . . . θερίζειν; — Οὐ πάνυ γε ἐπιεικῆ ('Not a very good one': γε *B*: *om. T*): *Phlb.34E* ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν πάλιν ἀναλάβωμεν. — Πόθεν δῆ; — Διψῆ γέ που λέγομεν ἐκάστοτέ τι; (γέ που *B*: που *T*): *R.569A*. (In view of these examples, Heath's (γε) νεαρᾶς in *S.OC475* is unexceptionable, and Jebb's objections to it are not valid.)

The following are only formally different. *S.Tr.590* Ἄλλ' εἰ τίς ἐστὶ πίστις ἐν τοῖς δρωμένοις, δοκεῖς παρ' ἡμῖν οὐ βεβουλεύσθαι κακῶς. — Οὕτως ἔχει γ' ἡ πίστις ('My confidence amounts to this'): *Ar.Th.1218* εἶδες αὐτό; — Ταύτη γ' οἴχεται. It is as though in the former passage τίς πίστις; , in the latter, πῆ; had preceded.

In reported speech. *Pl.Smp.199D* ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ . . . ἠρώτων. ἄρα ὁ πατήρ ἐστι πατήρ τινος ἢ οὐ; εἶπες ἂν . . . ὅτι ἐστὶν θεός γε ἢ θυγατρὸς ὁ πατήρ πατήρ.

(v) In affirmative answers to questions or statements, adding something to the bare affirmation, which is not expressed or implied. This form of ellipse is exceedingly common in tragic and comic dialogue, especially in stichomythia, where economy of space is an important consideration: it is but rarely found in the less compressed style of the Platonic dialogue, except in the



formulae πάνυ γε, σφόδρα γε, etc., where the addition is merely one of degree, and in cases where the addition expresses a limitation.

S.OT 365 Εἶπω τι δῆτα κάλλ' . . . ;—Ὅσον γε χρήσεις ('Yes, all you wish'): 563 Τότ' οὖν ὁ μάντις οὗτος ἦν ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ;—Σοφός γ' ὁμοίως κάξ ἴσου τιμώμενος: *Αἰν.* 404 λέγεις ὀρθῶς ἀ φῆς;—Ταύτην γ' ἰδὼν θάπτουσαν ('Aye, I saw her . . .'): E.*Hipp.* 1053 ἀλλά μ' ἐξελάς χθονός;—Πέραν γε πόντου: *Andr.* 247 Ὀρᾶς ἄγαλμα Θέτιδος εἰς σ' ἀποβλέπον;—Μισοῦν γε πατρίδα σὴν: 912-18 (γε in four consecutive answers): *Ba.* 835 Ἡ καί τι πρὸς τοῖσδ' ἄλλο προσθήσεις ἐμοί;—Θύρσον γε χειρί: 966 κείθεν δ' ἀπάξει σ' ἄλλος.—Ἡ τεκοῦσά γε: *Ιον* 552 Ἐθιάσευσ' . . . ;—Μαινάσιν γε Βακχίων: 560 Ἡ θίγω . . . ;—Πιθόμενός γε τῷ θεῷ: *Αἰ. Αἰκ.* 900 ἠ φορτί' . . . ἄξεις ἰών;—Ὁ τί γ' ἔστ' Ἀθάναις, ἐν Βοιωτοῖσιν δὲ μή: *Εἰ.* 797 τὰς πρεσβείας τ' ἀπελαύνεις ἐκ τῆς πόλεως . . . —Ἰνα γ' Ἑλλήνων ἄρξῃ πάντων: 1231 χρῆσμός ἐστι Πυθικὸς φράζων ὑφ' οὗ . . . —Τοῦμόν γε φράζων ὄνομα: *V.* 421 καὶ κέντρ' ἔχουσιν . . . —Οἷς γ' ἀπώλεσαν Φίλιππον: 904 Ἐτερος οὗτος αὖ Λάβης.—Ἀγαθός γ' ὑλακτεῖν: S.OT 1011, 1175: *OC* 479: E.*Cyc.* 379: *Alc.* 62: *Hipp.* 1404: *Andr.* 898: *El.* 240: *IT* 919: *Hel.* 104: *Ph.* 723, 1081, 1647: *Or.* 795, 1596: *Αἰ. Εἰ.* 258: *Nu.* 1180: *Pl. Grg.* 449A Ῥήτορα ἄρα χρή σε καλεῖν;—Ἀγαθόν γε ('Yes, a good one').

In Euripides the addition often takes the form of a consecutive ὥστε clause. *El.* 667 Ἐπειτ' ἀπαντῶν μητρὶ τὰπ' ἐμοῦ φράσον.—Ὡστ' αὐτά γ' ἐκ σοῦ στόματος εἰρήσθαι δοκεῖν: *Hel.* 108 Ἡδὴ γὰρ ἠπται καὶ κατείργασται πυρί;—Ὡστ' οὐδ' ἵχνος γε τειχέων εἶναι σαφές: E.*Cyc.* 159, 217: *Hec.* 246, 248: *Ph.* 1344: *Or.* 1122: *El.* 273: *IA* 326: *A. Ag.* 541: *Αἰ. Nu.* 469. (Contrast S.OT 361, limitative: Οὐχὶ ξυνηκας πρόσθεν; . . . —Οὐχ ὥστε γ' εἰπεῖν γνωστόν.)

Euripides, again, likes to echo a word from the preceding speech, an abstract substantive, in the accusative, being governed by a cognate verb supplied from that speech. *Hel.* 1633 Ἡμε προῦδωκεν—Καλήν γε προδοσίαν: *Ba.* 970 τρυφᾶν μ' ἀναγκασεῖς.—Τρυφᾶς γε τοιάσδ': *Or.* 1582: *IA* 1364. These parallels tell in favour of punctuating after ἔρωτα in *Med.* 698. Cf. *HF* 716 ἰκέτιν . . . θάσσειν . . . —Ἀνόνητά γ' ἰκετεύουσιν.

Addition of degree only. E.*Hipp.* 96 ἔστι τις χάρις;—Πλείστη

γε: S.*Tr.* 669 Οὐ δὴ τι τῶν σῶν Ἡρακλεῖ δωρημάτων;—Μάλιστα γ': *Αἰ. V.* 293 Ἐθελήσεις . . . ;—Πάνυ γ' ὦ παιδίον. S.OT 994: *Aj.* 983: E.*HF* 1414: *Αἰ. Nu.* 253: *V.* 521: *Lys.* 81: *Pl. Grg.* 491E Πάνυ γε σφόδρα: *Hr. Ma.* 283D Πάντως γέ που . . . καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι: *Grg.* 498B: *Phd.* 81A: *Cra.* 394E. πάνυ γε, σφόδρα γε, etc., are regular Platonic formulae of assent. So also εἰκός γε, εἰκότως γε, where γε seems to be assentient rather than limitative. (In *Cra.* 406D Οὐδὲ εἰκός γε, γε marks the answer, and οὐδὲ goes closely with εἰκός.)

In rhetorical questions. S.*OC* 792 ἄρ' οὐκ ἄμεινον . . . φρονῶ; πολλῷ γ': E.*Hel.* 851.

Less frequently, there is no ellipse, and the answer is grammatically (though not logically) self-sufficing. *Pl. Euthd.* 274A τοσόνδε δέ μοι εἶπετον, εἰ ἐν νῷ ἔχετον ἐπιδεικνύναι ταύτην τὴν σοφίαν . . . —Ἐπ' αὐτό γε τοῦτο πάρεσμεν . . . ὡς ἐπιδείζοντε ('Yes, that's just what we've come for': with ellipse, this would be: Ἐπ' αὐτό γε τοῦτο παρόντες (ἐν νῷ ἔχομεν ἐπιδεικνύναι): X.*Cyr.* iv 2.7 Ἐχετε οὖν ὦν λέγετε πιστόν τι ἡμᾶς διδάσκειν ὡς ἀληθεύετε;—Ὀμηρούς γ', ἔφασαν, ἐθέλομεν . . . ἀγαγεῖν ('Yes, we're ready to bring hostages'). Such passages approximate to those grouped under (i) above. But there the actual fact of assent is conveyed: here, the reason for implied assent. '(We intend . . .) because we've come for that purpose': '(we can give a pledge,) for we are ready to bring hostages'.

Often the addition takes the form of a limitative qualification. We may then, perhaps, say that γε does double duty (cf. (iii) above): by emphasis implying assent, and by limitation qualifying that assent. S.OT 680 τί μέλλεις κομίζεῖν . . . ;—Μαθοῦσά γ' ἦτις ἡ τύχη (sc. κομιῶ. 'I will when I've learned . . . (but not before)'): *Pl. Phdr.* 228D ἕκαστον ἐφεξῆς δέειμι . . . —Δείξας γε πρῶτον, ὦ φιλότῆς, τί ἄρα ἐν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ ἔχεις ὑπὸ τῷ ἱματίῳ ('Yes, when you've first shewn me . . .'): E.*Hel.* 1634: *Pl. Tht.* 183D, 188D.

In imaginary dialogue. D.*xliv* 33 ὅτι νῆ Δία πατὴρ . . . τετελευτηκότος. ἀπεληλυθώς γ' εἰς τὸν πατρῶν οἶκον ('Yes, but a father who had gone back . . .'): *Hyp. Αἰθ.* 13 ἐρεῖ δὲ . . . ὡς ὁ νόμος λέγει, ὅσα ἂν ἕτερος ἐτέρῳ ὁμολογήσῃ κύρια εἶναι, τὰ νε δίκαια, ὦ βέλτιστε: D.*xxi* 147: *xxxv* 48: *xliv* 50. A further development of this usage is the exegetic: see (12) below.



(vi) Often, too, though less often, γε adds detail to an assent already expressed. *S.O.C.65* Καὶ κάρτα, τοῦδε τοῦ θεοῦ γ' ἐπώνυμοι: *E.Cyc.586* Ναὶ μὰ Δί', δν ἀρπάξω γ' ἐγώ: *HF.1061* Εὔδει;—Ναί, εὔδει, ὕπνον γ' ἄπνον ὀλόμενον: *Hec.1004* Μάλιστα, διὰ σοῦ γ': *Hel.136* Οὐ πού νιν Ἑλένης αἰσχροὺν ὄλεσεν κλέος;—Φασίν, βρόχῳ γ' ἄψασαν εὐγενῆ δέρην: *Ba.816* Σάφ' ἴσθι, σιγῇ γ' ὑπ' ἐλάταις καθήμενος: 937 Κάμοι δοκοῦσι, παρὰ γε δεξιὸν πῶδα: *IA.1459* Ἐγώ, μετὰ γε σοῦ: *Ar.Ach.187* Ἐγωγέ φημι, τρία γε ταυτὶ γεύματα: *Eq.282* Νῆ Δί', ἐξάγων γε τὰ πόρρηθ': *Pax.1234* Ἐγωγε νῆ Δία, ἵνα μή γ' ἀλῶ (after oaths in *V.146, Pax.963, Ra.128*): *E.Ba.812*: *Ar.Ec.1063*: *Pl.Phd.59C* Ξένοι δέ τινες παρήσαν;—Ναί, Σιμμίας τέ γε...: *Tht.193A* Ναί, ἀληθῆ γε: *Cra.421A* Μαίεσθαι οὖν καλεῖς τι;—Ἐγωγε, τό γε ζητεῖν: *Tht.185C* ἀλλά τι ἄλλο (φαίνεται).—Τί δ' οὐ μέλλει, ἦ γε διὰ τῆς γλώττης δύναμις; *Grg.476D* Οὐκοῦν ὑπό τινος ποιούντος;—Πῶς γὰρ οὐ; ὑπό γε τοῦ κολάζοντος: *R.543B*... εἰ μνημονεύεις...—Ἀλλὰ μνημονεύω, ἔφη, ὅτι γε...: 575E καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τέλος ἂν εἴη...—Τοῦτο, ἦ δ' ὅς, παντάπασί γε: *Cra.434E*: *Alc.I.135A*: *La.185E, 195E*: *R.477D, 578D*.

Sometimes, in assenting, the second speaker echoes a word from the previous speaker (characteristic of Euripides). *S.Tr.1192* Οἶσθ'...;—Οἶδ', ὡς θυτήρ γε: *E.Alc.376* δέχου.—Δέχομαι, φίλον γε δῶρον: *Heracl.792* φόβος γὰρ εἴ μοι ζῶσιν οὐς ἐγὼ θέλω.—Ζῶσιν, μέγιστόν γ' εὐκλεῖς: *Hec.995* Χρυσὸς δὲ σῶς...;—Σῶς, ἐν δόμοις γε τοῖς ἐμοῖς φρουρούμενος: *Ba.796* Θύοιμ' ἂν αὐτῷ μάλλον ἦ...—Θύσω, φόνον γε θῆλυν: *IT.522* ἀφίκται...;—Ἡκει, κακῶς γ' ἐλθοῦσα: 562: cf. *Ar.Eq.671* ἀφίκται γὰρ περὶ σπονδῶν...—Νυνὶ περὶ σπονδῶν; ἐπειδὴ γ', ὦ μέλε, ἦσθοντο τὰς ἀφύας παρ' ἡμῖν ἀξίας (ironical assent: 'Yes, now that they know sardines are cheap here!'): *E.Alc.524*: *Hipp.1394*: *IT.568*: *El.673*: *Med.1373*: *Ar.V.182* (cf. 1181): *Hdt.1.159.4* κελεύεις...;—Ναί, κελεύω, ἵνα γε... ἀπόλησθε: *Pl.Phd.74B* φῶμεν...;—Φῶμεν μέντοι νῆ Δία... θαυμαστῶς γε.

(vii) A particular variety of the elliptical use of γε in answers are the formulae of assent, καλῶς γε ποιῶν, etc. *Ar.Ach.1050* Ἐπεμψέ τις σοι νυμφίος ταυτὶ κρέα ἐκ τῶν γάμων.—Καλῶς γε ποιῶν ὅστις ἦν ('Very kind of him'): *Lys.521* ἔφασκε...—Ὁρθῶς γε λέγων νῆ Δί' ἐκεῖνος: *Pl.Cra.431A* Καλῶς γε σὺ ποιῶν: *Lg.204A* Καλῶς γε, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ποιῶντες: *Cra.399A* Ὁρθῶς γε

σὺ πιστεύων: *Tht.181D* Ὁρθῶς γε λέγων: *R.399E* Σωφροῦντές γε ἡμεῖς: *R.474A*: *Prt.352D*. Without the participle, Ὁρθῶς γε: *E.Hipp.94*: *Pl.Prt.359E*: *Tht.197B*: *D.xxvii.36*. Without ellipse: *Ar.Pax.271* Εὔ γ'... ποιῶν ἀπόλωλ' ἐκεῖνος.

(viii) In drama, the speech of one character is sometimes completed by a second, who either (a) interrupts, or (b) carries on a sentence which is already complete in itself, often giving a new and malicious turn to the thought. (The assignment of some passages to (a) or to (b) is precarious.)

(a) *Ar.Pl.180* Ὁ Τιμοθέου δὲ πύργος—Ἐμπέσοι γέ σοι: *Pax.446* Κεῖ τις... φθονεῖ... ἐν ταῖσιν μάχαις—Πάσχοι γε τοιαῦθ' οἷάπερ Κλεώνυμος: 452 Κεῖ τις... μὴ ξυλλάβοι, ἢ δοῦλος αὐτομολεῖν παρεσκευασμένος—Ἐπὶ τοῦ τροχοῦ γ' ἔλκοιτο: *Pl.Com.Fr.173.21* σκορπίος αὐ—Παίσειέ γέ σου τὸν προκτὸν ὑπελθών.

Neil, who cites the above passages (*Equites*, pp. 189–90) suggests, perhaps over-ingeniously, that this form of expression may have been used in religious services, the priest beginning each prayer and the congregation finishing it. He observes that the distribution of the lines between the speakers is attested by the scholia, and suggests that in *Pax.443* and *449* we should read Ἐκ τῶν (γ') ὀλεκράνων and Ἀηφθείς (γ'). He also cites *E.Supp.805* Ἰὼ ἰώ—Τῶν γ' ἐμῶν κακῶν ἐγώ: and *Ph.1741* Φεῦ τὸ χρήσιμον φρενῶν—Ἐς πατρός γε συμφορὰς εὐκλεῖά με θήσει. In the latter passage again the scholiast divides the words between the speakers. Add the following: *S.O.C.535* Σαί τ' εἰσ' ἄρ' ἀπόγονοί τε καί—Κοιναί γε πατὸς ἀδελφείαι: 1109 Ὁ σκῆπτρα φωτός—Δυσμόρου γε δύσμορα: *E.Iou.271* Δίδωσι δ', ὡς περ ἐν γραφῇ νομίζεται—Κέκροπος γε σῶζειν παισὶν οὐχ ὀρώμενον: 562 Χαῖρέ μοι, πάτερ.—Φίλον γε φθέγμ' ἐδεξάμην τόδε.—Ἡμέρα θ' ἡ νῦν παροῦσα—Μακάριόν γ' ἔθηκέ με (instead of the expected Χαίρέτω): *Ar.Ach.598* Ἐχειροτόνησαν γάρ με—Κόκκυγές γε τρεῖς: *V.1227* Οὐδεὶς πώποτ' ἀνὴρ ἔγενετ' Ἀθηναῖς—Οὐχ οὕτω γε πανοῦργος οὐδὲ κλέπτης. *Ar.E.* is somewhat similar: Ἄπαυ' ἐς μακαρίαν ἐκποδῶν.—Σὺ γ' ὦ φθόρε ('Go to hell (you)—'—'You').

(b) *S.El.164* μολόντα τάνδε γὰν Ὁρέσταν.—Ὁν γ' ἐγὼ ἀκάματα προσμένουσ' ἄτεκνος... ('Orestes, whom I...')—Ἐχεις οὖν;—Πόνου γε πλήθος ('Have you found anything...')

E.Cyc.683 Ἔχεις;—Κακὸν γε πρὸς κακῶ ('Have you got them?'): *Surr.* 818 Ἔχεις ἔχεις (sc. τὰ τέκνα).—Πημάτων γ' ἄλις βάρος: *Alc.* 49 οὐ γὰρ οἶδ' ἂν εἰ πείσαιμί σε.—Κτείνειν γ' ἂν χρῆ; τοῦτο γὰρ τετάγμεθα ('To kill those I ought, do you mean? Yes, that is my office.' This might be read differently, and classed under (a). γ' om. *LPB*). Perhaps *Ar.Ach.* 92 is to be similarly explained: ἄγοντες ἤκομεν Ψευδαρτάβαν, τὸν βασιλέως ὀφθαλμόν.—Ἐκκόψειέ γε κόραξ πατάξας, τὸν τε σὸν τοῦ πρέσβεως: ὀφθαλμόν being governed ἀπὸ κοινοῦ by both the old and the new verb: if, that is, *A*'s τε is right.

(ix) The first speaker, after the second has expressed agreement, amplifies his original statement. (Plato only.) *Pl.Grg.* 450A περὶ λόγους ἐστίν.—Ναί.—Τούς γε περὶ τὰ νοσήματα ('Words about diseases'): *Cra.* 414B ἐπίλοιπα δ' ἡμῖν ἔτι συχνα . . . ;—Ἀληθῆ λέγεις.—Ὦν γ' ἐστὶν ἐν καὶ "τέχνην" ἰδεῖν: *Th.* 186E Σύμπαν ἄρ' αὐτὸ καλεῖς αἰσθησιν;—Ἀνάγκη.—Ὦι γε, φάμεν, . . . : *Phdr.* 258B πενθεῖ αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ ἐταῖροι.—Καὶ μάλα.—Δηλὸν γε ὅτι οὐχ ὡς ὑπερφρονοῦντες: *Cra.* 385C, 435A: *Th.* 208B: *Grg.* 479B.

In *E.Ph.* 608 the first speaker ignores an interruption by the second. Ἐξελαυνόμεσθα πατρίδος— —Καὶ γὰρ ἦλθες ἐξελῶν.—Ἄδικία γ', ὦ θεοί.

(12) Epexegetic. (See *C.R.* xliii (1929), 59-60.) γε gives force and urgency to an addition or supplement. This idiom is closely connected with the use of γε in answers (see especially *II. v. ad fin.*: *ib.* ix): perhaps, indeed, derived from it, the speaker reaffirming and supplementing his own preceding words: 'Yes.' (Cf. μὲν οὖν, 'No', and δῆτα, 'Yes', in continuous speech.) Epexegetic γε, which is common in drama, but extremely rare in prose, has considerable stylistic importance, though it has not been adequately recognized. Hence in some passages the particle has been suspected or altered, though in others editors have, with a true instinct, restored γε for τε. The epexegetis takes various forms:—

(i) A substantive or pronoun in apposition. (As τε also is employed in apposition (*q.v.* I.1.e) the decision between γε and τε is sometimes difficult.) *A.Ch.* 94 ἔσθλ' ἀντιδοῦναι . . . δόσιν γε τῶν κακῶν ἐπαξίαν (γε *Stanley*: τε *M*: 'even a gift worthy of . . .'):

*S.Ph.* 977 Ὀδυσσέως, σάφ' ἴσθ', ἐμοῦ γ', ὃν εἰσορᾶς: *OC* 1278 ὡς μὴ μ' ἄτιμον, τοῦ θεοῦ γε προστάτην, οὕτως ἀφῆ ('me, the suppliant of the god'): *E.Heracl.* 856 δισσῶ γὰρ ἀστέρ' . . . ἔκρυψαν ἄρμα λυγαίῳ νέφει: σὸν δὲ λέγουσι παῖδά γ' οἱ σοφώτεροι Ἡβηθη: *Ιου* 1429 δώρημ' Ἀθάνας . . . Ἐριχθονίου γε τοῦ πάλαι μιμήματα (where γε is sound, even without the assumption of a break in the lines: 'nämlich', Wilamowitz): *Ba.* 926 οὐχὶ τὴν Ἴνουσ στάσιν, ἢ τὴν Ἀγαύης ἐστάναι, μητρός γ' ἐμῆς (μητρός γ' *P*: μητρός *P*): *IA* 252 Παλλάδ' ἐν μωνύχοις ἔχων πτερωτοῖσιν ἄρμασιν θετόν, εὔσημόν γε φάσμα ναυβάταις (γε *Musgrave*: τε *LP*): 1454 Πατέρα τὸν ἄμὸν μὴ στύγει, πόσιν γε σόν (γε *Elmsley*: τε *LP*): *Ar.Ach.* 1185 πανύστατόν σ' ἰδὼν λείπω, φάος γε τούμὸν: *Nu.* 1190 ἐς δὴ ἡμέρας ἔθηκεν, ἔς γε τὴν ἔννην τε καὶ νέαν: *Pl.* 309 Οὐκοῦν σὲ τὴν Κίρκην γε . . . (not σε, surely): *Pl.Com.Fr.* 46.8 τίθημι κοττάβεια σφῶν ἐγώ, τασδί γε τὰς κρηπίδας ἄς αὐτῆ φορεῖ, καὶ τὸν κότυλον τὸν σόν (τε *Elmsley*): *S.Ph.* 1214: *E.Andr.* 25: *IA* 85: *Pl.Cra.* 438E ἄρα δι' ἄλλου του ἢ οὔπερ εἰκός τε καὶ δικαιοτάτον, δι' ἀλλήλων γε (τε *Heindorf*).

(ii) A participial clause. *Sol.Fr.* 2.4 εἶην δὲ τότε ἐγὼ Φολεγάνδριος ἢ Σικινίτης, ἀντί γ' Ἀθηναίου πατρίδ' ἀμειψάμενος: *A.Pers.* 847 μάλιστα δ' ἦδε συμφορὰ δάκνει, ἀτιμίαν γε παιδὸς ἀμφὶ σώματι ἐσθημάτων κλύουσιν (Paley calls this γε 'intolerable'): *E.HF* 756 ἀντίποινα δ' ἐκτίνων τόλμα, διδούς γε τῶν δεδραμένων δίκην ('aye, paying the penalty . . .'): *IA* 1376 τοῦτο δ' αὐτὸ βούλομαι εὐκλεῶς πράξαι, παρεῖσά γ' ἐκποδῶν τὸ δυσγενές: *Cyc.* 163 Δράσω τάδ', ὀλίγον φροντίσας γε δεσποτῶν: *HF* 770 ὁ δὲ παλαιότερος κρατεῖ, λιμένα λιπῶν γε τὸν Ἀχερόντιον (γε *L*: τε *P*: 'Aye, he hath left . . .'): *Ar.Pax* 483 ἔλκουσιν . . . ὥσπερ κυνίδια, ὑπὸ τοῦ γε λιμοῦ νῆ Δί' ἐξολωλότες (Yes, by Jove, they're starving'): *A.Pr.* 948 read, perhaps, γ' for τ', which edd., following *Elmsley*, delete): *S.El.* 1075 (Pearson): *E.Ion* 1138 (but 1138-9 are doubtful, and the γε, which troubled Paley, is here unnatural, and comes curiously late: 'A square, aye, οἱ 10,000 square feet'): *Hel.* 955: *IA* 1514: *Hr.Arl.* 32 κατορθῶσαι μὲν χρῆ τὸ ὄστέον, παρά γε τὴν γλώσσαν πλαγίην ὑπείρανα τοὺς δακτύλους: 74 μοχλεῦειν χρῆ . . . κατὰ γε αὐτὸν τὸν γλυκτὸν τιθέμενον τὸν μοχλόν (reading doubtful). See also δέ, I.A.3.

(iii) A relative clause. *E.Med.* 1340 οὐκ ἔστιν ἦτις τοῦτ' ἂν Ἑλληνὶς γυνὴ ἔτλη ποθ', ὃν γε πρόσθεν ἠξίου ἐγὼ γῆμαι σέ

('those Greek women whom I rejected for *you*'): *IA* 1572 δέξαι τὸ θῦμα τόδ', δ' γέ σοι δωρούμεθα ('even that which we offer to thee'): *Ar.V.* 150 ἀτὰρ ἄθλιός γ' εἶμ', ὡς ἕτερός γ' οὐδεὶς ἀνὴρ: 1268 Ἀμυνίας . . . οὗτος ὃν γ' ἐγὼ ποτ' εἶδον: *Pl.Tht.* 170E μάλα μυρίοι δῆτα . . . οἳ γέ μοι τὰ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων πράγματα παρέχουσιν ('And they are the people who . . .'): *X.Hier.* 1.11 (γ' ἄ Marchant: τὰ *codd.*). In *E.HF* 850 οὗ γε can hardly be right.

(iv) Rarely, a repeated word. *E.Alc.* 218 Δῆλα μὲν, φίλοι, δῆλά γ' ('Aye, plain': δ' *V*): *Ar.Pax* 280 Οἴμοι τάλας, οἴμοι γε.

(v) An adverb or adverbial phrase. *S.OC* 1416 Στρέψαι στρατεύμ' εἰς Ἄργος, ὡς τάχιστα γε: *E.Or.* 212 ὡς ἡδύ μοι προσῆλθες, ἐν δέοντί γε ('Aye, in my hour of need': more forcible than τε *Stob.*): *Ar.Ra.* 1135 Εὐθύς γὰρ ἡμάρτηκεν, οὐράνιον γ' ὄσον.

(vi) A consecutive or final clause. *Ar.Nu.* 1342 Ἄλλ' οἴομαι μέντοι σ' ἀναπέσειν ὥστε γε οὐδ' αὐτὸς . . . ἀντερεῖς (cf. *I.II.v*): *X.Cyr.* 1.6.29 οὐδ' ἀκοντίζειν ἄνθρωπον ἐπετρέπομεν ὑμῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σκοπὸν βάλλειν ἐδιδάσκομεν, ἵνα γε νῦν μὲν μὴ κακουργοίητε τοὺς φίλους. (But in *Pl.Phd.* 67B (ὥστε ἢ γ' ἀποδημία . . .) γε goes rather more closely with the substantive.)

In *Pl.Sph.* 217B γε, while not falling under any of the above categories, may be regarded as exexegetic: φθόνος μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς . . . εἰπεῖν ὅτι γε τρί' ἠγοῦντο (γε gives the effect of a slight pause after εἰπεῖν: 'I do not grudge the answer, that they considered them to be three'.)

II. Limitative. This, as I have observed, is the predominating use of γε, in prose at any rate, except in certain well-marked idioms. Classification can only be approximate, and the reader may often disagree with my assignment of examples to I or II.

(1) In general. As remarked above, we must distinguish<sup>1</sup> between (i) cases where an extension of application is not excluded (here γε means 'at least'): (ii) cases where it is, at any rate for the purpose in hand, excluded (here γε often approximates to μὲν).

(i) *Hom.K.* 556 ρεῖα θεός γ' ἐθέλων καὶ ἀμείνονας . . . ἵππους δωρήσαιο: *S.Aj.* 469 ἀλλ' ὧδέ γ' Ἀτρείδας ἂν εὐφράναιμί που

<sup>1</sup> This distinction once stated and illustrated, I shall not complicate classification by observing it in the particular types (2) &c. below.

('by doing *that*' ('whatever effect on them another action might have')): 1342 ὥστ' οὐκ ἂν ἐνδίκως γ' ἀτιμάζοιτό σοι ('though he might be *wrongfully* dishonoured'): *El.* 137 Ἄλλ' οὔτοι τόν γ' ἐξ Αἶδα παγκοίνου λίμνας πατέρ' ἀνστάσεις οὔτε γόοις οὔτε λιταῖσιν ('whether or not prayer is likely to be successful in other cases'): *Ar.Au.* 816 οὐδ' ἂν χαμεύνη πάνυ γε κειρίαν γ' ἔχων: *S.El.* 387, 518: *OT* 357, 361: *Pl.Grg.* 505A συγχωρεῖς τοῦτό γε καὶ σύ: *Phdr.* 243B σοφώτερος ἐκείνων γενήσομαι κατ' αὐτό γε τοῦτο ('just in *this* respect'): *Phd.* 65B ἢ τά γε τοιαῦτα καὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ ἡμῖν αἰὲ θρυλοῦσιν: 69D ὦν δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ κατὰ γε τὸ δυνατόν οὐδὲν ἀπέλιπον ἐν τῷ βίῳ: 85B ἀλλὰ τούτου γ' ἔνεκα λέγειν τε χρή: *D.viii* 28, 44, 49, 53.

(ii) *Hom.* 4372 Τυδέος υἱέ . . . τί πτώσσεις . . . ; οὐ μὲν Τυδέϊ γ' ὧδε φίλον πτωσκαζέμεν ἦεν ('*Tydeus* didn't skulk (but *you do*')): *HI* 42 δόλω, οὗ τι κράτει γε: 393 οὗ φησιν δώσειν ἢ μὴν Τρῶές γε κέλονται ('I warrant the *Trojans bid* him'): *N* 325 ἐν γ' αὐτοσταδίῃ ποσὶ δ' οὗ πως ἔστιν ἐρίζειν: 1264 πύργωσάν τ', ἐπεὶ οὐ μὲν ἀπύργωτόν γ' ἐδύναντο ναιέμεν εὐρύχορον Θήβην: *S.Aj.* 1067 εἰ γὰρ βλέποντος μὴ δυνήθημεν κρατεῖν, πάντως θανόντος γ' ἄρξομεν: *El.* 319 Φησὶν γε φάσκων δ' οὐδὲν ὦν λέγει ποεῖ: *E.Andr.* 5 ζηλωτὸς ἐν γε τῷ πρὶν Ἀνδρομάχη χρόνῳ, νῦν δ' . . . δυστυχεστάτη: *Hel.* 432 ἐλπίς δ' ἔκ γε πλουσίων δόμων λαβεῖν τι ναύταις: ἐκ δὲ μὴ ἐχόντων βίον . . . : 829 Κοινῇ γ' ἐκείνη ραδίως, λάθρα δ' ἂν οὗ: *Ion* 414 Ἡμεῖς τά γ' ἔξω, τῶν ἔσω δ' ἄλλοις μέλει: *Ar.Ec.* 985 ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας ἀρχῆς γε . . . νυνὶ δὲ . . . : *S.Aj.* 182: *El.* 520, 561, 1023: *OT* 105, 363, 712: *Ant.* 456, 771: *Tr.* 1211: *Ph.* 907: *E.Ion* 1353: *El.* 36-7: *Ar.Pax* 327: *Pl.Grg.* 517B οὐδ' ἐγὼ ψέγω τούτους ὡς γε διακόνους εἶναι πόλεως ('but in another respect I do blame them'): *Smpr.* 187A . . . βούλεται λέγειν, ἐπεὶ τοῖς γε ῥήμασιν οὐ καλῶς λέγει: *Phd.* 60E ἐν γε τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ . . . νῦν δὲ . . . : *Ly.* 205D: *Men.* 72C: *Phd.* 117C: *Cra.* 392D, 420B: *Tht.* 144D, 165C.

(2) An important branch of the limitative use of γε is its use with relative pronouns, and with conditional and causal conjunctions. γε denotes that the speaker or writer is not concerned with what might or might not be true apart from the qualification laid down in the subordinate clause.

(i) With relative pronouns, *ut qui, quibus, cui*. *S.F.* 111 πῶς

γάρ; ἢ γε μηδὲ πρὸς θεοὺς ἔξεστ' ἀκλαύτω τῆσδ' ἀποστῆναι στέγης ('since I am one who . . .'): 923 Πῶς δ' οὐκ ἐγὼ κάτοιδ' ἄ γ' εἶδον ἐμφανῶς; *Ph.* 1282 οὐ γάρ ποτ' εὖνουν τὴν ἐμὴν κτήση φρένα, ὅστις γε . . .: *Ag. Ach.* 1152 Ἀντίμαχον . . . κακῶς ἐξολέσειεν ὁ Ζεὺς· ὅς γ' . . . ('a man who . . .'): *S. OT* 35, 853: *Ph.* 663, 1364, 1386: *E. Alc.* 620: *Pl. Grg.* 471B ἐπεὶ τὰ μέγιστα ἠδίκηκεν· ὅς γε . . .: 487B πῶς γὰρ οὐ; ὦ γε εἰς τοσοῦτον αἰσχύνης ἐληλύθατον . . .: *Phd.* 96E: *R.* 343A, 349C, 396B, 402E, 404A.

(ii) With conditional and causal conjunctions, *si quidem*, *quippe cum*, etc. *Hom.* 1762 ὡς ἔον, εἴ ποτ' ἔον γε, μετ' ἀνδράσιν: η315 εἴ κ' ἐθέλων γε μένοισ' ἀέκοντα δέ σ' οὐ τις ἐρύξει: *S. El.* 1105 Ἡδ', εἰ τὸν ἄγχιστόν γε κηρύσσειν χρεῶν: *OT* 1015 Πῶς δ' οὐχί, παῖς γ' εἰ τῶνδε γεννητῶν ἔφυν; (order remarkable): *Ag. Eq.* 276 Ἄλλ' ἐὰν μέντοι γε νικᾶς τῇ βοῇ, τήνελλος εἶ (ἀλλά goes with μέντοι and ἐὰν with γε): *S. OT* 294, 383, 583: *OC* 648: *E. Med.* 88, 512: *Ag. Av.* 1571: *Hr. Int.* 50 εἶτα ἐξέρχεται μελετωμένη καλῶς ἐν χρόνῳ, ἣν γε καὶ μὴ καταρχὰς ἰηθῆ (this combination of εἴ γε, 'if, that is', with εἰ καί, 'even if', is easily intelligible, though, strictly speaking, illogical: γε καὶ *om.* *EHKθ*): *Hdt.* viii 140a2 ἣν δὴ βούλωνται γε ('if, that is, they really wish'): *Th.* vi 18.2 ἐπεὶ εἴ γε ἡσυχάζοιεν . . .: *Pl. Euthd.* 272D Ἄλλ' οὐδὲν κωλύει . . . ἐὰν γε σοὶ δοκῆ ('if, that is, you want it to be so'): *Phd.* 106D σχολῆ γὰρ ἂν τι ἄλλο φθορὰν μὴ δέχοιτο, εἰ τό γε ἀθάνατον . . . φθορὰν δέξεται: *Hdt.* iii 73: *Pl. Phd.* 115C: *La.* 192C.

*S. Aj.* 716 κούδεν ἀναύδατον φατίσαιμ' ἂν, εὐτέ γ' ἐξ ἀέλπτων Αἴας μετανεγνώσθη: *OC* 1699 καὶ γὰρ δ μηδαμὰ δὴ φίλον, ἦν φίλον, ὅποτε γε καὶ τὸν ἐν χεροῖν κατεῖχον: *Ag. Pax* 1251 ὡς μ' ἀπώλεσας, ὅτ' ἀντέδωκά γ' ἀντὶ τῶνδε μνᾶν ποτέ (γ' *om.* *RV*): *S. El.* 631 Οὐκουν ἐάσεις . . . θῦσαί μ', ἐπειδὴ σοὶ γ' ἐφῆκα πᾶν λέγειν; *E. Hipp.* 946 δεῖξον δ', ἐπειδὴ γ' ἐς μίασμ' ἐλήλυθας . . .: *Ag. Th.* 145 ἀλλὰ δῆτ' ἐκ τοῦ μέλους ζητῶ σ', ἐπειδὴ γ' αὐτὸς οὐ βούλει φράσαι; *E. Cyc.* 181 ἐπεὶ γε πολλοῖς ἤδεται γαμουμένη (Pearson remarks, on *E. Hel.* 556, that γε, when it follows ἐπεὶ immediately, 'emphasizes the whole of the subordinate clause': but that 'it is far more commonly attached to a single member of the clause'. But such distinctions, particularly as regards verse, must not be unduly pressed):<sup>1</sup> *S. Ph.* 1098: *E. Cyc.* 220: *Med.* 495: *Heracl.* 562: *HF* 141: *Hipp.* 955: *Ph.* 554: *Ag. Nu.*

<sup>1</sup> See also Rademacher, *Obs. in Eur. Misc.*, p. 37.

1412: *Pax* 628: *Pl. Cri.* 49B ἐπειδὴ γε οὐδαμῶς δεῖ ἀδικεῖν: *Phd.* 114D ἐπέπερ ἀθάνατόν γε ἡ ψυχὴ φαίνεται οὔσα: *Cra.* 410A Οὐ τοῖνυν δεῖ ταῦτα προσβιάζεσθαι, ἐπεὶ ἔχοι γ' ἂν τις εἰπεῖν: *Hdt.* 160.3: *Pl. Phd.* 77D, 84E: *Smp.* 208C: *Th.* 158B, 167C.

(3) ὡς ('for') . . . γε is especially common in Euripides and Aristophanes, and seems to become almost a stereotyped idiom, in which γε often retains little force. When ὡς is first word in an answer, γε does double duty, both assenting and qualifying ὡς.

*S. OC* 45 τὸν ἰκέτην δεξαίατο· ὡς οὐχ ἔδρας γε τῆσδ' ἂν ἐξέλθοιμ' ἔτι: *E. Cyc.* 164 ὡς ἐκπιεῖν γ' ἂν κύλικα μαινοίμην μίαν: *A. Pers.* 260: *Pr.* 77: *S. Ant.* 1312: *Ph.* 117, 812: *E. Cyc.* 168, 247, 336, 439: *Alc.* 800: *Hipp.* 651: *Andr.* 923: *Hec.* 346, 433: *Supp.* 294: *El.* 901: *IT* 1035: *Ion* 759, 935, 1416: *Or.* 93, 1212: *Ba.* 1272: *IA* 1005, 1010: *Ag. Ach.* 327, 346: *V.* 218: *Pax* 942: *Av.* 540, 605, 798: *Lys.* 865, 1029, 1241, 1246: *Ra.* 955: *Ec.* 838. Rare in prose. *X. Cyr.* 1.4.13 ὡς βουλευομαί γε ὅπως . . .: viii 3.27 ὡς βαλῶ γε ταύτη τῇ βῶλῳ: *Pl. Alc.* 1131E: *Aen. Tact.* 28.4.

(4) Similarly, γε in a participial clause denotes that the main clause is only valid in so far as the participial clause is valid: whether or not the participial clause is in fact known to be valid. (Hence the sense may, according to context, be either *quippe cum*, or *dummodo*, *si quidem*: and σώφρων γ' οὔσα can either mean 'since you are wise' or 'if you are wise'.)

*S. OT* 326 Μὴ πρὸς θεῶν φρονῶν γ' ἀποστραφῆς ('if you are in your right mind'): 930 Ἄλλ' ὀλβία . . . γένοιτ', ἐκείνου γ' οὔσα παντελῆς δάμαρ ('quippe quae sit . . .'): *E. HF* 1302 τί κέρδος ἔξομεν, βίον γ' ἀχρεῖον ἀνόσιον κεκτημένοι; *S. El.* 365: *Ant.* 745: *Ph.* 587: *Hdt.* vii 129.1 εἶναι λίμνην, ὥστε γε συγκεκλημένην ὄρεσι (γε *om.* *ABC*): *Pl. Chrm.* 154E πρέπει δέ που . . . τοιοῦτον αὐτὸν εἶναι τῆς γε ὑμετέρας ὄντα οἰκίας: *Cra.* 407E Ἄλλὰ ποιήσω ταῦτα, ἔτι γε ἐν ἐρόμενός σε ('but not before asking you one further question'): *D.* xxvii 27 ἐπίτροπόν γ' ὄντα (in his capacity of guardian): xxxvii 25 οὔτε γὰρ καθίστην ἐγώ, ὃ γ' ὦν ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ: *Pl. Phd.* 94C, 98A, 103D: *Cra.* 406D: *Chrm.* 162A: *Th.* 197A: *D.* xxvii 37.

(5) *A fortiori*, negative. (See I. 1, p. 118, note 1). *Pl. Cra.* 426A

καίτοι ὅτῳ τις τρόπον τῶν πρώτων ὀνομάτων τὴν ὀρθότητα μὴ οἶδεν, ἀδύνατόν που τῶν γε ὑστέρων εἶδέναι. So also μὴ τί γε, μὴ τι . . . γε. D.xxi148 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ καθ' αὐτὸν στρατιώτης οὗτος οὐδενός ἐστ' ἄξιος, μὴ τί γε τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμών ('certainly not, anyway . . .'): viii27: xix137: xxii45,53: xxiv165. μὴ τί γε δὴ D.ii23: liv17. Cf. δὴ, I.10.vi.

(6) Duplication of γε. Emphatic and limitative γε are sometimes found in close proximity. S.OC387 (the first γε marks the affirmative answer, the second is limitative): 977 (if the first γε is sound): E.Ph.554 (the first γε closely with ἐπεὶ): Hdt.i187: X.Cyr.ii2.3: Lys.xxxi29 (both limitative). In S.OT1030 the double γε cannot be defended on the ground that the first γε means 'yes', and the second stresses σωτήρ: the γε which we render 'yes' is really emphatic (see I.11, *ad init.*), and a doubled emphasis on a single idea, σοῦ σωτήρ, is unthinkable (whereas σοῦ γε σωτήρ, ἐν γε τῷ τότε χρόνῳ would be perfectly possible Greek, 'your deliverer, once'). In Ar.Ach.93 τε is certainly right.

III. Quasi-connective use. Strictly speaking, γε is never, in classical Greek at any rate, a connecting particle. (Wilamowitz, on E.HF631, points out that it is used for τοίνυν in an inscription of Gordian's time, apparently a mistaken attempt at reviving a particle then already obsolete.) In a few passages, however, γε appears to approach a connective sense, and to soften the harshness of an asyndeton (as μέν γε does more frequently). As Wilamowitz puts it (*loc. cit.*), though I doubt whether his interpretation is appropriate in this particular case: 'Gleichwol bewirkt die hervorhebung des begriffs ἄξω λαβὼν den eindruck einer gewissen verbindung.'

(1) Quasi-connective γε usually stands where we should expect γοῦν or γάρ. (γοῦν, which is, after all, only a strengthened γε, and not in essence a connective, often comes near to γάρ in sense, since it constitutes a partial confirmation. See γοῦν I.1.ii.)

Hom.A174 οὐδέ σ' ἔγωγε λίσσομαι εἵνεκ' ἐμεῖο μένειν· πᾶρ' ἐμοιγε καὶ ἄλλοι οἳ κέ με τιμήσουσι: E.Heracl.987 ἐγὼ δὲ νεῖκος οὐχ ἐκὼν τόδ' ἡράμην· ἦδη γε σοὶ μὲν αὐτανέψιος γεγώς: Cys.270 Αὐτὸς ἔχ' ('Keep the curse for yourself'). ἔγωγε τοῖς

ξένοις τὰ χρήματα περνάντα σ' εἶδον: IA449 τῷ δὲ γενναίῳ φύσιν ἀνολβα ταῦτα. προστάτην γε τοῦ βίου τὸν ὄγκον ἔχομεν (δέ Plut.Nic.5: γάρ *suprascr.* p): 1394 οὐ δεῖ τόνδε . . . γυναικὸς εἵνεκα . . . καταθεῖν. εἰς γ' ἀνὴρ κρείσσων γυναικῶν μυρίων ὄραν φάος: 1424 (read, no doubt, γάρ, Hermann): Ar.V.707 εἰ γὰρ ἐβούλοντο βίον πορίσαι τῷ δήμῳ, ῥάδιον ἦν ἄν. εἰσὶν γε πόλεις χιλίαι αἱ νῦν τὸν φόρον ἡμῖν ἀπάγουσι: Lys.82 ὡς δ' εὐχροεῖς, ὡς δὲ σφριγᾶ τὸ σῶμά σου. κἂν ταῦρον ἀγχοῖς.—Μάλα γ' οἶῶ ναὶ τὸ σιῶ· γυμνάδδομαί γα καὶ ποτὶ πυγὰν ἄλλομαι (if γα is right: R's γε is impossible on Lampito's Spartan lips: 'I should think so! I take plenty of exercise, anyhow': the conjecture γάρ is perhaps unnecessary): 822 Τὴν γνάθον βούλει θένω;—Μηδαμῶς· ἔδεισά γε ('Don't! I'm frightened!'): Pl.Tht.200E 'The best definition of ἐπιστήμη is τὴν ἀληθῆ δόξαν ἐπιστήμην εἶναι. ἀναμάρτητόν γέ πού ἐστιν τὸ δοξάζειν ἀληθῆ': D.xix234 φέρε δὴ, περὶ . . . εἶπω· μικροῦ γ', ἀ μάλιστά μ' ἔδει πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν, παρηλθεν: xix.148 (γ' S only).

At the opening of a statement forecast by the preceding words (cf. explanatory γάρ). E.Or.531 ἐν δ' οὖν λόγοισι τοῖς ἐμοῖς ὁμοροθεῖ· μισῆ γε πρὸς θεῶν καὶ τίνεις μητρὸς δίκας: Ar.Ach.628 τοῖς ἀναπαίστοις ἐπίωμεν. ἐξ οὗ γε . . . : 916 Ἐγὼ φράσω σοι . . . ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων γ' εἰσάγεις θρυαλλίδας: Pl.Alc.II139D Ἐγὼ δὴ σοὶ γε ἐρῶ. ὑπολαμβάνομέν γε . . . : cf. Prt.350C. But in such cases asyndeton is quite normal in Greek, and there is little ground for attributing a connective force to the particle.

In restating or illustrating something already stated in other words. Cf. γοῦν. X.Mem.iv2.5 ἀρμόσειε δ' ἂν οὕτω προοιμιάζεσθαι καὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις . . . ἐπιτηδεῖόν γ' ἂν αὐτοῖς εἶη τοῦ λόγου ἀρχεσθαι ἐντεῦθεν (γάρ Weiske: *totam sententiam om.* Bessario). ἐπιτηδεῖον εἶη is perhaps not quite so strong as ἀρμόσειεν ἂν, and γε, like γοῦν, implies a reservation. So, more clearly, Ar.Av.720 ὄρνιν τε νομίζετε πάνθ' . . . : φήμη γ' ὑμῖν ὄρνις ἐστὶ: X.Mem.i2.54 ἕκαστος ἑαυτοῦ . . . τοῦ σώματος ὃ τι ἂν ἀχρεῖον ἦ . . . αὐτὸς τε ἀφαιρεῖ καὶ ἄλλῳ παρέχει. αὐτοὶ τέ γε αὐτῶν δυνχάς τε καὶ τρίχας . . . ἀφαιροῦσι: Th.iii63.2 ἰκανή γε ἦν . . . ('The asyndeton is softened by γε', H.F.Fox *ad loc.*). Add D.ii28, if γ' ἂν, for κἂν, is right.

(2) In ἐπειτά γε, the particle gives emphasis to an added point.

Pl. *Thl.* 147C, 171A: *R.* 550E, 591C: *Phdr.* 263C: *Amat.* 138E. In the last five passages *πρῶτον μὲν* precedes. *πρῶτον μὲν . . . ἔπειτα* (without *δέ*) is of course normal Greek. But in all these six passages *ἔπειτά γε* opens a continuation after an interpolation by another speaker, and perhaps Plato felt the need of a particle to carry on the flow. The emphasis has a connective tinge, and *γε* almost replaces *δέ*. (So also *Εἰτά γε*, Pl. *R.* 528D: D. xxxvi 50 ποτ' εἶχεν ἀγρόν, εἰτά γε νῦν πολλοί.) The use of *γε* in Ar. *Av.* 297 is similar: *Οὔτοσσι πέριξ, ἐκεινοσί γε νῆ Δί ἀτταγᾶς, οὔτοσσι δὲ πηνέλοψ* (Elmsley's *δέ* takes all the variety out of the passage). In the following, *γε* may perhaps, to some extent, soften the asyndeton: Hom. κ208 βῆ δ' ἰέναι, ἄμα τῷ γε δύω καὶ εἴκοσ' ἑταῖροι: Hp. *Loc. Hom.* 47 τῆς γε κλίνης τὰ πρὸς ποδῶν ὑψηλότερα εἶναι. (For X. *Hier.* 6.6, see *τοι*, VI.4.iii.)

IV. Position. *γε* normally follows the word which it stresses. (And, since emphatic words normally come early in a Greek clause or sentence, *γε* usually comes early too: but not always: Pl. *Phd.* 87A: *La.* 193E: *Smp.* 182B: *Lg.* 625C, 666D: *Lys.* xxvii 14 (last word in sentence): Demosthenes sometimes ends a sentence with *τοῦτό γε*.) When *γε* follows a conjunction, *εἰ*, *ἐπεὶ*, &c., we may, if we like, say that it stresses the whole clause: but it is perhaps more accurate to say that it stresses the logical relationship expressed by the conjunction: thus, *εἴ γε* emphasizes the hypothetical nature of a statement: 'I assert a truth subject to the validity of a hypothesis, but not independently of it.'

There are, however, certain exceptions:

(1) (First and foremost). Where the emphatic word is preceded by the article, or by a preposition, *γε* is normally placed after the article or preposition, and before the stressed word. As Dr. Chapman observes (in an analysis of the Platonic examples), 'the tendency of the particle to come early resists its tendency to follow the important word'.

*E. Ph.* 554 τοῖς γε σῶφροσιν: Ar. *V.* 84 ὁ γε Φιλόξενος: Pl. *Clit.* 407D τό γε τοιοῦτον: *ib.* τό γε ἀδικεῖν: 410C τό γε ἐμόν. *E. Hel.* 432 ἐκ γε πλουσίων δόμων: Pl. *Thl.* 170E ἐκ γε τοῦ λόγου: 171B ὑπὸ γε ἐκείνου: 183C κατὰ γε τὴν . . . μέθοδον: 183D περί γε ὧν κελεύει: 185A διὰ γε τοῦ ἐτέρου: 197A ἐν γε τῷ παρόντι.

But the alternative order, article-substantive-particle or pre-

position-substantive-particle, is not infrequent, even in prose. Chapman suggests various reasons which may have influenced the postponement of the particle:

(a) Unified phrases, such as *ὁ αὐτός, κατὰ φύσιν*, resist intrusion. Pl. *Prm.* 139B Οὐδὲ μὴν ταῦτόν γε . . . ἔσται: *id. saep.*: τό γε αὐτό (*R.* 439B) is much rarer: *R.* 545C Κατὰ λόγον γέ τοι ἂν . . . γίγνοιτο.

(b) Position after the important word gives more emphasis, and is peculiarly adapted to replies, where the emphasis is often strong. Pl. *R.* 563D Τὸ ἐμόν γ', ἔφη, ἐμοὶ λέγεις ὄναρ: *Hp. Mi.* 374A Ἐν δρόμῳ μὲν ἄρα πονηρότερος ὁ ἄκων κακὰ ἐργαζόμενος ἢ ὁ ἐκῶν;—Ἐν δρόμῳ γε: *R.* 354A: *Grg.* 469B: *Hp. Mi.* 375B.

(With what I have called 'exclamatory' *γε* postponement is, I believe, obligatory. Pl. *Prt.* 340E Νῆ τὸν Δία, εἰς καιρὸν γε παρατετύχηκεν: *Phlb.* 19A Οὐκ εἰς φαῦλόν γε ἐρώτημα . . . ἡμᾶς ἐμβέβληκε Σωκράτης: *Euthd.* 292E: *R.* 435C, 498D: X. *Smp.* 1.4 Εἰς καλὸν γε ὑμῖν συντετύχηκα.)

(c) Intrusion of *γε* is sometimes perhaps avoided because it would disturb balance. Pl. *Sph.* 249A Ἄλλα ταῦτα μὲν ἀμφοτέρα ἐνόντ' αὐτῷ λέγομεν, οὐ μὴν ἐν ψυχῇ γε φήσομεν αὐτὸ ἔχειν αὐτά; cf. *Hp. Mi.* 374A, (b) above: also *Smp.* 187B ἐκ διαφερομένων πρότερον . . . οὐ γὰρ δήπου ἐκ διαφερομένων γε ἔτι . . .

(d) Ἄλλα μὴν and καὶ μὴν have a certain tendency to cause postponement.<sup>1</sup> Pl. *Prt.* 359D Ἄλλα μὴν ἐπὶ ᾧ γε θαρροῦσι πάντες αὐτὸ ἔρχονται: *R.* 381B, 400D, 603A.

(e) With καὶ . . . γε (negative, οὐδὲ . . . γε), in cases where καὶ is emphatic ('also' (non-connective), or 'and also'), *γε* is regularly, perhaps invariably,<sup>2</sup> postponed. Pl. *Phd.* 58D Ἄλλα μὴ καὶ τοὺς ἀκουσομένους γε τοιοῦτους ἐτέρους ἔχεις: *R.* 540C Παγκάλους, ἔφη, τοὺς ἀρχοντας . . . ἀπείργασαι.—Καὶ τὰς ἀρχούσας γε: *Phd.* 72E: *Cra.* 386D. (Chapman has noted 11 cases of postponement of *γε* with the article after emphatic καὶ, and 8 with a preposition. He observes that, even when καὶ is unemphatic, or less definitely emphatic (e.g. *Prt.* 345C), there is still a tendency to postpone *γε*: and has noted 7 such cases where it is postponed.)

<sup>1</sup> Postponement after these combinations may be slightly more frequent than elsewhere: but, judging by my own incomplete statistics, it is not indeed from being normal.

<sup>2</sup> But *R.* 431B Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸν γε πολλὰς . . . ἐπισημαί (re *Stob.*)



with the article, and 8 where it is postponed with a preposition, against 11 and 2, respectively, where it is not postponed.)

(f) Where γε is postponed with a prepositional phrase which also contains the article, it is ordinarily placed after the word with which the article agrees, not after the article itself. Thus the alternative to the regular *κατά γε τὸν λόγον* is not *κατὰ τὸν γε λόγον*, but *κατὰ τὸν λόγον γε*. Pl. *Cra.*435A *Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνομοίου γε*: *Grg.*449E, 460E. The only exception noted by Chapman is *Smpr.*200D *ἐπεὶ ἐν τῷ γε νῦν παρόντι . . . ἔχεις* (influenced, probably, by the intrusion of νῦν: the order *ἐν τῷ νῦν παρόντι γε* would entail excessive postponement: contrast *Thl.*197A (IV.1, above)).

(g) The juxtaposition of οὐ (μή) and γε is avoided. οὐ (μή) and the following word form a unity, and γε follows both. Pl. *Cri.*53A *καὶ οὐ καταγέλαστός γε ἔση*: *Ly.*204A: *Prm.*149E: *Ap.*27B: *D.*xlvii60: Hence I suspect *E.**Ion*361 *καὶ μή γ' ἐπ' οἰκτόν μ' ἔξαγε*.

Chapman observes that the number of cases in which γε is postponed with article and with preposition is relatively not large. Apart from *καὶ . . . γε, οὐδὲ . . . γε*, he has counted 39 such places with article, and 42 with preposition. I add a few further Platonic examples: with article, *Prt.*331B: *Thl.*165B: with preposition, *Men.*89E: *Grg.*449E, 477D: *Phdr.*243B: *Euthd.*274A: *Ti.*56D: *Cra.*438D, E: *Thl.*170D: *Phd.*74C, 79B: *Sph.*226E: with article and preposition, *Alc.*I115C: *Grg.*460E.

Of other prose-writers, I have examined Demosthenes alone with some care in this matter. Of the order article-substantive-particle I find no instance, except *xxii*57 *ἀλλὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα γ' οὐκ ἐπιτήδειον γίνεσθαι*: and *lvii*70, where a preposition precedes: *ὥστε ἐν τῇ πατρίδι γε . . . ταφῆναι*. The order preposition-article-particle, noted above (f) as exceptional in Plato, occurs in *xxiii*193 *καὶ μὴν περὶ τοῦ γε μὴ μνησικακεῖν*: (but *xxxvi*43 *ἀλλὰ μὴν περὶ γε τῆς εὐπορίας*). In *xxix*38 *F* alone gives *περὶ τοῦ γ'*: in *xxxvii*55 *Salone* gives *περὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ γε βαδίσματος*. The great majority of cases in which γε is postponed after a preposition concern disyllabic prepositions, and examination of the passages suggests that avoidance of *tres breves* often perhaps influenced the order. *ix*30: *xiii*26: *xvi*24: *xviii*113, 251, 273: *xix*150, 249 (*ἀλλ' οὖν ἐν ταύτῃ γ' ἔζη*, where Demosthenes may have wished to balance *ταύτης ἐπι* above (besides avoiding hiatus): cf. (c): *xx*94: *xxi*41: *xxiii*153: *xxix*32: *xxx*10: *xxxvii*13:

*xxxix*28: *xliv*56 (*bis*): *lii*24. But in *xviii*113 the tribrach is tolerated, *καὶ διὰ γε τοῦτο*: cf. *xix*179: *xxiii*193: *xliv*59: *lvii*1: *lix*8.

In Isocrates, according to Chapman, the only example of postponed γε is *xii*202 *δὲ ἐκείνῳ γε*: from Xenophon I note *An.*vii6.21 *εἰ ὑπὸ πολεμίου γε ὄντος ἐξηπατήθην*: *Hier.*3.9 *ὑπ' ἄλλου γέ τινος*.

In verse postponement is far commoner.

With article. *S.OT*1007: *Ant.*217, 648: *OC.*387, 1278: *E.**Hipp.*412: *Ion*532, 547, 957: *IT*120: *Ba.*966: *Ar.**Nu.*431, 1217: *V.*917: *Pax*625, 628, 966: *Th.*207: *Ra.*1393: *Pl.*309.

With preposition. *S.**El.*1029: *Ant.*322, 556: *OT*80, 1169: *Ph.*1403: *OC*966: *E.**Alc.*524, 718: *Hec.*1004: *Ion*270, 550: *Hel.*1038: *Or.*212, 1074: *Ph.*1741: *IA*515, 1368: *El.*37: *Ar.**Ach.*5, 60: *Eg.*258, 1310: *Nu.*1180, 1379: *Pax*386: *Av.*642: *Ra.*1198.

With article and preposition. *Ar.**Ach.*916: *V.*416. Preposition-article-particle-substantive: *Ar.**Pax*483 *ὑπὸ τοῦ γε λιμοῦ*.

(2) Other divergencies from normal order are seldom found.

(i) Occasionally the less important of two closely connected words (e.g. substantive and adjective in agreement) precedes γε, while the more important word follows it, instead of vice versa. Metrical convenience is probably a factor in most cases.

*Hom.**K.*403 *ἀνδράσι γε θνητοῖσι*: *θ*139 *οὐ . . . κακώτερον ἄλλο θαλάσσης ἄνδρα γε συγχεῦναι*: *S.OT*712 *οὐκ ἐρῶ Φοίβου γ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ*: *El.*1221 *Ἡ ζῆ γὰρ ἀνήρ*;—*Εἵπερ ἐμψυχός γ' ἐγώ*: *OT*80 *εἰ γὰρ ἐν τύχῃ γέ τῳ σωτήρι βαίῃ*: *Aj.*84 *εἵπερ ὀφθαλμοῖς γε τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὄρα*: *δ*12 *σῶζειν θέλοντες ἄνδρα γ' ὃς σπεύδει θανεῖν* (where γε emphasizes the whole phrase *ἄνδρα ὃς σπεύδει θανεῖν*: cf. *S.**El.*1506): *Tr.*425 *ταῦτά γ' εἰσήκουσ' ὄχλος*.—*Ναί*: *κλ* *γ' ἔφασκον* ('Aye, said they heard'): *OC*27 *εἵπερ ἐστὶ κήσιμος* ('if it is inhabited': but γε goes rather with *εἵπερ*, that is '): *OT*1066 *Καὶ μὴν φρονοῦσά γ' εὖ τὰ λῶστά σοι λέει*: *Ant.*747 *γυναικὸς ὕστερον*.—*Οὐ τὰν ἔλοις ἦσσω γε τῶν αἰσ* *ἐμέ*: *E.**El.*647 *Ἐγὼ φόνον γε μητρὸς ἐξαρτύσομαι* (as that of Aegisthus): *Ba.*501 *οὐ γὰρ φανερός ὄμμασιν γ' ἐστίν*: *Ar.**Av.*378 *παρ' ἀνδρῶν γ' ἔμαθον ἐχθρῶν κού φίλων* (met consideration absent): *Lys.*1024 *Πρῶτα μὲν φαίνει γ' ἀνήρ, εἰ οὐ καταγέλαστος εἶ*.\*



There are very few prose examples. Pl.Lg.901B ᾧ δὴ προσήκει μὲν . . . ἐπιμελείσθαι . . . , ὁ δὲ τούτου γε νοῦς τῶν μὲν μεγάλων ἐπιμελείται, τῶν μικρῶν δὲ ἀμελεῖ ('when a man's *duty* is to look after . . . , but his *mind* neglects the details'): Phd.116C οὐ καταγνώσομαί γε σοῦ ('I won't accuse you': γε *om.* B): Aeschin.iii 132 οὐ γὰρ βίον γε ἡμεῖς ἀνθρώπινον βεβιώκαμεν. But in the two latter passages γε perhaps leans back on the negative: 'at any rate not.' See p. 151, note 1. For Pl.R.453D see I.9.

(ii) Rarely the important word comes first and γε at the end, instead of in the middle, of the phrase. Hom.Ξ196 τελέσαι δέ με θυμὸς ἄνωγεν, εἰ δύναμαι τελέσαι γε: E.Cyc.283 Αἰσχροὺν στρατεύμα γ': Ion221 (text uncertain): IT587 (Markland's σφε is probably right): Hel.837 Ταυτῶ ξίφει γε: Ar.Pl.21 στέφανον ἔχοντά γε: 1083: Pl.Ly.214E καίτοι δυσχεραίνω τί γε (γέ τι H. Richards). In *ib.*204A Σὸς ἐταῖρός γε (γε *scr.* *recc.*: τε BTII') both words have equal value.

To some extent the emphatic and the unemphatic word form a unity which γε emphasizes. This is clearly the case where two words virtually form a compound. Ar.V.218 ὡς ἀπὸ μέσων νυκτῶν γε παρακαλοῦσ' αἰεί ('midnight'): Nu.676: D.xix250 καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρός γε ('god-forsaken').

#### V. Γε combined with other particles. (See also I.1.ii.)

(1) The following observations are drawn from an unpublished paper of Dr. R. W. Chapman on the Platonic use of particles. They hold good, I think, for Greek in general.

γε is very frequently found, with intervening word or words, after certain other particles and combinations of particles: notably after ἀλλ' οὖν, ἀλλὰ μέντοι, ἀλλὰ μὲν δὴ, ἀλλὰ μὲν, καὶ μὲν, καίτοι, οὐ μὲν, οὐ μέντοι, οὐ γάρ που, οὐ γὰρ δὴ, οὐ γὰρ δήπου. That γε in such cases forms an integral part of a combination is indicated by the fact that in later Greek μέντοιγε, καίτοιγε, and even μενοῦνγε coalesce into single words, and by the frequency with which γε follows the combinations enumerated above. Thus in Plato ἀλλὰ μὲν is followed by γε in probably 75 per cent. of the cases, or more: καὶ μὲν in about 50 per cent. (see Neil, *Knights*, p. 193): καίτοι in perhaps 30 per cent. ἀλλὰ μὲν without γε is οὐκ ἀλλὰ μὲν καί, ἀλλὰ μὲν που.

Moreover, γε is absent from certain phrases where it might be expected to be present. Thus γε regularly follows οὐ γὰρ δὴ, but rarely οὐ γὰρ οὖν: commonly καὶ μὲν, rarely καὶ δὴ (p. 249). Again, γε tends to follow negatives. Thus γάρ που and γὰρ . . . που occur more than 130 times in Plato, and γε follows in only one or two places. οὐ γάρ που, οὐ γὰρ . . . που occur about 17 times without γε, about 39 times with γε. The case with γὰρ δὴ is similar. Again: οὐ μὲν 3, οὐ μὲν . . . γε 18: οὐ μὲν οὐδέ 2, οὐ μὲν οὐδέ . . . γε 3: οὐδέ μὲν 13, οὐδέ μὲν . . . γε 13: οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ 4, οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ . . . γε 6. The reason for this tendency of γε to follow negatives is clearly that in a positive sentence the emphatic word will naturally come first, and position will of itself give the due emphasis: τοῦτο γάρ που λέγεις (but for the avoidance of γε γάρ see *Intro.*III.2): whereas, when the negative claims first place, and denies it to the emphatic word, a particle is needed to give the emphasis: οὐ γάρ που τοῦτό γε λέγεις. It is of course true that the word before γε is normally the emphatic word: and that, in οὐ γάρ που τοῦτό γε λέγεις, γε does emphasize τοῦτο. But that does not exclude the possibility that γε also attaches itself to the preceding particles: and that this is in fact so, follows from the consideration of passages in which γε is preceded by an unemphatic word.<sup>1</sup> Grg.489D οὐ γὰρ δήπου σύ γε τοὺς δύο βελτίους ἡγῆ τοῦ ἐνός (emphasis on τοὺς δύο): R.509A (emphasis on ἡδονήν): La.195A Οὐκ οὖν φησί γε Νικίας (emphasis on Νικίας): Ar.20C. (As against this, however, it must be admitted that in three of these four passages γε follows the second person pronoun singular, which in general tends to attract it. See I.4.)

The conclusion would appear to be somewhat as follows. In such combinations as ἀλλὰ μὲν . . . γε, οὐ γάρ που . . . γε, γε usually emphasizes both the combination (I emphasize that I am adding something, or ruling something out), and also the most important word in the clause: but sometimes it only emphasizes the combination.

<sup>1</sup> E.g. in Pl.Smp.205E εἰν μὴ τυγχάνη γέ που . . . ἀγαθὸν οὐ, where the stress is on ἀγαθὸν, not on τυγχάνη, γε really belongs to εἰν. Chapman notes the tendency of γε to attach itself to ὡς, εἰ, εἰν, ὅταν: cf. II.3, 3, above. In prose, where γε is preceded by an unemphatic word, it always seems to have an earlier particle to lean back upon. See IV.2.1, *inf. fin.*

(2) Juxtaposition of γε and (i) a preceding or (ii) a following particle.

(i) Except in the case of δέ γε, μέν γε, and (far less frequently) τέ γε, this is very rare. For ἀλλά γε, δή γε, καίτοι γε, μέντοι γε,<sup>1</sup> see ἀλλά, δή, καίτοι, μέντοι.\* I treat δέ γε (δέ . . . γε), καί γε (καί . . . γε), μέν γε, τέ γε separately below. It seems that καίπερ γε (though supported by εἶπερ γε) is only found, in some MSS., in Hdt.iii 42.2: while μήν γε does not occur at all. οὖν γε is highly doubtful (see οὖν II.2.i: ἀλλ' οὖν γε, see ἀλλ' οὖν. *ad init.*: οὐκουν γε, see οὖν, II.5: for post-classical examples, see Headlam's note on Herondas 6.90). In Ar. *Ec.* 577 R has γάρ τοί γε.

(ii) γε may precede δή, μέν, μέντοι, μήν, που, οὖν, τοι: see those particles. But when a negative precedes those particles, γε follows after a short interval: thus οὐ μὴν . . . γε is the negative form of γε μὴν, οὐκουν . . . γε of γοῦν. According to Chapman, γε does not immediately follow οὐ in Plato, and μή γε is rare. (See IV.1.g.).

Δέ γε, δέ . . . γε: οὐδέ γε, οὐδὲ . . . γε: καί γε, καί . . . γέ: μέν γε: τέ γε.

γε, in combination with δέ, καί, μέν and τε, usually has a force approximating to that of δή, but more lively and colloquial in tone.

#### Δέ γε: δέ . . . γε

(No examples earlier than Aeschylus, unless Carm. Pop. 17 is early or ἔπη δέ γε (for ἔπηγε δέ) is right in Alc. *Fr.* 92.)

In verse the particles are often separated by an intervening word or words. (The interval is rarely a wide one: rather wider than usual in Ar. *Eq.* 713, 1226: *Nu.* 1277: *Ec.* 728.) The choice between δέ γε and δέ . . . γε is a mere matter of metrical convenience, entailing no difference of meaning, as the following passage shows: Ar. *Eq.* 363-5 'Εγὼ δ' ἐπεσηδῶν γε τὴν βουλὴν βία κυκῆσω.—'Εγὼ δὲ κινήσω γέ σου τὸν πρωκτὸν ἀντὶ φύσκης.—'Εγὼ δέ γ' ἐξέλξω σε τῆς πυγῆς θύραζε κύβδα. Cf. *Pl.* 164-8. In prose, the particles are rarely separated when they are connected

<sup>1</sup> Chapman points out the curious fact that μέντοι γε, ἀλλά γε, καίτοι γε all occur near the opening of the *Republic* (329E, 331B, 332A), two out of the three in the mouth of Cephalus.

in thought. Th. v 109 τὸ δ' ἐχυρόν γε: *Pl. Ly.* 215B 'Ο δὲ μὴ φιλῶν γ' οὐ φίλος: *Lg.* 694E, 731E. (In some cases there is no such connexion between the particles. *S. Ph.* 1037 θεοῖσιν εἰ δίκης μέλει. ἔξοιδα δ' ὡς μέλει γε (probably, as Jebb says, γε emphasizes μέλει, 'and I know they do care': ὡς καὶ μέλει would be more normal. If δέ and γε went together, the force would be 'And I know that they care'): *E. IT* 580 (γε emphasizes μάλιστα): *Pl. Clit.* 410B (γε goes closely with βλάβειν): *D.* xviii 153 (τό γ' ἐξαίφνης is self-contained). Separation in thought is possible even when the particles are juxtaposed: Ar. *Ach.* 307 εἰ καλῶς ἐσπείσάμην.—Πῶς δέ γ' ἂν καλῶς λέγοις ἂν . . . ; (δέ is *indignantis*: γε stresses πῶς, 'how?': cf. γε, I.6).)

(1) In retorts and lively rejoinders. In drama, the commonest use of δέ γε, δέ . . . γε, is in retorts: particularly frequent in Aristophanes. Ar. *Ch.* 921 Ἄλγος γυναιξίν ἀνδρὸς εἶργεσθαι, τέκνον.—Τρέφει δέ γ' ἀνδρὸς μόχθος ἡμένας ἔσω: *S. Aj.* 1150 Ἦδη ποτ' εἶδον ἄνδρ' ἐγὼ . . .—'Εγὼ δέ γ' ἄνδρ' ὄπωπα: *Ant.* 1056 Τὸ μαντικὸν γὰρ . . .—Τὸ δέ γε τυράννων . . . : *OT* 372 τυφλὸς . . . εἶ.—Σὺ δ' ἄθλιός γε: 1030 ('a gentle reproof', Jebb): *E. Heracl.* 109 Ἄθεον . . . μεθεῖναι . . .—Καλὸν δέ γ' ἔξω πραγμάτων ἔχειν πόδα: *Andr.* 579 Χαλᾶν κελεύω δεσμὰ . . .—'Εγὼ δ' ἀπαυδῶ γ': Ar. *Nu.* 915 Θρασύς εἰ πολλοῦ.—Σὺ δέ γ' ἀρχαῖος: 920 Αὐχμεῖς αἰσχροῦς.—Σὺ δέ γ' εὖ πράττεις: *Av.* 55 τῷ σκέλει θένε τὴν πέτραν.—Σὺ δὲ τῇ κεφαλῇ γ': Ar. *Th.* 1031: *Ag.* 939, 941: *Supp.* 746: *S. Ph.* 1293: *E. Ion* 368, 518, 1330: *Med.* 818: *HF* 1249: *Andr.* 584: *Cyc.* 538, 637: Ar. *Eq.* 356, 432, 443, 700, 744, 906, 908, 967, 1154, 1156, 1257: Hdt. viii 59 ὁ Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς . . . εἶπε: Ὡς Θεμιστόκλεες, ἐν τοῖσι ἀγῶσι οἱ προεξανιστάμενοι ραπίζονται. ὁ δὲ ἀπολυόμενος ἔφη: Οἱ δέ γε ἐγκαταλειπόμενοι οὐ στεφανοῦνται: Th. v. 109 (Melian Dialogue): *Pl. Phdr.* 230C ἀριστά σοι ἔξεν ἔγνηται . . .—Σὺ δέ γε . . . ἀτοπώτατός τις φαίνη ('You've been an excellent guide'.—'And you're a very strange creature'): X. *An.* iv 6.9.

In lively rejoinders. *E. IT* 749 'By whom will you swear?'—'Ἀρτεμιν . . .—'Εγὼ δ' ἀνακτά γ' οὐρανοῦ, σεμνὸν Δία: *E. Supp.* 940: *Cyc.* 708: *Hel.* 564: Ar. *Par.* 50. In an antiphonal response: *E. Or.* 1239.

In imaginary dialogue: Ar. *Nu.* 1417 φήσεις . . . ἐγὼ δέ γ' ἀντεῖποιμ' ἂν ὡς . . . : Th. iii 63.3 λέγετε ὡς αἰσχροὺν ἦν προδοῦναι τοὺς εὐεργέτας: πολὺ δέ γε αἰσχρὸν τοὺς πάντας Ἕλληνας κατα-

προδοῦναι: D.xix 279 "καὶ ἠλέγχθησαν τινες αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ. . . ." οὗτοι δέ γε κὰν τῷ δήμῳ: xxii 8: xxxiv 32: xlv 55: xlvii 6: liv 35.

(2) In Aristophanic and Platonic dialogue δέ γε often picks up the thread after a remark interpellated by another speaker. It thus connects, whether adversatively or continuatively, the speaker's words with his own previous words, not with those of the other person: 'Yes, and . . .': 'Yes, but. . .'. This use appears to be foreign to tragedy, except that in *E. Alc.* 890 some MSS. give δέ γ'.

*Ar. Nu.* 169 Πρώην δέ γε γνώμην μεγάλην ἀφηρέθη: 175 Ἐχθὲς δέ γ' ἡμῖν δειπνον οὐκ ἦν ἐσπέρας: 211 Ἐνταῦθ' ἐνεισιν' ἡ δέ γ' Εὐβοί' . . .: *Ra.* 565-7 (Καὶ . . . γ' in 564) Νῶ δὲ δεισάσα γέ που . . . ὁ δ' ὄψετ' ἐξάξας γε: *Eq.* 1347: *V.* 605, 776. *Pl. Grg.* 453D ὅτι καὶ ἄλλοι εἰσὶ ζωγράφοι . . .;—*Ναί.*—*Εἰ δέ γε* μηδεὶς ἄλλος ἢ Ζεῦξις ἔγραφε . . .: *Phdr.* 265A μανίαν γάρ τινα ἐφήσαμεν εἶναι τὸν ἔρωτα. ἦ γάρ;—*Ναί.*—*Μανίας δέ γε* εἶδη δύο: *Euthphr.* 13B Ἡ γάρ που κυνηγετικὴ κυνῶν θεραπεία.—*Ναί.*—Ἡ δέ γε βοηλατικὴ βοῶν.—*Πάνυ γε.*—Ἡ δὲ δὴ (the crucial instance) ὁσιότης τε καὶ εὐσέβεια θεῶν . . .: *Phd.* 81B οὕτω μὲν ἔχουσα . . .—*Οὕτω νῆ Δία . . .*—*Ἐὰν δέ γε* οἶμαι μεμιασμένη. . .: *Prt.* 340C: *Prtm.* 126B: *Phd.* 74C, 81C: 82A: *Cra.* 390D, 395A, 418D: *Thit.* 144E, 150B.

In Plato, δέ γε (δὲ . . . γε) in an answer often introduces the second (major or minor) premise of a syllogism. *Chrm.* 159D φαίνεται ἄρα . . . κατὰ γε τὸ σῶμα οὐ τὸ ἡσύχιον, ἀλλὰ τὸ τάχιστον . . . κάλλιστον ὄν. ἦ γάρ;—*Πάνυ γε.*—Ἡ δέ γε σωφροσύνη καλὸν τι ἦν;—*Ναί.*—*Οὐ τοίνυν κατὰ γε* τὸ σῶμα ἢ ἡσυχιότης ἀν' ἄλλ' ἢ ταχύτης σωφρονέστερον εἶη, ἐπειδὴ καλὸν ἢ σωφροσύνη: 159E: *Grg.* 497A, 498E, 506E: *Euthid.* 301D, 302E: *Men.* 96C: *Ly.* 215B.

(3) δέ γε (δὲ . . . γε) is occasionally used in answers otherwise than as in (1) and (2) above. Continuing the train of thought started by the other speaker. *A. Ch.* 490 ὦ γαῖ', ἀνεσ μοι πατέρ' . . .—ὦ Περσέφασσα, δὸς δέ τ' εὐμορφον κράτος (δέ γ' Hermann: δ' ἔτ' Paley and Tucker, rightly, I think): *E. Supp.* 936 Ἡ χωρὶς ἱερὸν ὡς νεκρὸν θάψαι θέλεις;—*Ναί.* τοὺς δέ γ' ἄλλους πάντας ἐν μιᾷ πυρᾷ: *IT* 918 Στρόφιός ὁ Φωκεὺς τοῦδε κλήζεται πατήρ.—Ὁ δ'

ἐστί γ' Ἀτρέως θυγατρὸς . . .; *HF* 1239 Κλαίω χάριν σὴν ἐφ' ἐτέροις συμφοραῖς.—*Hῦρες* δέ γ' ἄλλους ἐν κακοῖσι μείζουσιν; (I believe Fix's δ' ἔτ' is right).

(4) In continuous speech δέ γε (δὲ . . . γε) is much rarer.

(i) Strongly adversative. In the few instances from tragedy there is usually, I think, a sense of imaginary dialogue: the speaker counters his own words: cf. *μὲν οὖν.* *E. Or.* 547 ἐγὼ δ' ἀνόσιός εἰμι μητέρα κτανῶν, ὅσιος δέ γ' ἕτερον ὄνομα, τιμωρῶν πατρί ('I know I am impure . . . Aye, but on another count I am pure.' I should print a stronger stop after κτανῶν): *Andr.* 462 ἐπεὶ σὺ μὲν πέφυκας ἐν Σπάρτῃ μέγας, ἡμεῖς δὲ Τροία γ' ('Aye, but we in Troy'): *Hipp.* 700: *Hec.* 1248: *Ba.* 1209 (γ' αὐτῇ Kirchhoff: but I believe ταύτῃ to be sound): *IA* 392.\* In *S. El.* 1367 δὲ . . . γε marks a break off, like ἀτάρ. *Ar. Pax* 20, 150 (turning to audience).

In prose, examples are more numerous: here, again, I think there is often some tinge of repartee about δέ γε. *Th.* ii 54.3 ἦν δέ γε οἶμαί ποτε ἄλλος πόλεμος καταλάβῃ . . .: *Pl. Cra.* 394A ὡς περ ἡμῖν τὰ τῶν ἰατρῶν φάρμακα . . . πεποικιλμένα ἄλλα φαίνεται τὰ αὐτὰ ὄντα, τῷ δέ γε ἰατρῷ . . . τὰ αὐτὰ φαίνεται: *And.* 168 οὗτοι μὲν ἔφυγον δι' ἐμέ, ὁμολογῶ ἐσώθη δέ γε ὁ πατήρ: *D.* ix 31 εἰ υἱὸς . . . εἰ δέ γε δοῦλος: xx 27 φεύγοντος μὲν . . ., δικαστῶν δέ γε . . .: 95 πένης μὲν ἴσως ἐστίν, οὐ πονηρὸς δέ γε: xxiv 129: *Hdt.* viii 142.5: *Pl. Grg.* 483C, 484A, 502E: *Ar.* 22D: *Chrm.* 170D: *X. An.* iii 1.35: *Cyr.* ii 3.14: *Arist. Pol.* 1277b28: *D.* v 23: xx 28: xxi 220: lvii 35. Isocrates never uses δέ γε. No doubt he found it too colloquial.

(ii) Weakly adversative, or purely continuative. There are a few apparent examples in tragedy, almost all of them suspicious.

*A. Th.* 283 ἐγὼ δέ γ' ἄνδρας ἔξ . . . τάξω (δ' ἐπ' *caid.*, which Tucker keeps, taking ἐπί as adverbial): *S. Aj.* 1409 παῖ, σὺ δὲ πατρός γ' . . . πλευρὰς . . . ἐπικούφισ': *El.* 548 φαίη δ' ἂν ἡ θανοῦσά γ', εἰ φωνὴν λάβοι ('Aye, and the dead maid would say so'): *E. Med.* 318 τόσῳ δέ γ' ἦσον ἢ πάρος πέποιθά σοι (τοσῶδε δ' *AVB* is, I believe, right): *IT* 113 ὄρα δέ γ' εἶσω τριγλύφων ὅποι κενὸν δέμας καθεῖναι (δὲ γεῖσα Blomfield): 1010 ἄξω δέ γ' (σ' Canter): *El.* 582 (some doubt as to text).

But there is no doubt about the Aristophanic examples: *Eq.* 667 οἱ δ' ἐθορύβουν . . . ὁ δ' ἠντεβόλει γ' αὐτοῦς (where Neil's

elaborate explanation is unnecessary): *V.*94,134: *Pax* 262,904: *Av.*641 (δέ τε *codd.*): *Th.*987: *Ec.*273: *Pl.*540. There are a few examples in prose: *Hdt.*viii60γ: *Ant.*v67: *Pl.Prt.*334A ἀλλ' ἔγωγε πολλά οἶδ' ἀ ἀνθρώποις μὲν ἀνωφελῆ ἔστι . . . τὰ δέ γε ὠφέλιμα . . . τὰ δέ γε τούτων μὲν οὐδενί . . . : *La.*191E: *Thg.*126A (in parenthesis): *R.*451B: *Cra.*417A: *X.An.*v8.16. The only instance I can find in Demosthenes is lviii44: 'They ought to prosecute Demosthenes. εἰσὶ δέ γε δεινοὶ καὶ οὗτοι' (δέ γε *AFQD*: δέ *S*).

(*Ar.Eg.*1204 is rightly divided between speakers by Neil: 'Εγὼ δ' ἐκινδύνευσ'.—'Εγὼ δ' ὤπτησά γε.)

Οὐδέ γε: οὐδὲ . . . γε (μηδέ γε: μηδὲ . . . γε)

These are the negative counterparts of δέ γε, δὲ . . . γε.

(1) Connective: 'Nor yet', 'and not . . . either'.

(i) In answers. *S.OC*1743 Ὅπως μολούμεθ' ἐς δόμους οὐκ ἔχω.—Μηδέ γε μάτενε: *E.IT*570 Ψευδεῖς ὄνειροι, χαίρετ' οὐδὲν ἦτ' ἄρα.—Οὐδ' οἱ σοφοί γε δαίμονες κεκλημένοι πτηνῶν ὀνείρων εἰσὶν ἀψευδέστεροι: *IA*308 Οὐ χρῆν σε λῦσαι δέλτον . . .—Οὐδέ γε φέρειν σὲ πᾶσιν Ἑλλησιν κακά: *Ar.Pax* 457 Ἄρει δὲ μή.—Μή.—Μηδ' Ἐνναλίω γε: *Eg.*1309,1373: *Pax* 475: *Ra.*559: *Pl.Euthphr.*13A ἵππους οὐ πᾶς ἐπίσταται θεραπεύειν . . . Οὐδέ γε κύνας πᾶς ἐπίσταται θεραπεύειν: *Grg.*505C (ignoring Socrates' criticism): *Euthd.*299A: *Chrm.*171C.

(ii) In continuous speech. *Ar.Pax* 350 οὐδὲ δύσκολον, οὐδὲ τοὺς τρόπους γε δήπου σκληρόν: *S.OI*1378: *Ar.V.*62,1029: *Pl.Chrm.*165E οὐ γὰρ ὁμοία αὕτη πέφυκεν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπιστήμαις, οὐδέ γε αἱ ἄλλαι ἀλλήλαις: *R.*608B οὔτε . . . οὔτε . . . οὔτε . . . οὐδέ γε ποιητικῇ (the crucial case): *D.*xlvii72 οὔτε γένει προσῆκεν ἢ ἀνθρώπος οὐδὲν . . . οὐδ' αὖ θεράπεινά γε: *Pl.Chrm.*163B: *Clit.*407B: *Phd.*97A,106B(bis): *Tht.*175E,180A,207E: *X.Cyr.*15.11 (bis): vii.1.48: *D.*v16: xix.184: xxi.138,161,162.

(2) (Rarely) non-connective, 'not . . . either', 'not even'. (Cf. καὶ . . . γε.) *S.El.*1347 Οὐχὶ ξυνίης;—Οὐδέ γ' ἐς θυμὸν φέρω (where Jebb's interpretation seems right): *OCI*702 (οὐδέ γ' Wecklein): *Ar.V.*917 Οὐδὲν μετέδωκεν οὐδὲ τῷ κοινῷ γ' ἐμοί: *Nu.*425 Οὐδ' ἂν διαλεχθείην γ' ἀτεχνῶς τοῖς ἄλλοις: *D.*xlii.11 σκηνὴν δ' ἦν ἔχουσιν, οὐδέ γε ταύτην λαβόντες ἀναφέρουσιν.

In *Pl.R.*461C the reading μηδ' εἰς φῶς ἐκφέρειν κύημα μηδέ γ' εἶν is doubtful.

More frequently after ἀλλὰ μὴν, καὶ μὴν (cf. καὶ . . . γε, 2.i). *Pl.Prm.*147A Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦ ἐνός γε μετέχει: *Lg.*728E καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τὰ τούτων γ' ἐναντία: *Cra.*386D: *D.*vii.5.

Καί γε: καὶ . . . γε

Καί γε. The MSS. give καί γε, juxtaposed, in *Hr. Septim.* 9: καί γε ὁ θάνατος διὰ τὴν μοίρην ἔλαχεν: [*Lys.*]xi (in *Theo-mnestum B*, a composition of uncertain date and authorship) 7 καί γε τοῦτον μὲν ἑώρακα ποιοῦντα (καίτοι γε *Contius*). This is not sufficient to guarantee καί γε as a classical form, though it is not infrequent in post-classical Greek (*Galen*, *Lucian*, *Libanius*, *Septuagint*: *Longin.*13.2): nor does the fact that *Hesychius* glosses καί γε by καίτοι prove that he found it in a classical author. (So we say in English 'and . . . too', not 'and too').

καὶ . . . γε. (1) With connective καί. Connective καὶ . . . γε, coupling single words, phrases, clauses, and sentences, is first found in *Aeschylus*: *Supp.*296,313,468: *Pers.*1035: *Pr.*931. It is common throughout Attic<sup>1</sup> prose and verse literature, occurring either in the middle of a sentence, or at the opening of a sentence or speech. The effect of γε in καὶ . . . γε is to stress the addition made by καί. καὶ . . . γε is thus barely distinguishable from καὶ . . . δῆ, though perhaps in καὶ . . . γε it is the mere making of an addition ('yes, and more . . .'), in καὶ . . . δῆ the particular thing added ('and, in particular . . .') that is emphasized.

Normally only a single word intervenes between the particles, or at most two. *S.Aj.*1376 Καὶ νῦν γε: *E.Ph.*417 κατὰ γε: *Hel.* 1417 Αὐθις κελεύω καὶ τρίτον γ': *Ar.Nu.*1067-8 Καὶ τὴν Θέτιν γ' ἔγχεμε διὰ τὸ σωφρονεῖν ὁ Πηλεύς.—Κατ' ἀπολιποῦσά γ' αὐτὸν ᾤχετ': *Ra.*562 κάμκατό γε: 564 Καὶ τὸ ξίφος γ' ἐσπᾶτο (*Tucker* well notes the effect of 'feminine underlining' given by γε throughout this passage): *Pl.Grg.*450D ἡ ἀριθμητικὴ καὶ λογιστικὴ καὶ γεωμετρικὴ καὶ πεπτευτικὴ γε καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ τέχναι: *Smpr.*219B

<sup>1</sup> It is not, however, confined to Attic, as *Hartung* (i 397) supposed. *Hdt.* i 120,146: ii 83,111,146,155: iii 12.

τετρῶσθαι αὐτὸν ᾤμην· καὶ ἀναστὰς γε . . . : *La.*189B: *Anaxag. Fr.*12: *Isoc.*vii72: *D.*ii10: iii12.

Sometimes, however, the number of intervening words is greater. *S.Ph.*438 καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτό γε: *OT*771 Κού μὴ στερηθῆς γ': *OC*1432 Καὶ μὴ μ' ἐπίσχης γ': *E.Cyc.*343 πῦρ καὶ πατρῶν τόνδε λέβητά γ': *El.*986 καὶ δεινὰ δράσω γ': *Ag. Eq.*423 Καὶ ταῦτα δρῶν ἐλάνθανόν γ': *Pl.Grg.*456C καὶ εἰ πρὸς ἄλλον γε δημιουργὸν ὄντιναοῦν ἀγωνίζοιτο: *R.*554D. (*Ag.Pl.*771 Καὶ προσκυνῶ γε looks strange, but Plutus enters continuing a speech which he has begun off the stage.)

(2) With adverbial καί. (A much rarer use.)

(i) καί meaning 'also' 'even'. *Hom.*π309 ἦ τοι ἐμὸν θυμὸν καὶ ἔπειτά γ', ὅτω, γνώσεαι: *S.Tr.*1236 κρείσσον κάμῃ γ', ὦ πάτερ, θανεῖν: *OT*931 Αὐτῶς δὲ καὶ σύ γ': *E.IA*1244 αἰσθημά τοι κὰν νηπίοις γε τῶν κακῶν ἐγγίγεται: *Ag.Nu.*1235 Νῆ Δία κὰν προσκαταθείην γ' . . . : *Th.*865 Ὀφελές δὲ καὶ σύ γε: *Ra.*116 τολμήσεις γὰρ ἰέναι καὶ σύ γε; *V.*6 ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦ γ' ἐμοῦ . . . : *Pl.Tht.*200A ψευδῆ . . . δοξάσει . . . —Οὐ δὴπου καὶ ἠγήσεται γε ψευδῆ δοξάσειν: *Grg.*496A: *La.*181A.\*

Especially after ἀλλὰ μὴν, καὶ μὴν, etc. *Pl.Phd.*72E Καὶ μὴν . . . καὶ κατ' ἐκείνόν γε τὸν λόγον . . . : 58D Ἀλλὰ μὴν . . . καὶ τοὺς ἀκουσομένους γε τοιοῦτους ἑτέρους ἔχεις: *R.*464B Καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ τοῖς πρόσθεν γε ὁμολογοῦμεν: *Euthd.*276E ὦ Ζεῦ . . . ἦ μὴν καὶ τὸ πρότερόν γε καλὸν ἡμῖν ἐφάνη τὸ ἐρώτημα: *R.*582D: *X.Ages.*5.1: *D.*xxi173: xliii39,54.

(ii) καί meaning 'both'. *Pl.Hp.Ma.*302D καὶ ἀμφοτέραις γε . . . καὶ ἑκατέρᾳ (γε *TW*: τε *F*).

(iii) καί meaning 'actually'. *Ag.Ra.*1384 Κόκκυ, μέθεσθε· καὶ πολὺ γε κατωτέρω χωρεῖ τὸ τοῦδε ('far lower'): *Pl.Tht.*144C ὁ . . . Εὐφρονίου ἐστίν, καὶ πάνυ γε, ὦ φίλε, ἀνδρὸς οἴον καὶ σὺ τοῦτον διηγῆ ('καί is intensive', Campbell): *Thg.*122B Ἀλλὰ μὲν δὴ . . . καὶ λέγεται γε ('They do say'). In elliptical answers: *Pl.Prm.*144A Καὶ πάνυ γε: *Philb.*24B Καὶ σφόδρα γε: 36B Καὶ μάλα γε. (Such answers seem distinguishable from other elliptical answers in which καί is connective: *Pl.Tht.*147E Καὶ εὖ γε: *Phd.*109A Καὶ ὀρθῶς γε: 'And rightly'.) Not elliptical: *Pl.Phd.*74D ἐνδεῖ τι . . . ;—Καὶ πολὺ γε, ἔφη, ἐνδεῖ: *Plidr.*266D Καὶ καλῶς γε ὑπέμνησας (καὶ *secl.* Hirschig).

(iv) In the following, the two particles are independent of one another. *S.Ph.*29 Τόδ' ἐξῦπερθε (ἀντρον εἰσορῶ)· καὶ στίβου γ' οὐδεὶς κτύπος (γε goes closely with στίβου: see Jebb on line 38: but his parallels are not very apposite): *Ant.*577 Δεδογμέν', ὡς ἔοικε, τήνδε κατθανεῖν.—Καὶ σοί γε κάμοί (γε assents, with amplification, and καί answers καί): *E.Ph.*1212 Μεῖζόν τι χρήσεις παῖδας ἢ σεσωσμένους;—Καὶ τὰπίλοιπά γ' εἰ καλῶς πράσσω κλύειν ('Yes (γε), to hear also (καί) . . .': so, rightly, Pearson): *Hdt.*i60 μηχανῶνται δὴ ἐπὶ τῇ κατόδῳ πρῆγμα εὐηθέστατον . . . μακρῶ . . . εἰ καὶ τότε γε οὔτοι ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι . . . μηχανῶνται τοιάδε (this is difficult to analyse, but I think that γε goes with εἰ, 'siquidem', while καί stresses τότε): *Pl.Euthd.*298D Ἡ καὶ μήτηρ (πάντων ζῶων) ἡ μήτηρ;—Καὶ ἡ μήτηρ γε ('Yes (γε), my mother too (καί)'). Contrast, a few lines below, Καὶ ἡ σὴ γε, 'Yes, and yours too').

(For καὶ . . . γε δὴ see γε δὴ (5).)

### Μέν γε

This combination is a natural one, the effect of γε being to concentrate attention momentarily on the μέν clause, with a deliberate temporary exclusion of the δέ clause. (The effect is the same when the particles are separated, but in close proximity: *Pl.Philb.*37E τὴν μὲν δόξαν γε: *Phd.*91D τοῦτο μὲν ἐμοὶ συγχωρεῖν, πολυχρονιώτερόν γε εἶναι ψυχὴν σώματος: *Lg.*662A.) μέν is sometimes *solitarium*.

μέν γε is probably entirely absent from serious poetry, and is rather rare in comedy. In *Hom.O*211 there can be no doubt that μέν κε is the right reading. *E.Fr.*909.4 πρῶτα μὲν γε τοῦθ' ὑπάρχει<sup>1</sup> (but the whole fragment, in which Clement of Alexandria found *σεμνότης*, seems to me incredibly lame, and Dobree has stigmatized certain lines as unworthy of Euripides). In *L.*4654 only *P*<sup>2</sup> reads μέν γ'. In *Med.*1094 μέν γ' has been proposed for μέν τ' (defended by Verrall), but Porson's μέν [τ'] is probably right (τ' *in rasura* l).

*Epich.Fr.*124 (Kaibel) πρῶι μὲν γ' . . . ἀφύας ἀπεπυρίζουες: *Ag.Ach.*154 Τοῦτο μὲν γ' ἤδη σαφές: *Ra.*80 κάλλως δὲ μὲν γ'

<sup>1</sup> Starkie (on *Ar.V.*564) and Neil (*Κριτικῆς*, p. 192) confirm me in my belief that there is no other example in tragedy.

Εὐριπίδης . . . ὁ δ' εὐκολος . . . : *Lys.* 589, 1165, 1236 : *Ra.* 290, 907 (*Ald.*) : *Hdt.* i 129 σκαϊότατον τε καὶ ἀδικώτατον . . . σκαϊότατον μὲν γε, εἰ . . . ἀδικώτατον δέ, ὅτι . . . : ii 97 ἐς μὲν γε Μέμφιν . . . ἐς δὲ Ναύκρατιν . . . : i 145, 173 : iii 29, 107, 142 : vi 109.3 : viii 10.1 : 65.3 : *Pl.R.* 475E : *Cra.* 423A, 437D : *Tht.* 147A : *Smp.* 180D : *X.Cyr.* ii 1.2 : *D.* xxi 74 : lvii 62. (*Ar.Pl.* 665 is different: here γε assents with an addition: Ἦσαν δὲ τινες κάλλοι . . . ;—*Eis* μὲν γε *Neocleidēs* . . . ἕτεροί τε πολλοί: 'Yes, Neocleides for one.' Cf. καὶ . . . γε, 2.iv.)

The commonest (in Demosthenes almost the only) use of μὲν γε is at the beginning of a sentence, as a quasi-connective, introducing a reason, explanation, or instance, and approximating to μὲν γάρ or μὲν γοῦν in force. (Thus in *Ant.* v 14 μὲν γε, in the duplication of the passage in vi 2 μὲν γάρ.)

*Ar.Av.* 1608 οὐ γὰρ μείζον . . . ἰσχύσεται, ἣν ὄρνιθες ἀρξῶσιν κάτω; νῦν μὲν γ' . . . ἐπιορκουῖσιν ὑμᾶς οἱ βροτοί· ἐὰν δὲ . . . : *Nu.* 1172 ὡς ἡδομαί σου πρῶτα τὴν χροῖαν ἰδῶν· νῦν μὲν γ' ἰδεῖν εἶ πρῶτον ἐξαρνητικός: *Alex.Fr.* 146.7 ἡ τῶν γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ἐστὶ πρὸς ἐκείνην μέλι· οἱ μὲν γε συγγνώμην ἔχουσ' ἀδικούμενοι, αὐταὶ δ' . . . : *Ar.Nu.* 1382 : *V.* 564 : *Th.* 804 (γ' *add.* *Dobr.*): *Ec.* 60 : *Lys.* 720 : *Av.* 612 (γ' *add.* *Bentl.*), 1136 : *Hdt.* iii 72 τοῦ γὰρ αὐτοῦ γλιχόμεθα οἱ τε ψευδόμενοι καὶ οἱ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ διαχρεώμενοι. οἱ μὲν γε ψεύδονται . . . οἱ δ' ἀληθίζονται: *Th.* 140.4 καίτοι δίκαιοί γ' ἐστὲ . . . ἐπὶ τούτους μεθ' ἡμῶν ἰέναι (*Κορινθίοις μὲν γε ἔνσπονδοί ἐστε, Κερκυραίοις δὲ . . .*): *Pl.Smp.* 215C ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀύλητῆς; πολὺ γε θαυμασιώτερος ἐκείνου. ὁ μὲν γε δι' ὀργάνων ἐκῆλει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους . . . σὺ δὲ . . . : *Lg.* 896E : *X.Cyr.* ii 2.2 δύσκολοι . . . φαίνονται. πρῶτην μὲν γε . . . (an illustration): *Smp.* 1.9 τῶν ὀρώντων οὐδεὶς οὐκ ἔπασχε τι τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνου. οἱ μὲν γε σιωπηρότεροι ἐγίνοντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐσχηματίζοντό πως: *Ant.* i 21 σκέψασθε οὖν ὅσῳ δικαιότερα ὑμῶν δεήσομαι ἐγὼ ἢ ὁ ἀδελφός. ἐγὼ μὲν γε . . . οὗτος δὲ . . . : *D.* xviii 180 σοῦ πλείονος ἄξιός ὢν ἐφάνην τῇ πατρίδι. σὺ μὲν γ' . . . ἐγὼ δὲ . . . : 160 τῶν οἰκείων μοι πραγμάτων τοιούτων συμβεβηκότων ἐν τῷ τότε καιρῷ, ὥστε ὑμᾶς ἂν ἀκούσαντας ἐλεῆσαι. ἡ μὲν γε μήτηρ ἔκαμνε . . . ἡ δὲ γυνὴ . . . ἀσθενῶς διέκειτο: *Th.* 170.2 : 74.1 : *X.Cyr.* ii 1.16 : iv 3.18 : *Smp.* 6.7 : *Hier.* 1.11 : 8.9 : *And.* ii 2, 19 : *Isoc.* iv 153 : *D.* xiv 29, 30, 40 : xvi 10 : xviii 200 : xix 252 : xx 23 : xxi 73 : xxii 1 : *id. saep.*

*Pl.Men.* 86C is curious: *Εὐ* μοι δοκεῖς λέγειν . . . Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν γε δοκεῖς μοι εὐ λέγειν ('That, too': an odd blend of καὶ τοῦτό γε and τοῦτο μὲν γε: unless καὶ is simply 'and', which, in the context, seems most unlikely: μὲν certainly looks suspicious.)

The stronger forms μὲν γε δῆ, μὲν γε οὖν are occasionally found. *Pl.Tht.* 172C καὶ πολλάκις μὲν γε δῆ . . . ἀτὰρ καὶ νῦν . . . : *Plt.* 257D κινδυνεύετον . . . ἄμφω ποθὲν ἐμοὶ συγγένειαν ἔχειν τινά. τὸν μὲν γε οὖν . . . τοῦ δὲ . . .

### Τέ γε (εἶτε γε: οὔτε γε)

The combination of τε and γε, especially in juxtaposition, seems to have been rather disliked by Greek writers, except perhaps Plato. Why, it is difficult to say, since the combination is a perfectly natural<sup>1</sup> one, τε meaning either 'both' or 'and', and γε stressing the word before τε (or, where the particles are separated, a word lying between the two). δῆ however largely supplants γε in this connexion. (See *Introd.* IV).

*E.Alc.* 647 ἦν ἐγὼ καὶ μητέρα πατέρα τέ γ' ἐνδίκως ἂν ἠγοίμην (γ' *om.* *VB*): *Pl.Phd.* 59C Ναί, Σιμμίας τέ γε . . . (τε *om.* *W*): 106D Παρὰ πάντων . . . ἀνθρώπων τέ γε καὶ . . . θεῶν (γε *om.* *TW*): *Grg.* 454E Ἀλλὰ μὴν οἱ τέ γε μεμαθηκότες πεπεισμένοι εἰσὶν καὶ οἱ πεπιστευκότες (τε *om.* *F*): *X.Mem.* 12.54 αὐτοὶ τέ γε αὐτῶν . . . ἀφαιροῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἰατροῖς παρέχουσι . . . (γε *for* γοῦν). It will be noticed that only in the last passage are the MSS. unanimous. *Ar.Av.* 823 ἵνα καὶ τὰ Θεογένους τὰ πολλὰ χρήματα τά τ' Αἰσχίνου γ' ἅπαντα: *Pl.Pl.* 293D Καὶ εἴτε γε . . . εἶτε καὶ . . . : *Alc.* 1107B Ἐάν τέ γε . . . εἴτε γε . . . : *Ar.Lys.* 939 ἦν τε βούλη γ' ἦν τε μή: *D.* xix 188 εἶτε βούλομαι γ' εἶτε μή: *Hdt.* ii 14 εἰ μήτε γε . . . μήτε (*ib.* 16: μήτε *CRSV*): viii 142.2 οὔτε γὰρ δίκαιον οὐδαμῶς οὔτε κόσμον φέρον οὔτε γε ἄλλοισι Ἑλλήνων οὐδαμοῖσι, ὑμῖν δὲ δῆ . . . ἥκιστα (γε *om.* *RSV*: reading uncertain): *Pl.R.* 556A Καὶ οὔτε γ' ἐκείνη . . . οὔτε τῆδε (γ' *om.* *F*): 611B μήτε . . . μήτε γε αὐ: *S.Aj.* 1075 οὐτ' ἂν . . . οὐτ' ἂν στρατός γε.

<sup>1</sup> Hartung (i 400) calls it an 'unnatural combination', and proposes to alter *Ar.Av.* 823: the remaining instances he ignores. Neil's list (*op. cit.* p. 192) is also far from complete.



γε occasionally follows 'adverbial' τε. Hdt.vii 129.1 ὥστε γε συγκεκλημένην (γε om. ABC): Pl.Lg.770B εἶπερ οἶοί τέ γ' ἔσμεν: X.Mem.iv 2.11 καὶ οὐχ οἶόν τέ γε: 5.2 Ὡς οἶόν τέ γε μάλιστα (Pl.R.412B).

For τέ γε δή, see γε δή (7).

## Δέ

The derivation of δέ is entirely obscure.<sup>1</sup>

Except in the apodotic use, δέ is always a connective. Whether the apodotic use is derived from the connective, or whether it harks back to an earlier, 'adverbial', sense, is a matter which concerns only the history of language. (A similar problem confronts us in the case of καί.) Both uses are already present in the earliest extant Greek literature.

As a connective, δέ denotes either pure connexion, 'and', or contrast, 'but', with all that lies between. (Modern languages are here less equivocal than Greek and Latin. Cf. *at*.) The former sense preponderates where no μέν precedes, and in such cases there is no essential difference<sup>2</sup> between δέ and καί: though it is to be noticed that δέ usually couples sentences, clauses, or phrases, single words<sup>3</sup> being normally joined by καί, and (in some styles) τε.

I. Connective. (A) Continuative, and (B) Adversative: though, as I have suggested above, no sharp line can be drawn between the two.

A. Continuative. δέ is the normal equivalent of 'and' at the beginning of a sentence. Cf. Pl.R.614B-*fin*. (Vision of Er), where καί is only occasionally used at the beginning of a sentence. In

<sup>1</sup> See Brugmann, § 630.

<sup>2</sup> Hartung's distinction, that δέ expresses duality, τε and καί unity, can hardly be of practical importance.

<sup>3</sup> Adversative δέ may couple single words, e.g. Ar.Nu.1462; continuative δέ hardly ever, if at all. Cf. A.Supp.287: S.OT 347 (*v.l.*): E.HF 1098. In A.Pr.502 τε *recc.* is read for δέ M: E.Hel.1550 τ' Ludv.Dindorf. δέ coupling clauses is often altered by editors, sometimes perhaps needlessly, to τε: E.Hel.1566, 1655. Conversely τε after a strong stop has been changed to δέ: S.Aj. 687, 1182 (see Jebb): cf. τε, I.1. The delimitation of the functions of connective δέ and τε is a difficult matter, requiring further investigation.

Lys.i 6-27 (narrative) the openings are more varied. Cf. other passages in which δέ preponderates: Hom.A 1-5: 43-9: 345-51: E.Rh.762-803 (Messenger's speech): X.Cyr.i 2.1.

It is unnecessary to multiply instances of so familiar a use. But the following points may be noticed:

(1) Expressions standing in apposition to one another are sometimes linked by δέ. In English we use a connective only where the expressions are *eiusdem generis*: 'his brother, and my cousin' (cf. Hdt.vii 10a2 πατρὶ τῷ σῷ, ἀδελφεῷ δὲ ἐμῷ), but not 'his brother, and the Governor of Malta': in Greek, δέ is admissible in either case. τε and γε are similarly used, and the manuscripts cannot perhaps always be trusted.

A.Ag.1405 οὗτός ἐστιν Ἀγαμέμνων, ἐμὸς πόσις, νεκρὸς δέ ('my husband, dead'): Ch.190 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μὴν νιν ἢ κτανοῦσ' ἐκείρατο, ἐμὴ δὲ μήτηρ: 841 νέαν φάτιν . . . οὐδαμῶς ἐφίμερον, μόρον δ' Ὀρέστου (γ' Portus: but δέ may mark a contrast with ἐφίμερον): Th.277 (see Tucker (his 265): *sed?*): E.Andr.248 Ἐλένη νιν ὤλεσ', οὐκ ἐγώ, μήτηρ δὲ σή (Paley prints a colon before οὐκ: read perhaps γε): S.OC 1275 ὦ σπέρματ' ἀνδρὸς τοῦδ', ἐμαὶ δ' ὀμαίμονες: A.Pers.152: Hdt.i 114 ὑπὸ τοῦ σοῦ δούλου, βουκόλου δὲ παιδός: vii 8β3 Ἀρισταγόρη τῷ Μιλησίῳ. δούλω δὲ ἡμετέρῳ.

(2) In Anaphora, when δέ is in the second limb, μέν is usually in the first (see p. 370). But there are numerous exceptions to this principle in serious poetry. Hom.Ω 483 ὡς Ἀχιλεὺς θάμβησεν . . . θάμβησαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι: A.Fr.70 Ζεὺς ἐστὶν αἰθήρ, Ζεὺς δὲ γῆ, Ζεὺς δ' οὐρανός: Eu.656 (clauses not co-ordinated): S.OT 312 ῥῦσαι σεαυτὸν καὶ πόλιν, ῥῦσαι δ' ἐμέ, ῥῦσαι δὲ πᾶν μίasma τοῦ τεθνηκότος: E.Or.709 μισεῖ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς . . . μισοῦσι δ' ἀστοί: S.OT 1490: Tr.517, 1148: Ph.633, 827: OC 1343: E.Med 99, 131, 767, 961, 1071: Andr.1168: Supp.1149: HF 915, 1062, 1359, 1374: El.312: IT 984: Ph.564, 686, 1034: Or.1135: Ba.142: 370 Ὀσία πότνα θεῶν, Ὀσία δ' ἂ κατὰ γᾶν χρυσέαν πτέρυγα φέρεις: IA 17, 559, 1258.

Very rare in comedy: Hermipp.Fr.82.8 (mock-epic) ὄζει ἰων, ὄζει δὲ ῥόδων, ὄζει δ' ὑακίνθου. For Ar.Av.586 see p. 164.

In prose, there are a few examples in Herodotus and Plato: Hdt.vii 9a1 τί δέισαντες; κοίην πλήθεος συστροφήν; κοίην δὲ χρημάτων δύναμιν; ix 16.1 ἔφη . . . κληθῆναι καὶ αὐτὸς . . .



κληθῆναι δὲ καὶ Θηβαίων ἀνδρας πενήκοντα : vii 106: Pl.Lg.649 B πάσης . . . παρρησίας . . . μεστοῦται καὶ ἐλευθερίας, πάσης δὲ ἀφοβίας : 914E. *Thi.*191B and *Min.*313C are of course different, since here the repetition of the word is compulsory, not voluntary, and we can hardly speak of anaphora. Different, again, are certain passages in Herodotus, where a main verb is repeated with added detail: i 114 ἔπαιζε ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ταύτῃ . . . ἔπαιζε δὲ μετ' ἄλλων ἡλικίων ἐν ὁδοῖ: ii 158: iii 1,4: vi 43,4: 89. In such cases the use of a connective is natural enough in English too, in leisurely and garrulous style: 'He was playing in this village . . . and he was playing with boys of his own age'. Less natural to us is Herodotus' habit of repeating a substantive: v 113,2 καὶ ὁ Σολίων βασιλεὺς Ἀριστόκυπρος ὁ Φιλοκύπρου, Φιλοκύπρου δὲ τούτου τὸν Σόλων . . . αἶνεσε τυράννων μάλιστα ('the Philocypus whom Solon . . .'): vi 127,3: vii 121,1: ix 73,1 ἐκ δήμου Δεκελεῆθεν, Δεκελεῶν δὲ τῶν κοτε ἐργασαμένων . . . (the locality implies its inhabitants: conversely, vii 80: ix 92,2). Cf. καί, I.4, and see Stein on Hdt.i 52.

In some cases, connexion is varied with asyndeton. Hom.θ323 ἦλθε . . . ἦλθ' . . . ἦλθεν δὲ . . . : Simon.Fr.13 18 εὔδε, βρέφος, εὔδέτω δὲ πόντος, εὔδέτω ἄμετρον κακόν (εὔδέτω δ' B): S.OT 1305 ἐθέλων πόλλ' ἀνερέσθαι, πολλὰ πυθέσθαι, πολλὰ δ' ἀθρήσαι: *El.* 1151-3 (an astonishingly fine effect): E.Rh.311 πολλοὶ μὲν ἱππῆς, πολλὰ πελταστῶν τέλη, πολλοὶ δ' ἀτράκτων τοξόται (δ' LP: τ' I'O): Ag.Au.586 Ἦν δ' ἠγῶνται σὲ θεὸν σὲ βίον σὲ δὲ γῆν σὲ Κρόνον σὲ Ποσειδῶν: *Lys.*545-6, 962-4.

(3) In two passages in Euripides a participial addition is joined to an understood main verb by δέ: *Heracl.* 794 Μάλιστα (ἔστιν), πράξας δ' ἐκ θεῶν κάλλιστα δή: *Ba.*816 Σάφ' ἴσθι (ἴδοιμ' αὖ), σιγῇ δ' ὑπ' ἐλάταις καθήμενος. The more normal exegetic γε (see γε, I.12.ii) has been suggested by Elmsley in the former passage, by Musurus in the latter.<sup>1</sup> In the former, Paley assumes a break in sense at the end of the line. In both, particularly the second, δέ seems rather unnatural.

(4) In *Ar.Eq.*79 only the second and third of three units are coupled by δέ, after asyndeton between the first and second. This and *Lycurg.*150 are the only instances I have noticed except those given above under (2), *ad fin.* For *A.Pr.*502 see n. 3, p. 162): but there may be others. (Van Leeuwen's ingenious

<sup>1</sup> See Verrall on *A.Ch.*126.

emendation of *Ar.Pax*758 is made less probable by the fact that the line = *V.*1035 (where *V* reads *Λαμίας δ'*.) Cf. καί (I.1), τε (I.1.iii.c, p. 501), οὐδέ (I.2.iv), καὶ . . . δέ (iii). Two linked units in the middle of an otherwise asyndetic series: *X.Cyr.*viii 2.6. Cf. also (2), *ad fin.*, above.

#### B. Adversative.

(1) Normally, while ἀλλά is a strong adversative, eliminating, or almost eliminating, the opposed idea, δέ (like μήν and μέντοι) balances two opposed ideas.

(i) Examples of δέ as a balancing adversative preceded by μέν are given under μέν. But μέν is sometimes omitted, particularly in verse, even when the idea of balance is clearly present.<sup>1</sup> *A.Eu.*650: S *Tr* 198 οὕτως ἐκεῖνος οὐχ ἐκῶν, ἐκοῦσι δὲ ξύνεστιν: *Ph.*971 Οὐκ εἶ κακὸς σὺ πρὸς κακῶν δ' ἀνδρῶν μαθῶν ἔοικας ἦκειν αἰσχροῖ: *E.Ph.*1680 Γενναιότης σοι, μωρία δ' ἔνεστί τις: *Or* 100 Ὀρθῶς ἔλεξας, οὐ φίλως δ' ἐμοὶ λέγεις: *Ag.Nu.*1462 πονηρά γ', ὦ Νεφέλαι, δίκαια δέ: *Hom.*I 415: *Hes.Or.*472: *E.Or.*424: *Ag.Th.*737: *Ra.*1461: and even when the close connexion between co-ordinated clauses implies logical subordination: *E.El.*920: *Hel.*588: cf. p. 370(ii).

In prose such omission of μέν, though rarer than in verse, is not infrequent. *Th.*186.1 πρὸς τοὺς Μήδους ἐγένοντο ἀγαθοὶ τότε, πρὸς δ' ἡμᾶς κακοὶ νῦν: *Pl.Prt.*329E ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ ἀνδρεῖοί εἰσιν, ἄδικοι δέ, καὶ δίκαιοι αὖ, σοφοὶ δὲ οὐ: *Grg.*513C τῷ αὐτῶν . . . χαίρουσι, τῷ δὲ ἀλλοτρίῳ ἄχθονται: *Thi.*150C μαιεύεσθαι με ὁ θεὸς ἀναγκάζει, γεινᾶν δὲ ἀπεκώλυσεν: 192D ἐνίστε μὲν ὀρῶ αὐτοῦς, ἐνίστε δὲ οὐ, καὶ ἄπτομαί ποτ' αὐτῶν, τότε δ' οὐ: 202B ἄλογα καὶ ἄγνωστα εἶναι, αἰσθητὰ δέ: 208B ἀνεπιστήμων ὦν, ὀρθὰ δὲ δοξάζων: *Ti.*91D ἐκ τῶν ἀκάκων ἀνδρῶν, κούφων δέ, καὶ μετεωρολογικῶν μέν, ἠγουμένων δὲ . . . : *Lys.*501A οὔσα ἀμαθία μεγίστη, δοκοῦσα δὲ σοφία: 744C τῷ ἀνίσῳ, συμμέτρῳ δέ: *Lys.*iii 37 οὐ τοίνυν ταῦτα εἰκότα, ἄλλως δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν πέπρακται: *D.*viii 67 τῇ τῶν ὠνίων ἀφθονίᾳ λαμπροί, τῇ δ' ὦν προσῆκε παρασκευῇ καταγέλαστοι: *Th.*156.2: *Pl.*Ἰων.170E: *Ar.*21C,31D: *Phd.*81B,112E: *Thi.*160A,B,174D,181E: *K.*398A, 548E,552C,598A,616B: *Lg.*728C: *Ep.*355A: *Lys.*xiii 85: xxvi 15: *D.*vi 11: ix 33: xxiv 87. The missing μέν has sometimes

<sup>1</sup> See Rehdantz, *Index*, Frohberger, *Philol.* xv 342, and other authorities cited by Kühner (II ii 273, n. 1).

been added by editors whose ideas on this subject are too unbending: *Lys.*138: v4: x31 (*coll.* xi12): xii79: xviii17.

(ii) Occasionally *ὁ μὲν*, etc., has to be understood before *ὁ δέ*, etc. *Hom.*X157 τῆ ῥα παραδραμέτην, φεύγων, ὁ δ' ὀπισθεδιώκων (a striking example, because of the discrepancy in number): *Pi.*N.8.37 χρυσὸν εὔχονται, πεδίον δ' ἕτεροι ἀπέραντον: *E.Hel.*1605 σπουδῆς δ' ὑπο ἐπιπτον, οἱ δ' ὠρθοῦντο: *Or.*1489 νεκροὶ δ' ἐπιπτον, οἱ δ' ἐμελλον, οἱ δ' ἐκείντ': *IT*1350 κοντοῖς δὲ πρῶραν εἶχον, οἱ δ' ἐπωτίδων ἄγκυραν ἐξανῆπτον: *S.Tr.*117 (*ib.* 135 is more complicated: see Jebb): *Hom.*Ω528: *Pi.*I.6.61: *Xenoph.*Fr.1.3: *E.HF*636 (where see Wilamowitz): *Pl.*Sph.221E νευστικοῦ μέρους, τὸ δὲ πεζοῦ τέμνοντες: *Phlb.*36E ψευδεῖς, αἱ δ' ἀληθεῖς οὐκ εἰσὶν ἡδοναί; *Ti.*22E πλέον, τότε δὲ ἔλαττον: *Lg.*629D ποτέρους . . . οὕτως ὑπερεπήνεσας, τοὺς δὲ ἔψεξας τῶν ἀνδρῶν; *Epin.*983D ἔμφρον μὲν που, τὸ δὲ ἄφρον θήσομεν, ἄρχον δέ, τὸ δὲ ἀρχόμενον: *X.HG*12.14 ἀποδράντες νυκτὸς ὄχοντο εἰς Δεκέλειαν, οἱ δ' εἰς Μέγαρα: *Cyr.*iv5.46 ὁρᾶτε . . . ἵπποι ὅσοι ἡμῖν πάρεσιν, οἱ δὲ προσάγονται: *Arist.*EN1132a6 καὶ εἰ ἔβλαψεν δὲ βέβλαπται: *HA*573b32: *Pl.*Cra.385B: *Ti.*63E,84C: *Sph.*248A,267B: *R.*451E,455E,456A: *Lg.*648C: *Plt.*291E: *D.*ix64 εἰσφέρειν ἐκέλευον, οἱ δ' οὐδὲν δεῖν ἔφασαν: *Arist.*PA654a28: *Po.*1447b14: *Aen.*Tact 10 (*ad fin.*). In *Pl.*Ti.63A, *Lys.*xix59 τὸν δέ, τοὺς δέ answer *τινα, τισι*. In some of the above the *ὁ δέ*, etc., is more or less of an afterthought, and it is hardly necessary to suppose an ellipse of *ὁ μὲν*: cf. *S.El.*1291: *OT*1229: *Ar.*Nu.396. Most of the Platonic examples are from his later works. L. & S. cite *IG*2<sup>2</sup>.1388.45 σφραγίδε . . . χρυσοῦν ἔχουσα τὸν δακτύλιον, ἢ δ' ἑτέρα ἀργυροῦν (see further Meisterhans, p. 250). Cf. *τε* *E.IT* 1238 ἐν κιθάρᾳ σοφόν, ἃ τ' ἐπὶ τόξων εὐστοχία γάνυται.

(2) But, just as *ἀλλά* sometimes is, or appears to be, a weak adversative, so *δέ* is at times a strong one: particularly in Sophocles, who not infrequently uses *δέ* in answers, to introduce a protest or objection.

*S.OT*379 Κρέοντος, ἢ σοῦ ταῦτα τάξευρήματα;—Κρέων δέ σοι πῆμ' οὐδέν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς σὺ σοί ('Nay, Creon harms thee not')\*: *El.*400 Πεισοῦμεθ', εἰ χρή, πατρὶ τιμωρούμενοι.—Πατὴρ δὲ τούτων, οἶδα, συγγνώμην ἔχει: *Tr.*536 κόρην γάρ, οἶμαι δ' οὐκέτ', ἀλλ' ἐζευγμένην (correcting, for μὲν οὖν): 729 Τοιαῦτα δ' ἂν λέξειεν οὐχ ὁ τοῦ κακοῦ κοινωνός, ἀλλ' . . . (rejecting com-

fort: 'Nay'): *Ant.*92 Οὐκοῦν, ὅταν δὴ μὴ σθένω, πεπαύσομαι.—'Αρχὴν δὲ θηρᾶν οὐ πρέπει τὰμήχανα ('Aye, but . . .'): 518 Οὐ γάρ τι δοῦλος, ἀλλ' ἀδελφὸς ὤλετο.—Πορθῶν δὲ τήνδε γῆν (δέ *L*: γε *A*): *OC*395 Νῦν γὰρ θεοὶ σ' ὀρθοῦσι, πρόσθε δ' ὄλλυσαν.—Γέροντα δ' ὀρθοῦν φλαῦρον δὲ νέος πέση: 592 ὦ μῶρε, θυμὸς δ' ἐν κακοῖς οὐ ξύμφορον: 1443 Δυστάλαινά τάρ' ἐγώ, εἰ σου στερηθῶ.—Ταῦτα δ' ἐν τῷ δαίμονι καὶ τῆδε φῦναι χάτερα: *E.Hipp.*911 σιγᾶς: σιωπῆς δ' οὐδὲν ἔργον ἐν κακοῖς: *Alc.*710 οὐ χρῆν σ' εἰς ἐμ' ἐξαμαρτάνειν.—Σοῦ δ' ἂν προθνήσκων μᾶλλον ἐξημάρτανον ('Nay': for μὲν οὖν): 985: *IA*956 πικροῦς . . . χέρνιβας τ' ἐνάρξεται Κάλχχας ὁ μάντις. τίς δὲ μάντις ἔστ' ἀνὴρ, δὲ ὀλίγ' ἀληθῆ, πολλὰ δὲ ψευδῆ λέγει . . .; (for καίτοι: 'Yet how call him a prophet . . .?'): 411: *A.Supp.*784 (perhaps: text uncertain) 1034 (δ' *add.* Pauw): *E.HF*557 (δ' *P*: γ' *L*: δ' gives a stronger sense): *Ar.*Ach.292: *Ra.*1396: *V.*1188.)

(Contrast the weaker *δέ* in an answer in *E.IA*1457: Ἄκων μ' ὑπὲρ γῆς Ἑλλάδος διώλεσεν.—Δόλω δ', ἀγεννώως Ἀτρέως τ' οὐκ ἀξίως ('Unwillingly, perhaps, but unworthily'). Cf. *S.Ant.* 518 (δέ *L*: γε *A*).

Expressing a break-off, like *ἀτάρ*. *A.Pers.*478 σὺ δ' εἶπέ . . . (Atossa turns to the messenger, after her soliloquy): *E.Cyc.*200: 597: *Hec.*868,1237: *El.*292: *Hel.*143: *Ba.*657.

In prose *δέ* only very rarely bears the stronger force normally conveyed by *καίτοι* or *ἀλλά*. *Pl.**Smp.*212E ἀρὰ καταγελάσεισθέ μου ὡς μεθύοντος; ἐγὼ δέ, κἂν ὑμεῖς γελᾶτε, ὅμως εὐ οἶδ' ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω: *Ar.*38B 'I assess my penalty at a mina fine. Πλάτων δὲ ὅδε . . . καὶ Κρίτων . . . κελεύουσί με τριάκοντα μνῶν τιμῆσασθαι . . . τιμῶμαι οὖν τοσούτου' (for ἀλλά γάρ): *Lg.*727B καὶ οὐ τιμᾶ (τὴν αὐτοῦ ψυχῆν): δεῖ δέ, ὡς φαμεν (for καίτοι: cf. 732E): *Hr.*Ma.298B ('Yes, but': an objection to the previous speaker's words: δ' *TF*: δὴ *W*). The common *μᾶλλον δέ*, in a correction, is less brusque than *μὲν οὖν*: *Pl.**Cri.*40A: *Plat.* 77E: *Ar.*Eq.429 οἶμαι δὲ μᾶλλον ἄμφω.

(3) So too after a preceding negative clause. *Hom.*ι: δὲ σελήνη οὐρανόθεν προῦφαινε, κατείχετο δὲ νεφέεσσιν: *Ar.* 1026 μηδ' ἔτι Νείλου προχοᾶς σέβωμεν ἕμνοις, ποταμοῦς δ' οἱ διὰ χώρας θελεμὸν πῶμα χέουσι: *Pr.*1075 μὴ δῆτα τὴν τύχην), αὐταὶ δ' ὑμᾶς αὐτάς: *S.**Ant.*85 προμηυῆς:

μηδενὶ τοῦργον, κρυφῆ δὲ κεῦθε: *Ph.*334 Τέθνηκεν, ἀνδρὸς οὐδενός, θεοῦ δ' ὑπὸ: *OC*637 οὔποτ' ἐκβαλῶ . . . χώρα δ' ἔμπολιν κατοικιῶ: *E.Or.*846 ἀφώρμηται . . . λύσση δαμείς;—*Ηκιστα* πρὸς δ' Ἀργεῖον οἴχεται λεών: *Ar. Ra.*625: *Hdt.*v 11.2 οὐ τύραννος, δημότης δὲ ἐών (δέ Bekker: τε *L*): vii 8a 2 οὐδὲ φλαυροτέρην, παμφορωτέρην δέ: *Th.*i 5 οὐκ ἔχοντός πω αἰσχύνην τοῦ ἔργου, φέροντος δέ τι καὶ δόξης μᾶλλον: iv 86 αὐτὸς δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ κακῶ, ἐπ' ἐλευθερώσει δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων παρελήλυθα: *Arist. Pol.* 1326a 12 μὴ εἰς τὸ πλῆθος εἰς δὲ δύναμιν ἀποβλέπειν: *Hdt.*i 123: viii 79.2: *Pl. Th.*182B: *Sph.*217C: *Lg.*637D, 714B, 718D, 723D.

Sometimes an illusory effect of balance is produced by a μέν in the negative clause. *S.El.*1036 ἐπίστω γ' οἷ μ' ἀτιμίας ἄγεις. —*Ἀτιμίας μὲν οὐ, προμηθίας δὲ σοῦ* (in *Ant.*78 μέν and δέ are not correlated: see Jebb): *E.Heracl.*194 τῆ δίκη μὲν οὐ, τὸ δ' ἄργος ὀγκῶν: *Supp.*747 φίλοις μὲν οὐ πείθεσθε, τοῖς δὲ πράγμασιν: *Ar. Th.*1035 γαμηλίῳ μὲν οὐ ξὺν παιῶνι δεσμίῳ δὲ γοᾶσθέ με: *Hdt.*i 107.2 Μήδων μὲν . . . οὐδενὶ διδοῖ γυναῖκα, ὁ δὲ Πέρση διδοῖ: iv 111.2: *Th.*i 125.2 ἐνιαυτὸς μὲν οὐ διετρίβη, ἔλασσον δέ: 131.1: *Pl.R.*543B: *Ti.*86E: *Lys.*ix 20. (For μέν . . . οὐδέ, see pp. 191, 194).

Such cases are to be distinguished from others, in which (with or without a preceding μέν) the ideas expressed in the two clauses are not mutually exclusive, and μέν . . . δέ is regular: *S.El.*906 δυσφημῶ μὲν οὐ, χαρᾶ δὲ πίμπλημ' εὐθύς ὄμμα δακρύων: *E.Hec.*386 τήνδε μὲν μὴ κτείνετε, ἡμᾶς δ' ἄγοντες πρὸς πυρὰν Ἀχιλλέως κεντεῖτε: *Th.*ii 98.3 πορευομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ ἀπεγίγνετο μὲν οὐδὲν τοῦ στρατοῦ εἰ μὴ τι νόσῳ, προσεγίγνετο δέ: *Pl.Lg.* 660C οὐδαμῶς ἠδύ, ἀναγκαῖον δ' ἐνίοτέ ἐστιν ('not at all pleasant, though sometimes necessary'): *R.*359D: *Ar.*32A: *Lg.*923E. (Two women can be killed as easily as one, and an army can receive drafts while suffering casualties: but nine months cannot equal twelve, nor a respectable monarch marry his daughter to two suitors at once.)<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. T. S. Evans, *Latin and Greek Verse, Memoir*, p. 1: 'On being told that Bishop Ellicott had pointed out an incorrectness in his well-known definition of an ellipse in the *Μαθηματικὴ*,—κύκλος μὲν οὐ, κύκλου δὲ φιλιότη κασις, which, the Bishop said, should have run οὐ κύκλος, ἀλλὰ φιλιότη κύκλου κασις, I replied and said: "If an ellipse had been as different from a circle as a circle is from an ellipse, the Bishop's remark might hold water, but inasmuch as it is only an ellipse, and not all but a circle, I think my line is correct." The defence is valid, but . . .'

C. Particular uses of connective δέ. (It will be convenient to drop the distinction between continuative and adversative henceforward.)

(1) δέ for γάρ, οὖν (or δή), ἤ. δέ is not infrequently used where the context admits, or even appears to demand, γάρ (or, occasionally, οὖν or ἤ). In such cases the writer is content with merely adding one idea to another, without stressing the logical connexion between the two, which he leaves to be supplied.

(i) For γάρ. This is quite common, not only in Homer, where we might expect to find it, but also in later, and logically more developed, style. The Scholia often observe: ὁ δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ γάρ. (See Tucker on *A.Ch.* 32.)<sup>1</sup>

*Hom.H.*48 ἦ ῥά νύ μοι τι πίθοιο, κασίγνητος δέ τοί εἰμι: *K*240 ὡς ἔφατ', ἔδεισεν δὲ περὶ ξανθῷ Μενελάῳ: *M*412 ἀλλ' ἐφομαρτεῖτε· πλεόνων δέ τοι ἔργον ἄμεινον: 0540 Πείραιε Κλυτίδη, σὺ δέ μοι τά περ ἄλλα μάλιστα πείθη: *Scol.Anon.*20.2 (Diehl) ὑπὸ παντὶ λίθῳ σκορπίος . . . φράξεν μὴ σε βάλῃ· τῷ δ' ἀφανεῖ πᾶς ἔπεται δόλος: *A.Supp.*190 ἄμεινόν ἐστι . . . πάγον προσίζειν τόνδ' ἀγωνίων θεῶν. κρείσσων δὲ πύργου βωμός: *E.Ph.*689 ἄμυνε τᾶδε γὰ· πάντα δ' εὐπετῆ θεοῖς: *Ar.Au.*584 εἴθ' ὁ γ' Ἀπόλλων ἰατρός γ' ὦν ἰάσθω· μισθοφορεῖ δέ: 935 ἔχε τὴν σπολάδα· πάντως δέ μοι ῥιγῶν δοκεῖς: *Ra.*857 πρᾶνως ἔλεγχ' ἐλέγχον· λοιδορεῖσθαι δ' οὐ πρέπει ἄνδρας ποιητᾶς: *Hom.N.*237: *O*563: *P*90: *S*188: *T*27: *Φ*498: 8468: 450: 6393: 7401: 7347: 725: *Hes.Op.*697: *Thgn.*359: *Melanipp.Fr.*2.4: *A.Supp.* 651: *Th.*120,249: *Eu.*62,579: *S.Ph.*741: *E.Alc.*61: *Med.*717: *Hipp.*94: *Heracl.*70: *Andr.*1084: *Supp.*1233: *HF*1394: *Ion* 1061: *Tr.*1046: *IT*723,1401: *Hel.*138,417,544,1099: *Ph.*86,745: *Ba.*365: *Ar.Pax*1118.

There are few instances in prose. *Hdt.*ii 100 νόσῳ δὲ ἀλλὰ μηχανᾶσθαι· καλέσασαν δὲ . . . πολλοὺς ἰστιάων (editors omit δέ, or emend it to γάρ): *Th.*i 86.2 τοὺς ξυμμάχους, ἦν σωφροσύνην, οὐ περιοψόμεθα ἀδικουμένους οὐδὲ μελλήσομεν τιμωρεῖσθαι· οὐ δ' οὐκέτι μέλλουσι κακῶς πάσχειν: *Pl.Cra.*428A εὐεργέτης· Σωκράτη τόνδε—δίκαιος δ' εἶ—καὶ ἐμέ: *X.Mem.*iii 6.14 πῶς οὐκ ἔνα τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ (οἴκου) πρᾶτον ἐπειράθης αὐξήσθαι· δεῖται δὲ ('it needs it'): *An.*vii 7.54 ἀρ' οὐκ . . . ἀπίοντα γε ἀμεινον φαίλατ-

<sup>1</sup> δέ is sometimes corrupted to γάρ: the converse also occasionally happens. See Pearson, *Inscr. in Sophocles*.

τεσθαι πέτρους; ἤκουες δὲ τὰς ἀπειλάς: *Mem.*ii.1.1 Ἐδόκει . . . , τοιαῦτα λέγων προτρέπειν τοὺς συνόντας ἀσκεῖν ἐγκράτειαν . . . γνοὺς δὲ τινὰ τῶν συνόντων ἀκολαστοτέρως ἔχοντα . . . Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη . . . (γάρ Mücke: δέ can hardly stand, either here or in *Hdt.*ii.100 above, for explanatory γάρ of the type discussed in γάρ, II): *Lys.*xii.68 φάσκων πρᾶγμα ἠῤῥηκέναι μέγα καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξιον (ὑπέσχετο δὲ εἰρήνην ποιήσειν μήτε ὄμηρα δοῦς . . . ): *Pl. Chrm.*153B (in an explanatory parenthesis): *Aen.Tact.*31.33 (introducing an example: δὴ and γοῦν have been suggested): *Lys.*xxi.14 (γάρ Reiske).

(ii) For οὖν or δὴ. In general, there are few examples, and none are striking. *Hom.*A83 ἦ γὰρ ὄτομαι ἄνδρα χολώσεμεν . . . σὺ δὲ φράσαι εἴ με σαώσεις: *Θ*204 οἱ δέ τοι . . . δῶρ' ἀνάγουσι πολλά τε καὶ χαρίεντα: σὺ δὲ σφισι βούλεο νίκην (but βούλεο may be an imperfect, not an imperative: see Leaf): *φ*259 νῦν μὲν γὰρ κατὰ δῆμον ἐορτὴ τοῖο θεοῖο ἀγνή: τίς δέ κε τόξα τιταίνοιτ'; *E.Ba.*1120 ἐγὼ . . . εἰμι παῖς σέθεν . . . οἴκτιρε δ' ὦ μῆτέρ με: *Rh.*165 πονοῦντα δ' ἄξιον μισθὸν φέρεσθαι . . . —Ναί, καὶ δίκαια ταῦτα κοῦκ ἄλλως λέγω. τάξαι δὲ μισθόν: *Hcl.*710 Ἡ δ' οὖσ' ἀληθῶς ἐστὶν ἠδε σὴ δάμαρ;—*Αὔτη*: λόγοις δ' ἐμοῖσι πιστεύσον τάδε (δ' *secl.* Herwerden): *Hdt.*iv.154.1 Ταῦτα δὲ Θηραῖοι λέγουσι ('Well, that is what the Theraeans say': looking back to 150): *Pl.Lg.*903A ('Well, I think that is a pretty complete answer').

But two idioms emerge here with some distinctness:—

(a) A new suggestion, proffered on the rejection of a previous suggestion, is sometimes introduced by δέ. We might expect an inferential particle, 'then' or 'Well, then.' But the writer prefers to stress merely the difference between the suggestions (δέ). In such cases δ' οὖν (emphasizing the essential importance of the new suggestion), or δ' ἀλλά (further emphasizing the difference) are normal. *E.El.*532 (after the rejection of the hair-test) Σὺ δ' εἰς ἵχνος βᾶσ' ἀρβύλης σκέψαι βάσιν: *Alc.*1112: *Heracl.*257: *HF* 722 (δ' *add.* Nauck). (In *E.Ph.*1749 δ' perhaps goes with ἀλλά in 1751: see ἀλλά, II.1.iii.)

(b) Δέ sometimes marks the transition from the introduction to a speech to the opening of the speech proper: especially ἐγὼ δέ. 'Well.' *Hom.*8400 Τοιγὰρ ἐγὼ τοι ταῦτα μάλ' ἀτρεκέως ἀγορεύσω. ἦμος δ' ἠέλιος μέσον οὐρανὸν ἀμφιβεβήκη . . . : *S.Ant.*1196 Ἐγὼ,

φίλη δέσποινα, . . . ἐρῶ . . . ἐγὼ δὲ σῶ ποδαγὸς ἐσπόμεν πόσει: *E.Ph.*473 Ἀπλοῦς ὁ μῦθος τῆς ἀληθείας ἔφην . . . ἐγὼ δὲ πατρὸς δωμάτων προύσκεψάμην . . . : *Alc.*681,1010: *Supp.*301,467: *El.*1018 (Dawes). *E.Rh.*424 is similar: so, perhaps, is *S.Tr.*252, where κείνος δὲ πραθεῖς . . . seems to open the promised λόγος, rather than to 'resume after the parenthetical apology' (Jebb). Cf. *Ar.Ec.*555 ('Well, they say . . .').

The following prose passages, in which δέ introduces a disquisition predicted in advance, are broadly similar: *Hdt.*i.15 Ἄρδυος δὲ . . . μνήμην ποιήσομαι. οὗτος δὲ Πριηνέας τε εἶλε . . . : 140.3 ἀνεῖμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον. Ἴωνες δὲ . . . (cf. vii.138.1): *Th.*iii.61.2: vi.89.2: *Pl.Smp.*215A Σωκράτη δ' ἐγὼ ἐπαινεῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, οὕτως ἐπιχειρήσω (Alcibiades begins his encomium, after some preliminary observations): *Ant.*v.20 πειράσομαι ἐμαυτὸν ἀναίτιον ἐπιδείξαι . . . ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν μὲν πλοῦν ἐποίησάμην . . . ('Well'): *Isoc.*vii.72 τάχ' οὖν ἂν τις θαυμάσειεν, τί βουλόμενος . . . ἐγὼ δὲ . . . : here δέ opens the answer to the question just propounded: so, again, *D.*xviii.297 εἰτά μ' ἐρωτᾶς ἀντὶ ποίας ἀρετῆς ἀξιώ τιμᾶσθαι; ἐγὼ δὲ σοι λέγω ὅτι . . . (δέ *SL*: δὴ *vulg.*).

(iii) For ἦ. *E.Hipp.*145 Ἡ σύ γ' ἐνθεος, ὦ κούρα, εἴτ' ἐκ Πανὸς εἶθ' Ἐκάτας, ἦ . . . ;—Σὺ δ' ἀμφὶ τὰν πολύθηρον Δίκτυναν ἀμπλακίαις . . . τρύχη; *Ba.*560 Πόθι Νύσας . . . θυρσοφορεῖς . . . ἦ κορυφαῖς Κωρυκίαις; τάχα δ' ἐν ταῖς πολυδένδρεσσιν Ὀλύμπου θαλάμαις: *A.Supp.*781 (see Tucker). We may notice here the common εἰ δὲ βούλει, suggesting an alternative, 'or, if you like', where the English 'or' is perhaps more logical. Elliptical, *Pl.R.*432A εἰ μὲν βούλει . . . , εἰ δὲ βούλει . . . , εἰ δέ, . . .

(2) Apparently superfluous δέ. (i) In dialogue, when one question has been answered, and a second question asked (introduced by δέ or some other connecting particle), the second answer is sometimes introduced by δέ. The use of a connective in such a case, though not necessary, is natural enough, in Greek as in English.

*Hom.*Γ229 τὸ τρίτον αὐτ' Αἴαντα ἰδὼν ἐρᾶειν ὁ γεραῖος: τὸς τ' ἄρ' ὄδ' ἄλλος Ἀχαιῶς ἀνὴρ . . . ; τὸν δ' Ἐλένη . . . ἀμείβετο . . . : "Οὗτος δ' Αἴας ἐστὶ πελώριος . . ." ('And who is this other?'—'And that is Ajax.'): *A.Pers.*480 σὺ δ' εἰπέ, γαῶν εἰ

πεφεύγασιν μόρον, ποῦ τάσδ' ἔλειπες; . . . — *Naōn* δὲ ταγοὶ τῶν λειψιμμένων . . . αἴρονται φυγὴν (δέ marks the continuation of the Messenger's speech, as the Scholiast and Paley observe: the conjecture γε is unnecessary): *Ar.Nu.*192 τί ποτ' ἐς τὴν γῆν βλέπουσιν οὗτοί; — *Ζητοῦσιν οὗτοι τὰ κατὰ γῆς*. — . . . τί γὰρ οἶδε δρῶσιν . . . ; — *Οὔτοι δ' ἐρεβοδιφῶσιν* ('And these are probing Erebus'): *Pl.Cra.*398C ὁ δὲ δὴ "ἥρωσ" τί ἂν εἶη; — *Τοῦτο δὲ οὐ πάνυ χαλεπὸν ἐννοῆσαι*: 409A *Τί δὲ ἡ "σελήνη"*; — *Τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ὄνομα φαίνεται τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν πιέζειν*.

(ii) δέ is occasionally found in passionate or lively exclamations, where no connexion appears to be required. In some cases γε would be appropriate, and should perhaps be read: in others a connective or adversative force is perhaps after all to be felt. There is little ground for assuming a specifically exclamatory use of δέ.

*Hom.Od.*90 "Ἡρη, τίπτε βέβηκας; ἀτυζομένη δὲ ἔοικας: *A.Ag.*1078 ὦπολλον ὦπολλον.—'Ἡ δ' αὖτε δυσφημοῦσα τὸν θεὸν καλεῖ: 1256 *Παπαῖ, οἶον τὸ πῦρ' ἐπέρχεται δέ μοι*: *Pr.*67 *Σὺ δ' αὖ κατοκνεῖς* (cf. 743 *Σὺ δ' αὖ κέκραγας κἀναμυχθίζει* ('indignantis est interrupta per lamenta narratione', Wilamowitz). Neither passage should be read as a question, I think): *S.Tr.*1027 ἔἔ, ἰὼ δαίμων. θρώσκει δ' αὖ, θρώσκει δειλαία . . . νόσος: 1091 (δε κείνοι (*sic*) *L*): *El.*593 ἦ καὶ ταῦτ' ἐρεῖς . . . ; αἰσχροῦ δ', ἐάν περ καὶ λέγῃς (*δ' om. Γ*: γ' Hartung: but δέ may be 'nay', protesting): *Ar.Eq.*175 *Εὐδαιμονήσω δ' εἰ διαστραφήσομαι* (here and in the similar line, *An.*177, only *R* reads δ', the rest, perhaps rightly, γ'): *Rax*33 οἶον δὲ κύψας ὁ κατάρατος ἐσθίει (a connective is more natural in 524 οἶον δ' ἔχεις τὸ πρόσωπον, ὦ Θεωρία).

(iii). Inceptive. Herodotus and Xenophon occasionally place δέ at the opening of a speech, although in the nature of the case no connexion seems to be required. Sometimes δέ marks a contrast with the preceding speech: *Hdt.v* 109.3 (δέ *om. PSVU*): *viii* 142.1: *X.An.v* 5.13: *vi* 6.12. But in other places there is no obvious sense of contrast: *X.Cyr.*iv 5.23 ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσας ὁ Ἑρκάνιος προσῆλθε, λέγει ὁ Κῦρος: 'Εγὼ δ', ἔφη, ὦ Ἑρκάνιε, ἤδομαι . . . : *vii* 1.21 ἐπεὶ δὲ . . . ἐγένετο κατὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα . . . πρὸς τοῦτον ἔλεξεν: 'Εγὼ δὲ ἔρχομαι. . . . The object is, no doubt to give a conversational turn to the opening ('Well'), and to avoid formality. Cf. the corresponding use of ἀλλά (*II.8*).

In an answer to a question: *Pl.Chrm.*172C ἄρα . . . ; — *Τάχα δ' ἂν, ἔφη οὕτως ἔχοι* ('And perhaps that may be so'). At the opening of an oracle: *Hdt.i* 174.5. Mr. E. Harrison, *Studies in Theognis*, p. 211, observes that 'of the twenty-eight oracles given by Herodotus, eight begin with δέ, four with ἀλλά, one with καί': quoting the explanation of von Leutsch, that the seer directs his words against a popular, prevailing idea.

For the free use of δέ, and other connectives, at the opening of sections of *Theognis*, see again E. Harrison, *loc. cit.*: Reitzenstein suggests that the elegy was intended for use at the symposium, where you 'took up' the song (δέχεσθαι τὰ σκόλια): hence the connectives, δέ, γάρ, etc. Cf. *Scol.Anon.*9.1 ὁ δὲ καρκίνος ὦδ' ἔφα.

There are a few examples in Tragedy: *A.Ag.*717 ἔθρεψεν δὲ λέοντος ἴνιν (passing from the destruction of Troy to the fable of the lion's cub): *E.Ba.*272 οὗτος δ' ὁ δαίμων ὁ νέος . . . οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην μέγεθος ἐξειπεῖν ὅσος καθ' Ἑλλάδ' ἔσται ('Now let me tell you about this god . . .').\*

(3) In questions.

(i) δέ often follows (less frequently precedes) an interrogative at the opening of a question in dialogue. Though in some cases an adversative force would be appropriate enough, it seems clear, on the analogy of καὶ τίς . . . ; (and τίς τε . . . ; in Homer) that δέ is purely connective here. The speaker proceeds from the known to the unknown, and δέ denotes that the information he already possesses is inadequate.

The connective sense is found more or less unadulterated in the following: *E.Or.*435 Orestes has explained that Oeax is one of his persecutors. Menelaus: *Τίς δ' ἄλλος*; *Ion* 308 *Σὺ δ' εἰ τίς*; (contrast *Heracl.*638 *Τίς δ' εἰ σύ*;) *Hel.*459 Menelaus (ignoring the Beldame's unsympathetic comment): *Τίς δ' ἦδε χώρα*; *Heracl.*114 . . . τυράννῳ τῆσδε γῆς . . . — *Τίς δ' ἐστὶ χώρας τῆσδε καὶ πόλεως ἀναξ*; *Pl.Lg.*664D *λέγεις δέ, ὦ ξένη, τίνας τούτους τοὺς χοροὺς . . .*; 676A, 686D: *Clit.*409A: *Plt.*261C. But usually there is a note of surprise, impatience, or indignation in the question, as in καὶ τίς . . . ; and our 'And who . . .?', 'And what . . .?'. *Hom.K*82 Agamemnon comes in the night to Nestor, who awakes and says: *Τίς δ' οὗτος κατὰ νῆας ἀνά*

στρατὸν ἔρχεται οἶος . . . ; Φ481 Πῶς δε σὺ νῦν μέμονας, κύον ἀδεές, . . . ; ζ276 'Someone will say, "Τίς δ' ὅδε Ναυσικάα ἔπεται . . . ;"' : S.Tr.403 Σὺ δ' ἐς τί δή με τοῦτ' ἐρωτήσας ἔχεις ; E.HF1114 εἰ γὰρ καὶ κακῶς πράσσω ἐμός.—Πράσσω δ' ἐγὼ τί λυπρὸν . . . ; Hel.1635 Τοῖς γε κυριωτέροις.—Κύριος δὲ τῶν ἐμῶν τίς ; Ar.Eq.1339 οὐκ οἶσθ' . . . οἶ' ἔδρας . . .—Τί δ' ἔδρων . . . ; Av.357 μένοντε δεῖ μάχεσθαι λαμβάνειν τε τῶν χυτρῶν.—Τί δὲ χύτρα νῶ γ' ὠφελήσει ; Nu.1286 Τοῦτο δ' ἔσθ' ὁ τόκος τί θηρίον ; S.OT739,977 : Tr.314 : Ph.751,1001 : OC46 : Ar.Ra.630 : Hdt. v.33.4 Σοὶ δὲ καὶ τούτοισι τοῖσι πρήγμασι τί ἐστι ; Pl.Men.92B Πότερον δέ, ὦ Ἄνυτε, ἡδίκηκέ τίς σε τῶν σοφιστῶν . . . ; Is.viii 24 Σὺ δὲ τίς εἶ ; σοὶ δὲ τί προσήκει θάπτειν ; D.ix 16 καὶ μηδεὶς εἶπη, "Τί δὲ ταῦτ' ἐστίν . . . ;" xlv 26 εὐθύς ἂν εἶπε, "Τί δ' ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν . . . ;"

In E.Rh.844 the dialogue is imaginary : μὴ γὰρ τι λέξης ὡς τις Ἀργείων μολῶν διώλεσ' ἡμᾶς τίς δ' ὑπερβαλὼν λόχους Τρώων ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἤλθεν, ὥστε καὶ λαθεῖν ;

(ii) Not infrequently, the δέ question does not stand at the exact opening of the speech, but is preceded by an apostrophe, an exclamation, an instigatory imperative such as εἶπέ or φέρε, or in general by any short phrase.<sup>1</sup> (For similar postponement in non-interrogative sentences, see III.B.2.)

Hom.O244 Ἐκτορ, υἱὲ Πριάμοιο, τῆ δὲ σὺ . . . ; S.OC332 Τέκνον, τί δ' ἤλθες ; Hom.P170 : τ500 : S.OC1459 : Hdt.i32 Ἦ ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, ἡ δ' ἡμετέρη εὐδαιμονίη οὕτω τοι ἀπέρριπται ἐς τὸ μηδὲν . . . ; Pl.Lg.890E Ἦ προθυμότατε Κλεινία, τί δ' ; (the postponement of elliptical τί δέ ; is remarkable) : X.Mem.ii 1.26 Ἦ γύναι, ἔφη, ὄνομα δέ σοι τί ἐστίν ; 1.30 Ἦ τλήμων, τί δὲ σὺ ἀγαθὸν ἔχεις ; Pl.Lg.963B.

E.Med.116 Ἰώ μοί μοι, ἰὼ τλήμων. τί δέ σοι . . . ; Ar.Av.997 Πρὸς τῶν θεῶν σὺ δ' εἰ τίς ἀνδρῶν ; Pl.R.602C.

Ar.Av.89 Εἶπέ μοι, σὺ δὲ τὴν κορώνην οὐκ ἀφήκας καταπεσῶν ; 812 Φέρ' ἴδω, τί δ' ἡμῖν τοῦνομ' ἔσται τῆ πόλει ; E.Hel. 832 : Ar.V.524 : Av.999 : Pl.1107 : Pl.Thg.126C Λέγε δή μοι ἐπεὶ δὲ δὴ . . . ; Sph.229B Φέρε δή διδασκαλικῆς δὲ . . . ; Euthphr.13E : X.Mem.ii 9.2.

<sup>1</sup> I include here some examples of questions containing no interrogative pronoun : see (vi) below.

S.OT437 γονεῦσι δ', οἳ σ' ἔφυσαν, ἔμφρονες.—Ποίοισι ; μεῖνον. τίς δέ μ' ἐκφύει βροτῶν ; Ph.1225 Δεινὸν γε φωνεῖς ἡ δ' ἀμαρτία τίς ἦν ; E.Or.1072 Τί γὰρ προσήκει καταθεῖν σ' ἐμοῦ μέτα ;—Ἦρον ; τί δὲ ζῆν σῆς ἐταιρίας ἄτερ ; 1327 Εὐφρημος ἴσθι τί δὲ νεώτερον λέγεις ; Hel.1043 Ἀδύνατον εἶπας. φέρε, τί δ' εἶ . . . ; Ar.Ach.785 Σά μάν ; πᾶ δ' οὐχὶ θύσιμός ἐστι ; E.El657 : IT 1300 : Pl.Pl.304B Τί δέ ; τὸ δ' αὖ . . . ; R.568E.

Even when the δέ question is very considerably postponed, the particle still often seems to look back to the preceding speech, rather than to mark a connexion with the present speaker's opening words. Hom.ψ184 Ἦ γύναι, ἡ μάλα τοῦτο ἔπος θυμαλγὲς ἔειπες. τίς δέ μοι ἄλλοσε θῆκε λέχος ; Ar.Eq.88 Ἰδοῦ γ' ἄκρατον. περὶ πότου γοῦν ἐστὶ σοι ; πῶς δ' ἂν μεθύων χρηστὸν τι βουλεύσαιτ' ἀνήρ ; A.Pers.334 (and even 693, last line of speech, if δ' is sound) : E.Andr.1083 : Pl.Ar.24E. But sometimes the connexion is with the speaker's own words : Pl.Cra.392E οὐ . . . μανθάνω ὦ Ἐρμόγετες, σὺ δὲ μανθάνεις ; Ar.Ach.4.

(iii) The indignant tone which δέ often has in a question is present in an exclamation in the following : D.xxi 209 οὐκ ἂν εὐθέως εἶποιεν "τὸν δὲ βάσκανον, τὸν δ' ὄλεθρον, τοῦτον δ' ὑβρίζειν, ἀναπνεῖν δέ." ('And to think that . . . !' (question-mark in O.C.T.)).

(iv) τί δ' ἐστι ; is a frequent expression in drama, conveying surprise. S.Aj.897 : El.921,1237 : OT319 : E.Heracl.795 : Hel. 600,1514 : Ar.Ach.178 : V.836,1297 : et saep.

The elliptical τί δέ ; is also very common, in prose as well as in verse. There are several distinct types :

(a) (The commonest.) Expressing surprise or incredulity, and usually introducing a further question ('What?!'). E.Hel. 1240 θάψαι θέλω.—Τί δ' ; ἔστ' ἀπόντων τύμβος ; El.1008 Τί δ' ; αἰχμάλωτόν τοί μ' ἀπόκισας δόμων ; S.El.1041 : OT941 : Ant. 1281 : OC1175 : E.Heracl.685 : Hipp.784 : Hec.886 : El.406,963 : Ba.654 : Ar.Nu.481 : Ec.135,525,762 : Pl.1150 : Pl.Phd.234E : Phd.61C,D : Cra.427E : Euthd.272B : R.413A,450B : 130B : Alc.I114E. (E.Hipp.1413, rather differently : 'And why (do you blame the curse)?')

(b) With the connective force of δέ more prominent : 'And



what of that?' 'Well': 'Of course': 'Que voulez-vous?' A shrug of the shoulders. *E.Hec.*1256 Ἀλγεῖς τί δ'; ἢ 'μὲ παιδὸς οὐκ ἀλγεῖν δοκεῖς; ('Well, do you not think that I grieve?'): *Or.*672 ὦ μέλεος ἐμῶν κακῶν, ἐς οἶον ἤκω. τί δέ; ταλαιπωρεῖν με δεῖ: 1326 κλύω βοήν.—Τί δ'; ἀξί' ἡμῖν τυγχάνει στεναγμάτων.

(c) As a formula of transition: 'And what (of this that follows)?' Cf. τί γάρ; *Quid? Quid igitur?* Mainly a prose use. *S.Ph.*421 (text uncertain, and Badham's τί γάρ; is perhaps right): *E.IT*563 Ἀέλοιπεν Ἠλέκτραν γε παρθένον μίαν.—Τί δέ; σφαγείσης θυγατρὸς ἔστι τις λόγος; *Ar.Pl.*172 (after various instances of the power of Plutus) Τί δέ; τὰς τριήρεις οὐ σὺ πληροῖς; *E.Ph.*1078: *Or.*1275: *And.*iii6 ἔστιν ὅπου . . . ὁ δῆμος κατελύθη; τί δέ; πράττοντές τινες δήμου κατάλυσιν ἐλήφθησαν; *Pl.Prm.*130C 'There is an εἶδος of τὸ καλόν, etc. . . . Τί δέ; ἀνθρώπου εἶδος . . .'; *Cra.*386A ἐξηνέχθην εἰς . . .—Τί δέ; ἐς τόδε ἤδη ἐξηνέχθης . . .; *D.*xix 104-9 ἔστιν οὖν ὅστις ὑμῶν φωνὴν ἀκήκοεν Αἰσχίνου κατηγοροῦντος Φιλίππου; τί δέ; ἐξελέγχοντα ἢ λέγοντά τι τοῦτον ἐόρακεν; 294 ἦσαν ἐν Ἡλιδί . . . τί δέ; ἦσαν, ὅτ' ἦν Ὀλυμθος . . .: *Pl.Grg.*503B (probably, while 503C is to be classed under (a)): *R.*410E, 459B: *Cra.*400A: *Phd.*74C,D,93A, 94B,101B: *D.*xix 309.

τί δὲ δή; is similarly used in *Pl.R.*470E,523E: *Ar.*24E: *Grg.*452C. In continuous speech, *Pl.Lg.*935D.

(d) In *E.Supp.*124 τί δέ; represents a quoted question: Τί γὰρ λέγουσιν . . .;—Τί δ'; εὐτυχοῦντες οὐκ ἐπίστανται φέρειν ('What?'). πῶς δ' in *Ion*959, where δέ has been suspected, is exactly similar: Καὶ πῶς . . . ἔτλης;—Πῶς δ'; οἰκτρὰ πολλὰ στόματος ἐκβαλοῦσ' ἔπη ('Do you ask how?'). Add perhaps *H.F.*1232: Τί δῆτά μου κρᾶτ' ἀνεκάλυψας ἠλίφ;—Τί δ'; οὐ μαιίνεις θνητὸς ὦν τὰ τῶν θεῶν (though here τί δ'; might be taken as an ordinary surprised question).

(v) Other elliptical questions. πῶς δέ; πῶς δ' οὐ; In contrast with the very free use of elliptical τί δέ; elliptical πῶς δέ; is almost unknown: *X.Cyr.*vii 2.16 (δέ *om.* *DF*): and cf. *E.Ion*959 above (*iv.d*). πῶς δ' οὐ; on the other hand is not rare in prose (there are few verse instances), denoting that the speaker not only assents, but characterizes his assent as inevitable. *S.OT*567 Παρέσχομεν, πῶς δ' οὐχί; 937 ἠδοιο μὲν, πῶς δ' οὐκ ἄν; *Pl. Euthphr.*13C:

*Phd.*67E: *Cra.*388C: *R.*457A,486C (cf. Καὶ πῶς; just above). Cf. *A.Fr.*310 λευκός, τί δ' οὐχί; (In *S.OT*1015 πῶς δ' οὐχί; calls in question, not the possibility of denying the preceding words, but the validity of a denial contained in those words: Ἄρ' οἴσθα δῆτα πρὸς δίκης οὐδὲν τρέμων;—Πῶς δ' οὐχί (*sc.* πρὸς δίκης τρέμω), παῖς γ' εἰ τῶνδε γεννητῶν ἔφυν;)

Parallel cases without ellipse of verb. *Pl.R.*583A Πῶς δ' οὐ μέλλει; *Lg.*665A Πῶς δ' οὐ μεμνήμεθα; *Thi.*159C Τί δ' οὐ μέλλει; (185C: *R.*494B,530A,566D): *R.*469A Τί δ' οὐ μέλλομεν; *X.HG*iv 1.6 Τί δ' οὐ μέλλω;

ποῦ δέ; *E.Hec.*1015 Σκύλων ἐν ὄχλῳ ταῖσδε σώζεται στέγαις.—Ποῦ δ'; αἰδ' Ἀχαιῶν ναύλοχοι περιπτυχαί.

τί δ' ἄλλο; *E.Or.*188 Θανεῖν, θανεῖν τί δ' ἄλλο; *Ar.Nu.*1088 Σιγήσομαι τί δ' ἄλλο; *Pl.R.*484B Τί δ' ἄλλο, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἢ τὸ ἐξῆς; *X.Cyr.*vi 1.47 Τί δ' ἄλλο, ἔφη. . . ἢ πειρώμενος . . .

(For the common Aristophanic τί δ' ἄλλο γ' ἢ . . .; and Xenophontine τί δέ, εἰ μὴ . . . γε . . .; see *γε* I.3.)

(vi) The use of δέ in questions which do not contain an interrogative is similar. Ironical in tone: *E.Heracl.*968 Καὶ ταῦτα δόξανθ' ἄλλος ἐξηνέσχετο;—Χρῆν δ' αὐτόν, οἶμαι, τῆδ' ἀπιστήσαι χθονί; ('And he should, I suppose, . . .?'): *Ar.Ru.*103 Σὲ δὲ ταῦτ' ἀρέσκει; ('And you really like that sort of thing?'). Purely continuative, without ironical colour: *X.Cyr.*v 1.4 Ἐώρακας δ', ἔφη, ὦ Κύρε, τὴν γυναῖκα, ἣν με κελεύεις φυλάττειν; *Meem.*ii 9.2 Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Κρίτων, κύνας δὲ τρέφεις . . .; (late position).

## II. Non-connective.

(1) Apodotic. According as we regard δέ as originally 'adverbial' or as originally connective, we may explain apodotic δέ either as a survival of the adverbial use, or as an adaptation of paratactic expression to hypotactic structure.<sup>1</sup> Only in Homer and Herodotus is apodotic δέ really at home. Among other authors, Sophocles uses it, though rarely, more often than Aeschylus and Euripides, who eschew it almost entirely. *Thucy-*

<sup>1</sup> The latter view is certainly supported by such passages as those quoted from Herodotus in (iv), especially when compared with *Hom.*1301 (see *μέμνη*, III.4.ii) and 1387: see p. 379.



dides, Plato, and Xenophon use it occasionally; Aristophanes, I think, never, and the orators hardly ever, if at all. (I exclude the duplication of δέ, which I reckon as a distinct idiom, though probably derived from apodotic δέ. See (4) below.) The Attic examples of apodotic δέ, though few in number, differ widely in character.<sup>1</sup>

(i) Relative protasis. Most of the examples are from Homer and Herodotus. The apodosis normally opens with a demonstrative (ὁ, οὗτος), or personal pronoun. Hom.Z146 οἷη περ φύλλων γενεή, τοίη δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν: I167 εἰ δ' ἄγε, τοὺς ἂν ἐγὼ ἐπιόψομαι, οἱ δὲ πιθέσθων: Hes.Op.363 δς δ' ἐπ' ἐόντι φέρει, ὁ δ' ἀλέγεται αἶθοπα λιμόν: Hom.B718: K490: N779: Hes.Th.974: Hdt.iv 204 τοὺς δὲ ἠνδραποδίσαντο . . . τούτους δὲ . . . : vii 188.3 ὅσοι μὲν . . . οἱ δ' ἐφθησαν: Th.i 37.5 ὄσω ἀληπτότεροι ἦσαν τοῖς πέλας, τόσω δὲ . . . (τόσω δὲ Hertlein: τοσῶδε *codd.*): ii 46.1 ἄθλα γὰρ οἷς κείται ἀρετῆς μέγιστα, τοῖς δὲ . . . : Pl.Amat. 137C πότερον ἤπερ . . . κολάζει ὀρθῶς, ἢ αὐτὴ δὲ καὶ γινώσκει τοὺς χρηστούς (ἢ αὐτὴ δὲ B: αὐτὴ T: αὐτὴ Schanz): Ep.357B ἂ γὰρ . . . τυγχάνει . . . ταῦτα δὲ . . . : X.Cyr.iii 3.36 οὖς γὰρ . . . τούτους δὲ . . . : vii 5.6 ὄσω δὲ . . . τόσω δὲ . . . (τόσω δὲ F: τοσῶδε *cett.*): Hdt. ii 61: vi 58.3: Hp.Nat.Hom.13. (In S.Tr.23, Ph.87 ὄδ', τοῦσδε should be read.)

In a few passages the pronoun opening the apodosis does not refer to the relative of the protasis: Hdt.iii 37 δς δὲ τούτους μὴ ὄπωπε, ἐγὼ δὲ σημανέω: iv 99 δς δὲ . . . μὴ παραπέπλωκε, ἐγὼ δὲ ἄλλως δηλώσω: Pl.Lg.878C ὄσα δὲ τις . . . τοῦτον δὲ . . . : X.An. v 5.22 ἂ δ' ἠπειλήσας ὄς . . . ἡμεῖς δὲ . . . πολεμήσομεν. Sometimes the apodosis does not open with a pronoun at all: Hom. I511 δς δὲ κ' ἀναίνηται . . . λίσσονται δ' ἄρα ταί γε: Ψ321 ἄλλ' δς μὲν . . . ἵπποι δὲ πλανόωνται: Hes.Th.604 ὄς κε γάμον φεύγων . . . ὄλοον δ' ἐπὶ γῆρας ἴκοιτο: X.An.v 7.7 ὄς ἥλιος ἔνθεν μὲν ἀνίσχει, δύεται δὲ ἐνταῦθα, ἔνθα δὲ δύεται, ἀνίσχει δ' ἐντεῦθεν.

<sup>1</sup> Buttmann's attempt to confine apodotic δέ in Attic to cases 'cum sermo, extra protaseos et apodoseos formam spectatus, oppositionem contineat per μὲν et δὲ enuntiandam' imposes a restriction not warranted by the facts. Again, Jebb (on S.Ph.87) seeks to limit apodotic δέ after ὁ and οὗτος in 'good' Attic prose rather too narrowly, to cases where it is used 'to mark some proportion which exists between the two things'.

(ii) Temporal protasis. This is by far the commonest form of apodotic δέ in Homer, occurring more than seventy times.<sup>1</sup> Occasionally both protasis and apodosis begin within the same line. Hom.O343 ὄφρ' οἱ τοὺς ἐνάριζον ἀπ' ἐντεα, τόφρα δ' Ἀχαιοὶ . . . : ω205 οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἐκ πόλιος κατέβαν, τάχα δ' ἀγρὸν ἴκοντο. But the protasis usually begins in an earlier line, and usually fills at least one line. Hom.A193 ἦος ὁ ταῦθ' ὄρμαινε κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν, ἔλκετο δ' ἐκ κολεοῖο μέγα ξίφος, ἦλθε δ' Ἀθήνη: Ψ65 εὔτε . . . ἦλθε δ' ἐπὶ ψυχῇ: Δ221 ὄφρα . . . τόφρα δ' . . . : N779 ἐξ οὔ . . . ἐκ τοῦ δ' . . . : A58: Δ212,221: λ592: Hes.Op.681 ἦμος δὴ τὸ πρῶτον . . . τότε δ' ἄμβατός ἐστι θάλασσα: Thgn.724 ὄταν δὲ κε τῶν ἀφίκηται ὄρη, σὺν δ' ἦβη γίνεται ἀρμωδία. I know of only three apparent instances in Attic Tragedy (A.Ag.205 S.OT 1267: E.Ph.47) and these have δέ in the protasis as well: hence we should perhaps regard them as instances of duplicated δέ (see p. 183).

Prose (Herodotus and Thucydides only). The commonest Herodotean form has μὲν in the protasis, answered by another δέ in a second protasis: Hdt.ii 149 καὶ ἐπεὰν μὲν ἐκρέη ἔξω, ἢ δὲ τότε τοὺς ἔξ μῆνας ἐς τὸ βασιλῆιον καταβάλλει ἐπ' ἡμέρην ἐκάστην τάλαντον ἀργυρίου ἐκ τῶν ἰχθύων, ἐπεὰν δὲ ἐσίη τὸ ὕδωρ ἐς αὐτήν, εἴκοσι μνέας: iii 133: iv 3,123,165: ix 6: 63.1: 70.2. Otherwise: i 163 τὰ μὲν πρῶτα . . . μετὰ δέ, ὄς . . . ὁ δὲ . . . ἐδ . . . iii 108 ἐπεὰν ὁ σκύμνος . . . ἄρχηται διακινεόμενος, ὁ δὲ . . . 86.1 ὄς δὲ . . . οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι . . . (δ' om. PRSV): in ii 52 ἐπειτα (PRSV) is probably the right reading: Th.iii 98.1 (in the normal Herodotean form) μέχρι μὲν οὔν οἱ τοξόται εἶχον . . . οἱ δὲ ἀντεῖχον . . . ἐπειδὴ δὲ . . . οὔτω δὴ τραπόμενοι ἔφευγον: otherwise: i 11.1 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀφικόμενοι μάχη ἐκράτησαν (δηλον δὲ φαίνονται δ' οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα . . . (perhaps anacoluthon): ii 8 . . . τε γὰρ χρόνον προύστη τῆς πόλεως ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ, μετρίως ἐξ . . . ἐπειδὴ τε ὁ πόλεμος κατέστη, ὁ δὲ φαίνεται καὶ ἐν προγνοὺς τὴν δύναμιν: v 16.1 ἐπειδὴ δὲ . . . τότε δὲ . . . (δὲ δὲ *codd.*).

It will be observed that, except in Homer and the normal Herodotean form, a δέ almost invariably follows the temporal relative in the protasis.

(iii) Comparative protasis. Hom.η109 ὄσον φαίηκες περὶ

<sup>1</sup> See the conspectus at the end of Lahmeyer's thesis.

πάντων ἰδρῖες ἀνδρῶν . . . ὡς δὲ γυναῖκες . . . : Thgn.357 ὡς δέ περ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν ἔλαβες κακόν, ὡς δὲ καὶ αὐτὶς ἐκδύναται πειρῶ : Emp.Fr.84 ὡς δ' ὅτε τις . . . ὡς δὲ τότ' . . . : S.El.27 ὡσπερ γὰρ ἵππος εὐγενῆς . . . ὡσαύτως δὲ σὺ . . . : Hom.Ψ91 (perhaps anacoluthon) : S.Tr.116 : Hp.VMI ἀλλ' ὡσπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τεχνέων . . . οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ἰητρικῆς (δέ one MS. : δὴ the rest) : Pl.Prt.326D ὡσπερ . . . ὡς δὲ . . . : X.Cyr.viii 5.12 ἐκάθειδον δὲ αὐτῷ ἐν τάξει ὡσπερ οἱ ὀπλίται, οὕτω δὲ καὶ οἱ πελτασταί (text uncertain) : Arist.Mete.355b15 ὡσπερ οὖν κάκει . . . ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐν τούτοις : Hp.Genit.4.40. In both the following anacoluthon is a possible explanation : Pl.Prt.328A : Alc.II 151B.

(iv) Causal protasis (exceedingly rare). Hdt.i 112 ἐπεὶ τοίνυν οὐ δύναμαί σε πείθειν μὴ ἐκθεῖναι, σὺ δὲ ὧδε ποιήσον : v 40.1 ἐπεὶ τοίνυν περιεχόμενον σε ὀρώμεν τῆς ἔχεις γυναικός, σὺ δὲ ταῦτα ποίεε : vii 51.1 (in these three closely similar passages the force of δέ is as in I.C.1.ii.a : cf. Hdt.iii 68, viii 22.2, under (v) below) : Arist.Rh. 1355a10 ἐπεὶ δὲ . . . δῆλον δ' ὅτι . . . (some MSS. omit δ') : Pol.1278a32 (δὴ Susemihl). δέ cannot be defended in X.An.vii 7.7 ἐπεὶ δὲ . . . νῦν δὴ . . . (δέ *clt.*).

(v) Conditional protasis. Here again (at any rate in Homer, Herodotus, and Xenophon) the apodosis usually opens with a pronoun. Hom.A137 ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν δώσουσι . . . εἰ δέ κε μὴ δώωσιν, ἐγὼ δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἔλωμαι : E261 αἶ κεν μοι πολύβουλος Ἀθήνη κῦδος ὀρέξῃ ἀμφοτέρω κτεῖναι, σὺ δὲ . . . ἐρυκακέειν : Ψ559 εἰ μὲν δὴ με κελεύεις οἴκοθεν ἄλλο Εὐμήλω ἐπιδοῦναι, ἐγὼ δέ κε καὶ τὸ τελέσω : Φ560 (perhaps : but see Leaf) : δ832 : μ163 : π274.

Herodotus, who uses δέ in a conditional apodosis more often than any other writer, mainly has it in the first, or in the second, of two alternative hypotheses.

(a) In the first. iii 36 ὥστε, εἰ μὲν μεταμελήσῃ τῷ Καμβύσῃ . . . οἱ δὲ ἐκφήναντες αὐτὸν δῶρα λάμψονται . . . ἦν δὲ μὴ μεταμελήσεται . . . τότε καταχρᾶσθαι : i 13 : iv 65, 68, 94 : v 1.2 : 73.2 : vi 52.6. Cf. iii 49 εἰ μὲν νῦν . . . φίλια ἦν πρὸς τοὺς Κερκυραίους, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἂν συνελάβοντο τοῦ στρατεύματος . . . νῦν δὲ . . .

(b) In the second. iii 69 ἦν μὲν φαίνεται ἔχων ὦτα, νόμιζε . . . ἦν δὲ μὴ ἔχων, σὺ δὲ . . . : iv 172 ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς διδοῖ πιεῖν . . . ἦν δὲ μὴ ἔχωσι ὑγρὸν μηδέν, οἱ δὲ . . . (the former hypothesis, ἦν μὲν ἔχωσι, is implied : cf. viii 115.2) : iv 61 : vii 157.2 : 159 : ix 60.2. In the second and third. viii 22.2 ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν πρὸς

ἡμέων γίνεσθε· εἰ δὲ ὑμῖν ἐστὶ τοῦτο μὴ δυνατὸν ποιῆσαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ . . . ἔξεσθε . . . εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων οἶόν τε γίνεσθαι . . . ὑμεῖς δὲ . . . ἐθελοκακέετε (the first protasis is implied in μάλιστα μὲν).

(a) and (b) combined. iv 126 εἰ μὲν γὰρ . . . σὺ δὲ στὰς . . . εἰ δὲ . . . σὺ δὲ . . . : ix 48.4 καὶ ἦν μὲν δοκῆ . . . οἱ δ' ὦν . . . εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ δοκέοι . . . ἡμεῖς δὲ διαμαχεσώμεθα.

A few Herodotean examples fall outside these categories. iii 68 εἰ μὴ αὐτὴ Σμέρδιν . . . γινώσκεις, σὺ δὲ παρὰ Ἀτόσσης πυθεῦ : vii 103.2 εἰ γὰρ κείνων ἕκαστος δέκα ἀνδρῶν . . . ἀντάξιός ἐστι, σὲ δὲ γε δίζημαι εἴκοσι εἶναι ἀντάξιον (δέ *om.* PRSV).

Other authors. Verse. Timocr.Fr.1.2 ἀλλ' εἰ τύ γα Παισαυρίαν . . . αἰνεῖς . . . ἐγὼ δ' Ἀριστείδαν ἐπαινέω : Pi.O.3.43 εἰ δ' ἀριστεύει μὲν ὕδωρ, κτεάνων δὲ χρυσοῦς αἰδοιέστατος, νῦν δὲ πρὸς ἐσχατιὰν Θήρων ἀρεταῖσιν ἰκάνων ἄπτεται οἴκοθεν Ἑρακλέος σταλᾶν (δέ ADThoni. : γε *uulgo*) : S.OT 302 πόλιν μὲν, εἰ καὶ μὴ βλέπεις, φρονεῖς δ' ὅμως οἶα νόσφ' οὐκ ἐστίν : Ant.234 κεί τὸ μηδὲν ἐξερω, φράσω δ' ὅμως : A.Ag.1061 : Eu.887 (δ' οὖν). Prose. Hp.Morb.ii 54 καὶ ἦν μὴ νῆστις ἦ, διδόναι δὲ . . . : Pl.Phidr.255A εἰ ἂν ἄρα καὶ ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν . . . διαβεβλημένος ἦ . . . προϊόντος δὲ ἤδη τοῦ χρόνου . . . : Ap.38A εἰ ἄντε γὰρ λέγω ὅτι . . . οὐ πείσεσθέ μοι . . . εἰ ἄντε αὖ λέγω ὅτι . . . ταῦτα δ' ἔτι ἦττον πείσεσθέ μοι λέγοντι : Prt.353D ἦ καὶ εἰ . . . , ὅμως δ' ἂν κακὰ ἦν . . . ; X.HG iv 1.33 εἰ οὖν ἐγὼ μὴ γιγνώσκω . . . ὑμεῖς δὲ διδάξατέ με : vi 3.6 εἰ δ' ἄρα . . . ἡμᾶς δὲ χρὴ ἄρχεσθαι : Cyr.v 5.21 ἀλλ' εἰ μὴδὲ τοῦτο βούλει ἀποκρίνασθαι, σὺ δὲ τούντεῦθεν λέγε : Vect. 4.40 εἰ δ' αὖ . . . ὑμεῖς δὲ . . . (δὴ Bake) : Aen.Tact.28.3 καὶ εἰ ἂν τι δέη εἰσενεγκασθαι . . . ταῦτα δὲ χρὴ . . . κομίζειν : Arist.Pol. 1287b13 εἶπερ ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ σπονδαῖος, διότι βελτίων, ἄρχειν δίκαιος, τοῦ δὲ ἐνὸς οἱ δύο ἀγαθοὶ βελτίους : [Pl.]Sis.388E : Arist.Po. 215b15 (δέ *om.* I) : Rh.1368b15 (some MSS. omit δέ).

(vi) After πλήν. Hdt.iv 189 πλήν γὰρ ἦ ὅτι . . . τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα κατὰ τούτῳ ἕσταλται : Hdt.i 164 : vii 95 : Pl. 824A, 873E.

(2) After a participial clause. This idiom, analogous to apodotic δέ, is, I believe, confined to prose, except for Semon. 1.10 κεχηρότος γὰρ ἀνδρός—οἱ δὲ γείτονες χαίρουσ' ὀρώντες and a couple of

passage in *E. Hys. Fr.* 60.11 *Αἴη. ὃν ἐπ' ἐμαῖσιν ἀγκάλαις πλὴν οὐ τεκοῦσα τᾶλλα δ' ὡς ἐμὸν τέκνον στέργουσι* ἔφερβον (γ' Hunt). Few examples are textually above suspicion.\*

*Hdt.* v 50.2 *χρεὸν γὰρ μιν μὴ λέγειν τὸ ἐόν . . . λέγει δ' ὦν . . .*: *Hr. Int.* 1 *εἶτα βρέξας . . . ἐφ' ἐκάστην δὲ ἡμέρην ἀποχέειν*: *Nat. Mil.* 107 *ταῦτα ἐγχείας . . . τοῦ δὲ ἐχίνου τρυπήσαι τὸ ἐπίθεμα*: *Mil.* 162 *μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀμφιελίξασα εἴριον μαλθακόν, στρογγύλον δὲ ποιέειν*: *Haem.* 9 *πολλῶ ὕδατι θερμῶ αἰονήσας, σύνεψε δέ*: *Pl. Smpr.* 220B *καί ποτε ὄντος πάγου . . . οὗτος δὲ ἐν τούτοις ἐξήει*: *R.* 505E *Ὁ δὴ διώκει μὲν ἅπαντα ψυχὴ . . . ἀπορούσα δὲ . . . διὰ τοῦτο δὲ ἀποτυγχάνει . . . περὶ δὴ τὸ τοιοῦτον . . .*: *X. Mem.* iii 7.8 *θαυμάζω σου εἰ, ἐκείνους, ὅταν τοῦτο ποιῶσι, βραδίως χειρούμενος, τούτοις δὲ μηδένα τρόπον οἶε δυνήσεσθαι προσενεχθῆναι (δέ in some MSS. only)*: *HG* iii 3.7 *πάλιν οὖν ἐρωτῶντων . . . τὸν δ' εἰπεῖν*: *Απ.* vi 6.16 *χαλεπὸν εἰ οἴομενοι . . . τεύξεσθαι ἀντὶ δὲ τούτων οὐδ' ὅμοιοι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐσόμεθα (δέ om. det.)*: *Ant.* i 12 *εἰ γὰρ τούτων ἐθελόντων διδόναι εἰς βάσανον ἐγὼ δὲ μὴ ἐδεξάμην (δέ in A only)*: *Isoc.* xv 71 *δέον αὐτοὺς τὴν φρόνησιν ἀσκεῖν μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων, οἱ δὲ χεῖρον παιδεύονται τῶν ἰδιωτῶν (MSS. vary between χεῖρον and οἱ δὲ χεῖρον)*: *D.* xlv 61 *τὸ γὰρ σύνολον, ὄντες Ἀρχιάδῃ . . . κατὰ γένος ἐγγυτάτω, καὶ τῆς ποιήσεως . . . , τούτων δ' οὕτως ἐχόντων ἀξιούμεν κληρονομεῖν.*

δέ can hardly stand in the following passages, where it follows the participle at a very short interval: *Pl. R.* 393E *ἐκείνοις μὲν τοὺς θεοὺς δοῦναι, ἐλόντας τὴν Τροίαν αὐτοὺς δὲ σωθῆναι (αὐτοὺς AFM: αὐτοὺς δὲ Df)*: *Alc.* I 120B *πρὸς τούτους σε δεῖ, οὐσπερ λέγω, βλέποντα σαυτοῦ δὲ ἀμελεῖν (δέ BT: om. al.: δὴ Madvig).*

(3) Resumptive. This usage, akin to the apodotic, closely resembles in its limitations the resumptive use of *δή* (see *δή*, I.13). Usually a word (or words) at the beginning, or in the middle, of a clause is picked up by repetition. More often than not the clause is opened, as well as resumed, by a *δέ*. (Cf. I.ii, *ad fin.*, above.) Often the insertion of *δέ* seems due to anacoluthon.

*S. El.* 786 *νῦν δ'—ἡμέρα γὰρ . . .—νῦν δ' . . .*: *OT* 258 *νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ κυρῶ τ' ἐγὼ . . .—νῦν δ' . . .*: *Hdt.* i 28 *χρόνου δὲ ἐπιγενομένου καὶ κατεστραμμένων σχεδὸν πάντων . . . κατεστραμμένων δὲ τούτων . . .*: *vii* 141.2 *πειθομένοισι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι καὶ*

*λέγουσι . . . ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσι ἢ πρόμαντις χρᾶ δεύτερα τάδε*: *Hr. Morb.* ii 5 *ὀκόταν ἢ ὑπερθερμανθῆ ἢ . . . ὅταν δέ τι τούτων πάθῃ*: *X. Cyr.* vii 2.23 *νῦν δ' αὖ πάλιν ὑπὸ τε πλούτου τοῦ παρόντος διαθρυπτόμενος καὶ ὑπὸ . . . ὑπὸ τοιούτων δὲ λόγων ἀναφυσώμενος . . .*: *Arist. de An.* 406a10 *διχῶς δὲ κινουμένου παντὸς . . .* *διχῶς δὲ λεγομένου τοῦ κινεῖσθαι . . .*: *Μεταφρ.* 1026b2: (without repetition) *A. Th.* 745 *Ἀπόλλωνος εὔτε Λάιος βία, τρις εἰπόντος . . . θνάσκοντα γέννας ἄτερ σφῆζειν πύλιν, κρατηθεῖς δ' ἐκ φίλων ἀβουλίαν ἐγείνατο μὲν μόρον αὐτῶ.*

In the following, *δέ* stands next to a demonstrative in a participial clause picking up the content of a temporal protasis: *Hdt.* ii 120 *ἐπεὶ . . . , τούτων δὲ τοιούτων συμβαινόντων . . .*: *Pl. Phidr.* 272A *ὅταν δὲ . . . , ταῦτα δ' ἤδη πάντα ἔχοντι . . . (πάντα δὴ ταῦτ' Galenus)*: *Smpr.* 183D *ἐπειδὴν δὲ . . . , εἰς δὲ ταῦτά τις αὖ βλέψας . . .*

(4) Duplication of *δέ*. When apodotic *δέ* follows a relative protasis, the protasis itself is often introduced by *δέ*. Where this is the case, it is possible, and even natural, to regard the second *δέ* as a repetition of the first, and as looking back, not to the protasis, but to what precedes the protasis: the logical connexion being given twice over, in the main clause as well as in the subordinate clause, for the sake of clearness and emphasis. This is probably the origin of that duplication of *δέ* which is common even in Attic writers, who almost entirely eschew the strictly apodotic *δέ*. The duplication of *μέν*, not found before Empedocles, naturally follows, and we now have, as the full form, *μέν . . . μέν . . . δὲ . . . δέ*. Often, however, circumstances may make it desirable, or necessary, to duplicate one only of the two particles. We shall discuss later, under *μέν* (IV), the forms *μέν . . . μέν . . . δὲ . . . δέ*, and *μέν . . . μέν . . . δέ*. We have here to consider the duplication of *δέ* alone, preceded either by a single *μέν* or by no *μέν* at all.

It is often difficult to decide whether *δέ* is to be taken as apodotic or as duplicated (see p. 179). But (a) in Herodotus we should probably talk of duplication only where the two *δέ*'s mark a sharp antithesis with what precedes. *Hdt.* ii 50 is a border-line case: 'Most names of Gods came to Greece from Egypt. τῶν δ' οὐ φασι (Αἰγύπτιοι) θεῶν γινώσκειν τὰ . . . οὗτοι δὲ μοι δοκέουσι ὑπὸ Περσῶν ἀποκαθῆναι.'

In both passages 'and' would be a possible translation of the first δέ.) In ii 111 δέ is more sharply antithetical. 'He burned all the other women. τῆς δὲ νιψάμενος τῷ οὐρῷ ἀνέβλεψε, ταύτην δὲ ἔσχε αὐτὸς γυναῖκα.' (b) Examples from Epic and Elegiac are perhaps best explained as apodotic, since they date from a time when duplicated δέ, as a distinct idiom, had not yet been developed. Hes. *Th.* 609 ᾧ δ' . . . τῷ δέ τ' . . . : *Op.* 239 οἷς δ' ὕβρις τε μέμηλε . . . τοῖς δὲ δίκην Κρονίδης τεκμαίρεται : *Op.* 284, 297 : *Tyrt. Fr.* 9.27. And see, in general, (1) above.

Duplicated δέ is mainly found in two cases : (i) with a demonstrative pronoun (or pronominal adverb) answering a preceding relative : (ii) with a demonstrative pronoun standing in apposition to a preceding substantival phrase : very rarely (iii) in the protasis and apodosis of the second half of an antithetically bipartite conditional sentence. Of these (i) alone has a firm footing in the orators. Normally μέν precedes, but not always : but the δέ always expresses a fairly strong contrast, and is never purely continuative. In (i) the clause preceding the δέ complex usually opens with a contrasting relative.

(i) *Hdt.* i 171 τούτοις μὲν δὴ μέτεστι, ὅσοι δὲ . . . ἐγένοντο, τούτοις δὲ οὐ μέτα : *Ant.* v 62 ἐνταῦθα μὲν ἀφῆκεν αὐτόν· οὐδὲ ἔδει κινδυνεύειν . . . , ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐπεβούλευεν : *Thrasym. Fr.* 1 ὅποσα μὲν οὖν . . . , ἀκούειν ἀνάγκη . . . , ὅποσα δὲ . . . , ταῦτα δὲ παρὰ τῶν εἰδότεων πυνθάνεσθαι : *Pl. Prt.* 325C τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἄρα τοὺς υἱεῖς διδάσκονται, ἐφ' οἷς . . . , ἐφ' ᾧ δὲ . . . , ταῦτα δ' ἄρα οὐ διδάσκονται : *Phid.* 113E καὶ οἱ μὲν ἂν δόξωσι . . . ἀφικνοῦνται . . . : οἱ δ' ἂν δόξωσιν . . . τούτους δὲ . . . οἱ δ' ἂν δόξωσι . . . , τούτους δὲ . . . : *Smpr.* 196B ἀνανθεὶ γὰρ . . . σώματι . . . οὐκ ἐνίξει Ἐρως, οὐδ' ἂν εὐανθῆς τε καὶ εὐώδης τόπος ἦ, ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ ἴζει καὶ μένει : *X. Eq.* 10.6 ἵνα . . . τῇ μὲν λειότητι αὐτοῦ ἡσθῆ, ἃ δ' ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ τραχέος παιδευθῆ, ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ λείῳ ποιῆ (ταῦτα δὲ AB : ταῦτα *cel.*) : *Hdt.* i 196 : ii 39, 102 : ix 63.1 : 85.3 : *Pl. R.* 431B : *Arist. Metaph.* 1059b31 : *Isoc.* iv 98 : *D.* viii 3 : xx 80 : xlviii 39 : lvi 23.

(ii) *Hdt.* vi 54 αὐτὸς ὁ Περσεὺς . . . ἐγένετο Ἕλληνα . . . τοὺς δὲ Ἀκρισίου γε πατέρας . . . τούτους δὲ εἶναι . . . Αἰγυπτίους : *Hr. VC* 13 τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀσφαλεῖην ἔχει ταμνόμενα : ὁ δὲ κρύταφος, καὶ ἀνωθεν ἐτι τοῦ κροτάφου . . . , τοῦτο δὲ τὸ χωρίον μὴ τάμνειν (*anacoluthon*) : *Pl. Phid.* 78C οὐκοῦν ἄπερ . . . ταῦτα μάλιστα εἰκὸς εἶναι τὰ ἀσύνθετα, τὰ δὲ . . . ταῦτα δὲ σύνθετα :

*X. Eq. Mag.* 8.3 οἱ δέ γε δεδιδασμένοι . . . οὔτοι δ' αὖ . . . : *Ant.* v 42 τοῖς μὲν πρώτοις . . . λόγοις . . . συνεφέρετο . . . τοῖς δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ τροχοῦ λεγομένοις . . . τούτοις δὲ διεφέρετο : *And.* i 149 μὴ βούλεσθε Θετταλοὺς . . . πολίτας ποιεῖσθαι . . . τοὺς δὲ ὄντας πολίτας . . . τούτους δὲ ἀπόλλυτε : *Hdt.* i 146.2 : *Pl. Phd.* 80D, 81B : *Phlb.* 30B, 34A : *R.* 475C, 580C : *Ap.* 32D : *Phdr.* 278B : *Arist. HA* 524a8 : *Metaph.* 1036a5.

We may also consider as appositional those passages in which a neuter demonstrative picks up an indirect statement or question. *Hdt.* vii 153.3 ὅθεν δὲ αὐτὰ ἔλαβε . . . τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν : *And.* iii 1 ὅτι μὲν . . . δοκεῖτε . . . γινώσκων ὅτι δὲ . . . τοῦτο δὲ οὐ πάντες αἰσθάνεσθε : *X. Cyr.* i 6.43 ὅπως δὲ . . . ταῦτα δὲ πάντα τί ἂν ἐγὼ λέγοιμί σοι ; *Pl. Chrm.* 173D : *X. Cyr.* vi 2.14.

(iii) *Hdt.* vii 159 ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν βούλει . . . ἴσθι ἀρξόμενος . . . εἰ δ' ἄρα μὴ δικαιοῖς ἄρχεσθαι, σὺ δὲ . . . : *Lys.* xiv 21 ἀξιῶ δὲ . . . ἂν μὲν τινες . . . ἐξαιτῶνται, ὀργίζεσθαι . . . ἂν δὲ τινες . . . βοηθῶσιν . . . ὑμᾶς δὲ χρὴ ὑπολαμβάνειν (δέ *del.* Cobet) : *Pl. Grg.* 502B διαμάχεσθαι, ἂν τι αὐτοῖς ἡδὺ μὲν ἦ . . . πονηρὸν δὲ, ὅπως τοῦτο μὲν μὴ ἐρεῖ, εἰ δὲ τι τυγχάνει ἀηδὲς καὶ ὠφέλιμον, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ λέξει καὶ ἄσεται. Cf. *D.* xxi 100.

The following passages are remarkable for the shortness of the interval at which the particle recurs : *Pl. La.* 194D ἃ δὲ ἀμαθῆς, ταῦτα δὲ κακός : *X. HG* ii 4.13 ὅτι εἰσὶ τῶν προσιόντων οἱ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν ἔχοντες οὓς ὑμεῖς . . . ἐδιώξατε, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου ἔσχατοι, οὔτοι δὲ οἱ τριάκοντα (δὴ *D* : δὲ *celt.*) : *Tim. Fr.* 6d.230 τοὺς δὲ μουσοπαλαιολύμας, τούτους δ' ἀπερύκω.

III. Position. δέ is normally placed second in sentence or clause.

A. But certain types of postponement are common, in prose as well as in verse.

(1) When a clause opens with a preposition governing a substantive without the article (or governing a pronoun), δέ normally follows the substantive (Kühner II ii 268). *Hom.* A 461 ἐπ' αὐτῶν δ' : *B* 194 ἐν βουλῇ δ' : *Hdt.* i 31 μετὰ ταύτην δέ : *Th.* ii 98 ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δέ : *Pl. R.* 564D ἐν δημοκρατία δέ : *Thg.* 127C πρὸς σέ δέ : *X. Mem.* i 2.24 διὰ μὲν κάλλος . . . διὰ δύναμιν δέ : *D.* xlv 5 ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς δέ. (Cf. *Ag. Eq.* 1238 ἐν παιδοτριβου δέ.) Less frequently δέ is inserted between preposition and substantive (διὰ δὲ οὐκ

νησιω): this position is regular, for δέ as for μέν, in the case of substantival ὁ governed by a preposition: *X.Mem.iii.1.8* ἵνα ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν ἄγωνται, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ὠθῶνται. See Kühner, *loc. cit.*, citing Strange, *Lps. Jhrb. Suppl.* i 345.

(2) Following article and substantive (or adjective). *Hom.A.54* τῇ δεκάτῃ δέ: *ρ14* ὁ ξείνος δέ: *S.OT.389* τὴν τέχνην δ': *Hdt.i.121* τῇ σεωυτοῦ δέ: *iv.137* τῆς Δαρείου δὲ δυνάμιος: *Th.i.70.6* τῇ γνώμῃ δέ (*ABEFM*): *Pl.Prm.128C* τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δέ: *R.571E* τὸ ἐπιθυμητικὸν δέ: *Grg.521E* ὁ αὐτὸς δέ (postponement after αὐτός seems normal: but Dr. Chapman quotes several examples of ὁ δὲ αὐτός: e.g. *Pl.Cra.390C*): *X.Smp.2.17* τὰ σκέλη μὲν . . . τοὺς ὤμους δέ (followed immediately by τοὺς μὲν ὤμους . . . τὰ δὲ σκέλη): *D.xviii.3* τοῖς ἐπαινοῦσι δέ: *315* τοὺς τεθνεώτας δέ: *321* τοῦ δύνασθαι δέ: *Pl.Phdr.257C*: *Philb.63A*. Cf. *Hdt.iv.117* τὰ περὶ γάμων δέ: *Pl.R.417A* τὸ παρ' ἐκείνοις δέ: *Cra.388D* Τῷ τίνος δὲ ἔργῳ . . . ; (but just below τῷ δὲ τίνος ἔργῳ). τὰ νῦν δέ is, I think, normal: but *Pl.Phdr.266C* τὰ δὲ νῦν (*B*).

(3) Following preposition, article, and substantive. *A.Pr.323* πρὸς τοῖς παροῦσι δ': *E.Alc.603* ἐν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖσι δέ: *A.Pr.383*: *Th.516*: *E.El.390*: *Hr.Epid.v.61* μετὰ τὰς πέντε δὲ ἐτελεύτησεν: *Hdt.i.31* ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμάξης δέ: *iv.192* κατὰ τοὺς νομάδας δέ: *Th.i.6.3* ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι δέ: *iii.11.4* ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ δέ: *X.An.v.4.13* ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ δέ (ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ precedes): *D.xviii.112* εἰς τοὺς συκοφάντας δ' ἄγειν (so *AY*): *Pl.Cra.389A*: *R.601A*: *Cri.47D*. The order preposition, article, particle, substantive seems to be rare. *Ar.Lys.593* περὶ τῶν δὲ κορῶν: *V.94*: *Hdt.ii.159* ἐν τῇ δὲ ἐσθῆτι: *Pl.Grg.490C*: *Lg.816C*.

(4) Following two definite articles and substantive. *A.Th.193* τὰ τῶν θύραθεν δ': *E.Tr.742* ἡ τοῦ πατρὸς δέ: *Ar.Ec.49* τὴν τοῦ καπήλου δ'. But *E.Tr.848* τὸ τὰς δὲ λευκοπτέρου (*τᾶσδε codic.*).

(5) Late position after a negative. *A.Th.411* αἰσχροῶν γὰρ ἀργός, μὴ κακὸς δ' εἶναι φιλεῖ: *S.OC.1360* οὐ κλαυτὰ δ' ἐστίν: *E.Or.100* οὐ φίλως δέ: *Hdt.i.143* οὐδ' ἐδεήθησαν δέ: *Hr.Vict.26* οὐκ ἐν ἴσῳ δὲ χρόνῳ: *Jusj.* οὐ δώσω δέ: *Pl.Phdr.227C* οὐχ ὑπ' ἐραστοῦ δέ: *242C* οὐ πάνυ δέ (*D.xliiii.81*): *Euthphr.7A* οὐ ταῦτ' οὐ δέ: *X.Mem.iv.1.3* οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον (*D.viii.67*): *Lys.vii.7* οὐ θαυμαστὸν δ' (*δ' C solus*): *Is.iv.7* οὐκ ἐκ τούτων δὲ μόνον: *D.xxii.16* οὐ πεποιημένης δέ: *xlv.17* μὴ πρὸς ἄλλο δέ τι: *Hdt.191*: *v.71.1*: *ix.18.2*: *Pl.Grg.487A*: *La.194B*: *Chrm.174D*: *Th.164A*:

*Lg.658B,693B,727A*: *Epin.990D*: *id. saep.*: *Lys.xii.59*: *xiii.85*. In *Hdt.i.71* the negative does not immediately precede the word to which it refers: οὐ σῦκα δὲ ἔχουσι τρώγειν, οὐκ ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν (for οὐκ ἔχουσι δέ).

The order is no doubt dictated by a desire to avoid the juxtaposition οὐ δέ: but that end is more usually obtained by transposition (δὲ . . . οὐ, δὲ οὐ), or by the substitution of another particle (μέντοι, μήν, etc.) for δέ. Nor is the juxtaposition entirely eschewed: but it is admitted only, I think, when the writer desires to convey the precise opposition between a positive idea and its negative counterpart, with a consequent heavy stress on the negative particle.<sup>1</sup> So normally with a conditional participle expressed or understood, a word or words being repeated. *Hdt.v.35.4* ἀποστάσιος ὧν γινομένης . . . μὴ δὲ νεώτερόν τι ποιεύσης τῆς Μιλήτου: *ii.70.2,177.2*: *iii.65.7*: *vii.149.1*: *viii.60γ*: *Pl.Pl.284D* τούτου τε γὰρ ὄντος . . . μὴ δὲ ὄντος: *Philb.17C*: *Lg.881D,916C,930B*. \* With ellipse of verb: *Pl.R.412D* ἐκείνου μὲν εὐπράττοντος . . . μὴ δέ, . . . : *Lg.813D*. With infinitive understood: *Pl.Sph.262E* λόγον ἀναγκαῖον . . . τινὸς εἶναι λόγον, μὴ δέ τινος ἀδύνατον.

**B.** The above limits are rarely overstepped in prose. (Such mild postponements as *Pl.Grg.482E* ὡς τὰ πολλὰ δέ: *Lg.838A* ὡς οἶόν τε δέ: *Philb.37C* ποιῶ τινε δέ can be reckoned under the categories enumerated above.) Poets go much further in the postponement of δέ, more, probably, as a matter of metrical convenience than from a reluctance to separate words closely united in sense. In many of the examples no such unity exists.

(1) In general.

Verse. *Hom.h.Merc.510* δεδαῶς ὁ δ' ἐπωλένιον κιθάριζεν: *Hes.Op.46* ἔργα βοῶν δ' ἀπόλοιτο: *Thgn.992* δύναται ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλος ἀνήρ: *Xenoph.Fr.1.17* οὐχ ὕβρις πίνειν δ' (*δ' del. B*): *Pi.O.10.99*, παῖδ' ἐρατὸν δέ: *A.Pers.719* Πεζὸς ἡ ναύτης δέ: *749*: *Ag.633* ἐν νυκτὶ δυσκύμαντα δ' ὠρώρει κακά: *606*: *Th.41* αὐτὸς κατόπτης δ' εἴμ' ἐγώ: *199*: *Eu.531* ἄλλ' ἄλλα δ' ἐφορεῖται (but Hermann's correction of *Pr.400-1*, approved by Paley and by Jebb on *S.Aj.116*, goes

<sup>1</sup> I am confirmed in this supposition by an examination of Dr. Chapman's examples, some of which I had missed. For *Hdt.viii.100.3*, see p. 192.

too far): *S. Aj.* 116 τοῦτο σοὶ δ' ἐφίεμαι: 169 μέγαν αἰγυπιὸν δ' ὑποδείσαντες (δ' *add.* Dawes): 1419 πρὶν ἰδεῖν δ': *OT* 486 ὁ τι λέξω δ' ἀπορῶ: 528 Ἐξ ὀμμάτων ὀρθῶν δέ (*lect. dub.*): 1282 ὁ πρὶν παλαιὸς δ': *Ph.* 574 ἀν λέγης δέ: 618 εἰ μὴ θέλοι δ', ἄκοντα: 959 φόνον φόνου δὲ ῥύσιον τείσω: *Fr.* 195 ἀρετῆς βέβαιαι δ' εἰσὶν αἱ κτήσεις: *Fr.* 672: *E. Alc.* 98 πυλῶν πάροιθε δ': *Andr.* 617 κάλλιστα τεύχη δ': *Hipp.* 835 πολλῶν μετ' ἄλλων δ' (δ' *om.* *LPV*): *Supp.* 614 δίκαι δίκαν δ' ἐκάλεσε (δ' *om.* *P*): *Ion* 1187 ἐν χεροῖν ἔχοντι δέ: 261, 816: *El.* 928: *Or.* 88 Πόσον χρόνον δέ: 610 καλὸν πάρεργον δ': *IA* 1006 ψευδῆ λέγων δέ: *Hel.* 331 βᾶτε βᾶτε δ' ἐς δόμους (following a repeated word: cf. *ib.* 370 βοᾶν βοᾶν δ' Ἐλλάς κελάδησε: *Ar. Av.* 856): 688 Τίς μοι θυγατρὸς δ' (ὥμοι *codd.*: τίς μοι, Badham, defended by Pearson *ad loc.*): *Ar. Ach.* 80 Ἐτεῖ τετάρτῳ δ': *Pax* 186 Ποδαπὸς τὸ γένος δ' εἶ: *Lys.* 160 εἰὰν λαβόντες δ': *Theophil.* *Fr.* 6 τὸ πείσμ' ἀπορρήξασα δέ (δέ *om.* *A*): *A. Supp.* 786: *Pers.* 446, 729, 818: *Th.* 155, 546, 599, 1015, 1029: *Ag.* 296, 745, 1099, 1277, 1291, 1320: *Ch.* 266, 519, 761, 839: *Eu.* 19, 21, 68, 176, 197, 281, 615: *Fr.* 446: *S. Fr.* 98: *E. Heracl.* 39: *Alc.* 469: *Supp.* 783: *Fr.* 163, 296, 382, 6, 413, 502, 776 (several of the Euripidean fragments are textually doubtful): *Ar. V.* 1351: *Pax* 1311: *Lys.* 160: *Th.* 746: *Ra.* 344, 1007, 1169: *Ec.* 195.

Aeschylus was clearly far laxer than Sophocles or Euripides in this matter: and they, in turn, rather laxer than Aristophanes. T. W. Allen in *Rev. Phil.* 1937, pp. 280-1 lists thirteen examples of postponed δέ in the fragments of Middle and New Comedy,<sup>1</sup> which also took surprising liberties with γάρ. Porson corrected *Alex. Fr.* 274-6 ὅς ἂν εἰς ἑτέραν ληφθῆ δ' ἀποστέλλων πόλιν (ὅς δ' ἂν *codd.*). *Epig. Fr.* 7, even if δέ is sound, is inconclusive, in the absence of context. For references to authorities, see Ellendt, *Lex. Soph.*, s.v. δέ.

Prose. *Hp. Morb.* ii 12 τὰς φλέβας καίειν δέ: *Mul.* 125 ἦν σφόδρα δὲ εὐμηγῆς ἦ (δέ *om.* *Cθ*): *Th.* vi 10.4 τάχ' ἂν δ' ἴσως (so *ABEFM*): *Pl. Amat.* 135C ἄκρον ἀρχιτέκτονα δέ: *Philb.* 50A ἅμα γίγνεσθαι δέ (δὲ γίγνεσθαι *T*): *X. Eq.* 11.8 ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἤδη δὲ ἰππαζόμενοι ἵππων (so most MSS.: a surprising reading, which Kühner apparently defends): *Lys.* vii 4 δημευθέντων τῶν

<sup>1</sup> Add *Apollod. Gel. Fr.* 27.2: *Anaxipp. Fr.* 1.41, 44: *Philippid. Fr.* 6.2, 15.4.

