SYNTAX
OF
THE MOODS AND TENSES
OF
THE GREEK VERB

William Watson Goodwin

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SYNTAX
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THE GREEK VERB

BY
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REWRITTEN AND ENLARGED

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PREFACE.

The present work is the result of an attempt to revise the much smaller book which was first published under the same title in 1860, and again, somewhat enlarged, in 1865. When it falls to the lot of a writer to revise, under the greater sense of responsibility which doubled years and more than doubled experience have brought him, a book written in the enthusiasm of youth as an ephemeral production, he is sure to be his own severest critic; and what he begins as a revision inevitably becomes, as he proceeds, more and more a new and independent work. I cannot forget that this book is addressed in great part to a different generation of scholars from that to which the former one was offered; and a treatment of the subject which was permissible in 1860 would be far from satisfactory now. I then attempted chiefly to give "a plain and practical statement of the principles which govern the relations of the Greek Moods and Tenses," avoiding theoretical discussions as far as possible. At that time prevailing theories, based chiefly on abstract speculations, had obscured some of the most important facts in the syntax of the moods, and perhaps no better service could be rendered by a new writer than the clearing away of some of the clouds. Few younger scholars are aware how modern are many of the grammatical doctrines which are now taught in all classical schools. It is hard to believe that so elementary a principle as that by which the aorist infinitive is past in ἐνσίν ἔλθεῖν and future in βουλεῖται ἔλθεῖν was never distinctly stated until 1847, when it appeared simultaneously in the Greek
Syntax of Professor Madvig at Copenhagen and in the Greek Grammar of Professor Sophocles at Harvard University. Something more than mere statement of facts has been attempted in the present work, although nothing has been further from my thoughts than a complete theoretical discussion of all the principles which govern the use of the moods. He who ventures far upon that sea is in great danger of being lost in the fog or stranded; for, while Comparative Philology has thrown much and most welcome light on the early history of the Greek language, it has also made us more painfully aware of our ignorance, although it is a more enlightened ignorance than that of our predecessors.

Since the publication of the first edition, many most important additions have been made to our resources. Of these I can undertake to notice only a few. Delbrück’s elaborate treatise on the Greek Subjunctive and Optative (in his Syntaktische Forschungen, vol. i.), with a comparison of Greek and Sanskrit usages, is familiar to all scholars. Whatever may be thought of Delbrück’s main thesis, the distinction of the subjunctive as the mood of will from the optative as the mood of wish, none can fail to be impressed and instructed by his attractive and original treatment of the subject, which has made an epoch in grammatical science. Lange’s unfinished work on the Particle Ei in Homer is a model of careful and thorough investigation. When I think of my deep and continued indebtedness to Lange’s learned discussions, which include a treatment of all the 200 examples of eι with the optative in Homer, I am grieved to dissent so frequently from his most important conclusions. His chief argument is discussed in Appendix I. Schanz, in his Beiträge zur Griechischen Syntax, has undertaken a work of immense extent, involving an amount of labour which it is hard to over-estimate. His plan is to give full and accurate statistics of the use of every construction bearing on the history of Greek syntax, and thus to make a true historic syntax of the language a possibility. The work of collecting, classifying, and discussing the examples of different constructions has been assigned by him
to a large number of colleagues, and every year testifies to substantial progress. The following treatises bearing on the construction of the moods and tenses have already been published by Schanz: Weber, Entwicklungsgeschichte der Absichtssätze; Sturm, Geschichtliche Entwicklung der Constructionen mit ἠπόβασις; Schmitt, Über den Ursprung des Substantivsatzes mit Relativpartikeln im Griechischen; Grünewald, Der freie formelhafte Infinitiv der Limitation im Griechischen; Birklein, Entwicklungsgeschichte des substantivirten Infinitivus. The amount of patient labour devoted to these compilations, in which the exact number of examples of each construction in each Greek author before Aristotle is given, while the most important passages are quoted and nearly all are cited, will be most gratefully appreciated by those who would be least willing to undertake the work themselves. The results of such dry enumerations are often interesting and surprising. No one knows whether statistics will be dry and barren or not, until they are collected and classified; and though it may seem a useless task to count the examples of each of the final particles in all Greek literature before Aristotle, it is interesting to know that in all the Attic prose, except Xenophon, ὅς final occurs only five or six times, while ἵνα occurs 999 times. Some of the results derived from Weber's statistics of the use of the final particles are given in Appendix III., and an account of Xenophon's peculiar use of ὅς, ὅς ἵνα, and ἄντως ἵνα in Appendix IV., for the benefit of those who have not Weber's book at hand, or want the patience to follow his elaborate historical statements. Monro's Homeric Grammar is one of the best results of recent English scholarship, and for the study of Homeric usages in the moods it is invaluable. I regret that the new edition of this book, soon to be published, has not come in time to benefit the present work. It seems a mere form to acknowledge my obligations to the standard Grammars; but I must repeat my former expression of thanks to Madvig, Krüger, and Kühner, not to mention a host of others. To Madvig I am indebted for the first conviction that the syntax of the Greek moods belonged
to the realm of common sense. To Krüger I have been indebted in the study of every construction; and I have still retained most of the remarks on the tenses of the indicative which were originally borrowed from him. The revised edition of Kühner’s *Griechische Grammatik* has supplied a large store of examples, to which I have frequently had recourse. I am under especial obligation to him for many of the examples which illustrate the uses of the Supplementary Participle, and the corresponding uses of the infinitive with many of the same verbs. Frequent references are made in the notes to the authorities which I have mentioned, and to many others.

It is with pride and pleasure that I acknowledge my deepest indebtedness to an Americanscholar, whose writings have thrown light upon most of the dark places in Greek syntax. I need not say that I refer to my friend, Professor Gildersleeve of Baltimore. As editor of the *American Journal of Philology* he has discussed almost every construction of the Greek moods, and he has always left his mark. His two reviews of Weber’s work on the Final Sentence in vols. iv. and vi. of his *Journal* may well save many scholars the trouble of reading the book itself, while they contain much new matter which is valuable to every one. The acute observation, that the use of ἀν and κε in final constructions depends on the force of ὁς, ὑπὸς, and ὅφρα as conditional relative or temporal adverbs, explains much which before seemed inexplicable. His article on πρὶν in vol. ii. stated important principles of classic usage which were confirmed by Sturm’s statistics; and this, with the later review of Sturm’s volume, has done much to correct current errors and to establish sounder views about πρὶν. His articles on the Articular Infinitive in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association* for 1878 and in the third volume of his *Journal* practically anticipated the results of Birklein’s statistics. I can mention further only his article in vol. vii. of the *Journal* on the Consecutive Sentence, which gives (it seems to me) the clearest statement ever made of the relations of ὁστε with the infinitive to ὀστε with the finite moods. I have expressed my
indebtedness to these and other writings of Gildersleeve as occasion has required; but I have also often referred to his articles in his Journal by the simple mention of that periodical. I have sometimes omitted a reference where one might seem proper, lest I should appear to make him responsible for what he might deem some dangerous heresy.

I am also under the greatest obligation to my friends and colleagues in Harvard University, Professors Allen, Greenough, Lane, Lanman, White, and Wright, and Dr. Morgan, for valuable suggestions, and to most of them for important help in revising and proof-reading. I regret that I have not had the advantage of their aid in reading the proofs of the last two-thirds of the work. To my friendship of twenty-one years with Dr. Henry Jackson, of Trinity College, Cambridge, I am indebted for some of the most important suggestions which I have received since the publication of the former editions.

The Index to the Examples includes all of the more than 4800 examples quoted or cited in the main body of the work, but not those in the Appendix nor those which are given in the classified lists in the footnotes on pp. 92, 115, 152, 172, and 290. It may seem useless to index many examples which merely illustrate a common principle, like those of a simple aorist infinitive or present indicative; but it would be difficult to discriminate here, and one seldom knows what may make an example useful to another. The same consideration has induced me to give as great a variety of examples as possible, from authors of different classes, illustrating many constructions which apparently need no such aid.

Every teacher will see that many parts of this work, in its present enlarged form, are not adapted to the ordinary uses of a grammatical text-book for the recitation room. On the other hand, it is hoped that the increased fulness and the greater space given to discussions will make the work more useful for private study and for reference.

The Dramatists are cited by Dindorf's lines; except the tragic fragments, which follow Nauck's edition, and the
comic fragments, which follow Kock. The lyric fragments follow Bergk's *Poetae Lyrici*. Plato is cited by the pages and letters of Stephanus, and the Orators by the numbers of the orations and the sections now in universal use. The other citations will be easily understood.

In conclusion, I must express my grateful thanks to the University Libraries of Heidelberg and Leyden, and to the Royal Library at The Hague, for the hospitality which was kindly shown me while I was correcting the proofs.

W. W. GOODWIN.

**Pallanza, Lago Maggiore,**

*24th September 1889.*

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In the impression of 1897 many errors have been corrected, some forms of expression have been changed, and some new examples have been added. The most important change is that in §§ 572 and 573; this is further explained in the new Appendix VI, page 411. A list of the new examples is given on page 440, omitting those which have been inserted in the regular Index.

**Rome, November 1896.**
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CHAPTER I.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE MOODS.

1. The Mood of a verb shows the manner in which the assertion of the verb is made.

The Greek verb has four moods, properly so called,—the indicative, the subjunctive, the optative, and the imperative. The infinitive, which is a verbal noun, and the participle and the verbal in -τέος, which are verbal adjectives, are so closely connected with the moods in many constructions, that they are discussed with them in Syntax.

The four proper moods, as opposed to the infinitive, are sometimes called the finite moods. The subjunctive, optative, imperative, and infinitive, as opposed to the indicative, are sometimes called the dependent moods.

I. INDICATIVE.

2. The indicative, in its most primitive use, makes a simple, absolute assertion, or asks a question which includes or concerns such an assertion. E.g.

Γράφει, he is writing; ἔγραψεν, he was writing; ἔγραψεν, he wrote; γράψει, he will write. Γράφει; is he writing? ἔγραψετε; did you write? γράψετε; will you write? τί ἔγραψεν; what did he write?

3. The indicative may also express
(a) A dependent statement (or quotation) of such an absolute assertion or question. E.g.

Λέγει δὲ γράφει, he says that he is writing (he says γράφω); λέγει δὲ γράφει, he says that he will write (he says γράψω); ἐρωτᾷ τί ἔγραψαμεν, he asks what we wrote; ἐρωτᾷ εἰ ἔγραψα, he asks whether I wrote.

Σ Β
(b) A distinct statement of an object aimed at or feared. *E.g.*

'Επιμελεῖται ὁ θόρος τοῦτο γενήσεται, he takes care that this shall be done (339); φοβοῦμεθα μὴ ἀμφοτέρων ἡμαρτήκαμεν, we fear that we have missed both (369, 2).

(c) A distinct supposition of an absolute statement, that is, a supposition that such a statement is, was, or will be true. *E.g.*

Εἰ γράφει, if he is writing; εἰ γράφεν, if he wrote; εἰ γέγραφε, if he has written; εἰ γράφει, if he shall write or if he is to write. What is supposed in each case could be expressed by γράφει, γράφεν, γέγραφε, or γράφει.

4. The past tenses of the indicative may, further, express a supposition that some statement either had been or were now true, while it is implied that really it was not or is not true. *E.g.*

Εἰ γέγραψα, if I had written; εἰ γέγραψον, if I were now writing or if I had been writing; the context indicating that really I did not write or am not writing (410). These expressions originally always referred to the past, as they do in Homer.

5. Out of the form of unreal supposition (4) were developed after Homer the use of the past tenses of the indicative with εἴθε or εἴ γάρ in wishes (732); and also the Attic construction of the past tenses of the indicative to express an unaccomplished purpose (333), where there is an assimilation of the final clause to a preceding indicative. *E.g.*

Εἰ γάρ τοῦτο ἐπιφίλησα, O if I had only done this! Εἴθε τοῦτο εἴχα, O if you only had this!

Εἴθε τοῦτο ἐπιφίλησα, ἣν μὴ τοῦτο ἐπιφίλησα, would that I had then perished, that I might not have suffered this.

For the indicative with ἄν or κέ, the potential indicative, see 243.

II. SUBJUNCTIVE.

6. (a) The subjunctive, in its simplest and apparently most primitive use, seen in Homer (284), expresses futurity, like the future indicative, and has ὅδε for its negative. *E.g.*

Οὐ γάρ τω τολάν ἐδον ἀνέρας ὃδε ἔφθασεν, for never did I see such men nor shall I ever see them, Π. i. 262; καὶ ποτὲ τις εἰπητει, and some one will some time say, Π. vi. 453.

(b) Though this primitive use disappears in the later language,
the subjunctive still remains closely related in sense to the future indicative, and in most of its constructions can be interchanged with it.

7. The subjunctive in questions of appeal as to the future (287) has, even in Homer, developed the idea of propriety or expediency. E.g.

Αδει μίν ον ἐθεώ; shall I remain here or run? Ν. x. 62. So πη ἐω; whether shall I go? Ο. xv. 509. But the future indicative can be used in the same sense; as τι δήτα δράμεν; μητέρι ἡ φωνεύσομεν; what are we to do? shall we slay our mother? Ευρ. Εί. 967. (See 68.)

8. (a) In exhortations and in prohibitions with μη (250-259) the subjunctive has an imperative force, and is always future; as in Ιξωμεν, let us go; μη θαυμάσητε, do not wonder.

The future indicative occasionally occurs in prohibitions with μη (70).

(b) The subjunctive with μη, especially in Homer, may express a future object of fear with a desire to avert it; as in μη νης ἐλωσι, may they not seize the ships (as I fear they will). (See 261.) From such expressions combined with verbs of fearing arose the dependent use of μη with the subjunctive expressing a future object of fear; as φοβούμαι μη ἀπόλησαι, I fear that he may perish.

9. In the constructions with οὐ μη (294) the subjunctive and the future indicative are used, without apparent distinction, in a future sense; as οὐ μη γενήσται and οὐ μη γενήσεται, it will not happen.

10. The subjunctive may express a future purpose or a future object of care or exertion. E.g.

Ερχεται ὡς τοῦτο ἰδώ, he comes that he may see this (317); ἐπιμελέται ὡς τοῦτο γενήσται (or γενήσεται), he takes care that this shall be done (339). In clauses of purpose the future indicative is sometimes used (324), and in the construction of 339 it became the regular Attic form.

11. In conditional clauses the subjunctive expresses either a future supposition (444), or a general supposition which is indefinite (never strictly present) in its time (462).

(a) In the former it supposes such a future case as the Homeric subjunctive (6) states; as ἵνα τις εἰπη, ὅπερ one shall say (the thing supposed being εἰπῃ τις, one will say); here the future indicative may be used
in essentially the same sense (447). In the general condition it
supposes an event to occur at any time, as we say if any one ever goes
or whoever goes, with an apodosis expressing repetition or a general
truth; as εἰ δὲν τις κλέψῃ (or ὅποι ὁ κλέπτης), κολαξεῖται, if any one steals
(or whoever steals), he is always punished.

(b) The subjunctive in general suppositions is the only subjunctive
which does not refer to future time, and here the future indicative can
never be used. In most other languages (as in English and generally
in Latin), and sometimes in Greek, such a condition is expressed by
the present indicative, like an ordinary present supposition; but the
Greek, in its desire to avoid a form denoting present time, generally
fell into one which it uses elsewhere only for future time. The con-
struction, however, appears in Homer imperfectly established, except
in relative clauses (468): this indicates that it does not belong to
the primitive uses of the subjunctive. (See 17.)

For the Homeric subjunctive with κε or ἢν in independent
sentences, which does not differ perceptibly in meaning from the future
with κε or ἢν, see 201, 1.

III. OPTATIVE.

12. The optative is commonly a less distinct and direct
form of expression than the subjunctive, imperative, or
indicative, in constructions of the same general character as
those in which these moods are used.

13. This is seen especially in independent sentences,
where the optative either expresses a wish or exhortation,
or is used (regularly with ἢν or κε) in a potential sense.

Thus ἐπὶ οὖν, may we go, corresponds as a weaker form to ἐμὲν, let
us go. Corresponding to ἐξέλθων τις ἔδει, let some one go out and see,
we have ἐξέλθων τις ἔδει, may some one go out and see, Od. xxiv. 491.
Ελείτω ὅν, he would take or he might take, corresponds to the Homeric
ἐλπιτε or ἐλπιτει κε, he will take or he may take (201, 1).

We find in Homer a few optatives expressing concession or per-
mission, which have a neutral sense and can hardly be classed as
either potential or wishing. See Π. iv. 17, εἰ δ’ ἄφιν τᾶς σι αἰτι-φίλον καὶ ἴδον πέλειον, ἦ τοι μαν οἰκείοτο πόλις Πριάμοιο ἀνακτος,
ἄτις δ’ Ἀργείην Ἐλένην Μενέλαος ἄγοιτο, where we may translate
the apodosis either let the city still be a habitation and let M. carry away
Helen, or the city may still be a habitation and M. may carry away
Helen. In iii. 72 we have γνωσθάτε οὐκαρο’ ἄγεσθω, and in iii. 255
τῷ δὲ κε νικήσαντι γυνῇ καὶ κτήμαθ’ ἐποίτο, where ἄγεσθω and
ἐποίτο κε refer to essentially the same thing with ἄγοιτο in iv. 19.
Following Π. iii. 255 (above) we have οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι ναύοιμεν Τροιῆν,
τοί δὲ νέοντα, i.e. the rest of us may remain dwellers in Troy, while
they will return to Greece. From such neutral future expressions were probably developed the two distinct uses of the optative. In its hortatory sense as a form of wishing, the optative was distinguished by the use of μή as a negative; while in its potential sense it had оυ as its negative (as in ου μήν γάρ τι κακύτερον ἄλλο πάθομι, for really I can suffer nothing worse, Il. xix. 321), and it was soon further marked by the addition of κέ or ἄν. (See Appendix I)

14. In dependent clauses expressing purpose or the object of exertion or of fear, the optative is never an original form; but it always represents a dependent subjunctive or future indicative (8, 6; 10) in the changed relation in which either of them is placed when its leading verb is changed from present or future to past time.

We represent this change in English by a change from may to might, or from shall or will to should or would; as ἔρχεται ἵνα ἔρθῃ, he comes that he may see, ἦλθεν ἵνα ἔδω, he came that he might see; ἐπιμελεῖται ὅπως τοῦτο γενήσεται, he takes care that this shall be done, ἐπιμελεῖτο ὅπως τότῳ γενήσοιτο, he took care that this should be done; φοβεῖται μή τούτο πάθη, he fears that he may suffer this; φοβεῖτο μή τούτῳ παθήσω, he feared that he might suffer this. Here the original subjunctive or future indicative (especially the latter) is very often used in place of the optative.

15. In all forms of indirect discourse the same principle (14) holds, that the optative after past tenses represents (in a changed relation) an indicative or a subjunctive of the direct form, which original mood is always used after present and future tenses, and may be retained after past tenses (607, 1).

Here again we see what the change is, for we represent it by our change from is to was, have to had, shall and will to should and would, etc.; as λέγει ὅτι ἄλλης ἐστίν, he says that it is true; ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἄλλης ἐιν (or ἐστίν), he said that it was true; λέγει ὅτι γράψει, he says that he will write; ἔλεγεν ὅτι γράψω (or γράψει), he said that he would write. So οἶκον οἶδα τί εἶπο, I know not what I shall say; οἶκον οἶδαν τί εἶπομέν (or εἶπο), I knew not what I should say.

16. In future conditions the optative expresses the supposition in a weakened future form, as compared with the stronger future of the subjunctive and the future indicative.

Compare ἄν ἔλθω, if I (shall) go (444), with εἰ ἔλθωμεν, if I should go (455). Often the form of the leading sentence (the apodosis) decides whether a given supposition shall be expressed by a subjunctive or by an optative; thus in ἰδ. iv. 11 we have ἄν ὅστοι τί πάθη, if any-
thing happens (shall happen) to him (Philip), depending on ποιήσετε; and in the next sentence, referring to precisely the same contingency, we have εἴ τι πάθος, depending on two optatives with ἀν.

17. The only remaining form of dependent optative is that found in past general suppositions, as εἴ τις κλέψειεν (or δς κλέψειεν), ἐκολάζετο, if ever any one stole (or whoever stole), he was (always) punished (462: 531).

Here the optative after a past tense represents an original subjunctive after a present tense (11), differing in this from the optative in future conditions (16), which is in an original construction. The late development of this optative appears from its almost total absence in protasis with εἴ in Homer (468), where the corresponding subjunctive in protasis is also infrequent. It may therefore be disregarded in considering the primitive uses of the optative. (See 11, b.)

For a more full discussion of the relations of the optative to the other moods, see Appendix I.

IV. Imperative.

18. The imperative expresses a command, exhortation, entreaty, or prohibition (250 and 259). E.g.

Phiγγε, be gone! Ἑλθέω, let him come. Δόσ μοι τοῦτο, give me this. Μὴ ποίει ἁδικα, do not do what is unjust.
CHAPTER II.

THE TENSES.

19. There are seven Tenses,—the present, imperfect, perfect, pluperfect, aorist, future, and future perfect. The imperfect and pluperfect occur only in the indicative; the futures are wanting in the subjunctive and imperative.

20. These tenses may express two relations. They may designate the time of an action as present, past, or future; and also its character as going on, finished, or simply taking place. The latter relation is expressed by the tenses in all the moods and in the infinitive and the participle; the former is always expressed in the indicative, and to a certain extent (to be explained below) in the dependent moods and the participle.

21. The tenses are divided into primary tenses, which denote present or future time, and secondary or historical tenses, which denote past time. This distinction applies properly only to the tenses of the indicative; but it may be extended to any forms of the dependent moods which have the same distinction of time as the tenses of the indicative.

The primary tenses of the indicative are the present (in its ordinary uses), perfect, future, and future perfect. The secondary tenses are the imperfect, pluperfect, and aorist (in its ordinary uses).

This distinction will be more fully explained at the end of this chapter (165-191). It must be noted that the historic present (33) is a secondary tense, and the gnostic aorist (154) is a primary tense.

22. In speaking of the time denoted by any verb, we must distinguish between time which is present, past, or future with
reference to the time of speaking or writing (that is, time absolutely present, etc.), and time which is present, past, or future with reference to the time of some verb with which the verbal form in question is connected (that is, time relatively present, etc.) Thus, when we say τούτο ἄληθες ἦστιν, this is true, ἦστιν is present with reference to the time of speaking; but when we say ἔφη τούτο ἄληθες εἶναι or εἶπεν ὅτι τούτο ἄληθες ἦστιν (or εἶπ), he said that this was true, (i.e. he said “this is true”), the present tense which we use denotes time present to the time of the leading verb, i.e. time absolutely past and only relatively present. The same distinction is seen between the future in τούτο γενήσεται, this will happen, and that in ἔφη τούτο γενήσεται or εἶπεν ὅτι γενήσεται (γενήσεται), he said that this would happen; where the future in the first case is absolutely future, but in the other cases is only relatively future and may be even absolutely past. Again, in τούτο ἐγένετο, this happened, the aorist is absolutely past; but in ἔφη τούτο γένοσθαι, or εἶπεν ὅτι τούτο ἐγένετο (or γένοσθαι), he said that this had happened, it denotes time past to the time of the past leading verb, and so is doubly past. But in connection with a future expression an aorist, though relatively past, may be absolutely future; as in Plat. Rep. 478 D, τὸ φανέρωκεν as subject of ἔσοθαί means that which will hereafter have appeared. So διάπραξάμενοι in 496 E. (See 143.)

It is a special distinction between the Greek and the English idioms, that the Greek uses its verbal forms much more freely to denote merely relative time. Thus, we translate the Greek presents εἶμαι and ἦστι after ἔφη or εἶπεν (above) by our was; the futures γενήσεσθαι and γενήσεται by would happen; and the aorists γένοσθαι and ἐγένετο by had happened. This distinction appears especially in the indicative, optative, and infinitive of indirect discourse; in future forms after past tenses in final and object clauses with ὅνα, ὅτως, etc.; and usually in the participle; but not in protasis.

I. TENSES OF THE INDICATIVE.

Present.

23. The present indicative represents an action as going on at the time of speaking or writing; as γράφω, I write, or I am writing.

An important exception occurs when the present indicative in indirect discourse denotes time which is present relatively to the leading verb. See above, 22; 669, 2; 674, 1.
24. As the limits of such an action on either side of the present moment are not defined, the present may express a customary or repeated action or a general truth. E.g.

'H πρόμα τοι πλανάν δ έις Δήλου Ἀθγναίοι πέμπουτιν, the stern of the ship which the Athenians send to Delos (every year). PLAT. Phaed. 58 A. Τίκτεται τοι κόρος ὑβρίν, δέται κακῷ ὀλβος ἵππαι, satiety begets insolence, whenever prosperity follows the wicked. THEOG. 153. 'Εν χρόνῳ ἀνθρώπινον τάρβος ἀνθρώπων, in time timidity dies out in men. AESCH. Ag. 857.

25. The present denotes merely the continuance or progress of an action, without reference to its completion. It may, however, be implied by the context that the action is not to be completed, so that the present denotes an attempted or intended action. Especially διδομεί, in the sense of offer, and πείθομεν, try to persuade, are thus used. E.g.

Νῦν θ' ἀμίαν ἀνείκει παλλα διδοί, he offers many things. II. ix. 519. Πείθουσι ιψας ἐναντία καὶ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ φήμησασθαι, they are trying to persuade you to vote contrary both to the laws and to justice. ISA. 1. 26.

This causative signification is much more common in the imperfect. See 36 and the examples.

26. The present is often used with expressions denoting past time, especially πάλαι, in the sense of a perfect and a present combined. E.g.

Καλὼν ἐκείνω πάλαι, I have been tracking him a long time (and still continue it). SOPH. Aj. 20. Ον ναλαί σοι λέγω ὅτι παῖτῶν φημι ἀιναί; i.e. have I not long ago told you (and do I not still repeat) that I call it the same thing? PLAT. Gorg. 489 C. Θέους αἰτῶ... φοινικάς ἐτελείς μήκος. AESCH. Ag. 1. So πολύν χρόνον τούτο ποιῶ. So in Latin, iam dudum loquor.

27. The presents ἔκω, I am come, and οἴχωμαι, I am gone, are used in the sense of the perfect. An approach to the perfect sense is sometimes found in such presents as φεύω, in the sense I am banished, ἀλήκρυμι, I am captured, νικῶ κατ' ὑμᾶς κράτω, I am victorious, ἡπτωμαι, I am conquered, ἀδικῶ, I have been unjust (I am ἄδικος). So the Epic ἐκω and ἔκανα, with ἐλλημα and sometimes ἔτκε in tragedy. E.g.

Οἴχεται εἰς ἄλα διἀν, he is gone to the divine sea. II. xv. 223. Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔκω παρὰ σέ, I, Themistocles, am come to you. THUC. i. 137. Τοὺς ἄδικοις φεύγομεντας δικαίως κατ’ ἱγανον, they justly restored those who were unjustly banished. PLAT. Menex. 242 B. Ἄφιον ἀλακορμένον, after the capture of Niem. THUC. vi. 2. So ἀλακορέον τοι τείχος. HRT. i. 85. Όπως τής ἀνοιγομένης θύρης, behind the open door. HRT. i. 9. Εἰ πάντα ταῦτα ἐλημαίνετο τοῖς δλοις, εῶς ἀνετρεψε, τί Δημοσθένης ἄδικε; how is Demosthenes to
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28. The Greek, like other languages, often uses such presents as I hear, I learn, I say, even when their action is finished before the time to which they strictly refer. E.g.

El στασιάζομαι, πως ποιεῖς ἄσκομεν θα, if they (the Sicilians) are in discord, as we learn, Thuc. vi. 16. 'Επὶ τάλεις, ὡς ἐγιό ἄκος ἀπὸ τόξομαι, μέλλειν ἴσει μεγάλα. Id. vi. 20.

(Εἰμὶ as Future.) 29. The present εἰμὶ, I am going, and its compounds, have a future sense. Εἰμὶ thus became a future of ἔρχομαι, the future ἐλεύσομαι not being in good use in Attic prose. E.g.

Συν ὅπερος εἰμὶ ὅπο γαῖν, I shall go, II. xviii. 333. Εἰμὶ πάλιν ἐπ’ ἐκείνα, I shall recur to that. Plat. Phaed. 100 B. "Ὄ φιλ', ἐγώ μὲν ἀπεμέμβα, σῶς καὶ κείμα φυλάζων. Od. xvii. 593. 'Αλλ' εἴσεγεμεν, σὺν δ' ὧν φροντιῶ, but I'll go in and not mind you, Ar. Nub. 255. Εἰ δ' οὖντις ἀπάθαιν, ἤματι μόνον μενοὺμεν, but if they (shall) depart, we alone shall remain. Xen. Cyr. iv. 5, 24.

In Homer εἰμὶ is used also as a present; as οἷον δ' ἀντίρρ εἰσι μετ' ἀστράσι, II. xxii. 317. So ii. 87, xi. 415; Od. iv. 401; and often in similis. This is doubtful in Attic; as in πρόσειμι δώμα καὶ βρέσας τῷ σῶν, Aesch. Extr. 242, where πρόσειμι may be πρός + εἰμὶ. See Krüger and Classen on ἐπιλαί, Thuc. iv. 61.

30. The future sense of εἰμὶ and its compounds extends to the optative, infinitive, and participle in indirect discourse, and often to the participle in other uses (especially when it expresses purpose with ὅσον). E.g.

Προεικόν δὲ, εἰ μὴ παρεστρέψας συντηρατευόμενοι, ἐκεῖνοι ἔφ' ἕμας ὑπειρεῖν, i.e. that they would come against us. Xen. Hell. v. 2, 13. See also v. 1, 34, where εἰ μὴ ἀποικεῖν corresponds to εἰ μὴ ἐκπέμψων. As ιούμα in this use is equivalent to a future optative, it is naturally rare (128). 'Απεικόνειν εἰμί μέκρες ὦ θαλας, he believed he could depart (ἐπεμέμβα) whenever he pleased, Thuc. v. 7. So οἷον ἐφοράν (ἐπιγ) ἰέναι, Xen. An. i. 3, 1 and 8; i. 4, 12: cf. ii. 1, 3, ii. 6, 10. Καὶ τὸ τύραν τὸ αὖ προσομός τοῦ γύρῳ ἀντὶ ἂ ὑπεξείλαν ἂ ἀπολείπεσθαι. Plat. Phaed. 103 D. (Προσομό is an ordinary present participle: see 31.) Οὐ γὰρ ὅσιν ἐξίων, for he did not know that he was to go, Ar. Pac. 1182. 'Ο δ' εἰς Πέρσας ἵνα παρῆν συνεργασχύομαι. Xen. Cyr. iv. 5, 26. Ταῦτ' εἰμῶν ἀνιστάμην ὡς ἤ ποιῶν. Plat. Prot. 335 C (this might come under 31). So ἀνεστῆσα ὡς ἐξίων, ib. 335 D. Παρεστρέψατο ὡς ἦ ποιῶν. Xen. Cyr. i. 3, 13. So Thuc. vi. 63.

31. In the optative and infinitive not in indirect discourse, and
often in the participle, the same forms of εἰμι are used as ordinary presents. E.g.


Εἴξων αὐτῷ εἰσιν ὑμῖν εἰς τάς οἰκίας συνεignεθεῖν ὑπ’ βούλευτο. Plat. Rep. 360 C. Ἀποτρέπομενος ὁ ἄγρ καὶ διὰ τοῦ σώματος ἔξω ἦν. Id. Tim. 79 C. So Ant. v. 78, vi. 45.

In the subjunctive and imperative there can of course be no special future sense in these verbs.

32. In animated language the present often refers to the future, to express likelihood, intention, or danger. E.g.

Εἰ αὕτη ἡ πόλις ληφθήσεται, ἓχεται ἡ πώρος Σικέλια, if this city shall be captured, all Sicily is (at once) in their possession. Thuc. vi. 91. Μένο μὲν ἐν αὐτῷ ἄκωστο κατὰ πόλεις ληφθῶμεν; shall we wait until we are each captured, city by city? Id. vi. 77. Εἰ δὲ φησὶν ὁντός, διεξάτω καὶ παρασχέον, κάγῳ κατὰ βαίνω, and I will take my seat. Dem. xix. 32. Σοὶ αὐτόλλανμαι, I am to perish, Lys. xii. 14. For a similar use of the perfect, see 51. (See also 61.)

33. (Historic Present.) The present is often used in narration for the aorist, sometimes for the imperfect, to give a more animated statement of past events. This is called the historic present. E.g.

Βουλήν ἐπιτεχνάται ὅπως μὴ ἀλλωθεῖν Ἀθηναίοι, he contrives a plan to prevent the Athenians from assembling. Hdt. i. 63. Κελεύει πέμψαι ἄνδρας· ἀποστέλλουσιν οὖν, καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς κρίναι πέμπτει. Thuc. i. 91. Δαιμόνι καὶ Παρισιτίδος γίγνονται παῖδες δώ. Xen. An. i. 1, 1. Τοιαῦτα τοῦ παρόντος ἡμῖν ἡλίῳ δέλευσι τοῦ μαρκ ἐκλύον ἐγγυμονέου. Soph. El. 424.

The historic present is not found in Homer.

IMPRESS.

34. The imperfect represents an action as going on in past time; as ἔγραφον, I was writing.

35. The imperfect is thus a present transferred to the past, retaining all the peculiarities of the present which are consistent with the change. Thus it may denote a customary or repeated action, or a series of actions; or, if it refers to a single action (as it very frequently does), it represents it in its progress rather than as a simple past occurrence (like the
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In narration it dwells on the course of an event instead of merely stating its occurrence. E.g.

'Έσεὶ Κέκροπος ἢ Ἀττικῆ κατὰ πόλεις ὕκείτο, καὶ οὐ ἔγνυσαν βοουλεύσαντος, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ἐκκοστὸ ἐπολιτευόντο καὶ ἐβουλεύοντο. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ Θρησκεῖς ἐβασίλευσεν, ἐς τὴν νῦν πόλιν οὖσαν ἐπνοικίσει πάντας. Thuc. ii. 15. (Here the imperfetcs refer to the state of the country or to customs; the aorists state events, ἐβασίλευσεν, became king, ἐπνοικίσει, collected into one state.) Καὶ παραστὰς δὲ μὲν ἔνθεν ὁ δ' ἔνθεν, ἐβόων, ἐσκέρων ὑπελείποντας ἐκλεύαζον· ώμεις δ' ἐγελάτε, καὶ φτίνοιν ἄθλετε ὁπλεῖν ἑπτακόσιος ἐβουλεοῦσιν, they kept on showing, etc., and you laughed, etc. Dem. xix. 23. Ἐπεισοδομήν τι λέειν τοῦτον δὲν εἰς τὴν βούλην ἀπήγγελα. Ibd. Πόστερον ταῦτα πάντα ποιῶν ἠδίκει καὶ παρεποτόθει καὶ ἐλευ τὴν εἰρήνην ἢ οὔ; in doing all these things was he acting unjustly and breaking the peace, etc.? Id. xviii. 71; see also ib. 69. (Compare τὴν εἰρήνην ἐλυσε τὰ πλοία λαβὼν, of the event, ib. 73.) Παρελθὼν εἰς Θράκης Βυσιλίου ἤχειν συμπολεμεῖν. Πδ. 87. 'Ὑμεῖς γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐπράπτετε, καὶ ταῦτα πᾶσιν ὧμιν ἤρεσκεν (of a course of action). Id. xix. 189. 'Επειδὴ γὰρ εἶλεν Ὀλυμπίος Φιλίππος, Ὀλυμπία ἐποίει, εἰς δὲ τὴν ποιήσασα τῶν τεχνῶν συνήγαγεν. Πδ. 192. Εἶτα τότε οὖν ἔλεγες παραχρῆμα ταῦτα οὖν ἐδίδασκες ἡμᾶς; did you then not tell this at once on the spot, or instruct us? Πδ. 25.

The same action (as in the last two examples) could easily have been mentioned, without its continuance, as a mere event. For the relations of the imperfect to the aorist, see 56.

36. The imperfect, like the present (25), sometimes denotes attempted action, being here strictly an imperfect tense. So especially ἐξῆλθον and ἐπεισοδομήν. E.g.

(Φιλίππος) Ἀλόννησον ἵδεον, Philip offered Halonnesus (lit. tried to give it). Aeschin. iii. 83. 'Εκαστος ἐπεισεῖν αὐτόν ὅποιον ἤπατο σὺν ἀρχήν, each one tried to persuade him to undertake the command. Xen. An. vi. 1, 19.

Κύμα ὦταρ ἀειρόμενον, κατὰ δ' ἵππεν Πηλείωνα, and was about to overpower the son of Peles. P. xxi. 327. 'Εμισθοῦσον παρ' οὐκ ἐκδικός τὴν αἰλή, he tried to hire the yard of one who refused to let it. Hdt. i. 68. Πέμψαντες ἐς Σάρδις χρυσὸν ὡνέοντο, they sent to Sardis and wanted to buy gold. Hdt. i. 69. 'Επεθύμησε τὴς χαλκίδος, καὶ αὐτὴν προσεπλάθον ἀνέετο, he took a fancy (soi.) to the cloak, and tried to buy it. Hdt. iii. 139. 'A ἐπράσιστεο οὖν ἐγένετο, what was attempted did not happen. Thuc. vi. 74. So προστιθέει, she wanted to add, Ar. Nub. 63.

37. When the present has the force of the perfect (27), the imperfect has regularly the force of a pluperfect. E.g.

'Ὁ οἶχος κατὰ θέαν ἤκει, the crowd had come to look on. Thuc. vi. 31. 'Επειδὴ ὁ χεῖος ἦν Πύλονδε, after thou wast gone by ship to Pylos. Od. xvi. 24.
38. The imperfect sometimes denotes likelihood, intention, or danger in past time (see 32). E.g.

"Επείδη τῷ γείδοσθαι ἀπόλλαντο, when he was on the point of ruin through his death. ΑΝΤ. v. 37. Καὶ τῷ ὑπαντήκετε τέκνη, ἀπὸ ἄβολλυμην ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ, and my children were about to die, and I was about to perish. ΕΥΡ. H. F. 538. Ἐκαίνιόμην ἔπη, I was to be slain. Ι. Ι. Τ. 27.

39. The imperfect ἦν (generally with ἄρα) may express a fact which is just recognised as such by the speaker or writer, having previously been denied, overlooked, or not understood. E.g.

"Ω πότει, οὐκ ἄρα πάντα νοήμονος οὐδέ δίκαιοι ἦσαν Φαείκων ἡγεῖσθαι ἔρημοι μένουτε, i.e. they are not, as I once imagined. Od. xiii. 209. Οὐκ ἄρα μόνον ἦν ἐρώτων γένος, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ γαίαν εἰς δόσιν, there is not after all merely one race of discords, but there are two on earth. ΗΕΙΩ. Op. 11. "Οδ’ ἦν ἄρα ὁ ξίλλαβον με, this is then the one who seized me. ΣΟΦ. Ph. 978. Οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἂρ’ ἦσαν ἔστασιν; are you not then the only ones (as I thought)? AR. Av. 280. "Αρ’ οὐ τὸ τέκνον ἦν τὸ δένδρον, ἐφ’ ὑπερ ἠγεῖσθαι ἡμῖν; is not this then the tree to which you were bringing us? ΠΛΑΤ. Παεάδρ. 230 A.

Other imperfects are rare; as ἑπίστω, XEN. Hell. iii. 4, 9.

40. In like manner the imperfect may express something which is the result of a previous discussion, with reference to which the past form is used. This is sometimes called the philosophic imperfect. E.g.

"Ην ἡ μονική ἀντιστροφος τῆς γυμνωστικῆς, εἰ μέμνησαι, music then (as we proved) corresponds, if you remember, to gymnastics. ΠΛΑΤ. Rep. 522 A. Καὶ δίκαιοι δὴ πάντως ἄνδρα ἐπειναὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ, ὡς καὶ πόλει ἦν δικαία, and now we shall say that a man is just in the same way in which also a state was (shown to be) just. Ι. 441 D. Δι-αθυρεσθοΰμεν ἑκεῖνο, ὃ τῷ μὲν δίκαιῳ βέλτιον ἑγεῖγνετο, τῷ δὲ ἄδικῳ ἀπόλλαντο, we shall destroy that which (as we proved) becomes better by justice and is ruined by injustice. ΠΛΑΤ. CRIT. 47 D.

41. The Greek sometimes uses an idiom like the English he was the one who did it for he is the one who did it; as ἦν ὁ τῷ γνώμῃς ταὐτῷ εἰπὼν Πεισανδρός, THUC. viii. 68; ἦν ὁ Βοιοθήσιος τοῖς Βοιοθίοις καὶ σώσας αὐτούς; DEM. XVIII. 88.

Perfect and Pluperfect.

42. The perfect represents an action as already finished at the present time; as γέγραφα, I have written (that is, my writing is now finished).

43. The pluperfect represents an action as already finished at a given past time; as ἐγεγράφειν, I had written (that is, my writing was finished at some specified past time).

44. The perfect, although it implies the performance of the action
in past time, yet states only that it stands complete at the present time. This explains why the perfect is classed with the present as a primary tense, that is, as a tense of present time.

45. The perfect and the pluperfect may be expressed by the perfect participle with the present and imperfect of εἰμί. Here, however, each part of the compound generally retains its own signification, so that this form expresses more fully the continuance of the result of the action of the present to the present time, and of that of the pluperfect to the past time referred to.

E.g.

Πεποιηκός ἔστιν (or ἦ), he is (or was) in the condition of having done,—he has done (or had done). 'Εμοῦ οἱ νόμοι οὐ μόνον ἀπεγνωκότες εἰσὶ μὴ ἁδικεῖ, ἅλλα καὶ κεκελευκότες ταύτην τὴν δίκην λαμβάνειν, it is the laws which not only have acquitted me of injustice, but have commanded me to inflict this punishment. Lys. i. 34. Ἐτόλμα λέγειν ὡς ἐγώ το τράγμα εἰμὶ τούτο διδακτικός, he dared to say that I was the one who had done this deed. Dem. xxii. 104. In Dem. xviii. 23, οὔτε γὰρ ἦν πρεσβεία πρὸς οἰδάνα ἀπεσταλμένη τότε τῶν Ἐλλήνων means for there was no embassy then out on a mission to any of the Greeks; whereas ἀπέσταλμε would have given the meaning no embassy had ever been sent out (see 831).

This of course does not apply to cases where the compound form is the only one in use, as in the third person plural of the perfect and pluperfect passive and middle of mute and liquid verbs.

46. On the other hand, although the simple form very often implies the continuance of the result of the action down to the present time or to a specified past time, it does so less distinctly than the compound form, and not necessarily (see the last two examples below). E.g.

'Επιμελέσθω καὶ θεοί ὃν ὁ ἄνθρωπος δέονται κατευθεύασίν, the gods have carefully provided what men need. Xen. Mem. iv. 3, 3. Τῶν ποιητῶν τινες ὑποθέσκας ὃς χρῆ τὴν καταλελοίπασίν, some of the poets have left us suggestions how to live. Isoc. ii. 3. Ἀκήκοα μὲν τοῦνομα, μμημονεύομ αὖ οὐ, I have heard the name, but I do not remember it. Plat. Theaet. 144 B. 'Α σου τούχη κέξρηκε, ταῦτ' ἀφείλετο, Fortune has taken back what she has lent you. Men. Fr. 598.

47. "Ἐχω with the aorist and sometimes the perfect participle may form a periphrastic perfect (831). In tragedy and in Herodotus this is often fully equivalent to our present with have; elsewhere, especially in Attic prose, the participle and ἔχω are more or less distinct in their force. Still, this is the beginning of the modern perfect. E.g.

Ποισ σὺν ἐργῳ τούτῳ ἀπειλίσατε ἔχεις; have you made this threat? Soph. O. C. 817. Τῶν μὲν προτίςας, τῶν δ' ἀτιμάςας ἔχει; Id. Ant. 22; see ib. 32. Ἡμᾶς πράγμας ἄρκτον ἔχει περάνως. Id. Aj. 21. Ἡδοντα γὰρ ταῦτα, οὔ τω ὁ λήξατα ἔχει, i.e. the story has not yet ceased to be told. Id. O. T. 731; see Tr. 37, ταρβήσκω ἔχω. 'Οσ σφε νῦν ἀτιμάςας ἔχει. Eur. Med. 33; see ib. 90. Ἀρεώς τε
perfect and pluperfect indicative

μουραν μεταλαβων ἔχει τινά. Id. Bacch. 302. Ἀνθαμάς ἔχω τόδε. Soph. Ph. 1362; so Plat. Phaedr. 257 C (in poetic language). Οία μου βεβουλευκώς ἔχει. Soph. O. T. 701 (after στήσας ἔχεις in 699). Ὄστις γ' ἔχει μου ἔσσατο ν τοιαύτον, whoever has snatched away (though here ἔχει may mean keeps). Ar. Th. 706. Ἑγκαλίσας ἔχει τα στιώα. Id. Eccl. 355. Ὡτερ των Ἐλλήνων τού σύ δουλώσας ἔχεις, i.e. whom you hold in slavery or whom you have enslaved. Hdt. i. 27. Ἀμφοτέρων με τούτον ἀποκλῆσας ἔχεις. Id. i. 37; so i. 41. Ἀλὰζοι ἐπιτρέψανες ἥμεα αὐτοῖς ἔχομεν, we have entrusted ourselves, etc. Id. vi. 12. Πολλὰ βρήματα ἔχομεν ἄνηρπακότες. Xen. An. i. 3, 14 (here ἔχομεν expresses possession). See Thuc. i. 68; Dem. ix. 12, xxvii. 17.

The beginning of this usage appears in Hes. Op. 42:—

Κρύψαντες γὰρ ἔχοντι θεοὶ βίον ἀνθρώπους.

48. ἔδχον or ἔχον with the participle may form a periphrastic pluperfect in the same way (47). E.g.

ὁν γ' ἔδχον ἤδι τρίχον ἔκβεβληκότες. Soph. Ph. 600. See Hdt. i. 28, 73, and 75; Xen. An. iv. 7, 1.

49. (a) The perfect of many verbs has the signification of a present, which may usually be explained by the peculiar meaning of the verbs. Thus θυνόσκειν, to die, τεθνηκέναι, to be dead; καλεῖν, to call, κεκληθήσαται, to be called or named; γίγνεσθαι, to become, γεγονόται, to be; μνήμησκειν, to remember, μεμνημόσυνα, to remember; εἰδέναι, to know; ἵσταναι, to place, ἵσταναι, to stand. So βεβηκέναι, to stand; γεννάκεναι, to be born; γεμφέωσθαι, to wear; κεκτήσασθαι, to possess; τετοιεύεαι, to trust; τεθυμάσθαι, to be (by nature); etc.

(b) The pluperfect of such verbs has the signification of the imperfect; as οἶδα, I know; γοῦν, I knew.

50. In epistles, the perfect and aorist are sometimes used where we might expect the present, the writer transferring himself to the time of the reader. E.g.

Ἀπέσταλμα σοι τόνδε τὸν λόγον, I send you this speech. Isoc. i. 2. Μετ ’Ἀρταμάσα, δο σοι ἐπιμψα, πράσσε. Thuc. i. 129. (Here δο ἐπιμψά refers to the man who was to carry the letter.) So στίψι and misi in Latin.

51. The perfect sometimes refers to the future, to denote certainty or likelihood that an action will immediately take place, in a sense similar to that of the present (32), but with more emphasis, as the change in time is greater. E.g.


52. In a somewhat similar sense (51), the pluperfect may express the immediate or sudden occurrence of a past action. This occurs especially in Homer and Herodotus. E.g.
53. The aorist indicative expresses the simple occurrence of an action in past time; as ἐγραψα, I wrote.

54. This fundamental idea of simple occurrence remains the essential characteristic of the aorist through all the dependent moods, however indefinite they may be in regard to time. The aorist takes its name (ἀόριστος, unlimited, unqualified) from its thus denoting merely the occurrence of an action, without any of the limitations (ὁρος) as to completion, continuance, repetition, etc., which belong to other tenses. It corresponds to the ordinary preterite (e.g. did, went, said) in English, whereas the Greek imperfect corresponds generally to the forms I was doing, etc. Thus, ἐποίει τοῦτο is he was doing this or he did this habitually; πεποίηκε τοῦτο is he has already done this; ἐπεποίηκε τοῦτο is he had already (at some past time) done this; but ἐποίησε τοῦτο is simply he did this, without qualification of any kind.

55. The aorist of verbs which denote a state or condition generally expresses the entrance into that state or condition. E.g.

Βασιλεύω, I am king, ἐβασιλεύσα, I became king; ἀρχέω, I hold office, ἔρχα, I took office; πλουτάω, ἐπλοῦτησα, I became rich. ἔδρασε ἐνωπίων συνήκει καὶ οὐδέποτε καὶ τίμερον ἀπολέομεν; ἦλθα παρὰ ζωντος Τιμοκράτους ἐκείνῳ συνώφκησε, she was his wife in good faith, and has not yet even to this day been divorced; but she went to live with him from Timocrates while T. was still living. Dem. xxx. 33.

56. The aorist is distinguished from the imperfect by expressing only the occurrence of an action or the entrance into a state or condition, while the imperfect properly represents an action or state as going on or as repeated. See the examples of the imperfect and aorist in 35, and compare συνήκει and συνώφκησε in Dem. xxx. 33 (in 55). The aorist is therefore more common in rapid narration, the imperfect in detailed description. It must be remembered that the same event may be looked upon from different points of view by the same person; thus in Dem. xviii. 71 and 73 (quoted in 35) ἔλεγε τὴν ἑφηνεν and τὴν ἑφηνεν ἠλογε refer to the same thing, once as an act in progress, and once as a fact accomplished. No amount of duration in an act, therefore,
can make the aorist an improper form to express it, provided it is stated as a single past event viewed as a whole. Thus ἐβασιλεύει τέκα ἔτη (see Hdt. ii. 157) means he had a reign of ten years, (which is viewed as a single past event), while ἐβασιλεύει τέκα ἔτη might refer to the same reign in the sense he was reigning during ten years. The aorist may refer even to a series of repetitions; but it takes them collectively as a whole, while the imperfect would take them separately as individuals. See Dem. xvi. 80, μετὰ ταύτα δὲ τόδε ἀποστόλους ἀπαντας ἀπέστειλα, and afterwards I sent out all the naval armaments; and xvi. 60, ἂ μὲν πρὸ τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ δημαραγεῖν ἐμὲ προῦλαβε καὶ κατέσχε φιλιππος, the (succession of) advantages which Philip secured during the period before I entered public life, emphatically opposed (as a whole) to Philip’s many failures after that time, which are mentioned in ἂ δὲ καὶ διεκκόλθη. If the orator had wished to dwell on the number of the advantages or failures, or on their duration, he could have used the imperfect. See the last example under 35.

57. Since the same event may thus be stated by the aorist or the imperfect according to the writer’s point of view, it is natural that it should occasionally be a matter of indifference which form is used, especially when the action is of such a nature that it is not important to distinguish its duration from its occurrence. For example, this distinction can seldom be important in such expressions as he said, he commanded; and we find ἔλεγον and ἐκέλευν in the historians where no idea of duration can have been in mind. See oi δ’ ὑπέλευσαν τε ἔπινα, καὶ παρελθόντες oi Ἀθρηοιο ἔλεγον τουάδε, Thuc. i. 72, followed, at the end of the speech in 79, by τοιάντα δὲ oi Ἀθρηοιο εἶπον and Ἀρχιδάμος ἐλέες τουάδε. In such cases the following (cited with others by Krüger) it was not important to the narrative whether the idea of duration was included in the expression or not: βάλλετο and βάλετο, ii. ii. 43 and 45; βήκεν and τίθεν, xxii. 653 and 656; δῶκε and δῶν, vii. 303 and 305; ἐλπεν and λείπε, ii. 106 and 107; compare also μοικελλον with ἐπεραν, ἡπτησαν, and ἐρύσαν, i. 465 and 466. In all these cases the fundamental distinction of the tenses, which was inherent in the form, remained; only it happened that either of the two distinct forms expressed the meaning which was here needed equally well. It must not be thought, from these occasional examples, that the Greeks of any period were not fully alive to the distinction of the two tenses and could not use it with skill and nicety. But the Greeks, like other workmen, did not care to use their finest tools on every occasion; and it is often necessary to remember this if we would avoid hair-splitting.
58. The aorist, expressing simply a past occurrence, is sometimes used where we should expect a perfect or pluperfect, the action being merely referred to the past without the more exact specification which these tenses would give. *E.g.*

Τὸν οἰκετὸν οὖν ἑνακατέλημεν, ἀλλ’ ἀπαντά τε περακεν, he (has) left none of the servants, but has sold everything. ΑΕΣΧΕΝ. i. 99. Εὑρίσκοντο ἐς τὸν Πάνορμον, ἀδεσποτὸν ἀνήγαγοντο, they turned towards Panormus, whence they (had) set sail. ΤΗΥΞ. ii. 92. Κύρον δὲ μετατέμεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὡς αὐτὸν σιατράσην ἐποίησεν, from the dominion of which he (had once) made him satrap. ΧΕΝ. ΑΝ. i. 1, 2.

59. The aorist is generally used with ἔτει or ἔπειδη, after that, the aorist with the particle being equivalent to our pluperfect. So after ἔτει and πρὶν, until. *E.g.*

'Επειδὴ ἔτελευτησε Δαρείος καὶ κατέστη Αρταξέρξης, after Darius (had) died and Artaxerxes had become established. ΧΕΝ. ΑΝ. i. 1, 3. Οὐ πρόσθεν ἐξενεκείν ἐτόλμησαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς πόλεμον πρὶν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἡμῶν σὺν εἷλα βοήν, they did not dare to bring war upon us until they (had) seized our generals. Ιβ. iii. 2, 29. But the pluperfect may still be used after ἑτεῖ or ἕπειδη, to give additional emphasis to the doubly past action; as in ΔΕΜ. xviii. 42. ἔπειδη ἔγρατάτησε μὲν ἧμεῖς, ἐξηπάτησε δὲ οἱ Φωκεῖς καὶ ἀνήγαγον αἱ πόλεις, τί εὐγένετο;

So in Latin we have generally postquam venit, but occasionally postquam venuerat.

60. The aorist is sometimes used colloquially by the poets (especially the dramatists), when a sudden action, which is just taking place, is spoken of as if it had already happened. *E.g.*

'Επηνεραὶ ἔργον καὶ πρόνοιαν ἦν ἔθαν, I must approve your act, etc. ΣΟΡΗ. ΔΞ. 536. Ἡσθῆν ἀπειλαῖς, ἐγέλασα ψυλλοκοπίας, I am amused by your threats, I cannot help laughing, etc. ΑΝ. ΕΓ. 696.

61. The aorist sometimes refers vividly to the future, like the present (32) or perfect (51); as ἀπελάθημεν εἰ με λείψεις, I perish if you leave me. ΕΥΡ. ΑΛΚ. 386: so ΜΕΔ. 78. See also ὄλετο, ΠΕΙ. ix. 413 and 415.

62. In questions with τί οὖ, expressing surprise that something is not already done, and implying an exhortation to do it, the aorist is sometimes used strangely like a future. *E.g.*

Τί οὖν οὖ διηγήσω ἡμῖν τὴν ἐξουσίαν; why then don't you tell us about the meeting? ΠΛΑΤ. ΠΡΟΤ. 310 A. Τί οὖν οὖ καὶ Πρόδοκον καὶ Ἰππίαν ἐκαλέσαμεν; why then don't we call Prodicus and Hippias too? ΙΒ. 317 D. So τί οὖν οὖ ... ἐσκέψω; ΙΔ. ΣΟΡΗ. 251 Ε. See also ΣΟΡΗ. Ο. Τ. 1003.

For the gnomic aorist see 154.

**Future.**

63. The future denotes that an action is to take place
in time to come; as γράψω, I shall write or I shall be writing, sometimes I will write; πείσεται, he will suffer, sometimes he shall suffer.

64. In indirect discourse and in all final constructions the future expresses time future relatively to the leading verb. See 22.

65. The future may represent an action in its duration, its mere occurrence, or its inception; as έχω, I shall have, or I shall obtain; τοῦτο δόσω, I shall give this; ἀρξω, I shall rule, or I shall obtain power (cf. 55). E.g.

Πραγματεύονται ὅπως ἀρξουσίν, they take trouble to gain power. Xen. Rep. Lac. xiv. b. Ἀρ ὅσοι (διαφεύτειν) οὕτως ἀρξουσίν τε καὶ ἀρξουνται; must we not distinguish between those who are to rule and those who are to be ruled? Plat. Rep. 412 B. Ἡ σταυριάσουσίν οἱ ἐπικοινωνοῦνται καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες; how will they fall into faction? Ib. 545 D (see below, ὅπως δὴ πρῶτον στάσις ἔμπειρε).

66. The future may be used in a gnomic sense, denoting that something will always happen when an occasion offers. E.g.

Ἄν ποιήσω καὶ πάλιν μαχήσεται. Men. Mon. 46. "He that fights and runs away may turn and fight another day."

67. The future is sometimes used to express what will hereafter be proved or be recognised as a truth. Compare the use of the imperfect in 40. E.g.

Φιλόσοφος ἡμῖν ἐσταί δ' ἡ μέλλων κάγῳ κάγῳ ἔσεσθαι φύλαξ, he will prove to be a philosopher. Plat. Rep. 376 C.

68. The future is sometimes used in questions of doubt, where the subjunctive is more common (287). E.g.

Τι δήτα δράμεν; μυτέρι ἃ ϕονεύσομεν; what shall we do? shall we kill our mother? Eur. El. 967; so Ion. 758. Ποί τρέψομαι; whither shall I turn? Id. Hipp. 1066. Eἴτε ἐγὼ σου φείσομαι; Ar. Ach. 312. Τι οὖν ποιήσομεν; πῶτερον εἰς τὴν πόλιν πάντας τοὺς παραδεξόμεθα; what then shall we do? Are we to receive all these into the state? Plat. Rep. 397 D.

69. The second person of the future may express a concession or permission; and it often expresses a command, like the imperative. E.g.

Πρὸς ταύτα πράξεις οἶδα ὅν θέλησ, you may act as you please. Soph. O. C. 956. Πάντως δὲ τοῦτο δράσεις, but by all means do this. Ar. Nub. 1352. So in the common imprecautions, ἀπολείψθε, οἰμώξθε, may you perish, etc. Xen. ῞ ὅδε οὐ ψαύσεις ποτέ. Eur. Med. 1220. Compare the Latin facies ut sciam, let me know; abibis, depart.

70. In a few instances the future indicative with μή expresses a prohibition, like the imperative or subjunctive with μὴ (259). E.g.

Ταύτην, ἃν μοι χρῆσθε συμβούλω, φιλάξετε τὴν πίστιν πρὸς
71. The future sometimes denotes a present intention, expectation, or necessity that something shall be done, in which sense the periphrastic form with μέλλω (73) is more common. E.g.

Τί διαφέρουσι τῶν ἔξ ἀνάγκης κακοπαθῶντων, εἰ γε πεινώσουσι καὶ διψήσουσι καὶ μίγσουσι καὶ ἀγρινύσουσι; ἢ γε they are to endure hunger and thirst, etc. XEN. Mem. ii, 1, 17. (Here εἰ μέλλουσι πεινών καὶ διψάνθ, etc., would be more common, as in the last example under 73.) Αἴρε πλήρωσιν, εἰ μαχεῖται, raise your spear, if you are going to fight. AR. Av. 759. The distinction between this and the ordinary future (63) is important in conditional sentences (see 407).

72. A still more emphatic reference to a present intention is found in the question τί λέξεις; what do you mean to say? often found in tragedy; as ὅμως, τί λέξεις; ἡ γὰρ ἀγαπή ἐστι τοῦ; Eur. Hec. 1154. So Hec. 511, 712; HIPP. 353; Ion. 1113; Soph. Ph. 1233.

For the future in protasis, see 447 and 407; in relative clauses expressing a purpose, 565; with ὅπως, 196; with οὕτως, 294-301.

73. (Μέλλω with the Infinitive.) A periphrastic future is formed by μέλλω and the present or future (seldom the aorist) infinitive. This form sometimes denotes mere futurity, and sometimes intention, expectation, or necessity. E.g.

Μέλλει τοῦτο πράσσειν (ὅτι πράξειν), he is about to do this, or he intends to do this. So in Latin, facturus est for factae. Μέλλω ἵνας διδάσκειν ὅθεν μεῖν ὡς διαβολή γένοιτο. PLAT. Ap. 21 B. Ὅπως δέχονται τού τοιούτου τινός ἐστι ἐπιστάτου, εἰ μέλλει ἡ πολιτεία σφίξεσθαι; if the constitution is to be preserved. PLAT. Rep. 412 A. (See 71.)

74. Although the present and the future infinitive were preferred with μέλλω (73), the aorist was still used by some writers, as by Euripides. See AESCH. Phoc. 625 (μέλλων παθεῖν); EUR. ION. 80 (μέλλων τυχεῖν), 760 (θανεῖν μέλλων), El. 17 (μέλλοντα θανεῖν), Phoen. 300 (μέλλεις θυγατέρα);—where the metre allows no change.

75. The future infinitive with μέλλω forms the only regular exception to the general principle which restricts the use of the future infinitive to indirect discourse (see 86; 112).

76. The imperfect (seldom the aorist) of μέλλω with the infinitive expresses past intention, expectation, or necessity. E.g.
FUTURE PERFECT

77. The future perfect denotes that an action will be already finished at some future time. It is thus a perfect transferred to the future. E.g.

Καλι με έναν έκτιλεγής, ούκ ἄχθεσθήσομαι σου, ἀλλὰ μέγιστος ἐφορέτος πάρ’ ἐμοί ἀναγγέλλει, you will have been enrolled as my greatest benefactor. Plut. Gorg. 506 C. "Ἡν ὃ δὲ μη γένηται, μάτιν ἐμοί κεκλαύηται, οῦ δ’ ἐγχανών τεθνήσεις, I shall then have had my whippings for nothing, and you will have died grieving." Ar. Nub. 1435.

78. The future perfect often denotes the continuance of an action, or the permanence of its results, in future time. E.g.

Δύναμιν, ης ἐσ’ ἐνδον σοὶ ἐπιγεγομένους μνήμη καταλελείψεις, power, the memory of which will be left to our posterity for ever. Thuc. ii. 64. (Compare 105.)

79. The future perfect sometimes denotes certainty or likelihood that an action will immediately take place, which idea is still more vividly expressed by the perfect (51). E.g.

Εἰ δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς ὅστισθον δύναιτο διδάξαι, πάσος ὁ παρὰν φόβος λελυγέτα, all the present fear will be at once dispelled. Dem. xiv. 2. (Here the inferior Mss. have ἄλλατα, which would be like ὅλωλα, quoted in 51.) Πράξει, καὶ πεπράξεται, spake, and it shall be no sooner said than done. An. Plut. 1027. Ἐνθέως Ἀριαδνος ἀφετήρεις, ὡστε φίλος ἡμῖν ὁδιδαῖς λελειψέται. Xen. An. ii. 4, 5.

80. The future perfect can be expressed by the perfect participle and ἐσομαι. In the active voice this is the only form in use, except in a few cases (chiefly ἑστρέψω and τεθνήσω). E.g.

"Ἀν τοις εἰδομεν, καὶ τὰ δεότα ἐσόμεθα ἐγνωκότες καὶ λόγων ματαίων ἄπηλλαμενοι, we shall have already resolved to do our duty and shall have been freed from vain reports." Dem. iv. 50. (See 45 and 831.)

81. A similar circumlocution with the aorist participle and ἐσομαι is sometimes found, especially in the poets. E.g.

Οὐ σωπήσας ὡσεί; Soph. O. T. 1146. Λυπηθείς ὡσεί, Soph. O. C. 516. (See 47 and 831.)

82. When the perfect is used in the sense of a present (49), the
future perfect is its regular future; as κεκλησόμαι, μεμνήσομαι, ἀφε- 
στήξω, I shall be named, I shall remember, I shall withdraw, etc.

83. In many other verbs, the future perfect differs very slightly, 
if at all, from an ordinary future. Thus πεπράσωμαι is the regular 
future passive of πράσκω. Still, where there is another future, the 
future perfect is generally more emphatic.

84. It must be remembered that, in most cases in which the Latin 
or the English would use a future perfect in a dependent clause, the 
Greek uses an aorist or even a perfect subjunctive. (See 90 and 103, 
with the examples.)

II. TENSES OF THE DEPENDENT MOODS.

85. The distinctions of time which mark the various tenses 
in the indicative are retained when the optative and infinitive 
represent the indicative in indirect discourse, and usually in the 
participle. But in other constructions these distinctions of time 
disappear in the dependent moods, and the tenses here differ 
only in their other character of denoting the continuance, the 
completion, or simply the occurrence of an action (20). The in- 
finite with ἄν is not included in this statement (see Chap. III.) 
The tenses in these two uses must, therefore, be discussed 
separately.

A. NOT IN INDIRECT DISCOURSE.

86. In the subjunctive and imperative, and also in the 
optative and infinitive not in indirect discourse (666; 684), 
the tenses chiefly used are the present and the aorist. The 
perfect is used here only when the completion of the action 
is to be emphasized (see 102-110). For the occasional 
future, see 111-113; 130-132.

PRESENT AND AORIST.

87. The present and aorist here differ only in this, that 
the present expresses an action in its duration, that is, as 
going on or repeated, while the aorist expresses simply its 
occurrence, the time of both tenses being otherwise pre- 
cisely the same. E.g.

'Εάν ποιητής τοῦτο, if he shall be doing this, or if he shall do this 
(habitually); εάν ποιησαν τοῦτο, (simply) if he shall do this; εἰ 
ποιεῖται τοῦτο, if he should be doing this, or if he should do this (habitu-
ally); *eí poiôsēie tous, if he should do this; poiêi tous, do this (habitually); poiôsos tous, do this. Οὕτω νικήσαμι τ' ἐγὼ καὶ νομίζωμι σοφός, on this condition may I gain the victory (sor.) and be considered (pres.) wise. AR. Nub. 520. Βούλεται τοῦτο ποιεῖν, he wishes to do this (habitually); βούλεται τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, (simply) he wishes to do this. For other examples see below.

This is a distinction entirely unknown to the Latin, which has (for example) only one form, *si faciat*, corresponding to *eí poiôsē and eí poiôsēseve*, and only *faere* to correspond to both *poiein* and *poisasi* (as used above).

88. It is sometimes difficult here, as in the corresponding case of the imperfect and the aorist indicative (56; 57), to see any decisive reason for preferring one tense to the other; and it can hardly be doubted that the Greeks occasionally failed to make use of this, as well as of other fine distinctions, when either form would express the required sense equally well, although they always had the distinction ready for use when it was needed. Compare the present and the aorist subjunctive and optative in the following examples:—

'Εαν γάρ τι σε φανόκακον πεποιηκόν, ὁμολόγῳ ἀδικεῖν, εὰν μέντοι μηδέν φαινόμειν κακόν πεποιηκόν ῥυά βουλήθην, οὐ καὶ σου ὁμολογήσεις μηδέν ἑτέρου ἀδικεῖσθαι; if I shall appear (sor.) to have done you any wrong, and if I shall appear (pres.) to have done you no wrong. Xen. Cyr. v. 5, 13. Ei μὲν γάρ προσδέξατο Φωκέας συμμάχους . . . eí de μη προσδέχοιτο, κ.τ.λ. Dem. xix. 318. Ei τινες πολλάκις θανάτων ἦσαν αἰτίοι, (i.e.) πάντων τούτων δεκαπλασίας ἀληθον ἔπερ ἑκάστου κομίσαιν, καὶ αὕτη τινες εὐθύνεις εὐφραγητήκοντες εἶν, (i.e.) κατὰ ταῦτα τὴν δέικνυ τομίζοιντο, if any had caused many deaths, that they might receive (sor.) suffering for all these, tenfold for each; and again, if they had done kind services to any, that they might in like manner receive (pres.) their due reward. Plat. Rep. 615 B. In the last example, it is obvious that the change from κομίσατο to κομίζουστο is connected with the change from eί θανατον to eί εὐφραγητήκοντες εἶν; but it is questionable whether the latter change is the cause or the effect, and it is also quite as hard to see the reason for this change in the protasis, when both conditions are equally general, as for that in the final clause. Probably no two scholars would agree in the reasons which they might assign for the use of the tenses in these examples. It is certain, however, that either present or aorist would express the meaning equally well in all these cases.

Subjunctive and Imperative.

89. The present and aorist subjunctive and imperative are always future, except that in general conditions (462; 532) the subjunctive is general in its time. In all final constructions the subjunctive is future relatively to the
leading verb. The following examples will show the distinction of the two tenses:—

Πειθώμεθα πάντες· φεύγωμεν σὺν νησί βίλην ἐς παράδια γαῖαν, let us all be persuaded; let us fly, etc. II. ii. 139. Τί φο;; τί δρώ; what shall I say? what shall I do? Πῶς οὖν περὶ τούτων ποιώμεν; how then shall we act about this? PLAT. Phil. 63 A.

Ἀναλογισώμεθα τὰ ὁμολογημένα ἡμῖν, let us enumerate the points which have been conceded by us. PLAT. PROT. 332 D. Μηδὲν φοβήσθη, fear not. But μηδὲν φοβοῦ, be not timid. Τί ποιήσω; what shall I do (in this case)? But τί ποιῶ; what shall I do (generally)? Οὐ μὴ τούτο εἰπῆς, you shall not say this. Οὐ μὴ γένηται, it will not happen. So in the Homeric οὐδὲ ἦμας, nor shall I ever see (8).

*Ἀν δὲ τις ἀνθιστήται, πειρασόμεθα χειρόσθαι, but if any one shall stand opposed to us, we will try to subdue him. XEN. AN. v. i. 11. Καὶ πόλεμος ἢ, ἐκ δὲ ἀλλον ἐχώμεν ορτανέσθαι, so if there shall be war, so long as we shall be able, etc. XEN. HELL. iv. 1, 38. Ἀλλ' ἥν γεγυνὼσκω βέλτωτα ἐρό, but I will speak as I shall think best. THEOC. vi. 9. Οἰς ἂν βούλη τοπάσσαντας φίλους, ἀγάθου τι λέγει περὶ αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπαγγέλλωνας, whensoever you shall wish, etc. ISO. c. 33. Ἀπὰς λόγος, ἂν ἀρτὶ τὰ πράγματα, μάταιων τι φαίνεται καὶ κενὸν, all speech, if (wherever) deeds are wanting, appears vain and empty. DEM. ii. 12. Συμμαχεῖν τούτοις ἑθελοντιν ἀπαντεῖ, οὐς ἄδροσι παρεκκεν- σίμους, all are willing to be allied to those whom they see prepared. DEM. iv. 6.

Ὡς ἂν εἴπω πειθώμεθα, let us obey as I shall direct. II. ix. 704. *Ἡν ἐγγὺς ἐλθῇ θάνατος, οὐδές βουλέται θυσίας, if death comes near (the moment that death comes near), no one wants to die. EUR. ALC. 671. Ἡν τὴν εἰρήνην ποιιησόμεθα, μετὰ πολλῆς ἀσφαλείας τὴν πόλιν οἰκήσουμεν, if (we shall) make the peace, etc. ISO. viii. 20. Ὅν μὲν ἂν ἐννὴ ἀγνώστα (sc. ὁ κόσμος) χαλεπανείν: ὅν ἂν γεωργοί (sc. ἄν), ἀσπάσθω, i.e. whomever the dog sees (at any time). PLAT. REP. 376 A.

Δοκεῖ μοι κατακαῦσαι τὰς ἀμάξας, ὅν μὴ τὸ σκότος ἡμῶν στρα- τηγῷ, ἀλλὰ πορεύομεν ὅπως ἂν τὴν ὁριστικα συμφέρῃ, it seems good to me to burn the wagons, that our beast of burden may not be our generals, and that we may go on whithersoever it may be best for the army. XEN. AN. iii. 2, 27. Καὶ γὰρ βασιλεῖς αἱρεῖται, οὐχ ὅταν ἐναυῶν καλῶς ἐπιμελήται, ἀλήτειν ὅταν καὶ οἱ ἑλόμενοι δι' αὐτῶν εἰ πράττωσι. XEN. MEM. iii. 2, 3.

Διδοῦσα μὴ ἐπιλαθώμεθα τῆς οἰκᾶδε ἄδω, I fear lest we may forget the road home. XEN. AN. iii. 2, 25. Διανοεῖται αὐτὴ: λέγει, ὅσε μὴ διαβήτητε ἀλλ' ἀποληπθήτε, i.e. he intends to destroy the bridge, that you may not pass over but be caught. II. ii. 4, 17.

Φεύγε, βογέον; χαλαρώνων, let them go; μὴ νομίζεσθε do not believe. Εἰπέ μοι, tell me; δότε μοι τοῦτο, give me this. Σφενδόνην τῆς μοι δότω, let some one give me a sling. AN. AV. 1187.
90. When the aorist subjunctive depends on ἐπειδάν (or ἔταν, ἐτένυ), after that, it is referred by this meaning of the particle to time preceding the action of the leading verb, so that ἐπειδάν τοῦτο ἦδω, ἦδω means after I (shall) have seen this, I will come; and ἐπειδάν τοῦτο ἦδω, ἀπέρχομαι, after I have seen this, I (always) depart. In such cases it may be translated by our future perfect when the leading verb is future, and by our perfect when the leading verb denotes a general truth and is translated by the present. As the subjunctive here can never depend upon a verb of simply present time, it can never refer to time absolutely past; and we use the perfect indicative in translating such an aorist after a verb expressing a general truth, merely because we use the present in translating the leading verb, although this is properly not present but general in its time.

In like manner, after ἔσος, πρόν, and other particles signifying until, before that, and even after the relative pronoun or ἐάν, the aorist subjunctive may be translated by our future perfect or perfect, when the context shows that it refers to time preceding that of the leading verb. Ἐγ.

Χρῆ δὲ, όταν μὲν τιθρόσθη τοῖς νόμοις, ὅποιοί τινὲς εἰσὶ σκοπεῖν, ἐπειδὰν δὲ θηρόσθη, φιλάπτειν καὶ χρῆσθαι, while you are enacting laws, you must look to see of what kind they are; but after you have enacted them, you must guard and use them. Dem. xxi. 34. (Here the present τιθρόσθη with ὅταν, while, refers to an action continuing through the time of the leading verb; but ἃθηρόσθη with ἐπειδὰν, after that, refers to time past relatively to the leading verb.) Ταῦτα, ἐπειδὰν περὶ τοῦ γένους εἰπόω, τότε, ἂν βούλησθι ἄκοινεν, ἔρω, when I shall have spoken about my birth, then, if you desire to hear, I will speak of these things. Dem. livii. 16. (Here the aorist εἰπόω, though absolutely future, denotes time past with reference to ἔρω.) Ἐπειδὰν δῖαπράξωμαι ἄν ἔρωμαι, ἂν, when I shall have accomplished what I desire, I will come. Xen. An. ii. 3, 29. Ἐπειδὰν δὲ κρύψωμεν γῆ, ἂν ἄρημένων ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως λέγει ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπισκοπέω τὸν πρόποντα, when they have covered them with earth, etc. Thuc. ii. 34. "Εἰς ἄν σφόδρα τὸ σκάφος, τότε χρῆ προθύμους εἶναι, εἰπόω δὲ ἡ θάλασσα ὑπέροχα χρῆσθαι, μάταιος ἡ στοιχεῖα, as long as the vessel remains in safety (present); but the moment that the sea has overwhelmed it (aorist). Dem. ix. 69. "Εἰς ἄν ἐκμάθησις, ἔχει ἐλπίδα, until you have learnt fully, have hope. Soph. O. T. 334. Μία δὲ κληρή κενή φέρεσαι τῶν ἀφανῶν, οἷς ἂν μὴ εὑρέθωσιν ὧν ἀναίρεσιν, and one hire is always carried empty, in honour of the missing, whose bodies are not (have not been) found. Thuc. ii. 34. Διανοοίαται, ἢ ἂν ἄλλοι τῇ ἀρέτῇ καταπράξωσι, τούτων ἰσορροιεῖν; i.e. he thinks of having an equal share in those things which others by their valour have acquired? Xen. Cyrt. ii. 3, 5. Πάντ᾽ δ᾽ ἂν ἐκ πολέμων γεγομένης εἰρήνης προεθῇ, τοῖς τοῖς ἀμελήσασιν ἀπολλυται, ali things which are (or have been) abandoned when peace is made are always lost to those
who abandoned them. Dem. xix. 151. "Hv δ' ἀρα καὶ τον πείρη σφαλώσιν, ἀντελπόταντες ἅλλα ἐπιθέμων τὴν χρεών, ἢ if they have been disappointed in anything, they always supply the deficiency, etc. (154 and 171). Thuc. i. 70. Ὅτι χαί τοῖσοροι, πρῖν ἢ αὐτών κώμων οὐκ ἔκκοιν, I will not cease before I have (shall have) made you master of your children. Soph. O. C. 1040. Μὴ στέναξη πρῖν μάθης, do not groan until you have heard. Soph. Ph. 917.

91. This use of the aorist subjunctive (90) sometimes seems to approach very near to that of the perfect subjunctive (103); and we often translate both by the same tense. But in the perfect, the idea of an action completed at the time referred to is expressed by the tense of the verb, without aid from any particle or from the context; in the aorist, the idea of relative past time can come only from the particle or the context. (See 103 with examples, and 104.) The Greek often uses the less precise aorist subjunctive and optative (see 95) where the perfect would be preferred but for its cumbersome forms; and we sometimes give the aorist more precision than really belongs to it in itself by translating it as a perfect or future perfect. (See the last six examples under 90.) The following example illustrates the distinction between the perfect and aorist subjunctive:—

"Ον μὲν ἄν ἐντ' ἀγνώτα (ὁ κως), χαλεπαίνει, δεν δ' ἐν γνώριμον (ἐν), δοσάζεται, καί μηδὲν πάντοτε ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ ἁγαθὸν πετάνθη, whenever he sees whom he knows, he fawns upon, even if he has hitherto received no kindness from him. Plat. Rep. 376 A. Compare this with ἢν ἁγαθὸν τι πᾶθη ὑπὸ τινος, δοσάζεται, if he ever happens to receive any kindness from any one, he always fawns upon him; and ἐπειδὰν ἁγαθὸν τι πᾶθη, δοσάζεται, after he has received any kindness, he always fawns upon him.

92. The present subjunctive with μὴ or ὅπως μὴ after verbs of fearing, though it generally refers to a future object of fear, may also denote what may hereafter prove to be an object of fear. E.g.

Δεβδοκει μὴ ἄλληθες ἢ, I fear it may prove true. Dem. ix. 1. Δεινῶς άθυμοι, μὴ βλέπων ὁ μάντες ἢ, lest the prophet may prove to have his sight (cf. the following δεχεις δεί μάλλον). Soph. O. T. 747; so Ant. 1114. "Ὄρα μὴ περὶ τοῦς μαλάντας κυβερνήῃς, idoneae lest it may prove that you are taking what is dearest. Plat. Prot. 314 A. "Ὅρα ὅπως μὴ παρὰ δόξαν ὄμολογης. Id. Crit. 49 C. In all these cases the present indicative would be required if the object of fear were really present (369, 1).

Compare the examples of the perfect subjunctive in 103.

93. In a few passages of Homer the aorist subjunctive with μὴ seems to express a similar fear that something may prove to have already happened; as δεβδοκει μὴ σε παρείπῃ, I fear it may prove that she persuaded you, II. i. 555. So II. x. 98, μὴ κοιμήσωνται ἄρα λαθώντας, and x. 538, δεβδοκει μὴ τι πάθωσι, I fear lest it may prove that they have met some harm. The reference to the past here cannot come from any past force of the aorist subjunctive itself,
but is probably an inference drawn from the context. As the later language would use a perfect subjunctive in such cases, these aorists seem to be instances of an earlier laxity of usage, like the use of ἀπὸλοιπόν κε for both would have perished and would perish (440).

In 11. x. 537 there is a similar case of the aorist optative in a wish: ἀν γὰρ ἐν ὅσσον ἀφαρ ἐκ Τρῶων ἔλασαί οἷον μόνην ώς ὑπὸν, i.e. may it prove that they have driven the horses away from the Trojans (95).

Optative.

94. The present and aorist optative in independent sentences (in wishes and with ἄν), and in all conditional sentences except past general conditions (462; 532), express future time, the relation of which to the future expressed by other moods is explained in 12, 13, and 16. (Some Homeric present or past unreal conditions and present wishes are exceptions: see 438-441.) In all final constructions the optative (which is used only after past tenses) represents the subjunctive after primary tenses, and is future relatively to the leading verb. E.g.

Εἴθε τοῦτο εἴη (utinam sit), ὅ ὅτι τοῦτο ἐλθεῖ, may they not suffer these things (with a view to the progress of their suffering). But εἴθε μὴ ταῦτα πάθοιει, may they not suffer these things (viewed collectively). Εἴθε τοῦτο ὃν φίλος ἴμων γένοι, may you become a friend to us. ΧΕΝ. Η. 1, 38. Μὴ γένοιτο, may it not happen. See examples of the optative with ἄν below.

Οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἐπιστημή με, εἴ ἐξελαύνοι με τοὺς εὐργήτας, for he would not praise me, if I should banish my benefactors. ΧΕΝ. Ἀ. vii. 7, 11. Εἴρη τοῖς φόρητοι οὐκ ἂν, εἴ πάρα παθοῦσα καλῶς, you would not be endurable, if you should be in prosperity (at any time). ΑΕΣΟΝ. Προμ. 979. Ποῦ γὰρ ἂν τις, ἃ γε μὴ ἐπιστημή, ταῦτα σοφὸς εἴη; for how could any one be wise in that which he did not understand (i.e. εἴ τινα μὴ ἐπιστημή); ΧΕΝ. Μ. 6, 7. Ἀλλ' εἴ τι μὴ φέροιμεν, φέρειν, but if we neglected to bring anything, he always exhorted us to bring it. ΕΥΡ. Α. 955. Οὐκ ἀπέλειπτο ἐτί αὐτοῦ, εἴ μὴ τι ἄναγκαιον εἴη, he never left him, unless there was some necessity for it. ΧΕΝ. Μ. 2, 40.

Εἶ ἣλθοι, πάντ' ἂν ἢδοι, if he should go, he would see all. Εἶ ἦλθοι, πάνθ' ἤφα, if ever (whenever) he went, he (at once) saw all. Οὖν εἴ πάντες ἄλλθεν Πέρσαι, πλήθει γε οὐχ ὑπερβαλλόμεθα ἂν τῶν πολέμιων, not even if all the Persians should come, should we surpass the enemy in numbers. ΧΕΝ. ΚΥΡ. 1, 8. Ὅτε ἦξω τοῦ δεινοῦ γένοιτο καὶ ἔλεγεν πρὸς ἄλλους ἄρχοντας ἄπέναια, πολλοὶ αὐτὸν ἀπέλειπον, but when they were come out of danger and it was in their power (present) to go to other commanders, (in all such cases) many left
him. Id. An. ii. 6, 12. 'Anēv γὰρ ἄρχοντον οὐδὲν ἄν οὐτε καλὸν οὐτε ἄγαθὸν γένοιτο, nothing could be done, etc. Ib. iii. 1, 38. Οὐκ οἶδα ὃ τι ἐν τοῖς χρήσιμοις αὐτοῖς, I do not know what use any one could make of them. Ib. iii. 1, 40.

Τοῦτον ἐπέθηκεν, ἵνα εἰς πρᾶττει, he desired this in order that he might be in prosperity. Ἐφοβείτο μὴ τούτο ποιοῖν, he feared lest they should do this (habitually). Δῆλος ἦν ἐπιθυμῶν ἄρχειν, ὅτως πλέον λαμμαῖοι, ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ τιμᾶσθαι, ἵνα πλέων κερδαινοί. φίλος τε ἐβουλεύετο εἶναι τοῖς μεγίστα δυνάμεις, ἵνα ἄδικων μὴ διδοῖς δίκην. 

 Xen. An. ii. 6, 21. (Here the aorist optative would have referred to single acts of receiving, getting gain, and suffering punishment, while the present refers to a succession of cases, and to a whole course of conduct.) Ἡν δὲ Φίλιππος ἐν φόβῳ μὴ ἐκφυγὸι τὰ πράγματα αὐτῶν, Philip was in fear lest the control of affairs might escape him. Dem. xviii. 33.

95. The aorist optative with ἐπείδη or ἔπει, after that, is referred by the meaning of the particle to time preceding that of the leading verb, like the aorist subjunctive in 90; so that ἐπείδη ἱδοί ἄπροβε means after he had seen he (always) went away. This gives the aorist in translation the force of a pluperfect. So after words meaning until, and in the other cases mentioned in 90. Ex.

Οὗς μὲν δοῦν εἰςάκτως ἑδράντες, τίνες τε εἰεὶν ἰρότα, καὶ ἔπει πῦθοι τοῦ ἐπῆνει, he asked any whom he saw nourishing in good order, who they were; and after he had ascertained, he praised them. Xen. Cyr. v. 3, 55. Περιεκμόνεν ἐκάστοτε ἔς ἄνοιχτειν ὁ διεξομῆναι ἐπείδη δὲ ἄνοιχτειν, εἰςέμεν παρὰ τὴν Σωκράτην, we waited each morning until the prison was opened (or had been opened); and after it was opened, we went in to Socrates. Plat. Phaed. 59 D. In Plat. Rep. 331 C, εἰ τες λάβοι παρὰ φίλον ἀνδρὸς συφρονοῦντος ὅπλα, εἰ μανεῖς ἀπαίτοτι, is thus given by Cicero (Offic. iii. 95): Si gladium quis apud te sanam mentis despisisset, repetat insaniens; and there can be no doubt that εἰληφὼς εἰη (the equivalent of desposuerit) would have been more exact than λάβοι in Greek (see 91). For a peculiar aorist optative in Il. x. 537, see above (93, end).

Infinitive.

96. A present or aorist infinitive (without ἄν) not in indirect discourse is still a verbal noun so far that it expresses no time except such as is implied in the context. Thus, when it depends on a verb of wishing or commanding or any other verb whose natural object is a future action, or when it expresses purpose, it is future without regard to its tense; as, in βουλομαι νικᾶν (or νικήσαι), I wish to be victorious (or to gain victory), the infinitive expresses time only so far as the noun νικήρ would in βουλομαι νικήρ. Likewise,
when the present or aorist infinitive (without ἄν) has the article, except in the rare cases in which it stands in indirect discourse (794), it has no reference to time in itself; as in τὸ γενώσαι ἐπιστήμην λαβεῖν ἐστὶν, to learn is to obtain knowledge, where γενώσαι expresses time only as the noun γενώσις would in its place. *E.g.*

"Ἐξεστὶ μόνειν, it is possible to remain. Ἐξεστὶ τὸτὸ ποιεῖν, it will be possible to do this. Δομαὶ ὑμῶν πρέπει, I beg you to remain. Τι τὸ κολύτιν ἐὰν αὐτὸν ἔσται βαδίζειν ὅποι βούλειται, what will there be to prevent him from going whether he pleases? DEM. i. 12. Ἐκέλευσα αὐτὸν τούτο ποιεῖν, I commanded him to do this. Ἑβούλετο σοφὸς εἶναι, he wished to be wise. Δεινὸς ἄστι λέγειν, he is skilled in speaking. "Ὡρα βαδίζειν, it is time to be going. Πάν ποιοῦσιν ὡστε δικὴν μὴ διδόναι, they do everything so as to avoid being punished. PLAT. Gorg. 479 C. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐπιτυμᾶν ὡσὶν φύσαι τις ἄν ἔρχον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ τι ἐκ πράττειν ἀποφαίνεσθαι, τοῦ εἶναι συμβουλοῦν, some one may say that finding fault is easy, but that showing what ought to be done is the duty of an adviser. DEM. i. 16. (Ἐπιτυμᾶν, ἀποφαίνεσθαι, and πράττειν belong here; but εἶναι in both cases is in indirect discourse, 117.) Ὡ τοιαύτην ἔνεκεν ταύτῃ ἐπράξεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ δικαίωτα τοῦς Ὑβριστοὺς ἢ ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῦν, he did this not from love of gain, but because of the Thebans making juster demands than you. Id. vi. 13. Ἐτείχισθη δὲ Ἀταλάντῃ νόσος, τοῦ μὴ λῃσσας κακοῦργειν τὴν Εὐβοίαν, in order to prevent pirates from ravaging Εὐβοία. THUC. ii. 32.

Πόλεως ἐστι θάνατος ἀνάστατον γενέσθαι, it is death for a city to be laid waste. LYCURG. 61. ᾫστερ τῶν ἄνδρων τοῦ καλοῦς καγαθοῦς αἰρετοπέρεν ἐστιν καλὸς ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ἕχειν αἰσχρῶς, οὐτό καὶ τῶν πόλεων τῶν ὑπερεχούσων λυσιτελεῖν (ἡγοῦντο) ἐξ ἄνθρωπων ἀφανισθῆναι μάλλον ἢ δούλων ὁφθηναι γενομέναις, as it is preferable for honourable men to die (aor.) nobly rather than to continue living (pres.) in disgrace, so also they thought that it was better (pres.) for the pre-eminent among states to be (at once) made to disappear (aor.) from among men, than to be (once) seen (aor.) to fall into slavery. ISOCC. iv. 95. Πέμπω σου εἰς τὴν Κέρκυραν πρέσβεις, δεύομεν μὴ σφαίρα περιορᾶν φθειρόμενος, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τῇ φευγόντας εὐναλλάζας σφίζοι καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων πόλεων καταλῦσαι, asking them not to allow them to be destroyed, but to bring their excess to terms with them, and to put an end to the barbarian war. THUC. i. 24. Τὸ γὰρ γνώσας ἐπιστήμην πον λαβεῖν ἐστὶν, to learn is to obtain knowledge. PLAT. Theaet. 209 E. Πάντες τὸ καταλέπτειν αὐτὰ πάντων μάλαστα φεύγομεν, we all dry most of all to avoid leaving them behind. ΧΕΝ. Mem. ii. 2, 3. Οὐ γὰρ τὸ μὴ λαβεῖν τἀγαθὰ οὐτὸ γε χαλεπῶν ᾦσπερ τὸ λαβόντα στρεφθῆναι λυπηρῶν. Id. Cyt. vii. 5, 82. Τοῦ πείναι ἐπιθυμοῦ, the desire of obtaining drink. THUC. vii. 84. Κέλευε αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν, he commands him to go. Ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν, he commanded him to go. Kε-
97. The distinction between the present and aorist infinitive is well illustrated by Aristotle, when he says of pleasure, Eth. x. 3, 4, ἔχειν μὲν γὰρ ἡμῶν τόπως ὑστεροὶ ὑγιεῖναι, ἦδεσθαι δὲ οὖ, οὐδὲ πρὸς ἔτερον: βαδίζειν δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀνέβαι καὶ πάντα τὰ τωμάτα. μεταβάλλειν μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν ἡδονὴν ταχεῖς καὶ βραδεῖς ἐστιν, ἐνεργεῖν δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν οὖν ἐστι ταχεῖς, λέγω δὲ ἦδεσθαι. We may become pleased (ὑγιεῖναι) quickly, as we may yet angry quickly; but we cannot be pleased (ἦδεσθαι) quickly, even as compared with another person, although we can thus walk and grow and do such things. We may then change into a state of pleasure quickly or slowly, but we cannot actually enjoy the pleasure, I mean be pleased (ἦδεσθαι), quickly.

So in Plat. Theaet. 155 C, Socrates says, ἄνευ τοῦ γὰρ γενέσθαι γενέσθαι ἄδυναν (sc. ἐμὲ ἐλάττω), i.e. without going through the process of becoming (γενέσθαι) smaller, it is impossible for me to get (γενέσθαι) smaller.

98. Χρώμα, ἀναρέω, ψηφίζω, and other verbs signifying to give an oracular response, generally take the present or the aorist infinitive, expressing the command or warning of the oracle, where we might expect the future in indirect discourse (135). These verbs here take the ordinary construction of verbs of commanding, advising, and warning. E.g.

Δέσται δὲ Ἀλκμαῖον τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ταύτην τὴν γῆν χρῆσαι οἰκείω, it is said that Apollo gave a response to Alcmaeon that he should inhabit this land (warned him to inhabit it). Thuc. ii. 102. Χρωμένω δὲ τῷ Κύλωνι ἄνελεν ο θεός ἐν τῇ τοῦ Δίως τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐορτῇ καταλαβένην τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἀκρόπολιν, that he should reside. Id. i. 126. Ἐκέχρητο γὰρ τούτω Σπάρτιττι, ἢ Λακεδαιμόνα ἀναστατοῦσιν γενέσθαι ἢ τὸν βασιλέα οἰκεῖοι ἀπολέσθαι. Hist. vii. 220. Ἑθεστισομείτες κομίσοικες καὶ εἰσίδειον. Eur. I. T. 1014. Ὡς χρησμοῖ δύντως τὴν πόλιν διαφθαρῆναι, as if there were an oracle damning the city to perish. Plat. Rep. 415 C. Πολλάκιε γὰρ οἱ ἔστε νοῦσιν ὑπ' ἄργυλη φθίσθαι ἢ ὑπὸ Τρωῆσι δαμὴν, the diviner told him that he must either die by painful disease, or perish at the hands of the Trojans. II. xiii. 667. But we find ἀνέλεν ἐσεσθαί, Thuc. i. 118; χρῆσαντος κρατῆσειν, Lic. 99; ἐκέχρητο βασιλεύσειν, Hist. ii. 147; as indirect discourse.
99. Even verbs of saying and thinking, as λέγω when it signifies to command, and δοκεῖ, it seems good, may take the present or aorist infinitive not in indirect discourse, like other verbs of the same meaning. Εἰπὼν seldom takes the infinitive, except when it signifies to command (753). The context will always distinguish these cases from indirect quotations. E.g.

Τούτους ἐλεγον πλείν, I told them to sail. Dem. xix. 150. (Τούτους ἐλεγον πλείν would mean I said that they were sailing.) Εἰπών μεθάνα παρεῖναι εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, having given orders that no one should pass into the citadel. Xen. Hell. v. 2, 29. Ὡ δίκαι, ἦδη μὲν κεν ἐγὼν εἰπόμην καὶ ἁμαν μνηστήρων ἐστὶν αὐτό μοι ἀκοντισάμεν, now I would command you to join me in hurling, etc. Od. xxii. 262. Παραδοῦναι λέγει, he tells us to give her up (he says, give her up). Ar. Av. 1679. Δοκεῖ ἦν τούτο τοιεών (or τοιεσσαί) it pleases us to do this. (But δοκεῖ μοι ἦν τούτο τοιεών (or τοιεσσαί) generally means it seems to me that you are doing this, or did this.) Edoξει in the sense it was resolved, introducing a decree, is followed by the present or aorist (not future) infinitive.

100. Verbs of hoping, expecting, promising, and swearing form an intermediate class between those that take the infinitive in indirect discourse and other verbs (136). When they refer to a future object, they naturally take the future infinitive, but may also have the present or aorist infinitive (not in indirect discourse) like verbs of wishing, etc. Thus he promised to give may be ὑπέσχετο δίδωναι (or δοῦναι) as well as ὑπέσχετο δώσειν.

To facilitate comparison, the examples of the present and aorist infinitive thus used are given with those of the future in 136.

101. The present aitiai εἰμι, I am the cause, is often used with reference to the past, where logically a past tense would be needed; as aitiai ἔστι τούτω θανεῖν, he is the cause of his death, instead of aitiai ἦν τούτω θανεῖν, he was the cause of his death. This may make an ordinary aorist infinitive appear like a verb of past time. E.g.

Ἄφθονοι οὖν εἰσι καὶ ὃμιν πολλῶν ὡδὴ πευσθήναι καὶ δὴ αἰῶνες γέ τινας ἀπολέσθαι, they are the cause why you were deceived and some even perished (i.e. they caused you to be deceived and some even to perish). Lys. xix. 51. Τιθομάντων· οἱ δὲ ἔνοτες αἰτίαί θανεῖν, they are dead; and the tithing are the causes of their death. Soph. Ant. 1173. "Ἡ μοι μητρὶ μὲν θανεῖν μονὴ μεταίτιος. Id. Tr. 1233.

Perfect.

102. As the perfect indicative represents an act as finished at the present time, so the perfect of any of the dependent moods properly represents an act as finished at
the time (present, past, or future) at which the present of that mood would represent it as going on.

103. The perfect subjunctive and optative are very often expressed in the active, and almost always in the passive and middle, by the perfect participle with ὄ and εἴην; and this combination of a present and a perfect makes the time denoted especially clear. Where the present would denote future time, the perfect denotes future-perfect time. E.g.

Τὸ χρόνον γεγονόθαι πολὺν δέδοικα μή τινα λήθην ὑμῖν πεποιήκη,
I fear lest the lapse of a long time that has occurred may (when you come to decide the case) prove to have caused in you some forgetfulness (see 91).

Dem. xix. 3. (Μή ποτέ would mean lest it may cause, the time being the same as before.) Χρή αὐτὰ [ἀ] τελευτήσατε ἐκάτερον περιμένει ἀκούσαι, ἵνα τελέσω εἰκάτεροι αὐτῶν ἀπελήφη τὰ ἀφελεῖμα, we must hear what awaits each of them after death, that (when we have finished) each may have fully received his deserts. Plat. Rep. 614 A. Τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους, κῶν δεδωκότες ὑμῖν εὐθύνα, τὴν δεδομένην ὑμῶν προτεινόμενον, I see that other men, even if they have already rendered their accounts,—i.e. if they are (in the state of) persons who have rendered their accounts,—always offer a perpetual reckoning. Dem. xix. 2. Ἀνδρεῖον γε πάνω νομίζωμεν, δὲ ἐν πεπαλήγῃ πατέρα, we always consider one very manly who has (may have) beaten his father. Ar. Av. 1350. Νόμων θέσεων μιμητή τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑμᾶς βοηθήσων ὑμῖν, βοήθῃ, δὲ ἐν μῇ πρῶτεροι βέβαιως ὑμῖν ἢ, to exact a law that you shall assist no one of the Greeks who shall not previously have assisted you. Dem. xix. 16. (Ὅς ἐν μῇ πρῶτεροι βοηθή would mean who shall not previously assist you.)

Ἑδείσαιν μὴ λούσα ἡμῖν ἐμπετώκου, they feared lest madness might prove to have fallen upon us. Xen. An. v. 7, 26. (Μὴ ἐμπέπτου would mean lest it might fail upon us.) Ἑδείσαθεν τῶν δικαιῶν μιμητὴν τοιούτῳ πρόξει, ἢ ἐγὼ μηδενα Ἀθηναίων ἀπεκτῶν ἵππη, that I might not be in the position of having put an Athenian to death. Dem. liii. 18. "Ἡ γὰρ εἰρθή λέγον σοι ταῦτα, ἑγώ δὲν ἐκπεφευγω ὑμῶν πάθος, I should (in that case) have escaped harm. Soph. O. T. 839. Πῶς οὖκ ἐν οἰκτρόταται πάνω ἐγὼ πεπονθῶς εἰ ἢ, εἰ ἐμε ἀφιέρωσαντο εἰὼν ἐξεῖν οὐκ εἰὼν; how should I not have suffered the most pitiable of all things, if they should vote me to be an alien? Dem. lvii. 44. (This could have been expressed, with a very slight difference in meaning, πῶς οὖν πεπονθῶς έστωμαι, εἰ τοιούτῳ εἴη, how shall I not have suffered, etc.)
Εἰ δρόμων πεπονθῶς εἰκάτερος ἡμῶν ἐι, οὐ καὶ ἀμφότεροι ἐν τούτῳ πεπονθούμεν; if each of us should have suffered anything whatsoever, would not both of us have suffered it? Plat. Hipp. M. 301 A. Οὐκ ἐν διὰ τοῦτο γ' εἶνεν οὐκ εὔθες δεδωκότες, this, at least, cannot be the reason why they did not pay it at once: lit. they would not (on inquiry) prove to have not paid it at once on this account. Dem. xxx. 10.

104. The perfect subjunctive in protasis corresponds exactly to the
Latin future perfect indicative; but the Greek seldom uses this cumbersome perfect, preferring the less precise aorist (91). The perfect optative, in both protasis and apodosis, corresponds to the Latin perfect subjunctive; but it is seldom used, for a similar reason (95).

The perfect optative can hardly be accurately expressed in English. For when we use the English forms *would have suffered* and *should have suffered* to translate the perfect optative, these are merely vaguer expressions for *will* and *shall have suffered*. (See the examples above.)

\[ \text{I should have suffered is commonly past in English, being equivalent to} \]  
\[ \text{παθών ἄν} ; \text{but here it is future, and is therefore liable to be misunderstood.} \]

There is no more reference to past time, however, in the perfect optative with ἄν, than there is in the future perfect indicative (77) in such expressions as *μάθην ἐμοὶ κεκλαυστέα, I shall have had my whippings for nothing* (referring to those received in his boyhood), 

\[ \text{Ath. Nub. 1436.} \]

105. The perfect imperative is most common in the third person singular of the passive, where it expresses a command that something just done or about to be done shall be *decisive and final*. It is thus equivalent to the perfect participle with ἔστω. *E.g.*

\[ \text{Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ταῦτα εἰρήσθω, let so much have been thus said,} \]  
\[ (= εἰρήμενα ἔστω), i.e. let what has been thus said be sufficient. Plat.} \]  
\[ \text{Crat. 401 D. But ὅμως δὲ εἰρήσθω ὅτα, κ.τ.λ., still let as much as this (which follows) be said (once for all), that, etc. Id. Rep. 607 C. Περὶ} \]  
\[ \text{τῶν ἔδωκεν ταῦτα μοι προειρήσθω, let this have been said (once for all) by way of introduction. Isoc. iv. 14. Ταῦτα πεπαίσθω τε ὑμῖν, καὶ} \]  
\[ ὅσοι ἱκανῶς ἔχει, let this be the end of the play, etc. Plat.} \]  
\[ \text{Enthyl. 278 D. Τεταχθοῦ ἦμιν κατὰ δήμουργίαν ὁ τοιοῦτος ἄνηρ, let such a man remain (where we have placed him), corresponding to democracy. Id. Rep.} \]  
\[ 561 E. Ἀπειρογάμησθω δὴ ἦμιν αὕτη ἡ πολιτεία, let this now be a sufficient description of this form of government. Ib. 553 A. Μέχρι τοῦτο ὁρίσθω ὁμοί ἡ βραδυτής, at this point let the limit of your sluggishness be fixed. Thuc. i. 71.} \]

The third person plural in the same sense could be expressed by the perfect participle with ἔστων, as in Plat. Rep. 502 A, ὁδοῖν τοῖνος τοῦτο πεπεισμένοι ἔστων, grant then that these have been persuaded of this.

106. On this principle the perfect imperative is used in mathematical language, to imply that something is to be considered as proved or assumed *once for all*, or that lines drawn or points fixed are to remain as data for a following demonstration. *E.g.*

\[ \text{Εἴλῃ ἃθανατον ἐπὶ τῆς ΑΒ τοιχόν σημεῖον τὸ Δ, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ΑΓ τῆς ΛΔ ἵνα ἔκτη ἡ ΑΕ, let any point Δ be assumed as taken in the line ΑΒ, and AE equal to ΛΔ as cut off from ΑΓ. Eucl. i. Pr. 9.} \]

107. The perfect imperative of the second person is rare; when it is used, it seems to be a little more emphatic than the present or aorist. *E.g.*
108. In verbs whose perfect has the force of a present (49) the perfect imperative is the ordinary form; as μέμνησο, κεκληθώ, ἵσταθι, ἵστατο, τεθάνω, τεθάντω, ἵστα. So κεκήνατε, Ar. Ach. 133; μή κεκράγατε, Vesp. 415. The perfect imperative active seems to have been used only in such verbs. Occasionally we find the periphrastic form with the participle and εἶµι, as ἔστω ἐμβεβηκώναι, Plut. Leg. 736 B.

109. The perfect infinitive not in indirect discourse generally represents an act as finished when the present would represent it as going on (96). E.g.

Οὐδὲ βουλεύεσθαι ἐτὶ άρα, ἀλλὰ βεβουλεύονται τής γὰρ ἐπιούσῃς νυκτὸς πάντα τὰ ταῦτα δεῖ πετράχθαι, it is no longer time even to be deliberating, but (it is time) to have done deliberating; for all this must be finished within the coming night. Plut. Crit. 46 A. Καὶ μὴν περί δὲν γε προσετέχει προσήκει διερκέσκειν, and it is his duty to have attended to the business about which you gave him instructions. Dem. xix. 6. (This refers to an ambassador presenting his accounts on his return.) Ξυνετύγχανε πολλαχοῦ διὰ τὴν στενοχωρίαν τὰ μὲν ἄλλοις ἐμβεβηκέναι τὰ δ’ αὐτῶν ἐμβεβλήσθαι, δύο τε περὶ μιᾶν ἔμπνητησθαί, it often befell them to have made an attack on one side and (at the same time) to have been attacked themselves on the other, etc. Thuc. vii. 70. Ἀνάγκῃ γὰρ τὰ μὲν μέγιστ’ αὐτῶν ἤδη κατα-κεχρήσθαι μικρὰ δὲ τινὰ παραλειπόμεθα, for it must be that the most important subjects have been used up, and that only unimportant ones have been left. Isoc. iv. 74. Οὐκ ἦσθεν ἐμβαίνειν διὰ τὸ κατα-πλήχθαι τῇ ἡσυχίᾳ, they were unwilling to embark on account of having been terrified by the defeat. Thuc. vii. 72. Τὸ γὰρ πολλά ἀπολω-κέναι κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τῆς ἡμετέρου ἀμέλειας ἀν τις θείη δικαιώ, τὸ δὲ μὴ πάλαι τοῦτο πεπονθέναι πεφηνέναι τε τινὰ ἡμῶν συμμαχίαν τοῦτων ἀντίρρησθον, τῆς παρ’ ἐκείνων εὐνοίᾳ εὐεργετείη ἀν ἐγώγε τειχῆν, for our having lost many things during the war one might justly charge upon our neglect; but we never having suffered this before, and the fact that an alliance has now appeared to us to make up for these losses, I should consider a benefaction, etc. Dem. i. 10. (Compare γεγενήσθαι in the first example under 103.) Ἐφθασαν παροικοῳδιπή-σαντες, ὅστε μηκέτι μὴ δὴ καλύσθαι ὑπ’ αὐτῶν, ἐκείνως τε καὶ παντάπασιν ἀπετερηκέναι . . . σφᾶς ἀποστειχίσαντες, i.e. they carried their own wall first beyond that of the Athenians, so as no longer to be themselves interfered with by them, and so as to have effectually prevented them from walking them in. Thuc. vii. 6. Ἐπεμελήθη καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, ὅστε τῶν παρόντων τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθῶν μηδὲν μὲν ἀνευ τῆς πόλεως
The perfect infinitive sometimes signifies that the action is to be decisive and permanent (like the perfect imperative, 108); and sometimes it seems to be merely more emphatic than the present or aorist infinitive. E.g.

Εἶπον τὴν ὑδραν κεκλείσαθαί, they ordered that the door should be shut (and remain so). Xen. Heil. v. 4, 7. Βουλόμενοι ἄγωνι καὶ δικαστρίᾳ μοι διωρίσθαι παρεὐρημένοι ὄμιν ὅτι τάνατοι ἔμοι καὶ τοῖς πέρακται, i.e. wishing to have it once for all settled in your minds.

Theoloukas πρὸς πόλας πεπτωκέναι, eager to fall before the gates. Aesch. Sept. 462. "Ἡλαυνεὶ ἐπί τοὺς Μένωνας, ὡστε ἐκεῖνος ἐκπεπλήσθαι καὶ τρέχειν ἐπί τὰ ὅπλα, he marched against the soldiers of Menon, so that they were (once for all) thoroughly frightened and ran to arms. Xen. An. i. 5, 13. (Here ἐκπεπλήσθαι is merely more emphatic than the present or aorist would be.)

The future.

The future is used in the dependent moods only in the optative and the infinitive, and in these it is never regular except in indirect discourse and kindred constructions and in the periphrastic form with μέλλον (73).

For the future optative in indirect discourse see 128-134; for the future infinitive in indirect discourse see 135 and 136.

In constructions out of indirect discourse the present and aorist infinitive can always refer to future time if the context requires it (96), so that the future infinitive is here rarely needed. Therefore, after verbs which naturally have a future action as their object but yet do not introduce indirect discourse,—as those of commanding, wishing, etc. (684),—the present or aorist infinitive (not the future) is regularly used. Thus the Greek expresses they wish to do this not by βουλόμεναι τῶ ὁτο τοι ἐσεῖν, but by βουλόμεναι τῶ ὁτο τοι ἐπίτε (or τοι ἐσεῖν). So the infinitive in other future expressions, as after ὅτε and in its final sense, is
generally present or aorist. (For the single exception after μέλλω, see 73.)

113. On the other hand, when it was desired to make the reference to the future especially prominent, the future infinitive could be used exceptionally in all these cases. Thus we sometimes find the future after verbs signifying to be able, to wish, to be unwilling, and the like; sometimes also in a final sense or with ἔστε and ἐφ’ ὄσε; and sometimes when the infinitive with the article refers to future time. This use of the future is a partial adoption of the form of indirect discourse in other constructions. It was a particularly favourite usage with Thucydides. E.g.

'Εδειχθησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν Μεγαρίων ναυτὶς σφάς ἐξυμπροσέμεθιν, they asked the Megarians also to escort them with ships. ΘΕΟΣ ν. 27. Ἐφανείσαι τοῖς μεταμορφωθποσθαί. Id. vi. 57. Σο ἐπεχειρήσεις τοῖς ἀδικεῖσι. ΑΞΕΩΝ. ι. i. 132. Το τοῦτο κατανοοῦν καλεῖσιν. ΘΕΟΣ ν. 56. Ἐφάνεισεν δὲ τῆς πίσεις ἀρετίς, βοήθησιν δὲ ἀρετοῖς ἐντρέποις βουλεύσαι τοῖς ἀστών ἐξαγεγέρσει καὶ νομισάσῃς. Id. vi. 6. (Here βοήθεις is regular.) Το ταῖς ναυτὶς αὐτῶν ἐν οἰκολογίας ἐπεχειρήσεις, to prevent them from being without spirit to attack them in ships. Id. vii. 21. Οὕτως ἄποκριτῆσθεν δόνατος ὑπέστης. Id. iii. 28. Εἰ σε γὰρ ἐν κακίας ἐξείσεις δυναμός σαβωνεῖ. SORH. Ph. 1394. Εἴ τις εἰς τοῦτο ἀναβάλλεται ποιήσεις τὰ δεοὺς, if any one avoweth doing his duty as far as this. DEM. iii. 9. (The ordinary construction would be ἀναβάλλεται ποιήσεις εἰς ποιήσαι.) Οὕτως τῶν προγόνων μερίσθαι [δεῖ σωτῆρις ἀνεξεσθαί, νόμον τε θῆσεις καὶ γράψεις, κ.τ.λ. DEM. xix. 16. (Here we have δεῖ θῆσης.) Πολλοῖς δὲ εἰμιντον γε ἀδύκησεις καὶ κατ’ εἰμιντον ἐρεῖται αὐτῶς. PIAE. τ. 37 B.

Τούς ὁμόρους παρεδόσασα τῷ Ἀργείων δήμῳ διὰ ταύτα διαχρήσεις, that they might put them to death. THUC. vi. 61. So πενεσθαι, Id. iii. 26. Εἴπη τε βοήθησεις. AΞΕΩΝ. iii. 114 (see 610). Ἀποδείξοι αὐτῶν τὴν προκά τινι δεδομένην οὐ μεγάλοις πειράσεσι ὠστε ἤμας ἀπαντάσεις εἰσεσθαίς. DEM. xxx. 8: so xxix. 5. 'Ελπίδω τὸ ἄφαντος τοῦ κατορθώσειν ἐπιτρέψαντες, having committed to hope what was uncertain in the prospect of success. THUC. ii. 42. (Here κατορθώσειν is more explicit than the present κατορθοῦν would be: τὸ ἄφαντος τοῦ κατορθοῦν would mean simply what was uncertain in regard to success.) Τοῦ ἔχεις ἐλθεῖν πιστότερον τὸ ἐκφοβόθησεις ἦμας ἀκυδώνως ἠγούνται, they feel more confidence in the prospect of frightening us without risk than in meeting us in battle. Id. iv. 126. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐξελέγχεις αὐτῶν θαρρόν καὶ πάντων ποιήσεις, I have courage and great confidence as to my convincing him. DEM. xix. 3. (Here most of the ordinary MSS. read ἐξελέγχεις.)

See also THUC. iv. 115 and 121, v. 35, vii. 11, viii. 55 and 74; and Krüger's note on i. 27, where these passages are cited. In several of these there is some Ms. authority for the aorist infinitive.
114. The future perfect infinitive occurs only in indirect discourse (137), except in verbs whose perfect has the sense of a present (82).

B. OPTATIVE AND INFINITIVE OF INDIRECT DISCOURSE.

115. When the optative and infinitive are in indirect discourse, each tense represents the corresponding tense of the direct discourse; the present including also the imperfect, and the perfect also the pluperfect.

See the general principles of indirect discourse (667). The optative is included here only as it is used after past tenses to represent an indicative or subjunctive of the direct discourse. No cases of the optative or infinitive with ἄν are considered here: for these see Chapter III. For the meaning of the term "indirect discourse" as applied to the infinitive, see 684.

PRESENT OPTATIVE.

116. The present optative in indirect discourse may represent the following forms of direct discourse:—

1. The present indicative of a leading verb. E.g.

Περικλῆς προηγόρευεν, ὅτι Ἀρχιδαμὸς οἱ ἔνοι εἶη, Pericles announced that Archidamus was his friend (i.e. he said ἔνοι μοι ἐστίν). Thuc. ii. 13. Ἔγγοροαν ὅτι κενὸς ὁ φόβος εἶη, they learned that their fear was groundless (i.e. they learned κενὸς ἐστίν ὁ φόβος). Xen. An. ii. 2, 21. Ἐπιθύμετο εἰ οἰκοῖτο ἡ χώρα, he asked whether the country was inhabited (i.e. he asked the question οἰκεῖται ἡ χώρα;). Xen. Cyr. iv. 4, 4.

2. The present indicative or subjunctive of a dependent verb. E.g.

Εἶπεν ὅτι ἀνδρα ἄγοι ὅν ἐρξαί δέοι, he said that he was bringing a man whom it was necessary to confine (he said ἀνδρα ἄγω ὅν εἰρξαι δέοι). Xen. Hell. v. 4, 8. Ὅγειτό ἂν ποιήσειν αὐτὸν εἰ τις ἀργύριον διδοῖ, he believed that the man would do anything if one were to give him money (he believed ἂν ποιήσει εὰν τις ἀργύριον διδοῖ). Lys. xii. 14.

3. The present subjunctive in a question of appeal (287). E.g.

Κλάρχος ἔβουλευε, εἰ πέμπωμεν τινας ἡ πάντες ἐσθεν, Clear- chus was deliberating whether they should send a few or should all go. Xen. An. i. 10, 5. (The question was, πέμπωμεν τινας ἡ πάντες
The context will always make it clear whether the optative represents a subjunctive (as here) or an indicative (1).

4. The imperfect indicative of a leading verb. *E.g.*

'Απεκρίναντο δότι οἴδεις μάρτυς παρελή, they replied that no witness had been present (when a certain payment was made). Dem. xxx. 20. (They said οἴδεις παρήν.)

This is the rare imperfect optative (673). The imperfect indicative is regularly retained in such cases, and is always retained in a dependent clause of a quotation (689, 2).

PRESENT INFINITIVE.

117. (As Present.) The present infinitive in indirect discourse generally represents a present indicative of the direct form. *E.g.*

Φησί διαφέμι, he says that he is writing; ἐφη διαφέμι, he said that he was writing; φήσει διαφέμι, he will say that he is (then) writing. (In all three cases he says γράφω.) Ἀρρωστέιν προ-
φαυλίζεται, he pretends that he is sick; ἐξώσευν ἄρρωστεῖν τοῦτον, he took his oath that this man was sick. Dem. xix. 124. Οὐκ ἐφη αὐτὸς ἀλλ' ἐκείνος στρατηγεῖν, he said that not he himself, but Nicias, was general; i.e. he said οὐκ ἐφη αὐτὸς ἀλλ' ἐκείνος στρατηγεῖ. Thuc. iv. 28. See other examples under 683.

118. Verbs of hoping and swearing may thus take the present infinitive in indirect discourse. This must be distinguished from the more common use of the present and aorist infinitive (not in indirect discourse) after these verbs, referring to the future (100; 136). *E.g.*

'Ελπίζων εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἀλβότατος, ταῦτα ἐπειρῶτα, he asked this, trusting that he was the most happy of men. Hdt. i. 30. So i. 22, ἔλπιζον συμποτιόν τε εἶναι ἱσχυρόν καὶ τοῦ λεών πετροῦσθαι. 
Εὐνόμα δ' ἐλπίζω λέγειν, and I hope I speak for the common good. Aesch. Sept. 76. 'Ομιλοῦτες βλέπειν τοὺς οὐκέτ' ὤντα ζωντ' Ἀχιλλεία πάλιν, i.e. swearing that they saw Achilles alive again. Soph. Ph. 357.

Compare the first two examples with ἔλπιζον δύνατον εἶναι, he hopes to be able, Plut. Rep. 573 C; and the last with ὄμοσαί εἶναι μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν κοινὴν, πάντας δ' ὣμοι ἀποδούναι τὴν χώραν, to swear that the dominion shall be common, and that all shall surrender the land, Dem. xxiii. 170. (See 136 and the examples.)

119. (As Imperfect.) The present infinitive may also represent an imperfect indicative of the direct discourse, thus supplying the want of an imperfect infinitive. *E.g.*
PRESENT INFINITIVE IN INDIRECT DISCOURSE

Τίνας οὖν εἰχές ὑπολαμβάνει ἐνεχεσθαί τοῖς θεοῖς τὸν διίλιπ-
πον ὅτε ἐπενδεῖεν; what prayers then do you suppose Philip made to the
Gods when he was pouring his libations? DEM. xix. 130. (Here the
temporal clause ὅτε ἐπενδεῖεν shows that εἰνεχεσθαί is past.) Πότερ
οἰεσθεὶ πλέον Φωκάς Θηβαίων ἢ Φιλίππον ἡμῶν κρατεῖν τῇ
πολέμῳ; do you think that the superiority of the Phocians over the
Thebans or that of Philip over you was the greater in the war (the war
being then past)? DEM. xix. 148. (Here the direct discourse would
be ἐκράτουν and ἐκράτησο.) Πῶς γὰρ οἰεσθεὶ δωξχερῶς ἄκοιν
Ὀλυμπίους, εἰ τε τί λέγει κατὰ Φιλίππον κατ’ ἐκείνους τούς χρόνους
ὁτ’ Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτοῖς ἀφεῖ; . . . ἀρα προσδοκᾶν αὐτοὺς τοιαύτα
πιστεύσας (sc. οἰεσθεὶ); . . . ἀρ’ οἰεσθε, ὅτε τοὺς τυράννους ἐξεβάλλε,
(τοὺς Θηβαίους) προσδοκᾶν, κ.τ.λ.; for how unwillingly do you
think the Olympians used to hear it, if any one said anything against
Philip in those times when he was ciceling Anthemus to them, etc.? Do
you think they were expecting to suffer such things? Do you think that
the Thebans, when he was expelling the despots, were expecting, etc.? DEM.
vi. 20 and 22. (The direct questions were πῶς ἥκονον εἰ λέγοι;
and προσδεόμεν;) Καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων ἡμῶν 렷γοντας
ἀκοῦς τούτω τῷ ἐφει χρῆσθαι, I hear that they used to follow this
custom. DEM. iii. 21. Τὰ μὲν τρὶ "Ελλήνων οἰδὲ ἐναι ἡ ἐπίκλησις
αὐτῆ (sc. δοκεῖ), in the times before Hellen this name does not appear to
have ever existed. THUC. i. 3. Again, in the same sentence of Thucy-
dides, παρέχεσθαι, to have furnished. Μήδεν οὖν ἄλλο μηνχανᾶσθαι
ἡ ὅπως . . . δέξοιτο, ὡν . . . γέγονον. PLAT. Rep. 430 A.
Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐφη σφῶς μὲν δειπνείν, τόν δὲ Σωκράτην ὡκ εἰσείναι
τὸν οὖν Ἀγάθωνα πολλάκις κελεῦθεν μεταπέφυσθαι τὸν Σωκράτην,
ἐ δὲ οὖν ἐάν. PLAT. Symp. 175 C. (He said, δειπνοῦμε, ὦ δ σ. οὐκ
εἰσῆγε, ὦ οὖν Ἰ. ἐκέλευς ἐγώ δὲ οὐκ εἰσέων.) Συντυχεῖν γὰρ (ἐφη)
Ἀτρεστῶς παρὰ Φιλίππον πορευομένω, καὶ μετ’ αὐτοῦ γνώμαι καὶ
παῦδαρι βαδίζειν, for he said that he had met (aor.) Atreidas coming
from Philip, and that there were walking with him (impf.), etc. DEM. xix.
305. Τούτ’ ἐγώ φημι δεῖν ἐμὶ μὴ λαθείν, I say that this ought not
to have escaped my notice. DEM. xviii. 190. (The direct form was τούτ’
ἐδεί εἰ μὴ λαθείν, 415.)

The imperfect infinitive is found even in Homer; as καὶ σὲ, γέρνον,
τὸ πρὶν μὲν ἄκοιμον δεῖτον ἐναι, we hear that you were once prosper-
ous. II. xxiv. 543. So II. v. 639; Od. viii. 181, 516.

For the imperfect participle, see 140.

120. This use of the present infinitive as an imperfect must be
carefully distinguished from its ordinary use after past tenses, where
we translate it by the imperfect, as in ἐφη τὸ στράτευμα μάχεσθαι,
he said that the army was fighting. This has sometimes been called an
imperfect infinitive; but here μάχεσθαι refers to time present relatively
to ἐφη; whereas, if it had been used as an imperfect, it would have
referred to time past relatively to ἐφη, as in ἐφη τὸ στράτευμα τῇ
προτεραιᾷ μάχεσθαι, he said that the army had been fighting on the day
before. In the former case the direct discourse was μάξεται, in the latter it was ἔμαχετο. Such an imperfect infinitive differs from the aorist in the same construction only by expressing the duration or repetition of an action (as in the indicative); it gives, in fact, the only means of representing in the infinitive what is usually expressed by λέγει ὅτι ἔποιησεν, he says that he was doing, as opposed to λέγει ὅτι ἔποιησεν, he says that he did. (For the similar use of the present optative to represent the imperfect, see 116, 4.) This construction is never used unless the context makes it certain that the infinitive represents an imperfect and not a present, so that no ambiguity can arise. See the examples.


**Perfect Optative.**

121. The perfect optative in indirect discourse may represent—

1. The perfect indicative of a leading verb. *E.g.*

"Ελέγε τὸν Ἀγαθὰ Κύρος Πέρσας πεποιήκοι, he told how many services Cyrus had done the Persians. Hdt. iii. 75. (Πεποιήκοι here represents πεποιήκε.) Οὕτως ἔλεγον ώς πεστακόσιοι αὐτοῖς εἴησαν ἐκ τοῦ Περαιῶς δεδεκασμένοι. Lys. xxix. 12. (Here the direct discourse was πεστακόσιοι εἴησαν δεδεκασμένοι.)

2. The perfect indicative or subjunctive of a dependent verb. *E.g.*

Εἶπεν ὅτι Δέξιππων ὑν ἐπανοίη ἐὶ ταῦτα πεποιήθη ὡς εἰ (he said oṕh ἐπανοίη ἐὶ ταῦτα πεποιήκε, I do not approve him if he has done this). Xen. An. vi. 6, 25.

"Ελέγομεν ὅτι ἐν παισίν ἐν δεόν ἐπιτιθεῖσιν, εἰσ ὦ αὐτοῦ ἡ φύσις ἐπιτιθειτάτη πεφυκύλλα εἰ (we said ἐκαστὸν ἐν δεὸν ἐπιτιθεῖσιν, εἰς ὦ ἀπο τού φύσις ἡ, each one is to practise one thing, for which his nature is best fitted; though this might be πέφυκε, like πεποιήκε in the first example). Plut. Rep. 433 A.

**Perfect Infinitive.**

122. The perfect infinitive in indirect discourse generally represents a perfect indicative of the direct form. *E.g.*

Φησὶν τούτῳ πεπραχέναι, he says that he has done this; ἐφεσὶν τούτῳ πεπραχέναι, he said that he had done this; φησειν τούτῳ πεπραχέναι, he will say that he has done this (the direct form in each case being
124. The aorist optative in indirect discourse may represent—

1. The aorist indicative of a leading verb. *E.g.*

"Ελεξαν ὅτι πέμψεις σφόδρος ὁ βασιλεύς, they said that the king had sent them (i.e. they said ἐπεμψεν ἡμῶς ὁ βασιλεύς). XEN. Cyr. ii. 4, 7. Τότε ἐγνώσθη ὅτι οἱ βαβυλωνικοὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὑποπέμψασιν, then it became known that the barbarians had sent the man. XEN. An. ii. 4, 22. Ἐτολίμης λέγειν ὅτι πολλὰ τῶν ἑών λάβοιες, he dared to say that they had taken (ἐλαβον) much of my property. DEM. xxvii. 49. Ἡρώτων αὐτόν εἰ ἀπελεύσεις ἐξῶν ἀργύριον, I asked him whether he had set sail with money (i.e. I asked him the question, ἀνέκπειρα;). DEM. l. 55. (This form is rare; see 125.) Ἐπηράντα τίνα ἐδο, he asked whom he had seen (i.e. τίνα ἔδει, whom did you see?). HDT. i. 31. So i. 118: εἴρητο κόθεν λάβοις.

2. The aorist subjunctive of a dependent verb. *E.g.*

Εἴλατο σωτηρία θυσίαν ἐνθα πρῶτον εἰς φιλίαν γῆν ἀφίκοιντο, they vowed that they would make thank offerings for their deliverance wherever they should first enter a friendly land (i.e. ἐνθα ἂν ... ἀφίκοιντο, θυσίας). XEN. An. v. 1, 1 (see iii. 2, 9).

An aorist indicative in a dependent clause of a quotation is regularly retained (689, 3).
3. The aorist subjunctive in a question of appeal (287).
E.g.

Οἱ Ἐπιδάμνωι τὸν θεὸν ἑπτήντο εἰ παραδόειν Κορινθίους τὴν πόλιν, they asked whether they should deliver up their city to the Corinthians (i.e. they asked the question, παραδώμεν τὴν πόλιν; shall we deliver up our city?). Thuc. i. 25. Ἑσκόπτοιν ὃπως κάλλως ἐνέγκαμι αὐτῶν, I looked to see how I could best endure him (i.e. I asked, τῶς ἐνέγκω αὐτῶν; how can I endure him?). Eur. Hipp. 293. Ἀποκρίνετε σκοπῶν δι' ἀποκρίνετο, he continued silent, thinking what he should answer (i.e. thinking τί ἀποκρίνομαι). Xen. Mem. iv. 2, 10. (See 677.)

125. The context must decide whether an aorist optative in an indirect question represents the aorist subjunctive (as in 3) or the aorist indicative (as in the last examples under 1). Thus the first example under 3 might mean they asked whether they had given up their city, παρέδωκαν τὴν πόλιν; But in most cases the aorist subjunctive is the direct form implied, and an aorist indicative used in a direct question is generally retained; εἰ ἀναπλεύσατεν in 1 is, therefore, exceptional.

AORIST INFINITIVE.

126. The aorist infinitive in indirect discourse represents an aorist indicative of the direct form. E.g.

Φησιν τοῦτο ποιήσαι, he says that he did this (i.e. he says τοῦτο ἐποίησα); ἐφη τοῦτο ποιήσαι, he said that he had done this (i.e. he said τοῦτο ἐποίησα); φέρει τοῦτο ποιήσαι, he will say that he did this (i.e. he will say τοῦτο ἐποίησα). Ὁ Κύρος λέγεται γενέσθαι Καμβέσεως, Cyrus is said to have been the son of Cambyses. Xen. Cyro. i. 2, 1. Παλαιότατοι λέγονται ἐν μέρει τών τῆς χώρας Κύκλωπος οἰκίσατε, the Cyclops are said to have settled most anciently in a part of the country. Thuc. vi. 2. Ἡμεῖς ἔποσσον αὐτοῖς μηχανισμός σφάζαν πέμψαν ἄ ἐπομέναν, they were suspected by them of not having sent to them with alacrity what they did send. Thuc. vi. 78.

127. Although the usage of the language is very strict, by which the aorist infinitive after verbs of saying, thinking, etc. is past, as representing an aorist indicative, still several passages are found, even in the best authors, in which an aorist infinitive after such verbs as νομίζω, οἴσαμι, and even φημί refers to future time. Many critics, especially Madvig, deny the existence of this anomaly, and emend the offending aorists to the future or insert ἔως. If they are allowed (and most of the passages still stand uncorrected in many editions), they must be treated as strictly exceptional; and no principle, and no consistent exception to the general principle, can be based on them. E.g.

Φύτε ἀνά τίγοσθαι ἀλήθεια, for he said that he should punish the

1 See Madvig's Bemerkungen über einige Punkte der griechischen Wortfügemelehrte, pp. 34-44: Griech. Syntax, § 172 a, Anm.
offenders. Od. xx. 121. (In II. iii. 28, we have in most Mss. and
editions φάτο γάρ τίσες θαί άλείτην, in precisely the same sense;
but Bekker has τίσασθαί in II. iii. 366. Καὶ
αὐτῷ οὖ μεμψασθαί Ἀπρίην (καὶ ἀπεκρίνατο; παρέσκεσθαί γάρ καὶ
αὐτὸς καὶ ἄλλος ἄξειν, and (he answered) that Αρπίες should not have
reason to blame him; for he was only would be present himself, but would
bring others. Hdt. ii. 162. (Notice the strange transition from the
aorist (?) to the two futures.) Φησίν οὐδὲ τὴν Δίως Ἐριν πέφυ
σκύφωμαι ἐμποδῶν σχεθείν. Aesch. Sept. 429. Ὑμεῖς γὰρ νῦν
ικετέσθαι τάδε, Ι think of imploiring. Eur. I. A. 462. (Hermann
reads ικετεύσειν by conjecture.) Ενώμουσαν ἐπιθέμενοι ῥαδὼς κρατή-
σαί, they thought they should gain the victory. Thuc. ii. 3. Νομίζω,
ὅτι ἐπεί δένομαι, ἀνθρώπος πτυχός γενέσθαι. Xen. Cyr. iv. 3, 15
Οὐκ ἔφασαν ἐπιτρέψαι τάτα γενέσθαι, they said they would not
permit this to happen. Lys. xiii. 15; same in xiii. 47. Τούτῳ δὲ ὄστιν
ὁ μάλλοτα γενέσθαι, εἰ σοὶ συγγένεως, and he thinks that this would
be most likely to happen to him if he should join himself with you. Plat.
Prot. 316 C. (Here we should expect γενέσθαι ἂν, to correspond to
εἰ συγγένεως.)

AR. Nub. 1141 is commonly quoted in this list, as having δικά-
σασθαί φασί μοι in all Mss.; but in the year 1872 I found δικάσασθαί
in Cod. Par. 2712 (Brunck's A) and by correction in 2820, so that
this emendation (as it is commonly thought to be) is confirmed.

It may be thought that the aorist is less suspicious in the Homeric
passages than in Attic Greek, where the uses of indirect discourse are
more precisely fixed.

**Future Optative.**

128. The future optative is used chiefly in indirect
discourse after past tenses, to represent a future indicative
of the direct form. Even here the future indicative is
generally retained (670, b). E.g.

'Ἡπείρῳ τάλλα δὴ αὐτὸς τάκει πράξοι, φιλεῖ, having suggested
as to what remained, that he would himself attend to things there, he
departed. Thuc. i. 90. (Here πράξοι represents πράξω of the direct
discourse, for which we might have πράσσει in the indirect form. See,
in the same chapter, δοκιμᾶμενοι δὲ πέμψωσις, having replied
that they would send, where πέμψους might have been used.) Εἰ τινὰ
φεύγωντα λήψοιτο, προηγόρεων δὲ ὡς πολεμών χρήσοιτο. Xen.
Cyr. iii. 1, 3. (Here the announcement was εἰ τινὰ λήψομαι, ὡς
πολεμών χρήσομαι.) 'Ελευθέρων δὲ έτοιμος εἰς ἤγείονθαί αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸ
Δέλτα, ἐνδέκα πολλά λήψοιτο. Xen. An. vii. 1, 33. (He said
ἐτοιμῶς εἰμί... ἐνδέκα λήψετο.) Here belongs the rare use after
ἐλπίς in Thuc. vi. 30, μετ' ἅλπιδος τε ὢμα καὶ ἄλοντος, τα μὲν ὡς
κτήσοιτο, τοὺς δὲ εἰ ποτὲ ὁψιντο, i.e. (they sailed) with hope and
lamentations at once,—hope that they might acquire Sicily, lamentations at
the thought whether they should ever see their friends again (ὄψω μιᾷ).

129. The future optative occurs first in Pindar, in an indirect
question, ἐκέλευσεν διακρίναι ἄντινα σχέσεις τις ἡμῶν, to decide which
maiden each of the heroes should take (τίνα σχέσεις); Py. ix. 126. It is
used chiefly by the Attic prose writers, as the correlative of the future
indicative, that tense having had no corresponding optative form in
the older language, as the present, perfect, and aorist indicative and
subjunctive had. It is never used with ἀν.

130. Apart from its use after verbs of saying and thinking,
the future optative is found in object clauses with ὅπως after verbs of
striving, etc. (339). Here its use is closely akin to that
in indirect discourse, as it always represents thought which was
originally expressed by the future indicative. E.g.

Ἐπεμελέσοι ὅπως μήτε ἄσιτοι μήτε ἄποτοι ἐσοιντο, he took care
that they should be neither without food nor without drink (his thought
was ὅπως μήτε . . . ἐσονταί). XEN. Cyr. vii. 1, 43. Ἐπεμελήθη
ὅπως οἱ στρατιώται τοὺς πόνους δυνάμειν ὑποφέρειν. XEN. Ag. ii.
8. Μηρίν οὖν ἄλλο μηχανάσθαι, ἢ ὅπως ἧμιν ὧτι κάλλυντα τοὺς
νόμους δέξοιντο ὡσπερ βαφήν. PLAT. Rep. 430 Δ. See Tim. 18 C,
mηχανώμενοι ὅπως μὴ διεύθυνο, νομισώσει δὲ τάντας (where
gνώσεως represents γνώσηται, while the next word νομισώσει is retained
in the indicative). Ἐσκόπει δ Ἐμενελύς ὅπως μὴ ἐσοιντο ἄπας,
ἄλλα ἐσοιντο αὐτῷ ὡστὶ τε γηροτροφίςοι καὶ τελευτήσαντα
θάψοι αὐτῷ, καὶ εἰ στὸν ἑπειτα χρόνον τα νομιζόμενα αὐτῷ ποιήσοι,
Meneses took thought that he might not be childless, but might have some
one to support his old age while he lived and to bury him when he died,
etc. ISA. ii. 10 (see 134). Other examples are XEN. Cyr. viii. 1, 10;
Holl. vii. 5, 3; Oec. vii. 5; PLAT. Ap. 36 C; ISOC. xxi. 13; ISA. 
vi. 35; Dem. xxvii. 40 (ὅπως μυθοθέσσετα, in the MSS.) In XEN. Hell.
ii. 1, 22 we have ὅς with the future optative: προείπεν ὃς μὴ διεύθυ
κινήσοιτο ἐκ τῆς τάξεως μηδὲ ἀνάξοιτο.
In all such cases the future indicative is generally retained (340).

131. The future optative is found in four passages after verbs of
fearing, three times with μή, and once with ὅπως μή:—
Katέβαλε τῷ Ἡρακλεώτων τεῖχος, οὖ τούτο φοβούμενος, μή τινες
πορεύοντο ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκεῖνον δύναμιν, not fearing this, lest any should
march into his dominions. XEN. Hell. vi. 4, 27. So XEN. Mem. i, 2,
7. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀν ἐδεουσαν παρακινήσεις, μὴ σοκ ὅρθως
αὐτῷ ποιῆσοι. PLAT. Euthyphr. 15 D. Οὐ μόνον περὶ τῆς βασι-
νου καὶ τῆς δίκης ἐδείκτει, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ γραμματείου, ὅπως μὴ
ὑπὸ τὸν Μενελέωνον συλληφθῇςο. ISOC. xvii. 22. (Here the
fear was expressed originally by ὅπως μὴ συλληφθήσετα, 370.)
As μή with the future indicative is rare after verbs of fearing (367),
it is still rarer with the future optative after such verbs.

132. No case is quoted of the future optative in a pure final
clause, except a peculiar one with μή in Plat. Rep. 393 E: 'Αγαμέ-
μουν ἡγρίαιν, ἐπτέλλομεν γ ν τε ἀπίναι καὶ αὔθις μὴ ἐλθεῖν, μὴ
ἀυτῷ τὸ τε σκῆπτρον καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ στέμματα οὐκ ἐπαρκέσσοι.
(Another reading, ἐπαρκέσσεως, of inferior authority, is adopted by
Bekker.) If ἐπαρκέσσοι is retained (as it is by most editors), it can be
explained only by assuming that Plato had in his mind μὴ οὐκ ἐπαρ-
κέσσει as the direct form. Μὴ final with the future indicative occurs in
Aristophanes, Homer, and Theognis (see 324); there is therefore no
objection to μὴ ἐπαρκέσσοι as representing μὴ ἐπαρκέσσει. We must
remember that Plato is here paraphrasing Homer (Π. i. 25-28), but by
no means literally. The Homeric line is Μὴ νῦ τοι οὐχ χραίσμη σκῆ-
πτρον καὶ στέμμα θεοῦ (see 263).

133. As ἦν never takes the future indicative, it can never have
the future optative.

134. A future optative rarely occurs in a relative clause of purpose
after a past tense; as αἱρεθέντες ἔφε διε συγγράψαι νόμους, καθ’
οἰόταις πολιτεύοντο, having been chosen for the purpose of making
a code of laws, by which they were to govern. XEN. Hell, ii. 3, 11. (Here
we have an indirect expression of the thought of those who chose the
Thirty, of which the direct form is found in ii. 3, 2, ἔδοξες τριάκοντα
ἀνδρᾶς ἔλεσθιν, οἱ τῶι πατρίδοις νόμους ἐνγράψουσι, καθ’ οὐς πολι-
τεύοντο.) See ISA. ii. 10 (quoted in 130).

FUTURE INFINITIVE.

135. The future infinitive is regularly used only in
indirect discourse (111, 112), where it always represents a
future indicative of the direct form. E.g.

Γράψειν φησίν, he says that he will write; γράψειν ἔφη, he said
that he would write; γράψειν φήσει, he will say that he will write: all
representing γράψω, I will write. Πολλοὺς γε ἐσεσθαί ἐλεγον τοῖς
ἐθελήσοντες, they said that there would be many who would be willing.
XEN. Cyr. iii. 2, 26.

136. Verbs of hoping, expecting, promising, swearing, and a few
others of like meaning, form an intermediate class between those
which take the infinitive in indirect discourse (with the time
of its tense preserved) and those which do not. When these
refer to a future object, they regularly take the future infinitive
in indirect discourse; but they also allow the aorist and even
the present infinitive (not in indirect discourse), like verbs of
wishing, etc. Examples are given of different verbs of this class
with both constructions:

Τρωσίν δ’ ἔληπτο θυρός νῆς ἐνιπτρήσειν κτενείν θ’ ἤρωας
᾽Λυκαίος. Π. xvi. 701. Ἐληπτό κύδος ἄρεσθαι, he was hoping to
obtain glory. Π. xii. 407. Ἡλπίζον γὰρ μάχην ἐσεσθαι, for they
expected that there would be a battle. Thuc. iv. 71. 'Εν ἐλπίδι δὲ τὸ τεῖχος αἵρησειν. Thuc. vii. 46. 'Ἐλπίζει δύνασθαι εἶναι ἄρχειν, he hopes to be able to rule. Plut. Rep. 573 C. (Compare elain in Hdn. i. 22 and 30, quoted in 118.) Πάλιν ἔμοι δ' ἦσαν οὕτως ἄλητοι παθεῖν. Eur. H. F. 746. Εἶ γὰρ κρατήσειν τῷ ναυτικῷ, τὸ Ρηγίου ἡλίσκον βαδιός χειρόφασος θαυμαί, they hoped to subdue Rhigium. Thuc. iv. 24. Ωσ' δὲ ἐν ἐλπίδι δὲν τί πρόπος χειρόφασος θαυμαί, there would not be even a hope of their becoming better. Dem. iv. 2. Besides these constructions, ἐλπίζει (or ἐλπίζω) has the infinitive with ἄν in Thuc., vii. 61; ἄν with the future indicative in Eur. El. 919, with the future optative in Thuc. vi. 30 (see 128), with the soris optative and ἄν in Thuc. v. 9; ἄνως with the future indicative in Soph. El. 963, Eur. Her. 1051.


'Ἡγκατε ὑμῶν αὐτοῦς κακὸν πείσεσθαι, he pledged himself that they should suffer no harm. Xen. An. viii. 4, 13. 'Προσαγαγὼν ἐγγυηματίας ἰ δὲ ποιεῖσθαι, having given securities as a pledge that he would go, Io. Cyg. vi. 2, 39.

Καὶ δὴ μοι γέρας αὐτοῦς ἀδαφηρήσεσθαι ἀπειλεῖται. II. i. 161. So xv. 179; Od. xi. 313; Hdn. vi. 37; Eur. Med. 287. 'Ηπειληγεῖν νῦν ἀλλὰ ἐκλέγειν. II. i. 682. 'Ηπειληθης ἀποκτεῖναι ἀπαντας τούς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ. Xen. Hell. v. 4, 7.

Τάξα χαλεπὰ εἰκὸς σὺν αὐτῷ βουλήσεσθαι εἶναι, it is likely that soon nobody will want to be with him. Xen. Cyg. v. 3, 30. 'Εκ μὲν τοῦ κακῶς πράττειν τὰς πόλεις μεταβολῆς τὰς τεχεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον εἰκὸς ἔστιν, εκ δὲ τοῦ παντάσσεις γενεάθαι ἀνάστατον καὶ τοὺς κοινῶν ἐλπίσων στερηθῆναι. Lycurg. 60.

'Ομοστῶν δὴ μὴν μοι ἀρχήσειν. II. i. 73; so x. 321. 'Ομοστῶν ἀπάτησιν οἰκαί, εἰς Ἐρυθίαν μι' ἄγει, Soph. Ph. 941; cf. Ph. 594, 623. 'Ομοστῶτις ταύτας ἐμμενεῖν. Xen. Hell. v. 3, 26. 'Ἀναγκάζοι τοῦ Κερσοβλέπτῃν ὁμώσαι εἶναι ἐν τῇ ἀρχήν κοινήν, πάντας δ' ὑμῖν ἀποδόναι τῇ γυναι. Dem. xxi. 170.
137. The future perfect of the dependent moods is rare, except in verbs whose perfect has the meaning of a present (49), where it is an ordinary future (82).

When it occurs in other verbs, it is only in the infinitive of indirect discourse. E.g.

Ταῦτα (ἴφη) πεπράξεσθαι δύον ἡ τρὶῶν ἡμερῶν, he said that we should see these things already accomplished within two or three days. Dem. xix. 74. (Here the direct discourse was πεπράξεσθαι ταῦτα, these things will have been already accomplished.)

III. TENSES OF THE PARTICIPLE.

138. The tenses of the participle generally express time present, past, or future relatively to the time of the verb with which they are connected.

The uses of the participle with ἄν are not included here. For these see Chapter III.

PRESENT PARTICIPLE.

139. The present participle generally represents an action as going on at the time of its leading verb. E.g.

Ταῦτα ποιοῦσιν νομίζοντες δίκαιον εἶναι, they do this thinking it is just. Ἐποίουσιν νομίζοντες, they were doing it in the thought, etc. Ἐποίησαν νομίζοντες, they did it in the thought, etc. Ποιήσασιν νομίζοντες, they will do it in the thought, etc. Ταῦτ' ἐπράξθη Κόνωνος στρατηγοῦντος, these things were done when Conon was general. Isoc. ix. 56. (Στρατηγοῦντος is present relatively to ἐπράξθη.) Καὶ ταῦτα πράττον τι ἐτοιεῖ; now in doing this what was he doing? Dem. ix. 15. Ταῦτα περιέχειν γεγυμένα, to see this go on. Dem. xviii. 63.

140. The present participle is also used as an imperfect, like the present infinitive (119). With the participle this use is not confined (as it is with the infinitive) to indirect discourse. E.g.

Οι συμπεσομενοι καὶ παροντες καταμαρτυρουσιν, those who were his colleagues on the embassy and who were present will testify. Dem. xix. 129. (Here the embassy is referred to as a well-known event in the past.) Πάντωσιν γὰρ ἡ νῦν Ἑλλάς καλουμένη οὐ πάλαι βεβαιως οἰκουμένη, ἀλλὰ μεταναστάσεις τε σκότα τὰ πρῶτα, καὶ πάροικοι ἐκαστοί τῇ ἐναυτῷ ἀπολειποντες, i.e. the following things are evident, Ἑλλάς οὐ πάλαι βεβαιως φύγετο, ἀλλὰ μεταναστάσεις
THE TENSES

141. An attributive present participle (§ 24) occasionally refers to time absolutely present, even when the leading verb is not present. This is always denoted by ὅν or some other word in the context. E.g.

Τὴν ὅν Βοιωτίαν καλομένην ἦκησαν, they settled in the country now called Boeotia. ΘΗΣ. i. 12. 'Ο τοῦν Φίλιππος εἰς ἄρχης, οἴκοι Διοπείδου στρατηγοῦσα, οἴδε τῶν ὄντων ἐν Χερονήσῳ νῦν ἀπεσταλμένων, Ζέρειοι καὶ Δορίκους ἐλάμβανε, Philip then in the beginning, when Diopithes was not yet general, and when the soldiers who are now in the Chersonese had not yet been sent out, seized upon Serrium and Doriscus. DEM. ix. 15. (Here στρατηγοῦσα is present to the time of ἐλάμβανε, while ὄντων is present to the time of speaking.) For a corresponding use of the aorist participle, see 152.

PERFECT PARTICIPLE.

142. The perfect participle in all its uses represents an action as already finished at the time of its leading verb. E.g.

Ἐπέστειλεν τοὺς εἰρήκοτας, they praise those who have spoken. Ἐπέστειλεν τοὺς εἰρήκοτας, they praised those who had spoken. Ἐπέστειλεν τοὺς εἰρήκοτας, they will praise those who will (then) have spoken. Ἐπέστειλεν τοὺς εἰρήκοτας, they are praising those who are (then) having spoken. Ἐπέστειλεν τὸν ἄλησις ἀπήγγειλεν (Ἀντίθεν), I showed that Aeschines had announced nothing that was true (i.e., I showed, o ἄλησις ἀπήγγειλεν). DEM. xix. 177. Τοὺς δεσμώτας μετέμειντο ἀποδεικνύοντες, they repented of having restored the captives. ΘΗΣ. v. 35. Τῆς Αἰολίδος χαλεπώς ἔφερεν ἀπεστερμένος, he took it hard that he had been deprived of Aeolis. ΧΕΝ. ΗΕΛ. iii. 2, 13.

AORIST PARTICIPLE.

143. The aorist participle generally represents an action as past with reference to the time of its leading verb. E.g.

Ταῦτα προῆγαντες ἀπέλθετον βούλοντας, having done this, they (now) wish to go away. Ταῦτα εἰπόντες ἀπήλθον, having said this, they went away. Οὐ πολλοὶ φαίνοντας ἔνειλοντες, not many appear to have joined in the expedition. ΘΗΣ. i. 10. Βοιωτοὶ ἐκ Ἀργοῦ ἀναστάντες τὴν Βοιωτίαν ὕκησαν, Boeotians who had been driven
When the aorist participle is used with any form of λαμβάνω, to escape the notice of, τυχῶ, to happen, and φθάνω, to anticipate, except the present and imperfect, it does not denote time past with reference to the verb, but coincides with it in time. Thus ἔλαβον ἀπελθόντες means they went away secretly (= ἀπῆλθον λόθρα); οὐκ ἐφέθησαν ἀπελθόντες, no sooner were they gone (= οὐ πρῶτον ἀπῆλθον); ἔπεσαν ἐνελθόντες, they came in by chance, or they happened to come in (= εἰσῆλθον τύχη). E.g.

Tοῦτος δ’ ἐλαθεὶς ἐπιελθότος Πριάμος, and Priam entered unnoticed by them. II. xxiv. 477; so xxvii. 2 and 89. Ἐλαθεὶς (αὐτῆς) ἀφθεντὰ πάντα καὶ καταφλεξθέντα, everything took fire and was consumed before she knew it. Θουκ. iv. 133. Λαμβανεὶ (historic present) στήλην παίσας.

SOPH. El. 744. Ἐφήθη ὁ ὀρεξάμενος, he aimed a blow first. II. xvi. 322. Αὐτοὶ φθασμένοι αὐτὸ δράσαντες, they will do it first themselves. Plat. Rep. 375 C. Οὐ γὰρ ἐφήθη μοι συμβάσας ἡ ἀτυχία, καὶ εὕθες ἐπεχείρησαν, κ.τ.λ., for no sooner did this misfortune come upon me, than they undertook, etc. Dem. iv. 65. Στρατιά οὐ πολλῇ ἔτυχε μέχρι Ἰσθμοῦ παρελθοῦσα, an army of no great size had by chance marched as far as the Isthmus. Θουκ. vi. 61. Ἐτυχεὶ δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο τοῦ καρυὸν ἐλθὼν, and he happened to come just at that moment. Id. vii. 2. Ὅλη γὰρ τὰ μέλλοντα τυχείν πράξαντες (καὶ ἄγονται), they think that it was their fortune to accomplish only a little in comparison with their expectations. Id. i. 70. So τοῦτ’ ἔτυχον λαβῶν, I happened to take this, Act. Eccl. 375.

Ὅποτέρος κε φθησαι ὁ ὀρεξάμενος χρῶν λάβων, whenever shall first hit, etc. II. xxiii. 805. Βουλοῦμαι αὐτῷ λαθεῖν αὐτῶν ἀπελθῶν, I should like to get away without his knowing it. Xen. An. i. 3, 17. Τοὺς αὐθρώπους λύσομεν ἐπιτετούντες. Ib. vii. 3, 43. Κυλλαμβανθαι παρεκλείσθω ἀλλήλοις, ὅπως μὴ πέρα τοῦ δέντων σοφώτεροι γενόμενοι λήστες διαφθαρέτως, you exhorted one another to take care not to become worse overmuch and so get corrupted unawares. Plat. Gorg. 457 D. (Here γενόμενοι is an ordinary aorist, past with reference to the future phrase λήστε διαφθαρέτως.)

The last four examples show that this use of the aorist participle is allowed even when both participle and verb refer to the future.
145. The aorist participle has the same use with συμπέπτω, to happen, in Herodotus (890). E.g.

Καὶ τὸ χάρι εὐνόμενον, γεγονός, and this other event occurred (as it chance). Hdt. ix. 101.

So συγκυρέω in Hdt. viii. 87 (see 889).

146. An aorist participle with the present or imperfect of any of the above verbs (144) cannot coincide with the verb in time, and retains its own reference to past time. This combination seldom occurs. E.g.

"Ὅτερ ἀλφοῦσα τυγχάνει μήτερ χερὼν, which, as it happens, the mother has taken in her hands (happens to have taken). Eur. Bacch. 1140.

"Αριστα τυγχάνουσι πράξει, it happens that they fared the best. Isoc. iv. 103. "Δικαίως ἂν τὴν αὐτὴν εὐεργεσίαν ἀπόλαβομεν, ἦσπερ αὐτοὶ τυγχάνομεν εἰς ὧμιν ὑπάρξανες, we should just receive back the same kindness which it is our own fortune to have first shown to you (we happen to have begun). Id. xiv. 57. Πρὸς τί τούτ' ἐστὶν κύρει; wherefore did you chance to speak thus (does it chance that you spoke)? Soph. El. 1176. Ποῦ κυρεῖ ἐκτότοις συνεχεῖ; Id. O. C. 119. "Οὐρα καθ' ἴταν μή καταυλοσθεῖς κυρή, see lest it may chance that he has retired to sleep within. Id. Ph. 30. Compare συνεκύρωσε ταραπασώσα, happened to collide. Hdt. viii. 87 (889). Μιᾶς μία λόγος τε καὶ ἠδύνατε ξυμπέπτει γεγονομένη, i.e. happens to have occurred (Bodham proposes γεγονομένη). Plat. Phil. 47 D.

Οὐδ' ἄρα Κυρην ἐκ Αἰδεω ἐλθότες ἐλήθομεν, nor was it unknown to Circe that we had returned from Hades. Od. xii. 16. "Ὅτερ ἐπόγχανον αὕτα ἄρσεις ἐννεκέλθότες, all who happened to have thus come out together. Thuc. iii. 111. Εἴ τί τούτον αἰγῶν περιλευθέντων ἐπόγχανε γένος, if any race of goats happened to have been left. Plat. Leg. 677 E. Ἀρσεναχωρή δὲ συνέπτετο τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου πάντα συνεκελθότα, and it was the fortune of A. that all these came to him at the same time. Hdt. v. 36. (Here it is difficult to distinguish the doubly past time; but the analogy of the other examples, and the difficulty of conceiving an imperfect and aorist as coincident in time, seem decisive.) Ὀρθῶς σφί ἡ φίμη συνέβαινε ἐλθότα, rightly, as it happened, had the report come to them. Id. ix. 101. Just below: τίς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι, i.e. they (the battles of Platea and Mycale) happened to fall on the same day.

In Lys. xii. 27 we have the aorist and perfect participles together with ἐπόγχανε, each expressing its own time: δόθης ἀντεπτυν γε ἐπόγχανε καὶ γνώμῃν ἀποδεδείγμενον, who chanced to have spoken in opposition and to have shown his opinion.

It appears from these examples that the aorist participle can coincide in its time only with forms which have a similar aoristic or complexive meaning, while in other cases the verb and participle are distinct in time.

1 For the examples of τυγχάνω here given I am indebted to an unpublished paper on this construction by Dr. James R. Wheeler, in which notice of this peculiarity is taken for the first time (so far as I am aware).
147. 1. The perfect participle can always be used with the verbs of 144 to denote an action which is completed at the time of the leading verb. This is the most common way of expressing past time in the participle here. *E.g.*

'Επόγγανον ἄρτι παρειληφότες τὴν ἀρχήν, they happened to have just received their authority. Thuc. vi. 96. 'Εκά τις ἡπικηκός τι τυχόν ἔρημος τὴν πόλιν, if it ever happens that one has wronged the city. Dem. xviii. 123. So Thuc. i. 103 (see 887).

2. The present participle with these verbs is regular, representing an action as going on at the time of the verb. See Plat. Crit. 49 B and the four following examples (with others), in 887.

148. In many constructions in which the aorist participle follows a verb in the sense of the ordinary object infinitive (not in indirect discourse), it does not refer to past time, but differs from the present participle only as the aorist infinitive in such a construction would differ from the present (96). This applies especially to the participle with περιορόω and ἐφορώ (περιείδον, ἐπείδον), in the sense of allow, not interfere with, and ὅρα (ἐδον) permit and see (cf. 884 and 885). *E.g.*

Προσδεχόμενον τὸν 'Αθηναίων κατοκνήσεων περιείδειν αὐτὴν [τὴν γῆν] τὴν ἡμείσαν, ἀνέιχεν, expecting that they would be unwilling to see their land ravaged, etc. Thuc. ii. 18. But in ii. 20 we find the aorist infinitive, ἔληπτεν τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἂν περιείδειν τῷ ἡμείσαν, would not let their land be ravaged, referring to precisely the same event from another point of view (see 903, 6). Μὴ περιείδητε ἡμέας διαφθορέντας, do not look on and see us destroyed. Hdt. iv. 118. Οὐ μὴ σ᾽ ἐγὼ περιορομαι ἀπελθόντα, I will by no means let you go. Ar. Ran. 509. 'Ετηρισαν ἐπίδειν ἐρήμην μὲν τὴν πόλιν γενομένην τὴν δὲ χώραν πορθομένην, ἀπεντα δὲ τὸν πόλεμον περί τὴν πατρίδα τὴν αὐτῶν γεγομένου. Isoc. iv. 96. (Here the aorist participle denotes the laying waste of the city (as a single act), while the present denotes the continuous ravaging of the country and the gradual coming on of a state of war. This is precisely the difference between the present and aorist infinitive in similar constructions.) 'Επείδον τὴν οὖσαν πατρίδα ἀνάπτατον γενομένην. Ant. v. 79.


