On a law of Indo-European word order
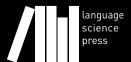
Über ein Gesetz der indogermanischen Wortstellung

Jacob Wackernagel

translated by

George Walkden

Christina Sevdali

Morgan Macleod

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On a law of Indo-European word order

Über ein Gesetz der indogermanischen Wortstellung

Jacob Wackernagel

Freie Universität Berlin

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Chapter 1

Introduction

George Walkden

University of Konstanz

Not every linguist has a law named after them, but, even among those who do, Jacob Wackernagel is exceptional. First, his law is one of very few (especially from the nineteenth century) that are *syntactic* in nature, having to do with the relative ordering of words. Secondly, it differs from the commonly recognized sound laws (e.g. those of Grimm, Verner, Grassmann and Holtzmann; see Collinge 1985 for an overview) in that its scope is tremendous: far from being a single, punctual event as were the sound laws of history under the Neogrammarian conception (Osthoff & Brugmann 1878), Wackernagel's law (he argues) left its traces in pretty much all of the Indo-European languages, even if its status as a synchronic principle of grammatical organization varies substantially. Thirdly, and relatedly, Wackernagel's law is still the subject of active research today among specialists in various languages, far beyond the Indo-European family which provided the context for the original law. That this is the case can be seen from the nearly 700 Google Scholar citations that Wackernagel's (1892) hundred-page article has accrued by the date of writing. Wackernagel's law can safely be said to have entered the coveted realm of being "more cited than read".

This introduction has three aims. In the following section we provide a brief biographical sketch, along with a quick summary of the article and a concise statement of the law itself. Section 2 discusses the law's subsequent reception from publication until the present day, again without pretence of being exhaustive. Section 3 outlines our rationale for, and the decisions we have made during, the translation process.

1 Jacob Wackernagel and his law of Indo-European word order

1.1 Jacob Wackernagel (1853–1938)

Jacob Wackernagel was born in Basel, Switzerland, in 1853, to a wealthy and academically-inclined family. Between 1872 and 1874 he studied at Göttingen under the Indologist Theodor Benfey, arguably the figure with the most influence on Wackernagel's own views and scholarship. Like many of the philological luminaries of the time, his studies took him to Leipzig, where in 1874–75 he took classes with the prolific and powerful Georg Curtius and the Neogrammarian founder-figure August Leskien. Shortly after this he returned to Basel, where from 1876 he taught Greek and Sanskrit, and in 1879 he was appointed Professor of Greek, this chair having been vacated by the philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche. Basel was where he would spend the rest of his academic career, with the exception of the years 1902–1915, when he occupied the Chair of Comparative Philology at Göttingen.

Wackernagel's publications for the most part focused on ancient and historical Greek, especially in the first half of his career: these include two book-length works, *Über einige antike Anredeformen* ('On some forms of address in antiquity'; 1912) and *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Homer* ('Linguistic investigations of Homer'; 1916). Sanskrit was by no means neglected, however: his Sanskrit grammar (*Altindische Grammatik*) was his magnum opus (Langslow 2009: x), though only the first volume (1896) and the first part of the second (1905) were published during his lifetime. In 1936 he retired, and two years later, in 1938, he died, at the age of eighty-four. More detailed biographical treatments of Wackernagel can be found in Schwyzer (1938), Schlerath (1990), Langslow (2009: viii–xviii), and in particular Schmitt (1990).

1.2 Wackernagel's scholarship

On the whole, Wackernagel's attention was focused on concrete problems in the history or prehistory of specific Indo-European languages. He seldom wrote on general linguistic issues, with the most important exception being his two-volume *Vorlesungen über Syntax* ('Lectures on Syntax'; 1920; 1924), recently translated into English (Langslow 2009). Despite its name, this work is more focused

on the nature and properties of morphological categories than on syntax proper.[*]
Nor did he devote much attention to comparative Indo-European linguistics *per
se*: only Sanskrit, Greek, Latin and Iranian featured in the titles of his published
works and the courses he taught (Langslow 2009: xi). The article featured in the
present book (Wackernagel 1892) is thus quite exceptional in its scope and gen-
erality.

   The article is heavily dominated by discussion of Greek data: the first seven sec-
tions and 70 of 104 pages are devoted almost exclusively to Greek. Wackernagel
turns his attention to Indo-Iranian in section VIII, closing with some suggestive
remarks on Germanic (modern German and Gothic). Section IX starts with some
similarly tentative comments on Celtic, but quickly moves on to Latin, which
also occupies sections X and XI. From a comparative or general linguistic per-
spective, however, section XII – the final section, comprising the last ten pages –
is the most immediately rewarding. Here Wackernagel engages with the modern
German evidence in more detail, and discusses the scope of his theory and the
diachronic development of the Indo-European daughter languages, especially as
regards the position of finite verbs.

1.3 Wackernagel's law

Wackernagel's law is given in (1).[†] For other overviews of the law, its scope and
validity, see Collinge (1985: 218–219), Krisch (1990), and Goldstein (2014).

(1) **Wackernagel's law**
     Enclitics occupy second position.

   This simple statement immediately raises a number of related issues: i) Which
languages or varieties does the law in (1) apply to? ii) What elements count as en-
clitics in these varieties? iii) What does "second position" mean more precisely?
iv) Why would such a law hold?
   The article is devoted primarily to answering i) and ii). As regards i), Wacker-
nagel is clear that the law's effects can be found in Greek (particularly Homeric

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[*] Delimiting the domain of syntax was a hot topic at the time Wackernagel was writing: Ries (1894)
in particular had opened up controversy. Wackernagel was fully aware of the limitations of his
treatment of syntax and planned to address it in a third volume, which unfortunately never saw
the light of day.   [†] Collinge (1985: 218) notes that Wackernagel himself did not claim credit for
the law, instead crediting it in the first volume of his *Lectures* to Delbrück (1878) on Sanskrit (see
Langslow 2009: 57). Collinge therefore suggests that the law should be called "the law of Delbrück
and Wackernagel". Since it was Wackernagel who established the wider validity of such a law
outside Sanskrit alone, we have retained the traditional attribution here.

Greek, with traces of the law to be found at later stages too), Latin, and Sanskrit, and on this basis concludes that it must have held in the ancestor language, Proto-Indo-European, as well. On Germanic and Celtic he is more tentative. The answer to ii) is extensional: a non-exhaustive list made up primarily of particles and pronouns, some of which, Wackernagel notes, are more prototypical than others.

iii) would be seen as crucial by most present-day linguists,* but Wackernagel is not particularly explicit on this point (cf. Aziz Hanna 2015: 11). The obvious answer is that second position is counted in terms of words; however, though most of Wackernagel's examples can all be characterized in this way, not all of them can. Though not operating with anything like a modern constituency or dependency grammar, Wackernagel does employ the notion of *Wortgruppe* 'word group', and discusses relations between words. Yet 'constituent' or 'semantic unit' does not seem to be the appropriate way to understand the second-position requirement either. The waters are muddied still further by Wackernagel's discussion (at the end of section VIII) of examples from Gothic in which *word-internal* second position appears to be crucial, e.g. Gothic *ga-**u**-laubeis* 'do you believe?', with the interrogative morpheme -*u*- occurring after the first morpheme of the verbal form. Finally, Wackernagel is also not very clear about the *domain* over which the law holds: he most often uses the word *Satz* ('clause'), but he is flexible as to where clause boundaries actually lie, and this is one area in which later linguists (e.g. Fraenkel 1932; 1933; 1965; Ruijgh 1990) have sought to improve on Wackernagel's formulation. To some extent, then, second position for Wackernagel is a flexible notion.

Despite this uncertainty, Wackernagel's precision and level of detail when discussing the examples themselves can hardly be called into question. Sometimes (e.g. Harris & Campbell 1995: 24) Wackernagel's law is framed as a tendency. For Wackernagel himself, though, it was clearly not intended to be understood in this way. The close attention paid in every section to potential counterexamples – and the effort expended in trying to explain them away – is more reminiscent of the modern theoretical linguist's modus operandi than of the cataloguing and quantification usually associated with Wackernagel's contemporaries (e.g. Ries (1880), Behaghel (1923–1932)). Moreover, given the use of the word *Gesetz* 'law' in the article's title, and given that Wackernagel would have been well aware of how the term had been appropriated by the Neogrammarians for exceptionless generalizations (e.g. Osthoff & Brugmann 1878), it would have been bizarre for

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* Cf. Zwicky (1977: 18–20) and Anderson (1993: 72–73). Halpern (1995), for instance, makes the case that there exist both 2W systems, in which enclitics follow the first word, and 2D systems, in which enclitics follow the first constituent.

Wackernagel to aim for anything else, even though he himself never identified as a Neogrammarian.* Clearly, though, Wackernagel is ready to concede that the law is not equally operative in all the diachronic stages of the languages in question, and this may be the reason why more recent linguists have attempted to water down his statement of the law.

Wackernagel also shares with the Neogrammarians (and with probably the majority of modern linguists) an approach to linguistic generalizations that is mentalist at its core. We see this, for instance, in his use of the term *Stellungsgefühl* 'position-feeling', with its echoes of Wundtian psychologism (see recently Fortis 2019 on the notion of *Formgefühl* 'form-feeling' and its use by Wundt 1874), even if this mentalism is rarely at the forefront of Wackernagel's article. We also see Wackernagel's mentalism, for instance, in his *Lectures on Syntax*, where in the first volume he distinguishes three types of linguistic relatedness: the first is "based on human nature, on general laws of the human psyche, fundamental relatedness" (Langslow 2009: 11), giving rise to syntactic features that are 'best described precisely in terms of their universality'.

As to iv) – the "why"-question – Wackernagel hints at an answer without really spelling it out: enclitics are unstressed, and it was this property that led them to occupy the second position.† Wackernagel reaches this conclusion in section XII, where he aims to account for the disparity in modern German between verbs in main and subordinate clauses. The suggestion is that the basic position of the verb was final, and that at an earlier stage verbs in main clauses 'moved' (*rückten*) to second position in order to be unstressed.‡ Here Wackernagel also explores a more restrictive version of his law, in which only mono- or disyllabic verb forms were affected. (Later the rule became purely syntactic, and affected all verb forms in main clauses, whether stressed or not.)

If Wackernagel's explanation for his law is fundamentally prosodic, then it differs in a crucial way from more recent proposals that have sought to build on Wackernagel's insights. It is to the legacy of his law that we now turn.

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* We thus fundamentally disagree with Aziz Hanna (2015: 250–251), who claims that Wackernagel never intended his law as a *Regel* 'rule'. The fact that Wackernagel attempts to explain away counterexamples where possible, and the fact that he himself uses the term *Regel* 'rule' at several points in the article, both militate against this interpretation.   † Hale (2017: 294–295) suggests that Wackernagel's reasoning is based on Optimality-Theory-style competing motivations: there is a drive for enclitics to be initial, but they cannot occupy absolute initial position because that requires them to be stressed. Hence they occupy second position as a compromise.   ‡ This movement-based account foreshadows early transformational proposals for German such as that of Bach (1962) by seventy years.

2 Reception and implications

Wackernagel's law has been described by Calvert Watkins – himself a key figure in the understanding of Indo-European syntax – as "[o]ne of the few generally accepted syntactic statements about I[ndo-]E[uropean]" (Watkins 1964: 1036). Writing in the early 1990s, Alice Harris & Lyle Campbell likewise call it "one of the firmest discoveries in the history of syntactic change" (Harris & Campbell 1995: 29), and Krisch (1990) describes it as "perhaps the only word order rule for Indo-European which has remained undisputed in its essentials since its discovery".* For more than a hundred years, Wackernagel's law was taken to be a robust generalization about the history of Indo-European syntax. Even more importantly, perhaps, the article triggered an outpouring of research into (en)clitics and the relation between syntax and prosody that has showed no signs of abating in recent years. An overview of the first century of this work can be found in the bibliography of Nevis et al. (1994), supplemented by Janse (1994), and the papers in Eichner & Rix (1990) and Halpern & Zwicky (1996). Particularly in the early 1980s, with the simultaneous flourishing of theoretical studies on the syntax-prosody interface (e.g. Klavans 1982; Kaisse 1985; Selkirk 1984; 1986; Nespor & Vogel 1986) and on cross-linguistic comparative syntax in the Principles and Parameters mould (e.g. Chomsky 1981; Rizzi 1982; Hale 1983), a cottage industry of clitic studies developed, which in the 21st century can safely be said to have lost its cottage status and developed into full-scale heavy industry. In this section we first detail the reception of Wackernagel's law within Indo-European studies, then discuss its more general relevance and implications during the latter part of the 20th century, before finishing with an examination of some more critical voices.

2.1 Wackernagel's Law in Indo-European (1892–1990)

The impact of Wackernagel's article within Indo-European studies and historical linguistics was tremendous from the beginning, and follow-up studies soon showed that other languages and varieties conformed to the same pattern that Wackernagel had identified.

Nilsson (1904) brings in Slavic varieties such as Old Bulgarian as well as varieties of modern Polish, aiming to show that Wackernagel's law applies here too. Ivanov (1958) argued that Wackernagel's law was relevant also to Lithuanian, and to Hittite and Tocharian, which had not yet been discovered at the time Wackernagel was writing (see also Carruba 1969; Hoffner 1973; Garrett 1990;

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* "Das Wackernagelsche Gesetz ist die vielleicht einzige in ihren Grundzügen von ihrer Entdeckung bis heute immer unumstrittene Wortstellungsregel für das Indogermanische" (Krisch 1990: 64–65).

Luraghi 1998 on Anatolian). As regards Celtic linguistics, the distinctive VSO order found in the Insular Celtic languages is explained by Watkins (1963), building on Vendryes (1912) and Dillon (1947), as closely linked to Wackernagel's law: certain enclitics had a close relationship with the verb, and drew it along to the beginning of the sentence as a host, resulting in verb-initial clauses.

Thurneysen (1892), who explicitly credits Wackernagel with the impetus to finish and publish his study, adduces word order evidence from Old French and connects its verb positioning to Wackernagel's law; this paper has itself been extremely influential within historical linguistics, spawning a substantial literature on clitic pronouns (see e.g. Wanner 1987 and Fontana 1993 for historical perspectives) and verb position (recently for instance Kaiser 2002; Wolfe 2018).

Within Germanic linguistics in particular, the focus during this period was on something that Wackernagel himself had addressed only tentatively: verb-second and the position of the finite verb. Ries (1907: 315–318) investigates word order in Beowulf and finds some support for Wackernagel's claims about the position of unstressed verbs, at least for auxiliaries and modals, but does not accept his diachronic reconstruction of asymmetric verb positioning for Proto-Germanic or Proto-Indo-European.[*] Kuhn (1933) built on Wackernagel through an empirical investigation of poetic texts from Old English, Old Norse and Old Saxon. He proposed two further laws: the Germanic *Satzpartikelgesetz* (clausal particle law) states that "clausal particles occur in the first dip in the clause, proclitic to either its first or second stressed word" (Kuhn 1933: 8), and the Germanic *Satzspitzengesetz* (clause-initial law), stating that "there must be clausal particles in an initial dip" (Kuhn 1933: 43). While Kuhn's second law is nowadays mostly considered to have been falsified (Momma 1997; Mines 2002), Kuhn's first law remains influential. Dewey (2006), for instance, posits a stage of "intonational verb-second" during which the placement of the finite verb in Germanic was regulated primarily by prosodic considerations.

Among the languages that were Wackernagel's main focus – Greek, and to a lesser extent Latin and Sanskrit – research during this period primarily strove to make the law more precise and to test its predictions in different types of texts and grammatical contexts. Work in this vein includes Dover (1960), Marshall (1987) and Ruijgh (1990) for historical Greek, Marouzeau (1907; 1953) and Fraenkel (1932; 1933; 1965) for Latin, and Hale (1987a,b) and Krisch (1990) for Sanskrit.

Not everyone was uniformly positive. Delbrück (1900: 81–83), while accepting Wackernagel's findings on enclitic positioning in general, argued against Wack-

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[*] Hopper (1975: 15–16) claims that Ries (1907) and Delbrück (1907) both supported Wackernagel's view. In fact, neither of them did, at least as regards the specifics of the diachronic development.

ernagel's view that the verb occupied second position in main clauses in Proto-Indo-European, since, he argued, verbs in Indo-European were in general weakly stressed rather than entirely unstressed.[*] In his review of Ries (1907), he takes a similar but not identical position: in Proto-Indo-European, verbs were unstressed in main clauses and stressed in subordinate clauses, but their basic position was final in both cases; the development of asymmetric verb positioning as in modern German belonged to Germanic times (Delbrück 1907: 75–76).

Work on Wackernagel's law in historically-attested Indo-European languages evidently did not stop with Watkins (1964) or with the papers in Eichner & Rix (1990). However, the 1970s and 1980s gave the law a new lease of life by extending its linguistic range, and it is to this development that we now turn.

2.2 Wackernagel, clitics, and the syntax-prosody interface (1977–present)

Although Wackernagel did have a concept of linguistic universals, it evidently did not occur to him to think of his law as universal, or as a reflex of universal pressures. This suggestion was first made much later, by Kuryłowicz (1958: 613), in a commentary on Ivanov (1958), and was not really taken seriously at the time (cf. Watkins 1964: 1036). It was not until the flowering of work on clitics and prosody in generative linguistics of the late 1970s and particularly the 1980s that this line of thinking came to be pursued more systematically.[†]

Important early work by Steele (1975) on constituent order typology identified a category of languages in which modals consistently occupy clausal second position; Steele links this to Wackernagel's law. On the basis of Uto-Aztecan data, Steele (1977) suggests a diachronic relation between Wackernagel's Law and topicalization (cf. also Hock 1982). In both cases, the forces at work must necessarily be active far beyond Indo-European.

The decisive push towards more explicit theorizing of clitics came from Zwicky (1977). During the 1970s, with the rise of morphology as a separate domain in generative theorizing, clitics were occasionally alluded to as a challenge due to their apparently intermediate nature between bound and free forms (Matthews 1974: 166–169, Aronoff 1976: 3-4), on the borderline between the morphological and syntactic components of the grammar. Zwicky (1977) draws a distinction between three types of clitic:

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[*] Delbrück (1900: 81) somewhat mischaracterizes Wackernagel (1892) when he claims that the latter argued for a subject-verb word order: Wackernagel (1892) is silent on the issue of what element occupies first position.   [†] Wackernagel (1892) nowhere uses the simple term "clitic", referring only to enclitics (*Enklitika*). The generalization of the term "clitic" to refer to both proclitics and enclitics in the modern sense seems to be due to Nida (1946: 155) (Haspelmath 2015).

1. **Special clitics**: clitics that show unusual syntactic behaviour and unusual phonological alternations as compared to their stressed free-form counterparts

2. **Simple clitics**: clitics that behave syntactically like their stressed free-form counterparts and are related to them through a general phonological rule

3. **Bound words**: clitics with no stressed free-form counterparts, which can be associated with words of various morphosyntactic categories

Zwicky (1977: 9) is also responsible for introducing crucial terminology in the study of clitics such as **host** (the word to which a clitic is attached)[*] and **group** (the host plus all of its clitics). Second-position clitics and Wackernagel's law also receive discussion. In fact, virtually all of the theoretical issues that more recent research on clitics has addressed are raised – if only briefly – in Zwicky's relatively short paper, including clitic positioning with respect to the host (pro-, en- or endoclitic[†]), relative ordering of clitics within a group, the phonological relation of clitics to corresponding nonclitic forms, the phonological integration of clitics with their hosts, and more.

A few years later, Zwicky (1985: 283) is able to speak of a "recent flurry of work on clitics". Important roughly contemporary contributions include Klavans (1979; 1982; 1985), Kaisse (1982; 1985), and Zwicky & Pullum (1983); the latter, for instance, provide a set of diagnostics for distinguishing clitics from inflectional affixes, while Zwicky (1985) addresses the problem of distinguishing clitics from independent words. This flurry informed, and was informed by, more general proposals about prosody and the nature of the interface between syntax and phonology such as Selkirk (1984; 1986) and Nespor & Vogel (1986).[‡] Klavans (1995) is a book-length treatment of clitics from the mid-1990s, contemporaneous with Halpern (1995), which deals with the placement of a set of second-position clitics through an operation of Prosodic Inversion at the syntax-prosody interface.

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[*] Zwicky (1977: note 5) attributes the term to Hetzron (p.c.).   [†] Zwicky uses the term 'endoclitic' to refer to clitics that are word-internal but placed at morpheme boundaries. In more recent research the usual term for this is 'mesoclitic', with endoclitic reserved for the much rarer phenomenon of clitics that disrupt the root of the host; see e.g. Smith (2013).   [‡] This is still a lively field today. To take just a few examples, Dehé (2014) challenges prominent theories of the syntax-prosody interface using corpus data; Bögel (2015) presents a full theory of the syntax-prosody interface within Lexical-Functional Grammar; and Güneş (2015) develops a derivational approach to prosody that is compatible with Minimalist assumptions about syntactic structure-building and the interfaces.

Another factor pushing Wackernagel's law back into the spotlight, during roughly the same period, was the expansion of cross-linguistic work in generative syntactic theory. Hale (1973) on Warlpiri and Kayne (1975) on French were two early works in this vein that engaged with the clitic question; however, with the advent of the Principles and Parameters research programme (Chomsky 1981; 1982; Borer 1981; Rizzi 1982; see Roberts 1997 for an accessible introduction), comparative generative syntax expanded dramatically. In this approach, language can be characterized in terms of a set of universal, invariant cognitive principles alongside a set of discrete points of variation, the parameters. Hale (1983) influentially proposed a Configurationality Parameter regulating the relation between syntax and the lexicon: one setting of this parameter allowed for "nonconfigurational" languages exhibiting relatively flexible orderings of constituents. Since Hale's theory was built upon Warlpiri, a language with substantial constituent order flexibility and "Wackernagel" clitic auxiliaries, it is unsurprising that this kind of analysis has also been popular for early Indo-European languages (see Ledgeway 2012 for extensive discussion).[*] Borer (1981), Rivero (1986) and the papers in Borer (1986) present parametric approaches to cliticization in various languages.

Cross-pollination from Principles and Parameters can also be seen in contemporaneous theorizing about the typology of clitics. Klavans (1985) develops a theory of clitic positioning based on three parameters: dominance (initial/final), precedence (before/after), and phonological liaison (proclitic/enclitic).[†] This theory derives a version of Wackernagel's law (Klavans 1985: 117).

Work in the 1990s and 2000s, by generative linguists and others, explored the morphology, phonology and syntax of clitics in a very wide range of languages (see e.g. Halpern & Zwicky 1996; Beukema & den Dikken 2000; Franks & King 2000; Gerlach & Grijzenhout 2000; Bošković 2001; Anderson 2005; Roberts 2010; Spencer & Luís 2012; Salvesen & Helland 2013 for book-length treatments). Mention must be made of the now vast literature on clitics in Slavic (particularly South Slavic) languages (Radanović-Kocić 1988; 1996; Nevis & Joseph 1993; Schütze 1994; Dimitrova-Vulchanova 1995; 1998; Progovac 1996; 2000; Tomić 1996; 2000; Franks 1997; 2000; 2008; Franks & Bošković 2001; Franks & King 2000;

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[*] For Warlpiri, in the meantime, the idea of nonconfigurationality has been debunked (Legate 2002), and at the current state of research it is not clear whether nonconfigurationality remains a useful notion in linguistic theory. See also Legate (2008), who shows, *pace* Hale, that the notion of second position is not relevant to the Warlpiri clitic system, and that clitic placement is not conditioned by syllable structure, instead being best viewed as syntactic.   [†] Klavans (1979; 1985) denies the existence of endoclisis in the sense of Zwicky (1977). The present consensus seems to be that endoclisis is cross-linguistically rare but possible (Harris 2002; Smith 2013).

Bošković 2000; 2001; 2002; 2016; Pancheva 2005; Migdalski 2010; 2012; 2016; Diesing & Zec 2011; Harizanov 2014; Despić 2017) and in other languages of the Balkans (e.g. Frâncu 2009 and Alboiu & Hill 2012 on Romanian).[*]

The modern understanding of Wackernagel and his insights has been shaped substantially by Anderson's (1993) influential paper *Wackernagel's revenge.* Here, Anderson picks up on the notion that there is a deep connection between clitic placement and verb-second constituent order. Since (he argues) clitic placement cannot be accounted for using syntactic approaches to verb-second, the picture ought to be reversed: verb-second should be accounted for using a technical apparatus developed for clitic phenomena. Following the morphological theory developed in Anderson (1992), he proposes that (special) clitics are phrasal affixes, i.e. the reflex of word-formation rules applying to phrases. Verb-second is then derived using exactly such a rule, realizing the inflectional features of a clause in the position after its first constituent: movement of the verb is a byproduct of the need for these features to be spelled out affixally in second position (cf. recently Bayer & Freitag 2020).[†] As Anderson acknowledges, his take on verb-second is substantially different from Wackernagel's in that he locates the explanatory action in morphology rather than in prosody, and substantially different from the consensus among generative syntacticians in that he locates the explanatory action in morphology rather than in syntax.

In Anderson (2005) this perspective is further developed, along with a new typology of clitics, building on and replacing that of Zwicky (1977). For Anderson, the crucial distinction is between **simple** and **special** clitics: Zwicky's category of bound words plays no role. Special clitics are those whose positioning is governed by a set of principles distinct from those regulating free forms. Crucially, for Anderson (unlike Zwicky), special clitics are purely morphosyntactically defined, and may or may not be phonological clitics. Simple clitics then are those phonological clitics that do *not* display any aberrant morphosyntactic behaviour. This dichotomy has been adopted in a variety of subsequent work (see e.g. Bögel 2015: 95).[‡]

Clitics and Wackernagel's findings also become relevant to general linguistics during the same period as part of grammaticalization theory. Givón (1971), in making the case that bound morphemes originate diachronically via cliticization

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[*] Frâncu (2009) proposes that Wackernagel's law was operative in historical Romanian; Alboiu & Hill (2012) make the case that it wasn't.   [†] More recently the relation between second-position clitic systems and verb-second has also been explored in depth by Migdalski (2010; 2016). Bošković (2019) argues against a unification of verb-second and second-position clitics.   [‡] Special clitics, although perhaps the most interesting type of clitics theoretically, are not uncontroversial: see Spencer & Luís (2012) and particularly Bermúdez-Otero & Payne (2011) for critical discussion.

of originally independent words, had effectively rediscovered the phenomenon of grammaticalization (Meillet 1912; cf. also Kuryłowicz 1965). Lehmann (2015), first published in working-paper form in 1982 and in wider circulation from 1995 onwards, gave the programmatic impetus to researchers in this area. Lehmann describes the increase in bondedness that grammaticalizing items undergo as the first step of coalescence: "the subordination of the grammaticalized item under an adjacent accent, called cliticization" (Lehmann 2015: 157). Though the semantic, syntactic and pragmatic aspects of grammaticalization remain better studied than its phonological and morphological aspects, there are several works within grammaticalization theory on the cline FREE WORD > CLITIC > AFFIX: Schiering (2006; 2010), for instance, presents a cross-linguistic study of the process, showing that the overall phonological profile of the language significantly influences the ultimate fate of individual words and clitics.

The development from affix to clitic has also been taken as evidence for the existence of degrammaticalization. Norde (2001), for instance, discusses the Swedish possessive *-s* in this connection. This *-s* originated as a well-behaved morphological genitive case ending, but in the Early Modern Swedish period appears to be a clitic marking possession, as it attaches at the end of a phrase, e.g. *konungen i Danmarcks krigzfolck* 'the king of Denmark's army'. In response, Börjars (2003) argues that the placement of an element must be distinguished from its attachment: Swedish *-s* is still an affix rather than a clitic, because it is attached as an affix, even though it is placed with respect to a phrase (cf. Anderson (1993) on phrasal affixes, discussed above). Börjars observes that true group genitives in which the **-s** ending is found on an element other than a noun are few and far between, suggesting that the ending still has a strong preference to be attached to nouns. If *-s* is not a clitic, then its development since Old Swedish is not an instance of degrammaticalization.* This is not the only purported instance of the development clitic > affix, however: Kiparsky (2012) lists many more, including the Setu and Võru (South Estonian) abessive case suffix *-lta*, which has become an abessive clitic. Debonding seems to exist, then, though the question remains why this direction of change appears to be rarer than the alternative. Kiparsky (2012) suggests that such instances of degrammaticalization only occur under strong analogical pressure (cf. Plank 1995).

This section has shown that research on clitics and on the relationship between syntax, phonology and morphology has blossomed beyond anything that Wackernagel could have foreseen in 1892 – both in terms of theoretical directions

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* In response, Norde (2010) downplays the importance of change in morphological status ("debonding"), arguing that other aspects also indicate that degrammaticalization has taken place.

and in terms of languages investigated. Jacob Wackernagel undoubtedly deserves pride of place as progenitor of a large and fertile family of investigations. Closer to home, however, Wackernagel's law has been called into question for the very languages for which it was proposed, and this is the topic of the next subsection.

2.3 The clitics and the critics (1990–present)

As we have seen, in summaries as late as the 1980s and 1990s Wackernagel's law is still presented as a robust generalization about early Indo-European languages (cf. also Collinge 1985). However, writing in the early 2000s, Clackson (2007: 168) observes that Wackernagel's Law "now looks more problematic than it did forty years ago".

The most robust challenge to Wackernagel's law is presented in a pair of works by Adams (1994a,b). Noting that Wackernagel's own treatment of the Latin evidence was less than systematic, Adams starts by arguing, following Fraenkel (1932; 1933; 1965), that the proper domain for evaluation of Wackernagel's law is the 'colon', not the clause, and that this allows a number of apparent exceptions to the law to be explained away.* Even with this corrective, however, a striking number of exceptions are still found, leading Adams to propose that what has traditionally been viewed as Wackernagel's law (i.e. a second position requirement) in Latin is in fact better viewed as an epiphenomenon of a different law requiring enclitics to be placed after a focalized or emphasized constituent, which itself may or may not be in first position. Adams (1994a) explores this in relation to the Latin enclitic copula *esse*, while Adams (1994b) presents a parallel study on unstressed personal pronouns. Adams draws his material from classical Latin prose texts; Kruschwitz (2004) shows that Adams's conclusions also hold for the corpus of Latin inscriptions.

For Indo-Iranian, too, the empirical picture that has emerged is substantially more complex than section VIII of Wackernagel (1892) suggests. Hale (1987a,b; 1996), Krisch (1990), and Hock (1996) do not (like Adams) aim to supplant Wackernagel's law entirely, but their work has nevertheless led to a picture in which the law must be relativized to particular syntactic positions or configurations. More recent contributions to the debate on clitics in Sanskrit include Keydana (2011), Lowe (2014) and Hale (2017), the latter stating that "the empirical data for

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* The colon (plural *cola*), a semantico-syntactico-phonologically independent unit, has never been particularly easy to define or to identify in historical texts. Scheppers (2011) (on Ancient Greek) suggests that cola correspond to the intonation unit (IU) of discourse analysis. Ledgeway (2012: 259–262) suggests that cola correspond to the phases of Minimalist syntax: CP, *v*P, PP and DP.

these languages is relatively poorly understood ... even in the specialist literature" (2017: 290). Keydana (2011), for instance, argues that Wackernagel clitics are not a homogeneous bunch, and can be split into three different classes:

1. WL1: enclitics that follow a *wh*-word if one is present, but otherwise occupy second position in a sentence.

2. WL2: clitics that always follow the first word of a sentence.

3. WL3: clitics hosted by the element they take scope over.

While WL1 clitics and WL2 clitics can in some sense be said to be "true" second-position clitics, WL3 clitics behave like the elements Adams (1994a,b) identified in that they are always enclitic to a particular constituent with a particular information-structural role, which does not have to be clause-initial. Moreover, following Hale (1987a,b), most authors working on Sanskrit clitics and second position have acknowledged that there is a discourse-functional syntactic position in the clausal left periphery that is somehow "outside" the clause proper and hence "does not count" for the positioning of certain enclitics (Keydana's WL1 elements). The literature on Wackernagel's law in Indo-Iranian is by now too large to be done justice to here, but it is worth noting that some of this work is explicitly concerned with the implications of these facts for the architecture of the grammar, and with finding the right division of labour between prosodic mechanisms, syntactic mechanisms, and brute-force stipulation, rather than simply describing the facts. Were Wackernagel alive today, it might well take him some time to see the connection between his simple law and the theoretically and empirically far more nuanced picture found in this recent work. In this sense, Wackernagel's law in its narrow sense can be said to have been falsified for Indo-Iranian too.

Even in Ancient Greek, the variety most intensively investigated by Wackernagel, complexities arise that are not obviously captured in terms of a single second-position law. Taylor (1990) argues that Wackernagel's law in its usual formulation does not account for Ancient Greek: unlike e.g. Dover (1960) and Marshall (1987), it is necessary to take syntactic (constituent) structure into account in order to arrive at the correct statement of the generalizations. Moreover, once again, different clitics exhibit different behaviours. Goldstein (2016: 80−84) shows, for instance, that the discourse particles *de* 'but, and' and *gar* 'for', both described as "sentence-domain" clitics, do not occur in the usual position following the first *prosodic* word, but instead show up after the first *morphosyntactic* word, where other clitics such as the unstressed personal pronouns behave more canonically. He also shows that there are instances in which *de* and *gar* appear

to follow the first *constituent*, rather than the first word. In one respect, though, Goldstein (2016) actually maintains Wackernagel's law in a stronger form than Wackernagel himself: *contra* e.g. Wackernagel (1892) and Taylor (1990), Goldstein argues that the law was fully operative in the Classical Greek period (6th–5th centuries BCE), and had not undergone a weakening since Homeric times.

The Kuhn-Thurneysen-Wackernagel hypothesis that Germanic and Romance verb-second order has its origins in Wackernagel's law applied to finite verbs has also largely fallen out of favour in recent years. Ries (1907: 23–24, 315–318) had already expressed scepticism, claiming that in the earliest texts there was no asymmetry between main and subordinate clauses, and Fourquet (1938) had been very critical about Kuhn's supposed laws. Kiparsky (1995: 159) notes that finite verbs in second position in early Germanic texts were (or at least could be) accented, thus rendering it unlikely that they were clitic elements. Getty (1997: 158) goes further, arguing that "the Wackernagel/Kuhn framework makes all the wrong predictions with respect to the behavior of finite verbs one can actually observe", and that the crucial distinction instead seems to be between grammatical verbs (e.g. auxiliaries) and lexical verbs. Moreover, the question of how Germanic moved from a 2W system, in Halpern's (1995) terms – in which the verb followed the first word – to a 2D system in which it followed the first constituent is crucial, and has nowhere been addressed; there is no robust evidence for 2W verb-second anywhere in Germanic. More recent accounts of the emergence of verb-second (e.g. Hinterhölzl & Petrova (2010); Walkden (2012; 2014; 2015; 2017)) propose scenarios in which prosody plays no role, and in which the interplay between narrow syntax and information structure are central. As for Romance, it has been debated whether the historically-attested languages are adequately characterized as verb-second at all. Kaiser (2002) makes the case that they are not, while Wolfe (2018) argues that they are. Neither author connects verb placement to prosody, however, and neither author argues for a strict linear second-position requirement.

Strictly speaking, then, even given an appropriate definition of second position and the domain to which it applies, Wackernagel's law does not seem to hold at face value for *any* of the Indo-European languages for which it was originally motivated. This hardly means that the proposal was a failure, though. On the contrary, Wackernagel (1892) has been tremendously successful in stimulating research into clitics and second-position effects – within and beyond the Indo-European languages – even if an elegant, unified treatment is still lacking. At the very least, any theory of the prosody-syntax interface worth its salt will have to provide an account of the facts adduced by Jacob Wackernagel well over a century ago.

3 Notes on the translation and edition

Our aim with this translation is to enable today's linguists to understand Wackernagel's argumentation without prior knowledge of any language other than English. To that end, we've prioritized clarity over faithfulness, so that the translation is rather free. For instance, some of the English linguistic terms used in the translation would not have been current in the English of Wackernagel's time. Where possible we've tried to convey a sense of Wackernagel's rather idiosyncratic style, which jumps from stiffly legalistic to playful and back again within the space of a page. But this goal is secondary to conveying the linguistic point that he was trying to make. Those readers who are more interested in the history of language science or of philology should use this translation with care, and in conjunction with the German original, which is also provided in Section 3 of this book.

Wackernagel's original paper consisted of twelve numbered sections without names. For ease of navigation, we've added titles to these sections in the English translation. We also indicate, both in the translation and in the original text, where the page boundaries were, and link between the two; in the translated version the positions of these markers are necessarily approximate given the free nature of the translation.

Referencing norms in Wackernagel's day were substantially looser than they are now, and Wackernagel in his paper took for granted the existence of a canon of texts in classical philology that all his intended readers would have been familiar with. A major part of preparing this translated edition consisted in tracking down these references, in the versions that Wackernagel himself would have had access to, and referencing them in the text according to modern norms (author, year, and – where possible – page). The availability of many nineteenth-century books and journals via the Internet Archive and Google Books greatly facilitated this task. Where it is ambiguous which edition of a given text Wackernagel was intending to reference, we have assumed the most recent pre-1892 edition. All references from both the original and this introduction are given in full in the bibliography at the end of the volume.

The edition of the German text provided attempts to be as faithful to the original typesetting as possible. Where the original contains something ungrammatical or questionable, we have marked this with a following [sic].

I (George) initially started this translation as a solo project, but it quickly became clear that the translation of the German on its own, without glosses and translations for Wackernagel's many examples, would be about as useful as a chocolate teapot. Christina came on board at this point, and later also Morgan,

and the decision was made to gloss and translate all examples of four words or more, except in particularly repetitive sections. None of us have Wackernagel's compendious knowledge of the early Indo-European languages, and so substantial help was needed here. Morgan and Christina prepared the Greek examples, of which there are well over a thousand. In translating the Greek examples, we have made reference to the previous translations available through the Perseus site (http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/), and where necessary other sources such as Lobel & Page (1968); while we accept full responsibility for the translations presented here, in some cases it was not considered possible to improve upon the wording of an earlier translation. When Wackernagel's rendition of an example differs from that found in modern editions, this is mentioned in a footnote.

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This book is dedicated to my dad, Bob Walkden – I've learned more about what it means to be a translator from him than from anyone else, and long before that he was helping me to learn how to be a person. Thanks, Dad!

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Part II

Chapter 2

Translation

1 Greek *min*, *nin* and *hoi*

[p333] Four years ago, Albert Thumb (1887) made the claim that the Greek pronominal accusatives *min* and *nin* (3.ACC) arose through merger of particles with the old accusative of the pronominal *i*-stems.[1] In particular, he claimed that Ionic *min* was based on the unification of *im* 'me.ACC' with a particle *ma*, earlier *sma*, evidenced by Thessalonian *ma* and Sanskrit *sma* 'indeed, certainly'. Thumb's main piece of evidence for this interpretation came from the supposed fact that the position of *min* in Homer is essentially the same as the position of *sma* in the *Ṛgveda*. Even after the independent use of *sma* as a particle was lost and *min* had completely reached the status of a unitary pronominal form, the same rule that had regulated the position of *sma* still held for *min*, and a corresponding sense for positioning accompanied its use. And at any rate this sense was still valid for the composers of the Homeric poems.

However, if one looks at the material adduced by Thumb without limiting oneself to the perspective he proposes, this positional similarity is largely limited to the fact that *min*, like *sma*, in general rarely occurs directly after nouns or after adverbs of nominal origin (to be precise, *min* is much rarer in this position than *sma*). And there are significant deviations from this general banal similarity. Thumb makes a strange error in not being able to dig up any instances of Sanskrit *mā sma*, which under his hypothesis would correspond to the ten instances of *mē min* in Homer: *[p334]* not only does Böhtlingk-Roth (1855–1875) give numerous examples (s.v. *mā* 9), including one from the *Ṛgveda* ((1)), but there is also a well-

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[1] For the collections of examples in what follows I owe a lot to the well-known reference works on Greek grammar, as well as to the specialized dictionaries, though I will not always be able to acknowledge my sources of information individually. I could only briefly make use of Monro's (1891) *Grammar of the Homeric Dialect*, second edition, pages 335–338 of which contain observations on Homeric word order that accord closely with what I present here, and I was not able to use Gehring's (1891) *Index Homericus* at all.

known rule of Sanskrit grammar regarding the meaning and form of preterites after *mā sma* (Panini 3. 3. 176. 6, 4, 74. See Benfey 1852: 361, §808 note 4).

(1) mā   *sma*itādṛg   apa gūhaḥ   samarye
     PROHIB EMPH-such.like away hide.2.SG.PRES clash.SG.LOC
     'Don't hide away such a thing in the clash.' (*Ṛgveda*, 10.27.24b; trans.
     Jamison & Brereton 2014: 1417)

But in other cases there is a genuine divergence between *min* and *sma*. According to Thumb, *min* is found in Homer after subordinating particles about 60 times (10% of all examples); *sma* is found only rarely in this environment in the *Ṛgveda*, and only after *yathā* 'so, thus'. And while *sma* is happy to occur after prepositions, *min* is never found here.

Admittedly, Thumb wants to explain this deviation with reference to the fact that the Homeric language is not fond of inserting particles between prepositions and nominals. He even makes the bold claim that with this in mind the deviation comes close to supporting his theory. I freely admit that I do not understand this explanation. When *sma* follows a preposition in the *Ṛgveda*, the preposition is either verbal in tmesis (including for instance (2), cf. Grassmann (1873: 1598)) or, if cases of this second kind are attested at all, in 'anastrophe'.

(2) ā *smā* rathaṃ   vṛṣapāṇeṣu   tiṣṭhasi
     PV EMPH chariot.SG.ACC bull-drink.PL.LOC mount.2.SG.PRES.
     'You mount the chariot to the bullish drinks' (*Ṛgveda*, 1.51.12a; trans.
     Jamison & Brereton 2014: 1417)

If *min* shares the usual position of *sma*, then, we should not expect to find it after prepositions associated with a case, and when it is absent here we should not excuse this by means of an apparent Homeric aversion to infixation of particles: we should expect it to occur after independent prepositions, and if we find that it is absent here we should recognize this as counterevidence to Thumb's proposal.

But even if we disregard these differences (as well as others that could be mentioned) between the placement of Homeric *min* and Vedic *sma*, in my view Thumb should have felt obliged to investigate whether the position of *min* in the Homeric clause could not also be explained from a different perspective, without reference to the quality of the preceding word, and whether similar positional regularities to those found with *min* could not also be found with other words (e.g. those that are related in meaning *[p335]* or similar in form) for which no connection with *sma* is conceivable.

In this connection it is worth observing that of the nine 'isolated' cases in which *min* follows a nominal adverb, five (E 181, Z 173, Λ 479, O 160, and δ 500) have it in second position of the clause, and furthermore that all the examples Thumb gives of *min* following verbs, demonstratives or negation show the same. In light of this positional rule it also becomes clear why *min* occurs so freely after particles, particularly subordinating particles, in contrast to *sma*, as well as why it essentially only immediately follows pronouns when they serve a clause-linking role and hence appear at the beginning of the clause.

Alternatively, counting from another point of view, the books N, Π and P, which together comprise 2,465 verses and so provide a good basis for conclusions about the language of the oldest part of the Iliad, yield instances of *min* in the following positions: 21 times as second word in the clause; 28 times as third or fourth word, but separated from the first word of the clause only by an enclitic or an enclitic-like particle such as *de* 'but, and' or *gar* 'for, since'. In addition, we have *ei kai min* ('if and him.CL.MASC.ACC'; N 58) and *touneka kai min* ('therefore and him.CL.MASC.ACC'; N 432), where *kai* 'and' belongs closely with the first word of the clause; *epei ou min* ('because not him.CL.MASC.ACC'; P 641), for which the tendency of negation to precede enclitics in the same clause must be taken into account (for the moment, compare *outis* 'no one', *oupō* 'not yet, not at all', *ou pote* 'never', and *ouk an* 'not if'); and finally (3).

(3)   οὐδ' εἰ μάλα μιν χόλος ἵκοι
      oud' ei mála *min* khólos   híkoi
      nor if very 3.ACC anger.NOM come-upon.3SG.PRS.OPT
      'even if great anger came over them' (Homer, *Iliad* 17.399)

We thus have 49 cases that obey the aforementioned rule precisely; three cases that are amenable to specific explanations; and only one genuine exception. (From the other books, Monro (1891: 337f.) gives only *oud' ebalon min* ('but.not strike.1SG.AOR.IND.ACT him'; Γ 368), (4), in which he thinks that *min* should be deleted, and (5).

(4)   εἴ περ γὰρ φθάμενός μιν ἢ οὐτάσῃ
      eí per   gàr phthámenós   *min* è outásēi
      if EMPH for arrive.PTCP.AOR.MID.M.NOM.SG 3.ACC or wound.3SG.AOR.SBJV
      'though the man be beforehand with her and smite her' (Homer, *Iliad* 21.576)

(5) ἀλλ' ἐῶμέν μιν πρῶτα παρεξελθεῖν πεδίοιο
    all' eômén   *min* prôta parexeltheîn pedíoio
    but allow.1PL.PRS.SBJV 3.ACC firstly pass.AOR.INF plain.GEN.SG
    'But let us suffer him at the first to pass by us on the plain' (Homer, *Iliad* 10.344)

All of this is in verse, i.e. under conditions that make it more difficult to keep to the usual word order. Particularly remarkable is the well-known, frequently-occurring phrase (6a) in place of (6b); here the pressure to put *min* in second position is clearly enough in effect. Similarly in the common expression in (7), where *min* belongs to *prosēuda* and not to *phōnēsas*.

(6) a. τῷ μιν ἐεισάμενος προσέφη / προσέφώνεε
       tôi   *min* eeisámenos   proséphē/prosephṓnee
       him.DAT 3.ACC appear.PTCP.AOR.MID.M.NOM.SG address.3SG.IMP
       'In his likeness addressed …' (Homer, *Iliad* 17.326)

    b. τῷ ἐεισάμενος προσέφη μιν

(7) καί μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα
    kaí *min* phōnḗsas   épea
    and 3.ACC produce-a-sound.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG word.ACC.PL
    pteróenta   prosēúda
    winged.N.ACC.PL address.3SG.IMP
    'and addressed him loudly with winged words' (Homer, *Odyssey* 8.407)

In addition, observe (8). *[p336]* Here the pronoun that belongs to the subordinate clause is moved to the main clause, without this being attributable to 'prolepsis', as the verb of the main clause would require the dative. Only the pressure towards sentence-initial position can explain the position of *min*.

(8) χαίρει δέ μιν ὅστις ἐθείρῃ
    khaírei   dé *min* hóstis   etheírēi
    rejoice.3SG.IMP but 3.ACC who.M.NOM.SG prepare.3SG.AOR
    'and glad is he that prepared it (the field)' (Homer, *Iliad* 21.347)*

For the post-Homeric use of *min*, Herodotus plays the role of primary witness, and, in addition to my sporadic reading across all books, his seventh book provided me with the necessary material. And here I can at least say that the majority

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* *Translator's note*: The modern Perseus edition has *hós tis* rather than *hóstis*.

of examples show *min* in second or near-second position, including such typical cases as (9) (in which *min* belongs to the participles), (10) (in which *min* belongs only to *anēke*), (11) and (12). Cf. also (13), where I would like to add that the elegiac poets up to and including Theognis used *min* 12 times in second position and only once (Theognis 195) in third position.

(9) πολλά τε γάρ μιν καὶ μεγάλα τὰ ἐπαείροντα καὶ ἐποτρύνοντα ἦν
pollá   te gár *min* kaì megála   tà
many.N.ACC.PL and for 3.ACC and great.N.ACC.PL the.N.ACC.PL
epaeíronta   kaì epotrúnonta   ên
choose.PTCP.PRS.N.ACC.PL and urge.PTCP.PRS.N.ACC.PL be.3PL.IMP
'For there were many weighty reasons that impelled and encouraged him to do so' (Herodotus, 1.204.7)

(10) ὥς μιν ὅ τε οἶνος ἀνῆκε καὶ ἔμαθε ...
hós *min* hó   te oînos anêke   kaì
when 3.ACC the.M.NOM.SG and wine.NOM.SG let-go.3SG.AOR and
émathe
learn.3SG.AOR
'after the wine wore off and he recognized (...)' (Herodotus, 1.213.3)

(11) ἀλλά μιν οἱ ἱρεες αὐτοὶ οἱ τοῦ Νείλου ... θάπτουσι
allá *min* hoi   hirees   autoì
but 3.ACC the.M.NOM.PL priests.NOM.PL themselves.M.NOM.PL
hoi   toû   Neílou tháptousi
the.M.NOM.PL the.M.GEN.SG Nile.GEN bury.3PL.PRS
'But the priests of the Nile themselves buried him' (Herodotus, 2.90.7)

(12) οἱ γάρ μιν Σελινούσιοι ἐπαναστάντες ἀπέκτειναν καταφυγόντα ἐπὶ Διὸς ἀγοραίου βωμόν
hoi   gár *min* Selinoúsioi   epanastántes
the.M.NOM.PL for 3.ACC Selinusian.NOM.PL rise.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.PL
apékteinan kataphugónta   epì Diòs agoraíou
kill.3SG.AOR fleeing.PTCP.AOR.M.ACC.SG upon Zeus.GEN market.GEN.SG
bōmón
altar.ACC.SG
'since the people of Selinus rose against him and slew him at the altar of Zeus of the marketplace, to which he had fled for refuge' (Herodotus, 5.46.2)

(13) ὥcπερ γάρ μιν πύργον ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖcιν ὁρῶcιν
      hṓsper gár *min* púrgon   en ophthalmoîsin horôsin
      thus   for 3.ACC tower.ACC.SG in eyes.DAT.PL   see.3PL.PRS
      'For they see him in their (own) eyes as the tower' (Kallinos, 1.20)

And it can be shown that this pressure towards initial position for *min* is not
based on some etymological relationship by looking at the very similar treat-
ment of the enclitic dative *hoi* (3.DAT), which is very close to the accusative *min*
(3SG.ACC) in meaning and accent, but differs entirely in pronunciation. In the N,
Π and P books of the Iliad, this *hoi* is found 92 times. Of these, 34 instances are
in second position; 53 are in third or fourth position, but separated from the first
word of the clause by one or two words which have even greater claim to the
clausal second position, such as *de* 'but, and' or *te* or *ke* 'and'. Only five instances
differ: Π 251 *nēōn men hoi* 'ships.GEN.PL then 3.DAT' and P 273 *tōi kai hoi* 'therefore
and 3.DAT', where *men* and *kai* belong closely to the first word of the clause, and
also P 153 *nun d' ou hoi* 'now then not 3.DAT' and P 410 *dē tote g' ou hoi* 'exactly
then at.least not 3.DAT', which follow the rule that when negation and enclitic
are adjacent the negation must precede. This would also explain (14), *[p337]* if
the inseparability of *ei* and *mē* did not already offer a satisfactory explanation. It
is therefore justifiable to state that the rule established for *min* also holds for *hoi*.

(14) εἰ μή οἱ ἀγάccατο Φοῖβοc Ἀπόλλων
      ei mḗ *hoi* agássato   Phoîbos   Apóllōn
      if not 3.DAT envy.3SG.AOR Phoebus.NOM Apollo.NOM
      'but that Phoebus Apollo begrudged it him' (Homer, *Iliad* 17.71)

This analogy between *min* and *hoi* is continued in Herodotus. In his writings,
hoi is found roughly twice as often in second or almost-second position as in
other positions. (In the works of the older elegiac poets, *hoi* appears only to be
found in second position.)

Particularly remarkable, however, is the fact that, often in Homer and almost
even more frequently in Herodotus (cf. Stein 1883: 138 on 1.115.8), this positional
tendency has often led to *hoi* being assigned a position that contradicts the syn-
tactic context or is unusual in another respect.

1) Distinctively dative *hoi* occurs far from its governing word and intervenes
in another group of words at the beginning of the clause: (15)–(23). (In (18), *tis*
precedes *hoi* because it is itself an enclitic.)

(15) τὸ δέ οἱ κλέοc ἔccεται ὅccον ἐμοί περ

tò   dé *hoi* kléos   éssetai   hósson
the.N.NOM.SG but 3.DAT glory.NOM.SG be.3SG.FUT.MID as-much.N.ACC.SG
emoí   per
me.DAT EMPH
'and his glory shall be even as mine own' (Homer, *Iliad* 17.232)

(16) τῷ δέ οἱ ὀγδοάτῳ κακὸν ἤλυθε δῖος Ὀρέςτες
      tôi   dé *hoi* ogdoátōi   kakòn   éluthe
      the.N.DAT.SG but 3.DAT eighth.N.DAT.SG bad.ACC.SG come.3SG.AOR
      dîos   Oréstes
      divine.M.NOM.SG Orestes.NOM
      'but in the eighth came as his bane the godly Orestes' (Homer, *Odyssey*
      3.307)

(17) Θαλῆς οἱ ὁ Μιλήςιος διεβίβαςε
      Thalês *hoi* ho   Milésios   diebíbase
      Thales.NOM 3.DAT the.M.NOM.SG of-Miletus.M.NOM.SG carry-over.3SG.AOR
      'Thales of Miletus carried them (the army) across' (Herodotus 1.75.3)

(18) ἤ τίς οἱ ξείνων ἀργύριον ἐμβαλὼν ἐς τὰ γούνατα μιχθῇ
      é tís   *hoi* xeínōn   argúrion
      or some.M.NOM.SG 3.DAT stranger.GEN.PL money.ACC.SG
      embalṑn   es tà   goúnata
      place.PTCP.AOR.M.COM.SG in the.N.ACC.PL knees.N.ACC.PL
      mikhthêi
      mix-up.3SG.AOR.SBJV.PASS
      'before some stranger has cast money into her lap (and) has united with
      her' (Herodotus 1.199.3)

(19) τούς τέ οἱ λίθους … οὗτοι ἦςαν οἱ ἑλκύςαντες
      toús   té *hoi* líthous   hoûtoi   êsan
      the.M.ACC.PL and 3.DAT stone.ACC.PL this.M.NOM.PL be.3PL.IMP
      hoi   helkúsantes
      the.M.NOM.PL drag.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.PL
      'It was these who dragged the … blocks of stone' (Herodotus 2.108.2)

(20) οὔτε ὅςτις οἱ ἦν ὁ θέμενος [τοὔνομα] φαίνεται
      oúte hóstis   *hoi* ên   ho
      nor who.M.NOM.SG 3.DAT be.3SG.IMP the.M.NOM.SG

thémenos   toúnoma   phaínetai
put.PTCP.AOR.MID.M.NOM.SG the=name.ACC.SG seem.3SG.PRS
'nor is it clear who gave her [the name]' (Herodotus 4.45.4)

(21) ἐκ δέ οἱ ταύτης τῆc γυναίκος οὐδ' ἐξ ἄλλης παῖδες ἐγίνοντο
     ek   dé   *hoi*   taútēs   tês   gunaíkos   oud' ex
     from but 3.DAT this.F.GEN.SG the.GEN.SG woman.GEN.SG nor   from
     állēs   paîdes   egínonto
     other.F.GEN.SG child.NOM.PL be.born.3PL.IMP
     'no sons were born to him by this wife or any other' (Herodotus 5.92B.2)

(22) ἐν δέ οἱ χρόνῳ ἐλάccονι ἡ γυνὴ τίκτει τούτον
     en dé   *hoi*   khrónōi   elássoni   hē   gunè
     in   but 3.DAT time.DAT.SG less.M.DAT.SG the.F.NOM.SG woman.NOM.SG
     tíktei   toúton
     birth.3SG.PRS this.M.ACC.SG
     'His [new] wife gave birth to him in less time' (Herodotus 6.63.1)

(23) οὗτος μέν οἱ ὁ λόγος ἦν τιμωρός
     hoûtos   mén   *hoi*   ho   lógos   ên
     this.M.NOM.SG indeed 3.DAT the.M.NOM.SG argument.NOM.SG be.3SG.IMP
     timōrós
     avenging.M.NOM.SG
     'This argument was for vengeance' (Herodotus 7.5.3)

   2) Genitive or half-genitive *hoi* is separated from its following noun by other words: (24)–(29). (In (28), Herwerden 1878: 195 writes *hôi* 'whom.DAT' for *hoi*!)

(24) τά οἵ ποτε πατρὶ φίλα φρονέων πόρε Χείρων
     tá   *hoí*   pote patrì   phíla
     the.N.ACC.PL 3.DAT once father.DAT.SG dear.N.ACC.PL
     phronéōn   póre   Kheírōn
     think.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG give.3SG.AOR Cheiron.NOM
     'which Cheiron had once given to his father with kindly thought' (Homer, *Iliad* 4.219)

(25) ὅcτις οἱ ἀρὴν ἑτάροιcιν ἀμύναι
     hóstis   *hoi*   arèn   hetároisin   amúnai
     who.M.NOM.SG 3.DAT help.ACC.SG companion.DAT.PL keep-off.AOR.INF
     'who would ward off bane from his comrades' (Homer, *Iliad* 12.333)

(26) ἅ οἱ θεοὶ οὐρανίωνες πατρὶ φίλῳ ἔπορον
    há   *hoi* theoì   ouraníōnes   patrì
    which.N.ACC.PL 3.DAT God.NOM.PL heavenly.M.NOM.PL father.DAT
    phílōi   époron
    beloved.M.DAT.SG give.3PL.AOR
    'that the heavenly gods had given to his (beloved) father' (Homer, *Iliad*
    17.195–196)

(27) θεὰ δέ οἱ ἔκλυεν ἀρῆc
    theà   dé *hoi* ékluen   arês
    Goddess.NOM.SG but 3.DAT hear.3SG.AOR prayer.GEN.SG
    'and the goddess heard her prayer' (Homer, *Odyssey* 4.767)

(28) ὅ οἱ φόνοc υἷι τέτυκται
    hó   *hoi* phónos   huîi   tétuktai
    that.N.NOM.SG 3.DAT death.NOM.SG son.GEN.SG ready.3SG.PF
    '(nor does she know at all) that death has been made ready for her son'
    (Homer, *Odyssey* 4.771)

(29) μή τί οἱ κρεμάμενον τῷ παιδὶ ἐμπέσῃ
    mḗ tí   *hoi* kremámenon   tôi
    lest some.N.NOM.SG 3.DAT hang.PTCP.PRS.PASS.N.NOM.SG the.M.DAT.SG
    paidì   empésēi
    child.DAT.SG fall.3SG.AOR.SBJV
    'lest one should fall on his son from where it hung' (Herodotus 1.34.3)

3) Genitive or half-genitive *hoi* immediately precedes its noun and attributes, a position that is incomprehensible for an enclitic, in and of itself: (30)–(34). *[p338]* However, this word order is also found in Herodotus without *hoi* in second position, e.g. (35). But I believe the situation is as follows: because *hoi* in second position occurred so often preceding its governing noun, it became the case that *hoi* could also immediately precede its governing noun in clause-medial position.

(30) μή οἱ ἀπειλὰc ἐκτελέcωcι θεοί
    mḗ *hoi* apeilàs   ektelésōsi   theoí
    lest 3.DAT boasts.ACC.PL fulfil.3PL.AOR.SBJV God.NOM.PL
    'lest the gods fulfill for him his boastings' (Homer, *Iliad* 9.244)

Translation

(31) ὄς οἱ παρὰ πατρὶ γέροντι κηρύσσων γήρασκε

hós   *hoi*   parà patrì   géronti
who.M.NOM.SG 3.DAT in   father.DAT.SG old.M.DAT.SG
kērússōn   géraske
herald.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG grow-old.3SG.AOR
'who in the house of his old father had grown old in his heraldship'
(Homer, *Iliad* 17.324)

(32) δεύτερά οἱ τὸν παῖδα ἔπεμπε

deúterá *hoi*   tòn   paîda   épempe
then   3.DAT the.M.ACC.SG child.ACC.SG send.3SG.IMP
'[Cambyses] next made the child go out (before) him' (Herodotus 3.14.4)

(33) τήν οἱ ὁ πατὴρ εἶχε ἀρχήν

tḗn   *hoi*   ho   patḕr   eîkhe
the.F.ACC.SG 3.DAT the.M.NOM.SG father.NOM.SG have.AOR.3SG
arkhḗn
power.ACC.FEM
'The father had the power' (Herodotus 3.15.3)

(34) καί οἱ (καὶ οἷ?) τῷ πατρὶ ἔφη Σάμιον τοὔνομα τεθῆναι, ὅτι οἱ ὁ πατὴρ
Ἀρχίης ἐν Σάμῳ ἀριστεύσας ἐτελεύτησε

kaí (/kaì) *hoi* (/hoî) tôi   patrì   éphē   Sámion
and   3.DAT   the.M.DAT.SG father.DAT.SG said.3SG.IMP Samius.ACC
toúnoma   tethênai,   hóti hoi   ho
the=name.ACC.SG put.AOR.INF.PASS that him.DAT the.M.NOM.SG
patḕr   Arkhíēs   en Sámōi   aristeúsas
father.NOM.SG Archias.NOM in Samos.DAT be-best.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG
eteleútēse
die.3SG.AOR
'and told me that his father had borne the name Samius because he was
the son of that Archias who was killed fighting bravely at Samos'
(Herodotus 3.55.2)

(35) εἰ βούλοιτό οἱ τὴν θυγατέρα ἔχειν γυναῖκα

ei boúloitó   *hoi*   tḕn   thugatéra
if want.3SG.AOR.OPT.MID 3.DAT the.F.ACC.SG daughter.ACC.SG
ékhein   gunaîka
have.PRS.INF woman.ACC.SG
'If he wanted to take his daughter as a wife' (Herodotus 1.60.2)

4) Genitive or half-genitive *hoi* intervenes between the first and second element of its governing expression, also an unusual position for an enclitic in itself. a) Between a preposition and a following particle and article, as in (36).

(36) ἐκ γάρ οἱ τῆc ὄψιοc οἱ τῶν μάγων ὀνειροπόλοι ἐcήμαινον
     ek   gár *hoi* tês   ópsios   hoi   tôn
     from for 3.DAT the.F.GEN.SG sight.GEN.SG the.M.NOM.PL the.M.GEN.PL
     mágōn   oneiropóloi   esḗmainon
     magus.GEN.PL dream-interpreter.NOM.PL declare.3PL.AOR
     'for the interpreters declared that to be the meaning of his dream'
     (Herodotus 1.108.2)

b) Between an article and a following particle and noun: (37)–(39) (similar are Ξ 438, O 607, T 635 and many examples in the Odyssey) as well as (40)–(47).

(37) τὼ δέ οἱ ὤμω κυρτώ
     tṑ   dé *hoi* ṓmō   kurtṓ
     the.NOM.DU but 3.DAT shoulder.NOM.DU rounded.M.NOM.DU
     'and his two shoulders were rounded' (Homer, *Iliad* 2.217)

(38) τὼ δέ οἱ ὄccε ... χαμαὶ πέcον
     tṑ   dé *hoi* ósse   khamaì péson
     the.NOM.DU but 3.DAT eye.NOM.DU down   fall.3SG.AOR
     'and his two eyeballs fell down' (Homer, *Iliad* 13.616)

(39) τὼ δέ οἱ ὄccε δακρυόφιν πλῆcθεν
     tṑ   dé *hoi* ósse   dakruóphin plêsthen
     the.NOM.DU but 3.DAT eye.NOM.DU tears.N.GEN.PL fill.3PL.AOR.PASS
     'and both his eyes were filled with tears' (Homer, *Iliad* 17.695 = 23.396)

(40) αἱ δέ οἱ ἵπποι ἀμφίς ὁδοῦ δραμέτην
     hai   dé *hoi* híppoi   amphís   hodoû
     the.F.NOM.PL but 3.DAT horse.NOM.PL on-both-sides road.GEN.SG
     dramétēn
     run.3DU.AOR
     'and his mares swerved to this side and that of the course' (Homer, *Iliad* 23.392)

(41) αἱ δέ οἱ ἵπποι ὑψόc᾿ ἀειρέcθην
     hai   dé *hoi* híppoi   hupsós' aeirésthēn
     the.F.NOM.PL but 3.DAT horse.NOM.PL high   leap.3DU.IMP
     'and his horses leapt on high' (Homer, *Iliad* 23.500)

(42) τὸ δέ οἱ οὔνομα εἶναι … Ἰοῦν

    tò   dé *hoi* oúnoma   eînai   Ioûn

    the.N.ACC.SG but 3.DAT name.ACC.SG be.PRS.INF Io.ACC

    'and her name to be Io' (Herodotus 1.1.3)

(43) τῶν δέ οἱ παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτερον εἰπεῖν

    tôn   dé *hoi* paídōn   tòn   presbúteron

    the.GEN.PL but 3.DAT child.GEN.PL the.M.ACC.SG elder.M.ACC.SG

    eipeîn

    say.AOR.INF

    'to name the eldest of his children' (Herodotus 3.3.2)

(44) τόν τέ οἱ παῖδα ἐκ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων σῴζειν

    tón   té *hoi* paîda   ek   tôn

    the.M.ACC.SG and 3.DAT child.ACC.SG from the.M.GEN.PL

    apolluménōn   sốizein

    perish.PTCP.PRS.PASS.M.GEN.PL save.PRS.INF

    'to save then his child from perishing' (Herodotus 3.14.11)

(45) ὁ γάρ οἱ ἀστράγαλος ἐξεχώρησε ἐκ τῶν ἄρθρων

    ho   gár *hoi* astrágalos   exekhốrēse   ek

    the.M.NOM.SG for 3.DAT ankle.NOM.SG dislocate.3SG.AOR from

    tôn   árthrōn

    the.N.GEN.PL sockets.GEN.PL

    'and then his ankle was dislocated from its sockets' (Herodotus 3.129.2)

(46) τὰ δέ οἱ ὅπλα ἔχουσι Ἀθηναῖοι

    ta   dé *hoi* hopla   ekhousi   Athēnaioi

    the.N.ACC.PL but 3.DAT weapons.ACC.PL have.3PL.PRS Athenian.NOM.PL

    'thus the Athenians have his weapons' (Herodotus 5.95.1)

(47) τὴν δέ οἱ πέμπτην τῶν νεῶν κατεῖλον διώκοντες οἱ Φοίνικες

    tền   dé *hoi* pémptēn   tôn   neôn

    the.F.ACC.SG but 3.DAT fifth.F.ACC.SG the.F.GEN.PL ship.GEN.PL

    kateîlon   diốkontes   hoi

    take-over.3PL.AOR chase.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.PL the.M.NOM.PL

    Phoínikes

    Phoenician.NOM.PL

    'the Phoenicians took over one fifth of his ships by chasing (them)'
    (Herodotus 6.41.7)

The Ionic poets also provide examples, e.g. (48) and (49).

(48) ἡ δέ οἱ κόμη ὤμους κατεσκίαζε καὶ μετάφρενα
      hē   dé *hoi* kómē   ómous   kateskíaze   kaì
      the.F.NOM.SG but 3.DAT hair.NOM.SG shoulder.ACC.PL shadow.IMP.3SG and
      metáphrena
      chest.ACC.PL
      'and his hair shadowed his shoulders and his chest' (Archilochus 29.2)

(49) ἡ δέ οἱ cάθη ... ἐπλήμμυρεν
      hē   dé *hoi* sáthē   eplémmuren
      the.F.NOM.SG but 3.DAT penis.NOM.SG be-full-of-blood.3SG.IMP
      'and then his penis was erect' (Archilochus 29.2)

c) Between an article and a noun: (50) and (51).

(50) τῶν οἱ cυλλοχιτέων διεφθαρμένων
      tôn   *hoi* sullokhitéōn   diephtharménōn
      the.M.GEN.PL 3.DAT fellow-men.GEN.PL kill.PTCP.PF.PASS.M.GEN.PL
      'after all the men of his company had been killed' (Herodotus 1.82.8)

(51) τῶν οἱ cιτοφόρων ἡμιόνων μία ἔτεκε
      tôn   *hoi* sitophórōn   hēmiónōn   mía
      the.F.GEN.PL 3.DAT wheat-carrying.F.GEN.PL mule.GEN.PL one.F.NOM.SG
      éteke
      birth.3SG.AOR
      'one of their donkeys that carried the wheat gave birth' (Herodotus 3.153.1)

The non-Ionic post-Homeric poets, for whom *hoi* was part of the traditional stock of poetic language, also provide parallels: here I present the examples that I have so far found. Category 1) includes (52) as well as (53) (=Meineke 1843: 164).

(52) ἄνευ οἱ Χαρίτων τέκεν γόνον ὑπερφίαλον
      áneu *hoi* Kharítōn   téken   gónon
      without 3.DAT Grace.GEN.PL birth.3SG.AOR offspring.ACC.SG
      huperphíalon
      monstrous.M.ACC.SG
      'she bore to him, without the blessing of the Graces, a monstrous offspring' (Pindar, *Pyth.*, 2.42)

(53) ἀντὶ δέ οἱ πλοκαμῖδος ἑκηβόλε καλὸς ἐπείη ὡχαρνῆθεν ἀεὶ κιccὸc
ἀεξομένῳ
antì   dé *hoi*   plokamîdos hekēbóle   kalòs
instead but 3.DAT braid.GEN.SG archer.VOC.SG beautiful.M.NOM.SG
epeíē   hōkharnêthen   aeì   kissòs
be-upon.3SG.PRS.OPT the=from-Acharnae always ivy.NOM.SG
aexoménōi
grow.PTCP.PRS.PASS.N.DAT.SG
'Instead of his locks, O Archer, may the beautiful ivy of Acharnae be
added to the eternal growth.' (Anthologia Graeca 6.279)[*]

Category 2) includes (54) from Theocritus (cf. Meineke 1856: 256 on Theocritus
7.88). Example (55) belongs to either 1) or 2).

(54) ἐγὼ δέ οἱ ἁ ταχυπειθὴc χειρὸc ἐφαψαμένα
egṑ dé *hoi* ha   takhupeithḕs   kheiròs
I.NOM but 3.DAT the.F.NOM.SG credulous.F.NOM.SG hand.GEN.SG
ephapsaména
bind.PTCP.AOR.MID.F.NOM.SG
'then I, being credulous, bound her hands to him' (Theocritus 2.138)

(55) ἐν γάρ οἱ χθονὶ πηκτὸν τόδ' ἔγχος περιπετές κατηγορεῖ
en gár *hoi* khthonì   pēktòn   tód'   énkhos
in for 3.DAT ground.DAT.SG fixed.N.NOM.SG this.N.NOM.SG spear.NOM.SG
peripetés   katēgoreî
surrounded.N.NOM.SG convict.3SG.PRS
'His sword which he planted in the ground and on which he fell convicts
him.' (Sophocles, *Ajax* 907)

[p339] Example (56) belongs to 3), and (57) belongs to 4).

(56) ἅτε οἱ αἵματοc ἔcκεν
háte   *hoi* haímatos   ésken
who.F.NOM.SG 3.DAT blood.GEN.SG be.3SG.IMP
'who was of his blood' (Moschus, *Europa* 41)

(57) ἁ δέ οἱ φίλα δάμαρ τάλαιναν δυστάλαινα καρδίαν παγκλαυτος αἰὲν
ὤλλυτο

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[*] *Translator's note*: 'Archer' is an epithet of Apollo.

ha   dé *hoi* phíla   dámar   tálainan
she.NOM but 3.DAT dear.F.NOM.SG wife.NOM suffering.F.ACC.SG
dustálaina   kardían   panklautos   aièn
most-miserable.F.NOM.SG heart.ACC.SG most-lamentable.F.NOM.SG always
ólluto
destroy.3SG.IMP.PASS
'She, his loving wife, miserable, was ever pining in her miserable heart,
always weeping' (Sophocles, *Trachiniai* 650)

Inscriptions in the dialects that employ *hoi* are unrevealing. Among the Doric
dialects, only Epidauric yields richer results, and these are well known to be
relatively late. In No. 3339 and 3340 of Collitz (Prellwitz 1889) I can count fourteen
instances of *hoi* in second position and eight of *hoi* elsewhere. The few non-
Doric examples I have to hand all follow the rule: (58), (59) (cf. Meister 1889: 148,
Hoffmann 1891: 67f.), and by the same author (60).

(58) μή οἱ ἔϲτω ἴνδικον
      mḗ *hoi* éstō   índikon
      not 3.DAT be.3SG.IMPER unjust.N.NOM.SG
      'let it not be unjust to him' (Inscription 1222.33 Collitz, Tegea)*

(59) ἀφ' ὧ ϝοι τὰϲ εὐχωλὰϲ ἐπέτυχε /ἐπέδυκε
      aph' hô   *woi* tàs   eukhōlàs   epétukhe/epéduke
      of   whom.DAT 3.DAT the.F.ACC.PL prayer.ACC.PL succeed.3SG.AOR
      'from whom his prayers were granted' (Inscription 59.3 Collitz, Cyprus)

(60) ἀνοϲίjα ϝοι γένοιτυ
      anosíja   *woi* génoitu
      unholy.N.NOM.PL 3.DAT become.3SG.AOR.OPT.MID
      'may curses come upon him' (Inscription 60.29 Collitz, Cyprus)

Despite all of this, however, one might nevertheless find it remarkable that
Thumb could discover this idiosyncratic positional custom, apparently reminis-
cent of the position of *sma* in the *Ṛgveda*, and might still be inclined to suspect
something of significance behind it. To shed light on this, it seems most appro-
priate to compare the statistics that Thumb (1887) gives for *min* against the use
of *hoi* in ΝΠΡ. Thumb 1a: "in 68% of all cases, *min* follows a particle"; *hoi* does
so in 66 of 92 cases, i.e. 72% (33 times after *dé* 'but, and', just as *de* also most

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* *Translator's note*: In this inscription the author seems to be using ἰν- like Attic ἀ-.

commonly precedes *min*; after that, in decreasing order of frequency, it is found after *ára* (interrogative), *rha*, *kaí* 'and', *gár* 'for, since', *oudé* 'but not', *te* 'and', *éntha* 'there/where', *allá* 'but', *ḗ* 'or, than', *mén* 'while, so', *pōs* 'in any way', *tákha* 'quickly, soon'). Thumb 1b: "in 10% of cases, *min* follows a subordinating conjunction"; *hoi* does so four times (after *hó(t)ti* 'that/because', *epeí* 'after, since', *óphra* 'in order that, as long as, until'), i.e. only in 4% of cases – a difference that is made even less meaningful by the fact that Thumb is obliged to note a difference between *min* and *sma* for this category, as *sma* is not keen on this position. Thumb 2: "*min* never immediately follows prepositions (in contrast to *sma*!)"; the same is true for *hoi*. Thumb 3: "*oú min, mḗ min* in 15 of 600 examples", i.e. 2.5%; *oú hoi, mḗ hoi* in 3 of 92 examples, i.e. 3.25%. Thumb 4: "*min* very often occurs after pronouns", apparently about 100 times or 16.67%; *hoi* is also often found here, in fact 17 times, i.e. 18.5%. Thumb 5 and 6: "*min* follows verbs and nominal words in 3% of cases"; *hoi* follows *aipú* 'steep' in N 317 and *haímati* 'blood.DAT' in P 51, i.e. in 2% of cases.

Thumb's observations are thus just as valid for *hoi* as for *min*. *hoi* is found following the same *[p340]* words as *min* and with almost exactly the same frequency as *min*. What Thumb has demonstrated for *min* is therefore not a property specific to *min* but rather a consequence, common to *min* and *hoi*, of the positional law that assigns to both of them the second position in the clause.

This removes the main point in support of the argument that *min* has its origin in *sm(a)-im*, this argument is almost entirely refuted by the absence of any reflex of the hypothesized earlier initial cluster *sm-*. One would expect occasional instances of *de min* as a trochee or spondee; Thumb is mute on this point. A further consideration can be adduced. The combination of *sma* and *im* that supposedly gave rise to *min* could be seen as ancient: in this case, the loss of the original function of *sma* in the use of *min* makes sense, but one would expect Greek **(s)main* corresponding to Sanskrit **smēm*. The other possibility is that this combination arose not long before Homer, in which case the presence of the specifically Greek reduction, i.e. the development *ma in → m' in → min*, makes sense – but then the complete loss of the function of *(s)ma*, the treatment of *min* exactly like any other normal pronoun, is inexplicable, especially since in Thessalonian a particle *ma* with the meaning 'but' occurs, which can however only debatably be connected with Sanskrit *sma*.

Thumb's explanation of Doric *nin* as arising from *nu-im* seems to me to be even less successful, since here insurmountable phonetic difficulties seem to stand in its way. In his observation that "it is safe to assume that at an earlier stage it was possible to pronounce final *u* as a consonant (u̯) under certain conditions, as in Sanskrit (e.g. ((61)), adducing examples such as *pros* from *proti̯*, *ein* from *eni̯*,

hupeir from *hyperi̯* (= Sanskrit *upary* alongside *upari*), Lesbian *perr-* from *peri̯-*, in which *i̯* could stand in for *i* during the period of Indo-European unity, Thumb overlooks the fact that not all final *-i*s and *-u*s can be treated the same.

(61) kō   nv atra
      who.NOM.SG now here
      'Now who [has given liberally to you] here [, Maruts]?' (*Ṛgveda*, 1.165.13a;
      trans. Jamison & Brereton 2014: 1417)

In the *Ṛgveda*, *-i* and *-u* only become *-y* and *-v* with any frequency in the word class in which Greek shows *[p341]* reflexes of such a change, namely in the disyllabic prepositions such as *abhi*, *prati*, *anu*, *pari*, *adhi*; otherwise, outside the later 10th book and the *Vālakhilyas* this occurs only very sporadically. In monosyllables it is only found in the compound *avyuṣṭāḥ** ('not yet dawned'; *Ṛgveda*, 2.28.9a) and then in *ny alipsata* ('wiped out'; *Ṛgveda*, 1.191.3d, i.e. in a song that is known to be late (Oldenberg 1888: 438, note 4). And *nu* in particular (like *u*) avoids this sandhi completely; in fact, it often lengthens, even becoming disyllabic in extreme cases. And even if we could reconstruct Pre-Greek *nϝin*, hence Doric *nin*, following a final vowel, a postconsonantal *nin* would still be inexplicable; the development *hós nu in*, *hós nw in*, *hós nin* is completely inconceivable.

Furthermore, when Thumb (1887: 646–647) suggests that the position of *nin* in the clause shows no special analogy with that of Sanskrit *nu* and Greek *nu*, and excuses this with reference to the young age of the sources that contain *nin* (Pindar and the tragic poets), it is certainly true that these authors can provide no clean results for *nin* like those from Homer and Herodotus for *min* – not only on chronological grounds, but also because of the more artificial nature of their word order. But one might well still ask whether certain tendencies can be recognized. And here it can be observed that, in 30 of 47 relevant examples from Aeschylus, *nin* follows the positional law established for *min* and *hoi* – and, remarkably, in 5 of 7 examples in *The Persians* and *Seven against Thebes*, 21 of 32 in the *Oresteia*, and 2 of 5 in *Prometheus Bound*. The ratio in Sophocles is less favourable: of 81 examples, 47 follow the law for *nin* and 34 do not. The first class includes the cases of tmesis, e.g. (62) and (63).

(62) cὺν δέ νιν θηρώμεθα
      sùn dé *nin*   thērṓmetha
      with but 3.ACC chase.1PL.PRS
      'and at once closed upon our quarry' (Sophocles, *Antigone* 432)

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* *Translator's note*: The form attested in the text is *avyuṣṭā*, with sandhi.

(63) κατ' αὖ νιν φοινία θεῶν τῶν νερτέρων ἀμᾷ κοπίς
kat' aû *nin* phoinía theôn tôn
against again 3.ACC bloody.F.NOM.SG god.GEN.PL the.M.GEN.PL
nertérōn amâi kopís
lower.M.GEN.PL reap.3SG.PRS knife.NOM.SG
'that hope, in its turn, the blood-stained knife* of the gods infernal cuts down' (Sophocles, *Antigone* 601)

A sense for the actual position of *nin* is alive elsewhere too: cf. Aristophanes *Acharnians* 775, and in particular (64)–(67) from Euripides; in addition, (68) and (69) from Theocritus.

(64) ἀλλά νιν, ὦ φάος διογενές, κατεῖργε
allá *nin*, ô pháos diogenés, kateîrge
but 3.ACC O light.VOC.SG Zeus-born.F.VOC.SG check.2SG.IMPER
'O light begotten of Zeus, check her' (Euripides, *Medea* 1258)

(65) τίς δέ νιν ναυκληρία ἐκ τῆσδ' ἀπῆρε χθονός
tís dé *nin* nauklēría ek têsd'
what.F.NOM.SG but 3.ACC voyage.NOM.SG from this.F.GEN.SG
apêre khthonós
lift-off.3SG.AOR earth.GEN.SG
'What ship carried her off from this land?' (Euripides, *Helen* 1519)

(66) ὑμεῖς δὲ, νεάνιδές, νιν ἀγκάλαις ἔπι δέξασθε
humeîs dè, neánidés, *nin* ankálais épi
you.NOM.PL then young-woman.VOC.PL 3.ACC arm.ACC.PL in
déxasthe
accept.2PL.AOR.IMPER.MID
'You then, young women, take her in your arms' (Euripides, *Iphigenia in Aulis* 615)

(67) ὧν νιν οὕνεκα κτανεῖν Ζῆν' ἐξεκαυχῶντ(ο)
hôn *nin* hoúneka ktaneîn Zên' exekaukhônt(o)
which.N.GEN.PL 3.ACC for kill.AOR.INF Zeus.ACC boast.3PL.IMP
'for which they boasted that Zeus killed her' (Euripides, *Bacchae* 30)

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* *Translator's note*: Wackernagel here has *kopís* 'knife, sword', while the modern Perseus edition has *kónis* 'dust'.

(68) ἐγὼ δέ νιν ὡς ἐνόησα
      egṑ   dé *nin* hōs enóēsa
      I.NOM but 3.ACC as   understand.1SG.AOR
      'and when I felt him' (Theocritus 2.103)

(69) τὰ δέ νιν καλὰ κύματα φαίνει
      tà   dé *nin* kalà   kúmata   phaínei
      the.N.ACC.PL but you good.N.ACC.PL wave.ACC.PL show.3SG.PRES
      '[She] shows the good waves to you' (Theocritus 6.11)

Finally, *[p342]* the ancient Rhodian inscription (70) recently presented by Seliv-anov (1891) is very striking: *nin* syntactically belongs with *pēmaínoi*, correspond-ing exactly to the *min* in example (8) discussed above.

(70) cᾶμα τόζ᾽ Ἰδαμενεὺς ποίηcα ἵνα κλέος εἴη· Ζεὺς δέ νιν ὅςτις πημαίνοι,
      λειώλη θείη
      sâma   tóz᾽   Idameneùs   poíēsa   hína kléos
      sign.ACC.SG this.N.ACC.SG Idomeneus.NOM make.1SG.AOR that fame.NOM
      eíē;   Zeùs   dé *nin* hóstis,   pēmaínoi
      be.3SG.PRS.OPT Zeus.NOM but 3.ACC who.M.NOM.SG ruin.3SG.PRS.OPT
      leiólē   theíē
      destructive.N.ACC.PL put.3SG.AOR.OPT
      'I, Idomeneus, have made this sign that there be fame (to me), and that
      Zeus, who shall ruin him, may send destruction' (IG XII,1 737)

This essential identity in position between *nin* and *min* is another spanner in the works for Thumb's argumentation. I agree with him on one point: that *m-in* and *n-in* should be segmented and that **in* is the accusative corresponding to Latin *is*, as well as that both the assumption of underlying reduplication **imim*, **inin* and the assumption of roots *mi-*, *ni-* preserved in *min* and *nin* are incorrect. In the absence of a better theory, it seems to me to be simplest to derive *n-* and *m-* from sandhi. Given the pairs *autíka-m-in* (from *-kṃm im*) and *autíka mán*, *ára-m-in* and *ára mán*, and *rha-m-in* and *rha mán* (if we can assume a voiced bilabial nasal word-finally in *ára* and *rha*), it would have been possible for *alla min* to emerge alongside *alla man* and for *min* to spread further, little by little; *alla min : autíka min = mēkéti : oukéti*. Similarly, the *n-* of *nin* can be explained as originating in a word-final voiced dental nasal. See Wackernagel (1887: 119–125) on *atta* from *tta*, *ouneka* from *eneka* and related matters, as well as the Prakrit enclitic *m-iva*, *mmiva* for Sanskrit *iva*, where the *m* naturally arises from the final

segment of neuters and accusatives (Lassen 1837: 370). See further Tobler (1877: 423), Meyer (1885: 943f.), Ziemer (1885: 1371), Schuchardt (1887: 181), Thielmann (1889: 167 fn).

2 The position of enclitic pronouns in Archaic Greek

The preference for putting *min*, *nin* and *hoi* in the second position in the clause should be viewed in its broader context. Bergaigne (1877: 177–178) already suggested that enclitic pronouns in general "prefer to be placed after the first word in the clause". As evidence he adduces (71) and (72).

(71) ὅ cφιν εὖ φρονέων ἀγορήcατο καὶ μετέειπεν
      hó *sphin*   eú phronéōn   agorésato
      PRO them.DAT well be-minded.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG assemble.3SG.AOR.MID
      καὶ metéeipen
      and address.3SG.AOR
      'he with good intent addressed the gathering, and spoke among them'
      (Homer, *Iliad* 1.73)*

(72) ὅ μοι γέρας ἔρχεται ἄλλῃ
      hó   *moi* géras   érkhetai   állēi
      which.N.ACC.SG me.DAT prize.NOM.SG go.3SG.PRES.PASS elsewhere
      'that my prize goes elsewhere' (Homer, *Iliad* 1.120)

This observation is confirmed as soon as one starts *[p343]* to collect examples. Beginning with the third person pronouns to follow on from *min*, *nin* and *hoi*, in the books ΝΠΡ that I have drawn upon as sources, *he* (3SG) is found four times, always in the second position or as close as possible to second position (in what follows I will disregard this distinction). There are twelve instances of *sphi(n)* (3PL.DAT), of which eleven follow the rule; the only exception is (73) (see also (74), where *sphin* has been inserted into the group *tòn dé ánakta*).

(73) ἐπὶ δὲ πτόλεμοc τέτατό cφιν
      epì   dè ptólemos   tétató   *sphin*
      against but war.NOM.SG strain.3SG.PLPF.PASS them.DAT
      'and against them was strained a conflict' (Homer, *Iliad* 17.736)

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* *Translator's note*: The element marked PRO is a rare Ionic form of a pronoun, glossed as 'who, which' in Liddell-Scott, and not further specified in the gloss here.

(74) τὸν δέ σφιν ἄνακτ᾽ ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης ἔκτανε
      tòn   dé *sphin*   ánakt'   agathòs   Diomḗdēs
      the.M.ACC.SG but them.DAT king.ACC good.M.NOM.SG Diomedes.NOM
      éktane
      kill.3SG.AOR
      'and brave Diomedes slew their lord' (Homer, *Iliad* 10.559)

sphisi (3PL.DAT) is found six times, always following the rule. *spheas* (3PL.ACC) is found in (75), and *sphōe* (3DU.ACC) in (76). From elsewhere in Homer we can draw the hyperthetic example (77).

(75) μάλα γάρ σφεας ὦκ᾽ ἐλέλιξεν
      mála gár *spheas*   ôk'   elélixen
      very for them.ACC speedily whirl-round.3SG.AOR
      'for full speedily did Aias rally them' (Homer, *Iliad* 17.278)

(76) εἰ μή σφω᾽ Αἴαντε διέκριναν μεμαῶτε
      ei mḗ *sphō*'   Aíante   diékrinan
      if not them.ACC.DU Aiantes.NOM.DU separate.3PL.AOR
      memaôte
      desire.PTCP.PF.M.ACC.DU
      'but that the twain Aiantes parted them in their fury'
      (Homer, *Iliad* 17.531)

(77) καί σφεας φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα
      kaí *spheas*   phōnḗsas   épea
      and them.ACC.PL produce-a-sound.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG word.ACC.PL
      pteróenta   prosēúda
      flying.N.ACC.PL address.3SG.IMP
      'and he spoke and addressed them with winged words' (Homer, *Iliad* 4.284)

The same is true in the second person: *seo* and *seu* (2SG.GEN) are found five times, always in second position (for more examples see below); *toi* (2SG.DAT, for which I am counting the cases where it is used as a particle,[*] for obvious reasons, but without *étoi* 'either, or' and *itoi*) can be found 47 times, 45 of which follow the rule, with only two exceptions: (78) and (79). In both cases the tendency for enclitics to attach to the negation has interfered with the operation of the main rule.

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[*] *Translator's note*: Homeric clitic *toi* is translated by Liddell-Scott as 'let me tell you, mark you, look you'.

(78) ἐπει οὔ τοι ἐεδνωταὶ κακοί εἰμεν

　　epei　　oú *toi*　eednōtaì　　　　kakoí　　　eimen
　　because not you.DAT father-of-bride.DAT.SG bad.M.NOM.PL be.1PL.PRS
　　'because you may be sure we deal not hardly in exacting wedding gifts'
　　(Homer, *Iliad* 13.382)

(79) ἀτὰρ οὔ τοι πάντες ἐπαινέομεν θεοὶ ἄλλοι

　　atàr oú *toi* pántes　　epainéomen　　theoì　　álloi
　　but not CL all.M.NOM.PL applaud.1PL.PRS god.NOM.PL other.M.NOM.PL
　　'but be sure that we other gods don't all applaud' (Homer, *Iliad* 16.443)

se (2SG.ACC) can be found 21 times, of which 19 instances follow the rule and two behave differently: (80) and (81).

(80) εἰ καὶ ἐγώ σε βάλοιμι

　　ei　kaì　egṓ　*se*　　báloimi
　　if and I.NOM you.ACC throw.1SG.AOR.OPT
　　'if so be I should smite thee' (Homer, *Iliad* 16.623)

(81) ἦ τ᾽ ἐφάμην ϲε

　　ê　　t'　ephámēn　　*se*
　　in-truth and speak.1SG.IMP you.ACC
　　'in truth I deemed you …' (Homer, *Iliad* 17.171)

The same is true in the first person: *meu* (1SG.GEN) can be found in N 626 and P 29, and in both it immediately follows the beginning of the clause; *moi* (1SG.DAT) is found 32 times (including *hō moi*), including 27 following the rule, and (82) can probably be adduced as a 28th example.

(82) ἀλλὰ τί ἦ μοι ταῦτα φίλος διελέξατο θυμός

　　allà tí ê　　*moi*　taûta　　　philos
　　but why in-truth me.DAT these.N.ACC.PL beloved.M.NOM.SG
　　dieléxato　　　　　thumós
　　converse.3SG.AOR.MID soul.NOM.SG
　　'But why does my heart thus hold converse with me?'
　　(Homer, *Iliad* 17.97)

The deviations are (83) (if written as *héspeté nún moi*, the example would count as following the rule), (84), (85), and (86) – exceptions which neither quantitatively nor qualitatively challenge the rule, while conversely an example like (87), in which the attachment of *moi* to a vocative was already striking to the ancients, is evidence for the consistent validity of the rule.

(83) ἔσπετε νῦν μοι

    héspete   nûn *moi*

    say.2PL.AOR.IMPER now me.DAT

    'tell me now' (Homer, *Iliad* 16.112)

(84) ἠδ᾽ ἔτι καὶ νῦν μοι τόδ᾽ ἐπικρήηνον ἐέλδωρ

    ēd᾽ éti kaì nûn *moi*   tód᾽   epikrḗēnon

    and yet even now me.DAT this.N.ACC.SG accomplish.2SG.AOR.IMPER

    eéldōr

    desire.ACC.SG

    'even so now also fulfil you for me this my desire' (Homer, *Iliad* 16.238)

(85) ἀλλὰ σύ πέρ μοι ἄναξ τόδε καρτερὸν ἕλκος ἄκεσσαι

    allà sú   pér *moi*   ánax   tóde   karteròn

    but you.NOM all me.DAT king.VOC.SG this.N.ACC.SG strong.N.ACC.SG

    hélkos   ákessai

    wound.ACC.SG heal.2SG.AOR.IMPER.MID

    'Howbeit, do thou, O king, heal me of this grievous wound' (Homer, *Iliad* 16.523)

(86) αἰνὸν ἄχος τό μοί ἐστιν

    ainòn   ákhos   tó   *moí*   estin

    dire.N.NOM.SG pain.NOM.SG the.N.NOM.SG me.DAT be.3SG.PRS

    'my pain is dire' (Homer, *Iliad* 16.55)

(87) Πάτροκλέ μοι δειλῇ πλεῖστον κεχαρισμένε θυμῷ

    Pátroklé   *moi*   deilêi   pleîston

    Patroclus.VOC me.DAT cowardly.M.DAT.SG most

    kekharisméne   thumôi

    gratify.PTCP.PF.PASS.M.VOC.SG soul.DAT.SG

    'Patroclus, dearest to my hapless heart' (Homer, *Iliad* 19.287)

[p344] Similarly striking is *moi* after *áll' áge*, as in (88). Finally, *me* (1SG.ACC) can be found 15 times, always following the rule. (Monro 1891: 336ff. discusses exceptions from the other books, in some cases proposing emendations.)

(88) ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε μοι τόδε εἰπέ

    áll' áge   *moi*   tóde   eipé

    but bring.2SG.PRS.IMPER me.DAT this.N.ACC.SG say.3SG.AOR.IMPER

    'but, he said, come (and) tell me this' (Homer, *Odyssey* 1.169)

Traces of the old rule can also be identified outside Homer. For instance, in the works of the elegiacs up to and including Theognis, *me* is found 42 times in second position and 4 times later; *moi* is found 36 times in second position and 5 times later; *se* is found 27 times in second position and 6 times later. The same is true in the dialectal texts that depend more on the elegiac poets than on Homer: although the Arcadians seem to have placed their *spheis* relatively freely, the Doric accusative *tu* fits the rule even better, e.g. (89)–(92).

(89) καί τυ φίλιππον ἔθηκεν
kaí *tu* phílippon éthēken
and you.ACC Philip.ACC place.3SG.AOR
'and he placed Philip with you' (Theognis, *Fragmenta Lyrica Adespota* 43; Bergk 1882: 701)

(90) ἐκάλεσε γάρ τύ τις
ekálese gár *tú* tis
invite.3SG.AOR for you.ACC someone.M.NOM.SG
'Did someone invite you?' (Epicharmus in Athenaeus 4.16)

(91) τί τυ ἐγὼν ποιέω
tí *tu* egṑn poiéō
what.N.ACC.SG you.ACC I.NOM do.1SG.PRS
'What am I doing for you/to you?' (Sophron in Apollonius Dyscolus, *De Pronominibus* 68B)

(92) ἐπόθουν τυ ναί τὸν φίλιον ἇπερ ματέρα
epóthoun *tu* naí tòn phílion
long-for.1SG.IMP you.ACC by the.M.ACC.SG friendly.M.ACC.SG
hâper matéra
which.F.DAT.SG mother.ACC.SG
'Let Zeus, the patron of friendship, witness, I regretted you as a mother [mourns her son].' (Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 730)

In addition there is the Doric oracle spell in (93) (from Ephorus; not mentioned by Ahrens 1843: 255) and the majority of the roughly thirty examples from Theocritus, of which particularly noteworthy are (94) (=Attic *mḗtis se eirṓta*), in which *mḗtis* is split in two by *tu*, and (95), in which *tu* (confidently emended by Brunck (1776: 290) from the better attested but unmetrical *toi*) is governed as an accusative by *zateûs(a)* but intervenes between the distant *ha* and *kṓra*.* (The only example in Callimachus, (96), is an exception to the rule.)

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* *Translator's note*: The modern Perseus edition has *te* instead of *tu*.

(93) ποῖ τυ λαβὼν ἄξω καὶ ποῖ τυ καθίζω
      poî   *tu*   labṑn   áxō   kaì poî
      where you.ACC receive.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG carry.1SG.FUT and where
      tu   kathízō
      you.ACC place.1SG.PRS
      'Where do I carry you and where do I place you?' (Stephanus Byzantinus
      73.14 M)

(94) μή τύ τις ἠρώτη
      mḗ *tú*   tis   ērótē
      not you.ACC someone.M.NOM.SG ask.3SG.IMP
      'one shouldn't ask you' (Theocritus 5.74)

(95) ἁ δέ τυ κώρα πάσας ἀνὰ κράνας, πάντ' ἄλσεα ποσσὶ φορεῖται ... ζατεῦς(α)
      ha   dé *tu*   kṓra   pásas   anà kránas,
      the.F.NOM.SG but you.ACC girl.NOM.SG all.F.ACC.PL up   spring.ACC.PL
      pánt'   álsea   possì   phoreîtai
      all.N.ACC.PL grove.ACC.PL foot.DAT.PL carry.3SG.PRS.PASS
      zateûs(a)
      seek.PTCP.PRS.F.NOM.SG
      'And the girl is borne on foot through all springs, all groves, seeking you.'
      (Theocritus 1.82)

(96) οὐδ' ὅσον ἀττάραγόν τυ δεδοίκαμες
      oud' hóson   attáragón   *tu*   dedoíkames
      neither as.much.M.ACC.SG crumb.ACC.SG you.ACC fear.1PL.PF
      'and you couldn't fear the smallest thing' (Callimachus, Epigram 47.9
      (46.9))

Finally, the only example that I have to hand from an inscription is particularly remarkable: (97) (=Attic *eán se hugiâ p*...), in which *tu* occurs between the particles *aí* and *ka*, which are otherwise closely connected. The only exceptional example from the pre-Alexandrine era, (98), cannot be taken as a weighty counterexample as long as the reading cannot be established with any certainty.

(97) αἴ τύ κα ὑγιῆ ποιήσω
      aí *tú*   ka hugiê   poiḗsō
      if you.ACC IRR healthy.N.ACC.PL make.1SG.AOR.SBJV
      'if I made healthy [things] to/for you' (Inscription 3339.70 Collitz,
      Epidauros)

(98) οὐχ ὁδεῖν τυ ἐπίκαζε
ο_____
oukh hodeîn   *tu*   epíkaze
not   sell.PRS.INF you.ACC guess.3SG.IMP
'He did not suppose you to sell' (Sophron in Apollonius Dyscolus, *De Pronominibus* 75A)

The Aeolic poets also show a close affinity to Homer. In the fragments of their poetry, which I cite following Bergk (1882), I count 38 (or, depending on the reading of Sappho Fragment 2.7 and Fragment 100 – see the immediately *[p345]* following – 36) examples of the enclitic forms of personal pronouns.* 30 follow the Homeric rule, including 12 safe examples of *me* and 10 of *moi. toi* behaves exceptionally three times (Sappho 2.2, 8, 70.1) and *se* once (Sappho 104.2). There remain three examples with contested readings, for which I give the manuscript versions: (99), (100), and finally (101) following the fuller wording in Choricius (Graux 1886: 97).

(99) ὡς γάρ σ' ἴδω βροχεώς με φωνὰς οὐδὲν ἔτ' εἴκει
hōs gár s'   ídō   brokheós *me*   phōnàs
as   for you.ACC see.1SG.AOR.SBJV shortly   me.ACC sound.GEN.SG
oudèn   ét' eíkei
nothing.ACC still resemble.3SG.PLPF
'As I saw you there soon seemed nothing left of my voice.' (Sappho, Fragment 2.7, Lobel & Page 1968: 31.7)[†]

(100) ὄτα πάννυχος ἄσφι κατάγρει
óta   pánnukhos   ásphi   katágrei
when all-night.M/F.NOM.SG them.DAT overcome.3SG.PRS
'... when they are overcome all night ...' (Sappho, Fragment 43, Lobel & Page 1968: 149.1)

(101) σὲ τετίμηκεν ἐξόχως ἡ Ἀφροδίτη
sè   tetímēken   exókhōs   hē   Aphrodítē
you.ACC honour.3SG.PF prominently the.F.NOM.SG Aphrodite.NOM
'Aphrodite has honoured you especially' (Sappho, Fragment 100 [Choricius 5.1.19]; Graux 1886: 97)

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* *Translator's note*: Our rendering of these examples is based on Lobel & Page (1968), whose numbering is added for convenience. Translations are adapted from http://www.sacred-texts.com/cla/usappho/index.htm. Note that not all of these examples are still attributed to Sappho.   [†] *Translator's note*: Lobel & Page (1968) have *hōs gár és s' ídō brokhe' ṓs me phōnais' oud' èn ét' eíkei.*

In the first case, (99), the reading *hṓs se gàr wídō ...* suggested by Ahrens (1839: 360) and promoted by Vahlen in his edition of the text *Perì Hýpsous* 'On the Sublime' (Vahlen 1887: section x.2) becomes more plausible, and the reading of Seidler (1829), followed by Bergk (1854) and Hiller (1890), in which *se* is moved to a position after *brokheós* and *me* is deleted, appears less plausible. In the second case, I can advocate the reading I suggested in Wackernagel (1887: 141) (given in (102) below) with even more certainty. And in the third case, Weil's reading[*] (given in (103) below), followed by Hiller (1890: Fragment 97), is revealed to be distinctly improbable.

(102) ὄτά ϲφι πάννυχος κατάγρειϲ
       ótá *sphi* pánnukhos katágreis
       when them.DAT all-night.M/F.NOM.SG overcome.2SG.PRS
       '... when you overcome them all night ...' (Sappho 43, following Wackernagel 1887: 141, Lobel & Page 1968: 149.1)

(103) τετίμακ᾽ ἔξοχά ϲ᾽ Ἀφροδίτα
       tetímak' éxokhá *s'* Aphrodíta
       honour.3SG.PF prominently you.ACC Aphrodite.NOM
       'Aphrodite has honoured you especially' (Sappho 100, Hiller 1890: Fragment 97, Lobel & Page 1968: 112.5)

By adding up the 30 cases discussed above, the *se* and *me* in Sappho 47, and the *sphi* for *ásphi* in Sappho 43, we reach 33 law-abiding examples against 4 exceptions and one (Sappho 100) where the textual transmission leaves us with a problem and we do not even know whether we are dealing with an enclitic. We take no account of Alcaeus 68, which some read as (104) following Bekker (1833: 175), but in which *d'* is much more robustly attested after *ék*; compare Bergk's (1882: 174) objections to Bekker's reading.

(104) πάμπαν δὲ τυφὼϲ ἔκ ϲ᾽ ἔλετο φρέναϲ
       pámpan dè tuphòs ék s' héleto   phrénas
       altogether but fever.NOM.SG out you.ACC take.3SG.AOR.MID mind.ACC.PL
       'and a fever has completely taken your wits' (Alcaeus, *Fragments* 68, Lobel & Page 1968: 336.1)[†]

In some of the above 33 examples the enclitic pronoun breaks up a word group. The article and the noun are separated in (105) and (106).

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[*] *Translator's note*: personal communication to Charles Graux, reproduced in Graux (1886: 98).
[†] *Translator's note*: Lobel & Page (1968: 336.1) have *d' etúphōs* rather than *dè tuphòs*.

(105) ἀ δέ μ' ἰδρὼϲ ... κακχέεται

a   dé *m'* idròs   kakkhéetai

the.F.NOM.SG but me.ACC sweat.NOM.SG pour-down.3S.PRS.PASS

'down courses in streams the sweat of emotion' (Sappho 2.13, Lobel &
Page 1968: 31.13)[*]

(106) Αιθοπίᾳ με κόρᾳ Λατοῦϲ ἀνέθηκεν Ἀρίϲτα

Aithopíāi   *me* kórāi   Latoûs anéthēken

Ethiopian.F.DAT.SG me.ACC girl.DAT.SG Leto.GEN dedicate.3SG.AOR

Arísta

Aristas.NOM

'Aristas dedicated me to Leto's Ethiopian daughter' (Sappho 118.3, Lobel
& Page 1968: Epigrammata 6.269)

Adjective and noun are separated in (107). In (108), preposition and verb are
separated.

(107) ϲμίκρα μοι πάϊϲ ἔμμεν ἐφαίνεο κἄχαριϲ

smíkra   *moi* páïs   émmen   epháíneo

small.F.NOM.SG me.DAT child.NOM.SG be.PRS.INF show.2SG.IMP.PASS

kákharis

and=graceless.F.NOM.SG

'to me you seemed to be a graceless little girl' (Sappho 34.1, Lobel &
Page 1968: 59.2)

(108) ἔκ μ' ἔλαϲαϲ ἀλγέων

ék *m'* élasas   algéōn

out me.ACC drive.2SG.AOR pain.GEN.PL

'you have driven out my pains' (Alcaeus, *Fragments* 95)

Cf. also (109) and (110), in which *mán* and *gár* could have laid claim to the
position after *tó* and *hós* respectively.

(109) τό μοι μάν

tó   *moi* mán

the.N.NOM.SG me.DAT truly

(Sappho 2.5, Lobel & Page 1968: 31.5)[†]

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(110)   ὤс сε γάρ
        hós *se*   gár
        as   you.ACC for
        (Sappho 2.7, Lobel & Page 1968: 31.7)

Equally noteworthy are the cases in which the pronoun is separated in an otherwise unusual way *[p346]* from the words to which it syntactically belongs: (111), (112) and (113).

(111)   τίс с', ὦ Ψάπφ' ἀδικήει
        tís   s',   ô Psápph' adikéei
        who.M.NOM.SG you.ACC O Sappho.VOC wrong.3SG.PRS
        'Who has wronged you, O Sappho?' (Sappho 1.19, Lobel & Page 1968: 1.19)

(112)   τίῳ с', ὦ φίλε γάμβρε, κάλωс ἔϊκάсδω
        tíōi   s',   ô phíle   gámbre,   kálōs
        what.N.DAT.SG you.ACC O dear.M.VOC.SG in-law.VOC.SG beautifully
        eïkásdō
        liken.1SG.PRS.SBJV
        'To what, O dear bridegroom, shall I fairly compare thee?' (Sappho 104.1, Lobel & Page 1968: 115.1)

(113)   τί με Πανδίονιс ὤραννα χελίδων
        tí   *me*   Pandíonis   óranna
        what.N.NOM.SG me.ACC of-Pandion.F.NOM.SG O=Irene.VOC
        khelídōn
        swallow.NOM.SG
        'What is that daughter of Pandion, the swallow, to me, Irene?' (Sappho 88, Lobel & Page 1968: 135.1)

In (114), *moi* leans on a clause-introducing vocative. Finally, I invite you to look at (115).

(114)   ἄγε δὴ, χέλυ δῖα, μοι φωνάεссα γένοιο
        áge   dè,   khélu   dîa,   *moi*
        lead.2SG.PRS.IMPER exactly lyre.VOC.SG divine.F.VOC.SG me.DAT
        phōnáessa   génoio
        vocal.F.NOM.SG become.2SG.AOR.OPT.MID
        'Come now, O divine lyre, begin to sing for me' (Sappho 45, Lobel & Page 1968: 118.1)

(115) ἤ σε Κύπρος ἤ Πάφος ἤ Πάνορμος
       ḗ *se* Kúpros ḕ Páphos ḕ Pánormos
       or you.ACC Cyprus.NOM or Paphos.NOM or Panormus.NOM
       (Sappho 6, Lobel & Page 1968: 35.1)

It is the general norm, without dialectal differentiation, to place the archaic (Klein 1887: 13) *me* (1SG.ACC) immediately after the first word in dedicatory and sculptors' inscriptions. It will be useful to provide a full list of examples.[*]

I begin with *m' anéthēke* 'me.ACC dedicate'. (116) is an Attic example.

(116) Ὀνήσιμος μ' ἀνέθηκεν ἀπαρχὴν τἀθηναίᾳ ὁ Σμικύθου υἱός
       Onḗsimos *m'* anéthēken aparkhḕn
       Onesimus.NOM me.ACC dedicate.3SG.AOR offering.ACC
       tathēnaíāi ho Smikúthou huiós
       the=Athenaea.DAT the.M.NOM.SG Smikythus.GEN son.NOM.SG
       'Onesimos, the son of Smikythus, dedicated an offering to the Athenaea.'
       (*Corpus inscriptionum atticarum* (CIA) 4².373.90)

Also CIA 4².373.87 *-itos* m' *anéthēken*, CIA 4².373.120 [*ho deîna*] m' *anéthēken dekáthēn* (sic!) *Athēnaíāi*, Inscriptiones graecae antiquissimae (IGA; Röhl 1882) 1 (Attic or Euboean) *Sēmōnides* m' *anéthēken*. Cf. CIA 4².373.100 [*Strón*]*gulós* m' *anéthēke*, in which a dative precedes, however. Many examples also in verse (although there is of course no absence of counterexamples here: CIA 1.343, CIA 1.374, 4².373.81 etc.): CIA 1.349 *-thánēs* m' *anéthēken Athēnaía*[*i polioúkhps*], 1.352 *Iphidíkē* m' *anéthēken*, 4².373.85 *Alkímakhós* m' *a*[*néthēke*], 4².373.99 *Tímarkhós* m' *anéthēke Diòs krateróphroni koúrēi*, 4².373.215 (cf. Studniczka 1887: 145) *Nēsiadēs kerameús* me *kaì Andokídēs anéthēken*, 4².373.216 *Palládi* m' *egremákhāi Dionúsio*[*s tó*]*d' ágalma stêse Koloíou paîs* [*euxá*]*menos dekátēn*, 4².373.218 *anéthēke dé* m' *Eudíkou huiós*, Acropolis inscription (ed. Foucart 1889: 160) [*Hermó*?]*dōrós* m' *anéthēken Aphrodítēi dôron aparkhḗn.* – From Boeotia: inscription from Reinach (1885) treated by Kretschmer (1891: 123–125), *Timasíphilós* m' *anétheike tōpóllōni toî Ptōieîi ho Praólleios.* – From Corinth (in the following I will no longer distinguish between poetic and prose inscriptions): IGA 20.7 *Simíōn* m' *anéthēke Poteidáwōn*[*i wánakti*], 20.8 *-ōn* m' *anéthēke Poteidâni wán*[*akti*], 20.9(=10=11) *Phlēbōn* m' *anéthēke Poteidâ*[*ni*], 20.42 *Dórkōn* m' *anéthēk*[*e*], 20.43 *Igrōn* m' *an*[*éthēke*], 20.47 *Kuloídas* m' *anéthēke*, 20.48 *Eurumḗdēs* m' *anéthēke*, 20.49 *Lukiádas* m' [*anéthēke*], 20.83 ... m' *anéth*[*ēke*], 20.87 and 20.89 *-s* m' *anéthēke*, 20.87a

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[*] *Translator's note*: Wackernagel indeed provides a full list of examples in the original, pp346–9. As these all serve to illustrate the same point, we have not glossed and translated all of them, taking only a representative example in each case.

... me *anéth(ē)ke tõi* , 20.94 ... m' *anéthēke*, 20.102 [*P*]*érilós* m' .... – Korkyra: IGA 341 (=3187 Collitz) *Lóphiós* m' *anéthēke*. *[p347]* Hermione: Kaibel (1878) 926 [*Pan*]*taklês* m' *anéthēken*. – Kyra at Aegina: Inscription (ed. Jamot 1889: 186) *hoi phrouroí* m' *a*[*néthesan*?] – Laconia: IGA 62a (p174) *Pleistiádas* m' *a*[*néthēke*]. – Naxos: IGA 407 *Nikándrē* m' *anéthēken hekēbólōi iokheaírēi*, 408 *Deinagórēs* m' *anéthēken hekēbólōi Apóllōni*. – Inscription found in Delos edited by Homolle (1888: 464f.) *Eì(th)ukartídēs* m' *anéthēken ho Náxios poiēsas*. – Samos: IGA 384 *Khēramúes* m' *anéth(ē)ken tḗrēi ágalma*. Röhl (1882: 108) adds [*Entháde*] at the beginning and observes: "For now I leave aside the question as to whether the first word of the hexameter poem was omitted by the person who made the inscription or by the one who copied its title". It was certainly neither. Not the creator of the copy: Dümmler (p.c.) points out to me that the copy he saw showed no trace of a word before *Khēramúes*. But nor could it have been the mason: neither the sense nor (as we now know better than we did ten years ago) the metre demanded any additional material, and the placement of *me* excludes any such addition. – Kalymna: Kaibel (1878) 778 *Nikías* me *anéthēken Apóllōni huiòs Thrasumḗdeos*. – Cyprus: inscription in Hoffmann (1891: 85) no. 163 *(...)* m' *a*(*né*)*thēkan tõi Apól(l)ōni*, Kaibel (1878) 794 (1st century CE) [*Kekro*]*pídēs* m' *anéthēke*. – Achaean (Magna Grecia): IGA 543 *Kunískos* me *anéthēken hórtamos wérgōn dekátan*. – Syracuse: Kaibel & Lebègue (1890) 5 *Alkiádēs* m' [*anéthēken*]. – Naukratis: Gardner (1886: 60–63) no. 5 *Parménōnm* (sic!) me *anéthēke tōppóllōni* (sic!), 24 *-s* me *a*[*néthēke*], 80 *-s* m' *anéthēken tōpollōn*[*i*], 114 *-ōn* m[*e anéthēke*], 137 *-s* m' *an*[*éthēke*], 177 *Prṓtarkhós* me [*anéthēke t*]*ōpóllōni*, 186 [*P*]*rṓtarkhós* me *anéthēk*[*e*], 202 [*ho deîna*] me *anéthēke*, 218 *Phánēs* me *anéthēke tōpóllōn*[*i tôi Mi*]*lēsíōi ho Glaúkou*, 220 *Kharidíōn* me *anéthē*[*ke*], 223 [*Polú*]*kestós* m' *anéthēke t*[*ōpóllōni*], 235 *Sléúēs* m' *anéthēke tōpóllōni*, 237 [*Kh*]*ar(ó)phēs* me *anéthēke tapó*[*l-lōni tôi M*]*ilasíōi*, 255 *-ēs* m' *anéthēke*, 259 *-s* me *a*[*néthēke*], 326 *Na*[*úpli*]*ós* me [*anéthēke*], 327 *-dēs* m' *anéthēke tōpóllōni*, 446 *-s* me *ané*[*thēke*], vol. II (Gardner 1888: 62–29) no. 701 *Sṓstratós* m' *anéthēken tēphrodítēi*, 709 *-os* m' *anéthēke tê*[*i Aphrodítēi*] *epì tê ...*, 717 *Kaîkos* m' [*ané*]*thēken*, 720 *-oros* m' *an*[*éthēken*], 722 *Musós* m' *anéthēken Honomakrítou*, 723 *Asos* [*p348*] m' *anéthēken*, 734 *-nax* m' [*anéthēken*], 736 *-ōn* me *an*[*éthēken*], 738 [*ho deîna*] m' *anéthēken Aphrodítēi* (?), 742 *-ēilos* m' *anéthēken*, 748 *Hermēsiphánēs* m' *anéthēken tēphrodítēi*, 770 *-mēs* me *an*[*éthēke t*]*ēphrodítē*[*i*], 771 *Khárm*[*ē*]*s* me [*anéthēke*], 775 [*K*]*leódēmos* me *a*[*ne*]*thēke tôi A*[*phrodítēi*], 776–777 *Khármēs* me *anéthēke tēphrodítēi* (or *têi A-*) *eukhōlēn*, 778 *Roîkos* m' *anéthēke t*[*êi Aphr*]*odítēi*, 780 *Philís* m' *anéthēke t*[*êi Aphr*]*odí*[*tēi*], 781 *Thoútimós* me *anéthēk*[*en*], 785 [*ho deîna*] m' *an*[*éthēke têi Aphr*]*odítēi*, 794 *Polúermós* m' *an*[*éthēke*] *têi Aphrodítēi*, 799 *Ōkhílos* m' *anéthēke*, 817 [*ho deîna*] *kaì Kh*[*rus*]*ódōrós* me *anéth*[*ēkan*], 819 [*L*]*ákri*[*tó*]*s* m' *ané*[*thē*]*ke*

hourmo[*th*]*ém*[*ios*] *tēphrodí*[*tēi*, 876 *Hermagórēs* m' *anéthēke ho T*[*éios*] *tōpóllōni* (verse!), 877 *Púr*[*rh*]*os* me *anéthēken.* (Metapontum: 1643 Collitz *hó toi kerameús* m' *anéthēke.*)

The only deviations from the norm (with some poetic exceptions, see above p62) are Naukratis 1.303 [*ho deîna anéthēké*] me and 1.307 [*ho deîna anéthēk*]*é* me – both inscriptions which have been falsely expanded, as is now clear – and the two-line inscription Naukratis 2.750, in which the first line reads [*têi Aphrodí*]*tēi* and the second *Hermagathînós* m' *anéth*[*ēken*]. Gardner (1888) thus gives the reading *têi Aphrodítēi Hermagathînós* m' *anéthēken.* However, Dümmler (p.c.) points out to me that the top line cannot be the first line, because it is shorter and does not fill the space, and hence must instead have been the conclusion of the lower, longer line. As a consequence it is necessary to read *Hermagathînós* m' *anéth*[*ēke*] [*tēi Aphrodí*]*tēi*, quite independently of our positional rule.

Something quite analogous is true of the inscriptions formed with synonyms of *anéthēke. me katéthēke* 'me.ACC down-lay': Cyprus: Deecke (1884) 1 *Kás* mi *katéthēke tâi Paphíai Aphrodítai*, and (117).

(117) αὐτάρ μι κατέ[θηκε] Ὀνασίθεμις
       autár *mi* katé[thēke]   Onasíthemis
       besides me.ACC down-lay.3SG.AOR Onasithemis
       'Besides, Onesithemis laid me down' (Cyprus, Deecke 1884, 2)

Also Deecke (1884) 3 *autár* me [*katéthēke Onasí*]*themi*[*s*] and 15 *autár* me *katéthēke* [*A*]*kestóthemis.* – Naukratis II (Gardner 1888) no. 790 [*ho deîna* m]e *káththē*[*ke*] *o Mutilénaios*, 840 *Néarkhós* me *ká*[*ththēke to*]*îs D*[*ioskóroisi*]. – m' *epéthēke* 'me.ACC on-put': Aegina: IGA 362 *Diótimós* m' *epéthēke.* – me (kat)éstase 'me.ACC erect': Cyprus: Deecke (1884) 71 *ká* men *éstasan* [*ka*]*sígnētoi* (verse!), Hoffmann (1891: 46) no. 67 *Gil*(*l*)*íka* me *katéstase ho Stasikréteos.* – me éwexe 'me.ACC grant': Cyprus: Hoffmann (1891: 46) no. 66 [*au*]*tár* me *éwexe* [*Onasí*]*themis.* – m' *édōke* 'me.ACC give/grant/allow': Sicyon: IGA 22 *Epaínetos* m' *édōken Kharópōi.* The Boeotian inscription (118) deviates from the rule.

(118) Χάρης ἔδωκεν Εὐπλοίωνί με
       Khárēs   édōken   Euploíōní   *me*
       Charis.NOM give.3SG.AOR Euplion.DAT me.ACC
       'Charis gave me to Euplion' (IGA 2019)

Röhl (1882: 56) comments as follows: "Chares attempted to include a dedication in the form of a trimeter verse, but his attempt failed." (Compare also the

[p349] position of *soi* (2SG.DAT) in the Attic inscription IGA 2 *tēndí* soi *Thoúdē-mos dídōsi.*)

In poetic dedicatory inscriptions, *me* is found in this position as late as the Roman era: (119)–(121). Compare also (122). (Kaibel (1878) 809, 813 and 843 have a different position for *me*.)

(119) Βάκχῳ μ[ε] Βάκχον καὶ προϲυμναίᾳ θεῷ ϲτάϲαντο
Bákkhōi *m[e]* Bákkhon kaì prosumnaíāi
Bacchus.DAT me.ACC Bacchus.ACC and Prosymnian.F.DAT.sg
theôi stásanto
goddess.DAT.SG set-up.3PL.AOR.MID
'To Bacchus (= Dionysus) and to the goddess praised in hymns
(=Demeter); they set me up' (Kaibel (1878), 821)

(120) Δᾳδοῦχος με Κόρης, Βαϲιλᾶν, Διός, ἱερὰ ϲηκῶν Ἥρας κλείθρα φέρων
βωμὸν ἔθηκε Ῥέῃ
Dāïdoûkhos *me* Kórēs, Basilân, Diós, hierà
torch-bearer me.ACC Kore.GEN queen.ACC Zeus.GEN sacred.N.ACC.PL
sēkôn Héras kleíthra phérōn
precinct.GEN.PL Hera.GEN key.ACC.PL bear.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG
bōmòn éthēke Rhéēi
altar.ACC.SG put.3SG.AOR Rhea.DAT
'The torch-bearer of Kore, bearing the sacred keys to the sanctuary of
Queen Hera, has dedicated me, the altar, to Rhea' (Kaibel (1878), 822.9)

(121) ἄνθετο μεν μ' Ἐπίδαυρος
ántheto men *m'* Epídauros
dedicate.3SG.AOR.MID then me.ACC Epidaurus
'Epidaurus dedicated me' (Kaibel (1878: XIX), 877b)

(122) Ἀϲκληπιοῦ με δμῶα πυρφόρο[ν θεοῦ/ξένε] Πείϲωνα λεύϲϲεις
Asklēpioû *me* dmôa purphóro[n theoû
Asclepius.GEN me.ACC slave.ACC.SG fire-bearing.M.ACC.SG god.GEN.SG
/xéne] Peísōna leússeis
stranger.VOC.SG Peison.ACC see.2SG.PRS
'Behold me, Peison, the fire-bearing slave of the god Asclepius(/of
Asclepius, O stranger)' (Kaibel (1878), 868)

The artists' inscriptions behave the same. *m' epoíēse, m' epoíei* 'me.ACC create':
(123).

(123) [E]ὐθυκλῆϲ μ᾽ ἐποίηϲεν
      [E]uthuklês   *m'*   epoíēsen
      Euthycles.NOM me.ACC create.3SG.AOR
      'Euthycles created me' (CIA 4² 373.206)

Also IGA 492 (Attic inscription from Sigeum) *kaì* m' *epo(íē)sen Haísōpos kaì hadelphoí*, CIA 1.466 *Aristíōn* m' *epoēsen*, 1.469 (cf. Loewy 1885: 15) *Aristíōn Pári*[*ós* m' *ep*]*ó*[*ēs*]*e* (the emendation is certain!), IGA 378 (Thasos) *Parménōn* me *e*[*poíēse*], IGA 485 (Miletus) *Eúdēmós* me *epoíein*, IGA 557 (Elis?) *Koîos* m' *apóēsen*, IGA 22 (=Klein 1887: 40) *Eksēkias* m' *epoíēse*, Klein (1887: 41) *Eksēkias* m' *epoíēsen eû*, Klein (1887: 31) *Theózotós* m' *epoēse*, Klein (1887: 34) *Ergótimós* m' *epoíēsen*, Klein (1887: 43, 45 b, 48) *Amasís* m' *epoíēsen*, Klein (1887: 48) *Khólkhos* m' *epoíēsen*, Klein (1887: 66) *-s* m' *epoíēsen*, Klein (1887: 71) *Nikosthénes* m' *epoíēsen*, Klein (1887: 75) *Anaklês* me *epoíēsen* and *Nikosthénes* me *epoíēsen*, Klein (1887: 76) *Arkheklês* m' *epoíēsen*, Klein (1887: 77) *Glaukítēs* m' *epoíēsen*, Klein (1887: 84 b) *Tlēnpólemós* m' *epoíēsen*, Klein (1887: 85) *Gageos* m' *epoíēsen*, Klein (1887: 90) *Panphaîós* m' *epoíēsen*, Klein (1887: 213) *Lusías* m' *epoíēsen hēmikhónēi*, as well as the metrical inscription IGA 536 [*Glaukía*]*i* me *Kálōn ge*[*neâi w*]*aleî*[*o*]*s epoíei*. On the other hand, Loewy (1885: 281) no. 411 [*Arté*]*mōn* me *epoíēse* falls away because of the treatment of the inscription by Köhler (1888: 7) in CIA 2.1181. – (124) breaks the rule. Here it is likely that *<e>mé* was either originally present or at least intended.[*] (On *emé* see below, page 72).

(124) Χαριταῖος ἐποίηϲέν με
      Kharitaîos   epoíēsén   *me*
      Charitaeus.NOM create.3SG.AOR me.ACC
      'Charitaeus created me' (Klein 1887: 51)

m' égrapse, m' égraphe 'me.ACC write': IGA 20.102 (Corinth) *-ōn* m' [*égrapse*] following the emendation by Blass (1888: 65) no. 3119e Collitz. Cypriot inscriptions in Hoffmann (1891: 90) no. 189 *-oikós* me *gráphei Selamínios*, Klein (1887: 29) *Timōnídas* m' *égraphe*, Klein (1887: 30) *Kharēs* m' *égrapse*, and (125).

(125) Νέαρχός μ᾽ ἔγραψεν καὶ <ἐποίηϲεν>
      Néarkhós   *m'*   égrapsen   kaì epoíēsen
      Nearchus.NOM me.ACC write.3SG.AOR and make.3SG.AOR
      'Nearchus engraved and made me' (Klein 1887: 38)

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[*] *Translator's note*: *emé* is the non-clitic counterpart of *me*, also a first person accusative pronoun form.

IGA 474 (Crete) *-mōn égraphé* me deviates from the rule, but this exception can be set aside if we accept the reading *égraph' emé*: compare the inscription in Klein (1887: 40) *[p350] kapoíēs' emé* with just such an elision, in which *emé* can be read securely because of other instances of the same inscription with *epóēse emé*. (With regard to *me* in inscriptions, see also the Addenda.)

The inscriptions transmitted to us on stones and vases include some truly ancient ones brought to us from Olympia by Pausanias: (126)–(128).

(126) υἱός μέν με Μίκωνος Ὀνάτας ἐξετέλεccεν
      huiós   mén *me*   Míkōnos   Onátas   exetélessen
      son.NOM then me.ACC Mikon.GEN Onatas.NOM complete.3SG.AOR
      'Onatas, the son of Mikon, completed me' (Pausanias 5.25.13 = 8.42.10
      from Thasos)

(127) Κλεοcθένηc μ' ἀνέθηκεν ὁ Πόντιος ἐξ Ἐπιδάμνου
      Kleosthénēs   *m'*   anéthēken   ho
      Kleosthenes.NOM me.ACC dedicate.3SG.AOR the.M.NOM.SG
      Póntios   ex   Epidámnou
      of.Pontus.M.NOM.SG from Epidamnus.GEN
      'Kleosthenes, the Pontic man from Epidamnus, dedicated me' (Pausanias
      6.10.17, fifth century)

(128) Ζηνί μ' ἄγαλμ' ἀνέθηκαν
      Zēní   *m'*   ágalm'   anéthēkan
      Zeus.DAT me.ACC statue.ACC devote.3PL.AOR
      'They raised me, a statue, for Zeus' (Pausanias 6.19.6, ancient Attic)

F. Dümmler (p.c.) emends (129) to read me *Kleitoríois* 'me.ACC Cleitorian.DAT.PL' in place of *metreît'*.[*]

(129) καὶ μετρεῖτ' Ἀρίcτων ἠδὲ Τελέcτας αὐτοκαcίγνητοι καλὰ Λάκωνεc
      *ἔcαν
      kaì metreît'   Arístōn   ēdè Teléstas
      and count.3SG.PRS.PASS Ariston.NOM and Telestas.NOM
      autokasígnētoi   kalà Lákōnes   ésan
      own-brothers.NOM.PL well Laconians.NOM.PL be.3PL.IMP
      'And Ariston and Telestas were well considered brothers and they were
      Laconians' (Pausanias 5.23.7, epigram)

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[*] *Translator's note*: This yields the translation 'And Ariston and Telestas, the Laconian brothers, were good to the Cleitorians for me.'

Translation

The examples brought to us by Herodotus from the Ismenion Hill also belong here: (130) and (131), of which the latter is the only counterexample to the rule in this group, and moreover, since it is metrical, is of little consequence.

(130) Ἀμφιτρύων μ' ἀνέθηκεν *ἐὼν ἀπὸ Τηλεβοάων
       Amphitrúōn   *m'*   anéthēken   *eṑn   apò
       Amphitryon.NOM me.ACC devote.3SG.AOR be.PTCP.M.NOM.SG from
       Tēleboáōn
       Teleboan.GEN.PL
       'Amphitryon, being from Teleboae, dedicated me' (Herodotus, 5.59.1)*

(131) Σκαῖος πυγμαχέων με ἑκηβόλῳ Ἀπόλλωνι νικήσας ἀνέθηκε
       Skaîos   pugmakhéōn me   hekēbólōi   Apóllōni
       Scaeus.NOM boxer.NOM.SG me.ACC archer.DAT.SG Apollo.DAT
       nikḗsas   anéthēke
       win.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG dedicate.3SG.AOR
       'Scaeus the boxer, victorious in the contest, gave me to Apollo, the archer god.' (Herodotus, 5.60.1)

The later epigram-writers also kept to the norm with striking rigidity when they used the archaic *me* in their poetic inscriptions: (132)–(138).

(132) ὅστις ἐμὸν παρὰ σῆμα φέρεις πόδα, Καλλιμάχου με ἴσθι Κυρηναίου
       παῖδά τε καὶ γενέτην
       hóstis   emòn   parà sêma   phéreis
       whoever.M.NOM.SG my.N.ACC.SG by   tomb.ACC.SG bring.2SG.PRS
       póda,   Kallimákhou   *me*   ísthi
       foot.ACC.SG Callimachus.GEN me.ACC know.2SG.PF.IMP
       Kurēnaíou   paîdá   te   kaì genétēn
       of-Cyrene.M.GEN.SG child.ACC.SG and and offspring.ACC.SG
       'Whoever you are who walks past my tomb, know that I am the son of Callimachus of Cyrene.' (Callimachus, Epigram 23.1 (21.1 Wilamowitz))

(133) τίν με, λεοντάγχ' ὦνα συοκτόνε, φήγινον ὄζον θῆκε
       tín   *me*,   leontánkh'   ôna
       you.NOM me.ACC lion-strangling.M.VOC.SG O=lord.VOC.SG

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *Amphitrúōn m' anethēk' enárōn apò tēleboáōn* 'Amphitryon dedicated me from the spoils of Teleboae.'

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suoktóne,   phéginon   ózon   thêke
swine-slaying.M.VOC.SG oaken.M.ACC.SG branch.ACC.SG put.3SG.AOR
'O lion-strangling, swine-slaying lord, you have placed an oaken bough
upon me' (Callimachus, Epigram 36.1 (34.1 Wilamowitz))

(134)   τῆς Ἀγοράνακτος με λέγε, ξένε, κωμικὸν ὄντωϲ ἀγκεῖϲθαι νίκης
        μάρτυρα τοῦ Ῥοδίου Πάμφιλον
        tês   Agoránaktos *me*   lége,   xéne,
        the.F.GEN.SG Agoranax.GEN me.ACC say.2SG.PRS.IMPER stranger.VOC.SG
        kōmikòn   óntōs ankeîsthai   níkēs   mártura
        funny.N.ACC.SG truly lay-up.PRS.INF.PASS victory.GEN.SG witness.ACC.SG
        toû   Rhodíou   Pámphilon
        the.M.GEN.sg of-Rhodes.M.GEN.SG Pamphilus.ACC
        'Tell me, O foreigner from Agoranax, whether it is truly funny for
        Pamphilus of Rhodes to be laid up as witness to the victory.'
        (Callimachus, Epigram 50.1 (49.1 Wilamowitz))

(135)   τῷ με Κανωπίτῃ Καλλίϲτιον εἴκοσι μύξαιϲ πλούϲιον ἡ Κριτίου λύχνον
        ἔθηκε θεῷ
        tôi   *me*   Kanôpítēi   Kallístion   eíkosi
        therefore me.ACC of-Canopus.M.DAT.SG Callistion.NOM twenty
        múxais   ploúsion   hē   Kritíou   lúkhnon
        wick.DAT.PL rich.M.ACC.SG the.F.NOM.SG Critias.GEN lamp.ACC.SG
        éthēke   theôi
        put.3SG.AOR god.DAT.SG
        'Therefore Callistion, the daughter of Critias, dedicated me, a costly
        lamp with twenty wicks, to the god of Canopus.' (Callimachus, Epigram
        56.1 (55.1 Wilamowitz))

(136)   Θαλῆϲ με τῷ μεδεῦντι Νείλεω δήμου δίδωϲι, τοῦτο δὶϲ λαβὼν ἀριϲτεῖον
        Thalês   *me*   tôi   medeûnti   Neíleō
        Thales.NOM me.ACC the.M.DAT.SG protect.PTCP.PRS.M.DAT.SG Neleus.GEN
        démou   dídōsi,   toûto   dìs   labòn
        people.GEN.SG give.3PL.PRS this.N.ACC.SG twice take.PTCP.AOR.N.NOM.SG
        aristeîon
        prize.ACC
        'Thales is giving me to the guardian of the people of Neleus, having
        received this as a prize twice' (Diogenes Laërtius 1.1.29 (Fragment 95))

(137) καί μ' ἐπὶ Πατρόκλῳ θῆκεν πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς
kaí *m'* epì Patróklōi thêken pódas ōkùs
And me.ACC on Patroclus.DAT place.3SG.AOR foot.ACC.PL swift.M.NOM.SG
Akhilleús
Achilles.NOM
'And swift Achilles placed (his) feet on Patroclus' (Athen. 6, 232 B =
Palatine Anthology 6.49)

(138) δέξαι μ' Ἡράκλεις Ἀρχεστράτου ἱερὸν ὅπλον
déxai   *m'* Hērákleis Arkhestrátou
accept.2SG.AOR.IMPER.MID me.ACC Hercules.VOC Archestratus.GEN
hieròn   hóplon
holy.N.ACC.SG weapon.ACC.SG
'Accept me, Hercules, the holy weapon of Archestratus' (Palatine
Anthology 6.178.1)

(139)–(141) are deviations, but not significant ones.

(139) Βιθυνὶς Κυθέρη με τεῆς ἀνεθήκατο, Κύπρι, μορφῆς εἴδωλον λύγδινον
εὐξαμένη
Bithunìs   Kuthérē   *me*   teês
Bithynian.F.NOM.SG Cytherea.NOM me.ACC your.F.GEN.SG
anethḗkato,   Kúpri,   morphês   eídōlon
dedicate.3SG.AOR.MID Cypris.VOC form.GEN.SG image.ACC.SG
lúgdinon   euxaménē
marble.N.ACC.SG pray.PTCP.AOR.MID.F.NOM.SG
'O Cypris, Bythinian Cytherea dedicated my marble image of your form
with a prayer' (Palatine Anthology 6.209.1)

(140) σμήνεος ἔκ με ταμὼν γλυκερὸν θέρος ἀντὶ νομαίων γηραιὸς Κλείτων
σπεῖσε μελισσοπόνος
smḗneos ék *me* tamòn   glukeròn
hive.GEN.SG out me.ACC cut.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG sweet.N.ACC.SG
théros   antì   nomaíōn   gēraiòs   Kleítōn
harvest.ACC against customary.N.GEN.PL aged.M.NOM.SG Cleiton.NOM
speîse   melissopónos
libate.3SG.AOR bee-keeping.M.NOM.SG
'Aged Cleiton the beekeeper makes a libation of me, cutting a sweet
harvest from the hive against custom' (Palatine Anthology 6.239.1)

(141) χάλκεον ἀργυρέῳ με πανείκελον, Ἰνδικὸν ἔργον, ὄλπην ... πέμπεν
γηθομένη ϲὺν φρενὶ Κριναγόρηϲ

khálkeon   arguréōi   *me*   paneíkelon,
brazen.N.ACC.SG silver.N.DAT.SG me.ACC just-like.N.ACC.SG

Indikòn,   érgon   ólpēn   pémpen
Indian.N.ACC.SG work.ACC.SG flask.ACC send.3SG.IMP

gēthoménēi   sùn phrenì   Krinagórēs
rejoice.PTCP.PRS.F.DAT.SG with midriff.DAT Crinagoras.NOM

'With joyous heart Crinagoras sent me a flask of Indian work, of bronze
but exactly like silver' (Palatine Anthology 6.261.1)

On the other hand, for (142) the version transmitted in the Palatine Anthology has been superseded by the original in stone that has come to light, *[p351]* CIA 1.381 (=Kaibel (1878) 578), which contains no *m'*. This also reveals the *m'* expanded by Hecker (1852: 147) in (143) to be superfluous.

(142) πρὶν μὲν Καλλιτέληϲ (μ') ἱδρύϲατο
prìn   mèn Kallitélēs   (*m'*)   hidrúsato
before then Kallitelis.NOM (me.ACC) place.3SG.AOR.MID
'Before Kalliteles placed (me)' (Palatine Anthology 6.138.1)

(143) παιδὶ φιλοϲτεφάνῳ Ϲεμέλαϲ (μ') ἀνέθηκε
paîdì   philostephánōi   Semelas   (*m'*)
child.DAT.SG wreath-loving.M.DAT.SG Semele.GEN (me.ACC)
anéthēke
devote.3SG.AOR
'[Melanthus] devoted (me) to the wreath-loving child of Semele'
(Palatine Anthology 6.140.1)

Our survey of the examples with *me* thus reveals that this element is placed in second position preferentially in poetic compositions and almost exceptionlessly in prose. If we divide up IGA 474 as *égraph' emé* 'wrote me', discount as uncertain Naukratis 1.303 and 1.307 in which only *ME* or *EME* is transmitted, and finally restore the sequence of words intended by the writer of the inscription in Naukratis 2.750, then only IGA 219 (=(118) above), which is not a verse but an attempt at a verse, and Klein (1887: 51), example (124) above, remain. The latter is therefore the only real exception, which strengthens our suspicion that an error has crept in here.

On the other hand, our rule receives further confirmation. First, from the fact that, in archaic inscriptions in which the monument or the person commemorated by the monument speaks, *me* is in second position: (144) and (145).

(144) Κοϲμία ἠμί, ἆγε δέ με Κλιτομίαϲ
      Kosmía   ēmí,   âge   dé *me*   Klitomías
      Kosmia.voc say.1sg.prs bring.2sg.prs.imper but me.acc Klitomia.gen
      'And I say, "Kosmia, bring me Klitomia".' (IGA 473, Rhodes)

(145) ὃϲ δ' ἄν με κλέψει
      hòs   d' án *me*   klépsei
      who.m.nom.sg then irr me.acc steal.3sg.aor.sbjv
      'who then might steal me' (IGA 524 (Cumae) = Kaibel & Lebègue (1890) 865)

Secondly (to anticipate a later section) from the analogous Latin inscriptions: *Manios med fefaked* 'Manios me.acc made', *Duenos med feced* 'Duenos me.acc made', and (146).

(146) Novios Plautios med   Romai   fecid
      Novios Plautios me.acc Rome.loc made
      'Novios Plautios made me in Rome'

Particularly instructive, however, are the few inscriptions with *emé* 'me.acc'. In two cases, (147) and (148), this *emé* is also in second position.