όντων δέ (Bekker's δὲ τῶν is surely right): *Isoc.* viii 8 ὁ τι ἂν τύχη δὲ γενησόμενον: *Hdt.* v 79.2: vii 8δ1: ix 33.4: *Pl. Smpr.* 205A: *Prt.* 311C: *Plt.* 289B: *Lg.* 669E, 720A, 721B, 805B, 929E, 966A: *Ep.* 346B.

Most of these postponements are pretty mild. In contrast, Burnet's punctuation at *Pl. Lg.* 785A goes beyond all reasonable bounds.

(2) In particular, when a sentence opens with a vocative, δέ is often postponed,<sup>1</sup> and follows the first word in the main body of the sentence. Except in questions (see I. C. 3. ii), this type of postponement is mainly confined to serious poetry: it is hardly found in comedy (*Ar. Ach.* 259, 1119), and it is rare in Attic prose (whereas the types of postponement described in I. C. 3. ii are appropriate enough to colloquial style: 'Good heavens! And what . . .?' 'Come now, and what . . .?').

*Hes. Th.* 549 Ζεῦ κύδιστε μέγιστε θεῶν αἰείγενετᾶων, τῶν δ' ἔλε (δ' *om.* *L*): *Op.* 213 ὦ Πέρση, σὺ δ' ἄκουε: 248 ὦ βασιλῆες, ἐμεῖς δὲ καταφράζεσθε: *Thgn.* 817 Κύρν', ἔμπης δέ: *Pi. P.* 4.59 ὦ μάκαρ υἱὲ Πολυμνάστου, σὲ δ': *A. Pr.* 3 Ἦφαιστε, σοὶ δὲ χρὴ μέλειν ἐπιστολάς: *S. El.* 150 ἰὼ παντλάμων Νιόβα, σὲ δ' ἔγωγε νέμω θεόν: *OT* 1096 ἰήιε Φοῖβε, σοὶ δὲ . . .: *E. Hec.* 1287 Ἐκάβη, σὺ δ', ὦ τάλαινα . . .: *Hom. A.* 282: *B* 344, 802: *Φ* 498: *γ* 247: *id. sacp.*: *Pi. P.* 1.67: 5.45: *B.* 3.92: *S. Ant.* 1087: *OC* 507, 592: *E. Hec.* 372, 415: *Hel.* 1392: *Or.* 622: *Hdt.* i 115.2 ὦ δέσποτα, ἐγὼ δέ: vii 141.4 ὦ θεῖη Σαλαμίς, ἀπολεῖς δὲ σύ (in verse oracle): *Pl. Philb.* 48U ὦ Πρώταρχε, πειρῶ δέ: *Hdt.* viii 68a1: *Pl. Thg.* 127C: *X. Mem.* ii 1.26.

Postponement after an exclamation (for such postponement in questions see I. C. 3. ii): *E. Andr.* 1200 Ὀττοτοτοτοῖ . . . — Ὀττοτοτοτοῖ, διάδοχα δ' . . . (reading doubtful).

<sup>1</sup> According to L. & S., this happens 'when the speaker turns from one person to another'. That is probably true of most cases where δέ is postponed: but not of all, cf. *S. OC* 1459: *E. Hec.* 415. On the other hand, Pearson (on *E. Hel.* 1392) is hardly right in saying that δέ here is 'in its regular position with vocative outside the clause'.



## Οὐδέ, μηδέ

We have seen that *δέ* is both connective (either continuative, 'and', or adversative, 'but') and responsive or 'adverbial' (apodotic). The same varieties of meaning are found in the negative form.

I. Connective. In Attic prose connective *οὐδέ* hardly ever occurs except when a negative clause precedes.\* But Th.vii 77.1 *καὶ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων . . . ἐλπίδα χρῆ ἔχειν μηδὲ καταμέμφεσθαι ὑμᾶς ἄγαν αὐτούς*: Pl.La.198E *προμηθεῖται . . . οὐδὲ τῇ μαντικῇ οἶεται δεῖν ὑπηρετεῖν*: and perhaps Lg.889C *ὠρῶν πασῶν ἐκ τούτων γενομένων, οὐδὲ διὰ νοῦν, φασίν, οὐδὲ διὰ τινα θεὸν οὐδὲ διὰ τέχνην* (though here it would be easy to read *οὔτε* (or *οὐ*, Eusebius) for the first *οὐδέ*: to read *οὐ δέ separatim* (Burnet) does not help (see p. 187)). In Lys.xxiv 21-2 *ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῶν . . . δέομαι . . . τῇν αὐτὴν ἔχειν περὶ ἐμοῦ διάνοιαν ἢ περὶ καὶ πρότερον· μηδ' οὐ μόνου μεταλαβεῖν ἔδωκεν ἢ τύχη μοι . . . ἀποστερήσητέ με* editors have generally, and no doubt rightly, altered *μηδέ*.

Where no negative clause precedes, Attic prose uses *οὐ μὲν, οὐ μέντοι*, etc., or *οὐδ' οὐ, δ' . . . οὐ*, as balancing adversatives: *ἀλλ' οὐ* as an eliminating adversative, and *καὶ οὐ* as a pure connective. *ἀγαθὸς μὲν, οὐ μέντοι συνετός*: *ἀγαθὸς μὲν, συνετός δ' οὐ*: *κακός, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀγαθός*: *κακός καὶ οὐ συνετός*. (For the distinction between *ἀλλ' οὐ* and *καὶ οὐ*, see *ἀλλά*, I.1.ii.)

In poetry and Ionic prose the preceding clause is often positive. But H. Kallenberg has pointed out that Herodotus and Aristophanes are more restricted than Homer and the tragedians in this use of *οὐδέ*. In the case of Herodotus (1) there is almost always a sharp contrast between the ideas coupled (as in I.ii below): (2) the ideas coupled are seldom (as often in poetry) 'nominale Begriffe': the following are exceptional: vii 174 *οὕτω δὴ ἐμήδισαν προθύμως οὐδ' ἔτι ἐνδοιαστῶς*: ix 87 *σὺν γὰρ τῷ κοινῷ καὶ ἐμήδισαμεν οὐδὲ μῦνοι ἡμεῖς*: (3) *οὐδέ* is seldom so used, more often *μηδέ* with the infinitive. Aristophanes, who stands far nearer than Herodotus to Attic prose usage in this respect (as in many others), *only* so uses *μηδέ* (*Av.63* is obviously no exception): mostly in commands (*Pl.448* in a conditional protasis).

(1) Without preceding negative clause.

(i) *Οὐδέ* as a balancing adversative, which sets a negative idea in the scale against a preceding positive idea, which may, or may not, be introduced by *μέν*. Hom.Ω 25 *ἐνθ' ἄλλοις μὲν πᾶσιν ἐήνδανε, οὐδέ ποθ' Ἡρῆ οὐδὲ Ποσειδάων' οὐδὲ γλαυκῶπιδι κούρη* ('on the one hand, he pleased the rest: on the other, he did not please these three'): α 369 *δαινύμενοι τερπόμεθα, μηδὲ βοητὺς ἔστω* (on the one hand, there is to be conviviality: on the other, absence of disorder): γ 141 *ἐνθ' ἧ τοι Μενέλαος ἀνώγει πάντας Ἀχαιοὺς νόστου μιμνήσκεσθαι . . . οὐδ' Ἀγαμέμνονι πάμπαν ἐήνδανε*: Ω 418: β 182: Hes.Sc.368,415: Simon.121.3: Thgn.1070 *νήπιοι, οἷτε θανόντας κλαίουσ' οὐδ' ἦβης ἀπολλύμενον* ('who weep for the dead but not for the passing of youth': Theognis cannot mean that mourning the dead is in itself foolish: so that we cannot take *οὐδέ* as 'instead of': the precise interpretation of the particle is here a vital matter). Cf.S.El.132 *οὐ τί με φυγγάνει (τάδε), οὐδ' ἐθέλω προλιπεῖν τόδε* ('I realize you are trying to console me, but I cannot cease mourning'): A.Ag.263; S.OC.481: E.Ba.756,758.\*

(ii) *οὐδέ* for *ἀλλ' οὐ*, holding apart incompatibles. Hom.Z 180 *ἢ δ' ἄρ' ἔην θεῖον γένος, οὐδ' ἀνθρώπων*: ι 408 *δὸλφ οὐδὲ βίηφιν*: h.Ar.1 *μνήσομαι οὐδὲ λάθωμαι Ἀπόλλωνος*: A.Pr.716 *ἀνήμεροι γὰρ οὐδὲ πρόσπλατοι ξένοις*: S.El.929 *ἠδὺς οὐδὲ μητρὶ δυσχερῆς*: Ph.996 *ἡμᾶς μὲν ὡς δούλους σαφῶς πατήρ ἄρ' ἐξέφυσε οὐδ' ἐλευθέρους*: OT 1434 *πρὸς σοῦ γάρ, οὐδ' ἐμοῦ, φράσω*: E.Cyc.376 *μύθοις εἰκότ', οὐδ' ἔργοις*: Ag.Ra.1020 *Αἰσχύλε λέξον, μηδ' αὐθάδως σεμνυνόμενος χαλέπαινε*: V.729 *πιθοῦ πιθοῦ λόγοισι, μηδ' ἄφρων γένη*: Pl.448 *εἰ . . . φευξόμεθα . . . μηδὲ διαμαχοῦμεθα*: CratesFr.29 Dem.: S.OT 398: Ant.1269: OC 124: El.429, 997: Fr.624: F.Fr.87 418: Hdt.132.7 *ἐπισχεῖν μηδὲ καλέειν κω ὄλβιον*: iv 11.3 *δόξαι ἐν τῇ ἐωυτῶν κείσθαι ἀποθανόντας μηδὲ συμφεύγειν τῷ δήμῳ*: vi 96 *οἷχοντο φεύγοντες οὐδὲ ὑπέμειναν*: vii 206.1 *στρατεύονται μηδὲ καὶ οὗτοι μηδίσωσι*: viii 60a *ἦν ἐμοὶ πείθη ναυμαχίην αὐτοῦ μένων ποιέεσθαι μηδὲ πειθόμενος τούτων τοῖσι λόγοισι ἀναζεύξης πρὸς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν τὰς νῆας*: i 07.3 (rightly explained by Fritzsche): iii 76 2: vii 174.

Exceptionally, with the full force of a strong *ἀλλά*: Hom. Π 721 *Ἐκτορ· τίπτε μάχης ἀποπαύεαι; οὐδέ τί σε χρὴ* ('Nay, thou shouldst not'): A.Ag.1498.



(iii) οὐδέ for καὶ οὐ, simply adding a negative idea to a positive one. Hom. A330 τὸν δ' εὖρον . . . ἤμενον· οὐδ' ἄρα τῷ γε ἰδὼν γήθησεν Ἀχιλλεύς: A.Pr.586 ἄδην με πολύπλανοι πλάναι γε-γυμνάκασιν, οὐδ' ἔχω μαθεῖν ὅπα πημονὰς ἀλύξω: 769 Ἡ τέξεταιί γε παῖδα φέρτερον πατρός.—Οὐδ' ἔστιν αὐτῷ τῆσδ' ἀποστροφῆ τύχης; S.Aj.1307 οὐς . . . ὠθεῖς ἀθάπτους, οὐδ' ἐπαισχύνῃ λέγων; OT731 Ἡὐδάτο γὰρ ταῦτ' οὐδέ πω λήξαντ' ἔχει: 872 μέγας ἐν τούτοις θεός, οὐδὲ γηράσκει: OC663 μακρὸν τὸ δεῦρο πέλαγος οὐδὲ πλώσιμον: E.Fr.495.9 εἶπὸν θ'· εἶα συλλάβεσθ' ἄγρας, καιρὸν γὰρ ἤκετ'· οὐδ' ὑπώπτευον δόλον: Hom. A97: Hes. Op. 488: S.OC685: Hdt.145 λέγων τὴν . . . συμφορὴν, καὶ ὡς ἐπ' ἐκείνη τὸν καθήραντα ἀπολωλεκῶς εἶη, οὐδέ οἱ εἶη βιώσιμον: viii 52.2 ἡμύνοντο . . . οὐδέ λόγους . . . ἐνεδέκοντο: 60β ὁμοίως αὐτοῦ τε μένων προναυμαχήσεις Πελοποννήσου καὶ πρὸς τῷ Ἴσθμῷ, οὐδέ σφεας, εἴ περ εὖ φρονέεις, ἄξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον: 100.3 . . . μηδὲ δυσθύμει (μὴ δὲ O.C.T.): ix 8.2 . . . οὐδ' ἔχω εἰπεῖν τὸ αἴτιον (contrast ix 18.2 οὐκ ἔχω δ' ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν).

The line between (ii) and (iii) must not be too sharply drawn (any more than the line between ἀλλ' οὐ and καὶ οὐ). Some passages could be equally well assigned to either group: Hom. A95 (here I think οὐδέ stands for καὶ οὐ: the 'dishonour' consists not so much in the mere refusal to give back Chryseis as in the insult which accompanied that refusal, cf. 26-32): A542: A.Pr.326.

Nor, again, can we always distinguish sharply between (1) and (2). In Hdt.ii 15 the question τί περιεργάζοντο . . . ; virtually constitutes a negative ('there was no need for them to take so much trouble'). The same may be said of ἄτλατον in S.Aj.224 (a passage which may be plausibly explained in several ways).

Occasionally, in the positive clause preceding, τε prepares the way for οὐδέ (τε . . . οὔτε being hardly ever found: see τε, I.4.ii) Hom. φ310 πινέ τε μηδ' ἐρίδαινε: S.OC368 πρὶν μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἦν ἔρωσ Κρέοντί τε θρόνουσ ἐᾶσθαι μηδὲ χραίνεσθαι πόλιν: E.IT 697 ὄνομά τ' ἐμοῦ γένοιτ' ἄν, οὐδ' ἄπαισ δόμος . . . ἐξελειφθείη ποτ' ἄν. Cf. the irregular responsions mentioned under (2) below.

(2) With a preceding negative clause οὐδέ, in the sense 'and

not', is common in all styles. (For the rare sense 'but not', see S.El.132 quoted under I.i.) Hom. A132 ἐπεὶ οὐ παρελεύσεαι οὐδέ με πείσεις: S.Ph.1006 ὦ μηδὲν ὑγιὲς μηδ' ἐλεύθερον φρονῶν: Th.iii 20.1 οὐδεμία ἐλπίς ἦν τιμωρίας, οὐδὲ ἄλλη σωτηρία ἐφαίνετο. With a sense of climax, 'not even' (cf. καί, I.5): Pl.R.347D οὐκ ἔχοντες ἑαυτῶν βελτίοσιν ἐπιτρέψαι οὐδὲ ὁμοίοις.

Irregular responsions. For τε . . . οὐδέ, see (1) above, last paragraph.

(i) οὔτε . . . οὐδέ, giving the effect of climax in the second limb: 'neither . . . nor yet . . .'. Pi.I.2.45 μὴ νῦν . . . μήτ' ἀρετὰν ποτε σιγάτω πατρώαν, μηδὲ τούσδ' ὕμνους: S.OC1141 οὔτ' εἰ . . . οὐδ' εἰ (οὔτ' εἰ F.imsley, unnecessarily): Pi.P.8.85: Archil.Fr.7.1-2: Alcibi.Fr.1.64-73 οὔτε . . . οὔτε . . . οὐδὲ . . . οὐδὲ καὶ . . . ἀλλ' οὐδ' . . . οὐδὲ . . . οὐδέ. In prose the οὐδέ is usually reinforced by αὐ. Pl.Lg.840A οὔτε τινὸς πώποτε γυναικὸς ἤψατο οὐδ' αὐ παιδός: (I am inclined to defend, with Burnet against Kühner, R.382E οὔθ' ὕπαρ οὐδ' ὄναρ (though the shortness of interval makes the irregularity harsher)): Philb.22E: Lg.949C: Ap.19D (οὐδέ γε): D.xlvii 72: Lys.viii 7 οὔτε . . . οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ . . . οὐδ' αὐ . . .

But in the commoner οὔτε . . . οὔτε . . . οὐδέ we need not necessarily regard οὐδέ as answering οὔτε. Th.vi 20.2: Pl.R.426B, 492E, 499B, 608B: X.An.vii 6.22: Cyr.i 6.6: Mem.ii 2.5: And.i 10, 29: Isoc.xii 259: Aeschin.i 47.

(ii) τε . . . οὐ . . . οὐδέ. Pi.P.8.36 Ὀλυμπία τε Θεόγνητον οὐ κατελέγχεις, οὐδὲ Κλειτομάχοιο νίκαν Ἴσθμοῖ. Th.ii.22.1 τε οὐκ . . . οὐδὲ . . . τε, and Pl.Grg.500B μήτε . . . μηδὲ . . . μήτε, are only apparent sequences. In each case there is true responsion between the τε clauses alone.

Kühner (II ii 294) observes that, when one οὐδέ is followed by another, the two never stand in a reciprocal relation,<sup>1</sup> like οὔτε . . . οὔτε: but that either (a) the first is adverbial, the second connective: or (b) both are connective. (a) X.An.iii 1.27 σὺ γε οὐδὲ ὀρῶν γινώσκεις οὐδὲ ἀκούων μέμνησαι (ne videns quidem cernis, neque audiens meministi): Pl.R.391C: (b) Hes.Op.715-7. Further instances in Kühner. (Ar Lys.212-13, 249 are rightly

<sup>1</sup> In the sense, I should add, that οἰδέ is never, like οὔτε, a preparatory particle. For reciprocally related οὐδέ . . . οὐδέ, see II. i. iii (especially X.An.i 8.20, where οὐδέ . . . οὐδέ comes near to οὔτε . . . οὔτε in sense: though the distinction is obvious enough.

corrected by Bekker. Pl. *Phd.* 93D (ll. 6, 7), altered by Stallbaum, is in any case no exception, being covered by (a).) (Hr. *Epid.* vii 93 is curious, and the text cannot stand: ἀποχρέμψιες ὑπόχολοι οὐδὲ ἐγένοντο οὐδὲ πολλαί.)

(iii) Occasionally the negative is omitted in the preceding clause, and has to be understood from the οὐδέ. (Cf. οὔτε = οὔτε . . . οὔτε: see τε, I. 4. v.) Jebb (on *S. Ph.* 771) says that, where οὐδέ is retrospective, 'another negative, such as οὐδέν, is usually joined to the verb': 'usually' perhaps goes a little too far, in general: but in the orators a second negative seems always to be added.

(a) Without following negative. *E. Hec.* 373 σὺ δ' ἡμῖν μηδὲν ἐμποδῶν γένη, λέγουσα μηδὲ δρῶσα (where the preceding negative, as in *Th.* v 47.2 below, certainly makes the omission easier: putting the comma after λέγουσα would, in fact, make the sentence perfectly normal): *Ar. Av.* 694 γῆ δ' οὐδ' ἀήρ οὐδ' οὐρανὸς ἦν: *E. Tr.* 477 οὐς Τρωὰς οὐδ' Ἑλληνῖς οὐδὲ βάρβαρος γυνὴ τεκοῦσα κομπάσειεν ἂν ποτε: *Hdt.* v 92β2 ἐκ δὲ οἱ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς οὐδ' ἐξ ἄλλης παῖδες ἐγίνοντο: *Th.* viii 99 ὡς τροφήν τε οὐδεὶς ἐδίδου . . . καὶ αἱ Φοίνισσαι νῆες οὐδὲ ὁ Τισσαφέρηνς τέως που ἦκον: *Arist. HA* 503b34 χεῖρας δὲ οὐδὲ πόδας προσθίους ἔχει.

(b) With following negative. *Hdt.* i 215.2 σιδήρω δὲ οὐδ' ἀργύρω χρέωνται οὐδέν: ii 52.1: iv 28.4: *Th.* v 47.2 ὄπλα δὲ μὴ ἐξέστω ἐπιφέρειν ἐπὶ πημονῇ μήτε Ἀργείους . . . μήτε Ἀθηναίους . . . τέχνη μηδὲ μηχανῇ (cf. 47.8): vi 55.1 Θεσσαλοῦ μὲν οὐδ' Ἰππάρχου οὐδεὶς παῖς γέγραπται: *Isoc.* iv 151 ὁμαλῶς μὲν οὐδὲ κοινῶς οὐδὲ πολιτικῶς οὐδεπώποτ' ἐβίωσαν: *D.* xxii 4 ἀπλοῦν μὲν οὐδὲ δίκαιον οὐδέν ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι. (In *S. Ph.* 771 it is, as Jebb says, needless to read μηδ', μηδέ for μήτ', μήτε. See τε I. 4. v.)

(iv) In *Ar. Ec.* 452 only the last two of three units are connected: Οὐ συκοφαντεῖν, οὐ διώκειν, οὐδὲ τὸν δῆμον καταλύειν: cf. *E. Cyc.* 626: in *Ar. Fr.* 317, the last two of five. Cf. δέ, I. A. 4.

## II. Responsive.

(1) Simply adding a negative idea, usually to a negative idea either expressed or implied: \* 'not . . . either'.

(i) *S. Tr.* 280 ὕβριν γὰρ οὐ στέργουσιν οὐδὲ δαίμονες ('any more than men'): *OC* 540 κείνοι κομίζεῖν κείσ' ἀναγκάσουσί με.—'Ἄλλ'

εἰ θέλont' ἂν γ', οὐδὲ σοὶ φεύγειν καλόν<sup>1</sup>: *Pl. R.* 396A 'They must not imitate κακηγοροῦντας . . . ἀλλήλους καὶ αἰσχρολογοῦντας . . . οἶμαι δὲ οὐδὲ μαινομένοις ἐθιστέον ἀφομοιοῦν αὐτούς': *Phdr.* 261A πείθετε ὡς ἂν μὴ ἱκανῶς φιλοσοφήση, οὐδὲ ἱκανός ποτε λέγειν ἔσται περὶ οὐδενός: *Phd.* 113C καὶ οὐδὲ τὸ τούτου ὕδωρ οὐδενὶ μείγνυται (looking back to 113B οὐ συμμειγνυμένους τῷ ὕδατι): *R.* 372E ἴσως οὖν οὐδὲ κακῶς ἔχει ('Perhaps that's not a bad thing, either'): *X. Mem.* i 4.9 οὐ γὰρ ὀρῶ . . . —Οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν σαυτοῦ σύ γε ψυχὴν ὀρᾶς: *Ant.* v 19.

The following are difficult. *A. Th.* 1040 τούτου δὲ σάρκας οὐδὲ κοιλογᾶστορες λύκοι πάσσονται ('And, as for his flesh, wolves shall not tear it, either', Tucker. The particle seems to look back to 1033 ἐγὼ σφε θάψω. οὔτι Blomfield): *E. Ion* 1388 τὰ γὰρ πεπρωμέν' οὐδ' ὑπερβαίην ποτ' ἂν (οὐχ Nauck: Hartung, rightly I think, 'Dem, was mir bestimmt ist, kann ich auch nicht entgehen'). *A. Ag.* 1523 is very curious: οὐδὲ γὰρ οὗτος δολίαν ἄτην οἴκοισιν ἔθηκ'; This means, of course, 'Did he not, too . . .?' not 'Did he not, either . . .?'. It is difficult to find a parallel. Jebb suggests, but rejects, the view that in *S. OT* 325 ὡς μηδ' ἐγὼ stands for ὡς μὴ καὶ ἐγὼ, and means 'lest I too': I believe that this interpretation is correct.

(ii) By a process of inversion frequently found in the case of καί (see καί, II. B. 1. iii), οὐδέ, especially in a clause or sentence giving a reason, sometimes represents a negative idea which, logically speaking, is prior to another idea, as posterior to it. *E. S.* 523 πόλεμον δὲ τοῦτον οὐκ ἐγὼ καθίσταμαι, ὅς οὐδὲ σὺν τοῖσδ' ἦλθον ἐς Κάδμου χθόνα ('I was not bellicose on a former occasion, nor am I bellicose now, either'): *S. OT* 1409 ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἔσθ' ἂ μηδὲ δρᾶν καλόν: *Tr.* 126: *Hdt.* i 3.1 ἐπιστάμενον πάντως οὐτὶ οὐ δώσει δίκας: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκείνους διδόναι: i 141.2: *Pl. Prm.* 100c Οὔτε ἄρα εὐθὺ οὔτε περιφερές ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ περ οὐδέ μέρη ἔχει (since it has no parts, it cannot have shape, either'): *Alc. II* 132D Ἐγὼ σοὶ φράσω, ὃ γε ὑποπτειῶ λέγειν . . . τοῦτο τὸ γράμμα. κινδυνεύει γὰρ οὐδὲ πολλαχοῦ εἶναι παράδειγμα αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν ὄψιν μόνον ('There is not much evidence, and so I cannot be sure, either')

(iii) Further (again as in the case of καί: cf. III. 2) the add

<sup>1</sup> Jebb is scarcely right in saying that 'οὐδέ is here the negative correlative part of δέ in apodosis'. The function of οὐδέ in this idiom is purely adverbial, that of apodotic δέ is structural.

may be conceived as reciprocal. In such cases οὐδέ, appearing in both limbs, takes over, as Hartung well remarks, the function of corresponsive καί. Hdt.i2 τοὺς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὡς οὐδὲ ἐκείνοι . . . ἔδοσαν σφι δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς· οὐδὲ ἂν αὐτοὶ δώσειν ἐκείνοισι: Pl.Alc.II141A ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἤρχετο, οὐδ' ᾤετο: X.Cyr.i6.18 ὥσπερ οὐδὲ γεωργοῦ . . . οὕτως οὐδὲ στρατηγοῦ: An.i8.20 καὶ οὐδὲν μέντοι οὐδὲ τοῦτον παθεῖν ἔφασαν, οὐδ' ἄλλος δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων . . . ἔπαθεν οὐδεὶς οὐδέν (the first οὐδέ meaning both 'not either' and 'not even', the second simply 'not either'): D.xviii140: Lys.xxvi15 (perhaps: text doubtful).

(2) With sense of climax, 'not even'.

(i) In general. S.El.285 οὐδὲ γὰρ κλαῦσαι πάρα: X.Smp.6.2 οὐδ' ἂν τρίχα, μὴ ὅτι λόγον: et saep. In various set phrases, οὐδ' ὡς, οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν, οὐδὲ γρῦ, etc.

(ii) In the following, οὐδέ (μηδέ) negatives the succeeding idea *in toto*, passing beyond the mere negation of it in some qualified form. Pl.R.394D πότερον ἐάσομεν τοὺς ποιητὰς μιμουμένους ἡμῖν τὰς διηγήσεις ποιεῖσθαι ἢ τὰ μὲν μιμουμένους, τὰ δὲ μὴ, καὶ ὅποια ἐκάτερα, ἢ οὐδὲ μιμεῖσθαι ('not to imitate at all': τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐ, σπουδαιοῦσι): 420D μὴ οἴου δεῖν ἡμᾶς οὕτω καλοῦς ὀφθαλμοὺς γράφειν, ὥστε μηδὲ ὀφθαλμοὺς φαίνεσθαι: Smp.202C πῶς ἂν . . . ὁμολογοῖτο μέγας θεὸς εἶναι παρὰ τούτων, οἳ φασιν αὐτὸν οὐδὲ θεὸν εἶναι: Pl.Thl.189A: Cra.436C: R.329A,352B,466B,488B,609C: Lg.809E: Arist.Pol.1261a17,1275a27: Rh.1360a29: D.xv12. Cf. καί, II.A.2.

(3) Duplication of negative.

(i) In conformity with the Greek tendency to duplicate negatives, we often find οὐδέ reinforced by another negative. Thus οὐ is followed by responsive οὐδέ, and οὐδέ, connective or responsive, is followed by a negative. The great majority of my instances are from Kühner, II ii 204.

Hom.P641 οὐ μιν οἶομαι οὐδὲ πεπύσθαι: ε212 ἐπεὶ οὐ πῶς οὐδὲ ἔοικε: θ280 τά γ' οὐ κέ τις οὐδὲ ἴδοιτο: λ554 οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμελλες οὐδὲ θανῶν λήσεσθαι (but in λ613 μὴ . . . μηδέ represents a double wish, and neither negative is otiose): S.Aj.1334 μηδ' ἢ βία σε μηδαμῶς νικησάτω: Tr.280 ὕβριν γὰρ οὐ στέργουσιν οὐδὲ δαίμονες: OT287: El.595: Aj.1242: Ar.V.448 Οὐκ ἀφήσεις

οὐδὲ νυνί μ', ὃ κάκιστον θηρίον . . .; Th.ii97.6 οὐδ' ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἔθνος ἐν πρὸς ἐν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτι δυνατὸν Σκύθαις . . . ἀντιστήναι: Pl.Smp.204A οὐδ' εἴ τις ἄλλος σοφός, οὐ φιλοσοφεῖ: X.Cyr.ii1.8 οὐδ' εἰ πάντες ἔλθοιεν Πέρσαι, πλήθει γ' οὐχ ὑπερβαλοίμεθ' ἂν τοὺς πολεμίους: An.i8.20 καὶ οὐδὲν μέντοι οὐδὲ τοῦτον παθεῖν ἔφασαν, οὐδ' ἄλλος δὲ . . . ἔπαθεν οὐδεὶς οὐδέν: D.xxii32 ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις, οὐδ' ἂν ὦσιν ἔτ' Ἀνδροτιώνος τινες αἰσχίον βεβιωκότες, οὐκ ἔστι λέγειν κακῶς τοὺς ἄρχοντας: Aeschin.iii78 οὐδέ γε ὁ ἰδία πονηρὸς οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο δημοσία χρηστός.

(ii) In combination with other particles. οὐ μέντοι οὐδέ: Hdt.vi45.1 (ABCP: οὐ μὲν οὐδέ *cett.*): Pl.Prt.331E. For οὐ μὴν οὐδέ, οὐ μὲν οὐδέ, see μὴν (III.2.ii) and μὲν (I.A.9: cf. III below). οὐ γὰρ οὐδέ: E.Hipp.1416: El.295 (here read probably καὶ γὰρ οὐδέ, Stob.: see Paley): Pl.Lg.821A.

Sometimes, again, the whole particle οὐδέ, not merely the negative, is duplicated: the first οὐδέ being either connective or adverbial. Hom.I379-86 (the passionate emphasis with which οὐδέ recurs through the whole passage 369-91 adds great force): Hp.VC9 οὐδὲ ἔδρη . . . οὐδὲ αὐτή: ib. οὐδὲ ἡ διακοπή . . . οὐδὲ αὐτή: X.Cyr.viii7.20 οὐδέ γε ὅπως ἄφρων ἔσται ἡ ψυχὴ . . . οὐδὲ τοῦτο πέπεισμαι: Hdt.vii196: Pl.Ar.19E: Grg.510C: Ant.v48: Lys.xxxi9. (In all the last five cases the second οὐδέ is followed by some part of οὗτος).

οὐδὲ ἂν οὐδέ: Hdt.ii134.2: v98.1.

οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδέ: Hom.E22: Z130: Σ117: θ32: κ327: Hdt.i215.2: iv16.1: Pl.Phdr.278E: D.xiv6.

For οὐδέ μὴν οὐδέ, οὐδέ μὲν οὐδέ, see μὴν (III.2.iii) and μὲν (I.A.8).

III. Οὐδέ as an emphatic negative, 'not at all'. In certain passages in Herodotus, where οὐδέ is clearly not connective, the sense 'not even', 'not either', is also inappropriate, and the particle appears merely to signify an emphatic negative.\*

i75.6 ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲ προσίεμαι (οὐ ABCP: 'But (as I do not at all accept): unless the meaning can be 'do not even consider'): vii16β2 φῆς τοι . . . ἐπιφοιτᾶν δνειρον θεοῦ τινος πομπῇ . . . ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ταῦτά ἐστι, ὃ παι, θεία ('but this is *not* a supernatural occurrence': 'οὐδέ, als sollte zunächst folgen:

“auch hiervon ist deine Ansicht nicht richtig”’, Stein, a very forced interpretation): viii. 25.2 οὐ μὲν οὐδ’ ἐλάνθανε τοὺς διαβεβηκότας Ξέρξης ταῦτα πρήξας περὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς ἐωυτοῦ (*sc.* ‘though he *did* deceive them about the enemy dead’). It is, I take it, quite impossible that οὐ οὐδ’ ἐλάνθανε should mean ‘did not also deceive’ (cf. II.1.1, *ad fin.*): ‘jedoch auch nicht’, Stein, but it should surely be, if anything, ‘jedoch nicht auch’)\*: ix 7a2 ἡμεῖς δὲ . . . οὐ καταινέσαμεν ἀλλ’ ἀπειπάμεθα, καίπερ . . . ἐπιστάμενοί τε ὅτι κερδαλεώτερόν ἐστι ὁμολογέειν τῷ Πέρσῃ μᾶλλον ἢ περ πολεμέειν· οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ὁμολογήσομεν ἐκόντες εἶναι (where the repetition suggests that the last words mean ‘nevertheless we will *not* come to terms’: otherwise it might be possible to look back to οὐ καταινέσαμεν, and render ‘we did not consent . . . nor will we in the future, either, come to terms’: though this would perhaps require οὐδὲ ἐς ὕστερον ὁμολογήσομεν, or the like).

IV. The interpretation of a few other passages is doubtful. Hom. I 372 (probably adversative: ‘he may try to fool some one else, but he will never dare to look *me* in the face again.’ Or perhaps οὐδέ for οὐ γάρ, as δέ for γάρ: ‘some one else, for it won’t be me’: οὐκ ἄν, οὐκ ἄρ’, for οὐδ’ ἄν, *al.*): At. Eq. 1302 καὶ μίαν λέξαι τιν’ αὐτῶν (τῶν τριηρῶν) . . . ‘οὐδὲ πυνθάνεσθε ταῦτ’ ὧ παρθένοι τὰν τῆ πόλει;’ (here οὐδέ, like δέ, *q.v.* I.C.3.vi, seems to introduce an indignant question: ‘And haven’t you heard . . .?’: though ‘not even’ is perhaps not impossible): Pl. R. 328C ὦ Σώκρατες, οὐδὲ θαμίσεις ἡμῖν καταβαίνων εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ (here οὐδέ is generally considered corrupt: οὐ τι Ast. Schneider supposes an ellipse, “Tu neque alia facis, quae debebas, neque nostram domum frequentas”. Simili ellipsi nostrates: “Du kommst auch nicht oft zu uns”). There is certainly no very obvious implicit reference for οὐδέ, but Adam may be right in retaining it, comparing R. 587C (‘And it isn’t very easy, either, to say . . .’) as a (not easily analysed) colloquialism. See also Tucker on A. Th. 1040 (his 1026)). In Lys. xx 8 οὐδέ is perhaps purely emphatic: ‘And he did *not* make a single proposal’ (cf. καί, II.C.7): οὐδέποτε Reiske (οὐδέ can hardly go closely with οὐδεμίαν): xx 36 seems similar, if Dobree’s emendation is right: ‘were saved by our enemies, but shall *not* find safety at your hands.’ Cf. D. ix 48.

V. Position. Normally responsive οὐδέ immediately precedes the word with which it is most closely connected (unless a connecting particle claims precedence: οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦτο λέγω). But a short interval between οὐδέ and the affiliated word is sometimes found. Hom. A 354 νῦν δ’ οὐδέ με τυτθὸν ἔτεισεν: E. Supp. 1068 Ἄλλ’ οὐδέ τοι σοὶ πείσομαι (where it seems necessary to accent σοί: Iphis will not give way to Evadne any more than she to him): S. El. 1304 (a more violent dislocation) κοῦδ’ ἄν σε λυπήσασα δεξαίμην βραχὺ αὐτῆ μέγ’ εὐρεῖν κέρδος (οὐδὲ βραχὺ): OT 325 ὡς οὖν μηδ’ ἐγὼ ταῦτὸν πάθω (Jebb takes μηδέ with ταῦτὸν πάθω: if this is correct, the order is dislocated: but see II.1.1). In Th. vi 11.2 οὐδέ does not go with ἄγγελον (see Marchant).

Connective οὐδέ is invariably first word in sentence, clause, or word-group.

#### Καὶ δέ: καὶ . . . δέ

This is a natural enough combination, the former particle denoting that something is added, the latter that what is added is distinct from what precedes.<sup>1</sup> In Homer the particles are always juxtaposed, in later Greek always separated by an intervening word or words. (In Hp. VC 13 καὶ δ’ αὐτε, δέ may stand for δὴ (see δὴ, II.2): if, indeed, the text is sound.)

(1) καὶ δέ. Hom. H 113 . . . τὸν τε στυγέουσι καὶ ἄλλοι. καὶ δ’ Ἀχιλεὺς τούτῳ γε . . . ἔρριγ’ ἀντιβολῆσαι: I 709 καρπαλίμως πρὸ νεῶν ἐχέμεν λαὸν . . . καὶ δ’ αὐτὸς ἐνὶ πρώτοισι μάχεσθαι: Ψ 494 ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ ἔοικε. καὶ δ’ ἄλλῳ νεμεσᾶτον, ὅτις τοιαῦτά γε ῥέζοι: Ω 370 ἀλλ’ ἐγὼ οὐδὲν σε ῥέξω κακά, καὶ δέ κεν ἄλλον σεῦ ἀπαλεξήσαιμι: ν 302 . . . ἢ τέ τοι αἰεὶ ἐν πάντεσσι πόνοισι παρίσταμαι ἠδὲ φυλάσσω, καὶ δέ σε Φαιήκεσσι φίλον πάντεσσιν ἔθηκα: Ω 563: η 213: φ 110, 113. Preceded by μὲν: Ψ 80 ἀλλ’ ἐμὲ μὲν κῆρ ἀμφέχανε στυγερῆ . . . καὶ δέ σοὶ αὐτῷ μοῖρα . . . ἀπολέσθαι. καὶ δέ is sometimes used where καὶ γάρ would be logically

<sup>1</sup> Jebb, on S. Ph. 1362, argues for the view that, in καὶ . . . δέ, καὶ is the conjunction, while δέ means ‘on the other hand’, ‘also’. This is, I think, the right explanation of most of the passages. But there are others (see (2) below) in which δέ seems to be the conjunction, while καὶ means ‘also’. Here, as with other combinations, a different analysis is required in different cases.

more appropriate. Cf. δέ for γάρ. Hom. X.420 λίσσωμ' άνέρα τουτόν . . . καί δέ νυ τῶ γε πατήρ τοιόσδε τέτυκται: T105. (π418 is remarkable: Αντίνο', ὕβριν ἔχων, κακομήχανε, καί δέ σέ φασιν ἐν δήμῳ Ἰθάκης μεθ' ὀμήλικας ἔμμεν ἄριστον . . . σὺ δ' οὐκ ἄρα τοίος ἔησθα. The apparently superfluous connective seems to be *indignantis*: 'and they say, forsooth . . .'. Cf. καί in indignant questions (*q.v.* II.B.10.ii.b): in fact there may be an interrogative tinge in the present passage.)

(2) καί . . . δέ. The combination is relatively rare in verse, and some critics wrongly seek to exclude it altogether from tragedy. (See Paley on *A.Pr.* 973, his 994.) In Sophocles, *Ph.* 1362 is the only example: καί σοῦ δ' ἔγωγε θαυμάσας ἔχω τόδε (here I should regard δέ as the connective: 'And in thee also . . .': so too in *A.Pr.* 973: *Ch.* 879 πύλας μοχλοῖς χαλάτε· καί μάλ' ἠβῶντος δέ δεῖ: *E.El.* 1117 Τρόποι τοιοῦτοι· καί σὺ δ' αὐθάδης ἔφυς: *Ion* 1608 πείθομαι δ' εἶναι πατρὸς Δοξίου καί τῆσδε. καί πρὶν τοῦτο δ' οὐκ ἄπιστον ἦν (if δ' is right): 1327 Ἦκουσα· καί σὺ δ' ὠμὸς ὦν ἀμαρτάνεις: and perhaps this analysis is correct in other cases too).

*A.Pers.* 153 προσπίτνω· καί προσφθόγγοις δέ χρεῶν αὐτὴν πάντας μύθοισι προσαυδᾶν: 546 αἱ δ' ἀβρόγγοι Περσίδες . . . πενθοῦσι . . . κάγω δέ μόρον τῶν οἰχομένων αἴρω δοκίμως πολυπενθηῖ: *Eu.* 65 ἐγγὺς παρεστῶς καί πρόσσω δ' ἀποστατῶν ('aye, and from afar'): *E.IT* 1206 ἴτ' ἐπὶ δεσμά, πρόσπολοι.—Κάκκομιζόντων δέ δεῦρο τοὺς ξένους: *Ar.Eq.* 711 Ἐλξω σε πρὸς τὸν δῆμον . . . —Κάγω δέ σ' ἔλξω (like δέ γε: cf. *Pl.Com.Fr.* 69.3 ἐγὼ δέ νίπτρον παραχέων ἔρχομαι.—Κάγω δέ παρακορήσων): *Pax* 523 ὦ χαῖρ' Ὀπώρα, καί σὺ δ' ὦ Θεωρία ('and you too, Theoria'): 632 Κάτα δ' ὡς ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ξυνῆλθεν οὐργάτης λεῶς (proceeding with a narrative, after comments from the listeners): *Antiph.Fr.* 140 Τρώγοιμι καί | ᾧ δὲ καταπίνοιμ' ἄν (καί and δέ in different lines): *A.Pers.* 261, 779 (τ' *recc.*): *Fr.* 43.1: *E.Fr.* 388, 518: *Ar.Pax* 250, 1149: *Lys.* 1320: *Pl.* 764, 838. (*A.Supp.* 809–10 is corrupt: so, probably, is *Eu.* 406.)

In prose καί . . . δέ appears early. *Heraclit.Fr.* 5 καί τοῖς ἀγάμμασι δέ τουτέοισιν εὔχονται: *Fr.* 12 καί ψυχὰι δέ . . . : *Ανακrag.Fr.* 6 καί ὅτε δέ ἴσαι μοίραί εἰσι: *Pherecydes.Fr.* 18a καί ὅτε δέ ἦν ἐν τῶ πελάγει: *Democr.Fr.* 191 ἐπικαινουργεῖν ἀναγκάζεται

καί ἐπιβάλλεσθαι δ' ἐπιθυμίην τοῦ τι πρήσσειν ἀνήκεστον: *Goig.Fr.* 11.11 ὅσοι δέ ὅσους περὶ ὄσων καί ἔπεισαν καί πείθουσι δέ. It is found rarely in Herodotus (ii 44.1, 44.5, 127.1: iv 105.2 (some MSS.): in ix 79.1 κάκείνοισι δέ ἐπιφθονέομεν, καί means 'also'), Hippocrates (*Fract.* 1, 26, 30: *Art.* 48: *V.M.* 6: *Acut.* 15: *Morb.Sac.* 3: *Genit.* 20), and Thucydides (i 132.4 ἐπυνθάνοντο δέ καί ἐς τοὺς Εἰλωτας πρᾶσσειν τι αὐτόν, καί ἦν δέ οὕτως: ii 36.1 δίκαιον γὰρ αὐτοῖς καί πρέπον δέ ἅμα: iv 24.2: vi 71.2: vii 56.3: viii 67.3). It is common in Plato, Aristotle, and the orators, and (as has often been observed) particularly common in Xenophon.<sup>1</sup>

(i) In general. *Pl.Grg.* 475A Ὄταν ἄρα . . . Καί ὅταν δέ δὴ . . . : *Prt.* 331B ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ γ' ἑμαυτοῦ φαίην ἄν . . . : καί ὑπὲρ σοῦ δέ . . . ταῦτὰ ἄν ταῦτα ἀποκρινοίμην: 361E οὐκ ἄν θαυμάζοιμι εἰ τῶν ἐλλογίμων γένοιτο ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ σοφία. καί περὶ τούτων δέ εἰς αὐθις . . . διέξιμεν: *Cri.* 51A εἰάν σε ἐπιχειρῶμεν ἡμεῖς ἀπολλύναι . . . καί σὺ δέ ἡμᾶς . . . : *Phlb.* 40C εἰσὶν δὴ . . . ψευδεῖς . . . ἠδοναὶ . . . καί λῦπαι δέ ὡσαύτως: *X.HGv.* 1.16 'You must endure hardships. καί ἡ πόλις δέ τοι . . . τάγαθὰ καί τὰ καλὰ ἐκτήσατο οὐ βραθυμοῦσα' (καί ἡ πόλις perhaps together): *An.* iii 2.25 ἐν ἀφθόνοισι βιοτεύειν, καί Μήδων δέ . . . παρθένοισι ὀμιλεῖν: v 3.9 παρεῖχε δέ ἡ θεὸς . . . τραγήματα, καί τῶν θυομένων ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς νομῆς λάχος, καί τῶν θηρευομένων δέ: *D.* ix 70 ἐγὼ νῆ Δί' ἐρῶ, καί γράψω δέ: xxi 189 οἴους ἐνίους τῶν λεγόντων ἐγὼ καί ὑμεῖς δ' ὀράτε: *Pl.Lg.* 637B, 665B, 682C, 696A, 699B, 964A: *Grg.* 513A: *R.* 335A, 436E: *Phlb.* 13B: *X.HGv.* 4.25: *Lys.* i 12 (καί πρότερον closely together): xix 5: *D.* xviii 43, 215: xxi 26, 126: xxiii 51: xlv 41: xlvii 5: lvii 4: *Aeschin.* 123, 69: ii 51: iii 126.

Usually καί . . . δέ is taken in the writer's stride, like καί . . . δή, and follows a weak stop. Occasionally, however, it marks a completely new start after a stronger break, like καί μὴν. *Pl.Lg.* 921A 'Work must be punctually completed. καί ἀναιρουμένῳ δ' ἔργον συμβουλευτῆς νόμος . . . μὴ πλέονος τιμᾶν δια-

<sup>1</sup> Also in Lucian, according to Sikes and Willson on *A.Pr.* 973. Rehdantz (*Index*, p. 92) gives information regarding the distribution of καί . . . δέ: it is commoner in Demosthenes than in the other orators. (Rehdantz is wrong in saying that καί . . . δέ occurs 'seldom' in Plato, 'more often' in Thucydides. Krüger (apparently aiming at completeness) gives six examples from Thucydides: I have counted thirty-five in Plato (fourteen from the *Lg.* . . .)

πειρώμενον': X.*An.*ii.6.7 οὕτω μὲν φιλοπόλεμος ἦν . . . καὶ ἀρχικὸς δ' ἐλέγετο εἶναι. See also (ii).

(ii) Introducing a new instance. Pl.*Clit.*409B ἰατρικὴ πού τις λέγεται τέχνη· ταύτης δ' ἐστὶν διττὰ τὰ ἀποτελούμενα . . . καὶ τεκτονικῆς δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα . . . : *Alc.*II.18D, 126B: X.*Oec.*8.8.

(iii) Introducing the last item of a series. Pl.*Thl.*171E πᾶν γύναιον καὶ παιδίον καὶ θηρίον δέ: *Lg.*833B πρῶτος δὲ . . . δεύτερος δὲ . . . καὶ τρίτος . . . καὶ δὴ καὶ τέταρτος . . . καὶ πέμπτος δέ: X.*An.*v.6.15 πελταστὰς πολλοὺς καὶ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας καὶ ἰππέας δέ: D.iii.11 πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχεβιάδην καὶ τὸν Ἀριστόνουν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Κηφισιάδην: *Aeschin.*150 πρῶτον μὲν κάλει . . . ἔπειτα τὴν Φαίδρου μαρτυρίαν ἀναγίνωσκε. καὶ τελευταίαν δέ μοι λαβὲ τὴν . . . μαρτυρίαν: iii.115 Μειδίαν τε . . . καὶ . . . καὶ τρίτον δὲ μετὰ τούτων ἐμέ: Pl.*Lg.*637C: X.*Cyr.*ii.1.29: D.iii.15: *Aeschin.*161.

The last item may take the form of an etcetera. D.xlii.1 τί πρῶτον δεῖ ποιεῖν . . . καὶ τί δεύτερον καὶ τᾶλλα δ' ἐφεξῆς: Pl.*Lg.*674B, 943B: *Phdr.*229D: *Sph.*244C: X.*Cyr.*i.1.2: 1.4. Introducing the penultimate item: Pl.*Ly.*215E (the last before the comprehensive καὶ τᾶλλα οὕτω): *Lg.*908D.

After an asyndetic series: X.*Lac.*13.4.

Xenophon is fond of using καὶ . . . δέ with the repetition of a word.<sup>1</sup> *An.*i.8.18 ἐφθέγγαντο πάντες . . . καὶ πάντες δὲ ἔθειον: ii.6.10 ἐκόλαζέ τε ἰσχυρῶς . . . καὶ γνώμη δ' ἐκόλαζεν: *Smpr.*8.42 κατεθεᾶτο τὸν Καλλίαν. καὶ ὁ Καλλίας δὲ . . . : *HGv* 2.40: 3.22: vii.2.11: *An.*i.8.22: 9.11: *Cyr.*vii.1.30. Cf. *HGv* 4.3.

Cf. Hom.*H*173 οὗτος γὰρ δὴ ὀνήσει εὐκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοῦς, καὶ δ' αὐτὸς δν θυμὸν ὀνήσεται: 375 εἰπέμεν . . . καὶ δὲ τόδ' εἰπέμεναι πυκινὸν ἔπος: D.xix.40 μεμαρτύρηται δὲ . . . καὶ νῦν δὲ μαρτυρηθήσεται.

Usually only one word, or at most two, intervenes between καὶ and δέ. The number is only increased in order to avoid separating words which naturally go together. Pl.*Thg.*121A κἂν εἰ ἀσχολία δὲ μὴ πάνυ τις μεγάλη . . . : X.*An.*i.1.5 καὶ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτῷ δὲ βαρβάρων: *Cyr.*ii.1.29 καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀλλήλοις δὲ πραοτέρους εἶναι: 31 καὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸ στράτευμα δὲ ὑπηρέτας.

καὶ ('both') . . . καὶ . . . δέ. Pl.*Alc.*II.147B καὶ οὗτος καὶ

<sup>1</sup> See W. Horn, 'Quaestiones ad Xenophontis elocutionem pertinentes', *Diss. Halis Saxonum*, 1926.

ἄλλοι δὲ ποιηταὶ σχεδὸν τι πάντες: 151B ἀλλὰ δέχομαι καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἄλλο δέ: D.vii.5 ὑπὸ τῶν τάνταῦθα διοικήσειν . . . καὶ πρὶν ὑπεσχημένων καὶ νῦν δὲ πραττόντων.

τε . . . καὶ . . . δέ. Pl.*Cri.*48B οὗτος τε ὁ λόγος . . . δοκεῖ . . . : καὶ τόνδε δὲ αὖ σκοπεῖ (δέ T: om. B): *Cri.*i.118E: *Lg.*708A: X.*HGv* 2.37.

μὲν . . . καὶ . . . δέ. Pl.*Lg.*721D ζημιούσθω μὲν . . . καὶ μὴ μετεχέτω δὲ τῶν τιμῶν: D.lxx.126 ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν . . . καὶ ὑμᾶς δὲ χρῆ . . . : X.*HGv* 3.26 καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Φλειοῦντα οὕτως αὖ ἐπετετέλεστο . . . καὶ ὁ Πολυβιάδης δὲ δὴ . . . (a strong break): *An.*vi.3.23: 3.25: vii.1.30: *Cyr.*vii.1.30.

In X.*Oec.*11.22 καὶ . . . δέ, if the text is sound, means 'also': Ἄλλὰ καὶ ἔμελλον δὲ ἐγώ, ἔφην, ὦ Ἰσχύμαχε, τοῦτο ἐρήσεσθαι (but Richards' σε, for δέ, is a probable emendation).

οὐδὲ . . . δέ may be regarded as the negative counterpart of καὶ . . . δέ. Here δέ is clearly the connective, and οὐδέ is adverbial. X.*An.*i.8.20 (see οὐδέ, II.1.iii, and note the repetition, παθεῖν . . . ἔπαθεν, characteristic of Xenophontine καὶ . . . δέ): *Arist.EN*1120a31 ὁ δὲ διδοὺς οἷς μὴ δεῖ . . . οὐκ ἐλευθέριος . . . οὐδὲ λήψεται δὲ ὅθεν μὴ δεῖ (cf. 1120b30 καὶ λήψεται δ' ὅθεν δεῖ): *Metaph.*1066b34: *de An.*427b11. See Eucken, pp. 32-3.

## Δή

The derivation of δή, of which widely divergent views have been held, remains entirely obscure. It has often been held that the primary sense of δή is temporal. Thus Brugmann says that the particle combines a temporal sense with that of obviousness, notoriousness, actuality, certainty: the temporal element being stronger in Homer than in later Greek. Hence δή denotes 'that which lies, clear to see, before the speaker's eyes at the moment.' The evidence for this supposed temporal sense is, however, exceedingly weak: and I doubt whether any such view would have gained currency without the support of precarious etymologies. The essential meaning seems clearly to be 'v.



'actually', 'indeed'. *δή* denotes that a thing really and truly is so: or that it is very much so (in cases where *δή* is attached to words, such as adjectives, which *ἐνδέχονται μᾶλλον καὶ ἥττον*: πολλοὶ *δή*, 'really many', or 'very many'). These meanings run through all the non-connective usages of the particle: and the connective use is easily derived from them.

I. Emphatic. We shall find here not a few points of contact with *γε*, though in the main each particle runs its own course. Like *γε*, *δή* normally emphasizes the preceding word (for exceptions, see I.6 and II): but *δή* is bound to the relevant word by a looser bond, and is more able to spread its influence over a whole clause.<sup>1</sup> As a corollary to this, it has greater structural importance than *γε* (for example, in its apodotic use).

The word emphasized by *δή* may be an adjective, an adverb, a noun, a pronoun, or a verb. But in prose, especially the formal prose of history and oratory, there is a marked tendency to restrict emphatic *δή* to certain well-defined types of word. Pathetic *δή* (found particularly with verbs) is almost confined to poetry. Plato uses it, with economy and rare beauty, in *Phid.* 89B *Ἀῦριον δή, ἔφη, ἴσως, ὦ Φαίδων, τὰς καλὰς ταύτας κόμας ἀποκερῆ*. In *X.Cyr.* vii 3.8 it adds a touch of mawkishness to a sentimental passage: *Φεῦ, ὦ ἀγαθὴ καὶ πιστὴ ψυχὴ, οἴχη δή ἀπολιπὼν ἡμᾶς*;

(1) With adjectives. In poetry, without restriction: in prose, almost confined to certain classes of adjective.

(i) In general. *Hom.A* 295 *ἄλλοισιν δή ταῦτ' ἐπιτέλλεο*: *O* 711 *ὀξέσι δή πελέκεσσι*: *Σ* 95 *ὠκύμορος δή μοι, τέκος, ἔσσεαι*: *θ* 209 *ἄφρων δή κείνός γε . . . πέλει ἀνήρ*: *ο* 451 *παῖδα . . . ἀτιτάλλω, κερδαλέον δή τοῖον*: *Thgn.* 608 *ἐς δὲ τελευτὴν αἰσχροὺν δή κέρδος*: *γ* 62 *ἄλλης δή κρήνης πίομαι*: *Pi.P.* 4.273 *ἀλλ' ἐπὶ χώρας αὐτίς ἔσσαι δυσπαλὲς δή γίνεται*: *A.Pers.* 1013 *δυσπόλεμον δή γένος τὸ Περσῶν*: *Ag.* 1610 *οὕτω καλὸν δή καὶ τὸ κατθανεῖν ἐμοί*: *S.Tr.* 223 *τάδ' ἀντίπρῳρα δή σοι βλέπειν πάρεστι*: *OC* 721 *νῦν σὸν τὰ λαμπρὰ ταῦτα δή φαίνειν ἔπη* (with a touch of bitterness: *δή I.* :

<sup>1</sup> This consideration renders precarious, however practically convenient, the principle of classification formulated in the next paragraph, and carried out in the following sections.

*δεῖ A*): *E.Alc.* 408 *ὦ σχέτλια δή παθῶν*: *Hipp.* 193 *δυσέρωτες δή φαινόμεθ' ὄντες*: *Hec.* 1135 *ὑποπτος ὢν δή Τρωικῆς ἀλώσεως* (with a half sneer): *Supp.* 195 *Ἄλλοισι δή 'πόνησ' ἀμίλληθεις λόγῳ τοιῷδ'*: *Fr.* 911.1 *χρῦσαι δή μοι πτέρυγες περὶ νώτῳ*: *Ar.Eq.* 1387 *Μακάριος ἐς τάρχαϊα δή καθίσταμαι*: *Pl.La.* 183D *δορυδρέπανον, διαφέρον δή ὄπλον*: *Lg.* 861E *ἄδικα . . . διπλᾶ, τὰ μὲν ἐκούσια δή, τὰ δ' ἀκούσια* (emphasizing the first of two contrasted ideas: whereas τὰ μὲν δή ἐκούσια would have emphasized the form of the contrast): *Er.* 343B *τὰ νῦν στρογγύλα καλούμενα εὐθέα κεκλήσθαι τὰ τε εὐθέα δή στρογγύλα*.

With adjectival phrases. *Pl.Lg.* 779E *τὸ δή τῶν νῦν εἰρημένων ἐχόμενον* (in parenthesis): *805E* *ἢ τὸ τούτων δή διὰ μέσου φῶμεν . . .*; *X.An.* v 2.26 *οἱ δὲ κατὰ στόμα δή ἔτι μόνοι ἐλύπουν*.

With comparative adjectives and adverbs. *Hom.I* 202 *Μεῖζονα δή κρητῆρα . . . καθίστα*: *Ξ* 4 *μείζων δή παρὰ νηυσὶ βοή*: *Ar.V.* 1064 *κύκνου τ' ἔτι πολιώτεραι δή αἰδ' ἐπανθοῦσιν τρίχες*: *Hr.Acut.* 9 *σφῶν αὐτῶν δυσφορώτερον δή τὰ τοιαῦτα φέρουσιν*.

With special classes of adjective.

(ii) With *δηλος* (common in Plato). *Pl.Grg.* 502A *Δῆλον δή τοῦτό γε*: *R.* 412B *σχεδὸν γάρ τι δηλα δή ὅτι . . .*: *Men.* 91B *ἢ δηλον δή . . . ὅτι . . .*: *Cri.* 48B *Δῆλα δή καὶ ταῦτα*: *Grg.* 478A: *Supp.* 204B: *Euthphr.* 4B: *Prt.* 309A. *Plt.* 264E *δηλον δή γὰρ παντί* (where Burnet ejects *δή*, and others place it after *γάρ*) illustrates the tendency of *δή* to coalesce particularly closely with this adjective. In the adverb *δηλαδὴ* the fusion is so complete that the adjective loses its accent: *Epich.Fr.* 149: *S.OT* 1501: *E.Or.* 789: *IA* 1366: *Ar.V.* 442: *Ec.* 1157: *Alex.Fr.* 173.6: *Epigen.Fr.* 6: *Hdt.* iv 135.2: v 118.3: vi 39.2.

(iii) With adjectives expressing indefinite quantity or number (*πολύς, πᾶς, etc.*).

*πολύς*. *Hom.* τ 379: *Pi.O.* 6.79: *S.El.* 603.1377: *E.Ion* 1394: *Ar.Ach.* 693: *An.* 539 *πολὸν δή πολὸν δή χαλεπωτάτους λόγους ἤνεγκας*: *Hdt.* i 143: *Th.* vi 61.1: *Pl.Prt.* 361E: *Phd.* 68A: *Isoc.* v 42.

*πᾶς*. *E.Med.* 278 *ἐξίασι πάντα δή κάλων*: *Ar.* 110.431 *κατὰ πάντα δή τρόπον*: *S.El.* 764: *Th.* vii 55.1 *ἐν παντί δὲ ἀθυρίας ἦσαν*: *Hdt.* iii 157 (*bis*): vii 152.3: *X.HG* vi 2.24.

*μόνος*. *B.* 5.156 *φασὶν ἀδεισιβόαν Ἀμφιτρεύωνος παῖδα* . . . τότε . . .: *S.An.* 58,821: *Tr.* 1063: *E.Tr.* 1092: *Th.* v 1002.



δή τοῦτο: Hdt.i 25: ii 156: iv 15: Th.ii 64.1: vii 44.1: Ant.v 15: Isoc.iv 109.

οἶος. Hom.θ 219: μ 69. ὀλίγος. Th.i 33.2 & . . . ὀλίγοις δὴ ἅμα πάντα ξυνέβη: Pl.Ep.316A. βραχύς. S.OC 586 Ἄλλ' ἐν βραχεῖ δὴ τήνδε μ' ἐξαιτῆ χάριν: E.Hipp.1246. μακρός. E.Or. 72 παρθένε μακρὸν δὴ μῆκος Ἡλέκτρα χρόνου: Fr.821. μέγας. X.Cyr.viii 3.7 Μέγας δὴ σύ γε: Ar.Ach.988. Pl.R.373D ἡ χώρα . . . σμικρὰ δὴ ἐξ ἱκανῆς ἔσται: E.Andr.319 μυρίοισι δὴ βροτῶν: Pl.Smp.220B ἡμφισμένων θαυμαστὰ δὴ ὄσα.

(iv) With numerals. Hom.B 134 ἐννέα δὴ βεβίασι . . . ἐνιαυτοί: θ 297 ὀκτὼ δὴ προέηκα . . . οἷστους: Anacr.Fr.21.1 δέκα δὴ μῆνες: Pi.O.13.99 ἐξηκοντάκι δὴ: P.9.91 τρις δὴ: N.8.48 δις δὴ δυοῖν: E.Med.1282 Μίαν δὴ κλύω, μίαν τῶν πάρος . . .: Hom.I 328: Ω 107: Pl.Epin.978B τὸ γὰρ ἐν δὴ καὶ δύο γέγονε πόθεν ἡμῖν . . .; ('the concept of unity'): Hdt.v.76 τέταρτον δὴ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀπτικὴν ἀπικόμενοι Δωριέες. (For οὐδεὶς δὴ, see 10.i below.)

(2) With adverbs. Here again, as in the case of adjectives, δὴ is mainly used with certain types.

(i) In general. Hom.N 120 τάχα δὴ: T 401 ἄλλως δὴ φράζεσθε: γ 357 Εὐ δὴ: Ar.Av.1313 Ταχὺ δὴ: X.HG vii 4.34 τάχα δὴ: Ar.Lys.1102 Καλῶς δὴ λέγετε (Pl.Hp.Ma.299B): Th.vii 81.2 δίχα δὴ ὄντας: X.An.v 4.25 ἐπεὶ δὲ . . . ἐνταῦθα οἱ πολέμιοι ὁμοῦ δὴ πάντες γενόμενοι. . . (but in Pl.R.458D δὴ is to be regarded rather as apodotic).

(ii) With adverbs expressing frequency, intensity, distance of space or time, and so forth. Hom.T 85 πολλάκι δὴ: M 430 πάντη δὴ: 323 αἰεὶ δὴ: N 374 περὶ δὴ: θ 487 ἔξοχα δὴ: h.Merc. 126 δηρὸν δὴ (Emp.Fr. 112.12): S.Ph.1456 πολλάκι δὴ: Pl.Smp. 215E πολλάκις δὴ: Ar.40B πολλαχοῦ δὴ: Pi.N.1.17 θάμα δὴ: S.Ph.806 πάλαι δὴ (OC 1628: A.Pr.998: Ar.Av.921 Πάλαι πάλαι δὴ: X.Cyr.viii 7.1: Pl.Alc.II 139D): Th.i 13.5 αἰεὶ δὴ ποτε: Pl.Lg.836D αἰεὶ δὴ: Hdt.iv 113 πρόσω δὴ: Sapph.Fr.143 μάλα δὴ κεκορημένας: X.An.vii 7.16 μάλα δὴ ὑφειμένως: Ar.27 μάλα ὁμολογουμένως δὴ.

(iii) With temporal and local adverbs. νῦν. E.Heracl.873 ὦ τέκνα, νῦν δὴ νῦν ἐλεύθεροι πόνων ('now at last'): Ar.Ra.412 νῦν δὴ κατείδον ('just now'): Pax 5: Av.923: Th.vi 24.2 ἔδοξε ἀσφάλεια νῦν δὴ καὶ πολλὴ ἔσεσθαι: Pl.Ly.217E τοῦτο τοίνυν

ἔρωτῶ νῦν δὴ: La.179A μὴ . . . ἐπειδὴ μεράκια γέγονεν, ἀνεῖναι αὐτοὺς ὅτι βούλονται ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ νῦν δὴ καὶ ἄρχεσθαι αὐτῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ('precisely now'): Phdr.250C: Lys.xiii 93 ὑμεῖς τοίνυν . . . νυνὶ δὴ, ἐπεὶ ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ . . . οὐχ οἷοί τε ἦστε . . . νυνί, ἐν ᾧ δύνασθε, τιμωρήσατε. δὴ coalesces closely with νῦν. Hence the order in the following: E.Hipp.233 νῦν δὴ μὲν . . . νῦν δ' αὖ: Ar.Lys.327 νῦν δὴ γάρ (Pl.R.578A). The words are, in fact, often written as one, νυνδὴ (cf. δηλαδὴ).

τότε. E.El.726 τότε δὴ τότε: D.xviii 47.

εἶτα. Ar.Nu.259 Εἶτα δὴ τί κερδανῶ; 750 Γυναῖκα φαρμακίδ' εἰ πριάμενος Θετταλὴν καθέλοιμι νύκτωρ τὴν σελήνην, εἶτα δὴ αὐτὴν καθεῖρξαιμ' (δὴ has been suspected here, but cf. Anaxil.Fr. 22.26 εἶτα τετράπους μοι γένοιτο . . . εἶτα δὴ τρίπους τις, εἶτα . . .).

αὐτίκα. Hyp.Phil.9 αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα: Ar.Pl.942: Pl.R.338B: D.xix 39,42,171: id. saep.

ἐνθα, ἐνταῦθα. Pl.Pr.324A ἐνθα δὴ πᾶς παντὶ θυμοῦται: Phdr. 247B ἐνθα δὴ πόνος τε καὶ ἀγὼν ἔσχατος ψυχῆ πρόκειται: Th.ii 58.2 ἐνταῦθα δὴ (X.HG i 2.15).

Other temporal and local adverbs. E.Heracl.484 οὐ νεωστὶ δὴ: El.653 Πότερα πάλαι τεκοῦσαν ἢ νεωστὶ δὴ; X.An.i 9.25 οὐπω δὴ: Pl.Phil.89B αὔριον δὴ: E.Ion 393 πέλας δὴ: Pl.Lg.811C ἐξ ἔω μέχρι δεῦρο δὴ (for δεῦρο δὴ with imperative, expressed or understood, see I.8. iii): S.OT 968 ὁ δὲ θανὼν κεύθει κάτω δὴ γῆς: Ar.Ec.733 πολλοὺς κάτω δὴ θυλάκους στρέψασ' ἐμούς: Hp.Epid.ii 4.1 καὶ πεφύκασιν ἄνωθεν δὴ φρενῶν.

(3) With superlative adjectives and adverbs. This is a favourite use of Thucydides: I have counted about thirty-six instances in him. Hom.A 266 κάρτιστοι δὴ: S.Aj.858 πανύστατον δὴ: El.202 ἐχθίστα δὴ: Ant.895 κάκιστα δὴ μακρῶ: E.Heracl.794 πράξας δ' ἐκ θεῶν κάλλιστα δὴ: Hom.Z 185: μ 258: Th.i 1.2 μεγίστη δὴ: 138.3 βεβαιότατα δὴ: vi 31.1 πολυτελεστάτη δὴ: 33.4 κάλλιστον δὴ: viii 106.1 ἐπικαιροτάτην δὴ: X.HG iv 8.24 ὑπεναντιώτατα δὴ: v 1.3 μακαριώτατα δὴ: Pl.Ly. 899D ὦ ἄριστε δὴ, φῶμεν: Hdt.ii 111,177: iii 10: v 82: Pl.Ly. 60A: D.xviii 298.

(4) With pronouns and pronominal adverbs. Particularly in the case of σύ (especially in questions), the emphasis is often ironical, contemptuous, or indignant in tone.

(i) 'Εγώ. Cratin.Fr.16 ἐν Καρὶ τὸν κίνδυνον ἐν ἐμοὶ δὴ δοκεῖ πρώτῳ πεπειρᾶσθαι: Ag.Lys.684 εἰ . . . με ζωπυρήσεις, λύσω τὴν ἐμαυτῆς ἢν ἐγὼ δὴ: Hdt.iii 155 τῷ ἐστὶ δύναμις τοσαύτη ἐμὲ δὴ ὧδε διαθεῖναι: Pl.Grg.469C ὦ μακάριε, ἐμοῦ δὴ λέγοντος τῷ λόγῳ ἐπιλαβοῦ.

(ii) Σὺ. S.Aj.1226 Σὲ δὴ τὰ δεινὰ ῥήματ' ἀγγέλλουσί μοι τλῆναι . . . χανεῖν: El.954 ἐς σὲ δὴ βλέπω: Anl.441 Σὲ δὴ, σὲ τὴν νεύουσαν ἐς πέδον κάρα, φῆς . . .; E.Hipp.948 σὺ δὴ θεοῖσιν ὡς περισσὸς ὢν ἀνὴρ ξυνεῖ; Andr.324 σὺ δὴ στρατηγῶν . . . Τροίαν ἀφείλου Πρίαμον, ὧδε φαῦλος ὢν; Rh.686 Ἡ σὺ δὴ Ῥῆσον κατέκτας; Ag.Ra.841 σὺ δὴ με ταῦτ' ὦ στωμυλιοσυλλεκτάδῃ . . .; Hom.H 24: A.Pr.300: E.Hel.464: Ag.Lys.146: Hdt.i 115 Σὺ δὴ ἐὼν τοῦδε τοιοῦτου ἐόντος παῖς ἐτόλμησας . . .; vii 17.2 Σὺ δὴ κείνος εἰς ὁ ἀποσπεύδων . . .; Pl.R.506B ἀλλὰ σὺ δὴ, ὦ Σώκρατες, πότερον . . . φῆς . . .; Grg.487E περὶ τούτων ὢν σὺ δὴ μοι ἐπετίμησας: Euthyphr.9D: R.337E.

(iii) Νῶν. Hom.A 347 Νῶϊν δὴ τόδε πῆμα κυλίνδεται: S.OC 1670 ἔστιν ἔστι νῶν δὴ οὐ τὸ μὲν, ἄλλο δὲ μὴ.

(iv) Ὑμεῖς. Hdt.ix 48.1 ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὑμεῖς δὴ λέγεσθε εἶναι ἄνδρες ἄριστοι: Pl.Phd.63E Ἐὰ αὐτόν, ἔφη. ἀλλ' ὑμῖν δὴ τοῖς δικασταῖς βούλομαι ἤδη τὸν λόγον ἀποδοῦναι.

(v) Ὁ (demonstrative). Hom.Σ 549 τὸ δὴ περὶ θαῦμα τέτυκτο: δ 819.

(vi) Ἐκεῖνος. Hom.χ 165 κείνος δὴ αὐτ' αἰδηλὸς ἀνὴρ . . . ἔρχεται: S.Tr.1091 ὦ φίλοι βραχίονες, ὑμεῖς ἐκεῖνοι δὴ καθέσταθ', οἱ . . .

(vii) Ὁδε. Hom.τ 571 ἠδὲ δὴ ἠὼς εἰσι δυσώνυμος: S.OC 111 πορεύονται γὰρ οἶδε δὴ τινες: 886 ἐπεὶ πέρα περῶσ' οἶδε δὴ: E.Hipp.1342 Καὶ μὴν ὁ τάλας ὄδε δὴ στείχει: Alc.233: Supp. 980, 1114: Ion 393: Or.348. (But καὶ δὴ is more frequently used than simple δὴ in announcing a new character on the stage.)

(viii) Οὗτος (often contemptuous in tone). Hom.η 48 Οὗτος δὴ τοι, ξεῖνε πάτερ, δόμος, ὃν με κελεύεις πεφραδέμεν: A.Pers. 159 Ταῦτα δὴ λιποῦσ' ἰκάνω χρυσεοστόλμους δόμους: S.El.385 Ἡ ταῦτα δὴ με καὶ βεβούλευνται ποεῖν; E.Tr.1272 Οἱ ἄγε τάλαινα: τοῦτο δὴ τὸ λοίσθιον . . . τῶν ἐμῶν ἤδη κακῶν: S.Ph. 565: Hp.Frac1.47 τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τοῦ ἀγκῶνος ἐν τούτοισι δὴ καὶ παντάπασι χρῆ τοιοῦτον ποιέεσθαι (in some MSS. only): Th.vi 92.5 γνόντας τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ὑφ' ἀπάντων προβαλλόμενον λόγον:

Pl.Grg.511B Οὐκοῦν τοῦτο δὴ καὶ τὸ ἀγανακτητόν; ('Isn't that just what is so unpleasant?') In this common use ('just that', 'precisely that') δὴ is often followed by καί: q.v. II.B.8: cf. αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο, (xiii) below): Chrm.170E ἀλλὰ τοῦτο δὴ τῇ σωφροσύνῃ μόνη ἀπέδομεν: R.338B Αὕτη δὴ, ἔφη. ἡ Σωκράτους σοφία: Thl. 166A Οὗτος δὴ ὁ Σωκράτης ὁ χρηστός: X.Cyr.viii 4.9 Τοῦτο δὴ πάντων ἤκιστα, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος: Oec.18.6 Οὐκοῦν . . . ἐκ τούτου δὴ καθαροῦμεν τὸν σῖτον: Hdt.iii 82: iv 20: Pl.Ly.206B, 212A: Phd. 114C: R.485A, 569B.

(ix) In Herodotus δὴ after οὗτος often emphasizes the fact that a person has already been mentioned some little way back. i 43 ἐνθα δὴ ὁ ξεῖνος, οὗτος δὴ ὁ καθαρθεῖς τὸν φόνον . . .: 45 Ἄδρηστος δὲ . . . οὗτος δὴ ὁ φονεὺς . . . γενόμενος: 110 ἐνθα τὰς νομάς τῶν βοῶν εἶχε οὗτος δὴ ὁ βουκόλος: 114 εἶλοντο . . . τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τοῦ βουκόλου ἐπίκλησιν παῖδα: iii 2 φάμενοί μιν ἐκ ταύτης δὴ τῆς Ἀπριέω θυγατρὸς γενέσθαι: ii 129: iii 6: iv 151: vi 61.5: 63.1. Sometimes δὴ precedes the demonstrative: i 1 ἀπικομένους δὲ τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐς δὴ τὸ Ἄργος τοῦτο . . .: v 41.1 τίκτει τὸν δὴ Κλεομένηα τοῦτον.

(x) Οὕτως, ὧδε. Hdt.i 189 οὕτω δὴ μιν ἀσθενέα ποιήσιν: iii 3 τὸν δὲ διαμνημονεύοντα οὕτω δὴ, ἐπεὶτε ἀνδρώθη καὶ ἔσχε τὴν βασιληίην, ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον στρατηίην: Pl.Men.88E Οὐκοῦν οὕτω δὴ κατὰ πάντων εἰπεῖν ἔστιν . . .; Thl.156D καὶ οὕτω δὴ γεννᾶ, τὰ δὲ γεννώμενα οὕτω δὴ θάπτω ἔστιν: Phdr.237B ἦν οὕτω δὴ παῖς (at the opening of a narrative).

(xi) Often in Homer in surprised or indignant questions (cf. III.8). B 174 οὕτω δὴ . . . φεύξεσθ' . . .; E 88: O 553: ε 204: E.Tr.1060 Οὕτω δὴ τὸν ἐν Ἰλίῳ ναὸν . . . προῦδωκας Ἀχαιοῖς, ὦ Ζεῦ . . .; (which should surely be printed as a question): Pl.P 234D Εἶεν' οὕτω δὴ δοκεῖ παίζειν;

(xii) Herodotus often uses δὴ τι after οὕτω and ὧδε with an adjective, usually placing it before the adjective: i 184 οὕτω δὴ τι ἐποίησε σκολιόν: iv 52 οὕτω δὴ τι ἐοῦσα πικρῆ: iii 120 ὧδε δὴ τι ἐοῦσαν εὐπετέα χειρωθῆναι: ii 71, 135: iii 12, 108, 130, 145. Sometimes after the adjective: i 163 προσφιλέες . . . οὕτω δὴ τι ἐγένετο: ii 11 μακρὸς οὕτω δὴ τι: iv 184 ὑψηλὸν δὲ οὕτω δὴ τι λέγεσθαι: iii 23: iv 28. So too with verbs: iv 58 οὕτω δὴ τι οἱ Σαυδαὶ ἐσκενάδαται: viii 99.1 ἔτερψε οὕτω δὴ τι Περσέων τοῖς ὑπολειφθέντας.

Herodotus similarly uses *δή τις* after *τοιούτος, τοιόσδε, τοσοῦτος*. v92 ε2 *τοιούτος δή τις ἀνήρ ἐγένετο*: vi23.1 *τοιόνδε δή τι*: i192 *τοσοῦτο δή τι πλῆθος*: i178: iv5: vi132. These uses of *δή τι, δή τις* are peculiar to Herodotus.

(xiii) *αὐτός*. Hom.Θ243 *αὐτοὺς δή περ ἕασον*: E.*Alc.*371 ὦ παῖδες, αὐτοὶ δὴ τάδ' εἰσηκούσατε: *Hel.*646 Ὀναίο δῆτα. ταῦτα δὴ ξυνεύχομαι (ταῦτά (sic) L: ταῦτα P): Pl.*R.*473C Ἐπ' αὐτῶ δὴ . . . εἰμί δ τῶ μεγίστῳ προσηκάζομεν κύματι: *Phil.*12B Πειρατέον, ἀπ' αὐτῆς δὴ τῆς θεοῦ: D.xix136 οἶον αὐτὸς δὴ. αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο is common: S.*Tr.*600 Ἄλλ' αὐτὰ δὴ σοὶ ταῦτα καὶ πράσσω: Ar.*V.*1062 καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο μόνον ἄνδρες ἀλκιμώτατοι: Pl.*Phdr.*227C ἄλλ' αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο καὶ κεκόμψενται: *Lg.*892C Οὐκοῦν τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπ' αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο στελλώμεθα; D.li2 καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο δικαίως ἂν ἔχοιτ' εὐνοικωτέρως ἐμοί: Pl.*R.*379A,405B: D.xx47. Cf. Ar.*Lys.*888 ταῦτ' αὐτὰ δὴ 'σθ' ἂ . . .

(xiv) With possessive pronominal adjectives. E.*Heracl.*856 *δισσὼ γὰρ ἀστέρ' . . . ἔκρυψαν ἄρμα λυγαίῳ νέφει*: σὸν δὴ λέγουσι παῖδα . . . Ἡβην θ': Cratin.*Fr.*198 ὦ λιπερνῆτες πολῖται, τὰ μὰ δὴ ξυνίετε ῥήματ' (cf. Ar.*Pax*603): Pl.*La.*189C Ἄλλ' ἡμέτερον δὴ ἔργον (perhaps to be classed under *ἀλλὰ . . . δή*): *Grg.*522C Δικαίως πάντα ταῦτα ἐγὼ λέγω, καὶ πράττω τὸ ὑμέτερον δὴ τοῦτο ('and I do this in your interests'). See further III.7.

(5) With interrogatives. (In many passages *δή* may equally well be regarded as connective. Cf. *δαί, δῆτα*.)

(i) Direct. (a) In general. Hom.Ω201 ὦ μοι, πῆ δὴ τοι φρένες οἴχονθ' . . .; φ362 Πῆ δὴ (κ281): v191 Τίς δὴ (A540: B225): χ231 πῶς δὴ (Σ364): Anacr.*Fr.*88.1 πῶλε Θρηκίη, τί δὴ με λοξὸν ὄμμασιν βλέπουσα νηλεῶς φεύγεις . . .; Pl.*O.*10.60 τίς δὴ (N.10.76): A.*Pr.*118 πόνων ἐμῶν θεωρός, ἢ τί δὴ θέλων; S.*El.*1184 Τί δὴ ποθ' . . . ὦδ' ἐπισκοπῶν στένεις; 1400 Πῶς δὴ: *Tr.*403 Σὺ δ' ἐς τί δὴ με τοῦτ' ἐρωτήσας ἔχεις; E.*Med.*516 ὦ Ζεῦ, τί δὴ . . .; *El.*566 ἢ τί δὴ λέγεις, γέρον; *Hec.*930 ὦ παῖδες Ἑλλάνων, πότε δὴ πότε . . . ἤξετε; ('when, oh when . . .?'): Ar.*Nu.*673 Πῶς δὴ; (1442: V.21): V.1155 Τίη τί δὴ; Pl.1111 ἀτὰρ διὰ τί δὴ . . .; Hdt.130 Κοίη δὴ κρίνεις Τέλλον εἶναι ὀλβιώτατον; 117 Ἄρπαγε, τέω δὴ μόρω τὸν παῖδα κατεχρήσαο . . .; vii135.2 Ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τί δὴ φεύγετε . . .; Pl.*Thl.*176E Τίνα δὴ λέγεις; *Grg.*448E Τί δὴ; *Men.*80C Τίνος δὴ οἶε; *Phil.*89A Πῶς δὴ; *Grg.*454A ἐπανε-

ροίμεθα ἀντὸν λέγοντα: Ποίας δὴ πειθοῦς . . .; *Phdr.*227A ὦ φίλε Φαῖδρε, ποῖ δὴ καὶ πόθεν; *Phd.*81E Τὰ ποῖα δὴ ταῦτα λέγεις; *La.*193E: *Prm.*138B Τί δὴ γὰρ οὐ; ('Why ever not?': *ib.*140E: E.*Or.*1602): *R.*357D ἀλλὰ τί δὴ; (elliptical: 'But what do you mean?')

Late in clause. S.*Ant.*159 ἀλλ' ὅδε γὰρ δὴ βασιλεὺς χώρας . . . χωρεῖ τίνα δὴ μῆτιν ἐρέσσω . . .; E.*Hipp.*250 τὸ δ' ἐμὸν πότε δὴ θάνατος σῶμα καλύψει;

Sometimes *δή* precedes the interrogative (though in some of these cases *δή* might be taken with the word it follows). Ar.*Av.*417 Τί φῆς; λέγουσι δὴ τίνας λόγους; *Ec.*604 Κατὰ δὴ τί; Pl.*R.*556A Κατὰ δὴ τίνα; *Sph.*251A Οἶον δὴ τί; *Lg.*705D Εἰς δὴ τί τῶν εἰρημένων βλέψας εἶπες ὃ λέγεις; *Hr.*Mi.371A λέγεις δὴ τί . . .; Add perhaps Pl.*Lg.*810A *μανθάνειν δὲ ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χρόνοις δὴ τί ποτε δεῖ τοὺς νέους . . . μάνθανε*: here the emphasis seems to be on *τί* rather than on *μανθάνειν*, certainly not on *τούτοις τοῖς χρόνοις*: 'they are to learn for so many years: and *what* are they to learn?'

(b) *καί* before the interrogative (usually expressing surprise: cf. *καί* II.B.10.i.b: *καί* δὴ, I.ii) is characteristic of Xenophon. E.*Rh.*688 Καὶ τί δὴ τὸ σῆμα; Ar.*V.*665 Καὶ ποῖ τρέπεται δὴ . . .; D.xix336 καὶ τί δὴ . . . ἐπαινεί; X.*Mem.*iv4.10 Καὶ ποῖος δὴ . . .; *Oec.*1.18: 7.16: *An.*vii6.20: *Cyr.*i3.5: 3.10 (*bis*): 6.16: 6.22.

(c) In subordinate clauses. With *ὡς* ('as') and participle: E.*IT*557 *παῖς νιν . . . ὤλεσεν*.— . . . ὡς τί δὴ θέλων; ('He killed him, as wishing what?') Perhaps not to be sharply distinguished from *Alc.*537 Ὡς δὴ τί δράσω . . .; for which see III.1.ii). With *ὡς* (final), *ἵνα*, or *ὅτι*, and ellipse of subjunctive or indicative: E.*Or.*796 Ὡς τί δὴ (*sc.* γένηται) τόδε; *Ion*525 Ὡς τί δὴ φεύγεις με; *HF*1407 Ὡς δὴ τί; (this punctuation seems right: but one cannot be certain): *IA*1342 Ὡς τί δὴ; Ar.*Nu.*755 Ὅτιη τί δὴ; *Pax*409 Ἴνα δὴ τί τοῦτο δράτον; (*Nu.*1192: *Ec.*791): Pl.*R.*343A Ὅτι δὴ τί μάλιστα; *Chrm.*161C. It is characteristic of Euripides that he, alone of the tragedians, admits this obviously colloquial idiom.

(ii) Indirect. Hom.Γ317 κλήρους . . . πάλλον ἐλόντες, ὀππότερος δὴ πρόσθεν ἀφείη χάλκεον ἔγχος: μ57 διηνεκέως ἀγορεύσω ὀπποτέρη δὴ τοι ὁδὸς ἔσσεται: ψ37 νημερτὲς ἐνίσπεσ . . . ὀππως δὴ μνηστῆρσιν ἀναιδέσι χεῖρας ἐφῆκε: Pl.*N.*5.15 εἰπεῖν . . . πῶς δὴ . . .: S.*OT*493 οὔτε . . . ἔμαθον πρὸς ὅτου δὴ βασάνῳ. Ar.*Ra.*1162 δίδαξον γὰρ με καθ' ὅτι δὴ λέγεις: Hdt.ii1111

λέγειν αὐτῇ ὃ τι δὴ ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἔργασται αὐτῷ σοφώτατον :  
 vi 138.3 δεινὸν τι ἐσέδυνε . . . τί δὴ ἀνδρωθέντες δῆθεν ποιήσουσι :  
 Hp. *Inl.* 3 μελετᾶν, ὁκοίων δὴ τινων δοκέει σοι δεῖσθαι : Pl. *La.* 186E  
 εἶπετον . . . τίνι δὴ δεινοτάτῳ συγγεγόνατον . . . : *Men.* 97D θαυ-  
 μάξω . . . ὅτι δὴ ποτε . . . : *Thl.* 206C ἰδεῖν ὅτι δὴ ποτε καὶ λέγεται :  
*R.* 429E οἷσθ' οἷα δὴ γίγνεται : 545D εἰπεῖν ὅπως δὴ . . . : *Phd.* 85E  
 ἀλλὰ λέγε ὅπη δὴ οὐχ ἰκανῶς (*Alc.* *I* 105A should probably be  
 punctuated as a direct question) : *X. An.* vi 5.23 ἀναμιμνήσκεσθε  
 ὄσας δὴ μάχας . . . νενικήκατε : *Lys.* xxv 9 σκέψασθε . . . ὄσakis  
 δὴ μετεβάλλοντο : *Hdt.* iii 14 : viii 136.1 : Pl. *Lg.* 810A (i.a above).

In exclamations. *Hom.* *E* 601 ὦ φίλοι, οἷον δὴ θαυμάζομεν  
 Ἐκτορα δῖον : *E. Ion* 616 ὄσας σφαγὰς δὴ . . . γυναῖκες ἤνρον :  
*Ar. Ach.* 1 ὄσα δὴ δέδηγμαί : *Lys.* 83 ὦς δὴ καλὸν τὸ χρῆμα  
 τιθῆναι ἔχεις. But in *Hom.* *N* 633, *P* 587, *Φ* 57, ε 183, λ 429, οἷον  
 is of course relative, and δὴ is indignant.

(6) With indefinite pronouns and pronominal adverbs. Here  
 δὴ regularly precedes the word it qualifies. (For exceptions see  
 below.) It may at first sight seem surprising that an enclitic,  
 and therefore presumably weak, word should be capable of being  
 stressed at all. But *τις* and *ποτέ* are enclitics in a different  
 category from *σε* and *με*. The former, unlike the latter, have no  
 parallel accented forms (*τίς* and *πότε* being interrogatives, and  
 the occasional oxytone accentuation of disyllabic enclitics being  
 purely phonetic). Originally, perhaps, δὴ was regarded as going  
 with the preceding word. *Hom.* *X* 453 ἐγγυὸς δὴ τι κακόν : δ 26  
 Ξείνῳ δὴ τινε τώδε : ζ 162 Δήλῳ δὴ ποτε τοῖον . . . ἔρνος ἀνερχόμενον  
 ἐνόησα. Such passages would naturally give rise to the use of  
*δή τις*, *δή ποτε* in association.

(i) *δή τις* is used in two senses. (a) The speaker cannot, or does  
 not trouble to, particularize (*aliquis, nonnulli*) : (b) he can, and  
 does, particularize in his own mind, but keeps the particulariza-  
 tion to himself (*quidam*).

(a) *Car.* *Pop.* 32.19 ἄν δὴ φέρης τι, μέγα δὴ τι φέροις : *E. Hipp.*  
 513 δεῖ δ' ἐξ ἐκείνου δὴ τι τοῦ ποθουμένου σημείον. ἢ λόγον τιν' ἢ  
 πέπλων ἀπο λαβεῖν : *Hdt.* iii 69.5 ἐπ' αἰτίῃ δὴ τινι οὐ μικρῇ ('some  
 or other') : viii 106.1 : Pl. *Phd.* 107D ἄγειν ἐπιχειρεῖ εἰς δὴ τινα  
 τόπον : 108C : *Plt.* 36B : *R.* 498A ἐκτὸς δὴ τινων ὀλίγων : 521C  
 ὡσπερ ἐξ Αἰδου λέγονται δὴ τινες . . . ἀνελθεῖν : *Phlb.* 50E : *Lg.*

885B. With a comparative, in Hippocrates: *Epid.* iv 30 ἡσυχωτέρα  
 δὴ τι μικρὸν ἦν ('the condition was rather quieter') : *Acut.* 14  
 διαχωρητικώτερος δὴ τι.

(b) *S. Ph.* 573 Ἦν δὴ τις : *E. Hec.* 978 Ἴδιον ἐμαυτῆς δὴ τι πρὸς  
 σε βούλομαι . . . εἰπεῖν : *IT* 526 Ἀπέλαυσα κάγῳ δὴ τι τῶν κείνης  
 γάμων : 578 Ἀκούσατ' ἐς γὰρ δὴ τιν' ἤκομεν λόγον : *IA* 661 Καὶ  
 νῦν γέ μ' ἴσχει δὴ τι μὴ στέλλειν στρατόν. There is a meaning  
 air of mystery about most of these.

But such a classification must not be unduly pressed. In many  
 cases it is impossible to determine whether δὴ τις expresses vague-  
 ness or conceals definiteness. So in English 'a certain' often means  
 that one is uncertain.

*Δή τις* is mainly found in the poets, and in Herodotus, Hippo-  
 crates, and Plato. In Thucydides I can find only iii 104.1 κατὰ  
 χρησμὸν δὴ τινα and I cannot find it in the orators. Further  
 examples are: *E. IT* 545 : *Supp.* 970 : *Ar. Av.* 652 : *Hdt.* viii 53.1 :  
*Pl. Phd.* 115D : *R.* 561B : *Lg.* 630B, 701B, 706C : *Plt.* 299C.

Occasionally the particle follows the pronoun. *S. Ach. Com.* 9  
 Diehl τίκτει ναύταν σὺν τινι δὴ θεῶν : *E. IT* 946 ἔκ του δὴ χερῶν  
 μιάσματος : *Pl. Lg.* 803E παίζοντά ἐστιν διαβιωτέον τινὰς δὴ παιδείας.  
 (But in *S. Ant.* 158 *L's* τίνα is no doubt right.)

For *τοιούτος δὴ τις*, etc., see 4.xii above.

(ii) *δή ποτε*, sometimes written as one word, has several mean-  
 ings:—(a) *Olim*. *Pi.* *I* 8.65 ἐπεὶ περικτίονας ἐνίκασε δὴ ποτε :  
*Sapph. Fr.* 105 φαῖσι δὴ ποτα Λήδαν . . . : *Alc. Fr.* 101 ὡς γὰρ  
 δὴ ποτ' Ἀριστόδαμόν φαισ' . . . εἶπην : *E. Hec.* 484 τὴν ἀνασσα : δ  
 ποτ' οὖσαν Ἰλίου (cf. 891) : *Tr.* 506 τὸν ἄβρον δὴ ποτ' ἐν Τροίᾳ πῦρ  
 1277 ὦ μεγάλα δὴ ποτ' ἀμπνέουσα : *HF* 444 : *Hp. Art.* 47 ἐπεὶ δὴ  
 δὲ δὴ ποτε. (b) *Aliquando* : 'at last'. *E. Hipp.* 1181 ἄλλοτε δὴ  
 δὴ ποτ' εἶπ' ἀπαλλαχθεὶς γόων : *Hel.* 855 ὦ θεοί, γενέσθω δὴ ποτ'  
 εὐτυχὲς γένος : *Hdt.* ii 32 ἰδεῖν δὴ ποτε δένδρα : v 80.1. (c)  
*quam*. *X. Cyr.* iii 2.26 ὅσον τις καὶ ἄλλος πλείστον δὴ ποτε ἐστί  
 With inverted order : *E. Tr.* 149 οὐ τὰν αὐτὰν οἷαν ποτὲ δὴ  
 ἐξῆρχον.

(7) With substantives, and other parts of speech used  
 stantivally (rare in prose). *Hom.* *B* 340 ἐν πυρὶ δὴ βουλαί τε  
 γενοῖατο : *Γ* 150 γῆραι δὴ πολέμοιο πεπαυμένοι : *Θ* 470 ἦτοι δὴ  
 καὶ μᾶλλον ὑπερμενέα Κρονίωνα ὄψεται : *K* 700 Νῆστον δὴ ἀντιπάλιν

Δ 319 ἐπεὶ νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς Τρωσὶν δὴ βόλεται δοῦναι κράτος: Ν 123 Ἐκτωρ δὴ παρὰ νηυσὶ . . . πολεμίζει: Ω 243 ῥήϊτεροι γὰρ μάλλον Ἀχαιοῖσιν δὴ ἔσεσθε . . . ἐναιρέμεν: Cgm.Por.50.2 τρίπολον δὴ: A.Pers.433 Αἰαί, κακῶν δὴ πέλαγος ἔρρωγεν μέγα: Th.655 πατρὸς δὴ νῦν ἀραὶ τελεσφόροι: E.Alc.51 Ἐχω λόγον δὴ καὶ προθυμίαν σέθεν (contemptuous): 393 μαῖα δὴ κάτω βέβακεν (pathetic): Heracl.395 δόκησιν δὴ τόδ' ἂν λέγοιμί σοι: Hec.909 δορὶ δὴ δορὶ πέρσαν: IT 459 τὰ γὰρ Ἑλλήνων ἀκροθίνια δὴ ναοῖσι πέλας τάδε βαίνει: Supp.815 Δόθ', ὡς περιπτυχαῖσι δὴ χέρας προσαρμόσασ' . . .: Ph.337 γάμοισι δὴ κλύω ζυγέντα: Rh.535 ἀὼς δὴ πέλας, ἀὼς γίγνεται: Ag.Ach.693 ἀπομορξάμενον ἀνδρικὸν ἰδρῶτα δὴ καὶ πολύν: Th.1228 ὥσθ' ὦρα δὴ ὅστι βαδίζειν: Ec. 1163 ὦ ὦ ὦρα δὴ: Perl.Arist.56 ἐνθάδε Ῥῆσον Τρῶες δὴ θάψαν: Hdt.14 τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου Ἑλλήνας δὴ μεγάλως αἰτίους γενέσθαι: ii 122 ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ῥαμψινίτου καταβάσιος . . . ὀρτὴν δὴ ἀνάγειν Αἰγυπτίους ἔφασαν: Pl.R.566A ἀρα τῷ τοιούτῳ ἀνάγκη δὴ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο . . . ἀπολωλέναι: Sph.267E ὁ γὰρ σοφιστὴς οὐκ ἐν τοῖς εἰδόσιν ἦν ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς μιμουμένοις δὴ: Cra.408A τὸ δὲ λέγειν δὴ ἐστὶν εἶρειν: Lg.834B τὸ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἵππων δὴ περὶ ἀγῶνος γίγνοιτο ἐξῆς ἂν νομοθετούμενα: X.Cyr.iii 3.24 Ὡ Κναξάρη, ὦρα δὴ ἀπαντᾶν: iv 5.1 Ὡρα δὴ, ὦ Μῆδοι . . ., δειπνεῖν.

(8) With verbs. *δή* is freely used by the tragedians (perhaps rather too freely by Euripides) to emphasize verbs: not infrequently by Plato: and occasionally by other writers. In the austerer style of Thucydides and the orators this usage is hardly to be found. The emphasis conveyed by *δή* with verbs is for the most part pathetic in tone, and it is peculiarly at home in the great crises of drama, above all at moments when death or ruin is present or imminent, though its use is not confined to such moments. Often, in the nature of the case, *δή* standing in close relation to a verb might be taken as having temporal force. But to take it so, as some writers have done, is to miss an emotional factor of great importance.

(i) At moments of strong emotion. Thgn.511 ἦλθες δὴ, Κλεάριστε: Hippon.Fr.39.4 ὁ μὲν γὰρ . . . κατέφαγε δὴ τὸν κλῆρον (indignant): Anacr.Fr.52 ἀναπέτομαι δὴ πρὸς Ὀλυμπον πτερύγεσσι κούφαις: Crates Theb.Fr.11 στείχεις δὴ, φίλε κυρτῶν: Pi.N.8.19 ἴσταμαι δὴ ποσσὶ κούφοις: A.Pr.13 σφῶν μὲν ἐντολῇ

Διὸς ἔχει τέλος δὴ: 57 πασσάλευε πρὸς πέτραις.—Περαίνεται δὴ κοῦ ματᾶ τοῦργον τόδε: Ch.1057 Ἄναξ Ἄπολλον, αἶδε πληθύουσι δὴ: Fr.58 ἐνθουσιᾶ δὴ δῶμα, βακχεύει στέγη: S.Aj.1271 ἀλλ' οἴχεται δὴ πάντα ταῦτ' ἐρριμμένα: El.1482 Ὀλωλα δὴ δειλαιος: Anti.823 Ἡκουσα δὴ λυγροτάταν ὀλέσθαι . . .: 939 ἄγομαι δὴ κούκέτι μέλλω: OT 66 ἴστε πολλὰ μὲν με δακρύσαντα δὴ: Tr. 1145 οἶμοι, φρονῶ δὴ ξυμφορᾶς ἴν' ἔσταμεν: OC 1216 ἐπεὶ πολλὰ μὲν αἱ μακρὰ ἀμέραι κατέθεντο δὴ λύπας ἐγγυτέρω: E.El.768 δυσγνωσίαν εἶχον προσώπου· νῦν δὲ γιγνώσκω σε δὴ: Med.1021 σφῶν μὲν ἔστι δὴ πόλις: 1024 ἐς ἄλλην γαίαν εἶμι δὴ φυγᾶς: 1035 νῦν δ' ὄλωλε δὴ γλυκεῖα φροντίς: Hipp.688 ἀλλὰ δεῖ με δὴ καινῶν λόγων: 789 ἦδη γὰρ ὡς νεκρὸν νιν ἐκτείνουσι δὴ: 1093 φευξόμεσθα δὴ κλεινὰς Ἀθήνας: 1401 Ὡμοι φρονῶ δὴ δαίμον' ἢ μ' ἀπώλεσεν: Heracl.442 ὀλούμεθ', ὦ τέκν'· ἐκδοθησόμεσθα δὴ: Hec.413-14 τέλος δέχη δὴ τῶν ἐμῶν προσφθεγμάτων. ὦ μητερ, ὦ τεκοῦσ', ἀπειμι δὴ κάτω: 681 Οἶμοι, βλέπω δὴ παῖδ' ἐμὸν τεθηκότα: HF 1245 Γέμω κακῶν δὴ (emphasis on γέμω): Ion 843 ἐκ τῶνδε δεῖ σε δὴ γυναικεῖόν τι δρᾶν: Supp.1012 Ὀρῶ δὴ τελευτᾶν: Hel. 134 οἴχεται θανούσα δὴ: 279 οὐκέτ' ἔστι δὴ: Andr.510 Κεῖση δὴ, τέκνον ὦ φίλος: Or.1076 σοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἔστι πόλις, ἐμοὶ δ' οὐκ ἔστι δὴ: 1081 κῆδος δὲ τούμῶν καὶ σὸν οὐκέτ' ἔστι δὴ: IA 751 Ἡξει δὴ Σιμόεντα: X.Cyr.vii 3.8 Φεῦ. ὦ ἀγαθὴ καὶ πιστὴ ψυχὴ, οἴχη δὴ ἀπολιπῶν ἡμᾶς:

(ii) With less emotional force, or with a purely intellectual emphasis.

(a) Not infrequently with ὄρᾶν, especially in Plato. Th.vii 77.2 ἀλλ' ὄρᾶτε δὴ ὡς διάκειμαι ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου: Pl.Grg.461A ὕστερον δ' ἡμῶν ἐπισκοπούμενων ὄρᾶς δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς . . .: Ap.31B νῦν δ' ὄρᾶτε δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ . . .: Euthphr.13B ὡσπερ ὄρᾶς δὴ ὅτι . . .: Cri.44D Ἄλλ' ὄρᾶς δὴ ὅτι ἀνάγκη . . .: R.421A φύλακες δὲ νόμων . . . ὄρᾶς δὴ ὅτι . . . πόλιν ἀπολλύασιν: X.Cyr.iii 2.12 νῦν δὲ ὄρᾶτε δὴ. For ὄρα δὴ see iii.b below.

(b) With other verbs. Hom.Δ 733 ἀτὰρ μεγάθυμοι Ἐπεὶ ἀμφίσταντο δὴ ἄστν: N 226 ἀλλὰ που οὔτω μέλλει δὴ φίλον εἶναι ὑπερμενεί Κρονίωνι: Π 127 λεύσσω δὴ παρὰ νηυσὶ . . .: δ 138 Ἰδμεν δὴ, Μενέλαε: S.Ph.241 οἶσθα δὴ τὸ πᾶν: Eurycl.Fr.5.30 οὐ γὰρ ἐκτὸς ἐστὼς σύρει δὴ φύρδαν: E.Heracl.665 Τοῦδ' οἶσθα ἡμῖν τοῦ λόγου μέτεστι δὴ: Ba.934 σοὶ γὰρ ἀνακείμεσθα δὴ: Ag.Nu.1209 "χοῖον τὸν υἱὸν τρέφεις" φήσουσι δὴ μ' οἱ φίλοι:

*Lys.* 1108 χαῖρ' ὦ πασῶν ἀνδρειοτάτη· δεῖ δὴ νυνίσε γενέσθαι... : *Hr. Salubr.* 2 τοῖσι δὲ... ξυμφέρει δὴ... : *Hdt.* 163 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος πρὸς ἄριστον τετραμμένοι ἦσαν δὴ τηνικαῦτα : *Pl. Lg.* 813B τοὺς γὰρ παῖδάς τε καὶ τὰς παῖδας ὀρχεῖσθαι δὴ δεῖ : *Phd.* 99B ὁ μὲν τις δινὴν περιτιθεὶς τῇ γῇ ὑπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ μένειν δὴ ποιεῖ τὴν γῆν : *R.* 387C καὶ ἄλλ. : ὅσα... φρίττειν δὴ ποιεῖ : 461E ὡς δὲ ἐπομένη... δεῖ δὴ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο βεβαιώσασθαι : *Plt.* 286C Λέγω τοίνυν ὅτι χρὴ δὴ... : *Phdr.* 258A ἔπειτα λέγει δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο : *Hr. Ma.* 303E "Τοῦτ' ἄρα", φήσει, "λέγετε δὴ τὸ καλὸν εἶναι...;" (δὴ *Tf.* : δέ *F.* : *om. W.*) : *Prt.* 341C Ἀκούεις δὴ, ἔφην ἐγώ... Προδίκου τοῦδε : *Plt.* 258A ὦ Σώκρατες, ἀκούεις δὴ Σωκράτους ; *Lg.* 965C Σοὶ πιστεύων, ὦ ξένε, συγχωρῶ δὴ : *Er.* 330A τὸ δ' εἶχεν δὴ πῶς ; *X. An.* 8.13 ὁμολογῶ παῖσαι δὴ ἄνδρας : *vii.1.26* οἶος δὲ πόλεμος ἀν γένοιτο εἰκάζειν δὴ πάρεστιν : *Cyr.* 15.14 ἐγὼ δ' ἐπανελθὼν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα πρόειμι δὴ : *Pl. Lg.* 684D ὡς ἐπιχειροῦντι δὴ νομοθέτῃ κινεῖν τῶν τοιούτων τι πᾶς ἀπαντᾶ (probably *indignantis* : 'when he tries, forsooth...').

(iii) With imperatives, usually, but not always, directly following the verb. This use is exceedingly common in Aristophanes, and not infrequent in Homer (especially in the formula ἀλλ' ἄγε δή). It is rare in tragedy, and, though not wholly foreign to the grand style, appears to have been mainly colloquial in the fifth and fourth centuries. *δή* may usually here be rendered 'come' or 'now'. It sometimes implies a connexion, logical or temporal, the command either arising out of, or simply following upon, a previous action or speech. This usage may, in fact, have contributed to the growth of connective *δή*. Cf. *A. Supp.* 625 : *Pr.* 630 : *Ar. Eq.* 21, 152 : *Nu.* 340 : *Ra.* 888.

(a) In general. *Hom. Z.* 306 ἄξον δὴ ἔγχος : 476 δότε δὴ : *T.* 115 Φράζεσθον δὴ σφῶϊ : *μ.* 378 Ζεῦ... τίσαι δὴ : *ο.* 167 Φράζεο δὴ : *τ.* 97 Εὐρυνόμη, φέρε δὴ δίφρον : *υ.* 18 Τέτλαθι δὴ, κραδίη : *φ.* 176 Ἄγρει δὴ : *Sapph. Fr.* 123.1 ἴψοι δὴ τὸ μέλαθρον ὑμῆναον ἀέρρατε : *S. El.* 534 εἶεν· δίδαξον δὴ με τοῦτο : 634 Ἐπαίρε δὴ σὺ θύμαθ' : *Fr.* 760.1 βᾶτ' εἰς ὁδὸν δὴ πᾶς ὁ χειρῶναξ λεώς : *Ar. Ach.* 103 λέγε δὴ (*Av.* 587 : *Lys.* 503) : *Eq.* 8 Δεῦρο δὴ πρόσελθ' : *Nu.* 683 Εἰπέ δὴ (778, 1410) : *Ach.* 777 Φώνει δὴ : *Pax.* 1099 Φράζεο δὴ : *Ach.* 733 ἀκούετε δὴ (*Pl.* 76) : 1143 Ἴτε δὴ χαίροντες : *Pax.* 458 Ἵπότεινε δὴ πᾶς : 1102 ἔγχει δὴ (1105) : *Av.* 1512 ὑπόδυθι ταχὺ δὴ : *Lys.* 1295 Πρόφαινε δὴ : *Th.* 982 ἔξαιρε δὴ : *Ra.* 190 ἔσβαινε δὴ :

207 Κατακέλευε δὴ : 270 Ἐχε δὴ τῶβολῶ : 498 Φέρε δὴ ταχέως αὐτ' : 641 ἀποδύεσθε δὴ : 885 Εὔχεσθε δὴ : *Ec.* 131 Περίθου δὴ : *Nu.* 700 Φρόντιζε δὴ : *Av.* 675 Ἴωμεν.—Ἡγοῦ δὴ σὺ νῶν τύχάγαθῆ : *Antid. Fr.* 2.1 κατὰ τὴν στάσιν δὴ στάντες ἀκροάσασθέ μου : *Nicostr. Com. Fr.* 19.3 Λαβὲ τῆς ὑγιείας δὴ σὺ : *Pl. Prt.* 353C Ἀκούετε δὴ : 330C Ὡ Πρωταγόρα τε καὶ Σώκρατες, εἶπετον δὴ μοι : *X. Cyr.* 2.13 Πρὸς τῶν θεῶν... δείξον δὴ μοι.

(b) Particularly common in connexion with certain verbs.

Ὁρα δὴ. *Pl. Phlb.* 111A Ὁρα δὴ, Πρώταρχε : *Phd.* 105A ἀλλ' ὄρα δὴ (*Th.* 163C : *R.* 596B : *Sph.* 241B) : *Cri.* 48E ὄρα δὲ δὴ. Ἐχε δὴ. *Pl. Grg.* 490B Ἐχε δὴ αὐτοῦ : *Hr. Ma.* 296A Ἐχε δὴ ἡρέμα : *Prt.* 349E : *Grg.* 460A : *La.* 198B : *Th.* 186B : *R.* 353B : *Eur. Fr.* 276.5 Ἴσχε δὴ. Φέρε δὴ : φέρε... δὴ. With 2nd or 3rd person imperative. *S. El.* 376 Φέρ' εἰπέ δὴ (*Ant.* 534) : *Ar. Nu.* 1088 : *Ant. Soph. Fr.* 49 (*ter.*) : *D.* xix 251 φέρε δὴ... σκέψασθε. With jussive subjunctive. *E. Andr.* 333 Μενέλαε, φέρε δὴ διαπεράνωμεν λόγους : *Pl. Grg.* 464B Φέρε δὴ... ἐπιδείξω : *Lys.* xii 62 φέρε δὴ... διδάξω : *D.* xviii 267 φέρε δὴ καὶ τὰς... μαρτυρίας... ἀναγνῶ : *Gorg. Fr.* 11.10. In questions. *Ar. Ach.* 1058 Φέρε δὴ, τί σὺ λέγεις ; *Nu.* 940 : *Ant. Fr.* 1a φέρε δὴ, πῶς εἰκός ἐστιν... ; *Lys.* vi 46 φέρε δὴ, εἰς τί... ; xii 34 φέρε δὴ, τί... ; *Pl. Amat.* 136C. Absolute. *Pl. Phlb.* 60A Φέρε δὴ, πρὸς Διός· οἶμαι γὰρ...

Ἄγε δὴ. With imperative. *Hom. K.* 479 ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ πρόφερε : *Φ.* 221 ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ καὶ ἔασον : *β.* 178 Ὡ γέρον, εἰ δ' ἄγε δὴ μαντεύεο : 349 Μαῖ', ἄγε δὴ μοι οἶνον... ἄφυσσον : *Anacr. Fr.* 43.1 ἄγε δὴ φέρ' ἡμῖν, ὦ παῖ, κελέβην : *Ar. Ach.* 98 Ἄγε δὴ σὺ... φράσον : *Hom. Θ.* 139 : *μ.* 112 : *τ.* 16 : *Thgn.* 829 : *Ar. Ach.* 111 : *Eq.* 155, 634 : *Nu.* 478, 775 : *Th.* 778 : *Ra.* 1500 : *Cephisod. Fr.* 12 : *Pl. Phlb.* 33A Ἄγε δὴ τοίνυν, ταύτης προθυμοῦ μεμνήσθαι : *Phdr.* 237A Ἄγετε δὴ, ὦ Μοῦσαι... "ξύμ μοι λάβεσθε" : *Lg.* 893B : *X. An.* ii 2.10 Ἄγε δὴ... εἰπέ : *vii.* 6.3 ἄγετε δὴ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ σκέψασθε ὡς ἔχει : *v.* 4.9. With jussive subjunctive. *Hom. Δ.* 418 ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ καὶ νῶϊ μεδώμεθα : *A. Supp.* 625 Ἄγε δὴ, λέξωμεν : *Hom. E.* 249 : *A. Eu.* 307 : *Pl. Phd.* 116D ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ, ὦ Κρίτων, πειθώμεθα αὐτῶ. With future indicative. *Hom. Υ.* 351 ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ... πειρήσομαι... *Φ.* 60 ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ... γεύσεται. With present indicative understood. *E. Cyc.* 590 Ἄγε δὴ... ἔνδον μὲν ἀνὴρ. In questions. *A. Ig.* 783 ἄγε δὴ, βασιλεῦ... πῶς σε προσείπω ; *Ar. Eq.* 481 Ἄγε δὴ σὺ τίνα νοῦν... ἔχεις ; *Nu.* 636 : *Ra.* 460.



\**Ἴθι δή*, with imperative. *Ag. Eq.* 152 \**Ἴθι δή κάθειλ'*: *Pax* 405, 1238: *Ra.* 569: *Pl. Phdr.* 262D \**Ἴθι δή μοι ἀνάγνωθι*: *Prt.* 352A.

We may include here *εἶα δή* and *δεῦρο δή* (the latter with or without ellipse: 'Here!': 'Come here'). *A. Ag.* 1650 *Εἶα δή, φίλοι λοχίται, τοῦργον οὐχ ἕκασ τόδε*: *Ag. Th.* 659: *Hom. χ* 395 *Δεῦρο δή ὄρσο*: *Ag. Ec.* 952 *δεῦρο δή, δεῦρο δή, φίλον ἐμὸν . . . πρόσσελθε*: *E. IA* 630 *καὶ—δεῦρο δή—πατέρα πρόσσειπε*: 1377: *Pl. Ly.* 203B *Δεῦρο δή, ἧ δ' ὄς, εὐθὺ ἡμῶν*: *R.* 477D. Cf. *X. Cym.* 6.18 *ἀναβοᾶν δ' ἐκείνον αὐτῷ Παισάτω παῖς· παῖ δή, παῖ δή (παῖε δή, παῖε δή A)*.

*δή νυν* (*δή νῦν*) expresses an increased urgency in command or appeal. *Hom. ω* 454 *Κέκλυτε δή νυν* (β 25, 161, 229): *S. El.* 947 *Ἄκουε δή νυν* (a favourite Euripidean formula: *E. Cys.* 441: *Hec.* 833: *Supp.* 857: *HF* 1255: *Ion* 1539: *IT* 753: *Ph.* 911, 1427: *Hel.* 1035: *Or.* 237, 1181: *IA* 1009, 1146: *Ag. Eq.* 1014: *Av.* 1513. *Pl. Lg.* 693D *Ἄκουσον δή νυν*): *Ag. Nu.* 500 *Εἰπέ δή νυν μοι* (748): *Cratin. Fr.* 222 *ἔγειρε δή νυν, Μοῦσα, Κρητικὸν μέλος. χαῖρε δή, Μοῦσα*: *Pl. Sph.* 239B *ἀλλ' εἶα δή νυν ἐν σοὶ σκεψώμεθα*: *D.* ix 16 *φέρε δή νυν . . . τί ποιεῖ*; (In *Pl. Sph.* 224C *ἴθι δή νυν συναγάγωμεν* (Burnet) is probably the right reading.)

(iv) With jussive subjunctives. *S. Ph.* 1469 *Χωρῶμεν δή πάντες ἀολλεῖς*: *E. Heracl.* 344 *ἐζώμεσθα δή*.

(v) In wishes. *Alcm. Fr.* 94.2 *βάλε δή, βάλε κηρύλος εἶην*: *A. Pers.* 228 *ἐκτελοῖτο δή τὰ χρηστά*: *S. Aj.* 384 *Ἴδοιμι δή νιν*: *Ag. Pl.* 891 *Ὡς δή . . . διαρραγείης*.

Hitherto *δή* has emphasized individual words, though in many cases, as we have seen, the emphasis is to some extent distributed over the whole clause or sentence. We have now to consider passages in which it emphasizes structural words, which affect the whole architecture of the sentence.

(9) With relatives, usually stressing the importance of the antecedent, or its exact identification with the consequent (though sometimes the particle has a more independent force). A very common use throughout Greek literature.

(i) Relative pronouns. *Hom. B* 117 *οὕτω που Διὶ μέλλει ὑπερμενίϊ φίλον εἶναι, ὅς δή πολλάων πολίων κατέλυσε κάρηνα* ('Zeus, who . . .'): *K* 27 *Ἀργεῖοι, τοὶ δή . . . ἤλυθον*: *S. Aj.* 995 *ὁδὸς . . .*

*ἦν δή νῦν ἔβην*: *OT* 399 *δν δή σὺ πειρᾶς ἐκβαλεῖν* (indignant): *E. Hipp.* 347 *Τί τοῦθ', ὃ δή λέγουσιν ἀνθρώπους, ἐρᾶν*; ('this unknown thing that men call love': *δή* expresses Phaedra's remoteness from love): *Hom. B* 436: *Z* 98: *O* 131: *ψ* 339: *S. Tr.* 1011: *Aj.* 1029: *E. Alc.* 102: *IA* 933: *Hdt.* i 214.1 *ταύτην τὴν μάχην, ὅσαι δὴ . . . ἐγένοντο, κρίνω ἰσχυροτάτην γενέσθαι* ('of absolutely all which . . .'): *v* 56.2 *ἐπεμπε τὴν πομπήν, ἐν τῇ δή τελευτᾷ*: *Pl. Thet.* 144A *ὦν δή πρόποτε ἐνέτυχον . . . οὐδένα πω ἤσθόμην . . .*: *Grg.* 461B *τοῦτο δὲ δή ἀγαπᾶς* (contemptuous): *Smpr.* 184A *ἵνα χρόνος ἐγγένηται, ὅς δή δοκεῖ . . .* ('time . . . time which . . .'): *Euthid.* 289D *τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἣν δή πάλαι ζητοῦμεν* ('precisely that knowledge which . . .'): *Hipparch.* 231A *ὃ τι δή* ('in virtue of just which': not, of course, to be grouped under III. 2): *D.* xv 29 *ταύτας ὦν δή κατηγοροῦσι* (ironical): *Hdt.* vii 8β: ix 58.4: *Th.* ii 29.4: vi 18.2: *Pl. R.* 579B: *X. An.* iv 7.23: *Hier.* 7.12: *Aeschin.* iii 56.

With word repeated from main clause. *Hdt.* iii 16.1 *ποιῆσαι τὰ δή καὶ ἐποίησε*: *Pl. Phd.* 107E *τυχόντας δὲ ἐκεῖ ὦν δή τυχεῖν*: *Lg.* 902A: *D.* viii 63 *πεπόνθασιν ἂν δή πεπόνθασιν* (reading uncertain: cf. x 65): *xvi* 23 *μισοῦσιν οὖς δή μισοῦσιν*.

With depreciatory or sceptical colour. *X. Cyr.* viii 2.14 *εὐδαιμονα . . . ἢ δή προβάτων εὐδαιμονία* ('as far as sheep can be said to be happy'): *Hier.* 1.1 *Καὶ ποῖα ταῦτ' ἐστὶν . . . ὅποια δή ἐγὼ βέλτιον ἂν εἰδείην σοῦ οὕτως ὄντος σοφοῦ ἀνδρός*: *Semon. Fr.* 1.4: *S. Aj.* 1043 *κακοῖς γελῶν ἂν δή κακοῦργος ἐξίκοιτ' ἀνὴρ*: *Pl. La.* 181E: *Phdr.* 244D. Cf. *οἶα δή, ἄτε δή* (see v. b below).

(ii) Relative local adverbs. *Hom. K* 199 *ὅθι δή*: *η* 281 *τῇ δή*: *Mimn. Fr.* 10.9 *ἵνα δή θοὸν ἄρμα καὶ ἵπποι*: *S. OT* 1263 *οὗ δή κρεμαστὴν τὴν γυναῖκ' εἰσείδομεν*: *E. Med.* 68 *πεσσοῦς προσελθῶν, ἐνθα δή παλαιάτοι θάσσουσι*: *IA* 547 *ὅθι δή*: *E. Tr.* 435: *IA* . . . *Ag. Pax* 901: *Th.* 1150: *Pl. Phd.* 72A *ὅθεν δή* (*Cra.* 401D: *X.* vi 5.33): *X. An.* vii 6.37 *καὶ πλεῖτε ἐνθα δή ἐπεθυμεῖτε*: *Hdt.* ii 152, 156: *X. An.* vii 6.9.

*δή* is here often followed by *καί* (*q.v.* II. B. 1): *Pl. Grg.* 488D *οἱ δή καὶ τοὺς νόμους τίθενται*: *Smpr.* 180A *ὅθεν δή καὶ ὑπεραγασθέντες οἱ θεοὶ . . .*: *Th.* i 128.1: ii 21.1: 42.1.

(iii) Relative temporal adverbs, 'precisely when', 'just when': *Hom. A* 6 *ἐξ οὗ δή τὰ πρῶτα διαστήτην ἐρίσαντε*: *E* 65 *ὅτε δή κατέμαρπτε διώκων*: *Θ* 229 *πῆ ἔβαν εὐχῶλαι, ὅτε δή φάμεν εἶναι*



ἄριστοι . . . ; (with irony): *Π453* ἐπὴν δή: *v386* δέγμενος αἰεί, ὀππότε δή μνηστῆρσιν ἀναιδέσι χεῖρας ἐφήσει ('waiting for when': but perhaps an indirect question): *S.Ant.91* Οὐκοῦν ὅταν δή μὴ σθένω πεπαύσομαι (*sc.* 'but not before'): *E.Hel.534* ἤξειν δ' ὅταν δή πημάτων λάβη τέλος: *Ar.Ach.10* ὅτε δή 'κεχήνη: *Pl.688* ὡς ἦσθετο δή: *Ar.Ach.16,535*: *Eg.658*: *Ra.771,789,1090*: *Hdt.iii 156* ἐπεῖτε δή: *158* ἐς δ' δή: *167* ἐς οὐ δή: *Th.ii102.5* ὅτε δή ἀλαῶσθαι: *iii54.5* ὅτεπερ δή μέγιστος φόβος περιέστη . . .: *Pl. Phdr.260B* Οὐπω γε' ἀλλ' ὅτε δή σπουδῆ σε πείθοιμι: *Grg.518D* ὅταν δή αὐτοῖς ἤκη ἢ πλησμονή: *Ly.217D* ἀλλ' ὅταν δή . . . τότε . . .: *R.405A,568E*: *Thl.160C*.

ὅτε δή δέ (*Ar.Lys.523*: *Ec. 315,827*) illustrates the completeness with which the particle sometimes fuses with the relative. This fusion is normal in the case of ἐπειδή, which is scarcely distinguishable in sense from ἐπεῖ.

πρὶν δή. *E.Andr.1147* ἔσθη . . . πρὶν δή τις . . . ἐφθέγγατο: *Rh.294*: *Hdt.i13*: *iv157*: *Th.i118.2*: *iii29.1*: *104.6*. ἕως δή. *X.HGii3.13*: *iv4.9*. ἔστε δή. *A.Pr.457,656*.

(iv) Comparative modal adverbs. *E.Hyps.Fr.64.10* Arn. ἡμεῖς δ' ὡσπερ ὠρμήμεσθα δή, στρατεύμ' ἄγοντες ἤξομεν: *Hdt.i193* ψῆνας γὰρ δή φέρουσι ἐν τῷ καρπῷ οἱ ἔρσενες, κατὰ περ δή οἱ ὄλονθοι: *X.An.vii4.17* φεύγουσιν, ὡσπερ δή τρόπος ἦν αὐτοῖς: *iii1.29*.

(v) With οἶος. (a) Adjectival. The note of disparagement, irony, or contempt is rarely quite absent. (See below.) *Hom. e183* ἀλιτρός γ' ἔσσι . . . οἶον δή τὸν μῦθον ἐπεφράσθησ ἀγορευσοῖ (quippe cum talem): *v393* δόρπου δ' οὐκ ἂν πως ἀχαρίστερον ἄλλο γένοιτο, οἶον δή τάχ' ἔμελλε θεὰ καὶ καρτερὸς ἀνὴρ θησέμεναι: *E.Heracl.632* Πάρεσμεν, οἶα δή γ' ἐμοῦ παρουσία: *Andr.911* Μῶν εἰς γυναῖκ' ἔρραψας οἶα δή γυνή; *El.870* φέρ' οἶα δή 'χω . . . ἐξενέγκωμαι: *Ant.Soph.Fr.53* ἠδονται οἶα δή τις ἂν εἰκάσειεν ἠδεσθαι: *Th.vi63.2* οἶον δή ὄχλος φιλεῖ θαρσύνσας ποιεῖν: *Pl. Ar.32C* οἶα δή καὶ ἄλλοις ἐκείνοι πολλοῖς πολλὰ προσέταττον, βουλόμενοι ὡς πλείστους ἀναπληῆσαι αἰτιῶν: *Cri.53D* ἢ διφθέραν λαβῶν ἢ ἄλλα οἶα δή εἰώθασιν ἐνσκευάζεσθαι οἱ ἀποδιδράσκοντες: *R.372C* καὶ λάχανά γε, οἶα δή ἐν ἀγροῖς ἐψήματα: *Phid.60A*: *R.420A,565E*: *Alc.I106B*: *X.Cyr.ii1.24*.

Without irony. *Hom.Ω376* τοιόνδ' . . . οἶος δή σὺ δέμας . . . ἀγητός: *h.Ven.179* ὁμοίη . . . οἶον δή με τὸ πρῶτον . . . νοήσας:

*E.Ba.291* Ζεὺς δ' ἀντεμηχανήσαθ' οἶα δή θεός: *Pl.R.467B* σφαλεῖσιν, οἶα δή ἐν πολέμῳ φιλεῖ: *Lg.944A* οἶον δή μυρίοις συνέπεσεν: *Hdt.i132*: *X.Cyr.12.6*.

(b) Adverbial accusative, οἶα δή (rarely οἶον δή). Here there is seldom any tinge of irony. *Archil.Fr.78.3* οὐδὲ μὲν κληθεῖς . . . ἤλθες, οἶα δή φίλος ('as a friend would'): *E.Or.32* Κἀγὼ μετέσχον, οἶα δή γυνή, φόνου (depreciatory): *Hdt.i122* οἶα δή ἐπιστάμενοι (*ut qui scirent*): *vi26.2* οἶα δή κεκακωμένων: *Th.viii 84.3* οἶα δή ναῦται (contemptuous): *Pl.Smp.219E* ἀποληφθέντες που, οἶα δή ἐπὶ στρατείας ('as will happen on active service'): *Criti.113E* οἶα δή θεὸς εὐμαρῶς διεκόσμησεν: *X.HGiv5.4* ἔχοντες οἶα δή θέρους σπειρία ('as they would, in summer'): *v2.9*: *4.39*: *vi4.26*: *Cyr.13.2*: *Pl.Smp.203B* οἶον δή εὐωχίας οὐσης. Introducing an example: *Pl.Lg.667B* (in *Ar.30E* οἶον is perhaps masculine). For indignant οἶον δή in Homer, see above, (5) *ad fin.*

ἄτε δή, in the same sense. *Hdt.ii172* ἄτε δή δημότην τὸ πρὶν ἔοντα: *Hr.Genit.12* ἄτε δή ἐν θερμῷ εὐοῦσα: *Fract.7* ἄτε δή καὶ ἐλινύοντας (ἤδη *al.*): *X.HGiv2.21* καὶ ἄτε δή ἀπαθείς ὄντες: *Pl.Thl.182D*.

(vi) With universalizing relatives, ὅστις, ὅποιος, etc.<sup>1</sup> *Thgn. 1173* ὦ μάκαρ, ὅστις δή μιν ἔχει φρεσίν: *Hdt.vii16γ2* ὃ τι δή κοτέ ἐστι τὸ ἐπιφαινόμενον: *Hr.VC16* ὅστέον δέ, ὃ τι δή ἀποστήναι δεῖ . . . ἀφίσταται: *Pl.Thl.160E* ὅτι δή ποτε τυγχάνει ὄν: *R.438C* μαθήματος . . . ἢ ὅτου δή δεῖ θείναι τὴν ἐπιστήμην: *Hdt.v109.2*: *vi62.2*: *Pl.Thl.200D*.

With ellipse of verb in the relative clause. *Pl.Grg.512E* τὸ ζῆν ὅποσονδὴ χρόνον: *Phd.100D* ὅπη δή . . . προσγενομένη: *Alc.II143C* ἔστι γὰρ ὅτι οὖν πρᾶγμα ὅτῳ δή ὅπως οὖν ἔχοντι ἀεὶ ἄγνωσιν ἢ γινώσκουσιν;

In the above, δή makes the relative comprehensive: *quicquid* *cumque*. In the following, it denotes indifference of choice:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *οὖν*, II. 4. iii. I have not the materials for a systematic comparison of these corresponding uses of δή and οὖν: the matter requires a more thorough examination than it has yet received. In general there is a tendency, I think, to employ οὖν in the elliptical construction, δή in the non-elliptical. Thus the self-contained *quicquid* ('anything') is regularly *οὖν*, not *ὅτι δή*. (In *Pl.Alc.II143C* (see below, ὅτῳ δή) δή alternates with οὖν for the sake of variety.) But self-contained *ὅστις* is frequent: *D.viii1*: *xix16γ*: *xxi32*.

*nescioquis*. This latter use is absent from strict Attic composition.<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps rather colloquial, like our 'whoever it was'.

Hdt.i86 θεῶν ὅτεω δή: iii 129 ὅκου δή ἀπημελημένον ('somewhere or other'): vi 134.2 ὅ τι δή ποιήσονται ἐντός, εἴτε κινήσονται . . . εἴτε ὅ τι δή κοτε πρήξονται: i86 ἔλεγε ὡς ἦλθε ὁ Σόλων . . . καὶ θεησάμενος πάντα τὸν ἑωυτοῦ ὄλβον ἀποφλαυρίσειε (οἶα δὴ εἶπας) . . . ('saying this and that'): iv 151 σιτία παρακαταλιπόντες ὄσων δὴ μηνῶν ('for so many months'): Ant.Soph.Fr.54 φέρων δ' ἀπέθετο ὅποι δή: X.HG v 4.58 ῥήγνυται ὅποια δὴ φλέψ: Aen. Tact.31.31 τίθεσθαι ὅ τι δή (ὅ τι δή Haase: τί δαί M): Hdt.i 157, 160: ii 103, 126: iii 121, 159: X.An.iv 7.25: v 2.24.

The sole example in strict Attic is Ar.Ach.753 τί δ' ἄλλο πράττεθ' οἱ Μεγαρήs νῦν;—Οἶα δή ('One thing and another.' πράττετε means 'do', not 'fare', as is plain from τί δ' ἄλλο (not πῶs δ' ἄλλως), and from 754-6: and οἶα is not 'euphemistic', as has been supposed. The use is perhaps Doric as well as Ionic. See C.R.xliii (1929) 119.)

(vii) In the following, δή is approximative, 'about': Hp.Mul. 75 σιδήρου σκωρήν ὄσην δή παλαστήν τὰ θρύμματα: 200 στέαρ ὄσον δή τῷ δακτύλῳ λαβεῖν.

(10) With negatives.

(i) In general. Except in a few well-defined types of phrase, δή is not very often used to strengthen negatives, its place being taken by δῆτα or τοι: or οὐδαμῶs, οὐ πάνυ are used. Hom.v322 ὦ φίλοι, οὐκ ἂν δή τις ἐπὶ ῥηθέντι δικαίῳ . . . χαλεπαῖνοι: S.OC 1698 καὶ γὰρ ὁ μηδαμὰ δὴ φίλον ἦν φίλον: E.Alc. 94 Οὐ δὴ φροῦδός γ' ἐξ οἴκων: El.36 πατέρων μὲν Μυκηναίων ἀπο γεγῶσιν—οὐ δὴ τοῦτό γ' ἐξελέγχομαι: 57 μετέρχομαι—οὐ δὴ τι χρείας ἐs τοςόνδ' ἀφιγμένη: Hec.202 οὐκέτι σοι παῖs ἄδ' οὐκέτι δὴ . . . συνδουλεύσω: Ar.Th.567 Οὐ δὴ μὰ Δία σύ γ' ἄψει: Hdt.ii 162 οὐδένα δὴ χρόνον ἐπισχόντες: iii 143 νόῳ λαβῶν ὡs, εἰ . . . , οὐ δὴ τι ἐν νόῳ εἶχε μετιέναι: ix 111.5 Δέσποτα, οὐ δὴ κῶ με ἀπώλεσας: Hp.Pronrh.ii 12 τοῦ τρώματος οὐδὲν δὴ τι δεινοῦ ἔοντος: Th.vii 71.7 οὐδεμιάs δὴ τῶν ξυμπασῶν ἐλάσσων

<sup>1</sup> In D.xix 167 (*cum cuius*, not *cum alicuius*), xxi 32 (*quodcumque est nomen*, not *aliquod nomen*), ὅστιsδήποτε denotes, not indifference of choice, but the inclusion of all cases: 'any', not 'some': while in the passages quoted below the idea of inclusion ('whatever it was') has passed into the idea of indifference ('some or other').

ἐκπληξίs: Pl.Lg.921B ἐν ἐλευθέρων οὖν πόλεσιν οὐ δὴ ποτε χρῆ . . . . (In Lg.890A δή seems to go with τινι.)

(ii) Sophocles eight times has οὐ δὴ, usually followed by που or ποτε, to introduce a surprised or incredulous question. (The idiom seems to be peculiar to him. The tone of Arete's question in Hom.η239 is of course different: οὐ δὴ φῆs ἐπὶ πόντον ἀλώμενος ἐνθάδ' ἰκέσθαι; 'Did you not say . . .?')

S.El.1108 Οἶμοι τάλαιν', οὐ δὴ ποθ' ἦs ἠκούσαμεν φήμης φέροντες ἐμφανῆ τεκμήρια; ('Surely not . . .?'): Ph.900 Οὐ δὴ σε δυσχέρεια τοῦ νοσήματος ἐπεισεν . . . ; El.1180, 1202: OT 1472: Ant.381: Tr.668, 876.

(iii) In Homer οὐκ ἂν δή often introduces a polite request, in the form of a question. E32 οὐκ ἂν δή Τροῶas μὲν ἑάσαιμεν καὶ Ἀχαιοὺs μάρνασθ' . . . ; 456: ζ57 Πάππα φίλ', οὐκ ἂν δή μοι ἐφοπλίσειας ἀπήνην . . . ; ('Couldn't you . . .?'): Γ52 (Hector to Paris, with ironical courtesy) οὐκ ἂν δή μείνειας ἀρηΐφιλον Μενέλαον; ('Could you not oblige me by not running away?'): Ω263 (Priam's tone is impatient).

(iv) Μὴ δή in negative commands. Hom.A131 Μὴ δὴ οὕτως . . . κλέπτε νόῳ: λ488 Μὴ δή μοι θάνατόν γε παραύδα, φαίδιμ' Ὀδυσσεῦ: Thgn.352 μὴ δή μ' οὐκ ἐθέλοντα φίλει: S.OT 1505 μὴ σφε δὴ παρῆs: Hom.E684: P501: X.Cyr.v 5.41 Μὴ δὴ σύ κέλευε.

(v) Μὴ δή in dependent clauses. Hom.Ξ44 δειδῶ μὴ δή μοι τελέση ἔπος ὄβριμος Ἐκτωρ: Π81 ἔμπεσ' ἐπικρατέως, μὴ δὴ πυρὸs αἰθομένοιο νῆas ἐνιπρήσωσι: σ10.

(vi) *A fortiori*, μὴ τι δή. Pl.Pl1.292E ἄκροι πεττευταὶ τοσοῦτοι . . . οὐκ ἂν γένοιτό ποτε, μὴ τι δὴ βασιλῆs γε: Ep.321A (315C con1. Burnet). μὴ ὅτι δή: Pl.Phd1.240E ἂ καὶ λόγῳ ἐστὶν ἀκούειν οὐκ ἐπιτερές, μὴ ὅτι δὴ ἔργῳ . . . μεταχειρίζεσθαι. For μὴ τί (ὅτι) γε δή see γε δή (4): for μὴ ὅτι δή γε (Pl.Phd1.60D) see δή γε. Cf. μὴ τί γε (γε, II.5.)

(11) In conditional protases, εἰ (ἐὰν) δή, εἰ . . . δή: 'if indeed', 'if really'. We often find εἰ δὴ where εἰ ἄρα, 'if after all', or εἰ γε, 'if, but not unless', might have been used instead.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jebb remarks on S.Tr.27 that 'the tone of εἰ δὴ is sceptical, as that of εἴπερ is usually confident'. This is for the most part true, but not invariably. εἰ δὴ is clearly confident, for example, in Hom.Σ120: Ar.Ru.242 Μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν φθεγξόμεθ', εἰ δὴ ποτ' εὐηλίοιs ἐν ἀμέραισιν ἠλάμεσθα διὰ κίπριον. See also περ, p. 488, note 1.

Hom.A574 Ἡ δὴ λοίγια ἔργα τάδ' ἔσεται . . . εἰ δὴ σφῶ  
 ἔνεκα θνητῶν ἐριδαίνετον ὧδε: N111 ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ καὶ πάμπαν  
 ἐτήτυμον αἰτίος ἔστιν ἥρως Ἀτρείδης . . . ἡμέας γ' οὐ πως ἔστι  
 μεθιέμεναι πολέμοιο ('even if in reality'): S.Ph.818 Καὶ δὴ  
 μεθίημ', εἴ τι δὴ πλέον φρονεῖς: E.Alc.386 Ἀπωλόμην ἄρ', εἴ με  
 δὴ λείψεις, γύναι: Heracl.739 Εἰ δὴ ποθ' ἤξομέν γε· τοῦτο γὰρ  
 φόβος: El.911 ἄ γ' εἰπεῖν ἤθελον κατ' ὄμμα σόν, εἰ δὴ γενοίμην  
 δειμάτων ἐλευθέρα: IT43 λέξω πρὸς αἰθέρ', εἴ τι δὴ τόδ' ἔστ'  
 ἄκος: Hom.M79: Π66: Φ463: E.Heracl.437,592: IT494:  
 IA794: Hipp.1071: Hdt.i112 εἰ δὴ πᾶσά γε ἀνάγκη . . . : ii160  
 ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ βούλονται δικαίως τιθέναι: Pl.Grg.481B εἰ δὴ καὶ  
 ἔστιν τις χρεία: Euthd.296D εἰ δὴ τῶ ὄντι ἀληθῆ λέγεις: Chrm.  
 165B ὡς φάσκοντος ἐμοῦ εἰδέναι περὶ ὧν ἐρωτῶ προσφέρῃ πρὸς  
 με, καὶ ἐὰν δὴ βούλωμαι, ὁμολογήσοντός σοι ('if I really want  
 to'): Lg.638C (with ironical colour): D.vi23 ἀπεύχεσθε, εἰ  
 σωφρονεῖτε δή, ἰδεῖν: Hdt.v60: vi123.2: Pl.Ar.29B: R.470A:  
 Thl.166C: Alc.I119E.

Sometimes with a word repeated from the apodosis. S.Tr.  
 27 τέλος δ' ἔθηκε Ζεὺς ἀγώνιος καλῶς, εἰ δὴ καλῶς: E.Or.17  
 ὁ κλεινός, εἰ δὴ κλεινός, Ἀγαμέμνων: 744 Ἐν δόμοις ἐμοῖσιν, εἰ  
 δὴ τούσδ' ἐμοὺς καλεῖν χρεῶν: HF41 κάμ'—εἴ τι δὴ χρῆ κάμ' ἐν  
 ἀνδράσιν λέγειν γέροντ' ἀχρεῖον: D.viii36 ὑγιαίνοντων, εἰ δὴ  
 τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιῶντας ὑγιάειν φῆσαιμεν.

(12) *In apodosis.* The use of δή, with or without a temporal  
 or modal adverb, to mark the opening of the apodosis after a  
 temporal, causal, relative, or conditional protasis, is exceedingly  
 common in Homer and frequent throughout Greek literature.

(i) After temporal protasis. Without adverb. S.Ant.173 ὄτ'  
 οὖν ἐκεῖνοι . . . ὄλοντο . . . ἐγὼ κράτη δὴ πάντα . . . ἔχω: Pl.Cra.  
 435D ὡς ἐπειδάν τις εἰδῆ τὸ ὄνομα . . . εἴσεται δὴ καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα:  
 Phd.89D ὅταν . . . τελευτῶν δὴ . . . : Euthd.293D ἐπεὶ δὲ . . .  
 κάκείνην δὴ . . . : Lys.xxiii6 ἐπειδὴ . . . ἡρώτων δὴ . . .  
 With adverb. Hom.A476 ἦμος δ' ἥλιος κατέδυν . . . δὴ τότε  
 κοιμήσαντο: S.Tr.37 νῦν δ' ἠνίκ' . . . ἔφν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ μάλιστα  
 ταρβήσασ' ἔχω: E.Hipp.38 ἐπεὶ δὲ . . . ἐνταῦθα δὴ . . . : Ag.Eg.199  
 (oracle) ἀλλ' ὁπόταν . . . δὴ τότε . . . : Nu.62 ὅπως νῶν ἐγένεθ'  
 υἱὸς οὐτοσί . . . περὶ τούνοματος δὴ ἵντεῦθεν ἐλοιδορούμεθα: Pl.  
 Smpr.184E ὅταν . . . εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ἔλθωσιν . . . τότε δὴ . . . : Lg.948C

ὅτε . . . οὐκέτι δὴ . . . : Ant.vi38 ἐπειδὴ δὲ . . . τότε δὴ . . . :  
 Hdt.i5,62: ii2: Th.ii70.1: iii51.4: iv127.2: Pl.Chrm.155D.

Sometimes (frequently in Homer) both protasis and apodosis  
 are strengthened by δή. Hom.X74-6: a293-4: ω71-2: Pl.R.  
 573A ὅταν δὴ . . . τότε δὴ.

(ii) After causal protasis. Thrasym.Fr.1 ἐπειδὴ δ' . . . , ἀνάγκη  
 δὴ λέγειν: Pl.Lg.876D ἐπειδὴ δὲ . . . , ἐπιτρεπτέον δὴ: Men.99A  
 ἐπειδὴ . . . , οὐδ' ἐπιστήμη δὴ . . . : Euthd.282A,293D: Phd.93E:  
 Lg.906A,948C.

(iii) After relative protasis. A.Pr.229 δ δ' οὖν ἐρωτᾷτ' . . .  
 τοῦτο δὴ σαφηνιῶ: Hp.Int.17 τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὡς περ ἀφῆρει,  
 οὕτω δὴ προστιθείς: Pl.Smpr.184B ἔστι γὰρ ἡμῖν νόμος, ὡς περ  
 ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐρασταῖς ἦν . . . οὕτω δὴ . . . : Criti.113C καθάπερ . . .  
 οὕτω δὴ . . . : R.484D,556E.

(iv) After conditional protasis. Hom.O163 εἰ δὲ . . . , φραζέσθω  
 δὴ ἔπειτα: E.Or.511 εἰ . . . , πέρας δὴ ποῖ κακῶν προβήσεται;  
 Hdt.viii80.2 ἦν μὲν πείθωνται, ταῦτα δὴ τὰ κάλλιστα: Pl.Prm.  
 127E εἰ ἀδύνατον . . . ἀδύνατον δὴ καὶ . . . : Smpr.209B ἂν ἐντύχη  
 ψυχῇ καλῇ . . . πάνυ δὴ ἀσπάζεται: R.524E εἰ δὲ . . . , τοῦ ἐπι-  
 κρινούντος δὴ δέοι ἂν ἦδη: Grg.514C εἰ δὲ μήτε διδάσκαλον  
 εἶχομεν . . . οὕτω δὴ ἀνόητον ἦν: Hdt.i39,108: Pl.Phdr.273B:  
 Euthd.290D: Men.75D: Chrm.162D.

(v) After final clause. Pl.Lg.893A μὴ δὴ σκοτοδινίαν . . .  
 ὑμῖν ἐμποίηση . . . δοκεῖ δὴ μοι χρῆναι . . .

(vi) After participial clause. E.Alc.176 ἐσπεσοῦσα . . . ἐνταῦθα  
 δὴ δάκρυσε: Hdt.i60 ἐνδεξαμένου δὲ . . . μηχανῶνται δὴ: 116  
 ὁ δὲ ἀγόμενος ἐς τὰς ἀνάγκας οὕτω δὴ ἔφαινε τὸν ἔοντα λόγον:  
 Pl.Phd.82D ἡγούμενοι . . . ταύτη δὴ τρέπονται: 97C ἀλλὰ  
 ἀκούσας . . . ταύτη δὴ τῇ αἰτίᾳ ἦσθην: R.458D οἱ δέ, ἄτε . . . ,  
 ὁμοῦ δὴ ἔσονται: X.Mem.iii7.2 εἴ τις, δυνατὸς ὦν . . . ὀκνοίη δὴ  
 τοῦτο πράττειν: Cyr.iv2.30 πυθόμενοι τὸ γιγνόμενον ἔφειγον δὴ.

(13) *Resumptive.* Closely allied to the apodotic use is the  
 resumptive, where δή emphasizes a pronoun or repeated word,  
 usually one which picks up the thread of a train of thought that is  
 beginning to wander. This rather rare use is mainly confined to  
 the more naive style of Herodotus, Xenophon, and the private  
 speeches of the orators, and to the awkward and involved style  
 of Plato's *Laws*. The appearance of an example (apparently

sound textually) in a formal speech like the *Aristocrates* is remarkable. The following varieties may be distinguished:

(i) *δή* stresses a demonstrative pronoun standing in apposition to a preceding substantival phrase. Hdt.vi 58.3 *φάμενοι τὸν ὕστατον αἰεὶ ἀπογενόμενον τῶν βασιλέων. τοῦτον δὴ γενέσθαι ἀριστον*: Pl.Grg.490E *οἶον γεωργικὸν ἄνδρα . . . τοῦτον δὴ ἴσως δεῖ πλεονεκτεῖν* (with a tinge of irony): X.HG ii 4.13 *ὅτι εἰσὶ τῶν προσιόντων οἱ μὲν . . . οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου ἔσχατοι, οὗτοι δὴ οἱ τριάκοντα* (indignant): Oec.20.20 *τὸ δὲ . . . ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, τοῦτο δὴ . . .*: Ant.vi 34 *τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἢ ἐξεφέρετο ὁ παῖς, ταύτῃ δὴ . . .*: D.xiii 17 *τῶν δ' ἡμετέρων μὲν φίλων, ἐκείνου δὲ . . . ἐχθρῶν, τούτων δὴ τίς ἐστιν ὁ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα φοβηθεὶς ἄν* (*δή τις S γρ.: ἄν τις codd.* We can scarcely take *δή τις* together, as *δή* appears not to attach itself to *τις* in the orators): Pl.R.565D *ὁ γευσάμενος . . . ἀνάγκη δὴ τούτῳ λύκῳ γενέσθαι* (with anacoluthon): Lg.714A *εἰ δ' ἄνθρωπος εἰς ἢ ὀλιγαρχία τις . . . ἄρξει δὴ πόλεως ἢ τινος ἰδιώτου καταπατήσας ὁ τοιοῦτος τοὺς νόμους* (where, exceptionally, the particle does not follow the appositional pronoun).

In the following a repeated substantive takes the place of a pronoun in apposition: D.xliii 24 *τῆς Φυλομάχης δὲ . . . καὶ Φιλάγρου . . . τοῦ δὴ Φιλάγρου . . . καὶ τῆς Φυλομάχης . . . ἐγένετο υἱός* ('Well, Philagrus . . . had a son . . .').

(ii) The essence of a subordinate (usually participial) clause is repeated, and *δή*, again usually following a demonstrative pronoun, marks the opening of the recapitulation, the verb being either repeated or replaced by a synonym. Hdt.i 102 *ἐς δ' στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους . . . ἐπὶ τούτους δὴ στρατευσάμενος . . .* (Herodotus is fond of this chiasmic form: iv 76 *καταδύς ἐς τὴν καλομένην Ἰλαίην . . . ἐς ταύτην δὴ καταδύς*: i 189 (one temporal clause picked up by another): vii 43.1 (a participial clause picked up by a temporal one)): Pl.Lg.642C *ἀκούων γὰρ . . . ταῦτα δὴ ἀκούων*: X.Cyr.ii 3.19 *ταῦτα δ' ἀγασθεὶς . . . τούτοις δὴ ἡσθεὶς*: vii 5.58 *ἐννοῶν δὲ . . . ταῦτα δὴ λογιζόμενος*: D.xlviii 32 *νικήσας δὲ καὶ διαπραξάμενος . . . καὶ ἀπολαβῶν . . . ταῦτα δὴ πάντ' ἔχων* (summing up the preceding participles).

With repetition of a conjunction. Meliss.Fr.8 *εἰ γὰρ ἔστι γῆ καὶ ὕδωρ . . . εἰ δὴ ταῦτα ἔστι*: Pherocyd.Syr.Fr.2 *ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐξετέλεισαν πάντα . . . ἐπεὶ δὴ πάντα ἐτοῖμα γίνονται*.

In the following, the resumption is of a different type: Pl.Lg.801A *Τρίτος δ' οἶμαι νόμος, ὅτι γνόντας δεῖ τοὺς ποιητὰς ὡς εὐχαὶ . . . εἰσὶν, δεῖ δὴ τὸν νοῦν αὐτοὺς σφόδρα προσέχειν*.

(14) Assentient. We have seen (γε, I.11) that *γε*, though not in itself denoting assent, frequently emphasizes affirmative answers, and, in so doing, itself acquires an affirmative or assentient colour. The same thing happens occasionally, but to a far lesser extent, in the case of *δή*.

Hom.A286 *Ναὶ δὴ ταῦτά γε πάντα, γέρον, κατὰ μοῖραν εἶπες*: S.Aj.278 *Ἐύμφημι δὴ σοι*: Pl.Prt.359C *Πότερον . . . ;—Λέγεται δὴ, ὦ Σώκρατες, οὕτως ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων*: Ap.27C *οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει*;—*Ἐχει δὴ*: R.381A *Ἔστι δὴ ταῦτα*: Lg.695C *Λέγεται δὴ ταῦτά γε*.

So, often, in practical consent, answering a command or request. Ar.Th.1209 *φεῦγε . . . —Ἐγὼ δὴ τοῦτο δρῶ*: Pl.Grg.448B *Ἐρώτα.—Ἐρωτῶ δὴ*: 507A *Λέγ', ὦγαθέ.—Λέγω δὴ ὅτι . . .*: R.523A *Δείκνυ', ἔφη.—Δείκνυμι δὴ . . .* So *ταῦτα δὴ* ('Very good'): Ar.Ach.815 *Περίμεν' αὐτοῦ.—Ταῦτα δὴ*: V.851 *Κάλει νυν.—Ταῦτα δὴ*.

It would be theoretically possible to take *δή* as connective in the passages cited in the last paragraph: 'then'. But this explanation cannot be seriously entertained.

Very occasionally *δή* is used, instead of *δήτα*, in echoing a word or thought. A.Pers.1070 *Ἰὼ ἰὼ . . . —Ἰὼ δὴ κατ' ἄστυ.—Ἰὼ δὴτα, ναί, ναί*: E.Alc.222 *ἔξευρε μηχανὰν . . . —Πόριζε δὴ, πόριζε*: Ar.Pax 973 *εὐχώμεθ'.—Εὐχώμεσθα δὴ*.

II. Position of emphatic *δή*. It has been observed above (I. *ad init.*) that *δή* normally emphasizes the word it immediately follows: but that it is less rigidly tied down than *γε* to this position. In poetry, particularly, the freedom with which *δή* is used makes it difficult to determine the precise reference of the particle in all cases. There are two types of deviation from the normal order.

(1) *δή* emphasizes a preceding, but not the immediately preceding, word. E.Hec.480 *ἐγὼ δ' ἐν ξείνῳ χθονὶ δὴ κέκλημαι δούλα* (emphasis on *ξείνα*: but *ξείνα χθονὶ* is practically a single word): Andr.1247 *τῶν ἀπ' Αἰακοῦ μόνον λειψόμενον δὴ*: 1171 *ἐγὼ δ' ἐμαυτὸν πόλλ' ἐλοιδόρησα δὴ*: Hdt.ix 27.5 *οἵτινες μῦνοι Ἑλλήνων δὴ*: E.Supp.573 *πολλοὺς ἔτλην δὴ . . . πόρους*:

1118 πολλοῦ τε χρόνου ζώσης μέτρα δή: *S.Tr.*460 οὐχὶ χἀτέρας πλείστας ἀνήρ εἰς Ἡρακλῆς ἐγήμε δή;

(2) δή precedes the emphatic word. *E.Heracl.*331 πόνους δή μυρίους: *Hirr.*835 Οὐ σοὶ τάδ', ὦναξ, ἦλθε δή μόνῳ κακά: *Ιου* 417 Καλῶς ἔχω δή πάνθ' ὅσων ἐχρήζομεν: *S.Aj.*994 ὁδός θ' ὁδῶν πασῶν ἀνιάσασα δή μάλιστα: *Tr.*464 ἐπεὶ σφ' ἐγὼ ᾤκτιρα δή μάλιστα: *E.Hel.*563 Ἐλένη σ' ὁμοίαν δή μάλιστ' εἶδον: *X.HG* v.4.24 καὶ πολλοῖς ἔδοξεν αὐτῇ δή ἀδικώτατα ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἡ δίκη κριθῆναι.

Preceding temporal adverbs. *Thgn.*853 ἀτὰρ πολὺ λῶια δή νῦν: *Sol.Fr.*2.3 εἶην δή τότε ἐγὼ Φολεγάνδριος: *Pi.N.*8.51 ἦν γε μὰν ἐπικώμιος ὕμνος δή πάλαι: *Pl.Epigr.*6.2 Δάκρυα . . . γυναιξὶ Μοῖραι ἐπέκλωσαν δή τότε γεινομέναις. At the opening of an apodosis. *Pi.Fr.*78-9(88).10 ἀλλ' ἄ Κοιογενῆς ὀπότ' . . . ἐπέβα νιν, δή τότε . . .: *Ar.Av.*985 (in hexameter oracle). See also I.12.i. At the opening of a sentence. *Hom.E*136 δή τότε μιν τρὶς τόσσον ἔλεν μένος: *A.Th.*214 (lyr.) δή τότε ἦρθην φόβῳ: *Hom.*a424: 1193: *id. saep.*: *Hes.Th.*542,643: *Op.*452: *Pi.O.*3.25: *E.Or.*1483 (lyr.: *coni.* Murray). δή αὐτε often in Homer (for the crasis, see Monro, *HG*§350): *A*340 εἶ ποτε δή αὐτε χρεῖῳ ἐμεῖο γένηται: *H*448 οὐχ ὀράας ὅτι δή αὐτε. . . δηῦτε often in Lyric: *Sapph.Fr.*154 δεῦρο δηῦτε, Μοῖσαι: *Anacr.Fr.*5.1,17.1 (Herwerden, p. 200). *δαῦτε*: *Sapph.Fr.*137.1: *Alcm.Fr.*101: *A.Ch.*410 (perhaps: see Wilamowitz's edition, p. 199). (Murray assumes a similar elision, or crasis, in *E.Hec.*1211 τί δ' οὐ. Burnet prints δᾶν (= δή ᾶν) in *Pl.Smp.*199B,214B: in *S.El.*314 ἦ δᾶν (= ἦ δή ᾶν) is perhaps right.) In *Democr.Fr.*172 δή goes rather with καί: ὕδωρ βαθὺ εἰς πολλὰ χρήσιμον καὶ δαῦτε κακόν.

The position of δή before a temporal adverb which it stresses is very rare in the lyrics of tragedy, and unknown to iambic verse and to prose. In *Pl.Hr.Ma.*291E ἀλλ' ἡμῶν δή νῦν καὶ πλείστον καταγέλασεται, where the context shows that νῦν, not ἡμῶν, is the emphatic word, νῦν δή (*W*) must be right.

Homer never opens a sentence or clause with δή, except when it precedes a temporal adverb or γάρ (for δή γάρ see γάρ δή): but he occasionally places the particle immediately after an apostrophe at the opening of a speech: *O*437 Τεῦκρε πέπον, δή νῶϊν ἀπέκτατο πιστὸς ἐταῖρος: *T*342 Τέκνον ἐμόν, δή πάμπαν ἀποίχεται.

The interposition of emphatic δή between a preposition and the word which the preposition governs is not infrequent in Herodotus and Plato. *Ar.Ec.*604 Κατὰ δή τί; *Hdt.*198 ἐν δή τῷ τελευταίῳ: iii7 κατὰ δή τὰ εἰρημένα: 9 διὰ δή τούτου: vii 148.3 ἐς δή τὸ Ἄργος: vi42: viii5.1: *Th.*124.2 κατὰ δή τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον: *Pl.R.*458D ἀλλὰ μετὰ δή ταῦτα: *Ti.*38E κατὰ δή τὴν θατέρου φορὰν: 44A: *Lg.*692A: *Plt.*270A (Stallbaum, for δέ): *Isoc.*xv 190 ἐν δή πᾶσι. Between article and adjective. *Pl.Plt.*292B Τῷ δή ποίῳ λέγεις; (contrast Τὸ ποῖον δή . . .; *Li.* 193E and often): *Phdr.*272E. Cf. III.7.

In tmesis: *Hdt.*vii 12.2 Μετὰ δή βουλευέαι. Cf. the common Herodotean use of οὖν in tmesis.

(For δή preceding interrogatives see I.5: preceding τις, I.6.)

III. Ironical. In discussing emphatic δή, we have seen that the emphasis which the particle gives is often ironical in tone. This use is so important and widespread that it demands separate treatment. The task of classification is difficult, since many uses have an ironical tinge in some contexts but not in others. It must be understood, then, that in the following pages we are dealing with uses which are largely or predominantly, but not wholly, ironical.

(1) Comparative clauses with ὥς, etc. Nearly always δὲ immediately follows ὥς.

(i) With finite verb: *quasi vero*. Grammatically, the main clause has to be supplied from the preceding words or from the general context: for practical purposes, the comparative clause forms an independent sentence.<sup>1</sup> (Cf. p. 552, ὥς δή τοι.)

*A.Ag.*1633 Ὡς δή σύ μοι τύραννος Ἀργείων ἔσει ('You speak on the assumption that you will be king of Argos'): *S.OC*809 Ὡς δή σὺ βραχέα, ταῦτα δ' ἐν καιρῷ λέγεις: *E.Cyc.* 674 Ὡς δή σύ — (broken by interruption): *Pl.Grg.*468E Ὡς δή σὺ . . . οὐκ ἂν δέξαιο . . . ('As though you wouldn't choose . . .'): 499B ὥς δή σὺ οἶει ἐμὲ . . . οὐκ ἠγείσθαι . . . With ellipse of verb: *Pl.R.*337C ὥς δή ὁμοιον τοῦτο ἐκείνῳ (see Adam).

(For ὥσπερ δή, κατὰ περ δή, without irony, in dependent clauses, see I. 9. iv above: for ὥς δή λέγεται, etc., see (5) below.)

<sup>1</sup> Jebb, on *S.OC*809, assumes an ellipse of 'do you mean . . .?': but Burnet and Kühner are more probably right in rendering δὲ 'wie?' 'as ob'.

(ii) With participle, far commoner than (i): almost always ironical, sceptical, or indignant in tone. *E.Alc.*1014 ἀλλά μ' ἐξένιζες ἐν δόμοις, ὡς δὴ θυραίου πῆματος σπουδὴν ἔχων; *Andr.* 594 ἄκλῆστ' ἄδουλα δώμαθ' ἐστίας λιπῶν, ὡς δὴ γυναῖκα σώφρον' ἐν δόμοις ἔχων: *Hel.*1057 Ὡς δὴ θανόντα σ' ἐνάλιον κενῶ τάφῳ θάψαι . . . αἰτήσομαι: *Ag.Ag.*693 προσέρχεται . . . ὡς δὴ καταπιόμενός με: *Antiph.Fr.*5 ὡς δὴ σύ τι ποιεῖν δυνάμενος ὀρτυγίου ψυχὴν ἔχων: *E.Hel.*1378: *Ph.*873,1416: *IT*682,1338: *HF* 998: *Ion*654,1183: *Hdt.*i66 οἱ δὲ πέδας φερόμενοι ἐπὶ Τεγεήτας ἐστρατεύοντο, χρησμῶ κιβδήλῳ πίσυνοι, ὡς δὴ ἐξανδραποδιούμενοι τοὺς Τεγεήτας: *Pl.Pr.*342C ὡς δὴ τούτοις κρατοῦντας τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους: *Smp.*222C ὡς ἐν παρέργῳ δὴ λέγων: *Phdr.*228C ἐθρύπτετο ὡς δὴ οὐκ ἐπιθυμῶν λέγειν: 242C φωνὴν . . . ἢ με οὐκ ἔᾶ ἀπιέναι πρὶν ἂν ἀφοσιώσωμαι, ὡς δὴ τι ἡμαρτηκότα εἰς τὸ θεῖον (incredulous): *Lg.*778E ὡς δὴ τῶν ὄρων τῆς χώρας οὐκ ἐάσοντας ἐπιβαίνειν (which cannot be the case if a wall is needed): *Ep.*344E ὡς παιδείας δὴ μέτοχος ὢν: *X.HG* v4.3 πρὸς τὰς πύλας ἦλθον, ὡς δὴ ἐξ ἀγροῦ ἀπιόντες: *D.*xxii 70 ὡς δὴ δίκαιος ὢν (xxiv178): *Hdt.*iii143.1: vii17.2: ix59.1: *Pl.Cra.*418C: *R.*545E: *Thg.*123A: *X.Cyr.*i4.23: v4.4: *Smp.*8.4.

In other passages *δή* does not throw doubt on the facts, but suggests that they constitute an unworthy or inadequate cause or motive. Cf. ὅτι *δή*, ἵνα *δή*, (2) and (3) below. *E.Supp.*477 τοῖς ἐμοῖς θυμούμενος λόγοισιν, ὡς δὴ πόλιν ἐλευθέραν ἔχων ('just because'): *El.*947 ὑβρίζεις, ὡς δὴ βασιλικούς ἔχων δόμους: *Alc.*537 Εἶθ' ἠῦρομέν σ', Ἄδμητε, μὴ λυπούμενον.—Ὡς δὴ τί δράσων τόνδ' ὑπορράπτεις λόγον; (*δή* marks Admetus' suspicion of Heracles' intentions): *Pl.Euthphr.*3B καὶ ὡς διαβαλῶν *δή* ἔρχεται εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, εἰδὼς ὅτι εὐδιάβολα τὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς τοὺς πολλούς: *X.Cyr.*vii4.3 (describing a piece of sharp practice).

Sometimes there is little or no trace of irony or scepticism. *S.Ph.*1065 Μὴ μ' ἀντιφώνει μηδέν, ὡς στείχοντα *δή* (*quippe cum iuribus simi*): *E.Hel.*1037 ἐσφέρεις γὰρ ἐλπίδας ὡς *δή* τι δράσων χρηστόν (perhaps faintly sceptical): *Pl.Chrm.*164D οὕτω μοι δοκεῖ τὸ γράμμα ἀνακείσθαι, ὡς *δή* πρόσρησις οὔσα. . . .

In a depreciatory sense. *Hr.Ant.*34 ἐγγὺς γάρ τι τοῦ ἰσορρόπου ἐστίν, ὡς *δή* μὴ ἰσορροπον εἶν (as far as τὸ μὴ ἰσορροπον can be said to be ἐγγὺς τοῦ ἰσορρόπου).

With ellipse of participle. *E.Hec.*1152 ὡς *δή* παρὰ φίλῳ: *Ba.*224 πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς *δή* μαινάδας θυοσκόους: *Ag.V.*1315 ὡς *δή* δεξιός: *Hdt.*iii156 ὡς *δή* ἀληθέως αὐτόμολος: *Th.*iv46.5 καὶ διδάξαντες ὡς κατ' εὐνοιαν *δή* λέγειν: vi54.4 ὡς οὐ διὰ τοῦτο *δή*. Exceptionally, with genitive absolute without participle: *X.An.* vii8.11 ὡς ἐτοίμων *δή* χρημάτων.

Equivalent in sense to οἶα *δή*. *S.Tr.*889 Ἐπείδον, ὡς *δή* πλησία παραστάτις ('as a bystander naturally would'): *X.Cyr.* vi2.4 ὡς *δή* ἀνὴρ οὐδὲν μικρὸν ἐπινοῶν πράττειν.

In *Pl.Ep.*330B ὡς *δή* can hardly stand.

(2) In causal clauses, usually ὅτι *δή*, implying that the reason given is inadequate ('just because'), or is not the true reason. *Hom.*τ72 τί μοι ᾧδ' ἐπέχεις κεκκοτητί θυμῷ; ἢ ὅτι *δή* ῥυπῶ, κακὰ δὲ χροῖ εἴματα εἶμαι . . .; *Pl.Phdr.*244A Οὐκ ἔστ' ἔτυμος λόγος δὲ ἂν . . . τῷ μὴ ἐρῶντι μᾶλλον φῆ δεῖν χαρίζεσθαι, διότι *δή* ὁ μὲν μαίνεται, ὁ δὲ σωφρονεῖ: 268D οἰόμενῳ ἀρμονικῶ εἶναι, ὅτι *δή* τυγχάνει ἐπιστάμενος ὡς οἶόν τε ὀξυτάτην καὶ βαρυτάτην χορδὴν ποιεῖν: *Cra.*418D καίτοι τινὲς οἴονται, ὡς *δή* ἡ ἡμέρα ἡμέρα ποιεῖ, διὰ ταῦτα ὠνομάσθαι αὐτὴν οὕτως (marking an erroneous explanation): *Th.*197C εἰ τις ὄρνιθας ἀγρίας . . . θηρεύσας οἴκοι . . . τρέφοι, τρόπον μὲν ἂν πού τινα φαίμεν αὐτὸν αὐτὰς αἰεῖ ἔχειν, ὅτι *δή* κέκτηται. ἢ γάρ;—Ναί.—Τρόπον δέ γ' ἄλλον οὐδεμίαν ἔχειν ('merely on the ground that': the inadequacy of the reason becomes apparent in the δέ clause): *X.Cyr.*ii3.13 μέγα φρονούσιν ὅτι πεπαιδεύονται *δή* καὶ πρὸς λιμὸν . . . καρτερεῖν: *Hdt.*vi41.3.

Or expressing indignation at the fact presented as a cause. *Hdt.*i44 τὸν μὲν ἐπίστιον καλέων, διότι *δή* οἰκίοισι ὑποδεξάμενος τὸν ξεῖνον φονέα τοῦ παιδὸς ἐλάνθανε βόσκων: i141.

Or presenting that fact subjectively, without irony or indignation. *X.HG* v4.20 προσποιησάμενος τὸν Πειραιᾶ καταλήψεσθαι, ὅτι *δή* ἀπύλωτος ἦν ('because, he said').

ὅτε *δή*, causal. *Ag.Ra.*1189 πῶς γάρ (ἀθλιώτατος ὢν ἐπαύσατο); ὅτε *δή* πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸν γενόμενον χειμῶνος ὄντος ἐξέσαν: *Hdt.*iv120 οἱ Σκύθαι ἐβουλεύοντο ἰθυμαχίην μὲν μηδε ποιεέσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος, ὅτε *δή* σφι οὗτοί γε σύμμαχοι οὐ προσεγίνοντο (ὅτι *CP*). There is obvious contempt in the first passage, and also, I think, in the second, from the Scythians'



point of view: and in neither is *ὅτε δή* quite equivalent to the commoner *ὅτε γε*.

(3) In final clauses, usually after *ἵνα*. (Sometimes after *ὡς* or *μή*, or with infinitive of purpose.) Mainly a prose use, and commonest in Herodotus and Plato, (i) being markedly characteristic of Plato, (ii) of Herodotus.

(i) Denoting that the object is a trivial or unworthy one, or that it is not to be attained by the means in question. Pl. *Euthd.* 286D *Λόγου ἕνεκα λέγεις τὸν λόγον, ἵνα δὴ ἄτοπον λέγῃς* ('just in order to be paradoxical'): *Chrm.* 165A *εἶθ' ἵνα δὴ καὶ σφεῖς μηδὲν ἤττον συμβουλὰς χρησίμους ἀναθεῖεν, ταῦτα γράψαντες ἀνέθεσαν* (vainly hoping to rival Apollo in this department): *Men.* 82A *ἔρωτᾶς . . . ἵνα δὴ εὐθὺς φαίνωμαι αὐτὸς ἐμαντῶ τάναντία λέγων*: 86D *σὺ σαυτοῦ μὲν οὐδ' ἐπιχειρεῖς ἄρχειν, ἵνα δὴ ἐλεύθερος ᾦς* (*R.* 562E): *Pl.* 264A *μηδὲ σπεύσαντες, ἵνα δὴ ταχὺ γενώμεθα πρὸς τῇ πολιτικῇ*: *R.* 374B *τὸν μὲν σκυτοτόμον διεκωλύομεν μήτε γεωργὸν ἐπιχειρεῖν εἶναι ἅμα . . . ἵνα δὴ ἡμῖν τὸ τῆς σκυτικῆς ἔργον καλῶς γίγνοιτο . . . τὰ δὲ δὴ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον . . .* (cobblery is a small matter compared with war): *X.HG* iv 1.26 *ἀφείλετο ἅπαντα . . . ἵνα δὴ πολλὰ ἀπαγάγοι τὰ αἰχμάλωτα τοῖς λαφυροπώλαις*: *Smph.* I.14 *γελοῖόν τι εὐθὺς ἐπεχείρει λέγειν, ἵνα δὴ ἐπιτελοῖη ὧν περ ἕνεκα ἐκαλεῖτο*: *Pl.* *Chrm.* 175C: *Th.* 176B, 183A: *R.* 420E, 563B, D, 610C: *Pl.* 277B: *Ep.* 324E, 354E: *Hyp.* *Ath.* 23.

(ii) Describing an ingenious stratagem or device: often, but not always, indignant or contemptuous in tone. *Hes.* *Th.* 900 *ἔν ἐσκάτθετο νηδύν, ὡς δὴ οἱ φράσσαιτο θεὰ ἀγαθὸν τε κακόν τε*: *E.* *IT* 1025 *τί δ' εἶ με ναῶ τῶδε κρύψειας λάθρα*;—*Ὡς δὴ σκότον λαβόντες ἐκωθεῖμεν ἄν*; 1184 'They said Orestes was living'.—*Ὡς δὴ σφε σφσαις ἠδοναῖς ἀγγελμάτων*: 1336 *χρόνῳ δ', ἔν' ἡμῖν δρᾶν τι δὴ ἔκοι πλέον, ἀνωλόλυξε*: *Hdt.* 129 *κατὰ θεωρίας πρόφασιν ἐκπλώσας, ἵνα δὴ μή τινα τῶν νόμων ἀναγκασθῆ λῦσαι τῶν ἔθετο*: 94 *τὴν μὲν ἐτέρην τῶν ἡμερέων παίζειν πᾶσαν, ἵνα δὴ μή ζητέοιεν σιτία*: ii 93 *ψαύοντες (τῆς γῆς) ὡς μάλιστα, ἵνα δὴ μή ἀμάρτοιεν τῆς ὁδοῦ*: v 87.3 *μετέβαλον ἐς τὸν λίνεον κιθῶνα, ἵνα δὴ περόνησι μὴ χρέωνται*: ix 74.1 'Sophanes used to anchor himself ἵνα δὴ μιν οἱ πολέμιοι ἐκπίπτοντες ἐκ τῆς τάξιος μετακινήσαι μὴ δυναίετο': 122 *τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὅπως ἂν δὴ ὁ κῆρυξ . . . ἰδῶν τε*

*σωρὸν μέγαν σίτου κεχυμένον . . . ἀγγείλη Ἀλυάττη*: *Th.* v 85 *ἐπειδὴ οὐ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος οἱ λόγοι γίνονται, ὅπως δὴ μὴ ξυνεχῆ ῥήσει οἱ πολλοὶ ἐπαγωγὰ . . . ἀκούσαντες ἡμῶν ἀπατηθῶσιν*: *X.* *Cyr.* i 3.9 *οἱ τῶν βασιλέων οἰνοχόοι, ἐπειδὴν διδῶσι τὴν φιάλην, ἀρύσαντες . . . καταρροφούσι, τοῦ δὴ εἰ φάρμακα ἐγχείοιεν μὴ λυσιτελεῖν αὐτοῖς*: *Hdt.* ii 161: v 68.1: vii 149.1: viii 7.1: 76.2: *Th.* iv 67.3: vii 26.2: *Pl.* *Ep.* 333C.

(iii) Introducing a pretended object. *Aen.* *Tact.* 10.26 *ἵνα δὴ †πρὸς τι κοιτασθῶσιν*: *D.* vii 32 *φρουρὰν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει κατέστησεν, ἵνα δὴ αὐτόνομοι ὦσιν*.

(iv) In general. *Hom.* *H* 26 *ἦ ἵνα δὴ Δαναοῖσι . . . νίκην δῶς*; (indignant): *σίο* *Εἶκε, γέρον, προθύρου, μὴ δὴ τάχα καὶ ποδὸς ἔλκη* (contemptuous): *Th.* vii 18.1 *ὅπως δὴ ἐσβολῆς γενομένης διακωλυθῆ* (a frustrated intention: cf. *Is.* ii 30 *καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἵνα δὴ πραγμάτων ἀπαλλαγῶμεν, ὡς γε δὴ φόμεθα, οὕτως ἐπιτρέπομεν*).

Occasionally with little apparent significance except added emphasis. *Hom.* *E* 24 *ὡς δὴ οἱ μὴ πάγῃ γέρον ἀκαχήμενος εἶη*: *Anacr.* *Fr.* 27 *ὡς δὴ πρὸς Ἐρωτα πυκταλίζω*: *Hdt.* i 32 *εἰ ἐθελήσει τοῦτερον τῶν ἐτέων μηνὶ μακρότερον γίνεσθαι, ἵνα δὴ αἱ ὄραι συμβαίνωσι*.

(4) After verbs of saying, thinking, hoping, and fearing: implying, at most, that what follows is false: at least, that it is not unquestionably true. *Hom.* *A* 110 *Μάντι κακῶν . . . καὶ νῦν . . . ἀγορεύεις ὡς δὴ τοῦδ' ἕνεκά σφιν ἐκηβόλος ἄλγεα τεύχει*: *E.* *Andr.* 235 *τί σεμνομυθεῖς . . . ὡς δὴ σὺ σώφρων . . .*; *El.* 919 *ἠλπισας ὡς ἐς σὲ ἐμὴν δὴ μητέρ' οὐχ ἔξοις κακῆν*; *Hipp.* 962 *μισεῖν σε φήσεις τήνδε καὶ τὸ δὴ νόθον τοῖς γνησίοισι πολέμιον πεφυκέναι*: *Hdt.* ix 48.3 *προσδεκόμενοι γὰρ κατὰ κλέος ὡς δὴ πέμψετε ἐς ἡμέας κήρυκα*: *Th.* iv 23.1 *ἰσχυριζόμενοι ὅτι δὴ εἶρητο. ἔαν καὶ ὅτι οὖν παραβαθῆ, λελύσθαι τὰς σπονδὰς*: v 105.3 *τῆς δ' ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους δόξης, ἣν διὰ τὸ αἰσχρὸν δὴ βοηθήσειν ὑμῖν πιστεύετε αὐτούς*: *Pl.* *La.* 198A *ἀπεκρίνω ὡς μόριον, ὄντων δὴ καὶ ἄλλων μερῶν*: *Phdr.* 235E *Φίλτατος εἶ . . . εἶ με οἶε λέγειν ὡς Δυσίας τοῦ παντὸς ἡμάρτηκεν, καὶ οἶόν τε δὴ παρὰ πάντα ταῦτα ἄλλα εἰπεῖν*: *Ep.* 324D *φήθη γὰρ αὐτοῦς ἐκ τινος ἀδίκου βίου ἐπὶ δίκαιον τρόπον ἄγοντας διοικήσειν δὴ τὴν πόλιν*: *Phdr.* 272E *καὶ (φασί) πάντως λέγοντα τὸ δὴ εἰκὸς διοκτέον εἶναι*.

*Th.* vii 86.4 *δείσαντες . . . μὴ χρήμασι δὴ πείσας τινὰς, ὅ*



πλούσιος ἦν, ἀποδρᾶ (here δή seems to mark the indignation felt by the fearers: cf. Pl.Pr.320A δεδιώς περὶ αὐτοῦ, μὴ διαφθαρῆ δὴ ὑπὸ Ἀλκιβιάδου: Ep.330B). In Hom.Σ125 δή marks the speaker's indignation: γνοίεν δ' ὡς δὴ δηρὸν ἐγὼ πολέμοιο πέ-  
παυμαι.

The note of scepticism or reserve is occasionally absent. Hr. Genit.45 ἀναβήσομαι δ' αὐθις ὀπίσω περὶ τῆς ὑγιείης ἐρέων ὅτι δὴ . . . : Pl.Euthphr.3B Μανθάνω . . . ὅτι δὴ σὺ τὸ δαιμόνιον φῆς σαυτῷ ἐκάστοτε γίγνεσθαι: Lg.688B λέγω . . . ὅτι δὴ φημι ('that I say, in point of fact'): La.196D Τοῦτο δὲ (φῆς) οὐ παντὸς δὴ εἶναι ἀνδρὸς γνῶναι.

(5) Again, the particle may be attached to the verb of saying or thinking. A.Pr.955 νέον νέοι κρατεῖτε καὶ δοκεῖτε δὴ ναίειν ἀπενθῆ πέργαμ' ('you think, forsooth'): Hdt.ix.11.1 ἐπήλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους, ἐν νόῳ δὴ ἔχοντες ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι: Th.139.1 καὶ φασὶ δὴ δίκη πρότερον ἐθελῆσαι κρίνεσθαι: viii.48.5 τὰς τε ξυμμαχίδας πόλεις, αἷς ὑπεσχῆσθαι δὴ σφᾶς ὀλιγαρχίαν, ὅτι δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐ δημοκρατήσονται . . . : Pl.Phdr.236B καὶ οἶε δὴ με ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐπιχειρήσειν εἰπεῖν: Pl.284E ὃ γὰρ ἐνίστε οἰόμενοι δὴ τι σοφὸν φράζειν πολλοὶ τῶν κομψῶν λέγουσιν: Alc.113E οἶε δὴ καινὰ ἄττα δεῖν ἀκούειν.

With the verb of saying or thinking in a parenthesis. Hdt.ii.45 ἔτι δὲ ἕνα ἔοντα τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ ἔτι ἄνθρωπον, ὡς δὴ φασι, κῶς φύσιν ἔχει πολλὰς μυριάδας φονεῦσαι; iii.105 ὡς δὴ λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων: iv.191 ὡς δὴ λέγονταί γε ὑπὸ Λιβύων: Th.viii.87.1 ὡς ἐδόκει δὴ: Pl.Pl.301D ὡς δὴ φαμεν (with no trace of irony): Lg.727B τιμῶν τὴν αὐτοῦ ψυχὴν, ὡς δὴ δοκεῖ.

(6) δή, without a verb of saying, thinking, etc., often denotes that words are not to be taken at their face value, objectively, but express something merely believed, or ironically supposed, to be true. Hence δή often gives the effect of inverted commas.

Hdt.v.72.3 ὡς γὰρ ἀνέβη ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν μέλλων δὴ ('as he thought') αὐτὴν κατασχῆσειν: Th.iii.10.5 αὐτόνομοι δὴ ὄντες καὶ ἐλεύθεροι τῷ ὀνόματι ξυνεστρατεύσαμεν: iv.59.4 τὰ ἴδια . . . εὐβουλευόμενοι δὴ θέσθαι: vi.10.5 ἡμεῖς δὲ Ἐγεσταίοις δὴ οὖσι ξυμμάχοις ὡς ἀδικουμένοις ὀξέως βοηθοῦμεν: 80.1 τὸ μηδετέροις δὴ . . . βοηθεῖν ('the blessed word "neutrality"'): 80.2 τοὺς Ἀθη-

ναίους φίλους δὴ ὄντας μὴ εἶσαι ἀμαρτεῖν ('our "friends" the Athenians'): viii.9 Ἄγις δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐτοιμός ἦν ἐκείνους μὲν μὴ λυεῖν δὴ τὰς Ἴσθμιάδας σπονδάς, ἑαυτοῦ δὲ τὸν στόλον ἴδιον ποιήσασθαι: Pl.La.197C ὡς εὐ ὅδε ἑαυτὸν δὴ, ὡς οἶεται, κοσμεῖ (with verb of thinking in parenthesis): Ap.27A Σωκράτης ὁ σοφὸς δὴ ('Socrates the "Wise"'): Lg.636D τοῦτον τὸν μῦθον προστεθη-  
κέναι κατὰ τοῦ Διός, ἵνα ἐπόμενοι δὴ τῷ θεῷ καρπῶνται καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἡδονήν (not a case of ἵνα δή): 962E τῶν δ' ἡ προθυμία πρὸς τὸν ἐλεύθερον δὴ βίον ὠρμημένη ('the so-called "free" life'): 963B σὺ δ' ὦν δὴ διαφέρων, ὡς φαίης ἄν: X.HG.ii.3.18 καταλέγουσι τρισχιλίους τοὺς μεθέξοντας δὴ τῶν πραγμάτων; v.4.6 εἰσήγαγε τὰς ἐταίρας δὴ ('the "courtesans"', i.e. men disguised as such): Lys.viii.3 ἵνα μή τις ὑμῶν τάχα δὴ βοηθῶν οἷς ἐξημάρτηκε ('think-  
ing to palliate his offences': but the text is dubious): D.xix.150 ἀντὶ δὲ τούτων δὴ τὰ θαυμάσι' ἀγάθ' ἡμῖν ἔμελλεν ἔτεσθαι: 167 διὰ ταῦτ' ἐδίδοτο, ξένια δὴ πρόφασιν.

(7) So also in definite quotations. Pl.Grg.515D Ἴσως.—Οὐκ ἴσως δὴ, ὧ βέλτιστε, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη ἐκ τῶν ὠμολογημένων ('not "perhaps", but necessarily'): 500C τὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς δὴ ταῦτα πράττοντα (glancing at Callias' frequent references to ἀνήρ).

Attached to a formula of quotation, τὸ σὸν δή, etc. A.Ag.550 Ὡς νῦν, τὸ σὸν δὴ, καὶ θανεῖν πολλὴ χάρις (referring to 539): Pl.Smp.221B τὸ σὸν δὴ τοῦτο (Sph.233B). None of these are ironical. Pl.Grg.508D ἄντε τύπτειν βούληται, τὸ νεανικὸν δὴ τοῦτο τὸ τοῦ σοῦ λόγου, ἐπὶ κόρρης (ironical: 'to quote your vigorous phrase').

With τὸ λεγόμενον, etc., the particle being attached either to the words quoted or to the formula of quotation. Th.vii.87.5 πανωλεθρία δὴ τὸ λεγόμενον: Pl.Grg.514E τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ τοῦτο ἐν τῷ πίθῳ τὴν κεραμεῖαν ἐπιχειρεῖν μανθάνειν: Phdr.242A μεσημβρία ἴσταται ἢ δὴ καλουμένη σταθερά: Sph.241D Πῶς γὰρ οὐ φαίνεται καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ τοῦτο τυφλῷ; (the formula splits καὶ τυφλῷ): Philo.40C τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον πικρῷ γλυκὺ μέλι: Amat.134A ἄμην τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ τοῦτο κἂν ἔν γνῶναι Euthd.293D τὸ γὰρ λεγόμενον, καλὰ δὴ πάντα λέγεις: Pl.εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν δὴ κάτω καλούμενον: X.Am.18.10 ἄρματ.: τὰ δὴ δρεπανηφόρα καλούμενα.

(8) The ironical use of *δή* is not confined to the above categories. The following examples illustrate the various shades of irony, scorn, and indignation which *δή* can express. Hom. Φ472 Φεύγεις δή, ἐκάεργε: E. *Supp.* 521 ἄνω γὰρ ἂν ῥέοι τὰ πράγμαθ' οὕτως, εἰ 'πιταξόμεσθα δή: *Heracl.* 269 Πειρώμενος δή τοῦτό γ' αὐτίκ' εἴσομαι: *El.* 951 τὰ δ' εὐπρεπῆ δὴ κόσμος ἐν χοροῖς μόνον: *HF* 1303 χορευέτω δὴ Ζηνὸς ἢ κλεινὴ δάμαρ: *Ba.* 652 Ὀνειδίσας δὴ τοῦτο Διονύσῳ καλόν: *Ag. Ra.* 1261 Πάνυ γε μέλη θαυμαστά· δείξει δὴ τάχα: *Pl. Ar.* 31C ἴσως ἂν οὖν δόξειεν ἄτοπον εἶναι ὅτι δὴ ἐγὼ ἰδίᾳ μὲν ταῦτα συμβουλεύω . . . δημοσίᾳ δὲ οὐ τολμῶ . . . συμβουλεύειν τῇ πόλει: *Phdr.* 258A τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ λέγων μάλα σεμνῶς καὶ ἐγκωμιάζων ὁ συγγραφεὺς (contrast *Grg.* 493B, not ironical: ἐν Αἴδου — τὸ αἰδῆς δὴ λέγων): *Phdr.* 273C ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐρεῖ δὴ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κάκην: *Th.* 195C ὦ Σώκρατες, ἠῦρηκας δὴ ψευδῆ δόξαν . . . ; ('You've discovered false opinion, have you?') *X. Cyr.* v 5.33 καὶ νῦν ἂ ἔλαβες τῇ ἐμῇ δυνάμει ἄγεις δή μοι: [X.] *Ath.* 1.18 δίκην δοῦναι . . . ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, ὅς ἐστι δὴ νόμος Ἀθήνησι.

In indignant questions. *S. Ph.* 1071 ὦ καὶ πρὸς ὑμῶν . . . λειφθήσομαι δὴ . . . ; 1235 Πρὸς θεῶν, πότερα δὴ κερτομῶν λέγεις τάδε; *Ant.* 726 Οἱ τηλικοῖδε καὶ διδαξόμεσθα δὴ φρονεῖν . . . ; *E. Andr.* 262 ὦ βάρβαρον σὺ θρέμμα . . . ἐγκαρτερεῖς δὴ θάνατον; *Fr.* 711 εἶτα δὴ θυμούμεθα παθόντες οὐδὲν μείζον ἢ δεδρακότες; *Ag. Ach.* 311 ταῦτα δὴ τολμᾶς λέγειν . . . ; *Eg.* 1224 ὦ μιᾶρέ, κλέπτων δὴ με ταῦτ' ἐξηπάτας; *Ra.* 1476 ὦ σχέτλιε, περιόψει με δὴ τεθνηκότα; (For οὕτω δὴ introducing surprised or indignant questions, see I.4.xi.)

#### IV. Connective.

(1) We have seen that *γε*, while it never, in classical Greek at any rate, attains to the position of a connective, yet seems in some passages to mitigate the harshness of an asyndeton, and to be invested with a certain quasi-connective force. Unlike *γε*, but like *μήν* (the case of *οὖν* is more complicated), *δή* does develop into a full-blown connective. The evolution is helped by the commonness of such openings to sentences as οὕτω δή, ἐνταῦθα δή. Here the demonstrative adverb is in itself a sufficient link, as is shown, for example, by Xenophon's free use of ἐνθα, ἐνταῦθα, and so on, at the beginning of the sentence without a connecting particle. But the employment of *δή* to strengthen

the adverb may well have tended to give the particle a measure of connective force. Again, in μὲν δή, δή no doubt originally merely strengthened μὲν. We see this in Homer, and in later Greek in places where μὲν δή comes in the middle of a sentence. And it is possible that μὲν δή at the opening of a sentence in Herodotus, and even in Thucydides, is to be taken in this way. But there can be little doubt that in the middle and late fourth century *δή* was here felt to be a connective. (The same problem of analysis presents itself in the case of μὲν οὖν.)

The connective use of *δή* can be derived, then, without difficulty from its emphatic use: it cannot legitimately be adduced to support the theory that *δή* originally had a temporal force, and that the senses 'then', 'moreover', 'therefore' developed out of the senses 'now', 'next'. This connective use plays a big part in Greek literature, though scholars have often been inclined to push it into the background.<sup>1</sup> *δή* here, like *οὖν*, expresses *post hoc* and *propter hoc*, and anything between the two, tending on the whole to denote a less strictly logical sequence than *οὖν*. Examples are hardly to be found before the Attic period. In tragedy, owing to the free employment of emphatic *δή*, and the less stringent need for connexion between sentences, it is often difficult to determine whether *δή* is connective or emphatic. But in passages like the following a connective is clearly required. *S. Tr.* 1221 Ἴόλην ἔλεξας . . . — Ἐγνώσ. τοσοῦτον δὴ σ' ἐπισκῆπτω, τέκνον· ταύτην . . . προσθοῦ δάμαρτα: *Ph.* 276 λιπόντες ὄχονθ' . . . σὺ δὴ, τέκνον, ποίαν μ' ἀνάστασιν δοκεῖς . . . στήναι τότε; *OC* 23 Κάθιζέ νῦν με . . . — Χρόνου μὲν οὐνεκ' οὐ μαθεῖν με δεῖ τόδε. — Ἐχεις διδάξαι δὴ μ' ὅποι καθέσταμεν; *E. Hipp.* 1008 τὸ σῶφρον τοῦμὸν οὐ πείθει σ' ἴτω· δεῖ δὴ σε δεῖξαι τῷ τρόπῳ διεφθάρην: *Ion* 1181 ἔλεξ'· Ἀφαρπάζειν χρεῶν οἰνηρὰ τεύχη σμικρά, μεγάλα δ' ἐσφέρειν . . . ἦν δὴ φερόντων μόχθος . . . φιάλας. In prose, connective *δή* gains ground rapidly during the fourth century. Herodotus has it, but not very often. Sometimes *δή* follows a demonstrative adverb, which, as remarked above, constitutes a sufficient connexion in itself: 13 οὕτω δὴ (83, 87): 43 ἐνθα δὴ (59): iii 78 ἐνθαῦτα δὴ. In vii 49.4 (. . . ἐρχομαι ἐρέων. γῆ δὴ . . .) a connecting particle is unnecessary (for *γε* in

<sup>1</sup> Baumlein, indeed (p. 103), almost denies its existence.

a similar context, see γε, III.1). But in other passages δή is unmistakably connective, usually conveying temporal rather than logical sequence: i 11 αἰρέεται αὐτὸς περιεῖναι. ἐπειρώτα δὴ λέγων τάδε: i 85, 98, 114, 179. In Thucydides connective δή is still proportionately rare, including less than ten per cent. of the examples of the particle. But in him we already begin to find δή with full logical force: i 142.7 οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑμεῖς μελετῶντες αὐτὸ εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν ἐξείργασθέ πω· πῶς δὴ ἄνδρες γεωργοὶ . . . ἄξιον ἂν τι δρῶεν; ii 89.5 ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἐνεχείρησαν ἡσσηθέντες παρὰ πολὺ αὐθις ναυμαχεῖν. μὴ δὴ αὐτῶν τὴν τόλμαν δείσητε. There is a slight proportionate increase in Lysias and Isocrates, and in Plato examples are numerous. Finally, in Demosthenes the connective sense is far the commonest: δή occurs twenty-five times in the *Olynthiacs* and first three *Philippics*, and in every case it is connective.

(2) I have said that the connective sense of δή can be either temporal or logical, or something between the two. It is clearly temporal when it marks a new stage in a narrative ('Well': 'Now') in such passages as these: E. *Heracl.* 853 ἡράσαθ' Ἡβη . . . ἡμέραν μίαν νέος γενέσθαι . . . κλύειν δὴ θαύματος πάρεστί σοι: ('Well, after that something astonishing happened'): Pl. *Ly.* 207B προσῆλθον δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι: 207D ἐπεχείρουν δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐρωτᾶν: *Smpr.* 222C εἰπόντος δὴ ταῦτα τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου γέλωτα γενέσθαι (the following sentence is connected by οὖν): *Phid.* 91D συνωμολογεῖτην δὴ ταῦτ' εἶναι ἄμφω: *Prm.* 136E ταῦτα δὴ εἰπόντος τοῦ Ζήνωνος . . . : *R.* 350C ὁ δὴ Θρασύμαχος ὠμολόγησε μὲν πάντα ταῦτα. (Cf. οὖν, III.1 for closely similar passages where οὖν is used.)

In other passages δή has full logical force. E. *El.* 71 Ἐγὼ σ' ἴσον θεοῖσιν ἡγοῦμαι φίλον . . . δεῖ δὴ με . . . συνεκκομίζειν σοι πόνους: Pl. *Euthd.* 275B ἔστι δὲ νέος· φοβούμεθα δὴ περὶ αὐτῶ: *Phdr.* 239A, 245C. D. xviii 108 affords an instructive instance of the convertibility of connective δή and οὖν: ἐν τοῖς πένησιν ἦν τὸ λητουργεῖν· πολλὰ δὴ τὰ δύνάτα συνέβαινε. ἐγὼ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων εἰς τοὺς εὐπόρους μετήνεγκα τὰς τριηραρχίας· πάντ' οὖν τὰ δέοντ' ἐγίγνετο. Eucken (p. 41) observes that in many formulae Aristotle uses δή, ἄρα, τοίνυν, and οὖν indifferently: λείπεται δὴ (τοίνυν, οὖν): φανερόν δὴ (τοίνυν): δῆλον δὴ (τοίνυν, ἄρα).

Often, again, connective δή expresses something intermediate between temporal and logical connexion, and marks the progression from one idea to a second of which the consideration naturally follows. We may render variously, 'now', 'well', 'again'. Verse. A. *Th.* 631 Τὸν ἑβδομον δὴ . . . λέξω (the last of the seven chieftains): E. *Hel.* 1033 Μενέλαε, πρὸς μὲν παρθένου σεσώσμεθα· τούνηνδε δὴ σὲ τοὺς λόγους φέροντα χρὴ κοινὴν ξυνάπτειν μηχανὴν σωτηρίας: *Heracl.* 132: *HF* 151. At the opening of an answer: E. *El.* 618: *IT* 1051. At the opening of an interrogative answer: E. *Hel.* 1218: *Ph.* 927, 983: *IA* 1447: *Rh.* 496: *Ag. Pax* 929. Prose. Pl. *Grg.* 450C εἰσὶν ἡμῖν τέχναι. ἦ γάρ;—Ναί.—Πασῶν δὴ οἶμαι τῶν τεχνῶν . . . : 457A ὁ αὐτὸς δὴ λόγος καὶ περὶ τῆς ῥητορικῆς: 457E τοῦ δὴ ἔνεκα λέγω ταῦτα; ('Now why do I say that?') After saying something it is natural to justify it: *Euthd.* 279A Εἶεν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ· τὸ δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο . . . πῶς ἂν εὖ πράττοιμεν; *Prm.* 134C Ὅρα δὴ ἔτι τούτου δεινότερον τόδε ('Now consider . . .'): *Alc. II* 141E (after considering the fate of Archelaus) ὁρᾶς δὴ καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων πολιτῶν . . . ὅσοι . . . : *Ti.* 67C τέταρτον δὴ λοιπὸν ἔτι γένος (66D δὲ δή: 67A τρίτον δέ): *X. Hier.* 8.4 κάμνοντα θεραπευσάτωσαν ὁμοίως· οὐκοῦν τοῦτο σαφές . . . : δότωσαν δὴ τὰ ἴσα· οὐ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ σαφές . . . ; ('Again'): *An.* vi 9 Ἐννοεῖτε δὴ καὶ τόδε.

\*Ἐτι δὴ, like ἔτι τοίνυν: Pl. *Sph.* 224E \*Ἐτι δὴ σκοπῶμεν: *Plt.* 290C: *Prt.* 324D.

Progressive δή in these intermediate cases is often almost synonymous with the commoner καὶ μὴν and τοίνυν. (As we shall see later, τοίνυν, like δή and οὖν, combines the notions of inference and pure progression.) Like καὶ μὴν and τοίνυν, δή usually marks the opening of a new section of the discourse, the broaching of a new topic. In lighter transitions δέ is used instead. Thus δή in the following passage is somewhat exceptional: Pl. *R.* 369D Ἀλλὰ μὴν πρώτη γε . . . —Παντάπασί γε.—Δευτέρα δὴ οἰκίσεως, τρίτη δὲ ἐσθῆτος καὶ τῶν τοιούτων. In *Lg.* 960C δέ should perhaps be read: Τὸ Λάχεσιν μὲν τὴν πρώτην εἶναι, Κλωθῶ δὲ τὴν δευτέραν, τὴν Ἄτροπον δὴ τρίτην σώτειραν τῶν λεχθέντων (δὴ *ALU*: δέ *uulg.*). In Hippocrates, however, where progressive δή is common, this restriction hardly applies: *Acnt.* 11 προστεκμαρτέα δὴ: *Int.* 49 τῆ ὑστεραίῃ . . . τῆ δὲ τρίτῃ αἰγείῳ ἐφθῶ, ὡσαύτως δὴ καὶ . . . τετάρτῃ (δέ *al.*): *Epid.* vii 11 ἐνάτῃ . . . ὡσαύτως δὴ καὶ ἐνδεκάτῃ:

*Septim.* 9 ἄλλη δὴ τεσσαρακοντὰς . . . τρίτη δὲ . . . : *Acut.* 18 οὐδὲ δὴ . . .

Exceptionally, proceeding from major to minor premise : Pl. *Sph.* 238A.

V. Position of connective δὴ. Where δὴ is a connective, it normally, like other connectives, comes second in the sentence: but, like them, yields precedence to τε, μέν, and γάρ. Where several words coalesce closely, the particle is not infrequently postponed to the third or fourth place. *S. Ant.* 908 τίνος νόμου δὴ . . . ; *OC* 23 Ἐχεις διδάξαι δὴ μ' . . . ; *Th.* v 43.1 κατὰ τοιαύτην δὴ διαφορὰν (contrast *viii* 85.1 κατὰ δὴ τοιαύτην διαφορὰν : Pl. *R.* 334D Κατὰ δὴ τὸν σὸν λόγον) : Pl. *Ar.* 37B ἀντι τούτου δὴ (contrast *Grg.* 482D διὰ δὴ ταύτην) : *Phd.* 104D Ἐπὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον δὴ : *Grg.* 508A ἡ ἐξελεγκτέος δὴ : *Sph.* 263A Σὸν ἔργον δὴ : 263C Ὀν ὕστερον δὴ λόγον εἶρηκα : *Chrm.* 171A Καὶ ἡ ἰατρικὴ δὴ : *Phdr.* 261D Καὶ ἐν δημηγορίᾳ δὴ : *R.* 589B Κατὰ πάντα τρόπον δὴ (δὴ τρόπον *Stob.*) : *Lg.* 701E Τούτων ἕνεκα δὴ : 898E νῶ μόνῳ δὴ.

### Ἄλλα δὴ : ἀλλὰ . . . δὴ

Here δὴ reinforces ἀλλά in various meanings of that particle. Most of the examples are Platonic. The two particles sometimes form a unity even when separated by intervening words.

(1) General adversative sense. *Diph. Fr.* 32.18 Ὀρθῶς γε νῆ Δί'. ἀλλὰ δὴ τί τοῦτ' ἐμοί ; Pl. *Th.* 164E οὐδ' οἱ ἐπίτροποι . . . βοηθεῖν (τῷ λόγῳ) ἐθέλουσιν . . . ἀλλὰ δὴ αὐτοὶ κινδυνεύσομεν τοῦ δικαίου ἕνεκ' αὐτῷ βοηθεῖν : *R.* 352C οἱ δὲ ἄδικοι οὐδὲ πράττειν μετ' ἀλλήλων οἰοί τε—ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ οὖς φαμεν . . . μετ' ἀλλήλων κοινῇ πράξαι ἀδίκους ὄντας, τοῦτο οὐ παντάπασιν ἀληθὲς λέγομεν ('but in fact') : 365D 'We must try to conceal our misdeeds'.—*Ἄλλα δὴ θεοὺς οὔτε λανθάνειν οὔτε βιάσασθαι δυνατόν* ('Ah, but') : *Lg.* 835D οὐ γάρ πω μανθάνομεν.—*Εἰκότως γε ἀλλὰ δὴ πειράσομαι ἐγὼ φράζειν ὑμῖν ἔτι σαφέστερον* : *X. An.* vi 3.16 εἰς Κάλπησ δὲ λιμένα . . . ἐλαχίστη ὁδός. ἀλλὰ δὴ ἐκεῖ μὲν οὔτε πλοιά

ἔστιν . . . ('but the difficulty is that') : *Gorg. Fr.* 11a.7,8 : Pl. *R.* 453D : *Lg.* 858E (ἀλλὰ . . . δὴ).

(2) Like ἀτάρ or ἀλλὰ γάρ, brushing aside a digression or irrelevancy, and coming to the point. Pl. *Euthphr.* 2B 'My accuser is Meletus'.—*Οὐκ ἐννοῶ, ὦ Σώκρατες ἀλλὰ δὴ τίνα γραφήν σε γέγραπται ; Phd.* 95B μὴ μέγα λέγε, μὴ τις ἡμῖν βασκανία περιτρέψῃ τὸν λόγον . . . ἀλλὰ δὴ ταῦτα μὲν τῷ θεῷ μελήσει, ἡμεῖς δὲ . . . : *Grg.* 502A ἡ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον βλέπων ἐδόκει σοι κιθαρωδεῖν ; ἡ ἐκείνος μὲν οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸ ἡδιστον ; ἡνία γὰρ ἄδων τοὺς θεατάς. ἀλλὰ δὴ σκόπει· οὐχὶ ἡ τε κιθαρωδικὴ δοκεῖ σοι . . . ; *Phdr.* 269C 'That is a fair description of pseudo-rhetoric. ἀλλὰ δὴ τὴν τοῦ τῷ ὄντι ρητορικοῦ . . . τέχνην . . . ;' *Arist. SE* 171a12 ἀλλὰ δὴ ὅθεν ὁ λόγος ἦλθε . . . (resumptive) : *Antiph. Fr.* 196.16 : Pl. *R.* 500E, 568D : *Men.* 92D : *Ti.* 21A : *Th.* 206C : *Lg.* 723D, 891B, 965E : *Pl.* 258B, 268E, 271C : *Phlb.* 12B, 33B.

(3) Progressive. Cf. ἀλλά, II.9, and the much commoner ἀλλὰ μὴν, (4). 'Well now' : 'Further' : 'Again'. *S. OT* 1492 ποίας γὰρ ἀστῶν ἦξεν εἰς ὀμιλίας . . . ; ἀλλ' ἡνίκ' ἂν δὴ πρὸς γάμων ἦκητ' ἀκμὰς . . . ; Pl. *R.* 502B Ἄρχοντος γὰρ . . . τιθέντος τοὺς νόμους . . . οὐ δὴπου ἀδύνατον ἐθέλειν ποιεῖν τοὺς πολίτας.—*Οὐδ' ὅπωςιοῦν. —Ἄλλα δὴ, ἅπερ ἡμῖν δοκεῖ, δόξαι καὶ ἄλλοις . . . ἀδύνατον ; Phlb.* 26E ἀλλὰ τρίτον φάθι με λέγειν . . . —*Εμαθον.—Ἄλλα δὴ πρὸς τρισὶ τέταρτόν τι τότε ἔφαμεν εἶναι γένος σκεπτέον : Cra.* 400B 'The derivation of ψυχὴ is satisfactory . . . —*Ἄλλα δὴ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο πῶς φῶμεν ἔχειν ; R.* 351C Σοὶ γάρ, ἔφη, χαρίζομαι.—*Εὐ γε σὺ ποιῶν ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τότε μοι χάρισαι . . . : Arist. GC* 334a25 λέγω δ' οἷον ἔστιν ἐκ πυρὸς ὕδωρ καὶ ἐκ τούτου γίνεσθαι πῦρ . . . ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ σὰρξ ἐξ αὐτῶν γίγνεται καὶ μυελός : Pl. *Cra.* 407A, 418A : *Arist. Ph.* 214a28 : 237b34 : 249b15 : *D.* xix 200.

(4) After a rejected suggestion. *S. OT* 1021 Ἄλλ' οὐ σ' ἐγείνατ' οὐτ' ἐκείνος οὐτ' ἐγώ.—*Ἄλλ' ἀντι τοῦ δὴ παιδά μ' ὠνομάζετο ; ('Well, then, why . . . ?') : E. HF* 1286 ἀλλ' Ἄργος ἔλθω ; πῶς, ἐπεὶ φεύγω πάτραν ; φέρ' ἀλλ' ἐς ἄλλην δὴ τιν' ὀρμήσω πόλιν ; *Gorg. Fr.* 11a.18 καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ἀσφαλείας οὐνεκά τις ἂν ταῦτα πράξαι . . . ἀλλὰ δὴ φίλους ὠφελεῖν βουλόμενος . . . ; *Th.* vi 38.5 πότερον

ἄρχειν ἤδη (βούλεσθε); ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔννομον . . . ἀλλὰ δὴ μὴ μετὰ πολλῶν ἰσονομείσθαι; Pl.*Ar.*37C πότερον δεσμοῦ; . . . ἀλλὰ χρημάτων . . .; . . . ἀλλὰ δὴ φυγῆς τιμήσωμαι; R.600A 'Is Homer known as a legislator?'—'No'.—'Ἀλλὰ δὴ τις πολέμος ἐπὶ Ὀμήρου ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἄρχοντος . . . εὖ πολεμηθεὶς μνημονεύεται;—Οὐδεὶς.—'Ἀλλ' οἷα δὴ εἰς τὰ ἔργα σοφοῦ ἀνδρὸς πολλὰ ἐπίνοια . . . λέγονται . . .;—Οὐδαμῶς τοιοῦτον οὐδέν.—'Ἀλλὰ δὴ εἰ μὴ δημοσία, ἰδία . . .; Ion540B Οὐκ ἄρα πάντα γε γινώσεται ἡ ῥαψωδική . . . ἀλλὰ ποῖα δὴ γινώσεται, ἐπειδὴ οὐχ ἅπαντα; X.HGii4.41 σκέψασθε εἰ ἄρα ἐπ' ἀνδρεία ὑμῖν μέγα φρονητέον . . . ἀλλὰ γνώμη φαίητ' ἂν προέχειν . . .; ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις δὴ οἴεσθε μέγα φρονητέον εἶναι; Simp. 2.4 οὐ παρὰ τῶν μυροπωλῶν.—'Ἀλλὰ πόθεν δὴ; D.xliii77 τὸ δ' ὄνομα, ὃ ἐστὶν αὐτῶ, μὴ ὅτι ἐκ . . . ἀλλ' οὐδ' . . . οὐδ' . . . ἀλλὰ πόθεν δὴ ἐστὶ τὸ ὄνομα ὁ Μακάρτατος; Pl.*R.*333B,335C,531E: *Pr.*338C: *Ly.*215A: *Cri.*54A: *Prm.*138D.