So after ἀκούει, as αἱ κέθελες εἰπόντος ἀκούειν, in case he will hear me speak, ll. vi. 281. Ὑποκείται φωνήσαντος εἰσηγούσαμεν, so much we heard him say. Soph. O. C. 1645. So also πράθεντα πλήρως, endured to be sold, Aesch. Ag. 1041; στείρας ἐτελα, Sept. 754:
for τὸ λόγον with the regular infinitive, see Isoc. iv. 96, quoted above. 

So μὲνεν νοστήσαντα ἄνακτα, to await the king’s return, II. xii. 38. 

149. The aorist participle loses its reference to past time also in the peculiar construction in which the participle with its noun has the force of the infinitive with its subject; as μετὰ Συρακούσας οἰκισθέντας, after the founding of Syracuse (= μετὰ τὸ Συρακούσας οἰκισθήναι), Thuc. vi. 3. See examples in 829 (b). 

150. An aorist participle denoting that in which the action of a verb (generally aorist) consists may express time coincident with that of the verb, when the actions of the verb and the participle are practically one. E.g. 

Νῦν ἐπὶ ὅ ἐξήλασα, he called him to him by a nod. Od. xvii. 330. 

Βη ἡ ἐξήλασα. Π. ii. 167. Εἴδε γὰρ ἐποίησας ἄναμνήσας με, you did well in reminding me. Plato. Phaed. 60 C. Μή τι ἐξαμάρτησες ἐμοῦ κατα- 

γιαν ἰχνείας, lest you commit any mistake in condemning me. Id. Ap. 30 D. 

Παῦσα κατακόπη κνήμεως πατάξας, having killed a child by the stroke of a dagger. Xen. An. iv. 8, 25. Ἡ φίλος πάντοτε ὅν ή δακτύλως κακὸν τί 

σοι ἔδωκεν ἣ λακτύσαι; did your mother ever do you any hurt by biting or kicking you? Id. Mem. ii. 2, 7. 

Πέμπει δ’ τὸν Ἀδριανὸν κρότα ἐπιτείλεις ὅτι Ἀλκιβιάδης αὐτῶν τὰ πράγματα φθείρει, i.e. 

he sends a private message, etc. Thuc. viii. 50. After a perfect: ὅ τι ἣμας ἀγαθά δέδωκας εἰρήνην τοιήσας, what blessings you have done 

us in making a peace! Ar. Pac. 1199. 

The following examples among many in the New Testament illustrate the usage:—

’Αποκριθεῖς ἐπείν οἱ παραβολαῖς αὐτῶν, λέγων, he answered and 

spake to them in parables, and said. Matt. xxii. 1. (Δέχεται is the 

ordinary present, less closely connected with ἐποίησας ἀποκριθεῖς.) 

Προσευχόμενοι εἶπαν, they prayed and said. Act. Apost. i. 24. 

Καλὸς ἐποίησας παραγενόμενος, thou hast well done that thou art 

come. II. x. 33. 

151. In such passages as ὡμολόγησαν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τείχη τε 

περιελόντες καὶ ναὸς παραδόντες φόρον τε ταξάμενοι, Thuc. i. 

108, the aorist participle is past with reference to the time of the 

beginning of the peace to which ὡμολόγησαν refers, and the meaning 

is, they obtained terms of peace, on condition that they should first (before 

the peace began) tear down their walls, etc. Such passages are Thuc. i. 


68: ὑπ’ ἐκείνου εἰρήνην ποιήσας μῆτ’ ὅμηρα δοῦς μῆτ’ τὰ τείχη 

καθαλῶν μῆτ’ τάς ναὸς παραδοῦς, i.e. he promised to make a peace 

without giving pledges, etc. 

152. An attributive aorist participle occasionally refers to
time absolutely past, without regard to the time of its verb. 

E.g.

'Ἡγμόνα παρεχόμενοι Μεγάπανον τὸν Βαβυλῶνος ὑστερον τούτων ἐπιτροπεύσαντα, i.e. they had as their leader Megapanus, who after this was made governor of Babylon. Ἡδ. vii. 62. (Here the aorist participle is past at the time of writing only; it is even future compared with the time of παρεχόμενοι.) So in vii. 106: κατέληπε δὲ ἄνδρα τούτων Μασκάμψ γενὸμενον, and he left Μ. (in authority), who (afterwards) proved himself such a man (the evidence of his later merits follows in a relative sentence).

For the corresponding use of the present participle see 141.

For the use of the aorist infinitive and participle with ἄν, see 207 and 215. For the aorist participle with ἔχω and ἔχον as a circumstance for the perfect and pluperfect, as θαυμᾶσας ἔχω and ἔχον, see 47 and 48. For the rare use of the aorist participle with ἀσομαί for the future perfect, see 81. For the aorist participle in protasis, see 472 and 841.

**Future Participle.**

153. The future participle represents an action as future with reference to the time of its leading verb. E.g.

Τότο ποιήσων ἔρχεται, he is coming to do this; τούτο ποιήσων ἔβλεψε, he came to do this. Περιτρίβησεν ταῦτα ἔρνην, he will be sent to say this. Οἶδα αὐτὸν τότο ποιήσοντα, I know that he will do this; οἶδα τούτῳ ποιήσων, I know that I shall do this; ἦδεν αὐτὸν τούτῳ ποιήσοντα, I knew that he would do this.

For the various uses of the future participle, and examples, see Chapter VI.

**Gnomic and Iterative Tenses.**

**Gnomic Aorist and Perfect.**

154. The aorist and sometimes the perfect indicative are used in animated language to express general truths. These are called the *gnomic aorist* and the *gnomic perfect*, and are usually to be translated by our present.

155. These tenses give a more vivid statement of general truths, by employing a distinct case or several distinct cases in the past to represent (as it were) all possible cases, and implying that what has occurred is likely to occur again under similar circumstances. E.g.

Καὶ θανέτο ὥμοις ὡς ὁ ἄργας ἄνήρ ὁ τούτῳ πολλὰ ἐργαζόμενος, the idle man and he who has laboured much alike must die. II. ix. 320. "Οσπε καὶ ἄλκιμον ἄνδρα ὑφαίτε καὶ ἀφείλετο νίκη, who terrifies even a valiant

'Επειδὰν τις παρ' ἐμοὶ μάθη, ἐὰν μὲν βούληται, ἀποδέκωκεν δ' ἐνῷ πράττομαι ἀγρυπνόν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ, ἐλθὼν εἰς ἱερόν ὀρέσι, ὁσοὶ δ' ἂχει εἶναι τά μαθήματα, τοσοῦτον κατέθηκεν. Plat. Prot. 328 B. (Here the perfect and aorist, according to the MSS., are used in nearly the same sense, he paga. But Snorre reads ἀπόδοκεν for ἀποδέκωκεν.) Πολλοὶ δὲ δὲντι καὶ πολιτικὴν δύναμιν μεγάλα κακὰ πετοῦσαι, i.e. many always have suffered, and many do suffer. Xen. Mem. iv. v. 35. Τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐμποδὸν ἀνανταγωνίστρι εὔνοια τετίμηται. Thuc. ii. 45.

The gnomic perfect is not found in Homer.

156. The sense as well as the origin of the gnomic aorist is often made clearer by the addition of such words as πολλάκις, ἥδη, οὐ γὰρ οὕτω. Such examples as these form a simple transition from the common to the gnomic use of the aorist:—

Πολλάκις στρατόπεδα ήδη ἐπέσετε ὑπ' ἐλαστονόμων, i.e. many cases have already arisen, implying it often happens. Thuc. ii. 89. Μέλλων γ' ἵατος, τῇ νόσῳ διδοῖς χρόνον, ἴατος' ἦδη μᾶλλον ἡ τεῖμον χρόνος, the slow physician, by giving the disease time, may work more cures than he who cuts too deep. Eur. Fr. 1057. Πολλάκις ἔχων τις οὐδὲ τάναγκαια νῦν αἵρον ἐπλούτησε, ὡστε χάτερον πρεθαι, i.e. cases have often occurred in which such a man has become rich the next day, etc. Phit. Fr. 120. Ἀθηναίοις ἄνδρες οὐπώ πρότασιν ἔστησαν. Plat. Criti. 108 C. Οὐδὲις ἐπλούτησε ταχέως δίκαιος οὖς, no man ever became rich suddenly who was just. Mem. Fr. 294. Compare Dem. iv. 51. (See Krüger, § 53, 10, A. 2.)

157. General truths are more commonly expressed in Greek, as in English, by the present. The present and aorist appear together above, in nearly the same sense; the gnomic aorist is, however, commonly distinguished from the present by referring to a single or a sudden occurrence, while the present (as usual) implies duration.
Thus in Dem. ii. 10, above, the aorist ἤνθησεν implies a sudden blossoming out with hopes, as opposed to the continuance or repetition expressed by ἀντίχει, hold out, φωράται, are detected, and καταπρεῖ, fall in ruin.

158. An aorist somewhat resembling the gnomic is very common in Homeric similes, where it is usually to be translated by the present. E.g.

"Ἡρεπε δ' ὡς ὅτε τις ἔρως ἤρπεν, and he fell, as when an oak falls, (literally, as when an oak once fell). Il. xiii. 389.

This can better be seen in the longer and more complicated examples which are quoted under 547 and 548.

159. The gnomic aorist is found in indirect discourse in the infinitive and participle, and even in the optative. E.g.

(a) "Ὅτοι δ' ἵβρυζεν ὅραν θ' ἄ βοληται παρῇ,

ταύτην νόμιζε τὴν πόλιν χρόνῳ ποτὲ

ἐκ οὐρίων ὀραμώντας ἐς βυθὸν πεσεῖν,

but where man is permitted to insult and to work his own will, believe that that state, though it may run before fair breezes, must in time sink to the depths. Soph. Aj. 1082. (Here pesein represents ἐπεσον of the direct form, which can be only gnomic.) Εἰ σοι δέος οἱ ταράτστεν ἤγονοις ἱριστούς ἔμασσαν συμμένες, καὶ διαφορὰς γενομένης κομνήν ἀμφότεροις καταστῆναι τῇ συμφορᾷ, if you fear, thinking that it is hard for friendship to abide, and that when a quarrel occurs the calamity that arises is common to both (the direct form would be ἱριστόν ἐστιν, καὶ κομνῆ κατάστη ἡ συμφορά). Plat. Phaedr. 232 B. Ἡ γενομένης δὴ ἀληθείας οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ φαίμεν αὐτῇ χρόνῳ κακῶν ἀκολουθήσαι, nown when truth leads, we never could say that a chorus of evil accompany her (ἡμαλουθῆσαι). Plat. Rep. 490 C.

(b) Σμικρὼς χαλινῷ δ' οἴδα τοὺς θυμομένους ἔπτως καταρτυ-

θέντας, and I know that high-spirited horses are tamed by a small bit. Soph. Ant. 478. Οἴδα τούς τοιούτους ἐν μὲν τῷ κατ' αὐτοῖς βίῳ

λυπηροῖς ὁπότας, τῶν δὲ ἐπετα ἀνθρώπων προσποιήσων ἐγγεγενέας τοῖς καὶ μὴ οὖσαν καταληπτικὰς, I know that such men, although in their own lifetimes they are offensive, yet often leave to some who come after them a desire to claim connexion with them, even where there is no ground for it. Thuc. vi. 16.

(c) A clear case of the gnomic aorist in the optative is seen in Plat. Rep. 490 B, in the peculiar oratio obliqua introduced by ἀπολογογόμεθα ὅτι (in A), which implies a philosophic imperfect (40) and thus takes the optative. We have πεθυκώς εἴη, ἐμένως, ἢ, etc., representing πέθυκε, ἐμένει, ἢ, etc.; and afterwards γνοίη τε καὶ ἀληθός (ἡ καὶ τρέφοιτο (representing ἔγνω τε καὶ ἀληθώς τῇ καὶ τρέφεται), i.e. he attains knowledge (acq.), and then truly lives and is nourished (pres.), where the gnomic force of the aorist is plain. (See 676.)

160. The gnomic perfect is found in the infinitive of indirect discourse in Dem. ii. 18: εἰ δ' ἄτις σόφρον ἔδικαιος, παρεύσθαι καὶ
ἐν σύνεσι εἶναι μέρει τῶν τοιούτων (φησίν), such a man (he says) is always thrust aside and is of no account.

161. The imperfect was probably never used in a gnostic sense, except where the form is aoristic in other respects, as ἔκλινον in P. i. 218, ix. 509; cf. xiv. 133.

Iterative Imperfect and Aorist with "Αὐ.—Ionic
Iterative Forms in -σκούν and -σκόμμην.

162. The imperfect and aorist are sometimes used with the adverb ἄν to denote a customary action, being equivalent to our narrative phrase he would often do this or he used to do it. *Eg.*

Διηρώτων ἄν αὐτοῖς τί λέγοις, I used to ask them (I would ask them) what they said. Plut. Ap. 22 B. Εἶ τινες ἔδουν τῇ τούς σφετέρους ἐπικρατοῦντας, ἀνεβήρποσαν ἄν, whenever any saw their friends in any way victorious, they would be encouraged (i.e. they were encouraged in all such cases). Thuc. vii. 71. Πολλάκις ἦκούσαμεν ἄν τι κακῶς ὑμᾶς βουλεύσαμεν μέγα πράγμα, we used very often to hear you, etc. Ar. Lys. 511. Εἶ τις αὐτῷ περί του ἀντιλέγοι μηδὲν ἔχων σαφές λέγειν, ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἐπάνηγεν ἄν πάντα τὸν λόγον, he always brought the whole discussion back to the main point. Xen. Mem. iv. 6, 13. Ὅποτε προσβλέψει τίνας τῶν ἐν ταῖς τάξεσι, τοτε μὲν εἶπεν ἄν· ὃ ἀνδρεῖς, κ.τ.λ. τοτε δ' ἀδ ἐν ἀλλοις ἄν ἐλέγειν. Id. Cyr. vii. 1, 10. So Hdt. ii. 109, iii. 51 and 148.

This construction must be distinguished from the potential indicative with ἄν (243). See, however, 249. For the iterative imperfect and aorist with ἄν transferred to the infinitive, see 210.

163. The Ionic iterative imperfect and aorist in -σκούν and -σκόμμην express the repetition of such actions as the ordinary imperfect and aorist express. *Eg.*

"Ἀλλοις μὲν γὰρ παῖδας ἔμοις πόδας ὡς Ἀχιλλεὺς πέρνασχ', ἄν τιν' ἐλέσκε. II. xxiv. 751. Ὀκὺς ἔλθοι τὸ Νεῖλος ἐπὶ ὁκτὼ πῆχεας, ἄρδεσκε Αἰγυπτον τὴν ἐνερῆ Μέμφιος. Hdt. ii. 13.

164. Herodotus sometimes uses the iterative forms in -σκούν and -σκόμμην with ἄν in the construction of 162. He uses this form of the aorist in only two passages, in both with ἄν. *Eg.*

Φοιτέουσα κλαίεσκε ἄν καὶ ὀδυρέσκετο. iii. 119. Ἐσ τούτων ὡκὼν ἔλθοι ἐκ Σκύλης, τὴν μὲν στρατινὴν καταλείπεσκε ἐν τῷ προστεστώ, αὐτὸς δὲ ὠκὼν ἔλθοι ἐς τὸ τέχνος, λάβεσκε ἄν Ἐλληνίδα ἐσθήτα. iv. 78. So λάβεσκον ἄν, iv. 130. See Krüger, II. § 53, 10, 5.
165. In dependent sentences, where the construction allows both the subjunctive and the optative, the subjunctive is used if the leading verb is primary, and the optative if it is secondary. (See 21.) E.g.

Προέποντιν ἃν ἄν βούλωνται, they do whatever they please; but ἐπραττέν ἃ βούλῳντο, they did whatever they pleased.

166. In like manner, where the construction allows both the indicative and the optative, the indicative follows primary, and the optative follows secondary tenses. E.g.

Δήγοουσιν ὅτι τοῦτο βούλωνται, they say that they wish for this; ἔλεγαν ὅτι τοῦτο βούλῳντο, they said that they wished for this.

167. To these fundamental rules we find one special exception. In indirect discourse of all kinds (including sentences denoting a purpose or object after ἓνα, ὑπός, μῆ, etc.) either an indicative or a subjunctive may depend upon a secondary tense, so that the mood and tense actually used by the speaker may be retained in the indirect form. (See 667, 1.) E.g.

Εἶπεν ὅτι βούλεται, for εἶπεν ὅτι βούλοιτο, he said that he wished (i.e. he said bouloimai). Ἐφοβείτο μὴ τοῦτο γένηται, for ἔφοβειτο μῆ τοῦτο γένοιτο, he feared lest it should happen (i.e. he thought, φοβοῦμαι μή γένηται). (See 318.)

168. An only apparent exception occurs when either a potential optative or indicative with ἃν, or an optative expressing a wish, stands in a dependent sentence. In both these cases the original form is retained without regard to the leading verb. It is obvious that a change of mood would in most cases change the whole nature of the expression. E.g.

Ἐγὼ σὺν οὖν ὅπως ἃν τις σαφώστερον ἐπιδείξεις, I do not know how any one could show this more clearly. Dem. xxvii. 48. Δεῖ γὰρ ἔκεινο τοῦτο ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ παραστῆται, ὅσι ὑμεῖς ἐκ τῆς ἀμελείας ταύτης τῆς ἄγαν ἱστον ἄν ἀμήσατε. Dem. iv. 17. Εἰ δ᾽ ὑμεῖς ἄλλο τι γνώσεσθε, δ ὑμὴ γένοιτο, τίνα ὁδεγεῖ αὐτὴν ψυχὴν ἔξειν; Dem. xxviii. 21.

A few other unimportant exceptions will be noticed as they occur.

169. It is therefore important to ascertain which tenses (in all the moods) are followed, in dependent sentences, as primary tenses by the indicative or subjunctive, and which as secondary tenses by the optative.

INDICATIVE.

170. In the indicative the general rule holds, that the present,
perfect, future, and future perfect are primary, and the imperfect, pluperfect, and aorist are secondary tenses.

171. But the historical present is a secondary tense, as it refers to the past; and the gnomic aorist is a primary tense, as it refers to the present.

See Hdt. i. 63 (under 33), where the optative follows an historical present; and Dem. ii. 10, Thuc. i. 70, Xen. Cyr. i. 2, 2 (under 155), where the subjunctive follows gnomic aorists.

172. The imperfect indicative in the protasis or apodosis of an unfulfilled condition (410) and in its potential use (243), when it refers to present time, is a primary tense. E.g.

"Εγραφον ἄν ἥλικα ψάμεις, εἴ τι ἤδειν, I would tell you in my letter how great services I would render you, if I knew, etc. Dem. xix. 40. Πάντα ἂν ἐφοβοῦση, μὴ ἀπορήσωσιν λόγουν. Plat. Symp. 193 E. Ἐφοβοῦσαι ἄν σφόδρα λέγειν, μη δόξω, κ.τ.λ., I should be very much afraid to speak, lest I should seem, etc. Plat. Theaet. 143 E. Ταῦτ’ ἂν ἦδε λέγειν ἐπέγειρός, ἵνι εἰδῆτε. Dem. xxiii. 7 (for the construction here see 336). See Xen. An. v. 1, 10; Dem. xvi. 12.

173. On the other hand, the aorist indicative in the same constructions (172), and also the imperfect when it refers to the past, are secondary tenses. E.g.

'Αλλά καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἄν ἔδεισας παρακυδνύειν, μὴ οἰκ. ὅρθως αὐτὸ ποιήσοις. Plat. Euthyph. 15 D. 'Αλλ’ οὔκ ὦτα μετὰ πολλῶν μαρτύρων ἀποδέοις εἰκή τις ἂν ἐπιστευσαν, ἵν’ εἰ τις γίγνοιτο διαφορά, κομίσασθαι ῥάδως παρ’ ὑμῖν δύνηται. Dem. xxx. 20. (Here the subjunctive δύνηται is properly used after a past tense (318), but the optative shows that the leading verb is secondary.) See ἢν γίγνοιτο, after an imperfect with ἂν, Plat. Men. 89 B.

Χρὴν ἐπειρεσθαί κόστερα τὴν ἔσωτον ἡ τῆν Κύρου λέγοι ἀρχήν, he ought to have asked whether the oracle meant his own or Cyrus’s empire. Hdt. i. 91.

SUBJUNCTIVE AND IMPERATIVE.

174. All the tenses of the subjunctive and imperative are primary, as they refer to future or to present time (89). E.g.

"Επικαθο’ ἄν τις ἔγνυται, follow whithersoever any one leads the way. Thuc. ii. 11. Σκοπῶμεν εἰ πρέπει ή εὖ. Plat. Rep. 451 D.

175. But when a subjunctive depends upon a past tense, as often happens in final clauses (318), it may be followed by an optative; as in Xen. Hell. vi. 5, 21, ἤγε τὴν ταχοῦστην εἰς τὴν Ἐντανα. Βουλόμενοι ἀπαγαγεῖν τοὺς ὁπλίτας πρῶτι καὶ τὰ πυρὰ τῶν πολεμιῶν ἔδειν, ἢν μή τις εἰπη ὡς φείγων ἀπαγάγω, he led on, wishing to lead off his soldiers before they even saw the enemies’ fires, that no one might say that he had led them off in flight (187). With the other readings, ἢν μή τις εἴποι, the example would illustrate 176 A (below).
OPTATIVE.

176. As the optative refers sometimes to the future and sometimes to the past, it exerts upon a dependent verb sometimes the force of a primary, and sometimes that of a secondary tense.

A. When it refers to the past, as in general suppositions with el and relatives after past tenses, or when it takes its time from a past verb (as in a final clause), it has the force of a secondary tense.

B. When it refers to the future, as in future conditions, in its use with év, and in wishes, it is properly to be considered primary. In many cases, however, a double construction is here allowed. On the principle of assimilation the Greeks preferred the optative to the subjunctive in certain clauses depending on an optative, the dependent verb referring to the future like the leading verb, and differing little from a subjunctive in such a position. A dependent indicative is, however, very seldom assimilated to a leading optative. Such assimilation of a dependent verb to an optative takes place (1) regularly in protasis and conditional relative clauses depending on an optative of future time; (2) seldom in final and object clauses after év, ópws, µì, etc.; (3) very rarely in the case of the indicative in indirect quotations or questions, but (4) more freely in the case of the subjunctive in indirect questions.

These four classes of sentences which depend on an optative referring to the future are treated separately below (I.–IV.)

177. I. (a) In protasis and conditional relative sentences depending upon an optative which refers to the future, the optative rather than the subjunctive is regularly used to express a future condition. E.g.

Εἰδ'ς φορτηγὸς οὐκ ἄν, εἰ πράσσοις καλῶς, you would be unendurable, if you should be prosperous. Aesch. Prome. 979. ‘Ἄνορὶ δὲ κ’ οὖκ εύχεσθε μέγας Τελαμώνιος Άλας, δὲ θυγήστος τ' εἰ, καὶ ἔοιμι Δημήττερος ἀκτήν. II. xiii. 321. Πῶς γὰρ ἄν τις, ἄ γε µῇ ἐπισταίτο, ταῦτα σαφῶς εἴη; for how could any one be wise in those things which he did not understand? Xen. Mem. iv. 6, 7. Δεῖοιτο ἄν αὐτοῦ µένειν, ἐστε σοῦ ἀπέλθοις. Id. Cygn. v. 3, 13. Εἰς ἀποθνῄσκοι μὲν τάντα δόσα τοῦ ᾨίν µεταλάβοι, ἐπιδῇ δὲ ἀποθάνοι, μένοι ἐν τούτῳ, ἄρ' οὖν πολλὴ ἀνάγκη τελευτῶντα τάντα τεθνάναι; if all things partaking of life should die, and after dying should remain dead, must it not very certainly follow that all things would finally be dead? Plut. Phaed. 72 C. Ὡς ἀπόλουτο καὶ ἄλλος ὅ τις τοιαύτα γε ἰέγοι, may any other man also perish who shall do such things. Od. i. 47. Τεθναίγην, ἵνα µοι µηκέτι ταῦτα µέλοι, may I die, when I (shall) no longer care for these!
MIMN. Fr. i. 2. (Here ἦσαν ὑπὲρκεῖ, μέλη might be used without change of meaning. See the second example under b.)

178. (b) On the other hand, the dependent verb is sometimes in the subjunctive or future indicative, on the ground that it follows a tense of future time, especially when the leading verb is an optative with ἂν used in its sense approaching that of the future indicative (235). E.g.

"Ὅν οὖν μᾶθης μου τοῦτον, οὐκ ἄν ἀποδοῦν, ἵνα τελέσῃς ἀπολογίαν. Ιδ. Ραμ. 586. Ἔγὼ δὲ ταῦτην μὲν τὴν εἰρήνην, ὡς ἄν εἰς Ἀθηναίων λειτυταταί, οὐδέποτ' ἄν σωμα-βουλεύσωμαι πονησσάσθαι τῇ πόλει, Ιωάννης ἦν ταχύ χθήν τῷ πολέμῳ, as each one of you would be ashamed to leave the post at which he may be (might be) placed in war. AESCHIN. iii. 7. (Here ἦν ταχθεὶς would be the more common expression.) Τὸν ἀτοπωτότων ἦν εἰς, εἰ τεύτα δυνηθείς μὴ πράξῃς, it would be one of the strangest things if, when he gets the power, he fails (shall fail) to do this. DEM. i. 26.

179. It will be understood that no assimilation to the optative can take place when the protasis is present or past, as a change to the optative here would involve a change of time. See 561.

180. II. (a) In final and object clauses with ὡς, ὅς, ὅτις, ὅφις, and μή, the subjunctive (or future indicative) is generally used after a potential optative with ἂν or after an optative in protasis referring to the future. E.g.

"Ἡ βασιλεία ἦν, ὡς ἦμιν οἰκαδέ, ἐποιο, ὅφις ἦδη, κ.τ.λ. Od. xvi. 431. So Od. vi. 57, xvi. 57; II. xxiv. 264. Δι' ὁτις ἦν παῦρα συμπόρους, ὡς ἄροισθης, Soph. El. 1439. Τάς αὐτών ἦν καλέσεις, ὡς ἦδη με; EUR. Bacch. 1258. Ὁ κοινόν ἦν εἰς τὰ πλοῦτα ἐμβάλλειν, μή κατα-δύσις φοβοφιλοῦ μ' ἄν τῷ ἡκμόν ἐπεστηκάμε, μή ἦμας ἄγαγγ' οὔθεν Οἴχ οἶον τε ἐσταὶ ἐμελθεῖν. XEN. An. i. 3, 17. Τάς ὦν ἦν φετοὺς, ἢν μῆμ' άκων αὐτή ἀπειρήσῃ; DEM. xxv. 33. Οἴομει ἦν ἦμας μέγα ἀνθάνῃ τὸ στρατεύμα, εἰ ἐπιμεληθείης ὥς αὕτι τῶν ἀπο-λολότων ὡς πάχιστα στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ ἀντικατασταθῶσιν. XEN. An. iii. 1, 38. Εἴ δὲ καὶ ὅτις ἠφήνη ἐσταὶ ρανεῖν εἰς ἑπεκαλόμενοι. Id. Vect. v. 10 (see 180, b).

(b) The only examples of the optative here are one in Aristophanes, one in Plato, and six in Xenophon 1:——

Διὰ τοῦτον εἰκότως βούλοιντ' ἄν ἦμας ἐξολοθρίωσεν, ἦν τὰς τελεσθα λάβοιεν. AR. Pae. 411. Ὅθ' ἦν πω πάννι γε μέγα τι εἶπ' ἐι βουκόλοιους . . . προσθείμεν, ἦνα ὡς ὑμηρον ἐπὶ τὸ ἀροῦν ἔχοιεν

1 See Weber, Absichtssätze, pp. 220, 221; 245-247. I have assumed that Weber's collection of examples is complete.
181. (c) After an optative in a wish twelve examples of these clauses with the optative and ten with the subjunctive are cited from Homer and the lyric and tragic poets. These are


182. No case of either subjunctive or optative after an optative in a wish in prose is cited by Weber. Perhaps one may be found in Dem. xviii. 89, where Cod. Σ reads, δὲ διαμάρτωτεν, καὶ μετάξομεν δὲν ὑμεῖς οἱ τὰ βέλτιστα βουλόμενοι τοὺς θεοὺς αἰτεῖτε, μὴ μεταδόειν ὑμῖν δὲν αὐτοὶ προῆρητα, which can best be translated, in which hopes they be disappointed; and may they (rather) share the blessings for which you, who wish for the best, pray to the Gods, lest they involve you in the evils which they have chosen for themselves. Μὴ with the subjunctive in this sense occurs twice in Demosthenes, xix. 225, xxxviii. 26. The alternative, if we keep this reading, is to make μὴ μεταδοέεις an independent wish, as if it were μορῆ μεταδοέεις, the usual reading.

183. In relative sentences expressing a purpose the future indicative is regularly retained after optatives and even after past tenses of the indicative (566). For exceptional cases of the optative in this construction see 573 and 574, with 134.

184. III. In indirect quotations and questions depending upon an optative which refers to the future, the indicative is the only form regularly used to represent an indicative of the direct discourse. E.g.


185. In Dem. xvi. 5 we find the optative in an indirect quotation: οὐ γὰρ ἐκεῖνο γ᾽ ἄν εἰσομαι, ὡς ἀνταλλάξωσαι βουλοίμεθα θ᾽ ἀντιπάλους Δακεδαιμόνιοι ἀντὶ Θηβαίων. There are no other
readings, and we must call it an exceptional case of assimilation (we
could not say this, that we wished, etc.) unless we emend it either by
reading βουλόμεθα (as proposed by Madvig, Bemerk. p. 21) or by
inserting an. In Plut. Rep. 515 D, we find in the best MSS. τί ἂν
οἴει αὐτόν εἶπεῖν, εἴ τις αὐτῷ λέγει ὅτι τότε μὲν ἐδρα ἀλωρίας, νῦν
dl' ὑπότερα βλέπων; what do you think he would say, if any one should
tell him that all that time he had been seeing foolish phantoms, but that
now he saw more correctly? (Some MSS. read βλέπει.)

In II. v. 85, Τυδείδην οὐκ ἂν γνοῖς ποτέρους μετείχη, the optative
represents μετεστίν in the direct question; but οὐκ ἂν γνοῖς here
refers to the past, meaning you would not have known (442).

186. IV. In indirect questions depending on an optative, the
optative may represent an interrogative subjunctive (287) of the
direct question. E.g.

Οὐκ ἂν ἔχωι ἔξελθων ὅ τι χρῶ σαυτῷ, if you should withdraw,
you would not know what to do with yourself. Plut. Crit. 45 B. Οὐκ
ἂν ἔχωι ὅ τι χρῆσαίοι σαυτῷ, ἀλλ' ἑλεγchiaς ἂν καὶ χαµµῷ οὖν
ἔχωι ὅ τι εἴπως. Id. Gorg. 486 B. The direct questions here were
τί χρῆσαι;—τί χρῆσωςαι;—τί εἴπω; The subjunctive can always
be retained in this construction, even after past tenses (677).

INFINITIVE AND PARTICIPLE.

187. The present, perfect, and future of the infinitive and
participle, and the aorist infinitive when it is not in indirect
discourse, regularly denote time which is relative to that of the
leading verb. They therefore merely transmit the force of that
verb, as primary or secondary, to the dependent clauses. E.g.

Βούλεται λέγειν τί τοιτὸ ἐστὶν, he wishes to tell what this is.
'Εβουλετο λέγειν τί τοιτὸ εἴη, he wished to tell what this was. Φησὶν
ἀκηκόει τί ἐστὶν, he says he has heard what it is. 'Εφη ἀκηκόει
τί εἴη, he said he had heard what it was. Φησὶ ποιήσετε ὅ τι δὲν
βουλήσθη, he says he will do whatever you may wish. 'Εφη ποιήσετε
ὅ τι βουλολογθὲ, he said he would do whatever you might wish.

Μένουσιν βουλόμενοι εἰδέναι τί ἐστι. 'Εκεῖνον βουλόμενοι εἰδέναι
τί εἴη. Μένουσιν ἀκηκόεις τί ἐστιν. 'Εκεῖνον ἀκηκόεις τί εἴη,
they waited, having heard what it was (τί ἐστιν). Μένουσιν ἀκαύσομενοι
tί ἐστιν. 'Εκεῖνον ἀκαύσομενοι τί εἴη.

Βούλεται γνώσω τί τοιτὸ ἐστὶν, he wishes to learn what this is.
'Εβουλετο γνώσω τί τοιτὸ εἴη, he wished to learn what this was.

Οὐδεὶς πώς ποτέ τοιτῶν δεδώκατε τὴν δωρεὰν ταύτην οὐδ' ἂν δοήσῃ,
ἐξεῖναι τοὺς θείους ἄθροισιν ὑβρίζειν αὐτῶν ἐκάστῳ, ὅποτ' ἂν βουλη-
ται καὶ ὂν ἂν δινήται τρόπον. Deu. xxi. 170. Οὐθ' ἦνα μοι ὄντε Ὁμβα-
ους οὐτε Δακεαδαμονίους οὔδεποτες συνεχώρηθε τοῦθ' ὑπὸ τῶν
Ελλήνων, ποιεῖν ὅ τι βουλολογθῇ, never was this granted you, etc., to
do whatever you pleased. Id. ix. 23. Here ποιεῖν denotes a habit,
and is followed by the optative (§ 32); if the leading verb were συγ-χωρέται, we should have ποιεῖν δ' τι δ' βούλησθε. Compare the two subjunctives in the preceding example.

188. The present infinitive and participle representing the imperfect (without ἄν), and the perfect representing the pluperfect, are secondary tenses in themselves, without regard to the leading verb. E.g.

Πώς γὰρ οἷον πιθαίνεις ἁκοῦειν, εἰ τίς τι λέγωι; how unwillingly do you think they heard it, when any one said anything? DEM. vi. 20. So PLAT. Rep. 430 A. See these and other examples under 119.

For the perfect see XEN. Cyr. i. 4, 27, and THEOC. v. 49, under 123.

189. The aorist infinitive in indirect discourse is a past tense in itself, and is therefore secondary. E.g.

Φορὶ γράφει τί τούτο εἶν, he says that he learned what this was. "Εφὶ γράφει τί τούτο εἶν, he said that he had learned what this was.

Φορὶ γράφει δὲ μοι λεγόμενα μὲ τοῦ κλήρου τῷ παιδὶ τό ἡμικλήριον μεταδόσει καὶ νικήσαμεν τοῖς ἔχουσαι αὐτῶν (he says I promised, metadosew ean nikeson). IALE. xi. 24. Ἡλικὴ θράται τις θεραπαιν ἀποσκόκυι λέγεται, ὡς τὰ μὲν ἐν χρυσῷ προθυμοῖτο εἰδεναι, τὰ δ' ἐμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ λαυθάνοι αὐτῷ. PLAT. Theae. 174 A. Ἄρα σοι δοκῶσθαι μαντικός αὐτὸν ἠγεῖν εἰπεῖν, ὡς Ἀγάθων θυμαστὸς ἔσται ἢ ἡ ἀπορήστει; Id. Symp. 198 A. In all these cases the optative depends on the aorist infinitive as a past tense.

190. The aorist participle properly refers to time past relatively to the leading verb. It is therefore secondary when the leading verb is past or present, so that the participle refers to time absolutely past; but it may be primary when the leading verb is future, if the participle refers to time absolutely future. E.g.

Ἰστὲ ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντας ἣν τοῦτο ἠδούμεν, you know that we came that we might see this.

Ψηφών δὲ δείσας μὴ δεινεῖς τοτὲ ἐν 'έχοι δικάσειν, aγιμαλῶν ἐνοὸν τρέθει, and once he took fright lest he might sometime lack pebbles (for votes) to enable him to be a judge, and so he keeps a beach on the premises. AN. Vesp. 109. Πρὸς ὁριγάν ἐκφερεῖ, μεθεισάμοι λέγειν ἄ χρύζοιμι, you rush into a passion, after you gave me leave to say what I wished (i.e. ἄ τον χρύζος). SOPH. El. 628.

Ὡτειτόν τάλλα δι' αὐτὸς τάκει πράξοι, ψέτο. THEOC. i. 90. Τῇ μάστιγι τυπετῶθα πληγᾶς ὑπὸ κήρυκος ἐν τῇ ἄγορᾳ, κηρύγατος δὲ ἔνεκα μελλει τύπτεσθαι, i.e. let the crier flog him, after proclaiming (having proclaimed) for what he is to be flogged. PLAT. Leg. 917 E.

191. The tenses of the infinitive and participle with ἄν are followed, in dependent clauses, by those constructions that would follow the finite moods which they represent, if these stood in the same position. See Chapter III.
CHAPTER III.

THE PARTICLE "AN.

192. The adverb ἀν (with the epic κέ, Doric κά) has two uses, which must be distinguished.

1. In one use, it denotes that the action of the verb to which it is joined is dependent upon some condition, expressed or implied. This is its force with the secondary tenses of the indicative, and with the optative, infinitive, and participle: with these it belongs strictly to the verb, to which it gives a potential force, like our would.

2. In its other use, it is joined regularly to εἴ, if, to relative and temporal words, and sometimes to the final particles ὡς, ὄτος, and ὡφα, when any of these are followed by the subjunctive. Here, although as an adverb it qualifies the verb, it is so closely connected with the relative or particle, that it often coalesces with it, forming ἦν, ἦν, ἦν, ὣτον, ὀπόταν, ἐπεδάν, ἐπάν or ἐπήν (Ionic ἐπεάν).

These statements include only the constructions which are in good use in Attic Greek. For the epic use of κέ or ἀν with the subjunctive in a potential sense (as with the optative) see 201, 1; for κέ or ἀν with the future indicative see 196.

193. There is no word or expression in English which can be used separately to translate ἀν. In its first use (192, 1) we express it by the form of the verb which we use; as ἔλθοι ἀν, he would go; ἔλθεν ἀν, he would have gone. In its second use, with the subjunctive, it generally has no force that can be made perceptible in translation.

The peculiar use of ἀν can be understood only by a study of the various constructions in which it occurs. These are enumerated below, with references (when it is necessary) to the more full explanation of each in Chapter IV.
194. No theory of the origin of either ἀν or κέ has yet helped to explain their meaning, however valuable the discussion of the question may have been to comparative philology. It seems to be clear that κέ is the older particle; it occurs 621 times in Homer while ἀν occurs 155 times; in Pindar the two are nearly balanced; ἀν has a preference for negative sentences, being very often attached to the negative; ἀν is more emphatic, as appears indeed from its fixed accent, while κέ is enclitie; κέ is much more frequent than ἀν in relative clauses in Homer.1 But, practically, it is still safe to assume that the two particles are used in substantially the same sense in all epic and lyric poetry. In Herodotus and Attic Greek only ἀν is used.

INDICATIVE WITH Ἀν.

195. The present and perfect indicative are never used with ἀν.

This seems to occur chiefly when Plato and Aristotle use καν ει (= καὶ ἀν, ει) like καὶ ει, without regard to the mood of the verb which is to follow, to which καν really belongs. See Plat. Men. 72 C, καν ει πολλαι εισων, εν γε τι ειδος τατων πασαι εκουσι, i.e., even if they are many, still (it would seem to follow that) they all have one and the same form. So Rep. 579 D, Soph. 247 E. So Aristot. Pol. iii. 6, 1, καν ει πτειονς, with σκεπτειον ἔστιν.

Examples of a different class (without καν ει) have now almost disappeared from our texts. One of the last relics, Plat. Leg. 712 E, ἔγω δε οὐτω νῦν εξαιρόνυν ἀν ἐρωτηθείς ὃτως ὅπερ εἴποι, οὐκ ἔχω εἴπειν, is now simply emended by reading ἐρωτηθείς.

196. The future indicative is often used with κέ or ἀν by the early poets, especially Homer. The addition of ἀν seems to make the future more contingent than that tense naturally is, sometimes giving it a force approaching that of the optative with ἀν. E.g.

Ἀλλ’ ἠδ’, ἔγω δὲ κέ τοι Χαρίτων μιᾶν ὑποτεράων δῶσω, ὅπως ἔμεναι καὶ σῷν κεκλήθαι ἄκοιτων, ἵππον ἄρ οὔτε δέ τις ἔφες Τρῶων ὑπερφανείων, ὅτι καὶ δὸς ἐκεῖνοι ὑπερηφανεύσαντο, καὶ σὺν ᾧ με θυμίζεις, ὅτι κέ ἐμοὶ ἀν ἐπιστησαί σε ἐνί δὲ πιθήκων. E. g. xiv. 207. Καὶ κέ τις δὲ δέ τις ἔφες Τρῶων ὑπερφανεύσαντο, καὶ σὺν ᾧ ἐμοὶ ἀν ἐπιστησαί σε ἐνί δὲ πιθήκων. E. g. xiv. 207.

1 See Monro, Homeric Grammar, pp. 265-267. For Pindar, see Gildersleeve in Am. Jour. Phil. ii. pp. 440-456, where may be found a complete enumeration of the passages in Pindar containing either ἀν (30 cases) or κέ (33 cases).
THE PARTICLE ἂν  

me. Π. i. 174. Ἐί δ᾽ Ὀδυσσεῖς ἔλθου καὶ ἦκοι ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν, ἀλὰ κε σὺν ὑπαυξί βίας ἀποτίσεται ἀνδρῶν. Od. xvii. 539. Here ἀποτίσεται κε, which may be aorist subjunctive (201, 1), is used nearly in the sense of the optative, corresponding to the optatives in the protasis.

Κε is much more common with the future than ἂν.

197. The use of ἂν with the future indicative in Attic Greek is absolutely denied by many critics, and the more careful revision of the texts has greatly diminished the number of examples cited in support of it. Still, in several passages, even of the best prose, we must either emend the text against the MSS., or admit the construction as a rare exception. E.g.

Ἀγνωστος δε οὐχ ὅρω ποια δυνάμει συμμάχω χρησάμενοι μᾶλλον ἂν κολάσεσθε τής νύν σὺν ἐμοί σύνης. ΧΕΝ. An. ii. 5, 13. "Εφη οὖν τὸν ἐρωτώμενον εἰτείν, οὐχ ἦκε, φάναι, οὐδὲ ἂν ἦκεν δεύρο, he said that the one who was asked replied, "He hasn't come, and he won't come this way." PLAT. Rep. 615 D. (The only other reading is οὔκ. The colloquial style here makes ἂν less objectionable; see SOPH. Ant. 390, quoted in 208.) Ἐφη λέγων πρὸς ἔμας ὡς, εἰ διαφεῦγοιμεν, ἦδη ἂν ὑμῶν οἱ νεις πάντες παντάπαι διαφθαρύσονται. ID. AP. 29 C. Κἂν εἶν τι φόμοι δύσομαι αἰμα (so the MSS.). EUR. EL. 484.

See 208 and 216, on the future infinitive and participle with ἂν.

198. The most common use of ἂν with the indicative is with the secondary tenses, generally the imperfect and aorist, in the apodosis of an unfulfilled condition (410) or in a potential sense (243).

199. The imperfect and aorist indicative are sometimes used with ἂν in an iterative sense (162), which construction must not be confounded with that just mentioned (198).

SUBJUNCTIVE AND OPTATIVE WITH ἂν

200. In Attic Greek ἂν is regularly used with the subjunctive in protasis and in conditional relative sentences, and sometimes in final clauses with ὡς and ὅτως, being always closely joined with the particle or the relative; but never in independent sentences. See 325, 381, and 522.

201. 1. In epic poetry, when the independent subjunctive has nearly the sense of the future indicative (284), it sometimes takes κε or ἂν. This forms a future potential expression, nearly equivalent to the future indicative with κε or ἂν. E.g.
THE PARTICLE ᾧ

Εἰ δὲ κε μὴ δώγην, ἐγὼ δὲ κεν αὐτὸς ἐλωμαί, and if he does not give her up, I will take her myself. Il. i. 324; see also i. 137.

See 285 and 452. For the variety of nearly equivalent future potential forms which the Homeric language presents, reduced to one in Attic Greek, see 235.

2. The epic language has κέ or ᾧ with the subjunctive in the constructions of 192, 2; but its use of κέ or ᾧ in conditions is less strict, and that with final particles is more free, than the Attic use of ᾧ.

See 325-328; 450-454; 468-471; 538-541.

202. The optative with ᾧ forms the apodosis of the less vivid future condition (like the English form with would or should), or has a potential sense. E.g.

Εἰ τοῦτο ποιήσειν, ἄβλιοι ᾧ ἐνεπι, ἢ he should do this, he would be wretched. Ἡδεις ᾧ ἐροίμην αὐτόν, ἢ I should like to ask him. (See 233 and 455.)

For construction of ᾧ or κέ with εἰ or the final particles and the optative, see 460; and 329, 330, 349, 350, 351.

203. As the future optative came into common use after the future indicative with ᾧ (196) was nearly extinct, it was never used with ᾧ.

INFINITIVE WITH "𝒜Ψ." 

204. The infinitive can be used with ᾧ in all cases in which a finite verb would have ᾧ if it stood in its place.

This is found chiefly in indirect discourse, in which each tense of the infinitive with ᾧ represents the corresponding tenses of the indicative or optative with ᾧ in the direct form. The context must decide whether the indicative or optative is represented in each case.

205. (Present.) The present infinitive, which represents also the imperfect (119), when used with ᾧ, may be equivalent either to the imperfect indicative with ᾧ or to the present optative with ᾧ. It can represent no other form, as no other form of these tenses has ᾧ joined with the verb in a finite mood. E.g.

Φησίν αὐτοὺς ἐλέειστη μᾶς ᾧ ἐλειναι, εἰ τοῦτο ἐποίησαν, he says that they would (now) be free, if they had done this (εἰναι ᾧ representing ἔποιησαν ᾧ). Φησίν αὐτοὺς ἐλέειστη μᾶς ᾧ ἐλειναι, εἰ τοῦτο πράξασαν, he says that they would (hereafter) be free, if they should do this (εἰναι ᾧ representing ἐποίησαν ᾧ). Οίαθε γὰρ τὸν ποτέρα οὐκ ᾧ φυλάττειν καὶ τὸν τιμήν λαμβάνειν τῶν ἔξωλων; do you think he would not have taken care and have received the pay for the timber? Dem. xlix. 35. (Here the direct discourse would be ἕφυλαττεν ᾧ καὶ ἐλάμβανεν.)
THE PARTICLE ἄν

Мαρτυρῶν ἔχριστο, μή ᾤν τούς γε ἱσοψήφους ἄκοντας, εἴ μή τι ἡδίκουν οἷς ἐπέζησαν, ἐνστρατεύειν, they used us as an argument, that people who had an equal vote with themselves (like us) would not be serving with them against their will, unless those whom they attacked were guilty of some wrong. Ἱον. iii. 11. Οἴμαι γὰρ ἄν ὅσον ἄγαρτις μοι ἔχειν, for I think it would not be a thankless labour (Ὁἄν ἄν ἔχοι). Χιν. Α. ii. 3, 16.

206. (Perfect.) The perfect infinitive, which represents also the pluperfect (123), when used with ἄν, may be equivalent either to the pluperfect indicative with ἄν or to the perfect optative with ἄν. E.g.

Εἰ μὴ τὰς ἀρετὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνας οἱ Μαραθῶνι καὶ Σαλαμῆνι παρέσχοντο, ... πάντα ταῦτ' ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄν ἐκλέκειναι (sc. φήσειν ἄν τις), if those at Marathon and Salamis had not exhibited those deeds of valour in their behalf, any one would say that all these would have been captured by the barbarians. Dem. xix. 312. (Here ἐκλείκειν ἄν represents ἐκλέκεσαν ἄν.) 'Αλλ' ὅσον ἄν ἡγούμειν αὐτῶν δικὰν ἀξίαν δεδωκέναι, εἰ ἀκροασμένοι αὐτῶν καταφησίσασθε, but I do not believe they would (then) have suffered sufficient punishment, if you after hearing them should condemn them. Lyb. xxvii. 9. (Here the protasis in the optative shows that δεδωκέναι ἄν represents δεδωκότες ἄν εἶν (103); but if the protasis were ἐκαρακησάσθαι, if you had condemned them, δεδωκέναι ἄν would represent ἐδεδωκέσαν ἄν, they would have suffered.) See also, in xxvii. 8, οὐκ ἄν ἀπολογέναι, ἀλλ' ἄξιαν δεδωκέναι; representing perfect optatives with ἄν. 'Ανθρωποδόκεσθαι ἄν δικαίως κεκλησθαί (ἡγεῖτο). Xen. Mem. i. 1, 16. (Here κεκλησθαί ἄν represents κεκληθήσεθαι ἄν εἶν.) These constructions are of course rare, as are the forms of the finite moods here represented.

207. (Aorist.) The aorist infinitive with ἄν may be equivalent either to the aorist indicative with ἄν or to the aorist optative with ἄν. E.g.

Οὐκ ἄν ἐγείρονθ' αὐτῶν κἂν ἐπιδραμεῖν; do you not believe that (if this had been so) he would even have run this? i.e. οὐκ ἄν ἐπιδραμεῖν; Dem. xxvii. 56. 'Ἀγεν δὲ σευμὸν οὐκ ἄν μοι δοκεῖ τὸ τοιοῦτο ξυμβῆναι γενόσθαι (οὐκ ἄν ξυμβηκότας, i.e. οὐκ ἄν ξυμβηκότας, but unless there had been an earthquake, it does not seem to me that such a thing could by any chance have happened. Thuc. iii. 89. Τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἥλπιζεν ὅσον ἄν ἐπεξελθέτειν καὶ τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἄν περιεδέετεις (i.e. ὅσον ἄν ἐπεξελθοῦσαι καὶ οὐκ ἄν περιεδοῦσαν). Id. ii. 20. Οὐδ' ἄν κρατήσατι αὐτῶν τῆς γῆς ἡγούμει (i.e. κρατήσειν ἄν). Id. vi. 37.

208. (Future.) The future infinitive with ἄν can be equivalent only to the Homeric construction of the future indicative with ἄν. But as ἄν is not found in Homer with the future infinitive, this construction rests chiefly on the authority of passages in Attic writers, and is subject to the same doubts and suspicions
as the future indicative with ἀν in those writers. (See 197.) Unless we exterminate the latter, there can be no objection to this as its representative. In the following passages it is still retained on the best Ms. authority.

Noμίζοντες, εἰ ταῦταν πρῶταν λάβοιν, ἤδιον ἄν σφίσει τάλλα προσεχρήσειν. Thuc. ii. 80. (Here the direct discourse would regularly have had either the future indicative without ἀν, or the aorist optative with ἀν.) The same may be said of Thuc. v. 82, νομίζων μέγατον ἄν σφᾶς ὁψελήσειν (where one Ms. reads by correction ὁψελήσης). See also Thuc. vi. 66; viii. 25 and 71; and Plat. Crit. 53 D; Crat. 391 A. Σχολὴ ποθ' ἥκειν ἐκήρ' ἄν ἐξηύχουν ἐγώ, I declared that I should be very slow to come hither again. Soph. Ant. 390. (Here the colloquial style may account for ἥκειν ἄν, as for ἥκει ἄν in Plat. Rep. 615 D, unless we take ἄν with ἐξηύχουν. See 197.) In Pind. Ol. i. 108, we have εἴ δὲ μὴ ταχὺ λίποι, ἐτι γλυκυτέραν κεν ἐλπομαι σφ' ἄρματι θοῦ κλείσειν.

As the future optative is never used with ἄν (203), this can never be represented by the future infinitive with ἄν.

209. The infinitive with ἄν is rare in the early poets, occurring but once in Homer, II. ix. 684 (quoted under 683), and three times in Pindar, Pyth. vii. 20 (present), Pyth. iii. 110 (aorist), and Ol. i. 108 (future, quoted in 208).

210. The infinitive with ἄν sometimes represents an iterative imperfect or aorist indicative with ἄν (162). This must be carefully distinguished from the potential use. E.g.

'Ἀκοῦοι Λακέδαιμονιοι τότε ἐμβαλόντας ἄν καὶ κακῶσαντας τὴν χώραν ἀναχωρεῖν ἐκ' οἴκου πάλιν, I hear that the Laconians went at that time, after invading and ravaging the country, used to return home again. Dem. ix. 48. (Here ἀναχωρεῖν ἄν represents ἀναχωρῆσαν ἄν in its iterative sense, they used to return.) Φοβᾶτ' μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἑρπό- μενον τὰ τῶν ἠχόντων ἀνίμων οὐκ ἄν ἐξελθεῖν ἀπὸ τής σκιάτους τοὺς δ' ἀντιβολέαν ἄν ὦροις, they say that, when he was feasting on men of wealth, he never would get away from the meal-tub; and they all alike used to impress him (οὐκ ἄν ἐξηλθεῖν, oi òe ἡμιβολόνων ἄν). Ar. Eq. 1295.

211. The infinitive with ἄν, in the cases already mentioned, stands in indirect discourse after a verb of saying or thinking. Sometimes, however, it is found in other constructions, where the present or aorist infinitive (without ἄν) would be expected. In such cases there is an approach to the usage of indirect discourse, so far at least that the infinitive with ἄν has the force of the corresponding tense of the indicative or optative. E.g.

Τὰ δὲ ἐντὸς ὦνων ἐκαίσετο, ὡστε ἥξιστα ἄν ἦς ὦρῳν ψυχῶν σφᾶς αὐτοῖς μίπτειν, so that they would most gladly have thrown themselves into cold water (μίπτειν ἄν here being equivalent to ἔριπτον ἄν). Thuc. ii. 49. Μᾶς τρέψει πρὸς νυκτὸς, ὡστε μήτ' ἐμε μήτ' ἄλλον,


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οὔτε φῶς ὅρα, βλάψαι ποτ' ἄν, so that you could harm (βλάψαι ἄν) neither me nor any other who beholds the light. Soph. O.T. 374. So Tr. 669. Ἐφθασαν παρελθόντες τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἰκοδομίαν, ὡστε μηκέτι μήτε αὐτοὶ κοιλούνται ἐν αὐτῶν, ἐκεῖνοι τε καὶ παντάπασιν ἀπετηρηκέναι, εἰ καὶ κρατοῦν, μή ἄν ἄτι σφός ἀποτελεῖν σας, so as to be no longer themselves obstructed by them, and so as to have deprived them absolutely of the power of ever again walking them in, even if they should be victorious. Thuc. vii. 6. ἶσος ἔστε ἡ ἤδεισαν ὡς 烝ε νῦντα ἀνάμεναι βούλησται κἀν ἐν Ἀλώπητῳ τούχειν ἄν μᾶλλον ἡ κριναὶ κακῶς, we will rain all night long, so that perhaps he will wish to have the buck to be (that he might by chance find himself) in Egypt rather than to judge unfairly. Ar. Nub. 1130. (Here τούχειν ἄν follows βούλουμαι like the future infinitive in Thuc. vi. 57: see 113.) We have ἐπετίκλω followed by the infinitive and ἄν in Thuc. vii. 61, τὸ τής τυχῆς κἀν μεθ’ ἡμῶν ἐλπίσαντες στήριξα, hoping that fortune may take sides with us (σταῖν ἄν). See also Soph. El. 1482, ἄλλα μοι τάρες κἀν σμικρὸν εἰπεῖν, but permit me at least to say a little (that I might say even a little, εἴπομι ἄν).

See the corresponding use of the future infinitive in similar expressions, where there is the same approach to indirect discourse (113).

212. Even the infinitive with the article occasionally takes ἄν, as in Ant. v. 8, τούτῳ ὡς ὑπείραξα, ὡς τῷ φεύγον ἄν τὸ πλῆθος τῷ ἑρέπειν, this I will teach you, not because I would avoid your people. In Soph. Ant. 236, τῆς ἐπετίκλω τὸ μή παθεῖν ἄν ἄν ἄλλω, the hope that I could not suffer anything else, the construction is practically that of indirect discourse (794).

PARTICIPLE WITH "ἈΝ.

213. When the participle is used with ἄν, each tense represents the corresponding tenses of the indicative or optative with ἄν.

The participle with ἄν is not, like the infinitive with ἄν, found chiefly in indirect discourse; but ἄν is more frequently added to an attributive or a circumstantial participle (522) to give it a potential force equivalent to that of the indicative or optative with ἄν. The participle with ἄν is not found in Homer or Pindar.

214. (Present.) The present participle (like the present infinitive) with ἄν represents the imperfect indicative or the present optative with ἄν. E.g.

Οἶδα αὐτοὺς ἐλευθέρον ἄν ὄντας, ἐὶ τούτῳ ἐπράξαν, I know they would (now) be free, if they had done this. Οἶδα αὐτοὺς ἐλευθέρον ἄν ὄντας, ἐὶ τούτῳ πράξαν, I know they would (hereafter) be free, if they should do this. (In the former ὄντας ἄν represents ἦσαν ἄν, in the latter εἶπαν ἄν.) Τοὺς λαβοῦσαν δίκην ὄντες ἄν εἰκας (i.e. ἦμεν ἄν), whereas we should justly be among those who inflict punishment.
DEIM. LVII. 3. "Oster ἑγεῖ μὴ κατὰ πόλεις αὐτῶν ἐπιπλέοντα τὴν Πελοπόννησον πόρθειν, ἄδωντων ἄν οὔτως (ὑπὸ) ἐπιβοσθείων, when you would have been unable to bring aid (ἀδώνατοι ἄν ἦτε). THUC. I. 73. Πόλλα ἄν ἔχων ἔτερ οἴστεν περὶ αὐτῆς παραλείπω, although I might be able to say many other things about it, I omit them. DEIM. XVIII. 258. Ἄπτε παντὸς ἄν φέρων λόγου δικαίων μηχανήμα ποικίλων (i.e. ὅσ ἄν φέρους), thou who wouldst derive, etc. SOPH. O. C. 761.

215. (Aorist.) The aorist participle with ἄν represents the aorist indicative or the aorist optative with ἄν. E.g.

Oûte ònta õute ἄν γενόμενα λόγοποισίν, they relate things which are not real, and which never could happen (i.e. oûc ἄν γένοιτο). THUC. VI. 35. Ἑβό ήμων τού γεγονός οὖοδα εἰ γεγονόμενον ἄν (a thing which has not occurred in our day, and I doubt whether it ever could occur (γένοτο ἄν)). PLAT. REP. 414 C. Ἀλλα βασίως ἄν αφοέσθε, εἰ καὶ μετρίως τού τούτων ἐποίησε, προελετο ἀποθανεῖν, whereas he might easily have been acquitted, etc. Xen. Mem. IV. 4. 4. Καὶ εἰ ἀπήχθησε ὡστε ἡμεῖς, εἰ ὅσμεν μὴ ἄν ὄντον όμας λυπηροῦς γεγομένους τοῖς ἡμοῖς, καὶ ἀναγκασθήναται ἄν ἡ ἀρχήν, κ.τ.λ. (i.e. oûc ἄν εὔγενεθαι, καὶ ἡγακήσθητε ἄν), if you had become odious as we have, we are sure that you would have been no less oppressive to your allies, and that you would have been forced, etc. THUC. I. 76. Ὁρῶν τὸ παρατείχισμα ἀπλοῖν ἄν καὶ εἰ ἐπικρατήσῃ τις τῆς ἀναιδείας, βασίως ἄν αὐτὸ λησθεὶν (i.e. βασίως ἄν λησθείη), seeing that it would easily be taken, etc. Id. VII. 42. So os τάχη ἄν συμβαίνων, DEIM. XXIII. 58 (see 918).

216. (Future.) A few cases of the future participle with ἄν, representing the future indicative with ἄν, are found in Attic writers. These rest on the same authority as those of the future indicative and the future infinitive with ἄν (197 and 208). E.g.

Ἀφιετε ἡ μὴ ἀφιετε, ὡς ἐμοῦ oύκ ἄν τοις συντόντως ἄλλα, οὔτε εἰ μέλλων πολλάκις τεθανάτω (i.e. οὔτε ἄν τοις συντόντως ἄλλα): so all MSS. PLAT. AR. 30 B. Τοὺς ὁτιον ἄν ἐκεῖνο ποιήσοντας ἀνηρρηκότας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἔσωσθε. DEIM. XIX. 342. (Here most MSS., including Σ, have ποιήσοντας, but A has ποιήσαντας.) Πάλαι τις ἠδύνα ἄν ἠδύναι ἐφοτήσων κάθηται, many a one has long been sitting here who perhaps would be very glad to ask (so all MSS.). DEIM. IX. 70.

217. The participle with ἄν can never represent a protasis, because there is no form of protasis which could be represented by a participle, where ἄν is separable from the conditional particle. (See 224.)

POSITION OF ἄν.

218. 1. When ἄν is used with the subjunctive, if it does not coalesce with the relative or particle into one word (as in ἄν, ὅπως, etc.), it is generally separated from it only by such monosyllables as μέν, δὲ, τί, γάρ, καὶ, νῦ, πέρ, etc., rarely τίς.

See examples under 444 and 529.
2. In Homer and Hesiod two such words may precede ἴ; as εἰ περ γάρ κεν, εἰ γάρ τις κε, εἰ μὲν γάρ κε. This is rare with ἄν in prose; see Dem. iv. 45, ὅποι μὲν γάρ ἄν. Exceptional are ὅσοι τις ἄν, ὅμαι, προσθῆ, Dem. ii. 14; ὅ τι ἄλλο ἄν δοκῇ ψωλ. Xen. Cyr. iv. 5, 52. The strange καθ.ASCII ἄν μηνύῃ ἄν τις, Ant. v. 38, is now corrected to ἄν μηνύῃ, but still stranger is ὅποιον ἦ δάρμη ἄν ημῶν χανδάνγ (?) Ar. Ran. 259.

219. When ἄν is used with the optative or indicative, it may either stand near the verb, or be attached to some other emphatic word. Particularly, it is very often placed directly after interrogatives, negatives, adverbs of time, place, etc., and other words which especially affect the sense of the sentence. E.g.


220. 1. By a peculiar usage, ἄν is often separated from its verb by such verbs as οἶκαι, δοκῶ, φημί, οἶδα, etc. In such cases care must be taken to connect the ἄν with the verb to which it really belongs. E.g.

Καὶ νῦν ἦδος ἄν μοι δοκῶ κοινωνήσας, and now I think I should gladly take part (ἄν belonging to κοινωνήσας). Xen. Cyr. viii. 7, 25. So Aesch. iii. 2 (end). Οὐδὲ ἄν ὑπέσει οδὸν ὅτι ἐπίθαναμενε τολμοῦντες, νοῦτος θάνει (I am sure) have ceased fighting. Dem. vi. 29. Πότερα γάρ ἄν οἴσηθε μένον εἶναι; Dem. xlix. 45. Ἐκλεξαντα ἁ ὡς ἤκεινε μερεις ὡς ἄν φηὴ τῆμερον ὑγηθήσας, selecting what nobody knew beforehand and nobody thought would be mentioned to-day. Dem. xviii. 225. (Here ὑγηθήσας an ὑγηθεὶς ἄν. If ἄν were taken with ὑγηθή, the meaning would be, what nobody would have thought had been mentioned.) Τί οὖν ἄν, ἔφη, εἰ με ἔρως; Plat. Symp. 202 D.

2. Especially irregular are such expressions as οὐκ οἶδα ἄν εἰ, or οὐκ ἄν οἶδα εἰ, followed by an optative or indicative to which the ἄν belongs. E.g.

Οὐκ οἶδα ἄν εἰ πείσασαί μι, I do not know whether I could persuade him. Eur. Med. 941. (The more regular form would be οὐκ οἶδα εἰ πείσασαί ἄν.) So Aes. 48. Οὐκ ἄν οἶδα εἰ δύναμίν. Plat. Tim. 26 B. Οὐκ οἶδα ἄν εἰ εἰκηγόμην παύειν τοιοῦτον. Xen. Cyr. v. 4, 12. So οὐκ ἄν οἶδα ἄν εἶ άλλο εἰχὼν ψηφίσαται, I do not know what other vote I could have given (τί άλλο εἶχων ἄν ψηφίσαται); Dem. xiv. 7.

221. (Τάχα ἄν.) Among the words to which ἄν is very frequently joined is τάχα, perhaps (i.e. quickly, soon), the two forming τάχα ἄν, which expression is sometimes supposed to
mean perhaps. But τάχ’ ἂν cannot be used unless the ἂν belongs in its ordinary sense to the verb of the sentence.

Thus τάχ’ ἂν γένοιτο means it might perhaps happen, and τάχ’ ἂν ἐγένετο means it might perhaps have happened; but the latter can never mean perhaps it happened, like ὅσος ἐγένετο. Τάχα alone often means perhaps, as in XEN. An. v. 2, 17. Aristotle writes τάχα and ἂν separately in the same sense as τάχ’ ἂν; as τάχα δε καὶ μᾶλλον ἂν ταύτην ὑπολάβοι, Eth. Nic. i. 5, 6.

222. "Ἀν never begins a sentence, or a clause before which a comma could stand. But it may directly follow a parenthetic clause, provided some part of its own clause precedes. E.g.

'Αλλ' ἐ μὲλ' ἂν μοι συτίων διπλῶν ἐδει, AR. Pac. 137. So τὸ μέλλον, ἐπεὶ γένουτ', ἂν κλῆσις (or without the commas), the future you can hear when it comes, Aesch. Ag. 250.

REPETITION OF "Ἀν.

223. "Ἀν is sometimes used twice, or even three times, with the same verb. This may be done in a long sentence, to make the conditional force felt through the whole, especially when the connexion is broken by intermediate clauses. It may also be done in order to emphasise particular words with which ἂν is joined, and to make them prominent as being affected by the contingency. E.g.

"Ὅστ' ἂν, εἰ οὐνός λάβομαι, δηλώσαμι ἂν οί αὐτοῖς φρονεῖ. Soph. El. 333. Οὔ ταῦτ' ἔλοντες ἀθίς ἀνθρακὼν ἂν. Aesch. Ag. 340. "Αλλοις γ' ἂν οὖν οἴομαι τὰ ἡμέρας λαβόμενα δεῖξαι ἂν μάλωτα εἰ τε μεταρράξωτευ. Thuc. i. 76. (See 220.) Οὔτ' ἂν κελεύσωμεν, οὔτ' ἂν, εἰ θέλοις ἐπὶ πρόσχειν, ἐμοῦ γ' ἂν ἥκως δράφης ρέτα. Soph. Ant. 69. Λέγω καθ' ἐκαίτον δοκεῖν ἂν μοι τῶν αὐτῶν ἀδρά παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπὶ πλείωτ' ἂν ἀδην καὶ μετὰ χαρίσεως μάλωτ' ἂν εὐπρόσελέβω τὸ σώμα αὐτοκράτες παρέχεσθαι. Thuc. ii. 41. (Here ἂν is used three times, belonging to παρέχεσθαι.) Ὑμῶν δὲ ἐρρημοῖς ἂν οὐκ ἂν ἰκανός οἴμαι εἰναι οὔτ' ἂν φιλον ὄφελος οὔτ' ἂν ἐχθρὸν ἀλέξασθαι. XEN. An. i. 3, 6. (Here ἂν is used three times, belonging to εἰναι.) Οὐκ ἂν ἤγειον' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπιδραμεῖν; Dem. xxvii. 56.

224. A participle representing a protasis (472) is especially apt to have an emphatic ἂν near it. This, by showing that the verb is to form an apodosis, tends to point out the participle as conditional in an early part of the sentence. E.g.

Νομίσατε τὸ τε φαύλον καὶ τὸ μέσον καὶ τὸ πάνω ἀκριβές ἂν ἄγγελον μάλιστ' ἂν ἵσχύειν, believe that these, if they should be united, would be especially strong. Thuc. vi. 18. (Here ἄγγελοθεν, not with ἂν, is equivalent to εἰ ἄγγελοθεν.) Ὑμῶν ἂν τέσσαρες δοκεῖς ἔθνη, ἂν πάτερ, προεκπάθεν ἐκάστοις καὶ ἄθλα προτεθέεις μάλιστ' ἂν


225. (a) Repetition of κε is rare; yet it sometimes occurs. E.g.

Τὸ κε μᾶλ, ἢ κεν ἤκενε καὶ ἐσθήμενός περ ὅδοιο, ἦ κε με τεθημέναι ἐνι μεγάροις ἐλευθεροί. Od iv. 733.

(b) On the other hand, Homer sometimes joins ἀν and κε in the same sentence for emphasis. E.g.

Καρτεραῖ, ἂς οὔτ ἀν κεν Ἰρής δύνασαι μετελθῶν οὔτε κ' Ἀθηναῖλ λαοσός. Π. xiii. 127.

226. When an apodosis consists of several co-ordinate clauses with the same mood, ἀν is generally used only in the first and understood in the others, unless it is repeated for emphasis or for some other special reason. E.g.

Οὔτε ἀν ἔμε, ἦνικα δέθρο ἀπολείπειν ἔβουλομην, κατεκώλυεν, οὐδὲ τιμώτα λέγειν τοῦτω προσέταττεν, εἴ ἀν ἑκατοθ' ὑμᾶς ἐμέλλετ' εξέναι. DEM. xix. 51. (Here ἀν is understood with προσέταττεν.) Ὅμων ἔν δρών οὐδὲν ἦν διάφορον τοῦ ἑτέρου ποιοῖ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ταύτην ἦσαν ἀμφότεροι. Plat. Rep. 360 C. Οὐκοῦν καν, εἴ πρὸς αὐτοῦ τὸ φῶς ἀναγκάζοι αὐτόν βλέπειν, ἀλλ' εἰς τε ἀν τὰ διάματα καὶ φεύγειν ἀποστρεφόμενον (οἷοι); Ib. 515 E. (Καν belongs to the infinitives; 223.) See also Xen. An. ii. 5, 14. Πάντα ὥσει ὁ Φίλλης πολλὰ λέγοντος ἐροῦ καὶ θρυλοῦτος αἰήν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὡς ἄν εἰς κοινὸν γνῶσιν ἀποφαινομένῳ, μετὰ ταύτη δ' ὄσον τοῦτος διδακτός, τελευτώτως δε ὅσον ἄν πρὸς πεπρακότος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνοσίωτας ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲν ὑποστελλόμενον. DEM. xix. 156. - The clauses with ὃς represent (1) ὃς ἔλεγον ἄν εἰ ἐφαινόμεν, as I should have spoken if I had been merely informing my colleagues; (2) ὃς ἔλεγον (ἄν) εἰ ἐγνωστός ἐδιδάσκον, as I should have spoken if I had been instructing ignorant men; (3) ὃς λέγομαι ἄν, as I should speak to men who had sold themselves, etc. In the second clause, the construction remaining the same, ἀν is omitted; but in the third, where an optative is implied, ἀν reappears.

In Plut. Rep. 398 A, we find ἀν used with two co-ordinate optatives, understood with a third, and repeated again with a fourth to avoid confusion with a dependent optative in a relative clause. "Ἀν may be understood with an optative even in a separate sentence, if the construction is continued from a sentence in which ἀν is used with the optative; as in Plut. Rep. 352 E: "Εσθ’ ὥσπερ ἄν ἄλλῳ ἦδοις ἦ ὄφθαλμοις; Οὐ δέτα. Τί δὲ; ἀκούσαις ἄλλῳ ἦ ὤσιν; So with πράττοι after γάρ, ib. 439 B.
ELLiptical Uses of "Av.

227. "Av is sometimes used elliptically without a verb, when one can be supplied from the context. E.g.

Ωι οἰκέται ἔγκουσαν· ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἦν πρὸ τοῦ (sc. ἔφρεγκον), the slaves are snoring; but they wouldn’t have been doing so at this hour in old times. Δρ. Νυμ. 5. Ὡς οὖν ἦν ἄστων τῶν ἂν ἐξεύομαι τῷ, οὔτ’ ἦν τέκνων τοῖς ἑμοῖς (sc. ἐξέτουμι), στέργων ἔμοι. ΣΩΡ. Ο. 1528. Τί ἦν οὐκεί σοι Πράμοι (sc. πράξας), εἰ τῶν ἱνασέν; but what think you Prians would have done if he had accomplished what you have? ΔΕΣΗ. Αγ. 935. Ζώφρων μὲν οὖκ ἦν μᾶλλον, εὔτυχῆς δ’ ὦσι (sc. οὕσα). ΕΥΡ. ΑΛΚ. 182 : cf. ΑΝ. ΕΩ. 1252. (See 483.)

So πῶς γὰρ ἦν (sc. εὖ); how could it? πῶς οὐκ ἦν; and similar phrases; especially ὡσπέρ ἦν εἰ (also written as one word, ὡσπερὲν), in which the ἦν belongs to the verb that was originally understood after εἰ; as φοβοῦμεν ὑσπέρ ἦν εἰ παῖς, fearing like a child (originally for φοβοῦμεν ὑσπέρ ἦν ἐφοβέστο εἰ παῖς ἦν). ΠΛΑΤ. ΓΟΓ. 479 A. See ΔΕΜ. xviii. 194: τί χρῆ τοιεῖν; ὡσπέρ ἦν εἰ τις ναύκληρον πάντ’ ἐπὶ σωτηρία πράξαντα . . . τῆς ναυαγίας αἰτωρία, what were we to do? (We are to do) just what a shipowner would do (τοιεῖ ἦν) if any one should blame him for the wreck of his ship, etc. See φήμειν ἦν, which explains the omitted verb, just afterwards.

228. Καί in both its meanings (as καί with the adverb ἦν, and as καί with ἦν = ἦν) may stand without a verb. E.g.

Ἀλλ’ ἀνδρὰ χρῆ δοκεῖν πεσεῖν ἦν καί ἄπο σμικροῦ κακοῦ. ΣΩΡ. ΑΙ. 1077. (Here καί, for καί ἦν, which we may express by even or though it be, belongs to πεσεῖν understood.) Ἡκανόσ οὖν τοῦτο ἔχουμεν, καί εἰ πλεοναχῆ σκοποῦμεν; are we then satisfied of this (and should we be so) even if we were to look at it in various ways? ΠΛΑΤ. ΡΕΠ. 477 A. (We must supply ἠκανόσ ἔχουμεν with καί.) See different cases of καί εἰ in 195, in which a verb follows to which ἦν cannot belong.

Καί ὅποις τις ἦν, οἴμας, προσθή καί μικρὰν δύναμιν, πάντ’ ὁφθείς, and, I think, wherever we add even (though it be) a little power, it all helps. ΔΕΜ. ii. 14. (Here καί = καί τις προσθή, even though we add.) Μέτρησον εἰρήνης τί μοι, καί πάντ’ ἔτη, measure me out some peace, even if it be only for five years (καί αἱ μετρήσοι). ΑΡ. ΑΧΙ. 1021.

229. "Av may be used with a relative without a verb, as it is with εἰ (in ἦν = εἰ ἦν) in the last examples (228). So in ΧΕΝ. ΑΙ. i. 3, 6, ὡς ἐμοὶ οὖν λόγος ὅτι ἦν καὶ ὡς εἰς, οὐτω τίνι γνώριμ ἔχετε (i.e. ὅτι ἦν καὶ ὄνεισ ἔγετε). Be of this mind, that I shall go wherever you go.
CHAPTER IV.

USE OF THE MOODS.

230. This chapter treats of all constructions which require any other form of the finite verb than the simple indicative in absolute assertions and direct questions (2). The infinitive and participle are included here so far as either of them is used in indirect discourse, in protasis or apodosis, and in other constructions (as with πρόνυ and ὄστε) in which the finite moods also are used.

231. These constructions are discussed under the following heads:—

I. The potential optative and indicative.

II. The imperative and subjunctive in commands, exhortations, and prohibitions.—Subjunctive and indicative with μή and μή οὐ in cautious assertions.—Ωπώς and ὅπως μή with the independent future indicative or subjunctive.

III. The subjunctive (like the future indicative) in independent sentences.—The interrogative subjunctive.

IV. Οὐ μή with the subjunctive or future indicative.

V. Final and object clauses after ἵνα, ὡς, ὅπως, ὄφρα, and μή.

VI. Conditional sentences.

VII. Relative and temporal sentences, including consecutive sentences with ὄστε, etc.

VIII. Indirect discourse.

IX. Causal sentences.

X. Expressions of a wish.
SECTION I.

The Potential Optative and Indicative.

232. We find fully established in the Homeric language a use of the optative and the past tenses of the indicative with āv or κέ, which expresses the action of the verb as dependent on circumstances or conditions; as ἔλθων āv, he might (could or would) go; ἦλθεν āv, he might (could or would) have gone. Such an optative or indicative is called potential.

I. Potential Optative.

233. It has already been seen (13) that Homer sometimes uses the optative in a weak future sense, without κέ or āv, to express a concession or permission. Such neutral forms seem to form a connecting link between the simple optative in wishes and the optative with āv, partaking to a certain extent of the nature of both. (For a full discussion of these forms and their relations, see Appendix I.) Such expressions seem to show that the early language used forms like ἔλθωμι and ἔκ δικί in two senses, I may go and I may see, or may I go and may I see, corresponding to ἔλθω and ἔκ in their two Homeric senses I shall go and I shall see (284), or let me go and let me see (257).

234. The neutral optatives like II. iv. 18 are rare even in Homer, the language having already distinguished the two meanings in sense, and marked them in most cases by external signs. The optative expressing what may happen in the future took the particle κέ or ἅ, and was negativized by oὐ, denoting the relations which we express by our potential mood with may, can, might, could, would, and should. Thus ἔλθωμι κέ ἤ κεν ἄληθιν, I may slay or I may be slain, II. xxii. 253; ἀνήρ δὲ κεν oὐ τι θεός νόον εἰρήνασαιτο, a man cannot contend against the will of Zeus, II. viii. 143.1 On the other hand, the simple optative (without κέ or ἅ) was more and more restricted to the expression of a wish or exhortation, and was negativized by μὴ; as μὴ γένοιτο, may it not happen, τίθοιμι μοι, listen to me (Od. iv. 193), as opposed to oίκ ἄν γένοιτο, it could not happen. The potential forms ἔλθωμι āv

1 When the idea of ability, possibility, or necessity is the chief element in the expression, and is not (as above) merely auxiliary, it is expressed by a special verb like δύναμαι, δει, or χρῆ. Especially, the idea of obligation is generally expressed by δει or χρῆ with the infinitive; as τοῦτο χρῆ κλέων, him we must obey, Soph. Ant. 668.
and ἐσομικαν differ from the more absolute future indicative and the old subjunctive forms ἐλθω and ἔω, I shall go and I shall see, by expressing a future act as dependent on some future circumstances or conditions, which may be more or less distinctly implied. The freedom of the earlier language extended the use of the potential optative to present and sometimes even to past time. See 438 and 440.

235. In most cases the limiting condition involved in the potential optative is not present to the mind in any definite form, and can be expressed in English only by such words as perchance, possibly, or probably, or by the auxiliaries could, would, should, might, etc. with the vague conditions which these imply (like if he should try, if he pleased, if he could, if what is natural should happen, etc.) Sometimes a more general condition is implied, like in any possible case; as οἶκ ἐν δεχοίμην τοῦτο, I would not accept this (in any terms); here the expression becomes nearly absolute, and may often be translated by our future, as οἶκ ἐν μεθείμην τοῦ θρόνου, I will not give up the throne (AR. Ran. 830), or (in positive sentences) by must, as πάντες θαυμάζοιμεν ἐν τούτῳ, all must admire this.

The optative thus used with no conscious feeling of any definite condition, but still implying that the statement is conditioned and not absolute, is the simplest and most primitive potential optative. It is equivalent to the Latin potential subjunctive, as credas, dicas, cernas, putes, etc., you may believe, say, perceive, think, etc. The Homeric language has six forms, all expressing futurity with different degrees of absoluteness and distinctness; as ἔφημαι, ἔφημαι κε, ἔβημαι, ἔβημαι κε, ἔβημιν, ἔβημιν κε (or ἄν), containing every step from I shall see to I should see. Of these only the first and the last (with a tradition of the second) survived the Homeric period, and the others (especially the fifth) were already disappearing during that period (240), being found unnecessary as the language became settled, and as the optative with κε or ἄν became more fixed as a future potential form.

236. In the following examples of the potential optative no definite form of condition is present to the mind:—

Ἐμοὶ δὲ τὸ ἄν πολὺ κέρδισον εἶη, but it would at that time (be likely to) profit me far more. II. xxii. 108. Φεύγωμεν ἐπὶ γὰρ κεὶ ἀλαφοὶς κακὸς ἡμερ, let us flee; for perchance we may still escape the evil day. Od. x. 269. Πλησιόν ἄλληλον· καὶ κεὶ διὸ Ἰωσθεύσεις, the rocks are close together; you might perhaps shoot an arrow across the space. Od. xii. 102. So Od. xxii. 125. Οὐκόν πάροισ ἄν τήνδε δωρεᾶν ἐμοί; would you then grant me this favour? Aesop. Prom. 616. So
πάν γάρ ἂν πόθοιο μου, for you can learn anything (you please) from me. Ith. 617. Τι τότε ἂν εἴποις ἄλλο; what else could you say of this man? Soph. Ant. 646. So Ant. 552 and 652. Πολλάς ἂν εὑρόης μηχανάς, you can find many devices. Eur. And. 85. "Εὐνομαί τοι καὶ οὖκ ἂν λειψθείην, I will follow you and in no case will I be left behind. Hdt. iv. 97. Οἱ μὲν (sc. λέγοντες) ὡς οὐδενὶ ἂν τρόπῳ ἐλθοιτε ὃ Ἀθηναίοι. Thuc. vi. 35. Ἐνθα πολλὴν μὲν σοφροσύνην καταμάθοι ἂν τις. Xen. An. i. 9, 3. So Mem. i. 3, 5, iii. 5, 1 and 7. Διὸς ἂν τοῦ αὐτῶν ποταμὸν οὖκ ἂν ἐμβαινής, you cannot step twice into the same river (saying of Heraclitus). Plat. Crat. 402 A. Οὐ μὴν ἄτι καλλίων δοῦσι οὐδ' ἂν γένοιτο, there is none and there could be none. Id. Phil. 16 B; so 64 B. Ἀκούοις ἂν, you can hear. Id. Rep. 487 E. Δειξάτω ὡς οἱ Θεταλοὶ νῦν οὖκ ἂν ἐλεύθεροι γένοιτο ἀσμένοι, let him show that they would not now gladly become free. Dem. ii. 8. Ἡδῶς δ' ἂν ἔγιναι ἐρωτήματα Λεπτάνη, but I would gladly ask Leptines. Id. xx. 129. Εἰ γνώσοντες τάπτα, γένοιτο γάρ ἂν καὶ τοῦτο, if he did not know this,—and it might easily so happen. Ib. 143. Οὐτ' ἂν οὗτος ἔχων λέγειν οὐδ' ἢ μεῖς πεισθέντες. Id. xxiii. 17. Ποι' οὖν τραπεζοῦθεν ἂν ἔτι; in what other direction could we possibly turn? Plat. Euthyd. 290 A. Οὐκ ἂν μὲθείμην τοῦ θρόνου, I will not give up the throne. Ap. Rhet. 830. So οὖκ ἂν δεχοίμην, Aesch. Eum. 228. Τίς οὖν ἂν ἄγαματο τῶν αὐτῶν εἰκόνας τῆς ἀρτής; who would not admire the valour of these men? (i.e. every one must admire their valour). Dem. xviii. 204.

Βουλούμεν ἂν, I should like, is used like velém. For ἐβουλούμεν ἂν, vellem, see 246.

237. The potential optative in the second person may have the force of a mild command or exhortation. E.g.

Σὺ μὲν κομίζουσι ἂν σεαυτόν ἥθελες, you may take yourself off whether you please (a milder expression than κομίζε σεαυτόν). Soph. Ant. 444. So Ant. 1339. Κλάοις ἂν ἶθη, Φοῖβε προστατάρε, hear me now. Id. El. 637. Χαροῖς ἂν εἴσο, Id. Ph. 674.

So probably Π. ii. 250: τῷ οὖν ἂν βασιλέας ἀνά στόρ' ἔχων ἀγορέους, therefore you must not take kings upon your tongue and talk (or do not take, etc.)

238. Occasionally the potential optative expresses what may hereafter prove to be true or to have been true. E.g.

Ποῦ δὴ κ' ἂν εἴην οἱ ἔνοι; where may the strangers be? (i.e. where is it likely to turn out that they are?) Soph. El. 1450. Ἡ γάρ ἐμή (sc. σοφία) φαίης τις ἂν εἴη, for it may turn out that my wisdom is of a mean kind. Plat. Symm. 175 E. Ἑλληνῶν τινάς φασὶ ἀρατάρει Εὐρύπην· εἴησαν δ' ἂν οὕτων Κρήτες, and these would prove to be Cretans (or to have been Cretans). Hdt. i. 2. Ἀδραί δὲ οὖκ ἂν τολλαί εἴησαν, and these (the islands) would not prove to be many. Thuc. i. 9.

This has nothing to do with the Homeric use of the optative with κέ or ἂν in a present or a past sense (438; 440). See the similar use of the subjunctive with μή after verbs of fearing (92).
239. The potential optative may express every grade of potentiality from the almost pure future οῦκ ἄν μεθέωρ, I will not give up (under any circumstances), to οὐκ ἄν δικαίως ἐστὶ κακόν πιστεύει τι, I could not justly fall into any trouble, Soph. Ant. 240, where δικαίως points to the substance of a limiting condition, if justice should be done. From this the step is but slight to such cases as οὐκ ἐσθίων πεδίῳ ἡ δύναμις φέρειν, διαρρήγαγεν γὰρ ἄν, they do not eat more than they can carry; for (if they should) they would burst, Xen. Cyr. viii. 2, 21, where ἔ ... ἐσθίοιεν is necessary to complete the sense and is clearly understood from the preceding words. A final step in the same direction is taken when the condition is actually stated as part of the sentence. As ἔλθοι ἄν means he would go (under some future circumstances), if these limiting circumstances are to be definitely expressed it is natural to use the corresponding form of condition, εἰ with the optative, as εἰ κελέσεις ἔλθοι ἄν, if you should command he would go. The protasis is thus assimilated to the apodosis in form, as it conforms to it in sense and general character. So when a conclusion is to follow such a condition as εἰ κελέσεις, the corresponding optative with ἄν, i.e. the potential optative, is naturally chosen, although nothing but regard to harmony and symmetry makes either εἰ you should command he will go or if you command he would go, or the equivalent Greek forms, objectionable. In fact, these very forms are far more common in the more fluid Homeric language than in the fixed and regular style of Attic prose. There is, therefore, no necessary or logical bond of union between two forms like εἰ κελέσεις and ἔλθοι ἄν. This connexion is, indeed, far more the effect of assimilation in form, as appears especially when the apodosis contains an optative in a wish; as in ὡς ἀπόλοιπο καὶ ἄλλος ὅτις τοιεύτα γε ἰέλοι, may another perish also who shall do the like (Od. i. 47), where if ἀπόλοιπο had been used we should naturally have had ἰέλη.

For examples of the optative with ἄν or κέ with a definite protasis expressed or implied in the context, see 455 and 472.

240. The use of ἄν or κέ with the potential optative had already become fixed in the Homeric language. A few cases of "neutral optatives" in Homer, which seem to show an early potential use without κέ or ἄν, have been given above (13). Besides these, a few more distinctly potential optatives without ἄν or κέ occur in Homer, but they are exceptions to the general usage even there. Such are the following:—

Οὐ τι κακὼτερον ἄλλο πάθοιμι. II. xix. 321. Τοῦτον γε στομάνων καὶ ἐκ πυρὸς αἰθόμενον ἀμφω νοστήσαμεν. II. x. 246. "Πειάθες γ' ἔθελον ἀμέίνονας δώρησαιτο. II. x. 556: see Od. iii. 231. Χερμάκιον λάβε, δ' οὖ δύο γ' ἀνδρε φέροιεν. II. v. 302: 80 xx. 285.
II. POTENTIAL INDICATIVE.

243. As the potential optative represents a future act as dependent on future circumstances (234), so the potential indicative originally represents a past act as dependent on past circumstances. Therefore, while ἦλθεν means he went, ἦλθεν ἢν means he would have gone (under some past circumstances). It is probable that no definite limiting circumstances were present to the mind when this form first came into use, so that ἦλθεν ἢν naturally signified merely that it was likely, possible, or probable that he went or (as we express it) that he might have gone or would have been likely to go, sometimes that he must have gone.

In this sense it appears as a past form of the potential optative, e.g. of ἐλθοὺ ἢν in the sense he might perchance go or he would be likely to go (in the future). The same relation appears in Latin, where credas, putes, cernes, dicas, you would be likely to believe, think, etc., are transferred to past time as crederes, putares, cerneres, diceres, you would have believed, thought, etc.1 Here putet and

1 We are probably justified in assuming that the past meaning which here appears in crederes, etc. is the original meaning of the Latin imperfect subjunctive in this use, as it certainly is that of the Greek imperfect indicative with ἢν. See 435.
putaret are precisely equivalent to ὄκτο ἄν, he would be likely to think, and ὡς ἄν, he would have been likely to think.

244. We find the potential indicative in its simplest use (last mentioned)—with no reference to any definite condition, but merely expressing past possibility, probability, or necessity—in all classes of Greek writers. E.g.

Οὐδ’ ἂν ἔτι φράομαι περ ἄν Σαρπιδόνα διόν ἔγνω, no longer would even a shrewd man have known Sarpedon. Il. xvi. 638. Ὡτό κεν ταλαιπωρον περ δεσ εἰλεν, fear might have seized even a man of stout heart. Il. iv. 421. See other Homeric examples below.

Ἀλλ’ ἤλθε μὲν δὴ τούτῳ τούτων τάχ’, ἄν ὁργῇ βλασθέν μᾶλλον ἡ γνώμη φρενάω, but this reproach may perhaps have come from violence of wrath, etc. Soph. O. T. 523. (Here τάχ’ ἢ ἤλθε expresses past possibility, with no reference to any definite condition, unfurnished or otherwise.) Θεοίς γὰρ ἢν οὖν φίλον τάχ’ ἄν τι μνήμων εἰς γένος πάλαι, for perchance it may have been thus pleasing to Gods who of old bore some wrath against our race. Id. O. C. 964. (According to the common punctuation τάχ’ ἢν would be taken with μνήμωνον, = οἱ τάχ’, ἄν τι μνήμων, who may perchance have borne some wrath, see Plat. Phaedr. 265 B, below; but the analogy of O. T. 523 favours the other interpretation.) Πρὸς ποιοῦ ἂν τῶν’ αὐτῶν οὐδεστὶς ἐπιλειπέτε; i.e. who might this man have been to whom Ulysses was sailing? Id. Ph. 572. "Ὁ θεασάμενος τὰς ἄν τις ἄνθρωπος δόμος εἰναι, every man who saw this drama (the "Seven against Thebes") would have been eager to be a warrior. An. Ran. 1022. (This is the past form of τάς ἄν τις ἐρασθείν δόμος εἰναι, every one would be eager, having no more reference to an unfurnished condition than the latter has.) Διέβαςταν, ὡς μὲν εἰκὸς καὶ λεύκηταί, ἐπὶ σχεδόν τάχα ἂν ἄν καὶ ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐπελεύσατε, i.e. while they probably crossed on rafts, they may perhaps have crossed in some other way by sailing (διέβασταν with τάχα ἄν in the latter clause meaning they may have, or might have, perhaps crossed under other (possible) circumstances). Thuc. vi. 2. Ἐπερρωσθῇ τῇ δ’ ἄν τις εἰκινο ἰδὼν, and any one would have been encouraged who saw that. Xen. Hell. iii. 4, 18. Θάττων ἢ ὡς τις ἄν ὡς, sooner than one would have thought. Id. An. i. 5, 8. Ἐνα τῇ ἐγνω ἄν τις οὖν δεξιόν εἴη τὸ φιλεῖσθαι ἀρχοντα, there any one might have learned, etc. Id. Cyr. vii. 1, 38. Ἐν τούτῳ τῇ ηλικίᾳ λέγοντες πρὸς οὐλίς εἰς ἄν ἐν μάλωστα εἰποτεύσατε, talking to you at that age at which you would have been most likely to have put trust in them. Plat. Ap. 18 C. Ίσως μὲν ἐλπὶδος τῶν ἐπιστομενοι, τάχα δ’ ἄν καὶ ἄλλοι παραφερόμενοι, μυθικόν τινα ὠμον προφητευομενʼ ἔρωτα, while perhaps we were clinging to some truth, although perchance we may have been led aside into some error (παραφέρομεν ἄν = παραφέρομεθα ἄν), we celebrated ἔρως in a mythical hymn. Id. Phaedr. 265 B. Ἐν γὰρ καὶ θηλυκαίοις μετέτρητο οὖν ἄν αὐτοίς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καρπῷ; for with what wish even could you possibly have been enumerating them at this time? Dem. xviii. 24. Πῶς ἄν ὁ μητρὸν μης’ ἐπιθημιών ἔγω τί σε ἡείκησ’; i.e. how was I
likely to do you any wrong? Id. xxxvii. 57. Τὸν χρόνον συνέλεξε δόσμεν ἧν ἡδίστα καὶ ἐπιτηδεύστα ἀμφότεροι ἐγίνετο, I collected the chorus in the way which was likely to be most agreeable and convenient to both. Ant. vi. 11.

Two Homeric examples are peculiar in their reference to time:—

'Αλλὰ τάχιστα πέρα ὅπως κεν δὴ σὴν πατρίδα γαῖαν ἔκημι· ἡ γὰρ μνῶν ὕσσων γε κιηκόρας, ἢ κεν ὡρότητα κτείνεν ὑποθαλάμουσ, σὺ δὲ κεν τάφων ἀντίβολης, but strive with all speed to come to your father-land; for either you will find him (Aegisthus) alive (and so can kill him yourself), or else Orestes may have already killed him before you come, and then you can go to his funeral. Od. iv. 544. (Here ἢ κεν κτείνεν, by a change in the point of view, expresses what will be a past possibility at the time of the arrival of Menelaus, to which time the following optative is future.) Καὶ γὰρ Τρῶς φῶς, μαχητὰς ἐμμεναι ἀνδρας, oι κε τάχιστα ἐκρίναν μέγα νείκος, for they say that the Trojans are men of war, who would most speedily have decided a mighty strife (implying that they would therefore speedily decide any impending strife). Od. xviii. 261. (This was said by Ulysses before he went to Troy. See 249.)

245. In most cases of the past tenses of the indicative with ἄν there is at least an implied reference to some supposed circumstances different from the real ones, so that ἐλθεν ἄν commonly means he would have gone (if something had not been as it was). When we speak of a past event as subject to conditions, we are apt to imply that the conditions were not fulfilled, as otherwise they would not be alluded to. This reference to an unfulfilled condition, however, does not make it necessary that the action of the potential indicative itself should be unreal, although this is generally the case. (See 412.) The unfulfilled past condition to which the potential indicative refers may be as vague and indistinct as the future condition to which the potential optative refers (235); as if ἦν had wished, if ἦν had tried, if it had been possible, in any case, and others which are implied in our auxiliary might, could, would, should, etc., but are seldom expressed by us in words. Compare οὖν ἂν κακὸν ποιήσαν, they could do no harm (i.e. if they should try), with οὖν ἂν κακὸν ἐποίησαν, they could have done no harm (i.e. if they had tried). E.g.

Οὐ γὰρ κεν δυνάμεν θα θυράων ὕφηλῶν ἀπόωσαμαι λόθιν, for we could not have moved the stone from the high doorway. Od. ix. 304. Μένοιμ’ ἄν· ἡθέλον δ’ ἄν ἐκτός ἄν τυχεὶν, I will remain; but I should have preferred to take my chance outside. Soph. Aj. 88. Τούτου τίς ἂν σοι τάνδρος ἀμφοτέροις εὐρεθῇ; who could have been found, etc.? Ib. 119. Ἐκλυν ἂν ἐγὼ ὡς ἄν ἡ πατία αἰτιάν. I heard a voice which I could never even have hoped to hear. Id. El. 1281. Δ’ ἐξέλεγα· τίς ἂν ἡθέλησε· ἄλοκλοται κλέων. Id. Ph. 426. Κλέων ἂν ὡς ἀπαξ ἐβευλόμην, I should have wished not to hear it even once. Ib. 1239. Οὐκ ἐσθ’ ὅπως ἐτεκεν ἂν ἡ Διὸς δόμαρ Δήτῳ τοσαίην
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άμαθαι, under no circumstances would Leto have been the mother of so
great ignorance. Eur. I. T. 385. Οικεία πράγματ' ειςάγων, εξ δυν γ' ἄν ἔρημος
καθεδρών, it was then dark, and they would not have seen the show of hands (in voting). Xen. Hell. i. 7, 7.
Ποιον δ' ἄν ἔργων ἦ πόνων ἦ καιρών ἄπειστησαν; from what acts, etc., would they have shrunk back (i.e. if they had been required of
them)? Isoc. iv. 83. Ἐποίησαν μὲν ἄν χρημάτων ἐπεισόδιος τοῦ ἰδίου διώκειν τινὲς ἴσως γὰρ οὐκ ἦν ἠμείς πλείον ἄπελευσθήμεν, οὐδὲ ἠλάχιστον μέρος ἀπελάφησαμεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπείδη δ' οὐκ ὤφθως ἔχει, βουλόμενοι ἄν παύσασθαι τοὺς φιλοσοφίας.
Isid. xii. 11. Ὁ ἐποίησαν μὲν οὐδὲν ἄν κακῶν, μή ταῦτα δ' ἐφυλάξαντ' ἄν ἰσως, τούτοις ἐξαπάτην αἰρεθέντι, these who could have done him no harm, but who perhaps have guarded themselves against suffering any. Dem. ix. 13. Ἡ ἐποίησαν μὲν οὐδὲν ἄν κακῶν, μή ταῦτα δ' ἐφυλάξαντ' ἄν ἰσως, τούτοις ἐξαπάτην αἰρεθέντι, these who could have done him no harm, but who perhaps have guarded themselves against suffering any. Dem. ix. 13.

246. When no definite condition is understood with the potential indicative, the imperfect with ἄν regularly refers to past time, according to the older usage (433), like the aorist; as in the examples above.

The imperfect referring to present time, which is common in apodosis after Homer (410), appears in these potential expressions chiefly in a few simple phrases, especially in ἐβουλόμην ἄν, vellem, I should wish, I should like (also I should have liked). Even in Homer the construction with ἐφελον and the infinitive (424), which includes a form of potential indicative (415; 416), sometimes refers to present time. E.g.

Ἐγὼ δ' ἐβουλόμην ἄν αὕτως ἀλλήλη λέγειν, μετήν γὰρ ἄν καὶ ἐμοὶ τοῦτον τάγματι οὐκ ἠλάχιστον μέρος. νῦν δὲ οὔτε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν αὕτως τοιαῦτα ὑπάρχει οὔτε πρὸς ἔµε, and I should like it if they spoke the truth; for (were that so) no small part of this advantage would be mine: but this is not true of them, etc. Lyr. xii. 22. Μείδιαν, ἀν ἐβουλόμην ἄν πολλῶν ἐνεκεν ζών, Μιδιάς, whom for many reasons I
should like to have alive. Aeschyl. iii. 115. See Lycurg. 3. (For ἐβουλόμην ἢν as past, see Soph. Ph. 1239, quoted in 245.) See also Ar. Nub. 680, ἔκεινο δ' ἦν ἢν καρδότη, Κλεανίρη, and this would be καρδότη, etc. For ἐβουλόμην ἢν, velim, see 236.

For ὁφελοῦν and the infinitive as present in Homer, see 424.

247. It is but a slight step from the potential forms quoted in 245 and 246 to those which form the conclusion to an unfulfilled condition definitely implied in the context. After Homer the imperfect with ἢν may here refer to present time. E.g.

'Ἀλλὰ κε κεῖνα μάλιστα ἦδον ὄλοφόραρο θυμῷ, but you would have lamented most in your heart if you had seen this (ἥδων - εἰ ἔδεις). Od. xi. 418. Ὀδδὲ κεν αὐτὸς ὑπέκφυγε κῆρα μέλαινα, ἀλλ' Ἡφαιστὸς ἔρπεν, nor would he by himself have escaped, but Hephaestus rescued him. Π. v. 22. Ἄλλα εἰκάσας μὲν, ἠδού τε ὅρα ἀν κάρα πολυτεχνὸς ἄκο ἐθερμ, but, as it were, he has good news; for (otherwise) he would not be coming with head thus thickly crowned. Soph. O. T. 83; so O. C. 125, 146. Πολλοῦ γὰρ ἢν τὰ ὀργάνα ἢν ἄξον, for instruments would be worth much (if they had this power). Plat. Rep. 374 D. Ἡ γὰρ τὴν εἰρήνην ὁμοί: ou γὰρ ἦν δὲ τι ἢν ἐποιεῖτε, for there was nothing that you could have done (if you had not kept the peace). Dem. xviii. 43. Ὑμεῖσι δὲ· ou γὰρ ἢν δὲ ἔτη ἢκον ὡς ὑμᾶς, for (otherwise) they would not have come hither to you. Id. xix. 58. Τότε Φιλίππη προσδοκεῖται πάντας ἐς χεῖν αἷσιν, in that case she (Athens) would have had the blame of having betrayed all to Philip. Id. xviii. 200. See other examples in 472.

248. The final step is taken when an unreal condition is expressed as part of the sentence, forming the protasis to which the potential indicative is the apodosis; as ἤλθεν ἢν εἰ ἐκέλευσα, he would have gone if I had commanded him. The dependent protasis, by a natural assimilation, has a past tense of the indicative corresponding to the form of the apodosis. On the other hand, when an unreal condition has been expressed, as εἰ ἐκέλευσα, the potential indicative is the natural form to state what would have been the result if the condition had been fulfilled. (See 390, 2; and 410.) The potential indicative does not change its essential nature by being thus made part of an unreal conditional expression, and it is not necessarily implied that its action did not take place (see 412). Although the latter is generally implied or inferred, while the reverse seldom occurs, still it is important to a true understanding of the nature of the indicative with ἢν to remember that it is not essential or necessary for it either to refer to an unreal condition or to denote in itself what is contrary to fact.

For a periphrastic form of potential indicative with ἐδει, χρή, etc., with the infinitive, see 415.
For the Homeric use of the present optative with κέ or ἀν as a present potential form (like the later imperfect with ἄν), see 438.

For the rare Homeric optative with κέ in the sense of the past tenses of the indicative with κέ or ἀν, see 440.

249. From the primitive use of the past tenses of the indicative to express what was likely to occur under past circumstances, we may explain the iterative use of these tenses with ἁν (162), which is generally thought to have no connection with the potential indicative with ἁν. Thus ἠλθὲν ἄν, meaning originally he would have gone (under some past circumstances), might easily come to have a frequentative sense, he would have gone (under all circumstances or whenever occasion offered), and hence to mean he used to go. See Soph. Ph. 443, ἰδοὶ οὐκ ἄν εἶλετ' εἰσάπαξ εἰπεῖν, ὃποιοι μηδεῖς ἔτη, (Thersites) who used never to be content to speak but once when all forbade him (lit. when nobody permitted him). Originally οὐκ ἄν εἶλετο would mean he would not have been content (under any circumstances), hence he was never content. The optative ἔτη (532) shows the nature of the expression here. See the examples under 162, and the last example under 244.

This construction is not Homeric; but it is found in Herodotus and is common in Attic Greek. There is no difficulty in understanding it as an offshoot of the potential indicative, when it is seen that the latter did not involve originally any denial of its own action.

SECTION II.

The Imperative and Subjunctive in Commands, Exhortations, and Prohibitions.—Subjunctive and Indicative with μη and μη ὡς in Cautious Assertions.—"Οποιος and ὁποιος μη with the Independent Future Indicative, etc.

IMPERATIVE IN COMMANDS, ETC.

250. The imperative is used to express a command, an exhortation, or an entreaty. E.g.


For prohibitions, i.e. negative commands, see 259 and 260.

251. The imperative is often emphasised by ἀγε or ἀγετε, φέρε, θεί, δεῦρο or δεῦτε, come, look here; or by εἰ δ' ἀγε (474). Ἀγε, φέρε, and θεί may be singular when the imperative is plural, and in the second person when the imperative is in the third. E.g.
252. The poets sometimes use the second person of the imperative with πᾶς in hasty commands. E.g.

"Ακούει πᾶς, hear, every one! Ar. Thes. 372. Χωρεί δεύρο πᾶς ῥήτης· τιξενε, παίε· σφενδόνην τίς μοι δότω. Id. Av. 1186. "Αγε δή συμπί πᾶς ἄνηρ. Id. Ran. 1125.

253. The imperative is sometimes used by the dramatists after οἴσθ' and similar interrogative expressions, the imperative being really the verb of the relative clause. The difficulty of translating such expressions is similar to that of translating relatives and interrogatives with participles. E.g.

'Αλλ' οἴσθ' δράσον; τώ σκέλει θένε τίν πέτραν, but do you know what you must do? — strike the rock with your leg! Ar. Av. 54. Οἴσθ' δ' μοι στήμπραξον; do you know what you must do for me? Eur. Her. 451. Οἴσθα νυν ἂ μοι γενεός θω; δεσμα τοῖς ξένοις πρόσθες, do you know what must be done for me? — put bonds on the strangers. Id. I. T. 1203. Οἴσθ' ὡς ποίησον; do you know how you must act? Soph. O. T. 543. (Compare Eur. Cyc. 131, oίσθ' οὖν ὡς δράσεις; do you know what you are to do?)

The English may use a relative with the imperative, as in which do at your peril. See Hdt. i. 89, κάτισον φυλάκως, o ελεγόντων ὡς ἀναγκαῖος ἔχει. So Soph. O. C. 473.

A peculiar interrogative imperative is found in μὴ ἐξεστῶ; is it not to be allowed? Plat. Polit. 295 E; and ἐπανερψείν o εἰ κείσθω, I ask whether it is to stand, Id. Leg. 800 E. (See 291.)

254. The imperative sometimes expresses a mere assumption, where something is supposed to be true for argument's sake. E.g.

Πλούτει τε γὰρ κατ' οἶκον, εἰ βούλει, μέγα, καὶ ζή τιραννον συνεργεῖ ἔχων, i.e. grant that you are rich and live in tyrant's state (lit. be rich, etc.) Sofp. Ant. 1168. Προσερπάτω τινὰ φιλικὼς ὁ τε ἄρχων καὶ ὃ ὑδάτης, suppose that both the ruler and the private man address one in a friendly way. Xen. Hier. viii. 3.

FIRST PERSON OF SUBJUNCTIVE AS IMPERATIVE.

255. The want of a first person in the imperative is supplied

1 See Postgate in Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society, III. 1, pp. 50-55.
by the first person of the subjunctive, which expresses both positive and negative exhortations and appeals (the negative with μή).

256. The first person plural is most common, and generally expresses an exhortation of the speaker to others to join him in doing or in not doing some act. E.g.

Τοίμεν, let us go; μὴ ἴωμεν, let us not go. Οἴκαδε περ σὲν νυνὶ νεώμεθα, τόντε δ’ έώμεν, let us sail homeward with our ships, and leave him. II. ii. 236. Αλλ’ ἄγε μηκέτι ταῦτα λεγώμεθα, but come, let us no longer talk thus. II. xiii. 292; so ii. 435. Αλλ’ ἄγε δή καὶ νῦν μεδόμεθα θοῦραδος ἀλκής. II. iv. 418. Εἰ δ’ άγετ’ ἀμφὶ πόλιν σὺν τείχεσι τερηθῶμεν. II. xxii. 381; so 392. Δεύτε, φίλοι, τὸν ξείνου ερώμεθα. Od. viii. 133. Μὴ δῆ πώ λύωμεθα ἐπτούς, ἀλλ’ ἵντες Πάτροκλον καλῶμεν. II. xxiii. 7. Αλλ’ εἰ δοκεῖ, πλέωμεν, ἀρμάδω ταχύς. Soph. Ph. 526. Ἑπίσχετον, μάθώμεν. I. b. 539. Φέρε δὴ διαπεράνωμεν λόγους. Eur. And. 333. Δεύτε σου στέψω κάρα. Id. Bacch. 341. Ἑπίσχετε, ἐρράλωμεν εἰς ἄλλον λόγον. Id. El. 962. Παρωμέν τε ὧν ὀπερ Κύρος κελεύει, ἀκριβώμεν τε δι’ αὐτὸν μάλαστα δυνατόμεθα κατέχειν ἄ δει, παρέχωμεν τε ἃ τῆς αὐτοῦ, κ.τ.λ. Xen. Cypl. viii. 1, 5. Μὴ ποτε φῶμεν ἑνακά τούτων μηδὲν μᾶλλον ποτε ψυχήν ἀπόλλυσθαί. Plat. Rep. 610 B. ἕδη δὴ νῦν ἐν σοι σκεψώμεθα. Id. Soph. 239 B.

257. The less common first person singular is, in affirmative exhortations, generally preceded by a word like ἄγε, etc. (251), or by some other command, and the speaker appeals to himself to do something or to others for permission to do it. In negative appeals with μή the first person singular is rare and poetic; the speaker may call on others to avert some evil from himself, or he may utter a threat or a warning. E.g.

Ἀλλ’ ἄγε δὴ τὰ χρήματ’ ἄριθμησι καὶ ἰδώρ μοι, come, let me count the things and see. Od. xiii. 215. Ἀλλ’ ἄγεθ’ ὑμῖν τείχες ἐνείκικω θυρωμένας. Od. xxii. 139. ᾿Ομπτε με ὑπι πάνσα, πίλας Ἀίδων περίσσω, hurry me as quickly as possible; let me pass the gates of Hades. II. xxii. 71. Ἀλλ’ ἄγε νῦν ἐπίμεινον, ἄριθμα τείχεα δῶ. II. vi. 340. Φέρε ἄκοψον, come, let me hear. Hdt. i. 11. Σίγα, πνοάς μαθών, φέρεν πρός οὐς βάλω. Eur. H. F. 1059. Ἑπίσχετε, αἰσθήτω τὸν ἐσώθεν εἰκόμαθω. Id. Hipp. 567. Λέγε δὴ, ὑδω. Plat. Rep. 457 C.

Μὴ σε, γέρον, κοιλήσων ἐγώ παρά νυνὶ κεῖσθαι, let me not find you at the dinner! I. i. 26. Μὴ σεν ἄκουσιν εὐχόμενον. I. xxi. 475. Ἀλλά μ’ ἐκ γε τίποτε γῆς πορθμείσον ὑπὶ τάχυστα, μήσ’ αὐτοῦ θάνων. Soph. Tr. 801. Ὕ δεινον, μὴ δὴ ἄδεικνυθώ. Id. O. C. 174.

258. In the first person (255-257) both present and aorist subjunctive are used with μή, the distinction of 259 applying only to the
second and third persons. In affirmative exhortations the second and third persons of the subjunctive are not regularly used, the imperative being the only recognised form. But in Soph. Ph. 300, φέρ, o τέκνων, νῦν καὶ τὸ τῆς νύσσον μάθης (if the text is sound), the positive μάθης seems strangely to follow the analogy of the negative μὴ μάθης. Nanck reads μάθε here. See also τὸ σέφωσμα ἀνατεθη σ in an inscription quoted in Appendix I. p. 388.

IMPERATIVE AND SUBJUNCTIVE IN PROHIBITIONS.

259. In prohibitions, in the second and third persons, the present imperative or the aorist subjunctive is used with μὴ and its compounds. The distinction of tense here is solely the ordinary distinction between the present and aorist (87), and has no reference to the moods. E.g.

Μὴ πολεῖ τοῦτο, do not do this (habitually), or do not go on doing this (or stop doing this); μὴ ποιήσῃς τοῦτο (simply) do not do this.

Βέβαια, μὴ κείθε νῷω, οὐκ εἰδομεν ἄμμωφ. Π. i. 363. 'Απερεύδη, μὴ ψεύδη ἐπιτάμενοσ σάφα εἰάκειν. Π. ii. 404. Ἀργεύδη, μὴ πώ τι μεθίτεις θυρίδος ἀληθῶς. Π. ii. 234. Ἐπεῖ μοι εἰρόμενοι νημερτήσα, μὴ ἐπικευόμη. Od. xv. 263. 'Ηθη νῦν σῷ παιδὶ ἐπός φῶς, μὴ ἑπικευόμη (compare the last example). Od. xvi. 168. Τῷ νῦν μὴ μοι ἀλλὸν ἐν ἄλγεις θηροῦν ὀρίγης. Π. xxiv. 588. See Π. xxiv. 778. Μὴ δὴ με ἐλαρνόν Δαναιδῶν ἔσσης κείσαθι. Π. ii. 684. Κλήθι μηδὲ μεγάρρης. Od. iii. 55. Μὴ τινὸς ἀνδράσι δυσμενεσσαν ἐλλα καὶ κίρμα γένησθε, do not become prey and spoil to hostile men. Π. v. 487. Μὴ ποιήτε ἄπο ποιῶν ὀλέσσης ἀγαλαίης. Od. xix. 81. Ὕμεις δὲ τῇ μῆνι ἰδὼν μὴ βαρίων κότων σκῆψαι τις, μὴ θυμούσο τις, μὴ ἀκαπάταιν τετέθηται. Aesch. Eum. 800. 'ὅν μὴ ἐκνεῦτε, μὴ ἀφήτη ἐπος κακάν. Soph. O. C. 731. Μὴ θέσα τῷ νύσσον μηδήνα, ἀλλὰ τοὺς βλά-

ποτιστὰς ὑμᾶς λύσατε. Dem. iii. 10. (Here θέσα would not be allowed; but λυσάτε, an affirmative command, is regular.) Μὴ κατὰ τοὺς νῦσσος δικάσῃς; μὴ βοηθήσῃς τῷ πεποιηθῇ δεινα; μὴ εὑρεκείτε. Ιδ. xxi. 211. Μὴ πρῆγα, παῖ, δάκρω. Ar. Nub. 614. Καὶ μηδὲς ὑπολαίβη μὲ βουλεσθάι λαθείν. Ισοκ. v. 92. Καὶ μηδὲς οἰσθώ μ' ἀγνοεῖν. Id. iv. 73.

260. The third person of the aorist imperative is sometimes used with μὴ in prohibitions; but the second person with μὴ is very rare and only poetic. E.g.

Μηδὲ η βία σε μηδαμῶς νικησάτω. Soph. Aj. 1334. Μηδὲ σου μελησάτω. Aesop. Prom. 332; so 1002. Καὶ μηδεῖς ύμῶν προσ-

δοκησάτω ἀλλος. Υἱ. Αρ. 17 C.

Τῷ μὴ μοι πατέρας ποιῷ όμοίῃ ἐνθεο τιμή. Π. ii. 410; see Od. xxiv. 248. Μὴ ποι καταδύσσεο μῶλον Ἀργος. Π. xviii. 134. Μὴ ψεύσον, ὀ Ζεῦ, μὴ μ' ἐλγε ἀνεν δορός in Soph. Peleus, Frag. 460, is parodied in Ar. Thes. 870, μὴ ψεύσον, ὀ Ζεῦ, τῆς ἐπινοῆς ἐλπίδος.
INDEPENDENT SUBJUNCTIVE WITH μη IMPLYING FEAR (HOMERIC).

261. In the following Homeric examples the independent subjunctive with μη expresses apprehension, coupled with a desire to avert the object of fear, both ideas being inherent in the construction. The third person is the most common here.

Μη δε νήσας ἐλωσι καὶ οὐκέτι φευκτα πιλωνται, may they not (as I fear they may) seize the ships and make it no longer possible to escape. II. xvi. 128. Μη δε μοι τελεσωσι θεοι κακὰ κηδεα θυμῶ, may the Gods not bring to pass (as I fear they may) bitter woes for my soul. II. xviii. 8. Μη τι χολωσάμενος μεξη κακὸν νιας Ἀχαιῶν, may he not (as I fear he may) in his wrath do anything to harm the sons of the Achaean. II. ii. 195. Ὡ μοι ἐγὼ, μη τις μοι υφαινησιν δόλων αὑτὲ ἀδανάτων. Od. v. 356. Μη πῶς μ' ἐκβαινοντα βάλη λίθων προτε πίτριν κύμα μὲν αρπάξαν, μελη σε ὁ ὁ μοι ἕσσοντα ὁρμή, I fear that some great wave may dash me against a solid rock, and my effort will (then) be in vain (the expression of fear being merged in an assertion). Od. v. 415. See also II. xxi. 563; Od. v. 467, xvii. 24, xxii. 213. Τῶν εἰ χεν πάντων ἀντίσωμεν, μη πολύπτωρ καὶ αἴνα βίας ἀποτίσει αἰθόν, i.e. I fear you may punish their violence only to our bitter grief (and may you not do this). Od. xvi. 255. Μη τι κακὸν μεξουσι καὶ ἡμεις ἐξελάσωσιν, ἂλλων δ' ἀφίκομεθα γαίαν, may they not (as I fear) do us some harm and drive us out, and may we not come to some land of others. Od. xvi. 381. Μη μν ἐγὼ μὲν ἵκομαι ἰδὼν, ο δ' μ' οὐκ ἐλείγσει, I fear I may approach him as I come, while he will not pity me. II. xxii. 122 (see Od. v. 415, above). Μη τοι κατὰ πάντα' φάγωσιν κτήματα διαστάμενοι, σὺ δ' τυρισθεὶν ὀδὸν ἐλθῇς. Od. xv. 12.

The present subjunctive occurs in Od. xv. 19, μη τι φέρηται, and in xvi. 87, μη μν κερτομεώσιν. See also πέλωνται in II. xvi. 128, above. (See 258.)

In these examples sometimes the fear itself, and sometimes the desire to avert its object, is more prominent.

262. (a) By prefixing δείω or φοβούμαι to any of the subjunctives with μη in 261, we get the full construction with verbs of fearing; as δείω μη νῆσας ἐλωσι, I fear they may seize the ships, in which μη ἐλωσι represents an original construction which at first followed δείω paratactically—I fear: may they not seize the ships—and afterwards became welded with it as a dependent clause. So if δείω were removed from a sentence like δείω μη τι παθησιν, II. xi. 470, we should have an independent clause like those quoted above. See μη δαμάσουσι and δείω μη γένωμαι, Od. v. 467 and 473.

(b) In like manner, by prefixing other verbs than those of fearing to such clauses, the original negative final clause with μη is developed; as μαχομεθα μη νῆας ἐλωσι, we will fight that they
may not seize the ships. Again, if the leading clause were removed from a sentence like αὐτὸν μὴν ἐτί πάργω, μὴν παῖς ὄρφανον κόρης ἁρπάζω τε γυναῖκα, remain here on the tower, lest you make your child an orphan and your wife a widow, Il. vi. 431, there would remain μὴ... Θύρας, do not make, or may not you make, in the originally independent form, like the clauses with μὴ in 261. (See 307.)

263. (Μὴ oū with the Subjunctive.) The clause with μὴ expressing desire to avert an object of fear, in its original simple form as well as in the developed final construction, may refer to a negative object, and express fear that something may not happen. Here μὴ oū is used with the subjunctive, like ne non in Latin.

Thus μὴ νῦν ἐλογίζων being may they not seize the ships, μὴ oū νῦν ἐλογίζων would be may they not fail to seize the ships, implying fear that they may not seize them. Homer has one case of μὴ oū after a verb of fearing: δεῖδο μην oū τίς τοι ὑπόσχετα τόδε ἐργον, Il. x. 39. He has several cases of μὴ oū in final clauses and one in an object clause (354). Il. i. 28, μὴ ποιήσας καθήσου ἐμῷ δ' ἑπιτεθεῖν μῦθεν, μὴ ποιήσας σκύπτον καὶ στείμαθεν θεῷ, is often cited as a case of independent μὴ oū, meaning beware lest the staff and fillet of the God shall prove of no avail to you. So Delbrück (I. p. 119), who nevertheless quotes Il. i. 565, ἀλλ' ἰέκουσα κάθησο ἐμῷ δ' ἑπιτεθεῖν μῦθεν, μὴ ποιήσας καθήσου ἐμῷ, as containing a dependent final clause. In the other cases of μὴ oū with the subjunctive in Homer, Il. xv. 164 (an object clause, see 354), and xxiv. 569 (final), the dependence of the clause with μὴ oū is even more obvious; and in Il. xxiv. 584 we have in μὴ oū ἐφόντασο the decisive proof that this clause is felt to be dependent in the change from the subjunctive to the optative after a past tense. It is therefore more than doubtful whether μὴ oū χράομεν in Il. i. 28 is not dependent on μὴ σε κινεῖον in vs. 26. Plato in paraphrasing this passage (Rep. 393 E) takes the clause as final and dependent (see 132). But, whether we have a case of independent μὴ oū with the subjunctive in Homer or not, there can be no doubt that this is the original form from which came the dependent final clause with μὴ oū.

264. After Homer we have the independent clause with μὴ in Aeschylus, Ag. 134 and 341; in Euripides we have independent μὴ in Alc. 315 (μὴ σοίς διαφθείρῃ γάμους), Orest. 776 (μὴ λαβώσκι σ' ἀσμενον), H. F. 1399 (αἴμα μὴ σοίς ἔξωμορφωμαι πέπλοις), and μὴ oū in Tro. 982 (μην oū πείσῃς σοφοῦς), besides Rhes. 115 (μην oū μάλης), Aristophanes, Eccl. 795, has a doubtful μὴ oū λάβης (Heindorf and Meineke, for Mss. λάβος). Besides these few cases, we have in Plato three of μὴ with the subjunctive implying apprehension in the Homeric sense (261): Euthyd. 272 C (μὴ oū τίς ἐνειδίσῃ), Symp. 193 B (μὴ μοι ἐπολάβη), Leg. 861 E (μή τίς oῆται).

Euripides and Herodotus are the first after Homer to use μὴ oū in dependent clauses of fear (306).
SUBJUNCTIVE WITH μή AND μη oί σ IN CAUTIOUS ASSERTIONS.

265. In Herodotus v. 19 we have ἄλλα μᾶλλον μή oί τούτο γ' τὸ μαντήμα, but I suspect rather that this may prove not to be the meaning of the oracle. This is the first example of a construction, very common in Plato, used also by Aristotle, and found once in Demosthenes, in which μή with the subjunctive expresses a suspicion that something may be (or may prove to be) true, and μή oί with the subjunctive a suspicion that something may not be true; the former amounting to a cautious assertion, the latter to a cautious negation. Examples from Plato are:—

Μή ἄγρυπνότερον γ' τὸ ἀληθεῖς εἴπειν. I am afraid the truth may be too rude a thing to tell. Gorg. 462 E. Μή οὐκ ἂν οὔτε ἡγεῖται σχέματα γ' τῶν μαθητῶν ἐπικτωπούντων, I suspect these may prove to be considerations for those, etc. Crit. 48 C. Μή γὰρ τὰ ρεῖ καὶ οὐ καθ' ὕστο, I think it will be bad and not in the right way (i.e. μή ού γ'). Crit. 425 B. 'Ἀλλα μή οὐκ οὔτως ἔχει, ἄλλ' ἀναγκαῖον γ' εἴσδοτα τίθεσθαι (i.e. μή γ'). Crit. 436 B. 'Ἀλλα μή οὐκ τούτ' γ' χαλεπῶν, θάνατον ἐκφυγεῖν, but I suspect this may not be the hard thing, to escape death. Ap. 39 A. 'Ἡμέν μή οὔδεν ἄλλο σκέπτετον γ', I am inclined to think we have nothing else to consider. Crit. 48 C. Μή οὐ δέχῃ ὑπολογίζεσθαι, I think there will be no need of taking into account, etc. Crit. 48 D. Μή οὔκ γ' διακρίτων ἀρετῆς, it will probably turn out that virtue is not a thing to be taught. Men. 94 E. 'Ἀλλα μή οὐκ οὔτως ἡμεῖς διώκομεν, but I think we shall not prove to be of this kind. Symp. 194 C.¹

See also Aristotle, Eth. x. 2, 4, μή οὔδεν λέγωσιν (v. 1. λέγουσιν), there can hardly be anything in what they say. (See 269.)

In Dem. i. 26 we have μή λίαν τικρόν εἰπεῖν γ', I am afraid it may be too harsh a thing to say.

The present subjunctive here, as in dependent clauses of fear (92), may refer to what may prove true.

266. In these cautious assertions and negations, although no desire of the speaker to avert an object of fear is implied, there is always a tacit allusion to such a desire on the part of some person who is addressed or referred to, or else an ironical pretence of such a desire of the speaker himself.

267. The subjunctive with μή in this sense is sometimes found in dependent clauses. E.g.

'Ὅρα μή ἄλλο τι τὸ γενναίον καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν γ' τοῦ σφέσαν καὶ σφέσαται, see to it lest (it prove true that) these may be different things, etc. Plat. Gorg. 512 D. The common translation, see whether they may

¹ Other examples in Plato are Phaed. 67 B, 69 A; Theat. 188 D; Crit. 429 C, 452 A, 432 B, 485 C, 488 C, 440 C; Men. 89 C, 94 B; Lys. 209 A, 219 D, 220 A; Symp. 214 C; Parm. 130 D, 132 B, 134 E, 136 D; Leg. 635 E; Theaeg. 122 B; Amat. 137 B. See Weber (pp. 191, 192), who gives these examples in Plato, with Hdt. v. 79 and Dem. i. 26, as the only cases of independent μή or μη oί in this peculiar sense before Aristotle.
not be different, gives the general sense, but not the construction, which is simply that of μή ἀλλὰ τί ἂν (265) transferred to a dependent clause.

268. In a few cases Plato has μή with the subjunctive in a cautious question with a negative answer implied. As μή ἀλλὰ τί ἂν τούτο means this may possibly be something else, so the question μὴ ἀλλὰ τί ἂν τούτο, means can this possibly be something else? The four examples given by Weber are:—

Μή τί ἀλλὰ ἂν παρὰ ταύτα; can there be any other besides these? Rep. 603 C. Ἄρα μή ἀλλὰ τί ἂν θάνατος ἂν τούτο; is it possible that death can prove to be anything but this? Phaed. 64 C. Μή τί ἀλλὰ ἂν η τί, κ.τ.λ.; Parm. 163 D. Ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐμή περιεργά τί καὶ το ἐρωτήσαι σε περὶ τούτου; but can it be that even asking you about this is inquisitiveness on my part? Sisyph. 387 C (this can be understood positively, it may be that it is, etc.).

In Xen. Mem. iv. 2, 12, the same interrogative construction occurs with μή οὐ: μή οὐν οὐ δύσαβαι ἐγώ τά τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἐργα ἐξηγήσασθαι; do you suspect that I shall be unable to explain the works of Justice?

In Plat. Phil. 12 D we have πῶς γὰρ ἦδον ἡ ἦδον μή οὐκ ὑμιστότατον ἂν εἰγ; for how could one pleasure help being most like another? Here εἰγ ἂν takes the place of ἂν, and πῶς shows that the original force of μή is forgotten.

INDICATIVE WITH μή AND μὴ οὐ IN CAUTIONARY ASSERTIONS.

269. The present or past tenses of the indicative with μή or μὴ οὐ may express a similar cautious assertion or suspicion about a present or past act. As φοβοῦμαι μὴ πάσχει (or ἔρεθεν) means I fear that he is suffering (or suffered), so μὴ πάσχει or μὴ ἔρεθεν may mean I suspect he is suffering or I suspect he suffered, and μὴ οὐ πάσχει or μὴ οὐκ ἔρεθεν may mean I suspect he does not (or did not) suffer. (Cf. 265.) E.g.

Μή γὰρ τούτο μὲν, τὸ ζῆν ὅποιοντι κρόνον, τόν γε ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀνθρώπων ἐστι καὶ οὐ φιλοσοφητῶν (i.e. καὶ μὴ οὐ φιλη.), for I am of the opinion that this, merely living for a certain time, is what one who is truly a man should disregard, and that he should not be fond of life. Plat. Gorg. 512 D. (This passage is often strangely emended and explained.) Ἀλλὰ ἂρα μὴ οὐ τιμήσῃς ὑπολαμβάνεις σοι τὴν μάθησιν ἐσεόθαι, I suspect that you do not think your learning will be like this. Id. Prot. 312 A. Ἀλλὰ μὴ τούτο οὐ καλὸς ὁ μολογήσας μεν, but perhaps we did not do well in ascertaining to this. Id. Mem. 89 C. (This may be interrogative (268): can it be that we did not do well, etc.)

So Aristotle, Eth. x. 1, 3, μὴ ποτὲ δὲ οὐ καλῶς λέγεται, but it may be that this is not well said: compare x. 2, 4, quoted in 265.

270. Apart from independent sentences with μὴ οὐ (263-269), this double negative occurs chiefly in ordinary clauses after verbs of fearing where the object of fear is negative (305; 365).
"ΩΗΝΩΣ AND ὍΝΩΣ μή WITH THE INDEPENDENT FUTURE INDICATIVE, ETC.

271. The Athenians developed a colloquial use of ὍΝΩΣ or ὍΝως μή with the future indicative to express either a positive exhortation or command or a prohibition. Thus ὍΝως τοῦτο ἐρεῖς, see that you say this, is a familiar way of saying εἰπεῖ τοῦτο. So ὍΝως μή τοῦτο ἐρεῖς is equivalent to μή τοῦτο εἰπεῖς. This expression was probably suggested and certainly encouraged by the common Attic construction of ὍΝως and the future after verbs of striving, taking care, etc. (339); so that it is common to explain this form by an ellipse of σκόπει in σκόπει ὍΝως τοῦτο ἐρεῖς, see to it that you say this. But we may doubt whether any definite leading verb was ever in mind when these familiar exhortations were used (see 273).

272. The earliest example is Αἰσχ. Prom. 68, ὍΝως μή σαῦτον οἴκτεις ποτε, beware lest at some time you may have yourself to pity, which conveys a warning, like μή σε καίχεια, I. i. 26. In Αἰσχ. Ag. 600, we have the first person singular with ὍΝως (used like the subjunctive in 257): ὍΝως δ' ἄριστα πον ἀδύνα νόπον σπεύσω δέκασθαι (not mentioned by Weber). In Sophocles there is only one case, O. T. 1518, γάρ μ' ὍΝως πέμψεις ἄποικον, send me forth an exile from the land (like πέμψα τε με). Five examples in Ευριπίδης are simple exhortations, as ἀλλ' ὍΝως ἀνήρ ἐσεί, but see that you are a man, Cyc. 595; so also Cyc. 630, H. F. 504, I. T. 321, Or. 1060 (with doubtful construction): one conveys a warning, Βακχ. 367, Πενθέας δ' ὍΝως μή πένθος εἰσαγγείλῃ δόμοις ποις σύνις, beware lest Pentheus bring sorrow (πένθος) into your house.

273. We find the greater part of the examples of 271 in the colloquial language of Aristophanes, who often uses the imperative and ὍΝως with the future as equivalent constructions in the same sentence. E.g.

Κατάθει τῷ τὰ σκεύη ταξέω, χῶσως ἐρεῖς ἑντάθα μηδὲν ψεῖς, put down the packs quickly, and tell no lies here. Ran. 627.

274. (Examples from Prose.) ὩΤοῦς οὖν ἐσεῖ θεί ἀνδρέας ἄξιοι τῆς ἔλευσείας, prove yourselves men worthy of freedom. Χέν. Α. ι. 7, 3.

1 See Weber, pp. 85, 95, 113, 124, for the history of this usage. Weber cites 41 examples from Aristophanes, besides Ach. 343; 13 from Plato, whose extraordinary use of the independent sentence with μή has been noticed; 7 from Χειρόπεμφ, 9 from Democthenes, 2 from Lysias, and one from Iseas.
"Οπως μοι, ὅ ἄνθρωπος, μη ἐρεῖς ὅτι ἐστὶ τὰ δώδεκα δῖς ἑξ, see that you do not tell me that twice six are twelve. PLAT. Rep. 337 B: so 336 D. 

Fερε δὴ ὅπως μεμνημόνευθα ταῦτα. Id. Gorg. 495 D. "Οπως γε, ἀν τι τούτων γίνηται, τούτων ἐπανέσεσθε καὶ τιμήσετε καὶ στεφανώσετε, ἐμε δὲ μη καὶ μένων καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων, ὅπως τούτως ὅργιεσθε. DEM. xix. 45. "Οπως τούν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου μηδὲν ἐρεῖς, see therefore that you say nothing about the war. Ib. 94.

One case occurs in Herodotus in iii. 142. (See also 280, below.)

275. Although the second person is naturally most common in these expressions, the first and third persons also occur. E.g.

"Οπως δὲ τὸ σύμβολον λαβόντες ἐπείτα πλησίον καθεδούμεθα. AR. Eccl. 297. Οἴμω τάλας, ὦ Ζεὺς ὅπως μη μ᾽ ὄψεται, don't let Zeus see me! Id. Av. 1494. Καὶ ὅπως, ὦσπερ ἐρωτῶς προθυμω, οὕτω καὶ ποιεῖν ἔθελτον συν. DEM. viii. 38. (See also 278.)

276. "Αγε and φερε (251) sometimes introduce this construction, See examples above (273 and 274).

277. In a few cases the prohibition with ὅπως μη takes the form of a warning. Besides Aesch. Prom. 68 and Eur. Bacch. 357, quoted above, see Xen. Cyr. i. 3, 18, ὅπως ὁν μη ἀπολεί μαστεγούμενοι, look out that you are not flogged to death. So PLAT. Prot. 313 C, quoted in 283.

278. "Οπως μη with the future indicative or the subjunctive sometimes occurs in independent sentences implying a desire to avert something that is not desired, like μη with the subjunctive in Homer and sometimes in Attic Greek (261; 264). E.g.

"Οπως μη ἀισχροὶ μὲν φανοῦμεθα ἀσθενεῖς δὲ ἐσόμεθα, let us not appear base and be weak (as I fear we may). Xen. Cyr. iv. 2, 39.

"Οπως μη ἀναγκασωμεν (so most Mss.) αὐτοῖς, καὶ μη βούλομοι, ἀγαθοῖς γενέσθαι, there is danger of our compelling them to become brave, even against their will. Ib. iv. 1, 16. Καὶ ὅπως γε μηδὲ τὸ χωρίον ἡδος ὄργων ἔνθα κοκκάλον ἡμῶν τοὺς συμμαχούς, and let us not allow them even to enjoy the sight of the place where they slew our allies. Ib. v. 4, 21. "Οπως μη φήσῃς τις ἡμᾶς ἄφαιτες, take care lest any one say of us, etc. Id. Symp. iv. 8. 'Ἀλλα' ὅπως μη οἶξ ὦ οἶδο τ᾽ ἐσομαι, προθυμούμενος δὲ γέλωτα ὀφλῆσω, but I am afraid that I shall not have the power, but that in my zeal I shall make myself ridiculous. PLAT. Rep. 506 D. So Men. 77 A.

279. These cases (278) are analogous to those of ὅπως μη with the future indicative or the subjunctive after verbs of fearing, in place of the simple μη (370). They are also a connecting link between the subjunctive with μη in prohibitions and the rare future indicative with μη in the same sense; as ταῦτην φυλάξετε τὴν πίστιν, καὶ μη βούλησοσθε εἰδεναι, hold fast to this security, and do not wish to know, etc., DEM. xxiii. 117 (see other examples in 70).

280. In a few cases ὅπως μη with the subjunctive expresses a cautious assertion, where the simple μη is generally used (265). E.g.
Καὶ ὅπως μὴ ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἡγαραφήμασιν ἡ τούτῳ, καὶ ἢ αὐτὲς ποιήσομεν, it may be that this will prove true in the case of pictures. PLAT. Crat. 430 D. Weber (p. 264) quotes Hdt. vi. 85 for this sense: ὅπως ἢ στήριξιν ἢ τι ἡμᾶς, ἢν τοῦτο ποιήσητε, πανολήθρον κακῶν ἢ τὴν χώραν ἐμπλάλωσι, it is not unlike that they will turn about and bring some fatal harm on your country; but this can be understood like the examples in 278.

281. Ὅσα δὲν σκοτοῦ σὺν ἢ τε τῶν εἰρημένων, mind now and guard what I have said (i.e. be watchful to do it), SOPH. Ant. 215, must be brought under this head (271). In the early stage of the Attic construction of ὅπως with the future, of which only two cases occur in Aeschylus and one in Sophocles (272), ὅσα δὲν ἢ τε was here used like ὅπως ἑσθε. Compare ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὅσα δὲν πραξθή, XEN. Hipp. ix. 2 (see 351).

282. In AR. Ach. 343 is the single case of ὅπως μὴ with a present tense, expressing a suspicion and apprehension concerning a present ground of fear: ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴν τοῖς τρίβωσιν ἐγκαθιδρυταί τοῦ λιθοῦ, but I am afraid they now have stones hidden somewhere in their cloaks. This bears the same relation to the common ὅπως μὴ with the future (272) that φοβοῦμαι μὴν πάσας χοιριναί, I fear that they are suffering (369, 1), bears to φοβοῦμαι μὴν πάσας χοιρίν, I fear that they may suffer (365); and the same that μὴν τούτῳ ἐκτέον ἔστι (269) bears to μὴν σκέπτεσθαι ἢ (265).

283. Positive independent sentences with ὅπως all have the future indicative, the regular form in dependent object clauses of this nature (339). Among the 33 independent clauses with ὅπως μὴ which are cited (excluding AR. Ach. 343) ten have the subjunctive, and four others have more or less Ms. support for the subjunctive. Of the ten, the two quoted in 280, and the three from Xenophon quoted in 278, are either in cautious assertions or in sentences implying fear or the averting of danger, where the subjunctive is the regular form. The other five express warning, and are quoted here:—

"Ὅπως δὲ τούτῳ μὴν διδάξης μηδένα, but be sure that you teach this to nobody. AR. Nub. 824. Καὶ ὅπως γε μὴ δοσφυτῆς ἐξαιτητής ἡμᾶς, and do not let the sophist cheat us. PLAT. Prot. 313 C. Ἄλλ' ὅπως μὴ τι, ἡμᾶς σφιχθῆς τὸ ἀεὶ τούτῳ. Id. Euthyd. 296 A. Ὅπως μηδείς σε πιάσῃ, do not let anybody persuade you, etc. Id. Charm. 157 B. Καὶ ὅπως μὴ ποιήσῃς δὲ πολλάκις ἡμᾶς ἐβλαψεν, and see that you do not do what has often harmed you. DEM. iv. 20.

Four of these subjunctives are of the σ- class, easily confused with the future indicative, and the judgment of scholars on these has depended to a great extent upon their opinion about the admissibility of the subjunctive with ὅπως and ὅπως μὴ in dependent object clauses (339). This question will be discussed in 364. But it may fairly be claimed, independently of the main question, that these cases of ὅπως μὴ with the subjunctive in prohibitions are supported by the analogy of μὴ with the subjunctive in the same sense. Thus μὴ διδάξης, do not teach, makes ὅπως μὴ διδάξης in the same sense much more
natural than the positive ὅπως δεῦτες would be, for which there is no such analogy and little or no Ms. authority. On this ground the examples are given above as they stand in the Ms.

SECTION III.

Subjunctive, like the Future Indicative, in Independent Sentences.—Interrogative Subjunctive.

HOMERIC SUBJUNCTIVE.

284. In the Homeric language the subjunctive (generally the aorist) may be used in independent sentences, with the force of a future indicative. The negative is ou. E.g.

Οὐ γάρ τω τοίσις δόν ἄνερας οὐδὲ δέομαι, for I never yet saw nor shall I ever see such men. II. i. 252. Ὑμῖν ἐν πάντεσσι περικλυτὰ δῶρ ὀνομῆνω, I will enunciate the gifts before you all. II. ix. 121. Αὔρωμαι ἐσ Ἀἴδαο καὶ ἐν νεκρὰσι φαεῖνω, I will descend to Hades and shine among the dead (said by the Sun). Od. xii. 383. (Here the future δόσομαι and the subjunctive φαεῖνω do not differ in force.) Μήσομαι οὖδε λάθωμαι Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκάσω, I will remember and will not forget the far-shooting Apollo. Ημιν. Ap. 1. Ἀντω οἱ θάνατον κυρίσομαι, οὐδὲ ἐν τόν γε γνωτότε τε γνωτάτε τε πυθός Λελάχωσι θανόντα, i.e. they shall not give his dead body the honour of a funeral pyre. II. xv. 349. Εἶ δὲ κε τεθνῶτος αἰκοῖσαν, σῆμα τε οἱ χεὺς καὶ ἵππες τερεύζει, I will raise a mound for him, and pay him funeral honours. Od. ii. 222. Οὐ γάρ τις μὲ βίῤῥ γε ἐκὼ ἄκοιμα διήνω. II. vii. 197. Καὶ ποτὲ τίς εἴπῃς ὅρις, and some one will say. II. vi. 459. (In vs. 462, referring to the same thing, we have οὐς ποτὲ τίς ἐρέει.) Οὐκ ἦσθι οὔτος ἄνήρ οὐδὲ ἔσττει οἰδὲ γένηται, ὃς κεν Τηλεμάχῳ σῷ νῖοι χείρας ἐποίησε. Od. xvi. 437. Οδέδε μην ἀναστῆσαι: πρὶν καὶ κακίν ἄλλῳ πᾶς θεῖος, nor will you bring him back to life; sooner will you suffer some new evil besides. II. xxiv. 651 (the only example of the second person).

285. This Homeric subjunctive, like the future indicative, is sometimes joined with κε or ἄν in a potential sense. This enabled the earlier language to express an apodosis with a sense between that of the optative with ἄν and that of the simple future indicative, which the Attic was unable to do. (See 201 and 452.) E.g.

Εἶ δὲ κε μὴ δῶσῃν, εὖ ὦ δὲ κεν αὐτῶς ἔλωμαι, but if he does not give her up, I will take her myself. II. i. 324. (Here ἔλωμαι κεν has a shade of meaning between ἔλοιμῃ κεν, I would take, and αἱρήσομαι, I
will take, which neither Attic Greek nor English can express. See 235, end.) Τὴν μὲν πέμψω, ἐγὼ δὲ κ’ ἀγω Βρυσίδα, ἥν ἐμι σέβω; but I shall take Bрисеיס. II. i. 184. Νῦν δ’ ἂν πολλὰ πάθησι φίλου ἀπὸ ταυτός ἄμαρτων, but now he must suffer much, etc. II. xxi. 505. Ἡς ὑπερτησίως τάξιν αὐτῷ θυμὸν ὀλέσσῃ, by his own insolence he may perchance lose his life. II. i. 205.

286. In the following cases the subjunctive and the optative with κε or ἂν are contrasted:—

"Ἀλλοι κ’ ἔχον τελεσθείς βροτόν, ἄλλοι κε φιλοί, one mortal he (a king) will hate, and another he may love. Od. iv. 692. Εἰ τίς σε ἰδοιε, αὐτὴ γάρ ἐξετάσον ἀγαμέρνων, καὶ καν ἀνάβλησιν ἀέριον νεκρόν γένηται, εἴ τις αὐτὴν, he would straightway tell Agamemnon, and there might (may) be a postponement, etc. II. xxiv. 653. Ἐι μὲν δὴ ἀντίβοιον σῶμα εἰπώ ὅτε πρότερον γε πυθόμην, (a message) which I will (would) tell you plainly so soon as I shall (should) hear it, Od. ii. 43, with ἐν Χρήματι σάφα εἰπώ δέ τοι πρότερον γε πυθόμην, ii. 31,—both referring to the same thing.

INTERROGATIVE SUBJUNCTIVE.

287. The first person of the subjunctive is used in questions of appeal, where the speaker asks himself or another what he is to do. The negative is μη. In Attic Greek this subjunctive is sometimes in poetry by θέλεισ or θέλετο. E.g.

Εἰ σοι τούτο; shall I say this? or βούλεις εἰπώ τούτο; do you wish that I should say this? Μὴ τούτο πολλῷ μεν (or πολεμώμεν): shall we not do this? Τι εἰπώ; or τι βούλεσθε εἰπώ; what shall I say? or what do you want me to say?

Πὴ τ’ ἀρ’ εγώ, φίλε τέκνον, ἵνα τε δόμαθ’ ἵκωμαι; ἡ ἡμεῖς σῆς μητρὸς ἰνά καὶ σοι δόμοιο; whether shall I go? to whose house shall I come? etc. Od. xv. 509. Ἡ αὐτῷ κεύθω; φάσται δέ με θυμὸς ἀνώγει. Od. xxi. 194. Ὄ Ζεῦ, τί λέξω; pos φρονών ἐλθώ, τάτερ; Soph. O. C. 310. Ὀμοί εἰμώ, πά βῶ; πά στω; πά κέλω; Eur. Hec. 1056. Ποι τράπωμαι; ποι τράπωμαι; Ib. 1099. Εἰπώ τι τῶν εἰσοδήμων; δέ δεστοτα; shall I make one of the regular jokes? Ar. Ran. 1. Τίνα γὰρ μάρτυρα μεῖψω παρά σχῶμαι; i.e. how shall I bring forward a greater witness? Dem. xix. 240. Μηδ’, εάν τι φωνᾶμαι, ἐρωμαὶ ὑπόσχον πολεί; may I not ask, etc.? Μηδ’ αἰτοκρίνωμαι οὖν, ἂν τίς με ἐρωτᾷ νέος, εάν εἷδο; and may I not answer, etc.? Xen. Mem. i. 2, 36. Μη ἀποκρίνομαι, ἂν’ ἔτερον εἰπώ; Plut. Rep. 337 B. So μη σύμμετρα ὄνομα τήρημα, ἡ αὐτὸς ἀνείπω; Ib. 580 B. Μεθύνατα ἄνθρωπον σύμμετρον δέσεσθε σύμμετρως, ἂν ἀπίστωμεν; will you receive him, or shall we go away? Id. Symp. 212 E. Ἡ ἁρμήν οἰσχυρόμεν τὸν Ἐρετοῦ βασιλέα μοι.
σασθαι; shall we then be ashamed to imitate the king of the Persians?
—shall we? XEN. Oec. iv. 4.

Ποῦ δὴ βούλεις καθήμενοι ἀναγύμεν; where wilt thou that we sit down and read? PLAT. Phaedr. 228 E. (So ib. 263 E.) Βούλεις οὐν ἐπισκοπῶμεν ὅπου ἦδη τὸ δυνατὸν ἔστι; XEN. Mem. iii. 5, 1. Βούλεις λάβομαι δύτα καὶ θύγα τί σου; SOPH. Phil. 761. Βούλεις ἑπεισδέωμεν; EUR. Hec. 1042. Θέλεις μείνωμεν αὐτῷ κἀνακούσωμεν γύων; SOPH. El. 81. Τί σοι θέλεις δῆδε εἰκάθω; ID. O. T. 650. Θέλετε θηρασωμεθά Πενθέως Ἀγαίην μητήρ ἐκ βακχευμάτων, χάρω τ' ἀνακτή θῶμεν; EUR. Bacch. 719. Βούλεσθε τὸ δὲν πράγμα ἄφωμεν καὶ μη γειώμεν; AESCUL. i. 73.

So with κελεύετε: Αλλὰ πῶς; εἰπώ κελεύετε καὶ ὡς ὄργεισθε; do you command me to speak, and will you not be angry? DEM. ix. 46.

In PLAT. Rep. 372 E, we find εἰ δ' αὖ βούλεσθε καὶ φλεγμαίνοντας πόλιν θεωρήσαμεν, οὐδὲν αποκωλώμεν, but if, again, you will have us examine an inflamed state, there is nothing to prevent. This shows that βούλεσθε is not parenthetical, but is felt to be the leading verb on which the subjunctive depends (see 288). In Phaed. 95 E, ἢνα μὴ τί διασφύγη ἡμᾶς, εἰ τέ τι βούλεις προσθῆς ἡ ἀφελῦς, the subjunctives may depend on ἢνα.

288. Εἰ βούλεσθε θεωρήσαμεν, if you wish us to examine, quoted in 287, shows that we have in βούλεσθε with the subjunctive a parataxis not yet developed into a leading and a dependent clause. It is probable that nothing like this was felt in the simple subjunctive as it is found in Homer. The original interrogative subjunctive is probably the interrogative form corresponding to the subjunctive in exhortations (256); ἐλθομεν, let us go, becoming ἐλθομεν; shall we go? (See Kühner, § 394, 5.) When βούλεις and βούλεσθε were first introduced in appeals to others, the two questions were doubtless felt to be distinct; as βούλεσθε; εἰπώ; do you wish? shall I speak?—which were gradually welded into one, do you wish that I speak? Compare in Latin cave facias,—visue hoc videamus? etc. No conjunction could be introduced to connect βούλεις or θέλεις to the subjunctive in classic Greek, as these verbs could have only the infinitive; but in later Greek, where ἢνα could be used after θέλω, the construction was developed into θέλετε ἢνα εἰπώ; do you wish me to speak? See τάντα ὅσα ἢν θέλετε ἢνα ποιήσων ὑμῖν οἱ ἀνθρώποι, whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, N. T. Matth. vii. 12. So θέλω ἢνα δῆς μοι τὴν κεφαλήν Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ, MARC. vi. 25. These forms appear in the New Testament side by side with the old construction without ἢνα; as τί σοι θέλεις ποιήσω; what wilt thou that I should do unto thee? with the answer, ἢνα ἀναβλέψω, that I may receive my sight, Luc. xviii. 41. So βούλεσθε ὑμῖν ἀπολύσω τῶν βασιλεία τῶν Ἰουδαίων; IOH. xviii. 39.

From θέλετε ἢνα εἰπώ; comes the modern Greek θέλετε νὰ εἰπώ; will you that I speak? and probably also the common future ὑμῖν εἰπώ, I shall speak (if ὑμῖν represents θέλω νά).
289. The third person of the subjunctive is sometimes used in these questions of appeal, but less frequently than the first, and chiefly when a speaker refers to himself by tōs. E.g.

Πότερον σ' τίς, Αἰασίμη, τής κόλοφος ἔχθρον ἢ ἑκών εἶναι φή; i.e. shall we call you the city's enemy, or mine? Dem. xviii. 124. Ἐξαρτα τοῖς οὖσι πεις ὅσους ὕπερ αὐτῶν σε ποιεῖν, καὶ τὰ τῆς σῆς ποιμείς ἐργα ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἀναδεξιωται; i.e. are these men to believe, etc.; and are they to assume, etc.? Id. xxii. 64. Τι τίς εἶναι τούτο φῆ; Id. xix. 88. Πῶς τίς τοι πεις ἑφαίνατι; how can any one obey you? P. i. 150. Θύγατερ, ποί τίς φτωτίδος ἐλθή; Soph. O. C. 170. Ποί τίς οὖν φύγη; Id. Aj. 403. Πόθεν οὖν τίς ταύτης ἀρξάθαε ταχύς; Plat. Phil. 15 D.

Πῶς οὖν ἐτ' εἴπῃς ὅτι συνέσταλμαι κακοῖς; Eur. H. F. 1417, the only case of the second person, is probably corrupt. Dindorf reads ἄν εἶνοι. 290. The subjunctive is often used in the question τί πάθω; what will become of me? or what harm will it do me? literally, what shall I undergo? E.g.

Τί μαί έγω, τί πάθω; τί νῦ μοι μήκομαι γένναται; Od. v. 465. So P. xi. 404. Τί πάθω; τί δέ δρο; τί δ' μήθωμαι; Aesch. Sept. 1057. Τί πάθω τλήμου; Id. Pers. 912; Ab. Pl. 603. Τί πάθω; τί δέ μήθωμαι; οὔμων. Soph. Tr. 973. Τό μέλλον, εἰ χρη, πεις ὅσιμαν τί γαρ πάθω; I shall suffer what is to come, if it must be; for what harm can it do me? Eur. Ph. 895. (The difference between τί πάθω; and πάθω in its ordinary use is here seen.) Ὡμολογηκα τί γαρ πάθω; Plat. Euthyd. 302 D. So in the plural, τί γαρ πάθωμεν μη δουλομένων ὑπείρων τιμώρεσιν; Hdt. iv. 118.

291. (Negative μή.) The negative μή of the interrogative subjunctive is explained by the origin of the construction (285). If ἔλθωμεν; shall we go? is the interrogative of ἔλθωμεν, let us go, then μὴ ἔλθωμεν; shall we not go? is the interrogative of μὴ ἔλθωμεν, let us not go, and implies (addressed to others) do you wish not to have us go? This is still more evident when βουλέσθη is prefixed to the subjunctive (288). Similar to this interrogative form of the subjunctive of exhortation is the rare interrogative imperative (also negatived by μή); as ἄν δ' μετά τέχνης γράψαι αἵρεται, μὴ ἐξεστώ δ' ἐτέρα προστάτευς; i.e. is he not to be allowed to give other orders? Plut. Politi. 295 E, where μὴ ἐξέστω; is the interrogative of μὴ ἐξέστω, let him not be allowed, as μὴ ἔλθωμεν; (above) is that of μη ἔλθωμεν, let us not go. See also the indirect question in Plut. Leg. 800 E, ἐπικοινωνώ τόλμης, τοιν ἐκμαγείων ταῖς υδαίς εἰ πρῶτον ἐν τοῦθ' ἥμιν ἀρέσκον κεὶοι δικαιο, I ask again, whether first this is to stand approved by us as one of our models for songs. We cannot express such an imperative precisely in English; and there is the same difficulty with ὁδήγητ' ὃ δράσσον; etc., in 253. See also ὡστε with imperative forms (602).

292. 1. When the future indicative is used in the sense of the
interrogative subjunctive (68), it may be negated by μή; as πῶς
οὖν μήτε ψεύσομαι φανερῶς; how then shall I escape telling an open
lie? (where there is some Ms. authority for ψεύσωμαι, DEM. xix. 320
(see Shilleto's note).

2. A similar use of μή is found with the potential optative (with
ἄν) in questions, if the idea of prevention is involved in it; as τι .getElementsBy
οὐ σκοπούμεν πῶς ἄν αὐτῶν μή διαμαρτάνοιμεν; why then do we
not consider how we can avoid mistaking them? (the direct question here
would differ little from πῶς μή διαμαρτάνωμεν;). XEN. Mem. iii. 1,
10. So πῶς ἄν τις μή θησάμεν λέγωι περὶ θεῶν; how can one help being
excited when he speaks of Gods? PLAT. Leg. 887 C. Sometimes such
an optative with μή is in a second clause, preceded by a positive
question, so that the harshness of μή ἄν with the optative is avoided;
as τι ἄν λέγοντες εἰκός ἢ αὐτοὶ ἀποκνοίμεν ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ἑκεί ἐξο-
μάχους σκηπτόμενοι μή βοηθοίμεν; i.e. what good ground can we
give for holding back ourselves, or what decent excuse can we make to our
allies there for withholding our aid from them? THUC. vi. 18. So τίνα
ἄν τρόπον ἔγω μέγα δυνάμειν καὶ μηδεῖς με ἀδίκοι; in what way
can I have great power and prevent any one from doing me wrong? PLAT.
Gorg. 510 D. See also ISOC. v. 8, xv. 6. In DEM. xxi. 35, τόσαρα
μή δῷ διὰ τοῦτο δίκην ἢ μείζω δοίη δικαίων; shall he escape punish-
ment for this, or would he rather deserve a still greater penalty?—Do philosophers
use as if oίκ ἄν δοίη had preceded (Schaefers inserts καί).

In PLAT. Phaed. 106 D is the singular expression, σχολή γὰρ ἄν
τι ἄλλο φθορὰν μῆ δέχοιτο, εἰ γε τὸ ἄθανατον ἄλων ὁν φθορὰν
déxetai, for hardly can anything else escape from admitting destruction if
the immortal, which is eternal, is to admit it. This differs from the pre-
ceding interrogative examples merely in the substitution of σχολή,
hardly, for πῶς or τίνα τρόπον.

293. As oίκ cannot be used with the interrogative subjunctive, μή
here sometimes introduces a question which expects an affirmative
answer. See XEN. Mem. i. 2, 36, and PLAT. Rep. 337 B, 554 B,
quoted in 287; and compare XEN. Oec. iv. 4 (ibid.), where a negative
answer is expected. In PLAT. Rep. 552 E, we must read μή οἰώμεθα
(not οἴώμεθα, Herm.), shall we not think? as the answer must be affirma-
tive (see Stallbaum’s note).

SECTION IV.

Oū μή with the Subjunctive and the Future Indicative.

294. The subjunctive and the future indicative are used
with the double negative oū μή in independent sentences,
sometimes expressing a denial, like the future indicative
with οὐ, and sometimes a prohibition, like the imperative or subjunctive with μη. The compounds of both οὐ and μη can be used here as well as the simple forms.

For a discussion of the origin of this construction, and of the relation of the sentences of denial to those of prohibition, see Appendix II.

295. (Denial.) The subjunctive (usually the aorist), and sometimes the future indicative, with οὐ μη may have the force of an emphatic future with οὐ. Thus οὐ μη τοῦτο γένηται, sometimes οὐ μη τοῦτο γενήσεται, means this surely will not happen. E.g.