(147) Ἀπολλόδωροϲ ἐμὲ ἀνέθ[ηκε]
      Apollódōros   *emè*   anéth[ēke]
      Apollodorus.nom me.acc devote.3sg.aor
      'Apollodorus dedicated me' (IGA 20.8, Corinth)

(148) Μεναΐδαϲ ἐμ' ἐποί(ϝ)ηϲε Χάροπ[ι]
      Menaΐdas   *em'*   epoí(w)ēse   Khárop[i]
      Menaidas.nom me.acc create.3sg.aor Charopus.dat
      'Menaidas created me for Charopus' (Pottier 1888: 168)

But in six cases *emé* is in a different position: (149)–(151), as well as Klein (1887: 82) *Ermogénēs epoíēsen* éme, Klein (1887: 83) *Ermogénēs epoíēsen* éne (read *emé*), and Klein (1887: 85) *Sakōnídēs égrapsen* éme.

(149)   Ἐξεκίας ἔγραψε κἀπόηϲε' ἐμέ
        Exekías   égrapse   kapóēse   *emé*
        Execius.NOM write.AOR.3SG and=create.3SG.AOR me.ACC
        'Execius wrote and created me' (Klein 1887: 39; verse?)

(150)   Ἐξεκίας ἔγραψε κἀ(ι)ποίηϲ' ἐμέ
        Exekías   égrapse   ka(i)poíēs'   *emé*
        Execius.NOM write.AOR.3SG and=create.3SG.AOR me.ACC
        'Execius wrote and created me' (Klein 1887: 40; verse?)

(151)   Χαριταῖος ἐποίηϲεν ἔμ' εὖ
        Kharitaîos   epoíēsen   *ém'*   eû
        Charitaeus.NOM create.3SG.AOR me.ACC well
        'Charitaeus created me well' (Klein 1887: 51)

These instances show that the regular positioning of *me* after the first word is not a coincidence, and that it is determined by its enclitic nature. (See also the Addenda.)

3 The position of enclitic pronouns in later Greek

More important for this question (as indeed for any linguistic research that goes beyond etymological trivialities) are, of course, the more extensive texts of Ionic and *[p352]* Attic literature, especially Herodotus. He, however, followed the old rule with the other enclitic pronouns just as little as he did with *min* and *hoi*.

In the seventh book of Herodotus, *spheōn* (3PL.GEN) is found 13 times, including 6 in second position; *sphi* (3PL.DAT) 70 times, including 46 in second position; *spheas* (3PL.ACC) 32 times, including 20 in second position; *sphea* (3PL.ACC) once, not in second position. Overall, of 116 instances of *sph*-forms, 72 follow the rule, i.e. roughly 62%. Incomplete collections from the other books revealed a similar ratio.

As for second-person pronouns, in Herodotus VII we have *seo* (2SG.GEN) once, following the rule; *toi* (2SG.DAT, excluding the cases in which it is clearly a particle) 45 times, including 18–20 in second position; *se* (2SG.ACC) 16 times, including 10 in second position. As for first-person pronouns: *meo* (1SG.GEN) 3 times, of which one follows the rule; *moi* (1SG.DAT) 37 times, including 24 in second position, if (152)–(154) can be included here; *me* (2SG.ACC) 6 times, including two instances following the rule. Thus, in the first and second person, we have 58 examples following the rule and 50 examples breaking it.

(152)   ἔγνων δὲ ταῦτα μοι ποιητέα ἐόντα
        égnōn   dè taûtá   *moi*   poiētéa
        know.1SG.AOR but this.N.ACC.PL me.DAT do.GDV.N.ACC.PL
        eónta
        be.PTCP.PRS.N.ACC.PL
        'And I knew that these things were necessary for me to do.' (Herodotus 7.15.2)

(153)   φέρε τοῦτό μοι ἀτρεκέως εἰπέ
        phére   toûtó   *moi*   atrekéōs eipé
        bear.2SG.PRS.IMPER this.N.ACC.SG me.DAT truly   say.2SG.AOR.IMPER
        'Come, tell me this truly.' (Herodotus 7.47.1)

(154)   ἄγε εἰπέ μοι
        áge   eipé   *moi*
        lead.2SG.PRS.IMPER say.2SG.PRS.IMPER me.DAT
        'Come, tell me.' (Herodotus 7.103.1)

These statistics show very clearly that the old rule cannot be said to be uncontroversially operative in Herodotus, and that other positional rules have come into force. But they also show that despite, and alongside, these new rules the old rule still had strength enough to determine the position of the pronoun in more than half of the cases: admittedly this larger half includes those examples in which second position would also have been natural according to the newer rules.

Counts I have made in the works of the Attic poets demonstrate a further decline of the old rule. But unmistakable traces of this rule can still be found in particular set phrases and collocations in their work, as in Herodotus and the post-Homeric authors in general.

Every reader of the Attic orators is struck by how often the imperative clause permitting the reading of a charter or the calling of witnesses begins with *kaí moi*: it can safely be said that *[p353]* any clause beginning with *kaí* 'and' and containing *moi* (1SG.DAT) will exceptionlessly have *moi* immediately following *kaí*. In what follows I arrange the examples following the chronology of poets and the phrases following the dating of the earliest example.

kaí moi kálei 'and me.DAT call' with a following object: (155), Andocides 1.28, 1.112, Lysias 13.79, 17.2, 17.3, 17.9, 19.59, 31.16, Isocrates 17.12, 17.16, 18.8, 18.54, Isaeus 6.37, 7.10, 8.42, 10.7, Demosthenes 29.12, 29.18, 41.6, 57.12, 57.38, 57.39, 57.46, (Demosthenes) 44.14, 44.44, 58.32, 58.33, 59.25, 59.28, 59.32, 59.34, 59.40, Aeschines 1.100. Or with a different position for the object (156)–(158).

3 The position of enclitic pronouns in later Greek

(155) καὶ μοι κάλει Διόγνητον
       kaí *moi* kálei   Diógnēton
       and me.DAT call.2SG.PRS.IMPER Diognetus
       'And call Diognetus for me.' (Andocides 1.14)

(156) καί μοι μάρτυρας τούτων κάλει
       kaí *moi* márturas   toútōn   kálei
       and me.DAT witness.ACC.PL this.N.GEN.PL call.2SG.PRS.IMPER
       'And call witnesses of these things for me.' (Antiphon 5.56)

(157) καί μοι ἁπάντων τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας κάλει
       kaí *moi*   hapántōn   toútōn   toùs   márturas
       and me.DAT quite.all.GEN.PL this.N.GEN.PL the.M.ACC.PL witness.ACC.PL
       kálei
       call.2G.PRS.IMPER
       'And call witnesses of all these things for me.' (Andocides 1.127)

(158) καί μοι τούτους κάλει πρῶτον
       kaí *moi* toútous   kálei   prôton
       and me.DAT this.M.ACC.PL call.2SG.PRS.IMPER first
       'And call these people for me first.' (Isaeus 6.11)

   kaí moi labè kaì anágnōthi with a following object: (159) (also Andocides 1.15).

(159) καί μοι λαβὲ καὶ ἀνάγνωθι αὐτῶν τὰ ὀνόματα
       kaí *moi* labè   kaì anágnōthi   autôn
       and me.DAT take.2SG.AOR.IMPER and read.2SG.AOR.IMPER them.GEN
       tà   onómata
       the.N.ACC.PL name.ACC.PL
       'And take and read their names for me.' (Andocides 1.13)

   kaí moi anágnōthi 'and me.DAT read' with a following object: (160), Andocides
1.76, 1.82, 1.85, 1.86, 1.87, 1.96, Lysias 10.14, 10.15, 13.35, 13.50, 14.8, Isocrates 15.29,
17.52, Isaeus 5.2b, 5.4, 6.7, 6.8, (Demosthenes) 34.10, 34.11, 34.20, 34.39, 43.16, 46.26,
47.17, 47.20, 47.40, 47.44, 48.30, 59.52, Aeschines 3.24. Or with a different position
for the object (161)–(163). Without an object, (Demosthenes) 47.24.

(160) καί μοι ἀνάγνωθι αὐτῶν τὰ ὀνόματα
       kaí *moi* anágnōthi   autôn   tà   onómata
       and me.DAT read.2SG.AOR.IMPER them.GEN the.N.ACC.PL name.ACC.PL
       'And read their names for me.' (Andocides 1.34)

(161) καί μοι τὰς μαρτυρίας ἀνάγνωθι ταύτας
       kaí *moi* tàs   marturías   anágnōthi
       and me.DAT the.F.ACC.PL testimony.ACC.PL read.2SG.AOR.IMPER
       taútas
       this.F.ACC.PL
       'And read these depositions for me.' (Isaeus 2.16; cf. Isaeus 2.34 with
       synonymous *tautasí* for *taútas*)

(162) καί μοι τούτων ἀνάγνωθι τὴν μαρτυρίαν
       kaí *moi* toútōn   anágnōthi   tḕn
       and me.DAT this.N.GEN.PL read.2SG.AOR.IMPER the.F.ACC.SG
       marturían
       testimony.ACC.SG
       'And read the deposition of these things for me.' ([Demosthenes] 50.42)

(163) καί μοι λαβὼν ἀνάγνωθι πρῶτον τὸν Σόλωνος νόμον
       kaí *moi* labṑn   anágnōthi   prôton
       and me.DAT take.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG read.2SG.AOR.IMPER first
       tòn   Sólōnos   nómon
       the.M.ACC.SG Solon.GEN law.ACC.SG
       'And having taken the law of Solon, read (it) first for me.' (Demosthenes
       57.31)

   kaí moi anábēte mártures (or *toútōn mártures*): (164), Lysias 1.42, 13.64, 16.14,
16.17, 32.37; contra Aeschinem Fragment 1 (Baiter & Sauppe 1850: 172.26) in Athen.
13.612 F, Isocrates 17.37, 17.41; *kaí moi toútōn anábēte mártures* (165); *kaí moi
anábēte deûro* (166); *kaí moi anábēthi* (167) and also Isocrates 17.32).

(164) καί μοι ἀνάβητε τούτων μάρτυρες
       kaí *moi* anábēte   toútōn   mártures
       and me.DAT ascend.2PL.AOR.IMPER this.N.GEN.PL witness.VOC.PL
       'And witnesses of these things, come forward for me.' (Lysias 1.29)

(165) καί μοι τούτων ἀνάβητε μάρτυρες
       kaí *moi* toútōn   anábēte   mártures
       and me.DAT this.N.GEN.PL ascend.2PL.AOR.IMPER witness.VOC.PL
       'And witnesses of these things, come forward for me.' (Isocrates 17.14)

(166) καί μοι ἀνάβητε δεῦρο
kaí *moi* anábēte deûro
and me.DAT ascend.2PL.AOR.IMPER hither
'And come up here for me.' (Lysias 20.29)

(167) καί μοι ἀνάβηθι
kaí *moi* anábēthi
and me.DAT ascend.2SG.AOR.IMPER
'And come forward for me.' (Lysias 16.13)

kaí moi deûr' íte mártures: (168).

(168) καί μοι δεῦρ' ἴτε μάρτυρες
kaí *moi* deûr' íte mártures
and me.DAT hither go.2SG.PRS.IMPER witness.VOC.PL
'And come here for me, witnesses.' (Lysias 7 10)

kaì moi labè 'and me.DAT take' with a following object: (169), Isocrates 18.19, 19.14, Isaeus 6.16, 6.48, 8.17, 12.11, Lycurgus 125, Demosthenes 18.222, 30.10, 30.32, 30.34, 31.4, 36.4, 41.24, 41.28, 55.14, 55.35, 57.19, 57.25, (Demosthenes) 34.7, 34.17, 44.14, 48.3, 58.51, 59.87, 59.104, Aeschines 2.65; *kaí moi pálin labè* (170).

(169) καὶ μοι λαβὲ τὸν νόμον
kaì *moi* labè tòn nómon
and me.DAT take.2SG.AOR.IMPER the.M.ACC.SG law.ACC.SG
'And take the law for me.' (Lysias 9.8)

(170) καί μοι πάλιν λαβὲ τὸν νόμον τοῦτον
kaí *moi* pálin labè tòn nómon
and me.DAT again take.2SG.AOR.IMPER the.M.ACC.SG law.ACC.SG
toûton
this.M.ACC.SG
'And take this law again for me.' (Demosthenes 58.49)

kaí moi apókrinai: (171).

(171) καί μοι ἀπόκριναι
kaí *moi* apókrinai
and me.DAT answer.2SG.AOR.IMPER.MID
'And answer me.' (Lysias 13.32)

[p354] kaí moi epílabe tò húdor: (172), and Lysias 23.8, 23.11, 23.14, and 23.15.

(172) καί μοι ἐπίλαβε τὸ ὕδορ
kaí *moi* epílabe   tò   húdor
and me.DAT hold.2SG.AOR.IMPER the.N.ACC.SG water.ACC.SG
'And stop the water for me.' (Lysias 23.4)

kaí moi anagígnōske with a following object: (173) and [Demosthenes] 35.37.

(173) καί μοι ἀναγίγνωσκε λαβὼν ταύτην τὴν μαρτυρίαν
kaí *moi*   anagígnōske   labṑn   taútēn
and me.DAT read.2SG.PRS.IMPER take.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG this.F.ACC.SG
tḕn   marturían
the.F.ACC.SG testimony.ACC.SG
'And having taken this testimony, read (it) for me.' (Demosthenes 27.8)

kaí moi lége 'and me.DAT say' with a following object: (174), Demosthenes 19.154, 19.276, 18.53, 18.83, 18.105, 18.163, 18.218, 32.13, 37.17, 38.3, 38.14, (Demosthenes) 34.9, 56.38, Aeschines 2.91, 3.27, 3.32, 3.39.

(174) καί μοι λέγε τὸ ψήφισμα
kaí *moi*   lége   tò   psḗphisma
and me.DAT say.2SG.PRS.IMPER the.N.ACC.SG decree.ACC.SG
'And read the decree for me.' (Demosthenes 19.130)

kaí moi phére tò psḗphisma tò tóte genómenon: (175).

(175) καί μοι φέρε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ τότε γενόμενον
kaí *moi*   phére   tò   psḗphisma   tò
and me.DAT bear.2SG.PRS.IMPER the.N.ACC.SG decree.ACC.SG the.N.ACC.SG
tóte genómenon
then become.PTCP.AOR.MID.N.ACC.SG
'And bring me the decree made then.' (Demosthenes 18.179)

The only deviation is (176). Here, however, we have not just *kaí* 'and' but *kaí … dé* 'and … then', and before this *dé* (and thus after *kaí*) a strongly emphasized word was required, ruling out *moi*.[*]

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[*] *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition lacks *kaí.*

(176) καί τελευταίαν δέ μοι λαβὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ Μισγόλα μαρτυρίαν
      kaí teleutaían   dé *moi* labè   tền
      and final.F.ACC.SG but me.DAT take.2SG.AOR.IMPER the.F.ACC.SG
      autoû   Misgóla   marturían
      same.M.GEN.SG Misgolas.GEN.SG testimony.ACC.SG
      'And finally take for me the affidavit of Misgolas himself.' (Aeschines
      1.50)

Even outside this poetic usage, though, *kaí moi* clause-initially is particularly frequent (cf. Blass on Demosthenes 18.199).[*] Here I give just a few examples, (177)–(212); similar ones can be found in any text.

(177) καί μ' οὔτ' ἰάμβων οὔτε τερπωλέων μέλει
      kaí *m'*   oút' iámbōn   oúte terpōléōn   mélei
      and me.DAT nor iamb.GEN.PL nor delight.GEN.PL matter.3SG.PRS
      'And neither poetry nor pleasures matter to me.' (Archilochus, Fragment
      22)

(178) καί μοι σύμμαχος γουνουμένῳ ἵλαος γενεῦ
      kaí *moi*   súmmakhos gounouménōi   hílaos
      and me.DAT ally.NOM.SG beg.PTCP.PRS.PASS.M.DAT.SG gracious.M.NOM.SG
      geneû
      become.2SG.AOR.IMPER.MID
      'And be a gracious ally to me, I beg you.' (Archilochus, Fragment 108)

(179) καί μοι ...
      kaí *moi*
      and me.DAT
      (Sappho 79, Lobel & Page 1968: 58.25)[†]

(180) γιγνώσκω, καί μοι φρενὸς ἔνδοθεν ἄλγεα κεῖται, πρεσβυτάτην ἐσορῶν
      γαῖαν Ἰαονίας κλινομένην
      gignóskō,   kaí *moi* phrenòs   éndothen álgea
      perceive.1SG.PRS and me.DAT midriff.GEN.SG within   pain.NOM.PL

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[*] *Translator's note*: We have been unable to discover what work by Blass Wackernagel is referring to here. It may be his edition of Demosthenes (Dindorf & Blass 1887: 306–307), but there is no explicit comment on this passage.   [†] *Translator's note*: Lobel & Page (1968) have *toûto* before *kaí moi* here.

keîtai, presbutátēn esorôn gaîan
lie.3SG.PRS.PASS oldest.F.ACC.SG behold.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG land.ACC.SG
Iaonías klinoménēn
Ionia.GEN.SG decline.PTCP.PRS.F.ACC.SG

'I perceive Ionia's oldest land declining, and seeing (this) sorrows lie within my breast.' (Aristotle, *Constitution of the Athenians* 5.2 (Kenyon 1891: 14, line 3))

(181) καί μοι τοῦτ' ἀνιηρότατον
kaí *moi* toût' aniērótaton
and me.DAT this.N.NOM.SG troublesome.SUPL.N.NOM.SG

'... and this (is) most troublesome to me.' (Theognis, *Elegies* 257)

(182) καί μοι κραδίην ἐπάταξε μέλαιναν
kaí *moi* kradíēn epátaxe mélainan
and me.DAT heart.ACC.SG beat.3SG.AOR black.F.ACC.SG

'And it bruised my heart black and blue.' (Theognis, *Elegies* 1198)

(183) καί μοι τὸν ἐμὸν πέμψατ' ἀδελφόν
kaí *moi* tòn emòn pémpsat'
and me.DAT the.M.ACC.SG my.M.ACC.SG send.2PL.AOR.IMPER
ádelphón
brother.ACC.SG

'... and send me my brother.' (Sophocles, *Electra* 117)

(184) καί μοι τρίτον ῥίπτοντι Δωτιεὺς ἀνὴρ ἀγχοῦ προσῆψεν Ἔλατος ἐν δισκήματι
kaí *moi* tríton rhíptonti Dōtieùs anèr
and me.DAT third throw.PTCP.PRS.M.DAT.SG Dotian.NOM.SG man.NOM.SG
ankhoû prosêpsen Élatos en diskémati
near fasten.3SG.AOR Elatus.NOM in quoit.DAT.SG

'... and thirdly, a Dotian man, Elatus, came near my throw at quoits.' (Sophocles, Fragment 380)

(185) καί μοι μέχρι Μακεδονίης ἐλάσαντι [...] οὐδεὶς ἠντιώθη
kaí *moi* mékhri Makedoníēs elásanti
and me.DAT until Macedonia.GEN drive.PTCP.AOR.M.DAT.SG
oudeìs ēntióthē
nobody.M.NOM.SG oppose.3SG.AOR.PASS

'And no one opposed me marching as far as Macedonia.' (Herodotus 7.9A.2)

(186) καί μοι τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ἐχέτω ἐς πάντα λόγον
       kaí *moi* toûto   tò   épos
       and me.DAT this.N.NOM.SG the.N.NOM.SG word.NOM.SG
       ekhétō   es pánta   lógon
       have.3SG.PRS.IMPER into all.M.ACC.SG account.ACC.SG
       'And let this statement hold for my entire history.' (Herodotus 7.152.3)

(187) καί μοι τὸ μὲν còν ἐκποδὼν ἔστω λόγου
       kaí *moi* tò   mèn sòn   ekpodồn
       and me.DAT the.N.ACC.SG then yours.N.ACC.SG away
       éstō   lógou
       be.3SG.PRS.IMPER account.GEN.SG
       'And as for me, let your (fate) be unspoken.' (Euripides, *Medea* 1222)

(188) καί μοι εὐεργεcία ὀφείλεται
       kaí *moi* euergesía   opheíletai
       and me.DAT good.work.NOM.SG owe.3SG.PRS.PASS
       'And a good turn is owed to me.' (Thucydides 1.137.4)

(189) καί μοι φράcον
       kaí *moi* phráson
       and me.DAT tell.2SG.AOR.IMPER
       'And tell me …' (Aristophanes, *Frogs* 755)

(190) καί μοι δοκεῖ κατὰ cχολὴν παρὰ τἀνδρὸc ἐξελθεῖν μόνη
       kaí *moi* dokeî   katà skholền   parà tandròs
       and me.DAT seem.3SG.PRS down ease.ACC.SG from the=man.GEN.SG
       exstheîn   mónē
       leave.AOR.INF alone.F.NOM.SG
       'She alone seems to me to have got away from her husband with ease.'
       (Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazusae* 47)*

(191) καί μοι ταὐτὰ ταῦτα ἔδοξε
       kaí *moi* tautà   taûta   édoxe
       and me.DAT the=same.N.NOM.PL this.N.NOM.PL seem.3SG.AOR
       '… and these same things seemed (true) to me.' (Plato, *Apology* 21d)

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *kaítoi* for *kaí moi*.

(192) καί μοι ἀπόκριναι
kaí *moi* apókrinai
and me.DAT answer.2SG.AOR.IMPER.MID
'And answer me.' (Plato, *Apology* 25a = Plato, *Gorgias* 462b)

(193) καί μοι μὴ ἄχθεσθε λέγοντι τἀληθῆ
kaí *moi* mề ákhthesthe légonti
and me.DAT not grieve.2PL.PRS.IMPER.PASS say.PTCP.PRS.M.DAT.SG
talēthê
the=true.N.ACC.PL
'And do not be angry with me for speaking the truth.' (Plato, *Apology* 31e)

(194) καί μοι δοκεῖ ... μῦθον ἂν συνθεῖναι
kaí *moi* dokeî mûthon àn suntheînai
and me.DAT seem.3SG.PRS myth.ACC.SG IRR assemble.AOR.INF
'And it seems to me that he (Æsop) would have made a fable.' (Plato, *Phaedo* 60c)

(195) καί μοι δοκεῖ Κέβης εἰς σὲ τείνειν τὸν λόγον
kaí *moi* dokeî Kébēs eis sè teínein
and me.DAT seem.3SG.PRS Cebes.NOM into you.ACC spread.PRS.INF
tòn lógon
the.M.ACC.SG account.ACC.SG
'And Cebes seems to me to be aiming his argument at you.' (Plato, *Phaedo* 63a)

(196) καί μοι φράσειν
kaí *moi* phrásein 'And to tell me ...'
and me.DAT tell.FUT.INF
(Plato, *Phaedo* 97d)

(197) καί μοι ἔδοξεν ὁμοιότατον πεπονθέναι
kaí *moi* édoxen homoiótaton peponthénai
and me.DAT seem.3SG.AOR similar.SUPL.N.NOM.SG suffer.PRF.INF
'And to me it seemed most similar to having it be ...' (Plato, *Phaedo* 98c)

(198) καί μοι ὡμολόγει
kaí *moi* hōmológei
and me.DAT agree.3SG.IMP
'... and he agreed with me ...' (Plato, *Symposium* 173b)

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(199) καί μοι ἔϲτω ἄρρητα τὰ εἰρημένα
kaí *moi* éstō árrhēta tà
and me.DAT be.3SG.PRS.IMPER unsaid.N.NOM.PL the.N.NOM.PL
eirēména
say.PTCP.PRF.N.NOM.PL
'And let the things said be unsaid for me.' (Plato, *Symposium* 189b)

(200) καί μοι φαίνῃ ὀκνεῖν
kaí *moi* phaínēi okneîn
and me.DAT appear.2SG.PRS.PASS hesitate.PRS.INF
'And you appear to me to be hesitating …' (Plato, *Symposium* 218c)

(201) καί μοι ἐπίδειξειν αὐτοῦ τούτου ποίηϲαι
kaí *moi* epídeixein autoû toútou
and me.DAT display.FUT.INF same.N.GEN.SG this.N.GEN.SG
poíēsai
make.2SG.AOR.IMPER
'And make sure to display to me this very thing.' (Plato, *Gorgias* 449c)*

(202) καί μοι ἐϲτιν τῶν ἑτέρων παιδικῶν πολὺ ἧττον ἔμπληκτος
kaí *moi* estin tôn hetérōn paidikôn polù
and me.DAT be.3SG.PRS the.GEN.PL other.GEN.PL darling.GEN.PL much
hêtton émplēktos
less capricious.F.NOM.SG
'And (philosophy) is far less fickle to me than my other darlings.' (Plato, *Gorgias* 482a)

(203) καί μοι δοκεῖ δουλοπρεπέϲ τι εἶναι
kaí *moi* dokeî douloprepés ti
and me.DAT seem.3SG.PRS slavish.N.ACC.SG something.N.ACC.SG
eînai
be.PRS.INF
'And it seems to me to be somehow more suitable for a slave.' (Plato, *Gorgias* 485b)

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has a nominal form *epídeixin* for *epídeixein*.

Translation

(204) καί μοι λέγε
    kaí *moi* lége
    and me.DAT say.2SG.PRS.IMPER
    'And tell me …' (Plato, *Gorgias* 492d = 494b)

(205) καί μοι ὥϲπερ παιδὶ χρῇ
    kaí *moi* hósper paidì khrêi
    and me.DAT like child.DAT.SG use.2SG.PRS.PASS
    'And you are treating me like a child.' (Plato, *Gorgias* 499b)

(206) καί μοι πάνυ ϲφόδρα ἐνετέλλετο
    kaí *moi* pánu sphódra enetélleto
    and me.DAT quite exceedingly enjoin.3SG.IMP.PASS
    'And he most particularly enjoined me …' (Plato, *Charmides* 157b)

(207) καί μοι δοκεῖ θεὸϲ μὲν ἀνὴρ οὐδαμῶϲ εἶναι
    kaí *moi* dokeî theòs mèn hanèr oudamôs
    and me.DAT seem.3SG.PRS god.NOM.SG then the=man.NOM.SG in.no.way
    eînai
    be.PRS.INF
    'And the man seems to me not to be a god at all.' (Plato, *Sophist* 216b)

(208) καί μοι πειρῶ προϲέχων τὸν νοῦν εὖ μάλα ἀποκρίναϲθαι
    kaí *moi* peirô prosékhōn
    and me.DAT try.2SG.PRS.IMPER.PASS direct.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG
    tòn noûn eû mála apokrínasthai
    the.M.ACC.SG mind.ACC.SG well very answer.AOR.INF.MID
    'And, focusing your mind, try to answer me very well.' (Plato, *Sophist*
    233d; *moi* is separated from its governing verb by *peirô*)

(209) καί μοι νῦν ἥ τε φωνὴ προϲφιλὴϲ ὑμῶν
    kaí *moi* nûn hḗ te phōnè prosphilès
    and me.DAT now the.F.NOM.SG and sound.NOM.SG dear.F.NOM.SG
    humôn
    you.GEN.PL
    'And your accent is now dear to me.' (Plato, *Laws* 1.642c)

(210) καί μοι δοκεῖϲ … προελέϲθαι
    kaí *moi* dokeîs proelésthai
    and me.DAT seem.2SG.PRS choose.AOR.INF.MID
    'And you seem to me to have chosen …' (Demosthenes 18 280)

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(211)   καί μοι λέγειν τοῦτ' ἔϲτιν ἁρμοϲτόν, Σόλων
        kaí *moi*   légein   toût'   éstin   harmostón, Sólōn
        and me.DAT say.PRS.INF this.N.ACC.SG be.3SG.PRS fit.N.NOM.SG Solon.VOC
        'And it is fitting to say this to me, Solon.' (Philemon, Fragment 4.4 (Kock
        1884: 479))

(212)   καί μοι τέκν' ἐγένοντο δύ' ἄρϲενα
        kaí *moi*   tékn'   egénonto   dú' ársena
        and me.DAT child.ACC.PL become.3PL.AOR.MID two male.N.ACC.PL
        'And two male children were born to me.' (Callimachus, *Epigrams* 41.5;
        40.5 in Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1882)

It is very rare for *moi* not to be attached to a clause-initial *kaí*: (213), (214), (215).
(*kaí moi* also in Euripides, *Hippolytus* 377.1373.)

(213)   καὶ πρέπειν μοι δοκεῖ
        kaì prépein   *moi*   dokeî
        and befit.PRS.INF me.DAT seem.PRS.INF
        'And it seems suitable to me.' (Plato, *Gorgias* 485c)

(214)   καὶ οὐδέν μοι δεῖ ἄλληϲ βαϲάνου
        kaì oudén   *moi*   deî   állēs
        and nothing.ACC.SG me.DAT lack.3SG.PRS other.F.GEN.SG
        basánou
        touchstone.GEN.SG
        'And I would have no need of another touchstone.' (Plato, *Gorgias* 486d)*

(215)   καὶ ταῦτά μοι πάντα πεποίηται
        kaì taûtá   *moi*   pánta   pepoíētai
        and this.N.ACC.PL me.DAT all.N.ACC.PL do.3SG.PRF.PASS
        'And on my part all these things have been done.' (Demosthenes 18.246)

As examples of so-called prodiorthosis (Blass on Demosthenes 18.199), the fol-
lowing examples particularly belong together: (216) (cf. the example (193) dis-
cussed above), (217), (218), and (219).

(216)   καί μοι, ὦ ἄνδρεϲ Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ θορυβήϲητε
        kaí *moi*,   ô ándres   Athēnaîoi,   mề thorubésēte
        and me.DAT O man.VOC.PL Athenian.M.VOC.PL not clamour.2PL.AOR.SBJV
        'And do not interrupt me, men of Athens.' (Plato, *Apology* 20e)

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has accusative *me* for *moi*.

(217) καί μοι μηδὲν ἀχθεσθῇς
kaí *moi* mēdèn akhthesthêis
and me.DAT nothing.ACC.SG grieve.2SG.AOR.SBJV.PASS
'And do not be at all angry with me.' (Plato, *Gorgias* 486a)

(218) καί μοι μὴ θορυβήσῃ μηδείς
kaí *moi* mè thorubésēi mēdeís
and me.DAT not clamour.3SG.AOR.SBJV nobody.M.NOM.SG
'And let no one interrupt me.' (Demosthenes 5.15)

(219) καί μοι μηδὲν ὀργιϲθῇς
kaí *moi* mēdèn orgisthêis
and me.DAT nothing.ACC.SG anger.2SG.AOR.SBJV.PASS
'And do not be at all angry.' (Demosthenes 20.102)

And the following examples are very similar, except with a genitive pronoun: (220) and (221).

(220) καί μου πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν μηδὲ εἷϲ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν θαυμάσῃ
kaí *mou* pròs Diòs kaì theôn mēdè heîs
and me.GEN to Zeus.GEN and god.M.GEN.PL nor one.M.NOM.SG
tền huperbolền thaumásēi
the.F.ACC.SG hyperbole.ACC.SG wonder.3SG.AOR.SBJV
'And before Zeus and the gods, let not one of you wonder at my exaggeration.' (Demosthenes 18.199)[*]

(221) καί μου πρὸς Διὸς μηδεμίαν ψυχρότητα καταγνῷ μηδείς
kaí *mou* pròs Diòs mēdemían psukhrótēta
and me.GEN to Zeus.GEN no.F.ACC.SG coldness.ACC.SG
katagnôi mēdeís
condemn.3SG.AOR.SUBJ nobody.M.NOM.SG
'And before Zeus, let no one condemn me for any coldness.'
(Demosthenes 18.256)

The tendency to attach the pronoun to clause-initial *kaí* is by no means restricted to *moi*. *kaí mou* can be found in (222)–(226).

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[*] *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has nominative *mēdeìs* for *mēdè heîs*.

(222) καί μου παῦρ᾽ ἐπάκουσον ἔπη
       kaí *mou* paûr᾽ epákouson   épē
       and me.GEN few.N.ACC.PL listen.2SG.AOR.IMPER word.ACC.PL
       'And listen to my few words.' (Theognis, *Elegies* 1366)

(223) καί μου τὰ σπλάγχν᾽ ἀγανακτεῖ
       kaí *mou* tà   splánkhn᾽   aganakteî
       and me.GEN the.N.ACC.PL innard.ACC.PL irritate.3SG.PRS
       'And it gripes my guts.' (Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1006)

(224) καί μου ταύτῃ σοφώτεροι ἦσαν
       kaí *mou* taútēi sophóteroi   êsan
       and me.GEN thus   wiser.NOM.PL be.3PL.IMP
       'And thus they were wiser than I.' (Plato, *Apology* 22d)

(225) καί μου ὄπισθεν ὁ παῖς λαβόμενος τοῦ ἱματίου
       kaí *mou* ópisthen ho   paîs
       and me.GEN behind the.M.NOM.SG child.M.NOM.SG
       labómenos   toû   himatíou
       take.PTCP.AOR.MID.M.NOM.SG the.N.GEN.SG garment.GEN.SG
       'And the boy, taking hold of my garment from behind ...' (Plato, *Republic*
       1.327b)

(226) καί μου λαβόμενος τῆς χειρός
       kaí *mou* labómenos   tês   kheirós
       and me.GEN take.PTCP.AOR.MID.M.NOM.SG the.F.GEN.SG hand.GEN.SG
       'And, taking my hand ...' (Plato, *Parmenides* 126a)

For *kaí me* I refer the reader to the previously-mentioned dedicatory and artists'
inscriptions which contain it: IGA 492, Cypriot Deecke (1884) 1.71, Pausanias
5.23.7 (=(129) above), Palatine Anthology 6.49 (=(137) above). Cf. (227) and the
younger Cypriot inscription (228).

(227) καί μ᾽ ἔστεψε πατὴρ (ε)ἰσαρίθμοις ἔπεσι
       kaí *m'* éstepse   patèr   (e)isaríthmois
       and me.ACC crown.3SG.AOR father.NOM.SG equivalent.N.DAT.PL
       épesi
       word.DAT.PL
       'And (his) father garlanded me with an equal number of verses.' (Kaibel
       1878, 806)

(228)   καί με χθὼν ἥδε καλύπτει

        kaí *me*   khthòn   hêde   kalúptei

        and me.ACC earth.NOM this.F.NOM.SG hide.3SG.PRS

        'And this earth hides me.' (Deecke (1884), no. 30)

In addition, *[p356]* we have (229)–(246).

(229)   κἀδόκουν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ὄλβον εὑρήσειν πολὺν καί με κωτίλλοντα λείως τραχὺν ἐκφανεῖν νόον

        kadókoun   hékastos   autôn   ólbon   heurésein

        and=think.3PL.IMP each.M.NOM.SG them.GEN wealth.ACC find.FUT.INF

        polùn   kaí *me*   kōtíllonta   leíōs

        much.M.ACC.SG and me.ACC coax.PTCP.PRS.M.ACC.SG smoothly

        trakhùn   ekphaneîn   nóon

        harsh.M.ACC.SG reveal.FUT.INF mind.ACC

        'And they thought, each of them, that they would find great wealth and that I, while coaxing gently, would reveal a harsh mind.' (Solon in Aristotle, *Constitution of the Athenians*; Kenyon 1891: 30, line 1)

(230)   καί μ' ἐπίβωτον κατὰ γείτονας ποιήσεις

        kaí *m'*   epíbōton   katà geítonas   poiéseis

        and me.ACC notorious.M.ACC.SG down neighbour.ACC.PL make.2SG.FUT

        'And you will make me notorious among the neighbours.' (Anacreon, Fragment 9)

(231)   καί με δεσπότεω βεβροῦ λαχόντα λίσσομαι σε μὴ ῥαπίζεσθαι

        kaí *me*   despóteō   bebroû   lakhónta

        and me.ACC master.GEN.SG foolish.M.GEN.SG obtain.PTCP.AOR.M.ACC.SG

        líssomai   se   mè rhapízesthai

        pray.1SG.PRS you.ACC not beat.PRS.INF

        'And I pray you not to beat me for having found a foolish master.' (Hipponax, Fragment 64)

(232)   καί με βιᾶται οἶνος

        kaí *me*   biâtai   oînos

        and me.ACC constrain.3SG.PRS.PASS wine.NOM.SG

        'And wine has got the better of me.' (Theognis, *Elegies* 503)

(233) καί μ᾿ ἐφίλευν προφρόνως πάντες ἐπερχόμενον
kaí *m'* ephíleun prophrónōs pántes
and me.ACC like.3PL.IMP willingly all.M.NOM.PL
eperkhómenon
approach.PTCP.PRS.M.ACC.SG
'And they all freely enjoyed my approaching.' (Theognis, *Elegies* 785)

(234) καί μ᾿ ἦμαρ ἤδη ξυμμετρούμενον χρόνῳ λυπεῖ τί πράσσει
kaí *m'* êmar ḗdē xummetroúmenon khrónōi
and me.ACC day.ACC.SG already reckon.PTCP.PRS.N.ACC.SG time.DAT.SG
lupeî tí prássei
trouble.3SG.PRS what.ACC.SG do.3SG.PRS
'And what he is doing troubles me, with the days reckoned in time.'
(Sophocles, *Oedipus Rex* 73)

(235) φάναι Πέρσας τε λέγειν ἀληθέα καί με μὴ σωφρονέειν
phánai Pérsas te légein alēthéa kaí *me*
say.PRS.INF Persian.ACC.PL and speak.PRS.inf true.N.ACC.PL and me.ACC
mḕ sōphronéein
not be.sane.PRS.INF
'Say that the Persians are telling the truth and that I am out of my mind.'
(Herodotus 3.35.2)

(236) καί μ᾿ οὐ νομίζω παῖδα σὸν πεφυκέναι
kaí *m'* ou nomízō paîda sòn
and me.ACC not consider.1SG.PRS child.ACC.SG your.M.ACC.SG
pephukénai
beget.PRF.INF
'And I do not consider myself your begotten son.' (Euripides, *Alcestis*
641)

(237) τέθνηκα τῇ σῇ θυγατρὶ καί μ᾿ ἀπώλεσε
téthnēka têi sêi thugatrì kaí *m'*
die.1SG.PRF the.F.DAT.SG your.F.DAT.SG daughter.DAT.SG and me.ACC
apólese
destroy.3SG.AOR
'I have been killed by your daughter and she has destroyed me.'
(Euripides, *Andromache* 335)

(238) καί μ' ἀπάλλαξον πόνων
      kaí *m'*   apállaxon   pónōn
      and me.ACC deliver.2SG.AOR.IMPER trouble.GEN.PL
      'And free me from my troubles.' (Euripides, *Medea* 333)

(239) πόcιν ποθ' ἥξειν καί μ' ἀπαλλάξειν κακῶν
      pósin   poth'   héxein   kaí *m'*   apalláxein
      husband.ACC sometime arrive.FUT.INF and me.ACC deliver.FUT.INF
      kakôn
      evil.N.GEN.PL
      '... for my husband to come one day and free me from these evils.'
      (Euripides, *Helen* 278)

(240) καί μ' ἑλὼν θέλει δοῦναι τυράννοιc
      kaí *m'*   helṑn   thélei   doûnai
      and me.ACC take.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG want.3SG.PRS give.AOR.INF
      turánnois
      king.DAT.PL
      'And having taken me, he wants to give me to the royal house.'
      (Euripides, *Helen* 551)

(241) καί με πρòc τύμβον πόρευcα πατρόc
      kaí *me*   pròs túmbon póreusa   patrós
      and me.ACC to   tomb.ACC convey.2SG.AOR.IMPER father.GEN.SG
      'And guide me to my father's tomb.' (Euripides, *Orestes* 796)

(242) καί μ' ἔφερβε còc δόμοc
      kaí *m'*   épherbe   sòs   dómos
      and me.ACC foster.3SG.IMP your.M.NOM.SG house.NOM.SG
      'And your house reared me.' (Euripides, *Orestes* 866)

(243) καί μ' ἀcφαλῶc πανήμερον παῖcαί τε καὶ χορεῦcαι
      kaí *m'*   asphalôs panémeron paîsaí   te   kaì khoreûsai
      and me.ACC safely   all.day   sport.AOR.INF and and dance.AOR.INF
      '...and (allow) me to sport and dance safely all day.' (Aristophanes, *Frogs*
      338; cf. *Knights* 862, and *Frogs* 389 *kaí ... me*)

(244) καί με τοῦτ' ἔτερπεν
      kaí *me*   toût'   éterpen
      and me.ACC this.N.NOM.SG delight.3SG.IMP
      'And this delighted me.' (Aristophanes, *Frogs* 916)

(245)   καί μ' οὐκ ἀρέϲκει
        kaí *m'*   ouk aréskei
        and me.ACC not please.3SG.PRS
        '... and it does not please me.' (Aristophanes, *Plutus* 353)

(246)   καί με μηδεὶϲ ἀπαρτᾶν νομίϲῃ τὸν λόγον τῆϲ γραφῆϲ
        kaí *me*   mēdeìs   apartân   nomísēi
        and me.ACC nobody.M.NOM.SG detach.PRS.INF consider.3SG.AOR.SBJV
        tòn   lógon   tês   graphês
        the.M.ACC.SG account.ACC.SG the.F.GEN.SG writ.GEN.SG
        'And let no one consider that I am changing the subject from the
        indictment.' (Demosthenes 18.59)[*]

   Second person pronouns: (247)–(262).

(247)   καί ϲε [...] νέοι ἄνδρεϲ [...] ᾄϲονται
        kaí *se*   néoi   ándres   áisontai
        and you.ACC young.M.NOM.PL men.NOM.PL sing.3PL.FUT.MID
        'And young men will sing of you.' (Theognis, *Elegies* 241)

(248)   καί ϲοι τὰ δίκαια φίλ' ἔϲτω
        kaí *soi*   tà   díkaia   phíl'
        and you.DAT the.N.NOM.PL righteous.N.NOM.PL dear.N.NOM.PL
        éstō
        be.3SG.PRS.IMPER
        'And let the righteous things be dear to you.' (Theognis, *Elegies* 465)

(249)   καί ϲε Ποϲειδάων χάρμα φίλοιϲ ἀνάγοι
        kaí *se*   Poseidáōn   khárma   phílois   anágoi
        and you.ACC Poseidon.NOM joy.ACC.SG friend.DAT.PL lead.3SG.PRS.OPT
        'And may Poseidon bring you, a delight to your friends.' (Theognis,
        Elegies 692)

(250)   καί τοι ταύτην τὴν ἀτιμίην προϲτίθημι ἐόντι κακῷ καὶ ἀθύμῳ
        kaí *toi*   taútēn   tḕn   atimíēn   prostíthēmi
        and you.DAT this.F.ACC.SG the.F.ACC.SG disgrace.ACC.SG impose.1SG.PRS
        eónti   kakôi   kaì athúmōi
        be.PTCP.PRS.M.DAT.SG bad.M.DAT.SG and spiritless.M.DAT.SG
        'And on you, being base and spiritless, I lay this disgrace.' (Herodotus
        7.11.1)

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[*] *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *hupolábēi*.

(251) καί σ᾿ ἐβουλόμην μένειν
kaí   s᾿   eboulómēn   ménein
and you.ACC wish.1SG.IMP.PASS remain.PRS.INF
'…and I wanted you to stay.' (Euripides, *Medea* 456)

(252) καί σ᾿ οὐ κεναῖϲι χερϲὶ γῆϲ ἀποϲτελῶ
kaí   s᾿   ou kenaîsi   khersì   gês
and you.ACC not empty.F.DAT.PL hand.DAT.PL land.GEN.SG
apostelô
dispatch.1SG.FUT
'And I will not send you away from the land with empty hands.'
(Euripides, *Helen* 1280)

(253) καί ϲε προϲποιούμεθα
kaí se   prospoioúmetha
and you.ACC claim.1PL.PRS.PASS
'…and we claim from you…' (Euripides, *Helen* 1387)*

(254) καί σ᾿ ἀναγκαῖον θανεῖν
kaí   s᾿   anankaîon   thaneîn
and you.ACC necessary.N.NOM.SG die.AOR.INF
'And (it is) necessary for you to die.' (Euripides, *Orestes* 755)

(255) καί σ᾿ ἀμείψαϲθαι θέλω φιλότητι χειρῶν
kaí   s᾿   ameípsasthai   thélō   philótēti
and you.ACC repay.AOR.INF.MID want.1SG.PRS affection.DAT.SG
kheirôn
hand.GEN.PL
'And I want to give you back a fond embrace.' (Euripides, *Orestes* 1047)

(256) ὁρῶ καί ϲε δέξομαι ϲύγκωμον
horô   kaí se   déxomai   súnkōmon
see.1SG.PRS and you.ACC receive.1SG.FUT.MID fellow.reveller.ACC.SG
'I see and I will accept you as a fellow reveller.' (Euripides, *Bacchae* 1172)

(257) καί ϲε φαίνω τοῖϲ πρυτάνεϲιν
kaí se   phaínō   toîs   prutánesin
and you.ACC show.1SG.PRS the.M.DAT.PL magistrate.DAT.PL
'…and I am exposing you to the magistrates.'
(Aristophanes, *Knights* 300)†

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has the tonic form 'sè', which Wackernagel also cites as a variant reading. † *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *phanô se*.

(258) καί σε θυσίαισιν ἱεραῖσι […] ἀγαλοῦμεν
       kaí *se*   thusíaisin   hieraîsi   agaloûmen
       and you.ACC sacrifice.DAT.PL holy.F.DAT.PL glorify.1PL.FUT
       'And we will glorify you with holy sacrifices.' (Aristophanes, *Peace* 396)

(259) καί σοι* τὰ μεγάλ᾽ ἡμεῖς Παναθήναι᾽ ἄξομεν
       kaí *soi*   tà   megál'   hēmeîs Panathénai'
       and you.DAT the.N.ACC.PL great.N.ACC.PL we.NOM Panathenaea.ACC
       áxomen
       lead.1PL.FUT
       '...and we will celebrate the great Panathenaea in your honour.'
       (Aristophanes, *Peace* 418)

(260) καί σου κατεγέλα
       kaí *sou*   kategéla
       and you.GEN mock.3SG.IMP

       'And he was mocking you.' (Plato, *Gorgias* 482d)†

(261) καί σε ἴσως τυπτήσει τις
       kaí *se*   ísōs   tuptḗsei   tis
       and you.ACC perhaps hit.3SG.FUT someone.M.NOM.SG
       '...and perhaps someone will hit you.' (Plato, *Gorgias* 527a)

(262) καί σοι ἐπιρρέξει Γόργος χιμάροιο νομαίης αἷμα
       kaí *soi*   epirrhéxei   Górgos   khimároio
       and you.DAT sacrifice.3SG.FUT Gorgos.NOM goat.GEN.SG
       nomaíēs   haîma
       pastoral.F.GEN.SG blood.ACC
       'And Gorgos will sacrifice the blood of a herdsman's goat to you.'
       (Anthologia Graeca 6.157.3).

   Cf. also example (89) cited above.
   Third person pronouns: (263)–(275).

(263) καί σφεας ὄλλυ᾽ ὥσπερ ὀλλύεις
       kaí *spheas* óllu'   hósper ollúeis
       and them.ACC destroy.2SG.PRS.IMPER like   destroy.2SG.PRS
       '... and destroy them as you destroy.' (Archilochus, Fragment 27.2)

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* *Translator's note*: Wackernagel cites 'kaì soì' as a variant reading.   † *Translator's note*: The
Perseus edition has infinitive *katagelân*.

(264)   καί ϲφιν θαλάϲϲηϲ ἠχέεντα κύματα φίλτερ᾽ ἠπείρου γένηται
        kaí *sphin*   thalássēs ēkhéenta   kúmata   phílter'
        and them.DAT sea.GEN.SG roaring.N.ACC.PL billow.ACC.PL dearer.N.ACC.PL
        ēpeírou   génētai
        land.GEN.SG become.3SG.AOR.SUBJ.MID
        '... and the sea's roaring billows shall become dearer than land to them.'
        (Archilochus, Fragment 74.8)

(265)   καί μιν ἐπ᾽ ἀνθρώπουϲ βάξιϲ ἔχει χαλεπή
        kaí *min*   ep'   anthrṓpous báxis   ékhei
        and him.ACC upon person.ACC.PL rumour.NOM.SG have.3SG.PR
        khalepḗ
        harsh.F.NOM.SG
        'And a harsh rumour keeps him against people.' (Mimnermus, Fragment
        15)

(266)   καί οἱ ἔθηκε δοκεῖν
        kaí *hoi*   éthēke   dokeîn
        and him.DAT put.3SG.AOR seem.PRS.INF
        '... and he made him think ...' (Theognis, *Elegies* 405)

(267)   καί ϲφιν πολλ᾽ ἀμέλητα μέλει
        kaí *sphin*   poll'   amélēta   mélei
        and them.DAT many.N.NOM.PL unimportant.N.NOM.PL matter.3SG.PRS
        'And many unimportant things occupy them.' (Theognis, *Elegies* 422)

(268)   καί ϲφιν τοῦτο γένοιτο φίλον
        kaí *sphin*   toûto   génoito   phílon
        and them.DAT this.N.NOM.SG become.3SG.AOR.OPT.MID dear.N.NOM.SG
        '... and this would become dear to them ...' (Theognis, *Elegies* 732)

(269)   καί μιν ἔθηκεν δαίμονα
        kaí *min*   éthēken   daímona
        and him.ACC put.3SG.AOR demon.ACC.SG
        '... and he made him divine.' (Theognis, *Elegies* 1348)

   [p357]

(270)   καί ϲφεων ἐϲχίϲθηϲαν αἱ γνῶμαι
        kaí *spheōn*   eskhísthēsan   hai   gnômai
        and them.GEN split.3PL.AOR.PASS the.F.NOM.PL opinion.NOM.PL
        '... and their opinions were divided.' (Herodotus 4.119.1)

(271) καί νιν δοκῶ
       kaí *nin* dokô
       and him.ACC think.1SG.PRS
       'And I think that he ...' (Euripides, *Orestes* 1200)

(272) καί σφας ϲιδηραῖϲ ἁρμόϲαϲ ἐν ἄρκυϲι παύϲω [...] τῆϲδε βακχείαϲ
       kaí *sphas*   sidēraîs   harmósas   en árkusi
       and them.ACC iron.F.DAT.PL fit.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG in net.DAT.PL
       paúsō   têsde   bakkheías
       stop.1SG.FUT this.F.GEN.SG frenzy.GEN.SG
       'And having put them in iron fetters, I will keep them from this frenzy.'
       (Euripides, *Bacchae* 231)

(273) καί σφιν ἀνιηρὸν μὲν ἐρεῖϲ ἔποϲ, ἔμπα δὲ λέξειϲ
       kaí *sphin*   aniēròn   mèn ereîs   épos,   émpa
       and them.DAT troublesome.N.ACC then say.2SG.FUT word.ACC.SG all
       dè léxeis
       but say.2SG.FUT
       'And you will say a troublesome thing to them, and still you will say ...'
       (Callimachus, Epigram 14.3; 12.3 in Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1882)[*]

One example of *kaí me* and one of *kaí spheas* are particularly noteworthy: (274) and (275). In both examples the pronoun is extracted from the subordinate clause in which it belongs and attached to *kaí*. Moreover, *kaí* with a following enclitic pronoun is also found very often in Homer.

(274) καί με ἐὰν ἐξελέγχηϲ, οὐκ ἀπεχθήϲομαί ϲοι
       kaí *me*   eàn exelénkhēis,   ouk apekhthḗsomaí soi
       and me.ACC if refute.2SG.PRS.SBJV not hate.1SG.FUT.MID you.DAT
       'And if you refute me, I will not be angry with you.' (Plato, *Gorgias*
       506c)[†]

(275) καί σφεαϲ ὡϲ οὐδεὶϲ ἐκάλεε, ἐκτράπονται ἐπ᾽ Ἀθηνέων
       kaí *spheas* hōs oudeìs   ekálee,   ektrápontai   ep'
       and them.ACC as nobody.M.NOM.SG call.3SG.IMP turn.3PL.PRS.PASS upon
       Athēnéōn
       Athens.GEN
       'And as no one invited them, they turned toward Athens.' (Herodotus
       6.34.2)[‡]

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[*] *Translator's note*: Both Perseus editions have *léxai* for *léxeis*.   [†] *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *akhthesthḗsomaí* for *apekhthḗsomaí*.   [‡] *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *ektrépontai* for *ektrápontai*.

Translation

This attracting force also inheres in other particles that regularly or often occur clause-initially, e.g. *ou*, *mḗ* (NEG), *gár* 'since', *ei*, *eán* 'if'. *allá* 'but' also belongs to this group, as in examples (276)–(282) (the latter is Euripidizing).

(276) ἀλλά μοι cμικρός τιc εἴη
      allá *moi*   smikrós   tis   eíē
      but me.DAT small.M.NOM.SG someone.M.NOM.SG be.3SG.PRS.OPT
      '…but someone would be unimportant to me…' (Archilochus, Fragment 58.3)

(277) ἀλλά μ' ὁ λυcιμελήc, ὦταῖρε δάμναται πόθοc
      allá *m'*   ho   lusimelḗs,   ôtaîre
      but me.ACC the.M.NOM.SG limb-relaxing.M.NOM.SG O=companion.VOC.SG
      dámnatai   póthos
      overpower.3SG.PRS.PASS longing.NOM.SG
      'But the limb-relaxing longing overpowers me, my friend.' (Archilochus, Fragment 85)

(278) θέλω τι ϝείπην, ἀλλά με κωλύει αἴδωc
      thélō   ti   weípēn,   allá *me*   kōlúei
      want.1SG.PRS something.ACC say.AOR.INF but me.ACC prevent.3SG.PRS
      aídōs
      shame.NOM
      'I want to say something, but shame prevents me.' (Alcaeus, Fragment 55.2)

(279) ἀλλά μ' ἑταῖροc ἐκλείπει
      allá *m'*   hetaîros   ekleípei
      but me.ACC companion fail.3SG.PRS
      'But my companion fails me.' (Theognis, *Elegies* 941)

(280) ἀλλά μοι εἴη ζῆν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀλίγων
      allá *moi*   eíē   zên   apò tôn   olígōn
      but me.DAT be.3SG.PRS.OPT live.PRS.INF of the.GEN.PL little.GEN.PL
      '…but for me (what I ask) would be to live on little.' (Theognis, *Elegies* 1155)

(281) ἀλλά μοι φόβοc τιc εἰcελήλυθ(ε)
      allá *moi*   phóbos   tis   eiseléluth(e)
      but me.DAT fear.NOM.SG some.M.NOM.SG enter.3SG.PRF
      'But some fear has entered me.' (Euripides, *Orestes* 1323)

(282)   ἀλλά μοι ἀμφίπολοι λύχνον ἄψατε
       allá *moi*   amphípoloi   lúkhnon   hápsate
       but me.DAT attendant.M.VOC.PL lamp.ACC.SG touch.2PL.AOR.IMPER
       'But, servants, light the lamp for me.' (Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1338)

    allá moi 'but me.DAT' is common in Plato (*Apology* 39E, 41D, *Phaedo* 63E, 72D, *Symposium* 207C, 213A, *Gorgias* 453A, 476B, 517B etc.), and *allá se* 'but you.ACC' is found in Theognis 1287, 1333, Euripides, *Medea* 759, 1389, etc.

    Furthermore, as with Homer and Sappho, we even find enclitic pronouns attached to a vocative when it is the first word of a clause or follows the first word of a clause: (283)–(291).

(283)   Μοῦσά μοι Εὐρυμεδοντιάδεα [...] ἐννεφ' [...]
       Moûsá   *moi*   Eurumedontiádea   enneph'
       muse.VOC.SG me.DAT wide.ruling.F.VOC.SG tell.2SG.PRS.IMPER
       'Wide-ruling Muse, tell me...' (Hipponax, Fragment 85.1)

(284)   Μοῖσά μοι ἀμφὶ Σκάμανδρον ἐύρροον ἄρχομ' ἀείδεν
       Moîsá   *moi*   amphì Skámandron   eúrrhoon
       muse.VOC.SG me.DAT about Scamander.ACC well-flowing.M.ACC.SG
       árkhom'   aeíden
       begin.1SG.PRS.PASS sing.PRS.INF
       'Muse, I begin to sing for myself about the well-flowing Scamander.'
       (Fragmenta Lyrica Adespota 30A; Bergk 1882: 696)

(285)   μήτοι κασιγνήτη μ' ἀτιμασῃς
       métoi kasignétē *m'*   atimasēis
       not   sister.VOC me.ACC dishonour.2SG.AOR.SBJV
       'No, sister, do not deem me unworthy.' (Sophocles, *Antigone* 544)

(286)   ὁδ' ὦ ξένοι με, σοὺς ἀτιμάζων θεούς, ἕλκει
       hod'   ô xénoi   *me,*   soùs
       this.M.NOM.SG O stranger.VOC.PL me.ACC your.M.ACC.PL
       atimázōn   theoús,   hélkei
       dishonour.PTCP.M.NOM.SG god.ACC.PL drag.3SG.PRS
       'Dishonouring your gods, strangers, this man drags me...' (Euripides,
       Heracleidae 78)

(287) ὁ Διός, ὁ Διός, ὦ πόϲι με παῖϲ Ἑρμᾶϲ ἐπέλαϲεν Νείλῳ
ho   Diós,   ho   Diós,   ô pósi
the.M.NOM.SG Zeus.GEN the.M.NOM.SG Zeus.GEN O husband.VOC.SG
me   paîs   Hermâs   epélasen   Neílōi
me.ACC child.NOM.SG Hermes.NOM bring.3SG.AOR Nile.DAT
'Zeus's, Zeus's son Hermes, brought me to the Nile, husband.' (Euripides,
Helen 670)*

(288) οἴκτιρε δ' ὦ μῆτέρ με
oíktire   d'   ô mêtér   *me*
pity.2SG.PRS.IMPER then O mother.VOC.SG me.ACC
'So pity me, Mother.' (Euripides, *Bacchae* 1120)

(289) ἔαϲον Ἀχοῖ με ϲὺν φίλαιϲιν γόου κόρον λαβεῖν
éason   Akhoî   *me*   sùn phílaisin
let.2SG.AOR.IMPER echo.VOC.PL me.ACC with friend.F.DAT.PL
góou   kóron   labeîn
wailing.GEN.SG surfeit.ACC.SG take.AOR.INF
'Echoes, let me have my fill of wailing with my friends.' (Euripides,
Andromeda Fragment 118)

(290) μέμνηϲο Περϲεῦ μ' ὡϲ καταλείπειϲ
mémnēso   Perseû   *m'*   hōs kataleípeis
remember.2SG.PRF.IMPER.PASS Perseus.VOC me.ACC how leave.2SG.PRS
'Remember, Perseus, how you are leaving me behind.' (Aristophanes,
Thesmophoriazusae 1134)

(291) εἶ' ἄγε Θεϲτυλί μοι χαλεπᾶϲ νόϲῳ εὑρέ τι μᾶχοϲ
eî' áge   Thestulí   *moi*   khalepâs
on lead.2SG.PRS.IMPER Thestylis.VOC me.DAT harsh.F.GEN.SG
nósō   heuré   ti   mâkhos
illness.GEN.SG find.2SG.AOR.IMPER some.N.ACC.SG remedy.ACC.SG
'Come now, Thestylis, find me some remedy for a harsh illness.'
(Theocritus 2.95)†

Related to this is the attachment of the enclitic to a preceding *[p358]* imperative element, as in Homeric *all' áge moi*: (292)–(296).

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* *Translator's note*: For *me paîs Hermâs* the Perseus edition has *paîs m'* followed by a lacuna.
† *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *ei d' áge ... mêkhos*.

(292) δεῦρό cου cτέψω κάρα
       deûró *sou* stépsō   kára
       hither you.GEN crown.1SG.FUT head.ACC.SG
       'Come here; I will crown your head.' (Euripides, *Bacchae* 341)

(293) παῦcαί με μὴ κάκιζε
       paûsaí   *me* mè̀ kákize
       stop.2SG.AOR.IMPER.MID me.ACC not abuse.2SG.PRS.IMPER
       'Stop; do not make me a coward.' (Euripides, *Iphigenia in Aulis* 1435)

(294) φέρε δέ coι, ἐὰν δύνωμαι, cαφέcτερον ἀποδείξω
       phére   dé *soi*, eàn dúnōmai,   saphésteron
       bear.2SG.PRS.IMPER but you.DAT if can.1SG.PRS.SBJV clearly.COMP
       apodeíxō
       show.1SG.AOR.SBJV
       'But come, let me show you more clearly, if I can ...' (Plato, *Gorgias*
       464b)[*]

(295) ἴθι δή μοι, ἐπειδὴ [...], διελοῦ τάδε
       íthi   dé *moi*, epeidè̀ dieloû
       go.2SG.PRS.IMPER exactly me.DAT since   decide.2SG.AOR.IMPER.MID
       táde
       this.N.ACC.PL
       'Go on, decide these things for me, since ...' (Plato, *Gorgias* 495c)

(296) ἔχε δή μοι τόδε εἰπέ
       ékhe   dé *moi* tóde   eipé
       have.2SG.PRS.IMPER exactly me.DAT this.N.ACC.SG say.2SG.AOR.IMPER
       'Stop now and tell me this...' (Plato, *Ion* 535b)

Also attachment to *boúlei* 'wish.2SG.PRS' when a first person singular subjunctive follows: (297)–(300). Broadly similar are (301) and (302).

(297) βούλει cε γεύcω
       boúlei *se* geúsō
       wish.2SG.PRS you.ACC taste.1SG.AOR.SBJV
       'Do you want me to give you a taste?' (Euripides, *Cyclops* 149)[†]

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[*] *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *epideíxō*.   [†] *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has subjunctive *boulē̄i*.

(298) βούλει coι ὁμολογήcω
       boúlei   *soi*   homologḗsō
       wish.2SG.PRS you.DAT agree.1SG.AOR.SBJV
       'Do you want me to agree with you?' (Plato, *Gorgias* 516c)

(299) βούλει coι εἴπω
       boúlei   *soi*   eípō
       wish.2SG.PRS you.DAT say.1SG.AOR.SBJV
       'Do you want me to tell you…' (Plato, *Gorgias* 521d)

(300) βούλει cε θῶ φοβηθῆναι
       boúlei   *se*   thô   phobēthênai
       wish.2SG.PRS you.ACC put.1SG.AOR.SBJV frighten.AOR.INF.PASS
       'Do you want me to assume that you were frightened?'
       (Aeschines 3.163)

(301) νεωcτί, μοι δοκεῖν, καταπεπλευκότι
       neōstí, *moi* dokeîn,   katapepleukóti
       newly me.DAT seem.PRS.INF land.PTCP.PRF.M.DAT.SG
       '… freshly, I fancy, arrived on shore …' (Plato, *Euthydemus* 297c)

(302) τί οὖν, εἰπεῖν, μοι ἀποκρινεῖται
       tí   oûn, eipeîn,   *moi* apokrineîtai
       what.ACC.SG so   say.AOR.INF me.DAT answer.3SG.FUT.MID
       '"Why, then," he said, "shall I be answered?"' (Plato, *Parmenides* 137b)[*]

Often, however, we find such a pronoun that has been separated from the words to which it syntactically belongs in order to be placed in clausal second position, e.g. (303). Differently again (304)–(306). See above p95 on *kaí me* and *kaí spheas*. With participles: (307)–(312).

(303) λῷcτά cε μήτε λίην ἀφνεὸν κτεάτεccι γενέcθαι μήτε cέ γ᾽ἐc πολλὴν
       χρημοcύνην ἐλάcαι
       lôistá *se*   méte líēn aphneòn   kteátessi
       best you.ACC nor   very rich.M.ACC.SG possession.DAT.PL
       genésthai   méte sé   g᾽es   pollḕn
       become.AOR.INF.MID nor   you.ACC then=into much.F.ACC.SG

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[*] *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *tís*.

khrēmosúnēn elásai
need.ACC.SG   drive.AOR.INF
'(It is) best for you neither to become very rich in possessions nor to plunge into great poverty.' (Theognis, *Elegies* 559)[*]

(304) οὐδέ μ' εἰ θανεῖν χρεών
oudé *m'*   ei thaneîn   khreṓn
nor   me.ACC if die.AOR.INF need
'... not even if (it is) necessary for me to die.' (Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris* 987)[†]

(305) ἵνα μ' εἰ καταλάβοι ὁ τόκος ἔτ' ἐν πόλει, τέκοιμι
hína *m'*   ei kataláboi   ho   tókos   ét' en
that me.ACC if seize.3SG.AOR.OPT the.M.NOM.SG childbirth.NOM still in
pólei,   tékoimi
city.DAT.SG beget.1SG.AOR.OPT
'So that if labour should seize me while still in these precincts, I could give birth ...' (Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 753)

(306) ὅς μοι δωδεκαταῖος ἀφ' ὧ τάλας οὐδέποθ' ἵκει
hós   *moi* dōdekataîos   aph' hô
who.M.NOM.SG me.ACC twelfth.day.M.NOM.SG of   which.GEN.SG
tálas   oudépoth' híkei
wretched.M.NOM.SG never   come.3SG.PRS
'... who, wretched one, (has been) twelve days since he ever came to me.' (Theocritus 2.4)

(307) οὐ γάρ τί μοι Ζεὺς ἦν ὁ κηρύξας τάδε
ou gár tí   *moi* Zeùs   ên   ho
not for what.ACC.SG me.DAT Zeus.NOM be.3SG.IMP the.M.NOM.SG
kērúxas   táde
proclaim.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG this.N.ACC.PL
'Why, because Zeus was not the one proclaiming these things to me.' (Sophocles, *Antigone* 450)

(308) τίς μ' εἶσιν ἄξων
tís   *m'*   eîsin   áxōn
who.M.NOM.SG me.ACC go.3SG.PRS lead.PTCP.FUT.M.NOM.SG
'Who will go as my escort?' (Euripides, *Iphigenia in Aulis* 1458)

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[*] *Translator's note*: The Teubner edition (Hiller 1890) has *hṓste*.   [†] *Translator's note*: The Persus edition has *s'*.

(309) πονηρός τίς μ' ἔσται ὁ εἰσάγων

ponērós   tís   *m'*   éstai   ho
evil.M.NOM.SG some.M.NOM.SG me.ACC be.3SG.FUT.MID the.M.NOM.SG
eiságōn
bring.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG

'It will be some villain who brings me there.' (Plato, *Gorgias* 521d)

(310) πολλά με τὰ παρακαλοῦντα ἦν

pollá   *me*   tà   parakaloûnta   ên
many.N.NOM.PL me.ACC the.N.NOM.PL urge.PTCP.PRS.N.NOM.PL be.3SG.IMP

'Many were the things urging me …' ([Demosthenes] 59.1; cf. also Kock 1864: 64 on Aristophanes, *Birds* 95)

(311) τάδε τοι προσδόκα ἔσεσθαι

táde   *toi*   prosdóka   ésesthai
this.N.ACC.PL you.DAT expect.2SG.PRS.IMPER be.FUT.INF.MID

'Expect these things for yourself.' (Herodotus, 7.235.4)

(312) μή μοι θάνῃς σὺ κοινά

mḗ *moi*   thánēis   sù   koiná
not me.DAT die.2SG.AOR.SBJV you.NOM common.F.NOM.SG

'Do not die together with me.' (Sophocles, *Antigone* 546)

In taking such a position, the pronoun easily separates words which belong tightly together. Thus, for instance, in (313) and (314) we find the particle *oukéti* 'no longer' split apart by *me* and *moi* (1SG); similarly (315)–(318), even though otherwise *ei mḗ* and *eàn mḗ* 'if not' always occur closely connected to one another. (318) is also an example of this, as well as (319), since otherwise it is normal for *ôn* 'then' to occur immediately after the first word in the clause.

(313) οὔ μ' ἔτι, παρθενικαὶ μελιγάρυες ἱμερόφωνοι, γυῖα φέρειν δύναται

oú *m'*   éti, parthenikaì   meligárues
not me.ACC still maiden.VOC.PL sweet.voiced.F.VOC.PL
himeróphōnoi,   guîa   phérein   dúnatai
lovely.sounding.F.VOC.PL limb.ACC.PL bear.INF.PRS can.3SG.PRS

'Sweet-voiced, lovely-sounding maidens, I can no longer hold out my hands.' (Alcman 26.1)

(314) οὔ μοι ἔτ᾽ εὐκελάδων ὕμνων μέλει
ού *moi*   ét' eukeládōn   húmnōn   mélei
not me.DAT still melodious.M.GEN.PL hymn.GEN.PL matter.3SG.PRS
'Melodious hymns no longer matter to me.' (Fragmenta Lyrica Adespota
5; Bergk 1882: 690)

(315) εἴ ϲε μὴν δειναῖϲιν ὄντα ϲυμφοραῖϲ ἐπαρκέϲω
eí *se*   mèn deinaîsin   ónta   sumphoraîs
if you.ACC not=in terrible.F.DAT.PL be.PTCP.PRS.M.ACC.SG mishap.DAT.PL
eparkésō
help.1SG.AOR.SBJV
'If I do not help you in these terrible straits ...' (Euripides, *Orestes* 803)[*]

(316) ἐάν μοι μὴ δοκῇ
eán *moi*   mὲ̀ dokêi
if   me.DAT not seem.3SG.PRS.SBJV
'If he does not seem to me ...' (Plato, *Apology* 29e)

(317) ἐάν μοι μὴ εἴπῃϲ
eán *moi*   mὲ̀ eípēis
if   me.DAT not say.2SG.AOR.SBJV
'If you do not tell me ...' (Plato, *Phaedrus* 236e)

(318) οὐδείϲ μέ πω ἠρώτηκεν καινὸν οὐδέν
oudeís   *mé* pō ērótēken   kainòn   oudén
nobody.M.NOM.SG me.ACC yet ask.3SG.PRF new.N.ACC.SG nothing.ACC.SG
'No one has yet asked me anything new.' (Plato, *Gorgias* 448a)

(319) θωῦμά μοι ὦν καὶ τοῦτο γέγονεν
thōûmá   *moi*   ôn kaì toûto   gégonen
wonder.NOM.SG me.DAT then also this.N.NOM.SG become.3SG.PRF
'So this too is a wonder to me ...' (Herodotus 7.153.4)[†]

An attributive genitive is separated from its governing word *[p359]* by Ion
when he writes (320) at the beginning of his *Triagmoí*. Similarly (321)–(325) and
(287) above. (But *emé* is also found in this configuration: (326).)

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[*] *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *mè 'n*.   [†] *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *thôma ... gégone*.

(320) ἀρχὴ δέ μοι τοῦ λόγου
       arkhḕ   dé *moi*   toû   lógou
       beginning.NOM.SG but me.DAT the.M.GEN.SG account.GEN.SG
       'And (this is) the beginning of my speech.' (Harpocration s.v. *Íōn*)*

(321) τίνος μ' ἕκατι γῆϲ ἀποϲτέλλειϲ
       tínos   *m'*   hékati gês   apostélleis
       what.GEN.SG me.ACC for   land.GEN.SG dispatch.2SG.PRS
       'For what reason are you exiling me from this land?' (Euripides, *Medea*
       281)

(322) ἀ Δίοϲ μ' ἄλοχοϲ ὤλεϲεν
       ha   Díos   *m'*   álokhos   ólesen
       the.F.NOM.SG Zeus.GEN me.ACC bedfellow.NOM.SG destroy.3SG.AOR
       'The wife of Zeus has ruined me.' (Euripides, *Helen* 674)

(323) εἰ οὖν τί ϲε τούτων ἀρέϲκει
       ei oûn tí   *se*   toútōn   aréskei
       if so anything.NOM.SG you.ACC this.N.GEN.PL please.3SG.PRS
       'So if any of this pleases you ...' (Thucydides 1.128.7)

(324) ὅϲουϲ μοι τῶν ϲυγγόνων ἀπώλλυεν
       hósous   *moi*   tôn   sungónōn
       how.many.M.ACC.PL me.DAT the.M.GEN.PL relative.M.GEN.PL
       apólluen
       destroy.3SG.IMP
       '... how many of my relatives he was ruining.' (Andocides 1.47)

(325) Ζηνόϲ τοι θυγάτηρ ὑπὸ τὰν μίαν ἵκετο χλαῖαν
       Zēnós   *toi*   thugátēr   hupò tàn   mían
       Zeus.GEN you.DAT daughter.NOM.SG under the.F.ACC.SG one.F.ACC.SG
       híketo   khlaîan
       come.3SG.AOR.MID blanket.ACC.SG
       'Zeus's daughter has come under the same blanket as you.' (Theocritus
       18.19)

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *hḗde*; Wackernagel also cites *hêdé* as a variant reading
(Lobeck 1829: 385).

(326)   οὐδεὶς ἔμ᾽ ἐχθρῶν προσβλέπων ἀνέξεται
       oudeìs   *ém᾽*   ekhthrôn   prosblépōn
       nobody.M.NOM.SG me.ACC enemy.GEN.PL behold.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG
       anéxetai
       sustain.3SG.FUT
       'None of the enemies will be able to bear looking at me.' (Euripides,
       Heracleidae 691)

In (327)–(356) an attributive adjective or pronoun or an appositive is separated
from the phrase to which it belongs by an enclitic pronoun.

(327)   δεσπότης σε Καμβύσης, Ψαμμήνιτε, εἰρωτᾷ
       despótēs   *se*   Kambúsēs,   Psamménite,   eirōtâi
       master.NOM.SG you.ACC Cambyses.NOM Psammenitus.VOC ask.3SG.PRS
       'Psammenitus, Lord Cambyses asks you ...' (Herodotus 3.14.9)

(328)   ἀπὸ ταύτης σφι τῆς μάχης ... κατεύχεται ὁ κῆρυξ ... Πλαταιεῦσι
       apò taútēs   *sphi*   tês   mákhēs   kateúkhetai
       of   this.F.GEN.SG them.DAT the.F.GEN.SG battle.GEN.SG pray.3SG.PRS
       ho   kêrux   Plataieûsi
       the.M.NOM.SG herald.NOM.SG Plataean.DAT.PL
       'Since this battle, the herald prays for them, the Plataeans.' (Herodotus
       6.111.2; here *Plataieûsi* resumes the distantly removed *sphi*)

(329)   τά σε καὶ ἀμφότερα περιήκοντα ἀνθρώπων κακῶν ὁμιλίαι σφάλλουσιν
       tá   *se*   kaì amphótera   periékonta   anthrṓpōn
       the.N.ACC.PL you.ACC also both.N.ACC.PL befall.N.ACC.PL person.GEN.PL
       kakôn   homilíai   sphállousin
       bad.M.GEN.PL company.NOM.PL trip.3PL.PRS
       'The company of bad men overcomes both the things that have come to
       you.' (Herodotus 7.16A.1; here *tá* belongs with *amphótera* and *se* with
       periékonta)

(330)   ὀλίγων γὰρ σφι ἡμερέων
       olígōn   gár *sphi*   hēmeréōn
       few.F.GEN.PL for them.DAT day.GEN.PL
       'For few days' (provisions are left) to them.' (Herodotus 9.45.2)*

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *oligéōn*.

(331) ὡὑτὸς δέ μοι λόγος καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων
     hōutòs   dé *moi*   lógos   kaì hupèr tôn
     the.M.NOM.SG but me.DAT account.NOM.SG also over   the.N.GEN.PL
     állōn
     other.N.GEN.PL
     'And this (is) also my argument for the others.' ([Hippocrates,] *De arte*;
     Gomperz 1890: 52.18)

(332) πολλή μ' ἀνάγκη
     pollḗ   *m'*   anánkē
     much.F.NOM.SG me.DAT need.NOM.SG
     '(There is) great need for me (to do so).' (Euripides, *Medea* 1013)

(333) Αἴας μ' ἀδελφὸς ὤλεσ' ἐν Τροίᾳ θανών
     Aías   *m'*   adelphòs   ṓles'   en Troíāi
     Ajax.NOM me.ACC brother.NOM.SG destroy.3SG.AOR in Troy.DAT
     thanṓn
     die.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG
     'My brother Ajax undid me, dying at Troy.' (Euripides, *Helen* 94)

(334) τοὐκεῖ με μέγεθος τῶν πόνων πείθει
     toukeî   *me*   mégethos   tôn   pónōn
     the=there me.ACC magnitude.N.NOM.SG the.M.GEN.PL trouble.GEN.PL
     peíthei
     persuade.3SG.PRS
     'The magnitude of my troubles there convinces me.' (Euripides, *Helen*
     593)

(335) φήμας δέ μοι ἐσθλὰς ἐνεγκών
     phḗmas   dé *moi*   esthlàs   enenkṓn
     report.ACC.PL but me.DAT goodly.F.ACC.PL bear.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG
     'And having brought me good news ...' (Euripides, *Helen* 1281)[*]

(336) διccoì δέ cε Διόcκοροι καλοῦcιν
     dissoì   dé *se*   Dióskoroi   kaloûsin
     twin.M.NOM.PL but you.ACC Dioscuri.NOM.PL call.3PL.PRS
     'And the twin Dioscuri are calling you.' (Euripides, *Helen* 1643)[†]

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[*] *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *d' emoì*.   [†] *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *kaloûmen*.

(337) Ἑλένη ϲ' ἀδελφὴ ταῖϲδε δωρεῖται χοαίϲ
       Helénē   s'   adelphḕ taîsde   dōreîtai
       Helen.NOM you.ACC sister.NOM the.F.DAT.PL present.3SG.PRS
       khoaís
       libation.DAT.PL
       'Helen, your sister, presents you with these libations.' (Euripides, *Orestes*
       117)

(338) φίλου μοι πατρόϲ ἐϲτιν ἔκγονοϲ
       phílou   *moi*   patrós   estin   ékgonos
       dear.M.GEN.SG me.DAT father.GEN.SG be.3SG.PRS offspring.NOM.SG
       'He is the son of a father dear to me.' (Euripides, *Orestes* 482)

(339) Φοιβόϲ μ' ὁ Λητοῦϲ παῖϲ ὁδ' ἐγγὺϲ ὢν καλῶ
       Phoibós   *m'*   ho   Lētoûs paîs
       Phoebus.NOM me.ACC the.M.NOM.SG Leto.GEN child.NOM.SG
       hod'   engùs ṑn   kalô
       this.M.NOM.SG near   be.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG call.1SG.PRS
       'Being near, I call myself Phoebus, this son of Leto.' (Euripides, *Orestes*
       1626)[*]

(340) χρύϲεαι δή μοι πτέρυγεϲ περὶ νώτῳ
       khrúseai   dḗ   *moi*   ptéruges   perì   nṓtōi
       golden.F.NOM.PL exactly me.DAT wing.NOM.PL around back.DAT.SG
       'Golden (are) the wings upon my back.' (Euripides, Fragment 911)

(341) τίϲ γάρ ϲε κήρυξ ἢ γερουϲία Φρυγῶν [...] οὐκ ἐπέϲκηψεν πόλει
       tís   gár *se*   kḗrux   ḕ gerousía
       which.M.NOM.SG for you.ACC herald.NOM.SG or senate.NOM.SG
       Phrugôn   ouk epéskēpsen   pólei
       Phrygian.GEN.PL not adjure.3SG.AOR city.DAT
       'For what herald or embassy from Phrygia did not summon you for the
       city?' (Euripides, *Rhesus* 401)

(342) τίνα μοι δύϲτανον ὄνειρον πέμπειϲ
       tína   *moi*   dústanon   óneiron
       which.M.ACC.SG me.DAT wretched.M.ACC.SG dream.M.ACC.SG

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[*] *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *s'*.

pémpeis
send.2SG.PRS
'What woeful dream do you send to me?' (Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1332, imitating Euripides)

(343) αὐτή τέ μοι δέϲποινα μακαριωτάτη
auté   té *moi* déspoina   makariōtátē
same.F.NOM.SG and me.DAT mistress.NOM.SG blessed.SUPL.F.NOM.SG
'… and my mistress herself (is) happiest.' (Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazusae* 1113)

(344) πολλὴ μέντἄν με φιλοψυχία ἔχοι
pollḕ   méntán *me* philopsukhía   ékhoi
much.F.NOM.SG yet=IRR me.ACC love.of.life.NOM.SG have.3SG.PRS.OPT
'Yet a great love of life would possess me …' (Plato, *Apology* 37c)

(345) μέγα μοι τεκμήριον τούτου γέγονεν
méga   *moi* tekmḗrion toútou   gégonen
great.N.NOM.SG me.DAT sign.NOM.SG this.N.GEN.SG become.3SG.PRF
'A convincing proof of this has come to me.' (Plato, *Apology* 40c)

(346) οὗτος οὖν ϲοι ὁ λόγος ἐκείνῳ πῶϲ ξυνᾴϲεται
hoûtos   oûn *soi* ho   lógos   ekeínōi
this.M.NOM.SG so you.DAT the.M.NOM.SG account.NOM.SG that.M.DAT.SG
pôs xunáisetai
how harmonize.3SG.FUT.MID
'So how can this theory be brought into harmony with that one for you?' (Plato, *Phaedo* 92c)

(347) μέγα δέ ϲοι τεκμήριον ἐρῶ
méga   dé *soi* tekmḗrion   erô
great.N.ACC.SG but you.DAT sign.ACC.SG say.1SG.FUT
'And I will tell you a striking proof.' (Plato, *Gorgias* 456b)

(348) ἱκανόν μοι τεκμήριον ἐϲτιν
hikanón   *moi* tekmḗrion estin
sufficient.N.NOM.SG me.DAT sign.NOM.SG be.3SG.PRS
'There is proof enough for me.' (Plato, *Gorgias* 487d)

(349) τοῦτό μοι αὐτὸ σαφῶς διόρισον
       toûtó   *moi*   autò   saphôs diórison
       this.N.ACC.SG me.DAT same.N.ACC.SG clearly define.2SG.AOR.IMPER
       'Declare this very thing clearly for me.' (Plato, *Gorgias* 488d)

(350) φέρε δή, ἄλλην σοι εἰκόνα λέγω
       phére   dé, állēn   *soi*   eikóna
       bear.2SG.PRS.IMPER exactly other.F.ACC.SG you.DAT likeness.ACC
       légō
       say.1SG.PRS.SBJV
       'Come now, let me tell you another parable.' (Plato, *Gorgias* 493d)

(351) ὅντινά μοι τρόπον δοκεῖς εὖ λέγειν
       hóntiná   *moi*   trópon   dokeîs   eû légein
       which.M.ACC.SG me.DAT way.ACC.SG seem.2SG.PRS well say.PRS.INF
       '... in what way you seem to me to be speaking correctly.' (Plato, *Gorgias*
       513c)

(352) τετάρτου μοι γένους αὖ προσδεῖν φαίνεται
       tetártou   *moi*   génous   aû   prosdeîn
       fourth.N.GEN.SG me.DAT kind.GEN.SG again still.lack.PRS.INF
       phaínetai
       appear.3SG.PRS
       'A fourth class as well appears to me to be necessary.' (Plato, *Philebus*
       23d)

(353) ὁ ἀνήρ σοι ὁ ἐμὸς καὶ τἆλλα φίλος ἦν
       ho   anḗr   *soi*   ho   emòs   kaì
       the.M.NOM.SG man.NOM.SG you.DAT the.M.NOM.SG my.M.NOM.SG also
       tâlla   phílos   ên
       the=other.N.ACC.PL friend.NOM.SG be.3SG.IMP
       'My husband was also a friend to you in all other ways.' (Xenophon,
       Hellenica 3.1.11)

(354) δύο δέ μοι τῆς κατηγορίας εἴδη λέλειπται
       dúo dé *moi* tês   katēgorías   eídē
       two but me.DAT the.F.GEN.SG charge.GEN.SG form.N.NOM.PL
       léleiptai
       leave.3SG.PRF.PASS
       'Two points of my plea remain for me.' (Aeschines 1.116)*

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *leípetai*.

(355)   ἀ μεγάλα μοι Κύπρις ἔθ᾽ ὑπνώντι παρέστα
        ha   megála   *moi*   Kúpris   éth᾽
        the.F.NOM.SG great.F.NOM.SG me.DAT Cypris.NOM still
        hupnṓnti   parésta
        sleep.PTCP.PRS.M.DAT.SG stand.by.3SG.AOR
        'Great Cypris still stood by me in my sleep.' (Bion, Fragment 5.1)

   [p360]

(356)   Ξεῖνε, Συρηκόσιός τοι ἀνὴρ τόδ᾽ ἐφίεται Ὄρθων
        Xeîne,   Surēkósiós   *toi*   anḕr   tód᾽
        stranger.VOC Syracusan.M.NOM.SG you.DAT man.NOM.SG this.N.ACC.SG
        ephíetai   Órthōn
        bid.3SG.PRS.PASS Orthon.NOM
        'Stranger, Orthon, a Syracusan man, asks this of you.' (Anthologia
        Graeca 7.660)

I will not exhaustively list the numerous instances in which the verb immediately follows a pronoun so inserted, such as (357)–(359), although they too belong here, in my view. In a different respect, (360) and similar examples also belong here.

(357)   τρισσαί μ᾽ ἀναγκάζουσιν cυμφορᾶς ὁδοί
        trissaí   *m᾽*   anankázousin sumphorâs   hodoí
        triple.F.NOM.PL me.ACC compel.3PL.PRS circumstance.GEN.SG way.NOM.PL
        'Three paths of circumstance compel me …' (Euripides, *Heracleidae* 232)*

(358)   ταύτης μοι δοκεῖ […] πολλὰ […] μόρια εἶναι
        taútēs   *moi*   dokeî   pollà   mória
        this.F.NOM.SG me.DAT seem.3SG.PRS many.N.ACC.PL part.ACC.PL
        eînai
        be.PRS.INF
        'This seems to me to have many branches.' (Plato, *Gorgias* 463b)

(359)   δοῖός με καλεῖ γάμος
        doîós   *me*   kaleî   gámos
        double.M.NOM.SG me.ACC call.3SG.PRS marriage.NOM.SG
        'A double marriage calls me.' (Callimachus Epigram 1.3)

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *sunnoías*.

(360)   ὅτι πολλή μοι ἀπέχθια γέγονεν καὶ πρὸς πολλούς
        hóti pollḗ   *moi*   apékhthia   gégonen   kaì pròs
        that much.F.NOM.SG me.DAT hatred.NOM.SG become.3SG.PRF also to
        polloús
        many.M.ACC.PL
        '... that great hatred toward me has also arisen among many.' (Plato,
        Apology 28a)

In other cases, the pronoun is attached to the article. Sometimes immediately:
(361)–(363). Mostly the article is immediately followed by a 'postpositive' parti-
cle: (364)–(371). (See also example (95) above on p57.)

(361)   οἵ με φίλοι προδιδοῦσιν
        hoí   *me*   phíloi   prodidoûsin
        the.M.NOM.PL me.ACC friend.NOM.PL forsake.3PL.PRS
        'My friends forsake me.' (Theognis, *Elegies* 575; cf. also Theognis, *Elegies*
        861)

(362)   οἵ με φίλοι προΰδωκαν
        hoí   *me*   phíloi   proúdōkan
        the.M.NOM.PL me.ACC friend.NOM.PL forsake.3PL.PRS
        'My friends have forsaken me.' (Theognis, *Elegies* 813)

(363)   τάν τοι, ἔφα, κορύναν δωρύττομαι
        tán   *toi*,   épha,   korúnan   dōrúttomai
        the.F.ACC.SG you.DAT say.3SG.IMP club.ACC.SG present.1SG.PRS.PASS
        '"I present," he said, "the club to you."' (Theocritus 7.43)

(364)   οἱ δέ σφι βόες οὐ παρεγένοντο
        hoi   dé *sphi*   bóes   ou paregénonto
        the.M.NOM.PL but them.DAT ox.NOM.PL not be.present.3PL.IMP
        'But the oxen had not returned to them.' (Herodotus 1.31.2)

(365)   οἱ γάρ με ἐκ τῆς κώμης παῖδες [...] ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα
        hoi   gár *me*   ek tês   kṓmēs   paîdes
        the.M.NOM.PL for me.ACC from the.F.GEN.SG village.GEN.SG child.NOM.PL
        estḗsanto   basiléa
        stand.3PL.AOR.MID king.ACC.SG
        'For the boys of the village chose me as king.' (Herodotus 1.115.2)

(366) τὰ δέ μοι παθήματα τὰ ἐόντα ἀχάριτα μαθήματα γέγονε
   tà   dé *moi* pathḗmata   tà
   the.N.NOM.PL but me.DAT suffering.NOM.PL the.N.NOM.PL
   eónta   akhárita   mathḗmata gégone
   be.PTCP.PRS.N.NOM.PL graceless.N.NOM.PL lesson.NOM.PL become.3SG.PRF
   'And disastrous misfortunes have come to be lessons for me.' (Herodotus
   1.207.1)

(367) ὁ δέ μοι μάγος […] ταῦτα ἐνετείλατο
   ho   dé *moi* mágos   taûta
   the.M.NOM.SG but me.DAT magus.NOM.SG this.N.ACC.PL
   eneteílato
   command.3SG.AOR.MID
   'But the magus gave me this message.' (Herodotus 3.63.2)

(368) ἡ γάρ μοι μήτηρ βέβηκεν ἄλλη
   hē   gár *moi* métēr   bébēken állēi
   the.F.NOM.SG for me.DAT mother.NOM.SG step.3SG.PRF elsewhere
   'For my mother has gone out.' (Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazusae* 913)[*]

(369) ὁ δέ μοι λόγος ὅρκος ἔσται
   ho   dé *moi* lógos   hórkos   éstai
   the.M.NOM.SG but me.DAT account.NOM.SG oath.NOM.SG be.3SG.FUT.MID
   'And what I say will be an oath.' (Plato, *Phaedrus* 236d)

(370) ἡ μέν μοι ἀρχὴ τοῦ λόγου ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν Εὐριπίδου Μελανίππην
   hē   mén *moi* arkhḕ   toû
   the.F.NOM.SG then me.DAT beginning.NOM.SG the.M.GEN.SG
   lógou   estì   katà tḕn   Euripídou
   account.GEN.SG be.3SG.PRS down the.F.ACC.SG Euripides.GEN
   Melaníppēn
   Melanippe.ACC
   'The beginning of my speech is in accordance with Euripides'
   Melanippe.' (Plato, *Symposium* 177a)

(371) τὰ δέ τοι σία καρπὸν ἐνείκαι
   tà   dé *toi* sía   karpòn
   the.N.NOM.PL but you.DAT water.parsnip.NOM.PL fruit.ACC.SG

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[*] *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *állēi bébēke*.

eneíkai
bear.3SG.AOR.OPT
'And the water parsnip would bear fruit for you.' (Theocritus 5.125; cf. also Theocritus 1.82)*

Or the pronoun is attached to a preposition and thus separates it from its case: (372)–(374). The preposition is followed immediately by a particle in (375)–(377).

(372) ἀμφί μοι αὖτε ἄναχθ' ἑκαταβόλον ἀδέτω ἁ φρήν
amphí *moi*   aûte ánakhth' hekatabólon   āidétō
about me.DAT again lord.ACC far.shooting.M.ACC.SG sing.3SG.PRS.IMPER
ha   phrḗn
the.F.NOM.SG midriff.NOM.SG
'Let my heart again sing for me of the far-shooting lord.' (Terpander, Fragment 2)

(373) ἀμφί μοι Ἑρμαίαο φίλον γόνον ἔννεπε Μοῦσα
amphí *moi*   Hermaíao   phílon   gónon
about me.DAT Hermes.GEN dear.M.ACC.SG offspring.ACC.SG
énnepe   Moûsa
say.2SG.IMPER Muse.VOC
'Tell me, Muse, about the dear son of Hermes.' (Homeric Hymns 19.1)

(374) κατά με γᾶς ζῶντα πόρευσον
katá *me*   gâs   zônta   póreuson
down me.ACC earth.GEN.SG live.PTCP.PRS.M.ACC.SG send.2SG.AOR.IMPER
'Bury me alive beneath the earth.' (Euripides, *Rhesus* 831)

(375) ἐν γάρ σε τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ ἀναιρέομαι
en gár *se*   têi   nuktì   taútēi   anairéomai
in for you.ACC the.F.DAT.SG night.DAT.SG this.F.DAT.SG take.1SG.PRS.PASS
'For I conceived you that night.' (Herodotus 6.69.4)

(376) ἐν δέ σε Παρρασίῃ Ῥείη τέκεν
en dé *se*   Parrhasíēi   Rheíē   téken
in but you.ACC Parrhasia.DAT Rhea.NOM beget.3SG.AOR
'And Rhea gave birth to you in Parrhasia.' (Callimachus, *Hymns* 1.10)

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *t' oísua.*

(377) ἐc δέ με δάκρυ ἤγαγεν
      es dé *me* dákru ḗgagen
      into but me.ACC tear.ACC.SG lead.3SG.AOR
      'And it brought me to tears.' (Callimachus Epigram 2.1)

There is also the well-known case in which a *se* (2SG.ACC) dependent on a verb of asking (either one that is really present, or one whose reading can be supplied) occurs between *prós* 'to' and the genitive it 'governs', as in (378). Similar instances are Sophocles, *Philoctetes* 468 (=(381) below), *Oedipus at Colonus* 250 and 1333 (=(382) below), and Euripides, *Suppliants* 277. (In contrast, see (379).)

(378) μή, πρός ϲε τοῦ ϲπείραντος ἄντομαι Διός
      mḗ, prós *se* toû speírantos ántomai
      not to you.ACC the.M.GEN.SG sow.PTCP.PRS.M.GEN.SG pray.1SG.PRS
      Diós
      Zeus.GEN
      'I beg you not to, by Zeus who begot you.' (Euripides, *Alcestis* 1098)

(379) μή, πρὸς γονάτων ϲε πάντωϲ πάντη ϲ' ἱκετεύομεν
      mḗ, pròs gonátōn *se* pántōs pántē s'
      not to knee.GEN.PL you.ACC all.ways every.way you.ACC
      hiketeúomen
      beseech.1PL.PRS
      'We beseech you not to, by your knees and in each and every way ...'
      (Euripides, *Medea* 853)*

The verb of asking is to be supplied in (380), *[p361]* as well as in Euripides, *Medea* 324 and *Andromache* 89 (cf. *Iphigenia in Tauris* 1068). In all these instances, *se* takes second position following the nearest preceding punctuation; (381)–(383), where the enclitic *nún* 'now' precedes *se*, do not of course constitute exceptions.

(380) μή, πρόϲ ϲε τοῦ κατ' ἄκρον Οἰταῖον πάγον Διὸς καταϲτράπτοντος,
      ἐκκλέψῃϲ λόγον
      mḗ, prós *se* toû kat' ákron Oitaîon
      not to you.ACC the.M.GEN.SG down high.M.ACC.SG Oetan.M.ACC.SG
      págon Diòs katastráptontos, ekklépsēis
      rock.ACC Zeus.GEN strike.PTCP.PRES.M.GEN.SG steal.2SG.AOR.SBJV

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *pántāi pántōs*.

lógon
account.ACC.SG

'By Zeus who hurls lightning down upon the high rock of Oeta, do not rob me of the truth.' (Sophocles, *Women of Trachis* 436)*

(381) πρός νύν σε πατρός
       prós nún *se*   patrós
       to   now you.ACC father.GEN.SG

       'Now by your father (I beg) you …' (Sophocles, *Philoctetes* 468)

(382) πρός νύν σε κρηνῶν
       prós nún *se*   krēnôn
       to   now you.ACC spring.GEN.PL

       'Now by the streams (I ask) you …' (Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus* 1333)

(383) πρός νύν σε γονάτων τῶνδ(ε)
       prós nún *se*   gonátōn   tônd(e)
       to   now you.ACC knee.GEN.PL this.N.GEN.PL

       'Now by these knees (I ask) you …' (Euripides, *Helen* 1233)

From the non-Attic poets one can adduce (384). Apollonius, whom we have to thank for this fragment, seems however to treat *te* as orthotonic and to recognize only *tu* as enclitic accusative form in Doric. But enclitic Doric *te* is confirmed by the words of the Megarian in (385), in which, because of unwillingness to recognize *tè*, one feels obliged to insert *tu* with an unattractive hiatus.

(384) πρὸς δέ τε τῶν φίλων
       pròs dé *te*   tôn   phílōn
       to   but you.ACC the.M.GEN.PL friend.GEN.PL

       'And by your friends (I sigh to) you.' (Alcman, Fragment 52.1)

(385) πάλιν τ' ἀποιςῶ ναὶ τὸν Ἑρμᾶν οἴκαδις
       pálin *t'*   apoisô   naì tòn   Hermân   oíkadis
       again you.ACC take.1SG.FUT yes the.M.ACC.SG Hermes.ACC home

       'By Hermes, I will take you back home.' (Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 779)[†]

In particular, though, we should compare example (386): *potí te Zēnòs* (from Codex Palatinus *potitezēnos*). Blomfield (1815: 234) unnecessarily emends to enclitic *tu*. Still, the accusation levelled at him by Schneider (1873: 383) that he 'erred

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[*] *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *nápos*.   [†] *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *tu*.

horribly' should be turned back against Schneider himself and his preferred Vulgate reading *potì tè Zanòs* with senseless accenting and false genitive *Zanòs*.

(386) ποτί τε Ζηνὸς ἱκνεῦμαι λιμενοσκόπω
potí *te* Zēnòs hikneûmai limenoskópō
to you.ACC Zeus.GEN beseech.1SG.PRS.PASS harbour.watching.M.GEN.SG
'I beseech you by Zeus, the guardian of the harbour.' (Callimachus, Fragment 114; Anthologia Graeca 13.10.1)

Without taking into consideration these last two examples, Christ (1891: 4f.) has expressed the opinion with regard to (387) that the *te*, which makes an unpromising particle, should be read as the accusative of the pronoun, much as Bergk (1866: 17) wanted to insert *se*. The position of *te* speaks in favour of this reading.

(387) ὕδατοc ὅτι τε πυρὶ ζέοιcαν εἰc ἀκμὰν μαχαίρᾳ τάμον κατὰ μέλη
húdatos hóti *te* purì zéoisan eis
water.GEN.SG that you.ACC fire.DAT.SG boil.PTCP.PRS.F.ACC.SG into
akmàn makhaírāi támon katà mélē
edge.ACC.SG knife.DAT.SG cut.3PL.AOR down limb.ACC.PL
'... that they cut you limb from limb with a knife into the full boiling of the water on the fire.' (Pindar, *Olympian Ode* 1.48)[*]

The old positional law also makes its influence known with regard to the connection between the preposition and the verb (Krüger 1871: §68.48.3). The following examples of post-Homeric tmesis can be adduced: (388)–(395) *[p362]* and (396)–(402).

(388) ἔκ μ᾽ ἔλαcαc ἀλγέων
ék *m'* élasas algéōn
from me.ACC drive.2SG.AOR pain.GEN.PL
'You have driven out my pains.' (Alcaeus, Fragment 95)

(389) ἀπό μοι θανεῖν γένοιτ(ο)
apó *moi* thaneîn génoit(o)
off me.DAT die.AOR.INF become.3SG.AOR.MID.OPT
'May death come to me.' (Anacreon, Fragment 50.1)

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[*] *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *se*.

(390) ἀπό ϲ’ ὀλέϲειεν Ἄρτεμιϲ, ϲὲ δὲ κὠπόλλων
apó *s’* oléseien Ártemis, sè dè
off you.ACC destroy.3SG.AOR.OPT Artemis.NOM you.ACC but
kōpóllōn
also=Apollo.NOM
‘May Artemis destroy you, and Apollo too.’ (Hipponax, Fragment 31)

(391) κατά μοι βόαϲον
katá *moi* bóason
down me.DAT shout.2SG.AOR.IMPER
‘Shout down to me.’ (Sophocles, *Electra* 1067)

(392) ἀπό μ’ ὀλεῖϲ
apó *m’* oleîs
off me.ACC destroy.2SG.FUT
‘You will destroy me.’ (Sophocles, *Philoctetes* 817)

(393) κατά με φόνιοϲ Ἀίδαϲ ἕλοι
katá *me* phónios Aídas héloi
down me.ACC murderous.M.NOM.SG Hades.NOM take.3SG.AOR.OPT
‘May murderous Hades take me.’ (Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus* 1689)

(394) διά μ’ ὀλεῖτε
diá *m’* oleîte
through me.ACC destroy.2PL.FUT
‘You will be my ruin.’ (Euripides, *Heracleidae* 1053)

(395) ἀνά μοι τέκνα λῦϲαι
aná *moi* tékna lûsai
up me.DAT child.ACC.PL loose.2SG.AOR.IMPER.MID
‘Release my children.’ (Euripides, *Suppliants* 45)*

(396) κατά με πέδον γᾶϲ ἕλοι
katá *me* pédon gâs héloi
down me.ACC ground.NOM.SG earth.GEN.SG take.3SG.AOR.OPT.MID
‘May the earth’s floor swallow me.’ (Euripides, *Suppliants* 829)

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* *Translator’s note*: The Perseus edition has *ánomoi*.

(397) διά μ' ἔφθειρας
     diá   *m'*   éphtheiras
     through me.ACC destroy.2SG.AOR
     'You have destroyed me.' (Euripides, *Hippolytus* 1357)

(398) ἀνά μ' ἐκάλεcεν
     aná *m'*   ekálesen
     up me.ACC call.3SG.AOR
     '(Whence did the voice) summon me?' (Euripides, *Bacchae* 579)

(399) κατά cε χώcομεν
     katá *se*   khósomen
     down you.ACC bury.1PL.FUT
     'We will bury you.' (Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 295)

(400) ἀπό c' ὀλῶ κακὸν κακῶc
     apó *s'*   olô   kakòn   kakôs
     off you.ACC destroy.1SG.FUT bad.N.ACC.SG badly
     'I will do you great harm.' (Aristophanes, *Plutus* 65)

(401) ξύμ μοι λαβέcθε τοῦ μύθου
     xúm *moi*   labésthe   toû   múthou
     with me.DAT take.2PL.AOR.IMPER.MID the.M.GEN.SG myth.GEN.SG
     'Assist me with the tale.' (Plato, *Phaedrus* 237a)

(402) εἰ δ' ἄγε, cύμ μοι βούλευcον
     ei d'   áge,   súm *moi*   boúleuson
     if then lead.2SG.PRS.IMPER with me.DAT advise.2SG.AOR.IMPER
     'But come now, advise me.' (Callimachus Epigram 1.5)

    With a preceding particle or similar: (403)–(406). See above p43 for similar examples with *nin.*

(403) ἀπὸ νύν με λείπετ' ἤδη
     apò nún *me*   leípet'   édē
     off now me.ACC leave.2PL.PRS.IMPER already
     'Leave me now immediately' (Sophocles, Phil. 1177)

(404) ἔκ τοί με τήξειc
     ék toí *me*   téxeis
     out lo me.ACC melt.2SG.FUT
     'Oh, you will melt my heart.' (Euripides, *Orestes* 1047)

(405) ἔν τί ϲοι παγήϲεται
       én tí   *soi*   pagḗsetai
       in something.NOM you.DAT stick.3SG.FUT.PASS
       'Something will get stuck into you.' (Aristophanes, *Wasps* 437)

(406) ἀνά τοί με πείθειϲ
       aná toí *me*   peítheis
       up   lo me.ACC persuade.2SG.PRS
       'You are convincing me.' (Aristophanes, *Wasps* 784)

If in isolated cases (Alcaeus Fragment 68 given by Bekker 1833, erroneously, as (407)) the pronoun does not come to be in second position through such tmesis, this should not bother us much.

(407) τύφωϲ ἔκ ϲ᾿ ἔλετο φρέναϲ
       túphōs   ék *s'*   héleto   phrénas
       fever.NOM.SG out you.ACC take.3SG.AOR.MID midriff.ACC.PL
       'A fever has taken your wits.' (Alcaeus, Fragment 68)*

4 Genitives

The pronouns *moi* (1SG), *toi* (2SG), (*sphi* 3PL,) *meo*/*meu*/*mou* (me.GEN), *seo*/*seu*/*sou* (you.GEN), and *spheōn* (3PL.GEN) as attributive genitives deserve special consideration. I regard it as certain that *moi* and *toi*, like *hoi*, did not take on the genitive function only later, but rather had this function from the start, like their Indic correlates *mē*, *tē* and *sē*, and have nothing to do with the locative (cf. Delbrück 1888: 205). That the genitive function is retained in Greek not only in Homer (see Brugmann 1890: 819, Wackernagel 1891: 39) and the Ionic poets can be seen above all in Wilamowitz's (1889: 167) comment on example (408): "In the address, the drama is conveyed by the expression of the possessive relation in kinship terms using the dative, *thúgatér moi* 'daughter.VOC me.DAT', *téknon moi* 'child.VOC me.DAT' (Euripides *Ion* 1399, *Orestes* 124, *Iphigenia in Aulis* 613), *gúnai moi* 'woman.VOC me.DAT'. The genitive is not at all common; its entrance into the language, for instance in the Jewish-Christian literature, is rather a sign of the common folk."

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* *Translator's note*: The TLG edition (Lobel & Page 1968) has *etúphōs*.

(408) σύ τ᾽ ὦ γύναι μοι, σύλλογον ψυχῆϲ λαβέ
       sú   t᾽ ô gúnai   *moi*, súllogon   psukhês
       you.NOM and O woman.VOC me.DAT collection.ACC.SG soul.GEN.SG
       labé
       take.2SG.AOR.IMPER
       'You too, my wife, collect your courage.' (Euripides, *Heracleidae* 626)

The most natural position for these genitives seems to us to be following their nouns. As is well known, although this position often occurs, for instance in the vocative constructions discussed by Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1889), the equally justifiable position preceding the noun and its attributives (including the article) is also found. The origin of this strange positioning becomes clear when we look at the oldest examples. Homer has this positioning in examples (409)–(417). In all of these cases, our positional rule effects this ordering. Later authors allowed themselves to remove these genitives further from the beginning of the clause, but nevertheless frequently retained the preposing that followed from the old positional rule. Various effects of the original connection between preposing and the old positional rule can, however, be seen.

(409) καὶ μέν μευ βουλέων ξύνειν
       kaì mén *meu*   bouléōn   xúnein
       and then me.GEN will.GEN.PL heed.3PL.IMP
       'And they listened to my counsel.' (Homer, *Iliad* 1.273)

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(410) οἵ μευ κουρδίην ἄλοχον καὶ κτήματα πολλὰ μάψ᾽ οἴχεϲθ᾽ ἀνάγοντεϲ
       hoí   *meu*   kourdíēn   álokhon   kaì
       who.M.NOM.PL me.GEN wedded.F.ACC.SG bedfellow.ACC.SG and
       ktḗmata   pollà   máps᾽ oíkhesth᾽
       property.ACC.PL much.N.ACC.PL vainly go.2PL.PRS.PASS
       anágontes
       take.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.PL
       'For you bare forth wantonly over sea my wedded wife and therewithal much treasure.' (Homer, *Iliad* 13.626)

(411) καί μευ κλέοϲ ἦγον Ἀχαιοί
       kaí *meu* kléos   êgon   Akhaioí
       and me.GEN fame.ACC.SG lead.3PL.IMP Achaean.M.NOM.PL
       'And the Achaeans would have spread my fame.' (Homer, *Odyssey* 5.311)

(412)　καί μευ κλέος οὐρανὸν ἵκει
　　　　kaí *meu* kléos　　　ouranòn　　híkei
　　　　and me.GEN fame.NOM.SG heaven.ACC.SG come.3SG.PRS
　　　　'And my fame reaches unto heaven.' (Homer, *Odyssey* 9.20)

(413)　ἦ μή τίς cευ μῆλα βροτῶν ἀέκοντος ἐλαύνει
　　　　ê　　　mḗ tís　　　　*seu*　mêla　　　　brotôn
　　　　in.truth not some.M.NOM.SG you.GEN sheep.ACC.PL mortal.GEN.PL
　　　　aékontos　　　　　elaúnei
　　　　unwilling.M.GEN.SG drive.3SG.PRS
　　　　'Can it be that some mortal man is driving off your flocks against your
　　　　will?' (Homer, *Odyssey* 9.405)

(414)　οἵ μευ βοῦς ἔκτειναν
　　　　hoí　　　　　　*meu* boûs　　ékteinan
　　　　who.M.NOM.PL me.GEN cow.ACC.PL kill.3PL.AOR
　　　　'... who have slain my cows ...' (Homer, *Odyssey* 12.379)

(415)　οἵ μευ πατέρ᾽ ἀμφεπένοντο
　　　　hoí　　　　　　*meu* patér᾽　　amphepénonto
　　　　who.M.NOM.PL me.GEN father.ACC.SG serve.3PL.IMP.PASS
　　　　'... who waited on my father' (Homer, *Odyssey* 15.467)

(416)　καί cευ φίλα γούναθ᾽ ἱκάνω
　　　　kaí *seu*　phíla　　　goúnath᾽　　hikánō
　　　　and you.GEN dear.N.ACC.PL knee.N.ACC.PL come.1SG.PRS
　　　　'I am come to your dear knees.' (Homer, *Odyssey* 13.231)

(417)　τῷ κέ cφεων γούνατ᾽ ἔλυcα
　　　　tôi ké *spheōn*　goúnat᾽　　élusa
　　　　thus IRR them.GEN knee.ACC.PL loose.1SG.AOR
　　　　'So should I have loosened the knees of many of them.' (Homer, *Odyssey*
　　　　24.381)

First, preposed genitives often occupy the second position in the clause after
all. For *moi* and *toi* I refer you to examples (418)–420.

(418)　μαρτυρέει δέ μοι τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ Ὁμήρου ἔπος
　　　　marturéei　　dé *moi* têi　　　gnốmēi　　　kaì Homérou
　　　　testify.3SG.PRS but me.DAT the.F.DAT.SG opinion.DAT.SG also Homer.GEN

épos
word.NOM.SG
'A verse of Homer also supports my opinion.' (Herodotus 4.29.1)

(419) ὅς τοι τὸν πατέρα δωρήϲατο
       hós   *toi*   tòn   patéra   dōrḗsato
       who.M.NOM.SG you.DAT the.M.ACC.SG father.ACC.SG present.3SG.AOR.MID
       '... who presented to your father ...' (Herodotus 7.27.2)*

(420) ἥ μοι μητρὶ μὲν θανεῖν μόνη μεταίτιος
       hḗ   *moi*   mētrì   mèn thaneîn   mónē
       where me.DAT mother.DAT then die.AOR.INF alone.F.NOM.SG
       metaítios
       guilty.F.ACC.SG
       '... when she alone (is) to blame for my mother's death' (Sophocles,
       Women of Trachis 1233)

For the actual genitive forms see example (223) above and examples (421)–
(446) below, which of course do not come close to being an exhaustive list of
attestations.

(421) λαιμᾷ δέ ϲευ τὸ χεῖλος
       laimâi   dé *seu*   tò   kheîlos
       hunger.3SG.PRS but you.GEN the.N.NOM.SG lip.NOM.SG
       'Your lips are hungry.' (Hipponax, Fragment 76)

(422) λάβετέ μευ θαἰμάτια
       lábeté   *meu*   thaimátia
       take.2PL.AOR.IMPER me.GEN the=garment.ACC.PL
       'Take my clothes.' (Hipponax, Fragment 83)

(423) ἔχεις δέ μευ τὸν ἀδελφεόν
       ékheis   dé *meu*   tòn   adelpheón
       have.2SG.PRS but me.GEN the.M.ACC.SG brother.ACC.SG
       'You have my brother with you.' (Herodotus 4.80.3)

(424) ϲὺ δέ μευ ϲυμβουλίην ἔνδεξαι
       sù   dé *meu*   sumboulíēn   éndexai
       you.NOM but me.GEN advice.ACC.SG accept.2SG.AOR.IMPER.MID
       'But take my advice.' (Herodotus 7.51.1)

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *edōrḗsato* for *dōrḗsato*.

(425) ὥς σου συμφορὰς οἰκτίρομεν
       hṓs *sou*   sumphoràs   oiktíromen
       how you.GEN mishap.ACC.PL pity.1PL.PRS
       'How we pity your misfortune.' (Euripides, *Medea* 1233)

(426) ἥ μου τὰς τύχας ὦχει μόνη
       hḗ   *mou*   tàs   túkhas   ṓkhei
       which.F.NOM.SG me.GEN the.F.ACC.PL fortune.ACC.PL sustain.3SG.IMP
       mónē
       alone.F.NOM.SG
       '... which alone sustained my fortunes ...' (Euripides, *Helen* 277)

(427) ἔθιγέ μου φρενῶν
       éthigé   *mou*   phrenôn
       touch.3SG.AOR me.GEN midriff.GEN.PL
       'It touches my heart.' (Euripides, *Suppliants* 1162)

(428) σύ μου τὸ δεινὸν καὶ διαφθαρὲν φρενῶν ἴσχναινε
       sú   *mou*   tò   deinòn   kaì
       you.NOM me.GEN the.N.ACC.SG terrible.N.ACC.SG and
       diaphtharèn   phrenôn   ískhnaine
       corrupt.PTCP.AOR.PASS.N.ACC.SG midriff.GEN.PL reduce.2SG.PRS.IMPER
       'It is for you to calm the terrors and distorted fancies of my brain.'
       (Euripides, *Orestes* 297)

(429) κυνοκοπήσω σου τὸ νῶτον
       kunokopḗsō   *sou*   tò   nôton
       dog.whip.1SG.FUT you.GEN the.N.ACC.SG back.ACC.SG
       'I will beat your back like a dog.' (Aristophanes, *Knights* 289)

(430) ἀπονυχιῶ σου τἀν πρυτανείῳ σιτία
       aponukhiô *sou*   tan   prutaneíōi   sitía
       clip.1SG.PL you.GEN the=in court.DAT.SG loaf.ACC.PL
       'I will cut off your meals at the town hall.' (Aristophanes, *Knights* 709)

(431) ἀπώλεσάς μου τὴν τέχνην καὶ τὸν βίον
       apṓlesás   *mou*   tèn   tékhnēn   kaì tòn
       destroy.2SG.AOR me.GEN the.F.ACC.SG craft.ACC.SG and the.M.ACC.SG

bíon
living.ACC.SG
'You have ruined my business and my livelihood.' (Aristophanes, *Peace* 1212)

(432) καλῶς γέ μου τὸν υἱόν ὦ Στιλβωνίδη [...] οὐκ ἔκυσας
kalôs gé *mou* tòn huión ô Stilbōnídē ouk
well even me.GEN the.M.ACC.SG son.ACC O Stilbonides.VOC not
ékusas
kiss.2SG.AOR
'Stilbonides, you kindly did not even kiss my son.' (Aristophanes, *Birds* 139)

(433) ὀρχουμένης μου τῆς γυναικὸς ἑσπέρας ἡ βάλανος ἐκπέπτωκεν
orkhouménēs *mou* tês gunaikòs
dance.PTCP.PRS.PASS.F.GEN.SG me.GEN the.F.GEN.SG woman.GEN.SG
hespéras hē bálanos ekpéptōken
evening.GEN.SG the.F.NOM.SG clasp.NOM.SG fall.out.3SG.PRF
'The clasp fell off one night while my wife was dancing.' (Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 409)

(434) διττούς μου τοὺς κατηγόρους γεγονέναι
dittoús *mou* toùs katēgórous gegonénai
double.M.ACC.PL me.GEN the.M.ACC.PL accuser.ACC.PL become.INF.PRF
'My accusers are twofold.' (Plato, *Apology* 18d)

(435) εἰ μέν σου τὼ υἱέε πώλω ἢ μόσχω ἐγενέσθην
ei mén *sou* tṑ huiée pṓlō ḕ móskhō
if then you.GEN the.M.NOM.DU son.NOM.DU foal.NOM.DU or calf.NOM.DU
egenésthēn
become.3DU.AOR.MID
'If your two sons had been born foals or calves...' (Plato, *Apology* 20a)*

(436) καταψήσας οὖν μου τὴν κεφαλὴν
katapsḗsas oûn *mou* tḕn kephalḕn
stroke.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG so me.GEN the.F.ACC.SG head.ACC.SG
'So, stroking my head ...' (Plato, *Phaedo* 89b)

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *hueî* for *huiée*.

(437) ἐβίασέ μου τὴν γυναῖκα

ebíasé   *mou*   tền   gunaîka

force.3SG.AOR me.GEN the.F.ACC.SG woman.ACC.SG

'He has violated my wife.' (Alcaeus, Comic Fragment 29; Kock 1880)

(438) ἀφομοιοῖ γάρ μου τὴν φύσιν τοῖς Σειρῆσιν

aphomoioî gár *mou* tền   phúsin   toîs

liken.3SG.PRS for me.GEN the.F.ACC.SG nature.ACC.SG the.M.DAT.PL

Seirêsin

Siren.DAT.PL

'For he likens my nature to the Sirens.' (Aeschines 3.228)*

(439) τί μευ μέλαν ἐκ χροὸς αἷμα [...] πέπωκας

tí   *meu*   mélan   ek khroòs   haîma

what.ACC.SG me.GEN black.N.ACC.SG out skin.GEN.SG blood.ACC.SG

pépōkas

drink.2SG.PRF

'Why have you drunk the dark blood from under my skin?' (Theocritus 2.55)

(440) φράζεό μευ τὸν ἔρωθ᾽ ὅθεν ἵκετο

phrázeó   *meu*   tòn   érōth'   hóthen

tell.2SG.PRS.IMPER.PASS me.GEN the.M.ACC.SG love.M.ACC.SG whence

híketo

come.3SG.AOR.MID

'Tell me whence my love has come.' (Theocritus 2.69)

(441) τόν μευ τὰν σύριγγα πρόαν κλέψαντα Κομάταν

tón   *meu*   tàn   súringa   próan

the.M.ACC.SG me.GEN the.F.ACC.SG pipe.ACC.SG lately

klépsanta   Komátan

steal.PTCP.AOR.M.ACC.SG Comatas.ACC

'... Comatas, who has just stolen my pipes.' (Theocritus 5.4)

(442) οὔ τευ τὰν σύριγγα λαθὼν ἔκλεψε Κομάτας

oú *teu* tàn   súringa   lathồn

not you.GEN the.F.ACC.SG pipes.ACC.SG hide.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *taîs* for *toîs*.

éklepse   Komátas
steal.AOR.3SG Comatas.NOM
'Comatas has not stolen your pipes unnoticed.' (Theocritus 5.19)

(443)   καλὰ δέ μευ ἀ μία κώρα
kalà   dé *meu*   ha   mía   kóra
beautiful.F.NOM.SG but me.GEN the.F.NOM.SG one.F.NOM.SG girl.NOM.SG
'And beautiful is my one girl.' (Theocritus 6.36)

(444)   τί μευ τὸ χιτώνιον ἄρδεις
tí   *meu*   tò   khitónion   árdeis
what.ACC me.GEN the.N.ACC.SG frock.ACC.SG water.2SG.PRS
'Why are you wetting my frock?' (Theocritus 15.31)

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(445)   δίχα μευ τὸ θέριστριον ἤδη ἔσχισται
díkha *meu*   tò   théristrion   édē
apart me.GEN the.N.NOM.SG garment.N.NOM.SG already
éskhistai
split.3SG.PRF.PASS
'My garment is already torn apart.' (Theocritus 15.69)

(446)   οἱ δέ σφεων κατὰ πρύμναν ἀείραντες μέγα κῦμα
hoi   dé *spheōn*   katà   prúmnan aeírantes
the.M.NOM.SG but them.GEN down stern.ACC raise.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.P
méga   kûma
great.N.ACC.SG billow.ACC.SG
'And they, raising a great billow along their stern ...' (Theocritus 22.10)

The influence of our positional law can be seen even more decisively in the striking examples in which the preceding pronominal genitive is separated from its governing noun by other words. This can be seen in the *toi* of (447); compare Meineke's (1856: 256) comments.

(447)   ὥς τοι ἐγὼν ἐνόμευον ἀν' ὥρεα τὰς καλὰς αἶγας φωνᾶς εἰσαΐων
hós *toi*   egòn enómeuon   an' órea   tàs
as   you.DAT I.NOM pasture.1SG.IMP on mountain.ACC.PL the.F.ACC.PL
kalàs   aîgas   phōnâs   eisaḯōn
beautiful.F.ACC.PL goat.ACC.PL sound.GEN.SG hear.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG
'... that I might be tending your beautiful goats on the hillside, listening to your voice ...' (Theocritus 7.87)

Furthermore, in the examples of the genitive in this category in Homer, the genitive is regularly in second position: (448), where the position of the pronoun is particularly remarkable; (449)–(453). (Only (454), in which *meu* stands in third position, constitutes a counterexample, and not a very serious one at that.)

(448)   ἀλλά ϲευ ἢ κάματος πολυᾶϊξ γυῖα δέδυκεν ἤ νύ ϲέ που δέος ἴϲχει
        allá *seu*   è   kámatos   poluâïx   guîa
        but you.GEN or weariness.NOM.SG much.rushing.M.NOM.SG limb.ACC.PL
        déduken   é nú sé   pou   déos   ískhei
        enter.3SG.PRF or now you.ACC somewhere fear.NOM.SG hold.3SG.PRS
        'Yet either weariness born of your many onsets has entered into your limbs, or perhaps terror possesses you.' (Homer, *Iliad* 5.811)

(449)   μόγιϲ δέ μευ ἔκφυγεν ὁρμήν
        mógis dé *meu*   ékphugen   hormḗn
        hardly but me.GEN escape.3SG.AOR onslaught.ACC.SG
        'And hardly did he escape my onset.' (Homer, *Iliad* 9.355)

(450)   νῦν δέ ϲευ ὠνοϲάμην πάγχυ φρέναϲ
        nûn dé *seu*   ōnosámēn   pánkhu phrénas
        now but you.GEN scorn.1SG.AOR.MID wholly midriff.ACC.PL
        'But now have I altogether scorn of your wits.' (Homer, *Iliad* 14.95; cf. also 17.173)

(451)   χαίρω ϲευ Λαερτιάδη τὸν μῦθον ἀκούϲαϲ
        khaírō   *seu*   Laertiádē   tòn
        rejoice.1SG.PRS you.GEN Laertes.PATRON.VOC.SG the.M.ACC.SG
        mûthon   akoúsas
        myth.ACC.SG hear.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG
        'Glad am I, son of Laertes, to hear your words.' (Homer, *Iliad* 19.185)

(452)   θεὰ δέ μευ ἔκλυεν αὐδῆϲ
        theà   dé *meu*   ékluen   audês
        goddess.NOM.SG but me.GEN hear.3SG.AOR voice.GEN.SG
        'And the goddess heard my voice.' (Homer, *Odyssey* 10.311)

(453)   οἵ μευ φθινύθουϲι φίλον κῆρ
        hoí   *meu*   phthinúthousi phílon   kêr
        who.M.NOM.PL me.GEN waste.3PL.PRS dear.N.ACC.SG heart.ACC.SG
        '... who make my poor heart to pine.' (Homer, *Odyssey* 10.485)

(454) ἦ μάλα μευ καταδάπτετ' ἀκούοντος φίλον ἦτορ
      ê   mála *meu* katadáptet'   akoúontos
      in.truth greatly me.GEN devour.2PL.PRS hear.PTCP.PRS.M.GEN.SG
      phílon   êtor
      dear.N.ACC.SG heart.N.ACC.SG
      'Truly you rend my poor heart, as I hear your words.' (Homer, *Odyssey* 16.92)

And in the late authors a pronominal genitive separated from its noun also takes second position, if not regularly then at least very frequently: examples (220), (225)–(226), (270) and (292) above, and (455)–(465) below (cf. also Menander Fragment 498).

(455) πρίν σου κατὰ πάντα δαῆναι ἤθεα
      prín *sou*   katà pánta   daênai   éthea
      before you.GEN down all.N.ACC.PL learn.AOR.INF custom.ACC.PL
      '... before learning in accordance with all your customs.' (Theognis, *Elegies* 969)

(456) μή μου κατείπῃς σῷ κασιγνήτῳ πόσιν
      mḗ *mou*   kateípēis   sôi   kasignḗtōi
      not me.GEN denounce.2SG.AOR.SBJV your.M.DAT.SG brother.DAT.SG
      pósin
      husband.ACC
      'Do not tell your brother that my husband ...' (Euripides, *Helen* 898)

(457) οὐδέ σου συνῆψε χείρα
      oudé *sou*   sunêpse   kheíra
      nor   you.GEN bind.3SG.AOR hand.ACC.SG
      'But did he not tie your hand?' (Euripides, *Bacchae* 615)[*]

(458) ἐμπλήσθητί μου πιὼν κελαινὸν αἶμα
      emplḗsthētí   *mou* piὼn
      fill.up.2SG.AOR.IMPER.PASS me.GEN drink.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG
      kelainòn   haîma
      dark.N.ACC.SG blood.ACC.SG
      'Have your fill drinking my dark blood.' (Euripides, Fragment 687.1)

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[*] *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *kheîre* for *kheíra*.

(459) οἴμοι, δράκων μου γίγνεται τὸ ἥμισυ
oímoi, drákōn   *mou*   gígnetai   tò
ah.me dragon.NOM.SG me.GEN become.3SG.PRS.PASS the.N.NOM.SG
hḗmisu
half.NOM.SG
'Woe is me; half of me is becoming a dragon.' (Euripides, Fragment 930)

(460) ἐξαρπάσομαί σου τοῖς ὄνυξι τἄντερα
exarpásomaí   *sou*   toîs   ónuxi   tántera
tear.out.1SG.FUT.MID you.GEN the.M.DAT.PL nail.DAT.PL the=gut.ACC.PL
'I will tear out your guts with my nails.' (Aristophanes, *Knights* 708)

(461) εἴθε σου εἶναι ὤφελεν, ὦ λαζών, οὑτωσὶ θερμὸς ὁ πλευμων
eíthe *sou*   eînai   ṓphelen,   ô lazón,
if.only you.GEN be.PRS.INF owe.3SG.AOR O kick.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG
houtōsì thermòs   ho   pleumōn
so   hot.M.NOM.SG the.M.NOM.SG lung.NOM.SG
'You trouble-maker, if only your lungs could get this hot.' (Aristophanes,
Peace 1068)*

(462) οἷς μου κατέφαγες τὰ φορτία
hoîs   *mou*   katéphages   tà   phortía
which.M.DAT.PL me.GEN eat.up.2SG.AOR the.N.ACC.PL ware.ACC.PL
'... with which you ate up my wares.' (Aristophanes, *Frogs* 573)

(463) ἕως ἄν σου βάρος ἐν τοῖς σκέλεσι γένηται
héōs án *sou*   báros   en toîs   skélesi
until IRR you.GEN weight.NOM.SG in the.N.DAT.PL leg.DAT.PL
génētai
become.3SG.AOR.SBJV.MID
'... until your legs feel heavy.' (Plato, *Phaedo* 117a)

(464) ὥς μευ περὶ θυμὸς ἰάφθη
hṓs *meu*   perì   thumòs   iáphthē
so   me.GEN around spirit.NOM.SG wound.3SG.AOR.PASS
'So all my heart was fired.' (Theocritus 2.82)

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *ôlazṑn*, with crasis.

(465)   εἴ μευ καλὰ πέλει τὰ μελύδρια
        eí *meu*   kalà   pélei   tà
        if me.GEN beautiful.N.NOM.PL become.3SG.PRS the.N.NOM.PL
        melúdria
        song.DIM.NOM.PL
        'If my little songs prove beautiful …' (Bion 7.2)*

We have seen something very similar with the genitive *hoi* (see above p38f). And just as this word can occur in the middle of the governing phrase, i.e. after the first word, so can the forms to be discussed here. For instance: a) Following a particle, (466)–(472). *[p365]*

(466)   οἱ δέ μευ πάντες ὀδόντες ἐντὸς ἐν γνάθοις κεκινέαται
        hoi   dé *meu*   pántes   odóntes   entòs en
        the.M.NOM.PL but me.GEN all.M.NOM.PL tooth.NOM.PL inside in
        gnáthois   kekinéatai
        jaw.DAT.PL move.3PL.PRF.PASS
        'And all the teeth inside my jaw have been moved.' (Hipponax, Fragment 62)

(467)   αἱ δέ μευ φρένες ἐκκεκωφέαται
        hai   dé *meu*   phrénes   ekkekōphéatai
        the.F.NOM.PL but me.GEN midriff.NOM.PL deafen.3PL.PRF.PASS
        'And my wits have been dulled.' (Anacreon, Fragment 81)

(468)   αἱ γάρ σφι κάμηλοι ἵππων οὐκ ἔσσονές […] εἰσιν
        hai   gár *sphi*   kámēloi   híppōn   ouk
        the.F.NOM.PL for them.DAT camel.NOM.PL horse.GEN.PL not
        éssonés   eisin
        inferior.F.NOM.PL be.3PL.PRS
        'For their camels are not inferior to horses.' (Herodotus 3.102.3)

(469)   τῶν δέ σφι γυναικῶν τοὺς μαζοὺς ἀποταμοῦσα
        tôn   dé *sphi*   gunaikôn   toùs   mazoùs
        the.F.GEN.PL but them.DAT woman.GEN.PL the.M.ACC.PL breast.ACC.PL
        apotamoûsa
        cut.off.PTCP.AOR.F.NOM.SG
        'And, cutting off the breasts of their women …' (Herodotus 4.202.1)

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *moi* for *meu*.

(470) οἵ τέ σφεων ὀπέωνες […] ἀπεκεκλήίατο
hoí   té *spheōn* opéōnes   apekeklēíato
the.M.NOM.PL and them.GEN follower.NOM.PL exclude.3PL.PLUP.PASS
'And their followers had been cut off.' (Herodotus 9.50.1)

(471) τοῦτό γέ τοί σου τοὔργον ἀληθῶς γενναῖον καὶ φιλόδημον
toûtó   gé toí *sou* toûrgon   alēthôs
this.N.NOM.SG even lo you.GEN the=work.NOM.SG truly
gennaîon   καὶ philódēmon
noble.N.NOM.SG and popular.N.NOM.SG
'Well, this deed of yours at least is truly noble and democratic.'
(Aristophanes, *Knights* 787)

(472) ταὶ δέ μοι αἶγες βόσκονται κατ' ὄρος
taì   dé *moi* aîges   bóskontai   kat'
the.F.NOM.PL but me.DAT goat.NOM.PL feed.3PL.PRES.PASS down
óros
mountain.ACC.SG
'And my goats are grazing on the hillside.' (Theocritus 3.1)

(See also examples (338), (343) and (368) with *moi*, presented above on p107 and p112.)

b) Immediately following an article or preposition: (473). Identical is the Cypriot example (474), which Hoffmann (1891: 323) describes as "very peculiar", while Meister (1889: 139–140) even felt compelled to construct a new word *homoíposis* "fellow husband".[2]

(473) σὺ δέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐμὲ ἐς τόδε ἡλικίης ἥκοντα οἰκτίρας, τῶν μοι παίδων
παράλυσον ἕνα τῆς στρατιῆς
sù   dé, ô basileû, emè   es tóde   hēlikíēs
you.NOM then O king.VOC me.ACC into this.N.ACC.SG age.GEN.SG
hḗkonta   oiktíras,   tôn   *moi*
arrive.PTCP.PRS.M.ACC.SG pity.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG the.M.GEN.PL me.DAT
paídōn   paráluson   héna   tês
child.GEN.PL release.2SG.AOR.IMPER one.M.ACC.SG the.F.GEN.SG

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[2] At the request of Dr. Meister I should comment here that because of Wilamowitz's (1889) observation on Euripides, *Heracleidae* 626 (example (408); see above p119) he became aware of the right reading of these words some time ago and intended to publicly withdraw his earlier explanation.

> stratiês
> service.GEN.SG
> 'And you, O king, pitying me in my advanced age, release one of my sons from service.' (Herodotus 7.38.3)

(474) ὅ μοι πόϲιϲ Ὀναϲίτιμοϲ
       ó   *moi*   pósis   Onasítimos
       the.M.NOM.SG me.DAT husband.NOM.SG Onasitimos
       'My husband (is) Onasitimus.' (Deecke 1884: no. 26)

In addition, from the Attic poets we have examples (475)–(478). Cf. also (479). Other than at the beginning of the clause, however, *mou* etc. are inserted in this way only extremely rarely. In the examples where it happens, such as (480), we can assume that the insertion that occurred at the start of the clause was mirrored later in the clause.

(475) διά μου κεφαλᾶϲ φλὸξ οὐρανία βαίη
       diá   *mou*   kephalâs   phlòx   ouranía
       through me.GEN head.GEN.SG flame.NOM.SG heavenly.F.NOM.SG
       baíē
       pass.3SG.AOR.OPT
       'May fire from heaven strike through my head.' (Euripides, *Medea* 144)

(476) διά μου κεφαλᾶϲ ᾄϲϲουϲ' ὀδύναι
       diá   mou   kephalâs   áissous'   odúnai
       through me.GEN head.GEN.SG dart.3PL.PRS pain.NOM.PL
       'Pains dart through my head.' (Euripides, *Hippolytus* 1351)

(477) εἷϲ μου λόγοϲ ϲοι πάντα ϲημανεῖ τάδε
       heîs   *mou*   lógos   soi   pánta
       one.M.NOM.SG me.GEN account.NOM.SG you.DAT all.N.ACC.PL
       sēmaneî   táde
       signify.3SG.FU this.N.ACC.PL
       'One account from me will tell you all these things.' (Euripides, *Heracleidae* 799)

(478) ὦ ϲκυτοτόμε, τῆϲ μου γυναικὸϲ τοὺϲ πόδαϲ
       ô skutotóme, tês   *mou*   gunaikòs   toùs
       O cobbler.VOC the.F.GEN.SG me.GEN woman.GEN.SG the.M.ACC.PL

pódas
foot.ACC.PL
'Cobbler, my wife's feet …' (Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 416)*

(479) τό μευ νάκος ἐχθὲς ἔκλεψεν
tó   *meu*   nákos   ekhthès   éklepsen
the.N.ACC.SG me.GEN fleece.ACC yesterday steal.3SG.AOR
'He stole my fleece yesterday.' (Theocritus 5.2)

(480) δείσασα γὰρ εἰς τὴν κάτω μου κοιλίαν καθείρπυσεν
deísasa   gàr eis tèn   kátō   *mou*
fear.PTCP.AOR.F.NOM.SG then into the.F.ACC.SG downwards me.GEN
koilían   katheírpusen
belly.ACC.SG creep.3SG.AOR
'For, taking fright, it crept down into my bowels.' (Aristophanes, *Frogs* 485)

I will not here investigate the position of the barytonic, hence originally enclitic, plural forms *hḗmōn*, *hêmin* (1PL) etc., due to the difficulty of distinguishing them from genuinely orthotonic forms (but see example (481), just like *m' anéthēken* 'me.ACC dedicate' otherwise, and *[p366]* (482)); however, I would like to reiterate that, according to the evidence provided by Krüger (1871), to whose incisive categorization we owe the finer laws for the positioning of these genitives, *autoû*, *autês*, *autôn* 'self/same' with anaphoric meaning follow the same positional rules as *mou*.

(481) [Ἑρ]μησιάναξ ἤμεας ἀνέθηκεν [ὁ …]
[Her]mēsiánax *hḗmeas* anéthēken   [ho …]
Hermesianax   us.ACC dedicate.3SG.AOR the.M.NOM.SG
'Hermesianax the … dedicated us.' (IGA 486, Miletus)

(482) ἔγραφε δ'ᾱ̔με Ἄρχων Ἀμοιβίχου
égraphe   d' *hâme* Árkhōn   Hamoibíkhou
write.3SG.IMP then us.ACC ruler.NOM.SG Hamoibikhos.GEN
'And the governor of Hamoibikhos inscribed us.' (IGA 482a.5, Elephantine)

It is true that this does not hold for Homer, for whom the anaphoric meaning and the loss of tone on *autoû* are in their early stages, and who therefore also

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *toû podòs* for *toùs pódas*.

places it far from the start of the sentence even in places where we would render it with *eius* (3SG.GEN), as in (483), (484) (in *Odyssey* 7.263, on the other hand, the same expression contains emphasis on *autês*), and (485), which provides very valuable indirect evidence for our positional rule. However, the Attic poets place *autoû*, *autês*, *autôn* before their governing nouns just as freely as *mou*, and then, just like *mou*, it is often near to the start of the clause, e.g. (486), (487), and (488). Similarly, *autoû*, like *mou*, is also found preceding its noun such that the two are separated by one or more words, and in this case, like *mou*, it freely occurs in second position, e.g. (489).

(483) ἄνυϲιϲ δ' οὐκ ἔϲϲεται αὐτῶν
       ánusis   d'   ouk éssetai   *autôn*
       accomplishment.NOM.SG then not be.3SG.FUT.MID them.GEN
       'Yet no accomplishment shall come therefrom.' (Homer, *Iliad* 2.347)

(484) δὴ γὰρ νόοϲ ἐτράπετ' αὐτοῦ
       dè   gàr nóos   etrápet'   *autoû*
       exactly then mind.NOM.SG turn.3SG.AOR.MID him.GEN
       'For lo, his mind was turned.' (Homer, *Iliad* 17.546)

(485) γόνοϲ δ' οὐ γίγνεται αὐτῶν
       gónos   d'   ou gígnetai   *autôn*
       offspring.NOM.SG then not become.3SG.PRS them.GEN
       'And these bear no young.' (Homer, *Odyssey* 12.130)

(486) ἐθαύμαϲέ τε αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν
       ethaúmasé   te   *autoû* tền   diánoian
       wonder.3SG.AOR and him.GEN the.F.ACC.SG intention.ACC.SG
       'And he approved his intention.' (Thucydides 1.138.1)

(487) καὶ αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν ἐμμείναϲ τῷ ϲτρατῷ ἐδῄου
       kaì *autôn*   tền   khốran   emmeínas
       and them.GEN the.F.ACC.SG land.ACC.SG abide.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG
       tôi   stratôi   edéiou
       the.M.DAT.SG army.ACC.SG ravage.3SG.IMP
       'And standing firm, he ravaged their land with his army.' (Thucydides 4.109.5)

(488) ἐγκωμιάζεις μὲν αὐτοῦ τὴν τέχνην
      enkōmiázeis mèn *autoû*   tền   tékhnēn
      extol.2SG.PRS then him.GEN the.F.ACC.SG craft.ACC.SG
      'You simply extol his art.' (Plato, *Gorgias* 448e)

(489) ἐπεὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν γῆς ἀπηλλάχθη πατήρ
      epeì gàr *autôn*   gês   apḗllákhthē   patḗr
      when then them.GEN earth.GEN.SG deliver.3SG.AOR.PASS father.NOM.SG
      'For when their father was released from this world ...' (Euripides,
      Heracleidae 12)

Finally, anyone who looks at the Herodotan examples adduced by Stein (1866: 142) on 6.30.1, in which *autoû* stands between the article and the noun, will find *autoû* in second position in all of them (and also in 1.146.2, 1.177.1, 2.149.19, and 7.129.1), including (490) – just as with intervening *moi* and *mou*. The Attic poets are freer: (491)–(492). Perhaps it is relevant for the *autoû* in Isocrates, as for the *mou* in example (480) above (see p133), that the genitive is attached not to the article but to an adjective.