(5) Assentient (very rare). Pl.*Th.*169D τήρει τὸ τοιόνδε, μὴ . . .—'Ἀλλὰ δὴ πειράσομαί γε ('Well, I'll try'): *La.*189C 'You are clearly ready to help in the investigation.'—'Ἀλλ' ἡμέτερον δὴ ἔργον, ὦ Σώκρατες.

ἀλλὰ δὴ, in all its senses, almost invariably follows a strong stop. The following are exceptional:—Adversative: Pl.*Lg.*689B μηδὲν ποιῶσιν πλέον ἀλλὰ δὴ τούτοις πᾶν τούναντίον. Progressive: *Hr.**Virg.*1 ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τὰ πλουτελέστατα τῶν ἱματίων καθιεροῦσι (καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια τὰ πλουτελέστατα C): cf. Pseud-Arist. *de Plant.* 828b15 καὶ τοῦτο εὕρισκεται ἐν πάσαις ταῖς βοταναῖς ταῖς λεπταῖς, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ ἐν τισὶ λαχάνοις.

Ἄλλά γε δὴ: ἀλλὰ δὴ γε

These combinations are extremely doubtful. Pl.*Phdr.*262A ἀπάτη πότερον ἐν πολὺ διαφέρουσι γίγνεται μᾶλλον ἢ ὀλίγον;—'Ἐν τοῖς ὀλίγον.—'Ἀλλά γε δὴ κατὰ σμικρὸν μεταβαίνων μᾶλλον λήσεις ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ ἐναντίον ἢ κατὰ μέγα (γε δὴ B: δὴ T: μὴν Galenus): *Hr.**Ma.*304A Ἄλλὰ δὴ γ', ὦ Σώκρατες, τί οἶει ταῦτα εἶναι συνάπαντα; (protesting: γ' *om.* F).

Γὰρ δὴ

Δὴ emphasizing γάρ is already found in Homer: Ω54 κωφὴν γὰρ δὴ γαῖαν ἀεικίζει μενεαίνων. The reverse order, δὴ γάρ, which gives an even stronger emphasis, is also frequently found in him: A314 δὴ γὰρ ἔλεγχος ἔσσεται: N122,517.

In later Greek γὰρ δὴ is exceedingly common. *Tyrt.**Fr.*7.21 αἰσχρὸν γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο: *Xenoph.**Fr.*1.1 νῦν γὰρ δὴ ζάπεδον καθαρὸν: *S.**Aj.*807 ἔγνωκα γὰρ δὴ φωτὸς ἠπατημένη: *OC*1613 ὄλωλε γὰρ δὴ πάντα τὰμά: *E.**Med.*722 ἐς τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ φροῦδός εἰμι πᾶς ἐγώ: *Hel.*329 γυναῖκα γὰρ δὴ συμπονεῖν γυναικὶ χρή: *Archil.**Fr.*67b: *A.**Ch.*874: *Ag.**Nu.*397: *Hdt.*i34 διέφθαρτο. ἦν γὰρ δὴ κωφός: ii60 ποιεῦσι τοιάδε· πλείουςί τε γὰρ δὴ (explanatory: cf. vi137.3): *Pl.**Cri.*53D ἐκεῖ γὰρ δὴ πλείστη ἀταξία: *Phd.*115A ὦρα τραπέσθαι πρὸς τὸ λουτρόν· δοκεῖ γὰρ δὴ βέλτιον εἶναι λουσάμενον πιεῖν τὸ φάρμακον: *Th.*156C.

Certain idiomatic uses may be noted.

(1) Arresting attention at the opening of a narrative. Pl.*Euthd.*291C Ἐγὼ φράσω. ἔδοξε γὰρ δὴ ἡμῖν . . .: *La.*179B χρή ἀκοῦσαι . . . συσσιτοῦμεν γὰρ δὴ ἐγώ τε καὶ Μελησίας: *Phd.*59D πάντα πειράσομαι διηγῆσασθαι. αἰεὶ γὰρ δὴ . . . εἰώθεμεν φοιτᾶν: *R.*358E,415A,453E,615C.

(2) οὐ γὰρ δὴ, μὴ γὰρ δὴ. (Usually, though not invariably, these combinations, particularly when followed by γε, are used for clearing the ground by ruling out at least one possibility: 'certainly not', 'certainly not, at any rate'.) *S.**OC*110 τόδ' ἄθλιον εἶδωλον· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τό γ' ἀρχαῖον δέμας: 265 ὄνομα μῦθον δείσαντες; οὐ γὰρ δὴ τό γε σῶμ': *E.**Ion*954 Τίς γάρ νιν ἐξέκεν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ σύ γε: *Tr.*210 Τὰν κλεινὰν εἶθ' ἔλθοιμεν Θησέως εὐδαίμονα χώραν.—Μὴ γὰρ δὴ δῖναν γ' Εὐρώτα: *S.**OT*576: *El.*1020: *Ant.*46: *Ph.*246: *Ag.**Nu.*402: *Ec.*157: *Th.*i1214 οὐκ ἴσμεν ὅπως τάδε τριῶν τῶν μεγίστων ξυμφορῶν ἀπήλλακται, ἀξυνεσίας ἢ μαλακίας ἢ ἀμελείας. οὐ γὰρ δὴ πεφευγότες αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τὴν πλείστους δὴ βλάψασαν καταφρόνησιν κεχωρήκατε ('Surely you have not avoided these three errors only to fall into a fourth': see, however, Steup): *Pl.**Chrm.*161C Ἐοικεν . . . ἄλλου. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐμοῦ γε: *Phd.*76C Πότε . . . οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἀφ' οὗ γε . . .: *Hdt.*ii120: *Th.*i81.6: iv87.4: viii.3: vi69.1:

76.2: Pl.*Phd.*76D,92B: R.336E,613A: Arist.*Pol.*1264b23,1280b24: Isoc.xv24,34.

(3) *δή* reinforcing assentient *γάρ* in answers. This is rarer than *γάρ οὖν*. Pl.*Thl.*187E *ψευδῆ φαμεν . . .*;—*Φαμέν γάρ δή*: R.454A *Ἔστι γάρ δή, ἔφη, περὶ πολλοὺς τοῦτο τὸ πάθος*: 562C *λέγεται γάρ δή, ἔφη, καὶ πολὺ τοῦτο τὸ ῥῆμα*: *Prm.*141C.

(4) With elliptical *γάρ* in an answer-question. X.*Oec.*11.9 *Μέλει γάρ δή σοι, ὦ Ἰσχύμαχε, ὅπως . . .*; ('Why, do you really care . . .?').

S.*OT*582 is difficult: *Οὐκ οὖν ἰσοῦμαι σφῶν ἐγὼ δυοῖν τρίτος*;—*Ἐνταῦθα γάρ δή καὶ κακὸς φαίνεται φίλος*. ('Yes, that is just where your treachery manifests itself.' It is just because Creon is Oedipus' equal, not his inferior, that he is able to manifest his spite. Hence the manifestation of his spite is evidence for his equality. Jebb, less well, I think: 'for otherwise your guilt would be less glaring.')

(5) Reinforcing progressive *γάρ*. S.*Aj.*101 *Τεθναῖσιν ἄνδρες . . .*—*Εἶεν τί γάρ δή παῖς ὁ τοῦ Λαερτίου*; ('Well, and what of Laertius' son?'). Cf. Theocr.22.115, Ap.*Rhod.*2.851,1090: 4.450.

*γάρ . . . δή*, separated, can hardly be regarded as a distinctive idiom: but in E.*IA*637 *ποθῶ γάρ ὄμμα δή σόν* there is a certain coherence between the particles.

*καὶ γάρ δή*. Hom.*Π*810: Hdt.i135: Pl.*Thl.*203B: *Cra.*412C: *Prt.*314A: X.*HG*vi3.14: 5.41: 5.52: Lys.xxviii3.

*ἀλλὰ γάρ δή*. Pl.*Hp.Ma.*301B. *ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ δή*. S.*Aj.*167: E.*Med.*1067: *Fr.*573,773.59: Th.vi77.1.

### Γε δή

We have seen that *γε* and *δή*, as emphatic particles, share a good deal of common ground. The usages of *γε δή* correspond closely with those of its component parts in different idioms. (It makes little difference whether we regard the two particles as exercising their force independently, or *δή* as strengthening *γε*.) Only in *a fortiori* statements (4) does the combination acquire any noticeable individuality.

While fairly common in prose (e.g. 43 examples in Plato,

according to R. W. Chapman), *γε δή* hardly ever occurs in verse. Hom.*H*281 *τό γε δή καὶ ἴδμεν ἅπαντες*: η214: ξ198: π136: ρ281: S.*Ant.*923: E.*Hel.*1176: *IT*512 *Φεύγω τρόπον γε δή τιν' οὐχ ἐκὼν ἐκὼν* (but here *δή* really coalesces with *τινα*): Ar.*V.*857. In A.*Pr.*42 the MSS. *τε* is quite possibly sound.

(1) Emphatic limitative. E.*Hel.*1176 *θανεῖται δ', ἦν γε δή ληφθῆ μόνον*: Hdt.i114 *ὡς γε δή ἀνάξια ἐωτοῦ παθῶν*: ii120 *μέλλοντά γε δή . . . ἀπαλλαγῆσθαι*: iii9 *ἐπεὶ γε δή* (S.*Ant.*923: Th.i132.3): Hdt.vi79.2 *πρὶν γε δή* (82.1: 110: vii239.4: Th.vii71.5): Th.vii56.4 *πλήν γε δή* (Pl.*Phd.*57B: *Plt.*305A): Pl.*Thl.*182C *εἴπερ γε δή* (*Prm.*138D elliptical, in answer): *Phd.*84C *εἴ γε δή* (*Lg.*672A: *Alc.*I106B): *Lg.*834B *κατά γε δή Κρήτην*: *Phdr.*268A *ἔν γε δή πλήθους συνόδοις*: R.389C *ἀλλὰ πρὸς γε δή τοὺς τοιοῦτους ἄρχοντας*: *Cri.*45D *χρῆ δὲ . . . ταῦτα αἰρεῖσθαι, φάσκοντά γε δή ἀρετῆς . . . ἐπιμελεῖσθαι*: X.*Eq.Mag.*4.6 *ἦν δ' ἄρα αὐτὸς ἀπείρως ἔχη, τῶν ἄλλων γε δή τοὺς ἐπιστημονεστάτους . . . παραλαμβάνειν* (for *γούν*: *δεῖ B*): Is.ii30 *ὡς γε δή ῥόμεθα* (*ὥστε δηῶμεθα codd.*): D.vi17 *νῦν γε δή*: κχι161 *καίτοι τόν γε δή φιλότιμον πανταχοῦ προσῆκεν ἐξεταζεσθαι*: 199 *τόν γε δή μέχρι τῆς κρίσεως χρόνον, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντα* (for *γούν*): Pl.*R.*445C, 517C,533A: *Ti.*27C: *Thl.*164D: *Hp.Ma.*290B: *Lg.*842A: *Epin.*983D: *Er.*350E: X.*HG*iii2.16: vii4.39.

(2) Purely emphatic. Hom.η214 *καὶ πλείον' ἐγὼ κακὰ μυθησαίμην, ὅσσα γε δή . . . μόγησα* (*γε* exexegetic, and *δή* strengthening *ὅσσα*): Th.ii62.1 *ἐν οἷς ἄλλοτε πολλάκις γε δή . . . ἀπέδειξα*: viii41.2 *ὅς αὐτοῖς ἔτυχε μέγιστός γε δή ὢν μεμνήμεθα γενόμενος* (for the last two examples cf. the common uses of *δή*, I.2.ii and 3): Pl.*Ar.*40A *συμβέβηκέ μοι . . . ταυτὶ ἄ γε δή οἰηθεῖν ἂν τις . . . ἔσχατα κακῶν εἶναι*: X.*An.*iv6.3 *τοῦτό γε δή Χειρισόφω καὶ Ξενοφῶντι μόνον διάφορον ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ ἐγένετο*: *Cyr.*v5.8 *ὅτι . . . δοκῶν γε δή . . . πατρὸς βασιλέως πεφυκέναι . . . ἐμαυτὸν μὲν ὀρῶ οὕτω ταπεινῶς καὶ ἀναξίως ἐλαύνοντα*.

(3) In answers, sometimes purely emphatic, but usually limitative. Pl.*Sup.*172C *εἰ νεωστὶ ἠγγῆ . . .*—*Ἐγὼ γε δή, ἔφη* ('I certainly did think so'): *Phdr.*242D *τὸν Ἐρωτα οὐ . . . θεὸν τινα ἠγγῆ*;—*λέγεται γε δή* ('He is said to be, certainly': R.557B): *Grg.*449B *Ἐπαγγέλλομαι γε δή* ('Yes, I profess to do that': not, on the lips of a Gorgias, 'Anyhow I profess to do that'): *Plt.*261D *φαίνεται γε δή ῥηθῆν νῦν* (*Prm.*157D): *Thl.*175B *δοκεῖ*



γε δή: 204B Δεῖ γε δή: *Euthd.*275A Οἰόμεθά γε δή: *X.Oec.* 13.4 Ἡ... παιδεύεις...;—Πειρῶμαί γε δή ('I try to, anyhow': contrast *Gr.*449B above): *Pl.R.*526E: *Prm.*138D: *Phdr.*277B: *Thit.*145D.

(4) *A fortiori*, 'praesertim', 'nedum': *Hdt.*iii1 ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἔλπομαί γε καὶ μυρίων ἐντὸς χωσθῆναι ἄν. κοῦ γε δὴ ἐν τῷ προαναισιμωμένῳ χρόνῳ... οὐκ ἂν χωσθείη κόλπος καὶ πολλῶ μέζων...; *Hr.Art.*37 εἰ... πῶς γε δὴ οὐκ...; *Th.*iv78.2 ἄλλως τε οὐκ εὔπορον... καὶ μετὰ ὄπλων γε δὴ: vi37.2 μόλις... εἰ... ἢ πού γε δὴ ἐν πάσῃ πολεμῖα Σικελία: *D.*ii23 οὐκ ἐνι... οὐδὲ τοῖς φίλοις ἐπιτάττειν... μὴ τί γε δὴ τοῖς θεοῖς: *liv* 17 ἃ πολλὴν αἰσχύνην ἔχει καὶ λέγειν, μὴ ὅτι γε δὴ ποιεῖν ἀνθρώπους μετρίους.

For μὴ τι δή, μὴ ὅτι δή in *a fortiori* statements, see δή, I.10. vi. For μὴ ὅτι δή γε (*Pl.Phlb.*60D) see δή γε.

(5) καὶ... γε δή. *Th.*i11.2 τά τε πρὸ τούτων ἀσθενῆ ἦν καὶ αὐτά γε δὴ ταῦτα: *Pl.Sph.*237B παρ' ἐκείνου τ' οὖν μαρτυρεῖται, καὶ μάλιστα γε δὴ πάντων...: *Thit.*156B καὶ καύσεις καὶ ἡδοναί γε δὴ καὶ λῦπαι: *Smpr.*173E ὦ φίλτατε, καὶ δηλόν γε δὴ ὅτι... μαίνομαι καὶ παραπαίω; (ironical, 'So it's obvious, is it...?') For καί in indignant questions, *v.s.v.* II.B.10.ii.b.: καί does not cohere closely with γε δή here): *X.Oec.*5.20 καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑγρῶν καὶ... καὶ... καὶ... καὶ... καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων γε δὴ: *Th.*iv78.2 (see (4)): *Pl.Phlb.*26B,47B: *Epin.*978B: *X.Mem.*i2.53: *Cyr.*i6.43.

(6) μὲν γε δή. *Pl.Thit.*172C καὶ πολλάκις μὲν γε δὴ... καὶ ἄλλοτε κατενόησα, ἀτὰρ καὶ νῦν.

(7) τέ γε δή, τε... γε δή. *Pl.Lg.*709D Οἱ τε ἄλλοι γε δὴ πάντες... εἶποιεν ἄν: 722E ἢ νῦν διατριβὴ γεγονυῖα, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, σημαίνει ὡς ὄντος, οἱ τέ γε δὴ διπλοῖ ἔδοξαν... νόμοι οὐκ εἶναι ἀπλῶς οὕτω πως διπλοῖ.

In *Ant.*v57 δή is connective (cf. δή. IV.2) after ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ: τίνος γε δὴ ἕνεκα τὸν ἄνδρα ἀπέκτεινα; ('Again, why did I kill the man?'). and apparently inferential in iii89: οὐκ ἀτιμώρητος ὁ φόνος ἐστίν. ἔχοντός γε δὴ (δή οἱ. A) τὴν δίκην τοῦ φονέως, ... ἐὰν καταλάβητε, ἐνθύμιον ὑπολείψασθε: but the punctuation is in doubt. In *Pl.Lg.*219C γε marks the amplification of a preceding statement (see γε, I.11.ix), while δή stresses φίλου: Εἰ ἄρα φίλον, ἕνεκά του.—Ναί.—Φίλου γέ τινος δή.

For ἀλλά γε δή see p. 242, *ad fin.*

## Δή γε

On this very rare combination, seldom textually above suspicion, see Neil, Appendix to *Knights*, p. 196, and Paley on *E.IT*943 ('generally, if not always, an indication of a grammarian's patchwork').

A few instances seem to be certain. In most of them δή and γε clearly do not coalesce. *E.Supp.*162 εὐψυχίαν ἔσπευσας...—Ὁ δὴ γε πολλοὺς ὤλεσε στρατηλάτας ('Yes, the very thing that...': γε marks the answer: δή goes closely with the relative): *Heracl.*632 Πάρεσμεν, οἷα δὴ γ' ἐμοῦ παρουσία (γε adding a restrictive sense to the closely cohering οἷα δή): *Ar.Th.*934 Νῆ Δί', ὡς νῦν δὴ γ' ἀνὴρ ὀλίγου μ' ἀφείλετ' αὐτόν (δή γ' Dobree: δῆτ' R: ὡς... γε is common, and νῦν δή is practically one word): *Pl.Phlb.*60D καὶ ὀτιοῦν... μὴ ὅτι δή γε ἡδονήν (*a fortiori*): *Plt.*294E Διὸ δὴ γε καὶ... (διὸ δὴ closely together: γε marks a new stage in the thought).

The following are more than doubtful, and are almost universally emended: *E.IT*943 ἐνθεν μοι πόδα ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας δὴ γ' ἐπεμψε Δοξίας (δῆτ' Scaliger: but the corruption is probably wider spread): *HF*1146 Οἷμοι: τί δὴ γε φείδομαι ψυχῆς ἐμῆς (δῆτα Schaefer, with much probability: or perhaps τί δὴ γῶ, 'Why, then, do I spare my own life'): *IA*1207 εἰ δ' εὖ λέλεκται, † νῶι μὴ δὴ γε κτάνης †. In *Ar.Nu.*681,786 the textual authority for δή γε is slight. In *X.Oec.*17.2 δή γε is a most unlikely emendation of δέ γε. The combination ἀλλὰ δή γε in *Pl.Hr.Ma.*304A (see p. 242, *ad fin.*) is equally suspicious. In *Hdt.*vii10θ1 *RSV* read ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ γε δεῖ, *CP* ἀλλ' εἰ δεῖ δή γε (ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ δεῖ γε Hude). The reading of *RSV* may possibly be right, εἴ γε, 'if, but not otherwise', being combined with εἰ δή, 'if really': and the order δή γε being preferred to the stereotyped γε δή as giving more independent force to the two particles. Cf. *Pl.Prm.*135B εἴ γέ τις δή B Proclus: εἰ δὴ γέ τις T.

## Καὶ δή

This combination is sometimes connective, 'and indeed', sometimes non-connective, 'also indeed', 'actually indeed'. Some cases admit of classification under either head.

(1) Connective. *Καὶ δή* as a connecting particle, linking either sentences or clauses, is not infrequent in Homer, and common in Ionic prose (Herodotus and Hippocrates). It is occasionally found in Plato, but is on the whole rare in Attic,<sup>1</sup> where *καὶ . . . δή* or *καὶ δή καί* is normally used in adding something *eiusdem generis*, and *καὶ μὴν* in introducing a new departure.

In Homer connective *καὶ δή* usually corresponds to the later *καὶ δή καί*. It introduces something similar in kind to what has preceded, but stronger in degree, and marks a kind of climax. *A161 οὐδ' ἀλεγίζεις καὶ δή μοι . . . ἀπειλείς*: *E175 ὅς τις ὄδε κρατέει, καὶ δή κακὰ πολλὰ ἔοργε*: *I349 μάλα πολλὰ πονήσατο νόσφιν ἐμείο, καὶ δή τείχος ἔδειμε*: *O251 οὐκ αἶεις ὃ με . . . βάλεν Αἴας . . . ἔπαυσε δὲ θούριδος ἀλκῆς; καὶ δή ἔγωγ' ἐφάμην νέκυας . . . ἴξεσθαι*: *X457 δεῖδω μὴ . . . Ἀχιλλεύς . . . δίηται, καὶ δή μιν καταπαύση*: *Z52: β315: ε409: ι496: κ30: φ377: χ10: Even.Fr.9.1.*

Herodotus uses *καὶ δή* in a less restricted manner. With him, though the sense of climax is frequently present, *καὶ δή* is often merely a lively connective, denoting that something important or interesting is to follow. *ι66 . . . καὶ εὐθενήθησαν. καὶ δή σφι οὐκέτι ἀπέχρα ἡσυχίην ἄγειν*: *ii87 τὰς δὲ σάρκας τὸ λίτρον κατατῆκει, καὶ δή λείπεται τοῦ νεκροῦ τὸ δέρμα μῦνον*: *vi61.3 ἐλίσσεται τὴν θεὸν ἀπαλλάξαι τῆς δυσμορφίης τὸ παιδίον. καὶ δή κοτε ἀπιούση . . .*: *vii12.1 κατύπνωσε, καὶ δή κου ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ εἶδε ὄψιν*: *38.2 ἔφη τε ὑποργήσειν καὶ δή ἀγορεύειν ἐκέλευε ὄτεν δέοιτο*: *149.2 ὑποκρίνασθαι, καὶ δή λέγειν*: *vi12.3: 128.2: vii34: 224.2: viii88.2.*

Hippocrates contains many examples: *Vict.25 ἄτε βραδέης ἐούσης τῆς κινήσιος καὶ δή ψυχροῦ τοῦ σώματος*: *VC2 καὶ δή ὅτι οὕτω ταῦτα ἔχει . . .*: *ib.2,6,12.*

<sup>1</sup> The scarcity of connective *καὶ δή* in Attic has hardly been noticed. Eucken (p. 44), not distinguishing between (1) and (2), observes that the juxtaposition of the particles, without a second *καί*, is not to be found in the genuine works of Aristotle.

Attic instances are few and far between. *Pl.Ar.41B θαυμαστὴ ἂν εἴη ἡ διατριβὴ αὐτόθι, ὅποτε . . . καὶ δή τὸ μέγιστον (καὶ δή καὶ T)*: *Ti.74E ἂ δὲ (τῶν ὄστων) ἀψυχότατα ἐντός, πλείσταις καὶ πυκνοτάταις (συνέφραττε σαρκίην), καὶ δή κατὰ τὰς συμβολὰς τῶν ὄστων . . . βραχείαν σάρκα ἐφυσεν (καὶ κατὰ F)*: *Lg.682E καὶ δή ταῦτά γε ἤδη πάνθ' ὑμεῖς, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τάντεῦθεν μυθολογεῖτε*: *X.An.15.7 καὶ δή ποτε στενοχωρίας καὶ πηλοῦ φανέντος . . .* (elsewhere Xenophon expresses lively connexion by *καὶ μέντοι*): *And.141 ἤκειν ἔφη τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ, καὶ δή κόπτειν τὴν θύραν*: *Pl.Tht.158D: Ep.311A.* (For *D.xlviii15*, see *καὶ δή καί, ad inicit.*: *καὶ δή ὃ τι*, in *Lys.xiii4*, is a rather rash conjecture.) Sometimes introducing a new point, like *καὶ μὴν*: *Pl.R.490C: Lg.677B.964A.*

In the following, *καὶ δή* seems to combine the ideas of connexion and immediacy: 'And lo, straightway'. *E.Cyc.423 ἄλλην ἔδωκα κύλικα . . . καὶ δή πρὸς ῥῥὰς εἶπε*: *Pl.Phdr.255E καὶ δή, οἶον εἰκός, ποιεῖ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ταχὺ ταῦτα.* (Cf. *Hom. B135 ἐννέα δὲ βεβάασι . . . ἐνιαυτοί, καὶ δή δοῦρα σέσηπε νεῶν*: *Thgn.1316 ἐκ πάντων σ' ἐδόκουν θήσεσθαι ἐταῖρον πιστόν' καὶ δή νῦν ἄλλον ἔχεισθα φίλον.*)

In three places where, with the accepted punctuation, *καὶ δή* must be taken as connective, it is perhaps better to put a colon or full-stop before the particles, and assume an asyndeton. *Ar.Fax178 ἀτὰρ ἐγγὺς εἶναι τῶν θεῶν ἐμοὶ δοκῶ, καὶ δή καθορῶ τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν τοῦ Διός*: *Lys.925 κατάκεισο, καὶ δή 'κδύομαι* ('Look! I'm taking off my clothes'): *E.Hipp.1447 Ὀλωλα καὶ δή νερτέρων ὀρῶ πύλας.*

In a few passages *καὶ δή* expresses the secondary sense of *καὶ δή καί* (*q.v.*, (2)), marking the transition from general to particular. *Hdt.v67.5 τά τε δή ἄλλα . . . ἐτίμων . . . καὶ δή . . . ἐγέραιρον*: *Pl.Lg.674C τακτὰ δὲ τά τ' ἄλλα ἂν εἴη . . . καὶ δή τά γε περὶ οἶνον*: *722D λόγων πάντων . . . προοίμιά τέ ἐστιν . . . καὶ δή που κιθαρωδικῆς ῥῥῆς λεγομένων νόμων . . . προοίμια . . . πρόκειται*: *794D πρὸς δὲ τὰ μαθήματα τρέπεσθαι χρεῶν ἐκατέρους . . . καὶ δή τά γε μάλιστα πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὄπλων χρεῖαν*: *D.lvi11 τηνικαῦτα τοῦτο (τὸ ὕδωρ) εἰς τὰ χωρία ὑπεραίρειν ἀναγκαῖον ἤδη. καὶ δή κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον . . . συνέβη τὸ ὕδωρ ἐμβαλεῖν (καὶ δή καὶ A).* For *D.xlviii14*, see *καὶ δή καί, ad inicit.*

In the following a second *καί* follows at a short interval, in

close connexion with the word or words which come after it. Pl.R.344D *ἠνάγκασαν ὑπομείναι (οἱ παρόντες) . . . καὶ δὴ ἔγωγε καὶ αὐτὸς πάνυ ἐδέδμην: Thg.121A καὶ ἄλλως . . . καὶ δὴ σοῦ γ' ἔνεκα καὶ πάνυ: Ar.21A ἴστε οἶος ἦν Χαιρεφῶν, ὡς σφοδρὸς ἐφ' ὅτι ὀρμήσειεν. καὶ δὴ ποτε καὶ εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐλθὼν ἐτόλμησε. . . .* In R.361E the sense perhaps indicates that the *καὶ* in *κἄν*, in spite of the crasis, goes with the preceding *καὶ δὴ: λεκτεόν οὖν καὶ δὴ κἄν ἀγροικοτέρως λέγεται, μὴ ἐμὲ οἴου λέγειν.*

I have left two special usages to the last.

(i) In two passages, elsewhere unparalleled, *καὶ δὴ* introduces an argument from precedent: 'Before now . . .'. (*καί* here is perhaps not connective). A.Supp.499 *φύλαξαι μὴ θράσος τέκη φόβον καὶ δὴ φίλον τις ἔκταν' ἀγνοίας ὑπο: Ar.Au.1251 πέμψω δὲ πορφυρίωνας ἐς τὸν οὐρανόν . . . πλεῖν ἐξακοσίους τὸν ἀριθμόν. καὶ δὴ ποτε εἰς Πορφυρίων αὐτῷ παρέσχε πράγματα. (Cf. ἤδη Th.ii 77.4).*

(ii) Euripides four times introduces a surprised question with *καὶ δὴ*, instead of the simple *καί* often so used: cf. *δή, I.5.i. b. Hec.758 Καὶ δὴ τίν' ἡμᾶς εἰς ἐπάρκεσιν καλεῖς; Hel.101 Καὶ δὴ τί τοῦτ' Αἴαντι γίγνεται κακόν; El.655: Or.1188. X.Cyr.iv 3.5 is perhaps analogous: ἔχομεν . . . ὄπλα οἷς δοκοῦμεν ἂν τρέπεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ὁμοσε ἰόντες καὶ δὴ τρεπόμενοι ποίους . . . δυναίμεθ' ἂν . . . κατακαεῖν; Perhaps, however, *καὶ δὴ τρεπόμενοι* means 'supposing we do rout', a participial use analogous to the finite use described in 2.v below.*

(2) Non-connective. (Usually, but by no means invariably, at opening of sentence. Sometimes combined, and even juxtaposed, with connecting particles, *ἀλλά, ἀτάρ, μὲν οὖν, μέντοι, οὖν, γάρ, δέ, τοίνυν.*) *καὶ δὴ* here signifies, vividly and dramatically, that something is actually taking place at the moment. This use is already found in Homer: Φ421 ὦ πόποι . . . Ἄτρυτώνη, καὶ δὴ αὐθ' ἡ κυνάμναι ἄγει . . . ('See now!'): μ116 Σχέτλιε, καὶ δὴ αὐτοὶ πολεμήϊα ἔργα μέμηλε: ν169: χ249. In an indignant question: Ξ364 Ἀργεῖοι, καὶ δὴ αὐτε μεθίεμεν Ἐκτορι νίκην . . .; Examples of the apodotic use (see (vi) below) are also to be found in Homer. This vivid use of *καὶ δὴ* occurs several times in Demosthenes but not in the other orators.

(i) In general, marking vivid perception by mind, ear, or eye:

'lo!', 'hark!', 'see there!'. (Cf. *καὶ μὴν, (7).*) Thgn.1107 ὦ μοι ἐγὼ δειλός καὶ δὴ κατάχαρμα μὲν ἐχθροῖς . . . γενόμεν: S.Fr. 465.1 τειχέων καὶ δὴ τοὺς Ποσιδείους . . . θριγκοὺς ἀποσεισάμενη: E.HF867 ἦν ἰδοῦ καὶ δὴ τινάσσει κρᾶτα: Ar.Th.769 οἶδ' ἐγὼ καὶ δὴ πόρον: 1092 Ποῦ 'στ' ἡ μισρά; καὶ δὴ πεύγει: V.492 ὥστε καὶ δὴ τοῦνομ' αὐτῆς (τυραννίδος) ἐν ἀγορᾷ κυλίνδεται: Nu. 906 τουτὶ καὶ δὴ χωρεῖ τὸ κακόν (V.1483: Ra.1018): V.1484 Κληῖθρα χαλάσθω τάδε. καὶ δὴ γὰρ σχήματος ἀρχή: Antiph. Fr.237.1 ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ δὴ βακχίου παλαιγενοῦς . . . δέπας μεστὸν . . . ἔλκουσι: Carm.Pop.43.4 ἀμέρα καὶ δὴ: Hdt.vii 14 ὦ παῖ Δαρείου, καὶ δὴ φαίνεαι . . . ἀπειπάμενος τὴν στρατηλασίην: Pl.Cra.416A Τὸ μὲν τοίνυν "αἰσχροῦν" καὶ δὴ κατάδηλόν μοι φαίνεται.

(ii) Sometimes used (as, far more often, *καὶ μὴν: q.v. (6)*) to mark the entrance of a character on the stage. S.Aj.544 Καὶ δὴ κομίζει προσπόλων ὄδ' ἐγγύθεν: E.Med.1118 καὶ δὴ δέδορκα τόνδε . . . στείχοντα: Cys.488 Σίγα σίγα. καὶ δὴ μεθύων . . . χωρεῖ πετρίνων ἔξω μελάθρων: Supp.1114 Τάδε δὴ παίδων καὶ δὴ φθιμένων ὅστᾳ φέρεται (the text has been suspected, but may be sound. Paley keeps it): Ar.Au.268 ἀλλ' εἰς οὐτοσί καὶ δὴ τις ὄρνις ἔρχεται: Ra.604 ὡς ἀκούω τῆς θύρας καὶ δὴ ψύφον: V. 1324: Lys.65,77: Ec.500.

(iii) Marking the provision or completion of something required by the circumstances. Ar.Pax 942 ὁ γὰρ βωμὸς θύρασι καὶ δὴ: Lys.601 σορὸν ὠνήσει μελιτοῦτταν ἐγὼ καὶ δὴ μάξω (μάξω R): 909 ἰδοῦ τὸ μὲν σοι παιδίον καὶ δὴ ἔκποδών: Th.266 Ἄνῆρ μὲν ἡμῖν οὐτοσί καὶ δὴ γυνὴ τό γ' εἶδος: Pl.Grg.523D παυστέον ἐστὶν προειδότας αὐτοὺς τὸν θάνατον . . . τοῦτο μὲν οὖν καὶ δὴ εἴρηται τῷ Προμηθεῖ ὅπως ἂν παύσῃ αὐτῶν: [X.]-1th. 2.11 ἐξ αὐτῶν μέντοι τούτων καὶ δὴ νῆές μοι εἰσι ('Well, there are my ships!').

So too in response to a definite command, often with a word of the command echoed. The answer is usually in the present tense, sometimes in the perfect, rarely in the future: action here being normally regarded as preceding, or synchronizing with, speech. A.Pr.54 Οὐκουν ἐπέξει τῷδε δεσμὰ περιβαλεῖν . . .;—Καὶ δὴ πρόχειρα ψάλια: 75 Καὶ δὴ πέπρακται τοῦργον: Th.473 πέμπε . . .—Πέμποιμ' ἂν ἤδη τόνδε, σὺν τύχῃ δέ τῳ καὶ δὴ πέπεμπται: S.OC 173 Πρόσθιγέ νῦν μου.—Ψαῖω καὶ

δή: *E. Alc.* 1118 Τόλμα προτείνει χεῖρα . . .—Καὶ δὴ προτείνω: *Ph.* 387 (the rarity of this use of καὶ δὴ in Euripides is remarkable): *Ag. Pax* 327 παῦε . . .—*Hv* ἰδοὺ καὶ δὴ πέπαυμαι: *Av.* 175 βλέψον κάτω.—Καὶ δὴ βλέπω: 550 σὺ δίδασκε . . .—Καὶ δὴ τοίνυν πρῶτα διδάσκω: *Th.* 214 ἀπόδνθι τουτὶ θοῖμάτιον.—Καὶ δὴ χαμαί: *Ra.* 1205 σὺ δείξεις;—*Φημί*.—Καὶ δὴ χρῆ λέγειν: *Pl. Com. Fr.* 69.9 νεοκράτά τις ποιείτω.—Καὶ δὴ κέκραται: *Anaxil. Fr.* 9 ἀπόδος.—Καὶ δὴ φέρουσ' ἐξέρχομαι: *A. Supp.* 438, 507: *S. Tr.* 345: *El.* 317, 558, 892, 1436, 1464: *Ant.* 245: *Ph.* 818: *Ag. Eq.* 22: *Nu.* 778, 1097: *Ec.* 1014: *Pl.* 227, 414: *Pl. Phdr.* 236D Μηδαμῶς τοίνυν εἶπης.—*Οὔκ*, ἀλλὰ καὶ δὴ λέγω (refusal to obey command).

(iv) The line between 'actually happening' and 'happening now' is often difficult to draw. Hence καὶ δὴ frequently approximates in sense (particularly in the historians) to ἤδη, though it is always more vivid and dramatic in tone.

*S. Aj.* 49 Ἡ καὶ παρέστη καπὶ τέρμ' ἀφίκετο;—Καὶ δὴ 'πὶ δισσαῖς ἦν στρατηγίσιν πύλαις: *OC* 31 Ἡ δεῦρο προστείχοντα . . .;—Καὶ δὴ μὲν οὖν παρόντα: *E. Med.* 1065 πάντως πέπρακται πάντα κούκ ἐκφεύζεται. καὶ δὴ 'πὶ κρατὶ στέφανος . . . σάφ' οἶδ' ἐγώ: *Heracl.* 671 Ἴσασι καὶ δὴ λαιὸν ἔστηκεν κέρας: 673 Καὶ δὴ παρήκται σφάγια: *Ag. Ra.* 647 πατάξω.—*Πηνίκα*;—Καὶ δὴ 'πάταξα (the approximation to ἤδη is remarkably close here. καὶ δὴ cannot mean 'there!', since the blow precedes the question *Πηνίκα*);: *Ec.* 581 ἀλλ' οὐ μέλλειν, ἀλλ' ἄπτεισθαι καὶ δὴ χρῆν ταῖς διανοαῖς: 786 Ὀντως γὰρ οἴσεις;—*Ναὶ μὰ Δία*, καὶ δὴ μὲν οὖν τωδὶ ξυνάπτω τῷ τρίποδε: *E. Or.* 1108, 1214: *Supp.* 1070: *Hdt.* iv 102.1 τῶν δὲ καὶ δὴ οἱ βασιλέες συνελθόντες ἐβουλεύοντο: ix 66.3 ὦρα καὶ δὴ φεύγοντας τοὺς Πέρσας: vii 196 ἐσβεβληκῶς ἦν καὶ δὴ τριταῖος ἐς Μηλιέας: ix 6 ὁ δὲ ἐπιὼν καὶ δὴ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίῃ ἐλέγετο εἶναι: 11.2 εἶπαν ἐπ' ὄρκου καὶ δὴ δοκέειν εἶναι ἐν Ὀρεσθείῳ: *X. Cyr.* iii 1.2 λέγοντες ὅτι καὶ δὴ αὐτὸς ὁμοῦ: iv 4.11 ὅποσοι δ' ἂν τὰ πολεμικὰ μὴ ἀποφέρωσιν ὄπλα, ἐπὶ τούτους ἡμεῖς καὶ δὴ στρατευσόμεθα: vi 3.14 ἀπαντᾷ δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ δὴ ἐντὸς τῶν σκοπῶν: D. iv 13 τὸν δὲ τρόπον τῆς παρασκευῆς . . . καὶ δὴ πειράσομαι λέγειν, δεηθεὶς ὑμῶν . . . τοσοῦτον (perhaps to be classed as quasi-apodotic, in spite of the order): xx 65 τὰς δὲ δωρείας . . . καὶ δὴ λελυμένας: *Hdt.* viii 94.3: ix 48.2: 89.1: 102.1: *X. Cyr.* ii 4.17: iii 3.43: *HGiv* 2.13.

(v) From καὶ δὴ denoting actual realization it is an easy transition to καὶ δὴ denoting imaginary realization, 'suppose that so-and-so happens'. As a general rule the clause introduced by καὶ δὴ is not linked to what follows by a connective. *A. Ch.* 565 ἤξω . . . ἐφ' ἐρκείους πύλας . . . καὶ δὴ θυρωρῶν οὔτις ἂν φαιδρᾷ φρενὶ δέξαιτ' . . . : μενούμεν . . . : *Eu.* 894 δέχου δὲ σύ.—Καὶ δὴ δέδεγμαι τίς δέ μοι τιμὴ μένει; *E. Med.* 386 καὶ δὴ τεθναῖσι τίς με δέξεται πόλις; *Hipp.* 1007 καὶ δὴ τὸ σῶφρον τοῦμὸν οὐ πείθει σ' ἴτω: *Hel.* 1059 θάψαι τύραννον τῆσδε γῆς αἰτήσομαι.—Καὶ δὴ παρεῖκεν εἶτα πῶς . . . ; ('Suppose he agrees. Then how . . .?'): *Ag. V.* 1224 καὶ δὴ γὰρ εἰμ' ἐγὼ Κλέων ('Suppose I'm Cleon'): *Philyll. Fr.* 3.1: *E. Med.* 1107: *Gorg. Fr.* 11a6 συνουσία δὲ τίνα τρόπον γένοιτ' ἂν . . . ; ἀλλὰ δὴ τοῦτο τῷ λόγῳ δυνατὸν γενέσθαι. καὶ δὴ τοίνυν σύνειμι ('Suppose, then . . .'): *Fr.* 11a11 καὶ δὴ τοίνυν γενέσθω καὶ τὰ μὴ γένομενα: D. xxix 40 τί μάλιστ' ἂν αὐτὸν εὔξαιτο λέγειν σκοπῶμεν. οὐχ ὅτι . . . ; καὶ δὴ λέγει (Well, suppose he says it'): *X. An.* v 7.9: D. xxxix 8. Add, possibly, *Hdt.* vii 186.2: but it is perhaps more natural to take καὶ δὴ as connective there.\*

(vi) In *apodosis*, καὶ δὴ denotes the instant and dramatic following of the apodosis upon the protasis. There are three Homeric instances, all in the *Odyssey*: ε401 ἀλλ' ὅτε τόσσον ἀπῆν . . . , καὶ δὴ δοῦπον ἄκουσε: μ330: τ533. *X. An.* i 10.10 ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο, καὶ δὴ βασιλεὺς . . . κατέστησεν ἀντίαν τὴν φάλαγγα: D. ii 13 κἂν ταῦτ' ἐθελήσθητ' ὡς προσήκει καὶ δὴ περαίνειν . . . : v 9 καὶ μόνον ἐν τοῦτ' εἰπὼν ἔτι καὶ δὴ περὶ ᾧ παρελήλυθ' ἐρῶ ('I shall speak, without further ado'): xviii 276 ὡς, ἐὰν πρότερός τις εἶπη . . . , καὶ δὴ ταῦθ' οὔτως ἔχοντα ('that it is *ipso facto* so'): *Hdt.* ix 7 β1: D. xxiii 77: *Arist. MM* 1187b24: 1191b8: 1208a32.

### Καὶ . . . δή

We have observed above that καὶ δὴ is seldom used in Attic as a connective, its place being taken by καὶ . . . δή or καὶ δὴ καί. These combinations signify that the addition made by καί is an important one. They thus differ slightly from καὶ . . . γε, which merely stresses the fact that an addition is made. The

difference is, however, a barely perceptible one, and the choice between *καὶ . . . γε* and *καὶ . . . δή* is largely a matter of stylistic preference. Thus the dramatists prefer *καὶ . . . γε*. When they write *καὶ . . . δή*, it is difficult, in view of the freedom with which emphatic *δή* is used in drama, to say whether the two particles should be taken in combination. *S.Tr.* 31 *κάφυσάμεν δὴ παιδᾶς*: *Ph.* 878 *τοῦ κακοῦ δοκεῖ λήθη τις εἶναι κἀνάπαυλα δὴ, τέκνον*. On the other hand, in prose writers, who are more sparing of emphatic *δή*, we can usually be fairly certain that the two particles, occurring in the same clause, and separated by only a short interval, are to be taken together, particularly where *δή* follows a type of word (e.g. substantive or verb) with which it is not normally associated in prose.

(1) *Καὶ . . . δή* joins sentences, clauses, and single words. Hence it may be preceded by a heavy or a light stop, or by no stop at all. (See, however, *καὶ δὴ καί*, *ad inii*.)

(i) After a full stop. *Pl.Ar.* 21A *καὶ ἴστε δὴ οἶος ἦν Χαιρεφῶν*: *Cra.* 389C *Καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὴ ὀργάνων*: *D.xxi* 135 *καὶ τὸ δὴ σχετλιώτατον*: *Pl.Tht.* 156E, 159C, 187A: *X.HGiii* 1.9: *An.* i 8.23.

(ii) After a colon. *Pl.Chrm.* 167A *καὶ ἔστιν δὴ τοῦτο τὸ σωφρονεῖν*: 172B *καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους δὴ κάλλιον ἐξετάσει*. (iii) After a comma, or no stop at all. *Pl.Phd.* 101B *πρῶτον μὲν . . . ἔπειτα . . . εἶναι, καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τέλος εἶναι*: 115D *οἶεται . . . , καὶ ἐρωτᾷ δὴ*: *X.Cyr.* ii 2.6 *καὶ στήσας τὸν λοχαγὸν πρῶτον καὶ τάξας δὴ ἐπ' αὐτῷ . . .*: *D.xix* 246 *ἀλλὰ Μόλων ἠγωνίζετο καὶ εἰ δὴ τις ἄλλος . . .*: *xxi* 20 *καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα δὴ πρόσεστι τούτῳ*: *Pl.Ly.* 215D: *Tht.* 156E: *Euthphr.* 9A. At the end of a catalogue: *Pl.Men.* 87E *ὑγίεια, φαμέν, καὶ ἰσχὺς καὶ κάλλος καὶ πλοῦτος δὴ*: *Euthd.* 302E *ὅσα ἂν σοι ἐξῆ καὶ δοῦναι καὶ ἀποδόσθαι καὶ θῦσαι δὴ θεῶ*: *Cri.* 45E: *X.HGvii* 3.6.

In *X.Ages.* 3.5 *καὶ . . . δή* is exceptionally used in the secondary sense of *καὶ δὴ καί*, marking a transition from general to particular: *τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἅπασιν καὶ ἀνδρὶ δὴ στρατηγῷ*.

(2) Occasionally *καὶ* in *καὶ . . . δή* means, not 'and', but 'even', 'actually', 'both'. (Cf. *καὶ . . . γε* (2).) *Pl.Men.* 96D *ὥστε καὶ θαυμάζω δὴ* ('I am absolutely astonished'): *Phlb.* 63A *Εἰ δέ γε καί, καθάπερ . . . , καὶ νῦν δὴ ταῦτά λέγομεν*: *Alc.I* 108D *καὶ σὺ δὴ οὖν*: *Er.* 362V *τὰ γὰρ ἀναλώματα . . . καὶ σὺ δὴ*

*φῆς ἀγαθὸν εἶναι*: *Lg.* 645B *οὕτω καὶ κακία δὴ καὶ ἀρετή*: *X.Cyr.* i 5.6 *ἐπεὶ δὲ προσείλοντο καὶ οὗτοι δὴ τοὺς τέτταρας*: *Pl.La.* 190D *Καὶ μάλα δὴ οὕτω δοκεῖ*: *Phd.* 76A *Καὶ μάλα δὴ οὕτως ἔχει*.\*

When the particles are used with dramatic effect, 'lo there!', they are hardly ever separated. *Hom.h.Merc.* 270 *καὶ κεν δὴ μέγα θαῦμα μετ' ἀθανάτοισι γένοιτο*.

In *Pl.R.* 371A *δή* is connective and *καί* means also: *Καὶ ἐμπόρων δὴ δεησόμεθα* ('We shall need merchants, then, as well'): cf. *R.* 516E, and *Chrm.* 171A, *Phdr.* 261D (see *δή*, V).

### Καὶ δὴ καί

In its primary significance (1), *καὶ δὴ καί* does not differ essentially from *καὶ . . . δή*: though perhaps there is a certain tendency to use *καὶ . . . δή* after light stops, *καὶ δὴ καί* after heavy ones. From (1) is easily developed the secondary meaning (2), 'and in particular', the generality of the preceding clause being often marked by *ἄλλος*, *αἰεί*, etc. Both meanings are perhaps found close together in *D.xlviii* 14-15: *οὗτος ὁ οἰκέτης σχεδὸν τι ἤδει τά τ' ἄλλα τοῦ Κόμωνος ἅπαντα καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον οὗ ἦν, τὸ ἔνδον κείμενον τῷ Κόμωνι. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἔλαθεν τὸν Κόμωνα . . .* (in the first case *S* and *D*, in the second *A*, omit the second *καί*: see Rennie's *apparatus*). In both usages *καὶ δὴ καί* is common throughout Greek prose literature, though far commoner in some authors than in others. No writer uses it proportionately more than Herodotus, while Xenophon and Aristotle have it very seldom. Its avoidance in verse, apparently absolute, cannot be explained on metrical grounds alone.

(1) *Democr.Fr.* 253 *κίνδυνος κακῶς ἀκούειν καὶ δὴ καὶ παθεῖν τι*: *Hdt.* ii 33 *καὶ Ἐτέαρχος συνεβάλλετο εἶναι Νεῖλον, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ λόγος οὕτω αἰρέει*: 115 *ὁ δὲ οἱ καὶ τὸ γένος κατέλεξε καὶ τῆς πατρὸς εἶπε τὸ οὐνομα καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν πλοῦν ἀπηγήσατο*: 146 *κατὰ περ Ἡρακλῆς . . . καὶ δὴ καὶ Διόνυσος . . . καὶ Πάν*: *Pl.Chrm.* 169B *ἐπιστήμην ἐπιστήμης καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀνεπιστημοσύνης*: *Ly.* 218C *συνεχωρείτην οὕτω τοῦτ' ἔχειν. καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ πάνν ἔχαιρον*: *Phd.* 111B *τὰς δὲ ὥρας αὐτοῖς κρᾶσιν ἔχειν . . . καὶ δὴ καὶ θεῶν ἄλση . . . αὐτοῖς εἶναι*: *R.* 328B *Ἀσσίαν τε αὐτόθι*

κατελάβομεν καὶ Εὐθύδημον . . . καὶ δὴ καὶ Θρασύμαχον καὶ . . . καὶ . . . : *Rhd.* 274D τοῦτον ἀριθμὸν τε καὶ λογισμὸν εὐρεῖν καὶ γεωμετρίαν καὶ ἀστρονομίαν, ἔτι δὲ πεττείας τε καὶ κυβείας, καὶ δὴ καὶ γράμματα : *Sph.* 265C Ζῶα δὴ πάντα θνητὰ καὶ δὴ καὶ φυτὰ : *Hdt.* iii 61 : *Pl.R.* 419A.

Normally the addition introduced by καὶ δὴ καί is of the same nature as what precedes. The idea conveyed is one of climax, 'and actually', 'and in fact'. Occasionally, however, the particles mark a new departure, a sense normally expressed in Attic by καὶ μὴν, ἀλλὰ μὴν, τοίνυν. *Pl.Smp.* 182A After explaining how certain persons have brought love into disrepute, Plato goes on to discuss the laws regarding love in various cities : καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ περὶ τὸν ἔρωτα νόμος . . . : *Cra.* 419B (after discussing the etymology of various words) καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ "ζημιῶδες" . . . : *R.* 371A Πλειόνων δὴ γεωργῶν . . . Καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων διακόνων . . . : *D.* xlv 13. This transitional use of καὶ δὴ καί is particularly common in Plato's later work : *Ti.* 79E, 80D, 90E, 92C : *Criti.* 111C, 114E, 115D.

(2) *Hdt.* i 1 τῇ τε ἄλλῃ . . . καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Ἄργος : 129 κατεκέρτομεε, καὶ ἄλλα λέγων . . . καὶ δὴ καὶ εἴρετό μιν : *Pl.La.* 182D πάντα ἐπίστασθαι ἀγαθὸν δοκεῖ εἶναι. καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ ὀπλιτικὸν τοῦτο . . . : *Prt.* 345E οὐδεὶς τῶν σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν ἡγείται . . . καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης . . . : *Rhd.* 59D αἰεὶ . . . καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε : 113A δς δι' ἐρήμων τε τόπων ρεῖ ἄλλων καὶ δὴ καὶ ὑπὸ γῆν ρέων . . . : *Rhd.* 260A "Οὔτοι ἀπόβλητον ἔπος" εἶναι δεῖ, ὦ Φαίδρε, ὃ ἂν εἴπωσι σοφοὶ . . . καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ νῦν λεχθὲν οὐκ ἀφετέον : *R.* 328E χαίρω διαλεγόμενος τοῖς σφόδρα πρεσβύταις . . . καὶ δὴ καὶ σοῦ ἡδέως ἂν πυθοίμην : *D.* viii 26 πάντες ὅσοι πώποτ' ἐκπεπλεύκασιν . . . χρήματα λαμβάνουσιν . . . καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν τῷ Διοπίθει . . . δῆλον ὅτι δώσουσι χρήματα : *Hdt.* i 29 : *Pl.Prt.* 343B : *R.* 357A : *Lys.* xiii 40 : *D.* liv 14. Followed by a third καί : *Pl.Lg.* 888D παρά τε τῶν ἄλλων καὶ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα καὶ παρὰ τοῦ νομοθέτου.

Far less frequently the transition is from the particular to the general. *Pl.R.* 527C Ἄ τε δὴ σὺ εἶπες . . . τὰ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ δὴ καὶ πρὸς πάσας μαθήσεις : *Euthphr.* 16 ὡς . . . καὶ ('both') τῆς πρὸς Μέλητον γραφῆς ἀπαλλάξομαι . . . καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον βίον ἀμεινον βιωσοίμην : *Plt.* 268B καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων περὶ νομίῶν ὁ αὐτὸς τρόπος : *Philb.* 62A, 63E : *Lg.* 686D, 722A (cf. 890D).

Other uses of καὶ δὴ καί are less normal.

(3) Apodotic (as, more frequently, καὶ δὴ). This usage is perhaps more apparent than real. Some instances are textually uncertain, others can be explained as anacoluthon, or by the consideration that the second καί goes closely with the word that follows it. *Hdt.* vii 1.1 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ ἀγγελίη ἀπίκετο . . . παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον . . . καὶ πρὶν μεγάλως κεχαραγμένον . . . καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε πολλῶν τε δεινότερα ἐποίηε . . . (perhaps anacoluthon) : 164.2 ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπεκράτησαν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ καὶ Ξέρξης οἰχώκεε ἀπελαύνων, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἀπίκετο (καὶ ἐκεῖνος together : καὶ δὴ C) : *Pl.Ar.* 18A ὥσπερ οὖν ἂν, εἰ . . . , καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν τοῦτο ὑμῶν δέομαι (καὶ νῦν together. *R.* 420D is similar, but the sentence is so long that there is a sort of anacoluthon) : *X.HG* vi 4.13 πρῶτον μὲν πρὶν καὶ αἰσθέσθαι τὸ μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατεύμα ὅτι ἡγοῖτο, καὶ δὴ καὶ οἱ ἰππεῖς συνεβεβλήκεσαν (καὶ δὴ CF: καὶ οἱ ἰππεῖς together: 'straightway the cavalry also').

(4) In *Hdt.* vii 10β1 καὶ δὴ καί exceptionally introduces an hypothesis (cf. καὶ δὴ, 2.v) : καὶ δὴ καὶ συνήνεικε . . . ἐσωθῆναι (καὶ συνήνεικε together).

(5) *Pl.Ar.* 26D is curious : καὶ οὕτω . . . οἶει αὐτοὺς ἀπείρους γραμμάτων εἶναι ὥστε οὐκ εἰδέναι ὅτι τὰ Ἀναξαγόρου βιβλία . . . γέμει τούτων τῶν λόγων ; καὶ δὴ καὶ οἱ νέοι ταῦτα παρ' ἐμοῦ μανθάνουσιν . . . ; This appears to be analogous to καὶ δὴ in surprised questions (cf. καὶ δὴ, 1.ii).

καὶ δὴ . . . καί : *Pl.Sph.* 251C τεθαυμακόσι, καὶ δὴ τι καὶ πάσσοφον οἰομένοις (*S.Fr.* 305 : cf. καί, II.A.3).

καὶ δὴ οὖν καί : *Pl.R.* 619B.

### Μὲν δή : δὲ δή

In a μέν and δέ antithesis either of the opposed particles may be strengthened by δή, δέ the more frequently, owing to the tendency in Greek to put emphasis on the second of two coordinated clauses rather than on the first. Sometimes both clauses are stressed : *E.Supp.* 457 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ πρὸς τὰ σὰ ἐξηκόντισα. ἤκεις δὲ δὴ τί τῆσδε γῆς κεχρημένος ; *Pl.Tht.* 170D σοὶ μὲν δὴ . . . ἡμῖν δὲ δὴ . . . : *R.* 456C Καὶ ὅτι μὲν δὴ δυνατὰ διωμολόγηται ; —Ναί.—Ὅτι δὲ δὴ βέλτιστα . . . :



## Μὲν δή

Hom.Ω599 Τίος μὲν δή τοι λέλυται . . . νῦν δὲ μνησώμεθα δόρπου: Anacr.Fr.6.1 μεῖς μὲν δή Ποσιδηϊῶν ἔστηκεν, νεφέλαι δ' ὕδει βρίθονται: A.Pr.500 τοιαῦτα μὲν δή ταῦτ' ἔνερθε δὲ χθονὸς . . .: S.Ph.350 μάλιστα μὲν δή . . . ἔπειτα μέντοι . . .: E.Alc.156: Hel.761: Or.19: Ag.Ach.523: Pl.Smp.216C καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν δή τῶν αὐλημάτων . . . ἄλλα δὲ . . .: Ti.83E καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δή . . . (without answering δέ): X.An.ii 6.28 καὶ τὰ μὲν δή ἀφανῆ . . . ἀ δὲ πάντες ἴσασι . . .: Hdt.ii 152: Pl.Cri.43B: *et saep.*

It is a peculiarity of Xenophon's to use μὲν δή in anaphora, where the absence of any real antithesis seems to make the emphasis unnecessary. An.vii 6.36 πολλὰ μὲν δή πρὸ ὑμῶν ἀγρυπνήσαντα, πολλὰ δὲ σὺν ὑμῖν πονήσαντα: Cyr.i 3.9 οὕτω μὲν δή εὐ κλύσαι τὸ ἔκπωμα . . . οὕτω δὲ στήσαντα τὸ πρόσωπον . . . προσενεγκεῖν: Oec.i.15. Cf. Gorg.Fr.6 πολλὰ μὲν δή . . . πολλὰ δὲ . . .

Μὲν δή is frequently used by the historians as a formula of transition, the μὲν clause often summing up the preceding section of the narrative. Hdt.vi 60-1 ταῦτα μὲν δή οὕτω γίνεται. τότε δὲ τὸν Κλεομένηα . . .: 94 Ἀθηναίοισι μὲν δή πόλεμος συνῆπτο πρὸς Αἰγινήτας, ὁ δὲ Πέρσης . . .: Th.i 46.1 αἱ μὲν δή νῆες ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν, οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι . . .: Hdt.vi 117.3: vii 105, 121, 124, 201: Th.i 53.3: ii 4.8: iii 24.3: iv 39.3: X.An. vi 3.9.

It is not always easy to say in such cases whether we are to regard δή as a connective, or as strengthening μὲν. On the one hand, there is the analogy of transitional μὲν οὖν, where (at any rate in Thucydides and subsequent writers) it can hardly be doubted that οὖν is connective: Th.i 55.2 ἡ μὲν οὖν Κέρκυρα οὕτω περιγίγνεται: iii 24.3 οἱ μὲν οὖν Πελοποννήσιοι . . . On the other hand, the historians did not regard a connecting particle at the beginning of each sentence as absolutely indispensable in narrative, particularly where a demonstrative (which in itself constitutes a connexion) occurs early in the sentence. Hdt.vii 11.1 Ἀρτάβανος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε: 41 ἐξήλασε μὲν οὕτως: 100.1 ἐς μὲν τασούνδε: X.An.vi 5.1 τὴν μὲν νύκτα οὕτω διήγαγον. It is possible that originally δή was regarded as strengthening μὲν:

but that subsequently, as connective δή grew commoner, δή came to be regarded as having a connective force here also. The problems presented by transitional μὲν δή and transitional μὲν οὖν are precisely similar, and the two combinations must be considered together.

For δή strengthening affirmative and adversative μὲν, see μὲν δή, *s.v.* μὲν.

## Δὲ δή

This combination is found both with and without a preceding μὲν: and δέ may be definitely adversative, or almost purely connective. (For the distinction between δὲ δή and δ' οὖν, see δ' οὖν.) Thgn.53 πόλις μὲν . . . λαοὶ δὲ δή ἄλλοι: Archil.Fr.88.3 τίς . . . φρένας, ἧς τὸ πρὶν ἠρήρεισθα; νῦν δὲ δή . . .: E.El.37 λαμπροὶ γὰρ ἐς γένος γε, χρημάτων δὲ δή πένητες: Or.56 τὴν δὲ δή πολύστονον Ἐλένην . . .: Hom.Σ 20, 290, 291: Pl.Chrm.154C ἐμοὶ θαυμαστὸς ἐφάνη . . . οἱ δὲ δή ἄλλοι πάντες ἐρᾶν ἔμοιγε ἐδόκουν αὐτοῦ . . . πολλοὶ δὲ δή ἄλλοι ἐρασταὶ . . . εἶποντο: Prt.311D παρὰ δὲ δή Πρωταγόραν νῦν ἀφικόμενοι . . . (marking the case in point as distinct from other parallel cases): Thg.126C λέγε δή μοι: ἐπεὶ δὲ δή τὰ πολιτικά βούλει σοφὸς γενέσθαι . . .; Hdt.iii 129: vii 201: Pl.La.179D: Grg.496D: *et saep.*

In Euripides and Aristophanes, often in surprised, or emphatic and crucial questions. E.Heracl.963 Εἶργει δὲ δή τίς . . . νόμος; Ph.1277 Δράσω δὲ δή τί; ('And what shall I do?'): Or.101 Αἰδῶς δὲ δή τίς σ' ἐς Μυκηναίους ἔχει; Ar.Au.112 Πράγους δὲ δή τοῦ δεομένω δεῦρ' ἤλθετον; Ra.805 Κρινεῖ δὲ δή τίς ταῦτα; ('And who's the judge to be?'): E.Ph.709: Or.425: El.237. 974: HF 206, 1246: Ar.Nu.1178: V.858: Pax 227: Au.67, 155: Pl.Euthphr.3E Ἔστιν δὲ δή σοὶ . . . τίς ἡ δίκη;

In Pl.Phd.80D δή is exceptionally attached to a duplicated δέ: Ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ ἄρα . . . αὐτὴ δὲ δή . . .;

## Τε δή (εἴτε δή, οὔτε δή)

In this combination δή is probably always emphatic (never connective: see (3) below), stressing either τε or the word or phrase

which precedes τε: the latter distinction is one which cannot be pressed. The frequency of τε δή in Herodotus is a remarkable instance of an individual writer's preference for a particular particle or combination of particles. There are some sixty examples in him (Hammer, p. 36) as against three in Thucydides, perhaps none in Xenophon, and one in Demosthenes.<sup>1</sup> On the whole, τε δή is rarer than one would expect, particularly in verse. In Tragedy and Plato εἴτ' οὖν, οὔτ' οὖν are preferred to εἴτε δή, οὔτε δή.

(1) τε = 'both'. *A.Pr.* 42 Αἰεὶ τε δή νηλῆς σὺ καὶ θράσους πλέως (where γε δή is usually read: *q.v.*): *Pers.* 735 Πῶς τε δή καὶ ποῖ τελευτᾶν; *Ag.Nu.* 61 ὅπως νῶν ἐγένεθ' υἱὸς οὐτοσί, ἐμοί τε δή καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ τάγαθῇ (the explicitness of garrulity: 'us, my wife and me, that is'): *Hdt.* ii 121δ τὸν δὲ πεισθῆναί τε δή καὶ καταμεῖναι: *Th.* vii 13.2 ἐπειδὴ παρὰ γνώμην ναυτικόν τε δή καὶ τᾶλλα . . . ἀνθεστῶτα ὀρῶσιν: *Isoc.* vi 3 ἄλλως τε δή καὶ . . . (xv 81: *Hyp.Lyc.* 14): *Hdt.* ii 116: vi 49.2: 131.2 (τε δή picks up τε): *Pl.R.* 330C, 465C, 561D: *Ti.* 18B: *Phd.* 59B: *Th.* 142C: *Phdr.* 240E, 248B: *Pl.* 307C: *D.* xix 139.

(2) τε = 'and'. (i) Joining words, phrases, or clauses. *S.Aj.* 414 πολὺν πολὺν δαρὸν τε δή . . . χρόνον: *Hdt.* i 77 ἐπαγγείλας δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοισι . . . ἀλίσας τε δή τούτους: iii 108 ἀμύσσει τὰς μήτρας, αὐξόμενός τε δή . . . ἐσικνέεται: 146 οὔτε προσδεκόμενους . . . δοκέοντάς τε δή: iv 111 ἐδόκεον δὲ αὐτὰς εἶναι ἄνδρας . . . μάχην τε δή πρὸς αὐτὰς ἐποιεῦντο: *Pl.Ly.* 206E κατελάβομεν . . . τεθυκότας τε τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰ ἱερεῖα σχεδόν τι ἤδη πεποιημένα, ἀστραγαλίζοντάς τε δή καὶ κεκοσμημένους ἅπαντας: *Lg.* 967D: *Ti.* 32B: *R.* 563C (*om.F.*).

(ii) Joining sentences. *Th.* iv 40.1 παρὰ γνώμην τε δή μάλιστα τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτο τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐγένετο: 63.2 τὸ ξύμπαν τε δή γινώμεν: *Hdt.* v 69.2: vi 56 (δὲ δή *RSV*: opening of a paragraph): viii 103: *Pl.Ti.* 47C: *Arist.EN* 1156a17 (see Eucken, p. 21: perhaps δή has come in from 1156a14).

(3) Doubtful cases. Whereas in (1) and (2) above the senses 'and' and 'both' are respectively excluded (either absolutely or

<sup>1</sup> I am not certain how many Platonic examples there are. I only know of 17, but there may be more.

beyond all reasonable doubt), there remain a number of passages, almost all Herodotean, which might be assigned with some degree of plausibility to either class: here τε might mean either (i) 'and' or (ii) 'both', and on the latter supposition we might either take δή as giving the connexion, or assume asyndeton. But although δή would be a not unsuitable connective in these passages, and although the analogy of μὲν δή removes any difficulty in the view that δή in τε δή is sometimes emphatic, sometimes connective, the two particles seem to cohere closely, and the supposition of asyndeton is, I think, to be preferred.<sup>1</sup>

(i) In some passages, though καί or δέ follows, it does not appear to answer τε, and τε is probably connective. *Hdt.* iii 36 εἰ μὲν μεταμελήσῃ . . . ἦν δὲ μὴ μεταμέληται μηδὲ ποθῆ μιν, τότε καταχρᾶσθαι. ἐπόθησέ τε δή ὁ Καμβύσης τὸν Κροῖσον . . . καὶ οἱ θεράποντες μαθόντες τοῦτο ἐπηγγέλλοντο αὐτῷ ὡς περιεῖη ('and Cambyses did in fact miss Croesus'): ii 32, 163: v 77.2: vi 39.2: viii 42: ix 26.5.

(ii) In others, a closer connexion between τε and καί is indicated. (a) τε δή . . . καὶ δή καί. *Hdt.* i 214 ἢ τε δή πολλῇ τῆς Περσικῆς στρατιῆς αὐτοῦ ταύτη διεφθάρη καὶ δή καὶ αὐτὸς Κῦρος τελευτᾶ: vi 49.1 οἷ τε δή ἄλλοι . . . καὶ δή καὶ Αἰγινῆται: iii 61: iv 118: viii 105.2. (b) τε δή . . . καὶ . . ., meaning 'when . . . then', 'while . . . meantime'. Herodotus allows asyndeton in analogous cases of simple τε . . . καί (iv 181: vi 41.1: 134.2: viii 56: cf. τε, I.7): this tells for the assumption of asyndeton here, and against regarding δή as connective. *Hdt.* iii 108 πέλας τε δή ὁ τόκος ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ παράπαν λείπεται αὐτέων ὑγιᾶς οὐδέν: vi 49.1 οὔτοί τε δή παρεσκευάζοντο ταῦτα καὶ . . .: iii 76: vii 23.3: 217.1.

In the following I should, with greater or less confidence, render τε 'both': *Hdt.* ii 154: vi 89: ix 22.2 (τε δή only in *RV*): in the following, 'and': *Hdt.* i 214 χρόνον τε δή . . . (though just below τε δή seems to be 'both': *v. supr.*): ii 46: *Pl.Criti.* 117A

(4) εἴτε δή, οὔτε δή.

εἴτε δή. *Hdt.* i 19 εἴτε δή . . . εἴτε καί (i 86: iii 33: iv 147: ix 5.2): i 191 εἴτε δή ὦν . . . εἴτε καί: iii 24 εἴτε δή . . . εἴτε ἄλλως

<sup>1</sup> It must, however, be admitted that in *Pl.R.* 465D it is very tempting to take δή as connective.

κως: Pl.*Ar.*40C καὶ εἴτε δὴ . . . εἰ δ' αὖ: R.493D εἴτ' ἐν γραφικῇ εἴτ' ἐν μουσικῇ εἴτε δὴ ἐν πολιτικῇ.

οὔτε δὴ. Pl.*Ti.*62D οὔτε δὴ μέσος οὔτε . . .: *Chrm.*171C Οὐδέ γ' ἄλλος οὐδεὶς . . . οὔτε δὴ ὁ σῶφρων: *Phlb.*58B οὔτε σοὶ οὔτε δὴ ἐκείνῳ.

(5) τε δὴ ὦν. Hdt.182,124: iii62. εἴτε δὴ ὦν. Hdt.1191.

τε . . . δὴ. Pl.*Lg.*961B τοῖς τε ἄλλοις δὴ καὶ μάλιστα' αὐτῷ τῷ ἀποκριθέντι.

### Δαί

*Δαί* may perhaps stand in the same relation to *δή* as *ναί* to *νή* (Brugmann, p. 628). It is thrice found in MSS. of Homer,<sup>1</sup> and is recognized by Aristarchus: *a*225 τίς δαίς, τίς δαὶ ὄμιλος ὄδ' ἔπλετο; *ω*299 τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις ἠδὲ τοκῆες; ποῦ δαὶ νηὺς ἔστηκε θοῆ . . .; K408 (see (1) below). Cf. Apollonius Dyscolus, *Synt.* 78.2. But it is nowhere read unanimously by all MSS.: and Hartung banishes it from Homer, confining it to the Attic dialect. That it is a colloquial particle is clear from its frequency in Aristophanes and its complete absence from formal prose. In Aeschylus and Sophocles it is found only in *Pr.*933, *Ch.*900, *Ant.*318 (see Tucker and Jebb on the last two). There may be some justification for emending these passages, but the eight Euripidean examples present a solid front against attack (though the MSS. often vary; see D. L. Page on *Med.*339): *Cyc.*450: *Med.*1012: *Hel.*1246: *IA*1443,1447: *El.*244,1116: *Ion*275. In this case, as in others, Euripides draws his expressions from everyday speech. The frequency of *δαί* in Plato is uncertain, as the MSS. often vary. Kühner holds that for transitional *τί δαί*; in Plato, *τί δέ*; should everywhere be read (e.g. *Phd.*71D).

*δαί* always follows an interrogative, *τί*; *τίς*; *πῶς*; *ποῦ*; The particle may be either emphatic or connective, and the assignment of some passages is doubtful. Cf. *δή*, *δητα*. The elliptical

<sup>1</sup> See Leaf on K408.

forms (e.g. *τί δαί*; 'What?', 'Why?': 'Well, what (why)?') are common, and Kühner will allow no others in Plato.

(1) Emphatic, in a lively or surprised question. Hom.*a*225 (*L<sup>4</sup>Ar.*: *δέ cett.*): *ω*299 (the MSS. vary): (in K408, where a connective seems required, *δ' αἰ* is probably right): Pherecr.*Fr.*93.1 *τί δαί*; *τί* σαυτὸν ἀποτίνειν τῷδ' ἀξιοῖς; *Ar.Pax*1224 *Τί δαὶ δεκάμνῳ τῷδε θώρηκος κύτει . . . χρῆσομαι* (the first words of a character who has just entered: 'What ever shall I do with . . .?'): *Eq.*28 *δέδοικα* τουτονὶ τὸν οἰωνόν;—*Τί δαί*;—'Οτιῆ . . . (*Eq.*493: *Nu.*491,1275: *Av.*225): Pl.*Phd.*61C *Τί δαί*; ἦ δ' ὅς, οὐ φιλόσοφος *Εὐηνος*; *Grg.*461D *Τί δαί*; οὐκ ἐξέσται μοι λέγειν . . .; 477B.

(2) Connective, in a question motivated by what precedes. *E.Med*1012 *Ἥγγειλας οἷ' ἠγγειλας* οὐ σὲ μέμφομαι.—*Τί δαὶ κατηφεῖς ὄμμα καὶ δακρυρροεῖς*; *El.*244 'What is dearer to me than father and brother?'—*Φεῦ φεῦ τί δαὶ σὺ σῶ κασιγνήτῳ, δοκεῖς*; ('Well, and what do you mean to your brother?'): *Ar.Nu.*1266 ὦ Παλλὰς ὡς μ' ἀπώλεσας.—*Τί δαί σε Τληπόλεμος ποτ' εἵργασται κακόν*; ('Why, what has T. been doing to you?'): *E.Med.*339 (Housman). Especially:—(i) After the rejection of an idea: 'Well, what . . .?'. *E.Hel*1246 *Οὐχ ὧδε ναύτας ὀλομένους τυμβεύομεν*;—*Πῶς δαί*; ('Well, how do you bury them?'): *Ar.Ach.*764 'I have no garlic'.—*Τί δαὶ φέρεις*; *Pax*925 *Τί δαὶ δοκεῖ*; βούλεσθε . . .; *Eq.*351 *Τί δαὶ σὺ πίνων τὴν πόλιν πεποίηκας . . .*; (the preceding speech implies that a water-drinking politician is no good): *Av.*64 *Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἐσμὲν ἀνθρώπων*.—*Τί δαί*; ('Well, what are you?'): *E.Cyc.*450: *Ar.V.*1212: *Av.*832,1451,1640: *Nu.*656.

(ii) Transitional, proceeding to a new point. *E.El.*1116 Clytaemnestra has defended her killing of Agamemnon and her keeping of Orestes in banishment. *Ηλ.* *Τί δαὶ πόσιν σὸν ἄγριον εἰς ἡμᾶς ἔχεις*; ('Well, why do you . . .?'): *Ion*275 *Εἶεν τί δαὶ τὸδ'*; ('Now what of this?'): *Ar.Ach.*612 (after discussing Mari-lades' fate) *τί δαὶ Δράκυλλος . . .*; 802-3 *Τρώγοις ἂν ἐρεθίζουσι*;—*Κοῖ κοῖ κοῖ*.—*Τί δαί*; *φιβάλεως ἰσχάδας*;—*Κοῖ κοῖ*.—*Τί δαὶ σὺ*; *τρώγοις ἂν*; *Th.*140 *τί λήκυθος καὶ στρόφιον*; ὡς οὐ ξύμφορον. *τίς δαὶ κατόπτρον καὶ ξίφους κοινωνία*; ('Then again'). *Eq.*171: *Pax*700: *Av.*136,826,1153,1615: Pl.*Phd.*71D *Ἐξ οὖν τοῦ ζῶντος . . .*.—*Τί δαί*, ἦ δ' ὅς, ἐκ τοῦ τεθνεῶτος;

τί δαί δή; is occasionally found in Plato: *Cri.*49C Τί δαί δή; κακουργεῖν δεῖ . . .; *Sph.*234C: *Cra.*407C: *Thl.*204B.

In *Ar. Lys.*372 δ' αὖ should perhaps be read. For a possible converse corruption, cf. *E. Med.*339. In *Ar. Ach.*912 Bentley's δέ (confirmed by the papyrus) is necessary for metre.

### Δῆθεν

Δῆθεν is usually thought to be formed from δή and the suffix -θεν. But Wackernagel (*Ztschr. f. vergl. Sprachf.* xxxiii 23) thinks that it has originally nothing to do with δή, but is a 'Nebenform' of Homeric δηθά, subsequently associated with δή, and assimilated to it in function: 'schon lange' becomes 'augenscheinlich'.<sup>1</sup> The form δηθε (cf. δηπουθε) only occurs in *E. El.*268 (conjectured in *Eup. Fr.*7 Demiańczuk, *Supp. Com.*). δηθεν is never found in Homer, Hesiod, or Lyric. It is occasionally met with in tragedy (though not in comedy), and is not infrequent in Ionic prose. Apart from Thucydides, who uses it five times, it is almost entirely absent from Attic prose. It never, I think, occurs in the orators: never in Aristotle (but see (6), *ad fin.*): and only once in Plato and once in Xenophon.

Whether or not δηθεν is etymologically derived from δή, it resembles it in function. But the nuance of pretence or unreality, and the ironical colour, which, though often present in δή, do not dominate that particle, are in δηθεν but rarely absent (more rarely, I think, than some authorities recognize). Suidas says: προσποίησιν ἀληθείας ἔχει, δύναμιν δὲ ψεύδους.

(1) After final conjunctions, implying, like δή, that the desired object is undesirable or contemptible, or not genuinely desired.

<sup>1</sup> Some old lexicographers explain δηθεν as = ἐντεῦθεν, ἐκ τινος τόπου. Navarre accepts this as the original sense, 'depuis lors'. But *Anacreont.* i 16, which he quotes, is from an Anacreontic of late date: καὶ δηθεν ἕχρι καὶ νῦν ἔρωτος οὐ πίπυμαι. No doubt the lexicographers were misled by -θεν. It is possible, as Hartung suggests (i 317), that when later writers occasionally used δηθεν for 'inde ab eo tempore', they were artificially following this mistaken etymology.

*A. Pr.*204 θέλοντες ἐκβαλεῖν ἔδρας Κρόνον, ὡς Ζεὺς ἀνάσσοι δηθεν: *E. El.*268 Ὡς δηθε παῖδας μὴ τέκοις ποινατόρας; *Hr. Art.*53 'The Amazons are said to dislocate the joints of their male children, ὡς δηθεν χωλὰ γίνοιτο': *Aen. Tact.*23.10 ἵνα δηθεν προαγάγοιεν τοὺς πολεμίους ('ostensibly that').

(2) With causal conjunctions, implying that the supposed cause is untrue as a fact, or inadequate as a cause. *E. Ion* 831 καινὸν δὲ τοῦνομ' ἀνὰ χρόνον πεπλασμένον Ἴων, ἰόντι δηθεν ὅτι συνήντετο: *X. Cyr.* iv 6.3 μέγα φρονῶν ὅτι δηθεν τῆς βασιλέως θυγατρὸς ὀψοίμην τὸν ἐμὸν υἱὸν γαμέτην (but he was killed, and never married the girl).

(3) With ὡς and participle (or, very occasionally, substantive or prepositional phrase) implying that a supposition is mistaken. *E. Or.*1320 ὡς δηθεν οὐκ εἰδυῖα τάξειργασμένα: *HF* 949 κάθεινε, κέντρον δηθεν ὡς ἔχων, χερί: *Hdt.* i 73 φέροντες ὡς ἄγρην δηθεν: iii 74 ὡς πιστοτάτου δηθεν ἐόντος: ix 66.3 ὡς ἐς μάχην ἦγε δηθεν τὸν στρατόν: *Hr. Acut.* 15 ὡς τοιούτῳ δηθεν ἐόντι: *Hdt.* vi 1.1: 39.1: viii 5.1. (In *Hdt.* ix 99.3 the ὡς clause contains a true statement, but one which is not the real reason for the action described in the main clause: τὰς διόδους . . . προστάσσουσι τοῖσι Μιλησίοισι φυλάσσειν ὡς ἐπισταμένοισι δηθεν μάλιστα τὴν χώραν ἐποίειν δὲ τούτου εἵνεκεν, ἵνα ἐκτὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔωσι ('ostensibly because').)

ἄτε . . . δηθεν. *Hdt.* ix 80.3 οἱ τὸν χρυσὸν ἄτε ἐόντα χαλκὸν δηθεν παρὰ τῶν εἰλωτέων ὠνέοντο ('as if it had been bronze').

(4) In general, conveying that the words used are untrue. *E. Ion* 656 τῆς δ' Ἀθηναίων χθονὸς ἄξω θεατὴν δηθεν, ὡς οὐκ ὄντ' ἐμὸν: *Hdt.* i 59 ὡς ἐκπεφευγὼς τοὺς ἐχθρούς, οἱ μιν . . . ἠθέλησαν ἀπολέσαι δηθεν ('as he said'): vii 211.3 ἀλέες φεύγεσκον δηθεν ('pretended to flee'): *Th.* i 92 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ κωλύμῃ, ἀλλὰ γνώμης παραινέσει δηθεν τῷ κοινῷ ἐπρεσβεύσαντο: iii 68.1 διότι τὸν τε ἄλλον χρόνον ἠξίουν δηθεν αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὰς . . . σπονδὰς ἠσυχάζειν (Thucydides implies 'dass er an der Aufrichtigkeit der hier erwähnten Ermahnungen zweifelt', Steup): iii 1.1 ἄμα ἐυλλέγοντες ἐφ' ἃ ἐξήλθον δηθεν (pretended object).

(5) Expressing, not incredulity, but contempt or indignation: 'forsooth'. *Hdt.* vi 138.3 καὶ σφι βουλευομένοισι δεινὸν τι ἐσέδυνε, εἰ δὴ διαγινώσκοιεν σφίσι τε βοηθέειν οἱ παῖδες . . ., τί δὴ ἀνδρωθέντες δηθεν ποιήσουσι: viii 6.2 'The Persians did not make

a frontal attack, lest the Greeks should escape under cover of darkness. καὶ ἐμελλον δῆθεν ἐκφεύξασθαι, ἔδει δὲ μηδὲ πυρφόρον τῷ ἐκείνων λόγῳ ἐκφυγόντα περιγενέσθαι: *Hr.Fract.* 1 οἱ δὲ ἰητροὶ σοφίζόμενοι δῆθεν ἐστὶν ἄρα ἐφ' οἷς ἀμαρτάνουσιν: *Art.* 48 καὶ μὴν αἱ μεγάλαι σικύαι προσβαλλόμεναι ἀνασπάσιος εἶνεκα δῆθεν (implies that the treatment is a foolish one).

(6) δῆθεν is seldom devoid of all trace of scepticism, irony, or indignation. *Hdt.* iii 136 τοὺς Πέρσας εἶρξε ὡς κατασκόπους δῆθεν ἐόντας (the men were spies: but δῆθεν may convey the indignation felt by the arrester): *Hr.Art.* 14 οἱ τε ἰητροὶ προθυμούνται δῆθεν ὀρθῶς ἰησθαι (for δῆπου: 'are presumably anxious'): 58 τί γὰρ δῆθεν δεῖ περὶ τῶν ἤδη ἀνηκέστων γεγονότων ἔτι προσξυιέναι; *Pl.Pl.* 297C Πῶς τί τοῦτ' εἶρηκας; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄρτι δῆθεν κατέμαθον τὸ περὶ τῶν μιμημάτων ('I suppose', Campbell, who says that the non-ironical use of δῆθεν is commoner in later Greek (Schol. *Ap.Rhod.*: τὸ δῆθεν ποτὲ μὲν πληρωματικόν, ποτὲ δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ δηλαδὴ ἢ ὡς δῆ): *ρήθέν*, Badham).

In *E.Fr.* 900.1 Nauck's δῆθεν is by no means certain. In *Arist. Pol.* 1264b9 Goettling conjectures ἦ που δῆθεν for ἦπουθεν δῆ.

(7) Position. δῆθεν, like most particles of nuance, normally, at any rate, follows the word it qualifies. Whether it can ever precede that word is a disputed question, answered (in the main) negatively by Jebb on *S.Tr.* 382. But see *A.Pr.* 986 Ἐκερτόμησας δῆθεν ὥστε παῖδά με: *S.Tr.* 382 Ἰόλη καλεῖτο, τῆς ἐκεῖνος οὐδαμὰ βλαστὰς ἐφώνει δῆθεν οὐδὲν ἱστορῶν (here δῆθεν certainly seems to go with οὐδὲν ἱστορῶν, and many editors place a comma after ἐφώνει): *E.Or.* 1119 Ἔσμεν ἐς οἴκουσ δῆθεν ὡς θανούμενοι (in this passage, which Jebb does not cite, δῆθεν clearly goes closely with ὡς θανούμενοι): *Rh.* 719 πολλὰ τὰν ἐστίαν Ἀτρειδᾶν κακῶς ἔβαζε δῆθεν ἐχθρὸς ὧν στρατηλάταις: *Th.* i 127.1 τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἄγος οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐκέλευον ἐλαύνειν δῆθεν τοῖς θεοῖς πρῶτον τιμωροῦντες, εἰδότες δὲ Περικλέα . . . ('in seltener Weise vorangestellt', Steup, comparing vi 10.5 ἡμεῖς δὲ Ἐγεσταίοις δὲ οὔσι ξυμμάχοις . . . βοηθοῦμεν). *Th.* iv 99 can be taken in different ways: see Jebb, *loc. cit.*

## Δήπου

This combination is already found in Homer, but it is probable that the words do not coalesce as closely in him as in later writers. *Φ* 583 ἦ δὴ που μάλ' ἔολπας ἐνὶ φρεσὶ ('in truth, methinks'): *Ω* 736 τις Ἀχαιῶν . . . ᾧ δὴ που ἀδελφεὸν ἔκτανεν Ἐκτωρ ('even one, I ween, whose . . .'): *Π* 746: *δ* 739. For δῆκου in Herodotus, see που.

δήπου is rare in tragedy, frequent in comedy and prose (though in Thucydides only in viii 87.4: 87.5). It is found in subordinate, as well as in independent, clauses (e.g. *Pl.Euthd.* 276A: *R.* 345D: *Chrm.* 161D). Strictly speaking, the certainty of δῆ is toned down by the doubtfulness of που. But often the doubt is only assumed, μετ' εἰρωνείας (not always 'ironically' in the modern sense of the word), 'presumably', 'I believe', 'I imagine' being virtually equivalent to 'of course'.

(1) In statements. *A.Pr.* 1064 οὐ γὰρ δὴ που τοῦτό γε τλητὸν παρέσυρας ἔπος: *S.O.T.* 1042 Τῶν Λαῖου δῆπου τις ὠνομάζετο (where the hesitation is, ostensibly, genuine): *Ar.Nu.* 369 Ἀλλὰ τίς ἔει; . . .—Ἄνται δῆπου ('They do, of course'): *Ec.* 661 κλέπτων δῆπου 'στὶ ἐπίδηλος: *Pl.* 497 κατὰ ποιήσει πάντας χρηστοὺς καὶ πλουτοῦντας δῆπου τά τε θεῖα σέβοντας: 523 Ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἔσται . . . κατὰ τὸν λόγον ὃν σὺ λέγεις δῆπου: *Th.* viii 87.4 ἐμοὶ μέντοι δοκεῖ . . ., ἐπεὶ, εἴ γε ἐβουλήθη, διαπολεμῆσαι ἂν ἐπιφανεῖς δῆπου οὐκ ἐνδοιαστῶς: *Pl.Lg.* 647D ἄπειρος δὲ δῆπου . . . ὧν τῶν τοιούτων ἀγῶνων ὅστισοῦν οὐδ' ἂν ἡμισυς ἑαυτοῦ γένοιτο πρὸς ἀρετὴν: *X.HG* vii 3.11 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀναμνήσθητε ὅτι καὶ ἐψηφίσασθε δῆπου τοὺς φυγάδας ἀγωγίμους εἶναι: *Sm.p.* 5.5 Πάντως δῆπου, ἔφη (in answer): *Isoc.* iv 63 εἰ δὲ δεῖ . . . οὐ δῆπου πατριὸν ἐστὶν ἠγεῖσθαι: *D.* ii 25 ἴστε γὰρ δῆπου τοῦτο.

(2) In questions. *S.Tr.* 418 Τὴν αἰχμάλωτον . . . κάτοισθα δῆπου; ('You know, I suppose . . .?'): *Ar.Au.* 179 Οὐχ οὔτος οὖν δῆπου 'στὶν ὀρνίθων πόλος: *Pl.* 261 Οὐκοῦν πάλαι δῆπου λέγω; *Eq.* 900.

(3) Particularly οὐ δῆπου in surprised or incredulous questions. *S.Ant.* 381 οὐ δῆ που σέ γ' . . . ἄγουσι . . .; *Ar.Au.* 269 τίς ποτ' (ὄρνις) ἐστίν; οὐ δῆπου ταῶς; ('It can't be a peacock, can it?'): *Ec.* 327 Τίς ἐστίν; οὐ δῆπου Βλέπυρος ὁ γειττιῶν; ('Not

neighbour Blepyrus?'): Pl.*Smp.*194B *Τί δέ, ὦ Σώκρατες; τὸν Ἀγάθωνα φάναι, οὐ δήπου με οὕτω θεάτρον μεστὸν ἠγῆ . . .*; ('Surely you don't think me so stage-struck . . .?'): X.*Mem.*iv 2.11 *Οὐ δήπου, ὦ Εὐθύδημε, ταύτης τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐφίεσαι . . .*;

(4) Certain common Platonic uses deserve notice. (I am indebted here to Dr. Chapman's notes.)

(i) In replies, particularly:—(a) Selecting one of two alternatives offered. *Euthd.*300A: *Thl.*159B, 163D. (b) In formulae of assent. *Πάντως δήπου*: *Euthd.*285E: *id. saep.* (rarely *Μάλα δήπου*: *Euthd.*299C. *Μάλιστα δήπου*: *Euthd.*284E). (c) *Οὐ δήπου*: *Men.*78D: *R.*501E.

(ii) *οὐ γὰρ δήπου . . . γε*, supporting a positive statement by an appeal to the impossibility of its opposite. *Grg.*459A: *Chrm.*171B: *Smp.*187B.

(5) Position. While *δήπου*, like all other particles, tends to an early place in the sentence, postponement is by no means rare, and *δήπου* is often found in the apodosis: Pl.*Grg.*468D, 496D, 510B, 514C. Last word in sentence: D.xviii 117.

(6) *δήπου* combined with other particles. Few of the combinations are conspicuous by their occurrence or non-occurrence. But it is perhaps not entirely fortuitous that, while *γὰρ δήπου* is exceedingly common in Plato, *δὲ δήπου* is far less frequent (e.g. *Ly.*214A: *R.*433A, 439A: *Lg.*647D, 766D), while *καὶ δήπου* (or *καὶ δή που*) is exceedingly rare: *Sph.*251B: *Lg.*662C (*καὶ δήπου καί*), 722D: for *καὶ δή που* in Herodotus, see *που*.

*γε δήπου*. *Ar.Pax* 350 *οὐδὲ τοὺς τρόπους γε δήπου σκληρόν*: Pl.*Grg.*459B *Ὁ δὲ μὴ ἰατρός γε δήπου . . .*: *Phd.*94A *Οὐδέ γε δήπου. οὐ δήπου γε*: D.xx 167: lvii 65. *οὖν* (connective) *δήπου*: Pl.*Lg.*801C. In *Lys.* xxix 4 read, I think, *οὐκ οὖν δήπου* (*C.R.*xliv (1930), 214). *μὲν οὖν δήπου*: Pl.*Prt.*309D *σοφῶ . . .—Σοφωτάτῳ μὲν οὖν δήπου τῶν γε νῦν. τε δήπου*: Pl.*Prm.*157D.

### Δήπουθεν

Here *δήπου* is usually supposed to be reinforced by the suffix *-θεν*, as in *δηθεν*. But Wackernagel (*op. cit.*, see p. 264) thinks that *δήπου-δήπουθεν* is a mere analogue of *δή-δηθεν*. *Ar.Av.*187 *Ἐν μέσῳ δήπουθεν ἀήρ ἐστι γῆς*: Pl.140 *οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως ὠνήσεται δήπουθεν*: *V.*296: *Pax* 1019: *Antiph.Fr.*207.9: *Lys.*vi 36 (*οὐ*

*δήπουθεν*, in an answer to a rhetorical question): Pl.*Ion* 534A: *Phlb.*62E: X.*Cyr.*iv 3.20 (some MSS. only): Is.viii 33: xi 13: D.xiv 34: xviii 127. *δήπουθε*: *Bato, Fr.*7.3 (cf. *δηθε*).

### Δῆτα

*Δῆτα* is usually described as a 'combination of *δή* and the suffix *-τα*', or as a 'lengthened form of *δή*'. (Wackernagel (*op. cit.*) regards the etymology as uncertain.) Its uses are analogous to those of *δή*, though they are more restricted, and are developed on individual lines.

*δητα* is not found in epic or lyric poets. It is very rare in Herodotus, and not common in the orators, but frequent in Plato, and exceedingly frequent in drama. There are only 9 examples in Demosthenes (Preuss): Dr. Chapman cites 92 from Plato: there are 28 in Aeschylus (Dindorf), and I have collected 89 in Sophocles, and 117 in Euripides: Todd cites over 230 from Aristophanes. *δητα* is a lively particle, far more at home in question and answer than elsewhere.

I. In questions. *Δῆτα* in questions always has a logical connective force, analogous to that of *δή* or *οὖν*. Moreover, as we shall see, this connective force is almost wholly confined to questions: a restriction which, though it may appear curious, finds a parallel in the early history of *οὖν*. *δητα* denotes that the question springs out of something which another person (or, more rarely, the speaker himself) has just said. In passages such as the following the logical connexion is vital, and could not be left unexpressed. *A.Pr.*627 *Ἄλλ' οὐ μεγαίρω τοῦδέ σοι δωρήματος.—Τί δητα μέλλεις μὴ οὐ γεγωνίσκειν τὸ πᾶν*; *Ar.Nu.* 180 *Strepsiadēs*, after hearing of a Socratic *tour de force*: *Τί δητ' ἐκείνον τὸν Θαλῆν θαυμάζομεν*; 904 *Φέρε γὰρ ποῦ 'στιν (δίκη)*;—*Παρὰ τοῖσι θεοῖς.—Πῶς δητα δίκης οὐσης ὁ Ζεὺς οὐκ ἀπόλωλεν . . .*

Sometimes *δητα* expresses *post hoc* rather than *propter hoc* (cf. *δή* and *οὖν*). *E.Ba.*925 *νῦν δ' ὀρᾶς ἂ χρεῖ σ' ὀρᾶν.—Τί φαίνομαι δητ'*; (doubt of his eyesight having been removed, Pentheus proceeds to ask for information about his appearance:



'Well now, what do I look like?'): 1273-7 Cadmus' three questions to Agave: 'Ες ποῖον ἦλθες οἶκον . . . ; . . . Τίς οὖν ἐν οἴκοις παῖς ἐγένετο σὺ πόσει; . . . Τίνος πρόσωπον δῆτ' ἐν ἀγκάλαις ἔχεις;

Although in some places it would be possible to take δητα in questions as merely emphatic, a connective sense is nowhere inappropriate, and is, I think, everywhere intended.

(1) δητα in questions most frequently follows an interrogative pronoun or pronominal adverb (πῶς, τί, etc.) at the opening of a speech. This use is extremely common in tragedy and comedy.

A.Ag.1211 Πῶς δῆτ' ἀνατος ἦσθα Λοξίου κότῳ; S.Aj.42 Τί δητα ποίμναις τήνδ' ἐπεμπίπτει βάσιν; Ar.Nu.193 Τί δῆθ' ὁ πρωκτὸς ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν βλέπει; A.Ag.622: S.Aj.537.540,879 (lyr.): E.Supp.937,946: Ar.Nu.1087.1098,1102,1273,1430,1456. Following an apostrophe. S.OC1734 (lyr.) Αἰαῖ, δυστάλαινα, ποῦ δῆτ' . . . ; E.Supp.734 ὦ Ζεῦ, τί δητα . . . ; Elliptical. Ar.Nu.1105 Τί δητα; (1290: Eq.439): E.IT1042 Ποῖ δητα;

Less frequent in prose. Hdt.iii6 Κοῦ δητα, εἶποι τις ἄν, ταῦτα ἀναισιμουῦται; Pl.Phdr.236E ὡς εὖ ἀνηῦρες τὴν ἀνάγκην . . . ποιεῖν δ' ἄν κελεύης.—Τί δητα ἔχων στρέφη; Grg.469B Πῶς δητα, ὦ Σώκρατες; (one of the passages in which the connective sense is least apparent): Sph.218E,240A: Plt.279A,B: Phlb.64C: Lg.753A: Hp.Ma.283D: Mi.313C: X.Smp.4.22: Lac.2.8: Vect.4.28. Elliptical: Pl.Ap.25D: Lg.789A,830A.

(2) Less frequently, but still commonly, τί δητα; πῶς δητα; etc., are used in the middle of a speech. A.Ag.1264 τί δῆτ' ἐμαυτῆς καταγέλωτ' ἔχω τάδε . . . ; Ch.1075 (anap.) νῦν δ' αὖ τρίτος ἦλθέ ποθεν σωτήρ, ἧ μόρον εἶπω; ποῖ δητα κρανεῖ . . . ; E.Alc.689 πατρὸς γὰρ ταῦτ' ἐδεξάμην πάρα. τί δητά σ' ἠδίκηκα; Hel.56 τί δῆτ' ἐτι ζῶ; S.Ph.428,1060: E.Alc.960: Heracl.162,433: Hec.313,828: HF1301: Ion253: Tr.505,1012: Or.275: Ph.1615: Hel.293,753: Ar.Nu.79,1423: Thrasym.Fr.1 τί δητα μέλλοι τις ἄν . . . ; Pl.Smp.211D τί δητα, ἔφη, οἴομεθα. εἰ . . . ; Hdt.vii147.3: X.Cyr.vi1.13: 2.15: Lys.viii3.

(3) Sometimes, in verse, δητα does not immediately follow the interrogative word. S.OT558 Πόσον τιν' ἤδη δῆθ' ὁ Λάϊος

χρόνον . . . ; OC52 Τίς ἔσθ' ὁ χῶρος δῆτ' . . . ; E.Hec.828 ποῦ τὰς φίλας δῆτ' εὐφρόνας δείξεις . . . ; Ion1253 Ποῖ φύγω δῆτ' ; Ph.420 Τί θηροῖν ὑμᾶς δῆτ' ἄδραστος ἤκασεν; Ar.V.191 Περὶ τοῦ μαχεῖ νῶν δητα; S.OT765: Tr.400: E.Alc.380,960: Hel.1248: Ar.Nu.1051,1196: Ra.1399. (The order in E.Fr.231 is otherwise irregular: ἡμῶν τί δητα τυγχάνεις χρεῖαν ἔχων;)

(4) δητα not infrequently follows interrogative particles (ἦ, ἄρα, πότερον), while retaining its own logical force. A.Th.93 (lyr.) πότερα δῆτ' . . . ; S.OT429 ἦ ταῦτα δῆτ' ἀνεκτὰ . . . ; 1014 Ἄρ' οἴσθα δητα . . . ; (Tr.76): Tr.342 Πότερον ἐκείνου δητα . . . καλῶμεν . . . ; E.Ion547 Ἄρα δῆτ' . . . ; 560 ἦ θίγω δῆθ' . . . ; Ar.Nu.1094 Ἄρα δῆτ' ἔγνωκας . . . ; Lys.54 Ἄρ' οὐ παρεῖναι τὰς γυναῖκας δῆτ' ἔχρην; E.Alc.1051: IT1176: Fr.552: Ar.Eq.324 (lyr.): V.463 (lyr.): Hdt.ii114 κότερα δητα τοῦτον ἐῶμεν . . . ; X.Cyr.v2.27 Πότερα δητα . . . εἰς σὲ μόνον τοιοῦτος ἐγένετο . . . ;

(5) δητα is also used in questions in which the interrogative note is conveyed by tone of voice alone. Unlike most connecting particles, it frequently comes as late as third or fourth word in the sentence.

S.Aj.985 Οὐχ ὅσον τάχος | δῆτ' αὐτὸν ἄξεις δεῦρο (the unparalleled position of δητα, first word in the line, is characteristic of Sophoclean synaphea): 1360 Τοιοῦσδ' ἐπαινεῖς δητα σὺ κτᾶσθαι φίλους; El.1037 Τῶ σῶ δικαίῳ δῆτ' ἐπισπέσθαι με δεῖ; Tr.1219 Τὴν Εὐρυτείαν οἴσθα δητα παρθένον; E.Hel.103 Σὺ τοῖς ἐκείνου δητα πήμασιν νοσεῖς; 812 Σιγῇ παράσχω δῆτ' . . . ; Or.92 Πρὸς θεῶν, πίθοι' ἄν δητα . . . ; El.834 ὁ δ' εἶπε Φυγάδος δητα δειμαίνεις δόλον . . . ; Hec.247 (progressive rather than logical): Supp.1104 οὐχ ὡς τάχιστα δητά μ' ἄξερ' ἐς δέμους; Ion538 Πρῶτα δῆτ' ἐμοὶ ξυνάπτεις πόδα σόν; 1303 Σὺ τῶν ἀτέκνων δῆτ' ἀναρπάσεις δόμους; Ar.Nu.486 Ἐρεστι δητα μανθάνειν ἐν τῇ φύσει; V.350 Ἐστιν ὀπῆ δῆθ' . . . ; 354 (surely a question): S.OT364: Ph.1c8,761: E.Ph.722,901,909: Id.867: Fr.286.1: Ar.Ach.1127: Pax1233: Eur.Fr.210: Pl. Phlb.28E Βούλει δητα . . . συμφήσωμεν . . . ; (Βούλει δητα . . . ; also Pl. Phlb.62C: Sph.218D: Plt.272B. The only other Platonic

example of δῆτα in a question without a preceding interrogative seems to be *Pl.*301E.)

The note of surprise or indignation present in some of the above examples is accentuated when ταῦτα, εἶτα, ἔπειτα precedes the particle, as often in Aristophanes. *S.Ph.*987 ὦ Ἀημνία χθὼν . . . ταῦτα δῆτ' ἀνασχετά, εἰ . . . ; *E.Alc.*822 Τί φῆς; ἔπειτα δῆτά μ' ἐξενίζετε; *Hec.*623 εἶτα δῆτ' ὀγκούμεθα . . . ; (surely a question): *Ar.Ach.* 125-6 Ταῦτα δῆτ' οὐκ ἀγχόνη; κᾶπειτ' ἐγὼ δῆτ' ἐνθαδὶ στραγγεύομαι; 618 ὦ δημοκρατία, ταῦτα δῆτ' ἀνασχετά; 917 Ἐπειτα φαίνεις δῆτα διὰ θρυαλλίδας; *Nu.*1299 Ταῦτ' οὐχ ὑβρις δῆτ' ἐστίν; *Av.*1217 Κᾶπειτα δῆθ' οὕτω σιωπῆ διαπέτει . . . ; 1585 Εἶτα δῆτα σίλφιον ἐπικνήσ πρότερον αὐτοῖσιν; ('So you grate *silphium* on them, then?'): *V.*417,441: *Lys.*914,985: *Ra.*950: *Th.*563,705: *Pl.*794: *Antiph.Fr.*159.1.

(6) δῆτα in questions sometimes follows other particles. See also (4) above.

(i) οὖν . . . δῆτα, οὐκουν . . . δῆτα. Almost confined to Aristophanes. Compare οὖν δῆ, οὐκουν δῆ. The interval between the particles is sometimes a wide one. *Ar.Eq.*18 πῶς ἂν οὖν ποτε εἴποιμ' ἂν αὐτὸ δῆτα κομψευριπικῶς; 810 Οὐκουν δεινὸν ταυτί σε λέγειν δῆτ' ἐστ' ἐμὲ . . . ; *Nu.*87 Τί οὖν πίθωμαι δῆτά σοι; *V.*172 Οὐκουν κᾶν ἐγὼ αὐτὸν ἀποδοίμην δῆτ' ἂν; 985 Οὐκουν ἀποφεύγει δῆτα; *Av.*969 Τί οὖν προσήκει δῆτ' ἐμοὶ Κορινθίων; *Eq.*878: *V.*1148: *Pax*200,274: *Th.*211,226: *Ec.*1144: *Ra.*193, 200: *Eup.Fr.*211 ὡς οὖν τίν' ἔλθω δῆτά σοι τῶν μάντεων; (In *Ar.Pl.*845 Μῶν ἐνεμνήθης δῆτ' . . . ; is no doubt the true reading.)

Juxtaposition of the particles is less common. *Ar.Eq.*871 Ἐγνωκας οὖν δῆτ' αὐτὸν . . . ; 875: *Nu.*791: *Av.*27: *Hdt.*ii 22 κῶς ὦν δῆτα ῥέοι ἂν . . . ; *Pl.Thl.*164C Τί οὖν δῆτα . . . ; οὐκουν δῆτα: *Ar.Av.*477,1177.

The particles are reversed in *E.Med.*1290 (lyr.) τί δῆτ' οὖν γένοιτ' ἂν ἐτι δεινόν; *Ar.Nu.*423 Ἄλλο τι δῆτ' οὖν νομειῖς ἤδη θεὸν οὐδένα . . . ;

The combination of δῆτα with its (presumed) parent δῆ is remarkable, and seems only to occur in *Ar.Pax* 929 Τῷ δῆ δοκεῖ σοι δῆτα τῶν λοιπῶν;

(ii) καὶ . . . δῆτα, expressing sometimes mere liveliness, sometimes indignation. Cf. καὶ δῆ, (1), *ad fin.* Each particle perhaps

preserves its own force, καὶ connective, δῆτα logical, 'and . . . then'. (Cf. γὰρ . . . δῆτα: *Ar.Nu.*403 τί γὰρ ἐστὶν δῆθ' ὁ κεραυνός; 'Well, what *is* the thunderbolt then?') For κᾶπειτα δῆτα see (5) above.

*A.Ch.*218 Καὶ πρὸς τί δῆτα τυγχάνω κατευγμάτων; *Eu.*206 Καὶ τὰς προπομπὰς δῆτα τάσδε λοιδορεῖς; *E.Andr.*1279 κᾶτ' οὐ γαμεῖν δῆτ' ἐκ τε γενναίων χρεῶν . . . ; *Heracl.*516 κούκ αἰσχυνούμαι δῆτ' . . . ; (surely a question): *Ar.Nu.*724 Καὶ τί δῆτ' ἐφρόντισας; *Lys.*912 Καὶ πῶς ἔθ' ἀγνή δῆτ' ἂν ἔλθοιμ' ἐς πόλιν; *Pl.*44 Καὶ τῷ ξυναντᾶς δῆτα πρώτῳ; 868 Καὶ τίνα δέδρακε δῆτα τοῦτ'; *X.Cyr.*v 4.35 τάχ' οὖν εἴποι τις ἂν Καὶ τί δῆτα . . . ;

The position of δῆτα, first word of the resumed apodosis, in *Ar.Nu.*398 is remarkable: Καὶ πῶς . . . εἶπερ βάλλει τοὺς ἐπιόρκους, δῆτ' οὐχὶ Σίμων' ἐνέπρησεν . . . ; Third word of apodosis: *S.Ant.*230 κεί τάδ' εἴσεται Κρέων . . . πῶς σὺ δῆτ' οὐκ ἀλγυνῆ;

The only instance of juxtaposed καὶ δῆτα in a question (except for *Th.*vi 38.5, which is different: see IV.1) seems to be *S.Ant.*449 Ἥιδη (κηρυχθέντα μὴ πράσσειν τάδε) . . . —Καὶ δῆτ' ἐτόλμας τοῦσδ' ὑπερβαίνειν νόμους; (Jebb: "And you *indeed* dared . . . ?" Not, "And *then*" (i.e. with that knowledge), which would be κᾶτα.) In view of the interrogative use of δῆτα in general, and καὶ . . . δῆτα in particular (e.g. *Ar.Lys.*912), the rejected interpretation seems the correct one.)

(7) Since ἀλλὰ δῆτα (ἀλλὰ . . . δῆτα) is predominantly, though not exclusively, used in questions, and since it is often difficult to say whether a question-mark should be printed or not, it will be convenient to consider here all examples of this combination.

(i) The commonest use is in questions which follow a rejected suggestion (including hypophora). Cf. ἀλλά (II.1), ἀλλὰ δῆ (4). *S.Aj.*466 πότερα πρὸς οἴκους . . . ; . . . ἀλλὰ δῆτ' ἰὼν πρὸς ἔρυμα Τρώων . . . εἶτα λίσθιον θάνω; ('Well, then, shall I go . . . ?'); *El.*537 πότερον Ἀργείων (χάρμ) ἐρεῖς; ἀλλ' . . . ἀλλ' ἄντ' ἀδελφοῦ δῆτα . . . ; *Ar.Pax* 1279 Ἄλλὰ τί δῆτ' ᾄδω; ('Well, what shall I sing, then?': the boy's first attempt at song having been suppressed): *Th.*143-4 πότερον ὡς ἀνὴρ τρέφει; . . . ἀλλ' ὡς γυνὴ δῆτ'; εἶτα ποῦ τὰ τιθθία; τί φῆς; τί σιγᾶς; ἀλλὰ δῆτ' ἐκ τοῦ μέλους ζητῶ σ' . . . ; (γυνὴ δῆτ' OCT): *S.O.T.*1375: "

1352: *Indag.* 300 Diehl: *E.Or.* 781 (read *Οὔκουν* . . . μένειν; and ἔλθω; see Paley): *Pl.Sph.* 249A Ἄλλα . . . ; . . . Ἄλλα . . . ; . . . Ἄλλα δητα . . . ; *Hr.Ma.* 283C πότερον . . . ; . . . Ἄλλα . . . ; . . . Ἄλλα δητα . . . ; 285C Ἄλλα . . . ;—*Οὐδαμῶς* . . . —*Ἄλλα δητα* . . . ;

(ii) Other uses of ἀλλά δητα, ἀλλά . . . δητα are much rarer. *S.Tr.* 1245 Ἄλλ' ἐκδιδαχθῶ δητα δυσσεβεῖν, πάτερ; (protesting): *Crates Com.Fr.* 14.2 ἐπειτα δούλον οὐδὲ εἰς κεκτήσεται οὐδὲ δούλην, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς αὐτῷ δητ' ἀνὴρ γέρων διακονήσει; (indignant: 'but, forsooth'): *Ar.Av.* 375 Ἄλλ' ἀπ' ἐχθρῶν δητα πολλὰ μανθάνουσιν οἱ σοφί (an objection): *Pl.* 1098 Τίς ἔσθ' ὁ κόπτων τὴν θύραν; τουτὶ τί ἦν; οὐδεὶς ἔοικεν ἀλλὰ δητα τὸ θύριον φθεγγόμενον ἄλλως κλαυσιᾶ (probably to be classed under (i) as a question: 'Well, then, is it just the door creaking?'). Van Leeuwen's objection to Blaydes' insertion of the question-mark is not convincing): *Pl.Cra.* 410E Ἄλλα δητα, ὦ Σώκρατες, πολὺ ἐπιδίδως (surprised approval: cf. ἀλλά, II.6.iii.b: 'Why, you are getting on'): *D* xix 287 ἀλλὰ δητ' ἄνω ποταμῶν ἐκείνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πάντες οἱ περὶ πορνείας ἐρρύησαν λόγῳ.

*Pl.Lg.* 858D is a difficult and debatable passage: Ἄλλα δητα οὐ χρὴ τὸν νομοθέτην μόνον τῶν γραφόντων . . . συμβουλεύειν . . . . England is probably right in taking the sentence as ironical, 'whether interrogative or not'.

II. Emphatic. In this sphere δή and δητα carry out separate functions, which rarely overlap.

(1) In negative statements, οὐ δητα. Contrast the rarity of οὐ δη. Mostly in dialogue, in emphatic negative answers. About two-thirds of the Platonic examples of δητα come under this head.

(i) An expected denial, expressing agreement with the previous speaker's negative statement. *S.Ph.* 419 οὐ μὴ θάνωσι . . . —*Οὐ δητ'*: *Ar.Eq.* 1307-9 Ἀποτρόπαι' οὐ δητ' ἐμοῦ γ' ἄρξει ποτ' . . . —*Οὐδὲ Ναυφάντης γε τῆς Ναύσωνος, οὐ δητ' ὦ θεοί* (the first speaker perhaps corroborates οὐκ ἀνασχετόν (1305): 'No, he shan't rule me!'): *S.Tr.* 1127: *OC* 810: *E.Hcl.* 1228 (1227 is ironically affirmative in form): *Hipp* 324 (probably: the interpretation is doubtful): *Pl.R.* 387D Οὐκ ἄρα . . . ὀδύροιτ' ἄν.—*Οὐ δητα*: 436A: *Cri.* 49B.

(ii) An expected denial, answering a question anticipating a negative answer. *Ar.Ach.* 619 ταῦτα δητ' ἀνασχετά;—*Οὐ δητ'*:

*Eq.* 870: *Pl.Ar.* 25D ἔσθ' ὅστις . . . ;—*Οὐ δητα*: *R.* 472E: *X. Mem.* ii 2.9.

(i) and (ii) are exceedingly common in Plato, and embrace almost all the Platonic examples of οὐ δητα: naturally enough, since the answers given in the dialogues are usually the expected ones. In *Grg.* 453D οὐ δητα rejects, as expected, the second of two alternatives: πότερον δὲ διδάσκει πείθει ἢ οὐ;—*Οὐ δητα, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἀλλὰ πάντων μάλιστα πείθει*.

(iii) Answering a neutral question. *S.OT* 758 Ἡ κὰν δόμοισι τυγχάνει τανῦν παρών;—*Οὐ δητ'*: *Ph.* 735: *OC* 597: *Ar.Nu.* 733: *V.* 396: *Pl.Lg.* 962C ἔχομεν φράζειν;—*Οὐ δητα* . . . σαφῶς γε: *And* 1101 (an imaginary cross-examination).

(iv) Giving the lie to a positive statement. *S.OT* 1161 Ἄνῆρ ὄδ' . . . ἐς τριβὰς ἐλάᾳ.—*Οὐ δητ' ἔγωγ'*: *Tr.* 1208: *E.Heracl.* 61: *Alc.* 389: *Ar.Eq.* 1110: *Nu.* 913: *V.* 169: *Pl.Grg.* 473B (substituting a stronger form of expression, almost like μὲν οὖν).

(v) Refusing to obey a command or follow a suggestion. 'No, I will not': *E.Hipp.* 334 Ἀπελθε πρὸς θεῶν δεξιᾶς τ' ἐμῆς μέθες.—*Οὐ δητ'*: *Med.* 1378: *Ph.* 1661: *Cyc.* 198 (197 is virtually a suggestion): *Ar.Eq.* 1229: *V.* 989.

(vi) A negative answer to a question which either definitely expects a positive answer, or recognizes with reluctance or surprise that a negative answer may be given. *S.El.* 403 Σὺ δ' οὐχὶ πείση . . . ;—*Οὐ δητα*: *OT* 942 Τί δ'; οὐχ ὁ πρέσβυς Πόλυβος ἐγκρατῆς ἔτι;—*Οὐ δητ'*: *Ar.V.* 1496 οὐκ εὔ;—*Μὰ Δί'* οὐ δητ' ἀλλὰ μανικὰ πράγματα: *A.Pr.* 770: *S.El.* 1198: *Pl.Grg.* 470E: *X.Cyr.* i 6.28: *Arist.Pol.* 1313a33: *Rh.* 1419a34 (the only examples of δητα in Aristotle).

(Cf. *Pl.Euthd.* 298C, a positive answer (with δητα) where a negative one is expected.)

(vii) Strengthened with an oath, *Μὰ* (τὸν) *Δί'* οὐ δητα: *Ar.Nu.* 733: *V.* 169, 396, 1496: *Ra.* 914: *Pl.Grg.* 470E.

(viii) Rarely in continuous speech. (a) Answering a rhetorical question: *E.Med.* 1048: *Heracl.* 507: *Hipp.* 1062: *Aeschin.* i 88. (b) Answering a supposed objection: *S.OC* 433 (εἴποις ἄν ὡς . . .): *D.* lviii 64 (νῆ Δία). (c) Picking up and reinforcing a preceding negative: *A.Pr.* 349: *Ant.* vi 15. Here too, as in (a) and (b), δητα gives the impression of dialogue: the speaker answers himself.

οὐ δῆτα is almost always elliptical. For *Ar.Eg.*1307 see (i) above. *S.Ant.*762 is another apparent exception: but the construction of 762 is perhaps to be regarded as self-contained in inception, the sequel, containing the verb, being added as the thought develops. οὐ . . . δῆτα in *Ar.Ach.*323 perhaps has an assentient tinge (cf. (3) below): οὐκ ἀκούσεσθ' . . . ;—Οὐκ ἀκουσόμεσθα δῆτα ('That's it, we won't listen': not 'No, we won't', which would be *Οὐ δῆτα*).

(2) Passionate negative commands or wishes, μὴ δῆτα.

In answers. *S.Aj.*111 Μὴ δῆτα τὸν δύστηνον ᾧδέ γ' αἰκίση: *Ar.Eg.*960 Μὴ δῆτά πῶ γ', ᾧ δέσποτ': *S.El.*1206: *OT*1153: *Ph.*762: *OC*174: *E.Med.*336: *Or.*1329: *Ph.*735: *Ar.Lys.*36: *Nu.*696.

In continuous speech. *A.Pr.*1075 μηδὲ . . . μέμψησθε τύχην . . . μὴ δῆτ', αὐταὶ δ' ὑμᾶς αὐτάς: *S.OT*830 μὴ δῆτα, μὴ δῆτ', ᾧ θεῶν ἀγνὸν σέβας, ἴδοιμι . . . : *E.Med.*644 (lyr.) ᾧ πατρὶς . . . μὴ δῆτ' ἀπολις γενοίμαν: *S.Ph.*1367: *E.Alc.*308: *Med.*1056: *Hel.*939: *Supp.*320: *IA*1183: *D.xxii*183 μὴ τοίνυν . . . δείγμα τοιοῦτον ἐξενέγκητ' . . . ὡς . . . μὴ δῆτα: οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον: *xxxii*23 μὴ δῆτ', ᾧ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί: *And.*1149: *D.xviii*324: *xxi*188: *Lycurg.*116.

(3) In affirmative answers, echoing a word, or words, of the previous speaker. (Cf. μέντοι, II.1.ii.b.) Common in verse and prose dialogue, particularly in Aristophanes, where the particle is often reinforced by an oath. For the very rare similar use of δῆ, see δῆ I.14, *ad fin.*

*A.Supp.*359 (lyr.) εἶη δ' ἀνατον πρᾶγμα . . . —ἴδοιτο δῆτ' ἀνατον φυγάν\*: *S.El.*844 (lyr.) Φεῦ . . . —Φεῦ δῆτ': *OT*445 κόμιζέ με.—Κομιζέτω δῆθ': *Ar.Av.*1548 Μισῶ δ' ἀπαντας τοὺς θεοὺς . . . —Νῆ τὸν Δι' αἰεὶ δῆτα θεομισῆς ἔφυσ: *A.Th.*879,933,985: *S.El.*1455: *OC*536: *E.Med.*1373: *El.*673,676: *HF*901: *Hel.*646: *Ph.*161,1702: *Tr.*584,1231: *Ar.Ach.*1228: *Eg.*6,726,749: *Av.*275: *Lys.*848,882,930: *id. saep.*: *Antiph.Fr.*58.3: *Pl.R.*333A, 381B,563E: *Phd.*90D: *Cra.*422B: *Philb.*30C: *Lg.*658D: (reinforced by preceding oath: *Ar.Av.*269: *Lys.*836: *Pl.Thl.*170E: *Thg.*125B: followed by oath, *Ar.Lys.*972).

(But in *Pl.Lg.*636A the second speaker virtually dissents: ἔοικεν γὰρ τά τε συσσίτια καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια καλῶς ἠρῆσθαι πρὸς ἀμφοτέρας.—ἔοικεν δῆτα that all political institutions, includ-

ing these, have defects as well as merits'. Perhaps there is a sort of *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*: 'It seems . . . '—'Yes, it seems—that the matter is not quite as simple as that'. 'It does seem difficult', England: but this is not in line with any usage of δῆτα: and the echo of ἔοικεν cannot be left out of account.)

Sometimes the second speaker merely endorses and restates the purport of the words of the first, without verbal echo. *A.Pers.*988 (lyr.) 'Did you leave behind you trusted henchmen?'—Ἰνυγγά μοι δῆτ' ἀγαθῶν ἐτάρων ὑπορίνεις: *E.Or.*219 βούλη θίγω σου κἀνακουφίσω δέμας;—*Λαβοῦ λαβοῦ δῆτ'*: 1231 σὺ δ' ἡμῖν τοῦδε συλλήπτωρ γενοῦ.—Ἵ Ω πάτερ, ἰκοῦ δῆτ': *Ar.Lys.*96 Μύσιδδέ τοι ὅ τι λῆς ποθ' ἀμέ.—*Νῆ Δι'*, ᾧ φίλη γύναι, λέγε δῆτα. In *Pl.Alc.*1130B there is, exceptionally, endorsement without restatement: 'Ἄλλ' ἄρα . . . ;—Ἴσως δῆτα ('Yes, perhaps that is so').

Sometimes a speaker echoes or endorses his own words. *A.Th.*890 (lyr.) δι' εὐωνύμων τετυμμένοι, τετυμμένοι δῆθ': *S.El.*1164 ὡς μ' ἀπώλεσας ἀπώλεσας δῆτ', ᾧ κασιγνητὸν κἀρα ('Aye, undone me'): *Ph.*760 Ἴὼ ἰὼ δύστηνε σὺ, δύστηνε δῆτα . . . : 1348 Ἵ Ω στυγνὸς αἰὼν, τί με, τί δῆτ' ἔχεις ἄνω . . . ; *Ar.Nu.*269 Σω . . . ἄρθητε, φάνητ' . . . (interruption by Strepsiades).—Σω. ἔλθετε δῆτ': *Ec.*1122 ὥστ' ἐστὶ πολὺ βέλτιστα, πολὺ δῆτ' ᾧ θεοί: *Pl.Pr.*310C ἐσπέρας γε . . . ἐσπέρας δῆτα ('Yes, in the evening'). For δῆτα with a resumed negative see II. (1) and (2) above.

(4) Outside the above limits emphatic δῆτα is very rare. *A.Th.*814 Αὐτὸς δ' ἀναλοῖ δῆτα δύσποτμον γένος: *Cratin.Fr.*188 ἀτὰρ ἐννοοῦμαι δῆτα τῆς μοχθηρίας (δῆ τι Nauck): *Ar.V.*796 Ὅρᾶς ὅσον καὶ τοῦτο δῆτα κερδανεῖς: *Pl.*697 μετὰ τοῦτο δ' ἤδη καὶ γέλοιον δῆτά τι ἐποίησα: *D.xlv*76 ὡς δῆτα πονηρὸν . . . ἐπιδείξων (ironical).

In exclamations and imprecations. *E.Ant.*514 (lyr.) ὦ μοι μοι, τί πάθω; τάλας δῆτ' ἐγὼ σὺ τε, μάτερ: *X.HGii*4.17 ᾧ μακάριοι δῆτα, οἱ ἂν ἡμῶν νικήσαντες ἐπίδωσι τὴν πασῶν ἡδίστην ἡμέραν: *Ar.Nu.*6 ἀπόλοιο δῆτ', ᾧ πόλεμε, πολλῶν οὐνεκα.

After relatives. *S.Ph.*130 ἐκπέμψω πάλιν τοῦτον τὸν αὐτὸν ἄνδρα . . . οὐ δῆτα, τέκνον, ποικίλως αὐδωμένου δέχου . . . : *A.Th.*829: *Eu.*399.

III. Connective. There are very few examples of this use, outside questions. *Ar.V.121* ὅτε δητα ταύταις ταῖς τελεταῖς οὐκ ὠφέλει, διέπλευσεν εἰς Αἴγιναν: *Nu.1058* ἀνειμι δητ' ἐντεῦθεν ἐς τὴν γλῶτταν: *Hdt.iv.69* δέδοκται . . . ἀπόλλυσθαι, ἀπολλύσι δητα αὐτοὺς τρόπῳ τοιῶδε (δητα *ABCP*: δέ *cett.* δητα, though it has the support of the two best MSS., *A* and *B*, seems highly improbable, in continuous prose narrative): *Pl.Grg.452C* μετὰ δὲ τὸν παιδοτρίβην εἶποι ἂν ὁ χρηματιστῆς . . . "Σκύπει δητα, ὦ Σώκρατες . . ." (but δητα is probably emphatic here): *Thl.208E* Νῦν δητα . . .

IV. Combined with other particles. (For ἀλλὰ δητα, and for οὖν . . . δητα, οὐκουν . . . δητα, καὶ . . . δητα in questions, see I.6 and 7.)

(1) καὶ δητα. This is not uncommon in colloquial Greek (Aristophanes, Plato, and Xenophon). It closely resembles καὶ δὴ and καὶ δὴ καί in force, but is more lively and picturesque. *Ar.Ach.68* Καὶ δητ' ἐτρυχόμεσθα: 142 καὶ δητα φιλαθήναιος ἦν ὑπερφυῶς: *V.13* καὶ δητ' ὄναρ θαυμαστὸν εἶδον ἀρτίως: *Av.511*, 1670: *Ra.52*: *Ec.378, 385*: *Th.vi.38.5* (in speech) καὶ δητα . . . τί καὶ βούλεσθε, ὦ νεώτεροι; *Pl.Prt.310C* ὁ γὰρ τοι παῖς με ὁ Σάτυρος ἀπέδρα: καὶ δητα μέλλων σοι φράζειν . . . ἐπελαθόμεν: *Euthphr.11D*: *Thl.142C*: *X.Oec.11.4*: *Cyr.v.1.4*: *D.xxiv.159*: xxxvi.45. (*Pl.Thl.171D* καὶ δητα καὶ νῦν, exactly like καὶ δὴ καί, after a general statement.)

In *Pherecr.Fr.45.2* καί is not, as elsewhere, connective, and καὶ δητα is used like καὶ δὴ (2): "Ὅπως παρασκευάζεται τὸ δεῖπνον εἶπαθ' ἡμῖν.—Καὶ δηθ' ὑπάρχει τέμαχος.

(2) δητα very occasionally replaces δὴ in combination with other particles. *S.Ant.551* Ἀλγοῦσα μὲν δητ': *E.El.926* ἤδησθα γὰρ δητ': *Supp.1098* ἤδιστα πρίν γε δηθ', ὅτ' ἦν παῖς ἤδε μοι (δηθ' ὅτ' Canter, probably rightly, for δὴποτ'): *Ph.1717* (lyr.) σύ μοι ποδαγὸς ἀθλία γενοῦ—Γενομέθα γενομέθ', ἀθλιαί γε δητα (here there is little cohesion between the particles, γε marking the assent, δητα the repetition: 'Aye, wretched indeed'): *Hygs.Fr.20-21.6* *Arn. Τί δητά γ' ἐξεύρηκας*; (δητά γε looks suspicious): *A.Th.670* †ἤδητ'† ἂν εἴη πανδίκως ψευδώνυμος Δίκη (the decision between ἤ δητ' and ἦ δητ' is difficult: Tucker prefers the latter, as 'a more natural and accepted (*sic*) combination. ἦ would

require a different position of δητ', e.g. ἦ εἴη ἂν δητα'. But see next example): *Ar.V.332* (lyr.) εἰς ὀξάλμην ἔμβਾਲε θερμὴν ἦ δητα λίθον με ποίησον: *Ec.853* Οὐκοῦν βαδιοῦμαι δητα (but the much commoner Οὐκουν . . . δητα . . .; is just possible here). For ἀτὰρ . . . δητα, see *Cratin.Fr.188* (II.4).

V. Textually uncertain cases. In *E.Hipp.716* δὴ τι (*LPB*) seems more probable than δητα (*cett.*), though supported by inferior textual authority: but the context is corrupt. In *IT943* δὴ γ' (*LP*) seems very doubtful (see p. 247): Scaliger δητ': the whole passage is uncertain. In *Hel.1374*, if we assume a lacuna before the line, κάλλιστα δητὰ is apparently used for κάλλιστα δὴ (an 'improper use', Paley observes: an unparalleled one at all events: κάλλιστα δὴ τάδ' ἤρπασ', Fix). In *Ba.202*, *IA84*, δητα is a poor conjecture. In *Hr.Septim.9* ἐφάνη ισχύοντα δητα μάλλον for δητα read probably δὴ τι.

## ἦ

Boisacq connects ἦ with Sanskrit emphatic á. ἦ is used both as an affirmative and as an interrogative particle. The latter use is no doubt derived from the former: the transition being an easy one, from ἦ in a pure statement to ἦ in a statement with an interrogative inflexion, and hence to ἦ as an interrogative proper.

The distinction between ἦ and other affirmative particles has been variously formulated. Kühner regards the difference between ἦ and μήν or δὴ as merely one of strength, pointing out that ἦ is (usually) placed at the beginning of the sentence, and that it always retains its adverbial nature, never sinking to the rank of a conjunction (though in ἐπεὶ ἦ, τῆ, ὅτι ἦ it sinks to the rank of a mere suffix). Bäumlein maintains that ἦ expresses subjective certainty, a view borne out by the fact (noticed by Ebeling) that Homer never (except χ31 ἐπεὶ ἦ) uses ἦ in *prosa* *persona*, but only in speeches, and that in prose, except in

certain combinations (notably ἦ μὴν, ἦ που) the particle is almost confined to dialogue. If this view is correct, ἦ μὴν, ἦ δὴ mean, strictly speaking, 'I am certain that really . . .'. \*

I. Affirmative, mostly with adjectives and adverbs. This is mainly a verse idiom, and is hardly found at all in oratory, except for ἦ μὴν (*q.v.*), and the common use of ἦ που in a *fortiori* argument.

(1) In general. Hom. Γ204 ὦ γυναῖκα, ἦ μάλα τοῦτο ἔπος νημερτὲς εἶπες: Ε800 ἦ ὀλίγον οἱ παῖδα εἰκότα γείνατο Τυδεύς: Ι197 Χαίρετον ἦ φίλοι ἄνδρες ἰκάνετον: Ο105 ἦ ἔτι μιν μέμαμεν καταπαυσέμεν: Χ356 ἦ σ' εὖ γινώσκων προτιόσσομαι: Simon. Fr.76.1 ἦ μέγ' Ἀθηναίοισι φόως γένεθ': 142.1 ἦ σεῦ καὶ φθιμένας λεύκ' ὄστ' . . . ἴσχω ἔτι τρομέειν θῆρας: A.Pr.752 ἦ δυσπετῶς ἂν τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἄθλους φέροις: Th.838 ἦ δύσσορ' ἄδε ξυναυλία δορός: Ag.1064 ἦ μαίνεται γε: 592 ἦ κάρτα (1252: Ch.929: S.Aj.1359: El.312 ('only here as an independent affirmative, which is elsewhere καὶ κάρτα [OC65, 301]', Jebb): El.1279): Aj.1366 ἦ πάνθ' ὁμοία: Ant.484 ἦ νῦν ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἀνήρ: E.Tr.383 ἦ τοῦδ' ἐπαίνου τὸ στρατεύμ' ἐπαξιόν: Alc.865 ἦ βαρυδαίμονα μήτηρ μ' ἔτεκεν: Ar.Nu.167 ἦ ῥαδίως φεύγων ἂν ἀποφύγοι δίκην (ironical): Av.13 ἦ δεινὰ νῶ δέδρακεν: 162 ἦ μέγ' ἐνορῶ βούλευμ' ἐν ὀρνίθων γένει: Hom.Z 441: P143: T94: Thgn.1173: Pi.O.1.28: P.1.47: A.Pers. 262,647,843: Ag.1481: Eu.34: E.Med.579: Andr.274: Tr. 424,446: El.483: Ph.798: Rh.245: Ar.Lys.1031: Hdt. vii 159 ἦ κε μέγ' οἰμῶξε . . . Ἀγαμέμνων (a reminiscence of Hom.H 125): Pl.Euthd.271A ἦ πολὺς ὑμᾶς ὄχλος περιεστῆκει (ἦ B (*sed in ras.*) Demetrius: 'There was a crowd round you!': ἦ T): Phdr. 264A ἦ πολλοῦ δεῖν εἶκε ποιεῖν: R.454A ἦ γενναία, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἦ δύναμις τῆς ἀντιλογικῆς τέχνης: ('There's really something noble about the faculty of argument'): 530C ἦ πολλαπλάσιον, ἔφη, τὸ ἔργον . . . προστάττει: Sph.246B ἦ δεινοὺς εἰρηκας ἄνδρας: Ti. 21D Τίς δ' ἦν ὁ λόγος . . .;—ἦ περὶ μεγίστης . . . πράξεως (ἦ in A only: 'In truth it was about . . .'): X.Cyr.vii 5.48 ἦ καλῶς, ἔφη, ἐποίησας: Lys.ii 40 ἦ πολὺ πλείστον ἐκεῖνοι κατὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων διήνεγκαν: κx 19 ἦ δεινὰ τὰν πάθοιμεν . . . εἰ . . . ('Really it would be hard'): Pl.Smp.176B: Prt.327D,355D: R.567E: Thl.175C (ἦ Burnet, for εἰ).

(2) Position. Affirmative ἦ is occasionally placed later than first word in the sentence.

(i) After a vocative. Hom.Γ204 ὦ γυναῖκα, ἦ μάλα τοῦτο ἔπος νημερτὲς εἶπες: Δ441 ἦ δαίλ', ἦ μάλα δὴ σε κιχάνεται αἰπὺς ὄλεθρος: ω351 Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἦ ῥα ἔτ' ἐστὲ θεοί: A.Th.979 μέλαιν' Ἐρινύς, ἦ μεγασθενὴς τις εἶ: S.El.622 ὦ θρέμμ' ἀναιδές, ἦ σ' ἐγὼ καὶ τᾶμ' ἔπη . . . ποεῖ: E.Tr.1182 ὦ μήτηρ, ἦ ὕδας, ἦ πολὺν σοὶ βοστρύχων πλόκαμον κερούμαι: Hdt.iii 72 Ὀτάνη, ἦ πολλὰ ἐστὶ . . .: vi 80 ὦ Ἀπολλὸν χρηστήριε, ἦ μεγάλως με ἠπάτηκας: Pl.Hp.Ma.291E Ἰοῦ ἰού, ὦ Ἰππία, ἦ θαυμασίως τε καὶ μεγαλείως . . . εἰρηκας: X.Cyr.v 4.13 ὦ Γαδάτα, ἦ πολὺ μείζον παρεῖς θαῦμα ἐμὲ νῦν θαυμάζεις.

(ii) After an exclamation or oath. Hom.φ249 ὦ πόποι, ἦ μοι ἄχος (A.Pers.852): Ar.V.209 νῆ Δί' ἦ μοι κρεῖττον ἦν . . .: Av.1397 Νῆ τὸν Δί' ἦ γὼ σου καταπάνσω τὰς πνοάς.

(iii) At the opening of an apodosis. Hom.ψ108 εἰ δ' . . . ἦ μάλα . . . (E.Alc.464 (lyr.)): E.Rh 476 (iamb.): X.An.vii 6.27 εἰ οὖν . . . ἦ κακῶς ἂν ἐδόκουν: . . . (In Hp.VM15 M gives εἰ δὲ δὴ τυγχάνει . . . ἦ διοίσει τι . . .) Apodotic ἦ τε occurs several times in Homer: Π687, X49, etc. See further (4) below.

(iv) Outside the above limits, postponement of affirmative ἦ is exceedingly rare. Hom.P34 Νῦν μὲν δὴ, Μενέλαε διοτρεφέες, ἦ μάλα τείσεις: Pi.O.13.63 δς τᾶς ὀφιώδεος υἱόν ποτε Γοργόνος ἦ πόλλ' ἀμφὶ κρουνοῖς Πάγασον ζεῦξαι ποθέων ἔπαθεν: Ar.V.1464 ἕτερα δὲ νῦν ἀντιμαθῶν ἦ μέγα τι μεταπεσεῖται. At opening of parenthesis: A.Eu.144 ἐπάθομεν, φίλοι—ἦ πολλὰ δὴ παθοῦσα καὶ μάτην ἐγώ—. Exegetic: E.Rh.899 οἶαν ἔκελσας ὁδὸν ποτὶ Τροίαν ἦ δυσδαίμονα καὶ μελέαν, ἀπομεμφομένας ἐμοῦ πορευθεῖς.

(3) Repetition of ἦ. Very occasionally, ἦ is repeated, and followed by another repeated word. A.Pr.887 ἦ σοφός, ἦ σοφός, δς . . .: E.Ph.320 ἰὼ τέκος . . . ἔλιπες . . . ἦ ποθεινὸς φίλοις, ἦ ποθεινὸς Θήβαις: IA 1330 ἦ πολύμοχθον ἄρ' ἦν γένος, ἦ πολύμοχθον ἀμερίων. (In A.Pers.647 the second ἦ is unmetrical.) S.Aj.172-6 ἦ ῥα . . . ἦ που.

(4) A particular use of ἦ (almost always ἦ που . . . γε) is in a *fortiori* argument. E.Hipp.412 ὅταν γὰρ . . . δοκῇ, ἦ κάρτα δόξει .



X.HGvi 5.48 ὁπότε . . . , ἦ που ὑμῖν γε . . . : Ant.v9i καίτοι ὅπου . . . , ἦ καὶ πάνυ τοι χρῆν τοὺς γε ἐξαπατῶντας ἀπολωλέναι : And.i86 ὅπου οὖν ἀγράφω νόμῳ . . . , ἦ που ἀγράφω γε ψηφίσματι . . . : Lys.xiii 57 καίτοι εἰ ἐκεῖνος ἀπέθανεν, ἦ που Ἀγόρατός γε δικαίως ἀποθανεῖται : xxvii 15 καίτοι εἰ . . . , ἦ που σφόδρα χρῆ . . . : Lycurg.71 (with the *a fortiori* clause ironically negatived) ὅπου δὲ καὶ τοῦ λόγου τιμωρίαν ἠξίουσαν λαμβάνειν, ἦ που τὸν ἔργῳ παραδόντα τὴν πόλιν . . . οὐ μεγάλας ἂν ζημίαις ἐκόλασαν : Lys.vii 2 : viii 8 : xxv 17 : Isoc.iv 138 : viii 24 : D. xxiii 76,79 : Iv 18 (ironical) : Aeschin.ii 88 : (all of these ἦ που.)

Less frequently, the *a fortiori* clause comes first. (This order of clauses is, in general, less rhetorically effective. See Dissen, *De structura periodorum oratoria*.) S.Aj.1229 ἦ που τραφεῖς ἂν μητρὸς εὐγενοῦς ἀπο ὑψήλ' ἐκόμπεις . . . ὅτ' οὐδὲν ὦν τοῦ μηδὲν ἀντέστης ὑπερ : Hdt.i 68.2 ἼΗ κου ἂν . . . εἴ περ εἶδες τό περ ἐγώ, κάρτα ἂν ἐθώμαζες, ὅκου νῦν οὕτω τυγχάνεις θῶμα ποιούμενος . . . : Pl.Phd.84E ἦ που χαλεπῶς ἂν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους πείσαιμι . . . ὅτε γε μηδ' ὑμᾶς δύναμαι πείθειν : Th.v 100 (ἼΗ που ἄρα) : Pl.Alc.II 147E (without που : but read, perhaps, ἦ) : And.iv 27 (ἦ που).

Three times, in Thucydides, the two clauses are paratactically, not hypotactically, related (*uadum*) : i 142.3 τὴν μὲν γὰρ (ἐπιτείχισιν) χαλεπὸν καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ πόλιν ἀντίπαλον κατασκευάσασθαι, ἦ που δὴ ἐν πολεμίᾳ τε . . . ('far more difficult') : vi 37.2 : viii 27.3 (ἦ που Lindau : ποῦ *codd.*).

In Ar.Th.63 ἦ που νέος γ' ὦν ἦσθ' ὑβριστής, ὦ γέρον the *a fortiori* relationship is implied, the second clause being unexpressed.

II. Interrogative.<sup>1</sup> In prose almost confined to the combinations ἦ που, ἦ γάρ, ἦ καί.

(1) In general. Hom.Γ46 ἦ τοιόσδε ἐὼν . . . γυναῖκ' εὐεῖδέ' ἀνήγες . . . ; A.Eu.949 ἼΗ τάδ' ἀκούετε . . . ; S.OT 993 ἼΗ ῥητόν ; ἦ οὐχὶ θεμιτὸν ἄλλον εἰδέναι ; E.Ba.1300 ἼΗ πᾶν ἐν ἄρθροισι συγκεκλημένον καλῶς (φέρεις) ; Ar.Ach.776 ἦ λῆς ἀκοῦσαι φθειγγομένας ; Hom.O 504.506 : A.Pr.773 : Ag.269 : S.El.385 : OT 943,1120 : OC 30 : E.Hipp.97 : Supp.145,935 : Cyc.180 : IT

<sup>1</sup> Prof. J. E. Harry, *Indirect Questions with μή and ἄρα μή*, remarks that interrogative ἦ is much commoner in tragedy than in comedy : 'Aeschylus 25, Sophocles 61, Euripides 74, Aristophanes hardly a dozen'.

1176 : Ar.Pl.869 : Pl.Grg.479B ἦ οὐ δοκεῖ καὶ σοὶ οὕτω ; (ἦ Burnet) : 479C ἦ βούλει συλλογισώμεθα αὐτά ; (ἦ Burnet) : X.Cyr.i 4.19.

(2) Often introducing a suggested answer, couched in interrogative form, to a question just asked. Hom.A 203 Τίπτ' αὐτ' . . . εἰλήλουθας ; ἦ ἵνα . . . ; A.Ag.1542 τίς ὁ θάψων νιν ; τίς ὁ θρηνήσων ; ἦ σὺ τόδ' ἔρξαι τλήσει . . . ; S.OT 622 Τί δῆτα χρήσεις ; ἦ με γῆς ἔξω βαλεῖν ; E.Cyc.129 Αὐτὸς δὲ Κύκλωψ ποῦ ἴστιν ; ἦ δόμων ἔσω ; Hom.Υ 17 : κ330 : E.IT 1168 : Ba.828 (ἦ *codd.*) : 1290 : Pl.Cri.43C Τίνα ταύτην (ἀγγελίαν φέρεις χαλεπήν) ; ἦ τὸ πλοῖον ἀφίικται ἐκ Δήλου, οὐ δεῖ ἀφικομένου τεθνάναι με ; Ar.37B τί δείσας ; ἦ μὴ πάθω τοῦτο . . . ; Supp.173A ἀλλὰ τίς σοι διηγείτο ; ἦ αὐτὸς Σωκράτης ; (ἦ B : ἦ ἦ T : ἦ Ast : ἦ Schanz). (On the question of accent, see Herodian, *Gramm.* 2.112.)

(3) Position. (i) Like affirmative ἦ, interrogative ἦ normally opens the sentence, but sometimes follows a vocative. Hom.E 421 Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἦ ῥά τί μοι κεχολώσεται . . . ; S.Ph.369 ὦ σκέτλι, ἦ 'τολμήσατ' . . . ; OC 863 ἼΩ φθέγγμ' ἀναιδές, ἦ σὺ γὰρ ψεύσεις ἐμοῦ ; 1102 ἼΩ τέκνον, ἦ πάρεστον ; E.Or.844 Γυναῖκες, ἦ που . . . ἀφώρμηται . . . ; Ar.Ach.749 Δικαιοπόλι, ἦ λῆς πρίασθαι χοιρία ; Hom.E 762 : δ632. (For similar postponement of ἀλλ' ἦ *v.s.v.*, p. 27.)

(ii) Otherwise, postponement of interrogative ἦ is very rare, and there is usually some doubt about reading or punctuation. Hom.Batr.174 ἼΩ θύγατερ μυσὶν ἦ ῥα βοηθήσουσα πορεύση : In S.Anl.1281 Τί δ' ἔστιν αὐ ; κάκιον ἦ κακῶν ἔτι ; is the reading nearest the MSS. (Pearson even punctuates before ἔστιν.) But Jebb observes that interrogative ἦ occurs about fifty times in Sophocles, and is always placed first, except that a vocative sometimes precedes it. (ἦ που, however, is not infrequently postponed by Sophocles : see below, III.9.) E.Hec.1013 πέπλων ἐντὸς ἦ κρύψασ' ἔχεις (here Valckenaer's ἦ, adopted by Forson, is perhaps unnecessary) : El.967 Τί δῆτα δρῶμεν μητέρ' ; ἦ φονεύσομεν ; (this punctuation is probably right ; though, apart from the difficulty in the position of ἦ, we might be inclined to put the question-mark after δρῶμεν) : Ion 962 (Bruhn's ἦ seems impossible : see Wilamowitz, *ad loc.*). Paley prints E.Supp.106 as a single sentence : but it is usually, and rightly, divided.

There are, however, a few indubitable instances of postponed interrogative ἦ in Plato : Lg.935D τὴν τῶν κομφοδῶν προ...

τοῦ γελοῖα εἰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους λέγειν ἢ παραδεχόμεθα . . . ; *R.* 469C. At opening of apodosis: *R.* 552A, 581B.

(4) Indirect questions: Homer only. Θ111 εἴσεται ἦ καὶ ἐμὸν δόρυ μαίνεται ἐν παλάμῃσιν: *A*83: *v*415: *τ*325. (The MSS. read everywhere ἦ or εἰ. L. & S., doubtfully, prefer ἦ. Kühner (IIii 526) denies that ἦ is ever used in indirect questions.) In *π*138 (MSS. ἦ or εἰ) the question may be direct.

(Homeric ἦ, ἦε, in the second limb of a disjunctive interrogative or deliberative sentence (direct or indirect) stands for the disjunctive ἢ, ἢέ. See L. & S., ἦ, A.ii.)

III. Combinations. Most of these are used both affirmatively and interrogatively.

(1) ἦ ἄρα, ἦ ἄρ, ἦ ῥα: mainly Homeric.

(i) Affirmative. Hom. *Γ*183 ἦ ῥά νύ τοι πολλοὶ δεδμήατο: *Δ*82 ἦ ῥ' αὐτίς πόλεμος . . . ἔσεται: *ω*28 ἦ τ' ἄρα: *ι*93 ἦ ἄρα σὺν μεγάλῃ ἀρετῇ ἐκτήσω ἄκοιτιν: *S.Aj.* 955 ἦ ῥα κελαινῶπαν θυμὸν ἐφυβρίζει πολύτλας ἀνὴρ.

(ii) Interrogative. Hom. *E*421 Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἦ ῥά τί μοι κεχολώσεται . . . ; *N*446 Δηΐφοβ', ἦ ἄρα δὴ τι εἴσκομεν . . . ; *v*166 Ἐεῖν', ἦ ἄρ τί σε μᾶλλον Ἀχαιοὶ εἰσορόωσιν . . . ; *B.* 5.165 ἦ ῥά τις ἐν μεγάροις . . . ἔστιν . . . σοὶ φυὰν ἀλιγκία; *A.Pers.* 633 (lyr.) ἦ ῥ' αἰεὶ μου . . . βασιλεὺς . . . ; *S.Aj.* 172 (lyr.) ἦ ῥά σε . . . Ἄρτεμις . . . ὤρμασε . . . ; Hom. *Ξ*190: *T*56.

(iii) The contracted form ἦρα is often found in dialects other than Attic. (The decision between ἦρα and ἦ ῥα is difficult.) *Sapph.Fr.* 53: *Alc.Fr.* 40: *Alcm.Fr.* 31: *Pi.P.* 4.57: 9.37: 11.38: *I.* 7.3: *Hp.Prorrh.* i 117, 120, 121: *Epid.* iv 25, 27: *v* 77: *vi* 2.5: 2.20: 3.7. (In *Ar.Th.* 260 *R* reads ἦρ, but ἄρ' is no doubt right.) See further *s.v.* ἄρα.

(2) ἦ γάρ, ἦ . . . γάρ. (The split form even in prose, [*Pl.*] *Sis.* 387D.)

(i) Affirmative. Hom. *A*78 ἦ γὰρ ὄτομαι ἀνδρα χολωσέμεν: *π*199 ἦ γὰρ τοι νέον ἦσθα γέρων: *S.Aj.* 1330 ἦ γὰρ εἶην οὐκ ἀν εὐφρονῶν: Hom. *A*232, 293: *Thgn.* 524: *E.Cyc.* 150: *Hipp.* 90, 756: *Ar.Pax.* 1292: *X.An.* i 6.8.

(ii) Interrogative. *A.Pr.* 745 ἦ γάρ τι λοιπὸν τῆδε πημάτων ἐρεῖς; 974 ἦ κάμῃ γάρ τι συμφοραῖς ἐπαιτιᾷ; *S.Aj.* 1133 ἦ σοὶ γὰρ Αἴας πολέμιος προύστη ποτέ; *Ani.* 44 ἦ γὰρ νοεῖς θάπτειν

σφ' . . . ; *Ph.* 654: *E.Heracl.* 729 ἦ παιδαγωγεῖν γὰρ . . . χρεῶν; *A.Pr.* 757: *Ag.* 1366: *S.OT* 1000: *E.Hipp.* 702: *Or.* 739, 1595, 1600: *X.Cyr.* ii 2.11 ἦ γὰρ οἶε . . . ; *Oec.* 4.23 Τί λέγεις . . . ; ἦ γὰρ σὺ . . . ἐφύτευσας; Elliptical (*Nonne?*, *nicht wahr?*): *Pl.Cra.* 390A, 421C: *Prm.* 153B: *Th.* 160E: *Grg.* 449D, 468C, D: *Phd.* 93D: *Euthphr.* 10E, 13A: *Phdr.* 266D: *id. saep.*

(3) ἦ δῆ. Hom. *A*518 ἦ δὴ λοίγια ἔργ' ὃ τέ μ' ἐχθοδοπήσαι ἐφήσεις Ἡρῆ: *B*272 ἦ δὴ πόποι, ἦ δὴ μυρὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐσθλὰ ἔοργε: *E*422 ἦ μάλα δῆ (Hes. *Sc.* 103: *Pi.P.* 4.64): *Ξ*53 ἦ δὴ ταῦτά γ' ἐτοῖμα τετεύχεται: *P*538 ἦ δὴ μάν: *Φ*583 ἦ δὴ που: *A.Ch.* 742 ἦ δὴ κλύων ἐκείνος εὐφρανεῖ νόον: *S.El.* 314 ἦ δὴ ἀν ἐγὼ θαρσοῦσα μᾶλλον ἐς λόγους τοὺς σοὺς ἰκοίμην (but the text is uncertain): *E.Supp.* 423 ἦ δὴ νοσῶδες τοῦτο τοῖς ἀμείνοσιν: *Ion* 711 ἦ δὴ πέλας δειπνῶν κυρεῖ: Hom. *B*337: *O*467: *Ω*518: *a*253: *e*182: *Hdt.* *v*92αι ἦ δὴ ὃ τε οὐρανὸς ἐνερχεῖται τῆς γῆς . . . ὅτε γε . . .

(4) ἦ δῆτα. For this very doubtful combination in *A.Th.* 670, see *δῆτα*, IV.2.

(5) ἦ θην. See *θην*. (6) ἦ καί. (i) Affirmative. The only example known to me is *Ar.Lys.* 1226 ἦ καὶ χαρίεντες ἦσαν οἱ Λακωνικοί: and there is no close coherence between the particles here (cf. Lawson on *A.Ag.* 942).

(ii) Interrogative (common). Sometimes ἦ καί, 'inquires with a certain eagerness' (Jebb on *S.El.* 314): sometimes καί means 'also', and goes closely with an individual word. *A.Ag.* 1207 ἦ καὶ ἠν παλαιστῆς κάρτ' ἐμοὶ πνέων χάριν.—ἦ καὶ τέκνων εἰς ἔργον ἠλθέτην ἰδμῶ; ('Did you also (or 'actually') . . .?'): *i*362: *Ch.* 526: *Pers.* 978: *S.Aj.* 38, 44, 48, 97: *OT* 368, 757, 1045: *E.HF* 614: *El.* 278, 351: *Pl.Phd.* 94A: *Th.* 149A: *Euthd.* 285E: *R.* 534B: *X.Cyr.* i 3.6: ii 2.20: 3.23: *Oec.* 7.35: *S.* i: 19.12.

(7) ἦ νυ. Hom. *X*11 ἦ νύ τοι οὐ τι μέλει Τρώων πόσιος.

(8) ἦ οὖν. *Pl.R.* 484C, 485C (*bis*), 493C, 580C.

ἦ . . . οὖν. *E.Supp.* 574 ἦ πάνσιν οὖν σ' ἐφροσε ἐξαρκεῖν πατήρ; *Or.* 787 ἦ λέγωμεν οὖν ἀδελφῆ ταυτ' ἐμῆ; *X.Cyr.* 14.3 ἦ καὶ ταύτην οὖν . . . τὴν δικαιοσύνην σὺ ὑποδύει διδάσκειν: *Pl.R.* 605E: *Pi.m.* 142A: *Sph.* 250D: *Amat.* 137D.

(9) ἦ που (see also I.4 above), ἦ . . . που (in Homer the particles sometimes seem to form a unity even when separated).

Here the hesitation implied by *που* imposes a slight check on the certainty implied by *ἦ*. Cf. *δήπου*.

(i) Affirmative (in the lyrics of Sophocles sometimes late in the sentence. But in *Lys.xii88* *ἦπου* is corrupt). *Hom.Γ43 ἦ που καυχάλοισι . . . Ἀχαιοί: Π830 Πάτροκλ', ἦ που ἔφησθα . . . : ζ278 ἦ τινά που πλαγχθέντα κομίσσατο: Hes.Sc.92 ἦ που πολλὰ μετεστοναχίζειτ' ὀπίσσω . . . : A.Pr.521 ἦ που τί σε μόνον ἔστιν ὁ ξυναμπέχεις: S.Aj.382 Ἰὼ πάντα δρῶν . . . ἦ που πολλὸν γέλωθ' ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἄγεις: 1008 ἦ που με Τελαμῶν . . . δέξαιτ' ἂν εὐπρόσωπος (ironical): Tr.846-7 τὰ δ' . . . ἦ που ὄλοα στένει, ἦ που . . . τέγγει: Ph.1130 ὦ τόξον φίλον . . . ἦ που ἐλείπον ὄρας: Ar.V.725 ἦ που σοφὸς ἦν, ὅστις ἔφασκεν . . . : S.Aj.624,850: E.Heracl.55: Ba 939: Hel.1465: Ar.Lys.28: Th.63: Ra.803: Pl.700,832: Pl.Grg.448A ἦ που ἄρα ῥαδίως ἀποκριῆ: R.595C ἦ που ἄρ', ἔφη, ἐγὼ συννοήσω: Lys.ii 37 ἦ που . . . πολλάκις μὲν ἐδεξιῶσαντο ἀλλήλους: Lycurg.71 ἦ που ταχέως ἂν ἠνέσχετό τις ἐκείνων τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοιοῦτον ἔργον (ironical): Pl.Euthphr.4A: Lys.ii 39.*

(ii) Interrogative: 'I expect . . .?' (Here, as often, the line between questions and statements cannot be sharply drawn.) *Hom.O245 ἦ που τί σε κῆδος ἰκάνει; ζ125 ἦ νύ που ἀνθρώπων εἰμί σχεδὸν αὐδηέντων; 200 ἦ μή που τίνα δυσμενέων φάσθ' ἔμμεναι ἀνδρῶν; S.Aj.176 ἦ ῥά σε . . . Ἄρτεμις . . . ὤρμασε . . . ἦ που τινος νίκας ἀκάρπτου χάριν . . . : E.Med.1308 Τί δ' ἔστιν; ἦ που κάμ' ἀποκτείνει θέλει; Or.435 Τίς δ' ἄλλος; ἦ που τῶν ἀπ' Αἰγίσθου φίλων: E.Alc.199: Tr.59: Ar.Lys.1089: Pl.970: Pl.R.450D ὦ ἄριστε, ἦ που βουλόμενός με παραθαρρύνειν λέγεις; Ly.207D ἦ που . . . σφόδρα φιλεῖ σε ὁ πατήρ; ('I suppose your father is very fond of you?'): Din.57 ἦ που ἄρα ἡ βουλή, Δημόσθενες, τὰ ψευδῆ ἀπέφηνεν; οὐ δήπου.*

(10) ἦ τε, ἦ τοι. See τε, II.2.xiii: τοι, VI.8.

(11) ἐπεὶ ἦ, τί ἦ, ὅτι ἦ. (On the question of accentuation, see Kühner II ii 145, Anm.1, and L. & S. ἦ, I.2. According to Eustathius, the Attic accentuation is *τιῆ, ὀτιῆ*.) In these forms *ἦ* has sunk to the level of a mere suffix, and is used in a manner similar to *δή*.

*ἐπεὶ ἦ* is used by Homer in the combinations *ἐπεὶ ἦ πολὺ, ἐπεὶ ἦ μάλα, ἐπεὶ ἦ καί*. *Hom.A156,169: T437: id. saep.: Xenoph.Fr.6.4 ἐπεὶ ἦ φίλου ἀνέρος ἔστιν ψυχῆ*.

*τί ἦ, τιῆ* (Homer, Hesiod, and Attic Comedy): *Hom.O244 τί ἦ δὲ σὺ νόσφιν ἀπ' ἄλλων ἦσ' ὀλιγηπελέων; π421: Ar.V.1155 Τιῆ τί δή; (Th.84).*

*ὀτιῆ*. Attic Comedy. In sense 'because': *Ar.Eq.29,34,181, 236: id saep. Nu.784 Ὀτιῆ τί; 755 Ὀτιῆ τί δή; More rarely in sense 'that': Ar.Eq.360: Nu.331: V.1395: Av.1010.*

(L. & S. observe that "this *ἦ* (or *ἦ*) is probably to be recognized in *Hom.B289* (ὡς τε γὰρ ἦ), γ348, τ109 (ὡς τέ τευ ἦ), where *codd.* have *ἦ*".)

(12) *ἦμέν, ἦδέ*. These combinations are formed by adding *μέν* and *δέ* to affirmative *ἦ*: 'verily on the one hand', 'verily on the other'. *ἦμέν* is wholly, *ἦδέ* for the most part, confined to Epic.

(i) *ἦμέν . . . ἦδέ*. *Hom.A258* *περὶ μὲν σε τίω . . . ἦμέν ἐνὶ πτολέμῳ ἦδ' ἀλλοίῳ ἐπὶ ἔργῳ ἦδ' ἐν δαίθ'*: *E128* *ὄφρ' εὐ γιγνώσκης ἦμέν θεὸν ἦδὲ καὶ ἄνδρα*. (ii) *μέν . . . ἦδέ*. *Hom.μ168* *αὐτίκ' ἔπειτ' ἄνεμος μὲν ἐπαύσατο ἦδὲ γαλήνη ἔπλετο νηνεμῆ: 380* *βοῦς . . . ἦσιν ἐγὼ γε χαίρεσκον μὲν ἰὼν εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα, ἦδ' ὀπότε ἄψ ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἀπ' οὐρανόθεν προτραποίμη*. (iii) *ἦμέν . . . τε*. *Hom.θ575* *ἦμέν ὅσοι χαλεποὶ τε καὶ ἄγριοι οὐδὲ δίκαιοι, οἳ τε φιλόξενοι*. (iv) *ἦμέν . . . καί*. *Hom.O664* *ἦμέν ὅτεω ζῶουσι καὶ ᾧ κατατεθνήκασιν: O670: Hes.Op.339* *ἦμέν ὅτ' εὐνάζη καὶ ὅτ' ἂν φάος ἱερὸν ἔλθῃ*. (v) *ἦμέν . . . δέ*. *Hom.M428* *πολλοὶ δ' οὐτάζοντο . . . ἦμέν ὅτεω στρεφθέντι μετάφρενα γυμνωθεῖη μαρναμένων, πολλοὶ δὲ διαμπερὲς ἀσπίδος αὐτῆς*. (vi) *τε . . . ἦδέ*. *Hom.I99* *Ζεὺς ἐγγυάλιξε σκῆπτρόν τ' ἦδὲ θέμιστας: A400: B262,815: M61: id. saep.: Hes.Op.767,813*. (vii) *ἦδέ* alone. *Hom.A251* *ἄμα τράφεν ἦδ' ἐγένετο: B270: Hes.Th.47,113*.

There are a few instances of *ἦδέ* in the lyric and elegiac poets and tragedians. *Ion Eleg.Fr.5* *ἠνορέη τε κεκασμένος ἦδὲ καὶ αἰδοῖ: Simon.Fr.32* *οὕτω γὰρ Ὀμηρος ἦδὲ Στασίχορος αἶεσε λαοῖς: Pi.O.13.43* *ὅσσα τ' ἐν Δελφοῖσιν ἀριστεύσατε, ἦδὲ χόροισιν ἐν Λέοντος: Fr.151(168).3* *καὶ τότε ἐγὼ σαρκῶν τ' ἐνοπῆς: Simon.18.1* *ἦδὲ Ἀθῆναι (καὶ ἄλλοι πόλεις) ὁστέων στεναγμῶν βαρύν: Simon.18.1* *ἦδὲ Ἀθῆναι (καὶ ἄλλοι πόλεις) ὁστέων στεναγμῶν βαρύν: Simon.18.1*

Aeschylus in his earlier plays uses *ἦδέ* in lyrics only, and far more frequently in the *Persae*, a play in which there are many Ionic forms, than elsewhere: (he uses it 'almost exclusively in catalogues of names, titles, etc.', Verrall on *Em.* 188): *Th.86a* *ἦδὲ καὶ ἄλλοι πόλεις ὁστέων στεναγμῶν βαρύν: Simon.18.1*

τ' ἢδ' Ἰσμήνη: *Pers.* 16 οἶτε τὸ Σούσων ἢδ' Ἀγβατάνων καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν Κίσιον ἔρκος προλιπόντες ἔβαν: 21, 22, 26: *id. saep.* But in the trilogy all the examples, except *Ag.* 42, are from dialogue: *Ch.* 232 (a certain emendation for εἰς δέ): 1025 ἄδειν ἔτοιμος ἢδ' ὑπορχεῖσθαι κότῳ: *Eu.* 188, 414 (doubtful). The five instances from Sophocles and Euripides are all in dialogue: *S. Fr.* 354 Φερητίδης τ' Ἄδμητος ἢδ' ὁ Δωτιεύς Λαπίθης Κόρωνος: *Fr.* 505 κρημνοὺς τε καὶ σήραγγας ἢδ' ἐπακτίας αὐλώνας: *E. Hec.* 323 εἰσὶν παρ' ἡμῖν οὐδὲν ἦσσαν ἄθλαι γραιῖαι γυναιῖκες ἢδὲ πρεσβῦται σέθεν: *HF* 30 Ἀμφίων ἢδὲ Ζῆθον: *IA* 812 γῆν γὰρ λιπῶν Φάρσαλον ἢδὲ Πηλέα. (Add *S. Ant.* 673 (doubtful): *Ph.* 491 (*coni.* Jebb).)

Comedy. *Eur. Fr.* 14 καὶ πρὸς τούτοισί γε θαλλόν, κύτισόν τ' ἢδὲ σφάκον εὐώδη: *Alex. Fr.* 133 τυρῶ τε σάξον ἀλσί τ' ἢδ' ὀριγάνῳ (probably corrupt).

Prose. There are no examples in classical prose: but Galen τῶν Ἰπποκράτους γλωσσῶν ἐξήγησις (19.102, Kühn) testifies in the gloss ἢδέ: ἔτι δὲ τοῦ Ἱπποκράτους use of ἢδέ.

The shorter form *ιδέ* is confined (except for *S. Ant.* 969 ἀκταὶ Βοσπόρια *ιδ'* ὁ Θρηκῶν ἠιών) to Epic: *Hom. Γ* 194: *E* 3: *id. saep.*: *Hes. Sc.* 19: *id. saep.*

τε . . . *ιδέ*: *Hom. Z* 469 χαλκόν τε *ιδέ* λόφον: *Hes. Th.* 887 πλεῖστα θεῶν τε *ιδυῖαν ιδέ* θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων: 11-21 (τε . . . ἢδὲ . . . *ιδέ* . . . καί). Herwerden, p. 382, cites *ιδέ* from an inscription.

### θην

This particle (the derivation of which is unknown) is almost confined to Homer and Sicilian literature (Sophron, Epicharmus, and Theocritus). The sole Attic example is *A. Pr.* 928 Σὺ θην ἂ χρίξεις, ταῦτ' ἐπιγλωσσᾶ Διός.\* It is equivalent in sense to *δή*, but perhaps rather weaker in force. It often follows *οὐ*, *ἦ*, *ἐπεί*, and *γάρ*.

*Hom. K* 104 οὐ θην Ἐκτορι πάντα νοήματα μητίετα Ζεὺς ἐκτελέει: *N* 620 Λεῖψετε θην οὕτω γε νέας: *P* 29 ὡς θην καὶ σὸν ἐγὼ λύσω μένος: *Φ* 568 καὶ γάρ θην τούτῳ τρωτὸς χρώς: *ε* 211 οὐ μὲν θην κείνης γε χερσίων εὐχομαι εἶναι: *π* 91 ὦ φίλ', ἐπεὶ θην

μοι καὶ ἀμείψασθαι θέμις ἐστίν . . . Sometimes with a note of contempt: *Θ* 448: *N* 813 (ἦ θην).

*Sophr. Fr.* 24, 36, 56: *Epich. Fr.* 34.2 τὸν ῥαδίως λαψῆ τυ κατ τὸ νῦν γὰ θην εὐωνον ἀείσιτον: *Fr.* 173.5 ὄνος δ' ὄνῳ κάλλιστον, ὕς δὲ θην ὑί.

### Καί

The etymology of *καί* is uncertain (for a suggested derivation, see Boisacq), but its primary force is, beyond all reasonable doubt, addition. Like *δέ*, it is used both as a connective and as a responsive particle: and Kühner is perhaps right in regarding the responsive or 'adverbial' use as the original one in both particles. This includes the meanings 'also' and 'even'; while in some cases, the idea of responsion receding into a dim background (see II.C), *καί* conveys little more than pure emphasis, 'actually'. Lastly, the employment of *καί* in two or more clauses of a sentence (whether in co-ordination or in subordination) produces corresponsion, and the addition is regarded as reciprocal. We may conveniently consider the commoner, copulative, use first, even though it may be historically the later: proceeding then to discuss the responsive and corresponsive uses.

I. Copulative, joining single words, phrases, clauses, or sentences. (Joining sentences in, e.g. *Hom. Ψ* 75: *Pl. Euthphr.* 3A: *Grg.* 452B: *Lys.* xiv 8: *D.* xviii 105.) This use is, in general, too common to need illustration. (For a comparison of *καί* with *δέ*, see *δέ*, *ad init.*) In a series of more than two items variety is sometimes sought by using now *δέ*, now *καί*. *Pl. Lg.* 697B τιμιώτατα μὲν καὶ πρῶτα . . . δεύτερα δὲ . . . καὶ τρίτα: 925D μὲν . . . δὲ . . . δὲ . . . δὲ . . . καὶ . . . δέ. We may notice a few special points where English idiom often differs from Greek.

(1) In Greek, as in Latin, a series of words or phrases is normally either connected throughout, or not connected at all (asyndeton). Occasionally, however, as normally in English,

there is connexion between the last two units only. In some of these cases the last unit stands on a different footing from the rest, either because it is given special prominence, or because it takes the form of an etcetera. Pl.R.367D οἶον ὄρᾶν, ἀκούειν, φρονεῖν, καὶ ὑγιαίνειν δὴ, καὶ ὅσ' ἄλλα ἀγαθὰ . . . ἐστίν: Phdr. 246E καλόν, σοφόν, ἀγαθόν, καὶ πᾶν ὅτι τοιοῦτον (cf. R.395C): Is.xi41 τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἔδωκεν ἀγρὸν Ἐλευσίνοι δυοῖν ταλάντοι, πρόβατα ἐξήκοντα, αἶγας ἑκατόν, ἐπιπλα, ἵππον λαμπρὸν ἐφ' οὗ ἐφυλάρησε, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν ἄπασαν: Pl.Lg.649D: Phd.65D: Plt.260E: R.491B, 580A: Arist.Po.1451a20 (some MSS.): Aeschin.i 18. In Hdt.vii 132.1 the length of the last unit, καὶ Θηβαῖοι κτλ., explains the insertion of καί: also the fact that the last unit is bipartite: cf. X.Cyn.4.4. In other cases there appears to be no very obvious reason for the irregularity: X.HGvii 2.2 ἦσαν δ' οὗτοι Κορίνθιοι, Ἐπιδαύριοι . . . καὶ Πελληνεῖς (cf. Ages.2.6): Arist.Rh.1371b15 οἶον ἄνθρωπος ἀνθρώπῳ ἵππος ἵππῳ καὶ νέος νέῳ (καί before ἵππος in all MSS. but A, the best): Ar.V.659 (καί in Aldine only: here the last two units seem to cohere closely). In Pl.Smp.203D the link seems to be inserted in the middle of the series (καὶ φρονήσεως).\*

(2) πολὺς and a qualitative attribute applied to a single substantive (expressed or understood) are normally linked by καί. Hom.I330 πολλὰ καὶ ἐσθλά: E.Andr.953 πολλὰ καὶ κακά: A.Ag.63 πολλὰ παλαίσματα καὶ γυιοβαρῆ: Pl.Smp.175E πολλῆς καὶ καλῆς σοφίας: X.An.vb.4 πολλά μοι καὶ ἀγαθὰ γένοιτο: D.xxviii 1 πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα. Very rarely in reverse order. Lys. xxiv 19 συλλέγεσθαι φησιν ἀνθρώπους ὡς ἐμὲ πονηροὺς καὶ πολλοὺς (here perhaps καί may emphasize πολλοὺς): Isoc.xii 179 εἰς τόπους κατοικίσει μικροὺς καὶ πολλοὺς: D.xxvii 57 τὸν γε δεινὰ σε καὶ πόλλ' εἰργασμένον (a variation on πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ, just before.)

πολὺς linked by καί to adverb. S.OC 1565 πολλῶν γὰρ ἂν καὶ μάταν πημάτων ἰκνουμένων (but καί might be emphatic, and the text is very doubtful: in Pl.Thi.202D I agree with Campbell that καί is intensive.)

(3) There are few examples of καί linking qualitative attributes, and most of them are textually doubtful. In A.Ag.1452-3 φύλακος εὐμενεστάτου καὶ πολλὰ τλάντος, καί seems to me doubtful Greek. Ch.428: E.Fr.941 (καί usually emended): Pl.Phdr.235B. In

Phdr.250B μόγισ αὐτῶν καὶ ὀλίγοι, καί may mean 'even' (but see Stallbaum). Cf. τε p. 501 (d).

(4) καί (unlike δέ: q.v. I.A.2) is not often used in anaphora. S.Tr.30 νύξ γὰρ εἰσάγει καὶ νύξ ἀπωθεῖ διαδεδεγμένη πόνον: Ant. 1158: Pl.Grg.496B ἐν μέρει λαμβάνει καὶ ἐν μέρει ἀπαλλάττεται: Pri.356B συνθεῖς τὰ ἡδέα καὶ συνθεῖς τὰ λυπηρά (συνθεῖς τὰ ἡδέα καὶ τὰ λυπηρά would be misleading): R.476A χωρὶς μὲν . . . καὶ χωρὶς αὐ: Lg.758E τίς ἐπιμέλεια καὶ τίς τάξις; 813E: 903C πᾶς γὰρ ἰατρὸς καὶ πᾶς ἔντεχνος δημιουργός: R.538D: Lys.xxvii 22 ἵνα . . . καὶ ἵνα . . . Hp.VM 2 ἐτέρη ὁδῶ καὶ ἐτέρω σχήματι. With chiasmus: Hdt.iii 119.6 ἀνὴρ μὲν ἂν μοι ἄλλος γένοιτο . . . καὶ τέκνα ἄλλα: Pl.R.515A Ἄτοπον, ἔφη, λέγεις εἰκόνα καὶ δεσμώτας ἀτόπους: Lg.668A. Neither Pl.Thi.159B nor the repetitions instanced in (4) *ad fin.* can be described as anaphoric: cf. δέ, I.A.2.\*

(5) Appositionally related ideas are occasionally linked by καί (as sometimes by δέ (I.A.1) and τέ (I.1.ε)). A.Th.788 τέκνοις . . . ἐφῆκεν . . . πικρογλώσσους ἀράς, καὶ σφε σιδαρονόμῳ διὰ χερί ποτε λαχεῖν κτήματα (Tucker takes καὶ λαχεῖν as explaining ἀράς): E.Ba.919 δισσὰς δὲ Θήβας καὶ πόλισμ' ἐπάστομον: IA 751 Σιμόεντα καὶ δῖνας ἀργυροειδεῖς: HF 15. (In Hom.II.Ap.17 (κεκλιμένη πρὸς μακρὸν ὄρος καὶ Κύνθιον ὄχθον) καί means 'and in particular' (E398, in reverse order: πρὸς δῶμα Διὸς καὶ μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον): cf. Hdt.ix 25.2. With a partitive genitive. Hdt.iii 136.1 καταβάντες . . . ἐς Φοινίκην καὶ Φοινίκης ἐς Σιδῶνα πόλιν (i 52, 102.2: iv 151.2): ii 32.4 παρήκουσι παρὰ πᾶσαν Λίβυες καὶ Λιβύων ἔθνεα πολλά ('Libyans, and many tribes of Libyans'): ix 21.3 Ἀθηναῖοι ὑπεδέξαντο καὶ Ἀθηναίων οἱ τριηκόσιοι λογάδες (in viii 17 καί is indispensable, as two distinct facts are stated: τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων . . . ἠρίστευσαν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ἀθηναίων Κλεινίης). With addition of an adverbial qualification: i 124.3 ποίεε ταῦτα καὶ ποίεε κατὰ τάχος: iv 189.3 (Cf. δέ, I.A.2, and see Stein on Hdt.i 52.): X.An.vii 6.17 (καὶ . . . μέντοι).

(6) Καί with a sense of climax: cf. οὐδέ, I.2, *ad init.* (But here the particle is usually reinforced: καὶ . . . γε, καὶ δὴ, καὶ . . . καὶ δὴ καί.) A.Pers.750 θεῶν ἀπάντων . . . καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ('and most of all Poseidon'): Th.iii 17.1 παραπλήσια καὶ ἔτι πλείονος: vii 68.2: Pl.Ti.75B διπλοῦν καὶ πολλαπλοῦν: Arist.Rh.1374b32 χαλεπὸν καὶ ἀδύνατον. Preceding οὗτος: Hdt.vi 11.2 δοῦλοισι, καὶ

τούτοισι ὡς δρηπέτησι. Καὶ ταῦτα, 'and that too': X.Cyr.ii 2.16: *et saep.* (Introducing a finite clause, A.Eu.112.)

(7) After words expressing sameness, likeness, or contrast. S.OT 611 ἴσον καί: *et saep.*: Hdt.vii 50 γνώμησι ἐχρέωντο ὁμοίησι καὶ σύ: Th.vii 28.4 οὐχ ὁμοίως καὶ πρὶν: 70.1 ναυσὶ παραπλησίαις τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ πρότερον: Pl.Lg.967A πᾶν τούναντίον ἔχει νῦν τε καὶ ὅτε . . . : X.An.vii 7.49 ἀνομοίως ἔχοντα . . . νῦν τε καὶ ὅτε . . .

(8) Linking alternatives, instead of ἢ. A.Pr.212 Θέμις, καὶ Γαῖα, πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μορφή μία: S.Ph.1082 πέτρας γυάλον θερμὸν καὶ παγετῶδες ('hot or icy, as the case may be': cf. Pl.R.411A Τοῦ δὲ ἀναρμόστου (ψυχῆ) δειλὴ καὶ ἄγροικος;): Phdr. 246B: Isoc. vii 78 ὁμοίας καὶ παραπλησίας (the weaker expression being alternative to the stronger: cf. Th.i 22.4: 143.3: v 74.1: vii 19.2: 42.2: 78.1: but in Pl.R.356B αὕτη τε καὶ τοιαύτη means 'this, and of such a nature').

In numerical approximations, where two alternative estimates are given. Th.i 82.2 διελθόντων ἐτῶν δύο καὶ τριῶν: X.Eg.4.4 ἀμάξας τέτταρας καὶ πέντε. (Cf. Pl.Ar.23A ὀλίγου τινὸς ἀξία καὶ οὐδενός ('little or nothing'): Thl.173E σμικρὰ καὶ οὐδέν. Perhaps these might rather be classed under (5) as examples of descending climax. Cf. also the common χθὲς καὶ πρόην.)

(In Pl.La.191E καὶ . . . ἢ . . . , 'both . . . or', can hardly stand (though Hartung keeps it): καὶ μένοντες ἢ ἀναστρέφοντες: καί is usually read for ἢ.)

(9) Sometimes used where the context implies an adversative sense, 'and yet': as we might say 'he is seventy years old, and he walks ten miles a day'. (Cf. p. 323, and see Jebb on S.El. 597.) A.Th.639 τοιαῦτ' αὐτεῖ (such curses against his brother) καὶ θεοὺς γενεθλίουσ καλεῖ ('and withal', Tucker): E.HF 509 ὀρατ' ἐμ' ὅσπερ ἢ περίβλεπτος βροτοῖς . . . καὶ μ' ἀφείλεθ' ἢ τύχη . . . ἡμέρα μιᾶ: Med.1243 τί μέλλομεν τὰ δεινὰ κάναγκαῖα μὴ πράσσειν κακά; A.Eu.110: S.Ph.385: OT 567: Tr.1048, 1072: OC6: E.Andr.657: Heracl.554, 981: Ph.899: Hipp.284: Ion 1108: Pl.Grg.519D καὶ τούτου τοῦ λόγου τί ἂν ἀλογώτερον εἶη πρᾶγμα . . . ; καίτοι Heindorf): Hdt.ix 37.3.

In Ar.Eg.1250 κεί is generally read, and in Lys.vi 31, 47 καίτοι: but in Lys.xv 9 (καὶ πῶς οὐ δεινόν ἐστι . . . ; ) καί

may well stand. καί for δέ: Pl.Alc.I 106A πῶς διὰ σοῦ μοι ἔσται καὶ ἄνευ σοῦ οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο; Lg.767A, 776C. Cf. τε, I.7.

(10) Of two clauses linked by καί, the first sometimes gives the time or circumstances in which the action of the second takes place. S.OT 718: Ph.355: E.Ba.1077: Th.i 50.5 ἤδη δὲ . . . ἐπεπαίανιστο . . . καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἐξαπίνης πρύμναν ἐκρούοντο (see Krüger's Index to Thucydides): Pl.Phd.116B. Cf. μέν, III. 1.1, τε, I.7.

II. Responsive. καί here marks an addition to the content of the preceding (less frequently, e.g. Pl.R.327A, of the following) context: 'also'. Further, when the addition is surprising, or difficult of acceptance, and when a sense of 'climax' is present, 'also' becomes 'even'. (Greek does not, like English, express the distinction between these two ideas.)

A. In general. These uses of καί are too common in all periods and styles of Greek literature to need copious illustration.

(1) 'Also': 'even' (ascending climax). Hom.K 556 θεὸς καὶ ἀμείνονας ἵππους δωρήσαιο: A.Pr.59 δεινὸς γὰρ εὐρεῖν κάξ ἀμηχάνων πόρον: Hdt.i 2 διαπρηξαμένους καὶ τᾶλλα τῶν εἵνεκεν ἀπίκατο: Th.i 14.1 φαίνεται δὲ καὶ ταῦτα . . . τριήρεσι μὲν ὀλίγαις χρώμενα: Pl.Euthphr.2D τῶν νέων πρῶτον . . . μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τῶν ἄλλων. Repeated. Lys.vii 18 ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ὧν ἀποκρυπτόμεθα μηδένα εἰδέναί, καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων πυνθάνονται; whereas in X.HGiv 8.5 the two καί's have separate references: καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, ἢ ἐξ ἀρχῆς βασιλέως ἐστί, καὶ Τῆμνος, οὐ μεγάλη πόλις . . . See also Thgn.1345 (II.B.2).

(2) Marking a minimum (descending climax). Hom.a 58 ἰέμενος καὶ καπνὸν ἀποθρῶσκοντα νοῆσαι ἢς γαίης ('were it but the smoke'): Pi.O.2.28 ἐν καὶ θαλάσῃ: E.LA 1192 τίς δὲ καὶ προσβλέψεται παίδων σ' . . . ; ('so much as look at'): Ar.Nu.528 ἀνδρῶν οἷς ἠδὲ καὶ λέγειν: S.El.1054: Pl.Ar.28B ἄνδρα ὅτου τε καὶ σμικρὸν ὄφελός ἐστιν: 35B: Prt.317A. Pl.Lg.853B Αἰσχροῦν . . . καὶ νομοθετεῖν ('to legislate at all': not only legislation of this or that kind, but the possibility of any legislation, is ruled out) Cf. οὐδέ, II.2.ii.

Between article and infinitive. E.Hel.748 εὐηθεῖς . . . τὸ καὶ δοκεῖν . . . : Pl.Lg.853B τὸ καὶ ἀξιοῦν . . . αἰσχροῦν. Also



exclamatory, 'to think that . . .!': *S.Ph.*234 *φεῦ τὸ καὶ λαβεῖν πρόσφθεγμα τοιοῦδ' ἀνδρός*: *E.Mcd.*1052 *τὸ καὶ προσέσθαι μαλθακοὺς λόγους φρενί*.

(3) In *καί τι καί* (where *τι* is sometimes adverbial: *Pi.O.*1.28: *Th.*1107.6) the first *καί* is copulative, the second adverbial. *S.Ph.*274 *ράκη προθέντες βαιὰ καί τι καί βορᾶς ἐπωφέλημα μικρόν*: *Ar.Eq.*1242 *Ἑλλαντοπώλουν καί τι καί βινεσκόμην* ('and did a bit of *adultery*': I doubt Neil's statement here that *καί τι καί* was 'precious'): *Th.*1107.6 *καί τι καὶ τοῦ δήμου καταλύσεως ὑποψία*: *D.xix*194 *κελεύσαντος δὲ . . . καί τι καὶ νεανιευσαμένου*: 197 *κατακλίνεσθαι καί τι καὶ ἄδειν* ('and give them a bit of a *song*'): *Th.*1117.1: *Pl.Cri.*43A. *S.Ph.*308 *καί πού τι καί* (*Pi.O.*1.28: *Th.*1187.2): *Fr.*305 *καὶ δὴ τι καί* (*Pl.Sph.*251C).

(In *Ant.*v6, as the text stands, both *καί*'s are adverbial: *ἀνάγκη δὲ κινδυνεύοντα περὶ αὐτῷ καί πού τι καὶ ἐξαμαρτεῖν*. But there is every ground for supposing that a verb of fearing has fallen out before *περί*.)

Cf. *Th.*1107.4 *τὸ δέ τι καὶ . . .*: *viii*80.4 *καὶ τις καὶ ναυμαχία βραχεῖα γίγνεται*: *Pl.R.*561A *ἀλλά τι καί*.

B. Under the heading 'Responsive' I group a number of clearly marked uses of *καί* in which the particle has a structural function: that is to say, it denotes the addition of the content of a subordinate clause (relative, causal, final, or consecutive) to that of the main clause: or vice versa (apodotic use).

(1) In relative clauses (cf. (8) below).

(i) In general. *καί* emphasizes the fact that the relative clause contains an addition to the information contained in the main clause: whereas *δὴ* (*q.v.* I.9) stresses the importance of the antecedent, or the closeness of the relation, and *γε* (*q.v.* I.5 and II.2) usually marks the relative clause as having a limiting force. *καί* is often combined with a preceding *δὴ* here: for *ὥσπερ γε καί*, see *γε*, I.5 *ad fin.*

*Hom.A.*249 *Νέστωρ ἠδουεπὴς ἀνύρουσε . . . τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδὴ* ('even Nestor from whose tongue . . .'): *A.Th.*732,760: *S.OC*792 *πολλῶ γ' (ἄμεινον φρονῶ), ὅσπερ καὶ σαφεστέρων κλύω*: *E.Or.*920 *αὐτουργός—οἵπερ καὶ μόνοι σφζουσι γῆν*: *Ar.Av.*822 *Νεφελοκοκκυγία, ἵνα καὶ τὰ*

*Θεαγένοῦς τὰ πολλὰ χρήματα*: *Th.*621 *Ἔσθ' ὁ δεῖν', δς καὶ ποτε . . .*: *Hom.B.*827: *T*165 (combined with 'Epic' *τε*): *Hes.Th.*458: *E.El.*984: *Ar.Ec.*338: *Hdt.*178 *ιδόντι δὲ τοῦτο Κροίσω, ὥσπερ καὶ ἦν, ἔδοξε τέρας εἶναι*: *Pl.Phd.*59D *εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἡ δίκη ἐγένετο*: *Hdt.*180,142: *v*76: *Pl.Phd.*110D,113B: *Ti.*10C.

The emphasis which *καί* gives to a relative clause can often be best brought out in English by the insertion of a new (pronominal) antecedent. *S.Ph.*297 *ἔφην' ἄφαντον φῶς, δ καὶ σώζει μ' αἰεὶ* ('and that it is which preserves me'): *Pl.Phd.*81D *ἀλλὰ τοῦ ὁρατοῦ μετέχουσαι, διὸ καὶ ὁρῶνται* ('and that is why they are seen'): *Th.*169D *διαφέρειν τινάς, οὗς δὴ καὶ εἶναι σοφούς*: *R.*408B *ιάσασθαι, ὅθεν δὴ καὶ κεραυνωθῆναι αὐτόν*: *Men.*96E: *Th.*194A: *R.*371B,432E.

(ii) *καί* following a relative (especially the universalizing *ὅστις*) often gives an effect of limitation, by imposing an additional qualification. *A.Pr.*1064 *παραμυθοῦ μ' ὃ τι καὶ πείσεις*: *S.Tr.*726 *οὐδ' ἐλπίς, ἥτις καὶ θράσος τι προξενεῖ* (a hope which is not only a hope, but a hope warranting confidence): *OT*1239 *ὅσον γε κἂν ἐμοὶ μνήμης ἐνι, πεύσει . . .*: *Aj.*917 *οὐδεὶς ἄν, ὅστις καὶ φίλος, τλαίη βλέπειν*: *OC*1051 *οὗ πότνια σεμνὰ τιθηνοῦνται τέλη θνατοῖσιν, ὧν καὶ χρυσέα κλῆς ἐπὶ γλώσσα βέβακε*: *E.Hel.*1200 *Ἦκει γὰρ ὅστις καὶ τὰδ' ἀγγέλλει σαφῆ*; *Or.*439 *Τί δρῶντες ὃ τι καὶ σαφὲς ἔχεις εἰπεῖν ἐμοί*; *Ion*232 *Πάντα θεᾶσθ', ὃ τι καὶ θέμις, ὄμμασι*: *Ar.Ec.*350 *ὃ τι κᾶμ' εἰδέναι*; *Hdt.*1185 *ἄνθρωπος τοῦ τις καὶ λόγος ἦ*: *Th.*1149.6 *καὶ τὸ σῶμα, ὅσονπερ χρόνον καὶ ἡ νόσος ἀκμάζοι, οὐκ ἐμαραίνεται*: *Pl.R.*492A *ὅτι καὶ ἄξιον λόγου*: *D.v*16 *αἱ συμμαχίαι τοῦτον ἔχουσι τὸν τρόπον, ὧν καὶ φροντίσειεν ἄν τις*: *Hdt.*1171: *iii*98: *Th.*1154.5: *iv*48.5: *Pl.A.*544A,C (*bis*): *Lg.*663D.

(iii) Not infrequently, by a kind of inversion, *καί* is attached to the relative where, in strict logic, it should be attached to the demonstrative: that which is really prior in thought being represented as posterior. (Cf. *οὐδέ*, II.1.ii.) Some of the examples given under (ii) might be grouped here. *S.OC*53 *Ὅσ' οἶδα κἀγὼ πάντ' ἐπιστήσῃ* ('All that I know, thou too shalt learn'): 276 *ὥσπερ με κἀνεστήσαθ' ὦδε σώσατε*: *Ar.Nu.*1443 *Τὴν μητέρ' ὥσπερ καὶ σὲ τυπτήσω* ('I'll beat my mother, too, as I beat you'): *S.OC*185,298: *Pl.Phd.*76D *ἢ ἐν τούτῳ ἀπόλλυμεν ἐν ᾧπερ καὶ λαμβάνομεν*; 83D *δοξάζουσιν ταῦτα ἀληθῆ εἶναι ἅπερ ἄν καὶ*

τὸ σῶμα φῆ: *R.*599B εἶπερ ἐπιστήμων εἶη τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τούτων περὶ ἅπερ καὶ μιμεῖται: *X.HG*iii.28 ποῦ χρῆ οἰκεῖν . . . ;—  
 Ἐνθαπερ καὶ δικαιοτάτον: *Hdt.*viii.143.2: ix.33.5: *X.An.*iii.5.18: v.7.28: *Cyr.*ii.3.23: viii.4.25: *Ant.*v.4: *Lys.*x.6.

(Cf. inversion between sentences: *A.Pr.*312 μεθάρμοσαι τρόπους νέους: νέος γὰρ καὶ τύραννος ἐν θεοῖς: *S.El.*62 τί γὰρ μελυπεῖ τοῦθ', ὅταν λόγῳ θανῶν ἔργοισι σωθῶ . . . ; . . . ἤδη γὰρ εἶδον πολλάκις καὶ τοὺς σοφοὺς λόγῳ μάτην θνήσκοντας (there is no point in 'even the wise', and the meaning appears to be, 'I, as well as they, will feign death'): *Pl.Prt.*351E Δίκαιος, ἔφη, σὺ ἡγείσθαι: σὺ γὰρ καὶ κατάρχεις τοῦ λόγου: *R.*328B.)

The illogicality of the inversion is particularly obvious where the main clause is negative. *Ar.Av.*728 κοῦκ ἀποδράντες καθεδόμεθ' ἄνω . . . ὥσπερ χῶ Ζεὺς ('Zeus does it: we won't do it too'): *Rax*350 οὐδὲ . . . σκληρὸν ὥσπερ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ: *Th.*398: *Hdt.*i.93 θώματα . . . οὐ μάλα ἔχει, οἷά γε καὶ ἄλλη χώρα: ii.20 οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο πάσχουσι οἷόν τι καὶ ὁ Νεῖλος: iv.187: *Th.*vi.68.2 πρὸς ἄνδρας . . . οὐκ ἀπολέκτους ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμᾶς: *Pl.R.*477C, 505E.

(iv) ὥσπερ καί, καθάπερ καί, οἷον καί, are often used in illustration and analogy. *Pl.Phd.*73D: *Cra.*420C: *X.Occ.*21.3. καί sometimes refers, not to the content of the main clause, but to other, unspecified, examples. *A.Ag.*399 οἷος καὶ Πάρις . . . : *Th.*i.32.1 τοὺς . . . ἤκοντας . . . ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς νῦν: *Hr.Prorrh.*i.99 κοιλῆς περίτασις . . . ἔχει τι σπασμῶδες, οἷον καὶ τῷ Ἀσπασίου υἱῷ: *Pl.Cra.*400D περὶ δὲ τῶν θεῶν τῶν ὀνομάτων, οἷον καὶ περὶ τοῦ "Διὸς" νυνδὴ ἔλεγες: *Th.*184C: *Phd.*62C μὴ πρότερον αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνουσαι δεῖν, πρὶν ἂν ἀνάγκην τινὰ θεὸς ἐπιπέμψῃ, ὥσπερ καὶ τὴν νῦν ἡμῖν παροῦσαν: *Arist.Po.*1453b28 ὥσπερ οἱ παλαιοὶ ἐποίουν, εἰδότας καὶ γινώσκοντας, καθάπερ καὶ Εὐριπίδης ἐποίησεν ἀποκτείνουσαν τοὺς παῖδας τὴν Μήδειαν (here a misunderstanding of καί has led editors astray: see *C.R.*xliii(1929)60): *Hr.Prorrh.*ii.43: *Pl.Cra.*401C, 414D, 418E: *Arist.Rh.*1354a23, 1367a8: *Po.*1456a17: *Pol.*1259a6, 1277a17.

(2) In causal clauses. Mainly a prose idiom. We have seen that καί is sometimes placed in the relative clause when logically it belongs rather to the main clause. A similar inversion is not infrequent in causal clauses: ἐπεὶ καί, ἐπειδὴ καί, ἄτε καί. In other passages, again, καί marks an addition, not to the

content of the main clause, but to a general, unexpressed, concept: 'in addition to everything else'. Hence 'also' merging into 'even', 'actually', καί does little more than emphasize. Decision is often difficult, and the particle may adhere either to the causal conjunction or to the word or expression following καί.

*Hom.*v.156 ἀλλὰ μάλ' ἤρι νέονται, ἐπεὶ καὶ πᾶσιν ἑορτή: *Thgn.*1345 παιδοφιλεῖν δέ τι τερπνόν, ἐπεὶ ποτε καὶ Γανυμήδους ἤρατο καὶ Κρονίδης ('since, in fact, the son of Kronos, too'): *A.Ag.*822 τούτων θεοῖσι χρῆ πολύμνηστον χάριν τίνειν, ἐπεὶπερ χάρπαγας ὑπερκόπους ἐπραξάμεσθα: *S.OT*412 λέγω δ', ἐπειδὴ καὶ τυφλὸν μ' ὠνειδίσας: *Tr.*321 Εἶπ' . . . ἐπεὶ καὶ ξυμφορὰ τοι μὴ εἶδέναι σέ γ' ἦτις εἶ (καὶ with ξυμφορὰ, 'an actual misfortune'): *E.Andr.*57 Δέσποινα—ἐγὼ τοι τοῦνομ' οὐ φεύγω τόδε καλεῖν σ', ἐπεὶπερ καὶ κατ' οἶκον ἠξίου (perhaps inversion: 'as I called you "mistress" in Troy, I will call you so now'): *Cyc.*9 τοῦτ' ἰδὼν ὄναρ λέγω; οὐ μὰ Δί', ἐπεὶ καὶ σκυλ' ἔδειξα Βακχίῳ ('actually'): *Med.*526 ἐγὼ δ', ἐπειδὴ καὶ λίαν πυργοῖς χάριν, Κύπριν νομίζω . . . : *Ar.Nu.*1177 ὅπως σώσεις μ', ἐπεὶ κάπῳλεσας: *Lys.*442 ταύτην προτέραν ξύνδησον, ὅτι καὶ λαλεῖ: *Ra.*509 οὐ μὴ σ' ἐγὼ περιόψομα πελθόντ', ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ κρέα ἀνέβραττεν ὀρνίθεια ('she was actually boiling'): *Hom.*γ.197: *S.Ph.*380: *E.Hcc.*1286; *Ar.Rax*401: *Hdt.*ix.68 ἔφευγον, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ὤρων: *Pl.Prm.*159A πάντα τὰ ἐναντία πάθη . . . εὐρήσομεν πεπονθότα τᾶλλα τοῦ ἐνός, ἐπεὶπερ καὶ ταῦτα ἐφάνη πεπονθότα: *Ly.*211B Ἀλλὰ χρῆ ποιεῖν ταῦτα, ἐπειδὴ γε καὶ σὺ κελεύεις: *Men.*71D Ἐκείνον μὲν τοίνυν ἐῷμεν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἄπεςτιν ('as he's not here'): *X.HG*iii.4.26 Σὺ δ' ἀλλὰ . . . μεταχώρησον . . . ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐγὼ τὸν σὸν ἐχθρὸν τετιμώρημαι: *An.*iii.2.37 Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἠγοῖτο, ἐπειδὴ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐστίν ('since he's a Lacedaemonian'): vii.7.54 ἄρ' οὐκ, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐπικίνδυνόν μοι ἐστίν, ἀπιόντα γε ἄμεινον φυλάττεσθαι πέτρους; ('actually dangerous'): *Smp.*8.6 τὸν μὲν σὸν ἔρωτα κρύπτωμεν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐστίν οὐ ψυχῆς ἀλλ' εὐμορφίας τῆς ἐμῆς: *Pl.Grg.*454B: *Smp.*177D, 188E: *R.*349A, 474B, 612D: *Enthid.*285C, 287D: *Cri.*50C: *Cra.*407E: *Th.*142B, 153A, 157A, 177B, 187B: *Clit.*406A: *Lg.*638E: *Prm.*137A: *X.An.*v.8.7: *Cyr.*i.5.13: iv.5.22: v.4.41: viii.4.16: *Occ.*19.16; *Smp.*5.5: *Vect.*2.6: *Eq.Mag.*1.8: *Eq.*7 D.xliv.65.

ἄτε καί. *Pl.R.*350D μετὰ ἰδρώτος θαυμαστοῦ ὄνου, ἄτε καὶ θε-

ρους ὄντος ('as was natural in summer'): X.HGv2.37 ἄτε καὶ Ἀγησιλάου ὄντος αὐτῷ ἀδελφοῦ: vi4.10 ἄτε καὶ πεδίου ὄντος τοῦ μεταξύ.

(3) In final clauses. Here, again, though the original function of the particle is to present the action described in the main clause as not standing alone, but accompanied by the intended result, it often merely adds emphasis. And here, again, καί sometimes adheres to the word or expression following it, rather than to the conjunction. This use (in so far, at least, as a close connexion between conjunction and particle is implied) is mainly colloquial and fourth century. It is common in Plato and Xenophon, but rather rare in drama (even in comedy), and apparently not found in the orators.

Hom.Θ110 ὄφρα καὶ Ἐκτώρ εἴσεται ('that Hector too may know'): θ461 Χαίρε, ξεῖν', ἵνα καὶ ποτ' ἐὼν ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ μνήσῃ ἐμεῖ ('that you may be mindful of me in the future too'): S.Ph.534 ἴωμεν . . . εἰς οἴκησιν, ὡς με καὶ μάθῃς ἀφ' ὧν διέζων ('learn, as well as merely go'): E.Alc.779 δεῦρ' ἔλθ', ὅπως ἂν καὶ σοφώτερος γένη: IA117 (καὶ closely with γλώσση): Ar.V.1252 τὸ δεῖπνον . . . συσκευάζε νῶν, ἵνα καὶ μεθυσθῶμεν: Ra.1210 λέγ' ἕτερον αὐτῷ πρόλογον, ἵνα καὶ γνῶ πάλιν: Hom.η164, 180: Hdt.iii134 φαίνεσθαι τι ἀποδεικνύμενον, ἵνα καὶ Πέρσαι ἐκμάθωσι: Pl.Grg.501C συγχωρῶ, ἵνα σοι καὶ περανθῇ ὁ λόγος: Ap.22A πόνους τινὰς ποιοῦντος ἵνα μοι καὶ ἀνέλεγκτος ἡ μαντεία γένοιτο: Men.75A πειρῶ εἰπεῖν, ἵνα καὶ γένηται σοι μελέτη ('so that you may get practice'): Hdt.vii11.4: ix116.3: Th.vi22: Pl.Cra.407E: Tht.163C: R.346A,350E,460B,468C,523A,537A,612D: Sph.250A: X.Cyr.iii3.39: iv1.20: v2.21: 4.42.

Μὴ καὶ in negative final clauses, and after verbs of fearing. Here καὶ rather means 'even', 'actually'. S.Ph.13 μὴ καὶ μάθῃ μ' ἤκοντα: 46 μὴ καὶ λάθῃ με: Ar.Th.580 τηρήτε μὴ καὶ προσπέση ὑμῖν: Ec.29 μὴ καὶ τις ὢν ἀνὴρ ὁ προσιῶν τυγχάνῃ: 495 μὴ καὶ τις . . . κατείπῃ: Pl.Tht.145C ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἀναγκασθῇ μαρτυρεῖν: 173B ἵνα μὴ καὶ . . . καταχρώμεθα: X.Cyr.i4.23 δέισαντες μὴ καὶ ἐνέδρα τις μείζων ὑπέιῃ: vi1.37 ἐκποδῶν ἔχειν ἐμαντόν, μὴ τι καὶ πάθω ὑπὸ σοῦ.

In indirect questions. S.Ant.1253 Ἄλλ' εἰσόμεσθα, μὴ τι καὶ κατάσχετον κρυφῆ καλύπτει: Pl.Thg.122C (a further possibility, which must not be ignored).

(4) In consecutive clauses, ὥστε καὶ. Ar.Nu.613: Pl.Tht.161D σοφός, ὥστε καὶ ἄλλων διδάσκαλος ἀξιοῦσθαι δικαίως: X.HGv4.52 τὰ δόρατα ἐξηκόντιζον, ὥστε καὶ ἀπέθανεν Ἀλύπητος.

Sometimes the addition, following a negative or virtually negative expression, constitutes a limitative qualification. S.Aj.1325 Τί γάρ σ' ἔδρασεν, ὥστε καὶ βλάβην ἔχειν; (such as to constitute, not merely an action, but an injurious action): E.Hel.841 Πῶς οὖν θανούμεθ' ὥστε καὶ δόξαν λαβεῖν; (not merely die, but die gloriously): Rh.845 τίς . . . ἦλθεν, ὥστε καὶ λαθεῖν; Ar.Th.34 οὔτοι γ' ὥστε καὶ μέ γ' εἰδέναι: Pl.Tht.182D ἄρά ποτε οἶόν τέ τι προσειπεῖν χρώμα, ὥστε καὶ ὀρθῶς προσαγορεύειν; Th.ii51.6 δις γὰρ τὸν αὐτόν, ὥστε καὶ κτείνειν, οὐκ ἐπελάμβανεν: v74.3.

(5) In comparative clauses, ἢ καὶ, following a negative. Two ideas are combined: (i) A is not more true than B: (ii) B is true as well as A. S.El.1146 οὔτε γάρ ποτε μητρὸς σύ γ' ἦσθα μᾶλλον ἢ κάμοῦ φίλος ('You were not your mother's darling more than' (by implication, 'so much as') 'mine'): Ant.928: Hdt.iv118.3 ἦκει γὰρ ὁ Πέρσης οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἐπ' ἡμέας ἢ οὐ καὶ ἐπ' ὑμέας (with a redundant negative in the ἢ clause: v94.2: vii16γ1 (bis)): Pl.Chrm.161B αἰδῶς δὲ οὐδέν μᾶλλον ἀγαθὸν ἢ καὶ κακόν: Ant.v23 ἐζητεῖτο οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἢ καὶ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ: Pl.R.524E.

In S.Aj.1103 both ideas are denied, instead of both being affirmed: οὐδ' ἔσθ' ὅπου σοὶ τόνδε κοσμησάι πλέον ἀρχῆς ἔκειτο θεομὸς ἢ καὶ τῷδε σέ (καὶ approximates to αὐ in sense: 'for him, on his part', Jebb).

ἢ καὶ without a preceding negative is of course quite different, and καὶ means 'even'. S.OT94 τῶνδε γὰρ πλέον φέρω τὸ πένθος ἢ καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς πέρι.

(6) In conditional clauses, εἰ καὶ, καὶ εἰ. The distinction between εἰ καὶ and καὶ εἰ is perhaps that, strictly speaking, εἰ καὶ merely represents the fulfilment of the condition as immaterial, without conveying any effect of climax: whereas καὶ εἰ represents the condition as an extreme case, and does convey an effect of climax.<sup>1</sup> \*

<sup>1</sup> I adopt this distinction as a provisional basis for discussion more out of respect for authority, and inability to find an alternative solution, than

(i) *εἰ καί*. The distinction formulated above is most clearly observable in those cases where the conditional clause, in the present or past indicative, expresses an admitted fact: 'even though', 'obwohl'.<sup>1</sup>

Hom. E410 τῶ νῦν Τυδεΐδης, εἰ καὶ μάλα καρτερός ἐστι, φραζέσθω μή τις οἱ ἀμείνων σείο μάχηται ('though he is, admittedly, μάλα καρτερός'): S.OT 408 Εἰ καὶ τυραννεῖς, ἐξισωτέον τὸ γοῦν ἴσ' ἀντιλέξαι: E. *Supp.* 528 εἰ γάρ τι καὶ πεπόνθατ' Ἀργείων ὑπο, τεθναῖσιν ('even if you have (as I admit) suffered'): *Med.* 75 Καὶ ταῦτ' Ἰάσων παῖδας ἐξανέξεται πάσχοντας, εἰ καὶ μητρὶ διαφορὰν ἔχει; *Ar. Nu.* 593 εἴ τι κάξημάρτετε, ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον τὸ πρᾶγμα τῇ πόλει συνοίσεται: *Lys.* 254 ἡγοῦ βάδην, εἰ καὶ τὸν ὤμον ἀλγείς ('even if your shoulder does hurt you'): Hom. ζ312: S.OT 302: *El.* 547: *Th.* ii 64.1 μήτε ἐμὲ δι' ὀργῆς ἔχετε . . . εἰ καὶ ἐπελθόντες οἱ ἐναντίοι ἔδρασαν ἄπερ εἰκὸς ἦν ('even though the enemy have done what was to be expected'): *X. Cyr.* vi 1.14 στέγαι δὲ εἰ καὶ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ μὰ Δί' οὐχ ἵπποις: *Ant.* iv 75 εἰ δέ τοι καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱατροῦ ἀπέθανεν, ὡς οὐκ ἀπέθανεν, ὁ μὲν ἱατρὸς οὐ φονεὺς αὐτοῦ ἐστίν (an admission for the sake of argument: cf. *Pl. R.* 337C): *Lys.* xx 8: *Is.* v 25: *Th.* ii 11.3.

In other cases, particularly, of course, those with *εἰάν* and subjunctive, *εἰ* and optative, *εἰ* and past indicative of unreal hypothesis, the validity of the hypothesis is less unequivocally admitted, or implicitly denied: 'even if', 'wenngleich'.

*E. Andr.* 90 οὐ περίβλεπτος βίος δούλης γυναικός, ἦν τι καὶ πάθω κακόν ('even if I do meet with misfortune'): *HF* 1282 οὗτ' ἐμαῖς φίλαις Θήβαις ἐνοικεῖν ὄσιον ἦν δὲ καὶ μένω, ἐς ποῖον ἱερὸν . . . εἴμ'; ('and if I do remain'): *Ar. Av.* 508 Ἐρχον δ' οὕτω σφόδρα τὴν ἀρχήν, ὥστ' εἴ τις καὶ βασιλεύοι ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν . . . ἐπὶ τῶν σκήπτρων ἐκάθητ' ὄρνις: Hom. Π748: S.OT 851: *Ar. Ra.* 737: *Antiph. Fr.* 217.26: *Pl. Th.* 146C πάντως γάρ,

because I have much confidence in it. See L. & S. *καί*, B.8: Hartung i 139-41: Kühner II ii 488-9: Jebb, Appendix to S.OT, p. 224. Kühner (II ii 489, Anm. 1) observes that *εἰ καί* and *καὶ εἰ* more frequently exchange meanings in verse (where metre is a factor in determining order). But there are many irregularities in prose also.

<sup>1</sup> But Jebb (*loc. cit.*) narrows the issue overmuch when he says that *εἰ καί* is only 'normal' where the 'speaker admits that a condition exists'. Kühner's 'wirklich oder möglich' is far nearer the mark.