(Aor. Subj.) Καὶ τῶν ἀκούσας οὐ τι μη ληφθῶ δέλω, I shall not be caught by any trick. Aeschin. Sept. 38. So Sept. 199, Supp. 228. Οὐ μη πιθηκεσια, he will not obey. Soph. Ph. 103. Οὐ γὰρ σε μη γνώσω. Id. El. 42. Καὶ οὐ τι μη λάχωσι τοι ως σωματικοι. Id. O. C. 450. Οὐτοι σ᾽ Ἀχαιῶν, οδὴ, μη τις βίβλια. Id. Aj. 560. Ὁ δὲ οὐ πάρεστιν, οὐδὲ μη μόλις ποτὲ, but he is not here, and he never will come. Eur. H. F. 718. Κοῦ μη ποθὲ ἄλω. Ar. A. Ch. 662. Τῶν ἴνα κράτησομεν, οὐ μη τις ἤμι στοιν οὐκ ἄντιστη κοτε ἀνθρώποι. Hdt. vii. 53. So i. 199. Οὐ μη ποτὲ ἐσβάλωσιν. Thuc. iv. 95; cf. v. 69. Οὐ μη σε κρύψω πρὸς ὁντις βουλομαι ἀφικηθαί. Xen. Cyne. vii. 3, 13. Ὁς οι Αρμένοι οὐ μη δέξωνται τοις πολεμίωσιν. Thuc. iii. 2, 8 (see 296, b). Ἀν καθωμεθα αἰκονι, οὐδεσσαρ البيν οὐδὲν οὐ μη γένηται τῶν δεόντων. Dem. iv. 44; so ix 75. Οὔτε γὰρ γίγνεται οὔτε γέγονεν οὔδὲ οὖν μη γένηται ἀλλοουν ήδης πρὸς ἀρετῆν, for there is not, nor has there been, nor will there ever be, etc. Plat. Rep. 492 E. (Here οὐδὲ μη γένηται seems merely more emphatic than the ordinary οὐδὲ γενήσεται.)


(Pres. Subj.) Ἡν γὰρ ἀπαξ διό η τρων ἡμερῶν δῶν ἀπόσχωμεν, οὐκετί μη δύνηται βασιλεὺς ἡμᾶς καταλαβεῖν. Xen. An. ii. 2, 12. So οὐ νη δύνωνται. Id. Hier. xi. 15. Πρὶς ταύτα κακοῦρεν καὶ συνοφάντει, εἰ τι δύνασαι ἀλλ᾽ οὐ μη οἶδος τ᾽ ἡμερὰς, but you will not be able. Plat. Rep. 341 B. Οὐ γὰρ μη δυνάτος δ᾽ Id. Phil. 48 D. In the much-discussed passage, Soph. O. C. 1023, ἀλλοι γὰρ οἱ σπειροῦσι, οῖς οὐ μη ποτὲ χώρας φυγόντες τήροντες ἐπευχοῦσαι θεοῖς, for there are others in eager pursuit; and they (the captors) will never (be in a condition to) be thankful to the Gods for escaping these and getting out of this land, the chief force is in φυγόντες, as if it were οὐ μη φυγόντες ῥατετε ἐπευχοῦσαι θεοῖς, the present subjunctive expressing a state of thankfulness.
296. ὦ μή with the subjunctive or the future indicative can stand in various dependent sentences:—

(a) Especially in indirect discourse; as ἐὰν γὰρ οἶδ᾽ ἑσφαῖρ᾽ ὅτι τὰῦτ᾽...ov μή 'πιλάθη. Ar. Pac. 1302. So Xen. Cyrt. viii. 1, 5, Hell. iv. 2, 3; Plat. Rep. 499 B. See also Thuc. v. 69. We have ov μή with the future optative after ὄσ, representing the future indicative of the direct form, in Soph. Ph. 611: τά τ᾽ ἄλλα πάντ᾽ ἔθεσθωσιν, καὶ τάτι Τροίας πέργαμ᾽ ὅσ ov μή ποτε πέρσοιεν el μή τόνδε ἄγωντο. (The direct discourse was ov μή ποτε πέρσοτε ἐὰν μή τόνδε ἄγωσθε.) In a similar construction in Xen. Hell. i. 6, 32, the future indicative is retained after a past tense: εἴπεν ὅτι ἡ Σπάρτη οὐδὲν μή κάκιον οἴκεύεται ταῦτο ἄπαθαντος. In Eur. Phoen. 1590, we have the future infinitive of indirect discourse with ov μή: εἴπε Τερεσίας ov μή ποτε, σοὐ τήνδε γὰρ οἰκώντως, ev πράξεων πόλιν, representing ov μή ev πράξεων πόλις.

(b) In causal sentences with ὅσ; as Ar. Av. 461: λέγε θαρσήσας, ὅσ τάς σπονδὰς ov μή πρότερον παραβώμεν, for we will not break the truce before you have spoken. So Xen. Cyrt. iii. 2, 8 (see 295).

(c) In consecutive sentences with ὅστε; as Plat. Phaedr. 227 D: οὔτως ἐκπεπεθύμηκα ἀκόρως, ὅστε' ἐὰν ποῦ τὸν περίπατον Μέγαράδε, ov μή σου ἀπολείψω θῶ.

In Aesch. Ag. 1640, τὸν δὲ μὴ πεθάνωρα ξεύξω βαρείας οὔτε μὴ σειραφόρον κριθύντα πόλον, and I will yoke him who is not obedient under a heavy yoke, (and I will let him run) by no means as a wanton colt in traces, οὔτι μὴ belongs grammatically to ξεύξω, though its position makes it affect the following words in sense: cf. καὶ μὴν τὸν εἰτὴ μὴ παρὰ γυνῶν ἐρώι, Ag. 931, where the force of μή falls on the words that follow it. See Paley's note on Ag. 1640 (1618).

297. (Prohibition.) In the dramatic poets, the second person singular of the future indicative (occasionally of the subjunctive) with ov μή may express a strong prohibition. Thus ov μή λαλήσεις means you shall not prate, or do not prate, being nearly equivalent to μὴ λάλεις or μὴ λαλήσης. E.g.

*Ω παῖ, τί θροεῖς; ov μὴ παρ᾽ ὁχλῶ τάδε γηρύσει, do not (I beg you) speak out in this way before the people. Eur. Hipp. 213. *Ω θύγατερ, ov μὴ μοῦν ἔπι πόλλων ἐρείς. Id. Supp. 1066. Οὐ μὴ γυναικῶν δεῦλοι εἰσοίητες λόγοιν, do not adopt the cowardly language of women. Id. And. 757. Οὐ μὴ ἐξεγερεῖς τὸν ὅτιπ φάτοχον κάκ-
κινήσεις καναστήσεις φοιτάδα δεινήν νόσον, δέ τέκνον, do not wake him and arouse, etc. Soph. Tr. 978. (Here οὗ μή belongs to three verbs.) Τί ποιεῖς; οὗ μή καταβήσεις, don't come down. Ar. Vesp. 397. Ποίος Ζεύς; οὗ μή ληστής; οὖθ᾽ ἔστι Ζεύς, Zeus indeed! Don't talk nonsense; there isn't any Zeus. Id. Nub. 367. (Here all Mss. have ληστής. See Nub. 296, quoted in 298; and section 301 below.)

298. A prohibition thus begun by οὗ μή with the future or subjunctive may be continued by μηδὲ with another future form. An affirmative command may be added to the prohibition by a future or an imperative with ἀλλά or δὲ. E.g.

Οὐ μὴ καλεῖς μ', διατρίβο, ἱκετεύω, μηδὲ κατερεῖς τοῦνομα, do not call to me, I implore you, nor speak my name. Ar. Ran. 298. Οὗ μὴ προσάσεις ξέφα μηδ᾽ ἐγεί πέπλων, do not bring your hand near me nor touch my garments. Eur. Hipp. 606. Οὗ μὴ προσάσεις ξέφα, βακχεύσεις δ᾽ ἱών, μηδ᾽ ἔκοιμόρϕει μωρίων τὴν σεν ἐμοῖ, do not bring your hand near me; but go and rage, and do not wipe off your folly on me. Id. Bacch. 343. (Here μηδὲ continues the original prohibition as if there had been no interruption.)

Οὐ μὴ λαλήσεις, ἀλλ᾽ ἀκολουθήσεις ἐμοῖ, do not prate, but follow me. Ar. Nub. 505. Οὐ μὴ διατρίβεις, ἀλλὰ γενέτερ τής θύρας, do not delay, but taste of the door. Id. Ran. 462. Οὐ μὴ φλυαρήσεις ἔχων, δέ Ξανθία, ἀλλ᾽ ἀφόρμονος οἴσεις πάλιν τὰ στρώματα. Id. 524. Οὔ μὴ δυσμενῆς ἐσεῖς φίλοισ, παῦσει δὲ θυμοῦ καί πάλιν στρέψεις κάρα, . . . δὲξεὶς δὲ ἱώρα καὶ παραιτήσεις πατρός, be not inimical to friends, but cease your rage, etc. Eur. Med. 1151. Οὐ μὴ σκόψῃς μηδὲ ποιής (so all the Mss.) ἀπερ οἱ τρυγοδάιμονες στῶι, ἀλλ᾽ εὐφήμει, do not scoff, nor do what these witchcrafts do; but keep silence! Ar. Nub. 296. (Here the imperative is used precisely like the future with ἀλλά or δὲ in the preceding examples.)

The clause with μηδὲ is here a continuation of that with οὗ μή, οὗ belonging to both. The future in the clause with ἀλλά or δὲ is like that in πάντως τοῦτο δράσεις, by all means do this, Ar. Nub. 1352 (see 69). A single οὗ μή may introduce a prohibition consisting of several futures connected by καί, as in Soph. Tr. 975 (quoted in 297).

299. Sometimes οὗ with the future indicative in a question implying an affirmative answer (thus equivalent to an exhortation) is followed by μη or μηδὲ with the future in a question implying a negative answer (and thus equivalent to a prohibition). Here there is no case of οὗ μή. E.g.

Οὐ στίγαι ἄνεξεις, μηδὲ δειλίαν ἀρείς; will you not keep silence, and not become a coward? Soph. Aj. 75. (Here μὴ δειλίαν ἀρείς; is an independent question, will you be a coward? = do not be a coward.) Οὐ θάνων οἰσεῖς, μηδ᾽ ἄποιστήσεις ἐμοί; will you not extend your hand and not distrust me? Id. Tr. 1183. Οὐκ εἶ σοῦ τ᾽ οἴκους, σοῦ τε Κρέουν κατὰ στέγας, καὶ μὴ τὸ μηδὲν ἐλγος εἰς μὲν οἴσετε; Id. O. T. 637.
300. All the examples under 297 and 298 are usually printed as interrogative, in accordance with Elmsley’s doctrine, stated in his note to Eur. Med. 1120 (1151) and in the Quarterly Review for June 1812. He explains οὐ μὴ λαλήσεις; as meaning will you not stop praying? (lit. will you not not pray?); and when a second clause in the future with μηδὲ or ἀλλὰ follows, he extends the interrogative force of οὐ also to this. But this explanation requires an entirely different theory to account for οὐ μη in clauses of denial (295), where no question is possible. Moreover, the five examples of the second person of the subjunctive quoted under 295, taken in connection with those in 297 and 298, are sufficient to show the impossibility of separating the two constructions in explanation. One of the examples in 298 (Ar. Nub. 296), where the imperative εὐφήμεια follows in the clause with ἀλλὰ, seems decisive against the interrogative theory. The examples under 299 are really interrogative; but they consist practically of an exhortation followed by a prohibition (both being interrogative), and contain no construction with οὐ μη at all.

301. In most modern editions of the classics the subjunctive is not found in the construction of 297; and in many cases the first aorist subjunctive in -σας has been emended to the future, against the authority of the Mss., in conformity to Dawes’s rule. (See 364.) Thus, in Ar. Nub. 296 and 307 the Mss. have the subjunctive; and in 296, οὐ μη σκόψας could not be changed to οὐ μη σκόψεις, as the future of σκόπω is σκόψει. Elmsley’s emendation σκόψει, which is adopted by most editors, requires a greater change than should be made merely to sustain an arbitrary rule, which rests on no apparent principle. If both constructions (295 and 297) are explained on the same principle, there is no longer any reason for objecting to the subjunctive with οὐ μη in prohibitions; and it seems most probable that both future indicative and subjunctive were allowed in both constructions, but that the subjunctive was more common in clauses of denial, and the future in clauses of prohibition.

SECTION V.

Final and Object Clauses after "Ινα, 'Ως, Ὄπως,
"Οφρα, and Μη.

CLASSIFICATION.—NEGATIVES.

302. The final particles are ίνα, ὄς, Ὄπως, and (in epic and lyric poetry) ὄφρα, that, in order that. To these must be added μη, lest, which became in use a negative final particle.
303. The clauses which are introduced by these particles, all of which are sometimes called final clauses, may be divided into three classes:—

A. Pure final clauses, in which the end or purpose of the action of any verb may be expressed; as ἔρχεται ὁ ἄνα τότῳ ἔση, he is coming that he may see this; ἀπέρχεται ὁ αὐτής τότῳ ἔση, he is departing that he may not see this; ἠλθεν ὁ ὁτός ἔσω, he came that he might see this. Here all the final particles are used, but with different frequency in various classes of writers (see 311-314).

B. Object clauses with ὅπως or ὅτως μή after verbs of striving, etc.; as σκόπει ὅπως γενήσεται, see that it happens; σκόπει ὅτως μή γενήσεται, see that it does not happen. These clauses express the direct object of the verb of striving, etc., so that they may stand in apposition to an object accusative like τότῳ; as σκόπει τότῳ, ὅτως μή σε ὄφεσει, see to this, viz., that he does not see you. They also imply the end or purpose of the action of the leading verb, and to this extent they partake of the nature of final clauses.

C. Clauses with μή after verbs of fearing, etc.; as φοβοῦμαι μή τότῳ γενήσεται, I fear that this may happen; ἐφοβήθη μή τότῳ γένοιτο, he feared that this might happen. These clauses have in use become object clauses, though in their origin they are of a very different nature (262; 307).

304. Although the object clauses of class B partake slightly of the nature of final clauses, so that they sometimes allow the same construction (the subjunctive for the future indicative), still the distinction between classes A and B is very strongly marked. An object clause, as we have seen, can stand in apposition to a preceding τότῳ; whereas a final clause would stand in apposition to τότῳ ἐνεκα, as ἔρχεται τότῳ ἐνεκα, ὅν ἡμῖν βοηθήσῃ, he comes for this purpose, viz., that he may assist us. The two can be combined in one sentence; as σουδάζει ὅτως πλουτήσει, ὅν τοὺς φίλους ἠ ποιήσῃ, he is eager to be rich, that he may benefit his friends.

Care must be taken not to mistake the nature of an object clause with ὅτως when its subject is attracted by the leading verb; as σκόπει τὴν πόλιν ὅτως σωθήσεται for σκόπει ὅτως ἡ πόλις σωθήσεται, see that the city is saved. So also when an object clause of the active construction becomes a subject clause in the equivalent passive form; as ἐπράττετο ὅτως συμμαχίαν εἶναι ἡγεμονίᾳ, it was brought about that
you should vote to have an alliance made (Arschin. iii. 64), which represents the active construction ἐπιγραττον ὅπως ᾿ονιαίς ὑπερθεί."  

305. The regular negative after ἵνα, ὅσος, ὅπως, and ὅφρα is μὴ; but after μή, lest, ὅ is used. E.g.

'Απέρχεται, ἵνα μή τούτο ὅγο, he is departing that he may not see this. Φοβεῖται μη ὁ τούτο γένηται, he is afraid that this may not happen.

306. This use of μὴ ὅ (305) occurs in Homer in a few final clauses (263) and once after ἐδῶ (II. x. 39). After this it is confined to clauses after verbs of fearing, with the exception of Xen. Mem. ii. 2, 14. Cyneus. vii. 10, and the peculiar μὴ ὅ ὁκ ἐπαρκέοι in Plat. Rep. 393 E (132). This use of ὅ after μὴ is naturally explained by the origin of the dependent clause with μὴ (262); but after μὴ had come to be felt as a conjunction and its origin was forgotten, the chief objection to μὴ . . . μὴ was probably in the sound, and we find a few cases of it where the two particles are so far apart that the repetition is not offensive. Such a case is Xen. Mem. i. 2, 7: ἑβαθμείς ἐκ τοῦ φοβοῦτο μὴ ὁ γενόμενος καλὸς κἀκαθὸς τῷ τα μέγιστα εὐφραγεῖμαι μὴ τῶν μεγίστων χάριν ἔξω, where we should expect μὴ ὅ ὁκ ἔξω. So Thuc. ii. 13: ὑποτήσας μὴ . . . παραλίπῃ καὶ μὴ ὑδοῇ. So in a final clause, μὴ . . . μὴ προσδέχουτο, Plat. Euthyd. 295 D.

DEVELOPMENT OF CLAUSES WITH ἵνα, ὅσος, ὅπως, ὅφρα, AND μή.

307. The development of final clauses and of clauses with μή after verbs of fearing from an original parataxis, or co-ordination of two independent sentences, is especially plain in dependent negative clauses with the simple μή. Thus ἄπόστιχε, μὴ τι νοήτη Ὑρη, withdraw, lest Hera notice anything (II. i. 522), presents the form of an original paratactic expression, which would mean withdraw:—may not (or let not) Hera notice anything, the latter clause being like μὴ δὴ νῆσα ἐλασσοί, may they not take the ships (II. xvi. 128), and μὴ ὅμω ὑμι τέλεσθωσι θεοί κἀκα κήβα (II. xviii. 8). (See 261.) Such sentences as these last imply fear or anxiety lest the event may happen which μὴ with the subjunctive expresses a desire to avert; and in a primitive stage of the language they might naturally be preceded by a verb of fearing, to which the (still independent) subjunctive with μή would stand in the relation of an explanatory clause defining the substance of the fear. Thus ἐδῶ—μὴ νῆσα ἐλασσοί would originally be two independent sentences, I fear:—may they not take the ships; but would in time come to be felt as a single sentence, equivalent to our I fear that (lest) they may take the ships. After φοβοῦμαι μὴ τόορο πάθωσιν (for example) was domesticated in the sense I fear lest they may suffer this, the second clause followed the ordinary course, and began to be felt as a thoroughly dependent clause; and when
the leading verb became past, the subjunctive became optative, as ἔφοβηθην μὴ τοῦτο πάθοιεν, I feared lest they might suffer this. When this stage is reached, all feeling of the original independence may be said to have vanished and a dependent clause is fully established. As this decisive evidence of complete dependence is constantly found in the Homeric language, we cannot suppose that such an expression as δεῖδωκα μὴ τι πάθωςι (II. x. 538) was still felt to be composed of two independent sentences, although the original paratactic form is precisely preserved. Indeed, we have no evidence that the step from parataxis to hypotaxis was taken after the Greek language had an independent existence.¹

308. It was a simple and natural step to extend the construction thus established to present and past objects of fear, although we cannot assume for the primitive language such independent indicatives with μή as we find later (see 269). In Homer we find δεῖδω μὴ θεὰ νημερτία εἰπεν, I fear that the Goddess spoke the truth (Od. v. 300). This use was greatly extended in Attic Greek (see 369).

309. This simple construction of a dependent verb introduced by μὴ with no connecting conjunction remained the established form after verbs of fearing in all periods of the language; and occasional exceptions, like μὴ φοβοῦ ὡς ἀπορήσεις, do not fear that you will be at a loss (371), οὐ φοβεῖ ὑπὸς μὴ ἀνόσιον πρᾶγμα τυγχάνῃς πρᾶττων; (370), and οὐ φοβούμεθα ἐλασοσωθήσαι, we are not afraid that we shall have the worst of it (372), in place of the regular μὴ ἀπορήσης, μὴ τυγχάνης, μὴ ἐλασοσωθήσωμεν, only prove the rule. The original independent sentence with μὴ, expressing an object of fear which it is desired to avert, like μὴ νῆς ἐλοίω, is well established in Homer and appears occasionally in the Attic poets (261; 264). But in Plato it suddenly appears as a common construction, expressing, however, not an object of fear but an object of suspicion or surmise (265), so that μὴ with the subjunctive is a cautious expression of a direct assertion; as μὴ ἀγγροκότερον ἢ τὸ ἄληθις εἰπεῖν, I rather think the truth may be too rude to tell (Gorg. 462 E).

310. In like manner, the simple negative form of the pure final clause, as ἂπορεῖτε, μὴ τι νοητῇ Ἕρη (quoted above), was already established in Homer, the negative μὴ serving as a connective, so that the want of a final conjunction was not felt. Here also the feeling of dependence is shown by the subjunctive becoming optative when the leading verb is past; as in φεύξομαι μὴ τὸς με ἰδῇ and ἐφυγὼν μὴ τὸς με ἰδον. But it is obvious that

¹ See Brugmann, Griechische Grammatik, p. 122.
only negative purpose could be expressed by this simple form, in which μή could serve as a connective. We find, it is true, a few positive sentences in which a purpose is implied by the mere sequence of two clauses; as ἀλλ’ ἄγε νῦν ἰδὼς κέ Νέστορος ἱππο-δάμων εἰδομεν (subj.) ἦν τει νῦν μὴ τινὶ στήθεσι κέκευθεν, i.e. go straightway to Nestor: let us know what counsel he buries in his breast (Od. iii. 17), and ὀπό με ὁτι τάχιστα νύν ἔδωκεν Ἀιδαο περήφανο, bury me as quickly as possible: let me pass the gates of Hades (Π. xxiii. 71). But these disconnected expressions, with no particle to unite them, could never satisfy the need of a positive sentence of purpose. To supply this want, several final particles were developed, and were already in familiar use in Homer. These are Ἰνα, ὅς, ὅτις, and ὅφρα, which will be discussed separately.

311. (‘Ἰνα.) Ἰνα is the only purely final particle, having nothing of the relative character of ὅς and ὅτις, or of the temporal character of ὅφρα. Its derivation is uncertain. It appears in Homer as a fully developed final conjunction, and occasionally also in the sense of where (Od. ix. 136) and whether (Od. xix. 20). It is overshadowed in epic and lyric poetry by ὅφρα, and in tragedy by ὅς; but Aristophanes uses it in three-fourths of his final sentences, and in Plato and the orators it has almost exterminated the other final particles. As Ἰνα is purely final, both in use and in feeling, it never takes ὥν or κέ, which are frequently found with the other final particles, especially with the relative ὅς.

312. (‘Ος.) 1. Ἄς is originally an adverb of manner, derived from the stem ὁ- of the relative ὅς, like ὅτις from the stem of ὅτος. As a relative it means originally in which way, as; as an indirect interrogative it means how, whence comes its use in indirect discourse (563, 2). Since purpose can be expressed by a relative pronoun, which in Homer regularly takes the subjunctive (568), as ἦγεμον ἔσθλον ὅπασσον, Ὄς κέ με κεῖσ' ἀγάγη, send me a good guide, to lead me thither (Od. xv. 310), so can it be by the relative adverb of manner, as κρίν' ἀνδρας κατα φύλα, κατά φύγαρας, Ὄς φρήτην φρήτρηφιν ἠρήγη, ἐνά δε φύλας, divide the men in that way by which clan may help clan, etc., i.e. (so) diviae them that clan may help clan, etc. (Π. ii. 362). Here the original force of ὅς can be seen; but in Od. xvii. 75, ὅτινον ἐμὸν τοῖς δώμα γνωιάζαι, Ὅς τοι δώρα ἀποπέμψω, in order that I may send you the gifts, the final force is as strong as if we had Ἰνα ἀποπέμψω.

2. Ὅς, however, always retained so much of its original relative nature that it could take κέ or Ἰν in a final sentence with the subjunctive, like other final relatives, which in Homer hardly ever omit κέ before a subjunctive (568). Compare Ὅς κέ με κεῖσ'
FINAL AND OBJECT CLAUSES

The final clause thus receives a conditional form, with which it must have received originally more or less conditional force. Thus an expression like πείθεω ὰς ἄν κῄσος ἄρηαι probably meant originally obey in whatever way you may gain glory, or obey in some way in which you may gain glory, ὰς ἄν ἄρηαι being chiefly a conditional relative clause (529); but before the Homeric usage was established, the final element had so far obliterated the relative, that the conditional force of ὰς ἄν must have been greatly weakened. The expression in Homer (II. xvi. 84) may have meant obey that (if so be) you may gain me glory. (See examples under 326.) The same is true of the less common use of κε or ἄν with άφα and άτος in Homer (327; 328). How far the original conditional force survived in the Attic ὰς ἄν and άτος ἄν with the subjunctive, especially in άτος ἄν of Attic prose, is a question which at this distant day we have hardly the power to answer, and each scholar will be guided by his own feeling as he reads the expressions. (See 326; 328; 348.) It certainly can be seen in some of Xenophon's uses of ὰς ἄν with the subjunctive; see Cyr. ii. 4, 28, and Eques. i. 16, quoted in Appendix IV.

3. ὰς and ὰς κε with the subjunctive are used in Homer also in object clauses after verbs of planning, considering, etc. (341), where άτος with the future indicative is the regular Attic form. ὰς (with ὰς ἄν) is by far the most common final particle in tragedy; it seldom occurs in Aristophanes and Herodotus; while in Attic prose it almost entirely disappears, except in Xenophon, with whom it is again common, though less so than άτος or ἄν. (See Weber's tables in Appendix III.)

313. ("Οτος.) 1. άτος is related to ὰς as άτοτε to ἄτε, being the adverb of the relative stem ὰ- and the indefinite stem το-combined. Like ὰς, it is originally a relative adverb, meaning as; and it can always be used in this sense, as in σύντος άτος;

1 See Gildersleeve in Am. Jour. Phil. iv. p. 422.
2 Weber (p. 174) quotes two passages of Demosthenes as examples of final ὰς with the future indicative, a construction otherwise unknown in Attic prose: ὰς δὲ εἰσιὸν κατάφορον ἄνω, ἓν τινι ἰδεῖν ἔρω, xxiv. 146; and ὰς δὲ καταφάεσε εὐτρετοῦντες ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον ἀνασυχημένοις περευκόντο, ἀνακόλυτης τὰς μαρτυριάς, xlii. 42. But compare the common formula of the orators ὰς (or ὰς) ἀληθῆ λέγων, λαβῇ τὴν μαρτυρίαν (or κάλει τοὺς μάρτυρας), e.g. in Dem. xxvii. 28, with the occasional full form, λαβῇ τὴν μαρτυρίαν (or κάλει τοὺς μάρτυρας), e.g. in Dem. xxvii. 28, with the occasional full form, ὰς εἰσὶ εἴδοτε, XEN. Hell. ii. 3, 33. This common ellipsis shows that in Dem. xlii. 42 we can easily supply a final clause like ὰς εἰσί εἴδοτε before ὰς καταφάεσε εὐτρετοῦντος, that you may know how it is to be established, etc. In xxiv. 146 there is no need even of an ellipsis, as we can translate how you are to know that I speak the truth, I will explain so to you.
διώνναι, thus as they can, Thuc. vii. 67. Then it is used in indirect questions, in the sense of ἢ τῶς ἐκείνης ὅπως, how, in what way, and is followed by the future indicative; as σκοπεῖν ἢ τῶς σαφήνεια, to see how the city can be saved. So τοῖς γεγενμένοις πανοράματος διόγος, διόγος διώκουσι δικην, διόγος δικην, he shows those who have been rascals how they can avoid suffering punishment (= ἢ τῶς ἐκείνης διώκουσι), Dem. xxiv. 106. Then, by a slight modification in sense, it may denote also the object to which the striving, etc., is directed; so that σκοπεῖν (or σκοπεῖν τῶς) ἢ τῶς σαφήνεια may mean to see (to this, viz.) that the city shall be saved. Here, however, the subjunctive is sometimes allowed, as the interrogative force of ἢ τῶς is lost sight of and its force as a final particle, in order that, begins to appear. From this it becomes established as a final particle, and denotes the purpose in ordinary final clauses. From the original force of ἢ τῶς as a relative, used in indirect questions in the sense of how, we must explain its occasional use in indirect questions in the sense of ὅσ (706).

The interrogative force of ἢ τῶς can be seen from passages in which other interrogative words take its place in the same sense; as Dem. xvi. 19, σκοπεῖν ἢ τῶς τρώγων μὴ γενήσονται (φίλοι), to see in what way they can be prevented from becoming friends; and Thuc. i. 65, ἔπρασσεν ἢ διώκεις τις γεγονότα, he neglected to have some help come (how some help should come). So Thuc. iv. 123, ἔπρασσεν ἢ τῶς τάχιστα τῶς μὲν ἐξ ἐμβήσεται τῶν δὲ ἀπαλάξεται.¹

2. Although ἢ τῶς is fully established in the Homeric language, both in its half-interrogative use after verbs of planning, etc. (341), and also in its final sense, it seldom occurs in Homer in either construction. It first becomes frequent in the Attic poets. In Thucydides and Xenophon it is the most common final particle; and in these writers, as in tragedy, its final use greatly exceeds its use in object clauses. The latter, however, far exceeds the final use in Herodotus, Plato, and the orators; but here ἦν has gained almost undisputed possession of the field as a final particle.

3. ἢ τῶς never takes ἐν or ἐν in pure final clauses in Homer. ἢ τῶς ἐν with the subjunctive appears for the first time in final clauses in Aeschylus (328), and afterwards maintains itself vigorously by the side of the simple ἢ τῶς. In object clauses ἢ τῶς ἐν with the subjunctive is found in a few places in Homer, and ἢ τῶς ἐν in a few in the Attic poets, while ἢ τῶς ἐν in these clauses in prose is found chiefly in Plato and Xenophon (348).

314. (Ὁ φρα. The most common final particle in Homer

¹ See Madvig's Syntax, § 123.
is ὡρα, which is originally a temporal particle, meaning while (so long as) and then until. From the last meaning the final force was naturally developed, as the idea of until, when it looks forward to the future, may involve that of aiming at an object to be attained, as in English we shall fight until we are free. Another temporal particle meaning both while and until, ἐός, is used in a final sense in a few passages of the Odyssey (614, 2). Both of the temporal uses of ὡρα appear in full vigour in Homer; but its final character must have been more distinctly marked at an earlier period than that of either ὡς or ἐός, so that it seldom took either κε or ἀν before the subjunctive.

"Ofora is found only in epic and lyric poetry.

315. (Negative Final Clauses.) The need of these final particles was first felt, as has been shown (310), in positive clauses of purpose, as a negative purpose could always be expressed by the simple μή, which thus became in use a conjunction. Still the final particles were as well suited to negative as to positive final clauses, and they could always be prefixed to μή, which thus was restored to its natural place as a negative adverb. Thus φεογομαὶ ἵνα μή τίς με ὅγη has the same meaning as the older φεογομαὶ μή τίς με ὅγη, I shall flee, that no one may see me.

The history of the Greek language shows a gradual decrease of final μή and an increase of the final particles with μή in negative final clauses. The tendency in this direction was so strong that ὡς μή sometimes took the place of μή even after verbs of fearing, to express the object of the fear (370), while it became the regular form after verbs of striving, etc., to express the object aimed at (339).

The different origin of the negative final clause (with ἵνα μή, etc.) and of the clause with μή explains the fact that, while clauses introduced by the final particles are negativized by μή, those introduced by μή, lest, are negativized by ὡς. (See 306.)

316. Finally, the Attic Greek took the last step in developing the final clause, by using the past tenses of the indicative with ἵνα, ὡς, and ὡς to express a purpose which failed of attainment because of the failure of the action of the leading sentence; as τί μ᾽ ὠκ ἔκτεινας, ὡς μήποτε τοῦτ' ἔδειξα; why did you not kill me, that I might never have shown this? (See 333.)

1 In Homer, Hesiod, and the lyric poets we find 131 cases of simple μή and 50 of the final particles with μή; in tragedy the proportion is 76 : 59; in Aristophanes it is 8 : 55; in Herodotus, 8 : 53. In Attic prose (except in Plato and Xenophon) the simple μή in final clauses almost vanishes. Thucydides has only 4 or 5 cases; the ten orators only 4 (Demosthenes 2, Isocrates 1, Isaeus 1); Plato 24; and Xenophon 12.
A. Pure Final Clauses.

317. Pure final clauses regularly take the subjunctive if the leading verb is primary, and theopticative if the leadingverb is secondary. E.g.


Κεφαλὴ κατακείσομαι, ὡφρα πεποίθης. Π. i. 524. Ὅρος εὐ νῦν, ἔχειν, πάλιν ἦμεν, ὡφρα σε πέμψω. Od. vi. 255. Ἀπὶ τού ἐμοὶ γέρας αὐτὴν ἐτοιμάζω, ὡφρα μὴ ὅδος Ἀργείων ὕψαρος ἦσος. Π. ii. 118. Δόμον Φερσεφόνας ἐλθεῖ, ὡφρ’ ἰδοὺς νῦν εἴπης. Pind. Ol. xiv. 20. Ὅσ’ ἐν μὲν ἑνά κατέσθεν πεπογμένον περ ὄδοι, ὡφρ’ ἐταρν θάπτοι καὶ ἐπὶ τέφρα κατερέσειειν. Od. iii. 284.

Ἀλλὰ ὅτι μὲν νῦν αὐτὸς ἀπόστειχε, μὴ τι νομίζῃ Ἡρῆ’ ἐμοὶ δέ κε ταῦτα μελήσεται ὡφρα τελέσωσ. Π. i. 522. Ὅτι δὴ τούτων ἀξεις δεύον, μὴ τούς ἀναρπάσῃ; Soph. Aj. 986. Διυπελεί ἐσται ἐν τῷ
318. As final clauses after past tenses express some person's previous purpose or motive, they allow the double construction of indirect discourse (667, 1); so that, instead of the optative, they can have the mood and tense which the person himself would have used in conceiving the purpose. Thus we can say either ἠλθὲν ἵνα ἔδω, he came that he might see, or ἠλθὲν ἵνα ἔδη, because the person himself would have said ἔρχομαι ἵνα ἔδω, I come that I may see.

Hence the subjunctive in final clauses after past tenses is very common, in some writers even more common than the regular optative. E.g.

'Επεκλώσαντο δ' ὀλεθρόν ἀνθρώποις, ἵνα ηρίκα τοίς ἱσοσκέλοις ἄνειδος. Od. viii. 579. 'Αχλὼν δ' αὖ τοῖς ἄρ δόφαλμον ἔλον, ἦ πρίν ἐπεν, ὡς γεγυμόθης ἤμεν θεοί γείδε καὶ ἀνδρα. Π. v. 127. Ἀριστεῖς ξυνεβούλευσιν ἐκπλεύσαν, ὡς ἕπι πλεόν ὁ οὐτος ἄντισχρ. Θουσ. i. 65. Ἡλθὼν προσβεβουμένως, ὡς μὴ σφαίρα τὸ Ἀντίκον (ναυτικὸν) προσγεγένομεν ἐμπόδιον γένηται. Id. i. 31. Ἐξόρουν ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων, ὡς μὴ καθα φῶς θαρσαλευόμενος ὡς αὐτοὶ προσφέρομεν ταῖς καὶ σφυγνὶ ἐκ τοῦ ισοτο γίγνονται, ἀλλ' ἂν τοὺς οὐκ ἂν γίγνονται. Id. ii. 3. Καὶ ἐπήχοσε σε οὐκ ἡγείρον, ἵνα ἰδώσαι διάγησις. Πλατ. Κρίτ. 43 B. Πλοίω στορκάσαν ἵνα μὴ Κύρος διαβῇ. Χερ. Αν. i. 4, 18. Τάυτα ἵνα κωλύῃ οἱ νόμοι συνήγαγον υμᾶς, οὐχ ἵνα κυρίας τοὺς ἄδικοις παρίζη τε. Δεμ. xix. 1. Καὶ πρὶν τοῦτον ἐμνήσθην, ἵνα μὴ ταύτα πάθητε. Id. iii. 6. (Here the purpose was conceived in the form ἵνα μὴ ταύτα πάθωσθι.)

319. This principle applies also to clauses with ὅπος after verbs of striving (339) and with μὴ after verbs of fearing, etc. (365).

320. This is a favourite construction with certain authors, especially Thucydides, who also, on the same principle, prefers the indicative and subjunctive to the optative in ordinary indirect discourse after past tenses (670). The early poets, on the other hand, especially Homer, use it very sparingly.¹

321. The subjunctive thus used for the optative makes the language more vivid, by introducing more nearly the original form of thought of the person whose purpose is stated. As the two forms are equally correct, we sometimes find both in the same sentence, just as we find the indicative and optative interchanged in indirect discourse (670; see 677 and 690). E.g.

'Εξακοσίοις λογάδας ἔξερσαν, ὅπως τῶν τε Ἐπιπολῶν ἐν'θα τοιούτους πολεμικες καὶ, ἵνα ἀλλο τε δέχονται τοιοῦτοι παραγιγοντες τα χρηστάται, i.e. they selected them, that they might be guards of Ephipolae, and that they might be on hand if they should be needed for anything else. Thuc. vi. 96. Παρανίκων δὲ φυρκτοὺς, ὅπως άλγοι τὰ σημεῖα τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἔκαθεν μὴ βοήθοιν, they raised fire-signals at the same time, in order that the enemy's signals might be unintelligible to them, and that they (the enemy) might not bring aid. Id. iii. 22.

A common interpretation of the latter and of similar passages, that "the subjunctive mood indicates the immediate, and the optative the remote consequence of the action contained in the principal verbs, the second being a consequence of the first" (Arnold), manifestly could not apply to the first example.

322. The use of the optative for the subjunctive in final clauses after primary tenses is, on the other hand, very rare, and is to be viewed as a mere irregularity of construction. See ἄξω τῇ Ἰθάκης, ἢνα μοι βιοτόν πολύν ἄλφοιν, Od. xvii. 250; ὅπως μαχεύοντο, II. i. 344; and vii. 340, xvii. 88. So Soph. El. 56, O. C. 11; Hdt. ii. 93 (ἵνα μη ἀμάρτων). Most of these are emended by various editors; and no good reason for the anomaly appears in any of them.

323. Sometimes the optative is properly used after a leading verb which implies a reference to the past as well as the present. E.g.

Τούτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον ὑ νόμος, ἢνα μηδὲ πεισθήσεται μηδὲ ἔχει παρακολουθηθήσανε γενομένη ἐπὶ τῷ δήμῳ. Dem. xxii. 11. (Here ἔχει implies also the past existence of the law; the idea being, the law was made as it is, so that it might not be possible, etc.) So Dem. xxiv. 146, 147. In Dem. iii. 34 ἢνα τοῦ ὑπάρχειν depends on a past verb of saying to be mentally supplied. In Ar. Ran. 23, τοῦτον δ᾽ ὄχι, ἢνα μη ταλαιπωροῦσ'tο μηδ' ἄχθος φέρων, I am letting him ride, that he might not be distressed, etc., the meaning of ὄχι goes back to the time when Dionysus first let the slave mount the ass.

324. (Future Indicative.) The future indicative occasionally takes the place of the subjunctive in pure final clauses. It occurs chiefly with ὅπως, very seldom with ἄφρα, ως, and μή, and never with ἢνα.1 It has essentially the same force as the subjunctive. E.g.

1 Weber cites the following cases, in addition to those given above. For ὅπως: Aesch. Cho. 285, Suppl. 449; Soph. Aj. 698 (f); Eur. El. 835; Aes. Vesp. 528, Pac. 309, 431, Lys. 1058, Theogn. 431, 663, 286 (f), Esch. 738, 997; Aesch. ii. 1, Xen. Hipp. i. 15, Mem. ii. 1, 2 (ταῦτα δὲν ὅπως ὑπάρχει). In Xen. Cyr. ii. 1, 4 and 21 the Mess. vary: in Cyr. iii. 3, 42 ὅπως is probably independent. For ἄφρα: II. viii. 116; Od. iv. 163, xvii. 6. For ὑνα: Eur.
325. The final particles which have a relative origin, ὅς, ὅπως, and ὅφρα, sometimes have ἢν or κέ in final clauses with the subjunctive. They did this originally in their capacity as conditional relatives; and it is probable that at first κέ or ἢν with the relative gave the clause a combined final and conditional force, in which the conditional element gradually grew weaker as the relative particles came to be felt chiefly or only as final particles (312, 2). Ἰνα and μή never take ἢν or κέ in this way.¹

326. (Ὡς) 1. Ὡς κέ and ὅς ἢν are together much more common in Homer with the subjunctive than simple ὅς. Ὡς ἢν with the subjunctive is not uncommon in the Attic poets, and it occurs in Herodotus; but (like ὅς itself) it almost disappears in Attic prose. E.g.

Πείθειν ὅς ἃν μοι τιμήν μεγάλην καὶ κῦδος ἔρημα, ὅπως ἂν ὅσοι προδοτικοὶ ἐποίησαμεν ὅσοι κέ μᾶλλον ἀδιερχόμενοι ἢν πατρίδα γαίαν ἐπείρασαν. Od. v. 143. Παμφίλου τις τις γενέτερος ἀριστος ὅσοι κέ γένησαν, θάνατος ἢν ὅσοι προδοτικοὶ ἐποίησαμεν ὅσοι κέ γένησαν γι' ὅσοι προδοτικοὶ ἐποίησαμεν. Od. viii. 251. Ἄλλο ἂν μέγας μέγας ἐποίησαν ὅσοι κέ γένησαν, θάνατος ἢν ὅσοι προδοτικοὶ ἐποίησαμεν. Od. xii. 32. Ἄλλος Ἰακώβου τε ἐγένετο ἢν ὅσοι προδοτικοὶ ἐποίησαμεν ὅσοι κέ γένησαν, θάνατος ἢν ὅσοι προδοτικοὶ ἐποίησαμεν. Od. xii. 36. Τοὺς ἐκείνους λόγον τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἔρημος ἀνεστήκει ὅσοι κέ γένησαν, θάνατος ἢν ὅσοι προδοτικοὶ ἐποίησαμεν. Od. xii. 705. Ἀπελευθερώσεις, φίλοι ἔγνωσαν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἢν ἂν εἰς ἄλλην ἐπικράτειαν, τοὺς ἄνδρας ἢν ἂν εἰς ἄλλην ἐπικράτειαν, τοὺς ἄνδρας ἢν ἂν εἰς ἄλλην ἐπικράτειαν.

[Additional text continues, including references to Greek literature and prose usage.]
**AN or KE in Pure Final Clauses**

329. 1. (Ως and ὄφρα in Homer and ὅς and ὅκως in Herodotus.) In Homer ὅς κε and ὅς ἂν sometimes have the optative in final
clauses after both primary and secondary tenses. "Οφρα κε and ὅφρ’ ἂν occur each once in Homer with the optative after past tenses. Herodotus has ὅς ἂν and δεκως ἂν with the optative after past tenses, and δεκως ἂν once after a present tense. This optative with κε or ἂν after primary tenses is certainly potential as well as final; and this analogy makes it difficult or impossible to take it in any other sense after secondary tenses, though here the potential force is less obvious.

(a) After primary tenses six cases occur in the Odyssey and one in Herodotus:—

"Ἀπερρήγατι νείσθαι ὅς κ’ αὐτὸς ἔεδνωσαίτο θύγατρα, they dared to go to him that he may settle (if he will) the bridal gifts of his daughter, lit. that he would settle, etc. Od. ii. 53. Ἐκνυσσὼ δὲ τοι ὅσε, ὅς ἄν ἀσκελῶ φανεῖν, I will dim your eyes, to the end that you might appear unseemly. Od. xiii. 401. Δίῳ δούρε καλλιπτείν, ὅς ἄν εὐθύσαντες ἱλομεθα. Od. xvi. 297. Τῷ κε τάχα γνώρησι φιλοτητά τε πολλά τε δώρα ἐξ ἐμε, ὅς ἄν τίς σε συναιτόμενοι μακαρίζοι, so that one would call you blessed. Od. xvii. 164 (= xv. 537, xix. 310). Ἡγεσθω δρχήθημοι, ὅς κέν τις φαίη γάμον ἐμμενει ἐκτὸς ἀκόων, let him lend off the dance, so that any one who should hear without would say there was a marriage. Od. xxiii. 134. Ἰσχεσθε πτολέμω, ὃς κέν ἀναιμωτί γε διακρινθέτει τάγματα. Od. xxiv. 531. Κέλειει σε τὸ παιδίον θείαι, δοκως ἄν τάχιστα διαφαραίει, he bids you so expose the child that he would be likely to perish most speedily. Hdt. i. 110.

(b) After past tenses the following cases occur¹:—

"Ὑε δ’ ἀφα Ζεὺς συνεχὲς, ὅφρα κε βάσσον ἀλίπλαο τείχεα θείη. II. xii. 25. Ἑωπτείνω σε Φθίνων νέεσθαι, ὅς ἄν μοι τὸν παιδὰ Σκυρόθεν ἐξαγάγοις, i.e. I hoped for your coming, that you might perchance bring my son away from Scyros. II. xix. 330. Καὶ μιν μακρότερον καὶ πάσσονα θήκεν ἰδίσθαι, ὅς κεν Φαινόκεσι φιλος πάντεσσι γένοιτο. Od. viii. 20. Τύμβον χεδαμε, ὅς κεν τηλεφανῆς ἐκ ποντόφοιν ἀνάρασιν εἰρ. Od. xxiv. 83. Σὺ δὲ με προίες, ὅφρ’ ἄν ἐλοίμην δῶρα (Bekker ἄνελοιμην). Ib. 333.

Ἄγεται διώρυχα ὀρύσσειν, δοκως ἄν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἱδρυμένον κατὸ νότου λάβωι, i.e. he is said to have dug (119) a channel, in order that the river might flow behind the army. Hdt. i. 75. Ταύτα δὲ περὶ ἤν

¹ It must be confessed that there are some difficult questions concerning these optatives with κε or ἂν in final clauses after past tenses. It may perhaps be thought that the subjunctive after ὅς κε, δεκως ἄν, etc., has been changed to the optative after a past tense retaining κε or ἂν without effect on the verb. Compare ἔως ἄν with the optative (613, 4; 702). Would δεκως ἄν in Hdt. i. 23 (quoted in 328) have changed its nature if ἄγγελα had been changed to ἄγγελεσι;? On the other hand, can we separate the optatives in Hdt. i. 75 and 99 (in b) from the optative in i. 110 (in a)? The potential view seems, on the whole, much the more natural; but the potential force can be expressed in English only with great difficulty, owing to the ambiguity of our auxiliaries might, would, should, etc.
*θων τούτων τωνδε εινεκεν, οκως αν μη δροεντες οι δραλικες
λυπειατο και ετησουλεον, άλλα έτεροις σφι δοκειο εχαι
μη δρασει, in order that his companions might not be offended by seeing
him and plot against him, but that he might appear to them to be of
another nature when they did not see him. Id. i. 99. Πορφυρεον ειμαι
περιβαλλομενος, ώς αν πυδαιμονι πλειστοι συνελθοηειν. Id. i.
152. Το ζωδρ ποτε επηρειν, ώς αν και αδροθειη ο χωρος, they let
in the water, in order that the country might be gullied. Id. vii. 176.
Περισεμποτε εξωθεν διαβοηθουν, ώς αν μη φιλθεισαν περιπλενοται
Εβδομοι. Id. viii. 7. 'Ηλαυνον τους έπτοις, ώς αν τον νεκρον άνε-
λοιατο. Id. ix. 22. Μετακινωσθαι εδοκε τοτε, ώς αν μη έδοιατο
οι Πέρσαι έξορμεμένους. Ib. 51.

2. Ος άν with the optative in Attic prose is found chiefly in
Xenophon. It is never strictly final; but ώς is relative or in-
terrogative, and the optative with άν is potential. E.g.

"Εδοξεν αυτῳ τουτο ποιησαι, ώς ότι ήκιστα αν ετησονους σταμαιος
τε και σεμυνο φανειη, he decided to do this in such a way that he might
appear, etc. (i.e. in the way by which). Xen. Cyr. vii. 5, 37. (Here the
separation of άν from ώς makes the potential character plainer.) 'Ως
δ' αν και οι πόδες ελεν τω ιππω κρατησοται, ει μεν τις έχει ραω
ασκησιν, κ.π.λ., as to means by which the horse's feet could be kept
strongest. Id. Hipp. i. 16. See other examples in Appendix IV. This
is the same relative use of ώς with the potential optative which we
find in Dem. vi. 3, ώς μεν άν ειποτε δικαιον λόγους δαμενον
Φιλεπποι παρεκκειωθετε. ώς δε καλισατ εινεκον πραττεν
ταιητα, παντελευ άργος έχετε, as to means by which you could make just
speeches, υou are better equipped than Philip; but as to steps by which you
could prevent him from doing what he does, you are wholly inactive. See
also Dem. vi. 37, ώς δ' ειν εξετασθειη μαλωτα άκρετας, μη γενεια,
as to any means by which the truth could be tested most thoroughly,—may
this never come!

330. 'Οπως άν with a final potential optative occurs once in
Thucydides, four times in Xenophon, and once in Aeschylus:

Τος πρώτος κατεβιβρωσαν, άπως άν απολιοθαναι ή χειρ επι-
βαλλομενη, they covered the prow with hides, that the (iron) hand when
thrown might be likely to slip off. Thuc. vii. 65. 'Εδοξε εχριματα
'Ανταλκοδα, άπως άν, πλημβεντος ναυτικού ύπο Δακεδαμονιων, οι
'Αθηναίοι μαλλον τος ειρηνης προσεδεοντο. Xen. Hell. iv. 8, 16.
(Here πληρωθυντος ναυτικοι, if a new should be mianed, stands as
protasis to προσδεομενο άν.) 'Οπως δ' άν ους ερρωμενεστατον το στρα-
τευμα ποιησατο, εως άλλων πολεων εργυρολογει. Ib. iv. 8, 30.
Πασιν εδοξου βους τε, άπως άν ζησαντες έστινυτο και εκπαματα.
Id. Cyr. viii. 3, 33 (one Ms. omits αν). Τνν λειαν απεπεμφε δια-
τεθεθαι Ήρακλειδην, άπως άν μισθος γενοιτο τοις στρατιωταί.
Id. An. vii. 4, 2 (most Mss. have άπως γενοιται). So Aesch. Ag. 364.
In these cases the final force is equally strong with the potential.
Elliptical Constructions.

331. In colloquial Greek we often find ἵνα τι; that what?—where τι takes the place of a final clause, which generally appears in the answer to the question. *E.g.*

ΒΔ. ἵνα τι; ΠΡ. δῆλον τοιοῦτοι; ἵνα ... ἔχωσιν. ΑΡ. Εκλ. 719. So Νυμ. 1192, Παε. 409. ΑΡ. Δεμ. xix. 257: ἵνα τι; ἵν' ὡς μετὰ πλείοντος συγγεώμος παρ' ὑμῶν κατηγοροῦ. Just before this we have διὰ τι; ἵνα μήτε ἐλέου μήτε συγγεώμος τοῦχ. So ΠΛΑΤ. Αρ. 26 C.

332. A final clause may stand without a leading verb expressed, when the omission can easily be supplied; as ὅτι ἢγα, μή ἀποδη-μήσω; ἵνα γε μὴ προλαβὼν χρῆματα τῆς τόλμης ἡ πράξεις δρασμῷ χρῆσθ, because I held an office, may I not leave the country? *No*: that you may not take to flight, etc. *ΑΕΙΣΧ.*** iii. 21.

SECONDARY TENSES OF INDICATIVE IN FINAL CLAUSES.

333. In Attic Greek the secondary tenses of the indicative are used in final clauses with ἵνα, sometimes with ἰστος or ὁς, to denote that the purpose is dependent upon some unaccomplished action or unfulfilled condition, and therefore is not or was not attained.

The tenses of the indicative differ here as in conditional sentences, the imperfect (the most frequent tense) referring to present time or to continued or repeated action in past time, the aorist and pluperfect to past time (410). Thus ἵνα τούτο ἐπράξει means in order that he might be doing this (but he is not doing it), or that he might have been doing this (but he was not); ἵνα τούτο ἐπράξει means that he might have done this (but he did not); ἵνα τούτο ἐπεράξει means that he might have done this (but he has not). *E.g.*

Οὐκ ἂν ἐσχόμην, ἵν' τυφλὸς τε καὶ κλών ὑμῖν, in that case I should not have forborne (to destroy my hearing), so that I might (now) be both blind and devoid of hearing (implying that really he is not so). *ΣΩΡ.*** Ο. Τ. 1387. Ψεῦ, ψεῦ, τὸ μῇ τὰ πράγματ' ἀνθρώπους ἔχειν φωνήν, ἵν' ἐγὼ μηδὲν οἱ δεινοὶ λόγοι, *Alas! alas! that the facts have no voice for men, so that words of eloquence might be as nothing.*

ΕΥΚ. Γ. (ΗΠΙ.) 442. Ἑσούλωμεν μὲν ἔτερον ἂν τῶν ἡθῶν λέγειν τὰ βέλτιστα, ἵν' ἐκαθήμην ἄσουχος. ΑΡ. ΕΚΛ. 151. Ἐχρήν εἰσκα-λέσσισας μάρτυρας πολλοὺς παραστήμηναί σας κελεύον ταῖς διαθήκας, ἵν', εἰ τε ἐγλυπτο ἀμφιβασμήσας, ἦν εἰς τὰ γράμματα ταῦτ' ἐπανεκλεῖν. *DEM.*** xxviii. 5. (This implies that they did not have the will thus sealed, so that it is not now possible to refer to it in case of dispute.) Ἐξήγησαν ἂν με τὸν παῖδα, ἵν' εἰ μὴ παρεδίδουν μηδὲν δίκαιον λέγειν ἐδόκουν. *DEM.*** xxix. 17. Ἐχρήν αὐτοὺς τὴν προ-
pēran ξήτησιν ξυγεῖν, ἵνα ἀπηλλαγμεθα τοῦτον τοὺς δημαγωγοὺς, they ought to have made the previous investigation, in order that we might have been already freed from this demagogue (but we have not been freed from him). DIN. i. 10. See LTS. i. 40 and 42; ISOCC. ix. 5, xxviii. 51. Ἀλλὰ σὲ ἔρχεν ἡμῖν συγγραφεῖν, ἵνα συνομισάς ἐγίγνετο, but you ought to give way to us, that our conversation might not be interrupted (as it is). PLAT. PROT. 335 C.

Τι δὴ οὐκ ἔρριψ᾽ ἐμαυτὴν τίμην ἀπὸ πέτρας, ὅπως τῶν πάντων πάνων ἀπηλλαγμένος; why did I not throw myself from this rock, that I might have been freed from all my toils? AESCH. PROM. 747: so Cho. 195. See SOPH. EL. 1134. Οὔκοιν ἔρχετο σε Πηγάδου χεῖς χείς πετον, ὅπως ἐφαίνω τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπεγκώτεροι; AR. PAC. 135.

Τι μ᾽ οὐ λαβῶν ἐκείνος εὐθὺς, ὡς ἐδείξα μήποτε ἐμαυτῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐνθεν ἡ γείω; that I might never have shown, as I have done. SOPH. O. T. 1391. Εἰ γὰρ μ᾽ ἐπὶ γῆν ἥκεν, ὡς μήπες μήτε τὸς ἄλλος τοῖοῦτος ἐπεγέγρας, would that he had sent me under the earth, so that neither any God nor any one else should be rejoicing at these things (as they are). AESCH. PROM. 152. Ἐδει τὰ ἐνέχυρα τότε λαβεῖν, ὡς μηδ᾽ εἰ ἔβούλετο ἐδώνατο ἔξαπατάν. XEN. AN. vii. 6, 23 (the only case in Xenophon).

334. This construction is the result of an assimilation, which makes more distinct the connection in thought between the two clauses. It is especially common after secondary tenses implying unfulfilled conditions and unaccomplished wishes.

335. "Αὐ cannot properly be added to the indicative in this construction. In the two examples in which it is found, it would seem that the construction has slipped into an apodosis, or that copyists have been misled by the resemblance to an apodosis and inserted "Αὐ.

Ζῶντι ἔδει βοηθεῖν, ὅπως ὦ τι δικαίωτας ἄν καὶ δοσίσωτας ἐξή τε ζῶν καὶ τελευτήσας ἀπεμαρξήτου ἄν κακῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἐγίγνετο, in order that he might thus live while he lives, and (so that) after death he would be (as a consequence of such a life) free from punishment (?). PLAT. LEG. 959 B. Τὸν γὰρ πράγματα τι δίκαιον οὗ προσήκεν ἀπορεῖν ἀλλ᾽ εὐθὺς λέγειν, ἵνα μάλλον ἄν ἐπιστεύετο ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν, (possibly) that the result might be that he would be (in that case) the more trusted by you. ISAEC. XI. 6.

336. The indicative can never be used in this construction, unless the final clause refers to present or past time, and unless also it is distinctly implied that the purpose is not (or was not) attained. If the purpose is future (at the time of speaking), or if it is left uncertain whether the object is or was attained, it must be expressed in the ordinary way by the subjunctive or optative, even though it depends on one of the class of verbs mentioned above. Both constructions may occur in the same sentence. E.g.

Οὐς (τῶν νέων τούς ἄγαθοὺς) ἤμεις ἄν ἐφυλάττομεν ἐν ἀκροπόλει, ἵνα μηδεὶς αὐτοῖς διέθετε ἔργα, ἄλλ᾽ ἐπειδὴ ἀφίκουντο εἰς τὴν ἡμ-
κιάν, χρήσιμον γένοιντο ταῖς πόλεσιν, we should guard (in that case) in the Acropolis, that no one might corrupt them (as some now corrupt them), and that when (in the future) they should become of age they might become useful to their states. Plat. Men. 89 B. (Here it is not implied that they never become useful, this depending partly on the future.) Ταῖς ἀν ἡδονι λέγεσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπεχείρομεν, ἐν εἰδήτε πολλοῦ δεῖν ἀξίων ἐντα τυχεῖν τοῦ ψυχίσκασιν αὐτῶν τούτοις, I should (if that were so) be now undertaking to explain this to you, that you might (after hearing me) know that he is far from deserving the honour of the proposed decree. Dem. xxiii. 7. Καὶ τοιν χρήσει ἡ τοῦτον μὴ γράψειν ἢ ἔκεινον λύων, οὐχ ἐν δὲ βουλήν ὁν γένηται, πάντα συντηράζει, i.e. you ought not to have confused everything in order that what you want might be done. Dem. xxiv. 44.

337. Clauses with μὴ after verbs of fearing are never thus assimilated to a preceding indicative, as there is no reference here to the attainment of a purpose.

338. A purpose can be expressed in various forms besides that of the final clause; as by the relative with the future indicative, or in Homer with the subjunctive (565; 568); by the infinitive (770) or the infinitive with ὅτε or ὅς (587, 3); by the future participle (840); by ὅπερ with the genitive of the articular infinitive (802).

B. OBJECT CLAUSES WITH "ΟΠΟΣ AND "ΟΠΟΣ μὴ AFTER VERBS OF STRIVING, ETC.

339. In Attic Greek and in Herodotus, object clauses with ὅπος and ὅπος μὴ after verbs signifying to strive, to plan, to care for, to effect, regularly have the future indicative after primary tenses to express the object aimed at. The subjunctive also is used, but less frequently than the future indicative.

After secondary tenses the future optative may be used, corresponding to the future indicative after primary tenses; but generally the future indicative is retained, as the original form of the thought (319). The other tenses of the optative are sometimes used, to correspond to the same tenses of the subjunctive, or the subjunctive itself may be retained (318). E.g.

Ἐσπευσέλθα τὸ περὶ ὅπος (ἢ ὅπος μὴ) γενήσεται ὡς γένηται, he takes care that it may (or may not) happen. Ἐσπευσέλθα τὸ περὶ γενήσεται, γενήσεται, γενήσεται, or γένοιτο, he took care that it should happen.
340. It will thus be seen that the future indicative is the most common form in these sentences, after both primary and secondary tenses; the future optative, which is theoretically the regular form after secondary tenses, being rarely used. (See 128.)

**Homer and other early Usages.**

341. In Homer, verbs signifying to plan, to consider, and to try, chiefly φράζωμαι, βουλέω, μερμήριζω, and πειράω, have ὅσως or ὡς with the subjunctive after primary tenses, and the optative (never future) and sometimes the subjunctive (318) after secondary tenses. Κε is almost always used here with ὡς and the subjunctive, less frequently with ὅσως (313, 3).

342. The original relative and interrogative force of ὅσως and ὡς is more apparent here than in the Attic construction of ὅσως with the future indicative, especially after verbs of considering; though after πειράω the dependent clause comes nearer the later meaning. E.g.

Αὐτοὶ δὲ φράζωμεθ’ ὅσως ὡς ἀριστα γένηται, let us ourselves consider how the very best things may be done. Od. xiii. 365. Φράζωμεθ’ (imperfect) 'Αργείων ὅσως ὡς ἀριστα γένειται. Od. iii. 129. Φράζεσθαι ὅσως κε μνηστήρας κτείνησ. Od. i. 295. Περιφραζόμεθα πάντες νόστοιν ὅσως ἀριστα γένειται, i.e. how he may come. Od. i. 76. Φράζωμεθ’ ὡς κείν μιν πεπιθωμεν. Π. ix. 112. Φράζεσται ὡς κε νέται, ἔπει πολυμάχων ἐστιν. Od. i. 205. "Αμα πρόσασ καὶ πόσισοι λείσσει ὅσως ὡς ἀριστα γένειται, i.e. he looks to see how, etc. Π. iii. 110. Ἐνόγησε θεά ὡς 'Οδυσσεύς ἐχροίτο. Od. vi. 112. Ὁ γὰρ δή τούτον μὲν ἔποιελενα νόον αὐτή, ὡς ἢ τοῦ κεῖνος 'Οδυσσεύς ἀποτίσιεται ἐλθὼν; Od. v. 23. Βούλευν ὅσως ὡς ἀριστα γένειται. Od. ix. 420. "Ἡλθον, εἰ τοια βουλήν εἴτοι ὅσως 'Ιδάκην ἐσ παπάλεοισαν ἰκοίμην. Od. xi. 479. Μερμήριζεν ὅσως ἀπολοιατότα πάσας νήσες. Od. ix. 554. Μερμήριζε κατὰ φρένα ὡς 'Αχιλέα τιμήσῃ (or τιμήσει), i.e. how he might honor Achilles. Π. ii. 3. Ἀλλ’ ἀγέ μήτιν δήμων ὅσως ἀποτίσιμοι κεϊότευ. Od. xiii. 385. Ἄριστον ἀνὰ τοὺς ὅσως παύσει τὸν θυρίδα διὸν 'Αχιλλήα. Π. xxii. 137. Μηνειμοθ’ ὡς ὃς ἂν ἔχειν ἡν πατρίδα γαίαν ἵκητα, μήδε τι μεσποιγ’ γε κακῶν καὶ πᾶμα πάθησιν. Od. vii. 192. In Hymn. Aρ. Pyth. 148 we have τεχνήσομαι ὡς κε γένεται. Πειρά ὅσως κεν ὅσ σὴν πατρίδα γαίαν ἵκητα, i.e. try to find means by which you may go, etc. Od. iv. 545. Πειρά ὡς κε Τρώες ἑπερφίαλοι ἀπολύνταλ. Π. xxii. 459. Τοια δὲ πολλ’ ἐπέτελε τειράν ὅσ πε-
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πίθοιν ἀμύμονα Πηλεώνα. II. ix. 179. In II. xv. 164 we have
φράζον ηνι' μή μ' οὔτε ταλάντα μείναι (354).

For a full citation of the Homeric examples with ὅπως and ὅς,
see Appendix III. 3.

343. The frequent addition of κε to ὅς or ὅπως in Homer
shows the relative origin of the construction (312, 2).

For ὅπως ἄν in Herodotus, see 350; for ὅπως ἄν in this
construction in Attic writers, see 348, 349.

344. In Homer ὅπως takes the future indicative chiefly when it is
merely an indirect interrogative, with no reference to purpose, as in
II. ii. 252, οὔτε τί πο σάφα ἦμεν ὅπως ἔσται τάδε ἔργα, we do not
yet even know certainly how these things are to be; or in Od. xii. 376,
φράζειν ὅπως μνημήσων ἀναίδεις χεῖρας ἐφήσεις, consider how you
will lay hands on the shameless suitors. See II. ix. 251; Od. xx. 38.
In Od. xx. 28 the future indicative is retained after a past tense, there
being as yet no future optative (128); ένθα καὶ ἐνθα ἔληπτεν μερ-
μυρίων ὅπως ὅς μνημήσων ἀναίδεις χεῖρας ἐφήσει. Ὅπως may
take the future (like other tenses) as a simple relative; as in II. i.
136, ὅπως ἀντάξιον ἔσται, as shall be an equivalent.

345. "Ὅφρα has the subjunctive in an object clause in II. vi. 361,
πετειν γὰρ δέ μοι θυμόντας ἐπέστησιν, ὅφρα ἐπαμύνω Τρόασιν, and
the optative in Od. iv. 463, τίς συμφράσασθαι βουλᾶς ὅφρα μὲ ἐλοίς;
In II. i. 523, ἐμοὶ δέ κε ταύτα μελήστεται ὅφρα τελέσσω, ὅφρα may
mean until.

346. The single object clause of this class in Pindar is Pyth. i. 72,
νέυσον ἁμερὸν ὅφρα κατ' οἶκον ὦ Φοίνιξ ὦ Τύρσανών τ' ἀλατοῖς
ἐχθρί, grant that the Phoenician, with the Etruscan war-cry, may keep
quiet at home. (See 359.)

347. As relics of the Homeric usage we find ὃς with the subjunctive
349 C; and with the optative in Aesch. Prom. 203 (see 353, below).
Herodotus has ὃς with the future indicative in iii. 84, 159, vii. 161
(in the last ὃς στρατηγήσεις γλίθκει), Herodotus has ὃς ἄν with the
subjunctive in iii. 85, μὴ ἔχον ὃς ἄν γεννήσῃ τοῦτο τὸ γέρας, which
is cited as the solitary case of ὃς ἄν in these object clauses after
Homer, except in Xenophon (351). So also Aesch. Eum. 771,
Sept. 627; Solon xiii. 38. See also Soph. Ant. 215 (in 281, above).

"Ὅπως ἄν in Attic Greek and Herodotus.

"Ὅς and ὃς ἄν in Xenophon.

348. The Attic writers sometimes use ὅπως ἄν with the sub-
jective in these object clauses. This occurs chiefly in Aris-
tophanes, Xenophon, and Plato. E.g.

Σκόπει ὃπως ἄν ἀποθάνωμεν ἀνδρικῶτα, see that we die most man-
fully. Ar. Eq. 80. Διαμηχανήσομαι ὅπως ἄν ἔτοιχον σαφρὸν λάβῃ.
I will coverite that (somehow?) you get a rotten mast. Ib. 317. So Ar. Nub. 739, Excl. 623, Aeh. 1060, Eq. 926. Μᾶλλον ἢ πρῶτον ἔστη αὐτοῦ ὅτως ἄν καὶ ἔχων τι ὕπικα δέ φιλείναι. Xen. An. vi. 1, 17. (Here some word like ἐπιμελεία is understood as the subject of ἔστη.) Τὸν ἄλλον ἐπιμελεῖται ὅτως ἄν θηρῶσιν. Id. Cyg. i. 2, 10. Ἐκείνου τῷ Φεραίλων ἐπιμελεῖθηναι ὅτως ἄν πρῶτον γένηται αὐτῶν ἢ ἐξῆλθαι. Ib. viii. 3, 6: so v. 5, 48. See also Xen. Cynege. vi. 23; Euses. iv. 3. Ἡ ἄλλη εἰσίν, ἡ ἄλλη ἡ ἐν τούτῳ ὅτως ἄν ἐκαστα λή σε ἐξαρεί τὰλλότρια μῆτε τῶν αὐτῶν στέρνουται; PLat. Rep. 433 E. Πάντα ποιοῦντα ὅτως ἄν σφίσε τὸ πνεῦμα εἰσὴνεύ. Ib. 488 C. Ἐὰν δὲ ἔλθῃ, μηχανητέον ὅτως ἄν διασφύγῃ καὶ μῆ ὑφὲ δεκαὶ δ ἐχθρός. Id. Gorg. 481 A.

Besides the examples cited above, Weber gives fifteen of Plato, and the following: Soph. Tr. 618; Eur. I. A. 539; Isae. vii. 30; Dem. xvi. 17, xix. 299. He adds Hdt. i. 20, where ὅκως ἄν is certainly final.

349. The only case of ὅτως ἄν with the optative in an object clause in Attic Greek, except in Xenophon (351), is PLat. Lys. 207 E, προθυμοῦντα ὅτως ἄν εὑσαμονοίης, which is potential and on the Xenophontic model (see 351, 2). In Dem. xxxv. 29, ἐκείνου τούτου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὅτως ἄν ἦς τάχυστ' ἀπολαβομεν τὰ χρῆματα, Cod. A reads ἀπολάβωμεν.

350. Herodotus has ὅκως ἄν with the potential optative four times after past tenses. E.g.

Προθυμομένου δὲ λαξίων ὅκως ἄν γένοιτο, being zealous that it might (in some way) be done. i. 91. So ii. 126, iii. 44, v. 98.

351. (Xenophon.) Although Xenophon generally follows the Attic usage in these object clauses (339), he yet violates this signally by having ὅς and ὅς ἄν with both subjunctive and optative, and ὅτως ἄν with the optative; and further by having the optative with ὅς ἄν and ὅτως ἄν after both primary and secondary tenses. He also has ὅς twice with the future indicative (like ὅτως) and once with the future optative.

1. ὅς or ὅς ἄν with the subjunctive, ὅς with the future indicative, and ὅς with the optative, are used by Xenophon like ὅτως in the construction of 339. E.g.

Ἐπιμελεύουσαι ὅς ἢ καλὸς ὅτως. Oec. xx. 8. (Here the regular Attic usage requires ὅτος ἢ καλὸς.) Ἐπιμελεύουσαι ὅς ἄν προαχθῆσθε, to take care that they shall be done. Hipp. ix. 2. Ἐπεμέλευσεν ὅς μή καλὸν ὅταν. Cyg. vi. 3. 2. ὅς δὲ καλὸς ἢ ἢποι τὰ ὑποτέρα, ἢ μηδὲ καλὸν. Ib. iii. 2, 13. Προειπούσεν ὅς μοιδεῖς κληρονομίῳ μηδὲ ἄν-ἀξιόντος. Hell. ii. 1, 22 (see 355).

For Xenophon's regular use of ὅτως in all these constructions, see examples under 339. For his regular use of ὅτως ἄν with the subjunctive, see 348.
2. When the optative follows ὡς ἢν or ὅπως ἢν, it is always potential, and the original relative and interrogative force of ὡς and ὅπως plainly appears. E.g.

Ἐπιμελοῦνται ὡς ἢν βελτιστοὶ εἰς ὅν πολῖται, they take care that the citizens may be best (to see how they might be best). Cyr. i. 2, 5. ὡς ἢν δοσιλιτσέα γ' εἰδεῖν ἐποίουν, I took steps (by which) I might know most accurately. Ib. vi. 3, 18. Σκοπῶ ὅπως ἢν ὃς βράστα διάγοιερ, I am considering how they might live the easiest lives. Symp. vii. 2. (Cf. Plat. Lys. 207 E, quoted in 349.)

For a full enumeration of all the irregular passages of this class in Xenophon, see Appendix IV.

Negative Object Clauses.

352. None of the object clauses with ὅπως or ὡς in Homer (341) are negative, except that Od. vii. 192 combines ὡς κε ἵκηται with μὴ δὲ τι πάθριν. Negative object clauses are expressed in Homer, like most negative final clauses (315), by the simple μὴ with the subjunctive or optative, as in Π. ν. 411, φρασέοιο μὴ τίς οἱ ἀμείνοις σεῖο μάχηται, and Π. ν. 164, xxi. 355, Od. xvii. 595, all with φράσομαι μὴ and the subjunctive. So μέμβλησε τέιχος μὴ Δαναοὶ πέρσαιοι, Π. xxi. 517. These examples show a common origin with clauses after verbs of fearing, but the optative in the last example indicates that the original parataxis is no longer felt.

353. The earliest example of a negative object clause with a final particle and μὴ is Aesch. Prom. 203, σπεδοῦστε (past) ὡς Ζεὺς μὴ πολέμοι ἄρθειν θεῶν. In all the Attic writers and in Herodotus the development of the negative object clause with ὅπως μὴ and the future keeps pace with that of the negative final clause with ἢν μὴ, etc.

354. (Μὴ γὰρ ὅπως μὴ in Object Clauses.) Verbs of this class (359) which imply caution, especially ὅρω and σκοπᾶ, may have the simple μὴ with the subjunctive (rarely with the future indicative), even in Attic prose, like ordinary verbs of fear and caution (365), as well as ὅπως μὴ with the future. Such verbs belong equally to the two classes B and C (303). E.g.

Σκόπεσε μὴ σοι πρόνοια ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ φυλάκται. Soph. O. C. 1180, Ὁρᾶ σὺ μὴ νῦν τὸ γυναῖκα ταῦτα. Id. Ph. 519. Ὅρα μὴ παρὰ γυνώμην πέσῃς. Eur. H. F. 594. Σκόπεσε τάδε, μὴ νῦν φοιγόντες εἰθ' ἀλῆμεν ὥστερον. Id. And. 755. Τηρῶν μὴ λάβῃς ὑπότα. Ar. Vesp. 1386. Ὅρα μὴ μάτην κόμπος δ λόγος οὕτως εἰρήμαιν ζή, i.e. lest this may prove to have been spoken, etc. Hdt. vii. 103. Ὅρα μὴ πολλῶν ἐκάστῳ ἢμῶν χερῶν δεύσῃ. Xen. Cyr. iv. 1, 18. Σκοπῆι δὴ μὴ τούτους αὐτῶν ἐξαιτήσηται καὶ καταγελάσῃ. Dem. xxi. 151. Ὅρα σὺν μὴ τί καὶ νῦν ἐργάσηται. Plat. Symp. 213 D. So Π. ν. 164 (see 342).

See the corresponding use of ὅπως μὴ for μὴ after verbs of fearing (370).
"Ὅτις after Verbs of Asking, Commanding, etc.

355. Verbs of asking, entreating, exhorting, commanding, and forbidding, which regularly take an object infinitive, sometimes have an object clause with ὅτις or ὅτις μη in nearly or quite the same sense. E.g.

Διδόν τῷ τόνδε φράσ᾽ ὅτις μηδείς βροτῶν κείμεν πάροιτεν ἀμφὶ-δύνεσται χρόνιοι, i.e. tell him that no one shall put on the robe before himself.


Thuc. v. 36. "Ὅτις μὲν μὴ ἀποθάνῃ ἄντιβολει καὶ ἱκέτευε, Lts. i. 29. Παραμίσθαι ὅτις αὐτῶν μὴ καταψυχήσῃσι θε. Ant. i. 12. Δέησται δ᾽ ὑμοὶ ὅτις δίκην μὴ δῷ. Th. 23: so αἰτοῦμαι ὅτις δῷ, ibid. Διακελεύστην ὅτις τιμωρησθῇ πάντας τοὺς τοιοῦτον. Plat. Rep. 549 E. Παραγγέλλει ὅτις μὴ ἑσονται, ib. 415 B. "Εἴρεις ἀπαγόρευες ὅτις μὴ τοῦτο ἀποκρινομήν (lit. opt.) Th. 333 A. "Ἀπερειμένοιν αὐτῶ ὅτις μηδὲν ἐρεῖ ὃν ἤγείται, when he is forbidden to say a word of what he believes. Th. 337 E.

356. This is rare in Homer; but twice in the Odyssey λέγομαι has an object clause with ὅτις:—

Διέστηθα δὲ μν ἄρτος ὅτις νημέρτα εἰπῃ, and implore him yourself to speak the truth. Od. iii. 19. (Compare the regular construction, οὐδὲ σε λέγομαι μὲνειν. P. i. 174.) Διέστηθα δ᾽ αἰτεῖ "Ἡφαιστον κλυτερυφόν ὅτις λύσειν "Ἀργα, he implored him to liberate Argo. Od. viii. 344.

357. Λέγομαι with ἰναι and the subjunctive is found in Od. iii. 327: λέγομαι δὲ μν ἰναι νημέρταις ἐνίσπη, and implore yourself that he may speak the truth. With this we may compare Dem. xvi. 28, ἔστι δέ οὖν τὸν ἰναι θεσπιαί κατοικισθῶσι μονὸν ποιώμενοι τὴν σπουδὴν, it will be evident that they take an interest not merely in having Thesephai established; in both cases the object clause falls into the construction of a pure final clause. This is very rare in classic Greek; but it reappears in the later language, as in the New Testament: thus ἐντολὴν καὶνὴν ἀκμαίῳ ὑμῖν, ἰναι ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους, a new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another. Ioh. Evang. xiii. 34. So ἔδειξαν ἰναι ἐκβάλλεσθι, Luc. ix. 40. Compare the Latin, rogat ut lecate.

358. In Od. xvii. 362 we find ὅτις τῶν ὅ ὅν πῦρα κατὰ μνησθῆ-ρας ἀγείρω, she exhorted him that he should collect bread among the suitors. (See 329, 1.)

359. The singular case of ὅ with the subjunctive in P. i. 558, τῷ
dε κατανεκροῦσαν ἐτύπνομ, ὅ ὅν Ἀχιλῆς τιμήσῃς, ὅλεσθας δὲ πολέας ἐπὶ νησίν Ἀχαιῶν, i.e. I believe that you promised by your nod to honour
Achilles, etc. has the appearance of indirect discourse; but probably κατανέω ὦς is used with the same feeling as λίσσομαι ὦς in 356, promising to act here taking the same construction as entreat to act. See Pind. Py. i. 72 (in 346). ὄς, as an adverb of manner, is here clearly on its way to its use in indirect discourse. Some read τιμήτεις and ἄλλεις.

360. A singular use of ὦς and the future indicative with δέ in place of the regular infinitive occurs in Soph. Aj. 556, δέ in ὦς δείξεις, for δέ in δείξατε, and Ph. 54, τὴν Φιλοκάθτην σε δέ ψυχήν ὦσι λόγουσιν ἐκκλήσεις λέγων. So Cratinus, Fr. 108, δέ σά ὦσι εὐσχήμονος ἀλατινόν μεθέν διὸ ἰσείς. This would be like δέομαι ὦς (355) except for the object σέ, which is like σέ in δέ σε τούτον, the ὦς clause representing the genitive.

Object Infinitive and Indirect Questions.

361. Some verbs which regularly take an object clause with ὦς sometimes take an object infinitive, which may have the article τοῦ or τό. (See 373 and 374.) E.g.

'Ακε ταυ ἐπεμελέσθοντο σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαῖς εἶναι, they always took care that one of their own number should be in the offices (where we should expect ὦς τοῖς ἐσται or ἐστο). Thuc. vi. 54. Οὔτος ἐπεμελήθην τοῦ διδασκαλοῦν μοί ταύτα γενέσθαι τῶν ἐπισταμένων. Xen. Mem. iv. 2, 4. Τό μὲν ὡν λεκτικῶς γίγνεσθαι τοῖς συνόνταις ὦκ ἐσπευδέν. Ib. iv. 3, 1. (See 793.)

362. Verbs signifying to see or look out (like σκοτώ) may be followed by an indirect question with εἰ, whether; as εἰ ξυμποτήσεις καὶ ξυμποτήσεις, see whether you will assist me, etc. Soph. Ant. 41.

For independent clauses with ὦς and ὦς μή with the future, often explained by an ellipsis of σκόπει or σκοπέτε, see 271-283.

Aorist Subjunctive in -σῶ and -σομαι.—Dawes's Canon.

363. When an aorist subjunctive active or middle was to be used with ὦς or ὦς μή in any construction, the second aorist was preferred to a first aorist in -σῶ or -σομαι, if both forms were in use. This preference arose from the great similarity in form between these sigmatic aorists and the future indicative (as between βοηθήσῃ and βοηθήσεται, βοηθήσεται and βοηθήσεται). This made it natural also for a writer to avoid those forms of the subjunctive which were nearly identical with the future indicative where the latter could be used as well. This of course does not apply to the first aorist subjunctive passive, which has no resemblance to the future; and there is no reason for applying it to liquid aorists like μείνω and σφῆλα.

364. The general rule, laid down by Dawes more than a century ago (Misc. Ort. pp. 222 and 228), the so-called Canon Dawenianus,
which declared the first aorist subjunctive active and middle a solecism after ὀπως μὴ and οὐ μὴ, was extended by others so as to include ὀπως (without μὴ), and the Greek authors were thoroughly emended to conform to it. As this rule has no other foundation than the accidental circumstance just mentioned (363), it naturally fails in many cases, in some of which even emendation is impossible. In the first place, there is no reason for applying the rule to pure final clauses, in which the future indicative is exceptional (324); and here it is now generally abandoned in theory, though not always in practice. There is, therefore, no objection whatever to such sentences as these: δεν ἐνεκα ἐπιταθήναι, ὀπως ἀπολαύσωμεν καὶ ὀπως γενώμεθα, ΧΕΝ. Συμ. ν. 5, 82; ἐκκλησίαν ἐξυψώσων, ὀπως ὑπομνήσω καὶ μέμψωμαι, ΘΥΚ. η. 60; and τὴν ἀγοράν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν κομίσω, ὀπως παρὰ τὰς ναύς ἀριστοποιήσωμεν, καὶ δὲ διὰ μήν θόου Ἁθηναίων ἐπειμερίσθεν, ΘΥΚ. ν. 39, in which the best Mss. have the subjunctive. Indeed, where the reading is doubtful, the subjunctive should be preferred in these cases. Secondly, in independent prohibitions with ὀπως μὴ, although the future is the regular form, there is less objection to the subjunctive (even the first aorist) than in positive commands with simple ὀπως, since the analogy of the common μὴ ποιήσως τοῦτο, do not do this, supports ὀπως μὴ ποιήσῃς τοῦτο in the same sense (283). There is no such analogy, however, to justify such a positive command as ὀπως ποιήσως τοῦτο, do this, and this form has much less manuscript authority to rest on. Thirdly, in the case of οὐ μὴ, if both constructions (denials and prohibitions) are explained on the same principle, no reason exists for excluding the subjunctive from either; and it cannot be denied that both the first and the second aorist subjunctive are amply supported by the manuscripts. (See 301.) Fourthly, in object clauses with ὀπως there is so great a preponderance of futures over subjunctives, that the presumption in all doubtful cases is here in favour of the future, as it is in favour of the subjunctive in pure final clauses. A much stronger case, therefore, is made out by those who (like Weber and most modern editors) change all sigmatic aorist subjunctives in this construction to futures. Some cases, however, resist emendation; as ΧΕΝ. Αν. v. 6, 21, κελεύσω τροποτείναι ὀπως ἐκπλεύσῃ ἤ στρατι, where we cannot read ἐκπλεύσει, as the future is ἐκπλεύσωμαι or ἐκπλευσώμαι. In DEM. i. 2, all Mss. except one read παρασκευάσωμαι τὴν ταχύτητα ὀπως ἐνθένε βοηθήσῃ καὶ μὴ πάλιν ταύτων, and it seems very arbitrary to change βοηθήσῃς to βοηθήσετε and leave πάλιν. But a few cases like these weigh little against the established usage of the language, and we must perhaps leave the venerable Canon Davessianus undisturbed in the single department of object clauses with ὀπως, although we may admit an occasional exception even there.

See Transactions of the American Philological Association for 1869-70, pp. 46-55, where this question is discussed more fully.
C. CLAUSES WITH μή AFTER VERBS OF FEARING, ETC.

365. Verbs and phrases which express or imply fear, caution, or danger take μή, lest or that, with the subjunctive if the leading verb is primary, and with the optative if the leading verb is secondary. The subjunctive can also follow secondary tenses to retain the mood in which the object of the fear originally occurred to the mind.

Μή (like Latin ne) denotes fear that something may happen which is not desired; μή οὗ (ut = ne non) denotes fear that something may not happen which is desired. E.g.

Φοβοῦμαι μή γένηται (vereor ne accidat), I fear that it may happen: φοβοῦμαι μή οὗ γένηται (vereor ut accidat), I fear that it may not happen. Δείδω μή θύρεσιν ἐλωρ καὶ κύρια γένωμαι. Od. v. 473. Δείδω μή οὗ τίς τοι ὑπὸ σχῆται τόδε ἐργον. Π. x. 39. (This is the only case of μή οὗ in these sentences in Homer. The next that are found are Eur. And. 626, El. 568, Phoen. 263. See 264, above.) Οὗ φοβή μή σ᾽ Ἀργος ἀποκτείναι θέλῃ. Eur. Or. 770. Ποῦν έθνος οὗ δοκεῖ ὑπερηφανεῖν φοβοῦμενον μή τι πάθη; Χεν. Στηρ. i. 6, 10. Φροντίζω μή κρατήσων ἦ μοι σιγᾶν. Ιδ. Μεμ. iv. 2, 39. Φιλαττομένοι μή δὸξη μανθάνειν τι. Ιb. iv. 2, 3. Δίδωκα μή οὐδ᾽ ἰσχυρὸν ἢ ἀπαγορεύειν. Plat. Rep. 368 B. Τὰ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς πολλὴν ἀποσταίναν παρέχει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, μή ἐπειδὴ ἀπαλλαγῇ τοῦ σώματος οὐδαμῶς ἔτη γ᾽, ἀλλὰ διαφθείρηται τε καὶ ἀπολλέψαται. Ιd. Phaed. 70 A. Οὐκοῦν νῦν καὶ τοῦτο κίνδυνος, μή λάβωσι προστάτας αὐτῶν τινὰς τούτων, there is danger of this, that they may take, etc. Χεν. An. vii. 7, 31. Κίνδυνός ἐστι, μὴ μεταβάλων τα καὶ γένωνται μετὰ τῶν πολεμίων. Isoc. Xiv. 38. "Οἶκον μή μοι ὁ Δαυὶς τατεινὸς φαντ. Πλατ. Phaedr. 257 C. Εὐλαβεῖ οὐ μὴ φανής κακὸς γεγόω. Soph. Tr. 1129. Οὐδὲν δεινὸν ἐσοναι μή βοηθῶσι ταύτῃ. Hdt. vii. 236. "Ὑποτεύψαν μή ἔμας ὦ νοοὶ αὐτοὶ ἀποβῆτε. Θουκ. iii. 53. Ἀισχυνόμενος μή φορτικός σκοτῶμεν. Plat. Theaet. 183 E. Οἱ μιθοῦ ὀστρέφουν ἀντί τήν ψυχήν, μὴ ἀληθίς δόμι, terrunt his soul with fear lest they may prove true (92). Ιd. Rep. 330 D.

For the present subjunctive in these sentences denoting what may hereafter prove to be an object of fear, see 92.

366. The manner in which this complex sentence expressing fear was developed from an independent sentence like μὴ νῆσος ἔλοιο, may they not seize the ships, and a preceding verb of fearing like δειδω, the two gradually becoming one sentence, has already been explained (307). As the fear and the desire to avert the cause of fear are both implied in μὴ with the subjunctive, it is not strange that this expression can follow verbs like ὄρω and οἶδα which do not imply fear in themselves; as ἔξελθων τις ἔδω, μὴ δὲ σχεδοὶ οἳ κιντέστε, let some one go out and see that they do not approach near (cf. videat ne accedant); originally, let some one go out and look to it: may they not approach, Od. xxiv. 491. So οἶδε τι οἴμεν, μὴ πως καὶ διὰ νύκτα μενοινήσωσι μάχεσθαι, nor do we know any way to prevent their being impelled to fight even during the night; originally, nor have we any knowledge: may they not be impelled to fight, II. x. 160. See also Plat. Phaed. 91 D, τόδε ἄδηλον παντὶ, μὴ πολλὰ σῶμα κατατρίψασα ἡ ψυχή τὸ τελευταῖον αὐτῆς ἀναλήμματα, i.e. no one knows any security against the soul itself finally perishing, etc. The indirect question sometimes used in translating such a clause with μὴ, as whether they may not approach or whether they may not be impelled, is merely an attempt to express the hesitation which the apprehension involves, as there can be, of course, no real indirect question. See especially the cases of μὴ with the present indicative (369, 1), which are often called interrogative. See the corresponding construction in 492.

367. (Future Indicative.) Sometimes, though seldom, μὴ has the future indicative after verbs of fearing. The examples are:—

Ψρὶν ἄμεστεται φόβῳ, μὴ πόλις πάθηται... καὶ τὸ Κισσών πόλισμα ἀντίδοτον ἥστηται, βοστάνους δὲ ἐν πέπλοις πέσας λακίς. AESCH. Pers. 115. Ταῦτ' οὖν φοβοῦμαι, μὴ πόσις μὲν Ἡρακλῆς ἐμὸς καλεῖται (ful.), τῆς νεστέρας δ' ἀνήρ. SOPH. Tr. 550. Δέδωκα μὴ ἄλλον τινὸς μεθέξω. XEN. Cyr. ii. 3, 6. Φοβοῦμαι δὲ μὴ τινας ἱδὼνας ἱδώνας εἰρήγομεν ἐνάντια. PLAT. Phil. 13 A. Ἀλλὰ (φοβερῶν καὶ σφαλερῶν) μὴ σφαλείς κείσομαι. Id. Rep. 451 A. (The last two examples are not given by Weber.)

For three cases of μὴ with the future optative after past tenses of verbs of fearing, representing the future indicative, see 131.
368. The particles ἃν and κέ are never used with μὴ and the subjunctive. But a potential optative with ἃν can follow μὴ after a verb expressing fear or anxiety, after both primary and secondary tenses (168). E.g.

Δεῦωκα γὰρ μὴ πρὸ γόγοις ἃν τὸν πόθον τὸν εὲ ξοι, I fear that you might perhaps tell. Soph. Tr. 631. Οὔτε προσθοκία ὀδομία (ἂν) μὴ ἃν ποτὲ οἱ πολέμοι ἐπιπλέοισιν. Thuc. ii. 93. Ἐκεῖνο εὖνοι μὴ λίαν ἂν ταχὺ σωφρονισθείην, lest (in that case) I should be very soon brought to my senses. Xen. An. vii. 1, 28. Δεϊδώτες μὴ καταλυθεῖν ἃν ὁ δήμος. Lys. xiii. 51.

369. (Present and Past Tenses of Indicative with μὴ.) Verbs of fearing may refer to present or past objects. (See 308.) Μὴ can therefore be used with the present and past tenses of the indicative after these verbs.

1. Μὴ with the present indicative expresses a fear that something is now going on. E.g.

Δεῦωκα μὴ πληγὰς δέσι, I am afraid that you need blows. Ar. Nub. 493. 'Ορὼμεν μὴ Νίκιας οἴεται τὶ λέγειν, let us be cautious lest Nicias is thinking that he says something. Pla. Lach. 196 C. (Here οἴεται would have meant lest Nicias may think, in the future.) Ὅρα μὴ ἐκεῖνον κολύμει. Id. Charm. 163 A. Φοβείεισθε μὴ δυσκολωτῷ πτέρϊν τῷ διάκειμαι ἢ ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν βίῳ, you are afraid that I am now in a more peevish state of mind than I used to be in (where the subjunctive would have been future, lest I may hereafter be). Id. Phaed. 64 E. Εὖπισχέ, ὡς ἂν προικανειήσω στίβον, μὴ τῷ πολιτῷ ἐν τρίβε φαντάζεται, κάμοι μὲν ἔλθη φαίλος ὡς δούλῳ φόνος. Eur. Phoen. 92. (Here μὴ φαντάζεται means lest any one is now to be seen; and μὴ ἔλθη, lest any report may come hereafter.) 'Αλλ' εἰσόμεσθα μὴ τί καὶ κατάχρεστον κρυφῇ καλύπτει καρδία θυμογένη, δόμους παραστείχουσε. Soph. Ant. 1253. (The idea is, we shall learn the result of our anxiety lest she is concealing, etc.) Кάμαντης πέρι θῆλῳ πνεύσθαι, μὴ τί τοὺς πάλαι κακοίς προσκειμένοι τι πῆμα σήν διάκειν φέρει, and I wish to inquire about myself, (in fear) lest, etc. Eur. Her. 481. Ἀναῖς, ἔμοι τοι, μὴ τί καὶ θελότατον τούργον τὸδ', ἡ ξύννοια βουλεύοι πάλαι. Soph. Ant. 278. (The idea is, my mind has long been deliberating in anxiety lest this is the work of the Gods, έστιν being understood after μὴ.) Ὅρα, φιλάσσον, μὴ τίς ἐν στίβῳ βροτῶν (sc. έστιν). Eur. I. T. 67.

1 In this passage and the following, if anywhere, it would seem necessary to admit the interrogative force often ascribed to μὴ. But here, as elsewhere, it is plain that the dependent clause with μὴ expresses the object of an apprehension. To establish μὴ as an interrogative, meaning whether, μὴ should not only follow a verb like σίδα, but also be followed by a clause expressing no object of apprehension, like εἰςόμεσθα μὴ οἱ φιλείς ξοιν, we shall learn whether our friends are now living; but no such example can be found in classic Greek. The use of εἰ, whether, after verbs of fearing (370) shows how the Greeks expressed an indirect question in such cases.

2 That this is the correct explanation, and that we need not emend the
2. Ὡῆ with the perfect indicative expresses a fear that something has already happened. The difference between this and the perfect subjunctive is often very slight, the latter expressing rather a fear that something may hereafter prove to have happened (103). E.g.

Τὸν δὲ φοβοῦμεθα μὴ ἀμφιτέρως ἀμα ἡ μαρτήκαμεν, but now we fear that we have missed both at once. Θουκ. iii. 53. (The perfect subjunctive here would mean lest it may hereafter prove that we have missed.) Δέοντα μὴ λεληθηθαμεν (τὴν εἰσήγην) ἐπὶ πολλοὶ ἄγοντες, I fear that we have been unconsciously enjoying peace borrowed at high interest. Δεμ. xix. 99. Φοβοῦμαι μὴ λόγοις τυποῦντον ἐντετυχήκαμε. Πλατ. Λυσ. 218 D.

3. Ὡῆ can be used with the imperfect or the aorist indicative, to express fear that something happened in past time.

Δέιδω μὴ δὴ πάντα θεὰ νημερτεὰ εἶπεν, I fear that all that the Goddess said was true. Οδ. ν. 390. Ἀλλ' ὡρα μὴ παίζων ἔλεγεν, but be careful lest he was speaking in jest. Πλατ. Θεατ. 145 B.

370. (Ὅποσ ὑπὲρ μὴ with Verbs of Fearing.) Verbs denoting fear and caution are sometimes followed by an object clause with ὅποσ ὑπὲρ and the future indicative, the subjunctive, or the optative, like verbs of striving, etc. (339). It will be noticed that ὅποσ ὑπὲρ here is exactly equivalent to μὴ in the ordinary construction, so that φοβοίμασίν ὅποις μὴ γενόσται (ὁ γένος) means I fear that it will happen (not I fear that it will not happen). E.g.

Δέοντα ὅποσ μὴ 'κ τῆς σωφῆς τῦρα' ἀναρρήξατε. (Laur. ἀναρρήξατε) κακά, I fear that a storm of evil will burst forth from this silence. Σοφ. Ο. T. 1074 (the earliest example). Τοῦ δαίμονος δέονται ὅποις μὴ τειχῖσμαι κακοδαίμονος, I fear that the luck that I shall yet will be bad luck. Αρ. Εν. Σχ. 112. Εὐλαβεῖσθαι ὅποις μὴ οἰχήσομαι. Πλατ. Φαιδ. 91 C. Δέοντα ὅποις μὴ ἀνάγκη γενόσται, I fear that there may be a necessity. Δεμ. ix. 76. Οὐ φοβεῖτε ὅποις μὴ ἀνόσιον πράξαι τυχαίναι πρᾶξιν; Πλατ. Ποτ. τοῦ Φιλάττου ὅποις μὴ εἰς τοιναίτων ἔλθησι. Χεν. Μεμ. iii. 6, 16. Ἡδονὰς ἀν ἀπειρακενάμελεν ὅποις μὴ δόξει μαλακὸς εἶναι, i.e. not to be shamed into fear lest he may seem to be weak. Θουκ. vi. 13.

Compare the corresponding use of μὴ for ὅποις ὑπὲρ in ordinary object clauses, especially with ὅποσ and σκοπῷ, which belong equally to both classes, B and C. (See 354.)

371. (Indirect Discourse with ὅς or ὅποις.) In curious contrast passage so as to read τοῦραν τῶν ἡ εἴσωσιν θωλεῖς πάλαι, is suggested by the scholiion: ἡ εἴσωσιν μοι θωλεῖται καὶ διέται μὴ καὶ δηλατῶν ἔστι τὸ πρᾶγμα. So perhaps we should read φοβεῖται μὴ τι δαιμόνιον τὰ πράγματα εἰλάνει (vulg. εἰλάνει) in Dem. ix. 54 (with Cod. A). But the subjunctive in both passages might be explained on the principle of 92.
with the preceding construction with ὅπως μή for μή (370) is that by which verbs of fearing sometimes take the construction of ordinary indirect discourse. Here ὡς and even ὅπως, that, may introduce the object of the fear, thus taking the place of μή in the common construction. This apparently occurs only when the leading verb is negated. E.g.

Μή δέιογεν ποθ’ ὡς γέλωτι τοῦ μονον φαινοῦν δίεται κάρα, do not fear that she will ever see my face joyful (=μή Ἕη), Soph. El. 1309 : so 1426. 'Ανδρός μή φοβερ’ ὡς ἀπορήσεις ἐξιον, do not fear that you will be at i loss. Xen. Cyr. v. 2, 12. (Here the direct discourse would be ἀπορήσω, I shall be at a loss.) Μή δείσητε ὡς οὐχ ἥδεως καθευδὴσετε, do not fear that you will not sleep sweetly. Id. vi. 2, 30. (Here μή οὖχ would be the ordinary expression.) Οὐ τούτο δέδοικα, ὡς ἔνακροάσθη αὐτῶν ἀποψάφεις, I have no fear of this, that you will acquire them if you hear them. Lys. xcvii. 9. Μή τρέως ὅπως σε τις ἀποστάσει βία, that any one shall tear you away by force. Eur. Het. 248. Μή φοβείτε μήτε ἐμε, ὡς σε πειρόμενοι λέγον λόγον τόνδε, μήτε γυναῖκα τήν ἠμην, μή τι τοί βάπτιστής γίνηται βλάβος, do not fear either that I am saying this to try you (ὡς λέγω), or lest any harm shall come (μή γένηται). Hdt. i. 9. (Here the two constructions after φοβείτε make the principle especially clear.)

In all these cases μή or ὅπως μή would be regular, and exactly equivalent to ὡς and ὅπως here. In the same way, we say in English he fears lest this may happen and he fears that this may happen in the same sense. In Greek we might have μή τρέως ὅπως μή σε τις ἀποστάσει (370) in the same sense as μή τρέως ὅπως σε τις ἀποστάσει (above).

372. (Infinitive.) The future infinitive may stand in indirect discourse after verbs of fearing, to represent a future indicative of the direct course. E.g.

Οὐ φοβούσθει ἐλασσοσφεισθαί, we are not afraid that we shall have the worst of it. Thuc. v. 105. (Here μή with the subjunctive would be the regular form.)

373. The present or aorist infinitive (without μή), not in indirect discourse, may follow verbs of fearing, to denote the direct object of the fear; as in English, I fear to go. This infinitive may have the article. E.g.

Φοβοῦμαι οὖν διελέγχειν σε, μή ὑπολάβης, κ.τ.λ., I am afraid to refute you, lest you may suspect, etc. Plat. Gorg. 457 E. Φοβήσεται ἀδίκειν, he will be afraid to do wrong. Xen. Cyr. viii. 7, 15. (But φοβήσεται μή ἀδίκη, he will fear that he may do wrong.) Δεδίναι φαινόμενον Κερκυραίων ἔχειν αὐτόν. Thuc. i. 136. Οὐ κατεδεικνύειν ἐκείλειν. Id. iv. 110. Πέφηκα Ἑρμίνην τέλεσαι τόσο κατάρας, I shudder at the idea of the Fury fulfilling the curses. Aesch. Sept. 720. (But in vs. 790, τρέω μή τελέσῃ means I tremble lest she may fulfill
Verbs of caution may be followed by an infinitive (with or without μή), which sometimes has the article; the infinitive or the infinitive with μή having the same meaning as a clause with μή and the subjunctive or optative. E.g.

Πως οὐκ ἔξοιν αὐτὸν γε φιλάξασθαι τοιοῦτον γενέσθαι; why ought he not to guard against becoming such a man himself? XEN. Mem. i. 5, 3. (Here γενέσθαι is equivalent to μή γενέσθαι.) Φιλαττόμενος τὸ λυπήσασαι τινα, taking care to offend no one. DEM. xviii. 258. Φιλάσσων μερένα περαιούσθαι, to guard against any one's crossing over. THUC. vii. 17. Φιλαττόμενον καὶ προορόμενον μη κατασχυναι ταῦτην. DEM. xxv. 11. (For μή in this construction see 818, 1.) In THUC. vii. 77, we find the infinitive with ὡςτε after φιλάσσω.

Κύδνυνος ἔστι, the principal expression denoting danger, which takes μή and a finite verb, is quite as regularly followed by the infinitive. E.g.

Οὐ συμμέροις κύδνυνος ἔστιν ξέαπατηθῆναι, there is no little danger of their being deceived. PLAT. Crat. 436 B.

Κύδνυνον is regularly followed by the infinitive (747).

Verbs of fearing may be followed by an indirect question introduced by εἰ, whether, or by some other interrogative, “Ὅτως as an interrogative here must not be confounded with ὡς as a conjunction. E.g.

Οὐ δέδοικα εἰ Φιλίππος ἔστι, ἀλλ' εἰ τῆς πόλεως τέθνηκε τὸ τοὺς ἄδικοντας μισῶν καὶ τιμωρεῖντα, I have no fear (on the question) whether Philip is alive; but I have fear (about this), whether our city's habit of hating and punishing evil-doers is dead. DEM. xix. 289. Φόβος εἰ μοι ξόσον οὐς ἔγω θέλω. EUR. Her. 791. Φέροντα σοι νέους ἥκω λόγους, φοβνε μεν εἰ τοις δευτοποιοῦσιν αἰτήσεται, through fear whether any one will perceive it (where μή αἰτήσεται would have meant least any one shall perceive it). EUR. Andr. 60. See XEN. Cyr. vi. 1, 17. Φοβούνται ὅτι τοτε προβήσεται ἡ τοῦ ἁγίου δύναμις. XEN. Hell. vi. 1, 14. (The direct question would be τοι προβήσεσται;) Τὴν θεὸν δ' ὡς οὖσα λάθος δέδοικα, I am in fear (about the question) how I shall escape the Goddess. EUR. I. T. 995. (The direct question was τῶς λάβῃ; 287.) So SOPH. Ph. 337. Ἀποροῦντες τῶς χρῆ ἀπειδεῖειν, φοβοῦμαι δὲ τῶς χρῆ ἀπειλοῦντω ὑπακοῦντα. XEN. Cyr. iv. 5, 19.

Verbs of fearing may be followed by διὰ, because, and an ordinary causal sentence with the indicative (713). E.g.

Οὐκ ἔξοιν διὰ τοῦτο φοβεῖσθαι τὸν πολεμίου, ὅτι πολλοὶ τυχανοῦσιν ὡςτε, to fear them, because they happen to be many. ISOC. vi. 60. Φοβοῦμεν τῆς μυρωδοῦ, ὅτι τὸ χωρὶν ἐπενθάνετο νοώδες εἶναι. Id. xii. 22. Ὅτι δὲ πολλῶν ἄρχοντα, μὴ φοβηθῆναι, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον διὰ τοῦτο ἀρρενίτε, do not be afraid because they rule many, etc. XEN. Hell. iii. 5, 10. Ἐφοβεῖτο, ὅτι ὧπθησθαί ἐμελετάτα βασίλεια οἰκοδομεῖν ἄρχομενος, he was afraid, because he was about
to be seen beginning to build the palace. Id. Cyr. iii. 1, 1. Φοβούμενος
to κάσθαι καὶ τὸ τέμενοςθαί, ὅτι ἄλγεινόν, fearing them because they
are painful. PLAT. Gorg. 479 A. So THUC. vii. 87.

SECTION VI.

Conditional Sentences.

378. A conditional sentence consists of two clauses, a
dependent clause containing the condition, which usually
precedes and is called the protasis, and the leading clause
containing the conclusion, which is called the apodosis.
The protasis is regularly introduced by the particle εἰ, if,
negatively εἰ μὴ.

379. Αἱ is a Doric and Aeolic form for εἰ, and is sometimes used in
epic poetry in the forms αἴθε and αἴ γάρ, and less frequently in αἴ κε.\(^{1}\)

380. The name protasis is often restricted to clauses intro-
duced by a particle meaning if. But it applies equally to all
conditional relative and temporal clauses (520), and it properly
includes all clauses which naturally precede their leading clauses
in the order of thought, as εἴει ἤσθησο τοῦτο, ἀφήλθεν, after he
perceived this, he departed. Such a clause may still be called a
protasis, even when it follows its leading clause, provided the
order of thought is not changed.

381. The adverb ἄν (epic κε or κέν, Doric κά) is regu-
larly joined with εἰ in the protasis when the verb is in
the subjunctive, εἰ with ἄν (ἀ) forming the compound ἐάν,
ηὗ, or ἄν (ἀ). (See 200.) The simple εἰ is used in the
protasis with the indicative and the optative.

The same adverb ἄν is regularly used in the apodosis
with the optative, and also with the past tenses of the
indicative when non-fulfilment of the condition is implied.

382. The only Ionic contraction of εἰ ἄν is ἤν, which is used in
Homer and Herodotus. The Attic Greek has ἔσται, ἦν, and ἄν (ἀ); but

\(^{1}\) AI for εἰ is usually left in Homer by editors as the Mss. give it. But
Bekker (Homerische Blätter, pp. 61, 62) quotes Heyne with approval, who
says that no human being can tell why we have αἰ in one place and εἰ in
another. Bekker cites, to illustrate this, αἰθοντο χόλον τελέσειι 'Ἀγαμέμνων,
II. iv. 178, and εἴθος ὁ τοῖς γοινε' ἐπειτο, iv. 313; also αἴ κε θεὸς ἱερα, Π. ν.
129, followed immediately by ἄναρ εἴ κε 'Ἀφοβισθη ζῆνος' εἰς τὸλμον. Bekker
in his last edition of Homer (1858) gives only εἰ, εἴθε, and εἴ γάρ, without
regard to the Mss.; and he is followed by Delbrück.
383. The negative particle of the protasis is regularly μή, that of the apodosis is οὐ.

384. When οὐ is found in a protasis, it is generally closely connected with a particular word (especially the verb), with which it forms a single negative expression; so that its negative force does not (like that of μή) affect the protasis as a whole. E.g.

Πάντως δήτω (οὗτως ἐχει), εάν τε οὐ καὶ Ἀνωτος οὐ φήτε εάν τε φήτε, if you deny it, as well as if you admit it. Plut. Apol. 25 B. Εἰ τοίς θανότοις οὔκ ἔσ (καὶ κωλύεις) τάσπειν, if you forbid burying the dead. Soph. Aj. 1131. Εἰ μὲν οὐ πολλοί (=δλόγοι) ἔσων, καθ’ ἐκαστὸν ἀν περὶ τοῦτων ἕκοντε, if there were only a few, etc. Ix. xii. 62; cf. 76. Τώδε μὲν οὖν ἰδον ἐστιν, εἰγε ἀδ’ ἡμῶν γε τῶν ἐν μέσῳ οὖδεἵς οὔδέποτε ἄρχεται, there is no fairness in this, if (it is the plan, that) no one is ever to begin with us. Xen. Cyr. ii. 2, 3.

In all these cases μή could be used, even where οὐ seems especially proper; as in ἀν τ’ ἐγὼ φῶ οὐ φῶμαι, whether I admit or deny it, Dem. xxi. 205. See Eur. Hipp. 995, οὐ’ ἦν οὐ μὴ φῶς. The use of μή or οὐ was determined by the feeling of the speaker at the moment as to the scope of his negation. The following example makes the difference between οὐ and μὴ particularly clear, οὐ affecting merely the verb, and μὴ affecting the whole clause (including the οὐ): εἰ μὴ Πρόξενον οὖν ὑπεδέξαντο, ἤσώθησαν οὐ, if it had not been that they did not receive Proxenus, they would have been saved, Dem. xix. 74.

385. Εἰ οὐ with the indicative is sometimes found in Homer where the Attic Greek would have εἰ μὴ; as in εἰ δὲ μοι οὐκ ἐπεσεύτ’ ἐπετείσεται ἀλ’ ἀλογήσει, Π. xv. 162. See also Π. xx. 129; Od. ii. 274, xii. 382.

386. After verbs expressing wonder, delight, and similar emotions (494), where a protasis seems to take the place of a causal sentence, εἰ οὐ can be used, on the principle of 384, though here μὴ is more common. See examples of εἰ μὴ under 494; and for εἰ οὐ see Isoc. i. 44, μὴ θαυμάσῃς εἰ πολλά τῶν εἰργαμένων οὐ πρέπει σοι. See also 387.

387. When two clauses introduced by μὲν and δὲ depend upon a single εἰ which precedes them both, οὐ is used even more frequently than μὴ; as such clauses have their own construction independently of the εἰ, which merely introduces each of them as a whole, not affecting the construction of particular words. E.g.

Δεινὸν ἄν εἰ, εἰ οὐ μὲν ἐκεῖνῳ ἐφύμαχοι ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ τὴν αὐτών φέροντες οὐκ ἀπεροῦσιν, ἡμεῖς δ’ ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτοίς σφέσθαι οὐκ ἀρα
388. The most obvious natural distinction is that of (a) present and past conditions and (b) future conditions. Present and past conditions (a) are divided into two classes by distinguishing (1) those which imply nothing as to the fulfilment of the condition from (2) those which imply that the condition is not or was not fulfilled. Future conditions (b) have two classes (1, 2), distinguished by the manner in which the supposition is stated. Class 1 of present and past conditions is further distinguished on the ground of the particular or general character of the supposition, as explained below in II. (394).

389. Excluding from the class (a) 1 the present and past general suppositions which have a peculiar construction (395, a and b), we have—

I. Four Forms of Ordinary Conditions.

(a) Present and Past Conditions.

390. In present or past conditions, the question of fulfilment has already been decided, but we may or may not wish to imply by our form of statement how this has been decided. In Greek (as in English or Latin) we may, therefore, state such a condition in either of two ways:—

1. We may simply state a present or past condition, implying nothing as to its fulfilment; as if he is (now) doing this, εἰ τοῦτο πράσσει, —if he was doing it, εἰ ἐπράσσε, —if he has (already) done it, εἰ πέπραξε, —if he had (already) done it (at some past time), εἰ ἐπέπραξε. The apodosis here expresses simply what is (was or will be) the result of the fulfilment of the condition. Thus we may say:—

Εἰ πράσσει τοῦτο, καλῶς ἔχει, if he is doing this, it is well; εἰ πράσσει τοῦτο, ἡμᾶρτηκεν, if he is doing this, he has erred; εἰ πράσσει τοῦτο, καλῶς ἔχει, if he is doing this, it will be well. Ei ἐπραξε (or ἐπρασσε) τοῦτο, καλῶς ἔχει (ἔχει, ἡμᾶρτηκεν, ὑποτίθηκα, ἔχει), if he did this, it is (was or will be) well. Ei πέπραξε τοῦτο, καλῶς ἔχει, if
he has done this, it will be well. So with the other tenses of the indicative in the apodosis. (See 402.)

So in Latin: *Si hoc fecit, bene est; Si hoc fecit, bene erit;* etc.

2. On the other hand, we may state a present or past condition so as to imply that it is not or was not fulfilled; as if he were (now) doing this, *εἰ τοῦτο ἔπρασσε*;—if he had done this, *εἰ τοῦτο ἔπραξε* (both implying the opposite). The apodosis here expresses what would be (or would have been) the result if the condition were (or had been) fulfilled. The adverb ἀν in the apodosis distinguishes these forms from otherwise similar forms under (a) 1. Thus we may say:

*Εἰ ἔπρασσε τοῦτο, καλῶς ἀν ἔχειν, if he were (now) doing this, it would be well; or if he had been doing this, it would have been well.

*Εἰ ἔπραξε τοῦτο, καλῶς ἀν ἔχειν (or ἀν ἔχειν), if he had done this, it would have been well (or it would now be well). On the other hand, *εἰ ἔπραξε τοῦτο, καλῶς ἔχειν* (without ἀν) would mean if he did this, it was well. (See 410.)

In Latin: *Si hoc faceret, bene esset (present); Si hoc fecisset, bene esset (past).*

391. The Greek has no form implying that a condition is or was fulfilled, and it is hardly conceivable that any language should find such a form necessary or useful.

(b) Future Conditions.

392. The question as to the fulfilment of a future condition is still undecided. We may state such a condition in Greek (as in English and Latin) in either of two ways:—

1. We may say *if he shall do this, ἐὰν πράσσῃ* (or πράξῃ) τοῦτο (or, still more vividly, *εἰ πράξηι τοῦτο*), making a distinct supposition of a future case. The apodosis expresses what will be the result if the condition shall be fulfilled. Thus we may say:

'Εὰν πράσσῃ (or πράξῃ) τοῦτο, καλῶς ἔχει, if he shall do this (or if he does this), it will be well (sometimes also *εἰ πράξῃ τοῦτο*). (See 444 and 447.) In Latin: *Si hoc faciet (or si hoc fecerit), bene sit.*

2. We may also say *if he should do this, εἰ πράσσω (or πράξω) τοῦτο, still supposing a case in the future, but less distinctly and vividly than before. The apodosis corresponds to this in form (with the addition of ἀν), and expresses what would be the result if the condition should be fulfilled. Thus we may say:—

*Εἰ πράσσω (or πράξω) τοῦτο, καλῶς ἄν ἔχω, if he should do this, it would be well. (See 455.) In Latin: *Si hoc faciat, bene sit.*
393. The Latin commonly employs the future indicative, *si hoc faciet* (corresponding strictly to *si tuòto πράξει, if he shall do this*), or the future perfect, *si hoc fecerit*, to express the form of protasis which the Greek expresses by *εάν* and the subjunctive (*εάν τούτο πράσσῃ or πράξῃ*); and it uses the form *si hoc faciat* to represent the Greek *εάν τούτο πράσσον*, *if he should do this*.

II. Present and Past General Suppositions.

394. The supposition contained in a protasis may be either particular or general.

A particular supposition refers to a definite act or to several definite acts, supposed to occur at some definite time (or times); as if he (now) has this, he will give it; if he had it, he gave it; if he had had the power, he would have helped me; if he shall receive it (or if he receives it), he will give it; if he should receive it, he would give it. So if he always acts justly (or if he never commits injustice), I honour him; if he acted justly on all these occasions, he will be rewarded.

A general supposition refers indefinitely to any act or acts of a given class which may be supposed to occur or to have occurred at any time; as if ever he receives anything, he (always) gives it; if ever he received anything, he (always) gave it; if he had (on any occasion) had the power, he would (always) have helped me; if ever any one shall (or should) wish to go, he will (or would) always be permitted. So if he ever acts justly, I (always) honour him; if he ever acted justly, he was (always) rewarded.

395. Although this distinction is seen in all classes of conditions, present, past, and future (as the examples show), it is only in present and past conditions which do not imply non-fulfilment (i.e. in those of 390, 1) that the Greek distinguishes general from particular suppositions in construction. Here, however, we have two classes of conditions which contain only general suppositions.

(a) When the apodosis has a verb of present time expressing a customary or repeated action, the protasis may refer (in a general way) to any act or acts of a given class which may be supposed to occur at any time within the period represented in English as present. Thus we may say:—

Εάν τις κλέπτῃ, κολάξεται, if (ever) any one steals, he is (in all such cases) punished; εάν τις πράσσῃ (or πράξῃ) τωντόν τι, χαλεπάνορμεν αὐτῷ, if (ever) any one does such a thing, we are (always) angry with him; εάν τις τοντον πίης, ἀποθνήσκει, if any one (ever) drinks of this, he dies. (See 462.)
(b) When the apodosis has a verb of past time expressing a customary or repeated action, the protasis may refer (in a general way) to any act or acts of a given class which may be supposed to have occurred at any time in the past. Thus we may say:——

Εἰ τις κλέπτω, ἐκολαξάτο, ἵππος ἢ άραν, if (ever) any one stole, he was (in all such cases) punished; εἰ τις πρᾶσσοι (or πρᾶξετε) των τῶν τι, ἤχαλε-παίνοντες αὐτῷ, if (ever) any one did such a thing, we were (always) angry with him; εἰ τις τούτων πίνει, ἴππον ἄρανηκε, εἰ if any one (ever) drank of this, he died. (See 462.)

396. Although the Latin sometimes agrees with the Greek in distinguishing general conditions from ordinary present and past conditions, using si faciat and si faceret in a general sense, like εἰ ἄν πράσσῃ and εἰ πρᾶσσει above, it yet commonly agrees with the English in not recognising the distinction, and uses the indicative alike in both classes. Even the Greek sometimes (especially in poetry) neglects the distinction, and uses the indicative in these general conditions (467).

397. In external form the general present condition coincides with the more vivid future condition, 392, 1, as both are expressed by εἰ and the subjunctive, the form of the apodosis alone distinguishing them. But in sense there is a much closer connexion between the general present condition and the ordinary present condition expressed by εἰ and the present indicative, 396, 1, with which in most languages (and sometimes even in Greek) it coincides also in form. (see 396). On the other hand, εἰ with the subjunctive in a future condition agrees substantially in sense with εἰ and the future indicative (447), and is never interchangeable with εἰ and the present indicative.

ORIGIN OF THE GREEK CONDITIONAL SENTENCE.—EARLY

COMBINATIONS OF εἰ WITH κέ OR ἄν.

398. It is impossible to discuss intelligently the origin of the conditional sentence until the etymology and original meaning of the particles εἰ, αἱ, ἄν, and κέ are determined. On these questions we have as yet little or no real knowledge. The theory of εἰ or αἱ which identifies it with the pronominal stem σων (οὗ), Greek σωτε, and Latin si, is perhaps the most common. By this the original meaning of εἰ, or rather of one of its remote ancestors in some primitive language, would be at a certain time (or place), in a certain way. But, even on this theory, we can hardly imagine any form of εἰ as existing in the Greek language until the word had passed at least into the relative stage, with the force of at which time (or place), in which way, under which circumstances. It cannot be denied that the strong analogy

1 See Delbrück, Com. u. Opt., pp. 70, 71, who terms this a "wahrscheinliche positive Vermuthung."
between conditional and relative sentences and the identity of most of their forms give great support to any theory by which the conditional sentence is explained as an outgrowth of the relative, so that the conditional relative sentence is made the original conditional construction. Thus εί ἡλθεν might at some time have meant in the case in which he went, and εί ἠλθῃ, in the case in which he shall go (or in case he shall go), etc. But here we are on purely theoretical ground; and we must content ourselves practically with the fact, that in the earliest Greek known to us εί was fully established in its conditional sense, like our if and Latin si.

399. The regular types of the conditional sentence, which are given above (390-395) as they appear in Attic prose, have been mainly sifted from a rich variety of forms which are found in earlier Greek. In Homer we have all tenses of the indicative used as in Attic Greek, except that the imperfect has not yet come to express an unreal present condition, but is still confined to the past. The future indicative sometimes has κέ in protasis, and the future with κέ or ἀν can stand in apodosis. The subjunctive in protasis can have εί κέ (even εί ἀν), ἦν, or εί alone; and it can stand in a future apodosis either alone or with ἄν or κέ (like the optative). The optative sometimes has εί κέ in protasis, and occasionally stands in apodosis without ἄν or κέ. Once we find εί κέ with the aorist indicative (Π. xxiii. 526).

Thus, while we have in Attic prose two stereotyped forms of future conditional sentences, ἐὰν (ἡν, ἄν) δὲ, ἐλοίμαι and εί δοή, ἐλοίμυν ἄν, we have in Homer ἦν δὲ, εί κέ δὲ, εί δὲ, and εί δοή, εί κέ δοή, in protasis; and ἐλοίμαι, ἐλοίμαι κέ, ἐλομαί, ἐλομαί κέ, and ἐλοίμυν κέ (or ἄν), rarely ἐλοίμυν alone, in apodosis; with every variety of combination of these. (For the details and examples, see 450-454 and 460.)

400. There is a tendency in Homer to restrict the subjunctive with simple εί (without κέ or ἄν) to general conditions (468), and a similar but less decided tendency to restrict the subjunctive with conditional relatives without κέ or ἄν to the generic relative construction (538). But the general condition with εί appears in Homer in a primitive stage, compared with the corresponding relative construction, which is fully developed. Both subjunctive and optative are freely used in general relative conditions in Homer, as in Attic Greek; while in general conditions with εί the subjunctive occurs only nineteen times and the optative only once (468). On the supposition that the clause with εί is derived from the relative clause, this would appear as the ordinary process of development.
401. It is perhaps the most natural view of the various conditional expressions, εἰ, εἰ κε, εἰ ἄν, etc. to suppose that at some early stage the Greek had two perfectly analogous forms in future conditions, one with two subjunctives, and one with two optatives, e.g. εἰ δοῦ τοῦτο, ἔλωμαι κε and εἰ δοῦτ τοῦτο, ἐλοίμην κε. The particle κε would then begin to be allowed in both of these conditions and conclusions, giving to each more distinctly its force as a protasis or an apodosis. It would thus be allowed to say εἰ κε δοῦ τοῦτο, ἔλωμαι κε and εἰ κε δοῦτ τοῦτο, ἐλοίμην κε, both of which forms actually occur in Homer. Gradually the tendencies of the language restricted the use of κε more and more to the substantive in protasis and the optative in apodosis, although for a time the usage was not strict. This state of transition appears in Homer, who preserves even a case of an otherwise extinct use of εἰ κε with the aorist indicative. Shortly before this stage, however, a new tendency was making itself felt, to distinguish the present general condition from the particular in form, the way being already marked out by the conditional relative sentence. As this new expression was to be distinguished from both the really present condition εἰ βοῦλται and the future εἰ κε βοῦλται, the half-way form εἰ βοῦλται (which had nearly given place to εἰ κε βοῦλται in future conditions) came into use in the sense if he ever wishes. This would soon develop a corresponding form for use after past tenses, εἰ βοῦλοιτο, if he ever wished, of which we see only the first step in Homer, Il. xxiv. 768. (See 468.) It would hardly be possible to keep the two uses of εἰ with the subjunctive distinct in form, and in time the form with κε (or ἄν) was established in both (381). But we see this process too in transition in Homer, where εἰ κε or some form of εἰ ἄν is used in all future conditions except nine, and has intruded itself into five of the nineteen general conditions. We must suppose a corresponding process in regard to κε or ἄν in conditional relative clauses to have gone on before the Homeric period, with more complete results. In Attic Greek, except in a few poetic passages, the usage is firmly

1 As I do not profess to have any distinct theory of the origin or the original meaning of either κε or ἄν, I have not attempted to define their force, except so far as they emphasise what we see by usage may be implied by the sentence without their aid.

2 Monro (Homm. Gr. p. 233) thinks "the primary use of ἄν or κε is to show that the speaker is thinking of particular instances or occasions." If this is so, we should expect these particles to be first used in future conditions, while the later general conditions would first take the simple εἰ, as is here supposed.

3 See Am. Jour. Phil. iii. pp. 441, 442, where Gildersleeve refers to the use of εἰ, ὅτι, etc. with the optative in oratio obliqua, representing ἕτα, ὅτα, etc. with the subjunctive in the direct form, as evidence of an old use of εἰ, ὅτι, etc. with the subjunctive.
established by which the subjunctive in protasis requires εν in both particular and general conditions.

I. FOUR FORMS OF ORDINARY CONDITIONAL SENTENCES.

(a) PRESENT AND PAST CONDITIONS.

1. Simple Suppositions (chiefly Particular).

402. When the protasis simply states a present or past particular supposition, implying nothing as to the fulfilment of the condition, it takes a present or past tense of the indicative with εἰ. Any form of the verb may stand in the apodosis to express the result if the condition is or was fulfilled. E.g.

Εἰ ἔβροντησεν, καὶ ήστρεφεν, if it thundered, it also lightened.
(This implies no opinion of the speaker as to the reality of the thunder.) Εἰ δὲ οὖν τοῦτο εστὶν, εμοὶ μᾶλλον φίλον εἶναι. Π. i. 554. Εἰ τῶτε κοῦρος ἦν, νῦν αὐτῷ μὲ γῆρας ὑπάρχει. Π. iv. 321. Εἰ μᾶλλα καρπερὸς ἔστω, θεῶς ποιοῦ τὸ γὰρ ἔδωκεν. Π. i. 178. Εἰ δὲ χρῆ καὶ πάρ σοφον ἀντιφερίσας, ἐρέω, but if I must match myself against the wise one, I will speak. PIND. Py. ix. 54. Εἰ θεοὶ τῷ δῶρῳν αἰσχρόν, οὐκ εἰσίν θεοί, ὅπερ οὐκ ἔσται, τὰς ἀπειρίες. Εἰ δὲ καλῶς ἔγνω καὶ ἐμαυτῶν ἐπιλέξαμης ἄλλα γὰρ οἰδέστερα ἐστι τούτων, if I do not know that they are not Gods. Eur. Bell. Fr. 294. Εἰ γὰρ Φαῖδρον ἄγνωστο, καὶ ἐμαυτῶν ἐπιλέξαμης ἄλλα γὰρ οἰδέστερα ἐστι τούτων, if I do not know that they are not Gods. Eur. Bell. Fr. 294. Εἰ γὰρ Φαῖδρον ἄγνωστο, καὶ ἐμαυτῶν ἐπιλέξαμης ἄλλα γὰρ οἰδέστερα ἐστι τούτων, if I do not know that they are not Gods. Eur. Bell. Fr. 294.

403. The imperative, the subjunctive in exhortations or prohibitions, the optative in wishes, the potential optative or indicative with οὖν, or the infinitive may stand in the apodosis.

E.g.

"Αλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ σου, μηχανεῖ, if thou art resolved, go. SOPH. Ant. 98. (Here ἐὰν δοκῇ would refer to the future, while εἰ δοκεῖ is strictly present in its time. Cf. Ant. 76.) "Αλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ, πλέωμεν, θριάμβω καὶ ταχύς. Id. Ph. 526. Εἰ μὲν ἔστε με τοιοῦτον, ... μηδὲ φωνῇ ἀνάσχημον. DEM. xviii. 10. "Αλλ' εἰ πον πτωχῶν γε θείος καὶ ἐμνύεις εἰσίν, "Αντίνου πρὸ γάμου τέλος θανάτοιο κιβωτίον. Od. xvi. 475. "Αλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ σοι ταῦτα, ῥαπεῖ τις ἀρσεναλήνα λύοις τάχος, but if this pleases you, let some one quickly loose my shoes. AESEC. Ap. 944. Κάκιστ' ἀπολοίμην, Ἑμαυτίαν εἰ μὴ φιλόμην. AP. Ran. 579. Πολλὴ γὰρ ἄγνωσιν εἰγήν περὶ τοίς νίκοις εἰς μὲν μόνος αὐτῶν διαφθορεῖ καὶ δὲ ἄλλοι ὑφελοῦσιν. PLAT. Ap. 25 B. See also Π. i. 128, εἰ ... εἰλήφθης, οὐκ ἂν ... μαχοίμην. Τὸν Ὀπερείδην, εἰπεῖν.
404. This form of condition may be used even when the supposition is notoriously contrary to fact, if the speaker does not wish to imply this by the construction; as in Dem. xviii. 12, τῶν μὲνοι κατηγορῶν, . . . εἰπερ ἢσαν ἄληθεῖς, οὐκ ἐν τῇ πάλαι δίκην ἄξιαν λαβεῖν, but if the charges were true (= erant, not essent), the state cannot obtain adequate satisfaction. So in English, we can say if three times six are twenty as well as if three times six were twenty, or if all men are liars as well as if all men were liars,—from different points of view.

405. A present or past general supposition is sometimes expressed by the indicative: see examples in 467. Here the Greek neglects the distinction which it regularly makes between general and particular suppositions of this class.

406. Pindar uses these simple conditions with εἰ and the indicative more than all other forms.1 But among his forty-eight cases are many general conditions (467), which most writers would have expressed by the subjunctive.

407. (Future Indicative in Present Suppositions.) Even the future indicative with εἰ may be used in a present condition, if it expresses merely a present intention or necessity that something shall be done hereafter; as when εἰ τῶτο ποιήσῃ means if he is (now) about to do this, and not (as it does in an ordinary future condition) if he shall do this (hereafter). E.g.

Ἀδρε πλήκτρον, εἰ μαχεῖ, raise your spur, if you are going to fight. Ar. Av. 759. (Εἰ μαχεῖ in protasis commonly means if you shall fight, like ἓν μάχη.) Ἡ νῦν ἔγγο μὲν υἷκ ἄνθρ, αὐτὴ δὲ ἄνθρ, εἰ ταῦτα αὐτοὶ τῇ δέ τε κείσται κράτη, i.e. if this is to pass unpunished. Soph. Ant. 484. Τί διαφεροντι τῶν εἰς ἀνάγκης κακοπαθοῦντων, εἰ γε πειλησοῦσι καὶ διψῆσοσι καὶ ῥίγασον καὶ ἀγρυπνησοῦσι καὶ τὰλα πάντα μοιχησοῦσιν ἐκοντεῖ; how do they differ, etc., if they are to suffer hunger, thirst, etc.? Xen. Mem. i. 1, 17. So εἰ πόλεμός τε δαμός καὶ λοιμός Ἀχαιοῖς, if both war and pestilence are to lay the Achaeans low, Π. i. 61; and εἰ διαβληθῶμαι, if I am to be slandered, Eur. Hec. 863. In Π. ν. 715, ἢ θέλειν τὸν μύθον ὑπετήσῃς Μενέλαος, . . . εἰ οὕτω μαίνεσθαι ἔσομεν οὐλον Ἄρήνα, vain is the word we pledged, if we are to permit, etc., the verb of the apodosis is past, showing that the condition is not future.

408. It is important to notice that a future indicative of this kind could not be changed to a subjunctive with ἔαν without an entire change of sense and time. It must therefore be distinguished from the future in future conditions, where it is generally interchangeable with

1 See Am. Jour. Phil. iii. p. 438.
the subjunctive (447). Here it is nearly equivalent to the periphrastic future expressed by μελλω and the infinitive (73), in which the tense of μελλω (as in εἰ μελλοντι τούτο ποιεῖν = εἰ τοῦτο ποιήσουσιν) shows that the condition is really present and not future. So with the Latin periphrastic future, *si hoc facturus est.*

409. A present condition may be expressed by a potential optative in the protasis, and a present or past condition by a potential indicative; as εἰπὲρ ἄλλῳ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳν πειθομην ἄν, καὶ σοι πειθομαι, if (it is true that) I would trust any one of mankind, I trust you, Plat. Prot. 329 B; εἰ τοῦτο ἵσωχρον ἄν ἄν τοῦτο τεκμήριον, κάμοι γενέσθω τεκμήριον, δή, κ.τ.λ., if (it is true that) this would have been a strong proof for him (if he had used it), so let it be a proof for me, that, etc., Dem. xlii. 58. (See 458, and other examples in 506.)

2. *With Supposition contrary to Fact.*

410. When the protasis states a present or past supposition, implying that the condition is not or was not fulfilled, and the apodosis expresses what *would be* (or *would have been*) the result if that condition were (or had been) fulfilled, the past tenses of the indicative are used in both protasis and apodosis, and the apodosis contains the adverb ἄν.

The imperfect here, in either protasis or apodosis, refers to present time or to an act as going on or repeated in past time, the aorist to a simple occurrence in past time, and the (rare) pluperfect to an act completed in past or present time. E.g.

Εἰ τοῦτο ἐπρασσε, καλῶς ἄν εἰχεν, if he were (now) doing this, it would be well (implying that he is not doing it). This may also mean if he had been doing this, it would have been well (implying that he was not doing it). The context must decide, in each case, to which time the imperfect refers. Εἰ τοῦτο ἐπρασε, καλῶς ἄν εἶχεν, if he had done this, it would have been well (implying that he did not do it). Εἰ τοῦτο ἐπερακε, καλῶς ἄν εἶχεν, if he had finished doing this (now or at any past time), it would be well (implying either he has not or he had not finished it).

(Impf. of Present Time.) Εἰ δὲ μὴ δοῦ ἐλήμονε ἐξηράσε, οὐκ ἂν ἦσθα λαμπρὰ κλόνων, if you always began your talk to me in this way, you would not be offensive to listen to (as you are). Soph. El. 556. So El. 992, 1331, O. T. 1511; and Anesch. Sept. 662, Ag. 1395. Καὶ νῦν εἰ φοβερὸν τε ἐνορῶμεν, πᾶν ἂν σοι προεφράζομεν, if we saw any cause of alarm, we should tell it all to you. Hdt. i. 120. Ταῦτα οὐκ ἄν ἐδύναντο ποιεῖν, εἰ μὴ καὶ διαίτη μετρία ἐχρώντο, they would not be able to do this, if they did not lead an abstemious life. Xen. Cyi. i. 2,
16. Ei ἦθεν ὅτι εἴ τι ἐμὸν ἐκήδουν, οὐδενὸς ἂν οὗτο μὲ ἀποστειρεῖν ἐφυλάττων ὡς ἄξιωματος καὶ τιμῆς, ὃς σοι καὶ τοιαύτας ἔσεσθαι. Tis τό ἑαυτοῦ πάντα ἔχει, καί τις, εἰ μὴ ἐτύχερεν αὐτοῦ ἐπιστήμην ἐνοικα, οὐκ ἂν οἶκα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τουτοῦ ποιήσῃν, τις τῆν ἐπανάληψιν φανεροτορισμὸν εἰς τοὺς ἐποδεκάλους, εἰ μὴ τὴν εἰρήνην ἑωραντικὴν ἐνυμένην, I should not exhort you, did I not see (as I do), etc. Isoc. vi. 87.

(Inf. of Past Time.) Καὶ ταῦτα ἂν οὕς ἐπεράσσον, εἰ μὴ μοι προσεκυκλώσομεν τῇ ἀράτῳ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ τοῦτος I should never have ὑποκείμενος, had he not invoked bitter curses on himself. Soph. O. C. 951. Οὐκ ἂν νέοιοι ἐκράτειν, εἰ μὴ τι καὶ ναυτικοὶ εἶχεν, he would not have been masters of islands, if he had not had also some naval force (implying navists εἶχεν and νέοιοι ἐκράτει, ἐξ ὑμῶν. For he was master of islands).

(Thuc. i. 9. (Taûta) οὗτο ἂν προέλεγεν, εἰ μὴ ἐποίησεν ἀλήθειας, he would not have declared these things (referring to several), had he not been confident that he should speak the truth. Xen. Mem. i. 1. 5. Εἰ ἢσαν ἄνδρες ἁγαθοὶ, ὡς ὑμῖν, οὕς ἂν ποτὲ ταῦτα ἐπισκόπην, if they had been good men, as you say, they would never have suffered these things (referring to several cases). Plat. Gorg. 516 E.

(Aorist of Past Time.) Εἰ μὴ ὑμῖν ἡρέθην, οὕς ἂν ποτὲ ἐπισκόπην μὴ οὗ τῶν ἐξειπειν πατρί, had I not been bound by oaths, I should never have refrained, etc. Eur. Hipp. 657. Καὶ ἴσως ἂν διὰ ταῦτα ἀπέθανον, εἰ μὴ ἢ ἄρχη διὰ ταχέων κατελύθη. Plat. Ap. 32 D. Τί ποτὲ ἂν ἐπαθόν ὑπ' αὐτῶν, εἰ πλεῖον χρόνον ἐπετροπεύθην; εἰ κατελεύθην μὲν ἐναίσθησιν, ἔχεται δὲ προς ἐπιστροφήν ὑπ' αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ ἂν τὰ μικρὰ ταὐτά παρ' αὐτῶν ἀπέλαβον. Dem. xxvii. 63. Εἰ τοῖνυν ὁ Φίλιππος τότε ταῦτην ἐπιχείρησεν τὴν γνώμην, οὔτε ἂν ἂν νομίζεις ἐπισκόπησε, οὔτε τοσοστατὶ σκέψεως δύναμις. Id. iv. 5.

(Different tenses in Protasis and Apodosis.) Εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς ἥλθετε, ἐπερευμόθηνα ἂν ἐπὶ βιασυνα, if you had not come, we should (now) be on our way to the King. Xen. An. ii. 1, 4. "Ο εἰ ἄσκερίων, ικανοὶ ἂν ὑδη παρὰ σοῦ τὴν ὁσιότητα ἐμεμαθήκης, if you had given this answer, I should have already learned, etc. Plat. Euthyr. 14 C. ἰδοὺ δὲ ἂν ἦν ἡμῶν ἂτι περί τῆς πόλεως διαλεγόμεθαι τῆς ἡμετέρας, εἰ μὴ προτερα τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιρρήσεως, (This implies ἀλλὰ τὴν εἰρήνην προτερὰ πεποίηται.) Isoc. v. 56. Εἰ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ παρελθόντος χρόνον τὰ δέοντα οὗτοι συνεβολευθησαν, οὔτε ἂν ὡμίσνιν ἔδει βουλευσθαι, if they had given the necessary advice in time past, there would now be no need of your deliberating. Dem. iv. 1. Τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἂν ἐμέμνηστο τῶν αὐτοῦ, εἰ τι περὶ ἑμοῦ γ' ἐγραφήν. Id. xviii. 79.

These examples show the fully developed construction, as it appears in the Attic writers and in Herodotus. For the more primitive Homeric usage, see 435 and 438.
411. This construction is equivalent to that of the Latin imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive in protasis and apodosis. With regard to the tenses, the Latin imperfect subjunctive represents the Greek imperfect indicative referring to present time, and rarely that referring to past time; while the Latin pluperfect subjunctive represents the Greek aorist and pluperfect indicative, and also most cases of the Greek imperfect referring to past time.

412. 1. It will be seen that, when this construction is used, it is usually implied not merely that the condition of the protasis is not (or was not) fulfilled but also that the action of the apodosis does not (or did not) take place; thus εἰ τοῦτο εἰσῆλθον, ἐπειδὴ ἂν, if I had said this, he would have been persuaded, generally implies not merely that I did not say this but also that he was not persuaded. But this denial of the apodosis is not an essential character of the construction, as we can see if we change the apodosis to οὐκ ἢν ἐπειδήθη, he would not have been persuaded, when it is not implied that he really was persuaded. We have seen that there is nothing in the nature of the potential indicative which makes a denial of its action necessary (244); and when this form is made the apodosis of an unreal condition, it simply states that something would happen (or would have happened) in a case which did not arise. Denial of the apodosis can follow as a logical inference from denial of the protasis only in the rare cases in which the unreal condition is the only one under which the action of the apodosis could have taken place, as when we say if the moon had entered the earth's shadow, she would have been eclipsed, where the denial of either clause carries with it by necessity the denial of the other. But if we say if it had rained, the ground would be wet, the denial of the protasis cuts off only one of many conditions under which the ground might be wet. Such sentences as this are, however, very common, though they are not used to prove the opposite of the apodosis (that the ground is not wet); but they are arguments in which the apodosis is assumed to be false (on the ground of observation or experience), and from this it is argued that the assumption of the protasis is false; that is, since the ground is not wet (as we can see), it cannot have rained, which is a good argument. This is the case in Thuc. i. 9, and Plat. Gorg. 516 E (quoted in 410, above); where it is argued that Agamemnon had a navy because this was a necessary condition of his ruling islands, and that certain persons were not good men because they suffered what they did, the facts of ruling islands and of suffering being assumed in the argument as established on independent evidence. In other cases, where it is stated that the apodosis would follow as a consequence from the fulfilment of the condition, as in Soph. Aj. 45, κἂν ἐξεπράξασας εἰ κατημέλησα εὖ, he would even have accomplished it, if I had been careless, whatever negation of the apodosis is implied (here οὐκ ἐξεπράξασα) comes from a feeling that when the only condition under which it is stated that an action would have taken place fails, there is no reason for believing it to have taken place at all. We may doubt whether any
negation of the apodosis is implied in the *form of expression* in such cases. Certainly, in many cases in which the apodosis states a consequence which would follow from the action of an unreal protasis, this negation is assumed as already known apart from the construction; thus in *Soph. El.* 556 (quoted in 410) the apodosis means you would not then be offensive to listen to, and the only ground on which we mentally add as you now are is our knowledge of Clytaemnestra’s feeling towards Electra. If the sentence were *if all men began their speeches politely, they would not be offensive,* we should not think of supplying as they now are without some knowledge of the facts.

2. When the sentence merely affirms or denies that one act, if it had occurred, would be accompanied by another act, and there is no necessary relation between the two acts as cause and effect, and there is no argument drawn from the admitted unreality of the conclusion to prove the opposite of the condition, no denial of the apodosis is implied in the expression, although we may know from the context or in some other way that the action of the apodosis does not (or did not) occur. Thus in *Plat. Ap.* 17 D, εἰ τὸ δὲ τι ξένος ἔγγραφαν ὃν, ἔνενεινενδοκεῖς δήποτε ἄν μει εἰ ἐν ἑκένη τῷ φωνῇ ἐλεγον, etc., if I were really a foreigner, you would surely pardon me if I spoke in my own dialect, etc., it is not implied that now you do not pardon me. We should rather say that nothing at all is implied beyond the statement you would pardon me in that case. If the apodosis were you would not be angry with me, the impossibility of understanding but now you are angry would make this plainer. Again, in *Xen. An.* vi. 1, 32, οὐδὲ ἀν ἔγγραφε σταυροδοτήθων εἰ ἄλλον εἰλήφθη, neither should I (any more than Xenophon) be quarrelsome if you had chosen another man, nothing like σταυροδοτήθων is implied; on the other hand, any such implication as οὐ σταυροδοτήθων must come from the circumstances of the case, not from the form of expression. In *Soph. O. T.* 220, οὐ γὰρ ἀν μακραί ἐγγεγραμμέναι αὐτοῖς, if the protasis is εἰ ἐγγεγραμμέναι αὐτοῖς, if I were undertaking the search by myself (alone), the apodosis I should not be very far on the track does not imply μακραί ἐγγεγραμμένα, or anything more than the sentence states. (See 511.) Again, in *Soph. Tr.* 396, εἰ παρών τοι ἑλεσθησαί ἐλευθερευάσθαι ἐδόθε, κάρτ' ἀν ἔκτισας, the statement does not imply οἰκ ἔκτισας, although this may be true.

3. Further, in concessive sentences introduced by καὶ εἰ or εἰ, even if or although, or οἶδ' εἰ, not even if, where it is stated that something would be true even in a supposed case (which does not arise), we have what amounts to a statement that the thing in question would be true in any case. Here, therefore, the action of the apodosis is distinctly affirmed; as in *Isoc. xxii.* 11, Νικίας μέν, εἰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χρόνων εἶθατο στροφαθεῖν, τότ' ἀν ἐπαύσατο: ἐκθρόνου δὲ, καὶ εἰ μὴ δὲ τόποτε διενοθήθη ἄδικείς, τότ' ἀν ἐπήρθη, i.e. N. would then have stopped, while B. would have been urged on, in any case. So *Dem.* xxx. 14, and xl. 23. See *Plat. Rep.* 620 D, τὰ αὐτὰ ἀν ἔπραξε καὶ πρότη λαξάνα (= καὶ εἰ πρῶτη ἐλαξαν), it would have done the same even if it had drawn the first choice.
413. In the unreal conditional sentence, therefore, the unreality of the supposition is always implied, and that of the apodosis is generally, either assumed or implied. The implied opposite of an imperfect is always a present or imperfect, that of an aorist is an aorist, and that of a pluperfect is usually a perfect or pluperfect. Thus 

\[\text{εἰ \ έπρασσε,}\]

when it means if he were doing, implies \(\text{άλλον πράσσει, \; but \; really \; he \; is \; not \; doing; \; when \; it \; means \; if \; he \; had \; been \; doing, \; it \; implies \; áλλον \; οὐκ \; έπρασσε, \; but \; really \; he \; was \; not \; doing: \; εἰ \; μὴ \; έπραξεν, \; if \; he \; had \; not \; done, \; implies \; áλλον \; έπραξεν, \; but \; really \; he \; did \; do: \; εἰ \; έπετούχηκεν \; τούτο, \; if \; he \; had \; already \; done \; this, \; implies \; either \; áλλον \; οὐκ \; έπετούχηκεν, \; but \; really \; he \; has \; not \; done \; it, \; or \; áλλον \; οὐκ \; έπετούχηκεν, \; but \; really \; he \; had \; not \; done \; it, \; according \; to \; the \; context. \; The \; aorist, \; however, \; is \; very \; often \; used \; here, \; as \; elsewhere, \; where \; the \; pluperfect \; would \; express \; the \; time \; intended \; more \; exactly; \; as \; in \; the \; sentence \; quoted \; in \; 410 \; from \; Dem. iv. 5, \; οὐδὲν \; ἄν \; ἄν \; νῦν \; πεποίηκεν \; έπράξεν, \; where \; the \; perfect \; πεποίηκεν \; shows \; that \; the \; pluperfect \; might \; have \; been \; used \; for \; έπράξεν \; (see 58).

414. Sometimes an aorist not referring to past time is found in the apodosis, after a protasis in the imperfect referring to the present. This occurs chiefly in Plato, and generally with \(\text{εἰ πον} \; \text{ἄν, \; άπέκριναιν} \; \text{ἄν}, \; or \; a \; similar \; verb, \; meaning \; \text{I \; should \; at \; once \; reply. \; The \; aorist \; excludes \; the \; idea \; of \; duration \; which \; the \; imperfect \; would \; express, \; and \; for \; the \; same \; reason \; it \; cannot \; be \; strictly \; present; \; in \; effect \; it \; does \; not \; differ \; much \; from \; an \; aorist \; optative \; with \; ἄν, \; the \; apodosis \; really \; being \; the \; result \; (in \; the \; case \; supposed) \; would \; be} \; (ἡν \; ἄν) \; \text{that \; I \; should \; reply (εἰπομε} \; \text{ἄν}, \; etc. \; 

Εἰ μὲν \; οὖν σοὶ \; μὲ \; ήρώθας \; τοῦ \; νῦν \; δή, \; εἰ ποι \; ἄν, \; κ.τ.λ., \; if \; then \; you \; were \; asking \; me \; any \; of \; the \; questions \; before \; us, \; I \; should \; (at \; once) \; say, \; etc. \; PLAT. Euthyph. 12 D. Ἡμεῖς \; ἄν \; εἰ \; εὐγεχαίνει \; ἄν \; ὑποδημά−

tων \; δημοφυγοὺς, \; άπέκρινατο \; ἄν \; δή \; πού \; σοι \; ὅτι \; σκιστότομος, \; as, \; if \; he \; chanced \; to \; be \; a \; maker \; of \; shoes, \; he \; would \; answer \; that \; he \; was \; a \; cobbler. \; Id. Gorg. 447 D. \; See \; also \; PLAT. Symp. 199 D, Men. 72 B, Theag. 123 B; \; ANT. Tet. A. β. 13. \; In \; PLAT. \; Prot. 311 B, C, \; we \; have \; εἰ \; τῆς σε \; ήρετο, \; τί \; ἄν \; ἀπεκρίνετο, \; with \; the \; answer \; εἰ ποι \; ἄν \; ἄν, \; κ.τ.λ., \; twice, \; referring \; to \; present \; time; \; but \; in \; D, \; εἰ \; οὖν τῆς \; ἡμᾶς \; ἀρετοῦ \; (future), \; followed \; by \; τί \; ἄν \; αὐτῷ \; ἀποκριναίμεθα; \n
An example of this is found in SOPH. Ant. 755: εἰ \; μὴ \; πατήρ \; ήσθε, \; εἰ ποι \; ἄν \; σιν \; οὐ \; εἴθ \; φρονεῖ, \; if \; you \; were \; not \; my \; father, \; I \; should \; say \; you \; were \; not \; right \; in \; mind. \; See \; EUR. Alc. 125, ἡλθεν ἄν, \; i.e. \; (the \; result \; would \; be \; that) \; she \; would \; return. \; So \; ALC. 360.

Apodosis without ἄν.—"Εἴκες, \; χρής, \; etc. \; with \; the \; infinitive.

415. A peculiar form of potential indicative without ἄν consists of an infinitive depending on the imperfect of a verb of
obligation, propriety, or possibility, like ἔδει, χρὴν or ἔχρη, εἰκὸς ἢν, or προσθέκειν. This expression refers to past or present time, and generally implies a denial of the action of the infinitive. Thus ἔδει τοῦτον ἀποθανεῖν in this idiomatic use means he ought to have perished (but did not); ἔδει ἥμας τοῦτο ποιεῖν means we ought to be doing this (but we are not) or we ought to have done this (but we did not do it). This combination contains in other words what might have been expressed substantially by a past indicative with ἦν of the verb of the infinitive, qualified by an adverb or other expression denoting obligation, propriety, or possibility: thus ἔδει τοῦτον ἀποθανεῖν is (as a construction) equivalent to οἷς δικαίως (or ἄξιος) ἢν ἀπέθανεν, he would justly have perished, and εἰκὸς ἢν σε τοῦτο παθεῖν is equivalent to τοῦτο εἰκότως ἢν ἐπαθεῖς, you would properly have suffered this (implying οὐκ ἐπαθεῖς). Strictly, the expression involves also an unreal protasis, as (in the last case) εἰ τὸ εἰκός ἐπαθεῖς, which with the apodosis τοῦτο ἐπαθεῖς ἢν appears substantially in εἰκὸς ἢν σε τοῦτο παθεῖν. (See 511.)

When the present imperfect is used, the expression is present or past; with the aorist infinitive it is always past.

416. The following imperfects may take the infinitive in this sense: ἔδει, χρὴν or ἔχρη, εἰκὸς ἢν, προσθέκειν, ἐνή, ἐξή, ἢν (or ἐπίχρησθαι), it was possible, one might, the impersonal ἢν with adjectives or nouns expressing obligation, propriety, possibility, and similar ideas, as δικαίον ἢν, ἄξιον ἢν, καλὸν (κάλλιον, κρατίστων, ἡμών, ἡμῶν, ἄνθρωπον ἢν, αἰσχρὸν ἢν, προσήκοι ἢν, οἱ θανατητοῦ ἢν, ἀσφαλίστερον ἢν, ὁτὸν ἢν, ἐλεοντὸν ἢν, συγγεγυμνῶν ἢν, οίκος τ ἢν, ἔργον ἢν, ἢν with the verbal in -τεστ.,—also ἐπετευνεῖ, συνεδρεῖ, ἐλπιζεῖ, with other verbs of the same nature. To these must be added the expressions specially mentioned below in 424-431.

417. These are all originally expressions of past necessity, obligation, etc., involving no reference to any condition (unfulfilled or otherwise); and in this sense they may always be used, as in Dem. xix. 124, ἔδει μένειν, he was obliged to stay (and did stay), and Hdt. i. 8, χρῆ γὰρ Κανδαλίδα γενέσθαι κακῶς, for C. was doomed to fall into trouble. It is only by idiomatic usage that the denial of the action of the infinitive comes to be implied in them, and that a past tense comes to express present time, both of which characteristics are found in Greek, Latin, and English; as ἔδει σε αὐτὸν φιλεῖν, debebas eum colere, you ought to love him (but

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1 See Isoc. v. 34. 2 Arist. Eth. x. 9, 18 (p. 1181 a, 4). 3 Isoc. xx. 23. 4 Isoc. xx. 14. 5 Dem. xviii. 248. 6 Lys. vii. 24. 7 Ant. v. 13. 8 Arist. Eth. x. 9, 19 (p. 1181 a, 6). 9 Lys. xiii. 28. 10 Dem. ix. 112. The imperfects not included in these references will be found among the examples in 419-422. The above list could doubtless be greatly extended.
you do not), ought being the past of owe. The infinitive is felt to be negativated, even when the negative belongs to the leading verb.

418. Like the potential indicative, this form of expression can either (1) be used alone, with no external protasis expressed or distinctly implied, as in χρῆν σε ἔλθειν, you ought to have gone; or (2) stand as apodosis to an unreal protasis, as in εἰ ἐκέλευσε, χρῆν σε ἔλθειν, if he had commanded it, you ought to have gone.

419. I. When these expressions are thus used alone (418), the denial of the action of the infinitive is always implied. E.g.

Τούσδε γὰρ μὴ ξῆν ἐδει, for these ought not to be living (as they are). SOPH. Ph. 418. 'Εδει μὲν τοὺς λέγοντας ἀπαντᾶς μήτε πρὸς ἕχθραν τοιεύοντας λόγον μηδένα μήτε πρὸς χάριν, i.e., the speakers ought not to say a word out of regard either to enmity or to favour (and yet they do so). Dem. viii. 1. Σιγῆσας ἤρικ ἐδει λέγειν, keeping silence when he ought to speak. Id. xviii. 189: cf. xviii. 191.

Χρῆν γὰρ σε μὴτ αὐτὸν ποτέ ἔιες Τροιᾶν μολεῖν, ἡμᾶς τ' ἀπειρ-γειν, for you ought yourself never to have gone to Troy, and you ought (now) to keep me away from it. SOPH. Ph. 1363. See AESCH. Ag. 879, Cho. 930; SOPH. El. 1505. Θανεῖν, θανεῖν σε, πρέβειν, χρῆν τήρος τέκνων. Eur. And. 1208. Τί ἔχρην με ποιεῖν; μή προσάγει τοῖς τρόποις (τοῖς πρέσβεις); what ought I to have done (which I did not do)? Ought I not to have proposed (as I did) to invite the ambassadors? Dem. xviii. 28. 'Εχρήν μὲν οὖν καὶ δίκαιον ἢ τοὺς τόν στέφανον οἰομένους δειν λαβεῖν αὐτοῖς δέξιος ἐπιδεικνύων τούτου, μή ἐμπακώς λέγειν' ἀπειθή δε τοῦτο παρέντες ἐκεῖνο ποιοῦν, κτλ., i.e., those who think they ought to receive the crown ought to show that they deserve it themselves, and not be abusing me; but since now they have neglected the former and do the latter, etc. Id., lxi. 3.

Σφερν δ', δ τίκν', οὐς μὲν εἰκός ἢν ποιεῖν τάδ', those of you who ought to be bearing these labours. SOPH. O. C. 342. Πρὸς τούτους τὸν ἀγώνα καταστήσας, οὐς εἰκός ἢ τῷ μὲν τέθνετο τιμορός γενεσθαί τῷ δ' ἐπεξοίνυτον βοήθειαν, who properly should have come forward to avenge the dead and to help the prosecutor. Ant. i. 2. Εἰ ἔπο τῶν πολεμίων μὲν ἐσώθημεν, οὐς εἰκός ἢ διακολαύσας μὴ σφηκτεῖα, i.e., who would naturally have tried to prevent us from being saved. Lys. xx. 36. See Dem. xi. 30. Καὶ μάλιστα εἰκός ἢν ἡμᾶς προφανοσθαί αὐτὰ καὶ μη μαλακῶς, ὡσπερ νῦν, ἔμμαχείς. Thuc. vi. 78. (The orator adds, ἀλλ' οὖθεν οὐ χρῆ τι πω ὅθ' οἱ άλλοι ἐγί τά ταύτα ἀφείρησον. Μένειν γὰρ έχρην τῷ κατηγοροῦντι τῶν άλλων, he might have stood his ground (but really he ran away). Dem. iii. 17: cf. xviii. 14, xxvii. 58; Lys. xii. 31.

Τὴν διαθήκην ἤφανκατε, ἓ ἢ ἴν εἴδειαν περὶ πάντων τὴν ἀλήθειαν, you have concealed the will, from which we (now) might know the truth about the whole matter. Dem. xxvii. 10. Τῆς ἀμετέρας ἑκάριας ἡμᾶς ἐφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν δίκαιον ἢν τῶν ἑξετασμοῦ ποιεῖσθαι, i.e. we should justly settle up our quarrel by ourselves. Id. xviii. 16: cf. 13,
where δίκαιον ἦν is understood with χρῆσθαι, he would justly have used them. Πράττων πολὺ βέλτιον ἦ σὲ προσήκον ἦν (sc. πράττων), being much better off than you deserve to be. Id. xlv. 69. Καὶ μὴν ἄρνῃν γ' ἦν ἀκούσα, indeed, it was worth your while to hear them (ἀκούσαν ἄν ἴκαούσατε). Plat. Euthyd. 304 D. The person addressed had just said οὐκ οἶος ἂν γ' ἴκαούσειν.

'Αλλα ἐπερεπεν λέγειν ὁ λέγεις, another would have becomingly said what you say (Ἄλλος δὲ ἔλεγε πρεσύντως). Plat. Rep. 474 D. Τὸ δυσχεράστατον τῶν ὄνομάτων, ὁ τῶν φθονόντων ἔργον ἦν λέγειν, ἀλλ' οὐ τῶν προετότων τῆς τοιούτης παιδείας, the most disagreeable of names (Sophist), which the envious ought to use rather than those who stand at the head of the business in question. Isoc. xiii. 19.