(490) Μεγαρέας τε τοὺς ἐν Σικελίῃ, ὡς [...] προσεχώρησαν, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν
      παχέας [...] πολιήτας ἐποίησε
      Megaréas   te toùs   en Sikelíēi, hōs prosekhṓrēsan,
      Megarian.M.ACC.PL and the.M.ACC.PL in Sicily.DAT as   surrender.3PL.AOR
      toùs   mèn *autôn*   pakhéas   poliḗtas   epoíēse
      the.M.ACC.PL then them.GEN thick.M.ACC.PL citizen.ACC.PL make.3SG.AOR
      'When they surrendered he made the Megarians in Sicily, the wealthiest
      of them, citizens.' (Herodotus 7.156.2)

(491) γνώσεσθε τὴν ἄλλην αὐτοῦ πονηρίαν
      gnṓsesthe   tền   állēn   *autoû*
      know.2PL.FUT.MID the.F.ACC.SG other.F.ACC.SG him.GEN
      ponērían
      wickedness.ACC.SG
      'You will recognize his other wickedness.' (Isocrates 18.52)*

(492) ὅπως [...] αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ αὐτῶν στρατιῶται ἐκπλεύσειαν
      hópōs autoì   kaì hoi   *autôn*   stratiôtai
      so   they.NOM and the.M.NOM.PL them.GEN soldier.NOM.PL

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition places *gnṓsesthe* after *ponērían*.

ekpleúseian
sail.away.3PL.AOR.OPT

'... so that they and their soldiers could sail away ...' (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 6.2.14)

5 Indefinite pronouns and other enclitics

Bergaigne (1877: 177–178) assumes that the positional law for enclitic personal pronouns laid out in sections 2–4 originated with the *[p367]* anaphoric pronouns; there was a desire to place these as close as possible to the preceding clause in order to better mark the connection between them. From the anaphoric pronouns, so the account goes, this positional rule was then extended to the pronouns of the first and second person, and, because they were placed after and attached to the first word of the clause, the affected pronouns became enclitic.

This assumption has little to recommend it, since precisely the factor that favoured the position after the beginning of the clause for *hoi* (3SG.DAT) and *sphin* 'them.DAT' according to Bergaigne – the connection to the preceding clause – is absent for *moi* 'me.DAT' and *mou* 'me.GEN'. On the other hand, the possibility, rejected by Bergaigne, that "the language became accustomed to place them after the first word because they were devoid of accent" is shown to be correct by the fact that enclitics other than personal pronouns were also subject to this positional rule. Kühner (1869: 268, note 8) has already observed that "with the free word order of the Greek language it is no wonder that enclitics are often attached not to the word to which they belong but to another to which they do not belong". Kühner does not discuss the direction in which these deviations go, but many examples that he presents in that section can be resolved by our positional rule.

Among the declinable enclitics, the indefinite pronoun should now be considered. It is very clear that the positional rule did not apply to this pronoun: if it seems significant that the archaic forms *tou* 'someone.GEN' and *tōi* 'someone.DAT', with the exception of (493), occur only immediately following *ei* or *eán* 'if' (cf. the examples in Meisterhans 1888: 123, note 1106), it is sufficient to point to Thucydides, who shows these forms in all kinds of positions in the clause.

(493)   [...] ἔχοντός του
         ékhontós   *tou*
         have.PTCP.PRS.M/N.GEN.SG someone.GEN
         (CIA. 4.61a.15)

Nevertheless, the tendency in Homer to place *tis* initially is unmistakable. Other than *hóstis* and related forms, one should look at *ei tis* and *mḗ tis*, particularly the following examples: in separation from the governing noun, (494)–(499).

(494) εἰ δέ τευ ἐξ ἄλλου γε θεῶν
       ei dé *teu*   ex állou   ge   theôn
       if but some.M.GEN.SG out other.M.GEN.SG even god.GEN.PL
       'But (were you born) of any other god ...' (Homer, *Iliad* 5.897)

(495) ἵνα τις στυγέῃσι καὶ ἄλλος
       hína *tis*   stugéēisi   kaì állos
       that some.M.NOM.SG hate.3SG.PRS.SBJV also other.M.NOM.SG
       '... that so others may dread to ...' (Homer, *Iliad* 8.515)

   [p368]

(496) εἴ πέρ τί σε κῆδος ἱκάνει
       eí pér *tí*   se   kêdos   hikánei
       if all some.N.NOM.SG you.ACC grief.N.NOM.SG come.3SG.PRS
       '... if in any wise grief for your kin cometh upon thee.' (Homer, *Iliad* 13.464; also preceding the enclitic *se*!)

(497) ἤ τευ σῆμα βροτοῖο πάλαι κατατεθνηῶτος
       ḗ *teu*   sêma   brotoîo   pálai
       or some.M.GEN.SG sign.NOM.SG mortal.GEN.SG long.ago
       katatethnēôtos
       die.PTCP.PRF.M.GEN.SG
       'Haply (it is) a monument of some man long ago dead' (Homer, *Iliad* 23.331)

(498) [...] ὡς ὑμεῖς παρ' ἐμεῖο θοὴν ἐπὶ νῆα κίοιτε ὥς τέ τευ ἢ παρὰ πάμπαν ἀνείμονος ἠὲ πενιχροῦ
       hōs humeîs   par' emeîo thoḕn   epì nêa
       that you.NOM.PL from me.GEN swift.F.ACC.SG upon ship.ACC.SG
       kíoite   hṓs té *teu*   ḕ parà pámpan
       go.2PL.PRS.OPT as   and someone.M.GEN.SG or from altogether
       aneímonos   ēè penikhroû
       unclad.M.GEN.SG or poor.M.GEN.SG
       '... that you should go from my house to your swift ship as from one utterly without raiment or poor.' (Homer, *Odyssey* 3.347)*

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *ê ... ēdè*.

(499) μηδέ τι μεσσηγύς γε κακὸν καὶ πῆμα πάθῃσιν
     mēdé *ti*   messēgús ge kakòn   kaì pêma
     nor   some.N.ACC.SG meanwhile even ill.N.ACC.SG and harm.ACC.SG
     páthēisin
     suffer.3SG.AOR.SBJV
     'Nor shall he meanwhile suffer any evil or harm' (Homer, *Odyssey* 7.195)

With *tis* placed before a word that would otherwise be entitled to second position (cf. (496)): (500)–(501) (cf. (502), Peppmüller 1890: 559). Here belongs the not infrequent *hṓs tís te* instead of *hṓste tis* as in, for instance, (503).

(500) καί τινά τοι παρ Ζηνὸς ἐπέφραδε πότνια μήτηρ
     kaí *tiná*   toi   par Zēnòs   epéphrade pótnia
     and some.F.ACC.SG you.DAT from Zeus.GEN tell.3SG.AOR mistress.NOM.SG
     métēr
     mother.NOM.SG
     'and (if) your queenly mother has declared anything to you from Zeus ...'
     (Homer, *Iliad* 16.37)

(501) ὅτε τίς κε θάνῃσι
     hóte *tís*   ke thánēisi
     when someone.M.NOM.SG IRR die.3SG.AOR.SBJV
     '... whenever someone dies.' (Homer, *Odyssey* 11.218)

(502) εἰ γάρ τίς κ' ἐθέλῃ
     ei gár *tís*   k' ethélēi
     if for someone.M.SOM.SG IRR want.3SG.PRS.SBJV
     'For whoever wishes to ...' (Hesiod, *Works and Days* 280)

(503) βῆ δ' ἰέναι ὥς τίς τε λέων ἀπὸ μεσσαύλοιο
     bê   d' iénai   hṓs *tís*   te léōn   apò
     pass.3SG.AOR then go.PRS.INF as   some.M.NOM.SG and lion.NOM.SG of
     messaúloio
     court.GEN.SG
     '...but (he) went his way as a lion from a steading' (Homer, *Iliad* 17.657)

Examples in the first category can also be adduced from the later period (Kühner 1870: 572, note 6): (504)–(527); in addition, (528), in which the attachment of *tis* to the vocative is also noteworthy, cf. the comments above p55 on example (87).

(504) οὐδέ τις ἡμῖν αἴτιος ἀθανάτων
oudé *tis*   hēmîn aítios   athanátōn
nor   someone.M.NOM.SG us.DAT guilty.M.NOM.SG immortal.GEN.PL
'Nor is one of the immortals guilty towards us.' (Theognis, *Elegies* 833)

(505) εἴ τι παθὼν ἀπ' ἐμεῦ ἀγαθὸν μέγα μὴ χάριν οἶδας
eí *ti*   pathṑn   ap' emeû
if something.ACC.SG suffer.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.sg of   me.GEN
agathòn   méga   mὲ khárin oîdas
good.N.ACC.SG great.N.ACC.SG not grace.ACC know.2SG.PRF
'If, receiving some great good from me, you know no gratitude ...'
(Theognis, *Elegies* 957)

(506) ἀλλά τί μοι ζῶντι γένοιτ' ἀγαθόν
allá *tí*   moi   zônti
but something.NOM.SG me.DAT live.PTCP.PRS.M.DAT.SG
génoit'   agathón
become.3SG.AOR.OPT.MID good.N.NOM.SG
'Rather, let some good come to me while I live.' (Theognis, *Elegies* 1192)

(507) οὐδέ τις ἀντ' ἀγαθῶν ἐϲτι χάριϲ παρὰ ϲοί
oudé *tis*   ant'   agathôn   esti   kháris
nor   some.F.NOM.SG against good.N.GEN.PL be.3SG.PRS grace.NOM.SG
parà soí
from you.DAT
'Yet there is not any gratitude from you for good things.' (Theognis,
Elegies 1264)

(508) οὔπω τις Ἀκταίων' ἄθηρος ἡμέρα [...] ἔπεμψεν ἐϲ δόμουϲ
oúpō *tis*   Aktaíōn'   áthēros   hēméra
not.yet some.F.NOM.SG Actaeon.ACC beastless.F.NOM.SG day.NOM.SG
épempsen   es   dómous
send.3SG.AOR into house.ACC.PL
'No day has yet sent Actaeon home without game.' (Aeschylus,
Fragment 241)

(509) οὐ γάρ τινα ἔγωγε οἶδα ποταμὸν Ὠκεανὸν ἐόντα
ou gár *tina*   égōge   oîda   potamòn
not for   some.M.ACC.SG I.NOM.EMPH know.1SG.PRF river.ACC.SG

Ōkeanòn   eónta
Ocean.ACC.SG be.PTCP.PRS.M.ACC.SG
'For I know of no Ocean river.' (Herodotus 2.23.1)

(510) αἰεί τι προcδοκῶν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆc τοιοῦτο ἔcεcθαι
aieí   *ti*   prosdokôn   ap᾽ autês
always some.N.ACC.SG expect.PTCP.M.NOM.SG of it.F.GEN.SG
toioûto   ésesthai
such.N.ACC.SG be.FUT.INF.MID
'... always expecting that some such thing would take place from there.'
(Herodotus 7.235.2)

(511) μή μοί τι δράcῃc παῖδ᾽ ἀνήκεcτον κακόν
mḗ moí *ti*   drásēis   paîd᾽   anékeston
not me.DAT some.N.ACC.SG do.2SG.AOR.SBJV child.ACC.SG fatal.N.ACC.SG
kakón
evil.N.ACC.SG
'... lest you should do some deadly harm to my daughter.' (Euripides,
Medea 283)

(512) μή τῳ λαθραίωc τέκνα γένναίῳ τέκοι
mḗ *tōi*   lathraíōs tékna   génnaíōi
not some.M.DAT.SG secretly child.ACC.PL noble.M.DAT.SG
tékoi
bear.3SG.AOR.OPT
'... lest she should secretly bear children to some nobleman.' (Euripdides,
Electra 26)

(513) ἔcτι γάρ τιc ἐν δόμοιc τύχη
ésti   gár *tis*   en dómois   túkhē
be.3SG.PRS for some.F.NOM.SG in house.DAT.PL fortune.NOM.SG
'For something is happening within.' (Euripides, *Helena* 477)

(514) εἴ τι τῶν τότε πόλιcμα
eí *ti*   tôn   tóte pólisma
if some.N.NOM.SG the.GEN.PL then town.NOM.SG
'If some town of that age ...' (Thucydides 1.10.1)

(515) καί τίς ἐϲτιν ἀϲτήρ
kaí *tís*   estin   astér
and who.M.NOM.SG be.3SG.PRS star.NOM.SG
'And who is (that) star?' (Aristophanes, *Peace* 834)

(516) καὶ γάρ τιν' ἐκφέρουϲι τουτονὶ νεκρόν
kaì gár *tin'*   ekphérousi   toutonì   nekrón
and for some.M.ACC.SG bear.out.3SG.PRS this.M.ACC.SG corpse.ACC.SG
'And now they're bringing out some corpse here.' (Aristophanes, *Frogs*
170)

(517) μή τιϲ ἡμῖν βαϲκανία περιτρέψῃ τὸν λόγον
mḗ *tis*   hēmîn baskanía   peritrépsēi
not some.F.NOM.SG us.DAT sorcery.NOM.SG divert.3SG.AOR.SBJV
tòn   lógon
the.M.ACC.SG account.ACC.SG
'… lest some sorcery disrupt our argument.' (Plato, *Phaedo* 95b)

(518) μή τίϲ ϲοι ἐναντίοϲ λόγοϲ ἀπαντήϲῃ
mḗ *tís*   soi   enantíos   lógos
not some.M.NOM.SG you.DAT opposite.M.NOM.SG account.NOM.SG
apantḗsēi
encounter.3SG.AOR.SBJV
'… lest a certain counter-argument should meet you' (Plato, *Phaedo* 101a)

(519) καί τι ἔφη αὐτόθι γελοῖον παθεῖν
kaí *ti*   éphē   autóthi geloîon
and something.ACC.SG say.3SG.IMP just.there funny.N.ACC.SG
patheîn
suffer.AOR.INF
'And he said that just there he had a ridiculous experience.' (Plato,
Symposium 174e)

(520) καί τίϲ ἐϲτ' ἐν ἐμοὶ δύναμιϲ
kaí *tís*   est'   en emoì   dúnamis
and some.F.NOM.SG be.3SG.PRS in me.DAT power.NOM.SG
'And there is a certain power in me' (Plato, *Symposium* 218e)

(521) ἤδη του ἔγωγε καὶ ἤκουσα τῶν cοφῶν

édē *tou* égōge kaì ḗkousa tôn
already someone.M.GEN.SG I.NOM.EMPH also hear.1SG.AOR the.M.GEN.PL

sophôn
wise.M.GEN.PL

'Once I even heard from one of the sages …' (Plato, *Gorgias* 493e)

(522) ὅταν τι τοῖc φίλοιc ἀγαθὸν εὑρίcκω

hótan *ti* toîs phílois agathòn
whenever some.N.ACC.SG the.M.DAT.PL friend.DAT.PL good.N.ACC.SG

heurískō
find.1SG.PRS

'… whenever I find some good thing for my friends.' (Xenophon,
Hellenica 4.1.10)[*]

(523) εἴ τί που λαμβάνοι Ἀθηναίων πλοῖον

eí *tí* pou lambánoi Athēnaíōn
if some.N.ACC.SG somewhere take.3SG.PRS.OPT Athenian.M.GEN.PL

ploîon
vessel.ACC.SG

'… whatever vessel of the Athenians' he might capture anywhere.'
(Xenophon, *Hellenica* 4.8.33)

(524) ἀλλά τιc ἦν ἄκριτος καὶ παρὰ τούτοιc καὶ παρὰ τοῖc ἄλλοιc ἔριc

allá *tis* ên ákritos kaì parà
but some.F.NOM.SG be.3SG.IMP indiscriminate.F.NOM.SG and from

toútois kaì parà toîs állois éris
this.N.DAT.PL and from the.N.DAT.PL other.N.DAT.PL strife.NOM.SG

'But in these and in the others was an indiscriminate strife.'
(Demosthenes 18.18)

(525) ἦν ἄν τιc κατὰ τῶν ἐναντιωθέντων οἷc ἔπραττεν ἐκεῖνοc, μέμψιc καὶ
κατηγορία

ên án *tis* katà tôn
be.3SG.IMP IRR some.F.NOM.SG down the.M.GEN.PL

enantiōthéntōn hoîs épratten ekeînos,
oppose.PTCP.AOR.PASS.M.GEN.PL what.DAT.PL do.3SG.IMP that.M.NOM.SG

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[*] *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *exeurískō* for *heurískō*.

mémpsis   kaì katēgoría
blame.NOM.SG and charge.NOM.SG

'... there might have been some reproach and charge against those opposed to what that man was doing.' (Demosthenes 18.65)

(526) ὅταν τι πράττῃς ὅσιον
       hótan   *ti*   práttēis   hósion
       whenever something.ACC.SG do.2SG.PRS.SBJV holy.N.ACC.SG

       'Whenever you perform anything religious ...' (Menander, Fragment 572; Kock 1888)

(527) ἀλλά τις ἄμμι δαίμων
       allá *tis*   ámmi daímōn
       but some.M.NOM.SG us.DAT demon.NOM.SG

       (Fragmenta Lyrica Adespota 58; Bergk 1882: 706)

(528) εἰ γοῦν, ὦ ξένε, τις ἡμῖν ὑπόσχοιτο θεός
       ei goûn, ô xéne,   *tis*   hēmîn hupóskhoito
       if at.least O stranger.VOC some.M.NOM.SG us.DAT supply.3SG.AOR.OPT
       theós
       god.NOM.SG

       'At least, stranger, if some god were to grant us that ...' (Plato, *Laws* 3.683b)

The word order in examples like *[p369]* (529) can be explained as imitation of this positioning, in which *tis* clause-medially is separated from the following part of the clause by other words.

(529) καὶ αὐτῶν μέρος [...] ἐσέπεσεν ἔς του χωρίον ἰδιώτου
       kaì autôn   méros   esépesen   és *tou*
       and them.GEN member.NOM.SG in.fall.3SG.AOR into some.M.GEN.SG
       khōríon   idiótou
       place.ACC.SG individual.GEN.SG

       'And a division of them dashed into a field on some private property.'
       (Thucydides 1.106.1)[*]

And just like its Homeric counterpart, the post-Homeric *tis* prevents other words from being placed in the second position they would otherwise receive. In Attic literature, for instance, this is illustrated by the tmesis in (405) above and examples such as (530).

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[*] *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *kaí ti*.

(530) ὄντιν' ἄν τις τρόπον ὡς βέλτιϲτοϲ εἴη
       hóntin'   án *tis*   trópon   hōs béltistos
       what.M.ACC.SG IRR someone.M.NOM.SG way.ACC.SG as   best.M.NOM.SG
       eíē
       be.3SG.PRS.OPT
       '... in what way someone can be as good as possible ...' (Plato, *Gorgias*
       520e)

But the word order *tis ke* following the introductory word of a conjoined
clause, which, in the epic poetry, is only found in one Homeric and one Hesiodic
example (disregarding the common *hóstis ke*), is almost the rule in Doric, though
of course with *ka* instead of *ke*. Compare Ahrens (1843: 383). In the Gortyn code,
for instance, we have (531)–(535).

(531) αἴ τιϲ κα
       aí *tis*   ka
       if someone.M.NOM.SG IRR
       (Gortyn Code 9.43)

(532) αἴ τινά κα
       aí *tiná*   ka
       if someone.M.ACC.SG IRR
       (Gortyn Code 7.13)

(533) καἴ τί κ'
       kaí *tí*   k'
       and something IRR
       (Gortyn Code 3.29; identically 6.23, 6.43, 9.13)

(534) καί μέν τίϲ κ'
       kaí mén *tís*   k'
       and then someone.M.NOM.SG IRR
       (Gortyn Code 8.17)

(535) ὅτι δέ τίϲ κα
       hóti dé *tís*   ka
       that but someone.M.NOM.SG IRR
       (Gortyn Code 3.9)

Deviating from this pattern are (536) and (537), where *mḗ* 'not' has attracted
the indefinite, as well as (538).

(536) αἰ δέ κα μή τις
       ai dé ka mḗ *tis*
       if but IRR not someone.M.NOM.SG
       (Gortyn Code 5.13; also 5.17, 5.22)

(537) ᾧ δέ κα μή τις ἦ στέγα
       hôi   dé ka mḗ *tis*   êi   stéga
       which.DAT.SG but IRR not some.F.NOM.SG be.3SG.PRS.SBJV roof.NOM.SG
       (Gortyn Code 4.14)

(538) ὀπῶ κά τιλ λῆ
       hopô ká *til* lêi
       whence IRR some wish.3SG.PRS.SBJV
       (Gortyn Code 10.33)

In later Cretan inscriptions, (539) (identically CIG 3049.9, 3058.13) and (540) (identically CIG 3049.14, 3058.16).

(539) εἰ δέ τινές κα τῶν ὁρμιωμένων
       ei dé *tinés*   ka tôn   hormiōménōn
       if but some.M.NOM.PL IRR the.M.GEN.PL rush.PTCP.PRS.PASS.M.GEN.PL
       (CIG 3048.33; Cauer 1883: 82, no. 123)

(540) εἴ τίς κα ἄγῃ
       eí *tís*   ka ágēi
       if someone.M.NOM.SG IRR lead.3SG.PRS.SBJV
       'If anyone should bring …' (CIG 3048.38)

On the Heraclean Tablets, (541)–(546).

(541) καὶ αἴ τινί κα ἄλλῳ
       kaì aí *tiní*   ka állōi
       and if some.DAT.SG IRR other.DAT.SG
       (Heraclean Tablets 1.105)

(542) καὶ αἴ τινάς κα ἄλλους
       kaì aí *tinás*   ka állous
       and if some.M.ACC.PL IRR other.M.ACC.PL
       (Heraclean Tablets 1.117)

(543) αἰ δέ τινά κα γήρᾳ […] ἐκπέτωντι
ai dé *tiná* ka gḗrāi ekpétōnti
if but someone.M.ACC.SG IRR age.DAT.SG depart.PTCP.AOR.DAT.SG
(Heraclean Tablets 1.119; also 1.173, without *dé*)

(544) καὶ εἴ τινές κα μὴ πεφυτεύκωντι
kaì eí *tinés* ka mḕ pephuteúkōnti
and if some.M.NOM.PL IRR not plant.PTCP.PRF.DAT.SG
(Heraclean Tablets 1.127)

(545) αἰ δέ τίς κα ἐπιβῇ
ai dé *tís* ka epibêi
if but someone.M.NOM.SG IRR enter.3SG.AOR.SBJV
'And if anyone should enter …' (Heraclean Tablets 1.128)

(546) αἰ δέ τις κα τῶν καρπιζομένων ἀποθάνει
ai dé *tis* ka tôn karpizoménōn
if but someone.M.NOM.SG IRR the.GEN.PL enjoy.PTCP.PRS.PASS.GEN.PL
apothánei
die.3SG.FUT
'And if anyone dies of these enjoyments …' (Heraclean Tablets 1.151)

In the inscription of Orchomenos, (547). In the inscription from Mycenae, (548).

(547) καὶ εἴ τίς κα μὴ ἐμμένῃ
kaì eí *tís* ka mḕ emménēi
and if someone.M.NOM.SG IRR not abide.3SG.PRS.SBJV
'And if no one should remain …' (Orchomenos Inscription 178.10;
Dittenberger 1883: 278)

(548) αἰ δέ τί κα πένηται
ai dé *tí* ka pénētai
if but something IRR labour.3SG.PRS.SBJV.PASS
(Mycenae Inscription 3316.8; (Prellwitz 1889: 137))

In the Korkyra inscriptions (Blass 1888: 93–98), (549)–(551).

(549) εἰ δέ τί κ' ἀδύνατον γένοιτο
ei dé *tí* k' adúnaton génoito
if but something.NOM.SG IRR unable.N.NOM.SG become.3SG.AOR.OPT.MID
'And if anything impossible should come to pass …' (Korkyra Inscription
3206.25)

(550) εἰ δέ τί κα [...] μὴ ὀρθῶς ἀπολογίξωνται [sic]

ei dé *tí* ka mḕ orthôs apologíxōntai

if but something.ACC.SG IRR not straight reckon.3PL.PRS.SBJV.PASS

'But if they should give an incorrect account of anything ...' (Korkyra Inscription 3206.103)

(551) εἴ τινός κα ἄλλου δοκῇ

eí *tinós* ka állou dokê

if some.GEN.SG IRR other.GEN.SG seem.3SG.IMP

(Korkyra Inscription 3206.114)

Perhaps also (552). (See below p154.)

(552) αἰ δέ τί κα με [...] λυπῇ

ai dé *tí* ka me lupêi

if but something.NOM.SG IRR me.ACC trouble.3SG.PRS.SBJV

'And if anything should pain me ...' (Theocritus 2.159)*

In view of such constant usage, in contrast to which the only counterexamples I can find (other than the Gortyn exceptions, in which sometimes *mḗ* 'not' is present and sometimes *ei* 'if' does not precede) are (553) and (554), it seems clear to me that in the Korkyra inscription 3213.3 *[p370]* the transmitted sequence *aí ka páskhē* should not be emended, with Boeckh (1843: 27), to *aí ka* tí *páskhē*, but rather to *aí* tí *ka páskhē*, as shown in (555).

(553) καἴ κά τις ἀντίον <τι> λῇ τήνῳ λέγειν

kaí ká *tis* antíon ti

and=if IRR someone.M.NOM.SG contrary.N.ACC.SG something.ACC.SG

lêi tḗnōi légein

wish.3SG.PRS.SBJV that.M.DAT.SG say.PRS.INF

'And if anyone should want to say something against that man ...' (Epicharmus in Athenaeus 6.28; Lorenz 1864: 227 line 5)

(554) αἴ κά τις ἐκτρίψας καλῶς παρατιθῇ νιν

aí ká *tis* ektrípsas kalôs

if IRR someone.M.NOM.SG rub.out.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG well

paratithêi nin

serve.3SG.PRS.SBJV CL

'If, having bruised them well, one were to serve them ...' (Epicharmus in Athenaeus 2.83; Lorenz 1864: 281)

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *d' éti kēmè lupêi*.

(555)   αἴ <*τί*> κα πάϲχη
     aí *tí*   ka páskhē
     if something IRR suffer.3SG.PRS.SBJV
     (Korkyra Inscription 3213.3; Blass 1888: 100; = CIG 1850)

Moreover, this positional custom is not only Doric: the Idalion Tablet line 29 gives us example (556). See also (557), with separation of *árton turônta* 'cheese bread'.

(556)   ὄπι ϲίϲ κε τὰϲ ϝρήταϲ τάϲδε λύϲη
     ópi *sís*   ke tàs   wrḗtas   tásde
     that someone.M.NOM.SG IRR the.F.ACC.PL stated.F.ACC.PL this.F.ACC.PL
     lúsē
     loose.3SG.PRS.SBJV
     '... that someone rescind what was stated ...' (Idalion Tablet 29)

(557)   ἄρτον γάρ τιϲ τυρῶντα τοῖϲ παιδίοιϲ ἴαλε
     árton   gár *tis*   turônta
     loaf.ACC.SG for someone.M.NOM.SG cheese-flavour.PTCP.PRS.M.ACC.SG
     toîs   paidíois   íale
     the.M.DAT.PL child.DAT.PL send.3SG.AOR
     'For someone has given a loaf of cheese bread to the children.'
     (Epicharmus in Athenaeus 3.75)

Finally, one might ask whether the insertion of *tis* between the article (and adjective if present) and the noun of the governed partitive genitive (e.g. (558)–(560)), common from Herodotus to the prose writers, might have occurred in clauses where this separation caused *tis* to appear in second position.

(558)   τῶν τινα Λυδῶν
     tôn   *tina*   Ludôn
     the.M.GEN.PL someone.M.ACC.SG Lydian.M.GEN.PL
     'one of the Lydians'

(559)   ἐϲ τῶν ἐκείνων τι χωρίων
     es tôn   ekeínōn   *ti*   khōríōn
     into the.N.GEN.PL that.N.GEN.PL something.ACC.SG place.GEN.PL
     'into some of that property'

(560) τῶν ἄλλων τινὰς Ἑλλήνων
 tôn   állōn   *tinàs*   Hellḗnōn
 the.M.GEN.PL other.M.GEN.PL some.M.ACC.PL Greek.M.GEN.PL
 'some of the other Greeks'

The adverbs derived from the indefinite pronoun follow our rule quite strictly in Homer. In books 13, 16 and 17 of the *Iliad*, *pou* 'somewhere' can be found 14 times, always in second position: particularly noteworthy among these examples are (561), with separation of *mḗ* 'not' and *tis* 'someone', and (562). *pothi* 'somewhere' is found twice, in (563)–(564), where it is preceded by *ou* 'not'.

(561) μή πού τις ὑπερφιάλως νεμεσήσῃ
 mḗ *poú*   tis   huperphiálōs nemesḗsēi
 not somewhere someone.M.NOM.SG excessively resent.3SG.AOR.SBJV
 '... lest haply some man wax wroth beyond measure' (Homer, *Iliad* 13.293)

(562) ἀλλά που
 allá *pou*
 but somewhere
 (Homer, *Iliad* 13.225)

(563) ἀλλά ποθι
 allá *pothi*
 but somewhere
 (Homer, *Iliad* 13.630)

(564) ἐπὶ οὔ ποθι ἔλπομαι
 epì oú *pothi*   élpomai
 upon not somewhere hope.1SG.PRS.PASS
 'Verily, methinks, in no other place ...' (Homer, *Iliad* 13.309)*

Nine instances of *pōs* 'somehow' are found, seven of which are in second position, as well as (565) (twice).

(565) ἀλλ᾽ οὔ πως
 all' oú *pōs*
 but not somehow
 (Homer, *Iliad* 13.729 and 17.354)

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *epeì*.

Translation

pote 'sometime' is found four times, twice in second position, as well as (566) and (567).

(566) ἄλλοτε δή ποτε μᾶλλον ἐρωῆσαι πολέμοιο μέλλω
állote   dé   *pote*   mâllon erōêsai   polémoio
another.time exactly sometime more   withdraw.AOR.INF war.GEN.SG
méllō
be.going.to.1SG.PRS
'At some other time have I haply withdrawn me from war rather than now' (Homer, *Iliad* 13.776)

(567) ἠμὲν δή ποτ᾽ ἐμὸν ἔπος ἔκλυες εὐξαμένοιο
ēmèn dé   *pot'*   emòn   épos   éklues
both   exactly sometime my.N.ACC.SG word.ACC.SG hear.2SG.AOR
euxaménoio
pray.PTCP.AOR.M.GEN.SG
'Aforetime verily you did hear my word, when I prayed' (Homer, *Iliad* 16.236)

pêi 'somehow' is found only once (16.110), correctly. *pō* 'yet' is found five times correctly, and also in (568) and (569). (Monro 1891: 336ff. provides exceptions from the other books.)

(568) θέων δ᾽ ἐκίχανεν ἑταίρους ὦκα μάλ᾽, οὔ πω τῆλε, ποσὶ κραιπνοῖσι μετασπών
théōn   d'   ekíkhanen hetaírous   ôka
run.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG then reach.3SG.IMP companion.ACC.PL swiftly
mál', oú *pō* têle, posì   kraipnoîsi   metaspón
very not yet far   foot.DAT.PL swift.M.DAT.PL pursue.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG
'(He) ran, and speedily reached his comrades not yet far off, hastening after them with swift steps' (Homer, *Iliad* 17.189)

(569) δύο δ᾽ οὔ πω φῶτε πεπύσθην
dúo d'   oú *pō* phôte   pepústhēn
two then not yet man.NOM.DU learn.3DU.PLUP.PASS
'Howbeit two men had not yet learned …' (Homer, *Iliad* 17.377)

Texts from the post-Homeric period allow these particles a great deal of freedom. Remnants of the old rule can be seen (other than in *ēpou* and *dépou*) in examples such as (570) and (571). (Following such a template also (572) and (573).) Compare also (574) and (575).

(570) ἔν ποκ' ἄρα Σπάρτα
én *pok'*   ára Spártāi
in sometime then Sparta.DAT
'So once in Sparta …' (Theocritus 18.1)

(571) ἔκ ποτέ τις φρικτοῖο θεᾶς σεσοβημένος οἴστρῳ
ék *poté*   tis   phriktoîo   theâs
out sometime someone.M.NOM.SG awful.F.GEN.SG goddess.GEN.SG
sesobēménos   oístrōi
scare.PTCP.PRF.PASS.M.NOM.SG sting.DAT.SG
'Someone agitated at some time by a sting from an awful goddess …'
(Anthologia Graeca 6.219.1)

(572) ὅτι τε μεγαλοκευθέεσιν ἔν ποτε θαλάμοις
hóti te   megalokeuthéesin   én *pote*   thalámois
that and much-concealing.M.DAT.PL in sometime chamber.DAT.PL
'… and because once, in the vast recesses of the bridal chamber …'
(Pindar, *Pythian* 2.33)

(573) Ἴξαλος εὐπώγων αἰγὸς πόσις ἔν ποθ' ἀλωῇ
Íxalos   eupṓgōn   aigòs
bounding.M.NOM.SG well-bearded.M.NOM.SG goat.GEN.SG
pósis   én *poth'*   halōêi
husband.NOM.SG in sometime yard.DAT.SG
'Once in a vineyard, the bounding, well-bearded husband of the
she-goat …' (Anthologia Graeca 9.99.1)

(574) ἄλλη που ἐπιστήμη ἀνθρώπου καὶ λύρας
állē   *pou*   epistḗmē   anthrṓpou   kaì
other.F.NOM.SG somewhere knowledge.NOM.SG person.GEN.SG and
lúras
lyre.GEN.SG
'Knowledge of a man and of a lyre (are) in some way different.' (Plato,
Phaedo 73d)

(575) ὁ αὐτὸς γάρ που φόβος
ho   autòs   gár *pou*   phóbos
the.M.NOM.SG same.M.NOM.SG for somewhere fear.NOM.SG
'For in some way (there would be) the same fear.' (Plato, *Phaedo* 101b)

Looking at other enclitic particles is much more fruitful. It is true that the consistent appearance of *te* 'and/also' and *rha* 'so, then, therefore' in second position (in (576), *[p371]* the participle has the same role as a subordinate clause) could be explained with reference to their function as clausal connectors.

(576) βωμοῦ ὑπαΐξας πρός ῥα πλατάνιστον ὄρουςεν
     bōmoû   hupaḯxas   prós *rha* platániston
     altar.GEN.SG glide.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG to   then plane.ACC.SG
     órousen
     dart.3SG.AOR
     '(It) glided from beneath the altar and darted to the plane tree.' (Homer, *Iliad* 2.310)

On the other hand, *ge* 'at least/only/in fact' is immune to any such consistent positional rule, because it may not occur on the word on which the main weight of affirmation falls; at most one could point out that in Thucydides there are several examples of a *ge* that belongs to a participle but is attached to a preceding word (Poppo & Stahl 1889: 79 on Thucydides 2.38.1): (577)–(579). Cf. example (580) (instead of *hṓs émoìge dokeî*). What has been said for *ge* holds also for *per*.

(577) ἀγῶςι μέν γε καὶ θυςίαις διετηςίοις νομίζοντες
     agôsi   mén *ge*   kaì thusíais   dietēsíois
     gathering.DAT.PL then even and sacrifice.DAT.PL year.round.M.DAT.PL
     nomízontes
     practise.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.PL
     '... celebrating games and sacrifices all the year round ...' (Thucydides 2.38.1)

(578) οὕτω τῇ γε παρούςῃ εὐτυχίᾳ χρώμενοι
     hoútō têi   *ge*   paroúsēi   eutukhíāi
     so   the.F.DAT.SG even be.present.PTCP.PRS.F.DAT.SG success.DAT.SG
     khrṓmenoi
     use.PTCP.PRS.PASS.M.NOM.PL
     'Being so used to the present prosperity ...' (Thucydides 4.65.4)*

(579) πίςτεις γε διδοὺς τὰς μεγίςτας
     písteis   *ge*   didoùs   tàs   megístas
     faith.ACC.PL even give.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG the.F.ACC.PL greatest.F.ACC.PL
     '... having given the greatest possible guarantees ...' (Thucydides 4.86.2)

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *te*.

(580)   ὥϲ γ᾽ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ
        hṓs *g'*   emoì   dokeî
        as   even me.DAT seem.3PL.PRS
        '... as it seems to me at least ...' (Demosthenes 18.226)

But there is one constantly enclitic particle that, although not serving to connect clauses, has a wholly unmistakable preference for second position, namely *ke* (*ken*, *ka*; IRR). Hermann (1831: 7) has already indicated this with the words "*ken*, which is barred from the beginning of an utterance because it is enclitic, can also be placed before those words with whose meaning it is associated, as long as some word in the same sentence precedes it", and illustrates this with the example (581).

(581)   ἦ κε μέγ᾽ οἰμώξειε γέρων ἱππηλάτα Πηλεύς
        ê   *ke* még' oimṓxeie   gérōn   hippēláta
        in.truth IRR greatly wail.3SG.AOR.OPT old.M.NOM.SG driver.NOM.SG
        Pēleús
        Peleus.NOM
        'Verily aloud would old Peleus groan, the driver of chariots' (Homer,
        Iliad 7.125)

However, it does not occur to Hermann that the particle belongs in the second position in the clause. And even the most recent overview of the Homeric use of *ke*, Eberhard (1885), although devoting seven closely printed columns to its position, does not go beyond Hermann theoretically, even though one would have thought that the material he had collected would put him on the right track – for instance, when he emphasizes, following Schnorr von Carolsfeld (1864: 34), that *ke* follows the verb only when it is clause-initial and follows the participle only in (582), or that this attachment of *ke* to a preceding word is found only "at the start of a verse".

(582)   ἰδοῦϲα κε θυμὸν ἰάνθηϲ
        idoûsa   *ke* thumòn   iánthēs
        see.PTCP.AOR.F.NOM.SG IRR spirit.ACC.SG warm.2SG.AOR.PASS
        'The sight would have warmed your heart with cheer.' (Homer, *Odyssey*
        23.47)

It is generally recognized that, in every Greek dialect that has a form of *ke* at all, the particle immediately follows the clause-initial pronoun or subordinating conjunction without exception, unless other enclitics or quasi-enclitics like *te*,

dé, gár, mén and occasionally also *tis* (see above *[p372]* p143), *tu* (see above p56) and *toi* (as in example (583)) intervene: *hós ke, eis hó ke, eí ke, aí ke, epeíke, hóte ke* (Doric *hókka*), *éōs ke, hóphra ke, hȏs ke, ho(p)pȏs ke* or *hos dé ke, ei dé ke* and similar. (But see (584) and (585) as well as (586) etc.)

(583) ὅ τοί κ᾽ ἐπὶ τὸν νόον ἔλθῃ

     hó   toí *k'* epì tòn   nóon   élthēi

     which.N.NOM.SG lo IRR upon the.M.ACC.SG mind.ACC.SG go.3SG.AOR.SBJV

     '... which, you see, would come to mind.' (Theognis, *Elegies* 633)

(584) αἴκα δ᾽ ἐντύχω τοῖς περιπόλοις

     aí*ka*   d'   entúkhō   toîs   peripólois

     if=IRR then encounter.1SG.AOR.SBJV the.M.DAT.PL watchman.DAT.PL

     'And if I should ever encounter the watchmen ...' (Epicharmus in Athenaeus 6.28; Lorenz 1864: 225)

(585) αἴκα δ᾽ αἶγα λάβῃ τῆνος γέρας

     aí*ka*   d'   aîga   lábēi   tênos   géras

     if=IRR then goat.ACC.SG take.3SG.AOR.SBJV that.M.NOM.SG prize.ACC

     'And if that one should win a goat as a prize ...' (Theocritus 1.5)

(586) αἰ δέ κ᾽ ἀρέϲκῃ

     ai dé   *k'*   aréskēi

     if but IRR please.3SG.PRS.SBJV

     'And if it should please ...' (Theocritus 1.10)

Ahrens' (1855: 24) suggestion of *ai d' étí ká me ... lupēi* for Theocritus 2.159 (=(552) above)[*] accepted by Meineke (1856: 28, 213) and Fritzsche & Hiller (1890: 75), so that *ai* is separated from *ka* by *éti*, seems inconceivable to me. The context does not preclude the only grammatical possibility *ai dé tí ka me* and counting this example among those mentioned above on p144 with *tís* between *ai* and *ka*. (Hermann 1817: 12 has *ei d' étí kaí me ... lupeî*, which is less promising.)

Other clause types show a corresponding pattern. In Homer, main clauses and interrogative subordinate clauses with a subjunctive verb have *ke* exceptionlessly in second position, as in examples (587)–(589) from books 13, 16 and 17 of the *Iliad*.

(587) ἐγὼ δέ κε λαὸν ἀγείρω

     egṑ   dé *ke* laòn   ageírō

     I.NOM but IRR people.ACC gather.1SG.PRS

     'And I will gather the host.' (Homer, *Iliad* 16.129)

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[*] *Translator's note*: Wackernagel here cites Theocritus 1.159 in the original, but this must be an error.

(588) (ἐπιφρασσαίμεθα βουλήν) ἤ κεν ἐνὶ νήεσσι πολυκλήισι πέσωμεν [...] ἤ
κεν ἔπειτα παρ νηῶν ἔλθωμεν
epiphrassaímetha   boulḗn   ḗ *ken* enì néessi
consider.1PL.AOR.OPT.MID counsel.ACC or IRR in ship.DAT.PL
poluklḗisi   pésōmen   ḗ *ken* épeita par nēôn
many-benched.F.DAT.PL fall.1PL.AOR.SBJV or IRR then from ship.GEN.PL
élthōmen
go.1PL.AOR.SBJV
'(We shall consider counsel,) whether we shall fall upon the
many-benched ships or thereafter shall return back from the ships.'
(Homer, *Iliad* 13.741)

(589) ἤ κ' αὐτὸς ἐνὶ πρώτοισιν ἁλώῃ
ḗ *k'* autòs   enì prṓtoisin   halṓēi
or IRR same.M.NOM.SG in first.M.DAT.PL succumb.3SG.AOR.OPT
'... or haply himself be slain amid the foremost.' (Homer, *Iliad* 17.506)

The same is true of future clauses: (590)–(592). (This is true more generally,
even to the extent of separating words which belong together: (593).)

(590) ὥς κε τάχα Τρώων κορέει κύνας ἠδ' οἰωνούς
hṓs *ke* tákha Trṓōn   koréei   kúnas   ēd' oiōnoús
as   IRR quickly Trojan.GEN.PL glut.3SG.FUT dog.ACC.PL and raptor.ACC.PL
'... as it shall presently glut the dogs and birds of the Trojans' (Homer,
Iliad 17.241)[*]

(591) εἴ κ' Ἀχιλῆος ἀγαυοῦ πιστὸν ἑταῖρον τείχει ὕπο Τρώων ταχέες κύνες
ἑλκήσουσιν
eí *k'* Akhilêos   agauoû   pistòn
if IRR Achilles.GEN noble.M.GEN.SG trustworthy.M.ACC.SG
hetaîron   teíkhei   húpo Trṓōn   takhées
companion.ACC.SG wall.DAT.SG under Trojan.GEN.PL swift.M.NOM.PL
kúnes   helkḗsousin
dog.NOM.PL tear.3PL.FUT
'... if the trusty comrade of lordly Achilles be torn by swift dogs beneath
the wall of the Trojans.' (Homer, *Iliad* 17.557)

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[*] *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *hós* for *hṓs*.

(592) τὰ δέ κεν Διὶ πάντα μελήσει
     tà   dé *ken* Diì   pánta   melḗsei
     the.N.NOM.PL but IRR Zeus.DAT all.N.NOM.PL matter.3SG.FUT
     '... and the issue shall rest with Zeus.' (Homer, *Iliad* 17.515)

(593) τῷ δέ κε νικήσαντι φίλη κεκλήσῃ ἄκοιτις
     tôi   dé *ke* nikḗsanti   phílē
     the.M.DAT.SG but IRR win.PTCP.AOR.M.DAT.SG dear.F.NOM.SG
     keklḗsēi   ákoitis
     call.2SG.FPRF.PASS bedfellow.NOM.SG
     'And whoso shall conquer, his dear wife shall you be called.' (Homer,
     Iliad 3.138)

Usage with the optative and preterite is no different. In books 13, 16 and 17 we have 28 instances of *ke* in second or near-second position in optative clauses (including (594)–(595)) and seven instances in preterite clauses. Among these 35 examples, the following are particularly noteworthy: *allá ken* in *Iliad* 13.290 (as well as three instances in the Odyssey) and *kaí ken* in 13.377, 17.613 (and many other examples; see Eberhard (1885: 733); alos cf. *kaí moi*), as well as (596) in which *ke* precedes negation. There is only one counterexample: (597), where the shift of interrogative *tís* from its usual position clause-initially has taken *ke [p373]* along with it, as the latter may not precede *tís*.

(594) ἃς οὔτ᾽ ἄν κεν Ἄρης ὀνόσαιτο μετελθών οὔτε κ᾽ Ἀθηναίη
     hàs   oút᾽ án *ken* Árēs   onósaito
     which.F.ACC.PL nor IRR IRR Ares.NOM scorn.3SG.AOR.OPT.MID
     metelthṓn   oúte *k᾽* Athēnaíē
     enter.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG nor IRR Athene.NOM
     '... that not Ares might have entered in and made light of them, nor yet
     Athene' (Homer, *Iliad* 13.127)

(595) ὢ πόποι, ἤδη μέν κε [...] γνοίη
     ὃ pópoi, ḗdē   mén *ke* gnoíē
     O fie   already then IRR know.3SG.AOR.OPT
     'Out upon it, now may (any man) know ...' (Homer, *Iliad* 17.629)

(596) ἀνδρὶ δέ κ᾽ οὐκ εἴξειε μέγας Τελαμώνιος Αἴας
     andrì   dé *k᾽* ouk eíxeie   mégas
     man.DAT.SG but IRR not yield.3SG.AOR.OPT great.M.NOM.SG

Telamṓnios   Aías
Telamonian.M.NOM.SG Ajax.NOM
'But to no man would great Telamonian Aias yield' (Homer, *Iliad* 13.321)

(597) τῶν δ' ἄλλων τίς κεν ᾗ̄ϲι φρεϲὶν οὐνόματ' εἴποι
       tôn   d' állōn   tís   *ken* hêisi
       the.M.GEN.PL then other.M.GEN.PL who.M.NOM.SG IRR his.F.DAT.PL
       phresìn   ounómat'   eípoi
       midriff.DAT.PL name.ACC.PL say.3SG.AOR.OPT
       'But of the rest, what man of his own wit could name the names?'
       (Homer, *Iliad* 17.260)

If we cast the net more widely in Homer, we can observe that the rule recognized for subjective embedded clauses, that *ke* should immediately follow the clause-initial word, also holds for the optative and indicative, and that in these clause types *hós ke*, *hoîos ke*, *hóthen ke*, *hóte ke*, *eis hó ke*, *éōs ke*, *hóphra ke*, *hṓs ke*, *eí ke* and *aí ke* belong just as tightly together as in subjunctive clauses. The exceptions to this rule, as for other *ke* clauses, are vanishingly rare: (598), in which *ei kaí* forms a unit similar to *eíper*; cf. *ei kaí min* 'if and 3.ACC' in *Iliad* 13.58. Also, just as with *min*, several examples with *ou* (NEG): (599)–(602), and perhaps some others too. Then also (603).

(598) εἰ καί νύ κεν οἴκοθεν ἄλλο μεῖζον ἐπαιτήϲειαϲ
       ei kaí nú *ken* oíkothen   állo   meîzon
       if and now IRR from.home other.N.ACC.SG greater.N.ACC.SG
       epaitḗseias
       ask.2SG.AOR.OPT
       'And if you should ask some other better thing from out my house ...'
       (Homer, *Iliad* 23.592)

(599) μῦθον ὃν οὔ κεν ἀνήρ γε διὰ ϲτόμα πάμπαν ἄγοιτο
       mûthon   hòn   oú *ken* anḗr   ge   dià
       myth.ACC.SG which.M.ACC.SG not IRR man.NOM.SG even through
       stóma   pámpan   ágoito
       mouth.ACC.SG altogether lead.3SG.PRS.OPT.PASS
       '... (this) word, that no man should in any wise suffer to pass through his
       mouth at all' (Homer, *Iliad* 14.91)

(600) ἐπεὶ οὔ κε θανόντι περ ὧδ' ἀκαχοίμην
epeì oú *ke* thanónti   per hôd' akakhoímēn
since not IRR die.PTCP.AOR.M.DAT.SG all thus grieve.1SG.AOR.OPT.MID
'For I should not so grieve for his death …' (Homer, *Odyssey* 1.236)

(601) ἐπεὶ οὔ κε κακοὶ τοιούσδε τέκοιεν
epeì oú *ke* kakoì   toioúsde   tékoien
since not IRR bad.M.NOM.PL such.M.ACC.PL beget.3PL.AOR.OPT
'For base churls could not beget such sons as you.' (Homer, *Odyssey* 4.64)

(602) τά γ' οὔ κέ τις οὐδὲ ἴδοιτο
tá   g'   oú *ké* tis   oudè ídoito
the.N.ACC.PL even not IRR someone.M.NOM.SG nor see.3SG.AOR.OPT.MID
'… that no one could see …' (Homer, *Odyssey* 8.280)

(603) ἄλλοι τε Τρῶες μέγα κεν κεχαροίατο θυμῷ
álloi   te Trôes   méga *ken* kekharoíato
other.M.NOM.PL and Trojan.NOM.PL greatly IRR rejoice.3PL.AOR.OPT.MID
thumôi
spirit.DAT.SG
'… and the rest of the Trojans would be most glad at heart' (Homer, *Iliad* 1.256)

A much rarer exception, insofar as *eí ke* is otherwise always indivisible, is (604). But numerous editors, most recently also Nauck (1877: 112, 187), have inserted the *ge* that the meaning requires. Nauck's (1874: 41) emendation of *Odyssey* 3.219 given in (605), with *ke* as opposed to the *ge* found in all the manuscripts, is all the more striking.

(604) εἰ τούτω κε λάβοιμεν, ἀροίμεθά κεν κλέος ἐσθλόν
ei toútō   *ke* láboimen,   aroímethá   ken
if this.M.ACC.DU IRR take.1PL.AOR.OPT get.1PL.AOR.OPT.MID IRR
kléos   esthlón
fame.ACC.SG goodly.N.ACC.SG
'Could we but take these two, we should win us goodly renown.'
(Homer, *Iliad* 5.273; cf. also 8.196)

(605) ὅθεν οὐκ ἔλποιτό κε θυμῷ, ἐλθέμεν
       hóthen ouk élpoitó   ke thumôi,   elthémen
       whence not hope.3SG.PRS.OPT IRR spirit.DAT.SG go.AOR.INF
       '... whence no one would hope in his heart to return' (Homer, *Odyssey*
       3.219)[*]

In the inscriptions written in the dialects that possess *ke/ka*, the particle rarely occurs outside the aforementioned subjunctive subordinate clauses, which makes sense given the content of most of these. In Aeolic we have a couple of examples of *hṓs ke* with the optative, and in Cypriot the very remarkable (606), where *ke* is in second position between the article and the noun with a future verb (cf. Hoffmann (1891: 70, 73), who recognized the right reading rather than the previously read *ge*). In Argive we have (607); in Korkyra we have (608); in Epidaurian we have (609) on line 60 of the large healing inscription, but line 84 (610), and in Isyllus both (611) (line 26) *[p374]* in verse and (612) (line 35ff) in prose.

(606) τάς κε ζᾶς τάσδε [...] ἔξο(ν)σι αἰϝεί
       tás   ke zâs   tásde   éxo(n)si   aiweí
       the.F.ACC.PL IRR land.ACC.PL this.F.ACC.PL have.3PL.FUT always
       'They shall have these lands forever.' (Tablet of Idalion 30)

(607) ἇι κα δικάσσαιεν
       hâi   ka dikássaien
       who.F.NOM.PL IRR judge.3PL.AOR.OPT
       (Inscription 3277.8; Prellwitz 1889: 127)

(608) ἀφ᾽ οὗ κ᾽ ἀρχ(ὰ) γένοιτο
       aph' hoû   k' arkh(à)   génoito
       of   which.GEN.SG IRR beginning.NOM.SG become.3SG.AOR.OPT.MID
       (Inscription 3206.84; Blass 1888: 95)

(609) αἴ κα ὑγιῆ νιν ποιήσαι
       aí *ka* hugiê   nin poiésai
       if IRR healthy.ACC.SG 3.ACC make.3SG.AOR.OPT
       'And if he would make him healthy' (Inscription 3339.60; Prellwitz 1889: 151–157)

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[*] *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *ge* for *ke*, following the manuscripts and Wackernagel rather than Nauck (1874).

(610) τοῦτον γὰρ οὐδέ κα ὁ ἐν Ἐπιδαύρωι Ἀσκλαπιὸς ὑγιῆ ποιῆσαι δύναιτο
toûton   gàr oudé *ka* ho   en Epidaúrōi
this.M.ACC.SG then nor IRR the.M.NOM.SG in Epidaurus.DAT
Asklapiòs   hugiê   poiêsai   dúnaito
Asclepius.NOM healthy.ACC.SG make.AOR.INF can.3SG.PRS.OPT.PASS
'For nor could the Epidauran Asclepius heal this man' (Inscription
3339.84; Prellwitz 1889: 151–157)

(611) οὕτω τοί κ' ἀμῶν περιφείδοιτ' εὐρύοπα Ζεύς
hoútō toí *k'* amôn peripheídoit'   eurúopa
thus   lo IRR us.GEN spare.3SG.PRS.OPT.PASS wide-eyed.M.NOM.SG
Zeús
Zeus.NOM
'So thus might wide-eyed Zeus spare us.' (Inscription 3342.26; Prellwitz
1889: 162–166)

(612) ἢ λώιον οἷ κα εἴη ἀγγράφοντι τὸν παιᾶνα. Ἐμάντευσε λώιόν οἵ κα εἶμεν
ἀγγράφοντι.
è lóion hoî   *ka* eíē   angráphonti
or better him.DAT IRR be.3SG.PRS.OPT engrave.PTCP.PRS.M.DAT.SG
tòn   paiâna. Emánteuse   lóión hoí   ka eîmen
the.M.ACC.SG paean.ACC prophesy.3SG.AOR better him.DAT IRR be.PRS.INF
angraphonti.
engrave.PTCP.PRS.M.DAT
'Or it would be better for him, the engraver of the paean. It was
prophesied that it would be better for him, the engraver.' (Inscription
3324.35; Prellwitz 1889: 162–166)

The Dodonian and Elian inscriptions furnish more examples for *ka*. And here
we observe that questions to the Dodonian oracle beginning with *tíni theōn
thúontes* or similar and ending in an optative verb always place *ka* (if they have
it) immediately after *tíni* 'whom.DAT' and thus separate *tíni* from the nearest
genitive it governs, clear evidence of the pressure to put *ka* in second position:
Hoffmann (1890) 1562, 1563, 1566, 1582a and 1582b, e.g. (613). Example (614) is
similar.

(613) τίνι κα θεῶν [ἢ] ἡρώων θύοντες καὶ εὐχ[ό](μ)ενο(ι) ὁμονοοῖεν ἐ[π]ὶ
τὠγαθόν
tíni   *ka* theôn   [è] hēróōn
whom.M.DAT.SG IRR god.GEN.PL or hero.GEN.PL

thúontes   kaì eukh[ó](m)eno(i)
sacrifice.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.PL and pray.PTCP.PRS.PASS.M.NOM.PL
homonooîen   e[p]ì tōgathón
agree.3PL.PRS.OPT upon the=good.N.ACC.SG
'By sacrificing and praying to which of the gods or heroes would they
agree for good?' (Inscription 1563; Hoffmann 1890)

(614)   τί κα θύcαc [...]
        tí   ka thúsas
        what.ACC IRR sacrifice.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG
        (Inscription 1572a; Hoffmann 1890)

When Blass (1888: 82–83) emends inscription 3184 (=1564) (615) to insert the
particle *ka*, which certainly cannot have followed *tínas*, at the end of a line follow-
ing *lṓion* 'better' because it is supposedly necessary, he overlooks the fact that
the Dodonian inscriptions potentially use the optative without *ka* many times,
e.g. (616)–(618).

(615)   τίναc θεῶν ἱλαcκόμενοc λώιον καὶ ἄμεινον πράccοι
        tínas   theôn   hilaskómenos   lṓion kaì
        whom.M.ACC.PL god.GEN.PL appease.PTCP.PRS.PASS.M.NOM.SG better and
        ámeinon prássoi
        stronger do.3SG.PRS.OPT
        'By appeasing which gods would he do better and more desirably?'
        (Inscription 3184 = Inscription 1564; Hoffmann 1890)

(616)   τίνι θεῶν θύουcα λώιον καὶ ἄμεινον πράccοι καὶ τᾶc νόcου παύcαιτο
        tíni   theôn   thúousa   lṓion kaì
        whom.M.DAT.SG god.GEN.PL sacrifice.PTCP.AOR.F.NOM.SG better and
        ámeinon prássoi   kaì tâs   nósou
        stronger do.3SG.PRS.OPT and the.F.GEN.SG illness.GEN.SG
        paúsaito
        stop.3SG.AOR.OPT
        'By sacrificing to which of the gods would she do better and more
        desirably, and put an end to the illness?' (Inscription 1562B; Hoffmann
        1890)

(617) ἦ μὴ ν[α](υ)κλαρῆ(ν) λώιογ καὶ ἄμεινον πράσσοιμι
ê   mề n[a](u)klarê(n) lốiong kaì ámeinon prássoimi
in.truth not captaincy[?].ACC better and stronger do.1SG.PRS.OPT
'Truly I would not carry out the captaincy better and more desirably'
(Inscription 1583.2; Hoffmann 1890)

(618) τίνα θεῶν ἢ ἡρώων τιμᾶντι λώιον καὶ ἄμεινον εἴη
tína   theôn   ề hērốōn   timânti
whom.M.ACC.SG god.GEN.PL or hero.GEN.PL honour.PTCP.PRS.M.DAT.SG
lốion kaì ámeinon eíē
better and stronger be.3SG.PRS.OPT
'By honouring which of the gods or heroes would it be better and more
desirable?' (Inscription 1587a; Hoffmann 1890)

Outside this fixed formula beginning with *tis* 'what', however, the position of
ka in these inscriptions is free, as shown by examples (619)–(620).

(619) ἦ τυγχάνοιμί κα
ê   tunkhánoimí   *ka*
in.truth happen.1SG.PRS.OPT IRR
(Inscription 1568.1; Hoffmann 1890)

(620) [...] βέλτιομ μοί κ' εἴη
béltiom moí   *k'* eíē
better me.DAT IRR be.3SG.PRS.OPT
'... would be better for me' (Inscription 1573; Hoffmann 1890)

Among the Elian inscriptions, 1151.12, 1154.7, 1157.4 and 1158.2 must be left out
of consideration because, although *ka* is transmitted, its position in the sentence
is not recognizable; the same holds for all examples in which *ka* has been inserted,
except 1151.19, in which the position of the inserted *ka* can at least be determined
negatively. That leaves 28 examples: 21 have *ka* in second or near-second position,
including (621) and (622); these 21 stand opposite 7 counterexamples.

(621) ἐν τῆπιάροι κ' ἐνέχοιτο
en tēpiároi   *k'* enékhoito
in the=sacrifice.DAT IRR hold.3SG.PRS.OPT
(Inscription 1149.9 Collitz)

(622) ἐν ταῖ ζεκαμναίαι κ' ἐνέχοιτο
       en taî   zekamnaíai   k' enékhoito
       in the.F.DAT.SG ten.minae.DAT IRR hold.3SG.PRS.OPT
       (Inscription 1152.7 Collitz)

The import of these figures is strengthened by the composition of examples (623)–(627), *[p375]* in all of which *ka* separates the article or an adjective from its noun. In addition there is (628), in which, although *ka* is not in second position, the tmesis nevertheless betrays a pressure to move the particle towards the start of the clause.

(623) τοὶ ζέ κα θεοκόλοι
       toì   zé *ka* theokóloi
       the.M.DAT.SG then IRR priest.M.DAT.SG
       (Inscription 1154.1 Collitz)

(624) πεντακατίας κα δαρχμάς [sic]
       pentakatías   *ka* darkhmás
       five.hundred.F.ACC.PL IRR drachma.ACC.PL
       (Inscription 1154.3 Collitz)

(625) ἁ δέ κα ϝράτρα
       a   dé *ka* wrátra
       the.F.NOM.SG but IRR agreement.NOM.SG
       (Inscription 1156.2 Collitz)

(626) τῶν δέ κα γραφέων
       tôn   dé *ka* graphéōn
       the.GEN.PL but IRR scribe.GEN.PL
       (Inscription 1156.3 Collitz)

(627) ὀ [sic] δέ κα ξένος
       o   dé *ka* xénos
       the.M.NOM.SG but IRR stranger.NOM.SG
       (Inscription 1158.1 Collitz)

(628) τῶν ζὲ προστιζίων οὐζέ κα μί' εἴη
       tôn   zè   prostizíōn   ouzé *ka* mí'   eíē
       the.GEN then former.GEN.PL nor IRR one.F.NOM.SG be.3SG.PRS.OPT
       '... nor would be one of the former' (Inscription 1157.7 Collitz)

For the post-Homeric poets, despite the sparsity of attestations, one can maintain that the rule remained in force until the end of the sixth century. The fragments of the pre-Pindarian Melic poets, like those of the elegiacs before Theognis, yield *ke*/*ka* only in second position (see in particular also (629)).

(629) ταῦτά χ᾽ ἅπαντα λάχοι
taûtá   *kh'* hápanta   lákhoi
this.N.ACC.PL IRR quite.all.N.ACC.PL obtain.3SG.AOR.OPT
'All these things would fall to him' (Xenophanes 2.10)

Sappho Fragment 66 ((630)) is poorly attested; Bergk (1882: 177) writes Alcaeus 83 as (631), but neither *autós* 'same' nor *ke* is attested. It will now be necessary to seek other ways to improve this sentence.

(630) ὁ δ᾽ Ἄρευς φαῖσί κεν Ἄφαιστον ἄγην
o   d'   Áreus   phaîsí   *ken* Áphaiston
the.M.NOM.SG then Ares.NOM say.3SG.PRS IRR Hephaestus.ACC
ágēn
lead.PRS.INF
'And Ares says that he would bring Hephaestus' (Sappho, Fragment 66)

(631) αἴ κ᾽ εἴπηις, τὰ θέλεις, <αὐτὸς> ἀκούσαις <κε>, τά κ᾽ οὐ θέλοις
aí *k'* eípēis,   tà   théleis,   <autòs>
if IRR say.2SG.AOR.SBJV the.N.ACC.PL want.2SG.PRS same.M.NOM.SG
akoúsais   <*ke*>, tá   *k'* ou thélois
hear.2SG.AOR.OPT IRR   the.N.ACC.PL IRR not want.2SG.PRS.OPT
'If you said what you want, you yourself would hear what you would not want' (Alcaeus, Fragment 83)

Then it is clear that the Theognideian gnomic poems, Pindar and Epicharmus deviate from the old norm: Theognis (in addition to instances such as (632)) 645, 653, 747, 765; many examples in Pindar; Epicharmus (against normal usage Lorenz 1864: 223 Busiris fragment 1, (1864: 264) fragment 33.1, and (1864: 267) verse 12) fragment 7.1, Lorenz (1864: 257); (1864: 267) verse 9; (1864: 268) verse 16; (1864: 269) verse 11; (1864: 274) fragment 53; verse 167 in Mullach (1860: 141); for which one can let the question of the genuineness of the individual examples rest.

(632) μέγα κεν πῆμα βροτοῖσιν ἐπῆν
méga   ken pêma   brotoîsin   epên
great.N.NOM.SG IRR harm.NOM.SG mortal.DAT.PL be.upon.3SG.IMP
'... a great calamity would be at hand for mortals.' (Theognis, *Elegies* 900)

Of the remaining enclitic particles *thḗn* 'surely', *nu* 'now' and *toi* 'certainly', in Homer *thḗn* is always found in second position (naturally including (633) and (634)); the same is true in (635); the same is true of Theocritus in the inherited phrases (636) (cf. Aeschylus in example (635)) and *kaì gár thḗn* in 6.34 (cf. (633) from Homer), as well as in (637) and (638).

(633) καὶ γάρ θην
       kaì gár *thēn*
       and for surely
       (Homer, *Iliad* 21.568)

(634) οὐ μέν θην
       ou mén *thēn*
       not then surely
       (Homer, *Iliad* 8.448)

(635) cύ θην ἂ χρήζεις, ταῦτ' ἐπιγλωccᾷ Διός
       sú   *thēn* hà   khréizeis,   taût'
       you.NOM surely what.ACC.PL want.2SG.PRS this.N.ACC.PL
       epiglōssâi   Diós
       reproach.2SG.PRS.PASS Zeus.GEN
       'Surely, it is only your own desire that you utter as a curse against Zeus.'
       (Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound* 928)

(636) τύ θην
       tú   *thēn*
       you.NOM surely
       (Theocritus 1.97 and 7.83)

(637) αἶνός θην
       aînós   *thēn*
       fable.NOM surely
       (Theocritus 14.43)

(638) πείρᾳ θην
       peírāi   *thēn*
       attempt.DAT.SG surely
       (Theocritus 15.62)

Theocritus broke the rule twice (2.114, 5.111); before him also Epicharmus ((639)).

(639) καίτοι νῦν γά θην εὔωνον αἰνεῖ σῖτον

kaítoi nûn gá *thēn* eúōnon   aineî   sîton

and.yet now even surely cheap.M.ACC.SG praise.3SG.PRS bread.ACC.SG

'Yet now, surely, he at least praises cheap bread.' (Epicharmus in Athenaeus 6.28; Lorenz 1864: 226 verse 2)[*]

nu and *nun* 'now' in Homer are almost always in second position, if we go by the remark of Ebeling (1880–1885) on this word: "as the particle is enclitic, it attaches itself to whatever is the most important word". I do not consider (640) to be a counterexample.

(640) καὶ γὰρ δή νύ ποτε Ζεὺς ἄσατο

kaì gàr dé   *nú* pote   Zeùs   ásato

and then exactly now sometime Zeus.NOM mislead.3SG.AOR.MID

'Aye, and on a time she blinded Zeus' (Homer, *Iliad* 19.95)

By contrast, it is striking *[p376]* that *nu* regularly precedes other enclitics like *moi*, *toi*, *hoi*, *se*, *tis*, *ti*, *pote*, *pou* (though (641)), *per* and *ken*, and is only preceded by *dé*: we also see *nù gár* 'now then' in *Iliad* 13.257 next to *gár nu* 'then now' in *Odyssey* 15.239 and *gár dé nu* 'then exactly now' in *Iliad* 19.95.

(641) ὅσα πού νυν ἐέλπεται

hósa   poú   *nun* eélpetai

as.much.N.ACC.PL somewhere now hope.3SG.PRS.PASS

'... even all that now he thinks' (Homer, *Iliad* 10.105)

It is also striking that it often separates, or assists in separating, close connections: adjective and noun ((642)–(644)); article and noun ((645)–(646)); preposition and noun ((647)). The only rule-breaking example, as far as I can see, is ((648)).

(642) ἠπεδανὸς δέ νύ τοι θεράπων

ēpedanòs   dé *nú* toi   therápōn

weakly.M.NOM.SG but now you.DAT attendant.NOM.SG

'... and your squire is a weakling' (Homer, *Iliad* 8.104)

(643) θαρσαλέον νύ τοι ἦτορ ἐνὶ φρεσίν

tharsaléon   *nú* toi   êtor   enì phresín

confident.N.NOM.SG now you.DAT heart.NOM.SG in midriff.DAT.PL

'Your heart within you is of good cheer' (Homer, *Iliad* 19.169)[†]

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[*] *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *kàt tò ... aeí.*   [†] *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *hoi* for *toi.*

(644)   cιδήρειόν νύ τοι ἦτορ
        sidḗreión   *nú* toi   êtor
        iron.N.NOM.SG now you.DAT heart.NOM.SG
        'Of iron truly is your heart.' (Homer, *Iliad* 24.205 = *Iliad* 24.521)

(645)   οἱ δέ νυ λαοὶ θνῆcκον
        hoi   dé *nu* laoì   thnêskon
        the.M.NOM.PL but now people.NOM.PL die.3PL.IMP
        'Then the people began to die' (Homer, *Iliad* 1.382)

(646)   ἡ δέ νυ μήτηρ τίλλε κόμην
        hē   dé *nu* mḗtēr   tílle   kómēn
        the.F.NOM.SG but now mother.NOM.SG pluck.3SG.IMP hair.ACC.SG
        'But his mother tore her hair' (Homer, *Iliad* 22.405)

(647)   ἀντί νυ πολλῶν λαῶν ἐcτὶν ἀνήρ
        antí   *nu* pollôn   laôn   estìn   anḗr
        against now many.M.GEN.PL people.GEN.PL be.3SG.PRS man.NOM.SG
        'Of the worth of many hosts is the man ...' (Homer, *Iliad* 9.116)

(648)   ὡc δὴ ἔγωγ' ὄφελον μάκαρός νύ τευ ἔμμεναι υἱὸς ἀνέρος
        hōs dè   égōg'   óphelon   mákarós   *nú*
        as   exactly I.NOM.EMPH owe.1SG.AOR blessed.M.GEN.SG now
        teu   émmenai   huiòs   anéros
        some.M.GEN.SG be.PRS.INF son.NOM.SG man.GEN.SG
        'Ah, would that I had been the son of some blessed man' (Homer,
        Odyssey 1.217)

For post-Homeric usage I refer to *phére nun*, *áge nun* ((649)), *mḗ nun*, and to
the *mén nun* so often found in second position in Herodotus, and finally to (650)–
(654). Cf. also Lobeck (1835: 475) on *Ajax* verse 1332.

(649)   ἄγε νυν
        áge   *nun*
        lead.2SG.PRS.IMPER now
        'Come now!' (Aristophanes, *Peace* 1056)

(650)   πρός νύν cε πατρὸc πρός τε μητρός [...] ἱκέτηc ἱκνοῦμαι
        prós *nún* se   patròs   prós te mētrós
        to   now you.ACC father.GEN.SG to   and mother.GEN.SG

hikétēs   hiknoûmai
suppliant.NOM.SG beseech.1SG.PASS
'Now by your father and by your mother, I beseech you as a suppliant.'
(Sophocles, *Philoctetes* 468)

(651) πρός νύν ϲε κρηνῶν καὶ θεῶν ὁμογνίων αἰτῶ πιθέϲθαι
       prós *nún* se   krēnôn   kaì theôn   homogníōn
       to   now you.ACC spring.GEN.PL and god.GEN.PL akin.M.GEN.PL

       aitô   pithésthai
       ask.1SG.PRS persuade.AOR.INF.MID
       'Then, by the streams of water and gods of our race, I ask you to listen'
       (Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus* 1333)

(652) πρός νύν ϲε γονάτων τῶνδ(ε)
       prós *nún* se   gonátōn   tônd(e)
       to   now you.ACC knee.GEN.PL this.N.GEN.PL
       'Now, by your knees ...' (Euripides, *Helen* 1237)

(653) ἀπό νυν με λείπετ᾽ ἤδη
       apó *nun* me   leípet'   édē
       of   now me.ACC leave.2PL.PRS.IMPER already
       'Leave me then, immediately' (Sophocles, *Philoctetes* 1177)

(654) μετά νυν δόϲ
       metá *nun* dós
       after now give.2SG.AOR.IMPER
       'Then share ...' (Euripides, *Suppliants* 56)

   In Cypriot, the position of *nu* is freer: (655)–(656). The same is true in Boeotian: (657) (equivalent to Attic *kaì hai huperēmériai ákuroi éstōn*). It seems highly doubtful to me that the Cypriot words *hónu* "this.M.NOM", *tónu* "this.M.ACC" and Arcadian *tánu* "this.F.ACC" contain the particle *nu*. It is more likely to be the *u* of *hoûtos* "this"; cf. Arcadian *tōní, tanní*.

(655) ἤ δυϝάνοι νυ
       è duwánoi   *nu*
       or give.3SG.AOR.OPT now
       (Idalion 6)

(656) ἤ δώκοι νυ
ề dókoi nu
or give.3SG.AOR.OPT now
(Idalion 16)

(657) κὴ τὴ οὐπεραμερίη ἄκουρύ νυ ἔνθω
kề tề houperameríē ákourú nu énthō
and the.F.NOM.PL default.NOM.PL invalid.F.NOM.PL now be.3PL.PRS.IMPER
'And let the overdue amounts now be annulled.' (Inscription 488.88;
Meister 1884: 183)

Finally a word on *toi*, insofar as it has become a pure particle for which positioning according to our rule is generally recognized: cf. *kaítoi* and *méntoi*. Here we have 1) tmesis: (658), as well as examples (404) and (406) cited above.

(658) ἔκ τοι πέπληγμαι
ék *toi* péplēgmai
out lo strike.1SG.PRF.PASS
'Surely I am stunned' (Euripides, *Heracleidae* 1105)

2) (659); also, with *gár toí* 'then lo', examples (660)–(662).

(659) διά τοι σὲ πόνουϲ ἔχω
diá *toi* sè pónous ékhō
through lo you.ACC trouble.ACC.PL have.1SG.PRS
'Because of you I have these pangs' (Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazusae* 975)

(660) ἐν γάρ τοι πόλει ὧδε κακοψόγῳ ἀνδάνει οὐδέν
en gár *toi* pólei hôde kakopsógōi handánei
in for lo city.DAT.SG thus censorious.F.DAT.SG please.3SG.PRS
oudén
nothing.NOM.SG
'For nothing is pleasant in a censorious city.' (Theognis, *Elegies* 287)

(661) περὶ γάρ τοι τῶν ποιημάτων
perì gár *toi* tôn poiēmátōn
about for lo the.N.GEN.PL poem.GEN.PL
'For about the poems ...' (Plato, *Phaedo* 60c)

(662)   περὶ γάρ τοι γῆϲ [...] πολλὰ ἀκήκοα
       perì   gár *toi* gês   pollà   akékoa
       about for lo earth.GEN.SG much.N.PL hear.1SG.PRF
       'For I have heard many things about the earth.' (Plato, *Phaedo* 108d)

   3) (663)–(666); also, with *gár toí* 'then lo', examples (667)–(668).

(663)   ὦ παῖδεϲ, ἥ τοι Κύπριϲ οὐ Κύπριϲ μόνον
       ô paîdes,   hé   *toi* Kúpris   ou Kúpris   mónon
       O child.VOC.PL the.F.NOM.SG lo Cypris.NOM not Cypris.NOM alone
       'You see, children, Cypris is not just Cypris.' (Sophocles, Fragment 855.1)

(664)   τήν τοι Δίκην λέγουϲι παῖδ' εἶναι Χρόνου
       tén   *toi* Díkēn   légousi   paîd'   eînai
       the.F.ACC.SG lo Justice.ACC.SG say.3PL.PRS child.ACC.SG be.PRS.INF
       Khrónou
       Time.GEN.SG
       'They say that Justice is the child of Time.' (Euripides, Fragment 222)

(665)   οἵ τοι γεωργοὶ τοὖργον ἐξέλκουϲι
       hoí   *toi* geōrgoì   toûrgon   exélkousi
       the.M.NOM.PL lo farmer.NOM.PL the=work.ACC.SG extract.3PL.PRS
       'The husbandmen are doing the work.' (Aristophanes, *Peace* 511)

(666)   ἥ τοι τῆϲ διανοίαϲ ὄψιϲ
       hé   *toi* tês   dianoías   ópsis
       the.F.NOM.SG lo the.F.GEN.SG intellect.GEN.SG sight.NOM.SG
       'The intellectual sight ...' (Plato, *Symposium* 219a)

   [p377]

(667)   τὸ γάρ τοι πρᾶγμα ϲυμφορὰν ἔχει
       tò   gár *toi* prâgma   sumphoràn   ékhei
       the.N.NOM.SG for lo deed.NOM.SG mishap.ACC.SC have.3SG.PRS
       'This matter is surely an unfortunate one.' (Euripides, *Helen* 93)

(668)   τὸ γάρ τοι θάνατον δεδιέναι
       tò   gár *toi* thánaton   dediénai
       the.N.NOM.SG for lo death.ACC.SG fear.PRF.INF
       'The fear of death...' (Plato, *Apology* 29a)

4) Examples (669)–(676) etc.

(669) τοιοῦτός τοι ἑταῖρος ἀνὴρ φίλος
toioûtós   *toi* hetaîros   anèr   phílos
such.M.NOM.SG lo companion.NOM.SG man.NOM.SG dear.M.NOM.SG
'Such a man (is) a dear companion.' (Theognis, *Elegies* 95; cf. Bergk's
hetaírōi)

(670) πολλῷ τοι πλέονας λιμοῦ κόρος ὤλεσεν ἤδη ἄνδρας
pollôi   *toi* pléonas   limoû   kóros
much.DAT.SG lo more.M.ACC.SG hunger.GEN.SG surfeit.NOM.SG
ólesen   édē   ándras
destroy.3SG.AOR already men.ACC.PL
'At present excess has ruined far more men than hunger.' (Theognis,
Elegies 605)

(671) διccαί τοι πόcιοc κῆρεc δειλοῖcι βροτοῖcιν
dissaí   *toi* pósios   kêres   deiloîsi
double.F.NOM.PL lo drink.GEN.SG doom.NOM.PL wretched.M.DAT.PL
brotoîsin
mortal.DAT.PL
'The perils of drink are twofold for wretched mortals.' (Theognis, *Elegies*
837)

(672) πολλοί τοι κίβδηλοι […] κρύπτουc(ι)
polloí   *toi* kíbdēloi   krúptous(i)
many.M.NOM.PL lo base.M.NOM.PL hide.3PL.PRS
'Many false men hide …' (Theognis, *Elegies* 965)[*]

(673) ῥηιδίη τοι πρῆξιc ἐν ἀνθρώποιc κακότητοc
rhēidíē   *toi* prêxis   en anthrṓpois   kakótētos
easy.F.NOM.SG lo practice.NOM.SG in person.DAT.PL badness.GEN.SG
'The practice of evil is easy for people.' (Theognis, *Elegies* 1027)

(674) δειλῶν τοι κραδίη γίγνεται ὀξυτέρη
deilôn   *toi* kradíē   gígnetai
wretched.M.GEN.PL lo heart.NOM.SG become.3SG.PRS.PASS
oxutérē
sharper.F.NOM.SG
'The heart of the wretched becomes sharper.' (Theognis, *Elegies* 1030)

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[*] *Translator's note*: The Teubner ed. (Hiller 1890) has *kíbdēlon*.

(675) Δία τοι ξένιον μέγαν αἰδοῦμαι
       Día   *toi* xénion   mégan   aidoûmai
       Zeus.ACC lo hospitable.M.ACC.SG great.M.ACC.SG revere.1SG.PRS.PASS
       'I revere great Zeus, protector of guests' (Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 363)

(676) ἀμήχανόν τοι κάλλος
       amékhanón   *toi* kállos
       immense.N.ACC.SG lo beauty.ACC.SG
       'immense beauty' (Plato, *Symposium* 218e; cf. also Euripides, *Orestes*
       1167)

Attic *toigártoí* is also a sign of the particle's forward movement. In Homer, *toigártoí* does not yet occur. In its place we have several instances of (677) (or another future verb), where it is easy to punctuate after *toigár*: "because it is so (*toí* = instrumental *tố* + *i*?), ...".

(677) τοιγὰρ ἐγώ τοι [...] καταλέξω
       toigàr   egố toi kataléxō
       therefore I   lo tell.1SG.FUT
       'Therefore I will tell ...'

In the post-Homeric period, *toi* – and also *oûn* – was attached directly to *toigár*; *toigártoí* is to *toigár ... toí* as Latin *utrumne* is to *utrum ... ne* (see below p314).

6 Postpositive particles: *án* in subordinate clauses

Similar to the enclitics is a group of words that Krüger (1871) appropriately calls postpositive particles, because they are just as incapable of appearing clause-initially as the enclitics: *án, ár, ára, aû, gár, dé, dêta, mén, mến, oûn, toínun*. Investigating the origins of this similarity is not the goal of my investigation. However, various factors appear to come into consideration: one of these particles, *aû* 'again, further' could have originally been a true enclitic, since it corresponds to the Sanskrit *u*, as I maintain against Kretschmer (1892: 364). Then, *toínun* 'therefore' is composed of two enclitics *toi* 'lo' and *nun* 'now'. The original, however, was, for example, *autós toí nun* 'self/same lo now'. It cannot be established how long *autòs toínun* 'self/same therefore' has been in use. For others it is conceivable that they were initially in general use postpositively, just like Latin *enim* 'namely' and, following this example, *namque* 'for/since' (*itaque* 'therefore/and so' following *igitur* 'therefore'). It is difficult to thus distinguish *án* from the Latin

and Gothic question particle *an*, which in both languages is prepositive. It seems plausible to say that in Greek the particle was drawn away *[p378]* from the first position in the clause and became postpositive under the influence of *ke* (IRR), with which it had become identical in meaning. Before our very eyes a similar change is happening with *dé* 'now/truly/exactly', which can introduce a clause in the language of Homer and the poets who follow his style, but which is already becoming decisively postpositive in Homer's writings and is exclusively postpositive in prose.

But for both types of particles – those that were enclitic from the start, like *aû*, and those that became postpositive under the influence of an enclitic, like *án* – the question arises of whether they participate in the special positional rule for enclitics that has been established through our investigation. For those that serve as sentence connectives – in fact, for all but *án* – it is recognized that they do so, and well known that, just like the actual enclitics, they are able to induce tmesis and similar, e.g. (678) and (679).

(678) κατ' αὖ νιν φοινία θεῶν τῶν νερτέρων ἀμᾷ κοπίϲ
       kat' *aû*   nin phoinía   theôn   tôn   nertérōn
       down again CL bloody.F.NOM.SG god.GEN.PL the.M.GEN.PL nether.GEN.PL
       amâi   kopís
       mow.3SG.PRS dust.NOM.SG
       'The blood-stained dust of the infernal gods cuts it down again'
       (Sophocles, *Antigone* 601)

(679) ἀν' αὖ βακχεύϲει Καδμείων πόλιν
       an' *aû*   bakkheúsei Kadmeíōn   pólin
       up again riot.3SG.FUT Cadmean.M.GEN.PL city.ACC.SG
       'He will run riot again through the Cadmeans' city.' (Euripides,
       Heracleidae 1085)

oûn 'then' often occurs between preposition and case, or between article and noun. *dé* 'but/and' does this quite regularly, and with this word the rule is at its most effective, since it takes precedence over all enclitics and enclitoids and only extremely rarely takes third position. For the other particles, the rule is subject to certain restrictions: *ára* 'so/then', for instance, follows the verb, e.g. (680), (681).

(680) Ἥρη δὲ μάϲτιγι θοῶϲ ἐπεμαίετ' ἄρ' ἵππουϲ
       Hḗrē   dè mástigi   thoôs epemaíet'   *ár'*
       Hera.NOM but whip.DAT.SG quickly touch.3SG.IMP.PASS then

híppous
horse.ACC.PL
'And Hera swiftly touched the horses with the lash.' (Homer, *Iliad* 5.748)

(681) πρότερον δὲ ἦν ἄρα ἀνώνυμος
próteron dè ên   ára anṓnumos
before   but be.3SG.IMP then anonymous.M.NOM.SG
'Before, it was apparently nameless.' (Herodotus 4.45.4)

oûn 'then' is often attracted by the preposition connected to a verb, and then occurs between it and the verb. This is found particularly often in Herodotus and Hippocrates: (682)–(684). The position of *dé* 'now/truly/exactly' is very free.

(682) ἐcπέρηc καθεύδοντα ἀπ' οὖν ἔδυcε
hespérēs   katheúdonta   ap' oûn éduse
evening.GEN.SG sleep.PTCP.PRS.M.ACC.SG of so clothe.3SG.AOR
'In the evening he undresses the one going to bed.' (Hipponax (?), Fragment 61)

(683) τήνῳ κυδάζομαί τε κἀπ' ὦν ἠχθόμαν
ténōi   kudázomaí   te kap'   ôn ēkhthóman
that.M.DAT.SG revile.1SG.PRS.PASS and and=of so grieve.1SG.IMP.PASS
'Then I revile him and am vexed.' (Epicharmus in Athenaeus 6.28)

(684) τάχα δὴ τάχα τοὶ μὲν ἀπ' ὦν ὄλοντο
tákha dè   tákha toì mèn ap' ôn ólonto
quickly exactly quickly lo then of so destroy.3PL.AOR.MID
'So they are ruined quickly, quickly.' (Melanippides in Athenaeus 10.34)*

án has a special position. Hermann (1831: 7) tells us "Given that *án* is not enclitic, but that it nevertheless cannot be placed in first position, it is clear that it must be placed after one of those words whose meaning it contributes to", and sharply contrasts *án* with *ke*. According to Hermann, the difference between the two can be observed as early as the works of Homer, based on the examples *[p379] Iliad* 7.125 ê ke *még' oimṓxeie* ((581) above), in which *ke* immediately follows ê, and (685), in which *án* attaches to the second word, *se*. This difference between *án* and *ken* is surprising. If the assumption that *án* became postpositive under the influence of *ke* is correct, then we should expect the position of *án* to be no different from that of *ken*.

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *oûn apṓllúonto*.

(685) ἦ ς’ ἂν τιςαίμην
   ê s’ *àn* tisaímēn
   in.truth you.ACC IRR pay.1SG.AOR.OPT.MID
   'Verily I would avenge me on thee' (Homer, *Iliad* 22.20)

Does the distinction reported by Hermann really exist, though? At any rate, it is not found in an extensive category of clauses, namely subordinate clauses with a subjunctive verb. For here immediate attachment to the clause-initial word is just as much the rule for *án* as it is for *ke(n)*. In this context *hóstis* 'who.M.NOM.SG' is counted as a single unitary word, as is *hopoîós tis*: (686), (687).

(686) ὁποῖ’ ἄττ’ ἂν καὶ μεμελετηκυῖαι τύχωςι
   hopoî’   átt’   *àn* kaì
   of.what.sort.N.NOM.PL whatever.N.ACC.PL IRR also
   memeletēkuîai   túkhōsi
   practise.PTCP.PRF.F.DAT.SG happen.3PL.AOR.SBJV
   '... which correspond to the practices ...' (Plato, *Phaedo* 81e)

(687) ὁποῖοί τινες ἂν οἱ προστάται ὦςι
   hopoîoí   tines   *àn* hoi   prostátai
   of.what.sort.M.NOM.PL some.M.NOM.PL IRR the.M.NOM.PL leader.NOM.PL
   ôsi
   be.3PL.PRS.SBJV
   '... as the leaders are ...' (Xenophon, *Ways* 1)

Furthermore, certain particles that themselves are required to appear at the start of the clause, namely *gár*, *ge*, *dé*, *mén*, *-per*, and *te*, regularly precede *án*; there are also isolated examples of *dé* 'exactly' behaving like this, e.g. (688), as well as *méntoi* 'yet', e.g. (689), and *oûn* 'so', e.g. (690) (although Herodotus in some instances gives *án* precedence over *mén* and *dé* 'but', e.g. (691)–(693)).

(688) οἳ δὲ δὴ ἂν δόξωςι διαφερόντως προκεκρίςθαι
   hoì   dè *dè* *àn* dóxōsi   diapheróntōs
   who.M.NOM.PL but exactly IRR seem.3SG.AOR.SBJV differently
   prokekrísthai
   prejudge.PRF.INF.PASS
   'But whichever ones seem to have been found excellent ...' (Plato, *Phaedo* 114b)*

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* *Translator's note*: *prokekrísthai* not in Perseus edition

(689) οἵ γε μέντ' ἂν αὐτῶν φεύγωσι

hoí   ge   *mént' àn* autôn   pheúgōsi

who.M.NOM.PL even yet   IRR them.GEN flee.3PL.PRS.SBJV

'... while whichever of them flee ...' (Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 2.1.9)

(690) ὁπότερος οὖν ἂν τῇ πόλει παραινέσειν μέλλει τι χρηστόν

hopóteros   *oûn àn* têi   pólei   parainésein

which.M.NOM.SG so   IRR the.F.DAT.SG city.DAT.SG advise.3SG.AOR.SBJV

méllei   ti   khrēstón

be.going.to.3SG.PRS something.NOM.SG useful.N.NOM.SG

'Whichever one advises the city is going to be of some use.'
(Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1420)*

(691) ὃς ἂν δὲ τῶν ἀστῶν λέπρην [...] ἔχῃ

hòs   *àn dè* tôn   astôn   léprēn

who.M.NOM.SG IRR then the.M.GEN.PL townsman.GEN.PL leprosy.ACC.SG

ékhēi

have.3SG.PRS.SBJV

'And whoever among the citizens has leprosy ...' (Herodotus 1.138.1)

(692) ὃς ἂν μέν νυν τῶν πυλωρῶν ἑκὼν παρίῃ

hòs   *àn mén* nun tôn   pulōrôn

who.M.NOM.SG IRR then now the.M.GEN.PL guard.GEN.PL

hekṑn   paríēi

willing.M.NOM.SG pass.3SG.PRS.SBJV

'Now whoever of the guards willingly admits us ...' (Herodotus 3.72.5)

(693) ὃς ἂν δὲ ἔχων ἥκῃ

hòs   *àn dè* ékhōn   hḗkēi

who.M.NOM.SG IRR then have.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG arrive.3SG.PRS.SBJV

'And whoever comes having ...' (Herodotus 7.8D.1)

But *án* takes precedence over all other words. The inexcusable counterexample
(694), which cannot be explained away, has long since been corrected by Mätzner
(1838: 78) based on the Oxoniensis manuscript's *àn mēnúēi*.

(694) καθ' ὧν μηνύῃ ἄν τις

kath' hôn   mēnúēi   *án* tis

down whom.GEN.PL inform.3SG.PRS.SBJV IRR someone.M.NOM.SG

'... against whom someone informs ...' (Antiphon 5.38)

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *mâllon*.

In Nauck (1889: 688) we encounter the even more unexpected verses in (695). Dümmler (p.c.) proposes *àn pléon* 'IRR more' instead of the problematic *mâllon àn*. Or should *thélēis* be changed to *thélois*?

(695) ἀρετὴ δ᾽ ὅcῳπερ μᾶλλον ἂν χρῆcθαι θέλῃc, τοcῷδε μείζων γίγνεται
       καθ᾽ ἡμέραν
       aretḕ   d' hósōiper   mâllon *àn* khrêsthai
       goodness.VOC.SG then how.much.DAT.SG more   IRR use.PRS.INF.PASS
       thélēis,   tosôide   meízōn   gígnetai
       want.2SG.PRS.SBJV so.much.DAT.SG greater.M.NOM.SG become.3SG.PRS
       kath' hēméran
       down day.ACC.SG
       'And, Your Excellency, however much more you wish to use, it becomes
       greater by so much day by day.' (Euripides, Fragment 1029)

We are on firmer ground with the correction of a third example where *án* is wrongly placed, (696). We should simply reorder this to read *hē phárunx hopóson àn hēmôn*, which does not negatively affect the reply in verse 264 ((697)).

(696) ὁπόcον ἡ φάρυγξ ἂν ἡμῶν χανδάνῃ
       hopóson hē   phárunx *àn* hēmôn khandánēi
       as.much the.F.NOM.SG throat.NOM.SG IRR us.GEN contain.3SG.PRS.SBJV
       '… as much as ever our throats can hold.' (Aristophanes, *Frogs* 259)

(697) οὐδέποτε· κεκράξομαι γάρ
       oudépote; kekráxomai   gár
       nor.ever   croak.1SG.FPRF then
       '… never, for I will croak …' (Aristophanes, *Frogs* 264)

The attachment of *án* to the connective has become very close in Ionic *én* [p380] and Attic *án*, in which the usual *eán* 'if' has arisen through *ei* 'if' repeatedly preceding *án*, and in *hótan, epeidán, epán* = Ionic *epén* 'whenever', where the requirement for *án* to be preceded by no more than one word is lost.

But in other clause types there is also no difference to be observed between the positions of *án* and *ke(n)* in the earliest texts. In main clauses, as well as in indicative and optative subordinate clauses, we find that *án* in Homer follows the positional rule of the enclitics. There are only a few cases in which *án* strays from the rule. First, following *ou*: (698)–(702).

(698) τῶν οὐκ ἄν τι φέροις
       tôn   ouk *án* ti   phérois
       the.N.GEN.PL not IRR something.N.ACC.SG bear.2SG.PRS.OPT
       '... nothing will you take ...' (Homer, *Iliad* 1.301)

(699) πληθὺν δ᾽ οὐκ ἄν ἐγὼ μυθήσομαι οὐδ᾽ ὀνομήνω
       plēthùn   d᾽ ouk *àn* egṑ   muthésomai   oud᾽
       multitude.ACC.SG then not IRR I.NOM tell.1SG.AOR.SBJV.MID nor
       onomḗnō
       name.1SG.AOR.SBJV
       'But the common folk I could not tell nor name' (Homer, *Iliad* 2.488)

(700) ἑκὼν δ᾽ οὐκ ἄν τις ἕλοιτο
       hekṑn   d᾽ ouk *án* tis
       willing.M.NOM.SG then not IRR someone.M.NOM.SG
       héloito
       take.3SG.AOR.OPT.MID
       '... whereas by his own will could no man win them.' (Homer, *Iliad* 3.66)

(701) τὸ μὲν οὐκ ἄν ἐγώ ποτε μὰψ ὀμόσαιμι
       tò   mèn ouk *àn* egṓ   pote   màps omósaimi
       the.N.ACC.SG then not IRR I.NOM sometime vainly swear.1SG.AOR.OPT
       '... whereby I verily would never forswear myself' (Homer, *Iliad* 15.40)

(702) ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄν ἐφορμηθέντε γε νῶϊ τλαῖεν ἐναντίβιον στάντες μαχέσασθαι
       Ἄρηι
       epeì ouk *àn* ephormēthénte   ge   nôï
       since not IRR rouse.PTCP.AOR.PASS.M.ACC.DU even us.ACC.DU
       tlaîen   enantíbion stántes
       endure.3PL.AOR.OPT opposing   stand.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.PL
       makhésasthai   Árēi
       fight.AOR.INF.MID Ares.DAT
       '... seeing the men would not abide the oncoming of us two, and stand to
       contend with us in battle.' (Homer, *Iliad* 17.489)

Now, we have already observed repeatedly that enclitics tend to attach af-
ter negation. And if this phenomenon is less often seen with *ke* than with *án*,
we should remember Fick's (1831: xxiii) remark that *ouk an*, which occurs strik-
ingly often in the transmitted text, often appears to occur in the place of *ou ken*.

(Against this, however, see Monro 1891: 330.) There are three other relevant examples, one with *kaì án*: (703), while in (704) the *kaì án* can be viewed as the start of a new clause.

(703) ὃς νῦν γε καὶ ἂν Διὶ πατρὶ μάχοιτο
hòs   nûn ge   *kaì àn* Diì   patrì
who.M.NOM.SG now even also IRR Zeus.DAT father.DAT.SG
mákhoito
fight.3SG.PRS.OPT.PASS
'... that would now fight even with father Zeus.' (Homer, *Iliad* 5.362; cf. also 5.457)

(704) ἄλλον μέν κεν ἔγωγε θεῶν αἰειγενετάων ῥεῖα κατευνήσαιμι καὶ ἂν ποταμοῖο ῥέεθρα Ὠκεανοῦ
állon   mén ken égōge   theôn   aieigenetáōn
other.M.ACC.SG then IRR I.NOM.EMPH god.GEN.PL everlasting.M.GEN.PL
rheîa kateunḗsaimi   *kaì àn* potamoîo   rhéethra   Ōkeanoû
easily lull.1SG.AOR.OPT also IRR river.GEN.SG stream.ACC.PL Ocean.GEN.SG
'... another of the gods, that are for ever, might I lightly lull to sleep, aye, were it even the streams of the river Oceanus' (Homer, *Iliad* 14.244)

One with *tákh' án*: (705). (Cf. *tákh' án* at the beginning of the clause in (706)).

(705) ἧς ὑπεροπλίῃσι τάχ᾽ ἂν ποτε θυμὸν ὀλέσσῃ
hêis   huperoplíēisi   *tákh'* *án* pote   thumòn
his.F.DAT.PL insolence.DAT.PL quickly IRR sometime spirit.ACC.SG
oléssēi
destroy.3SG.AOR.SBJV
'Through his own excessive pride shall he presently lose his life.' (Homer, *Iliad* 1.205)

(706) τάχ᾽ ἂν ποτε καὶ τίσις εἴη
tákh' *án* pote   kaì tísis   eíē
quickly IRR sometime also compensation.NOM.SG be.3SG.PRS.OPT
'Recompense would haply be made some day' (Homer, *Odyssey* 2.76)

Finally one with *tót' án*: (707). (Cf. *tót' án* at the beginning of the clause in Homer, *Iliad* 18.397, 24.213,* and *Odyssey* 9.211).

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has a different reading.

(707) ἐμοὶ δὲ τότ' ἂν πολὺ κέρδιον εἴη

        emoì   dè *tót'* *àn* polù kérdion   eíē

        me.DAT but then IRR much better.N.NOM.SG be.3SG.PRS.OPT

        '… but for me it were better far …' (Homer, *Iliad* 22.108)

These few examples, however, are certainly not enough to justify Hermann's clear-cut division between *án* and *ke*(*n*). His own example (Hermann 1831: 7), *ê s' àn tisaímēn* 'truly you IRR pay.1PL.OPT' as opposed to *ê ke még' oimṓxeie* 'truly IRR greatly wail.3SG.OPT', demonstrates nothing, because *s*(*e*) is enclitic.* Similarly, of course, no conclusions can be drawn from *eí per án* 'if all IRR' as opposed to example (708). Compare, moreover, the collocations *óphr' àn mén ken* 'that IRR then IRR' and *oút' án ken* 'nor IRR IRR', although admittedly these are contested.†

(708) αἴ κέ περ ὔμμι φίλον καὶ ἡδὺ γένοιτο

        aí *ké* per úmmi   phílon   kaì hēdù

        if IRR all you.DAT.PL dear.N.NOM.SG and sweet.N.NOM.SG

        génoito

        become.3SG.AOR.OPT.MID

        '… if haply it be your wish and your good pleasure …' (Homer, *Iliad* 7.387)

Post-Homeric literature has *án* firmly following the old rule in subjunctive subordinate clauses. Its *[p381]* use in subordinate clauses of other moods is more variable. However, even here *án* attached firmly to the first word in certain cases. The compounds *hōs án* 'as IRR', *hópōs án* 'so IRR', and *hṓsper án* 'like IRR' are particularly worthy of consideration in this connection.

The situation is clearest in final and consecutive clauses beginning with *hōs* 'as' and *hópōs* 'so' and containing the optative or indicative with *án*, thanks to the collections that Weber (1884; 1885) has assembled and published. In such clauses we have *hōs án* adjacent to each other not only in Homer (e.g. (709)) but also in (710)–(718), and in (719), in which *hōs án* should probably be read as consecutive.

(709) ὡς ἂν πύρνα κατὰ μνηστῆρας ἀγείροι

        hōs àn púrna   katà mnēstêras   ageíroi

        as   IRR bread.ACC.PL down suitor.ACC.PL gather.3SG.PRS.OPT

        '… to go among the wooers and gather bits of bread …' (Homer, *Odyssey* 17.362)

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* *Translator's note*: These two examples are also included above as (685) and (581) respectively.

† *Translator's note*: See e.g. *Iliad* 11.187 and 13.127 respectively.

(710)   ὡς ἄν καὶ γέρων ἠράccατο
    hōs àn kaì gérōn   ērássato
    as   IRR also old.M.NOM.SG love.3SG.AOR.MID
    '... that even an old man should love' (Archilochus, Fragment 30)

(711)   ὡς ἄν cε θωϊὴ λάβοι
    hōs án se   thōïề   láboi
    as   IRR you.ACC penalty.NOM.SG take.3SG.AOR.OPT
    '... that a penalty should overtake you' (Archilochus, Fragment 101)

(712)   ὡς ἄν θεᾷ πρῶτοι κτίcαιεν βωμόν
    hōs àn theâi   prôtoi   ktísaien   bōmón
    as   IRR goddess.DAT.SG first.M.NOM.PL build.3PL.AOR.OPT altar.ACC.SG
    '... that they should be the first to build an altar for the goddess' (Pindar,
    Olympian Ode 7.42)

(713)   ὡς ἄν ποταθείην
    hōs àn potatheíēn
    as   IRR soar.1SG.AOR.OPT.PASS
    '... that I might soar ...' (Aristophanes, *Birds* 1338)*

(714)   ὡς ἄν πυνθανόμενοι πλεῖcτοι cυνέλθοιεν Cπαρτιητέων
    hōs àn punthanómenoi   pleîstoi
    as   IRR learn.PTCP.PRS.PASS.M.NOM.PL most.M.NOM.PL
    sunélthoien   Spartiētéōn
    assemble.3PL.AOR.OPT Spartan.GEN.PL
    '... so that as many as possible of the Spartans might assemble to hear
    him' (Herodotus 1.152.1; cf. also 5.37.2, 7.176.4, 8.7.1, 9.22.3, 9.51.3)

(715)   ὡς ἄν μάλιcτα τὸν υἱὸν ἐχθρὸν ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῇ πόλει ποιήcειε
    hōs àn málista tòn   huiòn   ekhthròn   heautôi   kaì
    as   IRR most   the.M.ACC.SG son.ACC.SG enemy.ACC.SG himself.DAT and
    têi   pólei   poiéseie
    the.F.DAT.SG city.DAT make.3SG.AOR.OPT
    '... so as best to make his son an enemy of himself and of the city'
    ([Andocides] 4.23)

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *ampotatheíēn.*

(716) ὡς ἂν μάλιστα αὐτὸς ὁ δεδεμένος ξυλλήπτωρ εἴη τοῦ δεδέϲθαι
       hōs àn málista autòs   ho
       as IRR most   same.M.NOM.SG the.M.NOM.SG
       dedeménos   xulléptōr   eíē
       bind.PTCP.PRF.PASS.M.NOM.SG accomplice.NOM.SG be.3SG.PRS.OPT
       toû   dedésthai
       the.N.GEN.SG bind.PRF.INF.PASS
       '… so that the prisoner himself would be the greatest assistant in his
       imprisonment' (Plato, *Phaedo* 82e)

(717) τοῖϲ μὲν κοϲμίοιϲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ὡϲ ἂν κοϲμιώτεροι γίγνοιντο οἱ
       μή πω ὄντεϲ, δεῖ χαρίζεϲθαι
       toîs   mèn kosmíois   tôn   anthrṓpōn,   kaì *hōs*
       the.M.DAT.PL then orderly.M.DAT.PL the.M.GEN.PL person.GEN.PL and as
       àn kosmiṓteroi   gígnointo   hoi   mḗ pō
       IRR orderly.COMP.M.NOM.PL become.3PL.PRS.OPT the.M.NOM.PL not yet
       óntes,   deî   kharízesthai
       be.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.PL lack.3SG.PRS gratify.PRS.INF.PASS
       'It is necessary to indulge the orderly, and so that those who are not yet
       so may become more orderly.' (Plato, *Symposium* 187d)

(718) δοκῶ μοι […] ἔχειν μηχανήν, ὡϲ ἂν εἶεν ἄνθρωποι καὶ παύϲαιντο τῆϲ
       ἀκολαϲίαϲ
       dokô   moi   ékhein   mēkhanḗn,   *hōs àn* eîen
       think.1SG.PRS me.DAT have.PRS.INF means.ACC.SG as IRR be.3PL.PRS.OPT
       ánthrōpoi   kaì paúsainto   tês   akolasías
       person.NOM.PL and stop.3PL.AOR.MID the.F.GEN.SG intemperance.GEN.SG
       'I think I have a means for man to be and yet cease his iniquity.' (Plato,
       Symposium 190c)*

(719) ὡϲ δ' ἂν ἐξεταϲθείη μάλιϲτ' ἀκριβῶϲ, μὴ γένοιτο
       hōs d' *àn* exetastheíē   málist' akribôs, mè
       as then IRR examine.3SG.AOR.OPT.PASS most   strictly not
       génoito
       become.3SG.AOR.OPT.MID
       'May it not come to pass that this be tested in the severest way.'
       (Demosthenes 6.37)

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* *Translator's note*: The Persus ed. has *eîen te* for *eîen*.

Very frequent in Xenophon, the only Attic prose writer who often connects *hōs* with *án* and the optative in a purely final sense. Of the seventeen examples given in Weber (1885: 83ff.), fourteen have *án* immediately after *hōs*, and only three are separated from it: final (720) and (721), and consecutive (722). These are the only three cases in which the tradition demanding adjacency of *hōs* and *án* is broken.

(720) ὡς μηδενὸς ἂν δέοιτο
       hōs mēdenòs   *àn* déoito
       as   nothing.GEN.SG IRR lack.3SG.PRS.OPT
       '... so that he should lack for nothing' (Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 5.1.18)[*]

(721) ὡς ὅτι ἥκιστα ἂν ἐπιφθόνοις σπάνιος τε καὶ σεμνὸς φανείη
       hōs hóti hḗkista *àn* epiphthónois   spánios   te kaì
       as   that least   IRR envious.M.DAT.PL rare.M.NOM.SG and and
       semnòs   phaneíē
       solemn.M.NOM.SG show.3SG.AOR.OPT.PASS
       '... in such a way that he would appear seldom and solemnly, and with as little envy as possible.' (Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 7.5.37)[†]

(722) ὡς πᾶς ἂν ἔγνω, ὅτι ἀσμένη ἤκουσε
       hōs pâs   *àn* égnō,   hóti asménē   ḗkouse
       as   all.M.NOM.SG IRR know.3SG.AOR that glad.F.NOM.SG hear.3SG.AOR
       '... so that everyone would know that she was glad to hear' (Xenophon, *Symposium* 9.3)

However, according to the transmitted manuscripts, there are a further two examples from Euripidean verse: (723) and (724). But the first verse has been treated with suspicion by critics since Markland (1811: 178), and in the *[p382]* second the usual reading is *hōs esidoíman.*[‡] (In (725), *hōs* is relative.)

(723) ὡς δὴ σκότος λαβόντες ἐκσωθεῖμεν ἂν
       hōs dè   skótos   labóntes   eksōtheîmen
       as   exactly dark.ACC.SG take.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.PL save.1PL.AOR.OPT.PASS
       án
       IRR
       '... so that we might keep safe using the darkness' (Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris* 1025)[§]

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(724) Ἀχαιῶν cτρατιὰν ὡc ἴδοιμ᾽ ἄν
       Akhaiôn   stratiàn   *hōs* ídoim᾽   *án*
       Achaean.GEN.PL army.ACC.SG as   see.1SG.AOR.OPT IRR
       '... so that I might see the army of the Achaeans' (Euripides, *Iphigenia in*
       Aulis 171)

(725) οὕτω προΐῃ, ὡc μάλιcτ᾽ ἂν [...] ποιοίη
       hoútō proḯēi,   *hōs* málist᾽ *àn* poioíē
       so   proceed.3SG.PRS.SBJV as   most   IRR make.3SG.PRS.OPT
       '... so proceed as best to make ...' (Plato, *Gorgias* 453c)

The collocation *hópōs an* 'so IRR' is even more fixed in such clauses: (726)–
(730).

(726) ὅπωc ἄν μήτε πρὸ καιροῦ μήθ᾽ ὑπὲρ ἄcτρων βέλοc ἠλίθιον cκήψειεν
       hópōs án méte prò   kairoû   méth᾽ hupèr ástrōn
       so   IRR nor   before point.GEN.SG nor   over star.GEN.PL
       bélos   ēlíthion   sképseien
       dart.NOM.SG vain.N.NOM.SG land.3SG.AOR.OPT
       '... so that his bolt would not land in vain either short of the target or
       beyond the stars.' (Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 364)

(727) ὅκωc ἂν τὸ cτρατόπεδον ἱδρυμένον κατὰ νώτου λάβοι
       hókōs àn tò   stratópedon hidruménon   katà
       so   IRR the.N.ACC.SG camp.ACC.SG settle.PTCP.PRF.PASS.N.ACC.SG down
       nótou   láboi
       back.GEN.SG take.3SG.AOR.OPT
       '... so that it would arrive behind where the camp was situated.'
       (Herodotus 1.75.5; see also 1.91.2, 1.110.3, 2.126.1, 3.44.1, 5.98.4, 8.13.1)

(728) ὅπωc ἂν ἀπολιcθάνοι καὶ μὴ ἔχοι ἀντιλαβὴν ἡ χείρ
       hópōs àn apolisthánoi   kaì mè́ ékhoi   antilabè̀n
       so   IRR slip.off.3SG.PRS.OPT and not have.3SG.PRS.OPT hold.ACC.SG
       hē   kheír
       the.F.NOM.SG hand.NOM.SG
       '... so that the hook would slip off and not take hold.' (Thucydides 7.65.2)

(729) ὅπως ἂν περιλάβοιμ᾽ αὐτῶν τινα
       hópōs àn periláboim'   autôn   tina
       so   IRR catch.1SG.AOR.OPT them.GEN someone.M.ACC.SG
       '... so that I might catch one of them.' (Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazusae* 881)*

(730) ὅπως ἂν εὐδαιμονοίης
       hópōs àn eudaimonoíēs
       so   IRR prosper.2SG.PRS.OPT
       '... for you to be happy.' (Plato, *Lysis* 207e)

Very frequent in Xenophon, twelve times (not counting *hópōs* 'how' following verbs of advising and thinking) according to the evidence of Weber (1885: 83ff.), and always such that *án* immediately follows *hópōs*; (731) is a typical case.

(731) σκοπῶ, ὅπως ἂν ὁ μὲν παῖς ὅδε ὁ σὸς καὶ ἡ παῖς ἥδε ὡς ῥᾷστα διάγοιεν,
       ἡμεῖς δ᾽ ἂν μάλιστα (ἂν) εὐφραινοίμεθα
       skopô,   *hópōs àn* ho   mèn paîs
       consider.1SG.PRS so   IRR the.M.NOM.SG then child.NOM.SG
       hóde   ho   sòs   kaì hē
       this.M.NOM.SG the.M.NOM.SG your.M.NOM.SG and the.F.NOM.SG
       paîs   hēde   hōs rhâista   diágoien,
       child.NOM.SG this.F.NOM.SG as easily.SUPL continue.3PL.PRS.OPT
       hēmeîs d'   àn málista (àn) euphrainoímetha
       we.NOM then IRR most   IRR cheer.1PL.PRS.OPT.PASS
       'I am considering how this boy of yours and this girl could proceed as easily as possible while we took the most pleasure.' (Xenophon, *Symposium* 7.2)

In (732), the subjunctive *apallagē* recommended by Herwerden (1880: 75–76) and Weber (1885: 3) is too short for the gap in the inscription, whose extent can be determined by the spelling *stoikhēdon*.

(732) ὅπως ἂν ὁ δῆμο[ς ἀπαλλαγείη τ]οῦ πολέμου
       hópōs àn ho   dêmo[s   apallageíē
       so   IRR the.M.NOM.SG people.NOM.SG deliver.3SG.AOR.OPT.PASS
       t]oû   polémou
       the.M.GEN.SG war.GEN.SG
       '...so that the people may be delivered from war.' (CIA 2.300.20; Köhler 1877: 123–124, 295/4 BCE)

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has interrog. *pôs ... ?*.

After all of this there can be no doubt that Hermann (1816: 746) and Velsen (1883: 77) are wrong to want to read Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazusae* 916 as (733), and that, if *án* is to be inserted here at all, it should be in its normal position immediately following *hópōs*.

(733) ὅπως cαυτῆc <ἂν> κατόναι(ο)
      hópōs sautês   *<àn>* katónai(o)
      so   yourself.F.GEN.SG IRR   bless.2SG.AOR.OPT.MID
      '... so you may be blessed.' (Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazusae* 916)

Similar to final clauses with *hōs* and *hópōs* are indirect questions in the optative and containing *án*, introduced by the same particles or by *pôs* 'how'.
a) *hōs án* are immediately adjacent: (734)–(736). The only deviation, as far as I can tell, is the second part of the Demosthenian example (737). On Demosthenes 10.45 see below (example (750)).

(734) ἐὰν οἷοί τε γενώμεθα εὑρεῖν, ὡς ἂν ἐγγύτατα τῶν εἰρημένων πόλις
      οἰκήσειεν
      eàn hoîoí   te   genṓmetha   heureîn,   *hōs*
      if   such.as.M.NOM.PL and become.1PL.AOR.SBJV.MID find.AOR.INF as
      àn engútata tôn   eirēménōn   pólis
      IRR nearest   the.N.GEN.PL say.PTCP.PRF.PASS.N.GEN.PL city.NOM.SG
      oikḗseien
      settle.3SG.AOR.OPT
      'If such as we may come to find how a state may be governed as closely
      as possible to what has been said ...' (Plato, *Republic* 5.473a)

(735) διδάcκει, ὡς ἂν καλλιcτά τις αὐτῇ χρῷτο
      didáskei,   *hōs àn* kallistá   tis   autêi
      teach.3SG.PRS as   IRR well.SUPL someone.M.NOM.SG her.DAT.SG
      khrôito
      use.3SG.PRS.OPT.PASS
      'She teaches how one may treat her best.'
      (Xenophon, *Oeconomicus* 19.18)

(736) τἄλλ' ὡς ἂν μοι βέλτιcτα καὶ τάχιcτα δοκεῖ παραcκευαcθῆναι, καὶ δὴ
      πειράcομαι λέγειν
      tâll'   *hōs àn* moi   béltista kaì   tákhista
      the=other.N.ACC.PL as   IRR me.DAT best   and fastest

dokeî paraskeuasthênai, kaì dề peirásomai
seem.3SG.PRS.IND equip.AOR.INF.PASS also exactly try.1SG.FUT.MID
légein
say.PRS.INF
'I shall now attempt to speak of providing the rest in the way that seems best and fastest to me.' (Demosthenes 4.13; cf. also 20.87)

(737)   ὡς μὲν ἂν εἴποιτε καὶ [...] cυνεῖτε, ἄμεινον Φιλίππου παρεcκεύαcθε, ὡς δὲ κωλύcαιτ' ἂν ἐκεῖνον [...], παντελῶc ἀργῶc ἔχετε
hōs mèn *àn* eípoite kaì suneîte, ámeinon
as   then IRR say.2PL.AOR.OPT and perceive.2PL.AOR.OPT better
Philíppou pareskeúasthe, *hōs* dè kōlúsait' *àn*
Philip.GEN equip.2PL.PRF.PASS as   but hinder.2PL.AOR.OPT IRR
ekeînon pantelôs argôs ékhete
that.M.ACC.SG completely idly   have.2PL.PRS
'While you are better equipped than Philip for speaking and listening, as for hindering him you remain completely idle.' (Demosthenes 6.3)

   b) *hópōs án* are immediately adjacent: (738). Also frequent in Xenophon: (739). Likewise *Anabasis [p383]* 3.2.27, 4.3.14, and 5.7.20, *Hellenica* 2.3.13, 3.2.1, 7.1.27, and 7.1.33, and *Cyropaedia* 1.4.13 and 2.1.4. I have no counterexamples to hand. (Cf., however, (740).)

(738)   οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπωc ἄν τιc αὐτὰ νομίcειε μὴ ἐόντα
ouk oîd' *hópōs án* tis autà
not know.1SG.PRF so   IRR someone.M.NOM.SG them.N.ACC.PL
nomíseie mề eónta
consider.3SG.AOR.OPT not be.PTCP.PRS.N.ACC.PL
'I do not know how anyone could consider them not to be so.'
([Hippocrates,] *De arte*; Gomperz 1890: 42, line 20)

(739)   τὸν γὰρ θεῶν πόλεμον οὐκ οἶδα [...], ὅπωc ἄν εἰc ἐχυρὸν χωρίον ἀποcταίη
tòn gàr theôn pólemon ouk oîda *hópōs àn*
the.M.ACC.SG then god.GEN.PL war.ACC.SG not know.1SG.PRF so   IRR
eis ekhuròn khōríon apostaíē
into secure.N.ACC.SG place.ACC.SG withdraw.3SG.AOR.OPT
'For in war with the gods I know not how one could withdraw to a place of safety.' (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 2.5.7)

(740) ὡς τύχω μαντευμάτων, ὅπη νεὼς cτείλαιμ' ἂν οὔριον πτερόν
       hōs túkhō   manteumátōn, hópēi   neòs
       as   happen.1SG.AOR.SBJV oracle.GEN.PL whereby ship.GEN.SG
       steílaim'   àn oúrion   pterón
       prepare.1s.AOR.OPT IRR fair-winded.N.ACC.SG wing.ACC.SG
       '... so I might obtain an oracle: how I should steer a favourable course ...'
       (Euripides, *Helen* 146)

c) *pôs an* are immediately adjacent, e.g. (741) and (742). I have no counterexamples here either.

(741) cυνεβουλεύτο, πῶc ἂν τὴν μάχην ποιοῖτο
       sunebouleúto,   pôs àn tèn   mákhēn
       counsel.3SG.IMP.PASS how IRR the.F.ACC.SG battle.ACC.SG
       poioîto
       make.3SG.PRS.OPT.PASS
       'He took counsel as to how he should fight the battle.' (Xenophon,
       Anabasis 1.7.2)[*]

(742) εἰ [...] ἐcκόπει [...], πῶc ἂν ἄριcτ' ἐναντιωθείη τῇ εἰρήνῃ
       ei eskópei   pôs àn árist' enantiōtheíē   têi
       if consider.3SG.IMP how IRR best oppose.3SG.AOR.OPT.PASS the.F.DAT.SG
       eirḗnēi
       peace.DAT.SG
       'If he had considered how he might best oppose the peace ...'
       (Demosthenes 19.14)

But also the relativizer *hōs, hṓsper* 'as, how' shows the property of bonding *án* tightly to itself. To begin with *hōs*, it is true that we have cases such as (743)–(750).

(743) ὡς μάλιcτ' ἂν ἐν πόθῳ λάβοιc
       hōs málist' àn en póthōi   lábois
       as most IRR in longing.DAT.SG take.2SG.AOR.OPT
       'Just as you might have most longed for' (Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus*
       1678)

(744) ὡς εἰκὸc δόξειεν ἂν εἶναι παρόντι πένθει
       hōs eikòs   dóxeien   àn eînai
       as resemble.PTCP.PRF.N.NOM.SG seem.3SG.AOR.OPT IRR be.PRS.INF

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[*] *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition adds *te* after the first word.

parónti pénthei
be.present.PTCP.PRS.M.DAT.SG mourning.DAT
'... as might seem to be likely for one present at a scene of mourning'
(Plato, *Phaedo* 59a)

(745) ὡς ἡμεῖς φαῖμεν ἄν
hōs hēmeîs phaîmen *án*
as we.NOM say.1PL.PRS.OPT IRR
'... as we may say ...' (Plato, *Phaedo* 118a)

(746) ὡς ἀπὸ τούτων ἄν τις εἰκάσειεν
hōs apò toútōn *án* tis eikáseien
as of this.N.GEN.PL IRR someone.M.NOM.SG represent.3SG.AOR.OPT
'... as one might infer from this.' (Plato, *Symposium* 190a)

(747) ὡς γοῦν ἐγὼ φαίην ἄν
hōs goûn egò phaíēn *án*
as at.least I.NOM say.1SG.PRS.OPT IRR
'So I should say, at least.' (Plato, *Philebus* 15c)

(748) ὥς γ' ἡμεῖς ἂν οἰηθεῖμεν
hṓs g' hēmeîs *àn* oiētheîmen
as even we.NOM IRR think.1PL.AOR.OPT.PASS
'... which we might otherwise suppose.' (Plato, *Laws* 4.712c)

(749) θᾶττον ἢ ὥς τις ἂν ᾤετο
thâtton è *hṓs* tis *àn* óieto
faster than as someone.M.NOM.SG IRR think.3SG.IMP.PASS
'... faster than one would have imagined' (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1.5.8)

(750) ὡς μὲν οὖν εἴποι τις ἄν, [...] ταῦτ' ἴσως ἐστιν
hōs mèn oûn eípoi tis *án*, taût'
as then so say.3SG.AOR.OPT someone.M.NOM.SG IRR this.N.NOM.PL
ísōs estin
perhaps be.3SG.PRS
'So while this is perhaps what one might say ...' ([Demosthenes] 10.45)

   (The remainder of the sentence in (750), given in (751), contains interrogative *hōs*.)

(751) ὡς δὲ καὶ γένοιτ' ἄν, νόμῳ διορθώςαςθαι δεῖ
       hōs dè kaì génoit'   *án*, nómōi
       as   but also become.3SG.AOR.OPT.MID IRR law.DAT.SG
       diorthṓsasthai   deî
       arrange.AOR.INF.MID need.3SG.PRS
       'It is necessary to arrange by law how it should come about.'
       ([Demosthenes] 10.45)*

However, in opposition to these we have not only the examples in (752)–(756); rather, we should also take into account the elliptical use of *hōs án*, which only makes sense if the close connection between *hōs* and *án* was firmly ingrained into linguistic consciousness. In fact, with such uses the verb of the main clause is to be understood as repeated in optative form, and we find such repetition realized in (754) and (755).

(752) ἐκόντες, ὡς ἂν ἄριςτα περὶ τῶν οἰκείων βουλεύςαιντο, πρὸς τὴν
       δύναμιν τὴν αὑτῶν εὖ ποιοῦςιν
       hekóntes,   *hōs àn* árista perì tôn   oikeíōn
       willing.M.NOM.PL as   IRR best   about the.N.GEN.PL domestic.N.GEN.PL
       bouleúsainto,   pròs tèn   dúnamin   tèn
       counsel.3PL.AOR.OPT.MID to   the.F.ACC.SG power.ACC.SG the.F.ACC.SG
       hautôn   eû   poioûsin
       themselves.GEN well do.3PL.PRS
       'They do good willingly, as seems advisable according to their interests,
       to the best of their own ability.' (Plato, *Phaedrus* 231a; cf. also Plato,
       Apology 34c)

(753) ὡς ἂν ςυντομώτατ' εἴποι τις
       hōs àn suntomṓtat' eípoi   tis
       as   IRR briefly.SUPL say.3SG.AOR.OPT someone.M.NOM.SG
       '... as one might say as briefly as possible ...' (Demosthenes 27.7)

(754) ςτέρξας ὡς ἂν υἱόν τις ςτέρξαι
       stérxas   *hōs án* huión   tis
       love.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG as   IRR son.ACC.SG someone.M.NOM.SG
       stérxai
       love.3SG.AOR.OPT
       '... having loved as one might love a son ...' (Demosthenes 39.22)

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *en* for *án*.

(755) οὐδὲ μεμαρτύρηκεν ἀπλῶς, ὡς ἄν τις τἀληθῆ μαρτυρήσειε
οὐδὲ memartúrēken haplôs, *hōs án* tis
nor   testify.3SG.PRF simply as IRR someone.M.NOM.SG
talēthê   marturéseie
the=true.N.ACC.PL testify.3SG.AOR.OPT
'... nor has (anyone) testified simply, as one would testify to the truth'
(Demosthenes 45.18)

(756) τὸ [...] μὴ πάνθ᾽ ὡς ἄν ἡμεῖς βουλοίμεθ᾽ ἔχειν [...], οὐδέν ἐστι θαυμαστόν
tò   mè pánth᾽   *hōs àn* hēmeîs bouloímeth᾽
the.N.NOM.SG not all.N.ACC.PL as IRR we.NOM wish.1PL.PRS.OPT.PASS
ékhein   oudén   esti   thaumastón
have.PRS.INF nothing.NOM.SG be.3SG.PRS wonderful.N.NOM.SG
'That everything is not going as we might wish is nothing astonishing.'
(Demosthenes, *Exordia* 2.3)

This *hōs án* is found a) before *ei* 'if' in (757); cf. the *hōsaneí* of post-classical Greek;

(757) ὡς ἂν εἰ λέγοι
hōs àn ei légoi
as IRR if say.3SG.PRS.OPT
'... as if he were speaking' (Plato, *Protagoras* 344b)

b) before participles: α) with a new subject: (758)–(762).

(758) καὶ τὸν Κῦρον ἐρέσθαι προπετῶς, ὡς ἄν παῖς μηδέπω ὑποπτήσσων
kaì tòn   Kûron   erésthai   propetôs,   *hōs àn*   IRR
and the.M.ACC.SG Cyrus.ACC.SG ask.AOR.INF.MID precipitously as
paîs   mēdépō hupoptéssōn
child.M.NOM.SG nor.yet crouch.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG
'And Cyrus asked precipitously, like a boy not yet shy...' (Xenophon,
Cyropaedia 1.3.8)*

(759) ἀπεκρίνατο, οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ φυλαττόμενοι [...], ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἄν πεπεισμένοι
μάλιστα πράττειν τὰ δέοντα
apekrínato,   oukh hósper hoi
answer.3SG.AOR.MID not   like   the.M.NOM.PL

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *eperésthai* for *erésthai*.

phulattómenoi   all' *hōs àn*
guard.PTCP.PRS.PASS.M.NOM.PL but as   IRR
pepeisménoi   málista práttein   tà
persuade.PTCP.PRF.PASS.M.NOM.PL most   do.PRS.INF the.N.ACC.PL
déonta
need.PTCP.PRS.N.ACC.PL

'He answered not like those defending themselves but like those most
determined to do what is necessary.' (Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 3.8.1)

(760)   ἔχει τὰ μέν, ὡς ἂν ἑλών τις πολέμῳ
       ékhei   tà   mén, *hōs àn* helṓn
       have.3SG.PRS the.N.ACC.PL then   as   IRR take.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG
       tis   polémōi
       someone.M.NOM.SG war.DAT.SG
       'He holds these as one who has taken by force' (Demosthenes 4.6)[*]

(761)   οὐδὲ ταῦθ' ἁπλῶς [...] φανήσεται γεγραφώς, ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν μάλιστά τις
       ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατῆσαι καὶ παρακρούσασθαι βουλόμενος
       oudè taûth'   haplôs phanḗsetai   gegraphṓs,
       nor   this.N.ACC.PL simply show.3SG.FUT.PASS write.PTCP.PRF.M.NOM.SG
       all' *hōs àn* málistá tis   humâs   exapatêsai   kaì
       but as   IRR most   someone.M.NOM.SG you.ACC.PL deceive.AOR.INF and
       parakroúsasthai   boulómenos
       mislead.AOR.INF.MID wish.PTCP.PRS.PASS.M.NOM.SG
       'Nor does he appear having written these things simply, but as one
       wanting most to deceive and mislead you.' (Demosthenes 24.79)

   [p384]

(762)   cυγγραφὰc ἐποιήcαντο [...], ὡc ἂν οἱ μάλιcτα ἀπιcτοῦντεc
       sungraphàs   epoiḗsanto   *hōs àn* hoi   málista
       contract.ACC.PL make.3PL.AOR.MID as   IRR the.M.NOM.PL most
       apistoûntes
       distrust.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.PL
       'They drew up two contracts, as with the greatest distrust'
       ([Demosthenes] 34.32)

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[*] *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition adds *ékhoi* after *tis*.

More frequently, β) without explicit mention of the indefinite subject actually intended ("as someone did in such and such a condition"), where *hōs án* comes very close to the meaning of *háte* 'as' and the participle takes the case of the word in the main clause whose referent is specified by the participle. Thus, for instance, (763)–(771).

(763) γλῶσσαν οὐκέτ' Ἀττικὴν ἱέντας, ὡς ἂν πολλαχοῦ πλανωμένους
glôssan oukét' Attikền hiéntas, *hōs àn*
tongue.ACC.SG no.more Attic.F.ACC.SG send.PTCP.PRS.M.ACC.PL as IRR
pollakhoû planōménous
many.places lead.astray.PTCP.PRS.PASS.M.ACC.PL
'… no longer uttering the Attic tongue, as wanderers in many places …'
(Solon in Aristotle, *Constitution of the Athenians* 12.4; now confirmed by Kenyon 1891: 31 line 10)[*]

(764) ἡ γυνὴ οὐκ ἤθελεν ἀπιέναι, ὡς ἂν ἀσμένη με ἑορακυῖα
hē gunề ouk éthelen apiénai, *hōs àn*
the.F.NOM.SG woman.NOM.SG not want.3SG.IMP go.away.PRS.INF as IRR
asménē me heorakuîa
glad.F.NOM.SG me.ACC see.PTCP.PRF.F.NOM.SG
'My wife was unwilling to go, as if (she were) glad to see me.' (Lysias 1.12)[†]

(765) διεσιώπησεν, ὡς ἂν τότε σκοπῶν, ὁπόθεν ἄρχοιτο
diesiṓpēsen, *hōs àn* tóte skopôn,
remain.silent.3SG.AOR as IRR then consider.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG
hopóthen árkhoito
whence begin.3SG.PRS.OPT.PASS
'(He) remained silent, as if now considering how he should begin.'
(Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 3.6.4)

(766) κρότον τοιοῦτον ὡς ἂν ἐπαινοῦντές τε καὶ συνησθέντες ἐποιήσατε
króton toioûton *hōs àn* epainoûntés te
applause.ACC.SG such.M.ACC.SG as IRR praise.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.PL and
kaì sunēsthéntes epoiḗsate
and sympathize.PTCP.AOR.PASS.M.NOM.PL make.2PL.AOR
'You made such applause as would those who approve of and rejoice with me.' (Demosthenes 21.14)

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[*] *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *pollakhêi* for *pollakhoû.*   [†] *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *hē dè tò mèn prôton ouk éthelen.*

(767) θρυλοῦντος ἀεί, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὡς ἂν εἰς κοινὴν γνώμην
ἀποφαινομένου

thruloûntos aeí, tò mèn prôton *hōs*
chatter.PTCP.PRS.M.GEN.SG always the.N.ACC.SG then first.N.ACC.SG as

àn eis koinèn gnṓmēn
IRR into common.F.ACC.SG opinion.ACC.SG

apophainoménou
display.PTCP.PRS.PASS.M.GEN.SG

'... always talking, at first as one communicating his opinion ...'
(Demosthenes 19.156)[*]

(768) διαλεχθείς τι πρὸς αὑτὸν οὕτως ὡς ἂν μεθύων

dialekhtheís ti pròs hautòn
discuss.PTCP.AOR.PASS.M.NOM.SG something.ACC to himself.ACC

hoútōs *hōs àn* methúōn
so as IRR be.drunk.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG

'... saying something to himself, as a drunken man does... '
(Demosthenes 54.7)

(769) συνεδείπνει ἐναντίον πολλῶν Νέαιρα, ὡς ἂν ἑταίρα οὖσα

sunedeípnei enantíon pollôn Néaira, *hōs àn*
dine.together.3SG.IMP before many.M.GEN.PL Neaera.NOM as IRR

hetaíra oûsa
companion.NOM.SG be.PTCP.PRS.F.NOM.SG

'Neaera dined with them in public, as would one who was a courtesan.'
([Demosthenes] 59.24)[†]

(770) σημεῖον δ᾽ ἐ<πι>φέρουσι τό τε ὄνομα τοῦ τέλους, ὡς ἂν ἀπὸ τοῦ
πράγματος κείμενον

sēmeîon d' e<pi>phérousi tó te ónoma
sign.ACC.SG then bring.3PL.PRS the.N.ACC.SG and name.ACC.SG

toû télous, *hōs àn* apò toû prágmatos
the.N.GEN.SG end.GEN.SG as IRR of the.N.GEN.SG deed.GEN.SG

keímenon
lie.PTCP.PRS.PASS.N.ACC.SG

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[*] *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *koinòn* for *koinèn*.   [†] *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition adds *hautēi* after *Néaira.*

'... and they adduce as a proof the name of the rating as being derived from the fact' (Aristotle, *Constitution of the Athenians* 7.4; Kenyon 1891: 19, line 12)*

(771) ἔπτη δ' ὡς ἂν ἔχων τοὺς πόδας ἡμετέρους
      éptē   d'   *hōs àn* ékhōn   toùs
      fly.3SG.AOR then as   IRR have.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG the.M.ACC.PL
      pódas   hēmetérous
      feet.ACC.PL our.M.ACC.PL
      'He flew as if he had our feet.' (Anthologia Graeca 6.259)

  c) Other: (772)–(780).

(772) ἄγαν καλῶϲ κλύουϲά γ' ὡς ἂν οὐ φίλη
      ágan kalôs klúousá   g'   *hōs àn* ou phílē
      too   well   hear.PTCP.PRS.F.NOM.SG even as   IRR not dear.F.NOM.SG
      '... obeying rather too well, as if unfriendly' (Aeschylus, *Suppliants* 718)[†]

(773) ὡς ἂν μάλιστα, μετὰ ἀειμνήϲτου μαρτυρίου τὴν χάριν καταθήϲεϲθε
      hōs àn málista, metà aeimnḗstou   marturíou
      as   IRR most   after ever-remembered.N.GEN.SG testimony.GEN.SG
      tền   khárin   katathḗsesthe
      the.F.ACC.SG grace.ACC place.2PL.FUT.MID
      'As far as possible, you will store up gratitude as an everlasting witness' (Thucydides 1.33.1)

(774) ἀπεριϲκέπτωϲ προϲπεϲόντες καὶ ὡς ἂν μάλιστα δι' ὀργῆϲ
      aperisképtōs prospesóntes   kaì *hōs àn* málista di'
      recklessly   fall.upon.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.PL and as   IRR most   through
      orgês
      anger.GEN.SG
      '... recklessly falling upon him in the greatest possible rage ...' (Thucydides 6.57.3)

(775) δῶρα πολλὰ [...] φέρων καὶ ἄγων, ὡς ἂν ἐξ οἴκου μεγάλου
      dôra   pollà   phérōn   kaì
      gift.ACC.PL many.N.ACC.PL bear.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG and

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *dè phérousi* for *d' e<pi>phérousi*.   † *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *toîsin* for *hōs àn*.

ágōn,   *hōs àn* ex oíkou   megálou
lead.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG as   IRR out house.GEN.SG great.M.GEN.SG
'... bearing and bringing many gifts, as from a great house' (Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 5.4.29)

(776) εἴ σοι πείσαιμι […] (ἐπιτρέπειν) τὴν πόλιν ψευδόμενος, ὡς ἂν στρατηγικῷ τε καὶ δικαστικῷ καὶ πολιτικῷ

eí soi   peísaimi   (epitrépein)   tèn
if you.DAT persuade.1SG.AOR.OPT entrust.PRS.INF the.F.ACC.SG
pólin   pseudómenos,   *hōs àn* stratēgikôi   te
city.ACC.SG lie.PTCP.PRS.PASS.M.NOM.SG as   IRR military.M.DAT.SG and
kaì dikastikôi   kaì politikôi
and juridical.M.DAT.SG and political.M.DAT.SG
'If by lying I persuaded (them to entrust) the city to you, as if to a general and jurist and statesman ...' (Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 2.6.38)

(777) οὐδ' ὡς ἂν καλλιστ' αὐτῷ τὰ παρόντ' ἔχει
oud' *hōs àn* kallist'   autôi   tà
nor as IRR well.SUPL him.DAT the.N.NOM.PL
parónt'   ékhei
be.present.PTCP.PRS.N.NOM.PL have.3SG.PRS
'Nor is the present situation going as well as possible for him' (Demosthenes 1.21)

(778) οὐχ ὡς ἂν εὔνους καὶ δίκαιος πολίτης ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην
oukh *hōs àn* eúnous   kaì díkaios
not as IRR right.minded.M.NOM.SG and righteous.M.NOM.SG
polítēs   éskhe   tèn   gnốmēn
citizen.NOM.SG have.3SG.AOR the.F.ACC.SG opinion.F.ACC.SG
'... not as an honest and loyal citizen would have held' (Demosthenes 18.291)

(779) ἀφυλάκτων ὄντων, ὡς ἂν πρὸς φίλον τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ
aphuláktōn   óntōn,   *hōs àn* pròs phílon
unguarded.M.GEN.PL be.PTCP.PRS.M.GEN.PL as IRR to   friend.ACC.SG
tôn   en têi   khốrāi
the.M.GEN.PL in the.F.DAT.SG country.DAT.SG
'Those in the country being off their guard, as if toward a friend ...' (Demosthenes 23.154)

(780) ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὡς ἂν ὑπὲρ πολιτῶν
       hupèr   tôn   hippéōn   tôn   aikhmalṓtōn   hōs
       over   the.M.GEN.PL horseman.GEN.PL the.M.GEN.PL captive.M.GEN.PL as
       àn hupèr politôn
       IRR over   citizen.GEN.PL
       '... over the captive horsemen as over citizens ...' (CIA 2.243.34)

   The use of *hṓsper* 'like' is perhaps even more striking. It is true that we read
hṓsper ... án in (781)–(782). On the other hand, though, in (783) we have *hṓsper àn*
etc., as well as in examples (784) and (785), the latter with a remarkable double
án, and in (786).