ἂν τι καὶ ἀμάρτω, ἐπανορθώσετε ('even if I do make a mistake'): *X. HG* v 1.20 ἐνόμισεν ἀμελέστερον μὲν ἔχειν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους . . . εἰ δὲ καὶ εἶεν τριήρεις ὀρμουσαι, ἀσφαλέστερον ἡγήσατο ἐπ' εἴκοσι ναῦς Ἀθήνησιν οὐσας πλεῦσαι ἢ ἄλλοθι δέκα ('and even if there were triremes . . .'): *An.* vi 5.20 'Formidable dangers confront us. ἦν δὲ δὴ καὶ σωθῶμεν ἐπὶ θάλατταν . . .': *Pl. Prt.* 323B: *Phd.* 66D, 108D: *R.* 411D, 425A, 498A: *Smpr.* 191C: *Lg.* 663D: *X. Cyr.* v 4.42: vi 4.18: *HG* vi 5.12: *Oec.* 2.8: *Lys.* xx 23: *Isoc.* xv 33: *D.* xvi 24.

(ii) *καὶ εἰ*. The sense of climax, of the presentation of an extreme hypothesis, is clearly discernible in such passages as the following. Hom. Δ347 νῦν δὲ φίλως κ' ὀρόωτε καὶ εἰ δέκα πύργοι Ἀχαιῶν ὑμείων προπάροιθε μαχοίατο νηλείϊ χαλκῶ: E351 ἦ τέ σ' οἴω ριγῆσειν πόλεμόν γε καὶ εἴ χ' ἐτέρωθι πύθηαι ('if you so much as hear the sound of it anywhere', Leaf): T371 τοῦ δ' ἐγὼ ἀντίος εἶμι, καὶ εἰ πυρὶ χειρας ἔοικεν: v292 καὶ εἰ θεὸς ἀντιάσειε ('yea, though it were even a god'): S.OC 306 κεί βραδὺς εὔδει, κλύων σου δεῦρ' ἀφίξεται ταχύς: *E. Med.* 393 ξίφος λαβοῦσα, κεί μέλλω θανεῖν, κτενῶ σφε: *Andr.* 266 καὶ γὰρ εἰ περίξ σ' ἔχει τηκτὸς μόλυβδος, ἐξαναστήσω σ' ἐγώ: *Pl. Ar.* 32A ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι τὸν τῶ ὄντι μαχοῦμενον ὑπὲρ τοῦ δικαίου, καὶ εἰ μέλλει ὀλίγον χρόνον σωθήσεσθαι, ἰδιωτεύειν (καὶ with ὀλίγον, 'if he is to be safe even for a short time').

Much less clearly in the following. *X. HG* ii 4.25 πιστὰ δόντες, οἵτινες συμπολεμήσειαν, καὶ εἰ ξένοι εἶεν, ἰσοτέλειαν ἔσεσθαι: *An.* iii 2.24 καὶ ὁδοποιήσειέ γ' ἂν αὐτοῖς καὶ εἰ σὺν τεθρίπποις βούλοιντο ἀπιέναι: *Sapph. Fr.* 1.21 καὶ γὰρ αἰ φεύγει, ταχέως διώξει: *Isoc.* iv 28 καὶ γὰρ εἰ μυθώδης ὁ λόγος γέγονεν, ὁμως αὐτῶ καὶ νῦν ῥηθῆναι προσήκει.

(iii) The distinction between *εἰ καί* and *καὶ εἰ* is, in fact, one that cannot be very strongly pressed. Take, for example, these closely similar passages in which *εἰ καί*, *καὶ εἰ* are followed by an intensive adverb or adjective (*μάλα*, *πάνυ*, *μέγας*, etc.). Hom. E410 εἰ καὶ μάλα καρτερός ἐστι: N316 καὶ εἰ μάλα καρτερός ἐστίν: ζ312 εἰ καὶ μάλα τηλόθεν ἐσσί: θ139 εἰ καὶ μάλα καρτερός εἶη: π98 καὶ εἰ μέγας νεῖκος ὄρηται: S.OT 669 κεί χρή με παντελῶς θανεῖν: *Tr.* 1218 Εἰ καὶ μακρὰ κάρτ' ἐστίν: *Pl. Smpr.* 185E καὶ ἐὰν τοῦτο ποιήσης . . . καὶ εἰ πάνυ ἰσχυρά ἐστι, παύσεται. We might, it is true, take refuge in the subtlety that *καὶ εἰ μάλα καρτερός ἐστίν* means 'though he is even very brave' (though

he reaches the extreme of bravery): *εἰ καὶ μ. κ. ἐ.* 'even though he is very brave' (the hypothesis of his bravery being immaterial). But the subtlety seems a trifle excessive.

Nor, in general, do *εἰ καὶ* and *καὶ εἰ* keep very closely to the provinces assigned to them by grammarians. Thus in *Pl. Sph.* 230D *εἰ καὶ* clearly gives a sense of climax: *ἂν καὶ τυγχάνη βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας ὢν.* Contrariwise, *καὶ εἰ* not infrequently introduces an admitted fact, and there is no sense of climax whatever. *S. Aj.* 692 *καὶ τάχ' ἂν μ' ἴσως πύθοισθε, κεί νῦν δυστυχῶ, σεσωμένον:* *E. Med.* 463 *καὶ γὰρ εἰ σύ με στυγεῖς, οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην σοὶ κακῶς φρονεῖν ποτε:* *S. Aj.* 962 *ἴσως τοι, κεί βλέποντα μὴ 'πόθουν, θανόντ' ἂν οἰμώξειαν:* *OT* 986, 1516: *OC* 661, 875: *El.* 617: *Aj.* 563: *E. HF* 709.

Nor is there any sense of climax in the following. *Pl. Prt.* 333E *Ἄρ' οὖν . . . ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀγαθὰ ἃ ἐστὶν ὠφέλιμα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις;—Καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, κἂν μὴ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὠφέλιμα ἦ, ἔγωγε καλῶ ἀγαθὰ:* *Men.* 72C *κἂν εἰ πολλαὶ καὶ παντοδαπαὶ εἰσιν, ἔν γέ τι εἶδος ταῦτὸν ἅπασαι ἔχουσιν δι' ὃ εἰσὶν ἀρεταί:* *S. OT* 1077: *Ant.* 461: *Ar. V.* 813: *Arist. Pol.* 1265b15, 1277b17: *D.* xxi 102.

Two passages require separate treatment. *Th.* vi 64.1 *εἰδότες οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως δυνηθέντες (στρατόπεδον καταλαμβάνειν) καὶ εἰ . . . ἐκβιβάζοιεν* (*καὶ* seems to mean 'in addition to their power to take up a position if they pursued a different course: but *καί*, generally suspected, can hardly stand): *X. Cyr.* iii 3.69 *δείσας μὴ καὶ εἰ βιάσαιντο εἴσω, ὀλίγοι ὄντες ὑπὸ πολλῶν σφαλεῖέν τι* (if *καὶ εἰ HAG* is right, *καί* probably goes closely with *μὴ* (cf. (3) above): *εἰ καὶ CEDF*).

In *S. Ant.* 234 *καὶ* means 'and if'. (See Jebb.)

*κἂν*<sup>1</sup> (*καὶ ἂν*) *εἰ*: 'even if', *Ar. Ra.* 585: *Pl. Men.* 72C: *R.* 408B, 473A. 579D, 612C: *Phd.* 71B: *Sph.* 247E. 'And if', only, apparently, *Pl. Phd.* 72C: in *Lg.* 872E *κἂν εἰ* (*in marg. O*<sup>2</sup>) is unlikely (see England).

*κἂν* (*καὶ ἔάν*): 'even if', *S. Aj.* 15, 1077: *Ar. V.* 813: *Pl. Prt.* 319C: 'also if', *Arist. Rh.* 1372a15. 'and if', *Ar. Ra.* 736.

(iv) To return to *εἰ καὶ*. 'Even if' (representing the fulfilment of the condition as immaterial), and 'if even, actually'

<sup>1</sup> See Jebb, Appendix to Sophocles, *Electra* (on line 1482): Kühner II i 244, Anm. 2.: Goodwin, *M. T.* §§ 195, 228: Bonitz, *Index Arist. s.v. ἂν.*

(climax: for *καὶ εἰ*) are by no means the only forces of the combination.

(a) *εἰ καὶ* often means 'if indeed', 'if really' ('though I should be surprised if it were so'). Cf. II.C.7, below. This force is often combined with 'even if' ('even if indeed'), and classification of examples is difficult. E.g. *Pl. Th.* 146C *πάντως γάρ, ἂν τι καὶ ἀμάρτω, ἐπανορθώσετε* (see (i) above), where we might render 'even if I do make a slip' (though, strictly speaking, *ἐπανόρθωσις* presupposes *ἀμαρτία*, and 'even' is illogical: but the general sense is 'I shall be all right whatever happens'). English is, in this matter, more finely shaded than Greek. 'I shall keep dry if it does rain': 'I shall keep dry even if it rains': 'I shall keep dry even if it does rain': all three represented in Greek by *ἔαν καὶ ὕσῃ*. I group here those passages in which 'even if' is an impossible, or at least an unnatural, rendering: but this class shades off imperceptibly into (i).

*A. Pr.* 345 *μάτην . . . πονήσεις, εἴ τι καὶ πονεῖν θέλεις* ('if you want to labour'): *S. OT* 305 *Φοῖβος γάρ, εἰ καὶ μὴ κλύεις τῶν ἀγγέλων, πέμψασιν ἡμῖν ἀντέπεμψεν* ('if indeed you haven't heard'): *E. Rh.* 521 *ξύνθημα δ' ἡμῖν Φοῖβος, ἦν τι καὶ δέη* ('if we need it (but I don't think we shall)'): *Pl. Euthphr.* 4D *ἡμέλει ὡς ἀνδροφόνου καὶ οὐδὲν ὄν πρᾶγμα εἰ καὶ ἀποθάνοι* ('if he *did* die': better than 'even if he died': *καί* slightly mitigates the callousness, by regarding death as improbable): *Pl. Chrm.* 168A *Οὐκοῦν ἄτοπον, εἰ ἄρα καὶ ἔστιν;* ('if it really does exist'): *E. Andr.* 1079 *Ἄκουσον, εἰ καὶ σοῖς φίλοις ἀμυναθεῖν χρήσεις, τὸ πραχθέν* ('if you really want to help'). In the last two examples the sense 'even if' is directly excluded by the context. In *E. Hel.* 698 *εἰ καί*, 'if indeed', indicates cautious reserve, not scepticism.

(b) The use of *εἰ καί*, *εἰ καὶ . . . γε*, in the sense of *siquidem*, in appealing to a single case for support of a general proposition (see Stein on *Hdt.* v 78), seems to be characteristically Herodotean. *Hdt.* v 78 *εἰ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι . . .* ('if the Athenians . . .'): ix 68 *δηλοῖτέ μοι ὅτι πάντα τὰ πρήγματα τῶν βαρβάρων ἤρτητο ἐκ Περσέων, εἰ καὶ τότε οὗτοι . . . ἔφευγον, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ὤρων:* i 60: ix 100.2. Cf. *Ar. V.* 503.

(c) In many other passages *καί*, meaning 'also', 'even', 'actually', although immediately following the conditional, does not cohere closely in sense with it, but with what follows.

Possibly pronunciation helped to make the distinction clear. Naturally the separation of *καί* and *εἰ* in sense is more marked where a word (or words) intervenes. In such cases *καί* sometimes approximates to *αὐ* in force.

Hom. Π 623 *εἰ καὶ ἐγὼ σε βάλοιμι* ('if I, on my side, struck you'): S. Ant. 90 *ἀρέσκουσ' οἷς μάλισθ' ἀδεῖν με χρή*.—*Εἰ καὶ δυνήσῃ γ'* ('Aye, if thou canst': if, besides having the will, you have also the power): Aj. 816 *εἴ τῳ καὶ λογίζεσθαι σχολή* ('if one has leisure for thought as well as for action'): II 27 *Κτείναντα; δεινὸν γ' εἶπας, εἰ καὶ ζῆς θανών* ('if, actually, though I cannot believe it'): Tr. 71 *Πᾶν τοίνυν, εἰ καὶ τοῦτ' ἔτλη, κλύοι τις ἄν* ('even that'): Ar. V. 556 *οἰκτιρόν μ' . . . εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς πώποθ' ὑφείλου ἀρχὴν ἄρξας*: Ra. 74 *Τοῦτο . . . μόνον ἔτ' ἐστὶ λοιπὸν ἀγαθόν, εἰ καὶ τοῦτ' ἄρα* ('even that'): 339 *ὡς ἡδύ μοι προσέπνευσε χοιρείων κρεῶν*.—*Οὐκουν ἄτρεμ' ἔξεις, ἦν τι καὶ χορδῆς λάβης*; ('a dinner as well as a smell'): Hom. Π 746: λ 356: S. Ph. 292: Th. ii 11.6 *εἰ μὴ καὶ νῦν ὤρμηται* ('if they have not actually started *already*': cf. vi 60.3 *εἰ μὴ καὶ δέδρακεν* ('if he has not actually *done* it'). I do not think we should talk of 'transposition', *εἰ μὴ καὶ* for *εἰ καὶ μὴ*, in either passage): Pl. R. 365B *ἐὰν μὴ καὶ δοκῶ* ('unless I also *seem* just'): 388D *ἐπιπλήξειεν (ἄν τις), εἰ καὶ ἐπίοι αὐτῷ τι τοιοῦτον . . . ποιεῖν* ('if it so much as occurred to him'): Ti. 44B *ἄν μὲν οὖν δὴ καὶ συνεπιλαμβάνηται τις ὀρθὴ τροφή* ('if, further'): Thg. 130C *φεύγω ἄν τινα καὶ αἰσθάνωμαι πεπαιδευμένον* ('at the mere realization that a man is educated'): X. Mem. i 6.12 *δῆλον δὴ ὅτι εἰ καὶ τὴν συνουσίαν ὦν τινὸς ἀξίαν εἶναι . . . (sc. 'as well as a cloak or a house')*: Oec. 2.2 *Οὐκουν ἔγωγε . . . εἰ καὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ λέγεις* ('if you mean *me*'): 8.5 'Such an army would be incapable of marching. *εἰ δὲ καὶ μάχεσθαι δέοι . . .*' ('if, again'): D. xviii 317 *καὶ μὴν εἰ καὶ τοῦτ' ἄρα δεῖ μ' εἰπεῖν* ('this as well'): Pl. R. 522E (*bis*), 540C: Ti. 62D, 63A: Lg. 947D: X. Eq. 11.7. (For Pl. Cra. 436E, see II. C. 7 below.)

(v) By the process of inversion which we noted in the case of relative clauses, *καί* in the protasis sometimes logically refers to the apodosis. S. Tr. 228 *χαίρειν δὲ τὸν κήρυκα προυννέπω . . . χαρτὸν εἴ τι καὶ φέρεις*: Ph. 1042 *τείσασθε . . . αὐτούς, εἴ τι κάμ' οἰκτίρετε*: E. IT 1010: X. Cyr. viii 7.17 *τιμᾶτε ἀλλήλους, εἴ τι καὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ χαρίζεσθαι μέλει ὑμῖν*. Especially in the formula *εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος*: X. An. i 4.15: *et saep*.

Plato often uses this inversion with *εἴπερ καί*. Cra 385C\* *Ἔστιν*

*ἄρα ὄνομα ψεῦδος καὶ ἀληθὲς λέγειν, εἴπερ καὶ λόγον*; Th. 155C, 164B, 204E: R. 387D: Prm. 138A, 146B, C: Lg. 896D: X. Mem. iv 3.14 *ψυχῆ, ἦ, εἴπερ τι καὶ ἄλλο τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων . . .* Cf. Th. vi 38.4.

(7) In co-ordinated clauses *καί* is sometimes used in conjunction with other particles: with *τε*, to strengthen the idea of addition, 'and also': with *δέ* and *ἦ*, to supplement the adversative or disjunctive sense with the idea of addition.

(i) *εἴτε καί* (used also in disjunctive indirect questions). *εἴτε . . . εἴτε καί*: E. Tr. 942 *εἴτ' Ἀλέξανδρον . . . εἴτε καὶ Πάριν*: Pl. Phd. 70C *σκεψώμεθα . . . εἴτ' ἄρα . . . εἴτε καὶ οὐ*: D. xviii 20 *εἴτε χρή κακίαν εἴτ' ἄγνοϊαν εἴτε καὶ ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν*: Hdt. ii 181: iii 65, 121: Pl. Cra. 394E, 428C: Th. 168B: R. 394D. *ἄντε . . . ἄντε καί*: Cra. 433E: X. Oec. 21.9. *εἴτε δὴ . . . εἴτε καί*: Hdt. i 19, 86 (*εἴτε δὴ . . . εἴτε καὶ . . . εἴτε καί*), 191: iii 33: iv 147: Pl. Ti. 21B.

The corresponsive form *εἴτε καὶ . . . εἴτε καί* may, for convenience, be included here: Th. vi 60.2: Pl. R. 471D, 557A: Lg. 845E: Lys. xii 59.

Examples of *εἰ . . . εἴτε καί*, and *εἴτε καί* without preceding *εἰ* are given under *τε*, I. 3.

(ii) *δὲ καί* (*καί* often approximating in sense to *αὐ*). Hom. σ 371 *εἰ δ' αὐ καὶ . . .* (376): A. Pers. 296 *λέξον . . . τίς οὐ τέθνηκε, τίνα δὲ καὶ πενθήσομεν* ('and whom, again, . . .'): Ag. 848 *τὸ μὲν καλῶς ἔχον ὅπως χρονίζον εὐ μενεί βουλευτέον ὅτῳ δὲ καὶ δεῖ φαρμάκων παιωνίων . . .* ('and he, again, who needs . . .'): Pi. O. 10.30 *λόχμαιοι δὲ δοκεύσαις . . . δάμασε καὶ κείνους Ἡρακλέης* ('in his turn': they had defeated him before): P. 6.44: I. 1.40: B. 16.58: S. OT 682: Hdt. i 134.3 *ἦρχε τὰ ἔθνεα ἀλλήλων, συναπάντων μὲν Μῆδοι καὶ τῶν ἀγχιστα οἰκέοντων σφίσι, οὗτοι δὲ καὶ τῶν ὀμούρων, οἱ δὲ μάλα τῶν ἐχομένων* ('and these in their turn': *δὲ αὐ* Krueger): Pl. R. 500E *τοῖς μὲν καταλλαγῆ, τοὺς δὲ καὶ διαφθείρη*: Grg. 458B *εἰ μὲν . . . εἰ δὲ καὶ . . .*: X. HG iv 3.23 *οἱ μὲν διὰ τὴν δυσχωρίαν ἐπιπτον, οἱ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ προορᾶν . . . οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν βελῶν*: An. vi 1.17 *οἱ μὲν ἐλάμβανον, οἱ δὲ καὶ οὐ*: Hdt. i 26.3: viii 10.3: 100.3: ix 106.1: Th. vi 82.2: Pl. Lg. 636A: X. HG iv 3.8: Smp. 1.0: Arist. Po. 1447b20.

*καί* following a purely connective *δέ*: Pl. R. 619D *ὡς δὲ . . . εἰπεῖν, οὐκ ἐλάττους . . .* ('and in fact pretty well half . . .'). In



R.571C δὲ καί can hardly stand : λέγεις δὲ καὶ τίνας, ἔφη, ταύτας ; (δὲ καὶ AM : δὲ FD : δὴ Stobaeus). \*

By inversion, καί in the μέν clause. Hdt.ii 195 εἰσὶ μὲν καὶ πλεῦνες αἱ λίμναι αὐτόθι, ἢ δ' ὧν μεγίστη αὐτέων . . . : Pl. *Chrm.* 153A κατέλαβον πάνυ πολλούς, τοὺς μὲν καὶ ἀγνώστας ἐμοί, τοὺς δὲ πλείστους γνωρίμους (' I knew most of them, but there were some, too, whom I didn't know ') : X *Cyr.* viii 2.18 Εἰς μὲν τοίνυν καὶ οὗτος ἤδη θησαυρὸς ἡμῖν . . . τοὺς δ' ἄλλους . . . : *Oec.* 20.10.

Corresponsive, καί in both clauses. Hdt.ii 174 πολλὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἠλίσκετο ὑπὸ τῶν μαντηίων, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπέφευγε (καὶ ἠλίσκετο Valckenaer : κατηλίσκετο or καταλίσκετο *codd.*) : X *HG* vii 1.46 τὰ μὲν τι καὶ χρήμασι διεπράττετο, τὰ δὲ καὶ . . . : *Cyr.* iii 3.67 αἱ μὲν καὶ τέκνα ἔχουσαι, αἱ δὲ καὶ νεώτεραι (καὶ *post* δέ *om.* CE) : Th.vii 12.1 : 85.4 : viii 47.2. Add perhaps Th.v 43.2 μὲν καὶ . . . οὐ μέντοι ἀλλὰ καὶ . . . . But in Pl. *Cra.* 421D (see below, C.7) the two καί's probably do not correspond.

(iii) ἢ καί. In this combination ἢ separates two ideas objectively, in point of fact, while καί denotes that, subjectively, both must be kept before the mind. Render often 'or again' : but sometimes καί means 'also', or marks a climax, 'even'. The greater part of the examples are Platonic.

Usually in the second clause of a disjunction. Hom. *A* 63 μάντιν ἐρείομεν ἢ ἱερῆα, ἢ καὶ ὄνειροπόλον : Xenoph. *Fr.* 2.4 εἶτε παλαίων ἢ καὶ πυκτοσύνην ἀλγινόεσσαν ἔχων : E. *Tr.* 56 ἢ Ζηνὸς ἢ καὶ δαιμόνων τινός : *IT* 382 ἦν τις ἄψηται φόνου, ἢ καὶ λοχείας ἢ νεκροῦ θίγη χεροῖν : Hes. *Op.* 710 : *Sc.* 43 : E. *Med.* 42 : *Or.* 1359 : *Ion* 432 : *Ar. Th.* 346 : Pl. *R.* 395E αἰσχρολογούοντας, μεθύοντας ἢ καὶ νήφοντας, ἢ καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα . . . : 599A ἐπισκέψασθαι πότερον . . . ἐξηπάτηνται . . . ἢ τι καὶ λέγουσιν : 602D ἀλλὰ τὸ λογισάμενον καὶ μετρήσαν ἢ καὶ στήσαν : *Lg.* 656B Πότερον εἰκὸς ἢ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον . . . ; (' actually necessary ') : *Grg.* 505D εἰ δὲ ἐμοὶ πείθῃ, εἴσεις χαίρειν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον, ἢ καὶ ἄλλω τῷ διαλέξῃ (a further possibility) : *Ion* 535C τοῖς πράγμασιν . . . ἢ ἐν Ἰθάκῃ οὖσιν ἢ ἐν Τροίᾳ ἢ ὅπως ἂν καὶ τὰ ἔπη ἔχῃ (in any other of the further possible circumstances) : D. *xlvii* 68 ἤροντό με πότερον ἐξηγήσονται μοι μόνον ἢ καὶ συμβουλεύσωσιν (' or give me advice as well ') : Hdt. vii 10β1 : 103.3 : *Hp.* *VC* 14, 19 : *Art.* 7 : Pl. *Phd.* 88C : *Ti.* 70B : *R.* 437A : *Prm.* 143A : *Phlb.* 12A, 36D : *Alc.* I 134E : *II* 144E : *Lg.* 668C, 789D, 885C : X. *Oec.* 19.9 : *Arist. Pol.* 1264a15.

Exceptionally in the first clause of a disjunction : E. *Fr.* 273 πᾶσιν γὰρ ἀνθρώποισιν . . . ἢ καὶ παραυτίκ' ἢ χρόνῳ δαίμων βίον ἔσφηλε (' ἦτοι *malim*', Nauck, unnecessarily. 'Actually at the outset' is a possible explanation : and the same treatment may be applied to many passages in which καί comes in the second clause. But I think that καί everywhere has the other clause of the disjunction in particular view).

In both clauses of a disjunction : Th. i 35.4 : here the καί's go closely with the following pronouns. In Pl. *Cri.* 44E the first καί goes closely with πᾶσαν.

(iv) γὰρ καί. This can hardly be regarded as a combination, since καί adheres to what follows (whereas in καὶ γάρ the particles usually go more closely together). Th. i 91.3 ἤδη γὰρ καὶ ἤκον αὐτῷ οἱ ξυμπρέσβεις (' his fellow ambassadors also had arrived ') : X. *Mem.* iii 6.10 ἴσως γὰρ καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος αὐτῶν . . . οὐπω ἐξήτακας (' owing to the magnitude of the subject, as well as for other possible reasons ') : Hdt. ii 99.

(8) Following demonstratives. The particle here denotes that the words following it add something, and something important, to the content of the demonstrative. Or, to look at it in another way, καί binds the demonstrative more closely to the following words. The connexion may be established by the demonstrative alone, or a connecting particle may precede or follow the demonstrative. This idiom is closely analogous to the use of καί with relatives ((1) above), ταῦτα καὶ ποιῶ being equivalent to ἃ καὶ ποιῶ. The former is used for connecting sentences, the latter (normally) for connecting clauses. καί following demonstratives is mainly found in dialogue : it is too lively an idiom to be common in formal oratory. The particle follows the pronoun immediately, or after a short interval. Often δὴ precedes καί, giving the tone 'of just this something else is to be said' : see δὴ I.4.viii.

S. *OT* 148 τῶνδε γὰρ χάριν καὶ δεῦρ' ἔβημεν (' That is why we have come ') : 582 Ἐνταῦθα γὰρ δὴ καὶ κακὸς φαίνη φίλος (' That is just where your treachery appears ') : *Tr.* 600 Ἄλλ' αὐτὰ δὴ σοὶ ταῦτα καὶ πράσσω, Δίχα : E. *Andr.* 622 τοῦτο καὶ σκοπεῖτέ μοι, μνηστῆρες, ἐσθλῆς θυγατέρ' ἐκ μητρὸς λαβεῖν : 906 Τοῦτ' αὐτὸ καὶ νοσοῦμεν : *Hec.* 1007 Καλῶς ἐλέγας τῆδε καὶ σοφώτερον : *Or.* 1331 Ἡ τοῦδ' ἕκατι καὶ βοή κατὰ στέγας : *Ba.* 616 Ταῦτα καὶ

καθύβρισ' αὐτόν: *IA* 127 τόδε καὶ δεινόν ('There's the rub'): *Ag. Eq.* 180 Δι' αὐτὸ γάρ τοι τοῦτο καὶ γίγναι μέγας ('That is the origin of your greatness'): *S. Tr.* 490: *E. Ion* 346: *Ag. Nu.* 856, 1499: *Pax* 892: *Lys.* 46: *Th.* 81, 166: *Ra.* 73: *Hdt.* i 18 οὗτος γὰρ καὶ ὁ τὸν πόλεμον ἦν συνάψας: *Pl. Pri.* 310E ἀλλ' αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ νῦν ἤκω παρὰ σέ: 341C Διὰ ταῦτα ἄρα καὶ μέμφεται: *Chrm.* 156E ὅτι . . . οὐ δεῖ . . . ἀλλὰ τοῦτο καὶ αἴτιον εἶη . . .: *La.* 195A ταῦτά τοι καὶ ληρεῖ ('That's the rubbish he talks!'): *Euthphr.* 13C ἀλλὰ τούτου δὴ ἔνεκα καὶ ἀνηρόμην: *Men.* 71C ἀλλὰ ταῦτα περὶ σοῦ καὶ οἴκαδε ἀπαγγέλλωμεν; ('Is that the message . . .?'): *X. Mem.* iii 5.19 Τοῦτο γάρ τοι, ἔφη, καὶ θαυμαστόν ἐστι: *Ant.* i 23 τούτου γε ἔνεκα καὶ δικασταὶ ἐγένεσθε ('That is precisely the reason why . . .'): *D.* xli 27 τοῦτο δὴ καὶ μέλλω λέγειν ('That is just what I am going to tell you'): *Hdt.* i 73, 194: ii 103: v 13.3: *Pl. Phd.* 58C: *Phdr.* 235B: *R.* 497B: *Min.* 319A: *X. Oec.* 6.10: *An.* iv 6.17: *Cyr.* i 4.27: *D.* iv 28.

(9) Apodotic. Compare the far commoner apodotic δέ (*q.v.* II.1). Most of the true examples are from Homer and lyric.

(i) In general (Epic and Lyric). *Hom. A* 494 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ . . . καὶ τότε δὴ: β 107 ἀλλ' ὅτε . . . καὶ τότε δὴ: *A* 478 ἦμος δ' . . . καὶ τότε ἔπειτα: *E* 898 εἰ δὲ . . . καὶ κεν δὴ: λ 111 εἰ . . . καὶ κεν: ξ 112 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ . . . καί: ν 79: σ 135: *h. Ap.* 428 εὔτε . . . καί: *Hdt.* i 55.2 (hexameter oracle) ἀλλ' ὅταν . . . καὶ τότε: *Simon. Fr.* 13.16 εἰ δέ τοι δεινὸν τό γε δεινὸν ἦν, καὶ κεν ἐμῶν ῥημάτων λεπτὸν ὑπεῖχες οὖας: *Pi. O.* 10.91 ἀλλ' ὥτε . . . καὶ . . . (in a comparison: but there is a long interval, and a change from strophe to antistrophe: perhaps anacoluthon). After participial clause. *Hom. X* 247 ὡς φάμενη καὶ κερδοσύνη ἠγήσατ' Ἀθήνη.

Add probably *Alc. Fr.* 70.18: 89.2 (but the text in both places is uncertain).

(ii) κατὰ, κάπειτα. *Ag. Lys.* 560 ὅταν ἀσπίδ' ἔχων καὶ Γοργόνα τις κατ' ὤνηται κορακίνοισι: *Eq.* 392 Ἀλλ' ὅμως οὗτος τοιοῦτος ὦν ἅπαντα τὸν βίον, κατ' ἀνὴρ ἔδοξεν εἶναι: *Av.* 674 ἀπολέσαντα χρῆ . . . τὸ λέμμα κατ' οὕτω φιλεῖν: *Nu.* 624 λαχῶν Ἐπέρβολος τήτες ἱερομνημονεῖν, κάπειθ' ὑφ' ἡμῶν . . . τὸν στέφανον ἀφηρέθη: *Av.* 536 (Comedy is fond of this idiom: cf. *Plat. Com. Fr.* 23: in *Ag. Ec.* 276 I suggest ἐπαναβάλησθε, κατὰ being apodotic after the temporal clause: *C.K.* xlvii (1933) 215)\*: *Pl. Grg.* 457B ἐὰν δὲ οἴμαι

ῥητορικὸς γενόμενός τις κατὰ ταύτη τῇ δυνάμει . . . ἀδικῆ . . .: *X. Cyr.* iv 3.14 ὃ γε μὴν μάλιστ' ἂν τις φοβηθείη, μὴ, εἰ δεήσει ἐφ' ἵππου κινδυνεύειν . . . , κάπειτα μήτε πεζοὶ ἐτι ὦμεν μήτε πω ἵππεῖς ἱκανοί, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀμήχανον. (Add, perhaps, *E. Cyc.* 235: the text is uncertain. In *S. Fr.* 579 κατ' is highly probable. For a possibly similar use of εἶτα δέ, see van Leeuwen on *Ag. Ach.* 24.)

(iii) There are hardly any prose examples of apodotic καί other than the two just quoted. *Th.* v 27.1 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αἱ πεντηκοντούται σπονδαὶ ἐγένοντο καὶ ὕστερον ἡ ξυμμαχία, καὶ αἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου πρεσβεῖαι . . . ἀνεχώρουν ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαιμόνος (αἱ καὶ αἱ): here, certainly, καί seems to belong to the whole apodosis ('it also happened that'): ii 21.1: vii 43.1: 75.1. But in other passages quoted by the authorities as apodotic, the particle is followed by an emphatic word, with which it goes closely in the normal sense 'also', 'in fact':<sup>1</sup> *Hdt.* i 79 ὡς δέ οἱ ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίηε κατὰ τάχος: *Th.* ii 93.4 ὡς δὲ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐχώρουν εὐθύς: *Pl. Thet.* 190A ὅταν ἄρα τις . . . δοξάζῃ, καὶ φησὶν: *Th.* iv 8.9: viii 1.4: 8.4: 27.5. The following are textually doubtful, and correct punctuation and analysis reveal that καί, if sound, is not apodotic: *Hdt.* ix 117: *Pl. Euthphr.* 5B: *Plt.* 257C. In *E. Ion* 1199 only the corrector of *L* (see Wecklein) reads καί. In *Thgn.* 1101-2 the sense is clearly incomplete, and καί is not apodotic. (E. Harrison, *Studies in Theognis*, p. 157, takes 1101-2 in conjunction with 1103-4.)

(10) καί in questions. It is practically convenient to group under this heading various idioms which logically have little in common, and in which καί is sometimes copulative, sometimes adverbial.

(i) καί preceding an interrogative, usually at the opening of a speech in dialogue. The particle may either (a) simply denote that the speaker requires further information: or (b), more commonly, convey an emotional effect of surprise, contempt, and so

<sup>1</sup> All these passages are closely similar: a temporal protasis describing a thought is followed by an apodosis describing a corresponding action: and the verb describing that action immediately follows the καί: whereas in *Th.* vii 43.1, 75.1 the verb does not immediately follow the καί, which is therefore regarded as applying to the whole apodosis, not merely to the following word. (The distinction seems perhaps, on reflexion, a trifle wiredrawn.)

forth. Both senses (to which the use of *δέ* and, more rarely, *τε* after interrogatives is closely parallel) are natural enough: just as we say 'I am going to London'.—'And when are you going?': or 'And what is the good of that?' There is no sharp dividing line between (a) and (b), which melt imperceptibly into each other.

(a) *S.El.* 928 τοῦ τὰ δ' ἤκουσας βροτῶν:—Τοῦ πλησίον παρόντος, ἠνίκ' ὄλλυτο.—Καὶ ποῦ ἔστιν οὗτος; *OT* 1435 πιθοῦ τί μοι . . .—Καὶ τοῦ με χρείας ὧδε λιπαρεῖς τυχεῖν; *Ar.Eq.* 1322 Τὸν Δῆμον ἀφεψήσας ὑμῖν καλὸν ἐξ αἰσχροῦ πεποίηκα.—Καὶ ποῦ ἔστιν νῦν . . .; *Pl.Cra.* 391D παρ' Ὀμήρου χρῆ μανθάνειν . . .—Καὶ τί λέγει . . . Ὀμηρος . . .; *X.Cyr.* 16.16 τούτου σοι δεῖ μέλειν.—Καὶ τίνα δὴ ἐγώ, ἔφη, ὦ πάτερ, ὁδὸν ἰὼν τοῦτο πράττειν ἰκανὸς ἔσομαι; 6.22.

(b) (Where a strong degree of surprise is to be expressed, 'why' is often a better rendering than 'and'.) *S.El.* 236 μὴ τί κτείν σ' ἄταν ἄταις.—Καὶ τί μέτρον κακώτατος ἔφην; 883 Ὀrestes is here'.—Οἴμοι τάλαινα καὶ τίνος βροτῶν λόγον τόνδ' εἰσακούσασ' ὧδε πιστεύεις ἄγαν; *E.IT* 254 Ἄκραϊς ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖσιν ἀξένου πόρου.—Καὶ τίς θαλάσσης βουκόλοις κοινωνία; *Ion* 973 Τὸν πρῶτον ἀδικήσαντά σ' ἀποτίνου θεόν.—Καὶ πῶς τὰ κρείσσω θνητὸς οὐσ' ὑπερδράμω; *Pl.Tht.* 182D Καὶ τίς μηχανή, ὦ Σώκρατες; *A.Ag.* 280: *Eu.* 94 (καὶ separated from τί): *S.El.* 1189: *Tr.* 187, 1140: *Ant.* 548, 1174: *OT* 976: *OC* 606, 1439: *E.Ph.* 900, 1348: *Ar.Eq.* 1044: *Nu.* 398: *Pl.Ti.* 26E: *Lg.* 648A: *X.Occ.* 2.3: *Smp.* 4.62: *An.* 16.19.

There is often an echo of a word from the previous speech. *S.OT* 1019 ἀλλ' ἴσον.—Καὶ πῶς ὁ φύσας ἐξ ἴσου τῷ μηδενί; *E.Or.* 1025 Οὐ σίγ' . . . στέρξεις . . .;—Καὶ πῶς σιωπῶ; *Ar.Ach.* 86 ἐκ κριβάνου βοῦς.—Καὶ τίς εἶδε πώποτε βοῦς κριβανίτας; *S.OC* 73: *Ar.Eq.* 178, 792: *Nu.* 1380: *Hdt.* iii 140 ἔφη Δαρείου εὐεργέτης εἶναι . . . ὁ δὲ θωμάσας λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· Καὶ τίς ἐστι Ἑλλήνων εὐεργέτης . . .; *Pl.Tht.* 196D ἀναίσχυντεῖν . . .—Καὶ τί τοῦτο ἀναίσχυντον; *X.Mem.* iii 11.10 . . . εἰς τὰ σὰ δίκτυα.—Καὶ ποῖα, ἔφη, ἐγὼ δίκτυα ἔχω; *Oec.* 7.5: 12.6: *Smp.* 3.6: 4.4: *Cyr.* 13.11: *Hier.* 1.1. Preceded by a request for an answer: *Ar.Eq.* 178 Εἰπέ μοι, καὶ πῶς . . .;

The elliptical form *Καὶ πῶς*; is common in Plato. *E.Or.* 1110: *Ar.Eq.* 128: *Nu.* 717, 1434: *Pl.Tht.* 163D, 188E: *R.* 402E, 485C, 486C, 502E. *Καὶ πῶς* ἄν; *Pl.Tht.* 188C: *R.* 353C. καὶ τί; (*Pl.Philb.* 21B) is exceptional.

This idiom is occasionally found in mid speech: in *Pl.Philb.* 63D,

*D.xix* 120, introducing an imaginary objection: elsewhere a rhetorical question usually precedes, and there is always a suggestion of imaginary dialogue. *S.Aj.* 462 πότερα πρὸς οἴκους . . . περῶ; καὶ ποῖον ὄμμα πατρὶ δηλώσω φανείς Τελαμώνι; *OT* 355 Οὕτως ἀγαιδῶς . . .; καὶ ποῦ τοῦτο φεύξεσθαι δοκεῖς; *OC* 263 'Athens is said to be chivalrous to strangers. κάμοιγε ποῦ ταῦτ' ἐστίν . . .;' (here an emphatic word intervenes between particle and interrogative): *E.HF* 297 ἤξειν νομίζεις παῖδα σὸν γαίας ὑπο; καὶ τίς θανόντων ἦλθεν ἐξ Ἴδου πάλιν; *Tr.* 1280 ἰὼ θεοί. καὶ τί τοὺς θεοὺς καλῶ (Hecuba pulls herself up): *X.Mem.* 15.1 ἄρα . . . τοῦτον ἂν αἰροίμεθα; καὶ πῶς ἂν οἰηθείημεν τὸν τοιοῦτον . . .; *D.xviii* 282 οὐδὲν ἐξαίρετον οὐδ' ἴδιον πεποίημαι. ἄρ' οὖν οὐδὲ σύ; καὶ πῶς; ὅς εὐθέως μετὰ τὴν μάχην πρεσβευτῆς ἐπορεύου πρὸς Φίλιππον: *Ant.* v 57: *Isoc.* xii 23: *Is.* i 20, 29: *D.xviii* 101: xix 232.

To embody so lively and conversational an idiom in reported speech is quite exceptional: *X.HG* v 3.10 λεγόντων δὲ τῶν κατεληλυθότων καὶ τίς αὐτῆ δίκη εἶη. . .: 3.15 ἐρωτώμενος δὲ καὶ τί τοῦτο ἂν εἶη, πάλιν ἀπεκρίνατο . . . ('And when someone asked him, and what could that be . . .').

(ii) καί, not followed by an interrogative, sometimes introduces surprised, indignant, or sarcastic questions.

(a) In particular, *κᾶτα*, *κᾶπειτα* are so used by Euripides and Aristophanes. At the beginning of a speech: *E.Ph.* 598 Κᾶτα σὸν πολλοῖσιν ἦλθες πρὸς τὸν οὐδὲν ἐς μάχην; *Or.* 419 Κᾶτ' οὐκ ἀμύνει Λοξίας τοῖς σοῖς κακοῖς; *Supp.* 105δ Κᾶπειτα τύμβῳ . . . φαίνη πέλας; *Ar.Th.* 637 ἀπόδυσσον αὐτόν . . .;—Κᾶπειτ' ἀποδύσετ' ἐννέα παίδων μητέρα; *E.HF* 266: *Ion* 1286: *Or.* 443: *IA* 894 (Κᾶτα πῶς . . .); *Ar.Pax* 369 (Κᾶτα τῷ τρόπῳ . . .): *Ra.* 647 (Κᾶτα πῶς . . .). Also in mid-speech: *E.Ac.* 83: *An.* 391: *Supp.* 246: *HF* 1287: *Ion* 1408: *Ba.* 1207. *Ar.Ach.* 126.

(b) In general, καί sometimes introduces questions of the above types. It is often difficult to determine in such cases whether καί is copulative or adverbial ('actually'). *S.Ant.* 554 Σῶσον σεαυτήν. οὐ φθονῶ σ' ὑπεκφυγεῖν.—Οἴμοι τάλαινα, κάμπλάκω τοῦ σοῦ μύρου; 1102 κτίσον δὲ τῷ προκειμένῳ τάφον.—Καὶ τίς ἐπ' ἐπαινεῖς καὶ δοκεῖς παρειαθεῖν; *El.* 1046 Καὶ μὴν ποήσω γ' οὐδέ ἐκπλαγείσά σε.—Καὶ τοῦτ' ἀληθές, οὐδὲ βουλευσῆ πάλιν; 1481 ὦ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅπως ὄδ' οὐκ Ὀρέστης ἔσθ' ὁ προσφωνῶν ἐμέ.—Καὶ μὰ τὴν

ὦν ἄριστος ἐσφάλλου πάλαι; (some scholars take καί as = καίπερ, with ὦν: wrongly, I think): *OC* 414 Καὶ ταῦτ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν Φοῖβος εἰρηκῶς κυρεῖ; *E.IA* 1358 Ἄλλ' ὁμῶς ἀρήξομεν σοί.—Καὶ μαχῆ πολλοῖσιν εἰς; *Ar. V.* 1406 Philocleon has tried to put off the Ἀρτόπωλις with an anecdote. *Ar.* Καὶ καταγελάς μου; *Av.* 325 Ἄνδρ' ἐδεξάμην ἐραστὰ τῆσδε τῆς ξυνουσίας.—Καὶ δέδρακας τοῦτο τοῦργον; 1033 οὐ δεινά; καὶ πέμπουσιν ἤδη 'πισκόπους ἐς τὴν πόλιν . . .; *Ra.* 607 Οὐκ ἐς κόρακας; μὴ πρόσσιτον.—Εἶεν, καὶ μαχεῖ; *Pl. Clit.* 407B Ποῖ φέρεσθε, ὄνθρωποι; καὶ ἀγνοεῖτε οὐδὲν τῶν δέοντων πράττοντες . . .; (no question mark in *O.C.T.*): *X. Cyr.* vi 3.22 Καὶ δοκοῦμέν σοι, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, ἰκανῶς ἔξειν . . .;

Different, of course, is the purely copulative καί in *Ar. Nu.* 90 τί κελεύεις;—Καὶ τι πείσει; ('And you'll obey?').

(iii) καί following an interrogative (τίς, ποῦ, etc.) bears two<sup>1</sup> meanings not adequately distinguished by scholars, who talk vaguely of 'emphasis'. Though the border-line between the two meanings cannot be sharply drawn, the distinction seems to me a real and important one.

(a) The questioner asks for supplementary information, as in καὶ τίς;, but the placing of the particle after the interrogative gives stress to the addition. The effect is usually produced in English by an inflexion of the voice. The stress is sometimes on the interrogative, more often on the word which follows καί, or on a later word. (There is often both a main and a subsidiary stress.) A connecting particle other than καί may be either present or absent.

*A. Ag.* 278 Ποίου χρόνου δὲ καὶ πεπόρθηται πόλις; ('And how long is it since the city was sacked?'): *S. OT* 989 ἀλλὰ τῆς ζώσης φόβος.—Ποίας δὲ καὶ γυναικὸς ἐκφοβεῖσθ' ὑπερ; ('And who is the woman about whom you fear?'): *Ant.* 772 Μόρω δὲ ποίω καὶ σφε βουλευῆ κτανεῖν; ('by what manner of fate': not 'by what fate do you purpose', Jebb): *E. Hipp.* 1171 'Poseidon has heard my prayer. πῶς καὶ διώλετ';' *Hec.* 515 'Alas for my child. πῶς καὶ νιν ἐξεπράξατ';' ('And after what manner did ye slay her?'): 1066 ὦ κατάρatoi, ποῖ καὶ με φυγᾶ πτώσσουσι μυχῶν; *Fr.* 403.3 τίς ἄρα μήτηρ ἢ πατήρ . . . ἔφυσε . . .; ποῦ καὶ ποτ' οἰκεῖ . . .; *Ar. Pax* 1289 τοῦ καὶ ποτ' εἶ; *Lys.* 836 τίς κάστιν ποτε; *S. Ant.* 1314: *E. Alc.* 834, 1049: *Hipp.* 92: *Hec.* 1201: *Ph.* 1354: *Pl.*

<sup>1</sup> For yet a third variety of καί following interrogatives, see p. 323, n. 1.

*Euthphr.* 3A καὶ μοι λέγε, τί καὶ ποιοῦντά σέ φησι διαφθείρειν τοὺς νέους; *Thet.* 144B τίνος δὲ καὶ ἔστι τῶν πολιτῶν; ('And whose son is he?'): 187E Socrates and Theaetetus have agreed to continue the investigation. *Σω.* Πῶς οὖν; τί δὴ καὶ λέγομεν; ('What do we say?') This and the next three examples, where a verb of saying follows καί, are differentiated from apparently similar examples grouped under *b.ε* below by the lower pitch (see (*b*) *ad init.*) on the stressed word): *Lg.* 821E Ἀληθῆ λέγεις. ἀλλὰ τί καὶ φῆς τοῦτο τὸ μάθημα . . .; *Min.* 313A Ὁ νόμος ἡμῶν τί ἐστίν;—'Οποῖον καὶ ἐρωτᾶς τῶν νόμων; (cf. *Euthd.* 271A): *Epin.* 977A τίνα δὴ καὶ σεμνύων ποτὲ λέγω θεὸν . . .; *D.* liv 35 τί δὲ καὶ δεινόν ἐστίν ὦν παρέξεται κατὰ σοῦ; ('And what is the danger . . .?').

Indirect questions. *Ar. Ec.* 946 Old Woman (after cursing the Young Man, who has just taken himself off) ἀλλ' εἶμι τηρήσουσ' ὅ τι καὶ δράσει ποτέ ('to watch what he'll do'): 1014 Τοῦτο δ' ἔστι τί;—*Ψήφισμα.* . . .—Λέγ' αὐτὸ τί ποτε κάστι: *Hdt.* i 11 ἐπεὶ με ἀναγκάζεις δεσπότεα τὸν ἐμὸν κτείνειν οὐκ ἐθέλοντα, φέρε ἀκούσω, τέφ καὶ τρόπῳ ἐπιχειρήσομεν αὐτῷ ('how we shall attack him'): ii 114 συλλαβόντες ἀπάγετε παρ' ἐμέ, ἵνα εἰδῶ τί κοτε καὶ λέξει: *Pl. Euthd.* 272D διήγησαι τὴν σοφίαν τοῖν ἀνδροῖν τίς ἐστίν, ἵνα εἰδῶ ὅτι καὶ μαθησόμεθα ('what it is that we're going to learn'): *Cra.* 407E πειρώμεθα οὖν τὸν "Ἐρμῆν" σκέψασθαι τί καὶ νοεῖ τὸ ὄνομα: *Lg.* 819E Τοῦ περί; λέγ' ὅτι καὶ φῆς: *Amat.* 136C Ὁ δὲ ὠμολόγει χρησίμους. . . —Φέρε δὴ γινώμεν, εἰ σὺ ἀληθῆ λέγεις, ποῦ καὶ χρήσιμοι ἡμῖν εἰσιν οἱ ὑπακροῖ οὔτοι; ('where they are useful'): *X. HG* iii 3.6 ἐρωτῶντων δὲ τῶν ἐφόρων πόσους φαίη καὶ τοὺς συνειδότας τὴν πράξιν εἶναι . . . ('how many': but perhaps καὶ stresses τοὺς συνειδότας): *An.* v 8.2 φάσκοντες παίεσθαι . . . καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐκέλευσεν εἰπεῖν . . . ποῦ καὶ ἐπλήγη ('where he had been hit'): *Pl. Thg.* 122D: *Ly.* 214E: *Phdr.* 266D: *X. Oec.* 6.13.

(b) καί, following an interrogative, denotes that the question cuts at the foundations of the problem under consideration. A question is put which, it is implied, cannot be answered, or cannot be satisfactorily answered: so that the discussion of any further, consequential, question does not arise. καί here marks a descending climax, and is roughly equivalent to ἀρχῆν, τὴν ἀρχῆν, omnino, 'at all', 'to start with'. Whereas both in (a) and in (b) the effect of the particle is often best rendered in English by stress, the stress is stronger in (b) than in (a), and is

accompanied by a higher pitch, as the following example shows: 'I will give you a motor-car'.—'Very nice: where can I *keep* it?' Contrast: 'Oh but, my dear man, where can I *keep* it?' In the first case a lively question proceeds with the discussion: in the second, the question erects a barrier against all further discussion. This use falls naturally into certain main subdivisions.

(α) The very possibility of something is by implication denied, so that further discussion of it is seen to be unnecessary. Hdt. ix 122.2 οἰκὸς δὲ ἀνδρας ἄρχοντας τοιαῦτα ποιέειν· κότε γὰρ δὴ καὶ παρέξει κάλλιον ἢ ὅτε . . . ; ('When will there be a better opportunity?': sc. 'therefore we have no choice in the matter').

Usually with ἄν and optative, or past indicative, in a potential clause. Parm.Fr.8.9 τί δ' ἄν μιν καὶ χρέος ὤρσεν . . . ; S.OT 772 'I will tell you. τῷ γὰρ ἄν καὶ μείζονι λέξαιμ' ἄν ἢ σοὶ . . . ;' E.Tr.1188 τί καὶ ποτε γράψειεν ἄν σε μουσοποιὸς ἐν τάφῳ; ('What *could* he write?'): Ar.Nu.840 μάνθανε.—Τί δ' ἄν παρ' ἐκείνων καὶ μάθοι χρηστόν τις ἄν; Lys.910 σὺ δ' οὐ κατακλίνει.—Ποῦ γὰρ ἄν τις καὶ τάλαν δράσειε τοῦθ'; Pl.La.184D τί γὰρ ἄν τις καὶ ποιῶ; (Phd.61E): Tht.202D τίς γὰρ ἄν καὶ ἔτι ἐπιστήμη εἶη . . . ; ('What knowledge *could* there be?'): X.Eq.11.11 ἐκ δὲ ταύτης τῆς ὄψεως τί ἄν καὶ λαμπρὸν γένοιτ' ἄν; ('What possible brilliance *could* there be in such a spectacle?'): D.xlvii 29 τί γὰρ ἄν καὶ ἀντέλεγον αὐτῷ . . . ; Lys.xxiv 23 μηδαμῶς, ὦ βουλή, ταύτη θῆσθε τὴν ψῆφον. διὰ τί γὰρ ἄν καὶ τύχοιμι τοιούτων ὕμων;

(β) With future indicative, the idea of futurity being tinged with the idea of (denied) possibility. And.i.148 τίνα γὰρ καὶ ἀναβιβάσομαι δεησόμενον ὑπὲρ ἑμαυτοῦ; ('whom *shall* I, or *can* I, bring forward to plead for me?'): Lys.xii 29 νῦν δὲ παρὰ τοῦ ποτε καὶ λήψεσθε δίκην, εἶπερ ἐξέσται . . . ; Pl.Euthphr.6B ἀνάγκη . . . καὶ ἡμῖν συγχωρεῖν. τί γὰρ καὶ φήσομεν . . . ; R.434D συγχωρησόμεθα ἤδη—τί γὰρ καὶ ἐροῦμεν; X.Smp.1.15 πρόσθεν μὲν γὰρ τούτου ἔνεκα ἐκαλούμην ἐπὶ τὰ δείπνα, ἵνα . . . νῦν δὲ τίνοσ ἔνεκα καὶ καλεῖ μέ τις; ('Why *will*, or *should*, anybody invite me?').

With deliberative subjunctive. D.xix 138 ταυτόν τοίνυν τοῦτ' ἄν ἐποίησε Φίλιππος, εἰ . . . ἐπειδὴν δ' ἀκούη . . . τί καὶ ποιήσῃ; ('What *is* he to do?').

(γ) With δεῖ, χρή, etc. The very necessity or advisability of something is denied: hence it need not be further discussed.

Ar.Lys.526 μετὰ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν εὐθὺς ἔδοξεν . . . ποῖ γὰρ καὶ χρῆν ἀναμεῖναι; Pl.La.182E τί καὶ δέοι ἄν αὐτὸ μανθάνειν; ('what *need* could there be?'): Lg.891B νόμοις οὖν . . . τίνα καὶ μᾶλλον προσήκει βοηθεῖν ἢ νομοθέτην; (καὶ with προσήκει): X.HG ii 3.47 ἀποκαλεῖ δὲ κόθορνόν με . . . ὅστις δὲ μηδετέροις ἀρέσκει, τοῦτον . . . τί ποτε καὶ καλέσαι χρῆ (καὶ with χρῆ: 'what *are* we to call him?': we can save ourselves the trouble of hunting for an appropriate nickname): Oec.12.4 τί αὐτὸν καὶ δεῖ ἄλλο ἐπίστασθαι . . . ; Smp.2.4 μύρου μὲν τί καὶ προσδέονται; ('what do they *want* with myrrh?').

But sometimes καί adheres not so much to the verb of obligation as to another word. E.Andr.395 τί δέ με καὶ τεκεῖν ἐχρῆν ἄχθος τ' ἐπ' ἄχθει τῷδε προσθέσθαι διπλοῦν; ('give birth as well'): D.iv 46 ὅταν γὰρ . . . τί καὶ χρῆ προσδοκᾶν; ('what must one *expect*?').

(δ) καί calls in question the ground or motive (usually expressed by a participle) of an action. Motive being absent, the further question of action does not arise. Ar.Eq.342 Τῷ καὶ πεποιθῶς ἀξιοῖς ἐμοῦ λέγειν ἔναντα; Th.vi 38.5 τί καὶ βούλεσθε, ὦ νεώτεροι; ('what do you *want* (whether or not your desires can be realized)?'): Pl.R.365D τί καὶ ἡμῖν μελητέον τοῦ λανθάνειν; (καὶ with μελητέον: 'why should we *trouble* at all?'): X.HG i 7.26 τί δὲ καὶ δεδιότες σφόδρα οὕτως ἐπέγεσθε; Ant.vi 34 τίνας οὖν ἦσαν οἱ πείσαντες αὐτούς; καὶ τίνοσ ἔνεκα καὶ πρόθυμοι ἐγένοντο πείσαι αὐτούς; And.i 4 τί γὰρ ἄν καὶ βουλόμενος . . . ὑπομείνειεν . . . ; D.xviii 24 τί γὰρ καὶ βουλόμενοι μετεπέμπεσθ' ἄν αὐτούς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ;

(ε) In general. S.Aj.1290 δύστηνε, ποῖ βλέπων ποτ' αὐτὰ καὶ θροεῖς; ('why *talk* like that at all?': you had better avoid the whole topic): OT 1129 Τί χρῆμα δρῶντα; ποῖον ἄνδρα καὶ λέγεις; ('What sort of a man do you *mean*?': I cannot answer your question until I know *that*): Tr.314 Τί δ' οἶδ' ἐγώ; τί δ' ἄν με καὶ κρίνοις; ('Why should you *ask* me?'. Not 'Why *should* you ask me?', as in (α) above: the stress here is on the content of the verb, not on the modality): E.Or.1093 τί γὰρ ἐρῶ καγὼ ποτε . . . ; ('what shall I *say* (whether people believe me or not)?': the stress is on ἐρῶ: but the text is uncertain): Pl.Pl.292A Τί γὰρ δὴ καὶ κωλύει; ('What is the *difficulty*?'): 305A Τίν' οὖν ποτε καὶ ἐπιχειρήσομεν . . . δεσπότην ἀποφαίνεσθαι . . . ; X.HG v 2.16



τί γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐμποδῶν . . . ; *Agas.* 10.3 'This is an ἐγκώμιον, not a θρήνος, though its subject is dead. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ . . . ἔπειτα δὲ τί καὶ πλεον θρήνου ἀπεστιν ἢ βίος τε εὐκλεῆς . . . ;' (καί with ἀπεστιν: 'what is there further removed . . .?'): *Hyp.Ευχ.* 14 τοῦτ' εἰ μὲν ὑπελάμβανες ἀληθὲς εἶναι . . . τί καὶ ἀδικεῖ . . . ; ('what is his *crime*?').

In indirect questions. *Ar.Νη.* 1344 Ἄλλ' οἶομαι μέντοι σ' ἀναπέσειν . . . — Καὶ μὴν ὅ τι καὶ λέξεις ἀκοῦσαι βούλομαι ('what you'll say'): *X.HG* iii 3.11 ἤροντο τί καὶ βουλόμενος ταῦτα πράττοι: *And.* iii 13 φασι δὲ τινες ἀναγκαίως νῦν ἡμῖν ἔχειν πολεμεῖν. σκεψώμεθα οὖν πρῶτον . . . διὰ τί καὶ πολεμήσωμεν ('why we should fight'): *D.* lix 118 θαυμάζω δ' ἔγωγε τί ποτε καὶ ἐροῦσι: *Pl.Ly.* 214E ἴδωμεν τί καὶ ὑποπτεύω ('let us see *what* it is that I suspect'): *Cra.* 428D.

(iv) καί, without an interrogative, and not opening a question, sometimes means 'actually', and conveys surprise or indignation. Cf. καί opening a question, 10.ii. *b* above. The particle coheres closely with the word that follows it.

*S.El.* 385 Ἡ ταῦτα δὴ με καὶ βεβούλευνται ποεῖν; ('Are they actually resolved to do *that* to me?'): *Ant.* 726 Οἱ τηλικοῖδε καὶ διδασκόμεσθα δὴ φρονεῖν . . . ; *E.Med.* 1367 Λέχους σφε κηξίωσας οὐνεκα κτανεῖν; (σφέ γ' ἡξίωσας *AVB*): *Heracl.* 498 Ἐν τῷδε κἀχόμεσθα σωθῆναι λόγῳ; *Ar.Au.* 74 Δεῖται γὰρ ὄρνις καὶ διακόνου τινός; ('Why, does a bird need a *servant*?'): 1446 Λόγοισί τᾶρα καὶ πτεροῦνται; *Cratin.Fr.* 314 ταυτί καὶ τολμᾶς σὺ λέγειν; *Hdt.* iii 36.3 Σὺ καὶ ἐμοὶ τολμᾶς συμβουλεύειν . . . ; (the sentence is interrogative, I think). *S.Ant.* 1062 Οὕτω γὰρ ἤδη καὶ δοκῶ τὸ σὸν μέρος is best taken as affirmative: see Jebb, *ad loc.*

(v) The use of καί in exclamations is analogous. *S.Ph.* 991 ὦ μῖσος, οἷα κἀξανευρίσκεις λέγειν ('what *things* you invent!'): *Ar.V.* 900 ὦ μιὰρὸς οὗτος ὡς δὲ καὶ κλέπτον βλέπει ('And what a *thievish* look there is in his eye!'): *Ec.* 125 σκέψαι, τάλαν, ὡς καὶ καταγέλαστον τὸ πρᾶγμα φαίνεται.

C. In the idioms which I have considered above καί everywhere denotes the connexion between two ideas, either expressed, or fairly clearly implied (the line between expression and implication cannot be sharply drawn), and bears the sense 'also' (addition) or 'even' (climax). Hence, by an easy transition, the **sense** of addition sometimes recedes into the background, while

the sense of climax predominates, a ladder of which only the top rung is clearly seen. 'Even' then passes into 'actually', and καί is little more than a particle of emphasis, like δὴ. As such, it precedes, and emphasizes, various parts of speech (a convenient classification, which must not, however, be taken too seriously, since the words which follow the particle often coalesce into a single entity).

(1) With intensive and quantitative adverbs and adjectives. Καί is often used before intensive and quantitative adverbs and adjectives: for example, before λίαν, κάρτα, μάλα, πάνυ, etc.: before πολὺς, μόνος, and πᾶς: and before comparatives and superlatives. The particle conveys a sense of climax, and denotes that something is not only true, but true in a marked degree: καὶ μάλα, 'even (actually) very much'. (It would nowhere, I think, be correct to say that καί e.g. with adverbs represents the adverbial qualification as something additional to the verbal action, so that καὶ μάλα λέγει would virtually = λέγει, καὶ μάλα γε.)

καὶ λίαν. *Hom.A.* 553 καὶ λίην σε πάρος γ' οὐτ' εἶρομαι οὔτε μεταλλῶ: *E.Alc.* 811 Ἡ κάρτα μέντοι καὶ λίαν θυραῖος ἦν: *Hom.* α 46. καὶ ἄγαν: *Th.* vii 50.4.

καὶ κάρτα. *S.Aj.* 527 Καὶ κάρτ' ἐπαίνου τεύξεται (Jebb holds that καί is copulative here: but that when καὶ κάρτα replies to a question, as in *OC* 65,301, καί is adverbial. In view of the frequent appearance of καί before adverbs of this type, I should be inclined to believe that it is always adverbial): *Ar.Ach.* 544 ἦ πολλοῦ γε δεῖ: καὶ κάρτα μέντ' εὐθέως καθείλκετε τριακοσίας ναῦς: *E.Hipp.* 90 Καὶ κάρτα γ': *Hdt.* i 119 φαμένου δὲ Ἀρπάγου καὶ κάρτα ἠσθῆναι: ii 69,92. With article, καὶ τὸ κάρτα. *Hdt.* iii 104 καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀπιῶν ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ψύχει, ἐς δ' ἐπὶ δυσμησι ἐὼν καὶ τὸ κάρτα ψύχει: i 71,191: iv 181 (text uncertain): vi 52.4.

καὶ μάλα. *Thgn.* 1294 τέλος δ' ἔγνω καὶ μάλ' ἀναινομένη: *S.El.* 1455 Πάρεστι δῆτα καὶ μάλ' ἄζηλος θέα (Jebb takes καί as 'and' here, and in *El.* 1178): *Ar.Ra.* 412 μεираκίσκης νῦν δὴ κατείδον καὶ μάλ' εὐπροσώπου . . . τιθθίον προκύψαν: *Hermipp.* *Fr.* 70.2 εἶδον οὖν τὴν Ἡράκλειαν καὶ μάλ' ὠραίαν πόλιν: *E.Heracl.* 386: *Rh.* 85: *Hdt.* vii 11.2 ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλα στρατεύσονται: *Pl.R.* 592A Νῆ τὸν κύνα . . . ἐν γε τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πόλει καὶ μάλα: *Th.* 142B ζῶντι καὶ μάλα μόλις: 152D Ἐγὼ ἐρῶ καὶ μάλ' οὐ φαῦλον



λόγον: *Clit.* 407E ταῦτ' οὖν . . . καὶ μάλα ἄγαμαι: *Phid.* 117C καὶ μάλα εὐχερῶς καὶ εὐκόλως ἐξέπιεν: *X.HG* 1v7.2 ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο καὶ μάλα κατὰ ταῦτά: *Pl.Thit.* 142D: *R.* 457C (καὶ not connective, though at opening of answer: cf. *Lg.* 627C: *Sph.* 239C: *Phid.* 76A: *Cra.* 386B, 418E): *R.* 506D: *X.Cyr.* vi 1.36: *D.* iii 2: viii 48: xviii 16: xix 307. (In *Hdt.* iv 68.4 καὶ is of course connective.) Καὶ μάλα, as a self-contained answer. *Ar.Nu.* 1326: *Ra.* 890: *Pl.Ly.* 208B: *Phid.* 68D: *Thit.* 152B, 153C: *id. saep.* *Pl. Phid.* 105D Καὶ μάλα σφόδρα: *Thit.* 177A Καὶ μάλα δῆ.

καὶ σφόδρα. *Pl.Lg.* 627A πάνυ γάρ ἐστι καὶ σφόδρα τὸ τοιοῦτον: *D.* i 11 διὸ καὶ σφόδρα δεῖ: *Ivii* 4. Καὶ σφόδρα, as a self-contained answer. *Pl.La.* 191E: *X.Cyr.* iii 2.20 Καὶ σφόδρ' ἄν, ἔφη: *v* 2.26 ἔφασαν καὶ σφόδρ' ἄν.

Καὶ πάνυ, πάγχυ. *Ar.Ec.* 54 Καὶ πάνυ τάλαιπῶρος . . . ἐκδρᾶσα παρέδυν: *Th.* iii 30.2 κατὰ μὲν θάλασσαν καὶ πάνυ: *Pl.Phid.* 64B καὶ συμφάναι ἄν . . . καὶ πάνυ: *Thit.* 150D ἔνιοι μὲν καὶ πάνυ ἀμαθεῖς: *X.Oec.* 13.1: *D.* liii 4. Καὶ πάνυ, as a self-contained answer. *X.Oec.* 14.3 Καὶ πάνυ, ἔφη. *Hdt.* vi 112.2 μανίην . . . ἐπέφερον καὶ πάγχυ ὀλεθρίην.

Καὶ πολὺς, συχνός. *Ar.Lys.* 501 Τοῦδ' οὐνεκα καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον: *Th.* vi 24.2 ἀσφάλεια νῦν δὴ καὶ πολλῇ ἔσεσθαι: *Pl.R.* 562C Λέγεται γὰρ δῆ, ἔφη, καὶ πολὺ τοῦτο τὸ ῥῆμα: *X.Cyr.* v. 4.42 Εἰσι μὲν . . . καὶ πολλαὶ ὁδοί: *Archyt.Fr.* 4: *Pl.Thit.* 202D: *Alc.* II 142B: *Thit.* 152A Ἀνέγνωκα καὶ πολλάκις: *Grg.* 455C ὡς ἐγὼ τινὰς σχεδὸν καὶ συχνούς αἰσθάνομαι. In answers. *Pl.Phd.* 74D Καὶ πολὺ γε, ἔφη, ἐνδεῖ: *R.* 478C Καὶ πολὺ γε, ἔφη: *X.Mem.* iii 8.4 Καὶ πολλά, ἔφη.

Καὶ πᾶς. *Pl.Lg.* 625C: *D.* xviii 279: *Pl.Thit.* 177A ταῦτα δὴ καὶ παντάπασιν ὡς δεινοὶ . . . ἀκούσονται.

Καὶ μόνος. *Lys.* xxix 5 δύο εἶναι καὶ μόνος ἀπολογίας: *D.* vi 13 ἀλλὰ τοῦτον καὶ μόνον πάντων τῶν λόγων . . . : xvii 25. But in *D.* xix 141 καὶ before μόνος means 'also'.

*Pl.O.* 6.20 καὶ μέγαν ὄρκον ὁμόσσαις: *Hdt.* i 117.1 καὶ μεγάλως (see (2)): *D.* xviii 3 δύο δὲ καὶ μεγάλα: *Pl.Phid.* 59A εἰς δὲ ἡμῶν καὶ διαφέρωντος: *Lg.* 657D Μῶν οὖν οἰόμεθα καὶ κομιδῇ μάτην . . . ;

with temporal adverbs denoting length of time. *S.Ant.* 289 καὶ πάλαι (*OC* 1252: *Tr.* 87: *Ph.* 1218: *Hdt.* i 45: *X.Oec.* 19.17): *D.* i 22 καὶ οἰοί.

(2) With comparatives. *Hom.* Γ168 ἦτοι μὲν κεφαλῇ καὶ μείζονες ἄλλοι ἔασι: *Hdt.* i 65.3 (hexameter oracle) δίζω ἢ σε θεὸν μαντεύσομαι ἢ ἄνθρωπον· ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον θεὸν ἔλπομαι: 117.1 Ἀστυάγης δὲ τοῦ μὲν βουκόλου τὴν ἀληθείην ἐκφήναντος λόγον ἤδη καὶ ἐλάσσω ἐποιέετο, Ἀρπάγῳ δὲ καὶ μεγάλως μεμφόμενος . . . ('did not mind so much'): *Pl.Chrm.* 175D τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐμὸν καὶ ἦττον ἀγανακτῶ ὑπὲρ δὲ σοῦ . . . πάνυ ἀγανακτῶ ('not so much'): *Thg.* 121D ἐμοὶ δὲ τῶν μὲν χρημάτων καὶ ἔλαττον μέλει (καὶ *secl.* Cobet): *Prm.* 135C τοῦ τοιοῦτου μὲν οὖν μοι δοκεῖς καὶ μᾶλλον ἡσθησθαι: *Lg.* 752D τὰς μὲν οὖν ἄλλας καὶ βραχύτερον ἔργον: *Th.* vi 46.2: *Pl.Phd.* 38E. (Distinguish from the above, where καὶ is emphatic, such passages as *Hom.* Θ 470, where καὶ μᾶλλον means 'even more'.)

With superlatives. *Ar.Au.* 1144 Τούτ' ὡγάθ' ἐξηυρῆτο καὶ σοφώτατα: *X.Mem.* iii 4.11 Ἐνταῦθα δῆπου καὶ πλείστον, ἔφη: *An.* vii 3. 19 ἄξιον οὖν σοὶ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατα τιμῆσαι Σεύθην: *Cyr.* i 3.10 τότε γὰρ δὴ ἔγωγε καὶ πρῶτον κατέμαθον: *D.* xix 239: xlv 41.

(3) With other adjectives and adverbs. *Ar.Th.* 259 Νῆ τὸν Δι' ἀλλὰ κάπιτηδεῖα πάνυ ('Why, it's the very thing'): *Pl.* 697 μετὰ τοῦτο δ' ἤδη καὶ γέλοιον δῆτά τι ἐποίησα ('something absolutely ridiculous'): *Hdt.* i 187.3 Δαρείῳ δὲ καὶ δεινὸν ἐδόκεε εἶναι ('actually monstrous'): viii 25.2: *Pl.Smp.* 177B καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἦττον καὶ θαυμαστόν ('less actually astonishing'): *Prm.* 144B: *Lg.* 708E: *Grg.* 458C σκοπεῖν . . . μή τινὰς αὐτῶν κατέχομεν βουλομένους τι καὶ ἄλλο πράττειν ('wanting to do something else'): *Hom.* Λ 322 τοῦ δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τόσον μὲν ἔχε χρῶα χάλκεα τεύχεα . . . φαίνετο δ' ἦ . . . ('the armour protected the rest of the body . . . but there was an opening where . . .').

*S.Ant.* 1280 τὰ δ' ἐν δόμοις εἰκας ἦκων καὶ τάχ' ὄψεσθαι κακὰ ('full soon'). *E.Alc.* 796 καὶ σάφ' οἶδ' ὀθούνεκα . . . (not connective): *Pl.R.* 445D ἐπονομασθείη δ' ἄν καὶ διχῆ: *Phid.* 102D Ἐοικα, ἔφη, καὶ συγγραφικῶς ἐρεῖν: *X.Oec.* 11.25 ἤδη δ', ἔφη, καὶ διελημμένως πολλάκις ἐκρίθην: *Pl.Alc.* I 103A οὐ σὺ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ ὕστερον πεύσῃ ('you shall hear afterwards': 'there will be an opportunity later, as well as now': cf. *Smp.* 175E: *R.* 34 . . . : *D.* iii 10 οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἔεται τὰ ἄνω τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸ παράπαν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε ὕσθησαν αἱ Θῆβαι ψακάδι ('but then': perhaps, however, καὶ should be placed before αἱ).

With numerals. Hom.N236 αἵ κ' ὄφελός τι γενώμεθα καὶ δύο ἔοντε ('being two'): Ψ833 ἔξει μιν καὶ πέντε περιπλομένους ἐνιαυτούς ('full five'): Pi.I.3.9 καὶ διδύμων: Hdt.ii68.2 αὐξανόμενος δὲ γίνεται καὶ ἐς ἑπτακαίδεκα πήχεας καὶ μέζων ἔτι: Th.i44.1 γενομένης καὶ δις ἐκκλησίας (v 10.9): vii81.3 τὸ δὲ Νικίου στρατευμα ἀπέιχεν ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίου ('as much as fifty': *post* πρόσθεν *add.* ἑκατόν B): Arist.Pol.1270a37 καὶ φασιν εἶναι ποτε τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις καὶ μυρίους: Hdt.viii24.1. Ildt. ix33.1 ἐθύοντο καὶ ἀμφοτέροι.

(4) With substantives. Hom.Π746 εἰ δὴ που καὶ πόντῳ ἐν ἰχθυόεντι γένοιτο ('at sea')\*: Thgn.1097 ἤδη καὶ πτερύγεσσι ἐπαίρομαι ('I rise even upon wings'): Pi.O.6.25 ὄφρα . . . , ἴκωμαί τε πρὸς ἀνδρῶν καὶ γένος: E.Med.1396 Οὐπω θρηνεῖς μένε καὶ γῆρας ('Wait until you are old': that is when you will have real cause for lamentation): Ar.V.420 Ἡράκλεις, καὶ κέντρ' ἔχουσιν ('They've actually got stings!'): Th.6.70.1 καὶ ὥρα ἔτους, 'because of the season' (without any deeper cause): Pl.La.194A ἀλλά τίς με καὶ φιλονεικία εἴληφεν ('I am seized with an absolute zeal'): Men.95C οἱ σοφισταί σοι . . . δοκοῦσι διδάσκαλοι εἶναι ἀρετῆς.— Καὶ Γοργίου μάλιστα . . . ταῦτα ἄγαμαι, ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποτε αὐτοῦ τοῦτο ἀκούσαις ὑπισχνουμένου ('That is just what I admire about Gorgias': a connective sense hardly seems appropriate here): R.400B λέγειν οὐκ ἔχω.— Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, καὶ μετὰ Δάμωνος βουλευόμεθα ('We'll discuss that with Damon'): X.An. v6.10 ἐξ Ἡρακλείας δὲ οὔτε περὶ οὔτε κατὰ θάλατταν ἀπορία πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ πλοῖα ἐστὶν ἐν Ἡρακλεία ('There are plenty of boats at Heraclea'): Lys.xxv13 μὴ τοῖς τούτων λόγοις πιστεύειν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἔργων σκοπεῖν (almost = ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων: Emperius deletes καί, but it may perhaps stand. In Hdt.ix27.5 καί, after ἀλλά, is easier: 'even on the score of Marathon alone'). In Hdt.ii99 καί can hardly stand: ἀπογεφυρῶσαι καὶ τὴν Μέμφιν: καὶ om. RSV.

(5) With pronouns. Pl.Philb.25B Σὺ καὶ ἐμοὶ φράσεις ('You shall tell me': instead of vice versa): X.An.vii7.10 ἀτὰρ τί καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ λέγεις ταῦτα; ἔφη: οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ' ἔτι ἄρχω. \*

(6) With verbs. A.Eu.7. κακῶν δ' ἕκατι κάγονοντ' ('for evil's sake were they even born'): S.Ph.807 Ἀλγῶ . . . — Ἀλλ', ὦ τέκνον, καὶ θάρσος ἴσχυ' ('Have courage': 'have good hope also')

(as well as ἄλγος), Jebb: but I doubt this explanation): Ant. 1192 Ἐγώ, φίλη δέσποινα, καὶ παρῶν ἐρῶ, κούδεν παρήσω τῆς ἀληθείας ἔπος ('I will speak as one who was present': though Jebb is perhaps right in taking καὶ . . . καί as 'both . . . and'): OC1586 Τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἤδη κάποθαυμάσαι πρόπον: Hom.E685: P647: Φ274: Pl.Grg. 448A ἂν δέ γε βούλη . . . ἐμοῦ (πάρεστι πείραν λαμβάνειν). Γοργίας μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀπειρηκέναι μοι δοκεῖ ('Gorgias seems to be tired'): Th.143A πάντως ἔγωγε καὶ ἀναπαύσασθαι δέομαι: X.Cyr.iii1.9 τούτου ἔνεκα καὶ γενέσθω ὁ τι βούλεται ('let it even happen'). In Ant.127 the text is doubtful.

Occasionally at the beginning of a sentence. S.OT415 ἀρ' οἴσθ' ἀφ' ὧν εἶ; καὶ λέλθας ἐχθρὸς ὧν τοῖς σοῖσιν αὐτοῦ ('Thou hast been unwittingly . . .': not connective, I think): El.680 Κάπεμπόμην πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ τὸ πᾶν φράσω ('I was sent for that end': καὶ . . . καί, Jebb): E.HF577 καὶ δεῖ μ' ὑπὲρ τῶνδ' . . . θνήσκειν ἀμύνοντ' ('It is my bounden duty . . .').

With a whole verbal phrase: Hom.Ω425 ἦ ῥ' ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἐναίσιμα δῶρα διδοῦναι ἀθανάτοισι ('Whatever else one does, it is good to give the gods also their due', Leaf): In Pi.N.8.50 ἐπαιοῖδαῖς δ' ἀνὴρ νώδυνον καὶ τις κάματον θῆκεν, καί seems to mean something like 'ere now': cf. the use of καὶ δὴ illustrated on p. 250 (1.1.)

(7) Sometimes καί contrasts the objective reality of an idea with its subjective reality or with the unreality of something else, whereas in (1)–(6) above it is the content of an idea which is stressed: hence in translating examples of this class the stressed word is some part of the verb 'to be', or an auxiliary ('do', 'might', etc.). This use of καί has not been adequately recognized.

In relative clauses (here καί is virtually equivalent to the καὶ in εἰ καί, B.6.iv.a). S.Tr.1009 ἀνατέτροφας ὅ τι καὶ μύση ('anything that has closed the eyes', Jebb): Ar.Nu.785 Ἄλλ' εἰθὺς ἐπιλήθει σύ γ' ἄττ' ἂν καὶ μάθης ('anything you do learn'): Hdt. ii65.2 θεῖα πρήγματα, τὰ ἐγὼ φεύγω μάλιστα ἀπηγέεσθαι. τὰ δὲ καὶ εἶρηκα, . . . ἀναγκαίη καταλαμβανόμενος εἶπον: v101.1 ἦσαν . . . οἰκίαι αἱ μὲν πλεῖνες καλάμιναι, ὄσαι δ' αὐτέων καὶ πλίνθιναι ἦσαν καλάμου εἶχον τὰς ὀροφάς ('those that were of brick': καλάμιναι implies 'not of brick'): Th.197.2 τοῖς πρὸ ἐμοῦ

ἀπασιν ἐκλιπέσ τούτο ἦν τὸ χωρίον . . . τούτων δὲ ὅσπερ καὶ ἠψατο . . . Ἑλλάνικος, βραχέως . . . ἐπεμνήσθη ('the author who *did* touch on this topic'): Pl. *Thi.* 186C παραγίγνεται οἷς ἂν καὶ παραγίγνηται (cf. Pl. *Smph.* 181B: *Phdr.* 276B): X. *HG* iii. 2. 17 οἱ μὲν τινες . . . ἀπεδίδρασκον . . . ὅσοι δὲ καὶ ἔμενον, δῆλοι ἦσαν οὐ μενοῦντες (the context shows that καὶ goes, not with δέ, as in B. 7. ii, 'and those again who remained', but with ἔμενον, 'and those who *did* remain').

Similarly with participles. Pl. *R.* 497E οἱ καὶ ἀπτόμενοι.

In main clauses. Hom. *Ω* 641 νῦν δὴ καὶ σίτου πασάμην καὶ αἶθοπα οἶνον λαυκανίης καθέηκα· πάρος γε μὲν οὐ τι πεπάσμην ('Now I *have* tasted': I do not think the two καί's correspond): S. *Aj.* 1396 σὲ δ' . . . τάφου μὲν ὀκνῶ τοῦδ' ἐπιψαύειν ἔαν . . . τὰ δ' ἄλλα καὶ ξύμπρασσε, κεί . . . ('but in everything else *do* assist': Jebb, in his excellent note, rightly denies that the first καί is answered by the second): E. *Heracl.* 526 οὐκ οὖν θανεῖν ἄμεινον ἢ τούτων τυχεῖν ἀναξίαν; ἄλλη δὲ κἂν πρέποι τινὶ μᾶλλον τὰδ' ('This conduct *might* be rather more suitable to some other woman'): Ion. 264 τοσαῦτα κεύτυχοῦμεν ('Thus far I *am* fortunate'): *Rh.* 849 τίς οὖν τέτρωται, τίς τέθνηκε συμμαχῶν τῶν σῶν . . . ; ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ τετρώμεθα ('but we *have* been wounded': δ' ἐκάς Murray for δὲ καί): Antiph. *Fr.* 124. 12 καὶ τοῦτο μὲν δὴ κάστι συγγνώμην ἔχον· ἄλλ' οἷα λογοποιούσιν . . . ('And *that* is excusable: but what follows is not'): Hdt. iii. 134. 3 οἶκός δέ ἐστι ἀνδρα . . . φαίνεσθαι· τι ἀποδεικνύμενον . . . νῦν γὰρ ἂν τι καὶ ἀποδέξαιτο ἔργον ('now you *might* achieve something'): Th. vi. 11. 3 νῦν μὲν γὰρ κἂν ἔλθοιεν ἴσως . . . , ἐκείνως δ' οὐκ εἰκὸς ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ ἀρχὴν στρατεῦσαι ('as things are, they *might* perhaps attack us; but in the other case they are unlikely to'): 89 3 διότι καὶ τῷ δήμῳ προσεκέειμην ('because I *was* in fact democratically inclined': not to be classed under II B. 2): viii 91. 3 ἄς (ναῦς) ἔφη Θηραμένης . . . ἦν δέ τι καὶ τοιοῦτον ἀπὸ τῶν τὴν κατηγορίαν ἐχόντων, καὶ οὐ πάνυ διαβολὴ μόνον τοῦ λόγου ('And there really *was* something in the accusation': καὶ stresses ἦν): Pl. *Cra.* 421D Φάναι, ὃ ἂν μὴ γιγνώσκωμεν, βαρβαρικόν τι τοῦτ' εἶναι· εἴη μὲν οὖν ἴσως ἂν τι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ καὶ τοιοῦτον αὐτῶν, εἴη δὲ κἂν . . . ἀνεύρετα εἶναι ('may in fact *be* of that kind': καὶ really stresses εἴη): *Thi.* 166D καὶ σοφίαν καὶ σοφὸν ἀνδρα πολλοῦ δέω τὸ μὴ φάναι εἶναι, ἄλλ' αὐτὸν καὶ λέγω σοφόν, ὃς ἂν . . . ('I *do* call wise that man, and that man only, who . . .': there is a

double stress, on αὐτὸν τοῦτον and on λέγω: the sense is not, as in II. B. 8, 'that is precisely the man whom': an instructive example): 172B φῆσαι, ἃ ἂν θῆται πόλις συμφέροντα οἰηθείσα αὐτῇ, παντὸς μᾶλλον ταῦτα καὶ συνοίσειν ('*will* actually benefit'): *R.* 340C τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὠμολόγεις οὐκ ἀναμαρτήτους εἶναι ἀλλὰ τι καὶ ἐξαμαρτάνειν ('are not infallible, but *do* occasionally make mistakes'): *Ap.* 34D Ἐμοί, ὦ ἄριστε, εἰσὶν μὲν πού τινες καὶ οἰκεῖοι ('I *have* got relatives': καὶ with εἰσὶν): *Phd.* 62A οὐδὲν ἀκήκοα.— Ἄλλα προθυμῆσθαι χρή, ἔφη· τάχα γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἀκούσαις ('perhaps you *may* hear'): 107C ὁ κίνδυνος νῦν δὴ καὶ δόξειεν ἂν δεινὸς εἶναι ('*would* appear formidable': under other circumstances it would not, Socrates goes on to say): *Grg.* 493A 'Euripides may be right in saying that life is death and vice versa': ἤδη γὰρ του ἔγωγε καὶ ἤκουσα τῶν σοφῶν ὡς νῦν ἡμεῖς τέθναμεν ('for I *have* in fact heard that . . .'): *Pri.* 329A τάχ' ἂν καὶ τοιούτους λόγους ἀκούσειεν: *Lg.* 805C εἰ μὲν . . . , τάχα ἦν ἂν τι καὶ ἀντειπεῖν τῷ λόγῳ, νῦν δὲ . . . ('it *might* have been possible to object'): Ant. v 91 ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀνηκέστοις πλέον βλάβος τὸ μετανοεῖν . . . ἤδη δὲ τισιν ὑμῶν καὶ μετεμέλησεν ἀπολωλεκόσι ('*have*, in fact, so repented'): *Lys.* vi 20 ὁ δὲ θεὸς ὑπῆγεν αὐτόν, ἵνα . . . δοίη δίκην. ἐλπίζω μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν καὶ δώσειν δίκην ('Well, I hope he *will* be punished'): 49 'Andocides has not done this and that for his country. σὺ δὲ τί καὶ ἀγαθὸν ποιήσας, ὦ Ἀνδοκίδη, . . . ;' ('what good *have* you done . . .?'): D. xliii 52 (after mentioning those to whom the law does *not* grant inheritance) ἀλλὰ τίνι καὶ δίδωσιν; ('to whom *does* it grant it?') (cf. also p. 314 (β)).\*

### III. Corresponsive καὶ . . . καί.

(1) Normally the first καί is preparatory, the second connective: 'both . . . and'. In Homer, according to Leaf (on N 260), καὶ . . . καί is found in correspondence only thrice: N 260 (καὶ ἐν καὶ εἴκοσι, 'not only one but twenty'): 636 πάντων μὲν κόρος ἐστί, καὶ ὑπνοῦ καὶ φιλότῆτος, μολπῆς τε γλυκερῆς καὶ ἀμύμονος

\* Thus we have three varieties of καί following interrogatives. τίνα καὶ λέγεις; (1) 'Whom do you *mean*?' (moderate stress with low pitch, as in B. 10. iii. a). (2) 'Whom do you *mean*?' (strong stress with high pitch, as in B. 10. iii. b). (3) 'Whom *do* you mean (as you don't mean so-and-so)?'

ὄρχηθμοῖο (but the first *καί* may mean 'even'): Ω641 (the second *καί* is metrically anomalous (ἡδ' Brandreth), and the first is perhaps emphatic, not preparatory, 'I have tasted': see II.C.7). There is, to say the least, no need to assume corresponsion in B700, Σ419, ψ55. But in the *Hymns* *καί* . . . *καί* is beginning to establish itself: *h.Ap.*179-80 *καί* . . . *καί* . . . *καί* (a clear case, though lines 179-81 are probably a late addition): *h.Cer.*495 *αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σείο καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' αἰοιδῆς* (a common formula in the *Hymns*). See further Ebeling, II.618a, *ad fin.*

In post-Homeric Greek this use is so common that a few examples will suffice.<sup>1</sup> *S.OT* 413 *σὺ καὶ δέδορκας κού βλέπεις ἴν' εἴ κακοῦ*: *OC* 317 *καὶ φημι κάποφημι κούκ ἔχω τί φῶ*: 1444 ('whether . . . or . . .'): *E.Hec.*751 *τολμᾶν ἀνάγκη, κᾶν τύχῳ κᾶν μὴ τύχῳ*: *Hdt.*vi98.1 *καὶ πρῶτα καὶ ὕστατα*: *Pl.Euthphr.*7D *καὶ ἐγὼ καὶ σὺ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι*: *D.*14 *κύριον καὶ ῥητῶν καὶ ἀπορρήτων*.\*

(2) Far less frequently, both *καί*'s are adverbial, 'also' (cf. οὐδέ, II.1.iii). Particularly, *καί* both in subordinate and in main clause. This use is almost confined to prose, and is commonest in Plato and Xenophon. When the subordinate clause is placed first, as sometimes happens, it is often difficult to decide whether the first *καί* looks forward or back.

(i) Relative clauses. *Hom.Z*476 *δότε δὴ καὶ τόνδε γενέσθαι παῖδ' ἐμόν, ὡς καὶ ἐγὼ περ . . .*: σ135 *ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ καὶ . . . καὶ τὰ φέρει* (the second *καί* apodotic): *Emp.Fr.*16 *ἢ γὰρ καὶ πάρος ἔσκε, καὶ ἔσεται*: *S.El.*1301 *ὡδ' ὅπως καὶ σοὶ φίλον καὶ τούμῳ ἔσται τῆδ'*: *Pl.Ly.*211A *ἄπερ καὶ ἐμοὶ λέγεις, εἰπέ καὶ Μενεξένῳ*: *R.*544D *ὅτι καὶ ἀνθρώπων εἶδη τοσαῦτα ἀνάγκη τρόπων εἶναι ὅσαπερ καὶ πολιτειῶν*: *X.Cyr.*ii 2.6 *οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ, ὡσπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐποιοῦν*: *D.*xlii31 *ὡσπερ καὶ κοινῆ . . . οὕτω καὶ ἰδίᾳ*: *Hdt.*vii 24: *Pl.R.*470B: *Ti.*65C: *Criti.*106B-C: *Thg.*128C: *Grg.*458A: *Alc.*I 110D, 114C: *X.Oec.*9.17: 9.19: *Eq.*7.19: *Smp.*2.25: *Lys.*xxi 14: *Is.*xi 28.

(ii) Causal clauses. *Ar.Pl.*1084 *Ὁμως δ', ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸν οἶνον ἠξίουσ πίνειν, συνεκποτέ' ἐστὶ σοὶ καὶ τὴν τρύγα*: *Pl.Smp.*199C *ἐπειδὴ καὶ τᾶλλα . . . διήλθες . . . καὶ τότε εἶπέ*: *La.*195A *δοκεῖ . . . Λάχης ἐπιθυμεῖν καμὲ φανῆναι μηδὲν λέγοντα, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἄρτι τοιοῦτός τις ἐφάνη*: *X.Lac.*2.1 *ἐπεὶ καὶ περὶ γενέσεως ἐξήγημαι*,

<sup>1</sup> In prose inscriptions mostly in 'formelhaften Verbindungen' like *καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν* (Meisterhans, p. 249).

*βούλομαι καὶ τὴν παιδείαν ἐκατέρων σαφηνίσαι*: *Lys.*xiv 24 *ἐπειδὴ γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἀπολογουμένων ἀποδέχεσθε λεγόντων . . . εἰκὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ τῶν κατηγορῶν ἀκροᾶσθαι*: *X.Cyr.*vii 5.47.

(iii) Conditional clauses. *Hdt.*iii 2 *εἰ γὰρ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι, τὰ Περσέων νόμιμα ἐπιστέαται καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι*: *Pl.Chrm.*166E *Οὐκοῦν . . . καὶ ἀνεπιστημοσύνης ἐπιστήμη ἂν εἴη, εἴπερ καὶ ἐπιστήμης*: *R.*444C: *Thg.*122B: *X.Smp.*2.6.

Corresponsion may also be recognized between adverbial *καί*'s in independent clauses, such as the following. *S.OC* 1267-8 *ἀλλ' ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ζηνὶ σύνθακος θρόνων Αἰδῶς ἐπ' ἔργοις πᾶσι, καὶ πρὸς σοί, πάτερ, παρασταθήτω* ('even Zeus'): *E.IT* 1401-2: *Isoc.*vii 72.3 *ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τοὺς . . . μέμφομαι . . . τὴν αὐτὴν οὖν γνώμην ἔχω καὶ περὶ τῶν κοινῶν*. Cf. *Pl.Lg.*792D (V, *ad fin.*).

For *μὲν καὶ . . . δὲ καί*, see II.B.7.ii.

IV. I have left a few special difficulties to the last. In *S.El.* 1251 Jebb's explanation (on *Ph.*79) is perhaps satisfactory: 'your sorrows as well as your joys': but read, perhaps, *τοι*. In *E.Andr.* 59 *δὲ καί* is difficult, and there is much to be said for Badham's *δ' ἐκεῖ*. In *S.Ph.*79 read, probably, *παῖ*: see Jebb. In *Ant.*v 16 *ὡς καὶ τοῖς τότε δικασταῖς ἀπιστήσων* makes no sense: a simple remedy is to transpose *τότε* and *τοῖς* (*C.R.*xlvii(1933)216). In *Ar.Au.*823 *Καὶ λῶστον μὲν οὖν τὸ Φλέγγας πεδίον* has been suspected: but it may well stand, *καί* stressing *λῶστον*: 'No, best of all': cf. *καὶ δὴ μὲν οὖν* (*μὲν οὖν*, (3)).

In two passages *καί* appears to mark affirmation, 'Yes' *A.Pers.*236 *Ὡδέ τις πάρεστιν αὐτοῖς ἀνδροπλήθεια στρατοῦ*;—*Καὶ στρατὸς τοιοῦτος, ἔρξας πολλὰ δὴ Μήδους κακά*: *Pl.Hp.Ma.* 302E *διὰ τοῦτο ἐλέγετο καλὰς αὐτὰς εἶναι*.—*Καὶ ἐρρήθη οὕτως*. In the first passage some MSS. give *ναί* written above *καί*: *ὁ* Wilamowitz: in the second, *καί* may be connective, 'And we did say so': cf. *Pl.R.*548D *Καὶ ὀρθῶς*, 'And rightly'. The analogy of our 'Even so' is tempting: but there is no ground for attributing to *καί* a specifically affirmative force in answers.

V. Position. When *καί* is copulative, it comes first in sentence or clause. *A.Pr.*51 is no exception: punctuate after *τοῖσδε*. When it is adverbial, it normally comes next before the

emphatic word, except where that word is preceded by article or preposition. (But interposition of *καί* between preposition and substantive is not unknown. *Pi.O.2.28 ἐν καὶ θαλάσῃ*: 7.26: *P.4.186*.) For *καί* interposed between article and substantival infinitive see II.A.2. Between article and participle, *Thgn.169 ὁ καὶ μωμύμενος*<sup>1</sup> (see E. Harrison, *Studies in Theognis*, p. 215). The position of *καί* at the end of a verse in *S.Ph.312* is characteristic of Sophoclean synaphea: cf. *Ar.V.1193*.

There are, however, frequent exceptions, many of which are probably due to the writer's regarding two words as an indivisible unity, and placing *καί* before the first of the two, even when the less emphatic.

Verse. *S.Ant.280 Παῦσαι, πρὶν ὀργῆς καμὲ μεστῶσαι λέγων (καὶ μεστῶσαι)*: 770 τὼ δ' οὖν κόρα τῶδ' οὐκ ἀπαλλάξει μόρου.—*Ἄμφω γὰρ αὐτῶ καὶ κατακτείνει νοεῖς* (see Jebb); *OC151 ἄρα καὶ ἦσθα φυτάλμιος . . .*; (*καὶ φυτάλμιος*): *E.Hipp.1326 Δεῖν' ἐπραξας, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἔτ' ἔστι καὶ σοὶ τῶνδε συγγνώμης τυχεῖν (καὶ τῶνδε)*: *Hel.1069 Σὲ καὶ παρεῖναι δεῖ μάλιστα (καὶ μάλιστα, οὐ καὶ δεῖ)*.

On the transposition of *καί* in drama, see Campbell's *Sophocles*, *Introd.* § 25: Wilamowitz on *E.Hipp.391* and *HF217*: Starkie on *Ar.Nu.1474*: but these scholars sometimes suppose transposition where it is hardly necessary. *E.Hipp.391 λέξω δὲ καὶ σοὶ τῆς ἐμῆς γνώμης ὁδόν* (Wilamowitz and Harry take *καί* with *ὁδόν*: but probably *Phaedra* means that she will reveal to the chorus what she has hitherto kept to herself, and Murray's *καὶ σοί* is right): *HF217 ὦ γαῖα Κάδμου, καὶ γὰρ ἐς σὲ ἀφίξομαι* (Wilamowitz needlessly assumes transposition, for *καὶ ἐς σὲ γάρ*): *Ar.Nu.1474 οἴμοι δέλαιος ὅτε καὶ σὲ χυτρεοῦν ὄντα θεὸν ἠγησάμην (καὶ χυτρεοῦν together, Starkie: but why not καὶ σέ? Or ὅτε καί, quippe cum: cf. *Hdt.iv195 ὄκου καί*: *Pl.Tht.158C ὅτε καί*): *E.Hipp.224 τί κυνηγεσιῶν καὶ σοὶ μελέτη;* (*καὶ κυνηγεσιῶν together, Wilamowitz and Starkie: but the sense surely is 'as well as Hippolytus', and Murray's καὶ σοί is again right.*)*

Prose. *Hdt.i52 τὰ ἔτι καὶ ἀμφοτέρω ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν κείμενα (καί, though not inappropriate with ἀμφοτέρω, is almost indispensable with ἐς ἐμέ)*: *ix 7 inil.*<sup>2</sup> ἄμα δὲ τὸ τεῖχος . . . καὶ ἤδη ἐπάλξις ἐλάβανε (*ἤδη καὶ ἐ. ἐ.*): *Pl.Grg.461B οὕτω καὶ σὺ περὶ τῆς ῥητορικῆς δοξά-*

<sup>1</sup> This, as Mr. Harrison points out, means 'he that even blames', and is not equivalent to *καὶ ὁ μωμύμενος*. <sup>2</sup> *Ad inil.*

*ζεις ὡς περ νῦν λέγεις; (καὶ δοξάζεις: 'Do you really think?')*: *520B μόνοις δ' ἔγωγε καὶ ᾤμην τοῖς δημηγόροις . . . οὐκ ἐγχωρεῖν μέμφεσθαι τούτῳ τῷ πράγματι (καὶ μόνοις, 'actually the only people': the order is perhaps dictated by a desire to put the emphatic μόνοις at the beginning)*: *Phd.66D ἂν τις ἡμῖν καὶ σχολὴ γένηται ('if we have leisure': cf. *R.425A ἐπανορθοῦσα εἰ τι καὶ πρότερον τῆς πόλεως ἔκειτο, 'if there was anything amiss in the city before)*: *96C ἐγὼ γὰρ ἂ καὶ πρότερον σαφῶς ἠπιστάμην . . . ἀπέμαθον (καὶ ἂ)*: *Cra.392D (perhaps καὶ ἠγεῖτο: but more probably, 'Did not Homer, as well as ourselves, think. . .?': cf. 392C)*: *398A τεκμήριον δὲ μοί ἐστιν ὅτι καὶ ἡμᾶς φησιν σιδηροῦν εἶναι γένος (καὶ φησιν, 'he says also': but perhaps καὶ ἡμᾶς, 'us')*: *Euthd.295D ἐπεὶ δὲ οὖν διενενοήμην καὶ παρὰ τοῦτον φοιτᾶν (καὶ φοιτᾶν, 'to go to him', with the implied contrast μὴδ' ἀρχὴν φοιτᾶν: whereas ἐπεὶ δὲ οὖν καὶ διενενοήμην would mean 'but since I had decided')*: *Chrm.172D 'Let us grant that σωφροσύνη is of this nature. καὶ πάντα ταῦτα δόντες ἔτι βέλτιον σκεψώμεθα εἰ ἄρα τι καὶ ἡμᾶς ὀνήσει τοιοῦτον ὄν' (καὶ ὀνήσει, 'whether it will do us any good')*: *X.An.vi3.23 καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον θαῦμα ἦν . . . ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν καταλελειμμένων ἐπυνθάνοντο (καὶ ἐπυνθάνοντο: καὶ om. det.)*: *Osc.13.3<sup>7</sup>H . . . καὶ σὺ ἄρχειν ἱκανοὺς εἶναι παιδεύεις τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους;* (for *σὺ καὶ ἄρχειν*, which Hertlein reads): *Eq.Mag.8.7 μετέχει μὲν γὰρ τι καὶ ἡ πόλις ταύτης τῆς δόξης (καὶ ταύτης).**

That *καί* can follow the word it emphasizes seems doubtful. *X.An.vi.4 Φίλος μοί ἐστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες, Ἀναξίβιος, ναυαρχῶν δὲ καὶ τυγχάνει (καὶ om. det.: Marchant suggests τυγχάνει δὲ καὶ ναυαρχῶν)*: in *E.Or.1093* the text is doubtful: in *Th.viii91.3*. *Pl.Cra.421D καί* may go with *τοιοῦτον* 'actually of such a kind': in *Pl.Lg.792D* I suggest *καὶ ἡμῶν τὸν μέλλοντα, οὐ καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα ἡμῶν*. But in *Lg.891E* it certainly seems that *καί* must go with *λεκτέον*.

In *καὶ . . . καί*, 'both . . . and', the particle stands each time at the opening of phrase or clause. Exceptions are very rare. *E.Alc.329 ἐπεὶ σ' ἐγὼ καὶ ζῶσαν εἶχον καὶ θανοῦσ'* . . . ἡ μόνη κεκλήση (for *καὶ ζῶσαν σ' ἐγὼ εἶχον καὶ . . .*).

For other instances of irregular order, see II.B.6.ii (*Pl.Ar.321A iv (Th.i91.3)*: *10.iii.b.γ (Pl.Lg.891B: X.HGii3.47: D.iv46)*: *10.iii.b.δ (Pl.R.365D)*: *10.iii.b.ε (X.Ages.10.3)*: *II.C.7 (Pl.Cra.430E: Arist.Po.1447b12)*.

## Μάν, μήν, μέν

The etymology of μάν (μήν) is obscure.<sup>1</sup> Nor is its relation to μέν clear. Certainly the parallelism in the uses of μάν (μήν) and μέν is on the whole remarkably close. Thus we find οὐ μάν, οὐ μήν, οὐ μέν: ἦ μάν, ἦ μήν, ἦ μέν: καὶ μάν, καὶ μήν, καὶ μέν: γε μάν, γε μήν, γε μέν: and so forth: even μάντοι is found in Doric (Epidauros 3339, 37 Coll.). It is, at any rate, difficult to believe that in such combinations the Greeks (whether rightly or wrongly) did not regard the three words as merely differing dialectally.

Leaving Epic on one side for the moment, μάν, μήν, and μέν are, broadly speaking, confined respectively to Doric, Attic, and Ionic: with the exception that preparatory μέν is common to all three dialects. The few places where μήν appears in the MSS. of Herodotus (i 196, 212: iii 2, 74: vi 74.1: 129.4) must be altered. Wackernagel would also restore μέν everywhere in Hippocrates: in Anonymus *Katà Aíσχροκερδείας* 26 (Diehl, *Anth. Lyr. Gr.* i. 297) he regards καὶ μήν as an Atticism. γε μέν and γε μάν are, however, found side by side in the mixed dialect employed by Pindar.

In Epic the state of affairs is more complicated. Wackernagel holds that μήν in Homer is always due to Attic influence, being often a false form, for which μάν or μέν must be restored, though in some places he regards it as original, the passage being late and Attic: e.g. λ582, 593 (καὶ μήν). μάν occurs 24 times (22 in the *Iliad* and 2 in the *Odyssey*). In 22 places it comes before a vowel. μέν, on the other hand, apart from preparatory μέν, usually precedes a consonant (though γε μέν always precedes a vowel). From this evidence Wackernagel concludes, with Monro *HG*<sup>2</sup>, § 342, that 'an original μάν was changed into μέν whenever it came before a consonant,<sup>2</sup> and preserved when the metre made this corruption impossible'. He finds here a 'striking confirmation' of Fick's theory of an Aeolic *Iliad* translated into Ionic. Where

<sup>1</sup> See Wackernagel, *Glotta* vii (1916) pp. 177 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Of the two (*Iliad*) passages where μάν precedes a consonant, in E765 Wackernagel attributes the preference given to μάν to the fact that ἄγμα is Aeolic: in E895 he excises σ'.

μέν (= μάν) precedes a vowel, as in E275, T261, Wackernagel regards the passage as representing the 'genuine Ionic element' in Epic. It is beyond my province to discuss Fick's theory<sup>1</sup> in general. But the facts as to μάν—μέν can also be explained on the supposition that Homer, or the Homeric poets, writing in a composite dialect which was predominantly Ionic but admitted an admixture of other forms, used μέν, as to them the more familiar and natural form, whenever metre demanded or allowed it, and only had recourse to μάν, which they borrowed from an earlier age<sup>2</sup> or from another region, when μέν would not scan.<sup>3</sup> It must be admitted, however, that the comparative rarity of affirmative μέν before vowels is not easy to explain on this hypothesis.

Μήν (μάν)<sup>4</sup>

Μήν fulfils three functions: (1) as an emphatic particle: (2) as an adversative connecting particle: (3) as a progressive connecting particle. Of these, we should expect (1) to be the earliest sense. (See *Introd.*, II. 1.) And so, in fact, it turns out to be. See II, *ad init.* (2) and (3), widely as they differ from one another, follow when the need is felt for means of connexion. For the evolution of (2) from (1), we may compare the Latin particle *vero*: for that of (3) from (1), the history of δή (and perhaps οὐν).

Μήν (μάν) is pre-eminently a Doric particle. Its less restricted use in Plato's later writings may be due to Sicilian influence (see I.4.iii.c, *ad fin.*). In Attic it is generally associated with οὐ or with other particles. Thus, in drama, besides γε μήν, ἦ μήν, καὶ μήν (all frequent), we find οὐ μήν (frequent), οὐδὲ μήν, οὐδὲ . . . μήν, οὐ μάν οὐδέ, οὐ μήν . . . ἀλλά, ἀλλ' οὐ . . . μήν, ἀλλ'

<sup>1</sup> For which see C. M. Bowra, *Tradition and design in the Iliad*, pp. 138 ff.

<sup>2</sup> That μάν is an earlier form is suggested by its almost complete disappearance in the *Odyssey*. When the *Odyssey* was composed, μάν was perhaps almost entirely obsolete, but just admissible as an exceptional licence, like ἰδέ in the lyrics of tragedy.

<sup>3</sup> For parallels, see Bowra, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-7.

<sup>4</sup> For valuable information and statistics regarding μήν and its combinations, see W. Dittenberger, *Herm.* xvi (1881), 323-37, who points to the increasing frequency of the particle in the later works of Plato, Lysias, Isocrates, and Xenophon. I owe much to him as regards prose usage.



οὐδὲ μήν: τί μήν; (in the tragedians: Doric *σά μάν*; in Aristophanes): *μάν* following imperatives in tragic choruses and Aristophanic Doric: *ἀλλὰ . . . μήν* once in Sophocles: *ἀλλὰ μήν* twice in Aristophanes (and *ἀλλὰ μάν* twice). There only remain, I think, *S. Ant. 626* (I.1): *E. IT 889* (II.2). In early Attic prose *μήν*, excluding *ἤ μήν*, is not found in the pseudo-Xenophontine *Atheniensium Respublica* or in the genuine speeches of Andocides: in Antiphon and Thucydides (again excluding *ἤ μήν*) there are respectively five and nine examples (all *καὶ μήν* and *οὐ μήν*). With Lysias, the first orator to use *ἀλλὰ μήν* in positive sentences, *μήν* begins to grow commoner in Attic: but it continues, in the orators, to be restricted to the combinations *οὐ μήν*, *οὐδὲ μήν*, *οὐ μήν οὐδέ*, *οὐ μήν ἀλλά*, *ἀλλὰ μήν*, *ἤ μήν*, *καὶ μήν*.

I. Emphatic. It is difficult to grasp the exact difference in sense between *μήν* and the far commoner *δή*.<sup>1</sup> *μήν* almost invariably occurs near the opening of a sentence. Its uncompounded use is commoner in Doric and semi-Doric (Theocritus and Pindar) than in other dialects.<sup>2</sup>

(1) In statements. In Homer *μήν* (*μάν*), except when combined with other particles, perhaps emphasizes only negative, never positive, statements. (See, however, II, *ad init.*: for *μήν* (*μάν*) with imperatives see (2).) *E 895* *ἀλλ' οὐ μάν σ' ἔτι δηρὸν ἀνέξομαι*: *P 415* *Ἦ φίλοι, οὐ μάν ἡμιν εὐκλεὲς ἀποιέεσθαι*: *N 414* *οὐ μάν αὐτ' ἄτιτος κεῖτ' Ἄσιος*: *M 318*: *Ξ 454*: *O 16, 508*: *P 41*: *Ψ 441*: *λ 344*: *ρ 470*.

But this restriction does not hold in Pindar. *I. 3. 15* *ἴστε μάν Κλεωνύμου δόξαν παλαιὰν ἄρμασιν*: *4. 35* *ἴστε μάν Αἴαντος ἀλκάν*: *N. II. 33* *συμβαλεῖν μάν εὐμαρὲς ἦν* (*λίαν codd.*: *μάν* Pauwius: see also III.1): *O. 9. 49* 'I will tell the tale of Pyrrha and Deucalion. (New songs deserve the greater praise.) *λέγοντι μάν χθόνα μὲν κατακλύσαι μέλαιναν ὕδατος σθένος*' (at the beginning of a story: see also III.1.iii, *ad fin.*): *N. 10. 29* *Ζεῦ πάτερ, τῶν μάν ἔραται φρενί, σιγαῖ οἱ στόμα: πᾶν δὲ τέλος ἐν τιν ἔργων* (where

<sup>1</sup> That *μήν* is subjective, *δή* objective, is a distinction unsupported by evidence, and rightly rejected by Kühner.

<sup>2</sup> Hartung, ii 386.

*μάν* perhaps approaches *μὲν* in force: see IV): *O. 13. 45* *δηρίομαι πολέσιν περὶ πλήθει καλῶν ὡς μάν σαφὲς οὐκ ἂν εἰδείην λέγειν ποντιᾶν ψαφῶν ἀριθμόν* (here the use of *μάν* after *ὡς* in a subordinate clause is quite exceptional): *O. 2. 53*.

In the dramatists and prose writers there is hardly a trace of uncompounded emphatic *μήν*, whether in positive or in negative statements: and the few instances which we do find are quite heterogeneous. *S. Ph. 811* *Ἡ μενεῖς*;—*Σαφῶς φρόνει*.—*Οὐ μήν σ' ἔνορκόν γ' ἀξιῶ θέσθαι, τέκνον* (*Οὔτοι* in the closely similar *OC 650*)<sup>1</sup>: *Ant. 626* *ὄδε μήν Αἴμων* (this instance of *μήν*, for the usual *καὶ μήν*, announcing the arrival of a new character on the stage, stands alone, so far as I know:<sup>2</sup> it occurs, as *καὶ μήν* not infrequently does (see *Addenda* to p. 356) at the opening of a short anapaestic system at the end of a chorus: we should perhaps regard the particle as adversative here, representing a break-off, like *ἀτάρ* or *ἀλλά*: 'But lo!'): *Pl. Grg. 449C* *τοῦτο ἐν ἔστιν ὧν φημι, μηδένα ἂν ἐν βραχύτεροις ἐμοῦ τὰ αὐτὰ εἰπεῖν*.—*Τούτου μήν δεῖ, ὦ Γοργία: καὶ μοι ἐπίδειξιν αὐτοῦ τούτου ποιῆσαι, τῆς βραχυλογίας* (assentient or approving in force: cf. *ἀλλὰ μήν* (2), *καὶ μήν* (4): *μέντοι* (Olympiodorus) would be more normal here): *Sph. 248D* *Φασὶ μήν τοῦτό γε* (assentient): *Hr. Genit. 47* *ὀκόσοι ἤδη . . . ἐφαρμακεύθησαν . . . οὔτοι οὐ μήν ὑπερεκαθάρθησαν* (the lateness of position is remarkable).<sup>3</sup> In *Emp. Fr. 76* *ναὶ μήν* can hardly stand: see *καὶ μήν* (1).

(2) With imperatives. This very rare use is confined to Epic, and the Doric (mainly choral) parts of drama. *Hom. A 302* *εἰ δ' ἄγε μήν πείρησαι*: *E 765* *ἄγρει μάν* (*H 459*): *A. Supp. 1018* *ἴτε μάν ἀστύανακτας μάκαρας θεοῦς γανόοντες*<sup>4</sup>: *Ch. 963* *ἀναγε μάν δόμοι* (so Hermann: *ἀναγεμάν δόμοις M*: *ἀνα γε μάν δόμοι* Tucker): *S. OC 182* *Ἔπεο μάν*: *Ar. Lys. 183* *Πάρφαινε μάν τὸν ὄρκον* (the

<sup>1</sup> Jebb's ellipse is far-fetched: 'I should prefer a promise on oath: however, I do not like to ask for it'. *μὲν* Wilamowitz.

<sup>2</sup> Hartung (ii 387, 'etc.') and Klotz (ii 670, 'iis locis') imply the existence of parallels, but quote none.

<sup>3</sup> In *Pl. R. 520E*, cited by Kühner, *μήν* is clearly adversative.

<sup>4</sup> Tucker, *ad loc.*, observes that 'in such use *μην* is adversative'. I doubt this.

Spartan Lampito is talking in her native Doric): Sophr.*Fr.*26  
 ἴδε φίλα· θᾶσαι μάν.

(3) With optative, in the formula μὴ μὰν ἀσπουδί γε, three times in Homer. Θ512 μὴ μὰν ἀσπουδί γε νεῶν ἐπιβαῖεν ἔκηλοι: O476: X304. The wish is perhaps tinged with an asseverative force, and 'I swear they shan't' lurks beneath 'May they never'.<sup>1</sup>

(4) In questions. Of this usage there are several types, which, widely different as they are, may conveniently be grouped together.

(i) μήν simply emphasizing a question, or giving it liveliness. S.OC1468 οὐράνια γὰρ ἀστραπὰ φλέγει πάλιν. τί μὰν ἀφήσει τέλος; E.Rh.955 ἐγὼ δὲ γῆς ἐφεδρον Ἑλλήνων στρατὸν λεύσσω τί μὴν ἔμελλον οὐ πέμψειν φίλοις κήρυκας . . .; With ellipse of verb. S.El.1280 Ἐυναινεῖς;—Τί μὴν οὐ; (μή *codd.*: μήν Seidler): E.Rh.706 Δοκεῖς γάρ;—Τί μὴν οὐ;

(ii) (a) ἀλλὰ τί (τίς, etc.) μήν, in elliptical and non-elliptical questions. ἀλλά follows the rejection, expressed or implied, of a supposition (see ἀλλά, II.1.i), while μήν adds liveliness to the ensuing question. Pl.*Smpr.*202D θνητός;—Ἡκιστά γε.—Ἀλλὰ τί μὴν; ('Well, what is he?'): Ly.208A Μὰ Δί' οὐ μέντοι ἂν ἐῶεν (με).—Ἀλλὰ τίνα μὴν; 208E 'Have you wronged your parents?'—'No'.—Ἄλλ' ἀντὶ τίνος μὴν οὕτω σε δεινῶς διακωλύουσιν εὐδαίμονα εἶναι . . .; R.348C,410C,422E,578B: X.*Smpr.*3.13: 4.23: Cyr.ii 2.11.

(b) Hence, from meaning 'Well, if not that, what?', elliptical ἀλλὰ τί μὴν; comes to be virtually an emphatic affirmative answer, the elliptical form being almost equivalent to Πῶς γὰρ οὐ; 'Of course'. Pl.*Ly.*208B μισθωτῶ μᾶλλον ἐπιτρέπουσιν ἢ σοὶ . . .;—Ἀλλὰ τί μὴν; ἔφη: 208C Μῶν δούλος ὢν;—Ἀλλὰ τί μὴν; R.362D Οὐ τί που οἶε . . . ἱκανῶς εἰρήσθαι . . .;—Ἀλλὰ τί μὴν; εἶπον.—Αὐτό, ἧ δ' ὅς, οὐκ εἴρηται ὃ μάλιστα ἔδει ῥηθῆναι (this is on the border-line between (a) and (b): ἀλλὰ τί μὴν; here expects no answer, but gets one): R.438B,574A. Not elliptical. Pl.*Thl.*

<sup>1</sup> Leaf's explanations, on Θ512 and O476, are scarcely consistent, and the latter seems to me artificial.

162B Ἄρα κἂν . . . ἀξιοῖς ἂν . . .;—Ἀλλὰ τί μὴν δοκεῖς, εἴπερ μέλλοιέν μοι ἐπιτρέψειν . . .; ('Why, what do you imagine?').

(iii) The usage of τί μὴν; ποῦ μὴν; etc., is precisely parallel to that of ἀλλὰ τί μὴν; It is not easy to determine the function of μήν here. Perhaps we may say that the idea of 'otherness', conveyed in ἀλλὰ τί μὴν; by ἀλλά, is here understood from the context (though it is sometimes expressed: see X.*Cyr.*ii.1.9, (a) below), μήν being, here again, emphatic, and τί being equivalent to τί ἄλλο: cf. γάρ, VII. It is alternatively possible to regard μήν as an adversative connective, corresponding to the ἀλλά, not to the μήν, in ἀλλὰ τί μὴν; 'But what?' To attribute different forces to μήν in two such closely similar idioms certainly seems an artificial procedure: but it gains some plausibility from the passages quoted under (c) below.

(a) Following the rejection of a supposition: either elliptical or not. Pl.*Thl.*142A Οὐ γὰρ ἦ κατὰ πόλιν.—Ποῦ μὴν; ('Well, where were you?'): R.523B Οὐ πάνυ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἔτυχες οὐ λέγω.—Ποῖα μὴν, ἔφη, λέγεις; *Philb.*44B οἱ τὸ παράπαν ἡδονὰς οὐ φασιν εἶναι.—Τί μὴν;—*Λυπῶν ταύτας εἶναι πάσας ἀποφυγὰς* ('Well, what do they say?': cf. *Plt.*263B: the rare occurrence in Plato of elliptical τί μὴν; in this sense is in marked contrast with the commonness of the sense illustrated in (b) below: 'rarus hic est usus formulae', Stallbaum on *Philb.*44B): X.*Cyr.*ii 1.9 πλήθει γε οὐχ ὑπερβαλοίμεθ' ἂν τοὺς πολεμίους.—Τί μὴν ἄλλο ἐνορᾶς ἄμεινον τούτου; viii 4.10 Various grounds of offence have been suggested and rejected. Τίνος μὴν ἔνεκα, ἔφη, . . . Χρυσάνταν ἔγραψας ὥστε εἰς τὴν τιμιωτέραν ἐμοῦ χώραν ἰδρυθῆναι; *HGvi* 3.13 'We have not come for the alleged reason. εἶεν τί μὴν ἤκομεν;' vii 3.7 ὑπερορᾶν μὲν . . . οὐ δυνατὸν ὑμῶν . . . τίτι μὴν πιστεύων ἐνθάδε ἀπέκτεινα τὸν ἄνδρα;

(b) Elliptical τί μὴν; practically equivalent to an emphatic affirmative, 'of course'. B.1.180 (perhaps: but see Jebb): A.*Supp.*999 θῆρες δὲ κηραίνουσι καὶ βροτοί, τί μὴν; *Ag.*672 (τί μήν *codd.*): *Eu.*203 Ἐχρησα ποινὰς τοῦ πατρὸς πράξαι. τί μὴν; S.*Aj.*668 ἄρχοντές εἰσιν, ὥσθ' ὑπεικτέον. τί μὴν; E.*Rh.*705: A.*Ach.*757,784 (both Σὰ μάν;). Common in Plato: *Fhdv.*229A, 267A: *Thl.*145E: R.410A,438D,441C,453C,455E,485D,501A,505D: *id. sarp.*

(c) In Xenophon sometimes introducing an objection in

interrogative form. *Cyr.*16.28 'One has to practice deceit in war'.—Πῶς μήν, ἔφη, παίδας ὄντας ἡμᾶς . . . τάναντία τούτων ἐδιδάσκετε; ('But why . . .?'): *ib.* ὅπως δέ γε τοὺς πολεμίους δύναισθε κακῶς ποιεῖν οὐκ οἶσθα μανθάνοντας ὑμᾶς πολλὰς κακουργίας;—Οὐ δῆτα . . .—Τίνος μήν ἔνεκα, ἔφη, ἐμανθάνετε τοξεύειν; (this might be classed under (a)): *Hier.*1.31 τυράννῳ οὐ φῆς παιδικῶν ἔρωτας ἐμφύεσθαι; πῶς μήν σὺ, ἔφη, ἐρᾶς Δαϊλόχου . . .; ('Well, how is it that . . .?').

Dittenberger believes τί μήν; to be a conversational idiom of the Sicilian Dorians, picked up by Plato on his first Sicilian journey, and hence not found in his earliest dialogues: he quotes *Epich.Fr.*149, *Sophr.Fr.*55 Kaibel (where punctuation and interpretation are uncertain).

(iv) In the two following passages, οὐ μήν, following a rejected suggestion, introduces, tentatively and half incredulously, an alternative suggestion. I regard μήν as emphatic here, in view of the closely parallel use of οὐ δῆ in questions: see δῆ, I.10.ii. (This seems far better than taking μήν as adversative, and comparing the use of ἀλλά in such cases.) *E.Alc.*518 'My children and father are alive'.—Οὐ μήν γυνή γ' ὄλωλεν Ἄλκηστις σέθεν; ('Why, surely your wife is not dead?'): *Rh.*175 οὐ σ' ἀπαιτῶ Μενέλεω σχέσθαι χέρα.—Οὐ μήν τὸν Ἰλέως παῖδά μ' ἐξαιτῆ λαβεῖν;

II. Adversative. An adversative sense of μήν (μάν) is hardly to be found in Homer. True, there are certain passages in which an adversative sense is appropriate. *Θ*373 νῦν δ' ἐμὲ (Ἀθήνην) μὲν στυγέει, Θέτιδος δ' ἐξήνυσε βουλὰς . . . ἔσται μὰν ὄτ' ἂν αὐτε φίλον γλαυκῶπιδα εἶπη (where μάν probably means simply 'I warrant'): *Π*14: *Ω*52. In such passages μήν is, I think, still a particle of emphasis: though quite possibly the adversative force is to be seen here in embryo, especially in view of the fact that Homer does not elsewhere use μήν in positive statements (see I.1).

(1) As an adversative, μήν normally balances, denoting that a fact coexists with another fact opposed to it: 'yet', 'however'.

In positive statements: hardly ever in drama (*v. ad init.*), never in the orators, who use μέντοι instead. *Pi.P.*3.88 αἰὼν δ'

ἀσφαλῆς οὐκ ἔγεντ' οὐτ' Αἰακίδα παρὰ Πηλεΐ οὔτε παρ' ἀντιθέῳ Κάδμῳ λέγονται μὰν βροτῶν ὄλβον ὑπέρτατον οἱ σχεῖν: *Semon.Fr.*29.3: *Pi.O.*7.45: *P.*2.82 (ὄμως μάν): *N.*1.69: 9.39: *Pl.R.*528A ἀλλὰ σαυτοῦ ἔνεκα τὸ μέγιστον ποιῆ τοὺς λόγους, φθοροῖς μήν οὐδ' ἂν ἄλλῳ: *Erip.*981D τὸ γὰρ πλείστον πυρὸς ἔχει, ἔχει μήν γῆς τε καὶ ἀέρος: *Er.*337D ἀδελφὰ . . . δεύτερα μήν: *X.* *Ag.*6.3 κρατήσας τρόπαιον ἐστήσατο . . . τρόπαια μήν Ἀγησιλάου οὐχ ὅσα ἐστήσατο ἀλλ' ὅσα ἐστρατεύσατο δίκαιον νομίζειν ('though indeed'): *Pl.R.*520E: *Phdr.*244B: *Er.*347C.

οὐ μήν. (γε almost always follows: hence οὐ μήν . . . γε is the negative counterpart of γε μήν, as οὐκοῦν . . . γε of γοῦν.) *A.Ag.*1279 ἀπήγαγ' ἐς τοιάσδε θανασίμους τύχας . . . οὐ μήν ἀτιμοί γ' ἐκ θεῶν τεθνήξομεν: *S.OT*810 διπλοῖς κέντροισί μου καθίκετο. οὐ μήν ἴσον γ' ἔτεισεν: *E.Hipp.*285 Ἐς πάντ' ἀφίγμαι κούδεν εἶργασμαι πλέον' οὐ μήν ἀνήσω γ' οὐδὲ νῦν προθυμίας: *A.Pr.*270: *E.Heracl.*885: *Hipp.*914: *IT*1004: *Rh.*958: *Ar.Nu.*53: *V.*268: *Pl.Th.*164A ὑποπτεύω, οὐ μήν ἰκανῶς γε συννωῶ: *Ly.*207C: *R.*530C: *X.An.*10.3: vii6.38: *HGiv.*6.12: *Isoc.*iv97: *D.*xiv3: xix22: xxi179: xxxix27: liv6. *Pl.Grg.*526A οὐδὲν μήν κωλύει . . .

In prose, often answering a preceding μέν.

Positive. (Plato only.) *Pl.Grg.*493C ταῦτ' ἐπιεικῶς μὲν ἐστὶν ὑπό τι ἄτοπα, δηλοῖ μήν . . .: *R.*529E κάλλιστα μὲν ἔχειν ἀπεργασία, γελοῖον μήν ἐπισκοπεῖν αὐτὰ σπουδῆ: *Ti.*43B ὥστε τὸ μὲν ὄλον κινεῖσθαι ζῶον, ἀτάκτως μήν . . . προῖεναι: *Lg.*644D Μόγισ μὲν πως ἐφέπομαι, λέγε μήν τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα ὡς ἐπομένον: 862A ἀδικεῖν μὲν, ἄκοντα μήν: *Sph.*216B δοκεῖ θεὸς μὲν ἀνὴρ οὐδαμῶς εἶναι, θεῖος μήν: *Th.*142B: *Ti.*24D,87B (adversative force slight): *Phlb.*51B: *Erip.*973B: *Er.*326E.

Negative, μὲν . . . οὐ μήν. *Isoc.*iv68: v61: xii183: *D.*i16: xix302: xxi102.

(2) Less frequently, μήν is a strong adversative, often denoting, not merely contrast with what precedes, but the complete, or almost complete, negation of it: thus approximating in sense to ἀλλά or ἀτάρ, or even μὲν οὖν.

*Sapph.Fr.*116 λελάθοντο δὲ μαλοδρόπης, οὐ μὰν ἐκλελάθοντ', ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐδύναντ' ἐπίκεσθαι (for μὲν οὖν, 'Nay, forgot it not'): *A.Ag.*1068 Ἡ μαίνεται γε . . . οὐ μήν πλέω ρίψασ' ἀτιμασθήσομαι (for ἀλλά or ἀτάρ, breaking off impatiently): *S.Ic.* *C.* *Con.*

16 (Οὐ μήν, objecting): *E.Cret.(Suppl.Eur.p.23,l.16)* ἐς τί γὰρ βοὸς βλέψασ' ἐδήχθην θυμὸν αἰσχίστη νόσφ; ὡς εὐπρεπῆς μὲν ἐν πέπλοισιν ἦν ἰδεῖν . . . ; οὐ μήν δέμας γ' εὐρυθμὸν ἐστὶ νυμφίου (for ἀλλά οὐ μὲν οὖν: 'Nay'): *Hel.571* ὦ φωσφόρ' Ἐκάτη . . . — Οὐ νυκτίφαντον πρόπολον Ἐνοδίας μ' ὄρας.—Οὐ μήν γυναικῶν γ' εἰς δυοῖν ἔφυν πόσις (protesting: but perhaps this is better explained as progressive (III.2.i): 'Nor again am I a bigamist'): *Ph.1622* οὐ μήν ἐλίξας γ' ἀμφὶ σὸν χεῖρας γόνυ κακὸς φανοῦμαι (breaking away from her suppliant posture): *IT889* 'Escape by land is difficult and dangerous. διὰ κυανέας μὲν στενοπόρου πέτρας μακρὰ κέλευθα ναῖοισιν δρασμοῖς' (objecting, like καίτοι: 'Yet'): *X.Mem.i.2.26* 'Is Socrates to get all the blame for the incontinence shown by Critias and Alcibiades after they had left him, and none of the credit for their continence while with him? οὐ μήν τά γε ἄλλα οὕτω κρίνεται' (protesting).

III. Progressive. Here μήν, like other progressive particles and combinations of particles, either adds a fresh point ('again', 'further'), or marks a fresh stage in the march of thought ('well', 'now').

(1) In positive statements this use is almost confined to Plato's writings, in which it is often found, both at the opening of a speech and in continuous discourse. *Hr.Art.7* πάνυ μὲν ἰκανῶς ἔχει καὶ . . . ('Again, a quite adequate method is . . .'): *Pl.R.413C* κλαπέντας μὲν γὰρ . . . λέγω . . . Τοὺς τοίνυν βιασθέντας λέγω . . . Τοὺς μὲν γοητευθέντας . . . : 465B εἰρήνην πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ ἄνδρες ἄξουσιν;—Πολλήν γε.—Τούτων μὲν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς μὴ στασιαζόντων οὐδὲν δεινὸν μή ποτε ἢ ἄλλη πόλις . . . διχοστατήσῃ ('Well, if they don't disagree, the rest of the city won't'): 504B Ἄλλ' ἔμοιγε, ἔφη, μετρίως ἐφαίνετο μὲν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ('Moreover the others thought so as well'): *Euthd.283C* 'Do you seriously wish the lad to be made wise'?—'Certainly'.—Σκόπει μὲν . . . ὅπως μὴ ἔξαρνος ἔσῃ ἂ νῦν λέγεις ('Well, see that you don't contradict that'): *Lg.828A* (opening of book) τούτων μὲν ἐχόμενά ἐστιν . . . : 920A δεύτερος μὲν νόμος . . . : *Phlb.27B* Τὸ δὲ δὴ πάντα ταῦτα δημιουργοῦν λέγομεν τέταρτον . . . ; . . . Ὅρθως μὲν ἔχει, διωρισμένων τῶν τεττάρων . . . ἐφεξῆς αὐτὰ καταριθμήσασθαι: 38B Δόξα, φαμέν, ἡμῖν ἐστὶ μὲν ψευδής, ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἀληθής;—Ἔστιν.—Ἐπεται μὲν ταύταις . . .

ἡδονὴ καὶ λύπη πολλάκις ('Again'): 66B πρῶτον μὲν . . . Δεύτερον μὲν . . . : *R.430C,465A,485E,524C*: *Phlb.40A(bis),48C,D,50B,61B*: *Sph.224C,225D*: *Lg.863C(bis)*: *id. saep.* Perhaps a progressive sense is already to be found in *Pi.N.11.33* (see I.1), where a new subject is introduced: *atqui*, Christ: the force of μὲν here is difficult to determine.

Certain varieties of progressive μήν may be noted:

(i) Marking the fulfilment of a condition just stipulated (so, far more commonly, ἀλλά (II.7) and ἀλλὰ μὲν (3)). *Pl.Ti.20D* Ταῦτα χρὴ δρᾶν εἰ καὶ . . . Τιμαίω συνδοκεῖ.—Δοκεῖ μὲν.

(ii) Marking the transition from major to minor premise (so, far more commonly, ἀλλὰ μὲν (6), καὶ μὲν (2)). *Pl.R.452A* Εἰ ἄρα ταῖς γυναιξίν ἐπὶ ταῦτα χρῆσόμεθα καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσι, ταῦτα καὶ διδακτέον αὐτάς.—Ναί.—Μουσικὴ μὲν ἐκείνοις γε καὶ γυμναστικὴ ἐδόθη.—Ναί.—Καὶ ταῖς γυναιξίν ἄρα τούτω τῷ τέχνῃ . . . ἀποδοτέον: *Euthd.284A*: *Prm.146C,161D*: *Phlb.30C*: *Lg.640A*.

(iii) Marking a transition from the statement of a problem to the discussion of it. μήν may then be termed 'inceptive', and rendered 'well'. The speaker rolls up his sleeves before addressing himself to the task. καὶ μὲν (*q.v.* (5)) is commoner in this sense: see also ἀλλὰ μὲν, 2.i, *ad fin.*

*Pl.Tht.193D* δ ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν οὕτως ἔλεγον καὶ μου τότε οὐκ ἐμάνθανες.—Οὐ γὰρ οὖν.—Τοῦτο μὲν ἔλεγον, ὅτι . . . ('Well, this is what I meant'): *R.521D* 'What study will draw our citizens' souls to reality, and at the same time be suited to the training of warriors?'—'Yes, that is what we need'.—Γυμναστικὴ μὲν καὶ μουσικὴ ἔν γε τῷ πρόσθεν ἐπαιδεύοντο ἡμῖν (μὲν marks the opening of the review of possible μαθήματα): *Sph.225D* Τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τοίνυν . . . πειραθῶμεν εἰπεῖν.—Οὐκοῦν χρὴ.—Δοκῶ μὲν . . . (μὲν Heindorf): *Phlb.17A* τὰ δὲ ἐτι σαφέστερον δέομαι ἂ λέγεις ἀκοῦσαι.—Σαφὲς μὲν . . . ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασιν ὃ λέγω: *Lg.696A* ἂ . . . τῷ νομοθέτῃ σκεπτέον, καὶ ἡμῖν δὲ ἐν τῷ νῦν παρόντι. δίκαιον μὲν, ὃ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τοῦτό γε τῇ πόλει ὑμῶν ἀποδιδόναι, ὅτι . . . : 810E διακελευή με . . . τὴν νῦν . . . ὁδὸν τῆς νομοθεσίας πορεύεσθαι μηδὲν ἀνιέντα.—Τί μὲν;—Οὐ τοίνυν ἀνίημι. λέγω μὲν ὅτι . . . (In *Ar.Th.804* μὲν has been suggested for the unmetrical μὲν: σκεψώμεθα δὲ κἀντιτιθῶμεν πρὸς ἕκαστον, παραβάλλουσαι τῆς τε γυναικὸς καὶ

τάνδρὸς τοῦνομ' ἐκάστου. *Ναυσιμάχης μὲν ἡττων ἐστὶν Χαρμίνος.* μήν, if right here, should be taken as inceptive. But, in the absence of Aristophanic parallels, Dobree's μέν (γ') is far more probable.) The germ of this use may perhaps be described in *Pi.O.9.49*, where μάν marks the opening of a promised story, after a parenthetical apophthegm: see I.1.

(2) In negative statements the progressive use is far more extended. The three types are οὐ μήν, οὐ μὴν οὐδέ, and οὐδέ μήν. In the last it is not easy to determine whether μήν or οὐδέ marks the connexion, 'Again, not . . . either' or 'Nor indeed'. (In Homer (*Δ512*, see (ii) below) we can hardly, perhaps, regard μάν as connective.) Usually, though not invariably, a negative clause precedes.

(i) οὐ μήν, in the sense 'nor again', is rare. *A.Th.538* δ' δ' ὠμόν, οὔτι παρθένων ἐπώνυμον, φρόνημα, γοργὸν δ' ὄμμ' ἔχων, προσίσταται. οὐ μὴν ἀκόμπαστός γ' ἐφίσταται πύλαις ('Nor again is he without his blazon')\*: *E.Alc.658* ὥστ' οὐκ ἄτεκνος κατθανὼν ἄλλοις δόμον λείψειν ἐμελλες ὄρφανὸν διαρπάσαι. οὐ μὴν ἐρεῖς γέ μ' ὡς . . . (meeting an alternative plea: 'Nor again'): *Ar.Pax41* Ἀφροδίτης μὲν γὰρ οὐ μοι φαίνεται (εἶναι ἢ προσβολή), οὐ μὴν Χαρίτων γε: *Moschio Trag.Fr.6.9* οὐδέπω γὰρ ἦν οὔτε στεγήρης οἶκος οὔτε . . . πόλις. οὐ μὴν ἀρότροις ἀγκύλοις ἐτέμνετο . . . βῶλος: *X.Smp.8.21* τί μᾶλλον στέρξει τὸν πριάμενον . . .; οὐ μὴν ὅτι γε . . . ὀμιλεῖ, φιλήσει αὐτόν: *Ages.5.2* ποίας (ἡδονῆς) οἰδέ τις Ἀγησίλαον ἡττηθέντα; ὅς μέθης μὲν ἀποσχέσθαι ὁμοίως ᾤετο χρῆναι . . . διμοιρίαν γε μὴν λαμβάνων ἐν ταῖς θοίλαις οὐχ ὅπως ἀμφοτέραις ἐχρήτο . . . οὐ μὴν ὑπνω γε δεσπότη . . . ἐχρήτο.

(ii) οὐ μὴν οὐδέ. *Hom.Δ512* ἐπεὶ οὐ σφι λίθος χρῶς οὐδέ σίδηρος . . . οὐ μάν οὐδ' Ἀχιλεὺς . . . μάρναται: *E.Alc.89* κλύει τις ἢ στεναγμὸν ἢ χειρῶν κτύπον . . .; οὐ μάν οὐδέ τις ἀμφιπόλων στατίζεται ἀμφὶ πύλας: *Rh.778* οἱ δ' οὐδέν' οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐγὼ τὰ πλείονα: *Gorg.Fr.11a.21* 'I could not have endured to live among barbarians: οὐ μὴν οὐδέ παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις πιστῶς ἂν διεκείμην': *Th.1.3.3* οὐδαμοῦ τοὺς ξύμπαντας ("Ἕλληνας) ὠνόμασεν . . . οὐ μὴν οὐδέ βαρβάρους εἶρηκε: *82.1* (an adversative sense of μήν would be appropriate here, but, in view of the general usage of οὐ μήν οὐδέ, should hardly be held to be actually

present in the particle:¹ simply, perhaps, 'Nor again'): *Pl.Lg.90B* ἀλλ' οὔτι μὴν ἡνιόχοισί γε (τοὺς θεοὺς ἀπεικάζοιμεν ἂν) . . .—'No'.—*Oύ μὴν οὐδὲ στρατηγοῖς γε: X.Mem.1.2.5* ἀλλὰ μὴν . . . ἀλλ' οὐ μὴν . . . οὐ μὴν οὐδέ: *Ant.ii.4* οὐ μὴν οὐδέ . . . οὐδέ μὴν . . . οὐδέ μὴν: *Lys.viii.7* οὔτε γὰρ . . . οὐ μὴν οὐδέ: *D.xiv.32*.

In the following without preceding negative: *Isoc.xii.265* περιστάντες αὐτὸν ἐπήνουν . . . οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐγὼ παρεστῶς ἐσιώπων: *Th.vi.55.3*: *Pl.R.486C*: *Lg.634C,902D*: *X.Lac.6.4*: *Isoc.iv.75,139*: *D.iii.14*.

*Th.ii.97.6* is, on the face of it, quite different from the other examples, and it is difficult to interpret οὐδέ here in the sense 'not either'. Steup says that a negative statement, οὐχ ὁμογνωμονοῦσι, is implied in the conditional participle ὁμογνωμονοῦσι, which is just possible, as an example of τὸ τάχος τῆς σημασίας: Poppo explains 'nec vero (Scythae) in sollertia quoque . . . similes', i.e. here they are inferior, while in the former respect they are superior: which is, to say the least, highly artificial. Perhaps οὐδέ here simply strengthens οὐ ('but they are certainly not equal': cf. οὐ μὲν οὐδέ, s.v. μέν, I.A.9.iii), and the use of οὐδέ is an Ionic touch, taken perhaps from an Ionic original on which Thucydides is drawing here.

(iii) οὐδέ μήν. *Pi.P.4.87* οὐ τί που οὗτος Ἀπόλλων οὐδέ μάν χαλκάρματός ἐστι πόσις Ἀφροδίτας: *8.17* Τύφως . . . οὐ νιν ἄλυξεν, οὐδέ μάν βασιλεὺς Γιγάντων: *A.Eu.471* Τὸ πρᾶγμα μείζον, εἴ τις οἶεται τόδε βροτὸς δικάζειν' οὐδέ μὴν ἐμοὶ θέμις φόνου διαιρεῖν ὄξυμηνίτους δίκας: *Ar.Ec.1075* οὐκ ἀφήσω σ' οὐδέποτ'.—*Oύδέ μὴν ἐγὼ: Ar.Ra.263,264*: (*S.OT870, lect. dub.*): *Critias,Fr.44* οὔθ' ὅτι . . . οὔθ' ὅτι . . . οὔθ' ὅτι . . . οὐδέ μὴν ὅτι: *Pl.Euthd.289C* πολλοῦ δεῖ ἡμᾶς λυροποιοῦς δεῖν εἶναι . . . *Oύδέ μὴν αὐλοποικῆς γε δῆλον ὅτι δεόμεθα: R.469E* Ἐατίον ἄρα τὰς νεκροσυλίας . . . *Oύδέ μὴν που πρὸς τὰ ἱερά τὰ ὄπλα οἴσομεν: X.Cyr.iii.3.50* οὐκ ἂν οὖν τοξότας γε . . . οὐδέ μὴν ἀκοντιστάς, οὐδέ μὴν ἵππεάς, ἀλλ' οὐδέ μὴν . . .: *Pl.Ly.216E*: *Chrm.167E*: *La.194E*: *Smp.177E*: *Phd.93A*: *Th.160A*: *R.305A,404C*: *X.*

¹ An adversative sense is, however, clearly present in *Pl.Lg.90B*, as the μέν shows: γελοῖον μὲν οὐδαμῶς, οὐ μὴν οὐδέ θεοφιλὲς γε (cf. *X.Cyr.1.2.12* καὶ κραυγὴ μὲν οὐδεμία παρῆν, οὐ μὴν οὐδέ σιγή, φωνὴ δὲ τις ἦν τοιαύτη . . .: *Arist. Pol.1280b32*). Cf. also *D.xviii.124*.

*Mem.* i.2.63: *Oec.* i.2.14: *Smp.* 7.3: *An.* ii.4.20: vii.6.22: *Cyr.* iv.5.27: *Lac.* 7.4: *Vect.* 4.3: *Ant.* ii.4.γ5. Answering μέν, *Pl.Prm.* 165E.

οὐδὲ μὴν οὐδὲ: *Epich.Fr.* 170b3 οὐκ ἐμίν γὰ κα (δοκεῖ).—Οὐδὲ μὰν οὐδ' . . . : *Ar.V.* 480.

οὐδὲ . . . μὴν: *A.Th.* 668 ἀλλ' οὔτε νιν φυγόντα μητρόθεν σκότον, οὔτ' . . . οὔτ' . . . οὔτ' . . . Δίκη προσεῖδε καὶ κατηξιώσατο· οὐδ' ἐν πατρώας μὴν χθονὸς κακουχία οἶμαί νιν αὐτῶ νῦν παραστατεῖν πέλας: 808 *Ag.* Οἰδίπου τόκω—*Xo.* Οἱ γὰ τάλαινα, μάντις εἰμὶ τῶν κακῶν.—*Ag.* Οὐδ' ἀμφιλέκτως μὴν κατεσποδημένω (no preceding negative): *X.Eq.Mag.* 3.3 οὐδὲ δόρατα μὴν παραλείψω (no preceding negative).

IV. Supposed concessive use. Hartung (ii 385) finds traces of a concessive use of μήν in certain passages (*inter alia* in *Ar.Th.* 804, *Pl.R.* 521D, with both of which I have dealt above (III.1.iii)). He might with more plausibility have cited *E.Heracl.* 556 (but μήν is here adversative, and the succession of clauses indicates Iolaus' bewildered uncertainty): *Hr.Acut.* 15 μέγα μὴν διαφέρει (where μήν (one MS. reads μέν) might be taken as concessive, answered by δ' ὁμως: but it is probably affirmative, as in *Fract.* 27 (μέν in one MS.)). In fact a concessive sense, while in some passages (e.g. *Hom.* p470: *Pi.N.* 10.29) not inappropriate, is nowhere required: and it seems clear that this sense was from the first, in all dialects, reserved for μέν.

V. Position of connective μήν. Like other connectives which normally occupy the second place, μήν after article and after preposition is sometimes postponed. *Pl.Philb.* 48D τούναντίον μὴν: *Plt.* 275B Διὰ ταῦτα μὴν (but *Lg.* 729D εἰς μὴν πόλιν): as late, perhaps, as seventh word in *Lg.* 903C πρὸς τὸ κοινῆ συντεῖνον βέλτιστον μέρος μὴν . . . (see England): *R.* 478C Μὴ ὄντι μὴν.

The apparent postposition after an oath in *D.* liv6 must be altered: μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐ μὴν ἔγωγ' φόμην δεῖν (Rennie keeps this, citing *Ar.V.* 231, *X.Smp.* 4.33: but in neither of these passages is μέντοι connective).

VI. Μὴν in combination with other particles. The principal combinations are ἀλλὰ μὴν, γε μὴν, ἢ μὴν, καὶ μὴν. Other combinations are very rare, δὴ, not μὴν, being normally used to strengthen other particles. For οὐ μὴν ἀλλά see pp. 28 ff.

(1) δὲ μὴν (to say the least, highly suspicious). *Pl.Lg.* 782C Τὸ δὲ μὴν θύειν ἀνθρώπους ἀλλήλους ἔτι καὶ νῦν παραμένον ὀρῶμεν πολλοῖς (perhaps γε μὴν): *X.An.* ii.4.6 ἠττωμένων δὲ μὴν οὐδένα οἶόν τε σωθῆναι (δὲ μὴν *det.*: δέ *certt.*).

(2) δὴ μάν. *Hom.P.* 538 Ἡ δὴ μάν: *Alc.Fr.* 89 (conjectured).

(3) ἢ μὴν. *Hr.Epid.* ii.6.31 ἀναπαυέσθω εὐκόπως, ἢ μὴν . . . ἐσθιέτω (ἢ μῖν for ἢ μὴν some MSS.).

(4) οὐδὲ ('not even') μὴν. *Hr.Jusj.* οὐ τεμέω δὲ οὐδὲ μὴν λιθιῶντας. (But the whole sentence is much disputed.)

(5) τε μὴν. *Hr.Mul.* 2 τὰ τε μὴν τρίτα πονήματα πάντα μάλλον πονήσει, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τῶν καταμηνίων (reading doubtful). οὔτε μὴν. *Anacr.Fr.* 12 (*coni.* Cobet): *X.Cyr.* iv.3.12 οὔτε . . . οὔτε μὴν: v.4.11 οὔτε . . . οὔτε μὴν . . . οὔτε: *Smp.* i.15: *Eq.* 9.11 μήτε . . . μήτε μὴν.

### 'Αλλὰ μὴν

This combination is rare in verse, but common in prose. The particles are sometimes separated in verse: hardly ever in prose, except ἀλλ' οὐ μὴν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μὴν. (For ἀλλὰ τί μὴν; etc. see μὴν, I.4.ii.)

(1) Adversative. *A.Pers.* 233 'Where is Athens?'—'Far away'.—'Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἔμειρ' ἐμὸς παῖς τήνδε θηρᾶσαι πόλιν ('And yet my son . . .'): *Ar.Ach.* 771 οὐ φατι τάνδε χοῖρον εἶμεν. ἀλλὰ μάν, αἰ λῆς, περίδου μοι . . . αἰ μὴ 'στιν οὗτος χοῖρος 'Ελλάνων νόμῳ ('But come now'): *Epich.Fr.* 78.1 (probably adversative): *Pl.Grg.* 449E Οὐκ ἄρα περὶ πάντας γε τοὺς λόγους ἡ ῥητορικὴ ἐστίν.—Οὐ δῆτα.—'Ἀλλὰ μὴν λέγειν γε ποιεῖ δυνατοῦς ('But still'): 454E 'πίστις is not identical with ἐπιστήμη . . . 'Ἀλλὰ μὴν οἱ τέ γε μεμαθηκότες πεπεισμένοι εἰσὶν καὶ οἱ πεπιστευκότες' ('And yet'): *R.* 397D 'Shall we allow the mixed style as well?'—'No, only the unmixed'.—'Ἀλλὰ μὴν . . . ἠδύς γε καὶ ὁ κεκραμένος: *X.Mem.* iii.1.6 τὰ γὰρ τακτικὰ ἐμέ γε καὶ ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἐδίδαξεν.—'Ἀλλὰ μὴν . . . τοῦτό γε πολλοστὸν μέρος ἐστὶ στρατηγίας: *D.* vi.22 'Do you think the Thessalians expected their fate? οὐκ ἐστὶ :αὐτα. ἀλλὰ μὴν γέγονεν ταῦτα' ('Nevertheless it happened'): *Pl.Euthd.* 291A: *Ly.* 222D: *Phd.* 74C: *Sph.*



231A: X.*Mem.*17.2: iii10.14: *An.*v8.26: D.xix65: xx130: xx157: *Hyp.**Ath.*16.

Breaking off, like *ἀτάρ* or *ἀλλὰ γάρ*. X.*An.*iii4.40 Ἄλλὰ μήν ὦρα γ', ἔφη, βουλευέσθαι: D.xviii192 ἀλλὰ μήν τὸ μὲν παρεληλυθὸς αἰεὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀφείτῃται.

Marking the appearance of a new character on the stage, like *καὶ μήν* (6). E.*Or.*1549 ἀλλὰ μήν καὶ τόνδε λεύσσω Μενέλεων.

ἀλλὰ . . . μήν. Epich.*Fr.*170a1 Ἄλλ' αἰεὶ τοὶ θεοὶ παρήσαν . . . —Ἄλλὰ λέγεται μὰν χάος πρᾶτον γενέσθαι τῶν θεῶν: S.*Ph.*1273 Τοιοῦτος ἦσθα τοῖς λόγοισι χῶτε μου τὰ τόξ' ἐκλεπτες . . . —Ἄλλ' οὐ τι μήν νῦν: *Indig.*109 Diehl Οὐκ εἰσακούω πω τορῶς τοῦ φθέγματος, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ μήν ἴχνη . . . ἐναργῆ τῶν βοῶν ('but the tracks are clear enough'): S.*El.*817: OC153: Pl.*Philb.*14A Ἄλλ' οὐ μήν δεῖ τοῦτο γενέσθαι: *Phdr.*270E: *Lg.*960E (with echoed word: cf. (2) and (3) below): *Ion*541A Ἄλλ' ἐκείνο μήν δοκεῖ σοι (μήν F: μὲν TIW).

(2) Assentient. Here ἀλλὰ μήν conforms closely to the corresponding uses of ἀλλά (II.6).

(i) In the sphere of action, expressing consent, willingness to act as required, readiness to accept a proposal. A.*Ag.*1652 ξίφος πρόκωπον πᾶς τις εὐτρεπισζέτω.—Ἄλλὰ μήν κάγῳ (ἀλλὰ κάγῳ μήν *codd.*) πρόκωπος οὐκ ἀναίνομαι θανεῖν (Aegisthus accepts the challenge of the chorus): Pl.*Grg.*458D ἔμοιγε, κἂν τὴν ἡμέραν ὄλην ἐθέλητε διαλέγεσθαι, χαριεῖσθε.—Ἄλλὰ μήν . . . τό γ' ἐμὸν οὐδὲν κωλύει ('Well, there is no objection on my part'): *Pr.*332A Ἄλλὰ μήν . . . ἐπ.ιδὴ δυσχερῶς δοκεῖς μοι ἔχειν πρὸς τοῦτο, τοῦτο μὲν ἄσσωμεν ('Very well'): *Smp.*176D: *Euthd.*295A ἐπιδείξω καὶ σὲ ταῦτα . . . ὁμολογοῦντα.—Ἄλλὰ μήν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἡδιστα ταῦτα ἐξελέγχομαι: *Ly.*211D ἡμῖν δὲ οὐ μεταδίδοτον τῶν λόγων;—Ἄλλὰ μήν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, μεταδοτέον ('Why, certainly'): *Phd.*110B εἰ γὰρ δὴ καὶ μῦθον λέγειν καλόν, ἀξίον ἀκούσαι . . .—Ἄλλὰ μήν . . . ἡμεῖς γε τούτου τοῦ μύθου ἠδέως ἂν ἀκούσαιμεν: *Hipparch.*229E (I think this is assentient, 'Very well, I'll retract', rather than adversative, 'But I'll retract'). In *Ar.Ra.*258, Οἰμώζετε· οὐ γάρ μοι μέλει.—Ἄλλὰ μήν κεκραξόμεσθά γ' . . ., ἀλλὰ μήν marks the acceptance of the invitation implied in οὐ γάρ μοι μέλει: 'I don't care what you do'.—'All right, then'.

Or a speaker accedes in practice to a request to speak, by actually speaking. Inceptive-responsive, 'Well': cf. μήν, III.1. iii: καὶ μήν, (5). Pl.*Grg.*470C ἔλεγε.—Ἄλλὰ μήν . . . οὐδὲν γέ σε δεῖ παλαιοῖς πράγμασιν ἐλέγχεσθαι: *Cra.*407E πειρῶμεθα οὖν τὸν "Ἑρμῆν" σκέψασθαι τί καὶ νοεῖ τὸ ὄνομα . . .—Ἄλλὰ μήν τοῦτο γε ἔοικε περὶ λόγον τι εἶναι ὁ "Ἑρμῆς": *Cra.*402C: *Th.*187A: *Lg.*724A,842B: *Philb.*41B: X.*Oec.*15.10.

(ii) In the sphere of thought, assent. Pl.*Chrm.*161A Ἄλλὰ μήν οὕτω γε δοκεῖ μοι ἔχειν, ὡς σὺ λέγεις ('Why, yes'): *Th.*188A Οὐκοῦν τόδε γ' ἐσθ' ἡμῖν περὶ πάντα . . . ἦτοι εἰδέναι ἢ μὴ εἰδέναι; . . .—Ἄλλὰ μήν . . . ἄλλο γ' οὐδὲν λείπεται περὶ ἕκαστον πλὴν εἰδέναι ἢ μὴ εἰδέναι: *Phd.*107A Οὐκοῦν ἔγωγε . . . ἔχω . . . ἀπιστεῖν τοῖς λόγοις.—Ἄλλὰ μήν . . . οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἔχω ἔτι ὄπη ἀπιστῶ: X.*Mem.*ii7.2 Ἐοικας . . . βαρέως φέρειν τι . . .—Ἄλλὰ μήν, ἔφη, . . . ἐν πολλῇ γέ εἰμι ἀπορία ('Well, certainly'): *An.*v8.3 Ἄλλὰ μήν . . . ὁμολογῶ: Pl.*Phdr.*269C: *R.*534B: *Phd.*63A: X.*Mem.*iv2.36.

(iii) In general, indicating a favourable reaction to the previous speaker's words. A.*Pers.*226 Ἄλλὰ μήν εὐνοῦς γ' . . . τήνδ' ἐκύρωσας φάτιν: *Ar.Ach.*765 ἐπίδειξον (τὰς χοιρῶς).—Ἄλλὰ μὰν καλαί ('Aye, they're fine'): *Av.*385 κάμοι δεῖ νέμειν ὑμᾶς χάριν.—Ἄλλὰ μήν οὐδ' ἄλλο σοὶ πω πρᾶγμ' ἐνηντιώμεθα ('Well, we never opposed you before'): Pl.*Phd.*58D τὸ μεμνησθαι Σωκράτους . . . ἔμοιγε αἰεὶ πάντων ἡδιστον.—Ἄλλὰ μήν . . . καὶ τοὺς ἀκουσομένους γε τοιούτους ἐτέρους ἔχεις ('Well, certainly'): *R.*376A 'The dog likes acquaintances and hates strangers'.—Ἄλλὰ μήν κομψόν γε φαίνεται τὸ πάθος αὐτοῦ ('Well, that is an attractive trait').

Ἄλλὰ . . . μήν. Pl.*Clit.*407A Ἄλλ' αἰσχρὸν μήν σοῦ γε ὠφελεῖν με προθυμουμένου μὴ ὑπομένειν.

(3) Closely connected with (2), substantiating a condition: cf. ἀλλά, II.7, μήν, III.1.i, καὶ μήν, (3), ἀλλὰ μὲν δὴ, (3). Very frequent in Plato, often with an echoed word. S.*OC*28 εἴπερ ἐστί γ' ἐξοικῆσιμος.—Ἄλλ' ἐστί μήν οἰκητός: *Alex.Fr.*167.2 γυναιξὶ δ' ἀρκεῖ πάντ', ἐὰν οἶνος παρῆ πίνειν διαρκῆς.—Ἄλλὰ μήν, νῆ τῷ θέῳ, ἔσται γ' ὅσον ἂν βουλῶμεθ': Pl.*Cra.*391B εἴπερ ἐπιθυμεῖς εἰδέναι . . .—Ἄλλὰ μήν ἐπιθυμῶ γε εἰδέναι ('And I do want to know'): *R.*508A εἴπερ μὴ ἄτιμον τὸ φῶς.—Ἄλλὰ μήν.

ἔφη, πολλοῦ γε δεῖ ἄτιμον εἶναι: *Phd.*100C ἀ εἴ μοι δίδως...—  
 Ἄλλὰ μὴν ὡς δίδοντας σοι οὐκ ἂν φθάνοις περαίνων: *Grg.*466B:  
*Chrm.*161E,176C: *La.*192C,193C: *Men.*73D,77A: *Euthphr.*6E:  
*Phd.*78B,96A: *Thl.*186A: *R.*400D,416B,509C,568A,576B,586E,  
 588A: *Lg.*966A: *Hr.Ma.*285A,301D: *Hr.Mi.*375D,376B. (*E.IA*  
 1368 is essentially similar. Ἀντέχου θυγατρὸς.—Ὡς τοῦδ' εἶνεκ'  
 οὐ σφαγήσεται.—Ἄλλὰ μὴν ἐς τοῦτό γ' ἤξει ('If clinging can save  
 her, she shall be saved'.—'And clinging will, in fact, be the only  
 thing that *can* save her'.)

(4) Progressive: proceeding to a new item in a series, introduc-  
 ing a new argument, or marking a new stage in the march of thought.  
 We have seen that both ἀλλά and μήν (with certain restrictions) are  
 sometimes used in this sense. The use of the combination ἀλλά  
 μήν is far more extended, though very rare in verse. (In fact,  
 except for ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μήν (see (ii) below), there seems to be no  
 certain verse example. But in *Nicostr.Com.Fr.*8, which lack of  
 precise context leaves somewhat doubtful, ἀλλά μήν seems to  
 mean 'then again'.) γε usually follows at a short interval.

(i) Positive. *Pl.Euthd.*279B ἀγαθὰ δὲ ποῖα . . . τυγχάνει ἡμῖν  
 ὄντα; . . . τὸ πλουτεῖν ἀγαθὸν . . . Οὐκοῦν καὶ τὸ ὑγιαίνειν . . . ; . . .  
 Ἄλλὰ μὴν εὐγένειαί γε ('Again'): *X.Mem.*iii 5.7 δοκεῖ δέ μοι ἀνδρὶ  
 ἀγαθῶ ἄρχοντι νῦν εὐαρεστοτέρως διακεῖσθαι ἢ πόλις . . .—Ἄλλὰ  
 μήν . . . εἴ γε νῦν μάλιστα πείθονται, ὧρα ἂν εἴη λέγειν, πῶς ἂν αὐτοὺς  
 προτρεψαίμεθα πάλιν ἀνερασθῆναι τῆς ἀρχαίας ἀρετῆς ('Well,  
 now'): *D.*i 23 (after describing the disaffection of the Thessalians)  
 ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸν γε Παιόνα καὶ τὸν Ἰλλυριὸν . . . : xix 7 (in dis-  
 cussing a series of points enumerated in § 4: δέ, καὶ μήν and δὲ  
 δὴ have been used above) ἀλλὰ μὴν ὑπὲρ γε τοῦ προῖκ' ἢ μὴ . . . :  
 279 "καὶ καταψευδόμενοι τῶν συμμάχων καὶ δῶρα λαμβάνοντες".  
 ἀντὶ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦ καταψευδόμενοι παντελῶς ἀπολωλεκότες . . .  
 ἀλλὰ μὴν ὑπὲρ γε τοῦ δῶρ' εἰληφέναι . . . : xx 123 (in discussing  
 two propositions enunciated in § 120) ἐγὼ δ' ὑπὲρ ὧν μὲν τῇ πόλει  
 καταλείπειν φήσει, τοσοῦτο λέγω . . . ἀλλὰ μὴν ὑπὲρ ὧν γε τοῖς  
 εὐρημένοις τὰς τιμὰς καταλείπειν φήσει . . . : *X.Mem.*iv 8.9 (new  
 argument): *Cyr.*viii 8.11: 8.12: 8.15: 8.17 (successive points in  
 description of Persians): *Archyt.Fr.*1 (four successive arguments  
 each introduced by ἀλλὰ μὰν καί): *Hr.Art.*47,48: *Flat.*3 (*ter*):  
*Gorg.Fr.*11.18: 11a.24: *Pl.Prt.*359D: *Chrm.*160A: *Phdr.*240A,

244D: *Phd.*75A: *Cra.*412B,419E,422D: *R.*334A,370B,E,382B,387D,  
 389B,398E,429A: *X.HG*ii 3.40: iii 5.13: v 2.17: 2.34: vii 1.4:  
*An.*19.18: ii 5.14: iii 2.16: *Cyr.*i 6.19: iv 3.12: v 3.31: 5.23: *Lys.*  
 xix 18,35,42: xx 28: *Isoc.*iii 16: v 37,53: *D.*xiv 29: xix 243:  
 xxiv 109,192: xxix 38: xxxiii 30,31: xxxix 40: xlv 6: *Hyp.*  
*Epit.*35.

Introducing an *a fortiori* argument. *X.Mem.*i 5.3: *D.*lvii 5.

(ii) Negative. (a) ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μήν (ἀλλ' οὐδὲ . . . μήν). *A.Ch.*189  
 πῶς γὰρ ἐλπίσω ἀστῶν τιν' ἄλλον τῆσδε δεσπόζειν φόβη; ἀλλ'  
 οὐδὲ μήν νιν ἢ κτανοῦσ' ἐκείρατο: *E.Or.*1117 δις θανεῖν οὐκ  
 ἄζομαι.—Ἄλλ' οὐδ' ἐγὼ μὴν ('No more do I'): *Hel.*1047 'It is  
 impossible to kill Thoas'.—Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ μήν ναῦς ἔστιν ἢ σωθεῖμεν  
 ἂν ('Nor, again'): *Hec.*401 τῆσδ' ἐκοῦσα παιδὸς οὐ μεθήσομαι.—  
 Ἄλλ' οὐδ' ἐγὼ μὴν τήνδ' ἄπειμ' αὐτοῦ λιπών: *Andr.*256 κού μενῶ  
 πόσιν μολεῖν.—Ἄλλ' οὐδ' ἐγὼ μὴν πρόσθεν ἐκδώσω μέ σοι: *Ag.Pl.*  
 373 Μῶν οὐ κέκλοφας ἀλλ' ἤρπακας;—*Κακοδαιμονᾶς*.—Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ  
 μήν ἀπεστέρηκας γ' οὐδένα; *X.Cyr.*iv 3.12 οὔτε . . . οὔτε μήν . . .  
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μήν.

(b) ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδέ. *Pl.R.*388E 'Our guardians must not be  
 prone to lamentation'.—'No'.—Ἄλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ φιλογέλωτάς γε δεῖ  
 εἶναι: *Lys.*xx 11 'I am not related to Phrynichus. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ'  
 ἐκ παιδείας φίλος ἦν αὐτῶ': *Pl.Cra.*386D,406D,439E: *Hyp.Phil.*5.

(c) ἀλλ' οὐ μήν. *Pl.Thl.*188C Ἄλλ' οὐ μήν, ἃ γέ τις οἶδεν, οἶεται  
 που ἂ μὴ οἶδεν αὐτὰ εἶναι: *Lg.*906E Ἄλλ' οὔτι μὴν ἠνιόχοισί γε:  
*R.*486D: *Plt.*290A: *X.Mem.*i 2.5. (But in *Hom.E*895, *P*448,  
*Ψ*441 the particles do not, of course, cohere, and ἀλλ' οὐ μὰν  
 means 'but not, in sooth'.)

Rarely connecting phrases or clauses, after a comma. *Hr.Gl.*  
 76 τοῖσί τε περιπάτοισι πολλοῖσιν ἀπὸ τῶν γυμνασίων, ἀλλὰ μὴν  
 καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ δείπνου (reading doubtful): *X.Cyr.*iii 3.50 οὐκ ἂν οὖν  
 τοξότας γε (μὴ ὄντας ἀγαθοὺς παραίνεσις ἀγαθοὺς ποιήσειε) . . .  
 οὐδὲ μὴν ἀκοντιστάς, οὐδὲ μὴν ἰππέας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μὴν τὰ γε σώματα  
 ἱκανοὺς πονεῖν: *Isoc.*v 146 οὔθ' ὅτι . . . οὔθ' ὅτι . . . ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ'  
 ὅτι. (In *Pherecr.Fr.*64.5 Kock conjectures (ἀλλ') οὐ μὴν οἶδ',  
 which may be right, though *Hom.Ψ*441, which he cites in sup-  
 port, is quite different: see above.)

Certain particular uses of progressive ἀλλὰ μὴν deserve notice.

(5) Demosthenes and Isaeus (not, I think, any of the other orators, who prefer *καί, οὖν*, etc. in such cases) often use *ἀλλά μήν* to mark the transition from a statement to the calling of evidence in support of it. D.xix 146 *ἀλλά μήν ὅτι ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει μοι τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους μάρτυρας*: Is.iii 43,76: vii 32: viii 11: D.xix 161,165,233: xx 27: xxi 93,107,119,167: *id. saep.* (D.xix 303 is similar: *ἀλλά μήν ὅτι ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, αὐτὸς οὐχ οἶδ' ἂν ἀντειπεῖν ἔσται*).

(6) In Plato *ἀλλά μήν* often marks the transition from the major premise of a syllogism to the minor premise, or vice versa. Cf. *ἀλλά μὲν δὴ*, (4). *Grg.* 496E 'Pleasure and pain can be felt simultaneously'.—'Yes'.—*Ἀλλὰ μήν εὖ γε πράττοντα κακῶς πράττειν ἅμα ἀδύνατον φῆς εἶναι . . . Οὐκ ἄρα τὸ χαίρειν ἐστὶν εὖ πράττειν οὐδὲ τὸ ἀνιᾶσθαι κακῶς*: *R.* 464B 'Ἄρ' οὖν τούτων αἰτία . . . ἢ τῶν γυναικῶν τε καὶ παίδων κοινωνία τοῖς φύλαξιν;—*Πολὺ μὲν οὖν μάλιστα, ἔφη.*—*Ἀλλὰ μήν μέγιστόν γε πόλει αὐτὸ ὠμολογήσαμεν ἀγαθόν . . .*—*Καὶ ὀρθῶς γε, ἔφη, ὠμολογήσαμεν.*—*Τοῦ μεγίστου ἄρα ἀγαθοῦ τῇ πόλει αἰτία ἡμῖν πέφανται ἢ κοινωνία τοῖς ἐπικούροις τῶν τε παίδων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν*: *Grg.* 477E, 497D, 498C, 506D, E, 516C: *Prt.* 360C: *Smp.* 202D: *Men.* 98E: *Phd.* 79B: *Tht.* 189A: *R.* 334D, 342C, 350C, 354A, 369D: *Prm.* 139E.

(7) A use analogous to the above is not infrequently found in non-philosophical language, especially in Demosthenes, whereby the minor premise precedes the major, and the conclusion, as being self-evident, is left unexpressed. 'He is a murderer. *Ἀλλὰ μήν* all murderers should be put to death'. (*Sc.* 'Therefore he should be put to death'.) Thus used, *ἀλλά μήν* often proceeds to a consideration of the wider implications of a fact just posited, and puts a particular idea into a general setting.

*X.Mem.* iv 8.8 'If I live longer, my faculties will deteriorate. *ἀλλά μήν ταῦτά γε μὴ αἰσθανομένῳ μὲν ἀβίωτος ἂν εἴη ὁ βίος, αἰσθανόμενον δὲ . . .*' (*sc.* 'Therefore to live longer is intolerable'): *Vect.* 6.1 'ἀλλ' εἴ γε μήν the course recommended has all these advantages, it should be adopted': D.xxi 42 'Meidias' crimes are crimes of deliberate *ὑβρις*. *ἀλλά μήν* the law enjoins particularly severe penalties for crimes of deliberate *ὑβρις*'. (*Sc.* 'Therefore Meidias should be punished with particular severity'): xxiv 95

'Timocrates' law makes effective military operations impossible. *ἀλλὰ μήν εἰ φαίνει τοιοῦτον τεθηκῶς νόμον ὃς τὰ τοιαῦτα λυμᾶνεται . . . πῶς οὐχὶ δικαίως διοῦν ἂν πάθοις;*' xxvii 18 'Pantae-netus admitted that I was free of obligations to him. *ἀλλὰ μήν ὅτι γ' οὐκ ἐῶσιν οἱ νόμοι περὶ τῶν οὕτω πραχθέντων πάλιν λαγχάνειν, οἶμαι μὲν ὑμᾶς . . . γινώσκειν*': i 15,27: iii 9: xviii 89,168: xxv 40: xxviii 40: xlv 3.

Less frequently, the major premise comes first (as regularly in formal reasoning: see (6) above). D.xxv 17 'The laws must be sacred. *ἀλλὰ μήν ὅτι νῦν Ἀριστογοίτων τοῖς μὲν τῆς ἐνδείξεως δικαίοις ἅπασιν ἐάλωκεν . . . ῥάδιον διδάξαι*': xlv 12 'All agree that we must maintain the existing laws. *ἀλλὰ μήν οἷ γε νόμοι ἀπαγορεύουσι . . .*': xxv 47.

(8) I have left two exceptional passages to the end. *X.Mem.* iii 8.3 'Ἄρα γε, ἔφη, ἐρωτᾶς με εἴ τι οἶδα πυρετοῦ ἀγαθόν; . . . Ἄλλ' ὀφθαλμίας; . . . Ἄλλὰ λιμοῦ; . . . Ἄλλὰ μήν, ἔφη, εἴ γ' ἐρωτᾶς με εἴ τι ἀγαθόν οἶδα ὃ μηδενὸς ἀγαθόν ἐστίν, οὐτ' οἶδα, ἔφη, οὔτε δέομαι (after the rejection of successive suggestions: 'Well'): *An.* ii 5.12 *τίς οὕτω μαίνεται ὅστις οὐ βούλεται σοὶ φίλος εἶναι; ἀλλὰ μήν ἐρῶ γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα ἐξ ὧν ἔχω ἐλπίδας καὶ σὲ βουλήσασθαι φίλον ἡμῖν εἶναι* (a combination of progressive *ἀλλά μήν* and *ἀλλὰ γάρ*).

### Γε μήν

This combination affords a remarkable example of a particular author's predilection for a particular particle. *γε μήν* occurs several times as often in Xenophon as *γε μήν, γε μάν,* and *γε μὲν* together in the whole of the rest of Greek classical literature. It is especially common in the *Opuscula* (34 times in the 30 pages (O.C.T.) of the *Agesilaus*, 39 in the 28 of the *Equitum magister*), where it is often used as a variant for *ἀλλά μήν* and *καὶ μήν* in proceeding to a new point. It is not to be found in Thucydides, the Orators, or Aristotle (it occurs in the pseudo-Aristotelian *de Mundo*). The earliest example is *Hes.Sc.* 139 (see (3)): here only in Hesiod: some MSS. give, probably rightly, *γε μὲν*, which Hesiod uses elsewhere: but verses 141–317 are regarded by Goettling as late work): the earliest Attic example is *Phryn.Trag.Fr.* 14.

The uses coincide with those of *μήν, ἀλλά μήν, καὶ μήν, γε* adheres closely to the preceding word.

(1) Affirmative (very rare). Pi.N.8.50 χαίρω δὲ πρόσφορον ἐν μὲν ἔργῳ κόμπον ἰεῖς . . . ἦν γε μὰν ἐπικώμιος ὕμνος δὴ πάλαι (in P.7.20 and I.3.18 also γε μὴν is perhaps to be so explained, not as adversative): Pl.Lg.819D Ποίαν . . . λέγεις ταύτην;—Ἦ φίλε Κλεινία, παντάπασί γε μὴν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀκούσας ὀψέ ποτε τὸ περὶ ταῦτα ἡμῶν πάθος ἐθαύμασα (here the particles may perhaps be regarded as inceptive: 'Well': cf. μήν, III.1.iii): Thl.208E Φαμέν γε μὴν οὕτω (assentient: νῦν for μήν, W).

(2) Adversative, often answering μέν. Pi.O.13.104 νῦν δ' ἔλπομαι μέν, ἐν θεῶ γε μὰν τέλος: P.1.17 τὸν ποτε Κιλίκιον θρέψεν πολυώνυμον ἄντρον νῦν γε μὰν . . . (in Pi.P.1.50 νῦν γε μὰν has only the mildest adversative force 'while now': 'rebus praeteritis praesentes opponit', Christ): Epich.Fr.3.11 οὐκ αὐτὸς εἶη κα τέχνα, τεχνικός γὰ μὰν: A.Pr.871 μακροῦ λόγου δεῖ ταῦτ' ἐπεξελεῖν τορῶς. σπορᾶς γε μὴν ἐκ τῆσδε φύσεται θρασύς (almost = ἀλλὰ γάρ): Ag.1378 ἐμοὶ δ' ἀγῶν ὅδ' οὐκ ἀφρόντιστος πάλαι νείκης παλαιᾶς ἦλθε, σὺν χρόνῳ γε μὴν: Eu.51 οὐδ' αὐτε Γοργείοισιν εἰκάσω τύποις. εἶδόν ποτ' ἤδη Φινέως γεγραμμένας δειπνον φερούσας: ἄπτεροί γε μὴν ἰδεῖν αὐται ('But these are wingless'): S.OC 587 Ἄλλ' ἐν βραχεῖ δὴ τήνδε μ' ἐξαιτῆ χάριν.—Ὁρα γε μὴν, οὐ μικρός, οὐκ, ἀγῶν ὅδε ('Aye, but look you'): E.Hipp. 1340 τοὺς γὰρ εὐσεβεῖς . . . τοὺς γε μὴν κακοὺς . . .: Or.1083 χαῖρ' οὐ γὰρ ἡμῖν ἔστι τοῦτο, σοὶ γε μὴν ('but thou mayest'): Rh.196 Μέγας ἀγῶν, μέγала δ' ἐπινοεῖς ἐλεῖν: μακάριός γε μὴν κυρήσας ἔση: 284 Οὐκ οἶδ' ἀκριβῶς εἰκάσαι γε μὴν πάρα: El. 754 Μακρὰν γὰρ ἔρπει γῆρυς, ἐμφανῆς γε μὴν: Ar.Eq.232 οὐδεὶς ἠθέλεν τῶν σκευοποιῶν εἰκάσαι. πάντως γε μὴν γνωσθήσεται: Nu.631 ταῦτ' ἐπιλέλησται πρὶν μαθεῖν ὅμως γε μὴν αὐτὸν καλῶ: A.Th.1062: Ar.Nu.822: Lys.144 (γὰ μὰν: 170): Pl.Prm.153A Οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν.—Τόδε γε μὴν ἔχεις λέγειν, ὅτι . . .: Pl.258D ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐμὸν γίγνεται (τὸ ἔργον).—Δεῖ γε μὴν . . . αὐτὸ εἶναι καὶ σόν: Ti.20D λόγου μάλα μὲν ἀτόπου, παντάπασί γε μὴν ἀληθοῦς: Criti.108B ὡς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ συγγνώμης . . . λεγέτω. προλέγω γε μὴν . . . σοὶ τὴν τοῦ θεάτρου διάνοιαν . . . ὥστε τῆς συγγνώμης δεήσει τινός σοι παμπόλλης: X.HGvi 3.1 πολεμεῖν μὲν . . . κοινωνεῖν γε μὴν . . .: Cyr.vi 1.7 ἡμῖν ἐχρῶντο ὡς ἐκείνοις ἦν ἡδιστον, ἡμῖν γε μὴν ὡς χαλεπώτατον: Hp.Fract.

3.35.45: Pl.R.332E: Ti.41A.53B.63E.72D.77B: Thl.197B: Lg.628E: X.Cyr.viii 8.9: Eq.8.8.

(3) Progressive (in Xenophon far the commonest use). Hes.Sc.139 χερσί γε μὴν σάκος εἶλε παναίολον (γε om. M: δέ Ω b: μὲν BΨNO): S.El.973 ἐλευθέρα καλῆ τὸ λοιπὸν . . . λόγων γε μὴν εὐκλειαν οὐχ ὀρᾶς ὄσσην σαυτῆ . . . προσβαλεῖς . . .; E.Alc. 516 'Have you lost a child?'—'No'.—Πατήρ γε μὴν ὠραῖος, εἴπερ οἴχεται ('Well, your father is full of years'): Epich.Fr.79: Philol.Fr.5 ὁ γὰ μὰν ἀριθμὸς ἔχει δύο μὲν ἴδια εἶδη (probably progressive): Pl.R.443A Οὐκοῦν καὶ . . . Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ . . . Μοιχεῖαί γε μὴν . . .: 465B Οὐ γὰρ οὖν.—Τά γε μὴν σμικρότατα τῶν κακῶν δι' ἀπρέπειαν ὀκνῶ καὶ λέγειν: Smp.197A καὶ μὲν δὴ . . . ἀλλὰ . . . γε μὴν: Sph.231E τὸ πρῶτον . . . Τὸ δὲ γε δεύτερον . . . Τρίτον δὲ . . . Ναί, καὶ τέταρτον γε . . . πέμπτον δὲ . . . Τὸ γε μὴν ἕκτον (last of series): 232D Ἄλλὰ μὴν . . . Τί δ' αὖ περὶ . . .; . . . Τά γε μὴν . . .: Lg.801E Κεῖσθω τί μὴν;—Μετά γε μὴν ταῦτα ὕμνοι θεῶν: X.HGvi 1.11 πλείους ἐκείνων ἱκανοὶ ἐσόμεθα ναῦς ποιήσασθαι. ἀνδρῶν γε μὴν ταύτας πληροῦν . . . τοὺς γε μὴν ναύτας τρέφειν . . .: vii 5.12 οὐκ ἀνέβαινεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. τό γε μὴν ἐντεῦθεν γενόμενον ἔξεστι μὲν τὸ θεῖον αἰτιάσθαι: An.vii 6.41 (at the beginning of a speech, adding something to what has been said before): Hp.Off.9: Art.53: Pl.Phdr.267C: X.HGvi 3.14: Mem.iii 6.12: 8.10: 9.6: 11.10: Cyr.i 6.20: viii 8.17: Smp.8.3.

Unlike other writers, Xenophon freely uses progressive γε μὴν after light stops, as a mere variant for δέ. HGv 2.16 ξύλα μὲν . . . χρημάτων δὲ πρόσοδοι . . . πολυανθρωπία γε μὴν . . .: vi 1.19 ἵππεῖς μὲν . . . ὀπλίται δὲ . . . πελταστικόν γε μὴν . . .: HG.iv 2.17: Cyr.ii 1.23: Smp.4.38: Ages.11.13.

Introducing an *a fortiori* argument. X.Eq.Mag.4.20 'Wolves do so-and-so. θηρίων γε μὴν δυναμένων τὰ τοιαῦτα φροῖμως λήξασθαι, πῶς οὐκ ἄνθρωπόν γε ὄντα εἰκὸς σοφώτερον τούτων φαίνεσθαι . . .; Hivr.8 7.

(4) Introducing the minor premise of a syllogism. Pl.Lg.028C Ἄρα οὖν οὐ τοῦ ἀρίστου ἔνεκα πάντα ἂν τὰ νόμιμα τιθείη πᾶς;—Πῶς δ' οὐ;—Τό γε μὴν ἄριστον οὔτε ὁ πόλεμος οὔτε ἡ στάσις: 654B τὸν δὲ πεπαιδευμένον ἱκανῶς κεχορευκότα θετέον.—Τί μὴν;—

Χορεία γε μήν ὄρχησίς τε καὶ ᾠδὴ τὸ συνολόν ἐστιν.—'Αναγκαῖον.—  
'Ο καλῶς ἄρα πεπαιδευμένος ἄδειν τε καὶ ὄρχεῖσθαι δυνατὸς ἂν  
εἴη καλῶς: *Sph.* 228C.

Introducing the major premise, after a preceding minor pre-  
mise. (Cf. the Demosthenic use of ἀλλὰ μήν, (7).) *X.Eq.* 5.1 πολ-  
λάκις ἂν ἔλκη ποιοίη. ἔλκουμένων γε μήν τούτων . . . : *HGii* 3.  
33: *Ar.* 18: *Lac.* 5.4.

(5) Combined with other particles (very rare). *Epich.Fr.* 170b7  
ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὖξέθ', ὁ δέ γε μὰν φθίνει: *Philol.Fr.* 4 καὶ πάντα γε  
μὰν τὰ γινωσκόμενα ἀριθμὸν ἔχοντι: *Pl.Sph.* 219E Τὴν δέ γε μήν  
θηρευτικὴν (δέ om. *W*): 240B Ἄλλ' ἐστὶ γε μήν πως.\*

(6) Position. After preposition and substantive: *Pl.Pl.* 265A,  
269E (but between the two in *Lg.* 801E). Other transpositions:  
*Pl.R.* 332E Εἶεν· μὴ κάμνουσί γε μήν: *Lg.* 819D ὦ φίλε Κλεινία,  
παντάπασί γε μήν. Last words of sentence, *Pl.Lg.* 832A.

### Ἡ μήν

Ἡ μήν introduces a strong and confident asseveration, being used  
both in direct and in indirect speech. It is most frequently em-  
ployed in oaths and pledges: the wider use is very rare in prose  
and entirely absent from the orators. (According to Dittenberger  
(*Lc.*, p. 329, n. 4) Ἡ μήν occurs fifteen times in the *Parmenides*,  
as often as in all the remaining dialogues of Plato put together.)

(1) General use. *Hom.B* 291 Ἡ μήν καὶ πόνος ἐστὶν ἀνιθέντα  
νέεσθαι: *H* 393 Ἡ μήν Τρῶές γε κέλονται: *P* 429 Ἡ μὰν Αὐτομέδων...  
ἐπεμαίετο: *Sapph.Fr.* 96.6 Ψάπφ', Ἡ μὰν σ' ἀέκοισ' ἀπυλιμπάνω:  
*Ibyc.Fr.* 7.5 Ἡ μὰν τρομέω νιν ἐπερχόμενον: *Pi.N.* 8.28 Ἡ μὰν  
ἀνόμοιά γε δάοισιν ἐν θερμῷ χροὶ ἔλκεα ῥῆξαν: *I.* 1.63 Ἡ μὰν πολ-  
λάκι καὶ τὸ σεσωπαμένον εὐθυμίαν μείζω φέρει: *A.Pr.* 907 Ἡ μήν  
ἔτι Ζεὺς . . . ἐστὶ ταπεινός: *S.OC* 816 Ἡ μήν σὺ κἀνευ τοῦδε  
λυπηθεῖς ἔση: *E.Alc.* 692 Ἡ μήν πολὺν γε τὸν κάτω λογιζομαι  
χρόνον: *Med.* 1032 Ἡ μήν ποθ' ἡ δύστηνος εἶχον ἐλπίδας: *Ar.V.*  
258 Ἡ μήν ἐγὼ σοῦ χιτέρου μείζονας κολάζω: 280 Ἡ μήν πολὺ  
δριμύτατός γ' ἦν τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν: *Ra.* 104 Ἡ μήν κόβαλά γ' ἐστίν  
(but the Aristophanic examples are mostly with the future indica-  
tive, and threatening in tone: *Nu.* 865, 1242: *V.* 643, 1332: *Av.*  
1259: *Ec.* 1034: *Pl.* 608): *Hom.B* 370: *N* 354: *Hes.Sc.* 101: *Pi.P.*

4.40: *A.Pr.* 73: *E.Alc.* 64: *Th.* viii 33.1 πολλὰ ἀπειλήσας τοῖς Χίοις  
Ἡ μήν μὴ ἐπιβοηθήσειν: *Pl.Euthd.* 276E ὦ Ζεῦ, ἔφην ἐγὼ, Ἡ μήν  
καὶ τὸ πρότερόν γε καλὸν ἡμῖν ἐφάνη τὸ ἐρώτημα: *R.* 432D Ἡ  
μήν, ἦν δ' ἐγὼ, βλακικόν γε ἡμῶν τὸ πάθος: *Phlb.* 18D Ἡ μήν ἐπ'  
αὐτῷ γε ἤδη γεγονότες ζητεῖτε: *X.An.* vii 7 35 Ἡ μήν πολὺ γέ ἐστιν  
ἔλαττον: *Cyr.* viii 4.16 Ἡ μήν . . . πολλὰ γέ μοί ἐστι τοιαῦτα  
συγγεγραμμένα.

(2) In oaths and pledges, usually in indirect speech. *Hom.h.*  
*Ar.* 87 μέγαν ὄρκον ὄμοσεν· ἴστω νῦν τάδε γαῖα . . . Ἡ μήν Φοῖβον  
τῆδε θυώδης ἔσσεται αἰεὶ βωμός: *A.Th.* 531 ὄμνυσι . . . Ἡ μήν  
λαπάξειν ἄστν Καδμείων: *S.Tr.* 1186-7 Ὀμνυ Διὸς . . . κἀρα.—  
Ἡ μήν τί δράσειν; . . . —Ἡ μήν . . . ἐκτελεῖν: *Ph.* 593 διωμοτοὶ  
πλέουσιν Ἡ μήν . . . ἄξιεν: *E.IA* 475: *Ar.Ra.* 1470: *Th.* iv  
118.14 σπέισασθαι . . . Ἡ μήν ἐμμενεῖν: *Pl.Phd.* 115D ἡγγυᾶτο  
Ἡ μήν παραμενεῖν: *Ar.* 22A καὶ νῆ τὸν κύνα . . . Ἡ μήν ἐγὼ ἔπαθον  
τι τοιοῦτον: *X.An.* vi 1.31 ὄμνύω ὑμῖν θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας, Ἡ  
μήν ἐγὼ . . . ἐθυόμην: *HGiii* 4.5 πίστιν λαβεῖν Ἡ μήν . . . : *Cyr.*  
ii 3.12 σὺν θεῶν ὄρκῳ λέγω, Ἡ μήν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ Κῦρος . . . : vii 2.12  
ὑπεσχόμεν . . . Ἡ μήν . . . : *And.* i 31 ὄρκους μεγάλους ὄμόσαντες . . .  
καὶ ἀρασάμενοι τὰς μεγίστας ἀρὰς . . . Ἡ μήν ψηφιεῖσθαι: 126  
ὄμοσεν Ἡ μήν μὴ εἶναι: *Lys.* vi 12 ἠντεδίκηε Ἡ μήν τὸν Ἑρμῆν ὑγιᾶ  
τε καὶ ὄλον εἶναι: *Isoc.* xviii 53 μεμαρτυρηκῶς Ἡ μήν τεθνάναι τὴν  
ἄνθρωπον: *D.* xix 292 ὄμνυες Ἡ μήν ἀπολωλέναι Φίλιππον ἂν  
βούλεσθαι: xxiv 77 καταστήσαντι τοὺς ἐγγυητάς, Ἡ μήν ἐκτείσειν.

### Καὶ μήν

In καὶ μήν we find many points of contact on the one hand  
with καὶ δὴ, on the other with μήν, γε μήν, ἀλλὰ μήν. Only in  
the adversative use (8) does καὶ μήν entirely part company with  
καὶ δὴ. Except for an isolated apodotic example (9), καὶ in καὶ  
μήν seems always to be copulative; though for purposes of  
idiomatic translation 'and' is often inappropriate. Hence in (7)  
καὶ μήν never comes late in the sentence, whereas καὶ δὴ, in a  
closely similar use (*q.v.*, 2.i), is often postponed.

(1) Progressive. This is a very common use, particularly in  
prose, where καὶ μήν often introduces a new argument, a new

item in a series, or a new point of any kind. In Attic, the emphatic word or phrase, following immediately upon the particles, is very frequently reinforced by γε. (See γε, I.1.ii: V.1. In Plato, in fact, γε is comparatively seldom absent, except from the form καὶ μὴν καί. On καὶ μὴν . . . γε in Sophocles, see Jebb on *Aj.* 531.) Normally καὶ μὴν marks a new departure: it is mainly used after a strong stop, καὶ δὴ, καὶ . . . δὴ, or καὶ δὴ καί being used after weaker stops. There are, however, exceptions, mostly in verse and in Xenophon. Hom. Ψ 410 ὦδε γὰρ ἐξερῶ, καὶ μὴν τετελεσμένον ἔσται: Emp. *Fr.* 76 ἐν κόγχαισι θαλασσονόμων βαρυνώτοις, καὶ μὴν κηρύκων (καὶ μὴν Xylander ('and especially', like καὶ δὴ καί): ναὶ μὴν *codd.*): Pi. *P.* 1.63 θέλοντι δὲ Παμφύλου καὶ μὴν Ἑρακλειδῶν ἐκγονοί: 6.6 ποταμίᾳ τ' Ἀκράγαντι καὶ μὴν Ξενοκράτει: Hp. *Int.* 27 τά τε ἄλλα καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ χλιάσματα: X. *Smp.* 4.15 ἐλευθεριωτέρους μὲν . . . φιλοπονωτέρους δὲ . . . , καὶ μὴν αἰδημονεστέρους: *Lac.* 5.7 περιπατεῖν τε γὰρ ἀναγκάζονται ἐν τῇ οἴκαδε ἀφόδῳ, καὶ μὴν τοῦ ὑπὸ οἴνου μὴ σφάλλῃσθαι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι (μὴν *om. C*): *HG* iv 2.16: 2.17.

After strong stops. Hom. λ 582 καὶ μὴν Τάνταλον ἐσεΐδον (cf. λ 593: Crates *Theb. Fr.* 3.1.5.1): Pi. *P.* 4.289 (like καὶ δὴ καί, introducing an instance of a general proposition): A. *Pr.* 459 ἀντολὰς ἐγὼ ἄστρων ἔδειξα . . . καὶ μὴν ἀριθμὸν . . . ἐξηῦρον αὐτοῖς: *Supp.* 311 ἐκ γῆς ἤλασεν μακρῷ δρόμῳ. . . —Καὶ μὴν Κάνωβον κάπῃ Μέμφιν ἵκετο: E. *Med.* 1375 πικρὰν δὲ βάξιν ἐχθαίρω σέθεν.—Καὶ μὴν ἐγὼ σὴν (a *tu quoque*): *Hec.* 824, 1224 (introducing new arguments): *Hel.* 1053 ἔτοιμός εἰμι μὴ θανῶν λόγῳ θανεῖν.—Καὶ μὴν γυναικείοις σ' ἂν οἰκτισαίμεθα κουραῖσι: Ar. *Lys.* 206 Εὐχρῶν γε θαῖμα . . . —Καὶ μὴν ποτόδδει γ' ἀδύ: Pi. *O.* 10.34: *P.* 4.90: B. 13.182: A. *Pers.* 406, 992: *Ag.* 931, 1188: E. *Cyc.* 141, 151, 541: *Alc.* 369, 653: *Hipp.* 862: *El.* 1119: *Supp.* 442, 697: *Or.* 1260: Ar. *V.* 521: Pl. *Grg.* 450A Ἄρ' οὖν . . . ἡ ἰατρικὴ . . . ; . . . Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡ γυμναστικὴ . . . ; . . . Καὶ μὴν καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι τέχναι . . . : *Pr.* 310A χάριν εἶσομαι, ἐὰν ἀκούητε.—Καὶ μὴν καὶ ἡμεῖς σοί, ἐὰν λέγῃς: *Th.* 154E ἐγωγε τοῦτ' ἂν βουλοίμην.—Καὶ μὴν ἐγὼ: *Smp.* 179B καὶ μὴν ὑπεραποθνήσκειν γε μόνον ἐθέλουσιν οἱ ἐρῶντες: *Cra.* 420A καὶ μὴν "πόθος" αὐτὸ καλεῖται: *Phid.* 72E (new argument): *Gorg. Fr.* 11a.16, 17: *Th.* 170.4: vii 75.6: Pl. *Grg.* 474E, 479D, 504B: *Smp.* 179A: *Euthd.* 306D: *Chrm.* 166B: *Ly.* 207C: X. *HG* iii 5.10: *Mem.* ii 7.1: *Ant.* v 91: *D.* ix 12: xviii 76, 108, 232, 317.

(2) Plato sometimes uses καὶ μὴν (though less frequently than ἀλλὰ μὴν) to mark the transition from the major to the minor premise of a syllogism, or vice versa. *La.* 199E Οὐκ ἄρα . . . μόριον ἀρετῆς ἂν εἴη τὸ νῦν σοι λεγόμενον . . . —Ἐοικεν.—Καὶ μὴν ἔφαμέν γε τὴν ἀνδρείαν μόριον εἶναι ἐν τῶν τῆς ἀρετῆς . . . Οὐκ ἄρα ἠύρηκαμεν . . . ἀνδρεία ὅτι ἔστιν\*: *Men.* 87D: *Phlb.* 37E: *Th.* 182E: *La.* 193C: *Prm.* 137D, 145C, 151B, 153C: X. *Mem.* ii 3.19.

(3) Plato and Sophocles use καὶ μὴν, usually with an echoed word, in substantiating a required condition (cf. ἀλλὰ μὴν, (3)). Logically speaking, καὶ μὴν here introduces the minor premise of an enthymeme, the conclusion being left unexpressed.\* *S.Aj.* 794 Αἴαντος . . . θυραῖος εἶπερ ἐστίν, οὐ θαρσῶ πέρι.—Καὶ μὴν θυραῖος ('And he is, in fact, without'. Elmsley's θυραῖος (γ') is perhaps right, but unnecessary): *El.* 556 ἦν ἐφῆς μοι . . . —Καὶ μὴν ἐφήμ': 1045 Ἄλλ' εἰ ποιήσεις ταῦτ', ἐπαινέσεις ἐμέ.—Καὶ μὴν ποιήσω γ' ('And do it I will'): *OT* 749 ἦν ἐν ἐξείπῃς ἔτι.—Καὶ μὴν ὀκνῶ μὲν, ἂν δ' ἔρη μαθοῦσ' ἐρῶ: Pl. *Cra.* 408E εἶπερ σοι κεχαρισμένον ἔσται, ἐθέλω.—Καὶ μὴν χαριῆ: *Phlb.* 44A εἶπερ χωρὶς τοῦ μὴ λυπεῖσθαι . . . —Καὶ μὴν χωρὶς γε ἦν: *Ion* 536D εἰ μου ἀκούσαις λέγοντος . . . —Καὶ μὴν ἐθέλω γε ἀκούσαι. (Pl. *Cra.* 427D is rather different: αὕτη μοι φαίνεται . . . βούλεσθαι εἶναι ἢ τῶν ὀνομάτων ὀρθότης, εἰ μὴ τι ἄλλο Κρατύλος ὁδε λέγει.—Καὶ μὴν . . . πολλά γέ μοι πολλάκις πρίγματα παρέχει Κρατύλος . . . φάσκων μὲν εἶναι ὀρθότητα ὀνομάτων, ἧτις δ' ἐστὶν οὐδὲν σαφὲς λέγων. The speaker here is uncertain whether, in fact, Cratylus says ἄλλο τι or τὸ αὐτό: 'And C. has, in fact, views on the subject (whether your views or others, I do not know)').

*S.Ant.* 221 is similar: Οὐκ ἔστιν οὕτω μῶρος δὲ θανεῖν ἐρᾶ.—Καὶ μὴν ὁ μισθός γ' οὗτος (no one is such a fool as to desire death: disobedience means death: (therefore no one should be such a fool as to disobey). 'In sooth, that is the meed', Jebb).

(4) In dialogue, expressing, directly or by implication, agreement or consent, or a generally favourable reaction to the words of the previous speaker. We sometimes use 'and' in English in such cases: 'And so it is', 'And I will, certainly': but often 'Yes', 'Indeed', will serve better as renderings.

A. *Pr.* 248 εἰσιδοῦσά τ' ἠλγύνθη κέαρ.—Καὶ μὴν φίλοις ἐλεινός



είσορᾶν ἐγὼ ('Aye, truly': Wilamowitz, misunderstanding the sense of καὶ μήν, supposes a lacuna after 248: Wecklein's φίλοις (γ') is possible, but unnecessary): *Ch.* 510 Chorus (after Electra's final appeal): Καὶ μήν ἀμεμφῆ τόνδ' ἐτεινάτην λόγον . . . τὰ δ' ἄλλα . . . ἔρδοις ἂν ἤδη ('Well, certainly, nobody can say you have scanted your prayer'): *S.Aj.* 539 Δός μοι προσειπεῖν αὐτὸν ἐμφανῆ τ' ἰδεῖν.—Καὶ μήν πέλας γε προσπόλοις φυλάσσεται ('καὶ μήν here announces a fact which favours the last speaker's wish . . . an expression of assent', Jebb): 990 Teucer: 'Bring the boy here, out of his enemies' hands: the dead are always insulted'.—*Xo.* Καὶ μήν ἔτι ζῶν, Τεῦκρε, τοῦδέ σοι μέλειν ἐφίεθ' ἀνὴρ κείνος, ὥσπερ οὖν μέλει ('Yea', Jebb): *OT* 290 Cho.: 'We should consult Phoebus through Teiresias'.—*Oed.*: 'I have sent for him'.—*Xo.* Καὶ μήν τὰ γ' ἄλλα κωφὰ καὶ παλαί' ἔπη ('Aye, truly'): 836 ἕως δ' ἂν οὖν πρὸς τοῦ παρόντος ἐκμάθῃς, ἔχ' ἐλπίδα.—Καὶ μήν τοσοῦτόν γ' ἐστὶ μοι τῆς ἐλπίδος, τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν βοτῆρα προσμεῖναι μόνον ('Yes, that in truth is my hope, and that only'): 1004-5 Τί δῆτ' ἐγὼ οὐχὶ τοῦδε τοῦ φόβου σε . . . ἐξελευσάμην;—Καὶ μήν χάριν γ' ἂν ἀξίαν λάβοις ἐμοῦ.—Καὶ μήν μάλιστα τοῦτ' ἀφικόμην. ὅπως . . . εὖ πράξαιμί τι (the Messenger picks up Oedipus' καὶ μήν rather impudently, 'Well, truly', as Xanthias picks up οὐ τί που in *Ar.Ra.* 526): *Pl.* 660 Σοί γ', ὦ τέκνον, καὶ τοῦτο κάλλο τῶν ἐμῶν ὁποῖον ἂν σοι ξυμφέρῃ γενήσεται.—Καὶ μήν ἐρῶ γε ('I certainly long to touch it', Jebb): *E.Cyc.* 176 Ἄκου, Ὀδυσσεῦ· διαλαλήσωμέν τί σοι.—Καὶ μήν φίλοι γε προσφέρεσθε πρὸς φίλον: *Alc.* 713 Ψυχῆ μιᾶ ζῆν, οὐ δυοῖν, ὀφείλομεν.—Καὶ μήν Διός γε μείζονα ζῶντος χρόνον ('All right, then: have a long life, and 100 long a one'): *Ba.* 808 Ξυνέθεσθε κοινῆ τάδ', ἵνα βακχεύητ' αἰεῖ.—Καὶ μήν ξυνεθέμην—τοῦτό γ' ἐστὶ—τῷ θεῷ ('Aye, I agreed on it—with the god'. 'Immo ego et deus', Murray: but καὶ μήν can scarcely be used for μὲν οὖν: see, however, (8) below): *El.* 670 Στείχοιμ' ἂν, εἴ τις ἡγεμῶν γίγνοιθ' ὁδοῦ.—Καὶ μήν ἐγὼ πέμποιμ' ἂν οὐκ ἀκουσίως: *Ion* 985 σὺ νῦν βούλευέ τι.—Καὶ μήν ἔχω γε δόλια ('Aye, truly'): *Ar.Nu.* 1344 Ἄλλ' οἶομαι μέντοι σ' ἀναπέσειν . . .—Καὶ μήν ὅ τι καὶ λέξεις ἀκοῦσαι βούλομαι: *V.* 537 Chorus (to Philocleon): 'Now for a really fine speech'.—*Bdelycleon*: Καὶ μήν ὅσ' ἂν λέξη γ' ἀπλῶς μνημόσυνα γράψομαι γ' ὅ ('All right, I'll write down every word'): *Lys.* 362 Εἰ . . . τὰς γνάθους τούτων τις . . . ἔκοψεν . . . φωνὴν ἂν οὐκ ἂν εἶχον.—

Καὶ μήν ἰδοὺ παταξάτω τις ('All right, then': accepting the implied challenge: cf. *Pl.* 928): *Ec.* 523 Οὔτοι παρὰ τοῦ μοιχοῦ γε φήσεις (ἤκειν με).—Οὐκ ἴσως ἐνός γε.—Καὶ μήν βασανίσαι τουτί γέ σοι ἔξεστι (the speaker, without accepting the previous speaker's statement, expresses her readiness to put it to the test: 'Very well, you can test it': cf. *Pl.* 467, 902): *Pl.* 414 μὴ νῦν διάτριβ', ἀλλ' ἄννε πράττων ἔν γέ τι.—Καὶ μήν βαδίζω (μήν *R.*: δὴ *cell.*, which would certainly be more regular): *Pl.R.* 328D δεῦρο παρ' ἡμᾶς φοῖτα . . .—Καὶ μήν . . . χαίρω γε διαλεγόμενος τοῖς σφόδρα πρεσβύταις: *Smpr.* 172A οὗτος Ἀπολλόδωρος. οὐ περιμένεις; κἀγὼ ἐπιστὰς περιέμεινα. καὶ ὅς, Ἀπολλόδωρε, ἔφη, καὶ μήν καὶ ἔναγχός σε ἐζήτουν ('Why, I was just looking for you, Apollodorus': the speaker greets the rencontre with pleasure): 222D τὸν οὖν Ἀγάθωνα εἰπεῖν, Καὶ μήν, ὦ Σώκρατες, κινδυνεύεις ἀληθῆ λέγειν ('Why, Socrates, I believe you're right'): *R.* 427A ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι τῷ ὄντι ὥσπερ ἴδραν τέμνουσιν.—Καὶ μήν, ἔφη, οὐκ ἄλλο γέ τι ποιοῦσιν ('Why, certainly'): *X.Cyr.* vi 3.18 Cyrus asks Araspas for information regarding the enemy's strength. Καὶ μήν, ἔφη ὁ Ἀράσπας, ὡς ἂν ἀσφαλέστατά γε εἰδείην ὁπόσον τὸ στρατεύμα ἐστὶν ἐποίουν (ready response): *v* 1.1 (eager acceptance of an offer): 3.10: *Mem.* ii 6.30.

(5) A particular variety of the above is the use which we might call 'inceptive-responsive' (cf. μήν, III.1.iii, ἀλλὰ μήν, 2.i, *ad fin.*). A person who has been invited to speak expresses by the particles his acceptance of the invitation: 'Well', 'Very well', 'All right'. This use is common in Aristophanes and Plato, and is almost confined to them.

*A.Ag.* 1178 *Xo.* Τέρμα δ' ἀμχανῶ.—*Κα.* Καὶ μήν ὁ χρησμός οὐκέτ' ἐκ καλυμμάτων ἔσται δεδορκώς (response to an implied appeal for plainer speaking): *S.OT* 345 πρὸς τάδ', εἰ θέλεις, θυμοῦ δι' ὀργῆς ἤτις ἀγριωτάτη.—Καὶ μήν παρήσω γ' οὐδέν, ὡς ὀργῆς ἔχω, ἄπερ ξυνήμ'. ἴσθι γὰρ . . . : *Ar.Eq.* 335 νῦν δείξον . . .—Καὶ μήν ἀκούσαθ': *Nu.* 1036 δεῖ σε λέγειν τι καινὸν . . .—Καὶ μήν πάλαι γ' ἐπιγύομην: *Ra.* 1249 ἀλλ' ἐς τὰ μέλη . . . αὐτοῦ τραποῦ.—Καὶ μήν ἔχω γ' οἷς αὐτὸν ἀποδείξω κακὸν μελοποιὸν ὄντα: *Eq.* 624: *Nu.* 1353: *V.* 548: *Ar.* 462, 639: *Lys.* 486: *R.* 907, 1119: *Ec.* 583: *Pl.Phd.* 58E πειρῶ . . . διεξελθεῖν πάντα.—Καὶ μήν ἐγὼ γε θαυμάσια ἔπαθον παραγεγόμενος ('Well'): *R.* 445C

μόνον λέγε.—Καὶ μήν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὡσπερ ἀπὸ σκοπιᾶς μοι φαίνεται . . . : 550D Οὐκοῦν ὡς μεταβαίνει . . . ῥητέον ;—Ναί.—Καὶ μήν . . . καὶ τυφλῷ γε δῆλον ὡς μεταβαίνει ('Well, even a blind man can see . . .'): *Th.*158C ἐρωτῶντων, τί ἂν τις ἔχοι τεκμήριον ἀποδείξαι . . .—Καὶ μήν, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἀπορὸν γε ὄφρ' ἔπιδειξαι τεκμηρίω: *Phd.*84D,88E: *Cra.*384C,411B: *Smp.*189C,199C: *Phdr.*227C,262C: *Th.*143E: *Sph.*221C: *Philb.*33C: *Lg.*712D: *Hp.Mi.*363A,373C.

The inceptive force, without the responsive, is seen in *Pl.Mx.*234C: *Euthd.*304C ('Well, Socrates': not adversative, I think).

(6) Marking the entrance of a new character upon the stage (cf. *καὶ δὴ*, 2.ii): opening a speech in dialogue, or a short anapaestic system (see *Addenda*). This use is scarcely to be found in Aeschylus. (In *Th.*372 *Καὶ μήν ἀναξ ὄδ' αὐτὸς . . .* the second semichorus is announcing Eteocles after the first has announced the Messenger, and *καὶ μήν* is here more definitely and obviously connective than it elsewhere is in this usage.) But in Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes it is extremely common. Normally some part of *ὄδε* follows.

*S.El.*1422 *καὶ μήν πάρεισιν οἶδε*: *Ant.*526: *E.Hec.*216 *Καὶ μήν Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔρχεται*: *S.Ant.*1180,1257: *Aj.*1168: *OC*549,1249: *E.Alc.*507,611: *Andr.*494,879,1166: *Ion*1257 (opening a speech in the middle of a trochaic tetrameter): *Ar.Ach.*908,1069: *Ec.*41. In *S.Aj.*1223 *καὶ μήν* is used by the entering character himself.