420. II. When this form is made the apodosis of an unreal condition (expressed or distinctly implied), it states that what the infinitive denotes would necessarily, properly, or possibly be done (or have been done) if the case supposed were a real one. The chief force of the apodosis here always lies in the infinitive, while the leading verb acts as an auxiliary (which we can generally express by ought, might, or could, or by an adverb), modifying the idea of the infinitive more or less in different cases. But when the chief stress is laid on the necessity, propriety, or possibility of the act, and not on the act itself, so that the real apodosis is in the leading verb, this takes ἂν, like any other imperfect in such an apodosis (423). In some cases, however, even when no ἂν is added, the force of the infinitive is so modified by the idea of the leading verb that the opposite of the apodosis (which is generally inferred) cannot be expressed without including both ideas (see examples in 422, 1).

421. In the following examples the infinitive represents the real apodosis, and its action is denied as when no protasis is added (419):—

Εἰ ἐπ' ἴλαιος μοῦνωσ ἐστρατηλάτει ὁ Πέρσης, χρῆν αὐτὸν πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἀπεχώροιοι λέγειοι οὕτω ἐπὶ τὴν ἒμετέρην καὶ ἀν ἔδειλον πάσιν ὡς ἐπὶ Σκύθας ξελούνει, if the Persian were making his expedition against us alone, he should leave all others and be marching directly into our country; then he would show everybody that he was marching against Scythians. Hdt. iv. 118. Δείν (ἐδείν) δὲ, εἰπὲρ ἦν δυνατὸν, ἀνεύ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτὸ λέγειθαν· νῦν δὲ ἄδυνατον. Plat. Theae. 202 A. Χρῆν σ', εἰπὲρ ἥσθα μὴ κακός, πεισταντ' με γαμείν γάμον τὸν', ἀλλὰ μὴ σταγεφίλων, i.e. if you were not base, you should make this marriage with my consent, and not (as you do) in secret from your friends, Eur. Med. 586. Εἰ τῶν (προϊκᾶ) ἐδίδοθαι, εἰκὸς ἦν καὶ τὴν δοθείαν ὑπὸ τῶν παραγενέσθαι φαντάζετον καὶ μαρτυρεῖσθαι, i.e. if he had given any dowry, it would naturally have been attested by witnesses. Isae. iii. 28. See Id. iv. 18. Ἐμὲ εἰ μὲν ἐν ἄλλαις τοῖν ἡμέραις ἤδηκρεν τι τούτων ἰδιῶτην ὅτα, ἰδιὰ καὶ δίκην προσήκειν αὐτῷ δίδοναι,
422. 1. In the following examples the idea of the infinitive is so modified by that of the leading verb, that the real apodosis (the opposite of which is implied) includes both ideas; but the chief force still remains in the infinitive, so that no ἂν is added.

Εἰ γὰρ ὑπὸ ὀδόντος τοῦ ἔθες τελευτήσει με, χρῆν δὲ σε ποιεῖν τὰ ποιεῖσθαι, νῦν δὲ ὑπὸ αἰχμῆς, for if the dream had said that I was to be killed by a tooth, then you would properly do what you now do; but it really said I was to be killed by a spear. Hdt. i. 39. (Here the real apodosis is not in ποιεῖσθαι alone, which is affirmed in τὰ ποιεῖσθαι, but in the combined idea you would do with propriety; and it is the opposite of this which is implied. Χρῆν ἂν, which might have been used, would throw the main force on the χρῆν, with the meaning it would be your duty to do.) Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄπαντις ὁμολογούμεν Φίλίππων τῇ πόλει πολέμησαι, οὔτε ἀλλο ἔδει τὸν παρίσταντα λέγειν καὶ συμβουλεύειν ἢ ὅπως ἀσφαλέστατα αὐτὸν ἀμνοῦσθαι, i.e. if then we were all agreed that Philip is at war with us, the speaker ought to say nothing else and to give no other advice than this, etc. (but it is added that, as there is a difference of opinion, it is necessary, ἀνάγκη ἔστω, to speak on another subject also). Dem. ix. 6. (This implies not he does speak, etc., but he is bound to speak, etc. 'Εδει ἂν would merely have thrown the balance of force upon the necessity, whereas now it falls on the speaking and advising.) Εἰ γὰρ παρ' ἔμει ἐπείθη τῷ γραμματείῳ, ἐνὴν αἰτιάσασθαι. Ἀπαστομίζω ὅσ' ἐγὼ ἱφάνικα τᾶς συνθήκας, for if the account-book had been given me to keep, A. might possibly have charged me with putting the contract out of the way (implying that, as it was, he could not charge me with this). Id. xxxiii. 37. Εἰ μὲν εὔφρα μεταμέλουσι τῇ πόλει τῶν πεπραγμένων, οὐκ ἔδει τὴν θαυμάζειν αὐτὸν, if he had seen that the state repented of her acts, we should have no good reason for being surprised at him (implying we now have good reason for surprise, ἐδειξαν θαυμάζομεν). Isoc. xviii. 21.

The preceding examples confirm the reading of the best Mss. in
2. In concessive sentences introduced by καὶ εἰ, even if, οὔτε εἰ, not even εἰ, or εἰ, although, containing unreal conditions, where the action of the apodosis is not denied but affirmed (see 412, 3), the real apodosis may be represented by an infinitive and a leading verb like ἔδει, ἔχειν, etc. combined. E.g.

Οὐκ ἔχειν αὐτῷ δικαίωσθαι περὶ τῶν τούτων γεγενημένων, οὐδὲ εἰ πάντα ταῦτα ἤν πεποιηκός ἂ φορίν οὖσα, ἦν καὶ μὴ μόνον διὰ τοῦτο ἄν, ἔδει ἄν, ἔνειν ἄν, καὶ δεῖν ἄν ἂν ἦν would make the same change in the balance of force that χρῆν ἄν, ἔδει ἄν, ἔνειν ἄν, καὶ δεῖν ἄν ἂν would make in the preceding examples.

423. (*ἔδει ἄν, etc.) The examples in 421, 1 and 2, show that the common rule for distinguishing ἔδει etc. with the infinitive (without ἄν) from ἔδει ἄν etc. with the infinitive,—that the former is used when the action of the infinitive is denied, the
latter when the obligation, propriety, or possibility is denied, —often cannot be applied, though as a working rule it can be used in the great majority of cases. While there are many sentences in which either form would express the required sense, the essential distinction is, that the form without ἄν is used when the chief force of the apodosis falls on the infinitive, the leading verb being an auxiliary (see 420); but the leading verb takes ἄν when the chief force falls on the necessity, propriety, or possibility of the act, rather than on the act itself.

The following examples will illustrate the form with ἄν:—

Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ ἔτι ἐν δυνάμει ἥν τοῦ βράδιως πορεύεσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἀστυ, οὔδέν ἂν σὲ ἔδει δεῦρό λέναι: ἄλλον ἥμεις ἂν παρὰ σὲ ἤμεν; νῦν δὲ σὲ χρῆ πυκνότερον δεῦρο λέναι, i.e. in that case there would be no need (as there now is) of your coming hither. Plat. Rep. 328 C. Τῷ μὲν πατρὶ αὐτῆς, εἰ παῖδες ἄρρενες μὴ ἀγνόντως, οὐκ ἂν εἴην ἂνεν τάς τις διαθέσει, her father, if he had had no male children, would not have been allowed to leave her out of his will (implying ἄλλος εἴη). Isae. x. 13. Εἰ οὖν παρεκαλοῦμεν ἄλληλους ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκοδομικά, πότερον ἔδει ἂν ἡμᾶς σκέψασθαι ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐξετάσαι εἰ ἐπιστάμεθα τὴν τέχνην; ἔδει ἂν ἂς σὺ; i.e. in that case would it be needful or not to examine ourselves and inquire whether we understand the art? Plat. Gorg. 514 A. See also Dem. iv. 1, quoted in 410.

A comparison of these examples with those in 422, i, will show the distinction between the two forms and also the narrowness of the line which sometimes separates them.

For a discussion of χρὴν and χρὴν ἄν in Dem. xviii. 195, and of χρὴν and ἐχρὴν ἄν in Lys. xii. 32 and 48, and for other remarks on these constructions, see Appendix V.

424. 1. The imperfect ὀφελλὼν or ὀφελλὼν of ὀφέλλω (Epic of ὀφελέω), oose, debee, and the aorist ὀφελὼν or ὀφελὼν are sometimes used with the infinitive in Homer like χρὴν, ἔδει, etc. in the later construction (415). E.g.

Τυμῆν πέρ μοι ὀφελεῖν Ὀλυμπίος ἐγγυαλίξαι Ζεὺς ὑψίβρε-μέτης· νῦν δ' οὔδε με τυθόν ἔτισεν, i.e. Zeus ought to have secured me honour; but now he has not honoured me even a little. II. i. 353. Νῦν ὄφελέω κατὰ πάντας ἀρσητίας πονεῖσθαι λιπαρόν, now ought he to be labouring among all the nobles, beseeching them. II. x. 117. Ἀλλ' Ὀφελεῖν ἀθανάτους εὐχεσθαι, but he ought to have prayed to the Gods. II. xxiii. 546. For the reference to present time in II. x. 117, see 246 and 734.

2. From this comes the common use of this form in expressions of a wish, in Homer and in Attic Greek; as ὀφελέει Κύρος ἔτιν, would that Cyrus were living (lit. Cyrus ought to be living), Xen. An. ii. 1, 4. (See 734.)

425. Similar to this is the occasional use of ἐβουλόμεν (with-
out āv) and the infinitive, to express what some one wishes were now true (but which is not true). E.g.

'Εβουλόμην μὲν οὖν καὶ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸς ἐκκλησίας ὀρθῶς διοικεῖσθαι καὶ τοὺς νῦμοις ἵσχυειν, I would that both the Senate and the assemblies were rightly managed, and that the laws were in force (implying the opposite of ὀρθῶς διοικεῖσθαι and ἵσχυειν). This is analogous to ὁδελεν εἰναι, would that it were, and ἕδει εἰναι, it ought to be (but is not). Aeschin. iii. 2. Ἐβουλόμην μὲν οὖν ἐρίζειν ἐνθάδε, I would that I were not contending here (as I am), or I would not be contending here. A. R. 866. Ἐβουλόμην τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ λέγειν εἴ ὦν μοι καθεστάναι τῇ συμφορῇ, I would that power of speech equal to my misfortune were granted me. Ant. v. i. Ἐβουλόμην καὶ τὰληθῆ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν δινηθῆναι, I would that I had found the power to tell you the truth. Isae. x. 1. Ἐβουλόμην μὴν ὑφ' ἐνός ἀδικεῖσθαι τὸν πολίταν, I would I had not been wronged by a single one of the citizens. Id. Frag. 4 (Scheibe): see Frag. 22.

426. Ἐβουλόμην ἄν, vellem, I should wish or I should have liked, can always be used as a potential indicative, like ἔδει ἄν etc. (423): see Ar. Ecol. 151; Aeschin. iii. 115. (See 246.)

427. (a) The aorist of κινδυνεῖν is used with the infinitive, as a periphrasis for the verb of the infinitive with āv. E.g.

Ἡ πόλις ἐκινδύνευε πάρα διαφθαρῆναι εἰ ἄνεμος ἐπεγένετο, the city ran the risk of being utterly destroyed if a wind had arisen. Thuc. iii. 74. Εἰ μὴ ἐξεσάγομεν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐκινδυνεύσαμεν ἀπολέσθαι, we ran the risk of perishing had we not fled to Delphi, i.e. we should very probably have perished if we had not fled. Aeschin. iii. 123. For ἐκινδύνεσα ἄν see (b) below.

So with κίνδυνος ἄν: as in And. ii. 12, εἰ τὸτε τὰ ἐπιτηδεῖα μὴ εἰσηχθῇ, οὐ περὶ τοῦ σώσαι τὰς Ἀθῆνας ὁ κίνδυνος ἄν αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον ἦ, κ.τ.λ., i.e. they ran a risk, in case the supplies had not then been brought in, not so much about saving Athens, as, etc.

(b) When the chief force of the apodosis lies in ἐκινδύνεσα, even though the meaning is not much affected by the distinction in form, āv is used (as with ἔδει etc. in 423). So in Xen. An. iv. 1, 11, εἰ πλεῖον συνελέγησαν, ἐκινδύνεσαν ἄν πολὺ διαφθαρῆναι τοῦ στρατεύματος, if more had been collected, there would have been danger of much of the army being destroyed.

428. (a) The imperfect of μέλλω with the infinitive may express a past intention or expectation which was not realised, and so take the place of the verb of the infinitive with āv. E.g.

Ἡ μάλα ὁ Ἀγαμέμνονος φθίσεσθαι κακῶν οὖσον ἐμελλὼν, εἰ μὴ . . . ἔπεσον, i.e. I should have perished like A. (lit. I was to have perished), εἰ thou hadst not spoken. Od. xiii. 383. Μέλλεν μὲν τοτε οῖκος ὁ δ' ἀδελφοὶ καὶ ἀδέλφων ἐμεναι· νῦν δ' ἐτέρως ἐβδολόντο θεοί, this house was to have been rich and glorious; but now the Gods have willed it otherwise. Od. i. 232. Οὐ συστρατεύσασθαι ἐμελλὼν, they were
not going to join him, or they would not have joined him (in that case).

DEM. xix. 159; see xviii. 172. "Ἡττόν τὸ ἐδίκημα παλλάν οὐσῶν ἔμελλε ἔδηλον ἔστεφαν, the offence would have been less plain when there were many (olive trees). Lys. vii. 24. See Thuc. v. 38, κέλλουτες προσέρεξ, εἰ ταῦτα ἔπαιναι, πειράσεσθαι. Compare the Latin: Hoc facturi erant, nisi venisset, they were to have done this (would have done this), had he not come. 1

(b) A single case of ἄν with ἔμελλεν occurs in And. i. 21: εἰ καὶ πατὴρ ἔβουλεν ὑπομένειν, τοὺς φίλους ἄν οἰσθῆ... ἐπετρέπειν αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ ἄν ἤρθε παρατείνῃ καὶ δεῦσθαι ἀπάναι ὅπου ἐν ἔμελλεν σωθῆσεσθαι; i.e. to depart to a place where he would have been likely to be safe. Most critics repudiate this ἄν; but it seems perfectly analogoues to ἄν with ἔδει, χρήν, etc. (423).

429. Similar is the use of ἐφην in Od. iv. 171: καὶ μὲν ἐφην ἐλθόντα φιλήσει μεν ἔχοιν ἄλλων, εἰ νῦν νόστον ἔδωκεν (Zeus), i.e. I intended to love him (and should have done so) had Zeus granted us a return.

430. An analogous case is Lys. xii. 60: ἀπολέσαι παρεσκευάζοντα τῷ πολέμῳ εἰ μὴ δὲ ἄνδρας ἀγαθούς, they were preparing to destroy the city (and would have destroyed it) had it not been for good men.

431. A few expressions which have no dependent infinitive are practically equivalent to a potential indicative with ἄν, and so can stand as the apodosis of an unreal condition. E.g.

Τοῦτο δ' εἰ μή ὀμολογοῦσιν ὁ ὁθός ἔβουλετο, οὐδεμία ἐγώς ἔνοχος ἦν, but if they had not acknowledged to him what he wanted, he was liable to no charge (i.e. he could not have been accused). Lys. vii. 37. "Ὤς, εἰ μὲν τὸ ἐπὶ αὐτοφάρφη μὴ προσεγγίσατο, ἕνοχος ἄν (= ἦν) τῇ ἀπαγωγῇ, assuming that, if the words ἐπὶ αὐτοφάρφη had not been added, he might properly have been tried by ἀπαγωγῇ. Id. xiii. 65. Πυτεύοντος γὰρ ἐμῶν ἐμοὶ εἰδέναι ἅ λέγω, καλῶς εἰ ἔχει ἡ παρμνηθείαι, i.e. for if I trusted (= εἰ ἐπιστεύον) to any knowledge of what I am saying, the consolation which you offer would encourage me (lit. your consolation was good on that supposition). PLAT. Rep. 450 D. (We might have had καλὸν ἦν σε παρμνηθείαι in the same sense.) Εἰ τὸ κωλυται τὴν τῶν Ἐλλήνων κοινωνίαν ἐπιστράκειν ἐγὼ Φιλίππη, soi τὸ μή συγήραι λοιπὸν ἦν, in that case it remained for you not to keep silent (i.e. you should not have kept silent). DEM. xviii. 23. (The article with συγήραι only slightly distinguishes this from the examples under 421.)

432. The same explanation applies to other cases in which a rhetorical omission of ἄν in apodosis is commonly assumed; as in

1 This use of ἔμελλοι with the infinitive corresponds precisely to the Sanskrit use of the past future tense in the sense of the Greek aorist indicative with ἄν. Thus "if he had said (vāksayat) this, he would have slain (śanahayat) Indra" (Cat. Brah. i. 6. 3"), where the two verbs are augmented past futures, meaning literally he was going to say and he was going to slay. See Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar, § 950.
EUROPEC 1113, eide μη Φρυγίων πύργους πεσόντας ἵμανεν Ἑλλήνων
dóri, φόβον παρέσχε καὶ άρδροσος ἵκετο
ςώμα, for it had been a greater gain. ῾Οδυσσέας had returned (for κέρδοιν
kαλὸν ἦν αὐτῷ, εἰ ὄν ἕγενθη δ ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖνος, it had been good
for that man if he had not been born (for καλὸν ἦν αὐτῷ μὴ γεννηθήναι).
Eí de ἀποφεύγεται, κρείττων ἦν ὁ άγών μὴ γεγενημένος (= εἰ μὴ
ἦγεγένητο), but if he is acquitted, if it is better that the trial had never
taken place (for κρείττων ἦν τὸν άγώνα μὴ γεγενηθέναι). Aesch. i. 192.
This occasional substitution of a protasis does not indicate that the
infinitive in κρείττων ἦν αὐτῷ ἠλθειν, he had better have gone, was felt
as a protasis. We could substitute for this English it were better if he
had gone, but only by a change of construction.

HOMERIC PECULIARITIES.

434. In Homer the construction of the unreal conditional sentence
is not completely developed. It is not improbable
that in the primitive language the optative could express in a
rough way both present and past unreal conditions, and in
Homer the present unreal condition is still expressed only by
the present optative (438).

435. The aorist indicative in Homer, both in prothesis and in
apodosis with ἂν or κέ, is used as in Attic Greek; but the
imperfect is always past, never present. 1 E.g.

Καί νῦ κε δή ξεφέσοι αὐτοῦχεδόν οὐτάξοντο, εἰ μὴ κύρικες
ἡ λόθον, they would have wounded each other, had not heralds come. Ili.
vii. 273. "Εὐθα κε λογοῦς ξῆν καὶ ἄμιχανα ἐργα γένοντο, εἰ μὴ ἀρ'
ἀξίω νόμες πατήρ ἄδρων τε θεόν τε, then there would have been, etc. Ili.
viii. 130. So viii. 366. Καί νῦ κε δή προτέρω ἐτ ἐρις γένετ' ἄρ-
φοτέροισὼν, εἰ μὴ Ἀχιλλειᾶς αὐτὸς ἀνίστατο καὶ κατέρυκεν. Ili.
xxii. 490. See ll. 504; Od. xvi. 221, xxiv. 51.

1 Mr. Monro (Hom. Gr. p. 236) doubts this statement, and refers to Od.
iv. 178, καί εἴ τι πάντες ἔστε ἔστε τοίς ἐμιτραχεόμεθα, oibde kev ὑμᾶς ἀλλο δέκαραν, as
a case in which "the imperfect ἐμπροσθεῖται takes in the present time, we
should (from that time till now) have been meeting." It seems to me that,
according to the Homeric usage, we can find no more in ἐμπροσθεῖται κέ
than we should have had frequent meetings, and the rest comes from the con-
text. In any case, this use is far removed from the Attic ἐπεχειροῦσα ἂν ἐπὶ
βασιλεῖα, we should (now) be on our way to the King (410). A nearer approach
to the later use perhaps appears in Ili. xxiv. 220, εἰ μὴ γάρ τις μ' ἄλλος ἐκε-
ἰλευν, if any other (had f) commanded us. But see ll. 80.
HOMERIC UNREAL CONDITIONS

436. We find the imperfect referring to present time in Theognis: see vs. 905, ει μεν γαρ κατειδίων βιότων τέλος ην, εἰκός ἄν ην. See Pind. Nem. iv. 13.

437. In II. xxiii. 526, ει' κε is found with the aorist indicative in protasis, κε apparently adding nothing to the sense:—

Εἰ δὲ κ' ἔτι προτέρω γένετο δρόμος ἀμφοτέρων,

Τῇ κεν μν' παρέλασ'o οὖδ' ἀμφοτέρων ἔθηκεν.

438. (Optative in present unreal Conditions.) In Homer a present unfilled condition is regularly expressed by the present optative with εἰ, and its apodosis (if present) by the present optative with κε or ἄν.

The only instance of this form in both protasis and apodosis is II. xxiii. 274, εἰ μέν νῦν ἔτι ἄλλω ἀ' θλεύοιμεν Ἀχαιών, ἦ τ' ἄν ἓγω τά πρῶτα λαβών κλωτόνει φερομιμην, if we were now contending in honour of any other (than Patroclus), I should take the first prize and bear it to my tent. Twice we have the optative with ἄν in apodosis with the regular imperfect or aorist indicative (past) in the protasis: II. ii. 80, εἰ μέν τις τῶν ὀνειρον ἄλλος ἐνιστεν, ψεύδος κεν φαίμεν καὶ νοσφίξοιμεθα μᾶλλον, if any other had told the dream, we should call it a lie and rather turn away from it; and the same apodosis after εἰ τίς μ' ἄλλος ἐκέλευς, in II. xxiv. 222. In Od. ii. 184, αὐκ αὖ τόσσα θεοπροπέων ἄγορενες, οὐδὲ κε Τηλέμαχον κεχολαμένοι δε' ἄνειτις, we have first the imperfect with ἄν as a past apodosis, (in that case) you would not have made this speech with all its divination; and then the present optative with κε as present, now would you be urging Telemachus on, as you now are; both referring to an unfilled past condition, if you had perished, suggested by καταφθόισθαι ὀφελες in vs. 183.

439. See the corresponding use of the present optative in Homer to express an unaccomplished present wish (739). In both wishes and conditional sentences, it must be remembered, the use of the optative in its ordinary future sense is completely established in Homer. See examples in 455 and 722.

440. (Optative in past unreal Apodosis.) Homer has four cases of the optative with κε (three aorist and one present) in the apodosis referring to the past, with the regular indicative in the protasis expressing a past unfilled condition. These are—

Καὶ νῦ κεν ἐνθ' ἀπόλοιτο ἄναξ ἀνέρων Αινείων, εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ἐξ ἐνόησε Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη, Αένεας would have perished, had not Aphrodite quickly perceived him. II. v. 311. Καὶ νῦ κεν ἐνθ' ἀπόλοιτο ἄναξ ἀνέρων Αινείων, εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ἐξ ἐνόησε Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη, Αένεας would have perished, had not Aphrodite quickly perceived him. II. v. 311.
"Αρης ἄτος τολέμωι, εἰ μὴ Ἡρείβοια Ἐρμέρ ἔζηγηγελεν. Π. ν. 388. ὦ κε θανάτων περ ὀδικ άκαχομην, εἰ μετὰ ὀις ἐτάφωι δαμῆ Τώας ἐνι δήμη, I should not have felt so grieved if he had perished, thanάτων (= eἰ ἐθανέν) being further explained by eἰ. . . δάμη. Od. i. 236. Ἐνθα κε ρέα φέροι κλατά τείχεα, εἰ μὴ οἱ ἁγάσαστο Φώβως Ἀπόλλων, he would easily have borne away the famous armour had not Phoebus Apollo grudged him. Π. xvii. 70. Here ἀπώλετο, ἀκαχόμην, and ἕφερε would be the regular forms even in Homer, corresponding to the regular protases.

441. In the transitional state of the Homeric language we see that the past tenses of the indicative had fully established themselves in the protasis of past unreal conditions, but not so thoroughly in the apodosis, where the optative occasionally occurs. In present unreal conditions, the optative alone is used in both protasis and apodosis.

442. Besides the full conditional sentences above quoted, we find in Homer many potential optatives with κε or ἄν which seem to belong to the borderland between past and future conclusions, and are not definitely fixed in the past (like the apodeses in 440) by a past tense in the protasis.

Such are especially φαίης κε, as in Π. iii. 220, xv. 697, and οὖδε κε φαίης, as in Π. iv. 429, xvii. 366, Od. iii. 124, Π. iii. 392. In the first four cases it seems most natural to translate them as past, you would have said, nor would you have said; but in the last two cases it is more natural to translate nor would you say (future), and so with φαίην κεν, Π. vi. 285. But in the fluid state of the language which allowed both ἀπώλετο κε and ἀπόλλυτο κε to mean he would have perished, and φέροι κε to mean both he would carry (fut.) and he would have carried, according to the protasis which was used with them, it is easy to understand how φάιης κε (without a protasis) might have a vague potential force, you might perchance say, which could be felt as either past or future as the context demanded. We must, therefore, hold that the optative with κε in such cases expresses merely what could happen, without any limitations of time except such as are imposed by the context; and according to the limitations thus imposed we translate such optatives (with more exactness than they really possess) either as past or as future. In one case the feeling of past time is seen in the dependent verb: Π. ν. 85, Τυυεδήν δ' οὖκ ἕν γνωίης ποτέρως μετείη, you would not have known to what side he belonged. (This occurs in the same book of the Iliad with both the examples of ἀπόλλυτο κε for ἀπώλετο κε.)

Other examples are the following:—

Οὖκ ἄν ἐπείτ' Ὀδυσῆι γ' ἐρισθείειν βροτῶς ἄλλος, no other mortal could then vie with Ulysses (after a past verb). Π. iii. 223. "Ενθ' οὖκ ἄν βρίθοντα ὅν Ἀγαμέμνορα δόν, Π. iv. 223. "Ενθ' οὖ κεν ἰὸν ἰππος ἐσβαίη, πειοί δ' μευνίεον εἰ τελέοιν (the connection with μευνίεον gives ἐσβαίη a past direction). Π. xii. 58. "Ενθα κ' ἐπείτα καὶ άθανάτος περ ἐπελθὼν θηρίσαιτο ἰδὼν καὶ ταρφθεὶς φρεσὶν
HOMERIAN USAGES IN HERODOTUS AND IN ATTIC GREEK.

443. (a) Herodotus has a few cases of the potential optative with the same vague reference to time which has been noticed in Homer (442), and we may sometimes translate these, like those in Homer, by past expressions. E.g.

Τάχα δὲ ἄν καὶ οἱ ἀποδόμενοι λέγοιεν ἀπικόλυκον ἐς Σπάρτην ὡς ἀπελευθεύσαντο ὑπὸ Σαμῖων, and perhaps those who sold it (the cup) might come to Sparta and tell that they had been robbed of it. Hdt. i. 70 (see Stein’s note). All that the optative itself seems to express is that this would be a natural story for them to tell. In vii. 214, εἶδείν μὲν γὰρ ἄν καὶ ἕως Ἡμλείνω ταῦτην τὴν ἀπαλλαγήν Ὀνίτης, εἰ τῷ Χάρι πολλὰ ὄμηκος εἰς, for Onetes, even if he was not a Malian, might know this path, supposing him to have had much acquaintance with the country, the optative in protasis (expressing no condition contrary to fact) shows that εἰδεὶν ἄν is not felt to be past. See also vii. 180, τάχα δὲ ἄν τι ἐπαύρωσε; viii. 136, τάχα ἄν προλέγω, might perhaps warn him; i. 71, τοῦτα ἄν εἴποιεν, they might say this.

For εἰσραν δὲ ἄν ὅστις Κρήτης, Hdt. i. 2, and similar expressions, see 238.

(b) In Eur. Med. 568, οἶδ' ἄν σὺ φαίνῃς εἰ σε μὴ κτίσοι λέχος, the condition seems to be present and contrary to fact, like εἰ μὴ ἔκνυεν. See also Plat. Menex. 240 D, ἐν τούτω δὴ ἄν τις γενόμενος γνῶτι σὺ ἄρα ἐπιγραμμαν ὄντες, κ.τ.λ. Such examples are extremely rare in Attic Greek.

(b) FUTURE CONDITIONS.

1. Subjunctive or Future Indicative in Protasis with a future Apodosis.

444. When a supposed future case is stated distinctly and vividly (as if I shall go or if I go in English) the protasis generally takes the subjunctive with ἐὰν, ἢν, or ἄν (a) (Epic εἰ κε or αἱ κε). The apodosis takes the future indicative or some other form expressing future time, to denote what will be the result if the condition of the protasis is fulfilled. E.g.

'Εκ τῆς λάβῃς, δὲ μει ὅσα, ἢν (shall) receive anything, I will give it to you. 'Εάν τι λάβῃς, δῶσο μοι, ἢν you receive anything, give it to me. Ἔι δὲ κεν ὃς ἐρέξαι καὶ τοι πείθων ταῖ 'Αχαιοῖς, γνῶσῃ ἐπειδ' ὃς ὃς ἡγεμόνων κύκος ἄν τε νυ λαῶν, but if you shall do thus and the Achaeans
obey you, you will then learn both which of the leaders and which of the soldiers is bad. II. ii. 364. Αἱ κʼ αὐτῶν γνώς νημερτέα πάντε ἐνπόντα, ἐστὼ μὲν χαλαίνα τε χυτοῦν τε, εἰμάτα καλά. Od. xvi. 549. So αἱ κε δῶσῃ, II. i. 128. Εἰ κεν κεν Μενέλαον Ἀλέξανδρον καταπερήνη, αὐτῶς ἑσεθ Ἐλένην ἐχέτω καὶ κτήματα πάντα, ἥμεις δὲ ἐν γνώσει νεόμεθα πολὺπροῦσιν εἰ δὲ κ ᾧ Ἀλέξανδρον κτείνῃ ζεύσθως Μενέλαος, Τρῶας ἐπείδ Ελένην καὶ κτήματα πάντα ἀποδοῦναι. II. iii. 251. Here ἐχέτω, νεόμεθα (sub. in exhortation), and ἀποδοῦναι (infin. for imperative) are in the apodosis. Αἰκα τύρος ζῇ λη κεραντ τράγον, αἰγα τῷ λαβῷ. Theor. i. 4. "Ἀν δε τις ἀνθιστήτα, σὺν ὦν πειρα- σώμεθα ἄφετον σάθα, ἂν ὅσπερ ἑν σοφῷ ἑν χρή, ἂν ὃσον ἐν αὐτῷ πράξῃ, τῶν ὁμοίων πράξῃ, τῷ τούτο ποιεῖν, and if we shall not now be willing to fight him there, we shall perhaps be forced to do so here. Dem. iv. 50. (Here νῦν refers to time immediately following the present: if we are not now willing would be εἰ μὴ νῦν ἔθελομεν.) "Ἡν γαρ ταῦτα καλὸς ὀργώμεθα, ἀμείνων βούλευσόμεθα καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων. Isern. viii. 18. "Ἡν δὲ τὴν εἰρήνην ποιησόμεθα, καὶ τοιούτους ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς παράσχω- μεν, μετὰ πολλῆς ἀσφαλείας τὴν πόλιν οἰκήσομεν. Il. viii. 20. Ἐὰν όν εἰς νῦν, πότε ἔσθε οἶκοι; Xen. Cyg. v. 3, 27. Καὶ χρῶ αὐτοῖς, ἐὰν ἔγε τι, and use them, if there shall be any need. Il. v. 4, 30. "Ἡν μὲν πόλεμον αἰρήσθε, μηκέτι ἥκετε δεδομ ἄνεν ὀπλῶν, εἰ σοφρονεῖτε ἢ δὲ εἰρήνης δοκήτε δεύσατε, ἄνεν ὀπλῶν ἥκετε ὡς δὲ καλῶς ἔσθε τὰ ῥύπατα, ἢν φίλοι γένησθε, ἐμοὶ μελήσητε. Il. iii. 2, 13. Ἐὰν γὰρ τι σε φανὼ κακῶν πεποιηκὼς, ὄμολογῳ ἀδικῶν ἐὰν μὴ τοις μηδὲν φαίνωμαι κακῶν πεποιηκὼς μηδὲ βουλήσεις, οὐ καὶ σοῦ ὁ δὲ μοί λογίσεις μηρῦν ὑπ’ ὑμοῦ ὀκεύσομαι; Il. v. 5, 13. (Here ὄμολογῳ, I am ready to confess, refers to the future.) 'Εὰν μὴ ἢ ὅιοι φιλόσοφοι βασιλεύσωσιν ἢ οἱ βασιλῆς φιλοσοφήσωσιν, οὐκ ἐστὶ κακῶν παδᾶ βας τῶν πόλεων, unless either the philosophers shall become kings or the kings philosophers, there is no escape from troubles for states. Plat. Rep. 473 D. 'Αδεις ἐκὼν κτείνειν ἑαυτῶν, ὃν ταῦτα ἐν αὐτῷ, ζῆν ἐν αὐτῷ, ζῆν λαγών, he offers himself willingly to suffer death in case he shall be proved false in this that he says. Socr. Ph. 1342. Μυθαγορέα παῦσιν, ἐὰν τε χρισόν ἡρπακὼς τοῦ πολιοῦ, μὴ ὑποδοῦ τούτο, ἐὰν τε μαθατόν ἀξία ἡδικίας τοῦ, ὅπως μὴ ἀποδοῦται, if he shall (prove to) have stolen much gold, we must contrive that he shall not restore it; and if he shall have committed crimes deserving death, that he shall not die. Plat. Gorg. 481 A (for the perfects see 103). "Ἡν σε τὸν λοιπὸν τὸν ἀφέλομαι χρόνον, κάκωσιν ἀπολοίμην, i.e. may I perish, if I ever take them away. Ar. Ran. 586. (See 181.)

445. It will be seen that the apodosis here (444) may consist of any future expression,—the future indicative, the imperative, the subjunctive in exhortations and prohibitions, the infinitive in any future, sense, the potential optative with ἄν, or the optative in a wish. It may also contain a present indicative including a reference to the future, like χρή or δέ or the verbal in τέσσαρα, or the present
used emphatically for the future, like ὁμολογῶ above quoted (444) from Xen. Cyrt. v. 5, 13, or πάλα ἔστι in Plat. Rep. 473 D.

446. The English, especially the colloquial language, seldom expresses the distinction between this form of the future condition and the present condition (402). Thus modern custom allows us to use the inexact expression if he wishes, not merely for εἰ βουλέται, if he now wishes, but also for ἐὰν βουλέται, if he shall wish. The sense, however, generally makes the distinction in time clear.

It is worth noting that the Authorised Version of the English New Testament never uses forms like if he does, if he is, in either future or present conditions, even when the Greek has the present indicative with εἰ; but it has either the subjunctive or the future indicative in future conditions, and the subjunctive in present conditions. The Revised Version, on the other hand, admits the present indicative (as if he is) in present conditions, but not consistently. See Luc. xxiii. 35, εἰ οὖν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός, A.V. if he be Christ, R.V. if this is the Christ; but in Matt. vi. 23, εἰ οὖν τὸ φῶς τὸ ἐν σοὶ κόσμος ἐστιν, both versions have if therefore the light that is in thee be darkness. See also Cor. ii. v. 17.

447. (Future Indicative in Protasis.) The future indicative with εἰ is often used in the protasis to express a future condition. This is a still stronger form of expression than the subjunctive, though it sometimes alternates with it in the same sentence. Both, however, correspond to the English if I shall do this, if I do this, etc. The future, as an emphatic form, is especially common when the condition contains a strong appeal to the feelings or a threat or warning. It is thus a favourite construction with the tragedians. E.g.

Εἰ γὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς οἶδα ἔτι Τρῶσσι μακεδονίας ἐποιεῖται, οὐδὲ μὴν ἔλθῃ ἔνποτε Πελεύς. If Achilles shall fight alone against the Trojans, not even a little while will they keep back the swift son of Peleus. II. xx. 26. Ei δὲ σὺ γὲς πόλεμον πολλήσεια, ἢ τε σὺ δόσῃς πόλεμον γε, καὶ εἰ Χ’ ἐπέρρωσε πάρθιμοι, if you shall mingle in the battle, verily do I believe you will shudder at the very name of battle, even if you hear it elsewhere (away from the war). II. v. 350. Ei δὲ μοι οὖ τί σοι βοῶν ἐξηκείρα ἄμφοτεροι, δεικνύω, εἰς Ἀδαμα καὶ ἐν νεκρισθεὶς φαίνω, but if

1 In "minatory and monitory conditions"; see Gildersleeve in Trans. of Am. Phil. Assoc. for 1876, p. 13. This article contains an enumeration of all the cases of εἰ with the subjunctive in future conditions and of εἰ with the future indicative in the three tragedians. It appears that in Aeschylus there are 23 cases of the future and only 8 of the subjunctive; in Sophocles 67 futures and 55 subjunctives; in Euripides 131 futures and 177 subjunctives. If we omit the futures which are equivalent to μέλλω with an infinitive, for which the subjunctive could not be substituted (see 407), we have in Aeschylus 15 futures in future conditions and 8 subjunctives; in Sophocles 46 and 55; in Euripides 98 and 177. In Attic prose Thucydides and Lysias have the largest proportion of futures; but in prose, as in Aristophanes, the subjunctives always preponderate.
they do not pay me a proper recompense for my cattle, I (the Sun) will descend to Hadès and shine among the dead. Od. xii. 382. Ἐὶ δὲ πρὸς τοῦτοι ἔτι τελευτήσει τὸν βίον εὖ, οὗτος ἐκεῖνος τὸν σὺ ὤφελεῖς ἄλβιος κεκληρίθαι ἄξιός ἐστι, and if besides he shall still end his life well, he is that happy man you are seeking. Ὡδ. i. 32. Ἀλλὰ εἰ σὲ μάρτυς ψῆφος, Ἀλλὰ ἑτέρι τάχα, but if the judgment shall lay hold of you, you will soon tell another story. Aesch. Eum. 597. See Prom. 311, Sept. 196, Suppl. 472, 474, 924, Cho. 683. Ἐὶ ταῦτα λέεις, ἐχθαρέει μὲν ἐξ ἐμοῦ. Soph. Ant. 93. See Ant. 229, 324, O. T. 844, 846, O. C. 628, Ph. 75, El. 465, 834, 1004. Ἐἰ τῷ ἀρχέεις, κακὸς φανεῖ, if you aid this man, you will appear base. Eur. Hec. 1233. Μὴ ἐφε, ἐὰν μὴ φάσαγον σπάσω. Id. Or. 1147. See Hec. 802, Or. 157, 272, 1212, Med. 346, 352, 381. Ἐὶ μὴ καθέεις γλώσσαν, ἦταν σοι κακός. Eur. Ag. Fr. 5. Ἐἰ δὲ μή τούτ', ἐπίθεεις, πῶς χρή ταύτη τῇ προκλήσει προσέχεις ἄμα τῶν νοῦν. Dem. xxvii. 52. Ἐἰ δ' ὑμεῖς ἀλλ' τι γνώσεσθε, δ' μὴ γένοιτο, τίνα οὐκ θέλει αὐτὴν φυγῇν ἕξειν; but if you shall give any other judgment, etc. Id. xxviii. 21. (Referring to the same thing, xxvii. 67, Demosthenes had said εἶν γὰρ ἀποφθέγγυ με οὖσα, δ' μὴ γένοιτο, τὴν ἐπιβεβλημένον ὀφλῆσιν.) Ἡν ἐπηλικοῖς εἰσεὗρησεν ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων, εὐδοκιμοῦσθαι εἰ δὲ φοβησάμεθα τῶν κυνόνων, εἰς πολλὰς ταραχὰς καταστάσεος ἄμα αὐτοῖς. Isoc. vi. 107. Here what is feared is expressed by the emphatic future as a warning, while the alternative that is preferred has the subjunctive. See also Dem. xviii. 17, where ἐὰν προηγήσεσθε θ' ἑμεῖς, εἰ τι δύσκολον πέπρακται Ἡρακλέους πρὸς ἔμας, τούτων μεμνησθάπται. if we shall prefer to remember every unpleasant thing the Thebans have ever done to us, is vividly stated by the future, as this is the course which the orator specially fears and wishes to warn the people against; while he puts his own proposition into the milder subjunctive form, ἵνα μέντοι πεισθήτ' ἔμοι καὶ πρὸς τῷ σκοπεῖν ἄλλα μὴ φιλουνεικείν γένοιται. See also Isoc. xv. 130. In other cases it is difficult to detect any distinction, as in Dem. xxvii. 67 and xxviii. 21 (above), and in Hdt. i. 71; cf. Il. i. 135 and 137.

448. The future in protasis is also appropriately used when a future apodosis is implied in a past tense; as in Soph. O. T. 843, εἰ λέεις τὸν αὐτὸν ἀριθμὸν, οὐκ ἐγὼ κτάνον, if he shall tell the same number (it will follow that) I did not kill him. So Eur. Med. 1249.

449. This use of the future must be distinguished from its use in present conditions (407), where it is equivalent to μέλλω and the infinitive and cannot be interchanged with the subjunctive.

HOMERIC PECULIARITIES.

In the Homeric language the following peculiarities appear in this construction:—

450. By far the most common Homeric form with the sub-
junctive in future conditions is ei ke, often ei μέν ke, ei δέ ke, etc. (218). "Ην also is frequent, being the only Homeric contraction of ei ἂν. Ei δ' ἂν occurs in II. iii. 288, and ei περ ἂν in II. v. 224 and 232. "Ην περ γάρ κ' έθελοσιν is found in Od. xviii. 318.

451. Ei ke or ai ke is sometimes found even with the future indicative in Homer. E.g.

Αλ κεν ἄνευ ἔμεθεν 'Πλών πεφιδήστεται οὐδ' ἐθέλησει ἐκπέρδησαι, ὥστε τότε. II. xv. 213. (See 196.)

452. The subjunctive with ke is sometimes used in the apodosis instead of the future indicative, thus making the apodosis correspond in form to the protasis. E.g.

Εἰ δέ κε μή δώσων, εγώ δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἔλωμαι, and if he do not give her up, I will take her myself. II. i. 324 (compare i. 137). This gives a form with two subjunctives analogous to that which has the optative in both protasis and apodosis (460). See 399. (For δέ in apodosis see 512.)

For the Epic use of the future indicative with ke or ἂν in apodosis, see 196.

453. The simple ei (without ke or ἂν) is sometimes used with the subjunctive in future conditions in Homer, apparently in the same sense as ei ke or ὅν. E.g.

Εἰ περ γάρ σε κατακτάνῃ, οὗ σ' ἐρτ' εγώ γε κλαύσομαι. II. xxii. 86. Εἰ δ' αὖ τις βαίησι θεῶν εἰναι αἵνου πάντως, τλήσομαι εὖ στήθεσοιν ἔχων ταλαπενθέα συμπόν. Od. v. 221. So II. i. 341, v. 258, xii. 223, 245; Od. i. 204, i. 188, xii. 348. Only these nine cases occur, and the more common use of the simple ei with the subjunctive in Homer is in general suppositions (see 468).

454. 1. This Homeric use of the simple ei with the subjunctive in future conditions was allowed by poetic license in a few passages of the Attic drama, chiefly in tragedy, even in the dialogue. E.g.

Εἰ γάρ θάνης καὶ τελευτήσας ἀφής. Soph. Aj. 496. Δικτάλαμα τάρι ἐγώ, εὔ σου στέρησο. Id. O. C. 1443. So Ant. 887. Εἰ μή σ' ἐκφάγω ἐκ τύποι τῆς γῆς, οὐδέποτε βιώσομαι. Ar. Eq. 698. So Aesch. Pers. 791; Eur. Or. 1534, I. A. 1240, ei πενήθης (Mss.); all in dialogue. In Sappho 118, 1 we have ai τις ἠλπται.

2. In Attic prose, this construction is extremely rare and always doubtful. The MSS., however, have it in a few passages, as Thuc. vii. 21: Οὐ ναυτικήσ στρατιάς μόνον δει, ἄλλα καὶ πεζόν πολίν ξυμπλεῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ei ξυστούσιν αἱ πόλεις φοβηθεῖσαι. (Here a few inferior MSS. read ὧν.)
2. Optative in Protasis and Apodosis.

455. When a supposed future case is stated less distinctly and vividly than the subjunctive would state it (as *if I should go* in English), the protasis takes the optative with *ē*. The apodosis takes the optative with *ἀν* to denote what *would* be the result if the condition of the protasis should be fulfilled. *E.g.*

Εἰ ἔλθῃ, πάντ' ἂν ἐδοκ. ἢ, *if he should go, he would see all*. Εἰ' σ' ὁμός ἐθέλοι φιλέειν κήδοιτο τε θυμό, τῷ κέν τις κέινω γε καὶ ἐκλελάθοιτο γάμου, *if she should be willing thus to love you, etc.* then some of them would chance even to think of marriage. Od. iii. 223.

Ἡ κεν γηθήσαν Πριαμος Πριάμωι τε παίδες, ἄλλοι τε Τρώες μέγα κεν κεχαρισάτο θυμό, εἰ σφιών τάδε πάντα πυθόιατο μαραγένωι. Π. i. 255. "Ἀλλ' ἐι μοι τι πίθοιο, τό κεν πολύ κέρδιον εἰη.* II. vii. 28. *Εἰ χρηστός οὐκ ἂν, εἰ πράσσωις καλῶς, you would not be bearable if you should ever be in prosperity. Aesch. Prom. 979. *Οἶκος δ' αἰτῶ, εἰ φθογγην λάβοι, σαφέστατ' ἂν λέξειν.* Id. Ag. 37. *Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν Μῆδοκός με ὡς βασιλεὺς ἐπίαινοι, εἰ ἐξελαύνομι τοὺς εὐεργέτοις.* Xen. An. vii. 7, 11. *Οὐδ' εἰ πάντες ἔλθοιεν Πέρσας, πλήθει γε οὐχ ὑπερβαλόμεθ' ἂν τόν πολέμιον.* Id. Cyr. ii. 1, 8. *Οὐ πολλὴ ἂν ἀλογία εἴη, εἰ φοβοῖτο τὸν θάνατον ὧ τοιοῦτος;* Plut. Phaed. 68 B. *Εἰ δὲ τοῖς κρατοῦνται τοῦ πλῆθους ἐπ' ἀρετὴν προτρέψειν, ἀμφοτέρους ἂν ὄνησειε.* Isoc. ii. 8. *Εἰ τὰς τῶν σου συνόντων ἐπιρρήσει τοιεύ̣ν ὡς εὑρήκανες εὐλογῶν, πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἀθλιώτατος εἴη;* Id. xi. 47. *Πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἂν ὀεικτρότατα πάντων ἐγὼ πεπονθὼς εἴην, εἰ ἐμὲ ψηφίσαντο ἐναι ἔξων; hou then should I not have suffered (lit. be thereafter in the condition of having suffered) the most pitiable of all things, if they should vote me a foreigner?* Dem. lvii. 44. *See 103 for other examples of the perfect optative.*

456. This form of the conditional sentence in its fully developed use, as it appears in Attic Greek, must be carefully distinguished from that of 410; the more so, as we often translate both *ei* ἂν and ἢν ἂν by the same English expression, *it would be*; although the latter implies that the supposition of the protasis is a false one, while the former implies no opinion of the speaker as to the truth of the supposition. We have seen (438-440) that the more primitive Homeric language had not yet fully separated these two constructions, and still used the optative in the apodosis of present, and sometimes of past, unreal conditions.

On the other hand, the distinction between this form and that of 444 is less marked, and it is sometimes of slight importance which of the two is used. As it is often nearly indifferent in English whether we say *if we shall go* or *if we go* it will be well, or if *we should go* it would be well, so may it be in Greek whether we say *εἰν ζῆλωμεν*
καλὸς ἔρει or ei ἐλθομεν καλὸς ἄν ἔχοι. In writing Greek, this distinction can generally be made by first observing the form of the apodosis in English; if that is expressed by should or would, it is to be translated by the Greek optative with ἄν; if it is expressed by shall or will, by the future indicative. Other forms of the apodosis, as the imperative, will present no difficulty. The form to be used in the protasis will then appear from the principles of the dependence of moods (170-178); the optative will require another optative with ei in the dependent protasis, while the future indicative or any other primary form will require a subjunctive with ἔν or a future indicative with ei.

457. In indirect discourse after past tenses we often find an optative in protasis, which merely represents the same tense of the subjunctive or indicative in the direct discourse. See 667, 1; 689; 694.

For the occasional omission of ἄν in an apodosis of this kind, see 240-242.

458. The potential optative with ἄν may stand in the protasis with ei; as in ei ἐλθομεν ἄν, supposing that I would go, easily distinguished from ei ἐλθομαι, supposing that I should go. Such an expression does not belong here, but is really a present condition. (See 409; 506.)

459. The future optative cannot be used in protasis or apodosis, except in indirect discourse to represent a future indicative of the direct discourse. (See 128 and 203.)

HOMERIC PECULIARITIES.

460. Ei κε with the optative is sometimes found in Homer, and ei περ ἄν occurs once.1 This is a mark of the unsettled usage of the earlier language, in which κε or ἄν was not yet required with the subjunctive in protasis, and was still allowed with the optative or indicative (401). It is difficult to see any essential difference between these protases with ei κε and those with the simple ei and the optative. E.g.

Εἰ δὲ κεν Ἀργος ἐκοίμηθ' Ἀχαιῶν, ὡθὶ ἄραν, ἀρμῆς κέν κοι ἔοι, and if we should ever come to Achaean Argos, then he would (shall) be my son-in-law. I. ix. 141; cf. ix. 283, and Od. xii. 345, xix. 589. Πῶς ἄν ἔγαν σὲ ἔδομε μετ' ἀθανάτωι θεοῖς, ei κεν Ἀργος οἶχοι τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ δεσμῶν ἀλώυσεν. Od. viii. 352. Τῶν κέν τοι χαρισαίτω πατὴρ ἀπεθανεὶ ἅντοι, ei κεν ἔρε ἡδιν πεπύθοιτ' ἐπὶ μνημον Ἀχαιῶν. I. vi. 49. The distinction between these cases and those of 458 is obvious.

In π. i. 60, ei κεν with the optative forms a subordinate protasis,

1 See the examples in Lange, Partikel EI, pp. 185, 186. There are twenty-six cases of ei κε with the optative in Homer, and one of ei περ ἄν (I. ii. 597); besides π. v. 273 (= viii. 196) and Od. xvii. 223, mentioned in the text (461).
with a remoter and less emphatic supposition than the main protasis ei δαμα (future); νῦν ἀμε τάλι πλαγχθέντας ἀν ἀφ ἀπονοστήσει, ei κεν θάνατν γε φύγωμεν, ei δη ὅμοι πόλεις τε δαμα καὶ λοιμος Άχαιος, now I think we shall be driven back and shall return home again—that is, supposing us to escape death—if both war and pestilence are at the same time to destroy the Achaeans. In 11. ii. 597 we have ei περ αν αυτα Μοῦσαι αείδοιεν.

These constructions are never negative.

461. In the strange protasis, ei τοιτω κε λάβομεν, II. v. 273 and viii. 196, the separation of ei from κε might compel us to recognise a potential force, if we could (possibly) secure these; but the difference between this and the Attic examples of ei with the potential optative and ἀν (458; 506), and the difficulty of seeing any difference between this and ei τοιτω λάβομεν, if we should secure these, induced Bekker to read ei τοιτω γε λάβομεν here, and also τον γ' ei μοι δοιγς (for τον κ' ei) in Od. xvi. 223.

The Homeric use of the optative in present and past unreal conditional sentences has been discussed (438).

II. PRESENT AND PAST GENERAL SUPPOSITIONS.

462. In present or past general suppositions, the apodosis expresses a customary or repeated action or a general truth, in present or past time, and the protasis refers in a general way to any act or acts of a given class. Here the protasis has the subjunctive with ἐαν after present tenses, and the optative with ei after past tenses. The apodosis has the present or imperfect indicative, or some other form which implies repetition. E.g.

" Eyl ἀγγειος μεθηθν ποιειη, οδεις ζούλεται ψηνηκει, if (or when) death comes near, no one is (ever) willing to die. Eur. Alc. 671. " Ἦν μεν ἀδη καὶ νήφων, χρίσεται αυτη. ἦν δὲ μη ἀδη μετειναι. Hdt. i. 133. Διατελει μεμιον, εικα ἦν τις τι αυτων ἀδικη, αλλ' εαν τινα υποπτευοσ' βελτιων έαιοτοι ειναι, he continues to hate, not if any one wrongs him, but if he ever suspects that any one is better than himself. Xen. Cyg. v. 4, 35. " Απας λογος, δν ἀπη τα πραγματα, ματαιον τι φαινεται και κενον, all speech, if deeds are wanting, appears more emptiness and vanity. Dem. ii. 12. 'Εαν δε δοξη τα δικαια εγκαλει και έλη τον δεδρακοτα τον φονο, oδο ουτο κυριος γινεται τον αλοντος. Id. xxiii. 69 (so 74, 75, 76).

'Αλλ' ei τι μη φερομεν, δτρυνεν φερεν, but if we ever stopped bringing him food, he always urged us to bring it. Eur. Alc. 755. Ei τις αντεπωνει, ειβο ιπενηκει, if any one objected, he was a dead man at once (52). Thuc. viii. 66. Ei τινα πυθινοντο γεβριοντα, τουτον εδικαειν. Hdt. i. 100. Ei δε τινας δορυβουμενους αισθοι-
This optative referring to past time must be especially distinguished from the optative in ordinary protasis referring to the future (453). Ei and éan in this construction are often almost equivalent to óte or ótan (which are the more common expressions), and the optative has precisely the same construction as the relative sentences of 532.

464. The present and aorist subjunctive and optative here do not differ except as explained in 87. The future optative of course is never used here (128).

465. The examples in 462 exhibit the ordinary Attic usage. In Homer we find this construction in a partially developed state: see 468.

466. The gnomic aorist (154) and other gnomic and iterative expressions (162; 163) may be used in the apodosis of these general conditions. The gnomic aorist, as a primary tense, is followed by the subjunctive. E.g.

'Eν σφαλάωσιν, ἀντελπίσαντες ἄλλα. ὑπάρχωσαν τῷ νυμέλαι, ἢ they fail, they always supply the deficiency, etc. Θυκε. i. 70. 'Εν δὲ τοὺς τοῖς παράβαλιν, ζημιᾶν αὐτοῖς ἐπέθεσαν, they (always) impose a penalty upon every one who transgresses. Χεν. Λυκ. i. 2, 2. Εἴ τινες ἴδοιέν τι τῶν σφατοφων ἐπικρατοῦσας, ἀναθάρησαν ἄν, whenever any saw their friends in any way victorious, they would be encouraged (i.e. they were encouraged in all such cases). Θυκ. vii. 71. See Χεν. Mem. iv. 6, 13, quoted in 162.

467. (Indicative.) The indicative is sometimes found in the place of the subjunctive or optative in these general conditions, that is, these follow the construction of ordinary present and past suppositions, as in Latin and English. Here the speaker refers to one of the cases in which the event may occur, as if it were the only one,—that is, he states the general supposition as if it were particular. E.g.

Μοίραι δ' ἀφιστοί, Εἴ τις ἔχθρα πέλει ὁμογόνοις, αἰδὸς καλύφψι, the Fates stand aloof to hide their shame, as if there is enmity among kindred. Πνευμ. Py. iv. 145; cf. Ολ. i. 64. (See 406.) Εἴ τις δύο ἦ κἀν πλέως
HOMERIC AND OTHER POETIC PECULIARITIES.

468. In Homer the subjunctive appears in protasis in general suppositions (462) only nineteen times, and the optative only once. Here the subjunctive generally (in fourteen cases) has the simple εἰ (without κε or δεῦ). E.g.

Εἰ πέρ γὰρ τε χάλων γε καὶ αὐτῆμαρ καταπέψῃ, ἀλλὰ γε καὶ μετόπωθεν ἔχει κότον, δόρα τελέσον, for even if he swallows his wrath for the day, still he keeps his anger hereafter, until he accomplishes its object. Π. i. 81. Τῶν οὐ τι μετατρέψομ’ οίδ’ ἀλεγίζω, εἰ τ’ ἐπὶ δεξί’ ἰωσί, εἰ τ’ ἐπὶ ἀμυντερά. I do not need them nor care for them, whether they go to the right or to the left. Π. xii. 238. So Π. iv. 262, Χ. 225, ΧΙ. 116, ΧΙ. 263, ΧΧΓ. 576, ΧΧΓ. 191 (the last four in similes); Od. i. 167, vii. 204, ΧII. 96, ΧΙΒ. 373, ΧΙΒ. 98 (= 116).

"Ἠν ποτὲ δασμός ἐκεῖνα, σοι τὸ γέφας πολύ μείζων, εἰ χρεία comes, your prize is always much greater. Π. i. 166. So Οδ. ΧΙ. 159, ἢν μὴ τις ἔχῃ. Besides these two cases of ἢν, Homer has two of εἰ κε, Π. ΧΙ. 391, ΧΙ. 392; and one of εἰ πέρ δεῦ, Π. III. 25 (five in all).

The single case of εἰ with the optative in a past general condition in Homer is Π. xxiv. 768: ἀλλ’ εἰ τὸι μὲ καὶ ἄλλος εἶναι ποιοῦ, ἀλλὰ σὸ τὸν γε κατέρυκε, but if any other usurped me, you (always) restrained him.

469. Pindar has only eight cases of the subjunctive in protasis. These all have general suppositions and all have the simple εἰ: ² as πολλοὶ δὲ μένηται, καλὸν εἰ τί ποναθῇ, but many remember it if a noble work is done, Ολ. vi. 11.

470. The other lyric and elegiac poets show no preference for the simple εἰ. The following cases may be cited: Call. i. 13 εἰ ἦν (but ἦν

² Αἰας. Jour. Phil. iii. p. 443. The examples are Ολ. vi. 11; Pyth. iv. 266, 273 (perhaps also 263); Νεμ. vii. 11, ΙΧ. 46; ΙΧ. 58, ΙΧ. 12; Frag. 171 (Böckh), 5. The references to the other poets in 470 and 471 do not profess to be complete.
in 17; Tyrt. xii. 35 ε' φύγη (but ἕν xi. 16); Sol. iv. 30 ε' τῇ! (but ἕν xii. 1, xiii. 29); Theog. 121, 122 εἷς λελόθη . . . ἔχει, and 321 εἷς ὄρασις (but ἕν 93, 186, 379, 697, 929, 932, 1355, 1356, 1385); all (both εἷς and ἕν) in general conditions. See Sim. Amora. vii. 15, 69, 97 (ἂν).

471. In the Attic poets we find a few cases of the simple εἷς in general conditions. E.g.
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For the simple εἷς in future conditions, see 453; 454. For the probable relation of εἷς to εἷς κε, ἕν, εἶν, etc., see 401.

Peculiar Forms of Conditional Sentences.

Substitution and Ellipsis in Protasis.—Protasis without a Verb.

472. Often the protasis is not expressed in its regular form with εἷς or εἶν, but is contained in a participle, or implied in an adverb like οὖσας or δουλεος, in a preposition with its case, or in some other form of expression. When a participle represents the protasis (841), its tense is always that in which the verb itself would have stood in the indicative, subjunctive, or optative. The present (as usual) includes the imperfect, and the perfect includes the pluperfect. E.g.

Τοῦτο ποιοῦστε εἰ πράξουσιν (i.e. εἶν ποιεστιν), if they (shall) do this, they will prosper. Τοῦτο ποιοῦστε εἰ πράξουσιν (i.e. εἰν ποιεστιν). Τοῦτο ποιοῦστε εἰν πράττουν (i.e. εἰ ποιειτει), if they should do this, they would prosper. Τοῦτο ποιοῦστε εἰν πράττουν (i.e. εἰ ποιειτει). Τοῦτο ποιοῦστε εἰν ἐπραττοῦν (i.e. εἰ εποιειουν), if they were doing this (or if they had been doing this), they would be in prosperity. Τοῦτο ποιοῦστε εἰν ἐπραττοῦν (i.e. εἰ εποιειουν), if they had done this, they would be in prosperity.

Πῶς ἐστι δίκης οὐσίς ὁ Ζεὺς οὐκ ἀπόλολειν τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ δόσας; i.e. how is it that Zeus has not been destroyed, if Justice exists? Ar. Nub. 904. (Here δίκης οὐσίς represents εἰ δίκη ἐστίν.) 'Αλλ' εἰσόρμοσθα δόμον παροστείχοντες (εἰν παραστείχωμεν), but we shall know, if we enter the house. Soph. Ant. 1255. Εἰ δὲ κλίνων εἰσίν τάχα (εἰν κλίνῃς), but you will soon know, if you listen. Ar. Av. 1390. So μὴ μαθῶν, unless I learn, for εἰν μὴ μαθῶν, Nub. 792. Καὶ καὶ τοῦτον ἐθέλοιμι Δίος γε διδόντος ἀράθαι (Δίος διδόντους = εἰ Ζεὺς διδοίη), and this I should like to obtain, if Zeus would only give it. Od. i. 390. Τοιαῦτα τὰν γυναῖκι αὐτοῦν ἔχεις (εἰ συνναιον), such things would you suffer, if you should live with women. Aesch. Sept. 195. Οὔ δ' ἐν συνύπασμαι τὴν ἅτην δρόν συνέκουσιν ἄστοις (i.e. εἰ ὄρασιν). Soph. Ant. 185. 'Αθηναίων δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο παθόντων, διπλασίαν ἅν
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tην δόναμιν εἰκάζομαι (οἴμαι), but if the Athenians should ever suffer
this (παθόντων = εἰ πάθοιν), I think it would be inferred that their power
was twice as great. Thuc. i. 10. (Here only the context shows that
παθόντων does not represent εἰ ἔμαθον, if they had ever suffered.) Πρὶν
gενέσθαι ἡπιοτέρησαν ἄν τις ἀκούσας (i.e. εἰ ἦκουσεν), before it happened,
any one would have disbelieved such a thing if he had heard it. Thuc. vii.
28. Όυ γὰρ ἀν μεταπεθεῖν οὕτως ἔχετε μὴ ταυτίζησιν ὑπολήψεως,
for he would not be seeking to change your minds, if such were not the prevailing opinion (i.e. εἰ μὴ ταυτίζησιν). Dem. xviii. 228. Ἐστίν οὖν ὅπως ταῦτα ἄν, ἔκεινα προειρήκας, ὁ
αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ μὴ διαφανεῖται ἐστάμαχος εἰπεῖν; is it possible then that
the same man, after saying that, would have dared to say this unless he had
been corrupted (εἰ μὴ διεφθαρμα). Id. xix. 308. Μὴ καθηγηρήσαντος
Αἰσχύνου μιθεὶκε ἡ τῆς γραφῆς οὐδὲν ἐνόμισεν συνέχεως ἐποιώμην
ἐτέρων (εἰ μὴ καθηγηρῆσαν). Id. xviii. 34. Τὰ αὐτὰ ἀν ἐπρᾶξεν καὶ
πρῶτη λαχοῦσα (i.e. εἰ πρῶτη ἔλαχεν), it (the soul) would have done
the same, even if it had had the first choice by the lot. Plat. Rep. 620 D.
Μαμάν δὲ αἰτήσαντος ἢκον σοι φέρων ἀν ἄρτον, and if you ever
asked for something to eat, I used to come bringing you bread. Ar. Nub.
1383. (Here αἰτήσαντος represents εἰ αἰτήσεις in a general supposi-
tion, 462. For ἢκον ἄν see 162.)

Ὅτε ἐσθίοντο πλεῖον ἡ δύναμις φέρειν, διαρρηγάζειν γὰρ ἄν οὕτωs
ἀμφίεστον πλεῖον δύναμιν φέρειν, ἀποτελεῖεν γὰρ ἄν, they do
not eat more than they can bear, for (if they should) they would burst, etc.
Xen. Cyr. viii. 2, 21. Αὐτοὶ ἀν ἐπορεύθησαν νῦν οἱ άλλοι τὰ δὲ
ὑπολήψων οὐκ ἀλλὰ γὰρ ταύτη ἐκβίναι, they would have gone them-
selves where the others went; but the animals could not go otherwise than
as they did. Id. An. iv. 2, 10. So γὰρ ἄν λιοβησίαι, ll. i.

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'Ἡμῶν δὲ εἰς πόλλης ἄν περιουσίας νεών μόλις τούτῳ ὑπήρχε
καὶ μὴ αναγκαζόμενοι, ὃσπερ νῦν, πάσας φυλασσεῖν, but we should
hardly have this advantage if we had a great superiority in number of ships
 (= εἰ πολλην περιουσιαν εἰχομεν) and if we were not compelled (εἰ μὴ
ἀναγκαζόμενοι), as we are, to use our whole fleet in guarding. Thuc. vii.
13. Τὸ μὲν εἰπ’ ἐκείνῳ πολλάκις ἂν διελθησαν, if it had depended on
him, they often would have been disbanded. Isoc. iv. 142. Διὰ γε νῦν
αὐτοὺς πάλαι ἄν ἀπολογίσετε, if it had depended on yourselves, you would
long ago have been ruined. Dem. xviii. 49. (So sometimes καθ’ ἡμᾶς.)
Πάλαι γὰρ ἄν ἐνεκά γε ψυχισμάτων ἐδιδάκτω δικήν, for, if decrees
were of any avail, he would long ago have suffered punishment. Id. iii. 14.
(Here the protasis is implied in ἐνεκά ψυχισμάτων.) Οὖτω γὰρ
οὐκέτα τοῦ λοιπον πάσχομεν ἂν κακῶς, for in that case we should no
longer suffer. Id. iv. 15. So ὡς οὖτω περιγεγείμενος ἂν, Xen. An. i.
1, 10. Όδοι δὲ δικαίως ἐσ κακῶν πένοιμι τι. Soph. Ant. 240.

In such cases the form of the apodosis generally shows what form
of protasis is implied. When the apodosis is itself expressed by an
infinitive or participle (479), as in Thuc. i. 10 (above), the form of the
protasis is shown only by the general sense of the passage.
473. The future participle is not used to represent the future indicative in future conditions (447); it may, however, represent the future in present conditions (407), where it is equivalent to μέλλω and the infinitive; as in Dem. xxiv. 189, μή περί τοῦτον ὑμῶν οἰσίντον εἰς τὴν ψυχήν, τί δεί ταῦτα λέγοντα ἐνῴχλειν με νυν; if you are not to give your vote about this, μή οἰσίντον τινα τιμήσω = μή μελλάτε φέρειν. The present and aorist participles, when they represent the present and aorist subjunctive, express future conditions, thus making the future participle unnecessary. The aorist participle in protasis can always represent an aorist subjunctive in the sense explained in 90.

474. The verb of the protasis is suppressed in the Homeric ei δ' ἄγε, come now! This is commonly explained by an ellipsis of βοῦλε, if you will, come now! But it is probable that no definite verb was in the speaker's mind in such expressions, even when we find it necessary to supply one. E.g.

Εἰ δ' ἄγε, τοι κεφαλὴν κατανείσωμαι, come now! I will nod my assent to thee. Π. i. 524. Εἰ δ' ἄγε μὴν, πείρομαι, ἵνα γνώσω καὶ οἶδε, weil! come now, by it. Π. i. 302. Εἰ μὲν δή θεός ἐσοι θεοῦ τε ἐκλέκτης αὐτός, εἰ δ' ἄγε μοι καὶ κείνων δι' ἐρων κατάλεξον (the apodosis being introduced by εἰ δ' ἄγε, come now, tell me). Od. iv. 831.

475. ('Οσ ei.) There is a probably unconscious suppression of the verb of the protasis when ως ei or ως ei τε is used in comparisons (especially in Homer) with a noun or adjective or with a participle. E.g.

Τῶν νέων ὅκειαι ως εἶ πτερόν ἦν νόημα, their ships are swift as (if) a wing or thought. Od. vii. 36. 'Οσ μ' ἀνυφίλου ἐρέξειν ἄνευς οἰς εἶ τε τιν' ἀτίμων μετανάστηρι, for the son of Ateus insulted me like (i.e. as if he were insulting) some despised wanderer. Π. ix. 648. Ἑπλεόμεν Βορέη ἀνέμω νηόδως ως εἵ τε κατὰ βόον, we sailed on with the north-east wind easily, as if (we were sailing) down stream. Od. xiv. 253. In all these cases no definite verb was in mind after ei, but the addition of ei to ως shows that a conditional force was felt (at least originally) in addition to the comparison; and this is the only difference between these examples and those with the simple ως or ως τε, as ἐστήκεν ως τίς τε λέων, he stood like a lion.1 In Attic poetry we find μάτηρ ως εἴ τις πωτά, like some faithful mother, Soph. El. 234; and πτύσας ως εἶ τε ὀψημενή, spurring her as an enemy, Ant. 653. With Od. vii. 36 compare Hymn. Ap. Py. 8, πρὸς Ὀλυμπον ὅστε νόημα οὕτω καὶ 270, ἐπὶ νήμα νόημι ὅς ἀλτο πέτεσθαι.

1 See Lange, Partikel EL, p. 234. Lange is at great pains to show that there is no ellipsis here, or indeed in any cases of ei without a verb like ei πέρ άγέγερ, if necessary. By "ellipsis" we often mean merely what one language finds it necessary to supply to translate an idiom of another. There are few ellipses of which a speaker is really conscious when he uses them. In this sense, it seems to me that, whenever we use ei without a verb, there is at least a suppression (if not an ellipsis) of a verb.
'Ολοφυρόμενοι ὡς εἰ θανατόνθε κιόντα, bewailing him as if going to his death (in full as if they were bewailing him going), for which we say (changing the construction) as if he were going. II. xxiv. 328. See also II. xvi. 192, v. 374. Ἀμφὶ δὲ κατὶνδι γίγνεται ἣς αὐτὸς ὡς εἰ τῆρος αἰθουμένον, i.e. the smoke rises from it (the fountain) as if (it rose) from a blazing fire. II. xxii. 150. So Od. xix. 39. What seems like a more natural construction with ὡς εἰ or ὡς εἰ τε is that of the optative with the apodosis suppressed (485).

In all these cases there is also a suppression of the verb of the apodosis (see 485).

For the participle in such expressions see 867-869.

476. (Εἰ μῆ.) Εἰ μῆ is used without a verb in various expressions to introduce an exception.

1. With nouns and adjectives. E.g.

Τίς γὰρ τοι 'Αχαιών ἄλλος ὅμοιος, εἰ μῆ Πάτροκλος; who is like to you, except unless it be Patroclus? II. xvii. 475. See II. xviii. 192, xxiii. 792; Od. xii. 325, xvii. 383. Such expressions are like the simple εἰ τῇ γῇ ἄρμενον, if this is better, II. i. 116; εἰ ἔτεον πέρ, xiv. 125; εἰ πέρ ἀνάγκη, xxiv. 667.

2. With participles. E.g.

Εἰ μῆ κρεμάς τὸ νόμμα, i.e. I could never have done it, except by suspending thought. Ar. Nub. 229. So οὐδὲν ποτὲ εἰ μῆ ἐξωθανομένην, AESCH. Ag. 1139; εἰ μῆ καταδυσάσας, THUC. vii. 38; εἰν μῆ τῆς ἀδέλφας δοθείωσι, DEM. xxiv. 46.

3. In the expression εἰ μῆ διὰ τὸ ὄντο (or τοῦτον). E.g.

Καὶ εἰ μῆ διὰ τὸν πρώταν, ἐνέπεσεν ἄν, and, had it not been for the Prytaneis, he would have been thrown in. PLAT. Gorg. 516 E. (Compare διὰ γε ζῆμας, DEM. xviii. 49, quoted in 472.) Οὐ γὰρ ὡς εἰ μῆ διὰ Ἀκαδαιμονίους, οὔτε ὡς εἰ μῆ Πράξενον οὐχ ἐπέδειξαντο, οὔτε ὡς εἰ μῆ δι᾽ Ἡγίστριον, οὔτε ὡς εἰ μῆ διὰ το καὶ το, ἑσωθήσαν ἃν οἱ Φωκεῖς, οὐχ οὔτω τότε ἀπὶ γεγειλέν, for he did not then report that if it had not been for the Lacedaemonians, or if they had not refused to receive Prozenus, or if it had not been for Hegesippus, or if it had not been for this and that, the Phocians would have been saved. DEM. xix. 74.

4. In the rare expression εἰ μῆ εἰ, except if, except in case that. E.g.

Ὁ χρηματιστικὸς τὴν τοῦ τιμῶσαν ἱδονὴν ἢ τὴν τοῦ μανθάνειν οὐδενὸς ἀξίαν φέρει εἰκα, εἰ μῆ εἰ τι αὐτῶν ἀργυρόν πουεῖ, the money-maker will say that the pleasure of receiving honour or that of learning is not worth anything, unless (it is worth something) in case either of them produces money. PLAT. Rep. 581 D. In Prot. 351 C, ἐγὼ γὰρ λέγω, καθὲ ὡς ἦδεν ἄτιν, ἀρα κατὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀγάθα, μῆ εἰ τι ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀποβοήθηται ἄλλο--; for I ask this: so far as they are pleasant, are they not just so far good, without taking into account any other result (i.e. other than their pleasantness) which may come from them?—μῆ is not a mistake for εἰ μῆ, but it seems to imply a conditional participle like
Substitution and Ellipsis in Apodosis.

479. The apodosis, in any of its forms, may be expressed by an infinitive or participle, if the structure of the sentence requires it.
1. It may be expressed by the infinitive or participle in indirect discourse, each tense representing its own tenses of the indicative or optative, the present including the imperfect, and the perfect the pluperfect. If the finite verb in the apodosis would have taken ἄν, this particle is used with the infinitive or participle. E.g.

Ἡγοῦμαι, εἰ τοῦτο ποιήσετε, πάντα καλῶς ἔχειν, I believe that, if you are doing this, all is well. Ἡγοῦμαι, εἰν τοῦτο ποιήσετε, πάντα καλῶς ἔχειν, I believe that, if you (shall) do this, all will be well. Ἡγοῦμαι, εἰ τοῦτο ποιήσετε, πάντα καλῶς ἄν ἔχειν, I believe that, if you should do this, all would now be (or would have been) well. Ὁδε ἤρας, εἰ τοῦτο ποιήσετε, εἴ τραφόντας, I know that, if you do this, you will prosper.

Πῶς γὰρ οἴσθε δυσχέρως ἀκούειν Ὀλυνθίους, εἰ τίς τι λέγοι κατὰ Φιλίππου κατ' ἑκείνους τοὺς χρόνους; how unwillingly do you think the O. heard it, if any one said anything against Philip in those times? Dem. vi. 20. (Here ἀκούειν represents the imperfect ἄκοινον, and εἰ λέγοι is a general supposition, 462.)

For examples of each tense of the infinitive and participle, see 689. For the use of each tense of the infinitive or participle with ἄν and examples, see 204-208; 213-216.

2. It may be expressed by the infinitive in any of its various constructions out of indirect discourse, especially by one depending on a verb of wishing, commanding, advising, preparing, etc., from which the infinitive receives a future meaning. Such an infinitive is a common form of future apodosis with a protasis in the subjunctive or indicative. E.g.

Βουλεῖται ἐλθεῖν ἄν τοῦτο γένηται, he wishes to go if this shall be done. Παρακαλεῖται ἀπελθεῖν ἄν δυνώμεθα, we are preparing to depart if we shall be able. Κελεύεται σε ἀπελθεῖν εἰ βούλει, he bids you depart if you please. (See 403 and 445.)

3. The apodosis may be expressed in an attributive or circumstantial participle. E.g.

Ῥαδίως ἄν ἀφεθείς εἰ καὶ μετρίως τι τούτων ἐποίησε, προελετο ἀποθανεῖν, whereas he might easily have been acquitted (ἄφεθη ἄν), if he had done any of these things even in a moderate degree, he chose to die. I. Μ. Men. iv. 4, 4. Σκέμματα τῶν ῥαδίως ἀποκτηνόμησαν καὶ ἀναβιωσκόμενον ἄν, εἰ οἴοι τε ἤσαν, considerations for those who readily put men to death, and who would bring them to life again too if they could. Plat. Crat. 48 C. (Ἀναβιωσκόμενον ἄν = ἀνεβιωσκόμενο ἄν.) Ὡς οἰός τε ἄν σε σφέειν εἰ θέλεων ἀναλίπεις χρήματα, whereas I might have saved you if I had been willing to spend money. Th. 44 B.

480. A verbal noun may take the place of an apodosis. E.g.

Ὡς δέντ᾽ ἀναστητήρα Καρμείου χθονὸς εἰ μὴ θέων τις ἐμποδῶν
481. Other forms in which an apodosis may appear, as a final clause, need no discussion. (See 445.)

In indirect discourse, after past tenses, an optative in the apodosis often represents an original indicative or subjunctive. (See 15 and 457.)

482. The apodosis is sometimes omitted, when some such expression as if it is well or it will be done can be supplied, or when some other apodosis is at once suggested by the context. E.g.

'Αλλ' ε' μ' δώσοντι γέροις μεγάθυμοι 'Αχαιοι, ἠφεςντες κατὰ θυμον, ὅτως ἀντάξον ἔσται, —ε' δὲ κε μὴ δώσων, εὖγ' δὲ κέν αὐτὸς ἐλοραι, ἵνα τί ἄρανα σιζεῖ, —ό γὰρ πολὺ φερματός ἔσται. Πλ. i. 135. (Here we must understand something like εὖγ' ἐξε, it will be well, after ἔσται.) Εἰ περ γὰρ κ' ἐθλῆσιν Ὀλυμπίους ἀτροποτής ἐξ ἔλεον συνεδριάζαι —δ' γὰρ πολὺ φερματός ἔσται. Πλ. i. 580. (Here we must understand he can do it after the protasis. The following γάρ refers to this suppressed apodosis.) Εἰ μὲν εὖγ' ἔμαι ικανὸς διδάκτων οἶκον ἔδρον ἀλλήλους εἶναι —ε' δὲ μὴ, καὶ παρὰ τῶν προγεγενημένων μανθάνετε. Χεν. Πτ. viii. 7, 24.

Εἰναι θεσπρωτοὶ εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι, εἰ πίερ τε γέροις' εἰρήκει ἐπελθὼν Δαέρτω, ὥσοστ' we boast that we are friends by inheritance, (as you may know) if you go and ask Laocoon. Od. i. 187. Προσηγορεύσῃ ἡ Δίσ κλεινὴ δάμαρ μέλλονον' ἔσται, εἰ τῶν διαρρηκτῶν σε τῇ. Αισχ. Pref. 834.

483. Sometimes the adverb ἄν, without a verb expressed, represents an apodosis in the indicative or optative, when the verb can easily be supplied. E.g.

ΟÏε οἴκεται χεισκουσίων. 'Αλλ' οἶκω ἂν πη βου (sc. οὕτως ἔργοικον), but they would not have been moving at this late hour in old times. Αν. Νυβ. 5. (See 227.) So πῶς γὰρ ἄν; (sc. εἰρή), how could it be?

484. In ὅταν ἃν εἴ with a noun, as ὅταν ἃν εἴ παιδί, like a child, there is originally a suppression of the verbs of both protasis and apodosis (227; 485); but in use the expression hardly differs from ὅταν. (See 368-370.)

485. ('Ως εἴ and ὅταν εἴ.) There is an unconscious suppression of the verb of the apodosis when ὅς εἴ, ὅς εἴ τε, and ὅταν εἴ are used in similes and comparisons. E.g.

Λαοὶ θεοῦθ', ὅς εἴ τε μετὰ κτίλων ἀντίκο τοῦ, the hosts followed as if sheep followed a ram. Πλ. xiii. 492. (No definite verb is understood here, either with ὃς in Greek or with as in English, but the origin of the expression is the same in both.) Φιάλαι ὅς εἴ τε δωρήσεται. Πρ. Οἰ. vii. 1. Καὶ μὲ φίλοιν ὅς εἴ τε παντερ ὑπὶ παιδί φίλοιν. Πλ. ix. 481. Οἱ δ' ἄραν ὅς εἴ τε ποιή θὸν πᾶσα νέων, i.e. their march was as if the whole land should blaze with fire (originally
as it would be if, etc.) II. ii. 780. Ἦς ὃ ἡμεν, πάντοτε χεῖρ' ὀρέγων ὡς εἰ πτωχὸς πάλαι εἶπ̣, holding out his hand as if he had long been a beggar (438). Od. xvii. 366. For other optatives with ὡς εἰ, see II. xi. 467, xxii. 410; Od. ix. 314, x. 416, 420.

"Ὅπερ εἰ παρευτάτεις, as if you had dwelt near by. AESCH. Ag. 1301. Ἡμεῖς ὅπερ εἰ τις πολλὰ ἴσθιαν μυρίστοτε ἐπιστάλλοντο, just as if one should eat much and never be filled. XEN. Symp. iv. 37.

There is the same suppression of the apodosis in the examples in 475, where the protasis also is wanting with ὡς εἰ and similar expressions.

**Apodosis contained in the Protasis.**

486. A protasis may depend on a verb which is not its apodosis, the real apodosis being so distinctly implied in the form of expression that it need not be stated separately.

487. 1. This is found especially in Homer, where εἰ κε (αἱ κε) or ἤν (without an expressed apodosis) often seems to have the force of in the hope that; as in πατρὸς ἐμὸν κλῖος μετέχομαι, ἢν παῦν ἀκούσω, I am going to seek tidings of my father, if I shall chance to hear of him, i.e. that I may hear of him if perchance I shall, or in the hope that I shall hear of him (Od. iii. 83). Here the protasis carries with it its own apodosis, which consists of an implied idea of purpose.1 The whole sentence (both protasis and apodosis) is thus condensed into the protasis; but the apodosis is always felt in the implied idea of purpose or desire which is inherent in the idiom. As we have seen (312, 2) that final clauses with ἄν or κε and the subjunctive originally included both a conditional relative clause and a final sentence, so here we have both a conditional and a final force included under a single conditional form; and this double force is felt also in the English translation, if haply, in the hope that, in case that, etc. E. g.

Αὐτάρ σοι πυκνῶς ἵππος ομορεθομεθ', αἱ κε πιθήκαι, but we will make you a wise suggestion, for you to obey it if you will. III. xxi. 293. (Here the protasis αἱ κε πιθήκαι with its implied apodosis seems like πείθοι ἄν εἰ πείθοι, you can obey if you please, AESCH. Ag. 1049, and ξαίροιτ ἄν εἰ ξαίροιτ', Ib. 1394.) So II. i. 207, 420, xi. 791, xxiii. 82; Od. i. 279. Πέμψω δ' ἐς Σμάρτην ... νόστον πενθόμενον πατρὸς φίλου, ἢν παῦν ἀκούσω, ἢδ' ἐνα μὲν κλῖος ἕχῃπν, I will send him to Sparta, to ask about his father's return, in hope that he may hear of it, and in order that glory may possess him. Od. i. 93. (Here the

1 The English translation of certain conditional clauses in the New Testament which have this peculiar construction preserves the sense of purpose or desire with the original form of protasis. Thus, that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him and find him, Acts xvii. 27; and he came (to the fig tree), if haply he might find anything thereon, Mark xi. 18.
added final clause shows the distinction between this and the protasis ἢ ποι ἄκοισάν, 181) So Od. i. 281, ii. 216, 360, iii. 83. Εἴπε μοι, αἰ κ' ποθὶ γνώσις ἐννήθα, ἢ ἄληθεν. 118. Αὐλίχ δ' οὖσα, αἰ κέν τι φῶς Ἀνακάου γένησα, ἢ ἄληθεν θὰ γίνῃς (ἵνα ἔτη ὑμῶν ἀπὸ σε αὔτη Ἑλληνίδων, ἢ ἄληθεν, ἢ ἄληθεν τις ἵπτωτος αἰ δηλούσα τις ἔφη, αἰ κέν Τυδεός τινος ἀπὸ σχῆμα Πηνείας ἔρωτις, διὸ ἔφη μοι τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοι, ἢ ἄληθεν, ἢ ἄληθεν θὰ γίνῃς (ἵνα Πηνείας ἔρωτις, ἢ ἄληθεν, ἢ ἄληθεν τις ἵπτωτος).}
488. The optative with *ei* (rarely *e* *ke*) is sometimes used in Homer like the subjunctive after primary tenses in sentences of this class. It is also very common after past tenses, representing a subjunctive of the original form, though occasionally the subjunctive is retained in indirect discourse (696). E.g.

'Είτε τοι δυστυχών άνθρωπι, *ei* ποδεν έλθων άνδρων μυστήρων σκέδαιν κατά δώρα τε θείη, ωστε καί εμεν εν αγόρι τοι Πατρίδαν ου καί εν αγώνοι καί εν ταύταις δέκα μήνες, ωστε μήν εν αγόρι τοι Πατρίδαν ου καί εν αγώνοι καί εν ταύταις δέκα μήνες. Od. xxiv. 216. In Od. xxiv. 216, the common text has πατρίς πειρόμας, *ai* *ke* (or *ei* *ke*) *μ* επιγνώσι, . . . ζή τε κέν αγγομη, I will try my father (ready for either result), in case he shall recognize me or shall not know me (where κέν alone in the second clause is very strange). But La Roche reads *κέ* *μ* επιγνώσι, as an indirect question, one Ms. having *κέ* *κε*: see also Od. xvi. 265. Επιγνώσι is Hermann's conjecture for ἐπιγνώσι or γνώσι.
optative is found also in Attic Greek and in Herodotus, but with less variety of expression, and at the same time with some extension of the usage. Especially to be noticed are the protases depending on verbs like βούλομαι and θέλω in Herodotus. E.g.

Θῆβαις ἦμις πέμψον, εάν τις διακαλύσωμεν ἱότα φόνον τοῖς ὁμαίμοισι, σουσαι τοις Θεσβεῖοι, to prevent, if haply we may, etc. SOPH. O. C. 1769. Τῆς ἐμῆς γνώμης ἡκούσαν, ἵν αί τις θεῖα λέγειν, hear my judgment, in the hope that you may think there is something in what I say. EUR. H. F. 278. Ἐδέστο τοῦ Ἀρισταγόρασος, εἰ καὶ αὐτότις παράσχει δύναμιν τινα καὶ κατέλθουσι ἐς τῆν ἑωστίαν, they besought A., if in any way he might supply them with an armed force and they might be restored to their own land (to do this). HDT. v. 30. Φρασιστάντες εἰ κως ἐν γένοισά Τῆ Ἑλληνικῆς, having it at heart that, if it were in any way possible, the Hellenic race should be made one. Id. vii. 145. Βουλομένη εἰ καὶ προφῆτεροι γενομένα βασιλεῖς, i.e. wishing that both might be made kings, if in any way this could be done. Id. vi. 52. Ἐβουλεύοντο θέλων εἰ καὶ τούτων πρώτων ἔλθον. Id. ix. 14. Πρόθυμοι ἦσαν ἐπι- χειρέσεων (ἐκ τῆς ξυρα), εἰ καὶ ἐλθεῖν αὐτός. Id. viii. 6. Πέμψαντες τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις προβείς, εἰ ποιοι προσέθην μὴ σφῶν πέρι νεωτέρες μοιχές, to persuade them if they might, etc. TUC. i. 58. Περιενόμενοι εἰς τὴν Ἀσιάν ὡς βασιλέα, εἰ ποιοι προσέθην αὐτόν, followed by βουλόμενοι προσέθην αὐτόν, εἰ δύναντο, εἰπαρέσκειν, in nearly the same sense. Id. ii. 67. Πισταθομένοι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εἰς τὴν Καράκινων προσβεβευ- εσθαι, εἰ ποιοὶ προσαγάγωντο αὐτοῦς, that they went on an embassy to C., to bring the town over if they could. Id. vi. 75. (Compare Ἑρα- γαντα Σικανόν ἀπεστείλαν, ὅπως ὑπαγόντω τὴν πόλιν εἰ δύναι, vii. 46. This might have been εἰ ποιοὶ ὑπαγόντω τὴν πόλιν, and in vi. 75 we might have had ὅπως προσαγάγωντο αὐτοῦς εἰ δύναι, with nearly the same force, but with different constructions.) See v. 4, εἰ ποιοὶ . . . διασώσειν. Ἰκάται πρὸς σὲ δεῦρ' ἄφιξανθε, εἰ τινα πόλιν φράσεις ἤμις ἔδρον, we have come hither to you as suppliants, in the hope that you might tell us of some city soft as a fleece (to have you tell us, if perchance you might do so). AR. AN. 120. Ἀκούσαν καὶ άμµο, ἐάν σου ταύτα δοκῇ, listen to me too, in the hope that you may think the same (in case the same shall seem true to you). PLAT. Rep. 358 B: so 434 A. "Ὄρα σὸν καὶ προθυμομένως κατίδειν, εάν ποιοὶ πρότερος ἠμῶν λόγος καὶ ἠμῶν φράσης, i.e. for the chance that you may see it first and tell me," IB. 432 C: so 618 C, Theat. 192 C, Soph. 226 C. See also XEN. AN. ii. 1, 8, ἃν τι διώνυσαι, and AR. Nub. 555. On this principle we must explain AR. Ran. 339, οὐκ οὖν ἀγράμμίζεις, ἵνα καὶ χορός λάβῃς, will you not keep quiet then, in the hope of getting some sausage too (i.e. to have some sausage if you chance to get any)?

490. 1. The apodosis may, further, be suggested by the context, even by the protasis itself, without implying that the protasis expresses a purpose or desire of the leading subject. This gives rise to a variety of constructions. E.g.

Κτανεῖν ἐρωί νιν ἔδοσαν, εἰπε µὴ κτανεῖν θέλοιεν ἀγεσθαι πάλιν εἰ
'Αργείαν χθόνα, they gave her (Helen) to me to slay, or, in case I should prefer not to slay her but to carry her back to the land of Argos (for me to do this). EUR. Τοι 874. "Ἡν (τὴν Ἐυμακάιαν) γε οὐκ ἔπι τοῖς φίλοις ἐποιήσατο, τῶν δὲ ἱχθρών ἤν τις ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἤκτο, i.e. you made it (to we) in case any of your enemies should come against you. ΘΗΕΣ. vi. 79. Πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, εἰ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν, ἔχομιν, they marched towards the city, to be ready in case the citizens should rush out. Id. vi. 100. Τάλαμα, ἢν ἐν ναυμάχειν οἱ Αθηναίοι τολμήσον, παρεπεκάνασιν, they made other preparations, to be ready in case the Athenians should venture on further sea-fights. Id. vii. 59. Κύρυγμα παυόμεν: . . τῶν νησιωτῶν εἰ τις βούλεται ἐπ' ἐλευθερία ὡς σφάς ἁπάναι, they make proclamation, in case any of the islanders wishes to come over to them with promise of freedom (for him to do so). Id. vii. 82. Ὀδυσσέα βλάβη τῶν πρὸς τὰς πόλεις διαπερατῶν ἐστὶ κατασκοπήν καὶ ἢν τὸ ἄλλο φαινεται ἐπιτέθειν, there is no harm in the envoys whom we have sent to the various cities, partly for inquiry, and also in case any other advantage may appear (to secure this), i.e. to secure any other advantage that may appear. Id. vi. 41. Σο καὶ εἰ τωι πρὸς ἄλλον δεοι, Id. v. 37. Ἀράς ποιοῦνται, εἰ τις ἐπικρυπτοῦεται Πέρισσοι, they invoke curses, if any one (i.e. to fall on, any one who) sends heralds to the Persians. ISO. iv. 157. Φιλοτιμεῖσθαι μηδ' εἰ νέφο ἐλλιθ' ἢ ἐπ' χρημάτων κτύπει καὶ εἰν τὸ ἄλλο εἰς τούτο φέρη, i.e. for anything else that may lead to this. PLAT. Rep. 553 D. See ARISTOT. ETH. x. 9, 2: ἔχειν (τὴν ἀρετήν) καὶ χρήσται πειρατέοι, ἢ εἰ τωι ἄλλως ἁγαθοὶ γινόμεθα, we must try to possess and employ virtue, or if there is any other means of becoming virtuous (to use this).

2. In the Homeric examples in which the protasis consists of an infinitive depending on ἔθελο (487; 1, end), the apodosis is suggested by the infinitive rather than by ἔθελο. This shows that εἰ ἄκ ἔθελα ἔπη in itself has no final force. See also Od. xxii. 381, πάντιπυρεν δ' Ὀδυσσεως κατ' ἐν δόμον, εἰ τις ἕτε ἀνδρών ὡς ὑποκλοποίσιτο ἀλόθυμων κῆρα μέλαναν, he peered through his house, in case any man might still be alive and hiding himself (i.e. to find any such man), where no desire or hope is implied, and the construction is like that of ΘΗΕΣ. vi. 100 (above).

In PLAT. Rep. 327 G, οἶκον εἰτε ἐλλειπεται τὸ ἢν τεῦσωμεν ὑμᾶς ὡς χρη ὑμᾶς ἀφεῖναι; the subject of ἐλλειπεται is a protasis introduced by τό, into which the apodosis has been wholly absorbed. The construction is, is there not still left the supposition of our persuading you that you must let us go? But the meaning is, is it not left for us to persuade you that you must let us go, if we can (i.e. τεῦσαι ἢν τεῦσωμεν)? This is an important example for explaining this whole class of sentences (486-490). The cases in 490 make it plain that the final force often ascribed to εἰ or ἢν comes from the suppression of an apodosis containing the idea of purpose or desire, since the same form of protasis which is sometimes called final has no final force when a slightly different apodosis is implied (as in ΘΗΕΣ. vi. 79, 100, vii. 59).
491. Sometimes a clause with εἰ καὶ ἢ (rarely εἰ) and the subjunctive, or with εἰ καὶ εἰ and the optative, in Homer is the object of ἀφα, ἔδω, or a verb of saying, expressing in a conditional form a result which is hoped for or desired. These clauses have the appearance of indirect questions; but the analogy of the preceding examples (487-490) shows that all are based on the same idiom,—a protasis which involves its own apodosis so that it would be useless to express the latter separately. The examples are these:—

Τίς εἴδε εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἵνα κοΐλησῃ ἐπὶ νηθὸς τῆλε φίλων ἀπόλυτα, who knows the chances that he too may perish, etc.? or who knows the chances of his perishing, etc., if haply he may? Od. ii. 332. (We may translate colloquially: who knows? supposing he too shall perish?) Τίς εἴδε εἰ καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς φθόγγον ἐμφανίζειν ὑπὸ δουρῆν τυπεῖς ἀπὸ θυμὸν ὀλέσσαι; who knows the chances that Achilles may first be struck (the chances of his being first struck, if haply he shall be)? II. xvi. 860. (We should naturally express this by a different construction, whether he may not be first struck.) Τίς εἴδε εἰ καὶ σὺν δαιμόνῳ θυμὸν ὀρίναι παρειπού; who knows the chances of you rousing his spirit by persuasion, if haply I shall do so? II. xv. 403. In II. xi. 792 we have Nestor’s advice to Patroclus, τίς εἴδε εἰ καὶ σὺν δαιμόνῳ θυμὸν ὀρίναις παρειπούς; who knows the chances that you could rouse his spirit by persuasion? (ὀρίνας κε being potential). Οὐ μὴν εἴδε εἰ αὐτῶ οἰκοραφάζει ἀλευρίνης πρόπης ἐκαύρων καὶ σε πληγύον ἡμᾶς, I am not sure of the chances of your being the first to enjoy your own device, etc., i.e. I am not so sure that you may not be the first to enjoy it, if it shall so chance. II. xv. 16. Ζεύς γὰρ ποιεῖ τὸ γε οἴδε καὶ ἀδάναυτος θεὸς ἅλλοι, εἰ κέ μοι ἄγγελναι μιθοῖν ἐπὶ πολλὰ δὴ ἄλλην, Zeus and the other immortals (alone) know this, the chance of my bringing news of him, if haply I have seen him and so might do this. Od. xiv. 119. Εἰ δὲ ἄγε δὴ μοι τοῦτο, θεὰ, νηνερέτες ἐνάσεσί, εἰ περὶ τὴν ὀλοῖν μὲν ὑπεκπορφύγουμεν Ἀχιλλεῖ, τῆν δὲ κ’ ἄμυναι μην ὑπὲρ σῶμα γ’ έταφομεν, i.e. tell me this without fault, the chance of my escaping {Charybdis} if haply I should do this, and of my then keeping Scylla off if I could (iit. tell me this, supposing I should escape Charybdis and could then keep Scylla off). Od. xii. 112 (this translation supposes κ’ to be potential, affecting only ἄμυναι μην).

Ἡ μένετε Τρῶας σχέδον ἑλθέμεν, ὃβεα λάθος αἰ κέ ὑμῖν ὑπέρσεχον ἑέρα Κρονίων: are you waiting for the Trojans to come near, that you may see the chances of the son of Cronus holding his hand over you?—or that you may see him hold his hand over you, if haply he may do this? II. iv. 247. (We might say, is it that you may see it,—supposing the son of Cronus to hold his hand over you?) Τῶν σ’ αὕτως μικράσ, ἢ ἀπολλαλήξας ἀστάσας, ὅπ’ ἐδώς ἦν τοι χραίομεν μὴν φιλότης τε καὶ εἰρήν, i.e. that you may see the chances of your device avoiding you, or that you may see it if perchance your device shall await you. II. xv. 31.

See also II. xx. 435, ἄλλ’ ἴ τοι μὲν ταύτα θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κείται,
492. A comparison of these peculiar conditional constructions (491) expressing hope or desire with clauses with μὴ expressing anxiety and desire to prevent a result, both depending on ἐλθον or ἐλθων, is suggestive. With Od. ii. 332 and II. xvi. 860 (in 491) compare Πλ. Phaed. 81 D (quoted in 366); and with II. iv. 247 and xv. 31 (491) compare Od. xxiv. 491, ἂν μὴ δή σχεδόν δει κιντεῖ (366). This comparison shows that εἰδέναι (or ιδεῖν) εἴοντα στοιχηται means to know (or see) the chances of gaining this (object of desire); while εἰδέναι (or ιδεῖν) μὴ τούτο γένηται means to know (or see) some way to prevent this (object of fear). The idea of desire or anxiety belongs to the dependent clause, and not at all to the leading verb.

493. These Homeric expressions (491), in which nearly all the force is in the protasis, so that the apodosis is not only suppressed but hardly felt at all, helps to show how the particle εἴ may be used to express the object of the emotion. When the supposition of the protasis is present or past, a causal sentence would generally seem more natural. Such expressions are especially θεαμάζο, αἰσχύνομαι, ἀγαπῶ, ἀγανακτῶ, and δεινόν ἐστιν. E.g.

Εἴ ἄλλοι θεαμάζο, εἴ μηδεὶς ὅμων μὴτ ἑρμηνεύεται μητ ἀργύρεται, ὅρων, κτ. ἐκείνω, I wonder that no one of you is either concerned or angry, when he sees, etc. (lit. if no one is either concerned or angry, I wonder). Dem. iv. 43. 'Ελλην αἱ θαμάζο, εἴ Λακεδαιμονιοι μὲν ποτε ἀντιήρατε, νῦν δ΄ ἐκείνη τε ἐξέδωκαν καὶ μέλλετε εἰσφέρειν, but I wonder at this, that you ones opposed the Lacedaemonians, but now are unwilling, etc. 13. ii. 24. The literal meaning is, if (it is true that) you ones opposed, etc. then I wonder.) Ὅσον ἀγάπη εἴ μη δίκυν δέωκεν, ἄλλα εἴ μη καὶ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ στεφαναθήσεται ἄγανακτε, he is not content if he has not been punished; but if he is not also to be crowned with a
golden crown, he is indignant. Aeschyn. iii. 147. Kai de ἀληθῶς ἀγανάκτω, ei oýmwi ὁ μνύ ὕος τε εἰμὶ εἰπεῖν, I am indignant that (or if) I am not able, etc. Plat. Lach. 194 A. Oi de ἥθαραστον ἔστων, ei στρατεύμενοι καὶ πονῶν ἐκεῖνοι αὐτῶς ὑμῶν μελάντων καὶ ἔφημερομένων καὶ πυθομένων περιγίγνεσται, it is no wonder that he gets the advantage of you, etc. Dem. ii. 23. Μηδὲ μέντοι τούτο μεῖον δόξητε ἔχειν, ei οἱ Κυρείοι πρόλογον σὺν ὑμῖν ταττόμενοι νῦν ἀφετηρισμοὶ, i.e. do not be discontented, if (or that) the Cyprians have now withdrawn. Xen. An. iii. 2, 17. Αἶνῳ σε, ei κτενεῖς δάμαρτα σήμ. Eur. Tros. 890.

Δεινῶν ἄν εἴη πρῆγμα, ei Σάκας μὲν δούλους ἔχουμεν, Ἐλληνως δὲ οὗ τιμωρήσεωθα. Hdt. vii. 9. Ἀλχρόν ἔστιν, ei ἔγω μέν τὰ ἔργα ὑπεμεῖαν, ὑμεῖς δὲ μεδέ τοῦτο λόγους ἀνεξάνθε. Dem. xviii. 160. Δεινῶν ἄν εἴη, ei οἱ μὲν ἐκεῖνοι δύμμαχοι οὐκ ἀπερούσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἄρα δαπανήσωμεν. Thuc. i. 121. Τέρας λέγεις, ei . . . οὐκ ἂν δύνατο λαβεῖν. Plat. Men. 91 D (see 506). Δεινῶν ei οἱ αὖτοι μάρτυρες τούτοις μὲν ἄν μαρτυροῦντες πιστοὶ ἦσαν, ἐμοὶ δὲ μαρτυροῦντες ἀπιστοὶ ἤσονται, it is hard that the same witnesses testifying for them would have been trustworthy, and testifying for me are to be untrustworthy. Ant. vi. 29. See Aeschyn. i. 85.

In all the preceding examples the protasis belongs under 402, the futures expressing present suppositions (407). For ei oú see 386 and 387, with examples.

495. The same construction is sometimes used when the leading verb is past. e.g.

Κατερέμφθετε αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦς σὺν αὐτῷ, ei οἱ ἀλλοι ἄρκασαν μάλλον ἐστὶν ἐκόσιν. Xen. Cyr. iv. 3, 3. But generally such sentences are affected by the principle of indirect discourse, and have either the optative or the form of the direct discourse: see Xen. Cyr. ii. 2, 3, καὶ θεσθήνῃ ei τι μεῖον δοκοῦν ἔχειν (where δοκοῦν might have been used). See Eur. Med. 931, εἰσῆλθε μοῦ ὧδε τοῖς, ei γενήσεται, and Xen. An. i. 4, 7, ὥτετρον ei ἀλώσωμο. For such sentences see 697.

496. These expressions may also be followed by ὅτι and a causal sentence, as in Plat. Theat. 142 Α, ἐθαύμαζον ὅτι οὐχ οἶδας τῇ ῥᾳδίᾳ. The construction with ei gives a milder or more polite form of expression, putting the object of the wonder etc. into the form of a supposition, instead of stating it as a fact as we should do in English. They may also be followed by protases expressing ordinary conditions, which have nothing peculiar: see Isoc. xv. 17, ἀγαπήσων (sc. ἐστίν) ἦν ἐκλάβειν δύνηθω τὸ δίκαιον, they must be content if they are able (cf. xix. 20); and Plat. Prot. 315 E, Dem. ii. 23 (ei περὶμεν).

497. This construction must not be mistaken for that in which ei is used in the sense of whether, to introduce an indirect question; as ἦρωτον ei ἠλθεν, I asked whether he had come.
MIXED CONSTRUCTIONS.

498. The forms of protasis and apodosis which are contained in the classification above (388-397) include by far the greater number of the examples found in the classic authors. Many cases remain, however, in which the protasis and apodosis do not belong to the same form. Especially, the great wealth of conditional expressions which the Homeric language exhibits in both protasis and apodosis (399) allowed great variety of combination; and the early poets used much greater freedom in these sentences than suited the more exact style of Attic prose.

I. Optative in Protasis, with Future or Present Indicative or an equivalent form in Apodosis.

499. (a) In the earlier language a protasis with the optative is not infrequently followed by an apodosis with the future indicative or imperative or (in Homer) with the subjunctive. The subjunctive or future indicative in Homer may also take κέ or ἂν (452). E.g.

Εἰ τίς μοι ἄνηρ ἀμφοτερον ἄλλος, μᾶλλον θαλπαστήρι καὶ θαρσωλέστερον ἢ ἑταῖρι, if any other man should follow with me, there will be more comfort and greater courage. Π. x. 222. (The want of symmetry in the Greek is here precisely what it is in the English; and εἰν ἂν is no more required in the apodosis than would be is, though both are the conventional forms.) See Π. ix. 388, and xxiii. 893, πόρωμεν, εἰ ἑθέλοις. Τόν γ᾿ εἰ πως σὺ δύναις λοχρύμενος λειαδεῖς, ὥς κέν τοι εἰπῇς ὡδόν, he will tell you, etc. Οδ. iv. 388. See Π. xi. 386, εἰ περὶ ποτέ, ὥς καὶ τοι χραίμηρες βίως; and Π. ii. 488, xx. 100, Od. xvii. 539. Εἰ δὲ δαίμων γενέθλιος ἔρτοι, Δὲ τοῦτ’ ἐνισχύω τ᾿ ἐκδώσομεν πράσεος. ΠΙΝ. Οl. xiii. 105.1 So in an old curse, εἴ τοι τάδε παραβαινόι, ἐναγῇς ἐστια, Αἰθην. iii. 110. See SORH. O. T. 851, εἴ τι κατρέποιτο, οὔτοι τόν γε Λαῖον φόνον φανεῖ δικαίως ὑρθόν.

500. (b) A present indicative in the apodosis with an optative in the protasis is sometimes merely an emphatic future expression. E.g.

Πάντ᾿ εὖχεσ, εἴ σε τούτων μοῖρ᾿ ἐφίκοιτο καλων, you have the whole, should a share of these glories fall to your lot. ΠΙΝ. Ισθ. iv. (v.) 14. So καίρῳ εἴ φθεγξαίο, μείον ἐπεται μέομαι ἀνθρώπων, i.e. should you speak seasonably, you are sure to be followed by less censure of men, Πρ. i. 81. In ΤΘΥΣ. ii. 39 we have καίτοι εἰ βαθμίῳ μᾶλλον ἡ πόνων μελέτη ἔθλοιμεν κινδυνεῦσεν, περιγγινέται ἣμῖν, κ.τ.λ.,

1 For the cases in Pindar here and in 500 and 501, see Am. Jour. Phil. iii. p. 444.
and now supposing that we should choose to meet dangers with a light heart rather than with laborious training, we secure the advantage, etc. This sentence is loosely jointed, like the others which have this combination; the condition is stated as a remotely supposed case, in the vague future form, but the apodosis, we at once gain this advantage, etc., is adapted to a present supposition. The optative is generally emended to ἐθέλομεν, although it is one of the best attested words in Thucydides, being in the best Mss. and also being quoted by Dion. Hal. as a faulty expression. The criticism of Dionysius (de Thuc. I. 8. 12) is instructive: ἐνταῦθεν γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἐθέλομεν ῥῆμα τοῦ μέλλοντός ἕστε ὁ τρόπος δηλοτικόν, τὸ δὲ περιεγένεται τοῦ παρόντος ἰκάλουσθον δὲ ἂν ἦν εἰ συνέξεσθε τῷ ἐθέλομεν τὸ περιέσται, i.e. the future expression εἰ ἐθέλομεν should have a future form like περιέσται to correspond to it.

In Dem. xviii. 21, εἰ γὰρ εἶναι τι δοκεῖ τὰ μάλιστα ἐν τούτους ἀδίκημα, οὔτε ἐστὶ διότι πρὸς ἐμὲ, the apodosis refers to the real protasis if there is any apparent fault.

501. (c) In most cases, however, the present indicative in the apodosis precedes, containing a general statement, and the optative adds a remote future condition where we should expect a general present supposition. E.g.

Οὐ μακεθεῖται, οὐδ' εἰ κακίων στέθη εἴθοι, εἰδὲν ἀτιμήσαν, it is not right for me—ever supposing a more wicked man than you should come—to dishonour a stranger. Od. xiv. 66. Ῥαγαῦλος γὰρ ἄνηρ ἐπὶ πάνω οἰκεῖον ἐργονωμεν τελέσωμεν, εἴς καὶ ποθὲν ἀλλοθείαν ἐλθοί. Od. vii. 51. So v. 484, viii. 138; ll. ix. 318. Οὔτ' οὖν ἄγαγελή ἄν πείθομαι, εἴ ποθὲν ἐλθοί, οὔτε θεοπροσοπικής ἐμπάλαμα, ἂν τω μὴτην ἐξερένται, neither do I any longer put trust in reports—should any one come—nor do I regard any inspiration which my mother may ask. Od. i. 414. (Here the remoteness of the supposition in εἴ ἐλθοί is contrasted with the greater vividness of that expressed in ἐξερένται). Δεινον τῇ, εἰ' εἴθ' ἀμοίβαν ὑπὲρβισθεν ἀχθος ἀειρα ἀπονα κακάξις τά δὲ φόρτι ἀμαυρωθείη, it is hard, . . . supposing you should break your axle and your load should perish. Hes. Op. 692. Κέρδος δὲ φύλασαν, ἐκόντος εἴ τις ἐκ δῶμον φέροι, it is the dearest gain, if one should bring it from the house of a willing giver. Pind. Py. viii. 13.

In most of these examples a general supposition with the subjunctive (or present indicative) in the protasis would have agreed more closely with the thought. If the protasis had preceded, so as to determine the character of the sentence, the apodosis would naturally have had the optative with κε' or ἂν, or some future form (as in the cases under a).

502. (d) The optative in protasis sometimes depends on the present of a verb of obligation, propriety, or possibility with an infinitive, the two forming an expression that is nearly equivalent in sense to an optative with ἂν. E.g.
II. Indicative or Subjunctive in Protasis, with Potential Optative or Indicative in Apodosis.

503. (a) A present or past tense of the indicative in the protasis with a potential optative or indicative (with ἂν) in the apodosis is a perfectly natural combination, each clause having its proper force. E.g.

Εἰ δὲ τις ἄθανάτων γε κατ' οὐρανοῖς εἰλήλουθας, οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε θεοῖς ἐπουρανίστω ἐκοίμησιν, but if thou art one of the immortals come from heaven, I would not fight against the Gods of heaven. Π. vi. 128. Πολλή γὰρ ἂν εὐδαιμονίᾳ εἰῆ περὶ τοὺς νέους, εἰ εἶς μὲν μόνος αὐτῶς διαφθείρει, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ωφελοῦσιν, for there would (naturally) be great happiness, etc. Plat. Ap. 25 B. Εἰ τι θεόφατον πατρὶ χρήσιμοις ἱκνεῖθ, ὥστε πρὸς παιδῶν βασεῖτον, πῶς ἂν δικαίως τούτων ὑμεῖς ἢμεῖς ἢμείς ἢμείς; if a divine decree came to my father through oracles that he was to die by his sons' hands, how can you justly reproach me with this? Soph. O. C. 969; so 974-977. "Ωστ' εἰ μοι καὶ μέτεσθι ἡγούμενοι μᾶλλον ἔτερων προσεῖναι αὐτὰ πολεμεῖν ἐπείσθητε, οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως νῦν τὸν γε ἀδίκειν αἰτῶς φεροῖμην, if you were persuaded to make war by thinking, etc., I should not now justly be charged with injustice. Thuc. ii. 60. Εἰ γὰρ οὕτως ὀρθῶς ἀπεστησας, ὑμείς ἂν οὐ χρεῶν ἀρχητε, for if these had a right to secede, it would follow that your dominion is unjust. Id. iii. 40: see vi. 92, and Dem. xxi. 37. Καίτοι τὸς τὸν Ὑπερείδην, ἐπέρ ἀλήθη μοι νῦν κατηγορεῖ, μᾶλλον ἂν εἰκότως ἢ τὸν ἐδιδακῆς, and yet, if he is now making true charges against me, he would then have prosecuted Hypereides with much more reason than (he now has for prosecuting) this man. Dem. xviii. 223. Εἰ γὰρ γνώσεις εἰς τὸν ἂν ἂν ὑσσουσιν θράσουσι, . . . παρ' οὐδὲν αὐτῶς ἂν ἂν ὡλλανας πόσες, for if women are to come to this height of audacity (407) it would be as nothing for them to slay their husbands. Eur. Or. 566. Τότω, εἰ καὶ τὰλλα πάντα ἀποστεροῦσιν, ἀποδοῦναι προσήκες, even if they steal the rest, they ought to have restored this (415). Dem. xxvii. 37.

504. (b) An unreal condition in the indicative followed by a potential optative seldom occurs and is not a strictly logical combination. E.g.

Εἰ τοῦτ' ἐπεχείρουν λέγειν, οὐκ ἦσθ' ὅστις οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως
505. (c) When a subjunctive or a future indicative in protasis has a potential optative in the apodosis, there is sometimes a distinct potential force in the apodosis (as in 503), and sometimes the optative with ἄν is merely a softened expression for the future indicative (235). E.g.

Εἰ μὲν κεν πατρὸς βίοτον καὶ νόστον ἀκούσω, ἢ τι ἄν τροχόμενος περ ἐτι τλαίνῃν ἐναιντον, ἢ ἂν τρελήθη ἐσώ ἀμνόν ἐρυκακεῖν, but still even so, though suffering evils, you may come home, if you will curb your passion. Od. xi. 104; so xi. 110 and xii. 137. See ll. xxi. 556. Εἰ δὲ κεν ὅποις ἀράγης, τόδε κεν τοι φάρμακον εἰη, but if you plough late, this may be your remedy. Hes. Op. 485; so 665. 'Αλλ' ἐνε ἐφής μοι... λέξαι μ' ἄν ὀρθῶς, i.e. I would fain speak. Soph. El. 554. See O. T. 216, Phil. 1259; Eur. Heli. 1085. Οὖν γὰρ ἂν πάλλα γέφυρα δῶειν, ἔχοιμεν ἄν ὅποιοι φνυοῦσεν ἡμεῖς σωθομεν, for not even if there are (shall be) many bridges, could we (in the case supposed) find a place to fly to and be safe. Xen. An. ii. 4, 19.

Εἰ γὰρ τι λέξεως ὁ χολόωσε στράτος, οὐτ' ἄν ταφείν παῖς ὄθον' οἴκτου τοῦχω, for if you say anything by which the army shall be made angry, this child cannot be buried or find safety. Eur. Troad. 730; see Suppl. 603, Cycl. 474. Χρυσόμον εἰ ποιήσονται, τῆς μὲν γῆς βλάπτοιεν ἃν τι μέρος, οὔ μέντοι ικαπυν γε ἐστασε κακλείων ἡμᾶς, κ.τ.λ., if they (shall) build a fort, they might perhaps injure some part of our land; but it will not be sufficient to prevent us, etc. Thuc. i. 142.

In the following examples the optative with ἄν seems to form a future apodosis to the future protasis; though in some of them it may be thought to be potential:—

Εἰ δὲ κεν εὐπλοίου δόθῃ κλάτος εἰνοσίγαεω, ἡματί κεν τρεράτῳ Φθυν' ἐρίζουλον ἰκοίμη, i.e. on the third day I shall arrive. ll. ix. 362. (The reference to this in Plut. Crit. 44 B shows that ἰκοίμην ἄν is a mere future.) See ll. xiii. 377, xvii. 38; Od. xxi. 114. 'Αδικοίμην ἄν εἰ μὴ ἀποδόσω, I should be guilty of wrong, should I (shall) not restore her. Eur. Heli. 1010. See Ion. 374, Suppl. 520, I. A. 1189, Cycl. 198. 'Ἡν οὖν μάθης μου τὸν μοικὸν τοῦτον λόγον, οὐκ ἂν ἀποδοίη ὄθ' ἄν ὀβαλοῦν οὐδενί, if you (shall) learn this cheating reason for me, I will not (or I would not) pay even an obol to any one. An. Nub. 116. Καὶ οὕτως ἂν δεινόστατα πάγων πάθοιεν, εἰ οὖν ὁμόφρατοι κατ' ἐκείνον τῶν διδρῶν τοῖς τριάκοντα γεννήτον- ται. Lys. xiii. 94. (Here we should expect εἰ γένοιτο.) Τῶν ἀποτυ-
III. Potential Optative or Indicative (with ἂν) in the Protasis.

506. A potential optative (with ἂν) in the protasis may express a present condition, and a potential indicative (with ἂν) a present or past condition. E.g.

Εἰ μὴ δὲ εὐθὺς ἄρα ἡ δεξαίμηθ' ἂν, πῶς οὐκ ἄξων αὐτῶν γε φυλάξασθαι τοιοῦτον γενέσθαι; if we would not have even a slave who was inteemperate, how can it be other than fitting to guard oneself against becoming so? XEN. Mem. i. 5. 3. Καὶ ἐγὼ, εἶπερ ἄλλω τι ἄνθρωπον πειθοῦμεν ἂν, καὶ σοὶ πείθομαι, and I, if I would trust any man, trust you. PLAT. Prot. 329 B. Όὕτω παντέλως, οὐδὲ οὐκ θυμήσατ' ἂν τούτῳ ὡς ἐγωγέ φημι δειν, εὐκαταφρονήτων ἐστών, this (preparation) is not wholly to be despised, even if you would not do this as I say you ought. DEM. iv. 18. Notice the difference between this supposition that you would not do this if you could (i.e. οὐκ ἂν ποιήσατε τούτῳ) and the ordinary εἰ μὴ ποιήσατε τούτῳ, supposing you not to do this.

Εἰ τοῖς τούτῳ ἵσχυροιν ἂν τούτῳ τεκμήριον, κάροις γενέσθω τεκμήριον, κ.τ.λ., if then this would have been a strong proof for him (sc. had he had it), so let it be also a proof for me, etc. DEM. xlix. 58. Εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦτον βούλεσθαι σώσαι, ἐξόλης ἀπολογήσαντι καὶ προώλης εἰ προσλαβών γ' ἂν ἀργύριον τάνα πολὺ μετά τούτων ἐπέρεισθεν, had it not been for my wish to save these (captives), may I perish utterly and before my day if I would have gone on an embassy with these men even for very high pay. DEM. xix. 172. (Here the protasis to which the apodosis ἀπολογήσαντι refers is really the whole expression εἰ . . . ἐπέρεισθεν ἂν εἰ μὴ . . . σώσαι, if I would have gone except to save these, ἐπέρεισθεν ἂν in the protasis being itself the apodosis to εἰ μὴ . . . σώσαι.) In DEM. xviii. 101, καὶ τοῖς οἷς ἂν ἀπέκτεινε με δικαίως, εἰ τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ πόλει καλῶν λόγων μονον κατασχῦνει ἐπεξείρησαν ἂν;—if we retain the final ἂν (strongly supported by MSS.), we must translate if (it is true that) I would (under any circumstances) have undertaken, etc., and not simply if I had undertaken (εἰ ἐπεξείρησα). (See 557.)

507. It is obvious that such forms (506) express simple present or past conditions, the real protasis always being if it is (or was) the case that something would now be (or would have been), or if it is the case that something would hereafter be under certain circumstances. (See 409.)

IV. Irregular Combinations.—Present or Past with Future in one Protasis.

508. In a few irregular constructions, which are only cases
of anakolouthon, the speaker adapts his apodosis to a form of protasis different from that which he has actually used. *E.g.*

'Εγώ μὲν ἄν, εἰ ἔχωμι, ὡς τάχιστα ὑπλα ἐποιούμην πάσι Πέρσαις. Χεν. Συν. ii. 1, 9. (Here ἐποιούμην ἄν is used as if εἰ εἴχομ, if I were able, had preceded. We should expect ποιούμην ἄν, which is found in one Ms.) Εἰ οὖν εἰδείην ὅτι θέσατο αὐτούς, ἐσπερ ἄν ἐπὶ τὸν πόνον . . . καὶ κατεργάζοντο ᾧν αὐτήν, if then they knew that she (virtue) sees them, they would rush into labours and would secure her. Χεν. Συν. xii. 22. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ εἰς γυναῖκα σωφρονεστέραν ἐίφσι μεθ' εἰμέν, δυσκλέης ἐν ἡν φόνος. Eur. Or. 1132. (Here we should expect εἴη.)

509. The same protasis may have one verb in the indicative referring to present or past time, and another in the optative referring to the future. *E.g.*

'Εγώ οὖν δειλά ἄν εἴην εἰργασμένος, εἰ, ὅτε μὲν με οἱ ἄρχοντες ἔταττον, τότε μὲν ἐμενον, τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ τάπτοτος λαύομεν τὴν τάξιν, I should therefore (prove to) have believed outrageously, if when the state authorities stationed me I stood my ground, but (if) now when God stations me I should desert my post. Plat. Ap. 28 E. (Here the supposed combination of the two acts is the future condition to which the future apodosis refers.) 'Επεύχομαι πᾶσι τούτοις, εἰ ἀληθῆ πρὸς ὅμοις εἰπομέναι καὶ εἴπων καὶ τοῦ' εἴθει ἐν τῷ ὅμοι, εἰσχύειν μοι δούναι, i.e. if I should speak the truth and if I did speak it then, etc. Dem. xviii. 141. Εἰ δὲ μὴς ἐστι μέτε ἡν μήτε ἄν εἰπεῖν ἐχοι μηδείς μηδείποι καὶ τίμερον, τί τὸν σὸμβολον ἔχρην ποιεῖν; but if these neither is nor was (any such thing), and if no man yet even at this day could possibly tell of any, what ought the statesman to have done? Ib. 190.

V. Several Protases in one sentence.

510. Two or more protases, not co-ordinate, may belong to the same sentence; but one always contains the leading condition, to which the rest of the sentence (including the other conditions) is the conclusion. Here several protases may belong to one apodosis; or the leading condition may be followed by two subordinate conditions, each with its own apodosis. *E.g.*

Καὶ γὰρ ἄν οὕτω τι πάθη, ταχέως ύμεὶς ἔτερον Φίλιππον πολέμησε, ἀντέρ οὕτω προσέχητε τοῖς πράγμασι τὸν νόον, for if anything shall happen to this Philip, you will soon create another if this is your way of attending to the business. Dem. iv. 11. So xviii. 195, 217 (two cases in each). Εἰ δ' ἂν δέμεν νέοι δὲς καὶ γέροντες, εἰ τις ἔξερνεται, διπλά τίνι λαχάνες ἐξωθομεθ' ἄν, if we were twice young and twice old, in case any one of us was in fault we should secure a double life and set ourselves right. Eur. Supp. 1084. See Ar. Ran. 1449. Εἰ ἔνεος ἐτύχης ἁπαν ἄν ἐξεγεγυμνήκετε δόχον ἄν μοι εἰ ἐν ἑκείνῃ τῇ φωνῇ τε καὶ τῷ ὁπλῷ ἔκλεγόν ἐν οὔσπερ ἐπεθράμμην, i.e.
511. It will be noticed that when the leading condition is unreal (as in Eur. Supp. 1084, Plat. Ap. 17 D, and Dem. iv. 1, above), this makes all subordinate past or present conditions also unreal, so far as the supposed case is concerned, without regard to their own nature. Thus, in Dem. iv. 1 and xxxiii. 25 we have two directly opposite suppositions both stated as contrary to fact, which could not be unless the leading supposition had made the whole state of things supposed in the sentence unreal like itself. It is obvious, therefore, that such a subordinate condition may refer to a case which is not 

in itself unreal, although it is part of a supposition which as a whole is unreal. This can be seen more easily in English. We can say, if he had been an Athenian, he would have been laughed at if he had talked as he did; but we are far from implying that the latter supposition (the subordinate one) is contrary to fact, although it would be expressed in Greek by εἰ ἔλεγεν. Still it is part of a supposed unreal state of things. This explains an apparent inconsistency in respect to sentences like εἰκὸς ὅν σε τοῦτο πάθειν, you ought properly to have suffered this, when the opposite of the infinitive is implied (415), the expression being practically equivalent (as a conditional form) to τοῦτο ἐπαθές ἀν εἰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἐπαθής. As τοῦτο and τὸ εἰκὸς are here identical, the apodosis is denied in the denial of the protasis. But if a new unreal protasis is added, the opposite of the infinitive is not necessarily implied (see 422, 1); and if we add a concessive protasis and say καὶ εἰ μὴ γένη ἡδίκισας, εἰκὸς ὅν σε τοῦτο πάθειν, even if you had done nothing unjust, you ought (still) to have suffered this, τοῦτο generally represents what actually took place (see 422, 2). Here a new chief protasis has come in and changed the whole relation of the apodosis to the sentence. This offers a satisfactory explanation of the apparent anomaly in Soph. O. T. 221, ὅ τι γὰρ ἀν μακρὰν ἔχειν ἀυτῷ, μὴ οὐκ ἔχου τι συμβολῶν, where μὴ οὐκ ἔχων is obviously equivalent to the condition εἰ μὴ ἔχων, while there is yet no such opposite implied as but I have a clue. The chief condition lies in the emphatic ἀυτῷ, which is especially forcible after ἔχειν πέν and ἔχειν δὲ, and involves εἰ μόνος ἔχειν. The meaning is, for I should not be very far on the track, if I were attempting to trace it alone without a clue. Thus without a clue becomes part of the unreal supposition without being itself contrary to fact, while μὴ in μὴ οὐκ
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indefinite.) Δεγω ὁ οὐκ ἄγνω, I am saying that of which I am not ignorant.

Ἀλλά ὅτε δὴ ἐκ τοῦ διωδεκάτη γένετ ἢ μός, καὶ τότε δὴ πρὸς Ὄλυμπον ὥσαν θεοὶ αἷέν ἑόρτε, but when now the twelfth day from that came, etc. II. i. 493. Τίς ἐστι δὴ χῶρος δὴ, ἐν φι βεβήκαμεν. Soph. O. Cl. 52. ᾿Εσο εὖ καιρός, ἀντιλαβέσθη τῶν πραγμάτων, i.e. now, while there is an opportunity, etc. Dem. i. 20. (If the exhortation were future, he would say ἔσο τὸν ἐμὲ καιρός, so long as there shall be an opportunity.) Ὅσο ἄναβας, ἔσο μὲν βάσιμα ἢ, ἐπὶ τοῦ ὑπον ἤγειν ἐπεὶ δὲ ᾿Αβατα ἢ, καταλιπὼν τῶν ὑπον ἔσπειρεν ἐπὲ. XEN. An. iii. 4, 49. So II. i. 193, ἔσο ῥώμαυε. Οὔτε δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀποβαυνότων τὸ πλέον ὥσαν ἐξομεν, οὕτω καὶ καθ ἥσσοι καὶ αὐτῶν προδόμοι, τοι ὧν δαιμόνες διδάσκειν. Dem. xxvii. 3. (Here ἐντεύθεν refers to the point at which he intends to begin.) Ἰδό δὴ λαύγια ἐγρ', ὅτε μ' ἐξοδοπόρα ἐφθάσεις Ἡρη, ὅτα ἐκ τῆς ἐρώτησιν ὀνειδείοις ἐπέστειν, ευρέως ὑπὸ τῶν ζεῖν ζηλῆμα ἀπηγορεύειν. Od. xviii. 272. (The time is conceived as definite.) Ἐγγικαῦτα, ὅτε ὅσιον τι χρή ποιεῖν ἔκθετι, then, when you will not even be able to do what you ought. Dem. xix. 262.

Ἄρξομαι δὲ ἐντεύθεν ὅθεν καὶ ὑμεῖς ῥότα ἐν μάθοιτε κἀγὼ παρίσταν, ἔνδειαζομαι. Dem. xxix. 5. (With the potential optative compare the future indicative in Dem. xxvii. 3, above.) Νῦν δὲ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐποίησαν, ἐν δὲ τὸν δήμον ἐτύλησαν ἄρα, ἵνα ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος εὐλογηθῇ, ὡς οὖν, in which he might have honored the people. Id. xxii. 69. Εἶλαν καὶν ἦν ἁρνος ἐς παρεκαθίζοτο, ἕνει καταδίωκεν τῆς ἐπιστήσεως. Plat. Men. 89 E (subjunctive in exhortation). Οὐκοῦν ἐξων τοὺς τῶν καθηγόρων λόγοις παρετεῖται μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἑργοῖς καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ, ὅπερ οὐκ ἔσθετον ἐλέγχον τοῦ ἄλλοις νομίσατε. Lys. xix. 61. (Here the imperative nominal is used in a sort of exclamation after ὅτι, where ordinarily δέ εἰς νομίσατε would be used. See 253.) Ἀν γὰρ ἀποφάσῃ με οὕτως, ὅ μη γένοιτο, τὴν ἐπωβελείαν ὄδηγον. Dem. xxvii. 67 (optative in wish).

So in μέμνημαι ὅτε and similar expressions. E.g.

Οὐ μέμνην ὅτε τε ἐκρέμω ὑψον; do you not remember (the time) when you hung aloft? II. xv. 18. Ei μέμνησαι ὅτι ἐγὼ σοι ἀπεκρινάμην. Plat. Men. 79 D. Ὅλοθ ὅτε ἐφάνη. Eur. Heq. 112. (See 93.)

B. Relative with Indefinite Antecedent.—Conditional Relative.

520. A relative with an indefinite antecedent gives a
conditional force to the clause in which it stands, and is called a conditional relative. The conditional relative clause stands in the relation of a protasis to the antecedent clause, which is its apodosis (380). The negative particle is μὴ.

Thus, when we say ἄ νομιζε ταῦτα λέγει, he is saying what he (actually) thinks, or ἄ ἐνομίζε ταῦτα ἔλεγεν, he was saying what he thought, the actions of νομίζε and ἐνομίζε are stated as actual facts, occurring at definite times; but when we say ἄ ἂν νομίζῃ (ταῦτα) λέγει, he (always) says whatever he thinks, or ἄ νομιζόμεν αὐτῷ ἐλέγεν, he (always) said whatever he happened to be thinking, νομίζῃ and νομίζομεν do not state any such definite facts, but rather what some one may think (or may have thought) on any occasion on which he may speak or may have spoken. So, when we say ἄ νομιζε ταῦτα λέγει, he will say what he (now) thinks, νομίζε denotes a fact; but when we say ἄ ἂν νομίζῃ λέγει, he will say whatever he happens to be (then) thinking, νομίζῃ denotes a supposed future case. Again,—to take the case in which the distinction is most liable to be overlooked,—when we say ἄ οὐκ ὁδα oὐκ ὁμοι εἰδέναι, what I do not know, I do not think that I know, οὐκ ὁδα, as before, denotes a simple fact, and its object ἄ has a definite antecedent; but when Socrates says ἄ μὴ ὁδα oὐδὲ oμοι εἰδέναι, the meaning is whatever I do not know (i.e. if there is anything which I do not know), I do not even think that I know it. In sentences like this, unless a negative is used (518), it is often difficult to decide whether the antecedent is definite or indefinite: thus ἄ οὐδα oμοι εἰδέναι may mean either what I (actually) know, I think that I know, or whatever I know (if there is anything which I know), I think that I know it.

521. The analogy of these indefinite relative clauses to conditional sentences will be seen at once. The following examples will make this clearer:—

"Ὁ τῷ βούληται δῶσω, I will give him whatever he (now) wishes. Εἰ τῷ βούληται, δῶσω, if he wishes anything, I will give it. (402.)

"Ὁ τῷ ἐβούλετο ἑώρακα ἄν, I should have given him whatever he had wished. Ὡ τῷ μὴ ἐγένετο οὐκ ἂν εἴπον, I should not have told what had not happened. Εἰ τῷ ἐβούλετο, ἑώρακά ἄν, if he had wished anything, I should have given it. Εἰ τῷ μὴ ἐγένετο, οὐκ ἂν εἴπον, I should not have told anything if it had not happened. (410.)

"Ὁ τῷ ἂν βούληται, δῶσω, I will give him whatever he shall wish. Ἐάν τῷ βούληται, δῶσω, if he shall wish anything, I will give it. (444.)

"Ὁ τῷ βούλουσθο δοῦν ἄν, I should give him whatever he might wish. Εἰ τῷ βούλουσθο, δοῦν ἄν, if he should wish anything, I should give it. (455.)
"Ω τι ἄν βουλήται δίδωμι, I (always) give him whatever he wishes. "Ο τι βουλεύομαι ἐδίδωμι, I always gave him whatever he wished. Εἶ τι βουλεύομαι, if he ever wishes anything, I (always) give it. Εἶ τι βουλεύομαι, if he ever wished anything, I (always) gave it.

522. The particle ἄν (Epic κε) is regularly joined with all relative words when they are followed by the subjunctive.

With ὅτε, ὅποτε, ἐπεί, and ἐπείδη, ἄν forms ὅταν, ὅποταν, ἔπαν or ἔπην (Ionic ἔπεαν), and ἐπειδάν. In Homer, where κε is generally used for ἄν, we have ὅτε κε, ἐπεί κε, etc. (like ἐκ κε), also ἄντι ἄν, where in Attic we have ὅταν, ὅποταν, ἐπειδάν. Ἐπην, however, occurs often, and ἐπεὶ ἄν once, in Homer. Both ἔπην and ἔπαν are rare in Attic.

523. The classification of common conditional sentences, with four classes of ordinary conditions and two of general conditions, given in 388-395, applies equally to conditional relative sentences.

I. FOUR FORMS OF ORDINARY CONDITIONAL RELATIVE SENTENCES.

524. The conditional relative sentence has four forms, two of present and past (525 and 528) and two of future conditions (529 and 531), which correspond to the four forms of ordinary protasis.

(a) PRESENT AND PAST CONDITIONS.

525. When the relative clause simply states a present or past supposition, implying nothing as to the fulfilment of the condition, the verb is in one of the present or past tenses of the indicative. The antecedent clause can have any form of the verb, like an ordinary apodosis. (See 402.)

E.g.

"Α μὴ οἶδα, οἶδεν ὁμαί σείδουι (like εἰ τινα μὴ οἴδα). PLAT. Ap. 21 D. (See 520.) Χρήσον ὅτι βούλονται, let them deal with me as they please (i.e. εἰ τι βούλονται). AR. Nub. 439. Ἐπειταμαί οὖν θε' ἀ δεί με, κοῦξ ὅραν ἀ μὴ πρέπει ἐν, I knew how to see anything which I ought to see, and not to see anything which I ought not. EUR. Ino, Fr. 417. ("Α δεί is nearly equivalent to εἰ τινα δεί, and ἀ μὴ πρέπει to εἰ τινα μὴ πρέπει.) Τοὺς πλέοντος ἐνθαρρυν ἐπεσον ἐκατον ἐθαφαν σὸς δὲ μὴ εὐρισκον, κενοτάφων αὐτοῖς ἐποίησαν, i.e. they raised a cenotaph for any of them whom they did not find (like εἰ τινας μὴ εὑρίσκον). XEN. An. vi. 4, 9. Τί γὰρ; δοτες δαπανηρῶς ὧν μὴ αὐτάρκης ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἀδικων πλησίον δεῖται, καὶ λαμβάνων μὴ δύναται ἀποδιδόναι, μὴ
526. Care must be taken here (as in conditional sentences) not to include in this class general suppositions which require the subjunctive or optative (532). On the other hand, the examples falling under 534, in which the indicative is allowed, might properly be placed here, as they state a general supposition as if it were a particular one.

527. A conditional relative clause (like a clause with εἰ, 407) may take the future indicative to express a present intention or necessity. E.g.

Ἐν τούτῳ κεκόλασθαί εἴδοκει ἐκάστῳ τὰ πράγματα ὅ μὴ τις αὐτὸς παρέσται, each man felt that all progress was at an end in any affair in which he was not personally to take part. Thuc. ii. 8. The direct form was ἐν τούτῳ κεκόλασθαί (51:129) ὅ μὴ παρέσται. Of ὅ δὲ ἀληθεώς τις ἀπόχησε, pote τούτου ἐπιστάτων ἦσται; but if one is to miss the truth of anything, will he ever understand it? Plat. Theoct. 186 C. So probably Xen. Cyr. i. 5, 13, ὅ τι γὰρ μὴ τουσίν ἀποβηθήσεται παρ ὑμῶν, εἰς ἣμεῖς τὸ ἐκλειπὼν ἦσται, i.e. if there is to be any failure on your part to come up to my expectations, the loss will fall on me.

This is the only form of conditional relative sentence that regularly takes the future indicative. (See 530.)

528. When a relative clause expresses a present or past condition, implying that it is not or was not fulfilled (like a protasis of the form 410), the verb is in a past tense of the indicative.
The antecedent clause generally has a past tense of the indicative with ἀν; but it may have a past tense of the indicative in an unreal condition, in an unaccomplished wish, or in a final clause. *Eg.*

*A μὴ ἔβοιλετο δούναι, οὐκ ἦν ἐδώκεν, ἵνα ἦν ἐδώκεν,* he would not have given what he had not wished to give (i.e. εἰ τινὰ μὴ ἔβοιλετο δούναι, οὐκ ἦν ἐδώκεν). *Ὅστερον τούτων ἔποιήσεν, οὐδενὸς ἦν ἤττον Ἀθηναίων πλουσίος ἤ σαν, whichever of these he had done (he did neither), they would be as rich as any of the Athenians. Lys. xxxii. 23. *Ὅτε γὰρ ἦν αὐτῶι ἐπεχειροῦν μὲν πράττεν, ἐκ ἴδιῳ ἡπιστάμεθα, οὕτως ὑπὸ ἁλλοις ἐπετρέπομεν ἵνα ἵρχομεν ἀλλο τοῖς πράττεν. ἢ ἀρ πράττοντες ὀρθῶς ἐμελλόν πράξεων τούτῳ δὲ ἵνα οὐκ ἐπεισήματο εἴχον, for (if that were so) we should not be undertaking (as we are) to do things which we did not understand, nor should we permit any others whom we were ruling to do anything else than what they were likely to do properly; and this would be whatever they had knowledge of. Plat. Charm. 171 E. (Here ἐκ ἴδιῳ ἡπιστάμεθα = εἰ τινα μὴ ἡπιστάμεθα, if there were any things which we did not know,—ὅπως ἵρχομεν = εἰ τοιοῦ ἵρχομεν,—ὅτε ἐμελλόν = εἰ τι ἐμελλόν,—and αἰτ ἐπεισήματο εἴχον = εἰ τοιο εἴχον. It is implied that none of the cases here supposed ever actually arose. *Ὅστερ τοῖς ἁλλοις τοιοῦ τεττάρων, εἰ τι εἰσιν τούτων αὐτῶν ἐν ὑπαγον, ὅπως τοῖς πρῶτοι ἐκεῖνο ἐγγομεν, ἐκανόνας ἄν εἴχεν ἤμι, εἰ δὲ τα τρεῖα πρῶτον ἐγγομίσαμεν, αὐτῶ ἁλλο τούτῳ ἐγγοραστο τι λητοίμενοι. Plat. Rep. 428 A. (Here the antithesis of ὅστερ πρῶτον ἐκεῖνο ἐγγομεν, in (whatever) case we had recognised this first, and εἰ τα τρεῖα πρῶτον ἐγγομίσαμεν, if we had recognised the three sooner, makes the force of the relative especially clear.) Ἐσβασάνασαν ἂν μεχρὶ ὅσοι εἴδοκεν, they would have questioned them (under torture) so long as they pleased. Dem. liii. 25. *Εἴ δὲ οὐκ εἴχον ἐκακοῖς τοῖς δίκαιοι, τοιούτοις ἄν ἀτάλλουσαν οὐτίνες φίλοι μάλιστα ἤσαν Ἀθηναίων τῷ δήμῳ, if each had their trials at home, they would ruin any who were especially friendly, etc. Xen. Rep. Ath. i. 16. (Here οὐτίνες ἢδραν = εἴ τινας ἢδραν. forms a second protasis to the apodosis ἀτάλλουσαν ἂν. See 511.) Καί διπλωνία ἐφαινετο ταῦτα πεποικοῖς, ὡμολογεῖταν δὲν ἢ κοσμηγορία τοῖς ἐργοις αὐτοῖς, and if he ever appeared to have done this, his form of accusation would agree with his acts. Dem. xxiii. 14.

Εἴ ξένος ἐτύχανον δὴν, ἐνεγυγνώσκετε δοῦναν ἂν μοι εἰ ἐν ἑκείνῃ τῇ φωνῇ τε καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐλέγον εἰ συμπερ ἐπέπεμπτομεν νῦν, if I happened to be a foreigner, you would surely pardon me, if I were (now) addressing you in both the language and the manner in which I had been brought up. Plat. Ap. 17 D. *Ὡς δὴ ἐγώ ἐφελον μάκαρος νῦ τε ἐμμεναι νῖοι αὖρος, ὃν κτέσσων οὖς ἐπὶ γῆρας ἐτετρικεν, O that I were the son of some fortunate man, whom old age had found upon his own estate (i.e. if old age had found any such man, that I had been his son). Od. i. 217. So II. vi. 345 and 351.

So when the relative sentence depends on a past indicative in a final clause (333); as in Dem. xxiii. 48, ταυτά γε δοῦν τρέστηκε
(b) Future Conditions.

529. (Subjunctive.) When the relative clause expresses a future condition of the more vivid form (like a protasis of the form 444), and the verb of the antecedent clause also refers to the future, the relative is joined with ἄν (or κέ) and takes the subjunctive. E.g.

Τάν ὣν κ' ἑθέλω μι φίλην ποιήσομ' ἀκοαίν (like εἰ κέ τινα ἑθέλωμι), whomever of these I may wish I shall make my wife. II. ix. 397. Ἐκ γὰρ Ὀρεάτων τὰίς έσοεται Ατρείδαο, ὅπποτ' ἂν ἡ βῆση γε τε καὶ ἦς ἰμείρεται αὖῃ, i.e. vengeance will come from Orestes, when he shall see us, etc. (like ἐὰν ποτ' ἡ βῆσῃ). Od. i. 40. Γέτε β' αὐτε μαχήσεται, ὅπποτε κέν μιν θυμός εἰνι στήθεσαν ἀνώγη καὶ θεῶς ὅρη. Π. ix. 702. ἈΛΛ' ἀγέθ', ὥς ἄν εγών εἰπο, πειθώμεθα πάντες, let us obey as I may direct, i.e. if I give any direction (ἤν πως εἰπο), let us obey it. Π. ii. 139. Ἡμεῖς αὖτ' ἀλόχους τε φίλας καὶ νησία τέκνα ἦμεν εἰς νήσουν, ἐπὴν πολιέθρον ἐλώμεν, when we shall have taken the city. Π. ii. 238. Σον ἄν τ' αἰτήτως, I will speak of this, when I shall have no more strength, I will cease. SOPH. AN. 91. Ταῖτα, ἐπείδαι περ' τοῦ γένος εἰπο, τότε ἔρω, I will speak of this, when I shall have spoken of my birth. DEM. LIV. 16. ἐπείδαι διαπράξομαι ἀ δέομαι, ἵναι. XEN. AN. ii. 3, 29. Τίνα οἴοσθε αὐτήν ψυχήν ἔχειν, ὅταν ἐμ' ἔδυ τῶν πατρῴων ἀποστράχον; what feelings do you think she will have, when (or if at any time) she shall see me, etc.? DEM. XXVIII. 21. Τούτων δ' Ἀθηναίων φιλοί δεῖν εἶναι πεντακοσίους, ἐξ ἦς ἄν τινος ὑμῖν ἥλικια καλῶς ἔχειν δοκή, from whatever age it shall seem good to you to take them (i.e. if from any particular age, etc.) ID. iv. 21. Τῶν πραγμάτων τούς βουλευόμενους (ὁγείσθαι δεῖ), i.e. ἂν ἐν έκείνοι δοκή ταιτα πράττωτο, in order that whatever shall seem good to them shall be done. I. B. 39. Οὐ μοι φόβον μελαθρόν ἐλπίς ἐμπαιένει, ἓν ἂν αἰθή πύρ ἕν ἑτέρας ἑμῆς Δικυσθος, so long as Agisthas shall kindle fire upon my hearth. AESCH. AG. 1434.

530. The future indicative is very rarely used in conditional relative clauses, as it is in common protasis (447), in the place of the subjunctive; as it would generally be ambiguous, appearing as if the ante-
cedent were definite. Some cases of ὅσος with the future, as ὅσοι βουλήσονται, Thuc. i. 22, are perhaps exceptions. (See 527.)

531. (Optative.) When the relative clause expresses a future condition of the less vivid form (like a protasis of the form 455), and the antecedent clause contains an optative referring to the future, the relative takes the optative (without ἄν).

The optative in the antecedent clause may be in an apodosis with ἄν, in a protasis, in an expression of a wish, or in a final clause. \( \text{E.g.} \)

Μέλα κεν ἀπαντικάρδιος εἶχ, ὅ τότε γυνῆσειν ἵδον πόλον οὐδ' ἀκάχοιτο (i.e. εἰ τις γυνῆσε, μάλα κεν ἀπαντικάρδιος εἰχ), any one who should then rejoice would be very stout-hearted. II. xiii. 343. Βουλαίρων κι ἐπάρασοι ἔων θητευέμεν ἄλλῳ . . . ὃ μη βιότοι πολὺς εἰ, I should wish to be a self attached to the soil, serving another man who had not much to live on. Od. xi. 489. Ζηγός οὐκ άν ἄνοσον ἰκωμην, ὅτε μη αὐτός γε κελεύοη, unless he should himself bid me. II. xiv. 247. So II. vi. 329 end 521; and ὅτις καλέσει, Ar. Nub. 1250. Οὐκ άν οὐν θρέψεις ἄνδρα, ὅτις ἐθέλοι τε καὶ δύναιτο σοι ἀπερίκεκεν τούς ἐπιχειροῦσας ἀδικείει σε; would you not support any man who should be both willing and able, etc. ! Xcn. Mem. ii. 9, 2. Πεινῶν φαγεῖ άν ὁπότε βοῦλοιτο, when he is hungry, he would eat whenever he might wish (like εἰ ποτε βοῦλοιτο). Ili. ii. 1, 18. So i. 5, 4; i. 7, 3; iv. 2, 20. Πῶς οὖν ἂν εἰδείης περὶ τούτου τοῦ πράγματος οὐ παντασίως οπερούς εἰς; how then could you know about that thing of which you had no experience at all ! Plat. Men. 92 C. Ἄρ' ἢ ὅγοι ταῦτα σα εἶναι, a σοι ἐξείη καὶ ἀποδόθαι καὶ δοῦναι καὶ θύσαι ὅτι βοῦλοιο θεῶν; Id. Euthy. 302 A. Τί ἢ παθέν (δύνατον), δ' μη καὶ ὧδ' ἄτοσον πάθοι; what could he suffer, unless he should suffer it also from himself? (i.e. εἰ μη πάθοι). Id. Lys. 214 E. ὁ δὲ μη ἀγαπής, οὐδ' ἃν φιλοὶ (i.e. εἰ τι μη ἀγαπής, οὐδ' ἃν φιλοὶ τοιτο). Ili. 215 B. Ἡδίαν ἐκαστος ἂν κατασκευήν κατασκευάζοιτο, ὅτις ἐκαστον ἀρέσκοι. Id. Rep. 557 B. "Οσοὶ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι γίγνοιτο, μάλλον ἂει ἀσπαζόιτο ἄν (χρυμάτα), the older he should grow, the more he would always cling to it (i.e. εἰ τι πρεσβύτεροι γίγνοιτο, τοκοῦτο μάλλον ἀσπαζόιται ἄν). II. 549 B. So 412 D. Φήσομεν μηδέπετο μηδέν ἂν μείλην μηδέ ἔλαττον γενέσθαι, ἵως ὅσον εἰς αὐτοί εαυτῷ, so long as it should remain equal to itself. Id. Theaet. 155 D.

Εἰ δὲ βοῦλοιτο τῶν φίλων τινὰ προτρέψωςαι ὅποτε ἀποδῆμοις ἐπιμελείονται τῶν σών, τί ἢ ποιοῖς; Xcn. Mem. ii. 3, 12. Εἴκοσι άκα παρὰ θεῶν πρακτικότεροι εἰ, σοτοι μη ὅποτε ἂν ὀπάρωσι εἰ, τότε κολακέουσι, ἄλλ' ὅτε τὰ ἄριστα πράττοι τότε μάλιστα τῶν θεῶν μεμφέτο. Id. Cyz. i. 6, 3. Ὄς ἀπὸ λοιπόν καὶ ἄλλοι, δ' τὸς τοιαύτα γε ἰκεῖο, O that any other man might likewise perish who should do the like (i.e. εἰ τις τοιαύτα ἰκεῖο). Od. i. 47. Εἰ γάρ μιν δεινότου
II. GENERAL CONDITIONAL RELATIVE SENTENCES.

532. A conditional relative sentence may express a general supposition, when the verb of the antecedent clause denotes a customary or repeated action or a general truth, while the relative clause refers in a general way to any act or acts of a given class. Here the subjunctive with ὅς ἄν, ὅταν, etc., follows primary tenses, and the optative (without ἄν) follows secondary tenses. (See 462.) Ἐγ.

Ἐχθρὸς γὰρ μοι κείσθαι ὁμοιότατος ἀδικίας πύλησιν, ὅσα ἔτερον νῦν κεύθη ἐν ὁμογενίᾳ, ἄλλο δὲ εἴπη, γι' ὅτι γε γὰρ θὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸν, ὅπως πάντα νομίζων πρόειν αὐτοῖς πράσσειν ὅσα ἄρχων προστάτησεν. Χέν. Συγ. ii. 1, 31.

For κε or ὅταν in these relative sentences in Homer, see 542. All these examples fall also under the general rule for assimilation (556).
GENERAL CONDITIONS

The gnomic aorist and the other gnomic and iterative tenses (154-164) can be used in the antecedent clause of these general propositions. The gnomic aorist, as usual, is a primary tense, and is followed by the subjunctive (171). E.g.

Os ke theos epi teithetai, maia ta eklynov auton, whoever obeys the Gods, to him they are ready to listen (eklynov is aoristic). I. i. 218. "Os auton tis osper othos isoyi, i prouti prophorios apanta anexai-twsa kai dieulesos. Dem. ii. 9. "Os epitoe prosothei tinas ton ev tais tais, eispen av, o anphres, k.t.l., i.e. he used to say, etc. XEN. Cyr. vii. 1, 10. Otop allotote pote to xarw eilomyen legen, o ti av eis kai sunostin pteorimenos av, I have never on other occasions preferred to say anything to please which I have not been convinced would also be for your advantage. Dem. iv. 51. (Here eilomyen has a sense

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approaching that of the gnomic aorist, and is followed by a subjunctive. See 156.)

Homerian examples of relatives with ἐκ or ἄν and the subjunctive in general conditions are here included with the others, because this construction is fixed in the Homerian usage. In the greater number of general relative conditions which have the subjunctive, however, Homer uses the relative without ἐκ or ἄν, as he prefers the simple εἰ in the corresponding conditional sentences (468). See examples in 538.

534. (Indicative.) The indicative is sometimes used instead of the subjunctive and optative in relative sentences of this class. (See 467.) Here one of the cases in which the event may occur is referred to as if it were the only one. This use of the indicative occurs especially after the indefinite relative ἀντις; as the idea of indefiniteness, which is usually expressed by the subjunctive or optative, is here sufficiently expressed by the relative itself. E.g.

Ἐξαρθοῦσι γὰρ μοι κεῖνος ὅμως Ἀργαοί πύλησιν
Γίγνεται, ὃς πείρα εἰκὼν ἀπατήλαβα βάξει. Od. xiv. 156.

Compare this with II. ix. 312, the first example under 532.

Ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἀντὶς πᾶσιν εὐθὺς πάλιν
Μὴ τῶν ἀριστῶν ἀπετέλει βουλευμάτων,
Ἀλλὰ ἐκ φόβου τὸν γλῶσσα ἐγκλείων ἐσεῖ, ἐξεῖ,
Κάκιστος εἰναὶ ὅπῃ κεὶ καὶ πάλαι δοκεῖ.
Καὶ μείζον ὅσις ἀντὶς τῆς αὐτοῦ πάτρας
Φίλον νομίζει, τοῦτον οὐδαμὸν λέγω. Soph. Ant. 178.

(Here we might have had ὅς ἄν . . . μὴ ἀπητταί, ἀλλὰ . . . ἐξεῖ, and ὃς ἄν νομίζῃ, without any essential difference in meaning.)

Οὗτως πρὸς τὰς ξυμφορὰς γνώμη μὲν ἦκιστα λυποῦνται, ἔργῳ δὲ μάλιστα ἀντέχουσιν, οὕτω καὶ πόλεων καὶ ἵδωτων κράτεστει εἰςω. Thuc. ii. 64. So in the same chapter, ὅσις λαμπάνει. "Ὅσις δ' ἀφικεῖτο τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως πρὸς αὐτόν, πάντας ἄντως διατίθετο άπετέρωμον, ψυχος θαμαλείς βηθη κοίματο, ὅπως οὖσα ἐποίηκας ἔμβαλλεν τούτων φίλοισ ἕποιοι εὐφόρωνοι τοῦτον. Ib. i. 9, 27. (In the last two examples there is some Ms. authority for the more regular ἀφικεῖτο and δύνασθω.)

535. This use of the indicative (534) is rare in temporal sentences. See, however, the following:—

Περὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἄδικωντων, ὅτε δικάζονται, ἐϕὶ παρὰ τῶν κατηγόρων πυθότων. Lys. xxii. 22. Εἴχον μαχάρων, ὃς ζητατόν ὃν κρατεῖν δύνασθαι, καὶ ὅποτέ καὶ ὑποτίκοντες παρὰ τὴν κεφαλᾶς ἔχοντες ἐποδείκτο, ὅποτε οἱ πολέμου ἄντωτος δίκεσθαι ἔμελλον. Xen. An. i. 7, 16. So ὅποτε ἀφίκοντα, ii. 6, 27.

All these examples fall under the first class of conditional relative sentences (525).

536. The Greek generally uses the indicative in relative clauses
depending on general negative sentences, where in Latin a subjunctive is more common. A general negation is really particular. E.g.

Παρ’ ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς μωσθοφορεῖ, ὡστὶς μὴ ἵκανος ἐστίν ὥσπερ πονεῖν ἐμοὶ, i.e. no one who is not able (no one unless he is able), nemo qui non possit. XEN. Hell. vi. 1, 5. Οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἁγίαστο ὡστὶς μὴ φέτο αἵπολείσθαι, for no one was angry with any one who did not think that he was about to perish (i.e. εἰ μὴ φέτο). Ib. vii. 4, 37. Οὔδαμοι πᾶσι θ’, ὁποῖοι προσβεβληθεῖσαν ἐπεμψθην ὑπ’ ὑμῶν ἐγὼ, ἡμέτερα ἀπῆλθον τῶν παρὰ Φίλιππον πρέσβεων, nowhere, whether I was sent as ambassador, did I ever come off worsted by Philip’s ambassadors. Dem. xviii. 244. Here the leading sentence is particular, on no single occasion was I worsted, so that επεμψθην is regular; if the nearly equivalent universal affirmative on every occasion I proved superior had been intended, we should have had πεμψθείην. See xviii. 45, προσελεγον καὶ διεμαρτυρόμην καὶ παρ’ ὑμῖν ἀεὶ καὶ ὁποῖοι πεμψθείην; and the following in 244, ἐν οἷς κρατηθεῖεν οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτοῦ τῷ λόγῳ, ταύτα τοῖς ὑπὸς ἐπὶ ἀκεστρέφετο. Notice the imperfects in the two affirmative examples, and the aorist in the preceding negative example.

537. 1. The indicative is generally used in Greek (as in Latin) in parenthetical relative clauses, like ὅ τι ποτ’ ἐστιν, whatever it is (quidquid est), ὡστὶς ποτ’ ἐστιν (or ἐστι), etc. E.g.

Ζεῦς, ὡστὶς ποτ’ ἐστιν, εἰ τόδ’ αὐτῷ φίλον κεκλημένῳ, τούτῳ νῦν προσενέγω, Zeus, whoever he may be, etc. Aesch. Ag. 160. Δοὺναυσόμευ θεοὶς, τοί ποτ’ εἰσὶν θεοὶ. Eur. Or. 418. Ἡμὲν γε κρέσσον . . . δουληθεὶν ὑπομείναι ἡτίς ἐστι, but it is better for us to submit to slavery, whatever it may be. Hdt. vi. 12. So ὅ τι δὴ κατε ἐστι, vii. 16.

2. But ὡστὶς in such expressions can have the construction of an ordinary conditional relative, so that in future and general conditions it may take the subjunctive. E.g.

"Ἀλλ’ ὅ προσαφάρμενος αὐτῶν, ὡστὶς ἄν ἢ, λόγον παρέχει, but each one who has to do with them, whoever he may be, gives his own account of them. Aeschin. i. 127. Ἀλλ’ ὃς ὃμοι ἢ δει κεκεχροτογημένοι εἰναι τούτων, ὡστὶς ἄν ἢ, but this officer ought always to be elected by you, whoever he may be. Dem. iv. 27. See Theog. 964.

Homeric and other Poetic Peculiarities in Conditional Relative Sentences.

SUBJUNCTIVE WITHOUT ὃ ΚῊ OR ἂΝ.

538. In general conditions which take the subjunctive, Homer commonly uses the relatives without ὃ ΚῊ or ἂΝ. This corresponds to his preference for the simplex εἰ in general conditions (468); but relative clauses of this class are much more frequent with him than the clauses with εἰ. E.g.
533. The relative (like εἰ) is sometimes found in Homer without κε or ἄν in future conditions. E.g.