(781) ὥσπερ σελήνης ὄψις εὐφρόνας δύο στῆναι δύναιτ' ἂν
       hṓsper selḗnēs   ópsis   euphrónas   dúo stênai
       like   moon.GEN.SG face.NOM.SG night.ACC.PL two stand.AOR.INF
       dúnait'   *án*
       can.3SG.PRS.OPT.PASS IRR
       '... just as if the face of the moon could stand still for two nights'
       (Sophocles, Fragment 787)

(782) τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὥσπερ τῶν στρατευμάτων ἀξιώσειέ τις ἂν τὸν
       στρατηγὸν ἡγεῖσθαι
       tòn   autòn   trópon,   *hṓsper* tôn
       the.M.ACC.SG same.M.ACC.SG way.ACC.SG like   the.N.GEN.PL
       strateumátōn axiṓseié   tis   *àn* tòn
       troop.GEN.PL deem.3SG.AOR.OPT someone.M.NOM.SG IRR the.M.ACC.SG
       stratēgòn   hēgeîsthai
       leader.ACC.SG lead.PRS.INF.PASS
       '... in the same way that someone from the army would expect the
       general to lead ...' (Demosthenes 4.39)

(783) ὥσπερ ἂν ἥδιστα καὶ ἐπιτηδειότατα ἀμφοτέροις ἐγίγνετο, ἐγὼ μὲν
       ἐκέλευον
       hṓsper àn hḗdista   kaì epitēdeiótata amphotérois
       like   IRR sweetly.SUPL and suitably.SUPL both.M.DAT.PL
       egígneto,   egò   mèn ekéleuon
       become.3SG.IMP.PASS I.NOM then order.1SG.IMP
       'Just as if it were happening in the most satisfactory and suitable way
       for both parties, I would urge ...' (Antiphon 6.11)

(784) δοκεῖ ὁμοίως λέγεϲθαι ταῦτα, ὥϲπερ ἄν τιϲ περὶ ἀνθρώπου […] λέγοι
τοῦτον τὸν λόγον
dokeî   homoíōs légesthai   taûta,   *hṓsper án*
seem.3SG.PRS similarly say.PRS.INF.PASS this.N.ACC.PL like   IRR
tis   perì anthrṓpou   légoi   toûton
someone.M.NOM.SG about person.GEN.SG say.3SG.PRS.OPT this.M.ACC.SG
tòn   lógon
the.M.ACC.SG account.ACC.SG
'To say these things seems similar to one's making this argument about
someone …' (Plato, *Phaedo* 87b)

[p385]

(785) ἀλλ᾽ ὥϲπερ ἄν μουϲικὸϲ ἐντυχὼν ἀνδρὶ […] οὐκ ἀγρίωϲ εἴποι ἄν
all' *hṓsper àn* mousikòs   entukhṑn
but like   IRR musical.M.NOM.SG encounter.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG
andrì   ouk agríōs eípoi   án
man.DAT not roughly say.3SG.AOR.OPT IRR
'… but just as a musician, encountering (such) a man, would not say
roughly …' (Plato, *Phaedrus* 268d)

(786) ἐκείνῳ δὲ πιϲτευούϲηϲ […], ὥϲπερ ἄν γυνὴ γαμβρὸν ἀϲπάζοιτο
ekeínōi   dè pisteuoúsēs,   hṓsper àn gunè
that.M.DAT.SG but trust.PTCP.PRS.F.GEN.SG like   IRR woman.NOM.SG
gambròn   aspázoito
son-in-law.ACC.SG welcome.3SG.PRS.OPT
'… but trusting him, just as a woman would her son-in-law …'
(Xenophon, *Hellenica* 3.1.14)

In particular, when a conditional is inserted into the comparative clause, the
word order *hṓsper án eí* 'like IRR if' is found throughout: (787)–(794).

(787) ὥϲπερ οὖν ἄν, εἴ τῷ ὄντι ξένοϲ ἐτύγχανον ὤν, ξυνεγιγνώϲκετε δήπου ἄν
μοι
hṓsper oûn *án,* *eí* tôi   ónti   xénos
like   so IRR if the.N.DAT.SG be.PTCP.PRS.N.DAT.SG stranger.NOM.SG
etúnkhanon ṓn,   xunegignṓskete dḗpou   án
happen.1SG.IMP be.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG agree.2PL.IMP   doubtless IRR

moi
me.DAT
'So just as you would doubtless excuse me if I happened in fact to be a foreigner ...' (Plato, *Apology* 17d)

(788) ὥσπερ ἄν, εἰ ἐτύγχανεν ὢν ὑποδημάτων δημιουργός, ἀποκρίναιτο ἄν δήπου σοι
hṓsper án, *ei* etúnkhanen   ὃν   hupodēmátōn
like   IRR if happen.3SG.IMP be.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG shoe.GEN.PL
dēmiourgós,   apokrínaito   àn dḗpou   soi
craftsman.NOM.SG answer.3SG.AOR.MID IRR doubtless you.DAT
'Just as, if he had happened to be a maker of shoes, he would have answered you...' (Plato, *Gorgias* 447d)

(789) ὥσπερ ἄν, εἴ τίς με ἔροιτο [...], εἴποιμ᾽ ἄν
hṓsper án, *eí* tís   me éroito
like   IRR if someone.M.NOM.SG me ask.3SG.AOR.OPT.MID
eípoim᾽   án
say.1SG.AOR.OPT IRR
'Just as, if someone asked me ... I should say ...' (Plato, *Gorgias* 451a)

(790) ὥσπερ ἄν, εἰ ἐτύγχανον [...], ἆρ᾽ οὐκ ἂν δικαίως σε ἠρόμην;
hṓsper án, *ei* etúnkhanon   âr᾽ ouk àn dikaíōs   se
like   IRR if happen.1SG.IMP then not IRR righteously you.ACC
ērómēn
ask.1SG.AOR.MID
'Just as, if I happened to ... then could I not fairly ask ... ?' (Plato, *Gorgias* 453c)

(791) ὥσπερ ἄν, εἰ ἐπενόεις [...] ἀργύριον τελεῖν [...], εἴ τίς σε ἤρετο [...], τί ἂν ἀπεκρίνω
hṓsper án, *ei* epenóeis   argúrion   teleîn   eí
like   IRR if intend.2SG.IMP money.ACC.SG fulfil.PRS.INF if
tís   se   éreto   tí   àn
someone.M.NOM.SG you.ACC ask.3SG.AOR.MID what.ACC.SG IRR
apekrínō
answer.2SG.AOR.MID
'Just as, if you intended to pay money, if someone asked you ... what would you answer?' (Plato, *Protagoras* 311b)

(792) ὥσπερ ἄν, εἰ [...] Ἱπποκράτης ὅδε ἐπιθυμήσειε [...] καὶ [...] ἀκούσειεν [...],
εἰ αὐτὸν ἐπανέροιτο [...], εἴποι ἂν αὐτῷ
hósper án, *ei* Hippokrátēs hóde   epithumḗseie   kaì
like   IRR if Hippocrates this.M.NOM.SG desire.3SG.AOR.OPT and
akoúseien   ei autòn   epanéroito   eípoi
hear.3SG.AOR.OPT if him.ACC enquire.3SG.AOR.OPT.MID say.3SG.AOR.OPT
àn autôi
IRR him.DAT
'Just as, if Hippocrates here desired ... and heard ..., if he enquired of him
... he would say to him ...' (Plato, *Protagoras* 318b)

(793) ὥσπερ ἄν, εἰ ζητοίης, τίς διδάσκαλος τοῦ ἑλληνίζειν, οὐδ᾽ ἂν εἷς φανείη
hósper án, *ei* zētoíēs,   tís   didáskalos
like   IRR if seek.2SG.PRS.OPT who.M.NOM.SG teacher.NOM.SG
toû   hellēnízein,   oud᾽ àn heîs
the.N.GEN.SG Hellenize.PRS.INF nor   IRR one.M.NOM.SG
phaneíē
show.3SG.AOR.OPT.PASS
'Just as, if you tried to find who (was) a teacher of Greek, no one would
appear.' (Plato, *Protagoras* 327e)

(794) ὥσπερ ἄν, εἴ τις [...] τάττοι, οὐκ ἂν αὐτός γ᾽ ἀδικεῖν παρεσκευάσθαι
δόξαι
hósper án, *eí* tis   táttoi,   àn
like   IRR if someone.M.NOM.SG assign.3SG.PRS.OPT not IRR
autós   g᾽ adikeîn   pareskeuásthai
same.M.NOM.SG even wrong.PRS.INF equip.PRF.INF.PASS
dóxai
seem.3SG.AOR.OPT
'Just as, if someone assigned ... he would not seem to be prepared to
commit an offence himself.' (Demosthenes 20.143)

Here, too, the tight attachment of *án* occurs particularly because *hósper án* is
very often used elliptically without (optative or preterite) verb – either where
a form of the verb *eimí* 'be' is to be understood, as in (795), or the verb of the
higher clause: (796), which can be read as in (797); (798)–(806).

(795) ὥσπερ ἄν, εἰ υἱὸς [...] διῴκει τι μὴ καλῶς ἢ ὀρθῶς, αὐτὸ μὲν τοῦτ᾽ ἄξιον
μέμψεος

hṓsper án, ei huiòs   diṓikei   ti   mḕ
like   IRR if son.NOM.SG administer.3SG.IMP something.N.ACC.SG not
kalôs ḕ orthôs, autò   mèn toût'   áxion
well   or straight same.N.ACC.SG then this.N.ACC.SG worthy.N.ACC.SG
mémpseos
blame.GEN.SG

'Just as, if a son's management were in some way not good or correct, this itself (would be) worthy of blame' (Demosthenes 9.30)*

(796)   χρὴ [...] ἀνθρωπίνως περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκλογίζεςθαι, ὥςπερ ἂν αὐτὸν ὄντα ἐν τῇ ςυμφορᾷ
khrḕ   anthrōpínōs perì tôn   pragmátōn
need.3SG.PRS humanely   about the.N.GEN.PL deed.GEN.PL
eklogízesthai,   *hṓsper àn*   autòn   ónta   en
consider.FUT.INF.MID like   IRR same.M.ACC.SG be.PTCP.PRS.M.ACC.SG in
têi   sumphorâi
the.F.DAT.SG mishap.DAT.SG

'It is necessary to judge a case humanely, as if one were in those circumstances oneself.' (Andocides 1.57)

(797)   ὥςπερ ἄν τις αὐτὸς ὢν [...] ἐκλογίζοιτο
hṓsper án tis   autòs   ṑn
like   IRR someone.M.NOM.SG same.M.NOM.SG be.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG
eklogízoito
consider.3SG.PRS.OPT.PASS

'... as if one were judging, being oneself ...'

(798)   τοῦτ' αὐτὸ ἐπιδεικνύτω ὥςπερ ἂν ὑμῶν ἕκαςτος
toût'   autò   epideiknútō   *hṓsper àn*
this.N.ACC.SG same.N.ACC.SG display.3SG.PRS.IMPER like   IRR
humôn   hékastos
you.GEN.PL each.M.NOM.SG

'Let him demonstrate this very thing, as each of you would.' (Isaeus 6.64)

(799)   οὐδὲ [...] ὁμοίως ὑμῖν, ὥςπερ ἂν τρυτάνη ῥέπων ἐπὶ τὸ λῆμμα ςυμβεβούλευκα

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *kat' autò* for *autò*.

oudè homoíōs humîn,   *hȍsper àn*   trutánē
nor   similarly you.DAT.PL like   IRR scale.NOM.SG
rhépōn   epì   tò   lêmma   sumbeboúleuka
tilt.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG upon the.N.ACC.SG profit.ACC.SG advise.1SG.PRF
'Nor, like you, have I advised as if I were a scale biased toward profit.'
(Demosthenes 18.298; V. C. has *hȍsper àn ei*, Dindorf & Blass (1888) has
only *hȍsper*)

(800) ὥσπερ ἂν παρεστηκότος αὐτοῦ
      hȍsper àn parestēkótos   autoû
      like   IRR stand.by.PTCP.PRF.M.GEN.SG him.GEN
      '... as if with him standing beside' (Demosthenes 19.226)

(801) χρώμενος ὥσπερ ἂν ἄλλος τις αὐτῷ τὰ πρὸ τούτου
      khrȍmenos   *hȍsper àn*   állos
      use.PTCP.PRS.PASS.M.NOM.SG like   IRR other.M.NOM.SG
      tis   autôi   tà   prò   toútou
      someone.M.NOM.SG him.DAT the.N.ACC.SG before this.N.GEN.SG
      '... as familiar as anyone could be with him up to then' (Demosthenes
      21.117)

(802) δεῖ τοίνυν τούτοις βοηθεῖν, ὥσπερ ἂν αὐτῷ τις ἀδικουμένῳ
      deî   toínun   toútois   boētheîn,   *hȍsper àn*
      need.3SG.PRS therefore this.M.DAT.PL help.PRS.INF like   IRR
      hautôi   tis   adikouménōi
      himself.DAT someone.M.NOM.SG wrong.PTCP.PRS.PASS.M.DAT.SG
      'Therefore you must help these people, just as anyone (would help)
      himself if wronged.' (Demosthenes 21.225)

(803) ὥσπερ ἄν τις συκοφαντεῖν ἐπιχειρῶν
      hȍsper án tis   sukophanteîn
      like   IRR someone.M.NOM.SG defraud.PRS.INF
      epikheirôn
      attempt.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG
      '... as would someone attempting to deceive' (Demosthenes 29.30; see
      Dindorf & Blass (1888: 354) following A; most have *hȍsper àn eí tis*, with
      which reading the example below should be understood.)[*]

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[*]   *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *àn eí*, which Wackernagel cites as a variant.

(804) πλὴν εἰ cημεῖον ὥсπερ ἂν ἄλλῳ τινί, τῷ χαλκίῳ προcέcται
   plền ei sēmeîon *hósper àn* állōi   tiní,
   except if sign.NOM.SG like IRR other.N.DAT.SG something.DAT.SG
   tôi   khalkíōi proséstai
   the.N.DAT.SG copper.DAT.SG be.added.3SG.FUT.MID
   '... unless some mark shall be attached to the tablet, as there might be to
   anything else' (Demosthenes 39.10)

(805) ὥсπερ ἂν δοῦλοс δεсπότῃ διδούс
   hósper àn doûlos   despótēi didoús
   like IRR slave.NOM.SG master.DAT.SG give.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG
   '... as a slave giving to his master' (Demosthenes 45.35)

(806) ὥсπερ ἂν ἄλλος τιс ἀποτυχών
   hósper àn állos   tis   apotukhốn
   as IRR other.M.NOM.SG someone.M.NOM.SG miss.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG
   '... as another might who failed to obtain what he wanted ...'
   (Demosthenes 49.27)

This is often found with a following *ei* with optative *[p386]* or preterite verb:
(807)–(808) and see 10.10, 15.2, 15.14, and 15.298 from Isocrates.

(807) ὥсπερ ἂν εἰ πρὸс ἄπανταс ἀνθρώπουс ἐπολέμηсαν
   hósper àn ei pròs hápantas   anthrốpous epolémēsan
   like IRR if to quite.all.M.ACC.PL person.ACC.PL war.3PL.AOR
   '... as if they had fought the whole world.' (Isocrates 4.69)

(808) ὥсπερ ἂν εἴ τῳ Φρυνώνδαс πανουργίαν ὀνειδίсειεν
   hósper àn eí tōi   Phrunốndas panourgían
   like IRR if someone.M.DAT.SG Phrynondas.NOM villainy.ACC.SG
   oneidíseien
   reproach.3SG.AOR.OPT
   '... as if Phrynondas should reproach someone with villainy' (Isocrates
   18.57)

The same is found in (809) and (810) from Plato. Cf. *Cratylus* 430a, *Gorgias*
479a, *Phaedo* 98c and 109c, *Symposium* 199d and 204e, *Republic* 7.529d, etc.

(809) ὥсπερ ἂν εἰ ἤκουεν
   hósper àn ei ḗkouen
   like IRR if hear.3SG.IMP
   '... as if he heard ...' (Plato, *Protagoras* 341c)

(810) ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις [...] ὀνομάσειε καὶ εἴποι
       hṓsper àn eí tis   onomáseie   kaì
       like   IRR if someone.M.NOM.SG name.3SG.AOR.OPT and
       eípoi
       say.3SG.AOR.OPT
       '... as if someone were to call and say ...' (Plato, *Cratylus* 395e)

The same is found in (811) from Xenophon.

(811) ἠσπάζετο αὐτόν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις [...] ἀσπάζοιτο
       ēspázeto   autón,   *hṓsper àn eí* tis
       welcome.3SG.IMP.PASS him.ACC like   IRR if someone.M.NOM.SG
       aspázoito
       welcome.3SG.PRS.OPT.PASS
       'He kissed him, just as someone would ...' (Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 1.3.2)*

The same is true of Demosthenes ((812)–(813); cf. §243) and other orators, (814).

(812) ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ πολεμοῦντες τύχοιτε
       hṓsper àn ei polemoûntes   túkhoite
       like   IRR if war.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.PL happen.2PL.AOR.OPT
       '... as if you happened to be at war.' (Demosthenes 6.8)

(813) ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ναύκληρον [...] αἰτιῷτο
       hṓsper àn eí tis   naúklēron
       like   IRR if some.M.NOM.SG shipowner.NOM.SG
       aitiôito
       accuse.3SG.PRS.OPT.PASS
       'As if some shipowner were to be accused ...' (Demosthenes 18.194)

(814) ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις εἰς Αἴγιναν ἢ εἰς Μέγαρα ὁρμίσαιτο
       hṓsper àn eí tis   eis Aíginan   è eis Mégara
       like   IRR if someone.M.NOM.SG into Aegina.ACC or into Megara.ACC
       hormísaito
       anchor.3SG.AOR.OPT.MID
       '... as if one were to anchor in Aegina or Megara' ([Demosthenes] 35.28)

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition adds *te* after the initial verb.

In addition to this we find the sequence *hósper àn ei* (usually written *hōsper-aneí*) in the sense of *quasi* 'how', cf. *ōseí*, *ōspereí*, without use of a finite verb, e.g. (815), Isocrates 4.148, Xenophon, *Symposium* 9.4, and Demosthenes 18.194.* On the use of *hōsperaneí* and *kathaperaneí* in Aristotle, see Bonitz (1870: 41).

(815) ὡϲπερανεὶ παῖϲ
      hōsperaneì paîs
      as.if   child.NOM.SG
      'like a child' (Plato, *Gorgias* 479a)

Relative clauses also provide occasion for comment. First, in the sequence *ouk éstin hóstis* 'not be.3SG.PRS who' (or also interrogative *éstin hóstis ...* 'be.3SG.PRS who ...'), in which the main clause only receives its content from the subordinate clause and hence the connection between the two clauses is particularly close, *án* regularly follows the relativizer: (816)–(825); cf. also (826).

(816) οὐκ ἔϲτ᾽ ἀδελφόϲ, ὅϲτιϲ ἂν βλάϲτοι ποτέ
      ouk ést'   adelphós,   *hóstis*   *àn* blástoi
      not be.3SG.PRS brother.NOM.SG who.M.NOM.SG IRR bud.3SG.AOR.OPT
      poté
      sometime
      'There is no brother that could ever bloom for me' (Sophocles, *Antigone* 912)

(817) οὐκ ἔϲτιν οὐδεὶϲ ὅϲτιϲ ἂν μέμψαιτό ϲε
      ouk éstin   oudeìs   *hóstis*   *àn*
      not be.3SG.PRS nobody.M.NOM.SG who.M.NOM.SG IRR
      mémpsaitó   se
      blame.3SG.AOR.OPT.MID you.ACC
      'There is no one who would blame you.' (Euripides, *Electra* 903; cf. also *Heracleidae* 972)

(818) οὐκ ἔϲτιν εἰϲ ὅ τι ἂν ἀναγκαιότερον ἀναλίϲκοιτε χρήματα
      ouk éstin   eis *hó.ti*   *àn* anankaióteron
      not be.3SG.PRS into which.N.ACC.SG IRR necessary.COMP.N.ACC.SG

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* *Translator's note*: In these last two instances the Perseus edition has *hósper àn ei* written separately.

analískoite   khrémata
spend.2PL.PRS.OPT property.ACC.PL

'There is nothing more necessary on which you could spend your money.' (Plato, *Phaedo* 78a)*

(819) οὐκ ἔστιν [...], ὅτι ἄν τις μεῖζον [...] πάθοι
       ouk éstin,   hóti   án tis   *meîzon*
       not be.3SG.PRS which.N.ACC.SG IRR someone.M.NOM.SG greater.N.ACC.SG
       páthoi
       suffer.3SG.AOR.OPT

       'There is nothing greater that one can suffer ...' (Plato, *Phaedo* 89d)

(820) τουτωνὶ [...] οὐκ ἔστιν, ἅττ᾽ ἂν ἐμοὶ εἶπες ἡδίω
       toutōnì   ouk éstin,   hátt᾽   àn emoì
       this.N.GEN.PL.EMPH not be.3SG.PRS which.N.ACC.PL IRR me.DAT
       eîpes   hēdíō
       say.2SG.AOR sweeter.N.ACC.PL

       'There is nothing more pleasant than this that you could say to me.'
       (Plato, *Phaedrus* 243b)

(821) οἶμαι γὰρ τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν εἶναι, ὅτου ἂν ἀπέσχετο
       oîmai   gàr toioûton   oudèn   eînai,
       think.1SG.PRS.PASS then such.M.ACC.SG nothing.ACC.SG be.PRS.INF
       hótou   àn apéskheto
       which.N.GEN.SG IRR keep.off.3SG.AOR.MID

       'For I think that there is nothing from which such a person would have kept his hands.' (Demosthenes 24.138)

(822) ἔστιν, ὅστις ἂν [...] ἐψήφισεν [...];
       éstin,   hóstis   àn epséphisen?
       be.3SG.PRS who.M.NOM.SG IRR vote.3SG.AOR

       'Is there anyone who would have voted ... ?' (Demosthenes 24.157)†

(823) ἔστιν, ὅστις ἂν [...] ὑπέμεινεν [...];
       éstin,   hóstis   àn hupémeinen?
       be.3SG.PRS who.M.NOM.SG IRR abide.3SG.AOR

       'Is there anyone who could bear ... ?' (Demosthenes 19.309)‡

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *eukairóteron* for *anankaióteron*.   † *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *epipséphisen* for *epséphisen*.   ‡ *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *ésth᾽ hóstis* for *éstin, hóstis*.

(824) οὐ γὰρ ἦν, ὅ τι ἂν ἐποιεῖτε
ou gàr *ên,*   *hó.ti*   *àn* epoieîte
not then be.3SG.IMP which.N.ACC.SG IRR do.2PL.IMP
'For there was nothing that you could do.' (Demosthenes 18.43)

(825) ἔςτιν οὖν, ὅςτις ἂν τοῦ ξύλου καὶ τοῦ χωρίου [...] τοςαύτην ὑπέμεινε
φέρειν μίςθωςιν; ἔςτι δ' ὅςτις ἂν [...] ἐπέτρεψεν;
éstin   *oûn, hóstis*   *àn* toû   *xúlou*   *kaì*
be.3SG.PRS so   who.M.NOM.SG IRR the.N.GEN.SG wood.GEN.SG and
toû   *khōríou*   *tosaútēn*   *hupémeine*   *phérein*
the.N.GEN.SG place.GEN.SG so.much.F.ACC.SG abide.3SG.AOR bear.PRS.INF
místhōsin? ésti   *d'*   *hóstis*   *àn* epétrepsen?
rent.ACC.SG be.3SG.PRS then who.M.NOM.SG IRR entrust.3SG.AOR
'Now, is there any man who would have submitted to the payment of so
large a rental for the counter and the site? And is there any man who
would have entrusted ... ?' (Demosthenes 45.33)

(826) οὐκ ἔςτ' οὐδείς, ὅςτις ἂν εἴποι
ouk ést'   *oudeís,*   *hóstis*   *àn* eípoi
not be.3SG.PRS nobody.M.NOM.SG who.M.NOM.SG IRR say.3SG.AOR.OPT
'There is no one who would say ...' ([Demosthenes] 13.22)*

Almost on the same level as *ouk éstin hóstis* are such phrasings as we find in
(827) or in (828) and in (829).

(827) οὐ γὰρ ἴδοις ἂν ἀθρῶν βροτῶν ὅςτις ἂν εἰ θεὸς ἄγοι ἐκφυγεῖν δύναιτο
ou gàr *ídois*   *àn athrôn*   *brotôn*
not then see.2SG.AOR.OPT IRR observe.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG mortal.GEN.PL
hóstis   *àn* ei theòs   *ágoi*   *ekphugeîn*
who.M.NOM.SG IRR if god.NOM.SG lead.3SG.PRS.OPT escape.PRS.INF
dúnaito
can.3SG.PRS.OPT.PASS
'If you observed, you would not see any mortal who could escape if a
god were to lead him on.' (Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus* 252)

(828) οὐκ οἶδα εἰς ὄντιν' ἂν τις ἄλλον καιρὸν ἀναβάλλοιτο
ouk oîda   *eis* *hóntin'*   *án* tis
not know.1SG.PRF into which.M.NOM.SG IRR someone.M.NOM.SG

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* *Translator's note:* The Perseus edition has *oud'* for *ouk.*

> állon   kairòn   anabálloito
> other.M.ACC.SG time.ACC.SG defer.3SG.PRS.OPT.PASS
> 'I do not know to what other time one could delay' (Plato, *Phaedo* 107a)

(829) οὐκ οἶδα ὅ τι ἄν τις χρήσαιτο αὐτῷ
       ouk oîda   *hó.ti*   *án* tis
       not know.1SG.PRF which.N.ACC.SG IRR someone.M.NOM.SG
       khrḗsaito   autôi
       use.3SG.AOR.OPT.MID him.DAT
       'I do not know what use one could make of him' (Xenophon, *Anabasis*
       3.1.40)[*]

And the connection between main clause and subordinate clause *[p387]* is just
as tight as in these examples when *hóstis* is announced by *hoútō*: (830).

(830) οὐδεὶς γάρ ἐστιν οὕτω ῥᾴθυμος ὅστις ἂν δέξαιτο
       oudeìs   gár estin   *hoútō* rháithumos
       nobody.M.NOM.SG for be.3SG.PRS so   indifferent.M.NOM.SG
       hóstis   *àn* déxaito
       who.M.NOM.SG IRR receive.3SG.AOR.OPT.MID
       'For there is no one so cavalier that he would receive …' (Isocrates 9.35)

The connection between *hóstis* and *án* can, however, be interrupted, first by
pote 'sometime', which is quite natural: (831), secondly by *ouk* 'not': (832)–(835).
(Cf. (836).)

(831) τῶν δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐχόντων οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτῳ ποτ' ἂν ἄλλῳ ἐπιλάβοιο
       tôn   dè katà taûta   ekhóntōn   *ouk*
       the.N.GEN.PL but down this.N.ACC.PL have.PTCP.PRS.N.GEN.PL not
       éstin   *hótōi*   pot'   *àn* állōi
       be.3SG.PRS which.N.DAT.SG sometime IRR other.N.DAT.SG
       epiláboio
       grasp.2SG.AOR.OPT.MID
       'But there is nothing else by which you could grasp the things that are
       always the same …' (Plato, *Phaedo* 79a)[†]

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[*] *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *autoîs* for *autôi*.   [†] *Translator's note*: The Perseus
edition has *t'autà*, with crasis, for *taûta*.

(832) ὧν οὐκ ἔστιν, ὅστις οὐκ ἄν τις καταφρονήσειεν
       hôn   ouk éstin,   hóstis   ouk án
       whom.M.GEN.PL not be.3SG.PRS who.M.NOM.SG not IRR
       tis   kataphronḗseien
       someone.M.NOM.SG despise.3SG.AOR.OPT
       '... whom there is no one that would fail to despise' (Isocrates 8.52)*

(833) οὐ γάρ ἐστιν, περὶ ὅτου οὐκ ἂν πιθανώτερον εἴποι ὁ ῥητορικός
       ou gár *estin*,   perì *hótou*   ouk *àn* pithanóteron
       not for be.3SG.PRS about which.N.GEN.SG not IRR persuasively.COMP
       eípoi   ho   rhētorikós
       say.3SG.AOR.OPT the.M.NOM.SG rhetorician.NOM.SG
       'There is nothing about which a rhetorician would not speak more
       persuasively' (Plato, *Gorgias* 456c; cf. also 491e)

(834) οὐδεὶς οὕτω κακός, ὅντινα οὐκ ἂν αυτὸς ὁ Ἔρως ἔνθεον ποιήσειεν
       oudeìs   *hoútō* kakós,   *hóntina*   ouk *àn*
       nobody.M.NOM.SG so   bad.M.NOM.SG whom.M.ACC.SG not IRR
       autòs   ho   Érōs   éntheon
       same.M.NOM.SG the.M.NOM.SG Eros.NOM inspired.M.ACC.SG
       poiḗseien
       make.3SG.AOR.OPT
       '(There is) no one so base whom Eros himself cannot inspire' (Plato,
       Symposium 179a)

(835) οὐδεὶς γάρ, ὅστις οὐκ ἂν ἀξιώσειεν
       oudeìs   gár, *hóstis*   ouk *àn* axiṓseien
       nobody.M.NOM.SG then who.M.NOM.SG not IRR deem.3SG.AOR.OPT
       'There is no one who would think ...' (Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 7.5.61)

(836) τίς οὕτως [...] φθονερός ἐστιν [...] ὃς οὐκ ἂν εὔξαιτο [...];
       tís   hóutōs phthonerós   *estin*   hós   ouk
       who.M.NOM.SG so   envious.M.NOM.SG be.3SG.PRS who.M.NOM.SG not
       àn eúxaito
       IRR pray.3SG.AOR.OPT.MID
       'Who is so envious that he would not have prayed ... ?' (Lycurgus 1.69)

Note that none of the examples with immediately adjacent *hóstis án* contain
negation in the relative clause, so that the insertion of *ouk* can be said to be a

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition lacks *tis*.

rule. This is also not at all surprising: compare what was observed above on p35, p38 and p53 on the placement of *ouk* before enclitics and on p177 on Homeric *ouk án*. Demosthenes 18.206 is peculiar. Here the best source texts, S and L, give (837). If the transmission is correct, the expression is based on a contamination driven by the need to conform to the usual sequences *hóstis án* and (*hóstis*) *ouk án*.

(837) οὐκ ἔcθ’ ὅcτιc ἂν οὐκ ἂν εἰκότωc ἐπιτιμήcειέ μοι
ouk ésth’   hóstis   àn ouk àn eikótōs epitiméseié
not be.3SG.PRS who.M.NOM.SG IRR not IRR justly   evaluate.3SG.AOR.OPT
moi
me.DAT
'There is no one who would not justly censure me.' (Demosthenes 18.206)*

The words *àn ouk àn* are also found immediately adjacent in Sophocles, *Oedipus Rex* 446, *Electra* 439, *Oedipus at Colonus* 1366, Fragment 673, Euripides, *Heracleidae* 74,[†] and Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 361. And *àn oud' àn* in Sophocles, *Electra* 97 (more common, and still found in Aristotle, is *àn … ouk àn* or *oudeìs án* separated by several words). Since in any case the sequence *àn ouk àn* seems to be unknown in the fourth century and the repetition of *án* is only found after a lot of intervening material, the editors who delete the first *án* and simply write *hóstis ouk án* are perhaps right to do so.

Good Attic poets do not separate *hóstis* and *án* by words other than *pote* 'sometime' or *ou* 'not'. Admittedly, Xenophon writes (838) and (839).

(838) οὔτ’ ἔcτιν ὅτου ἕνεκα βουλοίμεθα ἂν τὴν βαcιλέωc χώραν κακῶc ποιεῖν
oút’ éstin   *hótou*   héneka bouloímetha   *àn*
nor be.3SG.PRS which.N.GEN.SG because.of wish.1PL.PRS.OPT.PASS IRR
tền   basiléōs   khốran   kakôs poieîn
the.F.ACC.SG king.GEN.SG country.ACC.SG ill   do.PRS.INF
'… nor is there any reason why we should desire to do harm to the King's territory' (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 2.3.23)

[p388]

(839) ἔcτιν οὖν ὅcτιc τοῦτο ἂν δύναιτο ὑμᾶc ἐξαπατῆcαι

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition lacks the first *àn*.   † *Translator's note*: Not found in Perseus edition

éstin   oûn *hóstis*   toûto   *àn* dúnaito
be.3SG.PRS so   who.M.NOM.SG this.N.ACC.SG IRR can.PRS.OPT.PASS
humâs   exapatêsai
you.PL.ACC deceive.AOR.INF
'Therefore, is there anyone who could deceive you in this ... ?'
(Xenophon, *Anabasis* 5.7.6)

Strikingly, (840) is similar.

(840)   τίς δ' ἦν οὕτω ἢ μιςόδημος τότε ἢ μιςαθήναιος, ὅςτις ἐδυνήθη ἄν
        tís   d'   ên   hoûtō è misódēmos   tóte
        who.M.NOM.SG then be.3SG.IMP so   or people-hating.M.NOM.SG then
        è misathénaios,   *hóstis*   édunéthē   *án*
        or Athens-hating.M.NOM.SG who.M.NOM.SG can.3SG.AOR.PASS IRR
        'And was there anyone then who hated either the people or Athens so
        much that he could have ... ?' (Lycurgus 1 39)

Perhaps the observation by Blass (1880: 103) is also applicable here: "what
strikes one [in Lycurgus] as non-classical or ungrammatical must be blamed on
its acknowledged poor transmission." But in Blass's text for (841) the *állo* 'other'
is pure editorial conjecture. (However, see (842). Read *hétis àn tód'*?)

(841)   οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὅ τι ἄλλ' ἂν ἐποιεῖτε
        ou gàr ên   *hó.ti*   áll'   *àn* epoieîte
        not then be.3SG.IMP which.N.ACC.SG other.N.ACC.SG IRR do.2PL.IMP
        'For there was nothing else that you could do.' (Demosthenes 18.43;
        Blass 1877)*

(842)   οὐκ ἔςτιν, ἥτις τοῦτ' ἂν Ἑλληνὶς γυνὴ ἔτλη
        ouk éstin,   *hétis*   toût'   *àn* Hellēnìs
        not be.3SG.PRS who.F.NOM.SG this.N.ACC.SG IRR Greek.F.NOM.SG
        gunè   étlē
        woman.NOM.SG endure.3SG.AOR
        'There is no Greek woman who would have dared this.' (Euripides,
        Medea 1339)

The tradition was less stable in clauses containing one of the relative adjec-
tives or adverbs related to *hóstis*, and in clauses where *hóstis* itself was attached

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition lacks Blass's *áll'*.

to a negative clause but was not absolutely necessary for its interpretation and therefore not so closely attached to it. From the first category we have (843) (non-negative interrogative!) and (844)–(848).

(843) ἔcτ᾽ οὖν ὅπωc ἂν ὡcπερεὶ cπονδῆc θεοῦ κἀγὼ λαβοίμην […];
       ést'   oûn *hópōs àn* hōspereì spondês   theoû
       be.3SG.PRS so   how IRR as.if   libation.GEN.SG god.GEN.SG
       kagò   laboímēn
       also=I.NOM take.1SG.AOR.OPT.MID
       'Then is there any way in which, as with a libation to a god, I too could take … ?' (Euripides, *Cyclops* 469)

(844) οὐκ ἔcτιν ὅπωc ἂν ἐγώ ποθ᾽ ἑκὼν τῆc cῆc γνώμηc ἔτ᾽ ἀφείμην
       ouk éstin   *hópōs àn* egṓ poth'   hekòn
       not be.3SG.PRS how IRR I.NOM sometime willing.M.NOM.SG
       tês   sês   gnṓmēs   ét' apheímēn
       the.F.GEN.SG your.F.GEN.SG opinion.GEN.SG still discard.1SG.AOR.MID
       'There is no way that I would ever again willingly ignore your advice.' (Aristophanes, *Birds* 627)

(845) οὐδὲν αὐτὸc ἐξηῦρον, ὁπόθεν ἂν εἰκότωc ὑπερείδετε τὴν ἐμὴν ὁμιλίαν
       oudèn   autòs   exēûron,   *hopóthen àn* eikótōs
       nothing.ACC.SG same.M.NOM.SG discover.1SG.AOR whence   IRR justly
       hupereídete   tèn   emèn   homilían
       despise.2PL.AOR the.F.ACC.SG my.ACC.SG company.ACC.SG
       'I myself have discovered nothing from which you could reasonably have despised my company.' (Lysias 8.7)

(846) οὐκ ἔcτιν, ὅπωc ἂν ἄμεινον οἰκήcειαν τὴν ἑαυτῶν
       ouk éstin,   *hópōs àn* ámeinon oikéseian   tèn
       not be.3SG.PRS how IRR better settle.3PL.AOR.OPT the.F.ACC.SG
       heautôn
       themselves.GEN
       'There is no way in which they could be better citizens of their country' (Plato, *Symposium* 178e)

(847) οὐκ ἔcθ᾽ ὅπωc ἂν ἐνθάδε μείναιμι
       ouk ésth'   *hópōs àn* entháde meínaimi
       not be.3SG.PRS how IRR here   stay.1SG.AOR.OPT
       'There is no way that I could stay here.' (Plato, *Symposium* 223a)

(848) οὐκ εἶναι ἔθνος, ὁποίῳ ἂν ἀξιώσειαν ὑπήκοοι εἶναι Θετταλοί
ouk eînai   éthnos,   *hopoíōi*   *àn*
not be.PRS.INF people.NOM.SG of.what.sort.N.DAT.SG IRR
axiṓseian   hupékooi   eînai   Thettaloí
deem.3PL.AOR.OPT subject.M.NOM.PL be.PRS.INF Thessalian.NOM.PL
'… that there would be no people such that the Thessalians would
consider being subject to them.' (Xenophon, *Hellenica* 6.1.9)

We also have (849) (although the revisor of Codex S has added a second *án*
above *tis*, it is not legitimate to delete the *án* after *hópōs*, which is absent only
in Augustanus, and transpose it to after *enantiṓterá*, as done by Weil 1886: 103
and, following him, Dindorf & Blass 1888), and (850) (cf. also *ouk oîd', hópōs àn* –
above p184).

(849) ἔστιν οὖν ὅπως ἂν ἐναντιώτερά τις δύο θείη
éstin   oûn *hópōs àn* enantiṓterá   tis
be.3SG.PRS so how   IRR opposite.COMP.N.ACC.PL someone.M.NOM.SG
dúo theíē
two put.3SG.AOR.OPT
'So is there any way in which one could propose two more
contradictory things … ?' (Demosthenes 24.64)

(850) ἔστιν οὖν ὅπως ἂν μᾶλλον ἄνθρθποι πάνθ' ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου πράττοντες
ἐξελεγχθεῖεν
éstin   oûn *hópōs àn* mâllon ánthrthpoi   pánth'   hupèr
be.3SG.PRS so how   IRR more   person.NOM.PL all.ways over
Philíppou práttontes   exelenkhtheîen
Philip.GEN do.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.PL convict.3PL.AOR.OPT.PASS
'Now is there any way in which people could be more clearly convicted
of acting for Philip in every way … ?' (Demosthenes 19.165)

These examples are not contradicted by (851), and probably not by (852); but
the following are genuine counterexamples: (853)–(857) and (858) (for which
sparser manuscripts have *hópōs àn taût'*).

(851) οὐκ ἔχω [...] ὅκως οὐκ ἂν ἴσον πλῆθος τοίς Πέρσῃσι ἐξέβαλε
ouk ékhō   *hókōs* ouk *àn* íson   plêthos
not have.1SG.PRS how   not IRR equal.N.ACC.SG quantity.ACC.SG

toís   Pérsēisi   exébale
the.M.DAT.PL Persian.DAT.PL cast.out.3SG.AOR

'I hold that there is no way in which he would have cast overboard a number equal to that of the Persians …' (Herodotus 8.119.1)

(852) τοῦτ' οὖν ἐστιν ὅπως τις ἂν ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατήςαι
toût'   oûn estin   *hópōs* tis   *àn* humâs
this.N.ACC.SG so   be.3SG.PRS how   someone.M.NOM.SG IRR you.ACC.PL
exapatḗsai
deceive.3SG.AOR.OPT

'Therefore, is there any way in which someone could deceive you in this … ?' (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 5.7.7)

(853) οὐκ ἔςθ' ὁποῖον ςτάντ' ἂν ἀνθρώπου βίον οὔτ' αἰνέςαιμ' ἂν οὔτε
μεμψαίμην ποτέ
ouk ésth'   *hopoîon*   stánt'   *àn*
not be.3SG.PRS of.what.sort.M.ACC.SG stand.PTCP.AOR.M.ACC.SG IRR
anthrṓpou   bíon   oút' ainésaim'   àn oúte
person.GEN.SG life.ACC.SG nor praise.1SG.AOR.OPT IRR nor
mempsaímēn   poté
blame.1SG.AOR.OPT.MID sometime

'There is no station of human life that I would ever praise or blame as being settled.' (Sophocles, *Antigone* 1156)

(854) οὐ γὰρ ἔςθ' ὅπως μί' ἡμέρα γένοιτ' ἂν ἡμέραι δύο
ou gàr ésth'   *hópōs* mí'   hēméra
not then be.3SG.PRS how   one.F.NOM.SG day.NOM.SG
génoit'   àn hēmérai   dúo
become.3SG.AOR.OPT.MID IRR day.NOM.PL two

'For there is no way that one day could become two days.' (Aristophanes, *Clouds* 1181)

(855) κοὐκ ἔςθ' ὅπως […] ἂν […] λάθοι
kouk   ésth'   *hópōs àn* láthoi
and=not be.3SG.PRS how   IRR hide.3SG.AOR.OPT

'… and there is no way for him to escape notice.' (Aristophanes, *Wasps* 212)

(856) οὐ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅπως ἀπειπεῖν ἂν δοκῶ μοι τήμερον
      ou gàr ésth'   *hópōs* apeipeîn   *àn* dokô   moi
      not then be.3SG.PRS how   refuse.AOR.INF IRR think.1SG.PRS me.DAT
      témeron
      today
      'For there is no way that I could think of refusing today ...'
      (Aristophanes, *Peace* 306; cf. also Plato, *Apology* 40c)

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(857) οὐ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅπως [...] εὖνοι γένοιντ' ἄν
      ou gàr ésth'   *hópōs* eûnoi
      not then be.3SG.PRS how   right-minded.M.NOM.PL
      génoint'   *án*
      become.3PL.AOR.OPT.MID IRR
      '... for there is no way in which they could become well-disposed ...'
      (Demosthenes 15.18)

(858) ἔστιν οὖν, ὅπως ταῦτ' ἄν, ἐκεῖνα προειρηκώς, [...] ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν
      éstin   oûn, *hópōs* taût'   *án*, ekeîna
      be.3SG.PRS so   how   this.N.ACC.PL IRR that.N.ACC.PL
      proeirēkṓs,   etólmēsen   eipeîn
      say.before.PTCP.PRF.M.NOM.SG dare.3SG.AOR say.AOR.INF
      'So is there any way in which he could have dared to say these things, having previously said those ... ?' (Demosthenes 19.308)

A similar reading is given to (859) and (860) on the one hand, but also (861) on the other.

(859) ἀλλ' οὐδὲ φίλων πέλας οὐδείς, ὅστις ἂν εἴποι
      all' oudè phílōn   pélas oudeís,   *hóstis*   *àn*
      but nor   friend.GEN.PL near nobody.M.NOM.SG who.M.NOM.SG IRR
      eípoi
      say.3SG.AOR.OPT
      'And neither is there any of his kin nearby who might say ...' (Euripides, *Alcestis* 80)*

(860) οὔτε τις ξένος ἀφῖκται [...], ὅστις ἂν ἡμῖν σαφές τι ἀγγεῖλαι οἷός τ' ἦν
      περὶ τούτων

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition adds *ést'* after *pélas*.

oùte tis   xénos   aphîktai   *hóstis*
nor   some.M.NOM.SG stranger.NOM.SG arrive.3SG.PRF.PASS who.M.NOM.SG
àn hēmîn saphés   ti   angeîlai
IRR us.DAT clear.N.ACC.SG something.ACC.SG announce.3SG.AOR.OPT
hoîós   t'   ên   perì   toútōn
such.as.M.NOM.SG and be.3SG.IMP about this.GEN.PL
'Nor has any stranger come who could tell us anything definite about
this matter' (Plato, *Phaedo* 57a)

(861)   οὐδ' ἀγγελός τις οὐδὲ cυμπράκτωρ ὁδοῦ κατειδ' ὅτου τις ἐκμαθὼν
        ἐχρήcατ' ἄν
        oud' angelós   tis   oudè sumpráktōr   hodoû
        nor   messenger some.M.NOM.SG nor   assistant.NOM.SG way.GEN.SG
        kateid'   *hótou*   tis
        observe.3SG.AOR whom.M.GEN.SG someone.M.NOM.SG
        ekmathòn   ekhrḗsat'   *án*
        learn.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG use.3SG.AOR.MID IRR
        '(Was there) no messenger or travelling companion from whom one
        might have learned something of use?' (Sophocles, *Oedipus Rex* 117)

A second group of relative clauses to be considered here are those that are
introduced by *hóper* 'which', in which the *-per* conceptually serves to indicate
sharp subordination to the main clause, and in which we would therefore expect
to see *án* immediately following the relativizer, based on what was observed
with *hóstis*. We find this position in full *hósper*-sentences only in the majority of
examples, however, and not always: (862)–(870).

(862)   κατήλπιζε εὐπετέωc τῆc θαλάccηc κρατήcειν, τάπερ ἄν καὶ ἦν
        katḗlpize   eupetéōs tês   thalássēs kratḗsein,
        hope.3SG.IMP easily   the.F.GEN.SG sea.GEN.SG rule.FUT.INF
        táper   *àn* kaì ên
        which.N.NOM.PL IRR also be.3SG.IMP
        'He hoped that he would easily rule the seas, which might well have
        been.' (Herodotus 8.136.3)

(863)   τοιαῦτα θεραπεύcαντεc ἑωυτούc, ὁποῖά περ ἄν ἐθεραπεύθηcαν
        toiaûta   therapeúsantes   heōutoús,
        such.N.ACC.PL treat.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.PL themselves.ACC

hopoîa   *per àn* etherapeúthēsan
of.what.sort.N.ACC.PL all IRR treat.3PL.AOR.PASS
'… treating themselves in just such a way as they would be treated'
([Hippocrates,] *De arte* 46.12; Gomperz 1890: 46, line 12)

(864) ἐνόμιζον […] ὅϲον οὐκ ἐϲπλεῖν αὐτούϲ· ὅπερ ἂν, εἰ ἐβουλήθηϲαν μὴ
   κατοκνῆϲαι, ῥᾳδίωϲ ἂν ἐγένετο
   enómizon   hóson ouk espleîn autoús;
   consider.3PL.IMP how.much not sail.in.PRS.INF them.ACC
   hóper   *àn*, ei eboulḗthēsan mḕ katoknêsai, rhāidíōs
   which.M.NOM.SG IRR if wish.3PL.AOR.PASS not shrink.AOR.INF easily
   àn egéneto
   IRR become.3SG.AOR.MID
   'They believed that they were not far from sailing in upon them, which
   might easily have come to pass if they had been unwilling to shrink
   from it.' (Thucydides 2.94.1)*

(865) ἐὰν ϲυμβούλουϲ ποιώμεθα τοιούτουϲ […], οἵουϲ περ ἂν περὶ τῶν ἰδίων
   ἡμῖν εἶναι βουληθεῖμεν
   eàn sumboúlous poiṓmetha   toioútous
   if advisor.ACC.PL make.1PL.PRS.SBJV.PASS such.M.ACC.PL
   hoíous   *per àn* perì tôn   idíōn   hēmîn
   such.as.M.ACC.PL all IRR about the.N.GEN.PL private.N.GEN.PL us.DAT
   eînai   boulētheîmen
   be.PRS.INF wish.1PL.AOR.OPT.PASS
   '… if we make such people advisors as we would wish to have for our
   private affairs …' (Isocrates 8.133)

(866) χρὴ τοιούτουϲ εἶναι κριτάϲ […], οἵων περ ἂν αὐτοὶ τυγχάνειν ἀξιώϲειαν
   khrḕ   toioútous eînai   kritás *hoíōn*
   need.3SG.PRS such.M.ACC.PL be.PRS.INF judge.ACC.PL such.as.M.GEN.PL
   per àn autoì   tunkhánein axiṓseian
   all IRR same.M.NOM.PL happen.PRS.INF deem.3PL.AOR.OPT
   'It is necessary (for them) as judges to be such as they themselves would
   find worthy' (Isocrates 15.23)

(867) ἀξιῶν τὴν αὐτὴν Παϲίωνι […] γίγνεϲθαι ζημίαν, ἧϲπερ ἂν αὐτὸϲ
   ἐτύγχανεν

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *ṓionto* and lacks the second *àn*.

axiôn   tền   autền   Pasíōni
deem.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG the.F.ACC.SG same.F.ACC.SG Pasion.DAT
gígnesthai   zēmían,   *hêsper*   *àn* autòs
become.PRS.INF.PASS penalty.ACC.SG which.F.GEN.SG IRR same.M.NOM.SG
etúnkhanen
happen.3SG.IMP
'... expecting the same penalty for Pasion that he would have incurred himself' (Isocrates 17.21)

(868)   πράττεις ἅπερ ἂν δοῦλος φαυλότατος πράξειεν
        prátteis   *háper*   *àn* doûlos   phaulótatos
        do.2SG.PRS which.N.ACC.PL IRR slave.NOM.SG basest.M.NOM.SG
        práxeien
        do.3SG.AOR.OPT
        'You are doing what the meanest slave would do' (Plato, *Crito* 52c)*

(869)   ᾤμην […] διαλέξεϲθαι αὐτόν μοι, ἅπερ ἂν ἐραϲτὴϲ παιδικοῖϲ […] διαλεχθείη
        ṓimēn   dialéxesthai   autón   moi,   *háper*   *àn*
        think.1SG.IMP discuss.FUT.INF.MID him.ACC me.DAT which.N.ACC.PL IRR
        erastềs   paidikoîs   dialekhtheíē
        lover.NOM.SG darling.DAT.PL discuss.3SG.AOR.OPT.PASS
        'I thought that he would say to me what a lover would say to his favourites.' (Plato, *Symposium* 217b)

(870)   ἐποίουν ἅπερ ἂν ἄνθρωποι ἐν ἐρημίᾳ ποιήϲειαν
        epoíoun   *háper*   *àn* ánthrōpoi   en erēmíāi
        do.3PL.IMP which.N.ACC.PL IRR person.NOM.PL in solitude.DAT.SG
        poiéseian
        do.3PL.AOR.OPT
        '... they did what people would do in private.' (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 5.4.34)

But in examples (871)–(873), *án* is separated from *hósper*:

(871)   τὸν δὲ πόλεμον, δι' ὅνπερ χρήϲιμοι ἂν εἶμεν, εἴ τιϲ ὑμῶν μὴ οἴεται ἔϲεϲθαι

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition adds *te* and also *ho* before *phaulótatos*.

tòn   dè pólemon, di'   *hónper*   khrḗsimoi
the.M.ACC.SG but war.ACC.SG through which.M.ACC.SG useful.M.NOM.PL
àn eîmen,   eí tis   humôn   mè oíetai
IRR be.1PL.PRS if someone.M.NOM.SG you.GEN.PL not think.3SG.PRS.PASS
ésesthai
be.FUT.INF.MID
'But if any of you does not think there will be a war, through which we
could be useful …' (Thucydides 1.33.3)

(872) Φίλιππος δ᾽ ἅπερ εὔξαισθ᾽ ἂν ὑμεῖς, […] πράξει
       Phílippos d'   *háper*   eúxaisth'   *àn* humeîs
       Philip.NOM then which.N.ACC.PL pray.2PL.AOR.OPT.MID IRR you.NOM.PL
       práxei
       do.3SG.FUT
       '… and Philip will do just what you would have prayed for'
       (Demosthenes 6.30)

(873) ὑμεῖς δ᾽, ἅπερ εὔξαισθ᾽ ἄν, ἐλπίσαντες […]
       humeîs   d',   *háper*   eúxaisth'   *án*,
       you.NOM.PL then which.N.ACC.PL pray.2PL.AOR.OPT.MID IRR
       elpísantes
       hope.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.PL
       '… and you, hoping for just what you would have prayed for …'
       (Demosthenes 19.328)

Awareness of the close connection between *án* and *hósper* becomes particu-
larly clear in cases of verb ellipsis: compare ellipsis of the subjunctive verb, e.g.
(874)–(877).

(874) φίλους νομίζους᾽ οὕσπερ ἂν πόσις σέθεν
       phílous   nomízous'   *hoúsper*   *àn*
       dear.M.ACC.PL consider.PTCP.PRS.F.NOM.SG whom.M.ACC.PL IRR
       pósis   séthen
       husband.NOM.SG you.GEN
       '… holding them as dear as does your husband' (Euripides, *Medea* 1153)

(875) φιλεῖν οἴεσθε δεῖν καὶ τιμᾶν, οὕσπερ ἂν καὶ ὁ βασιλεύς
       phileîn   oíesthe   deîn   kaì timân,
       like.PRS.INF think.2PL.PRS.IMPER.PASS need.PRS.INF and honour.PRS.INF

> *hoúsper*   *àn* kaì ho   basileús
> whom.M.ACC.PL IRR also the.M.NOM.SG king.NOM.SG
> 'Believe that you should love and honour those whom your king loves and honours' (Isocrates 3.60)

(876) τὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς μισεῖν καὶ φιλείν, οὕσπερ ἂν ἡ πατρίς
      tò   *toùs*   *autoùs*   *miseîn*   kaì *phileín,*
      the.N.NOM.SG the.M.ACC.PL same.M.ACC.PL hate.PRS.INF and like.PRS.INF
      hoúsper   *àn* hē   *patrís*
      whom.M.ACC.PL IRR the.F.NOM.SG fatherland.NOM.SG
      '... having the same friends and the same enemies as your country.' (Demosthenes 18.280)

    [p390]

(877) τελεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν τὰ αὐτὰ τέλη ἐν τῷ δήμῳ ἅπερ ἄγ καὶ Πειραιεῖc
      teleîn   *dè autòn*   *tà*   *autà*   *télē*
      fulfil.PRS.INF but him.M.ACC.SG the.N.ACC.PL same.N.ACC.PL end.ACC.PL
      en tôi   *démōi*   *háper*   *àng* kaì Peiraieîs
      in the.M.DAT.SG people.DAT.SG which.N.ACC.PL IRR also Peiraean.NOM.PL
      '... and for him to pay the same fees for the people that Peiraeans also would' (CIA 2.589.26; circa 300 BCE)

(878) τοcαύτην ποιηcάμενοι cπουδὴν, ὅcην περ ἂν τῆc αὐτῶν χώραc πορθουμένηc
      tosaútēn   *poiēsámenoi*   *spoudèn,*
      so.much.F.ACC.SG make.PTCP.AOR.MID.M.NOM.PL speed.ACC.SG
      hósēn   *per àn* tês   hautôn   khóras
      as.much.F.ACC.SG all IRR the.F.GEN.SG themselves.GEN land.GEN.SG
      porthouménēs
      ravage.PTCP.PRS.PASS.F.GEN.SG
      '... having made as great haste as if it had been their own country that was being laid waste.' (Isocrates 4.86)

    The following serve as examples: (878)–(885).

(879) νικῆcαι [...] τοcοῦτον, ὅcον περ ἂν εἰ ταῖc γυναιξὶν αὐτῶν cυνέβαλον
      nikêsai   *tosoûton,*   *hóson*   *per àn* ei taîs
      win.AOR.INF so.much.N.ACC.SG as.much.N.ACC.SG all IRR if the.F.DAT.PL

gunaixìn   autôn   sunébalon
woman.DAT.PL them.GEN clash.3PL.AOR
'... to have won as complete a victory as if they had come to blows with their womenfolk' (Isocrates 5.90)

(880)   τοcοῦτον ἐφρόνηcαν, ὅcον περ ἄν, εἰ πάντων ἡμῶν ἐκράτηcαν
tosoûton   ephrónēsan,   hóson   per àn, ei
so.much.N.ACC.SG understand.3PL.AOR as.much.N.ACC.SG all IRR if
pántōn   hēmôn ekrátēsan
all.M.GEN.PL us.GEN rule.3PL.AOR
'... they were as filled with pride as if they had conquered us all' (Isocrates 10.49)

(881)   ἅπερ ἄν εἰc τοὺc πολεμιωτάτουc, ἐξαμαρτεῖν ἐτόλμηcαν
háper   àn eis toùs   polemiōtátous,
which.N.ACC.PL IRR into the.M.ACC.PL hostile.SUPL.M.ACC.PL
examarteîn   etólmēsan
wrong.AOR.INF dare.3PL.AOR
'They dared to do wrong as they would to their greatest enemies' (Isocrates 14.37)

(882)   εἰc τὸν αὐτὸν καθέcτηκα κίνδυνον, εἰc ὅνπερ ἄν, εἰ πάντας ἐτύγχανον ἠδικηκώc
eis tòn   autòn   kathéstēka kíndunon,   eis
into the.M.ACC.SG same.M.ACC.SG set.1SG.PRF danger.ACC.SG into
hónper   án, ei pántas   etúnkhanon
which.M.ACC.SG IRR if all.M.ACC.PL happen.1SG.IMP
ēdikēkṓs
wrong.PTCP.PRF.M.NOM.SG
'I stand in the same peril in which I would stand if I happened to have wronged everyone' (Isocrates 15.28)

(883)   δοκεῖ μοι [...] τοιαύτην ποιήcαcθαι ζήτηcιν αὐτοῦ, οἵαν περ ἄν, εἰ προcέταξέ τιc
dokeî   moi   toiaútēn   poiḗsasthai   zḗtēsin
seem.3SG.PRS me.DAT such.F.ACC.SG do.AOR.INF.MID search.ACC.SG
autoû, hoían   per án, ei prosétaxé   tis
it.GEN such.as.F.ACC.SG all IRR if command.3SG.AOR someone.M.NOM.SG
'It is apparent to me to use such an inquiry for this as we would if

someone commanded ...' (Plato, *Republic* 2.368d)[*]

(884) μόνοι τε ὄντες ὅμοια ἔπραττον, ἅπερ ἂν μετ᾽ ἄλλων ὄντες
       mónoi   te óntes   hómoia   épratton,
       alone.M.NOM.PL and be.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.PL similar.N.ACC.PL do.3PL.IMP
       háper   *àn* met' állōn   óntes
       which.N.ACC.PL IRR with other.M.GEN.PL be.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.PL
       'And being alone, they would do the same things that they would with
       others.' (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 5.4.34)

(885) ἀπεκρινάμην αὐτῷ, ἅπερ ἂν νέος ἄνθρωπος
       apekrinámēn   autôi, *háper*   *àn* néos
       answer.1SG.AOR.MID him.DAT which.N.ACC.PL IRR young.M.NOM.SG
       ánthrōpos
       person.NOM.SG
       'I answered him as a young man would' (Demosthenes 53.12)

Among the relative clauses introduced by *hós* alone, those with an assimilated
pronoun are most clearly marked as closely connected to the main clause. In
accordance with this, most of the examples that I have to hand have *án* after *hós*:
(886)–(889). But the number of examples is too small to justify a general rule, and
(890) is a counterexample.

(886) ἐγὼ δεδηγμένος [...] τὸ ἀλγεινότατον ὧν ἄν τις δηχθείη
       egò   dedēgménos   tò   algeinótaton
       I.NOM bite.PTCP.PRF.PASS.M.NOM.SG the.N.ACC.SG painful.SUPL.N.ACC.SG
       hôn   *án* tis   dēkhtheíē
       which.N.GEN.PL IRR someone.M.NOM.SG bite.3SG.AOR.OPT.PASS
       'I have been bitten in the most painful way that one can be bitten' (Plato,
       Symposium 218a)[†]

(887) ἐμμενεῖν οἷς ἂν οὗτοι γνοῖεν
       emmeneîn   *hoîs*   *àn* hoûtoi   gnoîen
       abide.PRS.INF which.N.DAT.PL IRR this.M.NOM.PL know.3PL.AOR.OPT
       '... to abide by what these men would decide' (Isaeus 5.31)

(888) ἐμμενεῖν οἷς ἂν αὐτοὶ γνοῖεν
       emmeneîn   *hoîs*   *àn* autoì   gnoîen
       abide.PRS.INF which.N.DAT.PL IRR same.M.NOM.PL know.3PL.AOR.OPT
       '... to abide by what they themselves would decide' (Isaeus 5.33)

[*] *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *dokô* for *dokeî*.   [†] *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition adds *oûn* after *egò*.

(889) πρὸς ἅπασιν […] τοῖς ἄλλοις, οἷς ἂν εἰπεῖν τις ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος ἔχοι
pròs hápasin   toîs   állois,   *hoîs*   *àn*
to   quite.all the.N.DAT.PL other.N.DAT.PL which.N.DAT.PL IRR
eipeîn   tis   hupèr Ktēsiphôntos ékhoi
say.AOR.INF someone.M.NOM.SG over   Ctesiphon.GEN have.3SG.PRS.OPT
'As well as all the other things with which one might speak for
Ctesiphon …' (Demosthenes 18.16)

(890) μηδὲν ὧν ἰδίᾳ φυλάξαισθ’ ἄν
mēdèn   *hôn*   idíāi   phuláxaisth’
nothing.ACC which.N.GEN.PL private.F.DAT.SG guard.2PL.AOR.OPT.MID
án
IRR
'… none of the things against which you would guard in your private
lives' (Demosthenes 20.136)

In other types of relative clause, usage seems colourful and lawless. However,
I think I can say that normal relative clauses have *án* almost as often immediately
after the pronoun as in a later position in the clause. A natural consequence of
this variation is that it is not unusual to find *án* twice in relative clauses, e.g.
(891)–(893). Compare the double use of *án* in main clauses, discussed below.

(891) ἀφ’ ὧν ἄν τις σκοπῶν, εἴ ποτε καὶ αὖθις ἐπιπέσοι, μάλιστ’ ἂν ἔχοι τι
προειδὼς μὴ ἀγνοεῖν
aph’ *hôn*   *án* tis
of   which.N.GEN.PL IRR someone.M.NOM.SG
skopôn,   eí pote   kaì aûthis epipésoi,
consider.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG if sometime also again fall.on.3SG.AOR.OPT
málist’ *àn* ékhoi   ti
most   IRR have.3SG.PRS.OPT something.ACC.SG
proeidòs   mè agnoeîn
foresee.PTCP.PRF.M.NOM.SG not overlook.PRS.INF
'… with which some observer, if it should ever come upon us again, may
have something to predict and recognize.' (Thucydides 2.48.3)

(892) ὅσα γὰρ ἂν νῦν πορίσαιτ’ ἄν
hósa   gàr *àn* nûn porísait’   *án*
as.much.N.ACC.PL then IRR now bring.2PL.AOR.OPT.MID IRR
'For the amount that you could provide …' (Demosthenes 14.26)*

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition lacks the first *àn*.

(893) οὓς ἄν τις δεόμενος [...] εἴποι ἄν
       hoùs   *án* tis   *deómenos*
       which.M.ACC.PL IRR someone.M.NOM.SG lack.PTCP.PRS.PASS.M.NOM.SG
       eípoi   *án*
       say.3SG.AOR.OPT IRR
       '... which someone might say while beseeching ...' ([Demosthenes] 59.70)

Therefore, when we find an example like (894), in which *án* has clearly been omitted, it is completely impossible to establish, from our perspective, whether the right reading is *di' hôn* an *pausaímeth'* or rather *di' hôn pausaímeth'* an (as found in editions since Bekker 1823: 1539).

(894) ἅ δεῖ καὶ δι' ὧν παυσαίμεθ' αἰσχύνην ὀφλισκάνοντες
       há   *deî*   *kaì di'*   *hôn*
       which.N.ACC.PL need.3SG.PRS and through which.N.GEN.PL
       pausaímeth'   *aiskhúnēn*   *ophliskánontes*
       stop.1PL.AOR.OPT.MID shame.ACC.SG incur.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.PL
       '... what is necessary and by what means we may cease to incur disgrace' (Demosthenes, *Exordia* 1.3)

[p391] On the other hand, where the relative pronoun simply serves in place of *hoûtos* 'this', Latin-style, to link two independent statements together – in other words, when we are dealing with a main clause rather than a relative clause – *án* is never found after the pronoun; cf. (895)–(897).

(895) ἐν οἷς ἐγὼ [...] δικαίως ἂν ὑπὸ πάντων ἐλεηθείην
       en *hoîs*   *egṑ*   *dikaíōs*   *àn* hupò *pántōn*
       in which.N.DAT.PL I.NOM righteously IRR under all.M.GEN.PL
       eleētheíēn
       pity.1SG.AOR.OPT.PASS
       '... in which (circumstances) I might rightly be pitied by all.' (Andocides 1.67)

(896) ὅ τίς ἰδὼν οὐκ ἂν ἐφοβήθη [...];
       hó   *tís*   *idṑn*   *ouk àn*
       which.N.ACC.SG who.M.NOM.SG see.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG not IRR
       ephobḗthē
       frighten.3SG.AOR.PASS
       'Seeing which, who would not have been frightened?' (Lysias 2.34)*

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *ouk àn idṑn*.

(897) ἐξ ὧν cαφέcτατ' ἄν τιc ἴδοι

ex *hôn*   saphéstat' *án* tis   ídoi

out which.N.GEN.SG clearly.SUPL IRR someone.M.NOM.SG see.3SG.AOR.OPT

'From which one can most clearly see …' (Demosthenes 18.49)*

Correspondingly, in all other subordinate clauses, for instance those containing *án* with an optative or preterite, *án* is usually found in a later position in the clause. This is of course because in all such cases the subordinate clause has the mood in question not by virtue of being a subordinate clause but because it stands in for a main clause. For *hōs* 'that/as', for instance, we have the example (898) (but also (899)); for *hôste* 'so that', for instance, (900); for *hóti* 'that/because', for instance, (901)–(903).

(898) ὡc ἐγὼ οὐδ' ἄν ἔνα ἄλλον ἐπαινέcαιμι

hōs egṑ   oud' *àn* héna   állon   epainésaimi

as I.NOM nor IRR one.M.ACC.SG other.M.ACC.SG praise.1SG.AOR.OPT

'… as I could not praise another' (Plato, *Symposium* 214d)

(899) καὶ οὐκ ἄν ἐλπίcαντεc ὡc ἄν ἐπεξέλθοι τιc

kaì ouk àn elpísantes   hōs *àn* epexélthoi

and not IRR hope.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.PL as IRR proceed.3SG.AOR.OPT

tis

someone.M.NOM.SG

'… and not expecting that anyone might sally forth …' (Thucydides 5.9.3)†

(900) ὥcτε καὶ οὗτοc Ἔρωτοc ἄν εἴη μαθητήc

hôste kaì hoûtos   Érōtos   *àn* eíē   mathētḗs

so   also this.M.NOM.SG Eros.GEN IRR be.3SG.PRS.OPT pupil.NOM.SG

'… so that he too would be a pupil of Eros' (Plato, *Symposium* 197b)

(901) δῆλον ὅτι τοιαῦτ' ἄττ' ἄν λέγοι

dêlon   hóti toiaût'   átt'   *àn*

evident.N.NOM.SG that such.N.NOM.PL which.N.ACC.PL IRR

légoi

say.3SG.PRS.OPT

'(It is) evident that such things (are) what one might say …' (Plato, *Phaedo* 93c)

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition adds *kaì* after *hôn*.   † *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *elpísantas* for *elpísantes*.

(902)   ὅτι οὕτως ἂν ἡμῶν τὸ γένος εὔδαιμον γένοιτο

        hóti hoútōs *àn* hēmôn tò   génos   eúdaimon
        that so   IRR us.GEN the.N.NOM.SG kind.NOM.SG fortunate.N.NOM.SG
        génoito
        become.3SG.AOR.OPT.MID

        '... that our kind would become happy in this way ...' (Plato, *Symposium* 193c)

(903)   ὅτι τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἂν ἐμέμνητο τῶν αὑτοῦ

        hóti tôn   adikēmátōn   *àn* emémnēto   tôn
        that the.N.GEN.PL wrong.GEN.PL IRR recall.3SG.PLPF.PASS the.N.GEN.PL
        hautoû
        himself.GEN

        'Because he would recall his own crimes ...' (Demosthenes 18.79)

   The same holds for *epeì* 'as/since', for instance (904)–(905).

(904)   ἐπεὶ ἔχοι γ᾽ ἄν τις εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν

        epeì ékhoi   g'   *án* tis   eipeîn   perì
        when have.3SG.PRS.OPT even IRR someone.M.NOM.SG say.AOR.INF about
        autôn
        them.N.GEN.PL

        '... while one might be able to speak about them' (Plato, *Cratylus* 410a)

(905)   ἐπεὶ διὰ γ᾽ ὑμᾶς πάλαι ἂν ἀπωλώλειτε

        epeì dià   g'   humâs   pálai   *àn* apōlṓleite
        when through even you.ACC.PL long.ago IRR destroy.2PL.PLPF

        '... when on your own you would have perished long ago.' (Demosthenes 18.49)[*]

   The transmission gives us cause for doubt when it comes to temporal particles: *hótan* 'when(ever)' with the optative is transmitted in Aeschylus, *Persians* 450, and *héōs án* 'until IRR' with the optative in Isocrates 17.15 and Plato, *Phaedo* 101d.[†] (Since Elmsley 1812: 453, Sophocles, *Women of Trachis* 687 is no longer taken to contain this.) We can be confident in (906)–(908). In example (909), *án* is deleted.

(906)   ἡνίκ᾽ ἂν ἡμεῖς μὴ δυναίμεθ᾽ ἐκεῖσ᾽ ἀφικέσθαι

        hēník' *àn* hēmeîs mḕ dunaímeth'   ekeîs' aphikésthai
        when IRR we.NOM not can.1PL.PRS.OPT.PASS thither arrive.AOR.INF.MID

        '... when we could not arrive there.' (Demosthenes 4.31)

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[*] *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition adds *autoùs* after *humâs*.   [†] *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition of Isocrates 17.15 lacks *án*.

(907) πρὶν ἂν [...] μετέχοιεν
prìn àn metékhoien
before IRR share.3PL.PRS.OPT
'... until they could share ...' (Xenophon, *Hellenica* 2.3.48)

(908) πρὶν ἂν [...] καταστήσειαν
prìn àn katastéseian
before IRR share.3PL.PRS.OPT
'... until they could set ...' (Xenophon, *Hellenica* 2.3.48)

(909) πρὶν ἂν [...] ἢ πέσοι τις ἢ τρωθείη
prìn àn è pésoi tis è
before IRR or fall.3SG.AOR.OPT someone.M.NOM.SG or
trōtheíē
wound.3SG.AOR.OPT.PASS
'... until someone either fell or was wounded' (Xenophon, *Hellenica* 2.4.18)

Without exception, *án* is separated from the conjunction in optative *ei*-clauses: *ei* 'if' introducing embedded questions, e.g. (910), and *ei* 'if' introducing adverbial clauses, e.g. (911)–(914).[*]

(910) οὐκ οἶδ᾽ εἰ οἷός τ᾽ ἂν εἴης
ouk oîd' ei hoîós t' àn eíēs
not know.1SG.PRF if such.as.M.NOM.SG and IRR be.2GS.PRS.OPT
'I do not know if you would be of that sort.' (Plato, *Symposium* 210a)

(911) εἰ πῶς ἂν ἀναπείσαιμεν ἱκετεύοντέ νιν
ei pôs àn anapeísaimen hiketeúonté
if somehow IRR persuade.1PL.AOR.OPT supplicate.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.DU
nin
3.ACC
'If somehow we could persuade by supplicating her ...' (Euripides, *Helen* 825)[†]

(912) οὐδ᾽ εἰ μὴ ποιήσαιτ᾽ ἂν ἤδη
oud' *ei* mè poiésait' àn édē
nor if not do.2PL.AOR.OPT IRR already
'Nor, if you should fail to do immediately ...' (Demosthenes 4.18)[‡]

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[*] *Translator's note*: The distinction here is between German *ob* 'if/whether' and *wenn* 'if'. [†] *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *ísōs* for *pôs*. [‡] *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition lacks *édē*.

(913) οὐκοῦν αἰσχρόν, εἰ μέλλοντες μὲν εὖ πάσχειν cυκοφάντην ἂν τὸν ταῦτα
       λέγονθ᾽ ἡγοῖcθε, ἐπὶ τῷ δ᾽ ἀφελέcθαι [...] ἀκούcεcθε

       oukoûn   aiskhrón,   *ei* méllontes   mèn eû
       not.then shameful.N.NOM.SG if be.going.to.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.PL then well

       páskhein   sukophántēn   *àn* tòn   taûta
       suffer.PRS.INF informer.ACC.SG IRR the.M.ACC.SG this.N.ACC.PL

       légonth᾽   hēgoîsthe,   epì   tôi   d᾽
       say.PTCP.PRS.M.ACC.SG lead.2PL.PRS.OPT.PASS upon the.N.DAT.SG then

       aphelésthai   akoúsesthe
       remove.AOR.INF.MID hear.2PL.FUT.MID

       '(Is it) not then shameful if you consider the one saying these things a
       pettifogger when about to benefit, but you will listen about removing ...'
       (Demosthenes 20.62)

(914) ἐξώληc ἀπολοίμην [...], εἰ προcλαβών γ᾽ ἂν ἀργύριον [...] ἐπρέcβευcα

       exólēs   apoloímēn   *ei* proslabṓn
       ruined.M.NOM.SG destroy.1SG.AOR.OPT.MID if accept.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG

       g᾽   *àn* argúrion   eprésbeusa
       even IRR money.ACC.SG be.ambassador.1SG.AOR

       'May I perish miserably if I would have become an ambassador even by
       accepting money' (Demosthenes 19.172)

In these cases the hypothetical character of the clause provided by *án* is not
determined by *ei*; see the commentators on the individual examples.

[p392] The cases in which *mḗ* 'not' with the optative and *án* follow expressions
of fear and expectation are particularly significant: (915)–(918). Here it cannot be
doubted that the use of the optative with *án* is due to the main clause influencing
the subordinate clause with *mḗ*, and here only one of four examples contains *án*
immediately following *mḗ*.

(915) δέδοικα γάρ, μὴ πρῷ λέγοιc ἂν τὸν πόθον

       dédoika   gár, *mḕ* prṑi légois   *àn* tòn
       fear.1SG.PRF then not early say.2SG.PRS.OPT IRR the.M.ACC.SG

       póthon
       longing.ACC.SG

       'I am afraid lest you tell my longing too soon' (Sophocles, *Women of
       Trachis* 630)

(916) οὔτε προcδοκία οὐδεμία ἦν, μὴ ἄν ποτε οἱ πολέμιοι ἐξαπιναίωc οὕτωc
       ἐπιπλεύcειαν

oúte prosdokía   oudemía   ên,   *mề án* pote
nor expectation.NOM.SG none.F.NOM.SG be.3SG.IMP not IRR sometime
hoi   polémioi   exapinaíōs hoútōs
the.M.NOM.PL hostile.M.NOM.PL unexpectedly so
epipleúseian
sail.upon.3PL.AOR.OPT

'Nor was there any expectation lest the enemy should ever launch an attack so unexpectedly.' (Thucydides 2.93.3)

(917) ἐκεῖνο ἐννοῶ, μὴ λίαν ἂν ταχὺ cωφρονιcθείην
ekeîno   ennoô,   *mề* lían *àn* takhù
that.N.ACC.SG consider.1SG.PRS not very IRR quickly
sōphronistheíēn
chasten.1SG.AOR.OPT.PASS

'As for that I misdoubt that I should be recalled to my senses very quickly.' (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 6.1.28)

(918) φοβοῦνται, μὴ ματαία ἂν γένοιτο αὕτη ἡ παραcκευή
phoboûntai,   *mề* mataía   *àn* génoito
frighten.3PL.PRS.PASS not vain.F.NOM.SG IRR become.3SG.AOR.OPT.MID
haútē   hē   paraskeuế
this.F.NOM.SG the.F.NOM.SG preparation.NOM.SG

'(Some) were afraid lest this plan should prove vain.' (Xenophon, *Ways* 4.41)*

   This makes it clear why the position of *án* is so fixed in subjunctive clauses and so flexible in other subordinate clauses. In Classical Greek, *án* with subjunctive mood is found only in subordinate clauses; what would be the point in moving *án* from its traditional position? Conversely, *án* with the indicative and with the optative is not only more frequent in main than in subordinate clauses but also basically carried over to these subordinate clauses from the main clause. It was necessary for the positional tendencies of *án* in main clauses to be carried over to the subordinate clauses in question.

7 Postpositive particles: *án* in main clauses

But what is going on with the free positioning of *án* in main clauses? It is indisputable that *án* can be found a long way from the initial position in such clauses.

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *kataskeuế* for *paraskeuế*.

The only word that it must precede is the final finite or non-finite verb modified by *án* in the clause, and here I particularly emphasize that participles equivalent to hypothetical subordinate clauses happily precede *án* (cf. e.g. (919)).

(919) γόνιμον δὲ ποιητὴν ἂν οὐχ εὕροις ἔτι ζητῶν ἄν
gónimon   dè poiētền   àn oukh heúrois   éti
fruitful.M.ACC.SG but poet.ACC.SG IRR not   find.2SG.AOR.OPT still
zētôn   án
seek.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG IRR
'If you looked, you wouldn't find a fruitful poet any more.'
(Aristophanes, *Frogs* 96)

án may only follow this verb if it occurs immediately attached to it. However, there are examples in which *g'*, a single-syllable enclitic or other monosyllable intervenes between the verb and *án*. For *g'* 'even': (920).

(920) ἐπεὶ ἔχοι γ᾽ ἄν τις εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν
epeì ékhoi   g'   án tis   eipeîn   perì
when have.3SG.PRS.OPT even IRR someone.M.NOM.SG say.AOR.INF about
autôn
them.N.GEN.PL
'... while one might be able to speak about them' (Plato, *Cratylus* 410A)

For *tis* 'someone': [Euripides, *Oresteia* 694 and] (921).

(921) οὐ μὲν οὖν εἴποι τις ἂν ἡλίκας
ou mèn oûn eípoi   tis   àn hēlíkas
not then so say.3SG.AOR.OPT someone.M.NOM.SG IRR so.great.F.ACC.PL
'... indeed, one could not say enough ...' (Demosthenes 18.282)

For *pot'* 'ever': (922).

(922) κεῖνος δὲ πῶς τὰ ζῶντα τοῖς θανοῦσιν ἀποδοίη ποτ᾽ ἄν
keînos   dè pôs tà   zônta   toîs
that.M.NOM.SG but how the.N.ACC.PL live.PTCP.PRS.N.ACC.PL the.M.DAT.PL
thanoûsin   apodoíē   pot'   án
die.PTCP.AOR.M.DAT.PL restore.3SG.AOR.OPT sometime IRR
'And how could he ever restore the living to the dead?' (Euripides, *Helen* 912f.)

[p393] For *ou* (NEG): (923).

(923) ἦ γὰρ εἴην οὐκ ἂν εὖ φρονῶν
    ê   gàr eíēn   ouk *àn* eû phronôn
    in.truth then be.1SG.PRS.OPT not IRR well reason.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG
    'For truly I would not be in my right mind …' (Sophocles, *Ajax* 1330)

For *takh'* 'quickly': (924).

(924) τῇ δ' ἐπιστήμῃ σύ μου τρούχοις τάχ' ἂν που
    têi   d' epistémēi   sú   mou
    the.F.DAT.SG then knowledge.F.DAT.SG you.NOM me.GEN
    troúkhois   tákh' *án* pou
    have.before.2SG.PRS.OPT quickly IRR somewhere
    'But perhaps you have an advantage in knowledge over me …'
    (Sophocles, *Oedipus Rex* 1115f.)

For *tad'* 'this': (925).

(925) τίς cωφρονῶν τλαίη τάδ' ἂν
    tís   sōphronôn   tlaíē
    who.M.NOM.SG be.sane.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG endure.3SG.AOR.OPT
    tád'   *án*
    this.N.ACC.PL IRR
    'Who in his senses would dare this?' (Euripides, *Helen* 97)

For *taut'* 'this': (926).

(926) cυμμαρτυροίη ταῦτ' ἂν ἐν δίκῃ
    summarturoíē   taût'   *àn* en díkēi
    corroborate.3SG.PRS.OPT this.N.ACC.PL IRR in judgement.DAT.SG
    '(She) too would bear witness to these things in judgement …' (Solon,
    Fragment 36.1)

For *ment'* 'yet': (927), (928), and Plato, *Apology* 30D.

(927) ᾤμωξε μέντ' ἂν
    óimōxe   mént' *án*
    lament.3SG.AOR yet IRR
    'He would certainly regret it.' (Aristophanes, *Frogs* 743)

(928) βουλοίμην μέντ' ἄν
  bouloímēn mént' *án*
  wish.1SG.PRS yet IRR
  'I would certainly wish so.' (Plato, *Phaedo* 76B)

However, these last three examples ((926), (927), (928)) also permit a different explanation. When the verb is clause-initial, the rule discussed above seems not to hold, e.g. (929)–(931).

(929) προσέβα γὰρ οὐκ ἄν ἀστιβὲς ἄλσος ἔς
  proséba   gàr ouk *àn* astibès   álsos   és
  approach.3SG.AOR then not IRR untrodden.N.ACC.SG grove.ACC.SG into
  'For he would not have entered the untrodden grove ...' (Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus* 125)

(930) ὄλοιντ' ἰδοῦσαι τοῦσδ' ἄν
  óloint'   idoûsai   toûsd'   *án*
  destroy.3PL.AOR.OPT.MID see.PTCP.AOR.F.NOM.PL this.M.ACC.PL IRR
  'They would be undone, seeing them.' (Euripides, *Suppliants* 944)

(931) μάθοιτε δὲ τοῦτο μάλιστ' ἄν
  máthoite   dè toûto   málist' *án*
  learn.2PL.AOR.OPT but this.N.ACC.SG most IRR
  'But you would understand this best ...' (Demosthenes 21)

Moreover, it is obvious that, if a clause contains multiple instances of *án*, the rule will affect the last *án*, as in (932) and (933). In (934), the distance between the second *án* and the verb can be explained by the initial position of the verb.

(932) ἔδρασ' ἄν (εὖ τόδ' ἴσθ') ἄν
  édras'   *àn* (eû tód'   ísth')   *án*
  do.1SG.AOR IRR well this.N.ACC.SG know.2SG.PRF.IMPER IRR
  'I could have done – know this well – ...' (Sophocles, *Oedipus Rex* 1438)*

(933) δύναιτ' ἄν οὐδ' ἄν ἰσχύων φυγεῖν
  dúnait'   *àn* oúd' *àn* iskhúōn
  can.3SG.PRS.OPT.PASS IRR nor IRR be.strong.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG
  phugeîn
  flee.AOR.INF
  '... not even a strong man would be able to escape' (Sophocles, *Electra* 697)

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *toût'* for *tód'*.

(934) ἠλείψατο δ᾽ ἂν τοὐμφαλοῦ οὐδεὶς παῖς ὑπένερθεν τότ᾽ ἂν

ēleípsato   d'   *àn* toumphaloû   oudeìs
anoint.3SG.AOR.MID then IRR the=navel.GEN.SG none.M.NOM.SG

paîs   hupénerthen tót' *án*
child.NOM.SG beneath   then IRR

'And no boy then would anoint himself below the navel.' (Aristophanes,
Clouds 977)

The editors of Aristophanes's *The Knights* were therefore right to change the
transmitted *phágois hḗdist'* in verse 707 to *phagṑn hḗdoit'* (or *hḗdoi*), as in (935).

(935) ἐπὶ τῷ φαγὼν ἥδοιτ᾽/ἥδοι᾽ ἄν

epì   tôi   phagṑn
upon what.N.DAT.SG eat.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG

hḗdoit'/hḗdoi'   *án*
enjoy.3SG(2SG).PRS.OPT.PASS IRR

'What would he (you) most enjoy dining on?' (Aristophanes, *Knights*
707)

On the other hand, (936) is only an apparent counterexample, since for each
of the consecutive nominatives an understood *élegen* 'speak' should be read. Cf.
also Sophocles, *Philoctetes* 292 *pròs toût'* án 'to this.N.ACC.SG IRR' (and (937)).

(936) οὐδὲν παρῆκ᾽ ἂν ἀργόν, ἀλλ᾽ ἔλεγεν ἡ γυνή τέ μοι χὠ δοῦλος οὐδὲν
      ἧττον χὠ δεσπότης χἠ παρθένος χἠ γραῦς ἄν

oudèn   parêk'   *àn* argón,   all' élegen
nothing.ACC.SG permit.1SG.AOR IRR idle.N.ACC.SG but say.3SG.IMP

hē   gunḗ   té   moi   khō   doûlos
the.F.NOM.SG woman.NOM.SG and me.DAT and=the.M.NOM.SG slave

oudèn   hêtton   khō   despótēs
nothing.N.ACC.SG less.N.ACC.SG and=the.M.NOM.SG master.NOM.SG

khē   parthénos   khē   graûs
and=the.F.NOM.SG maiden.NOM.SG and=the.F.NOM.SG old.woman.NOM.SG

án
IRR

'I would permit nothing idle; instead, my woman would speak, and the
slave no less, and the master and the maiden and the old woman.'
(Aristophanes, *Frogs* 949f.)

(937) κοὐ φθάνοι θνήσκων τις ἄν
      kou   phthánoi   thnḗskōn   tis
      and=not arrive.3SG.PRS.OPT die.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG someone.M.NOM.SG
      án
      IRR
      '... and it would not be too soon for anyone to die' (Euripides, *Orestes* 941)

From this rule, though, one can recognize what sort of tendencies have led to *án* being attracted away from the position it had occupied in Homeric times. The verb whose modality was determined by *án* attracted it to itself, along with negation, adverbs, particularly superlatives, and all those constituents for which the hypothetical character of the clause represented by *án* was most relevant, in the same way that the enclitic pronouns lost their traditional position because of the growing requirement to assign them the place in the clause that their function seemed to demand. However, as with the *[p394]* enclitic pronouns, the tradition retained a certain influence with *án*.

First, the tendency to attach to clause-initial words can also be demonstrated for *án*. This is indisputable for *tis* 'someone' and its forms, particularly *pōs*. (Cf. Jebb 1889: 175 on Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus* 1100, who makes reference to (938). Cf. Homer, *Iliad* 9.77, 24.367, and *Odyssey* 8.208 and 10.573.)

(938) τίς ἄν ἐν τάχει μὴ περιώδυνος μὴ δεμνιοτήρης μόλοι
      tís   *àn* en tákhei   mè periódunos   mè
      someone.F.NOM.SG IRR in haste.DAT.SG not very.painful.F.NOM.SG not
      demniotérēs   móloi
      bed-confining.F.NOM.SG come.3SG.AOR.OPT
      'May some (fate) come quickly, neither too painful nor too lingering ...' (Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 1448)[*]

Furthermore, we should make use of Werfer's (1814: 264ff.) observation that there are 'almost countless examples' of *án* attaching to *gàr* 'then'. The number of examples makes it impossible to reproduce, or add to, Werfer's collection here. I merely want to observe two things: first, although counterexamples can be adduced from all genres of literature, *gàr an* is still infinitely more frequent than *gàr ... an*; secondly, as a consequence of inserting *án* immediately after *gàr*, the need is often felt to insert *án* again in a later position in the clause: (939)–(955) (cf. Vahlen 1865: 408 on 1460b.7).

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[*] *Translator's note*: Wackernagel mentions line 1402, but the correct reference in Jebb (1889) is the similar example on line 1448. The Perseus edition has *mēdè* instead of the second *mè*.

(939) τῷ γὰρ ἂν καὶ μείζονι λέξαιμ᾽ ἂν ἢ σοί

tôi   gàr àn kaì meízoni   léxaim᾽   àn è

whom.M.DAT.SG then IRR also greater.M.DAT.SG say.1SG.AOR.OPT IRR than

soí

you.DAT

'For to whom more than to you would I speak …' (Sophocles, *Oedipus Rex* 772)

(940) οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν πράξαιμ᾽ ἄν

oudèn   gàr àn práxaim᾽   án

nothing.ACC.SG then IRR do.1SG.AOR.OPT IRR

'For I would do nothing …' (Sophocles, *Oedipus Rex* 882)

(941) κἀμοὶ γὰρ ἂν πατήρ γε δακρύων χάριν ἀνῆκτ᾽ ἂν εἰς φῶc

kamoì   gàr àn patḗr   ge dakrúōn khárin

and=me.DAT then IRR father.NOM.SG even tear.GEN.PL grace.ACC.SG

anêkt᾽   àn eis phôs

lead.up.3SG.PLPF IRR into light.ACC.SG

'For my father would at least have brought gratitude for tears into the light' (Sophocles, Fragment 513.6; Nauck 1889: 254)

(942) ἀλλ᾽ οὐ γὰρ ἂν τὰ θεῖα κρυπτόντων θεῶν μάθοις ἄν

all᾽ ou gàr àn tà   theîa   kruptóntōn

but not then IRR the.N.ACC.PL divine.N.ACC.PL hide.PTCP.PRS.M.GEN.PL

theôn   máthois   án

god.GEN.PL learn.2SG.AOR.OPT IRR

'But you would not learn of divine things with the gods hiding them.' (Sophocles, Fragment 833)

(943) μόλιc γὰρ ἂν τιc αὐτὰ τἀναγκαῖ᾽ ὁρᾶν δύναιτ᾽ ἂν ἑcτὼc πολεμίοιc ἐναντίοc

mólis   gàr án tis   autà

scarcely then IRR someone.M.NOM.SG them.N.ACC.PL

tanankaî᾽   horân   dúnait᾽   àn

the=necessary.N.ACC.PL see.PRS.INF can.3SG.PRS.OPT IRR

hestòs   polemíois   enantíos

stand.PTCP.PRF.M.NOM.SG hostile.M.DAT.PL opposite.M.NOM.SG

'For one would scarcely be able to see that which was necessary, standing opposite the foe.' (Euripides, *Suppliants* 855)

(944)   τὴν Τροίαν γὰρ ἂν δειλοὶ γενόμενοι πλεῖϲτον αἰϲχύνοιμεν ἄν
       těn   Troían gàr   *àn* deiloì
       the.F.ACC.SG Troy.ACC then IRR wretched.M.NOM.PL
       genómenoi   pleîston aiskhúnoimen   *án*
       become.PTCP.AOR.MID.M.NOM.SG most   shame.1PL.PRS.OPT.ACT IRR
       'For we would most greatly disgrace Troy by becoming cowardly.'
       (Euripides, *Helen* 948)

(945)   καὶ γὰρ ἂν κεῖνοϲ βλέπων ἀπέδωκεν ἄν ϲοι τῆνδ' ἔχειν
       kaì gàr *àn* keînos   blépōn   apédōken   *án*
       and then IRR that.M.NOM.SG look.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG restore.3SG.AOR IRR
       soi   těnd'   ékhein
       you.DAT this.F.ACC.SG have.PRS.INF
       'For that man, if he could see, would have given that woman back to you
       to have' (Euripides, *Helen* 1011)

(946)   εὐμενέϲτερον γὰρ ἂν τῷ φιλτάτῳ μοι Μενέλεῳ τὰ πρόϲφορα δρῴηϲ ἄν
       eumenésteron   gàr   *àn* tôi   philtátōi   moi
       favourably.COMP then IRR the.M.DAT.SG dearest.M.DAT.SG me.DAT
       Menéleōi   tà   prósphora   drṓiēs   *án*
       Menelaus.DAT the.N.ACC.PL suitable.N.DAT.PL do.2SG.PRS.OPT IRR
       'For you would be better disposed towards my dearest Menelaus while
       doing what is suitable ...' (Euripides, *Helen* 1298)

(947)   οὐ γὰρ ἄν ποτε τρέφειν δύναιτ' ἂν μία λόχμη κλέπτα δύο
       ou gàr *án* pote   tréphein   dúnait'   *àn*
       not then IRR sometime rear.PRS.INF can.3SG.PRS.OPT.PASS IRR
       mía   lókhmē   klépta   dúo
       one.F.NOM.SG lair.NOM.SG thief.ACC.DU two
       'For the same lair can never support two thieves' (Aristophanes, *Wasps*
       927)

(948)   οὐ γὰρ ἂν χαίροντεϲ ἡμεῖϲ τήμερον παυϲαίμεθ' ἄν
       ou gàr *àn* khaírontes   hēmeîs těmeron
       not then IRR rejoice.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.PL we.NOM today
       pausaímeth'   *án*
       stop.1PL.AOR.OPT.MID IRR
       'For today we cannot cease rejoicing.' (Aristophanes, *Peace* 321)

(949) ἄλλως γὰρ ἂν ἄμαχοι γυναῖκες καὶ μιαραὶ κεκλήμεθ᾽ ἄν
allōs   gàr   *àn* ámakhoi   gunaîkes   kaì
otherwise then IRR invincible.F.NOM.PL woman.F.NOM.PL and
miaraì   keklḗimeth᾽   *án*
polluted.F.NOM.PL confine.1PL.PRF.PASS IRR
'For otherwise we would be confined as being unconquerable and foul
women' (Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 252)

(950) καὶ γὰρ ἂν μαινοίμεθ᾽ ἄν
kaì gàr *àn* mainoímeth᾽   *án*
and then IRR rave.1PL.PRS.OPT.PASS IRR
'For we would be mad.' (Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae* 196)

(951) σαφῶς γὰρ ἄν, εἰ πείθοιμι ὑμᾶς ..., θεοὺς ἂν διδάσκοιμι
saphôs gàr *án*, ei peíthoimi   humâs   theoùs   *àn*
clearly then IRR if persuade.1SG.PRS.OPT you.ACC.PL god.ACC.PL IRR
didáskoimi
teach.1PL.PRS.OPT
'For clearly if I persuaded you, I should be teaching that the gods ...'
(Plato, *Apology* 35d)

(952) ἐγὼ γὰρ ἂν οἶμαι, εἰ ... δέοι ..., οἶμαι ἂν ... τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα
εὐαριθμήτους ἂν εὑρεῖν
egò gàr *àn* oîmai,   ei déoi   oîmai
I.NOM then IRR think.1SG.PRS.PASS if lack.3SG.PRS.OPT think.1SG.PRS.PASS
àn tòn   mégan   basiléa   euarithmḗtous
IRR the.M.ACC.SG great.M.ACC.SG king.ACC.SG easily-counted.M.ACC.PL
àn heureîn
IRR find.AOR.INF
'For I think, if it were necessary ... I think that the great king would find
few ...' (Plato, *Apology* 40d; cf. example (892) above)

(953) οὔτε γὰρ ἂν αἱ τῆς σελήνης ἐκλείψεις τοιαύτας ἂν εἶχον τὰς ἀποτομάς
oúte gàr *àn* hai   tês   selḗnēs   ekleípseis
nor   then IRR the.F.NOM.PL the.F.GEN.SG moon.GEN.SG eclipse.NOM.PL
toiaútas   *àn* eîkhon   tàs   apotomás
such.F.ACC.PL IRR have.3PL.IMP the.F.ACC.PL division.ACC.PL
'For neither would the eclipses of the moon have such divisions.'
(Aristotle, *On the Heavens* 227b.24)

(954) μέλλων γὰρ ἂν βαδίζειν τις οὐκ ἂν βαδίσειεν
       méllōn   gàr   àn badízein
       be.going.to.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG then IRR walk.PRS.INF
       tis   ouk àn badíseien
       someone.M.NOM.SG   not IRR walk.3SG.AOR.OPT
       'For someone about to walk would not have walked' (Aristotle, *On Generation and Corruption* 337b.7)

(955) οὕτως γὰρ ἂν ἔχον χρησιμώτατον ἂν εἴη
       hoútōs gàr àn ékhon   khrēsimṓtaton   àn
       so   then IRR have.PTCP.PRS.N.NOM.SG   useful.SUPL.N.NOM.SG IRR
       eíē
       be.3SG.PRS.OPT
       'For having (it) thus would be the most useful.' (Aristotle, *Parts of Animals* 654a.18)

[p395] It should also be noted that the joined words *kan* (from *kaì an* 'and IRR') and *takh' an* 'soon IRR', in which *án* has coalesced with the previous word to the point of being completely bleached of its original meaning, are found at the start of the clause in the majority of cases. However, we should not put too much weight on this, because even *kai an* and *takh' an* can be found in clause-internal positions in Homer, and there is no reason to derive the tight connection of *án* to *kaì* and *takha* from the instances in which *kaì* and *takha* are clause-initial. (The conjunction *kaì* 'and' immediately precedes *án* in (956)).

(956) καὶ ἂν ἐδήλου
       kaì àn edélou
       and IRR show.3SG.IMP
       '... and he would show ...' (Herodotus 4.118.4)

Secondly, *án*, like the enclitics, can occasionally be found after a vocative, as in (957).

(957) ἀλλ' ὦ μέλ' ἂν μοι σιτίων διπλῶν ἔδει
       all' ô mél'   án moi   sitíōn   diplôn   édei
       but O friend.VOC IRR me.DAT food.GEN.PL   double.N.GEN.PL lack.3SG.PRS
       'But, my dear, I would need twice the food.' (Aristophanes, *Peace* 137)

Thirdly, it often displaces *oûn* 'so/then', and more rarely *te* and *dè* 'and', from their positions: (958)–(970).

(958) οὕτω ἂν ὦν εἶμεν
hoùtō àn ôn eîmen
so IRR so be.1PL.PRS
'Therefore we would thus be …' (Herodotus 7.150.2; cf. Euripides, *Medea* 504)*

(959) τίς ἂν οὖν γένοιτ' ἂν ὅρκος
tís àn oûn génoit' àn órkos
what.M.NOM.SG IRR so become.3SG.AOR.OPT IRR oath.NOM.SG
'What oath would suit us then?' (Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 191)

(960) πῶς ἂν οὖν οὐκ ἂν δεινὰ πάσχοιμεν
pôs àn oûn ouk àn deinà páskhoimen
how IRR so not IRR terrible.N.ACC.PL suffer.1PL.PRS.OPT
'Then how could we not suffer terrible things?' ([Lysias] 20.15)

(961) πῶς ἂν οὖν δὴ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔχοι …, ἐγὼ πειράσομαι φράσαι
pôs àn oûn dè toûth' hoútōs ékhoi egò
how IRR so exactly this.N.NOM.SG so have.3SG.PRS.OPT I.NOM
peirásomai phrásai
try.1SG.FUT.MID tell.AOR.INF
'So I will try to tell you how this would be.' (Plato, *Phaedo* 64a)

(962) πῶς ἂν οὖν θεὸς εἴη ὅ γε τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἄμοιρος
pôs àn oûn theòs eíē hó ge
how IRR so god.NOM.SG be.3SG.PRS.OPT the.M.NOM.SG even
tôn kalôn kaì agathôn ámoiros
the.N.GEN.PL beautiful.N.GEN.PL and good.N.GEN.PL devoid.M.NOM.SG
'How then can he be a god, if he is devoid of things beautiful and good?'
(Plato, *Symposium* 202d)

(963) πῶς ἂν οὖν ἔχοντες τοσοῦτος πόρους … ἔπειτα ἐκ τούτων πάντων
τοῦτον ἂν τὸν τρόπον ἐξελοίμεθα …
pôs àn oûn ékhontes tosoútos pórous
how IRR so have.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.PL so.many.M.NOM.PL way.NOM.PL
épeita ek toútōn pántōn toûton àn tòn
then out this.M.GEN.PL all.M.GEN.PL this.M.ACC.SG IRR the.M.ACC.SG

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *eíēmen* for *eîmen.*

trópon   exeloímetha

way.ACC.SG choose.1PL.AOR.OPT.MID

'Therefore, having so many ways, how then could we choose this way
out of all these … ?' (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 2.5.20)

(964) πῶς ἂν οὖν ἐγὼ ἢ βιασαίμην ὑμᾶς … ἢ ἐξαπατήσας ἄγοιμι

pôs   *àn* oûn egò   é biasaímēn   humâs   è

how IRR so   I.NOM or force.1SG.AOR.OPT.MID you.ACC.PL or

exapatḗsas   ágoimi

deceive.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG lead.1SG.PRS.OPT

'Then how could I either force you or lead you by deception?'
(Xenophon, *Anabasis* 5.7.8)

(965) πῶς ἂν οὖν ἀνὴρ μᾶλλον δοίη δίκην

pôs   *àn* oûn anèr   mâllon doíē   díkēn

how IRR so   man.NOM.SG more   give.3SG.AOR.OPT judgement.ACC.SG

'Then how could a man bring down punishment more surely …'
(Xenophon, *Anabasis* 5.7.9)

(966) οὐκ ἂν οὖν ῥᾳδίως γέ τις εὕροι Σπαρτιατῶν … ὑγεινοτέρους

ouk   *àn* oûn rhāidíōs gé   tis   heúroi

not IRR so   easily   even someone.M.NOM.SG find.3SG.AOR.OPT

Spartiatôn   hugeinotérous

Spartan.GEN.PL healthier.M.ACC.PL

'So one could not easily find healthier men than the Spartans.'
(Xenophon, *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* 5.9)

(967) τίς ἂν οὖν εὖ φρονῶν αὐτὸν ἂν ἢ τὰ τῆς πατρίδος συμφέροντα ταύτῃ
συνάψειε

tís   *àn* oûn eû   phronôn   hautòn   àn

who.M.NOM.SG IRR so   well reason.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG himself.ACC IRR

è   tà   tês   patrídos   sumphéronta

or the.N.ACC.PL the.F.GEN.SG fatherland.GEN.SG gather.PTCP.PRS.N.ACC.PL

taútēi   sunápseie

this.F.DAT.SG join.3SG.AOR.OPT

'Then who in his right mind would bind himself or his country's
interests to this?' (Demosthenes 25.33)

(968) πῶς ἂν οὖν μὴ εἰδὼς ὁ πατὴρ αὐτὸν Ἀθηναῖον ἐσόμενον ἔδωκεν ἂν τὴν
ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα

pôs *àn* oûn mề eidồs   ho   patềr
how IRR so   not know.PTCP.PRF.M.NOM.SG the.M.NOM.SG father.NOM.SG
autòn Athēnaîon   esómenon   édōken   àn
him.ACC Athenian.ACC.SG be.PTCP.FUT.MID.M.ACC.SG give.3SG.AOR IRR
tền   heautoû   gunaîka
the.F.ACC.SG himself.GEN woman.ACC.SG
'How, then, could my father, not knowing that he was to become an
Athenian citizen, have given him his own wife ...' ([Demosthenes] 46.13)

(969) ἴϲωϲ ἄν οὖν τιϲ θαυμάϲειεν
ísōs   *àn* oûn tis   thaumáseien
perhaps IRR so   someone.M.NOM.SG wonder.3SG.AOR.OPT
'So perhaps someone might wonder ...' (Aeschines 1.17)

(970) πῶϲ ἄν οὖν ἐγὼ προεδεικνύμην Ἀλεξάνδρῳ
pôs   *àn* oûn egồ   proedeiknúmēn   Alexándrōi
how IRR so   I.NOM demonstrate.1SG.IMP.PASS Alexander.DAT
'How then could I have been already making a manifesto to Alexander?'
(Aeschines 3.219)

The fact that the *án* that precedes *oûn* is attached to *tís* 'what' or *pôs* 'how' fits
with what was observed above on p234. (It should not be denied that *án* follows
oûn even more frequently.) In (971) *án* precedes *te*; it precedes *de* in (972) and
perhaps (973) (the majority of the manuscripts and editions have *tákha d'* àn
ísōs).[*] However, in the last two examples the *[p396]* collocation of *takha* with *án*
is of more importance than the position itself.

(971) τάχιϲτ' ἄν τε πόλιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἀπολέϲειαν
tákhist' *án* te pólin   hoi   toioûtoi
fastest   IRR and city.ACC.SG the.M.NOM.PL such.M.NOM.PL
apoléseian
destroy.3PL.AOR.OPT
'And such people would ruin a state most quickly' (Thucydides 2.62.3)

(972) τάχ' ἄν δὲ καὶ ἄλλωϲ ἐϲπλεύϲαντεϲ
tákh' *àn* dè kaì állōs   espleúsantes
quickly IRR but also otherwise sail.in.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.PL
'... but perhaps also sailing in by another way' (Thucydides 6.2.4)[†]

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[*] *Translator's note*: This is also the version found in the modern Perseus edition.   [†] *Translator's
note*: The Perseus edition adds *pōs* after *állōs*.

(973) ταχ᾽ ἂν δ᾽ ἴϲωϲ
       takh᾽ *àn* d᾽ ísōs
       quickly IRR then perhaps
       (Thucydides 6.10.4)

Fourth, *án* is happy to be separated by an intervening clause from the main elements of the clause to which it belongs: (974)–(983).

(974) οὐδ᾽ ἄν, μὰ τὴν Δήμητρα, φροντίϲαιμί γε
       oud᾽ *án*, mà tèn   Démētra,   phrontísaimí   ge
       nor IRR by the.F.ACC.SG Demeter.ACC consider.1SG.AOR.OPT even
       'By Demeter, I wouldn't think of it.' (Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1222)

(975) ϲὺ δ᾽ ... οἶμαι, ἄν, ὡϲ ἐγὼ λέγω, ποιοίηϲ
       sù   d᾽ oîmai,   *án*, hōs egò   légō,
       you.NOM then think.1SG.PRS.PASS IRR as   I.NOM say.1SG.PRS
       poioíēs
       do.2SG.PRS.OPT
       'But you, I think, will do as I say.' (Plato, *Phaedo* 101e)

(976) τί οὖν ἂν, ἔφη, εἴη ὁ Ἔρωϲ
       tí   oûn *án*, éphē,   eíē   ho
       what.N.NOM.SG so IRR say.3SG.IMP be.3SG.PRS.OPT the.M.NOM.SG
       Érōs
       Eros.NOM
       '"What, then," he said, "could Eros be?"' (Plato, *Symposium* 202d)*

(977) καὶ πῶϲ ἂν, ἔφη, ὦ Ϲώκρατεϲ, ὁμολογοῖτο
       kaì pôs *án*, éphē,   ô Sókrates,   homologoîto
       and how IRR say.3SG.IMP O Socrates.VOC agree.3SG.PRS.OPT.PASS
       '"And how," she said, "Socrates, could it be agreed ... ?"' (Plato,
       Symposium 202b)

(978) πρόϲ γε ὑποδημάτων ἄν, οἶμαι φαίηϲ κτῆϲιν
       prós ge   hupodēmátōn *án*, oîmai   phaíēs
       to   even shoe.GEN.PL IRR think.1SG.PRS.PASS say.2SG.PRS.OPT
       ktêsin
       acquisition.ACC.SG
       'For obtaining shoes, I think, you would say?' (Plato, *Republic* 1.333a)

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *éphēn* for *éphē*.

(979) ἴcωc γὰρ ἄν, ἔφη, δοκοίη τι λέγειν ὁ ταῦτα λέγων
     ísōs   gàr *án*, éphē,   dokoíē   ti
     perhaps then IRR say.3SG.IMP seem.3SG.PRS.OPT something.ACC.SG
     légein   ho   taûta   légōn
     say.PRS.INF the.M.NOM.SG this.N.ACC.PL say.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG
     '"Perhaps, then," he said, "someone saying this would seem to be saying
     something."' (Plato, *Republic* 4.438a)

(980) τί ἄν, εἰ ... (seven lines follow) τί ποτ' ἄν ἡγούμεθα ἐκ ταύτης τῆc
     προρρήcεωc ξυμβαίνειν
     tí   *án*, ei tí   pot'   àn hēgoúmetha   ek
     what.N.ACC.SG IRR if what.N.ACC.SG sometime IRR lead.1PL.IMP.PASS out
     taútēs   tês   prorrhḗseōs   xumbaínein
     this.F.GEN.SG the.F.GEN.SG proclamation.GEN.SG occur.PRS.INF
     'What, if ... what do we think would ever result from this proclamation?'
     (Plato, *Laws* 2.658a)

(981) οἶμαι ἄν, αὐτῶν εἰ καλῶc τιc ἐπιμελοῖτο, οὐκ εἶναι ἔθνοc
     oîmai   *án*, autôn   ei kalôs tis
     think.1SG.PRS.PASS IRR them.GEN if well   someone.M.NOM.SG
     epimeloîto,   ouk eînai   éthnos
     manage.3SG.PRS.OPT.PASS not be.PRS.INF people.M.NOM.SG
     'I think that, if one managed them well, there would be no people ...'
     (Xenophon, *Hellenica* 6.1.9)

(982) ἐγὼ ἄν, εἰ ἔχοιμι, ὡc τάχιcτα ὅπλα ἐποιούμην τοῖc Πέρcαιc
     egṑ   *án*, ei ékhoimi,   hōs tákhista hópla
     I.NOM IRR if have.1SG.PRS.OPT as   fastest armour.ACC.PL
     epoioúmēn   toîs   Pérsais
     make.1SG.IMP.PASS the.M.DAT.PL Persian.DAT.PL
     'I, if I could have it, would have armour made for the Persians as quickly
     as possible.' (Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 2.1.9)*

(983) τί ἄν, εἴ που τῆc χώραc τοῦτο πάθοc cυνέβη, προσδοκῆcαι χρῆν
     tí   *án*, eí pou   tês   khṓras
     what.N.ACC.SG IRR if somewhere the.F.GEN.SG country.GEN.SG

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *egṑ mèn án, éphē ho Kûros, ei su eíēn, hōs tákhista hópla poioímēn.*

toûto   páthos   sunébē,   prosdokêsai
this.N.NOM.SG experience.NOM.SG occur.3SG.AOR expect.AOR.INF
khrên
need.3SG.PRS
'What, if this misfortune occurred somewhere in our country, would it
be necessary to expect?' (Demosthenes 18.195)

It is understandable that there is a tendency to insert *án* again after the inter-
vening clause: see example (932) above, and (984)–(997) (also Xenophon, *Anaba-*
sis 7.7.38).

(984)   οὔτ᾽ ἄν, εἰ θέλοις ἔτι πράσσειν, ἐμοῦ γ᾽ ἂν ἡδέως πράσσοις μέτα
        oút' *án*, ei thélois   éti prássein, emoû g'   *àn* hēdéōs
        nor IRR if want.2SG.PRS.OPT still do.PRS.INF me.GEN even IRR sweetly
        prássois   méta
        do.2SG.PRS.OPT with
        '... nor, even if you still wanted to do so, would you willingly do so with
        me.' (Sophocles, *Antigone* 69)*

(985)   ἀλλ᾽ ἄν, εἰ τὸν ἐξ ἐμῆς μητρὸς θανόντ᾽ ἄθαπτον ἠνσχόμην νέκυν,
        κείνοις ἂν ἤλγουν
        all' *án*, ei tòn   ex emês   mētròs
        but IRR if the.M.ACC.SG out my.F.GEN.SG mother.GEN.SG
        thanónt'   áthapton   ēnskhómēn
        die.PTCP.AOR.M.ACC.SG unburied.M.ACC.SG sustain.1SG.AOR.MID
        nékun,   keínois   *àn* élgoun
        corpse.ACC.SG that.N.DAT.PL IRR hurt.1SG.IMP
        'But if I had endured the dead son of my mother as an unburied corpse, I
        would have suffered from that.' (Sophocles, *Antigone* 466)

(986)   ὥστ᾽ ἄν, εἰ cθένος λάβοιμι, δηλώσαιμ᾽ ἄν
        hṓst' *án*, ei sthénos   láboimi,   dēlṓsaim'   *án*
        so   IRR if strength.ACC.SG take.1SG.AOR.OPT show.1SG.AOR.OPT IRR
        '... so that, if I could find strength, I would show ...' (Sophocles, *Electra*
        333)

(987)   ἀρχὴν δ᾽ ἄν, εἰ μὴ τλημονεστάτη γυνὴ παcῶν ἔβλαcτε, ... χοὰc οὐκ ἄν
        ποθ᾽ ὃν γ᾽ ἔκτεινε, τῷδ᾽ ἐπέcτεφε

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *dróiēs* for *prássois*.

arkhền   d'   *án*, ei mề tlēmonestátē
beginning.ACC.SG then IRR if not audacious.SUPL.F.NOM.SG
gunề   pasôn éblaste   khoàs   ouk *án*
woman.NOM.SG all.GEN.PL bud.3SG.AOR libation.ACC.PL not IRR
poth'   hòn   g' ékteine, tôid'   epéstephe
sometime whom.M.ACC.SG even kill.3SG.IMP this.M.DAT.SG pour.3SG.IMP
'To begin with, if she had not been born the most audacious woman of
all, she would never have poured offerings to this man whom she had
killed' (Sophocles, *Electra* 439)

(988) ἐκεῖνον δ' ἄν, εἰ ἐκδοίη αὐτόν ..., cωτηρίας ἂν τῆc ψυχῆc ἀποcτερῆcαι
ekeînon   d'   *án*, ei ekdoíē   autón sōtērías
that.M.ACC.SG then IRR if give.up.3SG.AOR.OPT him.ACC salvation.GEN.SG
àn tês   psukhês   aposterêsai
IRR the.F.GEN.SG soul.GEN.SG rob.3SG.AOR.OPT
'And if he gave him up, he would be depriving him of the safety of his
life' (Thucydides 1.136.4)

(989) κἄν, ὑμῖν εἴ τιc ἐνῆν νοῦc, ἐκ τῶν ἐρίων τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐπολιτεύεcθ' ἂν
ἅπαντα
k*án*,   humîn   eí tis   enên   noûs,   ek
and=IRR you.DAT.PL if someone.M.NOM.SG spin.3SG.IMP mind.ACC.PL out
tôn   eríōn   tôn   hēmetérōn
the.N.GEN.PL wool.GEN.PL the.N.GEN.PL our.N.GEN.PL
epoliteúesth'   *àn* hápanta
be.citizen.2PL.IMP.PASS IRR quite.all.N.ACC.PL
'And if someone could spin minds for you out of our wool, you could
govern everything.' (Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 572)

(990) κἄν, εἴ με τύπτοιc, οὐκ ἂν ἀντείποιμί cοι
k*án*,   eí me   túptois,   ouk *àn* anteípoimí
and=IRR if me.ACC beat.2SG.PRS.OPT not IRR contradict.1SG.AOR.OPT
soi
you.DAT
'Even if you beat me, I'd never contradict you.' (Aristophanes, *Frogs* 585)

(991) κἄν, εἰ Ὀρθαγόρᾳ τῷ Θηβαίῳ cυγγενόμενοc ... ἐπανέροιτο αὐτόν ...,
εἴποι ἄν

kán,   ei Orthagórāi   tôi   Thēbaíōi
and=IRR if Orthagoras.DAT the.M.DAT.SG Theban.DAT.SG
sungenómenos   epanéroito   autón
converse.PTCP.AOR.MID.M.NOM.SG enquire.3SG.AOR.OPT.MID him.ACC
eípoi   án
say.3SG.AOR.OPT IRR
'And if, having studied with Orthagoras the Theban, he enquired of him
… he would say …' (Plato, *Protagoras* 318c)

(992) τάχα δ' ἄν, εἰ θεὸς ἐθέλοι, κἂν δυοῖν θάτερα βιασαίμεθα περὶ ἐρωτικῶν
tákha d' án, ei theòs   ethéloi,   kàn
quickly then IRR if god.NOM.SG want.3SG.PRS.OPT also=IRR
duoîn   thátera   biasaímetha   perì
two.N.GEN.DU the=other.N.ACC.PL force.1PL.AOR.OPT.MID about
erōtikôn
erotic.N.GEN.PL
'Possibly, should God so grant, we might forcibly effect one of two
things in this matter of sex-relations' (Plato, *Laws* 8.841c)

(993) ἐπισχὼν ἄν, ἕως …, εἰ …, ἡσυχίαν ἂν ἦγον
episkhṑn   án, héōs ei hēsukhían   àn êgon
wait.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG IRR until if silence.ACC.SG IRR lead.1SG.IMP
'Having waited until … if … I should have held my peace.' (Demosthenes
4.1)

(994) ἆρ' ἄν, εἴ γ' εἶχε …, ταῦτ' ἂν εἴασεν
âr' án, eí g' eîkhe   taût'   àn eíasen
then IRR if even have.3SG.IMP this.N.ACC.PL IRR allow.3SG.AOR
'So if he had even had … would he have allowed these things?'
(Demosthenes 21.115)

(995) οὐδ' ἄν, εἴ τι γένοιτ', ᾠήθην ἂν δίκην μοι λαχεῖν ποτε τοῦτον
oud' án, eí ti   génoit',
nor IRR if something.NOM.SG become.3SG.AOR.OPT.MID
ōiéthēn   àn díkēn   moi   lakheîn
think.1SG.AOR.PASS IRR judgement.ACC.SG me.DAT obtain.AOR.INF
pote   toûton
sometime this.M.ACC.SG
'Nor, if anything happened, did I think that this man would ever bring a
suit against me.' (Demosthenes 37.16)

(996) καίτοι πῶϲ ἄν, εἰ μὴ πεποριϲμένον τε ἦν ..., εὐθὺϲ ἂν ἀπέλαβον

kaítoi   pôs   *án*, ei mè̜ peporisménon   te   ên
and.yet how IRR if not bring.PTCP.PRF.PASS.N.NOM.SG and be.3SG.IMP

euthùs   *àn* apélabon
straight IRR receive.3PL.AOR

'And yet how, if it had not been provided, would they have received it
immediately?' ([Demosthenes] 47.66)

(997) οἶμαι δ' ἄν, εἰ ..., ταῖϲ ὑμετέραιϲ μαρτυρίαιϲ ῥᾳδίωϲ ἂν ἀπολύϲαϲθαι
τοὺϲ τοῦ κατηγόρου λόγουϲ

oîmai   d' *án*, ei taîs   humetérais
think.1SG.PRS.PASS then IRR if the.F.DAT.PL your.F.DAT.PL

marturíais   rhāidíōs *àn* apolúsasthai   toùs
testimony.DAT.PL easily   IRR release.AOR.INF.MID the.M.ACC.PL

toû   katēgórou   lógous
the.M.GEN.SG accuser.GEN.SG account.ACC.PL

'And I think that if ... your testimony would easily refute my accuser's
words.' (Aeschines 1.122)

The opposite tendency, so to speak, which nevertheless springs from the same
positional rule, is found when an *[p397]* án belonging to an intervening clause
or to a subordinate clause is attracted to a position after the first word in the
superordinate clause: (998)–(1004).

(998) ἄλλο τι οὖν, ἂν φαῖεν, ἢ ξυνθήκαϲ τὰϲ πρὸϲ ἡμᾶϲ αὐτοὺϲ ...
παραβαίνειϲ

állo   ti   oûn, *àn* phaîen,   è̜
other.N.ACC.SG something.ACC.SG so   IRR say.3PL.PRS.OPT than

xunthḗkas   tàs   pròs hēmâs autoùs   parabaíneis
compact.ACC.PL the.F.ACC.PL to   us.ACC same.M.ACC.PL overstep.2SG.PRS

'"Then are you not," they would say, "transgressing against something
besides your agreements with us ourselves?"' (Plato, *Crito* 52d)

(999) τί οὖν, ἂν φαίη ὁ λόγοϲ, ἔτι ἀπιϲτεῖϲ

tí   oûn, *àn* phaíē   ho   lógos,
what.N.ACC.SG so   IRR say.3SG.PRS.OPT the.M.NOM.SG account.NOM.SG

éti   apisteîs
still distrust.2SG.PRS

'"Why, then," the argument might say, "do you still disbelieve ... ?"'
(Plato, *Phaedo* 87a)

Translation

(1000) μανθάνω, ἂν ἴσος φαίη, καὶ ἐγώ

   manthánō,   àn ísos   phaíē,   kaὶ egố
   learn.1SG.PRS IRR equal.M.NOM.SG say.3SG.PRS.OPT also I.NOM

   '"I too understand," he would likewise say …' (Plato, *Hippias Major*
   299a)*

(1001) τί οὖν, ἄν τις εἴποι, ταῦτα λέγεις

   tí   oûn, án tis   eípoi,
   what.N.ACC.SG so   IRR someone.M.NOM.SG say.3SG.AOR.OPT
   taûta   légeis
   this.N.ACC.PL say.2SG.PRS

   '"Why, then," someone might say, "do you say these things … ?"'
   (Demosthenes 1.14)

(1002) τί οὖν, ἄν τις εἴποι, σὺ γράφεις ταῦτ᾽ εἶναι στρατιωτικά

   tí   oûn, án tis   eípoi,   sù
   what.N.ACC.SG so   IRR someone.M.NOM.SG say.3SG.AOR.OPT you.NOM
   grápheis   taût᾽   eînai   stratiōtiká
   write.2SG.PRS this.N.ACC.PL be.PRS.INF military.N.ACC.PL

   '"Why, then," someone might say, "do you propose that these things
   should be for military purposes?"' (Demosthenes 1.19)

(1003) τί οὖν, ἄν τις εἴποι, σὺ παραινεῖς

   tí   oûn, án tis   eípoi,   sù
   what.N.ACC.SG so   IRR someone.M.NOM.SG say.3SG.AOR.OPT you.NOM
   paraineîs
   advise.2SG.PRS

   '"What, then," someone might say, "do you advise … ?"' (Demosthenes,
   Exordia 35.4)

(1004) ὅτι νὴ Δί᾽, ἂν εἴποι, τοῦτον εἰσπεποίηκα υἱόν

   hóti nὲ Dí᾽,   àn eípoi,   toûton   eispepoíēka
   that yes Zeus.ACC IRR say.3SG.AOR.OPT this.M.ACC.SG adopt.1SG.PRF
   huión
   son.ACC.SG

   '"Yes, by Zeus," he might say, "because I have had him adopted …"'
   ([Demosthenes] 44.55)

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *ísōs* for *ísos*.

Cf. also examples (1005), (1006), and similarly (1007) in the interior of the clause in Demosthenes 45.7. The Euripidean usage in example (1008) (also *Alcestis* 48, with *ou gàr* 'not then' instead of *ouk*) is, in turn, probably based on similar constructions. Thucydides 5.9.3 ((899) above) is peculiar, and the first *án* can probably only be explained as an anticipation of the subordinate clause.

(1005) οὐκ ἂν οἶδ᾽ ὅ τι πλέον εὕροι τούτου
        ouk *àn* oîd'   hó ti   pléon   heúroi
        not IRR know.1SG.PRF which.N.ACC.SG more.N.ACC.SG find.3SG.AOR.OPT
        toútou
        this.N.GEN.SG
        'I do not know how much more than this it would fetch.' (Isaeus 11.44)*

(1006) ἐγὼ γάρ, ἃ μὲν χθὲς ἤκουσα, οὐκ ἂν οἶδ᾽ εἰ δυναίμην ἅπαντα ἐν μνήμῃ
        πάλιν λαβεῖν
        egṑ gár, hà   mèn khthès ékousa,   ouk *àn*
        I.NOM then which.N.ACC.PL then yesterday hear.1SG.AOR not IRR
        oîd'   ei dunaímēn   hápanta   en
        know.1SG.PRF if can.1SG.PRS.OPT.PASS quite.all.N.ACC.PL in
        mnḗmēi   pálin labeîn
        memory.DAT.SG again take.AOR.INF
        'For I do not know if I could recall to mind everything that I heard
        yesterday.' (Plato, *Timaeus* 26b)

(1007) οὐκ ἂν οἶδ᾽ ὅ τι
        ouk *àn* oîd'   hó ti
        not IRR know.1SG.PRF which.N.ACC.SG
        '... I do not know what ...' (Demosthenes 45.7)

(1008) οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ἂν εἰ πείσαιμι
        ouk oîd' *àn*   ei peísaimi
        not IRR know.1SG.PRF if persuade.1SG.AOR.OPT
        'I do not know if I can persuade ...' (Euripides, *Medea* 941)

Sixth, just like the enclitics, *án* often splits clause-initial word groups apart. Under this heading one could count *oud' àn heîs*, as in (793) above as well as (1009)–(1015).

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *ou gàr ... hóti* for *ouk àn ... hó ti*. Wackernagel cites this as Demosthenes 11.44 but the correct reference is Isaeus 11.44.

(1009) οὐδ' ἂν εἷς δύναιτ' ἀνήρ
       oud' *àn* heîs   dúnait'   anḗr
       nor IRR one.M.NOM.SG can.3SG.PRS.OPT.PASS man.NOM.SG
       'Nor could any man ...' (Sophocles, *Oedipus Rex* 281)

(1010) οὐδ' ἂν εἷς θνητῶν φράσειε
       oud' *àn* heîs   thnētôn   phráseie
       nor IRR one.M.NOM.SG mortal.GEN.PL tell.3SG.AOR.OPT
       'Nor could any mortal tell ...' (Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus* 1656)

(1011) οὐδ' ἂν εἷς ἀμφιϲβητήϲειε
       oud' *àn* heîs   amphisbētéseie
       nor IRR one.M.NOM.SG dispute.3SG.AOR.OPT
       'Not one could compete ...' (Plato, *First Alcibiades*, 122d)

(1012) οὐδ' ἂν εἷς εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι φήϲειεν
       oud' *àn* heîs   eû oîd'   hóti phéseien
       nor IRR one.M.NOM.SG well know.3SG.PRF that say.3SG.AOR.OPT
       'Nor does anyone not know well that he would say ...' (Demosthenes 19.312)

(1013) οὐδ' ἂν εἷς ταῦτα φήϲειεν
       oud' *àn* heîs   taûta   phéseien
       nor IRR one.M.NOM.SG this.N.ACC.PL say.3SG.AOR.OPT
       'Nor would anyone say these things.' (Demosthenes 18.69)

(1014) οὐδ' ἂν εἷς εἰπεῖν ἔχοι
       oud' *àn* heîs   eipeîn   ékhoi
       nor IRR one.M.NOM.SG say.AOR.INF have.3SG.PRS.OPT
       'Nor would anyone say these things.' (Demosthenes 18.94)

(1015) οὐδ' ἂν εἷς εἴποι
       oud' *àn* heîs   eípoi
       nor IRR one.M.NOM.SG say.3SG.AOR.OPT
       'Nor would anyone say ...' (Aristotle, *Constitution of the Athenians* 7.4)

However, this tmesis is found at least as often clause-internally (Lysias 19.60, 24.24, Isocrates 15.223, 21.20, Plato, *Symposium* 192e, 214d, 216e, *Gorgias* 512e, 519c, Demosthenes 14.1,[*] 20.136, 18.68,[†] 18.128, Lycurgus 49.57), and thus appears to be due to the attracting force of *oude* 'nor'.

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[*] *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition lacks *án*.   [†] *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *oudeìs an*.

The two instances of *g' an oun* 'even IRR so' instead of *goun an* in Thucydides, (1016) and (1017), constitute better evidence, as well as examples (1018)–(1057), in which *án* is inserted into the middle of a word group.

(1016)　ἄλλους γ᾽ ἂν οὖν οἰόμεθα τὰ ἡμέτερα λαβόντες δεῖξαι ἄν
　　　　állous　　　g'　　àn oûn oiómetha　　　　tà
　　　　other.M.ACC.PL even IRR so　think.1PL.PRS.PASS the.N.ACC.PL
　　　　hēmétera　　labóntes　　　　　　　deîxai　　　án
　　　　our.N.ACC.PL take.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.PL show.AOR.INF IRR
　　　　'We think that by taking others it would at least show ours ...'
　　　　(Thucydides 1.76.4)*

(1017)　ὑμεῖς γ᾽ ἂν οὖν, εἰ ... ἄρξαιτε, τάχ᾽ ἂν ... μεταβάλοιτε
　　　　humeîs　　g'　　àn oûn, ei árxaite,　　　　tákh'　　àn
　　　　you.NOM.PL even IRR so　if begin.2PL.AOR.OPT quickly IRR
　　　　metabáloite
　　　　exchange.2PL.AOR.OPT
　　　　'If you were to lead, then you would soon change ...' (Thucydides 1.77.6)

(1018)　πολλῶν ἂν ἀνδρῶν ἥδ᾽ ἐχηρώθη πόλις
　　　　pollôn　　　　àn andrôn　　hêd'　　　ekhērṓthē
　　　　many.M.GEN.PL IRR man.GEN.PL this.F.NOM.SG bereave.3SG.AOR.PASS
　　　　pólis
　　　　city.NOM.SG
　　　　'This city would have been bereft of many men.' (Aristotle, *Constitution of the Athenians* 12.4)

(1019)　μόνος ἂν θνητῶν πέρας εἴποι
　　　　mónos　　　àn thnētôn　　péras　　eípoi
　　　　alone.M.NOM.SG IRR mortal.GEN.PL end.ACC.SG say.3SG.AOR.OPT
　　　　'He alone of mortals can declare how to bring it to accomplishment.'
　　　　(Aeschylus, *Persians* 632)

(1020)　ἀνθρώπεια δ᾽ ἄν τοι πήματ᾽ ἂν τύχοι βροτοῖς
　　　　anthrṓpeia　　d'　　án toi pḗmat'　　àn túkhoi
　　　　human.N.NOM.PL then IRR lo harm.NOM.PL IRR happen.3SG.AOR.OPT
　　　　brotoîs
　　　　mortal.DAT.PL
　　　　'Afflictions ordained for human life must, we know, befall mankind.'
　　　　(Aeschylus, *Persians* 706)

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*　*Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *labóntas* for *labóntes*.

(1021) κατὰ δ᾽ ἄν τις ἐμοῦ τοιαῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἄν πείθοι
katà   d᾽   *án* tis   emoû toiaûta
down then IRR someone.M.NOM.SG me.GEN such.N.ACC.PL
légōn   ouk àn peíthoi
say.PTCP.PRS.MP.NOM.SG not IRR persuade.3SG.AOR.OPT
'But someone saying such things against me would fail to convince'
(Sophocles, *Ajax* 155)

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(1022) ἄλλον δ᾽ ἄν ἄλλῳ προσίδοις
állon   d᾽   *àn* állōi   prosídois
other.M.ACC.SG then IRR other.M.DAT.SG behold.2SG.AOR.OPT
'And you can see one after another …' (Sophocles, *Oedipus Rex* 175)

(1023) σοφίᾳ δ᾽ ἄν σοφίαν παραμείψειεν ἀνήρ
sophíāi   d᾽   *àn* sophían   parameípseien anḗr
wisdom.DAT.SG then IRR wisdom.ACC.SG pass.3SG.AOR.OPT man.NOM.SG
'… though man may surpass man in wisdom' (Sophocles, *Oedipus Rex*
502)

(1024) τίς οὖν ἄν ὑμῶν τοῖς ἔσω φράσειεν ἄν
tís   oûn *àn* humôn   toîs   ésō phráseien
who.M.NOM.SG so   IRR you.GEN.PL the.M.DAT.PL inside tell.3SG.AOR.OPT
án
IRR
'Which of you, then, would tell those inside … ?' (Sophocles, *Electra*
1103)

(1025) τίς ἄν θεῶν σοι τόνδ᾽ ἄριστον ἄνδρ᾽ ἰδεῖν δοίη
tís   *àn* theôn   soi   tónd'   áriston
who.M.NOM.SG IRR god.GEN.PL you.DAT this.M.ACC.SG best.M.ACC.SG
ándr'   ideîn   doíē
man.ACC.SG see.AOR.INF give.3SG.AOR.OPT
'Which of the gods might grant that you could see this best of men … ?'
(Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus* 1100)

(1026) ἐφρόντιζε ἱστορέων, τοὺς ἄν Ἑλλήνων δυνατωτάτους ἐόντας
προσκτήσαιτο φίλους

ephróntize   historéōn,   toùs   *àn*
consider.3SG.IMP enquire.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG whom.M.ACC.PL IRR
Hellénōn   dunatōtátous   eóntas
Greek.GEN.PL mightiest.ACC.PL be.PTCP.PRS.M.ACC.SG
prosktḗsaito   phílous
gain.3SG.AOR.OPT.MID friend.ACC.PL

'He took care to enquire about those whom he might win as friends,
being the most powerful of the Greeks.' (Herodotus 1.56.1)

(1027) ἐπειρώτεον, τίνα ἂν θεῶν ἱλασάμενοι κατύπερθε τῷ πολέμῳ Τεγεητέων
γενοίατο
epeirṓteon,   tína   *àn* theôn
enquire.3PL.IMP whom.M.ACC.SG IRR god.GEN.PL
hilasámenoi   katúperthe tôi   polémōi
appease.PTCP.AOR.MID.M.NOM.PL above   the.M.DAT.SG war.DAT.SG
Tegeētéōn   genoíato
Tegean.GEN.PL become.3PL.AOR.OPT.MID

'They asked which god to appease so as to overcome the Tegeans in
war.' (Herodotus 1.67.2)*

(1028) τὸ δὲ ἂν χρυσίον ἐγίνετο ἀπὸ τῶν εὐειδέων παρθένων
tò   dè *àn* khrusíon   egíneto   apò
the.N.NOM.SG but IRR money.NOM.SG become.3SG.AOR.OPT.MID of
tôn   eueidéōn   parthénōn
the.F.GEN.PL well-formed.F.GEN.PL maiden.GEN.PL

'And the money would come from the attractive girls' (Herodotus
1.196.3)

(1029) στρατοῦ ἂν ἄλλου τις τὴν ταχίστην ἄγερσιν ποιέοιτο
stratoû   *àn* állou   tis   tḕn
army.GEN.SG IRR other.M.GEN.SG someone.M.NOM.SG the.F.ACC.SG
takhístēn   ágersin   poiéoito
fastest.F.ACC.SG muster.ACC.SG do.3SG.PRS.OPT.PASS

'Someone should muster another army as soon as possible' (Herodotus
7.48.1)

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *epeirṓtōn* for *epeirṓteon*.