(7) Closely connected with (6), calling attention to something just seen or heard. 'See!': 'Hark!'. (Cf. *καὶ δὴ*, 2.i.) *A.Th.*245 *Καὶ μήν ἀκούω γ' ἰππικῶν φρυγαγμάτων* (see Tucker): *Pr.*1080 *Καὶ μήν ἔργω κοῦκέτι μύθω χθῶν σεσάλευται*: *S.El.*78 *Καὶ μήν θυρῶν ἔδοξα προσπόλων τινὸς ὑποστενούσης ἔνδον αἰσθέσθαι*: *E.Alc.*385 *Καὶ μήν σκοτεινὸν ὄμμα μου βαρύνεται*: *Andr.*820 *Καὶ μήν ἐν οἴκοις προσπόλων ἀκούομεν βοήν*: *Ba.*918 *Καὶ μήν ὄρᾶν μοι δύο μὲν ἡλίουσ' δοκῶ*: 957 *Καὶ μήν δοκῶ σφᾶς ἐν λόχμαϊσ' ὄριθας ὡς λέκτρων ἔχουσθαι* (of the mind's eye): *El.*966 *καὶ μήν ὄχοις γε καὶ στολῇ λαμπρύνεται*: *Rh.*546 *Καὶ μήν αἶω*: *Ar.Ach.*247 *ἀνάδος δεῦρο τὴν ἐτηήρυσιν, ἴν' ἔτνος καταχέω . . .*—*Καὶ μήν καλὸν γ' ἔστ'*—('There! That's splendid'): *Au.*1462 *βέμβικος οὐδὲν διαφέρειν δεῖ*.—*Μανθάνω βέμβικα καὶ μήν ἔστι*

*μοι νῆ τὸν Δία κάλλιστα Κορκυραῖα τοιαυτὶ πτερά* ('See here'): *Rax*513 *καὶ μήν ὁμοῦ ὅστιν ἤδη* (Peace appearing from the well): *Ra.*285 *Νῆ τὸν Δία καὶ μήν αἰσθάνομαι ψόφου τινός*: 288 *Καὶ μήν ὄρῶ νῆ τὸν Δία θηρίον μέγα*: *Pl.*1204 *οἶσω τὰς χύτρας*.—*Καὶ μήν πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων χυτρῶν τάναντία αὐταὶ ποιοῦσι* ('Hullo!'): *Th.*568 *Οὐ δὲ μὰ Δία σύ γ' ἄψει*.—*Καὶ μήν ἰδοῦ*.—*Καὶ μήν ἰδοῦ*.

(8) Adversative (a use not yet to be found in Pindar). Since *καί* means 'and' and *μήν* often means 'yet', it might seem natural to regard *καὶ μήν* as combining two forms of connexion, copulative and adversative: 'and yet'. Such a fusion of two modes of connexion is perhaps not without parallel in Greek: <sup>1</sup> but it is no doubt preferable to derive adversative *καὶ μήν* from progressive *καὶ μήν*, and to regard *καί* alone as conveying the connexion, and *μήν* as ancillary. The adversative sense is, in origin at least, implied rather than expressed, as occasionally with *καί* (I.8), and frequently with *καίτοι*.

The objection may be urged by the speaker against another person, or against himself. *A.Pr.*982 *ἐκδιδάσκει πάνθ' ὁ γηράσκων χρόνος*.—*Καὶ μήν σύ γ' οὔπω σωφρονεῖν ἐπίστασαι*: *S.Ant.*1054 *Οὐ βούλομαι τὸν μάντιν ἀντειπεῖν κακῶς*.—*Καὶ μήν λέγεις* ('Yet that is what you are doing'): *E.Hel.*554 *Οὐ κλωπὲς ἐσμεν . . .*—*Καὶ μήν στολὴν γ' ἄμορφον . . . ἔχεις*: *Ar.Au.*1590 *Ἐλαιον οὐκ ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ ληκύθῳ*.—*Καὶ μήν τά γ' ὀρνίθεια λιπάρ' εἶναι πρέπει*: *Nu.*4 *οὐδέποθ' ἡμέρα γενήσεται; καὶ μήν πάλαι γ' ἀλεκτρύονος ἤκουσ' ἐγώ*: *Lys.*131 *Ταυτὶ σὺ λέγεις, ὦ ψῆττα; καὶ μήν ἄρτι γε ἔφησθα . . .*: *Pl.*93 *οὕτως ἐκεῖνος τοῖσι χρηστοῖσι φθονεῖ*.—*Καὶ μήν διὰ τοὺς χρηστοὺς γε τιμᾶται μόνους*: *A.Ag.*1254: *S.OT*987,1066: *OC*396: *Ant.*558: *Aj.*531: *El.*321,1188: *E.Alc.*1099: *Tr.*72: *Hipp.*589 (perhaps to be classed under (7)): *Ar.Nu.*1185,1414,1441: *Lys.*559: *Pl.Smp.*201C *Κινδυνεύω . . . οὐδὲν εἰδέναι ὧν τότε εἶπον*.—*Καὶ μήν καλῶς γε εἶπες*: *La.*199E *Οὐκ ἄρα ἠρῆκαμεν . . . ἀνδρεία ὅτι ἔστιν*.—*Οὐ φαινόμεθα*.—*Καὶ μήν ἔγωγε . . . ὦμην σε εὐρήσειν*: *Pr.*309A (where *καὶ μήν* seems to have *ἀνήρ μέντοι*, rather than *καλὸς μὲν ἀνήρ*, in view): *D.*xviii23 *ἔστιν ὅπου σὺ παρῶν . . . ἐδίδαξας καὶ διεξήλθες; καὶ μήν εἰ . . . , σοὶ τὸ μὴ σιγήσαι λοιπὸν ἦν*: *Pl.Grg.*452C,511C:

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction, III.5.

*Smp.*202B: *Euthd.*304D: *Men.*89C: *Euthphr.*12A: *Phd.*92C: *R.*577C: *Lg.*664D.

Like μήν, ἀλλά μήν, and γε μήν, καὶ μήν is normally a balancing adversative. Very occasionally, however, it is as strong as ἀλλά or even μὲν οὖν. *Ar.Lys.*588 αἰς (ταῖς γυναιξί) οὐδὲ μετῆν πάνυ τοῦ πολέμου.—Καὶ μήν, ὦ παγκατάρατε, πλεῖν ἢ γε διπλοῦν αὐτὸν φέρομεν ('On the contrary'): *Pl.*67 Carion threatens Plutus with violence: Chremylus tries politeness, which fails. *Ka.* Καὶ μήν ὃ λέγω βέλτιστόν ἐστ', ὦ δέσποτα. ἀπολῶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον κάκιστα τουτονί ('No, my idea's the best'): *Pl.Grg.*471D καὶ ἐγὼ ὑπὸ σοῦ νῦν, ὡς σὺ οἶει, ἐξελέλεγμαι τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ . . . ; πόθεν, ὠγαθέ; καὶ μήν οὐδέν γέ σοι τούτων ὁμολογῶ ὦν σὺ φῆς ('On the contrary, I admit nothing that you say').

In *X.Mem.*iii 12.2-4 καὶ μήν is three times used in hypophora, instead of the more usual, and stronger, ἀλλά, in introducing objections. (*Ant.*v44 is textually doubtful. If we retain the MSS. καὶ μήν πολλῶ πλέον γε ἀγνοεῖν ἔστι, καὶ μήν introduces an imaginary objection, like ἀλλά νῆ Δία ('Mais, dira-t-on', Gernet), and the following καὶ μήν counters it, 'Yes, but'. With the emendation πολλῶ ἐπὶ πλέον γεγωνεῖν the first καὶ μήν means 'and yet', the second καὶ μήν 'moreover': there is, it is true, some awkwardness in the use of καὶ μήν in different senses at so short an interval.<sup>1</sup>)

(9) Apodotic. (Cf. apodotic καί (II.B.9) and καὶ δὴ (2.vi).) Of this there appears to be but one example: *Hom.T*45 καί ρ' οἱ περ . . . μένεσκον . . . , καὶ μήν οἱ τότε γ' εἰς ἀγορὴν ἴσαν.

### Καὶ . . . μήν

Progressive καὶ μήν is occasionally split in Plato's later works. (Cf. the regular splitting of connective καὶ δὴ in Attic.) *Lg.*644D Καὶ ἐν ἐμοὶ μήν ταῦτόν τοῦτο πάθος ἐνι: *Sph.*220B Καὶ τοῦ πτηνοῦ μήν γένους . . . : *Prm.*165A Καὶ ἴσος μήν . . . δοξασθήσεται. (But in *A.Ag.*1240 for καὶ σὺ μήν (which Verrall keeps) Auratus' καὶ σὺ μ' ἐν has been generally, and rightly, adopted. For *Philol.Fr.*6 see καὶ μὲν, *ad fin.*)

<sup>1</sup> See, however, Introduction, IV.

### Μέν

The similarity between the uses of μήν (μάν) and μὲν has been noted above. Nevertheless, the two particles have already begun to diverge in the earliest surviving Greek literature. The primary function of μὲν, as of μήν, is emphatic, strongly affirming an idea or concentrating the attention upon it. But, as this process naturally entails the isolation of one idea from others, μὲν acquires a concessive or antithetical sense, and serves to prepare the mind for a contrast of greater or lesser sharpness. (The same thing occurs in Latin, German, and English, with *sane*, *zwar*, 'certainly'.) The original, affirmative, sense of μὲν nevertheless maintains some kind of precarious existence throughout classical Greek. Further, μὲν shows some signs (especially with negatives) of developing the secondary senses of μήν, progressive and adversative. But these senses atrophy, except that adversative μὲν becomes firmly established in the compounds μὲν δὴ, μέντοι, μὲν οὖν, and progressive μὲν in μὲν δὴ, μέντοι.

I. Emphatic. The great majority of the examples are from Homer and Pindar (for οὐδὲ μὲν in Ionic verse, see A.8): though survivals of this use are to be found in Aeschylus, Euripides, Xenophon, and other writers. Broadly speaking, preparatory μὲν, already fully developed in Homer, ousts emphatic μὲν from the field in the fifth and fourth centuries, and many cases which appear at first sight emphatic are really elliptically antithetical. It is often difficult to distinguish the one type from the other. μὲν the bachelor from μὲν the widower, particularly in Homer, where expression is reaching out tentatively towards logical relationships. Some authorities seem to go too far in making μὲν emphatic wherever they possibly can: while, conversely, Hartung (ii393) is perhaps wrong in refusing to recognize emphatic μὲν at all (except in combination with other particles) in Attic Greek.

A. Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Ionic verse (οὐδὲ μὲν, see . . . ) be convenient to take first the examples from these authors,<sup>1</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> I include a few cases in which μὲν could conceivably be taken as preparatory, and would naturally be so taken in a later author.

to classify them according to the parts of speech preceding the particle, which usually, like other emphatic particles, immediately follows the emphasized word. Most frequently that word is a pronoun: less frequently a substantive, adjective, adverb, or verb.

(1) Substantives. Hom. Γ308 Ζεὺς μὲν που τό γε οἶδε καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι: Μ294 αὐτίκα δ' ἀσπίδα μὲν πρόσθ' ἔσχετο ('as though δύο δὲ δοῦρε τίνασσε (298) were to follow', Leaf): Ρ336 αἰδῶς μὲν νῦν ἦδε γ': Υ261 Πηλεΐδης δὲ σάκος μὲν ἀπὸ ἔο χειρὶ παχείη ἔσχετο: Ω237 ὁ δὲ Τρῶας μὲν ἅπαντας αἰθούσης ἀπέεργεν: γ317 ἀλλ' ἐς μὲν Μενέλαον ἐγὼ κέλομαι . . . ἐλθεῖν.

(2) Pronouns. Hom. Β324 ἡμῖν μὲν τόδ' ἔφηνε τέρας . . . Ζεὺς ('It is to us that Zeus has revealed this portent'): Ι69 αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα, Ἀτρεΐδῃ, σὺ μὲν ἄρχε: σὺ γὰρ βασιλεύτατός ἐσσι: Κ164 Σχέτλιός ἐσσι, γεραιέ: σὺ μὲν πόνου οὐ ποτε λήγεις: Ν47 Αἶαντε, σφῶ μὲν τε σαώσετε λαόν: Ρ556 Σοὶ μὲν δῆ, Μενέλαε, κατηφείη καὶ ὄνειδος ἔσσεται: α159 τοῦτοισιν μὲν ταῦτα μέλει, κίθαρις καὶ αἰοιδή (contemptuous): ρ595 αὐτὸν μὲν σε πρῶτα σάω: Ρι.Ρ.4.174 τάχα δὲ Κρονίδαο Ζηνὸς υἱοὶ τρεῖς ἀκαμαντομάχαι ἦλθον . . . τῶν μὲν κλέος ἐσλὸν . . . ἐκράνθη: Ι.6.47 νῦν σε . . . λίσσομαι παῖδα θρασὺν . . . ἀνδρὶ τῷδε . . . τελέσαι, τὸν μὲν ἄρρηκτον φυάν (appositional, like *ille quidem*: an odd use): Hom. Φ437: ε23, 188: *id. saep.*: Ρι.Ρ.9.18: Ι.8.24,66.

Occasionally μὲν stresses a pronoun which seems to need no stress. (Similarly γε (*q.v.* I.4) tends to attach itself to pronouns.) Hom. Ε656 ὁ δ' ἀνέσχετο μείλιον ἔγχος Τληπόλεμος: καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀμαρτῆ δούρατα μακρὰ ἐκ χειρῶν ἦίζαν: Σ285 Πουλυδάμα, σὺ μὲν οὐκέτ' ἐμοὶ φίλα ταῦτ' ἀγορεύεις: Υ92 Ἄτη . . . οὐλομένη τῆ μὲν θ' ἀπαλοὶ πόδες: α166 νῦν δ' ὁ μὲν ὡς ἀπόλωλε.

When μὲν follows a pronoun at the beginning of a sentence which is not introduced by a connecting particle proper, it seems to acquire a quasi-connective, progressive, force (cf. μῆν, III). Here, again, there often appears to be no need for stressing the pronoun. Hom. ζ13 Ἀλκίνοος δὲ τότε ἤρχε . . . τοῦ μὲν ἔβη πρὸς δῶμα . . . Ἀθήνη: λ55 πρώτη δὲ ψυχὴ Ἑλπήνορος ἦλθεν ἐταίρου . . . τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ δάκρυσα ἰδὼν: μ234 ἡμεῖς μὲν στεινωπὸν ἀνεπλόμεν γοοῶντες: Ρι.Ο.1.75 ὁ δ' αὐτῷ παρ ποδὶ σχεδὸν φάνη.

τῷ μὲν εἶπε: Hom. μ134: Hes. *Th.* 479: Ρι.Ο.7.32: 13.60: Ρ.3.72: 4.53: Ι.4.61.

Repeated. Hom. ι320 Κύκλωπος γὰρ ἔκειτο μέγα ῥόπαλον . . . τὸ μὲν ἔκταμεν, ὄφρα φοροῖη αὐανθέν. τὸ μὲν ἄμμες εἴσκομεν . . . τοῦ μὲν . . . : τ459-62.

Essentially similar, though here the particle precedes the pronoun, are the following: Hom. Δ396 Τυδεὺς μὲν καὶ τοῖσιν . . . : Δ502 Ἐκτωρ μὲν μετὰ τοῖσιν . . . .

(3) Relatives (not sharply distinguishable from demonstratives, since ὁ is used for both). Hom. Α234 ναὶ μὰ τόδε σκῆπτρον, τὸ μὲν οὐ ποτε φύλλα καὶ ὄζους φύσει: Β101 ἔστη σκῆπτρον ἔχων, τὸ μὲν Ἡφαιστος κάμε τεύχων: Ο40: Π141: ε369: χ300: Ρι.Ρ.1.30.

With a relative bearing a causal force: Hom. υ377 Τηλέμαχ', οὐ τις σεῖο κακοξενιώτερος ἄλλος: οἷον μὲν τινα τοῦτον ἔχεις ἐπίμαστον ἀλήτην ('quippe qui talem habeas mendicatorem': cf. ε183 οἷον δῆ, *s.v.* δῆ, I.9.v.a.).

(4) Adjectives. Hom. Α514 Νημερτὲς μὲν δῆ μοι ὑπόσχεο: δ100 ἀλλ' ἔμπης πάντας μὲν ὀδυρόμενος . . . : *h. Merc.* 480 εὐκηλος μὲν ἔπειτα φέρειν εἰς δαῖτα θάλειαν.

(5) Adverbs. Hom. Δ257 Ἰδομενεῦ, περὶ μὲν σε τίω Δαναῶν (ω24): ε290 ἀλλ' ἔτι μὲν μὴν φημι ἄδην ἐλάαν κακότητος: η259 ἔνθα μὲν ἐπτάετες μένον ἔμπεδον (δ87): ο220 οἱ δ' ἄρα τοῦ μάλα μὲν κλύον ἠδ' ἐπίθοντο (Hes. *Th.* 474: Ρι.Ν.10.54): σ79 Νῦν μὲν μήτ' εἴης, βουγάϊε (Ρι.Ο.8.65): φ307 Ἐνδον μὲν δῆ ὄδ' αὐτὸς ἐγὼ: Ρι.Ρ.4.1 σάμερον μὲν: Ν.9.11 τότε μὲν.

ὡς μὲν, often in Homeric similes: Κ487: Μ436: Ρ740: ψ162: τὼς μὲν, τ234.

(6) Verbs. Hom. Α216 Χρῆ μὲν σφωϊτερόν γε, θεά, ἔπος εἰρύσασθαι (Ι309): β318 εἶμι μὲν (the crucial decision): μ156 ἀλλ' ἐρέω μὲν ἐγών: Ρι.Ρ.3.77 ἀλλ' ἐπεύξασθαι μὲν ἐγὼν ἐθέλω (but see III.4.i): 4.279 ἐπέγνω μὲν Κυράνα.

With negatives. It will be practically convenient to group together, under the following three headings, the uses of μὲν with

negatives: though the force of the particle is not everywhere the same.

(7) οὐ μέν. (i) Most commonly οὐ μέν merely conveys an emphatic denial. Hom.B203 οὐ μέν πως πάντες βασιλεύσομεν ἐνθάδ' Ἀχαιοί: E472 οὐ μέν μοι κακὸς εἶδεται: B233: Z326: X126: Ψ70: ρ415,483: χ462: Hes.Sc.357. In a subordinate clause, after ἐπεὶ: Hom.K79 ἐπεὶ οὐ μέν ἐπέτρεπε γήραϊ λυγρῶ: ε364: θ585.

(ii) But in certain passages an adversative sense (for which, in general, see II) is at least appropriate. Hom.Δ158 κατὰ δ' ὄρκια πιστὰ πάτησαν. οὐ μέν πως ἄλιον πέλει ὄρκιον: 372 Τυδέος υἱὲ . . . τί πτώσσεις . . .; οὐ μέν Τυδείϊ γ' ὤδε φίλον πτωσκαζέμεν ἦεν: X13 σὺ δὲ δεῦρο λιάσθης. οὐ μέν με κτενέεις: 283 ὄφρα σ' ὑποδείσας μένεος ἀλκῆς τε λάθωμαι. οὐ μέν μοι φεύγοντι μεταφρένῳ ἐν δόρυ πήξεις: ω251 αὐχμῆς τε κακῶς καὶ ἀεικέα ἔσσαι. οὐ μέν ἀεργίης γε ἀναξ' ἔνεκ' οὐ σε κομίζει.

(iii) In other passages, again, οὐ μέν, following a negative sentence or clause, might conceivably be explained as progressive, 'nor again'. (Cf. οὐ μήν, s.v. μήν, III.2.i.) Hom.Α603 οὐδέ τι θυμὸς ἐδεύετο δαιτὸς ἔϊσης, οὐ μέν φόρμιγγος περικαλλέος: ω246 οὐδέ τι πάμπαν, οὐ φυτόν, οὐ συκέη, οὐκ ἄμπελος, οὐ μέν ἐλαίη, οὐκ ὄγχνη, οὐ πρασιή τοι ἀνευ κομιδῆς κατὰ κῆπον. O738 might also be taken so, the preceding rhetorical question counting as a negative statement. But far more probably μέν is emphatic in all these passages, and asyndeton is to be assumed.

(8) At all events 'nor again' is normally οὐδὲ μέν in Epic and Ionic verse, corresponding to οὐδὲ μήν in Attic. Here, as with οὐδὲ μήν, it is difficult to say whether οὐδέ or μέν marks the connexion. (Ebeling prefers the former view.) Hom.Z489 οὐ κακόν, οὐδὲ μέν ἐσθλόν: Α154: I374: Hes.Op.785: Thgn.611,1080, 1142: Archil.Fr.78.3: Phoc.Fr.2.5: Xenoph.Fr.2.17: Emp.Fr.27.

Sometimes οὐδὲ μέν follows a positive statement, repeating or amplifying the same idea in a negative form. Hom.O688 ὡς Αἴας . . . φοίτα . . . οὐδὲ μέν Ἐκτωρ μίμνεν: M82: κ447.

In Hom.K181, exceptionally, neither particle is connective, and οὐδὲ μέν means 'also not . . . indeed': οἱ δ' ὅτε δὴ φυλάκευσιν

ἐν ἀγρομένοισιν ἔμιχθεν, οὐδὲ μέν εὐδοντας φυλάκων ἠγήτορας εὐρον ('The guards, too, were certainly not asleep, any more than their assailants.' 'An unusual form of the common δέ in *apodosi*', Leaf: but οὐδέ is adverbial here, not structural).

οὐδὲ μέν οὐδέ. Hom.K299 βάν ρ' ἴμεν . . . οὐδὲ μέν οὐδὲ Τρῶας ἀγήτορας εἶασεν Ἐκτωρ εὐδεν. The following admit, though they do not, perhaps, absolutely require, an adversative force in μέν: Hom.B703 'Protesilaus, their captain, was dead. οὐδὲ μέν οὐδ' οἱ ἀναρχοὶ ἔσαν' ('Yet they, too, were not leaderless'<sup>1</sup>): P24: T295. Exceptionally, in a subordinate clause, neither particle being connective ('the repetition of the negative gives a rhetorical emphasis', Leaf): M212 ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ μέν οὐδὲ εἰοικε ('Since it is indeed not seemly, either': φ319).

οὐδὲ μέν γ' οὐδ' cannot of course stand in Ar.V.480.

(9) οὐ μέν οὐδέ is fairly common in Herodotus. Here μέν is clearly connective.

(i) Progressive, after preceding negative: ii12 οὔτε τῇ Ἀραβίῃ . . . οὔτε τῇ Λιβύῃ, οὐ μέν οὐδὲ τῇ Συρίῃ: 49 οὐ γὰρ δὴ . . . φήσω . . . οὐ μέν οὐδὲ φήσω . . .: 142: iii2: viii130.3.

(ii) Introducing a new argument, with no preceding negative: ii120.

(iii) Adversative:<sup>2</sup> iv205 'Pheretime took a savage vengeance on the Barcaeans. οὐ μέν οὐδὲ ἡ Φερετίμη εὐ τὴν ζόην κατέπλεξε'. Here οὐδέ has the force of οὐκ αὖ: 'However, Pheretime, on her side, came to a bad end'. vi45.1 (οὐ μέντοι οὐδέ ABCP) and vi71.2 are closely similar. viii25.2 and ix7a2 are quite different: here the meaning 'not, either', 'not, again' is inappropriate, and οὐδέ seems to be merely an emphatic negative, 'not at all'. For a discussion of these last two passages, see οὐδέ, III.

Herodotean οὐ μέν οὐδέ is certainly puzzling. (Stein ignores the difficulties.) It seems artificial to assume such various explanations of the combination. But a more uniform treatment would, I think, do violence to the facts.

<sup>1</sup> This would follow naturally enough upon the description of the cities and their chieftains: but it certainly comes awkwardly after the description of the leaderless contingent of Achilles, 681-94: whereas in 726 οὐδέ μέν οὐδέ is natural (as Leaf observes: but I cannot agree with his explanation).

<sup>2</sup> It would be possible to regard the first three examples as progressive. Cf. οὐ μήν οὐδέ, s.v. μήν, III.2.ii.

B. In Attic the use of emphatic μέν is extremely limited. It is often difficult to decide whether μέν is to be taken as purely emphatic, or as suggesting an unexpressed antithesis (the so-called μέν *solitarium*: see III.5 below). The following list of possible examples could hardly be materially increased: as my observations show, it should probably be materially reduced. Most of the passages are from tragedy and Xenophon.

(1) In statements. *A.Pers.* 548 Νῦν δὴ πρόπασα μέν στένει γαί' Ἀσις ἐκκεκνωμένα (but very probably Paley's δέ in 558 is right, and answers this μέν, not, as Paley thought, the μέν in 554, which I believe to be *solitarium* (see III.5.i): there is everywhere a close connexion of thought between strophe and antistrophe in this chorus): 730 Πρὸς τὰδ' ὡς Σούσων μέν ἄστν πᾶν κενανδρίαν στένειν (μέγ' Mayer: but the thought is completed by Βακτρίων δ' ἔρρει πανώλης δῆμος in 732): 1014 Πῶς δ' οὐ; στρατὸν μέν τοσοῦτον τάλας πέπληγμαi.—Τί δ' οὐκ ὄλωλεν . . . Περσᾶν; (but here, again, as the answer suggests, the utterance may be incomplete): *Supp.* 991 (but most editors emend here: and μέν may be answered by δέ in 996): *Ch.* 400 Ἀλλὰ νόμος μέν φονίας σταγόνας . . . ἄλλο προσαιτεῖν αἶμα (' μέν simply affirmative', Verrall: Tucker supposes the implication of a suppressed clause): *Fr.* 99.2 ταύρω τε λειμῶν ξένια πάμβοτος παρῆν. τοιόνδε μέν Ζεὺς κλέμμα . . . ἤνυσεν λαβεῖν (a clear case of emphatic μέν. if the text is sound: 'τοιόνδε δὴ *malim*' Nauck): *S.El.* 1307 ἀλλ' οἶσθα μέν τάνθενδε, πῶς γὰρ οὐ; (but μέν seems to look forward to a request for orders, which follows, after a digression, in 1319): *OC* 702 τὸ μέν τις οὐ . . . ἀλιώσει: *E.El.* 631 Δμῶες μέν εἰσιν οἳ σέ γ' οὐκ εἶδόν ποτε (I read no comma after εἰσιν: 'The *slaves* are people who have never seen you before': the suppressed thought is, I think, 'But there may be others, besides slaves, in the οἰκεία χεῖρ, who *have* seen you'): 649 Ἐπιηρετείτω μέν δυοῖν ὄντοι οἷδε (δ' εἰς (for μέν), Weil, with much probability): *Supp.* 767 Κᾶστρωσέ γ' εὐνάς κἀκάλυψε σώματα.— Δεινὸν μέν ἦν βάσταγμα κἀσχύνην ἔχον ('Well, certainly, it was a terrible task to perform' ('but perhaps he was right')): *Hel.* 664 Λέγ' ὡς ἀκουστὰ . . .—Ἀπέπτυσσα μέν λόγον, οἶον οἶον ἐσοίσομαι.—Ὅμως δὲ λέξον (the unexpressed antithesis is expressed in the answer): *Hipp.* 882 Τόδε μέν οὐκέτι στόματος ἐν πύλαις καθέξω (there is no apparent implied contrast here: τόδ' ἐμόν

*ΜΟΥ*): in *E.Heracl.* 181 μέν (for which Wilamowitz reads γάρ) looks forward to δέ in 184: 'While Athenian law is impartial, there is here no case in law at all'.

*Pl.R.* 403E Τί δὲ δὴ σίτων πέρι; ἀθληταὶ μέν γὰρ οἱ ἄνδρες τοῦ μεγίστου ἀγῶνος (μέν perhaps implies that this is only one out of many aspects under which the guardians may be considered): 460B ἀρχαὶ εἴτε ἀνδρῶν εἴτε γυναικῶν εἴτε ἀμφοτέρω—κοινὰ μέν γὰρ πού και ἀρχαὶ γυναιξί τε και ἀνδράσιν— —Ναί (μέν γὰρ *AM*: γὰρ *FD*): *Phdr.* 228B ἀπαντήσας δὲ τῷ νοσοῦντι περὶ λόγων ἀκοήν, ἰδὼν μέν, ἰδὼν ἦσθη ὅτι ἔξοι τὸν συγκορυβαντιῶντα (the MSS. vary: but this text looks to me genuine: it is perhaps a poetical quotation or reminiscence: μέν is clearly not answered by δέ after δεομένου): *Lg.* 953D ἴτω μέν νῦν κτλ. (I should prefer νῦν. Emphatic μέν here is perhaps a poetical reminiscence: England compares *R.* 364B ('a semi-proverbial expression', Adam) and 489B): *X.Cyr.* 16.2 Ὡ παῖ, ὅτι μέν οἱ θεοὶ . . . πέμπουσί σε . . . δῆλον (where μέν is not answered by the following δέ: but it may be *solitarium*, 'this is clear, though other things may be obscure'): ii 1.4 Ἀγωνιστέον μέν ἄρα ἡμῖν πρὸς τοὺς ἀνδρας: vi 3.18 Σὺ μέν ἄρα . . . οἶσθα . . .—Ἐγὼ μέν ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη (the first μέν (*om. CE*) is rather different from the examples of σὺ μέν given under III.5.ii: the second seems to be assentient, for Ἐγωγε: cf. μέντοι, μέν δὴ, μέν οὖν).\*

Ἀλλὰ . . . μέν in Xenophon<sup>1</sup> demands separate treatment. Krüger (on *An.* 17.6) observes that in Ἀλλὰ . . . μέν at the opening of an answer μέν is often not balanced by a following δέ, and that in such cases μέν is equivalent to μήν in force, as (admittedly) in ἀλλὰ μέν δὴ, και μέν δὴ, οὐ μέν δὴ. *An.* vii 6.11 Ἀλλὰ πάντα μέν ἄρα ἀνθρωπον ὄντα προσδοκᾶν δεῖ, ὅποτε γε και ἐγὼ νῦν ὑφ' ὑμῶν αἰτίας ἔχω . . . : 17.5 (μέν perhaps answered by δέ in §7): vii 1.9 (perhaps, in spite of the order, answered by οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται): *Mem.* 12.2 (not formally at the opening of an answer, but rebutting a charge presented in a rhetorical question:

<sup>1</sup> A. Platt (*C.R.* xxv (1911), 14) rather light-heartedly assumes the equivalence of ἀλλὰ . . . μέν and ἀλλὰ μέν δὴ, ἀλλὰ μήν in *Pl.R.* 614B and other passages, where, as R. W. Chapman shows in his reply (*ib.* pp. 204-5), a contrasted idea *precedes* μέν (see III.4.i). Platt does not cite the most remarkable of the Xenophontine passages, and seems to be unaware that Krüger has anticipated him.



πῶς οὖν . . . ἄλλους ἂν ἢ ἀσεβεῖς ἢ παρανόμους . . . ἐποίησεν ; ἀλλ' ἔπαυσε μὲν τούτων πολλοὺς ἀρετῆς ποιήσας ἐπιθυμεῖν : but this may stand for ἔπαυσε μὲν . . . ἐποίησε δὲ . . . : cf. III.4.ii.b).<sup>1</sup> I add the following : *HG*ii 3.35 Ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν μνησθήσομαι, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὃ τελευταῖον κατ' ἐμοῦ εἶπε (not 'First of all I will mention', but 'I will mention first': μὲν does not very definitely look forward here, as it does in III.5.iv): vii 3.7 Ἀλλ' ὑπερορᾶν μὲν . . . οὐ δυνατὸν ὑμῶν (μὲν is perhaps answered by τίνι μὴν πιστεύων . . .); *Mem.*ii 6.21 Ἀλλ' ἔχει μὲν . . . ποικίλως πως ταῦτα. In *Oec.*7.3 μὲν is really answered by οὐ γὰρ δὴ . . . : in *An.*vii 6.9, by εἰ μὴ Ξενοφῶν . . . .

What is the true explanation of this Xenophontine ἀλλὰ . . . μὲν? "Ἐχει ποικίλως πως ταῦτα." Krüger's view is at first sight attractive, and it accounts adequately for some awkward passages. But on reflection it appears improbable. μὲν (sometimes without a contrasted idea expressed or implied) often has a certain inceptive force. (See III.5.v.) Xenophon seems to combine this quasi-inceptive μὲν with the inceptive ἀλλά which he uses so freely. (See ἀλλά, II.8.) Usually (I have counted about forty instances, and there are no doubt many more) μὲν is answered explicitly or implicitly. Hence ἀλλὰ . . . μὲν becomes for Xenophon a stereotyped opening formula, occasionally used even where no answer is readily to be found or imagined. There is, I think, a unity about the use of the formula that it would be artificial to disintegrate.

*Pl.La.*182D resembles the Xenophontine examples: Ἀλλ' ἔστι μὲν, ὦ Νικία, χαλεπὸν λέγειν . . . . Here I think μὲν is answered by καὶ δὴ καί.

(2) In questions. The above examples are rather heterogeneous, and highly inconclusive. μὲν in questions (with which we may perhaps compare interrogative μέντοι, though the tone is quite different, μὲν being uncertain and tentative, μέντοι impatient or conversationally lively) has the appearance of a far more clear-cut idiom. Most of the examples are from Euripides, with one or two from Aristophanes and Plato. The force of μὲν in

<sup>1</sup> Kühner (*ad loc.*) holds (wrongly, I think) that μὲν looks forward to καίτοι.

questions is thus expressed by Verrall (on *E.Med.*676, following Hermann on Elmsley's *Med.*1098): 'μέν in an interrogative sentence as elsewhere marks the proposition as preliminary<sup>1</sup> and points to a sequel. It implies therefore that the speaker either wishes or feels bound to assume it true.\* Hadley (on *E.Hipp.* 316, which is, however, I think, rather different: see below) quotes Verrall, and adds: 'It [μέν] generally implies that unless the answer is "yes", the discussion cannot go on'.<sup>2</sup>

*E.Alc.*146 Ἐλπίς μὲν οὐκέτ' ἐστὶ σώζεσθαι βίον; (if there is hope, it is premature to discuss the misery of the bereaved Admetus, as in 144-5): *Med.*1129 Τί φῆς; φρονεῖς μὲν ὀρθὰ κοῦμαίνη, γύναι . . . ; (it is no good starting a conversation with a person, unless you can assume that they are sane: cf. *Ion*520 Εὐφρονεῖς μὲν; *Ar.Au.*1214 Ὑγιαίνεις μὲν;): *E.Med.*676 Θέμις μὲν ἡμᾶς χρησμὸν εἰδέναι θεοῦ; (*sc.* 'If not, I will curb my inquisitiveness'): *Hel.*1226 Ὀρθῶς μὲν ἦδε συμφορὰ δακρύεται; (this is surely a question (so Pearson: not, as Murray takes it, an interrupted statement), *sc.* 'If Menelaus is not dead, we need not discuss what to do in view of his death'): *Ar.Th.*97 Ἀλλ' ἦ τυφλὸς μὲν εἰμ'; ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐχ ὀρῶ ἄνδρ' οὐδέν' (certainly a question, with ἀλλ' ἦ read for ἀλλ' ἦ: see ἀλλ' ἦ, p. 28): *Pl.Chrm.*153C Παρεγένου μὲν, ἦ δ' ὅς, τῆ μάχῃ; ('Were you there?') (*sc.* 'If not, there is no point in asking you questions'): *Men.*82B Ἐλλην μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ ἐλληνίζει; (*sc.* 'If the boy cannot talk Greek, he is of no use to us'). *E.Hipp.*316 seems rather different: ἀλλῃ δ' ἐν τύχῃ χεῖμαζομαι.—Ἄγνᾶς μὲν, ὦ παῖ, χεῖρας αἵματος φορεῖς; (μὲν shows that blood-guilt is only the first cause suggested for Phaedra's trouble and that other suggestions will follow, the question being not so much a preliminary, to clear the ground, as the first of an intended series: the interrogative force is, I think, slight: 'Your hands are free of blood, I suppose?'). \*

Fundamentally distinct from all the above is *Pl.Thet.*161E τὸ γὰρ ἐπισκοπεῖν . . . οὐ μακρὰ μὲν καὶ διωλύγιος φλυαρία, εἰ ἀληθῆς ἢ Ἀλήθεια Πρωταγόρου, ἀλλὰ μὴ παίζουσα . . . ἐφθέγγατο: ('μέν points forward to the alternative implied in ἀλλὰ μὴ παίζουσα, κτλ. "But then perhaps he was in jest"', Campbell,

<sup>1</sup> Hence it would really be more logical to class this under III, as a 'preparatory' use.

<sup>2</sup> This explanation had occurred to me independently.

rightly, I am inclined to think). The new turn given to the sentence by μέν is merely an incidental afterthought. μέν *om.* IV: certainly the particle is very difficult here.

II. Adversative. The existence of this use has often been denied, and the evidence for it is certainly not strong. But (not to mention μέν δή, μέν οὖν, μέντοι, γε μέν) we have seen above (I.A.7-9) that in certain places μέν following negatives is, or may be, adversative. And in two Homeric passages positive μέν seems to be adversative. (1) M344 αἴψα δ' ἐπ' Αἴαντα προῖει κήρυκα Θωῶτην: "ἔρχεο, δῖε Θωῶτα, θεῶν Αἴαντα κάλεσσον, ἀμφοτέρω μὲν μᾶλλον" (where μέν οὖν would be used in Attic: 'Nay, better, the twain of them'). There is, however, another reading Αἴαντε, and, if this is correct,<sup>1</sup> Leaf must be right in interpreting μέν μᾶλλον as μάλιστα μέν. In giving the message, the herald repeats ἀμφοτέρω μὲν μᾶλλον, which (with Αἴαντε) can only mean μάλιστα μέν *a.*: 354 Αἴαντ', Ἀργείων ἡγήτορε . . . ἠνάγει . . . κείσ' ἵμεν . . . ἀμφοτέρω μὲν μᾶλλον. If, then, Αἴαντα is right in 343, μέν seems to bear different senses in the two passages. This would certainly be surprising, and γ195-203 (where μέν in Nestor's mouth is purely emphatic, while when repeated by Telemachus it has an antithetical tinge) is far less remarkable. (2) Ω92 τίπτε με κείνος ἄνωγε μέγας θεός; αἰδέομαι δὲ μίσησθ' ἀθανάτοισιν, ἔχω δ' ἄχε' ἄκριτα θυμῷ. εἶμι μὲν, οὐδ' ἄλιον ἔπος ἔσσεται. μέν is clearly adversative here, as Leaf takes it, while in β318, εἶμι μὲν, οὐδ' ἄλιη ὁδὸς ἔσσεται, it is clearly emphatic.

In Hp. *Iudic.* 10 it is possible to take μέν as adversative: μάλιστα μὲν οὖν ταῦτα ποιεῖ κρίσιν . . . ποιεῖ δὲ καὶ ἕτερα κρίσεις, ἦτρον μὲν τουτέων: but μέν may equally be concessive, though looking back (as in III.4.i): 'to a less degree, certainly' (but still they do produce the effect). In *Fract.* 37 and *Art.* 55 Petrequin's μέν has no MS. authority: but *Fract.* 6 μὴ μὲν πολλῷ *vulg.*, μὴν *cell.* In X. *HG* iv 1.6 an adversative sense would suit the context: Τὸν δὲ υἱόν, ἔφη, ἑώρακας αὐτοῦ ὡς καλὸς ἐστι.—Τί δ' οὐ μέλλω; . . .—Τούτου μὲν φασὶ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτῷ καλλίονα εἶναι. But, in default

<sup>1</sup> It must be admitted, however, that the logical inconsequence of 'Call Ajax, both of them if possible' is not very startling: and, even with the singular, Leaf's interpretation may well be right.

of Attic parallels, we should regard μέν as affirmative here, or better, perhaps, read μέντοι.

III. Preparatory. (1) Normally preparatory μέν introduces the first limb of a grammatically co-ordinated antithesis,<sup>1</sup> the second limb being introduced by an adversative particle or combination of particles. But there are many exceptions to this principle. Viz.: (2) The second clause is introduced by a non-adversative particle (e.g. τε, καί, τοίνυν): (3) It is not introduced by any particle at all: (4) The contrasted idea is expressed, not in a following co-ordinated clause, but in what precedes; or one of the two clauses is subordinated to the other: (5) The contrasted idea is not expressed, either paratactically or hypotactically, but left to the imagination.

(1) Normal use. δέ is by far the commonest answer to μέν. But (α) οὐ δέ is almost entirely avoided (see δέ, III.A.5: for μέν . . . οὐδέ see οὐδέ, I.1.i), either by inversion (δὲ οὐ, δὲ . . . οὐ),

<sup>1</sup> When a relative clause is divided into co-ordinated sub-clauses, of which the second demands a different case for the relative pronoun, the relative in the second sub-clause is omitted, or a demonstrative substituted for it. D.xviii 82 οὗς ἡ μὲν πύλις . . . ἀπήλασε, σοὶ δ' ἦσαν φίλοι: Hom. K.244: E. *Supp.* 862: Pl. *R.* 533D: D. ix 47. In such cases μέν is usually omitted in the first sub-clause. Kühner II ii 267, 431-3.

A similar transition from participial to finite construction is often found. Hom. E. 145 ἔλεν Ἀστυνοῦσιν καὶ Ὑπεύρονα . . . τὸν μὲν . . . βουλῶν . . . τὸν δ' ἕτερον . . . πληξ': S. *Tr.* 836 πῶς οὐδ' ἂν ἀέλιον ἕτερον . . . ἴδοι, δεικνύστω μὲν ἴδρας προστετακῶς νήματι; μελαγχαιτα τ' ἄμμιγ' αἶμα νιν αἰκίσει φύσια . . . κεντρ': Hom. E. 593: S. *Tr.* 265 (if Jebb is right): OC 522 ἦνεγκ' ἀέκω μὲν . . . τοῦτω δ' αὐθαίρετον οἰδέν: Ant. v 27 κατ' ἐγὼ συγχωρῶ τῷ τοῦτω λόγῳ, παρεχόμενος μὲν τοὺς μάρτυρας ὡς οὐκ ἐξέβην ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου; εἰ δὲ καὶ ὡς μάλιστα ἐξέβην ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου, οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ εἰκὸς ἦν . . . (μέν has been suspected here: the change of subject adds to the real difficulty, and modern publishers, to the apparent difficulty, of this and S. *Tr.* 836, it is certainly not too harsh for Antiphon): S. OC 348: Th. iv 72.1: X. *Mem.* ii 1.30: D. vii 11. Cf. S. *OC* 1135 (from prepositional phrase to independent construction): O. *T.* 1135 (from comitative dative to independent construction): E. *Ba.* 224: X. *An.* i 10.12: etc. (all from appositional to independent construction): cf. also Lys. xii 15. For similar changes of construction without μέν, see Jebb, *ad loc.*, Kühner

(Kühner (II ii 100) rightly distinguishes from such constructions quite a few ones (Th. i 52.2, 67.2) in which the μέν clause is subordinated to a main clause containing the contrasted idea. See III.4.ii.)

or by postponement of δέ (see δέ, III.A.5), or by the substitution of another particle (usually μήν or μέντοι): (β) μήν, μέντοι, ἀλλά, ἀτάρ, etc., are sometimes used instead of δέ where a stronger adversative is required. μέν . . . δέ is in itself too common to need illustration. But certain points should be noted.

(i) The strength of the antithesis varies within wide limits. Sometimes μέν . . . δέ conveys little more than τε . . . καί. D. ii.11 τοῖς μέν Ὀλυνθίοις βοηθεῖν . . . πρὸς δὲ Θετταλοὺς πρεσβείαν πέμπειν: S.Aj.624: Fr.619.

This is particularly the case when the same word is repeated before μέν and δέ (the figure of anaphora, exceedingly common throughout Greek literature, verse and prose).<sup>1</sup> Hom.A288 πάντων μέν κρατέειν ἐθέλει, πάντεσσι δ' ἀνάσσειν: S.Tr.229 Ἄλλ' εὖ μέν ἴγμεθ', εὖ δὲ προσφωνούμεθα: Hdt.i45.3 Ἀδρηστος δὲ . . . οὗτος δὴ ὁ φονεὺς μέν τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ γενόμενος, φονεὺς δὲ τοῦ καθήραντος: Th.i85.2: 126.12: vi20.4: Pl.Lg.697D, 739C: Ant.v62: Lys.xii94: xiii1: D.xix84. With an unemphatic word repeated: E.Heracl.491 εἰ χρῆ μέν ἡμᾶς, χρῆ δὲ τήνδ' εἶναι πόλιν. With a strong sense of contrast: S.Ant.616-7 ἐλπίς πολλοῖς μέν ὄνασις ἀνδρῶν, πολλοῖς δ' ἀπάτα κουφονόων ἐρώτων.

Similarly in passages where the μέν clause gives the time or circumstances in which the δέ clause takes place. E.Surr.650 Λαμπρὰ μέν ἀκτίς ἡλίου . . . ἔβαλλε γαίαν ἀμφὶ δ' Ἡλέκτρας πύλας ἔστην: Ba.677: B.5.144.

(ii) Often, on the other hand, the antithesis carries an idea of strong contrast, so that in English we should make one of the clauses concessively dependent on the other. In such cases the weight is far more frequently on the δέ clause. (See Dissen, *De structura periodorum oratoria* (preface to ed. of *De Corona*.) D.ii9 εἴ τις ὑμῶν ταῦτα μέν οὕτως ἔχειν ἠγεῖται, οἶεται δὲ . . . ('while thinking'): 24: iii20: xix267. Cases, however, are not lacking where the μέν clause bears the weight. D.xviii125 ὄρα μὴ τούτων μέν ἐχθρὸς ἦς, ἐμοὶ δὲ προσποιῆ ('while pretending to be mine'): S.OT 673 (see Jebb): E.Med.726: Or.1076. In E.Cyc.199 the weight is on the first clause, but there is no μέν (see also p. 165).

(iii) In ὁ μέν . . . ὁ δέ, ὁ μέν normally refers to the first, ὁ

<sup>1</sup> For the relative frequency of anaphora in various prose authors, see Blass, *Att. Ber.*, Index, s.v. *anaphora*: Rehdantz, Index, s.v. *anaphora* (commonest in Xenophon).

δέ to the second substantive. But occasionally the order of reference is reversed. Th.iii82.7 ῥᾶον δ' οἱ πολλοὶ κακοῦργοι ὄντες δεξιοὶ κέκληνται ἢ ἀμαθεῖς ἀγαθοί, καὶ τῷ μέν αἰσχύνονται, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ἀγάλλονται: i68.4: iv62.2: X.Ant.i10.4. (Kühner IIii264, *Anm.*.)

(iv) (a) Normally μέν and δέ stand second in their respective clauses, and everything between the last stop and the word preceding μέν applies to the whole μέν . . . δέ complex. (Strictly speaking, one should say, not 'clause' but 'word-group', which does not necessarily coincide with punctuation.) Thus we often find οὐ negating a whole μέν . . . δέ complex.<sup>1</sup> D.xviii13 οὐ γὰρ δήπου Κτησιφῶντα μέν δύναται διώκειν δι' ἐμέ, ἐμέ δ', εἴπερ ἐξελέγξειν ἐνόμιζεν, αὐτὸν οὐκ ἂν ἐγράψατο ('It is not the case that, while able to . . . he would not have . . .'): 288 καὶ οὐχ ὁ μέν δῆμος οὕτως, οἱ δὲ τῶν τετελευτηκότων πατέρες . . . ἄλλως πως: E.IT116: Hel.575: Pl.Grg.512A: Ant.v63: Lys.xii47. Or an adjectival or substantival expression applies to the whole complex: D.xviii31 τὸ μέν τοίνυν ἐν τῇ πρεσβείᾳ πρῶτον κλέμμα μέν Φιλίππου, δωροδόκημα δὲ τῶν ἀδίκων τούτων ἀνθρώπων: xix90 ἢ δέ γε τῶν πραγμάτων κατασκευῆ . . . ἢ μέν ἡμετέρα . . . ἢ δ' ἐκείνου . . . Cf. S.Aj.765.

(b) The words standing immediately before μέν and δέ are usually corresponding elements in the contrasted thoughts, and, further, the most important elements in the contrast: while the subsidiary elements in the contrast follow, often in symmetrical order, in the two clauses. That Isocrates favours this symmetrical arrangement goes without saying. But even Demosthenes, who was so free from a pedantic love of uniformity that a contemporary comic poet (Timocles, Fr.12) accused him of 'never uttering an antithesis in his life', sometimes does the same: e.g. i10,16: xviii68: though he often varies the order, and deliberately avoids a too obvious symmetry, underlined by assonance.

But these principles, predominant though they are in the highly polished prose writing of the fourth century, are even then far from being hard and fast rules: while in earlier and less developed prose, and even more in verse, where order is partly

<sup>1</sup> Schoolboys and undergraduates often go astray here: but it is surprising to find mature scholars sometimes falling into the trap.

determined by metrical convenience, they are constantly subject to exception.<sup>1</sup>

Hom.N13 ἔνθεν γὰρ ἐφαίμετο πᾶσα μὲν Ἰδη, φαίμετο δὲ Πριάμοιο πόλις: *h.Ap.*488, *h.Merc.*509: *A.Ag.*759 τὸ δυσσεβὲς γὰρ ἔργον μέτα μὲν πλείονα τίκτει, σφετέρᾳ δ' εἰκότα γέννα: *Ch.*554 Ἀπλοῦς ὁ μῦθος: τήνδε μὲν στείχειν ἔσω, αἰνῶ δὲ κρύπτειν τάσδε συνθήκας ἐμάς: *S.O.T.*15 ὄρας μὲν ἡμᾶς . . . τὸ δ' ἄλλο φύλον . . . θακεῖ: *Rh.*307 οὐτοί μ' . . . λόγοις ἐλεοῦσι μὲν . . . ἐκεῖνο δ' οὐδεὶς . . . θέλει: 919 Σῶσαι κακοῦ μὲν πρῶτα τοῦδ', ἔπειτα δὲ . . . πορθῆσαι: *E.Hcl.*264 καὶ τὰς τύχας μὲν τὰς κακὰς . . . τὰς δὲ μὴ κακὰς . . .: *Fr.*291 ὦ παῖ, νέων τοι δρᾶν μὲν ἔντονοι χέρες, γνῶμαι δ' ἀμείνους εἰσὶ τῶν γεραϊτέρων: *Ag.Ach.*117 καὶ τοῖν μὲν εὐνούχοιν τὸν ἕτερον τουτονὶ ἐγὰδ' ὅς ἐστι . . . ὀδὶ δὲ τίς ποτ' ἐστίν; *Th.*266 Ἀνὴρ μὲν ἡμῖν οὐτοσί καὶ δὴ γυνὴ τό γ' εἶδος: ἦν λαλῆς δ', ὅπως τῷ φθέγματι γυναικειῆς εὐ: *Pl.*1120 Πρότερον γὰρ εἶχον μὲν . . . πάντ' ἀγάθ' . . . νυνὶ δὲ πεινῶν ἀναβάδην ἀναπαύομαι: *Rax*774 Μοῦσα σὺ μὲν . . . μετ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ φίλου χόρευσον . . ., ἦν δὲ σε Καρκίνος ἐλθὼν ἀντιβολῆ . . . χορευσαί, μήθ' ὑπάκουε . . .: *A.Supp.*940: *E.Tr.*1232.\*

Prose (particularly Antiphon). *Hdt.*i131 οἱ δὲ νομίζουσι Διὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλότατα τῶν ὀρέων ἀναβαίνοντες θυσίας ἔρδειν . . . θύουσι δὲ ἡλίῳ τε καὶ σελήνῃ: *Pl.Ti.*21A ποῖον ἔργον τοῦτο Κριτίας οὐ λεγόμενον μὲν, ὡς δὲ πραχθὲν ὄντως . . . διηγείτο . . .; 21D ἦν ἦδε ἡ πόλις ἔπραξε μὲν, διὰ δὲ χρόνον . . . οὐ διήρκεσε δεῦρο ὁ λόγος: *X.Smp.*4.32 καὶ εἰμὶ νῦν μὲν τυράννῳ εἰκῶς, τότε δὲ σαφῶς δοῦλος ἦν: *Ant.*i23 δεήσεται δ' ὑμῶν οὗτος μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς μητρὸς . . . ἐγὼ δ' ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρὸς . . . αἰτοῦμαι: ii a9 μάρτυρες δ' εἰ μὲν πολλοὶ παρεγένοντο, πολλοὺς ἂν παρεσχόμεθα: ἐνὸς δὲ τοῦ ἀκολουθοῦ παραγενομένου . . .: ii γ9 ἡμεῖς δὲ ὑμῶν δεόμεθα μὲν οὐδέν, λέγομεν δ' ὑμῖν . . .: iii a2 τῷ δὲ ἀποθανόντι αὐτῷ μὲν οὐδέν ἐνθύμιον, τοῖς δὲ ζῶσι προσέθηκεν: v20 ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν μὲν πλοῦν ἐποίησάμην ἐκ τῆς Μυτιλήνης . . . ἐπλέομεν δὲ εἰς τὴν Αἴνον: vi17 αἰτιῶνται δὲ οὗτοι μὲν ἐκ τούτων, ὡς . . . ἐγὼ δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν τούτων ὧν αἰτιῶνται οὗτοι ἀποφανῶ ὅτι οὐκ ἔνοχός εἰμι: *Pl.Cra.*385C: *R.*573E: *Lg.*761A,874D,902D.

<sup>1</sup> Demetrius (*De Eloc.* 53), in discussing τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς, deprecates excessive regularity: *Χρή δι' αὐτὸς συνδέσμοις μὴ μάλα ἀναποδίδοσθαι ἀκριβῶς, οἷον τῷ "μέν" συνδέσμῳ τὸν "δέ"*. μικροπρεπὲς γὰρ ἢ ἀκριβεία: ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰσχυροτέρως πως χρῆσθαι.

The above transpositions are all more or less violent. Far commoner is the postponement of μὲν (paralleled in the case of other particles) to third or fourth place after article-substantive (etc.), preposition-substantive, article-preposition-substantive.<sup>1</sup>

*S.O.T.*620 τὰ τοῦδε μὲν: *El.*1424 τὰν δόμοισι μὲν: *Hdt.*i93 ἡ κρηπὶς μὲν: ix18.3 τὰ περὶ Φωκέων μὲν (77.3): *Th.*iii22.1 ἀνὰ τὸ σκοτεινὸν μὲν: *X.Smp.*2.17 τὰ σκέλη μὲν . . . τοὺς ὤμους δὲ (directly afterwards τοὺς μὲν ὤμους . . . τὰ δὲ σκέλη): *Timocl.* *Fr.*9.3: *Hdt.*ii20: *Th.*ii98.2: iv134.2: *Pl.Ti.*67B,88B: *Lg.*806C: *X.Smp.*2.2: *And.*i99,106: *D.*xix271,299: *Pl.Criti.*121A ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ μὲν μοῖρα: *R.*607E διὰ τὸν ἐγγεγονότα μὲν ἔρωτα.

Postponement after negatives: *Pl.Lg.*876B οὐκ εὐτυχὲς μὲν: 928E μὴ κακοῦ μὲν πατρός: *And.*i72 μὴ πείθων μὲν: iii26: *Arist.MM*1209a21 οὐχ αἱ αὐταὶ μὲν, οὐ παντελῶς δὲ οὐδὲ ἀλλότριαι ἀλλήλων ('on the one hand, not the same'). After ὡς: *Ant.*iiβ3 ὡς δεινὸν μὲν . . . ὡς δ' ἡλίθιον. After other closely cohering words: *Hdt.*i87 τῇ σῆ μὲν εὐδαιμονίῃ: *Pl.Lg.*759D τρεῖς φερέτωσαν μὲν: 842E Διὸς ὀρίου μὲν: 948C μέρος τι μὲν.

Where the μὲν . . . δέ complex is joined to what precedes by a connecting particle μὲν takes precedence over the connective (μὲν γάρ, μὲν δή, etc.). But τε ousts μὲν from second place in *Hp.Morb.*ii53: ἔς τε μὲν πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμέρας πάτχει τοιαῦτα: μετὰ δὲ πῦον πτύει. The juxtaposition of connective τε and μὲν is strikingly avoided in *Pl.Phidr.*239A τοσοῦτων κακῶν . . . ἐραστὴν ἐρωμένῳ ἀνάγκη γιγνομένων τε καὶ φύσει ἐνότων [τῶν] μὲν ἠδεσθαι, τὰ δὲ παρασκευάζειν.

μὲν combined with καὶ . . . καί: *Pl.Lg.*655A ἀλλ' ἐν γὰρ μουσικῇ καὶ σχήματα μὲν καὶ μέλη ἔνεστιν: granted the order of the remaining words, that of the particles is inevitable. μὲν combined with καί ('even'): *Hp.Fract.*32 γεγράφαται ἤδη οἱ τρόποι οἷως χρῆ ἰητρεύειν, ἦν τε ἐλπίσης ὅστέα ἀποστήσεσθαι, ἦν τε μὴ. χρῆ δέ, καὶ ἦν μὲν ἐλπίσης ὅστέα ἀποστήσεσθαι . . . (καί omitted in some MSS.: μὲν (*solitarium*) denotes that this is only one of two possible alternatives): cf. *IC* 14 ἦν δὲ ὑποπτεύσης μὲν . . .

In *Ar.Ec.*301 the position of μὲν as first word in an accusative clause of a long glyconic is remarkable. In tmesis: *Ar.Lys.*263 κατὰ μὲν

<sup>1</sup> δέ in the answering clause is either postponed or normally placed: *Pl.R.*453A,571D: *Lg.*822B,800E,947C: *Th.*153B (δὲ).

ἄγιον ἔχειν βρέτας. In *Pl. Alc. II* 148E φάναι oddly separates πλείστας from μέν.

(2) Second clause introduced by a non-adversative particle. We have seen above that the contrast conveyed by μέν and δέ may be so slight as hardly to be a contrast at all. It is therefore not surprising that, instead of δέ, we often find a particle expressing mere addition.<sup>1</sup> The great majority of the examples are poetical.

(i) μέν . . . καί. (The Homeric examples are not conclusive, as in them μέν may be purely emphatic.) Hom. A 267 κάρτιστοι μέν ἔσαν καὶ καρτίστοις ἐμάχοντο: M 258 κρόσσας μέν πύργων ἔρουν, καὶ ἔρειπον ἐπάλξεις: Tyr. Fr. 9.11-12: S. Aj. 1 Ἄει μέν . . . καὶ νῦν: E. Hel. 734 πολλὰ μέν . . . καὶ νῦν: Ag. Ach. 1164 τοῦτο μέν αὐτῷ κακὸν ἔν, καὶ ἕτερον νυκτερινὸν γένοιτο: V. 552 πρῶτα μέν . . . κάπειτα: 607 πρῶτα μέν . . . καί (Nu. 1016): Ra. 405 κατεσχίσω μέν . . . κάξηυρες: Hom. K 458: γ 351: 149: S. Tr. 689: (in Pi. P. 2.58 μέν is answered by εἰ δέ τις): Pl. R. 476B χωρὶς μέν . . . καὶ χωρὶς αὐ: Phid. 258E Σχολή μέν δή, ὡς εἴκει καὶ ἄμα . . . (the connexion is loose here, and μέν is almost *solitarium*): Anaxim. Rh. Al. 36 ([Arist.] 1442a8) αὐτοὺς μέν συντόμως ἐπαινετέον καὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους κακολογητέον: X. Cyr. 1.4.3: Mem. ii 6.22: An. v 2.21: Ant. vi 14: (in Th. v 60.1 οἱ μέν ταῦτα εἰπόντες τῶν Ἀργείων is answered by οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι in § 2, not by καὶ ὁ Ἄγης: the negotiators of the treaty are contrasted with the army, which dislikes the treaty: see Graves and Steup): Ant. Fr. 50 ἡ (μέν) γὰρ νῆσος, ἣν ἔχομεν, δήλη μέν καὶ πόρρωθεν ὅτι ἐστὶν ὑψηλὴ καὶ τραχεῖα καὶ τὰ μέν χρήσιμα . . . μικρὰ αὐτῆς ἐστὶ, τὰ δὲ ἀργὰ πολλὰ: Demetrius (*De Eloc.* 53) quotes this, with the curious explanation that one δέ answers three μέν's: it looks, though, as if the μέν after δήλη were answered by καὶ τὰ μέν χρήσιμα: the μέν after ἡ is added by editors to make up the three.

(ii) μέν . . . ἠδέ. See ἦ, III.12.ii.

(iii) μέν . . . τε<sup>2</sup> (a good deal commoner than μέν . . . καί,

<sup>1</sup> To style this slight inconsistency 'anacoluthon' (Hartung, ii 410) is surely going too far.

<sup>2</sup> J. B. Bury (Appendix A to edition of Pindar's Isthmian Odes, shows that many of the examples of μέν . . . τε fall into two classes: (1) equivalent

but often needlessly altered by editors). Hom. T 291 ἄνδρα μέν . . . τρεῖς τε κασιγνήτους: χ 475 τοῦ δ' ἀπὸ μέν ρίνας . . . τάμνον, μήδεά τ' ἐξέρυσαν: Pi. O. 6.88 πρῶτον μέν . . . κελαδήσαι, γυνῶναί τ' ἔπειτ': 7.88 τίμα μέν . . . δίδοι τε: A. Syr. 410 ὅπως ἄνατα ταῦτα πρῶτα μέν πόλει, αὐτοῖσί θ' ἡμῖν ἐκτελευτήσει καλῶς: Th. 9.24 ὡς ἐρξάτην πολλὰ μέν πολίτας, ξένων τε πάντων στίχας: Ch. 585 Πολλὰ μέν γὰρ τρέφει . . . πόντιαί τ' ἀγκάλαι . . . βρύουσι: 975 σεμνοὶ μέν ἦσαν ἐν θρόνοις τόθ' ἡμενοί, φίλοι τε καὶ νῦν: S. Ant. 963 παύεσκε μέν γὰρ ἐνθέους γυναικας εὐίον τε πῦρ, φιλαύλους τ' ἠρέθιζε Μούσας: Tr. 1012 πολλὰ μέν ἐν πόντῳ κατὰ τε δρία πάντα καθαίρων: 1233 ἦ μοι μητρί μέν θανεῖν μόνη μεταίτιος, σοί τ' αὖθις ὡς ἔχεις ἔχειν: Ph. 1424-6 πρῶτον μέν νόσου παῦση λυγρᾶς, ἀρετῆ τε πρῶτος ἐκκριθεὶς στρατεύματος Πάριν μέν . . . νοσφιεῖς βίου, πέρσεις τε Τροίαν: E. Heracl. 337 πρῶτα μέν σκοποὺς πέμψω . . . μάντις τ' ἀθροίσας θύσομαι: Cys. 41 Παῖ γενναίων μέν πατέρων, γενναίων τ' ἐκ τοκάδων: Ag. Nu. 563 Ὑψιμέδοντα μέν θεῶν Ζῆνα τύραννον ἐς χορὸν πρῶτα μέγαν κικλήσκω τόν τε μεγασθενῆ . . .: Pl. 665 Εἰς μέν γε Νεοκλείδης . . . ἕτεροί τε πολλοί: Pi. O. 4.12: P. 11.46: S. Ant. 1162: Ph. 1056, 1136: E. Med. 11, 125, 430: Heracl. 238: Tr. 48, 134, 647: Ph. 55: Or. 22, 500, 1318: Rh. 912: El. 146: Ion 402: Ag. Nu. 612: (Lys. 263: δέ Dindorf, rightly): Th. i 144.2 νῦν δὲ τούτοις ἀποκρινάμενοι ἀποπέμψωμεν, Μεγαρέας μέν ὅτι ἔασομεν . . . τὰς τε πόλεις ὅτι αὐτονόμους ἀφήσομεν (τε ABEF: δέ cett. But Steup seems right in taking δέ after δίκας as answering μέν): ii 70.2 οἱ δὲ προσεδέξαντο, ὀρῶντες μέν τῆς στρατιᾶς τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν . . . ἀνηλωκυίας τε ἤδη τῆς πόλεως δισχίλια τάλαντα (τε ABEFM: δέ cett.): iii 46.2 τίνα (πόλιν) οἴεσθε ἦντινα οὐκ ἄμεινον μέν ἢ νῦν παρασκευάσεσθαι, πολιορκία τε παρατενεῖσθαι ἐς τοῦσχατον . . .; (Steup reads τε in the last two passages, while in iv 32.2 and 69.3, in both of which all MSS. give τε, he accepts

to anaphora with μέν and δέ: e.g. πολλὰ μέν . . . τε = πολλὰ μέν . . . πολλὰ δέ: (2) πρῶτον (πρῶτα) μέν . . . τε = πρῶτον μέν . . . ἔπειτα δέ. Certainly this explanation covers a number of cases (the treatment of Th. ii 65.12, where Bury keeps τρία μέν ἔτη . . . Κύρῳ τε, as equivalent to τρία μέν ἔτη . . . τρία δέ ἔτη Κύρῳ, is particularly ingenious). But it by no means covers the whole field. (At the same time, while recognizing the true correspondence of μέν . . . τε in some passages, we must not lose sight of the possibility that in others which have been cited as examples the τε clause is a mere supplement to the μέν clause, while the contrasting δέ clause comes later on.)

the emendation δέ, on the ground that the close connexion between the clauses makes μέν . . . δέ essential (in iv 32.2, for example, it is obvious that the ships' crews are to be contrasted with other arms): rightly, I think): Pl. *Phdr.* 266C σοφοὶ μὲν αὐτοὶ λέγειν γέγονασιν, ἄλλους τε ποιοῦσιν: *Lg.* 927B ὁξὺ μὲν ἀκούουσιν βλέπουσιν τε ὁξὺ: 717E, 857D, 866E, 950D: *Ti.* 82D: *Alc.* III 48E (but οἱ . . . μὲν here is perhaps answered by 149A Λακεδαιμονίοις δέ): X. *Cyr.* viii 1.3 (cited by Kühner, II ii 271.5, but the Oxford text does not record the reading ἀθρόοι τε: in any case ταχὺ μὲν is answered by τῶν δ'): *Cyn.* 13.10. In Pl. *Lg.* 782C, if Schanz's ἐτόλμων μὲν is right (which I doubt) μὲν is perhaps answered by σαρκῶν δ' (not, I think, by πέλανοι δέ, as England says). In *Lg.* 894C (τὴν τε ἑαυτὴν κινουσαν picked up by ταύτην δέ) read δέ for τε.

(iv) μέν . . . αὐτε. Hom. *Ψ* 774 ἐνθ' Αἴας μὲν ὄλισθε θεῶν . . . κρητῆρ' αὐτ' ἀνάειρε . . . Ὀδυσσεύς (where μέν is not answered by δ' in 777): Pl. *P.* 2.89 ὃς ἀνέχει τότε μὲν τὰ κείνων, τότε αὐθ' ἑτέροις ἔδωκε μέγα κῦδος: *I.* 6.3 ἐν Νεμέα μὲν πρῶτον . . . νῦν αὐτεν Ἰσθμοῦ δεσπότη: Hom. *Γ* 241: χ5. μέν . . . αὐ: Hom. *Λ* 103, 108: δ 210. (For S. *Ant.* 165, μέν . . . αὐθις, see below, (3) *ad fin.*) (For μέν . . . τοίνυν, see τοίνυν, II.2.)

In other cases, where the answering particle follows at a considerable interval, and particularly where a second speaker's words have intervened, the corresponsion is less direct, and we must assume some measure of anacoluthon. A. *Pr.* 478-84: E. *Hel.* 1255-61: A. *V.* 807-11: Pl. *R.* 396C-397A (οὐκοῦν), 398C-D (οὐκοῦν), 412B (δή), 491B-C (ἔτι τοίνυν), 544E-545A (οὖν): *Prm.* 138D (οὖν).

(3) Second clause not introduced by any particle. This mostly occurs when the μέν clause contains the ordinal πρῶτος (etc.), and (or) the answering clause contains either δεύτερος or ἔπειτα, εἶτα. Hes. *Th.* 309 Ὀρθον μὲν πρῶτον κύνα γείνατο Γηρυονῆι: δεύτερον αὐτὶς ἔτικτεν . . . Κέρβερον: A. *Ch.* 1068 παιδοβόροι μὲν πρῶτον ὑπήρξαν . . . δεύτερον . . .: E. *Ion.* 1590 γίγνεται κοινὸν γένος, Δῶρος μὲν . . . δ δεύτερος Ἀχαιοῖς: *Ba.* 681 ὦν ἦρχ' ἐνὸς μὲν Αὐτονόη, τοῦ δευτέρου μήτηρ Ἀγαυή σή: *Cyc.* 383 ἀνέκαυσε μὲν πῦρ πρῶτον . . . ἔπειτα . . .: *Hec.* 349 ἦ πατὴρ μὲν ἦν ἀναξ . . . τοῦτό μοι πρῶτον βίου ἔπειτ' ἐθρέφθη: *Ion.* 1579 Γελέων μὲν ἔσται πρῶτος: εἶτα δεύτερος . . .: A. *Nu.* 553 Εὐπολις μὲν τὸν

Μαρικᾶν πρῶτιστον παρέιλκυσε . . . εἶθ' Ἑρμιππος . . .: S. *Ph.* 1345 τοῦτο μὲν παιωνίας ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν, εἶτα . . . λαβεῖν: A. *Eg.* 520 τοῦτο μὲν εἰδὼς ἄπαθε Μάγνης . . . εἶτα Κρατίνου μεμνημένος: A. *Pers.* 522: S. *Aj.* 311: E. *El.* 890: *Supp.* 506: Pl. *Lg.* 774E πατρὸς μὲν πρῶτον, δευτέραν πάππου, τρίτην δέ . . .: Ant. v 14 ὑπάρχει μὲν γε αὐτοῖς (ταῖς νόμοις) ἀρχαιοτάτοις εἶναι ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ, ἔπειτα τοὺς αὐτοὺς αἰεὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν.

By far the commonest type is πρῶτον μὲν (πρῶτα μὲν, πρῶτιστα (-ον) μὲν) . . . εἶτα (ἔπειτα). This is freely used both in prose and in verse. πρῶτα μὲν . . . εἶτα. S. *El.* 261: E. *IA* 986: A. *Nu.* 609, 1117: *V.* 1104: A. *V.* 114. πρῶτα μὲν . . . ἔπειτα. S. *Tr.* 616: E. *Hec.* 357. πρῶτον μὲν . . . ἔπειτα. E. *Cyc.* 3 (ἔπειτά γε): *Hel.* 270: A. *Ec.* 60 (πρῶτον μὲν γε . . . ἔπειτα): Pl. *R.* 591C (ἔπειτά γε): Ant. v 18: vi 8, 11, 19: D. vi 3: ix 75: *Lycurg.* 19, 55, 118. πρῶτον μὲν . . . εἶτα. A. *Eg.* 1340: *Nu.* 963: X. *Mem.* i 2.1: D. xvi 26: xviii 176: lvii 62, 67. Cf. also E. *El.* 664 Πρῶτιστα μὲν . . . ἔπειτα: A. *Lys.* 589 πρῶτιστον μὲν γε . . . εἶτα: *Eg.* 129 ὡς πρῶτα μὲν . . . Μετὰ τοῦτον αὐθις: *Isoc.* xv 117-19 πρῶτον μὲν . . . δεύτερον. μάλιστα, priority in importance, is akin to πρῶτον, priority in time: S. *OT* 647 μάλιστα μὲν . . . ἔπειτα (but in *OC* 1298 μὲν is *solitariium*: see Jebb).

In a few other passages ἄλλοτε, νῦν, οὗτος atone for the absence of an answering particle. Thgn. 158 ἄλλοτε μὲν πλουτεῖν, ἄλλοτε μηδὲν ἔχειν: S. *Ant.* 367 τότε μὲν κακόν, ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' ἐσθλὸν ἔρπει: A. *Supp.* 506 Κλάδους μὲν αὐτοῦ λείπε . . . Δευρὸν κατ' ἄλσος νῦν ἐπιστρέφου τόδε: E. *Eu.* 636 ἀνδρὸς μὲν ὑμῖν οὗτος εἴρηται μόρος . . . ταύτην τοιαύτην εἶπον: ('as for that woman there': 'the abruptness is calculated, and thrilling', Verrall): S. *OT* 603 καὶ τῶνδ' ἔλεγχον τοῦτο μὲν Πυθῶδ' ἰὼν πεύθου τά χρησθέντ' . . . τοῦτ' ἄλλ', ἐὰν . . .: *Ant.* 165.

(4) The contrasted idea is not expressed in a following coordinated clause.

(i) The μέν clause is contrasted with what precedes, not with what follows. A. *Pr.* 901 (894 μήποτέ με . . . λεχέων Διδῶς εἰσάτειραν ἴδοισθε πέλουσαν . . . ταρβῶ γὰρ ἀστεργάνορα παρθενίαν εἰσορῶσ' Ἴουδ' ἀμαλαπτομέναν) . . . ἐμοὶ δ' ὄτε μὲν ὀμαλὸς ὁ γάμος, ἀφοβός: S. *Tr.* 350 σαφῶς μοι φράζε πᾶν ὅσον νοεῖς: ἀ μὲν εἰρήνην ἐξείρηκας ἀγνοία μ' ἔχει: Hom. *A* 421: Pl. *N.* 6.61: S. *O.* 1251



(perhaps: cf. 1239-40): Pl. *Alc. I* 130C *Εἰ δέ γε μὴ ἀκριβῶς ἀλλὰ καὶ μετρίως, ἐξαρκεῖ ἡμῖν ἀκριβῶς μὲν γὰρ τότε εἰσόμεθα: Τηγ. 127B ὦ Σώκρατες, οὐ μέντοι κακῶς λέγει, καὶ ἅμα μὲν ἐμοὶ χαριῆ: Χ.Μετ. 11.1 ἡ μὲν γὰρ γραφή κατ' αὐτοῦ τοιάδε τις ἦν (opposed to *τίσι ποτὲ λόγοις Ἀθηναίους ἐπεισαν οἱ γραψάμενοι Σωκράτην*, preceding): *Οεσ.* 19.11 *ἐπαμήσαιο δ' ἂν μόνον*, ἔφη, *τὴν γῆν, ἢ καὶ σάξαις ἂν . . .*;—*Σαττοιμ' ἂν*, ἔφην, . . . *εἰ μὲν γὰρ μὴ σεσαγμένον εἶη . . .*: *D.* ix 16 *τί ἐποίει; εἰρήνην μὲν γὰρ ὁμωμόκει* ('He had sworn to keep the peace: but what did he do?'): *Th.* vii 55.1: Pl. *Phd.* 58A.*

So, particularly, *ἀλλὰ . . . μὲν*.<sup>1</sup> *Hom. A* 211 *μηδὲ ξίφος ἔλκεο χειρὶ ἀλλ' ἦτοι ἐπεσιν μὲν ὀνειδίσσον: 0405 (νῆσος) οὐ τι περιπληθῆς λίην τόσον, ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴ μὲν: 0694: Ag. Ach. 428 Οὐ Βελλεροφόντης ἀλλὰ κάκεινος μὲν ἦν χωλὸς προσαιτῶν: Pl. *Tim.* 201B *ἢ σὺ οἶει δεινούς τινας οὕτω διδασκάλους εἶναι, ὥστε . . . δύνασθαι . . . διδάξαι . . . τὴν ἀλήθειαν;—Οὐδαμῶς ἔγωγε οἶμαι, ἀλλὰ πείσαι μὲν: R. 475E φιλοσόφους φήσομεν;—Οὐδαμῶς, εἶπον, ἀλλ' ὁμοίους μὲν φιλοσόφοις: *Phdr.* 242C *εἰμὶ δὴ οὖν μάντις μὲν, οὐ πάνυ δὲ σπουδαῖος, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ γράμματα φαῦλοι, ὅσον μὲν ἐμαντῶ μόνον ἰκανός (posterius μὲν B: om. T: the δέ clause contrasts both with the preceding, and with the following, μὲν): Lys. vi 20 οὔτε γὰρ ὁ θεὸς παραχρῆμα κολάζει (ἀλλ' αὕτη μὲν ἐστὶν ἀνθρωπίνη δίκη): Pl. *Men.* 87A: *Grg.* 462E: *R.* 614B: *Tim.* 197C: *Sph.* 240B: *Euthd.* 297E: *Prt.* 344A:<sup>2</sup> *Alc. I* 106B: [Pl.] *Eryx.* 398B: *Is.* v 36. Cf. *Pi. P.* 3.77: 4.154.***

(ii) One or other of the clauses is grammatically subordinated to the other.

(a) *Μέν* clause subordinate. *Hom. Ω* 289 *ἐπεὶ ἄρ σέ γε θυμὸς ὀτρύνει ἐπὶ νῆας, ἐμεῖο μὲν οὐκ ἐθελούσης* ('I don't want to: but you apparently do'): *Pi. O.* 3.19 *ἤδη γὰρ αὐτῶ, πατρὶ μὲν βωμῶν ἀγισθέντων, διχόμητις . . . ἀντέφλεξε Μῆνα: A. *Th.* 313 τοῖσι μὲν ἔξω . . . ἄταν ἐμβαλόντες ἄροισθε κῦδος τοῖσδε πολίταις: Pl. *La.* 186B *ἢ εἴ τις ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἑαυτῶ διδάσκαλον μὲν οὐ φησι γεγονέναι, ἀλλ' οὖν ἔργα αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ ἔχειν εἰπεῖν (δει) (a blend of εἰ . . . οὐ φησι . . . ἀλλ' οὖν ἔχειν εἰπεῖν, and διδάσκαλον μὲν οὐ φάναι γεγονέναι, ἔργα δὲ ἔχειν εἰπεῖν. Add perhaps *Th.* i 52.2**

<sup>1</sup> See R. W. Chapman, *C.R.* xxv (1911) 204-5; Stallbaum on *Pl. Phdr.* 242C. For a quite different use of *ἀλλὰ . . . μὲν*, see I. B. 1.

<sup>2</sup> But *μὲν* here is influenced by the quotation from Simonides.

(see Steup). In *Pl. Phd.* 115B *μέν* after *ὕμῶν* (in *B* only) cannot be defended.

In the following passages both antithetical particles are retained, *μέν* in the subordinate, and *δέ* in the main, clause. *Hom. I* 300 *εἰ δέ τοι Ἀτρεΐδης μὲν ἀπήχθετο . . . σὺ δ' ἄλλους περ Παναχαιοὺς τειρομένους ἐλέαιρε: λ387 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ψυχὰς μὲν ἀπεσκέδασ' . . . ἦλθε δ' ἐπὶ ψυχὴ Ἀγαμέμνονος: Th. iii 82.1 ἐν μὲν εἰρήνῃ οὐκ ἂν ἐχόντων προφάσιν . . . πολεμουμένων δὲ καὶ ζυμμάχιας . . . ῥαδίως αἱ ἐπαγωγαὶ τοῖς νεωτερίζειν τι βουλομένοις ἐπορίζοντο: cf. i 67.2, vi 69.1: Pl. *Lg.* 780B *καὶ τοῦτο μὲν δὴ θαυμαστὸν ὄν, ὅτε κατ' ἀρχὰς πρῶτον ἐγένετο . . . γευσαμένοις δὲ . . . ἔδοξεν μέγα διαφέρειν εἰς σωτηρίαν τὸ νόμιμον: 898C εἰπεῖν ὡς, ἐπειδὴ ψυχὴ μὲν ἐστὶν ἡ περιάγουσα ἡμῖν πάντα, τὴν δὲ οὐρανοῦ περιφορὰν ἐξ ἀνάγκης περιάγειν φατέον . . . ἦτοι τὴν ἀρίστην ψυχὴν ἢ τὴν ἐναντίαν* (England regards the speech as broken by an interruption): *Erip.* 976A: *Cri.* 44B *ἀλλὰ χωρὶς μὲν τοῦ ἐστερηῆσθαι τοιούτου ἐπιτηδείου . . . ἔτι δὲ καὶ πολλοῖς δόξω . . . ἀμελήσαι (δέ secl. Schanz, probably rightly: if the text is sound, the μὲν clause is a mere prepositional phrase). In E. *IT* 419-20 Paley takes *οἷς* as relative. If so, *μέν* in the relative clause answers *δέ* in the main clause, since *μέν* can hardly be *solitarium* here. But the sense given is not satisfactory, and *οἷς* must be demonstrative (see Kühner, II ii 228) and the clauses co-ordinated (if the text is sound).**

(b) *δέ* clause<sup>1</sup> subordinate. *A. Ag.* 1412 *Νῦν μὲν δικάζεις ἐκ πόλεως φυγὴν ἐμοὶ . . . οὐδὲν τότ' ἀνδρὶ τῶδ' ἐναντίον φέρων: S. *Aj.* 1299 ὅς ἐκ πατρὸς μὲν εἰμι Τελαμῶνος γεγώς* (Teucer's mother is described in a relative clause): *OT* 302 *πόλιν μὲν, εἰ καὶ μὴ βλέπεις, φρονεῖς δ' ὅμως οἷα νόσφ' οὐνεστιν* (but Jebb is perhaps right in holding that '*μέν* is balanced by the thought of the expected healer (310)'): *OC* 1370 *τοιγάρ σ' ὁ δαίμων εἰσορᾷ μὲν οὐ τί πω, ὡς αὐτίκ': E. *Ba.* 1039 Συγγνωστὰ μὲν σοι, πλὴν ἐπ' ἐξειργασμένοις κακοῖσι χαίρειν . . . οὐ καλόν: Ag. *Eg.* 598 ἀλλὰ τὰν τῆ γῆ μὲν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἄγαν θαυμάζομεν, ὡς δτ' ἐς τὰς ἰππαγωγὸς εἰσεπήδων ἀνδρικῶς: Hom. *A* 1277: Σ408. For *X. *Mem.* i 2.2*, see I. B. 1, ἀλλὰ . . . μὲν.*

<sup>1</sup> By this I mean the clause contrasted with the *μὲν* clause but not, in fact, containing a *δέ*.

(5) Contrasted idea not expressed (the so-called *μέν solitariūm*). We may exclude (a) passages in dialogue where a second person intervenes before μέν has been answered: (b) passages in continuous speech where the speaker interrupts himself by a definite anacoluthon. E.g. (a) E.HF 555 Βία, πατήρ μὲν ἐκπεσὼν στρωτοῦ λέχους— —Κοῦκ ἔσχεν αἰδῶ . . . ; Ar.Lys.1236 (the speaker breaks off on the entrance of new characters on the stage): (b) D.iv 20 ξένους μὲν λέγω—καὶ ὅπως μὴ ποιήσετε . . . . The explanation of μέν *solitariūm*, in general, is either that the speaker originally intends to supply an answering clause, but subsequently forgets his intention (e.g. Pl.R.466E, where Περὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ is never answered at all), or, far more frequently, that he uses μέν, like γε, in contrast with something which he does not, even in the first instance, intend to express in words, or even (sometimes) define precisely in thought (see in particular (ii) and (iii)). Obviously there is no sharp line of demarcation, and many passages may be explained in either way. Apart from certain stereotyped idioms μέν *solitariūm* is considerably commoner in verse than in prose.

(i) In general. A.Supp.338 Τίς δ' ἂν φίλους ὄνοιτο τοὺς κεκτημένους;—Σθένος μὲν οὕτως μείζον αὖξεται βροτοῖς ("Strength at least (whatever may be the case in other respects)", Tucker): Pers.554 τίπτε Δαρείος μὲν οὕτω τότε ἀβλαβῆς ἐπὴν τόξαρχος πολιήταις . . . ; (in contrast with Xerxes): Ag.932 Καὶ μὴν τόδ' εἶπε μὴ παρὰ γνώμην ἐμοί.—Γνώμην μὲν ἴσθι μὴ διαφθεροῦντ' ἐμέ: Eu.418 Γένος μὲν οἶδα . . . (completed by the Chorus, Τιμάς γε μὲν δὴ τὰς ἐμὰς πεύσει τάχα): 589 Ἐν μὲν τόδ' ἤδη τῶν τριῶν παλαισμάτων: S.El.1424 πῶς κυρεῖτε;—Τὰν δόμοισι μὲν καλῶς: Tr.380 Πατὴρ μὲν οὐσα γένεσιν Εὐρύτου ποτὲ Ἰόλη 'καλεῖτο (the Messenger meant, I think, to add further details: Jebb, less probably, takes this as equivalent to π.μ.ο.γ.Ε., Ἰόλη δὲ καλουμένη): Pl.159 Οἶκον μὲν ὄρας (sc. 'but not its inhabitant'): E.HF 740 ἤλθες χρόνῳ μὲν ('at last (but not quickly)'): cf. Pi.O.10.85): El.575 Πῶς φῆς; ὀρῶ μὲν πτώματος τεκμήριον ('I see the scar (but hesitate to draw the conclusion)'): 615 ἀλλὰ πῶς λάβω;—Τειχέων μὲν ἐλθῶν ἐντὸς οὐδ' ἂν εἰ θέλοις: Hel.1250 ὦ ξένη, λόγων μὲν κληδόν' ἤνεγκας φίλην: IA 527 Ποικίλος ἀεὶ πέφυκε τοῦ τ' ὄχλου μέτα.—Φιλοτιμία μὲν ἐνέχεται ('He is certainly ambitious'): Ar.Nu.654 πρὸ τοῦ μὲν ('in old days (whatever the

case is now'): Pax 125 Καὶ τίς πόρος σοι τῆς ὁδοῦ γενήσεται; ναῦς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἄξει σε ταύτην τὴν ὁδόν: Av.358 Γλαῦξ μὲν οὐ πρόσεισι νῶν.—Τοῖς δὲ γαμψώνυξι τοισδί; (the implied antithesis is expressed by the other speaker): 381 Ἔστι μὲν λόγων ἀκούσαι πρῶτον . . . χρήσιμον ('We'd better listen to what they say (we needn't agree to it)'): Ec.180 χαλεπὸν μὲν οὖν ἄνδρας δυσάρεστους νοθετεῖν ('Well, it's not very easy (but it must be done)'): A.Ag.1266: Ch.737 (see Tucker), 1016: S.Ant.551: Tr.6 (the antithesis does not come till 27): OC 22,44,1096: E.Supp.655: Ion 753: HF 982: Tr.1150: Ph.1683: Or.8: Hel.1258: Ba.970: Ar.Ach.754: Pax 673: Av.36: Ra.1184: Pl.422: Hdt.1.140 μάγους μὲν γὰρ ἀτρεκέως οἶδα ταῦτα ποιέοντας (sc. 'but I can't answer for the rest'): Th. vi 25.2 ὁ δὲ ἄκων μὲν εἶπεν (for ἄκων μὲν εἶπεν, εἶπε δέ. ἄκων μὲν, εἶπε δ', Krueger, ingeniously): Pl.Charm. 154A ἀνηρώτων τὰ τῆδε, περὶ φιλοσοφίας ὅπως ἔχοι τὰ νῦν, περὶ τε τῶν νέων . . . καὶ ὁ Κριτίας . . . Περὶ μὲν τῶν καλῶν, ἔφη, . . . αὐτίκα μοι δοκεῖς εἰσεσθαι: Th.1.48D προθυμήθητι δὲ παντὶ τρόπῳ . . . λαβεῖν λόγον . . .—Προθυμίας μὲν ἔνεκα . . . φανεῖται: R.453C ὡς μὲν ἐξαίφνης . . . : 557C ἴσως μὲν . . . : Alc.I 112D Πῶς οὖν εἰκὸς . . . ;—Ἐκ μὲν ὧν σὺ λέγεις οὐκ εἰκὸς: Amat.134E Τίνα . . . ἂν δικαίως ἐροίμεθα . . . ;—Ὡμολογοῦμεν μὲν . . . ὅτι ἰατρὸν: X.Mem.1.4.5 Πρέπει μὲν . . . : Supp.4.62 Καὶ τί μοι σύνοισθα . . . ;—Οἶδα μὲν, ἔφη, σε . . . : Hp.Fract.32: Th.10.1: Pl.Phil. 61D,80C: Prt.312A: Lg.663E: X.Mem.ii 6.21.

(ii) With personal and demonstrative pronouns, implicitly contrasted with other persons and things. ἐγώ, ἐμοῦ, ἐμοί. A.Ag. 924: S.Aj.80: El.372: E.Hel.496: Ar.Ach.59: Hdt.1.182: ii 120: iii 3: Pl.Ar.23B: Grg.506D: Cra.397A: Th.1.58A: D.iii 8: viii 15,37: xx 4,12,23. σύ, σοῦ. S.OT 1062,1322: Ant.634: OC 836: Ar.Ach.109 Ποίας ἀχάνας; σὺ μὲν ἀλαζῶν εἶ μέγας ('You're a great big charlatan (whatever else is true)'): Av.12: Pl.Alc.II 138C Ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν, ὦ Σώκρατες, μαινόμενον ἄνθρωπον εἶρηκας: D.xliv 27 διὰ μὲν σέ. ἡμεῖς, ἡμῖν. A.Pr.1036: S.Ant. 681: OT 404: Ar.Nu.794. ὑμεῖς, ὑμᾶς. Ar.Av.161: Pax 497: Pl.R.595B ὡς μὲν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰρήσθαι ('between you and me'), ἐμός, ἐμοῖς. E.IA 859 Τίνος; ἐμός μὲν οὐχί ('Not mine'): A.Pers.300. οὗτος, τοῦτο, etc. S.Ph.981: E.Cyc.146: Or. . . IT 501: Supp.939: Ar.Ach.196: Eq.777,1216: An.1188: . . . : 244,1226,1256: Pl.Ar.210: Phil.105E: Cra.402D 414D: Pax

49D: D.xviii95: xix86. οὕτω. *Ar.Au.*656,1503: *Pl.Hipparch.* 226D. ὅδε. *Ar.Th.*922: *Pl.R.*545C: *Lg.*629B: *Ar.Au.*1220 τῆδε μὲν γὰρ οὕτως ('Not this way'). ἐκεῖνος. D.viii59. τοιοῦτος. *Pl.Prm.*135C. (But in *E.Rh.*467 τοιαῦτα μὲν is answered by ἐπεὶ δ' ἄν, which seems clearly the right reading.)

(iii) With words denoting opinion, appearance, or probability, implicitly contrasted with certainty or reality. οἶμαι. *S.Ph.* 339: *E.Alc.*781: *Pl.Cra.*438C: *R.*585A σφόδρα μὲν οἰοῦνται: *R.* 423B,492E,548D: *X.HG*iv.34: *Mcm.*ii.6.5: *Ant.*iii.α1. δοκῶ. *S.El.*547: *E.Hel.*917: *Ar.Pax*47: *Hdt.*vii.50.2: *Pl.Men.*94B. *S.* *Aj.*56 κἀδόκει μὲν: *Pl.Cri.*43D ἀλλὰ δοκεῖν μὲν μοι ἤξει. *S.OT* 82 εἰκάσαι μὲν: *OC*1677 Ἔστιν μὲν εἰκάσαι: *Pl.Cra.*390B εἰκὸς μὲν: *R.*595B ἔοικε μὲν: *Alc.*I113B φαίνομαι μὲν: *Th.*v.90 Ἦ μὲν δὴ νομίζομεν γε.

(iv) With πρῶτον, πρῶτα. The speaker either has, at the start, no clear idea of a definite antithesis to his μὲν: or the development of the antithesis is broken by the intervention of another speaker, or from some other cause. *A.Supp.*917 Ἐένος μὲν εἶναι πρῶτον οὐκ ἐπιστάσαι: *Pr.*447 οἱ πρῶτα μὲν βλέποντες ἔβλεπον μάτην, κλύοντες οὐκ ἤκουον: *Ch.*111 Τίνας δὲ τούτους τῶν φίλων προσενέπω;—Πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὴν χάστις Αἰγισθον στυγεῖ: *E.Supp.*403 Πρῶτον μὲν ἤρξω τοῦ λόγου ψευδῶς: *Ar.* *Nu.*649 Τί δέ μ' ὠφελήσουσ' οἱ ῥυθμοὶ πρὸς τάλφιτα;—Πρῶτον μὲν εἶναι κομψὸν ἐν συνουσίᾳ: *Au.*164 Τί σοι πιθώμεσθ';—Ὅ τι πίθησθε; πρῶτα μὲν μὴ περιπέτεσθε πανταχῆ κεχηνότες: *E.IT* 467 (μὲν not answered by δέ in 470): *Ar.Eq.*774: *Nu.*224: *Pl.* *Cra.*411D.

(Some examples of μὲν γε *solitarium* are given under μὲν γε.)

(v) Inceptive. There are signs of a tendency, at least in certain authors, to open a work, or a part of a work, with μὲν, with or without an expressed or implied antithesis, perhaps in order to mitigate the harshness of the inevitable asyndeton. Bäumlein, who alone, I think, has said anything on this matter, observes that Aeschylus and Sophocles show a liking for μὲν openings. But the observation is justified in the case of Aeschylus only. Five of his seven plays (all except *Septem* and *Choephoroi*) open with μὲν. In *Supp.*1 μὲν hardly seems to be answered by 4 Δίαν δὲ λιποῦσαι: and in *Ag.*1 the correspondence with 8 καὶ νῦν (Headlam), or 20 νῦν δέ (Verrall), is not very obvious. Sophocles has three

μέν openings (*Aj.*, *Tr.*, *Ph.*). Of these, *Ph.*1 is scarcely answered by 11 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τί δεῖ λέγειν (Jebb). But, on the whole, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes (who usually plunges at once *in medias res*) show no particular tendency to open their plays with μὲν.

In early oratory the tendency to open with μὲν is clearly marked. Antiphon opens with it ten times out of fifteen: so does Andocides in all three of the genuine speeches. From Lysias onwards the predominance of the μὲν opening disappears (though it is often still used: in *D.*xliv.1 μὲν has no answer, expressed or implied, for §3 δέομαι δ' ὑμῶν is too far off: *Is.*11).

Speeches in drama show a certain tendency to open with μὲν. *A.Pers.*353 Ἦρξεν μὲν, ὦ δέσποινα, τοῦ παντὸς κακοῦ . . . : *Ag.* 587 Ἀνωλόλυξα μὲν πάλαι χαρᾶς ὑπο (hardly answered by 590 καὶ τίς μ' ἐνίπτων εἶπε: while 598 καὶ νῦν, which Verrall and Headlam take to be the answer, seems too far off): *S.Aj.*815 Ὁ μὲν σφαγεὺς ἔστηκεν (823 ἐκ δὲ τῶνδε, where Jebb supposes the answer to begin, is rather too far off): *El.*516 Ἀνειμένη μὲν, ὡς ἔοικας, αὐ στρέφη (where Jebb admits that there is no answer, expressed or implied): *OT*1369: *Ant.*223: *E.Supp.*409. In other openings μὲν is less distinctively inceptive. *A.Ag.*810 Πρῶτον μὲν Ἄργος, picked up and answered by 829-30 θεοῖς μὲν ἐξέτεινα φροῖμιον τόδε, τὰ δ' ἐς τὸ σὸν φρόνημα . . . : *Pers.*598 Φίλοι, κακῶν μὲν ὅστις ἔμπειρος κυρεῖ (contrasted with the implied ὅστις δ' ἄπειρος): *E.HF*1089 Ἔα' ἔμπνους μὲν εἶμι ('I am alive at any rate': and this is not, of course, a formal opening).

The mock speeches in Aristophanes, modelled on the style of the assembly or the law-courts, almost always begin with μὲν. *Ach.*136 Χρόνον μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἤμεν ἐν Θράκη πολύν: *V.*907: *Au.* 1565 (broken off by the buffoonery of the Triballian): *Th.*383: *Pl.*489. It is difficult to resist the impression that the budding speaker, at the turn of the fifth and fourth centuries, was recommended, as a kind of stylistic convention, to start off with a μὲν, and to trust more or less to luck that he would find an answer to it, and not to care greatly if he did not. And this impression is strengthened by the prevalence of the μὲν opening in contemporary oratory, Antiphon and Andocides.

We may mention here two passages in which a chorus opens

with a μέν to which there is no answer, expressed or implied: *A.Ag.*40: *E.Rh.*342.

(For inceptive ἀλλά . . . μέν in Xenophon, see I.B.1.)

IV. Duplication of μέν. This is a convenient heading under which to group two distinct idioms.

(1) Resumption of clause. The content of the first of the two contrasted ideas proves too great to admit of compression into a single clause, particularly when the speaker or writer permits himself to wander somewhat from the precise point at issue. Hence a second μέν clause is necessary, before the δέ clause can follow. The force of the opening μέν has half evaporated, and must be resuscitated by a fresh μέν.

*Hom.Σ*432-4 ὅσσ' ἐμοὶ ἐκ πασέων Κρονίδης Ζεὺς ἄλγε' ἔδωκεν. ἐκ μέν μ' ἀλλάων ἀλιάων ἀνδρὶ δάμασεν . . . ὁ μὲν δὴ γῆραι λυγρῶ κείται ἐνὶ μεγάροις ἀρημένος, ἀλλὰ δέ μοι νῦν (here the point of view shifts, Thetis emphasizing first the mortality of her consort, secondly the old age attendant on that mortality, in contrast with her other sorrows: to take the first μέν as affirmative is possible, but less likely): *χ*48-54 ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἤδη κείται . . . Ἀντίνοος . . . νῦν δ' ὁ μὲν ἐν μοίρῃ πέφαται, σὺ δὲ φείδεο λαῶν σῶν: *A.Th.*1012-17 Ἐτεοκλέα μὲν . . . θάπτειν ἔδοξε . . . οὕτω μὲν ἀμφὶ τοῦδ' ἐπέσταλται λέγειν: τοῦτου δ' ἀδελφὸν . . .: *Pl.Cra.*406D Οὐκοῦν τὸ μὲν ἕτερον ὄνομα αὐτῆς οὐ χαλεπὸν εἰπεῖν δι' ὃ κείται . . . Τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν . . . "Παλλάδα" μὲν τοίνυν ταύτη: *R.*406D-E Τέκτων μὲν . . . —Καὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ μὲν γ' . . . —Ὁ δὲ δὴ πλούσιος . . .: *Lg.*655A (both μέν's answered by δέ after εὐχρων: but perhaps Boeckh and Schanz are right in adding χρώματα δὲ οὐκ ἐνεστι after ἐνεστιν in line 5)\*: *D.*ii 3-4 τὸ μὲν οὖν . . . τὴν Φιλίππου ῥώμην διεξιέναι . . . οὐχὶ καλῶς ἔχειν ἠγοῦμαι . . . ταῦτα μὲν οὖν παραλείψω . . . ἀ δὲ . . . ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν πειράσομαι: *χ*19 25-7 τοῦ χάριν δὴ ταῦθ' ὑπέμνησα . . .; ἐνὸς μὲν . . . μάλιστα καὶ πρώτου, ἵνα . . . πρώτου μὲν τοῦτου καὶ μάλισθ', ὅπερ εἶπον, εἵνεκα ταῦτα διεξήλθον, δευτέρου δὲ τίνος . . .; *viii* 39-43 πρῶτον μὲν (χρή) . . . τοῦτο . . . γνῶναι . . . πρῶτον μὲν δὴ τοῦτο δεῖ . . . δευτέρου δ' εἰδέναι . . .: *xxii* 13-14 τοῦτο μὲν . . . εἶεν' ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἀρχαῖα καὶ παλαιά. ἀλλ' ἂ πάντες ἐοράκατε . . .: *xlviii* 56: *Anaxim. Rh. Al.* 36, ll. 17-18 ([Arist.]1442a6-8): *Lys.x* 12 (μέν

after αὐτός is picked up by μέν after ὅταν in §13): *Pl.Phd.*80E-81A (anacoluthon): *Lg.*742E.

(2) Whereas in the passages quoted above there are two μέν clauses, the second of which supplements or resumes the first, in the following there is only one μέν clause, but it contains two μέν's, the second of which is added for clearness, as an extra signpost, or, perhaps more often, for emphasis. Often δέ also is duplicated. Except for two examples in Empedocles, I can find no verse instances.<sup>1</sup>

(i) The first μέν goes with a substantive, the second with οὗτος in apposition.

(a) μέν alone duplicated. *Hr.Art.*45 ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὀστέου ἄχρι τοῦ μεγάλου σπονδύλου . . . ἄχρι μὲν τοῦτου: *Pl.R.*510E (with anacoluthon) αὐτὰ μὲν ταῦτα ἂ πλάττουσιν . . . τοῦτοις μὲν ὡς εἰκόσιν αὐ χρώμενοι, ζητοῦντες δὲ αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα ἰδεῖν ἂ . . .: *And.*i 12 Ἀλκιβιάδην μὲν οὖν καὶ Νικιάδην καὶ Μέλητρον, τούτους μὲν αὐτοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ποιοῦντας: *Isoc.*iv 60 καὶ τῷ μὲν ὑπερενεγκόντι . . . τούτῳ μὲν . . .: *D.*viii 44 τῶν μὲν ἐν Θράκῃ κακῶν (. . .) τούτων μὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν: *xliii* 56 τῆς μὲν ἐπικλήρου, ἣ ἦν Ἀγνία ἀνεψιοῦ παῖς πρὸς πατρός, ταύτης μὲν μηδεπώποτε ἀμφισβητῆσαι Θεόπομπον: *Pl.Phd.*108B: *Lys.*xiii 54.

(b) μέν and δέ both duplicated. *Hdt.*i 184 ἡ μὲν πρότερον ἄρξασα . . . αὕτη μὲν ἀπεδέξατο χρήματα . . . ἡ δὲ δὴ δεύτερον γενομένη . . . αὕτη δέ . . .: *X.Hier.*9.2 τὸ μὲν γὰρ διδάσκειν . . . αὕτη μὲν ἡ ἐπιμέλεια . . . τὸ δὲ . . . ταῦτα δέ . . .

(ii) μέν following both relative and demonstrative: μέν both in conditional protasis and in apodosis.

(a) μέν alone duplicated. *Hdt.*ii 121 (*ad init.*) τὸν μὲν καλέουσι θέρος, τοῦτον μὲν προσκυνοῦσι: *X.Mem.*iv 6.12 καὶ ὅπου μὲν . . . ταύτην μὲν . . .: *Ant.*vi 9 ἵνα μὲν ἐξῆν αὐτοῖς . . . ἐνταῦθα μὲν . . .: *D.*xlv 14 ὅσοις μὲν . . . ταῦτα μὲν . . .: *xlviii* 54 ἂ μὲν . . . τούτων μὲν . . . (with no answering δέ): *Lys.*xiv 11 εἰ μὲν τις . . . τούτου μὲν . . . εἰ δέ τις . . . τούτῳ . . .: *Hdt.*iii 65, 75, 158: *iv* 9: *Lys.*xxiv 8.

(b) μέν and δέ both duplicated. *Emp.Fr.*9 οἱ δ' ὅτε μὲν . . . τότε μὲν . . . εὔτε δ' . . . τὰ δ' αὐ . . .: *Fr.*26 ἡ μὲν . . . τῇ μὲν . . .

<sup>1</sup> For further examples, and full discussion, see Kühner, II ii 269-70.

ἦ δὲ . . . ταύτη δὲ . . . : Hdt.ii 26 τῆ μὲν . . . ταύτη μὲν . . . τῆ δὲ . . .  
 ταύτη δὲ . . . : 42 ὅσοι μὲν δὴ . . . οὔτοι μὲν . . . ὅσοι δὲ . . . οὔτοι δὲ . . . :  
 Pl. Men. 94C-D οὐκ ἄν ποτε, οὐ μὲν ἔδει . . . ταῦτα μὲν ἐδίδαξε . . .  
 οὐ δὲ οὐδὲν ἔδει . . . ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἐδίδαξεν : Ap. 28E εἰ ὅτε μὲν . . .  
 τότε μὲν . . . τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ τάπτοντος . . . ἐνταῦθα δὲ . . . : Thit.  
 152A λέγει, ὡς οἶα μὲν ἕκαστα ἐμοὶ φαίνεται, τοιαῦτα μὲν ἔστιν  
 ἐμοί, οἶα δὲ σοί, τοιαῦτα δὲ αὐ σοί (cf. Cra. 386A) : Hdt.ii 102, 174 :  
 Pl. Grg. 512A : Alc. I 108E-109A : X. Oec. 9.9-10 : Isoc. vii 47 : D.  
 xvii 18.

(For δέ alone duplicated, see δέ, II.4.)

(3) In the three following remarkable, and doubtful, passages, which lend each other some measure of support, μέν is duplicated at a short interval, within the limits of a single indivisible clause. Hdt. iv 48 εἰσὶ δὲ οἶδε οἱ μέγαν αὐτὸν ποιεῦντες (ποταμοί), διὰ μὲν γε τῆς Σκυθικῆς χώρας πέντε μὲν οἱ ῥέοντες, . . . οὔτοι μὲν αὐθιγενέες . . . ἐκ δὲ Ἀγαθύρων . . . (μέν τε V, μὲν τοι S, for μὲν γε : μεγάλοι Koen, for μὲν οἱ : the μέν after πέντε is certainly remarkable : otherwise the passage falls normally under (1) : Pl. Smph. 198B καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οὐχ ὁμοίως μὲν θαυμαστά· τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τελευτῆς . . . (posterius μὲν BT : om. Vind. 21) : X. Oec. 19.11 ὥστε τὰ φυτὰ κίνδυνος ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ ὕδατος σήπεσθαι μὲν δι' ὑγρότητα (ὑπὸ . . . ὕδατος del. Schneider). In Pl. R. 607E the interval is wider : ὥσπερ . . . , καὶ ἡμεῖς οὕτως διὰ τὸν ἐγγεγονότα μὲν ἔρωτα τῆς τοιαύτης ποιήσεως ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν καλῶν πολιτειῶν τροφῆς εὐνοὶ μὲν ἐσόμεθα . . . Cf. also R. 479A (μέν post αἰέ om. FD).

### Γε μέν

Γε μέν is found in Homer, Hesiod, Theognis, Pindar, probably Bacchylides,<sup>1</sup> and Herodotus.<sup>2</sup> Its usage for the most part corresponds closely with that of γε μήν (μάν). As regards the authors just mentioned, γε μήν (μάν) is not to be found in Homer and Theognis, and it should be banished from the texts of Hesiod

<sup>1</sup> Restored, with great probability, in 3.63,90, both adversative. (The distinction drawn by Jebb on 63 seems needless.)

<sup>2</sup> In the Oxford text of X. Ages. 9.3 γε μέν is a misprint for γε μήν.

(probably : see γε μήν, ad init.) and Herodotus (certainly : see Μάν, μήν, μέν, p. 328, and (3) below). But Pindar has both γε μάν and γε μέν (the latter only where metre demands a short syllable). Where γε μέν is used in the same way as γε μήν (μάν), i.e. in (1), (2), (3), there is no reason to suppose any difference in strength. (Kühner holds that γε μέν is 'rather weaker'.)

(1) Adversative.<sup>1</sup> Hom. B 703 οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδ' οἱ ἀναρχοὶ ἔσαν, πόθειόν γε μὲν ἀρχόν : A 813 αἶμα μέλαν κελάρυζε· νόος γε μὲν ἔμπεδος ἦεν : Hes. Op. 772 (with Mair's interpretation of this difficult passage) : Sc. 50 οὐκέθ' ὁμὰ φρονέοντε· κασιγνήτω γε μὲν ἦστην : 300 μελάνθησαν γε μὲν αἶδε ('But the grapes, in contrast with the gold and silver, were coloured black' : γε Triclinius : δέ codd.) : Thgn. 1095 σκέπτεο δὴ νῦν ἄλλον, ἐμοὶ γε μὲν οὐ τις ἀνάγκη τοῦθ' ἔρδειν (but this might be classed under (4), γε μέν being equivalent to μέν γε, and virtually to γοῦν) : Pi. N. 10.33 ὑπατον δ' ἔσχεν Πίσσα Ἡρακλέος τεθμόν· ἀδειαί γε μὲν ἀμβολάδαν ἐν τελεταις δις Ἀθαναίων νιν ὀμφαὶ κόμασαν ('The Olympian prize is the highest : but he has won twice at the Panathenaea' : so Christ, rightly : not 'Sweet, surely', Bury) : Hdt. v 92ε2 (hexameter oracle) ὀλβιος οὗτος ἀνὴρ . . . αὐτὸς καὶ παῖδες, παίδων γε μὲν οὐκέτι παῖδες : Hom. E 516 : δ 195 : ε 206 : τ 264 : Hes. Th. 363 : Sc. 171 : Pi. P. 4.50 (μάν vcll. : corr. Byz.) : Hdt. vii 234.2 οὔτοι πάντες εἰσὶ ὅμοιοι τοῖσι ἐνθάδε μαχεσαμένοισι· οἱ γε μὲν ἄλλοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι τούτοις μὲν οὐκ ὅμοιοι, ἀγαθοὶ δέ (γε μήν R). In Pi. N. 3.83 the connexion of thought is not obvious : 'μέν similem hic habet vim atque μήν, ut nomini, cui postponitur, pondus addat', Christ : 'Verily', Sandys : this would class the passage under (3) : but Mr. C. M. Bowra points out to me that the thought really is : 'I, Pindar, am the real bird of song : there are, of course, also the chattering daws, my imitators : but for you (because of my song) a great light of glory shines'.

(2) Progressive (or weakly adversative). Hes. Sc. 5 ἦ ῥα γυναικῶν φύλον ἐκαίνυτο θηλυτεράων εἶδει τε μεγέθει τε· νόον γε μὲν οὐ τις ἔριζε τάων, ἄς θνηταὶ θνητοῖς τέκον ('Aye, and in understanding . . .') : Sc. 139 (γε μήν al.) : Thgn. 1215 ('moreover').

(3) Affirmative (a very rare use, corresponding to the rare use

<sup>1</sup> Paley, in his notes on the Hesiodic passages, seems to imply that this is the only sense of γε μέν.

of γε μήν (q.v. (1)). Hes. *Op.* 774 δύω . . . ἤματα μηνὸς ἔξοχ' ἀεξομένοιο βροθήσια ἔργα πένεσθαι, ἐνδεκάτη τε δωδεκάτη τ', ἀμφω γε μὲν ἐσθλαί ('aye, both of them good': τε, not δέ, after ἐνδεκάτη, is necessary on what seems the best interpretation: but the passage is debatable): Sc. 260 ἡ μὲν ὑφήσσων Ἄτροπος οὐ τι πέλεν μεγάλη θεός, ἀλλ' ἄρα ἡ γε τῶν γε μὲν ἀλλάων προφερῆς τ' ἦν πρεσβυτάτη τε: <sup>1</sup> Hdt. vi 129 4 ὦ παῖ Τεισάνδρου, ἀπορχήσαό γε μὲν τὸν γάμον (μήν L: I doubt Stein's ellipse, 'You are certainly a good dancer, but . . .', 'Doch traun, ver-tanzst hast du die Heirat').

(4) Concessive. In other passages μὲν is concessive, and γε μὲν parts company from γε μήν, and is equivalent in sense to μὲν γε. (But, as in the case of μὲν, a sharp line can hardly be drawn between (3) and (4).) In the Homeric passages the contrasted idea is contained in what precedes, not in what follows (cf. μὲν, III.4.i). *Th.* 134 τὸν ξείνον ἐρώμεθα εἴ τιν' ἀεθλον οἶδέ τε καὶ δεδάηκε· φυὴν γε μὲν οὐ κακός ἐστι ('He looks a lusty fellow, and may be an athlete'): *Ω* 642 νῦν δὴ καὶ σίτου πασάμην . . . πάρος γε μὲν οὐ τι πεπάσμεν (cf. Σ 386: in neither passage would it be right, I think, to take γε μὲν as adversative). But in the following passages in Hesiod γε μὲν is followed by δέ, and the equivalence with μὲν γε is clearly marked: *Th.* 871 οἳ γε μὲν ἐκ θεόφιν γενεή, θνητοῖς μέγ' ὄνειρα· οἳ δ' ἄλλοι μαψαῦραι ἐπιπνεύουσι θάλασσαν: Sc. 282 <sup>2</sup> τοί γε μὲν αὖ . . . τοῖ δ' αὖ: 288 οἳ γε μὲν . . . οἳ δ' ἄρ': 301 οἳ γε μὲν ἐτράπεον, τοῖ δ' ἤρνον: in *Op.* 774 ((3) above) μὲν perhaps looks forward to δέ in 776: *Thgn.* 1160a (cf. 1095, (1) above: the text is doubtful: see E. Harrison, *Studies in Theognis*, p. 156): *Pi.O.* 12.5 αἶ γε μὲν ἀνδρῶν . . . κυλίνδοντ' ἐλπίδες· σύμβολον δ' οὐ πῶ τις ἐπιχθονίων πιστὸν . . . εὔρεν θεόθεν (but an adversative sense is possible here: 'Fortune controls all, while the hopes of man are tossed helplessly about'.)

γε μὲν ὦν is read by three late, but reputable, manuscripts in

<sup>1</sup> But γε μὲν, in this position, is very odd: and there is much to be said for Paley's supposition that a line has been lost after ἡ γε, e.g. μικρὴ μὲν δέμις ἦν, ἀφανροτέρη δὲ τέτυκτο, γε μὲν being adversative.

<sup>2</sup> Kzach rightly excises 283: to retain it, as several scholars have done, making τοῖ γέ μὲν αὖ answer τοῖ γέ μὲν αὖ ('some . . . others') is clearly impossible.

Hdt. vii 152.3: ὀφείλω λέγειν τὰ λεγόμενα, πείθεσθαι γε μὲν οὐ παντάπασιν ὀφείλω (γε μὲν ὦν οὐ *RSV*), and is perhaps right, as a stronger form of adversative γε μὲν.

### ἦ μὲν <sup>1</sup>

Like ἡ μήν, ἡ μὲν is used in oaths, and in earnest asseverations which partake of an oath's solemnity.

(1) In oaths. (i) With fut. ind. Hom. *ξ* 160 ἴστω νῦν Ζεὺς . . . ἡ μὲν τοι τάδε πάντα τελείεται ὡς ἀγορεύω: Hdt. i 212 ἐπόμνυμι . . . ἡ μὲν σε ἐγὼ . . . κορέσω. (ii) With fut. inf. Hom. *A* 77 ὄμοσον ἡ μὲν μοι . . . ἀρήξειν: *Ξ* 275: Hdt. i 196 ἐγγυητὰς καταστήσαντα ἡ μὲν συνοικήσειν αὐτῇ: iii 74 πίστι τε λαβόντες καὶ ὀρκίοισι, ἡ μὲν ἔξειν: v 93 i ἀμείβετο τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐπικαλέσας θεοὺς ἐκείνῳ, ἡ μὲν Κορινθίους . . . ἐπιποθήσειν: iii 133: vi 74.1: ix 91.2.

(2) In strong asseverations. (Almost confined to speeches. Very occasionally in narrative: Hom. *Π* 362 (ἡ μὲν δὴ): Hes. *Sc.* 11.) (i) With fut. ind. Hom. *τ* 167 ἡ μὲν μ' ἀχέεσσί γε δώσεις. (ii) With past ind. Hom. *τ* 235 ἡ μὲν πολλαί γ' αὐτὸν ἐθήησαντο γυναῖκες: κ 65: Hes. *Sc.* 11. (iii) With pres. ind. Hom. *Ω* 416 ἡ μὲν μιν . . . ἔλκει: v 425.

ἡ μὲν δὴ and ἡ τοι μὲν are similarly used by Homer. *H* 97 ἡ μὲν δὴ λώβη τάδε γ' ἔσσειται: *ξ* 216 ἡ μὲν δὴ θάρσος μοι Ἄρης τ' ἔδοσαν καὶ Ἀθήνη: *B* 798: *Γ* 430: *I* 348: δ 33: *A* 442 ἡ τοι μὲν ῥ' ἐμ' ἐπαυσας: *Φ* 372 ἀλλ' ἡ τοι μὲν ἐγὼν ἀποπαύσομαι: π 129 ἀλλ' ἡ τοι μὲν ταῦτα θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κεῖται: τ 560 ἔειν', ἡ τοι μὲν ὄνειροι . . . γίγνοντ': *A* 140: *Υ* 22: α 307: ρ 6. ἡ τοι μὲν is also used with imperative and optative: *Π* 451 ἀλλ' εἴ τοι φίλος ἐστί . . . ἡ τοι μὲν μιν ἔασον: *P* 509: *Δ* 18 εἴ δ' αὖ . . . γένοιτο, ἡ τοι μὲν οἰκέοιτο πόλις. (In certain passages the possibility that μὲν is preparatory cannot, perhaps, be absolutely excluded: e.g. *A* 140: *Υ* 67: *ξ* 259.)

The negative form of ἡ μὲν is μὴ μὲν. (i) With infinitive. Hom. *Ψ* 585 ὄμνυθι μὴ μὲν ἐκῶν . . . πεδῆσαι: δ 254: Hdt. ii 118 λέγειν . . . καὶ ὀμνύοντας καὶ ἀνωμοτί, μὴ μὲν ἔχειν Ἑλένην: iii 67 ἔξαρνος ἦν μὴ μὲν ἀποκτεῖναι: i 68 ὑπὸ ἀπιστίας μὴ μὲν γενέσθαι:

<sup>1</sup> For a full discussion of the Homeric uses of ἡ μὲν, μὴ μὲν, ἦ τοι μὲν, καὶ μὲν, ἀπὸρ μὲν, with plentiful references to authorities, see Mutzbauer.



ii 179: iii 99: v 106.6. (ii) With indicative. Hom. K 329 Ἰστοῦ  
νῦν Ζεὺς . . . μὴ μὲν τοῖς ἵπποισιν ἀνὴρ ἐποχῆσεται ἄλλος: T 258.

## Καὶ μὲν

(The negative forms corresponding to (1) and (3) are οὐ μὲν, οὐδὲ μὲν, οὐ μὲν οὐδέ, for which see μέν, I.A.7,8,9.)

(1) Progressive. Καὶ μὲν, like καὶ μὴν, introduces a new point, or develops and amplifies an old one. Hom. Z 27 βῆ δὲ μετ' Αἴσηπον καὶ Πήδασον . . . καὶ μὲν τῶν ὑπέλυσε μένος: Ω 490 Μνῆσαι πατρὸς σοῖο . . . τηλίκου ὡς περ ἐγών, ὀλοῶ ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῶ καὶ μὲν που κείνον περιναίεται ἀμφὶς ἔοντες τείρουσ': κ 16 ἐξερέεινεν ἕκαστα . . . καὶ μὲν ἐγὼ τῶ πάντα . . . κατέλεξα: Z 194: Ψ 174: τ 244: Hdt. ii 43 καὶ μὲν ὅτι γε οὐ παρ' Ἑλλήνων ἔλαβον τὸ οὐνομα Αἰγύπτιοι . . . : viii 60 β τοσάδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι χρηστὰ εὐρήσεις: πρῶτα μὲν . . . αὐτὶς δὲ . . . καὶ μὲν καὶ τότε ἐν αὐτοῖσι ἔνεστι (μὴν ABCP). καὶ μὲν is usually preceded by a strong stop: but Hom. Ω 732 αἰ δὴ τοι τάχα νηυσὶν δχῆσονται γλαφυρῆσι, καὶ μὲν ἐγὼ μετὰ τῆσι.

(2) Affirmative (not connective) introducing a general proposition, which leads up to an *a fortiori* argument (Mutzbauer, p. 19): 'verily, even'. Hom. Σ 362 ποῖον τὸν μῦθον εἶπες. καὶ μὲν δὴ πού τις μέλλει βροτὸς ἀνδρὶ τελέσσαι, ὅς περ θνητὸς τ' ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ τόσα μῆδεα οἶδε: πῶς δὴ ἐγώ, ἢ φημι θεάων ἔμμεν ἀρίστη . . . ; ('Even a mortal . . . much more I, a goddess'): υ 45 Σχέτλιε, καὶ μὲν τίς τε χερεῖονι πείθεθ' ἐταίρω, ὅς περ θνητὸς τ' ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ τόσα μῆδεα οἶδεν: αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ θεὸς εἰμι.

The analogy of Hom. ρ 485 καί τε (p. 529) is in favour of rendering καὶ μὲν 'verily', 'even', in the following also. Hom. I 499 οὐδέ τί σε χρὴ νηλεὲς ἦτορ ἔχειν: στρεπτοὶ δέ τε καὶ θεοὶ αὐτοί, τῶν περ καὶ μείζων ἀρετὴ τιμὴ τε βίη τε. καὶ μὲν τοὺς θυέεσσι . . . παρατρῶσ' ἀνθρώποι . . . (513) ἀλλ', Ἀχιλεῦ, πόρε καὶ σὺ Διὸς κούρησιν (Διταῖς) ἔπεισθαι τιμῆν ('Even the gods respect prayers: you must do so too'): δ 32 ('A man (καὶ μὲν τίς) accepts recompense from the slayer of his brother or son: but you are irreconcilable because of a mere girl'): ξ 85-8 (καὶ μὲν repeated with anacoluthon) οὐ μὲν σχέτλια ἔργα θεοὶ μάκαρες φιλέουσιν . . . καὶ μὲν δυσμενέες καὶ ἀνάροιοι, οἳ τ' ἐπὶ γαίης ἀλλοτρίης βῶσιν καὶ σφι Ζεὺς ληΐδα δῶη, πλησάμενοι δέ τε νῆυς ἔβαν οἰκόνδε νέεσθαι, καὶ

μὲν τοῖς ὄπιδος κρατερὸν δέος ἐν φρεσὶ πίπτει. οἶδε δὲ . . . ('Even pirates have fear of divine wrath, but these men have none').<sup>1</sup>

(3) [Adversative.] Mutzbauer is probably right in denying that καὶ μὲν is ever adversative in Homer, though some have found an adversative sense in the following:<sup>2</sup> A 269 κάρτιστοι μὲν ἔσαν καὶ καρτίστοις ἐμάχοντο, φηρσὶν ὄρεσκῶοισι, καὶ ἐκπάγλως ἀπόλεσαν. καὶ μὲν τοῖσιν ἐγὼ μεθομίλειον (cf. 273): η 325 Εὐβοίης, τήν περ τηλοτάτω φάσ' ἔμμεναι οἳ μιν ἴδοντο . . . καὶ μὲν οἱ ἐνθ' ἦλθον (cf. κ 13). Some of the passages grouped under (2) might also be taken as adversative (see n. 1). So, too, might Hdt. ii 43 Αἰγύπτιοι οὔτε Ποσειδέωνος οὔτε Διοσκόρων τὰ οὐνόματά φασι εἶδέναι . . . καὶ μὲν εἴ γε παρ' Ἑλλήνων ἔλαβον οὐνομά τευ δαίμονος, τούτων οὐκ ἤκιστα . . . ἔμελλον μνήμην ἔξειν. But, on the analogy of the other examples of καὶ μὲν in Herodotus, it is far more probably progressive here, marking the transition from minor to major premise.

[καὶ . . . μὲν.] In Philol. Fr. 6, ἀ μὲν ἐστὼ τῶν πραγμάτων αἰδῖος ἔσσα καὶ αὐτὰ μὲν ἀ φύσις, the second μὲν seems impossible and Usener's μάν highly probable.

Ἀτὰρ μὲν. Five times in Homer (all in speeches): Z 125 τὸ πρὶν: ἀτὰρ μὲν νῦν γε . . . : β 122: δ 32: σ 123: υ 200. 'But, in sooth.'

[Δὲ μὲν.] In Hes. Sc. 300-1 δὲ μὲν is clearly a mere blunder: cf. δὲ μὴν (μὴν, VI.1).

[Ἀλλὰ μὲν.] The particles are not found juxtaposed in Homer (see Mutzbauer, p. 22, Anm. 13), nor, I believe, elsewhere. Where ἀλλὰ . . . μὲν occurs in Homer (e.g. A 125, B 721, Θ 374, ε 290, μ 156), the particles do not cohere. For ἀλλὰ . . . μὲν in Xenophon, see μέν, I.B.1.

## Μὲν δὴ

The collocation of these two particles represents either (1) preparatory μὲν strengthened by δὴ: (2) a μὲν . . . δὲ complex

<sup>1</sup> In I 499, δ 32 Mutzbauer renders 'und fürwahr', 'und gewiss' (while others take καὶ μὲν in both passages as adversative): in ξ 85-8 he puts a full stop at νέεσθαι: T. W. Allen (in O.C.T.) puts one at δῶη: I prefer Monro's punctuation, given above.

<sup>2</sup> In such passages an adversative sense is appropriate, but is not, I think, expressed by the particles, which simply mean 'and verily'. See καὶ μὴν (δ).

introduced by connective δῆ: (3) affirmative, adversative, or progressive μέν strengthened by δῆ. We have discussed (1) and (2) above (under δῆ, pp. 258-9), and remarked on the difficulty, in certain cases, of distinguishing between them. (3) alone concerns us here.

In a few passages in epic and elegiac poetry δῆ strengthens an affirmative μέν. (For ἤ μέν δῆ see under ἤ μέν, (2).) Hom. I 309 χρῆ μέν δῆ τὸν μῦθον ἀπηλεγέως ἀποειπεῖν: A 514 (with imperative) Νημερτὲς μέν δῆ μοι ὑπόσχεο: ο 280 οὐ μέν δῆ: (an adversative sense, though appropriate to the context, is probably not to be found in μέν δῆ in Θ 238, ε 341, μ 209): Thgn. 1314 τούτοις, οἷσπερ νῦν . . . φίλος ἔπλεν . . . οὐ μέν δῆ τούτοις γ' ἦσθα φίλος πρότερον (οὐ . . . γ' Hermann: συ . . . τ' A): Mimn. Fr. 13.1 οὐ μέν δῆ κείνου γε μένος . . . πεύθομαι: Semon. Fr. 20.1 (ἦ) πολλὰ μέν δῆ προεκπονέαι (ἦ add. Bergk: but the lost sequel perhaps supplied an answer to μέν, as in A. Eu. 106 (see n. 1)). In particular, εἰ μέν δῆ in Homer always begins an answer, and means 'if, in very sooth, as you say': I 434: K 242: O 49: Ω 406: δ 831: ι 410: χ 45: ψ 286: ω 328.

μέν δῆ, in sense (3) above, now temporarily vanishes from Greek. Drama knows μέν δῆ in compounds only, γε μέν δῆ, ἀλλὰ . . . μέν δῆ, καὶ μέν δῆ<sup>1</sup>: while ἀλλὰ μέν δῆ, καὶ μέν δῆ are found in Attic prose. But sense (3) reappears, in certain limited usages, in Plato and Xenophon. The uses throughout correspond closely with those of μήν.

I. Affirmative (cf. the far commoner uses of μέντοι, II. 1).

(1) Assent with echoed word. Pl. Phil. 55E φαῦλον τὸ καταλειπόμενον ἐκάστης ἂν γίγνοιτο.—Φαῦλον μέν δῆ (μέν δῆ BT: μέντοι vulgo): Lg. 901A οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτόν.—Οὐ μέν δῆ.

(2) Negative answer to a question, following μὰ Δία, μὰ τὸν Δία (Xenophon only). X. Smr. 4.3 Ἡ καὶ σοι, ἔφη, ἀποδιδόασιν ὅτι ἂν λάβωσι;—Μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, οὐ μέν δῆ ('I should think not!'): Cyr. vi 3.10 ἦ καὶ ἔχαιρον . . .;—Οὐ μὰ Δί', εἶπον ἐκεῖνοι, οὐ μέν δῆ ἔχαιρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλα ἠνιωῦντο: Smr. 4.52: Cyr. i 6.9: ii 2.22: v 5.19.

(Pl. Phil. 46B Οὐ μέν δῆ Φιλήβου γε ἔνεκα παρεθέμην τὸν λόγον· ἀλλ' ἄνευ τούτων . . . Here μέν δῆ seems simply to give liveliness

<sup>1</sup> In A. Eu. 106 μέν is answered by καὶ in 110, 'and yet'.

to the negation, like μέντοι, which one would expect here: 'This isn't a hit at Philebus, you know': μέν should not, I think, be taken as concessive, whether *solitariumi* or answered by ἀλλά.)

II. Adversative, either (1) in an answer, protesting; or (2) answering μέν.

(1) Pl. Phdr. 259B ἀνήκοος γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, τυγχάνω ὦν.—Οὐ μέν δῆ πρέπει γε φιλόμουσον ἄνδρα τῶν τοιούτων ἀνήκοον εἶναι: X. Oec. 13.5 ὥστε ἴσως ἂν καὶ καταγελάσαις ἀκούων.—Οὐ μέν δῆ ἀξιόν γε . . . τὸ πρᾶγμα καταγέλωτος. It would of course be possible to take μέν as concessive in both places: but the context rather suggests a protest, 'but really', and this interpretation gains support from the following passages, where μέν δῆ is undoubtedly adversative.

(2) Pl. Phdr. 266C Βασιλικοὶ μέν ἄνδρες, οὐ μέν δῆ ἐπιστήμονές γε ὦν ἐρωτᾶς: Ti. 41B ἀθάνατοι μέν οὐκ ἔστε οὐδ' ἄλυτοι τὸ πάμπαν, οὔτι μέν δῆ λυθήσεσθέ γε οὐδὲ τεύξεσθε θανάτου μοίρας ('but, on the other hand, you shall not . . .'): with less adversative force, X. An. iii 2.14 τοιούτων μέν ἔστε προγόνων. οὐ μέν δῆ τοῦτό γε ἐρῶ ὡς ὑμεῖς καταισχύνετε αὐτούς ('Nor will I say that you, on your side, are a disgrace to them').

III. Progressive.

(1) In negative statements, usually after a preceding negative. Pl. Thet. 148E οὔτε . . . οὔτε . . . οὐ μέν δῆ αὖ οὐδέ: X. An. 19.13 'He rewarded those who did him good service. οὐ μέν δῆ οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἂν τις εἶποι, ὡς τοὺς κακούργους καὶ ἀδίκους εἶα καταγελαῖν' ('Nor, on the other hand'): ii 2.3 ποταμὸς . . . ὃν οὐκ ἂν δυναίμεθα ἄνευ πλοίων διαβῆναι: πλοῖα δὲ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἔχομεν. οὐ μέν δῆ αὐτοῦ γε μένειν οἶόν τε ('Nor, again'): ii 4.6 τὸν δ' οὖν Εὐφράτην ἴσμεν ὅτι ἀδύνατον διαβῆναι κωλύοντων πολεμίων. οὐ μέν δῆ ἂν μάχεσθαι γε δέη, ἵππεῖς εἰσιν ἡμῖν ξύμμαχοι ('Again': a further objection: here ἀδύνατον is equivalent to a negative): Hier. 7.11 οὔτε σὺ οὔτε ἄλλος μέν δῆ οὐδεὶς πώποτε (oddly separated from the negative: read, perhaps, οὔτε μέν δῆ ἄλλος: cf. οὔτε μήν (μήν, VI. 5)).

(2) In positive statements. (Only) Pl. Ly. 204D ἡμῶν γοῦν . . . ἐκκεκῶφωκε τὰ ὦτα καὶ ἐμπέπληκε Λύσιδος· ἂν μέν δῆ καὶ ἰσοπία, εὐμαρία ἡμῖν ἔστιν καὶ ἐξ ὕπνου ἐγρομένοις Λύσιδος οἰεσθαι

τοῦνομα ἀκούειν ('and if, besides, he is a bit drunk . . .': perhaps *kān mēn dhē*).

### Ἄλλα μὲν δὴ

This combination is found in Antiphon, Lysias, Plato, and Xenophon: and, in the split form, *ἀλλὰ . . . μὲν δὴ*, in Sophocles, though not in the other dramatists. It conveys meanings more commonly expressed by *ἀλλὰ μὲν*, *ἀλλὰ μέντοι*. In the split form it is sometimes alternatively possible to take *μέν* as *solitariūm*.

(1) Adversative. *Ant.Fr.1a ἀλλὰ μὲν δὴ λέγουσιν οἱ κατήγοροι ὡς . . .* (for *ἀλλὰ νῆ Δία*): *Pl.Cri.48A Οὐκ ἄρα . . . φροντιστέον τί ἐροῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ ἡμᾶς . . .* "Ἄλλα μὲν δὴ", *φαίη γ' ἂν τις, "οἰοί τέ εἰσιν ἡμᾶς οἱ πολλοὶ ἀποκτεινύναι"*: *Grg.492E*.

*ἀλλὰ . . . μὲν δὴ*. *S.El.103* 'I alone pity you. *ἀλλ' οὐ μὲν δὴ λήξω θρήνων*' ('Yet, for all that'): *OT 294 τὸν δὲ δρῶντ' οὐδεὶς ὄρα*.—*Ἄλλ' εἴ τι μὲν δὴ δείματός γ' ἔχει μέρος, τὰς σὰς ἀκούων οὐ μενεῖ τοιάσδ' ἀράς*: 523 'I cannot bear Oedipus' reproaches'.—*Ἄλλ' ἦλθε μὲν δὴ τοῦτο τοῦνειδος τάχ' ἂν ὀργῆ βιασθέν*: *Pl.Thi.187A Ἄλλ' οὐ τι μὲν δὴ τούτου γε ἔνεκα ἠρχόμεθα διαλεγόμενοι*: *X.Oec.11.2 ἵνα καὶ μεταρρυθμίσης με . . .*—*Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ, ἔφην, πῶς ἂν δικαίως μεταρρυθμισαίμι . . .*; (perhaps rather *mēn solitariūm*): *Lys.vi 39 ἀλλ' οὐ μὲν δὴ . . .*

(2) Assentient. *Pl.Thi.143B ἀναπαύσασθαι δέομαι . . .*—*Ἄλλὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς . . . οὐκ ἂν ἀηδῶς ἀναπαυοίμην*: *Cra.428B δοκεῖς μοι ἐσκέφθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα . . .*—*Ἄλλὰ μὲν δὴ . . . ὥσπερ σὺ λέγεις, μεμέληκέν μοι περὶ αὐτῶν* ('Well, certainly, I have given some thought to the matter'): *Grg.506B*.

(3) Substantiation of condition, usually with echoed word (cf. *μήν*, III.1.i, *ἀλλὰ μὲν*, (3), *καὶ μὲν*, (3)). *Pl.Grg.471A ἄθλιος ἄρα οὗτός ἐστιν . . .*; —*Εἴπερ γε . . . ἄδικος*.—*Ἄλλὰ μὲν δὴ πῶς οὐκ ἄδικος*; *R.459C εἴπερ . . . ὡσαύτως ἔχει*.—*Ἄλλὰ μὲν δὴ ἔχει, ἔφη*: *Euthd.275C*: *Thg.122B* (perhaps rather to be classed as assentient): *Prm.126A*: *Alc.I 119E*.

(4) Progressive. *Pl.R.442D* 'A man will become *σώφρων* by the harmony of these elements'.—'Yes'.—*Ἄλλὰ μὲν δὴ δίκαιός γε . . . τούτῳ καὶ οὕτως ἔσται* ('Again, he will become just . . .'): *Hipparch.232C*: *Phid.75A*: *R.477E*: *Lys.xiii 27 ἀλλὰ μὲν δὴ οὐχ*

*ὁμοιά γε σοὶ καὶ ἐκείνοις ὑπῆρχεν* (a new argument: cf. *xiv 44*): *xkvi 22 ἀλλὰ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ τὴν οὐσίαν ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ φήσει κτήσασθαι* (a further charge refuted in advance).

Introducing minor premise (cf. *ἀλλὰ μὲν*, (6)). *Pl.Grg.506D ἀγαθοὶ ἐσμεν . . . ἀρετῆς τινος παραγενομένης*.—'Yes'.—*Ἄλλὰ μὲν δὴ ἢ γε ἀρετὴ ἐκάστου . . . τάξει (παραγίγνεται) . . . Κόσμος τις ἄρα ἐγγενόμενος . . . ἀγαθὸν παρέχει ἕκαστον τῶν ὄντων*; *Euthphr.10D*.

*ἀλλὰ . . . μὲν δὴ*. *S.El.913*. *καγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἔδρασα . . . οὐδ' αὖ σὺ . . . ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μὲν δὴ μητρὸς οὐθ' ὁ νοῦς φιλεῖ τοιαῦτα πράσσειν . . .*: *Tr.627* 'Ἐπίσταμαί τε (τῶν δόμοισι) καὶ φράσω σεσωμένα'.—*Ἄλλ' οἴσθα μὲν δὴ καὶ τὰ τῆς ξένης ὄρων προσδέγματ'*: *Aj.877*: *Tr.1128* (both *ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μὲν δὴ*).

### Γε μὲν δὴ

This rare combination is confined to tragedy, where it is commonest in Aeschylus, rarest in Euripides. In *A.Eu.419* it is progressive, or only faintly adversative, in sense: *Γένος μὲν οἶδα κληδόνας τ' ἐπωνύμους*.—*Τιμάς γε μὲν δὴ τὰς ἐμὰς πεύσει τάχα* ('Aye, and . . .'). Elsewhere it is always definitely, and strongly, adversative:<sup>1</sup> *A.Ag.661 ὀρώμεν ἀνθοῦν πέλαγος Αἰγαῖον νεκροῖς . . . ἡμᾶς γε μὲν δὴ . . . ἐξέκλεψεν . . . θεός τις*: *S.El.1243* *τόδε μὲν οὐ ποτ' ἀξιώσω τρέσαι, περισσὸν ἄχθος ἔνδον γυναικῶν ὄν αιεῖ*.—*Ὅρα γε μὲν δὴ κἄν γυναιξίν ὡς Ἄρης ἔνεστιν* ('Aye, but mark you'): *A.Supp.241* ('Your dress is foreign, but you have suppliant branches after Hellenic fashion'), 273: *Ag.1213*: *S.Tr.484*: *E.Hel.1259* (the logical link is with 1257).

### Καὶ μὲν δὴ

*Καὶ μὲν δὴ*<sup>2</sup> is not infrequent in Plato and Isocrates, less frequent in Xenophon (*Cyr.* only, five times), and notably common in

<sup>1</sup> A concessive sense would be appropriate in some places (cf. *γε μὲν*, (4)) and see Tucker on *A.Supp.241* (his 215), but should nowhere, I think, be posited.

<sup>2</sup> See Prof. P. Shorey in *C.Phil.*xxviii(1933), 2, pp. 131-2. Our statistics tally almost exactly: I have taken an example or two from him, and added one or two to his list.

Lysias, who has it twenty-one times. (In the attack on love in the *Phaedrus*, a passage written either by Lysias or in imitation of his style, it occurs five times in four and a half pages: 231D, 232B,E, 233A,D). There are two examples apiece in Antiphon and Andocides, and one in Thucydides: hardly any in verse<sup>1</sup> (two only, in Aristophanes), or in the remaining orators (Is.x12: [D.]lxi13). The uses correspond closely to those of the far commoner καὶ μὴν.

(1) Assentient. Pl.*Cra.*396D τῆς σοφίας ταυτησὶ . . . ἢ ἐμοὶ ἐξαίφνης νῦν οὕτως προσπέπτωκεν . . . —Καὶ μὲν δὴ, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἀτεχνῶς γέ μοι δοκεῖς . . . ἐξαίφνης χρησιμωδεῖν ('Yes, indeed, Socrates'): K.409B εὐήθεις νέοι ὄντες οἱ ἐπεικεις φαίνονται . . . —Καὶ μὲν δὴ, ἔφη, σφόδρα γε αὐτὸ πάσχουσι: Τι.20C συνωμολογήσατ' οὖν . . . εἰς νῦν ἀνταποδώσειν μοι τὰ τῶν λόγων ξένια . . . —Καὶ μὲν δὴ . . . οὔτε ἐλλείψομεν προθυμίας οὐδὲν . . . : R.526B, 528D: X.*Cyr.*16.3: vi.2.23.

Somewhat similar are the following passages, in which καὶ μὲν δὴ conveys a lively response, rather after the manner of μέντοι (q.v. II.1). Pl.*Th.*155E εἰσὶν δὲ οὗτοι οἱ οὐδὲν ἄλλο οἰόμενοι εἶναι ἢ οὐ ἂν δύνωνται ἀπρίξ τοῖν χεροῖν λαβέσθαι . . . —Καὶ μὲν δὴ, ὦ Σώκρατες, σκληροὺς γε λέγεις καὶ ἀντιτύπους ἀνθρώπους ('Why, they are a stubborn type!'): *Sph.*217B ('Why, that is just what we were asking him'). There seems to be little, if any, connective force in these.

(2) Inceptive (cf. μὴν, III.1.iii: ἀλλὰ μὴν, 2.i: καὶ μὴν, (5)). Pl.*R.*428A Οὐκοῦν καὶ περὶ τούτων, ἐπειδὴ τέτταρα ὄντα τυγχάνει, ὡσαύτως ζητητέον; —Δῆλα δὴ. —Καὶ μὲν δὴ πρῶτόν γε μοι δοκεῖ ἐν αὐτῷ κατάδηλον εἶναι ἡ σοφία ('Well').

(3) Adversative. Pl.*Hr.Ma.*290A τὸ γὰρ ὀρθῶς λεγόμενον ἀνάγκη αὐτῷ ἀποδέχεται . . . —Καὶ μὲν δὴ ταύτην γε τὴν ἀπόκρισιν οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἀποδέξεται . . . : R.406A: Pl.*l.*287D.

(4) Progressive (by far the commonest use). Ar.*Th.*805 Ναυσιμάχης μὲν γ' ἦττων ἐστὶν Χαρμίνος· δῆλα δὲ τάργα. καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ Κλεοφῶν χείρων πάντως δήπου Σαλαβακχοῦς: 819 καὶ μὲν δήπου καὶ τὰ πατρῶά γε χείρους ἡμῶν εἰσὶν σώζειν (δὴ goes more closely with καὶ μὲν, which cannot stand without it in Attic, than with που, and we should perhaps write καὶ μὲν δὴ

<sup>1</sup> In Homer (2362, see καὶ μὲν, (2)) the combination is not yet stereotyped.

που): Hr.*Art.*47 καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ κατὰ φύσιν γε ἀναγκάζουσι: Th.iii 113.4 "ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς γε οὐδενὶ ἐμαχόμεθα χθές, ἀλλὰ πρῶην ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει". "καὶ μὲν δὴ τούτοις γε ἡμεῖς χθές . . . ἐμαχόμεθα" ('And we fought yesterday against these men'): Pl.*Grg.*507B τὸν δὲ τὰ δίκαια . . . πράττοντα ἀνάγκη δίκαιον . . . εἶναι.—Ἔστι ταῦτα.—Καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἀνδρείον γε ἀνάγκη: Prt.315C 'I caught sight of Hippias. καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ Τάνταλόν γε εἰσείδον' (where Homer λ582 has καὶ μὴν): *Smpr.*197A (a series, πρῶτον μὲν . . . καὶ μὲν δὴ . . . ἀλλὰ . . . γε μὴν): *Chrm.*159C Τί δ' ἀναγιγνώσκεις; ταχέως ἢ βραδέως (κάλλιστον);—Ταχέως.—Καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ τὸ κιθαρίζειν ταχέως . . . κάλλιον τοῦ . . . βραδέως; *Grg.*458D 'I should like more than anything to listen to the discussion'.—Nῆ τοὺς θεοὺς, ὦ Χαιρεφῶν, καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς . . . οὐκ οἶδ' εἰ πώποτε ἦσθην οὕτως ὡσπὲρ νυνί (preceded by oath: cf. X.*Cyr.* viii.4.8): Ant.v 51 ἐκ τῶν λόγων τῶν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου μερὶς ἑκατέροις ἴση ἂν εἴη . . . καὶ μὲν δὴ τὰ ἐξ ἴσου γεγόμενα τοῦ φεύγοντός ἐστι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ διώκοντος (transition to major premise, with conclusion left unexpressed): And.i 20 (new argument): Pl.*Men.*88D: *Ly.*206B: *Cra.*428A: *Ti.*18C: *Lg.*712E: R.464B: X.*Cyr.*v 5.44: viii.4.17: Ant.v 63: And.i 140: *Lys.*xii 30,35,49,89: xiv 12,32,34,43: *Isoc.*iii 36: iv 40 (in all the eleven Isocratean instances, except iii 16, a second καὶ follows immediately).

καὶ . . . μὲν δὴ. X.*Cyr.*iii 3.48 ἔλεγον ὅτι ἐξίοιεν . . . καὶ παρατάττοι αὐτοὺς αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔξω ὢν, καὶ παρακελεύοιτο μὲν δὴ τοῖς αἰεὶ ἔξω οὔσι πολλά τε καὶ ἰσχυρά: if the text is sound, καί, though not juxtaposed, seems to go with μὲν δὴ, exceptionally without a strong stop preceding: ἦδη for δὴ (*H.IG*) makes things worse, not better.

(For μὲν οὖν, with adversative or affirmative μέν, see μὲν οὖν, (3).)

## Μέντοι

Μέντοι is formed of μέν and τοι. In Homer the fusion has not yet taken place, and the particles<sup>1</sup> are, rightly, written separately. In Attic they coalesce into one word, sometimes

<sup>1</sup> All the Homeric instances are in speeches, and τοι is perhaps everywhere in Homer to be regarded as dative singular: so L. & S.: see Ebeling, s.v. μίν, p. 1048a.

μέν and sometimes, but less frequently, *τοι* being the preponderating element.<sup>1</sup> Some scholars read *μέν τοι separativim* in a few passages, in which they take *μέν* as preparatory: *A.Th.* 515: *Ag.* 644, 943. It is certainly significant that all these are from Aeschylus, in whose time the fusion may not yet have been complete: but in the first two passages *μέντοι* follows *τοιόσδε*, with which it is often associated (see below): in the third, the interpretation is doubtful (see II. I. v.). *μέν τοι separativim* seems to have been avoided in Attic. Why, it is hard to say: not through fear of ambiguity, since a similar ambiguity is tolerated in *μέν οὖν* and *μέν δή*. In Ionic prose: *Hr. Acut.* 5 οἱ μέν τοι . . . οἱ δέ (μέν τι αἰ, as often).

*μέν* in *μέντοι* has either a confirmatory or an adversative sense: sometimes, again (mainly in the fourth century), a progressive sense: occasionally, perhaps, in Epic (*μέν τοι*), a preparatory sense. I. *μέν τοι, μέντοι* in Epic, Elegiac, and early Iambic. The instances are few.

(1) Epic, *μέν τοι*. Determination of the force of *μέν* is here, as often, difficult at this early stage in the development of logical thought.

(i) Affirmative. *Hom.* δ 157 Menelaus recognizes Telemachus as Odysseus' son. Peisistratus answers: Ἀτρείδη Μενέλαε . . . κείνου μέν τοι ὄδ' υἱὸς ἐτήτυμον, ὡς ἀγορεύεις ('in very sooth'): ξ 508 ὦ γέρον, αἶνος μέν τοι ἀμύμων, ὃν κατέλεξας: π 267 Ἐσθλὸς τοι τούτῳ γ' ἐπαμύντορε . . . — Οὐ μέν τοι κείνω γε πολὺν χρόνον ἀμφὶς ἔσεσθον φυλόπιδος κρατερῆς ('Aye, truly'): ω 321 Κεῖνος μέν τοι ὄδ' αὐτὸς ἐγώ, πάτερ, ὃν σὺ μεταλλάξ. It will be noted that in these four passages (all from the *Odyssey*) *μέν τοι* occurs at the beginning of an answer. The first two forecast the Attic use of *μέντοι* in affirmative answers, 'Aye, truly'. In Φ 370 *μέν τοι* might conceivably be adversative, but is better taken as affirmative: Ἥρη, τίπτε σὸς υἱὸς ἐμὸν ῥόον ἔχραε κήδειν ἐξ ἄλλων; οὐ μέν τοι ἐγὼ τόσον αἰτιός εἰμι, ὅσσον οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες.

(ii) Adversative. *Hom.* σ 233 Penelope blames Telemachus for allowing the fight between Odysseus and Irus. Telemachus answers that he is powerless in face of the suitors: οὐ μέν τοι

<sup>1</sup> Interpretation is what matters here, not orthography. The Greeks very probably made some slight distinction in pronunciation between *μέν τοι* and *μέντοι*. (Cf. 'all right', 'all round'.)

ξείνου γε καὶ Ἴρου μῶλος ἐτύχθη μνηστήρων ἰότητι, βίη δ' ὁ γε φέρτερος ἦεν (doubt as to the precise interpretation (see Monro) does not affect the sense of *μέν*).

(iii) Preparatory (possibly). *Hom.* Δ 318 Ἀτρείδη, μάλα μέν τοι ἐγὼν ἐθέλοιμι καὶ αὐτὸς . . . ἄλλ' . . . : δ 411 φώκας μέν τοι πρῶτον ἀριθμήσει . . . αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν πάσας πεμπάσσειται . . . : *Hes. Op.* 287 τὴν μέν τοι κακότητα καὶ ἰλαδὸν ἔστιν ἐλέσθαι . . . τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἰδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάροιθεν ἔθηκαν (μέν γάρ Xenophon and Stobaeus).

μέν γάρ τοι. *Hom.* O 222: Ω 172.

(2) Iambic and Elegiac, *μέντοι*. *Semon. Fr.* 20.2 (with no context to define the sense): *Thgn.* 661 (clearly corrupt). In Lyric I find no instances.

II. *μέντοι* in Ionic prose and in Attic. It is only when we reach the tragedians that *μέντοι* begins to be frequent. The earliest (apparent) prose example is *Heraclit. Fr.* 28 καὶ μέντοι καὶ Δίκη καταλήψεται ψευδῶν τέκτονας: but Wilamowitz' καὶ μέν πῦρ καὶ is almost certainly right. We can distinguish three broad classes: (1) Affirmative or emphatic: (2) Adversative: (3) Progressive.

(1) Emphatic. *μέν* denotes objective certainty, while *τοι* brings the truth home to another person: 'really, you know'. On the whole, perhaps, *τοι* preponderates, and *μέντοι* in this sense is mostly found in writers who use *τοι* freely. The particle is often associated with pronouns, *σύ, οὗτος, τοιοῦτος*.

(i) In general. Often there is a certain assentient force, 'yes', as, more clearly, in (ii). *S. Aj.* 86 Ἐγὼ σκοτώσω βλέφαρα καὶ δεδορκότα.—Γένοιτο μέντ' ἂν πᾶν θεοῦ τεχνωμένου ('Well, all is possible when a god contrives', Jebb): *E. Ph.* 899 Φράσον πολίταις καὶ πόλει σωτηρίαν.—Βούλη σὺ μέντοι κούχ' ἰβουλήση τάχα ('Yes, you wish it, but in a moment you won't': sarcastic): *Ar. Eq.* 1152 ὦ Δῆμ', ἐγὼ μέντοι . . . τρίπαλαι καθῆμαι ('I've been sitting for ages, you know'): *Nu.* 126 Ἄλλ' οὐδ' ἐγὼ μέντοι πεσῶν γε κείσομαι: 1338 Ἐδιδάξάμην μέντοι σε νῆ Δί', ὃ μέλε, τοῖσιν δικαίοις ἀντιλέγειν (bitterly sarcastic: 'I have had you taught'): *V.* 231 ὦ Κωμία, βραδύνεις: μὰ τὸν Δί' οὐ μέντοι πρὸ τοῦ γ': 426 Τοῦτο μέντοι δεινὸν ἤδη νῆ Δί', εἰ μαχούμεθα: *Pl. Grg.* 466c Νῆ τὸν κύνα, ἀμφιγνοῶ μέντοι ('I swear I can't make up my mind, you know'): *La.* 181B ὦ Σώκρατες, οὗτος μέντοι ὁ ἐπαινός ἐστιν

καλός, ὃν σὺ νῦν ἐπαινῇ: 195C Τί δοκεῖ Λάχης λέγειν, ὦ Νικία; ἔοικε μέντοι λέγειν τι ('There seems to be something in what he says, you know'): *Ly.* 203B οὐ παραβάλλεις; ἄξιον μέντοι: *Phid.* 117D Οἶα, ἔφη, ποιεῖτε, ὦ θαυμάσιοι. ἐγὼ μέντοι οὐχ ἡκιστα τούτου ἕνεκα τὰς γυναῖκας ἀπέπεμψα ('you know'): *Th.* 151E αἰσθησις, φῆς, ἐπιστήμη;—Ναί.—Κινδυνεύεις μέντοι λόγον οὐ φαῦλον εἰρηκέναι περὶ ἐπιστήμης (half-ironical approval: 'Well, that is no mere commonplace observation'): *R.* 329C: *Euthd.* 273C: *Thg.* 129A: *Phlb.* 36D: *Th.* 152B: *X.Mem.* ii 1.14: iii 1.2: *Cyr.* ii 2.5.

With τοιοῦτος, τοιοῦσδε, ὅδε, οὗτος, usually at the opening of an answer. *A.Pr.* 964 Τοιοῖσδε μέντοι καὶ πρὶν αὐθαδίσμασιν ἐς τάσδε σαυτὸν πημονὰς καθώρμισας ('That is the sort of stubbornness which has brought you into trouble'): *Ar.Au.* 100 Τὸ ράμφος ἡμῖν σου γέλοιον φαίνεται.—Τοιαῦτα μέντοι Σοφοκλῆς λυμαίνεται ἐν ταῖς τραγωδίαισιν ἐμὲ τὸν Τηρέα ('That's what *Sophocles* does to me in his tragedies'): *A.Pr.* 1054: *Ag.* 886: *S.Aj.* 952, 1246, 1358: *E.El.* 1011: *Ar.Eq.* 1221: *Nu.* 1361: *Au.* 1351: *Ra.* 743, 971: *Lys.* 968: *Th.* 520: *Pl.Hp.Ma.* 281B Hippias: 'I have been extremely busy lately'.—Τοιοῦτον μέντοι, ὦ Ἰππία, ἔστι τὸ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ σοφὸν τε καὶ τέλειον ἄνδρα εἶναι ('Ah, that's what it means to be really clever'). *A.Th.* 515 τοιάδε μέντοι προσφίλεια δαιμόνων: πρὸς τῶν κρατούντων δ' ἔσμεν, οἱ δ' ἡσσωμένων is, I think, different: the emphasis lies more on τοιάδε than on προσφίλεια.

With σύ, often in a parenthetical or quasi-parenthetical clause, giving the reason why this particular person is addressed in this particular way. *Ar.Au.* 339 Ὡς ἀπωλόμεσθ' ἄρα.—Αἴτιος μέντοι σὺ νῦν εἶ τῶν κακῶν τούτων μόνος ('This is all your fault, you know'): 93C οὗτος, σὺ μέντοι σπολάδα καὶ χιτῶν' ἔχεις, ἀπόδυθι: *Th.* 218 Ἀγάθων, σὺ μέντοι ξυροφυρεῖς ἐκάστοτε, χρῆσόν τί νυν ἡμῖν ξυρόν ('Agathon, you always carry a razor'): *Ra.* 171 οὗτος, σὲ λέγω μέντοι (a call to attention: cf. τοι, I.8): *Pl.Pr.* 339E Ὡ Πρόδικε, ἔφην ἐγώ, σὸς μέντοι Σιμωνίδης πολίτης δίκαιος εἶ βοηθεῖν τῷ ἀνδρὶ: *Plu.* 238D τὰ νῦν γὰρ οὐκέτι πόρρω διθυράμβων φθέγγομαι.—Ἀληθέστατα λέγεις.—Τούτων μέντοι σὺ αἴτιος ('Well, that's your fault': cf. *Gr.* 447A Τούτων μέντοι . . . αἴτιος Χαίρεφῶν ὅδε): *X.Smp.* 6.8 Σὺ μέντοι δεινὸς εἶ . . . εἰκάζειν οὐ δοκεῖ σοι ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος λοιδορεῖσθαι βουλομένῳ εοικέναι;

Emphatic μέντοι almost invariably comes early in the sentence.

The following are exceptional. *Hdt.* viii 87.3 εἰ μὲν καὶ τι νεῖκος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγεγόνεε . . . οὐ μέντοι ἔχω γε εἰπεῖν (ἐγῶγε ἔχω S: ἐγῶγε V): *Aeschin.* 198 ὅτι δὲ ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἐνταῦθα μέντοι νῆ Δία σαφῶς . . . μαρτυροῦντας ὑμῖν τοὺς μάρτυρας παρέξομαι.

Emphatic μέντοι is hardly ever found (as in these last two passages) outside dialogue. *And.* 141 is from a conversation: Ἄρα γε σὲ οἶδε περιμένουσι; χρὴ μέντοι μὴ ἀπωθεῖσθαι τοιοῦτους φίλους ('You oughtn't, you know, . . .').

(ii) A particular variety of emphatic μέντοι is the assentient use.

(a) Conveying a favourable opinion of the previous speaker's words (cf. τοι, I.7): *Aristophanes* and *Plato*. *Ar.Lys.* 1095 Νῆ τὸν Δί' εὖ μέντοι λέγεις: *Th.* 9 Πῶς μοι παραινεῖς; δεξιῶς μέντοι λέγεις: *Pl.La.* 194D Ἀληθῆ μέντοι νῆ Δία λέγεις: *Cra.* 385A Ἴσως μέντοι τι λέγεις: *Lg.* 646B, 665B, 861A: *Smp.* 176B: *Sph.* 245B.

Naturally, the verb is normally in the second person. *Pl.Th.* 187B is only formally an exception: Οὕτω μέντοι χρὴ . . . λέγειν. Elliptical: *Pl.R.* 425A Ἀληθῆ μέντοι, ἔφη. But sometimes the assent is conveyed to a third party: *Pl.Phd.* 86D Δίκαια μέντοι, ἔφη, λέγει ὁ Σιμμίας: *Thg.* 127B οὐ μέντοι κακῶς λέγει ('There's something in what he says, you know'): *Phlb.* 18A Ὀρθῶς μέντοι τοῦθ' ἡμᾶς, ὦ Πρώταρχε, ἠρώτηκε Φίληβος: *Th.* 152B. In *Ar.Pl.* 1052 Εὖ μέντοι λέγει is an aside.

(b) Occasionally in *Aristophanes*, not seldom in *Xenophon*, and extremely often in *Plato*, marking assent by echoing a word, or words, of the previous speaker. (Cf. μὲν δὴ, I.1, p. 392.) *Ar.Eq.* 895 οἶσθα . . .;—Οἶδα μέντοι: *V.* 665 Οὐδὲ . . .—Μὰ Δί' οὐ μέντοι: *Eq.* 168 Ἐγώ;—Σὺ μέντοι: *Lys.* 498 Ἐμείς;—Ἡμεῖς μέντοι: *Pl.Euthd.* 291A μή τις τῶν κρειπτόνων . . . ἐφθέγγετο; . . .—Ναὶ μὰ Δία . . . τῶν κρειπτόνων μέντοι τις: *La.* 190C Φαμὲν ἄρα . . .—Φαμὲν μέντοι: *R.* 371B συχῶν . . .—Συχῶν μέντοι: *Ly.* 208A οὐκ ἂν ἔφην . . .;—Μὰ Δί' οὐ μέντοι ἂν, ἔφη, ἔφην: *X.Cyr.* i 4.19 Ἡ . . . πολέμιοί εἰσιν . . .;—Πολέμιοι μέντοι, ἔφη.—Ἡ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι, ἔφη, οἱ ἐλαύνοντες;—Κακεῖνοι μέντοι: *Oec.* 1.8 Οὐδ' ἄρα γε ἡ γῆ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐστὶ χρήματα . . .—Οὐδὲ ἡ γῆ μέντοι χρήματά ἐστιν (where the number of words repeated is remarkable): *Pl.R.* 375E, 386C, 389A, 443A, 469E: *X.Mem.* ii 6.2: *Smp.* 4.4.

μέντοι νῆ (μὰ) Δία is extremely common in *Plato*. *Ar.Lax*



1290 Ἐγώ;—Σὺ μέντοι νῆ Δία (Av.1651: Ec.1130): Av.1668 οὐδὲν . . .;—Οὐ μέντοι μὰ Δία: Pl.La.195A Οὐκουν φησί γε Νικίας.—Οὐ μέντοι μὰ Δία: Chrm.154B: Euthphr.4B: Phd.65D, 68B, 73D, 74A. (οὐ μέντοι μὰ Δία adversative, answering μέν, D.iv49.) With the oath preceding the particle and negative. Hermipp.Fr.76 μὰ τὸν Δί' οὐ μέντοι: Pl.Euthd.290E Οὐκ οἶει . . .;—Μὰ Δί' οὐ μέντοι: X.Smp.3.13 Ἄρ' οἶσθα . . .;—Μὰ Δί', ἔφη, τοῦτο μέντοι ἐγὼ οὐκ οἶδα: 433 Οὐκουν (num) θύεις;—Μὰ Δία τοῦτο μέντοι . . . οὐ ποιῶ.

In reported speech. Pl.Lg.809E οὐπω διείρηκέ σοι πότερον . . . ἢ τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲ προσοιστέον ὡς δ' αὐτως καὶ περὶ λύραν. προσοιστέον μέντοι νῦν φαμεν (μέντοι νῦν Bekker: μὲν τοίνυν codd.).

(iii) In potential statements, with ἄν and optative or past indicative, by crasis, μέντ'αν, expressing lively surprise or indignation. Common in Aristophanes and Plato, and not infrequent in Demosthenes (a mark of the liveliness of his style): surprisingly, absent from Xenophon. (In S.Aj.86 (see II.1.i) the tone is quiet, and quite different. Pl.Smp.206B also stands apart from the normal usage: so, of course, does R.415D.)

Ar.Av.1692 οὐκ εἶ μεθ' ἡμῶν;—Εὐ γε μέντ'αν διετέθη (regretfully, 'I should have been in clover': γε, exclamatory, is clearly to be separated from μέντοι): Ra.743 Τὸ δὲ μὴ πατάξαι σ' . . .—Ωμιωξε μέντ'αν ('He'd have caught it if he had!'): Ach.906 συκοφάντην ἔξαγε . . .—Νεὶ τὸ θιῶ λάβοιμι μέντ'αν κέρδος ἀγαγὼν καὶ πολὺ (ironical, 'That would pay me!'): Ach.162, 544: Ec.650: Pl.1062: Pl.Cra.391C Ἄτοπος μέντ'αν εἶη μου . . . ἢ δέησις: Thl.158E Γελοῖον μέντ'αν εἶη: R.459B Ἄτοπον μέντ'αν . . . εἶη: Smp.194A Ἐπιλησμών μέντ'αν εἶην: Grg.461E Δεινὰ μέντ'αν πάθοις: Lg.669A Πάντες μέντ'αν . . . τὰ κατὰ τῶν ζώων ἐγιγνώσκομεν: D.i26 τῶν ἀποπωτάτων μέντ'αν εἶη: viii27 ἀμείνους μέντ'αν εἶεν: xviii209 δικαίως μέντ'αν ἀπέθανον: xix138 μαίνοιτο μέντ'αν: Pl.Prt.330D,350B: Smp.194C: Ar.37C: R.382D: Is.x13: D.xxii196: xxxiv45.

In apodosis: Pl.Phid.87E εἰ γὰρ βέοι τὸ σῶμα . . . ἀναγκαῖον μέντ'αν εἶη.

In Ar.Ach.710 ἀλλὰ . . . μέντ'αν is a perhaps rather improbable conjecture (for μέν or μὲν ἄν): perhaps μέν γ' ἄν (Bentley), or μέν τ'αν, *separatim*.

(iv) In questions. (a) Impatient questions. Ar.Nu.787-8

Φέρ' ἴδω τί μέντοι πρῶτον ἦν; τί πρῶτον ἦν; τίς ἦν ἐν ἡ' ματτόμεθα μέντοι τάλφιτα; ('Let's see, now what *was* it . . . what *was* it now . . .?'): Th.630 Φέρ' ἴδω, τί μέντοι πρῶτον ἦν; ἐπίνομεν: Eub.Fr.116.13 ἀλλὰ νῆ Δία χρηστὴ τίς ἦν μέντοι, τίς; οἶμοι δειλῆιος ('Who was good, oh, who *was* good?'): Pl.Phdr.236D δμνυμι γὰρ σοι—τίνα μέντοι, τίνα θεῶν; ('I swear by—now, whom *do* I swear by?').

(b) Questions of *nonne* form (common in Plato). Phryn.Com. Fr.2 οὐ τουτονὶ μέντοι σὺ καθαρίζεις ποτὲ αὐλεῖν τ' ἐδίδαξας; ('Wasn't this the fellow, now . . .?'): Pl.Phdr.229B Εἰπέ μοι, ὦ Σώκρατες, οὐκ ἐνθένδε μέντοι ποθὲν . . .; Chrm.159C εἰπέ γὰρ μοι, οὐ τῶν καλῶν μέντοι ἢ σωφροσύνη ἐστίν; Prt.309A οὐ σὺ μέντοι Ὀμήρου ἐπαινήτης εἶ . . .; Phdr.267C Πρωταγόρεια δέ, ὦ Σώκρατες, οὐκ ἦν μέντοι τοιαῦτ' ἄττα; R.584A Τὸ δὲ μήτε λυπηρὸν μήτε ἡδὺ οὐχὶ ἡσυχία μέντοι . . . ἐφάνη ἄρτι; Phdr.261C οἱ ἀντίδικοι τί δρῶσιν; οὐκ ἀντιλέγουσιν μέντοι; Cra.439A: Thl.163E: R.339B,346A,521D,581A,597A: Ion537A: Hp.Mi.366C: X.Cyr.v3.8: Ar.3.

In an indirect question: Pl.Phdr.266D λεκτέον δὲ τί μέντοι καὶ ἔστι τὸ λειπόμενον τῆς ῥητορικῆς. In an exclamation: X.Smp.8.5 Ὡς σαφῶς μέντοι σὺ . . . ἀεὶ τοιαῦτα ποιεῖς.

(v) In commands. An apparent, rather than a real, idiom. In Hdt.ix79.2 there is apparently no connective force in μέντοι, which merely adds severity to the warning: but most of the examples group themselves more naturally under other headings. A.Ag.943 Πιθοῦ κράτος μέντοι πάρες γ' ἐκὼν ἐμοί (Verrall takes μέντοι separately: I believe Weil's κρατεῖς μέντοι παρείς to be the right reading: Headlam compares S.Aj.1353 κρατεῖς τοι τῶν φίλων νικώμενος): E.Hipp.304 ἀλλ' ἴσθι μέντοι (ἀλλὰ . . . μέντοι, q.v.): Ar.Pax1100 (adversative: see below, 2.iii): Av.661 Ὡ τοῦτο μέντοι νῆ Δί' αὐτοῖσιν πιθοῦ (assentient: 'Yes, do agree'): Ec.509 (καὶ μέντοι: q.v. 1.i): X.Smp.4.4 (καὶ . . . μέντοι).

(vi) In apodosis. A.Ag.644 ὅταν δὲ . . . τοιῶνδε μέντοι πνεύτων σεσαγμένον πρέπει λέγειν παιᾶνα τόνδ' Ἐρικίων (με . . . *separatim*, Verrall): And.i130 εἰ γὰρ μέμνησθε, ὅτε . . . τότε μέντοι πάντες ἴστε ὅτι . . . ('If you remember, when . . . well, then . . .').

(vii) Emphatic μέντοι is hardly to be found in a subordinate

clause: in *Ar.Eg.* 276 ἀλλὰ . . . μέντοι introduces the main clause, while γε goes with εἰ: Ἄλλ' εἰν μέντοι γε νικᾶς τῆ βοῆ, τήνελλος εἶ.

(For (iii)-(vi) above, cf. the corresponding uses of τοι.)

(2) Adversative. This use makes its appearance rather later than the affirmative. Aeschylus affords at most one example:<sup>1</sup> *Pr.* 320 ἀρχαί' ἴσως σοι φαίνομαι λέγειν τάδε· τοιαῦτα μέντοι τῆς ἄγαν ὑψηγόρου γλώσσης, Προμηθεῦ, τὰπίχειρα γίγνεται: Sophocles (*Ani.* 687, 897: *Tr.* 413) and Euripides, not many.

Prose. Already in Herodotus, adversative μέντοι predominates over other uses: and this predominance is even more strongly marked in Thucydides and the orators (less strongly in Plato and Xenophon, where affirmative μέντοι, as we have seen, is common). Fuhr observes (*Rh.M.* xxxiii (1878) 593) that οὐ μέντοι is rare in Isocrates, who prefers οὐ μήν, but common in Thucydides, who never has οὐ μήν alone (but has οὐ μήν οὐδέ). Demosthenes uses οὐ μήν and οὐ μέντοι indifferently. It is unnecessary to multiply instances, but the following points may be noted:

(i) The contrast may, or may not, be forecast by μέν in the preceding clause.

With preceding μέν. This is very rare in verse: *E.IT* 1335. For *S.Ph.* 352, see *II.3.ii, ad fin.*: for μέν . . . γε μέντοι see γε μέντοι. Common in prose: *Hdt.* i 139 τὸ Πέρσας μὲν αὐτοὺς λέληθε, ἡμέας μέντοι οὐ: *Th.* i 142.4: *D.* iii 2: *et saep.*

Without preceding μέν. *E.Hec.* 761 Ὀρῶ τὸ μέντοι μέλλον οὐκ ἔχω μαθεῖν: 885: *Ion* 812: *Ph.* 272: *Ar.Nu.* 588: *Ec.* 646, 700: *Pl.* 554: *Hdt.* i 13 καὶ ἐβασίλευσε οὕτω Γύγης. τοσόνδε

<sup>1</sup> But I am not at all certain that μέντοι is adversative here. The association of the particle with τοιαῦτα is here again important. (Aeschylus uses μέντοι nine times (excluding γε μέντοι), and in six cases it immediately follows τοιαῦτος, τοιαῦδε). I am inclined to believe that μέντοι does not contrast the old-fashioned nature of Oceanus' remarks with their truth, but is self-contained, and means 'mark you', 'remember'. ταῦδε looks forward to the two following lines, which are virtually in inverted commas: they are proverbial in tone, as Paley points out, and indeed Oceanus' whole speech is a patchwork of tags: 'Do not think me an old fogey when I say, "Remember that the wages of pride is punishment": cf. τοι in proverbs.

μέντοι εἶπε ἡ Πυθίη: *vii* 13.2: *Th.* i 111.3: *Pl.Men.* 92E: *R.* 408D.

(ii) The μέντοι clause, or a particular element in it, is often emphasized by γε: μέντοι γε, μέντοι . . . γε. Juxtaposition of the particles is not very common: *Ar.Th.* 709 κοῦπω μέντοι γε: *Ion.Fr.* 6: *Hdt.* i 187.2: *ix* 111.2 (γε om. *ABCP*): *Pl.Cra.* 424C φωνήεντα μὲν οὐ, οὐ μέντοι γ' ἄφθογγα: *R.* 329E (the only two instances of juxtaposition in Plato, according to R. W. Chapman): *X.HG* ii 4.42: *Cyr.* v 5.11: 5.24: *Ant.* v 19: vi 3: *Lys.* xxxi 2: *D.* iv 49 (γε om. *AY*): vii 26: xviii 112: xxii 56 γε om. *SLYO*): xxxiv 20, 49: xxxvii 53: xlix 38 (γε only in *A*): lv 24 (γε only in *S*). μέντοι . . . γε: *Hdt.* i 104.2 οὐ μέντοι οἷ γε Σκύθαι ταύτη ἐσέβαλον: *D.* xxxv 40: xlix 21: *et saep.*

(iii) Like μήν, μέντοι is normally a balancing adversative, and seldom goes so far as to eliminate, or seriously invalidate, the opposed idea, like ἀλλά or μὲν οὖν. The difference in 'force' between μέντοι and ἀλλά is illustrated in *Th.* viii 68.1 and 86.2. But, like μήν, μέντοι is occasionally stronger in force. *E.Alc.* 1103 εἶθ' ἐξ ἀγῶνος τήνδε μὴ λαβῆς ποτε.—*Νικῶντι μέντοι καὶ σὺ συννικᾶς ἐμοί* (protesting, 'And yet'): *HF* 1264 Ζεὺς . . . πολέμιόν μ' ἐγείνατο Ἡρα—σὺ μέντοι μηδὲν ἀχθεσθῆς, γέρον (checking an impatient gesture, 'Nay, be not angry': *IT* 637 is similar: μέντοι here refers, not to the previous line, but to the general situation, the fact that Iphigeneia is about to compass Orestes' death: so, approximately, Wecklein): *Ar.Th.* 714 λήψει δὲ κακόν.—*Τοῦτο μέντοι μὴ γένοιτο μηδαμῶς* ('No, no': for μὲν οὖν: cf., perhaps, *Pax* 1100 'No, you (the servant) look out for that': the kite threatens, not the state, but the dinner: but perhaps μέντοι is merely lively: 'Here, you look out for that'): *Av.* 1071 (μέντοι has almost the force of ἀλλά γάρ: the Birds break off from the complacent contemplation of their own importance, to announce their list of rewards to tyrannicides and so forth): *Pl.Pl.* 296B ἀπόκριται, τί τοῦνομα τῆς βίας ἔσται; μὴ μέντοι πω, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν πρότερον (the speaker corrects himself: *Men.* 86C might be similarly explained, but there I think οὐ μέντοι . . . ἀλλά go together: see οὐ μέντοι ἀλλά, p. 31).

(iv) With ellipse. *Pl.Grg.* 517A σὺ δὲ ὠμολόγεις τῶν γε νῦν οὐδένα (ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν γεγονέναι . . .), τῶν μέντοι ἔμπροσθεν: *Th.* 165C Οὐ, φήσω, οἶμαι τούτῳ γε, τῷ μέντοι ἐτέρῳ: *Fr.* 350E: *R.* 415D: *Th.* 197A. (Cf. δέ: *Pl.Phid.* 230D, 243A, 274B).

(v) The following instance of adversative μέντοι in a participial clause is exceptional: Th.iv 51 *Χῖοι τὸ τεῖχος περιείλον τὸ καινὸν κελυσάντων Ἀθηναίων . . . ποιησάμενοι μέντοι πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πίστεις . . . μηδὲν περὶ σφᾶς νεώτερον βουλευσείν* ('the Chians dismantled their wall, but only after securing a pledge'). So also, perhaps, Pl.Lg.783A, μέντοι answering μέν in the main clause: but the reading is doubtful (see England).

(3) Progressive. Like μήν (*q.v.*, III), μέντοι is used as a progressive connecting particle, denoting (i) temporal sequence, (ii) the transition to a new point, a new argument, or a new stage in the march of thought. (A rigid division between (i) and (ii) is hardly possible.) Whereas we have seen that progressive μήν, except with negatives, is almost peculiar to Plato, progressive μέντοι is commonest in Hippocrates and in Xenophon (who uses it very frequently). It is almost confined to prose. In the few verse examples there is usually some other factor which helps to establish the connexion: and this is often the case in prose as well.

(i) Purely temporal: most of the examples are from historical narrative. S.OC 1653 *ἄνακτα (ἐξαπαίδομεν) . . . χεῖρ' ἀντέχοντα κρατὸς . . . ἔπειτα μέντοι . . . ὀρῶμεν αὐτὸν γῆν τε προσκυνούνθ'*: Hdt.viii 85.1 *κατὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίουσ' Ἴωνες (ἐτετάχατο) . . . ἐθελοκάκεον μέντοι αὐτῶν . . . ὀλίγοι ('Now some of them . . .')*: X.HGiii 2.1 *ἔρωτᾶ πότερον βούλεται εἰρήνην ἢ πόλεμον ἔχειν. ὁ μέντοι Φαρνάβαζος . . . σπονδὰς εἶλετο ('Well, Pharnabazus chose a truce')*: iii 4.15 *ἄλοβα γίγνεται τὰ ἱερά. τούτου μέντοι φανέντος . . . : v 2.20 ἐκέλευον συμβουλεύειν . . . ἐκ τούτου μέντοι πολλοὶ μὲν συνηγόρευον στρατιὰν ποιεῖν: An.iii 1.5 ἦν δέ τις ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος . . . ὁ μέντοι Ξενοφῶν . . . ('Well, Xenophon . . .')*: Pl.Chrm.155C *ὁ δ' ἐλθὼν μεταξύ ἐμοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ Κριτίου ἐκαθέζετο. ἐνταῦθα μέντοι, ὦ φίλε, ἐγὼ ἤδη ἠπόρουν: Hp.Fract 19 διατείνειν . . . χρῆ . . . ἐπὴν μέντοι ἰκανῶς κατατύσης . . . : Acut.7 (μέν *al.*): Th.iv 134.2: viii 6.3: 106.3: Pl.Eutlid.303B: X.HGiii 5.5.: vi 4.25: Smpr.4.59.*

Less purely temporal. Th.ii 65.3 *ἰδίᾳ δὲ τοῖς παθήμασιν ἐλυπούντο . . . οὐ μέντοι πρότερόν γε οἱ ξύμπαντες ἐπαύσαντο ἐν ὀργῇ ἔχοντες αὐτὸν πρὶν ἐζημίωσαν χρήμασιν* (with a sense of climax, 'in fact'): X.Cyr.viii 3.7 *νῦν γοῦν φέρω τῶδε δύο κασᾶ . . .*

*σὺ μέντοι τούτων λαβὲ ὁπότερον βούλει* ('Well, then': for οὐν or δὴ): HGvii 1.39.

(ii) Proceeding to a new item in a series, a new point, a new argument. 'Again', 'further'. A.Pr.254 *Μέγ' ὠφέλημα τοῦτ' ἐδωρήσω βροτοῖς.—Πρὸς τοῖσδε μέντοι πῦρ ἐγὼ σφιν ὥπασα: E.Cyr.160 'Did you like the wine?'—'Yes'.—Πρὸς τῶδε μέντοι καὶ νόμισμα δώσομεν: El.660 Ἦξει . . .—'Ἐλθοῦσα μέντοι δῆλον ὡς ἀπόλλυται: X.HGii 1.32 'He was accused on various counts. ἠτιάθη μέντοι ὑπὸ τινῶν προδοῦναι τὰς ναῦς' ('further'): ii 4.12 ἐτάχθησαν μέντοι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πελτοφόροι . . . οὔτοι μέντοι συχνοὶ ἦσαν* (successive details of order of battle: cf. Cyr.vi 3.25: Eq.Mag.2.5-6): Cyr.viii 7.23 'Honour the gods. μετὰ μέντοι θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπων τὸ πᾶν γένος . . . αἰδεῖσθε': Mem.i 4.18 (an empirical test supplementing an *a priori* argument): Oec.7.20 *στεγῶν δεῖται δῆλον ὅτι. δεῖ μέντοι τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἀνθρώποις ἔξειν ὃ τι εἰσφέρωσιν εἰς τὸ στεγνόν: Lac.2.1 ἐγὼ μέντοι, ἐπεὶ καὶ περὶ γενέσεως ἐξήγημαι, βούλομαι καὶ τὴν παιδείαν ἐκατέρων σαφηνίσαι* ('Well now'): Lys.xiii 73 (a fresh charge): Hdt.iii 96: Hp.Art.8,69(*ad init.*): Acut.9,12: Morb.iii 15: Th.v 36.2: X.HG.iv 1.8: Eq.Mag.7.13: 8.1.

Marking a new stage in the march of thought. In particular, μέντοι often follows a demonstrative at the opening of a sentence which expresses the importance or relevance of someone or something mentioned in the previous sentence: 'Well, that is the man who . . .': 'Well, that is what . . .':

Ar.Nu.329 *Strepsiades: 'I see the Clouds now.'—Σω. Ταῦτας μέντοι σὺ θεὰς οὔσας οὐκ ἤδησθ' οὐδ' ἐνόμιζες; ('Well, didn't you know they were goddesses?')*: Lys.1016 *Οὐδὲν ἐστι θηρίον γυναικὸς ἀμαχώτερον . . .—Ταῦτα μέντοι σὺ ξυριεῖς εἶτα πολεμεῖς ἐμοὶ . . .; ('Well, do you dare make war on me when you know that?')*: S.Ant.913,1052: Ar.Nu.340: Ra.1325: Hdt.iii 3 A Persian woman admires Cassandane's children: Cassandane replies: *Τοιῶνδε μέντοι ἐμὲ παίδων μητέρα εἴουσιν Κῦρος ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ ἔχει* ('Well, it is the mother of such children that Cyrus dishonours'): vii 8γ1 (after describing Athenian misdeeds) *τούτων μέντοι εἵνεκα ἀνάρτημαι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατεύεσθαι* ('Well, that is why I am determined to march against them': μέντοι here has caused needless surprise): Hp.Art.67 *ὁμως δὲ τι εἴς . . . ἐμβάλλειν . . . ἐμβάλλειν μέντοι ρήϊστον . . .* ('Well, the easiest

way to reduce is . . .'): X.Oec.8.22 'A slave can always find you anything you want in the market. *τούτου μέντοι . . . οὐδὲν ἄλλο αἰτίον ἐστὶν ἢ ὅτι ἐν χώρα κείται τεταγμένη*' ('Well, the reason for that is . . .'): Lac.9.3 'Courage is both safer and more honourable than cowardice. *ἢ μέντοι ὥστε ταῦτα γίνεσθαι ἐμηχανήσατο, καὶ τοῦτο καλὸν μὴ παραλιπεῖν*': HGv3.7 'A complete rout and massacre followed. *ἐκ μέντοι γε τῶν τοιούτων παθῶν ἐγὼ φημι ἀνθρώπους παιδεύεσθαι . . . ὡς οὐδ' οἰκέτας χρῆ ὀργῇ κολάζειν*' (where the *γε* is remarkable): D.vii41 'The Chersonese extends as far as the *βωμὸς τοῦ Διός*. *ταύτην μέντοι τὴν χώραν . . . ὡς ἑαυτοῦ οὔσαν τὴν μὲν αὐτὸς καρπούται, τὴν δ' ἄλλοις δωρεῖαν δέδωκε*' ('Well, that country . . .'): Hp.Art.7 (ἐσκευάσθαι μέντοι), 69 (ἢ μέντοι κνήμη): Pl.Sph.242A: Alc.II 140E: X.Cyr.vi 2.20: And.i 63: Is.ix 26: D.v 23: vii 35: xli 29; Aeschin.i 22,74.

Not infrequently μέντοι, like μήν (III.1.ii) and ἀλλὰ μήν (6-7), is syllogistic or quasi-syllogistic in force. Used in enthymemes rather than in strict syllogisms, the particle leads from the first premise to the second, the conclusion being left, as obvious, to the imagination. But whereas in ἀλλὰ μήν enthymemes, as we have seen (s.v.(7)), the minor premise usually comes first, with μέντοι the reverse order obtains. D.xlv 66 'Certain conduct is that of an enemy of mankind. *ταῦτα μέντοι τὰ τοσαύτην ἔχοντα αἰσχύνην . . . προήρηται πράττειν*' (sc. 'Therefore he is an enemy of mankind'). Contrast D.xxii 42 'Midias' crimes are crimes of deliberate ὕβρις. ἀλλὰ μήν the law enjoins particularly severe penalties for crimes of deliberate ὕβρις' (sc. 'Therefore Midias should be punished with particular severity').

Th.i 74.1 'The naval defeat brought about the Persian retreat. *τοιούτου μέντοι τούτου ξυμβάντος . . . τρία τὰ ὠφελιμώτατα ἐς αὐτὸ παρεσχόμεθα*' (sc. 'Therefore we were the prime cause of the Persians' discomfiture'): X.Cyn.12.14 (after a description of certain evils) *τούτων μέντοι τῶν κακῶν οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐκ ἀφέξεται ἐρασθεῖς ὧν ἐγὼ παραινῶ* (sc. 'Therefore take up hunting'): D.xix 64 *τούτων . . . δεινότερ' οὐ γέγονεν οὐδὲ μείζω πράγματ' ἐφ' ἡμῶν . . . τηλικούτων μέντοι καὶ τοιούτων πραγμάτων κύριος εἰς ἀνὴρ γέγονεν διὰ τούτους*: xix 84. μέντοι, following an example or analogy, sometimes intro-

duces a statement of its applicability to the present case. Here too μέντοι is often quasi-syllogistic, the example standing for the general truth which it illustrates. Cf. the closely similar use of τοίνυν (II.4).

S.OC781 *ὥσπερ τις εἴ σοι . . . ἄρ' ἂν ματαίου τῆσδ' ἂν ἡδονῆς τύχοις; τοιαῦτα μέντοι καὶ σὺ προσφέρεις ἐμοί* ('A friend in need is a friend in deed: you are not a friend in need: therefore you are not a friend in deed'): 997 *εἴ τις σε . . . κτείνου παραστάς, πότερα πυνθάνοι' ἂν . . .; δοκῶ μὲν . . . τὸν αἴτιον τίνοι' ἂν . . . τοιαῦτα μέντοι καὐτὸς εἰσέβην κακά* ('Well, that is the plight I was in'): Hdt.iii 32 'Cambyses' sister asked him *κότερον περιτετιλμένη ἢ δασέα ἢ θρίδαξ ἐοῦσα εἴη καλλίων, καὶ τὸν φάναι δασέαν, τὴν δὲ εἰπεῖν*. *Ταύτην μέντοι κοτὲ σὺ τὴν θρίδακα ἐμιμήσαο, τὸν Κύρου οἶκον ἀποψιλώσας*: Pl.Grg.522B 'A doctor could not defend himself against a confectioner before a jury of children'.—'No'.—*Τοιοῦτον μέντοι καὶ ἐγὼ οἶδα ὅτι πάθος πάθοιμι ἂν εἰσελθὼν εἰς δικαστήριον*: X.Cyr.v 1.14: 5.33: Hier.i 25.

Pl.R.440A is different: here μέντοι leads from the example to the formulation of the general truth which the example illustrates: 'Well, that story shows . . .'.

Progressive μέντοι sometimes answers μέν. S.Ph.352 *μάλιστα μὲν δὴ τοῦ θανόντος ἡμέρω . . . ἔπειτα μέντοι χῶ λόγος καλὸς προσῆν* (faintly adversative): X.HGiii 5.25 *αὕτη μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἢ στρατιὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων διελύθη. ὁ μέντοι Πausanίας . . .: v 4.34 τοιούτῳ μὲν δὴ τρόπῳ Σφοδρίας ἀπέφυγε. τῶν μέντοι Ἀθηναίων οἱ βοιωτιάζοντες . . .* Usually, of course, μέντοι following μέν is more definitely adversative.

III. μέντοι in combination with other particles. The commonest combinations are ἀλλὰ μέντοι, γε μέντοι, καὶ μέντοι. For these, see subsections below. For οὐ μέντοι ἀλλά, see pp. 30-1.

μέντοι γε: μέντοι . . . γε. For γε following (seldom immediately following) adversative μέντοι, see II.2.ii. Except when adversative, μέντοι is seldom followed by γε, either juxtaposed or separated. In A.Ag.943 (II.1.v) I think *παρεῖς*, without γε, is the correct reading: in Hdt.viii 87.3 (II.1.i) I think *ἐγωγε ἔχω* (S)

is right: for Th.ii65.3 see II.3.i: in X.HGv3.7 (II.3.ii) μέντοι γε, I doubt γε, which is quite out of place in this usage.

ἀλλὰ μέντοι is frequently followed, at an interval, by γε. (X. Smr.6.10 Ἄλλ' οὐ μέντοι γε, juxtaposed.) But in Ar.Eq.276 Ἄλλ' ἂν μέντοι γε νικᾶς I think γε goes rather with ἂν (II.1.vii).

καὶ μέντοι, καὶ . . . μέντοι, in marked contrast with καὶ μήν, seem hardly ever to be followed by γε (often by another καί): but Ar.Th.709 Κοῦπω μέντοι γε πέπαυμαι (here I feel a close connexion between καί and γε, while μέντοι stands apart: 'Yes, and I haven't stopped yet, I tell you').

The following are all very rare:—

τε μέντοι. Ar.Nu.1269 ἄλλως τε μέντοι καὶ κακῶς πεπραγότε: Hr.Art.63 εἶτε ἔσω ρέψαντα, εἶτε μέντοι καὶ ἔξω: Pl.Ar.35D ἄλλως τε μέντοι νῆ Δία πάντως καὶ ἀσεβείας φεύγοντα. μέντ' ἄρα. Crates Com.Fr.8 οὐκ ἀσκήω μέντ' ἄρ' ἐμορμολύττετο αὐτούς. ἦ . . . μέντοι. E.Alc.811 Ἡ κάρτα μέντοι καὶ λίαν θυραῖος ἦν. δὲ μέντοι. Hr Fract.8 φυλάσσεσθαι δὲ μέντοι χρή (δὲ μέντοι FGI: μέντοι *cett.*: γε μέντοι should perhaps be read. Cf. the similarly doubtful δὲ μήν (μήν, VI.1)). οὐδὲ μέντοι. X.HGiv1.36 οὐδὲ μέντοι τοῦτό σε κελεύομεν. οὐ μέντοι οὐδέ. Hdt.vi45.1 (ABCP): Pl.Prt.331E: D.xlix38.

Ἄλλὰ μέντοι: ἀλλὰ . . . μέντοι

The usages are closely analogous to those of ἀλλὰ μήν, though far less common. Ἄλλὰ μέντοι is practically confined to Plato and Xenophon, who seldom separate the particles. The dramatists use ἀλλὰ . . . μέντοι, but hardly ever the metrically intractable ἀλλὰ μέντοι. (Ar.Av.291 Ἄλλὰ μέντοι τίς ποθ' ἢ λόφωσις ἢ τῶν ὀριέων;) Other authors do not seem to use either form of the combination.

(1) Adversative. ἀλλὰ μέντοι. Pl.Grg.517A 'The ancient politicians were no better than the modern'.—Ἄλλὰ μέντοι πολλοῦ γε δεῖ, ὦ Σώκρατες, μή ποτέ τις τῶν νῦν ἔργα τοιαῦτα ἐργάσεται ('But surely, Socrates'): Prm.135B 'It is difficult to discover εἶδη'.—'Yes'.—Ἄλλὰ μέντοι . . . εἰ γέ τις δὴ . . . αὐτὸ μὴ ἑάσει εἶδη τῶν ὄντων εἶναι . . . τὴν τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι δύναμιν παντάπασι διαφθερεῖ ('Yet on the other hand, you know'): Euthd.304E: Chrm.173D: Thl.196D: X.Ar.30.

ἀλλὰ . . . μέντοι. S.Anl.567 Τί γὰρ μόνη μοι τῆσδ' ἄτερ βιώσιμον;—Ἄλλ' ἦδε μέντοι μὴ λέγ' οὐ γὰρ ἔστ' ἔτι ('Nay, say not "here"'): E.Hipp.304: Ar.Nu.1342: Pl.R.349A Ἄλλ' οὐ μέντοι . . . ἀποκνητέον γε τῷ λόγῳ ἐπεξελεθῆναι: X.An.i4.8 Ἀπολελοίπασιν ἡμᾶς Ξενίας καὶ Πασίων. ἀλλ' εὖ γε μέντοι ἐπιστάσθων ὅτι οὔτε ἀποδεδράκασιν . . . οὔτε ἀποπεφύγασιν: HG ii4.22.

(2) Assentient. ἀλλὰ μέντοι. Pl.R.331E δοκεῖ ἔμοιγε καλῶς λέγειν.—Ἄλλὰ μέντοι . . . Σιμωνίδῃ γε οὐ ῥάδιον ἀπιστεῖν ('Well, certainly'): Prt.331D Ἄλλὰ μέντοι, ἦ δ' ὅς, προσέοικέν τι δικαιοσύνη ὁσιότητι: X.Smr.1.12 Philip knocks at the door, and asks for admission. ὁ οὖν Καλλίας ἀκούσας ταῦτα εἶπεν Ἄλλὰ μέντοι, ὦ ἄνδρες, αἰσχρὸν στέγης γε φθονῆσαι: Pl.R.451B: Hr.Ma.287D.

ἀλλὰ . . . μέντοι. S.Ph.524 The chorus begs Neoptolemus to take Philoctetes.—Ne. Ἄλλ' αἰσχρὰ μέντοι σοῦ γέ μ' ἐνδέεστερον ξένῳ φανῆναι πρὸς τὸ καίριον πονεῖν (conceding the point): Aj. 1370: Ar.Pl.1202: X.Cyr.iv1.21: v5.36.

(3) Inceptive-responsive (cf. ἀλλὰ μήν, 2.i, καὶ μήν, (5)). Pl.Chrm.163E σκοπῶμεν . . . ὃ σὺ λέγεις νῦν.—Ἄλλὰ μέντοι ἔγωγε, ἔφη, . . . οὐ φημι . . . ('Well'): Phd.108D: Thl.151D: Hr.Ma.289D.

ἀλλὰ . . . μέντοι. Pl.R.614B Λέγοις ἄν, ἔφη, ὡς οὐ πολλὰ ἄλλ' ἠδίων ἀκούοντι.—Ἄλλ' οὐ μέντοι σοι, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, Ἀλκίνοῦ γε ἀπόλογον ἐρῶ.

(4) Substantiating a condition (cf., much more commonly, ἀλλὰ μήν, (3)). Pl.R.430E εἰ ἔμοιγε βούλει χαρίζεσθαι, σκόπει . . .—Ἄλλὰ μέντοι, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, βούλομαί γε: 525A.

(5) Progressive. Almost confined to Xenophon: other authors use ἀλλὰ μήν, καὶ μήν, etc., although the particular variety (6) occurs several times in Plato.

ἀλλὰ μέντοι. Pl.R.433C (new argument): X.Ar.27 'Why do you weep for me now? From the moment I was born, I was destined to die. ἀλλὰ μέντοι life holds out no prospect of happiness for me' (new argument): HG vi3.15 (new argument): Cyr. i6.24: Hier.1.24: 4.8.

ἀλλὰ . . . μέντοι. E.Heracl.520 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μέντοι (examining a fresh alternative): X.Cyr.viii3.29 Οὐ μὰ τὸν Δι', ἔφη, οὐδενὸς τῶν παρόντων.—Ἄλλ' οὐ μέντοι, ἔφη ὁ νεανίσκος, τῶν γε ἀπόντων ('Nor yet'): Smr.4.17: Ar.26.

(6) Introducing minor, or major, premise (cf. *ἀλλὰ μήν*, (6)). *ἀλλὰ μέντοι*. Pl.R.398D *τὴν ἀρμονίαν καὶ ῥυθμὸν ἀκολουθεῖν δεῖ τῷ λόγῳ*.—*Πῶς δ' οὐ;*—*Ἀλλὰ μέντοι θρηῶν γε καὶ ὀδυρμῶν ἔφαμεν ἐν λόγοις οὐδὲν προσδεῖσθαι*. Therefore the *θρηῶν γε* *ἀρμονίαι* must be eliminated': R.584C: *Chrm.162A*: *Lys.221D*: *X.Cyr.iii 1.16*.

### Γε μέντοι

This combination is not infrequent in drama: it is common in Xenophon (not less than thirty-four examples): the orators hardly use it (*And.ii 20* is the only example I know<sup>1</sup>), and it is surprisingly rare (three times only) in Plato, who freely uses *μέντοι*, *ἀλλὰ μέντοι*, and *καὶ μέντοι*.

(1) Adversative (the commonest sense). *S.Ant.233* *τοιαῦθ' ἐλίσσω ἤνυτον σχολῇ βραδύς . . . τέλος γε μέντοι δεῦρ' ἐνίκησεν μολεῖν*: *Ar.Ra.61* *Οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι. ὅμως γε μέντοι σοι δι' αἰνιγμῶν ἐρῶ*: *Ec.410* *παρήλθε γυμνός, ὡς ἐδόκει τοῖς πλείοσιν· αὐτός γε μέντοῦφασκεν ἰμάτιον ἔχειν*: *A.Pers.386*: *Fr.266.4*: *S.Aj.483*: *OT1292*: *Ph.93,1052*: *E.Med.95,534*: *Heracl.593,1016*: *Hel.994*: *Fr.796* (no context): *Trag.Adesp.Fr.384*: *Ar.Eq.885*: *V.1344*: *Lys.1213*: *X.HGvi 5.5* *ἀπῆει ὀργιζόμενος· στρατεύειν γε μέντοι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οὐ δυνατὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι*: *Aen.Tact.2.3*: *Hdt.i 120: vii 103.5*: *Pl.Chrm.164A*: *Thl.165A*.

Introducing an objection in dialogue. *S.El.398* *οὐκ ἐμοὺς τρόπους λέγεις*.—*Καλόν γε μέντοι μὴ 'ξ ἀβουλίας πεσεῖν* ('Aye, but'): *A.Th.716,1049*: *Ag.938*: *S.OT442*: *E.Alc.725*: *Heracl.267,637*: *Hipp.103*: *Or.106*: *Rh.589*: *Pl.Thl.164A*.

Answering *μέν*. *S.OT778* *τύχη . . . θαυμάσαι μὲν ἀξία, σπουδῆς γε μέντοι τῆς ἐμῆς οὐκ ἀξία*: *E.Med.725* (*τοσόνδε μέντοι B*): *X.Cyr.iii 1.22* *πέποιθε μὲν οὐδ' ὅτι οὖν πῶ κακόν· φοβεῖται γε μέντοι*: *HGiv 8.16* *τὸ μὲν . . . οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς αὐτῷ ἠγεῖτο εἶναι· λάθρα γε μέντοι ἔδωκε*.

*γε μέντοι* is normally a balancing adversative: in *Ar.Ec.1008* it exceptionally stands for *μὲν οὖν*: *Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἀνάγκη μούστιν . . .*—*Νῆ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην δεῖ γε μέντοι* (*σ'*) (here perhaps it is *γε* that provides the adversative (corrective) force, 'doch' (see *γε*, I.11.iii), while *μέντοι* adds liveliness: 'Yes you must, you know').

<sup>1</sup> Confirmed by Schmidt, p. 54.

(2) Progressive (in Xenophon only). In the following, *γε μέντοι* is better explained as adversative: *A.Eu.591*: *S.Ant.495* (see Jebb): *Ar V.1155*: *X.HGiii 5.15*). *X.HGvi 5.39* *ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον Λακεδαιμονίοις ἂν ὑμᾶς ἠγοῦμαι στρατεύσαντας βοηθῆσαι ἢ καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς . . . συμφορώτερόν γε μένταν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς βοηθῆσαιτε ἐν ᾧ ἔτι εἰσὶν οἱ συμμαχοῖεν ἄν* ('Further, it is to your advantage to defend yourselves *πισυ*'): *Cyr.vii 5.51*.

In an enumerative series. *X.HGv 2.14* *εἰσὶν ὀπλίται μὲν . . . πελτασταὶ δὲ . . . ἵππεῖς γε μέντοι . . . ἔσονται*: *Oec.17.1* *Περὶ μὲν τῆς νεοῦ ὀρᾶς . . . Περὶ γε μέντοι τοῦ σπόρου ὥρας . . .*: *Eq.1.7* *μηροὶ γε μέντοι* (in a series with *γε μήν* and *καὶ μήν*).

(3) Like *γέ τοι* (see *τοι*, VI.4.i), approximating to *γοῦν* in force, giving a partial ground for the acceptance of a belief. This rare use seems to be established by the following three passages. *A.Supp.347* *Αἰδοῦ σὺ πρύμναν πόλεος ᾧδ' ἔστεμμένην*.—*Πέφρικα λεύσσω τάσδ' ἔδρας κατασκίουσιν*.—*Βαρύς γε μέντοι Ζηνὸς ἰκεσίου κότος* (the grievousness of Zeus's anger is some justification for fear: 'Truly indeed'): *E.Hec.600* *ἄρ' οἱ τεκόντες διαφέρουσιν ἢ τροφαί; ἔχει γε μέντοι καὶ τὸ θρεφθῆναι καλῶς δίδαξιν ἐσθλοῦ* (*γε τοί τι MBl*: *γέ τοι A*. 'Certainly *τροφή* (as well as birth, *καί*) counts for something'. 'Not but that', Paley, less well): *X.An.iii 1.27* *σύ γε οὐδὲ ὀρῶν γιγνώσκεις οὐδὲ ἀκούων μέμνησαι. ἐν ταύτῳ γε μέντοι ἦσθα τοῦτοις ὅτε βασιλεὺς . . .* (the inability of Apollonides to learn by experience is attested by the fact that he recommends a course which has proved disastrous in the past).

*ἀλλὰ . . . γε μέντοι* is only an apparent combination in *X.An.14.8* *ἀλλ' εὖ γε μέντοι ἐπιστάσθων*: *γε* goes closely with *εὖ*: cf. *Ar.Av.1692* (*μέντοι*, II.1.iii).

### Καὶ μέντοι, καὶ . . . μέντοι

*μέντοι* gives liveliness and force to the addition. The combination is a favourite one of Xenophon's, and not uncommon in comedy and Plato, but rare elsewhere. It is almost always progressive in meaning (very rarely, if ever, adversative, *καὶ μήν* being used instead), and is commonest in narrative, though it sometimes introduces a new point or argument. It usually follows a strong stop, and opens a sentence. The split form *καὶ . . .*



μέντοι is a good deal the commoner in Xenophon, whereas Plato prefers the juxtaposed *καὶ μέντοι*. Plato usually reinforces the particles with a second *καὶ*.

## (1) Progressive.

(i) Introducing sentence. *καὶ μέντοι*. *Ag. Ec. 509* βακτηρίας ἄφεσθε. *καὶ μέντοι* σὺ μὲν ταύτας κατευτρέπις': *Pl. Smp. 222A* εἶπον ἃ με ὑβρικεν. *καὶ μέντοι* οὐκ ἐμὲ μόνον ταῦτα πεποίηκεν: *Rhd. 266B* εἰάν τέ τιν' ἄλλον ἡγήσωμαι δυνατὸν . . . τοῦτον διώκω . . . *καὶ μέντοι* καὶ τοὺς δυναμένους αὐτὸ δρᾶν . . . καλῶ μέχρι τοῦδε διαλεκτικούς: *X. Smp. 4.24* παρέδωκέ μοι αὐτόν, εἴ τι δυναίμην ὠφελῆσαι. *καὶ μέντοι* πολὺ βέλτιον ἤδη ἔχει: *D. xix 45* καὶ ὅπως γ' . . . , ἔφην, ἂν τι τούτων γίγνηται, τούτους ἐπαινέσεσθε . . . ἐμὲ δὲ μή: *καὶ μέντοι* κἂν τι τῶν ἐναντίων, ὅπως τούτοις ὀργιεῖσθε: *Hr. Coac. 528* (*καὶ μέντοι* καί): *Pl. Pl. 291B*: *Euthd. 289E*: *Ap. 17C* (*καὶ μέντοι* καί): *R. 331D, 588A*: *Thg. 127B*: *Alc. I 113C*: *Ly. 216A* (*καὶ μέντοι* . . . καί): *X. HG v 4 61*: *vii 1.16*: *Cyr. iii 1.27*: *iv 2.13*. For *Heraclit. Fr. 28*, see *μέντοι*, II, *ad init.*

*καὶ* . . . *μέντοι*. *A. Pr. 949* πατήρ ἄνωγέ σ' . . . αὐδᾶν . . . : *καὶ* ταῦτα *μέντοι* μηδὲν αἰνικτηρίως, ἀλλ' αὐθ' ἕκαστ' ἐκφραζε: *Ag. Th. 709* . . . ὄδ' ἀναισχυντεῖ;—*Κοῦπω μέντοι* γε πέπαυμαι: *S. El. 963*: *E. Heracl. 398*: *Ag. Ach. 1025*: *Eg. 540*: *Ra. 166*: *Hdt. i 96* προθυμότερον δικαιοσύνην ἐπιθέμενος ἤσκει: *καὶ* ταῦτα *μέντοι* εὐσῆς ἀνομίης πολλῆς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐποίηε: *X. HG iv 8.39* ἀποθιῆσκει. *καὶ* τὰ παιδικὰ *μέντοι* αὐτῶ παρέμεινε: *vii 1.29* βοηθεῖν ἐκέλευε: *κάκεῖνος μέντοι* ἐβοήθει: *Oec. 10.9–10* καθάραν . . . ἐπειράτο ἑαυτὴν ἐπιδεικνύναι. *καὶ* ἐμὲ *μέντοι* ἠρώτα εἴ τι ἔχοιμι συμβουλευσαι . . . *καὶ* ἐγὼ *μέντοι* . . . συνεβούλευον αὐτῇ: *Hdt. vi 137.3*: *Th. vi 38.2*: *Pl. Ep. 314D*: *Alc. I 135D*: *X. HG iii 1.1*: *5.15*: *Smp. 4.4*: *4.63*: *Cyr. ii 2.26*: *iii 3.38*: *v 4.18*: *4.27*: *And. ii 23*.

(ii) Introducing phrase or clause. *καὶ μέντοι* (very rare). *Hr. Protrh. i 27* δυσφορίαὶ φρενιτικαὶ . . . *καὶ μέντοι* καὶ ὀλέθρια: *X. Cyr. vi 3.12* συχνὸν προελαύνουσι, *καὶ μέντοι*, ἔφη, κατ' αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς: *Pl. Th. 143A* ἤκουσά σου καὶ πρότερον, *καὶ μέντοι* αἰεὶ μέλλον κελεύσειν ἐπιδείξαι διατέτριφα: *δεῦρο*: *144C*.  
*καὶ* . . . *μέντοι*. *Hom. Il. Ap. 327* καὶ νῦν μὲν τοι ἐγὼ τεχνήσομαι: *Ag. Eg. 189* οὐδὲ μουσικὴν ἐπίσταμαι πλὴν γραμμάτων, *καὶ* ταῦτα *μέντοι* κακὰ κακῶς: *V. 747* νῦν δ' ἴσως τοῖσι σοῖς λόγοις πείθεται *καὶ* σωφρονεῖ *μέντοι*: *Hdt. vi 61.2* εὐσα γυνὴ καλλίστη . . . *καὶ* ταῦτα *μέντοι* καλλίστη ἐξ αἰσχίστης γενομένη (cf. *Pl. Ap. 16E*):

*Hr. Art. 60* δύνανται . . . ὀρθοὶ ὁδοπορεῖν ἄνευ ξύλου, *καὶ* πάνν *μέντοι* εὐθέες ('and quite upright too'): *X. An. i 9.6* καὶ φιλοθηρότατος ἦν καὶ πρὸς τὰ θηρία *μέντοι* φιλοκινδυνότατος: *9.29* πολλοὶ πρὸς *Κῦρον* ἀπῆλθον . . . , *καὶ* οὗτοι *μέντοι* οἱ μάλιστα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀγαπώμενοι: *vii 6 17* ἀπαιτήσει με, *καὶ* ἀπαιτήσει *μέντοι* δικαίως: *Ap. 31* προσπεσεῖσθαί τινι αἰσχρᾷ ἐπιθυμία *καὶ* προβήσεσθαι *μέντοι* πόρρω μοχθηρίας: *An. iv 6.16*: *Oec. 4.2*: *Eg. 7.18*.