Γῆμασθ’ ὑσ τις ἄριστος ἄνθρωπος, καὶ πλείσταν πόρησιν, (tell her) to marry whoever may be the best man and may offer the most. Od. xx. 335. But in vs. 342, referring to the same thing, we have γῆμασθ’ ὑσ κ’ ἐθήλη, to marry whom she may please. Πέλθος ὑσ ἐπι τινί ἐφερεῖ θεῖων. Il. xvi. 83; so Od. vi. 189. Ὡ μὲν γάρ ποτὲ φησίν κακὸν πείσθαι ὁπτῶν, ὃς ἄν ἄρετὴν παρεχώμεν θεοί καὶ γονίαν δρώρη, he says he shall never suffer evil hereafter, so long as the Gods shall supply valour, etc. Od. xviii. 132. So II. xiii. 234.

540. ἂν may sometimes be omitted in relative conditions with the subjunctive in lyric, elegiac, and dramatic poetry, as in Homer, chiefly in general conditions. A few examples occur in Herodotus; and even in Attic prose exceptional cases are occasionally found in the manuscripts. (See 469-471.) E.g.

Μέγα τοι κλέος αἰεὶ, ὅταν σιν γέρας ἐστὶν ἑτορίᾳ ἀγαθόν, great always is his glory, whom they illustrious honour (Olympia) follows. Pind. Ol. viii. 10. So Ol. iii. 11, Nem. ix. 44. Πᾶντος ἐκαίνημα καὶ φίλως ἐκὼν ἐστὶ κακὸς ἄνδρον. Simon. v. 20 (but ὁ ἂν μὴ κακὸς ἔστι in the same ode). See Tyr. xii. 34; Sol. xiii. 9 and 55, xxvii. 3; Simon. lviii. 5, lxxxv. 7 (ὅφρα ... ἡ χάριν, but ὅταν ἃ in vs. 10).

Γροντα δ’ ὑσθοῦν φλαύρων, ὅταν σιν τέτυσαν. Soph. O. C. 395. Τὸν σὲ πηνόνιον μάλητον λυπούσα αἰ ἁμοῖς ἀνθίζετο. Id. O. T. 1231. So Asch. Sept. 257, Enni. 211, 661, and probably 618 (ὅ μὴ κελευστή, for Mss. κελεύστε, after εἶ στε denoting a habit). Τοισὶ γάρ μήτε ἄστεα μήτε πείρα αἱ ἐκτιμήσα, ... καὶ σιν ἂν εἶσαν ὅστιν ἄραμον; Hdt. iv. 46. So i. 216, ii. 85, iv. 66. Ἐπίχωρον ὃν ἠμὴν σὲ μὲν βραχείοις ἁρκόσι μὴ πολλοῖς χρήσατο, it being our national habit not to use many words where few suffice. Thuc. iv. 17. (Here ὁ ἂν ... πολλοὶ make five feet of an iambic trimeter, and the words are probably quoted from some poet. See Classen’s note. The sentence continues, πλείστοι δὲ ἂν ὃ καὶ ἁμοὶ, κ.τ.λ.) See also Plat. Leg. 737 B, ὁς ἃ and ὅσοι μετὰ ἃ. In Soph. El. 225, ὅφρα ἡ χάριν is particular.

541. In the lyric and elegiac poets, as in Homer, the form with ἄν or κε was in good use in these sentences. See Pind. Py. i. 100 (ὅς ἂν
RELATIVE WITH ΚΕ OR ΑΝ AND THE OPTATIVE IN CONDITIONS.

542. In Homer the conditional relative (like εἰ) sometimes takes κε or ἢν with the optative, the particle apparently not affecting the sense. E.g.

'Ἡ δὲ κε ἐπείτα γῆμαιθ᾽ ὃς κεν πλείστα πόροι καὶ μόροις ἐλθοί, and she then would marry whoever might give the most gifts, etc. Od. xxi. 161. 'Ὡς κε ... δοθῇ δὲ κε ἐθέλοι, that he might give her to whomsoever he pleased. Od. ii. 54. In these two cases ὃς πόροι and ὃς ἐθέλοι would be the common expressions. In Od. iv. 600, however, δῶρον δὲ ὀπτέ κε μοι δοίγς, κειμίσσων ἔστω, whatever gift you might choose to give me, etc., may be potential. Νῦν γὰρ εἰ "Ἐκτορ ἔλοις, ἐπελ ἄν μαλα τοὺς σχέδον ἐλθοί. Π. ii. 304. Ὅς το καταβρόδειν ἐπὶ νηρηρίῳ μιγείη, ou kev ἐφημέρως γε βάλοι κατὰ δάκρυ παρείω, whoever should drink this when it was mingled in the bowl, would let no tear fall down his cheeks on that day. Od. iv. 222. So ἐπὶ ν ... εἴη, Π. xxiv. 227.

One case occurs of ὅτε κε with the optative in a general relative sentence of past time: ἐπευθομεθα ... ὅτε κεν τῳ ἐπιξάφελος χόλος ἐκοί, Π. ix. 525.

HOMERIC SIMILES WITH Ὅς ETC.

543. In Homer similes and comparisons may be expressed by the subjunctive with ὃς ὅτε (rarely ὅς ὃποτε), as when, sometimes by ὃς or ὅς τε, as. Except in a few cases of ὃς ὃτε ἢν, neither ἢν nor κε is found in these expressions.

544. With ὃς ὅτε or ὃς ὃποτε the subjunctive clearly expresses a general condition, and the meaning is as happens when, etc. E.g.

'Ὡς δ᾽ ὅτε κινῆσῃ Ζέφυρος βαθὺ λῆμνον ἐλθὼν,
λαβρὸς ἐπαιγίζων, ἐπὶ ἔμει ἀσταχύσωσιν,
ὡς τῶν πόσον ἀγριῇ κινήθη,
and as (happens) when the west wind comes and moves a deep grain field, and it blows with its ears, so was their whole assembly moved. Π. ii. 147.

'Ὡς δ᾽ ὅτε ὁ πορινὸς Βορέας φορέσῃ ἀκάνθας
ἄμε πεδίον, πυκναὶ δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἐχονταί,
ὡς τὴν ἀμ. πέλαγος ἀνεμοὶ φεροῦν ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα. Od. v. 328.

See Π. v. 597, vi. 506, viii. 338; Οδ. ix. 391, xix. 518; for ὃς ὃποτε, Od. iv. 335, xvii. 126.
545. With ὡς or ὡς τε the conditional force of the subjunctive is not so obvious, especially as it depends directly on the verb of the antecedent clause, which is always particular and generally past. Here we should expect the present indicative, which sometimes occurs (548). We may suppose that the analogy of the far more frequent clauses with ὡς ὡς τε (544) caused the same construction to be used also in these, in which the meaning is clearly the same. *Eg.*

"Ως δ’ ὡς τε ἄστραπτῃ πόσις Ἡρώς ἱκώμω, ὡς πυκνῷ ἐν στῆθοσιν ἀνεστενάξει" Ἀγαμέμνων. II. x. 5. So II. xi. 269, xv. 170; Od. v. 394, xxii. 468.

546. In all the cases of ὡς τε the pronominal article οἱ or τοῖς precedes, referring to the subject or object of the antecedent clause. *Eg.*

Οὐ δ’, ὡς τ’ ἀμφίτροπος ἐναντίοις ἀλλήλων διήμον ἐλαύνωσιν, ὡς Τρώας καὶ Ἀχαίοι ἐπὶ ἀλλήλων θοράντες δῆμον, and they,—as reapers against each other drive their scythe,—so did Trojans and Achaeans leap upon each other and destroy. II. xi. 67. So II. xii. 167, xv. 323; Od. xxii. 302.

547. When a simile has been introduced by the subjunctive with ὡς or ὡς ὡς τε, it may be continued by verbs in the present indicative, which seem to be independent of the original construction. Even the aorist indicative may be used to add vividness to the description. *Eg.*

"Ως δ’ ὡς τε τὸς τ’ ἐλέφαντα γυνὴ φοίνικι μικήν Ἡρᾶ γένεσθαι, παρῆκεν ἐμφελεῖ ἐπιγείᾳ. Κινεῖται δ’ ἐν θαλάσσῃ πολλαὶ τε μὲν ἥρασαντο ἐπὶ πολλαὶ φορεῖν. Ἡρᾶ ἐμφελεῖ δ’ ὡς τε τὸς θαλάσσῃ πολεμεῖ οἱ πρώτοι καὶ νάπαι οἰκοδομῶν διόπετος αἰθήριος. ὡς Δανοὶ νείποις μὲν ἀποκατάβανοι δῆμον πολεμεῖν τὴν ἐλεύθερον τε φόρον τοὺς ὡς γίγνετ’ ἐσθην. II. xvi. 296.

1 Delbrück, *Od. u. Opt.* pp. 161, 762, cites 63 cases of this construction (40 in the Iliad, 14 in the Odyssey), of which 35 have ὡς ὡς τε, 10 ὡς ὡς ὡς τε, 3 ὡς ὡς τε, 8 ὡς, and 7 ὡς τε.
548. Sometimes the first clause of the simile has the present or aorist indicative. E.g.

'Ως δ' ἀναριμαίας βαθεὲς ἀγκεκα θεσπίδας πῦρ, ὡς δ' ἔρε τάντα θέαν. Π. ξ. 490. 'Ως δ' ὅποτε πλῆθων ποταμῶν ποδίων κάτεισιν, πολλὰς δὲ ὅρους ἐσφέρεται, ὡς ἔφαεν. Π. χί. 492. "Ἠθέτε δ' ὡς ὅτε τις ὄρους ήρπεν, καὶ ἦν καλῶς ὅταν ἄκρακϊα ἰδὼν πολύνορος ἀπέστη. Π. iii. 33: so ὡς τε λέων ἐξάρη, iii. 23.

549. Another form of Homeric simile consists of ὡς with a noun, followed by a relative with the subjunctive, which may be followed by an indicative as in 547. E.g.

'Ο δ' ἐν κοίνοις χαμαί πέσετε, αἴγειρος ὡς, ἂν μὲν τ' ἐν εἰκονικῇ ἔλεος μεγάλοις περφυῆς λείψη, ἀπὰρ τε οὗ οἴκει ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῃ πεφύασιν· τὴν μὲν θ' ἀρματοπηγός ἀνήρ αἰθῶν σύνδηρο χέεται, ὡς ὅταν κάμψη περικαλλεὶ διήφη. ἂν μὲν τ' ἀδομένη κεῖται ποταμῷ παρ' ὀχθας· τοῦν ἀπ' Ἀνδρέμιδον Σιμοεσίων ἐξενάμεζεν Ἄιδος διογενῆς. Π. iv. 482.

For ὡς εἰ or ὡς εἰ τε with the optative in Homeric similes, see 485.

"Ο τι μῆ and ὅσον μῆ without a Verb.

550. "Ο τι μῆ and ὅσον μῆ, like εἰ μῆ (476), are used in the sense of except, unless, with no verb expressed. E.g.

"Ο τι γάρ μη Ἀθηναίοι, ἂν οὐδεν ἄλλο πολισμα λόγιον, for except Athens (what was not Athens) there was no (Ionías) city of any account. Hdt. i. 143. So i. 18, οὐδαμοὶ ὅ τι μὴ Χιοι μοῦνον. Οὐ γάρ ἐν κρήνῃ, ὅ τι μῆ μιᾶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀκροτάλει, for there was no spring, except one on the very citadel. Thuc. iv. 26: so iv. 94, vii. 42. Τι ἐπὶ θεωρίαν ἐξῆλθεν ὅ τι μῆ ἄπαξ εἰς Ἰσθμόν, σὺν ἄλλοις οὐδαμόσε ιξό μῆ ποι στρατευόμενος. Plat. Crit. 52 B. So Phaed. 67 A, Rep. 405 C.

"Ἰσθ. γάρ δικών ἔμοι καὶ εὐμηθεύωται τοῦργον εἰργάσθαι θ', ὅσον μῆ ἄροι καίων, i.e. and to have done the deed too, except so far as you did not slay with your own hands. Soph. O. T. 346.

551. Homer once has ὅ τι μῆ or ὅτε μῆ in the same sense: οὐ τε τεν σπύνετε κεθοῦν ὅ τι μῆ Διά πατρί, i.e. except to Zeus (ὅ τι μῆ = εἰ μῆ), Π. xvi. 227. Here Lange (p. 161) reads ὅτε μῆ.
Special Forms of Antecedent Clause.

552. A conditional relative clause (like a protasis with εἰ) may depend on an infinitive or participle (with or without ἔν), on a final clause, on a protasis, or on a verbal noun representing the antecedent clause (or apodosis). E.g.

See DEM. xxi. 64 (quoted in 525); PLAT. Ap. 17 D, DEM. xxiii. 48 (quoted in 528); AESCH. Ag. 1434, DEM. iv. 21 and 39, xxvii. 21 (quoted in 529); PLAT. Euthyd. 302 Α, Theaet. 155 Α, XEN. Mem. ii. 3, 12, Cyr. i. 6, 3, ii. 1, 31 (quoted in 531). Ὀρᾷ σοι τούτων δεύσων ὅταν ἐπιθυμήσῃς φιλίαν πρὸς τινα ποιεῖσθαι. XEN. Mem. ii. 6, 29.

Καὶ ἐμὲ δεὶ ἀπολλαχθαι κατὰ τὸς συνθήκας, ἔπειδὴ τὸ περὶ τοῦ Πρωταγόρου λόγον τέλος σχοινί, i.e. I ought to be released according to what we agreed to do when the discussion of the doctrine of Protagoras should come to an end. PLAT. Theaet. 183 C.

553. After past verbs of waiting or expecting in Homer ὅποτε with the optative sometimes has the meaning of until, like ἔως. E.g.

Οἱ δ' ἐσάρ...πωσίδεμενοι ὅποτέν ἢλθον Ἰδαίος, and they sat waiting until (for the time when) Idaeus should come. Π. vii. 414. So iv. 334, ix. 191, xviii. 524. (See 698.)

Mixed Conditional Constructions.

554. The relative with the optative sometimes depends on a present or future tense. This occurs chiefly in Homer, and arises from the slight distinction between the subjunctive and optative in such sentences. E.g.

Ἄιτο οἱ ἠσφελται νήσος ἐντρήσαι, ὅτε μὴ αὐτὸς γε Κρονίων ἐμβάλλων αἰθήμενον δαλίν νήσας, it will be a hard task for him to fire the ships, unless the son of Kronos should himself hurl a flaming brand upon the ships. Π. xiii. 317. (Regularly ὅτε κε μὴ ἐμβάλη, unless he shall hurl.) So Od. xix. 510. Καὶ δ' ἄλην νεματο ἣ τις τοιοῦτο γε ἰδέων, and I am angry with any other woman who says (should say) the like. Od. vi. 286. (This resembles the loosely jointed examples in 500.)

Ὄνουσι δὲ ἔωκας, ἐπεὶ λοῦσαι φάγοι τε, εὐδέμεναι μαλάκως, and you seem like such a man as would sleep comfortably (like one likely to sleep comfortably) after he had washed and eaten. Od. xxiv. 254. (This resembles the examples in 555.)

The optative regularly follows an optative in a wish (177).
to an optative with ἂν, which would be expected in their place. (See 502.) E.g.

'Ἀλλ' ὁν πόλεοι στήσειε, τοῦδε χρῆ κλίνειν, we should obey any one whom the state might appoint (if the state should appoint any one, we ought to obey him). Soph. Ant. 666. (Χρῆ κλίνειν is followed by the optative from its nearness to δικαίως ἂν κλίνοι τις.) 'Ἀλλα τοῦ μὲν αὐτόν λέγειν ἢ μὴ σαφῶς εἰδείπει χειδεσθαι δει, i.e. we ought to abstain, etc.; like χειδείπει ἂν τις. Xen. Cyr. i. 6, 19. Οὐς δὲ ποιήσοντάι τις βούλειτο συνεργοὺς προμηθοὺς, τοῦτος παντάσημος ἔμοι γεικεί ἁγαθοὶς θηρατείν εἶναι (θηρατείν εἶναι = θηράν δεῖν). Ib. ii. 4, 10. 'Ὑπερορᾶν οὖν δυνατόν ὑμῶν ἄνδρα δὲ εἰδείπει κυρίως οὖν τα ὑπὸ βούλειθο αὐτῷ χρησταί. Id. Hell. vii. 3, 7. So ib. iii. 4, 18. Σωφρόνων ἐστὶ μικρὰ ἡ διαφέροντα εἶ ἀπὸ τὸ πόλεμον ἀνακελθήσθαι. Ib. vi. 3, 5. So after πολὺ ῥόγον (ἴστι), Ib. vi. 5, 52. Σωφρόνων ἐστὶν, εἰ μὴ ἀδικοῦτο, ἀρχούμενον, i.e. ἦ οὐ πρόφητος for prudent men, etc. Thuc. i. 120. 'Αποδοτεύον οὖμ' ὁπωσοὶ τότε, ὡστε τις μὴ συχρόνος ἀπαίτο. Plut. Rep. 332 A.

556. An indicative or subjunctive in the relative clause may depend on a potential optative (with ἂν), sometimes when the potential force is felt in the apodosis, and sometimes when the optative with ἂν is treated as a primary tense from its nearness to the future indicative. E.g.

Οὐκοῦν καὶ τὸ ὑγιαίνειν καὶ τὸ νοσεῖν, ὅταν ἁγαθὸν τινος αἴτια γίγνηται, ἁγαθά ἂν εἰη, therefore, both health and disease, when they prove to be the causes of any good, would naturally be good things. Xen. Mem. iv. 2, 32; so ii. 2, 3. 'Ὅταν δὲ τις θεῶν βλάπτῃ, δύναι εἶναι οὖν ἂν ἰσχύων φωγεῖν, when one of the Gods does mischief, not even a strong man could escape. Soph. El. 696. 'Εντ' ἀποφύγοις ἄν ἄρτιν ἂν βοῶπος δίκην, so that they can (could) get off in any suit you please. Ar. Nub. 1151. Ὅτινες τοι μὴν ἢτοις μὴ εἶκονεις, τοῖς δὲ κράτοις καλῶς προσφέρονται, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἥσσους μέτριοι εἰσί, πλείον ἂν ὀρθοῦν. Thuc. v. 111. 'Ο δὲ μεθένη κακοὶ ποιεῖ, οὐδὲν ἂν τινος εἰρ χαρὰ καίτως; and what does no harm could not be the cause of any harm at all, could it? Plut. Rep. 379 B. 'Εγὼ δὲ παίτερσι μὲν τὴν εἰρήνην, έος ἂν εἰς 'Αθηναίων λείπηται, οὔτεποτ' ἂν συμβουλεύσαμεν ποιήσωμαι τῇ πόλει. I would never advise the city to make this peace, so long as a single Athenian should be left. Dem. xix. 14. (Here ἂν λείπουτο, so long as one should be left, would be more regular.) 'Ὅταν δ' ἀφανίζως τις τάκριβες λόγω ἐξαπατάτω πειράται, πῶς ἂν δικαίως πιστεύοιτο; Id. xxxiii. 36. (See 178.)

557. A conditional relative clause may contain a potential optative or indicative (with ἂν), which has its proper meaning. E.g.

'Eξ ὅν ἄν τις ἐδέλεγω διαβάλλοι, ἐκ τούτων αὐτοὺς πείμασθαι (έφη), he said that they would form their opinion upon any slanders which any good speaker might chance to utter. Thuc. vii. 48. 'Ομοῦ ἄν όμεῖς
Assimilation in Conditional Relative Clauses.

558. When a conditional relative clause referring to the future depends on a subjunctive or optative referring to the future, it regularly takes by assimilation the same mood with its leading verb. The leading verb may be in a protasis or apodosis, in another conditional relative clause, in an expression of a wish, or in a final clause. *E.g.*

Εὰν τινες οἱ ἀν δύνανται τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, καλῶς ἔξει, ὅσοι who shall be able do this, it will be well. Εἰ τινες οἱ δύναντο τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, καλῶς ἄν ἔχων, ὅσοι who should be able should do this, it would be well. Εἴθε πάντες οἱ δύναντο τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, οὗ that all who may be able would do this. (Here the principle of assimilation makes οἱ δύναντο after an optative preferable to οἱ ἀν δύνανται, which would express the same idea.) Τεθναῖν ὅτε μου μηκέτι ταῦτα μέλοι, may *I die when these are no longer my delight.* Μίμν. i. 2. So in Latin: Si absurde canat is qui se haberi velit musicum, turpior sit.—Sic injurias fortunae quas ferre nequeas defugiendo relinquis.

For examples see 529 and 531.

559. When a conditional relative clause depends on a past tense of the indicative implying the non-fulfilment of a condition, it regularly takes a past tense of the indicative by assimilation. The leading verb may be in a protasis or apodosis, in another conditional relative clause, in an expression of a wish, or in a final clause. *E.g.*

Εἰ τινες οἱ ἑδύναντο τοῦτο ἐπραξαν, καλῶς ἄν ἔσχε, ὅσοι who had been able had done this, it would have been well. Εἴθε πάντες οἱ ἑδύναντο τοῦτο ἐπραξαν, οὗ that all who had been able had done this. So in Latin: Nam si solos eos dиеve miseros quibus moriendum esset, neminem tu quidem eorum qui viverent exciperes.

For examples see 528.

560. It will be seen that this principle of assimilation accounts for the unreal indicative and the optative in conditional relative sentences, which have been already explained by the analogy of the forms of protasis. (See 528 and 531.) In fact, wherever this assimilation occurs, the relative clause stands as a protasis to its antecedent clause.
Occasionally this principle is disregarded, so that a subjunctive depends on an optative (176).

For the influence of assimilation in determining the mood of a dependent sentence, see 176.

561. The indicative in the construction of 525, referring simply to the present or past, cannot be affected by assimilation, as this would change its time. E.g.

'Υμεῖς δὲ ἔλογον ὅτι καί τῇ πόλει καὶ ἀπασχόρησεν ὑμῖν μέλλει, and may you choose what is likely to benefit the state and all of you. Dem. iii. 36. Compare this with Dem. ix. 76, δὲ τι δ᾽ ὑμῖν δοξεῖε (οὐ Σ originally), τοῦτο, ὃ πάντες θεοί, συνενέχοντες, whatever you may decide, may this be for our good.

In Soph. Ant. 373, δὲ τὰς ἔρενει would belong here; but δὲ τὰς ἔρενοι (Laur.), = εἰ τις τὰς ἔρενοι, falls under 558.

562. The principle of 558 and 559 applies only to conditional relative clauses. If the relative refers to a definite antecedent, there can be no assimilation, and the indicative or any other construction required by the sense is used. E.g.

Εἰ τῶν πολιτῶν οὗτοι οὖν πιστεύομεν, τούτοις ἀπιστήσαμεν, ὅσον ἀληθεύει θαυμασμότερα, ἴσως σωθείμεν ἄν. Ἄρ. Ῥαν. 1446. Εἰθ' ἔστω δινατός δράν ὡσον πρόθυμος εἰ, ὃ that thou couldst do as much as thou art eager to do, Eur. Her. 731. (With ἔστω for εἰ the meaning would be as much as thou wert (or mightest be) eager to do.)

563. Conditional relative clauses depending on a subjunctive or optative in a general supposition (462; 532) are generally assimilated to the subjunctive or optative; but sometimes they take the indicative (534). E.g.

Ὅποις, ἐπειδὰν δὲν ἂν πρίν θηταί κύριος γένηται, τῷ πρόδοτῳ συμβούλῳ περὶ τῶν λαοὺς ἔτι χρήσει. Dem. xviii. 47. See Plat. Rep. 508 C and D (reading δὲν οὐ Σ λιξία καταλάμπει); Charm. 164 B. 'Ο δὲ τότε μάλιστα ἔχεινεν, ὅποτε τάχιστα τυχόνται δὲν δεόντω ἀποστάθησθο. Xen. Ag. ix. 2.

Αἰτία μὲν γάρ ἦσσον, ὅταν τις ἰδιεχθαμένος λόγῳ μὴ παρασχέται πάντω ὃν λέγει, ἐλέγχος δὲ, ὅταν ἂν ἂν εἰπτο τοῖς καὶ τάξισθε ὥμοι δειγῇ. Dem. xxii. 22. (Here δὲν λέγει καὶ ὃν αὐτὴ are nearly equivalent.) Ἑκάλει δὲ καὶ ἐκείνη ἀποτε τινὸς ἢ ποιοῦτον τυχόντας ὃ πάντας ἐβούλευτο τοιείν. Xen. Cyr. ii. 1, 30. (Here βούλευτο for ἐβούλευτο would correspond to δεόντω in Ag. ix. 2, above.)

Δὲ in the Antecedent Clause.

564. The conjunction δὲ sometimes introduces the clause on which a relative depends. Its force here is the same as in apodosis (512). E.g.

Οὐ̄ θερ φόλλοι γενεῖ, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν. II. vi. 146. 'Επεὶ
te ὃ πόλεμος κατέστη, ὃ δὲ φαίνεται καὶ ἐν τούτῳ προγνούς τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ when the war broke out, (then) he appeared, etc. Thuc. ii. 65. Ἔχει ὅποι μὲν οὖν οἱ τοπότα εἶχον τὰ ἐπὶ βόλη αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ τοῖς ἱππαῖς χρήσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἀντέδοξοι, so long as their archers both had their arrows and were able to use them, they held out. Id. iii. 98. ἔστο ὁ δὲ ἄριστος ἄριστος ἡμέρας ἔκρατησεν . . . φαίνονται δὲ οὗτος ἐνταῦθα πᾶσα τῇ δύναμις χρῆσεται. Id. i. 11. ὁπερ οἱ ὀπλίται, εὐτώς δὲ καὶ οἱ πελταται. Xen. Cypr. viii. 5, 12.

**FINAL RELATIVE CLAUSES EXPRESSING PURPOSE.**

565. (Future Indicative.) In Attic Greek a relative with the future indicative often expresses a purpose, like a final clause. Its negative is μὴ. E.g.

Προσβείαν ὃς τέμπεσε, ἔτης ταῦτα ἑρεί καὶ παρέσται τοῖς πράγμασιν, and to send an embassy to see these things, and to be present at the transaction. Dem. i. 2. Ψηφία δὲ δείν ἤμαι πρὸς Θέτιλον τροπείαν τέμπεσε, η τοὺς μὲν ἐδάφει ταῦτα, τοὺς δὲ παρεξειρέτει. Id. ii. 11. ἔστε τῷ δήμῳ τρικύρος ἀνδρας ἐλέσθαι, οἱ τοῖς περίποις νόμων ἔγχραπαστο, καθ' ὑπὸ πολίτευσον, the people voted to choose thirty men, to compile the ancestral laws by which they were to govern. Xen. Hell. ii. 3, 2. Ἔστε δὲ τείρψαι (ἐκελεύει) τινὰς, οὕτως αὐτῷ τὰ ἐνυφία ἱδώτες ἀπαγγελοῦσιν. Xen. Cypr. v. 2, 3. Ναυτικὸς παρασκεύαζον δι τι περιμοουσιν ἐς τὴν Λέσβον, καὶ ναύαρχον προσέταξαι Ἀλκιδαν, δὲ ἕμελλεν ὑπελείπεσθαι. Thuc. iii. 16. See Dem. xxii. 169. ὃς γὰρ ἐστι μοι ἥρματα, ὑπόθεν ἐκτίσει, for I have no money to pay the fine with. Plat. Ap. 37 C.

Ῥεῖν μὲ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς οὗτος, ὅπου ἤντων φανοῦμαι μεμεντὸς προσήγγησιν. Soph. O. T. 1437; s o 1412. Μέλλοντε γὰρ τ' ἔνετον περίποις, ἔνα μὴ πόθε ήλιον φέννος προσέρθεις, ζωοὶ δ' ἕγερσες καὶ, they are to send you where you shall never behold the sun's light (to some place, that there you may never behold, etc.). Id. El. 379. So Aj. 659; Tr. 900.

566. The antecedent of the relative in this construction may be either definite or indefinite; but the negative is always μὴ because of the final force. The future indicative is regularly retained after past tenses, as in object clauses with ὡς (340); but see 573 and 574.

567. A past purpose may be expressed by the imperfect of μέλλω. See 76; and Thuc. iii. 16, quoted in 565.

568. (Subjunctive and Optative in Homer.) In Homer these final relative clauses have the subjunctive (generally with κε) after primary tenses, and the present or aorist optative (without κε) after secondary tenses. E.g.

Καὶ ἀπ' ἱγεμόνι ἑσθαλὸν ὁπαυς, ὃς κέ με κεῖν' ἀγάμε, and also send a good guide, who shall lead me thither (to lead me thither). Od. xv. 310.
569. The earlier Greek here agrees with the Latin in using the subjunctive and optative, while the Attic adopts a new construction with the future indicative.

570. The future indicative occurs in Od. xiv. 333, ὁμοσε νῦν κατερθόθαι καὶ ἑπαρτίς ἔμεν ἐτάροις, οἱ δὲ μν ἐπέμψαν φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν. The potential optative with κε may take the place of a future form; ae polator οἱ ἄλλοι εἰσ', οἱ θεῷ κατά δήμον αἵλακοιν κακοῦγα, Od. iv. 166. Ὄν τῶν κ' ἐπίβαιν, v. v. 192 (cf. xxii. 348). In none of the Homeric examples of this construction is the relative clause negative.

571. A final force is seen in a few Homeric temporal clauses with ὅστε (ὅτε ἂν, ὅστε κε) or ὅποτε with the subjunctive, which are chiefly expressions of emphatic prediction:—

"Εσοσταὶ ἄμαρ ὅτ' ἂν ποτ' ἀλώλη "Ἰλιος ἐρη, Ζεὺς θε' σφν αὐτός ἐπισεῖνερν ἔρεμων αἰγίδα πάσιν, a day shall come when sacred Ilios shall fall (i.e. a day for the fall of Ilios) and when Zeus shall shake his terrible aegis before them all. ii. iv. 164; so vi. 448. See II. viii. 373, xxi. 111. See Monro, Hom. Gr. p. 209.

572. 1. In Attic Greek the subjunctive is not used in final relative sentences as it is in Homer (568). A few expressions like ἐξεί  ὅτι ἐπιγγείνεται, he has something to say, follow the analogy of οὐκ ἐξεί  ὅτι ἐπιγγείνεται, he knows what to say, which contains an indirect question (677). E.g.

Τοιοῦτον ἔθιν παρέσυναν, ὅστε ἐκατέρως ἐξείν ἔδοικ φιλοτε-μεθί ὡσιν, that both may have things in which they may glory. Isoc. iv. 44. (Here there is really no indirect question, for the meaning is not that they may know in what they are to glory.) Οἴδειν ἔτι διοίκει αὐτῷ, ἐὰν μόνον ἠχη ὑμεῖς διαλέγετε, if only he shall have some one to talk with. Plat. Symp. 194 D. Τῶς μέλλουσιν ἔξειν ὅτι ἐπίσφερωσίν. Xen. Oec. vii. 20. Compare ἄπορος ὅτι λέγεται καί ἄπορος ὅτι λέγεται in the same sentence, Plut. Iom. 536 B.

2. The subjunctive and optative may be used with a deliberative force, even when the relative has an antecedent, provided the leading clause expresses doubt or perplexity. E.g.
573. The present or aorist optative occurs rarely in Attic with a final sense, where there is no deliberative force. E.g.

Кρύψαοι ἐνείη ἐνα μὴ τις εἰσίδοι, βρυχάτῳ. Soph. Tr. 903.
So ὅστις λάκοι, Ar. Ran. 97. See PLAT. Rep. 388 B and 578 E.

For the constructions of 572 and 573 see Appendix VI (p. 411).

574. The future optative also occasionally occurs, as the natural correlative of the regular future indicative, which is generally retained after past tenses (566). E.g.

"Εφέυρον ἐνθα μὴσον ὑψίσην ὄνειδη τελεύμα, Ιδε 

Where I might never see the disease accomplished. Soph. O. T. 796.

Εσκόττησε ὅπως ἐστο 

Having been chosen with the condition that they should compile laws, by which they were to govern. Xen. Hell. ii. 3, 11. (See Ib. ii. 3, 2, quoted in 565, where καθ’ οὗσ πολιτεύσοιτο is used in the same sense.)

CONSECUTIVE RELATIVE CLAUSES EXPRESSING RESULT.—

CAUSAL RELATIVE.

575. (Indicative, with negative οὐ.) The relative with any tense of the indicative can be used to denote a result, in the sense of ὅστε with the indicative (582). The negative here is οὐ. This occurs chiefly after negative clauses, or interrogatives implying a negative. E.g.

Τὸς οὖσι μαίνεται ὅστις οὐ βούλεται νεῖ σοι φίλος εἶναι; who is so mad that he does not wish to be your friend? Xen. An. ii. 5, 12. (Here ὅστε οὐ βούλεται might be used.) Ἀκούσας τοιαῦτα ἀ τὸν τοῦτο οὐ ποτὲ εὐπραγοῦντα. Soph. O. C. 1352. So HDT. vii. 46. Τὸς οὖτος καθόθις ἐστὶν ὑμῖν, ὅστις ἄγος ἐν τὸν ἐκείθεν πόλεμον δεύον ἰδίωτα, ἀν ἐμελέσῳμεν; i.e. who of you is so simple that he does not know, etc.? Dem. i. 15. (Here ὅστε ἄγος might be used.) Τὸς οὖτος πόρρω τῶν πολιτικῶν ὡς πραγμάτων, ὅστις οὖκ ἔγγιξεν ἦνα γάκασθη γενέσθαι τῶν συμφορῶν; Isoc. iv. 113. Τὸς οὖτος μάθημος ἐστὶν, ὅστις οὐ μετασχεῖν βουλήσεται ταῦται τῆς στρατείας; lId. iv. 185.

So also with the potential optative; as οὖτις ἄν γένειτο οὖτως ἄδαμαίνως, ὃς ἄν μενεῖτεν εἰς τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ, no one would ever become so adamantinate that he would remain firm in justice. PLAT. Rep. 360 B.

576. (Future or Present Indicative, with negative μή.) The relative with the future (sometimes the present) indicative may denote a result which is aimed at, in the same general sense as ὅστε with present or aorist infinitive (582), but with more exactness (577). The negative is μή. E.g.
CONSECUTIVE RELATIVE CLAUSES

Εὐχετο μεδεμίαν οἱ συντυχίαν τοιαύτην γενέσθαι, ὥς μὲν παύσεις καταστρέφοντα τὴν Ἑλλάδαν, ἵστοις ἐπι ιερομον. Ηπ. vii. 54. (We might have ὡστε ἡ μος παύσαι. Compare εἰς τοιαύτην ἥθελεν μεταβολήν ὡς ἢ ἀπάθη πής τῆς Ἀττιας γενέσθαι διεστότης, Ἰσος v. 66.) Ἄνυσιν ἐπὶ τοιούτων ἴσοι ἐν κρατήσας μὲν κατασχέσει τις, it is absurd to attack men of such a kind that if we overcome them we shall not hold them. Θυμ. vi. 11. (Here ὡστε μὴ κατασχέσουν, so as not to hold them, could express only the general sense of the construction.) Ὅ γράφων ἵδι τῷ Χαρι-δήμῳ τοιοῦτω δὲ μὴ πῶς σύν ῥήματος ἐστι. Δεμ. xxiii. 86. Τοιαύτη ἀπεγγελοῦσε τὸν μήδὲ ἓν ὅπου ἡ κινήσεσθαι. Ἰδ. xix. 324. Τὸς οὐκ ἄν διετῆς τοιαύτης πολιτείας μετέχειν, ἐν μὴ διαλύσετα κρυστάλου ἄν; Ἰσος iii. 16. Ὅμως τοιαύτα λέγειν ἄκριται ἐξ ὃν ἂν διαφέρει τῶν σεισμάτων. Ἰδ. iv. 189. Τοιαύτα ἄττης λέγειν ἐξ ὃν μῆτε αὐτὸς χειρῶν εἶναι διό εἰς μῆτε τοῦ μικρύνους λυμανεῖ. Ἰδ. vi. 40. Βουλήθηκες τοιοῦτον μικρύνους καταλιθεῖν, δὲ μὴ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος φύσεως ὡστεν (= ὡστε μὴ εἶναι). Ἰδ. iv. 89.

577. The construction of ὡστε after τοιοῦτος (584), which best corresponds to this relative expression, is not common, as ὡστος is the natural antecedent of ὡστε, while τοιοῦτος is naturally followed by ὡστος or ὅς. The relative clause with the future is a much more definite expression, with its power of designating time, number, and person, than the infinitive. (See Θυμ. vi. 11, under 576.) Τοιοῦτος may also be followed by ὡστος and the infinitive (759).

578. Ὅτιος as a relative is sometimes used in this construction in a way which illustrates its use as a final particle. (See 313.) E.g.

Ποιεῖ δὲ οὐσίω ὡς τῶν τῶν ἐνδεχόμεν ἡμέν, and act so that there shall be nothing wanting on your part; lit. act in that way by which, etc. Ἱππ. vii. 18. Τὸ οὖν ἐπισταθαί ἀνδρώπον ἄλλον προστατεύειν ὡς ἔξουσι πάντα τὰ ἐνείνθεια, . . . τοῦτο θαυμαστόν ἐφαίνετο, i.e. in such a way that they should have, etc. Χεν. Cyn. i. 6, 7. So Cyn. ii. 4, 31.

579. (Optative.) The relative in this consecutive construction does not take the subjunctive. The optative occurs occasionally depending upon another optative. We find the future optative in Πλατ. Rep. 416 C, φαίνον τις δειν καί τὰς οἰκήσεις καί τὴν ἄλλην οἰκίαν τοιαύτην αὐτός παρασκευάζονται, ἢς μῆτε τοὺς φύλακας ὡς ἀρίστοισ ἐστίν παύασι αὐτός, κακουργείν τε μὴ ἐπιποίη περὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν, with which compare 415 Ε, τοιαύτασ οἰς χειρῶν τε στέγει καί θερόνους ἔκανος εἰναι. The aorist occurs in Δεμ. vi. 8, τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πολέι εὐθείᾳ ἐν ἐνδεχόμεν τοιοῦτον οὔτε τοιαύτης, ὡς ἄρτοι πεσόντες τυλίκας Ἑλλήνων ἐκείνον προεισθε, i.e. nothing so great as to persuade you to sacrifice any of the Greeks to him (= ὡστε ὡς πειράσουσας προεισθε). The practical difference between the pure optative here and the potential προέσθη ἀν, like δές ἄν μείνετει in Πλατ. Rep. 360 B (quoted in 575), is slight; but it would be seen if we had ὡστε προέσθης here (so great as to make you sacrifice) and ὡστε μείνετει ἄν there (so firm that he would remain).
580. The relative may have a causal signification, being equivalent to ὅτι, because, and a personal pronoun or demonstrative word. The verb is generally in the indicative, as in ordinary causal sentences (713); but it may be in the potential optative or potential indicative. The negative is ἦν; but when the relative clause is conditional as well as causal, the negative is μή.

E.g.

Θαυμαστών πατέρα, ὡς ἦμιν εὐδὴν δίδωσ, you do a strange thing in giving us nothing (like ὅτι εὖ εὐδὴν δίδωσ). Xen. Mem. ii. 7, 13. Δόξας ἀμαθεία εἶναι, ὡς . . . ἐκέλευε, believing him to be unlearned, because he commanded, etc. Hdt. i. 33. Τὴν μητέρα (ἐρακάαριον), оὐκ ἔκτικων ἐκυρήσε (like ὅτι τοῖσιν). Id. i. 31. Ἐδωκαίων ἐφαινετο, ὡς ἀδώκις καὶ γενναίος ἐπελεύση, i.e. because he died so fearlessly and nobly (ὡς being equivalent to ὅτι οὕτως). Plat. Phaed. 58 E.

Ταλαίπωρος ἐξ, ὡς μήτε θεοὶ πατρῴοι εἰσιν μῆθ' ἑρά, you are wretched, since you have no ancestral Gods (if you really have none), etc. Id. Euthyd. 302 B. Ὅπως ἐν ὠρθῶς ἐμοί καταγγέλωσέ|κειν, ὡς τὸ παράπαν πρὸς τοὺς ἀνδρεῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοῦτο μαρτυρήσατο, πῶς ὁ οὖρ κακὸς ἐστὶν ὡς ἤγειρεν με ταλθήμη λέγειν; whereas then (or if then) no one has dared, etc. Id. xli. 38. So lv. 26. Ὅποτε οὐ μίαν εἰς ἀρχήν συνθήκην ἔφανεν θεσαν ἐπερεά ὡς ἐγράφησαν, πῶς ὁρθῶς ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐκάζωσθοι, καθ' ὡμοί ἔχει διαφέρεσθαι συνθήκας; whereas the original agreement disappeared and the other was never written, how can he justify his law with me, when (or if he) cannot bring forward any agreement against me? Id. xxxiii. 30. So Soph. O. T. 817, 1326, O. C. 1690, Ant. 696, Ph. 178, 255; Ar. Ran. 1459; Hdt. i. 71 (τοιοῦ ὡς μή ἐστὶ μηδέν); Thuc. iv. 126 (οὐ γε μηδε . . . ἤκετε). The potential imperfect occurs in Ant. v. 66, μή τοῖν έμοι νείπητε τὸ ἄπορον τοῖτο, ἐν ὡς μηδ'. Ἀν αὐτοῖ εὔπορεί[tε, do not then bring upon me this perplexity, in which you yourselves would not know what to do (half causal, half conditional).

581. In the last examples with μή, the causal and the conditional forces are united, but in English we can express only one of them. Thus ὡς μήτε θεοὶ πατρῴοι εἰσιν, besides its causal force, implies a condition; so that we might translate equally well ὡς (as it appears) you have no ancestral Gods, you are wretched. The same combination of cause and condition is seen in the Latin sequiendum.

CONSECUTIVE CLAUSES WITH ὡστε OR ὡς AND WITH ἐφ' ὦ OR ἐφ' ὡς.\footnote{See Gildersleeve in Am. Jour. Phil. vii. pp. 161-175; and Seume, De Sententiis Consecutivis Graccis, Göttingen, 1883.}

582. A consecutive clause expresses a consequence, that
is, the effect or result (actual or potential) of something that is stated in the leading clause. Such a clause is introduced by some relative word, generally by ὅστε, so as, so that. (See 575.) The consequence may be either one which the action of the leading verb aims at and tends to produce, or one which that action actually does produce. This is the fundamental distinction between ὅστε with the infinitive (with μὴ for its negative) and ὅστε with the indicative (with οὖ for its negative). *E.g.*

Πᾶν τοιοῦτον ὅστε δίκην μὴ διδόναι, they do everything in such a way as (i.e. so as) not to suffer punishment, i.e. they aim, in all they do, at not being punished; it is not, however, implied that they actually escape. Plat. Gorg. 479 C. On the other hand, πᾶν τοιοῦτον ὅστε δίκην οὔ διδόμασιν would mean they do everything in such a way that (i.e. so that) they are not punished.

583. Though this illustrates the fundamental distinction in thought on which the distinction in form is based, there are many examples in which ὅστε with the infinitive and ὅστε with the indicative seem to amount to essentially the same thing, although the processes by which the meaning is expressed in the two constructions are essentially different. Thus we can say οὖτος ἐστὶ δεινὸς ὅστε δίκην μὴ διδόαι, he is so skilful as not to be punished, and also οὖτος ἐστὶ δεινὸς ὅστε δίκην οὐ διδόμαι, he is so skilful that he is not punished; and though we should receive the same impression from both statements, so that both might be made of the same man under the same circumstances, yet the two constructions (one stating a tendency and the other a fact) are very different, and they seemed far more so to a Greek than they do to us.

584. "Ὅστε is properly a relative particle of comparison, meaning as. Its correlative so may be expressed in a demonstrative like οὖτος, or implied; as οὖτος ἐστὶ δεινὸς ὅστε σε πείσαι, he is so skilful as to persuade you, or ἢ πόλις τετείχομαι ὅστε ικανή εἶναι σφάζειν τοῖς ἐνοικίοις; the city is walled so as to be able to keep its inhabitants safe. (See τοιούτοις καὶ οὕτω τρέφειν κόνας ὅστε ἐπι-χειρῆσαι, Plat. Rep. 416 A; and compare τοιοῦτος οἶος with the infinitive in 759.) These expressions in Greek state no more than he has the skill to persuade you and the city has walls enough to be able, etc.; the further ideas that he does persuade and the city is able are inferences, which are strongly suggested and generally felt when the expressions are used, but they do not lie in the words. When the Greek wishes to express these facts definitely and not to leave them to inference, it uses the indicative with
-relative and temporal sentences

As οὕτως ἢστι δεινὸς ὡστε σε πείθει, he is so skilful that he persuades you, or ἤ πολὺς τετείχαται ὡστε ἴκανή ἐστίν. But here the use of a finite verb compels the writer to make his expression more definite than it was before; for, whereas ὡστε πείσαται and ὡστε ἴκανη εἶναι meant only (so) as to persuade and (so) as to be able, without limiting the expressions to past, present, or future time, he cannot use a tense of the indicative without fixing its time, that is, without making a definite statement. So long as the infinitive has no subject and can be translated by our simple infinitive (as above), we can generally express its force without putting into our translation more than we find in the Greek; the formal distinction between so skilful as to persuade and so skilful that he persuades being apparent even when we mean substantially the same by both. When the clause with ὡστε is negative, a marked distinction appears in Greek to show the different point of view taken in the two expressions, and we have ὡστε μὴ πείσαται and ὡστε οὐ πείθει. This is of course lost in English with our single negative. But when the infinitive has a subject, it must be translated by a finite verb in some definite tense, number, and person, that is, by a statement and not by a mere expression of tendency, although the force of the infinitive in Greek is the same as before. Thus we generally translate σχολάζεις, ὡστε θαυμάζειν ἐμέ (EUR. Hec. 730), you delay, so that I am astonished, as if it were ὡστε θαυμάζω ἐγώ, simply because we cannot use our infinitive with a subject expressed. If, however, we substitute an equivalent form which avoids this difficulty, like so as to astonish me, we see that there is really no such definite character in ὡστε θαυμάζειν ἐμέ as we impose upon it, and that it no more expresses a statement than ὡστε σε πείσαται (above) does. The same difficulty of translating the Greek infinitive with its subject has done much to obscure the force of the tenses of the articular infinitive and of the infinitive with ἄν. (See also 603.)

In many uses of the infinitive with ὡστε it is not even inferred that the result towards which the infinitive expresses a tendency is actually reached. Thus, in clauses with ὡστε expressing a purpose or a condition, and where the infinitive is generally used without ὡστε, we cannot substitute the indicative for the infinitive (see the examples under 587, 2 and 3, and 588)."
585. In Homer ὦστε (or rather ὁσ τε) is found, with two exceptions (589), only in the sense of as, like ὀστερ. See its use in similes, as ὁσ τε λέων ἐχάρην, Π. iii. 23. The τε here is like that commonly added to relatives in Homer (as in ὁσ τε) and to ἔστει in Herodotus. The Attic poets are the first to use ὦστε freely with the infinitive. In Sophocles we first find ὦστε with the finite moods; this seems to have arisen from a desire to express definitely the accomplishment of the result, which the infinitive expressed only by inference.

586. ὄσ, originally of the same meaning with ὁσ τε, was seldom used in consecutive sentences except in certain authors. (See 608.)

"Ωστε with the Infinitive."

587. "Ωστε with the infinitive, with a demonstrative expressed or implied, means so as; but when the infinitive has a subject which must be expressed in English, we are generally obliged to translate the particle with its antecedent by so that. The expression properly means only that one action or state is of such a nature as to be followed by another as a consequence, but it is often implied also, apart from the words, that the second action or state actually does follow.

1. The consequence may be simply a result which a previous act tends to produce. Ε.γ.

'Δροφί δε κυκλούντο πόσαν νήσον, ὀστε' ἀμη χανελν 5ποι τράπουντο, and they encircled the whole island, so that they (the Persians) knew not whether to conquer (i.e. so as to perplex the Persians, etc.) Aesch. Pers. 457. Τόσονδε μακείν ὀστε τὴν δίκην πατείν, to hate so violently as to trample on justice. Soph. Αj. 1335 ; so 1335. Σο δε σχολάζειν, ὀστε θαν- μάζειν ὑπε, but you delay, so that I am astonished (see 584). Eup. Hec. 730. Πάντας οὕτω διατίθειν ἀπενέμπετο ὀστε αὕτη μᾶλλον φίλους εἶναι ἂ τῷ βασιλεί. Xen. Α. p. 1, 5. Αυσκολλᾶ καὶ μανία πολλάκις εἰς τὴν διάφορον ἐμπιπτοντων οὕτως ὀστε καί τὰς ἐπιστήμας ἐκβαλ- λεῖν. Ιd. Mem. ι. 12, 6. Ἡν πεπαιδημένος οὕτως ὀστε πάνυ μικρὸ- κεκτημένος πάνυ ῥαδίως ἐχεῖν ἀρκοῦντα, he had been so educated as very easily to have enough, although he possessed very little. Th. i. 2, 1. Φιναί δε δ Κύρος λέγεται φιλοτεμόστατος, ὀστε πάντα μὲν πόνον ἀναταλη- ναι πάντα δε κίνδυνον ὑπομείναι. Ιd. Συr. i. 2, 1. Ἀπέχρη γαρ ἀν τοῖς γνωσθείσιν ἐμένειν, ὀστε μηδεμίαν ἡμῖν εἰναι πρὸς τούτον nature to follow, but) actually did follow, would employ the indicative: whereas in ordinary and unimpassioned language the infinitive would imply all that was necessary, the natural consequence supposing the real."
2. The consequence may have the form of a stipulation, condition, or limitation. *Eg.*

Ποιοῦντις ὁμολογιών πρὸς Πάχυτα, ὦστε Ἀθηναῖοι ἔχειν βουλεύσαι περὶ τῶν Μυτιληναίων, they make a treaty with Rhodes, to the effect that the Athenians shall be permitted, etc. *Thuc.* iii. 28. Ἀναστῆσας αὐτοὺς ὦστε μὴ ἀδικήσατις, having removed them on condition of doing them no harm. *Ibid.* So i. 29, vii. 83. So *Id.* iii. 114, ἐρμαν-χίων ἐπιθύμησε ἑπὶ τοίνυν, ὦστε μὴ στρατεύειν. Ἐξον αὐτοῖς τῶν λοιπῶν ὄρχειν Ἐλλήνων, ὦστε αὐτοὺς ἀπακούειν βασιλεῖ. It being in their power to rule the rest of the Greeks, on condition that they should themselves serve the King. *Dem.* vi. 11.

3. The consequence may be aimed at as a purpose, the consecutive clause becoming also final. *Eg.*

Πάν τιμοῦν, ὦστε δίκην μὴ ὑπόδοναι, they do everything in such a way as not to suffer punishment, i.e. that they may not suffer. *Plat.* Gorg. 479 C. (Here ἢ μὴ with the subjunctive might be used, but it would express only the final element.) Ἐβουλήθησαν Ἐλευθερία ἐξεδιώκοντο, ὦστε εἶναι σφικτὴν καταφθαγήν εἰ δείξεις, they wished to appropriate Eleusis, so that they might have a refuge if they should need it. *Xen.* Hell. ii. 4, 8. Μηχανᾶ τολλαί εἰσιν, ὦστε διαφεύγειν θάνατον, there are many devices for escaping death. *Plat.* Ap. 59 D. (Here we might have ὅπως διαφεύγηται τις.) Μηχανᾶ εὐφόροιμοι, ὅποτε ἔστω σὺ τῶν ἀπαλλάξαι τόνος, we will find devices to free you, etc. (= ὅπως σὺ ἀπαλλάξῃς). *Aisch.* Eum. 82.

588. The infinitive with ὄστε sometimes follows verbs of wishing, commanding, etc., which regularly take a simple infinitive of the object (746), less frequently verbs which take an infinitive of the subject (745); and sometimes adjectives and nouns which regularly take the simple infinitive (758). *Eg.*

Κύπριε γὰρ ἤθελεν ὄστε γίνεσθαι τάδε, for the Cyprian Goddess wished this to be done, i.e. had (such) a wish (as) that this should be done. *Eur.* Hipp. 1327. Δικαίων ὄστε ἑμοὶ κλεῖν λόγους, asking that he (Polyneides) should hear my words (to the effect that he should hear). *Soph.* O. C. 1350. Τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τῶν πόλεων ἐδιδάσκει ὄστε ὄντα χρήσιμα αὐτῶν πείσειν, he instructed them to give money and persuade the generals. *Thuc.* viii. 45. Τοῦ μὲν ὄννασθαι, ὅ Φαῦρη, ὄστε
Consecutive Clauses with ὅστε

It is the ability to become a finished disputor (i.e. having such power as to become). Plat. Phaedr. 269 D. 'Ελθόντες πρὸς αὐτοὺς πείθοντες ὅστε μετὰ σφόν Ἀργεὶ ἐπὶ χειρήσατο. Thuc. iii. 102. (In the same chapter, πείθει Ἀκαρναῖας βούλθησαν Ναυπακτὸν.) Ἑπεμβαίνον τοὺς Ἀθηναίοις ὅστε ἐξαγαγεῖν εἷς Πύλου Μεσσηνίους. Id. v. 35. Ψηφισάμενοι αὐτοί πρῶτοι ὅστε πάγη προθυμία ἀμύνειν, having voted to defend them, etc. Id. vi. 88. Εἰς ἀνάγκην καθεστάμενοι ὅστε κατευθύνειν. Isoc. vi. 51. (See 749.) Σοὶ δύναμιν ὅστε ἐγγενότευκτον ἐπὶ γονεῖν ὄστε πρὸς ταιῶν θανατῆν, i.e. if my father was warned by oracles that he should perish by his children's hands. Soph. O. C. 969.

Πάντως ὅστε εἰδέναι, it concerned me very much to know. Xen. Cyr. vi. 3, 19. Ἀδύνατον ώμεν ὅστε Πρωταγόρον τοὺς σοφόβους τινὰ ἐλεύθερα, it is impossible for you to choose any one, wiser than Protegras here (you have not such power as to choose). Plat. Prot. 338 C. So Xen. Mem. i. 3, 6. Συνεβηθεὶς εἰς μετὰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν ὅστε πολέμου μὲν μὴν ἐπὶ ἱσώμοι μηδέτερον, πρὸς δὲ τὴν εἰρήνην μάλλον τὴν γνώμην εἰς οὖν. Thuc. v. 14. (Here the construction changes suddenly to the indicative in εἰς οὖν.) Ἀρ' ἔστιν ὅστε καγώνιθεν θειὸν λαβεῖν; is it possible for me to have a sight of it near by? Soph. Ph. 656.

Ὡς γὰρ τις ἴκανὸς γένοις ὅστε δεῖ προστάτειν τὸ προσήκον; for how could one become capable of always giving the proper command (so capable as)? Plat. Polit. 295 A. Πότερα παῖδες εἰς τὸ θρόνον ὅστε μαθεῖν τὰ φαινόμενα η ἄνδρας, i.e. are they wiser than men in learning, etc.? Xen. Cyr. iv. 3, 11. Νέοι ὅστε τοσοῦτον πράγμα διελέσθην, too young to decide. Plat. Prot. 314 B. So γέρουν ὅστε σ' ὀφελεῖν, Eur. Andr. 80. Ψυχρὸν ὅστε τὸ ὄρος ὅστε λουθασθῆναι, the water is too cold to bathe in. Xen. Mem. iii. 13, 3. (Cf. λούσασθαι ψυχρόστερον and ἑρμότερον πιεῖν, in the same section.)

In many of these cases it seems impossible to believe that ὅστε added anything to the sense, even as it was felt by the Greeks. The expressions were probably stereotyped in usage, and their origin was forgotten. Indeed, ὅστε and ὅς (508) sometimes seem to have no more meaning than our to with the infinitive, which in some cases we can use or omit at pleasure, though with some change of sense, as in I dare say and I dare to say. Compare I command you to go and I bid you go. The examples show that there is hardly a construction in which the simple infinitive was used where ὅστε is not occasionally prefixed to it. It is important here to remember that ὅστε means only as (or, including the antecedent, ὅπως ὁ); never so that, except in the construction with the finite moods, although this is often a necessary mareshape in our translation.

For ὅστε or ὅς with the infinitive after the comparative and ὅς, see 764 (b).

589. (Ὡς τέ in Homer.) The only two Homeric examples of ὅστε (ὅς τέ) with the infinitive are ll. ix. 42, εἴ δὲ σοὶ αὐτῷ ὑπὸ Q
RELATIVE AND TEMPORAL SENTENCES

590. (Tenses.) The tenses of the infinitive most frequently used with ὅστε are the present and aorist, with their usual distinction (87). See the examples above.

The perfect is sometimes used to express completion or decisiveness of the action (109; 110). E.g.

Neωστε ἀπὸ νόσου βραχὺ τι λελωφήκαμεν, ὅστε καὶ χρήματι καὶ τοὺς σώμασιν ἑγερθῆναι, i.e. we have recovered a little, so as to have increased. Thuc. vii. 12. Λόγων καὶ βουλευμάτων κοινωνῶν ἐν σε ποιώντο, ὅστε μὴ ἔν σε λελιθθέναι ἐν βουλζέμθα εἰδέναι, so that not a single one of the things we wish to know should have escaped you. Xen. Cyg. vi. 1, 40. Τοιοῦτα πολιτεύματα ἔλεγχα (ἐμοὶ ὑπηρέτει) ὅστε πολλὰς ἐπεκφυγόμενα καὶ μηδὲ τοὺς ἐγγόροις ἔπιρειν λέγειν, κ.τ.λ., as often as to have been crowned (perfect), and so as not even to have my enemies undertake (present) to say, etc. Dem. xviii. 257. See Id. xvi. 68; Lys. xxxii. 27; Isoc. iii. 32, iv. 45; Isae. x. 1; and the examples quoted in 109 and 110.

591. 1. The future infinitive with ὅστε is common only when it depends on an infinitive in indirect discourse and represents a future indicative of the direct form: so εἰς τὸν ἀναιῶιας αὐτοῦ ἡμῶν ἀκόμα, ὅστε λαξαμομονόν καταγωρήσειν, Dem. xix. 72. So Lys. v. 2. See other examples under 594.

2. Elsewhere it is rare and perhaps doubtful. In Dem. xxix. 5 and xxx. 5, ὅστε ὑμᾶς ἄποντας ἐκείσθαι is found in all Mss., and it is no more objectionable than other exceptional uses of the future, as that after βουλομαι and δέομαι (see 113), or than ὅστε with the infinitive with ἐν not in indirect discourse (211; 592). In Dem. xvi. 4 we have, ἐστὶ τοῖνυν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτῳ καθρὸ τὰ πράγματα νῦν... ὅστε θηβαίων μὲν ἀσθενείς γενέσθαι, Λακεδαιμονίων δ', εἰ τοιοῦτον τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν ὑφ' ἐαυτοῦ, πάλιν ἰαχυρόθε γενέσθαι, the change of time making the change of tense natural.

In Thuc. iii. 84 we have, προκαλεσάμενος ἐς λόγους Ἰστίαν, ὅστε, ἢν μοιδὲν ἀράκον λέγη, πάλιν αὐτοῦ καταστήσειν ἐς τὸ τέχος σών καὶ ὑμᾶ, on the condition that, if his proposals should not be satisfactory, he would restore H. to the fort safe and sound. Here καταστήσειν represents καταστήσω in the words of Paches; but the future is still exceptional in its use (see 113). In Thuc. i. 29, iii. 28 (two passages) and 114,
vii. 83, where there was the same ground for the future, we find the present or aorist infinitive with ὡστε.

592. The infinitive with ἢν (not in indirect discourse) can follow ὡστε to express a consequence in a potential form, corresponding to the potential optative or indicative. E.g.

'Ἀποτεθειμένοι ἢν ἔχασ, ὡστε μὴ ἐμετέρμασαν ἐπὶ ὁμοίως ἢν
ἀυτοὺς ὑπελείπω, they would have been already walled in, so that, even if they had sent for them, it would not any longer have been of as much use to them. Thuc. vii. 42. Τῶν οἰκείων μοι πραγμάτων συμβεβηκότων ὡστε ὑμᾶς ἢν ἀκούσαντας ἐλεύσασθαι, such as would make youภาย me if you should hear them. Dem. l. 59. Ἀπολογθέντος, ὡστε μὴ ἢν ὅνωσας θαλεῖπτην οἰκώδε, so that he would not be able to return. Id. viii. 35. See also the examples under 211, and the cases of indirect discourse with ὡστε ἢν under 594. (The translation of the infinitive here is necessarily inexact. See 584.)

593. Herodotus often writes οὖτω ὡστε together, οὖτω referring to the whole leading sentence, and not (as it generally does) to a single word or expression. E.g.

'Απεδρή ἦσ Τηγεά, τὰς μὲν νίκτας πορεύομενος, τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας καταδίων ἦ σύρη, οὖτω ὡστε τρίτη εὐφρόσυνῃ γενέσθαι ἦν Τηγεά, he escaped to Tyea, travelling by night and hiding in the woods by day, (in such wise) as on the third night to arrive at Tyea. Hist. ix. 37. So iii. 105, viii. 27, ix. 61, 73.

For the same usage before a finite verb, see 601 (end).

594. ("ὤστε with Infinitive in Indirect Discourse. "ὤστε οὖ.) When a clause with ὡστε depends on an infinitive in indirect discourse, and is itself a part of the quotation, its verb representing a finite mood of the direct form, it regularly has the infinitive, in the tense of the direct discourse, even when on other grounds a finite verb would seem more natural. Here the future infinitive and the infinitive with ἢν may be used, as in other indirect discourse (135; 204). The negative οὐ of the direct form is generally retained with such an infinitive. E.g.

"Εφασαν τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰς τούτο τροφῆς ἐλθεῖν ὡστε οὐκ ἔθελεν πίνειν εἰ μὴ ἄνθοςίμας εἰς (they said εἰς τούτο τροφῆς ἔθλον ὡστε οὐκ ἔθελον πίνειν), they said that the soldiers became so fastidious that they would not drink any wine unless it had a strong bouquet. Xen. Hell. vi. 2, 6. Ἰυράμ εἶδεν ἡγοῦμα τούτων οὖτως σκοῖν εἶναι ὡστε οὐ δύνασθαι μαθεῖν τὰ λεγόμενα. Lys. x. 15. Οὖτω δὲ ἄτόπους τυνά ἐν τῇ πόλει εἶναι ὡστε οὐκ ἀισχύνεσθαι λοιδορομένους αὐτῷ (i.e. οὖτως ἄτοποι ὡστε οὐκ ἀισχύνονται). Dem. xix. 308. So xviii. 283, xix. 152. Εἶναι δὲ πολλοῖς ἄλλοις (sc. ἐφό), οὕς βούλεσθαι κοινο- νεῖν τῇ συντάξεωι, ὡστε οὐτε χειρισταν οὔτε στρατιωτῶν ἐσφαγήναι ἀπόριαν (i.e. ἄλλοι εἰσίν, οὕς βούλομαι (see 755) κοινοίν, ὡστε οὐκ ἔσται ἀπορία). Aesch: x. 96: so i. 174. Τοσοῦτον φρονήσεις φής αὕτως ὡστε οὐχ ἔγνωσας οὕτως αὕτως ἐξίων εἶναι ἔριν, κ.τ.λ.
595. "Ωστε μη, however, as the ordinary form with the infinitive, may be used in indirect discourse (594), even with the future infinitive or the infinitive with οἵν. Εγ.

Τηλικαίην ἡγεῖσθαι πόλιν οίκειον τὸ μέγεθος, ὥστε μηδὲν ἀν ὅπιον ἦ δεινὸν πείσεται. ΔΕΜ. ix. 67. "Δειμήν οὗτος ἑρμηνεύει εἰναι τοις ἀλαξινομένοις πολεμοῖς, ὥστε μηδὲν ἀν ποτὲ γενέσθαι πυρὸς τῶν λεγοντων. ΙΣΟ. xii. 20 : so xii. 144. In ΙΣΑΕ. iii. 51, ὥστε μηδὲ ἐκδονάω ἤθελεν would have been the same in the direct form.

596. Cases of ὥστε with a finite verb in indirect discourse are rare, but sometimes occur, as οὖσα大面积 οὕτως ἀνατείσαν, ὥστε γε οὔδεν αντερέσεις, ΑΡ. Νυβ. 1342. So ΕΥΡ. ΤΡΩ. 973; ΠΛΑΤ. ΛΕΓ. 692 D.

597. 1. Occasionally ὅστε οὐ with the infinitive represents a finite mood with οὐ of direct discourse, even when there is no preceding infinitive to assimilate it (as there is in all the cases in 594). Εγ.

Ἐννοοῦσατο ὅτι οὐτός ἦν τότε παρρο τῆς ἡλικίας ἢν ὅστ', εἰ καὶ μηδὲν τότε, οὔκ ἀν πολλῷ ύστερον τελευτήσατι τὸν βίον, ὅπιον θέλοντος τῆς καὶ τῆς τῆς νυκτὸς. ΧΕΝ. ΜΕΜ. iv. 8, 1. (Seume classes this with the cases in 597, 2 because of οὐ πολλῷ. But the infinitive depends directly on a clause with ὅστ', as in indirect discourse.) So in ΑΡΙΣΤΩΤ. ΠΟΛ. ii. 9, 17: λέγοντι ὧστε μετεξῆσαν τῆς πολιτείας, ὅστ' οὐ γίνεσθαι τότε τῆς ἁλευμαθρομίαν.

2. Sometimes οὐ is found with ὅστε and the infinitive when the negative belongs to a single word, as in οὐ πολλῷ for ὃλγον. See ΙΣΟ. v. 107: οὐτός κακῶς προῆτερον τῶν πραγμάτων ὅστ' ἦμας οὐ πολλοὶ ἐτειν ὄστερον πάλιν ἐπιπολάζομεν. So ΙΣΑΕ. ix. 17.

598. In a few cases, however, ὅστε οὐ is found with the infinitive where none of the preceding explanations (594; 597) will apply. Such are the following: —

"Ωστ' οὖτε νυκτὸς ὄπων οὔτ' ἐξ ὑμέρας ἐμὲ στεγάζειν ἤδιν, ἀλλ' ο' προστάτων χρόνος διεγέγ χρ' αἰέν ὡς θυσιάζων, so that neither by night nor by day did sweet sleep spread her wings over me. ΣΟΡ. ΕΠ. 780. (Here there is an easy transition from the infinitive to the following indicative.) Οὐ μακράν γὰρ τεχέως περιστουχαί, ὅστ' οὖχ ἵππατα σ' εἶδεν τ' ἰῶσαμεν, not so large that you do not know all (i.e. the city is so small, that you know all) that is done. ΕΥΡ. ΠΗ. 1357. "Ωστ' οὖν'
CONSECUTIVE CLAUSES WITH ὡστε

... traces of the walls is to be seen. Id. Hel. 107. Νῦν δὲ περιέστηκεν εἰς τοῦτο, ὡστε τὸν ἱδρυμαυόντα οὐ φιλόπολιν ἀλλὰ φιλοτράγμων δοκεῖν εἶναι. Lid. p. 3. Οὐδὲ οὖν ἀντιοσ ἀπορος ὥστε ἱεροος ὡστε ὦκ ἐν ἐξειρεθτέα τιν ἀπογράφοντα, ὥστε, moreover, was I so helpless or friendless that I could not find one to bring an ἀπογραφή (οὐκ ἐν ἐξειρισθαι). Dem. liii. 1. Οὐσίω δ’ ἀρχαίως ἐξεντον, μᾶλλον δὲ πολεμικῶς, ὡστέ οὖν δὲ χρηματισσιῶν ἄνευθαι τιν αὐτούν ὄντων ὕπονοον παρ’ οὐδενός οὐδέν. Id. ix. 48. (This may be explained as oratio obliqua, on the ground of ἄκοιω and the infinitive in the preceding clause. But I agree with Secine in thinking this connection too remote to account for ὡστε οὗ. Here there is neither an assimilating infinitive, as in the examples in 594, nor a leading clause with ὡστε or ἀν, as in those in 597, 1. In fact, ὡστε οὗ gives the only ground for calling the clause with εἰξεντον indirect discourse.)

599. The examples in 598 have one common character: in all of them the thought could be expressed equally well by ὡστε with the infinitive or ὡστε with a finite verb, for even in Eur. Ph. 1357 and Dem. liii. 1 a fact rather than a mere tendency is expressed. We can, therefore, easily suppose a mixture of two constructions by which, for example in Eur. Hel. 107, instead of ὡστε μή εἶναι or ὡστε οὐκ ἔστιν, either of which would express the sense, we have ὡστε οὐκ εἶναι. This occasional confusion would be made easier by familiarity with ὡστε οὗ and the infinitive in indirect discourse.

600. In a few cases ὡστε seems to be omitted, even when its antecedent is expressed; as in Aesch. Ag. 478, τῆς δὲ παιδός ἡ φρενῶν κεκομιμένος, φλογὸς περαγγέλμασιν νέος πυρωθέντα καρδίαν ἐπετῆ ἄλλας γάρνοι καρδιάς; who is so childish, etc., (as) to be inflamed in heart, etc., and then to suffer from a change of heart? See also Hdt. iii. 12, ὡστε ἵσχυατ, μόνος ἄν κιλέο παισάς διαρρήξειας, so strong, you could hardly break them with a stone.

"Ωστε WITH THE FINITE MOODS.

601. "Ωστε with the indicative means properly so that, and expresses the actual result of the action of the leading verb. E.g.

1 The explanation of ὡστε οὗ with the infinitive on the ground of oratio obliqua was first made, I believe, by Shilleto in the Appendix to his Demosthenes de Falso Legatione (1844). It is also given by Madvig (Synt. § 205, Anm. 3), who confines ὡστε οὗ to clauses depending on the infinitive of oratio obliqua after verbs like φυλ, ἡμα, etc. (i.e. like the examples in 594). Shilleto's faith in his own explanation was somewhat shaken by finding that four of the passages quoted in 598 could not be brought under his canon. Under the influence of Shilleto's essay, I originally suggested the mixture of two equivalent constructions given above, as applicable to all cases of ὡστε οὗ, not appreciating the wide influence of the principle of oratio obliqua upon the construction.
602. As ὡςτε in this construction has no effect upon the mood of its verb, it may have any construction that would be allowed in an independent sentence. It may thus take a potential optative or indicative with ἄν, a prohibitory subjunctive, an imperative, or an interrogative. E.g.


603. Occasionally there is a change from the infinitive to a finite verb in a sentence after ὡςτε, with a corresponding change in meaning; as in Thuc iii. 21, ὡςτε πάροδον µὴ εἶναι παρὰ πύργων, ἀλλὰ δὲ αὐτῶν μέσον διήγεσαν, i.e. the towers were built so as to allow no passage by a tower outside, but that the men passed through the inside of them. (See 584.)

604. A few cases occur of a peculiar assimilation of a clause with ὡςτε to a preceding optative in protasis, ὡςτε having apparently the force of a conditional relative. E.g.

Εἰ τις τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν σὴν οὖν θεραπεύσεις ὡςτε φιλεῖν αὐτὴν µᾶλλον ποιήσεις ἐκατόν ἢ σε, ἐρ χιλιάδαι; if one should court your wife so as to make her more fond of himself than of you, etc. Xen. Cyr. v. 5, 30 (two Mss. have ποιήσεις). So v. 3, 47 (εἰσοῦτο). Εἰ τις χρώει τῷ ἀργυρῷ ὡςτε προσελέβετο οἶον ἐταίραι διὰ ταύτην κάκων
607. (a) As a clause with ὡστε depending on an infinitive in indirect discourse is generally assimilated to that infinitive, so one depending on a participle in indirect discourse may be assimilated to the participle. E.g.

Οὐδὲ οὖσις ἀγνώμονον οὐδὲ ἀτοπον οὐδένα (sc. ὧν ὡστε) ὡστε, εἰ μή σοφούσοιν ἄπαντες ὡς ἂν αὐτός, εἰ ἰδίκισσον τοιχίσει οὐδέν οὐδέ αὐτόν, οὐσιο διότι Ιερέα ἠκούσα τὰ ἁμαρτάνητα, οὐσιον μή σεισίσει δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δένα, δέ

(b) In two cases there is a like assimilation to a participle not in indirect discourse:
The last examples seem to show that clauses with ὡστε can be assimilated to a preceding participle as we have seen them assimilated to an optative (604). Compare with this construction Isoc. iv. 21, οὐδεὶς γὰρ δὲν ἔτεραν πόλιν ἐπιθεὶς ἐς τοῦτο ὡστε ἡμετέρας ἐς τὸ κατὰ γῆν ὑπερέχουσαν, διὸν τὴν ἠμετέρας ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις τοῖς κατὰ θάλασσας διαφέρουσαν.

'Ως USED LIKE ὡστε.

608. In their original use ὡς and ὡς τε are related precisely as ὡς and ὡς τε in Homer. But in consecutive sentences ὡστε gradually gained almost exclusive control, so that ὡς here became very rare. ὡς occurs chiefly in Aeschylus, Sophocles, Herodotus, and Xenophon, where it is used in the same constructions and in the same sense as ὡστε. E.g.

(With Infin.) Ἡκουσιν ἐκφυγόντες: ὡς στένειν πόλιν Περισάν. Aesch. Pers. 510. Πεποκόσις γ' ὡς θρασύνεσθαι μάλλον, βρότεοι αἴμα, κόμος ἐν δόμοις μένει, having drunk of mortals' blood so as to be more emboldened, a band of revellers abides in the house. Id. Ag. 1188. So Pers. 437, Ag. 546, Eum. 36, 427, 799, 895. Σύμμετρος γὰρ ὡς κλεῖειν, for he is near enough for us to hear. Soph. O. T. 84. Οὐδ' ὑπὸ ἄγαμο λόφον δικαίως εἶχον, ὡς στέργειν ἐμέ. Id. Ant. 292. So Tr. 1125. Οὐκ ἐς τοίτῳ ἀφροίνης ἀπίκομενος ὡς δόξαι τὴν ἑωτὸν δίναμιν περίσσοτος τῆς βασιλείας. Hdt. iii. 146. θυγαλιν δὲ ὡς ὑπὸ τε λέγεται, ὡς τῶς κορυφᾶς αὐτῶν ὡς ὑπὸ τε εἶναι ἐκδοθῆναι, and (it the mountain) is said to be so high, that it is not possible to see its summits. Id. iv. 184. Ὡς τοσαίος τοσοῦτος τὸ βάθος, ὡς μηδὲ τὰ δόρατα ὑπερέχειν τοῦ βάθους. Xen. An. iii. 5, 7. So ii. 3, 10. Φέρονται κάθωνα, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀρύσασον. Id. Cyz. i. 2, 8. Ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεί ἰδίῳ ὑσομαί, ὡς μηδὲν ἄν ἐτι κακὸν παθεῖν. Id. viii. 7, 27. See iv. 2, 8. Ὡς τὸ γὰρ δοκεῖμεν παρεσκευάζοντα ὡς, ἢν μὲν ἀληθεύετο, ἵκανοι εἶναι ὡς ἤμας ἐθ' ποιεῖν· ἢν δὲ ἐξαπατάτη, οὔτω νομίζομεν ἐχεῖν ὡς ὡς ἤμοι ἢμαι ἢμας ἢμας ἢμαις γενήσομαι. Id. iv. 2, 13. (In the last clauses we have ὡς in indirect discourse, like ὡστε in 594, the direct form being ὡς ἤμαις ἐστομέθα, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἤμαις γενήσομεν. Most Mss., however, have γενεότατοι.)

(With Indic.) Ἡπὸ τὰδ' ὡς Σοῖτων μὲν ἄστυ πὰν κενακάριαν στένει. Aesch. Pers. 730. Ὁντος ἔχει γ' ἡ πίστις, ὡς τοῦ μὲν δοκείν ἐνεστι, πέρα δ' οὖ προσωμιλήσας πω, so stands my confidence, that belief is in it, while I have had nothing to do yet with testing it. Soph.
'Εφ' ὃ and ἐφ' φτε with the Infinitive and the Future Indicative.

610. 1. 'Εφ' ὃ and ἐφ' φτε, on condition that, for the purpose of, take the infinitive, like ὡστε in some of its senses. E.g.

Εἶπεν ὅτι σπείρασθαι βουλευτῶ, ἐφ' ὃ μήτε αὐτὸς τοῖς Ἑλλήνας ἀδικεῖν μήτε ἐκίνους καὶ εἰς τὰς οἰκίας, λαμβάνειν τὸ τάπτθιδα ὅσον δεόμεν. Χεν. Ἀν. iv. 4, 6. Πάν ἄν οὖτος ἠθέλετο τὰ ἄλλαρμα ἀποτερεῖν ἐφ' ὃ κακοβοφόρα εἶναι; Ἰδ. Ἄγ. Ἰν. 1. Ἀφιεμένας, εἵπ τούτῳ μέντοι, ἐφ' φτε μηκέτι φιλοσοφεῖν, on condition that you will no longer be a philosopher. Πλ. Ἀρ. 29 C. Διεθέσεν ἐφ' φτε ἐνεγκραίας νόμους, καθ' οὗτος πολιτεύομεν, for the purpose of compiling laws. Χεν. Ἑλλ. ii. 3, 11. (For πολιτεύομαι, see 574.) Διωμολογήθη αὐτῷ ἀποσταλθῆσαι Αἰθήματι τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκάστου μνᾶς ἐκοστος, ἐφ' φτε ψανηθήσεται τοῖς Ἀρμοσθεύουσιν. Ἀεσχ. iii. 114. (For the future infinitive, see 113.)

2. Herodotus and Thucydides sometimes have ἐφ' ὃ or ἐφ' φτε, on condition that, with the future indicative. E.g.

Ἐνὶ τούτῳ δὲ ὑπεξεσταμαι τῆς αὐξήσις, ἐφ' φτε ὅτι συνεύος ὑμῶν άρξομαι. Ἡδίω δὲ χερσί, Ἰδ. ii. 83. Τοῦτω οὖν πιστὸς ἔως κατήγαγε, ἐφ' ὃ οἱ ἀπόγονοι αὐτοῦ ἱροφάνται τὸν πόλην ἐστίν. Ιδ. vii. 153. Καὶ τῷ Βοιωτίαν ἐξέλπτον Ἀθηναίοι πάσαν, σπουδαὶ ποιησάμενοι ἐφ' ὃ τοὺς ἀνδρας κομίσομεν. Θυκ. i. 113. Ξενόβιοι ἐφ' ὃτε ἔνοικον οὖν Ἐλευθεροπόλει καὶ μηδέποτε ἐπεισημοῦντι αὐτῶς, they made an agreement with the condition that they should depart from Peloponnesus under truce, and never again set foot in it. Ιδ. i. 103.
Temporal Particles signifying Until and Before.

A. ἕως, ὡς, εἰς ὡς OR εἰς ὡς, ἔστε, ἄχρι, μέχρι, UNTIL.

611. All of these words are used also in the sense of while, so long as, and have the constructions of ordinary relative clauses (514). In common with donec, and quoad in Latin, and while or whiles in Elizabethan English,2 they mean not only during the time when, but also up to the time when. As relatives, in the former sense they can have an antecedent like τέως, so long, ἕως etc. meaning as; in the latter sense they can have one like μέχρι τούτου, down to that time, ἕως etc. supplementing this by at which or when. The idea of a clause with until is that the action (or negation) of the leading clause continues to a time at which that of the dependent clause takes place. That the former action then ceases is an inference generally made, but not positively implied in the language, and not necessary. Our word until thus includes what the Greek may express by μέχρι τούτου ἕως or (omitting the antecedent) by ἕως alone.

Τέως is occasionally used like ἕως, as in Dem. xxi. 16.

612. A clause with until referring to an actual past occurrence (613) is simply a temporal clause of this peculiar character, with the construction of a relative clause with a definite antecedent (519). But when it refers to the future, it becomes a conditional relative clause, and μακροχρόνιος ἕως ἄν τὴν πόλιν ἐλω, I shall (continue to) fight to the time at which I shall take the city, has the conditional force which comes from the indefinite antecedent; for even if μέχρι τούτου were inserted here, it would denote no definite period, but only one limited or conditioned by the future capture of the city. The actual apodosis to the condition is not μακροχρόνιος alone, but rather the whole implied idea, I shall go on fighting to the future time, the limit of which is set by ἕως ἄν ἐλω. It has been seen (486; 490) that ordinary conditional clauses may condition not their expressed leading clause, but one which the context implies; as ἐφεξῆς τῶν ἕως ὧς ἤ δις ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔγορ, we are making an alliance, (to be ready) in case any one shall attack us. Again, a conditional clause may refer to an object which is aimed at in the action of the leading verb; as Πάτροκλον ἐφέστε ἔποιη, et κεῖν μου ἔληψ, turn your horses on P., if haply you may take him, i.e. that you may take him, if haply you may (487, 1). In like manner a conditional relative clause with until is

1 In Homer, where the form ἕως would seldom suit the verse, ἕως or ἔως is commonly written.
2 "He shall conceal it whiles (= until) you are willing it shall come to note." Shakespeare, Twelfth Night, iv. 3.
very apt to refer to an object aimed at, and thus to become at once final, relative, and conditional: thus in II. iii. 291 (see 613, 3), it is distinctly implied that the end of the war (τέλος πολέμου) is a condition which is to limit the time of fighting, and also an object at which the fighting aims. The same is true in general of the other forms of conditional relative sentence which the clause with until may take. It will be seen (614, 2) that in the Odyssey ᾫς develops a peculiar force in this direction, which makes it almost a final particle.

613. (ἲως.) 1. When ᾫς, until, refers to a definite past action, it takes the indicative, usually the aorist. 


In the last two examples πρῶτερον and μέχρι τούτου are antecedents of ᾫς, until, as τέωσ often corresponds to ᾫς, while.

2. When a clause with ᾫς, until, refers to a result which was not attained in past time in consequence of the non-fulfilment of a condition, it takes a past tense of the indicative, like a conditional relative clause in a similar case (528). 

Ὑδεῖς ἂν τούτῳ ἐτὶ διελεγόμην, ᾫς αὐτῶ τὴν τοῦ Ἀμφίωνος ἀπεδωκα ρήσων ἀντὶ τῆς τοῦ Ζήθου, I should gladly have continued to talk with him, until I had paid him back Amphion’s speech in return for Zethus’s. Plat. Gorg. 506 B. Οὐκ ἂν ἐπανόμην, ᾫς ἀπετειράθην τῆς σοφίας ταυτηρί. Id. Crat. 396 C. Ἐπισχὼν ἂν, ᾫς οἱ πλείστοι τῶν εἰσθότων γνώνην ἀπεφήναντο, . . . ἦσυχιαν ἂν ἦγον, i.e. I should have waited until most of the regular speakers had declared their opinion, etc. Dem. iv. 1. (For ἂν here, see 223.) So Ar. Pac. 71. In Lys. xxii. 12 we have ᾫς ἐπέληπε after ἐξήρη φαίνεσθαι.

The leading verb must be an indicative with ἂν, or some other form implying the non-fulfilment of a condition. (See 559.)

3. When a clause with ᾫς refers to the future, and depends on a verb of future time (not an optative), ᾫς has ἂν or κέ and the subjunctive, like a conditional relative clause (529). 

Eg.
RELATIVE AND TEMPORAL SENTENCES

4. When a clause with ἕως refers to the future and depends on an optative with ἄν, it generally has the optative (without ἄν) by assimilation, like a conditional relative clause (§ 311).

Ei δὲ πάντων ἄρνοδάξιοι φαγεῖν, εἴποι μὲν ὅτι παρεῖναι μιὰ τοῦτοι, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἄω τὸ παρεῖναι ναρκάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ παρεῖναι ναρκάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτὸν ἁγιάζων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ κατ’ ἑαυτό

5. When the clause introduced by ἕως, until, depends upon a verb denoting a customary or repeated action or a general truth, and refers in a general way to any act or acts of a given class, it takes ἄν and the subjunctive after primary tenses, and the simple optative after secondary tenses. (See § 532.) E.g.

"Α δ’ ἄν αἰῶνατα ἐτείχοι, ἀνάγκη ταῦτα ἢ τὴν πράγματα παρέχων, ἔως ἂν χόρον ὄρος ἔχω, they must always make trouble until they are put in order. XEN. Cyt. iv. 5, 37. Ποιοῦμεν ταῦτ’ ἐκάστοτε, ἔως ἂν αὐτὸν ἔμβαλομεν ἐς κακόν, we always treat him thus, until we cast him into.
614. (Final use of ἔως.) 1. It will be seen by the examples under 613 (see the first under 3 and the first three under 4) that the clause with ἔως very often implies a purpose, the attainment of which is aimed at or expected. When such a clause, implying a purpose which would originally be expressed by a subjunctive, depends on a past tense, it generally takes the optative; but the subjunctive also may be used, to retain the mood in which the purpose would be originally conceived, as in final clauses (318). E.g.

Οὐδὲ γὰρ πόσιος εἰρωνεῖα μέγα δόμα διαμετρεῖ, εἰς ἵκοντο, ναρ δίδα she dare to guard her husband’s great house constantly until he should come. Od. xxiii. 150. Ἡπούχαζε τῷ στράτῳ, ἔως τοὺς Ἀμπρακισταύς δὲοι βοηθεῖν, he kept quiet until it should be necessary to help the Ambraciot. Thuc. iii. 102. (The present optative is rare.) So Lys. xiii. 25. Σπονδάς ἐποίησαντο, ἔως ἀπαγγελθῆτι τά λεχθήνα εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, they made a truce, (to continue) until what had been said should be announced at Sparta. Xen. Hell. iii. 2, 20. (Here ἔως ἂν ἀπαγγελθῇ may have been used, as in the following examples.) Ἐώς δὲ ἂν ταῦτα διαπράξωνται, φυλακὴν καὶ μυθὸν τοὺς φρονοῦς ἐξ μηνοῦ κατέλιπε. Th. v. 3, 25. Ἀλλὰ ἐπιχείν (τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐκέλευσεν) μέχρι τούτου, ἔως ἂν τὸ τείχος ἰκανὸν αἰρωσίν ὅστε ἀπομάχοσθαι, but he bade them detain the ambassadors until they (the Athenians) should be getting their wall high enough to defend. Thuc. i. 90. (Most editors emend αἰρωσίν to the aorist ἀρωσίν, which with ἔως would mean until they should get the wall high enough, the former being less definite and exact in its time, and therefore more appropriate here.)

For the intermediate form of ἔως ἂν with the optative in such sentences, see Soph. Tr. 687, And. i. 81, Isoc. xvii. 15 (in 702).

2. In five passages in the Odyssey ἔως with the optative after a past tense has an unusually strong final force, so that it appears almost like a final particle.

Πέμπε δὲ μὲν πρὸς δόματ’ Ὀδυσσής, ἔως Πηνελόπειαν ὁδυρμενὴν γούσαν παύσῃ εἰς κλαυθμοῖο, she sent her to the house of Ulysses, (to the end) that she might cause Penelope to cease her lamenting. iv. 799. Ὄρστε δ’ ἐπὶ κραυγὴν Βορέην πρὸ δὲ κύματ’ ἐξεν, ἔως ὃ γε Φανέροιος ἐφηγήσετο μυγῆνα, and she roused swift Boreas and broke the waves before them, that Ulysses might come to the oar-loving Phaeacians. v. 385. Μοῦχον ὑπὸ στομάτος ἥλασα πολλῆς, εἰς ἄρμανοτο, I pushed the club under the deep ashes, that it might be heated (to remain until it should be heated). ix. 375. So δώκεν ἐλαῖον, εἰς ἐκτασίας, vi. 79; and ἀρώμενος ἔγει ἵκοντο, xix. 367.

In none of these cases will until express the final force of the clause with ἔως. It appears as if ἔως here began the same course by
which ὄφρα, ὥς, and ὅπως became final particles (312-314), but did not complete the change.

615. ("Ὅφρα.") In epic poetry ὄφρα, until, is used like ἦς.

E.g.

"Ὡς μὲν Θρήκας ἀνάσας ἐπέφερεν Τυκεός νῖος, ὄφρα δειώδείς ἐπεφεύγες, until he had slain Tydían. Π. x. 488. "Ἡρώιδα, ἔμεν, ὄφρα ἀφίκοντο κατὰ στρατόν, ἦ μὲν ἀνάγαια. Π. xii. 329. "Ἡνεκ, ὄφρα μέγα στόχος ἔκτο. Od. v. 57. (See 613, 1.)

'Ἀλλὰ μὲν, ὄφρα κεῖ τοι μελιθέα οἶνον ἐνείκοι, but wait, until I shall bring you honey-sweet wine. Π. vi. 258. Τόφρα δ' ἐπὶ Τρόϊας τίθης κράτος, ὄφρα ἔν τ' Ἀχαιοὶ νῖον ἔμεν τίσωσιν, ὅφελλος ἐν τ' ἔτη. Π. i. 509. So Π. xv. 232. (See 613, 3.)

Νυθεμέρως δ' ἔξωμον, ὄφρα ἐξεμένειει ὅπισερ ἱεροῖ καὶ τρόπιν αὕτης, I clung steadfastly, until she (Charybdis) should vomit forth again the mast and keel. Od. i. 437. (See 614, 1.)

616. (Eis ὃ κε and ἦς ὃ.) Homer uses eis ὃ κε (or eisóke), until, like ἦς κε, with the subjunctive, and once with the optative. Herodotus uses ἦς ὃ and ἦς ὃ, until, like ἦς, with the indicative, and ἦς ὃ ἄν with the subjunctive. E.g.

Μήμετε εἰς ὃ κε ἄστυ μέγα Πριάμου ἐλωμεν, wait until we capture Priam's great city. Π. ii. 331. "Ὑψι δ' ἐπὶ εἰνάν ὄρμοσομεν, eis ὃ κεῖν ἐλαθη βιῶν ἀμβρότητην, and we will now them far out by stones, until divine night shall come. Π. xiv. 77. In Π. xv. 70 we have eis ὃ κ' Ἀχαιοὶ Ἐλων ἐλοίειν, depending on an optative with ἄν (613, 4; 542).

Ὅτοσ' δὲ ἵνα κούστι τε καὶ λόγον εἴη λόγεν, ἦς ἐλαβε τῶν δικην, but he disobeyed and paid no attention to me, until he got his punishment. Hdt. i. 115. "Ὁ Δημάκης ἦν πολλὸς αἰνώμενος, ἦς δ' τούτων καταλέμοσαν βασίλεια σφαῖρα εἶναι. Id. i. 98. So i. 158, 202; v. 92; vi. 75. "Ἁρπαγον τῆς ἐξευρέσεως οὐδὲν ἔλασκον, ἦς οὗ δὴ Δίης ἀνέπρεπε. Id. i. 67. (Many editors change ὅς to ὅς.) In ii. 143, ἦς οὗ ἀπεδέξαν ἄπασας αὐτὰς, until they had shown them all, ἦς οὗ ὅς of the MSS. is generally emended to ἦς ὃ. "Ἀλλὰ αὕτη ἐγὼ τῷ Ἐλληνικῷ παλαῖος, ὅς οὗ ἄν αὐτὸς ἐλθών ἐκεῖνοι ἀπαγαγήσαυτι ἐθέλη, I shall keep them until he comes himself and wishes to take them away. Id. ii. 115.

A singular case of ἦς ὃ occurs in Thuc. v. 66, ἦς ὃ ἐρέμυμηντο, as far back as they remembered (Scho1. μετά τῆς τῶν ἄνθρωπων μνήμην).

617. ("Ἔστε."") "Ἔστε, until, is not found in Homer, but is used like ἦς in tragedy, in Attic prose (especially in Xenophon), and in Herodotus. E.g.

Χρόνον τάδ' ἦν τοσοῦτον, ἦς' ἐν ἄθετοι μέσῳ κατέστη λαμπρὸς ἡλίον κύκλος καὶ καυμ' ἐθάλησεν. Soph. Ant. 415; so El. 753; Aesch. Prom. 467. Ἑξενερέων ἄποινας, ἦς' ἐπὶ ταῖς σκηναῖς ἐγένοντο, they marched away without stopping, until they came to the tents. Xen. Cyr. vii. 6, 6; so An. iii. 4, 49.

Τὴν παροῦσαν ἄντλησα τύχην, ἦς' ἓν Διὸς φρόνημα λαμφήσῃ
χόλου. Aesch. Prom. 375; so 697. "Αφθονον ἐναι τῶν ταλαμανών νόμον, ἄτις ἀν σφαγαί καθαριμάζωσι, it is the law that the murderer shall be speechless until streams of blood have been poured upon him. Id. Eum. 446. Αὐτὸν τῆς μενεῖμεν ἐστὶν ἀν καὶ τελευτῆσθαι. Hdt. vii. 141. Περιέμενε ἐστὶν ἐν ἐνώ ἐλθὼν. Xen. An. v. 1, 4.

1Επιμενεῖα κελεύσατε ἐστε βουλεύσαμεν, ἐδιδόμεν, bidding them wait until they had consulted, they were made sacrifice. Id. An. v. 5, 2. ("Εστὶν ἀν βουλεύονται might have been returned from the direct form, as in the next example.) Ασκήσσατο πιθανότερα αὐτὰ, ἄτις ἀν αὐτὸς ἔλθων λαβών τὰ δώρα, until he should come and take the gifts. Id. Hell. iii. 1, 15. So An. vii. 1, 33; Hdt. viii. 4.

Οὗτο ὁρᾶ εἰς ἁρίστατον, ἀνέμεινεν αὐτοῖς ἐστε ἐμφάγοιεν τι, ὅς μὴ βουλμένω ἀεὶ, he always waited until they had eaten something. Xen. Cyr. viii. 1. 44.

618. ("Αχρι and μέχρι.) "Αχρι and μέχρι, until, are used like ἐως, but chiefly in prose and in later Greek. E.g.

Καὶ ταῦτα ἐποίησεν μέχρι σκότος ἐγένετο, until darkness came on. Xen. An. iv. 2, 4; so iii. 4, 8. Εἰστήκει ταῖς μέχρι ἐως ἐγένετο. Plat. Symp. 220 D.

Μέχρι δὲ ἂν ἐγώ ἤκου, αἰς σπονδαὶ μενόντων, but until I come, let the truce remain. Xen. An. ii. 3, 24; so i. 4, 13. Εἴπε τοῖς προφόλαξι κελεύσαν τοὺς κήρυκας περιμένειν ἄχρι αὐτὸς κακόλασην, to wait until he should find leisure. Ib. i. 3, 2. Μέχρι δὲ τοῦτο ἤδειμεν, μενόμενον παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῦ, but until we see that, we shall remain by ourselves. Hdt. iv. 119 (for the omission of ἂν see 620). Herodotus prefers the form with ὅ (619).

"Αχρι is much less common in this sense than μέχρι. The forms ἄχρις and μέχριος are not used by the best writers.

619. "Αχρι oδ and μέχρι oδ are used like ἄχρι and μέχρι. E.g.

Τῶν δὲ ταίτα προσάνων, ἄχρι oδ οδὲ ἄδικος ἐγραφέτο, Τιγύοφος προσβύτατος ἐν τῶν αἴδελφων τῆς ἁρχῆς ἐγένετο. Xen. Hell. vi. 4, 37. So Cyr. v. 4, 16; Thuc. v. 26; Hdt. i. 187, vii. 60. Τοὺς "Ελλήνας ἀπελύσατο δουλείας, ὅτι ἑλευθέρους εἶναι μέχρι oδ πάλιν αὐτοὶ αὐτοὺς κατεδούλωσιν. Plat. Menex. 245 A.

Παραδίωμει ἑντελεῖμεν θείας μὲν ἢ ἐρμοῦ ὅροι καὶ φιλάντικον ἄχρι oδ τελευτῆσιν, to watch him until he dies. Hdt. i. 117 (see 614). Καταπληθεῖσιν ἐς Τένεδον μέχρι oδ τοὺς "Αθηναίους τον δόξην, until the Athenians shall pass some vote about them (see 620). Thuc. iii. 28.

620. (Omission of ἂν.) "Ἀν is sometimes omitted after ἐως and the other particles meaning until (including πρὶν), when they take the subjunctive. This is most frequent in tragic poetry, but it occurs sometimes with ἂν or ἂν ὅθεν in Herodotus, and with μέχρι and μέχρι (or ἄχρι) oδ in Herodotus and Thucydides. E.g.

Ἔως τὸ χαίρειν καὶ τὸ λατεύειν μάθησι. Soph. Aj. 555. Ἀρρέγετ ἐστιν ἐγώ μελετών. Ib. 1183. So O. C. 77, Tr. 148, Ph. 764. Ἔσοδ ἀποθάνωνῃ ἡ σφή παραπτώθη τι ἀδικόν, μέχρι τοῦτου. Hdt. iii. 31. Μηδένα ἐκβιβάζει μέχρι πλοῦς γένεσιν, that nobody should leave the ship
before she sailed. Thuc. i. 137. Αὐτοῦς ἔσ φιλακὴν διεκόμωσαν, μέχρις ὁ 'Αθήναζε περιφθοῦσιν. Id. iv. 46; see iv. 16 and 41, and iii. 28 (quoted in 619). See also μέχρι ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐδωμεν, Hdt. iv. 119, and ἀρχὴ ὁ τελευτήσῃ. Id. i. 117.

The only case in Homer of this omission of κε or ἀν is the doubtful one, ἔχει κότον ὀφρα τελέσῃ, II. i. 82, where ὀφρα may perhaps be final. (See 468.)

For πρὶν without ἀν with the subjunctive, even in Attic prose, see 648.

B. Πρὶν, BEFORE, UNTIL.¹

Meaning and General Use of πρὶν.

621. Πρὶν was originally a comparative adverb (=πρότερον and παρασ), formed from πρό and meaning before. It appears in the usual adverbial relations; as πρὶν μοι ὑπερχέοτο, he once promised me; πρὶν ἀν, having been of old; ἐν τῷ πρὶν χρόνῳ, in the former time; and it once takes the genitive like a preposition in Pind. Py. iv. 43, πρὶν ὀφρα, before its time. With the infinitive it originally expressed a simple temporal relation, πρὶν ἐλθεῖν being the equivalent of the later πρὸ τοῦ ἐλθεῖν, before going. With the finite moods πρὶν always expresses a limit of time and means until, like ἦν, having become a conjunction, not losing, however, its original meaning of before. From this original comparative meaning, πρὶν has a negative force, implying that something does or does not happen before (i.e. in the absence of) another event; so that οὕτω or μὴ πω with a temporal participle may generally be substituted for πρὶν and the infinitive. Thus, in νάε δὲ Πήδαιον πρὶν ἐλθεῖν νίας Ἀχαιῶ, II. xiii. 172, for πρὶν ἐλθεῖν, before they came, we could substitute οὕτω ἐλθότων, etc. So πρὶν ἀν with the subjunctive is often interchangeable with ἦν μην, and always implies it; thus μην ἀπὸ τῆς πρὶν ἀν ἀκούσῃς, do not depart until you hear, implies ἦν μην ἀκούσῃς, without hearing. One result of this negative character of πρὶν is its strong affinity for the aorist, the tense which denotes simple occurrence. (See Am. Jour. Phil. ii. pp. 466 ff.)

622. In Homeric Greek πρὶν generally takes the primitive construction with the infinitive without regard to the nature of the leading verb. In lyric poetry, Herodotus, and Attic Greek, πρὶν takes the infinitive chiefly when the leading clause is affirmative; otherwise, it takes one of the finite moods, like ἦν, having the sense of until. But, while the indicative may sometimes follow πρὶν, meaning until, when the leading clause is affirmative, the

¹ Geschichtliche Entwicklung der Constructionen mit Πρὶν, von Josef Sturm: Heft 3 of Schanz's Beiträge.
623. The Attic uses of πρῶν with the indicative, subjunctive, and optative, are seen in a primitive stage of development in Homer. The construction of πρῶν itself with the indicative was yet unknown; but four cases of πρῶν γ' διε with the indicative show a tendency in this direction. Six cases of πρῶν (without αν or κε) with the subjunctive and one with the optative (in indirect discourse) mark the beginning of the later usage with these moods. On the other hand, 81 cases of πρῶν with the infinitive show the prevailing Homeric construction. Here, as in all periods of the language, when πρῶν takes the infinitive, we have simply a statement of fact, that one thing precedes another; in νείς ἐς Πήδαυου πρῶν ἐλθεῖν νῖος Λεύκων, and he dwelt in Pedaeum before the coming of the sons of the Greeks, πρῶν ἐλθεῖν implies no more than πρῶν ἀφίζεως or the later πρῶν τοῦ ἔλθεως. Any further idea that may be implied comes from the context, and is not found in the words. This use of πρῶν has little analogy in Greek syntax, its nearest parallel being the later use of ὁστε or ὅσ with the infinitive. The simplest theory, which best suits the Homeric usage, seems to be that πρῶν has a “quasi-prepositional” relation to the infinitive, which is a verbal noun, a relation the same in effect as that of πρῶδο in πρῶδο τοῦ ἔλθεως in the later Attic construction. (See Xen. Mem. ii. 6, 6, and Dem. xix. 73.) A similar use of ἀντι with the infinitive in a few cases in Herodotus (see 803) shows a tendency to go farther in the same direction.

624. The Homeric language was generally contented with the simple πρῶν and the infinitive, even when it was implied that the clause with πρῶν set a limit to the action (or negation) of the leading clause, i.e. when πρῶν could be expressed by until. So in II. xxi. 100, πρῶν Πάτροκλον ἐπιτείναι αὖτιν ἄμμα, τόφρα τι μοι πατονοῦ θαλεῖτεν ἤ καὶ Τρώων, i.e. until the death of Patroclus I preferred to spare the Trojans (which he will no longer do); and xix. 312, ὦ ἀντι θομή πέρπτετο πρῶν πολέμου στόμα δόμενα, i.e. he felt no pleasure until he entered the battle; in both cases the Attic Greek might have used πρῶν with the indicative. So also when the clause with πρῶν is future and conditional; as in II. xix. 423, φώ λέγω πρῶν Τρώως ἀδὲν ἔλασαν πολέμου, I will not stop until I have given the Trojans enough of war. It was in cases like the last, where the more temporal πρῶν ἔλασαν expresses the future condition very imperfectly, that the need of a more exact form was
first felt. The need existed only after negative sentences, as here only could such a future condition be expressed by \(\pi\rho\iota\nu\) consistently with its original meaning before. I shall not cease fighting until (before) I see the end of the war contains a future condition (\(\equiv \eta\nu \mu\eta\)) which \(\pi\rho\iota\nu\) can properly express; but the equivalent affirmative, I shall go on fighting until I see the end of the war, could not be expressed by \(\pi\rho\iota\nu\), as we cannot substitute before for until, but it would require \(\varepsilon\omega\), which is until with no sense of before. The forms of parataxis suggested a simple and natural way of meeting this want, through the adverbial use of \(\pi\rho\iota\nu\). In a sentence like \(\varsigma\delta\varepsilon\mu\nu \alpha\nu\omega\tau\iota\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsiga
intervention of ὅτε, although πρὶν with the subjunctive had become a fixed construction.

The history of the uses of πρὶν after Homer will be found below. (See 627; 632-634; 637; 642; 643; 645.)

Πρὶν WITH THE INFINITIVE.

626. (In Homer.) In Homer the infinitive regularly follows πρὶν after both affirmative and negative sentences, often where the Attic Greek would have the finite moods. E.g.

Ναίε δὲ Πηδαίοιν πρὶν ἔλθείν υἷς 'Αχιῶν. Π. xiii. 172. Τοῦ δὲ ἐφθη ὄρεξάμενος πρὶν αὐτάσαι, οὐδὲ ἀφαίρετον. Π. xvi. 322. Σφών δὲ πρὶν περ τρόμοις ἔλαβο ταῖς γυναῖς, πρὶν πάλαιον ἴδεῖν πολέμοι τε μέρηρα ἔργα, before they saw the war, etc. Π. viii. 452. (See 657.) Φεύγει πρὶν περ ὀμιλον ὅλλοι θῆμεναν ἄνδρον. Π. xv. 588. 'Ἡ κ' ἐπὶ πολλοί γαϊνὸν ὄραξ εἰλον πρὶν Ἱλιον εἰσαφικέσθαι. Π. xxii. 17. 'Αλλὰ οἳ αὐτῷ ζεύς δέλεσι βήν πρὶν ἡμῖν πρωτα ὑπενσαί. Οδ. iv. 668. Αἰθ' ὠφελλ' ἀλλοθ' ὀλόσθαι πρὶν ἐλθεῖν. Οδ. xviii. 402. Οὔ δ' ἀπολύγη μπρὶν χρονὸς ἀνδρομέοι διελθείν. Π. xx. 100. Οὐ λέγω πρὶν Ἰρώμα ἀδήν ἔλασαι τολέμοι. Π. xix. 423. Οὐ μ' ἀποτρέψεις πρὶν χαλκῷ μαχέσῃςβαί. Π. xx. 257. Οὐδ' ὅ γε λοιπὸν ἀπώσει πρὶν γ' ἀπ' πατρὶ φίλῳ δομέναι κοῦρην. Π. i. 97.

In the last three examples the subjunctive would be regular in Attic, and even Homer uses it in a few such cases (639). In Π. xx. 100 πρὶν ἐμφάνεθαν would have been the common Attic form. In the other examples, in which a mere temporal relation is expressed, the infinitive would be required in Attic Greek.

Hesiod has one example (Scut. 40) and the Homeric Hymns one (Ven. 151) of πρὶν with the infinitive, both after negative sentences.

627. (After Homer.) The lyric poets, Herodotus, and the Attic writers use the infinitive after πρὶν chiefly when the leading sentence is affirmative. But the infinitive is always required when πρὶν means simply before, not until. E.g.

Πρὶν ἐκελέσαι κατέβη δόμον 'Αιδώς. ΘΕΟC. 917. Ἡσύμαι ἄμπνεαν πρὶν τι φάμεν, I stand taking breath before I speak. ΠΙΝΔ. Νεμ. viii. 19; so Py. ix. 113. Πρὶν ὅτι παρεῖναι ἐκεῖνον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἡμένις καυρός ἐστὶ προβοηθήσαι ἐς τὴν Βουσιάν, before he comes into Attica, etc. ΗΡΩC. viii. 144. Πρὶν νῦν τὰ πλείον ἄστορείν, ἐκ τῆς ἐδρας ἐξελθον, before seeing further, etc. ΣΟΡΡ. Ο. C. 36. Ἀποτείμησον οὖν αὐτὸν πρὶν ἀκοῦσαί. ΤΙΝοC. ii. 12. So ii. 13, πρὶν ἐσβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικήν. Ἀφίσαν τὰ βέλη πολὺ πρὶν ἐξικνεῖσθαι. ΧΕΝ. Κυρ. iii. 3, 60. Ἡμεῖς τοῖς Μεσογήν ἐπολεομεν πρὶν Πέρσας
628. An infinitive with πρὶν sometimes depends on a negative clause, where a finite mood might be allowed, because the temporal relation is still so prominent as to determine the construction. This may happen when the clause with πρὶν precedes, so that the dependence which until expresses is obscured by the position. E.g.

"Οποιος μὴ πρότερον νυξ ἔσται πρὶν πυθέωται ἄσπατα, i.e. last night should come before they had heard them all. AND. i. 43. Πρὶν τὴν ναυμαχίαν νικήσαι ἡμᾶς, γῆ οὐκ ἦν ἄλλ' ἡ χαρίσιον μικρόν, before we gained the naval victory, he had only a little piece of land (the argument tries to prove that he died poor). LYS. xix. 28. Καὶ μοι μὴ θυροβιζίγη μηδείς πρὶν ἄκοισαι, and let no one interrupt me before he hears (where πρὶν ἄν ἀκοεύθη, until he hears, would suggest the wrong idea). DEM. v. 15. Πρὶν δὲ τοῦτα πράξαι, μὴ σκοπεῖς τὸ εἴπων τὰ βέλτιστα ἀπολύσαι βουλήσεσαι (where the irony of the question would make until absurd). Id. iii. 12: so 13. Πρὶν μὲν γὰρ τούτῳ πράξαι Δεσποτὰν ἀδηλὸν ἦν ὁποίοι τις ὄντες ἐτύγχανον νῦν δὲ πᾶσι φανερόν (where the temporal relation in πρὶν μὲν and νῦν δὲ is the only important one). LYCURG. 135. See also AESCH. Sept. 1048, Αγ. 1067; SOPH. Αj. 1419; ΧΕΝ. ΤΥΡ. iv. 3, 10.

629. The infinitive sometimes follows πρὶν after negative sentences where we might have the optative, which for some reason was not common after πρὶν. E.g.

"Οὐκ ἂν μεθεῖσθαι πρὶν καθ' ἡδονὴν κλέειν, he would not give it up until he should hear (before hearing) what he desired. SOPH. ΤΡ. 197. (We might have πρὶν κλέοι: cf. ΤΡ. 2, οὐκ ἂν αἰῶν ἐκράσω βρωτοῦ, πρὶν ἂν θάνῃ τίς, where πρὶν θάναι might have been used.) So AESCH. Supp. 772. Οὐδ' ἂν διαβουλεύσασθαί ēτι ὡθήν, πρὶν τρίς ἐνέδραμας μεῖναι, until he should wait, etc. ΤΗΘ. viii. 50. Ἡκέτενον μηβαμῶς ἀποτρέψεσθαι, πρὶν ἔμβαλείν εἰς τὴν χώραν, until they should invade
630. There remain some cases of πρίν with the infinitive after negative clauses where the older usage seems to be retained in place of the more exact later use of the indicative or subjunctive. E.g.

Οὐδὲ πρὶς δικαστηρίως οὐδέ βουλευτηρίως ὄφθην οὐδεπόστε, πρὶς ταύτην τὴν συμφορὰν γενέσθαι, i.e. never, until this calamity befell me, Lys. xix. 55. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐκ οἶδα τὴν δὲ ἄραν αἰσθασθαι (τοὺς πονηροὺς) πρὶς κακῶς πιάσαι παρατίνει ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, but since it is not possible to recognise them until somebody is hurt by them (for πρὶς ἐν πάθῃ τίς), Isoc. xx. 14. In such cases the temporal relation seems to exclude the other in the writer's mind.

631. ('Η πρίν.) We sometimes find ἦ πρὶς, than before, with the infinitive, a past verb being understood after ἦ. E.g.

Οἱ πολέμιοι πολὺ μὲν ἐλάττονες εἰσὶν νῦν ἦ πρὶς ἔπτηθηναί, πολὺ δὲ ἐλάττονες ἦ ὅτε ἀπέδρασαν ἡμᾶς, they are much fewer now than (they were) before they were beaten, etc. Xen. Cyr. v. 2, 36. So vii. 5, 77. Παραλαβὼν τὴν πόλιν χειρὸν μὲν φρονοῦσαν ἢ (καὶ εἴρονει) πρὶς κατασχεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν. Isoc. viii. 126.

This ellipsis occurs first in Xenophon.

Πρίν WITH THE INDICATIVE.

632. (Early Poets.) Πρίν with the indicative does not occur in the Iliad or Odyssey, except in πρὶς γ' ὄτε (see 636). The first case of simple πρίν with the indicative is Hymn. Ap. Py. 178, ὅσ τῇ γ' ἀντιάτου, φέρεσκε γέ μιν αὐτον ἡμαρ, πρίν γέ οἱ ἐν εἰς ἑφίκεν Ἀπόλλων, i.e. every one was slain, until Apollo sent an arrow at the monster. Three cases occur in Pindar: Ol. ix. 57, xiii. 65; Nem. iv. 28. The last is the first case of πρίν with the indicative after a negative sentence. These are the only cases before the Attic writers.

633. (Attic Poets.) Aeschylus has one example, after a negative: οὐκ ἦν ἄλεξαμ' οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ φαρμάκων χρέω κατασκεύλητο, πρὶς γ' ἔγω σφιαχτο ἐδείξα κράτεισι ητών ἀκεμάτων, until I showed them, etc., Prom. 479. So likewise Aristophanes: πρότερον δ' οὐκ ἦν γένος ἀθανάτων, πρὶς ἔρως ἐνυφάρκῃ ἀπάντα, Dy. 700. Sophocles has one, after an affirmative: γαρμί δ' ἄνηρ ἄστιν μέγαστος, πρὶς μοι τόχυ τοιούτ' ἐπέστη, until this fortune befell me, O. T. 775. Euripides has seven examples, all (according to Sturm) after affirmatives, as follows:—

Ἐν εἰδώλια δὲ πώς ἐστι, πρὶς δὴ τις ἐφηθέγετο. And. 1146. Ἀφρων νεός τ' ἦρ, πρὶς ἐσείδον οἶνον ἦν, I was a wiseless youth, until I saw, etc. I. A. 489 (where there is a negative force in ἄφρων). Ἀνω-
lālēs, πρὶν γ' δρα, she shouted, until she saw, etc. Med. 1173. (Here the contrast of εἰτ ἤκεν μέγαν κόκυτον in 1176 gives the idea that she did not begin the loud wailing until she saw the foam.) Σπονδαὶ ἠσαν ἵδα, πρὶν Δαρείδης πείθει στρατιάν. Hec. 132. The others are Alc. 128; Rhes. 294, 568.

These are all the cases of πρὶν with the indicative which precede those in prose. It will be seen that the idea of until is always conspicuous, even when the leading verb is affirmative; and in the earlier stages of the construction little regard was paid to the character of the leading sentence. With prose a new and stricter usage begins (634).

634. (Prose.) In Attic prose and in Herodotus, πρὶν, until, referring to a definite past action, regularly takes the indicative after negative sentences or those implying a negative, very rarely after affirmative sentences. E.g.

Οὐτε κω συμβολὴν ἐποιεῖτο πρὶν γε δὴ αὐτοῦ προσταθή ἐγένετο, he did not make an attack until his own day of command came. Hdt. vi. 110. So vi. 79, vii. 239, ix. 22; all with πρὶν γε δὴ. Τοῦτο τοῦ ἔτεος λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιεῖτο πρὶν δὴ ἐπετελέσθη. Id. i. 13. For πρὶν ἦ in Herodotus see 651; and for πρὸτερον ἦ in Herodotus and Thucydides, see 653.

Οδ πρὸτερον ἐπαισάντω ἐν ὀργῇ ἔχοντες αὐτῶν, πρὶν ἔζημισαν χρήματι, they did not cease to regard him with wrath until they fined him. Thuc. ii. 65. Οὔτε ἤξιοι νεώτερον τι ποιεῖν ἐς αὐτῶν, πρὶν γέ δή αὐτῶς ἀνήρ Ἀργεῖδος μηνυτῆς γίγνεται, i.e. until he becomes, etc. Id. i. 132. Οὔτε τότε ἤναι ἰδελε, πρὶν ἦ γυνὴ αὐτῶν ἐπεισε. Xen. An. i. 2, 26. Οδ πρὸτερον ἡθέλεσεν ἀπελθεῖν, πρὶν αὐτῶν ἔζηλασαν βία. Liv. iii. 7. Μαστινίους πολυρρούντες οὖ πρὸτερον ἐπαίσαντο, πρὶν ἐξέβιαυν ἐκ τῆς χώρας. Isoc. xii. 91. (Isocrates has the formula οὐ πρὸτερον ἐπαίσαντο πρὶν with the indicative nine times.) Οὐκ ἦν ἐν θήβαις ἀσφαλές, πρὶν τὴν Βουστίαν ἀπέδωκε καὶ τοὺς Φωκέας ἀνείλλεν. Dem. viii. 65. Πάλιν τούτῳ τέμνον οὐκ ἐπανήκε, πρὶν ἐφέτοιν σκοίον τυ' ἔρωτα ἐλεοίδρησε μάλ' ἐν δύση. Plat. Phædr. 206 A. (This is the only case in Plato; but he has three indicatives in unfilled conditions. See 637.)

635. The only examples in prose of πρὶν with the indicative after strictly affirmative sentences are these three:—

Ἐπὶ πολὺ δεχομον τῆς ἡμέρας πειραμονοι ἄλληλων, πρὶν δὴ Ἀριστην σε θέλει τοῖς ἀρχονταῖς. Thuc. vii. 39. Παραπληθία ἐπάσχον, πρὶν γέ δὴ οἱ Σφρακίσιοι ἐτρεπόντες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ κατεδίωκαν ἐς τὴν γῆν. Id. vii. 71. Προσπολέμει Ἀριστοφάνην, πρὶν αὐτῷ τὴν αὐτήν ταυτήν ἡ πείλησεν ἐπαγγελλάν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ ἣν ὑπέρ ἐγὼ τιμάρχοι ἐπήγγελλα, he continued to attack Aristophan, until A. threatened him before the people with this same kind of summons (to δοκιμασία) which I served on Timarchus. Aesch. i. 64. In these cases the force of until in πρὶν is made especially emphatic by the continuation of the state of things described by the leading imperfects. There seems to
be a feeling implied like that in οὐ πρῶτερον ἐπαίσαντο πρῶν (see Sturm, p. 333).

Sturm cites also Θυκ. i. 51 and 118, iii. 29 and 104, as examples. The first two have actual negatives in the leading sentence; in iii. 29, τοὺς Ἀθηναίους λαυθάνουσι, πρῶν δὴ τῷ Άμφετρῳ ἐσχόν, the idea is that the Athenians did not see them until, etc.; in iii. 104, ὥσπερ τούς ἀγώνας κατελύθη ὑπὸ ἁγματοφορίας, πρῶν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι τότε τὸν ἀγώνα ἐποίησαν, the meaning is, the games were broken up (i.e. were no longer held) until the Athenians renewed them at this time. (See Am. Jour. Phil. ii. p. 469.)

638. Πρῶν γ' ὅτε, until, has the indicative in Homer, after affirmative as well as negative sentences. These cases occur:—

'Επὶ ὦν μάχη τέτατο, πρῶν γ' ὅτε δὴ Ζεὺς κύδος πρῶτερον Ἑκτορὶ δόκειν, the battle hung equally balanced, until (when) Zeus gave higher glory to Hector. Π. xii. 436. Ἡμέθ' ἀντιχρησμα, πρῶν γ' ὅτε δὴ μὲ σῶς νῦν ἀπὸ μυστήριον κάλεσθαι, until your son called me. Οδ. xxiii. 42. Οὐδ' ὦ δ' τοῦ θυμόν ἐπιθυμοῦν, πρῶν γ' ὅτε δὴ ἀλάματος πτώκ' ἐβάλετο, i.e. until the battering began. Π. ii. 587. So in the suspected verses, πρῶν γ' ὅτε ... θάρσον, Od. xiii. 322. For Od. iv. 178, see 637.

Four cases of πρῶν γ' ὅτε δὴ with the indicative are found in the Homeric Hymns: Ap. Del. 49; Cer. 96, 195, 202; after which this strange construction disappears.

637. (Indicative with πρῶν in unfulfilled conditions.) When the clause introduced by πρῶν, until, refers to a result not attained in past time in consequence of the non-fulfilment of some condition, it takes a past tense of the indicative like the corresponding clause with ἄν (613, 2). We find examples only of the aorist indicative after negative sentences:—

'Εχὼν τοὺς ἄλλους μὴ πρῶτερον περὶ τῶν ὁμολογομένων συμβούλευεν, πρῶν περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητομένων ἡμᾶς ἐδίδαξεν, they ought not to have given advice about undisputed matters, until they had instructed us about what is in dispute. Isoc. iv. 19. Χρὴν τοἀν Δεστόν μὴ πρῶτερον τεθέαν τῶν ἐκτιμόν νόμον, πρῶν τούτον ἐλυσε, before he had repealed this one. Dem. xx. 96. Ὁδ' ἄν ἐπεσκεφάλεμεθα πρῶτερον εἶτε διδακτὸν εἶτε οὐ διδακτὸν ἢ ἀρετή, πρῶν δὲ ἔτη πρῶτον ἐξητήσαμεν αὐτῷ, we should not have inquired whether virtue was teachable or not, until we had first asked what it is in itself. Plat. Men. 86 D; so 84 C, and Theae. 165 D.

Besides these five cases in prose, we have the same construction with πρῶν γ' ὅτε δὴ in Od. iv. 178: οὐδὲ κεν ἡμέας ἄλλο διέκρινεν, πρῶν γ' ὅτε δὴ θανάτῳ μέλαν νέφος ἀμφὶ κάλυψεν, nor would ought else have separated us until the black cloud of death had covered us.

For the same construction with πρῶτερον ἡ in Hdt. viii. 93, see 653.
Πρὶν WITH THE SUBJUNCTIVE AND OPTATIVE.

SUBJUNCTIVE.

638. When a clause with πρὶν, until, refers to the future, and depends on a negative clause of future time (not containing an optative), πρὶν takes the subjunctive, like ἕως in a similar case (613, 3).

639. In Homer πρὶν does not take κέ or ἀν with the subjunctive, the form of the original parataxis being still retained (624). The examples of the subjunctive are these:—

Οὐ γὰρ ποι καταδύσωμεν' εἰς Ἀιδὼν δῶμος, πρὶν μόρσιμον ἠμαρ ἐπέλθῃ, we shall not yet descend to the house of Hades, until the fated day shall come. Od. x. 174. (Here, if we insert a colon after δῶμος and take πρὶν as an adverb, sooner than this, we have the paratactic form.) So II. xviii. 135; Od. xiii. 335, xvii. 7. In II. xviii. 190, οὐ με πρὶν γ’ εἰς θερίσσεσθαι, πρὶν γ’ αὐτὴν ἐδώμας, she did not permit me to arm myself until I should see her, the subjunctive of direct discourse (seen in xviii. 135) is retained after a past tense. So II. xxiv. 781. In II. xxi. 580 a similar subjunctive has been changed to the optative (644).

640. Hesiod has two cases of πρὶν with the subjunctive, Th. 222, Op. 738, still without κέ or ἀν as in Homer. Πρὶν ἄν first occurs in THEOG. 963 (see 642).

641. Two cases of πρὶν γ’ ὅτ’ ἄν (used like πρὶν) with the subjunctive occur in the Odyssey. The first is especially instructive, ii. 373: ἀλλ’ ὄμοιον μὴ μπερί φίλη τὰδε μιθησάσθαι, πρὶν γ’ ὅτ’ ἄν ἑσκαίτη τε δωδεκάτη τε γένητα, η αὐτὴν ποθεσαι καὶ ἄφορμηβεντος ἀκοῦσαι, but swear not to tell this to my mother until the eleventh or twelfth day shall come, or (until) she shall miss me and hear of my departure. Here πρὶν first introduces ὅτ’ ἄν γένηται and then the two infinitives, having the same prepositional force with both. But in iv. 746, where the same scene is described, we have ἐμεῦ δ’ ἑλεστ’ ἄρκον, μὴ πρὶν σοι ἐρέειν πρὶν δωδεκάτην γε γενέσθαι η’ αὐτὴν ποθεσαι καὶ ἄφορμηβεντος ἀκοῦσαι, the simpler and more common πρὶν γενέσθαι taking the place of the unwieldy πρὶν γ’ ὅτ’ ἄν γένητα. The other case is iv. 475: οὐ πρὶν μοῖρα φιλος ἰδεῖν, πρὶν γ’ ὅτ’ ἄν Αἰγύπτου ὅποιον ἐλθῃς.

642. After Homer and Hesiod πρὶν ἄν is established as the regular form with the subjunctive. E.g.

Μὴ ποτ’ ἐσπανιάσῃς πρὶν ἄν εἶδης ἀνδρα σαφρεάτως. THEOG. 363 (the earliest case of πρὶν ἄν). Οὐδὲ λήξει πρὶν ἄν Ἦ κορέσῃ κάρῃ ἦ ἐλθῃ τε ἄρχαν. AESCH. Prom. 165. Οὐ γὰρ ποτ’ ἔξει πρὶν ἄν κενας ἕναρχεις δεῦρο μοι στὴρσῃς ἂν, you shall not depart until you bring those girls and place them before my eyes. SOPH. O. C. 909. Οὐ μὴ
CONSTRUCTIONS WITH πρὶν

643. When a clause with πρὶν, until, referring to the future, depends on a negative clause containing an optative in protasis or apodosis, in a wish, or in a final clause, it may have the optative (without ἀν) by assimilation, like a conditional relative clause (613, 4), or it may take the infinitive. These cases of the optative occur:—

Οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἄνδρος νόον οὐδὲ γυναικὸς, πρὶν πειρήσεις, for you cannot know the mind of a man or a woman until you have tested it. Thuc. 125 (the earliest example). Οὔτως ἔγωγι ἄν, πρὶν ἐδοκιμῆσαι ὀρθῶν ἔρωτος, μεμφορέων ἢ καταφαίνω, never would I ascent when men blame him, until I should see the word proved true. Soph. O. T. 505. Μὴ σταύρωσιν πολύκοπτον ὀχμην νάος αὐτῶς, πρὶν τάνδε πρὸς πόλιν ἀνύσει, may his ship of many oars not stop until it makes its way to this city. Id. Tr. 655: so Phil. 961 (both after optative of wish). Παρανίκησον φρουροῖς, ὅπως μὴ βοηθοῖς πρὶν σφόν οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ ἐξενέγωνεν γοιοῖς, they raised signal torches, that the enemy might not come to the rescue until their own men who had gone forth had escaped. Thuc. III. 22. Νομίζοντες οὐκ ἄν ἐτι τῶν Βρασιδάδαν σφών προσαποστῆσαι οἶδεν πρὶν παρασκεύασαι, thinking that B. would not cause any further surrenders of their allies until they had made preparations. Id. IV. 117. So Xen. Hell. ii. 3, 48 (two examples). Οὐκ ἂν πρῶτον ὑμῖν σκέψῃς, πρὶν τὴν βῆσθαι ἐπὶ τῷ κόσμῳ τῆς πόλεως. Plat. Leg. 799 D. Εἰ ἔκοι τὸς αὐτόν, καὶ μὴ ἀνείππρὶ πρὶν ἐξελαύσῃς εἰς τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φῶς, if one should drag him, and not let him go until he had dragged him out into the sunlight. Id. Rep. 515 E.

These are all the cases of this use of the optative with πρὶν cited by Sturm. In many cases where the optative could have been used, the infinitive appears (see 629).

644. The optative with πρὶν is more frequent in indirect discourse after a negative verb of past time, representing a subjunctive of the direct form, which is often retained. (See the corresponding use of ἐκεῖ, 614.) E.g.

Οὐκ ἐθέλειν φεύγειν πρὶν πειρήσασθε· Ἀχιλῆς, he would not fly
until he should try Achilles. II. xxi. 580. (The direct form was πρὶν πειρήσωμαι, and πειρήσηται might have been used here. See II. xviii. 190, in 639.) So Hymn. Cer. 334; Hes. Sent. 18. "Εδέξοι μοι μη στγα, πρὶν φρόσαλμι σοι, τὸν πλαόν ποιεύσαι. Soph. Ph. 551. (In Æ. 742 we have πρὶν τόχη in a similar sentence.) "Εδέξοντο μη ἀπελθεν πρὶν ἀπαγάγοι τὸ στράτευμα (v. l. πρὶν ἀπαγάγῃ). Xen. An. vi. 7, 57. (See ἀπὸν μηδένα τῶν ὄσπον δικαιοῦσι πρὶν ἄν δ' ὀσπόθεν ἠγίται, Cyr. ii. 2, 8.) Ἀπηγόρευε μηδένα βάλλειν, πρὶν Κύρος ἐμπλησθεὶς θηρῶν, until Ocyrus should be satisfied. Id. Cyr. i. 4, 14. "Ἄγονθι οὐδέν οἷοί τ' εἶναι κινεῖν, πρὶν ἔκοσικοι ἐκεῖνοι αὐτοῖς γένοιτο. Isoc. xvi. 5. So Plat. Ap. 36 C, Rep. 402 B, Leg. 678 D.

For the infinitive, often preferred to the optative in such sentences, see 629.

Πρὶν with Subjunctive in General Suppositions.

645. When the clause introduced by πρὶν, until, is generic, and depends on a negative clause of present time expressing customary or repeated action or a general truth, we have πρὶν ἄν with the subjunctive (613, 5).

"Ὅρωσι τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους οῦ πρόσθεν ἀπίστολα γαστρὸς ἑικα, πρὶν ἄν ἄφόσιν οἱ ἀρχινοτε. Xen. Cyr. i. 2, 8. Οὐ γὰρ πρότερον κατῆγορος παρὰ τοὺς ἀκοίνων ἵσχυε, πρὶν ἄν οἱ φειδὼν ἀδυνατής γε τὰς προερημένας αἰτίας ἀπολύσασθαι. Aeschin. ii. 2. Οἴδοτε πῶς ἐπέθετο ἐπέθετο (gnomic) πρότερον τῇ τοῦ δήμου καταλύσαι, πρὶν ἄν μεῖζον τῶν δικαστηρίων ἱσχύσῃ. Id. iii. 235. Οὐ πρότερον παύονται, πρὶν ἄν πείσωσιν οὗτ ἡδίκασθαν. Plat. Phaed. 114 B. So Leg. 968 C.

646. It is doubtful whether the optative was ever used with πρὶν in the corresponding generic sense. In Xen. An. iv. 5, 30, for πρὶν παραθεῖνε the weight of Mss. authority seems to favour πρὶν παραθεῖναι. In II. ix. 488 πρὶν γ' ὄτε δὴ σ' ἄσαμει is of this class.

647. The principle by which πρὶν takes the subjunctive and optative only after negative sentences, or sentences which were felt as negative, seems to have allowed of no exceptions. The two following cases have been cited:—

Ἀδεχρον δ' ἥγεσαι πρότερον παύοσοναι, πρὶν ἄν ἑικεῖς δ' τι ἄν βούλησθε φυλικὴ ἡπόθεν, which is practically equivalent to I refuse to stop until you have voted what you wish, aloudrōn having elsewhere a negative force (see 817). Lys. xxii. 4. "Ὅτε σαν οἷον οἰεταί τοὺς ἀδύους κοσμεῖ τι πράξειν ἄγαθον, πρὶν ἄν τοὺς προστάτας αὐτῶν διαλαλέῃ, λέαν ἀπλοσ ἔξει καὶ πόρρω τῶν πραγμάτων ἐστίν, which amounts to this: nobody but a simpleton thinks that the others will do anything in common until their leaders are united. Isoc. iv. 16. In Simon. Am.
CONSTRUCTIONS WITH \( \pi r i n \)

i. 12, \( \pi r i n \) ἢκαται cannot be correct, as \( \pi r i n \) here does not mean until, but merely before.

648. \( \Pi r i n \), like ἢς, etc. (620), sometimes takes the subjunctive without ἄν, even in Attic Greek. E.g.

Μη στέναξε \( \pi r i n \) μάθης. SOPH. Ph. 917. So Ant. 619, Aj. 742, 965, Tr. 908, 946. Όύκ ἀστιν ὄστις αὐτῶν ἔξωροιται, \( \pi r i n \) γυναῖκες ἤμι τεθη. EUR. Alc. 848. So Or. 1218, 1357. Μη, \( \pi r i n \) γ' ἄκοινιας χαίτιον στάιν μελών. AR. Ran. 1281. So ECCL. 629. See HTR. i. 32, iv. 157, vi. 82. Even in Attic prose the Mss. omit ἄν in some places; as THUC. vi. 10, 29, 38, viii. 9; XEN. Oec. xii. 1, Cyn. iii. 6; AESCHIN. iii. 60; HYPER. EUR. xx. 10 (§ 4); PLAT. Theaet. 169 B, Tim. 57 B; but many editors insert ἄν in all these places on their own responsibility.

649. A few cases of \( \pi r i n \) ἄν with the optative, if the text is sound, are to be explained (like those of ἢς ἄν, 613, 4, end) as indirect discourse in which the direct form had \( \pi r i n \) ἄν with the subjunctive. See XEN. Hell. ii. 4, 18 (quoted in 702).

650. In sentences with \( \pi r i n \) we sometimes have a subjunctive depending on an optative with ἄν, as in conditional relative sentences (556). E.g.

Ὅυ ἄν αἶδών ἐκμάθοις βροτῶν, \( \pi r i n \) ἄν θάνη τίς, you cannot fully understand the life of mortals, until one dies. SOPH. Tr. 2. Όύκ ἄν ἀπέλθοιμι \( \pi r i n \) παντάπασιν ἦ ἄγορα λυθῆ. XEN. Oec. xii. 1. "Ἡ λέγειομεν ἄν τι ἄλληθαι, οὐ μὴν σαφές γε οὐδὲ τέλεων \( \pi r i n \) ἄν (?) καὶ ταύτας αὐτής πάσας περιέλωμεν; PLAT. Polit. 281 D. The leading verb here has merely the effect of a future on the clause with \( \pi r i n \).

\( \Pi r i n \) ἢ, \( \pi r o t e r o n \) ἢ, AND \( \pi a r o s \), IN THE SENSE OF \( \pi r i n \).

651. \( \Pi r i n \) ἢ, sooner than, which is a more developed form of \( \pi r i n \), is found twice in the Iliad with the infinitive; and very frequently in Herodotus with the infinitive (only after past tenses), the indicative, and the subjunctive (without ἄν). E.g.

Οὔ μὴν σφάς \( \gamma' \) όιν \( \pi r i n \) \( \gamma' \) ἀποπαύσασθαι \( \pi r i n \) ἢ ἕτερον γε πεσόντα αἰματος ἄσαι Ἀρρην. ΠΠ. v. 227. The same words occur after \( \pi r i n \) ἢ in xxii. 266. Οὗ δὲ Ἀἰγύπτωι, \( \pi r i n \) μὲν ἢ \( \Psi ιμήτητον \) σφέων βασιλεύσα τινα, ἐνοῦντο πρόποτοι γενόσθαι πάντων ἀνθρώπων. HTR. ii. 2. Πρῖν γὰρ ἢ ὠτόων σφέας ἀναπλώσαται ἐξ τῶν Σάρπων ἡλὼ δ ῎ Κροώκος. Id. i. 78. Οὔ γάρ δὴ \( \pi r o t e r o n \) ἀπαντήσῃ, \( \pi r i n \) ἢ σφας ἐποχερίσθω ἐποιήσατο. Id. vi. 45. ἦνδεικν ἀναπλώσατος \( \pi r i n \) ἢ ἐπετρέκες ἐκμάθη. Id. vii. 10. Οὔ \( \pi r o t e r o n \) παύσωμαι \( \pi r i n \) ἢ ἐλω τε καὶ \( \pi ν ρώσω \) τῶν ᾿Αθήνας. Id. vii. 8.

652. A few cases of \( \pi r i n \) ἢ occur in the Mss. in Attic prose, as in
653. Πρώτερον ἡ is sometimes used like πρῶτον ἡ, in the sense of πρῶτον.

This occurs chiefly with the infinitive in Herodotus and Thucydides, and with the subjunctive in Herodotus. Πρώτερον ἡ with the indicative is sometimes used like πρῶτον, but it more frequently expresses a looser relation between two sentences which are independent in their construction (654). E.g.

(Infin., only after past tenses.) Ταῦτα ἐξαγγέλθη πρώτερον ἡ τὸν Δαυρίνην ἀπεκάλεσε, this was announced before I arrived. Hist. v. 118. Ἡσαν οὖσι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡ Πέρσας ἀρχή, Μήδος κατάκειτο, τότε δὲ Κύρος. Id. i. 72. (Πρώτερα as adj. for πρῶτον): ταῦτα καί τέντε γενέσθαι ἄνδρων πρῶτερα ἐστι ἡ Ἱψικλέα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι γενέσθαι. Id. ii. 44. Ἐπὶ τοὺς πομπᾶς πρῶτερον ἡ ἀισθένει ἁυτῶν εὐθὺς ἐχώρησαν, before they perceived them. Thuc. vii. 58. So i. 69. Besides the cases in Herodotus and Thucydides, a few occur in the orators: see Dem. xxxi. 14, and lv. 14 (πρῶτερον ἡ and πρῶτον together).

(Subj., without ἄν.) Μὴ ἀπαντήσατε ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως πρῶτερον ἡ ἔξελαος. Hist. ix. 86; so ix. 87. In i. 196 we have οὖσι πρῶτον ἂν ἀπεφθαρθη ὡσ τὸ πρῶτον ἡ λα βῶσι. Besides five cases in Herodotus, we have only two cases in Thucydides, Hist. vii. 63, μὴ πρῶτον ἄξον ἀπολυσθῆ ἐπιστρακένθη ἡ ἀπαράξητη, and Ant. Tetr. A. a. 2, οὐ πρῶτον ἐπικηρυκθή ἡ ποιήσωμαι. (Indic.) ὁδὲ ὅσοι ἄφθωσαν (τὴν ἀπαράξητα) πρῶτερον ἡ πρὸ ἐπιθυμίατο Τρηθυνθῶν, until they learned of it. Hist. vii. 175. Οὐ πρῶτον ἐνδοῦ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν σφάει περιστερασίας ἐσφαλαγμα τῶν. Thuc. ii. 65. ὧν τοῦτο ἡ τῶν ἀπόδοσιν πρῶτον ἐπάλησαν ποιήσασθαι ἡ μετὰ πολλῶν ἑξερχόμενον ἐμελλὸν ἑπικυρίευσθαι. Hist. viii. 24 (see the following example). Οὐκ ἐν νομί ἐχόντες ταῦτα τῆς ομήρου ἐπιθυμεῖσθαι, οὐδὲ πρῶτον τὸ σύνθεμα σφα ἐμελλε φαινόσθαι, i.e. nor did they mean to make an attack until the signal was ready to appear to them. Hist. viii. 7. (With πρῶτον we should probably have had πρῶτον ἂν μέλλῃ.) Εἰ ἐμαθηκα, οὐκ ἂν ἐπεκύρισε πρῶτερον ἡ ἐλέος μν ἡ καὶ αὐτοῦ ἡ λω, if he had known it, he would not have stopped until he had either captured her or had been captured himself (indicative in unfulfilled condition). Id. viii. 93.

654. In other cases of πρῶτερον ἡ with the finite moods or the infinitive, there is no meaning of until, and ἡ merely connects two verbs as it does when it follows μάλλον. E.g.

Ἐκέλευ τὸν ἀγγέλον ἀπαγγέλλειν ὧτι πρῶτερον ἡξοι ἡ αὐτοῦ βουλήστηται, he bade the messenger announce that he should come sooner than he wanted him (the direct form being ἦξοι πρῶτερον ἡ βουλήσει). Hist. i. 127. Πολὺ πλείον πλῆθος περιεστήκει βουλομένων προσέπαλε, καὶ πολὺ πρῶτερον ἡ οἱ φίλοι παρῆσαν, i.e. much sooner than his friends arrived. X. C. iii. 5, 41. Πρῶτερον ἂν τὸ μοι δοκεῖ ἐν τῇ ὅρῳ εὑρεῖν ἡ δαίμονες λαβεῖν (i.e. πρῶτερον εὑρεῖ ἂν ἡ
Constructions with πρῶν


So with πρῶσθεν ἢ, which is not used like πρῶν, as πρῶσθεν ἢ σὺ ἐφαίνων, τοὺς ἔκπρασθ’ θυ. SOPH. O. T. 736. See also XEN. An. ii. 1, 10, ἀπεκρινετο ὅτι πρῶσθεν ἢ ἀποθάνοντο ἢ τὴ δολά παραδοιήσαν, they answered, that they would die before they would give up their arms.

655. Thucydides once uses οὔτερον ἢ with the infinitive, after the analogy of πρῶτερον ἢ: πρῶν δὲ ἀναστηθαί, ἔπεευ ἡστερον ἐκατόν ἢ αὐτούς οἰκήσατε, Πάμμιλον πέμψατε Σεληνοῦντα κτίζοντων, before they were removed, and a hundred years after their own settlement, vi. 4.

656. Πάρος, before, which is originally an adverb like πρῶ, is used in Homer with the infinitive, but never with the other moods. E.g.

Τέκνα ἀγρότα κοίλοιο πάρος πετεφα γενέσθαι. Od. xvi. 218. Ἐνθα μὲ κὺρ’ ἀπόφρε, πάρος τάδε ἐργα γενέσθαι. II. vi. 348. Οὐδὲ οἱ ὑπέρ πίπτεν ἐπὶ βλεφάροις πάρος καταλέξει άπαντα. Od. xxiii. 309.

Πάρος with the infinitive occurs twelve times in Homer, always after affirmative sentences (except in Od. xxiii. 309).

Πρῶν (as Adverb), πάρος, πρῶτερον, πρῶσθεν, etc., before πρῶν, in the leading sentence.

657. Homer very frequently has the adverb πρῶν, and occasionally other adverbs of the same meaning, in the clause on which πρῶν with the infinitive or subjunctive depends. E.g.

Μη πρῶν ἐν ἥλιον δώναι, πρῶν μὲ κατὰ προφέρες βαλέειν Πριάμῳ μέλαθρον, may the sun not (sooner) go down before I have thrown to the ground Priam’s palace (the first πρῶν emphasising in advance the idea of the second). II. ii. 413. So II. i. 97, ii. 348, 354, iv. 114; Od. iv. 747; II. ix. 403 (τό πρῶν). Οὐ γὰρ μὲν πρῶσθεν παύσεσθαι οἶο, πρῶν γ’ αὐτόν μὲ διῆται. Od. xvii. 7. So with οὐ γὰρ πω, Od. x. 174.1

658. In Attic Greek πρῶτερον or πρῶσθεν frequently stands in the clause on which πρῶν depends, like the adverb πρῶν in Homer (657). E.g.

Ἀποθνήσκων πρῶτερον πρῶν δήλοι γένεσθαι οἴων ἵσαν. XEN. Cyr. v. 2, 9. Καὶ ἦν πρῶτερον, πρῶν ἔστι τῷ 'Ρόδου αὐτοῦ ἀναστή-

1 See Sturm, pp. 239, 261-263, who calls attention to the decrease of the double πρῶν in the Odyssey. Of 43 cases of πρῶν with the infinitive in the Iliad, 26 have a preceding πρῶν or other adverb; of 30 cases in the Odyssey, only 10 have such an adverb. Besides πρῶν or τὸ πρῶν in the leading clause in Homer, πάρος occurs three times, and πρῶσθεν and πρῶτερον each once. Before πρῶν with the subjunctive in Homer such an adverb is always found, πρῶν twice, ὁπω or μήπω three times, and πρῶσθεν once.
INDIRECT DISCOURSE [659]

659. Other adverbs of time sometimes occur in the leading clause: thus πάροιθεν ... πρὶν, Soph. El. 1131; οὔπω ... πρὶν, Thuc. vii. 71, viii. 9. Πρὶν (used as in Homer) occurs twice in Euripides, and before πρὶν ἦ in Hdt. i. 165. Even πρὸ in composition may refer to a following πρὶν, as προϊσαμένων τὰς ἐκκλησίας πρὶν εἰπὸν· μετὰ τοὺς προσβέσεις, Aesch. ii. 61. See Dem. iv. 41, οὐδὲ πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων προορᾷν οὔδαν, πρὶν ἄν πῦρῃθε.

660. Φθάνω in the leading sentence may emphasise a following πρὶν. E.g.

"Εφθην οἰνήσεις πρὶν σοι κατὰ πάντα διάναι ἡθεα. Theog. 969 (see 887). So II. xvi. 322, ἐφθην ὑδάμαινος πρὶν οὔτως.

661. In Hdt. vi. 108 we find the infinitive depending on φθάνω ... ἦ, the verb implying πρότερον or πρὶν: θαίρετε ἂν πολλάκις ἐξαναστόδισθεντες ἦ τίνα πυθείαν ἢμεν, ye would often be reduced to slavery before any of us heard of it.

SECTION VIII.

Indirect Discourse or Oratio Obliqua, including Indirect Quotations and Questions.

662. The words or thoughts of any person may be quoted either directly or indirectly. A direct quotation is one which gives the exact words of the original speaker or writer. An indirect quotation is one in which the original words conform to the construction of the sentence in which they are quoted. Thus the expression ταῦτα βούλομαι may be quoted either directly (in oratio recta), as λέγει τις "ταῦτα βούλομαι"; or indirectly (in oratio obliqua), as


663. Indirect quotations may be introduced by ὧτι or ὃς and occasionally by other particles (negatively ὦτι οὖ, ὃς οὖ, etc.) with a finite verb; sometimes by the infinitive without a particle; sometimes also by the participle.

1. "Ὅτι, that, was originally the neuter relative ὃ τι, used as a limiting accusative, in respect to which (or what), as to which, how far, etc. In Homer ὅ, neuter of the relative ὃς, is used like ὦτι (709, 1). Thus ὦτι ὃ τι (or ὅ) κακὰ μὴ δέσται at first meant I know as to what he plans evil, or I know about his planning evil, and afterwards came to mean I know that he plans evil.

2. Ὅτι, the relative adverb of manner (312, 1), in this construction originally meant in what manner, how; and afterwards became established in the same sense as ὦτι, that. Compare the German use of wie (how) in narration. How for that is heard in vulgar English (as I told him how I saw this), and how that was once in good use in this sense for that. "Ὅτι is sometimes used like ὃς in indirect discourse (706).

3. By a use similar to that of ὃς (2), ὄνεκα and ὁδοῦνεκα are sometimes weakened from their meaning for which purpose, wherefore, to the same sense as ὦτι and ὃς, that (710, 1). These words are also used in a causal sense, because, like ὦτι, ὅ, and ὃς (712).

On the other hand, διότι, because, sometimes has the sense of ὦτι, that (710, 2).

4. ὅτε, when, in Homer sometimes loses its temporal force, and approaches ὦτι in meaning (709, 3).

664. 1. Indirect quotations with ὦτι, ὃς, etc., form the chief part of the class of substantive sentences, in which an assertion introduced by one of these particles is the subject or the object of a verb. But these sentences have no peculiar construction, except after verbs implying thought or the expression of thought (verba sentiendi et declarandi), as they elsewhere have the simple indicative or any other form which would be used in the corresponding independent assertions. See ὄν ἄλος ὃς ἐκείρετε κτῆμα; ἐμά, εἰ ὦ not enough that you wasted my property? Od. ii. 312; πολὺ κερδίων ἐπιλεπτο ὦτι ὑπὸ δείξεν, Π. xvi. 227; τοῦτο ἀξιόν ἐπανεκιν, ὦτι τὸν φόνον διέλυσαν τὸν Ἑλλήνων (668), Plat. Menex. 241 B; τοῦτ ἀδικεί, ὦτι ἀριέων τὴν ἐπιέκειαν καθό ἵστησιν, Dem. xx. 155.

2. The infinitive of indirect discourse belongs to the large class of subject and object infinitives (745; 746; 751), being distinguished from the others of this class by preserving the time of its tense from the finite verb which it represents (85; 667, 3).1

1 See Schmitt, Ueber den Ursprung des Substantivsatzes mit Relativpartikeln im Griechischen, in Schanz's Beiträge, Heft 8.
665. 1. Indirect questions may be introduced by ei, whether (rarely by ἄρα), and also by interrogative pronouns, pronominal adjectives, and adverbs, and by most relatives. Alternative indirect questions may be introduced by πότερον (πότερα) . . . ἦ, εἰτε . . . εἰτε, εἰ . . . ἦ, εἰ . . . εἰτε, whether . . . or.

'Eδώ or ἦν never means whether (see 493).

2. In Homer single indirect questions (when they are not introduced by interrogatives) generally have ἦ or ei, whether; and alternative questions have ἦ (ἡή) . . . ἦ (ἡή), sometimes ei τε . . . ei τε, whether . . . or.

Bekker never allows ei or εἰ τε in indirect questions in Homer, always writing ἦ or ἦ τε, without regard to the Mss.

3. Indirect questions follow the same principles as indirect quotations with ὅτι or ὅσ, in regard to their moods and tenses. (For examples, see 669.)

666. The term indirect discourse or oratio obliqua includes all clauses which express indirectly the words or thoughts of any person (including those of the speaker himself), after verbs which imply thought or the expression of thought (verba sentiendi et declarandi), and after such expressions as φανερά, it appears, δοκεῖ, it seems, δῆλον ἐστιν, it is evident, σαφῆς ἐστιν, etc.

The term may be further applied to any single dependent clause, in any sentence, which indirectly expresses the thought of any other person than the speaker (or past thoughts of the speaker himself), even when the preceding or following clauses are not in indirect discourse. (See 694 and 684.)

GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF INDIRECT DISCOURSE.

667. The following are the general principles of indirect discourse, the particular applications of which are shown in 669-710.

1. In indirect quotations after ὅτι or ὅσ and in indirect questions,

(a) after primary tenses, each verb retains both the mood and the tense of the direct discourse, no change being made except (when necessary) in the person of the verb;

(b) after secondary tenses, each primary tense of the indicative and each subjunctive of the direct discourse may be either changed to the same tense of the optative or
retained in its original mood and tense. The imperfect and
pluperfect, having no tenses in the optative, are generally
retained in the indicative (but see 673). An aorist
indicative belonging to a dependent clause of the direct
discourse remains unchanged, but one belonging to the
leading clause may be changed to the optative like a
primary tense.

2. Secondary tenses of the indicative expressing an
unreal condition, indicatives with ἄν, and all optatives
(with or without ἄν), are retained, with no change in either
mood or tense, after both primary and secondary tenses.

3. When the quotation depends on a verb which takes
the infinitive or participle, the leading verb of the quotation
is changed to the corresponding tense of the infinitive or
participle, after both primary and secondary tenses, ἄν being
retained if it is in the direct form; and the dependent verbs
follow the preceding rules.

4. The adverb ἄν is never joined with a verb in indirect
discourse unless it stood also in the direct form. On the
other hand, ἄν is never omitted in indirect discourse if
it was used in the direct form; except that, when it is
joined to a relative word or a particle before a subjunctive
in direct discourse, it is regularly dropped when the sub-
junctive is changed to the optative after a past tense in
indirect discourse.

5. The indirect discourse regularly retains the same
negative particle which would be used in the direct form.
But the infinitive and participle sometimes take μὴ in
indirect discourse where ὅ̂̄ would be used in the direct
form. (See examples under 685 and 688.) In indirect
questions introduced by εἰ, whether, and in the second part
of alternative indirect questions (665), μὴ can be used as
well as ὅ̂̄.

668. As an indirect quotation or question is generally the object
or subject of its leading verb, it may stand in apposition with a pronoun
like τούτο which represents such an object or subject; as τοῦτο λέγω-
μεν, ὃν τοιοῦτος ἐστιν, we say this, that he is wise; τοῦτο δὲλον ἐστιν,
ὡς τοιοῦτος ἐστιν, this is plain, that he is wise; τοῦτο σκεφτόμεθα, εἰ
ἀληθῆ λέγεις, we shall inquire into this, whether you tell the truth.
SIMPLE SENTENCES IN INDIRECT DISCOURSE.

Indicative and Optative after ὅτι and ὅσος, and in Indirect Questions.

669. When the direct form is an indicative (without ἂν) in a simple sentence, we have (667, 1) the following rules for indirect quotations after ὅτι or ὅσον and for indirect questions:—

1. After primary tenses the verb stands in the indicative, in the tense of the direct discourse. E.g.

Λέγει ὅτι γράφει, he says that he is writing; λέγει ὅτι ἔγραψεν, he says that he was writing; λέγει ὅτι γέγραψεν, he says that he has written; λέγει ὅτι ἔγραψεν, he says that he wrote; λέγει ὅτι γράψει, he says that he shall write.

Εἰτ' ὅτι οἱ σῶς εἰμί καὶ ἐκ Πύλου εἰλήλογθα, say that I am safe and have come from Pylos. Od. xvi. 131. Ὅτριν δ' Ἀχιλῆς εἶπεν ὅτι μάθεις ἀν καὶ πολὺ φίλτατος ἀλεθῶ ἐς τούτοις, urge him to tell Achilles that his dearest friend perished. Il. xvii. 654. (See 663, 1.) Ἕρων τὸν δὲ ὅσον ἦν ἴδε Τρῶος ἔλευσεν ἐν ἵππῳ ἐφήπτεοι. II. vii. 401.

λέγει γὰρ ὅσον οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἀδικήτουρον φῶς. Aeschyl. i. 125. Οὐ γὰρ ὃν τούτο γ' εἶπος, ὅσον ἔλαβεν. Id. ii. 151. Ἐν δ' ὅτι, ὅτι πλείστον διαφέρει φήμη καὶ συνοφαντία. Πο. 145. Ἀλλ' ἐνεοίκειν χρὴ τούτο μὴ, γνωρίζα ὅτι ἐφύμεν. Soph. Ant. 61. Καὶ ταῦθ' ὅσον ἄληθῆ λέγω, καὶ ὅτι οὖν ἐσόθη ἡ ψῆφος ἐν ἀπασί πλείους τ' ἐγένετο τὸν ψηφισμάτων, μάρτυρας ὡμίν παρέξωραί, I shall bring witnesses to show that I speak the truth, etc. Dem. iv. vii. 14.

(Indirect Questions.) Ἐρωτά τι βούλονται, he asks what they want; ἐρωτά τι ποιήσουσιν, he asks what they will do.

Σὺ δὲ φράσαι εἰ μὲ σαώσεις (Bekker ἡ μὲ), and do you consider whether you will save me. Π. i. 83. Σάν' ὅν οὐκ οἶδεν εἰ θεός ἔστιν. II. v. 183. Ὅφρα καὶ Ἐκτωρ εἴσαται ἡ καὶ ἐμὸν ἀδικεῖται ἐν πολάμμην (v. i. εἰ καὶ). II. viii. 111. Ὅφρα δαώμεν ἡ ἐπέων Κάλλας μαντεύεται ἣν καὶ οὐκ. II. ii. 209; so Od. iv. 487, 712.

ὁς εἰπή δ' τι τόσον ἐχώσατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων, εἰ τ' ἀρ' δ' ὅ εὐχώλης ἐπεμέφεται εἰ θ' ἐκατόμβης (Bekker ἡ τ' . . . ἡ θ'). II. i. 64; see ii. 349. Πιστεῖς ἐρωτῶντες εἰ λιγοταί εἰσιν, asking whether they are pirates. Thuc. i. 5. Ἐγὼ μονονόησε καὶ ἀνεμηγάζει σκότει. Soph. Ant. 41. See Eur. Alc. 784. Εὐβοῖοις δὲν δὲ ἔβλαστεν οὐκ ἔχω λέγει. Soph. Tr. 401. Ἐρωτᾶς εἰ οὐ καλὴ μοι δοκεῖ εἰναι, you ask whether it does not seem to me to be fine. Plat. Gorg. 462 D. Βουλόμενοι ἐρέσθαι εἰ μαθὼν τίς τι μεμνημένος μὴ αἰδέν. Id. Theat. 163 D. Δικτάμενοι εἰ ἤμιν πρέπει ἡ οὐ. Id. Rep. 451 D. Τόποντ' αὐτῷ, εἰ χαῖρεις ἡ μῆ χαῖρεις, ἀνάγκη δὴ ποῦ σε
Simple Sentences in Indirect Discourse 259

ἀγνοεῖν. Id. Phil. 21 B. (For οὐ and μή in the last four examples, representing οὐ of the direct question, see 667, 5.) Θαυμάζω πότερα ὃς κρατῶν αἰτεῖ τὰ ὡς Ἰῆρα διὰ φιλίαν δῶρα. Χεν. An. ii. 1, 10. Σήμαιν ἐθέ ἐχει χαρῶν πρὸς αὐτῶν τόνδε γ' ἀτ' ἀλῆ κυρεῖ. Soph. Ph. 22. Ἐητε κατὰ τρόπον κείται ἐητε μή, οὗτο θεάθαι. Plat. Crat. 425 B (667, 5). See also Χεν. Cyrop. ii. 1, 7 (ἐτε... ἐητε μή); Eur. Alc. 139 (ἐτε... ἐητε). Περὶ πάντων ὠνιον, ὧν ὁνιοι γἰγνεται πάντα. Plat. Phaed. 70 D. ("Ara regularly introduces only direct questions.)

It is to be noticed that indirect questions after primary tenses retain an indicative of the direct question in Greek, where the subjunctive is used in Latin. Thus, nescio quis sit, I know not who he is, in Greek is simply ἀγνοεῖ τις ἔστιν. This does not apply to indirect questions which would require the subjunctive in the direct form (677).

2. After secondary tenses the verb may be either changed to the optative or retained in the indicative, the tense of the direct discourse being retained in either case. The optative is the more common form. E.g.

"Ἐλέξεν ὅτι γράφει, he said that he was writing; i.e. he said γράφω. "Ἐλέξεν ὅτι γράφως εἰ, (or ἐγράφεν), he said that he had written; i.e. he said γέγραφα. "Ἐλέξεν ὅτι γράφει, (or ὅτι γράφει, he said that he should write; i.e. he said γράφω. "Ἐλέξεν ὅτι γράψειν, (or ὅτι ἐγράψειν), he said that he had written; i.e. he said ἐγράψα. (For the imperfect and pluperfect, see 672.)