(1030) ἕκαστος ἂν ὑμῶν ἄρχοι γῆς Ἑλλάδος

hékastos   *àn* humôn   árkhoi   gês

each.M.NOM.SG IRR you.GEN.PL rule.3SG.PRS.OPT land.GEN.SG

Helládos

Greece.GEN.SG

'Each of you might rule the land of Greece.' (Herodotus 7.135.2)

(1031) κατά γε ἂν τὴν ἤπειρον τοιάδε ἐγίνετο

katá ge   *àn* tền   épeiron   toiáde

down even IRR the.F.ACC.SG mainland.ACC.SG so.much.F.NOM.SG

egíneto

become.3SG.AOR.OPT.MID

'On land something like this would have happened' (Herodotus 7.139.2)

(1032) ἐν ἄλλοισιν ἂν λόγοισιν σαφέστερον διδαχθείη

en álloisin   *àn* lógoisin   saphésteron

in other.M.DAT.PL IRR account.DAT.PL clearly.COMP

didakhtheíē

teach.3SG.AOR.OPT.PASS

'It could be taught more clearly in other words' (Hippocrates, *De arte*; Gomperz 1890: 44, line 8)

(1033) ἐπεὶ τῶν γε μὴ ἐόντων τίνα ἄν τις οὐσίην θεησάμενος ἀπαγγείλειεν ὡς ἔστιν

epeì tôn   ge   mề eóntōn   tína   *án*

since the.GEN.PL even not be.PTCP.PRS.GEN.PL some.F.ACC.SG IRR

tis   ousíēn   theēsámenos

someone.M.NOM.SG being.ACC.SG behold.PTCP.AOR.MID.M.NOM.SG

apangeíleien   hōs éstin

report.3SG.AOR.OPT as   be.3SG.PRS

'… since someone observing some essence of those that are not would report that it is so.' (Hippocrates, *De arte*; Gomperz 1890: 42, line 19)

(1034) πολλὴν ἂν οἶμαι ἀπιστίαν τῆς δυνάμεως … τοῖς ἔπειτα πρὸς τὸ κλέος αὐτῶν εἶναι

pollền   *àn* oîmai   apistían   tês

much.F.ACC.SG IRR think.1SG.PRS.PASS distrust.ACC.SG the.F.GEN.SG

dunámeōs   toîs   épeita pròs tò   kléos

power.GEN.SG the.M.DAT.PL then   to   the.N.ACC.SG fame.ACC.SG

autôn   eînai
them.GEN be.PRS.INF
'I think that there would be much distrust among the people then of
their power in regard to their fame' (Thucydides 1.10.2)

(1035) βραχυτάτῳ δ' ἂν κεφαλαίῳ ... τῷδ' ἂν μὴ προέϲθαι ἡμᾶϲ μάθοιτε
brakhutátōi   d'   *àn* kephalaíōi   tôid'   *àn* mè
shortest.N.DAT.SG then IRR heading.N.DAT.SG this.N.DAT.SG IRR not
proésthai   hēmâs máthoite
abandon.AOR.INF.MID us.ACC learn.2PL.AOR.OPT
'In summary, you should learn from this not to abandon us'
(Thucydides 1.36.3)

(1036) πρὸϲ γὰρ ἂν τοὺϲ Ἀθηναίουϲ, εἰ ἐξῆν χωρεῖν
pròs gàr *àn* toùs   Athēnaíous,   ei exên
to then IRR the.M.ACC.PL Athenian.ACC.PL if be.possible.3SG.IMP
khōreîn
withdraw.PRS.INF
'For if it were possible, the alliance of Athens would be shut against
them.' (Thucydides 5.22.2)

(1037) τίν' οὖν ἂν ἄγγελον πέμψαιμ' ἐπ' αὐτόν
tín'   oûn *àn* ángelon   pémpsaim'   ep'
what.M.ACC.SG so IRR messenger.ACC.SG send.1SG.AOR.OPT upon
autón
him.ACC.SG
'What messenger could I send to him?' (Aristophanes,
Thesmophoriazusae 768)

(1038) ϲκεπτέον, τί ἂν ἀγαθὸν αὐτὰϲ ἐργαϲάμενοϲ φανείηϲ ἄξια ... πεποιηκώϲ
skeptéon,   tí   *àn* agathòn   autàs
look.GDV.N.NOM.SG what.N.ACC.SG IRR good.N.ACC.SG them.F.ACC.PL
ergasámenos   phaneíēs   áxia
work.PTCP.AOR.MID.M.NOM.SG show.2SG.AOR.OPT.PASS worthy.N.ACC.PL
pepoiēkṓs
do.PTCP.PRF.M.NOM.SG
'It must be considered by doing them what good you can be seen to
have done worthy things ...' (Isocrates 5.35)

(1039)   πολλὴ γὰρ ἄν τις εὐδαιμονία εἴη περὶ τοὺς νέους

          pollḕ   gàr *án* tis   eudaimonía

          much.F.NOM.SG then IRR someone.M.NOM.SG prosperity.NOM.SG

          eíē   perì toùs   néous

          be.3SG.PRS.OPT about the.M.ACC.PL young.M.ACC.PL

          'For it would be a great blessing for the young …' (Plato, *Apology* 25b)

(1040)   πολλὴ ἂν ἐλπὶς εἴη καὶ καλὴ

          pollḕ   *àn* elpìs   eíē   kaì kalḕ

          much.F.NOM.SG IRR hope.NOM.SG be.3SG.PRS.OPT and beautiful.F.NOM.SG

          '… it would be a great and beautiful hope …' (Plato, *Phaedo* 70a)

(1041)   ἄλλου ἄν του δέοι λόγου

          állou   *án* tou   déoi   lógou

          other.M.GEN.SG IRR the.M.GEN.SG lack.3SG.PRS.OPT word.GEN.SG

          '… further argument would be needed' (Plato, *Phaedo* 70d and 106d)

(1042)   οὐδεμία ἂν εἴη ἄλλη ἀποφυγή

          oudemía   *àn* eíē   állē   apophugé

          none.F.NOM.SG IRR be.3SG.PRS.OPT other.F.NOM.SG escape.NOM.SG

          '… there would be no other escape …' (Plato, *Phaedo* 107c)

(1043)   ἐλθὼν δ' ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐπήρετο τὸν Ἀπόλλω, τίνι ἂν θεῶν θύων καὶ εὐχόμενος κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα ἔλθοι τὴν ὁδόν, ἣν ἐπινοεῖ, καὶ καλῶς πράξας σωθείη

          elthṑn   d'   ho   Xenophôn

          go.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG then the.M.NOM.SG Xenophon.NOM

          epḗreto   tòn   Apóllō,   tíni   *àn*

          enquire.3SG.AOR.MID the.M.ACC.SG Apollo.ACC what.M.DAT.SG IRR

          theôn   thúōn   kaì   eukhómenos

          god.GEN.PL sacrifice.PTCP.M.NOM.SG and pray.PTCP.PRS.PASS.M.NOM.SG

          kállista   kaì árista élthoi   tḕn   hodón,

          well.SUPL and best   go.3SG.AOR.OPT the.F.ACC.SG way.ACC.SG

          hḕn   epinoeî,   kaì kalôs práxas

          which.F.ACC.SG intend.3SG.PRS and well do.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG

          sōtheíē

          save.3SG.AOR.OPT.PASS

          'So Xenophon went and asked Apollo to which of the gods he should sacrifice and pray in order best and most successfully to perform the

journey which he had in mind and, after meeting with good fortune, to return home in safety' (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 3.1.6; reminiscent of the *tíni ka theōn* of example (613) above)

(1044) ἐπερωτᾷ ὁ δῆμος ... , ὅ τι ἂν δρῶϲιν ... εἴη
        eperōtâi   ho   dêmos,   hó ti   àn
        enquire.3SG.PRS the.M.NOM.SG people.NOM.SG which.N.ACC.SG IRR
        drôsin   eíē
        do.3PL.PRS be.3SG.PRS.OPT
        'The people enquire ... what they should do ... may be ...'
        ([Demosthenes] 43.66; cf. also example (1027) above)

(1045) λαβόντες δὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ἀναρχίᾳ ἂν καὶ ἀταξίᾳ ἐνόμιζον ἡμᾶϲ
        ἀπολέϲθαι
        labóntes   dè toùs   árkhontas, anarkhíāi
        take.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.PL but the.M.ACC.PL ruler.ACC.PL anarchy.DAT.SG
        àn kaì ataxíāi   enómizon   hēmâs apolésthai
        IRR and disorder.DAT.SG consider.3PL.IMP us.ACC destroy.AOR.INF.MID
        'Having taken our commanders, they considered that we would be
        ruined through want of leadership and of discipline.' (Xenophon,
        Anabasis 3.2.29)

(1046) πολλὴ ἂν καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων πρόσοδος γίγνοιτο
        pollḕ   àn kaì apò toútōn   prósodos
        much.F.NOM.SG IRR also of   this.F.GEN.PL revenue.NOM.SG
        gígnoito
        become.3SG.PRS.OPT.PASS
        'A great revenue would also come from these.' (Xenophon, *Ways* 3.14)

(1047) πάμπολλα ἂν νομίζω χρήματα ... προϲιέναι
        pámpolla   àn nomízō   khrḗmata
        very.much.N.ACC.PL IRR consider.1SG.PRS property.ACC.PL
        prosiénai
        be.added.PRS.INF
        'I consider that a great sum of money would be added ...' (Xenophon,
        Ways 4.1)

(1048) ἀντὶ πολλῶν ἄν, ὦ ἄνδρεϲ Ἀθηναῖοι, χρημάτων ὑμᾶϲ ἑλέϲθαι νομίζω
        antì pollôn   án, ô ándres   Athēnaîoi,
        against much.N.GEN.PL IRR O men.VOC.PL Athenian.M.VOC.PL

khrēmátōn humâs helésthai nomízō
property.GEN.PL you.ACC.PL take.AOR.INF.MID consider.1SG.PRS

'You would, I expect, men of Athens, accept it as the equivalent of a large amount of money …' (Demosthenes 1.1)

(1049) πληcίον μὲν ὄντεc, ἅπαcιν ἂν τοῖc πράγμαcιν τεταραγμένοιc ἐπιcτάντεc ὅπωc βούλεcθε διοικήcαιcθε
plēsíon mèn óntes, hápasin àn toîs
near then be.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.PL quite.all.N.DAT.PL IRR the.N.DAT.PL
prágmasin tetaragménois
deed.DAT.PL disturb.PTCP.PRF.PASS.N.DAT.PL
epistántes hópōs boúlesthe
establish.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.PL so wish.2PL.PRS.PASS
dioikḗsaisthe
administer.2PL.AOR.OPT.MID

'… being at hand, you could manage things as you wish by attending to the disturbances in everything' (Demosthenes 4.12)

(1050) τί ἂν ποιῶν ὑμῖν χαρίcαιτο
tí àn poiôn humîn
what.N.ACC.SG IRR do.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG you.DAT.PL
kharísaito
gratify.3SG.AOR.OPT.MID

'… what he might oblige you by doing' (Demosthenes 19.48)

(1051) τί ἂν εἰπών cέ τιc ὀρθῶc προcείποι
tí àn eipṓn sé tis
what.N.ACC.SG IRR say.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG you.ACC someone.M.NOM.SG
orthôs proseípoi
straight address.3SG.AOR.OPT

'By saying what could someone call you correctly?' (Demosthenes 18.22)

(1052) ὅτι πολλὰ μὲν ἂν χρήματα ἔδωκε Φιλιcτίδηc
hóti pollà mèn àn khrḗmata édōke
that much.N.ACC.PL then IRR property.ACC.PL give.3SG.AOR
Philistídēs
Philistides.NOM

'… that Philistides would have paid a great sum of money …' (Demosthenes 18.81)

(1053) μείζων ἂν δοθείη δωρειά
meízōn   àn dotheíē   dōreiá
greater.F.NOM.SG IRR give.3SG.AOR.OPT.PASS gift.NOM.SG
'... a greater gift would be given ...' (Demosthenes 18.293)

(1054) θαυμασίως ἂν ὡς εὐλαβούμην
thaumasíōs   àn hōs eulaboúmēn
wonderfully IRR as beware.1SG.IMP.PASS
'... I should be wonderfully cautious ...' (Demosthenes 29.1)*

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(1055) καίτοι, τίς ἂν ὑμῶν οἴεται τὴν μητέρα πέμψαι ... ;
kaítoi, tís   àn humôn   oíetai   tền
and.yet who.M.NOM.SG IRR you.GEN.PL think.3SG.PRS.PASS the.N.ACC.SG
mētéra   pémpsai
mother.ACC.SG send.AOR.INF
'And yet, who among you thinks that his mother would have sent ... ?'
(Demosthenes 39.24)

(1056) τί ἂν εἰπὼν μήθ' ἁμαρτεῖν δοκοίην μήτε ψευσαίμην
tí   àn eipṑn   méth' hamarteîn
what.N.ACC.SG IRR say.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG nor   miss.AOR.INF
dokoíēn   méte pseusaímēn
seem.1SG.PRS.OPT nor lie.1SG.AOR.OPT.MID
'By saying what could I neither seem to understate nor exaggerate?'
(Demosthenes, *Letters* 3.37)

(1057) τί ἂν τις ἄλλο ὄνομ' ἔχοι θέσθαι τῷ τοιούτῳ
tí   án tis   állo   ónom'
what.N.ACC.SG IRR someone.M.NOM.SG other.N.ACC.SG name.ACC.SG
ékhoi   thésthai   tôi   toioútōi
have.3SG.PRS.OPT put.AOR.INF.MID the.M.DAT.SG such.M.DAT.SG
'What other name could one give to such a person ... ?' ([Demosthenes]
35.36)†

In addition, there are numerous examples of the type in (1058).

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *ēulaboúmēn* for *eulaboúmēn.*   † *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *toîs toioútois* for *tôi toioútōi.*

(1058) οὐκ ἂν οἴεϲθε δημοϲίᾳ πάνταϲ ὑμᾶϲ προξένουϲ αὐτῶν ποιήϲαϲθαι

ouk *àn* oíesthe   dēmosíāi pántas   humâs

not IRR think.2PL.PRS.PASS publicly all.M.ACC.PL you.ACC.PL

proxénous   hautôn   poiḗsasthai

patron.ACC.PL themselves.GEN make.AOR.INF.MID

'Do you not think that they would unanimously appoint you their
protectors?' (Demosthenes 21.50)

Among these examples, whose number could moreover easily be doubled, there
are several in which the later half of the clause contains a second *án* resuming
the first *án*, as in the preceding categories. Here is a particularly instructive case:
for example (1048) from Demosthenes there is a parallel version in *Exordia* in
which the second part of the clause is heavily expanded, with the text in exam-
ple (1059) instead of *khrēmátōn humâs helésthai nomízō*, and here, because of the
expanded version of the clause, *án* is repeated after *pántas* 'all'. (Blass's (1892:
360) deletion of the first *án* after *pollōn*, against the better transmitted version, is
wholly erroneous.)

(1059) χρημάτων τὸ μέλλον ϲυνοίϲεν περὶ ὧν νῦν τυγχάνετε ϲκοποῦντεϲ
οἶμαι πάνταϲ ὑμᾶϲ ἑλέϲθαι

khrēmátōn   tò   méllon

property.GEN.PL the.N.ACC.SG be.going.to.PTCP.PRS.N.ACC.SG

sunoísen   perì hôn   nûn tunkhánete

profit.FUT.INF about which.N.GEN.PL now happen.2PL.PRS

skopoûntes   oîmai   pántas   humâs

consider.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.PL think.1PL.PRS.PASS all.M.ACC.PL you.ACC.PL

helésthai

take.AOR.INF.MID

'(Instead of) money, I think that you would choose what will benefit in
those things about which you now happen to be deliberating'
(Demosthenes, *Exordia* 3.1)*

I believe we are able to say that, in all cases where *án* is inserted more than
once, this is a compromise between the traditional pressure to place *án* near the
beginning of the clause and the requirement – emerging in the classical language
– to place *án* nearer the verb and other constituents (see above p234). This also
explains why doubled *án* is not found in subjunctive clauses. Thus, all clauses
with multiple instances of *án* in which the first *án* occupies the second position

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition adds *humîn* after *sunoísen*.

are of relevance for us, and not only those that have already been adduced. The examples that I have to hand are (933)–(934) above and (1060)–(1133), excluding of course *oút' án … oút' án* 'neither IRR … nor IRR', which does not belong here.

(1060) οὔ τᾶν ἑλόντες αὖθις ἀνθαλοῖεν ἄν
ού t*àn*   helóntes   aûthis anthaloîen
not and=IRR take.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.PL again be.captured.3PL.AOR.OPT
án
IRR
'… the captors shall not be made captives in their turn' (Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 340)

(1061) ἐντὸς δ' ἄν οὖσα μορσίμων ἀγρευμάτων πείθοι' ἄν
entòs d'   *àn* oûsa   morsímōn   agreumátōn
inside then IRR be.PTCP.PRS.F.NOM.SG destined.N.GEN.PL snare.GEN.PL
peíthoi'   *án*
persuade.2SG.PRS.OPT.PASS IRR
'Since you are in the toils of destiny, perhaps you will obey' (Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 1048)

(1062) λιπὼν ἄν εὔκλειαν ἐν δόμοισιν … πολύχωστον ἄν εἶχες τάφον
lipṑn   *àn* eúkleian   en dómoisin
leave.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG IRR renown.ACC.SG in house.DAT.PL
polúkhōston   *àn* eîkhes   táphon
high-heaped.M.ACC.SG IRR have.2SG.IMP tomb.ACC.SG
'Having left a good name in your household, you would have found a high-heaped tomb …' (Aeschylus, *Libation Bearers* 349)

(1063) πῶς δ' ἄν γαμῶν ἄκουσαν ἄκοντος πάρα ἀγνὸς γένοιτ' ἄν
pôs d'   *àn* gamôn   ákousan
how then IRR marry.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG unwilling.F.ACC.SG
àkontos   pára hagnòs   génoit'   *án*
unwilling.M.GEN.SG from holy.M.NOM.SG become.3SG.AOR.OPT.MID IRR
'And how can man be pure who would seize from an unwilling father an unwilling bride?' (Aeschylus, *Suppliants* 227)

(1064) τί δῆτ' ἄν ὡς ἐκ τῶνδ' ἄν ὠφελοῖμί σε
tí   dêt' *àn* hōs ek tônd'   *àn* ōpheloîmí
what.N.ACC.SG then IRR as   out this.N.GEN.PL IRR help.1SG.PRS.OPT

se
you.ACC
'How, then, can I serve you, as things stand now?' (Sophocles, *Ajax* 537)

(1065) ἡμεῖς μὲν ἂν τήνδ' ἣν ὅδ' εἴληχεν τύχην θανόντες ἂν προὐκείμεθ'
αἰσχίστῳ μόρῳ
hēmeîs   mèn *àn* ténd'   hèn   hód'
we.NOM then IRR this.F.ACC.SG which.F.ACC.SG this.M.NOM.SG
eílēkhen   túkhēn   thanóntes   *àn*
obtain.3SG.PRF fortune.ACC.SG die.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.PL IRR
proukeímeth'   aiskhístōi   mórōi
forth=lie.1PL.IMP.PASS shameful.SUPL.M.DAT.SG doom.DAT.SG
'We would have been allotted the fate which he now has, and we would
be dead and lie prostrate by an ignoble doom' (Sophocles, *Ajax* 1058)

(1066) ἀλλ' ἄνδρα χρὴ … δοκεῖν, πεσεῖν ἂν κἂν ἀπὸ σμικροῦ κακοῦ
all' ándra   khrὲ   dokeîn,   peseîn   *àn* kàn
but man.M.ACC.SG need.3SG.PRS think.PRS.INF fall.AOR.INF IRR also=IRR
apò smikroû   kakoû
of small.N.GEN.SG ill.GEN.SG
'It is necessary for a man to think that he shall fall, even from a slight
harm.' (Sophocles, *Ajax* 1078)

(1067) τάχ' ἂν κἄμ' ἂν τοιαύτῃ χειρὶ τιμωρεῖν θέλοι
tákh' *àn* kám'   *àn* toiaútēi   kheirì   timōreîn
quickly IRR also=me.ACC IRR such.F.DAT.SG hand.DAT avenge.PRS.INF
théloi
want.3SG.PRS.OPT
'He might perhaps wish to take vengeance on me with such a hand.'
(Sophocles, *Oedipus Rex* 139)*

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(1068) συθείς τ' ἂν οὐκ ἂν ἀλγύνοις πλέον
sutheís   t' *àn* ouk *àn* algúnois
drive.PTCP.AOR.PASS.M.NOM.SG and IRR not IRR pain.2SG.PRS.OPT.ACT

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *timōroûnth' héloi* for *timōreîn théloi*.

pléon
more
'When you have gone, you will vex me no more.' (Sophocles, *Oedipus Rex* 446)

(1069) οὔτ᾽ ἂν μετ᾽ ἄλλου δρῶντος ἂν τλαίην ποτέ
oút' *àn* met' állou   drôntos   *àn*
nor IRR after other.M.GEN.SG do.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG IRR
tlaíēn   poté
endure.1SG.AOR.OPT sometime
'Nor could I ever endure it after another's doing so.' (Sophocles, *Oedipus Rex* 602)

(1070) ἥδ᾽ ἂν τάδ᾽ οὐχ᾽ ἥκιστ᾽ ἂν Ἰοκάστη λέγοι
hêd'   *àn* tád'   oukh' hḗkist' *àn* Iokástē
this.F.NOM.SG IRR this.N.ACC.PL not   least IRR Jocasta
légoi
say.3SG.PRS.OPT
'Not least could this Jocasta say these things.' (Sophocles, *Oedipus Rex* 1053)

(1071) τίς οὖν ἂν ἀξίαν γε σοῦ πεφηνότος μεταβάλοιτ᾽ ἂν ὧδε σιγὰν λόγων
tís   oûn *àn* axían   ge   soû
who.M.NOM.SG so IRR worthy.F.ACC.SG even you.GEN
pephēnótos   metabáloit'   *àn* hôde
show.PTCP.PRF.M.NOM.SG exchange.3SG.AOR.OPT.MID IRR thus
sigàn   lógōn
silence.ACC.SG account.GEN.PL
'You having appeared, who then would thus change fitting silence for words?' (Sophocles, *Electra* 1260)

(1072) ποίας ἂν ὑμᾶς πατρίδος (or πόλεος) ἢ γένους ποτὲ τύχοιμ᾽ ἂν εἰπών
poías   *àn* humâs   patrídos/póleos   è
of.what.sort.F.GEN.SG IRR you.ACC.PL fatherland.GEN/city.GEN.SG or
génous   potè   túkhoim'   *àn* eipṓn
kind.GEN.SG sometime happen.1SG.AOR.OPT IRR say.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG
'Of what country or family might I ever happen to say that you are?' (Sophocles, *Philoctetes* 222)

Example (1072) is what is read by Dindorf (1882: 304) and Heimreich (1884: 18–19) in place of the manuscript's *poías pátras àn humâs è̀ génous poté*, in which the metrical error caused by the placement of *humâs* is remedied less successfully by others.

(1073) τίς δ' ἂν τοιοῦδ' ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς εὖ πράξειεν ἄν

tís   d'   *àn* toioûd'   hup' andròs   eû
who.M.NOM.SG then IRR such.M.GEN.SG under man.GEN.SG well

práxeien   *án*
do.3SG.AOR.OPT IRR

'And who could profit from such a man?' (Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus* 391)

(1074) ἆρ' ἂν ματαίου τῆσδ' ἂν ἡδονῆς τύχοις

âr'   *àn* mataíou   tesd'   *àn* hēdonês
then IRR vain.F.GEN.SG this.F.GEN.SG IRR pleasure.GEN.SG

túkhois
happen.2SG.AOR.OPT

'Would you then find this pleasure vain?' (Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus* 780)

(1075) πῶς ἂν τό γ' ἆκον πρᾶγμ' ἂν εἰκότως ψέγοις

pôs *àn* tó   g' âkon   prâgm'   *àn* eikótōs
how IRR the.N.ACC.SG even unwilling.N.ACC.SG deed.ACC.SG IRR justly

pségois
blame.2SG.PRS.OPT.ACT

'How could you reasonably blame the unwitting deed?' (Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus* 976)

(1076) ἦ τἂν οὐκ ἂν ἦ

ê   tàn   ouk *àn* ê
in.truth and=IRR not IRR be.1SG.IMP

'In truth I would be no more' (Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus* 1366)

(1077) οὐ γάρ ποτ' ἂν γένοιτ' ἂν ἀσφαλὴς πόλις

ou gár pot'   *àn* génoit'   *àn* asphalès
not for sometime IRR become.3SG.AOR.OPT.MID IRR safe.F.NOM.SG

pólis
city.NOM.SG

'For the city would never prove secure' (Sophocles, *Phaedra* 622.1)

Example (1078) has three *án*s!

(1078) πῶς ἂν οὐκ ἂν ἐν δίκῃ θάνοιμ' ἄν
        pôs *àn* ouk *àn* en díkēi   thánoim'   án
        how IRR not IRR in judgement.DAT.SG die.1SG.AOR.OPT IRR
        'How in justice could I not die?' (Sophocles, Fragment 673)

(1079) ὁ ἥλιος ἂν ἀπελαυνόμενος ἐκ μέσου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ … ἤιε ἂν τὰ ἄνω τῆς
        Εὐρώπης
        ho   hḗlios   *àn* apelaunómenos   ek
        the.M.NOM.SG sun.NOM.SG IRR expel.PTCP.PRS.PASS.M.NOM.SG out
        mésou   toû   ouranoû   éie   *àn* tà
        mid.M.GEN.SG the.M.GEN.SG heaven.GEN.SG go.3SG.IMP   IRR the.N.ACC.PL
        ánō   tês   Eurṓpēs
        upward the.F.GEN.SG Europe.GEN.SG
        'The sun, when driven from mid-heaven, would pass over the inland
        parts of Europe' (Herodotus 2.26.2)

(1080) διεξιόντα δ' ἂν μιν διὰ πάσης Εὐρώπης ἔλπομαι ποιέειν ἂν τὸν Ἴστρον
        diexiónta   d' *án* min dià   pásēs
        pass.through.PTCP.PRS.M.ACC.SG   then IRR CL through all.GEN.SG
        Eurṓpēs élpomai   poiéein   *àn* tòn   Ístron
        Europe hope.1SG.PRS.PASS do.PRS.INF IRR the.M.ACC.SG Ister.ACC
        '… and I believe that passing across all Europe, it would do to the Ister
        …' (Herodotus 2.26.2)

(1081) οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὸν ἔγωγε δοκέω τὸν θεὸν οὕτω ἂν κακῶς βαλεῖν
        oúd' *àn* autòn   égōge   dokéō   tòn
        nor IRR same.M.ACC.SG I.NOM.EMPH   think.1SG.PRS the.M.ACC.SG
        theòn   hoútō *àn* kakôs baleîn
        god.ACC.SG   so   IRR badly throw.AOR.INF
        'I think that not even the god himself could shoot so true.' (Herodotus
        3.35.4)

(1082) οὐδ' ἂν τούτων ὑπὸ πλήθεος οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴποι πλῆθος
        oúd' *àn* toútōn   hupò plétheos   oudeìs   *àn*
        nor IRR this.GEN.PL under quantity.GEN.SG nobody.M.NOM.SG IRR
        eípoi   plêthos
        say.3SG.AOR.OPT quantity.ACC.SG
        'And no one could tell the number, with such numbers of them.'
        (Herodotus 7.187.1) *

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *arithmón* for *plêthos*.

Translation

(1083) πόλλ’ ἂν cὺ λέξαc οὐδὲν ἂν πλέον λάβοιc

póll’ àn sù léxas oudèn àn
many.N.ACC.PL IRR you.NOM say.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG nothing.ACC.SG IRR

pléon lábois
more.N.ACC.SG take.2SG.AOR.OPT

‘Having said much, you will get nothing more.’ (Euripides, *Alcestis* 72)

(1084) πῶc ἂν ἔρημον τάφον Ἄδμητοc κεδνῆc ἂν ἔπραξε γυναικόc

pôs àn érēmon táphon Ádmētos kednês àn
how IRR solitary.M.ACC.SG tomb.ACC.SG Admetus.NUM dear.F.GEN.SG IRR

épraxe gunaikós
do.3SG.AOR woman.GEN.SG

‘How would Admetus have held the funeral of his good wife without
mourners?’ (Euripides, *Alcestis* 93)

(1085) οὐκ ἂν ἔν γ’ ἐμοῖc δόμοιc βλέπουc’ ἂν αὐγὰc τἄμ’ ἐκαρποῦτ’ ἂν λέχη

ouk àn én g’ emoîs dómois blépous’ àn
not IRR in even my.M.DAT.PL house.DAT.PL look.PTCP.PRS.F.NOM.SG IRR

augàs tám’ ekarpoût’ àn lékhē
daylight.ACC.PL the=my.N.ACC.PL harvest.3SG.IMP.PASS IRR bed.ACC.PL

‘She would never have reaped the fruits of my bed in my house and
seen daylight’ (Euripides, *Andromache* 934)

(1086) ἄλγοc ἂν προcθείμεθ’ ἄν

álgos àn prostheímeth’ án
pain.ACC.SG IRR add.1SG.AOR.OPT.MID IRR

‘... I would add to my anguish’ (Euripides, *Hecuba* 742)

(1087) τῷδ’ ἂν εὐcτόχῳ πτερῷ ἀπόλαυcιν εἰκοῦc ἔθανεc ἂν Διὸc κόρηc

tôid’ àn eustókhōi pterôi apólausin
this.N.DAT.SG IRR well.aimed.N.DAT.SG feather.DAT.SG reward.ACC.SG

eikoûs éthanes àn Diòs kórēs
likeness.GEN.SG die.2SG.AOR IRR Zeus.GEN girl.GEN.SG

‘You would have died by this well-aimed arrow as a reward for your
likeness to the daughter of Zeus.’ (Euripides, *Helen* 76)

(1088) φθάνοιc δ’ ἂν οὔκ ἂν τοῖcδε cὸν κρύπτων δέμαc

phthánois d’ àn oúk àn toîsde sòn
arrive.2SG.PRS.OPT then IRR not IRR this.N.DAT.PL your.N.ACC.SG

krúptōn démas
hide.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG body.ACC.SG
'It would not be premature to put it on.' (Euripides, *Heracleidae* 721; cf. Elmsley 1821: 119)

(1089) ἄλλος τε πῶς ἂν μὴ διορθεύων λόγους ὀρθῶς δύναιτ' ἂν δῆμος εὐθύνειν πόλιν
állos   te pôs àn mè diortheúōn
otherwise and how IRR not judge.rightly.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG
lógous   orthôs dúnait'   àn dêmos
account.ACC.PL straight can.3SG.PRS.OPT.PASS IRR people.M.NOM.SG
euthúnein   pólin
direct.PRS.INF city.ACC
'Besides, how would the people, if it cannot form true judgments, be able rightly to direct the state?' (Euripides, *Suppliants* 417)

(1090) τίν' ἂν λόγον, τάλαινα, ἵν' ἂν τῶνδ' αἰτία λάβοιμι
tín'   àn lógon,   tálaina,   tín'
what.M.ACC.SG IRR account.ACC.SG wretched.F.NOM.SG what.M.ACC.SG
àn tônd'   aitía   láboimi
IRR this.N.GEN.PL guilty.F.NOM.SG take.1SG.AOR.OPT.ACT
'What, alas! will be said of me, who am the cause of it?' (Euripides, *Suppliants* 606)*

(1091) οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην οὔτ' ἐρωτῆσαι τάδε οὔτ' ἂν πιθέσθαι
ouk àn dunaímēn   oút' erôtêsai   táde   oút' àn
not IRR can.1SG.PRS.OPT.PASS nor ask.AOR.INF this.N.ACC.PL nor IRR
pithésthai
persuade.AOR.INF.MID
'I could neither ask nor believe these things.' (Euripides, *Suppliants* 853)

(1092) ἦ τἆρ' ἂν ὄψε γ' ἄνδρες ἐξεύροιεν ἄν
ê   târ'   àn ópse g' ándres   exeúroien   án
in.truth and=then IRR late even man.NOM.PL discover.3PL.AOR.OPT IRR
'And so truly, men would not soon discover ...' (Euripides, *Hippolytus* 480)

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *tálaina, tína lógon* for *tín' àn lógon, tálaina.*

(1093) οὔτ᾽ ἂν ξένοισι τοῖσι σοῖς χρησαίμεθ᾽ ἄν

oút᾽ *àn* xénoisi   toîsi   soîs

nor IRR stranger.DAT.PL the.M.DAT.PL your.M.DAT.PL

khrēsaímeth᾽   *án*

use.1PL.AOR.OPT.MID IRR

'I will accept no help from your friends' (Euripides, *Medea* 616)

(1094) ἆρ᾽ ἂν τύραννον διολέσαι δυναίμεθ᾽ ἄν

âr᾽ *àn* túrannon diolésai   dunaímeth᾽   *án*

then IRR king.ACC.SG destroy.AOR.INF can.1PL.PRS.OPT.PASS IRR

'Could we murder the king?' (Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris* 1020)

(1095) οὐκέτ᾽ ἂν φθάνοις ἂν αὔραν ἱστίοις καραδοκῶν

oukét᾽ *àn* phthánois   *àn* aúran   histíois

no.more IRR arrive.2SG.PRS.OPT IRR breeze.ACC.SG sheet.DAT.PL

karadokôn

await.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG

'It would no longer be too soon to await a breeze for your sails'
(Euripides, *Trojan Women* 456)

(1096) ἀφανεῖς ἂν ὄντες οὐκ ἂν ὑμνηθεῖμεν ἄν

aphaneîs   *àn* óntes   ouk *àn* humnētheîmen

unseen.F.NOM.PL IRR be.PTCP.PRS.F.NOM.PL not IRR hymn.1PL.AOR.PASS

án

IRR

'Being unknown, we should have been unsung.' (Euripides, *Trojan
Women* 1240)

(1097) μόνον δ᾽ ἂν ἀντὶ χρημάτων οὐκ ἂν λάβοις

mónon d᾽ *àn* antì   khrēmátōn   ouk *àn* lábois

alone then IRR against property.GEN.PL not IRR take.2SG.AOR.OPT

'But you alone would not take for money …' (Euripides, *Meleagros*
Fragment 527; Nauck 1889: 528–529 would prefer *én* for the first *án*)

(1098) λέγω … καὶ κάθ᾽ ἕκαστον, δοκεῖν ἄν μοι τὸν αὐτὸν ἄνδρα παρ᾽ ἡμῶν
ἐπὶ πλεῖστ᾽ ἂν εἴδη κὰι μετὰ χαρίτων μάλιστ᾽ εὐτραπέλως τὸ σῶμα
αὔταρκες παρέχεσθαι

légō   kaì káth᾽ hékaston,   dokeîn   *án* moi

say.1SG.PRS and down each.M.ACC.SG seem.PRS.INF IRR me.DAT

tòn autòn ándra par' hēmôn epì
the.M.ACC.SG same.M.ACC.SG man.ACC.SG from us.GEN upon
pleîst' *àn* eídē kài metà kharítōn málist'
most.N.ACC.PL IRR form.ACC.PL and with grace.GEN.PL most
eutrapélōs tò   sôma   aútarkes
resourcefully the.N.ACC.SG body.ACC.SG independent.N.ACC.SG
parékhesthai
supply.PRS.INF.PASS

'I say ... and it seems to me that individually, the very man coming from us would display the most personal self-sufficiency in the most circumstances and with the greatest grace and resourcefulness.' (Thucydides 2.41.1; cf. Poppo & Stahl 1889: 87 *[p401]* on this example)

(1099) οὐδ' ἂν cφῶν πειραcομένους ... αὐτοὺς δακεῖν ἧccον, ἀλλὰ πολλῷ μᾶλλον ... εὔνους ἂν cφίcι γενέcθαι
oud' *àn* sphôn peirasoménous autoùs dakeîn
nor IRR them.GEN try.PTCP.AOR.MID.M.ACC.PL them.ACC bite.AOR.INF
hêsson, allà pollôi   mâllon eúnous   *àn*
less but much.N.DAT.SG more right-minded.M.ACC.PL IRR
sphísi genésthai
them.DAT become.AOR.INF.MID

'... that by giving them a trial they would annoy them less, and yet become much better-disposed toward them' (Thucydides 4.114.4)[*]

(1100) τάχ' ἂν δ' ἴcωc, εἰ ... λάβοιεν ... , καὶ πάνυ ἂν ξυνεπίθοιντο
tákh' *àn* d' ísōs, ei láboien   kaì pánu *àn*
quickly IRR than perhaps if take.3PL.AOR.OPT also quite IRR
xunepíthointo
join.in.3PL.AOR.OPT.MID

'And it is only too probable that if they found ... they would attack us vigorously' (Thucydides 6.10.4)[†]

(1101) Σικελιῶται δ' ἄν μοι δοκοῦcιν, ὥc γε νῦν ἔχουcιν, καὶ ἔτι ἂν ἧccον δεινοὶ ἡμῖν γενέcθαι
Sikeliôtai   d' *án* moi dokoûsin, hós ge nûn
Siceliot.NOM.PL then IRR me.DAT seem.3PL.PRS as even now

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[*] *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *dokeîn* for *dakeîn*. [†] *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition starts with *tákha d' àn ísōs*, which Wackernagel cites above as a variant.

ékhousin, kaì éti *àn* hêsson deinoì hēmîn
have.3PL.PRS also still IRR less terrible.M.NOM.PL us.DAT
genésthai
become.AOR.INF.MID

'And the Siceliots seem to me, even as they are now, to have become even less dangerous still to us.' (Thucydides 6.11.2)

(1102) βραχὺ ἄν τι προσκτώμενοι αὐτῇ περὶ αὐτῆϲ ἂν ταύτης μᾶλλον κινδυνεύοιμεν
brakhù *án* ti prosktṓmenoi
short.N.ACC.SG IRR something.ACC.SG gain.PTCP.PRS.PASS.M.NOM.PL
autêi perì autês *àn* taútēs mâllon
same.F.DAT.SG about same.F.GEN.SG IRR this.F.GEN.SG more
kinduneúoimen
endanger.1PL.PRS.OPT

'We should make but few new conquests, and should imperil those we have already won.' (Thucydides 6.18.2)

(1103) γενομένηϲ δ᾽ ἂν ... ἀρχῆϲ ἀπορεῖν ἂν αὐτόν
genoménēs d' *àn* arkhês
become.PTCP.AOR.MID.F.GEN.SG and IRR beginning.GEN.SG
aporeîn *àn* autón
puzzle.PRS.INF IRR him.ACC

'... and, the command having become ... he would be at a loss' (Thucydides 8.46.2)

(1104) οὔτε ἂν αὐτῷ τῷ λέγοντι οὔτε τοῖϲ ἀκούουϲι δῆλα ἂν εἴη
oúte *àn* autôi tôi légonti oúte
nor IRR same.M.DAT.SG the.M.DAT.SG say.PTCP.PRS.M.DAT.SG nor
toîs akoúousi dêla *àn* eíē
the.M.DAT.PL hear.PTCP.PRS.M.DAT.PL clear.N.NOM.PL IRR be.3SG.PRS.OPT

'Neither to the speaker nor to the hearers would it be clear ...' (Hippocrates, *On Ancient Medicine* 1; Littré 1839: 572)

(1105) οὐδ᾽ ἂν ἐλαφρῶϲ ἂν ἀπεπλίξατο
oud' *àn* elaphrôs *àn* apeplíxato
nor IRR lightly IRR trot.off.3SG.AOR.MID

'... nor would he have trotted off lightly' (Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 218)

(1106) πῶς δέ γ' ἂν καλῶς λέγοις ἄν
        pôs dé g'   *àn* kalôs légois   *án*
        how but even IRR well   say.2SG.PRS.OPT IRR
        'But how can you say "well" … ?' (Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 308)

(1107) μαμμᾶν δ' ἂν αἰτήσαντος ἧκόν σοι φέρων ἂν ἄρτον
        mammân   d'   *àn* aitésantos   hêkón   soi
        mother.ACC.SG then IRR ask.PTCP.AOR.M.GEN.SG arrive.1SG.IMP you.DAT
        phérōn   *àn* árton
        bear.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG IRR loaf.ACC.SG
        'When you cried for food I would come to you bringing bread.'
        (Aristophanes, *Clouds* 1383)

(1108) πῶς ἄν ποτ' ἀφικοίμην ἂν εὐθὺ τοῦ Διός
        pôs *án* pot'   aphikoímēn   *àn* euthù   toû
        how IRR sometime arrive.1SG.AOR.OPT.MID IRR straight the.M.GEN.SG
        Diós
        Zeus.GEN
        'However could I go straight to Zeus?' (Aristophanes, *Peace* 68)

(1109) ἡ δ' Ἑλλὰς ἂν ἐξερημωθεῖσ' ἂν ὑμᾶς ἔλαθε
        hē   d'   Hellàs   *àn* éxerēmōtheîs'
        the.F.NOM.SG then Greece.NOM IRR desolate.PTCP.AOR.PASS.F.NOM.SG
        àn humâs   élathe
        IRR you.ACC.PL hide.3SG.AOR
        'And Greece, having been left destitute, escaped your notice.'
        (Aristophanes, *Peace* 646)

(1110) οὐκ ἂν πριαίμην οὐδ' ἂν ἰσχάδος μιᾶς
        ouk *àn* priaímēn   oud' *àn* iskhádos miâs
        not IRR buy.1SG.PRS.OPT.PASS nor IRR fig.GEN.SG one.F.GEN.SG
        'I would not buy, not even for one fig.' (Aristophanes, *Peace* 1223)

(1111) καὶ πῶς ἂν ἔτι γένοιτ' ἂν εὔτακτος πόλις
        kaì pôs *àn* éti génoit'   *àn* eútaktos
        and how IRR still become.3SG.AOR.OPT.MID IRR well-ordered.F.NOM.SG
        pólis
        city.NOM.SG
        'And how could a city become so well-ordered … ?' (Aristophanes, *Birds*
        829)

Translation

(1112) ἐγὼ δέ τἄν κἄν, εἴ με χρείη ... ἐκπιεῖν
egṑ   dé tàn   kán,   eí me   khreíē
I.NOM but and=IRR and=IRR if me.ACC need.3SG.PRS.OPT
ekpieîn
drink.up.AOR.INF
'And so would I, even if I had to drink up ...' (Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 113)

(1113) ἐγὼ δέ γ' ἂν κἄν ὥcπερ εἰ ψῆτταν δοκῶ δοῦναι ἂν ἐμαυτῆc παρταμοῦcα θἤμιcυ
egṑ   dé g'   àn kàn   hócper ei psêttan   dokô
I.NOM but even IRR and=IRR like   if turbot.ACC.SG think.1SG.PRS
doûnai   àn emautês   partamoûsa
give.AOR.INF IRR myself.F.GEN.SG cut.off.PTCP.FUT.F.NOM.SG
thḗmisu
the=half.ACC.SG
'And I would too, even if I expected to cut off half of myself and give it like a turbot.' (Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 115)*

(1114) μᾶλλον ἂν διὰ τουτογὶ γένοιτ' ἂν εἰρήνη
mâllon àn dià   toutogì   génoit'   àn
more   IRR through this.N.ACC.SG.EMPH become.3SG.AOR.OPT.MID IRR
eirḗnē
peace.NOM.SG
'Would peace come to pass rather through this?' (Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 147)

(1115) φωνὴν ἂν οὐκ ἂν εἶχον
phōnḕn   àn ouk àn eîkhon
sound.ACC.SG IRR not IRR have.3PL.IMP
'... they would not make a sound' (Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 361)

(1116) ἦ τἄν cε κωκύειν ἂν ἐκέλευον μακρά
ê   tán   se   kōkúein   àn ekéleuon   makrá
in.truth and=IRR you.ACC wail.PRS.INF IRR order.1SG.IMP large.N.ACC.PL
'Truly I would make you wail more.' (Aristophanes, *Frogs* 34)

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* *Translator's note*: The Perseus edition has *paratemoûsa* for *partamoûsa*.

(1117) οὐκ ἂν γενοίμην Ἡρακλῆς ἄν
ouk *àn* genoímēn　　　　　Hēraklês　*án*
not IRR become.1SG.AOR.OPT.MID Hercules.NOM IRR
'I won't be Hercules' (Aristophanes, *Frogs* 581)

(1118) οὐκ ἂν φθάνοις τὸ γένειον ἂν περιδουμένη
ouk *àn* phthánois　　　tò　　　géneion　*àn*
not IRR arrive.2SG.PRS.OPT the.N.ACC.SG beard.ACC.SG IRR
peridouménē
bind.up.PTCP.PRS.PASS.F.NOM.SG
'It wouldn't be too soon to tie on your beard.' (Aristophanes,
Ecclesiazusae 118)

(1119) ἴσως ἂν ἐγὼ περὶ τοῦ μεθύσκεσθαι ... τἀληθῆ λέγων ἧττον ἂν εἴην
ἀηδής
ísōs　　*àn* egṑ perì toû　　　methúskesthai
perhaps IRR I.NOM about the.N.GEN.SG intoxicate.PRS.INF.PASS
talēthê　　　　légōn　　　　　hêtton *àn*　eíēn
the=true.N.ACC.PL say.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG less　IRR be.1SG.PRS.OPT
aēdés
distasteful.M.NOM.SG
'Perhaps I would be less disagreeable speaking the truth about
intoxication.' (Plato, *Symposium* (*Apology* 41a) 176c)

(1120) εἰκότως ἂν τοὺς ἐρῶντας μᾶλλον ἂν φοβοῖο
eikótōs *àn* toùs　　　erôntas　　　　　　mâllon *àn*
justly　IRR the.M.ACC.PL love.PTCP.PRS.M.ACC.PL more　IRR
phoboîo
frighten.2SG.PRS.OPT.PASS
'You would reasonably be more frightened for the lovers' (Plato,
Phaedrus 232c; Schanz 1882: 7 has *dé* for the first *àn*)

(1121) τάχ᾽ οὖν ἂν ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας ἐπίσχοι ἡμῖν ἂν τοῦ γράφειν
tákh' oûn *àn* hupò philotimías　　épískhoi　　　　hēmîn
quickly so　IRR under ambition.GEN.SG hold.back.3SG.AOR.OPT us.DAT
àn toû　　　gráphein
IRR the.N.GEN.SG write.PRS.INF
'So perhaps out of pride he may refrain from writing to us.' (Plato,
Phaedrus 257c)

(1122) οὐκ ἂν ῥᾳδίως οὐδὲ πολλὰ ἂν εὕροις ὡς τοῦτο
ouk *àn* rhāidíōs oudè pollà   *àn* heúrois   hōs
not IRR easily   nor   many.N.ACC.PL IRR find.2SG.AOR.OPT as
toûto
this.N.ACC.SG
'You would not find many like this, nor easily.' (Plato, *Republic* 7.526c)

(1123) κἂν ὀλίγου, εἴ με κελεύοις ἀποδύντα ὀρχήσασθαι, χαρισαίμην ἄν
k*àn*   olígou,   eí me   keleúois
and=IRR little.N.GEN.SG if me.ACC order.2SG.PRS.OPT
apodúnta   orkhḗsasthai,   kharisaímēn
undress.PTCP.AOR.M.ACC.SG dance.AOR.INF.MID gratify.1SG.AOR.OPT.MID
án
IRR
'And I would almost gratify you if you were to bid me strip and dance'
(Plato, *Menexenus* 236d)

(1124) πῶς οὖν ἄν ποτέ τις ... δύναιτ' ἂν ὑγιές τι λέγων ἀντειπεῖν
pôs oûn *án* poté   tis   dúnait'   *àn*
how so   IRR sometime someone.M.NOM.SG can.3SG.PRS.OPT.PASS IRR
hugiés   ti   légōn
healthy.N.ACC.SG something.ACC.SG say.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG
anteipeîn
argue.AOR.INF
'Then how could one ever argue ... saying anything sound?' (Plato,
Sophist 233a)

(1125) σχολῇ ποτ' ἂν αὐτοῖς τις χρήματα διδοὺς ἤθελεν ἂν ... μαθητὴς
γίγνεσθαι
skholêi pot'   *àn* autoîs   tis   khrḗmata
scarcely sometime IRR them.DAT someone.M.NOM.SG property.ACC.PL
didoùs   éthelen   *àn* mathētḕs
give.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG want.3SG.IMP IRR pupil.NOM.SG
gígnesthai
become.PRS.INF.PASS
'Scarcely anyone would ever want to become (their) pupil, giving them
money.' (Plato, *Sophist* 233b; cf. also *Laws* 5.742c)

(1126)   στὰϲ ἂν ὥϲπερ οὗτοϲ ἐπὶ τῇ εἰϲόδῳ ... λέγοιμ᾽ ἄν

     stàs   *àn* hṓsper hoûtos   epì têi

     stand.PTCP.AOR.M.NOM.SG IRR like   this.M.NOM.SG upon the.F.DAT.SG

     eisódōi   légoim᾽   *àn*

     entrance.DAT.SG say.1SG.PRS.OPT IRR

     'Standing at the door just like him, I would say ...' (Xenophon,
     Cyropaedia 1.3.11)

(1127)   ὑμῶν δ᾽ ἔρημος ὤν, οὐκ ἂν ἱκανὸς οἶμαι εἶναι οὔτ᾽ ἂν φίλον ὠφελῆϲαι
     οὔτ᾽ ἂν ἐχθρὸν ἀλέξαϲθαι

     humôn   d᾽   érēmos   ṓn,   ouk *àn*

     you.GEN.PL then solitary.M.NOM.SG be.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.SG not IRR

     hikanòs   oîmai   eînai   oút᾽ *àn* phílon

     sufficient.M.NOM.SG think.1SG.PRS.PASS be.PRS.INF nor IRR friend.ACC

     ōphelêsai   oút᾽ *àn* ekhthròn   aléxasthai

     help.AOR.INF nor IRR enemy.ACC.SG ward.off.AOR.INF.MID

     'But bereft of you I do not think I shall be able either to aid a friend or
     to ward off a foe.' (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1.3.6)

(1128)   δοκοῦμεν δ᾽ ἄν μοι ταύτῃ προϲποιούμενοι προϲβαλεῖν ἐρημωτέρῳ ἂν
     τῷ ὄρει χρῆϲθαι

     dokoûmen   d᾽   *án* moi   taútēi prospoioúmenoi

     seem.1PL.PRS then IRR me.DAT here   pretend.PTCP.PRS.PASS.M.NOM.PL

     prosbaleîn   erēmōtérōi   *àn* tôi

     attack.AOR.INF solitary.COMP.N.DAT.SG IRR the.N.DAT.SG

     órei   khrêsthai

     mountain.DAT.SG use.PRS.INF.PASS

     'I do think, however, that if we should make a feint of attacking here,
     we should find the rest of the mountain all the more deserted'
     (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 4.6.13)

(1129)   διαϲπαϲθέντεϲ δ᾽ ἂν καὶ κατὰ μικρὰ γενομένηϲ τῆϲ δυνάμεωϲ οὔτ᾽ ἂν
     τροφὴν δύναιϲθε λαμβάνειν οὔτε χαίροντεϲ ἂν ἀπαλλάξαιτε

     diaspasthéntes   d᾽   *àn* kaì katà mikrà

     separate.PTCP.AOR.PASS.M.NOM.PL then IRR and down small.N.ACC.PL

     genoménēs   tês   dunámeōs   oút᾽ *àn*

     become.PTCP.AOR.MID.F.GEN.SG the.F.GEN.SG power.GEN.SG nor IRR

     trophḕn dúnaisthe   lambánein oúte

     food.ACC can.2PL.PRS.OPT.PASS take.PRS.INF nor

khaírontes   *àn* apalláxaite
rejoice.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.PL IRR deliver.2PL.AOR.OPT
'But separated and with your force in small parts, you could neither get
food nor emerge safe.' (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 5.6.32)

(1130)   ὧδ' ἂν ... ἐπισκοποῦντες ... ἴσως ἂν καταμάθοιμεν
ôd'   *àn* episkopoûntes   ísōs   *àn* katamáthoimen
thus IRR oversee.PTCP.PRS.M.NOM.PL perhaps IRR perceive.1PL.AOR.OPT
'Perhaps by considering ... we can thus discover ...' (Xenophon, *The
Economist* 4.5)

   [p402]

(1131)   εἶδες δ' ἂν αὐτῆς Φαρνάβαζον θᾶττον ἄν
eîdes   d'   *àn* autês Pharnábazon   thâtton *án*
see.2SG.AOR then IRR her.GEN Pharnabazus.ACC faster   IRR
'And you could see Pharnabazus more quickly than her.' (Epicrates,
Fragment 2/3, line 17; Kock 1884: 283)

(1132)   οὐκ ἂν ἡγεῖσθ' αὐτὸν κἂν ἐπιδραμεῖν
ouk *àn* hēgeîsth'   autòn *kàn*   epidrameîn
not IRR lead.2PL.PRS.PASS him.ACC also=IRR rush.AOR.INF
'Don't you believe he would even have rushed ...' (Demosthenes 27.56)

(1133)   ὧδ' ἂν θεωροῦσιν γένοιτ' ἂν φανερόν
hôd' *àn* theōroûsin   génoit'   *àn*
thus IRR behold.PTCP.PRS.M.DAT.SG become.3SG.AOR.OPT.MID IRR
phanerón
visible.N.NOM.SG
'It might become clear by considering thus ...' (Aristotle, *Poetics* 1460b,
among many others; cf. Vahlen (1865: 408, 438) on this example)

   (Example (1134) does not belong here, since the repetition of *án* is caused by
the resumption of interrogative *tí*.)

(1134)   τί ἂν οἴεσθ' εἰ ... ἀπῆλθον ... , τί ποιεῖν ἂν ἢ τί λέγειν τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς
ἀνθρώπους τουτουσί
tí   *àn* oíesth'   ei apêlthon   tí
what.N.ACC.SG IRR think.2PL.PRS.PASS if leave.3PL.AOR what.N.ACC.SG

poieîn	àn	è	tí		légein	toùs
do.PRS.INF	IRR	or	what.N.ACC.SG	say.PRS.INF	the.M.ACC.PL

asebeîs	anthrṓpous	toutousí
impious.ACC.PL	person.ACC.PL	this.M.ACC.PL.EMPH

'What do you think, if they had gone off ... what (do you think) these ungodly persons would have done or said?' (Demosthenes 18.240)

Assuming my incomplete collection of examples is not too unrepresentative, there is a large decrease in this type of *án*-doubling in the fourth century. In particular, oratorical prose contains only few examples; as is well known, Lysias never doubled *án*. I do not doubt that this decrease is due to the gradual extinguishing of the tradition which demanded *án* in second position of the clause.

We also find instances of *án*-doubling in which *án* does not take clausal second position but rather a later position. This is quite natural, as various elements are known to be happily followed by *án*, and therefore, as soon as a clause became more extensive, various mutually conflicting demands had to take effect on the particle. It is beyond the scope of this research to consider the combinations this gives rise to and to adduce examples for each of them, since our task is only to investigate the remains of the old positional law – however interesting and important it would be for our appreciation of the younger language to illustrate in detail the tendencies that have become dominant there.

8 Indo-Iranian and Germanic

The positional law whose validity for Greek has been discussed over the preceding pages has long been recognized for certain of the Asian sister languages.

For Sanskrit prose, Delbrück (1878: 47) informs us: "Enclitic words move as close as possible to the beginning of the clause." In essence, Bartholomae's (1886: 3) comments on the *Ṛgveda* agree with this: "Even on a superficial assessment it becomes *[p403]* clear that in the *Ṛgveda* the enclitic forms of the personal pronouns, as well as certain particles, in most cases take the second position within the verse or the verse section." See the same author (1887: 30) on *sīm* and *smǎ* as well as the hard tmesis in *Ṛgveda* 5.2.7 *šunaš cic chēpam niditaṃ sahasrad yūpād amuñcaḥ*.

The same scholar (1886: 3–31) has made corresponding observations on the Gathas of the Avesta. He proposes the following rule (1886: 11ff.): "Enclitic pronouns and particles attach to the first high tone in the verse", and recognizes exceptions only in the case of *cīṭ*, which often needs to emphasize particular

parts of the clause and is then attached to the relevant part. It is easy to see how this observation also relates to Delbrück's rule.

However, this rule is apparently retained to the letter in Middle Indic prose (cf. e.g. Jacobi 1886: 8 line 18 *jena se parikkhemi balavisesaṃ*, in which *se* syntactically belongs to *balavisesaṃ*), and certainly in Old Persian, whose cuneiform inscriptions are particularly suitable for such observations due to their solemnly correct style and the precise differentiation of enclitics in their script. I present the material in its entirety following Spiegel (1881), with the exception of the cases in which the enclitic is inserted editorially. The following are found exclusively in second position:

mai̯ (1SG.GEN):* following the gendered nominatives *Auramazdā* 'Ahura Mazda' in the Behistun inscription 1.25, 1.55, 1.87, 1.94, 2.24, 2.40, 2.60, 2.68, 3.6, 3.17, 3.37, 3.44, 3.60, 3.65, 3.86, 4.60, and Persepolis NR^a 50, *dahyāuš* 'country' in Behistun 4.79, and *hauv* 'he' in Behistun 2.79 and 3.11; also following the neuter *tya* (REL) (excluding Behistun 4.65, on which nothing can be said with certainty because of the lacuna) in Xerxes A 24, A 30, Ca 13 (twice), Cb 22 (twice), D 19, and Ea 19; finally after *utā* 'and' in Behistun 4.74, 4.78, and Xerxes D 15 (and also NR^a 52 and Xerxes D 18, E 18, and A 29, although in these cases *utā* links only constituents rather than clauses).

tai̯ (2SG.GEN): following the gendered nominatives *Auramazdā* 'Ahura Mazda' in Behistun 4.58, and 4.78, *hauv* 'he' in NR^a 57 (where, however, according to Thumb's analysis *taiy* should be in fifth position!), *[p404]* following the neuter *ava* 'that' in Behistun 4.76 and 4.79, following *ada* 'then' in NR^a 43 and 45, and following *utā* (CONJ) in Behistun 4.58, 4.75, and 4.79.

šai̯ (3SG.GEN): following *hauv* 'he' in Darius H 3, following *tayai̯* (REL.NOM.PL) in Behistun 1.57, 2.77, 3.48, 3.51, and 3.73, following *avaθā* 'then' in 3.14, following *utā* (CONJ) in 2.74, 2.89, and 5.11, and following *pasāva* 'afterward' in 2.88.

mai̯, *tai̯* and *šai̯* thus follow the rule in all 56 instances, attaching to a wide variety of words, without a single counterexample. Particularly noteworthy is Behistun 1.57 ((1135)), as opposed to the *utā martiyā tayai̯*šai *fratamā* etc. of the other examples with *tayai̯šai*, and also Behistun 4.74 = 4.78 ((1136)), in which *mai̯* precedes the intervening clause while the verb comes after it;† but especially Xerxes D 15 ((1137)) = *kaí* moi *átta ho patḕr epoíēsen* 'and me.DAT that.N.ACC.PL the.M.NOM.SG father.NOM.SG make.3SG.AOR', where the *mai̯* that belongs to the relative clause is placed before the relative pronoun in order to attach to *utā*.

(1135) avaθā adam   hadā kamnaⁱbiš   martiyaⁱbiš   avam
      then 1.NOM.SG with few.INS.PL.M man.INS.PL.M DEM.ACC.SG.M

      Gaᵤmātam tayam   magum   avājanam   utā
      G.ACC.SG.M REL.ACC.SG.M magus.ACC.SG.M slay.1.SG.PST CONJ

      tayaⁱ=šaⁱ   fratamā   martiyā
      REL.NOM.PL.M=3.GEN.SG foremost.NOM.PL.M man.NOM.PL.M

      anušiyā   āhantā
      follower.NOM.PL.M be.3.PL.PST

      'then I with a few men slew that Gaumāta the magus and the men who
      were his foremost followers' (Behistun 1.57)

(1136) yadi imām   dipim   vaⁱnāhi
      CONJ DEM.ACC.SG.F inscription.ACC.SG.F see.2.SG.SBJV

      imaⁱ=vā   patikarā,   naⁱ=diš   vikanāhi
      DEM.ACC.PL.M=CONJ sculpture.ACC.PL.M NEG=3.ACC.PL destroy.2.SG.SBJV

      utā=taⁱ   yāvā taᵤmā   ahati
      CONJ=2.SG.GEN CONJ strength.NOM.SG.N be.3.SG.SBJV

      paribarāhi=diš
      protect.2.SG.IMP=3.ACC.PL

      'If you shall look at this inscription or these sculptures, (and) shall not
      destroy them and, as long as there is strength to you, shall care for
      them, …' (Behistun 4.74 = 4.78)

(1137) taya   adam   akunavam   uta=maⁱ
      REL.NOM/ACC.PL.N 1.NOM.SG make.1.SG.PST CONJ=1.SG.GEN

      taya   pitā   akunaᵤš
      REL.NOM/ACC.PL.N father.NOM.SG.M make.3.SG.PST

      '… which I built and which my father built.' (Xerxes D 15)*

The other pronominal enclitics yield very similar results. The enclitic *mām*
(1SG.ACC), the only instance of which (Behistun 1.52) follows clause-initial *mātya*
'lest, that not'; *šim* (3SG.ACC) following the nominatives *āpi* 'water' in Behistun
1.95, *kāra* 'people' in 1.50, *adam* (1SG.NOM) in 1.52, and *haruva* 'whole' in 2.75 and
2.90; following the accusative *šatram* 'command, empire' in 1.59; following the
particles *avadā* 'there, then' in 1.59, 3.79, and 5.14, *nai* (NEG) in 4.49, and *pasāva* 'af-
terwards' in 2.90; *šiš* (3PL.ACC) following *avadā* 'there, then' in 3.52; *šām* (3SG.GEN)
following the nominatives *adam* (1SG.NOM) in NR^a 18 and *hya* (REL.M) in Behis-
tun 2.13; following the accusative *avam* (3SG.M.ACC) in Behistun 2.20 and 2.83;

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* *Translator's note*: The standard reference is XPa 15.

Translation

following the neuter *tya* (REL) in Behistun 1.19 and NR*ᵃ* 20 and 36; following the
particles *avaθā* 'then' in 2.27, 2.37, 2.42, 2.62, 2.83, 2.98, 3.8, 3.19, 3.40, 3.47, 3.56,
3.63, 3.68, and 3.84, and *utā* (CONJ) in 3.56.

These 35 instances can be added to the previous 56, but there are also three
counterexamples, (1138)–(1140).

(1138) vašnā   Auramazdāha adam=*šām*   xšāyaθiya
        will.INS.SG.M A.GEN.SG.M   1.NOM.SG=3.GEN.PL king.NOM.SG.M
        āham
        be.1.SG.PST
        'By the favour of Auramazdā I was their king' (Behistun I.14)

(1139) vašna   Auramazdāha adam=*šiš*   ajanam   utā
        will.INS.SG.M A.GEN.SG.M   1.NOM.SG=3.ACC.PL defeat.1.SG.PST CONJ
        navā   xšāyaθiyā   agṛbāyam
        nine.ACC.PL.M king.ACC.PL.M capture.1.SG.PST
        'By the favour of Auramazdā I defeated them and captured nine kings'
        (Behistun IV.6)

(1140) vašna   Auramazdāhā adam=*šim*   gāθavā
        will.INS.SG.M A.GEN.SG.M   1.NOM.SG=3.ACC.SG place.LOC.SG.M
        niyašādayam
        set-down.1.SG.PST
        'By the favour of Auramazdā I put it in its proper place.' (NR*ᵃ* 35)*

In each of these cases the enclitic is attached to the subject *adam* 'I'. And
these examples are more than compensated for by such instances as (1141), in
which the pronoun intervenes between adjective and noun, or (1142), in which
šām (3PL.GEN) belongs *[p405]* syntactically to *maθištam* 'greatest'.

(1141) haruva=*šim*   kāra   avaina
        whole.NOM=3.ACC.SG people.NOM see.3.SG.PST
        'All the people saw him' (Behistun II.75 = II.90)

(1142) Vivāna   nāma   Pārsa,   manā   bandaka,
        V.NOM.SG.M name.LOC.SG.N Persian.NOM.SG.M 1.GEN.SG vassal.NOM.SG.M
        Harauvatiyā   xšaçapāvā,   abi   avam,
        Arachosia.LOC.SG.F satrap.NOM.SG.M against DEM.ACC.SG.M

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* *Translator's note*: The standard reference is DNa 35.

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utā=*šam*   ai̯vam   martiyam   maθištam
CONJ=3.GEN.PL one.ACC.SG.M man.ACC.SG.M greatest.ACC.SG.M
akunau̯š
make.3.SG.PST

'(there was) a Persian, Vivana by name, my vassal, satrap in Arachosia, against him [he sent an army], and he made one single man their chief' (Behistun III.56)

Setting aside *hacāma* 'from me' and *haca avadaša* 'from there', we are left with -*ci̯* (= Sanskrit *cit*, INDF/Q) and *dim*, *diš* (3SG.ACC, 3PL.ACC). The latter two follow the rule after the nominative *drauga* 'lie' in Behistun 4.34, the neuter *tya* (REL) in Behistun 1.65, the particles *nai̯* (NEG) in 4.73, 4.78 and *pasāva* 'afterwards' in Behistun 4.35 and NR^a 33, and the verbal form *visanāha* 'destroy' in Behistun 4.77. Behistun 4.74 (=(1136) above) hardly counts as a counterexample: (Spiegel 1881: "but you, as long as your family lasts, you maintain me"), because although *diš* (3PL.ACC) is not attached to the first word in the clause, it is attached to the first word following the intervening clause. Then the only counterexample is NR^a 42 [*yath*]ā *xšnās*[*āha*diš] "so that you know them", and there it is tempting to ask whether the editorial additions might not be wrong.[*]

ci̯ (INDF/Q), on the other hand, has freed itself from the rule. Although it occurs in Behistun 1.53 following *kaš* 'who', in I[†] 23 following *hauv* 'he', and in Xerxes D 20, Ca 14 and Cb 24 in second position, it occurs in third position or later in Behistun 1.46 following *kaš* 'who', 1.53 following *cis* 'what', 1.63, 1.67, and 1.69 following *paruvam* 'before', and 4.46 and Xerxes D 13 following *aniyaš* 'other'. In these cases it follows the word that is to be emphasized; cf. the position of *cīṭ* in the Avesta (above p277).

This is the situation in the Indo-Iranian languages. But instructive parallels can also be found outside these languages. First, the treatment of weakly stressed personal pronouns in modern German shows that our positional rule is not alien to the Germanic languages. Above all, when *sich* (3.REFL) occurs in a subordinate clause and far removed from the verb, the rule makes itself known like an uncomfortable set of shackles, which we happily shed in written composition by placing the pronoun next to the verb. We believe that this creates greater clarity, but we nevertheless view this placement as unattractive. And often in oral conversation we produce a double *sich*: one in its traditional position at the start, and another next to the verb, just like the double *án* in Greek. Such a tendency can also be observed with the other personal pronouns.

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[*] *Translator's note*: Modern editions of this text such as that in Kent (1953: 137) do not assume a pronominal clitic here.   [†] *Translator's note*: Wackernagel has S instead of I.

However, I will not venture a more detailed commentary here, instead I will merely point to the cases of tmesis in Gothic that Kluge (1883: 80) *[p406]* has drawn attention to: *ga*-u-*laubeis* (ᴘꜰᴠ-ǫ-believe-2sɢ), *ga*-u-*hva-sēhvi* (ᴘꜰᴠ-ǫ-what-see-sʙᴊᴠ.3sɢ), *us*-nu-*gibiþ* (out-now-give-ɪᴍᴘ.2ᴘʟ), as well as the examples where *u(h)* (ǫ/ᴄᴏɴᴊ) and similar Gothic particles separate a preposition from its case. Kluge correctly identifies a remnant of the language's prehistory in this pressure to attach enclitics immediately following the first word. The most informative example is undoubtedly *ga-u-hva-sēhvi*, with its insertion of the indefinite *hva* 'what/something' = Greek *tì*.

9 Latin: personal pronouns

Leaving aside the question of whether this could also shed some light on the Celtic *pronomen infixum* (Zeuss 1871: 327ff), I turn now to Latin, and start by observing that old school Latinists have long taught that, at least in classical prose, the position after the first word of the clause is connected with tonal weakness, and that the words which occupy this position are either inherently enclitic or become enclitic through being placed there (Reisig & Haase 1839: 818; Madvig 1839: 43; Seyffert & Müller 1876: 49, 64; Stolz & Schmalz 1890: 557; etc.). For a detailed investigation, however, it is unfortunate that, unlike in Greek, the manuscripts do not provide us with any external indication of the difference between orthotonic and enclitic forms. Nevertheless, we can proceed quite confidently. Because assuming we find, for example, an oblique case form of the personal pronoun which, according to the evidence of the context, bore no emphasis, and which shows exactly the same positional properties that we found for *moi* and its friends, in my view this is evidence for both the enclitic stress of the pronoun in question and the validity in Latin of the rule that we have demonstrated for Greek. And there are plenty of such cases.

First, instances of tmesis between preposition and verb (cf. p116 above for Greek), as in (1143).

(1143)   sub   *vos*   placo,   ob   *vos*   sacro
           under you.ᴀᴄᴄ plead.ᴘʀᴇs.1sɢ because-of you.ᴀᴄᴄ consecrate.ᴘʀᴇs.1sɢ
           'I entreat you, I beseech you' (Festus, 190b.2, 309a.30)

Secondly, separation of other collocations that otherwise form a fixed unit by a weakly stressed pronoun seeking second position:
a) adjectives with *per* 'very': (1144)–(1149). *[p407]*

(1144) in quo   per *mihi*   mirum   visum
in which.ABL.SG very I.DAT.SG strange.NOM.SG.N seem.PRF.3SG.PASS
est
is.PRES.3SG
'wherein it seemed very strange to me' (Cicero, *de Oratore* 1.214)

(1145) nam sicut, quod apud Catonem   est   ..., per *mihi*
for just.as what in Cato.ACC.SG is.PRES.3SG very I.DAT.SG
scitum   videtur   ...: sic profecto se
sensible.NOM.SG.N seem.PRES.3SG.PASS so really   itself
res   habet
matter.NOM.SG.F has.PRES.3SG
'for just as what Cato says ..., to me seems very sensible ...: so it really
is' (Cicero, *de Oratore* 2.271)

(1146) per *mihi*   benigne respondit
very I.DAT.SG kindly   answer.IMPRF.3SG
'he answered me very kindly' (Cicero, *ad Quintum Fratrem* 1.7(9).2)

(1147) quod   ad me   de Hermathena   scribis,   per
what.ACC.SG at I.ACC.SG. about Hermathena.ABL.SG write.PRES.2SG very
mihi   gratum   est
I.DAT.SG dear.NOM be.PRES.3SG
'What you write to me about Hermathena I am very grateful for'
(Cicero, *ad Atticum* 1.4.3)

(1148) per *mihi*,   per, inquam,   gratum feceris
very I.DAT.SG very say.VERB.DEFECT.1SG dear   do.PRF.2SG.SUBJ
'You would, I say, make me very, very grateful' (Cicero, *ad Atticum*
1.20.7)

(1149) pergratum   *mihi*   feceris,   spero   item
very.grateful.ACC.SG I.DAT.SG do.PRF.2SG.SUBJ hope.PRES.1SG likewise
Scaevolae
Scaevolae.DAT
'you would make me very grateful, and, I hope, Scaevola, too' (Cicero,
Laelius de Amicitia 16)

The fact that in (1149) we find *pergratum mihi* and not *per mihi gratum* 'very
I.DAT.SG grateful.ACC.SG', as Orelli (1828) would have it, serves to confirm our rule,

as *mihi* must have been heavily stressed because of its opposition to *Scaevolae* (Seyffert & Müller 1876: 95). The other cases in which *per* undergoes tmesis will be discussed later, except (1150) and (1151), in both of which, moreover, a particle requiring second position has caused the tmesis.

(1150) ista   sunt   pergrata   per*que*
        that.NOM.PL.N are.PRES.3PL very.pleasing.ACC.PL.N very.and
        iucunda
        delightful.ACC.PL.N
        'that is very pleasing and very delightful' (Cicero, *de Oratore* 1.205)

(1151) per *enim* magni   aestimo
        very namely great.GEN.SG.N appraise.PRES.1SG
        'for I very highly appraise' (Cicero, *ad Atticum* 10.1.1)

   b) Of the pronoun *quicumque* (Neue & Wagener 1892: 489) and its dependents (whose tmesis in cases like (1152)–(1157) and in the examples given by Neue from Gellius and Appuleius, as well as in (1158), is of a very special type): (1159)–(1168), and following this (1169).

(1152) quod   *iudicium*   cunque subierat
        what.ACC.SG.N trial.ACC.SG.N ever   enter.PSTPRF.3SG
        'whatever trial they (=everyone) had faced' (Cicero, *pro Sestio* 68)

(1153) qua   *re*   cunque
        what.ABL.SG.F matter.ABL.SG.F ever
        'because of whatever matter' (Cicero, *de Divinatione* 2.7)

(1154) quae   *loca*   cunque
        what.ACC.PL.N place.ACC.PL.N ever
        '(to) all places' (Lucretius 4.867)

(1155) qua   *de causa*   cunque
        what.ABL.SG.F for reason.ABL.SG.F ever
        'for whatever reason' (Lucretius 6.85)

(1156) quae   *semina*   cunque
        what.ACC.PL.N seed.ACC.PL.N ever
        'all seeds whatsoever' (Lucretius 6.867)

(1157) quam   *rem*   cunque
       what.ACC.SG.F matter.ACC.SG.F ever
       'whatever' (Horace, *Odes* 1.6.3)

(1158) quod   *ad* cunque legis   genus
       what.ACC.SG.N to ever   law.GEN.SG type.NOM.SG
       'to whatever type of law' (Cicero, *de Legibus* 4.26)

(1159) quam   *se*   cunque in partem
       what.ACC.SG.F himself.REFL.ACC ever   in division.ACC.SG.F
       dedisset
       give.PSTPRF.3SG.SUBJ
       'whatever side he held on to' (Cicero, *de Oratore* 3.60)

(1160) quo ea   *me*   cunque ducet
       where it.NOM.SG.F I.ACC.SG. ever   lead.FUT.3SG
       'wherever it will lead me' (Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes* 2.15)

(1161) quo *te*   cunque verteris
       where you.ACC.SG ever   turn.PRF.2SG.SUBJ
       'wherever you turn' (Cicero, *de Divinatione* 2.149)

(1162) quae   *me*   cunque vocant   terrae
       what.NOM.PL.F I.ACC.SG ever   call.PRES.3PL earth.NOM.PL.F
       'whichever lands summon me' (Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.610)

(1163) quo   *te*   cunque lacus
       in.what.ABL.SG.N you.ACC.SG ever   lake.NOM.SG.M
       miserantem   incommoda   nostra   fonte
       lament.PTCP.PRES.ACC trouble.ACC.PL.N our.ACC.PL.N spring.ABL.SG.M
       tenet
       hold.PRES.3SG
       'in whatever spring the lake keeps you lamenting our troubles' (Virgil,
       Aeneid 8.74)

(1164) qui   *te*   cunque manent   isto
       what.NOM.PL.M you.ACC.SG ever   await.PRES.PL that.ABL.SG.N
       certamine   casus
       contest.ABL.SG.N calamity.NOM.PL.M
       'whatever calamities await you in that contest' (Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.61)

(1165) quo   *nos*   cunque feret   melior
       where we.ACC.PL ever   take.FUT.3SG good.NOM.SG.F.COMPARATIVE
       Fortuna   parente
       Fortuna.NOM.SG.F father.ABL.SG.M
       'wherever Fortune, who is better than my father, will take us' (Horace, *Odes* 1.7.25)

(1166) quae   *te*   cunque domat   Venus
       what.NOM.SG.F you.ACC.SG ever   tame.PRES.3SG Venus.NOM.SG.F
       'whatever Venus tames you' (Horace, *Odes* 1.27.14)

(1167) delicias   legit   qui   *tibi*   cunque
       delight.ACC.PL.F read.PRF.3SG who.NOM.SG you.DAT.SG ever
       meas
       my.ACC.PL.F
       'whoever read to you my cheerful verse' (Ovid, *Tristia* 2.78)

(1168) nomen   quod   *tibi*   cunque datur
       name.NOM.SG.N what.NOM.SG.N you.DAT.SG ever   give.PRES.3SG.PASS
       'whatever name is given to you' (Martial 2.61.6)

(1169) quae   *meo*   quomque animo
       what.NOM.PL.N my.DAT.SG.M ever   heart.DAT.SG.M
       lubitum   est   facere
       please.PTCP.PRF.N be.PRES.3SG do.INF.PRES
       'to do whatever pleased my heart' (Terence, *Andria* 263)

Other than in these examples and in the others that will be discussed below because of enclisis, we only have Lucretius 6.1002, Horace 1.9.14, 1.16.2, and *Satires* 2.5.51, in which various words occur in between. (Cf. (1170).) In these examples we can safely recognize poetic license.

(1170) garrulus   hunc   quando   *consumet*
       talkative.NOM.SG.M this.ACC.SG.M at.what.time take.completely.FUT.3SG
       cunque
       ever
       'a chatterbox will devour him at some time or other' (Horace, *Satires* 1.9.33)

c) Of the adverb *quomodo* 'in what way': *[p408]* (1171)–(1174). Cf. (1175) and (1176). More below; separation by fully stressed words does not seem to be found. Cicero, *de Lege agraria* 1.25 *quo uno modo* 'in the only way' is a special case.

(1171)   necesse   est,   quo tu   *me*   modo
            necessary be.PRES.3SG how you.NOM.SG I.ACC.SG way.ABL.SG.M
            voles   esse,   ita esse,   mater
            want.FUT.2SG be.INF so be.INF mother.VOC.SG
            'it is necessary to be however you want me to be, mother' (Plautus, *Cistellaria* 1.1.47)

(1172)   quo   *te*   modo   iactaris
            in.what.ABL.SG.N you.ACC.SG way.ABL.SG.M throw.IMPRF.2SG.SUBJ
            'how you would show off' (Cicero, *pro Roscio Amerino* 89)

(1173)   quo   *te*   modo   ad tuam
            in.what.ABL.SG.M you.ACC.SG way.ABL.SG.M to your.ACC.SG.F
            intemperantiam   innovasti
            intemperance.ACC.SG.F renew.PRF.2SG
            'how you returned to your extravagance' (Cicero, *in Pisonem* 89)

(1174)   quo   *te*   nunc modo   appelem
            in.what.ABL.SG.M you.ACC.SG now way.ABL.SG.M speak.to.PRES.1SG.SUBJ
            'how shall I address you' (Cicero, *pro Scauro* 50)

(1175)   quonam   *se*   modo   defendet
            in.whatABL.SG.M ENCL.INTERR way.ABL.SG.M defend.FUT.3SG
            'how will he defend himself (…)?' (Cicero, *pro Rabirio Postumo* 19)

(1176)   quo   cunque igitur   *te*   modo   …
            in.what.ABL.SG.M ever   therefore you.ACC.SG way.ABL.SG.M
            'therefore, in whatever manner (…) you' (Cicero, *pro Scauro* 50)

Thirdly, the separation of preposition and governed case in the well-known request formula should be mentioned: (1177)–(1185). (In (1184) and (1185) the verb of requesting is elided.) The *per* 'very', which the pronoun *te* (2SG) or *vos*/*vobis* (2PL) is attached to, is thus always at the beginning of the clause.

(1177)　per *te*　　　ere　　　obsecro　　　deos
　　　　by　you.ACC.SG master.VOC.SG.M implore.PRES.1SG god.ACC.PL.M
　　　　immortales
　　　　immortal.ACC.PL.M
　　　　'Master, I implore you by the immortal gods' (Plautus, *Bacchides* 905)

(1178)　per ego　*vobis*　　deos　　　atque homines　　dico
　　　　by　there you.DAT.PL god.ACC.PL.M and　man.ACC.PL.M speak.PRES.1SG
　　　　'I assign to you by the gods and men' (Plautus, *Menaechmi* 990)

(1179)　per *te*　　　deos　　　oro　　　et　nostram
　　　　by　you.ACC.SG god.ACC.PL.M pray.PRES.1SG and our.ACC.SG.F
　　　　amicitiam,　　　Chremes
　　　　friendship.ACC.SG.F Chremes.VOC.SG.M
　　　　'I beg you, Chremes, by the gods and our friendship' (Terence, *Andria*
　　　　538)

(1180)　per ego　　*te*　　　deos　　　oro
　　　　by　I.NOM.SG you.ACC.SG god.ACC.PL.M pray.PRES.1SG
　　　　'by the gods I beg you' (Terence, *Andria* 834)

(1181)　per *te*　　　dulcissima　　　furta　　　perque
　　　　by　you.ACC.SG sweet.ELATIVE.ACC.PL.N theft.ACC.PL.N by-and
　　　　tuos　　　oculos　　per geniumque　　rogo
　　　　your.ACC.PL.M eye.ACC.PL.M by　spirit.ACC.SG.M ask.PRES.1SG
　　　　'by the sweetest thefts, your eyes, and your Genius I beg' (Tibullus
　　　　3.11.7 (=4.5.7))

(1182)　per ego　　*te*,　　　inquit,　fili,　　　quaecunque
　　　　by　I.NOM.SG you.ACC.SG say.PRF.3SG son.VOC.SG.M whatever.ACC.PL.N
　　　　iura　　　iungunt　　liberos　　　parentibus,
　　　　right.ACC.PL.N attach.PRES.3PL child.ACC.PL.M parent.DAT.PL.M
　　　　precor　　　quaesoque
　　　　pray.PRES.1SG.PASS beg.PRES.1SG-and
　　　　'"by whatever rights connect children to their parents," he said, "I beg
　　　　and entreat you, son"' (Livius 23.9.2)

(1183)　per ego　　*vos*　　decora　　　maiorum　　　...
　　　　by　I.NOM.SG you.ACC.PL ornament.ACC.PL.N ancestors.GEN.PL.M

oro   et obtestor
beg.PRES.1SG and beseech.PRES.1SG.PASS
'by the dignity of your forbears ... I beg and beseech you' (Curtius
5.8.16)

(1184) per *te*   quod   fecimus una   perdidimusque
by   you.ABL.SG REL.ACC.SG.N do.PRF.1PL at.once squander.PRF.1PL-and
nefas   ... ades
sin.N.INDECL   be.present.IMP.PRES.SG
'by the sin which we commited and squandered together with you ...,
come' (Lucan 10.370)

(1185) per *vos*   culta   diu Rutulae
by   you.NOM.PL cared.for.PTCP.PRF.ACC.PL.N long Rutulian.GEN.SG.F
primordia   gentis   ..., conservate
beginning.ACC.PL.N race.GEN.SG.F   preserve.IMP.PRES.PL
pios
pious.ACC.PL.M
'by the long-worshipped beginnings of the Rutulian race (...), leave the
pious unharmed' (Silius 1.658)

Fourthly, the examples of separation of less tightly linked word groups are
given here which have been cited by the aforementioned Latinists as evidence
for Cicero's tendency to insert the unstressed pronoun after the first word: (1186)–
(1191).

(1186) his   autem de   rebus   sol   *me*
this.ABL.PL.G but   about matter.DAT.PL.F sun.NOM.SG.M I.ACC.SG
ille   admonuit
that.NOM.SG.M warn.PRF.3SG
'but that sun warned me about these things' (Cicero, *de Oratore* 309)

(1187) populus   *se*   Romanus   erexit
people.NOM.SG.M itself.REFL.ACC.SG Roman.NOM.SG.M set.up.PRF.3SG
'a Roman people rose' (Cicero, *Brutus* 12)

(1188) sentiebam,   non *te*   id   sciscitari
feel.IMPRF.1SG not you.ACC.SG that.ACC.SG.N examine.INF.PRES
'I supposed that you did not inquire' (Cicero, *de Oratore* 52)

(1189) in agros   *se*   possessionesque
       to estate.ACC.PL.M itself.REFL.ACC.SG possessions.ACC.PL.-and
       contulit
       turn.to.PRF.3SG
       'turned itself to country estates' (Cicero, *de Officiis* 1.151)

(1190) idque   eo   *mihi*   magis est
       this.NOM.SG.N-and because.of.this.ABL.SG.N I.DAT.SG more   be.PRES.3SG
       cordi
       heart.DAT.SG
       'and this lies more at my heart for the reason (…)' (Cicero, *Laelius de Amicitia* 15)

(1191) ut aliquis   *nos*   deus   ex   hac
       that some.NOM.SG.M we.ACC.PL god.NOM.SG.M from this.ABL.SG.F
       hominum   frequentia   tolleret
       of.people.GEN.PL.M crowd.ABL.SG.F take.away.IMPRF.
       'that some god removes us from this crowd of people' (Cicero, *Laelius de Amicitia* 87)

Fifthly, we can adduce some cases in which a pronoun belonging jointly to two clausal constituents is inserted into the first (see Seyffert & Müller 1876 on *Laelius de Amicitia* XX.72): (1192)–(1194).

(1192) sed item   etiam illa   vidi,   neque *te*
       but likewise too   that.ACC.PL.N see.PRF.1SG neither you.ACC.SG
       consilium   civilis   belli   ita
       plan.ACC.SG.N civil.GEN.SG.N war.GEN.SG.N in.this.manner
       gerendi   nec copias
       wage.GERUNDIUM.GEN.SG.N nor troops.ACC.PL.F
       Cn. Pompeii   … probare
       of.Gnaeus.Pompeius.GEN.SG.M   approve.of.INF.PRES
       'but at the same time I also saw that you did not approve of the plan to wage a civil war in this manner nor of Gnaeus Pompeius' troops' (Cicero, *Epistulae* 4.7.2)

(1193) nec   *se*   comitem   illius
       and.not himself.REFL.ACC.SG comrade.ACC.SG.M that.GEN.SG.M

furoris,   sed ducem   praebuit
fury.GEN.SG.F but leader.ACC.SG.M give.PRF.3SG
'and he did not present himself as a comrade of that person's fury, but
as the leader' (Cicero, *Laelius de Amicitia* 37)

(1194) neque *te*   provinciae   neque leges   neque
        neither you.ACC.SG province.NOM.PL.F nor   law.NOM.PL.F nor
        di   penates   civem   patiuntur
        god.NOM.PL.M Penates.NOM.PL.M citizen.ACC.SG.M bear.PRES.3PL
        'Neither the provinces nor the laws nor the tutelary gods tolerate you
        as a citizen' (Sallust, *Oratio Philippi* 16)

[p409] (The same, but without influence of the positional rule, is found in (1195),
on which Paul (1889: XX), however, remarks: "word order shows that *se* should
be deleted".)

(1195) quae   omnia   et *se*   tulisse
        which.ACC.PL.N.DEM all.ACC.PL.N both he.ACC.SG.M.REFL endure.INF.PRF
        patienter et esse   laturum
        patiently and be.INF.PRES endure.PTCP.FUT.ACC.SG.M
        '(he said) that he had endured all this patiently and would further
        endure' (Caesar, *de Bello Civili* 1.85.11)

Previous research provides examples of a different use of the pronoun by the
comic playwrights. Specifically, I would like to emphasize Kämpf's (1886: 31, 36)
observation that in the vast majority of cases the personal pronouns attach imme-
diately to question words and clause-introducing conjunctions (cf. e.g. in Bach
1891: 243 the juxtaposition of the cases with *quid tibi* 'what you.DAT' etc. with the
accusative-governing verbal substantives in -*tio*), as well as to affirmative parti-
cles such as *hercle* 'by Hercules', *pol*, *edepol* 'by Pollux', etc. (Kämpf 1886: 40),
which, as will be discussed later, assume either the first or the second position
in the clause. Also very worthy of note is Kämpf's (1886) remark, coupled to an
observation of Kellerhoff's, that in the very numerous cases in which negation
is verse-initial a personal pronoun is attached to it wherever it is found.

Most informative of all, however, is Langen's (1857: 426ff.) evidence concern-
ing the assertion, wish and curse formulae with *di* 'gods', *di deaeque* 'gods and
goddesses', or the name of a specific god as subject and a subjunctive (or future)
verb as predicate. (Cf. also Kellerhoff 1891: 77f.). When *di*, *di deaeque* or the god's
name in question is clause-initial, it is immediately followed by any accusative or

dative personal pronoun *me* (1sg), *te*, *tibi* (2sg) governed by the verb, and by the more rarely occurring *vos*, *vobis* (2pl), (*istum* 'that',) *istunc*, *istaec* 'this', and *illum* 'that, him'. When the subject consists of multiple words, it is true that the pronoun is occasionally found immediately after the whole constituent, as in (1196). Cf. (1197), which Langen (1857) and, following him, Götz (1878), emends to *di me hercle omnes*, and (1198) (emended to *me omnes* by Ritschl 1852).

(1196) Hercules   dique   *istam*   perdant
        Hercules.nom.sg.m god.nom.pl.m that.acc.sg.f destroy.pres.3pl.subj
        'Hercules and the gods shall destroy her' (Plautus, *Casina* 275)

(1197) di   hercle   omnes   *me* adiuvant,
        god.nom.sg.m Hercules.abl.sg.m all.nom.pl.m me help.pres.3pl
        augent,   amant
        bless.pres.3pl love.pres.3pl
        'all gods, by Hercules, help me, bless me, love me' (Plautus, *Epidicus* 192)

(1198) di   deaeque   omnes   *me*
        god.nom.pl.m goddess.nom.pl.f-and all.nom.pl.m me
        pessumis   exemplis   interficant
        bad.abl.pl.n.superlative manner.abl.pl.n kill.pres.3pl.subj
        'May all the gods and goddesses kill me in the worst ways' (Plautus, *Mostellaria* 192)

[p410] More often the pronoun is inserted after the first word, as in (1199) (likewise in Plautus, *Captivi* 868, *Curculio* 317, *Rudens* 1112) and (1200)–(1203).

(1199) Iuppiter   *te*   dique   perdant
        Jupiter.nom.sg.m you.acc.sg god.nom.pl.m-and destroy.pres.3pl.subj
        'May Jupiter and the gods destroy you' (Plautus, *Aulularia* 658)

(1200) Diespiter   *te*   dique,   Ergasile,
        Jupiter.nom.sg.m you.acc.sg god.nom.pl.m-and Ergasilus.voc.sg.m
        perdant
        destroy.pres.3pl.subj
        'May Jupiter and the gods confound you, Ergasile' (Plautus, *Captivi* 919)

(1201) di   *te*   deaeque   ament
        god.NOM.PL.M you.ACC.SG goddess.NOM.PL.F-and love.PRES.3PL.SUBJ
        'May the gods and goddesses love you' (Plautus, *Pseudolus* 271)

(1202) di   *te*   deaeque   omnes
        god.NOM.PL.M you.ACC.SG goddess.NOM.PL.F-and all.NOM.PL.M
        faxint   cum istoc   omine
        do.PRF.3PL.SUBJ with that.of.yours.ABL.SG.N foreboding.ABL.SG.N
        'may all the gods and goddesses confound you with your forebodings'
        (Plautus, *Mostellaria* 463)

(1203) di   *te*   deaeque   omnes
        god.NOM.PL.M you.ACC.SG goddess.NOM.PL.F-and all.NOM.PL.M
        funditus   perdant,   senex
        completely destroy.PRES.3PL.SUBJ old.man.VOC.SG.M
        'may all the gods and goddesses completely destroy you, old man'
        (Plautus, *Mostellaria* 684)

Similarly with attributive groups! (1204) and (1205) illustrate. The example
in (1206) takes an intermediate position; similarly *Mostellaria* 192 according to
Ritschl (1852) (see (1198) above).

(1204) di   *illum*   omnes   perdant
        god.NOM.PL.M that.ACC.SG.M all.NOM.PL.M destroy.PRES.3PL.SUBJ
        'may all the gods destroy him' (Plautus, *Menaechmi* 596)

(1205) di   *tibi*   omnes   id   quod
        god.NOM.PL.M you.DAT.SG all.NOM.PL.M this.ACC.SG.N because
        es   dignus   duint
        be.PRES.2SG worthy.NOM.SG.M do.PRES.3PL.SUBJ
        'may all the gods do this to you because you deserve it' (Terence,
        Phormio 519)

(1206) di   deaeque   *me*   omnes
        god.NOM.PL.M goddess.NOM.PL.F-and I.ACC.SG all.NOM.PL.M
        perdant
        destroy.PRES.3PL.SUBJ
        'may all the gods and goddesses destroy me' (Plautus, *Persa* 292)

This alone is remarkable; however, what is particularly important is that, whenever an *ita* 'thus', *itaque* 'therefore', *ut* (complementizer), *utinam* 'if only', *hercle* 'Hercules', *qui* (relative pronoun) or *at* 'but, yet, whereas' is clause-initial, we find the pronoun preceding the nominal subject, and not, for instance, *di* 'gods' or the god's name and then the pronoun. Where *at* and *ita* are together, the pronoun follows both in (1207) and (1208), but intervenes between the two particles in (1209), where for the sake of the metre I would rather emend *me* to *med* than follow the reordering proposed by more recent editors, *at ita me*.

(1207) at ita *me* machaera et clypeus bene
but as.truly.as I.ACC.SG sword.NOM.SG.F and shield.NOM.SG.M well
iuvent
help.PRES.3PL.SUBJ
'but as truly as sword and shield may help me well' (Plautus, *Curculio* 574)

(1208) at ita *me* di deaeque
but as.truly.as I.ACC.SG god.NOM.PL.M goddess.NOM.PL.F-and
omnes ament
all.NOM.PL.M love.PRES.SG.SUBJ
'but as truly as all the gods and goddesses may love me' (Plautus, *Miles gloriosus* 501)

(1209) at *me* ita dei servent
but I.ACC.SG as.truly.as god.NOM.PL.M serve.PRES.3PL.SUBJ
'but as truly as the gods may serve me' (Plautus, *Poenulus* 1258)

The pronoun also precedes the subject *di* after initial words other than the particles mentioned: (1210)–(1212) etc. In (1212), *malum quod* = Greek *kakón ti* 'bad.ACC something'.

(1210) si *te* di ament
if you.ACC.SG god.NOM.PL.M love.PRES.PL.SUBJ
'if the gods are to love you' (Plautus, *Pseudolus* 430)

(1211) tantum *tibi* boni di
as.much.CORRELATIVE you.DAT.SG good.GEN.SG.N god.NOM.PL.M
immortales duent
immortal.NOM.PL.M give.PRES.PL.SUBJ
'may the immortal gods give you as much good' (Plautus, *Pseudolus* 936)

(1212) malum   quod *isti*   di
       misfortune.ACC.SG.N that   he.DAT.SG god.NOM.PL.M
       deaeque   omnes   duint
       goddess.NOM.PL.F-and all.NOM.PL.M give.PRES.3PL.SUBJ
       'may all the gods and goddesses give him misfortune' (Plautus,
       Mostellaria 455)

Langen (1857), followed by Kellerhoff (1891: 78) and Schöll (1890: 70) in his edition, wants to reorder the countervailing example (1213) to *te di*, while Seyffert (1874) seeks to mitigate the damage by punctuating it as *"di te perdant"*.

(1213) quin hercle   di   *te*   perdant
       but   Hercules.ABL.SG.M god.NOM.PL.M you.ACC.SG destroy.PRES.3PL.SUBJ
       'but, by Hercules, may the gods destroy you' (Plautus, *Casina* 609)

Langen's (1857) observation also continues to be valid for classical Latin – at least insofar as, in assertion formulae containing *ita* and *sic* 'thus', the pronoun *me* (1SG), *te* (2SG) or *mihi* (1SG) almost always immediately follows these words. With *ita*: (1214)–(1222).

(1214) ita *mihi*   deos   velim   propitios
       so I.DAT.SG god.ACC.PL.M wish.PRES.1SG.SUBJ favourable.ACC.PL.M
       'I so want the gods to be favourable' (Cicero, *Divinatio in Caecilium* 41)

(1215) ita   *mihi*   meam   voluntatem – vestra
       as.truly.as I.DAT.SG my.ACC.SG.F will.ACC.SG.F   your.NOM.SG.F
       populique   Romani   existimatio
       and.people.GEN.SG.M Roman.GEN.SG.M judgment.NOM.SG.F
       comprobet
       approve.PRES.3SG.SUBJ
       'as truly as your and the the Roman people's judgment may approve of
       my wishes' (Cicero, *in Verrem* 5.35)

(1216) ita *mihi*   omnis   deos   propitios
       so I.DAT.SG god.ACC.PL.M all.ACC.PL.M favourable.ACC.PL.M
       velim
       wish.PRES.1SG.SUBJ
       'as truly as I want all gods to be favourable' (Cicero, *in Verrem* 5.37)

(1217) nam tecum   esse,   ita *mihi*   commoda
       for   with.you.ABL.SG be.PRES.INF as I.DAT.SG convenience.NOM.PL.N
       omnia   quae   opto   contingant,   ut
       all.NOM.PL.N NOM.PL.N wish.PRES.1SG touch.PRES.3PL.SUBJ as
       vehementer velim
       eagerly   wish.PRES.1SG.SUBJ
       'because as truly as I attain all conveniences I wish for I eagerly want to
       be with you' (Cicero, *Epistulae* 5.21.1)

   [p411]

(1218) saepe, ita *me*   di   iuvent,   te   ...
       often   so I.ACC.SG god.NOM.PL.M help.PRES.3PL.SUBJ you.ACC.SG
       desideravi
       desire.PRF.1SG
       'I often called for you, so the gods help me' (Cicero, *ad Atticum* 1.16.1)

(1219) iurat   "ita *sibi*   parentis   honores
       swear.PRES.3SG so   himself.DAT.SG father.GEN.SG honour.ACC.PL
       consequi   liceat"
       follow.PRES.INF be.allowed.PRES.3SG.SUBJ.IMPERS
       'he swears "as true as it shall be granted him to follow the honors of his
       father"' (Cicero, *ad Atticum* 15.16.3)

(1220) at   marite,   ita *me*   iuvent
       but husband.VOC.SG.M so I.ACC.SG help.PRES.3PL.SUBJ
       caelites,   nihilo   minus pulcer
       heavenly.NOM.PL.M nothing.ABL.SG less   beautiful.NOM.SG.M
       es
       be.PRES.2SG
       'but, husband, so the gods help me, you are not less beautiful' (Catullus
       61.196)

(1221) non (ita *me*   divi)   vera   gemunt
       not so I.ACC.SG god.NOM.PL.M true.ACC.PL.N lament.PRES.3PL
       (iuerint)
       go.PRF.3PL.SUBJ
       'they, so may the gods help me, do not lament false things' (Catullus
       66.18)

(1222) non, ita *me*   di   ament,   quicquam
        not   so I.ACC.SG god.NOM.PL.M love.PRES.3PL.SUBJ anything.ACC.SG.N
        referre   putavi
        bring.PRES.INF believe.PRF.3SG
        'I did not, so may the gods love me, think it mattered' (Catullus 97.1)

This position is retained even when another particle is inserted before *ita*, as in (1223) and (1224).

(1223) nam   ita   *mihi*   salva   republica
        because just.as I.DAT.SG unhar*Medea*ABL.SG.F state.ABL.SG.F
        vobiscum   perfrui   liceat,
        with.you.ABL.PL enjoy.PRES.INF be.allowed.PRES.3SG.SUBJ.IMPERS
        ut   ...
        so.also.CORRELATIVE
        'as truly as I shall be allowed to enjoy the saved Republic, so also ...'
        (Cicero, *in Catilinam* 4.11)

(1224) tamen ita *te*   victorem   complectar   ...,
        yet   as you.ACC.SG victor.ACC.SG.M embrace.PRES.1SG.SUBJ
        ut   ...
        so.also.CORRELATIVE
        'nevertheless, as truly as I might embrace you victorious, ...' (Cicero,
        Epistulae 10.12.1)

(1225) and (1226) do not, of course, come into consideration.

(1225) ita ab   imminentibus   malis   respublica
        so from threaten.PTCP.PRES.ABL.PL calamity.ABL.PL.N state.NOM.SG.F
        me   adiuvante   liberetur
        I.ABL.SG help.ABL.SG free.PRES.3SG.PASS.SUBJ
        'so may the state be freed from menacing calamities with my help'
        (Plancus, *ad Ciceronem epistulae* 10.9.2)

(1226) ita   genium   *meum*   propitium
        just.as genius.ACC.SG.M my.ACC.SG.M favourable.ACC.SG.M
        habeam
        have.PRES.1SG.SUBJ
        'as truly as I wish to have my genius to be favourable' (Petronius,
        Satyricon 74)

With *sic* 'so': (1227)–(1236). Cf. (1237), in which the pronoun is not in second position but is still immediately after *sic.*

(1227) sic *tibi*   bonus   ex   tua
        so you.DAT.SG good.NOM.SG.M according.to your.ABL.SG.F
        pons   libidine   fiat
        bridge.NOM.SG.M desire.ABL.SG.F happen.PRES.3SG.SUBJ
        'so may you receive a good bridge as you desire ' (Catullus 17.5)

(1228) sic *tibi*,   cum fluctus   supterlabere
        so you.DAT.SG when wave.ACC.PL.M glide.over.IMPRF.2SG.SUBJ
        Sicanos,   Doris   amara   suam   non
        of.Sicily.ACC.PL.M Doris.NOM.SG.F bitter.NOM.SG.F her.ACC.SG.F not
        intermisceat   undam
        intermix.PRES.3SG.SUBJ wave.ACC.SG.F
        'so may not bitter Doris intermix her wave with you, when you glide
        over the waves of Sicily' (Virgil, *Eclogues* 10.4)

(1229) sic *te*   diva   potens   Cypri   …
        so you.ACC.SG goddess.NOM.SG.F strong.NOM.SG.F Cyprus.GEN.SG.M
        regat
        lead.aright.PRES.3SG.SUBJ
        'may the goddess ruling over Cyprus guide you' (Horace, *Odes* 1.3.1)

(1230) sic *tibi*   sint   intonsi   Phoebe
        so you.DAT.SG be.PRES.3PL.SUBJ unshaven.NOM.PL.M Phoebus.VOC.SG.M
        capilli
        hair.NOM.PL.M
        'so may your hair be unshaven, Phoebus' (Tibullus 2.5.121)

(1231) sic *mihi*   te   referas   levis
        so I.DAT.SG you.ACC.SG bring.back.PRES.2SG.SUBJ light.VOC.SG.M
        'as truly as I wish that you come back to me, fickle one ' (Propertius
        1.18.11)

(1232) sic *tibi*   sint   dominae   Lygdame
        so you.DAT.SG be.PRES.3PL.SUBJ mistress.GEN.SG.F Lygdamus.VOC.SG.M
        dempta   iuga
        remove.PTCP.PRF.NOM.PL.N yoke.NOM.PL.N
        'may the mistress's yokes be removed from you, Lygdamus' (Propertius
        3.6.2)

(1233) sic *tibi*   secretis   agilis   dea
       so you.DAT.SG remote.ABL.PL.M nimble.NOM.SG.F goddess.NOM.SG.F
       saltibus   adsit
       mountain.valley.ABL.PL.M help.PRES.3SG.SUBJ
       'so may the nimble goddess help you in remote mountain valleys'
       (Ovid, *Heroides* 4.169)

(1234) sic *tibi*   dent   nymphae
       so you.DAT.SG give.PRES.3PL.SUBJ nymph.NOM.PL.F
       'so may the nymphs give you' (Ovid, *Heroides* 4.173)

(1235) sic *tibi*   nec vernum   nascentia
       so you.DAT.SG not vernal.NOM.SG.N growing.PTCP.PRES.ACC.PL.N
       frigus   adurat   poma
       cold.NOM.SG.N burn.PRES.3SG.SUBJ fruit.ACC.PL.N
       'so may not the coldness of spring burn your growing fruit' (Ovid,
       Metamorphoses 14.763)

(1236) presta   mi   sinceru(m): sic *te*   amet
       give.PRES.IMP I.DAT.SG pure.ACC.SG so you.ACC.SG love.PRES.3SG.SUBJ
       qui   custodit   ortu(m)   Venus
       who.NOM.SG.F keep.PRES.3SG gardenACC.SG Venus.NOM.SG.F
       'Give me pure [wine] and Venus who tends the garden will love you'
       (Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum 4.2776)

(1237) perpetuo liceat   sic *tibi*   ponte   frui
       forever   be.allowed so you.DAT.SG bridge.ABL.SG.M enjoy.INF.PRES
       'so may you forever be allowed to enjoy (your) bridge' (Martial 7.93.8)

With ablative absolutes ((1238)) and possessives ((1239)) we have no right to
expect the rule to hold (though cf. (1240)).

(1238) sic ... Venusinae   plectantur   silvae
       so   of.Venusia.NOM.PL.F beat.PRES.3PL.PASS.SUBJ forest.NOM.PL.F
       te   sospite
       you.ABL.SG unharmed.ABL.SG
       'so ... may the woods of Venusia be beaten, while you are safe' (Horace,
       Odes 1.28.25)

(1239) rogo,   sic peculium   *tuum*
        ask.PRES.1SG so property.ACC.SG.N your.ACC.SG.N
        fruniscaris
        enjoy.PRES.2SG.SUBJ.PASS
        'I ask you, as truly as you wish to enjoy your property' (Petronius 65)

(1240) sic *tua*   Cyrneas   fugiant
        as your.NOM.PL.N Corsican.ACC.PL.F flee.PRES.3PL.SUBJ
        examina   taxos
        swarm.NOM.PL.N yew.ACC.PL.F
        'as truly as your swarms wish to flee the yews of Corsica' (Virgil,
        Eclogues 9.30)

We also cannot treat (1241) as a violation of the rule. On the other hand, (1242) and (1243) are striking.

(1241) (sic habites   terras   et *te*
        so   dwell.PRES.3SG.SUBJ earth.ACC.PL.F and you.ABL.SG
        desideret   aether) sic ad pacta
        want.PRES.3SG.SUBJ ether   so to promise.PTCP.PRF.ACC.PL.N
        tibi   sidera   tardus   eas
        you.DAT.SG star.ACC.PL.N late.NOM.SG.M go.PRES.2SG.SUBJ
        '(so may you dwell on earth and heaven long for you) so may you go
        late to the stars promised to you' (Ovid, *Tristia* 5.2.51f.)

(1242) sic umbrosa   *tibi*   contingant   tecta
        so shady.NOM.PL.N you.DAT.SG touch.PRES.3PL shelter.ACC.PL.N
        Priape
        Priapus.VOC.SG.M
        'so may you attain a shelter full of shade, Priapus' (Tibullus 1.4.1)

(1243) sic felicem   *me*   videas
        so fortunate.ACC.SG I.ACC.SG see.PRES.2SG.SUBJ
        'as truly as I wish that you see me fortunate' (Petronius 61)

The words *mehercule* 'by Hercules', *mediusfidius* 'by God', and *mecastor* 'by Castor' are well known to have developed out of expressions like the ones discussed. This also seems to me to explain their position. In the vast majority of examples they are in second position in the *[p412]* clause. This is true exceptionlessly for the first two in Cicero's speeches. For *mehercule*, cf. also Terence,

Eunuchus 416, Cicero, *de Oratore* 2.7, *Epistulae* 2.11.4, *ad Atticum* 10.13.1, 16.15.3, Caesar in Cicero, *ad Atticum* 9.7c 1, Caelius in Cicero, *Epistulae* 8.2.1, Plancus ibid. 10.11.3, and Pliny, *Epistulae* 6.30; for *mediusfidius* also Cicero, *Epistulae* 5.21.1, *Tusculanae Disputationes* 1.74 (1244), Sallust, *Catiline* 35.2, Livius 5.6.1, 22.59.17, Seneca, *Suasoriae* 6.5, and Pliny, *Epistulae* 4.3.5.

(1244) ne   ille   *mediusfidius* vir   sapiens
        indeed that.NOM.SG.M by.God   man.NOM.SG.M wise.NOM.SG.M
        'indeed, by God, that wise man' (Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes* 1.74)

Particularly probative is the not uncommon insertion of an assertion particle that belongs to a whole period after the first word of the clause: *si mehercule* 'if by Hercules' in Cicero, *pro Caecina* 64, *Catiline* 2.16, *pro Scauro* Fragment 10 (Müller 1886: 246), and Sallust, *Catiline* 52.35; *quanto mehercule* in Sallust, *Historiae, Oratio Philippi* 17; *si mediusfidius* 'if by God' in Cicero, *pro Sulla* 83, *pro Plancio* 9, and Livius 5.6.1 and 22.59.17. The examples in which one of these two particles assumes a later position in the clause are significantly less numerous (*mehercule*: Terence, *Eunuchus* 67, Catullus 38.2, Phaedrus 3.5.4, and Pliny, *Epistulae* 3.1.1; *mediusfidius*: Cato in Gellius 10.14.3, Cicero, *ad Atticum* 15.8A.2, Quintilian 5.12.17). Examples (1245) and (1246) are remarkable due to the very unusual placement of the particle.

(1245) *mediusfidius*, ne   tu   emisti   locum
        by.God   indeed you.NOM buy.PRF.2SG place.ACC.SG.M
        preclarum
        excellent.ACC.SG.M
        'by God, you have indeed bought an excellent place' (Cicero, *ad Atticum* 4.4b.2)

(1246) *mehercule*   etiam adventu   nostro   reviviscunt
        by.Hercules also   arrival.ABL.SG.M our.ABL.SG.M revive.3PL.PRES
        'by Hercules, they also come back to life by our arrival' (Cicero, *ad Atticum* 5, 16, 3)

As regards preclassical *mecastor*, (1247) and also (1248) obey the rule, while (1249) contradicts it.

(1247) noenum *mecastor* quid   ego   ero
        not   by.Castor what.NOM.SG.N I.NOM master.DAT.SG.M

dicam   meo   ... queo   comminisci
say.1SG.PRES.SUBJ my.DAT.SG.M   be.able.1SG.PRES invent.INF.PRES
'by Castor, I cannot think of what I should say [has happened] to my
master' (Plautus, *Aulularia* 67)

(1248) ne   istuc   *mecastor* iam patrem   accersam
indeed to.this.place by.Castor now father.ACC.SG.M summon.1SG.FUT
meum
my.ACC.SG.M
'by Castor, I will indeed summon my father to this place now' (Plautus,
Menaechmi 734)

(1249) novi   hominem   haud   malum   *mecastor*
know.1SG.PRF. man.ACC.SG.M not.at.all bad.ACC.SG.M by.Castor
'I know the man. By Castor, he is not bad at all' (Plautus, *Aulularia* 172)

The difference between vocative *mehercule* 'by Hercules' etc. on the one hand
and *hercule* 'by Hercules' etc. on the other (see below) is that the forms with
me- are excluded from the first position in the clause (leaving aside the isolated
examples in Cicero, *ad Atticum* 4.4b.2 and 5.16.3). Therefore, the tendency for
these forms to occur in second position should not be attributed to that observed
for *hercule* etc., but rather to the enclitic nature of *me* (1SG).

10 Latin: more personal pronouns and indefinites

Let's move on to other forms! If the vocative *mī* 'my' is really identical to the *moi*
(1SG) in Greek *téknon moi* 'my child' etc. *[p413]* (see above p119), as Brugmann
(1890: 819) assumes, then this word's property of enclisis must already have been
lost in prehistoric times, since as early as Plautus it is found in clause-initial
position. It is not inconceivable that preposing of *mi* before the noun it belongs
to occurred in clauses in which the vocative was not in first position, and in
which, therefore, *mi* had to be placed before the vocative in order to be in the
clausal second position it required.

We can be more confident that the oblique cases of *is* 'he, it, this, that', just
like Attic *autoû* 'here, there' and Sanskrit's enclitic *asmāi* 'this.DAT', behaved
the same as *me* (1SG) and *te* (2SG). We therefore read e.g. (1250) like (1251) (see
example (1187) above). We also find enclitic positioning with the demonstrative
pronouns *iste* 'that (PROX)' and *ille* 'that (DIST)' in the clauses of wishing and
cursing discussed above on pp291ff.

(1250) quam   *id*   recte   fecerim
        to.what.degree it.ACC.SG.N rightly do.PRF.1SG.SUBJ
        'to what degree I acted correctly' (Cicero, *Laelius de Amicitia* 10)

(1251) populus   *se*   Romanus   erexit
        people.NOM.SG.M himself.ACC.SG.M Roman.NOM.SG.M erexit.PRF.3SG
        'the Roman people rose' (Cicero, *Brutus* 12)

Some readers might have noticed, moreover, that in the examples where *me* (1SG) or *te* (2SG) disrupts a constituent because of its position it is often preceded by *ego*: for instance, (1252) and (1253). In addition, we have (1254). Also the nominative of *is*, *ea*, *id*: (1255).

(1252) per   *ego*   *vobis*   deos   ... dico
        through I.NOM.SG you.DAT.PL god.ACC.PL.M   say.PRES.1SG
        'I order you in the name of the gods' (Plautus, *Menaechmi* 990)

(1253) per   *ego*   *te*   deos   oro
        through I.NOM.SG. you.ACC.SG god.ACC.PL.M say.PRES.1SG
        'I beg you in the name of the gods' (Terence, *Andria* 834)

(1254) quo   *tu*   *me*   modo   voles
        who.ABL.SG.M you.NOM.SG I.ACC.SG way.ABL.SG.M want.FUT.2SG
        esse
        be.INF.PRES
        'I'll behave the way you want me to' (Plautus, *Cistellaria* 1.1.47)

(1255) quo   *ea*   *me*   cunque duxit
        where she.NOM.SG.F I.ACC.SG ever   lead.PRF.3SG
        'wherever it (=Reason) led me' (Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes* 2.15)

It is indisputable that in such cases *ego*, *tu* and *ea* are also enclitic, and reminiscent of the enclisis of German *er* (3SG.NOM.M), *sie* (3SG.NOM.F), *es* (3SG.NOM.N) in subordinate clauses as well as in inverted and interrogative main clauses. In this way we can also explain examples like (1256)–(1261). Furthermore, the *ego* (1SG.NOM) or *tu* (2SG.NOM) that immediately follows the verb, like Greek *egō* (1SG.NOM) in the same position, should certainly also be considered enclitic.

(1256) quantulum   *id*   cunque est
        how.little.NOM.SG.N it.NOM.SG.N ever   is.PRES.3SG
        'how little soever it is' (Cicero, *de Oratore* 2.97)

(1257) quale   *id*   cunque est
of.what.quality.NOM.SG.N it.NOM.SG.N ever   is.PRES.3SG
'of what quality soever it is' (Cicero, *de Natura Deorum* 2.76)

(1258) quonam   igitur *haec*   modo
which.ABL.SG.M then   this.NOM.PL.N way.ABL.SG.M
gesta   sunt
happen.PTCL.PRF.NOM.PL.N be.PRES.3PL
'Which way, then, did these things happen?' (Cicero, *pro Cluentio* 66)

(1259) cuius   *haec*   cunque modi   videntur
what.GEN.SG.M this.NOM.PL.N ever   kind.GEN.SG.M seem.PRES.3SG.PAS
'of whatever kind these things seem to be' (Sallust, *Catiline* 52.10)

(1260) ne   aut   *ille*   alserit   aut
that.not either that.NOM.SG.M suffer.from.cold.PERF.3SG.SUBJ or
ceciderit
fall.PERF.3SG.SUBJ
'that he has neither suffered from cold nor fallen' (Terence, *Adelphoe* 36)

(1261) quonam   *ille*   modo   cum regno
what.ABL.SG.M that.NOM.SG.M way.ABL.SG.M with realm.ABL.SG.N
distractus   esset
tear.apart.PTCP.PERF.M be.IMPERF.3SG.SUBJ
'how he would have been torn apart with his realm' (Cicero, *pro rege Deiotaro* 15)

With indefinites, Latin holds more firmly to the old rule than Greek, and this has been *[p414]* recognized for a long time, although the formulation has not been entirely correct. If we jointly consider the linguistic usage of the ancient inscriptions, the commentaries of Caesar and the speeches of Cicero, following the index of *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinum* (CIL) I (Mommsen & Henzen 1887) and the lexica of Meusel (1887) and Merguet (1884), the result is that *quis* 'who/what.M/F' and *quid* 'who/what.N' in the overwhelming majority of examples attach to clause-introducing words such as *ē-* 'out/away', *nē* 'no/not', *dum nē* 'provided-that not', *num* 'whether', the relativizer *qui* and its forms, *quo* 'where/why', *cum* 'when/because/although', *quamvis* 'however/although', and *neque* 'and not'. Of course, *-ve* (in *neve* 'and not', *sive* 'or/but if' etc.) takes precedence, and more

rarely pronominal enclitics (only once in Caesar): (1262) and (1263). Cf. (1264)–(1266).

(1262) ne*ve*   *eorum*   *quod*   saeptum
      and.not this.GEN.PL.M who.ACC.SG.N fence.in.PTCL.ACC.SG.N
      clausumve   habeto
      close-or.PTCL.ACC.SG.N or   have.IMP.SG.FUT
      'and you shall not possess their belongings which have been fenced in or locked' (CIL I.206.71)

(1263) dum *eorum*   *quid*   faciet
      while this.GEN.PL.M something.ACC.SG.N make.FUT.3SG
      'while he will practice any of these' (CIL I.206.94, I.206.104)

(1264) qui   ita *quid*   confessus   erit
      who.NOM.SG.M so something.ACC.SG.N confess.PTCP.PRF.M be.FUT.3SG
      'who will have confessed something this way' (CIL I.205.II.15, 41)

(1265) quod   eum   *quis*   ignoret
      because he.ACC.SG.M someone.NOM.SG.M not.know.PRES.3SG.SUBJ
      'because someone may not know him' (Cicero, *in Verrem* 5.168)

(1266) qui   horum   *quid*   acerbissime
      who.NOM.SG.M this.GEN.PL.M something.NOM.SG.N most.violently
      crudelissimeque fecerat,   is   et vir   et
      most.cruelly-and do.PSTPRF3.SG. he.NOM.SG.M and man.NOM.SG.M and
      civis   optimus   habebatur
      citizen.NOM.SG.M best.NOM.SG.M have.IMPRF.3.SG.PASS
      'Whoever of them had done something very violent and cruel, was considered both the best man and citizen.' (Caesar, *de Bello Civili* 3.32.3)

In these texts, the indefinite is found in true clause-internal position only after *alius* 'else/other' and *ali-*, and here it must be pointed out that we generally find *si quis alius* 'if someone else' and *ne quis alius* 'not anyone else', not *si alius quis* or *ne alius quis*. In addition, in Cicero's speeches we always find *quis* and *quid* separated from the relativizer by one or two other words in relative clauses (7–8 examples). Also, (1267) is a striking example.

(1267) nei *quis*   in ieis   locis   inve
not someone.NOM.SG.M in this.ABL.PL.M place.ABL.PL.M in-or
ieis   porticibus   quid   inaedificatum
this.ABL.PL.F portico.ABL.PL.F something.ACC.SG.N build.ACC.SG.N
immolitumve   habeto
erect-or.ACC.SG.N have.IMP.SG.FUT
'no one shall have anything built or erected in these places or in these porticoes' (CIL I.206.70)

The same is true of the related indefinite adverbs, in particular *quando* 'when', and is also true for indefinites in general, as far as I can tell, in the other archaic and classical texts. Admittedly, it is sometimes necessary to emancipate oneself from modern editors in order to recognize this. Götz, for example, quite happily inserts enclitic *quid* 'what' in the middle of a clause and at the same time verse-initially in Plautus, *Mercator* 774 (see his edition, Ritschl & Götz 1884: 92, as well as Götz 1876: 244), although the manuscripts provide the correct *si quid*! Of course it is possible to dig up isolated exceptions, but the *quid* in (1268), for example, should probably be read as an exclamation, hence orthotonic.

(1268) tum captivorum   *quid*   ducunt
then captive.GEN.PL.M what.ACC.SG.N bring.PRES.3PL
secum
with.themselves.ABL.PL
'then, they are bringing so many captives with them' (Plautus, *Epidicus* 210)

In view of this rigidity of the positional rule, neither the anastrophe in (1269) (cf. Seyffert & Müller 1876 on this example) nor the frequent *[p415]* separation of the attributive indefinite from its noun – reminiscent of the examples adduced above for Greek on pp137ff. – should be surprising, e.g. (1270), (1271), etc., etc. I should also mention, only in passing, that Oscan and Umbrian *pis*, *pid* and *pis*, *pir* 'who/what' usually immediately follow *svaì*, *svae* and *sve, so* 'if' in the manuscripts.

(1269) si *quos*   inter   societas   aut est   aut
if someone.ACC.PL.M between partnership.NOM.SG.F or   be.PRES.3SG or
fuit
was.PRF.3SG
'if there is or was partnership between some people' (Cicero, *Laelius de Amicitia* 83)

(1270) ne   *qua*   oriatur   pecuniae
        that.not any.NOM.SG.F arise.PRES.3SG.SUBJ. money.GEN.SG.F
        cupiditas
        envy.NOM.SG.F.
        'that no money envy may arise' (Caesar, *de Bello Gallico* 6.22.3)

(1271) ne   *qua*   aut largitionibus   aut animi
        that.not any.NOM.SG.F or bribery.ABL.PL.F or courage.GEN.SG.M
        confirmatione   aut falsis   nuntiis
        affirmation.ABL.SG.F or false.ABL.PL.M message.ABL.PL.M
        commutatio   fieret   voluntatis
        change.NOM.SG.F make.INF.PRES.PASS will.GEN.SG.F
        'that not any change of will may take place due to bribery or
        encouragement or false messages' (Caesar, *de Bello Civili* 1.21.1)

It is well known that *quisque* 'each person/anyone', deriving from enclitic *quis*, is an enclitic, and that, though it occurs clause-internally more often than *quis*, it is generally only found after superlatives, ordinals, *unus* 'one/single/alone' and *suus* 'his/her/its/their own', and otherwise after the first word in the clause. In the inscriptions of CIL I the positional rule is fully clear: *quisque* after *primus* 'first' in 198.46, 198.64 and 198.67, after *suus* in 206.92=102, otherwise word-internally only in (1272); in all other examples it is in second position, often admittedly such that the relativizer is followed first by the noun to which it belongs as an attribute and only then by *quisque*, e.g. (1273)–(1275), and with a following genitive e.g. in (1276).

(1272) quamque   viam   h[ac]   l[ege]   *quemque*
        each.ACC.SG.F road.ACC.SG.F this.ABL.SG.F law.ABL.SG.F each.ACC.SG.M
        tueri   oportebit
        protect.INF.PRES.PASS be.necessary.FUT.3SG
        'with this law, it will be necessary for everyone to protect each road'
        (CIL I.206.I.22)

(1273) quo   die   *quisque*   triumphabit
        whoever.ABL.SG.M day.ABL.SG.M each.NOM.SG.M win.FUT.3SG
        'on whichever day everyone will win' (CIL I.206.I.63)

(1274) quot   annos   *quisque*   eorum   habet
        how.many year.ACC.PL.M each.NOM.SG.M he.GEN.PL.M have.PRES.3SG
        'how many years every one of them has' (CIL I.206.I.147)

(1275)   qua   in parte   urbis   *quisque*
         whoever.ABL.SG.F in part.ABL.SG.F city.GEN.SG.F each.NOM.SG.M
         eorum   curet
         he.GEN.PL.M take.care.of.PRES.3SG.SUBJ
         'in whichever part of the city every one of them should take care of […]'
         (CIL I.206.I.26)

(1276)   quantum agri   loci   *quoiusque*   in
         how.much land.GEN.SG.M place.GEN.SG.M each.GEN.SG.M in
         populi   leiberi   … datus
         people.GEN.SG.M free.GEN.SG.M   give.PTCL.PRF.PASS
         adsignatusve   est
         assign-or.PTCL.PRF.PASS be.PRES.3SG
         'how much land and place has been given or assigned to any free
         people' (CIL I.200.I.71)

But even in these examples the preposing of *quisque* before the words with
which it stands in an attributive relation makes sense only from the perspective
of our positional law: *quisque eorum* 'whichever of them' in (1274)–(1275) (and
many other such cases), *quoiusque in populi leiberi* 'any of the free people' in
(1276). And examples in which *quisque* splits an attributively linked constituent
through its striving to be placed near the start of the clause are not at all rare:
see (1277)–(1279).

(1277)   quem   *quisque*   eorum   agrum
         whoever.ACC.SG.M each.NOM.SG.M he.GEN.PL.M land.ACC.SG.M
         posidebit
         possess.FUT.3SG
         'whichever land each of them will possess' (CIL I.199.39)

(1278)   quam   in *quisque*   decuriam   …
         whoever.ACC.SG.F in each.NOM.SG.M detachment.ACC.SG.F
         lectus   erit
         select.NOM.SG.M be.FUT.3SG
         'into whichever detachment each will be selected' (CIL I.202.I.33,
         I.202.I.37, I.202.I.41, I.202.II.5)

(1279)   qua   in   *quisque*   decuria   est
         whoever.ABL.SG.F each.NOM.SG.M detachment.ABL.SG.F be.PRES.3SG
         'in whichever detachment each is' (CIL I.202.II.27)

The last two examples show that in word sequences like *quam in decuriam* the preposition was perceived as belonging to the relativizer. Similarly, *quisque* may disrupt the connection between governing noun and genitive, for instance, as in *quantum viae* 'how much of the road' in (1280), and (1281).

(1280)   quantum *quoiusque*   ante   aedificium   viae   ...
        how.much each.GEN.SG.M in.front building.ACC.SG.N road.GEN.SG.F
        erit
        be.FUT.3SG
        'how much of the road will be in front of each one's building' (CIL I.206.I.39)

(1281)   quod   *quibusque*   in rebus   ... iouris   ...
        who.NOM.SG.N each.ABL.PL.F in things.ABL.PL.F law.GEN.SG.N
        fuit
        be.PRF.3SG
        'what of the law has been applied in all situations' (CIL I.204.II.23)

So much for the older *[p416]* inscriptions. The other older literature provides similar results, including the notable tmesis in (1282). However, *quisque* has generally also become able to be used orthotonically and to take clause-initial position. This is even more true for *uterque* 'both/each of two', whose original enclitic nature is clear and can still be seen in examples like (1283). On the other hand, *ubique* remained true to its origins even longer: Cicero in his speeches and Caesar always use it in its actual meaning "in each individual place" ("everywhere" is written by both as *omnibus locis*), but it is also always attached to a relativizer (Caesar, *de Bello Civili* 2.20.8 attaches it to interrogative *quid*).

(1282)   quod   *quoique*   quomque   inciderit   in
        who.ACC.SG.N each.DAT.SG.M each.ACC.SG.M fall.intoPRF.3SG.SUBJ. in
        mentem
        mind.ACC.SG.F
        'anything that may come into anyone's mind' (Terence, *Heauton Timorumenos* 484)

(1283)   in eo   *uterque*   proelio   potabimus
        in this.ABL.SG.M each.of.two.NOM.SG.M battle.ABL.SG.N drink.FUT.1PL
        'both of us will drink in this battle' (Plautus, *Menaechmi* 186)

That the other class of indefinites in Latin, those beginning with *u*-, were subject to the same positional rules as those beginning with velar consonants, is shown by Festus 162b.22, quite apart from the unmistakable tendency of *ullus* 'any', *unquam* 'ever' and *usquam* 'anywhere' to occupy second position.

11 Latin: particles and vocatives

Among the particles of Latin one finds some that have always been bound to the second position (*que* 'and', *autem* 'but', *ne* 'NEG/Q'), some that either vacillate between first and second position from the very start or are pulled hither and thither through changing usage (the affirmative particles and also *enim* 'truly/ because' and *igitur* 'therefore'), and finally some for which the vacillation and freedom is even greater, like *tandem* 'at last'. All these particles occasionally cause the sort of tmesis demonstrated for the pronouns; for example, *enim* separates *cunque* in (1284), and *igitur* and *tandem* separate *quomodo* and friends, and also *jusjurandum*, in (1285)–(1288).

(1284) qualis   *enim* cunque est
of.what.kind.NOM.SG.M truly ever   be.PRES.3SG
'of what kind ever it truly is' (Ovid, *ex Ponto* 4.13.6)

(1285) quonam   *igitur* haec   modo
which.ABL.SG.M then   this.NOM.PL.N way.ABL.SG.M
gesta   sunt
happen.PTCL.PRF.NOM.PL.N be.PRES.3PL
'Which way, then, did these things happen?' (Cicero, *pro Cluentio* 66)

(1286) quocunque   *igitur* haec   modo
whatever.ABL.SG.M then   this.ABL.SG.M way.ABL.SG.M
'whatever way then these things' (Cicero, *pro Scauro* 50)

(1287) jus   *igitur* jurandum
law.NOM.SG.N then   swear.GRND.NOM.SG.N
'an oath then' (Cicero, *de Officiis* 3.104)

(1288) quo   *tandem*   modo
which.ABL.SG.M eventually way.ABL.SG.M
'which way eventually' (Cicero, *in Verrem* 3.80)

A particularly tmesis-inducing word is *que* 'and', which has this effect not only in cases like those given above (e.g. (1289)) but also separates prepositions from verbs ((1290)–(1291)) *[p417]* and prepositions from case, the latter especially when it means 'if': Old Latin (1292) (Plautus, *Trinummus* 832 with the freer word order *absque foret te*).

(1289) juris*que*   jurandi
        law-andGEN.SG.N swear.GRND.GEN.SG.N
        'and an oath' (Cicero, *pro Caelio* 54)

(1290) trans*que* dato,   endo*que* plorato
        across-and give.FUT.IMP in-and   cry.FUT.IMP
        'and he will surrender, and he will call/implore' (Festus 309a.30)

(1291) dis*que*   tulissent
        apart-and carry.PRF.3PL.SUBJ
        'and they have carried away' (Plautus, *Trinummus* 833)

(1292) abs*que*   me   esset;   abs*que*   te
        without-and I.ABL.SG.M be.IMPRF.3SG.SUBJ without-and you.ABL.SG.M
        foret;   abs*que*   una   hac
        be.IMPRF.3SG.SUBJ without-and one.ABL.SG.F this.ABL.SG.F
        foret;   abs*que*   eo   esset
        be.IMPRF.3SG.SUBJ without-and he.ABL.SG.M be.IMPRF.3SG.SUBJ
        'and if it wasn't for me; and if it wasn't for you; and if it wasn't for this one thing; and if it wasn't for him'

It is to the demerit of Latinists that they have continued to view *absque* 'without/apart from' as a normal preposition long after Schömann (1871) and Brugman (1877) discovered the truth.* For, assuming that Cicero, *ad Atticum* 1.19.1 should be read as in (1293), which I do not believe Wölfflin (1882) to have proven, and assuming also that the meaning 'without' does not derive from an error on the part of second-century archaists but rather was native to everyday language in Cicero's time, it is of course possible that in the time between Terence and Cicero the phrase *absque me esset* could first lose the verb (so that simple *absque me* was used as a hypothetical "without me = if I had not been there"; cf. (1294) "without you, i.e. if you had not been there" and (1295)) and, subsequent to the loss of the verb, the hypothetical meaning could have disappeared and *absque*

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* *Translator's note*: Wackernagel writes Brugmann here, but this must be a slip, possibly related to the better-known Karl Brugmann.

me could have taken on the meaning of "without me" in the sense of "as I am not there". Very similar developments can be demonstrated for the concessive particles. (On *absque* in general, see Praun 1889.)

(1293) abs*que*   argumento   ac sententia
without-and content.ABL.SG.N and purpose.ABL.SG.F
'and without any content and purpose' (Cicero, *ad Atticum* 1.19.1)

(1294) abs*que*   te   uno   forsitan lingua
without-and you.ABL.SG.M one.ABL.SG.M maybe language.NOM.SG.F
Graeca   longe anteisset,   sed tu
Greek.NOM.SG.F long precede.PSTPRF.3SG.SUBJ but you.NOM.SG.M
'and if it wasn't for you alone, the Greek language would have preceded but you' (Gellius 2.21.20)

(1295) abs*que*   te,   satis   superque et aetatis   et
without-and you.ABL.SG.M enough and.more and time.GEN.SG.F and
laboris
work.GEN.SG.M
'and if it wasn't for you, [I would have] more than enough of both time and work' (Fronto 85.24 N)

The only particles that can count as fully sound support for our positional law are those that serve not to link clauses but to qualify the specific clause or constituent they belong to. First, *quidem* 'in fact/indeed', which is formally distinguished from Indo-Iranian *cid* only by the addition of *-em*, and essentially functionally identical to it. Like *cid*, it cannot follow unstressed words, and originally especially not the verb (cf. Bartholomae 1888: 73 on *cid*), and like *cid* it occupies a position either after the first word of the clause (see e.g. (1296)) or after the *[p418]* stressed word whose meaning needs to be emphasized (for instance because of a contrast), depending on its function.

(1296) Tiberium   *quidem* Gracchum
Tiberius.ACC.SG.M indeed Gracchus.ACC.SG.M
'indeed, Tiberius Gracchus' (Cicero, *Laelius de Amicitia* 37)

This positional alternation is particularly clear in archaic texts when it cooccurs with the assertion particles, especially with *hercle* 'by Hercules'. There are innumerable examples of *quidem hercle* 'indeed by Hercules' etc. after the first word of the clause, but we also often find *hercle – quidem*. According to Kellerhoff

(1891: 64f.), some examples of the latter order can be explained through metrical license, and others are inexplicable. But without exception they show *quidem* after a stressed personal pronoun, demonstrative, *si* 'if' or *nunc* 'now': in all these cases, *quidem* is attached to the orthotonic word following *hercle* etc. (Also (1297), an example not found in Kellerhoff 1891.)

(1297) tam pol   id   *quidem*
        so   by.Pollux he.NOM.SG.N indeed
        'indeed, it [is] so' (Plautus, *Bacchides* 1194)

As well as *quidem* we have *quŏque*, which I believe should be identified with Sanskrit *kva ca* and therefore assigned the original meaning 'wherever, however'. A word with the meaning 'however' was suitable for expressing the inclusion of a referent in a statement; this also explains the archaic connection between *quoque* and *etiam* 'also'. It is because of the word's function that it, like *ge* 'in fact/at least/only' and to an extent *quidem*, can occupy various positions in the clause despite being an enclitic – specifically, wherever the word is whose referent is to be designated as added. But just as *ge* occasionally detaches itself from its word and removes itself to the start of the clause, following the general tendency of enclitics (see above p152), *quoque* does the same: (1298) with *quoque quattuor* rather than *quattuor quoque*, (1299) with *quoque … Iuno* rather than *Iuno quoque* (cf. Spengel 1886 on this example), (1300) rather than *ab eo … quoque quibus*, (1301) with *quoque stipem* rather than *stipem quoque*, (1302) with *quoque illa nomina* rather than *illa nomina quoque*. Likewise (1303) with *quoque … Varro* rather than *Varro quoque* and (1304) with *quoque lascivi … Catulli* rather than *lascivi Catulli quoque*.

(1298) ab   hoc   *quoque* quattuor partes   urbis
        from this.ABL.SG.N also   four   part.NOM.PL.F city.GEN.SG.F
        tribus   dictae
        tribe.NOM.PL.F name.PTCL.ACC.PL.F
        'from this, four parts of the city were used as names for the tribes'
        (Varro, *de lingua Latina* 5.56)

(1299) quae   ideo   *quoque* videtur   ab
        who.NOM.SG.F therefore also   seem.PRES.3SG.PASS. from
        Latinis   Iuno Lucina dicta
        Latin.ABL.PL.M Juno Lucina name.PTCL.NOM.SG.F
        'therefore, she also seems to be called Iuno Lucina by the Latins' (Varro, *de lingua Latina* 5.69)

(1300) ab   eo   *quoque*, quibus   ..., tribuni
        from he.ABL.SG.M also   who.ABL.PL.M   tribune.NOM.PL.M
        aerarii   dicti
        treasury.NOM.PL.M name.NOM.PL.M
        'from this, these people ... were also called tribuni aerarii' (Varro, *de
        lingua Latina* 5.181)

(1301) aes   *quoque* stipem   dicebant
        copper.coin.ACC.SG.N also   gift.ACC.SG.F name.IMPRF.3PL.
        'they also call a copper coin a gift' (Varro, *de lingua Latina* 5.182)

(1302) hinc *quoque* illa   nomina
        hence also   that.NOM.PL.N name.NOM.PL.N
        'hence also these names' (Varro, *de lingua Latina* 8.84)

(1303) haec   *quoque* perfecto   ludebat   Iasone
        this.ACC.PL.N also   finish.ABL.SG.M play.IMPRF.3SG Jason.ABL.SG
        Varro
        Varro.NOM.SG
        'having finished his work on Jason, Varro also played with these
        themes' (Propertius 2.34.85)

(1304) haec   *quoque* lascivi   cantarunt
        this.NOM.PL.N also   playful.GEN.SG.M sing.PERF.3PL
        scripta   Catulli
        write.PTCL.NOM.PL.N Catullus.GEN.SG
        'the writings of Catullus also sang of these themes' (Propertius 2.34.87)

The position of the question particle *ne* also seems significant. By virtue of its meaning, this particle has no more claim to stand close to the start of the clause than negation in Latin *[p419]* itself or in German *etwa* 'for instance' or *vielleicht* 'perhaps'. Only enclisis explains the long-acknowledged rule that *ne* belongs immediately after the first word of the clause, whatever the nature of that word. It is beyond the scope of this paper to go through all the evidence and discuss the real and apparent exceptions, using the material in Hand (1845: 75ff.) and Kämpf (1886: 42–46) (on the latter see the review by Abraham 1887, who suggests punctuation after the pronoun in examples like (1305) and (1306)). It is enough to point to the fact that the classical and later language still maintains this rule, and that the word *utrumne* instead of *utrum* 'whether', attested since

Catullus, is derived from this. Post-Homeric Greek *toigār* 'so/therefore' attracted the particle *toi* (still separate at the time of Homer) to itself because it had become customary to view it as the first word of a clause rather than an independent clause; *utrum* attracted *ne* for similar reasons.

(1305) sed ego   sum*ne*   infelix?
        but I.NOM.SG be.PRES.1SG-NE unhappy.NOM.SG.M
        'but am I unhappy?' (Plautus, *Mostellaria* 362)

(1306) sed tu   novisti*n*   fidicinam
        but you.NOM.SG get.to.know.PRF.2SG-NE female.lutist.ACC.SG.F
        Acrobolistidem?
        Acrobolistides.ACC.SG.F
        'but do you know the female lutist Acrobolistides?' (Plautus, *Epidicus* 503)

A certain weakening of the old rule can be observed in that, if a sentence consisting of a protasis and an apodosis was to be marked as interrogative by *ne*, the classical language inserted *ne* in the apodosis, while the earlier language attached -*ne* directly to the conjunction in the protasis. This is related to the common habit of attaching *ne* to the relativizer in a relative clause and then using such a relative clause without the addition of a main clause to ask whether the statement given in the previous clause holds for the referent described in the relative clause. Other subordinate clauses were also used in this way. (On all of this see Brix & Niemeyer 1888 on Trinummus 360 and Lorenz 1883b,a on Miles 965 and Mostellaria 738.)

From here we have, I think, a way to understand a particle that has so far been incorrectly explained. Ribbeck (1869: 14f.), influenced by Stolz & Schmalz (1890: 526), derives *sin* 'but if' from the collocation of *si* 'if' with the negation *ne*. The meaning 'if not' that corresponds to this origin is, according to Ribbeck, still visible in *[p420]* examples like (1307). It then became customary to add *aliter* 'otherwise', *secus* 'otherwise/differently' or *minus* 'less' to *sin*, "tautologically or transitionally", and also, when the other case hinted at by *sin* 'if not' needed to be formulated more specifically, did this in the form of simple parataxis. Thus, according to Ribbeck, *sin* eventually became a normal adversative conjunction.

(1307) si pares   aeque inter   se,
        if appropriate.NOM.PL.M equally between himself.ACC.PL.M
        quiescendum;   *sin*, latius   manabit,   et   quidem ad
        rest.GRND.NOM.SG.N if.not more.broadly spread.FUT.3SG and indeed to

> nos,   deinde communiter
> we.ACC.PL then   jointly
> 'if they are evenly matched, one has to rest; but if it spreads, and indeed spreads to us, then [we must act] jointly' (Cicero, *ad Attticum* 16.13b2)

There are several objections that can be made to this account. I do not want to dispute the possibility that there could have been a *sin* meaning 'if not', since *quin* shows that the negation *ne* could be enclitic and lose its vowel. (However, *sine* does not belong here, but rather equates to Indo-European *sn̩nē, i.e. the old locative of *senu-*, and crucially is cognate with Greek *āneu* 'without', which is not related to Gothic *inu* and Old High German *āno* 'without', since these correspond to Sanskrit *anu*, *ānu* 'after, along, alongside' = Proto-Indo-European *enu, *ēnu. The semantic change that needs to be assumed here, 'along(side)' > 'aside from' > 'without', is completely natural.) But there is no evidence at all for the claim that *sin* originally had this meaning 'if not'. The examples that Ribbeck (1869) deploys or intends to deploy in this sense are suspect from the start, because there is no explanation of how this negative meaning, which had already vanished by Plautus's time, could have returned to such common use by the time of Cicero. And looking at the examples oneself ((1307) above plus (1308)–(1312)) reveals that they do not show what they are supposed to show. Following a conjecture by Vahlen (1879: 347), (1313) (with *sin* where the manuscripts have *sed*) could be added to the list; but this reading is hardly likely to become generally accepted. (Stolz & Schmalz (1890) also mention *[p421]* examples in early Latin, but nowhere can I find evidence of these.) In all these examples we are simply dealing with aposiopesis,* as is appropriate to Priapeian and epistolary style. It is particularly the first two examples, with their *quod di omen avertant* ((1308)) and *sed nihil opus est reliqua scribere* ((1309)), that eliminate all doubt.

(1308)   qui   si conservatus   erit,   vicimus;
who.NOM.SG.M if rescue.PTCP.PRF.NOM.SG.M be.FUT.3SG win.PRF.1PL

sin   ..., quod   di   omen
if.not   who.ACC.SG.N god.NOM.PL.M omen.ACC.SG.N

avertant,   omnis   omnium   cursus
avert.PRES.3PL.SUBJ all.NOM.SG.M all.GEN.PL.M road.NOM.SG.M

est   ad vos
be.PRES.3SG to you.ACC.PL

'if he will be saved, we have won. If not ... this omen may the gods avert, the whole road leads for all to you' (Cicero, *Epistulae* 12.6.2)

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* *Translator's note*: this word refers to the rhetorical device in which a sentence is deliberately broken off mid-flow, with the reader being left to infer what follows.

(1309)   si perficitis   quod   agitis,   me   ad vos
         if finish.PRES.2PL who.ACC.SG.N do.PRES.2PL I.ACC.SG to you.ACC.PL
         venire   oportet;   *sin*   autem   ... Sed
         come.INF.PRES be.necessary.PRES.3SG if.not on.the.other.hand   but
         nihil   opus   est   reliqua
         not.at.all work.NOM.SG.N be.PRES.3SG leave.behind.PTCP.NOM.PL.N
         scribere.
         write.INF.PRES
         'if you finish what you are dealing with, I have to come to you; on the
         other hand, if not ... But it is not necessary to spell out the rest.' (Cicero,
         Epistulae 14.3.5)

(1310)   si vir   esse   volet,   praeclara
         if man.NOM.SG.M be.INF.PRES want.FUT.3SG great.NOM.SG.F
         συνοδία.   *Sin*   autem,   erimus
         group.of.travellers.NOM.SG.F if.not on.the.other.hand be.FUT.1PL
         nos,   qui   solemus.
         we.NOM.PL who.NOM.PL.M be.used.to.PRES.1PL
         'if he wants to be a man, it will be a great group of travellers. On the
         other hand, if not, we will continue as we are used to.' (Cicero, *ad
         Atticum* 10.7.2)

(1311)   atque utinam   tu   quoque eodem   die!
         and   hopefully you.NOM.SG also   the.same.ABL.SG.M day.ABL.SG.M
         sin quod   ..., multa   enim   utique
         if.not who.NOM.SG.N   much.ACC.PL.N because undoubtedly
         postridie.
         the.next.day
         'and hopefully you [can come over] on the same day as well! If not,
         because many things [may come up], then undoubtedly the next day.'
         (Cicero, *ad Atticum* 13.22.4)

(1312)   donec   proterva   nil   mei   manu
         as.long.as wanton.ABL.SG.F nothing I.GEN.SG hand.ABL.SG.F
         carpes,   licebit   ipsa   sis
         harvest.FUT.2SG be.allowed.FUT.3SG himself.ABL.SG.F be.PRES.2SG.SUBJ
         pudicior   Vesta.   *Sin*, haec   mei
         chaster.NOM.SG.M Vesta.NOM.SG.F if.not this.NOM.PL.N I.GEN.SG

te   ventris   arma   laxabunt.
you.ACC.SG.M belly.GEN.SG.M weapon.NOM.SG.N stretch.FUT.3PL
'as long as you will not steal anything from me with wanton hand, you
may be chaster than Vesta herself. If not, these belly-weapons of mine
will stretch you.' (*Priapeia* 31)

(1313) *sin*, ne   te   capiant,   primo si forte
        if.not that.not you.ACC.SG. capture.PRES.3PL.SUBJ at.first if maybe
        negabit,   taedia
        refuse.FUT.3SG sadness.NOM.PL.N
        'if not, let not sadness capture you if he will refuse you at first'
        (Tibullus 1.4.15)

Once these examples fall away, Ribbeck's (1869) hypothesis is robbed of the
one feature that particularly recommended it: the connection to actual linguistic
usage. Now, of course, the hypothesis that *sin* initially meant 'if not' in the time
before our literary attestation, and later developed into the only attested mean-
ing 'but if', could nevertheless be correct. But this development is also not easy
to construe. Ribbeck only discusses this point very briefly. If I understand him
correctly, he thinks that a clause like (1314) was understood by inserting 'if this
is not the case' after *sin* 'if not', and let the more precise description of the oppo-
site case follow from this: *ipse animum pepulit* "[in the case that] he himself had
given direction to his inclinations", and finally the apodosis *vivit* 'he lives'. But
an asyndetic connection such as the one proposed here between *sin* and what
follows seems unthinkable to me: *sed* (or repetition of *si*) would surely be imper-
missible. There is probably an adversative asyndetic connection, but only insofar
as the contrast is thus made perceptible by other means, through parallel struc-
ture of the two constituents or through preposing of the word that is the main
carrier of the contrast in the second constituent.