(2) Adversative. It is doubtful whether this sense should be recognized at all. In a few passages *καὶ μέντοι*, *καὶ* . . . *μέντοι* may be adversative (like *καὶ μήν*), but may equally well be explained as progressive.

*Pl. Prt. 339C* Δοκεῖ οὖν σοι, ἔφη, . . . ;—*Φαίνεται* ἔμοιγε (*καὶ* ἅμα *μέντοι* ἐφοβούμην μή τι λέγοι): *X. Cyr. vi 1.12* καὶ εὐχομένους . . . ἀπαλλαγῆναι, *καὶ* οὐ δυναμένους *μέντοι* ἀπαλλάττεσθαι: *ib.* *καὶ μέντοι* οὐδ' ἀποδιδράσκειν ἐπιχειροῦσι, τοιαῦτα κακὰ ἔχοντες: *An. i 8.20* ('*καὶ* . . . *μέντοι*, und jedoch, drückt Verbindung und Gegensatz zugleich aus', Krüger, wrongly, I think).

*X. Mem. iv 7.4* is different (*μέντοι* is clearly adversative here, but *καί* means 'also', and goes closely with *ταύτης*): ἐκέλευε δὲ *καὶ* ἀστρολογίας ἐμπείρους γίγνεσθαι, *καὶ* ταύτης *μέντοι* μέχρι τοῦ νυκτός τε ὥραν . . . δύνασθαι γιγνώσκειν ('but here, again, only so far . . .'). This close adherence of *καί* to the following word is perhaps paralleled in *Ag. Ec. 969*: *Καὶ* ταῦτα *μέντοι* μετρίως πρὸς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάγκην εἰρημέν' ἐστίν. Here, again, *καί* seems to go closely with *ταῦτα* (the young man's song, as well as the girl's own, expresses her feelings adequately), while *μέντοι* adds liveliness: 'This song too, you know . . .'

## Οὖν (ὦν)

Epic and Attic, οὖν: Ionic, Aeolic, and Doric ὦν.<sup>1</sup> The derivation of οὖν and ὦν, and their etymological relationship, is

<sup>1</sup> Apollonius, *De Coni.* 228. 22. Wackernagel (*Glossa* vii (1916), 182) says that, where οὖν is found in inscriptions outside Attica, it can be attributed to 'Koinismos': and that the best MS. tradition always gives ὦν in all dialects but Attic. Aristarchus thought that οὖν in Homer proved that Homer came from Athens (Monro, *HG*<sup>3</sup> § 395).

obscure. The usages (in which there is no distinction between the two words) are consistent with the often suggested derivation from the participle of εἰμί.

The history of οὐν falls into three broad divisions. (1) In Homer, it almost invariably follows ἐπεὶ or ὡς, in a subordinate temporal clause, which refers to something previously described or implied. (2) In lyric poetry, and already occasionally in Homer, it follows γάρ, οὔτε, εἶτε, μέν, δέ, and other particles, giving the idea of actuality or essentiality, only rarely sinking, like δῆ, to the rank of a mere strengthening auxiliary. (3) Finally it attains its commonest, connective, meaning (inferential or progressive), which is not firmly established before about the middle of the fifth century: while (2), in certain combinations and in certain authors, continues to exist side by side with (3).

Of the above usages, (2) points to 'actuality' or 'essentiality' as the root-meaning of the particle. And this meaning, although in a restricted sphere, is already present in (1). When an occurrence is mentioned in a subordinate clause, its independent actuality is not *ipso facto* stressed. That stress is conveyed here by οὐν, which denotes that the event did actually happen, as previously described. As Brugmann puts it (§ 638: cf. Boisacq, p. 728): 'in der Tat, in Wahrheit, in Wirklichkeit, und zwar mit Hinweis auf etwas Vorangehendes'. τὸν δ' ὡς οὐν ἐνόησε, 'And when in actual fact he saw him (as I have described)'. Cf. the later use of ὡσπερ οὐν (II.4). The restriction of the Homeric use is very curious. It is in direct contradiction to the general principle according to which Homeric particles, like Homeric constructions, are characterized by a great freedom and variety, their diversity being later canalized in certain particular directions. But Homer is not the beginning of all things: and perhaps a wider usage lies behind the Homeric. In (2) the backward reference disappears, the idea of actuality or essentiality remaining: but with the restriction that οὐν is only employed in conjunction with other particles. The evolution of (2) from (1) was perhaps also helped by the analogy of ὅτε δῆ, ἐπὶ δῆ, etc., which made it natural to regard οὐν in ἐπεὶ οὐν, ὡς οὐν as merely ancillary. The evolution of (3) from (2) presents no difficulty. Other connecting particles (δῆ, μήν, and μέντοι quite clearly:

probably also γάρ) were originally adverbial in force, being later invested, for individual reasons which we usually cannot guess, with particular connective meanings, inferential, causal, adversative, or progressive. In the case of οὐν, the evolution of a connective force is aided by, and indeed foreshadowed in, the Homeric usage. We may even say that the backward reference in (1), after being dormant in (2), reappears in (3) in a more logically developed form. The stages of evolution are clearly seen in the case of μέν οὐν: (i) in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, οὐν always retrospective: (ii) οὐν with no external reference, doing little more than strengthen μέν: (iii) οὐν as a fully developed connective particle.

I. Specifically Homeric use: ἐπεὶ οὐν, ὡς οὐν.

(1) Ἐπεὶ οὐν occurs 35 times in the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, and Homeric *Hymns*. In 4 places ἐπεὶ is causal (Σ333: ρ226: σ362: *h. Merc.* 475): in 31, temporal. In 33 places there is a reference to something already described or foreshadowed. A57 καλέσσατο λαὸν . . . οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ οὐν ἤγερθεν: Δ642 πινόμεναι δ' ἐκέλευσεν . . . τὼ δ' ἐπεὶ οὐν πίνοντ': X475 Andromache faints (466-7). ἡ δ' ἐπεὶ οὐν ἔμπνυτο: Ω329 Priam and his suite set out. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ οὐν πόλιος κατέβαν: 349 οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ οὐν μέγα σῆμα πάρεξ Ἴλοιο ἔλασαν: θ454 ἔς ῥ' ἀσάμινθον βάνθ' . . . τὸν δ' ἐπεὶ οὐν δμῶαί λούσαν. In two instances alone there is no such reference (N1, which Ebeling strangely adds, does refer back to the last lines of M): Γ4 ἤντε περ κλαγγῆ γεράνων πέλει . . . αἶ τ' ἐπεὶ οὐν χειμῶνα φύγον: Δ244 ἤντε νεβροί, αἶ τ' ἐπεὶ οὐν ἔκαμον. It may be noted that both these passages are in similes, and may possibly be abbreviated from longer passages (*loci communes* in the Epic tradition), in which οὐν did have a backward reference.

(2) Ὡς οὐν occurs 26 times, always (except for B321) with a verb of seeing, hearing, or ascertaining. Γ21 τὸν δ' ὡς οὐν ἐνόησεν (a common formula): 154 οἱ δ' ὡς οὐν εἶδονθ' Ἐλένην: Σ222 οἱ δ' ὡς οὐν αἶον ὅπα χάλκεον: θ272 Ἥφαιστος δ' ὡς οὐν θυμαλγέα μῦθον ἄκουσε: Σ530 οἱ δ' ὡς οὐν ἐπύθοντο πολὺν κέλαδον. In every case the object of the verb of seeing, etc., has been mentioned not long before. (In B321, if, with Leaf and *O.C.T.*, we print a full stop at the end of 320, οὐν is

practically a connecting particle. But punctuation and interpretation are disputed.)

'Επειὶ οὖν is used in Hesiod and later hexameter verse as in Homer. Hes. *Th.* 853 (the only instance of οὖν in Hesiod) Ζεὺς δ' ἐπειὶ οὖν κόρθυνεν ἐὼν μένος (referring back to 838 ff.): Emp. *Fr.* 23.3 ὡς δ' ὀπόταν γραφῆες ἀναθήματα ποικίλλωσι . . . οἷ τ' ἐπειὶ οὖν μάρψωσι πολύχροα φάρμακα χερσίν.

II. Οὖν as an ancillary strengthening particle, in close association with other particles, negatives, and relatives. Apart from these associations, and ἐπεὶ οὖν, ὡς οὖν (above), οὖν never has an affirmative force, except in Hom. λ351 ξείνος δὲ τλήτω, μάλα περ νόστοιο χατίζων, ἔμπης οὖν ἐπιμεῖναι ἐς αὖριον. (In *Ar. Th.* 755 οὖν coalesces with γε, as in γοῦν (see II.5.iv). In *E. Alc.* 514 οὖν is connective (see III.1). In III.3,4,5 the use of οὖν is, I think, to be regarded as derived from the connective.)

Many of these uses are post-Homeric only. Where they occur in Homer, the retrospective force of οὖν is often discernible in him: whereas in later Greek the particle merely conveys emphasis. They continue to exist side by side with connective οὖν, but fall into decline in the fourth century, οὖν being here gradually replaced by δῆ.

(1) εἴτ' οὖν (ἄντ' οὖν). This combination, which first occurs in Pindar, is almost confined to the tragedians and Plato. (Des Places (p. 8) notes the frequency of εἴτ' οὖν, οὔτ' οὖν in the *Laws*.) It is not found in the other Attic prose writers or in comedy. Kühner holds that the function of οὖν in εἴτ' οὖν is to emphasize the clause in which it occurs: but Bäumlein's view, that οὖν denotes indifference, is better supported by the evidence: 'whether, in point of fact', the implication being that the fact does not greatly matter for immediate purposes.

(i) εἴτ' οὖν . . . εἴτε (far the commonest form). *A. Ag.* 491 εἴτ' οὖν ἀληθεῖς εἴτ' ὄνειράτων δίκην τερπνὸν τόδ' ἐλθὼν φῶς ἐφήλωσεν φρένας: 843 εἴτ' οὖν θανόντος εἴτε καὶ ζῶντος πέρι λέγω: *S. OT* 1049 εἴτ' οὖν ἐπ' ἀγρῶν εἴτε κἀνθάδ' εἰσιδῶν: *E. IT* 272 εἴτ' οὖν ἐπ' ἀκταῖς θάσσετον Διοσκόρω, ἡ Νηρέως ἀγάλαθ': *S. El.* 199, 560: *E. Heracl.* 149: *Rh.* 722: *Hdt.* vi 137.1 εἴτε ὦν δῆ δικαίως εἴτε ἀδίκως: *Pl. Prt.* 333C οὐδὲν μοι διαφέρει . . . εἴτ' οὖν δοκεῖ σοι

ταῦτα εἴτε μή: *Men.* 92C: *Euthphr.* 3D: *Ap.* 27C: *Lg.* 639B, 808A, 859A: *id. saep.*

(ii) εἴτε . . . εἴτ' οὖν: εἰ . . . εἴτ' οὖν: . . . εἴτ' οὖν. *Pi. P.* 4.78 ξείνος αἴτ' ὦν ἀστός: *A. Fr.* 266 εἰ θέλεις εὐεργετεῖν εἴτ' οὖν κακουργεῖν (ὁ γοῦν *SMA*, εἴτ' οὖν Hermann): *E. Alc.* 140 εἰ δ' ἔτ' ἐστὶν ἔμψυχος γυνή, εἴτ' οὖν ὄλωεν εἰδέναί βουλοίμεθ' ἄν: *Pl. Lg.* 738C εἴτε αὐτόθεν ἐπιχωρίους εἴτ' οὖν Τυρρηνικὰς εἴτε Κυπρίας εἴτε ἄλλοθεν ὀθενοῦν: 881D ἕαντε παῖς ἕαντε ἀνὴρ ἕαντ' οὖν γυνή: 933D.

(iii) εἴτ' οὖν . . . εἴτ' οὖν. *Pl. Ap.* 34E καὶ τοῦτο τοῦνομα ἔχοντα, εἴτ' οὖν ἀληθὲς εἴτ' οὖν ψεύδος: *Lg.* 934D ἕαντ' οὖν δούλον ἕαντ' οὖν καὶ ἐλεύθερον περιορᾶ: Moschion, *Fr.* 6.20-1. (In *A. Ch.* 683 Paley and Tucker take the first οὖν as connective. But, apart from the rarity of connective οὖν in Aeschylus, for which see III below, it seems difficult to avoid co-ordinating the οὖν's as well as the εἴτε's. In the loose, colloquial style of this speech, we may perhaps put a comma after λάθη, and take the conditional clauses ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with what precedes and what follows, by a kind of anacoluthon: 'Tell them that Orestes is dead, whether it will be that they decide to convey his body home, or have it buried abroad, bring back their orders': τὸν δ' εἰ κομίζεῖν, Wilamowitz.)

(2) οὔτ' οὖν (μήτ' οὖν). This use is closely similar to εἴτ' οὖν. It is commoner, and is already found in Homer. Otherwise it is confined to the same authors as εἴτ' οὖν. οὖν emphasizes the duality, or plurality, of the ideas negated. The particle is found with equal frequency in the first, and in the second, limb. In Homer a word occasionally intervenes between οὔτε and οὖν.

(i) οὔτ' οὖν . . . οὔτε (τε οὐ, δέ, οὐ). *Hom. P.* 20 οὔτ' οὖν παρδάλιος τόσσον μένος οὔτε λέοντος οὔτε σὺδος κάπρου; *T.* 7 οὔτε τις οὖν ποταμῶν ἀπέην . . . οὔτ' ἄρα νυμφάων: *ρ.* 401 μήτ' οὖν μητέρ' ἐμὴν ἄζευ τό γε μήτε τιν' ἄλλον δμῶων; *h. Cir.* 236 οὔτ' οὖν σῖτον ἔδων, οὐ θησάμενος (γάλα μητρός): *Pi. O.* 6.52 τοῖ δ' οὔτ' ὦν ἀκοῦσαι οὔτ' ἰδεῖν εὔχοντο: *N.* 11.39 οὔτ' ὦν μέλαιναί καρπὸν ἔδωκαν ἄρουραι, δένδρεά τ' οὐκ ἐθέλει . . . ἄνθος εὐώδες φέρειν: *P.* 4.297 μήτ' ὦν τινι πῆμα πορῶν, ἀπαθῆς δ' αὐτὸς πρὸς ἀστῶν: *E. Andr.* 329 οὐκ ἀξιώ οὔτ' οὖν σὲ Τροίας οὔτε σοῦ Τροίας ἔτι:

731 οὐτ' οὐν τι δράσω φλαῦρον οὔτε πείσομαι: *IA1437* μήτ' οὐν γε . . . μήτ' (οὐν γε is hardly possible: see γε, V.2.i: μήτ' οὐν σύ Elmsley): *Hdt.ix18.3* οὐτ' ὦν ἐμὲ οὔτε βασιλέα: 26.7 οὐτ' ὦν καινὰ οὔτε παλαιά: *Pl.Ti.48C* μήτ' οὐν ὑμεῖς οἴεσθε δεῖν ἐμὲ λέγειν, οὐτ' αὐτὸς αὖ πείθειν ἑμαυτὸν εἶην ἂν δυνατὸς ὡς ὀρθῶς ἐγχειροῖμ' ἂν τοσοῦτον ἐπιβαλλόμενος ἔργον: *Lg.742C,778A, 792D,803D,944E*.

(ii) οὔτε . . . οὐτ' οὐν. *Hom.λ200* οὐτ' ἐμέ γ' ἐν μεγάροισιν εὐσκοπος ἰοχέαιρα . . . κατέπεφνε, οὔτε τις οὐν μοι νοῦσος ἐπήλυθεν: *Pi.O.6.19* οὔτε δύσηρις ἐὼν οὐτ' ὦν φιλόνομος ἄγαν: *A.Ag.359* μήτε μέγαν μήτ' οὐν νεαρῶν τιν': 474 μήτ' εἶην πτολιπόρθης μήτ' οὐν αὐτὸς ἀλοῦς ὑπ' ἄλλων βίον κατίδοιμι: *Eu.412*: *S.OT90,271*: *E.Hec.1244*: *Hdt.iv96* οὔτε ἀπιστέω οὔτε ὦν πιστεύω τι λίην: *vii140.2* οὔτε . . . οὔτε . . . οὔτε πόδες νέατοι οὐτ' ὦν χέρες (oracle): *Pl.Lg.775B* πίνειν δὲ εἰς μέθην οὐτ' ἄλλοθί που πρέπει . . . οὐτ' οὐν δὴ περὶ γάμους ἐσπουδακότα: 779C. (For οὐ . . . οὐτ' οὐν, see τε, I.4.iii.)

(3) τ' οὐν, οὐδ' οὐν. On the analogy of οὐτ' οὐν, εἴτ' οὐν, we should expect τ' οὐν ('both') to be fairly common. It is, in fact, surprisingly rare, its place being filled by τε δὴ, and *S.Aj.34* seems to be the only instance: πάντα γὰρ τὰ τ' οὐν πάρος τὰ τ' εἰσέπειτα σῆ κυβερνῶμαι χερσί. (In *A.Eu.567* οὐν seems (though the text is very doubtful) to reinforce a simple connective τε: στρατὸν κατειργαθοῦ, ἢ τ' οὐν . . . σάλπιγξ . . . γήρυμα φαινέτω στρατῶ (ἢ τ' π: εἴτ' Μ). For connective οὐν following prospective τε, see V.)

οὐδ' οὐν ('nor, in fact') is also not common. *S.OC1135* οὐκ ἔγωγέ σε (θέλω θιγέιν μου), οὐδ' οὐν ἔασω: (conjectured in *Hom.1147*,<sup>1</sup> *S.Ach.Cong.17* Diehl: see τε, I.4.iii): *Hdt.ii134.2* οὐδὲ ὦν οὐδὲ εἰδότες μοι φαίνονται λέγειν οὗτοι ἦτις ἦν ἢ 'Ρουδῶπις: *v98.1* οὐδεμία ἔμελλε ὠφελίη ἔσεσθαι (οὐδ' ὦν οὐδὲ τούτου εἴνεκα ἐποίηε . . .): *Pl.R.492E* οὔτε γὰρ γίγνεται οὔτε γέγονεν οὐδὲ οὐν μὴ γένηται. (In *Hdt.i56.1* ὦν is the connective, and οὐδέ means 'not . . . either'.)

οὐδὲ . . . οὐν. *Hom.ξ254* οὐδέ τις οὐν μοι νηῶν πημάνθη. In *Pi.O.1.86 Byz.* read οὐδ' ἀκράντοις ἐφάψατ' ὦν ἔπεσι.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. T. W. Allen prints οὐδ' οὐν, without comment, in his *O.C.T.* But he informs me that all MSS. read οὐτ' οὐν.

καὶ οὐδ' οὐν. *Ar.Ar.531* κούδ' οὐν, εἶπερ ταῦτα δοκεῖ δρᾶν, ὀπτησάμενοι παρέθενθ' ὑμᾶς.

(For οὐν combined with ἀλλά, καί, γάρ, γε, δέ, δὴ, μέν, see pp. 441-81.)

(4) With relatives. οὐν, following περ, is sometimes used after relative adjectives and adverbs (in particular, ὡσπερ), mostly by Aeschylus and Plato, occasionally by other writers. The function of the particle is (i) in general, to stress the closeness of the relation (like δὴ): (ii) in particular, to stress the correspondence between idea and fact, the objective reality of something which in the main clause is merely supposed.

(i) *A.Ag.607* γυναῖκα πιστήν δ' ἐν δόμοις εὖροι μολῶν οἴανπερ οὐν ἔλειπεν ('exactly as he left her'): 1427 (probably: but punctuation and interpretation are doubtful): *Ch.96* ἢ σίγ' ἀτίμως, ὡσπερ οὐν ἀπόλετο πατήρ, τὰδ' ἐκχέασα . . . στείχω ('even as my father perished in dishonour'): 888 δόλοισι δλούμεθ', ὡσπερ οὐν ἐκτείναμεν ('even as by guile we slew'). (In *E.Hipp.1307* the reading of *LP*, ὡσπερ οὐν δίκαιον, is adopted by almost all editors, and seems certainly right: 'in exact accordance with right': Artemis' mission is to establish the δικαιοσύνη of Hippolytus (cf.1298-9): ὡσπερ ὦν δίκαιος could only mean 'tamquam si iustus esset', not 'ut qui iustus esset': see Kühner II ii 98.)

(ii) *A.Ag.1171* ἄκος δ' οὐδὲν ἐπήρκεσαν τὸ μὴ πόλιν μὲν ὡσπερ οὐν ἔχει παθεῖν: *S.Aj.991* τοῦδέ σοι μέλειν ἐφίεθ' ἀνὴρ κείνος, ὡσπερ οὐν μέλει ('as you do, in fact, care'): *Hdt.ii2* ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίηε . . . ὁ Ψαμμήτιχος θέλων ἀκοῦσαι τῶν παιδίων . . . ἦντινα φωνὴν ῥήξουσι πρώτην. τὰ περ ὦν καὶ ἐγένετο ('And this did actually come about': viii109.5): *Pl.Euthphr.4D* ἡμέλει ὡς ἀνδροφόνου καὶ οὐδὲν ὄν πρᾶγμα εἰ καὶ ἀποθάνοι, ὅπερ οὐν καὶ ἔπαθεν ('which is just what did happen to him'): *Euthd.283A* ὡς αὐτίκα μάλα ἀκουσόμενοι θαυμασίους τινὰς λόγους. ὅπερ οὐν καὶ συνέβη ἡμῖν: *Chrm.155B* Ἄλλ' ἤξει, ἔφη. Ὁ οὐν καὶ ἐγένετο. ἦκε γὰρ (a prophecy fulfilled): *Prm.130A* (the inference from the smile is corroborated by Parmenides' actual words, ὡς ἀγαμένους by ἀγασθαι): *Phidr.242E* εἰ δ' ἔστιν, ὡσπερ οὐν ἔστι, θεὸς . . . ὁ Ἔρωσ ('as in fact he is'): *R.564C* τριχῆ διαστησώμεθα τῶ λόγῳ δημοκρατουμένην πόλιν, ὡσπερ οὐν καὶ ἔχει:

*Phd.*60C: *Cra.*404C.405C: *Ap.*21D. *Pl.Ti.*65C is rather different: φαίνεται δὲ καὶ ταῦτα, ὡσπερ οὖν καὶ τὰ πολλά, διὰ . . . γίνεσθαι ('as in fact most things do').

(iii) οὖν is also used with indefinite relatives, especially with ellipse of verb in the relative clause, to emphasize the idea of universality. Kühner remarks that this use is not yet to be found in Aeschylus. It appears also to be absent from Sophocles and Euripides, and in fact hardly occurs in verse at all. The corresponding use of δὴ (*I.9.vi*) is to be compared. But οὖν never, like δὴ, denotes mere indifference of choice. (οὖν and δὴ together, *Pl.Lg.*789D ὁπωσοῦν δὴ.) *Hdt.*i 199.4 τὸ δὲ ἀργυρίου μέγαθός ἐστι ὅσον ὦν· οὐ γὰρ μὴ ἀπόσηται ('the sum is anything, however small; she will never refuse it'): ii 22 εἰ τοίνυν ἐχιόνιζε καὶ ὅσον ὦν: 113 Ἡρακλέος ἰρόν, ἐς τὸ ἦν καταφυγῶν οἰκέτης ὅτεν ὦν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβάληται στίγματα ἰρὰ . . . οὐκ ἔξεστι τούτου ἄψασθαι: vi 56 προβάτοισι χρᾶσθαι . . . ὀκόσοισι ἂν ὦν ἐθέλωσι: *Th.v*41.2 ἐξείναι δ' ὀποτεροισοῦν: vi 56.3 εἰ καὶ ὀποσοῖον τολμήσειαν ('however few'): *X.Cyr.*ii 4.10 ὀποίου τινὸς οὖν πράγματος: *Pl.Alc.*III 144C οὐδὲ τὴν ὀτουοῦν μητέρα διανοεῖτο ἀποκτείνειν ('nec cuiusvis matrem in animo habuit occidere'): *Lg.*214E ὀτιοῦν ὀμοιον ὀτφοῦν ὀμοίῳ τίνα ὀφελίαν ἔχειν . . . ἂν δύναίτο . . .; ('quidvis simile cuivis simili . . .?'): *Pr.*331D καὶ γὰρ ὀτιοῦν ὀτφοῦν ἂμῆ γέ πῆ προσέοικεν: 313E, 323A, 328E: *D.*iv 29: xiv 2: xxiii 50. Without ellipse: *Is.Fr.*22 ὡς ἂν οὖν δυνώμεθα (οὖν *del.* Bekker): *D.*xxx 20.

Especially after negatives, οὐδ' ὀτιοῦν, οὐδ' ὀπωστιοῦν, etc. *Ar.Pl.*385 κοῦ διοίσοντ' ἀντίκρυς τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν οὐδ' ὀτιοῦν: *X.An.*vii 6.27: *D.*ii 30: xx 158: xxxv 6.

(5) Emphasizing negatives. Probably always in Attic,<sup>1</sup> where οὖν strengthens a negative, γε follows at a short interval. (The juxtaposition of the particles in *Pl.Phd.*70B is exceptional.) The statement is emphatic, but the limits of its application are restricted. Thus οὐκ οὖν . . . γε is the negative form of γοῦν (cf. οὐτοι δὴ . . . γε and γέ τοι δὴ, *s.v.* τοι, VI.6.ii). This relationship has often escaped notice, but it is well brought out by Paley (on *E.HF* 1251), in the new edition of Liddell and Scott (*s.v.* γοῦν), and by des Places (p. 156). (But γοῦν . . . οὐκ in *Pl.Lg.*666D,

<sup>1</sup> See (iii) below.

because here οὐκ goes closely with ἄλλην: 'We, at any rate, could sing no other song'. Cf. *Men.*89E: *R.*557E.)

(i) οὐκ οὖν . . . γε. Particularly in dialogue, introducing an emphatic negative answer. *A.Pr.*518 Τούτων (Μοιρῶν) ἄρα Ζεὺς ἐστὶν ἀσθενέστερος;—Οὐκ οὖν ἂν ἐκφύγοι γε τὴν πεπρωμένην ('At any rate, he cannot escape fate'): *S.OT* 565 Ἐμνήσατ' οὖν ἐμοῦ τι . . .;—Οὐκ οὖν ἐμοῦ γ' ἐστῶτος οὐδαμοῦ πέλας: 1357 (answering his own preceding speech): *An.*993 πιθοῦ.—Οὐκ οὖν πάρος γε σῆς ἀπεισάτου φρενός ('Well, at any rate, I never disobeyed you in the past'): *E.IT* 516 Καὶ μὴν ποθεινός γ' ἦλθες . . .—Οὐκ οὖν ἐμαυτῷ γ': *Or.*1606 Ὅστις δὲ τιμᾶ μητέρα;—Εὐδαίμων ἔφν.—Οὐκ οὖν σύ γε: *Ar.Ra.*1065 Τοῦτ' οὖν ἔβλαψά τι δράσας;—Οὐκ οὖν ἐθέλει γε τριηραρχεῖν πλουτῶν οὐδεὶς διὰ ταῦτα ('Well, anyhow, you did *this* much harm'): *E.An.*444: *Hel.* 1251: *Ar.V.*823: *Eg.*465: *Pl.*889: *Ec.*350, 926: *Pl.Th.*142D ἔχοις ἂν διηγῆσασθαι;—Οὐ μὰ τὸν Δία, οὐκ οὖν οὕτω γε ἀπὸ στόματος: *Sph.*241C οὕτως ἀποστησόμεθα νῦν μαλθακισθέντες;—Οὐκ οὖν ἐγωγέ φημι δεῖν: 238B: *R.*536C, 599E, 611B: *X.Mem.* iv 5.7: *Cyr.*iv 1.23. On *E.IA* 9 Τίς ποτ' ἄρ' ἀστήρ ὅδε πορθμεύει;—Σείριος . . . ἔτι μεσσήρης.—Οὐκ οὖν φθόγγος γ' οὐτ' ὀρνίδων οὐτε θαλάσσης Paley explains: 'At all events there is no voice of birds, etc., i.e. whatever time of night is indicated by the stars'. (The relevance of οὐτε θαλάσσης is obscure: but Mr. D. L. Page suggests to me that Euripides means that two things would make a difference to Agamemnon: dawn would bring his daughter to be sacrificed, and a rising of the wind would make the sacrifice unnecessary. This is ingenious, and if it is right the second thought treads on the heels of the first, as the possibility of a wind occurs to Agamemnon).

Similarly, οὐκ οὖν δὴ . . . γε, the negative form of γοῦν δὴ: *Pl.* *R.*407A: *Phdr.*276C: *Th.*186D: *Pl.*291C: *Prm.*139B, 141D (where, as Burnet subsequently admitted to R. W. Chapman, the comina after δὴ must certainly be omitted): 164B. οὐκ οὖν δὴ . . . γε *Pl.Lg.*752A (mid-speech): οὐκ οὖν . . . γε δὴ (*Pl.* *Virt.*377A).

Less frequently, οὐκ οὖν . . . γε is thus used in continuous speech. *A.Pr.*324 οὐκ οὖν ἐμοιγε χρώμενος διδασκάλῳ πρὸς κέντρα κῶλον ἐκτενεῖς: *Ar.Ec.*343 'My wife has run off with my shoes. οὐκ οὖν λαβεῖν γ' αὐτὰς ἐδυνάμην οὐδαμοῦ' ('Anyhow, I couldn't find 'em'): *S.Ph.*872 (see (iii) below): *Or.*924: *Ar.*1342:

Pl.R.398C 'Εγὼ τοίνυν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, κινδυνεύω ἐκτὸς τῶν πάντων εἶναι· οὐκ οὐκ ἰκανῶς γε ἔχω ἐν τῷ παρόντι συμβαλέσθαι (but here οὐκ οὐκ comes early in an answer: cf. Cra.408B): D.xviii 310 ἐν οἷς οὐδαμοῦ σὺ φανήσῃ γεγονῶς . . . οὐκ οὐκ ἐπὶ γ' οἷς ἡ πατρίς ἠξάνετο ('not, at any rate, where . . .'): Isoc. xv 313: xvii 32: D.xxiv 56.

In *apodosis*. Pl.Erin.974E εἰ καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἔδοξέν τις εἶναι ποτε σοφός, οὐκ οὐκ νῦν γε οὔτε σοφός εἶναι δοξάζεται . . . : Lg. 810D. Cf. Th.ii 43.1, viii 91.3 below.

(ii) οὐκ οὐν, *separatim* (μὴ οὐν, οὐκ . . . οὐν) . . . γε. There are a few examples, mostly in Thucydides and Xenophon. It is doubtful whether juxtaposed οὐκ οὐν should ever be written separately. Cf. IV.5 below.

E.HF1251 'Ο πολλὰ δὴ τλὰς Ἡρακλῆς λέγει τάδε;—Οὐκ οὐν τοσαῦτά γ': Th.ii 43.1 ἐπιθυμουμένους ὅτι τολμῶντες . . . ἄνδρες αὐτὰ ἐκτήσαντο, καὶ ὁπότε καὶ πείρα του σφαλεῖεν, οὐκ οὐν καὶ τὴν πόλιν γε τῆς σφετέρας ἀρετῆς ἀξιοῦντες στερίσκειν: viii 91.3 μάλιστα μὲν ἐβούλοντο ὀλιγαρχούμενοι ἄρχειν καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων, εἰ δὲ μή, . . . αὐτονομεῖσθαι, ἐξειργόμενοι δὲ καὶ τούτου μὴ οὐν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου γε αὐθις γενομένου . . . διαφθαρῆναι: X.Cyr.iii 3.50 οὐδεμία γὰρ ἐστὶν οὕτω καλὴ παραίνεσις ἥτις τοὺς μὴ ὄντας ἀγαθοὺς . . . ἀγαθοὺς ποιήσει· οὐκ ἂν οὐν τοξότας γε . . . : Lac. 5.9 καὶ ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδ' ἐν τούτῳ σφαλῆναι δοκεῖ. οὐκ ἂν οὐν ῥαδίως γέ τις εὐροὶ Σπαρτιατῶν οὔτε ὑγιεινοτέρους . . .

(iii) Without following γε. Hdt.ii 20 λέγει τοὺς ἐτησίας ἀνέμους εἶναι αἰτίους πληθύνειν τὸν ποταμὸν . . . πολλάκις δὲ ἐτησῖαι μὲν οὐκ ὦν ἐπνευσαν, ὁ δὲ Νεῖλος τῶντὸ ἐργάζεται ('do not, in fact, blow'): iii 137 ταῦτα λέγοντες τοὺς Κροτωνιήτας οὐκ ὦν ἐπειθον.<sup>1</sup>

Wherever, in Attic, γε is lacking after emphatic οὐκ οὐκ, it should probably be supplied. In E.Ion 356 (assuming the text to be otherwise in order) Badham's ἄλλον (γ') springs from a sure instinct, as does Musgrave's ἐν Ἀργεῖ (γ') in Hel.124, and Reiske's τό γ', for τόδ', in S.Ant.321. In S.Ph.872 I have suggested γ' αὐτ' for τοῦτ', a change supported by other considera-

<sup>1</sup> Kühner (II ii 161) explains these passages as quasi-adversative: he also finds an adversative sense in other passages which can easily be taken as progressive. There is no adequate evidence for an adversative οὐν.

<sup>2</sup> οὐν with negatives seems to have more independent force than οὐκ.

tions (C.R.xliii (1929) 118). In A.Supp.392, where οὐν can scarcely be connective, we should perhaps read: Μὴ τί ποτ' οὐν γενοίμαν ὑποχείριος κράτεσι γ' ἀρσένων (for κράτεσιν): 'Whether I adopt the expedient you suggest, or another, may I at least not become subject to the males'. In Th.iii 113.4 read, perhaps, οὐκ οὐκ τά (γ') ὄπλα. In S.Aj.1339 the reading is most uncertain. In A.Pr.520 M's οὐκ ἂν οὐν can hardly be right. (See C.R. xliii (1930) 213-4.)

(iv) Just as οὐκ οὐκ . . . γε is the negative form of γοῦν, so, in one passage, οὐν . . . γε is equivalent to γοῦν: Ar.Th.755 ἴν' οὐν τό γ' αἶμα τοῦ τέκνου τοῦμοῦ λάβω. There is no parallel, but the explanation seems certain. (Cf. ἀλλ' οὐν . . . γε, p. 444.) The position of οὐν is perhaps *metri gratia* here: whereas in οὐκ οὐκ . . . γε it is due to sense, οὐν being naturally drawn to the negative which it strengthens.

### III. Οὐν as a connecting particle.

(1) Normal use. The independent use of οὐν (ὦν) as a connecting particle is not firmly established before the second half of the fifth century, though it is faintly fore-shadowed by the Homeric and Pindaric use of the particle, notably in the combination μὲν οὐν. Hecataeus Fr.30 is one of the earliest examples: οὐ γὰρ ὑμῖν δυνατός εἰμι ἀρήγειν ὡς μὴ ὦν . . . ἀπόλησθε . . . ἀποίχεσθαι. Aeschylus, it is true, not infrequently uses connective οὐν in answer-questions. Pr.515 Τίς οὐν ἀνάγκης ἐστὶν οἰακοστρόφος; Ch.171 Πῶς οὐν παλαιὰ παρὰ νεωτέρας μάθω; Supp.314,318: Pr.771: Ch.114: Em.502. (In Supp.19, a question in the middle of the Parodos, the reading is not quite certain.) Apart from questions, there are only two certain examples of connective οὐν in Aeschylus: Ch.579: Em. 219. For Ch.683, see II.1.iii: in Ch.931 οὐν probably strengthens μὲν: for Supp.392, see II.5.iii. (The tendency to use οὐν particularly in questions (for which compare δῆτα), perhaps survives into the fourth century: in D.xviii and xix οὐν occurs 79 times, 63 times in questions. But there is no trace of this tendency in Herodotus or Thucydides.) From Sophocles onwards the connective use of οὐν predominates over others. The particle expresses *post hoc* and (more frequently) *propter hoc*, or anything between the two. In narrative, almost purely temporal, marking a new stage in



the sequence of events: 'Well', 'Now'. *Hermipp.Fr.70.2* εἰς τὸ Κυλικράνων βαδίζων †σπληνόπεδον † ἀφικόμην· εἶδον οὖν τὴν Ἡράκλειαν καὶ μάλ' ὠραίαν πόλιν: *Ag.Pl.733* εἶθ' ὁ θεὸς ἐπόπυσεν. ἐξηξάτην οὖν δύο δράκοντ' ἐκ τοῦ νέω: *Pl.Chrm.154D* Συνέφασαν οὖν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι: *155B: Phid.61D: Smpr.175C, 176A,B: R.327A,B,C: Prm.736E.*

Proceeding to a new point, or a new stage in the march of thought. *E.Hel.1266* The offerings to the dead have been prescribed. Πῶς οὖν; ἐς οἶδμα τίνι τρόπῳ καθίετε; (a supplementary question): *Ag.Th.67* ('He is going to compose: now he finds that difficult, except in the sun'): *S.Ph.305: E.Tr.968: El.912: IT22: Hp.Epid.ii 2.18* ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔτεκεν . . . αὐθις ἤλγησεν· ἔτεκεν οὖν ἄρσεν: *Acut.18* (we have been told what preparations are necessary for the bath, and what persons will benefit from it: οὖν introduces the next point, how often one should have a bath): *Lys.xiii 19* ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς οὗτος ἐπιτήδειος εἶναι μηνυτής. ἐβούλοντο οὖν ἄκοντα δοκεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ ἐκόντα μηνύειν: *Hdt.ii 10,49: vii 81: Th.ii 34.5.*

The inferential use of οὖν is too common to need illustration. But we may notice two passages in which the sequence of thought is not at first sight obvious. *E.Alc.514* (οὖν shows that the wish is prompted by the information received: 'I hope it's not one of your children. then'): *Or.793 Or. Δυσχερὲς ψαύειν νοσοῦντος ἀνδρός.—Πυ. Οὐκ ἔμοιγε σοῦ.—Ορ. Εὐλάβου λύσσης μετασχεῖν τῆς ἐμῆς.—Πυ. Τόδ' οὖν ἴτω.* In the rapid dialogue Pylades ignores Orestes' repeated protest: 'Not for me to touch thee . . . So let that pass'. Paley's ellipse of οὐ μέλει μοι, before τόδ', is unnecessary and unlikely. His alternative suggestion, to read τὸ δ' οὖν, gives a wrong sense to δ' οὖν.

The use of οὖν in direct questions is transferred to an indirect question in *Pl.Pri.322C* Ἐρμῆν πέμπει ἄγοντα εἰς ἀνθρώπους αἰδῶ τε καὶ δίκην . . . ἐρωτᾷ οὖν Ἐρμῆς Δία τίνα οὖν τρόπον δοίη δίκην καὶ αἰδῶ ἀνθρώποις ('in what way, then'). In *Smpr.219D* ὥστε οὐθ' ὅπως οὖν ὀργιζοίμην εἶχον, des Places (p. 42) follows Stallbaum in explaining ὅπως οὖν ὀργιζοίμην as representing the direct πῶς οὖν ὀργίζωμαι; (*igitur*): but the sense *igitur* is singularly inappropriate here: the text is certainly difficult: perhaps οὐθ' οὖν ὅπως. (*R.524C*, which des Places (*loc. cit.*) cites as indirect, may equally well be direct.)

(2) Position. Connective οὖν, like most other connecting particles, is normally placed second in the sentence. But it not infrequently comes later. (Sophocles is much freer than the other tragedians in this respect.)

3rd. *A.Eu.219* εἰ τοῖσιν οὖν κτείνουσιν ἀλλήλους χαλᾶς: *S.OT141* κείνῳ προσαρκῶν οὖν: *1520* Φῆς τάδ' οὖν: *Tr.1247* Πράσσειν ἄνωγας οὖν: *Ph.121* Ἡ μνημονεύεις οὖν: *E.Heracl.1021* πῶς τάδ' οὖν γενήσεται; *Ag.Ec.1082* Ποτέρας προτέρας οὖν: *1157* σχεδὸν ἅπαντας οὖν: *Pherecr.Fr.191: Hdt.i 85.1* ἐν τῇ ᾧν παρελθούσῃ εὐεστοί: *iii 127.3* πρὶν τι ᾧν: *vii 150.2* οὕτω ἂν ᾧν εἶημεν: *153.4* θῶμά μοι ᾧν: *Th.i 91.7* ἢ πάντας οὖν ἀτειχίστους ἔφη χρῆναι ξυμμαχεῖν ἢ . . .: *Pl.Philb.43E* Τριῶν ὄντων οὖν: *Phdr.258C* Οἶει τινὰ οὖν: *La.201B* καὶ ἡμεῖς οὖν: *Men.74E* Τί ποτε οὖν: *96D* παντὸς μᾶλλον οὖν: *R.565D* Τίς ἀρχὴ οὖν: *Chrm.160E* Οὐ μόνον οὖν: *Lg.799A* Ἐχει τις οὖν: *D.xix 111* τῷ προσῆκεν οὖν: *lvii 26* οἶεται τις οὖν . . .;

4th. *S.OT1128* Τὸν ἄνδρα τόνδ' οὖν οἶσθα: *1517* Οἶσθ' ἐφ' οἷς οὖν εἶμι; *OC1424* Ὀρᾶς τὰ τοῦδ' οὖν: *1539* τὰ μὲν τοιαῦτ' οὖν: *Ag.V.291* Ἐθελήσεις τί μοι οὖν: *Hdt.ii 12* τὰ περὶ Αἴγυπτον ᾧν: *Pl.Men.86E* εἰ μή τι οὖν: *Euthd. 272A* πρὸ τοῦ μὲν οὖν: *Cra.438E* Διὰ τίνος ἄλλου οὖν: *Philb.56D* Πῆ ποτε διορισάμενος οὖν: *Plt.262C* ἐν τῷ μὲν οὖν παρεστηκότι: *Hippiarchi.230E* Καὶ περὶ ποτοῦ οὖν: *Plt.304C* Εἶεν· τίνι τὸ πειστικὸν οὖν ἀποδώσομεν . . .; *X.Cyr.iv 5.21* καὶ ἡ ὀργὴ οὖν αὕτη: *Aen.Tact.24.7* ὡς ἀπήγαγέν τε οὖν αὐτοῦς: *D.xlvii 23* ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἦν οὖν μοι: *135* τίς ἂν δύναται οὖν.

5th. *S.Aj.1215* τίς μοι, τίς ἔτ' οὖν τέρψις ἐπεσται; *Ag.Pl.848* Καὶ ταῦτ' ἀναθήσων ἔφερες οὖν; in *E.Hec.96* Bothe reads ἀπ' ἐμᾶς ἀπ' ἐμᾶς οὖν for ἀπ' ἐμᾶς οὖν ἀπ' ἐμᾶς: *Pl.R.332C* Ὡς Σιμωνίδῃ, ἢ τίσιν οὖν τί ἀποδιδούσα . . . τέχνη ἰατρικὴ καλεῖται; (postponement after vocative plus postponement after interrogative, which gravitates to an early position).

6th. *Ag.Au.1405* Βούλει διδάσκειν καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν οὖν μένων: *Pl.Lg.777D* ὁ περὶ τὰ τῶν δούλων οὖν ἦθη.

Postponement after preposition, article, and noun (etc.) is in accordance with the usage of other particles: *Pl.Ti.81B* πρὸς τὸ συγγενὲς οὖν. But particle sometimes immediately follows preposition: *S.El 307: E.Alc.514: Pl.R.456D* Ἐν οὖν τῇ πόλει: *Lg.782D* Πρὸς οὖν δὴ τί ταῦτα . . .; *731C.*

(3) *In apodosis*.<sup>1</sup> Like δὴ, though far less frequently, οὖν is used apodotically, after a temporal, causal, or conditional protasis. This use is perhaps best regarded as an offshoot of the connective, though Kühner (II ii 327) takes it as 'adverbial'. Apodotic οὖν is almost confined to Ionic prose and Plato.

Hdt. i 132.2 ἐπεὰν δὲ . . . ἐψήσῃ τὰ κρέα, ὑποπάσας ποιήν . . . ἐπὶ ταύτης ἔθηκε ὦν πάντα τὰ κρέα: vi 76.1 ἐπεὶτε δὲ Σπαρτιήτας ἄγων ἀπύκετο ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἐρασίον, ὃς λέγεται . . . ἀπικόμενος ὦν ὁ Κλεομένης ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦτον: ix 26.3 ἐπεὶ μετὰ Ἀχαιῶν . . . ἰζόμεθα ἀντίοι τοῖσι κατιούσι, τότε ὦν λόγος Ἵλλον ἀγορεύσασθαι: 87.1 ἄνδρες Θηβαῖοι, ἐπειδὴ οὕτω δέδοκται τοῖσι Ἑλλησι . . . , νῦν ὦν . . . : Hp. *Inl.* 8 ἦν . . . ἀναρραγῆ (ἀναρρήγνυται δὲ μάλιστα ὑπὸ ταλαιπωρίας), τάδε οὖν πάσχει (καὶ τάδε πάσχει *uulg.*): *Mul.* 110: Pl. *Ly.* 223B ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐφρόντιζον ἡμῶν . . . , ἠττηθέντες οὖν αὐτῶν διελύσαμεν τὴν συνουσίαν: *Cra.* 420A ὅτι γὰρ ἰέμενος ρεῖ . . . , ἀπὸ ταύτης οὖν πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως "ἕμερος" ἐκλήθη: *R.* 367D ἐπειδὴ οὖν ὠμολόγησας τῶν μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν εἶναι δικαιοσύνην . . . , τοῦτ' οὖν αὐτὸ ἐπαίνεσον δικαιοσύνης: *Alc.* I 105B (οὖν *B*: δὲ *I* Proclus): *X. Cyr.* i 2.11 ἐξέρχονται δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν ἄριστον ἔχοντες . . . ἦν δὲ τι δεήση . . . διατρίψαι περὶ τὴν θήραν, τὸ οὖν ἄριστον τοῦτο δειπνήσαντες τὴν ὑστεραίαν αὐθιρῶσι (οὖν *om.* *DFG*). Perhaps also *Cyr.* i 3.17: but the text is doubtful.

In some of these examples (e.g. Pl. *Cra.* 420A) οὖν has a noticeable inferential force: 'for that reason'. So in three cases in Thucydides after an explanation of motives: iii 95.1 νομίσας . . . ἄρας οὖν . . . παρέπλευσεν ἐς Σόλλιον: vi 64.1: vii 6.1.

οὐκῶν. Hdt. ix 55 ὡς γὰρ δὴ παρηγόρεον τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον . . . οὐκῶν ἐπειθον (οὐκῶν Stein: οὐκῶν *E*: οὐκῶς *rell.*).

For apodotic οὐκῶν . . . γε see II.5.i, *ad fin.*

(4) Resumptive. Allied to the above idiom, and not always to be rigidly distinguished from it, is the resumptive use of οὖν, mostly after a parenthesis, found in Herodotus and Plato, and occasionally in other writers. The resumption of the main thought is often marked by a demonstrative pronoun, or by a repeated word or synonym.

<sup>1</sup> On apodotic and resumptive οὖν in Plato, see *des Places*, pp. 52-4. In some passages anacoluthon is no doubt to be assumed.

Hdt. iii 97 Κόλχοι δὲ (τὰ) ἐτάξαντο ἐς τὴν δωρεὴν καὶ οἱ προσεχέες μέχρι Καυκάσιος ὄρεος (ἐς τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ὄρος . . .), οὗτοι ὦν δῶρα τὰ ἐτάξαντο . . . ἀγίνεον: iv 72 λαβόντες τῶν λοιπῶν θεραπόντων τοὺς ἐπιτηδεοτάτους (οἱ δὲ εἰσι . . .), τούτων ὦν τῶν διηκόνων ἐπεὰν ἀποπνίξωσι πεντήκοντα . . . : vii 137.2 τὸ δὲ συμπεσεῖν . . . , δῆλον ὦν μοι ὅτι θεῖον ἐγένετο τὸ πρῆγμα: Hp. *Seritim.* I ἦν γὰρ . . . λογίσση . . . , οὕτως οὖν τουτέων ἐόντων . . . : Pl. *Chrm.* 157C ἐγὼ οὖν—ὁμῶμοκα γὰρ αὐτῷ, καὶ μοι ἀνάγκη πείθεσθαι—πέισομαι οὖν: *R.* 352B-D ὅτι μὲν γὰρ . . . —ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὅτι οὕτως ἔχει μανθάνω: *X. An.* vi 6.15 ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν (καὶ γὰρ ἀκούω . . .), ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἀπολύω: Hdt. v 99.1: vi 13.1: Pl. *Lg.* 713C, 812E: *Er.* 348C: *Aen. Tact.* 8.5: *Lys.* viii 3: *D.* xix 45: lix 99.

In almost all the above cases the parenthesis is of some considerable length, and actual anacoluthon may be assumed in some of them. The following is remarkable for the shortness of the parenthesis, if indeed it can be so styled: Hdt. i 144.1 κατὰ περ οἱ ἐκ τῆς πενταπόλιος νῦν χώρης Δωριέες, πρότερον δὲ ἑξαπόλιος τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης καλεομένης, φυλάσσονται ὦν . . . (αἰνῶς Stein).

(5) In tmesis (cf. p. 460).<sup>\*</sup> Frequently in Herodotus and certain works of the Hippocratic corpus, very occasionally elsewhere, ὦν (οὖν) is inserted between a preposition and a verb compounded with it. This usage, which Kühner (II i 537) associates with popular speech, is mainly found in apodoses, though the earliest examples are not apodotic: Epich. *Fr.* 124 καὶ γλυκύν γ' ἐπ' ὦν ἐπιόμεσ οἶνον: *Fr.* 35.6 κάπ' ὦν ἠχθόμαν. It may therefore derive from Homeric οὖν referring to something foreshadowed, 'accordingly'.

In Herodotus the verb is always an aorist, and (except in ii 172) always a gnomic aorist, usually describing some local custom or process. The expression for the most part occurs in an apodosis (not necessarily early in the apodosis) following either a protasis opening with ἐπεὰν or a participial clause. i 194 ἐπεὰν ὦν ἀπύκωνται πλείοντες ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα καὶ διαθέωνται τὸν φόρτον, νομέας μὲν τοῦ πλοίου καὶ τὴν καλάμην πᾶσαν ἀπ' ὦν ἐκήρυξαν: ii 39, 40, 47 (*bis*); 70, 85, 86, 87 (*bis*), 88, 122: iii 82: iv 195: vii 106. Not apodotic, ii 96.2, 172.3.

In Hippocrates, also, the verb denotes an habitual occurrence, the tense being indicative present or gnomic aorist. Normally a general conditional or temporal protasis precedes (though not

always immediately precedes). The idiom is common in *de Morbis* i (though it is read only in the good MS. *θ*: see Littré, vi 271): e.g. 14, 15, 18, 19, 21, 22, 30: *Morb.* ii 50 ἔπειτα καὶ πυρετοὶ ἰσχυροὶ ἐπιγιγνώμενοι κατ' οὖν ἔκτειναν (*E* only): 51 ὅταν . . . , ἀπ' οὖν ἄλετο: *Nat. Mil.* ii *θ* only).

Kühner cites Dorieus' *ap.* Athen. 413A δὲν γὰρ ἐπόμπευσεν βοῦν ἄζυγον, εἰς κρέα τόνδε κόψας πάντα κατ' οὖν μόνος ἐδαίσατό νιν. Hartung gives two examples from late epigrams. In Hippon. *Fr.* 64.2 ἀπ' ὧν ἔδυσε was conjectured by Hermann for ἄπουν ἔδυσε: lack of context makes it impossible to say if ὧν would be apodotic there. The appearance of this tmesis in *Ar. Ra.* 1047 is remarkable: ὥστε γε καὐτόν σε (Euripides) κατ' οὖν ἔβαλεν. I have little doubt that there is an intentional Ionism (or Dorism) here, and that Aristophanes is parodying some one, probably Euripides himself. Euripides used tmesis freely (Kühner II i 534: and cf. *Andr.* 837 κατὰ μὲν οὖν στένω).

### Οὐκουν, οὐκοῦν

IV. We have already dealt with *οὐκουν* denoting an emphatic negative (*οὖν*, II.5). It remains to consider those uses of *οὐκουν*, *οὐκοῦν* in which *οὖν* has a connective force. It is usually agreed that the ancient grammarians are right in saying that in *οὐκουν* the predominant element is *οὐκ*, in *οὐκοῦν*, *οὖν*. (Phrynichus, *Bekk. Anecd.* i 57: Apollonius, *ib.* ii 525: Joann. Charax, *ib.* iii 1155: Ammonius, *de differ. affin. vocal.* 105.)

*οὐκουν* and *οὐκοῦν* are found both in statements and in questions. We thus have four forms. The punctuation and accentuation of our MSS. are not to be trusted over-implicitly, and frequent changes should probably be made.<sup>2</sup> Editors have been rather haphazard in this matter.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps a contemporary of Leonidas of Tarentum (Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Dorieus*).

<sup>2</sup> I cordially agree with Hermann (on Viger, *De Idiotismis*): 'Verum mirifice perturbatus est huius particulae usus, ita ut vix scias quo te vertas. Librorum auctoritati non multum tribui potest in tanta scripturae varietate'.

(1) *Οὐκουν* in questions, usually at the opening of an answer. This, as Kühner observes (II ii 166), is characteristic of the lively, emotional style of tragedy. Often, the logical starting-point is, not what the previous speaker has said, but the fact that he has said it. 'Why' or 'well' then brings out the force of the *οὖν*.

*A. Pr.* 379 ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν παροῦσαν ἀντλήσω τύχην, ἔς τ' ἂν Διὸς φρόνημα λωφήσῃ χόλου.—*Οὐκουν*, Προμηθεῦ, τοῦτο γινώσκεις, ὅτι ὀργῆς νοσοῦσης εἰσὶν ἰατροὶ λόγοι; ('Why, Prometheus, don't you know . . .?'): *Eu.* 725 Τοιαῦτ' ἔδρασας καὶ Φέρητος ἐν δόμοις . . .—*Οὐκουν* δίκαιον τὸν σέβοντ' εὐεργετεῖν . . .; ('Well, isn't it right . . .?') *Οὐκοῦν*, *codd.*, is clearly wrong): *Th.* 217 πύργον στέγειν εὐχεσθε πολέμιον δορυ.—*Οὐκουν* τάδ' ἔσται πρὸς θεῶν; (*οὐκουν M*: *οὐκοῦν m*, *rec.*): *S. Ph.* 628 Exit Ἐμπορος. *Phi.* *Οὐκουν* τάδ', ὦ παῖ, δεινά, τὸν Λαερτίου ἔμ' ἐλπίσαι . . .; ('Now, isn't it monstrous . . .?'): *Ar. Eq.* 1381 συνερπικὸς γὰρ ἔστι . . .—*Οὐκουν* καταδακτυλικὸς σὺ . . .; ('Well, aren't you . . .?'): *Nu.* 1377 κάπειτ' ἔφλα με . . .—*Οὐκουν* δικαίως, ὅστις οὐκ Εὐριπίδην ἐπαινεῖς σοφώτατον; *V.* 47 ('Well, now, isn't that odd?'): *Pl.* 257 ἴτ' ἐγκονεῖτε . . .—*Οὐκουν* ὀρᾶς ὀρμωμένους ἡμᾶς πάλαι προθύμως . . .; ('Why, don't you see we are hurrying?'): *S. El.* 795: *OT* 440, 973: *Aj.* 79 (*οὐκοῦν sine interrogationis nota LA rec.*): *E. IT* 1190, 1196: *Ph.* 1690.

Far less frequently in mid-speech: *E. Alc.* 794 (*B*'s division between speakers is clearly wrong): *Heracl.* 1005 (perhaps an ironical statement, as Paley takes it): *Hec.* 592.

*Οὐκουν* is often used, as Kühner (II ii 167) observes, with the second person future indicative (or optative with *ἄν*) in impatient questions, at the opening of a speech. *A. Pr.* 52 Ἐγνώκα τοῖσδε κούδεν ἀντειπεῖν ἔχω.—*Οὐκουν* ἐπείξει τῷδε δεσμὰ περιβαλεῖν. ('Well, then, won't you hurry . . .?'): 616 Ἄρμοι πέπαιμαι τοὺς ἐμοὺς θρηνηῶν πόνους.—*Οὐκουν* πόροις ἂν τήνδε δωρεὰν ἐμοί; *S. OT* 676 Στυγνὸς μὲν εἶκων δῆλος εἶ . . .—*Οὐκουν* μ' ἐάσεις κάκτος εἶ; *El.* 631 πρὸς ὀργὴν ἐκφέρῃ, μεθεῖσά μοι λέγειν ἃ χυθῆναι—*Οὐκουν* ἐάσεις οὐδ' ὑπ' εὐφήμου βοῆς θῦσαι μ' . . .; *Ant.* 244: *OC* 897 (*οὐκοῦν L rec.*): *E. Or.* 1238: *Ar. Ra.* 201: 71. Cf. *Au.* 1185 *Οὐκουν* σφενδόνας δεῖ λαμβάνειν καὶ τόξα;

Postponed after apostrophe: *Ar. Ra.* 480 ὦ καταγέλαστ' οὐκουν ἀναστήσει ταχὺ . . .;

*οὐκουν* δῆτα, *οὐκοῦν* . . . δῆτα (for which, in general, see δῆτα).

I.6.i) are sometimes similarly used by Aristophanes. *Au.*1177 *Οὐκουν* δῆτα περιπόλους ἐχρῆν πέμψαι κατ' αὐτὸν εὐθύς; *Ra.* 193 *Οὐκουν* περιθρέξει δῆτα τὴν λίμνην κύκλω; 200 *Οὐκουν* καθεδεῖ δῆτ' ἐνθαδὶ γάστρων; *Ec.*1144: *Pa.*274.

The above instances of interrogative *οὐκουν* are all from drama. If we trust our manuscripts, we must believe that interrogative *οὐκουν* is practically unknown to prose. But in many passages, where a surprised or indignant question is clearly required, there are strong grounds for restoring *οὐκουν* . . . ; for affirmative or interrogative *οὐκοῦν*.

Plato. Des Places observes (p.158) that *Sim.*175A is the only example of interrogative *οὐκουν* in Plato. Ἄτοπόν γ', ἔφη, λέγεις; οὐκουν καλεῖς αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ ἀφήσεις; (Cf. the examples with 2nd pers. fut. ind. quoted above.) And Kühner (II ii 166) says that interrogative *οὐκοῦν*, rather than *οὐκουν*, 'gehört der ruhigen und gemässigten Rede an, namentlich den Sokratischen Gesprächen bei Xenophon und Plato'. Broadly speaking, this is no doubt true; but even Socrates is capable, at times, of surprise, and the people with whom he converses are not invariably 'ruhig'. I suspect we should write *οὐκουν* in such passages as the following, where the particle introduces a lively, surprised, or indignant question of a type as closely similar to those quoted above as it is different *toto caelo* from the quieter *οὐκοῦν* questions considered below.

*Men.*81A ὄρας τοῦτον ὡς ἐριστικὸν λόγον κατάγεις . . . ;—*Οὐκοῦν* καλῶς σοι δικεῖ λέγεσθαι ὁ λόγος οὗτος, ὦ Σώκρατες; ('Why, don't you like the argument?'): *Grg.*459C 'Rhetoric only teaches you to appear to know things'.—*Οὐκοῦν* πολλὴ ραστώνη . . . γίγνεται, μὴ μαθόντα τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας ἀλλὰ μίαν ταύτην, μηδὲν ἐλαττοῦσθαι τῶν δημιουργῶν; ('Well, isn't that a delightfully easy way of doing things?'): 466E οὐδὲν γὰρ ποιεῖν (φημὶ τοὺς ῥήτορας) ὧν βούλονται ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ποιεῖν μέντοι ὅτι ἂν αὐτοῖς δόξη βέλτιστον εἶναι.—*Οὐκοῦν* τοῦτο ἔστιν τὸ μέγα δύνασθαι; ('Well, isn't that having great power?'): *Euthd.* 291D σαφῶς οὖν ἐδόκει ἡμῖν . . .—*Οὐκοῦν* καλῶς ἡμῖν ἐδόκει . . . ; *Grg.*511B: *Phdr.*260E.

In Demosthenes, the MSS. give interrogative *οὐκουν* in the following:—xx 28 *οὐκουν* ὅτε πολλῶ μείζονα βλάβει τῶν ὠφε-

λειῶν ὧν ἔχει (ὁ νόμος), προσήκει λελύσθαι παρὰ τοῖσδ' αὐτόν; ἐγὼ γ' ἂν φαίην: lix 125 *οὐκουν* ἤδη δοκεῖ ὑμῖν . . . ; In other passages various editors have restored interrogative *οὐκουν* for affirmative *οὐκοῦν*: xx 26,62,71,97: xxxiv 49 (for *οὐκ οὖν separa-tim*). We should probably further restore *οὐκουν* everywhere in *οὐκοῦν* δεινόν followed by an infinitive or conditional clause (cf. *S.Ph.*628, above). The tone clearly demands 'Now, is it not monstrous . . .?': not, 'Now it is monstrous, is it not?' xix 226: xxiii 56: xxxix 21,31: xl 42: xlv 73: lv 22: lvii 47: lix 107,117. The editions are chaotic in this respect. Thus Blass sometimes prints a question-mark after *οὐκοῦν* δεινόν, sometimes not: while Rennie prints *οὐκουν* for *οὐκ οὖν* in xxxiv 49, but retains *οὐκοῦν* in the closely similar xxxix 21,31. *οὐκουν* is at least probable in other passages: v 25: xix 285: xxxvii 57: xlv 56.

These passionate questions are especially characteristic of Demosthenes. But there are some examples in other prose writers where interrogative *οὐκουν* should probably be read. *Lys.* x 12 *οὐκ οὖν* ἄτοπον ἂν εἴη . . . ; *Isoc.*xviii 21 *οὐκ οὖν* δεινόν . . . ; *Th.*v 107 (*οὐκουν* BC: *οὐκοῦν* cell.: *οὐκ οὖν* . . . ; Steup: *οὐκουν* . . . Stuart Jones): *Aeschin.*i 85: iii 245.

(2) *Οὐκοῦν* in questions. *Οὐκοῦν* questions, less lively in tone than those introduced by *οὐκουν*, are pre-eminently suited to the even, unemotional character of intellectual discussion: hence their frequency in Plato. (See Kühner, quoted on p. 432.) Outside Plato and Xenophon they are probably extremely rare. In Plato, as des Places well observes, the boundary between *οὐκοῦν* questions and *οὐκοῦν* statements cannot be rigidly drawn. There is probably always some tinge of interrogation in the tone: and it is significant that, as des Places points out, Plato uses *οὐκοῦν* in dialogue only, never in continuous discourse. (In *R.*365D, *Sph.*251E, *Lg.*629E there is supposed question and answer.) I should be inclined, in fact, to go further than des Places, and actually insert the question-mark everywhere (the difficulty of finding a place for it in *Phd.*66B ff. is merely formal): e.g. in *R.*337D (see (3) below, p. 438), 565A,B: *Phdr.*271A: *Men.*99B: cf. *X.Mem.*iii 6.6: 6.8. The question of punctuation is, however, of subordinate importance. What is important is that we should

recognize the existence of an interrogative tinge, whether or not strong enough to call for a question-mark. In any case, des Places is certainly right in saying that the distinction between interrogative and affirmative cannot, in Plato, be made the basis of classification.

Οὐκοῦν is very common in Plato, being used both in the strictly inferential, and in the looser progressive, sense. The following grouping (in which I follow des Places pretty closely) illustrates the great variety of the Platonic usage.

(a) Strictly inferential, 'therefore', 'then'. *Ly.* 219C ἡ ἰατρικὴ φάμεν, ἕνεκα τῆς ὑγιείας φίλου.—Ναί.—Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡ ὑγίεια φίλου; *Euthd.* 298E ἔστι σοι κύων;—Καὶ μάλα πονηρὸς . . .—Ἔστιν οὖν αὐτῷ κυνίδια;—Καὶ μάλ' . . .—Οὐκοῦν πατήρ ἐστιν αὐτῶν ὁ κύων; . . . Τί οὖν; οὐ σὸς ἐστιν ὁ κύων;—Πάνυ γ', ἔφη.—Οὐκοῦν πατήρ ὦν σὸς ἐστιν . . .;

(b) Proceeding to introduction of minor or major premise, 'Now'. (α) Minor. *Phd.* 105E ὁ ἄν θάνατον μὴ δέχεται τί καλοῦμεν;—Ἀθάνατον, ἔφη.—Οὐκοῦν ψυχὴ οὐ δέχεται θάνατον;—Οὐ.—Ἀθάνατον ἄρα ψυχὴ ('Now, the soul . . .?'): *Men.* 96C. (β) Major. *Smp.* 201B ἄλλο τι ὁ Ἔρως κάλλους ἂν εἴη ἔρως, αἰσχους δὲ οὐ;—Ὡμολόγει.—Οὐκοῦν ὠμολόγηται, οὐ ἐνδεὴς ἐστι καὶ μὴ ἔχει, τούτου ἔρᾶν;—Ναί, εἰπεῖν.—Ἐνδεὴς ἄρ' ἐστὶ καὶ οὐκ ἔχει ὁ Ἔρως κάλλος.

(c) In enumeration of details (sometimes in formal induction): 'Again'. *Men.* 72E Ἡ αὐτὴ μοι δοκεῖ ὑγίειά γε εἶναι καὶ ἀνδρῶς καὶ γυναικός.—Οὐκοῦν καὶ μέγεθος καὶ ἰσχύς; *Chrm.* 160A 'Speed is admitted to be good in various cases. Οὐκοῦν καὶ τὸ συνιέναι τὰ λεγόμενα . . . οὐχ ὡς ἡσυχαίτατα ἀλλ' ὡς τάχιστα ἐστὶ κάλλιστον . . .'

(d) In general, proceeding to a new point, or a new step in the argument: 'Now', 'Again'. *Chrm.* 166A οἶον ἡ λογιστικὴ ἐπὶ πον τοῦ ἀοτίου καὶ τοῦ περιττοῦ . . .;—Πάνυ γε, ἔφη.—Οὐκοῦν ἐτέρου ὄντος τοῦ περιττοῦ καὶ ἀοτίου αὐτῆς τῆς λογιστικῆς; *Pr.* 330C-D Ἔστιν ἄρα τοιοῦτον ἡ δικαιοσύνη οἶον δίκαιον εἶναι, φαίην ἂν ἐγώ γε ἀποκρινόμενος τῷ ἐρωτῶντι οὐκοῦν καὶ σύ;—Ναί, ἔφη.—Εἰ οὖν μετὰ τοῦτο ἡμᾶς ἔροιτο: "Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἀσιότητά τινά φατε εἶναι;" φαίμεν ἂν, ὡς ἐγῶμαι.—Ναί, ἦ δ' ὅς.—"Οὐκοῦν

φατε καὶ τοῦτο πράγμα τι εἶναι;" *Phd.* 82A: *Thl.* 144E. With ellipse of verb, *Er* 319C.

(e) Introducing a disquisition for which the interlocutor has declared himself ready or eager: 'Well'. *Men.* 76C Βούλει οὖν σοι κατὰ Γοργίαν ἀποκρίνωμαι . . .;—Βούλομαι . . .—Οὐκοῦν λέγετε ἀπορροάς τινος τῶν ὄντων κατὰ Ἐμπεδοκλέα; *R.* 456C ὅτι δὲ δὴ βέλτιστα, τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο δεῖ διομολογηθῆναι;—Δῆλον.—Οὐκοῦν . . .; *Alc.* II 125C.

In Xenophon interrogative οὐκοῦν is common, particularly in the Socratic works: his usage closely follows Plato's. *Mem.* iii 8.9 (*bis*), successive stages in an argument: *An.* i 6.7 (*bis*) successive stages in a narration: *Hier.* I. 21, a new argument.

In the orators interrogative οὐκοῦν should probably everywhere be replaced by οὐκουν. The tentative and intimate tone which attaches to interrogative οὐκοῦν does not suit the character of oratory, whether political, forensic, or epideictic.

In questions in drama, also, οὐκουν should perhaps everywhere be written. *A. Smp.* 300 Βοῦν τὴν γυναῖκα ἔθηκεν Ἀργεῖα θεός.—Οὐκοῦν πελάζει Ζεὺς ἐπ' εὐκραίρω βοῖ; (οὐκοῦν *M*: οὐκουν Schuetz. Though here, perhaps, the quieter οὐκοῦν would seem more in place. The king, who does not know the details of Io's story, hazards a guess at the next step. 'Then Zeus . . .?'): *E. Cyc.* 632 Οὐκοῦν σὺ τάξεις . . .; (cf. p. 431: in *Cyc.* 241, where Wecklein says the MSS. read οὐκοῦν, editors have tacitly made the change): *El.* 357 Ἰσασιν, οὐδὲν τῶνδ' ἔχουσιν ἐνδεές.—Οὐκοῦν πάλαι χρῆν τοῖσδ' ἀνεπτύχθαι πύλας; (cf. *Ar.* *An.* 1185 οὐκουν): 662 Καὶ μὴν ἐπ' αὐτάς γ' εἰσι σῶν δόμων πύλας.—Οὐκοῦν τραπεύσθαι σμικρὸν εἰς Αἴδου τόδε; ('Well, is not that a short step to Hades?'): *Ba.* 191.

οὐκοῦν οὐ, οὐκοῦν . . . οὐ, expecting a negative answer: *Pi. Philb.* 43D οὐκοῦν οὐκ ἂν εἴη . . .;—Πῶς γὰρ ἂν: *Thl.* 204A: *Men.* 89A.

In *X. Cyr.* iv 3.17 οὐκοῦν is rather curiously used in an interrogative main clause following a relative clause: ὦν δὲ δὴ μάλιστα δοκῶ ζῶων, ἔφη, ἐξηλωκέναι ἵπποκενταύρους . . . οὐκοῦν καὶ κάγω ταῦτα ἵππεὺς γενόμενος συγκομίζομαι πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν; (οὐκοῦν

om. D). The livelier οὐκουν (Herwerden, Marchant) certainly seems more in place here.

(3) Οὐκοῦν (positive) in statements. Often in drama, where the texts give οὐκοῦν, as introducing a statement, the livelier interrogative οὐκουν seems more appropriate (as my translations indicate), while the quieter interrogative οὐκοῦν is also possible. (In some places editors have already substituted οὐκουν, with or without the support of inferior MSS.: e.g. A.Eu.725: S.Aj.79: Ph.1270.)

A.Th.248 Στένει πόλισμα γῆθεν, ὡς κυκλουμένων.—Οὐκοῦν ἔμ' ἀρκεί τῶνδε βουλευεῖν πέρι ('Well, am I not capable of dealing with that?'): S.OT342 Ἡξει γὰρ αὐτὰ . . .—Οὐκοῦν ἄ γ' ἤξει καὶ σὲ χρῆ λέγειν ἐμοί: Ant.91 ἀλλ' ἀμηχάνων ἐρᾶς.—Οὐκοῦν, ὅταν δὴ μὴ σθένω, πεπαύσομαι: 817 Ἀχέροντι νυμφεύσω.—Οὐκοῦν κλεινὴ καὶ ἔπαινον ἔχουσ' ἐς τόδ' ἀπέρχη κεῦθος νεκύων ('Well, are you not dying a glorious death?' Jebb's 'therefore' is inappropriate): E.Hipp.332 (Οὐκ οὔν . . .; Wil.): Heracl.111 Οὐκοῦν . . . χρῆν (cf. E.El.357 (p. 435)): Ph.979 Ποῖ δῆτα φεύγω; . . .;—Ὅπου χθονὸς τῆσδ' ἐκποδῶν μάλιστ' ἔσῃ.—Οὐκοῦν σὲ φράζειν εἰκός, ἐκπονεῖν δ' ἐμέ: 1653 Οὐκ ἔννομον γὰρ τὴν δίκην πράσσεσθέ νιν.—Εἶπερ γε πόλεως ἐχθρὸς ἦν οὐκ ἐχθρὸς ὦν.—Οὐκοῦν ἔδωκε τῇ τύχῃ τὸν δαίμονα ('Well, has he not paid his penalty already?'): El.239 'I have come to see how you are'.—Οὐκοῦν ὀρᾶς μου πρῶτον ὡς ξηρὸν δέμας: Ar.Pl.929 Καὶ μὴν προσελθέτω . . . ὁ βουλόμενος.—Οὐκοῦν ἐκεῖνός εἰμ' ἐγώ ('Well, am I not the man?', echoing 918): E.El.355 (the Farmer speaks with a touch of bitterness): S.OT342: E.IT810: Rh.161: Or.780,788: Ba.959: Ar.Pl.587,1087.

But in a few other passages in drama the more deliberate οὐκοῦν, with a statement, seems preferable. S.El.799 Οὐκοῦν ἀποστείχοιμ' ἄν: Ar.Ec.853 Οὐκοῦν βαδιοῦμαι δῆτα. In Pax43 the force is 'now' (Rogers), going on to a new point, rather than 'then'.

In Plato, as I have observed above (2), οὐκοῦν always appears to have some measure of interrogative force. Two types are, at first sight, difficult to reconcile with this view:—

(a) Οὐκοῦν with the imperative. Phidr.274B Οὐκοῦν τὸ μὲν . . .

ικανῶς ἐχέτω: 278B Οὐκοῦν ἤδη πεπαίσθω μετρίως ἡμῖν τὰ περὶ λόγων. Kühner (II ii 165) observes that οὐκοῦν is seen here at the furthest remove from its original significance: but des Places (p. 158) rightly detects an interrogative tone here also: 'nicht-wahr?'. (It is worth remarking that the instances occur with the third person imperative, the tone of which is less sharp than that of the second: hardly at all sharper, in fact, than that of the first person subjunctive: La.195A Οὐκοῦν διδάσκωμεν αὐτὸν . . .)\*

(b) Occasionally, in Plato, οὐκοῦν, in the phrase οὐκοῦν χρῆ, seems to be assentient rather than logical: cf. τοίνυν, I.1. Des Places remarks (p. 207): 'L'idée introduite par οὐκοῦν suit de ce qui précède': and renders 'Eh bien alors, c'est ce qu'il faut faire'. As in the case of assentient γάρ, so here, the logical force merges insensibly in the assentient. Here, for example, is a border-line passage: Sprh.246A τοὺς δὲ ἄλλως λέγοντας αὐθεατέον . . .—Οὐκοῦν πορεύεσθαι χρῆ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους. More purely assentient are the following: Thl.206C τὸ δὲ προκείμενον μὴ ἐπιλαθώμεθα δι' αὐτὰ ἰδεῖν . . .—Οὐκοῦν χρῆ ὀρᾶν: Sprh.229D ἔτι καὶ τοῦτο σκεπτέον . . .—Οὐκοῦν χρῆ σκοπεῖν: Lg.713A Ἄρ' οὔν μύθῳ σμικρά γ' ἔτι προσχρηστέον . . .;—Οὐκοῦν χρῆ ταύτη δρᾶν; (It is not easy to understand why Burnet differentiates this from the other passages by printing it as a question. But the inconsistency illustrates the fluidity of the distinction between question and statement.)

Οὐκοῦν χρῆ, elliptical. P.462E ὦρα ἂν εἴη ἐπανιέναι . . .—Οὐκοῦν χρῆ, ἔφη: 559A: Sprh.225D,254D: Plt.282D,283C,289D: Phlb.55D,66D.

Des Places observes that all the instances of οὐκοῦν χρῆ are from Plato's later work.

Of this assentient force of οὐκοῦν there appear to be some slight traces in drama. S.Ph.639 ἴωμεν . . .—Οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴν πνεῦμα τοῦκ πρόρας ἀνῆ, τότε στελοῦμεν ('Aye, we will sail, when . . .': but perhaps, simply, 'We will sail, then, when . . .'). E.Hel.454 Αἰαῖ τὰ κλεινὰ ποῦ ἔστι μοι στρατεύματα:—Οὐκοῦν ἐκεῖ που σεμνὸς ἦσθ', οὐκ ἐνθάδε ('Aye, . . . thou wast in high estate'): Ion1289 Ἀλλ' ἐγενόμεσθα πατρὸς οὐσίαν λέγω.—Οὐκοῦν τότ' ἦσθα νῦν δ' ἐγώ, σὺ δ' οὐκέτι.

But it is possible that in some, or all, of these passages οὐκοῦν . . .; should be read, with a strong stress on the temporal or local



adverb. E.g. *Hel.* 454 'Well, doesn't your *σεμνότης* show itself in *Troyland*, not here?'

In *Ar.Pax* 364 the absence of a verb is remarkable: Ἀπόλωλας, ὦ κακόδαιμον.—Οὐκοῦν, ἦν λάχω ('I suppose I shall, if my lot is drawn', Sharpley, who adds, 'Still, οὐκοῦν, standing alone with the verb understood, sadly needs confirmation'. Οὐκ, ἦν μή, Dobree). *Pl.R.* 337D is only superficially similar: ἀπότεισον ἀργύριον.—Οὐκοῦν ἐπειδάν μοι γένηται, εἶπον: this is, I think, slightly interrogative, 'When I *get* some then, eh?' For the connexion, cf. *τοίνυν* in *Pl.Euthphr.* 15E.

It remains to consider the use of οὐκοῦν in statements in prose writers other than Plato. In the earlier fourth-century prose, up to and including Isocrates, there are but few examples.

In Thucydides, our MSS. only give οὐκοῦν in *iii* 63.2, and here perhaps οὐκουν χρῆν . . . ; should be read (οὐκ οὖν . . . ; Steup). *And.* *iii* 10 ἀναμνήσθητε, τί ὑμῖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπεθέμεν τῷ λόγῳ. ἄλλο τι ἢ τοῦτο, ὅτι . . . ; οὐκοῦν ἀποδέδεικται ('Well, I have proved it'): *iii* 14 'Why should we go to war For this reason or for that? ἀλλ' ὅπως τὰς νήσους κομισώμεθα . . . ; οὐκοῦν διαρρήδην γέγραπται ταύτας Ἀθηναίων εἶναι' ('Well': the previous answers are introduced by ἀλλά, or asyndetically. οὐκουν . . . ; is possible here again and in the preceding example): *Lys.* *iv* 5 οὐκοῦν ἦλθον ('I came, then'): *Isoc.* *iv* 184 (introducing minor premise): *xv* 253 (marking new stage in argument: 'Now').

In Demosthenes and Aeschines, on the other hand, οὐκοῦν in statements is very common. The varieties of usage correspond pretty closely with those of Platonic interrogative or quasi-interrogative οὐκοῦν.

(i) With full logical force, 'therefore'. *D.* *xix* 179 φαίνεται δ' οὗτος πάντα τάναντία τοῖς νόμοις . . . πεπρεσβευκῶς οὐκοῦν ἐαλωκέναι προσήκει παρά γε νοῦν ἔχουσι δικασταῖς: *vi* 14: *Aeschin.* *i* 73, 164.

(ii) Less strictly logical, summing up what precedes, rather than drawing a formal inference from it: 'then', 'well'. *D.* *xix* 178 συλλογίσασθαι δὴ βούλομαι τὰ κατηγορημέν' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ἵν' ὅσ' ὑμῖν ὑπεσχόμεν ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου δείξω πεποιηκῶς. ἐπέδειξ' . . . οὐκοῦν ταῦθ' ὑπεσχόμεν ἐν ἀρχῇ, ταῦτ' ἐπέδειξα: *xxiv*

*109*: *Aeschin.* *iii* 172. Often after the reading of documents: *D.* *xviii* 119, 136, 218.

(iii) Progressive, going on to a new stage in narration or argument. *D.* *xix* 130 'What did Philip pray, but that . . . ? οὐκοῦν ταῦτα συνήχεθ' οὗτος' ('Well, Aeschines joined in that prayer'): *279* "οὐδ' ἐπιστέλλοντες", φησί, "τάληθῆ". οὐκοῦν οὐδ' οὔτοι ('Well, neither did they': whereas in *xviii* 117 there is a fuller logical force in οὐκοῦν): *viii* 15, 75: *xix* 205, 286: *xxiii* 17: *lvi* 40: *Aeschin.* *i* 75, 153.

(iv) Introducing minor premise of enthymeme: 'well', 'now'. *D.* *xxi* 147 τὸ δ' ὅλως ἀφανίζειν ἱερὰ ἔσθ' ὃ τι τοῦ κόπτειν διαφέρει οὐκοῦν οὗτος ἐξελέλεγκται τοῦτο ποιῶν: *xviii* 247 (conclusion introduced by ὥστε): *xxiv* 53 (conclusion introduced by *τοίνυν*).

(v) Inceptive, 'well', 'now'. *D.* *xxxiv* 5 σκέψασθε . . . ὃ τι ὁμολογεῖται παρ' αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ τί ἀντιλέγεται . . . οὐκοῦν δανείσασθαι μὲν τὰ χρήματα ὁμολογοῦσι: *xvi* 4: *xxiv* 108.

In an answer in hypophora. *D.* *xxv* 48 ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῷ ἄρχοντι (χρῆ) λαβεῖν δίκην; οὐκοῦν ἐπικλήρων . . . τῷ ἄρχοντι προστέτακται ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ('Well, the archon's business is . . .'. The answers are varied in form, as in *And.* *iii* 14: see above).

The negative form is οὐκοῦν οὐ: *D.* *xvi* 4 οὐκοῦν οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ἀντίποι: *Hyp.Phil.* 10 οὐκοῦν οὐκ ἄξιον. In a negative command: *Aeschin.* *i* 59 οὐκοῦν μὴ . . . αὐτομολήσης.

(4) Οὐκουν (negative) in statements. *E.IT* 601 οὐκουν δίκαιον ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῷ τοῦδ' ἐμὲ χάριν τίθεσθαι: *Med.* 890: *Supp.* 342: *HF* 168: *Hel.* 917: *IA* 1430: *Th.* *i* 10.3 οὐκουν ἀπιστεῖν εἰκός: *Pl.* *Ar.* 35C οὐκουν χρῆ οὔτε ἡμᾶς ἐθίζειν: *X.Cyr.* *v* 5.41 οὐκουν καλῶς ἂν πράττοιμι: *And.* *i* 40 λέγειν . . . ὡς ἴδοι ἡμᾶς ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ νυκτὶ οὐκουν δέοιτο παρὰ τῆς πόλεως χρήματα λαβεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ παρ' ἡμῶν (progressive: 'Well, he didn't want . . .'): *D.* *viii* 42 οὐκουν βούλεται τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καιροῖς τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν ἐλευθερίαν ἐφεδρεύειν: *Ant.* *v* 67 (οὐκοῦν *NA pr.*, *corr.* 2): *And.* *iv* 37: *Lys.* *vi* 14: *D.* *xviii* 281: *xix* 93: *et saep.*

(5) οὐκ οὖν, *separatim*. οὐκ and οὖν are sometimes (οικω customarily) found written separately, for οὐκουν, in questions

and (rarely) in statements. It is difficult to find any appreciable distinction in meaning accompanying the difference in orthography.

E.IA 528 Οὐκ οὖν δοκεῖς νιν . . . λέγειν . . . ; Heracl. 255, 262, 525, 971 : IA 528 : Rh. 481, 543, 585, 633 : Ph. 1589 : Hdt. ii 139 οὐκ ὄν ποιήσιν ταῦτα : v 92 η 5 οὐκ ὄν παύσεσθε . . . ; Pl. Grg. 467 B Οὐκ οὖν ποιῶσιν ἃ βούλονται ; Chrm. 172 E Οὐκ οὖν, ἔφη, καλῶς ὁμολογήσαμεν ; Hdt. i 59, 206, 209 : iv 118 : v 79 : vii 206. 2 : Lys. x 12 : Isoc. xviii 21 : Aeschin. iii 179 : D. xxxiv 49.

With word intervening. Pl. R. 333 E οὐκ ἂν οὖν . . . εἴη (οὐκ ἂν οὖν in marg. A : οὐκοῦν ADFM) : Th. i 9. 4 οὐκ ἂν οὖν νήσων . . . ἐκράτει.

To determine the chronological sequence and evolution of the four forms examined above is not an easy task. Our difficulties are increased by the unsatisfactory nature of the manuscript tradition, which is, as I think I have shown, so often at fault that it cannot be made the basis of investigation (or only with great reserve). We have to remember that the invention of accents is attributed to Aristophanes of Byzantium : while the mark of interrogation first appears about the eighth or ninth century.<sup>1</sup>

To start with, we shall be fairly safe in assuming that one or other of the interrogative forms is the earliest. We have seen (III. 1) that in Aeschylus connective οὖν is almost entirely limited to questions : and it is natural that the same limitation should have applied to the negative form. Further, of the two interrogative forms, everything points to the priority of οὐκουν. In the manuscripts of drama it predominates strongly over οὐκοῦν : and reasons have been given for substituting οὐκουν in the great majority of cases where interrogative οὐκοῦν is found. The evolution of a milder form of question, by shifting the accent on to the οὖν ('Then, is it not so . . . ?', for 'So then . . . ?'), is a natural development, though, perhaps by reason of the varying tone and content of Greek literature in its different stages, it is only seen fully developed in Plato and Xenophon. Finally, the appearance of οὐκοῦν as a connecting particle in pure state-

<sup>1</sup> Maunde Thompson, *Greek and Latin Palaeography*, pp. 60-1.

ments, divested of every shred of interrogative force, can hardly be put earlier than the middle of the fourth century.<sup>1</sup>

The remaining form, οὐκουν in statements, presumably originated independently when οὖν came into regular use as a connecting particle in statements. I know of no example earlier than E. Med. 890.

V. οὖν combined with other particles. For εἴτ' οὖν, οὔτ' οὖν, τε οὖν (οὖν reinforcing τε, 'both, in fact', 'and, in fact'), οὐδ' οὖν, see II. 1-3. For οὐκουν . . . γε, οὖν . . . γε, see II. 5. For ἀλλ' οὖν, καὶ οὖν, γὰρ οὖν, γοῦν, δ' οὖν. οὖν δὴ, δὴ οὖν. μὲν οὖν, see below. For οὖν δῆτα, οὐκουν δῆτα, δῆτ' οὖν, see δῆτα, I. 6, IV. 2. For οὖν ἄρα, see ἄρα, V.

The collocation of prospective τε with connective οὖν, though no less natural than the common μὲν οὖν . . . δέ, appears in general to have been avoided, though Plato tolerates it, and even shows a certain liking for it. Thus *Ti.* 20 C πάρεμί τε οὖν δὴ κεκοσμημένος ἐπ' αὐτὰ καὶ πάντων ἐτοιμότατος ὧν δέχεσθαι (for π. ο. δ. κ. τε : 'Suivant une habitude de Platon, τε se trouve rapproché de οὖν', des Places, p. 34) :<sup>2</sup> Hdt. i 70 τούτων τε ὧν εἵνεκεν . . . καὶ ὅτι . . . : vi 86 α 5 ταῦτά τε ὧν ἐπιλεγόμενῳ καὶ βουλευομένῳ ἔδοξέ μοι . . . (here, again, the collocation appears to be sought) : Pl. Phd. 112 C : Prt 345 C : Smp. 191 C, 209 B : Phdr. 242 E, 252 D : Euthd. 274 D : Sph. 237 B : Lg 717 D, 943 E : Aen. Tact. 18. 13. Collocation with adverbial τε : Pl. R. 451 E Οἶόν τ' οὖν.

In Pl. *Th.* 210 B, B's οὖν τοίνυν is clearly impossible.

### 'Αλλ' οὖν

In ἀλλ' οὖν (not found before Aeschylus) ἀλλά bears one or other of the shades of meaning expressed by simple ἀλλά : while οὖν adds the notion of essentiality or importance. Very

<sup>1</sup> The derivation of οὐκοῦν in statements from οὐκοῦν in questions is maintained by Kühner (II ii 163). Baumlein, with less probability, makes interrogative οὐκουν the father of affirmative οὐκοῦν, and the grandfather of interrogative οὐκοῦν : 'Isn't it, then . . . ?' : 'Then . . . ?' : 'Then . . . ?'

<sup>2</sup> Des Places only gives examples, not an exhaustive list : I add a few to his, but there are no doubt more.

frequently γε follows at a short interval, denoting that the idea is to be emphatically accepted in a limited sphere. ἀλλ' οὖν γε, juxtaposed, is read in Isoc.xx14, ἀλλ' οὖν γ' ἐπειδὴν γνωρισθῶσι, προσήκει πᾶσι μισεῖν τοὺς τοιούτους (γ' om. V): Lycurg. 141 ἀλλ' οὖν γε περὶ προδοσίας (περὶ προδοσίας γε Benseler). The juxtaposition of the words can hardly stand in classical Greek. ([Arist.] Mu.397b12, post-classical). Cf. ἀλλά γε (ἀλλά, IV.1) and see γε, V.2.i.

(1) In answers, introducing an objection, protest, or remonstrance. A.Th.217 Οὐκ οὖν τὰδ' ἔσται πρὸς θεῶν;—Ἀλλ' οὖν θεοὺς τοὺς τῆς ἀλούσης πόλεος ἐκλείπειν λόγος ('Aye, but'): E.Ion 1325 μήτερ, οὐ τεκοῦσά περ.—Ἀλλ' οὖν λεγώμεθ': Heracl.689 Οὐκ ἔστιν, ὦ τᾶν, ἢ ποτ' ἦν ῥώμη σέθεν.—Ἀλλ' οὖν μαχοῦνται γ' ἀριθμὸν οὐκ ἐλάσσοσι ('But anyway'): Ar.Nu.985 Ἀρχαία γε . . .—Ἀλλ' οὖν ταῦτ' ἔστιν ἐκεῖνα, ἐξ ὧν ἄνδρας Μαραθωνομάχας ἡμῆ παιδεύσεις ἔθρεψεν ('Well, anyhow, these are the ideas that produced the men of Marathon'): 1002 τοῖς Ἰπποκράτους υἱέσιν εἴξεις . . .—Ἀλλ' οὖν λιπαρός γε . . . διατρίψεις: V.1129 Philocleon refuses to give up his favourite coat. Bδ. Ἀλλ' οὖν πεπειράσθω γε ('Well, have a try, anyhow'): Av.1408 Καταγελάς μου, δῆλος εἶ. ἀλλ' οὖν ἔγωγ' οὐ παύσομαι ('But I won't stop': referring, perhaps, to 1397 ἢ γ' σου καταπαύσω τὰς πνοάς): Th.710: Ra.1298: Pl.Sph.237C Χαλεπὸν ἤρου καὶ . . . ἄπορον.—Ἀλλ' οὖν τοῦτό γε δῆλον, ὅτι . . .: Phlb.13C.

(2) In continuous speech, a speaker countering his own words. More emphatic than the commoner καίτοι. E.Tr.1192 ἄθλιον θάπτω νεκρὸν . . . ἀλλ' οὖν πατράων οὐ λαχὼν ἔξεις ὅμως ἐν ἡ ταφήσῃ χαλκόνωτον ἰτέαν ('Still, you shall have your father's shield to be buried in'): IA983 αἰσχύνομαι δὲ παραφέρουσ' οἰκτροὺς λόγους, ἰδία νοσοῦσα· σὺ δ' ἄνοσος κακῶν ἐμῶν. ἀλλ' οὖν ἔχει τοι σχῆμα, κἂν ἄπωθεν ἢ ἀνὴρ ὁ χρηστός, δυστυχοῦντας ὠφελεῖν ('Still, it does look well . . .'): Pherecr.Fr.145.6 'Melaniprides was the origin of my woes. ἀλλ' οὖν ὅμως οὗτος μὲν ἦν ἀποχρῶν ἀνὴρ': ib.13,17: And.ii.18.

(3) Following upon the rejection of a suggestion. Cf. ἀλλά, II.1. Ar.V.1190 Φι. 'I can't sing of my θεωρία, because I've

never been on one.'—Bδ. Ἀλλ' οὖν λέγειν χρή σ' ὡς ἐμάχετό γ' αὐτίκα Ἐφουδίων παγκράτιον ('Well, tell how . . .').

Usually in such cases ἀλλ' οὖν introduces a more moderate suggestion, made as a *pis aller* ('Well, at least'). A.Pr.1071 The chorus refuses to leave Prometheus at Hermes' bidding. Ep. Ἀλλ' οὖν μέμνησθ' ἀγὼ προλέγω ('Well, remember my warning'): S.Ant.84 Ismene has failed to dissuade Antigone. Is. Ἀλλ' οὖν προμηνύσης γε τοῦτο μηδενὶ τοῦργον: Ph.1305 Neoptolemus will not let Philoctetes shoot at Odysseus. Φι. Ἀλλ' οὖν τοσοῦτόν γ' ἴσθι, τοὺς πρώτους στρατοῦ . . . κακοὺς ὄντας πρὸς αἰχμὴν (Philoctetes contents himself with a moral victory): El.233 ('Well, if you cannot heal your sorrows, at least forbear from making them worse'): 1035 ('Well, since you refuse to help me (1017-26), do at least realize what that refusal means').

(4) Approaching δ' οὖν or ἀλλὰ γάρ in sense, signifying an elimination of the secondary or irrelevant, a break-off in thought, a resumption of the main issue: 'Well, anyhow, however that may be.' S.Aj.535 'I removed the boy, fearing you might kill him'.—Πρέπον γέ τᾶν ἦν δαίμονος τοῦμοῦ τόδε.—Ἀλλ' οὖν ἐγὼ φύλαξα τοῦτό γ' ἀρκέσαι ('Well, anyhow, whether πρέπον or not, I stopped that happening'): Ar.Acl.620 ταῦτα δῆτ' ἀνασχετά;—Οὐ δῆτ' ἐὰν μὴ μισθοφορῇ γε Δάμαχος.—Ἀλλ' οὖν ἐγὼ μὲν πᾶσι Πελοποννησίοις ἀεὶ πολεμήσω (impatiently brushing away the taunt): V.1434 Bδ. Ὅμοιά σου καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς ἄλλοις τρόποις.—Κατήγορος. Ἀλλ' οὖν σὺ μέμνησ' αὐτὸς ἀπεκρίνατο ('Well, you remember his answer'). The Accuser is not interested in Philocleon's ἄλλοι τρόποι: A.Pr.1058: E.Alc.363: Pl.Pr.310A Διπλῆ ἂν εἴη ἡ χάρις. ἀλλ' οὖν ἀκούετε (getting to business, after the interchange of compliments): Phd.102D Ἐοικα, ἔφη, καὶ συγγραφικῶς ἐρεῖν, ἀλλ' οὖν ἔχει γέ που ὡς λέγω (the essential point is the matter, not the style): Cra.411D φορᾶς γάρ ἐστι (ἢ "φρόνησις") καὶ ῥοῦ νόησις. εἴη δ' ἂν καὶ ὄνησιν ὑπολαβεῖν φορᾶς· ἀλλ' οὖν περὶ γε τὸ φέρεσθαί ἐστιν (the first part of the word is what matters): Ep.316A ἀλλ' οὖν, ὅπερ ἀρτίως εἶπον, οὐ διαβολῆς προσδέομαι: 319C ἀλλ' οὖν ὧν ἕνεκα πάντ' εἴρηται ταῦτ' ἐστί: Euthd.302D Οὐκοῦν καὶ οὗτοι σοὶ θεοὶ ἂν εἴεν; ἔφη.—Προγονοί, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, καὶ δεσπότηται.—Ἀλλ' οὖν σοὶ γε, ἔφη ('Well, )

anyhow'): *Ap.* 27C οὐκοῦν δαιμόνια μὲν φῆς με καὶ νομίζειν καὶ διδάσκειν, εἴτ' οὖν καινὰ εἴτε παλαιά, ἀλλ' οὖν δαιμόνιά γε νομίζω: *Aeschin.* iii 11 μέτριοι εἰσιν, εἰ δὴ τις ἐστὶ μέτριος τῶν τὰ παράνομα γραφόντων· ἀλλ' οὖν προβάλλονται γέ τι πρὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης (brushing aside the reservation implied in εἰ . . . γραφόντων): *Pl. Cra.* 413D: *Prt.* 327C: *Ly.* 221A: *R.* 501A, 509D: *Lg.* 770B: *D.* xix 249.

(5) μὲν . . . ἀλλ' οὖν. *Pl. Men.* 84A (ἐννοεῖς) ὅτι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἤδει μὲν οὐ . . . , ὥσπερ οὐδὲ νῦν πω οἶδεν, ἀλλ' οὖν ᾤετό γ' αὐτὴν τότε εἰδέναι . . . νῦν δὲ ἠγείται ἀπορεῖν ἤδη (the first μὲν is answered by δέ: the second is answered by ἀλλ' οὖν, which also has a quasi-resumptive force after the parenthesis: 'just as he doesn't know now, either: but the point is that then he *thought* he knew'): *D.* lviii 26 ἐτι δὲ τῶν τοῦ ἐμπορίου μόλις μὲν, ἀλλ' οὖν ταῦτ' αὐτοῖς μεμαρτυρηκότων ('They gave their evidence with reluctance, but they *did* give evidence to the same effect.')

(6) Apodotic, after concessive conditional clauses, or their equivalent: 'Even if . . . , still' (cf. ἀλλά, II.2): cf. (3): especially ἀλλ' οὖν . . . γε, 'still, at least'. Rare in verse. *E. Cyc.* 652 χειρὶ δ' εἰ μὴδὲν σθένεις, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐπεγκέλευέ γ': *Ph.* 498 Ἐμοὶ μὲν, εἰ καὶ μὴ καθ' Ἑλλήνων χθόνα τεθράμμεθ', ἀλλ' οὖν ξυνετὰ μοι δοκεῖς λέγειν: *Hr. Art.* 14 εἰ δὲ μὴ τελέως ἰδρυθῆι, ἀλλ' οὖν τὸ ὑπερέχον γε . . . γίνεται: *Pl. Grg.* 5C6B ἐπειδὴ . . . οὐκ ἐθέλεις συνδιαπερᾶναι τὸν λόγον, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐμοῦ γε ἀκούων ἐπιλαμβάνου: *Phd.* 91B εἰ δὲ μὴδὲν ἐστὶ τελευτήσαντι, ἀλλ' οὖν τοῦτόν γε τὸν χρόνον . . . ἤττον τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀηδῆς ἔσομαι ὀδυρόμενος: *Isoc.* v 68 ἐν οἷς κατορθώσας μὲν . . . καταστήσεις . . . διαμαρτῶν δὲ τῆς προσδοκίας ἀλλ' οὖν τήν γ' εὐνοίαν κτήσει (after a participial clause equivalent to a conditional): *D.* ix 30 ὅσα μὲν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων . . . ἐπασχον . . . ἀλλ' οὖν ὑπὸ γνησίων γ' ὄντων τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἠδικούντο: *Pl. Sph.* 254C: *Pl.* 279B: *Lg.* 885E: *La.* 186B: *Alc.* II 148C: *X. Hier.* 2.9: *Agcs.* 2.21: *Cym.* 2.1: *Isoc.* iv 171: xi 33: *D.* xvi 31: xi 47.

(As ἀλλ' οὖν is not elsewhere found in Herodotus, it seems better in iii 140 to read ὦν: ἔδωκας, εἰ καὶ σμικρά, ἀλλ' ὦν ἴση γε ἡ χάρις . . . . Moreover this gives a smoother construction.)

(7) With ellipse of contrasted idea, 'at least' (cf. ἀλλά, II.3). *Isoc.* xv 314 τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους ἀλλ' οὖν πειρᾶσθαί γε λαυθάνειν ('do at any rate *try* to avoid detection'): *Aeschin.* iii 86 τοὺς μὲν πρῶτους χρόνους ἀλλ' οὖν προσεποιούνη ὑμῖν εἶναι φίλοι: *X. Cyr.* i 4.19 'Are those the enemy?' — 'Yes.' — *Nῆ τὸν Δί',* ἔφη, ὦ πάππε, ἀλλ' οὖν πονηροί γε φαινόμενοι καὶ ἐπὶ πονηρῶν ἵππαρίων ἄγουσιν ἡμῶν τὰ χρήματα. ('They're not much to *look* at, anyhow' (whatever hidden qualities they may possess), 'these people who are raiding us.' I think this is the force, rather than 'But, really'.)

(An assentient force of ἀλλ' οὖν (cf. ἀλλά, ἀλλὰ μέντοι) cannot, as I once thought, be established by *Pl. Phlb.* 65E. If Stallbaum's ἀλλ' οὖν (for ἄρ' οὖν), adopted by Burnet, is right, it may be taken as combating the afterthought ἢ τούναντίον.)

A reinforced form ἀλλ' οὖν δὴ is occasionally found in Plato: *Phd.* 100A: *R.* 526D, 544A (with a slight anacoluthon after the preceding μὲν), 552E, 602B.

### Καὶ οὖν

This is a very rare combination, 'And, in fact'. *Pl. Prt.* 309B καὶ γὰρ πολλὰ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ εἶπε βοηθῶν ἐμοί, καὶ οὖν καὶ ἄρτι ἀπ' ἐκείνου ἔρχομαι: *Phdr.* 235A 'The style of the piece seemed to me inadequate. καὶ οὖν μοι ἔδοξεν . . . δις καὶ τρις τὰ αὐτὰ εἰρηκέναι' (καὶ οὖν Hermann: καὶ δὴ οὖν Stephanus: δικαιούν B: δίκαιον οὖν T).

καὶ . . . οὖν. *Hr. Morb.* ii 39 καὶ οἱ πυρετοὶ ἐπαύσαντο οὖν (οὖν in most MSS.): 53 καὶ ἐρράγη οὖν τὸ αἷμα.

### Γὰρ οὖν

In Homer οὖν in γὰρ οὖν (usually τόφρα γὰρ οὖν) always has a backward reference. *B* 350 πρὶν καὶ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο γνώμεναι εἶτε ψεῦδος ὑπόσχεσις, εἴτε καὶ οὐκί. φημὶ γὰρ οὖν κατανεῦσαι μένεα Κρονίωνα ἡματι τῷ ('that Zeus did in fact promise') + τόφρα γὰρ οὖν ἐπόμεσθα διὰ σπιδίος πεδίοιο (as described above):

0232 σοὶ δ' αὐτῷ μελέτω, ἐκατηβόλε, φαίδιμος Ἔκτωρ· τόφρα γὰρ οὖν οἱ ἐγειρε μένος μέγα (221 ἔρχεο νῦν, φίλε Φοῖβε, μεθ' Ἔκτορα): β123 τόφρα γὰρ οὖν βίωτόν τε τεὸν καὶ κτήματ' ἔδονται (against which Telemachus has protested above): *h.Merc.*291 τοῦτο γὰρ οὖν . . . γέρας ἔξεις· ἀρχὸς φηλητέων κεκλήσεαι (282 ἡπεροπευτὰ δολοφραδέ κ.τ.λ.).

In post-Homeric Greek οὖν adds to γὰρ the idea of importance or essentiality. It seems, on the whole, to have greater independent importance than δὴ in γὰρ δὴ: though it is often hard to distinguish between γὰρ οὖν and γὰρ δὴ. γὰρ οὖν is never found in Thucydides, Aristotle, or the orators (in *Isoc.*v7 ὅπως γὰρ οὖν is for ὅπως οὖν γὰρ: cf. *Arist.EI*118ob25), and it is rare in comedy (hence Kalinka's view, that it was revived from colloquial speech by Plato and Xenophon, lacks probability).

(1) In general. *Pi.*1.2 12 ἐσσι γὰρ ὦν σοφός· οὐκ ἄγνωτ' αἰείδω (looking forward): *S.Ant.*741 Ὀδ', ὡς εἰκε, τῇ γυναικὶ συμμαχεῖ.—Εἵπερ γυνὴ σὺ σοῦ γὰρ οὖν προκίδομαι ('For it is thou, in truth, I care for'): 771 Ἄμφω γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ κατακτεῖναι νοεῖς;—Οὐ τὴν γε μὴ θιγοῦσαν· εὖ γὰρ οὖν λέγεις ('You are certainly right there': cf. 1255): *OC*98ο γάμους . . . οἴους ἐρῶ ταχ'· οὐ γὰρ οὖν σιγήσομαι ('In sooth, I will not hold my peace'): *E.Med.*533 ὅπη γὰρ οὖν ὤνησας, οὐ κακῶς ἔχει ('Where you have helped me'): *Or.*1147 μὴ γὰρ οὖν ζῶην ἔτι, ἦν μὴ . . . : *Ar.*V.726 Ἡ που σοφὸς ἦν ὅστις ἔφασκεν· πρὶν ἂν ἀμφοῖν μῦθον ἀκούσης, οὐκ ἂν δικάσαις. σὺ γὰρ οὖν νῦν μοι νικᾶν πολλῶν δεδόκησαι: *Av.*39 οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὖν τέττιγες . . . Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ . . . (simply sharpens antithesis): *A.Ag.*674: *Eu.*368 (lyr.): *S.Ph.*298,766: *E.Hipp.*666: *Ba.*922: *El.*200: *Ion*1614: *Ar.Pax*892 (οὖν *add.* *Herm.*): *Hdt.*194.3 ἐξευρεθῆναι . . . τῶν ἀλλέων πασέων παιγνιέων τὰ εἶδεα, πλὴν πεπσῶν· τούτων γὰρ ὦν τὴν ἐξεύρεσιν οὐκ οἰκηιοῦνται Λυδοί: *Pl.* *Smp*218B ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὖν . . . ὃ τε λύχνος ἀπεσβήκει . . . (the climax of the story): *Sph.*261A εἰκεν ἀληθὲς εἶναι τὸ περὶ τὸν σοφιστὴν κατ' ἀρχὰς λεχθέν, ὅτι δυσσθήρευτον εἶη τὸ γένος. φαίνεται γὰρ οὖν προβλημάτων γέμειν ('He really does seem to be a mass of problems'): *R.*451A ἐλπίζω γὰρ οὖν ἕλαττον ἀμάρτημα ἀκουσίως τινὸς φονέα γενέσθαι ἢ ἀπατεῶνα καλῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ δικαίων νομίμων πέρι (a daring assertion: 'I really do think'): *Hdt.*1182: ii 127,131: iii 131: v 1.2: 34.1: vi 58.2: ix 31.5: 96.2:

99.2: *Pl.Ap.*30C: *Plt.*287D: *Ti.*22C,77B: *Lg.*647B,688C,738B,792C,E.

(2) In parenthesis. *Xenoph.Fr.*1.16 ταῦτα γὰρ ὦν ἐστὶ προχειρότερον (*sc.* εὐξασθαι: 'for this, in truth . . .'): *Ar.Th.*164 καὶ Φρόνιχος, τοῦτον γὰρ οὖν ἀκήκοας ('You've heard of him (even if you've never heard of Ibycus and Anacreon)'): *Hdt.*149 οὐ γὰρ ὦν οὐδὲ τοῦτο λέγεται: (cf. iii 121 οὐ γὰρ ὦν δὴ): *Pl.Smp.*209A οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν (εἰσὶ γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη, οἱ ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς κυοῦσιν) ('for there are, in fact, . . .'): *Phdr.*247C ἔχει δὲ ᾧδε (τολμητέον γὰρ οὖν τό γε ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν): *Hdt.*viii 128.1: 133: ix 32.2: *Pl.* *Ti.*21C.

(3) As a stronger form of assentient γὰρ: often in Platonic dialogue: *Grg.*466E Φημι γὰρ οὖν ('Yes, I do say so'): *Chrm.*167E Οὐ γὰρ οὖν (elliptical: *Phd.*93E,104C: *R.*376D,394E): *Cra.*421D: *Thl.*199B: *R.*357D,388E,397E: *X.Oec.*19.1: *Cyr.*16.22: 6.25: ii 1.8: v 5.17.

(4) γὰρ οὖν δὴ (Plato only, except *Hdt.*iii 121 οὐ γὰρ ὦν δὴ). *Pl.Chrm.*169B τὴν γὰρ οὖν δὴ σωφροσύνην ὠφέλιμόν τι καὶ ἀγαθὸν μαντεύομαι εἶναι: *Ti.*84E ὦν καὶ τὸ φάρμακον χαλεπὸν πυρετοῖ γὰρ οὖν δὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιγιγνόμενοι μάλιστα λύουσιν: *Lg.*682A, 686B: *Plt.*270B,306B: *R.*615D.

Assentient: *Pl.Thl.*189B,205D: *R.*389A,476B: *Prm.*148C: *Plt.*269A,303E.

(5) In a few passages in Plato's later works γὰρ οὖν, γὰρ οὖν δὴ are used where the context would appear rather to demand a forward-pointing connective, οὖν or δὴ. That is to say, the sequel is regarded as implicitly contained in, rather than as following from, the preceding thought: explanatory γὰρ (see γὰρ, II) being pushed almost beyond its proper limits.

*Plt.*270B Λογισάμενοι δὴ συννοήσωμεν τὸ πάθος . . . ἐστὶ γὰρ οὖν οὖν δὴ τοῦτ' αὐτό.—Τὸ ποῖον; (cf. *Philb.*37A Διορισώμεθα δὲ σαφέστερον . . . ἐστὶν γὰρ που . . .): *Lg.*637D ἡμῖν δ' ἐστὶ νῦν οὐ περὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἄλλων ὁ λόγος, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν κακίας τε καὶ ἀρετῆς. ἔτι γὰρ οὖν εἴπωμεν πλείω περὶ ἀπάσης μέθης (explanatory of ὁ λόγος): 858C 'We can afford to be theoretical'.—Γένοιτο γοῦν ἂν . . . κατὰ φύσιν μέλλον

ἡμῖν ἢ σύνοψις τῶν νόμων. ἴδωμεν γὰρ οὖν, ὡς πρὸς θεῶν, τὸ τοιόνδε περὶ νομοθετῶν ('Well, let us see...'): 926E ἐμμελῆ τοῦτοῖς τε αὐτοῖς... προοιμιασάμενοι καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις. εἰς τινα γὰρ οὖν μοι καιρὸν φαινόμεθα τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν λόγους διεξελεθῆναι (explanatory of προοιμιασάμενοι).

(6) ἀλλὰ... γὰρ οὖν. S.O.C.985.

For καὶ γὰρ οὖν, see καὶ γάρ, p. 112.

### Γοῦν

(Negative normally οὐκ οὖν... γε: see οὖν, II.5.)

There can be no doubt that γοῦν is formed by the coalescence of γε and οὖν. But how far, and in what circumstances, γ' οὖν, *separatim*, should be retained in our texts, or imported into them, is a disputed question.<sup>1</sup>

The number of passages in which our texts give γ' οὖν is relatively small, and the following list is in all probability approximately complete. In both the Homeric examples the particles are written separately: E.258 τούτω δ' οὐ πάλιν αὐτὶς ἀποίσετον ὠκέες ἵπποι ἄμφω ἀφ' ἡμείων, εἴ γ' οὖν ἕτερός γε φύγησιν (here εἴ γε has the rare force of 'even if': see γε, I.8: there is no parallel for such a use of εἴ γοῦν): Π.30 μὴ ἐμέ γ' οὖν οὗτός γε λάβοι χόλος (the familiar Attic restrictive γοῦν). In A. Eu.258 ὁ δ' αὐτὴ γ' οὖν ἀλκὰν ἔχων περὶ βρέτει πλεχθεὶς θεᾶς ἀμβρότου ὑπόδικος θέλει γενέσθαι χερῶν neither γ' οὖν nor γοῦν is easy to explain: Verrall reads γοῦν: 'that Orestes has taken

<sup>1</sup> Klotz (i 351) holds that γ' οὖν should be written wherever γε appears to go closely with the preceding word: Bäumllein (p. 188), that the particles are best written separately 'where each preserves its separate meaning'. (He reads γ' οὖν in Ar. Eq.87, Pl. Ar.21D, Prt.324B, X.HGiv4.12; saying, quite wrongly, that οὖν denotes 'Folgerung' in Prt.324B, and is recapitulatory in X.HGiv4.12: in both passages γοῦν clearly bears its common 'part-proof' meaning.) Kühner (II ii 155-6) says that γ' οὖν is found in 'nachdrücklich bejahenden Erwiderungen', such as E. El.350, X. Mem.iii.1: but adds, 'Doch schreibt man an diesen beiden Stellen richtiger γοῦν': he goes on, 'Aber häufig so, dass οὖν eine Folgerung bezeichnet', quoting, however, only Pl. Ar.21D, for which see below (II.1). Navarre, on the other hand, maintains that γ' οὖν should never be retained in classical (post-Homeric) texts. Des Places (pp. 134, 143) is also sceptical regarding the distinction.

sanctuary is a step towards a complete escape'. In Hdt. iv 76 μήτι γε ὦν (*sic*), the reading of L, is probably corrupt. In Thgn. 664 ἀπό γ' οὖν is a surprising conjecture of Diehl: πάντ' οὖν (*dett.*) may perhaps be right.

Our remaining examples are from Attic prose. They fall into two groups:

(a) γ' οὖν in 'part proof' (the commonest sense of γοῦν: see below, I.1.ii). Pl. Lg.649C Τό γ' οὖν εἰκός: Pl. 257D κινδυνεύετον... ἐμοὶ συγγένειαν ἔχειν τινα. τὸν μὲν γε οὖν... τοῦ δ'...: Euthd.299E: Ion.530C (γοῦν WF: γ' οὖν T): X. Cyr.ii 2.28 (γε οὖν AEGH).

(b) Passages where οὖν is connective, and separated in sense from γε, which is emphatic. (So, clearly, Pl. Euthd.292E, Lg.923A, ἔγωγε οὖν.) Pl. R.585A\* Ωδέ γ' οὖν, εἶπον, ἐννόει ('Well, look at it *this way*): Hp. Ma.292E καίτοι ἐγὼ αὐτὸν ἠρώτων οὕτως ὥσπερ σὺ ἐμέ, δὲ πᾶσι καλὸν καὶ ἀεὶ ἐστί...—Eυ γ' οὖν οἶδα... ὅτι πᾶσι καλὸν τοῦτ' ἐστίν, δὲ ἐγὼ εἶπον ('Well, I know quite *well*...').

γ'... οὖν, separated by ἄν (though the collocation γοῦν ἄν also occurs: Pl. R.555B) is found in two senses:

(a) 'Part proof'. Th. i 76.4 (the implication that the Athenians have behaved well is supported by the statement that others, in their shoes, would behave worse): 77.6 (the proposition, τὸ παρὸν αἰεὶ βαρὺ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις, is supported by the statement that an imperial Sparta would soon become as unpopular as an imperial Athens): Pl. R.469C. Add, perhaps, Amips. Fr.1 (partial ground for assent).

(β) Ironical (see I.2.ii below). E. Med 504 καλῶς γ' ἂν οὖν δέξαιντό μ' οἴκοις ὧν πατέρα κατέκτανον (γ' ἂν οὖν LPv: τ' ἂν οὖν V.1: τὰ νῦν B. Less probably, οὖν might be taken as connective): 588 Καλῶς γ' ἂν οὖν σὺ τῶδ' ὑπηρετεῖς λόγῳ (οὖν σύ AV: οὖν μοι LP: οὖν (εἰ ἐξυπηρετεῖς) B: οἶμαι Nauck): Ar. Ec.806 Πάνυ γ' ἂν οὖν Ἀντισθένης αὐτ' εἰσενέγκοι: Eq.344 Ἴδου λέγειν. καλῶς γ' ἂν οὖν σὺ πρᾶγμα... μεταχειρίσαι.

It is certainly significant that the MSS. give evidence for the two forms γοῦν and γ' οὖν, while they show no trace of δοῦν. And the distinction may well have been used to differentiate those passages in which οὖν has a connective force: if it was in



fact so used, the copyists have frequently confused the forms. Our comparative ignorance of ancient Greek pronunciation makes it difficult to say how far γ' οὖν and γούν would have been differentiated in speech. γε in γούν, unlike τοί in τᾶν, ceases to be enclitic.

γούν (γ' οὖν) is almost confined to Attic Greek. Homer provides (as we have seen) two examples: Herodotus another two (i31: vii 104.5: I exclude iv 76 (see top of p. 449)). Most Attic writers use γούν freely, though for some reason or other there is no instance in Isocrates. The 'part proof' use is perhaps not precise enough for his formal style.<sup>1</sup> Aeschylus, as Wilamowitz points out (on *Ag.* 676), first uses γούν in the *Agamemnon*.

I. With γε predominating, the normal use of γούν. γε is either limitative or emphatic: οὖν adds a sense of reality or essentiality, but often does little more than emphasize.

(1) With limitative γε.

(i) In general. With γούν, as with simple γε, the possibility that the statement may hold good outside the imposed limits is either included or excluded by the context. *A. Ag.* 1425 ἐὰν δὲ τοῦμπαλιν κραινή θεός, γνώσει διδαχθεὶς ὀψὲ γούν τὸ σωφρονεῖν: *S. Ant.* 45 Ἡ γὰρ νοεῖς θάπτειν σφ', ἀπόρρητον πόλει;—Τὸν γούν ἐμὸν καὶ τὸν σὸν . . . ἀδελφόν ('One who is at least our brother'): *OC* 24 779 ἢ γνώσεται γούν ἀλλὰ τηνικαῦθ' ('then, at any rate'): *OC* 24 Ἐχεις διδάξαι δὴ μ' ὅποι καθέσταμεν;—Τὰς γούν Ἀθήνας οἶδα, τὸν δὲ χῶρον οὐ ('I know Athens'): *E. Ph.* 1449 ὡς τοσόνδε γούν τύχω χθονὸς πατρίδας ('this much, at any rate'): *El.* 350 ἀνὴρ ἔστι . . .; —Ἔστιν λόγῳ γούν ('He lives in report at least'): *El.* 770 Τέθνηκε δὲ σοι ταῦθ', ἃ γούν βούλη, λέγω ('I am repeating myself: but it's what you want to hear, anyhow'): *Med.* 1408 ἀλλ' ὅποσον γούν πάρα καὶ δύναμαι τάδε καὶ θρηγῶ: *Ar. Nu.* 343 Φέρε ποῖαι γὰρ τινές εἰσιν;—Οὐκ οἶδα σαφῶς εἴξασιν γούν ἐρίοισιν ('they look like wool'): *Lys.* 612 Μῶν ἐγκαλεῖς ὅτι οὐχὶ προῦθέμεσθά σε; ἀλλ' εἰς τρίτην γούν ἡμέραν . . . ἤξει παρ' ἡμῶν τᾶ τρίτ' ἐπεσκευασμένα: 877 Μὴ δῆτ', ἀλλὰ τῷ γούν παιδίῳ ὑπάκουσον ('Listen to the child anyway, if you won't listen to me'): *Hdt.* i 31 δοκέων πάγχυ δευτερεῖα γῶν οἴσασθαι: *Th.* iv 85.4 οἰόμενοί τε παρὰ συμ-

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Chapman comments: 'Isocrates had no use for "part proof": he always knows the whole truth'.

μάχους, καὶ πρὶν ἔργῳ ἀφίκεσθαι, τῇ γούν γνώμῃ ἤξειν: vii 49.1 καὶ ἄμα ταῖς γούν ναυσὶ μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ἐθάρασσε κρατήσειν: viii 59 καὶ ἐβούλετο παρασκευαζόμενος γούν δηλὸς εἶναι: *Pl. Euthd.* 284D Κακῶς ἄρα λέγουσιν οἱ ἀγαθοὶ τὰ κακὰ . . .;—Ναὶ μὰ Δία, σφόδρα γε, τοὺς γούν κακοὺς ἀνθρώπους ('Yes, they speak ill of bad men, certainly': here γε alone would be sufficient): *Hr. Mi.* 374D Βελτίῳ ἄρα ἤγησαι τῶν σαυτοῦ τὰ ἐκουσίως πονηρὰ ἐργαζόμενα ἢ τὰ ἀκουσίως;—Τὰ γούν τοιαῦτα ('Yes, in cases like that' (defects of the senses): sc. 'but not in others'): *X. An.* vii 1.30 ἐὰν δὲ μὴ δύνησθε ταῦτα, ἡμᾶς δεῖ ἀδικουμένους τῆς γούν Ἑλλάδος μὴ στέρεσθαι: *Cyr.* i 1.4 τᾶλλα . . . ἔθνη ἀκούομεν τὰ γούν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἔτι καὶ νῦν αὐτόνομα εἶναι: *Mem.* i 4.8 Σὺ δὲ σαυτῷ δοκεῖς τι φρόνιμον ἔχειν;—Ἐρώτα γούν καὶ ἀποκρινούμαι ('Ask me, anyhow'): *D.* xx 16 παρὰ δ' ὑμῖν ἀδεῶς ἂν λάβῃ τις ἔχειν ὑπῆρχε τὸν γούν ἄλλον χρόνον: *Pl. Cra.* 401B (γούν *om.* G: *R.* 425B is an example of 'part proof'): *Pr.* 334E: *X. Oec.* 7.19: *D.* xxi 11.

The purely 'adverbial' γούν appears, as R. W. Chapman observes, to be rare in Plato: *Grg.* 509A, *R.* 576C are cited below, (ii) *ad fin.* and (iv).

In the following, γούν, like γε, seems to give causal force to a participle: *Pl. Phdr.* 236A τίνα οἶει λέγοντα ὡς χρὴ μὴ ἐρῶντι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐρῶντι χαρίζεσθαι, παρέντα τοῦ μὲν τὸ φρόνιμον ἐγκωμιάζειν, τοῦ δὲ τὸ ἄφρον ψέγειν, ἀναγκαῖα γούν ὄντα, εἴτ' ἄλλα ἄττα ἔξειν λέγειν ('quippe quae necessaria sint').

(ii) 'Part proof'. Much the commonest use of γούν is to introduce a statement which is, *pro tanto*, evidence for a preceding statement. This has been well termed 'part proof'.

*Erinna, Fr.* 4.3 Προμαθεῦ, ἐντὶ καὶ ἀνθρώποι τὴν ὀμαλοὶ σοφίαν. ταύταν γούν ἐτύμως τὰν παρθένον ἄστις ἔγραψεν, αἱ καὶ δὲν ποτέθηκ', ἧς κ' Ἀγαθαρχὶς ὄλα: *L. Ag.* 432 πένθεια τλησικάρδιος δόμων ἐκάστου πρέπει. πολλὰ γούν θιγγάνει πρὸς ἡπαρ: *S. OC* 319 οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλη. φαιδρὰ γούν ἀπ' ὀμμάτων σαίνει με: *E. Alc.* 694 τὸ δὲ ζῆν . . . γλυκύ. σὺ γούν ἀναιδῶς διεμάχου τὸ μὴ θανεῖν ('The sweetness of life may be inferred from your determination to avoid death'): *IT* 73 Καὶ βωμός, ἢ Ἑλλην οὐ καταστάζει φόνος.—Ἐξ αἱμάτων γούν ξάνθ' ἔχει τριχώματα: *Rh.* 707 'Is this Odysseus' work?'—Θρασύς γούν ἐς ἡμᾶς: *Ar. Nu.* 1063 Πολλοῖς (διὰ τὸ σωφρονεῖν ἀγαθόν τι γενόμενον εἶδον) δ' οὐ Πηλεὺς εἶλεθε

διὰ τοῦτο τὴν μάχαιραν: *V.262* 'It looks like rain. ἔπεισι γούν τοῖσιν λύχνοις οὗτοι μύκητες': *Pax220* ἐλέγεται ἂν ὑμεῖς . . .—'Ο γούν χαρακτηρ ἡμεδαπὸς τῶν ρημάτων: 233 ἐξίεναι . . . μέλλει θορυβεῖ γούν ἔνδον: *E.Cyc.523*: *Ag.Pax1152*: *Ra.1028,1037*: *Hdt.vii104.5* τὸν ὑποδειμαίνουσι . . . ποιέουσι γῶν τὰ ἂν ἐκείνος ἀνώγη: *Hp.Fract.19* 'If a man is to have his leg badly set, he had better break both legs. ἰσόρροπος γούν ἂν εἴη αὐτὸς ἑωυτῶ': *Pl.Smp.195B* ταχὺ ὄν δῆλον ὅτι θᾶττον γούν τοῦ δέοντος ἡμῖν προσέρχεται: *Phdr.229B* Ἄρ' οὐκ ἐνθένδε (ἡρπάσθη ἢ Ὠρείθυια); χαρίεντα γούν . . . τὰ ὑδάτια φαίνεται, καὶ ἐπιτήδεια κόραις παίζειν παρ' αὐτά: *Men.71A* κινδυνεύει . . . παρ' ὑμᾶς οἴχεσθαι ἢ σοφία. εἰ γούν τινα ἐθέλεις οὕτως ἐρέσθαι τῶν ἐνθάδε, οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐ γελάσεται καὶ ἐρεῖ "ὦ ξένη, κινδυνεύω σοι δοκεῖν μακάριός τις εἶναι—ἀρετὴν γούν . . . εἰδέναι—": 93D ἰππέα ἐδιδάξατο ἀγαθόν. ἐπέμενε γούν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ὀρθὸς ἐστηκώς: *Th.1.2.5*: 20.2: 76.1: 77.5: 144.4: vi59.3: *Pl.R.522D,583A*: *Ti.23B*: *Grg.516A,517C*: *Prt.314D,341B*: *Men.89E,90B*: *D.xxiv57*: liv25.

Repeated at a short interval: *Pl.R.554B* Ἐμοὶ γούν, ἔφη, δοκεῖ χρήματα γούν μάλιστα ἐντιμα τῇ τε πόλει καὶ παρὰ τῶ τοιούτῳ.

In *Pl.R.432C* γούν is difficult, since 'the second pair of adjectives seems to go as far as the first' (R. W. C.): perhaps γούν refers mainly to *δύσβατος*.

Plato often uses γούν in answers conveying a qualified assent, and the following phrases are all more or less common:—*ἔοικε γούν, εἰκὸς γούν, τὸ γούν εἰκὸς, δίκαιον γούν, ἔχει γούν λόγον, ὡς γούν ὁ λόγος σημαίνει, φασὶ γούν, λέγεται γούν, φαίνεται γούν, φιλεῖ γούν οὕτω γίγνεσθαι*. Here, again, the negative form is *οὐκουν . . . γε* (R. W. C.). In some of these, confirmation of assent is verging into assent pure and simple, as in *assentient γάρ* (*q.v.* VIII). See further 2.i below.

Euripides (and other authors at times) uses γούν in the sphere of action to introduce a *pro tanto* reason for following a suggested course. *Cyc.567* οἰνοχόος τέ μοι γενοῦ.—*Γιγνώσκεται γούν ἢ ἄμπελος τῆμῃ χερὶ* ('Well, certainly, the vine is no stranger to my hand'): *IT1194* Θάλασσα κλύζει πάντα τὰνθρώπων κακά (*sc.* 'so the strangers must be cleansed with sea-water').—*Ἄσιώτερον γούν τῇ θεῶ πέσοιεν ἂν*: *Ion1557* Πατέρα νυν δέχου, τέκνον.—*Τῶ θεῶ γούν οὐκ ἀπιστεῖν εἰκὸς*: 1027 *Αὐτοῦ νυν αὐτὸν κτεῖν'*,

ἰν' ἀρνήση φόνους.—*Προλάζυμαι γούν τῶ χρόνῳ τῆς ἡδονῆς*: *Or.781* Ἄλλὰ δῆτ' ἔλθω;—*Θανὼν γούν ὧδε κάλλιον θανῆ*: 788: *Ba.839*: *X.Mem.iii1.10* ἄρα τοὺς φιλοτιμοτάτους προτακτέον;—*Οὔτοι γούν εἰσιν, ἔφη, οἱ . . . κινδυνεύειν ἐθέλοντες*: *Pl.Lg.648C, 683B*: *X.Oec.6.3*.

In a parenthesis. *E.Ba.638* ὡς δέ μοι δοκεῖ—*ψοφεῖ γούν ἀρβύλη δόμων ἔσω*— . . . ἤξει: *Pl.R.431A* ὅταν μὲν τὸ βέλτιον φύσει τοῦ χειρόνος ἔγκρατες ᾖ, τοῦτο λέγειν τὸ κρείττω αὐτοῦ—*ἐπαινεῖ γούν*—*ὅταν δέ . . .*: *Th.174.3*: viii87.3: *Pl.Hp.Ma.284C*: *D.xxiii89*.

In a relative clause. *Pl.R.334A* Ὡς γούν ὁ λόγος, ἔφη, σημαίνει: 584A: *Grg.509A*.

In a question. *Ag.Pax545* σκόπει τὰ πρόσωφ', ἵνα γνῶς τὰς τέχνας.—*Αἴβοι τάλας*.—*Ἐκείνου γούν τὸν λοφοποιὸν οὐχ ὄρας . . .*; ('Well, anyhow, don't you see . . .?').

(iii) *In apodosis*. (I include below only those passages in which γούν occurs early in the apodosis.) *S.OT408* *Εἰ καὶ τυραννεῖς, ἐξισωτέον τὸ γούν ἴσ' ἀντιλέξαι*: 1425 *ἀλλ' εἰ τὰ θνητῶν μὴ καταισχύνεσθ' ἔτι γένεθλα, τὴν γούν . . . φλόγα αἰδεῖσθ'*: *Ag.Nu.885* ὅπως δ' ἐκείνω τῷ λόγῳ μαθήσεται . . . ἂν δέ μή, τὸν γούν *ἀδικὸν πάση τέχνῃ*: *Ra.736* ἐπ' ἀξίου γούν τοῦ ξύλου, ἦν τι καὶ *πάσχητε, πάσχειν τοῖς σοφοῖς δοκήσετε* (apodosis first): *Th.v40.2* ἐλπίζοντες . . . εἰ μὴ . . . , τοῖς γούν *Ἀθηναίοις ξύμμαχοι ἔσεσθαι*: *Pl.Alc.I112B* καὶ εἰ μὴ *ἑώρακας, ἀκήκοας γούν*: *Hipparch.232B* εἴτε πέπειμαι εἴτε ὀπωσθὴ ἔχεις, *σύμφης γούν ἡμῖν*: *Ant.vi1* εἰ δ' ἄρα *τις καὶ ἀναγκάζοιτο κινδυνεύειν, τοῦτο γούν ὑπάρχειν*: *Lys.xxv6* καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐνὸς ἐκάστου δίκην οὐκ εἰλήφατε, *νῦν ὑπὲρ πάντων γούν τὴν τιμωρίαν (χρῆ) ποιήσασθαι* (γούν, *om.* *CO*, is not 'vix sanum' (Hude): it refers both to *νῦν* and to *ὑπὲρ πάντων*: hence the order): *D.xviii306* ὡς ἐτέρως δὲ *συμβάντων, τὸ γούν εὐδοκιμεῖν περίεστι*: *Pl.Smp.191C*: *Phdr.265D*: *Phd.85C*: *Sph.251A*: *Plt.264C*: *Lg.952C*.

So also *οὐκουν . . . γε*: *Pl.Lg.810D*: *εἰ δὲ ἐλάττωσιν, οὐκουν χείροσί γε*. See further p. 424.

For apodotic *ἀλλὰ . . . γούν*, see III.1 below.

(iv) With pronouns. *S.Aj.527* *Καὶ κάρτ' ἐπαίνου τεύξεται πρὸς γούν ἐμοῦ*: *Pl.R.576C* *Ἀνάγκη, ἔφη, ταῦτα γούν οὕτως ἔχειν*: *D.xix13* καὶ *μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρ' ἐπανελθεῖν . . . ἐμὲ γούν . . . ἐλάνθανε*. But most instances of γούν with pronouns come under the

heading of 'part proof': *Ar.Nu.408* *Nῆ Δί' ἐγὼ γούν ἀτεχνῶς ἔπαθον τουτί*: *Pl.Smp.215D*: *Ly.204C*. In general, γούν has probably no particular affinity with pronouns. But in Plato it is often attached to a personal pronoun in replies, 'the speaker giving his own assent for what it is worth' (R. W. C.) *Pl.R. 335E* *Μαχούμεθα . . . κοινῇ ἐγὼ τε καὶ σύ . . .*—'Εγὼ γούν, ἔφη, ἔτοιμός εἰμι κοινωνεῖν τῆς μάχης ('Well, I'm ready enough to join in'): *Phd.70B*: *Tht.171D*. 'Εμοὶ γούν δοκεῖ ('some twelve times in Plato', R. W. C.): *R.476C,613B*. Similarly *Οὔκουν . . . γε*: *Prm.142A* *Οὔκουν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ*.

(2) With emphatic γε. On the whole, the uses of γούν here correspond with the far commoner uses of γε.

(i) In affirmative answers. *E.Cyc.472* 'Ἔστ' οὖν ὅπως ἂν . . . : *κἀγὼ λαβοίμην τοῦ τυφλοῦντος ὄμματα δαλοῦ; φόνου γὰρ τοῦδε κοινωνεῖν θέλω—Δεῖ γούν μέγας γὰρ δαλός οὗ ξυλληπτέον* ('Yes, you must'): *Ph.852* *συλλέξαι σθένος καὶ πνεῦμ' ἄθροισον, αἶπος ἐκβαλὼν ὁδοῦ.—Κόπῳ παρείμαι γούν* ('Yes, I am tired': but this might also be classified under 1.ii above: 'I certainly am tired (and therefore I had better rest)': moreover the text is doubtful): *Pl.Phd.262B* *Οὔκουν τοῖς . . . ἀπατωμένοις δῆλον ὡς τὸ πάθος τοῦτο δι' ὁμοιοτήτων τινῶν εἰσερρῦη.—Γίγνεται γούν οὕτως* ('Yes, that is what happens'): *R.442D* *σώφρονα οὐ τῇ φιλία . . . τούτων (καλοῦμεν) . . .*;—*Σωφροσύνη γούν, ἢ δ' ὅς, οὐκ ἄλλο τί ἐστιν ἢ τοῦτο*: 461A 'The ἀκμή of a woman is 20-40, of a man 25-55'.—*Ἀμφοτέρων γούν, ἔφη, αὕτη ἀκμή σώματός τε καὶ φρονήσεως* ('Yes, certainly'): *X.Mem.ii.1.1* *βούλει σκοπῶμεν, ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῆς τροφῆς ὡσπερ ἀπὸ τῶν στοιχείων;—Δοκεῖ γούν μοι ἡ τροφή ἀρχὴ εἶναι*.

It is difficult to draw a rigid line between this use of γούν and 'part proof'. In *Pl.R.409C*, for example, γούν might at first sight appear to convey unreserved assent. But *γενναιότατος* does not strictly imply the ἀγαθός of 409B. Similarly, in 410A, ἀριστον hardly, perhaps, conveys an unhesitating acceptance of the ruthless elimination of the unfit recommended by Socrates: 'That is certainly the best way. (But have we the nerve to take it?)'

It is perhaps reasonable, then, to regard this assentient γούν as derived from 'part proof'. Cf. assentient γάρ (*q.v.* VIII), and

ἔοικε γούν, etc., in replies (1.ii). The rather inconclusive fifth-century examples do not militate strongly against this view.

(ii) Exclamatory (Aristophanes). *V.795* ἀλεκτρούνος μ' ἔφασκε κοιλίαν ἔχειν. "ταχὺ γούν καθέψεις τάργυριον," ἢ δ' ὅς λέγων ('You do digest money quickly': though this might be part proof: 'anyhow'): *Ec.872* (after the failure of a ruse) *Nῆ τὸν Δία, δεῖ γούν μηχανήματός τινος*: *Pax 1344* *Οἰκήσετε γούν καλῶς* ('You will have a good time': *sanequam*. Iocantium particula', van Leeuwen): *Th.263* (perhaps).

In ironical or sarcastic exclamations (Euripides and Aristophanes). *E.Hel.1227* Ὀρθῶς μὲν ἦδε συμφορὰ δακρύεται;—'Ἐν εὐμαρεῖ γούν σὴν κασιγνήτην λαθεῖν ('Your sister is easily fooled, isn't she?'): *Ph.618* *Μῆτερ, ἀλλά μοι σὺ χαῖρε.—Χαρτὰ γούν πάσχῳ, τέκνον*: *Or.1602* *Εὐ γούν θίγοις ἂν χερνίβων*: *Ar.Eq.87* Ἰδοῦ γ' ἄκρατον. *περὶ ποτοῦ γούν ἔστι σοι* (best taken, with Neil, as a sarcastic statement, not as a question: 'So drink's the matter in hand!'): *Th.845* ἀλλ' ἀφαιρεῖσθαι βία τὰ χρήματ' εἰπόντας τοδί, "ἀξία γούν εἶ τόκου . . ." : *Ec.794* *Χαρίεντα γούν πάθοιμ' ἂν*: *Pl.565* *κοσμιότης οἰκεῖ μετ' ἐμοῦ . . .—Πάνυ γούν κλέπτειν κόσμιόν ἐστιν* ('Thieving's a most respectable thing, isn't it?')

See also p. 449, γ' . . . οὖν separated by ἂν, (β).

II. With οὖν predominating, as a connective particle: 'well' or 'then'. (Cf. p. 449, γ' οὖν (b).) This usage is exceedingly rare in classical Greek, apart from Hippocrates (see below), though there are a few indubitable instances in Plato's later works. The topic is inadequately discussed by the authorities, who omit many of the real examples, and include others which come under the heading of 'part proof'. To clear the ground, I will deal with the latter first.

(1) *Pl.Prt.324B*. The practice of deterrent punishment supports (in the speaker's view) the assumption that virtue can be taught. 'Unstreitig ist diese Folgerung aus dem Vorhergehenden,' says Bäumlein, unaccountably. *Ar.21D* ἐλογιζόμεν ὅτι τούτου μὲν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐγὼ σοφώτερός εἰμι· κινδυνεύει μὲν γὰρ ἡμῶν οὐδέτερος οὐδὲν καλὸν καγαθὸν εἶδέναι, ἀλλ' οὗτος . . . τι εἶδέναι οὐκ εἰδώς, ἐγὼ δέ, ὡσπερ οὖν οὐκ οἶδα, οὐδὲ οἶμαι ἔοικα γούν τούτου γε σμικρῷ τι αὐτῷ τούτῳ σοφώτερος εἶναι· ὅτι ἂ μὴ οἶδα οὐδὲ οἶμαι εἶδέναι. A logical sense is, it is t.

clearly appropriate in γοῦν here, and οὖν in such a context would not excite remark: 'I, unlike him, know that I know nothing much: I am consequently slightly wiser than he, in virtue of that knowledge.' But the ordinary force of γοῦν is at least equally suitable: κινδυνεύει μὲν γάρ κ.τ.λ. and ἔοικα γοῦν κ.τ.λ. both look back to τούτου . . . εἶμι. The two sentences are substantially identical in content, the former giving full proof by γάρ, the latter part proof by γοῦν. The use of the two particles with a common reference is paralleled by the similar use of successive γάρ's (see γάρ, III.6, and in particular *S. Ant.* 659-61 there quoted). The looseness of the style is consonant with the naive, colloquial tone of the *Apology*. (Burnet's suggestion (in a private communication to Dr. Chapman) that the clause κινδυνεύει κ.τ.λ. is a sort of parenthesis, arrives at the same result, but appears to me less natural.)

(2) In the following passages, on the other hand, the context demands that the οὖν shall bear an inferential or progressive force, while the γε emphasizes the preceding word, the two particles playing independent roles: whether or not this is a reason for writing γ' οὖν, *separatim*.

*Pl. Cra.* 432D. Cratylus has objected (431E) that, if the name of a thing is written wrongly, it ceases to be the name of the thing. Socrates answers: 'A name is a kind of image or copy (430A μίμημα: 431D εἰκῶν). Now exact correspondence with the original cannot be demanded in a copy. If Cratylus were imitated exactly, the result would be two Cratyluses, not Cratylus and his image. γελοῖα γοῦν . . . ὑπὸ τῶν ὀνομάτων πάθοι ἂν ἐκεῖνα ὧν ὀνόματά ἐστιν τὰ ὀνόματα εἰ πάντα πανταχῆ αὐτοῖς ὁμοιωθεῖη. διττὰ γὰρ ἂν που πάντα γένοιτο'. The inferential force, marking the conclusion of what is almost a formal syllogism, is indispensable here. The γε is emphatic, almost exclamatory: 'It would be ridiculous, then.' *Prm.* 147C Τὸ ἐν ἄρα, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἕτερόν τε τῶν ἄλλων ἐστὶν καὶ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ταῦτόν ἐκείνοις τε καὶ ἑαυτῷ.—Κινδυνεύει φαίνεσθαι ἔκ γε τοῦ λόγου.—'Ἄρ' οὖν καὶ ὁμοῖόν τε καὶ ἀνόμοιον ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις;—'Ἰσως.—'Ἐπειδὴ γοῦν ἕτερον τῶν ἄλλων ἐφάνη, καὶ τᾶλλα που ἕτερα ἂν ἐκείνου εἴη.—Τί μὴν;—Οὐκοῦν οὕτως ἕτερον τῶν ἄλλων, ὥσπερ καὶ τᾶλλα ἐκείνου, καὶ οὔτε μᾶλλον οὔτε ἥττον; The successive stages of the argument

are marked by οὖν, γοῦν, οὐκοῦν. The γε coalesces with ἐπειδὴ, 'quippe cum'. *Lg.* 633D 'Does courage merely consist in fighting fear, or in fighting desire as well?'—'The latter.'—Εἰ γοῦν μεμνήμεθα τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν λόγους, ἤττω τινὰ ὅδε (Cleinias in 626 D-E) καὶ πόλιν ἔλεγεν αὐτὴν αὐτῆς καὶ ἄνδρα . . .—'Yes.'—Νῦν οὖν πότερα λέγομεν τὸν τῶν λυπῶν ἤττω κακὸν ἢ καὶ τὸν τῶν ἡδονῶν; The γε goes closely with εἰ, 'if': The οὖν marks a new step in the argument, 'now'. *Lg.* 681C 'Family custom is the origin of law. Ἀρχὴ δὴ νομοθεσίας οἶον ἐμβάντες ἐλάθομεν, ὡς ἔοικεν.—Πάνυ μὲν οὖν—Τὸ γοῦν μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναγκαῖον αἰρεῖσθαι τοὺς συνελθόντας τούτους κοινούς τινὰς ἑαυτῶν, οἱ . . . νομοθέται κληθήσονται'. 'Well (οὖν) the next (γε) step.' (England takes γοῦν as 'explanatory'.) *Alc.* II 142E 'Men bring misfortunes on themselves by praying for the wrong things. κινδυνεύει γοῦν . . . φρόνιμός τις εἶναι ἐκεῖνος ὁ ποιητής, who asked Zeus to send him and his friends good things, whether they prayed for them or not' (γοῦν B: γάρ T). οὖν has its full logical force, 'therefore': γε limitatively stresses κινδυνεύει, 'the probability is'. *Alc.* II 149B φησὶν ἂν βούλεσθαι αὐτῷ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων εὐφημίαν εἶναι . . . τὴν γοῦν εὐφημίαν οὐκ ἄλλην τινὰ μοι δοκεῖ λέγειν ὁ θεὸς ἢ τὴν εὐχὴν αὐτῶν (γ' οὖν Burnet: δ' οὖν Sauppe). 'Now by εὐφημία the god meant . . .'. *Lg.* 629A is more difficult. The Stranger has asserted that war legislation must aim at peace, not peace legislation at war. Cleinias objects that Cretan and Spartan legislation is entirely devised for war. The Stranger replies: Τάχ' ἂν ἴσως· δεῖ δὲ οὐδὲν σκληρῶς ἡμᾶς αὐτοῖς διαμάχεσθαι τὰ νῦν ἀλλ' ἡρέμα ἀνερωτᾶν, ὡς μάλιστα περὶ ταῦτα ἡμῶν τε καὶ ἐκείνων σπουδαζόντων. καὶ μοι τῷ λόγῳ συνακολουθήσατε. προστησώμεθα γοῦν Τύρταιον . . . ὃς δὴ μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων περὶ ταῦτα ἐσπούδακεν . . . ἴθι νῦν ἀνερώμεθα κοινῇ τοῦτοῦ τὸν ποιητὴν οὕτως ὡς: "ὦ Τύρταιε . . ." Here the connective force of οὖν would be appropriate enough. But γε, with προστησώμεθα, would not be as appropriate as γε always is in the passages considered above. I have no doubt that 'at any rate' ('par exemple', des Places, p. 135) is the sense here: 'We must gently cross-examine the Cretan and Spartan legislation. At any rate, let us take Tyrtaeus, and ask him' (ἀνερώμεθα in 629B looking back to ἀνερωτᾶν).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> R. W. Chapman's suggestion, that γοῦν refers to συνακολουθῆσαι, seems to

The above sense of γούν is far commoner in Hippocrates, and in the post-classical pseudo-Aristotelian *de Plantis*, where Bonitz notes the frequency of the particle. οὖν and δ' οὖν are often found as *variae lectiones*.

Hr. *Art.* 14 'Others do so-and-so. ταῦτα γούν ἀπείρω μὲν ἀκοῦσαι φαίνεται ἐγγὺς τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν εἶναι' (γούν *M*: οὖν *al.*): *Int.* 18 ἐρράγη . . . ἦν γούν ῥαγῆ (οὖν *EHK*): *Nat. Mul.* 45 (after describing symptoms and their causes) ὀκόταν γούν ὧδε ἔχη, φάρμακον χρῆ πιπίσκειν: *Genit.* 47 'Those who were purged on the odd days died. οἱ γούν πρόσθεν ἰητροὶ ἐν τούτῳ μάλιστα ἡμάρτανον' ἐφαρμάκευον γὰρ ἐν τῆσι περισσῆσιν ἡμέρησι καὶ ἀπώλλυον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους' ('Now that is the great mistake the old doctors made'): *Epid.* v 95 πρόρρησις ὅτι, σπασμοῦ γενομένου, ταχέως ἀπολείται. τῇ γούν ἐπιούση νυκτὶ δύσφορος, ἀγρυπνος . . . τῇ τρίτῃ ἄμ' ἡμέρῃ ἐσπᾶτο, καὶ τηνικαῦτα ἐτελεύτησεν ('Well, the following night . . .'): *Vict.* 68 διελεῖν τὸν χρόνον ἐς μέρεα ἐξ κατὰ ὀκτῶ ἡμέρας. ἐν γούν τῇ πρώτῃ μοίρῃ χρῆ . . . (οὖν *EHI*): *Mul.* 166, 167, 183: *Epid.* ii 3.8: vii 1, 2: *Haem.* 4: *Vict.* 36, 56 (*bis*), 80: [Arist.] *de Plantis* 815b22 'ἐπιθυμία can only come from αἰσθησις. οὐχ εὐρίσκομεν γούν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις αἰσθησιν': 815b29, 817a5, 817a15: *ib. sacp.*: *Aen. Tact. Fr.* 51 (if Julius Africanus' excerpt can be relied on: but in *Fr.* 56 Julius' γούν is not supported by the MS. reading of 39.2): ἀναγκαῖον εἶδέναι πῶς ἐπιστολὰς δεῖ αὐτοὺς εἰσπέμπειν. ἀπόστειλε γούν οὕτως ('Well, send them like this').

The resumptive use of γούν, like δ' οὖν, after a digression, is analogous. Hr. *Art.* 9 τὸν γούν τοιοῦτον ὧμον . . .: *Int.* 15 ὀκόταν γούν ἔμπυος ἦ ὁ νεφρὸς . . .: *Vict.* 1 ἐγὼ γούν, ὥσπερ εἶπον, . . . So also in *Is.* i 10, if Schoemann's τότε γούν, for ὅτι γούν, is right: but read, probably, τότε δ' οὖν.

III. In combinations. γούν is rarely found in close association with other particles.

(1) ἀλλὰ . . . γούν, in *arouiosi* (for the commoner ἀλλ' οὖν . . . me less probable: he renders 'it is right for both parties σπουδάζειν περὶ ταῦτα: Tyrtæus at all events—one of the most prominent of our opponents—μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων περὶ ταῦτα ἐσπούδακεν.' In any case, καὶ . . . συνακολουθήσατε is virtually parenthetical: and minor difficulties of text and interpretation in the first sentence of 629A do not affect the main issue.

γε). *E. IA* 908 εἰ γὰρ μὴ γάμοισιν ἐζύγης, ἀλλ' ἐκλήθης γούν ταλαίνης παρθένου φίλος πόσις: *Ar. Th.* 250 ἐπειδὴ . . . φθονεῖς, ἀλλ' ἰμάτιον γούν χρῆσον: *Pl. Phd.* 71B κἂν εἰ μὴ . . ., ἀλλ' ἔργω γούν πανταχοῦ οὕτως ἔχειν ἀναγκαῖον. (Except in *aroudosi*, ἀλλὰ . . . γούν need hardly be regarded as a combination. A few instances will be found in I. i. i.) *S. Ant.* 779 γούν ἀλλά (see I. i. i).

(2) μὲν γούν.<sup>1</sup> *Ar. Pax* 497 'Τμεῖς μὲν γούν οἱ κιττῶντες τῆς εἰρήνης σπᾶτ' ἀνδρείως (γούν Bentley: οὖν *codd.*): *X. Oec.* 19.6 Ξηρὰ μὲν γούν μοι δοκεῖ. *Pl. Plt.* 257D μὲν γε οὖν.

(3) ἤγουν, a curious combination, meaning 'namely', 'that is to say', is to be found in Hippocrates and the pseudo-Aristotelian *de Plantis*. (Madvig's suggested ἤγουν at *A. Fr.* 266 is unfortunate.) Hr. *Int.* 50 μελετῆν δὲ χρῆ ταύτην ἐν τοῖσιν αὐτοῖσιν, οἰοῖσι καὶ τὸν ὑδεριῶντα, ἤγουν πυρίησι καὶ φαρμάκοισι καὶ ἐδέσμασι καὶ ταλαιπωρίησιν: *Mul.* 119 κρέα δὲ ἀμείνω ἰχθύων, ἤγουν ὀρνίθια ἢ λαγῶα: *Ulc.* 21 λιβανωτός, μολύβδαινα, ἤγουν τοῦ μὲν μοῖρα, καὶ τῆς δὲ μοῖρα: *Int.* 17 τὰ σιτία διελῶν, ἀ μεμαθήκει ἐσθίειν, ἤγουν δέκα μερίδας ('par exemple', Littré): [Arist.] *de Plant.* 817a1 ζητητέον . . . τοῦτό ἐστιν ὅπερ εἶπεν Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, ἤγουν εἰ εὐρίσκεται ἐν τοῖς φυτοῖς γένος θῆλυ καὶ γένος ἄρρεν: 817 b 15 διὰ τὰς δύο δυνάμεις ἃς ἔχει, ἤγουν διὰ τὴν τροφήν . . . καὶ διὰ τὴν . . .: 818 a 9, 828 a 25. (Kühner, II ii 163, observes that ἤγουν is common in the glosses of grammarians. In *X. Oec.* 19. 11, αὐαίνεσθαι δὲ διὰ ξηρότητα, ἤγουν χαννότητα τῆς γῆς, the last four words are almost certainly a gloss.)

IV. Textual questions. In *Ar. Eq.* 1217 γούν (or γ' οὖν) of the MSS. is by common consent corrupt, and νυν is generally read. In *V.* 217 γούν is a most unlikely emendation of the unmetrical γάρ, and Lenting's τᾶρ' (or Porson's γ' ἄρ') is far more probable. In *S. Ant.* 471 Blaydes' τὸ γούν λῆμα is not very attractive. In Hr. *VC* 19 the use of γούν (instead of οὖν) to emphasize ὅστις is peculiar, and perhaps suspicious: ἦ . . . ἦ . . . ἦ ὅτῳ γούν τρόπῳ κατεηγός (γ' οὖν *C*).

<sup>1</sup> The function of οἱ μὲν γούν is really fulfilled by μὲν γε, where γε often nearly has the force of γούν. See p. 160.

## Δ' οὖν

δέ and οὖν appear to coalesce less closely than γε and οὖν: at any rate δοῦν is nowhere found. Yet the particles are very rarely separated by an intervening word: but cf. S.OT834 'Ἡμῖν μὲν, ὦναξ, ταῦτ' ὀκνήρ'· ἕως δ' ἂν οὖν πρὸς τοῦ παρόντος ἐκμάθῃς, ἔχ' ἐλπίδα: Pl. *Smpr.*202D Πῶς δ' ἂν οὖν θεὸς εἴη...; (so T: Πῶς ἂν B Stobaeus): X. *Lac.*2.8 εἴποι δ' ἂν οὖν τις, τί δῆτα...; (Stobaeus omits all the quoted words). In the last two passages δέ... οὖν is not in line with the normal usage of δ' οὖν. In the former we should expect ἀλλὰ μὴν or the like, in the latter, ἀλλά or ἀλλὰ νῆ Δία.

δ' οὖν is found only once in Homer: T94 κατὰ δ' οὖν ἕτερόν γε πέδησε (the line is athetized by Aristarchus: it occurs in a passage showing 'many linguistic peculiarities', Leaf). Here there is no close connexion between the component parts, οὖν being used in tmesis between preposition and verb, as often in Herodotus (see pp. 429-30). In philosophical epic, Parm. *Fr.*8.16: occasionally in Pindar. In Attic Greek and in Herodotus (δ' ὦν) δ' οὖν is common.

δ' οὖν differs from δὲ δῆ (though in many contexts either would be appropriate) in two respects. (1) In δ' οὖν, δὲ almost always, I think, has some contrasting force, and is hardly ever purely copulative, as sometimes in δὲ δῆ. (See, however, E. *Heracl.*310, II.3 below.) (2) Whereas δῆ added to δέ merely sharpens a contrast or stresses an addition, οὖν marks the opposed idea as essential. Thus, taking the examples of δὲ δῆ cited on p. 259: in Pl. *Chrm.*154C, πολλοὶ δὲ δῆ ἄλλοι ἐρασταὶ... εἶποντο, δ' οὖν would be unsuitable: in *Prt.*311D παρὰ δὲ δῆ Πρωταγόραν νῦν ἀφικόμενοι..., δ' οὖν would be equally possible, but it would emphasize the essential importance of this case, instead of sharpening the contrast between it and other cases. Contrast Pl. *R.*439A ποιοῦ μὲν τινος πώματος ποίον τι καὶ δίψος, δίψος δ' οὖν αὐτὸ οὔτε πολλοῦ οὔτε ὀλίγου, where δὲ δῆ might have been written. See further I 2, *ad fin.* For X. *Lac.*13.11, Hp. *Nat. Mul.*10, see II.3. δ' οὖν is a more idiomatic combination than δὲ δῆ, and tends more to be canalized in certain well-defined usages.

I. In general.

(1) μὲν... δ' οὖν. S. *Tr.*1273 οἰκτρὰ μὲν ἡμῖν, αἰσχροὶ δ' ἐκείνοις, χαλεπώτατα δ' οὖν ἀνδρῶν πάντων τῷ τήνδ' ἄτην ὑπέχοντι (the consequences to Herakles are what really matters): Hdt.iii80 καὶ ἐλέχθησαν λόγοι ἄπιστοι μὲν ἐνίοισι Ἑλλήνων, ἐλέχθησαν δ' ὦν ('but the point is that they *were* said'): Pl. *Grg.*458C Τοῦ μὲν θορύβου... αὐτοὶ ἀκούετε τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν βουλομένων ἀκούειν εἴαν τι λέγητε· ἐμοὶ δ' οὖν καὶ αὐτῷ μὴ γένοιτο τοσαύτη ἀσχολία, ὥστε τοιούτων λόγων καὶ οὕτω λεγομένων ἀφελόμενῳ προὔργιαίτερον τι γενέσθαι ἄλλο πράττειν ('what I can certainly do is to speak for myself'): *Prt.*315D ὡς μὲν ἐγῶμαι καλόν τε κάγαθόν τῃ φύσιν, τῇ δ' οὖν ἰδέαν πάνυ καλὸς ('certainly handsome, whether good or not'): *Smpr.*174E (the οὖν denotes that we are now approaching τὸ γελοῖον): 180E ἐπαινεῖν μὲν οὖν δεῖ πάντας θεούς, ἃ δ' οὖν ἐκάτερος εἴληχε πειρατέον εἰπεῖν (division of functions, not praise, being now the important thing): *R.*440A καὶ τέως μὲν μάχοιτο... κρατούμενος δ' οὖν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ('he resisted for a time, but *was* in the end conquered'): *Lg.*699B μίαν δὲ σωτηρίαν συνενθούουν, λεπτήν μὲν καὶ ἄπορον, μόνην δ' οὖν ('a poor one, I admit: but it *was* the only way'): 888C μείναι, πολλοῖσι μὲν οὐ, μείναι δ' οὖν τισιν: Th.163.1: Pl. *La.*181C, 184A: *Th.*197B: *Plt.*306B: *Ti.*38B: *Er.*327C, 338A, 342A: X. *Oec.*19.1.

Following an indirect question introduced by εἰ μὲν, ὅτι μὲν, the answer to which the speaker cannot, or does not trouble to give. Cf. II.2, *ad fin.* Hdt.iv187 εἰσι... οἱ Λίβυες ἀνθρώπων πάντων ὑγιηρότατοι τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· εἰ μὲν διὰ τοῦτο, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν, ὑγιηρότατοι δ' ὦν εἰσὶ ('but they certainly *are* the healthiest'): Pl. *Phdr.*266B εἰ μὲν ὀρθῶς ἢ μὴ προσαγορεύω, θεὸς οἶδε, καλῶ δὲ οὖν μέχρι τοῦδε διαλεκτικούς: *Ar.*17A ὅτι μὲν ὑμεῖς... πεπόνθατε ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμῶν κατηγορῶν, οὐκ οἶδα· ἐγὼ δ' οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὀλίγου ἐμαντοῦ ἐπελαθόμην: X. *An.*1.3.5 εἰ μὲν δὲ δίκαια ποιήσω οὐκ οἶδα, αἰρήσομαι δ' οὖν ὑμᾶς: Pl. *Ar.*34E: X. *An.*ii.4.6.

(2) δ' οὖν without preceding μὲν. Pl. *P.*9.103 (breaking off and beginning a new story): A. *Th.*809 Ἐκεῖθι κείσθον; βαρεία δ' οὖν ὅμως φράσον: *Ag.*255 'The future cannot be foreseen. πέλοιτο δ' οὖν τὰ πῖ τούτοις ἐὺ πράξις': Fr.180/1.827-30 Mette (*Nacktrag*)



πολὺς ἦν αὐτῇ χρόνος δὲν χήρα . . . τείρετο· νῦν δ' οὖν ἐσορῶσ' ἤβην  
τὴν ἡμετέραν [: *S. Ant.* 769 Δράτω, φρονεῖτω μείζον ἢ κατ' ἀνδρ'  
ίων· τὼ δ' οὖν κόρα τῶδ' οὐκ ἀπαλλάξει μόρου ('but *these maidens*  
he shall never save'): 890 μετοικίας δ' οὖν τῆς ἄνω στερήσεται ('in  
any case, whether she live or die'): *E. El.* 508 δὲν . . . ἀνόνητ'  
ἔθρεψας . . . ; —'Ανόνηθ' ὅμως δ' οὖν τοῦτό γ' οὐκ ἠνεσχόμην: *Ion*  
408 Οὐκ ἠξίωσε τοῦ θεοῦ προλαμβάνειν μαντεύμαθ'. ἐν δ' οὖν εἶπεν  
(*'but one thing he did say'*): *Ar. Ach.* 1195 διόλλυμαι δορὸς ὑπὸ  
πολεμίου τυπείς. ἐκεῖνο δ' οὖν αἰακτὸν ἂν γένοιτο, Δικαιοπόλις εἴ  
μ' ἴδοι τετρωμένον ('But *this would* be dreadful, if . . .'): *Ec.* 326  
(breaking off): *Pi. O.* 3.38: *A. Ag.* 34, 1568: *S. Ant.* 1251: *OC* 1444:  
*E. Alc.* 73: *Ar. Lys.* 717: *Hdt.* iii 46.1 οἱ δέ σφι . . . ὑπεκρίναντο τῷ  
θυλάκῳ περιεργάσθαι· βοηθέειν δ' ὧν ἔδοξε αὐτοῖσι ('Still, they  
*did* decide to help them'): *Pl. Euthd.* 295D ἀνεμνήσθην οὖν τοῦ  
Κόννου, ὅτι μοι κάκεινος χαλεπαίνει . . . : ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν διενενοήμην καὶ  
παρὰ τοῦτον φοιτᾶν, φήθη δὲν ὑπέκειν ('But after all, as I *had*  
decided to go to him for lessons . . .'): *Cra.* 386B πάνυ χρηστοὶ  
οὐπω σοι ἔδοξαν εἶναι; — Καὶ μάλα ὀλίγοι. — Ἐδοξαν δ' οὖν (brush-  
ing aside the question of number): *Hdt.* iii 115.2, 116.3: ix 46.3:  
*Pl. Ti.* 50C, 53B, 54A: *Cra.* 433A: *R.* 517B: *Th.* 179D: *Phdr.* 260D:  
*Lg.* 657A, 839D: *Hipparch.* 232B: *X. An.* i 2.12.

In some passages δ' οὖν appears to be little more than an empha-  
sized connective adding something of peculiar weight or importance,  
like δὲ δὴ. But it can often be seen that the idea of essentiality  
underlies the thought.

*E. Mcd.* 306 'People regard me in various ways. σὺ δ' οὖν φοβῆ  
μέ' (δ' οὖν *ALP*: δ' αὖ *VB* (for the variation cf. *Or.* 1149, where *P*  
reads δ' οὖν, *F* δ' αὖ: in *Cyc.* 251 Reiske's οὖν, for αὖ, may be  
right): 'it is *your* opinion with which I am now concerned':  
perhaps δ' οὖν has here a certain resumptive force also, looking  
back to Creon's δέδοικά σ' (282): σὺ δὲ δὴ would merely  
emphasize the contrast between Creon and other people). In  
*Ar. Av.* 499 Hamaker has suggested αὖ for οὖν (for the confusion  
cf. *E. Hel.* 1067): 'The cock once was king . . . 'Ικτίνος δ' οὖν τῶν  
'Ελλήνων ἤρχεν τότε': but the point of δ' οὖν is to dismiss the  
intervening foolery of Euelpides (see van Leeuwen). *X. HG* iv 3.8  
φυγὴ τῶν Θετταλῶν ἐξαισία γίγνεται· ὥστε οἱ μὲν ἀπέθνησκον

αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἠλίσκοντο. ἔστησαν δ' οὖν οὐ πρόσθεν, πρὶν ἐν  
τῷ ὄρει τῷ Ναρθακίῳ ἐγένοντο (cf. *Ag.* 2.4): the essential point  
is, not the number of casualties or prisoners, but where the routed  
army stopped: *Parm. Fr.* 8.16 ἡ δὲ κρίσις περὶ τούτων ἐν τῷδ'  
ἔστιν· ἔστιν ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν· κέκριται δ' οὖν, ὥσπερ ἀνάγκη, τὴν μὲν  
ἐὰν ἀνόητον ἀνώνυμον . . . τὴν δ' ὥστε πέλειν καὶ ἐτήτυμον εἶναι  
(*'and the decision in fact is'*: rather than 'damit ist also  
notwendigerweise entschieden', Diels.)

## II. Special uses.

(1) At the end of a series of details, δ' οὖν often marks the last  
and most important; or sums up the main import of details which  
have been either given or omitted as unnecessary. (Almost con-  
fined to prose.)

*E. Or.* 15 τί τάρρητ' ἀναμετρήσασθαί με δεῖ; ἔδαισε δ' οὖν νιν  
τέκν' ἀποκτείνας Ἄτρεῦς: *Ar. Th.* 477 ξύνοιδ' ἐμαυτῇ πολλὰ (δεῖν).  
ἐκεῖνο δ' οὖν δεινότατον . . . : *Hdt.* iv 195 εἰσὶ μὲν καὶ πλεῦνες αἱ  
λίμναι αὐτόθι, ἢ δ' ὧν μεγίστη αὐτέων . . . : vii 145.1 ἦσαν δὲ  
πρὸς τινὰς καὶ ἄλλους ἐγκεκρημένοι (πόλεμοι), ὁ δὲ ὧν μέγιστος . . . :  
viii 36.2 οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι ἀνέβησαν . . . οἱ δὲ . . . πάντες δὲ ὧν οἱ  
Δελφοὶ ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν: *Hr. Epid.* vii 1 τῇ δ' οὖν ἑπτακαι-  
δεκάτῃ . . . (marking the climax of the disease: the preceding  
stages are introduced by δέ): *Pl. R.* 620D Details of the choice of  
lives. ἐπειδὴ δ' οὖν πάσας τὰς ψυχὰς τοὺς βίους ἠρήσθαι . . . :  
*Ti.* 41A 'The various gods were born. ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν πάντες . . . θεοὶ  
γένεσιν ἔσχον . . .': *X. An.* v 6.11 ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἔλεξεν, οἱ μὲν ὑπώ-  
πτεινον . . . οἱ δὲ . . . οἱ δὲ . . . οἱ δ' οὖν Ἕλληνας ἐψηφίσαντο: *Cyr.* i  
4.15 τέλος δ' οὖν πολλὰ θηρία ἔχων ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἀπήγει: *D.* xviii 213  
'They made all sorts of speeches. τὸ δ' οὖν κεφάλαιον . . .':  
xxi 79 (after describing the foul language used by Midias and his  
gang) ὁ δ' οὖν δεινότατον καὶ οὐ λόγος, ἀλλ' ἔργον ἦδη . . . : xxiii  
65 πολλὰ μὲν δὴ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐστι τοιαῦθ' οἷ' οὐχ ἐτέρωθι, ἐν δ' οὖν  
ιδιώτατον πάντων: *Hyp. Ath.* 4 τέλος δ' οὖν, ἵνα μὴ μακρολογῶ . . . :  
*Th.* i 10.5: *Pl. R.* 615A: *Alc.* II 140B: *Sph.* 230A: *Fr.* 130D: *Lg.*  
957A: *Er.* 333B: *D.* xviii 214: xxii 13: lvii 10.

(2) Resumptive. δ' οὖν leads back to the main topic, which  
has temporarily been lost sight of. This usage, again, is rare in

verse. *A.Pr.* 228 δ' οὖν ἐρωτᾷτ', αἰτίαν καθ' ἣντινα αἰκίζεται με, τοῦτο δὲ σαφηνιῶ (looking back to 196, ποίω λαβῶν σε Ζεὺς ἐπ' αἰτιάματι οὕτως... αἰκίζεται); *Ag.* 224 ἔτλα δ' οὖν θυτῆρ γενέσθαι θυγατρὸς (resuming after general reflection in 222-3): *S.OT* 971 on the sequence of thought here see *C.R.* xlvii (1933) 165: *Hdt.* v.49.1 (resuming from 38, after a long digression about Cleomenes and Dorieus) ἀπικνέεται δὲ ὧν ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης: *Th.* 13.4 (looking back to 3.1): ii 34.8 (looking back to 34.1): *Pl.Grg.* 513D οὐ πάνυ σοι πείθομαι.—'Ο δήμου γὰρ ἔρως... ἐνὼν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ τῇ σῆ ἀντιστατεῖ μοι· ἀλλ' ἐὰν πολλάκις βέλτιον ταῦτα ταῦτα διασκοπώμεθα, πεισθήσῃ. ἀναμνήσθητι δ' οὖν ὅτι δὴ ἔφαμεν εἶναι...: *Pr.* 359B καὶ ἐγὼ εὐθύς τότε πάνυ ἐθαύμασα τὴν ἀπόκρισιν... ἠρόμην δ' οὖν τοῦτον: *Euthd.* 275D 'How shall I describe the sequel? The Muses must come to my aid. ἤρξατο δ' οὖν ἐνθένδε ποθὲν ὁ Εὐθύδημος' ('Well'): *Cra.* 426D τὸ ῥῶ ἔμοιγε φαίνεται ὡσπερ ὄργανον εἶναι πάσης τῆς κινήσεως. Digression on the etymology of κίνησις. τὸ δ' οὖν ῥῶ...: *X.HGv* 3.8 τοῖς δ' οὖν Λακεδαιμονίοις... (resuming thread of narrative after general reflections in §7): *Isoc.* xv 162 ὅτε γὰρ ἐπαμύνειν ἠρχόμεν... ὅτε δ' οὖν, ὡσπερ εἶπον, ἠρχόμεν: *D.* xviii 277 εὐ οἶδ' ὅτι τὴν ἐμὴν δεινότητα... (then a digression to the effect that it is really popularity that counts, not eloquence) εἰ δ' οὖν ἐστι καὶ παρ' ἐμοῖ τις ἐμπειρία τοιαύτη...: *xxxv* 42 ταῦτα γὰρ ἐπαγγέλλεται δεινὸς εἶναι... πῶς ἂν γένοιτο πονηρότεροι ἄνθρωποι...; ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν δεινὸς ἐστίν... κελεύσατε αὐτὸν διδάξαι ὑμᾶς ('Well, anyhow, since he is δεινός'): *Hdt.* v 119.2: viii 82.2: ix 45.2: *Pl.Phdr.* 230E, 253E: *Chrm.* 158B: *Ap.* 36B: *R.* 488A: *Ti.* 48E.

Often in Herodotus, coming back to what is certain after a digression, long or short, about a debatable detail. iii 122 Two possible motives for Oroetes' murder of Polycrates. ὁ δ' ὧν Ὀροίτης...: vii 35.2 'Xerxes ordered the Hellespont to be whipped. I have heard it said that he also ordered it to be branded. ἐνετέλλετο δὲ ὧν ραπίζοντας λέγειν...': i 140: ii 125: iv 180, 194: v 9.3: 10: vi 82.1: vii 153.3: 189.3: cf. *Th.* viii 87.6 οὐδὲ ῥάδιον εἶδέναι τίνι γνώμη παρήλθεν ἐς τὴν Ἀσπενδον... ἐς δ' οὖν τὴν Ἀσπενδον ἦτινιδὴ γνώμη ὁ Τισσαφέρνης ἀφικνεῖται (looking back to §2): *X.Cyr.* iv 1.13.

(3) εἰ δ' οὖν, which Hartung renders 'wenn einmal', and

Kühner 'wenn aber wirklich', is particularly used when a speaker hypothetically grants a supposition which he denies, doubts, or reprobates. It approximates in force to εἰ δὲ δή, 'but if, in reality': whereas εἰ δ' ἄρα means 'but if, contrary to expectation'. 'But if so-and-so *does* happen.'

*A.Ag.* 1042 καὶ παῖδα γὰρ τοὶ φασὶν Ἀλκμήνης ποτὲ πραθέντα τλῆναι δουλίας μάξης τυχεῖν. εἰ δ' οὖν ἀνάγκη τῆσδ' ἐπιρρέποι τύχης, ἀρχαιοπλούτων δεσποτῶν πολλὴ χάρις ('Slavery is unpleasant: but if one *must* be a slave...'). For the ellipse, *v. schol.*): *Ch.* 571 'If the porter keeps me out, I will sit at Aegisthus' doors until people begin to ask why he excludes me. εἰ δ' οὖν ἀμείψω βαλόν ('while if I *do* cross the threshold...'): *Fr.* 190. 30-33 Mette ὡς ἐξέτριβες Ἰσθμιαστικὴν [...] κούκ ἠμέλησας ἀλλ' ἐγυμνάζου καλῶς: εἰ δ' οὖν ἐσώζου τὴν πάλαι παροιμίαν, τοῦρχημα μάλλον εἰκὸς ἦν σε [: *S.El.* 577 ἀνθ' ὧν βιασθεῖς... ἐθυσεν αὐτήν, οὐχὶ Μενέλεω χάριν. εἰ δ' οὖν, ἐρῶ γὰρ καὶ τὸ σόν, κεῖνον θέλων ἐπωφελῆσαι ταῦτ' ἔδρα, τούτου θανεῖν χρῆν αὐτὸν οὐνεκ' ἐκ σέθεν; *OT* 851 κούκ ἐστίν αὐτῷ τοῦτό γ' ἐκβαλεῖν πάλιν... εἰ δ' οὖν τι κάκτρεποιτο τοῦ πρόσθεν λόγου...: *E.Alc.* 850 οὐκ ἐστίν ὅστις αὐτὸν ἐξαιρήσεται... ἦν δ' οὖν ἀμάρτω τῆσδ' ἄγρας...: *Heracl.* 310 (μὲν... ἦν δ' οὖν: as Paley observes, δέ is copulative here, not, as usually, adversative): 714 Παιδὸς μελήσει παισὶ τοῖς λελειμμένοις.—'Ἦν δ' οὖν, ὃ μὴ γένοιτο, χρήσονται τύχη: ('But if—and there's the rub—...'): *Rh.* 572 Φυλάξομαί τοι κὰν σκότῳ τιθεῖς πόδα.—'Ἦν δ' οὖν ἐγείρης, οἶσθα σύνθημα στρατοῦ; ('But if—which God forbid—you *do* wake anyone...?'): *Ar.Eq.* 423 Καὶ ταῦτα δρῶν ἐλάνθανόν γ'· εἰ δ' οὖν ἴδοι τις αὐτῶν...: *E.Andr.* 163.338: *Or.* 1149: *HF* 213: *Fr.* 460: *Ar.Pax* 736: *V.* 92: *An.* 577: *Pl.R.* 337C ὡς δὲ ὁμοιον τοῦτο ἐκείνῳ.—Οὐδὲν γε κωλύει...: εἰ δ' οὖν καὶ μὴ ἐστίν ὁμοιον...: *D.* xviii 277 (to be classed, perhaps, rather as resumptive: see (2) above): *xlvii* 4 μάλιστα μὲν οὖν ἂν ἠβουλόμην μὴ ἔχειν πράγματα: εἰ δ' οὖν ἀναγκάζοι τις...: *Pl.Chrm.* 160C: *Ig.* 664A, 711E, 840E, 860C, 917B, 932A: *Pl.* 276B: *Phil.* 42E: *R.* 388C, 494D: *Er.* 336D: *X.*... 49: *Lys.* ix 11: *D.* lviii 16.

(*A.Ag.* 676 is different: Μενέλεων γὰρ οὖν πρῶτόν τε καὶ μάλιστ' προσδῶκα μολεῖν. εἰ δ' οὖν τις ἀκτὶς ἡλίου νιν ἰστορεῖ... ἐλπὶς τις αὐτὸν πρὸς δόμους ἤξειν πάλιν ('And, supposing the contrary, still if...'), Verrall: if so, εἰ δ' οὖν stands for εἰ δ' οὖν ἤδη μὴ

ἔμολεν, ὅμως, εἰ. . . . Perhaps, more simply, 'Anyhow he *will* come, if alive', δ' οὖν going with apodosis rather than with protasis.)

In X.Lac.13.11, if δ' οὖν is sound (δ' οὖν AM: δέ C), it comes near to δέ δή in force (cf. *supr.* I.2), sharply contrasting the all-embracing initial authority of the king with the subsequent delegation of that authority to special officials: καὶ ἄρχονται μὲν πάντες ἀπὸ βασιλέως, ὅταν βούλωνται πράξαι τι. ἦν δ' οὖν δίκης δεόμενος τις ἔλθῃ, πρὸς ἑλληνοδίκας τοῦτον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀποπέμπει, ἦν δὲ χρημάτων, πρὸς ταμίας. In Pl.R.365E δ' οὖν brushes aside the possibility of disbelieving the poets: οἷς ἢ ἀμφοτέρω ἢ οὐδέτερω πειστέον. εἰ δ' οὖν πειστέον, ἀδικητέον.

Occasionally the εἰ clause is elliptical, and εἰ δ' οὖν virtually stands for εἰ δὲ μή. S.Ant.722 φῆμ' ἔγωγε πρεσβεύειν πολλὴ φῦναι τιν' ἄνδρα πάντ' ἐπιστήμης πλέων· εἰ δ' οὖν, φιλεῖ γὰρ τοῦτο μὴ ταύτην ῥέπειν, καὶ τῶν λεγόντων εὖ καλὸν τὸ μανθάνειν: E.Hipp.508 Εἴ τοι δοκεῖ σοι, χρῆν μὲν οὐ σ' ἀμαρτάνειν· εἰ δ' οὖν, πιθοῦ μοι· δευτέρα γὰρ ἡ χάρις: Hp.Vict.89 οἶνον δὲ μὴ πίνειν· εἰ δ' οὖν, λευκόν (some MSS.): Pl.Ap.34D οὐκ ἀξιῶ μὲν γὰρ ἔγωγε, εἰ δ' οὖν.

Hp.Nat.Mul.10 is different: καὶ ἦν μὴ δάκνη, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου φάναι (χρῆ) εἶναι τὸ ῥεῦμα· εἰ δ' οὖν, ἀπὸ τῆς κοιλίης (some MSS.): here οὖν simply stresses the contrast between positive and negative suppositions: 'Whereas if it *does* . . .'.  
(4) Permissive. δ' οὖν is often used in the dialogue of drama (there is no trace of this idiom in prose dialogue: see, however, Hdt.ix48.4, under (5) below) to denote that the speaker waives any objection that he has, or might be supposed to have, to something being done, or contemplated, by another person. The verb is in the imperative, 2nd or 3rd person. The particles are almost invariably preceded by σύ or ὁ (ἢ, οἱ), and the expression nearly always forms the opening of a speech. The tone is usually defiant or contemptuous.

A.Pr.935 Ἄλλ' ἄθλον ἂν σοι τοῦδ' ἔτ' ἀλγίω πόροι.—'Ο δ' οὖν ποιείτω: Eu.226 Τὸν ἄνδρ' ἐκείνον οὐ τι μὴ λίπω ποτέ.—Σὺ δ' οὖν δίδωκε: S.OC1205 Τέκνον, βαρεῖαν ἡδονὴν νικᾷτέ με λέγοντες· ἔστω δ' οὖν ὅπως ὑμῖν φίλον: E.Andr.258 Πῦρ σοι προσοίσω. . .—Σὺ δ' οὖν κάταθε: Ar.Ach.185 οἱ δ' ἐδίωκον κάβρων.—Οἱ δ' οὖν βοώντων ('Well, let them shout'): Nu.39 Ἐασον . . . κατα-

δαρθεῖν τί με.—Σὺ δ' οὖν κάθευδε: V.764 (the concession takes the form of a compromise): Av.56 Πι. . . . τῷ σκέλει θένε τὴν πέτραν.—Eu. Σὺ δὲ τῇ κεφαλῇ γ', ἵν' ἦ διπλάσιος ὁ ψόφος.—Πι. Σὺ δ' οὖν λίθω κόψον λαβών (Peithetaerus admits that Euelpides has held his own in the contest of wits: 'missis iocis', van Leeuwen: 'All right then, seriously, knock with a stone'): Ra.31 Δι. (abandoning his thesis that the donkey, not Xanthias, is carrying the load) Σὺ δ' οὖν, ἐπειδὴ τὸν ὄνον οὐ φῆς σ' ὠφελεῖν, ἐν τῷ μέρει σὺ τὸν ὄνον ἀράμενος φέρε ('All right, then'). (In the last three examples δ' οὖν, while making a concession, goes on to make a fresh suggestion, thus trenching on the province of δ' ἀλλά.) Exceptionally, in mid speech: Ar.Lys.491 αἰετινα κοροκυγῆν ἐκύκων. οἱ δ' οὖν τοῦδ' οὐνεκα δρώντων ὅτι βούλονται. S.Tr.329,1157: Aj.114,961: El.891: OT669: E.HF726: Rh.336,868: Ar.V.6: Th.612.

In S.Ant.751 'Η δ' οὖν θανεῖται καὶ θανοῦσ' ὀλεῖ τινα, Hartung's ἢ δ' οὖν is adopted in the O.C.T., against MSS. and scholia: 'Very well, then, she shall die'. If correct, this is a solitary instance of permissive δ' οὖν with the indicative: but see Jebb. The interpretation of Ar.V.1154 is uncertain.

(5) Apodotic. δ' οὖν is very occasionally found *in apodosis*, like the far commoner apodotic δέ. Hdt.v50.2 χρεὸν γὰρ μιν μὴ λέγειν τὸ ἔόν, βουλόμενον γε Σπαρτιήτας ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, λέγει δ' ὦν τριῶν μηνῶν φὰς εἶναι τὴν ἄνοδον: ix48.4 καὶ ἦν μὲν δοκῆ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους μάχεσθαι, οἱ δ' ὦν μετέπειτα μαχέσθων ὕστεροι: A.Eu.887 ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἀγνόν ἐστί σοι Πειθοῦς σέβας. . . . σὺ δ' οὖν μένοις ἄν (where Verrall and other editors deny that the sense is continuous). In the last two examples apodotic and permissive are perhaps blended.

In the following, δ' οὖν is hardly to be regarded as apodotic, since we may reasonably assume an anacoluthon after the parenthesis. Pl.Men.98B ἀλλ' εἴπερ τι ἄλλο φαίην ἂν εἶδέναι—ὀλίγα δ' ἂν φαίην—ἐν δ' οὖν καὶ τοῦτο ἐκείνων θείην ἂν ὦν οἶδα: R.330E καὶ αὐτός—ἦτοι ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ γήρωσ ἀσθενείας ἢ καὶ ὑποψίας δ' οὖν καὶ δείματος μεστὸς γίγνεται: Ti.28B: L.811C.

III. Textual difficulties. γοῦν and δ' οὖν are liable to be confused

in MSS. In Th.i63.1 and vii82.1 δ' οὖν is read, no doubt rightly, by Poppo and Dobree respectively, for γοῦν: so too by Bekker in Pl.Lg.634D and by Elmsley in E.El.508. Contrariwise, in Ar.Av.1027 Dobree's γοῦν (*sane*, van Leeuwen) for δ' οὖν seems required. I should suggest γοῦν in Pl.Lg.653A φρόνησιν δὲ καὶ ἀληθεῖς δόξας βεβαίους εὐτυχῆς ὄτῳ καὶ πρὸς τὸ γῆρας παρεγένετο· τέλος δ' οὖν ἔστ' ἄνθρωπος ταῦτα . . . κεκτημένος ἀγαθά (des Places, p. 211, renders δ' οὖν 'en tout cas (= quoi qu'il en soit de leur possibilité)'). In Prm.130E Proclus's δ' οὖν is certainly more idiomatic than οὖν (BT). In X.Cyr.viii7.9 Hertlein's δ' οὖν has the merit of accounting for both οὖν and δὲ νῦν, and may perhaps be right, though the sense certainly seems to require οὖν. In Aen.Tact.18.21 δ' οὖν is clearly impossible (and Schoene's δοῦν = δὴ οὖν most unlikely). In id.7.1 οὖν (or possibly γοῦν: q.v. II) seems to be required. In S.OT310 Jebb's σύ νυν is probably right (σὺ νῦν L<sup>ac</sup>: σὺ δ' οὖν rec.) In Is.i10 read, probably, τότε δ' οὖν (for ὅτι γοῦν: see γοῦν, II *ad fin.*). In E.Or.530 Hermann's δ' οὖν is perhaps right: but οὖν may possibly stand, as introducing a new point, 'Now, one thing . . .'.

καὶ . . . δὲ οὖν, a stronger form of καὶ . . . δέ, seems only to occur in Pl.Epin.977B καὶ τὴν ἄλλην δὲ οὖν φρόνησιν (if the text is sound).

### Οὖν δὴ : δὴ οὖν

These combinations, very common in Herodotus and Plato, are rarely found elsewhere (never in the tragedians, except for οὖν δὴ in Sophocles.) Klotz observes (ii418) that in Attic they are especially used in questions. This is certainly true of Plato, except that in the *Timaeus*, a dialogue which, by reason of its form, contains few questions, οὖν δὴ is predominantly used in statements. On the whole, οὖν δὴ tends to replace δὴ οὖν in Plato's later works. Thus, in the *Timaeus* and *Laws* the proportions of οὖν δὴ to δὴ οὖν are 14 to 1 and 48 to 4 respectively: and in *Sophist*, *Politicus*, *Philebus*, *Timaeus*, *Critias*, and *Laws* combined, as compared with the earlier dialogues, the proportions are, οὖν δὴ, 83 to 48: δὴ οὖν 4 to 52 (des Places, p. 85, who refers to H. Kallenberg, *Rh.M.lxviii*(1913)465-76).

On the other hand, in the fairly early *Gorgias*, δὴ οὖν is not found, while οὖν δὴ occurs 7 times: while in the slightly later *Phaedrus* δὴ οὖν occurs 11 times, as against οὖν δὴ twice.<sup>1</sup>

It appears impossible to distinguish in meaning between οὖν δὴ and δὴ οὖν. Kühner (II ii 162) renders 'also offenbar' and 'offenbar also'. But, as both οὖν and δὴ are used both for connexion and for emphasis, we may perhaps regard the earlier particle in each combination as connective, the second as ancillary. 'Ils ne se distinguent pas dans la pratique', des Places observes. In Hdt.iii 130.2 neither particle is connective: ὁ δὲ ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ὦν ἐκφαίνει: so, too, in places where οὖν δὴ, δὴ οὖν reinforce other particles (see below).

οὖν δὴ. S.Aj.873 Τί οὖν δὴ; Tr.153 πάθη μὲν οὖν δὴ πόλλ' ἔγωγ' ἐκλαυσάμην: Hdt.i 11.4 οὐκ ὦν δὴ ἔπειθε: 84.4 ὁ ὦν δὴ Τροιάδης οὗτος: 115.3 εἰ ὦν δὴ τοῦδε εἵνεκα ἀξίος τευ κακοῦ εἶμι: 174.3 τὸ ὦν δὴ ὀλίγον τοῦτο (after parenthesis): Pl.Cra.409E Τί οὖν δὴ; 440D ἴσως μὲν οὖν δὴ . . . οὕτως ἔχει, ἴσως δὲ καὶ οὐ: *Thit.* 195E ἴθι οὖν δὴ, σὺ ἀποκρίνου: R.359B ἡ μὲν οὖν δὴ φύσις δικαιοσύνης αὕτη τε καὶ τοιαύτη: 360D ταῦτα μὲν οὖν δὴ οὕτω: 360E τίς οὖν δὴ ἡ διάστασις; 459A Πῶς οὖν δὴ ὠφελιμώτατοι ἔσσονται; X.HGv 3.5 πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι: Lac.2.7 ταῦτα οὖν δὴ πάντα (δὴ om. Stob.): Hdt.v 63.1: 96.2: id. saep.<sup>2</sup>: Hp. Genit.51 (χρή pro δὴ vulg.): Pl.Ti.21B, 24C, 26D, 27D, 30B: id. saep.

οὐκοῦν δὴ: Pl.R.459E. In Lys.xxix4 read, probably, οὐκοῦν δὴ που γ' ὡς (C.R.xliv(1930)214).

<sup>1</sup> My statistics are based partly on des Places, partly on unpublished notes of R. W. Chapman. I have not troubled to reconcile slight differences originating in different methods of computation. The two sets of figures agree as near as matters.

<sup>2</sup> The following table (the exact accuracy of which I cannot guarantee) of the examples of ὦν δὴ, δὴ ὦν in Herodotus, shows that these combinations are, on the whole, rarer in Books VII-IX, which were perhaps written first:—

	ὦν δὴ	δὴ ὦν	ὦν δὴ	δὴ ὦν
Book I	8	16	Book VI	3
II	6	3	VII	1
III	5	12	VIII	1
IV	3	3	IX	1
V	2	2		
			Total	32

δὴ οὖν: Hdt.18 οὗτος δὴ ὦν ὁ Κανδαύλης: 30 αὐτῶν δὴ ὦν τούτων καὶ τῆς θεωρίας ἐκδημήσας ὁ Σόλων εἵνεκεν: 34,58,59, 69,75,80,82,94: *id. saep.*: Pl.*Euthrhr.*4D ταῦτα δὴ οὖν καὶ ἀγανακτεῖ ὁ τε πατήρ: *Cra.*408E Τί δὴ οὖν πρῶτον βούλει; *Th.* 150C εἶμι δὴ οὖν αὐτὸς μὲν οὐ πᾶν τι σοφός: 151D πάλιν δὴ οὖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς . . . πειρῶ λέγειν: *R.*369E Τί δὴ οὖν; 497C δῆλος δὴ οὖν εἶ: *Ti.*24D ὠκείτε δὴ οὖν: *id. saep.*: *Hr.**Acut.*13.

δὴ . . . οὖν: Pl.*Lg.*802E τὸ δὴ μεγαλοπρεπὲς οὖν (here δὴ seems to go closely with τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς, while οὖν gives the connexion: cf. *Lg.*926A Τί δὴ τις οὖν . . . δρῶν . . . ;)

δὴ οὖν and οὖν δὴ reinforcing other particles.<sup>1</sup> Hdt.v124.2 εἶτε δὴ ὦν . . . εἶτε (viii54): Pl.*R.*507A τοῦτον δὲ δὴ οὖν τὸν τόκον . . . κομίσασθε: 619B καὶ δὴ οὖν καὶ τότε (οὖν *om.* Proclus): *Lg.*775B οὔτε . . . οὔτ' οὖν δὴ: *Alc.*1108D ὡσπερ ἐκεῖ ἐγὼ . . . καὶ σὺ δὴ οὖν οὕτως ἐνταῦθα τί φῆς; γοῦν δὴ (only in replies, in Plato: the converse form, γε δὴ οὖν, is not found: R. W. C.): *Sph.*232C Λέγεται γοῦν δὴ (γοῦν *IV*: οὖν *BT*): 232E (δὴ *IV om. BT*): *Plt.*270B,311A: *Lg.*679D.

For γὰρ οὖν δὴ, see γὰρ οὖν, (4) and (5).

ἀτὰρ οὖν δὴ: Pl.*Chrm.*154B: *Plt.*269D.

οὖν δὴ universalizing a relative: Pl.*Lg.*789D ὅπως οὖν δὴ.

For οὖν δῆπου, see δῆπου, *ad fin.*

(For a full list of examples of οὖν δὴ, δὴ οὖν in Plato, see des Places.)

### Μὲν οὖν

We have seen that μὲν may be either prospective, adversative (possibly) or affirmative: while οὖν may be either retrospective, logical-progressive, or ancillary and emphatic. Hence the combination of the particles presents a considerable diversity of usage.

(1) Retrospective and transitional οὖν with prospective μὲν. μὲν οὖν occurs in the Homeric poems with increasing proportionate

<sup>1</sup> It is hardly worth while to tabulate instances of the collocation of preparatory μὲν with connective οὖν δὴ, δὴ οὖν: μὲν οὖν δὴ, often in Plato: *Phil.*112E, *Cra*449D (for which, and for *S.Tr.*153, *X.HG*v3.5, see p. 469): μὲν δὴ οὖν *Pl.Phd.*252E,256A.

frequency, once in the *Iliad*, five times in the *Odyssey*, and four times in the *Hymns*. In the examples from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* there is always a backward reference, as in ἐπεὶ οὖν and ὡς οὖν, and usually an echoed word. I550 (543 τὸν δ' . . . ἀπέκτεινεν Μελέαγρος) . . . ὄφρα μὲν οὖν Μελέαγρος ἀρηϊφίλος πολέμιζε, τόφρα δὲ . . . : 8780 βὰν δ' ἰέναι ἐπὶ νῆα θοήν . . . νῆα μὲν οὖν πάμπρωτον . . . : 4448 (437 ἄρχετε νῦν νέκυας φορέειν) . . . πρῶτα μὲν οὖν νέκυας φόρεον: ν122: 0361: ψ142. So, too, *h.Merc.*62 θεὸς δ' ὑπὸ καλὸν ἀειδεν . . . καὶ τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀειδε, τὰ δὲ φρεσὶν ἄλλα μενοίνα: 350. But in the two remaining passages in the *Hymns* μὲν οὖν is purely transitional, 'now': *h.Merc.*577 πᾶσι δ' ὅ γε θνήτοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ὀμιλεῖ παῦρα μὲν οὖν ὀνίνησι, τὸ δ' ἄκριτον ἠπεροπεύει (introducing an explanation of ὀμιλεῖ): *h.Cer.*33 τὴν δ' ἀεκαζομένην ἦγεν . . . ὄφρα μὲν οὖν γαῖάν τε καὶ οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα λεῦσσε θεά . . . . It will be noticed in the above examples that μὲν οὖν always comes near the beginning of a sentence, and that, except in two passages which start with καὶ (ν122: *h.Merc.*62), there is no formal connecting particle. Clearly οὖν, in μὲν οὖν, is well on the way to becoming a connective.

The Pindaric examples (except *N.*6.10: see (2)), and some of the Aeschylean, are purely transitional. *Pi.P.*3.82 ἐν παρ' ἑσλὸν πῆματα σύνδυο δαίονται βροτοῖς ἀθάνατοι. τὰ μὲν ὦν οὐ δύνανται νῆπιοι κόσμῳ φέρειν, ἀλλ' ἀγαθοί (after describing divine dispensations, it is natural to go on to describe how men bear them: 'Now these ills fools cannot endure'): *O.*1.111: *P.*3.47: *I.*4.7: *Fr.*234(42).3: *A.Pr.*827 'I will describe Io's wanderings up to the present time. ὄχλον μὲν οὖν τὸν πλεῖστον ἐκλείψω λόγων, πρὸς αὐτὸ δ' εἶμι τέρμα σῶν πλανημάτων' ('Now,' 'Well'): *Ch.*700 ('Well, I wish I had brought better tidings': μὲν answered by (δέ) in 704): *Th.*615 'Amphiaraus will be involved in the ruin of his evil associates. δοκῶ μὲν οὖν σφε μηδὲ προσβαλεῖν πύλαις . . . ὅμως δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ φῶτα . . . ἀντιτάξομεν' (after his moralizing, Eteocles turns to the business in hand: 'Well'): *Supp.*134 (μὲν answered by δέ in 138).

From the second half of the fifth century, the transitional use of μὲν οὖν is very common. The following verse examples are mostly from Bäumllein: *S.OT*843 Ἀριστὰς ἔφασκεσ αὐτῶν ἄνδρας ἐννέπειν ὡς νιν κατακτείνειαν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐτι λέξει τὸν

αὐτὸν ἀριθμὸν, οὐκ ἐγὼ 'κτανον . . . εἰ δ' . . . ('Now, if . . .'): *Fr.*420: *E.El.*1270 'You will be acquitted before the Areopagus. δειναὶ μὲν οὖν θεαὶ τῷδ' ἄχει πεπληγμένοι . . . χάσμα δύσονται χθονός, . . . σὲ δ' . . .': 1284 (after directions for the burial of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra) *Πυλάδης μὲν οὖν . . . οἰκάδ' ἐσπορευέτω . . . σὺ δ' . . .*: *Ion*1518: *IT*968: *Ph.*438,465,861: *Hec.*1192.

This transitional use is very frequent in prose. E.g. *Th.i.*138.5 νοσήσας δὲ τελευτᾶ τὸν βίον . . . μνημεῖον μὲν οὖν αὐτοῦ ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ ἐστὶ . . . τὰ δὲ ὀστᾶ φασὶ . . . . Often the μὲν clause sums up and rounds off the old topic, while the δέ clause introduces the new one (cf. μὲν δὴ, p. 258). *Hdt.*14 (after describing various ἀρπαγαί) μέχρι μὲν ὧν τούτου ἀρπαγὰς μούνας εἶναι παρ' ἀλλήλων, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τούτου . . . : *Th.*115 τὰ μὲν οὖν ναυτικὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοιαῦτα ἦν . . . ἰσχὺν δὲ περιεποιήσαντο . . . : *Ant.* 113 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν μέχρι τούτου· περὶ δὲ τῶν γενομένων . . . . Very common in Aristotle: *Pol.*1255b39 περὶ μὲν οὖν δούλου καὶ δεσπότου τούτον διωρίσθω τὸν τρόπον. ὅλως δὲ περὶ πάσης κτήσεως . . . . In *Pl.Grg.*465D-E μὲν οὖν comes four times, only the last being answered by δέ: as des Places (p. 92) picturesquely puts it: 'Les trois premiers μὲν οὖν sont de fausses sorties, il entr'ouvre la porte qu'il ouvre pour de bon avec le δέ de 466A2.'

I have grouped together above, as 'transitional', passages ranging from the Homeric *Hymns* to Aristotle. It may appear artificial to talk of 'transitional' μὲν οὖν in speaking of late fifth- and fourth-century literature, by which time οὖν, by itself, has become firmly established as a transitional (and inferential) particle. The transitional force, it might be urged, resides in οὖν alone, which is no more essentially connected with μὲν than γάρ is in μὲν γάρ. This objection may be answered by pointing out that μὲν οὖν is already used in transitions, in the Homeric *Hymns*, Pindar, and Aeschylus, at a period when the connective force of οὖν has not yet been developed. (This use of μὲν οὖν may, in fact, have contributed to the development of independent connective οὖν.) Quite possibly (though one cannot be certain) Pindar and Aeschylus felt οὖν as emphasizing μὲν, as in (2) below, not as supplying a connexion, whereas Thucydides and Demosthenes cannot have felt it so. Nevertheless, although with different view-points (by 'view-points' I do not mean to

imply that the ancient authors theorized about the matter), μὲν οὖν is used both by earlier and by later writers in transitions. And it is for this reason that I group the later and the earlier passages together (while not thinking it appropriate to quote here passages in which οὖν, in μὲν οὖν, has its later, strictly inferential, force). The development of the transitional use of μὲν δὴ (see pp. 258-9) is closely parallel.

(2) Οὖν emphasizing a prospective μὲν. Cf. μὲν δὴ, p. 258. This usage is not adequately recognized by theorists, and it is rare enough to be a stumbling-block to copyists and editors.<sup>1</sup> It is commoner in Hippocrates and Aristotle than elsewhere: unknown to Aeschylus (except, possibly, *Cl.*931), Euripides, Aristophanes, and the Attic orators (except for one instance in Hyperides: in *Lys.*xix 60 the second οὖν (*om.* Aldus) is no doubt caused by μὲν οὖν just before).

Xenoph.*Fr.*34 καὶ τὸ μὲν οὖν σαφὲς οὔτις ἀνὴρ γένητ' . . . εἰδὼς ἀμφὶ θεῶν . . . δόκος δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι τέτυκται: *Emp.*Fr.15 ὄφρα μὲν . . . τόφρα μὲν οὖν εἰσιν . . . πρὶν δὲ . . . οὐδὲν ἄρ' εἰσιν: *Melanipp.*Fr.4 τάχα δὴ τάχα τοὶ μὲν οὖν ἀπωλλύοντο, τοὶ δὲ παράπληκτον χέρον ὀμφάν: *Pi.N.*6.10 ἀρούραισιν, αἰτ' ἀμειβόμεναι τόκα μὲν ὧν βίον ἀνδρασιν . . . ἔδοσαν, τόκα δ' αἰτ' ἀναπαυσάμεναι σθένος ἔμαρψαν: *A.Cl.*931 Στένω μὲν οὖν . . . ἐπεὶ δὲ . . . (οὖν, 'it is true', Tucker: but perhaps transitional, 'Well, I lament'): *S.OT*498 ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν οὖν Ζεὺς ὁ τ' Ἀπόλλων ξυνετοί . . . ἀνδρῶν δ' ὅτι μάντις πλέον ἢ γὰρ φέρεται, κρίσις οὐκ ἔστιν ἀληθής: *Ant.*925 ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν οὖν τὰδ' ἐστὶν ἐν θεοῖς καλὰ . . . εἰ δ' οἶδ' ἀμαρτάνουσι . . . (Jebb's note, 'ἀλλ' οὖν, "well then"', is most misleading): *Th.*iii 101.2 καὶ αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι δόντες ὀμήρους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπεισαν δοῦναι . . . πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τοὺς ὀμόρους . . . ἔπειτα Ἰπνέας: *iv* 104.5 καὶ ἐβούλετο φθάσαι μάλιστα μὲν οὖν τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν, πρὶν τι ἐνδοῦναι, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τὴν Ἡϊόνα προκαταλαβών: *Pl.Phil.*40E προθυμητέον ὑγιῶς ἔχειν, σοὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τοῦ ἔπειτα βίου παντὸς ἕνεκα, ἐμοὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἕνεκα

<sup>1</sup> Kühner (II ii 157), remarking that 'οὖν weist auf das Vorhergehende hin, und dient zugleich (*sic*) zur Kraftigung des μὲν', confuses two idioms which, in post-Homeric Greek, are kept quite distinct, and indiscriminately groups some of the examples which I am about to give with others given under (1).



τοῦ θανάτου: *Ti.29B* ὧδε οὖν . . . διοριστέον, ὡς ἄρα τοὺς λόγους, ὧν πέρ εἰσιν ἐξηγηταί, τούτων αὐτῶν καὶ συγγενεῖς ὄντας τοῦ μὲν οὖν μονίμου . . . μονίμους . . . τοὺς δὲ τοῦ πρὸς μὲν ἐκείνο ἀπεικασθέντος, ὄντος δὲ εἰκότος εἰκότας ἀνὰ λόγον τε ἐκείνων ὄντας (οὖν *secl.* Wilamowitz): *Plt.269D* ὃν δὲ οὐρανὸν καὶ κόσμον ἐπωνομάκαμεν, πολλῶν μὲν οὖν . . . μετείληφεν, ἀτὰρ οὖν δὴ κεκοινῶνηκέ γε καὶ σώματος (μὲν οὖν *B*: μὲν *cell.*): *X.An.1v7.2* ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφίκοντο . . . Χειρίσοφος μὲν οὖν . . . προσέβαλλεν . . . ἐπειδὴ δὲ . . . (οὖν *om. dett.*): *Agas.7.7* εἰ δ' αὖ καλὸν καὶ μίσο-πέρσην εἶναι, ὅτι καὶ ὁ πάλαι ἐξεστράτευσεν . . . ὀρώσι μὲν οὖν ἅπαντες ταῦτα: ἐπεμελήθη δὲ τίς ἄλλος πώποτε πλὴν Ἀγησί-λαος . . . ; (but οὖν might be resumptive here, with anacoluthon): *Eq.6 14* (οὖν: *fort.* σύν, Marchant, with very great probability): *HGv3.7* μάλιστα μὲν οὖν . . . ἀτὰρ . . . (οὖν *del.* Cobet): *Hyp. Ath.11* καὶ τῶν ἐράνων εἰς μὲν οὖν, Δικαιοκράτης, ἐνεγέγραπτο, οὗ ἦσαν λοιπαὶ τρεῖς φοραὶ: οὗτος μὲν . . . (οὗ *pro* οὖν *B*).

In two Platonic passages (see *des Places*, pp. 104-5, 117-8), which are perhaps to be similarly explained, μὲν οὖν introduces an answer; but perhaps οὖν is connective, 'well': cf. the use of οὐκοῦν and τοῖνυν in answers (*Introd. II.5.i.*). *Phlb.51B* Πῶς δὴ ταῦτα . . . αὖ λέγομεν οὕτω;—Πάνυ μὲν οὖν οὐκ εὐθύς δηλὰ ἐστίν ἃ λέγω, πειρατέον μὴν δηλοῦν (οὖν *secl.* Radham: see also (4) below): *Sph.229D* Τί δὲ . . . λεκτέον;—Οἶμαι μὲν οὖν . . . (οὖν *om.* *W* Stobaeus): cf. *X.HGvi3.13* (οὖν *om.* *CF*).

Hippocrates and Aristotle. *Hr.Fract.4* ἐπειτα ἐπιθεῖν τῷ ὀθονίῳ, τὴν ἀρχὴν βαλλόμενος κατὰ τὸ κατήγημα: ἐρείδων μὲν οὖν, μὴ πιέζων δὲ κάρτα (οὖν *secl.* Withington): *Int.49* τούτῳ ἦν μὲν οὖν ξυμφέρη . . . ἦν δὲ μὴ ξυμφέρη (μὲν *om.* *H*: οὖν *om.* *K*): *Fist.9* μανδραγόρου ρίζαν μάλιστα μὲν χλωρὴν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ξηρὴν, τὴν μὲν οὖν χλωρὴν . . . τὴν δὲ γε ξηρὴν . . . : *Art.14* ἄλλοι δ' αὖ τινές εἰσιν οἵτινες . . . ἐπιδέουσι μὲν οὖν . . . ζώσαντες δὲ . . . (οὖν *om.* *CEKL*): *Mochl. 2,21*: *Foet.Exsect.5*: *Vict.75,82,89*: *Arist.Po.1458a25* ἡ αἰνιγμα ἐστὶ ἡ βαρβαρισμός: ἂν μὲν οὖν ἐκ μεταφορῶν, αἰνιγμα, ἐὰν δ' ἐκ γλωττῶν, βαρβαρισμός: *Rh. 1387a33* καὶ τὸν ἥττω τῷ κρείττονι ἀμφισβητεῖν, μάλιστα μὲν οὖν τοὺς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ . . . εἰ δὲ μὴ . . . (οὖν omitted in some MSS.): *Pol.1252b29* πόλις . . . γινομένη μὲν οὖν τοῦ ζῆν ἕνεκεν, οὕσα δὲ τοῦ εὖ ζῆν: 1316a9, 1329b3: *EN1141a11* (οὖν omitted in some MSS.): *SE169a19*.

(3) Οὖν emphasizing an adversative or affirmative μὲν. This use, first found in Aeschylus, is common in verse and prose dialogue, very rare in continuous speech.