(Optative.) Ἐνέπλησε φρονήματος τοῖς Ἀρχαίοις, λέγων ὅς μόνος μὲν αὐτὸς πατρίς Πελοπόννησος εἰ, πλέοστον δὲ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν φύλον τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν εἰ, καὶ σωμάτα ἐγκρατέστατα ἔχοι. Χεν. Hell. vii. 1, 23. (He said μόνος μὲν ὡς ἔστιν, πλέοστον δὲ ἔστι, καὶ σωμάτα ἐχει; these indicatives might have been used in the place of εἰ, εἰν, and ἔχον.) "Ἐλεγε δὲ ὅ Πελοπίδας ὅτι Ἀργεῖοι καί Ἀρκάδες μᾶχῃ ἡττημένοι εἰσεν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, i. e. he said that they had been defeated (he said ἡττημένα). Ib. vii. 1, 35. So Ἡρ. i. 83 (perf. and pres.) Ὡς ἔτεον τάλλα ὅτι αὐτὸς τάκει πράξει, ἐχεῖ, having hīned that he would himself attend to affairs there. Θυκ. i. 90. (He said τάκει πράξει, and πράξει might have been retained. See 128.) Ὅ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι ἐσοῦντα (he said ἐσοῦντα). Xen. Cyrop. vii. 2, 19. "Ἐλέξεν ὅτι πέμψει σφρα ὃ Ἰνδῶν βασιλέως, κηλεύων ἐρωτάν ἔστιν ὁ πόλεμος εἰ, they said that the king of the Indians had sent them, commanding them to ask on what account there was war. Ib. ii. 4, 7. (They said ἐπέμψευν ὡμᾶς, and the question to be asked was ἐκ τῶν ἐστίν ὁ πόλεμος.) "Ἐλεγον ὅτι οὐ πῶποθ' ὁποῖος ὁ τοπαρός διαβατός γένεοτο πεττ' εἱ μή τότε, they said that this river had never been (ἐγένετο) fordable except then. Id. An. i. 4, 18. Ἐπεράθη προσγόρευε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὃτι Ἀρχάδας μὲν ὧν ἔδωκεν εἰ, οὐ μεῖντοι ἐπὶ καθ' ἔτι τῶν πόλεως γένεοτο, he announced that A. was his friend, but that he had not been made his friend to the injury of the state. Thuc. ii.
13. (He said) ἔνοια μοι ἐστιν, οὐ μέντοι ἐγένετο. See ii. 16, 1; 124, 1. "Ἐγινασάν ὦν κενός ὁ φῶς ἡ. XEN. An. ii. 2, 21. Προδότης ὁ ἐφεσίοιο τὸ πόλεμος, ἱδού, ὑπελαβεῖν τὴν Ἡλαίαν τρό-καταλαβεῖν. θὐκ. ii. 2. Ἑπειρώμην αὐτῷ δεικνύοντο, ὦ, οὐκ οὐκ οἷον εἰναι σοφὸς, εἰ γὰρ ὅτι. PLAT. Ap. 21 Σ.

(Indicative.) Ἐλεγον ὡς ἔπραξον σὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔχει μοι χάριν, they said that they hoped, etc. isoo. v. 23. (They said ἔπραξον, which might have been changed to ἔπραξον.) "Ἡς δ᾿ ἀγγέλλων ὑς ὡς τοῖς προτειίσθαι ἔτη Ελαίας καταλαβεῖν, αὐτῷ τὸν προτειίσθαι, some one had come with the report that Elaia had been taken. DEM. xviii. 169. (Here the perf. opt. might have been used.) Δενοῦσι λόγους ἐτολμὰ περὶ ἐμὸ λέγειν, ὡς ἔγω τὸ πρῶτος εἰμὶ τοῦτο δεδρακόσις. id. xxi. 104. Ἀιτωσά-μενος χάρι με ὁ καὶ λέγειν ἵνα ὀνήσῃ εἰς τιν, τὸν πατέρα ὥς ἀπέκτων. ἕγω τὸν ἐμαυτῶν, κ.τ.λ. id. xxii. 2. Φανερὸς εἶπεν ὅτι ἡ μὲν πόλις σφῶν παρὼν ἐπείχεται ἢδη, he said that their city had already been fortified. THUC. i. 91. Ἀποκρινάμενοι ὑς τὶ πράσον πρόβεβειν, εἰδὸς ἀπήλλαξεν. id. i. 90. (Cf. ὅτι πράξο, quoted above from the same chapter.) Ἡδεῖσαν ὅτι τοῖς ἀπενεκκόηται αἰκέτας ἐξαιτή-σομεν. DEM. xxx. 23. (Ἐξαιτήσομεν might have been used.) Ἐτολμὰ λέγειν ὡς ἦτε ὑμῶν ἐξερεύνον ἐξαντον εἴλαναι καὶ νῦν ἐν τοῖς ἀσχάτοις ἐστὶν κυριόνοις. id. xxii. 59.

(Indirect Questions.) Ἡρώτησαν αὐτὸν τὶ ποιοῖ εἰς ὅτι ποιεῖ; he asked him what he was doing; i.e. he asked τὶ ποιεῖ; Ἡρώτησαν αὐτὸν τὶ πεποίηκες εἰς ὅτι πεποίηκεν; he asked him what he had done; i.e. he asked τὶ πεποίηκες; Ἡρώτησαν αὐτὸν τὶ ποιήσει; he asked him what he should do; i.e. he asked τὶ ποιήσεις; Ἡρώτησαν αὐτὸν τὶ ποιήσεις; he asked him what he had done; i.e. he asked τὶ ποιήσεις; "Ὥς ἐπειδήμονες μετὰ σὸν κλῆσο, ἣ ποὺ ἐστ' εἰσὶς, i.e. he went to inquire whether you were still living. Od. xiii. 415. Ἀλλὰ λαΐς ἀνίσοντο τῷ εἰς εἰσὶ τῷ πολέμῳ ἐπετειλαν (i.e. τὶς ἐστὶν καὶ πολέμου ἐλαθείον. Od. xvii. 368. "Ἡρετό, εἰ τὰ ἐμόν εἰς σοφότερος, he asked whether any one was wiser than I. PLAT. Ap. 21 Α. (The direct question was ἐστι τὸ σοφότερος;) ὁ τὸ δὲ ποιήσοιν οὐ δηλημένη, but he did not indicate what he would do. XEN. An. ii. 1, 23. (The direct question was τὶ ποιήσοι; Ἔπειρωσα, τίνα δευτέρου μετ' ἐκείνον ἔδω, he asked whom he had seen (who came) next to him. HDT. i. 31. (The direct question was τίνα ἐδείχαν; Ἔρημος κόθεν λάβοι τὸν παιδόν, he asked whence he had received the boy. id. i. 116. Ἡρώτων αὐτὸν εἰ σαν-πλεύσεις ἐξαντον ἐργίμιον, I asked him whether he had set sail with the money. DEM. i. 55. (The direct question was ἄνεπλευσάς; See 125 and 67, b.)

Ἑρημὸς ὅσευ κριτῶν ἢ χρήσεις, he asked what I wanted that I came. Od. xvii. 120. Ἡρώτησον τὶ ποτὲ λέγει, I was uncertain what he meant. PLAT. Ap. 21 Β. (Here λέγει might have been w-ed.) Ἐμβου-λεύσομεν ἀθάντων τῷ αὐτῶν καταλεύσομεν, they were considering whom they should leave here. DEM. xix. 122. Ἐρωτῶν τῶν διὰ τὸ ἄπε-θανεν, παραγγέλλεις ἐκείλανεν, κ.τ.λ. XEN. Hell. ii. 1, 4.
670. (a) After past tenses the indicative and optative are in equally good use; the optative being used when the writer incorporates the quotation entirely into his own sentence, and the indicative when he quotes it in the original words as far as his own construction allows. The indicative here, like the subjunctive in final clauses after past tenses (318), is merely a more vivid form of expression than the optative, with no difference in meaning. We even find both moods in the same sentence. E.g.

Οὕτως ἔλεγον ὅτι Κύρος μὲν τέθνηκεν. Ἀριστο. δὲ πεφευγὼς ἐν τῷ σταθμῷ εἶ ὡς καὶ λέγοι, κ.τ.λ. Χεν. Αν. ii. 1, 3. (Here τέθνηκεν contains the most important part of the message.) Ἕκ δὲ τούτων ἐστιθάνετο ἡδή αὐτῶν καὶ ὅπως ὤμοι διῆλθασαν, καὶ εἰ οἴκοιτο ἡ χώρα. Ηλ. Συγ. iv. 4, 4. Ἐτόλμα λέγειν, ὥσ χραί τε πάμπολλα ἐκτιτκέν ὧπερ ἐμὸν καὶ ὥσ πολλὰ τῶν ἔμων λάβοιεν. Δεμ. xxvii. 49. Ὁρμοίζ ήσαν θαυμάζεαν ὅποι ποτὲ τρέφονται οἱ Ἐλληνες καὶ τι ἐν νῷ ἔχοιεν. Χεν. Αν. iii. 5, 13.

(b) The perfect and future were less familiar than the other tenses of the optative, so that these tenses were sometimes retained in the indicative even when the present or the aorist was changed to the optative. See the last two examples under (a). In indirect questions the aorist indicative was generally retained (see 125). Some writers (as Thucydides) preferred the more direct forms in all indirect discourse (320).

671. In Homer this construction (669) is fully developed in indirect questions: see examples of both indicative and optative in 669, 1 and 2. But in indirect quotations, while the indicative is freely used after both present and past tenses, the change of the indicative to the optative after past tenses had not yet been introduced. In the single case of εἰπεῖν ὡς with the optative, μερεμήριζε... ἐκαστα εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἐλθοὶ καὶ ἐκώτι ἐσεπεῖρα γαϊαν, he hesitated about telling him each event, how he had returned, etc., Od. xxiv. 237, ὡς appears only on its way from its meaning ὡς (663, 2) to its later use with the optative as ὡς. We first find the optative in genuine oratio obliqua (with ὡς) Hymn. Ven. 214, εἰπεῖν ὡς ἐοι. Further, the later principle by which the indicative after past tenses (when it is not changed to the optative) retains the tense of the direct form is almost unknown in the Homeric language. Here a present or perfect indicative of the direct discourse after a past tense is changed to an imperfect or pluperfect; so that I knew that he was planning evil, which in Attic would be ἔγνωκον ὅτι κακὰ μὴδείτο (or μὴδεταί), in Homer is γνώκοιον ὅ (= ὅτι) κακὰ μὴδετο, Od. iii. 166. (For examples, see 674.) The aorist indicative, which has no corresponding tense to express its own time referred to the past, was always retained after past tenses; as in γνώσερ εἰ ὡς ἠλθεῖν, Π. xi. 439; so i. 537, xxii. 445. Likewise the future indicative is once retained, in Od. xiii. 340, γνώσερ εἰ νοστῆσε, I knew that you would return; but elsewhere the past future with
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εμελλων is used, as in Il. xx. 466, οὐδὲ τὸ γῇθον ὅν πεύσονθαι εμελλων, and Od. xix. 94, Ι. xi. 22. These examples show the need of the later future optative (129). In Ι. xxii. 10, οὐδὲ νῦ τῳ με ἔγνωσ ὅσθεὸς εἴμι, and xx. 265 the present expresses a present truth rather than a past fact.

It thus appears that the peculiar constructions with ὅστι and ὅς in oratio obliqua (667, 1, ὅ), which gave such grace and variety to the later language, were not yet developed in Homer; but clauses with ὅστι, ὅς, etc., were still connected with the leading verb by the same looser construction which we use in English (as I knew that he was planning evil), the dependent verb expressing its own absolute time (see 22), as it did in the relative clauses in which these clauses originated, or in the more primitive parataxis. Thus γίγνωσκον ὅ κακα μᾶς ἐπὶ (above) meant originally I knew as to what he was planning evil; and without ὅ, in a still earlier stage, I knew: he was planning evil (which we can say in English). Even after the more thorough incorporation of the dependent clause was established, by which either μᾶνται or μᾶται became the regular form, the more primitive imperfect is occasionally found, even in Attic prose (see 674, 2).

The most common Homeric construction in indirect discourse is that of φημι with the infinitive, of which 150 examples occur.

672. An imperfect or pluperfect of the direct discourse is regularly retained in the indicative, after past tenses, for want of an imperfect or pluperfect optative. E.g.

"Ακούοντο γὰν τὸν Πανομόν έλεγεν ὅτι ὁρθὸς ήπταντο καὶ ἀνδρῆ τὸ ἔργον αὐτως μαρτυροῖη, he said that they had accused him rightly, and that the fact itself bore witness to them; i.e. he said ὁρθὸς ἡπτανθε καὶ τὸ ἔργον ὑπὲρ μαρτυρεῖ. XEN. An. iii. 3, 12. Εἴχε γὰρ λέγειν, καλ ὅτι μόνον τῶν Ἑλλήνων βασιλεί συνεμάχοντο ἐν Πλαταιαί, καὶ ὅτι ἄτερον οὐδέποτε ἀπετεύχαντο ἐπὶ βασιλεία (he said μόνον συνεμαχομέθα, καὶ οὐδέποτε ἀπετευχομεθα). Id. Hell. vii. 1, 34. Τούτων ἐκείνων ἥρμον εἰς τινες εἰς ἡ μαρτυρεῖς ὅν ἑαυτὸν τὴν προίκ' ἀπέδοσαν, αὐτὸν δὲ "Αφρόν, εἰς τινες παρηγοράν ὅτι ἀπελάμβανεν, I asked each of these men whether there were any witnesses before whom they had paid the dowry; and Aphobus, whether there had been any present when he received it. DEM. xxx. 19. (The two questions were εἰς τινες μαρτυρεῖ διαν τινες; and παρηγοράν τινες;)

1 See Schmitt, Ursprung des Substanti satzes, p. 70. The following statistics are based on Schmitt’s collection of Homeric examples. Homer has 40 cases of δετι, δετε, or δ with the indicative after verbs of knowing, perceiving, or remembering (23 of δ, 17 of δετι or δετε); and 4 after verbs of saying (3 of δετι, 1 of δ).
15 of ὅς after verbs of knowing, etc.; 8 after verbs of saying.
5 of δ 'τι (for δ τε = δ) after γράμμω, εἰσομαι, and δήλω.
2 of ὅτι�ακα after verbs of knowing, etc.; 4 after verbs of saying (emitting Od. vii. 299 as causal).

Only 3 of the 16 cases of these particles after verbs of saying are in the Iliad; while of the 65 cases after verbs of knowing, etc., 42 are in the Iliad (29 with δετι, etc., 9 with ὅς, 3 with δ 'τι, 1 with ὅτι�ακα).
673. (Imperfect Optative.) In a few cases, the present optative is used after past tenses to represent the imperfect indicative. The present optative thus supplies the want of an imperfect, like the present infinitive and participle (119 and 140). This can be done only when the context makes it perfectly clear that the optative represents an imperfect, and not a present. E.g.

Τὸν Τιμαγόραν ἀπέκτειναν, κατηγοροῦντο τοῦ Δέοντος ὡς οὔτε συσκήνων ἐθέλοι ἔκαστο μετὰ τε Πελοπίου πάντα βουλεύοντο. Xen. Hell. vii. 1, 38. (The words of Leon were οὐκέτα συσκήνων ἦθελεν μοι, μετά τε Πελ. πάντα ἐβουλεύετο.) Τὰ πεπραγμένα διηγοῦντο, ὡς αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν πολέμων πλέον ἦσαν, τὴν δὲ ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ναυαγῶν προστάσαντες ἀνθράκιν ἱκανοῖς. 1b. i. 7, 5. (The direct discourse was αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐπέλεμεν, τὴν δὲ ἀναίρεσιν προστάσαμεν.) Καὶ μοι πάντες ἀπεκρίναντο, ὡς οὐδεὶς μέρτις παρείχε, κομψίζοντο δὲ λαμβάνων καθ’ ὀποιονδεὶς διότι "Ἀφοβὸς πάρ’ αὐτῶν, οὕτως, οὐδέποτε ἄρησεν, ἐν τούτῳ ὄντων, καὶ τέσσερ’ ἤχοι τε καὶ παρακαλύπτοιτο." Plat. Rep. 439 Ε. (All the optatives represent imperfects.) See also Hdt. ix. 16 (end).

674. 1. In Homer, where clauses with δτι, ὡς, etc. are not yet constructed on the principles of indirect discourse (see 671), a present or perfect of the direct form appears as an imperfect or pluperfect in these clauses after past tenses. E.g.

Οὐκέτα τι γὰρ ὅτι δημιουργοῦσα λαό. 11. xiii. 674 (here the present optative or indicative would be regular in Attic Greek). Ἐπόροσθεν, γεγνώκων δ’ οἳ αὐτῶς ὑπερεχέοις χειρᾶς Ἀπόλλων (later ὑπερέχοις ὑπερέχει). 11. v. 433. Οὐ γάρ οἰ τοις ἠγεῖται ὅτι μαῖνε ἢ μὰς ἔκτοι μιμὶς πυλῶν. 11. xxii. 438. See Od. xxiv. 182; and iii. 166, discussed in 671.

2. We sometimes find the imperfect and pluperfect with δτι or ὡς representing the present or perfect of the direct form after past tenses, even in Attic Greek. In such cases the context always makes it clear that the tense represented is not an imperfect or pluperfect (672). E.g.

Ἐν πολλᾷ ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν οἳ Ἑλληνες, ἐννοοῦμενοι μὲν ὅτι ἐπὶ τᾶς βασιλείας θύρας ἦσαν, κύκλῳ δὲ αὐτοῖς πόλεις πολέμιαι ἦσαν, ἄγορον δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐπὶ παρέξεως ἔμελλεν, ἀπείχον δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐ μεῖν ἡ μῖρα στάδια, ποιοῦντες ἡμεῖς καὶ οἱ ἑβαρδιοὶ, μόνοι δὲ καταλελείμμενοι ἦσαν οὔτε ἰππεα οὐδένα συμμαχοῦ
ἔχοντες, the Greeks thought: We are at the king’s gates; hostile cities surround us; no one will supply us a market; we are not less than ten thousand states from Greece; the barbarians have betrayed us; and we have been left alone. Xen. An. iii. 1, 2. (The direct forms would be the present and perfect indicative.) Διὰ τὸν ἱππομόχον ἐνθρωπων, ὃ ἦμας διεύθυντο, ἐξαπατών καὶ λέγων ὡς φιλαθήματος ἦν καὶ τὰν Σάμων πρώτος κατείποι, ἢ εἰ μὲν φιλαθήματος εἰμὶ καὶ τὰν Σάμων πρώτος κατείποιν. X. An. Vesp. 283. (Here εἰμὶ is changed to ἦν, not to εἰ or ἐστί: κατείποιν could be changed only to κατείποι.)

3. In such cases the more thorough incorporation of the dependent clause which is required to make the oratio obliqua complete is wanting, and the clause stands in the loose relation in which, for example, causal sentences usually stand to their leading verb (see 715). For the same incomplete oratio obliqua in dependent clauses of a quotation, see 691 and 701.

675. 1. An indirect quotation with οτί or ὡς and the optative is sometimes followed by an independent optative, generally introduced by γὰρ, which continues the quotation as if it were itself dependent on the οτί or ὡς. E.g.

"Ἡκονοί δ’ ἵγορε τινων ὡς οἴδε τούς λαμένας καὶ τὰς ἁγορὰς ἔτο οὕσοιεν αὐτῷ καρποῦσαί τας γαρ καυνά τὰ Θεταλῶν ἀπὸ τοῦτων δέοι διαικεῖν, for (as they said) they must administer, etc. Dem. i. 22. 'Απεκρίναντο αὐτῷ ἀδύνατα σφίον εἰ ἐγεί ποιεῖν αἱ προκαλεῖται ἄνεν Ἀθηναίων παῖδες γαρ σφίων καὶ γυναικές παρ’ ἐκεῖνοι εὐχαίρον. Thec. ii. 72. "Ελεγον ὅτι παντὸς ἄξιος λέγοι Σειθῆς: χειμῶν γὰρ εἶ, κ.τ.λ. Xen. An. vii. 3, 13.

2. Such independent optatives are sometimes found even when no optative precedes; but the context always contains some allusion to another's thought or expression. E.g.

"Ὡπίσχετο τὸν ἄνδρ’ Ἀγαλοίς τόνδε δηλάσεκεν ἄγων: οὐκοτα μὲν μάλισθ’ ἐκοῦσιν λαβῶν, εἰ μὴ θέλει εἰς’ ἀκοντα, i.e. he thought (as he said), etc. Soph. Ph. 617. 'Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐδὲ τα ῥαλλόν ἦν ἀθιάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ αἰσθητὸν σῶμα ἐλθεῖν ἀρχὴ ἦν αὐτῆς ἀλλήρων, ὅτερ νόσος· καὶ ταλαιπωρούμενη τε ἄγων τοῦτων τῶν βίων διά, καὶ τελευτῶσα γε ἐν τῷ καλοῦμεν ἐπιατί τοὺς ἀπολλύοντες, and (according to the theory) it lives in misery, etc., and finally perishes in what is called death. Plat. Phaed. 95 D. (Plato is here stating the views of others.)

676. We may even have οτί or ὡς with the optative when the leading verb is not past, if there is an implied reference to some former expression of the thought quoted. E.g.

"Αρ’ οὖν δὴ οὐ μετρίως ἀπολλαγησό μεθα, οτι πρὸς τὸ δὲν περικος εἰ ἐμι ἀμαλλάθαι, καὶ οὐκ ἔπι μένοι, . . . ἀλλ’ ἔσοι καὶ οὐκ ἀμβλὐνώτο ὡς ἀπολλάγοι τοῦ ἰχθώς, κ.τ.λ., i.e. shall we not defend him very properly by stating (what we once said) that it is (was) his nature to press on towards pure Being, etc. (the optatives representing indicatives). Plat. Rep. 490 A.
Subjunctive or Optative representing the Interrogative Subjunctive

677. In indirect questions, after a primary tense, an interrogative subjunctive (287) retains its mood and tense; after a secondary tense, it may be either changed to the same tense of the optative or retained in the subjunctive.

E.g.

Φραζόμεθ᾽... ἢ ἢ' αὖτις τόλεμον ὄρομεν (subj.) ἢ φιλάτητα μετ' ἀμφισβήτης θαλάττω καὶ τὰλλα ἀπόθεν διοικήσω, let us consider whether we shall again ransom or cast friendship upon both armies. I. iv. 14. Σὺ δὲ μοι νηφερτῄς ἐνίστε, ἢ μὲν ἀποκτείνω ἢ τοσί ἐνθάδ᾽ ἐγὼ, and do you tell me truly whether I shall stay him or bring him hither to you. Od. xxii. 166. See Od. xvi. 78, xix. 524. Πρὸς ἀμφότερα ἀπορώ, ταύτην θ᾽ ὅπως ἐκδῶ καὶ τάλλα ἀπόθεν διοικήσω, I am at a loss in both questions, how I shall give her a dowry (τοσὶ ταύτην ἐκδῶ), and how (whence) I shall pay my other expenses (παθέν τάλλα διοικήσω). Dem. xcvii. 66. Βουλεύσομαι δὲ τὸ σε ἀποδώρ, I am trying to think how I shall escape you (πῶς σε ἀποδώρ). Xen. Cyr. i. 4, 13. Οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω, I know not what I shall say. Dem. ix. 54. So in Latin, non habeo quid (or quod) dicam. Οὐκ ἔχω σώφρον ὅπως ἀπολλαγῶ, I have no device (i.e. I know not) how I shall escape. Aesch. Prom. 470. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ δὲ άποροι γε οὐ φίλους ἔχειν τι εἴπης, it is not surely through inexperience that you will declare that you know not what to say (i.e. τι εἴπω); Dem. xix. 120. So ὅ τι δῶ καὶ ὅσι δῶ, Xen. An. i. 7, 7. (See 572.) Ἡδοναδορᾶτο οὐκ οὐδὲ Ἡρακλῆτης τουτὶ δῶ, I do not know whether I shall give them, etc. Id. Cyr. viii. 4, 16. Ἐπαναρομανόν Ἐλευθέρων οὔτε καλέσῃ Δημοσθένην, when Oesiphan asks whether he shall call Demosthenes. Aesch. ii. 202. (For εἰ see 680.)

'Ἐν δὲ οἱ ἄνθρωποί μεριμνεῖν, ἢ τὸ τοῦτον εἰς τὸν ἀναστήσειν, ἢ δὲ Ἀτρείδην ἐναρέιτο, ἢ τὸν κόλον πανίσειν ἐρημώσεις τις θυμάσθω. II. i. 188. (The direct questions were τοῦτον μὲν ἀναστήσει; Ἀτρείδην δὲ ἐναρέιτο; πανίσι εἰς τοὺς ἠρημωσες τῆς θυμάς. The direct questions are τοῦτον μὲν ἀναστήσει; Ἀτρείδην δὲ ἐναρέιτο; πανίσι εἰς τοὺς ἠρημωσες τῆς θυμάς.) Κλάμους πάλλον, ὄποτερος δὴ πρόσθεν ἀφεῖν κάλλεωσιν ἐγχέσιν, i.e. they shook the lots (to decide: which should first throw his spear, the question being πῶς εἰς τούτα τῆς θυμάς. Β. i. 316. Ἔρχομαι προσφεραίτο τι εἰς τὸν Ἀρχιμedes. Hdt. v. 67. Ἀπερρόκτονοι εἰ παραδοῦνειν Κορινθίους τὴν πόλιν, they asked whether they should give up their city, the question being πῶς παραδόμουσιν τὴν πόλιν? Thuc. i. 25. Εσθολούσοι οὖν τὰ σκευοφόρα ἐνταῦθα ἔγοντο ἣν ἀπολούν ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατόπεδου. Xen. An. i. 10, 17: so i. 10, 5. Ἡπόρει δὲ τι χρήσαι τὸ πάρματι, he was at a loss how to act in the matter, i.e. τι χρήσῳμαι? Id. Hell. vii. 4, 39. Οὐ γὰρ εἴχομεν ὅτι, δὲν ὅστε καλῶς πράξαμεν, for we could not see how we should fare well if we did it. Soph. Ant. 270.

'Απορρόκτονος δὲ βασιλέως δὲ τι χρήσῃ ταῖ τὸ παρώντα πρήγματι, Ἐπιστάσθη ὅτι οἱ ἐς λόγους. Hdt. vii. 213. Ἡπόρει μὲν ὅτι
The context must decide whether the optative in an indirect question represents a subjunctive (as here) or an indicative (669). The distinction is especially important with the aorist optative (see 125).

When the leading verb is an optative referring to the future, the optative can be used, by assimilation, to represent the subjunctive in these indirect questions. E.g.

χαίρενα γοῦν πάθοιμι ἂν, εἰ μὴ ἥχοιμι ὅτοι ταῦτα καταθείη, if I should not have anywhere to put these down (know where to put them). Aesch. Eccl. 794. (See other examples under 186.)

680. Ἐδ, whether, can introduce the subjunctive here, as well as the indicative or optative: see Xen. Cyr. viii. 4, 16, and Aesch. iii. 202, quoted in 677. 'Εάν cannot mean whether, and wherever this introduces a subjunctive the expression is conditional. (See 493.)

Indicative or Optative with ἂν.

681. An indicative or optative with ἂν retains its mood and tense (with ἂν) unchanged in indirect discourse with ὅτι or ὧς and in indirect questions, after both primary and secondary tenses. E.g.

Λέγει ὅτι τοῦτο ἄν εἴγενετο, he says that this would have happened: εἴλεγεν ὅτι τοῦτο ἄν εἴγενετο; he said that this would have happened. Λέγει (οὐ εἴλεγεν ὅτι ἔτος δικαίως ἄν θάνοι, he says (or said) that this man would just be put to death.

(Οἰμοστοκλῆς) ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι οὐ ἄν αὐτὸς Σερίφιος ἄν ὄνομαστός εἴγενετο ὅτι ἐκεῖνος Ἀθηναῖος, he replied that he should not have become famous himself if he had been a Seriphian, nor would the other if he had been an Athenian. Plat. Rep. 330 A. Ἐννοεῖτε, ὅτι ἦτον ἄν στάσις εἰ ἐνὸς ἄρχοντος ἦ τολλών. Xen. An. vi. i. 29. Ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι πρῶτον ἄν ἀποθάνοιεν ἦ τὰ ἐπὶ παραδοίησαν. Ib. ii. 1, 10. (The direct discourse was πρῶτον ἄν ἀποθάνοιεν.) Οὐκ ἄν ἐπέλαυνα τὸ ἄν ἐπεξελθοῦν τοὺς αὐτοῖς ἢ μάχην, when they would never have expected that any one would come out to fight with them. Thuc. v. 9. Παρελθοῦν τοῖς δειξάτω, ὡς οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ νῦν οὐκ ἄν ἐλείθυρος γένοιτο ἄρμαν. Dem. ii. 8. Οὔτε εἰδέναι φησί τι ἄν τοῦτο ὤμοι χρίσαιτο, he says he does not even know what he could do to gratify you. Ib. xix. 48. Οὐκ ἐγὼ τίς ἄν γενοῦμαι. Aesch. Prom. 905; so 907. Ἡρώτων εἰ δοῖεν ἄν τούτων τὰ πιστά. Xen. An. iv. 8, 7.

682. The same principle applies when a secondary tense of the indicative without ἂν in the construction of 415 is quoted. E.g.
Infinitive in Indirect Discourse.

683. When the infinitive stands in indirect discourse, its tense represents the corresponding tense of the finite verb in the direct form, the present and perfect including the imperfect and pluperfect. If ἔν was used in the direct form, it must be retained in the quotation, each tense with ἔν representing the corresponding tenses of either indicative or optative with ἔν. E.g.

Φησὶ γράφειν, he says that he is writing; ἔφη γράφειν, he said that he was writing; φησει γράφειν, he will say that he is (then) writing. (He says γράφω.) Φησιν (ἔφη) γράφειν ἄν, εἰ ἔδωκα, he says (or said) that he should now be writing, if he were able. (He says ἔγραφον ἄν.) Φησι (ἔφη) γράφειν ἄν, εἰ ἔδωκα, he says (or said) that he should write, if he should (ever) be able. (He says γράφωμι ἄν.)

Φησι γράφας, he says that he wrote; ἔφη γράψα, he said that he had written; φησε γράψα, he will say that he wrote. (He says ἔγραψα.) Φησι (ἔφη) γράψα ἄν, εἰ ἔδωκεν, he says (or said) that he should have written, if he had been able. (He says ἔγραψα ἄν.) Φησι (ἔφη) γράψα ἄν, εἰ ἔδωκεν, he says (or said) that he should write, if he should (ever) be able. (He says γράψαμι ἄν.)

Φησι (φήσει) γεγραφέναι, he says (or will say) that he has written; ἔφη γεγραφέναι, he said that he had written. (He says γέγραφα.) For the perfect with ἔν, see below and 206.

Φησι (φήσει) γράψειν, he says (or will say) that he will write; ἔφη γράψειν, he said that he would write. (He says γράψω.)

(Present.) Καὶ τέ μὲ φησι ράχιν Τρώεσσων ἐγράψειν. Π. i. 521. Ποὺς δὲ φῆς πολέμου μεθόμενον; Π. i. 351. So II. xvii. 338. Σκύλω ὁ θεὸς τοῦ άνθρωπος, οὕτω δὲ ἔγραψα πάντων ἄθροισιν κεχολοσθαρείν, tell him that the Gods are angry with him and that I am enraged with him beyond all the immortals. II. xxiv. 113. Ἀρρωστείν προφητεύεται, he pretends that he is sick: ἔγραψεν ἀρρωστείν τουτοι, he took his oath that this man was sick. Dem. xix. 134. Οὐκ ἔγραψον ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνον στρατηγεῖν, i.e. Cleon said that not he himself, but Nicias, was general; i.e. he said, οὐκ ἔγραψον ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνος στρατηγεῖν. Thuc. iv. 28. Τίνας οὖν εὐχάς ἵππος βασιλέας ἔγραψεν τοῦ Φιλίππου ἔτ’ ἐπετεινόν; what pray do you suppose Philip made, etc.? Dem. xix. 130. (Εὐχαριστεῖν represents η ἔχεστο: see 119.) Οἶμαι γάρ ἂν οἶκ ἄριστος μοι ἐχεῖν, for I think it would not be a thankless labour; i.e. oǐκ ἄν εχεῖν. Xén. An. ii. 3, 18. Ὁ λαοῦ τὸν πατέρα οὐκ ἄν φιλάττεσθε καὶ τὴν τυχνῆν λαμβάνετε τῶν πολλούς ἐξιστον; do you think that my father would not have taken care and have received the pay for the timber
sold? i.e. οὐκ ἄν ἐφύλαττεν καὶ ἠλμήβανεν; Dem. xlix. 35. (See 205.)

(Aorist.) Οὐδὲ κε φαίης ἀνδρὶ μαχησάμενον τόν γ’ ἐλθέμεν, nor would you say that he came after a battle with a man. Il. iii. 393. Katáσχειν φησὶ τοὺς, he says that he detained them. Τοὺς δ’ αἰχμα-

λάτους οὐδὲ ἐνθυμήθηναι φησὶ λύσωσαι, but he says that he did not even think of rescuing the prisoners. Dem. xix. 39. (He says κατέσχον and οὐδὲ ἐνθυμήθην.) Ο Κύρος λέγεται γενέσθαι Καμβύσεως, Cyrus is said to have been the son of Cambyses. Xen. Cyr. i. 2, 1. Τότε Ἀθηναίοις ἐπιτείχεν οἰσι δὲ ἐπεξελθεῖν καὶ τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἄν περιδεῖν τῷ ἁθηναῖο, he hoped that the Athenians would perhaps march out and not allow their land to be laid waste; i.e. οἰσι δὲ ἐπεξελθοῦν καὶ οὐκ ἄν περιδεῖον. Thuc. ii. 20. Ἀπόθεσαν νομίζοντες μὴ ἄν ἐπὶ ικανοὶ γενέσθαι καλύπτειν τὸν τεχσμὸν. Id. vi. 102. (Here οὐκ ἄν γενο


μεθά would be the direct form: see 685.) So i. 139. Οὐκ ἄν ἤγειρθ’ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπιδραμεῖν, do you not believe that (in that case) he would have run either? i.e. ἐπιδραμεῖν ἄν. Dem. xxvii. 56. (See 223.) A single infinitive with ἄν occurs in Homer: καὶ δ’ ἄν τοὺς ἄλλους ἐφ’ παραμυθήσασθαι, Il. ix. 684. (The direct discourse is given in the words of Achilles in vs. 417, καὶ δ’ ἄν παραμυθήσαμεν.) (See 207.)

(Perfect.) Ψφονέω τετειμήθα ται Διὸς ἀόη, I feel that I have been honoured. Il. ix. 608. Ψφονεῖν αὐτὸς αἰτίων γεγενήθησαί, he says ἀιτίων γεγενήθησαί. Dem. xix. 37. Εἰκασῶν η διώκοντα οἴξεσθαι η καταληψάμενον τι προελθάκεναι. Xen. An. i. 10, 16. (Their thought was η διώκων οἴξεται, η προελθάκεν.) "Εφ’ χρήμαθ’ ἐπὶ πεῖ θεῖαι ἑπικεκμηρυχέναι, he said that the Thebans had offered a reward for him. Dem. xix. 21. "Αὐτέλευν μη δικαίως σφόν καταδείκναθαι, λέγοντες μη ἐπηγγέλθαι πο ή λακεδαίμονα τός στρατός ὅτ’ ἐσπερμάθαν τοὺς ὅπλας, they rejoined that they (the Eleans) had not justly condemned them, saying that the troops had not yet been announced at Sparta when they sent in the soldiers (they said η καταδείκναθαι, and οὐκ ἐπηγγέλθαι ήσαν πο οἱ στρατοῖ ὅτ’ ἐσπερμάθα). Thuc. v. 49. Σο ἐκπεπλήχθαι, representing ἐξεπεπλήκτο, Xen. Cyr. i. 4, 27. (See 123, above.)

(For examples of the perfect infinitive with ἄν, representing the pluperfect indicative and the perfect optative, see 206.)

(Future.) "Εφ’ ζωὸς ἐρπες ἐσασθαι. Il. xxii. 331. So Od. iv. 664. Καὶ μοι ἐπέτειν Μιρμηνόν τόν ἄρματον λείψειν φοῖς ἤμελεν, he told me ὅ ἄρματος . . . λείψει. Il. xviii. 9. Καὶ δὴ μοι γέρος αὐτῶς ἄφαι-

ρήσεσθαι θαύμαισείς. Il. i. 161. "Επαγγέλλεσαι τά δικαία ποιήσειν, he promises to do what is just. Dem. xix. 48. "Εφ’ ἄντος ἤμερῶν ἐκχων, ἦ δέχειν Λακεδαίμονίων ζώντας ἡ αὐτῶς ἀποκτενεῖν, he said that when within twenty days or whether they would bring him alive or kill them where they were. Thuc. iv. 28. (Cleon said ἦ δέχειν ἦ ἀποκτενών.) Ταῦτα (φοροὶ) πεπράξεσθαι διὸν ἦ τριῶν ἤμερῶν, he says that this will have been accomplished within two or three days (137). Dem. xix. 74. (For the rare future infinitive with ἄν, see 208.)
684. The infinitive is said to *stand in indirect discourse* and its tenses correspond to those of the indicative or optative, when it depends on a verb implying thought or the expression of thought (one of the class of *verba sentiendi et declarandi*), and when also the thought, as originally conceived, would have been expressed by some tense of the indicative (with or without ἄν) or optative (with ἄν), so that it can be transferred without change of tense to the infinitive. Thus in βούλετα τε ἔλθεῖν, *he wishes to go*, ἔλθεῖν represents no form of either aorist indicative or aorist optative, and is therefore said to be not in indirect discourse. But in φησίν ἔλθεῖν, *he says that he went*, ἔλθεῖν represents ἔλθον of the direct discourse. The distinction in the time of the infinitive (especially of the aorist infinitive) in these two uses is obvious.

It may be asked why the infinitive after certain other verbs should not be said to stand in indirect discourse; for example, why in κελέω σε ἔλθεῖν or μημ ἔλθεῖν we should not say that ἔλθεῖν represents ἔλθει or μημ ἔλθῃs of direct discourse. This might perhaps be done; and we might possibly make ἔλθεῖν in βούλομαι ἔλθεῖν represent ἔλθομαι, *may I go*. But with other verbs of the same class, as those of advising, teaching, striving, choosing, no form of direct discourse can even be imagined. It is much harder to draw a line between these last verbs and verbs like κελέω and βούλομαι, or even between these two, than where it is drawn above. It is impossible to say where a Greek would have drawn the line, or to be sure that he would have drawn any line at all; for our own use, the usual definition of the infinitive in oratio obliqua (as given above) is certainly the most convenient.

685. (*My with Infinitive.*) The negative particle of the infinitive in indirect discourse is regularly οὐ, which is retained from the direct form (667, 5). But, after certain verbs which belong to the intermediate class between those which take the infinitive in indirect discourse and those which do not (see 136), the infinitive regularly takes μη for its negative. Such are verbs of hoping, promising, and swearing; with those signifying to agree or consent (ὁμολογεῖν), to trust (πιστεῦω), to be persuaded (τεσπειραί), to testify (μαρτυρεῖν). The infinitive occasionally has μη even after the verbs which most regularly take the infinitive with οὐ in indirect discourse, as φησί, λέγω, νομίζω, ἴσον ὅμοιόν, etc. *E.g.*


1 See Liddell and Scott, ed. 7, under μη, B. 5, C; also Gildersleeve in *Am. Jour. Phil.* i. p. 51.
686. With μή and the infinitive in indirect discourse we may compare the rare ὅτι μή with the indicative, which occurs in Θεός. 659, οὐδὲ ὠμόσαι Χρύσος σοι; ὅτι μὴ ποτε πρόγμα τὸ ἐσται, and Αντ. ν. 21, ταῦτα σκοπεῖτε, ὅτι μή προνοία μᾶλλον ἐγγύνετο ἡ τύχη; see also Soph. Ant. 685, ὅπως σὺ μὴ λέγεις ἀρθῆς τὸ τε. Ὅτι μῆ with the indicative became a regular construction in later Greek (as in Lucian). Ὀμόσαι ὅτι μὴ ἐσται in Theognis suggests the still more puzzling cases of μῆ alone with the indicative after oaths in Homer and Aristophanes: ἢτω Ζεὺς, μῆ μὲν τὸς ἐπουσιν ἀνὴρ ἐπιχύρησται ἄλλος, Π. x. 329; ὥστε νῦν τὸ δε γαία ... μῆ δὲ ἐπὶ ἑνὸς ἑυτῆ ποιεῖν δὲν ποίμαίνει τρῶος, Π. x. 36; μὰ τὸν Ἀπολλών μὴ ο' ἐγὼ κατακλίνω χαμαί, Αρ. Λύσ. 917; so Eccl. 1000; μὰ γὰρ, μὰ παγίδας, ... μῆ γὰρ νόμα καμψότερον ἐκουσά πω, Αρ. 194. I have no explanation, even to suggest, of the strange use of μῆ in these last examples.

Participle in Indirect Discourse.

687. When the participle stands in indirect discourse,
it follows the rules already given for the infinitive (683), in regard to its tense and the use of ἀν.  

E.g.

'Αγγέλλει τούτοις ἐρχομένους, he announces that they are coming; ἡγγειε τούτοις ἐρχομένους, he announced that they were coming. (The announcement is ὅσιος ἐρχονται.) 'Αγγέλλει τούτοις ἐλθόντας, he announces that they came; ἡγγείε τούτοις ἐλθόντας, he announced that they had come. (He says ἦλθον.) 'Αγγέλλει τούτοις ἑληλυθότας, he announces that they have come; ἡγγείε τούτοις ἑληλυθότας, he announced that they had come. (He says ἑληλύθα-σιν.) 'Αγγέλλει (ἡγείε) τούτοις γεννησόμενον, he announces (or announced) that this is (or was) about to happen. (He says τούτο γεννήσεται.)

Οὐδ’ ἢρα πά τι ἦδη Πάτροκλον τεθνητόν διὸς 'Αχιλλεύς, nor yet did Achilles have any knowledge that Patroclus was dead. II. xxvii. 402. Γίγνομαι θεοῦ γόνον ἦν ἐοντα. II. vi. 191. Τῆλεμαχος δ’ ἢρα μν πάλαι ἤειον ἐδει οὖν ἐοντα. Od. xxiii. 29: so xviii. 549, 556. Τὸς τέ γὰρ ἐπιξειρήμασιν ἑώρων οὐ κατορθοῦντες καὶ τοὺς στρατιῶτας ἄθρομαν τῇ μονῇ, for they saw that they were not succeeding in their attempts, and that the soldiers were distressed by the delay; i.e. they saw οὐτοὶ κατορθοῦμεν καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἄθρομαν.  

Thuc. vii. 47. Ἐμμοιὸν οὖσα ὑμολογήσαμεν δικαίοις οὕτως; do we abide by what we acknowledged to be just (i.e. δικαία ἐστίν)? PLAT. Crit. 50 A. Πάνθ’ ἔνεκα ἐκαύτων ποιών ἐξελήγεικτα, it has been proved that he is doing everything for his own interest. DEM. ii. 8. Αὐτῷ Κῦρον ἐπιστρατεύοντα πρῶτος ἡγεία, I first announced to him that Cyrus was on his march against him. XEN. An. ii. 3, 19. See SOPH. O. 395.

'Η σάφεια οὖδε νοστήσαντά σε δείρο, whether she is perfectly certain that you have returned hither. Od. xxiv. 404. Ἐπιστάμενοι καὶ τῶν βαρβαρῶν αὐτῶν περὶ αὐτό τὰ πλεῖον σφαλέντα, καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πολλὰ ἡμᾶς ἦθη τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἡ τῇ ἁφ’ ὑμῶν τιμωρίᾳ περιγεγενημένοις (i.e. δ’ βάρβαρος ἐσφόλη, καὶ ἡμεῖς περιγεγενημένηθα). THUC. i. 69. So in the same chapter, τῶν Μύδου αὐτῶν ἠστεν ἐκ πειράτων γῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἑλθόντα, i.e. ὁ Μύδος ἦλθεν. Ἐπειδὴ ἔγνωσαν οὐ μετ’ Ἀθηναίων πρω- χθεῖσαν τὰ τῶν Βοωτῶν χυμαχίαν, ἄλλ’ ἐς διαφορὰν μεγάλην καθεστώτας αὐτοὺς πρὸς τοὺς Δακεδαμιώτας (i.e. οὐκ ἐπάχα θη καὶ καθεστάσεως). Id. v. 44. Ὡ γὰρ ὤδεσαν αὐτῶν τεθνηκότα, for they did not know that he was dead (i.e. τεθνηκέν). XEN. An. i. 10, 16. See ANTI. i. 23; SOPH. TR. 739. Ἐπείδη άυδεν αὖθεν ἄραθες ἀπηγέγελ- κότα ἄλλα φενακίσανθ’ ὑμᾶς, I have shown that he has reported nothing that is true, and that he deceived you (ἀπ’ ἀγέγελκεν καὶ ἐφε- νάκισεν). DEM. xix. 177.

Εἰ εὖ ἦδεν καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν μοι γεννησόμενην, if I were sure that I should obtain an alliance also (i.e. συμμαχία μοι γεννήσεται). Ibid. 40. So XEN. Hell. iv. 7, 3. Ο δ’ ἀντοφείλω ἄμβλατρος, εἶδος οὐκ ἐς χάριν ἄλλ’ ἐς ὀφειλήμα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀποδόσων, knowing that
he shall not return the benefit, etc. (i.e. ὥς ἀποδόσω). THUC. ii. 40. Ὅντες οὖν ἀποκολύσσειν δυνατοὶ ὄντες, οἱ τῇ ἀπομονωθοῦσαι τῆς ἐξερήμου, κινδυνεύσουσι, ποιοῦνται ὁμολογίαν (i.e. οὐτε δυνατοὶ ἐσμεν, οἱ τῇ ἀπομονωθοῦσαι, κινδυνεύσουμεν). 1d. iii. 28.

Εῦ δὲ ἦσθι μηδὲν ἂν με τούτων ἐπιχειρήσαντα σε πείθειν, εἰ δυναστείαν μόνον ἢ πλοῦτον ἐφέρεν εἴ αὐτῶν γενησόμενον. ISOC. v. 133 (μηδὲν ἂν ἐπιχειρήσαντα represents οὐδὲν ἂν ἐπιχειρήσαντα, and γενησόμενον represents γενησόμενον). Εὖ ἦσμεν μὴ ἂν ἣσον ὑμᾶς λυπηροὺς γενομένους (i.e. οὐκ ἂν ἐγένεσθε). THUC. i. 76. Σκοποῦμενος οὖν εὐρίσκον ὑδαίμονα ἂν ἄλλως τούτῳ διαπραξάμενος, I found that I could accomplish this (διαπραξάμενος ἂν) in no other way. ISOC. xv. 7.

"Ὅπως δὲ γε τοὺς πολεμίους δύνασθε κακῶς ποιεῖν, οὐκ ὡσθα μανθάνοντας ὑμᾶς πολλὰς κακουργίας; ἄδει ὦν not know that you learned, etc.? XEN. Cyr. i. 6, 28. (Here δύνασθε and the whole context show that μανθάνοντας represents μανθάνετε.) Μέμνημαι δὲ ἐγωγε καὶ παῖς ἂν Κριτία τοῦτο ξυνόντα σε, I remember that you were with (ξυνήσκα) this Critias. PLAT. Charm. 156 A. (See 140 and the examples.)

See other examples in 904.

688. (Negative μη.) The participle of indirect discourse, like the infinitive, regularly retains the negative οὐ from the direct form. But, as in the case of the infinitive (685), we find many exceptions. Compare ISOC. v. 133 and THUC. i. 76, which have μη̣ after οἶδα, with THUC. ii. 40 and ISOC. xv. 7, which have οἶδα οὐ̣ (all quoted in 687).

See also SOPH. O. C. 656, 797 (οἶδα μη̣), Ph. 79 (εἶδος μη̣), O. C. 1121 (ἐπισταμεν μη̣); EUR. TRO. 970 (δεῖξω μη̣); THUC. ii. 17 (προδος μη̣). Here also the irregularity may be explained by the fixed earlier use of μη̣ in other constructions affecting the later construction of indirect discourse (685).

INDIRECT QUOTATION OF COMPLEX SENTENCES.

689. When a complex sentence is indirectly quoted, its leading verb follows the principles already stated for simple sentences (669-688).

1. If the quotation depends on a primary tense, all the dependent verbs of the original sentence retain the mood and tense of the direct discourse.

2. After a secondary tense, all dependent verbs of the original sentence which stood in the present, perfect, or future indicative, or in any tense of the subjunctive, may either be changed to the same tense of the optative or retain
both the mood and tense of the direct discourse, the optative being the more common form. When the subjunctive is changed to the optative, ἀν is dropped, ἡν, ὅταν, etc., becoming εἰ, ἵνα, etc.

3. But dependent secondary tenses of the indicative and all dependent optatives remain unchanged after all tenses (see, however, 693). *Eg.*

1. (After primary tenses.) "Ἀν δ᾽ ὡμεῖς λέγετε, τοιήσειν (φησί) ὃ μὴ τ᾽ αἰσχύνῃ μὴ τ᾽ ἀδεξίαν αὐτῷ φέρει. Δεμ. xix. 41 (i.e. τοιὴσω, ὃ μὴ τ᾽... ἐμοὶ φέρει). Νομίζω γάρ, ἂν τούτ᾽ ἀκριβῶς μάθητε, μᾶλλον ὡμεῖς τούτοις μὲν ἀπιστήσειν ἐμοὶ δὲ βοηθήσειν. Ιδ. xxx. 25. Ἐὰν ἐκείνο εἴδομεν, ὅτι ἀπανθ' ὡς πιστῶ σ᾽ ἡλπίσαμεν τινι πράξειν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καθ᾽ ἡμῶν εὑρηταὶ, κἂν μὴ νῦν ἐθέλουμεν ἐκεὶ τολμεῖν αὐτῷ, ἐνθὰ ἂς ἀναγκαɛσθησόμεθα τοῦτο ποιεῖν, κ.τ.λ. Ιδ. iv. 50. Προλέγω ὅτι, ὅποτέ ἄν ἀποκρίνηται, ἐξελέγχθησται. Ρελ. Εὐθ. 275 E. See Δεμ. xxi. 66, where two such conditional sentences depend on εἰ προδόθων γένοιτο, and Πι. xiii. 741 (see 178 and 184, above).

"Ὅρω σοι τούτων δεήσον, ὅταν ἐπιθυμήσῃς φιλίαι πρὸς τινας ποιήσαται. Χέν. Μεμ. ii. 6, 29. Παράδειγμα σαφές καταστήσατε, ὅσ ἄν ἀφιστήται, θανάτῳ ζημιωθόμενον. Θισ. iii. 40. See 687.

2. (Optative after secondary tenses.) Ἐδὲ ὅτι ἀνδρὰ ἄγοι ὅν εἰρξαί δεό, ἐδεί, he said that he was bringing a man whom it was necessary to confine, i.e. he said ἄνδρα ἄγω ὃν εἰρξαί δεί. Χέν. Ηελ. v. 4, 8. Ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι μανθάνοιες οἱ μανθάνοντες ἄ νυκ ἐπισταίνοντο, i.e. he replied, μανθάνουσιν ἀ νυκ ἐπιστανταναι. Ρελ. Εὐθ. 276 E. (Here ὅν shows that ᾧ has a definite antecedent, and takes the optative only because it is in indirect discourse. So with ὅν in the preceding example.) Ἀγγέλωσα ἐλεγεν ὅτι, εἰ βλαβήρα πετρα χως εἰ, δίκαιος εἰ, ἤγιος ζημιώθωσα, i.e. he said εἰ βλαβήρα πέπραξε, δίκαιος ἐστιν ἤγιος ζημιώθωσα. Χέν. Ηελ. v. 2, 32. So Αν. ii. 1, 3, iii. 5, 15, vi. 6, 25.

Εἰ δὲ τινα φεύγοντα λύμφοιτο, προηγόρασαν ὅτι ὅσ πολεμώ τρόχω- σεότο. Ιδ. Κυρ. iii. 1, 3. (This is a quotation of εἰ τινα λύμφομαι, χρύσομαι.) Γνώντες δὲ ὅτι, εἰ δώσοιεν εὐθύνας, κινδυνεύοιεν ἀπολεσθαι, πέμποντες καὶ διδάσκοντες τοὺς Θηβαίους ὡς, εἰ μὴ στρα- τεύσουσιν, κινδυνεύσουσι οἱ Ἀρκάδες πάλιν λακωνίας. Ιδ. Ἡελ. vii. 4, 34. "Ἡ δεὶ γὰρ ὅτι, εἰ μάχης ποτὲ δεήσοι εκ τοῦτον αὐτῷ παραστάτας ληπτῶν εἰν. Ιδ. Κυρ. viii. 1, 10. (The direct discourse was εἰ τι δεήσοι, ληπτῶν ἐστιν.)

"Ελογίζωτο ὡς, εἰ μὴ μάχοιτο, ἀποστῆσοντο αἱ περιοκίδες πόλεις. Ιδ. Ηελ. vi. 4, 6. (Ἐὰν μὴ μαχῶμεθα, ἀποστῆσοντοι.) Χρημαθ᾽ ὑπογνεύετο δύσειν, εἰ τοῦ πράγματος αἰτιώντο εἴρ. Δεμ. xxi. 104. Ἀδών, ἐὰν αἰτίαν θέλῃς. Εἰ γὰρ ἄπαν ποιῆσειν αὐτοῦ, εἰ τοὺς ἀργύρων δίδοις. Ισ. xii. 14. Εἴσεραν σωτηρία τούτου εἰς φιλίαν γὴν ἀφίκοιτο. Χέν. Αν. v. 1, 1.
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(The dependent clause is found in the direct form in iii. 2, 9: ὅπεϊ μοι εὑρέσθαι τὸ θεῖο τούτο θύσιν σωτήρια ὅπου ἂν πρῶτον εἰς φιλάν χώραν ἀφικώμεθα.) Touto ἐπραγματεύσετο νομίζων, ὅτα τῆς πόλεως προλάβοι, πάντα ταῦτα βεβαιώς ἔξειν (ὅσ' ἂν προλάβοι, βεβαιώς ἔξειν). DEM. xviii. 26. Ἡ Ἑλπίδος ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων, ἐπείδη τελευτήσειαν τῶν βιῶν, ταφήμεσθαι (ἐπειδῆ τελευτήσωμεν, ταφήμεσθαι). lys. xiii. 45. Κόσμων ἐδίδασκεν ὡς οὕτω μὲν ποιοῦντι πᾶσαι αὐτῷ αἱ πόλεις φιλιάς ἐσοίντο, εἰ δὲ δουλοῦσθαι βουλόμενος ἅνερος ἐσοίντο, ἔλεγεν ὡς μία ἐκάστη πολλὰ πράγματα ἰκανή εἰς παρέξειν, καὶ κάνδυνος εἰς μή καὶ οἱ Ἑλληνες, εἰ ταῦτα αἰσθανότα, συνταχέσαν. XEN. Hell. iv. 8, 2. Εἴπε τε ὅτι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη εἰς τοῦτον ἔλλογον γενόσθαι, εἰπερ εἰς ἡλικιών ἔλθαν (ἀνάγκη ἑστιν, ἐὰν ἔλθῃ). PLAT. Theaes. 142 D. Ἐνόμισε μή ἂν γενόσθαι ποτὲ πιστὸν ἄνθρωπον ὅτι τὸ ἄλλον κλάννοι φιλάγοι τοῦ τῆς φιλανκίας δεομένον, ἦν believed that no man could ever be made faithful who was to love (see 527) any one more than the one needing his guardianship (οὐκ ἂν γένοσθαι εἰ φιλήσητε). XEN. Cyr. vii. 5, 59. Άμοσεν Ἀγασιλάω, εἰ σπείρασατο ἦσον ἔλθον εἰς περίφειρα πρὸς Βασίλεια ἄγγελοις, διαπράξεσθαι, κ.τ.λ. Id. Ag. i. 10. (The oath was εἰν ἐκεῖνοι ἔως ἂν ἔλθοσαν ἄγγελοι οὐς ἂν περίφειρα, διαπράξεμαι.) Even in Homer, Ili. ii. 597, we find stëto γαρ εὐχομένοις μικυστέμεν, εἰ τέρ αὐτοῖς. Μίοις δὲ ἀδίδεοιν, for he promised with a boast that he would be victor, even if the Musestheems should sing. (For eἰ ἂν with the optative, see 460; or ἀδίδεοιν may represent a subjunctive, 692.)

"Εἰτι δὲ γυνῶσκεν ἔφοσαν φθονοῦντας μὲν αὐτοῖς εἰ τι σφῖσιν ἁγάθῳ γίγνοσθαι, ἐφῄδομενοι δ' εἰ τις συμφόρα προσπιεπτότα, they said they knew that they (the Mantinæans) were envious if any good came to them, but pleased if any calamity befell them. XEN. Hell. v. 2, 2. (Φθονεῖτε μὲν εἰς τι ήμιν ἁγάθῳ γίγνεσθαι, ἐφῄδομεν δ' εἰς τις συμφόρα προσπιεπτότα.) Τὴν αἰτίαν, ἢ πρόθεσις ἢ ἐπ' εἴκοσιν ἐλθονα εἰ ταῦτα Xαρίδημος (ἦξεν, ἐὰν τα τάθη Xαρίδημος).

DEM. xxiii. 12.

(Subjunctive and Indicative retained after secondary tenses.)
"Εἶλεν οὖν ὅτι ἄκρα τέ ἐστιν ἐνὸν καὶ αἱ πολέμιοι πολλοί, οἱ παίνουσιν τών ἐνυὸν ἀνδροποίοι, they said that there was a leigh, etc. XEN. An. v. 2, 17. (Here εἶλεν and παίνουσιν might have been used.)

"Εδώκα μοι ταύτη μεταφέρων σωθήσαν, ἐνθυμομένοις ὅτι, ἂν μὲν λάθω, σωθήσωμαι, κ.τ.λ. lys. xii. 18. (Here εἰ λάθωμι, σωθή- σούμει might have been used.) Φάσκων τε, ἥν σωθῆ ὦκάκε, κατὰ γετὸ αὐτῷ διαταλάξεως Ἀθραίους καὶ Δακέδαμον, ἀπέπλευσαν. XEN. Hell. i. 6, 7. (He said ἠν σωθῆ, which might have been changed to εἰς σωθήσην.) Ταλ' ἵματο ἐπέση πράξαι, εἰ εἶδοι ὅτι, εἰ μὲν πασῶν τῶν ἔπιδων ἀποστερηθήσεσθα, ταχεύαν παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν τρωμαίαν κομμείσθησαν. lys. xii. 70. Ἡ τέχνη γενοῦντο αὐτοῖς, ἥν ἐπὶ Ποτα- δαίων ἕστων Ἀθηραίων, εἰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐστάλειν (ἵν ἕστω, ἐσταλ- ὑμέν). TAPP. i. 58. Καὶ όντων ἔφοσαν ἔνας, ἦν μὲν τις αὐτοῖς χρή- ματα δίδωσιν ὅπος ἔστωσιν πάντες μιᾶς, ἄν τοῖς Βαβυλῶνα ἐπικρατεῖ, καὶ τῶν μαθῶν ἔντελη, μέχρι ἀν καταστήσῃ.
to be: ἔθνες ἡ τοιοῦτον. \textit{Xen.}, \textit{An.} i. 4, 12 and 13. ἦσαν ἡμεῖς ἡ δυνάμεις ἡ διαβάλλοντες τῶν Ἐλλήνων, ὡς προδόται ὅταν τιμωρηθήναι. \textit{Ib.} ii. 5, 27. See \textit{Aesch.} iii. 145.

Εἴ δὲ μή, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐφασαν αὐτὸν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀποκτενεῖν ὅσα ἔχουν ἔς, οὕτως, they said, they should themselves kill their men whom they had in their hands alive (ἔχουν might have been used). \textit{Thuc.}, ii. 5. Κατασχίσαν τὰς πύλας ἐφασαν, εἰ μὴ ἐκ νότες ἀναδείχθουσιν. \textit{Xen.}, \textit{An.} vii. 1, 13. (Εἴ μὴ ἀναδείχθουσιν might have been used.) So \textit{Thuc.} i. 137. Αὐτοὶ δὲ τιμωρήσαν δύο ταραττόμενες, ὡς, εἰ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπὶ ἀλλήν πόλιν ἔσαν, ἐκεῖνος καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι πολεμήσαιν εἴ δὲ ἔνθαδε πρῶτον ἀφίξονται, οὐδένας ἀλλούς τολμήσουσιν, κ.τ.λ. \textit{Iren.} ii. 22. Οὐδὲν δὲ φανέρα ἐσθι τῶν χρώματί ήρημον ἐπερίῃ τοιάδει τὸν Ἐλλήνα μὴ συμπεσονθείν τρέφονες. \textit{Aesch.} iii. 71. ὁ πρώτηλος ἤν ἐσόμενοι, εἰ μὴ ὄρεις κολύσθετε, it was manifest that this would be so unless you should prevent it (i.e. ὅταν, εἰ μὴ κολύσθετε). \textit{Id.} iii. 90. (Κολύσθετε might be used; and εἰ μὴ κολύσθετε representing ἐὰν μὴ κολύσθητε is in one Ms.)

3. (Past tenses of Indicative retained after secondary tenses.) Ἐπιστέλλει δὲ σφώνων αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἐφόρους (ἐφασαν) εἰσίν, ὡς δὲν μὲν πρῶτον ἐποίησιν μεμφούντο αὐτοῖς, that the Ephors charged them to say that they blamed them for what they had done before (i.e. δὲν πρῶτον ἐποίησιν ἐποίητε μεμφοῦμεθα ημῖν). \textit{Xen.}, \textit{Hell.} ii. 3, 6.

Ἡμεῖς τοῖς Σικελίοις ταύτης, οὐδὲνέπεσμεν, ἦσαν γεννήτορες, they hoped that the Sikels whom they had sent for would meet them here. \textit{Thuc.} vii. 80. Δέχοντες δὲ τινὲς καὶ ἠκούόμενοι σφαλμακὰς ἀποθανεῖν αὐτῶν, ἀδύνατον νομίσαντας εἶναι ἐπιτελεῖσαι βασιλεῖ οὐκ ἔσχετο, and some say even that he (Themistocles) died a voluntary death by poison, believing that it was impossible to perform for the King what he had promised (ἀδύνατον ἦν ἐπιτελεῖαι οὐκ ἔσχετον). \textit{Ib.} i. 138. Ἀντέλεγον, λέγοντες μὴ ἐπηγγέλθωμεν τις ὑπὸ σπονδάδοι οὕτως ἐσπερμάνοιτος τοῦ ὁπλίτας. \textit{Id.} v. 49. Ἐλεύθερον ὡς Ἐρυθοῦν ὁχοῦσα τῷ Σευθῆν ἡμῖν καὶ ὁ ὄπλος αὐτῶν ἀπολυγάμενος. \textit{Xen.}, \textit{An.} vii. 7, 55. Ἐκαστὸν ἠρώμην, εἰ τινὲς εἶναι μάρτυρες ὡς ἐναντίον τῆς προέκει ἀπεδοσάν (εἰςαί μάρτυρες, ὡς ἐναντίον ἀπεδοτε). \textit{Dem.} xxx. 19.

The aorist indicative is not changed to the aorist optative here, to avoid confusion, as the latter tense in such dependent clauses generally represents the aorist substantive of the direct form. Thus ἔφη ἐν τῷ δῶσειν means he said that he would give whatever he might find (ἀ λέγοντες τῷ δῶσιν); but if ἐν τῷ δῶσει could also represent ἐν τῷ δῶσει, it might also mean he said that he would give what he had found. In the leading clause the ambiguity is confined to indirect questions, in which the aorist indicative is generally retained for the same reason (see 125).

(Past tenses of the Indicative in unreal conditions retained.) Ἐσέβη, εἰ μὴ ἐφάσασαν ἐναντίον τοιοῦτος ἄνδρας, προδοθήκην ἐν τῷ πόλιν. \textit{Thuc.}, vi. 61. (If ἐφάσασαν were optative, it would represent an optative of direct discourse.) Οἴσεις τῷ πατρί, εἰ μὴ Ἰπποθέου ἦν τῷ ἠλισθαί καὶ ἐδέσθη μὴν ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ παρασχεῖν τῷ νεκρῷ, ἐστίν ἐν ποτὲ,
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κ.τ.λ., ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν φιλάττειν καὶ τῆς τιμῆς λαμβάνειν, ἐώς ἐκομίσατο τὰ ἐαυτὸς; DEM. xlix. 35. Τούτων εἰ τι ἦν ἄλθες, οἰςερθ' οὐκ ἦν αὐτὴν λαβέσαι; ID. xxvii. 56. Ἡδόνας ἂν ὑμῶν πυθόμεν, τίν' ἦν ποτὲ γνώμην περὶ ἐμῶν εἴπετε εἰ μὴ ἐπετρεπηράχθη αλλὰ πλέον ὕψομὴν. ID. l. 67.

(=Dependent Optatives retained.) Ἐδέπες ὅτι ἔδωκαν ἀν εἰς λόγον εἰ ὑμᾶς ἐβοήσαν αὐτὸν (he said ἔθεμοι ἂν οἱ ὑμῶν ἐβοήσαν). XEN. Hell. iii. 1, 20. Ἰππον ἂν διὰ τοῦτο τυχόνειν (δοκεῖ μοι), εἰ τι δεόνθε σαρ' αὐτῶν. ID. An. vi. 1, 26. Ἐλεγεν ὅτι οὐκ ἦν ποτὲ προφῆτα, ἐπεὶ ἀπάξειις ἐνεκτις, ὡδ' εἰ ἐτι μὲν μείον γένοιτο ἐτε' δὲ κάκιον πράξεων. 1b. i. 9, 10. Δεινὸν ἂν τι παθέει σαυτὸν ἕλπις, εἰ πῦθοι ϑ' οὐδὲ τα πεπραγμένα σου. DEM. xix. 240.

Sentences such as these are often translated like those which had a future and a dependent subjunctive in the direct discourse. Thus Ἐλεγεν ὅτι χαίροι ἂν εἰ τοῦτο γένοιτο or Ἐλεγε γείρειν ἂν εἰ τοῦτο γένοιτο, as well as Ἐλεγεν ὅτι χαίρησαι εἰ τοῦτο γένοιτο or Ἐλεγεν χαίρησαι εἰ τοῦτο γένοιτο, may all be translated he said that he should rejoice if this should happen; although in the first two sentences the direct discourse was χαίρομι ἂν εἰ τοῦτο γένοιτο, I should rejoice if this should happen, and in the last two, χαίρησαι ἂν τοῦτο γένηται, I shall rejoice if this shall happen. (See 456.)

690. The dependent verbs of a quotation may be changed to the optative in indirect discourse, even when the leading verb retains the indicative; and sometimes (though rarely) a dependent verb retains the subjunctive or indicative, when the leading verb is changed to the optative. This may give rise to a great variety of constructions in the same sentence. E.g.

Δηλώσας ὅτι ἔτοιμοι εἰσὶ μάχεσθαι εἰς τις ἐξέρχοιτο. XEN. Cyp. iv. 1, 1. (Ἐτοιμοὶ εἰσίν ἂν τις ἐξέρχηται.) Ἀυτάνδρος εἰσίν ὅτι παραστάτουσιν ὑμᾶς ἑκοῦ, καὶ ὅτι οὐ περὶ πολιτείας ὑμῶν ἔσται ἀλλ' περὶ σωτηρίας, εἰ μὴ ποιήσατ' ἡ Ὀραμάνθης κελεύει. Lys. xii. 74. (Ἐχω, καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ἂν μὴ ποιήσῃ' ἡ Θεοκλέας. There is no need of the emendations παύσετ' and κελεύει.) Ἐδόκει ὄξουν εἶναι ὅτι αἰρήσονται αὐτῶν εἰς τις ἐπιψυχίοις. XEN. An. vi. 1, 25. Οὐκ ἦγεν Εὐδούλιός ὅτι, εἰ λόγος ἀποδοθήσοιτο καὶ παραγένοιτο μοι πάντες οἱ δυνάται καὶ ἡ ψῆφος δικαιο δοθείη, οὐδεμοῦ γενήσονται οἱ μετὰ τοῦτον συνεντυχοῦτες. DEM. lvi. 16. (Εἰ ἀποδοθήσεται καὶ εἰ παραγένωσι καὶ ψῆφος δοθῇ, οὐδεμοῦ γενήσονται.) Ἀγηγήσαις γνοὺς ὅτι, εἰ μὲν μονετέρῳ συλλήψοιτο, μισθὸν οὐδέτερος λύοτι τοῖς "Ελλησίων, ἄγοραν δὲ οὐδέτερος παρέξει, ὁπότερος τ' ἀν κρατήσῃ, ότους εὐθὺς ἔσται εἰ δὲ τῷ ἔτερῳ συλλήψοιτο, ότους γε ψῆφος ἔστητο, κ.τ.λ. XEN. Ag. ii. 31.

*Ἐλεγεν ὅτι εἰκότα δοκεῖν λέγειν βασιλεῖ, καὶ ἥκοιν ἡγημόνια ἐχοντες, οἱ αὐτῶς, ἦν σπονδαλ γένωται, ἐξένειν εὐθὺς ἔσωσι τὰ ἐπιτεθέν. 1a. An. ii. 3, 6. Ἐπιμένει, τοίοι εἰς τῶν ὄρεων ὧποιον οἱ Χαλδαῖοι καταβοῦντες ληψόνται. ID. Cyp. iii. 2, 1. Ἐλεξάς ὅτι μέγαστον εἰς μαθέαν ὁποὺ δεῖ ἐξεργάζεσθαι ἐκαστα. εἰ δὲ μὴ, οὐδὲ
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tis epimeleias ephothei ophelos oudev gignesthai, ei mny tis epistato ad deii kai os deei parai. Id. Oec. xv. 2.

In Dem. xviii. 148, we have both constructions of 689, 2 in the same sentence: ei mnu toito tow ekiono symmachw eisynghoito tis, ypofeito to pragma enomize pantas an o Athnaios y o toito paron, eisporos lymein. Here ei eisynghoito represents an (=eian) eisynghetai, corresponding to an y. By keeping the subjunctive in the latter case, the expression is made more vivid by contrast.

In Plat. Rep. 337 A we have toitois proilegou, oti eiporneuso ro kai pantasa malloan poysisoi y apokrinio, eis tie serepote, which must mean I warned them that you would dissemble and would do anything rather than answer if anyone should ask you anything. The direct discourse must be eiporneistetai kai pantasa malloan poysisi y apokrineita eian tie s roto (subj.). Eian eipote must have been retained or changed to ei with the optative; and eipote in the text is probably a copyist's mistake for ekrote, a form of the optative frequently found in the Cod. A Parisin. of Plato. See in the Republic 516 A (kathorw), 518 A (gelw), 559 A (meltef), 598 C (eustapw). There is, however, a various reading ekroto in a few Mss. in 337 A.

691. The imperfect or pluperfect sometimes stands irregularly in a dependent (as well as in the leading) clause of the indirect discourse after a secondary tense, to represent a present or perfect indicative, which would regularly be retained or changed to the present or perfect optative. Such clauses are really not included in the indirect discourse. (See 674 ; 701.) E.g.

'Elegon ou kalos twn 'Elladw, eilevethow aiwton, ei anoros die
phtheirene outhe cheiras antiiromenos outhe polemious (ou kalos eilevethois, ei dia phtheires). Thuc. iii. 32. Oute gar tois theois eph
kalos ekein, eis tieis megalois thsias malloan y tieis mikras e
kaiiron (ei cheiropon). Xen. Mem. i. 3. 3. 'Kai eph eini par, eantor oson mny y
anplawmen (oson mny eistein anplawmen). Dem. xvin. 16. 'A
men eilh flw tis polewn apodwskein (hygynw), I thought that he would
give back what he had taken from the city; i.e. eilh fynw apodwskei. Id. xix. 151.

692. In a few cases, a relative or particle which had an with the subjunctive in the direct form irregularly retains an in indirect discourse after a past tense, although the verb has been changed to the optative. This must not be confounded with an belonging to a potential optative (506 ; 557). E.g.

Ouk esto estas oux hgeito tow eidoan dikevw me lypheastai parai
twv, epieidai tachwta anp y einai dokimasthein (so the Mss.).
Dem. xxi. 6. (The direct discourse was epieidai dokimastrh, and the regular indirect form would be epieidai dokimastratein or epieidai dokima
dow.) (See also 702.)

693. When no ambiguity can arise from the change of an aorist indicative to the optative in a dependent clause of the indirect discourse, this tense may follow the general principle. This occurs chiefly in
causal sentences after ὅτι, ἢτεί, etc., because (713), in which the subjunctive can never be used. E.g.

Εἶνε γὰρ λέγειν ὡς Ἀρκεδαμόνων διὰ τοῦτο πολεμήσεις αὐτοῦ, ὅτι μὲν ἔδει λέγεσθαι ἄρα Ἀργουσιῶν ἠλθείν ἐκ αὐτῶν οὐδὲ θύσαι ἔσεσθαι αὐτὸν ἐν Λήξει. Ἑκ. Ηλλ. vii. 1, 34. (The direct discourse was ἑπολέμησαν ἦμιν, ὅτι οὐκ ἤθελέσθαι ἠλθεῖν οὐδὲ θύσαι εἰλάσαμεν αὐτῶν.) Ἀττικής (ἀρετή) ὡς ἀναστάτων μὲν εἰς ἐφροσύνην ὅτε τοῦ ἀδελφού ἀποτάμοι τήν κεφαλήν, σοφότατον δὲ ὅτι τοὺς φυλάκους καταμεθύσας καταλύσει τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ κρεμά- μενον τῶν νόμων. Ἡμ. ii. 121. Here ὅτι καταλύσατε represents ὅτι κατέλυσα, because I took down; ὅτε ἀποτάμοι (so the MSS.) might also be understood in a causal sense, since he had cut off, although in the sense of when he cut off it could not be ambiguous here. Madvig, however, reads ὅτι in both clauses. See Ἑκ. Mem. i. 4, 19 (quoted in 714). (See also 700, and the examples.)

SINGLE DEPENDENT CLAUSES IN INDIRECT DISCOURSE.

694. 1. The principles which govern dependent clauses of indirect discourse (689) apply also to all dependent clauses in sentences of every kind (even when what precedes is not in indirect discourse), if such clauses express indirectly the past thought of any person, even that of the speaker himself. This affects the construction only when the leading verb is past; then the dependent clause may either take the optative, in the tense in which the thought was originally conceived, or retain both the mood and the tense of the direct discourse. When a subjunctive is changed to an optative, ἄν is dropped.

2. Secondary tenses of the indicative here (as in 689, 3) regularly remain unchanged. But an aorist indicative sometimes becomes optative when no ambiguity can result from the change (see 693): this may occur in causal sentences (699 and 714) and in the relative sentences of 700.

The principle of 694 applies to the following constructions:—

695. 1. Clauses depending on the infinitive which follows verbs of wishing, commanding, advising, and others which imply thought but do not take the infinitive in indirect discourse (684). E.g.

Ἐθελοῦσαν ἠλθεῖν εἰ τοῦτο γένηται, they wished to go if this should happen. (Here the original expression of the thought would be βουλό-μεθα ἠλθεῖν εἰ πρό τοῦτο γένηται, and therefore εἰ πρὸ γένηται might be
retd.) Ταῦταν δὲ καὶ Γεωργίαν ἐκέλευσαν δὲ τι δύνασθο λαβόντας μεταδώκειν καὶ όσίς εἰδή τασ ἐπομένας ἄγελας, εἰπε τούτῳ καὶ ὅμα προβάτα πολλὰ ἄλαθεν ὅτι δὲν αὐτῶν πυθανέται ὑπα, ὡς ἐπιφαγεῖν. Χειρ. Συν. vii. 3, 7. (Here ὃ τι δύνασθο represents δὲ τι ἄν δύνασθε, while ὅτι δὲν πυθανέται represents ὅτι ἄν πυθανέται.) Ἐβοῦλον γὰρ σφόν, εἰ τινα λάβοιεν, ὑπάρχειν ἀντὶ τῶν εἴδων, ἢν ἄρα τῶν οὐκ έπειτε ἐγκαρπήσουσιν, for they wished that, if they should capture any one, he might be a hostage for their friends within the city, in case any should chance to have been taken prisoners (ἂν λάβομεν, and ἂν τῶξοι). Θύκ. ii. 5. Οἱ δὲ ἀλλοτί Θηραύνοι, τινες εἰς παραγενέσθαι εἰ τι μὴ προχωροῦν μὴ ἐπελθοῦσιν, ἐπεβοήθουσιν, who were to come up ὃς ἄνθρωπος should go wrong with those who had entered the city (ἂν τι μὴ προχωρῇ). Ibid.

Προέτοιμοι αὐτοίς μὴ ναυμαχεῖν Κορινθίους, ἢν μὴ ἑτί Κέρκυραν πλέοισι καὶ μέλλωσιν ἀποβαίνειν. Ιδ. i. 48. Καὶ παραγεγείλαν ἐπιθυμήσαντων συμφερομένων πάντας ἀναπαύσασθαι, καὶ ἐποθαίνησιν ὅτι δὲν ταῖς παραγγελίας. Χειρ. Αἰπ. iii. β. 18. (Ἐπεδώκαν διενεξῆται, καὶ ὅτι δὲν ταῖς παραγγελίας.) Περὶ αὐτῶν κρύφα περιτεν. κελεύων μὴ ἐφέσται πρὶν αὐτῶν πάλιν κοιμηθοῦσιν, he sent bidding the Athenians not to let them go until they should themselves have returned. Θύκ. i. 91. (Πρὶν κοιμηθοῦν might be used.) Καὶ πολλάκις τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις παρέργῃσι, ἢν ἄρα ποτε κατὰ γῆν βιασθοῦσιν, καταβάτας ἐς αὐτῶν τὰς μακαρίς πρὸς ἀπάς ἀνθίστασθαι. Ιδ. i. 93. (Εἰ βιασθοῦσιν might be used.) Ἡξίων αὐτῶν ἀγεμονάς σφόν γένεσθαι, καὶ Πασινίᾳ μὴ ἐπιτρέπεται ἢν ποὺ βιάζηται. Ιδ. i. 95. (Εἴ τινος βιαζέτοι might be used.) Ἀφικνοῦνται ὡς Σεπάλκης, βουλομένους πεῖσαι αὐτῶν, εἰ δύνασθο να στρατεύονται. επὶ τὴν Ποταμαίον. Ιδ. ii. 67. Ἐπειδὴ δὲν ἀποτίνου, εἰ καταγιούσαν αὐτοῦ. Ἰσολ. xvii. 16. Εἴπον μηδένα τῶν ὁποιῶν κυνεῖσθαι πρὶν ἢ δὲν πρόσβη δὴ ἡγηταὶ, I commanded that no one at the rear should move until the one before him should lead. Χειρ. Συν. ii. 2, 8.

Παραγεγέλετο γὰρ αὐτοίς δέκα μὲν οὖς Θηραύνεις ἀπέδεξε χερσοτάρνησι, δέκα δὲ οίς εἴροι κελεύσοιεν, they were hidden to those whom Thermenses had nominated, and ten whom the Ephors commanded, (i.e. oǐs ἀπέδεξες and oǐs κελεύσοιεν.) Λιτ. xii. 76. Ἐκέλευνε μὲ τὴν ἐπιτύλην ἢν ἐγραφαί οἴκοι δοῦναι, the letters which I had written. Χειρ. Συν. ii. 2, 9. (Ἡν γράψαμι would mean whatever letter I might write, representing ὃν ἂν γράψῃ: Ἰσολούσθο αὐτοῖς πάλιν ὅθεν ἡ λόγον ἐς Θράκην ἀποστέμπεσα, they planned to send them back to Thrace, whereas they had come. Θύκ. vii. 27. (See 689, 3.)

696. II. Clauses containing a protasis, the apodosis of which is implied in the past leading verb or its adjuncts. E.g.

Διδόντος δ′ αὐτῷ πάμπολλα δῶρα Θεραύννοι, εἰ ἀπέλθου, ἀπέκρινοτο, when T. offered (to give) him many gifts, if he would go away. Χειρ. Αἰπ. iv. 6. (Εἴναι ἀπέλθη might be used.) Φιλάκας ὑμητέρας, δῶρος φιλάττοντος αὐτῶν, καὶ εἰ τῶν ἄρχον τι φανεῖν θηρίων, and (to be ready) in case any wild beast should appear; his
thought being εἶν τε φαν龂. Ιδ. Κυρ. ι. 4, 7. Πρῶτον τὴν πόλιν, εἰ ἐπὶ βοήθωσιν, ἔχωρον, they marched towards the city, in case they (the citizens) should rush out (i.e. so as to meet them, if they should rush out), the thought being ἦν ἐπὶ βοηθώσιν (490, 1). Θυσ. vi. 100. Όπου ἦν τοῦ πολέμου τέρας οὐδὲ ἀπαλλαγὴ Φιλίππω, εἰ μὴ Θεβαῖοι καὶ Θεσπολείοι ἔχωροι ποιήσει τῇ πόλει, i.e. Philip saw that he could neither end nor escape the war unless he should make the Thebans and Thessalians hostile to the city (the original apodosis, I cannot end or escape the war, to which εἰάν μὴ τοιχῶν was the protasis, is implied in οὖν ἦν ... Φιλίππω). Θεσ. xviii. 145.

Ἡν δὲ τις εἰπὼ ἢ εἴπεις τις κινεῖν τὰ χρήματα ταῦτα ἐσ ἄλλο τι, θάνατον ἐξεξήγησαν, they set death as the penalty (i.e. voted that death should be the penalty) if any one should move, or put to vote a motion, to divert this money to any other purpose. Θυθ. ι. 24. (Εἰ εἴποι η ἐπιφήσεις might be used.) Ταλλα, ἦν ἔτι ναυμαχεῖν οἱ Ἀθηναίοι τολμήσαντες, παρεσκευάζοντο, i.e. they made their other preparations, (to be ready) in case the Athenians should still dare to risk a sea fight (their thought being we will be ready in case they shall dare, ἦν τομλήσασιν). Ιδ. vii. 59. Σο εἰσών, ἰδ. iv. 42. Οὐ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐμελλόν εἰσιν εἰ μὴ ναυμαχήσοντες, they were not likely to have them (provisions for the future) as they thought unless they should hold the sea. Ιδ. vii. 60. Ἡν οὖν μᾶλλον μέγις αὐτὸ καθ' ἓμῶν οὐδέ, ὡς παρέξαμε, εἰ μὴ τοῦτος Φοίκης ἀπολεῖ, he was none the more able even then to do you any great harm (he thought) unless he should destroy the Phocians (εἰ μὴ ἄπολλο). Θεσ. xix. 317. See Ι. v. 301. Καὶ ἐγὼ τοῦ Εὐπρίπον ἐμακάρισα, εἰ δέ ἄλλως ἔχει ταύτην τὴν τεχνὴν καὶ διὸ ἐμελές διδάσκει, I congratulated him (told him he was happy), if he really had this art. Πλατ. Ἀπ. 20 B. (Here ἔχει and διδάσκοι might be used.)

697. III. Clauses containing a protasis depending on a past verb of emotion, like θαυμάζω, ισαχύνομαι, etc. (494). E.g.

Ἐθαῦμαξε δ' εἰ τις ἀρετὴν ἐπαγγελλόμενος ἀργύριον πάττουτο, he wondered that any demanded money, etc. Χεν. Mem. i. 2, 7. (But in i. 1, 13, we find ἐθαῦμαξε δ' εἰ μὴ φανερῶν αὐτοὶς ἐστίν, he wondered that it was not plain.) Ἐφαρμοσμένοι εἰ τις ἐάν οὐκ ὑπολείπησα, I rejoiced, being content if any one would let it pass. Πλατ. Πρ. 450 A. Οὐκ ἠχοῦθεν εἰ τοιοῦτο κακόν ἐπάγει τῷ, he was not ashamed (or that) he was bringing such a calamity on any one. Θεσ. xxi. 105. Τῷ δὲ μηδὲν ἐναρκίζω πρῶτον ἐνοεῖτο δεινόν εἰσηγή, εἰ πονηρῶν ἐργῶν δέξει κοινωνεῖ τῷ σωμάτι, it seemed hard, if he was to appear to be implicated, etc.; he thought, δεινὸν ἐστιν εἰ δῶξω (407). Ιδ. xix. 33. (Here δώξω might be used like ἐάν οὐκ above.) Οἱ δ' ὕστερον, εἰ ἄλλῳς εἰστιν, and others pitied them if they were to be captured, the direct thought being we pity them if they are to be captured, εἰ ἀλῶσοντας, which might be retained (see the next example). Χεν. Ἁπ. 4, 7. Οὐκ ἔχεισιν ἐπιτρέψασιν, οὐκ ἔλεοις τὰ τέλη εἰ πεσεῖται, οὐδὲ κηδεμονεῖς τοὺς νεῶν εἰ Δακεδαυροῖς παραδοθῆσονται, i.e. they felt no pity for the
walls if they were to fall, nor care for the ships if they were to be surrendered. Lys. xiii. 15.

698. IV. Temporal sentences expressing a past intention, purpose, or expectation, especially those introduced by ἐως or πρὶν, until, after past tenses. E.g.

"ὤρει δὲ ἐπὶ κρατινὸν Βαρθήν, πρὸ δὲ κυματ' ἐανεν, ἐως ὡς ἐγε χαίρεσσοι φιλορέτμουι μιγείη, ἵνα τῇ ἐπάνω ἐκλειθῇ τὰ λεχθέντα εἰς Δακεδαίμονα, they made a truce (to continue) until what had been said should be announced at Sparta; i.e. ἐως ἐν αὐτῇ ἐκλειθῇ, which might have been retained. Xen. Hell. iii. 2, 20. Ἀπηγόμενε μιδάνεν βάλλειν πρὶν Κύροις εἰπε λησθείν θηρῶν, until Cyrus should be satisfied. Id. Cyi. i. 4, 14. (His words were πρὶν ἐκπλήγησθ' ὦς δὲ μένοντες ἐστοσαν ὑπότε πήγος Ἀχαιῶν ἄλλος ἐπέλθων Τρώων ὁμοίωσε καὶ ἀρχειαν πολέμου, i.e. they stood waiting for the time when, etc. II. iv. 334. So II. ii. 794. Προὐκλίηθαν τὸ στίφος, ὡς παντομένως τοῦ διωγμοῦ ἐπει σφάδειν προορίσκαντας, when they should see them, etc. Xen. Cyi. i. 4, 21.

Οὐ γὰρ δὲ σφάδας ἀπελεῖ ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἀποκίνησε πρὶν δὴ ἀπίκων ται ἐς αὐτήν Διήνυσον. Hdt. iv. 157. (Ἀπίκωντο might be used.) Oi δὲ Κορινθιοὶ οὐ προέθυμόμηθη ζυμπλεῖν πρὶν τὰ Ἰστίμα, ἄ τότε ἦν, διεορθάσωσον, until they had (should have) finished celebrating the Isthmian games, which were then going on. Thuc. viii. 9.

699. V. Past causal sentences in which the cause is stated as one assigned by another, so far as these allow the optative (714). E.g.

"Ἐγκάκοιον ὅτι στρατηγὸς ὁν οὐκ ἐπεξήγαγοι, they abused him because (as they said) he did not lead them out. Thuc. ii. 21. See other examples under 714.

Though the optative is allowed here, on the principle of indirect discourse, the indicative of the direct form (e.g. ἐπέξηγας in the above example) seems not to have been allowed (see 715). Causal sentences are usually constructed without reference to the principle of indirect discourse (see 713).

700. VI. Even some ordinary relative sentences expressing the previous thought of another, which allow the optative in place of the ordinary indicative. E.g.

Καὶ ἦτε σήμα ἰδέσθαι, ὅτι ἢ καὶ γαμβροῦ πάρα Προετοῦ φέροντο, he asked to see the token, which (he said) he was bringing from Proetus, i.e. he said φέρομαι. II. vi. 176. So Od. v. 240. Εἴρητο παῖδα τὸν Ἠδώνα τέκνοι, he asked for the child which Evadne had borne. Pind. Od. vi. 49. Κατηγόροιν τῶν Ἀλκιρηῶν τὰ πεποιήκοιεν προδότες τὴν Ἑλλάδα, i.e. they accused them for what (as they said) they had done. Hdt. vi. 49. So τὰ πεποιήθως εἴη, i. 44. Καὶ ἦτο τὸν Διὸν, μενίμην παλαιῶν σπερμάτων ἣνοι, ὑφ' ὧν τὰ ἀναμενεῖ τὴν δὲ
τικτοιόν λίποι, by which (as she said) he had perished himself, and had left her the mother, etc. Soph. O. T. 1243. If the relative clause contained merely the idea of the speaker, ἦταν and ἦλπε would be used. Here no ambiguity can arise from the use of the aorist optative (see 693). Τὸ τοῦ κρείττων ἐμφάνειν ἐλεγεν ὁ ἤπατός ὁ κρείττων αὐτῷ ἐμφάνειν, he meant the superior's advantage which the superior believed to be his own advantage. Plat. Rep. 340 B. This construction is rare in Attic Greek, but is not uncommon in Herodotus.

701. The imperfect and pluperfect occasionally represent the present and perfect indicative in this construction. Such clauses are simply not included in the indirect discourse. (See 674; 691.) E.g.

Ἐτόμος ἦν, εἰ μὲν τοῖς τι εἰργάσατο, δίκην δούναι, εἰ δὲ ἀπολυθεῖν, ἄρχεν, he was ready, if he had done any of these things, to be punished; but if he should be acquitted, to hold his command. Thuc. vi. 29. (Εἰ εἰργάσατο represents εἰ εἰργάσαμαι, while εἰ ἀπολυθεῖν represents ἐὰν ἀπολυθῶ.)

702. "An is occasionally retained with relatives and temporal particles in sentences of this kind, even when the subjunctive to which they belonged has been changed to the optative. (See 692.) E.g.

Τῶν δὲ λαμβάνοντας τὸς ὁμίλως μετόνων ἀνδρασιωτάτας ἐκεῖνον ἐπεκάλες, διὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον αὐτοῖς εἶναι διαλέγεσθαι ταῖς ὁ ἄν λάβοιεν τῶν μυθικῶν, because they were obliged (as he said) to converse with those from whom they received the pay. Xen. Mem. i. 2, 6. (Here ἐὰν ἄν λάβοιεν represents ἐὰν ἄν λάβωσιν. Καὶ μοι τάδ᾽ ἦν πρόρρητα, τὸ φόρμακον τοῦτο σφέτει ἐμὲ ἐώς ἄν ἄρτιχοιστον ἁρμόσαμι τοῦ Soph. Tr. 687 (see Schneidevin's note). Ἰτέων αὐτοῖς ματηγουμένοι πάντων ἐκδοθέντα ἐώς ἄν τάλαθεν δοξολεεν αὐτοῖς λέγειν. Isocr. xviii. 15. Χαίρειν ἐρήσα ἄν καὶ αὐτό υπερήφανον ἐὼς ἄν τὰ ἄπω ἐκείνης ὑπὲρβητα σκέψιοι, you would not answer (you would say) until you should have examined, etc. (ἐὼς ἄν σκέψιμαι). Plat. Phaed. 101 D. Here we must place ὅταν ἐκσφωματο. Asch. Pers. 450, if the text is sound. Παράγγελε αὐτοῖς μὴ πρότερον ἐπιθύμοισθαι πρὶν ἄν τῶν σφετέρων ἡ παροικία τις ἡ πρωθεία. Xen. Hell. ii. 4, 18; so πρὶν ἄν μετέχειεν, ii. 3, 48. See ἐὼς ἄν ὁ νόμος τεθείεσ. And. i. 81. Many scholars repudiate this use of ἄν and emend the passages: see Dindorf on Soph. Tr. 687.

It is doubtful whether ἦν was ever thus used with the optative.

703. Upon this principle (694) final and object clauses with ὅτα, ὡς, ἐπειδή, ὑπέρτη, and μὴ, after past tenses, admit the double construction of indirect discourse, and allow the subjunctive or the future indicative instead of the optative, to retain the form in which the purpose would be originally conceived. (See 318 and 338.)

704. The principles of indirect discourse (689, 2) apply to future conditional and conditional relative clauses which depend upon final object clauses or other expressions of purpose after past tenses. E.g.
Oī' ὤτι WITHOUT A VERB

705. Oī' ὤτι sometimes means I am sure, when the context readily suggests a verb for ὤτι. E.g.

Πάρεμι δ' ἄκων οὖχ ἐκούσα, οἶδ' ὤτι, and here I am, against my will, and against your will, I am sure. Soph. Ant. 276. Μὰ τὸν Δῖ' οἰκὸν τῷ γε φω, σάφε' ἐνθ' ὤτι, i.e. be assured. Ar. Pl. 889. Πάντων ὁ ὤτι φοράτων γ' ἀν, when all, I am sure, would say. Dem. ix. 1. Βουλομαί μημονεύνας ἔμιν οἶδ' ὤτι τοὺς πολλοὺς ὑπομενεῖν, i.e. I wish to remind you, though I am sure most of you remember it. Id. xix. 9.

In such cases it would be useless or impossible to add the implied verb.

"Ὅπως, ὡ, ὅνεκα, and ὅθονέκεο, in Indirect Quotations.

706. "Ὅπως is sometimes (especially in poetry) used in indirect quotations in the sense of ὥς. E.g.

Τοῦτ' αὐτό μή μοι φράξ', ὅπως οὖχ εἶ κακός, the very thing tell me not, that you are not base. Soph. O. T. 548. "Ἀναξ, ἐρῶ μὲν οὖχ ὅπως τάχος ὑπὸ δίπλωσις ἐκάνα, I will not say exactly that I come breathless with haste. Id. Ant. 223. Μή γὰρ ἐπίσω ὅπως ἐρὶ ἐκβαλεῖς, for do not hope that you will expel me. Eur. Her. 1051. So Soph. El. 963. Ἀνάπτωσον ὅπως μοι ἀμένω ἑστὶ ταῦτα σῶμα ποιόμενα. Hrpt. i. 37. Οὐ μὲν οὖδὲ φόβῳ ὅκως Ἀλέγαστοι τοῖς Ὑλλόρων ἐλαβόν τούτο. Id. ii. 49. So iii. 115, 116. See also ὅπως οὖ πάντα ἕπισταμα, Plat. Euthyd. 296 Β. In most of these, the original modal force of ὅπως, now, can be seen.

In Soph. Ant. 685, we have ὅπως σὺ μὴ λέγεις ὅρθως τάδε, where μὴ is a standing particle. It probably must be classed with the very rare ὄτι μὴ with the indicative, and with the irregular μὴ with the infinitive after verbs of saying and thinking (for all these see 685 and 686, above).

707. (Οὖχ ὅπως, οὖχ ὄτι, etc.) Οὖχ ὅπως or (rarely) μὴ ὅπως, and οὖχ ὄτι or μὴ ὄτι, by the ellipsis of a verb of saying, often mean I do not speak of or not to speak of. Ἀλλὰ, ἀλλὰ καὶ, ἀλλ' οὖδ', or ἀλλὰ μηδέ often follows in a clause which expresses a strong antithesis. After οὖχ the implied verb of saying would be an indicative, after μὴ it would be an imperative or subjunctive; but, like most elliptical idioms, this is often used where the ellipsis cannot be precisely supplied. What is men-
tioned in the former clause as not to be spoken of may be understood to be either affirmed or negated by the expression, according to the context; so that the force of τιν καί ὅπως may sometimes be conveniently given by not only, sometimes by so far from (not only not). E.g.

Οὐχ ὅπως τὰ σκείπῃ ἀπεδοσθῆ, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ θύραι ἀφηρπᾶσθησαι, not to speak of your selling furniture (i.e. not only did you have no furniture to sell), even the doors were carried off. Lys. xix. 31. (With λέγω supplied with οὐχ ὅπως we have I do not speak of your selling the furniture; but this would be awkward, and probably no precise verb was thought of.) Εἰ κατωφθος καὶ ἐκεῖνος, οὐχ ὅτι τῶν ὅπως ἔσται ἀπεστερήματι, ἀλλὰ ὅπως ἐὰν εἴη, if he had succeeded, not to speak of being deprived of my property, (not only should I have been deprived of my property, but) I should not even be alive. Dem. xxiv. 7. Οὐχ ὅτιν ἂξια μὴ ὁτί ὅτι δοῦνα παλάντων προσόδον, ἀλλ' ὅπως εἴκοσι μνα, it is not sufficient to represent an income even of twenty minas, not to speak of two talents. Id. xxxvi. 39. Τῶν οὖν ὅπως καλυπτᾷ γενήσεσθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπετραχ亏损 δοῦμαν προσλαβεῖν περίφημον, not to speak of (so far from) your becoming a hindrance to them, you will even permit them to add to their power from your own dominions. Thuc. i. 35. Μὴ ὅπως ὅρθετο ἐν μυθῳ, ἀλλ' ὅπως ὅρθουσαν ἐδώμασθε, not to speak of dancing in time, you could not even stand erect. Xen. Cyr. i. 3, 10. Τοὺς Θηβαίους ἡγεῖται ἔσσεν ὅπως βουλεῖται πράττειν ἑαυτόν, καὶ οὐχ ὅπως ἀντιπράξειν καὶ διακωλύσειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνπρατεύειν, he thought the Thebans would let him do as he pleased, and—not to speak of opposing and hindering him—would even join forces with him. Dem. vi. 9. (Here no definite verb can be supplied.) Ἔνθεσαν τὸν δήμον ὡς οὖν ὅπως τιμωρησαντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπαινόσαν τῶν Σφοδρών, that, so far from having punished S., they had even praised him (οὐχ ὅπως with an optative after ὅτι in indirect discourse). Xen. Hell. v. 4, 34.

708. Occasionally one of these expressions stands in the second clause; as διὰ τῶν χειρῶν οὐδὲ πλεῖν, μὴ ὅτι αἰνερεῖσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας, διακόταν ἤν, on account of the storm it was not possible even to sail, much less to pick up the men (not to speak of picking up the men). Xen. Hell. ii. 3, 35. So πεπαύμεθα ἥμεις, οὐχ ὅπως σε παύσομεν, we have been stopped ourselves; there is no talk of our stopping you, Soph. El. 796.

Compare Dem. xix. 137: ἐπίθετο αὐτὸν οὐδὲ τοῦ ἦν ὅτα κύριον αὐτῷ βεβαιώσασα, μήτε γ' ἂ εἰκὼν ὑπερχεῖ σε πράξαι, i.e. not at all (much less) to do what he had promised him.

709. 1. In Homer ὅ, the neuter of ὅς, is used like ὅτι, that. E.g.

Γεγυμόσκειάν ὅ ὅς αὐτῶς ὑπερέχει χεῖρας Ἀπόλλων, knowing that Apollo himself held over him his hands. Il. v. 433. Ἐσεὶ νῦ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἵκερον ὅ τοι σέρεν οὐκ ἐπιεικών. Il. viii. 32. Λέσσασε γὰρ τὸ γε πάντες, ὅ μοι γέρας ἔρχεται ἀλλὰ, that my price goes elsewhere. Il. i. 120. So Od. xii. 295. (See 663, 1, and 671.)
2. In the following cases ὅ ῥ’ for ὅ τε (neuter of ὅς τε) is used in Homer like ὅ and ὅτε:—Γυγώσκων ὅ τ’ ἀνάλκης ἔγν θός, knowing that the Goddess was weak. Il. v. 331: so xvii. 623, Od. viii. 299. 'Ὅς εἴδονθ’ ὅ τ’ ἄρ ἐκ Δίως ἥλυθεν ὄρνυς. Il. viii. 251. Νῦν δ’ ἦδη τόδε δῆλον, ὅ τ’ οὖκετι νόστιμος ἐστιν. Od. xx. 333.

Since ὅτε does not allow elision, it is now customary to write this form ὅ τ’ (as above). But Schmitt (after Capelle) writes ὅτ’ in all these cases, assuming the form to be an elided ὅτε (709, 3).

3. In a few cases ὅτε, when, is used in Homer in a sense which approaches very near that of ὅτί, that. E.g.

Οὐδ’ ἐλαθ’ Ἀιαντα Ζεὺς, ὅτε ὁ Ἰχώροι δίδω νίκην, i.e. nor was Ajax unaware that Zeus was giving victory to the Trojans (lit. when when Zeus was giving). Il. xvii. 626. Compare Il. xxiv. 563, οὐδ’ με λήπτεις, ὅτι θεῶν τίς ο’ ἤγε. See Schmitt, pp. 40-50.

This occasional use of ὅτε seems hardly to justify the assumption that ὅ τ’ in all the cases in 709, 2 stands for ὅτε.

710. 1. Οὐνέκα in Homer, and ὅθονέκα and οὖνεκα in the tragedians, are sometimes used like ὅτι or ὅς, that. E.g.

Πεύθεστο γὰρ Κύπρονες μέγα κλέος, οὖνέκα 'Αχαιοὶ ἔσεν Ἐπιδαύρος ἔικε, ἔμελλον, for in Cyprus he heard a mighty rumour, that the Achaeans were about to sail for Troy in ships. Il. xi. 21. So Od. v. 216, xiii. 309. "Ἀγγελεῖ οὖνέκα τέθηκα ὅρεστις, report that Orestes is dead. Soph. El. 47; see El. 1478. Ἡσθε τούτῳ, οὖνέκα 'Ελληνες ἔσμεν, know this, that we are Greeks. Id. Ph. 232. Ἐκδιδάχθεσις οὖνέκα ἄκουσα ἔρξετε τάξε. Id. Tr. 934.

2. Διότι is sometimes used in the sense of ὅτι, that, by Aristotle, and occasionally by Herodotus and even by Isocrates. E.g.

Διότι μὲν τοινυν οὐκ ἦ τιτή (sc. ἐστὶ), φανερὸν ἐκ τούτων, i.e. that it is not the same, is plain from this. Aristot. Pol. iii. 4, 7. So Metaph. x. 5, 3. Διότι ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων ἤκε, πυθανόμενος οἴστι εὑρίσκω ἐόν. Hdt. ii. 50: see ii. 43 (with Stein's note). See Isoc. iv. 48: συνεδύνα ὅτι τούτῳ . . . ἐφιμεν ἔχοντες, καὶ διότι . . . αὐτῶν διήγηκαμεν.

"Ὅτι before Direct Quotations.

711. Even direct quotations are sometimes introduced by ὅτι, rarely by ὅς, without further change in the construction. ὅτι or ὅς here cannot be expressed in English. E.g.

'Ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι ὅδε' εἰ γενοίμην, ὃ Κῦρε, σοὶ γ’ ἀν ποτε ἐτί δέξαμαι. Xen. An. i. 6, 8. 'Ἀπεκρίθην ὅτι Ὁ δέοστως, οὐ γ’. Id. Cyr. vii. 3, 3. Ἐπεὶ δ’ ὅτι Ἐφθασε καὶ ἔλεος ἤκει, ἔφη, ὅπως τῆς δικής ἄκοινγας. Ib. iii. 1, 8. 'Ἡ ἐρωίμεν πρὸς αὐτός, ὅτι Ἰδίκει γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἡ πόλις, καὶ ὡς ὅδης τῆς δικής ἔχειν,—ταύτα ἔτι ἐρώμεν; Plut. Cris. 50 B; so Phaed. 60 A. 'Ἀν λέγῃ τις τάληθη, ὅτι Δηρείτης, δ’ ἀνδρεῖς Ἀθηναῖοι. Dem. viii. 31: so xviii. 40, 174; xix. 22, 40, 253. See also
Causal Sentences.

712. Causal sentences express the cause of something stated in the leading sentence. They may be introduced by ὅτι, διότι or διότερ, ὡς, οὖνεκα or οὖνεικα, because; by ἐπεὶ, ἐπειδή, ὅτε, ὅποτε, εἴτε, and sometimes ὅπου, since, seeing that; and in Homer by ὅ or ὅ τε (ὅ τε), because.

713. (Indicative.) Causal sentences regularly take the indicative, after both primary and secondary tenses; past causes being expressed by the past tenses of the indicative. The negative particle is ou. E.g.

Κόρετο γὰρ Δαναῶν, ὅτι ἴα θυσίαν ἔποτε, for she pitied the Danaans, because she saw them dying. II. i. 56. Χωόμενος, ὅ τε ἄρστον Ἀχαϊῶν οὐδεὶς ἔτσι σα, angry, because you did in no way honour the best of the Achaeans. II. i. 244. Δημοβόροι βασιλεῖς, ἐπεὶ οὐτιδιανόων ἀνάσσεσις. II. i. 231. Μὴ ὅς οὕτως κλέπτε ἑώ, ἐπεὶ οὐ παρελευσεν οὐδὲ με πεῖσεις. II. i. 132. Νοών ἀνα ὀπράπτων ὄφει κακήν, ὀλέκοντο δὲ λαοί, οὖνεκα τῶν Χρίστου ἡ τιμασέν ἀρητῆρα Ατρείδης. II. i. 11. Τριλέμαχον θαιμασον, ὅ θαρσαλέως ἄγορευεν, because he spoke boldly. Od. i. 382. Καὶ τράπης δὲ τοι ἡ σεπαγμεν ἀνθρώπων διὰ τὸ ἀλλο φασερὸν ἐστὶ ὅ τι ταχὺ πλείς; διὰ τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἀλλοιο ἀλληλοι εἰσὶν οἱ ἔμπλοντες ὅ διότι ἐν σάξει κάθηται. Χεν. Οἰκ. viii. 8. Οἱ ἔμοι φίλοι οὕτως ἔχοντες περὶ ὅμοι διατελόντων, οὐ διὰ τὸ φιλεῖν ἔμε, ἀλλὰ διότερ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἢ αἰόνται βέλτιστος γιγνεσθαι. Ια. Mem. iv. 8, 7. Οἱ Αθηναίοι ἐνόμισον ἄσσανται ὅτι οὐ πολλ ἐνίκων, the Athenians thought they were defeated because they were not equally victorious. Χεν. vii. 34. Μᾶλλον τι ἐκειελογείτο ὅτι μοι ἀπέκτεινε τῶν αὐτῶ φόνον ἔκαθηρε. Ημ. i. 44. Πρὸς ταύτα κρύπτε μηθεν, ὡς ὁ πάνθε όρον καὶ πάντε ἀκοίω πάντ' ἀναπτύσσεις χρόνος, i.e. since time develops all things. Sope. Πρ. 280. Μέγα δὲ τὸ ὅμοι τραφάμαι, ὅτα καὶ τοῖς θηρίων πόθος τοῖς ἡγίγνεται τῶς συντρόφων. Χεν. Mem. ii. 3, 4. "Ὅτε οὖν παρανύσοις οὐδὲν ἔδει πλέων ποιώ, ἴκεται ἀφύμα. Σοφ. Ο. Τ. 918. Ὑπότε οὖν πόλις μὲν τὰς ἰδιὰς ἐξειρήσει σιὰ τὰ θέρειν, ἐότε ἐκαστος τὰς ἐκεῖνας ἀδίκας (ἐκ ἐστι), τῶς οὐ χρῆ πάντας ἀμέλειν αὐτῷ;" Θεσ. ii. 60. "Ὅτε τοινν τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχει, προσθεὶ καὶ προθύμως ἐθέλεν ἀκοίων τῶν ἄλλουσών συμβολο-
CAUSAL SENTENCES

714. (Optative.) When, however, the speaker implies that a cause was assigned by some other person, the principle of indirect discourse (694), after past tenses, allows the verb to stand in the optative, in the tense originally used by the person who assigned the cause (699). E.g.

Τὸν Περίκλεα ἐκάικον, ὅτι στρατηγὸς ἦν οὐκ ἐπεξέγαγοι, they abused Pericles, because being general he did not lead them out. Thuc. ii. 21. (This states the reason of the Athenians for reproaching Pericles (ὅτι ἦμασι οὐκ ἐπεξέγαγεῖ); if Thucydides had wished to assign the cause merely on his own authority, he would have used ὅτι οὐκ ἐπεξέγαγεν. Cf. Thuc. vii. 34 in 713.) Τοὺς συνάντας ἐδόκει ποιεῖν ἀπεχείρησαι τῶν ἀνοσών, ἐπειπέρ γῆγεσαι ὑποτελείτο μυρίων ἂν ποτε ἤν πράττοιε ὀθεὺς διαλαθείς (see 693). Xen. Mem. i. 4, 19. Οὕσθα ἐπαινεώντα αὐτὸν (Ομηρὸν) τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα, ὡς βασιλεὺς εἴη ἀγαθός, because (as he said) he was a good king. Id. Symp. iv. 6. Ἐκάλεε ... τὸν μὲν ἐπίστων (Δία), διότι φονεί τοῦ παιδὸς ἐλάνθανε (694, 2) βόσκων, τὸν δὲ ἐπιρρήσῳ, ὡς φιλάκα συμπέμψεις αὐτὸν εὑρήκοι πολεμώσατον. Hdt. i. 44. (Crosus would have said διότι ἐλάνθανον and ὡς εὑρήκη.)

715. We should suppose that in causal sentences of the latter class (714) the mood and tense by which the cause would be originally stated might also be retained, as in ordinary indirect discourse; so that in Thuc. ii. 21, above, for example, we might have ὅτι οὐκ ἐπεξέγαγε in the same sense as ὅτι οὐκ ἐπεξέγαγοι. This, however, seems to have been avoided, to prevent the ambiguity which might arise from the three forms, ἐπεξέγαγεν, ἐπεξέγαγοι, and ἐπεξέγαγε. It will be remembered that the form ἐπεξέγαγε, which is the most common in the expression of a past cause, is also the original form for expressing the corresponding time in indirect discourse, although it became exceptional here in the later usage (671; 674).

For causal relative sentences see 580. For the causal participle see 838.

716. The optative in causal sentences is not found in Homer.

717. A cause may be expressed by a potential indicative or optative with ἀν.

Δέομαι ὅπως σοι παραμείνῃ ἤματι ὡς ἑγὼ σοῦ ἀν ἐνός ἢ διον ἀκούσαι ἢ σοι, I beg you then to remain with us; as there is not one whom I should hear more gladly than you. Plato. Prot. 335 D. Ὅν τε, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἔθελες καὶ ἐμοὶ τῷ ἀρχολεὶ ἐστι καὶ οὐκ ἂν οὐς τῇ εἰμὶ σοι παραμείνῃ ἀποστείνῃ πειράς λόγος, ἐλθεῖν γὰρ τοι με δεῖ, εἰμι ἐπί καὶ ταύτῃ ἂν ἡμῶν οὐκ ἀρχολεῖ σοι έκον (for ἐπει δεῖ see 719, 2). lb. 333 C. Ὅτι τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἂν ἐμέμνῃ τῶν αὐτοῦ, εἰ τί περὶ ἐμοῦ γεγράφειν. Dem. xviii. 79; xxviii. 49.
718. A causal sentence may be interrogative, or its verb may express a wish or a command. *E.g.*

Ἐπεῖ, φῶρ' εἰπτε, ποῦ οὖν μάντις ἐσαφίς; for—come tell me—where do you ever show yourself a prophet? *Soph.* 0, T. 390. Ἐπεῖ δίδαξον, ἢ μάθη εξ ἐμοῦ, τί μοι κέρδος γένοιτ' άν. *Id. El.* 352: so O. C. 969. See *Plat.* *Gorg.* 474 B: ἐπεῖ σιγ δέξαι' άν; Ἐπεῖ δέχεος ἄφιλος ὅτι πύραν ὁλοίμαν, for—may I perish! *Soph.* 0, T. 662.

719. 1. A causal sentence may give the cause of something that is implied, but not expressed, in the leading sentence. Especially it may give the reason for making a statement, rather than for the fact stated. In dialogues, a causal sentence may refer to an implied yes or no. *E.g.*

Ὄνυν καὶ ὅμων οἶκοι ἔπετε γόος, ὅτι μ' ἐλθέτες κηδήσοντες; have you now no mourning at home, that you have come to distress me? (i.e. I ask this, because you have come). *Pi.* xxiv. 239. (If the two clauses were reversed—have you come because you have no mourning at home?—the causal relation would be plainer.) Ὄν μ' ἐπ' ἐφάσκεθ' ὑπό τοῦ οἴκου ἵκεσθαι, ὅτι μοι κατεκείμενες οἶκον, i.e. you thought I should never return (as is plain), because you wasted my house. *Od.* xxii. 35. See ἐπεῖ in *Od.* 1. 231. Ὅσ' ἔστων ἄνδρος τούτοις τάργα ταύτά σοι, yes (answering the preceding question), for here you have the deeds of this man. *Soph.* *Aj.* 39: so *Ph.* 812.

2. By a natural ellipsis, ἐπεῖ sometimes has virtually the force of although or and yet. *E.g.*

Ἄρκουσίμων ὁν ἐγὼ γε τοῦτο ὅμως ἔπειρα, ἐπεί πελλοί γέ φοισι τῶν ἄνθρώπων, I should be ashamed for my part to admit this, and yet many men do say so (in full, I speak for myself alone, since many say this). *Plat.* *Prot.* 333 C. See *ibid.* 335 C (quoted in 717), where ἐπεῖ ἦν ... ἐκοινων refers to the implied idea I am sorry after all to go. In *Od.* 1. 236, ἐπεῖ οὖ κε ... ἄρκουσίμων, and yet I should not be thus afflicted by his death, refers to what ἄγιον suggests, I am especially grieved by his death in obscurity (cf. *vss.* 241, 242).

SECTION X.

Expression of a Wish.

720. Wishes may be divided into two classes: (a) those referring to a future object, and (b) those referring to a present or past object which (it is implied) is not or was not attained. To the former class belong such wishes as *O that he may come!* or *O that this may happen!*—Utinam veniat, Utinam fiat; and to the latter, such as *O that this had happened! or O that this were true!*—Utinam hoc factum esset, Utinam hoc verum esset.
From its use in wishes the optative mood (ἐγκλίσεις ἐφεκτικῆ) received its name.

WISHES REFERRING TO THE FUTURE.

721. A wish referring to the future may be expressed in Greek in two ways:—
   I. by the optative alone; as in γένοιτο τοῦτο, may this happen, μη γένοιτο τοῦτο, may this not happen;
   II. by the optative with εἴθε or εἴ γάρ (Homeritic also αἴθε or αἴ γάρ), sometimes by the simple εἴ, negatively εἴθε μη, εἴ γάρ μη, etc.; as in εἴθε γένοιτο τοῦτο, O that this may happen, εἴ γάρ μη γένοιτο, O that it may not happen.

722. I. The pure optative in a wish (with no introductory particle) is an independent verb. E.g.

    'Ὑμῖν μὲν θεοὶ δοῦνε 'Ολύμπεια δῶματι' ἐχοντες ἐκπέρτας Πριάμου πόλιν εἰδ' ὁ ὅικαί ἑκέσθαι, may the gods grant you to destroy Priam's city, etc. Π. i. 18. Μη μὴν ἄσπονδι γε καὶ ἀκλειώς ἀπολοίμην, may I not perish, etc. Π. xxii. 304. Μηκετ' ἐπειτ' 'Οδυσσή κάρη ἀμοιναν ἐτείχι, μηδ' ἐτε Τηλέμαχου πατρόν κεκλημένον ἐτείνη, then may the head of Ulysses no longer stand on his shoulders, and no longer may I be called the father of Telemachus. Π. ii. 259. Θεβαϊνὸν ὅτε μοι μήκετι ταῦτα μέλοι, may I die when these are no longer my care. Μιμ. i. 2. Τὸ μὲν νῦν ταῦτα πρός τοὺς τάπερ εἰ χεροὶ ἔχεις, may you for the present continue to do what you now have in hand. Ἡρ. vii. 5. 'Ω ποι, γένοιτο πατρός εὐνεχεστέρος. Soph. Aj. 550. Ὀτω νικήσαιμι τ' ἐγώ καὶ νομίζοιμην σοφός, on this condition may I gain the prize (in this contest) and be (always) considered wise. Αχ. Nub. 520. Θεός προτανεῖ, ἢ μηκετές ἐκαίν ἐγώ, or may I no longer live. Ιb. 1255. Συνενέγκαι μὲν ταῦτα ὡς βουλομέθη, may this prosper as we desire. Θυκ. vi 20. 'Αλλα ψυχοθέεις, but may you only be willing!

    Plat. Enyd. 296 D. Πλούσιον δὲ νομίζωμε τὸν σοφὸν. Ιd. Phaedr. 279 C. Νικήσῃ δ' ὃ τι πᾶσιν ὑμῖν μέλλει συναίνειν, and may that opinion prevail which is to benefit you all. Dem. iv. 51. "Ὁ τι δ' ὑμῖν δοξεί, τοῦτ', ὃ πάντες θεοί, συνενέγκαι (see 561). Ιd. ix. 76. So εἴε, well, be it so.

    For the relation of the optative in wishes to the optative in its most primitive meaning, see Appendix I.

723. II. The optative in a wish with εἴθε (αἴθε), εἴ γάρ (αἴ γάρ), or εἴ is probably in its origin a protasis with the apodosis suppressed. E.g.

    Αἶθ' οὖσ' ἐπὶ πάντι χίλιον τελέσει 'Αγαμέμνον, 0 if Agamemnon would thus fulfill his wrath upon all. Π. iv. 178. Αἶθ' οὖσ',
EXPRESSION OF A WISH

Εἴριεε, φίλον Διί πατρὶ γένοιο ὃς ἐμὸι, mayest thou become in like manner a friend to father Zeus. Od. xiv. 440. Αἱ γάρ δὴ αὐτῶς εἴη, φίλος δὲ Μενίδαις, O that this may be so. II. iv. 189. Αἱ γάρ ἐμὸι τοσσύριδα θεοὶ δύναμιν περὶ εἴη, O if the Gods would clothe me with so much strength! Od. iii. 205. 'Αλλ' εἰ μὲν αἰκίσυσιμὴν ἐλλοτες, τεῦχεα τῷ ὁμίuent ἀφελοῦμεθα, καὶ τῶν ἔταιρων αὐτῶ ἀρμονέων δαμασάμεθα νηλεὶς χαλκῷ, but if we could only take him and insult him, and strip him of his armour, and subdue, etc. II. xvi. 559.1 Eἰθὲ μήποτε γνοίης δὲ δὲ, may you never learn who you are. Soph. O. T. 1068. Eἰθ' ἐμὸν ἀμφοῦν νοῦς γένοιτο σωφρονεῖν. Id. Aj. 1264. Eἰθ' παῖς ἐμὸς εὐθνηρος εἴη. Eur. Bacch. 1252. Εἰ γάρ γενοῖμην, τέκνοις, ἀντι σοῦ νεκρός. Id. Hipp. 1410. Eἰθ', ἔλιστε, σὺ τοιοῦτος ὁν φίλος ἡμῶν γένοιο. Xen. Hall. iv. 1, 38. Εἰ γάρ γένοιτο. Id. Cy. vi. 1, 38. Εἰ γάρ ἐν τούτῳ εἴη, if it may only depend on this! Plat. Prot. 310 D. Eἰθὲ γράφειεν ὅς χρή, κ.τ.λ. Id. Phaedr. 227 C.

The simple εἰ (without -θε or γάρ) with the optative in wishes is poetic. 'Αλλ' εἰ τις καὶ τοσσύρδε μετοιχόμενος καλέσεβεν. II. x. 111. See three other Homeric examples cited in the footnote.2 Eἰ μοι ἔννειη μοίρα. Soph. O. T. 563. Eἰ μοι γένουτο φθόγγος ἐν βραχίονι. Eur. Hec. 836.

The future optative was not used in wishes. The perfect was probably not used, except in the signification of the present (see 48); as in II. ii. 259, quoted in 722.

724. In Homer, as the examples show, both present and aorist optative are freely used in future wishes, as in the corresponding future conditions (455). But the present optative

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1 On this passage we have the note of Aristarchus in the Scholia: ἦ δικτλῆ, ὅτι ἔσωθεν προστασακουστένων τὸ καλὸν ἐν ἔχοι εἰ αὐτῶν ἀνώλωτες διασαμαίμενα, καλὸς ἐν ἔχοι. Schol. A. It does not follow necessarily from this that Aristarchus explained all optatives with forms of εἰ in wishes by supplying καλὸς ἐν ἔχοι as an apodosis (see Lange, p. 6, note 15); but if he explained this passage as an elliptical protasis, he can hardly have objected to the same explanation of other similar passages. It is surely no more necessary or logical to insist on explaining both forms of wishes alike, than it would be in English to insist that may I see him again and O if I might see him again are originally of the same construction.

2 The Homeric examples of the optative with various forms of εἰ or αἰ are of the highest importance for the understanding of the construction generally. The following is a list of the passages (according to Lange, Partikel EI, pp. 19-40):—

Simple εἰ with optative: II. x. 111, xv. 571, xvi. 559, xxiv. 74. (4.)

At γάρ or εἰ γάρ with optative: II. iv. 189, x. 536, xvi. 97, xviii. 272, 464, xxii. 346, 464; Od. iii. 205, iv. 697, vi. 244, viii. 339, ix. 528, xv. 156, xvii. 251, 513, xviii. 253, 366, xix. 22, xx. 169, xxi. 402. (20.)

Αἰθὲ or εἴθε with optative: II. iv. 178; Od. ii. 33, xiv. 440, xv. 341, xvii. 494, xviii. 202, xx. 61. (7.)

Eight examples (five with εἴθε, two with εἰ γάρ, one with αἰ γάρ), in which the present optative expresses an unattained present wish, are omitted here and will be found under 739. The cases discussed in 730 are not included here.

For the use of αἰθὲ, αἰ γάρ, and αἰ (for εἴθε, etc.) in Homer, see footnote to 379.
in Homer also expresses a present wish implying that it is not attained, as it may express a present unreal condition (438). For this use, see 739.

725. In the poets, especially Homer, the simple optative may express a command or exhortation, in a sense approaching that of the imperative. E.g.

Ταῦτα ἐποίεις Ἀχιλῆ, (you may) say this to Achilles, II. xi. 791. Τεθναίης, ἢ Προῖτ, ἢ κάκταινε Βελλεροφόντην, (you may) either die, or kill Bellerophon, II. vi. 164. Ἀλλά τις Δολίων καλέσθε, let some one call Dolios, Od. iv. 735. So in prohibitions with μὴ: μὴ δ' ἔτι σοῦ τὸδεσον ὑποτρεψεῖας Ὀλυμπον, II. iii. 407 (between two pairs of imperatives). See also AESCH. Prom. 1049 and 1051.

For Homeric optatives (without ἄν), which form a connecting link between the potential and the wishing optative (like II. iv. 18, 19), see 13 and 233.

726. The poets, especially Homer, sometimes use ὅσ before the optative in wishes. This ὅσ cannot be expressed in English, and it is probably exclamatory. It must not be confounded with ὅστως used as in 727. E.g.

Ὦσ ὄπλοιον καὶ ἄλλοσ ὅτις τοιαύτα γε ρέοι, O that any other may likewise perish, etc. Od. i. 47. See Od. xxi. 201. ‘Ὦσ ὁ τάδε πτωτὸν ἰλοιτ', ε ὤμοι βέμι τάδ' αὐθάν. SOPH. El. 126. Compare ut pereat te ipsum, HOR. Sat. ii. 1, 43.

727. ὅστως, thus, on this condition, may be prefixed to the optative in protestations, where a wish is expressed upon some condition; the condition being usually added in another clause. E.g.

ὁ ὅστως ὄνωσθε τοῦτον, μὴ περιδοθῇ με, may you enjoy these on this condition,—do not neglect me. DEM. xxviii. 20.

728. When the potential optative is used to express a wish, as in πῶς ἄν ὄλοιμήν, how gladly should I perish, Eur. Supp. 796, it does not belong here, as ὄλοιμην ἄν and ὄλοιμην are, in use, wholly different constructions. If εί γάρ κεν μήμοις, Od. xv. 545, is a wish, εί κεν may be used as it is often is in protasis in Homer (460) in the same sense as εἰ, or the optative may be potential in the sense ὃ ὅταν you could remain. In II. vi. 281, ὅσ κέ οι αὖθι γαία χάνω, if κέ is correct, must mean O that the earth could gape for him at once (potential). But the exceptional character of these expressions makes both suspicious. Hermann and Bekker read εί γάρ καί in Od. xv. 545; and Bekker reads ὅσ δέ in II. vi. 281.

729. The infinitive occurs twice in Homer in wishes with αὖ γάρ: see 786, and 739 (end). For the infinitive used like the simple optative in wishes, especially in poetry, see 783.

730. There are many passages in Homer in which it is open to doubt whether the poet intended to express a wish with some
form of εἰ, followed by a potential optative in a new sentence, or to form a complete conditional sentence. Such are—

Εἰ γὰρ ἔτι ἀφέσθαι τέλος ἡμετέρησι γένοις
οὐκ ἂν ταῦτα γε ἐσθρονὸν Ἡώ ἐκοίτο. Od. xvii. 496.
Αἱ γὰρ τούτο, ἐξεῖνε, ἐποὺς τετελεσμένοι εἰν’
τῷ κε τὰγ νυνίας φιλότητα τε πολλὰ τε δῶορα
ἐξ ἐμεῦ. Od. xiv. 536.

If we keep the colon after γένοις in the former passage, we may translate, O that fulfilment may be granted our prayers: not one of these would (then) see the fair-throned Dawn. With a comma after γένοις, we may translate, if fulfilment should be granted our prayers, not one of these would see the fair-throned Dawn. So in the second passage we may translate, according to the punctuation, O that this word may be accomplished: then would you quickly be made aware of kindness and many gifts from me;—or if this word should be accomplished, you would then quickly be made aware, etc. These are probably rightly punctuated above, especially the second; and the wish is on the verge of independent existence, being almost ready to dispense with the apodosis. The half-independent half-dependent nature of such clauses is best seen in a case like the following, where εἰ ἐθέλοι is first stated as an independent wish, and is afterwards repeated as the protasis of a regular apodosis:—

Εἰ γὰρ σ’ ὅσ εἰθέλοι φιλεῖν γλαυκώπτις Ἀθηνη
ὁς τὸν Ὀδυσσῆος περικύδεστο κυδαλύμου
δημοὶ ἐν Τρώων, ὅθε πάσχομεν ἄλγες Ἀχαῖοι... .
εἰ σ’ οὕτως ἐθέλοι φιλεῖν κύδοιτό τε θυμῷ,
τῷ κέν τις κείνων γε καὶ ἐκελεύθοιτο γάμων. Od. iii. 217.

The meaning is, if only Athena would love you as she then loved Ulysses;... if (I say) she would thus love you, then would many a one (of the suitors) cease to think of marriage. Here, instead of leaving a simple apodosis like the καλὸς ἂν ἐχών of Aristarchus to be mentally supplied, or to be felt without being actually supplied, the protasis is repeated (as if by afterthought) and a more precise form of conclusion is then actually expressed.

Such examples as the first two are sometimes adduced as evidence that εἰ with the optative in protasis was originally a form of wish, to which an apodosis was afterwards appended. For a discussion of this view, see Appendix I.

WISHES (NOT ATTAINED) IN PRESENT OR PAST TIME.

731. A wish referring to a present or past object, which (it is implied) is not or was not attained, may be expressed in Greek in two ways:—

I. by the past tenses of the indicative, used as in unreal conditions, with εἰθε or εἰ γάρ; or
II. by ὄφελον, aorist of ὄφειλο, owe, with the infinitive.

732. I. The past tenses of the indicative with εἶδε or εἰ γάρ, in present and past wishes, correspond to the optative with these particles in future wishes. The construction was originally a protasis with its apodosis suppressed, εἰ γάρ με εἰδες meaning, O if you had seen me! This form of wish is common in the Attic writers, but is unknown to Homer (735).

The imperfect and aorist indicative are distinguished here as in the unreal condition (410). E.g.

Τῶ γάγα, εἶθε ἢπ' ἐδέξω, O Earth, Earth, would that thou hadst received me. Aesch. Ag. 1537. Εἰ γάρ μέ ὑπὸ γῆν ἔχειν, O if he had sent me beneath the earth. Id. Prom. 152. Εἰθε σε εἴδε σε με τοῦτο εἰδόμαι. Soph. O. T. 1217. Εἰθ' εἰρομένι σε, Ἀδημος, μη λυποῦ- μενον. Eur. Alc. 336. Εἴθε σου, ὃ Περίκλεις, τῷτε υνεγενόμην, would that I had met you then. Xen. Mem. i. 2, 46. Εἴθ' εἰχες, ὃ τεκόσα, βελτίων φρένος, O mother, would that you had a better understanding. Eur. El. 1061. Εἰ γάρ τοσαίην δύναμιν εἰχον, would that I had so great power. Id. Alc. 1072. Εἴθ' ἡγοῦν δυνατός δράν ὅσον πρόθυμος α. Id. Her. 731.

733. The indicative cannot be used in wishes without εἴθε or εἰ γάρ, as it would occasion ambiguity; this cannot arise in the case of the optative, which is not regularly used in independent sentences without ἀν, except in wishes. Soph. O. C. 1713, ἠδ, μη γάς ἐπί ξένας θανεῖν ἔχοντες (so the Mss.) is often quoted to show that at least the indicative with μη alone can be used in negative wishes, with the translation, O that thou hadst not chosen to die in a foreign land. But the passage is probably corrupt, as the following words ἀλλ' ἐπιμος εἴθερος show. See, however, Hermann’s note on this passage, and on Eur. Iph. Aul. 575.

734. II. The aorist ὄφελον, ought, and sometimes (in Homer) the imperfect ὄφελλον, of ὄφειλο (Epic ὄφελλω), owe, debeo, may be used with the infinitive to express a present or past unattained wish. The present infinitive is used when the wish refers to the present or to continued or repeated past action, and the aorist (rarely the perfect) when it refers to the past.

"Ὡφελος or ὄφελλον may be preceded by the particles of wishing, εἴθε and εἰ γάρ, and in negative wishes by μη (not ob). E.g.

"Ὡφελε τοῦτο τοιεῖν, would that he were (now) doing this (lit. he ought to be doing it), or would that he had (habitually) done this (lit. he
ought to have done this). *Ωφελε τοῦτο ποιήσαι, would that he had done this.

"Ων ὁφελον τρειτάτην περ ἰχνων ἐν δόμασι μούραν ναείν, οἱ δ' ἀνδρεσ σοι ἐμενειν οἱ τοτ' ὅλοντα, O that I were living with even a third part, etc., and that those men were safe who then perished. Od. iv. 97. So II. i. 415. 'Ἀνδρός ἐπειτ' ὁφελλον ὁμικονος εἰναι ἄκους, ὡς ἐδη νέμεσιν τε καὶ αὐτής τον ἀνδρόπων, O that I were the wife of a better man, who knew, etc. II. vi. 350. 'Τὴν ὁφελ' ἐν νίκαις κατατάμενων Ἀρτεμις ἦν, O that Artemis had slain her, etc. II. xix. 59. Αἴθω ὁφελέσις στρατού ἄλλων σημαίνειν. II. xiv. 84. Αἴθω ἀμα πάντες Ἐκτορος ὁφελέτει' ἀντὶ θαῦμα ἐπὶ νησί πεφάσθαι, would that ye all had been slain instead of Hector. II. xxiv. 253. Μηδ' ὁφελέσις λίσσας θαῖ αὐτής ἐμπόνον Πηλέωνα, would that you had not besought the son of Peleus. II. ix. 698. (See 736, below.) So xviii. 86; Od. viii. 312. Μηκτ' ἐπεῖτ' ὁφελον (ὁ) ἐνώ πέμπτους μετεναι ἄνδρας, ἄλλο ἡ προσπέ θανείν ἡ ἐπέτα γενέσθαι, would that I were no longer living with this fifth race of men, but had either died before or been born after a. Hes. Op. 174. 'Ο λίσσας οἱ ὁφελόν τῇ ἐμέρα, O that I had perished on that day. Soph. O. T. 1157. Μη τοτ' ὁφελον λιποτεν περὶ τὴν Σκιρόν, O that I never had left Scyros. Id. Ph. 969. See El. 1021. Εἴθ' ὁφελ' Ἀργούς μή διαπτάσθαι σκάφος Κόλχων ἐς αἶαν κυνάς Σμυρνάδας. Eur. Med. 1. Εἴ γὰρ ὁφελον οἰοι τε εἶναι οἱ πολλοί τὰ μέγιστα κακὰ ἐξεργάζεσθαι, O that the multitude were able, etc. Plat. Crt. 44 D. Εἴ γὰρ ὁφελον (sc. κατεδαίν. Id. Rep. 432 C. Παθόντων ἀ μή τοτ' ὁφελον (sc. παθεῖν), when they suffered what would they had never suffered. Dem. xviii. 288; so 320. So ὧν ρώποτε ὁφελεῖν, Xen. Cyt. iv. 6, 3 (see 737).

735. This form with ὁφελον or ὁφελλον is the only expression known to Homer for past wishes, the secondary tenses of the indicative being not yet used in this construction, although they were already in good use in past (though not in present) conditions (435). In present wishes, Homer has the present optative (739) as well as the construction with ὁφελον. (See 438.)

736. For an explanation of the origin of the use of ὁφελον in wishes, see 424. It is there seen to be analogous to εἴθε and χρῆν with the infinitive, implying that what ought to be or to have been does not or did not happen. Only after its original meaning was obscured by familiar use could εἴθε or εἴ γάρ have been prefixed to it. Μή ὁφελον may be explained in the same way; or we may suppose that μή originally belonged to the infinitive, and afterwards came to negative the whole expression. See the examples in 734.

737. Ὡς, used as in 726, often precedes ὁφελον etc. in Homer, and rarely in the Attic poets. E.g.

"Ἡλθες ἐκ πολέμου; ὡς ὁφελεῖς ὁτόθ' ὀλέος θαί, would you had perished there. II. iii. 428. 'Ὡς δὴ μὴ ὁφελον νικᾶν τοῦτο ἐπ' ἀδῆλῳ, O that I had not been victorious in such a contest. Od. xi. 548.
738. Neither the secondary tenses of the indicative nor the form with ὄφελον in wishes can (like the optative) be preceded by the simple εἶ (without θε or γάρ).

739. (Present Wishes in Homer.) In Homer a present unattained wish may be expressed by the present optative, like a present unfulfilled condition (438). Here εἰθε or εἰ γάρ generally introduces the wish. E.g.

Εἰ γάρ ἔγων οὕτω γε Διός πάις αἰγάχω
εἶν ηματα πάντα, τέκοι δὲ με πότινα Ἡρη,
τοιμῆν δ’ ὡς τίττε Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἀπόλλων,
ὡς νῦν ἡμέρῃ γῆς κακών φέρει Ἀργείων,

O that I were the son of Zeus, and that Hera was my mother, and that I were honoured as Athêna and Apollo are honoured, etc. II. xiii. 825. (Here τέκοι is nearly equivalent to μὴ τοποῦ εἰγ: cf. δ’ τέκοισα, O mother, quoted under 732.) Almost the same wish occurs in II. viii. 538.

"Ω γέρων, εἰθ’ ὡς θυμὸς ἐνι στήθεσσι φιλοισιν
ὡς τοι γούναθ’ ἐποιτο, βίη δὲ τοι ἐμπεδος εἰγ’
ἀλλά σε γήρας τείρει ὤμοιον’ ὡς ὀφελεῖν τὸς
ἀνδρῶν ἄλλος ἔχειν, τοι δὲ κουρσαλώστι μετέναι,
would that, even as thy spirit is in thy breast, so thy knees obeyed and thy strength were firm. II. iv. 313. At the end we have the more common form of a present wish, ὀφελεῖν τίς ἄλλος ἔχειν, would that some other man had it (γῆρας).

Εἰθ’ ὡς ἡβόωμι, βίη δὲ μοι ἐμπεδος εἰγ’
τῷ κε τάχ’ ἀντήσει μάχης κυρίαλος Ἠκτωρ,
O that I were again so young, and my strength were firm, etc. II. vii. 157.

The same wish, in precisely the same words, occurs also in II. xi. 670, xxiii. 629, and Od. xiv. 468; also in II. vii. 132 in the form αἰ γάρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ, ἔτι ζεῖμ’ ἡβόωμι ὡς ὄτ’ . . . μάχοντο. See Od. xiv. 503, ὡς νῦν ἡβόωμι, repeating the idea of vs. 468. In Od. xviii. 79 we have νῦν μὲν μήτ’ εἰγ’ οὐγάιε, μήτε γένοιο, better that thou wert not now, thou braggar, and hadst never been born, where γένοιο looks like a past wish; but not having been born may be included in the present wish of εἰγ: compare τέκοι in II. xiii. 826 (above). For αἰ γάρ ἐλασαίατο, II. x. 536, see 93 (end).

For the infinitive with αἰ γάρ in a past unattained wish in Homer, see 786.

740. It has been seen that the use of the moods and tenses in both classes of wishes with εἰ γάρ and εἰθε is precisely the same as in the corresponding forms of protasis (455; 410). The analogy with the Latin is also the same as in protasis:—
ei γὰρ τὸῦτο ποιήῃ (or ποιήσῃ), O si hoc faciat, ὁ that he may do this; ei γὰρ τὸῦτο ἔποιε, O si hoc faceret, ὁ that he were doing this; ei γὰρ τὸῦτο ἐποίηκεν, O si hoc fecisset, ὁ that he had done this; ei γὰρ μὴ ἐγένετο, utinam ne factum esset, ὁ that it had not happened.

It must be remembered that it is the futurity of the object of a wish, and not its probability or possibility, that requires the optative. No amount of absurdity or extravagance in a future wish can make anything but the optative proper in expressing it. As Aristotle says (Eth. iii. 2, 7), βούλησις δ᾿ ἐστὶ τῶν ἀναβατῶν, olov ἀβάσας, wish may refer to impossibilities, as that we may live for ever; but this very wish would require the optative. So no amount of reasonableness in a present or past wish can make the imperfect or aorist indicative improper; for we may wish that the most reasonable thing were or had been ours, only such wishing implies that we do not or did not have it.
CHAPTER V.

THE INFINITIVE.

741. The infinitive is originally a verbal noun, expressing the simple idea of the verb. As a verb, it has voices and tenses; it has a subject (expressed or understood), which may define its number and person; it may have an object and other adjuncts; and, further, it is qualified by adverbs, and not by adjectives. It may have ἀν in a potential sense. It thus expresses the verbal idea with much greater definiteness than the corresponding substantives; compare, for example, πράττειν and πρᾶξαι with πρᾶξις, as expressions of the idea of doing.

742. The origin of the infinitive in a verbal noun is beyond question. In the oldest Sanskrit certain verbal nouns in the dative express purpose, that is, the object to or for which something is done, and are almost identical in form with the equivalent infinitives in the older Greek. Thus vidmāne, dative of vidman, knowledge (from root vid), may mean for knowing or in order to know (old English for to know); and in Homer we have ἔμεναι ( = Attic ἔδει) from the same root ἔδει. So Sanskrit dāvāne, dative of dāvan, giving (from root da), is represented in Greek by the Cyprian δόσεις ( = Attic δοσία) from root δο. It is safe to assume, therefore, that the Greek infinitive was originally developed in a similar way, chiefly from the dative of a primitive verbal noun; that in the growth of the language this case-form became obscured, its origin as a dative was forgotten, and it

1 Whitney (Sanskrit Grammar, p. 314) says of these primitive Sanskrit datives: “It is impossible to draw any fixed line between the uses classed as infinitive and the ordinary case-uses.” See Delbrück, Synt. Forsch. iv. p. 121; and Monro, Hom. Gr. p. 163.
came to be used for other cases of the verbal noun, especially the accusative; that it was allowed to take an object, like the corresponding verb, and afterwards a subject (in the accusative) to make the agent more distinct; that in course of time, as its relation to the verb became closer, it developed tenses like those of the verb, so as to appear as a regular mood of the verb. The final step, taken when the use of the definite article was established, was to allow the half-noun and half-verb to have the article and so be declined like a noun in four cases, while it still retained its character as a verb. This last step was taken after Homer; but the earlier stages were already passed, more or less decidedly, before the Homeric period, so that they cannot be traced historically. Thus, although the infinitive in Homer retained some of its uses as a dative more distinctly than the later infinitive, it is hardly possible that those who used the Homeric language retained any consciousness of the original dative; for the infinitive was already established as an accusative and a nominative, it had formed its various tenses to express present, past, and future time, and it could even be used with ἄν (683). Indeed, the condition in which the infinitive appears in indirect discourse in Homer seems utterly inconsistent with any conscious survival of its force as a dative (see examples in 683).

743. The later addition of the article enlarged the uses of the infinitive and extended it to new constructions, especially to the use with prepositions. It thus gained a new power of taking adjuncts, not merely single words, but whole dependent clauses. (See examples in 806.) In all the constructions which were developed before the article came into use with the infinitive, as when it is the subject or the object of a verb, or follows adjectives or nouns, the infinitive continued to be used regularly without the article, although even in these constructions the article might be added to emphasise the infinitive more especially as a noun, or to enable it to carry adjuncts which would otherwise be cumbersome; in other words, all constructions in which the original force of the noun had become obscured or forgotten before the article began to be used generally remained in their original form. On the other hand, newer expressions, in which the infinitive was distinctly felt as a noun in the structure of the sentence, generally added the article to designate the case.

744. The subject of the infinitive, if expressed, is in the accusative. The most indefinite infinitive, so far as it is a verb, must at least have a subject implied; but as the infinitive has no person or number in itself, its subject can remain more obscure than that of a finite verb. Thus καλόν ἵστην ἀποθανεῖν, it is
glorious to die, may imply a subject in any number or person, according to the context, while ἀποθνῄσκειν or ἀπεθανεῖν must have an implied subject in the accusative; and if this is not pointed out by the context, we can supply τινά or τινός, as sometimes appears when a predicate word agrees with the omitted subject, as in φιλοθέτων εἶναι δὲ (sc. τινά), one must be humane, Isoc. ii. 15, and ἰδών τινόν θανεῖν (sc. τινός), it is sweeter to die acting, Eur. Hel. 814. The infinitive of indirect discourse, which seems to have been developed originally by the Greek language, must always refer to a definite subject, as it represents a finite verb in a definite mood, tense, number, and person. Other infinitives, both with and without the article, may have a subject whenever the sense demands it, although sometimes the meaning of the leading verb makes it impossible to express an independent subject, as in περιφέρει μανθάνειν, he tries to learn. In general, when the subject of the infinitive is the same as the subject or object of the leading verb, or when it has been clearly expressed elsewhere in the sentence, it is not repeated with the infinitive.¹

A. INFINITIVE WITHOUT THE ARTICLE.

Infinitive as Subject, Predicate, or Appositive.

745. The infinitive may be the subject nominative of a finite verb, or the subject accusative of another infinitive. It is especially common as subject of an impersonal verb or of ἔστι. It may also be a predicate nominative or accusative, and it may stand in apposition to a noun in the nominative or accusative. E.g.

Συνέβη αυτῷ ἐλθεῖν, it happened to him to go. Ὡς ἐνετί τούτῳ ποιήσας, it is not possible to do this. Ἀδικοῦτον ἔστι τούτῳ ποιήσας.

'Εξήν αυτῷ μένειν, he might have remained (i.e. to remain was possible for him). Δεῖ μένειν. Κύ μή γάρ τι κακὸν βασιλεύειν, for it

¹ A few exceptional cases are quoted by Birklein (p. 93) in which the infinitive with the article appears to have a subjective genitive, like an ordinary verbal noun, instead of a subject accusative. These are γυρνώσκω τὰς τοῦτων ἀπελάς ὥς ἔτην συφρομμένοις ἡ ἄλλων τὸ ἁπάν κολαζέιν, Xen. An. vii. 7, 24; τὸ εὖ φρονεῖν αὐτῶν μιμεῖσθαι, Dem. xix. 269; and τῆς πόλεως τέθηκε τοῖς ἄδικοις μεσέως, Lc. 289. In the first case the parallelism between τοῦτων and ἄλλων caused the anomaly; in the second, αὐτῶν has a partitive force, as if it were τοῦτῳ αὐτῶν μιμεῖσθαι; and in the third, πόλεως is separated from the infinitive by the verb, and the idea is whether the hatred of evil-doers has died out (i.e. disappeared from) the state. In none of these cases would a subject accusative be the exact equivalent of the genitive. For undoubted examples in later Greek, see Trans. of Am. Phil. Assoc. for 1877, p. 7.
is no bad thing to be a king. Od. i. 392. ‘Aei γὰρ ἢβεῖ τοῖς γέρωνιν ἐό μαθεῖν. Αἰσχ. Ag. 584. Πολὺ γὰρ βίον ἐχουσας φυλάττειν ἢ κτῆσασθαι πάντα πέφυκεν. Dem. ii. 26. (Compare i. 23, quoted in 790.) Ἦδε γοῦν ὅλλοις ἐξθρονος ἐχεῖν; Id. xix. 221. Δοκεῖ οἰκονόμου ἀγαθοῦ εἶναι ὡσ οἰκεῖν τὸν ἱαστὸν οἰκον. Xen. Oec. i. 2. Φησὶ δὲν. τοῦτο ποιήσαι, he says that it is necessary to do this. (Here ποιήσαι as accusative is subject of δὲν.) Τὸ γνῶναι ἐπιστήμην ποῖν λαβεῖν ἐστι, to learn is to acquire knowledge (pred. nom.). Plat. Theaet. 209 E. Συνεβή τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις θορυβηθῆναι, it chanced that the Athenians fell into confusion. Thuc. v. 10. Οἱ φάσκαιν ἄνεκτον εἶναι εὐγείσθαι κρατεῖν βασιλεία τῶν πόλεων. Id. viii. 52. (Here κρατεῖν βασιλεία τῶν πόλεων is subject of ἐγείσθαι, which is subject of εἶναι, the whole being object of φάσκαιν.) Εἰς οἰωνὸς ἀρατος, ομίλιος θαυμ. περί πάρας, one omen is best, to fight for our country. II. xii. 243.

For the subject infinitive in indirect discourse, see 751.

**Infinitive as Object.**

746. The infinitive may be the object of a verb, generally appearing as the accusative of the direct object, sometimes as the accusative of kindred meaning. Here belong (1) the infinitive after verbs of wishing, commanding, and the like (not in indirect discourse), and (2) the infinitive in indirect discourse as the object of verbs of saying and thinking.

For the infinitive in indirect discourse, see 751.

**Object Infinitive not in Indirect Discourse.**

747. The verbs which take the ordinary object infinitive are in general the same in Greek as in English. Any verb whose action directly implies another action or state as its object, if this object is to be expressed by a verb and not by a noun, may take the infinitive.

Such are verbs signifying to wish, ask, advise, entreat, exhort, command, persuade, compel, teach, learn, accustom, cause, intend, begin, attempt, effect, permit, decide, dare, prefer, choose; those expressing willingness, unwillingness, eagerness, caution, neglect, danger, postponement, forbidding, hindrance, escape, etc.; and all implying ability, fitness, desert, qualification, sufficiency, necessity, or their opposites. E.g.

Διδάσκων αὐτὸν βιβλία, they teach him to read. Ἑραθὼν τοῦτο ποιήσαι, they learned to do this. Βούλεται ἔλθειν. Παραμελοῦσιν σοι...
The city is in danger of being destroyed. They proposed to choose generals. They forbade the allies to go to the Ishmous. They proposed to choose generals. They would not permit them to do this (815, 1). I claim the right to take this. He is thought to deserve death. He is not born to be a slave. He is not born to be a slave.

This use of the infinitive is too familiar to need more illustration. The uses commonly used are the present and aorist (87), for examples of which see 96; for the perfect see 109 and 110; for the exceptional future see 113; and for the infinitive with ἔν (seldom used in this construction) see 211. For μὴ and μὴ oú with the infinitive (as used above) see 815-817.

The poets, especially Homer, allow an infinitive after many verbs which commonly do not take this construction. The meaning of the verb, however, makes the sense clear. E.g.

'Οδύρονται οὐκάνδε νέοσθαι, they renew (i.e. long) to go home. I. ii. 290. Ἑπευφήμησαν Ἄρχαιοι αἰδείοσθαι ἱερή, the Achaeans showed with applause, (commanding) that they should reverence the priest. I. i. 22. Ὀφρα τις ἐρράγησε κακά ἰέξαι, that one may shudder (dread) to do evil. I. ii. 353. Ἐκτοπα μεῖναι μοῦρα πέδησεν, Fate bound (fettered) Hector to remain. I. xxii. 5.

For the infinitive of direct object after verbs of fearing and caution, see 373. For the infinitive (not in indirect discourse) after χρῆσαι and other verbs meaning to give an oracle, see 98.

When a noun and a verb (especially ἔστι) form an expression which is equivalent to any of the verbs above mentioned (747), they may take the infinitive. Some other expressions with a similar force may have the infinitive. E.g.

'Ανάγκη ἐστὶ πάντωσι ἀπελθεῖν. Κύνδυνος ἦν αὐτῷ πάθειν τι. Ὀκίος ἐστὶ μοι τοῦτο ποιήσαι. Φόβος ἐστίν αὐτῷ ἐλθεῖν. Οὔ μάρτυς εἰμι τάφραν γνώναι, I am not enough of a prophet to decide, etc. Eur. Hipp. 346. (Here ability is implied in μάρτυς εἰμί.)
THE INFINITIVE

750. In laws, treaties, proclamations, and formal commands, the infinitive, is often used in the leading sentences, depending on some word like ἔσοδε, it is enacted, or κελεύσαι, it is commanded; which may be either expressed in a preceding sentence or understood. E.g.

Ταμαίας δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων αἱρεῖσθαι μὲν ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων τιμημάτων τὴν δὲ αἱρεῖσθαι τούτων καὶ τὴν δοκιμασίαν γέγονεσθαι καθάπερ ἢ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐγέρνεσθαι, and (it is enacted) that treasurers of the sacred funds be chosen. etc. Plat. Leg. 759 E. So in most of the laws (genuine or spurious) standing as quotations in the text of the orators, as in Dem. xxiii. 22: δικαίωσιν δὲ τὴν ἐν Ἀρείῳ τάγμα φόνον καὶ τραύματος ἐκ προνοίας, κ.τ.λ. See Ar. Av. 1661. "Ετη δὲ ἐσθανὸς τὰς σπονδὰς πεντήκοστα, and that the treaty shall continue fifty years. Thuc. v. 18. 'Ακούειν λέγει τοὺς ὀπλώτας νυμμαί τάνειαι θωπαῖ ἀπέλευμαι τᾶλεν οἰκαί. Ar. Av. 448.

Infinitive in Indirect Discourse.

751. The infinitive in indirect discourse is generally the object of a verb of saying or thinking or some equivalent expression. It may also be the subject of a passive verb of this class.
755. When an indirect quotation has been introduced by an infinitive, a dependent relative or temporal clause sometimes takes the infinitive by assimilation, where we should expect an indicative or optative. The temporal particles ὅς, ὅτε, ἐπε, ἐπεδῆ, as well as the relative pronouns, are used in this construction. Herodotus uses even εἰ, if, and ὅτι, because, in the same way. E.g.
THE INFINITIVE

Metâ δὲ, ὡς οὖ παύεσθαι, ἀκέα διηγηθαι (λέγοντω), and afterwards, when it did not cease, they say that they sought for remedies. 

Hdt. i. 94. (Here we should expect ὡς οὖν ἐπάυεσθαι.) 'Ὡς δὲ ἀκόισαι τοὺς παράνωτας, θάρσου θεὸν εὔνοια (φαίνω), they say that, when those present heard it, there was a tumult. 

Dem. xix. 195. Ἑπειδὴ δὲ γενέσθαι εἰπὶ τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῇ Ἀγαθώνω, (ἐφ' ἀνεφερμένη καταλαμβάνει τὴν θύραν. 

Plat. Symp. 174 D. Ἐφ' ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκβῆναι τὴν ψυχήν, πορευόμεθα. 

Id. Rep. 614 B. So ὡς φαίνεσθαι, as it appeared, 359 D. Δέχεται Ἀλκαμίων, ὅτε δὴ ἀλάσθαι εὐτῶν, τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ταύτην τὴν γῆν χρύσαι οἴκειν. 

Thuc. ii. 102. Καὶ ὅσα αὐτ' ἐκείνων βουλεύεσθαι, οὐδένος ὕστερον γνώμη φανεραί (ἐφ' ὅσιοι). 

Id. i. 91. (Here ἐβουλεύοντο would be the common form.) 'Ἡγομένης δὴ ἀληθείας οὐκ ἐν ποτὲ φαίμεν αὐτῇ χρόνον κακῶν ἀκολουθήσαι, ἀλλ' ἡγεῖς τε καὶ δίκαιων Ἰσιών, ὥσπερ σωφροσύνην ἐπισεβαί. 

Plat. Rep. 490 C. Εἰ γάρ δὴ δεῖν πάνως περιθέϊναι ἄλλω τέρπῃ τὴν Ἐισαγήθη, (ἐφ' ἐνδικαίωτερον εἶναι Μιθωνίτην τέρπω περιβαλέν τοῦτο, for ὃς he was bound (= eἰ ἔδει) to give the kingdom to any other, etc. 

Hdt. i. 129. Εἰ δὲν εἶναι τῷ θεῷ τοῦτο μὴ φιλον, ὅσον αὐτῷ, if this were (= eἰ ἦν) not pleasing to God. 

Id. ii. 64. So iii. 108 (eἰ μὴ γίνεσθαι = eἰ μὴ ἐγίνετο, had not occurred); vii. 229 (eἰ ἀπονοστῆσαι, if he had returned); ii. 172 (eἰ εἶναι, if he was); iii. 105 (eἰ μὴ προλαμβάνεις = eἰ μὴ προλαμβάνειν). 

Τιμᾶν δὲ Σαμίων ἐφ' ἐνδικτη ταφήναι, ὥστε καὶ τῶν σαπεῖν δημοσία ὧν Σαμίων. 

Id. iii. 55. 

756. In some cases, particularly when the provisions of a law are quoted, a relative is used with the infinitive, even when no infinitive precedes. 

E.g. 'Εθήκεν ἐφ' οἷς ἔξειναι ἀποκτεινούναι, he enacted on what conditions it is allowed to kill. 

Dem. xx. 158. Καὶ διὰ τὰτά, ἐν τὶς ἀποκτείνῃ τινὰ, τὴν βουλίνι δικάξειν ἐγγίζετε, καὶ οὐχ ἀπέρα, ἐν ἀλλ', εἴναι, and he did not enact what should be done if he should be convicted. 

Id. xxiii. 26. (Here εἶναι, the reading of Cod. Σ, is amply defended by the preceding example, in which all allow ἔξειναι.) 

Δέκα γάρ ἄν δεῖ προαίηνον αὐτῷ ἐξεβούλους, ἀνεν δὴ κύριον εἶναι ἀπαγεῖν οτρατιάν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. 

Thuc. v. 63.

757. In narration, the infinitive often appears to stand for the indicative. It depends, however, on some word like λέγεται, it is said, expressed (or at least implied) in something that precedes. 

E.g. 'Απικομένους δὲ τοὺς Φοίνικας εἶ δὴ τὸ 'Αργον τοῦτο, διατίθεσθαι τὸν φόρτον, (and they say) that the Phoenicians, when now they had come to this Argos, were setting out their cargo for sale. 

Hdt. i. 1. (Here διατίθεσθαι is imperfect.) 'Αλλ', ὃ παῖ, φανεῖ τὸν 'Αστυάγγη, 'οὐκ ἀχόμενοι ταύτῃ περιπλανώμεθα. Ἀλλὰ καὶ σὲ, φάναι τὸν Κύρον, ὁ ἡγόμενος, κ.τ.λ. 

Kai τὸν 'Αστυάγγην ἐπερέθαι, καὶ τίνι δὴ σὺ πεκμαίρομενοι λέγεις; 'Οτι σὲ, φάναι, ὃ ἡγόμενος, κ.τ.τ. Πρὸς ταύτα δὲ τὸν 'Αστυάγγην εἰπεῖν, κ.τ.λ. 

Kai τὸν Κύρον εἶπεῖν, κ.τ.λ. 

Xen. Cyrt. i. 3, 5 and 6. (Here all these infinitives, and twelve
others which follow, depend on λέγεται in § 4. Καὶ τὸν κελεύσαι δοῦναι, and he commanded him to give it. Id. i. 3, 9. So in Ἰστ. i. 24 the story of Ἀριων and the dolphin is told in this construction, the infinitives all depending on λέγωσι at the beginning.

Infinitive after Adjectives, Adverbs, and Nouns.

758. The infinitive may depend on adjectives denoting ability, fitness, desert, qualification, sufficiency, readiness, and their opposites; and, in general, those expressing the same relations as the verbs which govern the infinitive (747). The omitted subject of the infinitive is the same as the substantive to which the adjective belongs. Ἐγ.

Δυνατὸς τοιεῖν, able to do. Δεινὸς λέγειν, skilled in speaking. Ἄξιος ἐτοι ὁλῇς λαβεῖν, he deserves to receive this. Ἀξίος τιμᾶσθαι, worthy to be honoured. Οὐχ οὗτος τὸ δὲ τοῦτο ἴδειν, he was not able to see this. Πρόθυμος λέγειν, eager to speak. Εὔθυμος κινδύνων ὑπομένειν, ready to endure danger.