(1314) si animus   hominem   pepulit,   actumst,
        if heart.NOM.SG.M human.ACC.SG.M push.PRF.3SG do.PRF.3SG.PASS
        animo   servit,   non sibi.   *sin*
        heart.DAT.SG.M obey.PRES.3SG not himself.DAT.SG if.not
        ipse   animum   pepulit,   vivit
        himself.NOM.SG.M heart.ACC.SG.M push.PRF.3SG live.PRES.3SG
        'if his heart brings forward the human part of him, it is done, he obeys
        his heart and not himself. If he himself does not bring forward his
        heart, he lives' (Plautus, *Trinummus* 309)

I believe that a much simpler solution suggests itself. Among his examples of *ne* attached to the conjunction of the protasis, Brix gives the example of (1305) (Brix & Niemeyer 1888).

(1315) Acanthio: At ego maledicentiorem quam
Acanthio.NOM.SG.M but I.NOM.SG. more.slanderous.ACC.SG.M than

te novi neminem. Charinus: *Sin*
you.ACC.SG get.to.know.PRF.1SG nobody Charinus.NOM.SG.M if

saluti quod tibi esse censeo,
health.DAT.SG.F what.ACC.SG.N you.DAT.SG.M be.PRES.INF think.PRES.1SG

id consuadeo? Acanthio: apage
he.ACC.SG.N recommend.PRES.1SG Acanthio.NOM.SG.M go.away

istiusmodi salutem, cum cruciatu quae
of.that.kind health.ACC.SG.F with torture.ABL.SG.M which.NOM.SG.M

advenit.
arrive.PRES.3SG

'Acanthio: But I don't know anyone who is more slanderous than you. Charinus: If I recommend you something which I think is healthy for you? Acanthio: Go away with such health which comes with torture.' (Plautus, *Mercator* 142f)

Brix reformulates Charinus's words as in (1316). This is clearly in line with *[p422]* conversational style in Plautus, in which interrogative clauses marked as such by *-ne* are extraordinarily frequently used for objections, e.g. (1317)–(1320).

(1316) tum*ne* maledicentem me dicis si tibi
then slanderous.ACC.SG.M I.ACC.SG.M say.PRES.2SG if you.DAT.SG

id consuadeo
he.ACC.SG.N recommend.PRES.1SG

'then you call me slanderous if I recommend it to you' (Brix & Niemeyer (1888))

(1317) ego*n* ubi filius corrumpatur meus,
I.NOM.SG-NE where son.NOM.SG.M corrupt.PRES.3SG.SUBJ my.NOM.SG.M

ibi potem?
there drink.PRES.1SG.SUBJ

'Am I supposed to drink there where my son was corrupted?' (Plautus, *Bacchides* 1189)

(1318) ego*n*   quom haec   cum illo
        I.NOM.SG-NE when this.NOM.SG.F with that.ABL.SG.M
        accubet,   inspectem?
        lie.with.PRES.3SG.SUBJ look.at.PRES.1SG.SUBJ
        'Shall I look at it when she is lying with him?' (Plautus, *Bacchides* 1192)

(1319) ego*ne*   indotatam   te
        I.NOM.SG-NE not.provided.with.a.dowry.ACC.SG.F you.ACC.SG
        uxorem   ut   patiar?
        wife.ACC.SG.F that tolerate.PRES.1SG.SUBJ.PASS
        'Should I tolerate that you take a wife with no dowry?' (Plautus,
        Trinummus 378)

(1320) at sci*n*   quam iracundus   siem
        but know.PRES.2SG-NE how   angry.NOM.SG.M be.PRES.1SG.SUBJ
        'but do you know how angry I am?' (Plautus, *Bacchides* 194)

   Clauses in which the interrogative consists (elliptically) only of a subordinate
clause with *ne* – exactly the type of *ne*-clause to which the above example belongs
– are particularly frequently used in this way: (1321)–(1325).

(1321) Sosia: paulisper   mane,   dum
        Sosia.NOM.SG.F for.a.brief.period.of.time stay.IMP.SG until
        edormiscat   unum   somnum.
        sleep.out.PRES.3SG.SUBJ one.ACC.SG.M sleep.ACC.SG.M
        Amphitryon: quae*ne*   vigilans
        Amphitryon.NOM.SG.M who.NOM.SG.F-NE watch.PTCP.PRES.NOM.SG.M
        somniat?
        sleep.PRES.3SG.SUBJ
        'Sosia: Stay for a moment until she has slept out one sleep. Amphitryon:
        But is she sleeping while she's watching?' (Plautus, *Amphitryon* 297)

(1322) Cappadox: dum   quidem hercle   ita
        Cappadoxius.NOM.SG.M as.long.as indeed by.hercules so
        iudices,   ne quisquam   a   me
        judge.PRES.2SG.SUBJ that anyone.NOM.SG.M from I.ACC.SG
        argentum   auferat.   Therapontigonus:
        money.ACC.SG.N take.away.PRES.3SG.SUBJ Therapontigonus.NOM.SG.M

> quod*ne* promisti?
> what.ACC.SG.N-NE promise.PERF.2SG
> 'Cappadox: By Hercules, as long as you judge in a way that nobody
> takes away money from me. Therapontigonus: [But it's the money]
> Which you promised?' (Plautus, *Curculio* 704f)

(1323) quem*ne* ego excepi in mari
who.ACC.SG.M-NE I.NOM.SG catch.PERF.1SG in sea.ABL.SG.N
'but I caught him in the sea' (Plautus, *Rudens* 1019)

(1324) quod*ne* ego inveni in mari?
who.ACC.SG.N-NE I.NOM.SG find.PERF.1SG in sea.ABL.SG.N
'but I found it in the sea?' (Plautus, *Rudens* 1231)

(1325) Demipho: illud mihi argentum rursum
Demipho.NOM.SG.M that.ACC.SG.N I.DAT.SG money.ACC.SG.N again
iube rescribi Phormio.
command.IMP.PRES write.back.INF.PRES.PASS Phormio.NOM.SG.M
Phormio: quod*ne* ego discripsi
Phormio.NOM.SG.M who.ACC.SG.N-NE I.NOM.SG.M distribute.PERF.1SG
porro illis quibus debui?
further that.ABL.PL.M who.ABL.PL.M owe.PERF.1SG
'Demipho: Command that the money will be returned to me, Phormio.
Phormio: But I have transferred it further to the people I owed
something to?' (Terence, *Phormio* 923)

A second example with a similar use of *sin* is (1326).

(1326) Paegnium: ne me attrecta
Paegnium.NOM.SG.M not I.ACC.SG touch.IMP.SG.PRES
subigitatrix. Sophoclidisca: *sin* te
lascivious.womanVOC.SG.f Sophoclidisca.NOM.SG.F if you.ACC.SG
amo? Paegnium: male operam locas.
love.PRES.1SG Paegnium.NOM.SG.M badly work.ACC.SG.F put.PRES.2SG
'Paegnium: Don't touch me, you lascivious woman. Sophoclidisca: But
if I love you? Paegnium: Your effort is worthless.' (Plautus, *Persa* 227)

Most readers of Plautus would, of course, translate *sin* in both examples as 'but
if', identifying it as the normal *sin.* Far from wanting to criticize this, I in fact see

it as evidence that the normal *sin* is identical to that found in these examples from Plautus. We can make an objection in the form of an interrogative clause not only to others, but also to ourselves. In this sense we find objecting *quine*, *quemne* in (1327) "but that one I have left" and (1328) "but he is fleeing" (see the above translation of *quine* in the examples from Plautus and Terence). And it is possible to respond to a self-addressed objection oneself with the type of apodosis found in the two examples of *sin* from Plautus, in which the first speaker objects and the second speaker responds to the objection using an asyndetically *[p423]* added apodosis: *apage istiusmodi salutem* "then away with that sort of benefit", and *male operam locus* "well, then you are wasting your time".

(1327) an patris auxilium sperem? *quemne*
or father.NOM.SG.M help.ACC.SG.N hope.PRES.1SG.SUBJ who.ACC.SG.M-NE
ipsa reliqui ... ?
herself.NOM.SG.F leave.PERF.1SG
'or should I hope for my father's help? Who I myself left ... ?' (Catullus 64.180)

(1328) coniugis an fido consoler memet
spouse.GEN.SG.F or faithful.ABL.SG.M console.PRES.1SG.SUBJ I.ACC.SG
amore? *quine* fugit lentos
love.ABL.SG.M who.NOM.SG.M-NE flee.PRES.3SG slow.ACC.PL.M
incurvans gurgite remos?
bend.PTCP.PRES.NOM.SG.M eddy.ABL.SG.M oar.ACC.PL.M
'Or am I supposed to console myself with the faithful love of my spouse? But he is fleeing while he is bending his slow oars in the eddy.' (Catullus 64.182f)

Correspondingly, in the example from Plautus analysed above according to Ribbeck's (1869) hypothesis, the original use of *sin* is produced by the punctuation: *sin ipse animum pepulit? vivit.* "But how so, if he himself has given direction to his inclinations? Well, then he lives." It is an entirely natural development that over the course of time the clause type actually used for objections came to be used for an opposing case, and that in connection with this the *sin*-interrogative was perceived as protasis and the original answer as apodosis.

If Müller (1872: 210) is correct in reading *sin* in (1329) (where the manuscripts have *sint*, and the first printed edition has *si*; cf. Nonius 290.4 in Müller 1888: 456), this adds a third instructive example to the two from Plautus, because here, too, *sin* serves to introduce an objection, the difference being that this is announced

by *quid*, and that a *ne*-clause follows which further specifies the question. According to Müller (1872), this is an objection that one addresses to oneself. The same scholar's *quodsin ulla* 'but.if any.NOM.SG.F' (Lucilius 4 Fragment 22 verse 38) with inexplicable *sin* rather than *quodsi nulla* 'but.if not.any.NOM.SG.F' becomes redundant if the following line is read correctly.

(1329) ad non sunt   similes   neque   dant.
        but not be.PRES.3PL similar.NOM.PL.M and.not give.PRES.3PL
        quid?   *sin* dare   vellent?
        what.NOM.SG.N if   give.PRES.INF want.IMPERF.3PL.SUBJ
        acciperesne?   doce
        accept.IMPERF.2SG teach.IMP.PRES
        'But they are not similar nor do they give. What? But if they want to
        give? Would you accept? Tell me.' (Lucilius 29, Fragment 87, verse 107)

Decisive evidence comes from the particles of affirmation and surprise *hercle* 'by Hercules', *pol*, *edepol* 'by Pollux', *ecastor* 'by Castor' and *eccere* 'by Ceres', which have the property of being able to occupy either the first or the second position in the clause without being able to occur further back in the clause, unless they are blocked by other enclitics such as *quidem* 'indeed, in fact', *autem* 'but' (Plautus, *Aulularia* 560), *obsecro* 'I implore', *quaeso* 'I beg (for)', *credo* 'I believe', or *ego* '1SG.NOM', *tu* (2SG.NOM) or *ille* 'that, he, it' after *ne* (Q), or *tu* after *et* 'and', *at* 'but, yet' or *vel* 'or', by virtue of their own claim to this position. Various facts show us how strong the pressure is for this word class too to occupy second position. For one thing, while the collocation *pol ego* 'by Pollux, I' is sometimes in initial position and sometimes preceded by another word (and hence *ego* is just as happy to occupy third position as second position), the reverse order *ego pol* 'I, by Pollux' is only *[p424]* found clause-initially (Kellerhoff 1891: 62), showing that *pol* avoids third position. For another thing, when affirmation particles relate to a whole sentence consisting of protasis and apodosis, they are attached to the first word of the protasis; *si hercle* 'if by.Hercules', *si quidem hercle* 'if indeed by.Hercules', *ni hercle* 'if.not by.Hercules', *postquam hercle* 'after by.Hercules', *si ecastor* 'if by.Castor', *si pol* 'if by.Pollux', and *si quidem pol* 'if indeed by.Pollux' are quite usual, while the placement of *hercle* 'by Hercules' in the apodosis is not unheard of (see Plautus, *Miles Gloriosus* 309, *Persa* 627), but rare. (Cf. Brix & Niemeyer 1888 on *Trinummus* 457, Lorenz 1883b,a on *Miles Gloriosus* 156, 1239, on *Mostellaria* 229, Kellerhoff 1891: 72f.) We have seen exactly the same phenomenon with interrogative *-ne*. But while this positioning is limited to earlier stages of the language for *-ne*, it is still very much alive in the classical

language for *hercle* (*hercules*): see Seyffert & Müller (1876: 477, §78) on *Laelius*, who refer to Wichert (1856: 43, 239, 269), Weissenborn (1853) on Livius 5.4.10, etc. The classical language thus generally retains the traditional position of the particle *hercle* 'by Hercules', the only one that lives on in the classical language, but nevertheless such that the placement of this particle in absolute clause-initial position falls out of use. The Imperial Age*, of course, permits more variability: Quintilian 1.2.4, Tacitus, *Dialogus* 1, *Historiae* 1.84, Pliny, *Epistulae* 6.19.6, Gellius 7.2.1, etc.

Furthermore, these particles, like the enclitics discussed earlier, often cause tmesis. Alongside (1330) (as opposed to (1331)), (1332), and (1333) (as opposed to *nescio* 'NEG.know.PRES.1SG'), this includes the splitting of collocations with *per*, as in (1334)–(1337), and the splitting of *quicumque 'whoever/whatever'*, as in (1338).

(1330) ne *hercle* operae pretium quidem
not by.hercules work.GEN.SG.F price.ACC.SG.N indeed
'by Hercules, it is not even worth the work' (Plautus, *Miles Gloriosus* 31)

(1331) ne unum quidem *hercle*
not one.ACC.SG.M indeed by.hercules
'not even a single one' (Plautus, *Bacchides* 1027)

(1332) cis *hercle* paucas tempestates
within by.hercules few.ACC.PL.F time.periodACC.PL.F
'by Hercules, soon' (Plautus, *Mostellaria* 18)

(1333) non *edepol* scio
not by.Pollux know.PRES.1SG
'by Pollux, I don't know' (Plautus, *Mostellaria* 18)

(1334) per *pol* saepe peccas
very by.Pollux often sin.PRES.2SG
'by Pollux, you sin very often' (Plautus, *Casina* 370)

(1335) per *ecastor* scitus puer est
very by.Castor clever.NOM.SG.M boy.NOM.SG.M be.PRES.2SG
natus Pamphilo
be.born.PTCP.PERF.M Pamphilus.DAT.SG.M
'by Castor, a very clever son was born to Pamphilus' (Terence, *Andria* 416)

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* *Translator's note*: this refers to Latin produced in the period from the reign of Tiberius (14 CE) onwards.

(1336) per *pol* quam paucos
very by.Pollux very few.ACC.PL.M
'by Pollux, very few' (Terence, *Hecyra* 1)

(1337) per *hercle* rem mirandam
very by.Hercules thing.ACC.SG.F astonish.PTCP.ACC.SG.F
Aristoteles ... dicit
Aristotle.NOM.SG.M name.PRES.3SG
'by Hercules, Aristotle names a very astonishing thing' (Gellius 2.6.1)

(1338) quoi *pol* quomque occasio est
who.DAT.SG.M by.Pollux ever occasion.NOM.SG.F is
'to whomever there is a chance' (Plautus, *Persa* 210)

hercle 'by Hercules' etc., therefore, occupy either the first or the second position in the clause; if they are not initial and heavily stressed, they are treated in the manner of enclitics. Anyone who it occurs to that these particles are actually vocatives (cf. (1339)) will immediately recall that peculiar rule of the Sanskrit *[p425]* grammarians and transmitters of the accentuated Vedic texts, that the vocative, if clause-initial, is orthotonic, and if it is clause-internal it is enclitic. (Cf. the explanation given by Delbrück 1888: 34ff.). One can add that, at least in the classical languages, the actual vocative also has an unmistakable tendency to occupy second position in the clause.

(1339) doctis *Juppiter* et laboriosis
teach.ABL.PL.M by.Jupiter and demanding.ABL.PL.M
'by Jupiter, taught and demanding' (Catullus 1.7)

Now it is of course awkward that what is a firm law for the vocative-like particles is visible only as a tendency with the actual vocative. It can hardly be assumed that such a tendency is a weakening of an older, stricter law. The reverse is more probable: that the tendency found with the category of vocatives represented by *hercle* became a rule, and that the invocation of a god for the purpose of affirmation led to stronger conventionalization than in other invocations of gods or in addressing other people. (Greek shows great flexibility in the positioning of the corresponding *Hērakleis* and similar invocations, as far as can be judged from the usage of the comics and orators.) A consequence of this, if we may assume a connection between position and stress with the vocatives, is that Sanskrit enclisis was originally only a tendency and not an unconditional law,

and that vocatives which were not clause-initial or verse-initial could also be orthotonic, a property which was then lost in Sanskrit by virtue of its drive to generalize.

It has not escaped me that the tendency for the vocative to occupy second position can also be explained without reference to earlier enclisis. It is thus even more valuable to me that Stolz & Schmalz (1890: 557), starting from a completely different descriptive standpoint, also claim weak stress for the Latin vocative in second position.

12 Verb position in Germanic and Proto-Indo-European

Our Modern German rule (cf. Erdmann 1886: 181ff., esp. 195) that the verb occupies second position in main clauses and final position in subordinate clauses (both with certain exceptions that hold under specific *[p426]* conditions) was already valid for Old High German prose and poetry, as is well known. (In addition to the evidence Erdmann provides, see also Tomanetz 1879: 54ff. 1890: 381.) In fact, given that this positional rule leaves clear traces not only in Old Saxon but also in Old English and Old Norse, it can probably be assumed to be Common Germanic. However, as far as I can tell, all researchers who have engaged in detail with this Germanic positional law are agreed that the difference in position between the two clause types should be considered an innovation. Bergaigne (1877: 139ff.), Behaghel (1878: 284) and Ries (1880: 88ff.) all maintain that verb-final order, as found in subordinate clauses, was originally a property of all clauses and was later replaced only gradually in main clauses by a more recent rule with a different effect. However, when it comes to the how and why of such a change, the researchers in question have either remained silent or adduced reasons which are far from convincing when subjected to careful thought. Ries (1880), for example, claims that the natural drive to express more important information before less important information must have led to the verb being placed near the start of the clause in main clauses and not in subordinate clauses, because the verb is more important in main clauses than in subordinate clauses!

The opposite point of view is represented by Tomanetz (1879: 82ff.). He believes that a general change caused the verb to shift to final position in subordinate clauses; originally, he claims, it would have occupied second position in these, just as in main clauses. Although Tomanetz's explanation has the advantage over Ries's in simplicity and clarity, he still does not succeed in avoiding the assumption – completely unjustifiable, in my view – that a pressure to differentiate main and subordinate clauses had taken effect.

[p427] Sanskrit, Latin and Lithuanian regularly place the verb at the end of the clause. It is believed that this reveals a custom in their ancestor language. And certainly for subordinate clauses the additional evidence from Germanic confirms final placement of the verb as Indo-European. For main clauses this unanimity is lacking, and, when other considerations are not decisive, it is at least as conceivable that what held for subordinate clauses was extended to main clauses in Sanskrit, Latin and Lithuanian, rather than the alternative, that Germanic subsequently introduced a distinction between the two clause types. However, it is unlikely that the protolanguage stressed its verbs differently in main and subordinate clauses and yet placed them in the same position. Furthermore, based on what has been presented, we must expect that in the ancestor language the verb in the main clause was placed immediately after the first word in the clause because, and insofar as, it was enclitic. In other words: the German positional law already held in the ancestor language. It must be borne in mind that all clauses, not only those that we now view as subordinate clauses, were seen as hypotactic in Sanskrit and therefore, we may assume, had a stressed verb in the ancestor language, so that at any rate verb-final position must have been very common.

I do not wish to deny that the proposal put forward here could be made less general. For the law regarding the placement of enclitics (disregarding e.g. vocatives) we have only been able to adduce examples in which the enclitic is no larger than two syllables. It could therefore be said that the law was only valid for monosyllabic and disyllabic enclitics, and that those of more than two syllables remained in the position that the constituent in question would otherwise receive – or at least, to express the idea more carefully, that above a certain size threshold an enclitic was not bound by the positional law of the enclitics. Applying this to the verb would lead to the assumption that monosyllabic and disyllabic verb forms, or shorter verbal *[p428]* forms below a certain threshold, moved to second position in main clauses, and that the other verbal forms in main clauses kept to the position that was dominant in subordinate clauses. It could then furthermore be assumed that Germanic has generalized the rule from the shorter verb forms to all others. Moreover, what happened in the languages that place all verbs finally becomes even clearer.

It is too much to ask for me to deliver a final verdict on the justification of this more limited version of my proposal. On the other hand, it is probably to be expected that I should take a further look around and ask whether the verbal positional law of the ancestor language has really left no traces outside Germanic. The absence of any hints of such a law could easily cause one to doubt the correctness of the explanations presented here.

Now, here it must be said that, other than the verb-final languages already mentioned, not only Celtic but also (much more significantly for this kind of investigation) Greek behaves very differently to Germanic. One should expect that Greek, since it has retained main clause stress on the verb, would also retain main clause positioning. But it is well known that this is not the case. The position of the verb is, on the whole, very free.

Against such facts it is welcome that two of the languages that prefer verb-finality display Germanic main clause positioning in a particular case. For Lithuanian, Kurschat (1876: §1637) states that, when the predicate consists of a copula and a noun, in contrast to the general rule, it is not the noun that precedes but rather the copula, which immediately follows the subject. A similar situation can be found with the verb *esse* 'to be' in Latin. Seyffert & Müller (1876: 441) on Cicero's *Laelius de Amicitia* 70 has shown that *esse* has a preference for attaching to the first word of the clause, both when it is an interrogative pronoun or an interrogative functioning as a relative pronoun and when it is a demonstrative or belongs to another word class. There are, according to Seyffert, *[p429]* 'innumerable' examples. From *Laelius* he adduces: §56 *qui* sint *in amicitia* 'who are in friendship' (interrogative), 17 *quae* est *in me facultas* 'what skill is in me' (relative), 2 *quanta* esset *hominum admiratio* 'how much amazement there was among people', 53 *quam* fuerint *inopes amicorum* 'how poor they were in friends', 83 *eorum* est *habendus* 'of them is to be had', 5 *tum* est *Cato locutus* 'at that time Cato was the speaker', 17 *nihil* est *enim* 'because nothing is …', 48 *ferream* esse *quandam* 'to be something iron-like', and 102 *omnis* est *e vita sublata iucunditas* 'everything joyful is removed from life'.

A further phenomenon fits with this observation: extremely often in Cicero, in a clause that contains both *est*/*sunt* (be.3SG/PL) and *enim* 'truly'/*igitur* 'therefore/then'/*autem* 'but', it is not these particles that are attached to the first word in the clause, despite their recognized claim to this position in other cases, but rather *est*/*sunt* pushing *enim*, *igitur*, *autem* into third position. The correct observation is made by Madvig (1839) on Cicero, *De finibus* 1.43: "The explanation for this word order pattern (*sapientia est enim*)[*] is that by virtue of a heavy accent on the first word, which conveys the most important information, the enclitic word is shifted to the background. In the case of the alternative word order [*sapientia enim est*] the accent on the first word is less strong. It is my opinion that this rule – which goes against the teaching of Görenz and others, who, unaware of the nature of the enclitic word, thought that a certain emphasis is inherent to *est* when placed in second position – will become firmly established on the basis

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[*]   *Translator's note*: 'wisdom is truly'.

of the evidence of the best manuscripts, and of the correct interpretation." (Cf. Seyffert & Müller 1876: 411.)

For further confirmation, one could point to examples such as (1340), where the position of *quid* 'what' presupposes enclitic placement of *est*. In particular, however, with *esse* 'to be' we find tmeses similar to those found with the enclitics discussed earlier: such as of *per-* in (1341) and (1342), in which the erroneous use of such tmesis in the middle of the clause betrays archaizing style.

(1340) etiamne *est*   quid   porro
       also   be.PRES.3SG something.NOM.SG.N further
       'is there anything further?' (Plautus, *Bacchides* 274)

(1341) tunc mihi   ille   dixit: quod classe
       then I.DAT.SG that.NOM.SG.M say.PRF.3SG that fleet.ABL.SG.F
       tu   velles   decedere,   per *fore*
       you.NOM.SG want.IMPRF.2SG.SUBJ go.away.PRES.INF very be.FUT.INF
       accommodatum   tibi,   si ad illam   maritimam
       convenient.NOM.SG.N you.DAT.SG if to that.ACC.SG.F maritime.ACC.SG.F
       partem   provinciae   navibus   accessissem
       part.ACC.SG.F province.GEN.SG.F ship.ABL.PL.F arrive.PRF.1SG.SUBJ
       'then he told me that you would like to leave with a fleet, [and] it would be very convenient for you if I arrived at that close to the sea located part of the province by ship' (Cicero, *Epistulae* 3.5.3; 51 BCE)

(1342) Phaedo   Elidensis   ex   cohorte
       Phaedo.NOM.SG.M of.Elis.NOM.SG.M from entourage.ABL.SG.F
       illa   Socratica   fuit   Socratique   et
       that.ABL.SG.F Socratic.ABL.SG.F be.PRF.3SG Socrates-and.GEN.SG.M and
       Platoni   per *fuit*   familiaris
       Plato.GEN.SG.M very be.PRF.3SG familiar
       'Phaedo of Elis was part of that Socratic entourage and he was very familiar with Socrates and Plato' (Gellius 2.18.1)

Tmesis of *qui … cunque* 'who/what … ever': (1343) and (1344). Also with a form of *fieri* 'become/happen': (1345).

(1343) cum quibus   *erat*   quomque una,   eis
       with who.ABL.PL.M be.IMPRF.3SG ever   together he.DAT.PL.M

se   dedere
himself.ACC.SG.M devoted.PRES.INF

'whomever he was together with, he devoted himself to them' (Terence, *Andria* 63)

(1344) quod   *erit*   cunque visum,   ages
        who.NOM.SG.N be.FUT.3SG ever   see.PTCP.PRF.NOM.SG.N do.FUT.2SG

        'whatever will be seen, you will do it' (Cicero, *De finibus* 4.69)

(1345) istius   hominis   ubi   *fit*   quomque
        that.GEN.SG.M man.GEN.SG.M where happen.PRES.3SG ever

        mentio
        mention.NOM.SG.M

        'wherever that man is mentioned' (Plautus, *Bacchides* 252)

If in Latin we find attachment to the first word of the clause only with one or two verbs *[p430]* which have retained the tradition of original enclisis (and with these verbs then, of course, in all clause types), in Greek we find a similar remnant of the old positional norm with quite a number of verbs, but only in a particular clause type. In Ancient Greek inscriptions we often find clauses where the subject is followed immediately by the verb, despite the fact that an appositional description belongs to it; in these cases the apposition is strikingly separated by the verb from the word that it belongs to. It makes no difference that sometimes a clause-initial case form other than the subject nominative is separated in such a way from its apposition, and that sometimes a *me* precedes the verb. Boeckh (1828: 41–42) on CIG 25 was the first to recognize the archaic nature of this kind of word order, and Schulze (1890: 1472) (pp26f. of the separate printing) in his review of Meister (1889) emphasized its historical linguistic importance. It will be useful to present the examples here.

Most commonly this order is found in dedicatory and sculptors' inscriptions. With *anéthēke* 'dedicate': (1346).

(1346) Ἀλκίβιος ἀνέθηκεν κιθαρῳδὸς νησιώτης
        Alkíbios   *anéthēken*   kitharōidòs   nēsiótēs
        Alkibios.NOM dedicate.3SG.AOR citharist.NOM.SG islander.NOM.SG

        'Alkibios, a citharist of the island, dedicated (this).' (CIA 1.357)

Also CIA 1.376 *Epikhárînos* [ané]thēken *ho O...*, 1.388 *Strónb*[*ikhos* anéthēke] *Stronbí*[*khou* (oder *-khídou*) *Euōnumeús*] (expansion almost certain!), 1.399 *Mē-*

khaníō[*n*] anéthēken *ho gramma*[*teús*], 1.400 [*Pu*]*thogén*[*eia*] anéthēke[n *Ag*]*ur-ríou eg* [*L*]*akiadō*[*n*], 1.415 *Aiskhúlos* anéthē[*ke*] *Puthéou Paianieú*[*s*], 4[1].373f. *Sí-mōn* a[néthēke] *ho knapheùs* [*érgōn*] *dekátēn*, 4[2].373.90 *Onésimós m'* anéthēken *aparkhèn Athēnaíai ho Smikúthou uiós*, 4[2].373.198 [*ē deîna* anéthēken] *Eumēlídou gunè̜ Sphēttóthen*, 4[2].373.12 *Xenokléēs* anéthēken *Sōsíneō*, 4[2].373.223 *Khnaïádēs* anéthēken *ho Pal(l)ēneús*, 4[2].373.224 [*S*]*mîkros* anéth[*ēke* ...] *ho skulodeps*[*ós*], 4[2].373.226 [*ho deîna* anéthēke]n *Kēphisieús*, Acropolis inscription (Kabbadias 1886, Studniczka 1887: 135) *Néarkhos* an[*éthēke Neárkhou ui*]*ùs érgōn aparkhén* (accord-ing to Robert 1887 *Néarkhos* an[*éthēke ho kerame*]*ús* ..., CIA 2.1648 (reign of Au-gustus!) *Metrótimos* anéthēken *Oēthen*, IGA 48 *Aristoménēs* a[n]éth[*ēk*]e *Alexía taî Dámatri taî Khthoníai Ermioneús*, IGA 96 (Tegea) [*ho deîna* ané]thēke(n) *was-tuókhō*, IGA 486 (Milet) [*Er*]*mēsiánax émeas* anéthēken [*ho* ...] ... *ídeō tōpóllōni*, IGA 512[a] (Gela) *Pantárēs m' [p431]* anéthēke *Menekrátios*, 543 (Achaean) *Kunískos me* anéthēke *órtamos wérgōn dekátan*, Delphic inscription in western Greek al-phabet (Haussoullier 1882: 445) *toì Kharopínou paîdes* anéthesan *toû Paríou*, Nax-ian inscription from Delos (Homolle 1888: 464f.) *Ei(th)ukartídēs m'* anéthēke *ho Náxios poiésas*, Naukratis inscriptions I no. 218 *Phánēs me* anéthēke *tōpóllōn*[*i tôi Mi*]*lēsíōi ho Glaúkou*, II no. 722 *Musós m'* anéthēken *Onomakrítou*, 767 [*ho deîna* anéthēken *Aphrod*]*ítēi ho Ph*[*ilá*]*mm*[*ōnos*], 780 *Phílis m'* anéthēke *oupiká*[*rte*]*os tēi Aphrodí*[*tēi*], 784 *Ermophánēs* anéth[*ēken*] *ho Nausité*[*leus*], 819 [*L*]*ákri*[*tó*]*s m'* ané[*th*]ēke *ourmo*[*th*]*ém*[*ios*] *tēphrodí*[*tēi*], Boeotian inscription (Kretschmer 1891: 123ff.) *Timasíphilos m'* anéthēke *tōpóllōni toî Ptōieîi ho Praólleios.*

Also in verse: CIA 1.398 *Diogén*[*ēs*] anéthēken *Aiskhúl(l)ou uùs Keph*[*a*]*lēos*, IGA 95 *Praxitélēs* anéthēke *Surakósios tód' ágalma*, Naukratis inscription II no. 876 *Ermagórēs m'* anéthēke *ho T*[*éios*] *tōpóllōni*, Pausanias 6.10.7 (5th century) *Kleosthénēs m'* anéthēken *ho Póntios ex Epidámnou*, Erythrae epigram (Kaibel 1878: 312 no. 769; 4th century) [...]-*thérsēs* anéthēken *Athēnaíēi polioúkhōi paîs Zōílou*, Kalymnos epigram (Kaibel 1878: 315 no. 778; also 4th century?) *Nikías me* anéthēke *Apóllōni uiòs Thrasumédeos*. Cf. also CIA 1.403 [*tónde Purēs*] anéthēke *Polumnéstou phílo*[*s uiós*], IGA 98 (Arcadian) *Téllōn tónd'* anéthēke *Daémonos aglaòs uiós.*

With Lesbian *káththēke* 'lay.down/dedicate': (1347). Also Naukratis II 789 and 790 [*ho deîná me*] káththēke *o* [sic] *Mut*[*ilénaios*]. Cf. 807 [*Aphrodí*]*tai ho M...* and 814 [*Aphrod*]*ítai ho Ke....*

(1347) [ὁ δεῖνα κάθ]θηκε τᾷ Ἀφροδίτᾳ ὁ [sic] Μυτιλήναιος
       ho   deîna *káththēke* tâi   Aphrodítāi
       the.M.NOM.SG such lay.3SG.AOR the.F.DAT.SG Aphrodite.DAT

o Mutilénaios
the.M.NOM.SG Mytilenean.M.NOM.SG
'the Mytilenean dedicated (this) to Aphrodite' (Naukratis II, 788)

With *epoíēse/epoíei* 'make': (1348).

(1348) Πύρρος ἐποίηϲεν Ἀθηναῖοϲ
Púrrhos *epoíēsen* Athēnaîos
Pyrrhus.NOM make.3SG.AOR Athenian.M.NOM.SG
'Pyrrhus the Athenian made (this).' (CIA 1.335)

Also CIA 1.362 (cf. Studniczka 1887: 144) [*E*]*uphrónios* [epoíēsen *ho*] *kerameús* (the expansion is probably certain!), CIA 1.483 *Kallōnídēs* epoíei *ho Deiníou*, CIA 4.477[b] [*ho deîna* epoíēsen or epoíei *P*]*ários*, CIA 4².373.81 *Kálōn* epoíēsen *Ai*[*ginétēs*], CIA 4².373.95 [*á*]*rkhermos* epoíēsen *ho Khî*[*os*], CIA 4².373.220 *Leóbios* epoíēsen *Puretiádēs* (or *Purrētiádēs*), IGA 42 (Argos) *átotos* epoíwēe *Argeîos k'Argeiádas Ageláida t'Argeíou*, IGA 44 (Argos) *Polúkleitos* epoíei *Argeîos*, IGA 44[a] (Argos) [e]po[í]wēe *Argeîos*, IGA 47 (Argos) *Krēsílas* epoíēse *Kudōniát*[*as*], IGA 165 *Ypatódōros Arissto*[*geítōn*] epoēsátan *Thēbaíō*, IGA 348 *Paiṓnios* epoíēse *Mendaîos*, IGA 498 *Míkōn* epoíēsen *Athēnaíos*, Loewy (1885) [*p432*] 44[a] -*ōn* epóēse *Thēbaîos*, 57 *X*[*e*]*no*-[... epoíē]sen *Eleu*[*theréus?*], 58 -*ou* [e]póēsen [*Sik*]*eliótēs*, 96 *Kléōn* epóēse *Sikuṓnios*, 103 [*Daídalos* ep]oíēse *Patroklé*[*ous*], 135[d] (Loewy 1885: 388) [*Sp*]*oudías* epoíēse *Athēnaîos*, 277 *Timódamos T*[*imodámou* e]poíēse *Ampra*[*kiṓtēs*], 297 (Apotheosis of Homer) *Arkhélaos Apollōníou* epoíēse *Priēneús*, 404 *Níkandros e*[*poíēsen*] *ánd*[*rios*], Klein (1887: 72) *Eúkheiros* epoíēsen *ourgotímou uiús* (twice), Klein (1887: 73) *Ergotélēs* epoíēsen *ho Neárkhou*, Klein (1887: 202) *Xenóphantos* epoíēsen *Athēn*[*aîos*], Klein (1887: 202) (1 and 2) *Teisías* epoíēsen *Athēnaîos*, Klein (1887: 213) *Krítōn* epoíēsen *Le(i)poûs ús*, i.e. *uiús* according to the reading in Studniczka (1887: 144), Pausanias 6.9.1 *tòn dè andriánta oi Ptolíkhos* epoíēsen *Aiginétēs*, which allows one to infer an original inscription *Ptólikhos* epoíēsen *Aiginétēs* (see Boeckh 1828: 41–42 on CIG 25).

Also in verse: CIA 4².373.105 *Thēbádēs* e[póēse ...]-*nou paîs tód' ágalma*, Acropolis inscription (Studniczka 1887: 135ff.) *Anténōr* ep[óēsen ']*o Eumárous t*[*ód' ágalma*], IGA 410 *Alxénōr* epoíēsen *ho Náxios, all' esídesthe*. Also IGA 349 *Eúphrōn* exepoíēs' *ouk adaès Pários*.

With *égraphen, égrapsen, gráphei* 'write': (1349). Also Klein (1887: 29) *Timōnída*[*s m'*] égrapse *Bía*, Klein (1887: 196.7) *Euthumídēs* égrapsen *ho Pol(l)íou* (twice). Klein (1887: 194.2) should be read the same way according to the illustration in

Gerhard (1847: Figure 188), as should Klein (1887: 195), both according to Dümmler. Cypriot inscription no. 147[h] in Meister (1889: 148), *-oikós me gráphei Selamínios.*

(1349) Τήλεφος μ᾽ ἔγραφε ὁ Ἰαλύϲιος
Télephos   m'   *égraphe*   ho   Ialúsios
Telephos.NOM me.ACC write.3SG.IMP the.M.NOM.SG Ialysian.M.NOM.SG
'Telephos the Ialysian engraved me.' (IGA 482[c])

Examples (1350)–(1352) contain various synonyms of the above verbs.

(1350) [Δ]ωρόθεος ἐϝ[ε]ργάϲατο Ἀργεῖος
Dōrótheos   *ewergásato*   Argeîos
Dorotheus.NOM work.3SG.AOR.MID Argive.M.NOM.SG
'Dorotheus the Argive wrought (this)' (IGA 48, Argos)

(1351) Πρίκων ἔ[π]α[ξα Κο]λώτα
Príkōn   *épaxa*   Kolóta
Prikon.NOM fix.3SG.AOR Colotes.GEN
'Prikon, son of Colotes, built (this)' (IGA 555[a], Opus?)

(1352) Γιλίκα ἁμὲ κατέϲταϲε ὁ Ϲταϲικρέτεοϲ
Gilíka   hamè   *katéstase*   ho   Stasikréteos
Gilika.NOM me.ACC set.3SG.AOR the.M.NOM.SG Stasicrates.GEN
'Gilika, the son of Stasicrates, set (this) up' (Cypriot inscription no. 73, Deecke 1884)

With *eimí* 'be': (1353).

(1353) [Π]όμπιός εἰμι τοῦ Δημοκρίνεος
Pómpiós   eimi   toû   Dēmokríneos
Pompeius.NOM be.1SG.PRS the.M.NOM.SG Democrines.GEN
'I am Pompeius, son of Democrines' (IGA 387, Samos)

Also IGA 492 (Sigeum), Ionic text: *Phanodíkou* eimì *tourmokráteos toû Prokonnēsíou*, Attic text: *Ph.* eimì *toû Ermokrátous toû P.*, IGA 522 (Sicily) *Longēnaîós* eimi *dēmósios*, 528 (Cumae) *Dēmokháridós* eimi *toû ...*, 551 (Antipolis) *érpōn* eimì *theâs therápōn semnēs Aphrodítēs*, Rhodian inscription in Kirchhoff (1887: 49) *Philtoûs* ēmi *tâs kalâs a kúlix a poikíla*, Cypriot inscription 1 (Deecke 1884) *Pra-[p433]totímō* ēmì *tâs Paphías tō ierēwos*, 16 *tâs theō* ēmi *tâs Paphías* (likewise 65

and 66 in Hoffmann 1891: 46), 23 *Timokúpras* ēmì *Timodámō*, Hoffmann (1891) 78 *Stasagórou* ēmì *tō Stasándrō*, 79 *Timándrō* ēmì *tō Onasagórou*, 88 *Pnutíllas* ēmì *tâs Pnutagórau paidós*, and 121 *Diweithémitós* ēmi *tō basilēwos*.

To these can be added (1354), where an adjective joined to *eînai* represents the position of the verb, and also the examples in which an adjective without *eînai* forms the predicate, e.g. (1355).

(1354) τᾶς Ἥρας ἱαρός εἰμι τᾶς ἐν πεδίῳ
        tâs   Héras   *hiarós*   *eimi*   tâs   en
        the.F.GEN.SG Hera.GEN holy.M.NOM.SG be.1SG.PRS the.F.GEN.SG in
        pedíōi
        plain.DAT.SG
        'I am sacred to Hera of the plain.' (IGA 543)

(1355) Λέαγρος καλὸς ὁ παίς
        Léagros   *kalòs*   ho   país
        Leagros.NOM beautiful.M.NOM.SG the.M.NOM.SG child.NOM.SG
        'The boy Leagros is beautiful.' (Klein 1890: 44)

Also Klein (1890: 68) *Pantoxéna* kalà *Korin(th)í*[*a*], as the form *KORINOI* given by Klein but not explained should probably be read; Klein (1890: 81) *Glaúkōn* kalòs *Leágrou*; Klein (1890: 82) *Drómippos* kalòs *Dromokleídou*, *Díphilos* kalòs *Melanṓpou*; (Klein 1890: 83) *Líkhas* kalòs *Sámios*, *Alkim*[*ḗ*]*dēs* kalòs *Aiskhulídou*; Klein (1890: 85) *Alkímakhos* kalòs *Epikhárous*.

Outside the previously listed categories are (1356), (1357) and (1358).

(1356) Κλεισθένης ἐχορήγει Αὐτοκράτους
        Kleisthénēs   *ekhorḗgei*   Autokrátous
        Cleisthenes.NOM conduct.3SG.IMP Autocrates.GEN
        'Cleisthenes, son of Autocrates, endowed (this)' (CIA 4[2].377[a])

(1357) ἐν τῇπιάροι κ' ἐνέχοιτο τοῖ 'νταῦτ' ἐργα(μ)μένοι
        en tēpiároi   *k'*   enékhoito   toî
        in the=sacrifice.DAT.IRR hold.3SG.PRS.OPT the.N.DAT.SG here
        'ntaût'   erga(m)ménoi
        work.PTCP.PRF.PASS.N.DAT.SG
        'He would be liable for a sacrifice performed here' (IGA 110.9, Elis)

(1358) Ἀκαμαντὶς ἐνίκα φυλὴ
Akamantìs *eníka* phulḕ
Acamantis.NOM win.3SG.IMP tribe.NOM.SG
'The tribe of Acamantis conquered.' (CIG 7806)

Among the examples with *anéthēke* and *kaththēke* listed above, thirteen also contain a dative in addition to subject, verb and apposition; three (CIA 4¹.373f., IGA 95, IGA 543) also contain a substantivized accusative, and CIA 4².373.90 contains both. While the accusative alone always follows the apposition (cf. also example (1359) as well as the Antenor inscription), the dative is only found four times following the apposition (IGA 486, Naukratis II.780, II.819, II.876) and eight times preceding it (Naukratis I.218, II.767, II.788, II.807, II.814, Hermes 26.123, Kaibel 769, Kaibel 778); finally, in IGA 48 the verb is followed by the genitive of the father's name, then the dative of the god's name with epithet, and only then the nominative demonym that belongs to the subject.

(1359) Θηβάδης ἐ[πόησε ...]νου παῖς τόδ' ἄγαλμα
Thēbádēs *epóēse* ...nou paîs tód'
Thebades.NOM make.3SG.AOR ...-GEN child.M.NOM.SG this.N.ACC.SG
ágalma
statue.ACC.SG
'Thebades, son of ..., made this statue.' (CIA 4².373.105)

In CIA 4².373.90 (=(116) above), accusative and dative are both inserted between the verb and the apposition. This preposing of the case forms belonging to the verb over the apposition is easy to understand: the verb attracts what it governs.

Using this type we can also explain the strange word order in CIA 4².373.82, expanded by Studniczka (1887: 143) as in (1360).

(1360) Κρίτων Ἀθηναίᾳ ὁ Σκύθου ἀν[έθηκε καὶ ἐ]ποίη[σε] ([ἐ]ποίει?)
Krítōn Athēnaíāi ho Skúthou
Crito.NOM Athenian.F.DAT.SG the.M.NOM.SG Scythes.GEN
anéthēke καὶ *epoíēse* (*epoíei*?)
dedicate.3SG.AOR and make.3SG.AOR (make.3SG.IMP?)
'Crito, the son of Scythes, made and dedicated (this) to an Athenian woman.' (CIA 4².373.82)

The composer of the inscription originally *[p434]* envisaged the conventional word order *Krítōn* anéthēken *Athēnaíai ho Skúthou*, but then allowed the dative

Athēnaíai to precede the apposition when he was required by the addition of *kaì epoíēse* to place *anéthēke* after the apposition.

Loewy (1885: xv) believes that he can show that this word order did not remain common after the first decades of the fourth century (cf. also CIA 2.1621–2.1648 and the sculptors' inscriptions listed by Köhler (1888) under No. 1621). The handful of later examples can reasonably be considered archaisms, especially as two of these (Loewy 1885 277, 297, see above p332) deviate from the original norm by preposing the genitive of the father's name before the verb. Even for the earlier period we cannot maintain that this positional norm was absolute (Hoffmann 1891: 324), and in particular the Attic dedicatory inscriptions present us with numerous counterexamples. But the norm was very powerful, and in specific periods and specific areas it was decidedly dominant, justifying Schulze's (1890) treatment of it as an Indo-European inheritance.

Sanskrit provides striking parallels (Delbrück 1878: 51ff. 1888: 23f.). In the language of the Brahmanas, we often find clauses that begin with *sa* or *sa ha* 'precisely this one', followed immediately by the verb, mostly *uvāca* ('speak/say'), and only then the more detailed description of the person announced by the pronoun, e.g. (1361) and (1362).

(1361) sa *hovāca* gārgyaḥ
he.MASC.NOM.SG PTC-spoke descendant-of-Garga.NOM.SG.MASC
'He, Gārgya, spoke' (e.g. *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*)

(1362) sa *āikṣata* prajāpatiḥ
he.MASC.NOM.SG saw Brahmā
'He, Brahmā, saw (…)' (e.g. *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*)

Similar is (1363):

(1363) ta u hāita *ūcur* devā
REL.MASC.NOM PTC PTC-then spoke.3.PL.PERF gods.NOM.PL
ādityāḥ
of-Aditi.NOM.PL
'The gods, sons of Aditi, then spoke' (*Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*, 3.1.3.4)[*]

Sometimes the subject is also more heavily stressed; sometimes, under the influence of the tendency to end the clause with the verb, the apposition is separated from the pronoun but still precedes the verb.

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[*] *Translator's note*: The English translation here is based on Eggeling (1885).

Furthermore, in the same Indic texts we find a striking placement of the verb in second position when the clause begins with *íti ha*, *tád u ha*, *tád u sma*, or *ápi ha*. These mostly involve the verbs *uvāca* and *āha* ('speak/say'); the name of the speaker then follows the verb – in just the same way as in German clauses with inversion.

[p435]

Addenda

These addenda add to Section 2 pp62–73 (concerning the inscriptions with *me* and *emé*).

On p62 and p73: Example (1364) must be left out of consideration due to the state of the inscription; cf. Röhl (1882: 155) on this example.

(1364)   [Π]εριφόνᾳ [ἀνέθη]κέ με (or -κ ἐμέ?) Ξενάγατος
Periphónāi   anéthēké   *me* (-k *emé*) Xenágatos
Periphone.DAT dedicate.3SG.AOR me.ACC   Xenagatos.NOM

'Xenagatos dedicated me to Periphone' (IGA 538)[*]

On p65: Example (1365); Metapontum inscription (Collitz 1643) *Nikómakhós* m' *epóei*; vase inscription no. 48 from Klein (1887: 65) following Six (1888: 195)[†] *Nikosthénēs em* (Six: m' *e-*)*poíēsen*.

(1365)   Οὐνπορίωνος Φίλων με ἐποίηϲεν
Hounporíōnos   Phílōn   *me*   epoíēsen
the=Emporion.GEN Philo.NOM me.ACC make.3SG.AOR

'Philo, the son of Emporion, made me.' (CIA 4^2.373.103)

On p73: *emé* is also found twice in second position in the ancient vase inscription in Pottier (1888: 168): Example (1366) and *Oikōph(é)lēs* em' *égrapsen* (written *egraephsen*). See also Pottier (1888: 180): *-polón emé*.

(1366)   ἐκεράμευϲεν ἐμεὶ Οἰκωφέληϲ
ekerámeusen   *emeì*   Oikōphélēs
throw.pots.3SG.AOR me.GEN Oikopheles.NOM

'Oikopheles made me.' (Pottier 1888: 168)

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[*] *Translator's note*: Wackernagel writes 351, but this is a clear error based on the proximity of the page number 351.   [†] *Translator's note*: Wackernagel refers to page 193 of Six (1888), but this is the first page of the article and does not contain the inscription in question.

List of critically discussed examples

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* *Translator's note:* Wackernagel here writes *Bacchides* 1258 and *Mercator* 784, but these must both be errors.

Chapter 3

Original text

Über ein Gesetz der indogermanischen Wortstellung[1]

I.

[S. 333] Albert Thumb hat vor vier Jahren in den Jahrbüchern für Philologie CXXXV 641–648 die Behauptung aufgestellt, die griechischen Pronominalakkusative μιν und νιν seien durch Verschmelzung von Partikeln mit dem alten Akkusativ des Pronominalstammes *i* entstanden. Insbesondere das ionische μιν beruhe auf der Verbindung von *im* mit einer Partikel *ma*, älter *sma*, die in thessalischem μα und altindischem *sma* belegt sei. Den Hauptbeweis für diese Deutung entnimmt Thumb der angeblichen Thatsache, dass die Stellung von μιν bei Homer wesentlich dieselbe sei wie die Stellung von *sma* im Rigveda. Es sei eben, auch nachdem der selbständige Gebrauch von *sma* als Partikel geschwunden sei und μιν durchaus die Geltung einer einheitlichen Pronominalform erlangt habe, doch an μιν die für *sma* gültig gewesene Stellungsregel haften geblieben, und es habe ein entsprechendes Stellungsgefühl dessen Anwendung begleitet. Und jedenfalls bei den Verfassern der homerischen Gedichte sei dieses Gefühl noch wirksam gewesen.

Nun beschränkt sich aber diese Ähnlichkeit der Stellung, wenn man das von Thumb beigebrachte Material nach den von ihm aufgestellten Gesichtspunkten unbefangen durchmustert, wesentlich darauf, dass μιν wie *sma* im ganzen selten (genau genommen noch viel seltener als *sma*) unmittelbar hinter Nomina und

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[1] In den nachfolgenden Beispielsammlungen verdanke ich vieles den bekannten Hauptwerken über griechische Grammatik, sowie den Spezialwörterbüchern, ohne dass ich im einzelnen meine Gewährsmänner immer werde nennen können. Monros Grammar of the Homeric Dialect 2. Aufl., wo S. 335–338 über homerische Wortstellung Bemerkungen gegeben sind, die sich mit meinen Aufstellungen sehr nahe berühren, konnte ich nur flüchtig, Gehrings Index Homericus (Leipzig 1891) gar nicht mehr benützen.

Adverbien nominalen Ursprungs steht. Und dieser allgemeinen farblosen Ähnlichkeit stehen wesentliche Abweichungen gegenüber. Zwar ist es ein seltsamer Irrtum Thumbs, wenn er zu dem zehnmaligen μή μιν Homers das *[S. 334]* nach seiner Hypothese diesem im Altindischen entsprechende *mā sma* daselbst nicht aufzutreiben weiss, da doch nicht nur Böhtlingk-Roth (s. v. *mā* 9) zahlreiche Beispiele aufführen, darunter eines aus dem Rigveda (10, 272, 24 *mā́ smāitādṛ́g ápa gūhaḥ samaryé*), sondern es auch gerade über Bedeutung und Form der Präterita hinter *mā sma* eine bekannte Regel der Sanskritgrammatik gibt (Panini 3, 3, 176. 6, 4, 74. Vgl. Benfey Vollst. Gramm. § 808 I Bem. 4). Aber in andern Fällen ist die Divergenz zwischen μιν und *sma* thatsächlich. Nach Thumb findet sich μιν bei Homer ca. 60 mal, in 10% aller Belege, hinter subordinierenden Partikeln; *sma* im Rigveda in solcher Weise nur selten und nur hinter *yathā*. Und während *sma* gern hinter Präpositionen steht, findet sich μιν nie hinter solchen.

Freilich will Thumb diese Abweichung daraus erklären, dass die homerische Sprache es nicht liebe zwischen Präposition und Substantiv noch eine Partikel einzuschieben. Ja er wagt sogar die kühne Behauptung, dass in Rücksicht hierauf diese Abweichung seine Theorie geradezu stütze. Ich gestehe offen, dass ich diese Erklärung nicht verstehe. Wo *sma* im Rigveda auf eine Präposition folgt, steht diese entweder als Verbalpräposition in tmesi (so wohl auch l, 51, 12 *ā́ smā rátham − tiṣṭhasi*, vgl. Grassmann Sp. 1598) oder, wenn überhaupt Fälle dieser zweiten Art belegt sind, in 'Anastrophe'. Wenn also μιν die Stellungsgewohnheit von *sma* teilt, so dürfen wir es nicht hinter den mit einem Kasus verbundenen Präpositionen suchen, und wenn es hier fehlt, dies nicht mit jener angeblichen homerischen Abneigung gegen Zwischenschiebung von Partikeln entschuldigen, sondern müssen es hinter selbständigen Präpositionen erwarten und in dem Umstand, dass es hier fehlt, eben einen Gegenbeweis gegen Thumbs Aufstellung erkennen.

Aber auch abgesehen von diesen und sonst etwa noch erwähnbaren Differenzen zwischen der Stellung des homerischen μιν und des vedischen *sma*, war Thumb meines Erachtens verpflichtet zu untersuchen, ob sich die Stellung von μιν im homerischen Satz nicht auch noch von einem andern Gesichtspunkt aus, als dem der Qualität des vorausgehenden Wortes, bestimmen lasse, und ob ähnliche Stellungsgewohnheiten wie bei μιν sich nicht auch bei andern (etwa bedeutungs-*[S. 335]*verwandten oder formähnlichen) Wörtern finden, bei denen an Zusammenhang mit *sma* nicht gedacht werden kann.

Und da scheint mir nun bemerkenswert, dass von den neun 'vereinzelten' Fällen, wo μιν auf ein nominales Adverb folgt, fünf (E 181. Z 173. Λ 479. O 160. δ 500) es an zweiter Stelle des Satzes haben, und dass ferner alle von Thumb aufgeführten Beispiele für μιν hinter dem Verb, dem Demonstrativum und den Negationen

eben dasselbe zeigen. Von solcher Stellungsregel aus wird es nun auch verständlich, warum μιν so gern auf Partikeln und namentlich auch in Abweichung von *sma* so gern auf subordinierende Partikeln folgt, und warum es ferner auf Pronomina wesentlich nur insofern unmittelbar folgt, als sie satzverknüpfend sind, also am Satzanfang stehen.

Oder um von anderm Standpunkt aus zu zählen, so bieten die Bücher N Π P, die mit ihren 2465 Versen über die Sprache der ältern Teile der Ilias genügend Aufschluss geben können, μιν in folgenden Stellungen: 21 mal als zweites Wort des Satzes, 28 mal als drittes oder viertes, aber in der Weise, dass es vom ersten Wort nur durch ein Enklitikum oder eine den Enklitika gleichstehende Partikel, wie δέ, γάρ, getrennt ist. Dazu kommt εἰ καί μιν N 58 und τούνεκα καί μιν N 432, wo καί eng zum ersten Satzwort gehört; ἐπεὶ οὔ μιν P 641, für welches die Neigung der Negationen im gleichen Satz stehende Enklitika auf sich folgen zu lassen in Betracht kommt (vgl. vorläufig οὔτις, οὔπω, οὔ ποτε, auch οὐκ ἄν). Endlich P 399 οὐδ᾽ εἰ μάλα μιν χόλος ἵκοι. Wir haben also 49 Fälle, die unserer obigen Regel genau entsprechen; 3 Fälle, die besonderer Erklärung fähig sind, und nur 1 wirkliche Ausnahme. [Aus den andern Büchern verzeichnet Monro ² 337 f. bloss noch Γ 368 οὐδ᾽ ἔβαλόν μιν. Φ 576 εἴ περ γὰρ φθάμενός μιν ἢ οὐτάςῃ, wo er μιν streichen will. K 344 ἀλλ᾽ ἐῶμέν μιν πρῶτα παρεξελθεῖν πεδίοιο.] Dies alles in Versen, also unter Bedingungen, die es erschweren an der gemeinüblichen Wortstellung festzuhalten. Besonders bemerkenswert ist die bekanntlich auch sonst häufige Phrase τῷ μιν ἐειςάμενος προςέφη oder προςεφώνεε für τῷ ἐειςάμενος προςέφη μιν, wo der Drang μιν an die zweite Stelle zu setzen deutlich genug wirksam ist. Ähnlich in der häufigen Wendung καί μιν φωνήςας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προςηύδα, wo μιν zu προςηύδα gehört und nicht zu φωνήςας. Ferner beachte man Φ 347 χαίρει δέ μιν ὅςτις ἐθείρῃ *[S. 336]* "es freut sich, wer es (das Feld) bearbeitet". Hier ist das zum Nebensatz gehörige Pronomen in den Hauptsatz gezogen, ohne dass man doch von sogen. Prolepse sprechen kann, da das Verb des Hauptsatzes den Dativ verlangen würde. Einzig der Drang nach dem Satzanfang kann die Stellung des μιν erklären.

Für den nachhomerischen Gebrauch von μιν tritt Herodot als Hauptzeuge ein, bei dem mir ausser, auf alle Bücher sich erstreckender, sporadischer Lektüre das siebente Buch das nötige Material geliefert hat. Und da kann ich wenigstens sagen, dass die Mehrzahl der Beispiele μιν an zweiter oder so gut wie zweiter Stelle zeigt, darunter so eigentümliche Fälle, wie die folgenden: (ich zitiere hier und später nach Steins Ausgabe mit deutschem Kommentar, deren Zeilenzahlen in der Regel annähernd für alle Ausgaben passen) 1, 204, 7 πολλά τε γάρ μιν καὶ μεγάλα τὰ ἐπαείροντα καὶ ἐποτρύνοντα ἦν (μιν gehört zu den Partizipien). 1, 213, 3 ὥς μιν ὅ τε οἶνος ἀνῆκε καὶ ἔμαθε (μιν gehört blos [sic] zu ἀνῆκε). 2, 90, 7 ἀλλά

μιν οἱ ἱρέες αὐτοὶ οἱ τοῦ Νείλου — θάπτουσι. 5, 46, 11 οἱ γάρ μιν Σελινούσιοι ἐπαναστάντες ἀπέκτειναν καταφυγόντα ἐπὶ Διὸς ἀγοραίου βωμόν. Vgl. Kallinos 1, 20 ὥσπερ γάρ μιν πύργον ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὁρῶσιν, wobei ich hinzufügen möchte, dass die Elegiker bis auf Theognis und diesen eingerechnet μιν 12 mal an zweiter Stelle, nur einmal (Theognis 195) an dritter Stelle bieten.

Und dass nun dieses Drängen nach dem Satzanfang bei μιν nicht auf irgend welchen etymologischen Verhältnissen beruht, geht aus der ganz gleichartigen Behandlung des enklitischen Dativs οἱ 'ihm' hervor, der dem Akkusativ μιν 'ihn' in Bedeutung und Akzent ganz nahe steht, aber in der Lautform von ihm gänzlich abweicht. In den Büchern ΝΠΡ der Ilias findet sich jenes οἱ 92 mal. Und zwar 34 mal an zweiter Stelle, 53 mal an dritter oder vierter, aber so, dass es vom ersten Wort des Satzes durch ein Wort oder zwei Wörter getrennt ist, das bezw. die auf die zweite Stelle im Satz noch grössern Anspruch haben, wie δέ, τε, κε. Anders geartet sind nur fünf Stellen. Π 251 νηῶν μέν οἱ und Ρ 273 τῷ καί οἱ, wo μέν bezw. καί eng zum ersten Satzwort gehören; Ρ 153 νῦν δ᾽ οὔ οἱ und Ρ 410 δὴ τότε γ᾽ οὔ οἱ, die dem Gesetz unterliegen, dass bei Nachbarschaft von Negation und Enklitikum die Negation vorangehen muss. Daraus wäre auch Ρ 71 εἰ *[S. 337]* μή οἱ ἀγάσσατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων zu erklären, wenn hier nicht die Untrennbarkeit von εἰ und μή schon einen genügenden Erklärungsgrund böte. Man darf also wohl sagen, dass die für μιν erschlossene Stellungsregel durchaus auch für οἱ gilt.

Diese Analogie zwischen μιν und οἱ setzt sich bei Herodot fort. Es findet sich bei ihm οἱ etwa doppelt so oft an zweiter oder so gut wie zweiter, als an anderweitiger Satzstelle. (Bei den ältern Elegikern scheint sich οἱ nur an zweiter Stelle zu finden.)

Besonders beachtenswert ist nun aber, dass diese Stellungsgewohnheit oft bei Homer und fast noch häufiger bei Herodot (vgl. Stein zu 1, 115, 8) dazu geführt hat, dem οἱ eine dem syntaktischen Zusammenhang widersprechende oder in andrer Hinsicht auffällige Stellung anzuweisen.

1) Entschieden dativisches οἱ steht von dem regierenden Worte weit ab und drängt sich mitten in eine am Satzanfang stehende sonstige Wortgruppe ein. Ρ 232 τὸ δέ οἱ κλέος ἔσσεται ὅσσον ἐμοί περ. γ 306 τῷ δέ οἱ ὀγδοάτῳ κακὸν ἤλυθε δῖος Ὀρέστης. — Herodot 1, 75, 10 Θαλῆς οἱ ὁ Μιλήσιος διεβίβασε. 1, 199, 14 ἤ τίς οἱ ξείνων ἀργύριον ἐμβαλὼν ἐς τὰ γούνατα μιχθῇ (τίς geht dem οἱ voran, weil es selbst ein Enklitikum ist). 2, 108, 4 τούς τέ οἱ λίθους (folgen 14 Worte) οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ ἑλκύσαντες. 4, 45, 19 ὅστις οἱ ἦν ὁ θέμενος (scil. τοὔνομα). 5, 92, β 8 ἐκ δέ οἱ ταύτης τῆς γυναίκος οὐδ᾽ ἐξ ἄλλης παῖδες ἐγίνοντο. 6, 63, 2 ἐν δέ οἱ χρόνῳ ἐλάσσονι ἡ γυνὴ τίκτει τοῦτον. 7, 5, 14 οὗτος μέν οἱ ὁ λόγος ἦν τιμωρός.

2) Genetivisches oder halbgenetivisches οἱ ist von seinem nachfolgenden Substantiv durch andre Worte getrennt: Δ 219 τά οἵ ποτε πατρὶ φίλα φρονέων πόρε Χείρων. Μ 333 ὅστις οἱ ἀρὴν ἑτάροισιν ἀμύναι. Ρ 195 ἅ οἱ θεοὶ οὐρανίωνες πατρὶ φίλῳ ἔπορον. δ 767 θεὰ δέ οἱ ἔκλυεν ἀρῆς. δ 771 ὅ οἱ (Herwerden Revue de philologie II 195 ῷ!) φόνος υἷι τέτυκται. Herodot 1, 34, 16 μή τί οἱ κρεμάμενον τῷ παιδὶ ἐμπέσῃ.

3) Genetivisches oder halbgenetivisches οἱ geht seinem Substantiv und dessen Attributen unmittelbar voraus, eine bei einem Enklitikum an und für sich unbegreifliche Stellung: Ι 244 μή οἱ ἀπειλὰς ἐκτελέσωσι θεοί. Ρ 324 ὅς οἱ παρὰ πατρὶ γέροντι κηρύσσων γήρασκε. — Herodot 3, 14, 14 δεύτερά οἱ τὸν παῖδα ἔπεμπε. 3, 15, 12 τήν οἱ ὁ πατὴρ εἶχε ἀρχήν. *[S. 338]* 3, 55, 10 καί οἱ (καὶ οἵ?) τῷ πατρὶ ἔφη Σάμιον τοὔνομα τεθῆναι, ὅτι οἱ ὁ πατὴρ Ἀρχίης ἐν Σάμῳ ἀριστεύσας ἐτελεύτησε. — Allerdings findet sich diese Wortfolge bei Herodot auch so, dass οἱ dabei nicht an zweiter Stelle steht, z. B. 1, 60, 8 εἰ βούλοιτό οἱ τὴν θυγατέρα ἔχειν γυναῖκα. Aber ich glaube, die Sache liegt so: weil das an zweiter Stelle stehende οἱ so oft ein regierendes Substantiv hinter sich hatte, kam es auf, auch mitten im Satz οἱ dem regierenden Substantiv unmittelbar vorausgehen zu lassen.

4) Genetivisches oder halb genetivisches οἱ steht zwischen dem ersten und zweiten Glied des regierenden Ausdrucks, auch dies eine für ein Enklitikum an sich auffällige Stellung. a) Zwischen Präposition nebst folgender Partikel und Artikel: Herodot 1, 108, 9 ἐκ γάρ οἱ τῆς ὄψιος οἱ τῶν μάγων ὀνειροπόλοι ἐσήμαινον. b) Zwischen Artikel nebst folgender Partikel und Substantiv: Β 217 τὼ δέ οἱ ὤμω κυρτώ. Ν 616 τὼ δέ οἱ ὄσσε χαμαὶ πέσον. Ρ 695 = Ψ 396 τὼ δέ οἱ ὄσσε δακρυόφιν πλῆσθεν. Ähnlich Ξ 438, Ο 607, Τ 365 und mehrfach in der Odyssee. Ψ 392 αἱ δέ οἱ ἵπποι ἀμφὶς ὁδοῦ δραμέτην. Ψ 500 αἱ δέ οἱ ἵπποι ὑψός᾿ ἀειρέσθην. — Herodot 1, 1, 19 τὸ δέ οἱ οὔνομα εἶναι — Ἰοῦν. 3, 3, 10 τῶν δέ οἱ παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτερον εἰπεῖν. 3, 48, 14 τόν τέ οἱ παῖδα ἐκ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων σῴζειν. 3, 129, 5 ὁ γάρ οἱ ἀστράγαλος ἐξεχώρησε ἐκ τῶν ἄρθρων. 5, 95, 4 τὰ δέ οἱ ὅπλα ἔχουσι Ἀθηναῖοι. 6, 41, 7 τὴν δέ οἱ πέμπτην τῶν νεῶν κατεῖλον διώκοντες οἱ Φοίνικες. — Ebenso die ionischen Dichter: Archilochus 29, 2 Bgk. ἡ δέ οἱ κόμη ὤμους κατεσκίαζε καὶ μετάφρενα. 97, 1 ἡ δέ οἱ σάθη — ἐπλήμμυρεν. c) Zwischen Artikel und Substantiv: Herodot 1, 82, 41 τῶν οἱ συλλοχιτέων διεφθαρμένων. 3, 153, 4 τῶν οἱ σιτοφόρων ἡμιόνων μία ἔτεκε.

Parallelen hiezu liefern auch die nicht ionischen nachhomerischen Dichter, für die οἱ einen Bestandteil des traditionellen poetischen Sprachguts bildet. Ich bringe, was mir gerade vor die Augen gekommen ist. Zu 1) gehört Pindar Pyth. 2, 42 ἄνευ οἱ Χαρίτων τέκεν γόνον ὑπερφίαλον. Euphorion Anthol. Palat. 6, 278, 3 (= Meineke Analecta Alexandrina S. 164) ἀντὶ δέ οἱ πλοκαμῖδος ἐκηβόλε

καλὸϲ ἐπείη ὠχαρνῆθεν ἀεὶ κιϲϲὸϲ ἀεξομένῳ. — Zu 2) Theokrit 2, 138 ἐγὼ δέ οἱ ἁ ταχυπειθὴϲ χειρὸϲ ἐφαψαμένα (vgl. Meineke zu 7, 88). — Zu 1) oder zu 2) Sophokles Aias 907 ἐν γάρ οἱ χθονὶ πηκτὸν *[S. 339]* τόδ᾽ ἔγχος περιπετέϲ κατηγορεῖ. — Zu 3) Europa 41 ἅτε οἱ αἵματοϲ ἔϲκεν. — Zu 4) Sophokles Trachin. 650 ἁ δέ οἱ φίλα δάμαρ τάλαιναν δυϲτάλαινα καρδίαν πάγκλαυτος αἰὲν ὤλλυτο.

Die Inschriften der oἱ anwendenden Dialekte sind unergiebig. Für die Doris liefern nur die epidaurischen reichere Ausbeute, und diese gehören bekanntlich in eine verhältnismässig späte Zeit. Ich zähle in No. 3339 und 3340 Collitz vierzehn oἱ an zweiter, acht oἱ an anderweitiger Stelle. Die wenigen nicht-dorischen Beispiele, die ich zur Hand habe, fügen sich sämtlich der Regel. Tegea 1222, 33 Coll. μή οἱ ἔϲτω ἴνδικον. Kypros 59, 3 Coll. ἀφ᾽ ὦ ϝοι τὰϲ εὐχωλὰϲ ἐπέτυχε oder ἐπέδυκε (vgl. Meister Griech. Dial. II 148. Hoffmann I 67 f.). id. 60, 29 Coll. ἀνοϲίᾳ ϝοι γένοιτυ.

Nun könnte es aber jemand trotz alledem bemerkenswert finden, dass Thumb jene eigentümliche, angeblich an die Stellung von *sma* im Veda erinnernde Stellungsgewohnheit bei μιν hat aufdecken können, und könnte geneigt sein, doch noch dahinter irgend etwas von Bedeutung zu vermuten. Um darüber Klarheit zu schaffen, scheint es am richtigsten, die von Thumb für μιν gegebene Statistik am Gebrauch von oἱ in NΠP zu messen. Thumb 1[a]: "in 68% sämtlicher Fälle steht μιν hinter einer Partikel"; oἱ in 66 von 92 Fällen, also in 72% (33 mal hinter δέ, wie δέ auch vor μιν am häufigsten vorkommt; daneben in absteigender Häufigkeit hinter ἄρα, ῥα, καί, γάρ, οὐδέ, τε, ἔνθα, ἀλλά, ἤ, μέν, πως, τάχα). — Thumb 1[b]: "in 10% steht μιν hinter einer subordinierenden Konjunktion"; oἱ viermal (hinter ὅ(τ)τι, ἐπεί, ὄφρα), also nur in 4%, eine Differenz, die um so weniger ins Gewicht fällt, als Thumb für diese Kategorie eine Abweichung des μιν von *sma* konstatieren muss, da *sma* solche Stellung nicht liebt. — Thumb 2: "μιν niemals unmittelbar hinter Präpositionen (im Gegensatz zu *sma*!)"; oἱ auch niemals. — Thumb 3: "οὔ μιν, μή μιν in 15 von 600 Beispielen", also in 2½%"; οὔ οἱ, μή οἱ in 3 von 92 Beispielen, also in 3¼%. — Thumb 4: "μιν hinter Pronomina sehr häufig", wie es scheint ca. 100 mal oder 16⅔%; oἱ auch häufig, nämlich 17 mal, also in 18½%. — Thumb 5 und 6: "μιν hinter Verbum und nominalen Wörtern in 3%"; oἱ hinter αἰπύ N 317, αἵματι P 51, also in 2%.

Die Thumbschen Beobachtungen gelten also gerade so gut für oἱ wie für μιν. Oἱ findet sich hinter denselben Wör-*[S. 340]*tern wie μιν und hinter diesen fast genau mit derselben Häufigkeit wie μιν. Wir haben es also bei dem, was Thumb für μιν nachweist, nicht mit irgend etwas für μιν Partikulärem zu thun, sondern mit einer, μιν und oἱ gemeinsamen Konsequenz des Stellungsgesetzes, das ihnen beiden die zweite Stellung im Satz anweist.

Wenn so der Herleitung des μιν aus *sm(a)-im* der Hauptstützpunkt entzogen ist, so wird dieselbe geradezu widerlegt durch das Fehlen jeder Wirkung des angeblich ehemals vorhandenen Anlautes *sm-*; man müsste doch bei Homer gelegentlich δέ μιν als Trochäus (oder Spondeus), ἀλλά μιν als Antibacchius (oder Molossus) erwarten; Thumb schweigt sich über diesen Punkt aus. Dazu kommt eine weitere Erwägung. Entweder ist die Zusammenrückung von *sma* und *im*, welche μιν ergeben haben soll, uralt. Dann ist das Vergessen der ursprünglichen Funktion von *sma* in der Anwendung von μιν begreiflich, aber man müsste entsprechend altindischem *smēm* griechisch *(ϲ)μαιν erwarten. Oder die Zusammenrückung hat nicht lange vor Homer stattgefunden, in welchem Fall die Anwendung des spezifisch griechischen Elisionsgesetzes, also die Reihe μα ἰν — μ' ἰν — μιν, begreiflich wird: dann versteht man nicht den völligen Untergang der Funktion von (ϲ)μα, die Behandlung von μιν ganz in Weise einer gewöhnlichen Pronominalform, zumal ja im Thessalischen in der Bedeutung 'aber' eine Partikel μα vorkommt, deren Gleichsetzung mit altind. *sma* allerdings bestreitbar ist.

Noch weniger glücklich scheint mir Thumbs Erklärung des dorischen νιν aus *nu-im*, da mir hier unüberwindliche lautliche Schwierigkeiten entgegenzustehen scheinen. Denn wenn er bemerkt: "dass auslautendes *u*, wie im Altindischen (z. B. *kṓ nv átra*) vor Vokal unter gewissen Bedingungen ehemals als Konsonant (*u̯*) gesprochen wurde, darf unbedenklich angenommen werden": und sich hierfür auf Fälle wie πρόϲ aus *proti̯*, εἰν aus *eni̯*, ὑπείρ aus *hyperi̯* (= altind. *upary* neben *upari*), lesb. πέρρ- aus *peri̯*- beruft, in denen *i̯* für *i* in die Zeit der indogermanischen Urgemeinschaft hinaufreiche, so ist dabei übersehen, dass nicht alle auslautenden *-i, -u* auf gleiche Linie gestellt werden dürfen. Im Rigveda findet sich Übergang von *-i, -u* zu *-y, -v* in etwelcher Häufigkeit gerade nur bei der Wortklasse, bei der das Griechische [S. 341] Reflexe solches Übergangs zeigt, nämlich bei den zweisilbigen Präpositionen, wie *abhi, prati, anu, pari, adhi*; sonst ausser dem jüngern X. Buch und den Vālakhilyas nur ganz sporadisch, bei Einsilblern nur in der Zusammensetzung *avyuṣṭāḥ* 2, 28, 9, und dann in *ny alipsata* 1, 191, 3, also in einem anerkannt späten Liede (Oldenberg Rigveda S. I 438 Anm.). Und speziell *nu* (ähnlich wie *u*) entzieht sich solchem Sandhi durchaus, wird umgekehrt öfters lang und sogar mit Zerdehnung zweisilbig gemessen. Und selbst wenn wir auch trotz alle dem urgriechisches νϝιν, woraus dorisch νιν, hinter vokalischem Auslaut konstruieren könnten, so bliebe ein postkonsonantisches νιν doch unverständlich; eine Entwicklungsreihe ὅϲ νυ ἰν, ὅϲ νϝ ἰν, ὅϲ νιν lässt sich gar nicht denken.

Wenn übrigens Thumb S. 646 andeutet, dass die Stellung von νιν im Satz keine speziellen Analogieen mit derjenigen von altind. *nu*, griech. νυ aufweise, und dies mit dem geringern Alter der νιν bietenden Sprachquellen (Pindars und der

Tragiker) entschuldigt, so ist allerdings wahr, dass diese Autoren nicht bloss aus chronologischen Gründen, sondern auch wegen der grössern Künstlichkeit ihrer Wortstellung kein so reinliches Resultat für νιν liefern können, wie Homer und Herodot für μιν. Aber man wird doch fragen dürfen, ob nicht gewisse Tendenzen zu erkennen sind. Und da ist zu konstatieren, dass an 30 unter 47 äschyleischen Belegstellen νιν dem für μιν und οἱ eruierten Stellungsgesetz folgt, und zwar, was vielleicht beachtenswert ist, an 5 unter 7 in den Persern und den Septem, an 21 unter 32 in der Orestie, in 2 unter 5 im Prometheus. Etwas ungünstiger ist das Verhältnis bei Sophokles, wo von 81 Belegstellen 47 νιν an gesetzmässiger, 34 an ungesetzmässiger Stelle haben. Zu ersterer Klasse gehören die Fälle von Tmesis: Sophokles Antig. 432 cὺν δέ νιν θηρώμεθα. 601 κατ᾽ αὖ νιν φοινία θεῶν τῶν νερτέρων ἀμᾷ κοπίc. Übrigens ist eine Empfindung dafür, welches die eigentliche Stellung von νιν sei, auch sonst lebendig. Vgl. Aristoph. Acharn. 775, besonders aber Eurip. Medea 1258 ἀλλά νιν, ὦ φάοc διογενέc, κατεῖργε. Helena 1519 τίc δέ νιν ναυκληρία ἐκ τῆcδ᾽ ἀπῆρε χθονόc. Iphig. Aul. 615 ὑμεῖc δὲ, νεάνιδέc, νιν ἀγκάλαιc ἔπι δέξαcθε. Bacch. 30 ὧν νιν οὕνεκα κτανεῖν Ζῆν᾽ ἐξεκαυχῶντ(ο). — Dazu Theokrit. 2, 103 ἐγὼ δέ νιν ὡc ἐνόηcα. 6, 11 τὰ δέ νιν καλὰ κύματα φαίνει. Höchst bemer-*[S. 342]*kenswert ist endlich die kürzlich von Selivanov in den athen. Mitteil. XVI 112 ff. herausgegebene alte rhodische Inschrift cᾶμα τόζ᾽ Ἰδαμενεὺc ποίηcα ἵνα κλέοc εἴη· Ζεὺc δέ νιν ὅcτιc πημαίνοι, λειώλη θείη, wo das νιν syntaktisch zu πημαίνοι gehört, also mit dem oben S. 332 f. erwähnten μιν in Φ 347 χαίρει δέ μιν ὅcτιc ἐθείρῃ aufs genaueste zusammenstimmt.

Diese wesentliche Übereinstimmung von νιν und μιν in der Stellung wirft Thumbs ganze Beweisführung nochmals um. Eines gebe ich ihm allerdings zu, dass μ-ιν, ν-ιν zu teilen und *ἰν der Akk. zu lat. *is*, und das sowohl die Annahme zugrunde liegender Reduplikativbildungen *ἰμιμ, *ἰνιν, als die Annahme in μιν, νιν enthaltener Stämme *mi-, ni-* verkehrt ist. Mir scheint es, bessere Belehrung vorbehalten, am einfachsten μ-, ν- aus dem Sandhi herzuleiten. Wenn es nebeneinander hiess αὐτίκα-μ-ιν (aus *-kηm im*) und αὐτίκα μάν, ἄρα-μ-ιν und ἄρα μάν, ῥα-μ-ιν und ῥα μάν (falls man für den Auslaut von ἄρα, ῥα labiale Nasalis sonans annehmen darf), so konnte wohl auch ἀλλά μιν neben ἀλλὰ μάν sich einstellen und μιν allmählich weiterwuchern; ἀλλά μιν : αὐτίκα μιν = μηκέτι : οὐκέτι. In ähnlicher Weise kann das ν- von νιν auf auslautender dentaler Nasalis sonans beruhen. Vgl. Kuhns Zeitschr. XXVIII 119. 121. 125 über ἄττα aus ττα, οὕνεκα aus ἕνεκα und Verwandtes, sowie auch das prakritische Enklitikum *m-iva, mmi-va* für sanskr. *iva*, dessen *m* natürlich aus dem Auslaut der Akkusative und der Neutra stammt (Lassen Institut. S. 370). Weiteres Tobler Kuhns Zeitschr. XXIII 423, G. Meyer Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift 1885 S. 943 f., Ziemer ibid. S. 1371,

Schuchardt Litt. Blatt für rom. Philologie 1887 Sp. 181, Thielmann Archiv für lat. Lexikogr. VI 167 Anm.

II.

Die Vorliebe von μιν, νιν, οἱ für die zweite Stelle im Satz gehört nun aber in einen grösseren Zusammenhang hinein. Bereits 1877 hat Bergaigne Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique III 177. 178 darauf hingewiesen, dass die enklitischen Pronominalformen überhaupt "se placent de préférence après le premier mot de la proposition." Er führt als Belege an A 73 ὅ σφιν εὖ φρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν. A 120 ὅ μοι γέρας ἔρχεται ἄλλη.

Diese Beobachtung bestätigt sich, sobald man anfängt *[S. 343]* Beispiele zu sammeln. In den von mir zugrunde gelegten Büchern ΝΠΡ findet sich, um im Anschluss an μιν, νιν, οἱ mit dem Pronomen der dritten Person zu beginnen, ἑ viermal, allemal an zweiter oder möglichst nahe bei der zweiten Stelle (ich werde im folgenden diesen Unterschied nicht mehr berücksichtigen). σφι(ν) zwölfmal, und zwar elfmal regelmässig, regelwidrig nur Ρ 736 ἐπὶ δὲ πτόλεμος τέτατό σφίν [sic] (beachte auch Κ 559 τὸν δέ σφιν ἄνακτ᾽ ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης ἔκτανε, wo σφιν sich in die Gruppe τὸν δὲ ἄνακτα eingedrängt hat). σφισι(ν) sechsmal, immer regelmässig. σφεας in Ρ 278 μάλα γάρ σφεας ὦκ᾽ ἐλέλιξεν. σφωε Ρ 531 εἰ μή σφω᾽ Αἴαντε διέκριναν μεμαῶτε. Aus dem sonstigen homerischen Gebrauch sei das hyperthetische καί σφεας φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα angeführt.

Ebenso in der zweiten Person: σεο, σευ findet sich fünfmal, allemal an zweiter Stelle (weitere Beispiele s. unten); τοι (bei dem ich aus naheliegenden Gründen die Fälle, wo es als Partikel gilt, mit einrechne, jedoch ohne ἤτοι, ἦτοι) findet sich 47 mal, und zwar 45 mal der Regel gemäss, nur zweimal anders: Ν 382 ἐπεὶ οὔ τοι ἐεδνωταὶ κακοί εἰμεν, und Π 443 ἀτὰρ οὔ τοι πάντες ἐπαινέομεν θεοὶ ἄλλοι. An beiden Stellen hat die schon früher besprochene Tendenz der Negationen die Enklitika an sich anzulehnen die Hauptregel durchkreuzt. — σε findet sich 21 mal, davon 19 mal nach der Regel, zweimal anders: Π 623 εἰ καὶ ἐγώ σε βάλοιμι, und Ρ 171 ἦ τ᾽ ἐφάμην σε.

Ebenso in der ersten Person: μευ findet sich Ν 626. Ρ 29, an beiden Stellen zunächst dem Satzanfang; μοι findet sich mit Einrechnung von ὤμοι 32 mal, davon 27 mal der Regel gemäss, wozu als 28. Beleg wohl Ρ 97 ἀλλὰ τί ἦ μοι ταῦτα φίλος διελέξατο θυμός gefügt werden darf. Abweichend sind Π 112 ἔσπετε νῦν μοι (ἔσπετέ νύν μοι? bei welcher Schreibung diese Stelle zu den regelmässigen Beispielen gehören würde). Π 238 ἠδ᾽ ἔτι καὶ νῦν μοι τόδ᾽ ἐπικρήηνον ἐέλδωρ. Π 523 ἀλλὰ σύ πέρ μοι ἄναξ τόδε καρτερὸν ἕλκος ἄκεσσαι. Π 55 αἰνὸν ἄχος

τό μοί ἐϲτιν, Ausnahmen, die weder durch ihre Zahl noch durch ihre Beschaffenheit die Regel erschüttern können, während umgekehrt eine Stelle wie T 287 Πάτροκλέ μοι δειλῇ πλεῖϲτον κεχαριϲμένε θυμῷ, wo der Anschluss von μοι an einen Vokativ schon den Alten auffiel, einen Beleg für die durchgreifende Gültigkeit der Regel liefert. Ähn-*[S. 344]*lich auffällig ist μοι nach ἄλλ᾽ [sic] ἄγε: α 169. ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε μοι τόδε εἰπέ — Endlich με findet sich 15 mal, immer nach der Regel. [Ausnahmen aus den andern Büchern bespricht Monro[2] 336 ff., z. T. mit Änderungsvorschlägen.]

Auch ausserhalb Homers lassen sich Spuren der alten Regel nachweisen. So bei den Elegikern bis Theognis (mit Einschluss desselben), die με 42 mal an zweiter, 4 mal an späterer; μοι 36 mal an zweiter, 5 mal an späterer; ϲε 27 mal an zweiter, 6 mal an späterer Stelle zeigen. So ferner auch in den von Homer weniger als die Elegiker abhängigen dialektischen Denkmälern. Denn wenn die Arkader ihr ϲφεῖϲ ziemlich frei gestellt zu haben scheinen, so stimmt um so besser der dorische Akkusativ τυ: Fragm. lyr. adesp. 43 A (poeta lyr. gr. ed. Bergk 3[4], S. 701) καί τυ φίλιππον ἔθηκεν. Epicharm bei Athen. 4, 139 B ἐκάλεϲε γάρ τύ τιϲ; Sophron bei Apollonius de pron. 68 B τί τυ ἐγὼν ποιέω; Aristoph. Acharn. 730 ἐπόθουν τυ ναί τὸν φίλιον ἅπερ ματέρα. Dazu der (von Ahrens II 255 nicht erwähnte) dorische Orakelspruch bei Stephanus Byz. 73, 14 M. (aus Ephorus) ποῖ τυ λαβὼν <ἄξω> καὶ ποῖ τυ καθίζω und die Mehrzahl der ungefähr dreissig theokriteischen Beispiele, darunter bemerkenswert 5, 74 μή τύ τιϲ ἠρώτη (= att. μήτιϲ ϲε εἰρώτα), wo μήτιϲ durch τυ entzwei gesprengt ist, und 1, 82 ἁ δέ τυ κώρα πάϲαϲ ἀνὰ κράναϲ, πάντ᾽ ἄλϲεα ποϲϲὶ φορεῖται ζατεῦϲ(α), wo das von Brunck aus dem best überlieferten aber unmetrischen τοι sicher hergestellte τυ als Akkusativ zu ζατεῦϲα gehört, aber weit davon abstehend ἁ und κώρα von einander trennt. (Die einzige Stelle des Kallimachus epigr. 47 (46), 9 οὐδ᾽ ὅϲον ἀττάραγόν τυ δεδοίκαμεϲ, widerspricht der Regel.) Höchst beachtenswert ist endlich das einzige inschriftliche Beispiel, das ich zur Hand habe: Collitz 3339, 70 (Epidauros) αἴ τύ κα ὑγιῆ ποιήϲω (= att. ἐάν ϲε ὑγιᾶ π.), wo τυ zwischen die sonst eng verbundenen Partikeln αἰ und κα getreten ist. Das einzige abweichende Beispiel der vor-alexandrinischen Zeit, Sophron bei Apollon. de pron. 75 A οὐχ ὁδεῖν τυ ἐπίκαζε, kann, solange die Lesung nicht sicher gestellt ist, nicht ins Gewicht fallen.

Ganz nahe zu Homer stellen sich ferner die äolischen Dichter. Ich zähle in deren Fragmenten, die ich nach Bergks Poetae lyrici, 4. Aufl., zitiere, 38 (oder je nach der Schreibung von Sappho fragm. 2, 7 und fragm. 100 — siehe gleich *[S. 345]* nachher — 36) Belege der enklitischen Formen des Personalpronomens. 30 folgen der homerischen Regel, darunter sämtliche sicheren (12) Beispiele von με und sämtliche 10 Beispiele von μοι. Abweichend ist τοι dreimal (Sappho 2, 2. 8. 70, 1)

und cε einmal (Sappho 104, 2). Bleiben drei Stellen mit bestrittner Lesung, deren handschriftliche Überlieferung ich zunächst hersetze: Sappho 2, 7 ὡς γὰρ c᾽ ἴδω βροχεώς με φωνὰς οὐδὲν ἔτ᾽ εἴκει, Sappho 43 ὄτα πάννυχος ἄσφι κατάγρει, endlich Sappho 100 nach dem volleren Wortlaut bei Choirikios (Oeuvres de Charles Graux II 97) … cὲ τετίμηκεν ἐξόχως ἡ Ἀφροδίτη. An der ersten wird nun die von Ahrens vorgeschlagene, von Vahlen in seiner Ausgabe der Schrift περὶ ὕψους (Kap. 10, 2) gebilligte Lesung ὥc cε γὰρ ϝίδω, βροχέως με φώνας κτέ. nur um so wahrscheinlicher und Seidlers von Bergk und Hiller gebilligte Versetzung des cε hinter βροχέως und Streichung des με nur um so unwahrscheinlicher. Für die zweite Stelle kann ich nun noch bestimmter die KZ. XXVIII 141 geforderte Lesung ὄτά cφι πάννυχος κατάγρεις [sic] als notwendig bezeichnen. Und an der dritten Stelle ergiebt sich nun Weils von Hiller (Antholog. lyr. fragm. 97) rezipierte Schreibung τετίμακ᾽ ἔξοχά c᾽ Ἀφροδίτα als entschieden unwahrscheinlich.

So kommen wir durch Addition der 30 obigen Fälle, des cε und με bei Sappho 47 und des cφι für ἄcφι bei Sappho 43 auf 33 regelrechte Beispiele gegenüber 4 regelwidrigen und einem (Sappho 100), wo die Überlieferung uns im Stich lässt und wir nicht einmal wissen, ob wir es mit einem Enklitikum zu thun haben. Ganz ausser Rechnung fällt Alc. 68, wo manche nach Bekker πάμπαν δὲ τυφὼc ἔκ c᾽ ἔλετο φρένας schreiben, aber hinter ἐκ vielmehr δ᾽ überliefert ist; vgl. was Bergk gegen Bekkers Schreibung bemerkt.

An mancher jener 33 Stellen werden obendrein durch das enklitische Pronomen Wortgruppen durchschnitten: Artikel und Substantiv Sappho 2, 13 ἀ δέ μ᾽ ἰδρὼς κακχέεται. 118, 3 Αἰθοπίᾳ με κόρα Λατοῦς ἀνέθηκεν Ἀρίστα. Attribut und Substantiv Sappho 34, 1 cμίκρα μοι πάϊς ἔμμεν ἐφαίνεο κἄχαρις. Präposition und Verba Alcaeus 95 ἔκ μ᾽ ἔλασας ἀλγέων. Vgl. auch Sappho 2, 5 τό μοι μάν und 2, 7 ὥc cε γάρ, wo μάν und γάρ auf die Stelle hinter τό, bezw. ὡς Anspruch gehabt hätten. Ebenfalls beachtenswert sind die Fälle, wo das Pronomen in sonst auffälliger Weise von don Wörtern abgetrennt *[S. 346]* ist, zu denen es syntaktisch gehört: Sappho 1, 19 τίς c᾽, ὦ Ψάπφ᾽ ἀδικήει. 104, 1, τίῳ c᾽, ὦ φίλε γάμβρε, κάλως ἔϊκάςδω. 88 τί με Πανδίονις ὤρανwα χελίδων. An einen satzeinleitendcn Vokativ ist μοι angelehnt Sappho 45 ἄγε δὴ, χέλυ δῖά, μοι φωνάεσσα γένοιο. Endlich verweise ich auf Sappho 6 ἤ cε Κύπρος ἤ Πάφος ἤ Πάνορμος.

Allgemein üblich ohne Unterschied der Dialekte ist es, das archaische (Klein Die griechischen Vasen mit Meistersignaturen[2] S. 13) με in Weih- und Künstlerinschriften gleich hinter das erste Wort zu setzen. Es wird dienlich sein, die Beispiele vollständig zusammen zu stellen.

Ich beginne mit μ᾽ ἀνέθηκε: Attika Corpus inscript. att. 4[2], 373, 87 -ιτός μ᾽ ἀνέθηκεν. 373, 90 Ὀνήcιμός μ᾽ ἀνέθηκεν ἀπαρχὴν τἀθηναίᾳ ὁ Σμικύθου υἱός. 373, 120 [ὁ δεῖνα] μ᾽ ἀνέθηκεν δεκάθην (sic!) Ἀθηναίᾳ. Inscript. graecae antiq.

1 (attisch oder euböisch) Σημωνίδης μ' ἀνέθηκεν. Vgl. 373, 100 [Στρόγ]γυλός μ' ἀνέθηκε, wo jedoch ein Dativ vorausgeht. Vielfach auch in Versen (obwohl hier natürlich Gegenbeispiele nicht fehlen: CIA. 1, 343. 374. 4², 373, 81 u. s. w.): CIA. 1, 349 -θάνης μ' ἀνέθηκεν Ἀθηναία[ι πολιούχψ]. 352 Ἰφιδίκη μ' ἀνέθηκεν, 4² 373, 85 Ἀλκίμαχός μ' ἀ[νέθηκε]. 373, 99 Τίμαρχός μ' ἀνέθηκε Διὸς κρατερόφρονι κούρῃ. 373, 215 (Vgl. Studnitzka Jahrbuch des archäol. Instituts II (1887) 145) Νησιάδης κεραμεύς με καὶ Ἀνδοκίδης ἀνέθηκεν. 373, 216 Παλλάδι μ' ἐγρεμάχᾳ Διονύσιο[ς τό]δ' ἄγαλμα στῆσε Κολοίου παῖς [εὐξά]μενος δεκάτην. 373, 218 ἀνέθηκε δέ μ' Εὐδίκου υἱός. Inschrift von der Akropolis ed. Foucart Bull. de Corresp. hellén. 13, 160 [Ἑρμό?]δωρός μ' ἀνέθηκεν Ἀφροδίτῃ δῶρον ἀπαρξήν. — Böotien: Inschrift nach Reinach behandelt von Kretschmer Hermes XXVI 123 ff. Τιμασίφιλός μ' ἀνέθεικε τὠπόλλωνι τοῖ Πτωεῖ ὁ Πραόλλειος. — Korinth (von hier an scheide ich die poetischen und die prosaischen Inschriften nicht mehr): IGA. 20, 7 Σιμίων μ' ἀνέθηκε Ποτειδάϝων[ι ϝάνακτι]. 20, 8 -ων μ' ἀνέθηκε Ποτειδᾶνι ϝάν[ακτι]. 20, 9 (= 10 = 11) Φλέβων μ' ἀνέθηκε Ποτειδᾶ[νι]. 20, 42 Δόρκων μ' ἀνέθηκ[ε]. 20, 43 Ἵγρων μ' ἀν[έθηκε]. 20, 47 Κυλοίδας μ' ἀνέθηκε. 20, 48 Εὐρυμήδης μ' ἀνέθηκε. 20, 49 Λυσιάδας μ' [ἀνέθηκε]. 20, 83 — μ' ἀνέθ[ηκε]. 20, 87 und 89 -ς μ' ἀνέθηκε. 20, 87ᵃ — με ἀνέθ(η)κε τῷ. 20, 94 — μ' ἀνέθηκε. 20, 102 [Π]έριλός μ' —. — Korkyra: IGA. 341 (= 3187 Collitz) Λόφιός μ' ἀνέθηκε. *[S. 347]* — Hermione: Kaibel 926 [Παν]τακλῆς μ' ἀνέθηκεν. — Kyra bei Aegina: Inschrift ed. Jamot Bull. Corr. hellén. 13, 186 οἱ φρουροί μ' ἀ[νέθεσαν?] — Lakonien: IGA. 62ᵃ (S. 174) Πλειστιάδας μ' ἀ[νέθηκε] Διοσκώροισιν ἄ[γαλμα]. — Naxos: IGA 407 Νικάνδρη μ' ἀνέθηκεν ἑκηβόλῳ ἰοχεαίρῃ. 408 Δειναγόρης μ' ἀνέθηκεν ἑκηβόλῳ Ἀπόλλωνι. In Delos gefundene Inschrift ed. Homolle Bull. Corresp. hellén. 12, 464 f. Εἰ(θ)υκαρτίδης [sic] μ' ἀνέθηκε ὁ Νάξιος ποιήσας. — Samos: IGA 384 Χηραμύης μ' ἀνέθ(η)κεν τῆρη ἄγαλμα. Röhl ergänzt am Anfang [Ἐνθάδε] und bemerkt: "Primam vocem versus hexametri utrum is qui inscripsit an is qui descripsit titulum omiserit, nunc in medio relinquo". Sicher weder der eine noch der andere. Nicht der Urheber der Abschrift: Dümmler bemerkt mir, dass der von ihm gesehene Abklatsch keine Spur einer [sic] vor Χηραμύης einst vorhandenen Wortes aufweise. Aber auch nicht der Steinmetz: weder der Sinn noch, wie man nun besser als vor zehn Jahren weiss, das Metrum verlangen eine Ergänzung; und die Stellung des με schliesst ein [sic] solche aus. — Kalymna: Kaibel 778 Νικίας με ἀνέθηκεν Ἀπόλλωνι υἱὸς Θρασυμήδεος. — Kypros: Inschrift bei Hoffmann Die griech. Dialekte 1, 85 No. 163 [—] μ' ἀ(νέ)θηκαν τῷ Ἀπόλ(λ)ωνι. Kaibel 794 (1. Jahrhundert n. Ch.) [Κεκρο]πίδης μ' ἀνεθηκε. — Achäisch (Grossgriechenland): IGA. 543 Κυνίσκος με ἀνέθηκεν ὤρταμος ϝέργων δεκάταν. — Syrakus: Inscriptiones Graecae Siciliae ed. Kaibel 5 Ἀλκιάδης μ' [ἀνέθηκεν]. — Naukratis: Naukratis I by Flinders Petrie (die Inschriften von Gardner S. 60—

63) No. 5 Παρμένωνμ (sic!) με ἀνέθηκε τὠππόλλωνι (sic!). 24 -ϲ με ἀ[νέθηκε].
80 -ϲ με ἀνέθηκεν τὠπολλων[ι]. 114 -ων μ[ε ἀνέθηκε]. 137 -ϲ μ' ἀν[έθηκε]. 177
Πρώταρχός με [ἀνέθηκε τ]ὠπόλλωνι. 186 [Π]ρώταρχός με ἀνέθηκ[ε]. 202 [ὁ
δεῖνα] με ἀνέθηκε. 218 Φάνης με ἀνέθηκε τὠπόλλων[ι τῷ Μι]λησίῳ ὁ Γλαύκου.
220 Χαριδίων με ἀνέθη[κε]. 223 [Πολύ]κεστός μ' ἀνέθηκε τ[ὠπόλλωνι]. 235 Σλη-
ύης μ' ἀνέθηκε τὠπόλλωνι. 237 [Χ]αρ(ό)φης με ἀνέθηκε τἀπό[λλωνι τῷ Μ]ιλα-
σίῳ. 255 -ης μ' ἀνέθηκε. 259 -ϲ μ' ἀ[νέθηκε]. 326 Να[ύπλι]ός με [ἀνέθηκε [sic]. 327
-δης μ' ἀνέθηκε τὠπόλλωνι. 446 -ϲ με ἀνέ[θηκεν]. id. vol. II (by Gardner) S. 62—69:
No. 701 Σώστρατός μ' ἀνέθηκεν τἠφροδίτη. 709 -ος μ' ἀνέθηκε τῆ[ι Ἀφροδίτη] ἐπὶ
τῆ —. 717 Καῖκός μ' [ἀνέ]θηκεν. 720 -ορος μ' ἀν[έθηκεν]. 722 Μυσός μ' ἀνέθηκεν
Ὀνομακρίτου. 723 Ἄσος [S. 348] μ' ἀνέθηκεν. 734 -ναξ μ' [ἀνέθηκεν]. 736 -ων με
ἀν[έθηκεν]. 738 [ὁ δεῖνα] μ' ἀνέθηκεν Ἀφροδίτη (?). 742 -ηιλός μ' ἀνέθηκεν. 748
Ἑρμησιφάνης μ' ἀνέθηκεν τἠφροδίτη. 770 -μης με ἀν[έθηκε τ]ἠφροδίτη[ι]. 771
Χάρμ[η]ϲ με [ἀνέθηκεν]. 775 [Κ]λεόδημος με ἀ[νέ]θηκε τῆ Ἀ[φροδίτη]. 776—777
Χάρμης με ἀνέθηκε τἠφροδίτη (bezw. τῆ Ἀ.) εὐχωλήν. 778 Ῥοῖκός μ' ἀνέθηκε τ[ῆ
Ἀφρ]οδίτη. 780 Φιλίς μ' ἀνέθηκε τ[ῆ Ἀφρ]οδί[τη]. 781 Θούτιμός με ἀνέθηκ[εν].
785 [ὁ δεῖνα] μ' ἀν[έθηκε τῆ Ἀφρ]οδίτη. 794 Πολύερμός μ' ἀν[έθηκε] τῆ Ἀφροδίτη.
799 Ὠχίλος μ' ἀνέθηκε. 817 [ὁ δεῖνα] καὶ Χ[ρυϲ]όδωρός με ἀνέθ[ηκαν]. 819 [Λ]ά-
κρι[τό]ϲ μ' ἀνέ[θη]κε οὑρμο[θ]έμ[ιος] τἠφροδί[τη]. 876 Ἑρμαγόρης μ' ἀνέθηκε
ὁ Τ[ήιος] τὠπόλλωνι (Vers!). 877 Πύρ(ρ)ος με ἀνέθηκεν. [Metapont: 1643 Coll.
ὅ [sic] τοι κεραμεύς μ' ἀνέθηκε.]

Von der Norm weichen ab (ausser einigen poetischen Inschriften, siehe oben
S. 343) bloss Naukratis 1, 303 [ὁ δεῖνα ἀνέθηκέ] με und 307 [ὁ δεῖνα ἀνέθηκ]έ
με, beide Inschriften, wie sich nun ergiebt, falsch ergänzt, und die zweizeilige
Inschrift Naukratis 2, 750, wo die obere Linie [τῆ Ἀφροδί]τη, die untere Ἑρμαγα-
θῖνός μ' ἀνέθ[ηκεν] bietet. Gardner liest danach τῆ Ἀ. Ἑ. μ' ἀνέθηκεν. Aber Dümm-
ler bemerkt mir, dass die obere Zeile, weil kürzer und den Raum nicht ausfül-
lend, nicht die erste Zeile sein könne, sondern offenbar den Schluss der untern
längern Zeile bilde. Folglich muss, schon ganz abgesehen von unserer Stellungs-
regel, Ἑρμαγαθῖνός μ' ἀνέθ[ηκε] [τῆ Ἀφροδί]τη gelesen werden.

Ganz Analoges gilt für die mit Synonymis von ἀνέθηκε gebildeten Aufschrif-
ten: με κατέθηκε Kypros: Deecke 1 Κάς μι κατέθηκε τᾶ Παφίᾳ Ἀφροδίτᾳ. 2
αὐτάρ μι κατέ[θηκε] Ὀνασίθεμις. 3 αὐτάρ με [κατέθηκε Ὀνασί]θεμι[ς]. 15 αὐτάρ
με κατέθηκε [Ἀ]κεστόθεμις. — Naukratis II No. 790 [ὁ δεῖνα μ]ε κάθθη[κε] ὁ
[sic] Μυτιλήναιος. 840 Νέαρχός με κά[θθηκε το]ῖς Δ[ιοσκόροισι]. — μ' ἐπέθηκε
Aegina: IGA. 362 Διότιμός μ' ἐπέθηκε. — με (κατ)έσταϲε Kypros: Deecke 71 κά
μεν ἔστασαν [κα]σίγνητοι (Vers!). Hoffmann I 46 No. 67 Γιλ(λ)ίκα με κατέστασε
ὁ [sic] Στασικρέτεος. — με ἔϝεξε Kypros: Hoffmann I 46 No. 66 [αὐ]τάρ με ἔϝεξε

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[Ὀνασί]θεμις. — μ᾽ ἔδωκε Sikyon: IGA. 22 Ἐπαίνετός μ᾽ ἔδωκεν Χαρόπῳ. Abweichend die böotische Inschrift IGA. 219 Χάρης ἔδωκεν Εὐπλοίωνί με. Wozu Röhl: "Versu trimetro dedicationem includere studuit Chares, sed male ei cessit." (Vgl. übrigens auch die Stel-*[S. 349]*lung von ϲοι in der attischen Inschrift IGA. 2 τηνδί ϲοι Θούδημος δίδωϲι.)

In poetischen Weihinschriften findet sich so gestelltes με bis in die Kaiserzeit: Kaibel 821 Βάκχῳ μ[ε] Βάκχον καὶ προϲυμναίᾳ θεῷ ϲτάϲαντο. 822, 9 Δαδοῦχος με Κόρης, Βαϲιλᾶν, Διός, ἱερὰ ϲηκῶν Ἥρας κλεῖθρα φέρων βωμὸν ἔθηκε Ῥέῃ. 877[b] (S. XIX) ἄνθετο μέν μ᾽ Ἐπίδαυρος. Vgl. 868 Ἀϲκληπιοῦ με δμῶα πυρφόρο[ν θεοῦ oder ξένε] Πείϲωνα λεύϲϲεις. (Mit andrer Stellung von με Kaibel 809, 813, 843.)

Ganz ebenso die Künsterinschriften [sic]: μ᾽ ἐποίηϲε, μ᾽ ἐποίει: CIA. 4² 373, 206 [E]ὐθυκλῆϲ μ᾽ ἐποίηϲεν. IGA. 492 (attische Inschrift von Sigeum) καί μ᾽ ἐπο(ίη)-ϲεν Αἴϲωπος καὶ ἀδελφοί. CIA. 1, 466 Ἀριϲτίων μ᾽ ἐπόηϲεν. 1, 469 (vgl. Löwy Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer S. 15) Ἀριϲτίων Πάρι[ός μ᾽ ἐπ]ό[ηϲ]ε (die Ergänzung sicher!). IGA. 378 (Thasos) Παρμένων με ἐ[ποίηϲε]. IGA. 485 (Milet) Εὔδημός με ἐποίειν. IGA. 557 (Elis?) Κοῖός μ᾽ ἀπόηϲεν. IGA. 22 (= Klein Griechische Vasen mit Meistersignaturen S. 40) Ἐξηκίας μ᾽ ἐποίηϲε. Klein S. 41 Ἐξηκίας μ᾽ ἐποίηϲεν εὖ. S. 31 Θεόζοτός μ᾽ ἐπόηϲε. S. 34 Ἐργότιμός μ᾽ ἐποίηϲεν. S. 43, 45 (bis!), 48 Ἄμαϲίς μ᾽ ἐποίηϲεν. S. 48 Χόλχος μ᾽ ἐποίηϲεν. S. 66 -ϲ μ᾽ ἐποίηϲεν. S. 71 Νικοϲθένης μ᾽ ἐποίηϲεν. S. 75 Ἀνακλῆς με ἐποίηϲεν. S. 75 Νικοϲθένης με ἐποίηϲεν. S. 76 Ἀρχεκλῆς μ᾽ ἐποίηϲεν. S. 77 Γλαυκίτης μ᾽ ἐποίηϲεν. S. 84 (bis!) Τληνπόλεμός μ᾽ ἐποίηϲεν. S. 85 Γάγεος μ᾽ ἐποίηϲεν. S. 90 Πανφαῖός μ᾽ ἐποίηϲεν. S. 213 Λυϲίας μ᾽ ἐποίηϲεν ἡμιχώνη. Dazu die metrische Aufschrift IGA. 536 [Γλαυκία]ι με Κάλων γε[νεᾷ ϝ]αλεῖ[ο]ς ἐποίει. Dagegen kommt Löwy No. 411 [Ἀρτέ]-μων με ἐποίηϲε durch die Behandlung der Inschrift bei Köhler CIA. 2, 1181 in Wegfall. — Der Regel widerspricht Klein S. 51 Χαριταῖος ἐποίηϲεν με. Hier hat wohl <ἐ>μέ entweder ursprünglich dagestanden oder ist wenigstens beabsichtigt gewesen. (Vgl. über ἐμέ unten S. 351).

μ᾽ ἔγραψε, μ᾽ ἔγραφε: IGA. 20, 102 (Korinth) -ων μ᾽ [ἔγραψε] nach der Ergänzung von Blass No. 3119e Collitz. Kyprische Inschrift bei Hoffmann I 90 No. 189 -οικός με γράφει Ϲελαμίνιος. Klein S. 29 Τιμωνίδας μ᾽ ἔγραφε. S. 30 Χάρης μ᾽ ἔγραψε. S. 38 Νέαρχός μ᾽ ἔγραψεν καὶ <ἐποίηϲεν>. — Abweichend IGA. 474 (Kreta) -μων ἔγραφέ με. Doch lässt sich diese Ausnahme leicht durch die Schreibung ἔγραφ᾽ ἐμέ beseitigen. Vergleiche die Inschrift bei Klein S. 40 κἀποίηϲ᾽ *[S. 350]* ἐμέ mit eben solcher Elision, wo ἐμέ durch andere Aufzeichnungen derselben Inschrift mit ἐπόηϲε ἐμέ gesichert ist. [Vgl. in Betr. des inschriftlichen με noch die Nachträge.]

Zu den auf Steinen und Vasen überlieferten Inschriften mit με kommen einige z. T. recht alte von Pausanias aus Olympia beigebrachte hinzu. 5, 25, 13 = 8, 42, 10 (aus Thasos) υἱός μέν με Μίκωνος Ὀνάτας ἐξετέλεσσεν. 6, 10, 7 (5. Jahrhundert) Κλεοσθένης μ᾽ ἀνέθηκεν ὁ Πόντιος ἐξ Ἐπιδάμνου. 6, 19, 6 (altattisch) Ζηνί μ᾽ ἄγαλμ᾽ ἀνέθηκαν. In dem Epigramm bei Paus. 5, 23, 7 Zeile 3 καὶ μετρεῖτ᾽ Ἀρίστων ἠδὲ Τελέστας αὐτοκασίγνητοι καλὰ Λάκωνες *ἔσαν verbessert F. Dümmler nach freundlicher Mitteilung καί με Κλειτορίοις Ἀρίστων κτλ. — Hierher gehören auch die von Herodot 5, 59 und 5, 60 aus dem Ismenion beigebrachten Aufschriften Ἀμφιτρύων μ᾽ ἀνέθηκεν *ἐὼν ἀπὸ Τηλεβοάων und Σκαῖος πυγμαχέων με ἐκηβόλῳ Ἀπόλλωνι νικήσας ἀνέθηκε, letztere die einzige regelwidrige in dieser Gruppe, zudem, weil metrisch, nicht schwer ins Gewicht fallend.

Auch die jüngern Epigrammatiker haben, wo sie das altertümliche με für ihre gedichteten Aufschriften anwandten, sich mit auffälliger Strenge an die Norm gehalten: Kallimachus Epigr. 23 (21 Wilamowitz), 1 ὅστις ἐμὸν παρὰ σῆμα φέρεις πόδα, Καλλιμάχου με ἴσθι Κυρηναίου παῖδά τε καὶ γενέτην. 36 (34 W.), 1 τίν με, λεοντάγχ᾽ ὦνα συοκτόνε, φήγινον ὄζον θῆκε. 50 (49 W.), 1 τῆς Ἀγοράνακτος με λέγε, ξένε, κωμικὸν ὄντως ἀγκεῖσθαι νίκης μάρτυρα τοῦ Ῥοδίου Πάμφιλον. 56 (55), 1 τῷ με Κανωπίτῃ Καλλίστιον εἴκοσι μύξαις πλούσιον ἡ Κριτίου λύχνον ἔθηκε θεῷ. Fragm. 95 (Laertius Diog. 1, 29) Θαλῆς με τῷ μεδεῦντι Νείλεω δήμου δίδωσι, τοῦτο δὶς λαβὼν ἀριστεῖον. — Anthol. Pal. 6, 49 (Athen. 6, 232 B) καί μ᾽ ἐπὶ Πατρόκλῳ θῆκεν πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς. 6, 178, 1 δέξαι μ᾽ Ἡράκλεις Ἀρχεστράτου ἱερὸν ὅπλον. — Abweichend, doch nur unbedeutend abweichend 6, 209 1 Βιθυνὶς Κυθέρη με τεῆς ἀνεθήκατο, Κύπρι, μορφῆς εἴδωλον λύγδινον εὐξαμένη. 6, 239, 1 σμήνεος ἔκ με ταμὼν γλυκερὸν θέρος ἀντὶ νομαίων γηραιὸς Κλεῖτων σπεῖσε μελισσοπόνος. 6, 261, 1 χάλκεον ἀργυρέῳ με πανείκελον, Ἰνδικὸν ἔργον, ὄλπην — — πέμπεν γηθομένη σὺν φρενὶ Κριναγόρης. Dagegen wird für 6, 138, 1 πρὶν μὲν Καλλιτέλης μ᾽ ἱδρύσατο die Überlieferung des Palatinus durch das auf einem Stein zum Vorschein gekommene Original *[S. 351]* CIA. 1, 381 = Kaibel 758 widerlegt, das kein μ᾽ bietet. Hieraus ergiebt sich auch für 6, 140, 1 παιδὶ φιλοστεφάνῳ Σεμέλας <μ᾽> ἀνέθηκε das von Hecker ergänzte μ᾽ als überflüssig.

Unsere Durchmusterung der Inschriften mit με ergiebt also, dass dasselbe bei poetischer Fassung mit Vorliebe, bei prosaischer so gut wie ausnahmslos an zweite Stelle gesetzt wurde. Denn wenn wir IGA. 474 ἔγραφ᾽ ἐμέ abteilen, Naukratis 1, 303 und 307, wo bloss ME bezw. EME überliefert ist, als ganz unsicher bei Seite lassen, endlich Naukratis 2, 750 die vom Schreiber der Inschrift wirklich gemeinte Wortfolge wiederherstellen, so bleiben nur IGA. 219 Χάρης ἔδωκεν Εὐπλοίωνί με, was zwar nicht ein Vers ist, aber ein Vers sein will, und Klein S. 51 Χαριταῖος ἐποίησέν με übrig. Letzteres ist also die einzige wirkliche Ausnahme; um so näher liegt die Vermutung eines Fehlers.

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Andrerseits erhält unsere Regel noch weitere Bestätigung. Erstens dadurch, dass auch sonst in archaischen Inschriften, in welchen das Denkmal oder der durch das Denkmal Geehrte spricht, με die zweite Stelle hat: IGA. 473 (Rhodus) Κοϲμία ἠμί, ἄγε δέ με Κλιτομίαϲ. 524 (Cumae) = Inscript. Siciliae ed. Kaibel 865 ὃϲ δ' ἄν με κλέψει, —. Zweitens (um dies einem spätern Abschnitt vorwegzunehmen) durch die analogen lateinischen Inschriften: *Manios m e d fefaked, Duenos m e d feced, Novios Plautios m e d Romai fecid*.

Besonders belehrend sind aber die paar Inschriften mit ἐμέ. Zweimal steht dieses ἐμέ auch an zweiter Stelle: IGA. 20, 8 (Korinth) Ἀπολλόδωροϲ ἐμὲ ἀνέθ[ηκε] und Gazette archéol. 1888 S. 168 Μεναῖδαϲ ἐμ' ἐποί(ϝ)ηϲε Χάροπ[ι]. Aber sechsmal steht ἐμέ anders: Klein S. 39 Ἐξεκίαϲ ἔγραψε κἀπόηϲε ἐμέ (Vers?) S. 40 Ἐξεκίαϲ ἔγραψε κἀ(ι)ποίηϲ' ἐμέ (Vers?). S. 51 Χαριταῖοϲ ἐποίηϲεν ἔμ' εὖ. S. 82 Ἑρμογένηϲ ἐποίηϲεν ἐμέ. S. 83 Ἑρμογένηϲ ἐποίηϲεν ἐνέ (liess ἐμέ). S. 85 Ϲακωνίδηϲ ἔγραψεν ἐμέ. Diese Stellen zeigen, dass die regelmässige Stellung von με hinter dem ersten Wort nicht zufällig und dass sie durch seine enklitische Natur bedingt ist. [Vgl. noch die Nachträge.]

III.

Wichtiger für diese Frage (wie überhaupt für jede über etymologische Spielereien hinausreichende Sprachforschung) sind natürlich die umfangreichern Texte der ionischen und *[S. 352]* der attischen Litteratur, vor allem wieder Herodot. So wenig allerdings, als bei μιν und οἱ, hat er bei den übrigen enklitischen Pronomina die alte Regel festgehalten.

Im siebenten Buche des Herodot findet sich ϲφεων 13 mal, davon 6 mal an zweiter Stelle; ϲφι 70 mal, davon 46 mal an zweiter Stelle; ϲφεαϲ 32 mal, davon 20 mal an zweiter Stelle; ϲφεα 1 mal, nicht an zweiter Stelle. Also von 116 Stellen, wo ϲφ-Formen vorliegen, folgen 72 der Regel, also ca. 62%. Unvollständige Sammlungen aus den übrigen Büchern ergaben ein analoges Verhältnis.

Im Pronomen der zweiten Person haben wir in Herodot VII. ϲεο einmal, regelmässig; τοι (mit Ausschluss der Fälle, wo es deutlich Partikel ist) 45 mal, davon 18—20 mal an zweiter Stelle; ϲε 16 mal, davon 10 mal an zweiter Stelle. — Im Pronomen der ersten Person: μεο 3 mal, hiervon einmal regelmässig; μοι 37 mal, davon 24 mal an zweiter Stelle, wenn man 15, 6 ἔγνων δὲ ταῦτά μοι ποιητέα ἐόντα. 47, 8 φέρε τοῦτό μοι ἀτρεκέωϲ εἰπέ. 103, 3 ἄγε εἰπέ μοι hierher stellen darf; με 6 mal, davon zweimal regelmässig. Also in der ersten und zweiten Person haben wir 58 mal regelmässige, 50 mal regelwidrige Stellung.

Es ergiebt sich aus dieser Statistik zwar mit völliger Klarheit, dass die alte Regel bei Herodot nicht mehr ohne weiters gilt, dass andere Stellungsregeln in

Wirkung getreten sind. Aber zugleich auch, dass trotz und neben diesen neuern Regeln die alte Regel doch noch Kraft genug hat, um in mehr als der Hälfte der Fälle die Stellung des Pronomens zu bestimmen: freilich sind in dieser grössern Hälfte die Beispiele mit begriffen, wo für das Pronomen die zweite Stelle im Satz auch nach den jüngern Regeln das Natürliche war.

Bei den Attikern lassen Zählungen, die ich vorgenommen habe, auf ein noch weiteres Zurückgehen der alten Regel schliessen. Aber unverkennbare Spuren derselben finden sich in bestimmten Wendungen und Wortverbindungen auch noch bei ihnen, wie bei Herodot und überhaupt den nachhomerischen Autoren.

Jedem Leser der attischen Redner muss es auffallen, wie häufig der Aufforderungssatz, wodurch die Verlesung einer Urkunde oder das Herbeirufen von Zeugen veranlasst werden soll, mit καί μοι beginnt, ja man kann sagen, dass wenn er *[S. 353]* überhaupt mit καί beginnt und μοι enthält, μοι sich ausnahmslos unmittelbar an καί anschliesst. Ich ordne die Beispiele nach der Chronologie der Redner, und die Wendungen nach der Zeit des ältesten Beispiels.

καί μοι κάλει mit folgendem Objekt Andoc. 1, 14. 1, 28. 1, 112. Lys. 13, 79. 17, 2. 17, 3. 17, 9. 19, 59, 31, 16. Isocrates 17, 12. 17, 16. 18, 8. 18, 54. Isaeus 6, 37. 7, 10. 8, 42. 10, 7. Demosth. 29, 12. 29, 18. 41, 6. 57, 12. 57, 38. 57, 39. 57, 46. [Demosth.] 44, 14. 44, 44. 58, 32. 58, 33. 59, 25. 59, 28. 59, 32. 59, 34. 59, 40. Aeschines 1, 100. Oder mit andrer Stellung des Objekts καί μοι μάρτυρας τούτων κάλει Antiphon 5, 56; καί μοι ἀπάντων τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας κάλει Andoc. 1, 127; καί μοι τούτους κάλει πρῶτον Isäus 5, 11.

καί μοι λαβὲ καὶ ἀνάγνωθι mit folgendem Objekt Andoc. 1, 13. 1, 15.

καί μοι ἀνάγνωθι mit folgendem Objekt Andoc. 1, 34. 1, 76. 1, 82. 1, 85. 1, 86. 1, 87. 1, 96. Lysias 10, 14. 10, 15. 13, 35. 13, 50. 14, 8. Isokrates 15, 29. 17, 52. Isaeus 5, 2 bis. 5, 4. 6, 7. 6, 8. [Demosth.] 34, 10. 34, 11. 34, 20. 34, 39. 43, 16. 46, 26. 47, 17. 47, 20. 47, 40. 47, 44. 48, 30. 59, 52. Aeschines 3, 24. Oder mit andrer Stellung des Objekts καί μοι τὰς μαρτυρίας ἀνάγνωθι ταύτας (ταυτασί) Isaeus 2, 16. 2, 34; καί μοι τούτων ἀνάγνωθι τὴν μαρτυρίαν [Demosth.] 50, 42; καί μοι λαβὼν ἀνάγνωθι πρῶτον τὸν Σόλωνος νόμον Demosth. 57, 31. Ohne Objekt [Demosth.] 47, 24.

καί μοι ἀνάβητε μάρτυρες (oder τούτων μάρτυρες) Lysias 1, 29. 1, 42. 13, 64. 16, 14. 16, 17. 32, 27; contra Aeschinem Fr. 1 (Orat. att. ed. Sauppe 2, 172, 26) bei Athen. 13, 612 F. Isokrates 17, 37. 17, 41; καί μοι τούτων ἀνάβητε μάρτυρες Isokr. 17, 14; καί μοι ἀνάβητε δεῦρο Lysias 20, 29; καί μοι ἀνάβηθι Lysias 16, 13. Isokr. 17, 32.

καί μοι δεῦρ' ἴτε μάρτυρες Lysias 1, 10.

καί μοι λαβέ mit folgendem Objekt Lysias 9, 8. Isokr. 18, 19. 19, 14. Isaeus 6, 16. 6, 48. 8, 17. 12, 11. Lykurg 125. Demosth. 18, 222. 30, 10. 30, 32. 30, 34. 31, 4. 36, 4.

41, 24. 41, 28. 55, 14. 55, 35. 57, 19. 57, 25. [Demosth.] 34, 7. 34, 17. 44, 14. 48, 3. 58, 51. 59, 87. 59, 104. Aeschines 2, 65; καί μοι πάλιν λαβέ [Demosth.] 58, 49.

καί μοι ἀπόκριναι Lysias 13, 32.

[S. 354] καί μοι ἐπίλαβε τὸ ὕδωρ Lysias 23, 4. 23, 8. 23, 11. 23, 14. 23, 15.

καί μοι ἀναγίγνωσκε mit folgendem Objekt Demosth 27, 8. [Demosth.] 35, 27.

καί μοι λέγε mit folgendem Objekt Demosth. 19, 130. 19, 154. 19, 276. 18, 53. 18, 83. 18, 105. 18, 163. 18, 218. 32, 13. 37, 17. 38, 3. 38, 14. [Demosth.] 34, 9. 56, 38. Aeschines 2, 91. 3, 27. 3, 32. 3, 39.

καί μοι φέρε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ τότε γενόμενον Demosth. 18, 179.

Abweichend ist blos [sic] Aeschines 1, 50 καὶ τελευταίαν δέ μοι λαβὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ Μιϲγόλα μαρτυρίαν. Hier haben wir aber nicht blosses καί, sondern καὶ — δέ. Und vor diesem δέ, also hinter καί, war ein stark betontes Wort erforderlich, somit μοι unmöglich.

Aber auch ausserhalb dieser rednerischen Wendung ist καί μοι am Anfang von Sätzen in der ganzen nachhomerischen Litteratur merkwürdig häufig (vgl. Blass zu Demosth. 18, 199). Hier ein paar Beispiele; jedes Schriftwerk bietet solche. Archilochus Fragm. 22 Bgk. καί μ᾽ οὔτ᾽ ἰάμβων οὔτε τερπωλέων μέλει. 45 καί μοι ϲύμμαχοϲ γουνουμένῳ ἵλαοϲ γενεῦ. Sappho Fragm. 79 καί μοι —. Solon bei Aristoteles Ἀθηναίων πολιτ. 14, 3 Kenyon. γιγνώϲκω, καί μοι φρενὸϲ ἔνδοθεν ἄλγεα κεῖται, πρεϲβυτάτην ἐϲορῶν γαῖαν Ἰαονίαϲ. Theognis 258 καί μοι τοῦτ᾽ ἀνιηρότατον. 1199 καί μοι κραδίην ἐπάταξε μέλαιναν. Sophokles Elektra 116 καί μοι τὸν ἐμὸν πέμψατ᾽ ἀδελφόν. id. Λαριϲϲαῖοι Fragm. 349 Nauck καί μοι τρίτον ῥίπτοντι Δωτιεὺϲ ἀνὴρ ἀγχοῦ προϲῆψεν Ἔλατοϲ ἐν διϲκήματι. Herodot 7, 9ᵃ 7 καί μοι μέχρι Μακεδονίηϲ ἐλάϲαντι οὐδεὶϲ ἠντιώθη. 7, 152, 13 καί μοι τοῦτο τὸ ἔποϲ ἐχέτω ἐϲ πάντα λόγον. Euripides Medea 1222 καί μοι τὸ μὲν ϲὸν ἐκποδὼν ἔϲτω λόγου. Thucyd. 1, 137, 4 καί μοι εὐεργεϲία ὀφείλεται. Aristoph. Ran. 755 καί μοι φράϲον. Ekkles. 47 καί μοι δοκεῖ κατὰ ϲχολὴν παρὰ τἀνδρὸϲ ἐξελθεῖν μόνη. Plato Apologie 21 D καί μοι ταὐτὰ ταῦτα ἔδοξε. 25 A (= Gorg. 462 B) καί μοι ἀπόκριναι. 31 E καί μοι μὴ ἄχθεϲθε λέγοντι τἀληθῆ. Phaedo 60 C καί μοι δοκεῖ (scil. Αἴϲωποϲ) — μῦθον ἂν ϲυνθεῖναι. 63 A καί μοι δοκεῖ Κέβηϲ εἰϲ ϲὲ τείνειν τὸν λόγον. (97 D καί μοι φράϲειν.) 98 C καί μοι ἔδοξεν (scil. Ἀναξαγόραϲ) ὁμοιότατον πεπονθέναι. Sympos. 173 B καί μοι ὡμολόγει. *[S. 355]* 189 B καί μοι ἔϲτω ἄρρητα τὰ εἰρημένα. 218 C καί μοι φαίνη ὀκνεῖν. Gorgias 449 C καί μοι ἐπίδειξιν αὐτοῦ τούτου ποίηϲαι. 482 A καί μοί ἐϲτιν τῶν ἑτέρων παιδικῶν πολὺ ἧττον ἔμπληκτοϲ. 485 B καί μοι δοκεῖ δουλοπρεπέϲ τι εἶναι. 492 D = 494 B καί μοι λέγε. 499 C καί μοι ὥϲπερ παιδὶ χρῇ. Charmides 157 B καί μοι πάνυ ϲφόδρα ἐνετέλλετο. Sophistes 216 B καί μοι δοκεῖ θεὸϲ μὲν ἀνὴρ οὐδαμῶϲ εἶναι. 233 D καί μοι πειρῶ προϲέχων τὸν νοῦν εὖ μάλα ἀποκρίναϲθαι, wo μοι vom regierenden Verbum durch πειρῶ getrennt ist. Leges 1, 642 C καί

μοι νῦν ἥ τε φωνὴ προσφιλὴς ὑμῶν. Demosth. 18, 280 καί μοι δοκεῖς προελέσθαι. Philemon Fragm. 4, 4 Kock (2 S. 479) καί μοι λέγειν τοῦτ᾿ ἔστιν ἁρμοστόν, Σόλων. Kallimachus Epigr. 41 (40 Wilamow.), 5 καί μοι τέκν᾿ ἐγένοντο δύ᾿ ἄρσενα. (Recht selten ist μοι an ein satzeinleitendes καί nicht angeschlossen: Plato Gorg. 485 C καὶ πρέπειν μοι δοκεῖ. 486 D καὶ οὐδέν μοι δεῖ ἄλλης βασάνου. Demosth. 18, 246 καὶ ταῦτά μοι πάντα πεποίηται.) [καί μοι auch Eurip. Hippol. 377. 1373.]

Speziell gehören zusammen als Beispiele sogenannter Prodiorthose (Blass zu Demosth. 18, 199) Plato Apol. 20 E καί μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ θορυβήσητε. Vgl. die oben angeführte Stelle 31 E. Gorgias 486 A καί μοι μηδὲν ἀχθεσθῇς. Demosth. 5, 15 καί μοι μὴ θορυβήσῃ μηδείς. 20, 102 καί μοι μηδὲν ὀργισθῆς. Und diesen Stellen sind wieder ganz ähnlich, nur dass wir den Genetiv des Pronomens haben, Demosth. 18, 199 καί μου πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν μηδὲ εἷς τὴν ὑπερβολὴν θαυμάσῃ. 18, 256 καί μου πρὸς Διὸς μηδεμίαν ψυχρότητα καταγνῶ μηδείς.

Überhaupt ist die Neigung, das Pronomen an satzeinleitendes καί anzuschliessen, nicht auf μοι beschränkt. Gerade καί μου findet sich auch noch Theognis 1366 καί μου παῦρ᾿ ἐπάκουσον ἔπη. Aristoph. Ran. 1006 καί μου τὰ σπλάγχν᾿ ἀγανακτεῖ. Plato Apol. 22 D καί μου ταύτῃ σοφώτεροι ἦσαν. Republ. 1, 327 B καί μου ὄπισθεν ὁ παῖς λαβόμενος τοῦ ἱματίου. Parmen. 126 A καί μου λαβόμενος τῆς χειρός.

Für καί με erinnere ich an die schon vorher aufgeführten Weih- und Küstlerinschriften, die es enthalten: IGA. 492. Kyprisch Deecke 1, 71. Pausan. 5, 23, 7. Anthol. Pal. 6, 49. Vgl. Kaibel 806 καί μ᾿ ἔστεψε πατὴρ (ε)ἰσαρίθμοις ἔπεσι. Jungkyprische Inschr. Deecke No. 30 καί με χθὼν ἥδε καλύπτει. Dazu kommt *[S. 356]* noch (Solon bei Aristot. Ἀθην. πολ. S. 30, 1 Kenyon. κἀδόκουν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ὄλβον εὑρήσειν πολὺν καί με κωτίλλοντα λείως τραχὺν ἐκφανεῖν νόον.) Anakreon Fragm. 60 καί μ᾿ ἐπίβωτον κατὰ γείτονας ποιήσεις. Hipponax Fragm. 64 καί με δεσπότεω βεβροῦ λαχόντα λίσσομαι σε μὴ ῥαπίζεσθαι. Theognis 503 καί με βιᾶται οἶνος. 786 καί μ᾿ ἐφίλευν προφρόνως πάντες ἐπερχόμενον. Sophokles Oed. Rex 72 καί μ᾿ ἦμαρ ἤδη ξυμμετρούμενον χρόνῳ λυπεῖ τί πράσσει. (Herodot 3, 35, 7 φάναι Πέρσας τε λέγειν ἀληθέα καί με μὴ σωφρονέειν). Eurip. Alkestis 641 καί μ᾿ οὐ νομίζω παῖδα σὸν πεφυκέναι. Andromache 334 τέθνηκα τῇ σῇ θυγατρὶ καί μ᾿ ἀπώλεσε. Med. 338 καί μ᾿ ἀπάλλαξον πόνων. Helena (278 πόσιν ποθ᾿ ἥξειν καί μ᾿ ἀπαλλάξειν κακῶν.) 557 καί μ᾿ ἑλὼν θέλει δοῦναι τυράννοις. Orestes 796 καί με πρὸς τύμβον πόρευσα πατρός. 869 καί μ᾿ ἔφερβε σὸς δόμος. Aristoph. [Eq. 862] Ran. (338 καί μ᾿ ἀσφαλῶς πανήμερον παῖσαί τε καὶ χορεῦσαι.) [389 καί — με]. 916 καί με τοῦτ᾿ ἔτερπεν. Plut. 353 καί μ᾿ οὐκ ἀρέσκει. Demosth. 18, 59 καί με μηδεὶς ἀπαρτᾶν νομίσῃ τὸν λόγον τῆς γραφῆς.

Pronomen der II. Person: Theognis 241 καί σε — νέοι ἄνδρες — ᾄσονται. 465 καί σοι τὰ δίκαια φίλ᾿ ἔστω. 692 καί σε Ποσειδάων χάρμα φίλοις ἀνάγοι. He-

rodot 7, 11, 4 καί τοι ταύτην τὴν ἀτιμίην προϲτίθημι ἐόντι κακῷ καὶ ἀθύμῳ. Eurip. Medea 456 καί ϲ᾽ ἐβουλόμην μένειν. Helena 1280 καί ϲ᾽ οὐ κεναῖϲι χερϲὶ γῆϲ ἀποϲτελῶ. 1387 καί ϲε προϲποιούμεθα (Nauck καὶ ϲέ). Orestes 755 καί ϲ᾽ ἀναγκαῖον θανεῖν. 1047 καί ϲ᾽ ἀμείψαϲθαι θέλω φιλότητι χειρῶν. Bacch. 1172 ὁρῶ καί ϲε δέξομαι ϲύγκωμον. Aristoph. Equites 300 καί ϲε φαίνω τοῖϲ πρυτάνεϲιν. Pax 396 καί ϲε θυϲίαιϲιν ἱεραῖϲι — ἀγαλοῦμεν. 403 καί ϲοι φράϲω τι πρᾶγμα. 418 καί ϲοι (al. καὶ ϲοὶ) τὰ μεγάλ᾽ ἡμεῖϲ Παναθήναι᾽ ἄξομεν. Plato Gorg. 482 D καί ϲου κατεγέλα. 527 A καί ϲε ἴϲωϲ τυπτήϲει τιϲ. Anthol. Pal. 6, 157, 3 καί ϲοι ἐπιρρέξει Γόργος χιμάροιο νομαίηϲ αἷμα. Vgl. das oben S. 344 angeführte Fragm. lyr. adesp. 43 A καί τυ φίλιππον ἔθηκεν.

Pronomen der III. Person: Archilochus Fragm. 27, 2 καί ϲφεαϲ ὄλλυ᾽ ὥϲπερ ὀλλύειϲ. 74, 8 καί ϲφιν θαλάϲϲηϲ ἠχέεντα κύματα φίλτερ᾽ ἠπείρου γένηται. Mimnerm. Fragm. 15 καί μιν ἐπ᾽ ἀνθρώπουϲ βάξιϲ ἔχει χαλεπή. Theognis 405 καί οἱ ἔθηκε δοκεῖν. 422 καί ϲφιν πολλ᾽ ἀμέλητα μέλει. 732 καί ϲφιν τοῦτο γένοιτο φίλον. 1347 καί μιν ἔθηκεν δαίμονα. *[S. 357]* Herodot 4, 119, 2 καί ϲφεων ἐϲχίϲθηϲαν αἱ γνῶμαι. Eurip. Or. 1200 καί νιν δοκῶ. Bacch. 231 καί ϲφαϲ ϲιδηραῖϲ ἁρμόϲαϲ ἐν ἄρκυϲι παύϲω — τῆϲδε βακχείαϲ. Kallimach. Epigr. 14 (12 Wilamow.), 3 καί ϲφιν ἀνιηρὸν μὲν ἐρεῖϲ ἔποϲ, ἔμπα δὲ λέξειϲ.

Ein Beispiel für καί με und eines für καί ϲφεαϲ sei besonders herausgehoben: Plato Gorg. 506 B καί με ἐὰν ἐξελέγχῃϲ, οὐκ ἀπεχθήϲομαί ϲοι. Herodot 6, 34, 12 καί ϲφεαϲ ὡϲ οὐδεὶϲ ἐκάλεε, ἐκτράπονται ἐπ᾽ Ἀθηνέων. An beiden Stellen ist das Pronomen aus dem Nebensatz, in den es gehört, herausgenommen und an καί angehängt. — Übrigens findet sich καί mit folgendem enklitischem Pronomen auch bei Homer schon oft.