(i) In dialogue. Adversative. 'No': 'on the contrary': 'rather'. *A.Ag.1090* Πρὸς τὴν Ἀτρειδῶν (στέγην σ' ἤγαγεν) . . .—*Μισόθεον μὲν οὖν*: *S.Aj.1363* δειλοῦς . . .—*Ἄνδρας μὲν οὖν . . . ἐνδίκους*: *Ph.1378* Ἡ πρὸς τὰ Τροίας πεδία . . . ;—*Πρὸς τοὺς μὲν οὖν σε . . . παύσοντας ἄλγους*: *E.Hcl.1631-2* εἰ μὴ μ' ἐάσεις—*Οὐ μὲν οὖν σ' ἐάσομεν*.—*Σύγγονον κτανεῖν κακίστην*—*Εὐσεβεστάτην μὲν οὖν*: *Or.1521* Μὴ πέτρος γένη δέδοικας . . . ;—*Μὴ μὲν οὖν νεκρός*: *At.Eq.911* Ἀπομυξάμενος . . . μου πρὸς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποψῶ.—*Ἐμοῦ μὲν οὖν*.—*Ἐμοῦ μὲν οὖν*: *Nu.71* "ὅταν . . . ἄρμ' ἐλαύνης . . ." ἐγὼ δ' ἔφη, "Ὅταν μὲν οὖν τὰς αἴγας . . .": *V.898* τίμημα κλωδὸς σύκινος.—*Θάνατος μὲν οὖν κύνειος*: *S.El.1503*: *OT705*: *E.Cyc.546*: *Alc.821,1113*: *Or. 1511*: *IA893,1537*: *Rh.687*: *Hec.1261*: *At.Ach.285*: *Eq.13*: *Nu. 220,1112*: *V.515,953,1377,1421*: *Av.292*: *Ra.556*: *Pl.Grg.406a* κολακεία δοκεῖ σοὶ εἶναι ἡ ῥητορικὴ;—*Κολακείας μὲν οὖν ἐγωγε εἶπον μόριον*: *Smpr.201C* σοὶ οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην ἀντιλέγειν . . .—*Οὐ μὲν οὖν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ . . . δύνασαι ἀντιλέγειν*: *Chrm.161D* ἢ σὺ οὐδὲν ἡγῆ πράττειν τὸν γραμματιστὴν . . . ;—*Ἐγωγε ἡγοῦμαι μὲν οὖν, ἔφη* ('On the contrary, I do think that he does something'): *Cra.405A* ἄτοπον . . .—*Εὐάρμοστον μὲν οὖν*: *Thl.165A* σοὶ λέγω ὄπη, ἡ Θεαιτήτῳ;—*Εἰς τὸ κοινὸν μὲν οὖν*: *Lg.657A* Θαυμαστὸν λέγεις.—*Νομοθετικὸν μὲν οὖν*: *Phlb.25B* Σὺ καὶ ἐμοὶ φράσεις, ὡς οἶμαι.—*Θεὸς μὲν οὖν*: 34D οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀπολοῦμεν.—*Ἀπολοῦμεν μὲν οὖν ταῦτά γε* ('doch'): *Alc.1129E* Οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν.—*Ἐχεις μὲν οὖν, ὅτι γε . . .*: *X.Mem.iii8.4* Ἄρ' οὖν, ἔφη, πάντα ὁμοία ἀλλήλοις;—*Ὡς οἶόν τε μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, ἀνομοιοτάτα ἔνια*: *Pl.Lg. 673A* οὐκ οἶδ' ὄντινα τρόπον ὠνομάσαμεν μουσικὴν.—*Ὅρθως μὲν οὖν* (contradicting the disparaging οὐκ οἶδ' ὄντινα τρόπον). *Cri. 44B*: *Grg.470B*: *R.531C*: *Lg.694E*: 832A.

(ii) The second speaker, while agreeing with what the first has said, as far as it goes, shows that he regards it as inadequate by substituting a stronger form of expression. *A.Pers.1000* Παπαῖ, παπαῖ.—*Καὶ πλέον ἢ παπαῖ μὲν οὖν*: *S.OC31* Ἡ δὲ προσστείχοντα κάξορμώμενον (ὄρθως τὸν ἄνδρα);—*Καὶ δὴ μὲν οὖν παρόντα*: *E.Andr.837* Ἄλγεις, φόνον ράψασα συγγάμφ σέθεν;—

Κατὰ μὲν οὖν στένω δαΐας τόλμας: *Ag. Av.* 1387 Ἐκ τῶν νεφελῶν γὰρ ἂν τις ἀναβολὰς λάβοι;—Κρέματα μὲν οὖν ἐντεῦθεν ἡμῶν ἢ τέχνη: *Ra.* 612 ὑπερφυᾶ.—Σχέτλια μὲν οὖν καὶ δεινά: *Ec.* 377 Ἦδη λένυται γάρ (ἢ ἐκκλησία);—Νῆ Δί' ὄρθριον μὲν οὖν: *Pl.* 1036 Οὐκ ἀλλὰ κατασέσηπας...—Διὰ δακτυλίου μὲν οὖν ἐμέγ' ἂν διεκλύσαις: *Pherecr. Fr.* 70.2 Ὑδαρῆ ἑνέχεέν σοι;—Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν ὕδωρ: *Anaxandr. Fr.* 3.3 ἐκάρωσεν ὑμᾶς.—Ἀνακεχαίτικεν μὲν οὖν: *Pl. Phdr.* 234D οὐχ ὑπερφυῶς...;—Δαιμονίως μὲν οὖν: *Euthphr.* 8C ἤδη τινὸς ἤκουσας ἀμφισβητοῦντος...;—Οὐδὲν μὲν οὖν παύονται ταῦτα ἀμφισβητοῦντες: *Phd.* 99D βούλει...;—Ὑπερφυῶς μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, ὡς βούλομαι: *Cra.* 391E ἢ σὺ οὐκ οἶει;—Εὐ οἶδα μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε (*R.* 556E: *X. Cyr.* v. 2. 29): *Thl.* 181B ὄρα... εἰ λυσιτελεῖ...—Οὐδὲν μὲν οὖν ἀνεκτὸν... μὴ οὐ διασκέψασθαι: *R.* 444B τοιαῦτ' ἄττα οἶμαι φήσομεν...—Αὐτὰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα: 498D *Eis* μικρὸν...—*Eis* οὐδὲν μὲν οὖν (608C: *Hr. Ma.* 283C): *Phlb.* 42A οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτὸν τοῦτο γιγνόμενον;—Πολὺ μὲν οὖν μᾶλλον: *Euthd.* 299D ὁμολογεῖς...;—Ὡμολόγηκα μὲν οὖν ('I have admitted it already'): *La.* 192C σχεδὸν γάρ τι οἶδα... ὅτι τῶν πάνυ καλῶν πραγμάτων ἡγῆ σὺ ἀνδρείαν εἶναι.—Εὐ μὲν οὖν ἴσθι ὅτι τῶν καλλίστων (a double correction): *X. Oec.* 11. 23 εἰ... μελετᾶς... δῆλωσον.—Οὐδὲν μὲν οὖν... παύομαι, ἔφη, λέγειν μελετῶν: *Pl. Lg.* 640D, 655C: *Thl.* 181D.

Superlative substituted for positive. *Pl. Phlb.* 53B παντάπασιν ἐροῦμεν ὀρθῶς.—Ὄρθότατα μὲν οὖν: *Prt.* 309D: *R.* 405B: *Prt.* 163C: *id. saep.*

(iii) Assentient in the full sense. This usage is not found before the time of Plato, and is, in all its branches, practically confined to him. *Des Places* (p. 106) says that in Plato the assentient force is much commoner than the corrective. (But see *Addenda*.) Assentient μὲν οὖν is seen at its purest in (a), where a *nonne* question almost always precedes: in (b) the second expression is often slightly stronger than the first, and such examples might be classed under (ii): so, even more, might (c).

(a) With word repeated from the previous speech.<sup>1</sup> *Pl. Euthd.* 284B οἱ ῥήτορες... οὐδὲν πράττουσι;—Πράττουσι μὲν

<sup>1</sup> οὐ μὲν οὖν is not used by Plato, as οὐ μέντοι (p. 402) and (rarely) οὐ μὲν δή (p. 392) are used, in assentient negative answers, echoing a previous οὐ (p. 392). But see *X. Hier.* 1. 21, p. 478 (ii).

οὖν ('Certainly they act'): *Euthphr.* 12C οὐ πεφόβηταί τε καὶ δέδοικεν...;—Δέδοικε μὲν οὖν: *Lg.* 896C ἀληθέστατα... εἰρηκότες ἂν εἶμεν...—Ἀληθέστατα μὲν οὖν: *Chrm.* 164B, 171A: *Thl.* 153B: *R.* 353A, 456A: *Lg.* 665E: *Sph.* 237E: *Prt.* 161B: *Phlb.* 36A: *X. Hier.* 10. 2. (*Pl. Thl.* 196B is corrective rather: ἔοικας οὖν ἐννοεῖν...—'Εννοῶ μὲν οὖν.)

(b) With variation of the previous speaker's words. *Alex. Fr.* 270.5 Διὸς Σωτήρος;—Οὐκ ἄλλου μὲν οὖν: *Pl. Phdr.* 262A Δεῖ ἄρα...—Ἀνάγκη μὲν οὖν (I agree with *des Places* (p. 109): "ἀνάγκη enchérit sur δεῖ"): 230B ἄρ' οὐ τότε ἦν τὸ δένδρον...;—Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν αὐτό ('The very one'): *R.* 443B Οὐκοῦν τούτων πάντων αἴτιον ὅτι...;—Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο: *Lg.* 627D Ἀληθέστατα... λέγεις.—Καλῶς μὲν οὖν, ὡς γε ἐμοὶ συνδοκεῖν, τό γε τοσοῦτον, τὰ νῦν (I do not think *καλῶς* can be intended as stronger than ἀληθέστατα, as *des Places* (p. 110) suggests).

(c) With intensive adverbs, πάνυ μὲν οὖν, παντάπασι μὲν οὖν, παντελῶς μὲν οὖν, σφόδρα μὲν οὖν, κομιδῆ μὲν οὖν, etc. These expressions are very common in Plato, particularly as self-contained elliptical answers, but also without ellipse.

Elliptical. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν: *Ag. Pl.* 97: *Pl. Prt.* 310A: *R.* 341A. Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν: *Pl. Thl.* 160B, C. Παντελῶς μὲν οὖν: *Pl. R.* 573C: *Prt.* 155C. Σφόδρα μὲν οὖν: *Pl. Phlb.* 39C, 48E. Ὑπερφυῶς μὲν οὖν: *Pl. Thl.* 194D, 195B: *R.* 525B. Πάντων μὲν οὖν μάλιστα: *Pl. Phlb.* 11C. Κομιδῆ μὲν οὖν: *Ag. Pl.* 833, 834, 838: *Pl. Thl.* 155A: *R.* 377B. Πολὺ μὲν οὖν νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς: *Ag. Pl.* 412.

Not elliptical. (Often with echoed word, as in (a).) Πάνυ μὲν οὖν: *Ag. Pl.* 1195 Πάνυ μὲν οὖν δρᾶν ταῦτα χρή: *Pl. Grg.* 450D Πάνυ μὲν οὖν καλῶς ὑπολαμβάνεις: *Men.* 76C χαριῶμαι οὖν σοὶ καὶ ἀποκρινοῦμαι.—Πάνυ μὲν οὖν χάρισαι: *La.* 181A, 194E: *Chrm.* 172A: *Phdr.* 238C: *Cra.* 411B: *Phlb.* 33B. Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν: *Pl. Lg.* 801A τιθῶ... οὕτως;—Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν τίθει: *R.* 341E, 409D, 545B: *Phdr.* 277C. Παντελῶς μὲν οὖν: *Pl. R.* 572B: *Prt.* 155E. Ὑπερφυῶς μὲν οὖν: *Pl. Phd.* 99D. Σφόδρα μὲν οὖν: *Pl. R.* 397C: *Plt.* 271C. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν σφόδρα: *Pl. Cr.* 26B: *Cra.* 425C.

The frequency of these expressions in the *Platus* (produced in 388 B.C.) is significant. There is clearly a topical point in

the insistence on κομιδῇ μὲν οὖν in 833-8. Epich.*Fr.*171.1 reads Ἄρ' ἔστιν αὐλησις τι πρᾶγμα;—Πάνυ μὲν οὖν. But Diels, on grounds of form and content, considers the fragment fourth-century work, perhaps from the hand of Dionysius the Tyrant.

Sometimes assent is given to the first or second of two stated alternatives. Pl.*Thi.*202C οὕτως . . . ἢ ἄλλως . . .;—Οὕτω μὲν οὖν παντάπασιν: Pl.*lb.*36A: H<sub>er.</sub>*Mi.*365E: Cra.397D,425C.

Position of μὲν οὖν in answers. Usually μὲν οὖν (whether adversative or affirmative) follows the first (or second) word of the answer. But occasionally it is preceded by:—

(i) An expression of assent. Ar.*Ec.*765 Ἀνόητος;—Οὐ γάρ; ἡλιθιώτατος μὲν οὖν ἀπαξάπαντων: Pl.*H<sub>er.</sub>M<sub>a.</sub>*288A Ἐλεν' πάνυ μὲν οὖν: Ep<sub>ir.</sub>986A ἄρ' οὐκ ἂν κακὸς . . .;—Πῶς γὰρ οὐκ, ὦ ξένη; κάκιστος μὲν οὖν: Ch<sub>rm.</sub>161D ἢ σὺ οὐδὲν ἠγγῆ . . .;—Ἐγωγε, ἠγοῦμαι μὲν οὖν ('Yes, I do, I certainly think so').

(ii) An oath. Ar.*Ra.*1188 Μὰ τὸν Δί' οὐ δῆτ', οὐ μὲν οὖν ἐπαύσατο: Ec.786 Ὀντως γὰρ οἴσεις;—Ναὶ μὰ Δία, καὶ δὴ μὲν οὖν τωδὶ ξυνάπτω τῷ τρίποδε: Pl.287 πλουσίοις . . .;—Νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς, Μίδαις μὲν οὖν: X.*Cyr.*viii.4.25 ἔστι σοι . . . οὐσία ἀξία τῆς παιδός;—Νῆ Δί', ἔφη, πολλαπλασίων μὲν οὖν χρημάτων: Hier.1.21 Ἡ οὖν ὄρας τι . . .;—Οὐ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, οὐ μὲν οὖν.

(iii) An apostrophe. Pl.*Euthid.*274D ἐκέλευον αὐτῶ . . . ἐπιδείξασθαι . . . εἶπον οὖν ἐγώ' ὦ Εὐθύδημε καὶ Διονυσόδωρε, πάνυ μὲν οὖν παντὶ τρόπῳ . . . ἐπιδείξασθον.

(iv) A repetition, surprised or contemptuous, of some of the previous speaker's words. Ar.*Th.*206 (ἀπολοίμην ἂν) δοκῶν . . . κλέπτειν . . .—Ἴδού γε κλέπτειν' νῆ Δία βινεῖσθαι μὲν οὖν: 861 πατήρ δὲ Τυνδάρεως.—Σοί γ', ὦλεθρε, πατήρ ἐκεῖνός ἐστι; Φρυγῶνδας μὲν οὖν: Ar.*Chipp.*Fr.35.2 μῶν ἔδακέ τί σε;—Ἐδακε; κατὰ μὲν οὖν ἔφαγε: Pl.*Grg.*466E Ἐγὼ οὐ φημι; φημί μὲν οὖν ἐγωγε: Ph<sub>dr.</sub>258E Ἐρωτᾶς εἰ δεόμεθα; τίνοσ μὲν οὖν ἔνεκα κἂν τις ὡς εἰπεῖν ζῆν . . .; Euthid.304E Ποῖον, ἔφη, χαρίεν, ὦ μακάριε; οὐδενὸς μὲν οὖν ἀξίον: Am<sub>at.</sub>132B: X.*Cyr.*viii.3.37.

Usage (3) in continuous speech. The speaker objects to his own words, virtually carrying on a dialogue with himself: 'No.' A.*Ag.*1396 εἰ δ' ἦν πρεπῆντων ὥστ' ἐπισπένδειν νεκρῷ, τῷδ' ἂν δικαίως ἦν, ὑπερδίνως μὲν οὖν: Ch.985 δροίτης κατασκήνωμα (προσείπω);

δίκτυον μὲν οὖν ἄρκυν τ' ἂν εἶποις: Eu.38 δείσασα γὰρ γραῦς οὐδέν, ἀντίπαις μὲν οὖν: E.*Hipp.*1012 μάταιος ἄρ' ἦν, οὐδαμοῦ μὲν οὖν φρενῶν: Ph.551 περιβλέπεσθαι τίμιον; κενὸν μὲν οὖν: Hipp.821 κηλὶς ἀφραστός ἐξ ἀλαστόρων τινός· κατακονὰ μὲν οὖν ἀβίωτος βίου: Ar.*Ec.*1102 ἄρ' οὐ κακοδαίμων εἰμί; βαρυδαίμων μὲν οὖν: Hdt.vi.124.1 ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἴσως τι ἐπιμεμφόμενοι Ἀθηναίων τῷ δήμῳ προεδίδουσαν τὴν πατρίδα. οὐ μὲν ὦν ἦσαν σφρων ἄλλοι δοκιμώτεροι ἔν γε Ἀθηναίοισι ἄνδρες οὐδ' οἱ μᾶλλον ἐτετιμέατο (the only instance of corrective μὲν ὦν in Herodotus): Pl.*Lg.*728A οὐδὲ . . . τιμᾶ τότε τὴν αὐτοῦ ψυχὴν—παντὸς μὲν οὖν λείπει—τὸ γὰρ αὐτῆς τίμιον . . . ἀποδίδεται σμικροῦ χρυσοῦ (des Places (p. 113) confirms me in my belief that this is the only Platonic example in continuous speech).

It is characteristic of the dramatic vigour of Demosthenes' style that he, alone of the orators (except the authors of xxv and xlii, if he did not write those speeches), uses corrective μὲν οὖν: xviii.130 ὄψὲ γὰρ ποτε—ὄψὲ λέγω; χθὲς μὲν οὖν καὶ πρώην: 140 ἄσ' οὖν οὐδ' ἔλεγεν, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἔγραφεν, ἠνίκ' ἐργάσασθαι τι δέοι κακόν; οὐ μὲν οὖν ἦν εἰπεῖν ἑτέρω: 316 ὑπερμεγέθεις, οὐ μὲν οὖν εἶποι τις ἂν ἠλίκας: xxv.54 δεινῶν γὰρ ὄντων, οὐ μὲν οὖν ἐχόντων ὑπερβολὴν: xlii.19 μᾶλλον δὲ λέγε τὸν νόμον αὐτόν. μικρὸν μὲν οὖν, ἱκετεύω, ἐπισχές ('No, stop').

The few Aristotelian examples (closely similar to each other) represent imaginary dialogue: Rh.1399a15 οὐ τοίνυν δεῖ παιδεύεσθαι, φθονεῖσθαι γὰρ οὐ δεῖ. δεῖ μὲν οὖν παιδεύεσθαι, σοφὸν γὰρ εἶναι δεῖ: 1399a23: MM1209a11.

Combined with other particles. A.*Pers.*1032 Καὶ πλέον ἢ παπαῖ μὲν οὖν ('Nay, even more . . .'): S.*OC*31 Καὶ δὴ μὲν οὖν ('Nay, actually': Ar.*Ec.*786): Pl.*Ph<sub>dr.</sub>*271B Οὕτοι μὲν οὖν. For γε μὲν ὦν (ὦν strengthening adversative γε μὲν) see γε μὲν, p. 389.

We have seen that μὲν οὖν is used both in rejecting, and in accepting, the words of a previous speaker, meaning apparently in one place 'no', in another, 'yes'. How are these strongly contrasted usages to be connected? The authorities either make no attempt to solve the problem, or else, tacitly or openly, whittle down the adversative force of the combination. Thus

Bäumlein talks only of 'Zustimmung' and 'Bestätigung' and renders 'allerdings' in passages like *E.Or.*1521: while des Places (p. 107) follows Navarre in holding that, in apparently adversative passages, 'l'opposition réside uniquement dans la pensée, non dans la particule'. This is not very satisfactory, particularly in view of the fact, which no one seems to have noticed, that the adversative sense is in the field nearly a century before the other. It might rather be reasonable to regard the adversative sense as primary, and the affirmative as secondary, with the intermediate class (ii) (and perhaps also iii.b and c) acting as a bridge: since to disagree by substituting a stronger form of expression is virtually to agree. (Cf. *E.Alc.* 231 οὐ φίλαν ἀλλὰ φιλόταταν: *Hec.*1121.) Again, where a *noione* question precedes, μέν οὖν may be taken as contradicting the negative: 'doch'.<sup>1</sup> All this leaves us with a not very large residue of unequivocally assentient examples. However, with the analogy of μέντοι and μέν δή before us, it is perhaps safer to conclude that the two opposite meanings of μέν οὖν derive independently from two opposite meanings of μέν: for which, see that particle, and compare also μέντοι. \*

(4) Textual questions. In *E.Or.*169 μέν οὖν can scarcely stand. Nor can it be retained in *Pl.Phd.*95B (πάνυ οὖν *T*: πάνυ μέν οὖν *B*). In *Plt.*257B the MSS. read: Εὐ γε . . . καὶ δικαίως, καὶ πάνυ μέν οὖν μνημονικῶς ἐπέπληξάς μοι τὸ περὶ τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἀμάρτημα. This does not seem to have troubled editors much, and Campbell renders, without comment, 'and-most certainly with praiseworthy recollection'—which ignores μέν οὖν. Could μέν οὖν be corrective here, καὶ πάνυ μνημονικῶς (καὶ adverbial) being substituted for δικαίως ('rightly, or, I should say rather, with accurate memory')? There certainly does not seem to be much point in such a correction. *Chrm.*175E ταῦτ' οὖν πάνυ μέν οὖν οὐκ οἶομαι οὕτως ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ἐμὲ φαῦλον εἶναι ζητητήν: here we should certainly cut out the second οὖν (Winckelmann), probably μέν (which can hardly be answered

<sup>1</sup> I find that I have given two different interpretations and punctuations of *Pl.Chrm.*161D on pp. 475 and 478. I think the second is probably preferable: but I leave the inconsistency deliberately, as an example of the precariousness of classification.

by ἀλλά), and very likely πάνυ as well (Stallbaum). Des Places (p. 118) is inclined to retain οὖν in all three passages, and in *Phlb.*51B (see (2) above), suggesting that πάνυ μέν οὖν was a 'locution figée', μέν οὖν adding little to πάνυ. But the frequency of πάνυ μέν οὖν in Plato may have led a copyist to insert μέν οὖν after πάνυ automatically, as des Places (p. 104) suggests οὖν was inserted in *Sph.*229D (for which see (2) above).

## Περ

In view of the intensive use of περί in Epic (for which cf. the Latin *perquam*, *permagnus*), it seems difficult to question the accepted view that περ is cognate with that word, signifying 'all round', and so 'completely'.<sup>1</sup> As Brugmann puts it (p. 513) 'Die Vorstellung, dass etwas rings umher geschieht und keine Richtung ausgeschlossen ist, ergab den Begriff der Vollständigkeit oder des hohen Grades'. At the same time it is certainly surprising that the use of the particle which best supports this etymology, its intensifying use with adjectives and adverbs, is in fact the most difficult of all to exemplify. The primary use must have been metamorphosed before the time of the earliest extant Greek literature.

Except in combination with καί, οὐδέ (rarely), εἰ, and relative adjectives and adverbs, περ is almost confined to Epic. In its concessive sense (see I.6) it has a rather precarious footing in later Greek. Otherwise, hardly a single instance is to be found. *Pl.Phdr.*235C πλήρες πως, ᾧ δαιμόνιε, τὸ στῆθος ἔχων . . .: the *Aldine's* περ, for πως, can hardly be right, unless Hoogeveen is correct in supposing a quotation from a poet. For *Hp.Genit.*47, οὕτω δή περ, see I.2.

I. Epic (or mainly Epic) use. Exact classification is impossible here, as often in the case of Epic uses.

<sup>1</sup> Boisacq suggests that πέρ: περί:: ὑπέρ: Skr. *upari*.

(1) Intensive. As I have said, examples of this are few. Hom. *T*217 φέρτερος οὐκ ὀλίγον περ: *θ*187 στιβαρώτερον οὐκ ὀλίγον περ ('far stouter'): *Ω*504 αὐτόν τ' ἐλέησον, μνησάμενος σοῦ πατρός: ἐγὼ δ' ἐλεεινότερός περ ('far more to be pitied than he'): *Θ*353 οὐκέτι νῶϊ ὀλλυμένων Δαναῶν κεκαδησόμεθ' ὑστάτιόν περ ('at the very last'): *Ξ*295 οἶον ὅτε πρῶτόν περ ἐμισγέσθην φιλότῃ ('the very first time'): Thgn. *ι*015 πρὶν τ' ἐχθροὺς πτῆξαι καὶ ὑπερβῆναί περ ἀνάγκη (πρὸς ἀνάγκην Crusius). With negatives οὐ περ = οὐδαμῶς: *Ξ*416 τὸν δ' οὐ περ ἔχει θράσος ὅς κεν ἴδῃται: *θ*212 τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὐ πέρ τιν' ἀναίνομαι.

A few examples which some scholars have explained similarly are better taken otherwise. *A*352 ἐπεὶ μ' ἔτεκές γε μινυνθάδιόν περ ἔόντα, τιμὴν πέρ μοι ὄφελλεν Ὀλύμπιος ἐγγυαλίξαι (Hartung and Kühner render the first περ 'ganz', 'sehr': Leaf, rightly, 'of however short a span'): *Γ*201 ὅς τράφη ἐν δῆμῳ Ἰθάκης κραναῆς περ εἰούσης ('durch und durch steinig', Hartung: but the point is, as Leaf says, that Ithaca, though a stony land, bred an Odysseus).

(2) Determinative: closely allied to the intensive use. The particle denotes, not that something is increased in measure, but that the speaker concentrates on it to the exclusion of other things: with, or without, the definite envisagement of some other particular thing thus excluded or contrasted.

Hom *B*236 οἴκαδ' ἐπερ σὺν νηυσὶ νεώμεθα ('let us have nothing short of return home', Monro: *Π*205): *K*70 μηδὲ μεγαλίζεο θυμῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ περ πονεώμεθα ('let us do something ourselves. (not leave everything to others)'): *N*447 ἐπεὶ σύ περ εὔχαι οὕτω ('for you boast in this way, (so I will do the same)', Leaf): *Π*31 τί σευ ἄλλος ὀνήσεται ὀψίγονός περ, αἶ κε μὴ Ἀργείοισιν ἀεικέα λοιγὸν ἀμύνης; (attention momentarily concentrated on posterity): *Φ*308 σθένος ἀνέρος ἀμφοτέροί περ σχῶμεν (Scamander appeals to Simois for help in what has hitherto been a duel between himself and Achilles): *Ω*130 ἀγαθὸν δὲ γυναικί περ ἐν φιλότῃ μίσγεσθ': *υ*7 αἶ μνηστῆρσιν ἐμισγέσκοντο πάρος περ (a grim hint that this intercourse will not continue much longer).

In *Hp. Genit.* 47 οὕτω δὲ περ seems to be an isolated instance of the survival of this use in post-Homeric Greek.

(3) Limitative. Concentration often carries with it the idea of reservation or limitation (cf. γε): and Homer sometimes uses περ where a later writer would have used γε, to convey that what is said is to be taken within certain definite limits, while the possibility of extension beyond these limits is ignored or excluded.

Hom. *Θ*243 ἀλλά, Ζεῦ, τόδε πέρ μοι ἐπικρήνηνον ἐέλδωρ: αἶ δὲ περ ἔασον ὑπεκφυγέειν ('Even if we fail of our purpose, let us at least save our lives', Leaf): *A*789 ὁ δὲ πείσεται εἰς ἀγαθόν περ: *N*72 ἀρίγνωτοι δὲ θεοὶ περ (sc. 'whatever mistakes one may make about mortals'): *δ*34 αἶ κε ποθι Ζεὺς ἐξοπίσω περ παίσῃ ὀϊστοῖσιν (in *futurum saltem*, since the past has been full of sorrow): *ξ*325 νῦν δὲ πέρ μεν ἄκουσον, ἐπεὶ πάρος οὐ ποτ' ἄκουσας ('now at any rate'): *λ*441 μὴ ποτε καὶ σὺ γυναικί περ ἥπιος εἶναι (sc. 'whatever you may be to a man': Merry and Field: 'even thy wife' is, I think, wrong).

(4) Whereas often in (2) and always in (3) περ implies a contrast between an expressed idea and another, or others, implied, in other passages both contrasted ideas are expressed. περ may then appear either in the first, or in the second, of two co-ordinated clauses.

(i) In the first clause. Hom. *P*121 σπεύσομεν, αἶ κε νέκυν περ Ἀχιλλῆϊ προφέρωμεν γυμνόν: ἀτὰρ τά γε τεύχε' ἔχει κορυθαίφιδον. *Ε*κτωρ: *T*200 ἄλλοτ' ἐπερ καὶ μᾶλλον ὄφέλλετε ταῦτα πένεσθαι . . . νῦν δ' . . . : *ε*29 Ἐρμεία: σὺ γὰρ αὐτε τά τ' ἄλλα περ ἀγγελὸς ἔσσι: νύμφη ἐϋπλοκάμῳ εἰπεῖν νημερτέα βουλήν: *ζ*282 εἰ καυτή περ ἐποιομένη πόσιν εὔρεν ἄλλοθεν: ἦ γὰρ ἀτιμάζει κατὰ δῆμον: *σ*122 γένοιτό τοι ἐς περ ὀπίσω: ἀτὰρ μὲν νῦν γε κακοῖς ἔχειαι πολέεσσι: *ο*540.

(ii) In the second clause, usually with pronouns. Hom. *δ*8 οὐδ' οὐ παιδὸς ἀμύνει. ἀλλὰ σὺ πέρ μοι, *δ*ιαξ, τὸν ἔλκος ἀκέσσαι: *P*712 κείνον μὲν δὲ νηυσὶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἰσθμῶν δ' αὐτοὶ περ φραζώμεθα μῆτιν ἀμύνεσθαι: *σ*122 γένοιτό τοι ἐς περ ὀπίσω: ἀτὰρ μὲν νῦν γε κακοῖς ἔχειαι πολέεσσι: *ο*540. *Α*χαιοὶ ἐκ βελέων ἐρύσαντο νέκυν (scilicet ὀνη) ἀνὰ τὸν ἴσθμῳ: ἀλλὰ σὺ πέρ μοι, *δ*ιαξ, τὸν ἔλκος ἀκέσσαι: *P*712 κείνον μὲν δὲ νηυσὶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἰσθμῶν δ' αὐτοὶ περ φραζώμεθα μῆτιν ἀμύνεσθαι: *σ*122 γένοιτό τοι ἐς περ ὀπίσω: ἀτὰρ μὲν νῦν γε κακοῖς ἔχειαι πολέεσσι: *ο*540.

last two passages περ almost = *av*, 'in your turn': cf. δ468): A508: P634: T300.

Further, when subordination, not co-ordination, of clauses is employed, περ may be attached either to the main or to the subordinate clause.

(iii) In the main clause. Hom.A353 *ἐπεὶ μ' ἔτεκές γε μιννυθάδιόν περ ἔοντα, τιμήν περ μοι δφελλεν Ὀλύμπιος ἐγγυαλίξαι* ('*honour*, since he has not granted me long life'): A796 *εἰ δὲ . . . , ἀλλὰ σέ περ προέτω*: M349 *εἰ δὲ . . . , ἀλλὰ περ οἶος ἴτω* (M362): Π38.

(iv) In the subordinate clause. Hom.I514 *πόρε καὶ σὺ Διὸς κούρησιν ἔπεσθαι τιμήν, ἢ τ' ἄλλων περ ἐπιγνάμπται νόον ἐσθλῶν*: ρ273 *ρεῖ' ἔγνωσ, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ τὰ τ' ἄλλα πέρ ἐσσ' ἀνοήμων*: ψ209.

(5) Since the attention is naturally concentrated upon that which is more important or striking than everything else, περ often denotes climax, like καί, οὐδέ. Hom.Θ452 *σφῶϊν δὲ πρὶν περ τρόμος ἔλλαβε φαίδιμα γυῖα, πρὶν πόλεμόν τ' ἰδέειν* (*vel antea*: cf.O588): I110 *δν ἀθάνατοί περ ἔτισαν* ('the very immortals': cf. T65 *τὰ τε στυγέουσι θεοί περ*: ε73 *καὶ ἀθάνατός περ ἐπελθὼν θηήσαιτο ἰδῶν*): P239 *οὐκέτι νῶϊ ἔλπομαι αὐτῷ περ νοστησέμεν ἐκ πολέμοιο* (*vel ipsos*: leaving out of account the possibility of rescuing Patroclus' body, which, Menelaus goes on to say, is of less importance than their own skins: Leaf's 'by ourselves at any rate, if we do not get help' is surely wrong): Ψ79 *ἀλλ' ἐμὲ μὲν κῆρ ἀμφέχανε στυγερή, ἢ περ λάχε γιγνόμενον περ* ('at my very birth'): θ547 *ἀνέρι, ὅς τ' ὀλίγον περ ἐπίψαυῆ πραπίδεσσι*: τ587 *μεμνήσεσθαι ὄτομαι ἔν περ ὄνειρῶ* (τ541).

(6) The sense of climax often carries with it a concessive tone. 'The very gods hate': 'they hate although they are gods'. In this sense περ continues to be found, though rarely, in post-Homeric Greek: in Pindar and Aeschylus, and (with participle) in Sophocles, Euripides, Herodotus, and Plato. (In Is.ix.11 the MSS. give: *καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ὅτῳ ἐπὶ βραχύ περ ἦδει Ἀστυφίλον χρώμενον*. Kühner accepts this, but the text can hardly stand: if it can, περ presumably must go with ἐπὶ βραχύ, not with ὅτῳ: ὅτῳ περ ἔμβραχυ, Cobet.)

Hom.Δ421 *ταλασίφρονά περ δέος εἶλεν*: Π638 *οὐκ ἂν ἔτι φράδμων περ ἀνὴρ Σαρπηδόνα δῖον ἔγνω*: Σ108 *ὅς τ' ἐφέηκε πολύφρονά περ χαλεπήναι*: Φ63 *ἢ τε κρατερόν περ ἐρύκει*: Πι.P. 4.237 *ἴνυξεν δ' ἀφωνήτῳ περ ἔμπας ἄχει . . . Αἰήτας*: N.3.80 *πέμπω . . . ὄψέ περ*: A.Ag.140 *τόσον περ εὐφρων . . . τούτων αἶνει ξύμβολα κρᾶναι*: 1084 *μένει τὸ θεῖον δουλίᾳ περ ἐν φρενί. μιννυθά περ* in Homer is, at any rate usually, concessive, 'though but for a little while'. So, clearly, in M356, Ξ358, Ψ97. N573 (etc.) is more doubtful, and the meaning might be 'for quite a little while': *ἤσπαιρε μιννυθά περ, οὐ τι μάλα δῆν*.

The concessive sense is especially common with the participle, περ either following the participle, or being inserted elsewhere in the participial clause. Hom.A586 *καὶ ἀνάσχεο κηδομένη περ*: P459 *μάχετ' ἀχνύμενός περ*: Ξ217 *πύκα περ φρονεόντων*: Ω593 *εἰν Ἄιδός περ ἑών*: A.Th.1043 *γυνή περ οὔσα*: Supp.55 *τὰ δ' ἄελπτά περ ὄντα φανείται*: Ag.1571 *τάδε μὲν στέργειν, δύσκλητά περ ὄνθ'*: E.Alc.2 *θῆσσαν τράπεζαν αἰνέσαι θεός περ ὦν*: Ion 1324 *οὐ τεκοῦσά περ*: Andr.763 *τροπαῖον αὐτοῦ στήσομαι, πρέσβυς περ ὦν*: Hdt.iii.131 *ὑπερεβάλετο τοὺς ἄλλους ἰητρούς, ἀσκευής περ ἑών*: viii.11.1 *ἔργου εἶχοντο, ἐν ὀλίγῳ περ ἀπολαμφθέντες*: 13 *τοῖσι δὲ ταχθεῖσι αὐτῶν περιπλέειν Εὐβοίαν ἢ αὐτῆ περ ἐοῦσα νύξ πολλὸν ἦν ἔτι ἀγριωτέρη* ('the night, though one and the same night, was rougher in one place than in another': Kühner can hardly be right (II ii 85) in taking περ as strengthening αὐτῆ, 'ebendieselbe Nacht'): Pl.Epin.975C *οὐδ' ἢ σύμπασα θηρευτική, πολλή περ καὶ τεχνικὴ γεγονυῖα . . .* (the only Platonic example known to me).

Where a negatived main verb precedes the participial clause, there are two possibilities. Either (i) the participial clause is contrasted with the negation of the idea: Hom.X424 *οὐ τόσον ὀδύρομαι ἀχνύμενός περ* ('though grieved, I do not lament so much'): κ174 *οὐ γάρ πω καταδυσόμεθ', ἀχνύμενοί περ, εἰς Ἄϊδαο δόμους*: I605: S.Ph.1068 *μὴ πρόσλευσσε, γενναῖός περ ὦν*. Or (ii) it is contrasted with the idea which is negatived, as reinforced by itself positively: Hom.A131 *Μὴ δὲ οὕτως, ἀγαθός περ ἔω κλέπτε νόφ*:<sup>1</sup> α315 *Μὴ με . . . κατέρυκε λιλαϊόμενον περ ὀδύρομαι*

<sup>1</sup> But it seems necessary to class T155 (=A 131) with (i): *Μὴ δὲ οὕτως, ἀγαθός περ ἑών . . . νῆστιος ὄτρυνε προτὶ Ἴλιον νῆας Ἀχαιοῶν* ('Though a night's



(‘detain me in spite of my eagerness’). ρ13 ἐμὲ δ’ οὐ πως ἔστιν ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους ἀνέχεσθαι, ἔχοντά περ ἄλγεα θυμῷ: 47 μηδέ μοι ἦτορ ἐν στήθεσσιν ὄρινε φυγόντι περ αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον. (I see no reason, in A131, ρ13,47, to suppose a causal sense (*satis insolite*, = *quoniam*, Ebeling, II 162b).)

Often the participial clause opens with καί. καί . . . περ then means ‘even though’, καί marking the climax and περ the concession. Hom.B270 οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀχνύμενοί περ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ἠδὺ γέλασαν: E135 Τυδείδης δ’ ἐξαυτίς ἰὼν προμάχοισιν ἐμίχθη, καὶ πρὶν περ θυμῷ μεμαῶς Τρώεσσι μάχεσθαι (‘he did not return to the battle earlier,) though eager to do so’: this interpretation makes Leaf’s punctuation unnecessary): O30 ἀνήγαγον . . . καὶ πολλὰ περ ἀθλήσαντα: 195 ἀλλὰ ἔκηλος καὶ κρατερός περ ἐὼν μενέτω: υ271 Καὶ χαλεπὸν περ ἐόντα δεχόμεθα μῦθον (at opening of sentence): Pi.Fr.184(194).4 καὶ πολυκλείταν περ εἴοισαν: A.Fr.199.2 καὶ θοῦρός περ ὦν.

καί . . . περ is also attached, without a participle, to individual words or phrases. Hom.P104 ἐπιμνησαίμεθα χάρμης καὶ πρὸς δαίμονά περ: Ω750 καὶ ἐν θανάτοιο περ αἴση: δ214 μῦθοι δὲ καὶ ἠῶθέν περ ἔσονται (*sc.* ‘though evening is the best time for story-telling’): A.Ag.1203 Μῶν καὶ θεός περ ἰμέρω πεπληγμένος;

The later form καίπερ, in which the particles are juxtaposed, occurs only once in Homer: η224 καί περ πολλὰ παθόντα: Hes.Th.533 (at opening of sentence). καίπερ with participle in post-Homeric Greek is common, though rare in the orators except Demosthenes.\* With participle omitted: S.OT1141 Λέγεις ἀληθῆ, καίπερ ἐκ μακροῦ χρόνου: 1326 γιγνώσκω σαφῶς, καίπερ σκοτεινός, τήν γε σὴν αὐδὴν ὁμῶς: Ph.647. καίπερ with finite verb, in the following two passages, cannot stand: Pi.N.4.36 (καίπερ, Christ): Pl.Smp.219C (καίτοι, Burnet: καί, Schanz).

The corresponding negative form is οὐδὲ . . . περ, οὐδέ περ. man of valour, do not expect impossibilities of the troops’). There is a certain awkwardness in giving different interpretations to a word in identical lines in different contexts: but I think that Ebeling is right in doing so, though I cannot accept his view of A131 (see below). This is a difficulty one meets with elsewhere in the case of repeated lines in Homer (see *Introd.*, IV). Nor do I agree with Leaf that περ means ‘very’ in both passages.

As with καί . . . περ, καίπερ, Homer almost always separates, while later writers juxtapose, the particles.

οὐδὲ . . . περ (Homer only). Θ201 ὦ πόποι, ἐννοσίγαι’ εὐρυσθενές, οὐδέ νυ σοί περ ὀλλυμένων Δαναῶν ὀλοφύρεται ἐν φρεσὶ θυμός: A841 ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ὧς περ σείο μεθήσω τειρομένοιοι: γ236 οὐδέ θεοί περ: ν294. (But in α59 οὐδέ is connective, ‘yet not’).

οὐδέ περ. Hom.λ452 ἡ δ’ ἐμὴ οὐδέ περ νῆος ἐνιπλησθῆναι ἄκοιτις ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἔασε (the only instance of juxtaposition in Homer): A.Supp.399 οὐδέ περ κρατῶν: Ch.504 οὐ τέθνηκας οὐδέ περ θανῶν: E.Ph.1624 τὸ γὰρ ἐμὸν . . . οὐκ ἂν προδοίην, οὐδέ περ πράσσων κακῶς: Ag.Ach.222 μὴ γὰρ ἐγχάνη ποτὲ μηδέ περ γέροντας ὄντας ἐκφυγῶν Ἀχαρνέας.

II. Ancillary περ. περ is used as an ancillary strengthening particle in various combinations.

(1) ἤπερ (comparative): Epic and Ionic prose only. (ἤπερ in an intrusive gloss in Th.vi40.1: [Pl.] Alc.II149A.) ‘Ut sit maius quam alterum quod ipsum magnum est’, Ebeling’s explanation fits some passages well: Hom.A260 ἤδη γάρ ποτ’ ἐγὼ καὶ ἀρείοισιν ἠέ περ ὑμῖν ἀνδράσιν ὠμίλησα (where Nestor is trying to be propitiatory): δ819 τοῦ δὴ ἐγὼ καὶ μᾶλλον ὀδύρομαι ἢ περ ἐκείνου: ρ417. But it is quite inappropriate to others, where περ seems rather to stress the extent of the difference expressed by ἤ: Hom.Π688 ἀλλ’ αἰεὶ τε Διὸς κρείσσων νῆος ἠέ περ ἀνδρῶν: Σ302 τῶν τινὰ βέλτερόν ἐστιν ἐπαυρέμεν ἢ περ Ἀχαιοῦς.<sup>1</sup>

Democr.Fr.181: Hdt.iv 50.4 πολλαπλήσιά ἐστι τοῦ θέρου ἢ περ τοῦ χειμῶνος: vii150.1 πρότερον ἢ περ: ix26.7 δίκαιον ἡμέας ἔχειν τὸ ἕτερον κέρας ἢ περ Ἀθηναίους: ix7a2: 28.1: id. smp.: Hr.Haem.4 οὐδὲν γὰρ χαλεπώτερον ἢ περ . . . περαινέειν (‘For it is no more difficult than . . .’).

(2) εἴπερ. In Homer, also εἰ . . . περ *separatim*: in O372, if εἰ and περ are associated, the interval between them is exceptionally wide. (i) ‘If really’: common in all styles and p.

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of different views, see Kühner II ii 302, *Ann.* 1: he seems to be right in saying that περ in this combination tends to lose all its force, as in ὧσπερ, ἐπείπερ.

of Greek: <sup>1</sup> often reinforced by γε, following immediately or at an interval. B.17.53 εἶπερ με νύμφα Φοίνισσα λευκώλενος σοὶ τέκε: A.Ag.29 ἐπορθιάζειν, εἶπερ Ἰλίου πόλις εάλωκεν, ὡς ὁ φρυκτὸς ἀγγέλλων πρέπει: 1249 Ἄλλ' οὔτι παιῶν τῶδ' ἐπιστατεῖ λόγῳ.—Οὔκ, εἶπερ ἔσται γ' ἀλλὰ μὴ γένοιτό πῶς: Ch.198 τόνδ' ἀποπτύσαι πλόκον, εἶπερ γ' ἀπ' ἐχθροῦ κρατὸς ἦν τετμημένος: Ag.Ach.307 τῶν δ' ἐμῶν σπονδῶν ἀκούσατ', εἰ καλῶς ἐσπεισάμην.—Πῶς δέ γ' ἂν καλῶς λέγοις ἂν, εἶπερ ἐσπείσω γ' ἅπαξ οἷσιν οὔτε βωμὸς οὔτε πίστις οὔθ' ὄρκος μένει; Hom.B123: N464: E.Ph.725: Ag.Au.1359: Nu.341,930: Ach.1228: Lys.992: Ra.77,1368: Eq.366. Pl.Pr1.312A εἶπερ γε ἂ διανοοῦμαι χρὴ λέγειν: Th1.182C εἶπερ γε δὴ τελέως κινήσεται: Hdt.vi 57.4: vii 143.1: Pl.Pr1.330B: Pl1.275E: Isoc.iv 14: D.12.

With imperfect, or aorist, of unfulfilled condition. Hom.Π618 εἴ σ' ἔβαλόν περ: S.El.312 μὴ δόκει μ' ἂν, εἶπερ ἦν πέλας, θυραῖον οἰχνεῖν: 604: Pl.Ti.75B μάλιστα γὰρ ἂν . . . ἔσχεν . . . εἶπερ . . . ἠθελήσατήν. εἰ μὴ περ, for εἶπερ μὴ: Ag.Nu.1183 (εἰ μὴ πέρ γε, a *reductio ad absurdum*): Lys.629: Hdt.vi 57.4: Pl. Alc.I 124B: X Oec.7.17.

(ii) 'Even if': common in Homer. B597 στεῦτο γὰρ εὐχόμενος νικησέμεν, εἶπερ ἂν αὐταὶ Μοῦσαι αἰεδοῖεν: Δ116 ἢ δ' εἶπερ τε τύχησι μάλα σχεδόν, οὐ δύναται σφι χραισμεῖν: X389 εἰ δὲ θανόντων περ καταλήθοντ' εἰν Αἴδαο, αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ κείθι φίλου μεμνήσομ' ἑταίρου: Γ25: K225: M223.245: α167: β246: ν138,143. This use is not to be found outside Homer. Pl.Euthphr.4B ἐπεξιέναι, ἔάνπερ ὁ κτείνας συνέστιός σοι καὶ ὁμοτράπεζος ἦ means that you must prosecute the homicide if, and only if, he shares house and board with you: otherwise he cannot pollute you: see Burnet *ad loc.* and in C.Q.viii 233.<sup>2</sup> In Hdt.vi 68.3 εἶπερ πεποίηκας is 'if you really have done', rather than 'even if you have done': in viii 60a ἦν περ καὶ is 'even if really' (and this may be the correct explanation of Hom.H204 εἰ δὲ καὶ Ἐκτορά περ φιλέεις, a much disputed passage).

<sup>1</sup> Jebb's statement (on S.Tr.27) that 'the tone of εἶπερ is usually confident', while 'that of εἰ δὴ is sceptical', perhaps goes rather too far: εἶπερ is only sceptical in Ar.Ra.634, Pl.Pr1.319A, Lg.902A, and elsewhere: though *εἶπερ*, no doubt, it is confident. See also *δη*, I.11, p. 223, n. 1. εἶπερ *δη*, Arist.Pol.1289a24.

<sup>2</sup> Kuhner's 'vereinzelt attisch' (II ii 170, 490) is therefore incorrect.

εἶπερ is often used with ellipse, before *τις*, *που*, *ποτε*, etc. S.Aj.488 ἐξέφυν πατρός, εἶπερ τινός, σθένοντος (with attraction): Th.iv 55.2 ἐς τὰ πολεμικά, εἶπερ ποτέ, μάλιστα δὴ ὀκνηρότεροι ἐγένοντο: Pl.Phd.58E εἶπερ τις πώποτε καὶ ἄλλος: 67B εἶπερ που ἄλλοθι: D.16 προσέχειν εἶπερ ποτὲ καὶ νῦν.

Sometimes εἶπερ stands quite alone: 'if at all'. Ar.Nu.227 Ἐπειτ' ἀπὸ τάρρου τοὺς θεοὺς ὑπερφρονεῖς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, εἶπερ; ('if you must'): Pl.R.497E (see Stallbaum) Οὐ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι . . . ἀλλ', εἶπερ, τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι, διακωλύσει ('if anything'): Prm.150B Ἐν μὲν ὄλῳ ἄρα τῶ ἐνὶ οὐκ ἂν εἴη σμικρότης, ἀλλ', εἶπερ, ἐν μέρει: Euthd.296B (see E. S. Thompson, *The Meno of Plato*, p.262): Lg.667A: 900E Καὶ τῶν μὲν προσήκειν ἡμῖν, εἶπερ, ὅποσα φλαῦρα, θεοῖς δὲ . . . : Arist.EN1101a12 οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο πάλιν εὐδαίμων ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, ἀλλ', εἶπερ, ἐν πολλῶ τινι καὶ τελείῳ: Rh.1371a17.

This is a curious idiom. There are, as far as I can ascertain, three instances in Plato, and twelve in Aristotle (see Bonitz's Index <sup>1</sup>: I exclude EN1180b27, ἀλλ', εἶπερ τινός) of ἀλλ', εἶπερ, by itself, following a negative statement: 'Not . . ., but, if anything, if at all, . . .'. Add Cael.268a22 ἀλλ', εἶπερ ἄρα (some MSS. omit ἄρα: cf. εἰ ἄρα, s.v. ἄρα II.1). In GC321a17 (τὸ δ' ὕδωρ οὐκ ἠϋξῆται οὐδ' ὁ ἀήρ . . . τὸ σῶμα δέ, εἶπερ, ἠϋξῆται) δέ replaces ἀλλά. There are two further Platonic examples of self-contained εἶπερ not following ἀλλά. Apart from these fourteen Aristotelian and five Platonic instances (three from Plato's later works), there seems to be no example of self-contained εἶπερ other than Ar.Nu.227. I have little doubt that Aristophanes is making fun of philosophical jargon here (though no one, reading the line by itself, would suppose he had anything before him but an easy colloquialism): cf. the esoteric meaning of περιφρονεῖν ('meditate on') in the preceding line.<sup>2</sup> Scholars obscure the issue by citing examples of the common elliptical εἶπερ *τις*, etc., where εἶπερ does not stand alone. In E.Iou354 Hermann's Σοὶ ταῦτόν ἤβης, εἶπερ, εἶχεν ἂν μέτρον lacks all probability, and Mr. E. Harrison has shown (*Cambridge University Reporter*, 1933) that εἶχ' ἂν (with εἶπερ ἦν), is unexceptionable.

<sup>1</sup> But Bonitz has omitted one of the twelve (Pol.1269b35), and he may have overlooked other examples.

<sup>2</sup> For examples of similar parody, see C.Q.xxi(1927)119-21.

Elliptical *Εἶπερ γε δή*, in answer: *Pl.Prm.138D*.

(3) With relatives and relative conjunctions: *ὅσπερ*, *ἐπείπερ*, *ἐπειδήπερ*, *ὥσπερ*, *καθάπερ*,<sup>1</sup> etc.: also very common in all styles, *περ* being often followed by *δή* or *καί*. Here, again, Homer often separates *περ* from the relative, while later writers always juxtapose. (*Ar.Ra.815*, where *ἠνίκ' ἂν ὀξύλαδόν περ ἴδῃ* may be the true reading, is epic in colour.) *περ* often has little force: *ὥσπερ*, for example, is in Attic a merely stylistic substitute for the simple *ὡς*.

*Hom.Δ361 τὰ γὰρ φρονέεις ἄ τ' ἐγὼ περ: Δ126 τοῦ περ δή: Δ376 ἢ τις σύ πέρ ἐσσι θεάων* (emphasizing universality of relative): *A.Ag.607 οἴανπερ οὖν ἔλειπε: E.Alc.1132 ἔχεις γὰρ πᾶν ὄσονπερ ἤθελες: Hdt.vii 168.4 τῇ περ δή καί: Isoc.iv 66 τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὄνπερ: D.ii 5 ὅπερ καὶ ἀληθὲς ὑπάρχει: Hdt.v 66.1: viii 82.1: 129.3.*

*Hom.A211 ὡς ἔσεται περ: Δ259 ὅτε περ: Δ86 ἦμος . . . περ: X250 ὡς τὸ πάρος περ: β327 ἐπεὶ νύ περ ἵεται: A.Ag.854 ἐπείπερ ἔσπετο: Hdt.i 97.1 ἐνθα περ: iii 153.2 ἐπεὶ περ: v 18.2 ἐπεὶ περ: 99.1 ὅτε περ καί: Pl.Prt.357A ἐπειδήπερ . . . ἐστὶν ἡ τέχνη: D.iv 7: viii 22. ἄπερ, adverbial: A.Ch 381: Eu.131, 660: S.OT175. οἰάπερ, adverbial: Ar.Av.925 (read οἴαπερ?)*

### III. *περ* combined with other particles.

*ἄτε περ. Arist.Pol.1253a6. δή περ: Hom.Θ 243: ζ325: Hp.Genit.47. περ δή: Hom.I 310: O 707.*

For *καὶ . . . περ*, *καίπερ*, *οὐδὲ . . . περ*, *οὐδέ περ*, see I.6. For *ἀλλά περ*, *ἀλλὰ . . . περ*, see I.4.iii. For *εἶπερ γε*, *εἶπερ δή*, *εἶπερ γε δή*, see II.2. For *ὅσπερ δή*, see II.3.

## ΠΟΥ

From *που* meaning 'somewhere' is developed the sense 'I suppose',<sup>2</sup> 'I think', the particle conveying a feeling of un-

<sup>1</sup> *καθάπερ* is common in inscriptions (Meisterhans, p. 257), and gives a formal tone in *Ar.Eg.3. Ar.1641, Ec 61,75*. In Plato's later works it tends to replace *ὥσπερ*.

<sup>2</sup> Brugmann compares *οὐδαμῶς*, 'by no means', and *πού* in *E.Ion 528 Πού λέ μοι πατήρ σύ;* For further examples of this sense of *πού*, see L. & S.

certainty in the speaker. Hence, further, *που* is used ironically, with assumed diffidence, by a speaker who is quite sure of his ground. The tone of uncertainty, whether real or assumed, is ill-adapted to the precision of history, or to the assertiveness of oratory. There are few examples in Thucydides (viz. ii 87.2: v 99 (*bis*): vii 68.1: i 107.6 *coni.* Krueger), and (in contrast with the free use of *δήπου*) very few in the orators: *Ant.v 6: Lys.vi 25: Isoc. xv 75: D.xxiii 162* (text doubtful). In *D.xviii 51* *που* is perhaps local, *εἶπέ που λέγων*, 'somewhere in his speech': cf. *xviii 299 πόρρω που*, 'somewhere far'. But *που* (*κου*), admirably suits the easy, colloquial style of Herodotus and, *par excellence*, the ironical bent of Plato, in whom it is very common.

(1) In direct statements (far commoner than (2) and (3)). *Hom. E473 φῆς που ἄτερ λαῶν πόλιν ἔξεμεν* (ironical): *M272 καὶ δ' αὐτοὶ τόδε που γινώσκετε: A.Ag.182 δαιμόνων δέ που χάρις βίαιος: S.Ant.1256 καὶ τῆς ἄγαν γὰρ ἐστὶ που σιγῆς βάρος* ('methinks'): *OT769 ἀξία δέ που μαθεῖν καγώ* (the understatement gives dignified confidence to her claim): *Ph.1385 Σοί που φίλος γ' ὦν* ('I imagine I am your friend, unless I deceive myself': Neoptolemus rather resents Philoctetes' suspicion): *El.786 νῦν δ' ἔκηλά που τῶν τῆσδ' ἀπειλῶν οὐνεχ' ἡμερεύσομεν* ('Now, if I mistake not, I shall have peace': ironically expressing quiet assurance): *Ani. 778 κάκει τὸν Ἄιδην . . . αἰτουμένη που τεύξεται τὸ μὴ θανεῖν* (savagely ironical): *E.Ion 251 οἴκοι δὲ τὸν νοῦν ἔσχον ἐνθάδ' οὐσά που* (Creusa with difficulty recovers herself): *Ar.Ach.97 ἄσκαμ' ἔχεις που περὶ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν κάτω* ('I suppose that's an oar-pad'): *Eg.204 Τί δ' ἀγκυλοχήλης ἐστίν;—Αὐτό που λέγει, ὅτι . . .: Ra.565 Νῶ δὲ δεισάσα γέ που ἐπὶ τὴν κατήλιφ' εὐθὺς ἀνεπηδήσαμεν* (*που V: πω RAM*: 'I believe we ran up': she was so frightened at the time that she hardly remembered afterward exactly what had happened): *Hom.θ541: A.Pers.724,740: S.Aj.489,597: El.948: Hdt.v 1.3 καὶ εἶπᾶν κου παρὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι . . .: vii 157.1 τὸν γὰρ ἐπίοντα ἐπ' ἑαυτῷ: 'Ελλάδα πάντως κου πυνθάνεται* ('No doubt you know'): *Pl.20E Χαιρεφῶντα γὰρ ἴστε που: R.522B αἶ τε γὰρ τέχνηαι βάναι . . .*

<sup>1</sup> 'I expect they said among themselves . . .' Herodotus is fond of using himself of the historian's omniscience, and assuming a winning tone (cf. ii 19.7). This often comes out in his use of *κου*: cf. ii 13.3, 114.2.

που ἄπασαι ἔδοξαν εἶναι ('We agreed, I believe'. The speaker affects to distrust his own recollection: cf. *Ti.17C*): *Ti.24B* ἤσθησαί που ('I expect you have noticed'): *Isoc.xv75* εἶπον δέ που ('I said, I think': referring to §51): *Pl.Cri.53C*: *Phd.62E, 94B*: *id. saep.*

In numerical approximations (Herodotus, *κου*). *i209* ἐὼν τότε ἡλικίην ἐς εἴκοσί κου μάλιστα ἔτα: *ix102.1* μέχρι κου τῶν ἡμισέων: *i181* μεσοῦντι δέ κου τῆς ἀναβάσιος: *vii223.1* ἐπισχῶν χρόνον ἐς ἀγορῆς κου μάλιστα πληθῶρην: *iii3*: *vii22*: *198.2*.

In answers (Plato). *Phd.71E* Πάντως που, ἔφη ('Absolutely so, I imagine': *Cra.416C*: *R.454D*): *R.431E*.

(2) In questions. *A.Pr.249* Μή πού τι προύβησ τῶνδε καὶ περαιτέρω; *743* τί που δράσεις...; (*Ag.1646* που perhaps 'anywhere'): *Hom.I40*: *Pl.Phd.103C* Ἄρα μή που... καὶ σέ τι τούτων ἐτάραξεν...;

Especially οὐ τι που, οὐ που in incredulous or reluctant questions: often in Euripides. *Pi.P.4.87* Οὐ τί που οὗτος Ἀπόλλων ('Surely this cannot be Apollo?' The sentence is, in its inception, interrogative): *S.Ph.1233* οὐ τί που δοῦναι νοεῖς; ('Surely you don't mean...?'): *E.HF966*: *Ion1113*: *Or.1510*: *Hel.95, 475,541*: *Ar.Nu.1260*: *Pax1211*: *Av.443*: *Lys.354*: *Ra.522,526* (Xanthias mockingly echoes Dionysus): *Ec.329,372*: *Pl.Tht.146A*: *R.362D*. *E.El.235* Οὐχ ἓνα νομίζων φθείρεται πόλεως νόμον.— Οὐ που σπανίζων τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν βίου; *IT930*: *Supp.153*: *HF1101,1173*: *El.630*: *Med.695*: *Hel.135,575,600,791*: *Ph.1072*: *IA670* (readings often doubtful, but οὐ που seems everywhere right).

οὐ τί που in a statement, *Scol.Anon.11.1* Φίλταθ' Ἀρμόδι', οὐ τί που τέθνηκας ('methinks thou art in nowise dead').

(3) In subordinate clauses and reported speech. *Hom.K105* οὐ... Ζεὺς ἐκτελέει, ὅσα πού νυν ἐέλπεται: *ξ227* αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ τὰ φίλ' ἔσκε τά που θεὸς ἐν φρεσὶ θῆκεν: *Π39* ἄλλον λαὸν ὅπασσον Μυρμιδόνων, ἣν πού τι φύως Δαναοῖσι γένωμαι: *ω462* μὴ ἴομεν, μὴ πού τις ἐπίσπαστον κακὸν εὖρη: *θ491* αἰεῖεις... ὡς τέ που ἡ αὐτὸς παρεῶν...: *A.Supp.400* μὴ καὶ ποτε εἶπη λεῶς, εἴ πού τι κάλλοιον τύχοι,...: *Hom.I628*: *K511*: *T453*: *σ107*: *υ207*: *S.Aj.521,533,546*: *OT43*: *Pl.Supp.205E* ἐὰν μὴ τυγχάνη γέ

που... ἀγαθὸν ὄν: *Euthphr.5C* εἰδὼς ὅτι καὶ ἄλλος πού τις καὶ ὁ Μέλητος οὗτος...: *Tht.169C* τήρει τὸ τοῖόνδε, μή που παιδικὸν τι λάθωμεν εἶδος τῶν λόγων ποιούμενοι: *239D* καὶ τὰλλα ὅσα που...: *R.376A* ὅτι δέ που δρᾷ ταῦτα, δῆλον: *Lg.694A,776D*: *Sph.235E*: *Cra.427A*: *R.395A,462C,465A*: *Ti.63B*.

With infinitive: *Pl.R.449D* οἰόμενοι σέ που μνησθήσεσθαι ('thinking that you would presumably mention').

With participle: *Th.vii68.1* τὸ λεγόμενον που ἡδιστον εἶναι: *Hdt.i113* οὖνομα ἄλλο κού τι καὶ οὐ Κῦρον θεμένη ('I suppose she called him something else, not Cyrus'): *iii4* μεμφόμενός κού τι Ἀμάσι.

(4) Position. It is natural that που should be one of the particles which markedly gravitate to an early position, since its function is, not to concern itself with individual words, but to throw doubt, real or assumed, upon the certainty of the import of the whole sentence. Nevertheless there are not lacking cases in which this doubt is thrown as an afterthought, που occurring late, or even last word of all, in clause or sentence.

*A.Ag.711* μεταμανθάνουσα δ' ὕμνον Πριάμου πόλις γεραιὰ πολύβρηνον μέγα που στένει: *Ar.Ec.119* οὐκ ἂν φθάνοις τὸ γένειον ἂν περιδουμένη ἄλλαι θ' ὅσαι λαλεῖν μεμελετήκασί που (last word of sentence and of line: cf. *A.Pr.822*: *S.Aj.469*: *El.1244*: *OT43*: *OC580*: *E.Ion251*: *Ar.Ec.111*): *Pl.Ar.38B* ἴσως δ' ἂν δυναίμην ἐκτεῖσαι ὑμῖν που μνᾶν ἀργυρίου ('and perhaps I could pay you, I suppose, a mina'): *Sph.244C* Τό τε δύο ὀνόματα ὁμολογεῖν εἶναι μηδὲν θέμενον πλὴν ἐν καταγέλαστόν που: *Phd.70E*: *Sph.267A* (last word of sentence): *Plt.306C* (penultimate word): *R.425E* (penultimate word), *464E,543B,544D,605C* (last word): *Ti.26E* (last word), *27C* (penultimate word), *90C*.

(5) Combined with other particles. Except for δήπου, ἢ που (*gg.v.*), where the two particles coalesce closely, these combinations have, for the most part, the air of fortuitous collocations, and are not to be taken too seriously, particularly where a word (or words) intervenes. At the same time, we may recognize in Plato a certain fondness for the juxtaposition of γάρ and γε with που: and there is something characteristic about καί που: while on the other hand, οὖν που is avoided.

ἄρ που: Hom.λ139. ἀτάρ που: Hom.Χ331.

γάρ που, γάρ που . . . γε, καὶ γὰρ . . . που. Hom.ξ119 Ζεὺς γάρ που τό γε οἶδε: Pl.R.490C μέμνησαι γάρ που: 525D οἶσθα γάρ που: Phd.92D ἐρρήθη γάρ που (γάρ που is often used by Plato in such appeals for assent): Euthphr.2A οὐ γάρ που καὶ σοί γε δίκη τις οὔσα τυγχάνει (rejecting in advance a possible answer to a question just put: Cra.438D): Phd.89E: Cri.44A: Euthd. 280E, 297B: Lys.vi25: D.xxiii162 (text doubtful).

γέ που. S.Aj.533 Μῆ σοί γέ που δύστηνος ἀντήσας θάνοι ('Aye, lest haply . . .'): Eur.Fr.314 οἶόν γέ που: Pl.Plt.259E Παρεχόμενός γέ που γνῶσιν (γε continuative): Tht.200E (γε BT: γάρ W: γε που almost = γούν): Tht.147C Ἐπειτά γέ που: Phdr. 262C: Ig.682C, 694A. ἀλλὰ . . . γέ που. Pl.Phd.117C Μανθάνω . . . ἀλλ' εὔχεσθαί γέ που τοῖς θεοῖς ἔξεστι: Ar.Pax1047: Pl.R.596B: Men.75E. δέ γέ που. Pl.R.560D, 607D: Phd.65C, 94A. δέ γε . . . που. Pl.Lg.667D, 913A.

δέ που. Pl.R.517B θεὸς δέ που οἶδεν εἰ . . . : 520D: A.Pers. 724, 740: Pr.822: Ag.182: S.OT769.

καὶ δὴ κου. Hdt.ix113.1 σὺν τε τοῖσι ἐωυτοῦ υἰοῖσι καὶ δὴ κού τισι καὶ ἄλλοισι: vi11.1: 128.2: vii12.1.

καὶ δὴ καὶ . . . γέ που. Pl.Lg.800E. οὐ γὰρ δὴ . . . γέ που. Pl.Lg.712C.

For δὴ που, ἦ που, see pp. 267-8, 285-6.

ἦ που, ἦ . . . που. Hom.Z438 ἦ πού τις σφιν ἐνισπε . . . ἦ νυ καὶ αὐτῶν θυμὸς ἐποτρύνει: S.Aj.1244 ἀλλ' αἰὲν ἡμᾶς ἦ κακοῖς βαλεῖτέ που, ἦ . . . ('No doubt', I think, indignant: not 'somewhere' (Jebb)): Hdt.vii141.4 (oracle) ἀπολεῖς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν ἦ που . . . ἦ . . . : Pl.Phd.82B ἡμερον γένος, ἦ που μελιττῶν ἦ σφηκῶν ἦ μυρμήκων: Ep.336B ἦ πού τις δαίμων ἦ τις ἀλιτήριος: Hdt.vii1003 (perhaps local): Pl.R.496C: Ti.83C. ἦ ('than') που. Pl.Lg.716C.

θὴν που. Hom.N813 ἦ θὴν πού τοι θυμὸς ἐέλπεται ἐξαλαπάξειν νηᾶς.

καὶ που. Hom.ζ190 καὶ που σοὶ τάδ' ἔδωκε: σ382 καὶ πού τις δοκέεις μέγας ἔμμεναι: S.Ph.293 καὶ που πάγου χυθέντος . . . ξύλον τι θραῦσαι ('and haply'): 308 καὶ πού τι καὶ βορᾶς μέρος προσέδοσαν οἰκτίραντες ('and perhaps give me'): 1123 (not local, I think): Hdt.v18.5 μαστῶν τε ἄπτοντο . . . καὶ κού τις καὶ φιλέειν ἐπειράτο ('and I expect one of them tried to kiss one'): ix18.1

διετείνοντο τὰ βέλεα ὡς ἀπήσοντες, καὶ κού τις καὶ ἀπήκε: Ant. v6 καὶ πού τι καὶ ἔξαμαρτεῖν (the first καὶ must be copulative, and something has dropped out of the text): Th.ii87.2 καὶ πού τι καὶ ἡ ἀπειρία . . . ἔσφηλεν ('wohl', 'vielleicht', Krüger): in i107.6 Krüger reads καὶ τι καὶ που, for καὶ τι καὶ τοῦ, with much probability: Pl.Phdr.229C καὶ πού τις ἐστι βωμὸς αὐτόθι Βορέου. καὶ . . . γέ που. Pl.R.460B Καὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς γέ που: Euthphr. 133B, E.

μέν που. Hom.Γ308 Ζεὺς μὲν που τό γε οἶδε: Ω488 καὶ μὲν που κείνου περιναίεται . . . τείρουσ': Ω46: S.Aj.597: Hdt.v16.2 τὸ μὲν κου ἀρχαῖον . . . μετὰ δὲ . . . : vi98.1 καὶ τοῦτο μὲν κου τέρας . . . ἔφηνε ὁ θεός: Pl.Ar.34D Ἐμοὶ . . . εἰσὶν μὲν πού τινες καὶ οἰκεῖοι (ironical: 'I have relations, I imagine'): R.422B, 476B.521C.527A.

μὲν γέ που. Pl.Tht.147A: R.478A, 559B: Lg.747D.

ἀλλὰ μὴν που. Pl.Euthd.281A. ἀλλὰ μὴν που . . . γε. Pl.Grg. 477E: Hp.Ma.284E: Hp.Mi.375C. ἀλλὰ μὴν . . . γέ που. Pl.Sph.252D. καὶ μὴν που. Pl.R.381A, 486A. καὶ μὴν . . . γε . . . που. Pl.Lg.687D. καὶ μὴν καὶ . . . γε . . . που. Pl.Lg.890E. οὐ μὴν ἀλλά που. Pl.Lg.722A.

μέντοι . . . γέ που. Pl.R.596E. ἀλλ' οὖν . . . γέ που. Pl.Phd.102D. τέ που. Pl.Cra.395D. γέ τοί που. Pl.Lg. 888E.

## Τε

Τε is a particle which has attracted considerable attention. Wentzel and Christ have analysed the Homeric use, Schäfer has taken Antiphon, Schmidt the remaining orators, Hoefler Plato, and Hammer Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon. The dissertations of Schmidt and Hammer are models of thoroughness and careful arrangement, while Hoefler's work, though inferior to these, is of considerable value. Only a detailed study of the particle in lyric poets and dramatists is lacking.

While these special studies have shed much light on τε (even

ἄρ που: Hom.λ139. ἀτάρ που: Hom.X331.

γάρ που, γάρ που . . . γε, καὶ γὰρ . . . που. Hom.ξ119 Ζεὺς γάρ που τό γε οἶδε: Pl.R.490C μέμνησαι γάρ που: 525D οἶσθα γάρ που: Phd.92D ἐρρήθη γάρ που (γάρ που is often used by Plato in such appeals for assent): Euthphr.2A οὐ γάρ που καὶ σοὶ γε δίκη τις οὔσα τυγχάνει (rejecting in advance a possible answer to a question just put: Cra.438D): Phd.89E: Cri.44A: Euthd. 280E,297B: Lys.vi25: D.xiii162 (text doubtful).

γέ που. S.Aj.533 Μῆ σοὶ γέ που δύστηνος ἀντήσας θάνοι ('Aye, lest haply . . .'): Eur.Fr.314 οἶόν γε που: Pl.Plt.259E Παρεχόμενός γε που γνῶσιν (γε continuative): Thl.200E (γε BT: γάρ II: γε που almost = γούν): Thl.147C Ἐπειτά γε που: Phdr. 262C: Lg.682C,694A. ἀλλὰ . . . γέ που. Pl.Phd.117C Μανθάνω . . . ἀλλ' εὐχεσθαί γε που τοῖς θεοῖς ἔξεστι: Ar.Pax1047: Pl.R.596B: Men.75E. δέ γε που. Pl.R.560D,607D: Phd.65C,94A. δέ γε . . . που. Pl.Lg.667D,913A.

δέ που. Pl.R.517B θεὸς δέ που οἶδεν εἰ . . . : 520D: A.Pers. 724,740: Pr.822: Ag.182: S.OT769.

καὶ δὴ κου. Hdt.ix113.1 σύν τε τοῖσι ἐωυτοῦ υἰοῖσι καὶ δὴ κού τισι καὶ ἄλλοισι: vi11.1: 128,2: vii12.1.

καὶ δὴ καὶ . . . γέ που. Pl.Lg.800E. οὐ γὰρ δὴ . . . γέ που. Pl.Lg.712C.

For δῆπου, ἦ που, see pp. 267-8, 285-6.

ἦ που, ἦ . . . που. Hom.Z438 ἦ πού τις σφιν ἔνισπε . . . ἦ νυ καὶ αὐτῶν θυμὸς ἐποτρύνει: S.Aj.1244 ἀλλ' αἰὲν ἡμᾶς ἦ κακοῖς βαλεῖτέ που, ἦ . . . ('No doubt', I think, indignant: not 'somewhere' (Jebb)): Hdt.vii141.4 (oracle) ἀπολεῖς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν ἦ που . . . ἦ . . . : Pl.Phd.82B ἡμερον γένος, ἦ που μελιττῶν ἦ σφηκῶν ἦ μυρμήκων: Ep.336B ἦ πού τις δαίμων ἦ τις ἀλιτήριος: Hdt.vii103 (perhaps local): Pl.R.496C: Ti.83C. ἦ ('than') που. Pl.Lg.716C.

θῆν που. Hom.N813 ἦ θῆν πού τοι θυμὸς ἐέλπεται ἐξαλαπάξειν νηᾶς.

καὶ που. Hom.ζ190 καὶ που σοὶ τὰδ' ἔδωκε: σ382 καὶ πού τις δοκέεις μέγας ἔμμεναι: S.Ph.293 καὶ που πάγου χυθέντος . . . ξύλον τι θραῦσαι ('and haply'): 308 καὶ πού τι καὶ βορᾶς μέρος προσέδοσαν οἰκτίραντες ('and perhaps give me'): 1123 (not local, I think): Hdt.v18.5 μαστῶν τε ἄπτοντο . . . καὶ κού τις καὶ φιλέειν ἐπειρᾶτο ('and I expect one of them tried to kiss one'): ix18.1

διετείνοντο τὰ βέλεα ὡς ἀπήσοντες, καὶ κού τις καὶ ἀπήκε: Ant.v6 καὶ πού τι καὶ ἐξαμαρτεῖν (the first καὶ must be copulative, and something has dropped out of the text): Th.ii87.2 καὶ πού τι καὶ ἡ ἀπειρία . . . ἔσφηλεν ('wohl', 'vielleicht', Krüger): in i107.6 Krüger reads καὶ τι καὶ που, for καὶ τι καὶ τοῦ, with much probability: Pl.Phdr.229C καὶ πού τίς ἐστι βωμὸς αὐτόθι Βορέου. καὶ . . . γέ που. Pl.R.460B Καὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς γέ που: Euthphr. 13B,E.

μέν που. Hom.Γ308 Ζεὺς μὲν που τό γε οἶδε: Ω488 καὶ μὲν που κείνου περιναίεται . . . τείρουσ': Ω46: S.Aj.597: Hdt.v16.2 τὸ μὲν κου ἀρχαῖον . . . μετὰ δὲ . . . : vi98.1 καὶ τοῦτο μὲν κου τέρας . . . ἔφηνε ὁ θεός: Pl.Ar.34D Ἐμοὶ . . . εἰσὶν μὲν πού τινες καὶ οἰκείοι (ironical: 'I have relations, I imagine'): R.422B. 476B.521C.527A.

μὲν γέ που. Pl.Thl.147A: R.478A,559B: Lg.747D.

ἀλλὰ μὴν που. Pl.Euthd.281A. ἀλλὰ μὴν που . . . γε. Pl.Grg. 477E: Hp.Ma.284E: Hp.Mi.375C. ἀλλὰ μὴν . . . γέ που. Pl.Sph.252D. καὶ μὴν που. Pl.R.381A,486A. καὶ μὴν . . . γε . . . που. Pl.Lg.687D. καὶ μὴν καὶ . . . γε . . . που. Pl.Lg.890E. οὐ μὴν ἀλλά που. Pl.Lg.722A.

μέντοι . . . γέ που. Pl.R.596E. ἀλλ' οὖν . . . γέ που. Pl.Phd.102D. τέ που. Pl.Cra.395D. γέ τοί που. Pl.Lg. 888E.

## Τε

Τε is a particle which has attracted considerable attention. Wentzel and Christ have analysed the Homeric use. Schäfer has taken Antiphon, Schmidt the remaining orators, Hoefler Plato, and Hammer Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon. The dissertations of Schmidt and Hammer are models of thoroughness and careful arrangement, while Hoefler's work, though inferior to these, is of considerable value. Only a detailed study of the particle in lyric poets and dramatists is lacking.

While these special studies have shed much light on τε (even



though many details remain obscure), the problem of bridging the gulf between the two main branches of its usage (I and II) remains unsolved, and, as often, comparative philology offers little help.<sup>1</sup> It seems fairly certain that *τε* is related to Sanskrit *ca*, Latin *que*, Indogermanic *q<sup>h</sup>e*. Indogermanic *q<sup>h</sup>e* served to connect two parallel nouns or pronouns (perhaps also two parallel verbs): *πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, noctesque diesque*. Further, it possessed a universalizing sense in Sanskrit *kás ca*, Latin *quisque*. (Brugmann indicates a possible way of connecting the copulative and universalizing meanings when he compares 'wer auch immer'.) A universalizing *q<sup>h</sup>e* certainly does help us to understand *τε*. But the uses of *que* in *quisque, utcumque* and *τε* in *ὅς τε, ὡς τε* are in practice widely different. *τε* attached to a relative does not universalize the *relative*: *ὡς τε λέων* does not mean 'in whatever way a lion': nor does it give an indefinite, approximative force to the relation, 'more or less as a lion'. What it does (as we shall see) is to present the *action* described in the relative clause as typical and habitual: 'as a lion always'. Often, in fact, it is palpably impossible to universalize the *relative*: Hom. A 86 *μὰ Ἀπόλλωνα ᾧ τε σὺ εὐχόμενος θεοπροπίας ἀναφαίνεις*: 'to whom, and to no other, you, whenever it may so happen, pray'. This is the Epic *τε* of habitual action (see II), which bears the same force when it follows relatives as when it follows other particles. Since, then, what happens habitually is on a fair way to happening universally, there is, to that extent, a real logical affinity between universalizing *que* and Epic *τε*. But in practice the usages of the two particles diverge widely here.

We are driven, then, to abandon philology and fall back on usage. An examination of the uses of *τε* shows that (I) its commonest significance is combination or addition, and that it denotes, on the whole, a closer connexion than *καί*. On the other hand (II), as Wentze! and Monro have shown, in certain usages (for the most part Homeric) it appears to express habituation, de-

<sup>1</sup> I follow Brugmann (p. 612) here, so far as philology is concerned. But my statement of the case, and my conclusions, are different. A relation between *τε* and indefinite *τις*, asserted by Kvičala, would, if philologically possible, enable us to explain Epic *τε*, as = 'on some occasion or other': but connective *τε* is difficult or impossible to explain on this assumption.

noting something which happens constantly or characteristically.<sup>1</sup> Attempts to find a common parentage for (I) and (II) have hitherto failed: and we cannot, perhaps, entirely exclude the possibility that there may be two distinct *τε*'s (not to mention the suffix, for which see Brugmann, p. 297) with different origins. Moreover we are left at the end with a certain residue of intractable phenomena, which no ingenuity has succeeded in relating either to (I) or to (II).

I. Connective and corresponsive. *τε*, like *καί*, is used both as a simple connective and as a preparatory particle in corresponsion, *τε . . . τε, τε . . . καί*. But it hardly, if at all, shares the adverbial function of *καί*, 'also'. (See II *ad init.*, II.1, and III.) As in the case of *καί*, it is uncertain which is the primary use. (Kvičala and Brugmann believe that corresponsive *τε . . . τε* came first.)

(1) Single *τε*. *τε* is freely used in verse to connect individual words or phrases, clauses, and sentences.<sup>2</sup> Hom. A 5 *κύνεσσιν οἰωνοῖσιν τε πᾶσι: 45 τόξ' ὤμοισιν ἔχων ἀμφηρεφέα τε φαρέτρην: 460 ἔδειραν, μηρούς τ' ἐξέταμον κατά τε κνίσση ἐκάλυψαν: Pi. O. 1. 38 ἐκάλεσε . . . ἐς ἔρανον φίλαν τε Σίπυλον: A. Supp. 274 Βραχὺς τορός θ' ὁ μῦθος: Pr. 172 σκῆπτρον τιμᾶς τ' ἀποσυλᾶται: E. Heracl. 182 εἰπεῖν ἀκοῦσαι τ': Hel. 696 μέλαθρα λέχεά τ': Hec. 560 ἔρρηξε λαγόνας . . . μαστούς τ' ἔδειξε: Hel. 652 Ἐχεις. ἐγὼ τε σέ: Tr. 1269 (after a particularly strong pause: perhaps read *δέ*, as certainly in A. Eu. 468 (Pearson): but cf. S. OT 1001: OC 534 (at opening of answer): E. Hel. 404, 785, 924: El. 240: HF 854: A. Ec. 458: Hdt. iii 156: see also II. 3. ii (*τε* introducing a question in Homer), and *δέ*, *ad init.* p. 162): An. Ach. 1062 *ὅτι ἡ γυνή ἔστι τοῦ πολέμου τ' οὐκ αἰτία: E. Hec. 1072: HF 649, 1056: IT 160-5: Hel. 1360-4: Ph. 229-34.**

In prose, single connective *τε* is much rarer. Mainly confined to the historians (more than 400 times in Thucydides, according to Hammer) and Plato (especially in the *Timaeus*), it is s-

<sup>1</sup> Consequently, to class, as Hartung does, any passage which can conceivably be so taken as connective or responsive, is an artificial procedure which often leads to forced explanations and to the supposition of unmarked ellipses.

<sup>2</sup> The units linked by *τε* (or by *καί*) are not necessarily *simulacrum generis*. See Jebb on S. Ant. 383, 653, Ph. 1178.

found in the orators<sup>1</sup> (occasionally in Antiphon, Andocides, and Lysias, and in pseudo-Demosthenes: once each in Isocrates, Aeschines, and Hyperides: never in Demosthenes or Lysurgus: frequent in Isaeus (Schmidt, p. 22) though not proportionately more frequent than in Antiphon and Andocides).

(i) Connecting single words and phrases. This use is much rarer in prose authors generally than (ii) and (iii), though in Plato it is commoner (Hoefler, p. 9). Moreover, the items connected are, for the most part, seldom single words. The tendency in prose is for single τε to couple large units, not small ones: with this exception, that in Plato's latest work (particularly the *Timaeus* and *Critias*) single τε frequently connects single words.

Single words. Hdt.viii 140β3 ἐξαιρετον μεταίχμιόν τε τὴν γῆν ἐκτημένων: Pl.*Phdr.*267A Τεισίαν δὲ Γοργίαν τε ἐάσομεν εὐδειν: *Srh.*227A ὑπὸ γυμναστικῆς ἰατρικῆς τε: *Ti.*17A σὸν τῶνδὲ τε ἔργον: 37C νοῦς ἐπιστήμη τε: 40C ἀλλήλοισ ἡμῖν τε: 46A ἐντὸς ἐκτός τε: 59D λεπτὸν ὑγρόν τε: 60C ἔθλιψεν συνέωσέν τε: 60E πῦρ μὲν ἀήρ τε: 62C μετὰ τῆς τοῦ κάτω φύσεως ἄνω τε λεγομένης: 88A σμικρᾶ... ἀσθενεῖ τε: *Ti.*39C,64C,66B,66D (*bis*): *Criti.*109C, 110A,113C,115D: *Lg.*643D,679D,733B,969B: *Epin.*974C,981C, 990B: *Ep.*342D.

Phrases. Hdt.vii 190 νέας... λέγουσι διαφθαρῆναι τετρακοσίων οὐκ ἐλάσσονας, ἄνδρας τε ἀναριθμήτους χρημάτων τε πλῆθος ἀφθονον: ix 80.1 εὕρισκον σκηναὺς κατεσκευασμένας χρυσῶ καὶ ἀργύρῳ, κλίνας τε ἐπιχρυσούς καὶ ἐπαργύρους, κρητῆρας τε χρυσέους: 101.2 τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι μηνός τε τοῦ αὐτοῦ: Th.i 12.4 Ἰταλίας δὲ καὶ Σικελίας τὸ πλεῖστον Πελοποννήσιοι (*sc.* ᾤκισαν) τῆς τε ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἐστὶν ἄχωρία: 29.1 ἄραντες ἐβδομήκοντα ναυσὶ καὶ πέντε δισχιλίοις τε ὀπλίταις: Pl.*Ti.*58C οὕτω δὲ διὰ ταῦτά τε: X.*Cyn.*1.18 γίνονται τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀγαθοὶ εἰς τε τὰ ἄλλα: Lys.xxxii 22 πλεῖν ἢ τετρακισχιλίας δραχμὰς ἀνηλωμένας, ἕτερά τε παμπληθῆ: Is.vii 7 εἰσέπραξε τὸ ἡμικλήριον ὧν Μνήσων κατέλιπεν ὅσα τε ἐκ τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς ἀπεστέρησε: Hdt.vii 79: Th.iii 36.6: X.*HG*vi 4.14.

(ii) Connecting clauses. (a) Participial. Th.i 76.2 ἀλλ' αἰεὶ καθεστῶτος... ἀξιοί τε ἅμα νομίζοντες εἶναι: X.*Oec.*10.12 καθα-

<sup>1</sup> I quote approximately all the examples below. In prose inscriptions single τε is not found before the Roman period (Meisterhans, p. 249).

ρωτέρα οὔσα πρεπόντως τε μᾶλλον ἠμφιεσμένη: Is.vii 17 ἐκείνῳ οὐκ ἀπιστοῦντων ἐμέ τε οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντων: cf. Aeschin.iii 87 Καλλίας... συναγείρας... ὁ τ' ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ταυροσθένης... διαβιβάσας: Hdt.ii 174: Th.iv 75.1: And.iii 30: Lys.xxxii 1: D.lix 38,62, 115.

(b) Infinitival. Hdt.i 112 ἐπιφοιτήσῃν γὰρ κατασκόπους... ἀπολέεσθαι τε κάκιστα: Th.i 58.2 πείθει Χαλκιδέας... ἀνοικίσασθαι ἐς Ὀλυμπον μίαν τε πόλιν... ποιήσασθαι: X.*An.*19.5 ἔνθα Κῦρος αἰδημονέστατος... τῶν ἠλικιωτῶν ἐδόκει εἶναι, τοῖς τε πρεσβυτέροις... πείθεσθαι: D.lix 67.

(c) Finite. Hdt.i 31 τελευτῆ τοῦ βίου ἀρίστη ἐπεγένετο, διέδεξέ τε ἐν τούτοις ὁ θεός: Th.i 13.1 τυραννίδες ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καθίσταντο... ναυτικά τε ἐξηρτύετο ἢ Ἑλλάς: Pl.*R.*398A εἴπομεν δ' ἂν ὅτι... ἀποπέμπομέν τε...: *Ti.*39B ἵνα... φαῖνοι τὸν οὐρανὸν μετάσχοι τε ἀριθμοῦ τὰ ζῶα: *Lg.*859B Καλῶς εἶρηκας, ποιῶμέν τε ὡς λέγεις: <sup>1</sup> X.*An.*15.14 ὁ δ' ἐχαλέπαινε... ἐκέλευσέ τε αὐτὸν...: Lys.i 17 ἀναμιμνησκόμενος δὲ ὅτι... ἐψόφει ἢ μέταυλος θύρα... ἔδοξέ τέ μοι...: Isoc.xvii 41 ἐγὼ πλεῖστον εἰσήνεγκα τῶν ξένων, αὐτὸς θ' αἰρεθεῖς... ἐπέγραψα: Is.i 12 ἔσωσεν... ἐπεμελείτό τε: Pl.*Phdr.*230B: Ant.i 26: And.i 61,111: ii 15,19: iii 9: Lys.i 6: xiii 1,82: xxiii 3: xxxi 2: Is.vii 10,39: viii 16,18: xi 39: Hyp.*Epit.*42: D.xl 8: xlv 31: xlvi 15: lix 73.

(iii) Connecting sentences, particularly in Thucydides (e.g. i 4: 5.3: 6.5: 13.4: 13.5: 13.6: 14.2). Hdt.i 96,207: ii 37,82,176: iii 156: *id. saep.*: Pl.*Phdr.*248C: *R.*578A: *Ti.*57A (τε αὐτῷ), 68B: *Lg.*700B,757D,773A: X.*An.*iv 8.13 (*bis*) (but τε in Xenophon seldom connects sentences: and in most of Hammer's examples under this head only a colon precedes)<sup>2</sup>: Ant.ii 73 (δέ Schäfer), 87 (δέ Reiske): And.iii 33,40: Is.vii 9 (*bis*): viii 19 (*bis*): x 20: D.xlix 27 (δέ *FQD*).

The conclusion is that after Thucydides the use of τε to connect sentences declines markedly: and that single τε, in general not common in fourth-century prose, is used, where it is used,

<sup>1</sup> Hoefler observes (p. 7) that, except for *Ti.*29B, this type of expression is peculiar to the *Laws* (772E,891B,893A,895A,905D,901C).

<sup>2</sup> I do not mean that sentences must necessarily be separated by full stops: nor that there is a clear-cut line between sentences and finite clauses. But I have taken the punctuation of our printed texts as a rough guide to the strength of the pause, though I have not followed it slavishly.

to connect, neither sentences nor (except in Plato's latest works) individual words, but clauses.

The following peculiarities in the use of single τε may be noted:

(a) τε introduces the last item of a series, the previous items being connected by καί or δέ.

(α) Single words. *S.Ph.* 581 πρὸς σὲ κάμῃ τούσδε τε: *E.IA* 1301 ἔνθα ποτὲ Παλλὰς ἔμολε καὶ δολιόφρων Κύπρις Ἥρα θ' Ἐρμῆς θ' (τε with last two items): *Pl.Ti.* 31B σωματοειδὲς δὲ δὴ καὶ ὄρατὸν ἀπτόν τε: 75B σαρκώδη . . . καὶ νευρώδη κρατεράν τε κεφαλὴν: *Criti.* 112C κήπους καὶ γυμνάσια συσσίτια τε: *Lg.* 792E, 947E: *Criti.* 117E, 118C. Phrases. *E.Or.* 204 ἐν στοναχαῖσί τε καὶ γόοισι δάκρυσί τ' ἐννυχίοις: *Hdt.* vii 8a1 Κῦρός τε καὶ Καμβύσης πατήρ τε ἐμὸς Δαρείος: *Pl.R.* 415D: *Ti.* 18A, 60A.

(β) Clauses. *E.Supp.* 831 κατὰ μεπέδον γὰς ἔλοι, διὰ δὲ θύελλα σπάσαι, πυρός τε φλογμὸς ὁ Διὸς ἐν κάρμῃ πέσοι: *Hdt.* vii 5.3 ὡς ἡ Εὐρώπη περικαλλὴς χώρα καὶ δένδρεα παντοῖα φέρει τὰ ἡμέρα ἀρετὴν τε ἄκρη, βασιλείῃ τε μούνῳ θνητῶν ἀξίη ἐκτῆσθαι: *Th.* i 56.2 ἐκέλευον τὸ ἐς Παλλήνην τεῖχος καθελεῖν καὶ ὀμήρους δοῦναι, τοὺς τε ἐπιδημιουργοὺς ἐκπέμπειν: *Pl.Ti.* 73E μετ' ἐκεῖνο δὲ εἰς ὕδωρ βάπτει, πάλιν δὲ εἰς πῦρ, αὐθὶς τε εἰς ὕδωρ (αὐθὶς τε *FY*: αὐθὶς δὲ *AP*): *Th.* i 57E λείπεται δὲ ἐννυπνίων τε περὶ καὶ νόσων . . . ὅσα τε . . . : *Hdt.* i 86: *Ant.* i va 4 (δὲ Schäfer): *D.* lvii 12.

(γ) Sentences. Often in Thucydides τε introduces a clinching or summing up of what precedes: *iv* 12.3: 14.3: *vii* 71.4. ἀπλῶς τε: *iii* 38.7: 45.7. ξυνελών τε: *ii* 41.1. So, too, Aristotle often sums up an enumerative series by ὅλως τε: e.g. *Metaph.* 981b7, 989a26.

(b) A word or clause connected by τε is followed by another connected by καί or δέ, with sometimes another τε.

(α) Single words and phrases. *Ar.Av.* 701-2 γένητ' οὐρανὸς ὠκεανὸς τε καὶ γῆ πάντων τε θεῶν μακάρων γένος ἄφθιτον: *Pl.* *Ti.* 92C μέγιστος καὶ ἄριστος κάλλιστός τε καὶ τελεώτατος: *Lg.* 828B ἐξηγηταὶ καὶ ἱερεῖς ἱερεῖαι τε καὶ μάντιες: 886A: *Lys.* ii 39 ποῖαι δ' οὐχ ἱκετεῖαι θεῶν ἐγένοντο ἢ θυσιῶν ἀναμνήσεις, ἔλεός τε παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν πόθος οἰκτός τε πατέρων καὶ μητέρων, λογισμὸς δὲ . . . τῶν . . . κακῶν. Hoefler observes that καὶ . . . τε . . . καί is common in *Timaeus* and *Laws*. (In *Pl.Ti.* 80A both

τε καί's perhaps couple the units of the pairs, while between the pairs there is asyndeton: καὶ ὅσοι φθόγγοι ταχεῖς τε καὶ βραδεῖς ὀξεῖς τε καὶ βαρεῖς φαίνονται: cf. *Epin.* 978A: *Lg.* 88CD, 896D: *Hdt.* iii 157. So, too, in *Ar.Ach.* 1016 τε καί seems to mean 'both . . . and', μαγειρικῶς being analysed into κομψῶς and δειπνητικῶς.)

(β) Clauses. *Pl.Ti.* 41D, 78A: *Ant.* ii β 12 (perhaps).

(c) Rarely, τε couples the last two units of an otherwise asyndetic series (cf. δέ, *I.A.* 4: καί, *I.* 1). *A.Pers.* 404 ἐλευθεροῦτε δὲ παῖδας, γυναῖκας, θεῶν τε πατρῶων ἔδη: *Ag.* 1433: *S.Aj.* 297 ἄγων ὁμοῦ ταύρους, κύνας βοτῆρας, εὐερόν τ' ἄγραν: *OT* 1407 νύμφας γυναῖκας μητέρας τε: *E.El.* 334 αἱ χεῖρες ἢ γλῶσσοι ἢ ταλαίπωρός τε φρήν; *Ba.* 694 νέαι παλαιαὶ παρθένοι τ' ἔτ' ἄζυγες (τ' ἔτ' ἄζυγες ex *Chr.Pat.* 1834, Musgrave: τε κάζυγες *LP*): *Ph.* 1147: *IA* 107 (text doubtful): *Pl.Lg.* 775C εὐπαγὲς ἀπλανὲς ἡσυχαιὸν τε: *Ti.* 76E.\*

Or τε following an asyndetic series is followed by a further connective; *E.Tr.* 674 ἄνδρ' ἀρκοῦντά μοι ξυνέσει γένοι πλούτῳ τε κἀνδρεία μέγαν (but more probably the καί links μέγαν with ἀρκοῦντα): *Hel.* 1103 ἔρωτας ἀπάτας δόλια τ' ἐξευρήματα ἀσκοῦσα φίλτρα θ' αἱματηρὰ δωμαίων: *Pl.Ti.* 82A γῆς πυρὸς ὕδατος τε καὶ ἀέρος. Alternation of copulation and asyndeton is common in the *Persae*: e.g. 959-60 οἶος ἦν Φαραιδάκης, Σούσας, Πελάγων, [καὶ] Δοτάμας, ἠδ' Ἀγδαβάτας, Ψάμμυς, Σουσιस्कάνης τ'.

(d) The coupling of πολλά and a qualitative epithet by τε, instead of the normal καί, in *A.Th.* 339 seems unparalleled: πολλά γὰρ . . . δυστυχῆ τε πράσσει. Hence Dobree's πολλά . . . χρηστά θ' in *S.Ph.* 584 (for γ'), though often accepted, rests on a fragile foundation.

Two disparate qualitative epithets are coupled by τε in *Pl.P.* 12.9 παρθενίοις ὑπὸ τ' ἀπλάτοις ὀφίων κεφαλαῖς. *A.Eu.* 559 is harder: ἐν μέσῳ δυσπαλεῖ τε δίνα (Turnebus: δυσπαλεῖται *cauld.*): and if δυσπαλεῖ is taken as a verb the position of τε is even more difficult. Coupling phrases: *S.Aj.* 379 ἰὼ πάντα δρῶν, ἀπάντων τ' αἰεὶ κακῶν ὄργανον: *E.Med.* 124 ἐμοὶ γοῦν ἐν μὴ μεγάλοις ὄχυρῶς τ' εἴη καταγηράσκειν (where Reiske's γ' is probably right). *E.Med.* 403 τοῖς Σισυφείοις τοῖς τ' Ἰάσονος γάμοις, with its repeated article, can certainly not be defended on these grounds: nor can *A.Supp.* 9 γάμον Αἰγύπτου παίδων ἀσεβῆ τ' ὀνοταζόμεναι (Paley takes τ' as

postponed: 'ξοροταζόμεναι Tucker): nor can Hdt.vii 151 (τε om. ABCP).

(e) Greek sometimes employs connexion by τε where English prefers an appositional construction. (Cf. δέ, I.A.1: see also καί, I.4.) A.Supp.42 Δῖον πόρτιν . . . ἴνιν τ' ἀνθονόμον: 62 τᾶς Τηρέϊας μήτιδος οἰκτρᾶς ἀλόχου κερκηλάτου τ' ἀηδόνας: Th.501 Πρῶτον μὲν Ὀγκα Παλλὰς ἢ τ' ἀγχίπολις πύλαισι γείτων (see p. 523): Ag.10 φέρουσαν ἐκ Τροίας φάτιν ἀλώσιμόν τε βάξιν: 1526 ἐμὸν ἐκ τοῦδ' ἔρνος ἀερθέην, τὴν πολύκλαυτόν τ' Ἰφιγενείαν (πολυκλαύτην, without τε, Porson): 1585 πατέρα Θυέστην τὸν ἐμὸν . . . αὐτοῦ τ' ἀδελφόν (τ' is unnecessarily suspected by Elmsley and Verrall): Ch.95 ἔσθλ' ἀντιδοῦναι . . . δόσιν τε τῶν κακῶν ἐπαξίαν (γε Stanley)\*: E.I.1153 τὸ Διὸς . . . παῖδ' ἐμῷ τε συγγόνω (δέ Matthiae): 1454 Πατέρα τὸν ἀμὸν μὴ στύγει πόσιν τε σόν (γε Elmsley): Hec.615 (τε seems to be epexegetic of ὡς ἔχω, 'as best I may, by mustering finery': perhaps γ', Wakefield): El.1243: Rh.1029 (the μούσα is an Ἐρινύς). The existence of an appositional use of γε (q.v. I.12.i), and the facility with which τ and γ may be interchanged (see e.g. E.Hel.426,432,829.1273), often make the reading doubtful.

(f) τε is very occasionally employed in anaphora, like καί (I.3) and δέ without μὲν (δέ, I.A.2), instead of the more usual μὲν . . . δέ or asyndeton. Hom.Θ24 αὐτῇ κεν γαίῃ ἐρύσαιμ' αὐτῇ τε θαλάσση: S.OC1311 σὺν ἐπτὰ τάξεσιν σὺν ἐπτὰ τε λόγχοις: E.Tr.604 οἶος ἰάλεμος, οἶά τε πένθη: S.Ant.674 (coni. Pearson): E.HF 1377 (δέ Hermann). In A.Pers.379 θ' is v.l. In S.Aj.350 read μόνοι ἔτ' ἐμμένοντες (Hermann for μόνοι τ' codd.).

(g) Occasional other irregularities are to be met with. Lys. xiii40 πυθομένη δ' ἐκείνη ἀφικνεῖται, μέλαν τε ἱμάτιον ἡμφιεσμένη: the text has been universally suspected, but 'she came, and dressed in black' is natural English idiom, and perhaps not impossible as a colloquialism in Greek, τε almost bearing the force of καὶ ταῦτα: cf. δέ, I.A.3: clearly, τε does not couple the participles. Externally similar, but to be otherwise analysed, is Pi.P.6.46 Θρασύβουλος πατρῶν μάλιστα πρὸς στάθμαν ἔβα, πάτρῳ τ' ἐπερχόμενος ἀγλαΐαν ἀπάσαν (where Christ paraphrases ἔβα πρὸς πατρῶν στάθμαν βαίνων πάτρῳ τ' ἐπερχόμενος).

Pi.I.5.19 τὴν δ' ἐν Ἰσθμῷ διπλόα θάλλοισ' ἀρετά, Φυλακίδα, κείται, Νεμέα δέ καὶ ἀμφοῖν Πυθέα τε, παγκρατίου ('both,

including Pytheas': see Schroeder *ad loc.*, and Wackernagel, *Ztschr. f. vergl. Sprachf.* xxiii 308, on Hom.M335-6, citing a Vedic parallel, 'we two and Varuna' = 'I and Varuna').

(h) Single τε is not used after οὐ (οὔτε, 'and not'), except (occasionally) where a negative clause precedes (οὐ . . . οὔτε, 'not . . . and not': see 4.iii). In Lys.xxv 14 there is an anacoluthon, οὔτε after δικασταί meaning 'neither' (Kühner, II ii 288).

(2) Corresponsive, τε . . . τε. This combination, though rarer in prose than in verse, is yet far commoner in prose than single τε. Excluding εἶτε, εἴαντε, οὔτε, it is rarer (though not, on the whole, absolutely rare) in the orators than in the historians and Plato: the genuine public orations of Demosthenes afford no example.<sup>1</sup>

Verse. (Homer, as Bäumllein and Christ have pointed out, usually employs τε . . . τε to connect words or phrases, seldom to connect clauses.) Hom.A13 λυσόμενός τε θύγατρα φέρων τ' ἀπερείσι' ἄποινα: 544 πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε: Hes.Op.669 ἀγαθῶν τε κακῶν τε: A.Pers.184 μεγέθει τε τῶν νῦν ἐκπρεπεστάτα πολὺ, κάλλει τ' ἀμώμω: 491 πλείστοι θάιον δίψη τε λιμῶ τ': S.Aj.34-5 τά τ' οὖν πάρος τά τ' εἰσέπειτα: Ag.Ach. 370-5 τοὺς τε γὰρ τρόπους τοὺς τῶν ἀγροίκων οἶδα . . . τῶν τ' αὖ γερόντων οἶδα τὰς ψυχὰς (an exceptionally wide interval: cf. S.OC765-72).

Rarely with anaphora. S.El.1098-9 ὀρθά τ' εἰσηκούσαμεν ὀρθῶς θ' ὕδοιποροῦμεν.

In prose, the units joined are usually clauses, seldom single words or phrases. This applies to Plato as well as to other

<sup>1</sup> But there are some 36 examples in the lawcourt speeches attributed to Demosthenes, including speeches certainly written by him. What is the reason for this difference in usage between Assembly speeches and forensic speeches? Was τε . . . τε felt, perhaps, to be slightly colloquial? In prose inscriptions before the Roman period τε . . . τε is found only with εἰ, εἴ, οὐ, μή (Meisterhans, p. 249). Spengel (*Rh.M.*xvii(1862)167) notes that there are only two certain examples of τε . . . τε in Ant. I, V, and VI, as against 42 in the *Tetralogies*. Fuhr (*Rh.M.*xxxiii(1873)594-9) observes that τε . . . τε gets rarer during the fourth century.

Schmidt (p. 32) is misleading here: he does not distinguish between τε . . . τε and εἴαν τε . . . εἴαν τε.

prose writers. But, relatively to them, he uses τε to join phrases often, though very rarely to join single words.

Single words. Pl. *Criti.* 115B παιδιᾶς τε δὲ ἕνεκα ἡδονῆς τε γέγονε . . . καρπός: 121B παγκαλοί τε μακάριοί τε (there may be some Homeric colour here, as Hoefler suggests).

Phrases. Hdt. vii 8γ3 οὕτω οἱ τε ἡμῖν αἴτιοι ἔξουσι δούλιον ζυγὸν οἱ τε ἀναίτιοι: ix 122.2 ἀνθρώπων τε πολλῶν ἄρχομεν πάσης τε τῆς Ἀσίας: Th. ii 84.3 τοῦ τε ἀνέμου τῶν τε πλοίων: iv 8.8 τὴν τε νῆσον πολεμίαν ἔσεσθαι τὴν τε ἠπειρον: Pl. *R.* 373B οἶον οἱ τε θηρευταὶ πάντες οἱ τε μιμηταί: 520B ὑμῖν τε αὐτοῖς τῆ τε ἄλλη πόλει: 578A φόβου γέμειν ἄρ' οὐκ ἀνάγκη τὴν τε τοιαύτην πόλιν τὸν τε τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα; *Ti.* 37E τό τ' ἦν τό τ' ἔσται: *Phdr.* 244A ἦ τε γὰρ δὴ ἐν Δελφοῖς προφήτις αἶ τ' ἐν Δωδώνῃ ἰέρειαι: 245D πάντα τε οὐρανὸν πᾶσάν τε γένεσιν: X. *HG* iv 8.22 εὐχαρίς τε οὐχ ἦττον τοῦ Θίβρωνος, μᾶλλον τε συντεταγμένος: Hdt. ix 3.2: Th. ii 64.2: iv 108.3: Pl. *Phdr.* 276D: *Lg.* 951E: *R.* 465C: X. *Cyr.* vi 1.29: *An.* iv 5.12.

There are a few examples in the orators, mainly from those of the earliest period. Ant. ii 1γ3 ὁ τε φόβος ἢ τε ἀδικία: *ib.* ὁ τε κίνδυνος ἢ τε αἰσχύνη: And. iii 2 διὰ τε τὴν ἀπειρίαν τοῦ ἔργου διὰ τε τὴν ἐκείνων ἀπιστίαν: 34 φημί . . . ἄνδρα στρατηγὸν τῆ πόλει τε εὖνουν εἰδότα τε ὅ τι πράττοι λανθάνοντα δεῖν . . . ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς κινδύνους: Aeschin. ii 145 ὅταν . . . ἐν τε ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀπάσαις πρὸς τε τὴν βουλήν διαβάλλη τινά.

Clauses. Hdt. i 22 καὶ δύο τε . . . νηοὺς . . . οἰκοδόμησε . . . αὐτός τε ἐκ τῆς νούσου ἀνέστη: Th. i 8.3 οἱ τε ἠσσοὺς ὑπέμενον . . . οἱ τε δυνατώτεροι . . . προσεποιούντο: 23.1 τούτου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου μῆκος τε μέγα προὔβη, παθήματά τε ζυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι: Pl. *R.* 474C ἄπτεσθαι τε φιλοσοφίας ἡγεμονεύειν τ' ἐν πόλει: 548D πῶς τε γινόμενος ποῖός τε τις ὢν; X. *Cyr.* i 4.25 οἱ τε ἄλλοι πάντες τὸν Κῦρον διὰ στόματος εἶχον . . . ὁ τε Ἀστυάγης . . . ὑπερεξέπληκτο ἐπ' αὐτῷ: *Lys.* xiii 8 ὑμεῖς τε . . . οὐκ ἠνέσχεσθε ἀκούσαντες . . . Κλεοφῶν τε . . . ἀντεῖπεν: *Isoc.* iv 137 τὴν τε γὰρ Ἀσίαν διωμολόγηται . . . τὰς τε πόλεις . . . παρείληφεν: D. xlvii 81 τὰ τε σκευὴ ἐκφορῆσαι τὴν τε τιτθὴν συγκόψαι: Th. i 12.3: 26.3 (*bis*): 34.3: Pl. *Phdr.* 248B: *R.* 466C: *Phd.* 71B, 113D: And. i 24.80, 82: *Lys.* xii 61, 64: *Isoc.* v 72, 80, 92, 104, 106, 108: *Is.* i 50: [D.] vii 13: D. xx 16, 50: xxiv 8, 156: Aeschin. ii 81.

τε . . . τε . . . τε. Sometimes two or more τε's, meaning 'and',

follow the first τε. (Xenophon uses triple and quadruple τε more frequently than the other historians: Hammer, p. 94. Multiplication of τε is rare in Plato: Hoefler, p. 12.)

*E. Ba.* 379-81 δὲ τὰδ' ἔχει, θιασεύειν τε χόροις μετὰ τ' αἰλοῦ γελάσαι ἀποπαῦσαι τε μερίμνας: *Ar. Lys.* 40-1: *Ra.* 818-19: Hdt. i 16 οὗτος δὲ Κυαζάρη τε . . . ἐπολέμησε καὶ Μήδοισι, Κιμμερίου τε . . . ἐξήλασε, Σμύρνην τε . . . εἶλε, ἐς Κλαζομενάς τε ἐσέβαλε: Th. i 2.3 ἦ τε νῦν Θεσσαλία καλουμένη καὶ Βοιωτία, Πελοποννήσου τε τὰ πολλὰ πλὴν Ἀρκαδίας, τῆς τε ἄλλης ὅσα ἦν κράτιστα: Pl. *Prm.* 165A-B πρὸ τε τῆς ἀρχῆς . . . μετὰ τε τὴν τελευταίην . . . ἐν τε τῷ μέσῳ: X. *Cyr.* vi 2.17 ἀλλ' οἱ τε ἵπποι εἰσὶ . . . οἱ τε ἡνίοχοι . . . ἐστᾶσι . . . δρέπανά τε . . . προσήρμοσται: *Lys.* xix 13 ὑπ' ἐκείνου τε πεπιστευμένους γεγονότας τε ἐπιεικέως τῆ πόλει ἐν τε τῷ τότε χρόνῳ ἀρέσκοντας: *Isoc.* iii 25: v 54: *Is.* vi 38: vii 34: D. xxi 26: xxvii 16.

The forms εἴτε . . . εἴτε, οὔτε . . . οὔτε are common in all periods and styles, and the second τε is not here normally replaced by καί.<sup>1</sup> (*E. IT* 591 is exceptional: εἰ γάρ, ὡς ἔοικας, οὔτε δυσμενῆς καὶ τὰς Μυκῆνας οἴσθα: here there is clearly a change of construction, οὔτε αἰδῶρις, or the like, being expected: Wecklein compares Lucian *DMar.* 14.1.) Only deviations from the normal require illustration: these are mainly poetical, and are almost entirely absent from the strict regularity of fourth-century oratorical prose.

(3) εἴτε . . . εἴτε: used both in conditional protases and in indirect questions. The following forms should be distinguished (Kühner, II ii 300):

(a) Each conditional protasis has its own apodosis. Th. ii 51.5 εἴτε γὰρ μὴ θέλοιεν δεδιότες ἀλλήλοις προσιέναι, ἀπώλλυντο ἐρῆμοι . . . : εἴτε προσίοιεν, διεφθείροντο. Cf. Pl. *Prt.* 338B: X. *An.* vi 6.20: *Arist. Pol.* 1259b39.

(b) The two protases share a common apodosis. Pl. *Ly.* 212E Τὸ φιλούμενον ἄρα τῷ φιλοῦντι φίλον ἐστὶν . . . εἴαν τε φιλῆ, εἴαν τε καὶ μισῆ: Th. iv 19.1.

(c) The two protases share also a common verb. Hom. *M* 239 τῶν οὐ τι . . . ἀλεγίζω, εἴτ' ἐπὶ δεξι' ἴωσι . . . εἴτ' ἐπ' ἀριστερά:

<sup>1</sup> But Pl. *Lg.* 849E εἴντε . . . καὶ ἂν μὴ: 863E, 929E. On *S. Fr.* 1019.11 (his 1120), see Pearson, *Fragments of Sophocles*. For *Ant.* 328, see pp. 517-18.

Pl. Men 92C Πῶς οὖν ἂν . . . εἰδείης περὶ τούτου τοῦ πράγματος, εἴτε τι ἀγαθὸν ἔχει ἐν αὐτῷ εἴτε φλαῦρον; X. HG 16.5.

(d) The protases have no verb, and have to borrow one from the apodosis: εἴτε then approximates to ἢ, as 'whether' to 'either'. S. Ph. 345 λέγοντες, εἴτ' ἀληθές, εἴτ' ἄρ' οὖν μάτην (sc. ἔλεγον): OT 194, 1049: X. Cyr. 1.1.5.

(e) The second protasis has a verb, while the first has to borrow one from the common apodosis. Pl. Cra. 428C καὶ ἐμοὶ σὺ . . . φαίνη . . . χρησμοδεῖν, εἴτε παρ' Εὐθύφρονος ἐπίπνους γινόμενος (sc. χρησμοδεῖς), εἴτε καὶ ἄλλη τις Μοῦσα πάλαι σε ἐνοῦσα ἐλελήθει. Cf. S. Ph. 222B θεὸς δὲ ὅπη χαίρεις, εἴτε μηδὲν τιθεῖς ἡμερον, εἴτε ἄλλο μὲν ἡμερόν τι, τὸν δὲ ἄνθρωπον ἄγριον, εἴτε ἡμερον μὲν λέγεις . . . .

The negative form οὐτ' εἰ . . . οὐτ' εἰ (e.g. S. Ant. 905-6) is used also in indirect questions: Hdt. vii 135.3 ἐλευθερίας δὲ οὐκω ἐπειρήθης, οὐτ' εἰ ἔστι γλυκὺ οὐτ' εἰ μή.

#### Exceptional forms:

(i) εἰ . . . εἴτε. A. Eu. 468 σὺ δ' εἰ δικαίως εἴτε μὴ (ἐκτεῖνα) κρίνον δίκην: S. OT 92 Εἰ τῶνδε χρήσεις πλησιαζόντων κλύειν, ἐτοῖμος εἰπεῖν, εἴτε καὶ στείχειν ἔσω: E. Alc. 140 εἰ δ' ἔτ' ἐστὶν ἐμψυχος γυνὴ εἴτ' οὖν ὄλωλεν εἰδέναί βουλοίμεθ' ἄν: A. Ch. 768: S. OT 517: E. Ion 1121: IA 796: Pl. Lg. 952B εἴ τινα φήμην . . . ἡῦρὲν τινὰς ἔχοντας φράζειν, εἴτε καὶ αὐτὸς νενοηκῶς ἅττα ἦκοι: X. Cyr. 1.1.7 Ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν ἀνδρῶν προσδεῖ ἡμῖν . . . εἴτε καὶ μή, αὐθις συμβουλευσόμεθα: τὴν δὲ μάχην μοι, ἔφη, λέξον: v 3.57 ὅπως εἴ τί που ἐναντιοῖτο αὐτῷ, ἀπαντῶν . . . , εἴ τέ τί που φεῦγον ὀφθείη . . . διώκοι (ὅπως εἴτε που HAG et D): Hdt. iii 35 (ABCEP): ix 54.2: Pl. R. 503E: Cra. 424B: Alc. II 148A: Lg. 907D. Essentially similar, Hdt. vii 234.1 εἰπέ . . . ὀκόσει τοιοῦτοι τὰ πολέμια, εἴτε καὶ ἅπαντες: <sup>1</sup> cf. ii 53.

(ii) εἴτε . . . εἰ δέ. Here (with a certain degree of anacoluthon) δέ is substituted for τε in order to give an antithetical emphasis

<sup>1</sup> Here ὀκόσει implies εἰ: 'whether a proportion only, and, if so, what proportion'. So, in X. An. 1.3.11, in a true conditional clause, ἕως means 'if, and'. There does not seem, in principle, to be any reason why τε ('and') should not follow εἰ, without a preceding conditional protasis expressed or implied: εἴτε, 'and if': in practice the collocation seems to have been avoided.

to the second clause. Pl. Lg. 952C καὶ ἐάντε μηδὲν χείρων . . . ἐὰν δὲ πολὺ βελτίων . . . : X. Mem. ii 1.28 ἀλλ' εἴτε τοὺς θεοὺς ἴλεως εἶναί σοι βούλει, θεραπευτέον τοὺς θεοὺς, εἴτε . . . εἴτε . . . εἴτε . . . εἴτε . . . εἴτε . . . εἴτε . . . εἴ δὲ καὶ τῷ σώματι βούλει δυνατὸς εἶναι . . . : Pl. Ap. 33D. In Pl. Ap. 40C-E the great interval between εἴτε δὴ and εἰ δ' αὖ makes the anacoluthon imperceptible.

(iii) εἴτε . . . ἢ. E. Hipp. 142-4 ἢ σὺ γ' ἐνθεος, ὦ κούρα, εἴτ' ἐκ Πανὸς εἴθ' Ἐκάτας ἢ σεμνῶν Κορυβάντων φοιτᾶς ἢ ματρὸς ὀρείας; IT 272 εἴτ' οὖν ἐπ' ἀκταῖς θάσσετον Διοσκόρω, ἢ Νηρέως ἀγάλμαθ': E. El. 896: A. Ach. 569: Pl. Phdr. 277D Ὡς εἴτε Λυσίας ἢ τις ἄλλος πώποτε ἔγραψεν: R. 375A ὁ μὴ θυμοειδῆς εἴτε ἵππος εἴτε κύων ἢ ἄλλο ὅτιοῦν ζῷον (εἴτε ἄλλο F Stobaeus: ἢ ἄλλο ADM): Lg. 739D εἴτε που θεοὶ ἢ παῖδες θεῶν αὐτὴν οἰκοῦσι: 862D εἴτε ἔργοις ἢ λόγοις. Even in the formal language of an inscription (424 B.C.), Meisterhans, p. 256. (But in Pl. R. 364B-C, which Kühner cites, εἴτε is clearly answered by ἐάν τε, not by ἢ.)

ἢ . . . εἴτε (not, as Kühner says, entirely confined to poetry). S. Aj. 178 ἢ ποῦ τινος νίκας ἀκάρπωτον χάριν, ἢ ῥα κλυτῶν ἐνάρων ψευσθεῖσ', ἀδώροις εἴτ' ἐλαφηβολίαις; E. Alc. 115 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ναυκληρίαν ἔσθ' ὅποι τις αἶας στείλας, ἢ Λυκίαν εἴτε . . . : Pl. Crit. 115A ὅσα εὐώδη τρέφει που γῆ τὰ νῦν, ρίζων ἢ χλόης ἢ ξύλων ἢ χυλῶν στακτῶν εἴτε ἀνθῶν ἢ καρπῶν.

(iv) εἴτε omitted in the first clause.<sup>1</sup> Pl. P. 4.76 εἴτ' ἂν . . . μόλη

<sup>1</sup> With some hesitation, I retain this traditional heading, and quote the examples in chronological order, refraining from sub-classification. But further analysis seems necessary, though the authorities do not give it us. The passages fall, I think, into two classes: (1) where εἴτε has no verb expressed, and ἢ could be substituted for it, as in (d) above, the words preceding εἴτε making grammatical sense independently of the sequel: this includes the passages from Pindar and Sophocles, and the five from Plato: (2) where εἴτε has a verb expressed, and the words preceding εἴτε will not stand if taken independently: this includes the two passages from Aeschylus, which differ, however, pretty widely from one another. In A. Ag. 1403 εἴτε must clearly be understood before αἰεῖν, as the thought is definitely disjunctive, 'whether . . . or . . .'. Ch. 1002 is equally clearly not disjunctive; 'whether she had been a lamprey or a viper' is nonsense, and one understands εἰ, rather than εἴτε, before μύρινα. E. Tr. 874 occupies a sort of intermediate position: the words preceding εἴτε make sense independently, but εἴτε has a verb expressed.



... ζείνος αἴτ' ὦν ἀστός: *A. Ag.* 1403 σὺ δ' αἰνεῖν εἴτε με ψέγειν θέλεις, ὁμοιον: *Ch.* 1002 τί σοι δοκεῖ; μύραινά γ' εἴτ' ἔχιδν' ἔφν, σήπειν θιγοῦσ' ἂν ἄλλον (γ' εἴτ' Hermann: τ' ἦτ' M): *S. Tr.* 236 Ποῦ γῆς, πατρώας εἴτε βαρβάρου; λέγε (the punctuation is doubtful: I follow Jebb): *E. Tr.* 874 κτανεῖν ἐμοί νιν ἔδοσαν, εἴτε μὴ κτανῶν θέλοιμ' ἄγεσθαι: *Pl. Sph.* 217E ἀπομηκύνειν λόγον συχνὸν κατ' ἐμαυτόν, εἴτε καὶ πρὸς ἕτερον: 224E Καὶ τὸ κτητικῆς ἄρα μεταβλητικόν, ἀγοραστικόν, καπηλικόν εἴτε αὐτοπωλικόν, ἀμφοτέρως: *Lg.* 844D ὃς ἂν ἀγροίκου ὀπώρας γεύσῃται, βοτρυῶν εἴτε καὶ σύκων: *Lg.* 814A: *Ti.* 56D: *Alc.* II 148C.

For εἴτε καί, see further καί, II. B. 7. i: for εἴτε οὖν, see οὖν, II. I, pp. 418-9.\*

(4) οὔτε . . . οὔτε (μήτε . . . μήτε), or, where the second clause is positive. οὔτε (μήτε) . . . τε (e.g. *Pl. Prt.* 360D Οὐκέτι ἐνταῦθα οὔτ' ἐπιεῦσαι ἠθέλησεν ἐσίγα τε (negative duplicated, as in *S. Ant.* 763, for which, however, see δῆτα, II. 1): *Th.* 184A: *Criti.* 120C: *et saep.*).

Exceptional forms (see Kühner, II ii 288 ff.).

(i) οὔτε . . . τε . . . οὐ (or τ' οὐ). *E. Hipp.* 302 οὔτε γὰρ τότε λόγοις ἐτέγγεθ' ἠδὲ νῦν τ' οὐ πείθεται: *Tr.* 487 κοῦτ' ἐξ ἐκείνων ἐλπίς ὡς ὀφθῆσομαι, αὐτὴ τ' ἐκείνας οὐκέτ' ὄψομαί ποτε: *S. Ant.* 763. Sometimes also in prose. *Th.* 15.2 ὡς οὔτε ὦν πυνθάσσονται ἀπαξιούντων τὸ ἔργον, οἷς τε ἐπιμελὲς εἶη εἰδέναι οὐκ ὀνειδίζόντων: 126.6 οὔτε ἐκείνος ἐτι κατενόησε τό τε μαντεῖον οὐκ

Here there is no need to supply either εἰ or εἴτε (either would necessitate supplying also κτανεῖν θέλοιμι): simply 'they gave her me to kill, or, if I wished, without killing, to take away', ἄγεσθαι being construed ἀπὸ κοινοῦ after ἔδοσαν and after θέλοιμι.

*Hdt.* ii 125 is again different: ὅσοι . . . στοίχοι ἦσαν . . . τοσαῖται καὶ μηχαναὶ ἦσαν, εἴτε καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν μηχανὴν εὐοῦσιν μίαν . . . μετεφέρων ἐπὶ στοίχον ἐκιστον. εἴτε thus standing, with verb expressed, as the equivalent of ἦ in an independent clause is, I think, unparalleled: but the colloquial casualness of the language is characteristically Herodotean: 'or whether it was that . . .' ('oder sei es auch dass', Stein, rightly: but he is wrong, I think, in comparing ii 53, grouped under (i)).

The essential point to grasp is that the two Aeschylean passages involve harsh ellipses of εἴτε and of εἰ, of a kind which would scarcely be tolerated in prose: and that they are not really on all fours with the remaining passages.

ἐδήλου: *Pl. Lg.* 679B. (Where the negative goes closely with a single word, this construction merges into οὔτε . . . τε.<sup>1</sup>)

(ii) τε . . . οὔτε. Extremely rare (Kühner (II ii 292) and Jebb (on *S. OC* 367) refuse to allow it at all): *E. Fr.* 522 κείνοί τ' ἂν οὐδὲν εἶεν οὔθ' ἡμεῖς ἐτι (οὐδ' Trinc.): *Pl. Th.* 159E Οὔκουν ἐγώ τε οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποτὲ γενήσομαι . . . οὔτε ἐκείνο . . . . It is to be remarked that in both cases a negative closely follows the τε. *Th.* i 37.2 can hardly be admitted as an example (see Marchant (for) and Steup (against): I am inclined to believe that Steup is right in taking τε as connective and reading οὔτε μάρτυρα).

(iii) οὐ . . . οὔτε. The addition is an afterthought. Epic, Elegiac, and Lyric. *Hom. Z.* 451 ἀλλ' οὐ μοι Τρώων τόσσον μέλει ἄλγος ὀπίσσω, οὔτ' αὐτῆς Ἐκάβης οὔτε Πριάμοιο ἀνακτος οὔτε κασιγνήτων: *X.* 265 (v.l. οὐδέ, but οὔτε has preponderating MS. authority: see Leaf): *δ.* 566 οὐ νιφετός, οὔτ' ἀρχιμῶν πολὺς οὔτε ποτ' ὄμβρος: *λ.* 483 σεῖο δ', Ἀχιλλεῦ, οὔ τις ἀνὴρ προπάροιθε μακάρτατος οὔτ' ἄρ' ὀπίσσω: *Thgn.* 125 (reading doubtful): 745 μή τιν' ὑπερβασίην κατέχων μήθ' ὄρκον ἀλιτρόν: *Pi. P.* 5.54 πόνων δ' οὐ τις ἀπόκλαρός ἐστιν οὔτ' ἔσεται: *B. Fr.* 21.1 οὐ βοῶν πάρεστι σώματ' οὔτε χρυσὸς οὔτε . . . .

οὐ . . . οὔτε is also found in the tragedians, and occasionally in comedy and prose. οὔτε is often emended into οὐδέ, but the number of passages is perhaps too large to justify this alteration everywhere.<sup>2</sup> *Tyrt. Fr.* 6-7.12 ἀνδρὸς τοι ἀλωμένου οὐδεμί' ὄρη γίγνεται οὔτ' αἰδῶς οὔτ' ὀπίσω γένεος: *S. Aj.* 428 Οὔτοι σ' ἀπείργειν οὔθ' ὅπως ἐὼ λέγειν ἔχω: *El.* 1412 Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ σέθεν ὀκτίρεθ' οὔτος οὔθ' ὁ γεννήσας πατήρ: *OC* 496 λείπομαι γὰρ ἐν τῷ μὴ δύνασθαι μήθ' ὀράν, δυοῖν κακοῖν: *E. Med.* 1354 σὺ δ' οὐκ ἐμελλες . . . οὔθ' ἢ τύραννος οὔθ' . . . : *S. OC* 451: *Tr.* 1058: *E. IA* 978, 1323: *Ar. Ach.* 657

<sup>1</sup> Cf. cases of τε . . . τε correspondence which contain an οὐ going closely with the following word: e.g. *E. IT* 1367, 1477: *N. Meik.* i 2.4.

<sup>2</sup> Jebb, on *S. Tr.* 1058, wrongly seeks to restrict this use to cases where more than one οὔτε follows the οὐ, in imitation of the 'Homeric usage' (which is itself, however, not entirely so restricted: see λ 483 above). Wilamowitz (on *S. Ach. Conr.* 17, *Berliner Klassikertexte* v 2 (1907), p. 65) allows οὐ . . . οὔτε where οὐ is 'erweitert durch einen anderen Zusatz' (μῦν, τοῦ, τις, τε). With Pearson (*Fragments of Sophocles*, vol. i, p. 99), I doubt whether there is much to be said for this canon, though certainly a number of the apparent instances are οὐ τις (τι) . . . οὔτε.

(οὐδ' . . . οὐδ' Suidas): *X.An.*iv 8.3 ἐξικνούντο γὰρ οὐ, οὐτ' ἔβλαπτον οὐδέν (text uncertain): *vi* 1.24 σημαίνει μὴ προσδεῖσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς μήτε εἰ αἰροῦντο ἀποδέχεσθαι (text uncertain): *Hdt.*iii 155 (οὔτε *RSV*: οὐδέ *cell.*): *Ant.* v 93: *vi* 10: *Lys.*xvi 3: *Is.*viii 1: *D.*xix 160 (οὐκ . . . οὔτε (οὐδέ Bekker) . . . οὐδέ): 19 (οὐδέ Blass). (It is worth noting that four of the Attic prose examples are from Xenophon and Antiphon, writers whose style has a poetical or non-Attic tinge, while a fifth is from Isaeus, who uses single τε freely.)

οὐ . . . οὐτ' οὖν. *Hom.*β 200 ἐπεὶ οὐ τινα δείδιμεν ἔμπης, οὐτ' οὖν Τηλέμαχον ('nor, for that matter, Telemachus'): *i* 147 ἐνθ' οὐ τις τὴν νῆσον ἐσέδρακεν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν, οὐτ' οὖν κύματα μακρὰ κυλινδόμενα προτὶ χέρσον (see Merry and Riddell: οὐδ' οὖν Dindorf, La Roche): *Pi.**Fr.*207(220) τῶν οὐ τι μεμπτόν οὐτ' ὦν μεταλλακτόν: *S.**Ich.**Com.*17 Diehl Οὐ μὴν ἐπ' ἀκταῖς γ' ἐστὶ κωπῆρης στρατός, οὐτ' οὖν ὀπλίτης ἐξετάζεται παρών (where Carson prefers, but does not print, Wecklein's οὐδ').

The few examples of οὐδέ . . . οὔτε are essentially similar, the δέ in οὐδέ usually marking the connexion, and the οὐ answering the οὔτε. *E.Hel.*747 οὐδ' ἦν ἄρ' ὑγιὲς οὐδέν ἐμπύρου φλογὸς οὔτε πτερωτῶν φθέγματ' (οὐδέ Kirchhoff): *Pl.**Chrm.*171C Οὐ δῆτα. —Οὐδέ γε ἄλλος οὐδεὶς . . . οὔτε δὴ ὁ σῶφρων: *Hr.**Epid.*vii 3 τοιοῦτος παλμὸς ἦν, οἶος οὐδέ ('not even') ὑπὸ δρόμου οὔτε ὑπὸ δείματος . . . ἂν γενηθείη. (In *Hom.**h.**Cer.*22 Hermann has, for some reason which I cannot fathom, conjectured οὔτε for the second οὐδέ.)

(iv) οὔτε . . . οὐ. Here, conversely, the writer intends to express the addition formally, but, for emotional effect, breaks off with an asyndeton. This use is almost entirely confined to serious poetry.<sup>1</sup> *A.Pr.*450 κοῦτε πλινθυφεῖς δόμους προσείλους ἦσαν, οὐ ξυλοργίαν: *Hom.**Hymn.*2.236\*: *A.Ch.*291: *S.**Ant.*249 (on 257 see Jebb): *OC*972: *E.**Med.*1348: *Hipp.*1321 οὔτε . . . οὔτε . . . οὐ . . . οὐ (*Hec.*1235: *S.**Ant.*953): *HF*643: *Tr.*934: *IT*354: *Or.*41, 1086: *Hdt.*viii 98.1 τοὺς οὔτε νιφετός, οὐκ ὄμβρος, οὐ καῦμα, οὐ νύξ ἔργει (where the Homeric reminiscence is palpable): *i* 132.1.

Sometimes connexion is resumed after the asyndeton. *A.Pr.*479 οὐκ ἦν ἀλέξημ' οὐδέν, οὔτε βρώσιμον, οὐ χριστόν, οὔτε πιστόν

<sup>1</sup> Hartmann (199) can find no example in classical prose except the two from *Hec.*1235 and *S.**Ant.*953. Similarly τ' οὐκ . . . οὐ, if Hermann's conjecture at *E.IT*373 is right.

(οὐδέ *M*, for the first οὔτε): *E.Or.*46 μήθ' ἡμᾶς στέγαις, μὴ πυρὶ δέχεσθαι, μήτε προσφωνεῖν τινα: *Hdt.*i 138 ἐς ποτάμῳ δὲ οὔτε ἐνουρέουσι οὔτε ἐμπτύουσι, οὐ χεῖρας ἐναπονίζονται οὐδὲ ἄλλον οὐδένα περιορῶσι.

(v) οὔτε for οὔτε . . . οὔτε (Kühner (II ii 291) compares Shakespeare's 'Helen . . . nor yet Saint Philip's daughters were like thee' (1 *Henry VI*, I.ii.143): 'in Faenza ni in Forli gli era rimaso amico'. Cf. also Bunyan's 'Hobgoblin nor foul fiend': *Shak. M.N.D.*II.ii.22).<sup>1</sup> This is confined to poetry, though the corresponding οὐδέ, for οὐ . . . οὐδέ, is not infrequently found in prose. (See οὐδέ, I.2.iii, and cf. Wilamowitz, *E.HF*, p. 272.) *Pi.P.*3.30 κλέπτει τέ νιν οὐ θεὸς οὐ βροτὸς ἔργοις οὔτε βουλαῖς: 6.48 νόσφ' δὲ πλοῦτον ἄγει. ἄδικον οὐθ' ὑπέροπλον ἦβαν δρέπων: 10.29 ναυσὶ δ' οὔτε περὶς ἰών κεν εὔροις . . . ὀδόν: 10.41 νόσοι δ' οὔτε γῆρας οὐλόμενον κέκραται ἱερᾶ γενεᾶ: *A.Ag.*552 Πάρις γὰρ οὔτε συντελής πόλις: *Ch.*294 δέχεσθαι δ' οὔτε συλλύειν τινά: *S.Pl.*771 ἐφίεμαι ἐκόντα μήτ' ἄκοντα μηδέ τω τέχνῃ κείνοις μεθεῖναι ταῦτα (μηδ' Eustathius: μήτ' *codd.*: μηδέ *A rec.*: μήτε *L rec.*): *Ant.*851 (text doubtful). Where a negative precedes, as in *Pi.O.*14.8, *S.Aj.*1233, *Ant.*267, *OT*239, it is alternatively possible to regard οὔτε as answering that negative, not as answering an understood οὔτε: see οὐδέ, I.2.iii, and cf. *E.Hel.*747 (iii above).

(vi) οὔτε . . . δέ. (See Kühner, II ii 292: Jebb on *S.Tr.* 1151ff. 'Used', Kühner says, 'when the second clause expresses a contrast to the first'. Mostly, at any rate, so used.) *Hom.* *H*433 ἦμος δ' οὐτ' ἄρ' ἦως, ἔτι δ' ἀμφιλύκη νύξ: *S.Tr.*143 ὡς δ' ἐγὼ θυμοφθορῶ μήτ' ἐκμάθοις παθοῦσα, νῦν δ' ἄπειρος εἶ: *Hom.* *Ω*368: *S.Tr.*1153: *OC*422: *E.Supp.*225: *HF*1282: *Or.*293: *Ph.* 347,892 (δέ *L*: τε *cell.*): *Pl.R.*388E Οὔτε ἄρα ἀνθρώπους ἀξίους λόγου κρατούμενους ὑπὸ γέλωτος ἂν τις ποιῆ, ἀποδεκτόν, πολὺ δὲ ἦπτον, ἐὰν θεούς: *X.An.*vi 3.16 ἀλλὰ δὴ ἐκεῖ μὲν οὔτε πλοῖα ἐστὶν οἷς ἀποπλευσοῦμεθα, μένουσι δ' αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ μίᾳς ἡμέρας ἐστὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια: *Hdt.*i 108.5: *Pl.**Lg.*627E: *Ant.*v 76,95: *Lys.*xix 52. In *A.Supp.*987-8 μήτε . . . δέ is impossible, since the negative cannot be carried through: see Paley and Tucker.

For οὔτε . . . οὐδέ, see οὐδέ, I.2.i. For οὔτε οὖν, see οὖν, II.2.

(5) Corresponsive, τε καὶ, τε . . . καί. This tends very largely to

<sup>1</sup> Other English parallels in Gildersleeve on *Pi.P.*6.48.

replace τε . . . τε. Hom. *A* 17 Ἀτρεΐδαι τε καὶ ἄλλοι εὐκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί: *h. Ven.* 113 γλῶσσαν δ' ὑμετέραν τε καὶ ἡμετέραν σάφα οἶδα ('yours as well as ours'): *S. Aj.* 647 φύει τ' ἄδηλα καὶ φανέντα κρύπτεται: *Pl. Euthphr.* 4D ὀλιγῶρει τε καὶ ἡμέλει: *Hdt.* ix 32.1 Φρυγῶν τε καὶ Μυσῶν καὶ Θρηίκων τε καὶ Παιόνων (closely coupling pairs: cf. ix 31.3-4).

Rarely in anaphora. *Hes. Op.* 91 ἄτερ τε κακῶν καὶ ἄτερ χαλεποῖο πόνου: *D.* iii 1 ὅταν τ' εἰς τὰ πράγματ' ἀποβλέψω καὶ ὅταν πρὸς τοὺς λόγους: xxiii 51: *Pl. R.* 474E, 493B: *Lg.* 744C.

Fuhr (*Rh. M.* xxxiii (1878), 577ff.) has discussed exhaustively the rarity of juxtaposed τε καὶ in the orators and in inscriptions. There appear to be not more than a round dozen of examples in the certainly genuine speeches of Demosthenes. In *Andocides II* (the earliest speech) we find τε καὶ juxtaposed in almost every other section: while in *I* it is much rarer, and in *III* (and also in [IV]) entirely absent. *Andocides* thus adapted himself gradually to oratorical usage. Fuhr attributes the rarity of τε καὶ in formal and official language to a desire to avoid the superfluous, since the preparatory τε is not necessary when the connected words are in close proximity. (Contrast the redundancy of ballad style, 'a grave both wide and deep'. For particularly redundant τε καὶ, τε . . . καὶ, see further below.) The indexes to the several orators now make it possible to supplement Fuhr's statistics. *Antiphon* never has τε καὶ, always τε . . . καὶ: *Lysias* has τε . . . καὶ more than three times as often as τε καὶ: *Isocrates* has τε καὶ thirteen times (excluding καλοὶ τε κάγαθοί and ἄλλως τε καὶ), as against hundreds of τε . . . καὶ's:<sup>1</sup> *Dinarchus* has τε καὶ once, *Lycurgus* four times, as against τε . . . καὶ three and fourteen times respectively.

Hartung (i 101-2) points out that τε καὶ (τε . . . καὶ) is often used by poets, sometimes by prose writers, with a marked redundancy, where simple καὶ would suffice. Hom. *ξ* 20 τριηκόσιοι τε καὶ ἐξήκοντα: *Pi. O.* 1.79 τρεῖς τε καὶ δέκα: *S. Ant.* 1278 ἔχων τε καὶ κεκτημένος: *Hdt.* 126 μεταξύ τῆς τε παλαιῆς πόλιος . . . καὶ τοῦ νηοῦ: 31 πολλά τε καὶ ὄλβια: ix 26.1 ὠθισμὸς Τεγεστέων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων: 29.1: *Pl. R.* 453D 479C: 511D: *Arist. Metaph.*

<sup>1</sup> Fuhr (*Rh. M.* xxxiii 334), says that *Isocrates* rarely juxtaposes τε καὶ, except in ἄλλως τε καὶ, unless the first word begins with a vowel, and καὶ . . . καὶ would entail hiatus, as in v 42 ἡμῶν τε καὶ Λυκεδαίμωνιους.

997b29, 1074a11. In the tragedians,<sup>1</sup> τε καὶ οὐ coupling opposites. *S. OT* 1275 πολλάκις τε κούχ ἄπαξ: *El.* 885 ἐξ ἐμοῦ τε κούκ ἄλλης: *OC* 935 βία τε κούχ ἐκῶν: *Hdt.* viii 88.1 διαφυγεῖν τε καὶ μὴ ἀπολέσθαι.\* *Schmidt* (p. 38) notes the frequency of τε . . . καὶ in the pseudo-Demosthenic speeches supposed to be written by *Apollodorus*.

(6) Irregular correspondences.

(i) μὲν . . . τε. See μὲν, III.2.iii.

(ii) τε . . . δέ. δέ is often unnecessarily emended by editors. The explanation of the irregularity probably is that the idea of contrast is added to the original idea of addition: while in those passages in which the particles are separated by a wide interval some degree of anacoluthon is to be assumed.<sup>2</sup>

Hom. *E* 359 κόμισαί τέ με δὸς δέ μοι ἵππους: *H* 418 ἀμφότερον, νέκυάς τ' ἀγέμεν, ἕτεροι δέ μεθ' ὕλην: *S. El.* 1099 Ἄρ' . . . ὀρθά τ' εἰσηκούσαμεν ὀρθῶς δ' ὁδοιποροῦμεν . . .; (here there is little antithesis, and τε, read by some MSS., is usually adopted): *Tr.* 286 ταῦτα γὰρ πόσις τε σὸς ἐφεῖτ', ἐγὼ δέ . . . τελῶ: Hom. *Ψ* 277: *h. Ven.* 110: *Pi. P.* 4.81: 11.30: *S. Tr.* 333: *Ant.* 1096: *Ph.* 1313: *E. Alc.* 197 (τ' P): *Tr.* 380: *IT* 995, 1415: *Ph.* 1606 (text uncertain), 1626 (τε V): *Hdt.* ii 172 ἦν οἱ ἄλλα τε ἀγαθὰ μυρία, ἐν δέ καὶ ποδανιπτῆρ χρύσεος: *Th.* 125.3 Κορίνθιοι δέ κατὰ τε τὸ δίκαιον ὑπεδέξαντο τὴν τιμωρίαν, νομίζοντες οὐχ ἦσσαν ἑαυτῶν εἶναι τὴν ἀποικίαν ἢ Κερκυραίων, ἅμα δέ καὶ μίσει τῶν Κερκυραίων: viii 16 3 καθήρουν αὐτοὶ τε τὸ τεῖχος . . . ξυγκαθήρουν δέ αὐτοῖς . . .: *Pl. R.* 367C ἂ τῶν τε ἀποβαινόντων ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἕνεκα ἄξια κεκτηῖσθαι, πολὺ δέ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν: *X. HG* vi 5.30 οἱ δέ Ἀρκάδες τούτων τε οὐδὲν ἐποιοῦν, καταλείποντες δέ τὰ ὄπλα εἰς ἀρπαγὴν . . . ἐτρέποντο: *An.* v 5.8 ἐπαινέσοντάς τε . . . ἔπειτα δέ καὶ ξυνησθησο-

<sup>1</sup> Also in *Plato*: see *Stallbaum* on *Euthyd.* 283B.

<sup>2</sup> Hartung (i 92-5) adopts a rather over-elaborate classification under five headings, of which *Kühner* (II ii 244) takes over the first four (omitting the fifth, 'wo die Theile zugleich in ihrem Ebenmaasse und in ihrer Mehrheit oder Vielheit dargelegt werden sollen'): (1) where there is a negative in the first clause: (2) where the second clause opens with ἔπειτα καὶ, ἅμα καὶ, etc.: (3) where there is anacoluthon: (4) where there is an idea of contrast, particularly of persons. See also *Jebb* on *S. Tr.* 143, *Ant.* 1096: *Pearson* *Cl. Q.* xxiv (1930) 162. *Jebb* and *Pearson* agree that each case must be judged on its own merits.

μένους: Hdt.vi 50.2: ix 19.3: Hp.Prog.14: Th.i 11.1: vii 81.3: Pl.Smp.186E (τε... δὲ καί: Euthphr.3E: R.394C, 618A: Lg. 782B): Cra.406C: Thl.203B: X.HG iv 5.15: vii 1.24: Cyr.iii 3.64: iv 4.3: vi 2.4: Smp.8.2: And.i 5,58: Lys.xxv 34: Isoc.iii 33: xv 232: Aeschin.iii 80.

Exceptionally in anaphora. S.Aj.835 τὰς αἰεὶ τε παρθένους αἰεὶ δ' ὀρώσας: Pl.Fr.141(155) τί ἔρδων φίλος σοί τε, καρτερόβροντα Κρονίδα, φίλος δὲ Μοίσαις, Εὐθυμία τε μέλων εἶην, τοῦτ' αἴτημί σε (but perhaps τε is answered by τε here).

τε... οὐδέ (μηδέ). Hom.φ310 ἀλλὰ ἔκηλος πῖνέ τε, μηδ' ἐρίδαινε: S.OC 368 αὐτοῖς ἦν ἔρωσ Κρέοντί τε θρόνους ἐᾶσθαι μηδὲ χραίνεσθαι πόλιν: E.IT 697 ὄνομά τ' ἐμοῦ γένοιτ' ἄν, οὐδ' ἄπαις δόμος πατρῶος οὐμὸς ἐξαλειφθεῖη ποτ' ἄν: Hom.h.Ven.16 (anacoluthon): Pl.Ti.33C ὀμμάτων τε γὰρ ἐπεδείτο οὐδὲν... οὐδ' ἀκοῆς.

(iii) ἦ... τε (very rare). Hom.B 289 ὡς τε γὰρ ἦ παῖδες νεαροὶ χῆραί τε γυναῖκες (often emended by editors: L. & S. think ἦ should be read): A.Eu.524 ἦ πόλις βροτός θ' ὁμοίως.

(iv) τε... ἦ. S.Tr.445 εἴ τι τῶμῳ τ' ἀνδρὶ... μεμπτός εἰμι... ἦ τῆδε τῆ γυναικί: Pl.Ion 535D ὅς ἄν... κλάη τ' ἐν θυσίαις... ἦ φοβῆται: Men.95B ὁμολογεῖν διδάσκαλοί τε εἶναι ἦ διδάκτων ἀρετήν (καί F): Thl.143C περὶ αὐτοῦ τε ὁπότε λέγοι... ἦ αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ ἀποκρινομένου: X.Oec.20.12 ὑγροτέρα τε οὔσα πρὸς τὸν σπόρον ἢ ἀλμωδεστέρα (γε Stephanus).

(v) τε... αὐτάρ, τε... ἀτάρ. Hom.H 296 ὡς σύ τ' εὐφρήνης... αὐτάρ ἐγὼ... εὐφρανέω: Pl.Hp.Ma.295E τά τε γοῦν ἄλλα... ἀτάρ οὖν καὶ... .

(vi) τε... ἔπειτα. Pl.Lg.669A δεῖ ταῦτα τρία ἔχειν, ὃ τέ ἐστι πρῶτον γινώσκειν, ἔπειτα ὡς ὀρθῶς, ἔπειθ' ὡς εὖ (ὃ τι Boeckh).

For τε... ἠδέ, τε... ἰδέ, see ἠδέ, ἰδέ, pp. 287-8. For τε... καὶ... δέ, see καὶ... δέ, p. 203.

(7) τε, τε... τε, οὔτε... οὔτε, τε... καί, are sometimes used (rarely in prose) where the thought implies a more elaborate relationship than that of mere addition.

In Hom.M.285 τε is used where we should expect δέ (Heyne): but κῦμα... ἐρύκεται is perhaps, as Leaf suggests, parenthetical. In E.Hel.1485 ἄβροχα πεδία καρποφόρα τε (see Pearson) and Or.127, τε stands for *et tamen*: cf. καί, I.8.

τε... τε (οὔτε... οὔτε), 'just as... so...'. S.Tr.131-2 μένει γὰρ οὐτ' αἰόλα νύξ βροτοῖσιν οὔτε κῆρες οὔτε πλοῦτος ('as night does not abide, so neither does woe', Jebb): cf. A.Ch. 258-60: Ant.vi 5 ἀνάγκη δὲ τῆς τε δίκης νικᾶσθαι παρὰ τὸ ἀληθές, αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ('just as a man must submit to an untrue verdict, so he must submit to truth of itself, unexpressed in a verdict'): ib. οὔτε... οὔτε: Thgn.108-9: Pl.O.298-100: A.Ag.324 (see Verrall): see further Wilamowitz on E.HF 101-3. With the emphasized clause coming first: E.Hel.770-1 (see Pearson): Hec.519-20.

Hom.ζ208 δόσις δ' ὀλίγη τε φίλη τε ('small but welcome').

τε... καί, 'just as much as', 'not only... but also'. (The emphatic expression may be either the first or the second.) A.Supp. 754 εἰ σοί τε καὶ θεοῖσιν ἐχθαιροῖατο (= οὐ μόνον σοὶ ἀλλὰ καὶ θεοῖσιν, Tucker): S.Ant.1112 ἐγὼ δ'... αὐτός τ' ἔδησα καὶ παρῶν ἐκλύσομαι ('as I bound, so will I loose'): 1251-2 ἐμοὶ δ' οὖν ἦ τ' ἄγαν σιγὴ βαρὺ δοκεῖ προσεῖναι χῆ μάτην πολλὴ βοή (where note the reply Καὶ τῆς ἄγαν γὰρ ἐστὶ που σιγῆς βάρους. 'Aye, in silence, too, there is peril'): E.Heracl.138.

τε... καί, 'when... then'. (Cf. καί, I.9: μέν, III.1.i.) See Headlam on A.Ag.179 (his 189); S.Fr.234.6 εἴτ' ἡμαρ αὔξει μέσσον ὄμφακος τύπον, καὶ κλίνεται τε κάποπερκοῦται βότρυς ('and as it declines the grape reddens'): Timocl.Fr.21.4 καὶ ταῦτά τε εἶρητο καὶ... ἐπόππυσ': S.Ant.1186: X.Eq.5.10 οὐ φθάνει τε ἐξαγόμενος ὁ ἵππος καὶ... : Hdt.ii 93.5 (see Stein): iv 181.3. 199.2: vi 41.1: 134.2: viii 56: Pl.Phdr.254B: X.An.18.1: iv 2.12: 6.2: vii 4.12: Cyr.i 4.28: vii 1.26.

τε... καί, with a disjunction implied, 'either... or...'. S.OC 488 (γ' for τ' L). So, too, τε... τε: E.Ion 853 θέλω... θανεῖν τε ζῶν τε φέγγος εἰσορᾶν.

τε... καί for μέν... δέ: A.Eu.174 κάμοί τε (γε Cavaillon) λυπρός, καὶ τὸν οὐκ ἐκλύσεται. οὔτε... τε (οὔτε... οὔτε), for μὲν... οὐ... δέ: E.Alc.70-1 κοῦθ' ἢ παρ' ἡμῶν σοὶ γενήσεται χάρις, δράσεις θ' ὁμοίως ταῦτ' ἀπεχθήσῃ τ' ἐμοί ('while you will get no thanks, you will have to do it all the same'): Arist.X. 1369b32 (ὄροι) μήτε ἀσαφεῖς μήτε ἀκριβεῖς ('definitions which without being exact, are not obscure').

(8) Position of τε. τε, whether copulative or preparatory, is normally placed second in the sentence, clause, or word-group.

But, as in the case of other particles which occupy the second place, there are numerous deviations from this rule.<sup>1</sup> Postponement of τε is common, sometimes even normal, in the following cases:

(i) Article—Substantive (or adjective, or participle)—Particle. *A.Ch.* 41 τοῖς κτανουσί τε: *Eu.* 232 τὸν ἰκέτην τε: *S.Ant.* 1090 τὸν νοῦν τ': *A.Pr.* 67, 830: *S.Pl.* 325: *Hdt.* ii 176 τῆ Ἰσι τε: *Hr.* *Vicl.* 27 τὸ πῦρ τε: *Th.* i 29.4 ὁ κῆρύξ τε: iii 64.3 τὴν τελευταίαν τε: *Pl.Lg.* 822E τῶν νόμων τε: *X.Cyr.* ii 3.22 ὁ οὐραγός τε καὶ οἱ τελευταῖοι: vii 1.26 τῷ Ἐνναλίῳ τε: *And.* iii 34 τῆ πόλει τε εὐνοῦν: *D.xxi* 176 τὴν δίκην τε πᾶσαν. Cf. *E.IA* 203.

Often in Plato, when τε looking forward to καί is thus postponed, a second article has to be supplied after the καί: *Phd.* 82A τῶν λύκων τε καὶ ἱεράκων: *Pr.* 313C οἱ περὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος τροφήν, ὁ ἔμπορός τε καὶ κάπηλος: 355E μεταλάβωμεν δὴ τὰ ὀνόματα πάλιν, τὸ ἡδύ τε καὶ ἀνιαρόν (contrast *Euthphr.* 9C τὸ ὀσιόν τε καὶ τὸ ἀνόσιον): *Euthphr.* 7C: *Phdr.* 254A: *R.* 399C. In other cases, again, the article embraces both terms, two things or two actions being regarded as virtually identical, and the position of τε is regular: *Euthyd.* 303C ἐπὶ τὸ ἐπαινεῖν τε καὶ ἐγκωμιάζειν: *R.* 393D ἡ ποιήσις τε καὶ διήγησις: 604D τὸ πεσόν τε καὶ νοσήσαν: *Phd.* 81C ἡ ὁμιλία τε καὶ συνουσία: 82C οἱ φίλαρχοί τε καὶ φιλότιμοι (the two classes are perhaps regarded as identical, whereas the classes in *Cri.* 53A are clearly distinct, οἱ χωλοί τε καὶ τυφλοί). Ambiguity sometimes arises from these irregularities: cf. p. 518, n. 1.

(ii) Preposition—Substantive (etc.)—Particle: far commoner in Herodotus than the order Preposition—Particle—Substantive (Hammer, p. 31). *A.Pr.* 210 ἀμοχθὶ πρὸς βίαν τε: *S.Pl.* 1312 μετὰ ζώντων θ' (curiously enough, this is the only place in

<sup>1</sup> It may be well to point out, since Schmidt (p. 18) has gone astray, that there is no postponement of τε in such passages as *A.Pr.* 665 ἔξω δόμων τε καὶ πάτρας: *Isoc.* xv 251 τῶν ἀκμαζόντων τε μᾶλλον ἢ γὰ καὶ . . . μὴ φρονιζόντων. In *D.xxvii* 59, again, πρὸς τὸν χρόνον τε καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου μίσθωσιν, τε is postponed in respect of the article only, not, as Schmidt supposes, of the preposition as well: cf. *Pl.Cri.* 52D.

I do not know whether there is anywhere any difference in frequency of postponement between τε preparatory and τε copulative. The authorities draw no such distinction, and my own researches into postponed τε are too slight to form a basis for any conclusion.

Sophocles, according to Ellendt, where τε is postponed after a preposition: and θ', though generally accepted by editors, is attested by *A* alone): *Th.* i 17 κατὰ πόλεις τε: *Pl.Hr.* *Mi.* 363C περὶ ποιητῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ περὶ Ὀμήρου: *X.HGiv.* 2.1 ἐν κινδύνῳ τε: *And.* iii 12 ἐφ' οἷς τε: *Isoc.* xii 61 ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τε (according to Schmidt, p. 19, Isocrates has τε between preposition and substantive (pronoun) only in xii 6 περὶ τ' ἑαυτοῦ: but he has the order Preposition—Particle—Article—Substantive in v 2 περὶ τε τῆς πόλεως ταύτης): *D.xxvii* 3 μετ' εὐνοίας τε: xxxix 37 ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε: *Pl.Phd.* 112E: *R.* 563E.

(iii) Preposition—Article—Substantive (etc.)—Particle. *A.* *Eu.* 291 ἐς τὸ πᾶν τε: *Ar.Nu.* 1176 ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου τε: *Ar.* 1427-8 (also exemplifies (i)): *Hdt.* i 86 κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον τε *Th.* i 141.4 ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων τε: iii 81.2 ἐς τὸ Ἡραϊόν τε: vii 84.4 ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα τε: *Pl.Ti.* 85A ἐπὶ τὰς περιόδους τε: *Cra.* 407D: *R.* 604D.

(iv) Outside the above limits, postponement of τε is much rarer. *Hes.Th.* 272 ἀθάνατοί τε θεοὶ χαμαὶ ἐρχόμενοί τ' ἄνθρωποι: 846: *Sc.* 451: *A.Supp.* 282 Κύπριος χαρακτήρ τ': *Pr.* 138 τοῦ περὶ πᾶσάν θ' εἰλισσομένου χθόν' . . . Ὀκεανοῦ: *Eu.* 559 (perhaps: see p. 501): *E.Mc.* 819 καὶ κουρὰν βλέπεις μελαμπέπλους στολμούς τε (Murray transposes κουρὰν and στολμούς, perhaps rightly: τε at the end of a sentence is very harsh: the whole passage is suspect): *HF* 1266 ἔτ' ἐν γάλακτί τ' ὄντι . . . ὄφεις ἐπεισέφρησε: *Tr.* 1064 σμύρνης αἰθερίας τε καπνόν: 1069 τέρμονα πρωτόβολόν θ' ἀλίφ (τε πρωτόβολον *VP*: *trai.* Musgrave): *Hec.* 566 οὐ θέλων τε καὶ θέλων (for this postponement of the particle after a negative, much commoner in the case of δέ, cf. *Hdt.* iv 46.2 μὴ βουλομένους τε: ix 93.4 οὐ πρότερόν τε παύσεσθαι): *Hcl.* 587: (Barnes): *Tr.* 745: *Ph.* 1249: *Ar.Ra.* 1009: *Scol.* Anon. 24.3: *Hdt.* vi 136.2 ἔλων Δῆμόν τε καὶ τεισάμενος τοὺς Πελασγούς: *Pl.Cra.* 403E τέλει σοφιστῆς τε: *Lg.* 673C Ἄρισθ' ὑπέλαβες τε καὶ οὕτω δὴ ποιεῖ: *R.* 378E τί δν τε καὶ ὅθεν γέγονε δικαιοσύνη: *Ar.* 18D ἀνάγκη ἀτρενῶς σκιαμοχεῖν ἀπολογούμενόν τε καὶ ἐλέγχειν μηδενὸς ἀποκρίμενου: *Lys.* xix 23 χαρίσασθαι ἐκείνῳ τε καὶ κομίσασθαι αὐτῷ ἐλπίσασθαι (emended by many editors): *D.* lvii 12 διὰ τε . . . ἐξουσία γένοιθ': *Pl.A.* 470C, 474E, 478D: *Lg.* 806A, 885D, 890B. (*On B.* 18.52 see Jebb.)

In *S.Ant.* 328 εἰν δέ τοι ληφθῆ τε καὶ μὴ (for καὶ εἰν τε ληφθῆ τε καὶ μὴ)

καὶ μὴ) the postponement of τε is necessary to avoid the collocation of τε and δέ: cf. *A.Ag.*179: *Ar.Th.*672: *Hdt.*174.3. (See p. liv n. 1.)

In other passages τε (meaning 'both') is placed after a word preceding the two co-ordinated words (or word-groups) and common to both, instead of after the first co-ordinated word (or first word of the first word-group). But it is correctly placed, the word which it follows being supplied in thought in the second word-group: cf. καί in *A.Ag.*324 τῶν ἀλόγτων καὶ κρατησάντων: *S.OC*606 τὰμὰ κάκείνων (see Jebb). Cf. *S.El.*991 (καὶ . . . καί). *A.Ag.*314 νικᾶ δ' ὁ πρῶτος καὶ τελευταῖος δραμῶν is probably not a case of this usage.

(v) Preposition supplied. *A.Ch.*523 ἔκ τ' ὄνειράτων καὶ νυκτιπλάγκτων δειμάτων: *Eu.*951: *S.Aj.*53 καὶ πρὸς τε ποιμένας ἐκτρέπω σύμμεικτά τε . . . φρουρήματα: *OC*33: *OT*253: *Hdt.*1106.1 ὑπὸ τε ὕβριος καὶ ὀλιγωρίας: *Th.*118.2: *Pl.R.*442C διὰ τε λυπῶν καὶ ἡδονῶν: *Pr.*316D τοὺς ἀμφί τ' Ὀρφέα καὶ Μουσαῖον: *X.Cyr.*14.22: *Isoc.*iv 159 ἐν τε τοῖς τῆς μουσικῆς ἄθλοις καὶ τῇ παιδεύσει: *D.xxi* 126 εἷς τε τὴν λητουργίαν καὶ τὸ σῶμ' ὕβρισθην (Isocrates and Demosthenes sometimes, though less frequently, repeat the preposition (Schmidt): e.g. *Isoc.*xii 5: *D.*iii 25): *Th.*15.3: iv 35.4: *Pl.Cri.*48C: *Ap.*35B: *Ant.*i 25: vi 6.

(vi) Article supplied (in general,<sup>1</sup> though not very rare in Plato, much rarer than the above). *E.Ion* 7 τά τ' ὄντα καὶ μέλλοντα (see Owen's note): *Ph.*474: *Hel.*14: *Hdt.*iii 127.1 εἶχε δὲ νομὸν τὸν τε Φρύγιον καὶ Αὔδιον καὶ Ἰωνικόν: ix 83.2: *Th.*17 αἱ τε ἐν ταῖς

<sup>1</sup> Probably because the transposition of τε with the article is often misleading, since it implies that the article does *not* apply to both terms: as it sometimes, in fact, does not, e.g. in *Pl.Cri.*i 116E τῶν τε βασιλέων καὶ ἰδιωτῶν ('the kings and (some) individuals'). In yet another set of passages the article is applied to a single entity, instead of being distributed over two (cp. p. 516, *meil.*): *Pl.Smp.*218D τοὺς τε πολλοὺς καὶ ἄρμονους (= τοὺς π. τε κ. α.: contrast 189E τοὺς τε ἄρμονους καὶ θήλειους). *L.*430B τὴν τε θημιώδη καὶ ἀνδριπεδώδη. Laxity in the placing of τε following the article not infrequently results in serious ambiguity, which is not entailed by its displacement after a preposition. Conversely a second article may be added where there is no duality: *E.Heracul.*826 τῇ τε βουκόσῃ χθονὶ καὶ τῇ τεκούσῃ.

νήσοις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἠπέροις: *Pl.R.*537A τοῖς τε πόνοις καὶ μαθήμασι: *X.HG*i 1.25 τοὺς τε ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων στρατηγοὺς καὶ τριηράρχους: *Pl.Ti.*70B τῶν τε παρακελεύσεων καὶ ἀπειλῶν: *Isoc.*x 29 παραλιπεῖν τὴν τε Σκίρωνος καὶ Κερκύονος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων παρανομίαν: *Pl.Pr.*357A: *R.*401D, 497C, 516B, 549C: *Euthphr.*15E: *Lg.*697A: *Hp.Ma.*283A: *X.Cyr.*vii 5.41 (τοὺς ἀρχοντας CE): *Arist.Pol.*1280a8.

Both article and preposition supplied. (a) *Hat.*ii 36.1 τὰς τε ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ τῷ γενεῖφ: vii 106.2 οἱ τε ἐκ Θρηίκης καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου. (b) *Pl.R.*485B περὶ τε τῶν φιλοτίμων καὶ ἐρωτικῶν: *Th.*149.3: *X.HG.*14.9.

(vii) Word (or words) of another class supplied. *A.Pr.*42 Αἰεὶ τε δὴ νηλῆς σὺ καὶ (αἰεὶ) θράσους πλέως (where the generally accepted γε δὴ (see p. 245) is by no means certain): *Eu.*701: *S.OC* 808 χωρὶς τό τ' εἰπεῖν πολλὰ καὶ (τὸ) τὰ καίρια (εἰπεῖν) (*Suidas* τὸ καίρια may well be right): *E.Ph.*96 ἃ τ' εἶδον (ἃ) εἰσήκουσά τε: *Hdt.*i 22.2 ἰδὼν τε σωρὸν μέγαν σίτου κεχυμένον καὶ (ἰδὼν) τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν εὐπαθείῃσι ἑόντας: iii 71.2 ἐπίστασθαι ὅτι τε ὁ μάγος εἶη ὁ βασιλεύων καὶ (ὅτι) Σμέρδης ὁ Κύρου τετελεύτηκε: v 42.1 Κλεομένης . . . ἦν τε οὐ φρενήρης ἀκρομανῆς τε (ἦν): *Pl.Cri.*43B ἐν τῷ αὐτῇ τε ἀγρυπνία καὶ (τῷ αὐτῇ) λύπη εἶναι: *X.Cyr.*v 2.21 ἃ τε δεῖ φίλια καὶ (ἃ δεῖ) πολέμια ἡμᾶς νομίζειν: *D.*15 ἴσασιν ἃ τ' Ἀμφιπολιτῶν ἐποίησε τοὺς παραδόντας αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν καὶ (ἃ ἐποίησε) Πυθναίων τοὺς ὑποδεξαμένους: *Hdt.*ii 79.1: vii 197.2: *X.Mem.*iii 5.3: iv 2.40: *Cyr.*ii 1.13.

(viii) Other irregularities (dislocations of order, rather than simple postponements as in (iv)). There remain some passages in which the position of τε cannot be explained on any of the above grounds. Most of them are accounted for by the thought (or the construction) taking a different turn as it develops (anacoluthon would usually be too strong a word). Many of these are the exact counterpart of those grouped under (vii). There, the early position of τε necessitates the repetition, in thought, of the word preceding it. Here, the later position of τε makes repetition unnecessary: but nevertheless repetition, or substitution of synonym, is employed. Contrast *Hdt.*iii 71.2 (vii) with iii 43.1 (below).

*Pl.O.*6.42 τᾷ μὲν ὁ χρυσοκόμας πρᾶϋμητιν τ' Ἐλειθνιαν παρέστασέν τε Μοίρας: *S.OT* 759 ἀφ' οὗ γὰρ κείθεν ἦλθε καὶ κράτησέ



τ' εἶδ' ἔχοντα Λαίϊόν τ' ὀλωλότα (the specific mention of Laius' death is perhaps an afterthought): *Tr.* 336 ὅπως μασῆς . . . οὔστινάς τ' ἄγεις ἔσω ὦν τ' οὐδὲν εἰσήκουσας ἐκμάθης ἃ δεῖ: *Ant.* 204 (μήτε: see Jebb): *Ph.* 1412 φάσκειν δ' αὐδὴν τὴν Ἡρακλέους ἀκοῆ τε κλύειν λεύσσειν τ' ὄψιν: *E.Rh.* 969 (οὔτε): *Hdt.* iii 43.1 ἔμαθε ὅτι ἐκκομίσαι τε ἀδύνατον εἶη . . . καὶ ὅτι οὐκ εὖ τελευτήσσειν μέλλοι (ὅτι is redundantly repeated, perhaps for the sake of clearness: v 18.5 αὐτίκα οἱ Πέρσαι μαστῶν τε ἄπτοντο . . . καὶ κού τις καὶ φιλέειν ἐπειράτο ('and one of them tried to kiss'): cf. vii 197.2: *Th.* vi 2.1 ἀρκείτω δὲ ὡς ποιηταῖς τε εἴρηται καὶ ὡς ἕκαστός πη γιγνώσκει περὶ αὐτῶν): *Pl.Phd.* 117C ἃ δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ εὐχομαί τε καὶ γένοιτο ταύτη: *Criti.* 121A φθίνει ταῦτά τε αὐτὰ κάκεινή συναπόλλυται τούτοις (the addition of the second verb is characteristic of Platonic fullness of expression): *X.HGv* 1.29 εἰδότες φρουράν τε πεφασμένην ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦς καὶ γιγνώσκοντες ὅτι . . . : *D.* xxiv 12 ἔλεγ' ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ διεξήλθεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὡς ἔλαβ' ἡ τριήρης τὸ πλοῖον: *Pl.R.* 465E, 550A, 605A. The distorted order in *Arist.Pol.* 1339a29 is cured by reading *διαγωγὴν γε*, Coraes (Eucken, p. 15): ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ διαγωγὴν τε παισὶν ἀρμόττει καὶ ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἀποδιδόναι ταῖς τοιαύταις.<sup>1</sup>

II. Epic τε. Having discussed τε as a connective and preparatory particle, meaning 'and' or 'both', it remains to consider certain usages which are, in the main, peculiar to Epic, with which I include early elegiac, lyric, and iambic poetry: though to some extent, and in certain stereotyped forms, they survive in later Greek. Hartung, Kühner, and most other authorities explain τε in such cases as 'responsive', a theory which is at least plausible in a number of instances. But Wentzel's view, that τε expresses habitual action here, appears on the whole preferable, and covers the facts more completely and naturally, though it leaves many passages unexplained. (Indeed, none of the theories of τε hitherto put forward is entirely satisfactory, and all but the most optimistic writers on this particle have felt

<sup>1</sup> Hartung (i 117) maintains that in *Ar.* V.1277 and *Eg.* 562 an expression common to both limbs is inserted between them: in the first case *ἄνδρα*, in the second *ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν*. I believe that both passages are straightforward, and that the expressions belong to the second limbs alone. Hartung extends this treatment, even less convincingly, to other passages which I explain otherwise.

themselves compelled to institute a home for waifs and strays somewhere or other.) Wentzel's remarks have received scant attention from his successors, but they are adopted, in broad outline, by Monro, in his paper to the Oxford Philological Society (*Proceedings* 1881-2, pp. 14-15) and in his *Homeric Grammar*. *Inter alia*, they are supported by the often observed fact that this τε is particularly common in similes and γινῶμαι, where phenomena of general and typical occurrence are cited in comparison. Hence the accumulation of τε in such passages as *Hom.E* 136-41: *O* 271-5, 630-6: *Π* 157-63: *P* 673-8. In the following pages I shall keep the distinction between general and particular statements always in the foreground. The most important of the usages to be discussed are τε with relatives and τε combined with other particles. After considering these, we may turn our attention to other less common idioms.

(1) With relatives. Here the theory that τε is responsive finds some support in the similar employment of καί.<sup>1</sup> But it is to be noted that almost all the examples denote habitual, typical action. The tense is almost always present, or gnomic aorist.

*Hom.A* 86 Ἀπόλλωνα . . . ᾧ τε σύ, Κάλχαν, εὐχόμενος Δαναοῖσι θεοπροπίας ἀναφαίνεις: 238 δικασπόλοι, οἳ τε θέμιστας πρὸς Διὸς εἰρύαται: *Γ* 61 ὑπ' ἀνέρος, ὅς ρά τε τέχνη νῆϊον ἐκτάμνησιν: *Δ* 483 αἰγείρος ὡς, ἥ ρά τε . . . πεφύκη: *E* 340 ἰχώρ, οἴος πέρ τε ρέει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν: *I* 5 Βορέης καὶ Ζέφυρος, τῷ τε Θρήκηθεν ἄητον: *X* 127 τῷ ἄρριζέμεναι, ἃ τε παρθένος ἠἰθεός τε: *Ψ* 845 ὅσον τίς τ' ἔρριψε καλαύροπα βουκόλος ἀνήρ (ε 400

<sup>1</sup> Brugmann (p. 613) adduces a further consideration in support of this view: 'Und zweitens handelt es sich hier immer um postpositive Sätze. Hinter den meisten Relativkonjunktionen, die präpositive Sätze einleiteten, wie ἕως, ὅπως, ὅπη, ἡμος, kommt τε überhaupt nicht vor. Hiernach ist wohl überall das anknüpfende τε anzunehmen'. But this fact can be accounted for partly by the tendency to restrict Epic τε to habitual action, partly by certain conventions of Epic composition. Thus ἡμος (except μ 439) is always found in the first arsis, and is always followed by δε: and ἡμος δε τε is thus metrically impossible. Temporal ὅπως is never used of habitual action (see the exx. in Ebeling, ii 69 b *ad fin.*: in *S* 473 ὅπως means 'according as'). I add that non-connective τε does follow prepositive ὅπη ('wherever') in M 48.

ὅσσον τε γέγωνε βοήσας): 1254 οἶά τε ληιστῆρες ὑπεῖρ ἄλα: 1300 Παλλάδ' Ἀθηναίην . . . ἢ τέ τοι αἰεὶ . . . παρίσταμαι: ξ221 ἀνδρῶν δυσμενέων ὃ τέ μοι εἴξειε πόδεσσι: 466 καί τι ἔπος προέηκεν ὃ πέρ τ' ἄρρητον ἄμεινον ('of such a kind that': cf. τ161: Ω774): Hes.Th.382 ἄστρα τε λαμπετόωντα, τά τ' οὐρανὸς ἐστεφάνωται: Mimn.Fr.2.1 ἡμεῖς δ' οἶά τε φύλλα φύει πολυάνθεμος ὄρη ἔαρος: Alcim.Fr.94.2 βάλε κηρύλος εἴην, ὃς τ' ἐπὶ κύματος ἄνθος . . . ποτῆται: Hes.Op.20,36,92,224,322.

(For ὅσσον τε, οἶός τε, see further (ii) and (iii) below.)

With relative local adverbs, often in geographical or anatomical descriptions. Hom.δ85 Διβύην, ἵνα τ' ἄρνες ἄφαρ κεραοὶ τελέθουσιν: λ475 Αἰδούσδε . . . ἔνθα τε νεκροὶ ἀφραδέες ναίουσι: τ188 ἐν Ἀμνισῶ, ὅθι τε σπέος Εἰλειθυίης: α50: γ321. Hom. E305 κατ' ἰσχίον, ἔνθα τε μηρὸς ἰσχίῳ ἐνστρέφεται: T478 ἵνα τε ξυνέχουσι τένοντες: X325.

In general. Hom.Δ247 σχεδὸν ἐλθέμεν ἔνθα τε νῆες εἰρύατ': I441 οὐδ' ἀγορέων, ἵνα τ' ἄνδρες ἀριπρεπέες τελέθουσι: Σ521 ἐν ποταμῶ, ὅθι τ' ἀρδμὸς ἔην πάντεσσι βοτοῖσιν: φ142 ἀρξάμενοι τοῦ χώρου ὅθεν τέ περ οἶνοχοεῦει: ξ353: ω507: Mimn.Fr.11.5 Αἰήταο πόλιν, τόθι τ' ὠκέος Ἡελίοιο ἀκτῖνες . . . κείαται.

With temporal relatives. Hom.B471 ὄρη ἐν εἰαρινῇ, ὅτε τε γλάγος ἄγγεα δεύει: K7 ἢ νιφετόν, ὅτε πέρ τε χιῶν ἐπάλυνεν ἀρούρας: μ22 ὄνσθανέες, ὅτε τ' ('whereas') ἄλλοι ἅπαξ θνήσκουσ' ἄνθρωποι: B782: Δ259: A87 ἐπεὶ τ' (562): Hes.Op.575 ὅτε τ' ἥλιος χρῶα κάρφει: Thgn.977 ὄφρα τ' ἐλαφρὰ γούνατα: cf. 1015 πρὶν τ' ἐχθροὺς πτῆξαι.

ὡς τε, ὡς εἴ τε, in comparisons, often in Homer. Hom.Γ23 ὡς τε λέων ἔχάρη: 381 τὸν δ' ἐξήρπαξ' Ἀφροδίτη ρεῖα μάλ' ὡς τε θεός ('as a goddess would'): B780 ἴσαν ὡς εἴ τε πυρὶ χθῶν πᾶσα νέμοιτο: I481 καί μ' ἐφίλησ' ὡς εἴ τε πατήρ ὄν παῖδα φιλήσῃ: ξ254 ρηϊδίως, ὡς εἴ τε κατὰ ρύον: Hes.Op.112,116: Sc.222: Thgn.985,1097: Archil.Fr.102.2 ἢ δέ οἱ σάθη ὡς εἴ τ' ὄνου Ποιηνέος: Sol.Fr.23.20: Ibyc.Fr.7.6: Carin.Por.1.11. Doric, ὡτε: Alcim.Fr.1.41,100.

In some passages τε gives a causal colour to the relative, like *quippe*, denoting an inherent, and therefore essentially general, connexion. Hom.A244 χρώμενος ὃ τ' ἀριστον Ἀχαιῶν οὐδὲν ἔτεισας: 518 Ἡ δὴ λοιγία ἔργ' ὃ τέ μ' ἐχθοδοπήσαι ἐφήσεις Ἡρη: P174 οἶον εἶπες, ὃς τέ με φῆς Αἴαντα πελώριον οὐχ ὑπο-

μείναι: O468: ε357: Thgn.1069 νήπιοι, οἶτε θανόντας κλαίουσ', οὐδ' ἤβης ἄνθος ἀπολλύμενον.

The number of passages in which τε follows a relative in strictly particular statements is very considerably smaller. Hom. E477 ἡμεῖς δ' αὖ μαχόμεσθ', οἵ πέρ τ' ἐπικούροι ἐνειμεν: N625 Ζηνὸς . . . ξεινίου, ὃς τέ ποτ' ὕμμι διαφθέρσει πόλιν αἰπήν: O130 οὐκ αἶεις ἃ τέ φησι θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἡρη . . .; X115-16 πάντα μάλ' ὅσσα τ' Ἀλέξανδρος . . . ἠγάγετο Τροίηνδ', ἢ τ' ἐπλετο νεῖκεος ἀρχή: P368 ἠέρι γὰρ κατέχοντο μάχης ἐπὶ θ' ὅσσον ἀριστοὶ ἔστασαν (contrast O358 ὅσον τ' ἐπί, habitual action: τε is perhaps stereotyped in this formula): B594 Δώριον, ἔνθα τε Μοῦσαι ἀντόμεναι Θάμυριν . . . παῦσαν ἀοιδῆς: κ417 ἵνα τ' ἔτραφεν ἠδ' ἐγένοντο: Γ189 ἡματι τῶ ὅτε τ' ἦλθον Ἀμαζόνες: M393 αὐτίκ' ἐπεὶ τ' ἐνόησεν: κ420 ὡς ἐχάρημεν, ὡς εἴ τ' εἰς Ἰθάκην ἀφικοίμεθα: H298: K127 (Bentley), 286: η323: ρ331: Thgn.703 ὅστε καὶ ἐξ Αἰδεῶ . . . ἀνῆλθεν: 1123 πέπονθά τοι οἶά τ' Ὀδυσσεύς, ὅστ' . . .: 1128 ὄφρα τε γῆς ἐπέβη δαιδαλέου τε μυχοῦ: Mimn.Fr.12.1 ἐπεῖτε . . . ἀφικόμεθα: Semon.Fr.7.117 ἐξ οὗ τε τοὺς μὲν Αἰδῆς ἐδέξατο.

Survivals of Epic τε following relatives in the fifth and fourth centuries.

ὃς τε is sometimes used in general statements in lyric and tragic poetry. (But even in Pindar this use no longer predominates strongly, while in tragedy it has receded altogether into the background.) Pi.O.2.35 οὕτω δὲ Μοῖρ', ἃ τε πατρώϊον τῶνδ' ἔχει τὸν εὐφρονα πότμον: 14.2 Καφισίων ὑδάτων λαχοῖσαι ται τε ναίετε καλλίπωλον ἔδραν: A.Eu.1024 (iamb.) ξὺν προσπόλοισιν αἶτε φρουροῦσιν βρέτας τοῦμὸν δικαίως: E.Hec.445 Αὔρα, ποντιαῖς αὔρα, ἄτε ποντοπόρους κομίζεις θοὰς ἀκάτους: Pi.I.8.40: P.4.30: 12.2: N.6.9,31: 8.2: 11.1: Fr.107(122).3: A.Supp.03,559: Th.140: Pers.42: Ag.49,1122: E.Ion882: IT1237: Or.321. A.Lys.1308 (Doric) ἃ τε πῶλοι, 'like colts'. (In A.Th.501 τε is probably copulative (epexegetic), as Tucker takes it: see p. 502.)

More frequently (in tragedy perhaps always) ὃς τε is now no more than, at most, an emphatic relative, 'that very one who', often conveying a genetic-causal sense, *quippe qui*: at least, a merely stylistic, and perhaps metrically convenient, substitute for the simple relative. Aeschylus uses ὃς τε far more frequently

than the other tragedians, occasionally even in iambs, while in Sophocles and Euripides it is confined to lyrics. (In *S.Ph.* 600 Heath's γ' is certainly right.)<sup>1</sup>

*Pi.N.* 9.9 *ἰππίων ἀέθλων κορυφάν, ἃ τε Φοίβῳ θῆκεν Ἄδραστος*: *A.Pers.* 297 *τίνα δὲ καὶ πενήσομεν τῶν ἀρχελείων, ὅστε . . . τάξιν ἠρήμου θανάων*: *Ch.* 615 *φοινίαν κόραν, ἃτ' ἐχθρῶν ὑπαὶ φῶτ' ἀπώλεσεν φίλον*: *S.Tr.* 824 *Ἰδ' οἶον . . . προσέμειξεν ἄφαρ τοῦπος τὸ θεοπρόπον ἡμῖν . . . ὃ τ' ἔλακεν . . .*: *El.* 151 *σὲ δ' ἔγωγε νέμω θεόν, ἃτ' ἐν τάφῳ πετραίῳ, αἰαί, δακρύεις*: *Pi.P.* 2.39: 389: *N.* 10.47: *I.* 2.23: *A.Supp.* 49: *Pers.* 16: *Pr.* 556, 1071 (doubtful): *Th.* 753, 1060: *Ag.* 357: *Eu.* 921: *S.OT* 694: *Hdt.* 1.74 *ὄρκια δὲ ποιέεται ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα τὰ πέρ τε Ἕλληνες, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις . . .* (τε hardly seems to look forward to καί, as Stein alternatively suggests. This Herodotean epicism is supported by ὅπως τε (i), ὅσον τε (ii), οἷά τε (iii) below).

In illustrating the following further varieties of τε with the relative in fifth- and fourth-century Greek, it will not be worth while, in view of what has been said above, to classify separately general and particular statements.

(i) With local and temporal adverbs and adverbial phrases. *A.Pers.* 762 (iamb.) *ἐξ οὔτε τιμὴν Ζεὺς ἀναξ τήνδ' ὤπασεν* (*Eu.* 25, iamb.): *E.Ph.* 645 *καλλιπόταμος ὕδατος ἵνα τε νοτὶς ἐπέρχεται γύας* (*Ph.* 1751: *IA* 1495): *IA* 573 *ἔμολες . . . ἦτε . . . ἐτράφησ*: *Hdt.* 1.108.4 *οὔτοι, ὅπως τε ἀπίοι ὁ ποταμός . . . πλατυτέροις ἐχρέωντο τοῖσι πόμασι* (τε *secl.* Hude). *ἐπέιτε* is common in Herodotus, and is indistinguishable in sense from *ἐπεὶ*: 1.34, 35, 42.2: *id. saep.*

(ii) ὅσον τε. In phrases like the Homeric *ὅσον τε γέγωνε βοήσας* (see (1) *ad init.*, pp. 521-2) τε denotes habitual action. (*Hes.Op.* 346 *πῆμα κακὸς γείτων, ὅσον τ' ἀγαθὸς μέγ' ὄνειαρ*: 679 *ὅσον τ' ἐπιβᾶσα κορώνη ἴχνος ἐποίησεν*: *Mimn.Fr.* 2.8 *ὅσον τ' ἐπὶ γῆν κίδναται ἥελιος*.) From this it is but a short step to phrases in which ὅσον τε, with ellipse of verb, denotes approximation to a definite standard. *Hom.* 1.322 *τὸ μὲν ἄμμες εἴσκομεν εἰσορόωντες ὅσον θ' ἰστὸν νηός*: 325 *τοῦ μὲν ὅσον τ' ὄργυιαν ἐγὼν ἀπέκοψα*: κ517 *βόθρον ὀρέξαι ὅσον τε πυγούσιον*. The occurrence of this quasi-adverbial idiom in Herodotus is perhaps

<sup>1</sup> For ὅστε in tragedy, see Ellendt, *s.v.*

an Homeric trait: 1.126 *ἦν γὰρ τις χῶρος . . . ἀκανθώδης ὅσον τε ἐπὶ ὀκτωκαίδεκα σταδίουσ*: 1.96 *κοψάμενοι ξύλα ὅσον τε διπήχεα*: 1.115 *ἐὼν τοῦτο οὐκ ὀλίγον χωρίον ἀλλὰ ὅσον τε ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὁδοῦ*: 1.92, 99: 1.130. (The fact that in such cases the sense 'about' is appropriate should be welcome to those who derive τε from indefinite τις.) Adjectival, with verb expressed in relative clause: *Hdt.* 1.173 *τῆς σμύρνης ὧν πλάσσειν ὅσον τε δυνατὸς ἐστι φέρειν* (*quantum fere*, Stein: τε *om.* *PRSV*: τι Schweighäuser).

(iii) οἷός τε. *Hdt.* 1.93 *θώματα δὲ γῆ Λυδία ἐς συγγραφὴν οὐ μάλα ἔχει, οἷά τε καὶ ἄλλη χώρα* (*qualia fere*, Stein: τε *L*: γε Krueger) offers another rare survival of an Homeric use. But οἷός τε, meaning 'able to', is common in post-Homeric Greek, the neuter οἷόν τε being also freely used. In Homer the two senses, 'the sort of man to' and 'able to', are scarcely yet differentiated: 1.160 *ἦδη γὰρ ἀνὴρ οἷός τε μάλιστα οἴκου κήδεσθαι*: 1.117 *ὄτ' ἐγὼ κατόπισθε λιποίμην οἷός τ' ἦδη πατρὸς ἀέθλια κάλ' ἀνελέσθαι*: 1.173 *τοῖον . . . οἷόν τε ῥυτῆρα βιοῦ τ' ἔμεναι καὶ οἰστῶν*. Monro remarks (on 1.160) that οἷός with the infinitive is rare in Homer, and not found at all in the *Iliad*. In later Greek, the sense 'the sort of man to', 'inclined to', is expressed by plain οἷος with the infinitive, οἷός τε being reserved for the meaning 'able to'. οἷά τε, adverbial in a causal sense, like ἄτε: *Hdt.* 1.175.5 *ἀναστενάξαι οἷά τε χρόνου ἐγγεγονότος πολλοῦ*: 1.11.2: in a comparison, *E.Hyps.fr.* 1.19.20 von Arnim.

(iv) ἄτε, adverbial, with participle, in a causal sense, is unknown to Homer and Hesiod, and, I think, to the tragedians, but is often found in Aristophanes, Herodotus, Plato, and Xenophon. Commoner in the *Problems* than in genuine Aristotle, Bonitz. In the orators<sup>1</sup> the only instance is [D.] xlii 24 *ἄτε νέος . . . ὢν*. *Pi.F.* 2.84 *ἄτ' ἐχθρὸς ἐών*: *Cratin.Fr.* 295: *Ar.Pax* 623, 634: *An.* 75, 285: *Ra.* 546, 671: *Th.* 456: *Lys.* 418: *Ec.* 37, 257: *Hdt.* 1.123 *ἄλλως μὲν οὐδαμῶς εἶχε ἄτε τῶν ὁδῶν φυλασσομένων*. *Pl.Smp.* 179D: *Th.* 1.130.6: *X.Cyr.* 1.3.3: *An.* 1.2.13: 8.27: 1.2.1: [X.] *Alk.* 1.16: 1.20: 2.14. For further Herodotean examples, see Kühner, II ii 97. For Plato, Xenophon, and Aristotle, see the several indexes. (I have cited all the Aristophanic examples. Cf. *Introd.* VI. 5.)

<sup>1</sup> My statistics for ἄτε and ἐφ' ᾧ τε in the orators are from Schmidt, with whom the indexes to individual orators agree.

Rarely without participle: Hdt.iii 80 ἄχθεται ἄτε θωπί: i 123: v 66.2: 85.2: Th.v 72.1 (v. Steup). Pl.R.551E χρήματα μὴ ἐθέλειν εἰσφέρειν, ἄτε φιλοχρημάτων (sc. ὄντας): 568B αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν οὐ παραδεξόμεθα ἄτε τυραννίδος ὑμνητάς: 619D: Ly.212A: Arist.Mete.358a35. (In A.Th.140 ἄτε = ἦτε.)

Occasionally in tragedy, not infrequently in Pindar and Herodotus, in comparisons, *tamquam, velut*. (The adverbial sense of ἄτε does not occur at all in Homer (in A 779 and X 127 ἄτε is not adverbial) or in Hesiod: see Ebeling, ii 316b, and Kühner, II ii 490.) The earliest examples I can find of comparative ἄτε are Alcm. Fr.1.62: Ibyc.Fr.6.8 (conjectured). Pi.O.1.2 ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς αἰθόμενον πῦρ ἄτε διαπρέπει νυκτὶ μέγανος ἐξοχα πλούτου: 12.14 ἐνδομάχας ἄτ' ἀλέκτωρ: P.2.79: N.7.105: Fr.225(241): A.Ch.381 Τοῦτο διαμπερὲς οὐς ἴκεθ' ἄπερ τε βέλος (τι Schütz): S.Aj.168<sup>1</sup> παταγοῦσιν ἄτε πτηνῶν ἀγέλαι (ἄπερ L<sup>ac</sup>): E.HF667 ἴσον ἄτ' ἐν νεφέλαισιν ἀστρων ναύταις ἀριθμὸς πέλει: Hdt.1200 ἄτε μάξαν μαζάμενος: ii 69 ἄτε πολεμίους περιέπουσι ('as enemies'): iii 115: iv 64, 146: viii 134.2 (bis).

For ἄτε δὴ, see δὴ, I.9.v.b.

ἄτε περ: Arist.Pol.1253a6.

(v) ὥστε. ὥστε in comparisons is pretty common in the tragedians, particularly in the *Trachiniae* and *Bacchae*.<sup>2</sup> It is used both in the iambic portions and in the lyrics. Sometimes ὥστε has a verb to itself: S.Tr.112: Fr.433: E.Rh.972 Βάκχου προφήτης ὥστε Παγγαίου πέτραν ᾤκησε: Far more frequently the verb is understood\*: A.Ag.628 Ἐκυρσας ὥστε τοξότης ἄκρος σκοποῦ: S.Tr.530 κάπῳ μητρὸς ἄφαρ βέβαχ', ὥστε πόρτις ἐρήμα: Ant.586 ὁμοῖον ὥστε . . . ὅταν . . . ('like as when . . .', cf. Tr.699): E.Or.697 ὁμοῖον ὥστε πῦρ κατασβέσαι λάβρον. (Cf. Or.145 σύριγγος ὅπως πνοὰ λεπτοῦ δόνακος . . . φώνει μοι.) In A.Eu.628, again, there is hardly a question of understanding a verb from the context, and ὥστε stands roughly for οἶά ἐστι, sc. τόξα (cf. E.El.748<sup>3</sup>). (Sometimes ὥστε follows the word to which it refers,

<sup>1</sup> The only Sophoclean instance of adverbial ἄτε given by Ellendt. Dorville's conjecture at OT 478 lacks probability.

<sup>2</sup> Schroeder (*Prolegomena* § 83), following Boeckh, reads ὥτε everywhere in Pindar, though the MSS. often give ὥστε: O.10.86: P.4.64, 10.54: N.6.28: 7.62, 71 (for ὥσειτε), 93: I.4.18b.

<sup>3</sup> Kayser's νεπέρας βροντῆς is therefore not absolutely necessary.

or is inserted in the middle of the clause: A.Supp.751 κόρακες ὥστε: Ag.1671 ἀλέκτωρ ὥστε θηλείας πέλας (ὥστε Scaliger: ὥσπερ codd.): Ch.421 λύκος γὰρ ὥστ' ὠμόφρων: S.Tr.537: E.Hipp.1221: Hec.205: and for other instances see above.) A.Pers.424: Pr.452: Th.62: Fr.57, 313: S.Aj.300: El.444: Ant.1033, 1084: Tr.367, 703, 768, 1071: OC 343: Fr 210, 808: E.Hipp.429: Heracl.423: Hec.178, 337: HF 110: IT 359: Hel.1162: Ph.1573, 1712, 1722: Or.882, 1520: Ba.543, 748, 752, 778, 1188: IA 1082: Rh.301, 618.

Quite distinct is the Herodotean usage, whereby ὥστε gives a causal force to a participle, either in direct construction or with a genitive absolute: i 8 ὥστε δὲ ταῦτα νομίζων: vi 52.3 ὥστε καὶ ὁμοίων καὶ ἴσων ἐόντων: i 73, 127: iv 136: v 19.1: 35.3, 42.2: 83.2 (ὥστε δὴ): 101.2: vi 44.3: 94.1: 136.2: vii 129.1 (ὥστε γε): 129.2: viii 118.2: ix 37.2: 37.3: 70.2: 76.1.

There are two examples in Thucydides, probably due to Herodotean influence: ii 40.4 βεβαιοτέρως δὲ ὁ δράσας τὴν χάριν ὥστε ὀφειλομένην δι' εὐνοίας ᾧ δέδωκε σῶζειν ('since it is owed to him': this seems to be the correct interpretation of a much disputed passage): vii 24.2 ὥστε γὰρ ταμείῳ χρωμένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοῖς τείχεσι πολλὰ . . . χρήματα . . . ἐνήν (ἄτε B: ὥσπερ Stahl: here ὥστε seems to go with the participle, 'quippe cum uterentur': see Steup *ad loc.*, and on ii 40.4).

Apart from these two examples, there are no traces of the Herodotean usage in Attic. In A.Ag.884 ὥστε σύγγονον βροτοῖσι τὸν πεσόντα λακτίσαι πλέον, it is unnecessary to supply ὄν (on the analogy of Th.ii 35.1 ὡς καλόν, where again see Steup), since we can perfectly well read ὡς τε, 'and saying that'. Nor can an ellipse of ἐστι be supported by A.Th.13, where Paley's defence of the generally accepted ὥστε (for ὥστι, ὥστις) is inadequate. (C.R.xlvii(1933)163-4.)<sup>1</sup>

ὡς τε, consecutive, with indicative, is not found in Homer: with infinitive, only in I 42 and ρ 21: Hes.Op.44 ὡς τέ σε κείς ἐνιαυτὸν ἔχειν. Originally, no doubt, the consecutive relation is expressed by the infinitive alone, and ὡς means 'as' (ὡς τε

<sup>1</sup> The explanation of ὥστε with participle in And.iv 20, Is.ix 16, and other passages is of course different: here a consecutive clause dependent on a participle is assimilated into the participial construction: see Kühner, II ii 96, 514 *Anm.* 3.

νέεσθαι, 'wie um zurückzukehren'). But later the consecutive sense is felt to reside, not in the infinitive, but in the ὥστε (Kühner, II ii 500: Monro, on ρ21): and in later Greek ὥστε is the normal substitute for ὡς in the consecutive sense.

ὥσείτε: Pi.P.1.44 (false reading for ὥτε in N.7.71). But in S. Ant.653 ἀλλὰ πτύσας ὥσεί τε δυσμενῆ μέθες, Jebb is probably right in taking τε as copulative: 'Nay, with loathing, and as if she were thine enemy'.

(vi) ἐφ' ᾧ τε, 'on condition that', is used with the future indicative and with the infinitive. Hdt.iii83 ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ υπεξίσταμαι τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐπ' ᾧ τε ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ὑμέων ἄρξομαι: Th.1103.1 ξυνέβησαν . . . ἐφ' ᾧ τε ἐξίασιν (only here in Thucydides, in *ABEFM* alone): Pl.Ar.29C ἀφίεμέν σε, ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέντοι, ἐφ' ᾧ τε μηκετί . . . διατρίβειν (the only Platonic instance known to me): X.HGii3.11 αἰρεθέντες δὲ ἐφ' ᾧ τε συγγράψαι νόμους. Like ἄτε, ἐφ' ᾧ τε is very rare in the orators: it is found once in Isocrates (xvii19), twice in Aeschines (iii114,183), once in genuine Demosthenes (xli4). Contrast its frequency in [D.]lvi(3,5,20,42,49): add [D.]xxvi13. It is very rare in verse: but cf. Ar.Th.1162: Pl.1000: 1141: Cratin.Fr.279. Prose: Hdt.i22.4: vi65.1: vii153.3: 154.3: 158.5: viii4.2: X.HGii4.38: vii4.10: An.vi6.22. In an inscription of 329 B.C. (Meisterhans, p. 253).

(I take no account of ἔστε, since it seems uncertain whether the τε in ἔστε has anything to do with the particle.)

(2) τε following other particles. Since ideas which are presented antithetically or disjunctively may simultaneously be presented as simply added to one another, the combinations μέν τε, δέ τε, ἢ τε present no difficulty to those who derive all meanings of τε from the root idea of 'addition'. Equally easily explained on this hypothesis are γάρ τε, ἀλλά τε, and even the redundant καί τε (as 'and also'). But the great majority of passages in which τε is coupled with another particle contain general propositions, or describe habitual action. And there are strong reasons for believing that here too, as in the case of relatives, τε generalizes the action, its association with particular particles being almost as loose and fortuitous as that, for example, of μέν with γάρ.

(i) μέν τε, δέ τε. Hom.A403 ὃν Βριάρεων καλέουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δέ τε πάντες Αἰγαίωνα: B90 αἰ μέν τ' ἔνθα ἄλις πεποτήσεται αἰ δέ τε ἔνθα: 210 σμαραγεῖ δέ τε πόντος: E138 ὃν ῥά τε ποιμήν . . . χραύση μέν τ' αὐλῆς ὑπεράλμενον οὐδὲ δαμάσση: N493 γάννται δ' ἄρα τε φρένα ποιμήν: Hes.Op.233 ἄκρη μέν τε φέρει βαλάνους, μέσση δὲ μελίσσης: Xenoph.Fr.13.3 ἵπποι μέν θ' ἵπποισι, βόες δέ τε βουσὶν ὁμοίας, καί κε θεῶν ιδέας ἔγραφον: Hom.η124: μ93: Hes.Th.596: Op.218,311,631: Thgn.148, 359: Emp.Fr.35.7,11,16: Sapph.Fr.117: Cleobul.4: Philox.Fr.e4.

δέ τε *in aradosi*: Hes.Th.784 καί ῥ' ὅς τις ψεύδεται . . ., Ζεὺς δέ τε Ἴριν ἔπεμψε.

(ii) οὐδέ τε. Hom.β182 ὄρνιθες δέ τε πολλοὶ ὑπ' αὐγὰς ἡελίοιο φοιτῶσ', οὐδέ τε πάντες ἐναίσιοι: λ123 οἱ οὐ ἴσασι θάλασσαν ἀνέρες, οὐδέ θ' ἄλεσσι μεμιγμένον εἶδαρ ἔδουσιν: Ξ18 οὐδ' ἄρα τε προκυλίνδεται: Emp.Fr.27a οὐ στάσις οὐδέ τε δῆρις ἀναίσιομος ἐν μελέεσσιν.

(iii) γάρ τε. Hom.A63 καὶ γάρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διὸς ἐστίν: I406 ληῖστοὶ μέν γάρ τε βόες: 410 μήτηρ γάρ τέ μέ φησι ('says habitually': cf. A521): Hes.Op.761 φήμη γάρ τε κακῆ πέλεται: Hom.B481: γ147: δ397: Hes.Op.30,214: Thgn.281: Phoc.Fr.7.2.

(iv) ἢ τε. Disjunctive: Hom.I276 ἢ θέμις ἐστίν, ἀναξ, ἢ τ' ἀνδρῶν ἢ τε γυναικῶν: Δ410 ὅς δέ κ' ἀριστεύησι μάχη ἐνι, τὸν δὲ μάλα χρεὼ ἐστάμεναι κρατερῶς, ἢ τ' ἔβλητ' ἢ τ' ἔβαλ' ἄλλον. Monro (*HG.*<sup>2</sup> §340) remarks that 'considering the general difficulty of deciding between εἰ and ἢ in the text of Homer, we cannot regard the form ἢ τε as resting on good evidence'.

Comparative: Hom.π216 ἀδινώτερον ἢ τ' οἰωνοί. In Δ277 Monro (§332) thinks Bekker's ἢ τε, for ἢ ὅτε, may be right.

(v) καί τε. Hom.K224 σύν τε δὴ ἐρχομένῳ, καί τε πρὸ δ τοῦ ἐνόησεν: ξ465 οἶνος . . . ὅς τ' ἐφέηκε πολύφρονά περ μάλ' ἀεῖσαι καί θ' ἀπαλὸν γελάσαι, καί τ' ὀρχήσασθαι ἀνήκε: τ537 χῆνές μοι κατὰ οἶκον . . ., καί τε σφιν λαίνομαι εἰσορόωσα: Emp.Fr.23.8 . . . καὶ ὕδατοθρέμμονας ἰχθύς καί τε θεοὺς δολιχαίωνας: Hom.A521: *h.Merc.*559: *h.Gen.*30: *h.Ath.*4: Hes.Op.515-16: Th.420: Thgn.138,662.

καί τε, 'also', 'even': Hom.I159 τοῦνεκα καί τε βροτοῖσι θεῶν ἔχθιστος ἀπάντων: ρ485 εἰ δὴ πού τις ἐπουράνιος θεὸς ἐστι, καί τε θεοὶ ξείνοισιν ἐοικότες ἀλλοδαποῖσι . . . ἐπιστρω

πόληας: Hes. *Op.* 360 *ὅς δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἔληται . . . καὶ τε σμικρὸν ἐόν, τό γ' ἐπάχνωσεν φίλον ἦτορ.*

Exceptionally, *καὶ τε . . . καὶ τε*, corresponsive: Emp. *Fr.* 129.6 *ρεῖα . . . λεύσσεσκεν ἕκαστον καὶ τε δέκ' ἀνθρώπων καὶ τ' εἴκοσιν αἰώνεσσιν* ('in ten, yea twenty, lifetimes').

(vi) *ἀλλά τε*. Hom. *B* 754 *οὐδ' ὃ γε Πηνειῶ συμμίσγεται ἀργυροδίνῃ, ἀλλά τέ μιν καθύπερθεν ἐπιρρέει*: μ 44, 64, 67: Hes. *Th.* 797. In *apodosis* (following *εἴ περ* in protasis: 'even if . . . still'): Hom. *A* 82 *εἴ περ γάρ τε χόλον γε καὶ αὐτῆμαρ καταπέψη, ἀλλά τε καὶ μετόπισθεν ἔχει κότον*: K 226: T 165: Φ 577: X 192.

(vii) *ἀτάρ τε*. Hom. *A* 484 *λείῃ, ἀτάρ τέ οἱ ὄζοι ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῃ πεφύασι*.

(viii) *εἰ πέρ τε*, 'even if'. (For *πέρ τε* after relatives, see (i) above.) Hom. *K* 225 *μοῦνος δ' εἰ πέρ τε νοήση, ἀλλά τέ οἱ βράσσων τε νόος, λεπτή δέ τε μῆτις*: Δ 116 *ἢ δ' εἰ πέρ τε τύχησι μάλα σχεδόν, οὐ δύναται σφι χραισμεῖν*.

(ix) *οὔτε . . . τε*. Here the redundancy is intolerable, if *τε* is taken as responsive. Hom. *E* 89 *τὸν δ' οὔτ' ἄρ τε γέφυραι ἐεργμέναι ἰσχανόωσιν, οὔτ' ἄρα ἔρκαε ἴσχει*.

(x) *μέν τε* (with affirmative *μέν*: for *τε* following prospective *μέν*, see (i) above). Hom. *A* 341 *σφῶϊν μὲν τ' ἐπέοικε μετὰ πρώτοισιν ἐόντας ἐστάμεν*: *O* 203 *στρεπταὶ μὲν τε φρένες ἐσθλῶν*: ε 447 *αἰδοῖος μὲν τ' ἐστὶ . . . ὅς τις ἴκηται ἀλώμενος*.

(xi) *νύ τε*. Hom. *a* 60 *οὔ νύ τ' Ὀδυσσεὺς . . . χαρίζετο . . .*; 347 *οὐ νύ τ' ἀοιδοὶ αἴτιοι*.

(xii) *καὶ δέ τε*. Hom. *T* 28 *καὶ δέ τέ μιν καὶ πρόσθεν ὑποτρομέεσκον ὄρωντες* (the only example of *καὶ δέ τε* in Homer, Leaf: *καὶ δέ τι* Aristarchus, with some MSS., but I agree with Leaf that 'the pronoun is insufferably weak'.)

There remains a strong minority of passages in Epic where *τε* is associated with other particles in particular statements. But the number should probably be materially reduced. As Monro points out, in his paper to the Oxford Philological Society and in his *Homeric Grammar*: (a) *τε* is often omitted in some MSS.: (b) in some places *τε* is clearly inserted, to avoid a supposed hiatus, by a scribe ignorant of the digamma: (c) in others emendation is probably needed.

(a) Hom. *X* 166 *θεοὶ δέ τε πάντες ὄρωντο (δέ, δ' ἐς al.)*: ν 252 *ἐν*

*δέ τε οἶνον κρητῆρσιν κερόωντο (ἐν δ' ἄρα al.: but cf. κ 317 ἐν δέ τε φάρμακον ἦκε)*: Π 96.

(b) Z 367 *οὐ γάρ τ' οἶδα*, most MSS. (κ 190 *οὐ γάρ τ' ἴδμεν*): A 406 *οὐδέ τ' ἔδησαν (οὐδέ f' ἔδησαν, Leaf: cf. B 165, 181: A 437)*.

(c) In particular, *δ' ἔτι, οὐδ' ἔτι* are often read by editors for *δέ τε, οὐδέ τε*: a ready expedient, which has sometimes, perhaps, been abused.<sup>1</sup> In Ω 337 *ὡς ἄγαγ', ὡς μήτ' ἄρ τις ἴδη μήτ' ἄρ τε νοήση* Bentley conjectures *μή τις fe ἴδη μήτ' ἄρ fe νοήση*. In Ω 117 read probably *τὸν δ' ἔαεσκεν* (see Leaf).

There still remain, however, some awkward passages, which are not easily emended. Hom. *E* 118 *δός δέ τέ μ' ἀνδρα ἐλεῖν*: K 466 *δέελον δ' ἐπὶ σῆμά τ' ἔθηκε* (see Leaf): Π 836 *σὲ δέ τ' ἐνθάδε γῦπες ἔδονται*: Φ 456 *νῶϊ δέ τ' ἄψορροι κίομεν*: Hes. *Th.* 688 *ἐκ δέ τε πᾶσαν φαῖνε βίην (δέ γε D)*: 423 *οὐδέ τ' ἀπηύρα*: Hom. δ 497: ο 428: ρ 25, 270. Hom. *A* 64 *ὅτε μὲν τε μετὰ πρώτοισι φάνεσκεν, ἄλλοτε δ' ἐν πυμάτοισι*: Π 28 *τοὺς μὲν τ' ἱητροὶ πολυφάρμακοι ἀμφιπέπονται*: ε 331 *ἄλλοτε μὲν τε Νότος Βορέη προβάλεσκε φέρεσθαι, ἄλλοτε δ' αὐτ' Εὐρος*: N 47 *Αἴαντε, σφῶ μὲν τε σαώσετε λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν*: Hes. *Sc.* 359. Hom. *T* 156 *Ἀτρεΐδῃ, σοὶ γάρ τε μάλιστά γε λαὸς Ἀχαιῶν πείσσονται μύθοισι* (but this is half-general, 'will listen, as they always do'): Ω 602 *καὶ γάρ τ' ἠύκομος Νιόβῃ ἐμνήσατο σίτου* (here, perhaps, a historic precedent is taken as equivalent to a general proposition): M 245. Hom. *T* 235 *οὐς κεν ἐὺ γνοίην καὶ τ' οὔνομα μυθησαίμην*: τ 342 *πολλὰς γὰρ δὴ νύκτας . . . ἄεσα καὶ τ' ἀνέμεινα . . . Ἡῶ. καὶ τε*, as Christ points out, is especially common in the Hymn to Aphrodite, where it is used in particular, as well as in general, statements: e.g. 30, 51. In *h. Merc.* 133 *καὶ τε* means 'although': *καὶ τε μάλ'*

<sup>1</sup> In the first edition of his *Homeric Grammar* (§ 332) Monro allowed, as 'isolated Epic uses', (1) *τ' ἄρα* after interrogatives, (2) *ἦ τε*, (3) *ἦ τε* (comparative), and (4) *οὐδέ τε, μηδέ τε*: this last with the rider that, except in A 437 (Φ 596) and Φ 248, 'there is generally some marked parallelism between the words of the two clauses' (e.g. B 179 (*μηδέ τ' νυξ*), μ 198): while 'in most, if not all, instances' the emendation *οὐδ' ἔτ', μηδ' ἔτ'* is 'at least possible'. In the second edition (*ib.*) only (1) and (2) remain: in (3) *τε* is rightly regarded as akin to *τε* in similes, and therefore as possessing a generalizing force: while in (4) Monro everywhere unequivocally reads *οὐδ' ἔτ', μηδ' ἔτ'*. (It must be admitted, however, that in Ψ 730 (*οὐδέ f'*, Brandreth) and Ω 52 *ἔτι* is not very suitable.)