Θερμοκλέα, ἵκανώτατος ἐπείναι καὶ γνῶναι καὶ πράξαι. Λυσ. ii. 42. Αἱ γὰρ ἀντραξίαι δειναὶ συγκρύψαι τὰ ποιαῦσαν οὐνεῖθ. Δεμ. ii. 20. Κυρίων ἐποίησαν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς ἐποίησας, they gave it (the Areopagus) power to superintend good order. Ἰσο. vii. 39. Βίην δὲ ἄδινατο ἴσων προσφέρειν. Ἰστ. iii. 138. Μαθαικοὶ καρποῖνειν, too efferminate to endure. Πλ. Rep. 556 B. Ταπεινὴ ἴμων ἡ διάνοια ἐγκαρπεῖν ἐγνώστε, your minds are too dejected to persevere, etc. Θυκ. ii. 61. (In the last two examples, μαθαικοὶ and ταπεινὸς govern the infinitive by the idea of inability implied in them.) Χρήματα παρίζειν εὐτυχῶς τατον γνη. Λυσ. Eccl. 236. Χρόνοις δὴ συμφορᾶς τός τῶν πέλας πάντες διαθεῖν ἢ τόξος τός οἰκοθεν. Εὐρ. Fr. 103. Ἐπιστήμων λέγειν τε καὶ σιγᾶν. Πλ. Phaed. 276 A. Τάλλα εὑρήσεις ὑποργεῖν ὀντας ἵμας οὐ κακοίς. Αρ. Pac. 430.

For examples of nouns followed by the infinitive in a similar sense, see 749. (See also 766.)

759. The infinitive after συνήθωσιν ὁδὸς and συνήθωσιν ὀδός depends on the idea of ability, fitness, or sufficiency which is expressed in these combinations. The antecedent may be omitted, leaving ὁδὸς with the infinitive in the sense of able, fit, likely, and ὀδός in that of sufficient.

Ἐπεξ ὁδὸς ἐξ ὁδὸς ἐτύπτω μετὰ βάλλεισθαί, that I am (such)
a man (as) to be always changing. Xen. Hell. ii. 3, 45. Οὔ γὰρ ἦν ὂρα οὗτα τὸ πέδιον ἀπὸ τοῦ γινετοῦ, for it was not the proper season to irrigate the land. Id. An. ii, 3, 13. Νεμομένων τὰ αὐτῶν ἐκαστοῦ ὅσον ἀποζημῆν, each cultivating their own land enough (to an extent sufficient) to live upon it.

TEUC. i. 2. Ἐλεύθερο τῷς νικητῶν δοσμὶν σκοτωτοῖσι διελθεῖν τὸ πέδιον, there was left enough of the night for crossing the plain in the dark. Xen. An. iv. 1, 5.

This construction suggests at once the analogous use of οὕτως ὡστε or ὡστε alone, in the sense of so as, with the infinitive (see 593). Here, as with ὡστε, the subject of the infinitive is not restricted as it is in 758.

760. In Homer, the pronominal adjectives τοῦτος, τοιῶσθε, τοιῶτος, τόσος, τλίκος, and ποῖος, without a relative, sometimes take an infinitive in the same way (759); as ἡμεῖς δὲ ὦν νῦ τι τοιῶτον ἀμυνομένου, but we are not able to keep it off, Od. ii. 60; τοιῶτοι καὶ εἰρ. Ὑδυσσόμην ἀμυνόμενον; Od. xxi. 195. See also Il. vi. 463; Od. iii. 205, vii. 309, xvii. 20.

761. Certain impersonal verbs (like ἐνιστὶ, πρέπει, προσήκει), which regularly take an infinitive as their subject (745), are used in the participle in a personal sense with the infinitive, the participle having the force of one of the adjectives of 758. Thus τὰ ἑνότα εἰπεῖν is equivalent to τὰ ἑνότα εἰπεῖν, what it is permitted to say; τὰ προσηκοῦσα ἐβηθῆναι is equivalent to τὰ προσήκεις ἐβηθῆναι, what is proper to be said, as if it represented a personal construction like ταῦτα προσήκεις ἐβηθῆναι, these things are becoming to be said. E.g.

Κατόςων τὸ πλήθος τῶν ἑνότων εἴπεῖν, seeing the number of things that may be said. Isoc. v. 110. Τὸν θεόν καλεῖ οὖν προσήκοντα ἐν γίγνεσαι παραστάσει, he is calling on the God who ought not to be present at lamentations. Aesch. Ag. 1079. (Προσηκοῦσα is used like adjectives meaning fit, proper.) Θράξι, ἐπεὶ πρέπειν ἐφής πρὸ τῶν εἰμίν. Soph. O. T. 8. Σο τὰ ἡμῖν παραγγελθέντα διεξέλθειν (= ἀ παραγγελθῆν ἡμῖν διεξελθεῖν). Plat. Tim. 90 E.

762. In the same way (761) certain adjectives, like δίκαιος, ἐπικαίριος, ἐπίτηδειος, ἐπίδοξος, may be used personally with the infinitive; as δίκαιος ἐστὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖν, it is right for him to do this (equivalent to δικαίως ἐστιν αὐτῶν τοῦτο ποιεῖν). E.g.

Φηλὰ τολλῷ μεῖζόνοιν ἐπὶ τοίνυν διαρρέων δίκαιον εἰμι τους χανεῖν, I say that I have a right to receive even for greater rewards than these. Dem. xviii. 53. Ἐσκόμην ἐπιτῆδειον εἰμι νῦν εἰκεῖτε, they seemed to be convenient persons to be disposed of. Thuc. viii. 70. Θεοπευσθόμην ἐπικαίριον, important persons to be taken care of. Xen. Cyr. vii. 2, 25. Τούτου τού νῦν εἰπεῖν γενέσθαι, it is to be expected that this will result from it. Hist. i. 89. Πολλοὶ ἐπίδοξοι τοιῶτο χεισοθαί εἰσι, it is to be expected that many will suffer this same thing. Id. vi. 12 (for the future infinitive see 113).

763. Any adjective may take an infinitive to limit its
meaning to a particular action; as αἰσχρόν ὅραν, disgraceful to look upon. The infinitive is here regularly active or middle, even when the passive would seem more natural. The omitted subject of the infinitive (except when it is passive) is distinct from that of the adjective. E.g.

Αἰσχρόν γάρ τόδε γ’ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐσομένοις πυθόσθαι, for this is disgraceful even for future men to hear. II. ii. 119. So II. i. 107 and 589. Τοὺς γάρ ἀπέρ τούτων λόγους ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀναγκαστάτους προειπεῖν ἡγοῦμαι, ἡμῖν δὲ χρησιμοτάτους ἀκούσαι, i.e. most necessary for me to speak, and most useful for you to hear. Dem. xxi. 24. Φοβείρων προσοπολέμησαι, a terrible man to fight against. Id. ii. 22. (Οἰκία) ἤδιστη ἐνδιατάσσει, a house most pleasant to live in. Xen. Mem. iii. 8, 8. Χαλεπώστατα εὑρεῖν, hardest to find: ἥρατα ἐνυγχάνειν, easiest to obtain. Id. i. 6, 9. (Πολιτεία) χαλέπη συνήν, a form of government hard to live under: ἄνωμος δὲ (μοναρχία) χαλέπη καὶ βαρυτάτη εὐνοικήσα. Plat. Polit. 302 B and E. Λόγος δυνατὸς κατανοῆσαι, a speech capable of being understood (which it is possible to understand). Id. Phaed. 90 D. ὁ χρόνος βραχύς δὲ ἐγχόρασθαι, the time is too short for narrating it properly. Id. Menex. 239 B. ἡ ὄδος ἐπιτρέπει καμπανάμενοι καὶ λέγειν καὶ ἀκούειν, convenient both for speaking and for hearing. Id. Symp. 173 B. Πότερον δὲ λούσασθαι ψυχρότερον; which of the two (waters) is colder for bathing? Xen. Mem. iii. 13, 3.

(Passive.) (Κύνες) αἰσχρόλ ὄρασθαι (instead of ὅραω). Id. Cyn. iii. 3. Ἡστε δ’ αἱ λόγοι φιλαπεκχήμων μὲν, ἡθήναι δ’ οὐκ ἀπόφοις. Isoc. xv. 115.

The infinitive with adjectives (here and in 758) shows distinct traces of its origin as a dative, though this origin was already forgotten. See 742 (end) and 767.

764. (a) The infinitive after the comparative with ὅ̣ depends on the idea of ability or inability implied in the expression. E.g.

Τὸ γάρ νόσημα μεῖζον ὃς φέρειν, for the disease is too heavy to bear. Soph. O. T. 1293. (See 763, above.) Ὁ ἄθρωπον ὁ φόος ἀθενήσταρα ὃ λαβέιν τέχνην δι’ ἓν ὃ ἀπεριτό, human nature is too weak to acquire the art of these things of which it has no experience. Plat. THEM. 149 C. (See 758.)

(b) Ἡμέρες οὐ ἐστιν are sometimes expressed before this infinitive; as in Xen. Heli. iv. 8, 23, γράμματος αὐτὸν ἐλάττω ἔχοντα δύναμιν ὃ ἀντε τοὺς φιλουσ ὃφελεῖν, and Cyr. vi. 4, 17, τὰς ἀσπίδας μείζους ἔχουσιν ὃς ἢ ἄλλοις τι καὶ ὅραν. (See 588.)

765. The infinitive may be used after adverbs which correspond to the adjectives of 763. E.g.

Συνεβαλλόντος κατωτέρων ὅτι ἀν τοὺς μὲν εὖνοις κάλλιστα ἠδὲν ποιῶν τὴν ἐξέλασιν, τοῖς δὲ δυσμενέστατοι φοβερώστατα, he took counsel with him how he might proceed forth in a manner most splendid for the friendly to behold, and most terrible for the indisposed. Xen. Cyr. viii. 3, 5.
766. Certain nouns, which correspond in meaning to adjectives which take the infinitive as in 763, may themselves have the same construction. *E.g.*

θάμα ἰδεῖν θαί, a wonderful thing to behold (like θαμαστόν ἰδεῖν θαί). Od. viii. 366. See the examples under 749.

767. In Homer, verbs expressing excellence or fitness sometimes take a limiting infinitive, like adjectives of similar meaning. *E.g.*

"Ειρτορος ἦν γυνή, ὃς ἄρατεύσεκε μάχεσθαί, this is the wife of Hector, who was the first (= ἀριστος ἂν) in fighting. I. vi. 460. Ὁμήρους ἐκείνου ἔκκαμεν ἡρώδης γνώναι καὶ ἀνάξιαμα μαθήσασθαί, he excelled all of his age in knowledge of birds and in declaring fate. Od. ii. 158. Οἱ περὶ μὲν βουληθὰν Δαναῶν, περὶ δ᾽ ἐστὶ μάχεσθαί, ye who excel the Danaï in counsel and excel them in battle. I. i. 258. (Here βουλήθαν shows that μάχεσθαί was already felt as a limiting accusative, notwithstanding its primitive force as a dative. See 763, and 742, end.)

768. Even in Attic Greek a limiting infinitive, like the Homeric infinitive just mentioned (767), is sometimes found. Especially ἀκούειν, ἀκούσατε, in sound, and ὅραν, ἰδεῖν, in appearance, are used in this way. *E.g.*

Δοκεῖς οὖν τι διαφέρειν αὐτοῖς ἰδεῖν χαλκέως φιλακροῦ καὶ σμικροῦ; dō yōn think that they differ at all in appearance from a bald little tinker? Plut. Rep. 495 E. Ἀκούσατε παγκάλλως ἔχει, it is very fine to hear. Dem. xix. 47. Πράγματα παρέξουσιν (οὶ ἐπτοι) ἐπιμέλεισθαί, the horses will be troublesome to tend. Xen. Cyr. iv. 5, 46.

769. The Homeric use of ὁμοίως, equal, like, with the infinitive belongs here. *E.g.*

Λειτοστροφ χώνος, θείειν δ᾽ ἄφεμουσιν ὁμοίως, (horses) whiter than snow, and like the winds in swiftness (lit. to run). I. x. 437. Οὐ γάρ οἱ τις ὁμοίως ἐπιστεύει θαί ποιεῖν ἤν, ἄνδρῶν προσώπων, for none was like him for following with his feet when men fled. I. xiv. 521.

**Infinitive of Purpose.**

770. The infinitive may express a purpose. *E.g.*

Τρώων ἄνδρα ἐκεῖσθαι (εἰ) ἐλοιμέδα ὀινοχοεύειν, if we should choose every man of the Trojans to be our cup-bearers. II. ii. 127. Χέρσυβα δ᾽ ἀμφίπολος προχόρει ἐπέχειν φέρουσα, νίφασθαι, i.e. brought and poured water for washing. Od. i. 136. So II. i. 338, δόσ αγεῖν, and II. 107, 108. Τὰν εὖ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴν ἐπέτυγχαν ἐπιμέλεισθαί τῆς εὔκομας, i.e. to guard good order. Isoc. viii. 37. Οἱ ἀρχινότε, οἱ ἴμεμεν εἰλοσθε ἐρχεῖν μου, the rulers, whom you chose to rule me. Plut. Ap. 28 E. Δέκα δὲ τῶν νεὼν προοδευσάν ἐστὶν μέγαν λυμένα πλευσάτε καὶ κατασκέψασθαί, καὶ κηρυκή, κ.τ.λ., i.e. they sent them to sail and examine, and to proclaim, etc. Thuc. vii. 50. Τοὺς ἵππους παρείχοντο Πελοεπονθησίως ἐφιπατησαίειν. Id. ii. 12. Συνεῖρθαν τοῖς Πλαταέσσι παραδοοῦν σφόδροι αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ ὅπλα, χρήσιασθαί.
771. Here, as in 763, the infinitive is generally active or middle, even where the passive would seem more natural; as κτανεῖν ἔμοι νῦν ἔδοσαν, they gave her to me to be killed. Eur. Tro. 874.

772. (a) The infinitive is thus used in prose chiefly after verbs signifying to choose or appoint, to give or take, to express the purpose for which anything is given or taken; and also after those signifying to send or bring. (See examples in 770.) With the last class the future participle is still more common (840). A final clause after ἵνα etc. may also be used in the same sense.

(b) In poetry, the same construction occurs after verbs of motion, like εἰμι, ἦκω, and βαίνω; and also after εἰμί, ἐπειμέ, and πάρεμι (to be, to be at hand), expressed or understood. E.g.

'Αλλὰ τις εἰπειν Ἀρηίδη Ἀγαμέμνον, συμάχει λαόν, but let some one go to tell Agamemnon. Od. xiv. 496. Βῇ δὲ θέειν, and he started to run. H. ii. 183. Οὐδὲ τὸν ἄρνη καί λογίν αἱμίναι, nor is there any one to keep off curse and turba. H. xxiv. 489. Πολλοὺς ὅ' αὖ σεί' Ἀχαϊοι ἐναρέμευν ὅν κε ἄρην, i.e. for you to slay whomsoever you can. H. ii. 229. Ὡ γὰρ ἐπ' ἄνθροπος ὁδοὶ ὁδοσσεῖν ἐσκε, ἄρην ἀπό οἴκου ἄμουναι. Od. ii. 59. Μανθάνειν γὰρ ἦκομεν, for we are come to learn. Soph. O. C. 12.

(c) Even in prose, the infinitive occasionally occurs after εἰπέ in this sense, as in Plat. Phaedr. 229 Αὐτὸν ἱκεῖ σκῶ τ' ἐστί, καί τόκα καθίζοντας ζατακληθίναι, there is grass to sit upon, etc. See also Xen. An. ii. 1, 6, πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ πέλται καὶ ἀμάξαι ἤγοντο φέροντας ἔρημοι, i.e. they were left to be carried away.

773. In Homer and Herodotus εἶναι is often introduced to denote a purpose, where in Attic Greek a simple noun, connected directly with the leading verb, would be sufficient. E.g.

Θάρρος, τὸν ποτὲ οἷς Κίνδυνος δέος ἐξεύτρεψεν εἶναι, i.e. which they gave him as a present (lit. to be a present). H. xi. 20. Λίθον εἴλετο
κεφη παχεις, τόν ρ' ανδρες προτεροι θεσαι χμεναι οδρον αροτρης, which former men had placed (to be) as a boundary of the land.  II. xxi. 405. Δαρειως καταστησας Αρταφέρνεα άπαρχον είναι Σαρδιών. Hist. v. 25. So in the passive construction: Γελων άπεδευθη πάσης τοις άπω είναι άπαρχος. Id. vii. 154.

774. Even in Attic prose, this use of είναι (773) sometimes occurs; as in Dem. xxix. 25, μημονευοσιν αφεθεντα τοιτον ελευθερον είναι τότε, they remember his having been then manumitted (so as) to be a freemman. So αφιρσιν αυτα δεμοσία είναι, he gives them up to be public property. Thuc. ii. 13.

775. The simple infinitive in Homer may express a result as well as a purpose, as ὄστε is seldom used there in the sense of so as (589). It thus follows many expressions which would not allow it in Attic Greek. Ἔγ.

Τοι το αρ σωφο θεων ἐριδι ἐννήμερε μάχεος θαι; i.e. who brought them into conflict, so as to contend? II. i. 51. So i. 151; and ἐριζεμιν, ii. 214. Ἀλλ' οτε δι' κολιν νης ηχης τοιτο νεεος θαι, when now their ship was loaded, so as (to be ready) to sail. Od. xv. 457.

For the infinitive in consecutive sentences with ὄστε or ὄς, and ἐφ' ὥς or ἐφ' ὄστε, see 582-600; 606-610.

For the infinitive with πριν, see 626-631.

Absolute Infinitive.1

776. The infinitive may stand absolutely in certain parenthetical phrases, expressing a limitation or qualification of some word or of the whole sentence.

777. 1. Most frequent are the simple ὅς ἐτος εἰπείν and ὅς εἰπείν, so to speak; and ὅς εἰπείν or εἰπείν with an adverb or other adjunct, sometimes with an object. Ἔγ.


1 See Grünewald, Der freie formalhafte Infinitiv der Limitation im Griechischen, in Schanz’s Botriigen, Hoft 6.
eitein. PLAT. Prot. 317 B. ἄνεσεται ἐπειν, ἀνέπνευσα, SOPH. O. T. 1220.

2. Other verbs of saying are used in the same way with ὡς. E.g.

'Ὁς τοποῦ φρασάει. AESCH. Ag. 1584. ὡς ἐκ τοῦ παραχώρημα λέγειν. PLAT. Crat. 399 D. ὡς γε ἐν τῷ νῦν παρόντι λέγειν. Id. Leg. 857 C. ὡς ἐν φρασίμιοι. Id. Polit. 282 B. ὡς πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰρήσθαι, i.e. between ourselves. Id. Rep. 595 B. ὡς γε πρὸς σέ εἰρήσθαι ταλαμῇ. Id. Prot. 339 E. ὡς ἐν τύπῳ, μη δὲ ἀκριβεῖας, εἰρήσθαι. Id. Rep. 414 A.

For ὡς λόγῳ eitein in Herodotus, see 762.

778. Ὑμοὶ δοκεῖν or (less frequently) ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν means in my opinion, it seems to me. Other similar expressions are (ὡς) εἰκάσαταί, to make a guess; (ὡς) συμβάλλειν, to compare, if we may compare; (ὡς) ἀκούσας, to the ear; ὡς ἔθειν or ὡς ἔθειν, to the eye, in appearance; ὡς ἔμε εἴδον, so far as my knowledge goes; ὡς τεκμηρίσαταί, so far as one can judge. E.g.

'Αλλ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, τάχ', εἰπει, δητ. methinks, you will soon know. AESCH. Pers. 246: so SOPH. El. 410. Αὐτόχθονες δοκεῖν ἐμοὶ εἶμι. HDT. i. 172. Ἀπετέμπητο η ὑπερτοιχή, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ἐπὶ Λιβύης καταστροφῇ. Id. iv. 167. Δοκεῖν δ' ἐμοὶ. THUC. viii. 64: so vii. 87. Ἀληθῆ, ἔμοι γέγονε δοκεῖν. PLAT. Men. 81 A. See Id. Rep. 432 B, ὡς γε ὑπερτερεῖ δόξαν.

Χάρος δος ἵππος, ὡς ἀπεικάσαν. SOPH. O. C. 16. ὡς θυραθεῖν εἰκάσασαί. EUK. H. F. 713. See HDT. i. 34. ὡς μικρῷ μεγάλῳ εἰκάσασαί. THUC. iv. 36. Once εἰκάσαε alone: SOPH. O. T. 82. ὡς ὑπαρχεῖν ἐν πρὸς ἐν συμβάλλειν, i.e. to compare the waters one with the other. HDT. iv. 50 (cf. ἐν πρὸς ἐκ, THUC. ii. 97). Ἑστι δὲ τούτῳ οὕτωι μὲν ἀκούσατα λόγων τῷ ἔχον, i.e. on first hearing it. DEM. xx. 18. Ἀτοπα, ὡς ὑπάρχει γ' ἀκούσα. PLAT. Euthyphr. 3 B. ὡς γε ἐντεῦθεν εἴδειν, as it looks from this point. Id. Rep. 430 E. ὡς οὖν ἐδήν. SAPPH. Fr. 101. ὡς γ' ὡς ἐδείσαν. AR. Pac. 856. ὡς γε ἐντεῦθεν οὖν, so as far as I know. Id. Nub. 1252. See also Eccl. 360, ὡς τοῦ καρπόν εἰδέναι, and Theoc. 34, ὡς (i.e. ὡς τοῦ) κάρπος τοῦ εἰδέναι, in the same sense. ὡς γε τῷ ποτὶ τεκμηρίσασαί. PLAT. Phaedr. 230 B.

See also ὡς γ' ἐμοὶ χρῆσαίναι κριτῇ, EUK. Alc. 801; ὡς γε κατὰ τὰν ἐμὲν δόξαν ἀποφήγασθαι, PLAT. Polit. 272 D. See further, for Herodotus, 782.

779. (a) Here belong ὄλγον δεῖν and μικρὸν δεῖν, wanting little, almost, and the rare πολλοῦ δεῖν, far from. E.g.

Πολλῶν ὄλγον γεγονόμενον ὄλγον δεῖν καθ' ἐκάστην ἐκκλησίαν, when many speeches are made almost in every assembly. DEM. ix. 1. Μικρὸν δεῖν δομὸν ἐτοὶ τῷ δυνατῷ. Id. xvii. 269: so ISOC. iv. 144, viii. 44, 89. Ὁ τεκνεῖτο πολλοῦ δεῖν ἄξιον ὡντα, that you may know that he is far from deserving, etc. DEM. xxiii. 7 (the only case of πολλοῦ δεῖν).
(b) Here δεῖν is often omitted, leaving ὀλίγου or μικροῦ in the sense of almost. E.g.

'Ολίγου φροῦδος γεγένημαι, I am almost gone myself, An. Nub. 722, and μικροῦ κατηκόντισαν ἀπαύτας, they came near shooting them all. Dem. xviii. 151.

780. In many expressions εἶναι is used absolutely, and it often seems to us superfluous. The most common case is that of ἐκών εἶναι, so far as being willing goes, or willingly, used almost exclusively in negative sentences. E.g.


781. Other cases of absolute εἶναι are τὸ ἐπὶ σφάς (ἐπὶ ἐκίνουσ, ἐπὶ τοῦτος, κατὰ τοῦτον) εἶναι, so far as they were concerned, etc. Thuc. iv. 28, viii. 48; Xen. An. i. 6, 9, Hell. iii. 5, 9;—κατὰ (εἰς) δύναμιν εἶναι, Isae. ii. 32; Plat. Polit. 300 C;—κατὰ τοῦτο εἶναι, so far as concerns this. Id. Prot. 317 A;—τὴν πρώτην εἶναι, at first, Hdt. i. 153. So especially τὸ νῦν εἶναι, at present (τὸ belonging to νῦν): see Isoc. xv. 270; Plat. Lach. 201 C, Rep. 506 E; Xen. Cyr. v. 3, 42; also τὸ τίμερον εἶναι, to-day, Plat. Crat. 396 E. In Aristotle's τὸ τί ὑπὸ εἶναι, the εἶναι is probably absolute, and τί ὑπὸ may be a “philosophic” imperfect (40), the expression meaning the original essence (the "what was it?").

Two expressions have ὅς: ὅς πάλαι εἶναι, considering their antiquity, Thuc. i. 21; and ὅς γε διακόνους εἶναι πάλεως, considering that they were servants of a state, i.e. for servants, Plat. Gorg. 517 B.

782. Herodotus has a remarkable variety of expressions of this kind. Besides those already quoted, see the following:

Τὸ Δέλτα ἐστὶν κατάρρυτον τε καὶ νεωτὸ, ὡς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν, ἀναφερόμενος, and recently, so to speak, has appeared above water. ii. 15. (Ὡς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν is peculiar to Herodotus.) Καὶ ὡς ἐμε εἰ μεμνῆθαι τὸ ὥσπερ νεωτὸς, ὡς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν, so far as I remember rightly what the interpreter told me, etc. ii. 125. Ὡς ἐμε κατανοοῦν, as I understand it. ii. 28. Ὡς μὲν νῦν ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ δῆλός ἐστι, πᾶν οἱρταίοι, ὡς ἐν πλέον λόγῳ δῆλόσαλοι, ὡς ἐξεῖ. ib. 24 and 25. Ἡμᾶς δὲ, οὐ πολλὸς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν, χρόνος δήσει. i. 61. Ὡς ἐμε χρημαλλώμενον εὑρίσκεις, so far as I find by conjecture. vii. 24. Ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν χρημαλλώμενη. iv. 87. Ὡς εἶναι ταῦτα σημαίν, μεγάλους συμβάλλεις, so far as I may (eiai) compare these small things with great ones. iv. 99: see ii. 10. Ὡς Σκύθας εἶναι, for Scythians, considering that they are Scythians. iv. 81. Ὡς εἶναι Αἰγύπτων, for Egypt, i.e. for a land like Egypt. ii. 8. Μεγάλα ἐκτίματο θρήματα ὡς ἄν εἶναι Ῥοδότων, she gained great sums of money for a Rhodopian. ii. 138. (The force of ἄν is very doubtful
783. The absolute infinitive was probably felt as a limiting accusative; and in Ar. Pac. 232, ἕσεναι γνώριμην ἐμὴν μέλλει, we might substitute ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν for γνώριμην ἐμὴν. Οὐς as used here can hardly be expressed in English; but it resembles some uses of ὡς and ὡς with the infinitive after adjectives in 588. It cannot be demonstrative, as might be supposed from our inadequate translation of ὡς εἰπεῖν, so to speak.

**Infinitive in Commands and Prohibitions for the Imperative.**

**Infinitive in Wishes and Exclamations.**

784. 1. The infinitive is sometimes used in the sense of the second person of the imperative, especially in Homer. *E.g.*

Τῷ νῦν μὴ ποτὲ καὶ σὺ γνωσκεῖ περ ἡμίσει εἴναι', μὴ οί μύθον ἀπαντάσ περφασκέρεν, ὅν κ᾽ εἶν εἴδης, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν φάσθαι, τὸ δὲ καὶ κακομήκοντο εἴναι, now therefore be thou never indolent to thy wife, etc. Od. xi. 441. So Π. i. 20, 582, ii. 10, xvii. 501; Od. x. 297, xi. 72, xvii. 278, xviii. 106, xxii. 287. Οὐς μὴ πελαγεῖν, do not approach these (= μὴ πελαγεῖ). ASC. Prom. 712. Πρὶν ἂν τελευτήσῃς, ἐπισκεῖν μφερ καλεῖν καὶ ὀλβίον, wait, and do not yet call him happy. Hdt. i. 32. Σὺ δὲ τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξας ὑπεκβείν καὶ ἐπειγείναι, and do you open the gates, and rush out and press on. Thuc. v. 9. 'Εαν οὖν τε γενώμεθα εὑραί, φάναι ἡμᾶς ἐξευρηκέναι, say that we have found it. Plat. Rep. 473 A. Τούτῳ παρὰ μήν αὐτοῖς βεβαιοι γνώναι, understand this in your own minds. Dem. viii. 39.

2. In the cases of the second person just given (1), the subject is in the nominative. But when the infinitive is equivalent to the third person of the imperative, its subject is in the accusative, as if some word like ὅσ, grant, were understood. *E.g.*

Εἰ μὲν κεῖ Μενέλαον Ἀλέξανδρος κακαπέφη, αὐτὸς Ἐλεῖνη ἐχέτω· εἰ δὲ κ᾽ Ἀλέξανδρον κτείνῃ Μενέλαος, Τρῶας ἐπεθ' Ἐλεῖνην ἀποδούναι, i.e. let him keep Helen himself,—and let the Trojans surrender Helen. Π. iii. 281-285. Τείχεα συλλήγοσ φερέτω, σύμα δὲ οἰκαὶ ἐμὸν δόρεναί πάλιν (sc. αὐτῷ). Π. vii. 78.

These examples follow the construction of the infinitive in wishes (785).

785. The infinitive with a subject accusative is sometimes used for the optative in the expression of a wish referring to the future. This occurs chiefly in poetry. *E.g.*

Ζεῦ πάτερ, Ἄιαντα λαξεῖν Ὑῳος νιόν, Father Zeus, may the lot fall on Ajax or on the son of Tydeus (=Niās láχoii). Π. vii. 179. Ζεῦ ἰνα, Τηλέμαχον μοι ἐν ἀνδράσιν ὀδυῖον εἶναι, καὶ οἱ πάντα γένοιοθ'

1 See Grünwald, page 17.
The infinitive, with its subject accusative, may be used in exclamations of surprise or indignation. E.g.

'Εμὲ παθεῖν τάδε, φεῖ, ἐμὲ παλαιόφρονα, κατὰ τε γὰν οἰκεῖν, ἀτείνον, φεῖ, μύτος, that I should suffer this, alas! I, with my thoughts of old; and that I should dwell in this land, alas! an unhonoured plague! Aesch. Eum. 837. Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ἐμοὶ ματαιαν γλῶσσαν δὸ ἀπονθίσαι κάκβαλείν ἐπὶ τοιαῦτα, that these should thus cast at me the flowers of their idle tongues, etc. Id. Ag. 1662. Ὡς δυσταλάνα, τοιὰ δ᾽ ἄνδρα χρησμοῦ φανείν. Soph. Aj. 410. Τοιουτοι τρέφειν κύνα, to keep a dog like that! Ar. Vesp. 835. Τοῦτον δὲ δόριζειν ἀναπτείν δὲ, and that he should be thus insulting, and should draw his breath! Dem. xxi. 209.

Compare Mene incepto desistere victam! Verg. Aen. i. 37. This infinitive often has the article τό (805).

B. INFINITIVE WITH THE ARTICLE.¹

788. It has been seen that the infinitive without the article

¹ See Gildersleeve, Contributions to the History of the Articular Infinitive,
was already established in the Homeric language, in nearly all the constructions in which it was most frequently used in later times. In this simple form it developed its various tenses, and their uses became fixed, especially in indirect discourse; so that the infinitive gradually came to be more of a verb and less of a noun.

When the definite article had become common with nouns, it was soon prefixed to the infinitive, which thus, with all its attributes as a verb unimpaired, was restored to new life as a neuter verbal noun. As a nominative and accusative, it could be used with τό in all the constructions in which the simple infinitive was already familiar as subject or object, although here the older form was preferred except when it was desired to emphasise the infinitive especially as a nominative or accusative. But in other constructions (especially in the genitive, dative, and accusative with prepositions), and in its wonderful capacity for carrying dependent clauses and adjuncts of every kind, the articular infinitive appears as a new power in the language, of which the older simple infinitive gave hardly an intimation.

As might be expected, the articular infinitive found its chief use in the rhetorical language, as in Demosthenes and in the speeches of Thucydides. It appears first in Pindar (for τό in Od. xx. 52 and Ης. Frag. clxxi. can hardly be the article), but always as a subject nominative, with one doubtful exception. In the dramaticists and Herodotus it is not uncommon, being generally a nominative or accusative with τό, although it occurs also as a genitive or dative with τό or τέ; and it is found even with prepositions. In Thucydides (especially in the speeches), we find the nominative, accusative, genitive, and dative all used with the greatest freedom (in 135 cases), besides the accusative, genitive, and dative with prepositions (in 163 cases). Its fully developed power of taking dependent clauses must be seen in the Orators, especially in Demosthenes.


1 "By the substantial loss of its dative force the infinitive became verbalized; by the assumption of the article it was substantivized again with a decided increment of its power." Am. Journ. Phil., iii. p. 195.

2 See the statistics given by Gildersleeve in the Am. Journ. Phil., viii. p. 332. It appears that the average number of articular infinitives in a Tenner page of Demosthenes is 1.25; of the speeches of Thucydides, 1.00; of Xenophon (whole), 1.02; of Isocrates, .69; of Antiphon, .50; of Aeschines, .30; of Andocide, .20; of Lysias, .25; of Lysias, .12. Hypereides even exceeds Demosthenes. For the actual number of articular infinitives in each author before Aristotle, see Birklein’s table, p. 91.
Articular Infinitive as Subject or Object.

789. Although the infinitive, as subject or object of a verb, generally stands without the article, the article may be prefixed to make the infinitive more prominent as a noun in the structure of the sentence.

790. The infinitive with τὸ may stand as a subject, especially of ἔστιν. E.g.

Τὸ γνῶναι ἐπιστήμην ποι λαβεῖν ἔστιν, to learn is to acquire knowledge. Plat. Theaet. 269 E. Τὸ δίκην διδόναι πότερον πά- σχειν τί ἔστιν ἢ ποιεῖν; Id. Gorg. 476 D. (In the last two examples the subject infinitive has the article to emphasise it, while the predicate infinitive stands alone.) Τὸ δὲ παθεῖν εὖ πρῶτον ἄθλιον. Pind. Py. i. 29. Οὐτοὶ όροι ἐστὶ τὸ ἐχεῖν χρώματα οὕτως ὁς ἀνιερὸν τὸ ἀποβάλλειν. Xen. Cyr. viii. 3, 42. Πολλὰκις δοκεῖ τὸ φυλάξαι τάγματι τοῦ κτίσασθαι χαλιστότερον εἶναι, to keep advantages often seems to be harder than gaining them. Dem. i. 23 (cf. ii. 26, quoted in 745, for both construction and sense). Τοῦτο ἐστὶ τὸ ἄδικειν, τὸ πλέον τῶν ἄλλων ζητεῖν ἐχεῖν. Plat. Gorg. 483 C. Ἀλλ' ὅροι, νῦν μὲν ἐπισκοπεῖ τούτως τὸ κατορθοῦν. Dem. ii. 20. Τὸ γὰρ τάνατον δεδιναὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔστιν ἢ δοκεῖν σοφῶν εἶναι µὴ διότι δοκεῖν γὰρ εἶδαί ἐστιν ἃ ὀν καθέν. Plat. Ap. 29 A. See also 29 C.

It will be seen by comparison that most of these examples would admit the construction without the article by making the infinitive less prominent as a subject nominative. Compare οὕτε κλαίειν οὕτ' ἀδύναται πρέπει, Aesch. Sept. 556, with τοὺς δ' ἀρετοὺς γε καὶ τὸ νικάσθαι πρέπει, Ag. 941.

791. The infinitive with τὸ can stand as an accusative of the direct object, sometimes as an accusative of kindred meaning. The relation of such an infinitive with τὸ to the verb is often less close than that of the simple infinitive in a similar case (see 811). E.g.

Τῶν οὖσι τὸ κατάναι, I shall dare to die. Aesch. Ag. 1290. Ἑστιν τις, ἔστιν ὡς σε καλόσκει τὸ δράν, who will prevent you from acting. Soph. Ph. 241. Σοι πειδεύσειν τὸ δράν, El. 487. Τὸ σπειδεύσειν δέ σοι παράνοια. Id. Ph. 620. Τὸ δράν οὐκ ἠθέλησαν, they were unwilling to act (would not act). Id. O. C. 442. Τὸ δ' αὖ ἔννοικέν τηρεῖν ὧν τὸν τίν οὖν καὶ γνωτὶ δύναται, what woman would be able to live with her? (to live with her—what woman could do it?). Id. Tr. 545. Τὸ ὅποιον μὴ σφάλλει παρ' οἷον, to take care not to be upset by wine. Xen. Rep. Lac. v. 7. Αἰσχύνονται τὸ τολμάν. Plat. Soph. 247 C. Συνέβησθαι τοῖς φυκοῖς τῷ πάθοις φιλεῖν. Lttusa. 100. Καὶ τῶς δὴ τὸ ἄρχειν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων παιδεύειν; Xen. Oec. xiii. 4; see also ix. 12. (So παιδεύω παῖδα τι.) Ἐπισκοπὸν τὸ εὐθύς τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπιχειρεῖν. Thuc. vii. 33 (cf.
toûto ἐπέσχον, ii. 76). Οὕτως τῷ χείρι πειθομαι τὸ δρᾶν, nor am I persuaded by your violence to act (as you bid me). Soph. Ph. 1253 (cf. oû πειθομαί σοι ταῦτα). Καρδιάς ἐξήκομα τὸ δρᾶν, I withdraw from my resolution (i.e. I consent) to do it. Id. Ant. 1105: cf. φρονεῖν μετέγγυο, i.e. changed his purpose (and resolved) to contemplate, Aesch. Ag. 221.

For τὸ μὴ oû with the infinitive after negated verbs in this construction (e.g. Ar. Ran. 68), see 815, 2, and 814.

792. The infinitive with τὸ as an object accusative may follow verbs which would not allow the simple infinitive in its place. E.g.

Τὸ τελευτήσαι πάντων ἡ πεπρωμένη κατέκρινε, τὸ δὲ καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν ἠδίων τοῖς σπουδαίοις ἀπένεμεν, Fate condemned all mankind to death; but a glorious death she reserved for the virtuous. Isoc. i. 43. Μῶνον ὅρων τὸ παῖειν τὸν ἀληθόρυμον, seeing only the beating of the captive. Xen. Cyp. i. 4, 21. Τὸ μὲν εὐνοεῖν τε καὶ προορᾶν ἁγαμαί σευ. Hdt. ix. 79.

The double character of the articular infinitive, as noun and verb, permits it to stand as an object wherever the object accusative of a noun would be allowed.

793. A few of the verbs included in 747, which govern the genitive of a noun, allow also the genitive of the infinitive with τοῦ (798), as well as the simple infinitive. This applies chiefly to ἀμελέω, ἐπιμελείμαι, and to the verbs of hindrance etc. included in 807. E.g.

'Αμελήσας τοῦ ὀργίζομαι. Xen. Mem. ii. 3, 9. (But ἀμελήσας λέγει, Plat. Phaed. 98 D.) Most verbs of desiring and neglecting take only the simple infinitive. Ἐπιμελείμαι, which usually takes ὅπως with the future indicative (339), allows also the simple infinitive (Thuc. vi. 54), the infinitive with τὸ (Xen. Rep. Lac. v. 7), and the infinitive with τοῦ (Id. Mem. iii. 3, 11). (See 361, 791, and 798.)

794. The infinitive of indirect discourse after verbs of saying and thinking sometimes takes τὸ. Here each tense of the infinitive preserves its time, and even the infinitive with ἄν occurs. E.g.

'Ἡμεν δὲ ἐστοιμι θεὸς ὀρκωμοτείν τὸ μῆτε δράσαι μήτε τῷ ξυνειδέναι τὸ πράγμα βουλεύτατο, to swear that we neither had done it (ἴδρασαμεν) nor were in the secret (ξυνισμεν) of any one who had plotted the deed. Soph. Ant. 264. 'Εξομελεῖ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι; will you swear that you have no knowledge? Ib. 535. Καὶ τὸ προειδέναι, ge τὸν θείν τὸ μέλλον καὶ τὸ προσημαιένειν ὁ βουλεύσε, τούτο πάντες καὶ λέγοντι καὶ νομίζοντοι. Xen. Ap. 13. See also Hell. v. 2, 36 (814).

(with ἄν). Τὰς ἐπίσεις γὰρ ἔρχομαι δεδραγμένος, τὸ μὴ παθεῖν ἄν ἄλλο πλῆθος τὸ μόρφαμον, for I come clinging to the hope that I could suffer nothing except what is fated. Soph. Ant. 235. For the articular infinitive with ἄν in other constructions, see 212.
Infinite with τό after Adjectives and Nouns.

795. In some constructions in which the simple infinitive appears to preserve most distinct traces of its origin as a dative, especially after adjectives or nouns (758; 763; 766), the articular infinitive takes τό as an accusative. E.g.

Τὸ δὲ βιά πολιτῶν δρᾶν ἐφιν ἀμάχανος, but I am helpless to act in defiance of the citizens. Soph. Ant. 79. Μακρὸς τὸ κρίναι ταῦτα χῶ λοιπός χρόνος, a long time to settle this. Id. El. 1030 (cf. χρόνος βραχύς διηγήσασθαι, a time short for narrating, under 763). Τὸ μὴ βλέπειν ἑτούμα, ready to cease beholding the light. Id. 1079 (see 755).
Τὸ προστυλαίωρειν οὐδεὶς πρόθυμος ἢν. Thuc. ii. 53. Τὸ μὲν ἐσ τὴν γῆν ἡμῶν ἐσβάλλειν, κἀν μὴ ἐκπέλεσωμεν, ἰκανὸν εἴη. Id. vi. 17. Ἐδὲν πάρεξθ’ δὲν Κράων τὸ πάρσειν καὶ τὸ βουλεύειν, he is here at the right moment to act and advise. Soph. O. T. 1416. Ἀδιόσ τὸ σὲ ἄποκρίνεσθαι μὴ τοῦτο. Plat. Lach. 190 E. (This is rare, but see Dem. vii. 56, ix. 63. Άδιόσ generally has the infinitive with τοῦ, 798, or the simple infinitive, 749.)

Ἡ κυραμίη αὐχὶ δικαίων ἔχαι τέκμαρσιν τὸ ἐκφοβήσασι, the sea-fight offers no just ground for alarm. Thuc. ii. 87. Οὐδὲ τοῦ διανείπταίναι εἰς τινὰ δάρος, nor have I courage to remove you. Soph. O. C. 47.

The exact force given to these accusatives by those who used them is not always clear; but they come nearest to the accusative of respect or limitation (as εἴδος καλλιστος, most beautiful in form). Sometimes the infinitive with τό has this force, where the simple infinitive could not be used; as in Lycurg. 91, ἔπει γε τὸ ἐλθεῖν τοῦτον, οἴμαι δὲν τίνα αὐτὸν ἐπὶ αὐτῆν ἄργον τὴν τιμωρίαν, for, as to his departure, I think that some God led him directly to punishment.

796. We occasionally find τό with the infinitive in the Mss. in a similar loose construction, where we should expect the infinitive with τοῦ or τῷ in apposition with a preceding genitive or dative. See Thuc. vii. 36, τῇ πρόστερον ἀμαθία δοκοῦσθ’ εἶναι, τὸ ἀντίπροφορον ἐγγραυσάσθαι, and viii. 87, καταβοήτης ἔνεκα τῆς ἐς Δακεβάμονα, τὸ λέγονταί δὲ κυρίως ἄνδρεις, where most editors now read τῷ and τὸν against the Mss. But Birklein defends the Mss. readings by Hypocr. Epitaph. 2, ἄξιον δὲ ἐστιν ἐπαινεῖν τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἡμῶν τῆς προαιρέσεως ἐνεκεῖν, τὸ προελέσθαι ἄρμα, . . . τοῖς δὲ τετελευτηκότας τῆς ἀνδρείας, τῷ μὴ κατασπερχύναι τᾶς τῶν προγόνων ἁρετάς, where the two infinitives with τό explain προαιρέσεως and ἀνδρείας. (See 804.)

797. The infinitive with τό appears in its greatest variety of meanings in the construction of τὸ μὴ or τὸ μὴ ovit after verbs implying a negative (811). See also 813 and 814.
Infinitive with τοῦ, τῷ, and τό, as a Noun, in various Constructions.

798. The infinitive with τοῦ appears as an adnominal genitive, a genitive after verbs and adjectives and with comparatives, a partitive genitive, a genitive absolute, and a genitive expressing cause, purpose, or motive. E.g.

Τοῦ πιεῖν ἐπιθυμία, the desire to drink. Thuc. vii. 84. Πόνος δὲ τοῦ ζῆν ἡδέως ἡγεμόνας νομίζετε. Xen. Cyr. i. 5, 12. Πρὸς τὴν πόλιν προσβαλόντες ἐς ἥπειρα ἠλθον τοῦ ἐλείν, i.e. hope of taking the city. Thuc. ii. 56 (see 749). Τὸ γὰρ εὖ πράττειν παρὰ τὴν ἄξιαν ἀφορμὴ τοῦ κακῶς φρονεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους γίγνεται, for doing well beyond their deserts sets fools to thinking ill. Dem. i. 23. Ἡ δὲ διαγνώμη αὐτὴ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ τὰς σπονδὰς λελυγμένη, this vote of the assembly that the treaty had been broken. Thuc. i. 87. See Xen. Cyr. i. 4, 4.

Δύστετε αἵτωι εἶναι, ἄρεσται τοῦ διαβαίνειν, by having begun the passage of the river. Xen. An. i. 4, 15. Ὅρεγόμοιοι τοῦ πρῶτος ἐκα- στος γίγνεσθαι, being eager each to be first. Thuc. ii. 65. Παρεκάλει ἐπιμελεῖθαι τοῦ ὡς φρονιμώτατον εἶναι. Xen. Mem. i. 2, 55; so iii. 3, 11. (See 793.) Ἐπείγομον τοῦ δικαρφεῖν, we ceased to keep. Plat. Phaed. 117 E. (See below, 807.) Καὶ γὰρ ἀσφαῖς τοῦ κατα- κομβοῦ τινός εἶναι, for they are unused to obeying any one. Dem. i. 23. See xxix. 17. Αἴτιοι αἵτωι ἐδόκεις εἶναι τοῦ τοιαῦτα ἀκούειν. Id. xxi. 134. Τοὺς καρποὺς, ὃι τοῦ μὴ θηριωδὸς ζῆν ἠμᾶς αἵτωι γεγόνασι, the fruits of the earth, which are the cause of our not living like beasts. Isoc. iv. 28. Καταράσατο τῷ αἵτω τοῦ μὴ πάλαι ἀποδεδομένα τοῦ μεθόν, he cursed him who was responsible for the wages not having been paid long before. Xen. An. vii. 7, 48. (Αἴτιοι may take the simple infinitive and even the infinitive with τό. See 749 and 795.) Πόλι- λάκως δοκεῖ τὸ φυλάτας τῶν κτήσεως τάχειας καλοπιστοὶ εἶναι. Dem. i. 23. See Xen. Cyr. i. 5, 13. Νέος τοῦ σταγὸν κρειττόν ἐστί τοῦ λαλεῖν. Mem. Mon. 387. Τοῦ θαρσεῖν τὸ πλεῖστον εἰλη- φότες, i.e. having become most emboldened. Thuc. iv. 34. Οὐδὲν οἴτε ἀναιδείας οὐτε τοῦ ψευδεσθαι παραλείψαι. Dem. xxxvii. 45. Εἰς τοῦτο ἐλημύθην τοῦ νομίζειν. Id. xxii. 16. Τὸ μεγάλόν ἔργον ἄντως τοῦ ἐκτρίβεται παρασκευάζειν μὴ ἀρκεῖ τοῦτο. Xen. Mem. ii. 1, 8 (see 806).

Ζηλῶ σε μᾶλλον ἡ μὲ τοῦ μρήν φρονεῖν, for want of knowledge. Eur. i. A. 677. (Μένος) τὸ λυστέον καθήκε, τοῦ τὰς προσόδους μᾶλλον ἐκεῖν αὐτῷ, in order that revenues might come in to him more abundantly. Thuc. i. 4. So ii. 22, 32, 75, 93; Xen. Cyr. i. 3, 9. Τοῦ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν, to escape doing what was just. Dem. xviii. 107. Πρὸς τὸ πράγμα φιλονεκροῦτα λέγειν τοῦ καταφανὲς γένε- σθαι. Plat. Gorg. 457 E. This final use appears first and chiefly in Thucydides.

799. The infinitive with τῷ may express cause, manner, or
mean, or it may follow verbs, adjectives, and adverbs which take the dative. *E.g.*

"Οὐδὲ τῷ δύνασθαι καὶ εἰσφθέναι λέγειν ἐπαρθείς. *Lys. xxxi. 2.*

"Îσεν χαί τῶν πάντων πλῆθυν κεκράτηκε Φιλίππος ὁ τῷ πρῶτον πρὸς τοὺς πράγματα γίγνεσθαι. *Dem. viii. 11.*

"See xxiii. 9, τῷ μὲν ἄκοινα τῷ δ' ἔργῳ. "Αλλὰ τῷ φανερῶ εἶναι ποιών ὄν, ἵνα μὴ πράξῃ τὸ πλήρες ὅτι ἦν σαρκίζω ἐκεῖνος. *Xen. Mem. i. 2, 3.*

"So *Cyr. iv. 5, 9.* Ὁ γὰρ δὴ τῷ γε καρμίων ζῆν οἱ ποιήσων, τοῖς ἐπὶ τῷ ποιῶν παρέμενεν, to trust in an orderly life. *Isoc. xv. 24.*

"Ἰνα ἀπιστοὺς τῷ εἰμί τε τετείμησθαι ότι διὰ μικρῶν, that they may distrust any having been honoured by divine powers. *Xen. Ap. 14.*

"Meiōn μέρος νέμοντες τῷ μὴ βούλεσθαι ἀληθῆ εἶναι. *Thuc. iii. 3.*

"Ἰσον δὲ τῷ προστείλενεν. *Aesch. Ag. 253.*

"Τῷ ζῆν ἐστι τε ἐναντίον, ὥσπερ τῷ ἐγγυηγορεύειν τὸ καθέδρε. *Plat. Phaed. 71 C.*

"Ὅμοιον ἐστὶ τῷ ἀνείδειν. *Dem. xviii. 269.*

"Τῷ πλούτοις ὑπόκρια, obedient to wealth. *Pl. Pl. 146.*

"Ἄμα τῷ τιμᾶσθαι. *Plat. Rep. 468 D; so ἄμα τῷ τιμᾶν, 468 E.*

**800.** The infinitive with the article, as genitive, dative, or accusative, very often follows prepositions, or adverbs used as prepositions. *E.g.*

"Τοὺς γὰρ λέγουσι περὶ τοῦ τιμωρῆσασθαι Φιλίππον ὑπὸ γεγνωμένουs, for I see that the speeches were made about punishing Philip. *Dem. iii. 1.*

"Πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς ὀρκοὺς ἀποδοῦναι, before taking the oaths. *Id. xviii. 26.* Ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς χάρων δημηγορεῖν ἐνίοτον. *Id. iii. 3.*

"Ἀπὸ τοῦ πόλεις ἐφεύρειν κατόπητης. *Thuc. vii. 28; so i. 69.* Ἀπὸ τοῦ πείραν διδόναι ἐξαντού ψαλίνεσθαι. *Id. i. 138.*

"Ἐνίκηκα τοῦ πλείω ποιῆσαι τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν οὕτων. *Isoc. i. 19.*

"Πρὸς τῷ μιθικὸν ἐκ τῆς προσβέσεως λαβέσθαι, besides receiving nothing from the embassy. *Dem. xix. 229.*

"Ἐν τῷ πολιτῶν ποιεῖν ταῦτα (Χαρίδημον), in making Charidemus a citizen. *Id. xxiii. 188.*

"Ἐδωμαίζετο ἐπὶ τῷ εἰδήσως ζῆν. *Xen. Mem. iv. 8, 2.* Ὁμως διὰ τοῦ ἐνος εἰναι εἰς ἄν ὢν ὥσπερ ἀδικηθήσῃ, on account of being a stranger. *Id. ii. 1, 15.*

"Πάντων διαφέρουν ἐφανεῖτο καὶ εἰς τὸ τεχνὸς μαθήματι τοῦ δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ καλὸς ἑκατών ποιεῖν. *Id. Cyr. i. 3, 1.*

"Πρὸς τῷ μετρίῳ δεῖ τοι παραδειχθῆναι. *Id. Mem. i. 2, 1; so Dem. i. 4.*

"Παρὰ τῷ αἰσχρόν τι ὑπομείναι. *Plat. Ap. 28 C.*

**801.** The infinitive is not found with ἀνά in any case, with ἀμφί in accusative or dative, with κατά in genitive, with παρὰ in genitive or dative, with περὶ in dative, with πρὸς in genitive, with ὑπὲρ in accusative, or with ὑπὸ in accusative or dative.

**802.** The genitive of the infinitive with ὑπὲρ is often equivalent to a final clause. *E.g.*

"Τὰς δεῖξες ἄδικές κεχορυτηλὶ τινὲς ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὸ μέτρων καὶ τὰ συνήθη μὴ γένεσθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει (= ἐνα μὴ γένεται), the solicitations which some have employed in order that moderate counsels and the ordinary principles may not prevail in the state. *Δεσθιν. iii. 1.*

"Εἰς τὰς τριήμερας ἐμβάντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τὸ καλεωμένον ποιήσατε (= ἐνα μὴ ποιήσωσιν),
embarkeing on shipboard that they might avoid doing what was bid. Dem. xviii. 204.

803. The article cannot ordinarily be omitted when the infinitive follows a preposition.
(a) A singular exception occurs in a few cases of ἀντί with the simple infinitive in Herodotus. See Ὅς ἀντὶ μὲν δούλων ἐποίησας ἐλευθέρως Πέρσας εἶναι, ἀντὶ δὲ ἄρχεσθαι ἵνα ἅλλων ἄρχειν ἀπάντων, i. 210, where the antithesis of ἀντί μὲν δούλων makes ἀντὶ δὲ ἄρχεσθαι more natural; also vi. 32 (with no antithesis). So vii. 170 (but with a various reading ἄντι των).
(b) Πλήν, except, as an adverb, may have the simple infinitive; as τι ἅλλο πλήν ἑυθεῖα λέγειν, Soph. Ph. 100. So πλήν γάμον τυχεῖν, Aesch. Eum. 737.

804. An infinitive, with the article in any case, may stand in apposition to a noun in the same case. *E.g.*


For a few doubtful cases of the infinitive with τό, in apparent apposition with a genitive or dative, see 796.

805. The infinitive with τό is used in exclamations of surprise or indignation. *E.g.*

'Tὸ δὲ μὴ κυνὴ οἶκοθεν ἐλθεῖν ἐμὴ τῶν αὐτοὰμων ἐχόντα, δίκαι to think that I, wretched fellow, should come from home without even my cap! Am. Nub. 268. Τῆς μορίας τὸ Δία νομίζειν, οὖν τηλεκοντοί, what folly! to believe in Zeus, now you are so big! Id. 819.

For the simple infinitive in these exclamations, see 787.

806. The infinitive with its subject, object, or other adjuncts (sometimes including dependent clauses) may be preceded by the article τό, the whole sentence standing as a single noun, either as the subject or object of a verb, as the object of a preposition, or in apposition with a pronoun like τοῖς. *E.g.*

Τὸ μὲν γὰρ πολλὰ ἀπολωλεκέναι κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀμελείας ἀν τις Ἰην τικῶς; τὸ δὲ μήτε πάλαι τούτο πεποιηθέναι, περήναι τοῦ τινα ἡμῖν συμμαχιὰν τοῦτον ἀντίρρησιν, ἀν ἰουλιώμεθα χρησθαί, τῆς παρὰ ἐκείνων εὐνοίας εὐφρέντημι ἀν ἐγώνε μηθην. Dem. i. 10. Το γὰρ πρὸς ἀνδρα θυντὸν καὶ διὰ καιροῦς τινας ἱερόντα γράφοντας ἐφήνην ἀθάνατον συνθέσθαι τῇ τοῦτο τῆς πόλεως αἰσχύνη, καὶ ἀποστερηθῆσαι μὴ μόνον τῶν ἅλλων ἅλλα καὶ τῶν παρά τῆς
Simple Infinitive and Infinitive with τοῦ after Verbs of Hindrance, etc.  

807. After verbs and other expressions which denote hindrance or freedom from anything, two forms are allowed, the simple infinitive, and the genitive of the infinitive with τοῦ.

Thus we can say (a) εἰργεῖ σε τοῦτο ποιεῖν (747) and (b) εἰργεῖ σε τοῦ τούτο ποιεῖν (798), both with the same meaning, he prevents you from doing this. As the infinitive, after verbs implying a negation, can take μὴ to strengthen the previous negation without otherwise affecting the sense (815, 1), we have a third and a fourth form, still with the same meaning: (c) εἰργεῖ σε μὴ τοῦτο ποιεῖν, and (d) εἰργεῖ σε τοῦ μὴ τούτο ποιεῖν, he prevents you from doing this. (For a fifth form, εἰργεῖ σε τὸ μὴ τούτο ποιεῖν, with the same meaning, see 811.)

If the leading verb is itself negated (or is interrogative with a negative implied), the double negative μὴ οὐ is generally used instead of μὴ in the form (c) with the simple infinitive, but probably never in the form (d) with the genitive of the infinitive; as οὐκ εἰργεῖ σε μὴ οὐ τούτο ποιεῖν, he does not prevent you from doing this (815, 2), but not τοῦ μὴ οὐ τούτο ποιεῖν. (See also 811, for τὸ μὴ οὐ.) E.g.

(a) Κακὸν δὲ ποιῶν εἰργεῖ τοῦτ’ ἐξειδέναι; SOPH. O. T. 129. Παιδὸς Φήρητος, ὅν θανεῖν ἔρροκάμην. EUR. ALC. 11. Ἐπὶ Ὀλύμπου ἀποτέμπον, ὅπως εἰργωσὶ τοὺς ἐκείθεν ἐπιβοηθεῖν. THUC. i. 62. Ἀλλως δὲ τὸς πορίζεσθαι τὸ ἐπιτίθεμα ὁρκοὺς ἥγη κατέχοντας ἡμᾶς (ἥδειν). Xen. An. iii. 1, 20. Ἐνδοκιμεῖν ἐμποδῶν σφάσιν εἶναι. PLAT. ENTHYD. 305 D. Εἰ τοῦτό τις εἰργεῖ, δράν δὲν καθό, ἢ αὐτὴν hesitation prevents you from doing this. Id. Soph. 242 A. Τὴν ἱδεῖν τῆς γῆς οὐδὲν με κωλύει λέγειν. Id. PHAED. 108 D. Τὸν Φιλίππον παρέλθειν οὐκ ἔδωκαντο κωλύοντα. DEM. v. 20.

(b) Τοῦ δὲ δραπετεύειν δεσμοὺς ἀπείγουσι; XEN. Mem. ii. 1, 16. Τὸ γὰρ φευγόμενον φαίνεσθαι καὶ τοῦ συγγύμνης τινὸς τυγχάνειν ἐμποδὸν μάλιστα ἄνθρωπος γίγνεται. Id. CYR. iii. 1, 9. Εἴπερ δὲ καλύεται (ἀν) τοῦ καλέειν ἐπιώτατα. Id. An. i. 6, 2. Ἐπείρησεμεν τοῦ διακρύειν. PLAT. PHAED. 117 E (cf. 117 C, quoted in 811). Ἀπεσχόμην τὸν λαβεῖν τοῦ δικαίου ἕνεκα. DEM. xix. 223.

(c) Θυγατέρις γ’ ἐπανα καὶ μὴ προσδέρκεσθαι μόρον. ABSCH. PROM.

2 See Madvig’s Bemerkungen über einige Punkte der griechischen Wortfügungslehre, pp. 47-66.
248. Τούμαν φυλάξει σ’ άνωμα μη τάσχειν κακῶς. Soph. O. C. 667. "Οπερ άσχει μη τήν Πελοπόννησον πορθείν, which prevented him from ravaging the Peloponnese. Thuc. i. 73. Διεκιώσε μη διαφθείραι. Id. iii. 49. Επεγενείτο καλλύματα μη αύξηθήναι. Id. i. 16. Πέμποντι κάρυμα, ὑποδείκνυει σχέσεως τῶν Σαρητηκτῆς μη έξειναι. Hdt. ix. 12. Εὔρηκ μη βλαστάνειν. Plat. Phaedr. 251 B.


(d) Πάν γὰρ ἁρκεῖς οὖν ἄδρας έξει τού μη καταδύναι, i.e. will keep two men from sinking. Xen. An. iii. 5, 11. "Οι οὐδεῖς π’ ποὺ προθείς τοῦ μη πλέων έξειν ἀπτράπητο. Thuc. i. 76. Εἴ δ’ ἄρ’ ἐξοδών τι αὐτού έγένετο τοῦ μη εὐθύς τότε δικάσασθαι. Dem. xxxiii. 25. Ηπάντατο τήν πόλιν μικρόν ἀπολύσατον τοῦ μη ταῖς ἐπικάταις συμφοραῖς περιπεσεῖν. Isoc. xv. 122. "Ἀποσοβοῦται ἄν ἐξοδών γένοιτο τοῦ μη ὅριν αὐτοῦ το δλον στράτευμα. Xen. Cyr. ii. 4, 23. Εἴδοτε δ’ ἐν ἀσφαλείς εἰσι τοῦ μηδένα παθεῖν. Id. iii. 3, 31 (cf. Thuc. vi. 18, quoted in 749). Τοῦ δε μη (κακῶς) πάσχειν αὐτοῦ πάσαν άδειαν ἦγετο, you were entirely free from fear of suffering harm. Dem. xix. 149. "Εὐνόησι σιδερίας έτ’ ἀποτρόφης τοῦ μη τά χρήματ’ έχειν ύμας, there being no longer any escape from the conclusion that you have taken bribes (from your having bribes). Id. xxiv. 9.

The last two examples show that the genitive of the infinitive can take μη, even after nouns implying hindrance or freedom. In the two following, the addition of μη is more peculiar:—

Ἡ ἀπορία τοῦ μη όρναξειν, the inability to rest. Thuc. ii. 49. Τῆς τοῦ μη έξεπελείν ἀπωτίκα, through distrust of sailing with them; i.e. through unwillingness to sail, caused by distrust. Id. iii. 75.

808. The infinitive with τοῦ μη can be used as a genitive in its ordinary negative sense; as οὔτε έστιν σιδερία πρόβασις έμίν τοῦ μη δράν ταύτα, no ground for not doing this. Plat. Thm. 20 C. See also examples in 798.

809. Although μη οὔ is more common than μη after negatives in the form (c), the simple μη sometimes occurs. E.g.

Οὐ πολίν χρόνον μ’ ἐπέσχον μη με ναυστολείν ταχύ. Soph. Ph. 349. Οὐδὲ μ’ ὀμματος φρουράν παρήλθε, τούτε μη λείπετον στόλον. Id. Tr. 226.

810. The infinitive in the forms (a), (c), and (d), but, according to Madvig, not in the form (b), with τοῦ without μη) may follow negatives in the construction of 807. See the examples.
THE INFINITIVE

811. The infinitive with τὸ μὴ is used after many verbs and expressions which denote or even imply hinderance, prevention, omission, or denial, the μὴ merely strengthening the negative idea of the leading verb. If the leading verb is itself negated, or is interrogative with a negative implied, τὸ μὴ οὐ is generally used with the infinitive instead of τὸ μὴ (compare 807).

This infinitive with τὸ μὴ or τὸ μὴ οὐ is often less closely connected with the leading verb than the simple infinitive (see 791), and it sometimes denotes merely the result of a prevention or omission. It is sometimes an object accusative, as after expressions of denial; but it oftener resembles the accusative of respect or limitation. It adds a fifth expression, εἰργεῖ σε τὸ μὴ ποιήσω, τὸ four already given in 807 as equivalents of he prevents you from doing this; and a corresponding form, οὐκ εἰργεῖ σε τὸ μὴ οὐ ποιήσω, for he does not prevent you from doing this. E.g.

Τὸν πλείστον διάλογον εἰργον τὸ μὴ προεξόνταστι τὸν ὅπλων τὸ ἐγγὺς τῆς τόλμεος κακοφυγεῖν, they prevented them from injurying, etc. THUC. iii. 1. Τὸ δὲ μὴ λεηφασθαναί ἐλαύνασι σφέασ τὴν τόλμην ἐκεῖ τῶς, this prevented them from plundering the city. HRT. v. 101. Οὐ κατερχεῖν τὸ μὴ δικαρεῖν, to restrain their tears. PLAT. Phaed. 117 C (cf. Εἰργεῖ σε τὸ μὴ ἀδίκειν τὸ κρᾶσον, will check injustice. Aesch. Equ. 691. Οὐτόι εἰσιν μοῦν ἐπὶ ἡμῖν ἐμπόδον τὸ μὴ ἀδίκητον εἶναι ἐνθα πάλαι ἐπεὶδορον. Xen. An. iv. 8. Κύρωνα παρὰ τρεῖς ἀφείσαν ψῆφους τὸ μὴ θανάσαν γὰρ ἔμεσα, i.e. by three votes they allowed Cinus to escape the punishment of death. Dem. xxii. 205. Τρεῖς δὲ μοῦνα ψῆφον δείησαν τὸ μὴ ποιήσω, and only three votes prevented you from condemning him to death (lit. made the difference about condemning, etc.). Ib. 167. See Xen. Cyr. v. 1, 25, and Ag. v. 4. Φώδειος γὰρ ἀνθέλει νῦν παραστατεῖ τὸ μὴ βεβαιοῦς βλέφαρα σύμβαλλειν ὑπνύει, i.e. stands by to prevent my closing my eyes in sleep. Aesch. Ag. 15.

Οὐκ ἐναντίωσαμεν τὸ μὴ οῦ γεγονεῖν πάν ὅσον προσχύρετε. Id. Prom. 786. Ὅδεν γὰρ αὐτῷ ταῦτ' ἐπαρκέσαι τὸ μὴ οὐ πεσεῖν ἀτιμῶς πτωματ' οὐκ ἀναγκάσατο, this will not suffice to prevent him from falling, etc. Ib. 918. Λείπει μὲν οὖδε' ἀ πρόσθεν ἤδεις τὸ μὴ οὐ βαριστὸν ἐναί., they have no lack of being heavily grievous. Soph. O. T. 1232. Μήτης, καταγνώστη, μ' ἀτιμῶς τὸ μὴ οὐ θανατεῖν τε σὺν σοί τὸν θανάσαν θ' ἀγίνεται, do not think we too unworthy to die with thee, etc. Id. Ant. 544. (Compare Ant. 22, and Ο. C. 49.) Οὐκ ἀπεσέκμη τὸ μὴ οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἑλθεῖν, Ι δὲ ἐν διενεργεῖν from proceeding to this subject. PLAT. Rep. 354 B; see Crit. 43 C. Οὐκ ἀπέσχοντο οὖδ' ἀπὸ τῶν φίλων τὸ μὴ οὐ' ὁλίθρησκεν αἰτίων πεφασχαί. Xen. Cyr. i. 6, 32. Αὐτήν μὲν οὖ μυσοῦντ' ἐκείνην τὴν τόλμην τὸ μὴ οὐ
812. The form ὁ μὴ is more common here when the leading verb is negative, where regularly ὁ μὴ οὐ would be used, than μὴ for μὴ οὐ in the corresponding case (809). E.g.

Οὐκ ἂν ἐσχόμην τὸ μὴ ἀποκλήσαι τοῦ μὴν ἀθλίων ἰδίων. SOPH. O. T. 1387. Τίς σοι ἀπελεύθη ὁ μή σοι ἀκολουθεῖν; i.e. why failed to follow you? XEN. Cyr. v. 1, 25. "Ἀκος δ᾽ οὐδὲν ἐπήρκεσαν τὸ μὴ πολιοῦ μὲν ὡσπερ οὖν ἔχει παθεῖν. AESCH. Ag. 1170. Καὶ φημὶ δράσις κοῦκ ἀπανθοῦσαι τὸ μὴ. SOPH. Ant. 443. Οὐδ᾽ ἀρνησεσ εἰσὶν αὐτοῖς τὸ μὴ ταῦθ᾽ ὑπὸ Φιλίππου πράττειν, it is not even possible for them to deny that they did these things in the interest of Philip. DEM. xix. 163; so xx. 135. So perhaps we may explain τὸ μὴ ἐπιζούλευεν in HDT. 1. 209 (see § 814).

813. Although the infinitive with τὸ μὴ is most frequently used (as in 811) after verbs containing a negative idea, it can also have a negative sense as the object of other verbs or with adjectives. See τὸ μὴ σφάλλειν θανάτον (quoted in 791), and τὸ μὴ βλέπειν ἐσούμα (quoted in 795), in both of which the infinitive is really negated by μὴ. We must distinguish also the use of τοῦ μὴ with the infinitive as an ordinary negative expression (see examples in 798) from that which is explained in 807. Compare, likewise, τὸ μὴ οὐ with the infinitive in 814 and in 811. The nature of the leading verb will always make the force of the negative plain. We have the same distinction, with the simple infinitive, between ἀναγκάζει σε μὴ ἔλθειν, he compels you not to go (747), and εἴργαι σε μὴ ἔλθειν, he prevents you from going (807).

814. The infinitive with τὸ μὴ οὐ may be used in a negative sense in various constructions with verbs and expressions which do not have a negative meaning, provided these are themselves negated or are interrogative implying a negative. Though τὸ μὴ οὐ is more common here, τὸ μὴ is also allowed. E.g.

Κουδεῖς γέ μὲ ἄν πείσειν ἀνθρώπων τὸ μὴ οὐκ ἔλθειν ἐπὶ αὐτῶν, and no man can persuade me not to go after him. AR. Ran. 68. Οὐ μένοις ἐπαίθει ὧ τὸ μὴ οὐ μεγαλοπράγμων τε καὶ κακοπράγμων εἶναι, but he did not persuade them that he was not full of great and evil undertakings. XEN. Hell. v. 2, 36. (For similar expressions with μὴ οὐ without τὸ, see 749 and 815, 2.) Tois θεois οἰδεν ἂν ἐχομεν μεμψαςθαι τὸ μὴ οὐκ'i πάντα πεπραχέναι, we cannot blame the Gods for not
having done everything. Id. Cyr. vii. 5, 42 (cf. ταύτ’ οὖν ὑμῖν μέμφο-
μαι, Ar. Nub. 525). Οὕτω δεινον έδογχε εἶναι φαίνεται το μη οὖ βοη-
θείν τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις πάντα ἄνδρα. PLAT. Leg. 891 A. "Αλογον
το μη οὖ τέμνειν. Id. Soph. 219 E (see 817). Τοὺς δὲ οὐδὲ λόγος
λειπεται το μη οὖ τοπιροῖς εὑναι. DEM. xxiv. 69.1
Οὖκων ἔστι μηχανή οὕδεμα το μη ἐκεῖνον ἐπιβουλευόντων ἐρωτικ
there is then no way by which I can believe that he is not plotting against me.
HED. i. 209 (cf. PLAT. Phaed. 72 D). "Εξει τίνα γνώμονα ἔλεγεν τὸ
μη εὐρύπρωκτος εὑναι; Ar. Nub. 1084. "Εφη οὖχ οἰον τε εὑναι το
μη ἀποκτ. ἐναί με, he said it was not possible not to condemn me to death.
PLAT. Ap. 29 C.

Μη οὖ with Infinitive and Participle, and (rarely) with Nouns.

815. 1. The use of μη with the infinitive in the forms (c) and
(d) in 807 is to be referred to the general principle, by which the
infinitive after all verbs expressing a negative idea (as those of
denying, distrust, concealing, forbidding, preventing, etc.) can
always take μη, to strengthen the negation implied in the leading
verb. Thus we say ἀρνεῖται μη ἀληθείς εὑναι τούτο, he denies that
this is true; ἀπηγέρεω μηδένα τούτο ποιεῖν, he forbade any one to
do this. This μη can, however, be omitted without affecting the
sense.

2. An infinitive which for any reason would take μη (either
affecting the infinitive itself, as an ordinary negative, or
strengthening a preceding negation, as in the case just mentioned)
generally takes the double negative μη οὖ, if the verb on which
it depends is itself negated or is interrogative with a negation
implied. Thus the example given above, ἀρνεῖται μη ἀληθείς εὑναι
τούτο, if we negative the leading verb, generally becomes οὖκ
ἀρνεῖται μη σοῦ ἀληθείς εὑναί τούτο, he does not deny that this is
true. So, when the original μη really negatives the infinitive, as
in δικαιών ἔστι μη τούτον ἄφιναι, it is just not to acquit him, if we
negative the leading verb, we commonly have οὐ δικαιῶν ἔστι μη
οὐ τούτον ἄφιναι, it is not just not to acquit him. E.g.

'Ως οὖχ ἂν σοι ἐν μη οὖ βοηθεῖν δικαιοσύνην, because (you said)
it would be impious for you not to bring aid to Justice. PLAT. Rep. 427 E.
Οὐκ ἐν πιθοῖμαι μη οὖ τάδ’ ἐκμαθεῖν σαφῶς, I cannot consent not to
learn the whole. SOPH. O. T. 1065. "Ανδρὰ δ’ οὐκ ἔστι μη οὐ κακὸν
ἔρμενα, it is not possible for a man not to be base. SIMON. v. 10. See
also PLAT. Phaed. 72 D (in 749). For examples in which μη οὖ
strengthens the negation of the leading verb, see 807.

1 This is cited by Birklein (p. 67) as the only case of the article with μη οὖ
in the Orators; and no case occurs in either Herodotus or Thucydides.
This applies also to the infinitive with τὸ μῆ. See 811 and 814.

816. When μῆ or μὴ ὄν with the infinitive follows a verb of hindrance, etc. (807), neither μῆ nor μὴ ὄν can be translated. When μὴ really negatives the infinitive (as in the examples last given), μὴ ὄν must be translated by one negative. In PLAT. Rep. 368 B, the passage quoted in 427 E (815, 2, above), Socrates had said δέδωκα μὴ ὄνδιν ἀπὸ ... ἀπαγορεῦειν καὶ μὴ βοηθεῖν, being prevented from saying μὴ ὄν βοηθεῖν by the previous μὴ ὄν. In XEN. Ap. 34 we have οὔτε μὴ μεμνημένοι δῶσαι αὐτοῦ οὔτε μεμνημένοι μὴ ὄν ἐπαίνειν.

817. Verbs and expressions which contain such negative ideas as impossibility, difficulty, unwillingness, or impropriety sometimes take μὴ ὄν (instead of the simple μὴ) with the infinitive, to express a real negation, even when the leading verb is not negative. E.g.

Δῆμον ἀφοῦ τὸν κακῶτα μὴ ὄν κακότα ἐγγίνεσθαι, it is impossible that vice should not come in (as if it were ὄν δυνατόν). HRT. iii. 62. Δεινὸν ἔδωκε εἶναι μὴ ὄν λαβέιν αὐτό. Id. i. 187. "οὔτε τὰ σχίνα ἀγχύμην εἶναι μὴ ὄν συντονάδειν, so that all were ashamed not to join heartily in the work. XEN. An. ii. 3, 11. So ἐμοίσαντο μὴ ὄν φαῖνεσθαι, Cyrt. viii. 4, 5. Διεύρυν ἐστι μὴ ὄν χιλιούς πάντα. PLAT. Prot. 352 D. Πολλὴ ἀνοιγε μὴ ὄν ἥγεσθαι. Id. Symp. 210 B. So after ἄνοιξον, ib. 218 C; after ἀναλογοῦν, id. Soph. 219 E (see 814). For χαλεπὸς followed by μὴ ὄν, see example under 819.

818. Μὴ ὄν is occasionally used with participles in negative sentences, in place of the simple μὴ, to express a negative condition. The following cases are quoted:—

Οὐκ ὡς δικαίον εἶναι (Δαρείδον ἀνδρίατα) ὅσταν μὴ ὄν ὑπερβαλλόμενον τοῦτο ἔγρωσε, i.e. he said that Daréüs had no right to set up his statue (in front of that of Sesostris), unless he surpassed him in his exploits (= εἰ μὴ ὑπερβαλλεται). HRT. ii. 110. Καταρρώσαταν μὴ ὄν ... τὴν Μήλην ὃντι τε ἑως ἑξέλειν μὴ ὄν ἔντος ναυκράτωρες they feared that they might not be able to capture Milesians without being masters of the sea (their thought was εἰ μὴ ναυκράτωρες ἔσμαι). Id. vi. 9. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὡς ἑξέλειτο ἡμᾶς ἔφασαν μὴ ὄν πλήρεις ἐντὸς τοῦ κύκλου, they refused to march out on the ninth of the month (and thereafter) until the moon should be full (ἴαν μὴ πλήρης γίνε). Id. vi. 106. Δυσάλγητος γὰρ ἂν εἰ ἐξίθανε τοῦτο μὴ ὄν κατοικτεῖρων ἔδωρον, for I should be hard of heart (817) should I feel no pity for such a band of suppliants (εἰ μὴ κατοικτείρωμα). SOPH. O. T. 12. Ὅτι γὰρ ἂν μεγάλον ἐξέθησαν αὐτοῖς, μὴ ὄν ἔχων τι γίμβολον, for I should not have traced it far, if I had attempted it by myself without any clue. Id. 220. (For the force of the subordinate condition of μὴ ὄν ἔχων in its relation to the real proposition in αὐτῶς, see 511.) "Ἡκις γὰρ ὃς κενὴ γε, τούτ' ἐγὼ σαρήσας ἐξειδίκει, μὴ ὄν πεπλήτεις ἔρωτα τι, i.e. you have not come empty-handed,—(not at least) without bringing me some cause for alarm (i.e. ὃς εἰ μὴ φέρεις). Id. O. C. 359. (Μὴ ὄν χεῖρον ἄφθονον adds a condition as a quali-
fication to κενή.) Ὅτι ἄρα ἐστὶ φίλον τῷ φιλοῦντι, οὐδὲν μὴ σὲκ ἀντιφιλοῦν, unless it loves in return. Plat. Lys. 212 D. (Cf. φίλοι δὲ γε οὐκ ἂν εἴην μὴ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιοῦμενοι ἐαυτοὺς, 215 B.) Τὸς γάρ ἂν ἡμουλήθη μικρὰ κερδάναι, κ.τ.λ.; οὐδὲ ἄν ἐς μὴ οὐ συνειδῶς ἐαυτῷ συκοφαντοῦντι, not a man (would have wished for this) if he had not been conscious that he was a sycophant (= εἰ μὴ συνήδει). Dem. lviii. 13. Οὖν γὰρ ναναγός, δὲν μὴ γῆς λάβηται φερόμενος, οὐποτ' ἂν σώσειν αὐτῶν, οὐτ' ἄνηρ τένης γεγονεῖ μὴ οὐ τέχνην μαθῶν δύναι· ἐν ἀσφαλῶς ἦν τὸν βίον (i.e. εἰ μὴ μάθοι, corresponding to ἂν μὴ λάβηται). Philon. Fr. 213.

819. Μὴ οὐ occasionally occurs with nouns, in the same general sense as with participles, to express a negative condition to a negative statement. E.g.

Ἀί τε πόλεις πολλαί καὶ χαλεπαί λαβεῖν, μὴ οὐ χρόνες καὶ πολιορκία, the cities were many, and difficult (= not easy, 817) to capture except by time and siege. Dem. xix. 123. Τοιαύτης ἐλεγγείς τιμηθείν, οὐκ οὖν τὲ μὴ οὐ τὸν πολὺ τῇ γρώμῃ διαφέροντα, to attain such honour is not possible except for one who is of far transcendent wisdom. Isoc. x. 47. (If τὸν is omitted, διαφέροντα as a participle belongs under 818.)

820. It may be noted that μὴ οὐ in poetry always forms one syllable.
CHAPTER VI.

THE PARTICIPLE.

821. As the infinitive is a verbal noun, so the participle is a verbal adjective; both retaining all the attributes of a verb which are consistent with their nature.

822. The participle has three uses:—first, it may express an attribute, qualifying a noun like an ordinary adjective (824-831); secondly, it may define the circumstances under which the action of the sentence takes place (832-876); thirdly, it may be joined to a verb to supplement its meaning, often having a force resembling that of the infinitive (877-919).

823. The distinction between the second and third of these classes is less clearly marked than that between the first and the two others: thus in ἥρεται τιμώμενος, he delights in being honoured, the participle is generally classed as supplementary (881), although it expresses cause (833). Even an attributive participle may also be circumstantial; as ὁ μὴ δαρείς ἄνθρωπος, the unflagging man (824), involves a condition. The three classes are, nevertheless, sufficiently distinct for convenience, though the lines (like many others in syntax) must not be drawn so strictly as to defeat their object.

A. ATTRIBUTIVE PARTICIPLE.

824. The participle may qualify a noun, like an attributive adjective. Here it may often be translated by a finite verb and a relative, especially when it is preceded by the article. E.g.

Πόλις καλλίτες διαφέρεται, a city excelling in beauty. Ἀνὴρ καλὸς πεπαὶδευμένος, a man (who has been) well educated. Οἱ πρέ-
σβες οἱ παρὰ Φιλίππου περιφερέντες, the ambassadors (who had been) sent from Philip. Ἄνδρες οἱ τοῦτο ποιήσοντες, men who will do this.

Ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ ποτὲ ὅτε γῆ, in the land which was once Messenia. ΘΕ. iv. 3. Ἐπαθείσοντες εἰς τὰς Αἰόλου νήσους καλούμενα, they sailed to the so-called Aeolian islands, lit. the islands called those of Aeolus. Ιδ. iii. 88. Αἱ ἀκούσα τοῖς ναυμαχοῦσι, the navies which were to be best. ΧΕ. Mem. iv. 1, 3. Αἱ πρὸ τοῦ στόματος νῆσε ναυμαχοῦσι, before the navies which had overtaken the city. XΕ. xviii. 220. ὁ μὴ δαρείς ἀνθρώπος οὐ παραδέσπει. ΜΕΝ. Mon. 422.

825. The participle with the article may be used substantially, like any adjective. Here it may generally be translated by a finite verb and a relative, the verb expressing the tense of the participle. E.g.

Οἱ κρατοῦντες, the conquerors. Οἱ πεπεισμένοι, those who have been convinced. Οὔτως ἔστι οἱ τοῦτο ποιήσωσι, this is the one who will do it. Οὔτως εἰσὶ οἱ ἤκουσα τὴν πᾶνας ἄδικας καικοῦντες, these are the men who will wrong you all. Πάντες οἱ παρόντες τοῦτο ἔσωσιν, all who were present saw this. Τὸ κρατοῦν τῆς πόλεως, the ruling part of the state.

Ὁ μὴ λαβὼν καὶ διαφθαρεῖς νεκρίκῃ τὸν ὑψάλευον, he who did not take (the bride) and become corrupt has defeated the one who would buy him. XΕ. xviii. 247 (see 841). Τὸν ἐργασμομένων ἐνότον, there being in the country those who would cultivate it (i.e. men to cultivate it). ΧΕ. Α. ii. 4, 22. (See 826 and 840.) Παρὰ τοῖς ἄριστοις δοκοῦσιν εἶναι, among those who seem to be best. Ιδ. Mem. iv. 2, 8.

Ἡν δὲ ὁ μὲν τὴν γνώμην ταύτην ἐπὶ ὑπὸ Πεσαρίδος, and Peisander was the one who gave this opinion. ΘΕ. viii. 68. Τοῖς Ἀρκάδων σφητέροις οὐκ ἔγγορίζοις προετοίμασον, they proclaimed to those of the Arcadians who were their allies. Ιδ. v. 64. Ἀπεκτέσθην ἐγώ φημι εἶλιν τῷ σωφρόνειν δυνασμένω, i.e. one who is to be able to be discreet. ΧΕ. Συμ. iv. 26.

826. When the participle, in either of these constructions, refers to a purpose, intention, or expectation, it is generally future, though sometimes present. E.g.

Νόμον ἐναθήρασα τὸν ταύτα κωλύσοντα τεθειναι τοντι, they have publicly enacted this law, which is to prevent these things. XΕ. xxii. 49. See XΕ. An. ii. 4, 22 in 825. Ὁ ἠγαθομενός οὐδεὶς ἔσται, there will be nobody who will lend us. Ιδ. ii. 4, 5. Πόλλοις ἐξομοιότατος ἐτοιμάζοντες συναγωγομένοις ἔμαχον. Ισο. viii. 139.

See the more common use of the circumstantial future participle to express a purpose, in 840.

827. (a) Particles, like adjectives, are occasionally used substantively even without the article, in an indefinite sense; generally in the plural. E.g.
"Επελε διόδεκα τριήρεις ἔχων ἑπτὰ πολλὰς ναῦς κεκτημένους, he sailed with twelve triremes against men who had many ships. XEN. Hell. v. 1, 19. “Οταν πολεμοῦντων πόλεις ἄλω, whenever a city of belligerents is taken. Id. Cyr. vii. 5, 73. Μετὰ ταύτα αὑρκούνται μοι ἀνταγγέλλοντες ότι δέ παλιρ ρόφηται, there come messengers announcing, etc. ISO. xvii. 11. Δίψαι ἐν σέι ἐν ἀγχόνων φυγεῖν, not even a strong man could escape. SOPH. El. 697. Οὐκ ἐστὶ φιλούντα (a lover) μὴ αὐτοφιλεῖσθαι; PLAT. Lys. 212 B.

(b) This use in the singular appears especially in θνητὸν ὄντα, one who is a mortal. This indefinite expression, though masculine, may refer to both sexes. E.g.

Ἐν ποικίλως δὲ θνητὸν ὄντα κάλλεσιν βαίνειν ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδάμος ἀνεί φόβου, i.e. for a mortal (like myself) to walk on these rich embroideries, etc. AESCH. Ag. 923. Κούφως φέρειν χρή θνητὸν ὄντα συμφορᾶς, (one who is) a mortal (like yourself) must bear calamities lightly (addressed to Medea). EUR. Med. 1018. So in SOPH. Ant. 455 θνητὸν ὄντι means a mortal (like myself), and refers to Antigone, not to Creon; she means that Creon’s proclamations could not justify her in violating the edicts of the Gods.

828. In the poets, the participle with the article sometimes becomes so completely a substantive, that it takes an adnominal genitive rather than the case which its verbal force would require. A few expressions like οἱ προσήκοντες, relatives, τὸ συμφέρον or τὰ συμφέροντα, gain, advantage, τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, resources, are thus used even in prose. E.g.

'Ὁ ἐκεῖνων τεκών, his father (for ὃ ἐκεῖνων τεκών). EUR. El. 335. Τὰ μικρὰ συμφέροντα τῆς πόλεως, the small advantages of the state. DEM. xviii. 28. Βασιλέως προσήκοντες tines, certain relatives of the king. THUC. i. 128.

829. (a) The neuter singular of the present participle with the article is sometimes used as an abstract noun, where we should expect the infinitive with the article. This occurs chiefly in Thucydides and in the poets. E.g.

Ἐν τῷ μη μελετώντι ἄνωστεροι ἔστωνται, in the want of practice they will be less skilful. THUC. i. 142. (Here we should expect ἐν τῷ μη μελετῶν.) Γνώσω τὸ μὲν δεδομὸν αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἐναντίον μᾶλλον φοβητόν, τὸ δὲ θαρσών ἀδέλθετεροι ἐσόμενον. Id. i. 36. (Here τὸ δεδομὲν, fear, is used like τὸ δεδώκα, and τὸ θαρσῶν, courage, like τὸ θαρσεῖν οὐ τὸ θάρσος. ) Μετὰ τοῦ δρωμένον, with action (like μετὰ τοῦ ὑπαίτερον). Id. v. 102. Τοῦ ὑπαίτερον πλέον ἡ τοῦ μένοντος τῆς διάνοιας ἔχων (infin. and partic. combined). Id. v. 9. Καὶ σὲ γ’ εἰσάζω τῷ γὰρ νοσοῦν ποθεὶ σε ἱματαραστάτην λαβεῖν. SOPH. Ph. 674 (τὸ νοσοῦν = ἡ νόσος). Τὸ γὰρ ποθοῦν ἄκακος ἔκακος ἔκμακρῶν θέλων οὐκ ἄν μεθεῖτο, πρὶν καθ’ ἡδονήν κλειεῖν. Id. Tr. 196.

This is really the same use of the neuter singular of an adjective for the corresponding abstract noun, which is common in ordinary adjectives; as τὸ καλὸν, beauty, for τὸ κάλλος; τὸ δίκαιον and τὸ ἀδικον for ἡ δικαιοσύνη and ἡ ἀδικία.
(b) A similar construction sometimes occurs when a participle and a noun are used like an artistic infinitive with its subject, where in English we generally use a finite verb. E.g.

Metà de Σόλονα οἰχόμενον ἐλαβε νέμεις μεγάλη Κροιών, i.e. after Solon was gone (like metà τὸ Σόλονα οἰχεῖσθαι). Hdt. i. 34. Ἐπὶ τούτου τυμπανιέναι, in his reign. Id. i. 16 : so viii. 44. "Ετεὶ πέμπτῳ μετὰ Συρακούσας οἰκισθείσας, in the fifth year after the foundation of Syracuse. Thuc. vi. 3. Compare post urbem conditum in Latin. Metà καλὸν οὕτω καὶ παυσαλαίων λόγων ῥῆθέντα (like metà τὸ . . . ῥηθήναι). Plat. Symp. 198 B. Τῇ πόλει οὕτω πολέμου κακῶς συμβαίνοντος οὕτω στάσεως πάπτοτε αἵτως ἐγένετο, i.e. the cause of a disastrous result of any war (like τοῦ πόλεμον τινα κακῶς συμβαίναι). Xen. Mem. i. 2, 63.

(c) The same construction occurs in Homer; as ἐσ τῆλιον καταδίνα, to the going down of the sun, II. i. 601; ἀμφοῦ ψηλαμμένης φιλί, II. ix. 682.

For the peculiar use of the aorist participle here, see 149.

830. The participle is sometimes used like a predicate adjective, with εἰμὶ or γίγνομαι. E.g.

Τῇ πόλει ἐστίν οὕτως ἐκείνων διαφέρων; in what is this man different from that one (another form for διαφέρει)! Plat. Gorg. 500 C. Συμφέρον ἦν τῇ πόλει, it was advantageous to the state (= συνφέρειν), Dem. xix. 75. Ὄσον γὰρ θαυμάζει οὕτως οὖν προδείκτας εἰμὶ τῷ γε νῦν λόγῳ. Soph. O. T. 90. Ἀπαρνόμενος ἐστι (= ἀπαρνεῖται). Hdt. iii. 99. Ἡ δὲ ἕστι δέκα σταδίων ἀπὸ ἡχοῦσα, and it (the island) is ten stades distant. Id. ix. 51.

"Ἀν ἦ θέλονσα, πάντ' ἐμοὶ κομίζεται, whatever she wants, she always obtains from me (for ἦ θέλη). Soph. O. T. 580. Ἡν γὰρ ὁ θεομοσφαλής βεβαιῶτα ἐνός ἑρῴδως ἡμῶν ἡμῶν, καὶ άξιον θαυμάζα, Themistocles was one who manifested, etc. Thuc. i. 138. Τούτου οὖν ἐστι γιγνόμενον παρ' ἑμῖν; is not this something that goes on in our minds? Plat. Phil. 39 C. Τούτου κωδωνεύτω πρὸτον τινα γιγνόμενον ἡ δικαιοσύνη εἶναι, justice seems somehow to be proving to be (lit. becoming) this. Id. Rep. 433 B.

So with ὑπάρχω and the poetic πέλομαι; as τούτω ὑπάρχειν ἤμας εἴδοτας ἡγοῦμαι, I think you may be presumed to know this, Dem. xviii. 95; ἐμεῖον λελασμένος ἐπέλευ, II. xxiii. 69.

831. On the same principle, the participle is used in all periphrastic forms with εἰμὶ and ἔχω for the perfect, pluperfect, and future perfect. In the future perfect active, the periphrastic form is generally the only one in use; in the third person plural of the perfect and pluperfect middle and passive of most verbs, it is the only form possible. Examples of the perfect participle with εἰμὶ or ἦν as peculiar forms of the perfect and pluperfect, in other persons, are given in 45; of ἔχω and ἔχον with the aorist and perfect participle for the perfect and pluperfect, in 47 and 48; of ἐγγομαι with the perfect and aorist participle for the future perfect, in 80 and 81.
B. CUMRUSTANTIAL PARTICIPLE.

832. The participle may define the circumstances under which an action takes place, agreeing with the noun or pronoun to which it relates. The negative of such a participle is οὐ, unless it has a conditional force.

The relations expressed by the participle in this use are the following:—

833. I. Time, the tenses of the participle denoting various points of time, which is relative to that of the leading verb. E.g.

Ταῦτα ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπόφημα, when he had said this, he departed. Ἀπέκτησα Φιλίππων ἀπόλοντα, I met Philip as he was departing. Τοῦτο πεποιηκότες χαρακτίους, he did these things while he was general. Ταῦτα πράξει στρατηγῶν, he will do these things when he is general. Τυραννεύσας δὲ ἦτη τρία Ἰππιάς ἐξώρισεν ὑπὸ τούτοις ἐς Σίγειον, after a rule of three years. ΘUC. vi. 59. Νῦν μὲν δεινινευτε, δειπνήσαντες δὲ ἀπελάυνετε, i.e. after supping. ΧΕΝ. Cyp. iii. 1, 87. So vii. 5, 78; An. vii. 1, 13.

834. Certain temporal participles, agreeing with the subject of a sentence, have almost the force of adverbs. Such are ἀρχόμενος, at first; τελευτών, at last, finally; διαλείπων (or ἐπισκών) χρόνον, after a while, or διαλείπων χρόνον, at intervals; χρονίζων, for a long time. E.g.

'Απερ καὶ ἀρχόμενος ἐπον, as I said also at first. ΘUC. iv. 64. Τελευτῶν ὄν ἐπὶ τοὺς χειροτέχνας ἦ, finally then I went to the artisans. ΠΛAT. Ap. 22 C. Ὅλογον χρόνον διαλείπων ἐκείνης, after a little while he moved. Id. Phaed. 118. Ὅδε πολὺν χρόνον ἐπισκόρων ἦκε, after (waiting) no long time he came. Ιb. 59 E. Διαλείποντασαν χρόνον, at intervals (of Clotho's regular movements). Id. Rep. 617 C. Ὄτως ἔχον ἐμὲ μενεῖ βουλευτεύον. ΑΕSCH. Ag. 847: cf. χρονισθέως, Ιb. 727.

835. II. Means. E.g.

Δὴ χρόμενοι ζῶσιν, they live by plunder. ΧΕΝ. Cyp. iii. 2, 25. Τοὺς Ἀλεπίνας ἐδόθησαν, ὃν τρόπον διακούντες τὰς αὐτῶν πατρίδας καὶ πρὸς οὓς πολέμουτες μεγάλης ἡ τῶν Ελλάδων πούστειν. ΙSO. xii. 44. Οὐ γὰρ ἀλλοτριοίς ἦμιν χρωμένοις παραδείγματις ἀλλ' ἑαυτοῖς, εὐεργεσίων ἐξεταστὶ γενέσθαι, for it is by using not foreign but domestic examples that you can become prosperous. DEm. iii. 23. Τῶν νόμων ἀπειρος γίγνονται καὶ τῶν λόγων, οἷς δὲ χρόμενοι ὀμαλεῖν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, which we (tina) must use in our intercourse with men. ΠΛΑT. Gorg. 484 D. So often χρόμενοι in the sense of with (cf. 843).
836. III. Manner and similar relations, including manner of employment, etc. *E.g.*

Προείλετο μάλλον τοῖς νόμοις ἐμμένων ἄποθανεὶν ἢ παρανομῶν ζύν, he preferred to die abiding by the laws, rather than to live disobeying them. *Xen. Mem.* iv. 4. Προαιροῦνται μάλλον οὕτω κεφαλαίων ἢ ἀλλήλων ἢ συνωφελοῦντες αὐτοῖς, they prefer to get gain by this means from each other, rather than by uniting to aid themselves. *Ib.* iii. 5, 16. Καὶ ἡ γελάσασα ἐφη, and she said with a laugh. *Plat.* Symp. 202 B. Ἀρπαζόντας τὰ δόλα πορεύεσθαι, to march having snatched up their arms (i.e. eagerly). *Dem.* iii. 20: cf. οὖν ῥάβαντας τὰ ἱμάτια, *Plat.* Rep. 474 A.

837. The following participles of manner are used in peculiar senses: *φέρων, hastily; φερόμενος, with a rush; ἀνύσας, quickly; κατατείνας, earnestly; διατειμένος and διατειμένος, with all one’s might; φθάσας, before (anticipating); λαθών, secretly; ἐχών, continually; κλαίων, to one’s sorrow; χαίρων, with impatience (to one’s joy). *E.g.*

Εῖς τούτῳ φέρων περιέστησε τὰ πράγματα, he rapidly brought things to such a pass. *Aesch.* iii. 82. Ὡς ἐπέτευσαν φερόμενοι ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας οἱ Μέρεοι, when the Persians fell upon the Greeks with a rush. *Hdt.* vii. 210. Σοὶ ὄρκυσθαι φερόμενην κατὰ ῥοῦν, *Plat.* Rep. 492 C. Ἄναγεν ἄνυσας τὸ φροντιστήριον, make haste and open the thinking-shop. *Ar.* Nub. 181. Κατατείνας ἔρω τὸν ἄδικον βίον ἐπαινών, I will speak earnestly in praise of the unjust life. *Plat.* Rep. 358 D: so 367 B. See *Rep.* 474 A, and *Xen.* Mem. iv. 2, 23. Εἰτ' ἀνέφερας μὲ φθάσας, then you opened it (the door) before I could knock. *Ar.* Plut. 1102: so δὲ μ' ἐβάλε φθάμενος, *Pi.* v. 119; but in such expressions ἐβαλε βαλόν etc. (887) is more common. Ἀπὸ τείχους ἄλτο λαθών, he leaped from the wall secretly. *Ib.* xii. 390: cf. λύθοςα μ' ἐξετίνες, *Soph.* Ant. 532; here again ἐλαθών with the participle is more common (see 838). Τι κυπατάζεις ἐχών; why do you keep poking about? *Ar.* Nub. 509. Κλαίων ἄφυ αὐτῶς, you will lay hands on them to your sorrow. *Eur.* Hep. 270: so *Soph.* Ant. 754. Οὔ τι χαίρων ἐρεῖς, you shall not speak with impatience. *Id.* O. T. 363; 80 Ant. 759. Τούτων οὖδεὶς χαίρων ἄδικησε. *Plat.* Gorg. 510 D. Compare ταχαμένους, according to agreement, *Id.* Rep. 416 E.

838. IV. Cause or ground of action. *E.g.*

Λέγω δὲ τοιῷ ἐνεκα, βουλόμενος δόξαι σοι ὅπερ ἐμοί, and I speak for this reason, because I wish, etc. *Plat.* Phaed. 102 D. Ἀπείχοντο κερδῶν, αἰσχρὰ νομίζοντες εἶναι, because they believed them to be base. *Xen.* Mem. i. 2, 22. Τι γὰρ ἂν βουλόμενοι ἄνδρες σοφοὶ ὅς ἀληθῶς δεδοτότας ἁμένων αὐτῶν φεύγωνες, with what object in view, etc. (i.e. wishing what)? *Plat.* Phaed. 63 A. Τι γὰρ δεδομένος σφόδρα οὕτως ἐπείγοντε; what do you fear, that you are in such great haste? *Xen.* Hell. i. 7, 26.
For the participle with ὡς, used to express a cause assigned by the subject of the sentence, see 864.

839. (a) Here belong τί μᾶθων; and τί παθῶν; both of which have the general force of wherefore? 'Τί μᾶθων τούτῳ ποιεῖ; however, properly means what put it into his head to do this? or with what idea does he do this? and τί παθῶν τούτῳ ποιεῖ; means what has happened to him that he does this? E.g.

Τί τούτῳ μᾶθων προσέγγαγεν; with what idea did he add this to the law? Dcm. xx. 127. Τί παθοῦσαι, εἰπὲ Νεφέλαι γ' εἰσὶν ἄλθοις, θνητοίς εἰσαί γυναιξῖν; what has happened to them that they resemble mortal women? An. Nub. 340.

(b) These phrases may be used even in dependent sentences, τί becoming ὅ τι, and the whole phrase meaning because. E.g.

Τί αἴξως εἰμὶ σαβεῖν ἢ ἐπιστᾶς, ὅ τι μᾶθων ἐν τῷ βίῳ οὐκ ἰσόμελην ἤγον; what do I deserve to suffer or pay because I did not keep quiet? i.e. for taking it into my head not to keep quiet? Plat. Ap. 36 B. Ὄμοιος ἄν κακὰ ἤγον, ὅ τι μᾶθον τὰ χαράιν ποιεῖ καὶ ὧποιον; would they still be evil because they give us joy in any conceivable manner? Id. Prot. 353 D. (In cases like this, the original meaning of the participle is forgotten.) So Euthyd. 283 E and 299 A.

840. V. Purpose, object, or intention, expressed by the future participle, rarely by the present. E.g.

"Ηλέκτρα λυσώμενος θύγατρα, he came to ransom his daughter. II. i. 13. Παρελθεῖσα κυμβουλεύσα, I have risen to give my advice. Isoc. vi. 1. Ἐβουλεύσαμαι πέμπειν ἑλέους καὶ Λακεδαίμονα πρέσβεις τάυτὰ τε ἐρώτηται καὶ Δυσανδρὸν αἰτήσοντας ἐπί τοὺς ναύς, in order to say this, and to ask for Lysander as admiral. Xen. Hell. ii. 1, 6. 'Εὰν εἰς πάλης ὁπατίς ἄρη προθυμοῦμενος ἢ ἀπαθανοῦμενον, ποιήσω τὰ ὅγια, even if he lead any one into war to be wounded or to perish. Plat. Crat. 51 B. Αἴτες δὲ ὁ γιγαντόμενος σιγείς ἄπαντα, there will be nobody to lead us (= ὃς ἐξηγεῖται). Xen. An. ii. 4, 5. (This participle is also attributive: see 826.) Προσβολάς παρεσκευάζοντο τῷ τείχει ποιησόμενοι, they prepared (themselves) to make attacks on the wall. Thuc. ii. 18.

"Ερυχον γάρ (νῆσι) ὑγήμενα, περιαγγέλλουσα θηρεῖν, for some ships happened to be gone, to give notice to send aid. Id. i. 116. So ἐρήμενοι, II. i. 159. The present here expresses an attendant circumstance (843) as well as a purpose. See also φθείρωντε, Aesch. Ag. 652.

841. VI. Condition, the participle standing for a protasis, and its tenses representing the various forms of condition expressed by the indicative, subjunctive, or optative (472). E.g.

Οὐκ ἦν ἀληθεῖν ὑπὲρ Ἀδημότου ἀποθανεῖν ἄν, ἃ Ἀχιλλεῖ Πατρόκλῳ ἐπαθανεῖν, μὴ οἰομένους ἄθανατον μνήμην ἀρετῆς ἄρτι
842. VII. Opposition, limitation, or concession, where the participle may often be translated by although. *E.g.*

Οὗτος δὲ καὶ μεταπεμφθῆναι φάσκων ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, εἶσεὶ μὲν οὐ φήσαιν, Δημοφόρων ὁ ἀκούσα τηρηματίων ἀναγιγνώσκοντος, καὶ προειπελέγχως καὶ ἀπαντα διωμολογήμενος πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, and this man, although he admits that he was summoned, and although he did go to the house, yet denies that he went in, etc., although he had previously gone in and arranged everything with my father. *Dem. xxviii.* 14. Ὄλιγα δυνάμενοι προοράν περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος πολλὰ ἐπιχειροῦμεν πράττειν, although we are able to foresee few things, etc. *Xen. Cyr.* ii. 2, 15. Ἐλὼν καὶ δυνηθεὶς ἄν αὐτὸς ἔχειν, παρεδόκε, i.e. when he had captured it (Olynthus) and might have kept it himself, he surrendered it. *Dem. xxiii.* 107.

The participle in this sense is very often accompanied by καίτερ and other particles. (See 859.) This construction is the most common equivalent of a clause with although.

843. VIII. Any attendant circumstance, the participle being merely descriptive. *E.g.*

Παραλαβόντες Βοιωτοῖς καὶ Φωκέας ἐστράτευσαν εἰς Φάρσαλον, they took Boeotians and Phocians with them and marched against Pharsalus. *Thuc.* i. 111. Παραγγέλλει τῷ Κλαίρῳ λαβόντι ἢκειν ὅσον ἦν αὐτῷ ἑπτάεμα, he sends orders to Cl. to come with all the army that he has. *Xen. An.* i. 2, 1. Ἑρχεται Μανδαί τὸν Κύρον τῶν ἐχοντων, Mandane comes with her son Cyrus. *Id. Cyr.* i. 3, 1. Καταδίωξαντες καὶ ναὸς δώδεκα λαβόντες τοὺς τε ἄνδρας ἀνελόμενοι ἀπέπλεον, καὶ τρόπαιον στήγαντες ἀνεχώρησαν. *Thuc.* ii. 84. Μία ἐς Πελοπόννησον φίλοτε προσβείς ἐγούνα, one (ship) was gone to Peloponnese with ambassadors. *Id. vii.* 25. Δῶς τῷ ξεῖνῳ ταύτα φέρων, take these and give them to the stranger. *Od.* xvii. 345. Βοῦ χρωμενοι, with a shout. *Thuc.* ii. 84.
844. The participles ἐχων, ἀγων, λαβων, φέρων, and χρωμένος may often be translated by with; see examples in 843. (For another use of φέρων see 837.)

845. IX. That in which the action of the verb consists.

E.g.

Τὸν ἐποιήσας, thus he spoke saying. Aesch. Ag. 205. "Οὗ ἡμῶν ἀγάθα δέδρακας εἰρήνην ποιήσας, what blessings you have done us in making peace / An. Pac. 1199. "Εδ γὰρ ἐποιήσας ἀναμνήσας με, you did well in reminding me. Plat. Phaed. 60 C.

See other examples under 150, where the peculiar force of the aorist participle in such cases, denoting the same time with the verb, is illustrated.

846. The examples show that no exact distinctions of all circumstantial participles are possible, as many express various relations at the same time. See 823.

Genitive Absolute.

847. When a circumstantial participle (832-846) belongs to a substantive which is not grammatically connected with the main construction of the sentence, both the substantive and the participle generally stand in the genitive, in the construction called the genitive absolute. E.g.

Οὐ τει ὃ μεν ἄνετος σοι βαρειάς χεῖρας ἐποίησα, no one while I live shall lay heavy hands upon you. II. i. 88. Ταῦτα ἐπράξαθε Κόρωνος μὲν στρατηγοῦντος, Εὐαγόρου δὲ τούτῳ παρασχόντος καὶ τῆς διώκεισθαι τήν πλείονον παρασκευάσαντος, these were accomplished while Conon was general, and after Euxenonas had thus supplied him, etc. Isocr. ix. 56. Φοβοῦμαι μη, προσδεξαμένος τῶν ἄνθρωπον αὐτῷ καὶ μηγανυμη τὰντων φιλιππισαντων, εἰς τὴν Ἀθηναῖον ἐλθόνων ἀμφότεροι. Dem. xviii. 176: see xix. 50 (pres. and perf). "Ἀφίκετο δὲ πόρο τὸ πλοῖον, γνωτώς τῶν Κεφαληλίων ἄντιπράττοντος τούτου . . . καταπλεῖν, the Cephalilions having determined to sail in, although this man opposed it. Id. xxxii. 14. "Ἀθηναίοις δὲ το ἀυτῷ τοῦτο παθόντων, δισπλατίαν ἄν τὴν δύναμιν εἰκάζονται (ομιλιῶ), i.e. if the Athenians should ever suffer such a thing, etc. Thuc. i. 10. "Ὁλης γὰρ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτρέπομεν τῷ στρατηγῷ, μεγάλα τα το ἀγάθα κατορθοῦντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ κακά διαμαρτάνοντος εἰκός γίγνεσθαι. Xen. Mem. iii. 1, 3.

The genitive absolute was probably used at first to express time (present or past according to the tense), and afterwards the other circumstantial relations, cause, condition, concession, etc. The construction is most fully developed in Attic prose, especially in the Orators.1

848. A participle sometimes stands alone in the genitive absolute, when a noun or pronoun can easily be supplied from the context, or when some general word like ἄνθρωπος or πραγμάτων is understood. E.g.

Οἵ δὲ πολέμοι, προσιόντων, τέως μὲν ἡγεῖας, but the enemy, as they (men before mentioned) came on, for a time kept quiet. XEN. An. v. 4, 16. So ἐπειγομένων αὐτούς, when they were called in (when people called them in), THUC. i. 3. Οὕτω δ’ ἐχόντων, εἰκός, κ.λ.ι., and things being so (so. πραγμάτων), etc. XEN. An. iii. 2, 19. Οίκ χαίροντες, οὐκ Ἀμφικτυόνες ὡς ἐπαγόντων, οὐκ ἐπαγγελλομένων, οὐδαμῶς ἐγὼ προδέχομαι τὴν εἰς ύμᾶς εἴναι. Dem. xviii. 322. (Here the vague idea they is understood with ἐπαγόντων and ἐπαγγελλομένων.) So πολεμώντων, PLAT. Rep. 557 E.

So when the participle denotes a state of the weather; as οὗτος πολλῷ, when it was raining heavily, XEN. Hell. i. 1, 16. In such cases the participle is masculine, Διός being understood. See AR. Nub. 370, θοντα; and Il. xii. 25, δὲ δ᾽ ἄρα Ζεῦς.

849. A passive participle may stand in the genitive absolute with a clause introduced by ὅτι. If the subject of such a clause is plural, or if there are several subjects, the participle itself may be plural, by a kind of attraction. E.g.

Σαφῶς δὴ λαθέντος ὅτι ἐν ταῖς ναοῖς τῶν Ελλήνων τὰ πράγματα ἐγένετο, it having been clearly shown, that, etc. THUC. i. 74. Ἐπαγγελθέντων ὅτι Φοίνικιν νῆσε ἐν αὐτοῖς πλέουσιν, it having been announced, that, etc. Id. i. 116. So XEN. Cyr. i. 4, 18; vi. 2, 19.

850. The genitive absolute is regularly used only when a new subject is introduced into the sentence (847) and not when the participle can be joined with any substantive already belonging to the construction. Yet this principle is sometimes violated, in order to make the participial clause more prominent and to express its relation (time, cause, etc.) with greater emphasis. E.g.

Διὰ βεβηκότος ἡδ Περικλέως, ἡγεῖθι αὐτῷ ὅτι Μιγαρα ἀφελήθη, when Pericles had already crossed over, it was announced to him that Mygara had revolted. THUC. i. 114.

So sometimes in Latin, but generally with difference in meaning; as Galliab: Italianique tentari se absente nollet, CAES. Bell. Civ. i. 29.

**Accusative Absolute.**

851. The participle of an impersonal verb stands in the accusative absolute, in the neuter singular, with or without an infinitive, when other participles with their subjects would stand in the genitive absolute.

Such are ἐὰνον, δόν, παρόν, προσηκον, πέτων, περέχον, μέλον, μεταμέλον, δοκεῖν, δόξαν, and the like; also passive participles used impersonally (as προσταχθέν, εἴρημένον, δεδομένον); and such
expressions as ἀδύνατον ὅν, it being impossible, composed of an adjective and ὅν; also τυχόν, perchance. E.g.

Οἱ δ’ οὐ βοηθήσαντες δέον ἱγείης ἀπήλθον; and did those who brought no aid when it was necessary escape safe and sound? PLAT. Alcib. i. 116 B. Ἀπλαῖς δὲ λύπα τις ἔδω (sc. φέρεις), οὐκ οἷων διπλαῖς. EUR. I. T. 688. Παρέχον δὲ τῇ Ἀσίης πάσης ἀρχῆς ευπέτειας, ἀλλο τι αἰρήσθησθε; HDT. v. 49. Ἔδω δὲ παρασκέυον, and when an opportunity offers. THUC. i. 120. Οὐ προσήκον, improperly. Id. iv. 95. Συνδόθεν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ μητρὶ, γαμεῖ τῇ Κυαξάρων θυγατέρᾳ. XEN. Cyr. viii. 5, 28. Εἰρημένον κύρων εἶναι ὃ τι ἂν τῷ πλῆθος τῶν ἐμμαχῶν ψηφίστηται. THUC. v. 30. Σο δεδομένον, id. i. 125; γεγραμένον, v. 56; and προσταγμένον, PLAT. Leg. 902 D. Καὶ εὐθεῖα πάλιν, προστασίαν μοι ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου Μενωνα ἄγειν εἰς Ἑλλησπόντου, ψυχήν. DEM. i. 12. Παρεκκλειόντο τε, ἀδύνατον ὅν ἐν νυκτὶ ἄλλῳ τῷ σημώνι. THUC. vii. 44. Ἐγὼν, ἔφη ο Ἡθρός, οὔμα, ἀμα μὲν συναγερμοῦσιν ἠμῶν, ἀμα δὲ καὶ άσχρόν ὅν τῷ ἄντιλέγειν, κ.τ.λ. XEN. Cyr. ii. 2, 20. (See 876.) Ἀντιπαρασκευάζοντος ἔρρωμένοις, ὡς μάχῃς ἔτοι δέησον, on the ground that there would still be need of a battle. Ib. vi. 1, 26. Οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα, ὡς ἐξῴ διὸ ἄντι τυραννίναι ἄδεις, προείπον, κ.τ.λ., i.e. thinking that it was now in their power, etc. Id. Hell. ii. 4, 1.

852. Rarely the infinitive in the accusative absolute has τῷ; as αἰσχρὸν δὲ τῷ ἀντιλέγειν, XEN. Cyr. ii. 2, 20 (above): so v. 1, 13; PLAT. Rep. 521 A, 604 C.

853. Even the participles of personal verbs sometimes stand with their nouns in the accusative absolute, in all genders and numbers, if they are preceded by ὡς or ὡσπερ (864; 867). E.g.

Διὸ καὶ τοὺς νείπ οἱ πατέρες ἀπὸ τῶν ποιημῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐγνωσίν, ὡς τῷ μὲν τῶν χρυστῶν ὄμιλαν ἀσκήσαν ὡς τῷ τῆς ἄρετῆς, τῷ δὲ τῶν ποίημων κατάλυσιν (sc. οὗτοι). XEN. Mem. i. 2, 20. Φίλους κτών τοῦ διότι βοηθῶν διάμενοι, τῶν δ’ ἀδελφῶν ἀμέλεσίν, ὡσπερ ἐκ πολιτῶν μὲν γεγομένους φίλους, ἐξ ἀδελφῶν δὲ οἱ γεγομένους, as if friends were made from fellow-slaves, and were not made from brethren. Ib. ii. 3, 3. Ὡς τοὺς Βουσιάν τῷ τῶν ὀνομάτων σύνθεσιν τῶν Δημοκράτον ἄγαπήσοντας. AESCHIN. iii. 142. Ὡςπερ ὡς ἡγούντος, Ib. 189. Μέγιστον οὗτῳ διακεῖται τὰς γνώμας ὡς, ὡς ἐκατον ἐκόντα προθύμως ὃ τι ἂν δη τοιχήσοντα. DEM. xiv. 14.

854. The accusative absolute used personally without ὡς or ὡσπερ is very rare. It occurs chiefly with neuter participles which are regularly impersonal. E.g.

Προσήκον αὐτῷ τῷ κλήρῳ μέρος ὅσον πέρ ἔμει. ISAE. v. 12. Ταύτα δὲ γεγομένα, πένθεα μεγάλα τοῖς Ἀγαπητοῖς καταλαμβάνει. HLT. ii. 66. Ὁ θύς ἀμφότερος μὲν δοκοῦν ἀναχωρείν, κυρωθεὶς δὲ οὔδεν, νυκτὸς τε ἐπιγενομένης, ὡς μὲν Μακεδόνας ἔχωρον ἐπ’ οἴκου. THUC. iv. 125. Δόξαντα δὲ ταύτα καὶ περιανθέντα τὰ στρα-
Adverbs connected with the Circumstantial Participle.

855. The adverbs τώτο, ἠδέ (τότε ἠδέ), ἐνταύθα, εἴτε, ἐπείτα, and οὕτως are often joined to the verb of the sentence in which the temporal participle stands, to give greater emphasis to the temporal relation. E.g.

Ἐκέλευεν αὐτὸν συνοιβάντα, ἐπείτα οὕτως ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, he commanded that, after he had joined them in crossing, he should then retire as he proposed. XEN. An. vii. 1, 4. Πειθομένων δὲ τῶν Σαμῖν καὶ σχόλιων τῷ Ζάγκλῃ, ἐνθαύτα οἱ Ζακλαῖοι ἐρμηθέντων αυτῇ. HTR. vi. 23. Ἀποφεύγων δὲ καὶ τούτων, ὑπερηγοῦσα οὕτω Ἀθηναίων ᾧδὲπέχθη, and having escaped these also, he was then (under these circumstances) chosen general of the Athenians. Id. vi. 104.

856. Εἴτα, ἐπείτα, and οὕτως sometimes refer in the same way to a participle expressing opposition or limitation; in which case they may be translated by nevertheless, after all. E.g.

Πάντων δὲ ἀποποτάτων ἑστι, τηλικαύτην ἀνελόντας μαρτυρίαν οὕτως οἴεσθαι δεν εἰκό πιστεύεσθαι παρή ἡμῖν, it is most absurd of all that, although they have destroyed so important a piece of evidence, they should after all think, etc. DEM. xxviii. 5. Λειών μὲν δὲ πάθοις, εἴ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀφικόμενοι, οὐ τὸν Ἔλλαδος πλείστῃ ἑστὶν ἐξουσία τοῦ λέγειν, ἐπείτα σὺ ἑνταύθα τούτου μόνος ἀντιπέρασα, if, although you are come to Athens, you should after all be the only one to fail in obtaining this. PLAT. Gorg. 461 E.

857. Οὕτως, διὰ τοῦτο, and διὰ ταύτα sometimes refer in the same way to a participle denoting a cause. E.g.

Χορώσων ἐμείνασα καὶ κρείττους πολλών βαρβάρων ἦμις εἶναι, διὰ τοῦτο προσέλαβον, because I remained, etc. XEN. An. i. 7, 3. 'Ὑμεῖς δὲ ημέες ἤγισσάμενοι ικανοὺς γνώναι, οὕτω παρελάβομεν. PLAT. Lach. 178 B.

858. The adverbs ἀμα, μεταξῆς, εὐθὺς (Ionic ἑθέως), αὐτίκα, ἀρτι, and ἔξωάπισης are often connected (in position and in sense) with the temporal participle, although grammatically they qualify the verb of the sentence. E.g.

Ἄμα προιὼν ἐπεισκοπεῖτο εἷς τι δυνατόν ἔδη τους πολεμίους ἀσθενεστέρους ποιεῖν, as he advanced, he looked at the same time to see whether it was possible, etc. XEN. Cyr. v. 2, 22. Ἀμα καταλαβόντες προσκέκοιτο σφί, as soon as they had overtaken them, they pressed hard upon them. HTR. ix. 57. Νεκρὸς μεταξῆς ὄροσων ἔπαυσατο, muirtou ἐμποδίων γενομένου, Necho stopped while dying (the wag), etc. Id. ii. 158. Πολλαχοῦ δὲ μὲ ἐπέσχε λέγοντα μεταξῆς, it often checked me
while speaking. PLAT. Ap. 40 B. ἔτσι οὖσι εὐθὺς νέοι ὄντες τῷ ἀνδρεύς μετέχονται, by toilsome discipline, even while they are still young, etc. THUC. ii. 39. Τῷ δεξίῳ κέφα εὐθὺς ἀποβεβηκότι οἱ Κόρινθιοι ἐπέκειντο, the Corinthians pressed upon the right wing, as soon as it was disembarked. Id. iv. 43. Ἀρέσκοντος εὐθὺς καθίσαντες, beginning as soon as it (the war) broke out. Id. i. 1. Διόνυσον λέγομεν ὡς αὐτίκα γενόμενον ἐς τὸν μηδὲν ἐνεργάσατο Ζεὺς, they say of Dionysus that, as soon as he was born, Zeus seized him into his thigh. HIST. ii. 146. Τὴν ψυχὴν θεωροῦντα ἔξαιρος ἀποβαίνοντος ἐκα- στον, viewing the soul of each one the moment that he is dead. PLAT. Gorg. 523 E. Καὶ αὐτῶν μεταξὺ ταῦτα λέγομεν ὁ Κλείνεας ἔτυχεν ἀπο- κρινόμενος. Id. Enthyl. 275 E.

859. The participle expressing opposition, limitation, or concession is often strengthened by καίστερ or καί (after a negative, by οὔδε or μηδὲ, with or without πέρ), or by καί ταῦτα, and that too. ὁμως, nevertheless, may be connected with the participle (like ἄμα, etc. in 858), belonging, however, grammatically to the leading verb. E.g.

"Εκτός καὶ μεμαί τα μάχης συχνοσθαί εἰκο. II. ix. 655. Ἐποικπετεῖρο δὲ νῦν δῶσην ἐμίσα, καίστερ ὄντα δυναμῆν, although he is not enemy. SOPH. Aj. 123. Οὐκ ἂν προσδωκὴν, οὔδε περ πράσσων κακῶς. EURL. Ph. 1624. Γυναικεί πείθου μηδὲ τάληθε κλύων (= μηδὲ ὃν τάληθε κλύγος). Id. Fr. 443. Πείθον γυναεῖς, καίστερ σύ στέργαν ὁμος, although you are not found of them. Aesch. Sept. 712. (Here ὁμος qualifies πείθου; although, as usual, it is joined with the participle for emphasis.) Ἀδικεῖς ὅτι ἄνδρα ἡμὶ τῶν στοιχεῖστον διαφθείρεις γελῶν ἀναπείθων, καὶ ταῦτα οὕτω πολέμων ὄντα τῷ γέλῳ. Xen. Cyr. ii. 2, 16.

360. In Homer, the two parts of καί... πέρ are generally separated by the participle, or by some emphatic word connected with it. Καὶ is here very often omitted, so that πέρ stands alone in the sense of although. Both of these uses are found also in tragedy. E.g.

Τὸν μὲν ἔπετερ ἔδασε, καὶ ἀγνώμονος περ ἐταίρου, κείσαται. II. viii. 125. Καὶ κρατερὸς περ ἐων, μενέτω τριστάτη ἐνι μοίρῃ. II. xv. 195. Τέτλαθε, μιστやはり ἐπὶ, καὶ ἀνάγχεος κυριότινη περ, μή σε φίλην περ ἐνευμεν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖν ὧδεμι θευσμενήν τότε δ' οὐ πι δυνάμεο- μαι ἀγνώμονος περ χριαστείν. II. 1. 586.

Κάγω σ' ἱκνοσιμα, καὶ γνυὴ περ οὐδ' ὠμος. EUR. Or. 680. Τάφοι γαρ αὐτῆ καὶ κατασκαφῶς ἐγὼ, γνυὴ περ οὐδ' οὐδέ τρέβει χρυσάν- σομαι. Aesch. Sept. 1037. Σο πέρ alone in Herodotus, as ἀσκενής περ ἐων, iii. 131.

361. Καίτοι was very seldom used like καίστερ with the participle, its only regular use being with finite verbs. E.g.

Οὔδε μοι ἐμμελέως τὸ Πιπτάκειον νέμεται, καίτοι σοφοῦ παρὰ
"Ate, and oia or oion, as, inasmuch as, are used to emphasise a participle denoting the cause or ground of an action. Here the cause assigned is stated merely on the authority of the speaker or writer. (See 864.) E.g.

O de Kuros, ate pais kai filokalos kai filotimos, ēde to stoilē, but Cyris, inasmuch as he was a child (as being a child), etc. Xen. Cyg. i. 3. 3. "Ate xronon ēgimnomēn συνήμα, as a long time intervened. Hdt. i. 190: in the same chapter, oia de ixestatōmenoi. So ate λυθείτων, Thuc. vii. 85. Μάλα de xaleptos poreio-meno, oia de ēn nukti te kai fóβο áptiōntes, eis Agóstheva áphi-kounta, inasmuch as they were departing by night, etc. Xen. Hell. vi. 4, 26. Oion de diá xronon ἀφίγμενον, ἀσμένως ἦν ἐπὶ τὰς συνήθεις διατριβάς. Plut. Charmin. 153 A.

863. In Herodotus, ὡστε is used in the sense of ἀτε; as in i. 8, ὡστε πάντα νομίζων, inasmuch as he believed this. So vi. 136, ἣν γὰρ ἄδουνας, ὡστε στηριμένου τοῦ μηροῦ. In Thuc. vii. 24, ὡστε (so the MSS.) γὰρ ταμεῖων χρωμένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων τούς τείχες, Bekker wrote ἀτε for ὡστε, and Stahl reads ὡστε.

864. 'Oe may be prefixed to participles denoting a cause or ground or a purpose, sometimes to other circumstantial participles. It shows that what is stated in the participle is stated as the thought or assertion of the subject of the leading verb, or as that of some other person prominent in the sentence, without implying that it is also the thought of the speaker or writer. E.g.

Oi μὲν διώκοντες τοὺς καθ' αὐτούς ὡς πάντας νικῶντες, oi δ' ἀρπάζοντες ὡς ἤδη πάντες νικῶντες, one side pursuing those opposed to them, thinking that they were victorious over all; and the other side proceeding to plunder, thinking that they were all victorious. Xen. An. i. 10, 4. Ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπόζωσις ἡ πολιτεία τῶν Πυθιδας βουλόμενος ἐκβαλεν, he made his pretence as if he wished to drive out the Pisidians. Ib. i. 2, 1. Συλλαμβάνειν Κύρον ὡς ἀποκτενῶν, he seized Cyris with the (avowed) object of putting him to death. Ib. i. 1, 3. Διαβαίνειν ὡς αἰμήσων τῶν σιτον. Hdt. vi. 28. Oi 'Αθηναίοι παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς πολεμή-γινοτες, the Athenians prepared with the (avowed) intention of going to war. Thuc. ii. 7. Tovn Perikleia εἴναι αἰτία εἶχον ὡς πείσαντα σφᾶς πολεμεῖν καὶ δὲ ἐκείνον ταῖς ξυμπορίαις περιπετευκότοι, they found fault with Pericles, on the ground that he had persuaded them to engage in the war, and that through them they had become involved in the calamities. Id. ii. 59. (Here Thucydides himself is not responsible for the statements in the participles, as he would be if ὡς were omitted.) Ὅγανοκτονίαν ὡς μεγάλων τυχών ἀπεστημένοι, they are indignant, because (as they allege) they have been deprived, etc. Plut. Rep. 329 A. Βασιλεῖς χάριν ἴσασι, δὲ δὲ ἐκεῖνον τυχόντα τῆς αὐτονομίας ταύτης, i.e. they thank them because (they believe) they have obtained this independence through him.
ISOG. IV. 175. "ὢς γὰρ εἰδότεν περὶ ὅν ἐπέμφθησαν ἀκούετε, for you hear them as men who (you believe) know about what they were sent for. DEM. XIX. 5.

"Ελέγε θαρρείν ὡς καταστησόμενων τούτων εἰς τὸ δέον, he bade them take courage, on the ground that these matters were about to be settled as they should be. XEN. AN. i. 3, 8. Ἐκ δὲ τούτων εἰδὼς ἔκρηκτων ἔζεινα πάντας Θείανους, ὡς τῶν τυράννων τεθνεότατων, because (as they said) the tyrants were dead. Id. HEL. v. 4, 9. Ἀπελογήσατο ὅτι οὐχ ὡς τοῖς "Ελληνι πολεμοσύνοις σφῶν εἶποι, that he said what he did, not because they intended to be at war with the Greeks. Id. AN. v. 6, 3. So ὡς ἐπιθυμεύοντος Ἱσσαυφέρνους τὰς πόλεις, on the ground that T. was plotting, Id. i. 1, 6. "ὢς οὖ προσοίσωντος (sc. ἐμοῦ) τὰς χεῖρας, . . . ἐδίδοικε, since (as you may feel sure) I will not lay hands on you, teach me. Id. MEM. ii. 6, 32. "ὢς ἀναμενόντος καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸδοκιμόνενον (sc. ἐμοῦ), οὕτω παρακεκάγω, make your preparations in the idea that I shall remain and shall not die. Id. CYR. viii. 4, 27. Νῦν δὲ, ὡς οὕτω ἔχοντοι, στρατηγὸν ὃς τάχιστα ἐκτίμησε. HIER. viii. 144. So ὡς βέβαιον ὃν, THUC. i. 2; DEM. XVIII. 207.

865. It is a mistake to suppose that ὡς implies that the participle does not express the idea of the speaker or writer. It implies nothing whatever on this point, which is determined (if at all) by the context. The question whether the clause with ὡς gives the real or the pretended opinion of the leading subject is also determined (if at all) by the context.

866. ὡς may also be used before participles standing in indirect discourse with verbs of knowing, etc. (see 916).

867. ".ReadString, as, as it were, with the participle denotes a comparison of the action of the verb with an assumed case. The expression may generally be translated by as if with a verb; but the participle is not felt to be conditional in Greek, as is shown by the negative οὐ (not μη). E.g.

"Ἠρχόμενον ὡσπερ ἄλλοις ἐπὶ δεικνύμενοι, they danced as if they were showing off to others (i.e. they danced, not really but in appearance showing off). XEN. AN. v. 4, 34. Τι ἐμοὶ τούτο λέγεις, ὡσπερ οὐκ ἐπὶ σοι ἄν ὦ ὁ τι ἄν βούλῃ περὶ ἐμοῦ λέγειν; why do you say this to me, as if it were not in your power to say what you please about me? Id. MEM. ii. 6, 36. In both these cases, there is a comparison between the action stated in the verb and dancing or speaking under circumstances stated in the participial clause. The if in our translation is a make-shift, which we find convenient in expressing the supposed case in a conditional form, which, however, is not the Greek form. The construction is the same as when ὡσπερ takes a noun, as τὸν κίνδυνον παρελθεῖν ἔποιήσεν ὡσπερ νέφος, it caused the danger to pass by like a cloud, DEM. XVIII. 188; only we can translate ὡσπερ νέφος, but we could not translate ὡσπερ νέφος ὅτα.

".ReadString ἦδη σαφῶς εἰδότες ὡς πρακτόν ἐστίν, οὐκ ἐθελεὶ ἀκούειν,
you are unwilling to hear, as if you already knew well what should be done. Isoc. viii. 9. Ἄπροβιν ὅλοις πρὸς πολλὰς μιμάδας, ὡσπέρ εἰ ἂλλοτριῶν ψυχῶν μελλοντές κινδυνεύοντες, as if they had been about to incur the risk with others' lives. Id. iv. 86. Τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν ἔλεγεν, ὡσπέρ πρὸς τὸν Δία τὴν χώραν νεκρὸν, ἀλλ' ὅ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὰς συνήθεις ποιμένες, he has taken half (of the land) as if he were dividing the country with Zeus, and not making a treaty with men. ib. 179. Πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους, ὡσπέρ αὐτός ἀστικός καὶ μετ' εὐνοίας πάντας εἰρήκως τοὺς λόγους, φυλάττεν ἐμὲ ἐκέλευεν, as if he had himself spoken, etc. Dem. xviii. 276. Οἴ Ἔλληνες οὕτως ἴμαναι-κτησαν, ὡσπέρ ὅλης τῆς Ἑλλάδος πεπορθημένης, as if the whole of Greece had been laid waste. Isoc. x. 49. See Id. iv. 53, ὡσπέρ οὐ τούς λόγους ὄντας, and XEN. An. iii. 14, v. 7, 24; Mem. ii. 3, 3; Occ. ii. 7. In PLAT. Ap. 35 A, we have ὡσπέρ ἄθανάτων ἐσμένων ἐάν ὑμεῖς αὐτοὺς μὴ ἀποκτένυετε, i.e. as if they will be (like men who will be) immortal if you do not put them to death, where the future participle indicates that there is no condition (473).

The participle with ὡσπέρ generally denotes attendant circum- stances (843), sometimes manner (836).

868. ὡσπέρ, like any particle meaning as, can be followed by ei and an actual condition, the apodosis of which it represents; as in ὡσπέρ ei παρεστάτεις, as (you would do) if you had lived near by, Aesch. Ag. 1201. A participle with ὡσπέρ ei seems to have hardly more conditional force than one with the simple ὡσπέρ; as ἐμὲ ἔχων καταληύκου, ὡσπέρ ei προκείμενον, you went off and left me as if I had been laid out, Ar. Eccl. 537. See ὡσπέρ ei νομίζων, Dem. xxx. 7.

When a real condition is expressed, we generally have ὡσπέρ ἤ ei, as in ὡσπέρ ἤ ei τοῖς αἰτιῶσι, Dem. xviii. 194. But when ὡσπέρ ἤ ei (or ὡσπεραντί) is followed by a participle or a noun without a verb, it is hardly possible that either of the verbs which were originally understood with ἤ and ei (227) was felt as implied in the language as we find it; indeed, it would seldom be possible to supply an actual verb. Thus in ὠμόιοι διεσπαράθησαν ὡσπεραντί προτεστάμενοι, they proceeded as if they were under escort, Isoc. iv. 148, and in ὡσπεραντί ἰγκούμενοι, as if they believed, Dem. xviii. 214, ὡσπέρ alone would have given essentially the same sense. So in ἐφοβάθη ὡσπεράντε καίν, PLAT. Gorg. 479 A, ὡσπέρ παίς, like a child, would probably have expressed the whole idea with less emphasis.

Remarks on ὡσπέρ and ὕ with the Participle.

869. 1. In Homer ὕ τε, ὕ ei, and ὕ ei τε are used in a sense approaching that of ὡσπέρ in Attic Greek. ὕ here always expresses a comparison, and when ei is added the form must originally have included a condition; but, even in Homer, the force of ei had become so weakened that it is hardly possible that any actual verb was felt to be implied in the expression. E.g.
'Αχαϊῶν οὖν αἰδέως, ὡς τε πον ἡ αὐτὸς παρεῖν ἡ ἄλλοι άκουσισ, you sing as if you had been present yourself or had heard from another. Od. viii. 490. Κύρικς ἐπιθέσα ὡς τε κτάμενα μενεάων, I rushed upon Circe as if I were eager to kill her. Od. x. 322; so x. 295. Τὸν δ' οὖν ἐφέ παρείπων ἀμφιθαλαίμονος ὡς εἶ θ' ἐνιν ἔνοικον, welcoming him as (if he had been) his own son. II. xvi. 191. Πόλλ' ἀλοφυρόμενον ὡς εἶ θανατόν κε ἔνοικον, as (if he were) going to death. II. xxiv. 327. 'Τίς κ' ἐν τοῖς ἑνωτέρεις, ὡς εἰ τε κακῶν ἐξευσάει ἑνώτηρ, as if you were doing any evil openly. II. v. 373. Κατάνδος γίγνεται εὖ αὐτής, ὡς εἰ πυρὸς αἰθομένως, as (if) when a fire is burning. II. xxii. 149; so Od. xix. 39.

2. In Homer ὡς εἰ may have a noun without a participle. Here the comparative force is specially clear, as the difficulty of supplying a verb with εἰ is specially great: see μ' ἀσύφημον ἑθέσαν ὡς εἰ τε αὐτοῦ ἀτύμητον μετανόησα, he made me of no account, like some dishonoured stranger, II. ix. 648, xvi. 59. So ὡς εἰ τε κατὰ ῥοῦν, as if down stream, Od. xiv. 254; ὡς τε περί πυρός, as it were for my life, Od. ix. 423.1

870. The weak conditional force that appears in the Homeric ὡς εἰ with a participle or a noun (869) helps to explain the perhaps still weaker condition of ὀσπερ εἰ or ὀσπερ ἄν εἰ in Attic Greek (868).

871. The very few cases of ὡς with the participle in Homer do not indicate that ὡς had yet begun to develop its later force (864). See Od. xvi. 21, πάντα κυρίων περιφής, ὡς εἰ ταῦτα ἑνών, he kissed him all over, like one escaped from death, though we might translate since he felt that T. had escaped from death. No such force is possible, however, in II. xxiii. 430, ὡς ὅποι δώμητε ὣνκως, appearing like one who heard not.

872. Herodotus uses ὀστε with the participle in the sense of ἀτε, although he has ὡς with the participle in the Attic sense (864). See examples under 863.

873. ὡς εἰ (or ὠστε) and ὡς εἰ τε appear occasionally in Attic poetry with nouns or adjectives in their Homeric sense. So ματηρ νόας τε πιστά, like some faithful mother, Soph. El. 234; πτύσας ὠστε τε δισμενη, spurning her as an enemy, Ant. 653.

874. ὀσπερ with the participle occasionally seems to have the same force as ἀτε or ἀτον; as in Eucr. Hipp. 1307, ὁ δ' ὀσπερ ἄν δικαιοῦν ὁ ἐφάπακος λόγιοι, inasmuch as he was just, etc. Or is the meaning here he, like a just man?

In Plut. Rep. 330 Ε, ἦταν ὑπὸ τὰς τοῦ γήρων ἀσθενείας ἡ καὶ ὀσπερ ἑδὴ ἐγγύτερον ἄν τοὺς ἐκεὶ μᾶλλον τε καθορας αὐτὰ, the same force is generally given to ὀσπερ. But it may have the comparative force: either because of the feebleness of old age, or perhaps (feeling) like one who is nearer the other world, he takes a more careful view of it,—a

1 See Lange, Partikel El, pp. 235-243. I cannot follow Lange (p. 241), in making the Attic ὡς with the participle the natural successor of the Homeric ὡς εἰ with the participle.
genitive of cause with ὑπὸ and a participle of circumstance being united under ἀπὸ and ὑπὸ.

Omission of ὅν.

875. The participle ὅν is sometimes omitted, leaving a predicate adjective or noun standing by itself.

1. This occurs chiefly after ἄτε, οἱ, ὃς, or καίτερ, and much more frequently with predicate adjectives than with nouns. E.g.

"Ἀλλὰ γεγονότως σαφῶς, καίτερ σκοτεινός (sc. ὅν), τήν γε σῆν ἀυδὸν ὡς, although my sight is darkened. Soph. O. T. 1325. "Ἐφη κηρύσσειν μηδεμίαν πόλιν δέχεσθαι αὐτόν, ὃς πολεμίον (sc. ὅντος), that no city should receive them, on the ground that they were enemies. Xen. An. vi. 6, 9. So ὃς χίλιον ἴδῃ, Cyr. iii. 2, 25. Ἀτοῦ ἐπιτηδεύοντο τῷ ἀναγκαῖον ἀλλ' οὐχ ὃς ἄγαθόν (sc. δὲν), they praised it on the ground that it is necessary, and not on the ground that it is good. Plat. Rep. 358 C. "Ἡ μὴν ἐπὶ Ζεὺς, καίτερ αὐθάδης (sc. ὅν) φρενῶν, ἐσται ταυτόν. Aesch. Prom. 907.

So in the genitive and accusative absolute. "Ὡς ἔτοιμων δὴ χρημάτων (sc. δύνων). Xen. An. vii. 8, 11. "Ὡς ἐμοῦ μόνης πέλας (sc. σύνης), since I alone am near you. Soph. O. C. 83. "Ὡς καλὸν (sc. δὲν) ἀγορεύοντα αὑτόν, on the ground that it is good for it (the speech) to be spoken. Thuc. ii. 35. Σὺ πρῶτος, ὃς οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον (sc. δὲν) τὸ κλέπτειν, αὐτῷ τὸν κλέπτοντα. Xen. Cyr. v. 1, 13. "Ὡς ἄρα παντὶ δήλον (sc. δὲν) ὅτι κανιὰ τὰ φίλαν ἐσταί. Plat. Rep. 449 C.

(With nouns.) Ἐσθήσει, οἰα δὴ παῖς (sc. ὅν) φύσει φιλόστοργος, ήστασέτο αὑτόν, as he was by nature an affectionate child. Xen. Cyr. i. 3, 2. Αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν' ὁν παραδείσεμεθα, ἂτε τυραννίδος υμητάς (sc. δύνας), since they sing the praises of tyranny. Plat. Rep. 568 B.

2. Without the above mentioned particles (875, 1), ὅν is rarely omitted, and probably only in poetry. E.g.

Τοὺς ὅποις, δὲν ὑφηγητῶν (sc. δύνων) ἐγὼ κτακεῖν ἐμελλόν πατέρα τὸν ἐμόν, the birds, by whose guidance, etc. Soph. O. T. 966. So 1260, and O. C. 1588. Νοεῖς θάπτειν σφ', ἀπόρρητον πόλει (sc. δὲν); do you think of burying him, when it is forbidden to the city? Id. Ant. 44.

3. The adjectives ἐκών, willing, and ἀκών, unwilling, omit ὅν like participles. E.g.


4. A predicate adjective or noun sometimes stands without ὅν, when it is connected by a conjunction to a participle in the same construction. E.g.
Combinations of Circumstantial Participles.

876. As the participle in the genitive or accusative absolute denotes the same relations (time, cause, etc.) as the circumstantial participle in its ordinary construction (833-845), both may be used in the same sentence and be connected by conjunctions. When several participles denoting these relations occur in any sentence, those which belong to substantives already connected with the main construction agree with these in case, while those which refer to some new subjects stand with these in the genitive absolute; any which are impersonal standing in the accusative absolute. *E.g.*

Of μεν Ἑλληνες στραφέντες παρακευάζοντο ὡς ταύτη προσιόντος (sc. τοῦ βασιλέως) καὶ δεξάμενοι, they prepared themselves with a view to his (the King's) coming up and to receiving him. XEN. An. i. 10, 6. Καὶ πάντα διαπραξάμενοι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ (Κλέων), καὶ ψηφοσμένων Ἀθηναίων αὐτῷ τὸν πλοῦτον, τὸν τε ἐν Πύλῳ στρατηγῶν ἐνα προσελόμενος, τὴν ἀναγωγὴν διὰ τάξους ἐποιήτο. THUC. iv. 29. Ἀλκιβιάδης τοῖς Πελοποννησίοις ὑπόπτους ἄν, καὶ ἀν' αὐτῶν ἀφικομένης ἐπιστολῆς ὡσ' ἀποκτείναι, ὑποχωρεὶ παρὰ Τισαφέρνην. Id. viii. 45. Τῆς γὰρ ἐμπορίας οὐκ ὦσις οὐδ' ἐπιμιμημένης ἄδεως ἀλλήλοις οὕτω κατὰ γῆν οὕτω διὰ θαλασσῆς, νεμόμενοι τε τὰ ἐναντίον ἐκαστοῦ ὧσον ἀποζη καὶ περισσοῦν χρημάτων οὐκ ἐχόντες οὐδὲ γῆν φυτεύοντες, ἀδηλῶν ὡς ὅπτε ὑπὲ Μελιθῶν καὶ ἀτειχίστων ἀμα ὑντων ἄλλοι ἀφαιρήσεται, τῆς τε καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναγκαίον τροφῆς πανταχοῦ ἃς ἡγούμενοι ἐπικρατεῖν, οὗ χαλεπῶς ἄπαντα Ἰοτάνου. Id. i. 2. Here ὦσις and ἐπιμιμημένης belong to the leading clause; νεμόμενοι, ἐχόντες, and φυτεύοντες—corresponding to ἡγούμενοι—are in the second line; ἀδηλῶν ὡς depends on νεμόμενοι, etc., and introduces the indirect question ὅπτε . . . ἀφαιρήσεται, which contains ἐπικρατεῖν and ἀτειχίστων ὑντων as circumstantial participles.

C. SUPPLEMENTARY PARTICIPLE.

877. The supplementary participle completes the idea expressed by a verb, by stating that to which its action relates. It often approaches very near the use of the
object infinitive. It may belong to either the subject or
the object of the verb and agree with it in case. E.g.

παύομεν σὲ λέγοντα, we stop you from speaking; παύομεθα λέ-
yontes, we cease speaking.

878. The supplementary participle has two uses. In
one of these it corresponds to the infinitive in indirect
discourse, with its tenses representing the same tenses of
the direct form; and in the other it corresponds to the
object infinitive in other constructions, so far as it ap-
proaches the infinitive at all in meaning. (See 746.)

Compare παύομεν σὲ λέγοντα, we stop you from speaking, with
dεικνύω σὲ λέγοντα τάληθη, he shows that you speak the truth;
and compare both with κωλύομεν σὲ λέγειν, we prevent you from
speaking, and φησί σὲ λέγειν τάληθη, he says that you speak the
truth.

I. NOT IN INDIRECT DISCOURSE.

879. I. The participle may be used with verbs signifying
to begin, to continue, to endure, to persevere, to cease, to stop (i.e. cause
to cease), and to permit or put up with. E.g.

'Εγὼ δ' ἔρχομαι ἀλήταινων, and I was the first to be angry. II. ii.
378. 'Αρθρωμαι απὸ τῆς ιατρικῆς λέγων, I will begin my speech with
the art of medicine. Plat. Symp. 186 B. Διδόμενη δὲ διατέλεται μοῦνη
ἐλευθερία ἑοῦσα Ἴρακτίς, this house continues to be the only free one
among the Persians. Her. iii. 83. So Χιν. An. iv. 3, 2; Dem. xviii.
'Ανέκειθαι τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις λέγοντων, to endure certain men
saying. Dem. ix. 6. So ἀνέει λέγοντος ἔμου περὶ τούτων; will you
allow me to say? Plat. Rep. 613 C. With the accusative: καὶ ταύτ
Ἰάων παιδός ἐξανέλεται. παῖς ὑπερτάστα; and will Jason endure to have
his children suffer this? Eur. Med. 74. Ἀπαρέσετε μένοντες, persevere
and hold your ground. Hdt. ix. 45. Οἱ δὲ ἐκαρτέρων πρὸς κύμα
λακτίζοντες. Eur. I. T. 1395. Τρίδας δ' οὖν λήγω ἑναρίζων, I
will not stop talking Trojans. II. xxi. 224. Παῖς τέλεονσαι, stop
talking. Eur. Hipp. 706; so 474. Τὴν φιλοσοφίαν παῖσον ταύτα
λέγειναν, stop philosophy from talking in this style. Plat. Gorg. 482
A. 'Εκείνους ταύτα ποιεῖσθαι οὐκ ἐστὶ γεγονέσθαι ἐπιτερμήσαι
παραβαίνοντι τῶν νόμων, the city will not put up with their trans-
gression of the law. Isoc. xii. 170.

880. The poets sometimes have the participle with τολμάω
and τίλω, to endure, to have courage, and with μένω, to await, which
usually take the infinitive. E.g.
'Ετόλμα βαλλόμενοι. Od. xxiv. 162. Τόλμα δ' ἑρώσα, have the courage to love. Eur. Hipp. 476. Ἑλπίζω σε δρωσάν ἄν ἐγὼ παρανινέω, that you take courage to do what I shall advise. SOPH. El. 943. So πραθέντα τλήμα, endured to be sold, AESCH. Ag. 1041; στείρας ἐλα, was bold enough to plant, Sept. 754. 'Όφρα μένοιν νοστήγαντα ἄνακτα, that they might await the king's return. II. xiii. 38 (compare iv. 247, μένετε Τρώας ἐλθέμενοι).

For the aorist participle in the last three examples, see 148.

881. II. The participle may be used with many verbs which denote a state of the feelings, as those signifying to repent, to be weary, to be pleased, displeased, satisfied, angry, troubled, or ashamed.

E.g.

Μετεμέλοντο τόσο στοιχεῖον ὦ δεξάμενοι, they repented that they had not accepted the peace. THUC. iv. 27. Τούς δεσμώτας μετεμέλοντο ἀπόδοκοδοκές, they repented of having returned the prisoners. Id. v. 35. Εἶ μετεμέλοσθι οἶ τίνι Ἑλλήσποντον μαστιγώσαντι, whether he repented that he had scourged the Hellespont. HDT. vii. 54. Ἐὰν τῇ μή ἀποκάμην ἔτη, provided one is not weary of seeking. PLAT. Men. 81 D. Τῷ μὲν ἵδα χαίρον ποιήσαντι, they rejoiced in his return. Od. xix. 463: so II. xviii. 259. Τιμώμενοι χαίροντι, they delight to be honoured. EUR. Hipp. 8. Χαίρουσιν εὐεργετόμενοι τοὺς ὑπομένοντας μέν εἶναι σοφοὶ οὕσι δ' οὖ, i.e. they delight in having them examined. PLAT. Ap. 33 C. In poetry χαίρω may have the accusative: τοῖς γὰρ εὐσκέοις θεοὶ τυγχάνοντάς οὐ χαίροντι, for the Gods do not rejoice in the death of the pious. EUR. Hipp. 1340. Ἐγεῖ μὲν εἴ πράσσοντι ἐπιχαίρω. SOPH. Aj. 136. Φίλεω with nominative: φιλεῖς δ' ἰδὼν' αὐτὸ σφόδρα, and you are very fond of doing it. AR. Pl. 645. Οὐ γὰρ τοῖς τοι ἀνάγαυε παρεῖντε. Od. xv. 335. Τῆς Ἁλεπίδος ἁλεπίδος ἐξερεύν ἀμετέρητος, he took it hard that he was deprived of Aeleus. XEN. Hell. iii. 2, 13. Ὡς μικρότερον τιμώμενοι ἀγαπόντων, they are content to be honoured by smaller men. PLAT. Rep. 475 B. Ἐλεγχόμενοι ἡν ἐξαύτοι, they were vexed at being exposed. XEN. Mem. i. 2, 47. Τοὺς φρονιμοὺς ἀγαπότειν ἀποθνήσκοντάς πρέπει, it is right to be indignant when the wise die. PLAT. Phaed. 62 E. Ὅσι μισώ σ' ἔχων. EUR. Supp. 1108. Οὐ νεμέω Ἀχαϊκόνοιν ὀτρύνοντι μάχεσθαι Ἀχαιοῖς. II. iv. 413. Ἀδικοῦμένοι μᾶλλον ὄργιζονται ἢ βιαζόμενοι. THUC. i. 77. Τούτο οὐκ ἀναγίνομαι λέγων, I say this without shame (see 903, 1). XEN. Cyr. v. 1, 21. Αἰδίζει πατέρα προλείτων. SOPH. Aj. 506. Νικώμενοι λόγους οὐκ ἀναίνομαι, I am not sorry (non piget) to be overcome by your words. AESCH. Ag. 583. ἐδράσας δέ σ' οὐκ ἀναίνομαι, I do not regret that I helped you. EUR. H. F. 1235. ὁ θαυμόσω οὐκ ἀναίνομαι, I do not regret my death (about to come). Id. I. A. 1503. Ἀναίνομαι τῷ γήρας ζῷον εἰσορὸν, I am troubled at the sight, etc. Id. Bacch. 251. Ἀναίνομαι, refusal, takes the infinitive: see AESCH. Ag. 1652.)

882. Most of the participles of 881 denote a cause or ground of action, and might be placed under 838. (See 823.)
883. III. The participle with verbs signifying to find, to detect, or to represent, denotes an act or state in which a person or thing is found, detected, or represented. E.g.

Εδέχεν δ’ εὐφάντα Κρόνοιδν ἄρετ ἴμενον ἄλλων, she found the son of Kronos sitting apart. P. 1. 498. So i. 27. Ὄ δὲ κήρυς αὐθικόμενος εδέχετο ἄνδρας διεφθαρμένους, the herald, when he came, found the men already put to death. Thuc. ii. 6. Ὅν γὰρ εὐφάντη λέγων σοι ταύτ’, ἐγὼ ἐκπεφυγόμενι πάθος, if he shall be found to tell the same story as you, etc. Soph. O. T. 839. Καταλαμβάνοντι τὴν Ποτίδασαν καὶ ταλά ἀψιστηκότα, they find Potidaeans and the other towns in revolt. Thuc. i. 59. Κακὸς’ γ’ ἤν εἰς φίλους ἄλλοκετα, is he detected in baseness. Eur. Med. 84. Ἐαν ἄλως ἐτι τοῦτο πράττων, ἀποθανεῖ, if you are ever caught doing this again, you shall die. Plat. Ap. 29 C.

884. IV. The participle (not in indirect discourse) with verbs signifying to hear, learn (hear of), see, or perceive denotes the act which is perceived or heard of (not, as in indirect discourse, the fact that the act occurs). Here the participle approaches very nearly the ordinary object infinitive in its use, and the tenses of the participle differ only as the same tenses of the infinitive differ in such constructions, the aorist not denoting past time (148).

E.g.

Βασάρ δὲ στενάχοντος ἄκοντει, and he heard him groaning heavily. Od. viii. 95. Εἰ δὲ φθεγγαμένου τοῦ ἢ αὐθήσαντος ἄκοντει, but if he had heard any one call or speak. Od. ix. 497. (The aorist participles denote the occurrence of the act, as the present denotes its progress.) Ἡκουσα δὲ ποτε αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ φίλων διαλεγομένων, I once heard him discourse, etc. (see 866). Xen. Mem. ii. 4, 1. Τασατάς φωνήσαντος (sc. αὐτοῦ) εἰσηκούσαμεν, so much we heard him say. Soph. O. C. 1645. Ἡδη πώποτε του ἦκουσας αὐτῶν λόγου διδόντος οὐ καταγέλαστον; Plat. Rep. 493 D. Μέγαλ’ ἐκλευν αὐθήσαντος. Od. iv. 505. ὅλ’ το πεντῆθην Πατρόκλοι θανόντος, they had not heard of the death of Patroclus. P. xvii. 377; so 427. Ὅδε ἐπίθυμον τῆς Πύλου κατελημένης, when they heard of the capture of Pylus. Thuc. iv. 6. (But with the accusative, in ὅτι πώποτε το Πλημμύριον ἐαρωκός, that he had heard that P. was captured, vii. 31, as indirect discourse. See Classen’s note on iv. 6.) Οἱ τούτοις ὀρώντες πάσχοντας, those who see these suffer. Plat. Gorg. 525 C. Μή σε ἐδώραι θειομένην. 1. i. 587. So Od. x. 99. Τῷ κέ τ’ έδώρᾳ πράσοτοι συν ἐνὶ προμάχουσιν μιγέντα, then would you see me mingle with the foremost champions. Od. xviii. 379; so 170, ον ἄρω γενειήσαντα ἵδε-
The participle may be used in a similar way, having the
same distinction of present and aorist (884), with περιορω (περιειδω),
and sometimes with ἐφορω, ἐσοφω (ἐπειδω, ἐςετωδων),
even in the sense of overlook, allow, or
not to prevent. E.g.

Tois ξυμάχων ου περιοφόμεθα ἀδικομένων, we shall not let
our allies be betrayed. Thuc. i. 86. Μελιω γιγνόμενον τόν ἀνθρωπον
περιορωμεν, we allow the man to grow greater. Dem. ix. 29. 'Ὑμῖν ἐπι-
σκηπτω... μι περιειδω πίν ηγεμονιν αῦτις ἡ Μήδος περιει-
θοῦσαν, I advise you not to see the leadership come round again into the
hands of the Medes. Hdt. iii. 65. Μη περιδώμεν ὑβρισθείσαν πίν
Λακεδαίμονα καὶ καταφροννθείσαν, let us not allow Lacedaemon to
be insulted and despised. Isoc. vi. 108. Περιειδω τόν αὐτοῦ πατέρα
καὶ βωτά τῶν ἀναγκῶν σταυρίζοντα καὶ τελευτήσαντα οὐ τμχόντα
τῶν νομίμων, he allowed his own father to remain in want (pres.) of the
necessaries of life while he lived, and not to receive (aor.) a decent burial
when he died. Din. ii. 8. Καὶ μὴ μὲ ἕμμον ἐκπεισόοσαν εἰσόδου, do
not see me driven out without a friend. Eur. Med. 712. Μη ρ᾽ ἰδεῖν
θανόν θ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἀστῶν, not to see me killed by citizens. Id. Or. 746. See
other examples of the aorist participle with these verbs in 148. For
the infinitive, often in nearly the same sense, see 903, 6.

The verbs of perception included in 884 may take the participle
also in indirect discourse, with the natural force of each tense preserved
(see 904). With some of these verbs, the construction of the participle
is generally shown by its case: thus ἀκοῡ and πυθόμαι in Attic
Greek regularly take the genitive in the construction of 884, and the
accusative in indirect discourse. See Ellenhd, Lex. Sophocd. s.v. ἀκοῡ,
who does not allow an exception in Soph. Ph. 615. For the less fixed
usage of Homer with ἀκοῡ and πυθόμαι, see Schmitt in Schanz's
Beiträge, p. 9. Other verbs, as ὃρω, have the accusative regularly in
both constructions, but the context generally makes the meaning
plain: see, however, Eur. Hec. 342. Αἰσθάνομαι sometimes has the
genitive, as in some examples in 884, but not in indirect discourse.

887. V. With λανθάνω, to escape the notice of, τυγχάνω, to happen,
and φθάνω, to anticipate or get the start of, the participle contains
the leading idea of the expression and is usually translated by a
verb in English. Here the aorist participle does not denote
time past relatively to the leading verb (unless the latter is a
present or imperfect), but coincides with it in time (144). Other
tenses of the participle express their usual relations of time to
the verb (147). E.g.