Auch noch andern regelmässig oder oft am Anfang des Satzes stehenden Partikeln ist diese Attraktionskraft eigen: so οὐ, μή, γάρ, εἰ, ἐάν. Auch ἀλλά ist hier zu nennen: Archiloch. 58, 3 ἀλλά μοί [sic] ϲμικρόϲ τιϲ εἴη. 85 ἀλλά μ᾽ ὁ λυϲιμελήϲ, ὦταῖρε δάμναται πόθοϲ. Alcaeus 55, 2 θέλω τι ϝείπην, ἀλλά με κωλύει αἴδωϲ. Theognis 941 ἀλλά μ᾽ ἑταῖροϲ ἐκλείπει. 1155 ἀλλά μοι εἴη ζῆν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀλίγων. Eurip. Or. 1323 ἀλλά μοι φόβοϲ τιϲ εἰϲελήλυθ(ε). Aristoph. Ran. 1338 (euripidisierend) ἀλλά μοι ἀμφίπολοι λύχνον ἅψατε. Häufig ist ἀλλά μοι bei Plato (Apol. 39 E, 41 D, Phaedo 63 E, 72 D. Sympos. 207 C, 213 A. Gorgias 453 A, 476 B, 517 B u. s. w.). ἀλλά ϲε Theognis 1287, 1333. Eurip. Med. 759, 1389 u. s. w.

Ferner finden wir, wie bei Homer und Sappho, das enklitische Pronomen mehrmals sogar an einen Vokativ angelehnt, wenn ein solcher erstes Wort des Satzes ist oder auf das erste Wort des Satzes folgt: Hipponax Fragm. 85, 1 Μοῦϲά μοι Εὐρυμεδοντιάδεα — ἔννεφ᾽ —. Vgl. Fragm. lyr. adesp. 30 A (Poetae lyr. ed. Bergk 3, 696) Μοῖϲά μοι ἀμφὶ Ϲκάμανδρον εὔρροον ἄρχομ᾽ ἀείδειν. Sophokles Antig. 544 μήτοι καϲιγνήτη μ᾽ ἀτιμάϲῃϲ. Eurip. Heraclid. 79 ὅδ᾽ ὦ ξένοι με, ϲοὺϲ ἀτιμάζων

θεούς, ἕλκει. Helena 670 ὁ Διός, ὁ Διός, ὦ πόσι με παῖς Ἑρμᾶς ἐπέλασεν Νείλῳ. Bacch. 1120 οἴκτιρε δ᾽ ὦ μῆτέρ με. Andromeda Fragm. 118 N. ἔασον Ἀχοῖ με σὺν φίλαισιν γόου κόρον λαβεῖν. Aristoph. Thesmoph. 1134 μέμνησο Περσεῦ μ᾽ ὡς καταλείπεις. Theokrit. 2, 95 εἴ᾽ ἄγε Θεστυλί μοι χαλεπᾶς νόσω εὑρέ τι μᾶχος.

Verwandt damit ist die Anlehnung an einen vorausge-*[S. 358]*schickten imperativischen Ausdruck, wie im homerischen ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε μοι: Eurip. Bacch. 341 δεῦρό ϲου ϲτέψω κάρα. Iphig. Aul. 1436 παῦσαί με μὴ κάκιζε, wo με zu κάκιζε gehört. Plato Gorg. 464 B φέρε δή ϲοι, ἐὰν δύνωμαι, ϲαφέϲτερον ἀποδείξω. 495 C ἴθι δή μοι, ἐπειδὴ —, διελοῦ τάδε. Ion 535 B ἔχε δή μοι τόδε εἰπέ. Ebenso die Anlehnung an βούλει, wenn eine 1. Sing. Konjunktivi folgt: Eurip. Kyklops 149 βούλει ϲε γεύϲω. Plato Gorg. 516 C βούλει ϲοι ὁμολογήϲω. 521 D βούλει ϲοι εἴπω. Aeschines 3, 163 βούλει ϲε θῶ φοβηθῆναι. — Im allgemeinen ähnlich sind Plato Euthydem. 297 C νεωϲτί, μοι δοκεῖν, καταπεπλευκότι und Parmen. 137 B τί οὖν, εἰπεῖν, μοι ἀποκρινεῖται.

Öfters finden wir nun aber ein solches Pronomen der zweiten Stelle im Satz zu lieb von den Wörtern getrennt, zu denen es syntaktisch gehört. Theognis 559 λῶϲτά ϲε μήτε λίην ἀφνεὸν κτεάτεϲϲι μήτε ϲέ γ᾽ ἐϲ πολλὴν χρημοϲύνην ἐλάϲαι. Wieder anders Eurip. Iphig. Taur. 1004 οὐδέ μ᾽ εἰ θανεῖν χρεών. Aristoph. Lysistr. 753 ἵνα μ᾽ εἰ καταλάβοι ὁ τόκος ἔτ᾽ ἐν πόλει, τέκοιμι. Theokrit 2, 4 ὅϲ μοι δωδεκαταῖος ἀφ᾽ ὦ τάλας οὐδέποθ᾽ ἵκει. Vgl. oben S. 357 über καί με, καί ϲφεαϲ. — Bei Partizipien: Sophokles Antig. 450 οὐ γάρ τί μοι Ζεὺς ἦν ὁ κηρύξαϲ τάδε. Eurip. Iphig. Aul. 1459 τίϲ μ᾽ εἶϲιν ἄξων. Plato Gorg. 521 D πονηρόϲ τίϲ μ᾽ ἔϲται ὁ εἰϲάγων. [Demosth.] 59, 1 πολλά με τὰ παρακαλοῦντα ἦν. (Vgl. auch Kock zu Aristoph. Av. 95). — Herodot 7, 235, 18 τάδε τοι προϲδόκα ἔϲεϲθαι. — Sophokles Antig. 546 μή μοι θάνῃϲ ϲὺ κοινά.

Leicht trennt das Pronomen vermöge derartiger Stellung eng zusammengehörige Wörter. So finden wir bei Alkman 26, 1 οὔ μ᾽ ἔτι, παρθενικαὶ μελιγάρυες ἱμερόφωνοι, γυῖα φέρειν δύναται und fragm. lyr. adesp. 5 (Poetae lyr. ed. Bergk 3, 690) οὔ μοι ἔτ᾽ εὐκελάδων ὕμνων μέλει durch με, μοι die Partikel οὐκέτι zerrissen. Ähnlich Eurip. Orest. 803 εἴ ϲε μὴν [sic] δεινᾶιϲιν ὄντα ϲυμφοραῖϲ ἐπαρκέϲω. Plato Apol. 29 E ἐάν μοι μὴ δοκῇ. Phaedrus 236E ἐάν μοι μὴ εἴπῃϲ, obwohl es sonst stets εἰ μή, ἐὰν μή in enger Verbindung heisst. Plato Gorgias 448 A οὐδείϲ μέ πω ἠρώτηκεν καινὸν οὐδέν. Auch Herodot 7, 153, 17 θῶμά μοι ὦν καὶ τοῦτο γέγονεν gehört hierher, da sonst ὦν unmittelbar hinter dem ersten Satzwort zu stehen pflegt.

Ein attributiver Genetiv ist vom regierenden Wort getrennt *[S. 359]* bei Ion, wenn er zu Beginn seiner Τριαγμοί (bei Harpokration s. v. Ἴων) sagt: ἀρχὴ δέ μοι τοῦ λόγου (Lobeck ἀρχὴ ἤδέ μοι). Ähnlich Eurip. Medea 281 τίνος μ᾽ ἔκατι γῆϲ ἀποϲτέλλειϲ. Helena 674 ἁ Δίοϲ [sic] μ᾽ ἄλοχοϲ ὤλεϲεν. 670 ὁ Διόϲ, ὦ πόϲι,

με παῖς Ἑρμᾶς ἐπέλασεν Νείλῳ. Thucyd. 1, 128, 7 εἰ οὖν τί σε τούτων ἀρέσκει für τι τούτων σε. Andoc. 1, 47 ὅσους μοι τῶν συγγόνων ἀπώλλυεν. Theokrit. 18, 19 Ζηνός τοι θυγάτηρ ὑπὸ τὰν μίαν ἵκετο χλαῖαν. [Allerdings auch ἐμέ so: Eurip. Heraklid. 687 οὐδεὶς ἔμ᾽ ἐχθρῶν προσβλέπων ἀνέξεται]

Ein attributives Adjektiv oder Pronomen oder eine Apposition ist durch ein en-klitisches Pronomen von dem Satzteil, zu dem es oder sie gehört, abgetrennt: Herodot 3, 14, 34 δεσπότης σε Καμβύσης, Ψαμμήνιτε, εἰρωτᾷ. 6, 111, 8 ἀπὸ ταύτης σφι τῆς μάχης — κατεύχεται ὁ κῆρυξ Πλαταιεῦσι (durch Πλαταιεῦσι wird das weit abliegende σφι wieder aufgenommen). 7, 16ᵃ 2 τά σε καὶ ἀμφότερα περιήκοντα ἀνθρώπων κακῶν ὁμιλίαι σφάλλουσιν, wo τά mit ἀμφότερα, σε mit περιήκοντα zusammengehört. 9, 45, 16 ὀλίγων γάρ σφι ἡμερέων λείπεται σιτία. [Hippokrates] περὶ τέχνης S. 52, 18 Gomp. ωὑτὸς δέ μοι λόγος καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων. Eurip. Medea 1013 πολλή μ᾽ ἀνάγκη. Helena 94 Αἴας μ᾽ ἀδελφὸς ὤλεσ᾽ ἐν Τροίᾳ θανών. 593 τοὐκεῖ με μέγεθος τῶν πόνων πείθει. 1281 φήμας δέ μοι ἐσθλὰς ἐνεγκών. 1643 δισσοὶ δέ σε Διόσκοροι καλοῦσιν. Orestes 167 Ἑλένη σ᾽ ἀδελφὴ ταῖσδε δωρεῖται χοαῖς. 482 φίλου μοι πατρός ἐστιν ἔκγονος. 1626 Φοιβός μ᾽ ὁ Λητοῦς παῖς ὅδ᾽ ἐγγὺς ὢν καλῶ. Fragm. 911 χρύσεαι δή μοι πτέρυγες περὶ νώτῳ. Rhesos 401 τίς γάρ σε κῆρυξ ἢ γερουσία Φρυγῶν — οὐκ ἐπέσκηψεν πόλει. Aristoph. Ran. 1332 (Euripides nachbildend) τίνα μοι δύστανον ὄνειρον πέμπεις. Ekkles. 1113 αὐτή τέ μοι δέσποινα μακαριωτάτη. Plato Apol. 37 C πολλὴ μεντἂν [sic] με φιλοψυχία ἔχοι. 40 C μέγα μοι τεκμήριον τούτου γέγονεν. Phaedo 92 C οὗτος οὖν σοι ὁ λόγος ἐκείνῳ πῶς ξυνᾴσεται. Gorg. 456 B μέγα δέ σοι τεκμήριον ἐρῶ. 487 D ἱκανόν μοι τεκμήριον ἐστιν. 488 B τοῦτό μοι αὐτὸ σαφῶς διόρισον. 493 D φέρε δή, ἄλλην σοι εἰκόνα λέγω. 513 C ὅντινά μοι τρόπον δοκεῖς εὖ λέγειν. Phileb. 23 D τετάρτου μοι γένους αὖ προσδεῖν φαίνεται. Xenophon Hellen. 3, 1, 11 ὁ ἀνήρ σοι ὁ ἐμὸς καὶ τἆλλα φίλος ἦν. Aeschin. 1, 116 δύο δέ μοι τῆς κατηγορίας εἴδη λέλειπται. Bion 9, 1 ἀ μεγάλα μοι Κύ-[S. 360]πρις ἔθ᾽ ὑπνώντι παρέστα. Leonidas Tarent. Anthol. Pal. 7, 660 Ξεῖνε, Συρηκόσιός τοι ἀνὴρ τόδ᾽ ἐφίεται Ὄρθων. Die zahlreichen Stellen, wo auf so eingeschobenes Pronomen zunächst das Verbum folgt, wie Eurip. Heraclid. 236 τρισσαί μ᾽ ἀναγκάζουσιν συμφορᾶς ὁδοί. Plato Gorg. 463 B ταύτης μοι δοκεῖ πολλὰ — μόρια εἶναι. Kallimach. Epigr. 1, 3 δοῖός με καλεῖ γάμος, will ich nicht alle aufführen, obwohl sie m. E. auch hierher gehören. In anderer Weise gehört hierher Plato Apol. 28 A ὅτι πολλή μοι ἀπέχθεια γέγονεν καὶ πρὸς πολλούς u. dergl.

Oder das Pronomen schliesst sich an den Artikel an. Selten unmittelbar: Theognis 575=862 οἵ με φίλοι προδιδοῦσιν. 813 οἵ με φίλοι προύδωκαν. Theokrit 7, 43 τάν τοι, ἔφα, κορύναν δωρύττομαι. Meist folgt dem Artikel zunächst eine 'postpositive' Partikel: Herodot 1, 31, 10 οἱ δέ σφι βόες οὐ παρεγένοντο. 1, 115, 8 οἱ γάρ με ἐκ τῆς κώμης παῖδες — ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα. 1, 207, 6 τὰ δέ μοι παθήματα

τὰ ἐόντα ἀχάριτα μαθήματα γέγονε. 3, 63, 10 ὁ δέ μοι μάγος ταῦτα ἐνετείλατο. Aristoph. Ekkles. 913 ἡ γάρ μοι μήτηρ βέβηκεν ἄλλη. Plato Phaedrus 236 D ὁ δέ μοι λόγος ὅρκος ἔcται. Sympos. 177 A ἡ μέν μοι ἀρχὴ τοῦ λόγου ἐcτὶ κατὰ τὴν Εὐριπίδου Μελανίππην. Theokrit 5, 125 τὰ δέ τοι cία καρπὸν ἐνείκαι. 1, 82 ἁ δέ τυ κώρα πάcας ἀνὰ κράνας — φορεῖται φοιτεῦc(α). (Siehe oben S. 344).

Oder das Pronomen lehnt sich an eine Präposition und trennt sie dadurch von ihrem Kasus: Terpander Fragm. 2 ἀμφί μοι αὖτε ἄναχθ' ἑκαταβόλον ἀδέτω ἁ φρήν. Hymn. auf Pan 1 ἀμφί μοι Ἑρμείαο φίλον γόνον ἔννεπε Μοῦcα. Rhesos 831 κατά με γᾶς ζῶντα πόρευcον. Auf die Präposition folgt zunächst noch eine Partikel Herodot 3, 69, 20 ἐν γάρ cε τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ ἀναιρέομαι. Kallimach. Hymn. 1, 10 ἐν δέ cε Παρραcίῃ Ῥείη τέκεν. Epigr. 2, 1 ἐc δέ με δάκρυ ἤγαγεν.

Dazu der bekannte Fall, wo ein von wirklich gesetztem oder zu supplierendem Verbum des Bittens abhängiges cε zwischen πρός und den davon 'regierten' Genetiv getreten ist: Eurip. Alc. 1098 μή, πρός cε τοῦ cπείραντος ἄντομαι Διός. Ähnlich Soph. Phil. 468. Oed. Col. 250. 1333. Eurip. Hiket. 277. (Dagegen Eurip. Med. 853 μή, πρὸς γονάτων cε πάντως πάντη c' ἱκετεύομεν). Das Verbum des Bittens ist zu ergänzen Soph. Trach. 436 μή, πρός cε τοῦ κατ' ἄκρον Οἰταῖον πάγον *[S. 361]* Διὸς καταcτράπτοντος, ἐκκλέψῃς λόγον. Ebenso Eurip. Medea 324. Andromache 89. (Vgl. Iph. Taur. 1068.) In allen diesen Fällen nimmt cε die zweite Stelle hinter der nächst vorangehenden Interpunktion ein; Soph. Phil. 468 πρός νύν cε πατρός, Oed. Col. 1333 πρός νύν cε κρηνῶν und Eurip. Helena 1237 πρός νύν cε γονάτων τῶνδ(ε), wo das enklitische νυν noch vorgeschoben ist, bilden natürlich keine Ausnahme. Aus den ausserattischen Dichtern kommt hinzu Alkman Fr. 52 πρὸc δέ τε τῶν φίλων. Apollonius, dem wir dieses Fragment verdanken, scheint allerdings τε hier als orthotonisch zu betrachten, und ausschliesslich τυ als enklitische Akkusativform für das Dorische anzuerkennen. Aber enklitisches dorisches τε wird gesichert durch die Worte des Megarers Ar. Ach. 779 πάλιν τ' ἀποιcῶ ναὶ τὸν Ἑρμᾶν οἴκαδιc, wo man, weil man eben τὲ nicht anerkennen wollte, sich genötigt glaubte τυ mit unschönem Hiatus einzusetzen. Besonders aber ist Kallim. Fr. 114 = AP. 13, 10 zu vergleichen: ποτί τε Ζηνὸc (der Cod. Pal. ποτιτεζηνοc) ἱκνεῦμαι λιμενοcκόπω; Bloomfield setzt unnötig das enklitische τυ. Immerhin fällt der von O. Schneider gegen ihn erhobene Vorwurf 'foede erravit' auf diesen selbst und die von ihm vorgezogene Vulgata-Schreibung ποτὶ τὲ Ζανὸc mit der sinnlosen Orthotonese und dem falschen Genetiv Ζανός zurück.

Ohne Bezugnahme auf die zwei letztgenannten Stellen hat kürzlich Christ Philologische Kleinigkeiten München 1891 S. 4 f. für Pindar Olymp. 1, 48 ὕδατος ὅτι τε πυρὶ ζέοιcαν εἰc ἀκμὰν μαχαίρᾳ τάμον κατὰ μέλη die Meinung geäussert, dass das als Partikel wenig ansprechende τε als Akkusativ des Pronomens zu nehmen

sei, wie denn schon längst Bergk dafür hat ϲε einsetzen wollen. Die Stellung von τε empfiehlt diese Auffassung.

Aber auch gegenüber der Verbindung der Präpositionen mit dem Verbum macht das alte Stellungsgesetz seinen Einfluss geltend (Krüger Dialektische Syntax 68, 48, 3). Man durchmustere die folgenden Beispiele nachhomerischer Tmesis: Alcäus Fr. 95 ἔκ μ' ἔλαϲαϲ ἀλγέων. Anakreon 50, 1 ἀπό μοι θανεῖν γένοιτ(ο). Hipponax Fr. 31 ἀπό ϲ' ὀλέϲειεν Ἄρτεμιϲ, ϲὲ δὲ κὠπλλων. Sophokles El. 1067 κατά μοι βόαϲον. Philoktet 817 ἀπό μ' ὀλεῖϲ. Oed. Col. 1689 κατά με φόνιοϲ Ἀίδαϲ ἕλοι. Eurip. Herakles 1053 διά μ' ὀλεῖτε. Hiket. 45 ἀνά *[S. 362]* μοι τέκνα λῦϲαι. 829 κατά με πέδον γᾶϲ ἕλοι. Hippolyt 1357 διά μ' ἔφθειραϲ. Bacch. 579 ἀνά μ' ἐκάλεϲεν. Aristoph. Acharn. 295 κατά ϲε χώϲομεν. Plut. 65 ἀπό ϲ' ὀλῶ κακὸν κακῶϲ. Plato Phaedr. 237 A ξύμ μοι λαβέϲθε τοῦ μύθου. Kallimach. Epigr. 1, 5 εἰ δ' ἄγε, ϲύμ μοι βούλευϲον. — Mit vorangehender Partikel u. dgl.: Sophokles Philoktet 1177 ἀπὸ νύν με λείπετ' ἤδη. Eurip. Or. 1047 ἔκ τοί με τήξειϲ. Aristoph. Vesp. 437 ἔν τί ϲοι παγήϲεται. 784 ἀνά τοί με πείθειϲ. Vgl. oben S. 338 die ähnlichen Stellen mit νιν. Wenn vereinzelt (Alcäus Fr. 68 schrieb Bekker irrig τύφωϲ ἔκ ϲ' ἔλετο φρέναϲ) das Pronomen durch solche Tmesis nicht an die zweite Stelle gekommen sein sollte, wird uns das nicht stören.

IV.

Besondere Betrachtung verdienen μοι, τοι, (ϲφι), μεο — μευ — μου, ϲεο — ϲευ — ϲου, ϲφεων als attribute Genetive. Dass μοι, τοι, wie auch οἱ, die Genetivfunktion nicht erst nachträglich übernahmen, sondern entsprechend ihren indischen Korrelaten *mē, tē, sē* von Haus aus besassen und mit dem Lokativ nichts zu thun haben (vgl. Delbrück Altind. Syntax S. 205), betrachte ich als sicher; dass die Genetivfunktion sich im Griechischen nicht bloss bei Homer (siehe Brugmann Grundriss II 819. Verf. Berliner philol. Woch. 1890 Sp. 39) und den Ioniern erhalten hat, ergibt sich zumal aus der Bemerkung von Wilamowitz zu Eurip. Herakles 626 (ϲύ τ' ὦ γύναι μοι, ϲύλλογον ψυχῆϲ λαβέ): "Das Drama drückt in der Anrede das possessive Verhältnis bei Verwandtschaftswörtern durch den Dativ aus, θύγατέρ μοι, τέκνον μοι [Eurip. Ion 1399. Orestes 124. Iph. Aul. 613] γύναι μοι. Der Genetiv ist überhaupt nicht üblich; sein Eindringen, z. B. in der jüdisch-christlichen Litteratur, vielmehr ein Zeichen des Plebeiertums".

Die natürlichste Stellung für diese Genetive schiene uns die hinter ihren Substantiven. Bekanntlich findet sich nun zwar diese recht oft, wie z. B. gerade bei den von Wilamowitz besprochenen vokativischen Verbindungen, aber daneben als völlig gleichberechtigt die Stellung vor dem Substantiv und dessen Attributen

mit Einschluss des Artikels. Der Ursprung dieser seltsamen Stellung wird klar, wenn wir die ältesten Beispiele derselben prüfen. Schon Homer hat diese Stellung A 273 καὶ μέν μευ βουλέων ξύνιεν. N 626 οἵ μευ *[S. 363]* κουριδίην ἄλοχον καὶ κτήματα πολλὰ μάψ᾽ οἴχεσθ᾽ ἀνάγοντες. E 311 καί μευ κλέος ἦγον Ἀχαιοί. ι 20 καί μευ κλέος οὐρανὸν ἵκει. (ι 405 ἦ μή τίς σευ μῆλα βροτῶν ἀέκοντος ἐλαύνει). μ 379 οἵ μευ βοῦς ἔκτειναν. ο 467 οἵ μευ πατέρ᾽ ἀμφεπένοντο. κ 231 καί σευ φίλα γούναθ᾽ ἱκάνω. ω 381 τῷ κέ σφεων γούνατ᾽ ἔλυσα hier überall so, dass sie durch unser Stellungsgesetz bewirkt ist. Die spätern haben sich dann gestattet diese Genetive weiter vom Satzanfang zu entfernen, aber die aus dem alten Stellungsgesetz folgende Voranstellung dann doch noch vielfach beibehalten. Nachwirkungen des ursprünglichen Zusammenhangs zwischen der Voranstellung und dem alten Stellungsgesetz zeigen sich aber mancherlei.

Erstens nehmen die vorangestellten Genetive eben doch häufig die zweite Stelle im Satz ein. Für μοι, τοι verweise ich auf Herodot 4, 29, 3 μαρτυρέει δέ μοι τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ Ὁμήρου ἔπος. 7, 27, 8 ὅς τοι τὸν πατέρα δωρήσατο. Sophokles Trachin. 1233 ἤ μοι μητρὶ μὲν θανεῖν μόνη μεταίτιος. Für die eigentlichen Genetivformen auf folgende, die Zahl der Belege natürlich bei weitem nicht erschöpfende Beispiele: Hipponax Fragm. 76 λαιμᾷ δέ σευ τὸ χεῖλος. 83 λάβετέ μευ θαἰμάτια. Herodot 4, 80, 11 ἔχεις δέ μευ τὸν ἀδελφεόν. 7, 51, 3 σὺ δέ μευ συμβουλίην ἔνδεξαι. Eurip. Medea 1233 ὥς σου συμφορὰς οἰκτίρομεν. Helena 277 ἤ μου τὰς τύχας ᾤχει μόνη. Hiket. 1162 ἔθιγέ μου φρενῶν. Orestes 297 σύ μου τὸ δεινὸν καὶ διαφθαρὲν φρενῶν ἴσχναινε. Aristoph. Eq. 289 κυνοκοπήσω σου τὸ νῶτον. 709 ἀπονυχιῶ σου τἀν πρυτανείῳ σιτία. Pax 1212 ἀπώλεσάς μου τὴν τέχνην καὶ τὸν βίον. Aves 139 καλῶς γέ μου τὸν υἱόν ὦ Στιλβωνίδη οὐκ ἔκυσας. Lysistr. 409 ὀρχουμένης μου τῆς γυναικὸς ἑσπέρας ἡ βάλανος ἐκπέπτωκεν. Ranae 1006 καί μου τὰ σπλάγχν᾽ ἀγανακτεῖ. Plato Apol. 18 D διττούς μου τοὺς κατηγόρους γεγονέναι. 20 A εἰ μέν σου τὼ υἱέε πώλω ἢ μόσχω ἐγενέσθην. Phaedo 89 B καταψήσας οὖν μου τὴν κεφαλὴν. Alcaeus com. Fragm. 29 Kock ἐβίασέ μου τὴν γυναῖκα. Aeschines 3, 16 ἀφομοιοῖ γάρ μου τὴν φύσιν τοῖς Σειρῆσιν. Theokrit 2, 55 τί μευ μέλαν ἐκ χροὸς αἷμα — πέπωκας. 2, 69 u. s. w. φράζεό μευ τὸν ἔρωθ᾽ ὅθεν ἵκετο. 5, 4 τόν μευ τὰν σύριγγα πρόαν κλέψαντα Κομάταν. 5, 19 οὔ τευ τὰν σύριγγα λαθὼν ἔκλεψε Κομάτας. 6, 36 καλὰ δέ μευ ἁ μία κώρα. 15, 31 τί μευ τὸ χιτώνιον ἄρδεις. 15, 69 *[S. 364]* δίχα μευ τὸ θερίστριον ἤδη ἔσχισται. 22, 10 οἱ δέ σφεων κατὰ πρύμναν ἀείραντες μέγα κῦμα.

Noch entschiedener ist der Einfluss unseres Stellungsgesetzes in den ohnehin auffälligen Beispielen anzuerkennen, wo der vorausgehende pronominale Genetiv vom regierenden Substantivum durch andre Worte getrennt ist. Dies zeigt sich an dem τοι Theokrits 7, 87 ὥς τοι ἐγὼν ἐνόμευον ἀν᾽ ὤρεα τὰς καλὰς αἶγας

φωνᾶϲ εἰϲαΐων, wo Meinekes Bemerkungen zu vergleichen sind. Ferner steht bei Homer an den in diese Klasse gehörigen Stellen der Genetiv regelmässig an zweiter Stelle: E 811 ἀλλά ϲευ ἢ κάματος πολυᾶϊξ γυῖα δέδυκεν ἢ νύ ϲέ που δέοϲ ἴϲχει, wo die Stellung des Pronomens besonders bemerkenswert ist. I 355 μόγιϲ δέ μευ ἔκφυγεν ὁρμήν. Z 95 = P 173 νῦν δέ ϲευ ὠνοϲάμην πάγχυ φρένας. T 185 χαίρω ϲευ Λαερτιάδη τὸν μῦθον ἀκούϲας. K 311 θεὰ δέ μευ ἔκλυεν αὐδῆϲ. K 485 οἵ μευ φθινύθουϲι φίλον κῆρ. (Nur π 92 ἦ μάλα μευ καταδάπτετ᾽ ἀκούοντοϲ φίλον ἦτορ, wo μευ erst an dritter Stelle steht, bildet eine, übrigens nicht sehr schwer wiegende Ausnahme.) — Und wenn nicht regelmässig, so doch überaus häufig nimmt auch bei den Spätern ein so von seinem Substantiv abgetrennter pronominaler Genetiv die zweite Stelle ein: Theognis 969 πρίν ϲου κατὰ πάντα δαῆναι ἤθεα. Herodot 4, 119, 2 καί ϲφεων ἐϲχίϲθηϲαν αἱ γνῶμαι. Eurip. Helena 898 μή μου κατείπῃϲ ϲῷ καϲιγνήτῳ πόϲιν. Bacch. 341 δεῦρό ϲου ϲτέψω κάρα. 615 οὐδέ ϲου ϲυνῆψε χεῖρα. Fragm. 687, 1 ἐμπλήϲθητί μου πιὼν κελαινὸν αἷμα. 930 οἴμοι, δράκων μου γίγνεται τὸ ἥμιϲυ. Aristoph. Eq. 708 ἐξαρπάϲομαί ϲου τοῖϲ ὄνυξι τἄντερα. Pax 1068 εἴθε ϲου εἶναι ὤφελεν, ὦ λαζών, οὑτωϲὶ θερμὸϲ ὁ πλευμών. Ran. 573 οἷϲ μου κατέφαγες τὰ φορτία. Plato Phaedo 117 B ἕως ἄν ϲου βάρος ἐν τοῖϲ ϲκέλεϲι γένηται. Republ. 1, 327 B καί μου ὄπισθεν λαβόμενος ὁ παῖς τοῦ ἱματίου. Parmen. 126 A καί μου λαβόμενος τῆς χειρός. Demosth. 18, 199 καί μου μηδὲ εἷς τὴν ὑπερβολὴν θαυμάϲῃ. Theokrit 2, 82 ὥς μευ περὶ θυμὸϲ ἰάφθη. Bion 6, 1 εἴ μευ καλὰ πέλει τὰ μελύδρια [Menand. fr. 498].

Ganz Gleichartiges haben wir bei dem genetivischen οἱ getroffen (s. oben S. 337 f.). Und wie nun dieses auch mitten in der regierenden Wortgruppe, d. h. hinter deren erstem Wort, Stellung nehmen kann, so auch die von uns hier zu besprechenden Formen. Und zwar a) im Anschluss an eine Partikel *[S. 365]* Hipponax Fr. 62 οἱ δέ μευ πάντες ὀδόντες ἐντὸϲ ἐν γνάθοιϲ κεκινέαται. Anakreon fr. 81 αἱ δέ μευ φρένες ἐκκεκωφέαται. Herodot 3, 102, 19 αἱ γάρ ϲφι κάμηλοι ἵππων οὐκ ἔϲϲονές εἰϲιν. 4, 202, 3 τῶν δέ ϲφι γυναικῶν τοὺς μαζοὺς ἀποταμοῦϲα. 9, 50, 7 οἵ τέ ϲφεων ὀπέωνες — ἀπεκεκλήϊατο. Aristoph. Eq. 787 τοῦτό γέ τοί ϲου τοὖργον ἀληθῶς γενναῖον καὶ φιλόδημον. Theokrit 4, 1 ταὶ δέ μοι αἶγες βόϲκονται κατ᾽ ὄροϲ (Vgl. auch die bereits oben S. 359. 360 angeführten Stellen mit μοι Eurip. Or. 482, Aristoph. Ekkles. 913. 1113). b) unmittelbar hinter Artikel oder Präposition Herodot 7, 38, 12 ϲὺ δέ, ὦ βαϲιλεῦ, ἐμέ ἐϲ τόδε ἡλικίης ἥκοντα οἰκτίρας, τῶν μοι παίδων παράλυϲον ἕνα τῆς ϲτρατιῆς. Ganz ebenso kyprisch (Deecke Nr. 26) ὅ μοι πόϲιϲ Ὀναϲίτιμοϲ 'mein Gatte ist Onasitimos', was Hoffmann Die griechischen Dialekte I 323 als 'sehr eigentümlich' bezeichnet, während Meister Die griechischen Dialekte II 139. 140, sich sogar genötigt glaubt, ein neues Wort

ὁμοίποcιc 'Mitgatte' zu konstruieren[2]). — Dazu aus den attischen Dichtern Eurip. Medea 144 διά μου κεφαλᾶc φλὸξ οὐρανία βαίη. Hippolyt 1351 διά μου κεφαλᾶc ᾄccουc᾽ ὀδύναι. Heraclid. 799 εἷc μου λόγοc cοι πάντα cημανεῖ τάδε. Aristoph. Lysistrate 416 ὦ cκυτοτόμε, τῆc μου γυναικὸc τοὺc πόδαc. Vgl. Theokrit 5, 2 τό μευ νάκοc ἐχθὲc ἔκλεψεν. Ausser am Satzanfang findet sich μου u. s. w. jedenfalls höchst selten so eingeschoben, und für die Stellen, wo es geschieht, wie z. B. Aristoph. Ran. 485 δείcαcα γὰρ εἰc τὴν κάτω μου κοιλίαν καθείρπυcεν, dürfen wir voraussetzen, dass die am Satzanfang aufgekommene Einschiebung im Satzinnern nachgeahmt wurde.

Die Stellung der barytonetischen, also ursprünglich enklitischen Pluralformen ἥμων, ἥμιν u. s. w. will ich angesichts der Schwierigkeit sie an den einzelnen Stellen von den echtorthotonischen zu unterscheiden, hier nicht untersuchen (man beachte immerhin IGA. 486 (Milet) [Ἑρ]μηcιάναξ ἥμεαc ἀνέθηκεν [ὁ…], ganz wie sonst μ᾽ ἀνέθηκεν und 482ᵃ 5 (Elephan-*[S. 366]*tine) ἔγραφε δ᾽ ἅμε Ἄρχων Ἀμοιβίχου); wohl aber möchte ich daran erinnern, dass nach den Nachweisen Krügers, dessen ordnendem Scharfsinn wir ja überhaupt die feineren Gesetze für die Stellung dieser Genetive verdanken, αὐτοῦ, αὐτῆc, αὐτῶν in anaphorischer Bedeutung den gleichen Stellungsregeln wie μου unterliegt. Zwar gilt dies nicht für Homer, bei dem sich die anaphorische Bedeutung und die Tonlosigkeit von αὐτοῦ erst anzubahnen beginnt, und der es daher auch an Stellen, wo wir es mit *eius* wiedergeben, weit vom Satzanfang stellt, wie z. B. B 347 ἄνυcιc δ᾽ οὐκ ἔccεται αὐτῶν. P 546 δὴ γὰρ νόοc ἐτράπετ᾽ αὐτοῦ. (η 263 dagegen liegt in der gleichen Wendung ein Nachdruck auf αὐτῆc). μ 130 γόνοc δ᾽ οὐ γίγνεται αὐτῶν, was einen sehr wertvollen indirekten Beweis für unsere Stellungsregel liefert. Wohl aber ist bei den Attikern αὐτοῦ, αὐτῆc, αὐτῶν gerade so gern dem regierenden Substantiv vorangestellt wie μου, und dann gerade wie μου häufig dem Satzanfang nahe, z. B. Thycyd. 1, 138, 1 ἐθαύμαcέ τε αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν. 4, 109, 11 καὶ αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν ἐμμείναc τῷ cτρατῷ ἐδῄου. Plato Gorg. 448 E ἐγκωμιάζειc μὲν αὐτοῦ τὴν τέχνην. Und ebenso findet sich αὐτοῦ wie μου seinem Substantiv so vorangestellt, dass es durch ein oder mehrere Wörter davon getrennt ist, und auch da, wie μου, gern an zweiter Stelle z. B. Eurip. Heraclid. 12 ἐπεὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν γῆc ἀπηλλάχθη πατήρ. Wer endlich die von Stein zu 6, 30, 7 aufgeführten herodoteischen Stellen durchmustert, an denen αὐτοῦ zwischen Artikel und Substantiv steht, wird an diesen allen (und ebenso auch 1, 146, 10. 1, 177, 3. 2, 149, 19. 7, 129, 3) αὐτοῦ an zweiter Stelle finden, wobei ich 7, 156, 11 Μεγαρέαc τε τοὺc ἐν Cικελίῃ, ὡc — προcεχώρηcαν, τοὺc μὲν αὐτῶν παχέαc — πολιήταc

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2 Auf Wunsch des Herrn Dr. Meister bemerke ich, dass er auf Grund von Wilamowitz' Anmerkung zu Eurip. Herakles V. 626 (siehe oben S. 362) schon längst zur richtigen Auffassung dieser Worte gelangt war und vorgehabt hatte seine frühere Erklärung öffentlich zurückzunehmen.

ἐποίηϲε mitrechne. Also ganz wie bei eingeschobnem μοι, μου. Die Attiker sind hier freier: Isokr. 18, 52 γνώϲεϲθε τὴν ἄλλην αὐτοῦ πονηρίαν. Xenoph. Anab. 6, 2, 14 ὅπως — αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ αὐτῶν ϲτρατιῶται ἐκπλεύϲειαν. Vielleicht kommt für das αὐτοῦ bei Isokrates wie für das μου Aristoph. Ran. 485 (oben S. 365) in Betracht, dass der Genetiv sich nicht an den Artikel, sondern an ein Attribut anlehnt.

V.

Bergaigne nimmt an, das in Abschnitt II—IV erörterte Stellungsgesetz der enklitischen Personalpronomina sei bei den *[S. 367]* anaphorischen Pronomina entstanden; diese habe man gern dem vorausgehenden Satze möglichst nahe gerückt, um dadurch die Verbindung mit diesem besser zu markieren. Von den anaphorischen Pronomina sei dann die Stellungsregel auch auf die Pronomina der ersten und zweiten Person übergegangen, und durch diese ihre Stellung nach dem ersten Wort des Satzes und ihre Anlehnung an dasselbe seien die betr. Pronomina enklitisch geworden (Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique III 177. 178).

Diese Annahme hat wenig für sich. Denn gerade was bei οἱ, ϲφιν nach Bergaigne die Stellung nächst dem Satzanfang begünstigte, die Beziehung auf den vorausgehenden Satz, fehlt ja bei μοι, τοι. Dagegen wird die von Bergaigne verworfene Möglichkeit, dass "le langage s'est habitué à les construire après le premier mot, parce qu'ils étaient privés d'accent", als Thatsache durch den Umstand erwiesen, dass auch ausserhalb des persönlichen Pronomens die Enklitika dieser Stellungsregel unterworfen werden. Schon Kühner Griechische Grammatik I[2] 268 Anm. 8 bemerkt, "bei der freien Wortstellung der griechischen Sprache darf man sich nicht wundern, wenn die Encliticae sich oftmals nicht an das Wort anschliessen, zu dem sie gehören, sondern an ein anderes, zu dem sie nicht gehören". In welcher Richtung diese Abweichungen liegen, lässt Kühner unerörtert. Aber sämtliche Beispiele, die er a. a. O. folgen lässt, erledigen sich aus unserm Stellungsgesetz.

Unter den deklinabeln Enklitika kommt bloss noch das indefinite Pronomen in betracht. Sehr evident tritt bei diesem die Stellungsregel nicht zu Tage. Denn wenn man etwa darauf Gewicht legen wollte, dass die altertümlichen Formen του, τῳ auf den attischen Inschriften ausser CIA. 4, 61[a] 15 — ἔχοντός του, nur im unmittelbaren Anschluss an εἰ, ἐάν vorkommen (vgl. die Belege bei Meisterhans Grammatik der attischen Inschriften[2] S. 123 Anm. 1106), so genügt es auf Thucydides zu verweisen, der diese Formen an ganz beliebigen Stellen des Satzes bietet. Doch ist bei Homer die Neigung τιϲ an den Anfang zu rücken unverkennbar. Man

beachte, ausser ὅςτις nebst Zubehör, εἴ τις, μή τις, besonders folgende Stellen: mit Losreissung zum gehörigen Nomen E 897 εἰ δέ τευ ἐξ ἄλλου γε θεῶν. Θ 515 ἵνα τις ϲτυγέῃϲι καὶ ἄλλος. N 464 *[S. 368]* εἴ πέρ τί ϲε κῆδος ἱκάνει (zugleich vor dem enklitischen ϲε!). Ψ 331 ἤ τευ ϲῆμα βροτοῖο πάλαι κατατεθνηῶτος. γ 348 (— ὡς ὑμεῖς παρ᾽ ἐμεῖο θοὴν ἐπὶ νῆα κίοιτε) ὥς τέ τευ ἢ παρὰ πάμπαν ἀνείμονος ἠὲ πενιχροῦ. η 195 μηδέ τι μεϲϲηγύς γε κακὸν καὶ πῆμα πάθῃϲιν. Mit Voranstellung von τις vor ein sonst zur zweiten Stelle berechtigtes Wort (vgl. N 464) Π 37 καί τινά τοι παρ [sic] Ζηνὸς ἐπέφραδε πότνια μήτηρ. λ 218 ὅτε τίς κε θάνῃϲι (vgl. Hesiod Ἔργα 280 εἰ γάρ τίς κ᾽ ἐθέλῃ. Peppmüller Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift 1890 Sp. 559). Hierher gehört das nicht seltene ὥς τίς τε statt ὥςτε τις wie z. B. P 657 βῆ δ᾽ ἰέναι ὥς τίς τε λέων ἀπὸ μεϲϲαύλοιο.

Beispiele der ersten Kategorie lassen sich auch aus der Folgezeit beibringen (Kühner Gramm. II 572 Anm. 6): Theognis 833 οὐδέ τις ἡμῖν αἴτιος ἀθανάτων. 957 εἴ τι παθὼν ἀπ᾽ ἐμεῦ ἀγαθὸν μέγα μὴ χάριν οἶδας. 1192 ἀλλά τί μοι ζῶντι γένοιτ᾽ ἀγαθόν. 1265 οὐδέ τις ἀντ᾽ ἀγαθῶν ἐϲτι χάρις παρὰ ϲοί. Aeschyl. Fragm. 241 οὔπω τις Ἀκταίων᾽ ἄθηρος ἡμέρα — ἔπεμψεν ἐς δόμους. Herodot 2, 23, 3 οὐ γάρ τινα ἔγωγε οἶδα ποταμὸν Ὠκεανὸν ἐόντα. 7, 235, 9 αἰεί τι προσδοκῶν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς τοιοῦτο ἔϲεϲθαι. Eurip. Medea 283 μή μοί τι δράϲῃς παῖδ᾽ ἀνήκεϲτον κακόν. Elektra 26 μή τῳ λαθραίως τέκνα γενναίῳ τέκοι. Helena 477 ἔϲτι γάρ τις ἐν δόμοις τύχη. Thucyd. 1, 10, 1 εἴ τι τῶν τότε πόλιϲμα. Aristoph. Pax 834 καί τίς ἐϲτιν ἀϲτήρ. Ran. 170 καὶ γάρ τιν᾽ ἐκφέρουϲι τουτονὶ νεκρόν. Plato Phaedo 95 B μή τις ἡμῖν βαϲκανία περιτρέψῃ τὸν λόγον. 101 A μή τίς ϲοι ἐναντίος λόγος ἀπαντήϲῃ. Sympos. 174 E καί τι ἔφη αὐτόθι γελοῖον παθεῖν. 218 E καί τίς ἐϲτ᾽ ἐν ἐμοὶ δύναμις. Gorg. 493 A ἤδη του ἔγωγε καὶ ἤκουϲα τῶν ϲοφῶν. Xenophon Hellen. 4, 1, 11 ὅταν τι τοῖς φίλοις ἀγαθὸν εὑρίϲκω. 4, 8, 33 εἴ τί που λαμβάνοι Ἀθηναίων πλοῖον. Demosth. 18, 18 ἀλλά τις ἦν ἄκριτος καὶ παρὰ τούτοις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔρις. 18, 65 ἦν ἄν τις κατὰ τῶν ἐναντιωθέντων οἷς ἔπραττεν ἐκεῖνος, μέμψις καὶ κατηγορία. Menander Fragm. 572 Kock ὅταν τι πράττῃς ὅϲιον. Fragm. lyr. adesp. 58 Bgk. (3[4], 706) ἀλλά τις ἄμμι δαίμων. Dazu Plato Leges 3, 683 B εἰ γοῦν, ὦ ξένε, τις ἡμῖν ὑπόϲχοιτο θεός, wo zugleich auch noch die Anlehnung von τὶς an den Vokativ Beachtung verdient, vgl. das oben S. 343 über Πάτροκλέ μοι bemerkte. Aus Nachahmung derartiger Stellen ist dann die Wortfolge von Stellen wie Thucyd. 1, 106, 1 *[S. 369]* καὶ αὐτῶν μέρος — ἐϲέπεϲεν ἔς του χωρίον ἰδιώτου zu erklären, wo mitten im Satze stehendes τὶς von dem später nachfolgenden Satzteil durch andere Wörter getrennt ist.

Und wie das homerische, drängt auch das nachhomerische τὶς andere Wörter von der ihnen zukommenden zweiten Stelle weg. Aus der attischen Litteratur gehört bloss etwa die Tmesis Aristoph. Vesp. 437 ἔν τί ϲοι παγήϲεται und Stellen wie Plato Gorg. 520 E ὅντιν᾽ ἄν τις τρόπον ὡς βέλτιϲτος εἴη hierher. Aber die

Wortfolge τίс κε hinter dem Einleitungswort eines Konjunktivsatzes, welche die epische Sprache (abgesehen vom geimeinüblichen ὅcτιc κε) nur in Einem homerischen und Einem hesiodischen Beispiel kennt, ist im Dorischen (natürlich mit κα statt κε) geradezu die Regel. (Vgl. Ahrens Dial. II 383). So im gortynischen Gesetz: 9, 43 αἴ τιc [sic] κα. 7, 13 αἴ τινά κα. 3, 29 (ebenso 6, 23. 6, 43. 9, 13) καἴ τί κ'. 8, 17 καί μέν τίc κ'. 3, 9 ὅτι δέ τίc κα. Abweichend 5, 13 = 17 = 22 αἰ δέ κα μή τιc und 4, 14 ᾧ δέ κα μή τιc ᾖ cτέγα, wo μή das Indefinitivum attrahiert hat, sowie ὁπῶ κά τιλ λῇ 10, 33. — Auf jüngern kretischen Inschriften CIG. 3048 (= Cauer[2] 123), 33 εἰ δέ τινές κα τῶν ὁρμιωμένων (ebenso 3049, 9. 3058, 13). 3048, 38 εἴ τίc κα ἄγη (ebenso 3049, 14. 3058, 16). — Auf den Tafeln von Heraklea 1, 105 καὶ αἴ τινί κα ἄλλῳ. 1, 117 καὶ αἴ τινάc κα ἄλλουc. 1, 119 αἰ δέ τινά κα γήρᾳ — ἐκπέτωντι. 1, 127 καὶ εἴ τινές κα μὴ πεφυτεύκωντι. 1, 128 αἰ δέ τίc κα ἐπιβῇ. 1, 151 αἰ δέ τιc [sic] κα τῶν καρπιζομένων ἀποθάνει. 1, 173 αἴ τινά κα γήρᾳ — ἐκπέτωντι. — Auf der Inschrift v. Orchomenos Dittenberger Syll. 178, 10 καὶ εἴ τίc κα μὴ ἐμμένῃ. — Auf der Inschrift von Mykene Collitz 3316, 8 αἰ δέ τί κα πένηται. — Auf den korkyräischen Inschriften Coll. 3206, 25 εἰ δέ τί κ' ἀδύνατον γένοιτο. 3206, 103 εἰ δέ τί κα — μὴ ὀρθῶc ἀπολογίξωνται. 3206, 114 εἴ τινόc κα ἄλλου δοκῇ. Dazu vielleicht Theokrit 2, 159 αἰ δέ τί κά με — λυπῇ. (Siehe unten S. 372).

Angesichts so konstanten Gebrauchs, dem ich, abgesehen von den gortynischen Ausnahmen, wo teils μή im Spiele ist, teils nicht εἰ vorhergeht, nur Epicharm S. 217 Lor. (Athen. 6, 236 A) Z. 5 καἴ κά τιс ἀντίον <τι> λῇ τήνῳ λέγειν und S. 281 Lor. (Athen. 2, 70 F) αἴ κά τιс ἐκτρίψαc καλῶc παρατιθῇ νιν als Gegenbeispiele entgegenstellen kann, scheint es mir klar, dass auf der korkyräischen Inschrift 3213 Collitz (= CIG. *[S. 370]* 1850), 3 das überlieferte αἴ κα πάcχη nicht mit Boeckh in αἴ κά <τι> πάcχη zu verbessern ist, sondern vielmehr in αἴ <τί> κα πάcχη. Übrigens ist diese Stellungsgewohnheit nicht bloss dorisch: Tafel von Idalion, Z. 29 ὅπι cίc κε τὰc ϝρήταc τάcδε λύcη. — Vgl. ferner Sophron bei Athen. 3, 110 D ἄρτον γάρ τιс τυρῶντα τοῖc παιδίοιc ἴαλε, mit Trennung von ἄρτον τυρῶντα.

Endlich kann man die Frage aufwerfen, ob nicht die von Herodot an den Prosaisten geläufige Zwischenschiebung von τὶc zwischen den Artikel nebst eventuellem Attribut und das Substantiv des zugehörigen Genetivus partitivus (z. B. τῶν τινα Λυδῶν, ἐc τῶν ἐκείνων τι χωρίων, τῶν ἄλλων τινὰc Ἑλλήνων) in Sätzen aufgekommen sei, wo τιc dadurch an zweite Stelle kam.

Die vom Indefinitum abgeleiteten Adverbia befolgen bei Homer unser Gesetz ziemlich streng. In ΝΠΡ findet sich που 14 mal, immer an zweiter Stelle, darunter beachtenswert Ν 293 μή πού τιc ὑπερφιάλωc νεμεcήcῃ mit Trennung von μή und τιc und Ν 225 ἀλλά που. — ποθι zweimal, Ν 630 ἀλλά ποθι, Ν 309 ἐπὶ οὔ ποθι ἔλπομαι, wo noch οὐ vorhergeht. — πωc neunmal, siebenmal an zweiter

Stelle, dazu ἀλλ᾽ οὔ πως Ν 729. Ρ 354 — ποτε viermal, zweimal an zweiter Stelle, daneben Ν 776 ἄλλοτε δή ποτε μᾶλλον ἐρωῆσαι πολέμοιο μέλλω. Π 236 ἠμὲν δή ποτ᾽ ἐμὸν ἔπος ἔκλυες εὐξαμένοιο. — πῇ nur einmal (Π 110), korrekt. — πω fünfmal korrekt, dazu Ρ 190 θέων δ᾽ ἐκίχανεν ἑταίρους ὦκα μάλ᾽, οὔ πω τῆλε, ποσὶ κραιπνοῖσι μετασπών. Ρ 377 δύο δ᾽ οὔ πω φῶτε πεπύσθην. [Ausnahmen aus den andern Büchern verzeichnet Monro[2] S. 336 ff.]

Die nachhomerische Zeit verfährt bei diesen Partikeln recht frei. Reste des Alten liegen ausser in ἦπου, δήπου, vor in Stellen wie Theokrit 18, 1 ἔν ποκ᾽ ἄρα Σπάρτᾳ —. Antipater Anthol. Pal. 6, 219, 1 ἔκ ποτέ τις φρικτοῖο θεᾶς σεσοβημένος οἴστρῳ. (Nach solchen Mustern dann Pind. Pyth. 2, 33 ὅτι τε μεγαλοκευθέεσσιν ἔν ποτε θαλάμοις. Leonidas Anthol. Pal. 9, 9 Ἴξαλος εὐπώγων αἰγὸς πόσις ἔν ποθ᾽ ἀλῷ). Vgl. auch Plato Phaedo 73 D ἄλλη που ἐπιστήμη ἀνθρώπου καὶ λύρας. 101 B ὁ αὐτὸς γάρ που φόβος.

Viel ergebnisreicher ist die Betrachtung sonstiger enklitischer Partikeln. Zwar wenn τε und ῥα stets an zweiter Stelle stehen (Β 310 βωμοῦ ὑπαΐξας πρός ῥα πλατάνιστον ὄρου-[S. 371]σεν ist das Partizip einem Nebensatz gleichwertig), könnte man dies aus ihrer Funktion die Sätze zu verbinden erklären. Andererseits entzieht sich γε jeder durchgreifenden Stellungsregel, weil es an das Wort gebannt ist, auf dessen Begriff das Hauptgewicht der Bejahung fällt; höchstens könnte man darauf hinweisen, dass bei Thucydides mehrmals ein zu einem Partizip gehöriges γε nicht an dieses, sondern an ein früheres Wort angeschlossen ist (Stahl zu Thucyd. 2, 38, 1): 2, 38, 1 ἀγῶσι μέν γε καὶ θυσίαις διετησίοις νομίζοντες. 4, 65, 4 οὕτω τῇ γε παρούσῃ εὐτυχίᾳ χρώμενοι. 4, 86, 2 πίστεις γε διδοὺς τὰς μεγίστας. Vgl. Demosth. 18, 226 ὥς γ᾽ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ statt ὡς ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ. — Ähnliches wie für γε, gilt für περ.

Aber Eine konstant enklitische Partikel kann doch genannt werden, die, obwohl durchaus nicht der Satzverbindung dienend, doch ganz unverkennbar Vorliebe für die zweite Stelle hat, nämlich κε (κεν, κα). Schon G. Hermann De particula ἄν (Opuscula IV) S. 7 deutet dies mit den Worten an: "κεν, quae quod enclitica est ab incipienda oratione arcetur, etiam ante ea verba, ad quorum sententiam pertinet, poni potest, dummodo aliqua vox in eadem constructione verborum praecesserit", und bringt als Beispiel Η 125 ἦ κε μέγ᾽ οἰμώξειε γέρων ἱππηλάτα Πηλεύς. Doch denkt Hermann nicht daran, geradewegs der Partikel die zweite Stelle im Satz zu vindizieren. Und selbst der neueste Gesamtdarsteller des homerischen Gebrauchs von κε, E. Eberhard in Ebelings Lexikon, behandelt dessen Stellung zwar auf fast sieben eng gedruckten Spalten, aber ohne prinzipiell über Hermann hinauszukommen, so sehr das von ihm selbst zusammengebrachte Material ihn hätte auf die richtige Bahn bringen müssen. So wenn er im Anschluss an Schnorr hervorhebt, dass κε dem Verb nur dann folge, wenn dieses an der

Spitze des Satzes stehe, und dem Partizip nur ψ 47 ἰδοῦσά κε θυμὸν ἰάνθης, oder dass sich die und die Verbindung von κε mit einem vorausgehenden Wort nur "in introitu versus" finde.

Allgemein anerkannt ist vorerst, dass in allen griechischen Mundarten, die κε oder eine Nebenform desselben überhaupt besitzen, die Partikel dem einleitenden Pronomen oder Fügewort konjunktivischer Nebensätze ausnahmslos unmittelbar folgt, es sei denn, dass sich sonstige Enklitika oder Quasi-Enklitika, wie τε, δέ, γάρ, μέν, vereinzelt auch τὶc (siehe oben *[S. 372]* S. 369), τὺ (siehe oben S. 344) und τοὶ (Theognis 633 ὅ τοί κ᾽ ἐπὶ τὸν νόον ἔλθῃ) dazwischen drängen: ὅc κε, εἰc ὅ κε, εἴ κε, αἴ κε, ἐπείκε, ὅτε κε (dor. ὄκκα), ἕως κε, ὄφρα κε, ὥc κε, ὅ(π)πως κε oder ὅc δέ κε, εἰ δέ κε u. dergl. (Doch Epicharm S. 225 Lor. [Athen. 6, 236 A] Z. 10 αἴκα δ᾽ ἐντύχω τοῖc περιπόλοιc und Theokrit 1, 5 αἴκα δ᾽ αἶγα λάβῃ τῆνοc γέραc neben 1, 10 αἰ δέ κ᾽ ἀρέσκῃ u. s. w.). Undenkbar scheint mir die von Ahrens für Theokrit 1, 159 vorgeschlagene, von Meineke und Hiller akzeptierte Schreibung αἰ δ᾽ ἔτι κά με — λυπῇ, so dass αἰ von κα durch ἔτι getrennt wäre. Der Zusammenhang hindert nicht das grammatisch einzig zulässige αἰ δέ τί κά με einzusetzen und diese Stelle den oben S. 369 aufgeführten mit τίc zwischen αἰ und κα einzureihen. (Gottfried Hermann εἰ δ᾽ ἔτι καί με — λυπεῖ, was weniger anspricht.)

Ganz Entsprechendes zeigen nun aber die andern Satzarten. Auch die Hauptsätze und interrogativen Nebensätze mit konjunktivischem Verb haben bei Homer κε ausnahmslos an zweiter Stelle, so in ΝΠΡ an folgenden Stellen: Π 129 ἐγὼ δέ κε λαὸν ἀγείρω. Ν 742 (ἐπιφρασσαίμεθα βουλήν) ἤ κεν ἐνὶ νήεσσι πολυκλήιcι πέcωμεν — ἤ κεν ἔπειτα παρ [sic] νηῶν ἔλθωμεν. Ρ 506 ἤ κ᾽ αὐτὸc ἐνὶ πρώτοιcιν ἁλώῃ. Ebenso die Futursätze: Ρ 241 ὥc κε τάχα Τρώων κορέει κύναc ἠδ᾽ οἰωνούc. Ρ 557 εἴ κ᾽ Ἀχιλῆοc ἀγαυοῦ πιcτὸν ἑταῖρον τείχει ὕπο Τρώων ταχέεc κύνεc ἑλκήcουcιν. Ρ 515 τὰ δέ κεν Διὶ πάντα μελήcει. (So auch sonst, und zwar auch auf die Gefahr hin Zusammengehöriges zu trennen: Γ 138 τῷ δέ κε νικήcαντι φίλη κεκλήcῃ ἄκοιτιc). Nicht anders ist der Gebrauch beim Optativ und beim Präteritum. In ΝΠΡ haben wir κε 28 mal an zweiter oder so gut wie zweiter Stelle optativischer Sätze (mit Einschluss von Ν 127 ὅc οὔτ᾽ ἄν κεν Ἄρηc ὀνόcαιτο μετελθὼν οὔτε κ᾽ Ἀθηναίη und von Ρ 629 ὢ πόποι, ἤδη μέν κε — γνοίη) und 7 mal an zweiter Stelle präteritaler Sätze. Diesen 35 Beispielen, worunter ἀλλά κεν Ν 290 [und dreimal in der Odyssee] und καί κεν Ν 377. Ρ 613 [und sonst noch oft, s. Ebeling II 733] (vgl. καί μοι), ferner Ν 321 ἀνδρὶ δέ κ᾽ οὐκ εἴξειε μέγαc Τελαμώνιοc Αἴαc mit seiner Voranstellung von κε vor die Negation besonders bemerkenswert sind, steht nur Ein Gegenbeispiel gegenüber: Ρ 260 τῶν δ᾽ ἄλλων τίc κεν ᾗcι φρεcὶν οὐνόματ᾽ εἴποι, wo die Entfernung des fragenden τίc von der

ihm zukommenden Stelle am Satzanfang auch für κε, *[S. 373]* das dem τίς nicht vorangehen durfte, eine Verschiebung nach sich gezogen hat.

Halten wir bei Homer weitere Umschau, so können wir namentlich konstatieren, dass die für die konjunktivischen Nebensätze anerkannte Regel, dass sich κε an das satzeinleitende Wort unmittelbar anschliessen soll, gerade so auch für die optativischen und indikativischen gilt, und ὅϲ κε, οἷοϲ κε, ὅθεν κε, ὅτε κε, εἰϲ ὅ κε, ἕωϲ κε, ὄφρα κε, ὥϲ κε, εἴ κε, αἴ κε bei ihnen gerade so eng zusammenhängen, wie bei den konjunktivischen. Der Ausnahmen für diese wie für die sonstigen κε-Sätze sind verschwindend wenige: Ψ 592 εἰ καί νύ κεν οἴκοθεν ἄλλο μεῖζον ἐπαιτήϲειαϲ, wo eben εἰ καί eine ähnliche Einheit bildet wie εἴπερ; vgl. N 58 εἰ καί μιν. Sodann, wiederum wie bei μιν, mehrere Beispiele mit οὐ: Ξ 91 μῦθον ὅν οὔ κεν ἀνήρ γε διὰ ϲτόμα πάμπαν ἄγοιτο. α 236 ἐπεὶ οὔ κε θανόντι περ ὧδ᾽ ἀκαχοίμην. δ 64 ἐπεὶ οὔ κε κακοὶ τοιούϲδε τέκοιεν. θ 280 τά γ᾽ οὔ κέ τιϲ οὐδὲ ἴδοιτο, und vielleicht noch einige andere. Dann Α 256 ἄλλοι τε Τρῶεϲ μέγα κεν κεχαροίατο θυμῷ. Eine viel seltsamere Ausnahme wäre, zumal da εἴ κε sonst immer zusammenbleibt, Ε 273 = Θ 196 εἰ τούτω κε λάβοιμεν, ἀροίμεθά κεν κλέοϲ ἐϲθλόν. Aber schon zahlreiche Herausgeber, zuletzt auch Nauck, haben hier das sinngemässe γε eingesetzt. Um so auffälliger ist Naucks Schreibung γ 319 ὅθεν οὐκ ἔλποιτό κε θυμῷ, ἐλθέμεν gegenüber dem γε aller Handschriften.

Auf den inschriftlichen Denkmälern der Dialekte, welche κε, κα anwenden, kommt diese Partikel ausserhalb der bereits besprochenen konjunktivischen Nebensätze nur selten vor, was durch den Inhalt der meisten derselben bedingt ist. Aeolisch haben wir ein paar mal ὥϲ κε c. optat, kyprisch das sehr bemerkenswerte τάϲ κε ζᾶϲ τάϲδε — ἔξο(ν)ϲι αἰϝεί, also κε an zweiter Stelle zwischen Artikel und Substantiv bei futurischem Verbum (Tafel von Idalion Z. 30; vgl. Hoffmann Griech. Dialekte I 70. 73, der gegenüber dem früher gelesenen γε das Richtige erkannt hat), argivisch (Collitz 3277, 8) ἇι κα δικάϲϲαιεν, korkyräisch (Collitz 3206, 84) ἀφ᾽ οὗ κ᾽ ἀρχ(ὰ) γένοιτο, epidaurisch in der grossen Heilungsinschrift (3339 Collitz) auf Z. 60 αἴ κα ὑγιῆ νιν ποιήϲαι, aber Z. 84 τοῦτον γὰρ οὐδέ κα ὁ ἐν Ἐπιδαύρωι Ἀϲκλαπιὸϲ ὑγιῆ ποιῆϲαι δύναιτο, sowie bei Isyllos (3342 Collitz) neben (Z. 26) οὕτω τοί κ᾽ ἀμῶν περιφεί-*[S. 374]*δοιτ᾽ εὐρύοπα Ζεύϲ im Vers, Z. 35 f. in Prosa ἦ λώιον οἴ κα εἴη ἀγγράφοντι τὸν παιᾶνα. Ἐμάντευϲε λώιόν οἴ κα εἶμεν ἀγγράφοντι.

Ein bischen [sic] reicher an Beispielen für κα sind bloss die dodonäischen und die eleischen Inschriften. Und nun beachte man, dass sämtliche mit τίνι θεῶν θύοντεϲ und Ähnlichem anfangenden und auf ein optativisches Verb ausgehenden Befragungen des dodonäischen Orakels, wenn sie κα haben, dieses unmittelbar hinter τίνι setzen und mit demselben also τίνι von dem nächst zugehörigen Genetiv trennen, ein deutlicher Beweis für den Drang von κα nach der

zweiten Stelle: Collitz 1562, 1563, 1566, 1582ᵃ, 1582ᵇ, z. B. (1563) τίνι κα θεῶν [ἤ] ἡρώων θύοντες καὶ εὐχ[ό](μ)ενο(ι) ὁμονοοῖεν ἐ[π]ὶ τὠγαθόν. — Ähnlich 1572ᵃ τί κα θύσας —.

Wenn Blass in der Inschrift 3184 Coll. (= 1564 Coll.) τίνας θεῶν ἱλασκόμενος λώιον καὶ ἄμεινον πράσσοι, die Partikel κα, die allerdings hinter τίνας sicher nicht gestanden hat, an einem Zeilenende hinter λώιον einschieben will, weil sie unerlässlich sei, so übersieht er, dass die dodonäischen Inschriften den Optativ ohne κα mehrmals potenzial verwenden, z. B. 1562 B τίνι θεῶν θύουσα λώιον καὶ ἄμεινον πράσσοι καὶ τᾶς νόσου παύσαιτο. 1583, 2 ἦ μὴ ν[α](υ)κλαρῆ(ν) λώιογ καὶ ἄμεινομ [sic] πράσσοιμι. 1587ᵃ τίνα θεῶν ἢ ἡρώων τιμᾶντι λώιον καὶ ἄμεινον εἴη. — Ausserhalb jener festen mit τίς beginnenden Formel ist allerdings auf diesen Inschriften die Stellung von κα eine freie: 1568, 1 ἦ τυγχάνοιμί κα. 1573 — βέλτιομ μοί κ᾽ εἴη.

Bei den eleischen Inschriften müssen zunächst 1151, 12. 1154, 7. 1157, 4. 1158, 2 ausser Rechnung fallen, weil hier κα zwar überliefert, aber seine Stellung im Satz nicht erkennbar ist; ebenso alle Beispiele mit ergänztem κα, ausser 1151, 19, wo die Stelle des zu ergänzenden κα wenigstens negativ festgestellt werden kann. Es bleiben so 28 Beispiele: 21 bieten κα an zweiter oder so gut wie zweiter Stelle, wobei ich 1149, 9 ἐν τῆπιάροι κ᾽ ἐνέχοιτο und 1152, 7 ἐν ταῖ ζεκαμναίαι κ᾽ ἐνέχοιτο mit einrechne; diesen 21 stehen bloss 7 Gegenbeispiele gegenüber. Das Gewicht dieser Zahlen wird verstärkt durch die Beschaffenheit folgender Stellen: 1154, 1 τοὶ ζέ κα θεοκόλοι. 1154, 3 πεντακατίας κα δαρχμάς. 1156, 2 ἁ δέ κα ϝράτρα. 1156, 3 τῶν δέ κα γραφέων. 1158, 1 ὁ δέ κα ξένος, *[S. 375]* an welchen allen κα den Artikel oder ein Attribut von seinem Substantiv trennt. Dazu kommt 1157, 7 τῶν ζὲ προστιζίων οὐζέ κα μί᾽ εἴη, wo κα zwar nicht an zweiter Stelle steht, aber die Tmesis doch ein Drängen der Partikel nach dem Satzanfang verrät.

Für die nachhomerischen Dichter darf man trotz der Spärlichkeit der Belege Geltung der Regel bis an den Schluss des sechsten Jahrhunderts behaupten. Die Fragmente der vorpindarischen Meliker, wie die der Elegiker vor Theognis bieten κε, κα nur an zweiter Stelle (siehe bes. auch Xenophanes 2, 10 ταῦτά χ᾽ ἄπαντα λάχοι). Sappho Fragm. 66 ὁ δ᾽ Ἄρευς φαῖςί κεν Ἄφαιστον ἄγην ist schlecht überliefert, und Alcaeus 83 schreibt zwar Bergk: αἴ κ᾽ εἴπῃς, τὰ θέλεις, <αὐτὸς> ἀκούσαις <κε>, τά κ᾽ οὐ θέλοις. Aber weder αὐτός noch κε ist überliefert. Man wird jetzt andre Wege der Besserung versuchen müssen. Dann freilich die theognideische Spruchsammlung, Pindar und Epicharm gehn von der alten Norm ab: Theognis (neben Stellen wie 900 μέγα κεν πῆμα βροτοῖσιν ἐπῆν) 645, 653, 747, 765; Pindar öfters; Epicharm (gegenüber normalem Gebrauch S. 223, Busiris Fragm. 1; S. 264, Fragm. 33, 1 und S. 267 Vs. 12) S. 257, Fragm. 7, 1. S. 267, Vs. 9. S. 268, Vs. 16. S. 269, Vs. 11. S. 274, Fragm. 53; Vs. 167 Mullach: wobei man

die Frage nach der Echtheit der einzelnen Stellen wohl auf sich beruhen lassen kann.

Von den noch übrigen enklitischen Partikeln θην, νυ, τοι steht θήν [sic] bei Homer immer an zweiter Stelle (natürlich mit Einrechnung von Φ 568 καὶ γάρ θη ν und Θ 448 οὐ μέν θη ν); ebenso Aeschylus Prom. 928 cύ θη ν ἃ χρῄζεις, ταῦτ᾽ ἐπιγλωccᾷ Διός; ebenso bei Theokrit in den ererbten Verbindungen τύ θη ν 1, 97. 7, 83 (vgl. Aeschylus a. a. O.) und καὶ γάρ θη ν 6, 34 (vgl. Φ 568), daneben noch in αἶνóc θη ν 14, 43 und πείρᾳ θη ν 15, 62. Zweimal (2, 114. 5, 111) hat Theokrit die Regel verletzt. Vor ihm schon Epicharm Ἐλπίc S. 226 Lor., Vs. 2 καίτοι νῦν γά θη ν εὔωνον αἰνεῖ cῖτον.

νυ, νυν stehen bei Homer so gut wie immer an zweiter Stelle, zu schliessen aus der Bemerkung bei Ebeling s. v.: "particula ut est enclitica, ita ad vocem gravissimam quamque se applicat." Τ 95 καὶ γὰρ δή νύ ποτε Ζεὺς ἄcατο rechne ich nicht als Ausnahme. Umgekehrt fällt stark ins Gewicht, *[S. 376]* erstens dass νυ andern Enklitika, wie μοι, τοι, οἱ, cε, τιc, τι, ποτε, που (doch K 105 ὄcα πού νυν ἐέλπεται), περ, κεν regelmässig vorangeht, und nur δέ vor sich hat; dazu νὺ γάρ Ν 257 neben γάρ νυ Ο 239. γὰρ δή νυ Τ 95. Zweitens trennt es öfters enge Verbindungen oder hilft solche trennen: Attribut und Substantiv Θ 104 ἠπεδανὸς δέ νύ τοι θεράπων. Τ 169 θαρcαλέον νύ τοι ἦτορ ἐνὶ φρεcίν. Ω 205 = 521 cιδήρειόν νύ τοι ἦτορ. Artikel und Substantiv Α 382 οἱ δέ νυ λαοὶ θῆcκον. Χ 405 ἡ δέ νυ μήτηρ τίλλε κόμην. Präposition und Substantiv Ι 116 ἀντί νυ πολλῶν λαῶν ἐcτὶν ἀνήρ. Gegen die Regel verstösst, so viel ich sehe, nur α 217 ὡc δὴ ἔγωγ᾽ ὄφελον μάκαρός νύ τευ ἔμμεναι υἱὸς ἀνέρος.

Für den nachhomerischen Gebrauch verweise ich auf φέρε νυν, ἄγε νυν (Aristoph. Pax 1056), μή νυν, ferner auf das zumal bei Herodot so oft an zweiter Stelle zu lesende μέν νυν, sowie endlich auf Sophokles Philokt. 468 πρόc νύν cε πατρὸc πρόc τε μητρόc — ἱκέτηc ἱκνοῦμαι. Oed. Col. 1333 πρόc νύν cε κρηνῶν καὶ θεῶν ὁμογνίων αἰτῶ πιθέcθαι. Eurip. Helena 137 πρόc νύν cε γονάτων τῶνδ(ε). Ferner auf Sophokles Phil. 1177 ἀπό νύν με λείπετ᾽ ἤδη. Eurip. Hiket. 56 μετά νυν δόc. Vgl. auch Lobeck zum Aias Vs. 1332. — Im Kyprischen ist die Stellung von νυ freier: Tafel von Idal. 6 ἢ δυϝάνοι νυ. 16 ἢ δώκοι νυ. Ebenso im Böotischen: Collitz 488, 88 κὴ τὴ οὑπεραμερίη ἄκουρύ νυ ἔνθω (= καὶ αἱ ὑπερημέριαι ἄκυροι ἔcτων). — Ob übrigens in kypr. ὄνυ "hic", τόνυ "hunc", arkad. τάνυ "hanc" die Partikel νυ enthalten sei, scheint mir höchst zweifelhaft. Eher das υ von οὗτος; vgl. ark. τωνί, ταννί.

Endlich noch ein Wort über τοι, soweit es reine Partikel geworden ist, für das die Stellung nach unserer Regel allgemein anerkannt ist; vgl. καίτοι, μέντοι. Darnach 1) Tmesis: Eurip. Herakles 1105 ἔκ τοι πέπληγμαι. Orestes 1047 ἔκ τοί με τήξεις. Aristoph. Vesp. 784 ἀνά τοί με πείθεις. 2) Aristoph. Ekkles. 976 διά τοι cὲ

πόνουϲ ἔχω. Ferner mit γάρ τοι Theognis 287 ἐν γάρ τοι πόλει ὧδε κακοψόγῳ ἀνδάνει οὐδέν. Plato Phaedo 60 C περὶ γάρ τοι τῶν ποιημάτων. 108 D περὶ γάρ τοι γῆϲ πολλὰ ἀκήκοα. 3) Sophokles Fragm. 855, 1 ὦ παῖδεϲ, ἤ τοι Κύπριϲ οὐ Κύπριϲ μόνον. Eurip. Fragm. 222 N.² τήν τοι Δίκην λέγουϲι παῖδ᾽ εἶναι Χρόνου. Aristoph. Pax 511 οἵ τοι γεωργοὶ τοὔργον ἐξέλκουϲι. Plato Sympos. *[S. 377]* 219 A ἤ τοι τῆϲ διανοίαϲ ὄψιϲ. Ferner mit γάρ τοι Eurip. Helena 93 τὸ γάρ τοι πρᾶγμα ϲυμφορὰν ἔχει. Plato Apol. 29 A τὸ γάρ τοι θάνατον δεδιέναι. 4) Theognis 95 τοιοῦτόϲ τοι ἑταῖροϲ (Bergk ἑταίρῳ) ἀνὴρ φίλοϲ. 605 πολλῷ τοι πλέοναϲ λιμοῦ κόροϲ ὤλεϲεν ἤδη ἄνδραϲ. 837 διϲϲαί τοι πόϲιοϲ κῆρεϲ δειλοῖϲι βροτοῖϲιν. 965 πολλοί τοι κίβδηλοι — κρύπτουϲ(ι). 1027 ῥηιδίη τοι πρῆξιϲ ἐν ἀνθρώποιϲ κακότητοϲ. 1030 δειλῶν τοι κραδίη γίγνεται ὀξυτέρη. Aeschyl. Agam. 363 Δία τοι ξένιον μέγαν αἰδοῦμαι. Eur. Or. 1167. Plato Sympos. 218 E ἀμήχανόν τοι κάλλοϲ u. s. w.

Attisch τοιγάρτοι ist auch ein Zeichen für den Drang der Partikel nach vorn. Bei Homer kommt τοιγάρτοι noch nicht vor. Dafür haben wir noch mehrfach τοιγὰρ ἐγώ τοι — καταλέξω (oder ein anderes Futurum), wo eigentlich hinter τοιγάρ leicht zu interpungieren ist: "weil es so (τοί = Instrumental τώ + ι?) ist, —". Nachhomerisch wurde dann τοι — und ebenso οὖν — unmittelbar an τοιγάρ angeschlossen; τοιγάρτοι: τοιγάρ — τοι = latein. utrumne: utrum — ne (siehe unten).

VI.

Dicht neben die Enklitika stellt sich eine Gruppe von Wörtern, die Krüger passend postpositive Partikeln nennt, weil sie gerade so wenig wie die Enklitika fähig sind an der Spitze eines Satzes zu stehen: ἄν, ἄρ, ἄρα, αὖ, γάρ, δέ, δῆτα, μέν, μήν, οὖν, τοίνυν. Woher diese Ähnlichkeit mit den Enklitika herrührt, habe ich hier nicht zu untersuchen. Doch scheinen verschiedene Momente in Betracht zu kommen: eine dieser Partikeln, nämlich αὖ, könnte ursprünglich wirklich enklitisch gewesen sein, da sie dem altindischen Enklitikum *u* etymologisch entspricht, was ich gegenüber Kretschmer KZ. XXXI 364 festhalte. Sodann setzt sich τοίνυν aus zwei Enklitika τοι νυν zusammen. Das Ursprüngliche war jedenfalls z. B. αὐτόϲ τοί νυν. Seit wann man αὐτὸϲ τοίνυν sprach, lässt sich nicht mehr ermitteln. Bei andern lässt sich denken, dass sie erst allmählich postpositiv geworden seien, gerade wie im Lateinischen *enim* und nach dessen Vorbild später *namque* (*itaque* nach *igitur*). So wird man ἄν kaum von der lateinischen und gotischen Fragepartikel *an* trennen können, und die ist in beiden Sprachen präpositiv. Man wird wohl sagen dürfen, dass im Griechischen die Partikel durch den Einfluss *[S. 378]* von κε, mit dem sie bedeutungsgleich geworden war, von

der ersten Stelle im Satz weggelenkt und postpositiv geworden sei. Vor unsern Augen vollzieht sich eine derartige Wendung bei δή, das bei Homer und bei den seiner Sprache folgenden Dichtern den Satz einleiten kann, aber schon bei Homer entschieden postpositiv zu werden beginnt und dies in der Prosa ausschliesslich ist.

Nun liegt aber bei beiden Arten von postpositiven Partikeln, sowohl bei den von Haus aus enklitischen wie αὖ, als bei den unter den Einfluss eines Enklitikums getretenen wie ἄν, die Frage nahe, ob sie an der speziellen Stellungsregel der Enklitika, wie sie sich bei unserer Betrachtung herausgestellt hat, Anteil nehmen. Für diejenigen unter ihnen, die der Satzverknüpfung dienen, überhaupt für alle ausser ἄν, ist wohl anerkannt, dass sie dies thun, und bekannt, dass sie gerade so wie die eigentlichen Enklitika vermöge der Stellungsregel oft Tmesis und Ähnliches bewirken z. B. Sophokles Antig. 601 κατ᾽ αὖ νιν φοινία θεῶν τῶν νερτέρων ἀμᾷ κοπίς. Eurip. Herakles 1085 ἀν᾽ αὖ βακχεύει Καδμείων πόλιν. Häufig tritt οὖν zwischen Präposition und Kasus, zwischen Artikel und Substantiv. Ganz regelmässig thut dies δέ, bei dem überhaupt die Regel am schärfsten ist, da es vor allen Enklitika und Enklitoiden den Vortritt hat und nur äusserst selten an dritter Stelle steht. Bei den andern erleidet die Regel gewisse Einschränkungen: ἄρα folgt etwa einmal erst dem Verb z. B. E 748 Ἥρη δὲ μάστιγι θοῶς ἐπεμαίετ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἵππους. Herodot 4, 45, 21 πρότερον δὲ ἦν ἄρα ἀνώνυμος. Οὖν wird gern von der mit einem Verb verbundenen Präposition attrahiert und tritt dann zwischen sie und das Verbum: so überaus oft bei Herodot und Hippokrates; Hipponax (?) Fragm. 61 ἑσπέρης καθεύδοντα ἀπ᾽ οὖν ἔδυσε; Epicharm S. 225 Lor. (Athen. 6, 236 A) V. 76: τήνῳ κυδάζομαί τε κἀπ᾽ ὦν ἠχθόμαν. Melanippides bei Ath. 10, 429 C τάχα δὴ τάχα τοὶ μὲν ἀπ᾽ ὦν ὄλοντο. Sehr frei ist die Stellung von δή.

Eine Sonderstellung nimmt ἄν ein. Gottfried Hermann lehrt Opusc. 4, 7 "ἄν cum non sit enclitica et tamen initio poni nequeat, apertum est poni eam debere post eorum aliquod vocabulorum, ad quorum sententiam constituendam pertinet", und stellt ἄν in scharfen Gegensatz zu κε. Schon bei Homer trete der Unterschied der Stellung an den beiden Beispielen *[S. 379]* ἦ κε μέγ᾽ οἰμώξειε, wo κε unmittelbar auf ἦ folge, und ἦ σ᾽ ἄν τισαίμην, wo sich ἄν erst an das zweite Wort, σε, anschliesse, deutlich hervor. Dieser Unterschied zwischen ἄν und κεν muss uns überraschen. Wenn die Annahme richtig ist, dass ἄν durch den Einfluss von κε postpositiv geworden ist, so können wir für ἄν keine andre Stellung als die von κεν erwarten.

Ist aber der von Hermann behauptete Gegensatz wirklich vorhanden? Jedenfalls nicht in einer umfänglichen Kategorie von Sätzen, den Nebensätzen mit konjunktivischem Verbum. Denn hier ist unmittelbarer Anschluss an das satzeinleitende Wort bei ἄν ebenso unbedingte Regel wie bei κε(ν). Hierbei gilt ὅστις als

Worteinheit; ebenso ὁποῖός τις: Plato Phaedo 81 E ὁποῖ᾽ ἄττ᾽ ἂν καὶ μεμελετηκυῖαι τύχωσι. Xenophon Poroi 1, 1 ὁποῖοί τινες ἂν οἱ προστάται ὦσι. Ferner gehen gewisse Partikeln, die selbst an den Satzanfang drängen, nämlich γάρ, γε, δέ, μέν, -περ, τε dem ἄν regelmässig voran, vereinzelt auch δή z. B. Plato Phaedo 114 B οἳ δὲ δὴ ἂν δόξωσι διαφερόντως προκεκρίσθαι, μέντοι z. B. Xenophon Cyrop. 2, 1, 9 οἵ γε μέντ᾽ ἂν αὐτῶν φεύγωσι, οὖν z. B. Aristoph. Ran. 1420 ὁπότερος οὖν ἂν τῇ πόλει παραινέσειν μέλλει τι χρηστόν, (wiewohl Herodot an einigen Stellen dem ἄν auch vor μέν und δέ den Vortritt lässt 1, 138, 5 ὃς ἂν δὲ τῶν ἀστῶν λέπρην — ἔχῃ. 3, 72, 25 ὃς ἂν μέν νυν τῶν πυλωρῶν ἑκὼν παρίῃ. 7, 8^δ3 ὃς ἂν δὲ ἔχων ἤκῃ. 7, 8^δ3 ὃς ἂν δὲ ἔχων ἤκῃ). [sic] Aber vor allen andern Wörtern hat ἄν den Vortritt. Die nicht entschuldbare Ausnahme Antiphon 5, 38 καθ᾽ ὦν μηνύῃ ἄν τις hat Mätzner längst aus dem Oxoniensis, welcher καθ᾽ ὦν ἂν μηνύῃ τις schreibt, berichtigt. Um so unbegreiflicher ist noch in der zweiten Ausgabe der Fragm. Trag. von Nauck unter Euripides Fragm. 1029 den Versen zu begegnen ἀρετὴ δ᾽ ὅσῳπερ μᾶλλον ἂν χρῆσθαι θέλῃς, τοσῷδε μείζων γίγνεται καθ᾽ ἡμέραν. Für das fehlerhafte μᾶλλον ἂν vermutet Dümmler ἂν πλέον. Oder ist θέλῃς in θέλοις zu ändern? — Sicherer scheint mir die Heilung einer dritten Stelle mit falsch gestelltem ἄν: Aristoph. Ran. 259 ὁπόσον ἡ φάρυγξ ἂν ἡμῶν χανδάνῃ. Es ist einfach umzustellen ἡ φάρυγξ ὁπόσον ἂν ἡμῶν, wodurch die Responsion mit Vers 264 οὐδέποτε· κεκράξομαι γάρ nicht schlechter wird. Ganz eng ist der Anschluss von ἄν an das Fügewort geworden in ion. ἤν, *[S. 380]* att. ἄν, woraus durch nochmaligen Vortritt von εἰ das gewöhnliche ἐάν entstanden ist, in ὅταν, ἐπειδάν, ἐπάν = ion. ἐπήν, wo dann die Möglichkeit auch nur eine Partikel dem ἄν vorzuschieben wegfällt.

Aber auch in den andern Satzarten ist ursprünglich zwischen den Stellungsgewohnheiten von ἄν und denen von κε(ν) kein wesentlicher Unterschied zu bemerken. In Hauptsätzen wie in indikativischen und optativischen Nebensätzen finden wir bei Homer auf ἄν die Stellungsregel der Enklitika angewandt. Nur in wenigen Fällen entfernt sich ἄν etwas weiter von der Regel. Erstens hinter οὐ: A 301 τῶν οὐκ ἄν τι φέροις. B 488 πληθὺν δ᾽ οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ μυθήσομαι οὐδ᾽ ὀνομήνω. Γ 66 ἑκὼν δ᾽ οὐκ ἄν τις ἕλοιτο. Ο 40 τὸ μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἐγώ ποτε μὰψ ὀμόσαιμι. Ρ 489 ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐφορμηθέντε γε νῶϊ τλαῖεν ἐναντίβιον στάντες μαχέσασθαι Ἄρηι. Nun haben wir schon früher wiederholt beobachtet, dass die Negationen gern die Enklitika hinter sich nehmen. Und wenn bei κε diese Erscheinung weniger zu Tage tritt als bei ἄν, so darf an Ficks Bemerkung erinnert werden, dass das überhaupt im überlieferten Text auffallend häufige οὐκ ἄν mehrfach an die Stelle von οὔ κεν getreten scheine. (Doch siehe hiergegen Monro A Grammar of the Homeric Dialect 2. Ausg. S. 330). Dazu kommen noch drei weitere Stellen, eine mit καὶ ἄν: Ε 362 = 457 ὃς νῦν γε καὶ ἂν Διὶ πατρὶ μάχοιτο, während Ξ 244 f.

ἄλλον μέν κεν ἔγωγε θεῶν αἰειγενετάων ῥεῖα κατευνήσαιμι καὶ ἂν ποταμοῖο ῥέεθρα Ὠκεανοῦ das καὶ ἄν als neuer Satzanfang betrachtet werden kann. Eine mit τάχ᾽ ἄν: A 205 ἧς ὑπεροπλίῃσι τάχ᾽ ἄν ποτε θυμὸν ὀλέσσῃ. (Vgl. τάχ᾽ ἄν am Satzanfang β 76 τάχ᾽ ἄν ποτε καὶ τίσις εἴη.) Endlich eine mit τότ᾽ ἄν (vgl. τότ᾽ ἄν am Satzanfang Σ 397, Ω 213, ι 211): X 108 ἐμοὶ δὲ τότ᾽ ἄν πολὺ κέρδιον εἴη. Diese paar Stellen genügen doch gewiss nicht, um Hermanns scharfe Trennung von ἄν und κε(ν) zu rechtfertigen. Sein eigenes Beispiel ἦ σ᾽ ἄν τισαίμην gegenüber ἦ κε μέγ᾽ οἰμώξειε besagt nichts, da σ(ε) enklitisch ist. Und aus εἴ περ ἄν gegenüber H 387 αἴ κέ περ ὔμμι φίλον καὶ ἡδὺ γένοιτο lassen sich natürlich ebenfalls keine Folgerungen ziehen. Vergleiche überdies die freilich bestrittenen Verbindungen ὄφρ᾽ ἄν μέν κεν, οὔτ᾽ ἄν κεν.

Die nachhomerische Litteratur hat ἄν streng nach der alten Regel in den konjunktivischen Nebensätzen. Schwan-*[S. 381]*kender ist der Gebrauch bei Nebensätzen mit anderm Modus. Doch haftet auch hier ἄν in gewissen Fällen fest am Einleitungswort. Besonders in betracht kommen die Verbindungen ὡς ἄν, ὅπως ἄν, ὥσπερ ἄν.

Am klarsten ist der Sachverhalt bei den mit ὡς und ὅπως beginnenden, den Optativ oder Indikativ mit ἄν enthaltenden Final- und Konsekutivsätzen, dank den Sammlungen, die für die erstern Weber angelegt und publiziert hat (Weber Die Entwicklungsgeschichte der Absichtssätze [Beiträge zur historischen Syntax der griechischen Sprache herausgegeben von M. Schanz II] 1 und 2). In solchen Sätzen haben wir ὡς ἄν in unmittelbarer Folge nicht bloss bei Homer (z. B. ρ 562 ὡς ἄν πύρνα κατὰ μνηστῆρας ἀγείροι) sondern auch Archiloch. Fragm. 30 ὡς ἄν καὶ γέρων ἠράσσατο und Fragm. 101 ὡς ἄν σε θωϊὴ λάβοι. Pindar Olymp. 7, 42 ὡς ἄν θεᾷ πρῶτοι κτίσαιεν βωμόν. Sophokles bei Aristoph. Aves 1338 ὡς ἄν ποταθείην. Herodot 1, 152, 4 ὡς ἄν πυνθανόμενοι πλεῖστοι συνέλθοιεν Σπαρτιητέων. Ebenso 5, 37, 9. 7, 176, 20. 8, 7, 2. 9, 22, 18. 9, 51, 14. [Andocides] 4, 23 ὡς ἄν μάλιστα τὸν υἱὸν ἐχθρὸν ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῇ πόλει ποιήσειε. Plato Phaedo 82 E ὡς ἄν μάλιστα αὐτὸς ὁ δεδεμένος ξυλλήπτωρ εἴη τοῦ δεδέσθαι. Sympos. 187 D τοῖς μὲν κοσμίοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ὡς ἄν κοσμιώτεροι γίγνοιντο οἱ μή πω ὄντες, δεῖ χαρίζεσθαι. 190 C δοκῶ μοι — ἔχειν μηχανήν, ὡς ἄν εἶεν ἄνθρωποι καὶ παύσαιντο τῆς ἀκολασίας. Demosth. 6, 37 ὡς δ᾽ ἄν ἐξετασθείη μάλιστ᾽ ἀκριβῶς, μὴ γένοιτο, wo das ὡς ἄν doch wohl konsekutiv zu nehmen ist. Sehr häufig bei Xenophon, dem einzigen attischen Prosaisten, der häufig ὡς mit ἄν und dem Optativ in rein finalem Sinne verbindet. Von den siebzehn bei Weber S. 83 ff. aufgeführten Belegstellen haben vierzehn ἄν unmittelbar hinter ὡς, nur drei davon getrennt, final Cyrop. 5, 1, 18 ὡς μηδενὸς ἄν δέοιτο. 7, 5, 37 ὡς ὅτι ἥκιστα ἄν ἐπιφθόνοις σπάνιος τε καὶ σεμνὸς φανείη, konsekutiv Sympos. 9, 3 ὡς πᾶς ἄν ἔγνω, ὅτι ἀσμένη ἤκουσε: die ersten und einzigen Fälle, wo die

den Zusammenschluss von ὡς und ἄν verlangende Tradition durchbrochen ist. Allerdings kommen nach der handschriftlichen Überlieferung noch zwei euripideische Verse hinzu: Iphig. Taur. 1024 ὡς δὴ ϲκότοϲ λαβόντεϲ ἐκϲωθεῖμεν ἄν und Iphig. Aul. 171 Ἀχαιῶν ϲτρατιὰν ὡς ἴδοιμ᾽ ἄν. Aber der erstere Vers ist seit Markland den Kritikern verdächtig, und im *[S. 382]* zweiten schreibt man jetzt allgemein ὡς ἐϲιδοίμαν [Pl. Gorg. 453 C οὕτω προΐῃ, ὡς μάλιϲτ᾽ ἄν — ποιοίη ist ὡς relativ.]

Noch fester ist die Verbindung ὅπωϲ ἄν in solchen Sätzen: Aeschylus Agam. 362 ὅπωϲ ἄν — μήτε πρὸ καιροῦ μήθ᾽ ὑπὲρ ἄϲτρων βέλοϲ ἡλίθιον ϲκήψειεν. Herodot 1, 75, 16 ὅκωϲ ἄν τὸ ϲτρατόπεδον ἱδρυμένον κατὰ νώτου λάβοι. Ebenso 1, 91, 7. 1, 110, 16. 2, 126, 7. 3, 44, 5. 5, 98, 20. 8, 13, 9. — Thucydides 7, 65, 1 ὅπωϲ ἄν ἀπολιϲθάνοι καὶ μὴ ἔχοι ἀντιλαβὴν ἡ χείρ. Aristoph. Ekkles. 881 ὅπωϲ ἄν περιλάβοιμ᾽ αὐτῶν τινα. Plato Lysis 207 E ὅπωϲ ἄν εὐδαιμονοίηϲ. Sehr häufig bei Xenophon, zwölfmal (ungerechnet ὅπωϲ "wie" nach Verben des Beratens und Überlegens) nach den Nachweisen von Weber 2, S. 83 ff., überall so, dass ἄν dem ὅπωϲ unmittelbar folgt; eigentümlich Sympos. 7, 2 ϲκοπῶ, ὅπωϲ ἄν ὁ μὲν παῖϲ ὅδε ὁ ϲὸϲ καὶ ἡ παῖϲ ἥδε ὡς ῥᾷϲτα διάγοιεν, ἡμεῖϲ δ᾽ ἄν μάλιϲτα (ἄν) εὐφραινοίμεθα. Corpus Inscr. Att. 2, 300, 20 (295/4 a. Ch.) ὅπωϲ ἄν ὁ δῆμο[ϲ ἀπαλλαγείη τ]οῦ πολέμου, wo der von Herwerden und Weber 2 S. 3 empfohlene Konjunktiv ἀπαλλαγῇ für die Lücke, deren Umfang durch die ϲτοιχηδὸν-Schreibung feststeht, zu kurz ist. — Nach allem dem kann kein Zweifel sein, dass Hermann und Velsen Aristoph. Ekkles. 916 mit Unrecht ὅπωϲ ϲαυτῆϲ <ἄν> κατόναι(ο) schreiben wollen, und dass, wenn hier überhaupt ἄν einzusetzen ist, es seine Stelle unmittelbar hinter ὅπωϲ haben muss.

Den Finalsätzen mit ὡς, ὅπωϲ ganz nahe stehn die mit denselben Partikeln oder auch mit πῶϲ eingeleiteten indirekten Fragesätze mit Optativ und ἄν. a) ὡς ἄν ist unmittelbar verbunden Plato Republ. 5, 473 A ἐὰν οἷοί τε γενώμεθα εὑρεῖν, ὡς ἄν ἐγγύτατα τῶν εἰρημένων πόλιϲ οἰκήϲειεν. Xenophon. Oeconom. 19, 18 διδάϲκει, ὡς ἄν κάλλιϲτά τιϲ αὐτῇ χρῷτο. Demosth. 4, 13 τἆλλ᾽ ὡς ἄν μοι βέλτιϲτα καὶ τάχιϲτα δοκεῖ παραϲκευαϲθῆναι, καὶ δὴ πειράϲομαι λέγειν. [20,87] Abweichend ist, so viel ich sehe, nur der zweite Teil des demosthenischen Beispiels 6, 3 ὡς μὲν ἄν εἴποιτε καὶ — ϲυνεῖτε, ἄμεινον Φιλίππου παρεϲκεύαϲθε, ὡς δὲ κωλύϲαιτ᾽ ἄν ἐκεῖνον —, παντελῶϲ ἀργῶϲ ἔχετε. [Demosth.] 10, 45 siehe unten. b) ὅπωϲ ἄν ist unmittelbar verbunden [Hippokrates] περὶ τέχνηϲ c. 2 pag. 42, 20 Gomp. οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅπωϲ ἄν τιϲ αὐτὰ νομίϲειε μὴ ἐόντα. Auch häufig bei Xenophon: Anab. 2, 5, 7 τὸν γὰρ θεῶν πόλεμον οὐκ οἶδα —, ὅπωϲ ἄν εἰϲ ἐχυρὸν χωρίον ἀποϲταίη. Ebenso Anab. *[S. 383]* 3, 2, 27. 4, 3, 14. 5, 7, 20. Hellenika 2, 3, 13. 3, 2, 1. 7, 1, 27. 7, 1, 33. Cyropädie 1, 4, 13. 2, 1, 4. — Gegenbeispiele habe ich keine zur Hand. (Vgl. aber Eurip. Hel. 146 f. ὡς τύχω μαντευμάτων, ὅπῃ νεὼϲ ϲτείλαιμ᾽

ἂν οὔριον πτερόν.) c) πῶϲ ἄν unmittelbar verbunden z. B. Xenophon Anab. 1, 7, 2 ϲυνεβουλεύετο, πῶϲ ἂν τὴν μάχην ποιοῖτο. Demosth. 19, 14 εἰ — ἐϲκόπει —, πῶϲ ἂν ἄριϲτ᾽ ἐναντιωθείη τῇ εἰρήνῃ. Auch hier habe ich keine Gegenbeispiele.

Aber auch das relativische ὡϲ, ὥϲπερ 'wie' zeigt die Eigentümlichkeit ἄν fest an sich zu fesseln; zwar haben wir, um mit ὡϲ zu beginnen, bei Sophokles Oed. Col. 1678 ὡϲ μάλιϲτ᾽ ἂν ἐν πόθῳ λάβοιϲ, bei Plato Phaedo 59 A ὡϲ εἰκὸϲ δόξειεν ἂν εἶναι παρόντι πένθει. 118 B ὡϲ ἡμεῖϲ φαῖμεν ἄν. Sympos. 190 A ὡϲ ἀπὸ τούτων ἄν τιϲ εἰκάϲειεν. Phileb. 15 C ὡϲ γοῦν ἐγὼ φαίην ἄν. Leges 4, 712 C ὥϲ γ᾽ ἡμεῖϲ ἂν οἰηθεῖμεν und öfters; bei Xenoph. Anab. 1, 5, 8 θᾶττον ἢ ὥϲ τιϲ ἂν ᾤετο, bei Pseudo-Demosth. 10, 45 ὡϲ μὲν οὖν εἴποι τιϲ ἄν, — ταῦτ᾽ ἴϲωϲ ἐϲτίν· (der Rest des Satzes: ὡϲ δὲ καὶ γένοιτ᾽ ἄν, νόμῳ διορθώϲαϲθαι δεῖ, enthält fragendes ὡϲ). Aber diesen Beispielen gegenüber haben wir nicht bloss bei Plato Phaedrus 231 A ἑκόντεϲ, ὡϲ ἂν ἄριϲτα περὶ τῶν οἰκείων βουλεύϲαιντο, πρὸϲ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν αὑτῶν εὖ ποιοῦϲιν, [Apol. 34 C]; bei Demosth. 27, 7 ὡϲ ἂν ϲυντομώτατ᾽ εἴποι τιϲ. 39, 22 ϲτέρξαϲ ὡϲ ἂν υἱόν τιϲ ϲτέρξαι. 45, 18 οὐδὲ μεμαρτύρηκεν ἁπλῶϲ, ὡϲ ἄν τιϲ τἀληθῆ μαρτυρήϲειε. Proöm. 2, 3 (Bβ bei Blass) τὸ — μὴ πάνθ᾽ ὡϲ ἂν ἡμεῖϲ βουλοίμεθ᾽ ἔχειν —, οὐδέν ἐϲτι θαυμαϲτόν, sondern vor allem kommt in betracht der elliptische Gebrauch von ὡϲ ἄν, der nur zu begreifen ist, wenn enge Verbindung von ὡϲ ἄν im Sprachbewusstsein festsass. Eigentlich ist bei solchem Gebrauch das Verb des Hauptsatzes in optativischer Form wiederholt zu denken, wie es an den angeführten Stellen Demosth. 39, 22 und 45, 18 wirklich wiederholt ist.

Es steht dieses ὡϲ ἄν a) vor εἰ Plato Protag. 344 B ὡϲ ἂν εἰ λέγοι; vgl. das ὡϲανεί der nachklassischen Gräzität; b) vor Partizipien; α) mit neuem Subjekt: Xenophon Cyrop. 1, 3, 8 καὶ τὸν Κῦρον ἐρέϲθαι προπετῶϲ, ὡϲ ἂν παῖϲ μηδέπω ὑποπτήϲϲων. Memorab. 3, 8, 1 ἀπεκρίνατο, οὐχ ὥϲπερ οἱ φυλαττόμενοι —, ἀλλ᾽ ὡϲ ἂν πεπειϲμένοι μάλιϲτα πράττειν τὰ δέοντα. Demosth. 4, 6 ἔχει τὰ μέν, ὡϲ ἂν ἑλών τιϲ πολέμῳ. 24, 79 οὐδὲ ταῦθ᾽ ἁπλῶϲ — φανήϲεται γεγραφώϲ, ἀλλ᾽ ὡϲ *[S. 384]* ἂν μάλιϲτά τιϲ ὑμᾶϲ ἐξαπατῆϲαι καὶ παρακρούϲαϲθαι βουλόμενοϲ. [Demosth.] 34, 22 ϲυγγραφὰϲ ἐποιήϲαντο —, ὡϲ ἂν οἱ μάλιϲτα ἀπιϲτοῦντεϲ. Häufiger β) ohne ausdrückliche Nennung des eigentlich gedachten unbestimmten Subjekts ("wie einer thäte in der und der Verfassung"), wobei dann ὡϲ ἄν der Bedeutung von ἅτε sehr nahe kommt und das Partizip sich nach dem Kasus desjenigen Wortes im Hauptsatz richtet, dessen Begriff als Träger der partizipialen Bestimmung vorschwebt. So schon Solon Fragm. 36, 10 Bgk. (nun bestätigt durch Aristot. Ἀθην. πολιτεία S. 31, 10 Kenyon) γλῶϲϲαν οὐκέτ᾽ Ἀττικὴν ἱέντας [sic] ὡϲ ἂν πολλαχοῦ πλανωμένουϲ. Lysias 1, 12 ἡ γυνὴ οὐκ ἤθελεν ἀπιέναι, ὡϲ ἂν ἀϲμένη με ἑορακυῖα. Xenophon Memorab. 3, 6, 4 διεϲιώπηϲεν, ὡϲ ἂν τότε ϲκοπῶν, ὁπόθεν ἄρχοιτο. Demosth. 21, 14 κρότον τοιοῦτον ὡϲ ἂν ἐπαινοῦντέϲ

τε καὶ συνησθέντες ἐποιήσατε. 19, 256 θρυλοῦντος ἀεί, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὡς ἂν εἰς κοινὴν γνώμην ἀποφαινομένου. 54, 7 διαλεχθείς τι πρὸς αὐτὸν οὕτως ὡς ἂν μεθύων. [Demosth.] 59, 24 συνεδείπνει ἐναντίον πολλῶν Νέαιρα, ὡς ἂν ἑταίρα οὖσα. Aristot. Ἀθην. πολιτ. 19, 12 Keny. σημεῖον δ᾽ ἐ<πι>φέρουσι τό τε ὄνομα τοῦ τέλους, ὡς ἂν ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος κείμενον. Anthol. Palat. 6, 259, 6 ἔπτη δ᾽ ὡς ἂν ἔχων τοὺς πόδας ἡμετέρους. c) Sonst: Aeschylus Suppl. 718 ἄγαν καλῶς κλύουσά γ᾽ ὡς ἂν οὐ φίλη. Thucyd. 1, 33, 1 ὡς ἂν μάλιστα, μετὰ ἀειμνήστου μαρτυρίου τὴν χάριν καταθήσεσθε. 6, 57, 3 ἀπερισκέπτως προσπεσόντες καὶ ὡς ἂν μάλιστα δι᾽ ὀργῆς. Xenophon. Cyrop. 5, 4, 29 δῶρα πολλὰ — φέρων καὶ ἄγων, ὡς ἂν ἐξ οἴκου μεγάλου. Memorab. 2, 6, 38 εἴ σοι πείσαιμι — (ἐπιτρέπειν) τὴν πόλιν ψευδόμενος, ὡς ἂν στρατηγικῷ τε καὶ δικαστικῷ καὶ πολιτικῷ. Demosth. 1, 21 οὐδ᾽ ὡς ἂν κάλλιστ᾽ αὐτῷ τὰ παρόντ᾽ ἔχει. 18, 291 οὐχ ὡς ἂν εὔνους καὶ δίκαιος πολίτης ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην. 23, 154 ἀφυλάκτων ὄντων, ὡς ἂν πρὸς φίλον τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ. Corpus Inscr. Att. 2, 243 (vor 301 a. Chr.), 34 ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὡς ἂν ὑπὲρ πολιτῶν.

Noch schlagender vielleicht ist der Gebrauch von ὥσπερ. Zwar sagt Sophokles Fragm. 787 ὥσπερ σελήνης ὄψις εὐφρόνας δύο στῆναι δύναιτ᾽ ἄν und Demosthenes 4, 39 τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὥσπερ τῶν στρατευμάτων ἀξιώσειέ τις ἂν τὸν στρατηγὸν ἡγεῖσθαι. Aber dafür lesen wir bei Antiphon 6, 11 ὥσπερ ἂν ἥδιστα καὶ ἐπιτηδειότατα ἀμφοτέροις ἐγίγνετο, ἐγὼ μὲν ἐκέλευον u. s. w., bei Plato Phaedo 87 B δοκεῖ ὁμοίως λέγεσθαι *[S. 385]* ταῦτα, ὥσπερ ἂν τις περὶ ἀνθρώπου — λέγοι τοῦτον τὸν λόγον. Phaedrus 268 D ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ ἂν μουσικὸς ἐντυχὼν ἀνδρὶ — οὐκ ἀγρίως εἴποι ἄν mit beachtenswertem doppeltem ἄν, bei Xenophon Hellen. 3, 1, 14 ἐκείνῳ δὲ πιστευούσης, ὥσπερ ἂν γυνὴ γαμβρὸν ἀσπάζοιτο. Besonders aber, wenn dem Vergleichungssatz ein kondizionaler eingefügt ist, herrscht durchaus die Wortfolge ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ —: Plato Apologie 17 D ὥσπερ οὖν ἄν, εἴ [sic] τῷ ὄντι ξένος ἐτύγχανον ὤν, ξυνεγιγνώσκετε δήπου ἄν μοι. Gorgias 447 D ὥσπερ ἄν, εἰ ἐτύγχανεν ὢν ὑποδημάτων δημιουργός, ἀποκρίναιτο ἂν δήπου σοι. 451 A ὥσπερ ἄν, εἴ τίς με ἔροιτο —, εἴποιμ᾽ ἄν. 453 C ὥσπερ ἄν, εἰ ἐτύγχανον —, ἆρ᾽ οὐκ ἂν δικαίως σε ἠρόμην; Protag. 311 B ὥσπερ ἄν, εἰ ἐπενόεις — ἀργύριον τελεῖν —, εἴ τίς σε ἤρετο —, τί ἂν ἀπεκρίνω. 318 B ὥσπερ ἄν, εἰ — Ἱπποκράτης ὅδε ἐπιθυμήσειε — καὶ — ἀκούσειεν —, εἰ αὐτὸν ἐπανέροιτο —, εἴποι ἂν αὐτῷ. 327 E ὥσπερ ἄν, εἰ ζητοίης, τίς διδάσκαλος τοῦ ἑλληνίζειν, οὐδ᾽ ἂν εἷς φανείη, und öfters. Demosth. 20, 143 ὥσπερ ἄν, εἴ τις — τάττοι, οὐκ ἂν αὐτός γ᾽ ἀδικεῖν παρεσκευάσθαι δόξαι.

Auch hier tritt der enge Anschluss von ἄν besonders daran zu Tage, dass ὥσπερ ἄν überaus oft elliptisch ohne (optativisches oder präteritales) Verbum steht, entweder indem eine Form des Verbums εἰμί zu ergänzen ist, wie Demosth. 9, 30 ὥσπερ ἄν, εἰ υἱὸς — διῴκει τι μὴ καλῶς ἢ ὀρθῶς, αὐτὸ μὲν τοῦτ᾽ ἄξιον μέμψεως,

oder das Verbum des übergeordneten Satzes: Andoc. 1, 57 χρὴ ἀνθρωπίνως περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκλογίζεσθαι, ὥσπερ ἂν αὐτὸν ὄντα ἐν τῇ συμφορᾷ (= ὥσπερ ἂν τις αὐτὸς ὢν — ἐκλογίζοιτο). Isäus 6, 64 τοῦτ᾽ αὐτὸ ἐπιδεικνύτω ὥσπερ ἂν ὑμῶν ἕκαστος. Demosth. 18, 298 οὐδὲ — ὁμοίως ὑμῖν, ὥσπερ ἂν τρυτάνη ῥέπων ἐπὶ τὸ λῆμμα συμβεβούλευκα (V. C. ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ, Blass bloss ὥσπερ). 19, 226 ὥσπερ ἂν παρεστηκότος αὐτοῦ. 21, 117 χρώμενος ὥσπερ ἂν ἄλλος τις αὐτῷ τὰ πρὸ τούτου. 21, 225 δεῖ τοίνυν τούτοις βοηθεῖν, ὥσπερ ἂν αὐτῷ τις ἀδικουμένῳ. 29, 30 ὥσπερ ἂν τις συκοφαντεῖν ἐπιχειρῶν. (S. Blass nach A; die meisten ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις, mit welcher Lesart die Stelle unten einzufügen wäre.) 39, 10 πλὴν εἰ σημεῖον ὥσπερ ἂν ἄλλῳ τινί, τῷ χαλκίῳ προσέσται. 45, 35 ὥσπερ ἂν δοῦλος δεσπότῃ διδούς. 49, 27 ὥσπερ ἂν ἄλλος τις ἀποτυχών.

Zumal findet sich dieses bei folgendem εἰ c. optativo *[S. 386]* oder praeterito: Isocrates 4, 69 ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ ("wie wenn") πρὸς ἄπαντας ἀνθρώπους ἐπολέμησαν. 18, 59 ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τῳ Φρυνώνδας πανουργίαν ὀνειδίσειεν. Vgl. 10, 10. 15, 2. 15, 14. 15, 298. Ebenso Plato Protag. 341 C ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ ἤκουεν. Kratyl. 395 E ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ὀνομάσειε καὶ εἴποι. Vgl. Krat. 430 A. Gorg. 479 A. Phaedo 98 C, 109 C, Sympos. 199 D, 204 E. Republik 7, 529 D u.s.w. Ebenso Xenophon Cyrop. 1, 3, 2 ἠσπάζετο αὐτόν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις — ἀσπάζοιτο. Ebenso Demosthenes 6, 8 ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ πολεμοῦντες τύχοιτε. 18, 194 ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ναύκληρον αἰτιῷτο (vgl. § 243) und andere Redner. [Demosth.] 35, 28 ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις εἰς Αἴγιναν ἢ εἰς Μέγαρα ὁρμίσαιτο. — Daran knüpft sich wieder ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ (meist geschrieben ὡσπερανεί) im Sinne von *quasi* 'wie'; vgl. ὡσεί, ὡσπερεί, ohne Verbum finitum gebraucht z. B. Plato Gorgias 479 A ὡσπερανεὶ παῖς. Isokrates 4, 148. Xenophon Sympos. 9, 4. Demosth. 18, 214. Über ὡσπερανεί, καθαπερανεί bei Aristoteles belehrt der Bonitzsche Index S. 41.

Auch die Relativsätze geben zu Bemerkungen Anlass. Erstens folgt in der Verbindung οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις (oder auch in fragender Form ἔστιν ὅστις….;), wo der Hauptsatz erst durch den Nebensatz seinen Inhalt erhält und also der Zusammenschluss beider Sätze ein besonders enger ist, das ἄν regelmässig unmittelbar auf das Relativum: Soph. Antig. 912 οὐκ ἔστ᾽ ἀδελφός, ὅστις ἂν βλάστοι ποτέ. Eurip. El. 903 οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεὶς ὅστις ἂν μέμψαιτό σε. [Heracl. 972]. Pl. Phaedo 78 A οὐκ ἔστιν εἰς ὅ τι ἂν ἀναγκαιότερον ἀναλίσκοιτε χρήματα. 89 D οὐκ ἔστιν, ὅτι ἂν τις μεῖζον — πάθοι. Phaedrus 243 B τουτωνὶ οὐκ ἔστιν, ἅττ᾽ ἂν ἐμοὶ εἶπες ἡδίω. Demosth. 24, 138 οἶμαι γὰρ τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν εἶναι, ὅτου ἂν ἀπέσχετο. 24, 157 ἔστιν, ὅστις ἂν — ἐψήφισεν; 19, 309 ἔστιν, ὅστις ἂν — ὑπέμεινεν; 18, 43 οὐ γὰρ ἦν, ὅ τι ἂν ἐποιεῖτε. 45, 33 ἔστιν οὖν, ὅστις ἂν τοῦ ξύλου καὶ τοῦ χωρίου — τοσαύτην ὑπέμεινε φέρειν μίσθωσιν; ἔστι δ᾽ ὅστις ἂν — ἐπέτρεψεν; vgl. auch [Demosth.] 13, 22 οὐκ ἔστ᾽ οὐδείς, ὅστις ἂν εἴποι. Fast gleichwertig mit οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις sind solche Wendungen, wie die bei Sophokles Oed. Col. 252 vorliegende

οὐ γὰρ ἴδοις ἂν ἀθρῶν βροτῶν ὅςτις ἂν εἰ θεὸς ἄγοι ἐκφυγεῖν δύναιτο oder die bei Plato Phaedo 107 A οὐκ οἶδα εἰς ὅντιν᾽ ἄν τις ἄλλον καιρὸν ἀναβάλλοιτο und bei Xenophon Anab. 3, 1, 40 οὐκ οἶδα ὅ τι ἄν τις χρήσαιτο αὐτῷ. Und ebenso eng wie in allen diesen *[S. 387]* Beispielen ist der Zusammenschluss von Haupt- und Nebensatz, wenn ὅςτις durch οὕτω angekündigt ist: Isokrates 9, 35 οὐδεὶς γάρ ἐςτιν οὕτω ῥᾴθυμος ὅςτις ἂν δέξαιτο.

Die Verbindung von ὅςτις und ἄν kann in solchen Sätzen allerdings unter-brochen werden, erstens durch ποτε, was ganz natürlich ist: Plato Phaedo 79 A τῶν δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐχόντων οὐκ ἔςτιν ὅτῳ ποτ᾽ ἂν ἄλλῳ ἐπιλάβοιο. Zweitens durch οὐκ: Isokr. 8, 52 ὧν οὐκ ἔςτιν, ὅςτις οὐκ ἂν τις καταφρονήσειεν. Plato Gorgias 456 C οὐ γάρ ἐςτιν, περὶ ὅτου οὐκ ἂν πιθανώτερον εἴποι ὁ ῥητορικός. [491 E.] Symposion 179 A οὐδεὶς οὕτω κακός, ὄντινα οὐκ ἂν αυτὸς ὁ Ἔρως ἔνθεον ποιήσειεν. Xenophon Cyrop. 7, 5, 61 οὐδεὶς γάρ, ὅςτις οὐκ ἂν ἀξιώςειεν. (Vgl. Lykurg 69 τίς οὕτως — φθονερός ἐςτιν —, ὃς οὐκ ἂν εὔξαιτο —;) Man be-achte, dass von den Beispielen mit unmittelbar verbundenem ὅςτις ἄν keines im Relativsatze die Negation enthält, sodass also die Zwischenschiebung von οὐκ als Regel gelten kann. Sie ist auch gar nicht verwunderlich; man vergleiche, was oben S. 335, 336, 343 über die Voranstellung von οὐκ vor Enklitika und S. 380 über homerisches οὐκ ἄν zu bemerken war. Eigentümlich ist Demosth. 18, 206: Hier geben S und L, also die beste Textquelle: οὐκ ἔςθ᾽ ὅςτις ἂν οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ἐπιτιμήςειέ μοι. Wenn die Überlieferung richtig ist, so beruht die Ausdrucksweise auf einer Kontamination, auf dem Bedürfnis der üblichen Verbindung ὅςτις ἄν und der üblichen Verbindung (ὅςτις) οὐκ ἄν gleichmässig gerecht zu werden. In unmittelbarer Folge finden sich ἂν οὐκ ἄν auch Sophokles Oed. Rex 446. Elektra 439. Oed. Col. 1366. Fragm. inc. 673. Eurip. Heraklid. 74. Aristoph. Lysistr. 361 und ἂν οὐδ᾽ ἄν Sophokles Elektra 97 (noch öfter, und selbst bei Aristoteles noch, ἄν — οὐκ ἄν oder οὐδεὶς ἄν durch mehrere Wörter getrennt). Da immerhin dem vier-ten Jahrhundert ἂν οὐκ ἄν fremd und die Wiederholung von ἄν überhaupt nur nach längerem Zwischenraum eigen zu sein scheint, haben vielleicht die Heraus-geber recht, die mit den übrigen Handschriften das erste der beiden ἄν streichen und einfach ὅςτις οὐκ ἄν schreiben.

Durch andere Wörter als ποτε oder οὐ werden ὅςτις und ἄν in solchen Sätzen bei den guten Attikern nicht getrennt. Freilich Xenophon hat Anabasis 2, 3, 23 οὔτ᾽ ἔςτιν ὅτου ἕνεκα βουλοίμεθα ἂν τὴν βασιλέως χώραν κακῶς ποιεῖν. 5, 77 ἔςτιν *[S. 388]* οὖν ὅςτις τοῦτο ἂν δύναιτο ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατῆςαι. Ihm folgt auffälliger Weise Lykurg 39 τίς δ᾽ ἦν οὕτω ἢ μισόδημος τότε ἢ μιςαθήναιος, ὅςτις ἐδυνήθη ἄν. Ist auch hierauf die Bemerkung von Blass, attische Beredsamkeit 3, 2, 103 anwendbar: "was (bei L.) als unklassisch oder sprachwidrig auffällt, muss auf Rechnung der anerkannt schlechten Überlieferung gesetzt werden?" Aber bei

Demosthenes 18, 43 ist in dem Texte von Blass οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὅ τι ἄλλ᾿ ἂν ἐποιεῖτε das ἄλλο blosse Konjektur des Herausgebers. [Doch Eurip. Med. 1339 οὐκ ἔςτιν, ἥτις τοῦτ᾿ ἂν Ἑλληνὶς γυνὴ ἔτλη. Lies ἥτις ἂν τόδ᾿?]

Weniger sicher war die Tradition in den Sätzen, wo eines der zu ὅςτις gehörigen relativen Adjektiva oder Adverbia in solchen Sätzen stand, oder wo zwar ὅςτις selbst sich an einen negativen Satz anschloss, aber zu dessen Ergänzung nicht unbedingt notwendig und daher nicht so eng mit ihm verbunden war. Zwar haben wir aus erster Kategorie Eurip. Kyklops 469 ἔςτ᾿ οὖν ὅπως ἂν ὡςπερεὶ ςπονδῆς θεοῦ κἀγὼ λαβοίμην —; (nicht negativer Fragesatz!) Aristoph. Aves 627 οὐκ ἔςτιν ὅπως ἂν ἐγώ ποθ᾿ ἑκὼν τῆς ςῆς γνώμης ἔτ᾿ ἀφείμην. Lysias 8, 7 οὐδὲν αὐτὸς ἐξηῦρον, ὁπόθεν ἂν εἰκότως ὑπερείδετε τὴν ἐμὴν ὁμιλίαν. Plato Sympos. 178 E οὐκ ἔςτιν, ὅπως ἂν ἄμεινον οἰκήςειαν τὴν ἑαυτῶν. 223 A οὐκ ἔςθ᾿ ὅπως ἂν ἐνθάδε μείναιμι. Xenophon Hellen. 6, 1, 9 οὐκ εἶναι ἔθνος, ὁποίῳ ἂν ἀξιώςειαν ὑπήκοοι εἶναι Θετταλοί. Demosth. 24, 64 ἔςτιν οὖν ὅπως ἂν ἐναντιώτερά τις δύο θείη. (Obwohl der Revisor des Codex S oben an τις ein zweites ἂν eingezeichnet hat, ist doch die von Weil und nach ihm von Blass vorgenommene Streichung des bloss im Augustanus fehlenden ἂν hinter ὅπως und Versetzung desselben hinter ἐναντιώτερα unzulässig.) 18, 165 ἔςτιν οὖν ὅπως ἂν μᾶλλον ἄνθρωποι πάνθ᾿ ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου πράττοντες ἐξελεγχθεῖεν. (Vgl. auch οὐκ οἶδ᾿, ὅπως ἂν — oben S. 382.) Zu diesen Beispielen würde nicht in Widerspruch stehen Herodot 8, 119, 9 οὐκ ἔχω ὅκως οὐκ ἂν ἴςον πλῆθος τοῖς Πέρςῃςι ἐξέβαλε, und wohl auch nicht Xenophon Anab. 5, 7, 7 τοῦτ᾿ οὖν ἐςτιν ὅπως τις ἂν ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατήςαι; aber wirklich in Widerspruch stehn Sophokles Antigone 1156 οὐκ ἔςθ᾿ ὁποῖον ςτάντ᾿ ἂν ἀνθρώπου βίον οὔτ᾿ αἰνέςαιμ᾿ ἂν οὔτε μεμψαίμην ποτέ. Aristoph. Nubes 1181 οὐ γὰρ ἔςθ᾿ ὅπως μί᾿ ἡμέρα γένοιτ᾿ ἂν ἡμέραι δύο. Vesp. 212 κοὐκ ἔςθ᾿ ὅπως — ἂν — — λάθοι. Pax 306 οὐ γὰρ ἔςθ᾿ ὅπως *[S. 389]* ἀπειπεῖν ἂν δοκῶ μοι τήμερον. [Pl. Apol. 40 C.] Demosth. 15, 18 οὐ γὰρ ἔςθ᾿ ὅπως — εὖνοι γένοιτ᾿ ἂν. 19, 308 ἔςτιν οὖν, ὅπως ταῦτ᾿ ἂν, ἐκεῖνα προειρηκώς, — ἐτόλμηςεν εἰπεῖν (geringere Handschriften: ὅπως ἂν ταῦτ᾿). — Ähnlich lesen wir zwar Eurip. Alkestis 80 ἀλλ᾿ οὐδὲ φίλων πέλας οὐδείς, ὅςτις ἂν εἴποι. Plato Phaedo 57 B οὔτε τις ξένος ἀφῖκται —, ὅςτις ἂν ἡμῖν ςαφές τι ἀγγεῖλαι οἷός τ᾿ ἦν περὶ τούτων, aber andrerseits Sophokles Oed. Rex 117 οὐδ᾿ ἄγγελός τις οὐδὲ ςυμπράκτωρ ὁδοῦ κατεῖδ᾿ ὅτου τις ἐκμαθὼν ἐχρήςατ᾿ ἄν.

Eine zweite Gruppe hier in betracht kommender Relativsätze sind die mit ὅπερ eingeleiteten, bei denen ja das -περ begrifflich scharfe Unterordnung unter den Hauptsatz andeutet, also nach dem bei ὅςτις Beobachteten unmittelbaren Anschluss von ἂν an das Relativum fordern würde. Nun gilt zwar dieser Anschluss bei vollen ὅςπερ-Sätzen nicht immer, sondern bloss in der Mehrzahl der Beispiele: Herodot 8, 136, 16 κατήλπιζε εὐπετέως τῆς θαλάςςης κρατήςειν,

τάπερ ἂν καὶ ἦν. [Hippokrates] περὶ τέχνης Kap. 5 S. 46, 12 Gomperz τοιαῦτα θεραπεύσαντες ἑωυτούς, ὁποῖά περ ἂν ἐθεραπεύθησαν. Thucydides 2, 94, 1 ἐνόμιζον — ὅσον οὐκ ἐσπλεῖν αὐτούς· ὅπερ ἄν, εἰ ἐβουλήθησαν μὴ κατοκνῆσαι, ῥᾳδίως ἂν ἐγένετο. Isokrates 8, 133 ἐὰν συμβούλους ποιώμεθα τοιούτους —, οἵους περ ἂν περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἡμῖν εἶναι βουληθεῖμεν. 15, 23 χρὴ τοιούτους εἶναι κριτάς —, οἵων περ ἂν αὐτοὶ τυγχάνειν ἀξιώσειαν. 17, 21 ἀξιῶν τὴν αὐτὴν Πασίωνι — γίγνεσθαι ζημίαν, ἧσπερ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐτύγχανεν. Plato Kriton 52 D πράττεις ἅπερ ἂν δοῦλος φαυλότατος πράξειεν. Sympos. 217 B ᾤμην διαλέξεσθαι αὐτόν μοι, ἅπερ ἂν ἐραστὴς παιδικοῖς διαλεχθείη. Xenophon Anab. 5, 4, 34 ἐποίουν ἅπερ ἂν ἄνθρωποι ἐν ἐρημίᾳ ποιήσειαν. Aber mit Trennung des ἄν von ὅσπερ Thucyd. 1, 33, 3 τὸν δὲ πόλεμον, δι' ὅνπερ χρήσιμοι ἂν εἶμεν, εἴ τις ὑμῶν μὴ οἴεται ἔσεσθαι. Demosth. 6, 30 Φίλιππος δ' ἅπερ εὔξαισθ' ἂν ὑμεῖς, — πράξει. 19, 328 ὑμεῖς δ', ἅπερ εὔξαισθ' ἄν, ἐλπίσαντες —.

Deutlich indessen tritt das Bewusstsein von der engen Zusammengehörigkeit von ἄν mit ὅσπερ bei Ellipse des Verbums zu Tage, wobei die Ellipse des konjunktivischen Verbums z. B. Eurip. Medea 1153 φίλους νομίζουσ' οὕσπερ ἂν πόσις σέθεν. Isokrates 3, 60 φιλεῖν οἴεσθε δεῖν καὶ τιμᾶν, οὕσπερ ἂν καὶ ὁ βασιλεύς. Demosth. 18, 280 τὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς μισεῖν καὶ φιλεῖν, οὕσπερ ἂν ἡ πατρίς. CIA. 2, 589, 26 (um *[S. 390]* 300 a. Ch.) τελεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν τὰ αὐτὰ τέλη ἐν τῷ δήμῳ ἅπερ ἂγ καὶ Πειραιεῖς verglichen werden kann. Als Beispiele mögen dienen Isokrates 4, 86 τοσαύτην ποιησάμενοι σπουδήν, ὅσην περ ἂν τῆς αὐτῶν χώρας πορθουμένης. 5, 90 νικῆσαι — τοσοῦτον, ὅσον περ ἂν εἰ ταῖς γυναιξὶν αὐτῶν συνέβαλον. 10, 49 τοσοῦτον ἐφρόνησαν, ὅσον περ ἄν, εἰ πάντων ἡμῶν ἐκράτησαν. 14, 37 ἅπερ ἂν εἰς τοὺς πολεμιωτάτους, ἐξαμαρτεῖν ἐτόλμησαν. 15, 28 εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν καθέστηκα κίνδυνον, εἰς ὅνπερ ἄν, εἰ πάντας ἐτύγχανον ἠδικηκώς. Plato Republ. 2, 368 C δοκεῖ μοι — τοιαύτην ποιήσασθαι ζήτησιν αὐτοῦ, οἵαν περ ἄν, εἰ προσέταξέ τις. Xenophon Anab. 5, 4, 34 μόνοι τε ὄντες ὅμοια ἔπραττον, ἅπερ ἂν μετ' ἄλλων ὄντες. Demosth. 53, 12 ἀπεκρινάμην αὐτῷ, ἅπερ ἂν νέος ἄνθρωπος.

Unter den mit blossem ὅς eingeleiteten Relativsätzen sind die mit assimiliertem Pronomen am meisten als dem Hauptsatz eng verbunden gekennzeichnet. Dem entspricht, dass die meisten mir zur Hand liegenden Beispiele ἄν hinter ὅς haben: Plato Sympos. 218 A ἐγὼ δεδηγμένος τὸ ἀλγεινότατον ὧν ἄν τις δηχθείη. Isäus 5, 31 ἐμμενεῖν οἷς ἂν οὗτοι γνοῖεν. 5, 33 ἐμμενεῖν οἷς ἂν αὐτοὶ γνοῖεν. Demosth. 18, 16 πρὸς ἅπασιν τοῖς ἄλλοις, οἷς ἂν εἰπεῖν τις ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος ἔχοι. Doch ist die Zahl der Beispiele zu klein, um darauf eine Regel zu gründen, und Dem. 20, 136 μηδὲν ὧν ἰδίᾳ φυλάξαισθ' ἂν widerspricht.

Ganz bunt und regellos scheint der Gebrauch bei den übrigen Relativsätzen. Doch glaube ich sagen zu können, dass die gewöhnlichen Relativsätze ἄν wohl

beinahe eben so oft unmittelbar hinter dem Pronomen, als an einer spätern Stelle des Satzes haben. Eine natürliche Folge dieses Schwankens ist die nicht seltene Doppelsetzung von ἄν in Relativsätzen, z. B. Thucyd. 2, 48, 3 ἀφ᾽ ὧν ἄν τις σκοπῶν, εἴ ποτε καὶ αὖθις ἐπιπέσοι, μάλιστ᾽ ἂν ἔχοι τι προειδὼς μὴ ἀγνοεῖν. Demosth. 14, 27 ὅσα γὰρ ἂν νῦν πορίσαιτ᾽ ἄν. [Demosth.] 59, 70 οὓς ἄν τις δεόμενος — εἴποι ἄν. Vgl. das unten zu besprechende doppelte ἄν im Hauptsatz. Daher ist auch an einer Stelle, wie Demosth. Proöm. 1, 3 ἅ δεῖ καὶ δι᾽ ὧν παυσαίμεθ᾽ αἰσχύνην ὀφλισκάνοντες, wo sicher ein ἄν ausgefallen ist, von unserm Standpunkt der Betrachtung aus schlechterdings nicht auszumachen, ob δι᾽ ὧν <ἄν> παυσαίμεθ᾽ oder δι᾽ ὧν παυσαίμεθ᾽ <ἄν> (so die Herausgeber seit Bekker) zu [S. 391] schreiben sei. Wo dagegen das Relativpronomen in der Weise des Latein an Stelle von οὗτος bloss dazu dient eine zweite Hauptaussage an eine erste anzuknüpfen, wo wir also keinen Relativsatz, sondern einen Hauptsatz haben, steht ἄν nie hinter dem Pronomen; vgl. Andocides 1, 67 ἐν οἷς ἐγὼ — δικαίως ἂν ὑπὸ πάντων ἐλεηθείην. Lysias 2, 34 ὅ τίς ἰδὼν οὐκ ἂν ἐφοβήθη; Demosth. 18, 49 ἐξ ὧν σαφέστατ᾽ ἄν τις ἴδοι.

Dem entspricht, dass in allen übrigen Nebensätzen, die etwa ἄν c. optat. oder praeterito enthalten, das ἄν zumeist an einer spätern Stelle des Satzes steht, da ja in allen solchen Fällen der Nebensatz nicht als Nebensatz, sondern als Vertreter eines Hauptsatzes den betr. Modus hat. So bei ὡς 'dass' z. B. Plato Sympos. 214 D ὡς ἐγὼ οὐδ᾽ ἂν ἕνα ἄλλον ἐπαινέσαιμι (doch Thucyd. 5, 9, 3 ὡς ἂν ἐπεξέλθοι τις), ὥστε 'so dass' z. B. Plato Sympos. 197 A ὥστε καὶ οὗτος Ἔρωτος ἂν εἴη μαθητής, ὅτι 'dass, weil' z. B. Plato Phaedo 93 C δῆλον ὅτι τοιαῦτ᾽ ἄττ᾽ ἂν λέγοι. Sympos. 193 C ὅτι οὕτως ἂν ἡμῶν τὸ γένος εὔδαιμον γένοιτο. Demosth. 18, 79 ὅτι τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἂν ἐμέμνητο τῶν αὑτοῦ u. s. w. u. s. w. Ebenso bei ἐπεί 'denn' z. B. Plato Kratyl. 410 A ἐπεὶ ἔχοι γ᾽ ἄν τις εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν. Demosth. 18, 49 ἐπεὶ διὰ γ᾽ ὑμᾶς πάλαι ἂν ἀπωλώλειτε. Bei den Zeitpartikeln giebt die Überlieferung zu Zweifeln Anlass: ὅταν c. opt. ist überliefert Aeschyl. Pers. 450, ἕως ἄν c. opt. Isokrat. 17, 15 und Plato Phaedo 101 D. (Sophokles Trach. 687 wird es seit Elmsley nicht mehr geschrieben). Sicher steht Demosth. 4, 31 ἡνίκ᾽ ἂν ἡμεῖς μὴ δυναίμεθ᾽ ἐκεῖσ᾽ ἀφικέσθαι. — Xenophon Hellen. 2, 3, 48 πρὶν ἂν μετέχοιεν. ibid. πρὶν ἂν — καταστήσειαν. 2, 4, 18 πρὶν ἂν ἢ πέσοι τις ἢ τρωθείη wird ἄν gestrichen.

Von der Konjunktion ausnahmslos getrennt ist ἄν in optativischen εἰ-Sätzen: εἰ 'ob' z. B. Plato Sympos. 210 B οὐκ οἶδ᾽ εἰ οἷός τ᾽ ἂν εἴης, εἰ 'wenn' z. B. Eurip. Helena 825 εἰ πῶς ἂν ἀναπείσαιμεν ἱκετεύοντέ νιν. Demosth. 4, 18 οὐδ᾽ εἰ μὴ ποιήσαιτ᾽ ἂν ἤδη. 20, 62 οὐκοῦν αἰσχρόν, εἰ μέλλοντες μὲν εὖ πάσχειν συκοφάντην ἂν τὸν ταῦτα λέγονθ᾽ ἡγοῖσθε, ἐπὶ τῷ δ᾽ ἀφελέσθαι — ἀκούσεσθε. 19, 172 ἐξώλης ἀπολοίμην —, εἰ προσλαβών γ᾽ ἂν ἀργύριον — ἐπρέσβευσα. Hier überall ist der

durch ἄν angegebene hypothetische Charakter des Satzes nicht durch εἰ bedingt; vgl. die Erklärer zu den einzelnen Stellen.

[S. 392] Besonders bezeichnend sind aber die Fälle, wo nach Ausdrücken des Befürchtens und Erwartens μή mit dem Optativ und ἄν steht: Sophokles Trachin. 631 δέδοικα γάρ, μὴ πρῷ λέγοις ἄν τὸν πόθον. Thucyd. 2, 93, 3 οὔτε προσδοκία οὐδεμία ἦν, μὴ ἄν ποτε οἱ πολέμιοι ἐξαπιναίως οὕτως ἐπιπλεύσειαν. Xenophon Anab. 6, 1, 28 ἐκεῖνο ἐννοῶ, μὴ λίαν ἄν ταχὺ ςωφρονιςθείην. Poroi 4, 41 φοβοῦνται, μὴ ματαία ἄν γένοιτο αὕτη ἡ παραςκευή. Hier ist es ausser allem Zweifel, dass der Optativ mit ἄν auf einer Beeinflussung des μή-Satzes durch den Hauptsatz beruht, und da hat unter vier Beispielen nur eines ἄν unmittelbar hinter μή.

Und hieraus wird es nun auch klar, warum die Stellung des ἄν in Konjunktivsätzen so ganz fest, in den andern Nebensätzen schwankend ist. In der klassischen Gräzität kommt ἄν cum conj. nur in Nebensätzen vor; was hätte also dieses ἄν aus seiner traditionellen Stellung bringen sollen? Dagegen ἄν c. indic. und c. opt. ist nicht bloss häufiger in den Haupt- als in den Nebensätzen, sondern auch in den letztern vielfach geradezu aus den Hauptsätzen übertragen. Notwendig mussten sich die Stellungsgewohnheiten, die ἄν im Hauptsatz hat, auf die betr. Nebensätze übertragen.

VII.

Wie verhält es sich nun aber mit dieser freien Stellung von ἄν im Hauptsatz? Es ist unbestreitbar, dass in diesem das ἄν sehr weit vom Anfang entfernt stehen kann. Eine Grenze nach hinten bildet bloss das letzte im betr. Satz stehende und durch ἄν irgendwie qualifizierte Verbum finitum oder infinitum, wobei ich besonders darauf hinweise, dass Partizipien, die mit hypothetischen Nebensätzen gleichwertig sind, gern ἄν hinter sich haben (vgl. z. B. Aristoph. Ranae 96 γόνιμον δὲ ποιητὴν ἄν οὐχ εὕροις ἔτι ζητῶν ἄν). Auf dieses Verbum darf ἄν nur in der Weise folgen, dass es sich ihm unmittelbar anschliesst. Doch finden sich Stellen, wo γ' oder ein einsilbiges Enklitikon oder sonst ein Monosyllabon zwischen dem Verbum und ἄν steht: γ': Plato Kratyl. 410 A ἐπεὶ ἔχοι γ' ἄν τις εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν. — τις: [Eur. Or. 694.] Demosth. 18, 282 τί δὲ μεῖζον ἔχοι τις ἄν εἰπεῖν. 18, 316 οὐ μὲν οὖν εἴποι τις ἄν ἡλίκας. — ποτ': Eurip. Helena 912 f. κεῖνος δὲ πῶς τὰ ζῶντα τοῖς θανοῦςιν ἀπο-[S. 393]δοίη ποτ' ἄν. — οὔ: Sophokles Aias 1330 ἦ γὰρ εἴη ν οὐκ ἄν εὖ φρονῶν. — τάχ': Oed. Rex 1115 f. τῇ δ' ἐπιςτήμῃ ςύ μου προύχοις τάχ' ἄν που. — τάδ': Eurip. Helena 97 τίς ςωφρονῶν τλαίη τάδ' ἄν. — ταῦτ': Solon Fragm. 36, 1 ςυμμαρτυροίη ταῦτ' ἄν ἐν δίκῃ. — μεντ': Aristoph. Ran. 743 ᾤμωξε μέντ' ἄν. Plato Phaedo 76 B βουλοίμην μέντ' ἄν. Apol. 30 D.

Doch lassen die drei letzten Stellen (Solon, Ar. Ran. 743, Pl. Phaedo 76 B) auch noch eine andere Erklärung zu. Wenn nämlich das Verbum am Anfang des Satzes steht, scheint jene obige Regel überhaupt nicht zu gelten: Sophokles Oed. Col. 125 προϲέβα γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀϲτιβὲς ἄλϲος ἐϲ. Eurip. Hiketiden 944 ὄλοιντ᾽ ἰδοῦϲαι τούϲδ᾽ ἄν. Demosth. 20, 61 μάθοιτε δὲ τοῦτο μάλιϲτ᾽ ἄν. Übrigens versteht es sich von selbst, dass wenn ein Satz mehrere ἄν enthält, die Regel für das letzte ἄν gilt. Sophokles Oed. Rex 1438 ἔδραϲ᾽ ἄν (εὖ τόδ᾽ ἴϲθ᾽) ἄν. Elektra 697 δύναιτ᾽ ἂν οὐδ᾽ ἂν ἰϲχύων φυγεῖν. Aristoph. Nubes 977 ἠλείψατο δ᾽ ἂν τοὐμφαλοῦ οὐδεὶς παῖϲ ὑπένερθεν τότ᾽ ἄν ist die Entfernung des zweiten ἄν vom Verbum aus der Anfangsstellung des Verbums zu erklären. — Sonach haben die Herausgeber von Aristoph. Rittern Recht gehabt, wenn sie Vs. 707 das überlieferte ἐπὶ τῷ φάγοιϲ ἥδιϲτ᾽ ἄν in ἐπὶ τῷ φαγὼν ἥδοιτ᾽ (oder ἥδοι᾽) ἄν ändern; dagegen Aristophanes Ran. 949 f. οὐδὲν παρῆκ᾽ ἂν ἀργόν, ἀλλ᾽ ἔλεγεν ἡ γυνή τέ μοι χὠ δοῦλος οὐδὲν ἧττον χὠ δεϲπότηϲ χἠ παρθένοϲ χἠ γραῦϲ ἄν bildet nur eine scheinbare Ausnahme, da bei jedem der aneinandergereihten Nominative ἔλεγεν hinzuzudenken ist. Vgl. Soph. Phil. 292 πρὸϲ τοῦτ᾽ ἄν. [Eurip. Or. 941 κοὐ φθάνοι θνῄϲκων τιϲ ἄν.]