ἰμείροντι. Hom.P 42 οὐδ' ἔτ' ἀδήριτος ἢ τ' ἀλκῆς ἢ τε φόβοιο (some MSS.: see Leaf): T 148 δῶρα μὲν αἱ κ' ἐθέλησθα παρασχέμεν, ὡς ἐπιεικές, ἢ τ' ἐχέμεν παρὰ σοί (some MSS. εἴ τ', perhaps rightly: Monro *HG*<sup>2</sup> §340). Hom.α 188 ξεῖνοι δ' . . . εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι . . . εἴ πέρ τε γέροντ' εἶρηαι: 204 οὐ τοι . . . ἔσσειται, οὐδ' εἴ περ τε . . .

(xiii) ἢ τε. This combination presents peculiar difficulties on any theory of τε. There is no trace here of any generalizing force: in fact the examples are all, I believe, particular. In some passages τε might conceivably be copulative: but this explanation is nowhere a very natural one (it will not fit Hes. *Sc.* 79, if τε is right there): moreover Christ observes that τε in Homer never, or scarcely ever, couples sentences. For the most part scholars are content to regard this τε as, at most, emphatic: at least, formal and superfluous.<sup>1</sup>

Hom.Γ 56 ἀλλὰ μάλα Τρῶες δευδήμενες· ἢ τέ κεν ἤδη λάϊνον ἔσσο χιτῶνα ('otherwise'): E 201 ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐ πιθόμην (ἢ τ' ἂν πολὺ κέρδιον ἦεν): Δ 362 ἔφυγες θάνατον, κύον· ἢ τέ τοι ἄγχι ἦλθε κακόν: ν 211 οἷ μ' εἰς ἄλλην γαίαν ἀπήγαγον· ἢ τέ μ' ἔφαντο ἄξειν εἰς Ἰθάκην: Hes.*Sc.* 79 Ἡρως ὦ Ἰόλαε . . . ἢ τε μέγ' ἀθανάτους . . . ἦλιτεν Ἀμφιτρύων (τε Perlmüller, τι (τοι) *LM* *codd.*): Hom.Γ 366: Δ 763: Σ 13: ω 28.

Apodotic.<sup>2</sup> Hom.K 450 εἰ μὲν γάρ κέ σε νῦν ἀπολύσομεν . . . ἢ τε καὶ ὕστερον εἴσθα: E 350: X 49: α 288: μ 138.

The use of τε after other particles is virtually confined to epic and elegiac poetry. The few apparent examples in drama and prose are palpably corrupt, or highly doubtful.

γάρ τε. Pi.*Fr.* 131(143).1 κείνοι γάρ τ' ἄνοσοι καὶ ἀγήραοι πόνων τ' ἀπειροί: in E.*Ion* 1099 (lyr.) Verrall conjectures γάρ (τ').

δέ τε. B.13.129 (see Jebb): *Fr.* 4.1: A.*Ch.* 490 (iamb.: certainly to be emended): S.*OT* 18 (read οἶδε τ', or οἶ δ' ἔτ'): E.*IA* 1580 (iamb.: in a passage which cannot be taken seriously): *Fr.* 732 (iamb.: δέ γ' Matthiae): Ar.*Av.* 641 (δέ γε is certain):

<sup>1</sup> Christ and Kühner call it 'accessory': Bäumlein, roundly, 'räthselhaft'.

<sup>2</sup> Hartung (i 70) makes this the basic sense of ἢ τε: but his argument is highly artificial.

Hr.*Fract.* 26 μᾶλλον δέ τε δεῖ (other MSS. τι, no doubt rightly): *Vict.* 5 φοιτεόντων δ' ἐκείνων ὧδε, τῶν δέ τε κείσε (so some MSS., perhaps rightly: all things are possible in the *de Victu*).

μέν τε. E.*Med.* 1094 (lyr.: τ' kept by Verrall alone).

καί τε. Hr.*Vict.* 5 καί θ' ἂ μὲν πρήσσουσιν οὐκ οἶδασιν, ἂ δὲ οὐ πρήσσουσι δοκέουσιν εἰδέναι· καί θ' ἂ μὲν ὀρέουσιν οὐ γινώσκουσιν (Mack omits θ' in each case: 'Correction inutile', Littré observes, 'c'est la locution καί τε'. Perhaps: as I have said, the author of this treatise is capable of anything).

### (3) Other uses of τε in Homer.

(i) With indefinite τις. In almost every case the sentence is a general one. (Exceptional, E 90 σίγα, μή τις τ' ἄλλος Ἀχαιῶν τοῦτον ἀκούσῃ μῦθον (τ 486).) Those who accept the theory of a generalizing τε are therefore not driven (with Kühner, II ii 240) to seek always in such cases to combine the particle with another word in the sentence. B 292 καὶ γάρ τις θ' ἔνα μῆνα μένων ἀπὸ ἧς ἀλόχοιο ἀσχαλάα: I 632 καὶ μὲν τις τε . . . ποιήν . . . ἐδέξατο: ν 45 καὶ μὲν τις τε χερεῖονι πείθεθ' ἑταίρω: Γ 12: M 150: Π 263: ε 120: τ 265: ψ 118.

(Where τε follows another particle, μὲν or γάρ, it is perhaps preferable to regard τε as adhering to that particle, rather than to the indefinite pronoun. Where it follows ὡς, it should certainly be regarded as adhering to ὡς: one cannot differentiate between Γ 23 ὡς τε λέων and P 133 ὡς τις τε λέων).

(ii) With interrogatives. Here τε is, I believe, invariably followed by ἄρα, and the question, lively or surprised in tone, usually forms the opening words of a speech. (Sometimes the vocative of the person addressed precedes the interrogative.) Γ 226 Τίς τ' ἄρ' ὄδ' ἄλλος . . .; Σ 188 Πῶς τ' ἄρ' ἴω μετὰ μῶλον: Δ 656: N 307: α 346: γ 22: ν 417. This appears to be the normal connective τε.<sup>1</sup> (If so, we must admit an exception here to the rule by which τε in Homer couples words or phrases, not sentences.) Like δέ and καί, it adds a note of liveliness to the interrogation. Nor is there any difficulty in assigning a connective sense to τε in A 8 and B 761, in which passages it is used

<sup>1</sup> Monro, however (*H.G.*<sup>2</sup> § 332), holds that the ancient grammarians who merged the particles in one (ταρ) were probably right in so doing, τε having lost its own force in the process of amalgamation.

transitionally in continuous speech. (τε, which, in general, may connect after a strong pause (I.1), is found in Attic at the opening of a speech: S.OT 1001, though the connexion with the preceding words is there very close: Ar.Ec.458, at the opening of a question: cf. E.Ph.1515 (τίς τ' ἄρ' Β): and in S.Ph.441 the τε of ΛΔ is perhaps possible, though probably δέ (rec.) is right.

(iii) With ἄλλος. The association of τε with ἄλλος is curious. ε29 Ἐρμεία, σὺ γὰρ αὐτε τά τ' ἄλλα περ ἄγγελός ἐσσι, νύμφη εὐπλοκάμῳ εἰπεῖν: ρ273 'Ρεῖ' ἔγνωσ, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ τά τ' ἄλλα πέρ ἐσσ' ἀνοήμων: Ψ483 Αἴαν . . ., ἄλλα τε πάντα δεύειαι Ἀργείων. A generalizing force is appropriate in all three passages.<sup>1</sup> (In Ξ90 τε should be referred to τις rather than to ἄλλος: v. supr., (i).)

Kühner points to two strange survivals (as he thinks) of this use of τε: Meisterhans, *Gr. d. att. Inschr.*<sup>2</sup> 208,2 (267-5 B.C.) ἐπεὶ τά τε ἄλλα πράττουσιν καλῶς, ἀναθεῖναι αὐτοῖς καὶ στήλην: Lycurg.100 τά τε ἄλλ' ὧν ἀγαθὸς ποιητῆς καὶ τοῦτον τὸν μῦθον προείλετο ποιῆσαι (ἦν Blass: the text can hardly stand).

(iv) With ὅδε. The two passages in which τε is associated with ὅδε are a godsend to the supporters of τε's deictic origin, an embarrassment to others: ν 238 εἰ δὴ τήνδε τε γαῖαν ἀνείρειαι (one good MS. γε): ο484 οὕτω τήνδε τε γαῖαν ἐγὼν ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσι (γε Bothe). Obviously there is no generalizing force in τε here.

(v) Apodotic (?). Apodotic ἀλλά τε, ἢ τε have been considered above (2.vi and xiii). τε is also used apodotically in the following passages. A 218 ὅς κε θεοῖς ἐπιπείθεται, μάλα τ' ἔκλυον αὐτοῦ: Δ161 εἴ περ γὰρ τε . . ., ἔκ τε καὶ ὄψε τελεῖ, σὺν τε μεγάλῳ ἀπέτεισαν: M 48 ὅππη τ' ἰθύση, τῆ τ' εἴκουσι στίχες ἀνδρῶν: 304 εἴ περ γὰρ . . ., οὐ ρά τ' ἀπείρητος μέμονε σταθμοῖο δῖεσθαι. Here, again, all the statements are universal: and it is natural to regard τε as having a generalizing force, rather than as marking the correspondence between protasis and apodosis. (The latter view, however, receives some support as regards μ 138 (ἢ τε) from the fact that the parallel passage λ 111 has καὶ κεν ἔτ'.)

In examining the Epic use of τε (1) with relatives, (2) with other particles, and (3) with certain other words, and *in apodosis*, we have seen that most of our examples are in universal state-

<sup>1</sup> In the first two Kühner interprets 'also': in the third (where, for other interpretations, see Leaf) he regards τε as 'rein formelhaft'.

ments, and thus that there is reason to attribute to Epic τε a generalizing force. It might be expected that the particle would bear this generalizing force in other cases, apart from any association with this or that word. This, however, is not so: instances of generalizing τε, outside the above limits, are extremely rare: but cf. Π688 ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τε Διὸς κρείσσων νόος ἢ ἐπερ ἀνδρῶν (P 176): T 221 αἰψά τε φυλόπιδος πέλεται κόρος ἀνθρώποισιν: α 392 αἰψά τέ οἱ δῶ ἀφνειὸν πέλεται καὶ τιμηέστερος αὐτός (though τε here might, just conceivably, look forward to καί). Ψ 310 is a curious case of non-connective τε in a particular statement: ἀλλά τοι ἵπποι βάρδιστοι θείειν τῷ τ' οἴω λοίγι' ἔσεσθαι (κ', γ' al.).

What is the explanation of this apparently arbitrary restriction of the generalizing use? Why does a particle which has a generalizing force cling to other particles and to relatives? And why has Greek no particle whose function it is, without such restriction, to express this generalizing sense? (To a certain extent, τοι, which has some contacts with τε, fills the bill: cf. O 203 στρεπταὶ μὲν τε φρένες ἐσθλῶν: N 115 ἀκεσταί τοι φρένες ἐσθλῶν: but the essential force of τοι is different.) These are insoluble problems: these, and the problem of the relationship between τε copulative or preparatory and Epic τε.

III. Supposed sense 'also'. In a few passages in drama and prose it has sometimes been suggested that τε, usually in combination with other particles, may mean 'also'.

καὶ . . . τε appears sometimes in the text of Thucydides to mean 'and also'. The occurrence of several examples of the same oddity in a single author causes some weight prima facie: but in fact there are only three cases of καὶ . . . τε in Thucydides in which the primary MSS agree and there is no independent reason to suspect corruption: 193 ἄ . . . παραλαβῶν καὶ ναυτικῷ τε ἅμα ἰσχυρῶν: vi 44.3 καὶ πρὸς τε τοὺς Ῥηγίους λόγους ἐποίησαντο: vii 78.3 καὶ ἐπειδὴ τε ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει . . . ἠῦρον ἐπ' αὐτῷ παραταγμένους . . . καὶ τρεψάμενοι αὐτοῦς . . . ἐχώρουν ἐς τὸ πῶν . . . In 143.3 τε and δέ are variants: in 1145 τε is in ABS and is therefore not the archetype's reading: in viii 68.2 τε occurs and the context is in any case seriously corrupt: and in viii 76.5 corruption in the context is almost certain. Also, the phenomenon is not confined to Thucydides: it appears in Is xi 41.

which is demonstrably corrupt for other reasons, and in Is.iii 80. (Hdt.vii 175.2, of course, is not an example.)<sup>1</sup>\*

(2) *τε γάρ*. Aristotle, in several passages, appears to use *τε γάρ*, without following *τε* or *καί*, for *γάρ* or *καὶ γάρ*: *namque, etenim*. Eucken (pp. 17-21) denies this use: but Bonitz (Index, s.v. *τε*, and *Ztschr. f. d. öst. Gymn.* 1867, pp. 672-82), while admitting that Eucken's criticism disposes of most of the apparent examples, maintains that the supposed use is to be recognized in certain passages: *APo.75b41: deAn.405a4: PA661b29: Pol.1318b,331333a2*. The MSS. of Thucydides show a *τε γάρ* of this kind at v 26.2 and vi 17.6: similarly *Ant.iv a2*. In *S.Tr.1019-20* the MSS. read *σὺ δὲ σύλλαβε. σοὶ τε γὰρ ὄμμα ἔμπλεον ἢ δι' ἐμοῦ σῶζειν*: Campbell heroically keeps all this, 'the Epic use of *τε*': but the Epic use is *γάρ τε*, not *τε γάρ*: less courageous editors emend. Anacoluthon explains *E.Ph.1313* (if *τε γάρ* is sound: but see Pearson), and *D.xix 159*. In *Lys ii 17* *τε* seems to be answered by *δέ*. In *Pl.R.522B* the speech is interrupted. In *Hdt.i 3.1* read *οὐδέ*, Schaefer.

(3) *A.Ch.557* *ὡς ἂν δόλω κτείναντες ἄνδρα τίμιον δόλω τε καὶ ληφθῶσιν ἐν ταύτῳ βρόχῳ* (almost universally emended: see Tucker): *S.Aj.1312* *τῆς σῆς ὑπὲρ γυναικός, ἢ τοῦ σοῦ θ' ὀμαίμονος λέγω*; (emended by editors generally, though Campbell thinks it 'barely possible that ἢ . . . τε may = ἢ καί'): *El.1416* *Ἔμοι μάλ' αὐθις.—Εἰ γὰρ Αἰγίσθῳ θ' ὀμοῦ (γ' Hermann: Jebb thinks the MS. reading, with τε meaning 'also', 'very awkward, though not impossible')*: *Hp.Prorrh.ii 1* *ἕτερος δὲ τρόπος προρρήσιος . . . ἄλλο τε δὲ σχῆμα προρρήσεων τόδε λέγεται (τε HK: om. vulg.): Prog.20* *οἱ τε γὰρ εὐθέστατοι τῶν πυρετῶν . . . οἱ τε δὲ κακοθηέστατοι (δέ omitted in some MSS.)*. In *Hdt.viii 101.4*, if *τε* is sound, as it well may be, it picks up an anticipatory *γάρ* (cf. pp. 70-72). It cannot mean 'also': nor can it be purely formal, as Stein takes it.)

The passages cited in the last three paragraphs afford little evidence for the sense 'also'. Although three of the most plausible examples are from one writer, Sophocles, the abnormalities seem too strong, and too diverse, to be attributed to the experimentalizing of an individual author.

<sup>1</sup> See Hartung, i 113: Hammer, p. 56: Schmidt, p. 22: K. W. Krüger, *Classen-Steup* and Marchant on the Thucydides passages. For further discussion, see references in *Classen-Steup*.

## Τοι

That *τοι* is to be identified with the (ethic) dative of *σύ* is etymologically plausible and entirely consonant with the usage of the particle.<sup>1</sup> Its primary function is to bring home to the comprehension of the person addressed a truth of which he is ignorant, or temporarily oblivious: to establish, in fact, a close rapport between the mind of the speaker and the mind of another person. As a natural corollary, *τοι* implies, strictly speaking, an audience, and preferably (owing to the intimacy of appeal which it suggests) an audience of one: though in certain combinations (*γάρ τοι, οὐ τοι, ἐπεὶ τοι*) its original force tends to atrophy, and it often does little more than add emphasis. In English, 'you know', 'I tell you', 'mark my words', 'See!', 'Hark!', cover some of the ground: though often gesture, or tone of voice, furnishes the true equivalent.

*τοι*, I have said, strictly speaking implies an audience. We must consider to what extent this limitation holds good.

Epic. Homer, who has *τοι* over seventy times, always uses it in speeches, except for *ὅς δὴ τοι* twice (*K 316: v 289*): *h.Merc.138* *ἐπεὶ τοι (τοι A: om. cett.: ἐπειδὴ M)*. Hesiod has *τοι* thrice in narrative in the *Theogony* (94 (*γάρ τοι*), 126 (*δέ τοι*), 448) and twice in the *Shield* in speeches (110,353). But the great majority of the Hesiodic instances are in the *Works and Days*, where the poet is talking to the 'great fool Perses'. Hesiod has *ἦ τοι* in narrative several times.

Philosophical Epic. *Parm.Fr.19* *οὕτω τοι κατὰ δόξαν ἔφυσάδε*: *Emp.Fr.17.14* *ἀλλ' ἄγε μύθων κλυθι: μάθη γάρ τοι φρένας αὔξει*. Both poets address themselves to an individual (Empedocles to Pausanias: see *Fr.1*), and use the 2nd pers. sing. freely.

Lyric and Elegiac. Pindar uses *τοι* in addressing a victorious

<sup>1</sup> So, doubtfully, Bäumlein: confidently, Nägelsbach and Brugmann (pp. 460, 607, 612). (In many places it is hard to say whether *τοι* is a particle or a pronoun.) This derivation is not invalidated by the use of the particle in addressing a number of people: especially since, as Nägelsbach points out, the use of *ἄγε, φέρε, ἰδέ* is similarly extended. For other derivations, see Hartung (who is unhappy in his treatment of *τοι*) and Kühner.

athlete, Hiero, and Zeus (not to mention the island of Delos (*I.1.6*) and his own *θυμός* (*O.2.90*)), and in addressing his audience. In lyric and elegiac fragments we sometimes find *τοὶ* used in addressing an audience: *Simon.Fr.4.28* πάντα τοὶ καλά, τοῖσιν αἰσχρὰ μὴ μέμικται (in a scholium): *Tim.Fr.6d.40* ἔνθα τοῖ τ[ις Πέρσης] πέδιος ἀνὴρ: in other elegiac passages a context is lacking: *Tyrt.Fr.6.11* (where *μαχώμεθα* and *ὦ νέοι* follow): *Sol.Fr.1.63,65,74*.

In the lyrics of tragedy, where *τοὶ* is far less common than in iambics, there is a marked divergence between Aeschylus and his successors. The Aeschylean chorus often uses *τοὶ* in the air, as it were, without any obvious personal reference: *Supp.88,688, 1047*: *Th.332*: *Ag.362,1001,1014*: *Eu.840*. Sophocles seems to furnish no example of this use: *El.495* and *498* are addressed to Electra, who is still on the stage: in other passages there is a lyric dialogue between chorus and actor (*Ph.837,854,855,1140*: *OC517*), in others, apostrophe (*OT1193*: *OC1578*). This consideration tells against the acceptance of Dindorf's *τοὶ* in *Ph.686* (nor is *τοὶ* in itself appropriate: read, surely, *δ' αὖ*, with Wecklein and Wunder). In Euripides, there is lyric dialogue in *El.195*, and apostrophe in *Alc.570*: *Heracl.906*: *El.1169*: *Supp.379,1006*: *Hel.1358*: *Ph.183*. In *Alc.93* (see Murray), *Ion* 205 the passage is divided between individual choreutae. Only *Andr.774* (*οὔτοι*) and *HF678* remain: in these passages the chorus seem to be addressing the audience or each other. *Or.1498* ἦτοι in the monody of the Phrygian.

(Aristophanic characters sometimes use *τοὶ* in asides or soliloquies: *Lys.919* Ἡ τοὶ γυνὴ φιλεῖ με ('You know, she's fond of me'): *Th.904* ἀφασία τίς τοί μ' ἔχει: *Ec.321* ἡ πανταχοῦ τοὶ νυκτός ἐστιν ἐν καλῶ; so, too, Euripides in *HF1105* (cf. *1094, ἰδοῦ*), and perhaps in *Fr.350* οἴμοι τί δ' οἴμοι; θνητά τοὶ πεπόνθαμεν. But on the whole there is a homeliness and *naïveté* in this use of *τοὶ* that makes it unsuited to serious drama.)

Prose. In historical narrative, *τοὶ* occurs in *Hdt.ii.120* (*δέ τοὶ*) and *iii.33* (*νῦν τοὶ*), and the possibly less vivid *ἦτοι* in *ii.120*. (It is perhaps relevant that Herodotus' history was designed for reading aloud, and that he is fond of rhetorical questions.) In prose treatises, *τοὶ* is exceptionally found in *X.Lac.10.3* εἰκότως δέ τοι καὶ σπουδάζεται οὗτος ὁ ἀγών: *CritiasFr.32* ἄρχομαι δέ τοι ἀπὸ γενετῆς ἀνθρώπου πῶς ἂν . . .; *Anaximenes, Rh.11.30*

([Arist.]1437a38) (reading uncertain). Aristotle has only *οὔτοι*, *μήτοι*, *ἦτοι*, ἢ γάρ τοι (otherwise never γάρ τοι). In set speeches included in a history *τοὶ* is sometimes used: only three times (excluding *ἦτοι*) by Thucydides (*ii.41.4*: *iii.40.4*: *vii.77.2*: in *iii.104.4* *τοὶ*, in a quotation from an Homeric hymn, is probably dative singular): more often by Xenophon<sup>1</sup> (*HGii.3.32*: *4.13*: *vi.16*: *An.iii.1.37*: *Cyr.15.13*: *id. saep.*). Of the Attic orators, Antiphon uses *τοὶ* (excluding *ἐπεὶ τοὶ*, *γάρ τοὶ*) more frequently than all his successors put together (*i.27* (*δέ τοὶ*): *iv.75* (*δέ τοὶ*): *v.48,72,91,94* (*οὔτοι*), *95* (*δέ τοὶ*), *96*). The only other examples in the orators<sup>2</sup> are: *And.13*: *Lys.Fr.59* (*γέ τοι*): *Is.xi.4* (*εἰ δέ τοι*): *D.iii.20* (*οὔτοι*: *iv.18*): *xxxiv.32* (*δέ τοι*: so *S*): *xl.32* (*τᾶν*: *μέντᾶν al.*): *Aeschin.iii.130*. In *Hyp.Eu.11* *τοὶ* has considerable probability. (*D.lii.8* and *Aeschin.i.83* (*μέντοι al.*) are quotations, the former from conversation. I exclude *ἦτοι*, *ἐπεὶ τοὶ* and *γάρ τοὶ*, in all of which, perhaps, the vividness of *τοὶ* is somewhat weakened. Schmidt (p. 40) remarks that *τοὶ* hardly survives in the orators after Antiphon except in the combination *καὶ γάρ τοι*.) In prose dialogue *τοὶ* occurs constantly.

The conclusion which emerges from this survey is that *τοὶ* is exceedingly common in dialogue, prose and verse: is less frequently employed in addressing an audience: and outside these limits is scarcely found at all. We must now consider the various usages: and we shall find that *τοὶ* is far commoner in direct statements than in questions, wishes, commands, or subordinate clauses.

#### I. In direct statements.

(1) In general. *Hom.E.801* Ἡ ὀλίγον οἱ παῖδα εἰκότα γείνατο Τυδεύς. Τυδεύς τοι μικρὸς μὲν ἔην δέμας, ἀλλὰ μαχητῆς: *1259* ὦ ξεῖνοι, τίνες ἐστέ; . . .—Ἡμεῖς τοι Τροίηθεν ἀποπλαγχθέντες Ἀχαιοὶ . . . ἦλθομεν: *A.Supp.370* ἐγὼ δ' ἂν οὐ κραινοίμ' ὑπόσχεσιν πάρος, ἀστοῖς δὲ πᾶσι τῶνδε κοινώσας πέρι.—Σὺ τοι πόλις. σὺ δὲ τὸ δάμιον: *Eu.791* δύσοιστα πολίταις ἔπαθον ἰὼ μεγάλα τοι κύραι δυστυχεῖς Νυκτὸς ἀτιμοπεθεῖς: *V.Heracl.589* μέμνησθε τῶν

<sup>1</sup> In Xenophon *τοὶ* is much commoner in *De Re Equitica*, *De Re Venatoria*, *Symposium*, and *Cyropaedia* than in *Anabasis* and *Memorabilia*.

<sup>2</sup> The indexes to all the orators, supplemented by Schmidt's examination of all the orators, confirm me.

σώτειραν ὡς θάψαι χρεῶν. κάλλιστά τοι δίκαιον: *Tr.* 448 ἢ κακὸς κακῶς ταφήσῃ... Δαναϊδῶν ἀρχηγέτα. κάμει τοι νεκρὸν φάραγγες... θηρσὶ δώσουσιν δάσασθαι ('mark my words'): *Rh.* 432 (after giving an excuse for his tardy arrival) τοιάδε τοί μ' ἀπειργε συμφορὰ πέδον Τροίας ἰκέσθαι ('Such, you must know...'): *IA* 4 Σπεύσεις;—Σπεύδω. μάλα τοι γῆρας τοῦμὸν ἄπνιον ('be sure'): *Ag. Pax* 511 ἀλλὰ πᾶς ἀνὴρ προθυμοῦ.—Οἱ τοι γεωργοὶ τοῦργον ἐξέλλουσι κάλλος οὐδεὶς ('You know, the farmers are doing all the work'): *Lys.* 86 Ἡδὲ δὲ ποδαπή 'σθ' ἠ νεᾶνις ἡτέρα;—Πρέσβειρά τοι ναὶ τῶ σιῶ Βοιωτία ἴκει ποθ' ὑμέ ('She's from Boeotia, you know'): *Hom.* 0272: *Thgn.* 1123: *A. Supp.* 390, 407: *Pers.* 287, 1076: *Pr.* 1040: *Th.* 715: *Ag.* 348, 877: *S. Aj.* 776 (Hermann): *El.* 984: *E. Cys.* 450: *Alc.* 256: *Andr.* 212: *El.* 415, 1008: *Or.* 585: *Ag. Eq.* 683: *Av.* 600: *Th.* 1104: *Ec.* 35, 1150: *Pl. Grg.* 499B οὐ ταῦτα ἀνάγκη, ὦ Καλλίκλεις;—Πάλαι τοί σου ἀκροῶμαι, ὦ Σώκρατες, καθομολογῶν: *Pr.* 316B προσῆμεν πρὸς τὸν Πρωταγόραν, καὶ ἐγὼ εἶπον ὦ Πρωταγόρα, πρὸς σέ τοι ἦλθομεν ('we've come to see you, you know'): *La.* 195A Οὐκ οὐκ φησὶ γε Νικίας.—Οὐ μέντοι μὰ Δία ταῦτά τοι καὶ ληρεῖ: *Phd.* 63A ὁ Σωκράτης ἠσθῆναί τέ μοι ἔδοξε τῇ τοῦ Κέβητος πραγματείᾳ, καὶ ἐπιβλέψας εἰς ἡμᾶς, Αἰεὶ τοι, ἔφη, ὁ Κέβης λόγους τινὰς ἀνερευνᾶ: *Chrm.* 155B: *Phd.* 66B: *Th.* 184D: *Pl.* 264D: *Min.* 315D: *Lg.* 857B: *Hr. Ma.* 304A: *Hr. Mi.* 369D: *Alc.* I 114B: *X. Mem.* 12.46: 6.11: iii 5.1: *Oec.* 3.1: *An.* vi 5.24: 6.34: *Cyr.* v 2.23: vii 3.10: viii 7.17.

A precise classification of the various nuances of *τοι* in statements is impossible. But some sort of rough grouping may be of service.

(2) Boasting. *Hom.* 4405 ἡμεῖς τοι πατέρων μέγ' ἀμείνονες εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι: *E. Or.* 1167 Ἀγαμέμνονός τοι παῖς πέφυκα ('Look you, I am Agamemnon's son'): *A. Supp.* 536.

(3) Threatening. *A. Supp.* 952 Ἄλλ' ἄρσενάς τοι τῆσδε γῆς οἰκῆτορας εὐρήσετε: *Eu.* 729 Σὺ τοι τάχ'... ἐμεῖ τὸν ἴον: *E. Ba.* 516 ἀτάρ τοι τῶνδ' ἄποιν' ὑβρισμάτων μέτεισι Διόνυσός σε: *A. Pr.* 1021: *E. Cys.* 698.

(4) Hortatory, deprecatory, persuasive, soothing, or remonstrating. *Hom. B* 298 αἰσχροὺς τοι δηρὸν τε μένειν κενεὸν τε νέεσθαι: *A. Ch.* 923 (Orestes is weakening here): *Eu.* 727 Σὺ τοι... οἴνω παρηπάτησας ἀρχαίας θεάς (whining: whereas Σὺ

*τοι* in Apollo's retort (729, *v. supr.* (3)) has a sharper, threatening tone): *S. Aj.* 1353 Παῦσαι κρατεῖς τοι τῶν φίλων νικώμενος: *Tr.* 321 Εἶπ', ὦ τάλαιν', ἀλλ' ἡμῖν ἐκ σαυτῆς ἐπεὶ καὶ ξυμφορὰ τοι μὴ εἶδέναι σέ γ' ἦτις εἶ (a caress): *Rh.* 480 ἴθ' ἡμέρας τοι μόχθος οὐχ ὄλης μιᾶς: 801 ἔμπρησον, ὦ γενναῖε· κάγω τοί ποτε τὸν τοῦ Διὸς παῖδ'... τοῦτ' ἐπηξίωσα δρᾶν: *E. Heracl.* 733 Ἐπειγε...—Σὺ τοι βραδύνεις (a gentle remonstrance: 'It's you that are lagging, you know'): *Med.* 344 οἴκτιρε δ' αὐτούς· καὶ σὺ τοι παίδων πατὴρ πέφυκας: 1015 Θάρσει· κάτει τοι καὶ σὺ πρὸς τέκνων ἔτι ('be sure'): *Ba.* 1118 Ἐγὼ τοι, μήτερ, εἰμί, παῖς σέθεν: *Ag. Ach.* 752 Διαπεινᾶμες αἰεὶ ποττὸ πῦρ.—Ἄλλ' ἡδύ τοι νῆ τὸν Δί', ἦν αὐλὸς παρῆ (consolatory: 'Well, that's very nice, you know'): *Nu.* 861 εἶτα τῷ πατρὶ πιθόμενος ἐξάμαρτε· κάγω τοί ποτε, οἶδ', ἐξέτει σοι τραυλίσαντι πιθόμενος...: *Lys.* 84 Ὡς δὲ καλὸν τὸ χρῆμα τιθῶν ἔχεις.—Αἰπερ ἱερεῖόν τοί μ' ὑποψαλάσσετε (impatient): *Hom. E* 873: *A. Ch.* 1056: *S. El.* 624: *Tr.* 1255: *E. Alc.* 38: *Supp.* 379: *Ag. Pax* 1096: *Av.* 1642: *Ra.* 1039: *Ec.* 972: *Pl. R.* 499E ὦ μακάριε... μὴ πάνυ οὕτω τῶν πολλῶν κατηγορεῖ. ἀλλοίαν τοι δόξαν ἔξουσιν, ἐὰν αὐτοῖς μὴ φιλονικῶν ἀλλὰ παραμυθούμενος... ἐνδεικνύη... .

(5) In response to a command. *A. Pers.* 944 Ἴετ' αἰανῆ πάνδουρτον δύσθροον αὐδὰν...—Ἦσω τοι τὰν πάνδουρτον: 1065 Διαινον δ' ὄσσε.—Τέγγομαί τοι: *E. Ion* 205 ἄθρησον...—Πάντα τοι βλέφαρον διώκω: 760 Εἶψ'...—Εἰρήσεται τοι: *Rh.* 571 Ὅρα κατ' ὄρφνην μὴ φύλαξιν ἐντύχης.—Φυλάξομαί τοι: *Ag. Av.* 1437 πτεροῦ.—Νῦν τοι λέγων πτεροῦ σε.

(6) Revealing the speaker's emotional or intellectual state (present or past). *A. Eu.* 968 Τάδε τοι χώρα τῆμῃ προφρόνως ἐπικρανομένων γάνυμαι: *S. OT* 746 ὀκνῶ τοι πρὸς σ' ἀποσκοποῦσ', ἀναξ: *El.* 871 Ὑφ' ἡδονῆς τοι, φιλτάτη, διώκομαι: 928 θαῦμά τοί μ' ὑπέρχεται: *E. Hipp.* 342 Ἐκ τοι πέπληγμα: 433 ἐμοί τοι συμφορὰ μὲν ἀρτίως ἢ σὴ παρέσχε δεινὸν ἐξαίφνης φόβον: *Andr.* 56 Δέσποιν'—ἐγὼ τοι τοῦνομ' οὐ φεύγω τόδε καλεῖν σε: *Or.* 682 Ὅρεστ', ἐγὼ τοι σὸν καταιδούμαι κάρα: 1047 Ἐκ τοί με τῆξεις: *Rh.* 663 Σὺ τοί με πείθεις: *El.* 767 ὦ φίλτατ', ἐκ τοι δειματός δυσγνωσίαν εἶχον προσώπου: *S. OT* 1193: *Andr.* 278: *OC* 517: *E. Med.* 1116: *Ph.* 1327: *Or.* 544: *IA* 1613: *Rh.* 568: *Ag. Eq.* 1355: *V.* 784: *Pl.* 29, 377: *Pl. Euthphr.* 5C Καὶ ἐγὼ τοι... μαθητῆς ἐπιθυμῶ γενέσθαι σός: *Chrm.* 172E Νῆ τὸν κύνα, ἔφην, καὶ ἐμοί τοι δοκεῖ

οὔτω: *Grg.* 454B Καὶ ἐγὼ τοὶ ὑπώπτευν ταύτην σε λέγειν τὴν πειθῶ: *Th.* 177B Οἰδᾶ τοὶ: *R.* 499A.

(7) Conveying a criticism, favourable or unfavourable, of the previous speaker's words. *A.Pers.* 245 Δεινά τοὶ λέγεις: *S.Tr.* 1131 τέρας τοὶ . . . ἐθέσπισας: *Ag.Pax* 934 Εὐ τοὶ λέγεις: *Pl.* 198 Εὐ τοὶ λέγειν ἔμοιγε φαίνεσθον: *Pl.Lg.* 837D Πάντη τοὶ καλῶς, ᾧ ξέει, . . . εἶρηκας.

(8) With the second person singular pronoun (usually accusative), conveying a summons to attention, often peremptory in tone. *S.Aj.* 1228 σέ τοὶ, τὸν ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωτίδος λέγω: *El.* 1445 σέ τοὶ, σέ κρίνω, ναὶ σέ: *OC* 1578 σέ τοὶ κικλήσκω, τὸν αἰένυπνον (in urgent prayer: cf. *A.Ch.* 456: *Ag.Th.* 1145 δῆμός τοί σε καλεῖ γυναικῶν): *E.Ion* 219 Σέ τοὶ, τὸν παρὰ ναὸν αὐδῶ: *Ag.Au.* 274 Οὔτος ᾧ σέ τοὶ: 406 ἰὼ ἔποψ, σέ τοὶ καλῶ: *E.IA* 855: *Ag.Pl.* 1099. *A.Ag.* 1047 Σοὶ τοὶ λέγουσα παύεται σαφῆ λόγον.

(9) Directing a person's eye or ear to a sight or sound: 'See!' 'Hark!' *A.Th.* 369 Ὁ τοὶ κατόπτης . . . πευθῶ τιν' ἡμῖν . . . νέαν φέρει: *Ag.* 1444 ἡ δέ τοὶ . . . κεῖται φιλήτωρ τῶδ' ('and lo! there lies . . .'): *Ch.* 332 Κλυθί νυν, ᾧ πάτερ . . . δίπαις τοί σ' ἐπιτύμβιος θρήνος ἀναστενάζει: *S.Ph.* 855 οὐρός τοὶ, τέκνον, οὐρος: *Indag.* 112 Diehl Ἔα μάλα παλινστραφῆ τοὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία τὰ βήματα εἰς τοῦμπαλιν δέδορκεν: *Carth.Pop.* 1.11 νεῦμαί τοὶ, νεῦμαι ἐνιαύσιος, ὥστε χελιδῶν: *Pl.Ly.* 211C πάρεστι δέ τοὶ αὐτός—οὐχ ὄρας;—Κτήσιππος.

The following are really similar, though the appeal is to the mind, not to the senses. *A.Ch.* 542 κρίνω δέ τοί νιν ὥστε συγκόλλως ἔχειν ('And lo! I interpret it'): 1065 ὄδε τοὶ μελάθροισ τοῖς βασιλείοις τρίτος αὐ χερσῶν . . . ἐτελέσθη: *Pi.N.* 6.11: 7.77: 10.22.

(10) With a proverb or general reflection, far commoner in serious poetry than in comedy or prose.<sup>1</sup> τοὶ is used here to point the applicability of a universal truth to the special matter in hand: it forces the general truth upon the consciousness of the individual addressed: 'Don't forget, please'. Very frequent in

<sup>1</sup> Undue prominence has sometimes been attributed to this use, as though τοὶ invariably or predominantly accompanied gnomic utterance. Thus Jebb on *S.Ph.* 81 'τοὶ would be bluntly sententious'. See also Verrall and Tucker on *A.Th.* 715, and, in correction, Headlam, *On editing Aeschylus*, p. 124: 'That τοὶ always indicates a proverbial sentiment is another notion of schoolboys'.

gnomic writing: e.g. *Hes.Op.* 287, 302, 713, 719, 730: in *Theognis*, every few lines: e.g. 153 τίκτει τοὶ κόρος ὕβριν: cf. *Phoc.Fr.* 5, 8, 11: frequent, too, in *Pindar*, and in the sententious fragments of *Euripides*. The rarity of τοὶ in so markedly gnomic a writer as *Democritus* is surprising: but cf. *Fr.* 229 φειδώ τοὶ καὶ λιμὸς χρηστή. The tense is usually present or gnomic aorist, rarely future (*A.Supp.* 732): but ἐστί is often omitted.

*Hom.* I 158 Αἶδης τοὶ ἀμείλιχος: *M* 412 πλεόνων δέ τοὶ ἔργων ἄμεινον: θ 329 κιχάνει τοὶ βραδὺς ὠκύν: *Alcm.Fr.* 109 πείρά τοὶ μαθήσιος ἀρχά: *Emp.Fr.* 17.14 μαθή γάρ τοὶ φρένας αὔξει: *Pi.O.* 4.18 διάπειρά τοὶ βροτῶν ἔλεγχος: *P.* 2.72 καλὸς τοὶ πίθων παρὰ παισίν: *A.Pr.* 39 Τὸ συγγενές τοὶ δεινόν: *Supp.* 385 μένει τοὶ Ζηνὸς ἰκταίου κότος: *S.El.* 945 Ὅρα, πόνου τοὶ χωρὶς οὐδὲν εὐτυχεῖ: *E.Andr.* 181 Ἐπίφθονόν τοὶ χρῆμα θηλείας φρενός: *Or.* 229 φίλον τοὶ τῶ νοσοῦντι δέμνιον: *Ag.Lys.* 16 χαλεπή τοὶ γυναικῶν ἔξοδος: *Th.* 1130 σκαιοῖσι γάρ τοὶ καινὰ προσφέρων σοφὰ μάτην ἀναλίσκοις ἄν (in *Euripides*' mouth): *Hom.* N 115: Φ 184: Ψ 315: θ 351: τ 43, 592: *Sol.Fr.* 14.1: *Simon.Fr.* 75: *Pi.P.* 2.94: 5.122: *N.* 8.17: *A.Pr.* 277, 698: *S.Aj.* 580, 1350: *El.* 415, 916: *Anl.* 243, 580, 1028: *E.El.* 343, 422: *HF* 101: *IT* 650, 1064: *Or.* 397, 486: *Pl.Smp.* 219A ἡ τοὶ τῆς διανοίας ὄψις ἀρχεται ὁξὺ βλέπειν ὅταν ἡ τῶν ὀμμάτων τῆς ἀκμῆς λήγειν ἐπίχειρῆ; *X.Cyr.* viii 7.15 ἑαυτοῦ τοὶ κήδεταὶ ὁ προνοῶν ἀδελφοῦ: *Pl.R.* 595C: *X.Cyr.* viii 7.14: 7.16 (viii 7.6-28 contains the behests of the dying *Cyrus* to his sons). Somewhat analogous, perhaps, is τοὶ in *Thgn.* 193, marking a typical instance: αὐτός (or ἀστός, Diehl) τοὶ ταύτην εἰδὼς κακόπατρην ἐεῦσαν εἰς οἴκους ἄγεται χρήμασι πειθόμενος.

(11) In negative statements, οὐ τοὶ, οὔτοι. (It is a matter of indifference which we write: the practice of editors varies.) Common in tragedy and (in oaths) *Aristophanes*. Perhaps here, as far more noticeably in the case of γάρ τοὶ, ἐπεὶ τοὶ, the particle loses some of its peculiar flavour, and does little more than add force to the negation.

*Hom.* B 361 οὐ τοὶ ἀπόβλητον ἔπος ἔσσεται: π 187 Οὐ τίς τοὶ θεός εἰμι: *A.Eu.* 64 Οὔτοι προδώσω: *S.El.* 773 Μάτην ἔσομεν.—Οὔτοι μάτην γε: *Aj.* 915 πᾶ κεῖται . . . Αἴας;—Οὔτοι δεατός: *Anl.* 523 Οὔτοι συνέχθειν, ἀλλὰ συμφιλεῖν ἔφ. . . *E.Med.* 469 οὔτοι θράσος τόδ' ἐστὶν οὐδ' εὐτολμία: *Ag.Ec.* 522 Οὔτοι παρὰ τοῦ μοιχοῦ γε φήσεις (ἤκειν με) (elsewhere, *Aristophanes* has οὔτοι



in oaths only, rarely preceded by *μὰ* . . . (*V.299: Th.34*), usually followed by it, the verb being usually in the future: *Nu.814 Οὔτοι μὰ τὴν Ὀμίχλην ἔτ' ἐνταυθοῖ μενεῖς: Eq.235.409 435.698: Ra.42: Th.533: Pl.364: id. sacp.: cf. E.Med.1060 μὰ τοὺς . . . ἀλάστορας, οὔτοι ποτ' ἔσται τοῦθ': Ar.V.1122 is a strong asseveration verging on an oath): *Hom.Γ65: Z335: N151,811: a203: ι27: Archil.Fr.3.1: Xenoph.Fr.16.1: Pi.N.5.16: S.OT629: OC176: E.IT116: El.195: Andr.774: Hdt.viii141.2 Ὠναξ, χρῆσον ἡμῖν ἀμεινόν τι περὶ τῆς πατρίδος . . . ἢ οὔτοι ἄπιμεν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου: Pl.Prt.360E Οὔτοι . . . ἄλλου ἔνεκα ἐρωτῶ πάντα ταῦτα: X.An.vii6.11 (reinforcing a preceding negative) ἀπετραπόμην . . . οἴκαδε ὠρμημένος, οὐ μὰ τὸν Δία οὔτοι πυνθανόμενος . . .: Arist.Metaph.1035a30 ταῦτα δ' οὐ φθείρεται, ἢ ὅλως ἢ οὔτοι οὔτω γε (reading uncertain): *Pl.R.345A,423D: Alc.II143D: X.Mem.14.10: iii12.5: Cyr.viii7.19: Ant.v94: D.iii20: iv18.***

*Οὔτοι*, by itself, in an answer ('No'): *Pl.Alc.II14E ἄλλω γε λέγοντι μὴ πιστεύσης.—Οὔτοι, ἀλλὰ ἀποκριτέον.*

*οὔτοι* . . . *μή*: *S.Aj.560 οὔτοι σ' Ἀχαιῶν, οἶδα, μή τις ὑβρίση. κούτοι: S.Ant.678: Tr.491. ἀλλ' οὔτοι: S.El.137: X.Cyr.vi3.20. γὰρ οὔτοι: A.Supp.884. οὔτοι . . . οὐδέ: X.Cyr.iii1.39 (the MSS. vary).*

(12) In potential clauses, with *ἄν* (not very common in prose). *τοι* often immediately precedes *ἄν*, and coalesces with it by crasis, *τάν*: cf. *μεντάν*. *A.Pr.397 ἄσμενος δέ τάν . . . κάμψειεν γόνυ: Eu.700 τοιόνδε τοι ταρβούντες ἐνδίκως σέβας ἔρυμα . . . ἔχοιτ' ἄν: S.Aj.962 ἴσως τοι, κεί . . . , θανόντ' ἄν οἰμώξειαν: El.582 εἰ γὰρ κτενοῦμεν ἄλλον ἀντ' ἄλλου, σύ τοι πρώτη θάνοις ἄν: OT1469 χερσί τάν θιγῶν δοκοῖμ' ἔχειν σφας: E.Hipp.1043 ἔκτεινά τοί σ' ἄν: A.Ag.870: E.Alc.197: Hipp.1413: IA965. οὔ τάν: A.Eu.888: S.Ant.747: E.Med.867. Pl.Grg.452B Θαυμάζοιμί τάν: Ar.29A δεινόν τάν εἶη: Alc.II104E οὐ γάρ τοι εἶη ἄν θαυμαστόν: R.545C (γέ τοι ἄν): X.Cyr.iv2.46: vi3.20 οὔτοι ἄν.*

*τοι* nearly always precedes *ἄν*, very rarely follows it, the particle gravitating to an early position. But *A.Pers.706 ἀνθρώπεια δ' ἄν τοι πῆματ' ἄν τύχοι βροτοῖς*. (In *Hom.Ody* *τοι* is probably dative singular: *ἐκ τοῦ δ' ἄν τοι ἔπειτα παλιώξιν . . . τεύχοιμι*.)

For *ἢ τάν*, see VI.8 below.

II. So much for *τοι* in statements. In other independent clauses (questions, commands, and wishes) the particle is much less common.

(1) Questions (a rigid line cannot be drawn between questions and statements). *Ar.Ec.321 ἢ πανταχοῦ τοι νυκτός ἐστιν ἐν καλῶ; Pl.Philb.48B Τό τοι νυνδὴ ῥηθὲν ὄνομα φθόνου πότερα λύπην τινὰ ψυχῆς θήσεις, ἢ πῶς; Th.168E Τί δέ; οὐ πολλῶν τοι Θεαίτητος . . . ἀμεινον ἂν ἐπακολουθήσειε λόγῳ . . .; Sph.238E τὸ μὴ ὄν γὰρ φημί. συνίης τοι.—Ναί* (virtually a question): *X.Mem.iii4.10: Oec.8.8: D.lii8.* (In *Hom.N* 219 (*ποῦ τοι ἀπειλαὶ οἴχονται . . .*), 770,772, *Hdt.vii48* *τοι* is, or may be, dative.)

(2) Commands. *Anacr.Fr.88.3 ἴσθι τοι, καλῶς μὲν ἂν τοι τὸν χαλινὸν ἐμβάλοιμι (S.El.298: Ant.473): A.Th.179 φιλοθύτων δέ τοι πόλεος ὀργίων μνήστορες ἐστέ μοι: E.El.659 πάλιν τοι μῦθον ἐς καμπὴν ἄγε: Ar.Av.1229 φράσον δέ τοί μοι: Lys.94 Μῦσιδδέ τοι ὅ τι λῆς ποθ' ἀμέ (Bentley, for μυσιδδέτω): Pl.Grg.461E ἀλλὰ ἀντίθεσ τοι (Crates Com.Fr.15.1).*

Negative commands. *Thgn.155 μήποτε τοι πενήν . . . πρόφερε (μοι Stob.): A.Pr.436 Μή τοι χλιδῆ δοκεῖτε . . . σιγᾶν με: S.Ant.544 Μήτοι, κασιγνήτη, μ' ἀτιμάσης: OC1439 Μή τοί μ' ὀδύρου: Ar.Ach.655 ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς τοι μή ποτ' ἀφῆσθε: A.Pr.625: S.OC1407: E.Med.178 (reading doubtful): Heracl.691: Pl.R.438A Μήτοι τις . . . ἀσκέπτους ἡμᾶς ὄντας θορυβήση. With ellipse of verb: *X.Cyr.ii3.24 διπλῆν ὑμῖν δίκαιον καὶ τὴν εὐωχίαν παρέχειν. Μὰ Δία, ἔφη ὁ ταξίαρχος, μήτοι γ' ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ (μήτοι CE: μήτι cett.). μὴ γάρ τοι: Pl.Grg.505D: Min.319A (τι AF: τοι vulg.)**

(3) Prayers and wishes. *A.Supp.688 καρποτελῆ δέ τοι Ζεὺς ἐπικραινέτω: Ag.974 Ζεῦ . . . τὰς ἐμὰς εὐχὰς τέλει μέλοι δέ τοι σοὶ τῶνπερ ἂν μέλλης τελεῖν.* (But in *Hom.p* 513 *τοι* is perhaps dative.)

III. In subordinate clauses.

(1) Causal, *ἐπεὶ τοι*. *Hom.N382 ἐπεὶ οὔ τοι (β372: υ204: Hes.Sc.110): h.Merc.138 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τοι πάντα κατὰ χρέος ἤνευσε δαίμων (temporal: δὴ M): Pi I.2.45 ἐπεὶ τοι οὐκ ἐλινύσουσας αὐτοὺς ἐργασίμαν: S.El.323 Πέποιθ', ἐπεὶ τάν οὐ μακρὰν ἔζων ἐγώ: E.Andr.540 σοὶ δ' οὐδὲν ἔχω φίλτρον, ἐπεὶ τοι μέγ' ἀναλώσας ψυχῆς μόριον Τροίαν εἶλον: Ar.Pax628 ἐπεὶ τοι τὴν κορώνειῶν γέ*

μου ἐξέκοψαν: *S.OC*433: *E.Cyc.*198: *Pl.R.*595C ἐπεὶ πολλά τοι . . . : *Hdt.*vii 103.3: *Hr.Fract.*16 (ἐπεὶ τοί γε): *Art.*48: *Acut.*2: *X.Smp.*3.4: *Ant.*vi 14: *Lys.*vi 39: viii 18: *D.*iv 2.

Frequently (in Euripides and Plato almost invariably<sup>1</sup>) ἐπεὶ τοι is followed immediately by καί. *E.Med.*677 Μάλιστ', ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ σοφῆς δέϊται φρενός: *Heracl.*507,744: *Andr.*89: *Supp.*879: *Ag.Ach.*933: *Ra.*509: *Hdt.*iii 36: *Pl.Chrm.*154E,162B: *Thl.*142B: *R.*567E: *Hr.Ma.*288C. ἐπεὶ τοί γε καί: *Ant.*vi 9.

ὅτι τοι: *Pl.R.*343A τίτθη σοι ἔστιν;—Τί δέ; ἦν δ' ἐγώ . . . ;—*Ὅτι τοί σε*, ἔφη, κορυζῶντα περιορᾷ: *X.Oec.*1.7.

(2) In conditional protasis, εἴ τοι, εἰ δέ τοι. *Tyrt.Fr* 6.11 εἰ δ' οὕτως ἀνδρός τοι ἀλωμένου οὐδεμί' ὥρη γίγνεται . . . , θυμῷ γῆς πέρι τῆσδε μαχώμεθα: *S.OT*549 Εἴ τοι νομίζεις . . . , οὐκ ὀρθῶς φρονεῖς (countered by *Εἴ τοι νομίζεις* in 551: the tone is defiant): *Ant.*516 Οὐ μαρτυρήσει ταυθ' ὁ κατθανὼν νέκυς.—*Εἴ τοί σφε τιμᾶς ἐξ ἴσου τῷ δυσσεβεῖ* (for the contradictory sense, 'doch', cf. οὔτοι, *S.El.*773, *OT*629): *E.El.*77 *Εἴ τοι δοκεῖ σοι, στείχε*: *Pi.N*4.79: *A.Supp.*387: *Ag.*1659: *S.Ant.*327: *E.Hipp.*507: *Hec.*747: *Ag.Lys.*167: *Av.*1630: *Hdt.*iii 145 ἀλλ' εἴ τοι σύ σφεας καταρρώδηκας, ἐμοὶ δός: ii 120.3: v 39 2: *Hr.Morb.*ii 14,27: *X.An.*ii 1.19: *Cyr.*iii 3.54: *Is.*xī 4.

(3) In relative clause. *Hom.*β88 φίλη μήτηρ, ἣ τοι περὶ κέρδεα οἶδεν: *Orpheus Fr.*21.5 τῇ τοι γάννυα πιαίνεις τῇ σῆ: *Thgn.*221 ὅστις τοι δοκεῖ . . . , κείνός γ' ἄφρων ἐστί: *Pi.O.*6.29 πρὸς Πιτάναν . . . ἔλθειν . . . ἄ τοι . . . λέγεται . . . : *Ag.Th.*899 Ὅποσα τοι βούλει λέγε: *Pi.Fr.*50(61).2, reading doubtful: *Pl.R.*330B Οὐ τοι ἔνεκα ἠρόμην, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, (ἐστίν) ὅτι . . . .

(4) In final clause. *S.El.*1469 χαλάτε . . . , ὅπως τὸ συγγενές τοι κάπ' ἐμοῦ θρήνων τύχη: *Tr.*190 ἀπῆξ', ὅπως τοι . . . πρὸς σοῦ τι κερδάναιμι: *Hr.Morb.*ii 33 μόλιβδον ποιησάμενος ὡς τοι καθίκη πρὸς τὸ ἔλκος: 61 ὅπως τοι εὔροον ἔη.

(5) In indirect speech. *A.Eu.*765 ὀρκωμοτήσας . . . μήτοι τιν' ἀνδρα . . . ἐποίσειν . . . δόρυ: *Pl.Lg.*859E ἴδωμεν δέ ὡς, εἰ . . . , τῶν πάντων τοι καὶ τὰ παθήματα ἡμῖν ἐστίν: *Thl.*190B (see IV.2 below).

(6) μή τοι . . . γε, with infinitive (in *S.Aj.*472 with participle), 'at any rate not', is equivalent to οὐκουν . . . γε in a direct con-

<sup>1</sup> Kugler (p. 7) says that καί is invariably added in Plato: and I find no case where καί is absent, except *R.*595C (above), where ἐπεὶ and τοι are not juxtaposed.

struction. It appears to be confined to Sophocles, Plato, and Aristotle. τοι has lost all, or nearly all, its vividness here. Cf. ἀλλ' οὔτοι . . . γε (VI.1).

*S.Aj.*472 πείρα . . . ἀφ' ἧς γέροντι δηλώσω πατρὶ μή τοι φύσιν γ' ἄσπλαγχνος ἐκ κείνου γεγώς: *El.*518 ὅς σ' ἐπεῖχ' αἰεὶ μή τοι θυραίαν γ' οὔσαν αἰσχύνειν φίλους: *Pl.Philb.*67A ἀπήλλακτο . . . μή τοι τάγαθόν γε αὐτὸ . . . εἶναι: *Epin.*983C δεῖ δὲ . . . μή τοι ληροῦντά γε . . . φαίνεσθαι: *R.*352C ἢ αὐτοὺς ἐποίει μήτοι καὶ ἀλλήλους γε καὶ ἐφ' οὓς ἦσαν ἄμα ἀδικεῖν: 388B-C δεησόμεθα μήτοι θεοὺς γε ποιεῖν ὄδυρομένους . . . εἰ δ' οὖν θεοὺς, μήτοι τόν γε μέγιστον τῶν θεῶν . . . : *Arist.Pol.*1308b15 εἰ δὲ μή, μή τοί γ' ἀθρόας δόντας ἀφαιρεῖσθαι πάλιν ἀθρόας: 1315a10 ἐὰν δὲ ἄρα τινὰ δέη ποιῆσαι μέγαν, μή τοι τό γε ἦθος θρασύν.

In final clause: *Pl.Thl.*168E ἵνα μή τοι τοῦτό γε ἔχη ἐγκαλεῖν (so B).

IV. Position. τοι, being designed to arrest the attention, is usually placed early in the sentence. But:

(1) It fairly often comes early in the apodosis of a conditional sentence. *Hom.*X488 ἦν περ γὰρ πόλεμόν γε φύγη . . . , αἰεὶ τοι τούτω γε πόνος καὶ κήδε' ὀπίσσω ἔσσουντ': *Pi.P.*3.65 εἰ δὲ σώφρων ἀντρον ἔναι' ἔτι Χίρων . . . , ἰατῆρά τοι κέν νιν πίθον . . . παρασχέιν: *A.Ch.*548 εἰ γὰρ . . . , δεῖ τοί νιν . . . θανεῖν βιαίως: *Pi.P.*1.87: *A.Th.*404: *S.Aj.*456: *OT*518 (οὔτοι: 852: *OC*1351: *E.Heracl.*438: *Tr.*409: *El.*363: *Rh.*60: *Supp.*182): *S.Tr.*279: *Ph.*854: *E.Hipp.*1043: *Ag.Ach.*788: *Pl.Epin.*983E εἰ δ' οὖν δεῖ νικᾶν . . . , δυοῖν τοι θάτερα θετέον αὐτά: *Hdt.*i 89,115 (perhaps dative): iii 69 (οὔτοι): *Th.*iii 40.4: *Pl.R.*365E: *Lg.*859E. For ἀλλ' οὔτοι apodotic (*Arist.Pol.*1282a11) see VI.1, below.

Much less frequently after a temporal or relative protasis. *E.IT*111 ὅταν δὲ . . . μόλη, τολμητέον τοι: *Ba.*515 ὁ τι γὰρ μὴ χρεῶν, οὔτοι χρεῶν παθεῖν: *And.*i 3 ὅποσοι μὲν γὰρ . . . , εἰκότως τοι καὶ ὑμεῖς τοιαῦτα περὶ αὐτῶν γινώσκετε. After causal protasis (ἐπεὶ), *Pl.Sph.*261C.

(2) In general, τοι occasionally occupies a late position in the sentence or clause, the arousing of attention being deferred till the crucial moment. *Hes.Or.*319 αἰδώς . . . , αἰδώς τοι πρὸς ἀνολβίη . . . , αἰδώς (cf. 579): *A.Fr.*70 Ζεὺς ἐστίν αἰθήρ, Ζεὺς δὲ γῆ, Ζεὺς δ' οὐρανός, Ζεὺς τοι τὰ πάντα: 175 ἀλλ' Ἀντικλείας

ἄσσον ἦλθε Σίσυφος, τῆς σῆς λέγω τοι μητρός: *Eu.*755 Ὡ Παλλάς, ὧ σώσασα τοὺς ἐμοὺς δόμους, γαίας πατρώας ἐστερημένον σύ τοι κατώκισάς με: *Ag.*V.1192 λέγειν . . . ὡς ἐμάχετο . . . ἤδη γέρον ὦν καὶ πολίος, ἔχων δέ τοι πλευρὰν βαθυτάτην: *Hdt.* 141 πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ καὶ σέ τοι χρεόν ἐστι ἰέναι: *Hr.*Art.47 ἀλλ' ἐσιδέειν γε ἀπρεπῆς ταύτη τοι γινομένη ἢ κατάτασις (τοι *om.* C: perhaps dative): *Pl.*Prt.346D οὐ τοῦτο λέγει, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ ἔλεγε πάντα τοι λευκά: *Th.*190B Ἀναμνησκου δὴ εἰ πάποτ' εἶπες πρὸς σεαυτὸν ὅτι παντὸς μᾶλλον τό τοι καλὸν αἰσχρὸν ἐστίν: *X.*Cyr. vii.5.53 καὶ νῦν δὴ νενικήκαμέν τε . . . καὶ . . . καὶ . . . καὶ μὰ τὸν Μίθρην ἐγὼ τοι ἐχθὲς . . . ('and, by Mithras, yesterday, I tell you . . .'): Anaximenes, *Rh.*Al.30([Arist.]1437a38) ἐκ μὲν οὖν τοῦ παρόντος χρόνου οὕτω τοι διαβολαὶ . . . γενήσονται (τοιαῦται γενήσονται, for γενήσονται, *V<sup>b</sup>*, omitting οὕτω τοι).

(3) Like other particles, τοι is often placed between article and substantive (etc.), or preposition and substantive. *Thgn.*655 σύν τοι, Κύρνε, παθόντι: *Pi.*O.2.90 ἐπὶ τοι Ἀκράγαντι: *S.*Ph.637 ἦ τοι καίριος σπουδῆ: 894 τό τοι σύνηθες: *E.*Hec.606 ἐν τοι μυρίῳ στρατεύματι: *El.*767 ἐκ τοι δείματος: *Ag.*Ec.972 διὰ τοι σέ: *A.*Th.438: *Fr.*22: *S.*OC880,1187: *Fr.*855.1: *E.*Hipp.610: *Fr.*222: *Ag.*Ra.1046: *Pax*511: *Pl.*Phd.108D περὶ γάρ τοι γῆς (60C): *Sph.*261C τό τοι μέγιστον: *X.*Smp.8.18 διὰ γέ τοι τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔργα: *Pl.*Th.190B: *Smp.*219A.

Between a preposition and a verb compounded with it. *E.*Hipp.934 ἐκ τοι πέπληγμαί (*HF*1105): *Or.* 1047 Ἐκ τοί με τήξεις: *Ag.*V.784 Ἀνά τοί με πείθεις.

The order in *X.*Mem.12.46 is strange: Μάλα τοι . . . καὶ ἡμεῖς τηλικούτοι ὄντες δεινοὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἤμεν.

V. Repetition of τοι. *Hom.*K477 Οὗτός τοι, Διόμηδες, ἀνὴρ, οὔτοι δέ τοι ἵπποι (perhaps datives: so, certainly, *T*409 ἀλλά τοι ἐγγύθεν ἡμαρ ὀλέθριον οὐδέ τοι ἡμεῖς αἴτιοι): *S.*Aj.359 σέ τοι, σέ τοι μόνον δέδορκα: *Ph.*1095 Σύ τοι, σύ τοι κατηξίωσας.

VI. τοι combined with other particles. (For καίτοι, μέντοι, τοιγάρτοι, τοίνυν *v.s.vv.*) τοι stands second of the two particles (except in τοι ἄρα, τοι δὴ). On the whole, there is not much cohesion between τοι and the other particle: τοι brings the point home to the person addressed, while the other particle retains its normal

force: γέ τοι is the only combination which bears a meaning appreciably different from that of its component parts: but γάρ τοι also is, in certain authors, distinctive, for reasons given below. Certain collocations are, for no apparent reason, avoided: τέ τοι, quite needlessly conjectured by Buttmann at *S.*Ph.823 (for τέ τοι in *Ag.*Ec.473 γέ τοι should no doubt be read, with Suidas): οὖν τοι. If δέ τοι is allowed, why not τέ τοι, if τοιγάρτοι, why not οὖν τοι?

(1) ἀλλά τοι, ἀλλά . . . τοι.

ἀλλά τοι. *Hom.*v341 ἀλλά τοι οὐκ ἐθέλησα Ποσειδάωνι μάχεσθαι: *Pi.*P.3.19 οὐκ ἔμεινε . . . ἀλλά τοι ἦρατο τῶν ἀπέοντων: *S.*Tr.1239 ἀλλά τοι θεῶν ἀρὰ μενεῖ σ' ἀπιστήσαντα: *E.*Hel.744 ἀλλά τοι τὰ μάντεων ἐσεῖδον ὡς φαῦλ' ἐστί: *Hom.*σ230: *Thgn.*656: *Pl.*Grg.461C Ὡ κάλλιστε Πῶλε, ἀλλά τοι ἐξεπίτηδες κτώμεθα ἐταίρους . . . ἵνα . . . ('But, you know, my dear Polus'): *Prt.*335B: *R.*474A,497A: *Sph.*231C: *Th.*171C: *X.*Oec.12.2: 12.5: *Mem.*12.36: ii.2.7: iii.6.10: *Cyr.*16.9: viii.8.13.

ἀλλά . . . τοι. *Hom.*Φ110 ἀλλ' ἐπι τοι καὶ ἐμοὶ θάνατος: *Pi.*I.4.37 ἀλλ' Ὁμηρός τοι τετίμακεν: *S.*El.298 ἀλλ' ἴσθι τοι τείσουσά γ' ἀξίαν δίκην: *Ph.*1255 Ἀλλὰ κάμε τοι ταυτόν τόδ' ὄψη δρῶντα: *Erich.*Fr.170a1 ἀλλ' αἰεί τοι θεοὶ παρήσαν: *Ag.*Ra.1046 ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοι σοὶ . . . πικαθῆτο: *A.*Supp.952: *Pers.*795: *Ag.*1304: *S.*Aj.743: *Ant.*834: *E.*Cyc.698: *Ph.*1659: *IA*312: *Fr.*133: *Ag.*Pax334: *Av.*356: *Lys.*56: *Ec.*604: *Pl.*Smp. 207C Ἀλλὰ διὰ ταῦτά τοι . . . παρὰ σέ ἦκω: *X.*Oec.4.21: *Cyr.*iv.4.3.

ἀλλ' οὔτοι . . . γε: *Pl.*Grg.450D Ἀλλ' οὔτοι τούτων γε οὐδεμίαν οἶμαί σε βούλεσθαι ῥητορικὴν καλεῖν: *Arist.*Pol.1282a11 εἰ γάρ καὶ . . . , ἀλλ' οὔτοι τῶν εἰδότην γε μᾶλλον (so one MS.).

ἀλλ' οὖν . . . τοι: *E.*IA983 ἀλλ' οὖν ἔχει τοι σχῆμα . . . δυστυχοῦντας ὠφελεῖν.

(For ἀλλ' οὐδέ τοι, see (5).)

(2) αὐτάρ τοι, ἀτάρ τοι. *Hom.*O45 αὐτάρ τοι καὶ κείνῳ ἐγὼ παραμυθησαίμην: *X*181 ἀτάρ οὐ τοι: *E.*Ba.516 ἀτάρ τοι τῶνδ' ἄποιν' ὑβρισμάτων μέτεισι Διόνυσός σε.

(3) γάρ τοι. In writers who use τοι freely, each particle retains its proper force. *Hom.*E265 τῆς γάρ τοι γενεῆς . . . : ρ572 εἶματα γάρ τοι λύγρ' ἔχω: *K*250: *Pi.*P.3.85: *A.*Hg.1040: *S.*Tr.1228: *Fr.*846: *E.*Heracl.435,533,716: *Supp.*312,504: *E.*606: *Hel.*93: *Ag.*Eq.180: *Nu.*365: *V.*588,603,787: *Av.*1225:

*Th.*81,171: *Lys.*46: *Ra.*73: *Pl.Grg.*484C φιλοσοφία γάρ τοί ἐστιν . . . χαρίεν: *Prt.*310C ὁ γάρ τοι παῖς με ὁ Σάτυρος ἀπέδρα: *Hdt.*vii 172.2: *Pl.Grg.*455B,458B,E: *Prt.*314E,340E,349E: *X.Oec.*7.2: 7.18: 13.5: 20.25: *HGiii*3.2: v 1.17. Xenophon, like Euripides and Aristophanes, but unlike Plato,<sup>1</sup> sometimes uses γάρ τοι in assentient answers (see γάρ, VIII.3).

But in writers who only use τοι in the combinations ἐπεὶ τοι and γάρ τοι the particle has clearly lost its vividness and is now merely ancillary. Thus in Isocrates we only find τοι in καὶ γάρ τοι, which occurs eight times: in Lysias (excluding, as spurious, *Fr.*59, γέτοι), only in καὶ γάρ τοι (seven times) and ἐπεὶ τοι (twice). Gorgias *Fr.*8. Aristotle only uses γάρ τοι in ἢ γάρ τοι (*Pol.*1281a12: *Ph.*254a18: *GA*734a16).

(For καὶ γάρ τοι see pp. 113-14.) ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ τοι: *S.Ph.*81 (so *A*).

(4) γέ τοι. In this combination τοι retains its vividness, since γέ τοι is only found in writers who use τοι freely. At the same time, the τοι usually strengthens, and coheres with, the (limitative) γε, so that γέ τοι is practically a livelier form of the much commoner γούν, 'at any rate'.

(i) Giving a reason, valid so far as it goes, for accepting a proposition: a colloquial idiom, common in Aristophanes and Plato. *S.Aj.*534 Μὴ σοὶ . . . ἀντήσας θάνοι.—Πρέπον γέ τᾶν ἦν δαίμονος τοῦμοῦ τόδε ('Certainly that would have consorted well with my genius'): *Tr.*234 δίδαξον, εἰ ζῶνθ' Ἑρακλῆ προσδέξομαι.—Ἐγωγέ τοι σφ' ἔλειπον ἰσχύοντά τε καὶ ζῶντα ('He was alive when I left him, anyhow'): 1212 τᾶλλα γ' ἔργασαι.—Φορᾶς γέ τοι φθόνησις οὐ γενήσεται (partial consent): *Ph.*823 (γε τοι gives a partial confirmation of the belief that Philoctetes will soon fall asleep: γάρ in the line before purports, less cautiously, to give full confirmation: δέ τοι *F*): *Ar.V.*934 οὐ καὶ σοὶ δοκεῖ, ὠλεκτρύον; νῆ τὸν Δί' ἐπιμύει γέ τοι: 1416 ἔρχεται καλούμενός σε τὸν γέ τοι κλητῆρ' ἔχει: *Av.*307 ἄρ' ἀπειλοῦσίν γε νῶν; οἴμοι, κεχήνασίν γέ τοι καὶ βλέπουσιν ἐς σέ κάμέ: *E.Cyc.*224: *Ph.*730: *Ar.Ach.*947: *Eq.*787: *Nu.*878: *V.*912,1146: *Pax*820,821: *Th.*775: *Ec.*76: *Pl.*147,424,1041: *Diph.Fr.*73.6: *Pl.R.*545C Κατὰ λόγον γέ τοι ἄν, ἔφη, οὕτω γίγνοιτο: *Men.*89B

<sup>1</sup> In fact the only place in Plato where γάρ τοι introduces an answer of any kind is *La.*200C (Hoefler, p. 19).

*Eikós* γέ τοι (*Alc.*I 126D): *Cra.*416D Δεῖ γέ τοι (*X.Mem.*iv 2.18): *La* 200D: *Cra.*393B: *Chrm.*159B: *Alc.*I 118C,138A,147E: *Hr.Mi.*367B: *Mx.*236B: *X.Smp.*8.18. Perhaps class here [*Lys.*]*Fr.*59.

(ii) Restrictive γέ τοι in general. *Ar.Nu.*327 Νῦν γέ τοι ἤδη καθορᾶς αὐτάς ('You see them now at any rate, if you didn't before'): *Av.*1614 Νῆ τὸν Ποσειδῶ ταῦτά γέ τοι καλῶς λέγεις: *Eq.*1054: *X.Mem.*iv 2.33: 4.21. In relative clause: *Pl.Lg.*901A τὸν γε θεὸν οὐ ρητέον ἔχειν ἦθος τοιοῦτον, ὃ γέ τοι αὐτὸς μισεῖ (*quos quidem ipse mores oderit*: τοι not in all MSS.). In *apodosis*: *S.OC*1324 κεί μὴ σός, . . . , σός γέ τοι καλούμενος: *X.An.*ii 5.19 εἰ δ' ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις ἠττάμεθα, ἀλλὰ τό γέ τοι πῦρ κρεῖττον τοῦ καρποῦ ἐστιν: *Hier.*1.14 εἰ ἐν τοῖς θεάμασι μειονεκτεῖτε, διὰ γέ τοι τῆς ἀκοῆς πλεονεκτεῖτε.

(iii) Less often, γε is emphatic or exclamatory, and τοι stands more apart. *A.Ag.*1001 μάλα γέ τοι τὸ μεγάλας ὑγείας ἀκόρεστον τέρμα (γάρ τοι *Fl*: γέ τοί δὴ *Fa*): *S.An.*1064 Ἄλλ' εὖ γέ τοι κάτισθι (though this and *Tr.*1107 might be classed under (ii)): *Ar.Pax*509 Χωρεῖ γέ τοι τὸ πρᾶγμα πολλῶ μᾶλλον: *Pl.Grg.*447B Ἐπ' αὐτό γέ τοι τοῦτο πάρεσμεν ('That's just what we've come for, you know': clearly not to be classed under (i): cf. *Euthd.*274A Ἐπ' αὐτό γε τοῦτο πάρεσμεν).

In *Ar.Th.*887 γε goes closely with the preceding καί: Κακῶς τ' ἄρ' ἐξόλοιο κάξολεῖ γέ τοι. In *X.Hier.*6.6 δέ τοι should possibly be read. (If γέ τοι is retained, we should class under (iii): 'Fear, you know . . .'. But Xenophon is adding a new point: 'How perpetually terrified the tyrant is! And fear, besides being unpleasant in itself, ruins everything else'. In such a case asyndeton seems to me unnatural (Introduct. II.4), and I hardly think γε can be quasi-connective here (cf. γε, III.2).)

(iv) γέ τοι δὴ, in sense (i) or (ii) above. *S.OT*1171 Ἡ δοῦλος, ἢ κείνου τις ἐγγενὴς γεγώς:— . . . Κείνου γέ τοι δὴ παῖς ἐκλήξεται: *Ar.Nu.*372 Νῆ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τοῦτό γέ τοι δὴ τῶ νῦν λόγῳ εὖ προσέφυσας (δὴ τῶ νῦν Porson: τῶ νυνί *codic.*): *Pl.Cri.*44A Φασί γέ τοι δὴ: *R.*476E,504A: *Phar.*264B. *Ar.Ra.*1047 is curious: ὥστε γε καὐτόν σε κατ' οὖν ἔβαλεν.—Νῆ τὸν Δία τοῦτό γέ τοι δὴ ('She did that, by Jove!'. The ellipse of ἐποίησε is rather difficult. Merry's 'That's one for you' would need σοί for τοι, an emendation which has crossed my mind).

γέ τοί που: *Pl.Lg.*888E.

(5) δέ τοι. (This collocation is a good deal commoner in Xenophon than in Plato.) Hom. I 654 ἀμφὶ δέ τοι τῇ ἐμῇ κλισίῃ . . . Ἐκτορα . . . σχήσεσθαι ὄτω: Pi. O. 8. 59 τὸ διδάξασθαι δέ τοι εἶδοτι ῥάτερον: A. Pers. 506 πῖπτον δ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν ἠτύχει δέ τοι ὅστις τάχιστα πνεῦμ' ἀπέρρηξεν βίου: Hom. π 470: Pi. O. 9. 21: P. 2. 94: A. Supp. 393: Pr. 1021: Th. 179: S. Aj. 1157: Tr. 327: E. Andr. 636: Hel. 253, 747: Ar. Ec. 1150: Pl. Cra. 423D (δέ τι BT): Ly. 211C: X. Oec. 7. 41: Ap. 7: HG ii 3. 32: An. ii 1. 19: iii 1. 37: Cyr. iii 3. 54: Lac. 10. 3.

καὶ . . . δέ τοι, Xenophon only (Xenophon favours καὶ . . . δέ). X. Cyr. viii 3. 44: HG vi 1. 16: Oec. 8. 8.

οὐδέ τοι. Hom. N 252 ἦέ τευ ἀγγελίης μετ' ἐμ' ἤλυθες; οὐδέ τοι αὐτὸς ἦσθαι ἐνὶ κλισίῃσι λιλαίομαι: ρ 17 ὦ φίλος, οὐδέ τοι αὐτὸς ἐρύκεσθαι μενεαίνω. ἀλλ' οὐδέ τοί: S. Ph. 1252: E. Supp. 1068: Pl. R. 395A. καὶ γὰρ οὐδέ τοι: E. IA 1385.

(6) δὴ τοι, τοι δὴ.

(i) δὴ τοι occasionally after relatives in Epic. Hom. K 316 δὲ δὴ τοι εἶδος μὲν ἔην κακός: X 12: Ω 731: υ 289: Hes. Op. 385: Th. 1015.

There are a few examples of δὴ τοι in prose: Th. ii 41. 4 μετὰ μεγάλων δὲ σημείων καὶ οὐ δὴ τοι ἀμάρτυρόν γε τὴν δύναμιν παρασχόμενοι: Pl. Prt. 311E τί τοιοῦτον (ὄνομα) περὶ Πρωταγόρου ἀκούομεν;—Σοφιστὴν δὴ τοι ὀνομάζουσὶ γε, ὦ Σώκρατες, τὸν ἄνδρα εἶναι ('Well, you know, they call him a sophist': the particles express Hippocrates' embarrassment): Mx. 245C οὕτω δὴ τοι τό γε τῆς πόλεως γενναῖον καὶ ἐλεύθερον βέβαιόν τε καὶ ὑγιές ἐστιν. ὡς δὴ τοι, introducing a sentence, is a Platonic idiom (for ὡς δὴ, see p. 229): Phdr. 242C ὡς δὴ τοι, ὦ ἐταῖρε, μαντικόν γέ τι καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ: Ti. 26B ὡς δὴ τοι, τὸ λεγόμενον, τὰ παίδων μαθήματα θαυμαστὸν ἔχει τι μνημεῖον: R. 366C. (δὴ τοι has been conjectured, for δ' ἂν τοι, in A. Pers. 706. But the combination, as Wilamowitz observes, is not found in Aeschylus (nor in any other dramatist).)

γὰρ δὴ τοι: Hom. O 201.

(ii) τοι δὴ (positive) is generally accepted in S. Ph. 245 Ἐξ Ἰλίου τοι δὴ τανῶν γε ναυστολῶ (δῆτα νῦν *could*). οὔτοι δὴ (Plato only): Cri. 431 ἡ τὸ πλοῖον ἀφίεται . . .;—Οὔτοι δὴ ἀφίεται, ἀλλὰ δοκεῖν μὲν μοι ἤξει τήμερον. Elsewhere always followed by γε, οὔτοι δὴ . . . γε being the negative form of γέ τοι

δὴ, as οὔκουν . . . γε of γοῦν (οῦν, II. 5). Euthphr. 2A οὐ γὰρ ποὺ καὶ σοί γε δίκη τις οὔσα τυγχάνει . . .—Οὔτοι δὴ Ἀθηναῖοί γε . . . δίκην αὐτὴν καλοῦσιν ἀλλὰ γραφὴν ('Well, the Athenians don't call it a δίκη'): Cra. 438D Οὔτοι δὴ δίκαιόν γε: Alc. I 124D: Lg. 656C.

(7) ἦτοι.

ἦτοι . . . ἦ (often ἦτοι . . . γε . . . ἦ) is common in Plato and Aristotle. It is difficult to say what degree of vividness τοι retains here. On the one hand, Thucydides confines ἦτοι, like simple τοι, to speeches: ii 40. 2: vi 34. 2: 38. 2: 40. 1: this suggests that he felt τοι as vivid in the combination. On the other, the frequency of ἦτοι in the matter-of-fact style of Aristotle suggests that for him τοι did nothing more than emphasize the disjunction. In the orators the only examples are: And. ii 2: Isoc. xv 33: D. xiv 40: xxii 32: xxv 51: lviii 7: Aeschin. iii 40: Din. i 50: never in Antiphon (who has simple τοι relatively often), Isaeus, Lysurgus, or Hyperides. (In Lys. Fr. 284, Baiter and Sauppe, *Oratores Attici*, ἦτοι is not, I think, part of Tzetzes' quotation from Lysias.)

A. Ag. 849 ἦτοι κέαντες ἢ τεμόντες: 662: Ch. 497: S. Tr. 150: Ant. 1182: E. Med. 1296: Ion 431: Hel. 1175: Or. 1498: Rh. 817: Hdt. i 11, 137: ii 120, 173: iii 83: Pl. Phd. 68C, 76A, 103A, 104B: id. saep.: X. Mem. iii 12. 2: iv 6. 13: Cyr. iv 5. 22: Arist. Metaph. 1039 a 27: id. saep. (For ἦ γὰρ τοι in Aristotle see (3) above.)

ἦτοι meaning 'or' is very rare. Pi. N. 6. 5 ἦ μέγαν νόον ἦτοι φύσιν (cf. Fr. 123(138) *Antiatt.* in Bekk. *Anecd.* 199. 2 ἦτοι οὐκ ἄρχον ἀλλ' ὑποτασσόμενον Πίνδαρος Θρήνοισ: but perhaps = ἦ τοι here): Pl. R. 344E Ἐοικας, ἦν δ' ἐγώ (sc. τουτὶ ἄλλως ἔχειν οἶεσθαι)—ἦτοι ἡμῶν γε οὐδὲν κήδεσθαι: 400C οἶμαι τὰς ἀγωγὰς τοῦ ποδῶν αὐτὸν οὐχ ἦττον ψέγειν τε καὶ ἐπαινεῖν ἢ τοὺς μύθους αὐτοῦς—ἦτοι συναμφοτέρων τι: 433A τουτό ἐστιν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ἦτοι τουτοῦ τι εἶδος ἢ δικαιοσύνη: Arist. EE 1225b 4.

ἦτοι . . . ἦτοι: Arist. Fr. 144, 1502b 27 ἦτοι ὅτι . . . ἦτοι ὅτι.

(8) ἦτοι = ἦ τοι (variously written ἦ τοι, ἦτοι, ἦτοι, the last accentuation being the correct one: see Schroeder on Pi. O. 2. 3. Wackernagel *Gr. Akzent*: ἦτοι L. & S., 9th ed.). Strictly, τοι serves to bring home a truth of which the certainty is expressed by ἦ: 'Verily, I tell you'. But perhaps τοι here has lost some of its vividness (it is significant that it occurs not infrequently in

narrative, where *τοι* is, generally speaking, rare), and is on its way to becoming a mere ancillary.

Hom. A68 ἦτοι ὃ γ' ὡς εἰπὼν κατ' ἄρ' ἔξετο: 211 ἀλλ' ἦτοι ἔπεσιν μὲν ἀνειδίσον: Δ22 ἦτοι Ἀθηναίη ἀκέων ἦν: H451 τοῦ δ' ἦτοι κλέος ἔσται: Δ24 τοῦ δ' ἦτοι δέκα οἴμοι ἔσαν: γ419 κρήνατ' ἐέλωρ, ὄφρ' ἦτοι πρῶτιστα θεῶν ἰλάσσομ' Ἀθήνην: ε24 οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτον μὲν ἐβούλευσας νόον αὐτή, ὡς ἦτοι κεινοῦς Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀποτίσεται ἐλθῶν; μ61 Πλαγκτὰς δ' ἦτοι τὰς γε θεοὶ μάκαρες καλέουσι: ο6 εὔρε δὲ Τηλέμαχον καὶ Νέστορος ἀγλαὸν υἱὸν . . . ἦτοι Νεστορίδην μαλακῶ δεδμημένον ὑπνω. Τηλέμαχον δ' οὐχ ὑπνος ἔχε γλυκὺς: ω154 ἴκοντο προτὶ ἄστν περικλυτόν, ἦτοι Ὀδυσσεὺς ὕστερος, αὐτὰρ Τηλέμαχος πρόσθ' ἠγεμόνευε: Pi. O. 2.3 ἦτοι Πίσσα μὲν Διός' Ὀλυμπιάδα δὲ . . . Hom. δ238: 0488: Hes. Op. 156.333: Sc. 413: Pi. O. 2.30: 12.13: 13.84: P. 12.13: N. 5.43. (Except in O. 12.13, where a vocative precedes, ἦτοι in Pindar always opens a sentence.)

Kühner (II ii 146) observes that ἦτοι is commonest in Epic, not uncommon in Pindar, but rare in tragedy, and only found there in combination with ἄν or ἄρα. (S. El. 498 appears to be an exception: but possibly ἦτοι may be disjunctive, 'or else'.) ἦ τάν: A. Th. 552 ἦ τὰν πανώλεις παγκάκως τ' ὀλοίατο: S. OC 1366: Ag. Ra. 34. ἦ τᾶρα: E. Alc. 642 ἦ τᾶρα πάντων διαπρέπεις ἀψυχία: 732: Heracl. 651: Hipp. 480, 1028.

(Pi. P. 12.29 is exceedingly difficult: ἐκ δὲ τελευτάσει νιν ἦτοι σάμερον δαίμων. If ἦτοι goes closely with σάμερον, 'verily to-day' (Christ takes the words as a hesitating question, 'Will it be to-day?'), its position is unparalleled. Schroeder takes ἦτοι as answered by the following ἀλλά, in the sense μὲν . . . δέ: but his parallels do not justify his interpretation. Perhaps ἦτοι means 'either', and there is an anacoluthon (Hartung's ellipse of ἦ ὕστερον is impossible).

ἦτοι (= ἦ τοι) μὲν, Epic only. (For an elaborate analysis, see Mutzbauer, ii 20-35.)

(i) With indicative. Hom. A442 Ἄ δείλ', ἦ μάλα δὴ σε κιχά-νεται αἰπὺς ὄλεθρος. ἦτοι μὲν ῥ' ἐμ' ἐπαυσας: T23 νῦν δ' ἦτοι μὲν ἐγὼ θωρήσομαι: T435 ἀλλ' ἦτοι μὲν ταῦτα θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κείται: Hes. Th. 116 ἦτοι μὲν πρῶτιστα Χάος γένητ': 1004 αὐτὰρ Νηρῆος κοῦραι, ἀλίσιον γέροντος, ἦτοι μὲν Φῶκον Ψαμάθη τέκε: Hom. E809: τ124, 560.

(ii) (Rarely) with imperative or optative. Hom. Π451 ἀλλ' εἰ τοι φίλος ἐστὶ . . . , ἦτοι μὲν μιν ἔασον: κ271 Εὐρύλοχ', ἦτοι μὲν σὺ μὲν' αὐτοῦ: P509: μ385. In *arodosi*: Hom. Δ18 εἰ δ' . . . , ἦτοι μὲν οἰκέοιτο πόλις Πριάμοιο ἀνακτος.

(9) τοι ἄρα, ἄρα τοι. E. HF623 καλλίονές τᾶρ' εἴσοδοι τῶν ἐξόδων πάρεσιν ὑμῖν ('So your going in is happier than your coming out, eh?'): Ion 337 ἀλλ' αἰδούμεθα.—Οὐ τᾶρα πράξεις οὐδέν: Ag. Ra. 253 Δεινά τᾶρα πεισόμεσθα: Eq. 366 Νῆ τὸν Ποσειδῶ κάμει τᾶρα . . . : A. Ag. 1252 (Hartung): Cho. 112, 221: 224 (Bamberger): Fr. 363: S. El. 404: Tr. 322: OC 1442: Ph. 1253: E. Med. 703: Hel. 85: Or. 1335: Hipp. 441: Ph. 712: IA 1189<sup>1</sup>: Ag. V. 299, 1262: Av. 895, 1017: Lys. 20, 435: Ra. 656: Hdt. viii 57.2 εἶπε. Οὐ τοι ἄρα, ἦν . . . , οὐδὲ περὶ μῆς ἔτι πατρίδος ναυμαχήσεις. In *arodosi*: Philol. Fr. 2 ἐπεὶ τοίνυν φαίνεται . . . , δῆλόν τᾶρα ὅτι . . .

ἦτᾶρα . . . ἦ . . . : E. Fr. 645.5.

For ἦ τᾶρα, see (8) above.

ἄρ τοι: Hes. Op. 372 πίστιες ἄρ τοι ὁμῶς καὶ ἀπιστίαι ὤλεσαν ἄνδρας.

(10) νύ τοι. Hom. XII ἦ νύ τοι οὐ τι μέλει Τρώων πόνος: Hes. Op. 424. (In Hom. T421 read probably τό.) νύν τοι: Hdt. iii 33 οὐ νύν τοι ἀεικὲς οὐδὲν ἦν . . .

(11) οὔτοι μὲν οὖν: Pl. Phdr. 271B.

## Καίτοι

This compound is not found in Homer or in Hesiod: (in Hom. N 267 Καί τοι ἐμοί . . . , καί goes closely with ἐμοί ('Know that for me too . . .'): in ζ32 τοι is dative singular): Sappho 68.7 is perhaps the earliest example. The primary force is, no doubt, 'and, I would have you know'. But the purely connective sense is, throughout classical Greek, far less common than the secondary, adversative sense, which is the only meaning borne by the particle in so early a writer as Aeschylus (in whom καίτοι is only found

<sup>1</sup> Here I am convinced that οὐ τᾶρα συνετοῖς (Wecklein) is the true reading, with no question-mark at the end of the sentence: E. Soph. 496 is closely similar.



three times, in *Pr.*: *Eu.* 848 is corrupt). The connective sense, though *prima facie* the earlier, makes its appearance, in fact, later than the adversative: while with *καὶ μὴν* the contrary is the case. The evolution of an adversative sense from a connective is not a difficult process: and we have seen that simple *καί* is occasionally used (see *καί*, I, 8) where an adversative force is implied by the context: see also *καὶ μὴν*, (8). There is usually a certain combative tone in *καίτοι*. For this reason it is not common in unimpassioned, cold-blooded exposition. It is significant that out of 24 Thucydidean examples all except i 10.2 are from speeches (viii 72.1 reported speech).

(1) Adversative. (I will take this, as the commoner use, first.)

(i) In general. *καίτοι* introduces an objection (often couched in interrogative form) of the speaker's own, which tends to invalidate, or cast doubt upon, what he has just said, or to make it appear surprising: or is, in general, opposed to it in tendency: 'yet', 'and yet'. For the very rare use of *καίτοι* in answers (where *καὶ μὴν* usually takes its place) see (v).

*A.Pr.* 439 δάπτομαι κέαρ, ὄρων ἐμαυτὸν ὧδε προσελούμενον. *καίτοι* θεοῖσι . . . γέρα τίς ἄλλος ἢ γὰρ παντελῶς διώρισεν; *S.El.* 520 οὐδὲν ἐντρέπη ἐμοῦ γὰρ *καίτοι* πολλὰ πρὸς πολλοὺς με δὴ ἐξεῖπας ὡς θρασεῖα: *Ant.* 948 Ἔτλα καὶ Δανάας οὐράνιον φῶς ἀλλάξαι δέμας . . .: *καίτοι* καὶ γενεᾷ τίμιος . . . καὶ . . .: *E.Alc.* 648 οὐδ' ἐτόλμησας θανεῖν τοῦ σοῦ πρὸ παιδὸς . . . *καίτοι* καλὸν γ' ἂν τόνδ' ἀγῶν' ἠγωνίσω: *Or.* 1668 οὐ ψευδόμαντις ἦσθ' ἄρ', ἀλλ' ἐτήτυμος: *καίτοι* μ' ἐσῆι δεῖμα, μή τινος κλύων ἀλαστόρων δόξαιμι σὴν κλύειν ὅσα: *Ag.Nu.* 876 πῶς ἂν μάθοι ποθ' οὗτος . . .; *καίτοι* γὰρ ταλάντου τοῦτ' ἔμαθεν Ὑπέρβολος: *Pi.I.* 4.52: *A.Pr.* 642: *S.Aj.* 158, 441.552: *El.* 338: *OT* 393, 1455: *Ant.* 904: *OC* 270, 775, 919: *E.Alc.* 290: *El.* 1080: *Ion* 352: *IT* 720: *Ag.Ach.* 357, 611; *Eq.* 885, 977: *Nu.* 921, 1045: *V.* 980, 1301: *Av.* 264: *Lys.* 509, 905, 1030: *Ec.* 20: *Pl.R.* 350E . . . ἐπειδήπερ οὐκ ἔᾶς λέγειν. *καίτοι* τί ἄλλο βούλει; *La.* 195E (an objection put in the form of a dilemma): *Euthd.* 289D Ἰκανὸν μοι δοκεῖς . . . τεκμήριον λέγειν, ὅτι οὐχ αὐτὴ ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν λογοποιῶν τέχνη . . . *καίτοι* ἐγὼ ὦμην ἐνταῦθά που φανήσεσθαι τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἣν δὴ πάλαι ζητοῦμεν: *Phdr.* 272B Ἀδύνατόν που . . . ἄλλως (ἀποδέχεσθαι λεγομένης λό-

γων τέχνης): *καίτοι* οὐ σμικρὸν γὰρ φαίνεται ἔργον: *Ion* 539E ἢ οὕτως ἐπιλήσμων εἶ; *καίτοι* οὐκ ἂν πρέποι γὰρ ἐπιλήσμονα εἶναι ῥαψωδὸν ἄνδρα (*deprecantis*): *Isoc.* iv 11 *καίτοι* τινὲς ἐπιτιμῶσι (introducing an adverse criticism: cf. iv 138): *Hdt.* ii 148: iii 80, 152: *Th.* i 10.2: 37.5: vii 77.2: *Pl.Ap.* 17A, 24A, D, 41D: *La.* 199C: *Phdr.* 228A: *Ly.* 214E: *Euthd.* 299B: *Men.* 99E: *R.* 362D, 596E: *X.Oec.* 14.4: *Ant.* v 53: *Isoc.* vi 11: viii 86: *D.* xv 5: xviii 108, 171: xlv 23.

(ii) Used by a speaker in pulling himself up abruptly: the sharper 'but' is sometimes perhaps a better translation here than the quieter 'yet': though, strictly, 'but' is *ἀλλά*, *ἀλλὰ γάρ*, *ἀτάρ*, rather than *καίτοι*. *A.Pr.* 101 *καίτοι* τί φημι; *S.Aj.* 855 ὦ θάνατε θάνατε, νῦν μ' ἐπίσκεψαι μολῶν: *καίτοι* σὲ μὲν κάκει προσαιδέσω ξυνών: *OC* 1132 *καίτοι* τί φωνῶ; *E.Med.* 1049 χαιρέτω βουλευματα. *καίτοι* τί πάσχω; (*Ion* 1385): *HF* 501 ἐγὼ δὲ σέ, ὦ Ζεῦ, . . . αὐδῶ . . . ἀμύνειν . . . *καίτοι* κέκλησαι πολλάκις μάτην πονῶ: *Ph.* 695 Χώρει σὺ καὶ κόμιζε . . . Κρέοντ' . . . *καίτοι* ποδῶν σῶν μόχθον ἐκλύει παρών: *Ag.Ach.* 466 Ἀπέρχομαι. *καίτοι* τί δράσω; *Lys.* 926 ἐκδύομαι. *καίτοι*, τὸ δεῖνα, προσκεφάλαιον οὐκ ἔχεις: *Ra.* 1304 ἐνεγκάτω τις τὸ λύριον. *καίτοι* τί δεῖ λύρας ἐπὶ τούτων; *Ec.* 299: *Pl.Cra.* 401E δίκαιον ῥέαν καὶ Κρόνον ἐπισκέψασθαι. *καίτοι* τό γὰρ τοῦ Κρόνου ὄνομα ἤδη διήλθομεν: *Th.* 164C Τί οὖν δῆτ' ἂν εἴη ἐπιστήμη; πάλιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὡς ἔοικεν, λεκτέον. *καίτοι* τί ποτε μέλλομεν, ὦ Θεαίτητε, δρᾶν; *Lg.* 708E ἔοικα . . . ἐρεῖν τι καὶ φαῦλον . . . *καίτοι* τί ποτε δυσχεραίνω; *Hr.Mi.* 368D *καίτοι* τό γὰρ μνημονικὸν ἐπελαθόμεν σου . . . τέχνημα ('But I've forgotten your *memoria technica*').

This use is hardly to be found in the orators. *And.* iv 10 ἀναμνησάμενος βούλομαι. *καίτοι* ἀπορῶ γὰρ . . . πόθεν ἄρξομαι, quoted by Schmidt (p. 48), is not really a true example: the speaker does not go back on his own words here.

(iii) Not infrequently (particularly in Plato, whose characteristic fullness of style this idiom suits) the objection introduced by *καίτοι* is countered, palliated, or modified by a following adversative clause. *E.Hipp.* 1297 ἄκουε, Θεσεῦ, σῶν κακῶν καταστασιν: *καίτοι* προκόψω γ' οὐδέν, ἀλγυνῶ δέ σε. ἀλλ' ἐς τόδ' ἦλθον . . .: *Hel.* 950 'I will not weep. *καίτοι* λέγουσιν ὡς πρὸς ἀνδρὸς εὐγενοῦς ἐν ξυμφοραῖσι δάκρυ' ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν βαλεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τοῦτο τὸ καλόν, εἰ καλὸν τόδε, αἰρήσομαι γώ': *Ag.Ra.* 43

Οὐ τοι . . . δύναμαι μὴ γελᾶν· καίτοι δάκνω γ' ἑμαυτόν· ἀλλ' ὁμως γελῶ: *E. Andr.* 220: *Pl. Euthphr.* 3C καταγελωσιν ὡς μαινομένου· καίτοι οὐδὲν ὅτι οὐκ ἀληθὲς εἶρηκα ὧν προεῖπον, ἀλλ' ὁμως φθονοῦσιν ἡμῖν: *Prm.* 128B σὺ δ' οὖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ γράμματος οὐ πανταχοῦ ἤσθησαι. καίτοι . . . εὐ μεταθεῖς τε καὶ ἰχνεύεις τὰ λεχθέντα· ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν σε τοῦτο λανθάνει: *La.* 183C (καίτοι . . . δέ), 186C, 194A: *Ar.* 40B: *Men.* 80B: *Grg.* 499C: *Smp.* 177E: *Phd.* 68E (bis): *Prm.* 136E: *Lg.* 707E (καίτοι . . . δὲ δὴ): *D.* xviii 219: xxi 62.

(iv) A variant of the above is the forecasting of the following adversative by μὲν. In such cases 'καίτοι covers the μὲν clause only: so that δέ, while formally balancing μὲν, really goes behind μὲν to answer καίτοι' (R.W.C.). *Pl. R.* 532D ἀποδέχομαι οὕτω. καίτοι παντάπασί γέ μοι δοκεῖ χαλεπὰ μὲν ἀποδέχεσθαι εἶναι, ἄλλον δ' αὖ τρόπον χαλεπὰ μὴ ἀποδέχεσθαι: *Criti.* 107A τοῦτο παραιτοῦμαι. . . . καίτοι σχεδὸν μὲν οἶδα παραίτησιν . . . ἀγροικοτέραν μέλλων παραιτεῖσθαι, ῥητέον δὲ ὁμως: *Lg.* 809C. Cf. *R.* 595B, where the μὲν clause introduces a fresh sentence.

(v) καίτοι, though it belongs properly to continuous discourse, is occasionally used at the opening of a speech, where its place is normally taken by καὶ μὴν. *S. Ph.* 1257 Καίτοι σ' εἰώσω (here Odysseus' change of intention ignores Neoptolemus' words, to which he hardly listens: see Jebb): *Pl. Phdr.* 241D ἀλλ' ἤδη σοι τέλος ἔχεται ὁ λόγος.—Καίτοι ᾧμην γε μεσοῦν αὐτόν. In *Ar. Ec.* 47 Cobet's καίτοι, for καί μοι, must be right: but it is by no means certain that a speech opens at καίτοι.

(vi) καίτοι in parenthesis. καίτοι being the characteristic means of expressing an objection or reservation in continuous discourse, it is not surprising that it should be used in parentheses. *Ar. Lys.* 1035 Ἄλλ' ἀποψήσω σ' ἐγώ, καίτοι πάνυ πονηρὸς εἶ, καὶ φιλήσω: *Pl. R.* 414D Λέγω δὴ—καίτοι οὐκ οἶδα ὁποῖα τόλμη . . . χρώμενος ἐρῶ—καὶ ἐπιχειρήσω . . .: *Plt.* 284C: *Lg.* 723D, 728E. The parenthetical nature of the καίτοι clause is particularly obvious when it is sandwiched in between antithetically balanced clauses: *Pl. Phdr.* 264E μὲν . . . καίτοι . . . δέ (*R.* 339A): *Cra.* 423D πρῶτον μὲν . . . καίτοι . . . ἔπειτα. In *Alc.* 1108E the καίτοι clause is less definitely isolated. (Punctuation in these cases is not always an easy matter: but to put a comma at the beginning of the καίτοι clause and a colon at the end of it, as

the Oxford text does in the last two passages, gives the misleading impression that the particle introduces a subordinate clause.)

*Isoc.* vi 14 καίτοι . . . εἰπεῖν is hardly a regular parenthesis: there is anacoluthon here and in x 42. In the following the verb is exceptionally omitted: *Hp. Art.* 14 οὔτε γὰρ μόνιμα οὐδένα χρόνον, οὐδ' εἰ κατακέοιτό τις—καίτοι ἐγγυτάτω ἂν οὕτως—: *D.* xx 117 συγχωρῶ καὶ ὑμᾶς ταῦτό τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, καίτοι τοῦτό γ' αἰσχρὸν ὁμοίως (so H. Wolf: text doubtful).

(vii) At the same time, the use of καίτοι in parentheses shows a tendency on its part to develop from an adversative particle introducing a main clause into a concessive particle introducing a subordinate clause (an opposite evolution to that of *quamquam*). And this explains the concessive use of καίτοι with the participle, very rare and dubious in classical, but common in later authors (e.g. *Philostr. Imag.* ii 9.1: 29.1).

*Simon. Fr.* 4.5 οὐ δέ μοι ἐμμελέως τὸ Πιπτάκειον νέμεται, καίτοι σοφοῦ παρὰ φωτὸς εἰρημένον: *Ar. Ec.* 159 ἀνὴρ ὧν τὸ θεῶν κατώμοσας, καίτοι τὰ γ' ἄλλ' εἰποῦσα δεξιώτατα (εἶπας σύ, Blaydes): *Lys.* xxxi 34 καίτοι πολλά γε παραλιπῶν: *Pl. R.* 511D καίτοι νοητῶν ὄντων μετὰ ἀρχῆς: [*Pl.*] *Ar.* 364B καίτοι γε . . . διαχλευάζων: *Arist. HA* 541a 10 καίτοι κύστιν ἔχουσα: *Met.* 369a 20 καίτοι πεφυκότος ἄνω τοῦ θερμοῦ φέρεσθαι παντός: [*Arist.*] *Mu.* 397a 28, 398b 26, 399a 3: *Pr.* 929a 16: Further, in *Hdt.* viii 53.1 καίτοι περ ἀποκρήμνου ἐόντος τοῦ χώρου is the reading of *ABCP* (καίπερ *DRSV*).

Bolling maintains (*AJP.* 1902, 319–21 and again *Language* 1935, 261) that καίτοι with the participle is wholly post-classical: he explains *Simon. Fr.* 4.5 as a parenthesis, emends *Pl. R.* 511D and *Lys.* xxxi 34, and suggests that in *Ar. Ec.* 159 Praxagora's 'syntax reveals her sex', like the νῆ τὸ θεῶν to which she takes exception.

(2) Continuative. The purely continuative use of καίτοι (as distinct from the syllogistic, or argumentative, use examined below) is rare, and hardly to be found at all in verse. In *S. Tr.* 719 Jebb's 'howbeit' gives the right idea: Deianeira regards her intended suicide as in some manner compensating her unintentional homicide. In *E. Andr.* 662 καίτοι φερ' is almost equivalent to ἀτάρ, and marks something of a new departure.

Hr. VM3 'Animals live on grass, and so on. *καίτοι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔγωγε ἀξιώ καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοιαύτη τροφῇ κεχρησθαι*' ('And indeed'): *Cord.8 ἔστι δὲ ὄργανα τοῖσιν ἢ φύσις ἀρπάζει τὸν ἥερα. καίτοι δοκέω τὸ ποίημα χειρώνακτος ἀγαθοῦ*: Pl.R.440D ὡσπερ κύων . . .;—Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, ἔοικε τούτῳ ᾧ λέγεις· καίτοι γ' ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ πῶλει τοὺς ἐπικούρους ὡσπερ κύνας ἐθέμεθα ('And in fact'): 583B Ταῦτα . . . δὴ ἐφεξῆς ἂν εἶη καὶ δις νενικηκῶς ὁ δίκαιος τὸν ἀδικόν· τὸ δὲ τρίτον . . ., ἄθρει ὅτι . . . καίτοι τοῦτ' ἂν εἶη μέγιστόν τε καὶ κυριώτατον τῶν πτωμάτων ('And this, in fact, would seem to be the decisive round'): Ion 533C καίτοι ὄρα τοῦτο τί ἔστιν ('Now consider what the meaning of this is': the only place, apparently, where Plato uses *καίτοι* with the imperative: Hoefel, p. 30): Cra.418D Νῦν δέ γε τετραγῶδη- μένον οὐδ' ἂν κατανοήσαις ὅτι βούλεται ἡ "ἡμέρα". καίτοι τινὲς οἴονται, ὡς δὴ ἡ ἡμέρα ἡμερα ποιεῖ, διὰ ταῦτα ὠνομάσθαι αὐτὴν οὕτως ('And in fact some people actually suppose . . .'): X.An.1.4.8 'I could catch the deserters if I chose: but I do not choose. καίτοι ἔχω γε αὐτῶν καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας . . . ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τούτων στερήσονται' (a new point: 'Again'): Theopomp.Hist.Fr.205 Χάρητος τε νωθοῦ τε ὄντος καὶ βραδέος, καίτοι γε καὶ πρὸς τρυφὴν ἤδη ζῶντος ('and besides': exceptionally, after a weak stop): Ant.v.43 (a new argument, from τὸ εἰκός, reinforces the evidence of witnesses): Lys.vi.13 ('In fact his line will be, not to defend himself, but to accuse others'): D.iii.23 'The old orators were outspoken, the new have ruined their country by their servility. καίτοι σκέψασθε . . . ἄ τις ἂν κεφάλαι' εἰπεῖν ἔχοι τῶν τ' ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων ἔργων καὶ τῶν ἐφ' ὑμῶν': viii.55 'People complain of expenditure. But money spent on national security is not wasted. καίτοι ἔγωγ' ἀγανακτῶ καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο . . . εἰ τὰ μὲν χρήματα λυπεῖ τινὰς ὑμῶν εἰ διαρπασθήσεται . . . τὴν δ' Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν Φίλιππος ἀρπάζων οὐ λυπεῖ': Aeschin.ii.148 'My relations on my mother's side are all free men. καίτοι, ᾧ Δημόσθενες, ἡ μὲν ἐμὴ μήτηρ ἔφυγε μετὰ τοῦ αὐτῆς ἀνδρὸς εἰς Κόρινθον καὶ μετέσχε τῶν πολιτικῶν κακῶν, σὺ δὲ . . .': ('And further'): Hr.Art.35: Fract.27.

καίτοι καί. D.xix.337 οὐχ ἔξει τί λέγῃ, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἄλλως ἐνταῦθ' ἐπαρεῖ τὴν φωνὴν καὶ πεφωνασκηκῶς ἔσται. καίτοι καὶ περὶ τῆς φωνῆς ἴσως εἰπεῖν ἀνάγκη ('And in fact I must say something about that voice of his': but perhaps rather *καίτοι* introduces a

diversion here, like ἀλλὰ γάρ or ἀτάρ: cf. 1.ii above): iv.12 καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο· εἴ τι πάθοι . . . ('Then again there is *this* consideration'): xviii.122 καίτοι καὶ τοῦτ', ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι.

In many other passages (including some cited by Kühner, II ii 152) where *καίτοι* at first sight appears to be purely continuative, a closer examination reveals an adversative or argumentative force. In Pl.Philb.26C *καίτοι* is adversative, looking forward to the δέ clause, πολλὰ . . . γένη being virtually a μέν clause, subordinate in thought. Grg.519B: 'The old politicians corrupted the city, the politicians of to-day will unjustly get the blame. Yet, on reflection, *no* politician *can* be unjustly treated.' In Hdt.viii.68a1, which Kühner cites, καίτοι (dative singular) is probably the correct reading.

(3) Logical. *καίτοι* often marks the transition from premise to premise, almost invariably from minor to major, only very rarely vice versa. It is, however, but seldom so used in formal syllogisms, ἀλλὰ μὴν, δέ γε, etc., being used instead: far more frequently in rhetorical syllogisms or enthymemes. 'The argumentative, not to say quarrelsome, colouring of the group of passages is unmistakable. The common type is a negative or destructive argument of a loose kind. You state your opponent's position or develop its implications; then you place it in its most unattractive light by means of a sentence opening with *καίτοι θαυμαστόν ἂν εἶη* or the like (Isocrates' favourite formula is *καίτοι πῶς οὐκ ἄτοπον . . .*); and leave the rest to the imagination'. 'καίτοι occurs in 125 places in Isocrates. In 68 of these it introduces a rhetorical question, either persuasive in tone, appealing to the reader's good sense, or confuting the adversary with a triumphant *reductio ad absurdum*.' 'καίτοι is constantly found (in Isocrates) with terms of obligation (χρή, προσήκει, δίκαιον, αἰσχρόν), terms of reason and unreason (εἰκός, εὐλογον, ἄλογον, ἄτοπον, καταγέλαστον, οἱ εὐφρονοῦντες), and terms of demonstration (ἐπιδείξαι, φανερόν).' 'In Lysias only 27 examples out of 106 are questions, and in Lysias the adversative value is more pronounced.' (R.W.C.)

(i) Occasionally in a complete syllogism, with conclusion expressed. Hdt.ii.142 'The priests give the period as 341 generations. καίτοι 341 generations = 11,340 years. οὕτως ἐν ἀπόσει

τε ἔτεσι καὶ χιλίοισι καὶ πρὸς τριηκοσίοισι τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἔλεγον . . .': Pl.Tht.148B Καὶ μὴν . . . ὁ γε ἐρωτᾶς περὶ ἐπιστήμης οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην ἀποκρίνασθαι ὥσπερ . . . . καίτοι σύ γέ μοι δοκεῖς τοιοῦτόν τι ζητεῖν ὥστε πάλιν αὖ φαίνεται ψευδῆς ὁ Θεόδωρος: X.Mem.i1.5 πολλοῖς τῶν συνόντων προηγόρευε . . . . καίτοι τίς οὐκ ἂν ὁμολογήσειεν αὐτὸν βούλεσθαι μὴτ' ἠλίθιον μὴτ' ἀλαζόνα φαίνεσθαι τοῖς συνοῦσιν; ἐδόκει δ' ἂν ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτα, εἰ προαγορεύων . . . καὶ ψευδόμενος ἐφαίνετο. δῆλον οὖν ὅτι οὐκ ἂν προέλεγεν, εἰ μὴ ἐπίστευεν ἀληθεύσειν: S.OT855 (conclusion introduced by ὥστε): Hdt.vii10γ2 (ᾧν): Pl.Prt.339D (ὥστε): Chrm.164C (οὐκοῦν): Lys.vi14 (οὐκοῦν): [D.]vii10 (δῆ).

In the following, the conclusion precedes the premises. Ar. Pl.586: Pl.R.522D Παγγέλοιοι . . . στρατηγὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα . . . ἀποφαίνει. Agamemnon couldn't even count. καίτοι ποῖόν τιν' αὐτὸν οἶε στρατηγὸν εἶναι; (here, for αὐτόν, we should expect τὸν τοιοῦτον): R.376B (in this logical structure, composed of two syllogisms, the first major premise is introduced by καίτοι, the second by ἀλλὰ μέντοι, and the conclusion of the whole argument ('the dog is a philosopher') is placed at the beginning. The conclusion of the first syllogism, which is also the minor premise of the second ('the dog is a lover of learning'), is understood): Hdt.iii81. In X.Mem.i6.11 the conclusion both precedes the premises and is repeated after them (δῆλον δῆ ὅτι . . .).

(ii) Far more frequently the conclusion of the syllogism is left to the imagination. Usually the minor premise precedes, the major follows, often in the form of a rhetorical question.

E.Heracl.973 Οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτον ὅστις ἂν κατακτάνοι.—'Εγωγε καίτοι φημί κάμ' εἶναί τινα: HF1320 'The gods sin, but get on very well all the same. καίτοι τί φήσεις, εἰ σὺ μὲν θνητὸς γεγώς φέρεις ὑπέρφεν τὰς τύχας, θεοὶ δὲ μή;' Ar.Nu.1052 Ποῦ ψυχρὰ . . . εἶδες Ἡράκλεια λουτρά; καίτοι τίς ἀνδρειότερος ἦν; (sc. 'therefore hot baths aren't effeminate'): 1428 σκέψαι δὲ τοὺς ἀλεκτρύνας καὶ τᾶλλα . . . ὡς τοὺς πατέρας ἀμύνεται καίτοι τί διαφέρουσιν ἡμῶν ἐκεῖνοι . . .; (sc. 'therefore why shouldn't we beat our fathers'): V.915 Κού μετέδωκ' αἰτοῦντί μοι. καίτοι τίς ὑμᾶς εὖ ποιεῖν δυνήσεται, ἦν μὴ τι κάμοί τις προβάλλη τῷ κυνί; E.Rh.757: Ar.Nu.371,1074,1082: Pl.498,531: Pl.Phd.231C 'The

lover will always desert the old love for the new. καίτοι πῶς εἰκός ἐστι τοιοῦτον πρᾶγμα προέσθαι τοιαύτην ἔχοντι συμφορὰν . . .; (sc. 'therefore don't trust the lover'): Phd.65B 'Are eye and ear infallible? καίτοι εἰ αὐται τῶν . . . αἰσθήσεων μὴ ἀκριβεῖς εἰσιν . . . σχολῆ αἶ γε ἄλλαι' (a fortiori): R.433C Δοκεῖ μοι . . . τὸ ὑπόλοιπον . . . τοῦτο εἶναι . . . . καίτοι ἐφαμεν δικαιοσύνην ἔσεσθαι τὸ ὑπολειφθὲν ἐκείνων: X.HGiv1.35 'If you join us, you will be independent. καίτοι ἐλεύθερον εἶναι ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι ἀντάξιον εἶναι τῶν πάντων χρημάτων': Hp.deArte5: Pl.Cri.44C: Phd.73A: Grg.452E: R.360C: Hp.Mi.372C: Lg.656B: 801C: X.HGiii5.14: iv1.36: 8.5 (a fortiori): 8.14: Mem.i7.2: iii14.6: Cyr.iii3.19: v4.25: Ages.6.4: Antvi47,48: Isoc.iv25,31,37: D.ix16: xviii137,215,264: xix146: Lycurg.37.

(iii) If the relationship of the καίτοι sentence to the preceding sentence is regarded in isolation, apart from the role played by both in a syllogistic structure, it is usually adversative in tone. S.Aj.1071 οὐ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅπου λόγων ἀκοῦσαι ζῶν ποτ' ἠθέλησ' ἐμῶν. καίτοι κακοῦ πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀνδρα δημότην μηδὲν δικαιοῦν τῶν ἐφεστῶτων κλύειν (the καίτοι clause, considered by itself, revolts against such indiscipline: regarded as a major premise, 'and that is how a bad man behaves', it leads on to the implied conclusion, 'therefore Ajax was a bad man'): E.Tr.671 (an a fortiori argument). In tragedy, the syllogistic force of καίτοι is still, perhaps, in its infancy. Pl.Phd.77A Ἰκανῶς (sc. ἀποδείχθαι Κέβητι δοκεῖ) . . . : καίτοι καρτερώτατος ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶν πρὸς τὸ ἀπιστεῖν τοῖς λόγοις (Cebe's normal scepticism is contrasted with his openness to conviction on the present occasion: at the same time, the fact that he is convinced is an indication, a fortiori, that anybody else must be convinced): Grg.482B (deprecantis, recoiling from the contemplation of discord in the soul): Prt.317C ὥστε . . . μηδὲν δεινὸν πάσχειν διὰ τὸ ὁμολογεῖν σοφιστῆς εἶναι. καίτοι πολλά γε ἔτη ἤδη εἰμὶ ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ (his immunity from harm is contrasted with the frequency of his opportunities for suffering harm: at the same time, the conclusion is implied, 'Therefore, if one admits one is a sophist, there is no danger').

Far less frequently, the relationship of the καίτοι sentence to the preceding sentence, regarded in isolation, is positive in tone. Pl.Tht.187C ἐὰν γὰρ οὕτω δρῶμεν, δυοῖν θάτερα, ἢ εὐρήσομεν ἐφ'

δ' ἐρχόμεθα, ἢ ἦττον οἰησόμεθα εἰδέναι δ' μηδαμῆ ἴσμεν· καίτοι οὐκ ἂν εἴη μεμπτὸς μισθὸς ὁ τοιοῦτος ('and that is a reward worth having': an adversative force would be inappropriate here). Cf. *Pl.R.* 433C, *Hr.Mi.* 372C, *Phd.* 73A, and other passages cited under (ii) above.

The syllogistic use may perhaps be regarded as descended both from the adversative and from the simple connective use. (The same may be said of other syllogistic particles, δέ γε, ἀλλὰ μὲν, καὶ μὲν.)

(4) καίτοι combined with other particles.

(i) καίτοι γε, καίτοι . . . γε. An emphatic word following καίτοι is often stressed by γε. The juxtaposition καίτοι γε is much rarer.<sup>1</sup>

καίτοι γε: *Hippon.Fr.* 31: *E.IT* 720: *Fr.* 953.10 (spurious): *Ar.* *Ach.* 611: *Nu.* 876: (doubtful at *Lys.* 1035): *Hdt.* vii 9β1 (γε *om.* ABC): *Hr.Prorrh.* ii 2: *Acut.* 9.14: *Pl.R.* 332A, 440D: *La.* 194A (καίτοι ἀήθης γ' *T*: καίτοι γ' ἀήθης *W*): *Min.* 318E (γε *A*: τε *F*): [*Pl.*] *Ax.* 364B, 369A: *X.Mem.* i 2.3: iv 2.7: *Cyr.* iii 1.38 (γ' ἔφη *om.* CEDF): *Arist.Mete.* 370a5: *Metaph.* 1008b23 (*v.l.* καίτοι . . . γε), 1061a20, 1092b7 (γε *om.* Bekker): *Po.* 1454a21: [*Arist.*] *Mu.* 396a33: *Col.* 798b22: *Theopomp.Hist.Fr.* 205: *And.* i 72: *Lys.* i 42: viii 11: xi 7: xxvi 16: D xxiv 113 (καίτοι . . . γε Cobet): vii 12 καίτοι γε πλείους γε (γε *post* καίτοι *add.* SL<sup>1</sup>: *om.* *vulg.*: obviously one γε must go): lviii 36 (καίτοι τὰς γε *A*: καίτοι γε τὰς SQFD): *Lycurg.* 90.

(ii) καίτοι περ. See I.vii above.

(iii) In *A.Eu.* 849 neither καίτοι μὲν (*M*) nor καίτοι γε μὲν (*Fl*, *Fa*) is possible.

καίτοι in crasis: *Ar.Lys.* 509 καίτουκ: *V.* 599 καίτουστίν.

<sup>1</sup> References to authorities in Klotz, ii. 655. Kühner holds that in καίτοι γε, γε stresses καίτοι, in καίτοι . . . γε, the word it follows. But the particles, even when separated, cohere in thought: see γε, V.1.

## Τοιγάρ, τοιγαροῦν, τοιγάρτοι

The first syllable of τοιγάρ, τοιγαροῦν, τοιγάρτοι is quite distinct from the particle τοι, and is allied to the stem *τῷ-*, of which the Homeric τῷ, or rather perhaps τῶ, 'therefore' (later τῶ), seems to be the instrumental case.<sup>1</sup> τῶ τοι is found in *A.Pr.* 239, and is read by some MSS. in *Pl.R.* 409B (τοιγάρτοι *al.*), *Thit.* 179D (τοῦτο *T*), and *Sph.* 230B (καὶ γάρ τοι *T*): cf. [*Arist.*] *Plant.* 825a37: *Philostr.Imag.* ii 14.2. τῶ alone, *S.OT* 510. τῶ, meaning 'therefore', *S.Ph.* 142.

## Τοιγάρ

τοιγάρ, formed by a combination of this τοι and γάρ as suffix, is found in Homer, drama (almost always in iambs, usually first word in the line: very rarely in comedy<sup>2</sup>), and very occasionally in Ionic, though never in Attic, prose. There are no examples in Pindar, and I have noted none in Hesiod or in early Elegiac or Lyric: later Lyric, *Arist.Fr.* 625. τοιγάρ bears a strong logical force, 'therefore', 'in consequence', even 'that is why', never sinking to the rank of a mere progressive particle, 'well', 'now', 'further'. As a natural consequence, it invariably opens a sentence.

(i) In Homer, as Bäumlein points out, τοιγάρ is only used by a person preparing to speak or act at another's request: *A* 76 ὦ Ἀχιλεῦ, κέλευαί με, Διὶ φίλε, μυθήσασθαι . . . τοιγάρ ἐγὼν ἐρέω: δδ 12 Αἴματός εἰς ἀγαθοῖο, φίλον τέκος, οἷ' ἀγορεύεις· τοιγάρ ἐγὼ τοι ταῦτα μεταστήσω (Menelaus to Telemachus, after the latter has declined the gift of horses): *K* 413: η 28: θ 402: *id. saep.* . . . (Otherwise, *Batr.* 152.)

(ii) In subsequent writers, τοιγάρ is used both (*a*) thus and (*b*) in other ways. (*a*) *S.Tr.* 1249 Πράσσειν ἄνωγας . . . τάδε;—Ἐγωγε.—Τοιγάρ ποιήσω: *Ar.Lys.* 901 Μὰ Διὶ οὐκ ἔγωγ' (*sc.* βαδιοῦμαι

<sup>1</sup> Brugmann, pp. 269, 471, 615-16. That τοι in καίτοι, μέντοι is (as Brugmann suggests) this τοι, not the particle, seems to me, on grounds of usage, quite impossible.

<sup>2</sup> Thrice only, in the *Lysistrata*: 516, 901, 902: in the last, Myrrhine mockingly catches up Cinesias' pompous Τοιγάρ, ἦν δοκῶ.

πάλιν), ἢν μὴ διαλλάχθητέ γ' . . . —Τοιγάρ, ἢν δοκῆ, ποιήσομεν καὶ ταῦτα: 902: S.El.29. (b): A.Ch.894 Φιλεῖς τὸν ἄνδρα; τοιγὰρ ἐν ταύτῳ τάφῳ κείσει: Eu.901 μεθίσταμαι κότου.—Τοιγὰρ κατὰ χθόν' οὐσ' ἐπικτήσει φίλους: S.Aj.666 ἐχθρῶν ἄδωρα δῶρα κούκ ὀνήσιμα. τοιγὰρ τὸ λοιπὸν εἰσόμεισθα μὲν θεοῖς εἶκειν: E.Cyc.124 Βρομίῳ δὲ πῶμ' ἔχουσιν . . . ;—Ἡκιστα τοιγὰρ ἄχορον οἰκοῦσι χθόνα ('in consequence'): Med.622 αὐθαδία φίλους ἀπωθῆ; τοιγὰρ ἀλγυνῆ πλέον: Supp.577 Πράσσειν σὺ πόλλ' εἴωθας ἢ τε σὴ πόλις.—Τοιγὰρ ποιοῦσα πολλὰ πόλλ' εὐδαιμονεῖ: Ar.Lys.516 Γυ.<sup>a</sup> Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ ποτ' ἐσίγων.—Πρ. Κἂν ᾤμωζές γ', εἰ μὴ 'σίγας.—Αν. Τοιγὰρ ἔγωγ' ἔνδον ἐσίγων: Arist.Fr.625 (Hymn to Virtue) 1583b22 τοιγὰρ ἀοίδιμος ἔργοις: A.Th.1038: Pers. 607,759,813: Eu.603: Supp.309 (but there is a good deal to be said for Tucker's Τῆ γάρ): 656(lyr.): S.Aj.1389: El.1165: Ant. 931(anap.),994: OC868,1370,1380: Fr.210(doubtful): E.Alc.588 (lyr.),662,859: Med.458,509: Heracl.331: Hipp.687: HF1241: Ion274: Tr.73: El.482(lyr.): Hel.1626: Ba.32,964,1303.

Prose. Hdt.viii114.2 εἶπε· Τοιγὰρ σφι Μαρδόνιος ὄδε δίκας δώσει (the only Herodotean example, Hoffmann, p. 50<sup>1</sup>: τοιγάρτοι, s.v.). The only other (apparent) prose example known to me is Hp.Cord.10: here τῆ γάρ (= ταύτη γάρ) has been conjectured: 'Il n'y a rien à changer', remarks Littré, but he translates 'là, en effet', and τοιγάρ gives a quite unsuitable sense.

### Τοιγαροῦν, τοιγάρτοι

These combinations virtually replace τοιγάρ in comedy and prose, and are also common in tragedy. The ancillary use of οὖν is paralleled in ἀλλ' οὖν, γὰρ οὖν, etc.: that of τοι in καίτοι, and also (though there the particle has more independence) in γάρ τοι, ἐπεὶ τοι. Attempts to differentiate in meaning between τοιγαροῦν and τοιγάρτοι are unconvincing, and the two must be regarded as synonymous. Both particles are strongly emphatic, and sometimes even convey the effect that the logical connexion is regarded as more important than the ideas connected. Hence they approximate in force to διὰ ταῦτα καί, δι' ὃ δὴ καί.

Both particles, as a natural consequence of their strength, are

<sup>1</sup> In iii 3.3 CPRSV read τοιγάρ: τοιγάρ τοι cell.

placed first in the sentence: <sup>1</sup> except that in Hippocrates τοιγαροῦν is invariably placed second: Int.41 αὐτὴ τοιγαροῦν ἢ νοῦσος . . .: Vict 35,89: Int.47: Genit.50. Cf. [Pl.]Ax.365E: [Arist.]Plant.824a34,826a30. (Hoogeveen observes that τοιγαροῦν is sometimes placed second in Lucian.)

τοιγάρτοι first occurs in Aeschylus, τοιγαροῦν in Sophocles: Euripides, I think, has neither: Aristophanes both (once each), Herodotus both (once each). Schmidt observes (p. 44) that τοιγαροῦν gradually tends to replace τοιγάρτοι, and that certain writers show an individual preference for the one or the other. Thus Andocides, Lysias, and probably Aeschines (i 114 is doubtful) use only τοιγάρτοι: whereas Aristotle, Lycurgus, and Demosthenes in the genuine speeches (except for viii 66 and xxiii 203, in both of which the MSS. vary between τοιγάρτοι and καὶ γάρ τοι) use only τοιγαροῦν. τοιγαροῦν alone, I think, is found in Xenophon (who uses it very frequently, at least eighteen times) and Hippocrates. Isocrates, on the other hand, uses both: so does Plato, but he has τοιγαροῦν in late dialogues only (Sophist and Laws) and in the doubtful Alcibiades II (Hoefler, p. 40). In general τοιγαροῦν is about twice as common as τοιγάρτοι.

τοιγάρτοι. A.Supp.654 τοιγάρτοι καθαροῖσι βωμοῖς θεοὺς ἀρέσονται: Ar.Ach 643 τοιγάρτοι . . . ἤξουσιν ἰδεῖν ἐπιθυμοῦντες τὸν ποιητὴν τὸν ἄριστον: Emp.Fr.145: Hdt.iii 3 (see p. 566, n. 1): Th.vi 38.3: Pl.Grg.471C,494D: Smpr.179D: Euthd.276E: La.183A: Phd.82D: Tht.174B: R.454C,568B: Hp.Ma.290A: And.i 108,119: iv 12,22: Lys.xxvi 20: xxxi 24: Isoc.vii 52: xv 126: Aeschin.192,140: ii 140: iii 132: [D.]vii 43: x 4,48: D. xxiii 203 (καὶ γάρ τοι F, according to Schmidt): Din.ii 26.

τοιγαροῦν. S.El.1257 Ξύμφημι καγὼ. τοιγαροῦν σφῶν τόδε: Ephipp.Fr.2 οἱ μεθύοντες ἀεὶ τὰς μάχας πάσας μάχονται.—Τοιγαροῦν φεύγουσ' ἀεὶ ('That's why they always run away'): S.OT 1519: Ph.341: Aj.490: Fr.574.9 (Pearson): Ar.V.1098: Eup.Fr.116.1: Antiph.Fr.165.2,194.13: Aristophan.Fr.14.1: Pl.Com.Fr.186.5: Gorg.Fr.6: Pl.Sph.234E,239C,246B: L3.203D.

<sup>1</sup> Hdt.iv 149 appears at first sight to be an exception, with τὸν ἄριστον up an anticipatory γάρ (see γάρ, IV. 3 and 4): ὁ δὲ παῖς οὐ γὰρ ἐφύλαττο τὸν πατέρα, τοιγαρῶν ἔφη αὐτὸν καταλείπειν. But I believe that τοιγαρῶν does not pick up γάρ, but is the first word of the reported speech: Τοιγαρῶν οὐ καταλείψω (Introd. II.5.iii).



790B: *Alc.* II 138C, 148C: *X. An.* i.9.9: 9.15: *id. saep.*: Anaximenes *Rh. Al.* 15, 35 ([Arist.] 1432a7, 1440b26): *Arist. Pol.* 1271b3: *Theopomp. Hist. Fr.* 217: *Isoc.* iv 136, 152: vii 48: xi 6, 17: xvi 138: D. iv 36: xviii 40, 134: [D.] x 30: xiii 20, 32: lx 16: *Lycurg.* 72, 88, 105, 109, 114, 133: *Hyp. Eux.* 36.

### Τοίνυν

Kühner (II ii 327) and Brugmann (p. 616) regard *τοι* in *τοίνυν* as identical with *τοι* in *τοιγάρ*: but Wackernagel (*Indog. Forsch.* i (1891) p. 377) holds that the *particle* *τοι* coalesced with *νυν* to form *τοίνυν*. There can be little doubt that Wackernagel is right, and that the connective force resides in the *νυν*. Wackernagel's derivation accounts for the fact that *τοίνυν* is never, in classical Greek (though occasionally in later writers), placed at the opening of a sentence, like *τοιγάρ*, *τοιγαροῦν*, and *τοιγάρτοι*, and that its logical force is for the most part not very strong, rather weaker, on the whole, than that of *οὖν*, which comes nearest to it in meaning. 'Then', 'well then', 'well now', rather than 'therefore', are usually the best equivalents, and in II.2 (a usage, first clearly present in Aristophanes, in which *τοίνυν* has some affinities with *καὶ μὴν*), 'further', 'again'.

*τοίνυν* is absent from Homer and Hesiod: it is rare in Lyric: much commoner in comedy than in tragedy:<sup>1</sup> commoner in Attic, than in Ionic, prose: and commonest in those parts of Attic prose which approach most closely to the idiom of ordinary speech. This last point is well brought out by Rosenberg, who gives statistics for the distribution of *τοίνυν* in the Attic orators: Antiphon, rare (commonest in V): Andocides, much commoner: Lysias, about once in every 6 sections (almost absent from pseudo-Lysias): Isocrates, rarer than in Lysias: Isaeus, same frequency as Lysias: Lycurgus, about once in every 9-10 sections: Hyperides, rare (he prefers *οὖν*):

<sup>1</sup> Seven examples in Sophocles, 3 or 4 in Aeschylus (*Th.* 994 is doubtful): I have only noticed 5 in Euripides (excluding *Hel.* 838, *coni.* Canter), but there may be more: Todd cites 80 from Aristophanes.

Demosthenes, much commoner in forensic speeches (about once in every 2-3 sections) than in political: Aeschines, once in every 13-15 sections: Dinarchus, rare: sophistic declamation (Gorgias, etc.) very rare. For further statistics see Kalinka, who points out that Thucydides uses *τοίνυν* in Athenian speeches only (iii 45.4: v 87, 89, 105.1: viii 53.3). Out of seventeen Herodotean examples which I have noted, only four (i 57: ii 142.4: vii 5.1: 139.2) are from the narrative.

*τοίνυν* is, then, essentially an Attic, and a colloquial, particle. Being conversational and lively, it is absent from the *Timaeus*, and in Plato, speaking generally, is much commoner in dialogue than in continuous speech: in about half the Platonic instances it goes with imperative or hortative subjunctive (*des Places*). All the 80 Aristophanic examples occur near the opening of an answer.

#### I. Logical.

##### (1) In general.

(i) In continuous speech. This use is entirely absent from drama, and is rare in Plato. *Pi.* O.6.27 *κείναι γὰρ ἐξ ἄλλᾶν ὁδῶν ἀγεμονεῦσαι ταύταν ἐπίστανται . . .* *χρὴ τοίνυν πύλας ὕμνων ἀναπιτνάμεν αὐταῖς*: *P.* 5.43: *Hdt.* i 57 *εἰ τοῦτοισι τεκμαιρόμενον δεῖ λέγειν, ἦσαν οἱ Πελασγοὶ βάρβαρον γλώσσαν ἰέντες. εἰ τοίνυν ἦν καὶ πᾶν τοιοῦτο τὸ Πελασγικόν, τὸ Ἄττικόν ἔθνος ἐὼν Πελασγικὸν ἄμα τῇ μεταβολῇ τῇ ἐς Ἑλληνας καὶ τὴν γλώσσαν μετέμαθε* (in narrative): 209 *οὐκ ὦν ἔστι μηχανὴ . . . τὸ μὴ οὐ κείνον ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐμοί. σὺ τοίνυν τὴν ταχίστην πορεύεο ὀπίσω ἐς Πέρσας*: *D.* i 1 *ὄτε τοίνυν τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει . . .*: iv 7 'Philip owes his success to his vigour. *ἂν τοίνυν . . . καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐβελήσητε γενέσθαι γνώμης νῦν . . . , καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν κομείσθ' . . . κάκεινον τιμωρήσεσθε*': *Hdt.* vii 162.1: ix 42.3: *Pl. Sym.* 178D: *Lg.* 793A, 829B, 888B: *D.* ii 29.

(ii) In dialogue, introducing an answer. *τοίνυν* represents the answer as springing from the actual words, or general attitude, of the previous speaker.<sup>1</sup> The logical force is often not very

<sup>1</sup> This includes passages in which the previous speaker has merely expressed his assent to what has been said (e.g. *Pl. Men.* 76A *ἐπίπεδον καλεῖς τι . . .*; — *Ἐγὼ γε καλῶ. — Ἦδη τοίνυν ἂν μάθεις μου ἐκ τούτων σχῆμα ὃ λέγω*: *Ar. Ec.* 160): though in such cases we can, if we like, say that *τοίνυν* looks back to the principal speaker's previous remark.

strong, and 'well' or 'well then' are frequently the best renderings.

A.Ch.911 'Ἡ Μοῖρα τούτων, ὦ τέκνον, παραιτία.—Καὶ τόνδε τοίνυν Μοῖρ' ἐπόρσυνεν μόρον ('well', rather than 'then', gives the force: τοίνυν merely denotes that Orestes' retort springs out of Clytaemnestra's excuse): S.Aj.127 'We are but shadows'.—Τοιαῦτα τοίνυν εἰσορῶν ὑπέρκοπον μηδέν ποτ' εἴπης αὐτὸς ἐς θεοὺς ἔπος: *El.*1050 Χρ. Πάλαί δέδοκται ταῦτα . . .—*Ηλ.* 'Ἀπειμι τοίνυν' οὔτε γὰρ σὺ τὰμ' ἔπη τολμᾶς ἐπαινεῖν οὔτ' ἐγὼ τοὺς σοὺς τρόπους (the particle refers to Chrysothemis' general attitude, as well as to the particular words she has just spoken: cf. *OT*444): *Tr.*71 *Λυδῆ* γυναικί φασί νιν λάτρην πονεῖν.—Πᾶν τοίνυν, εἰ καὶ τούτ' ἔτλη, κλύοι τις ἄν: *E.Hipp.*1405 *Τρεῖς* ὄντας ἡμᾶς ὤλεσ', ἤσθημαι, Κύπρις.—Πατέρα γε καὶ σὲ καὶ τρίτην ξυνάορον.—'Ὡμιμῶα τοίνυν καὶ πατρὸς δυσπραξίας: *IA*1539 θαυμαστά σοι . . . σημήναι θέλω.—*Μὴ* μέλλε τοίνυν, ἀλλὰ φράζ': *Ag.Ach.*818 'Ὡνθρωπε ποδαπός;—*Χοιροπόλας* Μεγαρικός.—Τὰ χοιρίδια τοίνυν ἐγὼ φανῶ ταδὶ πολέμια καὶ σέ: *Eq.*1259 'What's your name?'—'Agoracritus'.—'Agoracritus' τοίνυν ἐμαυτὸν ἐπιτρέπω ('Very well, then, I put myself into Agoracritus' hands'): *Nu.*356 διὰ τούτ' ἐγένοντο γυναῖκες.—Χαίρετε τοίνυν, ὦ δέσποιναι ('Well, good morning, ladies'): 1406 'I used to be an ignorant fellow, with no mind for anything but horses. But now I can prove to you that it's right to punish one's father'.—'Ἰππευε τοίνυν ('Then you'd better stick to your horses'): *Ec.*339 δέδοικα μή τι δρᾶ νεώτερον.—*Νῆ* τὸν Ποσειδῶ ταῦτα τοίνυν ἀντικρυς ἐμοὶ πέπονθας: *Ach.*904,911: *Eq.*30,299: *Nu.*392,435: *V.*164,367,385: *Pax*1219: *Hdt.*1112 ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε ἄρα τὸν ἄνδρα, δεύτερα λέγει ἡ γυνὴ τάδε: 'Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν οὐ δύναμαί σε πείθειν . . . (cf. iii 134 'Ὡ γύναι, ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τοι δοκέει . . .: v 40.1: ix 42.2: 46.2): *Pl.Charm.*156λ ἄνευ δὲ τῆς ἐπφδῆς οὐδὲν ὄφελος εἶη τοῦ φύλλου.—Καὶ ὅς, Ἀπογράψομαι τοίνυν, ἔφη, παρὰ σοῦ τὴν ἐπφδῆν: 162B ἢ τινος ἡλιθίου ἤκουσας τουτὶ λέγοντος . . .;—'Ἡκιστα . . .—Παντὸς τοίνυν μᾶλλον . . . αἰνιγμα αὐτὸ προύβαλεν (the only other alternative): *Euthphr.*15E εἶπε οὖν . . . καὶ μὴ ἀποκρύψῃ ὅτι αὐτὸ ἡγῆ.—*Εἰς* αὐθις τοίνυν . . . νῦν γὰρ σπεύδω ('Some other time, then'): *R.*398C οὐ πᾶς ἂν εὔροι . . .; καὶ ὁ Γλαῦκων ἐπιγελάσας, 'Ἐγὼ τοίνυν, ἔφη, . . . κινδυνεύω ἐκτὸς τῶν πάντων εἶναι' οὐκ οὐκ ἰκανῶς

γε ἔχω . . . συμβαλέσθαι . . .: 430D Πῶς οὖν ἂν τὴν δικαιοσύνην εὔροιμεν, ἵνα μηκέτι πραγματευώμεθα περὶ σωφροσύνης;—'Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, οὔτε οἶδα οὔτ' ἂν βουλοίμην αὐτὸ πρότερον φανῆναι, εἴπερ μηκέτι ἐπισκεψόμεθα σωφροσύνην: *Ion*542B πολὺ γὰρ κάλλιον τὸ θεῖον νομίζεσθαι.—Τοῦτο τοίνυν τὸ κάλλιον ὑπάρχει σοι παρ' ἡμῖν, ὦ Ἴων, θεῖον εἶναι: *X.Ap.*ii 3.5 οἱ δ' ἔλεγον ὅτι περὶ σπονδῶν ἤκοιεν ἄνδρες οἵτινες ἰκανοὶ ἔσονται . . . ἀπαγγεῖλαι . . . ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο: Ἀπαγγέλλετε τοίνυν αὐτῷ ('Well, then, tell him . . .'): *Pl.R.*358A,450D: *X.Ap.*vii 2.13: 5.3: 5.10: *Cyr.*vi 1.38.

In reported speech: *X.Cyr.*vi 3.17 εἰπόντος δὲ Κύρου ὅτι τούτων μὲν τοίνυν εἶη ἄλις . . .

Certain varieties of logical τοίνυν deserve special notice:—

(2) In conclusions of formal syllogisms (rare, οὖν, οὐκοῦν, and ἄρα being normally used instead). *Pl.Charm.*159D φαίνεται . . . κατὰ γε τὸ σῶμα οὐ τὸ ἡσύχιον . . . κάλλιστον ὄν. ἢ γάρ;—Πάνυ γε.—'Ἡ δὲ γε σωφροσύνη καλόν τι ἦν;—Ναί.—Οὐ τοίνυν κατὰ γε τὸ σῶμα ἢ ἡσυχιότης ἂν . . . σωφρονέστερον εἶη, ἐπειδὴ καλὸν ἢ σωφροσύνη: *Sph.*238B,255B.

(3) Responding to an invitation to speak: the answerer either announces his intention of speaking, or plunges at once *in medias res*. Frequent in Plato, with whom the answerer often repeats a word from the preceding speech. *Ag.Nu.*429 λέγε νῦν ἡμῖν ὅ τί σοι δρῶμεν . . .—'Ὡ δέσποιναι δέομαι τοίνυν ὑμῶν . . . ('Well, ladies, what I want of you is . . .'): 961 τὴν σαυτοῦ φύσιν εἶπέ.—λέγω τοίνυν . . .: *V.*1181 (λέγε λόγους) οἶους λέγομεν μάλιστα τοὺς κατ' οἰκίαν.—'Ἐγῶδα τοίνυν τῶν γε πάνυ κατ' οἰκίαν ἐκείνον . . . (cf. 1205): *Pl.Euthphr.*5D λέγε δή, τί φῆς εἶναι τὸ ὄσιον . . .—λέγω τοίνυν . . .: 12E Πειρῶ . . . διδάξαι . . .—Τοῦτο τοίνυν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ: *Phd.*60D εἶπε τί χρὴ λέγειν.—λέγε τοίνυν . . . τάληθῆ: 89C καὶ ἐμὲ . . . παρακάλει . . .—Παρακαλῶ τοίνυν: 108E τὴν μέντοι ιδέαν τῆς γῆς οἷαν πέπεισμαι εἶναι . . . οὐδὲν με κωλύει λέγειν.—ἀλλὰ . . . καὶ ταῦτα ἀρκεῖ.—Πέπεισμαι τοίνυν (picked up by πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν . . . τοῦτο πέπεισμαι 109A): *Grg.*494D ἀποκρίνου μόνον.—Φημί τοίνυν . . . *Pr.*318A ὅτι οὖν ἀποβήσεται, ἂν σοι συνῆ, ἠδέως ἂν φησι πυνθίσθαι . . .—'Ὡ νεανίσκε, ἔσται τοίνυν σοι, ἂν ἐμοὶ συνῆς . . . ('Well, my

lad . . .'): *Lg.*891D ἀλλ' ὄπη, πειρῶ φράζειν.—'Εοικεν τοῖνυ ἀθεστέρων ἀπτέον εἶναι λόγων: *X.Mem.*14.3 Λέξον ἡμῖν, ἔφη, τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν.—'Επὶ μὲν τοῖνυ ἐπῶν ποιήσει Ὀμηρον ἔγωγε μάλιστα τεθαύμακα: *Pl.La.*192B: *Smpr.*173E,185E: *Chrm.*158E: *Prt.*342A,353C: *Grg.*463A: *R.*458C: *id. saep.*: *X.Cyr.*iii 1.15: vi3.19: viii 4.11: 4.13. Cf. *E.Iou*936,987 (Ἄκουε τοῖνυ: *Ar.Pl.*649: *Pl.Phd.*96A).

(The invitation to speak may be conveyed indirectly, as in *Pl.Prt.*318A above (cf. *R.*470A ἡδέως ἂν ἀκούσαιμι), instead of by a blunt imperative. The mere asking of a question might, in fact, be taken as implying an invitation to answer it: but I do not think that this use of τοῖνυ is actually extended so as to include answers to straightforward direct questions. For example, in *Pl.Men.*77B εἶπε τί ἐστὶν ἀρετὴ is answered by Δοκεῖ τοῖνυ μοι . . . ἀρετὴ εἶναι . . .: but I doubt if τοῖνυ would have been possible after a direct question (τί ἐστὶν ἀρετὴ;) without the expression or clear implication of a command or invitation. Again, in *S.OT*1167 ('Well, he was . . .') I believe that τοῖνυ is conditioned by the command ('Speak!') implied in the threat of 1166: and that the particle would be unsuitable if 1167 formed a direct answer to the question in 1164. But I should not be surprised if a passage or two were found to the contrary. Certainly, inceptive-responsive καὶ μὴν, which is used in much the same way as τοῖνυ here, sometimes introduces the answer to a question, as in *Pl.Thl.*158C: see καὶ μὴν, (5).)

(4) A rejoinder introduced by τοῖνυ sometimes conveys a comment on, or criticism of, the previous speaker's words. *S.OT*1067 Καὶ μὴν φρονούσά γ' εὖ τὰ λῶστά σοι λέγω.—Τὰ λῶστα τοῖνυ ταῦτά μ' ἀγύνει πάλαι ('Well, I am getting tired of your "thinking for the best"'): *Ar.Av.*511 'That's what the bird on the sceptre means'.—*Τουτὶ τοῖνυ οὐκ ἤδη γ' ἔγω* ('Well now, I never knew that before': cf. *Rax*615): *Nu.*1236 κἂν προσκαταθείην γ' ὥστ' ὀμόσαι τριώβολον.—*Ἀπόλοιο τοῖνυ ἔνεκ' ἀναιδείας ἔτι* ('Well now, damnation take you for your shamelessness'): *Lys.*34 ἢ μηκέτ' εἶναι μήτε Πελοποννησίου.—*Βέλτιστα τοῖνυ μηκέτ' εἶναι νῆ Δία* ('Well, that's the best that could happen'): *Pl.R.*358A *Οὐ τοῖνυ δοκεῖ, ἔφη, τοῖς πολλοῖς* ('Well, that isn't what most people think'): *Sph.*242B *Φοβοῦμαι*

. . . μὴ . . . μανικὸς εἶναι δόξω.—'Ὡς τοῖνυ ἔμοιγε μηδαμῆ δόξων μηδὲν πλημμελεῖν . . . θαρρῶν ἴθι τούτου γε ἔνεκα ('Well, don't think that I shall criticize you'): *Lg.*688D ταῦτ' οὖν . . . πειράσομαι . . . δηλοῦν . . .—*Λόγω μὲν τοῖνυ σε . . . ἐπαινεῖν ἐπαχθέστερον, ἔργω δὲ σφόδρα ἐπαινεσόμεθα.*

Especially καλῶς τοῖνυ, etc., with or without ellipse of verb, conveying approval. *Ar.V.*856 *Οὗτος σὺ ποῖ θεῖς;—'Επὶ καδίσκουσ.*—*Μηδαμῶς. ἐγὼ γὰρ εἶχον τούσδε τοὺς ἀρυστίχους.—Κάλλιστα τοῖνυ πάντα γὰρ πάρεστι νῶν ὄσων δεόμεθα* ('Excellent, then'): *Pl.*1092 *Θάρρει, μὴ φοβοῦ. οὐ γὰρ βιάσεται.—Πάνυ καλῶς τοῖνυ λέγεις: 1190 Παντ' ἀγαθὰ τοῖνυ λέγεις: Pl.Chrm.*162E *πάνυ συγχωρῶ . . .—Καλῶς γε σὺ τοῖνυ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ποίων: Cra.*433A . . . εἰ μέμνησαι . . .—*Ἄλλὰ μέμνημαι.—Καλῶς τοῖνυ* ('Very good, then': *Lg.*653C): *Lg.*813A *Ἀληθῆ καὶ ταῦτα διείρηκας.—Ἀληθέστατα τοῖνυ* (τοῖνυ is certainly very curious here, and one would expect μὲν οὖν).

The use of τοῖνυ in *Ar.V.*1141 is also curious: *ἔγνωσ γὰρ ἄν νῦν δ' οὐχὶ γιγνώσκεις.—'Εγώ; μὰ τὸν Δί' οὐ τοῖνυ* ('Well, now, I don't': *οὔτοι νῦν γ'* Starkie: *οὐ τανῦν γ'* A. Palmer).

(5) τοῖνυ at the opening of an account or narration announced in advance by the speaker or writer ('Well') is particularly common in the minor works of Xenophon. *Pl.Phdr.*253D *ἀρετὴ δὲ τίς τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἢ κακοῦ κακία, οὐ διείπομεν, νῦν δὲ λεκτέον. ὁ μὲν τοῖνυ αὐτοῖν . . .: X.Lac.*4.3 *ἐξηγήσομαι αἰροῦνται τοῖνυ . . .: 9.3 καὶ τοῦτο καλὸν μὴ παραλιπεῖν ἐκεῖνος τοῖνυ . . .: Ar.Pl.*567: *Pl.Lg.*739B,767B,810B,815B: *X.HG*vii 2.2: *Lac.*5.1: 11.2: *Eq.Mag.*1.9: 1.17: 2.1: 5.4: *Eq.*3.1: 4.3: 5.1: 7.1: 9.2: 10.6: 12.1: *Isoc.*v 99: viii 75.

(6) Xenophon's occasional use of τοῖνυ at the opening of a set speech may be compared with his similar use of ἀλλά (*q.v.* II.8). *An.*v 1.2 *ἐκ δὲ τούτου ξυνελθόντες ἐβουλεύοντο . . . ἀνέστη δὲ πρῶτος Λέων Θούριος καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε. Ἐγὼ μὲν τοῖνυ, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀπείρηκα . . .: Cyr.*vi 2.14 *ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, ἔλεξε τοιαύδε. Ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, ἐγὼ τοῖνυ ὑμᾶς συνεκάλεσα.* As these are the opening speeches of a debate, τοῖνυ seems, as Kühner puts it, to represent the speech as arising out of the present situation: 'Well, gentlemen'.

Similarly, as Rosenberg remarks, *τοίνυν* is used at the opening of *δευτερολογίαί*: *Lys.xviii*: *Is.xii*: [*D.*]xxvi.

(7) *τοίνυν*, usually in association with *οὗτος*, is sometimes used by Plato to round off a long argument: 'Well, that is the conclusion to which we come'. *R.397B Ταῦτα τοίνυν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἔλεγον τὰ δύο εἶδη τῆς λέξεως* (the topic propounded at 392D): *603A Τοῦτο τοίνυν διομολογήσασθαι βουλόμενος ἔλεγον ὅτι . . .* ('Well, that is what I meant': in the formal argument which precedes, the steps are made by *οὐκοῦν* and *ἄρα*): *438D: Phd. 83E: Sph.236C: Lg.822D.*

II. Transitional. This use merges imperceptibly into the logical, and no sharp line can be drawn between I and II. In continuous speech transitional *τοίνυν* is particularly common in Lysias, Isaeus, and Demosthenes (Schepe, p. 13).

(1) Marking a fresh step in the march of thought (or action).

(i) Dialogue. *A.Pr.760* 'You would like Zeus to fall?'—'Certainly'.—*Ὡς τοίνυν ὄντων τῶνδ' ἐσοίμαθα πάρα* ('Well, he will fall'): *Supp.459* 'I have girdles'.—'Naturally'.—*Ἐκ τῶνδ' ἐσοίμαθα, ἴσθι, μηχανὴ καλὴ: Ar.Nu.255* 'You would like to talk to the Clouds?'—'Very much'.—*Κάθιζε τοίνυν ἐπὶ τὸν ἱερὸν σκίμποδα.—Ἴδου κάθημαι.—Τουτοὶ τοίνυν λαβὲ τὸν στέφανον* ('Now take this crown': the first *τοίνυν* is logical, 'then', the second introduces the next stage in the hocus-pocus: an instructive juxtaposition of two shades of meaning): *Pl.Phd. 59B πάντες οἱ παρόντες . . . οὕτω διεκείμεθα . . . εἰς δὲ ἡμῶν καὶ διαφερόντως, Ἀπολλόδωρος—οἴσθα γὰρ πού τὸν ἄνδρα . . .—Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;—Ἐκεῖνός τε τοίνυν παντάπασιν οὕτως εἶχεν, καὶ αὐτὸς . . . καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι* ('Well, he was in that state . . .'): *R.394D, 572D (bis): Lg.693E.*

(ii) Continuous speech. *E.El.1030* *τούτων ἑκατὶ παῖδ' ἐμὴν διώλεσεν. ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τοίνυν καίπερ ἠδικημένη οὐκ ἠγριώμην* ('Well': a good example of what a bad rendering of *τοίνυν* 'therefore' sometimes is): *Hdt.vii.5.1 ἡ βασιληὴ ἀνέχωρησε ἐς . . . Ἑέρξην. ὁ τοίνυν Ἑέρξης . . .*: *Pl.Lg.888B* 'There are always atheists. *τόδε τοίνυν σοι, παραγεγονῶς αὐτῶν πολλοῖσι, φράζοιμ' ἄν*' ('Well, I've met many of them, and this is what

I would say to you'): *Hdt.vii.9β2: 50.2: 50.3: 50.4: 139.2: X.Cyr.i.1.2.*

In oratory, resuming the thread of a speech after the recitation of evidence, laws, or other documents. *And.i.15 δευτέρα τοίνυν μῆνυσις ἐγένετο: Lys.xvi.14,15,18: Is.ii.6: D.114: et saep.*

(2) Introducing a fresh item in a series: a new example or a new argument. *τοίνυν* is, on the whole, rather more static here ('further', 'again'), rather more dynamic ('well', 'now') in (1): but the point cannot be pressed.

(i) Dialogue. *Ar.V.578,698: Pl.563* (in all three passages adding a new point, after an interpellation by another speaker): *Pl.R.514B ἰδὲ . . .—Ὁρῶ, ἔφη.—Ὁρα τοίνυν παρὰ τοῦτο τὸ τειχίον* ('And now see . . .'): *Hp.Ma.288C "Εἶεν", φήσκει δὴ "τί δὲ λύρα καλὴ; οὐ καλόν;" φῶμεν, ὦ Ἰππία;—Ναί.—Ἐρεῖ τοίνυν μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνος . . . "τί δὲ χύτρα καλὴ;" Thl.147E Τὸν ἀριθμὸν πάντα δίχα διελάβομεν· τὸν μὲν δυνάμενον . . . ἰσόπλευρον προσείπομεν.—Καὶ εὖ γε.—Τὸν τοίνυν μετὰ τοῦτου . . . προμήκη ἀριθμὸν ἐκαλέσαμεν: R.564E ἐν μὲν γὰρ πού τὸ τοιοῦτον γένος ἐν αὐτῇ ἐμφύεται . . . Ἄλλο τοίνυν τοῖόνδε αἰεὶ ἀποκρίνεται ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους.*

(ii) Continuous speech. *Hp.Art.57 οὐδ' ὑγιαίνοντες δύνανται κατὰ τὴν ἰγνύην ἐκτανύειν τὸ ἄρθρον . . . οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ ξυγκάμπειν δύνανται* ('Nor, again'): *Hdt.ii.142 ἐν μυρίοισι τε ἔτεσι καὶ χιλίοισι καὶ πρὸς τριηκοσίοισι τε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔλεγον θεὸν ἀνθρωποειδέα οὐδένα γενέσθαι . . . ἐν τοίνυν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τετράκις ἔλεγον ἐξ ἡθέων τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατεῖλαι: Pl. Phd.231E εἰ τοίνυν τὸν νόμον καθεστηκότα δέδοικας* ('If, again . . .': opening a new paragraph): *Prt.319D* 'The conduct of Athenian politics implies the view that political wisdom cannot be taught. *μὴ τοίνυν ὅτι τὸ κοινὸν τῆς πόλεως οὕτως ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ . . .*: *R.362B πρῶτον μὲν ἄρχειν ἐν τῇ πόλει . . . ἔπειτα γαμεῖν ὁπόθεν ἂν βούληται . . . εἰς ἀγῶνας τοίνυν ἰόντα . . . X.Mem.i.4.13* (after describing the physical benefits conferred by Providence) *οὐ τοίνυν μόνον ἦοκεσε τῷ θεῷ τοῦ σώματος ἐπιμεληθῆναι, ἀλλὰ . . . καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν κρατίστην τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐνέφυσε: Is.viii.15 ἡμεῖς τοίνυν καὶ ἄλλα τεκμήρια πρὸς τοῦτοις ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν: Hyp.Epit.19* 'The battle was a glorious one. *ἄξιον τοίνυν συλλογίσασθαι καὶ τί ἂν συμβῆναι νομίζοιμεν μὴ*

κατὰ τρόπον τούτων ἀγωνισαμένων': *X. Vect.* 4.49: *Lys.* i 45: iii 37: xiii 33: *Isoc.* iv 38.41, 47: *Lycurg.* 122.

ἔτι τοίνυν. *Hp. VM* 19: *Pl. Cri.* 52C: *Phd.* 109A: *Thet.* 178A: *Smp.* 188B: *R.* 491C: *Lg.* 633B: *id. saep.*: *X. An.* v 1.8: *Cyr.* i 1.2: *Aen. Tact.* 10.25: *Lys.* iii 35: *Isoc.* v 66: vi 29: *Is.* i 16, 22, 27.

τοίνυν . . . ἔτι. *Pl. Plt.* 281C Πρὸς τοίνυν ταύταις ἔτι . . .: *Lg.* 681D Τρίτον τοίνυν εἴπωμεν ἔτι πολιτείας σχῆμα γιγνόμενον.

(3) Marking the transition from the enunciation of a general proposition to the consideration of a particular instance of it. *Pl. Cra.* 399B 'Various transformations occur in words'.—'Ἀληθῆ λέγεις.—Τούτων τοίνυν ἐν καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὄνομα πέπονθεν (cf. 410A): *X. Ages.* 1.10 πῶς ἂν τις σαφέστερον ἐπιδείξειεν ὡς ἐστρατήγησεν ἢ εἰ αὐτὰ διηγῆσαιτο ἃ ἔπραξεν; ἐν τοίνυν τῇ Ἀσία ἤδη πρώτη πράξις ἐγένετο (group perhaps under I.5): *Ages.* 7.5.

Not infrequently, in such cases, τοίνυν introduces what is virtually a minor premise, the preceding general proposition being the major premise, while the conclusion is left to the imagination. *Isoc.* iii 15 "Equal rewards for all" is a bad political principle. αἱ μὲν τοίνυν ὀλιγαρχίαι καὶ δημοκρατίαι τὰς ἰσότητος τοῖς μετέχουσι τῶν πολιτειῶν ζητοῦσι . . . αἱ δὲ μοναρχίαι πλεῖστον μὲν νέμουσι τῷ βελτίστῳ . . .' (here the major premise is repeated in a different form in §16 καίτοι τίς οὐκ ἂν δέξαιτο . . . τοιαύτης πολιτείας μετέχειν, ἐν ἧ . . .): iv 103 'Political hegemony is to be judged by its effects on the ruled. ἐπὶ τοίνυν τῆς ἡμετέρας ἡγεμονίας . . .': *X. Mem.* 12.29: *D.* xix 52, 119. In *Pl. R.* 368E the minor premise precedes, and τοίνυν introduces the major, the conclusion being introduced by οὖν.

(4) In other cases, the general proposition is implied from a particular instance of its application. τοίνυν is then almost invariably associated with οὗτος, τοιοῦτος, οὕτως, which emphasize the second, crucial, application. This use is closely similar to that of μέντοι noticed on pp. 408-9. *Pl. Chrm.* 156D 'Doctors often have to treat the whole body in order to cure a particular part'. (This implies the general proposition that the health of the part depends on the health of the whole.)—'Yes.'—Τοιοῦτον

τοίνυν ἐστὶν . . . καὶ τὸ ταύτης τῆς ἐπὶ φθῆς ('Well, it is just the same with this charm'): *Euthphr.* 12C: *Plt.* 294E.

In other cases, again, a general proposition is formulated, or implied, and followed, first by a preliminary instance of its application, and then by the crucial instance introduced by τοίνυν. *Pl. Smp.* 205D 'We call the species (sexual passion) by the name of the genus (love)'. A parallel instance, that of ποίησις, is given. 'Οὕτω τοίνυν καὶ περὶ τὸν ἔρωτα' ('Well, it is the same in the case of love'): *Grg.* 482A 'Men universally accept what is said by those they love. You do so yourself, Callicles, ὥστε . . . ἴσως εἴποις ἂν . . . ὅτι εἰ μὴ τις παύσει τὰ σὰ παιδικὰ τούτων τῶν λόγων, οὐδὲ σὺ παύσῃ ποτὲ ταῦτα λέγων. νόμιζε τοίνυν καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ χρῆναι ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ἀκούειν': *Ly.* 217E.

(5) τοίνυν, like καὶ μὴν, marks a fresh beginning after a strong stop. It rarely follows a light stop: but cf. *Pl. Ap.* 33E πάρεσιν αὐτῶν πολλοὶ . . ., πρῶτον μὲν Κρίτων οὕτωσι . . . ἔπειτα Λυσανίας . . . ἔτι δ' Ἀντιφῶν . . ., ἄλλοι τοίνυν οὗτοι: *X. An.* vii 6.19 συνεπόμενι μηδὲ ἃ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ ἔλαβον εἰληφέναι, μὴ τοίνυν μηδὲ ὅσα τῶν λοχαγῶν ἔνιοι.

(6) Apodotic. The occasional apodotic use of τοίνυν, analogous to the commoner apodotic οὖν, springs from the substitution of paratactic for hypotactic expression in the course of a long sentence whose construction is beginning to get out of hand. We can speak, without exaggeration, of anacoluthon here. *And.* iii 30 Συρακούσιοι δ' ὅτε ἦλθον ἡμῶν δεόμενοι . . ., ἡμεῖς τοίνυν εἰλόμεθα: *D.* xviii 249 καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συστάντων . . ., ἐν τοίνυν τούτοις πᾶσι . . .: *xlvii* 64 ἐκτίνοντος δέ μου τῷ Θεοφῆμω . . . ἐπειδὴ ἐξέτινον . . ., λαβὼν τοίνυν παρ' ἐμοῦ . . .

Cf. the following Platonic passages, where a second speaker's answer intervenes: *Plt.* 275D ἦν γὰρ ἔφαμεν αὐτεπιτακτικὴν μὲν εἶναι τέχνην . . .—μέμνησαι γάρ;—Ναί.—Ταύτης τοίνυν πη διημαρτάνομεν: *R.* 562B: *Thet.* 207B.

III. τοίνυν combined with other particles.

(1) καὶ τοίνυν, καὶ . . . τοίνυν ('and further'), in Plato almost confined to the later works: as Rosenberg remarks, not found in the orators.

(i) καὶ τοίνυν. Pl. *Sph.* 234A καὶ γὰρ ζῶων αὐτὸν εἶπες ποιητὴν. —Φημί, καὶ πρὸς γε θαλάττης καὶ γῆς . . . καὶ τοίνυν καὶ ταχὺ ποιήσας αὐτῶν ἕκαστα πάνυ σμικροῦ νομίσματος ἀποδίδοται: Pl. 280C τὴν μὲν διετέρομεν . . . —Μανθάνω.—Καὶ μὴν τὴν . . . —Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.—Καὶ τοίνυν τὴν . . . : X. *Cyr.* 13.16 ὁ διδάσκαλός με . . . καθίστη δικάζειν. καὶ τοίνυν, φάναι, ἐπὶ μιᾷ ποτε δίκη πληγὰς ἔλαβον: Pl. *Sph.* 245D: Pl. 299B: Lg. 678E, 782D, 842A: X. *HG* vi 1.6: *Cyr.* 1.1.5: 6.20: ii 2.25: iii 3.41: iv 2.35: v 1.4: *Hier.* 1.38.

(ii) καὶ . . . τοίνυν. Ar. *Pax* 543 Ἴθι νῦν ἄθρει οἶον πρὸς ἀλλήλας λαλοῦσιν αἱ πόλεις διαλλαγεῖσαι . . . —Καὶ τῶνδε τοίνυν τῶν θεωμένων σκόπει τὰ πρόσωφ', ἵνα γνῶς τὰς τέχνας ('Yes, and look at the faces of the audience'): Pl. 989: Pl. *Chrm.* 165D Εἰ τοίνυν με, ἔφην, ἔροιο σύ . . . εἶποιμ' ἂν ὅτι . . . —Ἀποδέχομαι.—Καὶ εἰ τοίνυν με ἔροιο . . . : X. *HG* vi 1.10 καὶ μὴν Βοιωτοὶ γε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ὅσοι Λακεδαιμονίοις πολεμοῦντες ὑπάρχουσί μοι σύμμαχοι καὶ ἀκολουθεῖν τοίνυν ἀξιούσιν ἐμοί, ἂν μόνον ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐλευθερῶ αὐτούς: Pl. *Th.* 194A: R. 489B: X. *Cyr.* 1.1.2: ii 2.24: Arist. *Pol.* 1287a17. (In Pl. *R.* 424C it is more natural to take τοίνυν as the connective and καὶ closely with ἐμέ, 'me too': ὡς φησί τε Δάμων καὶ ἐγὼ πείθομαι.—Καὶ ἐμὲ τοίνυν . . . θὲς τῶν πεπεισμένων: cf. *Grg.* 516B: R. 450A, 509B: *Phlb.* 15C, 64B.)

Occasionally in the middle of a sentence, after a weak stop. X. *HG* vii 4.3 ἐκλεξάμενος . . . , καὶ συνθέμενος τοίνυν . . . : *Oec.* 5.2 πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀφ' ὧν ζῶσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ταῦτα ἢ γῆ φέρει ἐργαζομένοις, καὶ ἀφ' ὧν τοίνυν ἡδυπαθοῦσι, προσεπιφέρει: *Eg.* *Mag.* 7.3: 7.6: *Diph.* *Fr.* 55.1 (probably).

(2) δὴ τοίνυν (except for Ar. *Fr.* 535 φέρε δὴ τοίνυν, Plato only,<sup>1</sup> almost entirely in his later work). Pl. *Phlb.* 33A Ἄγε δὴ τοίνυν: Lg. 707E Λέγε δὴ τοίνυν τὸ τούτοις ἐξῆς: 712C Φέρε δὴ τοίνυν: 817E Ἔτι δὴ τοίνυν (*Phlb.* 51E): R. 588D: Lg. 803B, 895C.

The reverse order, τοίνυν δὴ, is doubtful. In Pl. *Grg.* 459A the MSS. vary between Ἐλεγές τοι νυνδὴ, Ἐλεγες τοίνυν δὴ, and Ἐλεγες τοίνυν νῦν δὴ (*F*): the asyndeton of the first is surely impossible in this passage of formal reasoning: I believe *F*'s reading to be correct (or τοίνυν νυνδὴ), and should be inclined to read Τὰ τοίνυν (νυν)δὴ λεχθέντα in Lg. 718D (*C.R.* xlvii (1933) 216).

<sup>1</sup> I exclude the juxtaposition καὶ δὴ τοίνυν: Ar. *Av.* 550: *Gorg.* *Fr.* 112.7, 11.

(3) Other combinations. These have, on the whole, very little significance. μὲν τοίνυν occurs often in Plato (e.g. *R.* 536D: *Grg.* 473D: *Men.* 71D: *Phlb.* 41A: Lg. 643A. Des Places observes that Plato prefers μὲν οὖν in continuous speech, μὲν τοίνυν in dialogue, which accords with his general use of οὖν and τοίνυν). But the special considerations which made it worth while to investigate transitional μὲν οὖν are not present here, and I cannot agree with des Places that μὲν τοίνυν 'mérite une étude spéciale'. Nor is there any significance in the following: Pl. Lg. 666C Εἰς μὲν γε τὸ προάγειν τοίνυν αὐτούς: 816B πολλὰ μὲν δὴ τοίνυν ἄλλα . . . τούτων δὲ ἔν και τὸ . . . In Ar. *Av.* 481 it is not quite clear whether δὲ . . . τοίνυν means 'and further', like καὶ . . . τοίνυν: or whether the meaning is 'And that the gods, then, . . .': Ὡς δ' οὐχὶ θεοὶ τοίνυν ἦρχον τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ παλαιὸν . . . πόλλ' ἐστὶ τεκμήρια τούτων. In Pl. *Erip.* 979E μηδὲ seems to go closely with σφῶ: ἀλλ' ὁμως μὴ ἀποκάμης λέγων ὁ φῆς.—Ναί, μηδὲ σφῶ τοίνυν ἀκούοντε. Ar. *Pl.* 1157 is more deserving of notice: τί οὖν Ἐρμῆν παλιγκάπηλον ἡμᾶς δεῖ τρέφειν;—Ἀλλὰ δόλιον τοίνυν ('Well, as Hermes the god of guile, then'). In Pl. *Phdr.* 243D γε goes closely with τοῦτον: Τοῦτόν γε τοίνυν ἔγωγε αἰσχυρόμενος . . . (cf. Ar. *Ec.* 105). In *Th.* 210B, *B* reads Ἐὰν οὖν τοίνυν ('Ἐὰν τοίνυν *cett.*): clearly impossible.

IV. Position. τοίνυν is not often placed later than second word in the sentence, though Plato allows himself considerable licence in this respect. Most of the exceptions (as in the case of other particles) are clearly traceable to a desire to avoid separating words which form a logical unity. Other postponements are caused by the combining of τοίνυν with other particles (see III *passim*).

S. *OC* 404 Τούτου χάριν τοίνυν: Ar. *Th.* 157 Ὅταν σατύρους τοίνυν ποιῆς: Pl. 863 Νῆ Δία καλῶς τοίνυν ποιῶν ἀπόλλυται (after oath: cf. *Ec.* 339: Pl. *Th.* 207E): *Pax* 1023 is corrupt: *Alex.* *Fr.* 143.1 ἤξω φέρουσα συμβολὰς τοίνυν ἅμα: Pl. *Euthphr.* 12C (after article and another word: 5 other examples in Kugler): *Ar.* 26B (after preposition and another word: 9 other examples in Kugler: contrast Lg. 800C Ἐν τοίνυν τοῖς . . .): Pl. 303E (after preposition, article, and another word: *Sph.* 226C: R. 459D: Lg. 907D): *Phd.* 59B (after a word and τε: 4 other examples in Kugler): *Fr.*



318A ὦ νεανίσκε, ἔσται τοίνυν σοι: *Thl.*145E Τοῦτ' αὐτὸ τοίνυν (*Plt.*292C): *Phlb.*20C Μίκρ' ἄττα τοίνυν: *Lg.*821C Ταῦτ' ἔστι τοίνυν: 867C Πάλιν ἐπανελθόντες τοίνυν: *Sph.*225A Οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου τοίνυν: *Plt.*294E Καὶ τὸν νομοθέτην τοίνυν (*R.*509B): *R.*523C Ὡς ἐγγύθεν τοίνυν ὀρωμένους λέγοντός μου διανοοῦ: *D.*xliv52 τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν: *Pl.Chrm.*162E: *R.*509C: *Phlb.*65B: *Lg.*664B,812B,900D.

The order in *Pl.Lg.*715E is remarkable: "Ἄνδρες" τοίνυν φῶμεν πρὸς αὐτούς: cf.772E.

Where τοίνυν follows μέν, the particles are usually juxtaposed. But Plato separates them in *Ly.*214C, *La.*198C, *R.*535A, *Hp.Mi.*365C, *Lg.*666C (μέν γε . . . τοίνυν): des Places, p. 314. For examples in the Apollodorus speeches attributed to Demosthenes, see *Introd. ad fin.*

## ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

- p. 27. (3). Neil (on *Ar.Eq.*780), citing *Lys.*427, is another supporter of the view that ἀλλ' ἦ originated in ἄλλο ἦ. In *Ra.*442-3 he places the question-mark (rightly, I am sure) after *στρώμασιν*: the question is equivalent to a negative statement.
- p. 46. (3). ἀρα expecting a positive answer. Pearson (on *E.Hel.*256) compares *D.*lv 15. *Hel.*256 is differentiated by the strength of the expression τέρας from the other examples of this use, in which the question is couched in terms of a studious moderation which commands the assent of all. 'Am I a miracle?', expecting the answer 'yes', would be equally unnatural in English. 257-9 are *versus suspecti*. Perhaps 256, as well as they, is also an interpolation, inserted to lead up to τέρας in 260, and 256 is a statement, not a question (cf. p. 48, n. 1).
- p. 62. III. 2. Add *S.OT*220 ('I was a stranger to the affair (and have remained a stranger to it), for . . .': for other interpretations of γάρ here, see Jebb *ad loc.*, and Pearson in *C.Q.*xi 62): *E.IT*1015 (supply, with Paley, after εἰσιδεῖν, 'and I will make the attempt': but many editors suppose a lacuna before 1015): *Hel.*497 (Pearson finds difficulty in γάρ here, and has proposed a transposition of lines: I find no difficulty whatever, if the lines are sympathetically read. Reluctant at first to credit the accumulated coincidences, Menelaus ends up with a bewildered 'I don't know what to make of it!' This admission of utter perplexity leads him naturally to consider anew the possibility that the coincidences may be credible after all).
- p. 65. (6). In *E.Hel.*257-60, if the text is sound, both γάρ-sentences explain 256 (so Paley: the second γάρ is not, as Pearson says, 'impossible': but the text is doubtful). In *A.Supp.*202-3 μέμνησο δ' εἰκειν· χρεῖος εἰ ξένη φυγὰς. θρασυστομεῖν γάρ οὐ πρέπει τοὺς ἠσσονας there are, logically speaking, two γάρ clauses, though the first is introduced asyndetically; both give the reason, but in slightly different forms, for μέμνησο εἰκειν.
- p. 69. Second paragraph. In Tragedy, a vocative followed by a γάρ clause is most often used immediately on the arrival of the person addressed. So in *S.OC*891: there, as in *E.Rh.*608, there cannot be any forward reference.
- p. 71. (v). In *E.IA*804 England regards γάρ as 'proleptic' and as resumed by οὖν in 810. But this produces an awkward asyndeton

ANTIPHANES (*cont.*)

97. 165:2:567. 191.2:10 n. 194.13:  
567. 196.16:241. 207.8:78. 207.9:  
268. 212.7:97. 217.26:300. 237.1:  
251.

## ANTIPHON, i.12:182. 13:472. 18:6.

21:160. 23:(καί)308, (μέν)372. 25:  
518. 26:499. 27:(καί)321, (δέ τοι)  
539.

ii.α4:339, 340. 9:372. β3:373. 12:  
501. γ3:499, 504. 5:340. 9:372.  
δ7:499.

iii.α1:382. 2:372. δ9:246.

iv.α2:536. 4:500. γ5:(καί)300, (τοι)  
539.

v.4:296. 6:(γάρ)65, (καί)294, (που)  
491, 495. 14:(γε)160, (μέν)377.  
15:206. 16:325. 18:377. 19:(οὐδέ)  
195, (μέντοι)405. 20:(δέ)171, (μέν)  
372. 23:299. 27:369n. 36:62. 42:  
185. 43:560. 44:1111, 358. 48:  
(οὐδέ)197, (τοι)539. 51:397. 53:  
557. 56:62. 57:(δῆ)246, (καί)311.  
58:11. 62:(ἀλλά μέν)105, (δέ)184,  
(μέν)370. 63:371, 397. 67:(δέ . . .  
γε)156, (οὐκουν)439. 72:539. 76:  
511. 86:111, 65. 91:(ῆ)282. (καί)  
323, (μήν)352, (τοι)539. 93:510.  
94:539, 544. 95:(οὔτε)511, (τοι)  
539. 96:539.

vi.1:(ἀρα)38, (γούν)453. 2:160. 3:  
405. 5:515. 6:518. 8:377. 9:(μέν)  
385, (τοι)546. 10:510. 11:377.  
14:(asyndeton)111, (μέν)374, (τοι)  
546. 15:275. 17:372. 19:377. 34:  
(δῆ)226, (καί)315. 35:35. 38:225.  
47:563. 48:563. Fr. 1a:(φέρε δῆ)  
217, (ἀλλά μέν δῆ)394. 50:374.

ANTIPHON SOPHISTA, Fr. 49:217.  
53:220. 54:(ἀρα)39, (δῆ)222.

APOLLODORUS GELOUS, Fr. 27.2:  
188n.

APOLLONIUS DYSCOLUS, *Synt.*  
78.2:262. *Comi.* 228.22:415n.

ARCHESTRATUS, *ap. Ath.* 319D:23.

ARCHILOCHUS, Fr. 3.1:544. 7.1-2:

193. 7.5:101. 45:44. 67b:243.  
78.3:(δῆ)221, (μέν)362. 81.5:44.  
88.3:259. 89.2:44, 45. 102.2:522.  
103:5.

ARCHIPPUS, Fr. 15.1:97. 35.2:11x n.,  
478.

ARCHYTAS, Fr. 1:344. 4:(ἀτάρ)54,  
(καί)318.

ARISTOPHANES, *Acharnenses*, 1:

212. 4:175. 5:125, 149. 10:220.

16:220. 24:309. 40:103. 59:381.

60:149. 68:278. 71:76. 80:188.

86:310. 90:37. 92:138. 93:144.

97:491. 98:217. 103:216. 108:122.

109:381. 111:217. 115:127. 117:

372. 120:130. 125-6:272. 126:

311. 127:120. 136:383. 142:278.

154:159. 162:402. 175:103. 176:

131. 178:175. 185:466. 186:8.

187:136. 191:10. 194:9. 196:381.

222:487. 234:15. 238:49. 239:15.

247:356. 259:189. 285:475. 292:

(ἀλλά)4n, (δέ)167. 295:131. 307:

(δέ γε)125, 153, (εἴπερ)488. 311:

236. 323:276. 327:143. 338:104.

346:143. 347:36. 357:556. 370-5:

503. 407:7. 409:17. 412:52. 424:

28. 428:(ἀλλά)8, (μέν)378. 447:

129. 448:52, 119. 450:71. 458:5.

466:557. 513:(ἀτάρ)54, (γάρ)68.

523:258. 535:220. 543:(γε)132, (ῆ)

584. 544:(καί)317, (μέντοι) 402.

569:507. 572:79. 576:(ἀλλά) 23,

(γάρ)79, 80. 579:23. 581:97.

588:62. 594:108. 598:(γάρ)75, (γε)

137. 611:556, 564. 612:263. 618:

272. 619:274. 620:443. 627:15.

628:145. 643:567. 655:545. 657:

509. 693:205, 214. 710:402. 733:

216. 738:103. 749:283. 752:19,

541. 753:111, 222. 754:(δῆ)222,

(μέν)381. 757:333. 764:263. 765:

343. 769:123. 771:341. 776:282.

777:216. 784:333. 785:175. 788:

547. 794:132. 802-3:263. 811:

128. 815:227. 818:570. 836:128.

860:128. 867:128. 900:134. 904:

570. 906:402. 908:356. 909:127.

911:570. 912:264. 916:145, 149.

917:272. 933:546. 947:550. 952:

127. 956:6. 968:126. 988:206.

1016:501. 1020:69. 1025:414. 1033:

10. 1050:136. 1056:8. 1058:217.

1062:497. 1069:356. 1076:97.

1087:97. 1105:127. 1106:127.

1111:28. 1119:189. 1127:271.

1143:216. 1152:142. 1164:374.

1185:139. 1192:122. 1195:462.

1228:(δῆ)276, (περ)488. 1232:17.

*Aves*, 11:129. 12:381. 13:280. 19:

37. 25:121. 27:272. 36:381. 39:

446. 55:153. 56:467. 63:190. 64:

ARISTOPHANES (*cont.*)

263. 67:259. 74:316. 75:525.

85:123. 89:174. 91:45. 97:66.

98:9. 100:400. 109:5. 112:259.

114:377. 135:128. 136:263. 139:

128. 144:52, 131. 155:259. 158:

127. 161:(ἀρα)45, (μέν) 381. 162:

280. 164:382. 175:252. 177:128,

172. 179:267. 187:268. 225:263.

264:556. 268:251. 269:(δῆ)267,

(δῆ)276. 274:542. 275:276. 285:

525. 291:410. 292:(οὐν)475, (ῆ)584.

297:146. 307:(ἀρα)50, (τοι)550. 310:

40. 311:40. 314:40. 325:312. 339:

400. 342:97. 356:549. 357:(γε)123,

(δέ)174. 358:381. 378:(καί)3, (γε)

117, 149. 381:381. 385:343. 406:542.

417:211. 443:492. 451:205. 462:355.

477:272. 481:579. 495:35. 499:

462. 508:300. 511:(δῆ)278, (τοι)

572. 513:36. 517:40. 531:421.

536:308. 539:205. 548:355. 550:

(καί δῆ)252, (τοι)578n 577:465.

584:169. 586:164. 587:216. 600:

540. 601:38. 612:160. 639:355.

641:156, 532. 642:(δέ γε)117, (δέ

τε *codd.*)149. 643:17. 652:213.

656:382. 661:403. 665:17. 668:

50. 674:308. 675:217. 694:194.

701-2:500. 720:145. 728:296. 769:

192. 798:143. 812:174. 815:80.

816:141. 822:294. 823:(γε)161,

(καί)325. 826:263. 832:263. 856:

188. 895:555. 921:206. 923:206.

933:400. 935:169. 966:18. 967:21.

969:272. 985:228. 997:174. 999:

174. 1010:287. 1015:9. 1017:555.

1027:468. 1033:312. 1041:490.

1049:80. 1071:405. 1118:5. 1136:

160. 1144:319. 1153:263. 1162:8.

1168:103. 1177:272, 432. 1185:

431, 435. 1208:127. 1214:367.

1217:272. 1219:76. 1220:(γάρ)62,

(μέν)382. 1221:50. 1225:549. 1229:

545. 1251:250. 1259:350. 1269:

127. 1313:206. 1351:400. 1359:

488. 1360:131. 1370:128. 1387:

476. 1391:123, 132. 1397:281.

1401:128. 1405:427. 1408:442.

1427-8:517. 1437:541. 1442:127.

1446:316. 1451:263. 1455:585.

1462:356. 1498:40. 1501:83. 1503:

382. 1512:216. 1513:218. 1530:45.

1542:43, 120. 1545:97. 1546:107.

ARISTOPHANES (*cont.*)

1548:276. 1565:383. 1571:142.

1585:272. 1590:357. 1598:13.

1608:160. 1614:551. 1615:263.

1630:546. 1640:263. 1642:541.

1650:3. 1651:402. 1668:402. 1670:

278. 1688:45. 1691:129. 1692:

402, 413. 1718:15.

*Ecclesiazusae*, 20:556. 29:298. 35:

540. 37:525. 41:356. 47:558. 49:

186. 54:318. 60:160, 377. 61:490.

72:83. 75:490. 76:550. 91:40. 93:

129. 95:129. 105:579. 111:493.

119:493. 125:316. 131:217. 135:

175. 136:129. 145:584. 157:243.

159:559. 160:569n. 180:381. 190:

129. 195:188. 201:5. 213:127.

231:40. 251:9. 257:525. 273:156.

275:123. 276:308. 299:(γάρ)97,

(καίτοι)557. 301:373. 315:220.

321:538, 545. 326:462. 327:267.

329:492. 338:295. 339:570, 579.

343:423. 344:111. 350:(καί)295,

(οὐκουν)423. 372:492. 377:476.

378:278. 380:93. 385:278. 386:31.

395:121. 410:412. 413:6. 452:194.

455:133. 458:497. 534. 460:49.

462:49. 473:549. 495:298. 500:

251. 509:403, 414. 522:543. 523:

355. 525:175. 532-6:83. 537:83.

555:171. 558:43. 577:152. 581:

252. 583:355. 603:74. 604:(δῆ)

211, 229, (τοι)549. 607:60. 610:68.

646:404. 650:402. 661:267. 668:

49. 672:49. 700:404. 728:152.

733:207. 748:129, 132. 762:175.

765:478. 771:121. 773-6:1111, 88.

776:123. 786:(δῆ)252, (οὐν)478,

479. 791:211. 794:455. 800:440.

827:220. 838:143. 853:279. 436.

872:455. 913:97. 920:423. 928:9.

933:131. 946:313. 951:103. 952:

218. 969:415. 972:541, 548. 984:

97. 985:141. 1008:412. 1012:(δῆ)

252, (καί)313. 1034:350. 1045:128.

1003:130. 1067:119. 1075:339. 1082:

427. 1102:479. 1122:277. 1130:402.

1144:272, 432. 1150: 540, 552.

</

## ARISTOPHANES (cont.)

448n., 455. 88:175. 111:51n., 52.  
119:40. 124:127. 125:37. 128:310.  
129:377. 138:36. 152:216, 218.  
155:217. 168:401. 171:263. 175:  
172. 178:310. 180:308, 549. 181:  
287. 186:121. 189:414. 199:224.  
204:491. 232:348. 235:544. 236:  
287. 244:15. 250:108. 252:108.  
253:109. 258:134, 149. 276:142,  
404, 410. 282:136. 299:570. 324:  
271. 328:101. 335:355. 342:315.  
344:128, 129, 449. 351:263. 356:  
153. 360:287. 363-5:152. 366:  
(περ)488, (τοι)555. 384:37, 117.  
386:37. 392:308. 409:544. 411:  
132. 413:117. 421:129. 423:(γε)  
158, (οὐν)465. 427:52, 119. 429:  
167. 432:153. 435:544. 439:270.  
443:153. 465:423. 470:127. 482:  
217. 492:18. 493:263. 520:377.  
540:414. 562:520n. 598:379. 600:  
127. 615:121. 616:127. 624:355.  
634:217. 658:220. 667:130, 155.  
671:136. 683:540. 693:230. 698:  
(γε)129, (τοι)544. 700:153. 711:  
200. 713:153. 716:124. 726:276.  
744:153. 749:276. 751:15. 774:  
382. 777:(γάρ)96, (μέν)381. 779:  
25. 780:26, 581. 787:550. 789:96.  
792:310. 797:134. 810:272. 858:  
80. 870:275. 871:272. 875:272.  
878:272. 885:(μέντοι)412, (καίτοι)  
556. 895:401. 900:267. 906:153.  
908:153. 911:475. 953:27, 28.  
955:9. 960:276. 967:153. 977:556.  
985:22. 1002:82. 1014:218. 1035:  
128. 1044:310. 1054:551. 1063:  
103. 1086:103. 1088:110. 1092:  
110. 1104:9. 1110:275. 1111:129.  
1151:137. 1152:399. 1154:153.  
1156:153. 1162:28. 1170:37. 1180:  
127. 1201:110. 1204:156. 1205:31.  
1216:381. 1217:459. 1221:400.  
1224:236. 1226:152. 1229:275.  
1231:134. 1238:185. 1242:294.  
1250:292. 1257:153. 1259:570.  
1278:71. 1290:584. 1302:198.  
1305:274. 1307-9:274, 276. 1309:  
156. 1310:149. 1322:310. 1339:174.  
1340:377. 1347:154. 1355:541.  
1368:127. 1373:156. 1377:127.  
1381:431. 1387:205. 1388:130.  
1392:79. 1397:26. 1402:127.

## ARISTOPHANES (cont.)

*Lysistrata*, 12:110. 16:542. 20:555.  
28:286. 31:43. 34:572. 36:276.  
40-1:505. 46:(γάρ τοι)89, 550, (καί)  
308. 54:271. 55:31, 88. 56:549.  
65:251. 77:251. 81:135. 82:145.  
83:212. 84:540. 86:540. 94:545.  
96:277. 119:96. 130:111. 131:357.  
144:(γάρ)96, (μήν)348. 146:208.  
160:188. 167:546. 170:348. 183:  
331. 206:352. 212-13:193. 249:  
193. 254:300. 256:584. 263:373,  
375. 286:103. 299:82. 327:207.  
354:492. 362:354. 372:264. 375:  
274. 403:128. 418:525. 427:25,  
581. 435:555. 441:129. 442:297.  
463:108. 486:355. 489:97. 491:  
467. 498:401. 501:318. 503:216.  
509:556, 564. 514:60. 521:136.  
516:565n., 566. 523:220. 526:315.  
545-6:164. 559:357. 560:308. 588:  
358. 589:(γε)120, (μέν γε)160, 377.  
593:186. 595:97. 601:251. 605:  
143. 611:88. 612:450. 629:488.  
636:62. 658:126. 684:208. 717:  
462. 720:160. 797:47. 801:110.  
822:145. 823:9. 836:(δή)276,  
(καί)312. 848:lxiii, 276. 865:143.  
877:450. 882:276. 888:210. 901:  
565. 902:lxiii, 565n., 566. 904:10.  
905:556. 909:251. 910:314. 912:  
273. 914:272. 919:538. 925:249.  
926:557. 928:28. 930:276. 933:45.  
939:161. 943:121. 962-4:164. 968:  
400. 972:276. 985:272. 992:488.  
1016:407. 1023:107. 1024:149.  
1029:143. 1030:(ἀλλά)17, (καίτοι)  
556. 1031:280. 1033:128. 1035:  
558, 564. 1072:586. 1089:286.  
1095:401. 1102:206. 1107:100.  
1108:216. 1112:18. 1165:160.  
1167:133. 1181:110. 1213:412.  
1226:285. 1236:160, 380. 1239:  
103. 1241:143. 1246:143. 1295:  
216. 1308:523. 1320:200.  
*Nubes*, 4:357. 6:277. 11:17. 30:52.  
33:7. 39:466. 53:335. 57:78, 80.  
61:260. 62:224. 71:475. 78:8. 79:  
270. 84:122. 87:272. 90:312. 102:  
128. 108:126. 126:399. 135:127.  
167:280. 169:154. 175:154. 180:  
269. 187:52. 191:82. 192:172.  
193:270. 200:80. 211:154. 218:  
82, 97. 220:475. 224:382. 227:

## ARISTOPHANES (cont.)

489. 232:31. 253:135. 254:lviii,  
lxii. 255:lviii, 574. 259:207. 269:  
277. 272:42. 295:117. 319:37.  
327:551. 329:407. 331:287. 335:  
37. 340:(δή)216, (μέντοι)407. 341:  
488. 343:450. 351:82. 353:37.  
356:570. 365:549. 369:267. 371:  
562. 372:551. 382:52. 392:570.  
394:37. 396:166. 397:243. 398:  
(δή)273, (καί)310. 401:119. 402:  
243. 403:(ἀτάρ)52, (γάρ)81, (δή)τα  
273. 408:454. 409:585. 410:35.  
420:20. 423:272. 425:156. 429:  
571. 431:(ἀλλά)17, (γε)149. 433:  
122. 435:570. 465:(ἀρα)37, (ἀρα)  
50. 469:134. 478:217. 481:175.  
483:584. 486:271. 491:263. 500:  
218. 528:293. 553:376. 563:375.  
588:404. 593:300. 609:377. 612:  
375. 613:299. 624:585. 631:348.  
636:217. 647:128, 129. 649:382.  
654:380. 655:75. 656:263. 660:7.  
667:129. 673:(γε)124, (δή)210. 676:  
119, 150. 677:52. 679:89. 681:  
247. 683:216. 688:131. 689:124.  
696:276. 700:217. 717:310. 724:  
273. 733:275. 734:131. 748:218.  
750:207. 755:211, 287. 761:52.  
773:127. 775:217. 778:216,  
252. 784:287. 785:(γε)122, (καί)  
121. 786:247. 787-8:402. 791:272.  
794:381. 797:20. 798:99. 801:52,  
119. 814:544. 818:129. 822:348.  
827:9. 840:314. 856:308. 861:541.  
865:350. 876:556, 564. 878:550.  
885:453. 904:269. 906:251. 913:  
275. 915:153. 920:153. 921:556.  
930:(γε)132, (περ)488. 940:217.  
961:571. 963:377. 984:127. 985:  
442. 1002:442. 1016:374. 1030:  
355. 1045:556. 1051:271. 1052:  
562. 1058:278. 1063:451. 1064:  
128, 129. 1067-8:157. 1074:562.  
1082:562. 1087:270. 1088:(δέ)177,  
(δή)217. 1094:271. 1097:252. 1098:  
270. 1102:270. 1105:270. 1112:  
475. 1117:377. 1172:160. 1176:  
517. 1177:297. 1178:259. 1180:  
134, 149. 1183:488. 1185:357.  
1188:381. 1190:139. 1192:211.  
1196:271. 1198:97. 1209:215.  
1215:132. 1217:117, 149. 1220:52.  
1235:158. 1236:572. 1242:350.

## ARISTOPHANES (cont.)

1260:492. 1266:263. 1269:410.  
1271:37. 1273:270. 1275:(γε)122,  
(δαί)263. 1277:152. 1286:174.  
1287:121. 1290:270. 1299:272.  
1301:45. 1326:318. 1338:399.  
1342:140, 411. 1344:(καί)316, (μήν)  
354. 1349:129. 1353:355. 1359:  
76. 1361:400. 1363:6. 1364:13.  
1366:74. 1369:10. 1377:431. 1378:  
130. 1379:149. 1380:310. 1382:  
160. 1396:23. 1406:570. 1410:  
216. 1412:142-3. 1414:357. 1417:  
153. 1423:270. 1428:562. 1430:  
270. 1434:310. 1440:74. 1441:357.  
1442:210. 1443:295. 1447:121.  
1456:270. 1462:(γε)128, (δέ)162n.,  
165. 1469:129. 1470:80. 1474:326.  
1495:121. 1499:308. 1506:78.  
*Pax*, 5:206. 20:155. 33:172. 41:  
(γάρ)81, (μήν)338. 43:436. 47:  
382. 49:8. 50:153. 103:121. 114:  
50. 125:381. 150:155. 177:52.  
178:249. 186:188. 198:9. 200:  
272. 220:452. 222:108. 227:259.  
233:452. 244:381. 250:200. 262:  
156. 271:137. 274:272, 432. 280:  
140. 285:127. 327:(γε)141, (δή)  
252. 334:549. 340:93. 350:(οὐδέ  
. . . γε δή)156, 268, (καί)296.  
364:438. 369:311. 386:140. 401:  
297. 405:218. 409:211. 414:37.  
443:137. 446:137. 449:137. 452:  
137. 457:156. 458:216. 475:156.  
476:26. 479:123. 483:139, 149.  
497:381, 459. 509:551. 511:540,  
548. 513:357. 523:200. 524:172.  
543:578. 545:453. 566:80. 568:  
584. 603:210. 615:572. 623:525.  
625:117, 149. 628:143, 149. 632:  
200. 634:525. 660:10. 673:381.  
675:133. 676:37. 700:263. 730:  
465. 758:165. 774:372. 820:lxii,  
550. 821:550. 838:82. 850:127.  
890:585. 892:(καί)308, (οὐ)440.  
894:117. 901:210. 904:156. 910:  
584. 913:123. 923:121. 924:126.  
925:263. 927:9. 929:239. 272.  
934:542. 942:(γε)143, (δή)251. 963:  
136. 966:149. 973:227. 1010:268.  
1023:570. 1045:40. 1047:404.  
1048:40. 1061:8. 1074:117. 1080:  
9. 1088:64. 1090:541. 1099:216.  
1100:403, 405. 1102:216. 1103:17.

## ARISTOPHANES (cont.)

- 1105:216. 1118:169. 1127:128.  
 1149:200. 1152:452. 1211:492.  
 1219:570. 1224:263. 1226:381.  
 1233:271. 1234:136. 1238:218.  
 1240:45. 1251:142. 1256:381.  
 1260:131. 1272:129. 1279:273.  
 1289:312. 1290:401-2. 1292:284.  
 1311:188. 1344:455. 1351:131.  
*Plutus*, 21:150. 29:541. 44:273. 65:  
 97. 67:358. 71:431. 74:123. 76:  
 216. 78:59. 93:357. 97:477. 124:  
 80. 140:268. 146:97. 147:550.  
 164-8:152. 172:176. 180:137. 198:  
 542. 220:128. 227:252. 257:431.  
 261:267. 287:478. 309:139, 149.  
 342:423. 364:544. 373:345. 377:  
 541. 385:422. 412:477. 414:252,  
 355. 418:64. 422:381. 424:550.  
 425:104. 429:78, 80. 448:190, 191.  
 467:355. 485:124. 489:383. 497:  
 267. 498:562. 523:267. 531:562.  
 540:156. 546:50. 554:404. 563:  
 575. 565:455. 567:573. 572:52.  
 579:45. 583:124. 586:562. 587:  
 436. 592:16. 598:14. 608:350.  
 648:lxii. 649:572. 665:160, 375.  
 668:220. 697:(δῆρα)277, (καί)319.  
 700:286. 733:426. 764:200. 771:  
 158. 794:272. 832:286. 833:lxvii.  
 833:477. 833-8:478. 834:477. 838:  
 (δὲ)200, (οὖν)477. 845:272. 848:  
 427. 863:579. 868:273. 869:283.  
 889:423. 891:218. 892:120. 902:  
 355. 920:45. 928:355. 929:lxiii,  
 436. 942:207. 962:18. 970:286.  
 989:578. 1000:528. 1036:476. 1041:  
 550. 1043:129. 1052:401. 1062:  
 402. 1083:129, 150. 1084:324.  
 1087:436. 1092:573. 1098:274.  
 1099:542. 1107:174. 1111:210.  
 1120:372. 1141:528. 1150:175.  
 1155:9. 1157:579. 1172:25. 1188:  
 97. 1189:97. 1190:573. 1195:477.  
 1202:411. 1204:357.  
*Ranae*, 31:467. 34:554. 42:544. 43:  
 557. 52:278. 56:9. 58:31. 61:412.  
 73:(γὰρ τοῖς)89, 550, (καί)308. 74:  
 (ἄρα)38. (καί)304. 77:488. 80:  
 159. 103:(ἀλλά)5, (δὲ)177. 104:  
 lxviii n., 129, 350. 116:(γὰρ)80,  
 (γὰρ)158. 123:3. 128:136. 138:124.  
 141:414. 171:400. 174:23. 190:  
 116. 192:31. 193:272. 432. 198:

## ARISTOPHANES (cont.)

121. 200:272, 432. 201:431. 207:  
 217. 227:25. 242:223n. 258:342.  
 263:339. 264:339. 268:45. 269:36.  
 270:217. 285:357. 288:357. 290:  
 160. 339:304. 340:97. 344:188.  
 405:374. 412:(δῆ)206, (καί)317.  
 442-3:25, 581. 460:217. 461:40.  
 480:431. 488:9. 498:(ἀλλά)31, (δῆ)  
 217. 509:(καί)297, (τοῖς)546. 515:  
 124. 522:492. 526:(μήν)354, (πῶς)  
 lxiii, 492. 546:525. 556:475. 559:  
 156. 564:154, 157. 565-7:154, 491.  
 569:218. 585:302. 602:6. 604:251.  
 607:312. 611:5. 612:476. 625:168.  
 630:174. 634:(γὰρ)97, (περὶ)488n.  
 641:217. 647:(δῆ)252, (καί)311.  
 656:555. 662:73. 671:525. 736:  
 (καί)302, (γούν)453. 737:300. 743:  
 400, 402. 745:5. 751:5. 771:220.  
 788-90:584. 789:220. 803:286, 584.  
 805:259. 814:584. 815:490. 818-  
 19:505. 841:208. 857:169. 867:97.  
 885:217. 888:210. 890:318. 907:  
 160, 355. 914:275. 936:124. 950:  
 272. 955:143. 971:400. 1007:188.  
 1009:517. 1018:251. 1020:191.  
 1028:452. 1037:452. 1039:541.  
 1046:548, 549. 1047:(οὖν)430, (τοῖς)  
 551. 1065:423. 1073:25. 1090:220.  
 1119:355. 1130:25. 1135:140.  
 1136:120. 1158:124. 1162:211.  
 1169:188. 1180:31. 1184:381.  
 1188:478. 1189:231. 1198:120,  
 149. 1205:252. 1210:298. 1249:  
 355. 1253:40. 1261:236. 1298:442.  
 1304:557. 1325:407. 1368:488. 1370:  
 127. 1384:158. 1393:149. 1396:  
 167. 1399:271. 1433:128. 1434:  
 97. 1461:165. 1470:351. 1476:236.  
 1482:127. 1500:217.  
*Thesmophoriazusae*, 1:49. 9:401. 20:  
 128. 34:299. 34:544. 63:282, 286.  
 67:426. 81:(γὰρ τοῖς)89, 550, (καί)  
 308. 84:287. 97:(ἀλλ' ἢ)28, (μὲν)  
 367. 140:263. 143-4:273. 145:  
 142. 157:579. 164:447. 166:308.  
 171:89, 550. 206:478. 207:149.  
 211:272. 214:252. 218:400. 225:  
 129. 226:272. 250:459. 257:19.  
 259:319. 260:284. 263:455. 264:  
 99. 266:(δῆ)251, (μὲν)372. 274:  
 lxii, lxiii. 284:102. 288:4n., 12.  
 340:306. 383:383. 398:296. 424:

## ARISTOPHANES (cont.)

13. 449:13. 456:525. 457:8. 477:  
 463. 518:123. 520:400. 531:103.  
 532:38. 533:544. 563:272. 567:  
 222. 568:357. 580:298. 612:467.  
 621:295. 630:403. 637:311. 646:5.  
 659:218. 672:518. 705:272. 709:  
 405, 410, 414. 710:442. 714:405.  
 737:165. 746:188. 755:418, 425.  
 769:251. 775:550. 778:217. 804:  
 160, 337, 340. 805:396. 819:396.  
 845:455. 861:478. 865:158. 887:  
 551. 898:121. 899:546. 904:538.  
 911:87. 922:382. 924:8. 934:247.  
 982:216. 987:156. 1004:123. 1035:  
 168. 1092:251. 1104:540. 1130:543.  
 1145:542. 1150:219. 1162:528. 1209:  
 227. 1218:133. 1224:123. 1228:214.  
*Vespae*, 3:45. 4:50. 6:(γὰρ)158, (οὖν)  
 467. 8:27. 10:35. 13:278. 15:52.  
 21:210. 27:132. 28:52. 46:127.  
 47:431. 62:156. 76:131. 84:146.  
 92:465. 94:156, 186. 121:278.  
 134:156. 143:40. 144:122. 146:  
 136. 147:52. 150:(ἀτάρ)52, (γὰρ)  
 140. 163:132. 164:570. 169:275.  
 172:272. 181:20. 182:136. 191:  
 271. 209:281. 217:459. 218:143,  
 150. 231:240, 399. 234:49. 240:  
 15. 253:66. 258:350. 262:452. 266:  
 40. 268:335. 273:40. 280:350.  
 291:427. 293:135. 296:268. 298:  
 126. 299:544, 555. 300:64. 310:  
 125. 314:37. 316:102. 318:99.  
 332:279. 350:271. 354:271. 367:  
 570. 371:123. 385:570. 389:69.  
 396:275. 416:149. 417:272. 420:  
 320. 421:134. 426:399. 428:14.  
 441:272. 442:205. 448:196. 451:  
 37. 457:17. 463:271. 478:584.  
 480:340, 363. 482:5. 486:131. 492:  
 251. 503:303. 515:475. 518:123,  
 131. 521:135, 352. 524:174. 530:  
 52. 537:354. 538:83. 552:374.  
 556:304. 563:97. 564:159n., 160.  
 588:89, 549. 599:564. 603:549.  
 605:154. 607:374. 620:47. 643:  
 350. 653:96. 659:290. 665:(δῆ)  
 211, (μὲν)401. 680:120. 698:  
 575. 707:145. 725:286. 726:446.  
 729:191. 747:414. 764:467. 765:6.  
 776:154. 781:111. 784:541, 548.  
 786:3. 787:549. 795:455. 796:477.  
 807-11:376. 813:302. 814:96. 815:

## ARISTOPHANES (cont.)

52. 816:133. 821:37. 823:423.  
 833:117. 836:175. 839:45. 851:  
 227. 856:573. 857:245. 858:259.  
 860:15. 893:46. 898:475. 900:316.  
 904:134. 907:383. 912:(ἀλλά)18,  
 (τοῖς)550. 915:562. 917:149, 156.  
 922:126. 934:550. 940:123. 945:  
 123. 953:123, 475. 980:556. 981:  
 52. 984:25. 985:272. 989:275.  
 1008:15. 1009:14. 1029:156. 1035:  
 165. 1062:210. 1064:205. 1098:  
 567. 1104:377. 1114:102. 1122:  
 544. 1126:80. 1129:442. 1141:  
 (ἀτάρ)52, (τοῖς)xlvi, 573. 1146:  
 550. 1148:272. 1154:(ἀλλά)9, (οὖν)  
 467. 1155:(δῆ)210, (μὲν)413,  
 (τοῖς)287. 1159:78. 1162:128. 1179:  
 122. 1181:136, 571. 1188:167.  
 1190:442. 1192:548. 1193:326.  
 1205:571. 1212:263. 1224:253.  
 1227:137. 1252:298. 1262:555.  
 1268:140. 1271:101. 1277:520n.  
 1297:175. 1299:79. 1301:556.  
 1315:231. 1324:251. 1332:350.  
 1336:(ἄρα)50, (γὰρ)129. 1344:412.  
 1351:188. 1371:123. 1377:475.  
 1387:128. 1393:131. 1395:287.  
 1400:122. 1406:312. 1416:550.  
 1421:475. 1434:443. 1450:128.  
 1464:281. 1474:128. 1483:251.  
 1484:251. 1496:275. 1502:123.  
 1507:132. 1514:52, 119.  
*Fragmenta*, 79:584. 105:lv n. 109:  
 94. 125:27, 584. 108.3:584. 317:  
 194. 333:584. 346:584. 362:584.  
 535:578. 607:27, 584. 905:lxvi.  
 ARISTOPHO, *Fr.* 14:1:567.  
 ARISTOTLE, *Analytica Posteriora*,  
 75b41:536.  
*de Anima*, 405a4:536. 406a10:183.  
 410b4:68. 427b11:203.  
*de Caelo*, 268a22:489.  
*Categoriae*, 3b19:25. 5b10:38.  
*de Coloribus*, 708b22:564.  
*Ethica Eudemia*, 1210b20:23. 1225b4:  
 553.  
*Ethica Nicomachea*, 1008a30:67.  
 1101a12:489. 1120b30:203. 1120a  
 31:203. 1125a11:25. 1130a22:43.  
 1132a6:166. 1141a11:474. 1152b30:  
 3. 1150a14:260. 1150a17:260.  
 1157b2:68. 1150b11:68. 1170a22:3.  
 1180b25:46. 1180b27:40.