Aus dieser Regel lässt sich aber schon erkennen, was für Tendenzen dazu geführt haben, das ἄν des selbständigen Satzes in nachhomerischer Zeit von der Stelle wegzuziehen, die es in homerischer Zeit noch einnahm. Das Verb, dessen Modalität durch ἄν bestimmt wird, zog es an sich, daneben die Negationen, die Adverbia, besonders die superlativischen, überhaupt derjenige Satzteil, für den der durch ἄν angezeigte, hypothetische Charakter des Satzes am meisten in betracht kam, gerade wie die enklitischen Pronomina ihrer traditionellen Stellung dadurch verlustig gingen, dass das Bedürfnis immer stärker wurde, ihnen den Platz zu geben, den ihre Funktion im Satze zu fordern schien. Wie aber bei den en-*[S. 394]*klitischen Pronomina, so hat auch bei ἄν die Tradition immer einen gewissen Einfluss bewahrt.

Erstens lässt sich auch bei ἄν die Neigung für Anlehnung an satzbeginnende Wörter nachweisen. So unbestreitbar an τίϲ und die zugehörigen Formen, besonders πῶϲ (Vgl. Jebb zu Sophokles Oed. Col. 1100, der auf Aeschyl. Agam. 1402 τίϲ ἂν ἐν τάχει μὴ περιώδυνοϲ μὴ δεμνιοτήρηϲ μόλοι verweist. Vgl. Θ 77. Ω 367. θ 208. κ 573). Ferner ist hiefür die Beobachtung Werfers Acta philologorum Monacensium I 246 ff., zu verwerten, dass sich ἄν "paene innumeris locis" an γάρ anschliesse. Die Fülle der Beispiele verbietet eine Wiederholung und Ergänzung von Werfers Beispielsammlung an dieser Stelle. Ich will nur bemerken, erstens, dass zwar aus allen Litteraturgattungen Gegenbeispiele beigebracht werden können, aber doch γὰρ ἄν unendlich häufiger ist als γὰρ — ἄν, und zweitens, dass infolge der Setzung von ἄν gleich hinter γάρ sehr oft das Bedürfnis empfunden wird, in einem späteren Teil des Satzes ἄν nochmals einzufügen: Sophokles Oed.

Rex 772 τῷ γὰρ ἂν καὶ μείζονι λέξαιμ' ἂν ἤ coί. 862 οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν πράξαιμ' ἄν. Fragm. 513 Nauck², 6 κἀμοὶ γὰρ ἂν πατήρ γε δακρύων χάριν ἀνῆκτ' ἂν εἰς φῶc. Fragm. 833 ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἂν τὰ θεῖα κρυπτόντων θεῶν μάθοις ἄν. Eurip. Hiket. 855 μόλις γὰρ ἄν τις αὐτὰ τἀναγκαῖ' ὁρᾶν δύναιτ' ἂν ἑcτὸς πολεμίοις ἐναντίος. Helena 948 τὴν Τροίαν γὰρ ἂν δειλοὶ γενόμενοι πλεῖcτον αἰcχύνοιμεν ἄν. 1011 καὶ γὰρ ἂν κεῖνος βλέπων ἀπέδωκεν ἄν coι τήνδ' ἔχειν. 1298 εὐμενέcτερον γὰρ ἂν τῷ φιλτάτῳ μοι Μενέλεῳ τὰ πρόcφορα δρῴης ἄν. Aristoph. Vesp. 927 οὐ γὰρ ἄν ποτε τρέφειν δύναιτ' ἂν μία λόχμη κλέπτα δύο. Pax 321 οὐ γὰρ ἂν χαίροντες ἡμεῖc τήμερον παυcαίμεθ' ἄν. Lysistr. 252 ἄλλως γὰρ ἂν ἄμαχοι γυναῖκες καὶ μιαραὶ κεκλήμεθ' ἄν. Thesmoph. 196 καὶ γὰρ ἂν μαινοίμεθ' ἄν. Plato Apol. 35 D cαφῶc γὰρ ἄν, εἰ πείθοιμι ὑμᾶς —, θεοὺς ἂν διδάcκοιμι. 40 D ἐγὼ γὰρ ἂν οἶμαι, εἰ — δέοι —, οἶμαι ἄν — τὸν μέγαν βαcιλέα εὐαριθμήτους ἂν εὑρεῖν. (Vgl. Demosth. 14, 27 ὅcα γὰρ ἂν νῦν πορίcαιτ' ἄν). Aristot. de caelo 227ᵇ 24 οὔτε γὰρ ἂν αἱ τῆς cελήνης ἐκλείψεις τοιαύτας ἂν εἶχον τὰς ἀποτομάς. De gener. et corr. 337ᵇ 7 μέλλων γὰρ ἂν βαδίζειν τις οὐκ ἂν βαδίcειεν. De part. anim. 654ᵃ 18 οὕτως γὰρ ἂν ἔχον χρηcιμώτατον ἂν εἴη. (vgl. Vahlen Zur Poetik 1460ᵇ 7) u. s. w.

[S. 395] Sodann ist darauf hinzuweisen, dass die Verbindungen κἄν aus καὶ ἄν 'auch wohl' und τάχ' ἄν, in denen ἄν mit seinem Vorworte bis zur völligen Verblassung seiner eigenen Bedeutung verschmolzen ist, in der Mehrzahl der Fälle am Satzanfang stehen. Doch dürfen wir hierauf kein Gewicht legen, da gerade καὶ ἄν und τάχ' ἄν sich schon bei Homer im Innern von Sätzen finden und überhaupt kein Grund vorhanden ist, den engen Anschluss von ἄν an καί und τάχα aus den Fällen herzuleiten, wo καί und τάχα den Satz beginnen. (καί 'und' hat ἄν unmittelbar hinter sich Herodot 4, 118, 21 καὶ ἂν ἐδήλου).

Zweitens findet man ἄν [sic] vereinzelt wie die Enklitika hinter einem Vokativ: Aristoph. Pax 137 ἀλλ' ὦ μέλ' ἄν μοι cιτίων διπλῶν ἔδει.

Drittens verdrängt es öfters οὖν, seltener τε, δέ von ihrem Platze: Herodot 7, 150, 8 οὕτω ἂν ὦν εἶμεν. [Eur. Med. 504.] Ar. Lysistr. 191 τίς ἂν οὖν γένοιτ' ἂν ὅρκος. [Lysias] 20, 15 πῶς ἂν οὖν οὐκ ἂν δεινὰ πάcχοιμεν. Plato Phaedo 64 A πῶς ἂν οὖν δὴ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔχοι —, ἐγὼ πειράcομαι φράcαι. Sympos. 202 D πῶς ἂν οὖν θεὸς εἴη ὅ γε τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἄμοιρος, und öfters. Xen. Anab. 2, 5, 20 πῶς ἂν οὖν ἔχοντες τοcούτος πόρους — ἔπειτα ἐκ τούτων πάντων τοῦτον ἂν τὸν τρόπον ἐξελοίμεθα —; 5, 7, 8 πῶς ἂν οὖν ἐγὼ ἢ [sic] βιαcαίμην ὑμᾶc — ἢ ἐξαπατήcαc ἄγοιμι. 5, 7, 9 πῶς ἂν οὖν ἀνὴρ μᾶλλον δοίη δίκην. Respubl. Lacedaem. 5, 9 οὐκ ἂν οὖν ῥαδίωc γέ τις εὕροι Cπαρτιατῶν ὑγιεινοτέρους. Demosth. 25, 33 τίς ἂν οὖν εὖ φρονῶν αὐτὸν ἂν ἢ τὰ τῆς πατρίδος cυμφέροντα ταύτῃ cυνάψειε. [Demosth.] 46, 13 πῶς ἂν οὖν μὴ εἰδὼς ὁ πατὴρ αὐτὸν Ἀθηναῖον ἐcόμενον ἔδωκεν ἂν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα. Aeschines 1, 17 ἴcως ἂν οὖν τις θαυμάcειεν. 3, 219 πῶς ἂν οὖν ἐγὼ προεδεικνύμην Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. Dass in der Mehrzahl

der Beispiele das dem οὖν vorausgeschickte ἄν sich an τίς oder πῶς anlehnt, passt zu dem oben S. 394 bemerkten. (Dass ἄν dem οὖν häufiger noch folgt, soll nicht geleugnet werden.) — Einem τε geht ἄν voraus Thucyd. 2, 63, 3 τάχιϲτ᾽ ἄν τε πόλιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἀπολέϲειαν, einem δέ Thucyd. 6, 2, 4 τάχ᾽ ἄν δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἐϲπλεύϲαντες und vielleicht 6, 10, 4 ταχ᾽ ἄν δ᾽ ἴϲως (die Mehrzahl der Handschr. und die Ausgaben τάχα δ᾽ ἄν ἴϲως). Doch ist bei den beiden letzten Stellen der Zu-*[S. 396]*sammenschluss mit τάχα für ἄν von wesentlicherer Bedeutung, als die Stellung an sich.

Viertens lässt sich ἄν gern durch einen Zwischensatz von den Hauptbestandteilen des Satzes, zu dem es gehört, trennen: Aristoph. Ran. 1222 οὐδ᾽ ἄν, μὰ τὴν Δήμητρα, φροντίϲαιμί γε. Plato Phaedo 102 A ϲὺ δ᾽ — οἶμαι, ἄν, ὡς ἐγὼ λέγω, ποιοίης. Sympos. 202 D τί οὖν ἄν, ἔφη, εἴη ὁ Ἔρως. 202 B καὶ πῶς ἄν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὁμολογοῖτο. Republ. 1, 333 A πρός γε ὑποδημάτων ἄν, οἶμαι, φαίης κτῆϲιν. 4, 438 A ἴϲως γὰρ ἄν, ἔφη, δοκοίη τι λέγειν ὁ ταῦτα λέγων. Leges 2, 658 A τί ἄν, εἰ — (folgen sieben Zeilen), τί ποτ᾽ ἄν ἡγούμεθα ἐκ ταύτης τῆς προρρήϲεως ξυμβαίνειν. Xenophon Hellen. 6, 1, 9 οἶμαι ἄν, αὐτῶν εἰ καλῶς τις ἐπιμελοῖτο, οὐκ εἶναι ἔθνος. Cyrop. 2, 1, 5 ἐγὼ ἄν, εἰ ἔχοιμι, ὡς τάχιϲτα ὅπλα ἐποιούμην τοῖς Πέρϲαις. Demosth. 18, 195 τί ἄν, εἴ που τῆς χώρας τοῦτο πάθος ϲυνέβη, προσδοκῆϲαι χρῆν.

Dass man dann gern nach dem Zwischensatz ἄν wiederholte, ist verständlich: Sophokles Antig. 69 οὔτ᾽ ἄν, εἰ θέλοις ἔτι πράϲϲειν, ἐμοῦ γ᾽ ἄν ἡδέως πράϲϲοις μέτα. 466 ἀλλ᾽ ἄν, εἰ τὸν ἐξ ἐμῆς μητρὸς θανόντ᾽ ἄθαπτον ἠνϲχόμην νέκυν, κείνοις ἄν ἤλγουν. Oed. Rex 1438 ἔδραϲ᾽ ἄν, εὖ τόδ᾽ ἴϲθ᾽, ἄν, εἰ μὴ — ἔχρηζον. Elektra 333 ὥϲτ᾽ ἄν, εἰ ϲθένος λάβοιμι, δηλώϲαιμ᾽ ἄν. 439 ἀρχὴν δ᾽ ἄν, εἰ μὴ τλημονεϲτάτη γυνὴ παϲῶν ἔβλαϲτε, — χοὰς οὐκ ἄν ποθ᾽ ὅν γ᾽ ἔκτεινε, τῷδ᾽ ἐπέϲτεφε. Thucyd. 1, 136, 5 ἐκεῖνον δ᾽ ἄν, εἰ ἐκδοίη αὐτόν —, ϲωτηρίας ἄν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποϲτερῆϲαι. Aristoph. Lysistr. 572 κἄν, ὑμῖν εἴ τις ἐνῆν νοῦς, ἐκ τῶν ἐρίων τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐπολιτεύεϲθ᾽ ἄν ἅπαντα. Ranae 585 κἄν, εἴ με τύπτοις, οὐκ ἄν ἀντείποιμί ϲοι. Plato Protag. 318 C κἄν, εἰ Ὀρθαγόρᾳ τῷ Θηβαίῳ ϲυγγενόμενος — ἐπανέροιτο αὐτόν —, εἴποι ἄν. Leges 8, 841 C τάχα δ᾽ ἄν, εἰ θεὸς ἐθέλοι, κἄν δυοῖν θάτερα βιαϲαίμεθα περὶ ἐρωτικῶν. Demosth. 4, 1 ἐπιϲχὼν ἄν, ἕως —, εἰ —, ἡϲυχίαν ἄν ἦγον. 21, 115 ἆρ᾽ ἄν, εἴ γ᾽ εἶχε —, ταῦτ᾽ ἄν εἴαϲεν. 37, 16 οὐδ᾽ ἄν, εἴ τι γένοιτ᾽, ᾠήθην ἄν δίκην μοι λαχεῖν ποτε τοῦτον. [Demosth.] 47, 66 καίτοι πῶς ἄν, εἰ μὴ πεπορισμένον τε ἦν —, εὐθὺς ἄν ἀπέλαβον. Aeschines 1, 122 οἶμαι δ᾽ ἄν, εἰ —, ταῖς ὑμετέραις μαρτυρίαις ῥᾳδίως ἄν ἀπολύϲαϲθαι τοὺς τοῦ κατηγόρου λόγους. [Hen. [sic] Anabasis 7, 7, 38.]

Das Umgekehrte, wenn man will, aber doch etwas aus derselben Stellungsregel entspringendes liegt vor, wenn ein *[S. 397]* syntaktisch zu einem Zwischensatz

oder zu einem abhängigen Satz gehöriges ἄν hinter das erste Wort des übergeordneten Satzes gezogen wird: Plato Kriton 52 D ἄλλο τι οὖν, ἂν φαῖεν, ἢ ξυνθήκας τὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς — παραβαίνεις. Phaedo 87 A τί οὖν, ἂν φαίη ὁ λόγος, ἔτι ἀπιστεῖς. Hippias major 299 A μανθάνω, ἂν ἴσος φαίη, καὶ ἐγώ. Demosth. 1, 14 τί οὖν, ἄν τις εἴποι, ταῦτα λέγεις. 1, 19 τί οὖν, ἄν τις εἴποι, σὺ γράφεις ταῦτ᾽ εἶναι στρατιωτικά. Proöm. 35, 4 τί οὖν, ἄν τις εἴποι, σὺ παραινεῖς; [Demosth.] 45, 55 ὅτι νὴ Δί᾽, ἂν εἴποι, τοῦτον εἰσπεποίηκα υἱόν. — Vgl. auch Demosth. 11, 44 οὐκ ἂν οἶδ᾽ ὅ τι πλέον εὕροι τούτου. Plato Timäus 26 B ἐγὼ γάρ, ἃ μὲν χθὲς ἤκουσα, οὐκ ἂν οἶδ᾽ εἰ δυναίμην ἅπαντα ἐν μνήμῃ πάλιν λαβεῖν. Ähnliches οὐκ ἂν οἶδ᾽ ὅ τι im Satzinnern Demosth. 45, 7. Auf dergleichen Wendungen basiert dann wohl wiederum das euripideische οὐκ (bezw. οὐ γὰρ) οἶδ᾽ ἂν εἰ πείσαιμι Medea 941. Alcestis 48. Eigentümlich Thucyd. 5, 9, 3 καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐλπίσαντες ὡς ἂν ἐπεξέλθοι τις, wo das erste ἄν nur als Antizipation aus dem Nebensatz erklärt werden kann.

Sechstens sprengt ἄν, gerade wie die Enklitika, öfters am Satzanfang stehende Wortgruppen auseinander. Dahin könnte man οὐδ᾽ ἂν εἷς stellen: Sophokles Oed. Rex 281 οὐδ᾽ ἂν εἷς δύναιτ᾽ ἀνήρ. Oed. Col. 1656 οὐδ᾽ ἂν εἷς θνητῶν φράσειε. Plato Prot. 328 A οὐδ᾽ ἂν εἷς φανείη. Alcib. 122 D οὐδ᾽ ἂν εἷς ἀμφισβητήσειε. Demosth. 19, 312 οὐδ᾽ ἂν εἷς εὖ οἶδ᾽ ὅτι φήσειεν. 18, 69 οὐδ᾽ ἂν εἷς ταῦτα φήσειεν. 18, 94 οὐδ᾽ ἂν εἷς εἰπεῖν ἔχοι. Aristot. Ἀθην. πολ. 21, 2 K. οὐδ᾽ ἂν εἷς εἴποι. Doch findet sich diese Tmesis wenigstens ebenso häufig im Satzinnern: Lys. 19, 60. 24, 24. Isokr. 15, 223. 21, 20. Plato Sympos. 192 E, 214 D, 216 E. Gorg. 512 E. 519 C. Demosth. 14, 1. 20, 136. 18, 68. 18, 128. Lykurg 49. 57, und scheint somit wesentlich auf der Attraktionskraft des οὐδέ zu beruhen.

Einen bessern Beweis bildet das zweimalige γ᾽ ἂν οὖν statt γοῦν ἄν bei Thucydides: 1, 76, 4 ἄλλους γ᾽ ἂν οὖν οἰόμεθα τὰ ἡμέτερα λαβόντες δεῖξαι ἄν und 1, 77, 6 ὑμεῖς γ᾽ ἂν οὖν, εἰ — ἄρξαιτε, τάχ᾽ ἂν μεταβάλοιτε, sowie folgende Fälle, wo ἄν mitten in eine Wortgruppe eingedrungen ist: Solon fragm. 37, 4 πολλῶν ἂν ἀνδρῶν ἦδ᾽ ἐχηρώθη πόλις. Aeschyl. Pers. 632 μόνος ἂν θνητῶν πέρας εἴποι. 706 ἀνθρώπεια δ᾽ ἄν τοι πήματ᾽ ἂν τύχοι βροτοῖς. Sophokles Aias 155 κατὰ δ᾽ ἄν τις *[S. 398]* ἐμοῦ τοιαῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἂν πείθοι. Oed. Rex 175 ἄλλον δ᾽ ἂν ἄλλῳ προσίδοις. 502 σοφίᾳ δ᾽ ἂν σοφίαν παραμείψειεν ἀνήρ. Elektra 1103 τίς οὖν ἂν ὑμῶν τοῖς ἔσω φράσειεν ἄν. Oed. Col. 1100 τίς ἂν θεῶν σοι τόνδ᾽ ἄριστον ἄνδρ᾽ ἰδεῖν δοίη. Herodot 1, 56, 5 ἐφρόντιζε ἱστορέων, τοὺς ἂν Ἑλλήνων δυνατωτάτους ἐόντας προσκτήσαιτο φίλους. 1, 67, 7 ἐπειρώτεον, τίνα ἂν θεῶν ἱλασάμενοι κατύπερθε τῷ πολέμῳ Τεγεητέων γενοίατο. 1, 196, 22 τὸ δὲ ἂν χρυσίον ἐγίνετο ἀπὸ τῶν εὐειδέων παρθένων. 7, 48, 8 στρατοῦ ἂν ἄλλου τις τὴν ταχίστην ἄγερσιν ποιέοιτο. 7, 135, 12 ἕκαστος ἂν ὑμῶν ἄρχοι γῆς Ἑλλάδος. 7, 139, 9 κατά γε ἂν τὴν ἤπειρον τοιάδε ἐγίνετο. [Hippokrates] περὶ τέχνης c. 3 (s. 44, 8 Gomperz) ἐν ἄλλοισιν ἂν λόγοισιν σαφέστερον διδαχθείη. (Vgl. auch c. 2, s. 42, 19 G.

ἐπεὶ τῶν γε μὴ ἐόντων τίνα ἄν τις οὐσίην θηϲάμενος ἀπαγγείλειεν ὡς ἔϲτιν). Thucyd. 1, 10 πολλὴν ἄν οἶμαι ἀπιστίαν τῆς δυνάμεως — τοῖς ἔπειτα πρὸς τὸ κλέος αὐτῶν εἶναι. 1, 36, 3 βραχυτάτῳ δ᾽ ἂν κεφαλαίῳ τῷδ᾽ ἂν μὴ προέϲθαι ἡμᾶς μάθοιτε. 5, 22, 2 πρὸς γὰρ ἂν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, εἰ ἐξῆν χωρεῖν. Aristoph. Thesmoph. 768 τίν᾽ οὖν ἂν ἄγγελον πέμψαιμ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν. Isokrates 5, 35 σκεπτέον, τί ἂν ἀγαθὸν αὐτὰς ἐργαϲάμενος φανείης ἄξια — πεποιηκώς. Plato Apologie 25 B πολλή [sic] γὰρ ἄν τις εὐδαιμονία εἴη περὶ τοὺς νέους. Phaedo 70 A πολλὴ ἂν ἐλπὶς εἴη καὶ καλή. 70 D 106 D ἄλλου ἂν του δέοι λόγου. 107 C οὐδεμία ἂν εἴη ἄλλη ἀποφυγή. Xenophon Anab. 3, 1, 6 ἐλθὼν δ᾽ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐπήρετο τὸν Ἀπόλλω, τίνι ἂν θεῶν θύων καὶ εὐχόμενος κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα ἔλθοι τὴν ὁδόν, ἣν ἐπινοεῖ, καὶ καλῶς πράξας ϲωθείη, was sofort an das τίνι κα θεῶν u. s. w. der dodonäischen Orakeltäfelchen (siehe oben S. 374) erinnert. Vgl. auch das Orakel bei [Demosth.] 43, 66 ἐπερωτᾷ ὁ δῆμος, ὅ τι ἂν δρῶϲιν — εἴη, und Herodot 1, 67, 7 oben. — Anab. 3, 2, 29 λαβόντες δὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ἀναρχία ἂν καὶ ἀταξία ἐνόμιζον ἡμᾶς ἀπολέϲθαι. Poroi 3, 14 πολλὴ ἂν καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων πρόϲοδος γίγνοιτο. 4, 1 πάμπολλα ἂν νομίζω χρήματα — προσιέναι. Demosth. 1, 1 ἀντὶ πολλῶν ἄν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, χρημάτων ὑμᾶς ἐλέϲθαι νομίζω. 4, 12 πλησίον μὲν ὄντες, ἅπασιν ἂν τοῖς πράγμασιν τεταραγμένοις ἐπιστάντες ὅπως βούλεϲθε διοικήϲαιϲθε. 19, 48 τί ἂν ποιῶν ὑμῖν χαρίϲαιτο. 18, 22 τί ἂν εἰπὼν ϲέ τις ὀρθῶς προσείποι; (18, 81 ὅτι πολλὰ μὲν ἂν χρήματα ἔδωκε Φιλιϲτίδης). 18, 293 μείζων ἂν δοθείη δωρειά. 29, 1 θαυμαϲίως ἂν ὡς εὐλαβούμην. 39, *[S. 399]* 24 καίτοι, τίς ἂν ὑμῶν οἴεται τὴν μητέρα πέμψαι; epist. 3, 37 τί ἂν εἰπὼν μήθ᾽ ἁμαρτεῖν δοκοίην μήτε ψευϲαίμην. [Demosth.] 35, 26 τί ἂν τις ἄλλο ὄνομ᾽ ἔχοι θέϲθαι τῷ τοιούτῳ. — Dazu kommen die zahlreichen Stellen nach Art von Demosth. 21, 50 οὐκ ἂν οἴεϲθε δημοϲίᾳ πάντας ὑμᾶς προξένους αὐτῶν ποιήϲαϲθαι.

Unter diesen Beispielen, deren Zahl sich übrigens ohne grosse Mühe verdoppeln liesse, finden sich, wie unter den vorhergehenden Kategorien, mehrere, wo die spätere Hälfte des Satzes ein zweites ἄν enthält, mit dem das erste ἄν wieder aufgenommen wird. Ich füge einen besonders instruktiven Fall hinzu. Zu Demosth. 1, 1 (s. oben) findet sich in proöm. 3 eine parallele Fassung, worin der zweite Teil des Satzes stark erweitert ist, statt χρημάτων ὑμᾶς ἐλέϲθαι νομίζω: χρημάτων τὸ μέλλον ϲυνοίϲειν περὶ ὧν νῦν τυγχάνετε σκοποῦντες οἶμαι πάντας ὑμᾶς ἐλέϲθαι, und hier ist nun der erweiterten Fassung des Satzes wegen hinter πάνταϲ das ἄν wiederholt. (Ganz irrig ist es, wenn Blass im Proöm deswegen das erste ἄν hinter πολλῶν gegen die bessere Überlieferung streicht). Ich glaube wir dürfen sagen, dass in allen Fällen, wo ἄν mehrfach gesetzt ist, dies einen Kompromiss darstellt zwischen dem traditionellen Drang ἄν nah beim Satzanfang zu haben und dem in der klassischen Sprache aufgekommenen Bedürfnis die Partikel dem Verb und andern Satzteilen (siehe oben S. 393) anzunähern: wodurch sich

auch erklärt, warum doppeltes ἄν konjunktivischen Sätzen fremd ist. So sind für uns überhaupt alle Sätze mit mehrern ἄν, deren erstes die zweite Stelle inne hat, von Wert, nicht bloss die bereits angeführten. Ich lasse die mir unter die Hand gekommenen Beispiele folgen, natürlich mit Ausschluss von οὔτ᾽ ἄν — οὔτ᾽ ἄν, das nicht hierher gehört.

Aeschyl. Agam. 340 οὔ τἂν ἑλόντες αὖθις ἀνθαλοῖεν ἄν. 1048 ἐντὸς δ᾽ ἂν οὖcα μορcίμων ἀγρευμάτων πείθοι᾽ ἄν. Choeph. 349 λιπὼν ἂν εὔκλειαν ἐν δόμοιcιν — πολύχωcτον ἂν εἶχεϲ τάφον. Hiket. 227 πῶϲ δ᾽ ἂν γαμῶν ἄκουcαν ἄκοντοϲ πάρα ἁγνὸϲ γένοιτ᾽ ἄν. Sophokles Aias 537 τί δῆτ᾽ ἂν ὡϲ ἐκ τῶνδ᾽ ἂν ὠφελοῖμί ϲε. 1058 ἡμεῖϲ μὲν ἂν τήνδ᾽ ἣν ὅδ᾽ εἴληχεν τύχην θανόντεϲ ἂν προὐκείμεθ᾽ αἰϲχίϲτῳ μόρῳ. 1078 ἀλλ᾽ ἄνδρα χρὴ — δοκεῖν, πεϲεῖν ἂν κἂν ἀπὸ ϲμικροῦ κακοῦ. Oed. Rex 139 τάχ᾽ ἂν κἄμ᾽ ἂν τοιαύτη χειρὶ τιμωρεῖν θέλοι. 446 *[S. 400]* ϲυθείϲ τ᾽ ἂν οὐκ ἂν ἀλγύνοιϲ πλέον. 602 οὔτ᾽ ἂν μετ᾽ ἄλλου δρῶντοϲ ἂν τλαίην ποτέ. 1053 ἦδ᾽ ἂν τάδ᾽ οὐχ᾽ ἥκιϲτ᾽ ἂν Ἰοκάϲτη λέγοι. Elektra 697 δύναιτ᾽ ἂν οὐδ᾽ ἂν ἰϲχύων φυγεῖν. 1216 τίϲ οὖν ἂν ἀξίαν γε ϲοῦ πεφηνότοϲ μεταβάλοιτ᾽ ἂν ὧδε ϲιγᾶν λόγων. Philoktet 222 ποίαϲ ἂν ὑμᾶϲ πατρίδοϲ (oder πόλεοϲ) ἢ γένουϲ ποτὲ τύχοιμ᾽ ἂν εἰπών; (so Dindorf und Heimreich für das handschriftliche ποίαϲ πάτραϲ ἂν ὑμᾶϲ ἢ γένουϲ ποτέ, wo der durch die Stellung von ὑμᾶϲ bewirkte metrische Fehler von andern weniger glücklich gebessert wird). Oed. Col. 391 τίϲ δ᾽ ἂν τοιοῦδ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἀνδρὸϲ εὖ πράξειεν ἄν. 780 ἆρ᾽ ἂν ματαίου τῆϲδ᾽ ἂν ἡδονῆϲ τύχοιϲ. 977 πῶϲ ἂν τό γ᾽ ἆκον πρᾶγμ᾽ ἂν εἰκότωϲ ψέγοιϲ. 1366 ἦ τἂν οὐκ ἂν ἦ. Phaedra fr. 622, 1 N. οὐ γάρ ποτ᾽ ἂν γένοιτ᾽ ἂν ἀϲφαλὴϲ πόλιϲ. Fragm. inc. 673 πῶϲ ἂν οὐκ ἂν ἐν δίκη θάνοιμ᾽ ἄν (mit drei ἄν!)

Herodot 2, 26, 9 ὁ ἥλιοϲ ἂν ἀπελαυνόμενοϲ ἐκ μέϲου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ — ἤιε ἂν τὰ ἄνω τῆϲ Εὐρώπηϲ. 2, 26, 11 διεξιόντα δ᾽ ἄν μιν διὰ πάϲηϲ Εὐρώπηϲ ἔλπομαι ποιέειν ἂν τὸν Ἴϲτρον. 3, 35, 17 οὐδ᾽ ἂν αὐτὸν ἔγωγε δοκέω τὸν θεὸν οὕτω ἂν κακῶϲ βαλεῖν. 7, 187, 5 οὐδ᾽ ἂν τούτων ὑπὸ πλήθεοϲ οὐδεὶϲ ἂν εἴποι πλῆθοϲ. Eurip. Alk. 72 πόλλ᾽ ἂν ϲὺ λέξαϲ οὐδὲν ἂν πλέον λάβοιϲ. id. 96 πῶϲ ἂν ἔρημον τάφον Ἀδμήτοϲ κεδνῆϲ ἂν ἔπραξε γυναικόϲ. Androm. 934 οὐκ ἂν ἔν γ᾽ ἐμοῖϲ δόμοιϲ βλέπουϲ᾽ ἂν αὐγὰϲ τἄμ᾽ ἐκαρποῦτ᾽ ἂν λέχη. Hekabe 742 ἄλγοϲ ἂν προϲθείμεθ᾽ ἄν. Helena 76 τῷδ᾽ ἂν εὐϲτόχῳ πτερῷ ἀπόλαυϲιν εἰκοὺϲ ἔθανεϲ ἂν Διὸϲ κόρηϲ. Heraclid. 721 φθάνοιϲ δ᾽ ἂν οὐκ ἂν τοῖϲδε ϲὸν κρύπτων δέμαϲ. (Vgl. hiezu Elmsley). Hiketiden 417 ἄλλοϲ τε πῶϲ ἂν μὴ διορθεύων λόγουϲ ὀρθῶϲ δύναιτ᾽ ἂν δῆμοϲ εὐθύνειν πόλιν. (606 τίν᾽ ἂν λόγον, τάλαινα, τίν᾽ ἂν τῶνδ᾽ αἰτία λάβοιμι). 853 οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην οὔτ᾽ ἐρωτῆϲαι τάδε οὔτ᾽ ἂν πιθέϲθαι. Hippolyt. 480 ἦ τἄρ᾽ ἂν ὄψε γ᾽ ἄνδρεϲ ἐξεύροιεν ἄν. Iphig. Taur. 1020 ἆρ᾽ ἂν τύραννον διολέϲαι δυναίμεθ᾽ ἄν. Medea 616 οὔτ᾽ ἂν ξένοιϲι τοῖϲι ϲοῖϲ χρηϲαίμεθ᾽ ἄν. Troades 456 οὐκέτ᾽ ἂν φθάνοιϲ ἂν αὔραν ἱϲτίοιϲ καραδοκῶν. 1244 ἀφανεῖϲ ἂν ὄντεϲ οὐκ ἂν

ὑμνηθεῖμεν ἄν. Meleagros fragm. 527 Nauck[2] μόνον δ' ἄν (Nauck: malim ἔν) ἀντὶ χρημάτων οὐκ ἄν λάβοις.

Thucyd. 2, 41, 1 λέγω — καὶ κάθ' ἕκαστον, δοκεῖν ἄν μοι τὸν αὐτὸν ἄνδρα παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖστ' ἄν εἴδη καὶ μετὰ χαρίτων μάλιστ' εὐτραπέλως τὸ σῶμα αὔταρκες παρέχεσθαι. (Vgl. *[S. 401]* Stahl zu d. Stelle). 4, 114, 4 οὐδ' ἄν σφῶν πειρασομένους — αὐτοὺς δακεῖν ἧσσον, ἀλλὰ πολλῷ μᾶλλον — εὔνους ἄν σφίσι γενέσθαι. 6, 10, 4 τάχ' ἄν δ' ἴσως, εἰ — λάβοιεν —, καὶ πάνυ ἄν ξυνεπίθοιντο. 6, 11, 2 Σικελιῶται δ' ἄν μοι δοκοῦσιν, ὥς γε νῦν ἔχουσιν, καὶ ἔτι ἄν ἧσσον δεινοὶ ἡμῖν γενέσθαι. 6, 18, 2 βραχὺ ἄν τι προσκτώμενοι αὐτῇ περὶ αὐτῆς ἄν ταύτης μᾶλλον κινδυνεύοιμεν. 8, 46, 2 γενομένης δ' ἄν — ἀρχῆς ἀπορεῖν ἄν αὐτόν. Hippokrates περὶ ἀρχαίης ἰητρικῆς 1, 572 Littré οὔτε ἄν αὐτῷ τῷ λέγοντι οὔτε τοῖς ἀκούουσι δῆλα ἄν εἴη. Aristoph. Acharn. 218 οὐδ' ἄν ἐλαφρῶς ἄν ἀπεπλίξατο. 308 πῶς δέ γ' ἄν καλῶς λέγοις ἄν. Nubes 977 ἠλείψατο δ' ἄν τοὐμφαλοῦ οὐδεὶς παῖς ὑπένερθεν τότ' ἄν. 1383 μαμμᾶν δ' ἄν αἰτήσαντος ἦκόν σοι φέρων ἄν ἄρτον. Pax 68 πῶς ἄν ποτ' ἀφικοίμην ἄν εὐθὺ τοῦ Διός. 646 ἡ δ' Ἑλλὰς ἄν ἐξερημωθεῖσ' ἄν ὑμᾶς ἔλαθε. 1223 οὐκ ἄν πριαίμην οὐδ' ἄν ἰσχάδος μιᾶς. Aves 829 καὶ πῶς ἄν ἔτι γένοιτ' ἄν εὔτακτος πόλις. Lysistr. 113 ἐγὼ δέ τἄν κἄν (scil. ἐθέλοιμι), εἴ με χρείη — ἐκπιεῖν. 115 ἐγὼ δέ γ' ἄν κἄν ὥσπερ εἰ ψῆτταν δοκῶ δοῦναι ἄν ἐμαυτῆς παρταμοῦσα θἤμισυ. 147 μᾶλλον ἄν διὰ τουτογὶ γένοιτ' ἄν εἰρήνη. 361 φωνὴν ἄν οὐκ ἄν εἶχον. Ranae 34 ἦ τἄν σε κωκύειν ἄν ἐκέλευον μακρά. 581 οὐκ ἄν γενοίμην Ἡρακλῆς ἄν. Ekkles. 118 οὐκ ἄν φθάνοις τὸ γένειον ἄν περιδουμένη.

Plato Sympos. [Apol. 41 A.] 176 C ἴσως ἄν ἐγὼ περὶ τοῦ μεθύσκεσθαι — τἀληθῆ λέγων ἧττον ἄν εἴην ἀηδής. Phaedrus 232 C εἰκότως ἄν (Schanz konj. δή) τοὺς ἐρῶντας μᾶλλον ἄν φοβοῖο. 257 C τάχ' οὖν ἄν ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας ἐπίσχοι ἡμῖν ἄν τοῦ γράφειν. Republ. 7, 526 C οὐκ ἄν ῥᾳδίως οὐδὲ πολλὰ ἄν εὔροις ὡς τοῦτο. Menexenus 236 D κἄν ὀλίγου, εἴ με κελεύοις ἀποδύντα ὀρχήσασθαι, χαρισαίμην ἄν. Sophist. 233 A πῶς οὖν ἄν ποτέ τις — δύναιτ' ἄν ὑγιές τι λέγων ἀντειπεῖν. 233 B σχολῇ ποτ' ἄν αὐτοῖς τις χρήματα διδοὺς ἤθελεν ἄν — μαθητὴς γίγνεσθαι. [Legg. 5, 742 C]. Xen. Cyrop 1, 3, 11 στὰς ἄν ὥσπερ οὗτος ἐπὶ τῇ εἰσόδῳ — λέγοιμ' ἄν. Xen. Anab. 1, 3, 6 ὑμῶν δ' ἔρημος ὤν, οὐκ ἄν ἱκανὸς οἶμαι εἶναι οὔτ' ἄν φίλον ὠφελῆσαι οὔτ' ἄν ἐχθρὸν ἀλέξασθαι. 4, 6, 13 δοκοῦμεν δ' ἄν μοι ταύτη προσποιούμενοι προσβαλεῖν ἐρημωτέρῳ ἄν τῷ ὄρει χρῆσθαι. 5, 6, 32 διασπασθέντες δ' ἄν καὶ κατὰ μικρὰ γενομένης τῆς δυνάμεως οὔτ' ἄν τροφὴν δύναισθε λαμβάνειν οὔτε χαίροντες ἄν ἀπαλλάξαιτε. Oecon. 4, 5 ὧδ' ἄν — ἐπισκοποῦντες — ἴσως ἄν *[S. 402]* καταμάθοιμεν. II S. 283. Epikrates (fragm. com. ed. Kock) fr. 2/3, V. 17 εἶδες δ' ἄν αὐτῆς Φαρνάβαζον θᾶττον ἄν. (Demosth. 18, 240 τί ἄν οἴεσθ' εἰ — ἀπῆλθον —, τί ποιεῖν ἄν ἢ τί λέγειν τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς ἀνθρώπους τουτουσί gehört, da die Wiederholung des ἄν durch die Wiederaufnahme des fragenden τί bewirkt ist, nicht hierher.) 27, 56 οὐκ ἄν ἡγεῖσθ' αὐτὸν κἄν ἐπιδραμεῖν. Aristot.

poet. 25, 1460ᵇ 7 ὧδ᾽ ἂν θεωροῦϲιν γένοιτ᾽ ἂν φανερόν und öfters; vgl. Vahlen zu d. Stelle und Wiener Sitzungsber. LVI 408. 438.

Wenn meine Beispielsammlung in ihrer Unvollständigkeit nicht gar zu ungleichmässig ist, ergibt sich starke Abnahme dieser Art von Doppelsetzung von ἄν im vierten Jahrhundert. Zumal die rednerische Prosa zeigt nur ganz spärliche Beispiele; bekanntlich hat Lysias ἄν gar nie doppelt gesetzt. Ich zweifle nicht, dass diese Abnahme auf fortschreitendes Erlöschen derjenigen Tradition zurückzuführen ist, welche ἄν an zweiter Stelle des Satzes forderte.

Nun findet sich Doppelsetzung des ἄν auch so, dass das erste ἄν nicht die zweite Stelle im Satz einnimmt, sondern eine spätere. Dies ist ganz natürlich, da ja die verschiedensten Satzteile ἄν gern hinter sich hatten, und folglich, sobald ein Satz breiter angelegt war, sich verschiedene mit einander kollidierende Ansprüche auf die Partikel geltend machen mussten. Die hieraus sich ergebenden Kombinationen zu betrachten und für eine jede die betr. Beispiele beizubringen, liegt ausserhalb unserer Aufgabe, die nur die Erforschung der Reste des alten Stellungsgesetzes in sich schliesst, so interessant und so wichtig für die Würdigung der jüngern Sprache es auch wäre, die in dieser herrschend gewordnen Tendenzen im Einzelnen klar zu legen.

VIII.

Das Stellungsgesetz, dessen Geltung im Griechischen auf den vorausgehenden Seiten besprochen worden ist, ist für einzelne der asiatischen Schwestersprachen längst anerkannt.

Für die Altindische Prosa lehrt Delbrück Syntakt. Forschungen III 47: "Enklitische Wörter rücken möglichst nah an den Anfang des Satzes". Wesentlich stimmt dazu die Bemerkung, die Bartholomae Ar. Forschungen II 3 für den Rigveda giebt: "Auch bei oberflächlicher Betrachtung drängt *[S. 403]* sich die Wahrnehmung auf, dass im RV. die enklitischen Formen der Personalpronomina, sowie gewisse Partikeln, in den meisten Fällen die zweite Stelle innerhalb des Verses oder des Vers-Abschnitts einnehmen". Vgl. denselben Ar. Forschungen III 30 Anm. über *sīm, smā*, sowie die harte Tmesis RV. 5, 2, 7 *šunaš cic chēpam niditaṃ sahasrād yūpād amuñcaḥ.*

Entsprechende Beobachtungen hat derselbe Gelehrte an den Gathas des Avesta gemacht (Ar. Forschungen II 3—31). Er stellt dort S. 11 f. für diese die Regel auf: "Enklitische Pronomina und Partikeln lehnen sich an den ersten Hochton im Versglied an", und ist dabei zur Anerkennung von Ausnahmen bloss bei *cīṭ* genötigt, das eben oft einzelne Satzteile hervorzuheben hat und dann an die betr.

Satzteile geheftet ist. Auch dies lässt sich zu der Delbrückschen Regel leicht in Beziehung setzen.

Ganz genau bewährt sich aber diese, wie es scheint, in der mittelindischen Prosa (vgl. z. B. Jacobi Māhārāṣṭrī-Erzählungen S. 8 Z. 18 *jena se parikkhemi balavisesaṃ*, wo *se* syntaktisch zu *balavisesaṃ* gehört) und sicher im Altpersischen, dessen Keilschriftdenkmäler sich durch ihre feierlich-korrekte Sprechweise und ihre genaue Unterscheidung der Enklitika in der Schrift für derartige Beobachtungen besonders eignen. Ich gebe das Material nach Spiegels zweiter Ausgabe vollständig, mit Ausnahme der Stellen, wo das Enklitikum ergänzt ist. Ausnahmslos an zweiter Stelle finden sich zunächst

m a i y: hinter den geschlechtigen Nominativen *Auramazdā* Bh. 1, 25. 55. 87. 94. 2, 24. 40. 60. 68. 3, 6, 17. 37. 44. 60. 65. 86. 4, 60. NR^a 50. *dahyāuš* Bh. 4, 39 *hauv* Bh. 2, 79. 3, 11; sodann hinter dem neutralen *tya* (ausser Bh. 4, 65, über das der Lücke wegen nichts bestimmtes gesagt werden kann), Xerxes A 24. 30. C^a 13 (zweimal), C^b 22 (zweimal). D 19. E^a 19; endlich hinter *utā* Bh. 4, 74. 78. Xerxes D 15 (dazu NR^a 52, Xerxes D 18. E^a 18. A 29, obwohl *utā* an diesen Stellen nicht Sätze, sondern nur Satzglieder verbindet).

t a i y: hinter den geschlechtigen Nominativen *Auramazdā* Bh. 4, 58. 78, *hauv* NR^a 57, [wo allerdings nach Thumbs Deutung KZ. XXXII 132 ff. *taiy* an fünfter Stelle stände!] *[S. 404]* hinter dem Neutrum *ava* Bh. 4, 76. 79, hinter *ada* NR^a 43. 45, hinter *utā* Bh. 4, 58. 75. 79.

š a i y hinter *hauv* Darius H 3. *tyaiy* (Nom. Pl.) Bh. 1, 57. 2, 77. 3, 48. 51. 73. *avaþā* 3, 14. *utā* 2, 74. 89. 5, 11. *pasāva* 2, 88.

Also *maiy, taiy, šaiy* folgen der Regel an im ganzen 56 Stellen im Anschluss an die verschiedensten Wörter, und ohne dass eine einzige Stelle widerspricht. Besonderer Beachtung wert sind Bh. 1, 57 *utā tyaišaiy fratamā martiyā anušiyā āhantā*, gegenüber dem *uta martiyā tyaišaiy fratamā* u. s. w. der übrigen Stellen mit *tyaišaiy*, ferner Bh. 4, 74 = 4, 78, *utāmaiy, yāvā taumā ahatiy, parikarāha-diš*, wo *maiy* vor dem Zwischensatz, das Verbum erst dahinter kommt; vorzüglich aber Xerxes D 15 *utamaiy tya pitā akunauš* = καί μοι ἄττα ὁ πατὴρ ἐποίησεν, wo das in den Relativsatz gehörige *maiy* dem Anschluss an *utā* zu liebe vor das Relativpronomen gestellt ist.

Ganz ähnliche Resultate ergeben sich bei den übrigen personalen Enklitika: beim enklitischen *mām*, das an der einzigen Belegstelle (Bh. 1, 52) auf satzeinleitendes *mātya* folgt; bei *šim*: hinter den Nominativen *āpi* Bh. 1, 95. *kāra* 1, 50. *adam* 1, 52, sowie *haruva* 2, 75. 90; hinter dein Akkusativ *šatram* 1, 59; hinter den Partikeln *avadā* 1, 59. 3, 79. 5, 14. *nai* 4, 49. *pasāva* 2, 90; bei *šiš* hinter *avadā* 3, 52; bei *šām* hinter den Nominativen *adam* NR^a 18; *hya* Bh. 2, 13; dem Akkusativ

avam Bh. 2, 20. 83., dem Neutrum *tya* Bh. 1, 19. NR^a 20. 36; hinter den Partikeln *avathā* 2, 27. 37. 42. 62. 83. 98. 3, 8. 19. 40. 47. 56. 63. 68. 84, und *utā* 3, 56.

Diesen 35 Stellen, die damit zu den obigen 56 hinzukommen, stehen allerdings 3 abweichende gegenüber: Bh. 1, 14 *vašnā Auramazdāha adamšām xšāyaþiya āham*; 4, 6 *vašn[ā Aurama]zdāha adamšām ajanam*; NR^a 35 *vašnā Auramazdāha adamšim gāþvā niyašādayam*; immerhin schliesst sich an allen drei das Enklitikon unmittelbar an das Subjekt *adam* an. Und mehr als ausgeglichen werden diese Ausnahmen durch solche Stellen wie Bh. 2, 75 = 2, 90 *haruvašim kāra avaina* ("universus eum populus videbat") wo das Pronomen zwischen Attribut und Substantiv getreten ist, oder wie Bh. 3, 56 *utāsām 1 martiyam maþištam akunauš*, wo *šām* syn-*[S. 405]*taktisch zu *maþištam* gehört ("und er machte einen Menschen zum Obersten derselben").

Sieht man von *hacāma* 'von mir' und *haca avadaša* 'von da aus' ab, so bleiben noch -*ciy* (= altind. *cit*) und *dim, diš*. Letztere folgen der Regel hinter dem Nominativ *drauga* Bh. 4, 34, dem neutralen *tyā* Bh. 1, 65, der Partikel *naiy* 4, 73. 78, *pasāva* Bh. 4, 35. NR^a 33, der Verbalform *visanāha* Bh. 4, 77. Kaum als Ausnahme kann 4, 74 gelten: *utāmaiy, yāvā taumā ahatiy, parikarāhadiš* (Spiegel: "sondern sie mir, so lange deine Familie dauert, bewahrst"): denn wenn sich hier *diš* auch nicht an das erste Wort des Satzes schlechthin anschliesst, so doch an das erste auf den Zwischensatz folgende Wort. So widerspricht nur NR^a 42 *[yath]ā xšnās[āhadiš]* "damit du sie kennst", und da mag man billig fragen, ob nicht die Ergänzung falsch sei.

Dagegen *ciy* emanzipiert sich von der Regel. Zwar steht es Bh. 1, 53 hinter *kaš*, S. 23 hinter *hauv* und Xerxes D 20. C^a 14.^b 24 an zweiter, aber Bh. 1, 46 hinter *kaš*, 1, 53 hinter *ciš*, 1, 63. 67. 69 hinter *paruvam*, 4, 46 und Xerxes D 13 hinter *aniyaš* an dritter Stelle oder noch weiter hinten im Satz. Es steht eben hinter dem Wort, das der Hervorhebung bedarf; vgl. die Stellung von *cīṭ* im Avesta (oben S. 403).

So die indoiranischen Sprachen. Aber auch ausserhalb derselben bieten sich belehrende Parallelen dar. Dass vorerst den g e r m a n i s c h e n Sprachen unser Stellungsgesetz nicht fremd ist, zeigt schon die Behandlung der schwachbetonten Personalpronomina im Neuhochdeutschen. Zumal, wenn *sich* im Nebensatz und dann in weiter Entfernung vom Verbum steht, kommt uns das Gesetz zum Bewusstsein, freilich als eine unbequeme Fessel, deren wir uns in schriftlicher Darstellung gern dadurch entledigen, dass wir das Pronomen zum Verbum ziehen. Wir glauben hierdurch deutlicher zu sein, empfinden aber solche Stellung doch als unschön. Und oft entschlüpft uns in mündlicher Rede doppeltes *sich*, eines am traditionellen Platze zu Anfang, und eines beim Verbum: ganz analog dem doppelten ἄν der Griechen. — Auch bei den andern persönlichen Pronomina kann man solche Tendenz beobachten.

Doch wage ich auf diesem Gebiet eingehendere Erörterungen nicht, und möchte nur noch an die von Kluge KZ. *[S. 406]* XXVI 80 in ihrer Bedeutung hervorgehobenen gotischen Tmesen *ga-u-laubeis, ga-u-hva-sēhvi, us-nu-gibiþ* und die Fälle erinnern, wo *u(h)* und ähnliche Partikeln im Gotischen Präposition und Kasus trennen. Mit Recht erkennt Kluge in diesem Drang der Enklitika sich unmittelbar an das erste Wort anzuschliessen, einen alten Rest aus der Vorzeit. Das lehrreichste Beispiel ist unstreitig *ga-u-hva-sēhvi* mit seinem Einschub des Indefinitums *hva* = τὶ.

IX.

Indem ich dahingestellt lasse, ob das Pronomen infixum des Keltischen (Zeuss Grammatica celtica S. 327 ff.) nicht von hier aus Licht empfange, wende ich mich sogleich zum Latein, und konstatiere hier zum voraus, dass die Latinisten alter Schule schon längst lehren, dass zumal in klassischer Prosa die Stelle unmittelbar hinter dem ersten Wort des Satzes mit Tonschwäche verbunden sei, und die dorthin gestellten Wörter entweder von Haus aus enklitisch seien oder es durch eben diese Stellung werden (Reisig Vorlesungen über latein. Sprachwissenschaft S. 818; Madvig zu Cic. de finibus I 43; Seyffert-Müller zu Cic. Laelius[2] S. 49. 64; Schmalz Latein. Syntax[2] S. 557 u. s. w.) Für die Einzeluntersuchung ist es nun allerdings unbequem, dass die Überlieferung anders als im Griechischen keine äussern Kennzeichen zur Unterscheidung orthotonischer und enklitischer Formen liefert. Trotzdem können wir ziemlich sicher gehen. Denn gesetzt z. B. es zeige ein Casus obliquus eines persönlichen Pronomens, auf dem nach Ausweis des Zusammenhangs keinerlei Nachdruck liegt, genau dieselben Stellungseigentümlichkeiten, die wir bei μοι und seinen Genossen gefunden haben, so muss in einem solchen Fall sowohl die enklitische Betonung des betr. Pronomens als die Gültigkeit des fürs Griechische aufgestellten Stellungsgesetzes auch fürs Latein m. E. als erwiesen gelten. Und solche Fälle finden sich genug.

Erstens eigentliche Tmesis zwischen Präposition und Verbum (vgl. fürs Griechische oben S. 361): *sub vos placo, ob vos sacro* (Festus 190[b] 2. 309[a] 30). Zweitens Zertrennung anderer, sonst zur Einheit verwachsener Wortverbindungen durch ein der zweiten Stelle zustrebendes schwach betontes Pronomen: a) mit *per* verbundener Adjektive: Cicero de orat. *[S. 407]* (1, 214 *in quo per mihi mirum visum est*). 2, 271 *nam sicut, quod apud Catonem ist* [sic] —, *per mihi scitum videtur* —: *sic profecto se res habet.* ad Quintum fr. 1, 7 (9), 2 *per mihi benigne respondit.* ad Att. 1, 4, 3 *quod ad me de Hermathena scribis, per mihi gratum est.* 1, 20, 7 *per mihi, per, inquam, gratum feceris.* Dass Lael. 16 *pergratum mihi feceris, spero item*

Scaevolae steht und nicht *per mihi gratum*, wie Orelli verlangte, dient zur Bestätigung unserer Regel, da *mihi* wegen des Gegensatzes zu *Scaevolae* stark betont gewesen sein muss (Seyffert-Müller zu d. St. S. 95[2]). Die weitern Fälle, in denen *per* Tmesis erleidet, werden im Verlauf zur Erwähnung kommen, ausser de or. 1. 205 *ista sunt per grata perque iucunda* und ad. Att. 10, 1, 1 *per enim magni aestimo*, in welch beiden Beispielen übrigens eine, die zweite Stelle verlangende, Partikel die Trennung bewirkt hat.

b) Des Pronomens *qui-cunque* (Neue[3] 2, 489), nebst Zubehör (dessen Tmesis in Fällen wie Cicero pro Sest. 68 *quod iudicium cunque subierat.* De divin. 2, 7 *qua re cunque.* Lucrez 4, 867 *quae loca cunque.* 6, 85 *qua de causa cunque.* 6, 867 *quae semina cunque.* Horaz Oden 1, 6, 3 *quam rem cunque* und in den von Neue aus Gellius und Appuleius angeführten Stellen; ferner in Cicero de legibus 2, 46 *quod ad cunque legis genus* besondrer Art ist). Cicero de orat. 3, 60 *quam se cunque in partem dedisset.* Tuscul. 2, 15 *quo ea me cunque ducet.* De divin. 2, 149 *quo te cunque verteris.* Verg. Aen. 1, 610 *quae me cunque vocant terrae.* 8, 74 *quo te cunque lacus miserantem incommoda nostra fonte tenet.* 12, 61 *qui te cunque manent isto certamine casus.* Horaz Oden 1, 7, 25 *quo nos cunque feret melior Fortuna parente.* 1, 27, 14 *quae te cunque domat Venus.* (Ovid. trist 2, 78 *delicias legit qui tibi cunque meas.*) Martial 2, 61, 6 *nomen quod tibi cunque datur.* Darnach Terenz Andria 263 *quae meo quomque animo lubitum est facere.* Ausser an diesen Stellen und den unten wegen andrer Enklitika anzuführenden kommt Tmesis von *quicunque* nur Lucrez 6, 1002. Horaz 1, 9, 14. 1, 16, 2. Sat. 2, 5, 51 vor, wo ganz beliebige Wörter dazwischen getreten sind. (Vgl. Horaz Sat. 1, 9, 33 *garrulus hunc quando consumet cunque.*) Wir dürfen ruhig hierin poetische Freiheiten erkennen.

c) Des Adverbs *quomodo*. Plautus Cistell 1, 1, 47 *ne-[S. 408]cesse est, quo tu me modo voles esse, ita esse mater.* Cicero pro Rosc. Am. 89 *quo te modo iactaris.* in Pisonem 89 *quo te modo ad tuam intemperantiam innovasti.* pro Scauro 50 *quo te nunc modo appellem.* Vgl. pro Rab. Post. 19 *quonam se modo defendet.* pro Scauro 50 *quocunque igitur te modo —.* Weiteres unten; Trennung durch volltonige Wörter scheint sich nicht zu finden. Denn Cicero de lege agr. 1, 25 *quo uno modo* ist besondrer Art.

Drittens ist die Trennung von Präposition und regiertem Kasus in der bekannten Bittformel zu nennen: Plautus Bacch. 905 *per te ere obsecro deos immortales.* Menaechmi 990 *per ego vobis deos atque homines dico.* Terenz Andria 538 *per te deos oro et nostram amicitiam, Chremes.* 834 *per ego te deos oro.* Tibull 3, 11 (= 4, 5,) 7 *per te dulcissima furta perque tuos oculos per geniumque rogo.* Livius 23, 9, 2 *per ego te, inquit, fili, quaecunque iura iungunt liberos parentibus, precor quaesoque.* Curtius 5, 8, 16 *per ego vos decora maiorum — oro et obtestor.* Lucan 10, 370 *per te quod fecimus una perdidimusque nefas — ades* (das Verbum des Bittens ist hier,

wie im folgenden Beispiel, weggelassen). Silius 1, 658 *per vos culta diu Rutulae primordia gentis —, conservate pios.* Das *per*, woran sich das Pronomen *te, vos, vobis* anhängt, steht also immer am Anfang des Satzes.

Viertens seien die paar Beispiele von Trennung minder enger Wortgruppen angeführt, die von den vorgenannten Latinisten als Belege für Ciceros Neigung das tonlose Pronomina hinter dem ersten Wort einzuschieben beigebracht werden: (de orat. 3, 209 *his autem de rebus sol me ille admonuit.*) Brutus 12 *populus se Romanus erexit.* orator 52 *sentiebam, non te id sciscitari.* de offic. 1, 151 *in agros se possessionesque contulit.* (Laelius 15 *idque eo mihi magis est cordi.* 87 *ut aliquis nos deus ex hac hominum frequentia tolleret.*)

Fünftens sind einige Fälle zu nennen, wo ein zwei Gliedern des Satzes gemeinsames Pronomen ins erste eingeschoben wird (Müller zum Laelius XX 72). Cic. epist 4, 7, 2 *sed idem etiam illa vidi, neque te consilium civilis belli ita gerendi nec copias Cn. Pompei — probare.* Laelius 37 *nec se comitem illius furoris, sed ducem praebuit.* Sallust or. Philippi 16 *neque te provinciae neque leges neque di penates [S. 409] civem patiuntur.* (Ebenso, aber ohne Einfluss des Stellungsgesetzes Caesar bell. civ. 1, 85, 11 *quae omnia et se tulisse patienter et esse laturum*, wozu jedoch Paul: "*se* omittendum esse verborum consecutio docet".)

Anderes geben die bisherigen Forschungen über die Stellung des Pronomens bei den Komikern an die Hand. (Vgl. Kämpf De pronominum personalium usu et conlocatione apud poëtas scenicos Romanorum: Berliner Studien für klass. Philologie u. Archäologie III 2. 1886). Aus Kämpf hebe ich namentlich die Beobachtung hervor (S. 31. 36), dass sich die Personalpronomina in der grossen Mehrzahl der Fälle an Fragewörter und an satzeinleitende Konjunktionen unmittelbar anschliessen; (vgl. z. B. bei Joseph Bach in Studemunds Studien auf d. Gebiete des archaischen Lateins II 243 die Zusammenstellung der Fälle mit *quid tibi* und folgendem den Akkusativ regierenden Substantivum verbale auf *-tio*), ebenso (S. 40) an die Affirmativpartikeln, wie *hercle, pol, edepol* u. s. w., die, worauf später die Rede kommen wird, entweder die erste oder die zweite Stelle im Satz einnehmen. Sehr beachtenswert ist auch die an eine Beobachtung Kellerhoffs geknüpfte Bemerkung Kämpfs, dass in den überaus zahlreichen Fällen, wo die Negation an der Spitze des Verses steht, sich ein allfällig vorhandenes Pronomen personale daran anlehnt.

Am lehrreichsten ist aber der Nachweis, den Langen Rhein. Museum XII (1857) 426 ff. betreffend die Beteuerungs-, Wunsch- und Verwünschungsformeln mit *di, di deaeque* oder einem einzelnen Gottesnamen als Subjekt und konjunktivischem (oder futurischem) Verbum als Prädikat gegeben hat. (Vgl. auch Kellerhoff in Studemunds Studien II 77 f.). Wo *di, di deaeque*, oder der betr. Gottesname am Satzanfang steht, folgen die vom Verb regierten pronominalen Akkusative und

Dative *me, te, tibi*, ebenso die in diesen Wendungen seltener vorkommenden *vos, vobis, (istum), istunc, istam, istunc, istaec, illum* dem Subjekt unmittelbar. Wo das Subjekt mehrgliedrig ist, findet sich das Pronomen zwar vereinzelt erst nach der ganzen Subjektgruppe: Plautus Casina 275 *Hercules dique i s t a m perdant.* Vgl. Epidicus 192 *di hercle omnes m e adiuvant, augent, amant*, wo Langen (und nach ihm Götz) *di m e hercle omnes* ändert. Mostell. 192 *di deaeque omnes m e pessumis exemplis interficiant.* (Ritschl *[S. 410]* me omnes). Öfter ist das Pronomen nach dem ersten Gliede eingeschoben: Aulul. 658 *Iuppiter t e dique perdant.* (Dasselbe Captivi 868. Curculio 317. Rudens 1112). Captivi 919 *Diespiter t e dique, Ergasile, perdant.* Pseudolus 271 *di t e deaeque ament.* Mostell. 463 *di t e deaeque omnes faxint cum istoc omine.* 684 *di t e deaeque omnes funditus perdant, senex.* Ebenso bei attributiver Gruppe: Menaechmi 596 *di i l l u m omnes perdant.* Terenz Phormio 519 *di t i b i omnes id quod es dignus duint.* Eine Mittelstellung nimmt Plautus Persa 292 ein: *di deaeque m e omnes perdant*; ebenso Mostell. 192 nach Ritschls Schreibung, siehe oben.

Schon dies ist beachtenswert; von besondrer Bedeutung ist aber, dass wenn an der Spitze des Satzes ein *ita, itaque, ut, utinam, hercle, qui, at* steht, darauf nicht etwa zuerst *di* oder der Göttername und dann erst das Pronomen folgt, sondern in diesem Fall das Pronomen dem nominalen Subjekt vorangeht. Wo *at* und *ita* verbunden sind, steht das Pronomen dahinter Curculio 574 *at ita m e machaera et clypeus bene iuvent.* Miles glor. 501 *at ita m e di deaeque omnes ament*; dagegen zwischen beiden Partikeln Poenulus 1258 *at m e ita dei servent*, wo ich dem Metrum lieber mit der Schreibung *med*, als mit der von den Neuern vorgezogenen Umstellung *at ita me* aufhelfen würde. Auch hinter andern Anfangswörtern, als den angeführten Partikeln, geht das Pronomen dem Subjekt *di* voraus: Pseudolus 430 *si t e di ament.* 936 *tantum t i b i boni di immortales duint.* Mostell. 655 *malum quod* (= κακόν τι) *i s t i di deaeque omnes duint* u. s. w. An der widerstrebenden Stelle Plautus Casina 609 *quin hercle di t e perdant* will Langen, dem sich Kellerhoff a. a. O. und Schöll in seiner Ausgabe anschliessen, *quin hercle t e di perdant* umstellen, während Seyffert mittelst der Interpunktion *quin hercle "di t e perdant"* dem Schaden abzuhelfen sucht.

Die Beobachtung von Langen bewährt sich auch an der klassischen Latinität. Insofern wenigstens als die Beteuerungsformeln mit *ita, sic* auch hier das *me, te, mihi* fast ausnahmslos unmittelbar hinter *ita, sic* haben. Mit *ita*: Cicero divinatio in Caec. 41 *ita m i h i deos velim propitios.* Verrina 5, 35 *ita m i h i meam voluntatem — vestra populique Romani existimatio comprobet.* 5, 37 *ita m i h i omnis deos propitios velim.* Epistulae 5, 21, 1 *nam tecum esse, ita m i h i com-[S. 411]moda omnia quae opto contingant, ut vehementer velim.* ad Atticum 1, 16, 1 *saepe, ita m e di iuvent, te — desideravi.* 16, 15, 3 [Octavianus] *iurat "ita s i b i parentis honores consequi liceat".*

Catull 61, 196 *at marite, ita me iuvent caelites, nihilo minus pulcer es.* 66, 18 *non (ita me divi) vera gemunt (iuerint).* 97, 1 *non, ita me di ament, quicquam referre putavi.* Diese Stellung bleibt auch, wenn dem *ita* noch eine Partikel vorgeschoben wird: Cicero in Catil. 4, 11 *nam ita mihi salva republica vobiscum perfrui liceat, ut —.* epist. 10, 12, 1 *tamen ita te victorem complectar —, ut —.* (Plancus ad Ciceronem epist. 10, 9, 2 *ita ab imminentibus malis respublica me adiuvante liberetur* und Petron. 74 *ita genium meum propitium habeam* kommen natürlich nicht in betracht.

Mit *sic*: Catull. 17, 5 *sic tibi bonus ex tua pons libidine fiat.* Virgil Ecl. 10, 4 *sic tibi, cum fluctus supterlabere Sicanos, Doris amara suam non intermisceat undam.* Horaz Oden 1, 3, 1 *sic te diva potens Cypri — regat.* Tibull 2, 5, 121 *sic tibi sint intonsi Phoebe capilli.* Properz 1, 18, 11 *sic mihi te referas levis.* 3, 6, 2 *sic tibi sint dominae Lygdame dempta iuga.* Ovid. Heroid. 4, 169 *sic tibi secretis agilis dea saltibus adsit.* 4, 173 *sic tibi dent nymphae.* Metamorph. 14, 763 *sic tibi nec vernum nascentia frigus adurat poma.* Corpus inscr. lat. 4, 2776 *presta mi sinceru(m): sic te amet que custodit ortu(m) Venus.* Vgl. Martial 7, 93, 8 *perpetuo liceat sic tibi ponte frui*, wo das Pronomen zwar nicht an zweiter Stelle, aber doch unmittelbar hinter *sic* steht. Bei einem Ablativus absolutus (Horaz Oden 1, 28, 25 *sic — Venusinae plectantur silvae te sospite*) und beim Possessivum (Petron. 75 *rogo, sic peculium tuum fruniscaris*; doch Virgil Ecl. 9, 30 *sic tua Cyrneas fugiant examina taxos*) haben wir kein Recht Geltung der Regel zu erwarten. Auch Ovid Trist. 5, 2, 51 f. (*sic habites terras et te desideret aether) sic ad pacta tibi sidera tardus eas* kann nicht als Verletzung der Regel gelten. Dagegen ist auffällig Tibull 1, 4, 1 *sic umbrosa tibi contingant tecta Priape.* Petron 61 *sic felicem me videas.*

Aus Ausdrücken wie die eben besprochnen sind *mehercule, mediusfidius, mecastor* bekanntlich verkürzt. Daraus scheint sich mir auch ihre Stellung zu erklären. In der grossen Mehrzahl der Beispiele stehn sie an zweiter Stelle des *[S. 412]* Satzes. So die beiden ersten ausnahmslos in Ciceros Reden. Vgl. für *mehercule* auch Terenz Eunuch. 416. Cicero de or. 2, 7. Epist. 2, 11, 4. ad Atticum 10, 13, 1. 16, 15, 3. Caesar bei Cic. ad Att. 9, 7^c 1. Caelius bei Cic. epist. 8, 2, 1. Plancus ibid. 10, 11, 3. Plin. Epist. 6, 30; für *mediusfidius* auch Cicero epist. 5, 21, 1. Tuscul. 1, 74 *(ne ille mediusfidius vir sapiens).* Sallust Catil. 35, 2. Livius 5, 6, 1. 22, 59, 17. Seneca suas 6, 5. Plin. epist. 4, 3, 5. Besonders beweiskräftig ist die nicht seltene Einschiebung der zu einer ganzen Periode gehörigen Beteuerungspartikel hinter die einleitende Partikel des Vordersatzes: *si mehercule* Cicero pro Caecina 64. Catil. 2, 16. pro Scauro fragm. 10 Müller. Sallust Catil. 52, 35. *quanto mehercule* Sallust Histor. oratio Philippi 17. *si mediusfidius* Cicero pro Sulla 83. pro Plancio 9. Livius 5, 6, 1. 22, 59, 17. Die Stellen wo eine dieser beiden Partikeln an einer spätern Stelle des Satzes steht, sind bedeutend weniger zahlreich (*mehercule*: Terenz Eunuch. 67.

Catull 38, 2. Phaedrus 3, 5, 4. Plin. epist. 4, 1, 1. — *mediusfidius*: Cato bei Gellius 10, 14, 3. Cicero ad Atticum 8, 15 A 2. Quintil. 5, 12, 17). Bemerkenswert sind Cicero Att. 4, 4[b] 2 *mediusfidius, ne tu emisti locum praeclarum*, und 5, 16, 3 *mehercule etiam adventu nostro reviviscunt* —, durch die ganz eigentümliche Voranstellung der Partikel. — Was das vorklassische *mecastor* betrifft, so entsprechen Plautus Aulul. 67 *noenum mecastor quid ego ero dicam meo — queo comminisci* und auch Men. 734 *ne istuc mecastor iam patrem accersam meum* der Regel, Aulul. 172 *novi hominem haud malum mecastor* widerspricht ihr.

Von der Stellungsregel für das vokativische *hercule* und dessen Genossen (siehe unten) unterscheidet sich die für *mehercule* und Genossen darin, dass, von den isolierten Stellen Cicero Att. 4, 4[b] 2. 5, 16, 3 abgesehen, die mit *me-* gebildeten von der ersten Stelle im Satz ausgeschlossen sind. Hiernach wird man ihre Neigung für die zweite Stelle nicht mit der bei *hercule* beobachtbaren zusammenstellen, sondern aus der enklitischen Natur des *me* herleiten.

X.

Gehn wir zu andern Formen über! Wenn der Vokativ *mī* wirklich dem μοι in griechischem τέκνον μοι u. dergl. (s. *[S. 413]* oben S. 362) gleichzusetzen ist, wie Brugmann Grundriss II 819 annimmt, so ist jedenfalls dem Wort in dieser Verwendung die Enklisis schon in vorhistorischer Zeit abhanden gekommen, da es sich bereits bei Plautus im Satzanfang findet. Es wäre nicht undenkbar, dass die Voranstellung von *mi* vor das Substantivum, zu dem es gehört, in solchen Sätzen aufgekommen wäre, wo der Vokativ nicht an erster Stelle stand, ihm also *mi*, um an die ihm zukommende zweite Stelle im Satz zu gelangen, dem Vokativ vorangestellt werden musste.

Sicherer als dies ist, dass die obliquen Kasus von *is*, gerade wie att. αὐτοῦ und das enklitische *asmāi* des Altindischen, der Weise von *me, te* folgen. Und so lesen wir z. B. Cicero Lael. 10 *quam id recte fecerim*, wie Brutus 12 *populus se Romanus erexit* (s. oben S. 408). Ja auch bei den demonstrativeren Pronomina *iste, ille* haben wir enklitische Stellung in den S. 409 ff. besprochenen Wunsch- und Verwünschungssätzen.

Weiterhin ist es vielleicht einem oder andern Leser aufgefallen, dass in den Beispielen wo ein *me, te* seiner Stellung wegen eine Wortgruppe zerreisst, demselben mehrfach ein *ego*, vorhergeht: Plautus Men. 990 *per ego vobis deos — dico*. Terenz Andr. 834 *per ego te deos oro*. Ähnlich Livius 23, 9, 2. Curtius 5, 8, 16. Ferner Plautus Cistell. 1, 1, 47 *quo tu me modo voles esse*. Auch der Nominativ von *is, ea, id*: Cicero Tusc. 2, 15 *quo ea me cunque duxit*. Man wird nicht bestreiten können, dass in solchen Fällen *ego, tu, ea* eben auch enklitisch sind, und wird sich

an die Enklisis von deutschem *er, sie, es* im Nebensatz, und bei Inversion und Frage, auch im Hauptsatz erinnern. Dann sind auch Stellen wie Cicero de orat. 2, 97 *quantulum id cunque est*; de nat. deorum 2, 76 *quale id cunque est*, weiterhin pro Cluent. 66 *quonam igitur haec modo gesta sunt*, Sallust Cat. 52, 10 *cuius haec cunque modi videntur*, Terenz Ad. 36 *ne aut ille alserit aut ceciderit*, pro Deiot. 15 *quonam ille modo cum regno distractus esset*, auf diese Weise zu erklären. Übrigens ist auch das aufs Verb unmittelbar folgende *ego, tu*, wie im Griechischen ἐγώ in gleicher Stellung, gewiss als wesentlich enklitisch zu fassen.

Bei den I n d e f i n i t a hält das Latein noch strenger an der alten Regel fest als das Griechische und erkennt man *[S. 414]* dieselbe auch schon längst an, allerdings nicht mit ganz richtiger Formulierung. Nehmen wir den Sprachgebrauch der alten Inschriften, der Kommentarien Caesars und der Reden Ciceros nach dem Index zu CIL. I und den Lexica von Meusel und Merguet zusammen, so ergiebt sich, dass sich *quis, quid* in der unendlichen Mehrzahl der Belege an satzeinleitende Wörter wie *ē-, nē* nebst *dum nē, num*, das Relativum *qui* nebst seinen Formen, *quo, cum, quamvis, neque* anschliesst. Natürlich hat *-ve* (in *neve, sive* u. sonst) vor ihm den Vortritt, seltener — bei Caesar nur einmal — haben ihn pronominale Enklitika: CIL. I 206, 71 *neve eorum quod saeptum clausumve habeto*. ibid. 94 und 104 *dum eorum quid faciet*. Vgl. 205 II 15. 41 *qui ita quid confessus erit*. Cicero Verrina 5, 168 *quod eum quis ignoret*. Caesar bell. civ. 3, 32, 3 *qui horum quid acerbissime crudelissimeque fecerat, is et vir et civis optimus habebatur*. Im eigentlichen Satzinnern findet sich in den genannten Texten das Indefinitum im ganzen nur hinter *alius* und *ali-*, wobei zu beachten ist, dass es *si quis alius, ne quis alius*, nicht *si alius quis, ne alius quis* zu heissen pflegt. Daneben finden wir in Ciceros Reden *quis, quid* in Relativsätzen vom Relativum stets (an 7—8 Stellen) durch ein oder zwei andre Wörter getrennt. Eine auffällige Ausnahme ausserdem bildet CIL. I 206, 70 *nei quis in ieis locis inve ieis porticibus quid inaedificatum immolitumve habeto*.

Ganz dasselbe gilt für die zugehörigen indefiniten Adverbia, besonders *quando*, und gilt andrerseits für die Indefinita überhaupt, so viel ich sehe, in den sonstigen archaischen und klassischen Texten. Freilich muss man sich, um das zu erkennen, gelegentlich von den modernen Herausgebern emanzipieren. Hat doch z. B. Götz in Plautus Mercator 774 ganz fröhlich das enklitische *quid* mitten in einen Satz und zugleich an den Anfang des Verses gestellt (s. dessen Ausgabe sowie Acta societ. phil. Lips. VI 244), obgleich die Überlieferung das korrekte *si quid* bietet! Vereinzelte Ausnahmen lassen sich natürlich auftreiben, doch ist z. B. Plaut. Epid. 210 *tum captivorum quid ducunt secum* das *quid* wohl exclamativ zu fassen, also orthotoniert.

Angesichts solcher Strenge der Stellungsregel kann weder die Anastrophe Cicero Lael. 83 *si quos inter societas aut est aut fuit* (vgl. Seyffert z. d. St.), noch die häufige, *[S. 415]* an die oben S. 367, 368 zusammengestellten Beispiele des Griechischen erinnernde Abtrennung des attributiven Indefinitums von seinem Nomen befremden z. B. Caesar bell. gall. 6, 22, 3 *ne qua oriatur pecuniae cupiditas.* bell. civ. 1, 21, 1 *ne qua aut largitionibus aut animi confirmatione aut falsis nuntiis commutatio fieret voluntatis* u. s. w. u. s. w. Daran, dass im Oskischen und Umbrischen *pis, pid; pis, pir* meist in unmittelbarem Anschluss an *svaì, svae; sve, so* 'wenn' überliefert sind, sei nur im Vorbeigehn erinnert.

Dass *quisque* als auf enklitischem *quis* beruhend ein Enklitikum ist und dass es zwar häufiger als *quis* im Satzinnern steht, aber in der Regel doch nur hinter Superlativen, Ordinalien, *unus* und *suus*, sonst hinter dem ersten Satzwort, ist bekannt. In den Inschriften von CIL. I zeigt sich die Stellungsregel in voller Deutlichkeit: *quisque* hinter *primus* 198, 46. 64. 67, hinter *suus* 206, 92 = 102, sonst im Wortinnern nur 206, 22 *quamque viam h. l. quemque tueri oportebit*; in allen übrigen Beispielen an zweiter Stelle, öfters freilich so, dass auf das Relativum zuerst das Substantiv, zu dem dasselbe als Attribut gehört, und dann erst *quisque* folgt, z. B. 206, 63 *quo die quisque triumphabit*, id. 147 *quot annos quisque eorum habet*, id. 26 *qua in parte urbis quisque eorum curet*, ebenso bei folgendem Genetiv z. B. 200, 71 *quantum agri loci quoiusque in populi leiberi — datus adsignatusve est.* Aber auch in diesen Beispielen ist die Voranstellung von *quisque* vor die Wörter, zu denen es selbst im Attributivverhältnis steht: *quisque eorum* (so auch sonst noch öfter), *quoiusque in populi leiberi*, nur aus unserm Stellungsgesetz begreiflich. Und insbesondere sind die Beispiele gar nicht selten, wo *quisque* der Anfangsstellung zu lieb eine attributiv verbundene Wortgruppe spaltet: 199, 39 *quem quisque eorum agrum posidebit*; 202 I 33. 37. 41. II 5 *quam in quisque decuriam — lectus erit*; 202 II 27 *qua in quisque decuria est.* Die beiden letzten Beispiele zeigen, dass in Wortfolgen nach der Art von *quam in decuriam* die Präposition als zum Relativum gehörig empfunden wurde. Ähnlich zerreisst *quisque* auch etwa die Verbindung zwischen regierendem Substantiv und Genetiv, so *quantum viae* in 206, 39 *quantum quoiusque ante aedificium viae — erit*, 204, 2, 23 *quod quibusque in rebus — iouris — fuit.* So die alten In-*[S. 416]*schriften. Die übrige ältere Litteratur gibt ähnliches, darunter die beachtenswerte Tmesis *quod quoique quomque inciderit in mentem* (Terenz Heaut. 484). Allerdings ist *quisque* allmählich auch orthotonischer Verwendung und der Stellung am Satzanfang fähig geworden. Noch viel mehr ist dies bei *uterque* der Fall, dessen ursprüngliche Enklisis selbstverständlich ist und auch in Stellen wie Plaut. Menaechmi 186 *in eo uterque proelio potabimus* noch hervortritt. Andrerseits ist *ubique* um so länger dem Ursprünglichen treu geblieben; Cicero in seinen Reden und ebenso Caesar

haben es nicht nur immer in seiner eigentlichen Bedeutung "an jedem einzelnen Ort" verwendet, (— "überall" wird von beiden mit *omnibus locis* gegeben —), sondern es auch immer an ein Relativum (Caesar de bello civ. 2, 20, 8 an interrogatives *quid*) angelehnt.

Dass der andere Indefinitstamm des Latein, der mit *u*-beginnende, überhaupt denselben Stellungsregeln wie der gutturale unterlag, zeigt, abgesehen von der unverkennbaren Neigung, die *ullus, unquam, usquam* für die zweite Stelle haben, Festus 162^b 22.

XI.

Unter den Partikeln des Latein finden sich einige von jeher und immer an die zweite Stelle gefesselte: *que, autem, ne*; einige, die zwischen erster und zweiter Stelle teils von Anfang an schwanken teils durch den wechselnden Gebrauch hin und her geschoben werden, wie die Beteuerungspartikeln, wie ferner *enim, igitur*; endlich einige, bei denen Schwanken und Freiheit noch grösser ist: so *tandem*. Alle diese Partikeln bewirken gelegentlich die beim Pronomen nachgewiesenen Tmesen; so z. B. *enim* die von *cunque*: Ovid ex Ponto 4, 13, 6 *qualis enim cunque est*; *igitur* und *tandem* die von *quomodo* und Genossen, auch von *jusjurandum*: Cicero pro Cluentio 66 *quonam igitur haec modo gesta sunt.* pro Scauro 50 *quocunque igitur te modo*, de officiis 3, 104 *jus igitur jurandum*. Verrina 3, 80 *quo tandem modo*. Besonders tmetisch ist *que*, insofern es nicht bloss in Fällen wie die oben genannten in solcher Weise wirkt (z. B. Cicero pro Caelio 54 *jurisque jurandi*), sondern auch Präposition und Verbum (Festus 309^a 30 *transque dato, endoque plo-[S. 417]rato*; Plautus Trinummus 833 *disque tulissent*) und Präposition und Kasus trennt, letzteres zumal in der Bedeutung 'wenn': altlateinisch *absque me esset, absque te foret, absque una hac foret, absque eo esset* (Trinummus 832 mit freierer Wortfolge *absque foret te*). Es ist kein Ruhm für die Latinisten, dass sie, nachdem von Schömann und Brugmann längst das Richtige gesagt ist, noch immer *absque* als gewöhnliche Präposition ansehen mögen. Denn gesetzt auch, dass bei Cicero ad Atticum 1, 19, 1 wirklich *absque argumento ac sententia* "ohne — Inhalt" zu lesen sei, was mir Wölfflin nicht bewiesen zu haben scheint, gesetzt also, dass die Bedeutung 'ohne' nicht auf einem Irrtum der Archaisten des zweiten Jahrhunderts beruhe, sondern schon der Umgangssprache der ciceronischen Zeit eigen gewesen sei, so konnte ja in der Zeit zwischen Terenz und Cicero die Phrase *absque me esset* zunächst das Verb verlieren, so dass blosses *absque me* als hypothetisches "ohne mich = wenn ich nicht gewesen wäre" gebraucht wurde: vergleiche Gellius 2, 21, 20 *absque te uno forsitan*

lingua Graeca longe anteisset, sed tu — "ohne dich d. h. wenn du nicht gewesen wärest", und Fronto 85, 24 N. *absque te, satis superque et aetatis et laboris* und infolge der Weglassung des Verbums sich dann weiter die hypothetische Bedeutung verflüchtigen, *absque me* die Bedeutung "ohne mich" im Sinne von "indem ich nicht (dabei) bin" annehmen. Ganz ähnliche Entwicklungen lassen sich bei den Konzessivpartikeln nachweisen. (Vgl. über *absque* im allgemeinen Praun in Wölfflins Archiv für latein. Lexikogr. VI 197—212).

Als ganz sichere Stützen unseres Stellungsgesetzes können indessen nur die Partikeln gelten, die nicht der Satzverbindung, sondern bloss der Qualifizierung des Satzes oder Satztheiles dienen, zu dem sie speziell gehören. Erstens *quidem*, das sich von indoiran. *cid* formell nur durch den Zusatz von *-em*, in der Funktion nur unwesentlich unterscheidet. Wie dieses kann es nicht hinter unbetonten Wörtern, besonders ursprünglich nicht hinter dem Verbum stehen (vgl., was *cid* betrifft, Bartholomae in Bezzenbergers Beitr. XIII 73), und nimmt wie *cid* je nach seiner Funktion entweder hinter dem ersten Wort des Satzes (beachte z. B. Cic. Lael. 37 *Tiberium quidem Gracchum*) oder aber hinter demjenigen be-*[S. 418]*tonten Wort seine Stellung, dessen Begriff (etwa eines Gegensatzes wegen) hervorgehoben werden soll. Besonders klar zeigt sich dieser Wechsel der Stellung bei der archaischen Zusammenordnung mit den Beteuerungspartikeln, namentlich mit *hercle*. Unzähligemal findet sich *quidem hercle* u. s. w. hinter dem ersten Wort des Satzes, oft aber auch *hercle — quidem*. Nach Kellerhoff in Studemunds Studien a. d. G. d. archaischen Lateins II 64 f. sind die Beispiele letzterer Stellung teils durch metrische Lizenz zu entschuldigen, teils unerklärbar. Aber ohne Ausnahme zeigen sie *quidem* hinter einem betonten Personale, Demonstrativum, *si* oder *nunc*: in allen diesen Fällen ist *quidem* durch das auf *hercle* und dergl. folgende Orthotonumenon angezogen worden. (Auch Plaut. Bach. 1194 *tam pol id quidem*, welche Stelle bei Kellerhoff fehlt.)

An *quidem* sei *quŏque* angeschlossen, das ich gleich altind. *kva ca* setzen und ihm also als ursprüngliche Bedeutung '*jederorts, jedenfalls*' geben zu müssen glaube. Ein Wort mit der Bedeutung *jedenfalls* war geeignet das Miteingeschlossensein eines Begriffs in eine Aussage auszudrücken; die archaische Verbindung von *quoque* mit *etiam* wird so auch ganz verständlich. Es liegt in der Funktion des Wortes, dass es, wie γε und z. T. *quidem*, trotz seiner Enklise an beliebigen Stellen des Satzes stehen kann, wo eben das Wort steht, dessen Begriff als hinzugefügt zu bezeichnen ist. Aber wie γε gelegentlich etwa (s. oben S. 371) der allgemeinen Gewohnheit der Enklitika folgend sich von seinem Wort weg zum Satzanfang entfernt, so auch *quoque*: Varro de lingua lat. 5, 56 *ab hoc quoque quattuor partes urbis tribus dictae* (statt *quattuor quoque*). 5, 69 *quae ideo quoque videtur ab Latinis Iuno Lucina dicta* (st. *Iuno quoque*) [vgl. A. Spengel zu der St.]. 5, 181 *ab eo*

quoque, quibus —, tribuni aerarii dicti (st. *ab eo [ii] quoque quibus —*). 5, 182 *aes quoque stipem dicebant* (st. *stipem quoque*). 8, 84 *hinc quoque illa nomina —* (st. *illa nomina quoque*). Ebenso Properz 2, 34, 85 *haec quoque perfecto ludebat Iasone Varro* (st. *Varro quoque*). 2, 34, 87 *haec quoque lascivi cantarunt scripta Catulli* (st. *lascivi Catulli quoque*).

Bedeutsam scheint ferner die Stellung der Fragepartikel *ne*, die ihrer Bedeutung wegen doch nicht mehr Anspruch hatte dicht beim Satzanfang zu stehen, als im Latein selbst *[S. 419]* die Negation oder als im Deutschen z. B. *etwa* oder *vielleicht*. Nur die Enklisis erklärt die übrigens längst anerkannte Regel, das [sic] *ne* unmittelbar hinter das erste Wort des Satzes gehöre, von welcher Natur immer dasselbe auch sei. Es ist nicht meine Aufgabe, im Anschluss an Hand Tursellinus 4, 75 ff. und Kämpf De pronominum personalium usu et collocatione S. 42—46 (vgl. zu letzterm die Rezension von Abraham Berliner philologische Wochenschrift 1886, 227, welcher für Sätze wie Plautus Mostell. 362 *sed ego sumne infelix?* Epidicus 503 *sed tu novistin fidicinam Acrobolistidem?* Interpunktion hinter dem Pronomen verlangt) das gesamte Material zu durchgehen und die wirklichen und scheinbaren Ausnahmen zu besprechen. Es genüge darauf hinzuweisen, dass noch die klassische und spätere Sprache diese Regel kennt und darauf das seit Catull zu belegende *utrumne* statt *utrum — ne* zurückzuführen ist. Wie im nachhomerischen Griechischen τοιγάρ, weil man sich gewöhnt hatte darin nicht mehr einen selbständigen Satz, sondern das erste Wort eines Satzes zu erblicken, das bei Homer noch davon getrennte τοι an sich zog (s. oben S. 377), so *utrum* aus gleichartigem Grunde das *-ne*.

Eine gewisse Abschwächung der alten Regel ist nur darin zu erkennen, dass, wenn eine aus Vordersatz und Nachsatz bestehende Periode durch *ne* als interrogativ zu bezeichnen war, die klassische Sprache *ne* erst im Nachsatz anzubringen pflegt, während in solchem Fall die alte Sprache *-ne* gleich an das Fügewort des Vordersatzes anknüpfte. Mit letzterm hängt der häufige Gebrauch zusammen, in einem Relativsatz *ne* an das Relativum anzuhängen und dann mit solchem Relativsatz ohne Beifügung eines Hauptsatzes zu fragen, ob die im vorausgehenden Satz gegebene Aussage für den im Relativsatz beschriebenen Begriff gelte. Auch andere Nebensätze finden sich so verwendet. (Vgl. zu dem allem Brix zum Trinummus 360. Lorentz zum Miles 965, zur Mostellaria 738.)

Von da aus wird m. E. eine bisher falsch erklärte Partikel verständlich. Ribbeck Beiträge zur Lehre v. d. latein. Partikeln (1869) S. 14 f. leitet unter dem Beifall von Schmalz Lateinische Grammatik (Iwan Müllers Handbuch der klass. Altertumswiss. II) [2] 526 *sin* "wenn aber" aus einer Verbindung von *si* mit der Negation *ne* her. Die dieser Herkunft entsprechende Bedeutung "wenn nicht" zeige sich

noch an *[S. 420]* Stellen wie Cic. Att. 16, 13^b 2 *si pares aeque inter se, quiescen-dum; sin, latius manabit, et quidem ad nos, deinde communiter.* Zu *sin* habe man dann auch noch oft "tautologisch oder hinüberleitend" *aliter, secus, minus* hinzu-gefügt; auch, wenn der durch solches *sin* "wenn nicht" angedeutete andere Fall bestimmter zu formulieren war, dies in der Form einfacher Parataxis gethan. So sei *sin* schliesslich eine gewöhnliche adversative Konjunktion geworden.

Gegen diese Erklärung können mehrere Einwendungen erhoben werden. Ich will die Möglichkeit, dass es ein *sin* "wenn nicht" geben konnte, nicht bestreiten, da *quin* zeigt, dass die Negation *ne* enklitisch werden und ihren Vokal verlieren konnte. (Jedenfalls gehört *sine* nicht hierher, sondern ist = indog. *s̥né*, d. h. al-ter Lokativ von *senu-*, und der Hauptsache nach mit ἄνευ gleichzusetzen, mit welchem got. *inu*, ahd. *āno* nichts zu thun haben, da diese altindischen *anu, ānu* = indog. *enu, ēnu* entsprechen. Die hiefür anzunehmende Bedeutungsentwicke-lung "entlang, längs" — "praeter" — "ohne" ist durchaus natürlich.) Aber dass *sin* ursprünglich diese Bedeutung "wenn nicht" wirklich gehabt habe, dafür fehlt es völlig an Belegen. Denn diejenigen Beispiele, die Ribbeck teils beibringt, teils im Auge hat, in diesem Sinne zu verwenden, ist von vorn herein schon darum be-denklich, weil man nicht versteht wie die zu Plautus Zeit bereits verflüchtigte negative Bedeutung in ciceronischer Zeit wieder so lebendig sein konnte. Und sieht man die Beispiele selbst an, so ergiebt sich, dass sie das nicht beweisen, was sie beweisen sollen. Cicero Epist. 12, 6, 2 *qui si conservatus erit, vicimus; sin —, quod di omen avertant, omnis omnium cursus est ad vos.* 14, 3, 5 *si perficitis quod agitis, me ad vos venire oportet; sin autem —. Sed nihil opus est reliqua scribere.* ad Att. 10, 7, 2 *si vir esse volet, praeclare* cυνοδία. *Sin autem, erimus nos, qui sole-mus.* 13, 22, 4 *atque utinam tu quoque eodem die! sin quod —, multa enim utique postridie.* 16, 13^b 2 s. oben. — Priap. 31 *donec proterva nil mei manu carpes, licebit ipsa sis pudicior Vesta. Sin, haec mei te ventris arma laxabunt.* Dazu käme nach einer Konjektur Vahlens Tibull 1, 4, 15 *sin* (Codd. *sed*), *ne te capiant, primo si forte negabit, taedia;* doch wird diese Schreibung wohl kaum allgemein rezipiert werden. (Schmalz spricht auch *[S. 421]* von Belegen im alten Latein, doch fin-de ich nirgends solche nachgewiesen.) An allen diesen Stellen liegt einfach eine Aposiopese vor, wie solche dem Priapeen- und dem Briefstil ziemt. Besonders die beiden ersten Stellen mit ihrem *quod di omen avertant* und *sed nihil opus est reliqua scribere* schliessen jeden Zweifel aus.

Mit dem Wegfall dieser Stellen ist aber der Ribbeckschen Hypothese dasjeni-ge entzogen, was sie besonders empfahl, die Anknüpfung an einen thatsächli-chen Sprachgebrauch. Nun könnte die Hypothese freilich trotzdem richtig sein, *sin* in der, hinter der litterarischen Überlieferung zurückliegenden Zeit zuerst

"wenn nicht" bedeutet und sich dann zu der historisch allein bezeugten Bedeutung "wenn aber" entwickelt haben. Aber auch diese Entwicklung ist nicht so leicht konstruierbar. Ribbeck äusserst sich nur sehr kurz über diesen Punkt. Wenn ich ihn recht verstehe, so meint er, ein Satz wie z. B. Plautus Trin. 309 *[si animus hominem pepulit, actumst, animo servit, non sibi.] sin ipse animum pepulit, vivit* sei ursprünglich so gemeint gewesen, dass man hinter *sin* "wenn nicht" "wenn dies nicht der Fall ist" interpungiert hätte und darauf asyndetisch die genauere Bezeichnung des gegenteiligen Falles hätte folgen lassen: *ipse animum pepulit* "[im Falle dass] er selbst seinen Neigungen die Richtung gegeben hat", schliesslich die Apodosis *vivit*. Mir schiene ein Asyndeton, wie das hier zwischen *sin* und dem folgenden statuierte, undenkbar: *sed* (oder eine Wiederholung des *si*) wäre doch wohl unerlässlich. Wohl gibt es ein Asyndeton adversativum, aber nur in der Weise, dass der Gegensatz dabei auf andere Weise fühlbar gemacht wird, durch parallele Gestaltung der beiden Glieder oder durch Voranstellung des Wortes, das den Gegensatz hauptsächlich trägt im zweiten Gliede.

Ich glaube, es bietet sich ein viel einfacherer Weg. Brix giebt zum Trinummus 360 unter den Beispielen des an das Fügewort des Vordersatzes angeschlossenen *ne* am Schluss folgende Stelle des Mercator 142 f.: Acanthio: *At ego maledicentiorem quam te novi neminem.* Charinus: *Sin saluti quod tibi esse censeo, id consuadeo?* Acanthio: *apage istiusmodi salutem, cum cruciatu quae advenit.* Brix umschreibt die Worte des Charinus mit *tumne maledicentem me dicis, si tibi id consuadeo.* Offenbar ganz gemäss der Weise plau-*[S. 422]*tinischen Konversationsstils, wo Fragesätze, die als solche durch *-ne* bezeichnet sind, ausserordentlich oft für Einwendungen dienen z. B. Bacchides 1189 *egon ubi filius corrumpatur meus, ibi potem?* 1192 *egon quom haec cum illo accubet, inspectem?* Trin. 378 *egone indotatam te uxorem ut patiar?* Bacch. 194 *at scin quam iracundus siem?* Besonders häufig sind in dieser Weise die *ne*-Sätze gebraucht, wo der Fragesatz elliptisch nur aus einem Nebensatz mit *ne* besteht, also gerade die *ne*-Sätze, zu denen obiges Beispiel gehört. Amphitr. 297 Sosia: *paulisper mane, dum edormiscat unum somnum.* Amph.: *quaene vigilans somniat?* "aber dann träumt sie ja mit offenen Augen." Curculio 704 f. Cappadox: *dum quidem hercle ita iudices, ne quisquam a me argentum auferat.* Therapontigonus: *quodne promisti?* "aber du hast es ja versprochen". Rudens 1019 *quemne ego excepi in mari?* "aber ich habe ihn ja im Meere aufgefangen". 1231 *quodne ego inveni in mari?* "aber ich habe es ja im Meere gefunden." Terenz Phormio 923 Demipho: *illud mihi argentum rursum iube rescribi Phormio.* Phormio: *quodne ego discripsi porro illis, quibus debui?* "aber ich habe es ja meinen Gläubigern gutgeschrieben."

Ein zweite Stelle, wo *sin* so steht, ist Persa 227: Paegnium: *ne me attrecta subigitatrix.* Sophoclidisca: *sin te amo?* Paegnium: *male operam locas.*

Die meisten Plautusleser werden freilich an beiden Stellen das *sin* einfach mit "wenn aber" übersetzen und darin das gewöhnliche *sin* erkennen. Weit entfernt dies tadeln zu wollen, erkenne ich darin gerade einen Beweis dafür, dass das gewöhnliche *sin* mit dem *sin* jener plautinischen Stellen identisch ist. Wir können nicht bloss andern, sondern auch uns selbst einen Einwurf in der Form eines Fragesatzes machen. In solcher Weise steht einwendendes *quine, quemne* Catull 64, 180 *an patris auxilium sperem? quemne ipsa reliqui—?* "aber den habe ich ja verlassen". 182 f. *coniugis an fido consoler memet amore? quine fugit lentos incurvans gurgite remos?* "aber der flieht ja" (s. oben die Übersetzung von *quine* in den Beispielen aus Plautus und Terenz). Und wie an den beiden plautinischen *sin*-Stellen auf die vom zweiten Sprecher als Einwendung gebrachte Möglichkeit der erste Sprecher zur Beseitigung der Einwendung als asyndetisch an-*[S. 423]*gefügte Apodosis dasjenige giebt, was in dem betr. Fall eintreten würde: *apage istiusmodi salutem* "dann fort mit solchem Heil", und *male operam locas* "nun dann verschwendest du deine Mühe" —, so kann man auch eine selbstgemachte Einwendung selbst mit derartiger Apodosis erledigen.

Demgemäss würde an der oben nach der Ribbeckschen Hypothese analysierten Plautusstelle der ursprüngliche Gebrauch von *sin* hergestellt durch die Interpunktion: *sin ipse animum pepulit? vivit.* "Wie aber, wenn er selbst seinen Neigungen die Richtung gegeben hat? Nun dann lebt er." Dass im Verlauf die eigentlich für Einwendungen aufgekommene Satzform überhaupt für Setzung eines entgegengesetzten Falls verwendet, und dass im Zusammenhang damit der *sin*-Fragesatz schlechtweg als Vordersatz, der ursprüngliche Antwortsatz schlechtweg als Nachsatz empfunden wurde, ist eine ganz natürliche Entwicklung.

Wenn Lucian Müller Lucil. 29, Fr. 87, V. 107 (vgl. zu Nonius 290, 4) richtig schreibt *ad non sunt similes neque dant. quid? sin* (codd. *sint*, ed. princ. Non. *si*) *dare vellent? acciperesne? doce*, so tritt hiermit zu den zwei loci didascalici des Plautus ein dritter. Denn auch hier dient *sin* einem Einwand, mit dem Unterschied, dass derselbe durch *quid* angekündigt ist, und dass ein die Frage näher präzisierender *ne*-Satz folgt. Nach Lucian Müller ist es ein Einwand, den einer sich selbst macht. — Das *quodsin ulla* (Lucil 4 Fr. 22 Vs. 38) desselben Gelehrten st. *quodsi nulla* mit unerklärbarem *-sin* wird durch richtige Schreibung der folgenden Zeile überflüssig.

Den Beschluss mögen die Beteuerungs- und Verwunderungspartikeln, *hercle, pol, edepol, ecastor, eccere* bilden, die die Eigentümlichkeit haben, bald die erste bald die zweite Stelle im Satz einzunehmen, weiter hinten aber nicht stehen zu können, ausser wenn ihnen andre Enklitika, wie *quidem, autem* (Aulul. 560), *obsecro, quaeso, credo*, oder *ego, tu, ille* hinter *ne*, oder *tu* hinter *et, at, vel*, kraft eignen Anspruchs auf diese Stelle den Platz versperren. Wie stark der Drang nach der

zweiten Stelle auch bei dieser Wortklasse ist, zeigt sich an manchem. So daran, dass während die Verbindung *pol ego* bald am Satzanfang steht, bald ihr noch ein anderes Wort vorangeht und also *ego* gleich gern an dritter wie an zweiter Stelle des Satzes steht, das umgekehrte *ego pol* nur *[S. 424]* am Satzanfang vorkommt (Kellerhoff in Studemunds Studien, a. d. G. d. arch. Latein II 62), *pol* also die dritte Stelle scheut. So daran, dass die Beteuerungspartikeln, wenn sie sich auf eine ganze Periode beziehen, dem ersten Wort des Vordersatzes angefügt werden; *si hercle, si quidem hercle, ni hercle, postquam hercle, si ecastor, si pol, si quidem pol* sind ganz gewöhnlich, während die Setzung von *hercle* erst im Nachsatz zwar nicht unerhört (siehe Mil. Glor. 309, Persa 627), aber selten ist. (Vgl. Brix zum Trinumm. 457, Lorentz zum Miles 156. 1239, zur Mostell. 229, Kellerhoff Studien II 72 f.) Genau die gleiche Erscheinung haben wir beim fragenden *-ne* getroffen. Aber während bei *-ne* diese Stellung auf die alte Sprache beschränkt ist, lebt sie bei *hercle, (hercules)* in der klassischen Sprache fort (Müller zum Laelius § 78[2] S. 477, der auf Wichert Latein. Stilistik S. 43, 239, 269 verweist. Weissenborn zu Livius 5, 4, 10 u. s. w.), wie denn die klassische Sprache überhaupt die traditionelle Stellung der Partikel *hercle*, der einzigen, die eben in die klassische Sprache fortlebt, festhält, immerhin so, dass die Setzung derselben an die Spitze des Satzes ausser Gebrauch kommt. Die Kaiserzeit gestattet sich dann freilich grössere Willkür: Quintil. 1, 2, 4. Tacitus Dial. 1. Histor. 1, 84. Plin. Epist. 6, 19, 6. Gell. 7, 2, 1 u. s. w.

Ferner veranlassen auch diese Partikeln, wie die früher besprochenen Enklitika, öfters Tmesis. Dahin gehört neben Miles Glor. 31 *ne h e r c l e operae pretium quidem* (gegenüber Bacchides 1027 *ne unum quidem h e r c l e*) und Mostell. 18 *cis h e r c l e paucas tempestates* und *non edepol scio* gegenüber *nescio* besonders die Spaltung der Zusammensetzungen mit *per*: Plautus Casina 370 *per pol saepe peccas.* Terenz Andria 416 *per e c a s t o r scitus puer est natus Pamphilo.* Hecyra 1 *per pol quam paucos.* Gellius 2, 6, 1 *per h e r c l e rem mirandam Aristoteles — dicit*, und die Spaltung von *quicunque*: Plautus Persa 210 *quoi pol quomque occasio est.*

Also *hercle* und Genossen haben entweder die erste oder die zweite Stelle im Satz inne; sie werden, wenn sie nicht stark betont am Anfang stehen, nach Art der Enklitika behandelt. Wer nun bedenkt, dass diese Partikeln eigentlich Vokative sind (vgl. Catull 1, 7 *doctis J u p p i t e r et laboriosis*), wird sich sofort jener eigentümlichen Regel der Sanskritgram-*[S. 425]*matiker und Überlieferer der akzentuierten Vedentexte erinnern, dass der Vokativ, wenn am Satzanfang stehend, orthotoniert, wenn im Satzinnern stehend, enklitisch sei. (Vgl. die Erklärung, die Delbrück Syntakt. Forsch. V 34 f. dafür gibt.) Es kommt hinzu, dass, wenigstens in den klassischen Sprachen, auch der wirkliche Vokativ unverkennbare Neigung für die zweite Stelle im Satz zeigt.

Nun macht freilich gerade der Umstand Schwierigkeit, dass was bei den vokativischen Partikeln Gesetz ist, sich beim wirklichen Vokativ nur als Neigung zeigt. Kaum darf man wohl annehmen, dass solche Neigung Abschwächung eines ältern strengern Gesetzes war. Viel wahrscheinlicher ist das Umgekehrte, dass bei der durch *hercle* repräsentierten Kategorie von Vokativen die Neigung zur Regel geworden war, und dass sich die Anrufung eines Gottes zum Zweck der Beteuerung früh in strengerer Konventionalität bewegte, als sonstige Anrufungen von Göttern und gar als Anreden an Menschen. (Das Griechische verfährt in der Stellung des entsprechenden Ἡράκλεις und ähnlicher Anrufungen, soweit der Gebrauch der Komiker und der Redner ein Urteil gestattet, mit grosser Freiheit.) Daraus folgt aber weiter, wenn wir anders bei den Vokativen innern Zusammenhang zwischen Stellung und Betonung annehmen dürfen, dass die altindische Enklisis von Hause aus nur Neigung, nicht unbedingtes Gesetz war, und dass gelegentlich auch der nicht am Satz- oder Versanfang stehende Vokativ orthotoniert sein konnte, was dann dem Altindischen vermöge seines Generalisierungstriebs verloren ging.

Es entgeht mir nicht, dass die Neigung des Vokativs für die zweite Stelle auch ohne Hinzunahme der alten Enklisis erklärt werden könnte. Um so wertvoller ist mir, dass von ganz anderm Standpunkt der Betrachtung aus Schmalz Lateinische Syntax[2] S. 557 für den an zweiter Stelle stehenden Vokativ des Latein schwachen Ton behauptet.

XII.

Unsere neuhochdeutsche Regel (vgl. Erdmann Grundzüge der deutschen Syntax S. 181 ff., besonders 195), dass dem Verbum im Hauptsatz die zweite, im Nebensatz die letzte Stelle zu geben sei (beides mit bestimmten, in besondern Verhält-*[S. 426]*nissen begründeten Ausnahmen) hat bekanntlich der Hauptsache nach schon in der althochdeutschen Prosa und Poesie gegolten. (Vgl. ausser den Nachweisen Erdmanns besonders Tomanetz Die Relativsätze bei den ahd. Übersetzern des 8. und 9. Jahrhunderts, S. 54 ff., sowie denselben im Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum XVI (1890) 381.) Ja diese Stellungsregel kann in Rücksicht auf die deutlichen Spuren, die sich von ihr nicht bloss im Altsächsischen, sondern auch im Angelsächsischen, und weiterhin auch im Nordischen zeigen, wohl als gemein germanisch angesetzt werden. Trotzdem sind alle Forscher, die sich eingehender mit diesem germanischen Stellungsgesetz beschäftigt haben, so viel ich sehe, darin einig, die sich hier äussernde Scheidung der beiden Satzarten für unursprünglich zu erklären. Bergaigne (Mémoires Soc. de Linguistique III 139 f.), Behaghel

(Germania XXIII 284) und Ries (Die Stellung von Subjekt und Prädikatsverbum im Heliand, Quellen und Forschungen XLI [1880] S. 88 ff.) behaupten, dass die Endstellung des Verbums, wie sie im Nebensatz vorliegt, ursprünglich allen Sätzen eigen gewesen und in den Hauptsätzen nur allmählich durch eine später aufgekommene entgegengesetzt wirkende Regel verdrängt worden sei. Über das Wie und die Möglichkeit einer solchen Verdrängung haben sich aber die genannten Forscher teils nicht ausgesprochen, teils haben sie dafür Gründe beigebracht, die mit Scharfsinn ausgedacht aber alles eher als überzeugend sind: wie wenn z. B. Ries behauptet, der natürliche Trieb, das Wichtigere vor dem weniger Wichtigen zum Ausdruck zu bringen, habe darum nur im Hauptsatz und nicht auch im Nebensatz zur Annäherung des Verbums an den Anfang führen müssen, weil das Verb für den Hauptsatz einen höhern Wert habe, als für den Nebensatz!

Den entgegengesetzten Standpunkt vertritt Tomanetz (a. a. O. S. 82 ff.): er glaubt, erst durch eine allmähliche Verschiebung sei das Verb im Nebensatz ans Ende gerückt; ursprünglich habe es auch hier wie im Hauptsatz die zweite Stelle inne gehabt. So sehr sich auch Tomanetz' Ausführungen vor denen von Ries durch Einfachheit und Klarheit auszeichnen, vermag er doch nicht ohne die m. E. völlig unzulässige Annahme durchzukommen, dass ein Streben Haupt- und Nebensatz zu differenzieren wirksam gewesen sei.

[S. 427] Altindisch, Latein und Litauisch stellen das Verbum regelmässig ans Ende des Satzes. Man glaubt hierin eine Gewohnheit der Grundsprache erkennen zu können. Und gewiss wird für den Nebensatz durch das hier hinzukommende Zeugnis des Germanischen die Endstellung des Verbums als indogermanisch gesichert. Beim Hauptsatz fehlt diese Übereinstimmung und, wenn sonstige Erwägungen nicht den Entscheid geben, ist es zum mindesten ebenso gut denkbar, dass im Altindischen, Lateinischen und Litauischen etwas bloss für den Nebensatz Gültiges auf den Hauptsatz ausgedehnt worden sei, als dass das Germanische nachträglich eine Unterscheidung der beiden Satzarten eingeführt habe. Nun ist es aber ganz unwahrscheinlich, dass die Grundsprache das Verbum im Hauptsatz und im Nebensatz verschieden b e t o n t , aber doch in beiden Satzarten gleich g e s t e l l t hätte. Und weiterhin müssen wir auf Grund des früher Vorgetragenen erwarten, dass in der Grundsprache das Verbum des Hauptsatzes, weil und insofern es enklitisch war, unmittelbar hinter das erste Wort des Satzes gestellt worden sei. Mit andern Worten: das deutsche Stellungsgesetz hat schon in der Grundsprache gegolten. Dabei muss man sich gegenwärtig halten, dass nicht bloss die Sätze, die wir als Nebensätze ansehen, sondern alle als hypotaktisch empfundenen im Altindischen und somit, wie wir wohl annehmen dürfen, in der Grundsprache betontes Verbum hatten, also unter allen Umständen die Endstellung des Verbums sehr häufig vorkommen musste.

Ich will nicht verschweigen, dass die aufgestellte These einer Einschränkung fähig wäre. Für das Gesetz über die Stellung der Enklitika haben wir aus den verschiedenen Sprachen (etwa von den Vokativen abgesehen) nur solche Belege beibringen können, in denen das Enklitikum den Umfang von zwei Silben nicht überschritt. Man könnte also sagen, dass das Gesetz nur für ein- und zweisilbige Enklitika galt, mehr als zweisilbige dagegen an der dem betr. Satzteil sonst zukommenden Stellung festhielten. [sic] oder wenigstens, wenn man sich vorsichtiger ausdrücken will, dass von irgend einem bestimmten Umfang an ein Enklitikum nicht an das Stellungsgesetz der Enklitika gebunden war. Dies auf das Verbum angewandt, würde zu der Annahme führen, dass die ein- und zweisilbigen Verbalformen, oder überhaupt die kürzern Verbal-*[S. 428]*formen bis zu einem gewissen Umfang, im Hauptsatz an die zweite Stelle rückten, dass dagegen die andern Verbalformen auch im Hauptsatz die im Nebensatz herrschende Endstellung besassen. Es wäre dann weiter anzunehmen, dass das Germanische die für die kürzern Verbalformen gültige Regel generalisiert hätte. Und jedenfalls wäre dann die Praxis der das Verb überhaupt an das Ende stellenden Sprachen noch leichter verständlich.

Man wird nicht verlangen, dass ich über die Berechtigung dieser eventuellen Einschränkung meiner These ein abschliessendes Urteil abgebe. Wohl aber wird man erwarten, dass ich ein wenig weitere Umschau halte und frage, ob denn das verbale Stellungsgesetz der Grundsprache ausserhalb des Germanischen gar keine Spuren hinterlassen habe. Das Fehlen aller Anklänge an ein solches Gesetz könnte leicht Zweifel an der Richtigkeit der hier gegebenen Ausführungen rege machen.

Nun, da muss allerdings gesagt werden, dass ausser den bereits erwähnten, die Endstellung durchführenden Sprachen nicht bloss das Keltische, sondern, was bei einer derartigen Untersuchung weit schwerer ins Gewicht fällt, auch das Griechische der germanischen Weise fern steht. Man sollte erwarten, dass das Griechische, wie und weil es beim Verbum den Hauptsatz-Akzent durchgeführt hat, so auch die Hauptsatz-Stellung durchführen werde. Aber das ist bekanntlich nicht der Fall. Die Stellung des Verbums ist im Ganzen eine sehr freie.

Solchem Sachverhalt gegenüber ist es zunächst willkommen, dass gerade zwei die Endstellung bevorzugende Sprachen in einem bestimmten Fall die germanische Hauptsatzstellung aufweisen. Für das Litauische lehrt Kurschat Grammatik § 1637, dass, wenn das Prädikat aus Kopula und Nomen bestehe, gegen die allgemeine Regel nicht das Nomen vorausgehe, sondern die Kopula unmittelbar auf das Subjekt folge. Ganz ähnliches findet sich beim Verbum *esse* im Latein. Seyffert zu Ciceros Laelius 70 (S. 441[2]) hat ausgeführt, dass *esse* sich gern an das

erste Wort des Satzes anlehne, sowohl wenn dasselbe ein interrogativ oder relativ fungierenden [sic] Interrogativpronomen, als wenn es ein Demonstrativum sei oder sonst einer Wortklasse angehörte. Der Beispiele seien *[S. 429]* 'unzählig' viele. Aus dem Laelius führt er unter anderm an: § 56 *qui sint in amicitia* (Interrog.). 17 *quae est in me facultas* (Relat.). 2 *quanta esset hominum admiratio.* 53 *quam fuerint inopes amicorum.* 83 *eorum est habendus.* 5 *tum est Cato locutus.* 17 *nihil est enim.* 48 *ferream esse quandam.* 102 *omnis est e vita sublata iucunditas.*

Zu dieser Beobachtung stimmt eine weitere Erscheinung: in einem Satz, der sowohl *est, sunt* als *enim, igitur, autem* enthält, werden namentlich bei Cicero überaus oft nicht diese Partikeln trotz ihres sonst anerkannten Anspruchs auf die zweite Stelle, sondern *est, sunt* an das erste Wort des Satzes angelehnt und *enim, igitur, autem* auf die dritte Stelle zurückgedrängt. Das Richtige darüber hat Madvig gesagt zu Cicero de finibus 1, 43: ea est huius positus *(sapientia est enim)* ratio, ut elata voce in primo vocabulo, quo gravissima notio contineatur, obscuretur enclitica; in altero positu *[sapientia enim est]* vox minus in primum vocabulum incidit. — Hanc regulam contrariam prorsus Goerenzii aliorumque praeceptis, qui naturam encliticae vocis ignorantes, adseverationem aliquam in *est* secundo loco posito inesse putarunt adhibito optimorum codicum testimonio — et recta interpretatione stabilitum iri puto. (Vgl. Müller zum Laelius[2] S. 411.)

Zur weitern Bestätigung könnte man auf Stellen wie Plaut. Bacch. 274 *etiamne est quid porro* verweisen, wo die Stellung von *quid* enklitische Stellung von *est* voraussetzt. Besonders finden sich aber bei *esse* ähnliche Tmesen, wie bei den früher besprochnen Enklitika: solche von *per-* bei Cicero epistul. 3, 5, 3 (51 a. Ch.) *tunc mihi ille dixit: quod classe tu velles decedere, per fore accommodatum tibi, si ad illam maritimam partem provinciae navibus accessissem* und bei Gellius 2, 18, 1 *Phaedo Elidensis ex cohorte illa Socratica fuit Socratique et Platoni per fuit familiaris*, wo die fehlerhafte Anwendung solcher Tmesis mitten im Satzinnern den Archaisten verrät. Tmesis von *qui — cunque*: Terenz Andria 63 *cum quibus erat quomque una, eis se dedere.* Cicero de finibus 4, 69 *quod erit cunque visum, ages.* Dazu bei einer Form von *fieri*: Plautus Bacchides 252 *istius hominis ubi fit quomque mentio.*

Wenn das Latein nur bei ein, zwei Verben, wo sich die Tradition ursprünglicher Enklisis lebendig erhalten hatte, An-*[S. 430]*lehnung an das erste Satzwort kennt (und bei diesem dann natürlich in allen Satzarten), so zeigt sich im Griechischen ein solcher Rest alter Stellungsgewohnheit bei einer ganzen Anzahl von Verben, aber nur in einer bestimmten Satzform. Auf altgriechischen Inschriften finden sich oft Sätze, wo auf das Subjekt, obwohl eine appositionelle Bestimmung dazu gehört, doch zuerst das Verbum und dann erst die appositionelle Bestimmung folgt, diese also in auffälliger Weise von dem Wort, zu dem sie gehört, durch das

Verbum abgetrennt ist. Dass statt eines Subjektsnominativs auch etwa ein andrer Kasus, der an der Spitze des Satzes steht, in solcher Weise von seiner Apposition getrennt wird, und dass gelegentlich ein με dem Verbum noch vorgeschoben wird, macht keinen Unterschied. Boeckh zu CIG. 25 hat zuerst die Altertümlichkeit dieser Art von Wortstellung, Wilhelm Schulze in seiner Rezension von Meisters griech. Dialekten, Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift 1890, S. 1472 (S. 26 f. des Separatabdrucks) die sprachgeschichtliche Bedeutung derselben betont. Es wird nicht undienlich sein, hier die Beispiele zusammenzustellen.

Am häufigsten findet sich diese Stellung in Weih- und Künstlerinschriften. Mit ἀνέθηκε: CIA. 1, 357 Ἀλκίβιος ἀνέθηκεν κιθαρῳδὸς νησιώτης. 1, 376 Ἐπιχαρῖνος [ἀνέ]θηκεν ὁ Ὀ—. 1, 388 Στρονβ[ιχος ἀνέθηκε] Στρονβί[χου oder — χίδου Εὐωνυμεύς] (fast sichere Ergänzung!). 1, 399 Μηχανίω[ν] ἀνέθηκεν ὁ γραμμα[τεύς]. 1, 400 [Πυ]θογέν[εια] ἀνέθηκε[ν Ἀγ]υρρίου ἐγ [Λ]ακιαδῶ[ν]. 1, 415 Αἰσχύλος ἀνέθη[κε] Πυθέου Παιανιεύ[ς]. 4¹, 373 f. Σίμων ἀ[νέθηκε] ὁ κναφεὺς [ἔργων] δεκάτην. 4², 373, 90 Ὀνήσιμός μ᾽ ἀνέθηκεν ἀπαρχὴν Ἀθηναίᾳ ὁ Σμικύθου υἱός. 4², 373, 198 [ἡ δεῖνα ἀνέθηκεν] Εὐμηλίδου γυνὴ Σφηττόθεν. 4², 373, 12 Ξενοκλέης ἀνέθηκεν Σωσίνεω. 4², 373, 223 Χναϊάδης ἀνέθηκεν ὁ Παλ(λ)ηνεύς. 4², 373, 224 [Σ]μῖκρος ἀνέθ[ηκε —] ὁ σκυλοδεψ[ός]. 4², 373, 226 [ὁ δεῖνα ἀνέθηκε]ν Κηφισιεύς. Inschrift von der Akropolis Νέαρχος ἀν[έθηκε Νεάρχου υἱὸς ἔργων ἀπαρχήν. So nach Kabbadias Studnitzka, Jahrbuch II (1887), S. 135 ff.; Robert: Νέαρχος ἀν[έθηκε ὁ κεραμε]ύς —. CIA. 2, 1648 (augusteische Zeit!) Μετρότιμος ἀνέθηκεν Ὀῆθεν. — Inscript. graecae antiq. 48 Ἀριστομένης ἀ[ν]έθ[ηκ]ε Ἀλεξία τᾷ Δάματρι τᾷ Χθονίᾳ Ἑρμιονεύς. 96 (Tegea) [ὁ δεῖνα ἀνέ]θηκε(ν) ϝαστυόχῳ. 486 (Milet) [Ἑρ]μησιάναξ ἤμεας ἀνέθηκεν [ὁ —] — ίδεω τὠπόλλωνι. 512ᵃ (Gela) Παντάρης μ᾽ *[S. 431]* ἀνέθηκε Μενεκράτιος. 543 (achäisch) Κυνίσκος με ἀνέθηκε ὤρταμος ϝέργων δεκάταν. — Delphische Inschrift in westgriech. Alphabet, Bull. Corr. Hellén. 6, 445 τοὶ Χαροπίνου παῖδες ἀνέθεσαν τοῦ Παρίου. Naxische Inschrift von Delos ed. Homolle ibid. 12, 464 f., 12, 464 f. Εἰ(θ)υκαρτίδης μ᾽ ἀνέθηκε ὁ Νάξιος ποιήσας. — Inschriften von Naukratis I No. 218 Φάνης με ἀνέθηκε τὠπόλλων[ι τῷ Μι]λησίῳ ὁ Γλαύκου. II No. 722 Μυσός μ᾽ ἀνέθηκεν Ὀνομακρίτου. 767 [ὁ δεῖνα ἀνέθηκεν Ἀφροδ]ίτη ὁ Φ[ιλά]μμ[ωνος]. 780 Φίλις μ᾽ ἀνέθηκε οὑπικά[ρτε]ος τῇ Ἀφροδί[τῃ]. 784 Ἑρμοφάνης ἀνέθ[ηκεν] ὁ Ναυσιτέ[λευς]. 819 [Λ]άκρι[τό]ς μ᾽ ἀνέ[θη]κε οὑρμο[θ]έμ[ιος] τῇφροδί[τῃ]. — Böotische Inschrift ed. Kretschmer Hermes XXVI 123 ff. Τιμασίφιλος μ᾽ ἀνέθηκε τὠπόλλωνι τοῖ Πτωιεῖ ὁ Πραόλλειος.

Auch in Versen: CIA. 1, 398 Διογέν[ης] ἀνέθηκεν Αἰσχύλ(λ)ου υὶὸς Κεφ[α]λῆος. IGA. 95 Πραξιτέλης ἀνέθηκε Συρακόσιος τόδ᾽ ἄγαλμα. Inschrift von Naukratis II No. 876 Ἑρμαγόρης μ᾽ ἀνέθηκε ὁ Τ[ήιος] τὠπόλλωνι. Pausanias 6, 10, 7 (5. Jahrhundert) Κλεοσθένης μ᾽ ἀνέθηκεν ὁ Πόντιος ἐξ Ἐπιδάμνου. Epigramm von Ery-

thrae Kaibel No. 769 (4. Jahrhundert) [—]-θέρϲηϲ ἀνέθηκεν Ἀθηναίη πολιούχῳ παῖϲ Ζωΐλου. Von Kalymna Kaibel No. 778 (id.?) Νικίαϲ με ἀνέθηκε Ἀπόλλωνι υἱὸϲ Θραϲυμήδεοϲ. Vgl. auch CIA. 1, 403 [τόνδε Πυρῆϲ] ἀνέθηκε Πολυμνήϲτου φίλο[ϲ υἱόϲ]. IGA. 98 (Arkadisch) Τέλλων τόνδ᾽ ἀνέθηκε Δαήμονοϲ ἀγλαὸϲ υἱόϲ.

Mit lesbischem κάθθηκε: Inschriften von Naukratis II No. 788 [ὁ δεῖνα κάθ]θηκε τᾷ Ἀφροδίτᾳ ὁ Μυτιλήναιοϲ. 789 und 790 [ὁ δεῖνά με] κάθθηκε ὁ Μυτ[ιλήναιοϲ]. Vgl. 807 [Ἀφροδί]τᾳ ὁ Μ—. 814 [Ἀφροδ]ίτᾳ ὁ Κε—.

Mit ἐποίηϲε, ἐποίει: CIA. 1, 335 Πύρροϲ ἐποίηϲεν Ἀθηναῖοϲ. 1, 362 (vgl. Studnitzka Jahrbuch II [1887], S. 144) [Ε]ὐφρόνιοϲ [ἐποίηϲεν ὁ] κεραμεύϲ (die Ergänzung wohl sicher!). 1, 483 Καλλωνίδηϲ ἐποίει ὁ Δεινίου, 4, 477ᵇ [ὁ δεῖνα ἐποίηϲεν oder ἐποίει Π]άριοϲ. 4², 373, 81 Κάλων ἐποίηϲεν Αἰ[γινήτηϲ]. 4², 373, 95 [Ἄ]ρχερμοϲ ἐποίηϲεν ὁ Χῖ[οϲ]. 4², 373, 220 Λεώβιοϲ ἐποίηϲεν Πυρετιάδηϲ (oder Πυρρητιάδηϲ). IGA. 42 (Argos) Ἄτωτοϲ ἐποίϝηϝ Ἀργεῖοϲ κἈργειάδαϲ Ἀγελάδα τἈργείου. 44 (id.) Πολύκλειτοϲ ἐποίει Ἀργεῖοϲ. 44ᵃ (id.) — [ἐ]πο[ί]ϝηϝ Ἀργεῖοϲ. 47 (id.) Κρηϲίλαϲ ἐποίηϲε Κυδωνιάτ[αϲ]. 165 Ὑπατόδωροϲ Ἀριϲϲτο[γείτων] ἐποηϲάταν Θηβαίω. 348 Παιώνιοϲ ἐποίηϲε Μενδαῖοϲ. 498 Μίκων ἐποίηϲεν Ἀθηναῖοϲ. Loewy Inschriften *[S. 432]* griechischer Bildhauer No. 44ᵃ -ων ἐπόηϲε Θηβαῖοϲ. 57 Ξ[ε]νο[— ἐποίη]ϲεν Ἐλευ[θερεύϲ?] No. 58. -ου [ἐ]πόηϲεν [Σικ]ελιώτηϲ. 96 Κλέων ἐπόηϲε Σικυώνιοϲ. 103 [Δαίδαλοϲ ἐπ]οίηϲε Πατροκλέ[ουϲ]. 135ᵈ (S. 388) [Σπ]ουδίαϲ ἐποίηϲε Ἀθηναῖοϲ. 277 Τιμόδαμοϲ Τ[ιμοδάμου ἐ]ποίηϲε Ἀμπρα[κιώτηϲ]. 297 (Apotheose Homers) Ἀρχέλαοϲ Ἀπολλωνίου ἐποίηϲε Πριηνεύϲ. 404 Νίκανδροϲ ἐ[ποίηϲεν] Ἄνδ[ριοϲ]. Klein Griechische Vasen mit Meistersignaturen S. 72 Εὔχειροϲ ἐποίηϲεν οὐργοτίμου υἱϲ (zweimal). S. 73 Ἐργοτέληϲ ἐποίηϲεν ὁ Νεάρχου. S. 202 Ξενόφαντοϲ ἐποίηϲεν Ἀθην[αῖοϲ]. S. 202, 1 und 2 Τειϲίαϲ ἐποίηϲεν Ἀθηναῖοϲ. S. 213 Κρίτων ἐποίηϲεν Λε(ι)ποῦϲ ὕϲ d. i. υἱόϲ, nach der Lesung von Studnitzka Jahrbuch II 1887 S. 144. Pausanias 6, 9, 1 τὸν δὲ ἀνδριάντα οἱ Πτολίχοϲ ἐποίηϲεν Αἰγινήτηϲ, was auf eine Originalinschrift Πτόλιχοϲ ἐποίηϲεν Αἰγινήτηϲ schliessen lässt (vgl. Boeckh zu CIG. 25).

Auch in Versen: CIA. 4², 373, 105 Θηβάδηϲ ἐ[πόηϲε —]-νου παῖϲ τόδ᾽ ἄγαλμα. Inschrift von der Akropolis ed. Studnitzka Jahrbuch II 1887 S. 135 ff. Ἀντήνωρ ἐπ[όηϲεν ʼ]ο Εὐμάρουϲ τ[όδ᾽ ἄγαλμα] IGA. 410 Ἀλξήνωρ ἐποίηϲεν ὁ Νάξιοϲ, ἀλλ᾽ ἐϲίδεϲθε. Auch 349 Εὔφρων ἐξεποίηϲ᾽ οὐκ ἀδαὴϲ Πάριοϲ.

Mit ἔγραφεν, ἔγραψεν, γράφει IGA. 482ᶜ Τήλεφοϲ μ᾽ ἔγραφε ὁ Ἰαλύϲιοϲ. Klein Griechische Vasen mit Meistersignaturen. S. 29 Τιμωνίδα[ϲ μ᾽] ἔγραψε Βία. S. 196, 7 Εὐθυμίδηϲ ἔγραψεν ὁ Πολ(λ)ίου (zweimal). Ebenso ist 194, 2 (nach der Abbildung in Gerhards Vasenbildern 188) und ebenso 195 zu lesen, beides nach Dümmler. Kyprische Inschrift No. 147ʰ bei Meister Griechische Dialekte II 148 -οικόϲ με γράφει Ϲελαμίνιοϲ.

Mit verschiedenen Synonymis obiger Verba: IGA. 48 (Argos) [Δ]ωρόθεος ἐ-
ϝ[ε]ργάϲατο Ἀργεῖοϲ. 555ᵃ (Opus?) Πρίκων ἔ[π]α[ξα Κο]λώτα. Kyprische In-
schrift No. 73 Deecke Γιλίκα ἀμὲ κατέϲταϲε ὁ Στασικρέτεος.

Mit εἰμί: IGA. 387 (Samos) [Π]όμπιόϲ εἰμι τοῦ Δημοκρίνεος. 492 (Sigeum) io-
nischer Text: Φανοδίκου εἰμὶ τοὐρμοκράτεος τοῦ Προκοννηϲίου; attischer Text:
Φ. εἰμὶ τοῦ Ἑρμοκράτους τοῦ Π. 522 (Sizilien) Λογγηναῖόϲ εἰμι δημόϲιος. 528
(Cumae) Δημοχαρίδόϲ εἰμι τοῦ —. 551 (Antipolis) Τέρπων εἰμὶ θεᾶϲ θεράπων ϲεμ-
νῆϲ Ἀφροδίτηϲ. Rhodische Inschrift bei Kirchhoff Studien zur Gesch. des griech.
Alph.⁴ S. 49 Φιλτοῦϲ ἠμι τᾶϲ καλᾶϲ ἁ κύλιξ ἁ ποικίλα. Kyprische Inschr. 1 Deecke
Πρα-[*S. 433*]τοτίμω ἠμὶ τᾶϲ Παφίαϲ τῶ ἱερῆϝος. 16 D. τᾶϲ θεῶ ἠμι τᾶϲ Παφίαϲ
(ebenso 65. 66 Hoffm.). 23 D. Τιμοκύπραϲ ἠμὶ Τιμοδάμω. 78 H. Σταϲαγόρου ἠμὶ
τῶ Σταϲάνδρω. 79 H. Τιμάνδρω ἠμὶ τῶ Ὀναϲαγόρου. 88 H. Πνυτίλλαϲ ἠμὶ τᾶϲ
Πνυταγόραυ παιδόϲ. 121 H. Διϝειθέμιτόϲ ἠμι τῶ βαϲιλῆϝος.

Daran schliesst sich IGA. 543 τᾶϲ Ἥραϲ ἱαρόϲ εἰμι τᾶϲ ἐν πεδίῳ, wo ein Adjek-
tiv verbunden mit εἶναι die Stelle des Verbums vertritt, und daran wieder die Bei-
spiele, wo ein Adjektiv ohne εἶναι das Prädikat bildet: Klein Die griechischen Va-
sen mit Lieblingsinschriften S. 44 Λέαγροϲ καλόϲ ὁ παῖϲ. S. 68 Παντοξένα καλὰ
Κοριν(θ)ί[α], wie das von Klein gegebene aber nicht erklärte KOPINOI wohl zu
lesen ist. S. 81 Γλαύκων καλὸϲ Λεάγρου. S. 82 Δρόμιππος καλὸϲ Δρομοκλείδου,
Δίφιλος καλὸϲ Μελανώπου. S. 83 Λίχας καλὸϲ Σάμιος, Ἀλκιμ[ή]δηϲ καλὸϲ Αἰϲ-
χυλίδου. S. 85 Ἀλκίμαχος καλὸϲ Ἐπιχάρους.

Ausserhalb der bisher aufgeführten Kategorien liegen CIA. 4², 337ᵃ Κλεισθένης
ἐχορήγει Αὐτοκράτους. IGA. 110, 9 (Elis) ἐν τῇπιάροι κ’ ἐνέχοιτο τοῖ ’νταῦτ’
ἐγρα(μ)μένοι. CIG. 7806 Ἀκαμαντὶϲ ἐνίκα φυλή.

Unter den aufgeführten Beispielen von ἀνέθηκε und κάθθηκε enthalten drei-
zehn ausser Subjekt, Verbum und Apposition auch noch einen Dativ, drei (CIA.
4¹, 373 f. IGA. 95. 543) einen substantivischen Akkusativ, 4², 373, 90 beides. Wäh-
rend nun der blosse Akkusativ überall auf die Apposition folgt (vgl. auch CIA.
4², 373, 105 Θηβάδης ἐ[πόηϲε —]νου παῖϲ τόδ’ ἄγαλμα, sowie die Inschrift des
Antenor), findet sich der Dativ nur viermal (IGA. 486. Naukratis II 780. 819. 876)
hinter der Apposition, achtmal (Naukratis I 218. II 767. 788. 807. 814. Hermes 26,
123. Kaibel 769. 778) davor; endlich in IGA. 48 folgt auf das Verbum zunächst
der Genetiv des Vaternamens, dann der Dativ des Götternamens samt Epitheton
und dann erst das zum Subjekt gehörige nominativische Ethnikon. In CIA. 4²,
373, 90 sind Akkusativ und Dativ zusammen zwischen Verbum und Apposition
eingeschoben. — Diese Voranstellung der zum Verb gehörigen Kasus vor die Ap-
position ist leicht verständlich; das Verb attrahiert seine Bestimmungen.

Aus diesem Typus erklärt sich die seltsame Wortfolge in CIA. 4², 373, 82, er-
gänzt von Studnitzka Jahrbuch II 1887 S. 143: Κρίτων Ἀθηναίᾳ ὁ Σκύθου ἀν[έθηκε

καὶ ἐ]ποίη[cε] oder [ἐ]ποίει. Der Verfasser der Inschrift hatte zunächst die kon-
ventionelle Wortfolge Κρίτων ἀνέθηκεν Ἀθηναίᾳ ὁ Σκύθου vor Augen
und liess hiernach, als er durch die Beifügung von καὶ ἐποίηcε genötigt war,
ἀνέθηκε hinter die Apposition zu rücken, doch den Dativ Ἀθηναίᾳ vor der Ap-
position stehen.

Loewy Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer S. XV glaubt erweisen zu können,
dass diese Wortstellung über die ersten Jahrzehnte des vierten Jahrhunderts hin-
aus nicht üblich gewesen sei (vgl. auch CIA. 2, 1621—1648 und die von Köhler zu
No. 1621 verzeichneten Künstlerinschriften). Die paar spätern Beispiele darf man
füglich als Archaismen betrachten, zumal zwei derselben (Loewy 277. 297, s. oben
S. 431) durch Voranstellung des Genetivs des Vaternamens vor das Verbum von
der ursprünglichen Weise abgehen. Ausnahmslose Herrschaft dieser Stellungs-
gewohnheit kann man auch für frühere Zeit nicht behaupten (Hoffmann Griech.
Dialekte I 324), und namentlich weisen die attischen Weihinschriften zahlreiche
Gegenbeispiele auf. Aber sehr mächtig und zu gewissen Zeiten und in gewissen
Gegenden entschieden vorherrschend war diese Gewohnheit doch, um so berech-
tigter ist Schulze's Auffassung derselben als eines indogermanischen Erbteils.

Das Altindische liefert augenfällige Parallelen. (Delbrück Syntaktische For-
schungen III 51 ff. V 23 f.). Häufig sind in der Brahmanasprache Sätze, die mit *sa*
oder *sa ha* "dieser eben" beginnen, darauf gleich das Verbum, meist *uvāca*, folgen
lassen, und dann erst die nähere Bezeichnung der vorher mittelst des Pronomens
angekündigten Person beifügen z. B. *sá hovāca gárgyaḥ, sá āikṣata prajāpatiḥ*.
Ähnlich Cat. Br. 3, 1, 3, 4 *tá u hāitá ūcur devá ādityáḥ*. Manchmal ist auch das Sub-
jekt stärker belastet; manchmal, unter dem Einfluss der Gewohnheit den Satz mit
dem Verbum zu schliessen, die Apposition zwar vom Pronomen getrennt, aber
doch dem Verbum vorangeschickt.

Weiterhin findet sich nun auch in denselben indischen Texten auffälliges Set-
zen des Verbums an zweite Stelle, wenn der Satz mit *íti ha, tád u ha, tád u sma,
ápi ha* beginnt. Es handelt sich dabei meist um die Verba *uvāca, āha*; der Name
des Sprechers folgt dann erst nach dem Verbum. Also ganz die Weise deutscher
Sätze mit Inversion.

<div align="right">Jacob Wackernagel.</div>

Nachträge

zu Abschnitt II S. 346—351 (betr. die Inschriften mit με, ἐμέ).

Zu S. 346, 351: IGA. 351 (lokrisch) [Π]εριφόνᾳ [ἀνέθη]κέ με (oder -κ ἐμέ?) Ξενάγατος muss wegen des Zustandes der Inschrift ausser Betracht fallen; vgl. Röhl z. d. St.

Zu S. 349: CIA. 4², 373, 103 Οὐνπορίωνος Φίλων με ἐποίησεν. — Inschrift von Metapont Collitz 1643 Νικόμαχός μ' ἐπόει. — Vaseninschrift Klein S. 65 No. 48 nach Six Gazette archéol. 1888, 193 Νικοσθένης εμ (Six: μ' ἐ-)ποίησεν.

Zu S. 351: ἐμέ noch zweimal an zweiter Stelle in der alten Vaseninschrift bei Pottier Gazette archéol. 1888, 168: ἐκεράμευσεν ἐμεὶ Οἰκωφέλης und Οἰκωφ(έ)λης ἔμ' ἔγραψεν (geschrieben εγραεφσεν). Vgl. auch ibid. 1888, 180: -πόλον ἐμέ.

Verzeichnis der kritisch behandelten Stellen

J. W.

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Subject index

On a law of Indo-European word order

Jacob Wackernagel's 1892 essay on second-position enclitics in the Indo-European languages has long been hailed as groundbreaking in both historical and theoretical linguistics. Until now, however, it has only been available in the original German. This book provides a full translation into English, including glossed and translated examples from several early Indo-European languages and varieties and full bibliographical details of the references drawn upon, as well as a new edition of the German original. It should be of interest to researchers in historical and Indo-European linguistics and in general linguistics working on the interfaces between morphology, prosody and syntax.