'Αρχιδόμος αὐτῷ ξένος ἤν τυγχάνει. Thuc. ii. 13. 'Ο γεμών
τυγχάνει τεθνηκός, it happened that the guide had died (was dead).
Id. iii. 98. 'Ετυχόν ἔφοροι ἔτεροι ἀρχοντες ἦδη, there happened to
be other Ephors already in office. Id. iv. 36. 'Ετυχόν ήμών ἤ
φυλή πρυτανεύσα, our tribe happened to hold the praetacy. Pl. Ap. 32 B.

'Ετυχόν καθήμενος ἐνταῦθα. Id. Ethyd. 272 E. Ἐν τῷ σκότῳ
γὰρ τούτῳ ἐτυχόν ἔνδον λαβών. Ar. Eccl. 375. 'Ετυχόν παραγενό-
μένος ἐπτεύχον ξένον, I came, as it happened, with a horse. Pl. Symp.
221 A. 'Εσ Ναιπάκτων, ἦν ἐτυχόν ήρηκότες νεωτί, in Naupactus,
it happened that they had lately captured. Thuc. i. 103. (See 147, 1.)

Εἶναι τῇ τού ἑαυτῷ βοηθήσας θεῶν τόιχο, unless some God by chance
comes to its aid. Pl. Rep. 492 A; so 495 B. Καὶ εἰ τοὺχον ἐν τῷ
παραχρῆμα κυκεών πτὸντες, even if they should happen to drink a
kukevon on the spot. Id. 408 B.

'Φθάνοντι ἐπ' αὐτὰ καταφεύγοντες, they are the first to run to
them. Aesch. iii. 348. Αὐτοὶ φθηνονται τούτο δράσαντες, they
will do this for themselves first. Pl. Rep. 375 C. 'Εφθησαν τολλύ
τούς Πέρσας ἀπακόμενοι, they arrived long before the Persians. Hdt.
iv. 136. Βουλαλμοῦν φθηνών τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀπεκόμενοι ἐς τὸ ἄστυ.
Id. vi. 115. 'Φθαίνει πασαν ἐπ' αἰων βλάπτονοι ἄνθρώπους, i.e. she
(Δι) harms men over the whole earth before Prayers can avail. Id. ix.
506. 'Εφθης ὀρεξόμενος, he hit him first. Id. xvi. 322. 'Οπότερος
κε φθηνών ὀρεξόμενος χρία καλόν, whichever shall first hit. Id. xxiii.
805. Οὐκ ἐφθασαν παντὸς ὑμένοι τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ἠρρηκοῦ, no sooner did
they hear of the war than they came. Isoc. iv. 86. 'Φθάνοντι (hist.
pres.) ἐπὶ τῷ ἄκρῳ γενόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους. Xen. An. iii. 4, 49.
PARTICIPLE WITH λαμβάνω, τυγχάνω, ETC.

888. So sometimes with διαλαμβάνω and the poetic λήθω. E.g.
Τοιάτας πολιτείας μετέχειν, ἐν ὑπὲρ διαλήγεις χρηστος ὃν. Iosoc. iii. 16. Οὐδὲ σε λήθω κινύμενος, nor do I ever move without your knowledge. Il. x. 279.

889. Κυρέω takes the participle like τυγχάνω. E.g.
So συνκυρέω in Hdt. viii. 87, with the aorist participle (144): έλ συνεκύρησε ή τῶν Καλυδών παραπεσόνσα νης.

890. Συμπίπττω (chiefly in Herodotus) and συμβαίνω may take the participle like τυγχάνω. E.g.
Καὶ τοῦτο προέρχετο γενόμενον, and this other event occurred, as it chanced. Hdt. ix. 101. Συνεπτάκεες έρως έούσα, it had happened that there was a quarrel. Id. i. 82. Οὕτω γάρ συμβαίναι ἤμα καὶ ή τῶν εὐγένειας κοσμομενήν. Plat. Menex. 237 C. Πάντα συμβαίνει γεγονόμενα. Id. Phil. 42 C. "Οποιον άν έμμπίπττη έν τῇ φυγῇ καλά ήθη ένομίτα. Id. Rep. 402 D.

891. Θάμιξω, to be wont or frequent, may take the participle. E.g.
Οὔ τι κομιξόμενος γε θάμιξεν, he was not wont to be being thus cared for. Od. viii. 451. Οὔ θαμίξεις καταβάλλων εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, you do not come down to the Piraeus very often. Plat. Rep. 328 C.
For examples of the aorist participle with the present or imperfect of some of the above verbs (887-890), retaining its own reference to past time, see 146.

892. As λαμβάνω is active and means to escape the notice of, it must have an object expressed or understood. When none is expressed, sometimes πάντας is understood, and sometimes a reflexive referring to the subject. Thus ἐλαθε γε τούτο ποιήσας may mean either he did this without any one’s knowing it (sc. πάντας), or he did this unconsciously (sc. εαυτός).

893. The usual construction of λαμβάνω and φθάνω (and rarely that of τυγχάνω and κυρέω) with the participle may be reversed, these verbs appearing in the participle, and what is generally the participle becoming the verb. E.g.
894. The phrase ὁ γὰρ φθάνοις (or ὅ γὰρ φθάνοιτε), you could not be too soon, is used with the participle as an exhortation, meaning the sooner the better. The first and third persons are less common in this sense. E.g.

Ἀποστέλλων οὖν ἔν φθάνοις, the sooner you run off the better. AR. Pl. 1133. So Hdt. vii. 162; Xen. Mem. iii. 11, 1. Ὁ γὰρ φθάνοις λέγων, the sooner you speak the better. Plat. Symposium. 185 E. Οὖν ἅν φθάνομεν (λέγων), I might as well speak at once. Id. 214 E. Εἰ μὴ τμήσθησθε τοῦτοις, οὖν ἅν φθάνοι τὸ πλήθος τούτους τοῖς θηρίοις δουλεύον, the people might as well be slaves to these beasts at once. Dem. xxiv. 143.

895. VI. The participle, with many verbs signifying to come or to go, contains the leading idea of the expression. Such verbs are ῥέσκω, to be gone, ἤκω, to have come, ἔρχομαι, εἰμι, with the Homeric βι, and ἔβαν or βάν, from βιά. Some of these uses are very peculiar. E.g.

"Ὥξετε ἀποστάμενος, it flew away and was gone. II. ii. 71. Οἰκεταὶ φεῦγων ὄν εἰκεῖς μάρτυρα, the witness whom you had has run away. AR. Pl. 933. Ἰν εἰδὸς οὖν φέρων ἤκω λέγονσα, that you may know the words I bring with me. Eur. Or. 1628. Ἐρχομαι ἐπὶ φαρον σοι ἐπιδείξασθαί τῆς αἰτίας τὸ εἴδος, I am going to undertake to show you the nature of the cause. Plat. Phaed. 100 B. Οὖν ἔρχομαι ἔρεων ὡς σῶτος ἄλλος πῶς ταύτα ἑγένετο, I am not going to say that these things occurred so, or in some other way (cf. French je vais dire). Hdt. i. 5. Ἡμεῖς ταύτην αἱνέων διὰ παντὸς, he always praised her (he went on praising her, French il allait la louant toujours: see Baehr's note). Id. i. 122. Καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν ἢ τὰ τοῖς ἑφεξῆς ἐρών, and I was going to speak of them in order. Plat. Rep. 449 A; so 562 C. Βι βεῦδον, he took flight. II. ii. 665; so βι ἀξιορ. ii. 167. Οὖν μὴ κήρες ἔβαν θανάτου λύσασθαι, II. ii. 302; so xix. 279.

896. VII. Herodotus uses the participle with πειρώμαι, to try, and with πολλός εἰμι or γίνομαι, πολλός ἐγκείμαι, and παντοῖος γίνομαι, to be urgent; rarely with ἐπιγομαι, to press on. E.g.

Οὐκ ἐπείρατο ἐπὶ τῶν ὦ Κύρος, Cyrus did not attempt to approach. i. 77; so i. 84, vi. 50, vii. 9. Πολλός ἐν λισσόμενος ὦ δικόν, the stranger entreated urgently. ix. 91. Γέλων δὲ πολλὸς ἐνεκέκτο λέγων τοιοῦτο, and Gelon spoke urgently as follows. vii. 158. Τότε παντοῖοι ἐγένομεν Σκύθαι δεόμενοι Ἰόνων λύσαμεν τὸν πόρον, they begged them in every way (lit.: they took every form in begging them), etc. vii. 10. Ἡμὲν μὴ ἐπικρατέσθη ναυμαχίαν ποιεῖβεμοι, if you do not press on and fight a naval battle. viii. 68 (but just below, ἡμὲν ἐπικρατέσθη ναυμαχίας).

897. The participle with πειρώμαι, πολλός ἐγκείμαι, and ἐγκείμαι alone, occurs occasionally in Attic Greek. So also with πάντα ποιῶ and rarely with σπουδᾶω. E.g.

Οὐκ ἔτω σοι πρὶν ἄν πανταχῦ πειραθῶ σκοπῶ. Plat. Theaet.
SUPPLEMENTARY PARTICIPLE

190 E. So Ant. Tet. A. γ. 1. Πόλος ἐνέκειτο λέγων. Thuc. iv. 22. Ἐνέκειτο φεύγοντες. Id. ii. 81. Πάντα ποιοσκαὶ λέγουσι φεύγοντες τὴν δίκην. Plat. Ethyph. 8 C. Τὰ πλοῦτον καὶ δυνα-               μένων διάγραμα τί καὶ τὸν ὧς ἀξία λάγου στοιχάζου μεμφό-               μενὸς; why should any one seriously ensue them as if they were worth               noticing? Id. Polit. 310 B ; so Xen. Oec. ix. 1.

898. VIII. Ἀποδείκτημι, καθίζω, and παρασκευάζω, in the meaning               to put into a certain condition, to render, may take the participle. E.g.
               Ἀμα καὶ τάπιτηδεια μᾶλλον ἐχοντας ἀποδείξαι καὶ τὰ σώματα ἄριστα               ἐχοντας παρασκευάζων, (I undertake to say) that he will at the               same time make them (show them forth) best supplied with provisions,               and cause their bodies to be in the best condition. Xen. Cygr. i. 6, 18.

899. IX. Ἀρκέω (and ἄλις εἰμί in poetry), to be sufficient, and               ἰκανός, ἰδίων, κρείσσων, ἄμεινων, or βελτίων with εἰμί, are sometimes               used in a personal construction with the participle (like διδός εἰμι,               etc. 907), where we should expect an impersonal construction with the               infinitive. E.g.
               Ἀρκεσον ϑυγκονοι ἐγώ, it will be enough for me to die. Soph.               Ant. 547. (We may expect ἀρκεσεν ἐμε ϑυγκονοι.) So ἀρκετοί               δεδηλωμένοι, Thuc. v. 9. Ἰκανος ἐφι αὐτος ἀτυχόν εἰμαι, he               said that it was enough for himself to be in misfortune. Isae. ii. 7.
               Κρείσσον γὰρ ἵνα μικρίτων ὁν ἡ ἰδιον τυφλός. Soph. O. T. 1368.
               Ἡδίνους ἔστησεν ἀκούσανες, you will be more pleased to hear.               Dem. xxiii. 64. So ἄλις νοσοῦν ἐγώ (sc. εἰμί), it is enough for me               to be afflicted. Soph. O. T. 1061.

900. X. The participles βουλόμενος, ἐθέλων (poetic), ἰδομένος,               ἀσμενος, ἀχθόμενος, προσδεχόμενος, ἐλπίδομενος, ἐλάδομενος (Ionic),               and occasionally others, may agree in case with a dative which               depends on εἰμί, γένομαι, and some verb signifying to come, to               appear, or to happen. E.g.
               ὡς ἀρα τῷ Τρώισσιν ἐρυθάμενοισι φανῆτην, thus then did they               appear to the delight of the Trojans. II. vii. 7. Ἐροι δὲ κεν ἀσμενος               εἰμί, and I should be pleased with it. ii. xiv. 108. Ἡδομενοις ἤμιν               οἱ λόγοι γέγοναι, we are pleased with the proposals made to us. Hdt.               ix. 46. Θέλοντι καμοι τούταν ἂν ἦν. Soph. O. T. 1356. Τῷ πλήθει               οὐ βουλομένω ἦν, it was not the wish of the majority. Thuc. ii. 3 ;               so vii. 35. Προσδεχόμενως μοι τὰ τῆς ὄργης ὑμῶν ἔς εἰμε γεγενητα,               I have been expecting the manifestations of your wrath against me. Id. ii.               60 ; so vi. 46. Ὀτῳ ὑμῶν μὴ ἀχθομένῳ εἰς. Xen. Cygr. iv. 5, 21.
               Ἀν βουλομένως ἀνακελν ἃ τοιαυτά, μπυραράσματα, if these shall               want to hear it. Dem. xviii. 11. Ὁρα, εἴ σοι βουλομένη (sc. ἐστὶν)               ἄ λέγω. Plat. Rep. 358 D.
See also τούτων πεπειραμένων ἐν τῷ γένοιστο καὶ ἵμαν, Thuc. v. 111; and ἄσμενως δε σου ἡ ποικιλείμονα νυξ ἄποκρύψει φῶς, you will be glad when spangled-robed night shall hide the light, Aesch. Prom. 23.

Compare Tac. Agric. 18: Quibus bellum volentibus erat.

901. XI. In a similar way, the dative of any participle may be used with certain impersonal expressions which take the dative, especially those signifying it is fitting, good, pleasant, profitable, or their opposites, and those implying fear or confidence. E.g.

ELY. τὸ τάφος αὑτοῦ φιλοθεατήν (sc. ἔστιν), if it please him to be thus called, Aesch. Ag. 161. Ὅμως ἄξιον τούτων παλλάκις χρήσαι συμβούλους, οἷς οὐδὲ ἀναγεγίγνεται πειθομένοις (sc. ἤμι), whom he did not profit you to obey even once. Lys. xxy. 27. Προφείναν ὡς δεινόν μὴ τήλη λήγῃ φρονοῦντι, where it does not profit one to be wise, Soph. O. T. 316. Ἐπύρησα τὸν θέον ἢ ἐλπίζω καὶ ἀμείνοι εἴη τῇ Σπάρτῃ πειθομένη οἷς οὕτως ἐθηκε νόμος, whether it was better for Sparta to obey, Xen. Rep. Lac. viii. 5. Ἀντιπαράσβαλλοντε (sc. ἐρωτ.) ἡ ἰμαντού πληθή πρὸς τὰ ἐκείνων οὐκ ἂν ἄρθρα εἴη, it would not be unpleasant for me to compare, etc. Plat. Ap. 41 B. Αἱ δοκοῦσιν κάλλωσιν τῶν ἐπιστημῶν καὶ ἔμοι πρέπει ἢ μόλιστα ἔπεμπομένοις, those which seem to be the noblest of the sciences, and which it would be most fitting for me to study, Xen. Oec. iv. 1. Τούτῳ καὶ πρέπειν ἔμοι δοκεῖ καὶ ἄξιον κινδύνευσαι οἰομένης οὕτως ἔχειν (i.e. πρέπει μοι οἰομένην τούτῳ οὕτως ἔχειν), it seems fitting and worth the risk for me to believe that this is so, Plat. Phaed. 114 D. Ωμέρόντι τάρβοι, oμός ἔχει πολλαὶ, one who has no dread of a deed, a word does not frighten, Soph. O. T. 296.

So εἶ μοι ἔχειν ἑρωτευτέρων μοιρὰ τῶν ἐπιστημῶν ἄγνοια, may it continue to be my fate to bear, etc. Id. O. T. 863.

With the expressions of ἄνιο the infinitive is more common (903, 7).

Omission of ἄνιο.

902. Occasionally the participle ἄνιο is omitted in the constructions of the supplementary participle that have been enumerated (879-901). E.g.

Κατάλαβανομενοι Φιλίππου παράντας πρέσβεις, καὶ τοῦς μὲν ἡμετέρους φίλους ἐν φόβῳ (sc. ὄντας) τοὺς δὲ ἐκείνους θραυστεῖς. Dem. xviii. 211. Ἁλλ' οὐ περιμέστατο μῆν θείων ἀνιστον (sc. ὄντα), but my uncle will not let me go without a horse. Ar. Nub. 124. Εἶ δὲ τί τυχαγάνει ἄρθρο (sc. ὄν). Plat. Gorg. 502 B. Τυχαγάνει ἦμιον ἐκαστὸς ὁμίοι αὐτάρκης (sc. ἄνιο). Id. Rep. 369 B.
Infinitive with Verbs which may also have the Supplementary Particle.

903. Some verbs which take the supplementary participle allow also the infinitive in a similar construction, but with some difference in the meaning or at least in the point of view.

1. Ἀισχύνομαι and αἰδόμαι with the participle (881) mean I am ashamed of doing (something which I am doing or have done); with the infinitive, I am ashamed to do (something which I have not yet done). E.g.

Τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ Ἀισχύνομαι λέγων τὸ δὲ Ἑλικέντυ παρ’ ἐμοὶ ἀποδόσσω. Αἰσχύνομαι δὲν λέγειν, this (something just said) I am not ashamed of saying; but I should be ashamed to say the following, etc. Χεν. Cynt. v. 1, 21. Αἰσχύνομαι ὡμίν εἶπείν τῆλθη, I am ashamed to tell you the truth (but still I must tell it). Plat. Ap. 22 B. Αἴσθομαι τὸν παρόντας ἀπολείπειν, i.e. they are ashamed to leave them (and do not). Χεν. Symp. viii. 35. But ἀδέσκατα παραπολείπων, be ashamed of leaving your father (as you threaten to do), Soph. Aj. 506. A comparison of the last example with Plat. Ap. 22 B (above) shows that the choice of the infinitive or participle may depend on the point of view of the speaker in a special case. In Aj. 506, the threat is viewed as the inception of the act.

2. Ἀνέχομαι, ὑπομένω, τλάω, and τολμῶ with the participle (879; 880) mean to endure something now going on or already done; with the infinitive, to have the courage or to venture to do something not yet done. E.g.

Καταμείνατες ἀνεχόμεθα τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν δεξιασθαι, they remained and had the courage to receive the invaders of their country. Hdt. vii. 139. (Cf. οὐκ Ἀνέχομαι ζῶσα under 879.) So ὑπομείνατε τὸ πάντα παρ’ χείραν, taking courage to suffer everything. Plat. Leg. 869 C. (Cf. μὴ ὑπομείνα ἔρπελην ἐπιόντα, not to await the coming of Xerxes, i.e. not to wait to see his coming, Hdt. vii. 120.) Ἐξελά οὐράνιον φῶς ἄλλαξα, Soph. Ant. 944. Τόλμησον ποτὲ ὀρθῶς φρονεῖν. Aesch. Prom. 999.

Ἀνέχομαι with the infinitive, and τλάω and τολμῶ with the participle, are rare.

3. Ἀποκάμω τοῦτο ποιῶν (881) is I am weary of doing this; ἀποκάμω τοῦτο ποιεῖν is I cease to do this through weariness. E.g.

Μὴ ταῦτα φοβούμενος ἀποκάμης σαυτόν σῶσαι, do not, through fear of this, despair of saving yourself. Plat. Crit. 45 Β. (Cf. oὐκ ἀποκάμευς μηχανώμενος, you are not tired of contriving, Χεν. Mem. ii. 6, 35.)

4. Ἀρχομαι (Homeric ἄρχω) with the participle (879) means to be first in something, to begin with something, or to be at the
beginning (not at the end); with the infinitive, to begin to do something. E.g.

"Ὑπέστην τὰ μακρὰ τείχη Ἀθηναίοι οἶκοδομεῖν, the Athenians began to build the long walls. THUC. i. 107. "Εὖ ἐπετεικνύοια, ὡς οὖτ' ἔργατε λέγειν τὰ βιβλία ταῦτα οὐτε νῦν διατελεῖ πράττον τὰ συμφέροντα τῷ δῆμῳ. AESCHIN. iii. 56.

5. Παύω with the participle (879) means to stop what is going on; with the infinitive, to prevent a future act. E.g.

"Εὖ ἐπαυγασμένη μᾶχησθαί, you prevented me from fighting. Π. xi. 442. (But εὖ ἐπαυγασμένη μαχόμενον would be you stopped me while fighting.) Ῥαψφόνιος ἐπαυγασμένη ἀγωνίζεσθαι. HDT. v. 67.

6. Περιθεώ and the other verbs signifying to overlook or see (in the sense of permit) with the participle (885) mean to see an act done without interfering to stop it; with the less frequent infinitive, to permit an act to be done without interfering to prevent it. Strictly speaking, the infinitive here expresses time future to that of the verb, while the time of the participle coincides with that of the verb. Still, both forms may sometimes be used to express practically the same sense, and may even refer to the same event, though the point of view is different. E.g.

Περιδεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ σκέυῳ πάσης ἐδείσαν, to let him sing in full dres. HDT. i. 24. Θάλασσαν πνεύματα φασι οἱ περιψήνεσθαι φύτη τῷ ἐνωτῷ κράτῳ, they say that the winds will not permit the sea to follow its own nature. Id. vii. 16. Τοὺς γὰρ Ἀθηναίους ἔπεμψεν ἰσως ἀν ἐπέκειθ' οὖν ἐν περιδεῖν τὴν γῆν τοὺς ἀν περιδεῖν τηθήναν, for he hoped that the Athenians would perhaps come forth and not let their land be ravaged. THUC. ii. 28. But in ii. 18 he has said, προσθέσαντος τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ ἀκαρποῖς ἐνδώσαν τι κατοθρήσκειαν περιδεῖν αὐτὴν τηθήναν, ἀνείχεν, that they would be unwilling to see it (the land) ravaged (referring to the same thing with περιδεῖν τηθήναν, to let it be ravaged, in 20); and again in 20, ο' Ἀχαρνησιοί οὐ περιψήνεσθαί ἐδόκουν τὰ σφέτερα διαφθοράντα, it did not seem likely that the Acharnians would see their property destroyed.

7. The impersonal expressions of 901 take the infinitive more frequently than the participle, the distinction being similar to that in the last case (6). E.g.

Οὐ τούτῳ πρώτῳ ἰσώτα πότερον λέγω εἰ ἄντω πορεύεσθαι μένειν, whether it was better for him to go or stay. XEN. An. iii. 1, 7. But in XEN. Vect. vi. 2 we have ἐπερέσθαι τοὺς θεοὺς εἰ λέγω καὶ ἀκεφοὺς εἰ ἄν τῇ πόλει οὔ τω κατασκευαζομένη, whether it would be better for the state, supposing it to be thus constituted; the difference between this and better for the state to be thus constituted (οὔτω κατασκευαζομένη) being practically very slight.

8. It is more than doubtful whether λαυθάω, τυγχάω, and φθάνω (887) ever have the infinitive in classic Greek. The passages
formerly cited for this are now generally emended, or the readings are doubted: thus, in Plut. Rep. 333 E, λαθεῖν ἐμπούσαι must be for λαθεῖν ἐμπούσις (Schneider), and in Ak. Eq. 935, φθαίσῃ ἔλθει, and Nub. 1384, οὐκ ἔφηση φράσαι, Meineke reads ἔλθων and φράσαι. See Classen on Thuc. iii. 82, ὁ φθάσας θαρσήσαι (?).

II. PARTICIPLE IN INDIRECT DISCOURSE.

904. The participle is used with verbs signifying to see, to hear or learn, to perceive, to know, to be ignorant of, to remember, to forget, to show, to appear, to prove, to acknowledge, and with ἀγγέλλω, to announce, in a sense approaching that of the infinitive in indirect discourse. Here each tense of the participle represents the corresponding tense of the indicative or optative. (See 687.)

The participle may belong to either the subject or the object of these verbs, and agree with it in case. E.g.

Μέμνημαι αὐτὸν τούτο ποίησαντα, I remember that he did this (ἐποίησεν); μέμνημαι τούτο ποίησας, I remember that I did this (ἐποίησα). Κάποιοι τούτους εὗ τράξοντας, he knows that they will prosper; αὐτὸς εὗ τράξειν, he knows that he himself will prosper.

Εἰ κ’ αὐτῶν γνώμῃ νημερετά πάντ’ ἐνέποντα, ἢ ἴ σαντ’ I shall find that he tells all without fault. Od. xvii. 549. Ἐα ὅ δε μ’ ἔργον δεινῶν ἔσχηρα- γμένην, and I see that I have done a terrible deed. Soph. Tr. 706. Ημεῖς αὐτοὺς δραμένες ὄντες τῇ οἰκείᾳ μόνον δύναμις περιγενέσθαι, we see that we are unable, etc. (ἀδύναμοι ἔσφεν). Thuc. i. 32. Ἡκοῦσε Κύρον ἐν Κιλίκίᾳ ὄντα, he heard that Cyrus was in Cilicia. Xen. An. i. 4, 5. Περὶ τῆς χώρας, οτι ἡκούσαν δημοψήφιση, because they heard that it was suffering from ravages. Ib. v. 5, 7. Ὡς αὐτὸν κλίνει τῶν ἑλλήνων ἡ ἡρετήρια, when she hears from any one that Orestes is coming. Soph. El. 293. Πεθάνοντες Ἀρταξέρξην νεωτήτως πεθερήσατα, learning that Artaxerxes had recently died. Thuc. iv. 50; so Hdt. vi. 23. Ἐπεὶ πρὸς ἁμρὸς ἠθέτη ἡ δικηκρίνη. Eur. Med. 26. Ἡμέρθην τοῖς κατὰ Λαυρείον ἔπηκταῖς. Thuc. i. 61. Διὰ τὴν Ἴλιν ἄλοιπως εἰράσκοντο εὐήθεν τὴν ἁρχὴν τῆς ἔχθρας (see 883). Hdt. i. 5. Ἐπειδὰν γνώσας ἀπίστομονα, when they found out that they are distrusted. Xen. Cyr. vii. 2, 17. Ἡδοναν Σωκράτην αὐτοκατεύθυνα λογο. Id. Mem. i. 2, 14. Ἐν πολυτρόποις γὰρ εἰσπράσοντες ἐπι- σταται θαυμάστες. Thuc. i. 44. Διαβεβλημένοι οὐ μανθάνεις. Hdt. iii. 1. Ἐννοοῦμαι φαθός ὑπάτα. Eur. Hipp. 435. Ἐννοος γένος ἔτεικες ἀθλίος διατιθέμενος. Plat. Crit. 121 B. Ὅπως οὖν εἰσῆνθε ἐστὶν ὡς συνειδεῖ τῶν ἐκείθεν πόλεμον δεύτερον ἔξοντα; Dem. i. 15. Μέμνημαι Κρήτη τοίς εξιδόνται σε (i.e. εὐφήσθω). Plat. Charm. 156 A. Μεμνημέθ' ἐσ' κάθονταν ἔλθοντες μέγαν (i.e. ἄλθομεν). Eur. Hec. 244. Ἐπιλελεξέμεθ' ὑδεως γέροντες οὖντες. Id.
Bacch. 188. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦτον οὐκ ἂν ὄμολογηκότα εἶναι τῶν Μιλύων ἐλεύθερον (with six other participles, perfect, aorist, and present). Dem. xxix. 5. ὁ πόλεμος οὗτος δηλώσει μεῖζον γεγενημένος αὐτῶν (i.e. μεῖζον γεγενημένος). Thuc. i. 21. Εἴ μεν ἄφησεται τοῦτο ὄμολογηκόσα, παρὰ τε τοῦ Δημοσθένους τὰς τιμὰς ἐληφθὼς, αὐτὸς τε ... ἀπογράψας, οἰκῶν τε τῆν οἰκίαν, κ.τ.λ. Dem. xxvii. 16. Εἰ δέθης ἔλεγχθησε ταῦτα ὄμολογηκόσα. Xen. Mem. i. 7, 2. Οὕτως ὄμολογωμένη οὐσα δοῦλη καὶ ἄπαντα τὸν χρόνον ἀνεχθώς βιοῦσα, when it was thus admitted that she was a slave and was all the time living a life of disgrace. Isae. vi. 49. Εἴ μη ἐξελέγχει προσεῖν τὸ στρατευμα, had he not reported that the enemy was advancing. Xen. Hell. vii. 5, 10. Ἀπηγγέλθη Φίλιππος ἢμιν Ἡραίων τεῖχος πολιορκῶν, it was reported to you that he was besieging, etc. Dem. iii. 4.

Compare the examples of ὅρω, ἄκοντα, and similar verbs here given with those of the same verbs under 884, in which the participle is not in indirect discourse.

See other examples of the participle in indirect discourse under 887, where examples of the participle with ἄν may be found (see also 213-216).

905. When one of these verbs has for its object an accusative of the reflexive pronoun referring to its subject, the participle generally agrees with the reflexive. Thus we may have either δεῖξε ἐμαυτὸν τῷ τῷ πεποιηκότα, I shall show that I have done this, or δεῖξε τῷ τῷ πεποιηκότα.

906. The participle of an impersonal verb in this construction stands alone in the neuter singular. The following includes both the personal and the impersonal construction:—

Περάσαμε δεῖξαμαι καὶ μετὸν τῆς πόλεως ἡμῖν καὶ πεποιηθότα ἐμαυτὸν ὑπὲρ προσόκομα, I shall try to show not only that we have rights in the city, but also that I have suffered, etc. Dem. lvi. 1. (The direct discourse is μέτεστι τῆς πόλεως ἡμῖν, καὶ πεποιηθα αὐτῷ. Compare 876.)

907. The participle is used in the same way in a personal construction with δῆλος εἰμι and φανερὸς εἰμι, in preference to an impersonal expression. So with ἐπίστως γίνομαι in Herodotus.

E.g.

Δῆλος τῷ ἦν οἰδομένος, κ.τ.λ., it was evident that he thought, etc. Xen. An. ii. 5, 27. (This is equivalent to δῆλον ἦν ὥσιν οὕστοι. See 899 ; 912.) Ἀπικομένοι μὲν φανεροὶ εἰσὶ ἐς "Οἰκιν πόλιν, it is evident that they came to the city Oasis. Hdt. iii. 26. Ὁς ἐπίστως ἐγένετο τοῦτο ἐγέρασθαμένος, when it became known (heard of) that he had done this. Id. ii. 119.

Similar is the participle with φανερὸν πού; as φανερὸν πάσιν ἐποιήσαν οὐκ ἔδιδα πολιομοίνοισιν, they made it evident to all that they were not fighting for themselves. Lucr. 50.
PARTICIPLE IN INDIRECT DISCOURSE

908. When σώνοιδα and συγγίγνωσκω have a dative of the reflexive referring to the subject, a participle may stand either in the dative agreeing with the reflexive, or in the nominative agreeing with the subject; as σώνοιδα ἔμαντο ἡδικημένῳ (or ἡδικημένος), I am conscious to myself that I have been wronged. E.g.


909. When the participle of indirect discourse belongs to an infinitive depending on a verb with an object dative to which the participle refers, the participle stands in the dative. E.g.

Συμβεβήκε τοὺς προστηκόντας καὶ τᾶλα πλὴν ἀκοῦσαν ὀλίγον τυλείν πρότους ἀκοῦσαν τεπρακός ἀναβίζοντα, it has been the lot of those who were in authority and who thought they were selling everything except themselves, to find that they have sold themselves first. Dem. xvi. 46.

910. Some verbs which regularly have the infinitive or ὅτι and ὡς in indirect discourse occasionally take the participle. E.g.

Νόμιζε ἄνδρα ἁγαθὸν ἀποκτείνων, think that you are putting to death a good man. Xen. An. vi. 6, 24. Ἀνεβήσατο ἐρείσσα φίλον τὸν ἁνδρόν ὅντα. Od. xiii. 1. Ὁ περὶ τὴν Ὀρέστην νῦν τε καὶ τὰλα λέγω. Soph. El. 676. See O. C. 1579; Eur. Hel. 1076. Οὐ Τριφᾶς γυνῆ τεκοῦσα κομπάσειν ἄν τοτε, i.e. some could boast that she was the mother of such children, ἔτεκον being the direct form. Eur. T. II. 477. Μετῶν ἄν τοτε λέγοντα. Plat. Phil. 22 E. Συμβεβήκε ὅμως ἕν τὰ ἀναφερομαι, for I will not deny that I am happy. Eur. Alc. 1158. οὕτως ἐρώτησα; Ἰδ. Or. 1581.

911. The participle ὅτι is sometimes omitted in indirect discourse. E.g.

Σὺ δὲ σῶς ἀπεθανεῖ (sc. ὃν), but know that you are safe. Soph. O. C. 1210. Εἴποντες εὐτυχεῖς ὅμως (sc. ὅτα). Dem. iv. 18; so iv. 41. Ἀγγέλλας πασῶν ἀδικοστάτην ἐμέ (sc. σωμα). Eur. Hec. 423.

912. The verbs included in 904 may also be followed by a clause with ὅτι or ὡς in indirect discourse. When δῆλον ἐστιν and φανερὸν ἐστιν are used impersonally, they regularly take ὅτι or ὡς. E.g.

913. Verbs signifying to remember or to know may have δε, when, and the indicative, to emphasise the temporal relation. E.g.

Ει γαρ μεμνησαι δε' ἐγὼ σοι ἀπεκρινάμην, for if you remember (the time) when I answered you, etc. PLAT. Men. 79 D. Ὅλον δε' χρονέοις ἐφάνη σὺν δπλοις. EUR. Hec. 112. So Π. xv. 18. (See 519, end.)

Infinitive with the Verbs of § 904.

914. Many of the verbs which regularly have the participle in indirect discourse (904) may also take the infinitive in nearly or quite the same sense.

1. Ἀκούω, πανθάνομαι, and αἰσθάνομαι, which have the participle both in indirect discourse (904) and in the other construction (884-886), sometimes take the infinitive in indirect discourse, in a sense differing little, if at all, from that of the participle. E.g.

'Ακούω δε καὶ ἄλλα ὕδη πολλά τουατα εἶναι, I hear that there are also many other such nations. XEN. An. ii. 5, 13. (Πολλά τουατα δυτα would apparently mean the same.) So Mem. iv, 2, 4. 'Ακούω αὐτῶν ἐρείν, I hear that he will say. DEM. xix. 202. (Compare Soph. El. 293, under 904.) Πνευμανόμενος τὸν Θουκιδίδην κτήσιν τε ἐχεῖν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν δύνασθαι ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις. THUC. iv. 105. So DEM. xix. 201. Αἰσθάνομαι αὐτῶν μέγα παρὰ βασιλεῖς Δαρείῳ δύνασθαι. THUC. vi. 59.

2. Ὄρῳ has the participle in both constructions (904; 886), but the infinitive (of indirect discourse) only in THUC. viii. 60 (according to Kühner, § 484, 2): εῖρον νουκτε: ἀνευ ναυμαχίας οἱ νεὶν τε εἶναι ἐσ τῆν Χιὸν βοηθήσατο, where Krüger brackets εἶναι.

3. Ἀγγέλλω may have the infinitive in indirect discourse, in place of the regular participle (904). E.g.

'Ὁ Ἀσσύριος εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ ἐμπαλείν ἀγγέλλεται, is reported to have invaded his country. XEN. Cyr. v. 3, 30.

4. Ὀμολογῶ, to admit or grant, is but rarely followed by the participle (904), and generally takes the infinitive of indirect discourse. E.g.

'Ομολογηται πρὸς πάντων κράτιστος δὴ γενέσθαι θεραπεύειν (τοῖς φίλοις). XEN. An. i. 9, 20. (See 136.)

5. Φανομαι, to appear, which generally takes the participle in indirect discourse (904), sometimes has the infinitive. The distinction generally holds that φαίνεται σοφὸς δὴ means he is manifestly wise, while φαίνεται σοφὸς εἶναι means he seems to be wise; but in some cases the two constructions cannot be distinguished in sense. E.g.
Tā phonē safados klaiein ēfaineto, by his voice he seemed plainly
to be weeping (but he really was not). XEn. Symp. i. 15. Compare
kai sphi einoos ēfaineto ēyn, and he was plainly well disposed towards
them, Hdt. vii. 173. But see also Aesch. Ag. 593, πλαγκτός οὖσ'
ēfainόμην, I appeared to be erased, said by Clytemnestra of herself,
after she was shown to have been right. Touto μοι θεάταν φαιν-
tai γενέςθαι, this seems to me to have been a most wonderful event.
Hdt. vii. 137.

915. Other verbs of this class (904) may be used in a peculiar
sense, in which they have the infinitive not in indirect discourse.
Others, again, allow both constructions of the infinitive; while
γιγνώσκω and εὑρίσκω have the infinitive in three different senses.

1. Μνημάω, μέμνημαι, and ἐπιλάνθανομαι, in the sense of
learn, remember, and forget to do anything, take the ordinary
object infinitive. E.g.

'Επελάθη μάθον ἔμμεναι ἐσθλὸς αἰεί καὶ πρότουσι μετὰ Τρώωσι
μάχεσθαι, since I learned to be brave, etc. II. vi. 444. Τοὺς προδότας
Μεμνήσθω ἀνήρ ἄγαθὸς εἶναι, let him remember to be a brave man.
Ib. iii. 2, 39 (with ἄν if it would mean let him remember that he is
a brave man). Μεμνήστωται δέφι ἀποστέμπειν. Id. Cyrl. viii. 6, 6.
Ἐπελαθέμην τοὺς καθίκους ἐκφέρειν, I forgot to bring out the wines.

2. (a) Οἶδα and ἐπιστάμαι, which regularly have the participle
in indirect discourse, take the ordinary infinitive in the sense of
know how to do anything. E.g.

Μὴ ψεύδει, ἐπιστάμενος σάφα εἰπεῖν, do not be false, when you
know how to speak truly. II. iv. 404. Οἶδ' ἐπὶ δεξιὰ, oïd' ép' ἀριστερά
νομίσας βοῶν. II. vii. 238. Προβάλλεσθαι δ' ἢ βλέπειν ἀνατέων οὔτ' οἴδεν οὖν' ἐθέλει. Dem. iv. 40. So Eur. Hipp. 729,
Med. 664. Εἰκεῖν δ' οὖκ ἐπιστάται κακοῖς, she knows not how to

(b) But these verbs in the sense to know or to believe sometimes
take the infinitive (like the participle) in indirect discourse.
This is rare in prose, except with ἐπιστάμαι, to believe, in
Herodotus. E.g.

'Ισθι τὰ σκληρὰ ἀγαν φρονήματα πίπτειν μάλιστα, know that too
stubborn spirits are most apt to fall (like πίπτοντα). Soph. Ant. 473.
(Oïda with the participle follows in 477.) Εἶ δὲν ἐπίστω τῶν δὲ μ',
αιχώνην ἐχείν. Id. El. 616; so O. T. 690, Ant. 1092; Aesch.
Pers. 337. Εἶ οἴδαι τοὺς ἵππους ἀνιασθάι. XEn. Cyr. viii. 3,
44; so viii. 7, 12. Ἐπιστάμενοι τότε τελευτήσαι, believing that
he (Cyrus) had then perished. Hdt. i. 122; so iii. 66, 134, and 140,
vii. 172. See ἵσθι μῆτορ' ἄν τ' χείν, Soph. Ph. 1329; and τόδ',
3. \gammavos\, besides its construction with the participle in indirect discourse (904), has three uses with the infinitive:—

(a) In the meaning to decide or judge, with the infinitive in indirect discourse; as τὸ δὲ ὅσον ἀνταπὸδοτε, γνωτε τὸν εἶναι τὸν καιρὸν, making up your minds that this is that time, etc., Thuc. i. 43; so Hdt. ix. 71; Xen. An. i. 9, 17.

(b) In the meaning to determine or resolve, with the ordinary object infinitive; as Ἀλνάττεα ἐγγοναν δοῦναι τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀστύαγε, they decided that Alyattes should give his daughter to Astyages, Hdt. i. 74; so Xen. Hell. iv. 6, 9, ἔγνω διάκειν, and iii. 1, 12; Isoc. xvii. 16.

(c) Occasionally in the meaning to learn (ἐγγονω), with the object infinitive, like μαθάνω and μέρυμαι (1); as ἢ να γνῷ τρέφειν τὴν γλῶσσαν ἕρχουσιν, that he may learn to keep his tongue more quiet, Soph. Ant. 1089.

4. Δεικνύμι and other verbs signifying to show, besides the participle in indirect discourse (904), may take an object infinitive in the sense to show how to do anything. E.g.

Ἀπεδείξαν οἱ ἡγεμόνες λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, the guides instructed them to take provisions. Xen. An. ii. 3, 14. Διασπαρόμεθα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπεδεικνύον τοῦ μὲν θέρους ἔχειν ψυχεῖν, τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος ἄλλως, I taught the men to keep their dwellings cool in summer and warm in winter. Id. Oec. ix. 4.

5. Δηλῶ sometimes has the infinitive (like the regular participle, 904) in indirect discourse; and sometimes in the sense of command (make known) it has the ordinary object infinitive. E.g.

Δηλοῖς γὰρ αὐτῶν σωρὸν �嗪ειν χρημάτων ἔχοντα, for you indicate that he has come with a heap of money. Ar. Pl. 269. Δηλοῦτες προσεῖται τὰ κεκηρυγμένα, showing that they accepted the terms which were announced. Thuc. iv. 38. Κηρύγματι ἐδόθον τοὺς ἐλευθερίας δεσμῶν τὸ πρὸς σύμμαχον αὐτὸν παρεῖναι, he proclaimed that those who wanted freedom should come to him as to an ally. Xen. Ag. i. 33.

6. (a) Εὐρύσκω, which has two constructions with the participle (883; 904), occasionally has the infinitive in indirect discourse. E.g.

Εὐρύσκω προχόμα οἱ εἶναι ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ τὸς Σάρδης, he found that he must (προχόμα μοι ἐστι, mihi opus est) march to Sardes. Hdt. i. 79; so i. 125, vii. 12. See Plat. Leg. 699 B.

(b) The middle may take the ordinary object infinitive in the sense of discover how to do anything. E.g.

Οἴδεις λύτας εἴρετο πανεῖν, no one ever found out how to stop pains. Eur. Med. 196.
(c) The middle may also have the infinitive in the sense of procure by asking. E.g.

Παρὰ δὲ σφίσι εἴρωντο παρὰ Παυσανίων ἔστάναι Ποτίδαιρων τοὺς παρεώνας, they gained (the favour) from Pausanias that those who were present from Potidæa should stand next to themselves. Hdt. ix. 28.

'Ως with the Participle in Indirect Discourse.

916. The participle in indirect discourse may be preceded by ὡς, which implies that the thought of the participle is expressed as that of the leading subject, or as that of some person prominent in the sentence. (See 864.) When this is already implied in the context, as it often is, ὡς adds only emphasis to the expression. Thus ὡς ταῦτα ὁτιωσ ἔχοντα means know that this is so; but ὡς ταῦτα ἔχοντα means know that (as you may assume) this is so, i.e. be assured that this is so. E.g.

'Ως μηδεν εἴδοστι ἔσται μ' ὡς ἀντιποιείσ, understand (that you must look upon) me as knowing nothing of what you seek. Soph. Ph. 253.

'Ως μηδεν ὄντα κείνον ἐν φαί τόι, think of him as no longer living. Ib. 415. 'Ως τοῦτ ἐπιστα ἀρωμέν, oμ μέλαντ ἐτι, understand that (as you may assume) these things are going on, etc. Ib. 567. Ταῦτα γῇ τῷ ὡς τελέω ἐφαίνετο. Id. O. C. 630. Καὶ τούτο ἐνωπῆσαυν Κροίους, ὡς ἀπερεω ᾗλός τῆς πεπρωμένης, and let ὑψευσ understand this, that he was captured later than it was fated for him to be. Hdt. i. 91. 'Ως μη μπολήσουν ὑσι τῆς ἡμῆς φρένα, be assured that you will not bring me off from my determination. Soph. Ant. 1063. Δηλοῖς δ' ὡς τε σημανῶν νέον, you show that you have something new in your mind to disclose. Ib. 242. Δηλοῖς ἐστιν ὡς τε δρασεῶν κακόν, it is very plain that he wishes to do some harm. Id. Aj. 326. Δηλοὶ ἦν Κύρος ὡς στρεφόν, Orestes showed that he was in haste. Xen. An. i. 5, 9. Δηλοὶ ἐστι θαυμάζει ὡς ὑργιζόμενοι τοὺς πεπραγμένους, you show that you are angry. Lys. xii. 90. Πατέρα τὸν στὸν ἄγγελον ὡς οὐκ ἐτι ὄντα, (he comes) to announce that your father is no more. Soph. O. T. 956. (In vs. 959, the messenger himself says εὖ ἐστι ἔκεινον ἀνάσωμον βεβήκιοτα.)

The force of ὡς here can seldom be well expressed in English.

917. In place of the participle with ὡς in indirect discourse, we may have a circumstantial participle with ὡς in the genitive or accusative absolute, followed by a verb to which the participle would naturally be the object. E.g.

'Ως δὲ ἔχοντοι τῶν ἐπιστασθαι σε χρή, you must understand that this is so; lit. believing this to be so, you must understand (it is so). Soph. Aj. 281; see Schneidewin's note. By an entirely different construction this comes practically to the same meaning as ὡς δὲ ἔχοντα τῶν ἐπιστασθαι σε χρή. 'Ως τοινν ὄντων τῶν εἰ τοι μαθεῖν
πάρα, in the belief that this is so, you may learn it, i.e. you may learn that this is so. Aesch. Prom. 760. 'Ως τολέμου δύντων παρ' ὅροιν ἀπαγγέλω; shall I announce from you that there is war? lit. shall I make a report from you on the assumption that there is war? Xen. An. ii. 1, 21. 'Ως πάνω μοι δοκοῦν, οὕτως ισθή, know that I think so very decidedly; lit. in the belief that this seems so to me, understand accordingly. Id. Mem. iv. 2, 30. 'Ως ἐμοῦ ἀγωγοῦμένου, οὕτως γίγνομε, know that I shall contend. Id. Cyr. ii. 3, 15.

918. 'Ως with the participle in the genitive or accusative absolute, used as in 917, may depend on verbs or expressions which do not take the participle without ὡς in indirect discourse. E.g.

'Ως οὐκέτ' ὥστων τῶν τέκνων φρόντις ἄρις, think of it, that your children are no longer living, lit. knowing that your children are no longer living, think of it. Eur. Med. 1311. 'Ως καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄγνοιαν ὡστ' ἀκούσομένων, οὕτως τὴν γνώμην έχετε, he of this mind, that both your soldiers and their leaders have been free from blame. Thuc. vii. 15. 'Ως ἐμοῦ οὖν ἰόντων ὡστ' ἄν καὶ ὡστ' ὥστ' τὴν γνώμην έχετε, be of this opinion, that I shall go wherever you do. Xen. An. i. 3, 6. 'Ως τούτων ὡστ' ἀκούσομένων, οὕτως δια- νοούθε, make up your minds then that we shall not hear; lit. knowing then that we shall not hear, so make up your minds. Plat. Rep. 327 C. ἐν τούτων μὲν ὡς διδακτοῦ ὡστης τῆς ἀρετῆς λέγει, here he speaks of virtue as a thing that can be taught. Id. Men. 95 E. Ὡστ' ἀκούσομενός ὡς τούτων οὕτως ἔχοντος, προϊόμεν, having promised that this is so, let us proceed. Id. Rep. 437 A. Διανοηθέντες ὡς ιόντων ἀπάντων δεί καὶ λέγοντων, thinking of all things as moving and in flux. Id. Crat. 439 C. οὕτω σκοπώμεν, ὡς τάχ' ἄν, εἶ τίχεοι, καὶ τούτων κάκεινον ς' ὑμβάντων, let us look at the case, feeling that both this and that might perhaps happen if it should so chance; lit. with the idea that both this and that might perhaps happen if it should so chance, let us look at it in this light. Dem. xxiii. 58. 'Ως δέν οὕτως τεθνάναι. Id. xxi. 70.

919. Verbs of saying and thinking which do not take the participle in indirect discourse sometimes have the participle (in the accusative or nominative) with ὡς, which in some cases approaches very near indirect discourse, and in others is more like a circumstantial participle. E.g.

Φροντίζεθ' ὡς τοῦτοις τε καὶ σοφοτέροις ἀλλοις τούτων πλείους μακχούμενοι, consider that you will have to fight with these, etc. Soph. El. 1370 (cf. Eusr. Med. 1311, quoted in 918). Δέχομεν ἡμᾶς ὡς ἀλωλάτας, they speak of us as lost. Aesch. Ag. 672. Ὡς σκοτᾶς ὡς οὖν διὸς πιστεύσουσι λέγεις; do you speak with a resolution not to yield or to believe? Soph. O. T. 625. Καρβάτως τῶν μὲν καὶ Αἰολάς ὡς δοῦλους πατριώτως ἐόντες ἐνόμιζε, he thought of Ionians and Aeolians as his father's slaves. Hdt. ii. 1. Ὡς στρατηγὸντα ἐμὸς μὴ διέλευσι λέγειν, let no one speak of me as the one who is to be general. Xen. An. i. 3, 15. Εἴδοκει πολλὰ ἄρα ἀληθεύσαι τοιαῦτα, τὰ δέντα
Τε ὡς οὐντα καὶ τὰ μὴ οὐντα ὡς οὐκ οὐντα, he was thought to have 
already reported truly many such occurrences, (reporting) what was real as 
real, and what was unreal as unreal. Ib. iv. 4, 15. "Ὅταν ὁς πετό-
μενοι ἐν τῷ ύπνῳ διανοοῦνται, when in their sleep they fancy themselves 
<lying. Plat. Theaet. 158 B."
CHAPTER VII.

VERBAL ADJECTIVES IN -τέος AND -τέον.

920. The verbal in -τέος is used in both a personal and an impersonal construction.

921. In the personal construction, the verbal is always passive in sense. It expresses necessity (like the Latin participle in -dus) and agrees with its subject in case. This construction is, of course, restricted to transitive verbs. E.g.

‘Ωφελητέα σου ἡ πόλις ἐστι, the city must be benefited by you. Χεν. Mem. iii. 6, 3. "Ἀλλας (ναῖς) ἐκ τῶν ξυμμάχων μεταπεμ-πέας εἰναι (ἐφη), he said that others must be sent for. Θυκ. vi. 25. Οὐ γὰρ πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας τιμητέος ἄνθρω, a man must not be honoured before the truth. Πλατ. Rep. 595 C. Ομοίως φησίν ἀπάσας εἰναι καὶ τιμητέας ἐξ ἄγον. Πρ. 561 C. Φραζόντες ὡς οὐ σφί περιποτέῃ ἐστὶ ἡ Ἑλλάς ἀπολύμενη. Ηντ. vii. 168.

922. The substantive denoting the agent is here in the dative. Eἰμί is often omitted.

923. In the impersonal construction (which is the more common), the verbal is in the neuter of the nominative singular (sometimes plural), with ἐστι expressed or understood. The expression is equivalent to δεῖ, (one) must, with the infinitive active or middle of the verb to which the verbal belongs.

This construction is practically active in sense, and allows transitive verbals to have an object in the same case which would follow their verbs. The agent is generally expressed by the dative, sometimes by the accusative. E.g.
TAUTA ἡṃ — or ἡμᾶς — ποιητέων ἐστὶ, we must do this, equivalent to ταύτα ἡμᾶς δεὶ ποιησαί. Οὐστέων τάδε, we must hear these things. Eur. Or. 769. Πειστέων τάδε (sc. σοι), you must obey in this (= δεὶ πειθεσθαι). Soph. Ph. 994. Ἀπαλλακτέων αὐτοῦ (τοῦ σώματος), καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ ψυχῇ θεατέων αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα (= δεὶ ἀπαλλακτε- σθαι αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ θεάσθαι τὰ πράγματα), we must free ourselves from it (the body), and with the soul itself we must contemplate things themselves. Plat. Phaed. 66 E. Ψυχῆ δὴ διχῆ βοηθήτεων εἶναι τοῖς πράγμασιν ἡμῖν, I say that you must give assistance in two ways. Dem. i. 17. Τί ἄν αὐτῷ ποιητέων ἐγή; what would he be obliged to do? Xen. Mem. i. 7, 2. Ἐφησίσαντο πολεμητέα εἶναι (= δεῖν πολε- μεῖν), they noted that they must go to war. Thuc. i. 88. Τὴν χώραν, ἐς ἓν αὐτοῖς ὀρμώμενοι πολεμητέα ἢν. Id. vi. 50. Οὐτε μὲν ἡθοφο- ρητέων ἀλλοις ἡ τῶν στρατευόμενοι, οὔτε μεθεκτέων τῶν πραγ- μάτων πλείον ἢ πνευματικοῖς. Id. viii. 65. (Here both the accusative and the dative of the agent are found: see 926.) Ἡμῖν δὲ εὐμαχοὶ ἀγαθοὶ, οὔς οὗ παραδοτέα τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοι ἐστίν, οὐδὲ ὅικας καὶ λόγους διακρίτεαι μὴ λόγῳ καὶ (ἡμᾶς) αὐτοῖς βλαστο- μένους, ἀλλὰ τιμωρητέα εἰ τάχει καὶ παντί σθενεί (= οὐς οὗ δεῖ ἡμᾶς παραδοθεῖν, κ.τ.λ.). Id. i. 86. Ἡτέων ἄν εἰπ θεσομένους (sc. ἡμᾶς), it would be best for us to go and see her. Xen. Mem. iii. 11, 1. Οὔδεν τρόπῳ φαμέν ἑκόντας ἀδικητέων εἶναι. Plat. Crit. 49 A. Ἀτέρ οὗ γυναικῶν οὐδέστορ ἐσθ' ἡττητέα ἡμῖν (= οὐ γυναικῶν δεί ἡττᾶσθαι), but we must never be beaten by women. Ar. Lys. 450. So Soph. Ant. 678.

It will be seen that this construction admits verbs of both transitive and intransitive verbs.

924. The Latin participle in -dus is used in the same personal construction as the Greek verbal in -tēos; as eripulis eritenda est, epistolē γραπτεῖα ἐστὶν, a letter must be written.

The impersonal construction is found in Latin, but generally only with verbs which do not take an object accusative, as Eundum est tibi (lt. ἐτς σοι), — Moriendum est omnibus, — Bello utendum est nobis (τῷ πολεμῷ χροστέων ἐστίν ἡμῖν), we must employ war. See Madvig's Latin Grammar, § 421.

Occasionally the earlier Latin uses even the object accusative, like the Greek; as Aeternam quoniam poenas in morte timendum est, Lucan. i. 112.

925. A sentence sometimes begins with an impersonal verbal in -tōn and is continued with an infinitive, the latter depending on δεῖ implied in the verbal. E.g.

Πανταχοῦ ποιητέων ἄν κελεύῃ ἡ πόλις καὶ ἡ πατρίς, ἢ πείθειν αὐτὴν. Plat. Crit. 51 B.

926. The dative and the accusative of the agent are both allowed with the verbal in -tōn (or -tēu); although the equivalent δεῖ with the infinitive has only the accusative. Thus we can say τούτῳ ἡμῖν ποιητέων or τούτῳ ἡμᾶς ποιητέων, but only τούτῳ ἡμᾶς δεὶ ποιήσει.
APPENDIX.

I.

THE RELATION OF THE OPTATIVE TO THE SUBJUNCTIVE
AND OTHER MOODS.

In the chapter on the general view of the moods, no attempt was made
to assign to either the subjunctive or the optative a single "fundamen-
tal idea" from which all the uses of the mood could be derived,
except so far as the idea of futurity was shown to belong essentially to
the subjunctive in all its most primitive uses. It would be impossible
to include under one fundamental idea all the actual uses of any mood
in Greek, except the imperative; for even the indicative is used to
express unfulfilled conditions, unaccomplished wishes, and unattained
purposes, none of which can be brought under the ideas of "declaration"
or "absolute assertion" commonly attributed to this mood. Again, it
is not to be expected that the true fundamental idea of any mood
should include all its uses in a developed language; for the fortunes
of language often depend on causes which are quite independent of
the original essence of the forms employed, and which seldom can be referred
to invariable laws of thought. The same idea can be expressed in
two cognate languages by different moods: as he would have seen is
ἐδειν ἂν in Greek and vidisset in Latin, while in Sanskrit it would be
expressed by a past augmented future equivalent to the Greek ἔμελλεν
ἀκερθαί (see § 428). Even within the Greek itself, we have if he
were wise expressed by ἐὰν σοφός εἶναι in Homer and by ἐὰν σοφὸς ἦν in
Attic; and in Homer, both ὅκ ὅτι ἐγνώς and ὅκ ὅτι γνωσθῇ can mean
you would not have discerned, while the latter can mean also you would
not discern (in the same future sense as in Attic).

One doctrine of the original meaning of the Greek subjunctive and
optative has gained such general approval of late, that it is entitled to
special consideration. This teaches that the fundamental idea of the
subjunctive is will, and that of the optative is wish. In the subjunctive,
the idea of will appears especially in exhortations and prohibitions and
in expressions of purpose. It can also be used to explain the subjunctive in protasis, by understanding ἐλθῃ in ἢν ἐλθῃ to mean originally let him go, suppose him to go (in some cases). But before we can decide that will is the fundamental idea of the subjunctive, or even that it is a necessary and essential part of the idea of this mood, we must ask, first, whether it is essential to those uses of the subjunctive which we have a right on other grounds to call the most primitive; and, secondly, whether there is any other idea equally essential and equally primitive, from which the idea of will could have been evolved more simply and naturally than this could have been evolved from the idea of will.

The subjunctive nowhere bears more distinct marks of primitive simplicity than when it appears in Homer as a simple future; as in οὐ γάρ ποι οὐ ποιούσ οὐν ἀνέρος οὐδὲ ἔνομαι, for never yet have I seen such men, nor shall I ever see them, II. i. 232, and in καὶ ποτέ τις εἰπρον, and some one will say, II. vi. 459, followed by ὥς ποτέ τις ἐρέει in vs. 462, referring to the same thing. See other examples in § 284. In this sense it is negativated by οὐ, like an indicative; and it may be modified by καί or ἀν, like the future indicative in Homer, and thus acquire a potential sense (see §§ 285 and 286). It is seldom that any modal form (except a plain indicative) is found so free from associations which might affect its meaning and conceal its original character. It has, moreover, its exact counterpart in Sanskrit in the Vedic subjunctive, which is negativated by mā, the equivalent of οὐ.¹ This simple subjunctive has no element of will. It expresses what the speaker regrets as readily as what he is resolved to do. Thus in both the examples above quoted, the subjunctive expresses an act which is decidedly contrary to the speaker’s will and wish. This subjunctive and the future indicative run parallel in all their constructions, and the former expresses will only so far as the latter does. The only character that is beyond question in this subjunctive is its reference to future time, and if we were left to this use alone, we should have no hesitation in designating the subjunctive as a form expressing futurity like a future tense. As this use cannot be deduced from the subjunctive as an expression of will, let us see whether the opposite process, the evolution from the simple future meaning of the uses in which will appears, is any easier and does not less violence to the principles of the language.

The use of the subjunctive which strikes every one as coming next in simplicity to the Homeric construction just described is seen in exhortations, like ἵμεν, let us go, and (in its negative form) in prohibitions, like μὴ ἵμεν, let us not go, μὴ εἰπρεῖ τοῦτο, do not say this. This use of the subjunctive is found also in Sanskrit, and its negative is there generally (though not always) mā, the equivalent of μή. It thus appears that the marked distinction which is seen in the early Greek between ἵμεν, we shall go, and ἵμεν, let us go, in both positive

¹ See Delbrück, Syntaktische Forschungen, i. (Conjunctiv und Optativ), pp. 23-25.
and negative forms, was probably inherited from an ancestral language, so that we need not seek for the development of this distinction within the Greek itself. It is obvious that the future element is equally strong in both expressions, while the hortatory subjunctive also expresses will. Now it is much more natural to suppose that a future form expressing exhortation or prohibition originated in a form expressing mere futurity, than that the merely future form originated in the exhortation or prohibition. We cannot derive οὐκ ἰδομαί, I shall not see, from μὴ ἰδομαί, let me not see. But it is by no means impossible that, in some language which was a common ancestor of Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit, subjunctive (i.e. originally future) forms came to be used to express both commands and prohibitions; that, when these imperative expressions became distinguished from the subjunctive in its ordinary future sense, they adopted the negative (the ancestor of ἡμέρα and μὴ) which was used with similar imperative forms, though this use of the negative might not at first be very rigid; and that thus μὴ ἢμερον, in the sense let us not go, became established in early Greek as opposed to οὐκ ἢμερον, we shall not go. In Sanskrit, however, the use of ἡμέρα in such cases was less fixed, and here ἡμέρα (the equivalent of οὐ) is sometimes found with the subjunctive in prohibitions.\(^1\) This last is what we should have if in χείρι δ' οὐ ψαίσεις ποσέ, you shall never touch me, Eur. Med. 1320, we could substitute an Homeric subjunctive (e.g. ἔσοπτης) for the future indicative. The cases of μὴ with the future in prohibitions given in § 70, like μὴ βουλήσεως ἐαν εἰδέναι, do not wish to know, Dem. xxiii. 117, are too few to be of much weight in the discussion; but they seem to show an abortive tendency to establish the future indicative with μὴ by the side of the subjunctive in prohibitions. What the future could do in an imperative sense is shown by examples like πάντως δὲ τοῦτο δράσεις, but by all means do this, Ar. Nub. 1352, and others quoted in § 69; but the natural negative here was οὐ, not μὴ, as in οὐ ψαίσεις above.

If the origin of the interrogative subjunctive in appeals (§ 287) and of its negative μὴ has been correctly explained in §§ 288 and 291, this is merely an interrogative form of the subjunctive in exhortations and prohibitions, and calls for no special discussion here. The origin of the use of the subjunctive with οὐ μὴ is still too uncertain to give this construction much weight in determining the essential character of the subjunctive. If the view of this construction which is advocated in this work (see Appendix II.) is accepted, the form is an offshoot of the prohibitory subjunctive. If it is thought to be an original construction, expressing a strong denial or prohibition by its own force, the subjunctive appears in its original future force. Whatever theory we may have of the origin of this subjunctive, the form is interchangeable in use with the future indicative.

In dependent sentences, the subjunctive is used in two constructions, —in so-called final clauses, and in conditional sentences. In negative

\(^1\) See Delbrück, Conjunction und Optative, p. 112.
final constructions with μή, the subjunctive was originally prohibitive (§§ 262, 307); in positive clauses with the final particles, it expresses something aimed at, that is, an object of will. But here, as in independent sentences, to derive the more complex from the more simple is far more natural than the reverse. Further, in all final constructions the future indicative may be used in the same sense as the subjunctive; this could hardly be done if the subjunctive contained an essential element of will which is wanting in the future. Again, the subjunctive is very common in final constructions after past tenses, where the optative is the regular form (318); it cannot be supposed that the idea of will is present in such final clauses when they have the subjective (as they generally do in Thucydides) and is absent when they have the optative (as is more common in Xenophon). In conditional sentences, although we may explain the subjunctive as originally hortatory, ἕν ἠθη meaning let him come (we will suppose), it is more natural to refer this use to the primitive use of the subjunctive as a simple future, εἴ κει ἠθη (or εἰ ἠθη), in case he shall come, making a supposition of a future event of which the Homeric ἠθη, he will come, might make a statement (see §§ 11 and 398). We thus avoid the necessity of explaining the indicative and the subjunctive in protasis on different principles. As each of the various tenses of the indicative with εἴ expresses a supposition in the time which it naturally denotes (§ 3, e), so the subjunctive is a natural form to express a future supposition. Thus, as εἴ γεννησαι τοῦτο supposes what γεννησαι τοῦτο states, εἰ γένησαι τοῦτο naturally supposes what (in the older language) γένησαι τοῦτο, this will happen, states. As the former cannot be explained by the idea of will, it seems unnecessary and illogical to introduce this idea to account for the latter. What has been said of ordinary conditional sentences applies also to relative conditions.

The only use of the subjunctive in conditions which cannot be derived from the simple future meaning is that in general suppositions; but the undeveloped state of this construction in Homer and other considerations make it highly probable, if not certain, that this is a use of the subjunctive which grew up within the Greek language itself at a comparatively late period, and that it is not one of the primitive uses of the mood. (See §§ 11, 6, 400, 401.)

It is certain that no trace of the subjunctive as a mood of will can be seen in its actual use in conditional sentences. Thus ἄν τὴν πόλιν ἠθη could always be said as properly by the friends as by the enemies of a city, by the besieged as well as by the besiegers. In II. iii. 71, ὄπτετερος κε νυκτήμα, spoken by Priam, is, as an expression, perfectly neutral as regards the hope or desire of victory. It may be said with truth, that the primitive meaning of a verbal form is apt to be weakened, or even to disappear, in actual use. But is it logical to assume a lost meaning to account for an expression, when the meaning which remains accounts for it satisfactorily without external help? When we find ἄν ἠθη τὴν πόλιν actually expressing a mere future supposition, with no idea of will, in all periods of the language, and
when we find ἐλοιμεν meaning they will capture in the earliest period that we know, why should we assume an original idea of will (which was afterwards lost) in ἤν ἐλοιμεν to account for its actual meaning? The view of the conditional sentence here adopted is confirmed by paraetactic conditions like the following: θύσεις δὲ τῇν παίδιν ἔνθα τίνας εὐχὰς ἔρεις; Eur. I. A. 1185, where θύσεις makes a supposition, supposing you shall sacrifice the girl, which would generally be expressed by εἴ θύσεις or ἤν θύσης: so δῶκει τίς ἑκὼν and ἔξημαρτῇ τίς ἑκὼν, both expressing suppositions, Dem. xviii. 274.1

On these grounds we may feel justified in regarding the subjunctive as originally and essentially a form for expressing future time, which the Greek inherited, with its subdivision into an absolute future negativised by οὐ and a hortatory future negativised by μή, and used in independent sentences.

The name optative mood (ἐγκλαμις εἰκτική), which was invented by grammarians long after the usages of the language were settled, designated the mood by the only use which it then had in independent sentences without ἢν, that of wishing. It is evident that this name in itself is no ground for assuming that wishing was the primitive function, or even an essential function, of the optative, any more than the name of the subjunctive (ἐγκλαμις ὑποτακτική) would lead us to assume dependence as an original or necessary characteristic of that mood. We have already mentioned the theory that the optative is the mood of wish, as the complement of that which makes the subjunctive the mood of will. This theory finds no support in the potential use of the optative with or without κέ or ἢν, which is the only independent use of the optative except in wishes and exhortations. Surely ἀπόλοιτο ἢν, he would perish, can never have been developed from ἄπολοιτο, may he perish, for the former is no more likely to be said by one who wishes the death of a person than by one who fears it, and there is nothing in the addition of ἢν or κέ which can reasonably be supposed to change a form, which in itself expresses wish, to a neutral form or even to one expressing what is feared. The fundamental distinction in negative sentences between μή ἄπολοιτο and οὐκ ἢν ἄπολοιτο (or οὐκ ἄπολοιτο) is still more significant. Nor can any support for the theory be found in dependent final constructions or in indirect discourse. No one would see a distinction of will and wish in ἐδώ in ἐρχεται ἦν ἢδη τοῦτο and ἦλθεν ἦν ἢδοι τοῦτο, or in φοβοῦμαι μή ἢλθην and ἐφοβήθην μή ἢλθοι, not to speak of ἦλθεν ἦν ἢδοι τοῦτο and ἦλθεν ἦν ἢδη τοῦτο. Still less would any one dream of looking for wish in the optative in εἴπεν δὲ ἢλθοι, he said that he had come, or in ἦρετο εἴ τις εἴη σοφότερος. In all these dependent constructions, the optative is only the representative of the subjunctive or indicative when these are, as it were, transferred to the past by depending on a verb of past time; but, if wish were the fundamental idea of the optative, we should hardly expect this to vanish so utterly, since

1 See C. F. Hermann, de Protasi Paratactica, p. 7.
the essential character of the optative would naturally be especially marked where it is used by a fixed principle of the language as a substitute for an indicative or a subjunctive.

The only strong argument for the theory that the optative is primarily the mood of wish is found in the optative with ἐ i in protasis. It is maintained that a gradual development of this conditional form from the simple optative in a wish can be actually seen in Homer. The strongest and most attractive statement of this argument is given by Lange in his elaborate, but unfortunately unfinished, treatise on the particle ὀ i in Homer.¹ Delbrück’s treatment of the optative in his Syntaktische Forschungen, vol. i., is based on this doctrine. When Lange states (p. 486) that, of 200 examples of ὀ i with the optative in Homer, 136 are expressions of wish, the majority seems decisive; although we may even here withhold our judgment until we examine the majority and also see what the minority of 64 have to say. The majority of 136 is made up as follows:—

1. Ordinary wishes with ὀ i γάρ, ἐ θέ (αὶ γάρ, αὶ θέ), or ὀ i, like αἰθ’ σύνος, Ἐ ὕμας, φίλος Δί, πατρὶ γένοιτο, Od. xiv. 440; αἰ γάρ σύνος ἐ η, Π. iv. 189; ἐ θ’ ὥσ Ἰβδώομι, βίῃ δὲ μοι ᾕπεδος ἐ η, Π. xi. 670. (Of these there are 38 cases.)

2. Cases in which a wish with ὀ i and the optative (like the expressions just quoted) is followed by an apodosis expressing a consequence which would follow the fulfillment of the wish. Thus the last example in 1 appears in Π. vii. 157 with such an apodosis:—

ἐ θ’ ὥσ Ἰβδώομι, βίῃ δὲ μοι ᾕπεδος ἐ η.

τῷ κε τὰ χ’ ἀντίσεις μάχης κορυφαιόλος “Εκτωρ.

If we put a comma at the end of the first verse, we have a full conditional sentence. In many cases it is doubtful which punctuation is correct. Lange includes under this head even such sentences as Π. vii. 28, ἀλλ’ ὀ i μοι τι πίθεω, τῷ κεν πολὺ κέρδιον ἐ η, and Od. xx. 381. (Of these there are 28 cases.)

3. Ordinary conditional sentences, in which the fusion between the optative with ὀ i expressing a wish (i.e. supposing something that is desired) and a following apodosis with κέ or ἀν is said to be complete, as in Π. xiii. 485:—

ἐ θ’ γάρ ὑμηλική γε γενοίμεθα τῷ ἐ πι θυμῷ,

ἀψά κεν ἢ ἔ φεροιτο μέγα κράτος ἢ κε φεροίμην.

(Of these there are 19 cases, against 18 otherwise similar cases in which the optative with ὀ i supposes something not desired.)

4. Cases of which the following are examples:—

ἡλθον, ὀ i τινά μοι κληρονόμα πατρὸς ἐ νίςτοις, Od. iv. 317.

¹ Der Homerische Gebrauch der Partikel ὀ i, von Ludwig Lange, des vi. Bandes der Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Classe der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften No. 4. Lange himself, nevertheless, believes the optative to be originally the mood of “Eiubildungskraft,” not of wish.
Such examples are variously explained, but the protasis generally refers to something that is desired. (Of these there are 43 cases.)

5. Ordinary conditional sentences in which εἰ with the optative expressing a wish follows an apodosis; as in Il. xxi. 20, ἢ σὺ αὖ τυσάϊμην, εἰ μοι δύναμίς γε παρεῖη. These differ from those in 3 only in the position of the protasis. (Of these there are 8 cases of wishes, against 33 in which no wish is implied, of which last 17 are concessive.)

The minority of 64 examples, in which εἰ with the optative does not express a wish, is made up of the 18 dissenting cases under 3, the 33 under 5 which contain no wishes, 5 exceptional cases (as Lange views them) under 4 (2 with doubtful readings), and 8 cases of ὡς εἰ with the optative in similes, like ἵσαν ὡς εἰ τε τυρὶ χθῶν πᾶσα νέμοιτο, Il. ii. 780.

It will be seen that the strength of the argument lies in the gradual development of the optative conditional sentence which is supposed to appear in 1, 2, and 3. This is further enforced by reference to cases in which the simple optative in a wish (without any form of εἰ) is followed by an apodosis, like the equivalent optatives with εἰ in 2, thus showing the absence of a conditional force in the latter. See Od. xv. 180:—

οὐτὸ νῦν Ζεὺς θείη, ἑρίγδουσι τόσις Ἡρισ;
τῷ κέν τοι καὶ κεῖθε θεῷ ὡς εὖχετοφαίην.

Since the two clauses are grammatically independent here, it is argued that they must be equally so in the examples in 2.

The whole argument is based on the important assumption that the optative with εἰ, εἰ γάρ, etc. in a wish is the same in origin with the simple optative in a wish, so that εἰ γένοιτο τοῦτο and γένοιτο τοῦτο both come to mean may this be done in the same way, by a wishing power inherent in the optative itself; and from this it is argued that εἰ γένοιτο τοῦτο as a protasis is used in a more primitive and natural sense when what is supposed is desired by the speaker than when it is not. Unless we assume this as proved, and reject the opposite alternative which makes the optative with εἰ in a wish a protasis with a suppressed apodosis, we have no right to count the examples in 1 and 2 as evidence that the optative with εἰ denotes a wish by its own nature; for it would be reasoning in a circle to quote these as proof that the optative itself denotes wish, in a discussion which aims at establishing the nature and meaning of the optative in these very expressions. Again, the real nature of the 43 conditions with εἰ and the optative in 4 is in question in this discussion; and it is inadmissible here to assume at the outset that they express wish in themselves and then to use them as evidence that wishing is the original function of the optative. Proof is needed, therefore, that the optatives in 1, 2, and 4 (that is, in 109 of the 136 wishing optatives in Homer)
actually express wish by their own force, so that they can properly be used as independent testimony here. Until at least a reasonable presumption in favour of this view is established, we are without evidence that there is any such gradual development of the optative condition as is claimed. We must therefore depend at present on the only cases about which no doubts exist, the complete conditional sentences in 3 and 5, to determine whether the optative with ei involves the idea of wish without regard to the nature of its apodosis. If it should be found that the idea of wish preponderates in these optatives, we should have a convincing proof that the same is true of the optatives in 1, 2, and 4, whether these are viewed as protases or as original wishes. A slight inspection of Lange’s statistics will show that the question is not to be settled in this simple way. Of the 37 optatives in 3, 19 suppose something that is wished for, while 18 do the opposite. Of the 41 in 5, only 8 suppose desirable things, while 33 do not. Therefore, in the 78 plain cases of ei with the optative in conditions in Homer, we find only 27 expressing wishes. If we confine ourselves to the cases in 3, where the protasis precedes, we find as equal a division as is possible (19:18), showing very plainly that even here wish has nothing whatever to do with the form of expression. Indeed, if we take ei with the optative in protasis by itself, what is there to indicate that it involves a wish? It cannot be doubted that this form is the equivalent of the English if he should go and if we should see him; and who would attempt to find any such idea as wish in these expressions? Unless we are prepared to maintain that if we should be saved expresses the original idea of the English construction better than if we should perish, we must be slow to assert that ei σωθεῖ-μεν gives the spirit of the Greek optative better than ei ἀποθάνουμεν. We must remember also the large class of conditional relative sentences which have the optative. This optative cannot be explained on any different principle from the optative with ei, and yet who would profess to find anything like the idea of wish in ὅ τις ρέσει, Od. i. 47, ὃ μὴ εἰπό, xi. 490, or in ll. iii. 330, 521, xiii. 344, xiv. 248? I give the first six examples that I meet.

It is obvious at once that we must recur to the examples in 1 and 2, and see whether these establish any such strong presumption as will justify us in making wish the fundamental idea of the optative with ei, notwithstanding the fact that a large majority of the optatives in protasis in Homer have a contrary meaning.

In dealing with the examples in 1 and 2, it will be assumed that ei, εἴθε, εἴ γάρ, and adi, adiθε, adi γάρ all have the same origin, and involve the same particle ei or adi which is used in protasis. The question in regard to the wishes in 1 amounts to this: is it more probable that the optative here is merely the wishing optative, preceded by a sort of exclamatory particle ei, so that γένοιτο and ei γένοιτο are merely

1 See Lange, pp. 311, 312; and footnote to § 379 of this work.
2 Lange, p. 454, calls ei “eine zur Einleitung von Wünschen und Fallsetzungen geeignete interjektionsartige Partikel.” See also p. 565.
different forms of an exclamation, O may it be done!—or that εἰ γένοιτο
in a wish is the same as εἰ γένοιτο in protasis, meaning if it should only
be done, deriving its force as a wish from the unconscious suppression
of an apodosis like how happy I should be or it would be well? The
difficulty of explaining εἰ in an ordinary protasis like εἰ ἦλθεν, if he
came, as in any sense exclamatory is a great obstacle in the way of
Lange's view; but his alternative is equally hard, to make εἰ in a wish
radically different from εἰ in a protasis. In the incomplete state of
Lange's work, it is impossible to see how successfully he would have
surmounted this difficulty. But, apart from this, we are compelled
on his theory to believe that the parallel construction of εἰ γάρ and
εἰδε with the past tenses of the indicative in wishes is radically
different in principle from that of εἰ etc. with the optative. The former
is a later construction; but is it possible that the traditions of so fixed
an expression as εἰ with the optative in wishes could have so utterly
vanished that, while εἰ γάρ γένοιτο, may it be done, had no conditional
force, εἰ γάρ ἔγεντο τοῦτο, O that this had been done, was felt as
conditional? It is impossible to explain εἰ γάρ ἔγεντο except as an
elliptical protasis, since there is no form of wish like ἔγεντο (alone)
corresponding to γένοιτο, may it be done. Even if we could suppose
that εἰ γάρ ἔγεντο was formed ignorantly on the analogy of εἰ γάρ
γένοιτο, it would be incredible that μὴ γένοιτο should not have
engendered a corresponding μὴ ἔγεντο.

But why is it thought necessary or probable that γένοιτο and εἰ
γάρ γένοιτο should have had the same origin? If we can trust our
feelings in the use of our own language, it is beyond doubt that our
expressions of wish, like may help come and O if help should (or would)
come! are entirely independent constructions, and also that the latter
is a condition with its conclusion suppressed. Why should we not
accept the same simple distinction in the Greek forms, and admit that
the Greek had two ways of expressing a future wish, one by the simple
optative, the other by a protasis with its apodosis suppressed? Absolute
proof is, of course, impossible in such a case; but it is surely safe to
maintain that no such strong presumption is established in favour of
identity of construction in γένοιτο and εἰ γένοιτο in wishes, as to make
it probable that εἰ γένοιτο in protasis was originally a form of wish, in
face of the fact that only a small proportion of Homer's undoubted
protases with εἰ and the optative express wishes.

But it may be said that the peculiar examples of half-formed
conditional sentences in 2 (p. 376) establish the theory of the develop-
ment of the conditional optative out of a wish. But this connecting
link loses its value, when it is seen that it connects merely one construc-
tion, in which the wishing force of the optative is at least questionable,
with another in which there is no positive evidence of any wishing
force at all. If the ordinary theory of the suppression of an apodosis
with εἰ γάρ γένοιτο in a wish is correct, we must suppose that the
suppressed apodosis was seldom felt in a definite form of words any
more than it is with our O if he would come. But it might sometimes
happen that an actual expression of a definite result of the fulfilment of a wish would suit the case better than the uncertain reference to a fulfilment, which the mere clause with ἢ suggests. We have an excellent illustration of this when a wish is repeated as a protasis in almost the same words, and is then followed by an apodosis. See Od. iii. 217-223 (quoted in § 730), where εἴ γὰρ σ᾽ ὡς ἐθέλοις is first a simple wish, and then is repeated as εἴ σ᾽ ὡς ὤν τὸ ἐθέλοι, with the apodosis τῷ κέν τις, etc. naturally following. The oft-recurring verse εἴποι ἡμῖν, βίη ἐν μοι ἔμπεδος εἴπῃ appears in Il. xi. 670, xxiii. 629, and Od. xiv. 468 (if Bekker is right in omitting vss. 503-506) as a simple wish with no addition; but in Il. vii. 157 it stands as a repetition of the wish contained in vss. 132, 133, αἴ γὰρ ἡμῖν ὡς, etc., and is followed by the apodosis τῷ κε τάχ᾽ ἀντίσεις μάχης καρποθεῖολος Ἐκτόρ. In the other examples, we have simply the wish ὃ ἢ if I were young again, with its vague unexpressed apodosis; but in Il. vii. 157 the result is expressed in the definite form, then would Hector meet his match. See Od. xviii. 498 and xv. 536 (quoted in § 730), in both of which a definite apodosis expressing a result takes the place of the usual suppressed conclusion. A distinction of optatives with εἴ into wishes and suppositions, based on the wishing or non-wishing nature of the verb, is often arbitrary. Thus Lange quotes, among his "paratactic" wishes followed by an apodosis in a distinct sentence (that is, half-developed conditional sentences), Il. xvi. 102:—

εἴ δὲ ποιν Ἀλκιτός γε βοήν ἄγαθοί τινος ἔμπεδον, ἀμφώ κ᾽ αὐτοὶ ἵντες ἔποιησαι μίθα χάριν,

while he gives as an ordinary conditional sentence Il. xxiv. 653:—

τῶν εἴ τοι σε ἵδοιο τοθῆν διὰ νίκτα μέλιμαν, κύτταρόν ἂν ἐξειπὼν Ἀγαμέμνον πομπῆι λαῶν.

His ground for distinction is merely that the former expresses a wish, while the latter does not. Even if both sentences were held to be simply conditional (as they probably are), it would still be claimed that the optative is used in a more legitimate and primitive sense in the former than in the latter. But is not the patent fact that there is really no essential distinction between these two optatives with εἴ (taken as conditions) a strong argument against the whole doctrine which derives the optative in protasis from the optative in wishes?

As to the 43 examples in 4, in which the optative with εἴ obviously stands without any expressed apodosis, I must refer to the discussion of these in §§ 486-493, where they are explained as protases which contain within themselves an implied clause of purpose as the apodosis. Whoever will compare the examples of the optative in § 488 with those of the subjunctive in § 487, or those of the optative in Delbrück’s Conjuunctīvum und Optātiv, pp. 236-238, with those of the subjunctive in pp. 171-175, will probably be satisfied that the greater part of these optatives represent original subjunctives, which are regularly used in this sense after primary tenses, while the original optatives that occur after primary tenses in this construction are not more frequent than
they are in ordinary protasis in Homer (see §§ 499-501). Thus βη Πάνθαρον διζήμινον ει που έφευροι, he went seeking Pandarus, in case he should find him anywhere (i.e. to find P. if haply he might), II. v. 167, represents an original form βαλον Πάνθαρον διζήμινον, ἵν που έφευρο. This is true, whatever theory we hold as to the nature of the condition here. Again, this form is equally adapted to suppositions which are not objects of wish or desire; as in Τεῦκρ. vi. 100, προς την πόλιν, ει ἐπιβοῦ θοίειν, ἔχωρον, they marched towards the city, in case the enemy should rush out (to be ready to meet them if they should rush out). So in Od. xxii. 381:—

πάρτην εἰ 'Οδυσσευς καθ' ἐν δόμον, ει τε τει ἀνδρῶν
ζώον ὑποκλοπέοιτο ἀλώσκων κῆρα μέλαιναν,

where Ulysses is said to have searched the house, in case any one of the suitors should still be alive and be concealed (i.e. to find any such). This is quite as natural an expression as II. xii. 333, πάρτην ει ὑποκλοπέοιτο ἱγημέονον, where the protasis supposes something desired. The idea of purpose which these sentences imply makes it natural that the supposition should be a desirable one in the majority of cases; but no independent support for the theory we are discussing can be found in them.

We come then to the following conclusions. The theory that wish is the fundamental idea of the optative finds no support in conditional sentences with ει and the optative in Homer, for among 78 full sentences of this class, only 27 express suppositions which are desired by the speaker. The other optatives with ει which are said to express wishes stand without apodosis, and the nature of these expressions is itself in question in this discussion. As the presence of the idea of wish in the optative in ordinary conditions would have been a strong proof that the same idea is inherent in these other optatives, so the conspicuous absence of wish in the former creates a presumption against its existence in the latter; for it appears that, even if the optative with ει in wishes does express the wish by its own natural force, this force has not passed over into the ordinary optative in protasis, even in Homer. We have to consider, therefore, whether in spite of this presumption it can be established that the optative is the mood of wish, or that the two forms of optative in wishes (with and without ει) are identical in origin and construction. The theory of their identity obliges us to believe that ει is a sort of exclamatory particle; whereas the older view, which has the authority of Aristarchus (§ 723), that the optative with ει in wishes is a protasis with a suppressed apodosis, avoids this difficulty by making the form of wish the same as that of protasis. The new theory also compels us to explain the past tenses of the indicative with ει and the optative with ει in wishes on different principles. The cases in 2 (p. 376) of an optative with ει in a wish followed by an apodosis in a separate sentence are easily explained by supposing an actual apodosis to be expressed in them, where commonly only a general idea of satisfaction (like καλῶς ἀν ἔχοι) is understood. The cases of ει with
the optative without an apodosis in 4 are to be explained by the implied apodosis: they are not necessarily expressions of desire, and the optative here generally represents an original subjunctive.

As a negative result, we do not find in the Homeric examples as a whole any satisfactory proof that wish is the fundamental idea, or even an essential idea, of the optative.

For the original meaning of the optative we must go, not to the developed wish, still less to the developed potential construction with ᾧ or to the protasis with εἰ, but rather to certain simpler and less decided expressions, a few of which remain in Homer. In II. iv. 17-19 we have a full conditional sentence,

εἰ δ' αὖ τῶς τόδε πᾶσι φίλον καὶ ἥδυ πέλειτο,
ὥ τι μὲν οἰκεῖο τόπος Πριάμου ἄνακτος,
ἀυτὴ δ' Ἀργείης Ἐλένης Μενέλαος ᾧ οὖστο.

This may be translated, and if moreover this should be welcome and pleasing to all, king Priam's city may continue to be a dwelling-place, and Menelaus may take Argive Helen home again. But oikéioi and ἀγοῦτο (without κε or ἤν) here do not make the usual potential apodosis, nor do they express a wish; and yet a very slight change in the thought would make them either of these. With κε or ἤν added, the meaning would be Priam's city would continue to be, etc.; without ἤν, in the ordinary language it would be may Priam's city continue to be, etc. The same general result happens to be expressed in other passages in various ways. In II. iii. 71-75 Paris proposes the duel with Menelaus, and says:—

ἀπόπτερος δέ κε νικήσῃ κρέασιν τε γένηται,
κτήμαθ' ἔλον ἐν πάντα γυναικά τε οἰκιάδ' ἄγεσθων.
οἱ δ' ἄλλοι φιλότητα καὶ ὄρκια πιστὰ ταμώντε
ναῦοι τε Τροίης ἐριβάλλει, τοῖ δὲ νεόσθων
"Ἀργος ἐς ἔποδοντον.

Here ἄγεσθω is used with the same general idea in mind as ἔγοιτο in iv. 19, and ναῦοτε is like οἰκεῖοτο. This example would rather lead us to understand both ἄγοιτο and οἰκεῖοτο as wishes. But in iii. 255 we have τῷ δέ κε νικήσαντι γυνῇ καὶ κτήμαθ' ἔποτε, where τῷ νικήσαντι is equivalent to ἀπόπτερος κε νικήσῃ in 71, and ἐποτέ is potential, though expressing the same general idea as ἄγεσθω and ἄγοῖτο above. Also, in iii. 266 we have ναῦομεν (like ναύοτε in 74) and νόουται (as future). Again, in iii. 138 Iris says to Helen τῷ δέ κε νικήσαντι φίλη κεκληκῇ ἄκοιτις, where κεκληκῇ κε is potential, referring to the same result as ἐποτέ κε, ἄγοῖτο, and ἄγεσθω. These passages show a use of the optative without κε which comes very near to that of the optative with κε, and also to that of the imperative and of the future (with and without κε). This neutral use of the optative is generally called "concessive."

In other cases, the optative without κε has a more decided potential force; as in II. xxiii. 151, νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ οὖ νόμαι γε φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν, Πατρόκλῳ ἣρωι κόμην ὁ πάσας μι. φέρεσθαι, I would fain send.
So in Il. xv. 45, αὐτάρ τοι καὶ καίνω ἐγὼ παραμυθησαίμην, I should advise him. In Il. xxi. 274, ἐπείται δὲ καὶ τι πάθοιμη may be either then let me suffer anything (i.e. let me perish), or then would I suffer anything: that the latter is the true meaning is made more probable by xix. 321, οὐ μὲν γὰρ τι κακότερον ἄλλο πάθοιμη, for nothing else that is worse could I suffer, where οὐ shows that the optative is potential. On the other hand, in Il. xxiv. 148, μηδὲ τις ἄλλος ἄρα Τρώων ἢτω ἄνθρωπος τίς οἱ ἐποιεῖτο γερανίτες, i.e. let no other of the Trojans go with him; only let an elder herald accompany him (or a herald may accompany him), the general sense and the preceding imperative seem to show that ἐποιεῖτο is hortatory. Compare Il. iii. 407, μηδὲ ἐπι σούι μέδεσθω ὑποστρέφεις Ολυμπόων, between two pairs of imperatives, where μηδὲ shows the nature of the expression. Again, in Il. vi. 164, τεθναίγω, δ Ἐριτώ, ἣ κάστανε Βελλαρφοῦτην, we may doubt whether τεθναίγω means you must die or may you die (i.e. die), although the connexion with κάστανε leads us to the latter interpretation; here also compare Il. iii. 407. The tendency is not very strong in either direction in these passages, as is plain from the difficulty which we sometimes feel in deciding which the direction actually is in a given case. But as the potential and the wishing forms are generally clearly distinguished in Homer, we must look upon the few neutral expressions that we find as relics of an earlier stage of the language, in which the optative without κέ or ἄν was freely used in the sense of ἐπιέω and ἐγείρω in Il. iv. 18, 19. Such expressions could not be used in negative sentences, at least after οὐ and μη were established in their regular force, as the use of either negative would at once decide the character of the sentence. In the earlier language ἐλθοῦμι and ἔδομι, I may go and I may see, probably corresponded to the subjunctives ἐλθῶ and ἔδω, I shall go and I shall see, as weaker forms for expressing future time. But both moods had inherited another use, by which ἐλθῶ and ἔδω meant let me go and let me see, while ἐλθοῦμι and ἔδομι meant may I go and may I see. The reasons given above, for thinking a derivation of the hortatory subjunctive from the simple future expression more probable than the reverse, apply equally to the corresponding uses of the optative.

In these neutral optatives, of which Il. iv. 18, 19 gives the most striking examples, we probably come nearest to the primitive use out of which the two most common uses of the independent optative

1 To show the uncertainty that exists concerning some of these optatives in the minds of modern scholars, I give some of the most recent translations of four of them.
II. vi. 164: You may as well die, Monro; I pray that you may die, Leaf (ed.); Die, Proctor, Leaf (transl.); Du wirst selbst sterben müssen, Delbrück.
II. xxii. 151: I may as well give, Monro; "The optative expresses a wish," I should like to give it, may I be allowed to give it, Leaf; I may give, Myers; Ich werde mitgeben, Delbrück.
II. xxi. 274: I am ready to suffer, Monro; Perish; then let come what may, Leaf; After that let come to me what may, Myers.
II. xxiv. 149: Only a herald may follow, Monro; I permit a herald to go with him, Leaf; Let some older herald attend on him, Myers.
(potential and wishing) were developed. Before the Homeric period these two uses were already established, the potential with its mark of κέ or αν and its negative οὐ, and the wishing with no external mark and its negative μή. It is hardly possible that the first potential use of the optative was marked by κέ or αν, for we find undoubted potential optatives in Homer without either of these particles (see § 240), and even in Attic poetry such indefinite expressions as οὐκ ἐστὶν ὡς εἰπεῖ, οὐκ ἐστὶν ὡς εἰπεῖν, etc. have the optative without αν (§ 241). Although the early Greek, even in Homer, did not always use κέ or αν with the potential optative, there is no evidence that it ever failed to distinguish the wishing optative in negative sentences by the use of μή, while the potential was always negated by οὐ. The Sanskrit optative, which must have had a common origin with the Greek, appears in its earliest use in the state in which we have supposed the early Greek optative to have been, i.e. used both in a potential sense and in wishes without any particle like κέ or αν, and occasionally in a neutral or concessive sense. But while the negative μά (= μα) is always found in the potential use, we have both μά (μα) and μά in wishes and similar expressions in which the Greek has only μή.\footnote{See Delbrück, Conj. u. Opt. pp. 26, 194, 198, 199. Whitney, who agrees generally with Delbrück in deriving the other uses of the Sanskrit optative from the idea of wish or desire, says of the actual use of the mood (Sanskrit Grammar, § 573): “But the expression of desire, on the one hand, passes naturally over into that of request or entreaty, so that the optative becomes a softened imperative; and on the other hand, it comes to signify what is generally desirable or proper, what should or ought to be, and so becomes the mode of prescription; or, yet again, it is weakened into signifying what may or can be, what is likely or usual, and so becomes at last a softened statement of what is.” Again, in § 574: “Subjunctive and optative run closely parallel with one another in the oldest language in their use in independent clauses, and are hardly distinguishable in dependent.” In § 575: “The difference between imperative and subjunctive and optative, in their fundamental and most characteristic uses, is one of degree. . . . There is, in fact, nothing in the earliest employment of these modes to prove that they might not all be specialised uses of forms originally equivalent—having, for instance, a general future meaning.” In § 581: “In all dependent constructions, it is still harder even in the oldest language to establish a distinction between subjunctive and optative: a method of use of either is scarcely to be found to which the other does not furnish a practical equivalent.”}

The original relation of the Sanskrit subjunctive and optative here stated closely resembles what I believe to have been the original relation of the Greek subjunctive and optative, the optative being essentially a sort of weaker subjunctive, both expressing essentially the same ideas. My own view would, I think, agree substantially with that suggested by Delbrück (Syntaktische Forschungen, iv. p. 117) as an alternative to his earlier view presented in his Conjunctive und Optativ (vol. i. of the same work) eight years before:

“Eine andere Möglichkeit wäre, in beiden Mod. den futurischen Sinn zu finden, und zwar im Conj. die Bezeichnung der nahen, im Opt. die der ferneren Zukunft. Unter dieser Voraussetzung müßte die von mir Synt. Forsch. 1. gewählte Anordnung gänzlich umgestaltet werden.” I was, of course, not aware of this important concession of Delbrück when I suggested in the same month (August, 1879), in my Greek Grammar, p. 238, the relation of the optative to the subjunctive which is advocated in the present work.

Since the above was written, Delbrück in his Alt-indische Syntax has
has been noticed in the use of negatives with the subjunctive (p. 373).

It is probable that at some early period the Greek had two parallel uses of the subjunctive and optative in independent sentences, as follows:—

_ἐλθω, I shall go_ (neg. οὐ), or _let me go_ (neg. μή)
_ἐλθης, thou wilt go_ (""), or _go thou_ (""
_ἐλθῃ, he will go_ (""), or _let him go_ (""
_ἐλθομεν, I may or might go_ (neg. οὐ), or _may I go_ (neg. μή)
_ἐλθοις, thou mayest or mightest go_ (""), or _mayest thou go_ (""
_ἐλθοι, he may or might go_ (""), or _may he go_ (""

Although the Greek which is best known to us did not use the second and third persons of the subjunctive in a hortatory sense, there can be little doubt that such a use existed in the earlier language, as appears from the use in Sanskrit and in Latin, and from the Greek prohibitions with μή. (See § 258.) In an Elean inscription we find two cases of the third person: _τὸ δὲ ψάφωμα . . . ἀνατεθές ἐν τὸ ἱερὸν τῶ Δίως τῶ Ὀλυμπίω, and (voted) that the decree be set up, etc.; and also ἐπι-μέλειαν ποιήσαται (subj.) Νικόδρομος ὁ βιολογράφος, that N. have charge, etc._

Both moods alike developed a distinct potential use, which was distinguished from the other by κέ or ἀν; and in Homer we have forms like _ἐλθω κέ_ and _ἐλθη κέ_ parallel with _ἐλθομεν κέ_ and _ἐλθοι κέ_, all negativated by οὐ. The potential subjunctive, however, did not survive the Epic period, while the potential optative became fixed in the language. The future indicative also developed a potential form with κέ or ἀν, which appears to have survived the potential subjunctive, at least in the colloquial language. The English has no form except its vague _I may take_ to express the various shades of meaning denoted by _ἐλούμαι κέ_, _ἐλομαι_ _ἐλομαί κέ_, and _ἐλοίμη_, which once stood between _ἐλούμαι_, _I shall take_, and _ἐλοίμη_ _I should take_. (See § 399.)

The subjunctive, therefore, in its two chief uses in independent sentences, from which all others are derived, was originally accompanied by a weaker future form, the optative, expressing the same idea less distinctly and decidedly.

Let us now see how this weaker subjunctive (or future) form enters into the various dependent constructions, that is, into conditional and final sentences and indirect discourse.

The only dependent construction in which the optative is an original form, not representing another mood after a past tense, is that of protasis (including the conditional relative clause, but excluding the past generic

expressed an opinion (in contradiction to his earlier view, discussed above), that the potential and wishing functions of the optative are distinct in their origin.

1 Delbrück, Synt. Forsch. iv. p. 117, quotes these passages from Caner (No. 116). In p. 118 he says of this use: "Es ist nicht zu bezweifeln, dass dieser Conjunctiv-Typus im Griechischen ausstarb, weil der Imperativ dem Bedürfniss genügte." See also i. p. 20.
condition). Here we see the same relation between ἔαν (or εἰ) ἔλθω and εἰ ἔλθομαι, if I shall go and if I should go, as between the original ἔλθω, I shall go, and ἔλθομαι, I may (or might) go, the optative being a less distinct and vivid form for presenting a future supposition, it may be for presenting the same supposition which has already been presented by the subjunctive. The distinction, whatever it may be thought to be, is that which appears in our distinction of shall and should, and there will always be differences of opinion as to the exact nature of this.¹ The objections to deriving this form of condition from the optative in wishes have already been considered. On the theory that the protasis is an offshoot of the conditional relative clause (see § 358), we should understand εἰ ἔλθω as meaning originally in case (i.e. in the case in which) I shall go or may go, and εἰ ἔλθομαι in case I should go or might go,—should and might being here merely weakened forms of shall and may. (Homeric optatives referring to the present are discussed below.)

In the whole class of final sentences, in which the subjunctive and optative are probably the only primitive forms, the optative always represents a dependent subjunctive in the changed relation to its leading verb in which it is placed when this verb is changed from present or future to past time, a change which we represent by our change from may to might or from shall to should; as ἔρχεται ἵνα ἐδώκῃ τοῦτο, he comes that he may see this, ἔλθεν ἵνα ἐδοθή τοῦτο, he came that he might see this, etc. The thought in the dependent clause is in both cases what would be expressed originally by ἵνα ἔδωκα, adapted to different circumstances; and the original subjunctive (ἵνα ἐδόκη) could always be retained, even after past tenses, and by some writers it was generally retained (§§ 318-321). The change is, in fact, the same which is made in indirect discourse when the leading verb is past, since a past final clause always expresses the past thought of the leading subject (§ 703). This relation to indirect discourse is especially clear when the future indicative is used after primary tenses, with the future optative corresponding to it after past tenses.

The optative of indirect discourse has much wider relations, which were greatly extended as the language developed. Here the optative represents not merely the subjunctive but also the indicative in the changed relation in which these are placed by a change of the leading verb from present or future to past time, the tenses of the optative (with some restrictions) representing the corresponding tenses of either subjunctive or indicative at pleasure, the present including also the imperfect. In the development of the language, the want of an optative

¹ For an attempt to make this distinction more clear and to remove some difficulties concerning it, see my paper on “Shall and Should in Protasis and their Greek Equivalents,” in the Transactions of the Am. Phil. Assoc. for 1876, pp. 87-107, and in the English Journal of Philology, vol. viii. no. 15, pp. 18-38. I have there given the best answer in my power to the objection that my explanation of the optative in protasis as "less distinct and vivid" than the subjunctive lacks distinctness; this answer, briefly, that my statement is as distinct as the distinction itself to which it refers.
form to represent the future indicative was felt, and the future optative was added to the verb to supply the need, appearing first in Pindar. In Homer, this use of the optative is imperfectly developed, as the optative with ὅτι or ὡς in a quotation representing a simple indicative is still unknown (§ 671). Still the Homeric language has most of the other constructions of indirect discourse, including the optative in indirect questions representing both the indicative and the subjunctive. This optative in Homer appears (as we should expect) more as the correlative of the subjunctive than as that of the indicative. In indirect discourse, as in final constructions, the optative is not absolutely demanded after past tenses; and in some writers the original indicatives and subjunctives are more common (§ 670). The future optative, as a new form, is always less freely used than the older tenses.

In final constructions and in indirect discourse the optative appears as a subjunctive or indicative (as it were) transferred to the past, and it here has many points in common with the Latin imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive. In Homer, moreover, the present optative is regularly used in present unreal conditions and conclusions, and both present and aorist optative with κέ occasionally refer to the past like the imperfect and aorist indicative with κέ or ἄν. These uses, taken in connexion with the secondary terminations of the optative, might lead us to think that the optative was originally a past expression, so that καί νι κεν ἠνεθ' ἀντίλαονος, and now he would have perished there, ΙΙ. v. 311, would represent the regular use of the primitive optative, instead of being (as is commonly thought) a rare exception. Against this view, however, there are many considerations to be urged.

1. The optative is fully established in Homer in wishes and conditions as a future expression, and also in present unreal conditions, the imperfect indicative here being still confined (like the aorist) to the past. In past unreal conditions the optative never appears in protasis, and only rarely in apodosis, the aorist indicative being already established here before Homer. Thus, while οὐκ ἄν γνωῖς in ΙΙ. v. 85 means you would not have discerned, it would commonly mean, even in Homer, you would not discern (as future), and the common Homeric expression in ΙΙ. v. 85 would be οὐκ ἄν εἴγνως. The evidence of the Homeric language, therefore, shows that the present optative is the original form in present unreal conditions and conclusions and in present unattained wishes, but is opposed to the view that the optative was ever regularly past.

2. It is hardly possible that the past unreal conditional preceded in development the ordinary future supposition. Every primitive language must have needed expressions like if he should go he would see this before it ventured upon if he had gone he would have seen this. If now we suppose that οὐκ ἄν γνωῖς had originally the sense you would not have discerned, we must assume that the Greek expressed this idea before it could express you would not discern (future), for the language never had any other form to express the latter. We cannot hesitate, therefore, to find in the common future meaning of οὐκ ἄν γνωῖς the
original force of the expression, and to look upon the occasional reference to the past as a relic of an early attempt to express you would not have discerned by a form already appropriated to another use.

3. The Homeric optative in conditional sentences agrees remarkably with the Sanskrit in both the future and the present use, the Sanskrit optative being used both in future and in unreal present conditions and conclusions, but not in past conditions or conclusions. This seems to show that the Greek inherited the two principal Homeric uses of the optative, (1) in future conditions and wishes, and (2) in present unreal conditions and unattained wishes, while, so far as our evidence goes, the occasional use of the optative in past potential expressions is an extension of its use beyond its hereditary limits made by the early Greek itself.

4. The argument drawn from the past tenses of the Latin subjunctive will not apply to Greek conditional sentences, for here the present and perfect subjunctive in Latin (not the imperfect and pluperfect) correspond to the Greek optative in its most frequent use, and in the older Latin these primary tenses sometimes express present unreal conditions.

The most natural view seems to be, that the primitive optative, before it came into the Greek language, was a weak future form, like he may go and may he go, from which on one side came its potential and its future conditional use, and on the other side its use in exhortations and wishes. These uses would naturally all be established before there was any occasion to express either an unreal condition or an unattained wish. The need of a form for present unreal conditions and present unattained wishes would naturally come next, and the present optative was made to include these also, no practical difficulty being caused by having a single form for it would be as both present and future, none being felt in Homer and none being now felt in English. In this state the optative probably came into the Greek, before any attempt was made to extend its use to past unreal conditions. When a form was required for these, the optative may have been used at first, on the analogy of present unreal conditions; but here the serious difficulty of using ἀπόλουτος κε for he would have perished when it was already familiar in the sense he would perish (hereafter) probably prevented the establishment of this usage. Before our evidence begins, the past tenses of the indicative were firmly established in past unreal conditions, while the optative was here a rare exception, even in apodosis, and was never used in protasis. But no attempt was yet made to dislodge the present optative from present unreal conditions or the corresponding wishes, although the use of ὅψελον or ὅψελλον in Homer shows that a past indicative in a present sense was not absolutely repugnant even to the early usage. But afterwards a new tendency prevailed, and the imperfect indicative took the place of the optative in present unreal conditions, still retaining its older use (with the aorist) in past conditions. The Greek, Sanskrit, and Latin appear
to have developed their expressions of past unreal conditions independently. The Sanskrit, which seldom needed such a form, used its past future, as the Greek occasionally used εὑρέλλον with the infinitive (see § 428).

The optative in past general suppositions only represents the corresponding subjunctive transferred to the past. This is, moreover, not to be treated as a primitive use of the optative, for reasons which apply also to the generic subjunctive (see §§ 11, 6, and 17).

If the optative, at the time of its origin in some ancestral language, ever actually existed as a past form, as its terminations certainly seem to indicate, no effect has come down to the Greek from this remote origin, except perhaps the use of the optative to represent the subjunctive (and afterwards the indicative) transferred to the past in final constructions and indirect discourse. Even here, its relation to the subjunctive, which is probably all that is primitive in this use, is substantially that of a “remoter future,” as it is in independent sentences and in protasis.

II.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF οὗ μῆ WITH THE SUBJUNCTIVE AND THE FUTURE INDICATIVE.¹

The origin of the construction of οὗ μῆ has never been satisfactorily explained. While there is a general agreement as to the meaning of the two forms of expression in which this double negative occurs, that (1) οὗ μῆ γένηται or οὗ μῆ γενήσεται is it will not happen, and (2) οὗ μῆ καταβήσεται is do not come down, there is great diversity of opinion as to the manner in which these meanings are obtained from the Greek expressions, and still greater as to the origin of the constructions themselves. Most scholars have explained expressions of denial with οὗ μῆ and those of prohibition on entirely different theories, which involve different views of the functions of the negatives in the two forms. The explanation of the expressions of denial (like οὗ μῆ γενήσεται) which has gained most favour is that of an ellipsis after οὗ of a verb or other form denoting fear, on which μῆ γενήσεται depends; so that the full form would be οὗ δέος ἄστι μῆ γενήσεται, there is no fear that it will happen. Since a strong argument for this ellipsis is the existence of such examples as οὗ φόβος μῆ σε ἀγάμω, Χέν. Mem. ii. 1, 26, and οὐχὶ δέος μῆ σε φιλῆγω, An. Eec. 650, which, by omitting φόβος and δέος, would become οὗ μῆ σε ἀγάμω and οὐχὶ μῆ σε φιλῆγω, it can hardly be said that this is supposed to be one of the unconscious ellipses which are no longer felt in actual use. This explanation,

¹ Reprinted, with a few changes, from the Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, vol. i. pp. 65-76.
however, does not help to account for the prohibitions in the second person, like ὅ ἦ καταβῆσει, for there is no freak of language by which ὅ ἔσεσθαι καταβῆσαι or even ὅ ἔσεσθαι καταβῆσαι (if we can suppose such an expression) could be transformed into ὅ καταβῆσει, in the sense do not come down. The prohibitions have, therefore, generally been explained, on Elmsley's theory, as interrogative; and ὅ καταβῆσει; is supposed to mean will you not not come down? i.e. do not come down. All subjunctives that are found in these prohibitions, as in ὅ μὴ σκώψησι μοῦ διὸ πούγησι, Ar. Nub. 296, have generally been condemned since Brunck and Elmsley, and such subjunctives are seldom seen in recent editions of the dramatists.

But all attempts to explain these constructions of ὅ μὴ on different theories lead to fatal difficulties. We cannot make all the prohibitions interrogative, nor can we change all the prohibitory subjunctives to futures without violence to the text; nor are all cases of ὅ μὴ with the second person of the subjunctive or of the future prohibitory. The following examples show a complete transition from one of the uses of ὅ μὴ to the other, and yet no line of distinction, on which different theories of construction can reasonably be based, can be drawn between any two of them:—

Ὅτωι ἄ' Ἀχαῖων, ἀδᾶ, μὴ τις ἔβρησῃ, no one of the Achaeans, I am sure, will insult you. Soph. Aj. 560. Ὁ σοι μὴ μεθέψομαι ποτε, I never will follow you. Id. El. 1052. Κοινὶ μὴ παύσῃς θε, and you will not cease. Ar. Lys. 704. ἀλλ' ὅ ποτε ἔσεσθαι ἐμοῦ γάρ μὴ πάθησαι τὸ δὲ, but you shall never suffer this from me. Soph. El. 1029. Ὁ μὴ ποτὲ ἐστὶ Σκύρου οὐκέλα ὠυσίγνης, you shall never sail off to Scyros. Id. Ph. 381. Ὁ μὴ σκόπησίς... ἀλλ' εὐπλήμει, do not jeer (i.e. you shall not jeer), but hold your tongue. Ar. Nub. 296 (this cannot be interrogative).

Ὃ μὴ προσοικεῖς χεῖρα μοῦ ἀψεῖ πέταλων, do not bring your hand near me, nor touch my garments. Ecr. Hipp. 606 (generally made interrogative).

It should be made a first requisite of any theory that it shall explain all these cases on the same general principle.

A preliminary question to be settled, if possible, is whether ὅ and μὴ merely combine to make a single strong negative, or whether ὅ as an independent adverb negatives μὴ and the verb taken together. The difficulty either of conceiving ὅ and μὴ as forming a single strong negative, as ὅ and ὅδεν or μὴ and μηδὲν often do, or of understanding how μὴ γενήται, which by itself cannot mean it will not happen, can be strengthened by ὅ into an expression with this very meaning, has made it impossible to defend the former view on any recognised principle, even when it was adopted for want of something better, as in the earlier editions of the present work. The supposed analogy of μὴ ὅ forming a single negative with the infinitive will hardly hold as a support of this; for, while we cannot have a sentence like ὅ χῶσιν ὅτι μὴ ὅ βοηθεῖν continued by an infinitive with ὅδε (e.g. by ὅδε ἀμύνονται), we frequently have sentences like ὅ μὴ καλεῖ μὲ μηδὲ κατερέεις τοῦ νομα, where μηδὲ continues the prohibition without
repeating οὐ, showing the distinct force of each part of this double negative. But this only brings out more emphatically the perplexing question that lies at the basis of the whole discussion. If οὐ is an independent negative, as by every principle of Greek negatives it should be, what does it negative? It is clear that there is only one active negative in οὐ μή γένησαι, it will not happen; and οὐ μή σκόψησι, do not jeer, surely does not have one more active negative than μὴ σκόψησι.1

It seems obvious, therefore, that if οὐ is an independent negative in οὐ μὴ γένησαι, the negative force of the μὴ must in some way be in abeyance, as otherwise the two simple negatives would make the sentence as a whole positive. We may naturally turn for a suggestion here to the principal form of expression in which the negative force of μὴ seems to be in abeyance,—to Plato’s favourite subjunctive with μὴ as a form of cautious assertion, as μὴ φαύνον γῇ, I think it will prove to be bad, Crat. 425 B. (See § 264 and the examples.) Such expressions are, practically, cautious affirmative statements, the fear that something may prove true having by usage softened into a suspicion, and this again into an idea of probability or possibility, so that μὴ φαύνον γῇ, which originally meant may it not prove bad (as I fear it may), has come to mean I suspect it may prove bad, and finally, I think it will prove bad or it will probably prove bad. The expression, however, always retains at least the implication that the fact thus stated is an object of apprehension to some one, though it has lost all of its original reference to such apprehension on the part of the speaker.2 If now a writer wished to express the negative of one of these cautious assertions, in which the original force of μὴ has practically disappeared, he would say, for example, οὐ μὴ φαύνον γῇ, it will not prove to be bad. We thus have a simple explanation of such sentences as οὐ μὴ οίον τ᾽ γἀς, you will not be able, Plat. Rep. 341 B, and οὐ μὴ δυνατὸς ὦ, I shall not be able, Id. Phil. 48 D, the former being the negative of μὴ οίον τ᾽ γἀς, I suspect you will be able, the latter of μὴ δυνατὸς ὦ, I suspect that I

1 The idea suggested rather than advocated by Gildersleeve (American Journal of Philology, iii. pp. 203, 205), that οὐ is an independent negative, nay, while μὴ introduces a question which expects a negative answer, was evidently held by the copyists of some of the best MSS. of Aristophanes or by their predecessors: thus, Rav. and several Paris MSS. have οὐ μὴ σκάψης (or σκάψῃ) in Nub. 296; Ven. 474 has οὐ μὴ ληφής in Nub. 367, and οὐ μὴ ληφής in 505. See the MS. readings given in Transactions of the American Philological Association for 1869-70, p. 52.

2 I give the following passages of Plato, with Jowett’s translation, to illustrate this idiom:

"Ἀλλὰς δὲ συνέρχεν μὴ φαύνον γῇ καὶ οὐ καθ’ ὀδὸν, ὥς φίλε Ἐρμόγενε, if they are not, the composition of them, my dear Hermogenes, will be a sorry price of work, and in the wrong direction. Crat. 425 B. "Ἀλλὰ μὴ ὦς ἐλθὼς, τὸ τοῦ Ἐρμόγενου, γίγνεσθαι γῇ ὁ δὲ οὕτω τῆς ὁμολογίς, ἀναγκαῖον δὲ γῇ καὶ τῷ φορτίῳ τούτῳ πιστεύεται, τῇ ἐνθύσῃ, but the force of resemblance, as Hermogenes says, is a mean thing; and the mechanical aid of convention must be further employed. Ib. 435 C. Μὴ οὐδὲν ἄλλο σκέπτεσθαι, the only question which remains to be considered is, etc. Crit. 48 C."
shall be able. So, by prefixing οὖ to μή ἀναγκαῖον ἢ, it may be necessary, we have οὖ μή ἀναγκαῖον ἢ, it will not be necessary. (See footnote, p. 394.)

This use of μή with the independent subjunctive in Plato, is, however, confined to the present subjunctive, and generally to ἢ (or ἀλή with an adverb), while οὖ μή generally has the aorist subjunctive or the future indicative, and only rarely the present subjunctive, even in Plato. (See examples in § 295.) Still, the successful application of the principle to the few present subjunctives which are those above quoted indicates that we are on the right track.

The independent subjunctive with μή is by no means confined to the Platonic construction above mentioned, although this is its chief representative in Attic Greek. It is familiar in Homer in expressions of apprehension combined with a desire to avert the object of fear; as μή δὴ νῦν ἢκολου, may they not seize the ship's (as I fear they may), ΙΙ. xvi. 128. (See § 261.) In such expressions sometimes the fear itself and sometimes the desire to avert the danger is more prominent; see Od. v. 415: μή πάσος μ' ἐκβαίνοντα βάλη λίθαι προτότης τετρας κύμα μήγα ἀφυδάοιο, μελπή δέ μοι ἑσεται άρμή, i.e. I fear that some wave may dash me upon a rock as I am emerging from the sea, and my effort will (then) be in vain (the clause of fear being merged in a direct statement). See also II. ii. 195, xviii. 8; Od. v. 356, xvi. 255. Between Homer and Plato, we find only eight cases of independent μή (οὐ μή οὖ) with the subjunctive; but in these we can see the transition from Homer's clause of apprehension to Plato's cautious assertion. (See § 264.) In four of these cases, the speaker expresses fear and a desire to avert its object. These are Ευρ. Αλκ. 315, μή σοι διαφθείρη γόμους;—Ορ. 776, μη λάβοις σ' ἀφενεύονα.—Η. Φ. 1399, ἀλλ' ἀψε μή σοις ἐρειόμορσώμαι πέλλοις,—Rhes. 115, μή οὖ μόλης πόλιν. In the other four we see either the cautious assertion found in Plato or a near approach to it. In Ηδρ. v. 79, we have ἀλλά μάλλον μη οὖ ποῦτο δη κακτόν δεικτόν, but I suspect rather that this will prove not to be the meaning of the oracle (precisely Plato's usage). Cases of μή οὖ of course illustrate this use of μή with the subjunctive equally with those of the simple μή. In Ευρ. Τρ. 982, Ηερεμία says to Helen, μή οὖ κείσης σοφοῦς, I suspect you will not convince wise people, with the same sarcastic tone which is in Plato's μή οὐκ ἢ διδακτόν ἀρετή, I suspect it will prove that virtue is not a thing to be taught, Μεν. 94 E (said by Socrates, who is arguing that virtue is οὖ διδακτόν). In Αρ. Εκλ. 795, most editions have μή γὰρ οὖν λάβης ἄτοι οὐκ (εἰς τειτά καταθήκης, where the MSS. give an impossible λάβοις), I suspect you will not find a place to put them down, with the same affectation of anxiety as in the two preceding examples. In Χεν. Μεμ. iv. 2, 12, we have one of the rare interrogative forms of the subjunctive with μή, in which Ευθυδημός says to Socrates, μή οὖν οὖ δύναμαι (v. 1. δύναμαι) ἐγὼ τὰ τής δικαιολογίας ἑργα διεγείρασο; do you suspect that I shall be

1 I depend here on Weber's statistics, given in his Entwickelungsgeschichte der Absichtsätze.
(or am) unable to explain the works of Justice? He adds, καὶ νῦν Δί’ ἔγονε τὰ τῆς ἀδικίας, I assure you, I can explain those of Injustice. Here the spirit of the expression is the same as in the other cases. Compare the similar interrogatives in Plato: Phaed. 64 C, Rep. 603 C, Parm. 163 D, Sisyph. 387 C. But for the eight cases of independent μή that have been quoted, we should never know that the construction existed between Homer and Plato. We have good ground for believing that it remained as a colloquial idiom in the language, though it seldom appeared in literature until Plato revived it and restored it to common use as a half-sarcastic form of expressing mildly a disagreeable truth. In Plato, the construction is not confined to this peculiar sense, for we find cases in which honest apprehension is expressed as in the older use. Weber quotes Euthyd. 272 C, μὴ τοῖν ἔνοιν τις ταῦτῳ τοῦτο ὑπεκδίσῃ, I am afraid some one may insult the two strangers in this same way (or let no one insult them, as I fear some one may); also Symposium 193 B, καὶ μή μοι ὑπολάβῃ, I hope he will not answer me; and Leg. 861 E, μὴ τοῖν τίς οὕτως.

It appears, therefore, that the independent subjunctive with μή was in good use in the fifth century B.C. in the two senses illustrated by Eur. Or. 776, μὴ λάβωσι σε, I fear they may seize you, and by Eur. Tro. 982, μὴ οὗ πείρα τὸ σοφοῦς, I suspect you will fail to convince wise people. From the persistence of the original meaning, even in Plato, we may probably assume that the expression more frequently included the idea of apprehension which is essential to it in Homer. But the other examples show that, μὴ λάβωσι σε must have been in equally good use in the sense I suspect they will seize you (implying no apprehension). If now we suppose οὗ to be prefixed to μὴ λάβωσι σε, we shall have οὗ μὴ λάβωσι σε, which could be said with the meaning I am not afraid that they will seize you, and equally well with the meaning they shall not seize you. The former sense agrees precisely with that of some of the older uses of οὗ μή with the subjunctive. If the strange example from Parmenides (v.r. 121) is genuine, we have οὗ μὴ ποτὲ τίς σε βροτόν γνώμη παρελάσῃ, there is no danger that any mortal will surpass you in wisdom. In Aesch. Sept. 38 (one of the oldest cases, 467 B.C.), οὐ τί μὴ ληφθῶ δόλῳ, I have no fear of being caught by any trick, we can easily understand οὗ μὴ ληφθῶ as the negative of μὴ ληφθῶ, I fear I may be caught. So in Parmenides we have the negative of μὴ τίς σε παρελάσῃ, I fear some one may surpass you. Οὗ μὴ τίς ὑπεκδίσῃ would be a natural negative of μὴ τίς ὑπεκδίσῃ, I fear some one may insult, in Plut. Euthyd. 272 C. So, where there is no denial of apprehension, οὗ μὴ πάθη τόδε, you shall not suffer this, Soph. El. 1029, may be the negative of μὴ πάθη τόδε, I suspect you will suffer this; and οὗ μὴ ἐκπλεῖσθης, I shall not suffer this; and οὗ μὴ καθιασθῆς, I suspect you will suffer this way. So οὗ μὴ ναῦς ἀπορμίσῃ (Kirchhoff, -ορμή) χθονὸς, πρὶν δὲν, etc., you shall not move your ships from the shore, until, etc., Eur. I. T. 18, will be the negative of μὴ ναῦς ἀπορμίσῃ, I suspect you will move your ships. These expressions with οὗ μὴ were always colloquial, as were also (at
least in Attic Greek) the expressions with μή and the subjunctive from which they are here supposed to have sprung.\footnote{It may perhaps be urged, in opposition to the view here presented, that ὁδ' ἐγαθε κε, they will not seize you, cannot be the negative of μή λάβωσι σε in its sense of I suspect they will seize you, or even in that of I fear they may seize you, because the regular negative of this is μηλ' ἐγαθε κε, as we may call μηλ' ἐπεργε σοφος (Eur. Ὕπ. 982) the negative of μηλ' πιέσσει σοφος. But ὁδ' in μηλ' ἐπεργε negatives only the verb, whereas ὁδ' in σοφος μηλ' πιέσσει would negative the whole expression μηλ' πιέσσει. Μηλ' ἐπεργε is a cautious negative, meaning I suspect you will not convince them, corresponding in a certain way to μηλ' πιέσσει, I suspect you will convince them. But σοφος μηλ' πιέσσει would be the true negative of μηλ' πιέσσει, denying it absolutely, in the sense there is no ground for suspicion that you will convince them, or (sometimes) there is no fear that you will convince them, i.e. you will not convince them. There is all the difference in the world between suspecting a negative (e.g. suspecting that something will not happen) and negating a suspicion (e.g. denying that there is any suspicion that something will happen). Surely no one could understand μηλ' ὁδ' ὕπωσις ο, I suspect I shall not be able, as the negative of μηλ' ὕπωσις ο, I suspect I shall be able. The real negative is much rather μηλ' ὄδη ὕπωσις ο, there is no chance that I shall be able, in Plat. Phil. 48 D. The negative power of ὁδ' in negating μηλ' λάβωσι σε in its sense of I fear they may seize you is perhaps still more apparent. Whereas μηλ' ὁδ' λάβωσι σε in this sense would mean I am afraid they may not seize you, ὁδ' μηλ' λάβωσι σε would mean I do not fear (or there is no danger) that they will seize you, which is felt as a strong negative, they will not seize you.}

If it is thought that the limited number of cases of independent μή with the subjunctive not implying apprehension do not justify the assumptions which have been based on them, it is easy to see how the change from the denial of an apprehension to the denial of a suspicion might have taken place within the ὁδ' μή construction itself. If we suppose such expressions as ὁδ' μή λάβωσι σε and ὁδ' μή τίς σε ὑπορέη to have been established as the negatives of μή λάβωσι, I fear I may be caught, and μή τίς σε ὑπορέη, I fear some one may insult you, they must soon have fallen out of this relation to the parent forms, and have been felt in use to be mere future negative assertions, so that they could not long be restricted to sentences in which apprehension was implied. Thus, ὁδ' μή νεῦσι ἄφορμης ὑπορευς would soon become as natural to those who used these forms as the older ὁδ' μή τίς σε ὑπορέη. According to this view, ὁδ' μή with the subjunctive would come into the language in the sense of a denial of an apprehension, which is essentially the same general sense as that supposed by the theory of an ellipsis of δεός ἐστιν. But there is a great advantage in dispensing with this troublesome and improbable ellipsis, and deriving the meaning from the sentence as it stands. There is surely no more ground for assuming this ellipsis here than in the independent subjunctive with μή, which is an older construction than the dependent subjunctive with μή. And if we accept μή τίς σε ὑπορέη as a complete construction, without the help of δεός ἐστιν, it is absurd to invent an ellipsis to explain ὁδ' μή τίς σε ὑπορέη as a shorter form for ὁδ' δεός ἐστι μή τίς σε ὑπορέη. In fact, dispensing with this ellipsis removes the most fatal objection to the view of the sentence on which the old theory was based.
In whichever of the two ways above suggested the subjunctive with οὐ μῆ came to express a simple future deni, it was only natural that the Attic Greek should soon begin to use the future indicative in place of the subjunctive in the same sense. Thus we have in Soph. El. 1052, οὐ σοι μῆ μεθέψυμαι ποτε, and in Ar. Ran. 508, οὐ μῆ σ’ εὖ περιλύψυμαι, both expressing denial. At this stage all recollection of the original clause with μῆ and the subjunctive must have been lost, as there was no corresponding clause with μῆ and the future indicative in common use, of which οὐ μῆ with the future could be the negative. A most striking proof of the entire loss of this tradition is given by examples of indirect quotation of οὐ μῆ with the future. In Soph. Ph. 611 we have τά τ’ ἄλλα πάντ’ ἐθανατοσεν, καὶ τάπλ’ Ἰρώνας πέργαμ’ ὡς οὐ μῆ ποτε πέρθοιεν εἰ μῆ τόνδε ἄγνωστο, the direct form being οὐ μῆ ποτε πέρθοιεν εἰ μῆ τόνδε ἄγνωσθε. In Xen. Hell. i. 6, 32, εἶτεν ὅτι Ἑσπάρτη συνέκα οὐκ ἔστει λέγον ὁ διότι αὐτοῖς ἀποθανόντος, the future indicative is retained in an otherwise similar construction. In Eur. Ph. 1590, we find εἶτε Τερεσίας οὐ μῆ ποτε, σοῦ τήν τε γῆν οἰκονύμω, εὖ πράξειν πόλιν, representing οὐ μῆ ποτε ἐδρικεία. We could not explain οὐ μῆ πράξειν as an independent expression on any theory, either with or without an ellipsis. Such forms show the advanced stage which the construction of οὐ μῆ had reached. (See § 296.)

We find in the Roman comic poets a few cases of neque with hand in the same clause, forming a single negative. Such are Plaut. Bacch. 1037, neque ego hand committam ut, si quid pecatum siet, fecisses dicis de mea sententia; and Ter. Andr. 205, neque tu hand dices tibi non praedestam. Neque hand may fairly be supposed to be a translation of οὐκ ὑμῖν in a Greek original. If it is, it shows that the Roman poet understood οὐ μῆ with the subjunctive or the future indicative as a simple expression of denial.

When οὐ μῆ with the future indicative had been established as a regular form of future denial, the second person singular probably began to be used as a form of prohibition. As the future could be used in positive commands in an imperative sense, as in πάντως δὲ τοῦτο δράστης, but by all means do this, Ar. Nub. 1352, it could also take the simple οὐ in prohibitions, as in χερεί οὐ ψάχσεις ποτε, you shall not touch me with your hand, or do not touch me, Eur. Med. 1320. (See § 69.) The dramatists soon introduced the new form with οὐ μῆ into such prohibitions, generally with the future indicative, but occasionally with the more primitive subjunctive. Thus οὐ μῆ καταβήσει had the sense of do not come down, derived from you shall not come down, as οὐ ψάχσεις (above) from meaning you shall not touch came to mean do not touch. One of the strongest objections to the older views of the forms with οὐ μῆ is that they generally require a distinct explanation of this prohibitory construction. Elmsley’s theory of a question with two negatives, explaining οὐ μῆ καταβήσει; as will you not now come down? hence do not come down, was stated in the Quarterly Review for June 1812, and in his note to Eur. Med. 1126.
(1151 Dind.). Many who do not adopt Elmsley's theory in full still accept the interrogative form, and these sentences are now generally printed as questions. Long before Elmsley, the famous "Canon Davesianus" had proscribed all sgunmatic aorist subjunctives with οὐ μή as well as with ὅπως μή. This edict removed nearly or quite all the troublesome subjunctives that would have opposed Elmsley's view, and left only the future indicative in his doubly-negatived questions, which of course required an indicative. This again set up an artificial distinction in form between the prohibitory construction allowing only the future indicative; and the other construction allowing both subjunctive and future indicative.

But it has been more and more evident in later years that this distinction in form between the two constructions cannot be maintained. It was seen by Brunck, before Elmsley's interrogative theory appeared, that it would be absurd to distinguish sentences like ταῦτα οὐ μή ποτε ἐστὶν Σκύρων ἐκπλεύσῃς ἔχων, you shall never sail away to Scyros with these arms, Soph. Ph. 381, from οὐ μή καταβῆσει, you shall not come down, Ar. Vesp. 397. He therefore wrote ἐκπλεύσεις in the former, with the note "soloee vulgo legitur ἐκπλεύσης." But ἐκπλεύσεις proved to be even a greater solecism than ἐκπλεύσης was thought to be, for the only classic future of πλέω is the middle πλεύσομαι or πλεύσομαι, and ἐκπλεύσει will not suit the verse. So ἐκπλεύσης had to be restored. Again, while almost all the sentences containing a prohibition with οὐ μή, followed by a positive command with ἀλλ' or ὅς, could admit of Elmsley's punctuation and interpretation,—as οὐ μή λαλήσεις ἀλλ' ἀκολουθήσεις ἔμοι; Ar. Nub. 505, explained as won't you not talk nonsense and follow me?—another passage of the Clouds resisted both of these and also the prescribed form. In 296, the MSS. have οὐ μή σκόψῃς μηδὲ ποιήσῃς ἀπέρ οἱ τρυγοδαίμονες ὁπτ' ἀλλ' εὑρήμεναι. Brunck emended this without hesitation to οὐ μή σκόψεις μηδέ ποιήσεις, with the note "soloee vulgo σκόψης . . . ποιήσης." But there was no place for Elmsley's interrogative mark, which could not stand after the imperative, and could not be inserted after ὁπτ' without implying that the other sentences (like Nub. 505 above) were wrongly punctuated. The emendation σκόψεις was as unfortunate as ἐκπλεύσεις, as the future of σκόπτω is σκόψομαι, not σκόψω, so that a further emendation to σκόψει was needed. In this battered condition, and with no interrogative mark to help the interpretation, the passage usually appears, even in the latest editions. (See §§ 298, 300, 301.) So long as it is proposed to explain these prohibitions and the ordinary denials with οὐ μή on entirely different theories, with nothing common to the two constructions, it may not seem unreasonable to force a few examples like Nub. 296 and 367 into conformity with the general usage. But on any theory which makes no distinction in construction between the prohibitions and the other negative expressions of denial or refusal (for example, between οὐ μή ἐκπλεύσῃς, you shall not sail away, and οὐ μή καταβῆσει, do not come down, i.e. you shall not come
there is no more reason for objecting to οὐ μὴ σκόψητι than to οὐ μὴ ἐκπλεῖσθι. An occasional subjunctive, like οὐ μὴ σκόψητι or οὐ μὴ ληψήσῃ, is indeed no more than we should naturally expect in a construction which had its origin in the subjunctive. In such expressions, further, the analogy of the equivalent μὴ σκέψητι and μὴ ληψήσῃ would tend to make the aorist subjunctive unobjectionable and perfectly natural. A reference to the list of passages quoted on page 390 will show the inconsistencies into which every one must fall who attempts to explain the prohibitions and the clauses of denial on different theories. We cannot separate οὐ μὴ σκόψητι from οὐ μὴ ἐκπλεῖσθι in construction, nor the latter from οὐ μὴ πάθης, nor this again from οὐ μὴ τες ὑπρίσῃ, on any consistent principle of interpretation.1

Sentences of one class have been claimed as decisive witnesses in favour of the interrogative theory. They are represented by οὐ θάνσων οἶς, μηδ' ἀπουτήσεις ἐμοί; will you not more quickly extend it (your hand), and not distrust me? Soph. Tr. 1183. These are undoubted questions, but there is no construction with οὐ μὴ in them. They consist of one question with οὐ, implying an affirmative answer, will you not extend your hand? and another with μὴ, implying a negative answer, and you will not distrust me, will you? The compound of the two has the general sense expressed in the first translation above. (See § 299 and the examples.)

In conclusion, we may sum up the result of the investigation as follows. The original construction of οὐ μὴ with the subjunctive was developed as a negative form of the independent subjunctive with μὴ, which had already become an expression of apprehension with desire to avert its object, even if it had not passed into the stage of a cautious assertion; in either case, the real negative force of μὴ was in abeyance. The aorist subjunctive is the most common form here, the present being less frequent. This form of future denial next admitted the future indicative in the same sense as the subjunctive. The second person singular of this future with οὐ μὴ was used by the dramatists as a prohibition, without abandoning the sense which the future can always have in both positive and negative commands. In these prohibitions the future indicative, in which they had their origin, is generally used; but the subjunctive occasionally occurs, being analogous to the ordinary aorist subjunctive with μὴ in prohibitions; e.g. μὴ σκόψητι supporting οὐ μὴ σκόψητι.2

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1 For a further discussion of the form of the sentences with οὐ μὴ, in connexion with that of clauses with ἔσω and with the Canon Davianus, see Trans. of the Am. Phil. Assoc. for 1869-70, pp. 46-55.

2 Since this paper was written, I have seen that Kvicala, in two articles on οὐ μὴ in the Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasten for 1856, proposed an explanation of οὐ μὴ with the subjunctive, which at one important point came very near the view now presented. He states two (apparently theoretical) meanings which he supposes μὴ σκόψητι to have had at some period (zwei Bedeutungsentwickelungen): one, "Du wirst doch wohl am Ende, trotzdem dass ich es abzuwehren sache, sterben;" the other, "Ich lurchte,
III.

STATISTICS OF THE USE OF THE FINAL PARTICLES.

The following tables are based on the statistics given by Dr. Philipp Weber in his Entwickelungsgeschichte der Absichtssätze.

1. Statistics of the use of the Final Particles in pure final clauses by different authors.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ὁφρα. (ὁφρα. κε) or ἄρ.</th>
<th>ὁφρα.</th>
<th>ἢρα.</th>
<th>Ως or Ων. κε.</th>
<th>Ως or Ων.</th>
<th>Ως or Ων. with Subj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Homer</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hom. Hymns</td>
<td>8 (opt.)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2 (opt.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hesiod</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pindar</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1 (opt.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aeschylus</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sophocles</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euripides</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristophanes</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herodotus</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thucydides</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xenophon</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plato</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>368</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ten Orators</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>579</td>
<td>8 or 49</td>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demosthenes</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>253</td>
<td></td>
<td>...</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

dass du doch wol (trotz meiner Abwehr) sterben werdest." By prefixing οὐ to μηθαυς in these meanings, he arrives at two uses of οὐ μηθαυς with the subjunctive. The second meaning comes so near the independent subjunctive with μηθαυς in Homer, that it is surprising that neither this nor the equally important μηθαυς in Plato is mentioned. But no use is made of the advantage here gained in explaining οὐ μηθαυς with the future indicative, either in prohibitions or in denials. The prohibitions are made interrogative, οὐ μηθαυς δευτερομην; being explained as "Nicht wahr—du wirst doch nicht feindselig seyn?" The future of denial is explained simply as developed from the interrogative future, as a form of reply to this, by leaving out the interrogative element.

1 For ὁφρα. ἄρ. with the optative in Attic Greek, see §330.
2 Omitting Od. xxi. 201.
3 In Agam. 364 ὁφρα. has the optative with ἄρ.
4 Two of these occur in Lysistr. 1285, 1305, in the Χορος Λακάρων: the third is in Eccl. 286.
5 Including 10 with future indicative.
6 "Οκως. See Weber's erratum for his p. 130.
7 Omitting Cyn. viii. 3, 2 (see p. 400, footnote), and Xenophon's peculiar cases of ὡς ἄρ. with the optative (see §326, 2). See Appendix IV.
8 Weber omits Dinarchus in p. 185 (see his p. 182).
9 DEM. xxiv. 146 is omitted, as ὡς cannot be final there. The only sure examples of ὡς final in the orators are ANT. v. 53, vi. 15; ANK. i. 99. LYS. xxviii. 14 is probably corrupt (see Am. Jour. Phil. vi. p. 56).
2. Statistics of the use of the four Final Particles in pure final clauses in the Iliad and the Odyssey.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Iliad</th>
<th>Odyssey</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Oφρα (pure)&quot;</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Oφρα κε&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Oφρ̄ åν&quot;</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Iνα (pure)&quot;</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Ως (pure)&quot;</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Ως κε&quot;</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Ως åν&quot;</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Οπως (pure)&quot;</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total cases of "Oφρα" 237

Total cases of "Iνα" 145

Total cases of "Ως" 62

Total cases of "Οπως" 9

3. Examples of "Ως" and "Οπως" in object clauses in Homer after verbs of planning, trying, etc. (see § 341).

Simple "Ως" with subjunctive: II. ii. 4 (some read opt.), Od. v. 24.
Simple "Ως κε" with subjunctive: II. iv. 66 (= 71), ix. 112, xv. 235, xxii. 459; Od. i. 205, ii. 168, 316, 368, v. 31, vii. 192. (10)

Simple "Οπως" with subjunctive: II. iii. 19, 110, xvii. 635, 713, Od. i. 77, xiii. 365, 386. (7) "Οπως κε" with subjunctive: Od. i. 270, 295, iv. 545; so II. ix. 681, if this is subjunctive. (4)
XENOPHON’S PECULIAR USE OF ὅς, ὅς ἄν, AND ὅπως ἄν IN FINAL AND OBJECT CLAUSES.

IN FINAL CLAUSES.

1. (Ὡς and ὅς ἄν.) 1. It is well known that Xenophon is almost the only writer of Attic prose who uses ὅς freely in the final constructions. Weber’s statistics (p. 398) show that while ὅς is the favourite final particle in tragedy, it is hardly found in Aristophanes, Thucydides, Plato, and the Orators. Xenophon forms a strange exception to the prose usage, having ὅς or ὅς ἄν in 91 of his pure final clauses. There is nothing peculiar in his use of final ὅς with either subjunctive or optative, as it merely takes the place of another final particle.

2. In his use of ὅς ἄν in final clauses, however, several peculiarities appear, which show that Xenophon felt the original force of ὅς as a relative adverb of manner (§ 312). The following examples occur:1

(a) Of eight cases of ὅς ἄν with the subjunctive, six are normal, while two show the relative force of ὅς:

Ἐδασαὶ κρή τοῦς ἄνδρας τὸ μέτριον ἀποκομισθῆναι, ὅς ἄν δῦνωνται ὑπονομαξεῖν, that they be able to fight against sleep. Cyr. ii. 4, 26. Ἡμέρα ἄν μάθης, ἀντάκουσον. Αν. ii. 5, 16. Ἀλλ' ἔστεθαί κρή καὶ προσέχειν τοῖς νοῦν, ὅς ἄν τὸ παραγγελλόμενον δῦνησθαι ποιεῖν. Αν. vi. 3, 18. So Cyr. viii. 7, 9; Ag. xi. 1; Eques. iv. 4.

Ὡς ἄν δύνησθαι σοι ὁ στρατός ἔστεθαι, τῷ μέσῳ τῆς σπουδῆς ἔχου, lead on at a medium rate of speed, that the army may be able to follow you. Cyr. ii. 4, 28. (The analogy of the following cases of the optative may justify the translation, lead at a rate at which the army may be able to follow you.) Αἱ μὲν κρήματι εἰς μέγεθος οὗ μᾶλὰ αὔξουνται,

1 See Weber, p. 224, where the examples of the optative with ὅς ἄν are also given. Weber cites Cyr. viii. 3, 2 as an example of the subjunctive; but this section has ὅς ἄν ἐπιτίθητι as a relative clause, but no final clause. I have added Cyr. vii. 5, 81 and Eques. ix. 3 to the examples of the optative given by Weber.
XENOPHON'S USE OF ὃς, ὃς ἄν, AND ὅτως ἄν

(1) The original relative force of ὃς, ἄν, is much more apparent when ὃς ἄν takes the optative in Xenophon with a potential force, especially after primary tenses. These examples occur:

Προσφέρομεν ὃς ὅν ἐνόδειν τῷ ἐκπομα ἐνεποτοῦ στα τῶ μέλλοντι πίνειν, they offer the cup in the most convenient way in which they can present it for the one who is to drink (lit. as they can present it most conveniently). Cypr. i. 3, 8. Ὁς δ' ἄν καὶ οἱ πόδες εἶν τῷ ὅπῃ κράταιν, εἰ μὲν τις ἔχει ῥῶ ἀνακηρυκοῦν, ἡκεινή ἕτω, if any one has any easier exercise for keeping the horse's feet as strong as possible. Hipp. i. 16. So also Eques. ix. 3: ὅτως ἄν εἰς τό βατόν (χρή) προάγει, ὃς ἄν μάλιστα λαμβάνον αὐτόν ὅ ὅτως εἰς τῷ ταχύ ἀφικνοῦμενος.

Ὁ Ἀρμένιος ἐφοβείτο, ότι ὁφθηθεναί εἰμελή τά βασιλεία ὕκοδομεν ἐφόρόμενος, ὃς ἄν ἰκανα ἀπομάχεσθα. εἶν, beginning to build his palace so that it would be capable of defence (in a manner in which it would be). Cypr. iii. 1, 1. "Εἶδεν αὐτῷ τό τοῦ ποίησα, ὃς ὅτι ἔδεστα ἄν ἐνθέλουσιν σπάνός τε καὶ οὐκέτος φανερή, to do this so that he would appear, etc. Cypr. vii. 5, 37. (Here the separation of ἄν from ὃς makes the potential nature of φανερή ἄν especially plain.) Εἰ δὲ μὲν μάλιστα ἀνθρωποι ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ὃ διώμον ταῦτα ἡμῖν συμπερασκέεσθα, ὃς δ' ἄν ἡμίστα ταῦτα φανέρωσι τοῖς τοῖς ταύτα παρα- σκευάσῃ, κ.τ.λ., if, while God has helped to provide for us what men most desire, any one will then provide these for himself so that they would appear most agreeable to him, etc. Cypr. vii. 5, 81. Συντεταγμένον μὲν ὅτως ἄρε τὸ στρατεύμα ὃς ἄν ἐπικουρεῖ μάλιστα ἐαυτῷ δύναιτο, ἵπτας ὃς ἄρα ἄρα μετὰ ἄρα σωφρονοντάτι προσβαίνον, he led the army so ordered that it would be best able to help him, and as quietly as the most modest maiden would walk. Ag. vi. 7. (Compare this with Cypr. ii. 4, 28 under a, and compare ὃς ἄν and ὅτως ἄν here.) See § 329, 2, for similar cases in Demosthenes.

II. (Ὅτως.) Xenophon's favourite final particle is ὅτως, but there is nothing peculiar in his use of it in pure final clauses with either subjunctive or optative. He further uses ὅτως ἄν with the subjunctive like other Attic writers (see examples in § 328).

With the optative he uses ὅτως ἄν in four cases with a distinct final and an equally distinct potential force. These examples are quoted in § 330. The only other case is Thuc. vii. 65.

IN OBJECT CLAUSES AFTER VERBS OF STRIVING ETC.

Xenophon is more peculiar in his use of ὃς, ὃς ἄν, and ὅτως ἄν in these clauses than in pure final clauses. Here he generally uses ὅτως with the future indicative, subjunctive, and optative, and occasionally
δπως δν with the subjunctive, like other Attic writers (see examples in §§ 339 and 348). But he distinctly violates Attic usage by having ὡς (in the sense of δπως) with both subjunctive and future indicative, and with the present, aorist, and future optative; also ὡς δν with both subjunctive and optative and δπως δν with the optative; and further by allowing the optative with ὡς δν and ἰς ὡς δν to follow both primary and secondary tenses. His use of ὡς δν and ὡς ὡς δν with the optative, especially after primary tenses, shows strongly the original relative and interrogative force of ὡς and ὡς δν.

The examples of the exceptional uses are these.

(Ως.) Ἐπιμελέονται ὡς ἔχειν ὠντως. Occ. xx. 8. Σκοπεῖτω τὰ ἐπιρροήθεν, ὡς μηδὲν ἦμας λάθη, let him keep a look-out in front, to see that nothing escapes us. An. vi. 3, 14. Πῶς δὲν (χρη) φιλαθαραίως ὡς μη καὶ ἦμας ταῦτα δύνασθη ποιήσατα; Hell. ii. 3, 33. Ἐπιμελέοντο ὡς μη κωλύειντα πορεύσαται, they took care that they should not be prevented from marching. Cyr. vi. 3, 2. Ἐπιμελεῖθη ὡς τύχοιεν πᾶν τῶν τῶν καλῶν. Cyr. viii. 3, 17.¹

Ως δὲ καλῶς ἔξει τὰ ὑμέτερα, ἐνοίκισε (like the regular ὡς ἔξει). Cyr. iii. 2, 13. Ἐπιμελείθη ἤ ὡς φιλῶν τὰ ἀποστήσεται ὡς τὸ ἀποστάται μη ἀπλάται ὡς καὶ βασιλεὺς μη δινήσεται πράγματα παρέχειν (two regular cases of ὡς with one case of ὡς). Ag. vii. 7. Προειπὼν ὡς μηδεὶς κινήσειο τοῦ ἀνάξιοτο. Hell. ii. 22.

(Ως ἀν.) Subj. Τὸ δοκ ἕν γνῆ ἀγαθὰ εἶναι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὡς ἐν πραξικῇ. Hiph. ix. 2. Οὐ φέρει καρπῶν ἦν μὴ τις ἐπιμελητὰ ὡς ἐν ταύτα περαινητα. Ibid.

Opt. Ἐπιμελέονται ὡς ἐν ἑλτίστοι εἶλεν οἱ πολίται, they take care that (of the way by which) the citizens may be the best. Cyr. i. 2, 5. Ἐπιμελεοῦμενοι τούτων ὡς ἐν πρακτείγη, seeing how this could be done. Cyr. i. 6, 23. So Hiph. i. 12; ἐκεῖνοι ix. 3. Ἔν γνῶσιν (αὐτοῦ) δυνάμενοι παρακεκάνειν ὡς ἐν πλέον ἔχοιεν τῶν πολεμῶν, πρὸς δὲ τούτως κάκεινó λάβωσιν εἰς τὴν γνώμην ὡς οὐτ ἐν εἰκῇ οὐτ ἐκεῖν θεών ἡγησάται ἐν ἐπὶ πολεμῶν, πάντα ταύτα πιθανότερον ποιεῖ. Hiph. vi. 6. (Compare ὡς ἐν πλέον ἔχοιεν, to provide means by which they could be superior, with ὡς οὐκ ἡγησάται ἐν, to get the idea that he would not lead, indirect discourse).

Ὡς ἐν ἀσφαλείστατα γε εἰδεὶ ὡς ὄποιον τὸ στρατευμάτων ἐστὶν ἐποίον, I took the course by which I should know most accurately the size of the army. Cyr. vii. 3, 18. Ἀληθαῖον (αὐτῆς) ἄντειμουμενήν ὡς καὶ εἰσόντι εἰ ἄντι τὰ δέοντα, καί, εἰ ποτε ἀποθεονέθειν, ὡς μηδενὸς ἐν δέοιτο,

¹ See also ὡς with the subjunctive in An. iii. 1, 36 and 41; Cyr. i. 6, 24; Hell. v. 4, 38; Oec. vii. 34 (bise), xx. 4 (bise) and 16; Rep. Lec. xiv. 4); and ὡς with the optative in An. i. 1, 5; Cyr. v. 1, 18, vi. 6, 4; vili. 1, 42; Hell. iii. 4, 15, v. 2, 1 and 5; Ages. i. 19 and 22 and 23, ii. 31; Rep. Lec. iii. 3. This list includes all object clauses with simple ὡς not given above. All Weber's examples of these clauses in Xenophon which have ὡς with the future, ὡς ἐν with the subjunctive or optative, or ὡς ὡς with the optative are quoted or cited in the text above, except Cyr. vii. 6, 81, which is classed with final clauses in p. 401.
CONSTRUCTION OF ἔδει, ἥρην, ETC. WITH INFINITIVE 403

ἐκ πάντων τούτων ἥλικετο ἐρωτήμ. Cyt. v. 1, 18. (Here the protasis εἰ τοιαῦτα ἀνθρώπων causes the change from ὅς with the simple optative to the potential ὅς μαθέων ἐὰν δοκιμεί, in which the separation of ἄν from ὅς is to be noticed.) Ἐπιστημονένοις ὅς ἂν κράτουν εἶν, thoroughly trained to be the best (in the way in which they would be best). Hell. vi. 4, 28. So Cyt. v. 2, 2; Rep. Lac. vi. 1.

("Ὥς ἀν with ὅπτ.) Three examples after primary tenses are especially peculiar. Κελεσίμειι με ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὅπως ἄν μὴ παντάπασιν ἀληθῶς πένης γένοιτο, you bid me see how you could escape becoming in truth absolutely false. Oec. ii. 9. Σκοτῶ ὅπως ἄν ὡς βρῦτα διάγοιν, ημείς δὲ ἄν μάλιστα ἂν εὐφραίνοιμεθα θεώμενοι αὐτοῦς, I try to see how they might live the easiest lives, and how we might take most delight in beholding them. Symp. vii. 2. Τι οὐ τὴν δύναμιν ἔλεγε, ὅπως εἴσοδες πρὸς ταῦτα βουλεύσωμεθα ὅπως ἄν ἀρνητας ἀγωνιζομεθα, that we might take counsel (§ 324) how we might fight the best. Cyt. ii. 1, 4. Here belongs also Plat. Lys. 207 E, προθυμοῦντα. ὅπως ἂν εὐδαμονοῦντο (349).


V.

ON SOME DISPUTED POINTS IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF ἔδει, ἥρην, ETC. WITH THE INFINITIVE.1

Supplement to §§ 415-423.

The familiar construction by which ἔδει, ἥρην or ἥρην, εἰκος ἢν, προσήκεν, ἕχειν, and other imperfects denoting obligation, propriety, or possibility, are used with the infinitive in an idiomatic sense, the whole expression becoming a form of potential indicative, and generally implying the opposite of the action or the negation of the infinitive, has already been explained in §§ 415-423. Some additional remarks, however, seem necessary, to guard against prevailing misapprehensions.

The important distinction between this idiomatic construction and the use of these imperfects as ordinary past tenses (§ 417) is generally

1 Many parts of this paper are identical with the article with the same title in the Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, vol. i. pp. 77-88.
indicated only by the context, and not by the words themselves. It may even be doubtful in some cases which meaning is intended. Thus, in Dem. xvi. 190, τί τὸν σύμβουλον ἔχων ποιεῖν; οὐ . . . ἐλέοςθαί; nothing in the words shows whether the action of ἔλεοςθαί is real or not; but the following τούτο τοῖς ἐποίησα shows that the questions refer merely to a past duty which the speaker actually performed. Indeed, the idiomatic use of ἔδει etc. with the infinitive may be found in the same sentence with the ordinary use of these imperfects as past tenses without reference to any condition. A familiar case is in the New Testament, Matt. xxiii. 23, ταῦτα δὲ ἔδει ποιῆσαι κακεῖα μη ἀφεῖναι, these (the weightier matters of the law) ought ye to have done, and yet not to have left the others (taking tithes) undone. This is equivalent to two sentences, ταῦτα ἔδει ὑμᾶς ποιῆσαι, ye ought to have done these (which ye did not do), and ἐκεῖνα ἔδει ὑμᾶς μη ἀφεῖναι, ye were right in not leaving those undone (which ye did not leave undone). We have a decisive proof of the idiomatic use when the present infinitive with ἔδει etc. refers to present time, as when χρῆν σε τούτο ποιεῖν means you ought to be doing this (but are not); for these words without the potential force could mean only it was (once) your duty to do this. This use of a past tense to express present time, which is found in Greek, Latin, and English (§ 417), is an important characteristic of this idiom.

It is generally laid down as an absolute rule that in this idiom the opposite of the infinitive is always implied. See Krüger, § 53, 2, 7, where the usual formula is given, that with ἔδει τούτο γίνεσθαι we must understand ἀλλ' οὐ γίνεται, but with ἔδει ἂν τούτο γίνεσθαι we must understand ἀλλ' οὐ δεῖ. This principle was first formulated, I believe, by G. Hermann. It covers nearly all the ordinary cases, and has generally been found to be a convenient working rule, though many passages show that it is not of universal application. The following three classes of examples show the need of a more flexible formula.

1 In the following cases the opposite of the leading verb is implied far more than that of the infinitive, the action of the latter in the first case being emphatically affirmed:—

Hdt. i. 39 (χρῆν σε ποιεῖεν τὰ ποιεῖες), Dem. ix. 6, xxxiii. 37, and Eur. Med. 490 (reading συγγνωστῶν ἤν). These are quoted and discussed in § 422, 1.

(2) In concessive sentences introduced by καὶ εἰ, even if, οἴδ᾽ εἰ, not even if, or εἰ, although, which contain unreal conditions, the action

1 See Hermann, de Particula "Ar., i. 12. In discussing Sorn. Eloc. 1505, χρῆν δ' εἴθιν εἶναι τῷ δὲ τοῖς πᾶσι δίκηρ, Hermann says: Χρῆν διϊτ, quia oportere indicet sine conditione: nec potest opponi, ἀλλ' οὐ χρῆ: nam si oportet, quoniam potest non oportere! Ἀν οὖν οἰνία fuijut, quae oportebat. Itaque quod opponere potes, ait unde: ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦσι." The "opposte" implied in a negative expression of this kind (even when the negation belongs to the leading verb) is an affirmative. Thus οὐ προσώποις ἔδειν, he ought not to have gone, implies ἀλλ' ἤδεις, as ἔδει τούτων μη γίνει implies ἀλλ' γένει.
or negation of the apodosis must be distinctly affirmed (§ 412, 3). Here, therefore, the common formula cannot be applied.

See Isoc. xvi.19, and Isae. vi.44, quoted in § 422, 2; and the following. Ἐὰρ ἄνευ τούτων (i.e. καὶ εἰ μὴ εἶχετε τούτους) ἔζην τοις ποιεῖν ταῦτα, i.e. even if you had not all mankind with you, you could still do what you would do. Ἡμ. vii.56. (Here ταῦτα ποιεῖν is of course affirmed.) Εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἄπασι πρόδολα τὰ μελλόντα γενόσεθαι, . . . οὖν ὦστος ἀποστατέον τῷ πόλει τούτων ἦν, i.e. Athens ought not even then to have withdrawn from this policy, which she followed (ἀποστατέον ἦν = ἀποστημιάν ἔδει). Dem. xvi.199. See also Dem. xv.28. Ἐὰρ μηδὲν εἶχετε τῶν ἄλλων λογίσασθαι, μηδέν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ὀλίοι τε ἢτε ταῦτα συνείναι, ἦν εἰδεν παραδείγματ' Ὀλυσθίου ποιοῦσι, for although you had no other cases to consider, and could not learn this lesson in your own experience, you might have seen an example in these Olynthians. Id. xiii.107.

These examples are important as showing that there is nothing in an expression like ἔζην σοι ποιεῖν τοῦτο, even in its idiomatic sense, which necessarily involves the denial of the action of ποιεῖν.

(3) In some concessive examples, in which the apodosis ought to be affirmed, we find the action of the infinitive denied.

See Soph. O. T. 255, Thuc. i.38, Isoc. xii.71, quoted in § 422, 2. These are important as showing that the real apodosis in these expressions with ἔδει etc. is not to be found in the infinitive alone.

It is well known that the imperfects in question (without ἄν) can be used with the infinitive in two ways,—(a) alone, with no protasis expressed or implied except the condition which is contained in the expression itself, as in ἔδει σε ἐλθεῖν, you ought to have gone; and (b) as the apodosis of an unreal condition, as in εἰ οὗτος σε ἐκέλευεν, ἔδει σε ἐλθεῖν, if he had commanded you, you should have gone. It will be noticed that all the examples quoted above under (1) and (2) are of the latter class, for in Ἡμ. vii.56, ἄνευ τούτων represents εἰ μὴ εἶχετε τούτους. If now we take the apodeses of these sentences apart from their protases, we shall find that no one of them can then have the meaning which it now has. For example, in Ἡμ. i.39, χρῆν σε ποιεῖν τὰ ποιεῖς would not be Greek at all as a potential expression, for χρῆν σε ποιεῖν would mean you ought to do (something which you do not do). In Dem. xxxiii.37, ἔφην αἰτιάσασθαι by itself would mean he might have charged me (but did not). Οὐκ ἐξῆν αἰτημέν δικαίωσασθαι (Isoc. xvi.19) could mean only he could not maintain a suit as he does; that is, it would mean nothing without a protasis. Οὐ προσήκεν αὐτοῦ τὸν Εὐκτήμονος εἶναι (Isae. vi.44) by itself would mean they ought not to belong to E.'s house as they do. Οὐκ ἀποστατέον ἦν (Dem. xvii.199) alone would mean she ought not to have withdrawn as she did. So ἦν οἰκεῖν παραδείγματα (Id. xxiii.107) would mean you might have seen (but you did not see) an example. (Compare Dem. xxviii.10, τὴν ἁμαρτηκαν ἰδονίκατε, εἰ ἦν οἰκεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, the will, from which we might know the truth.)

When these potential expressions without ἄν stand alone, they
always imply the opposite of the action or the negation of the infinitive; so that εἰκὸς ἐὰν σε τοῦτο πάθειν by itself can mean only you would properly have suffered this (but you did not). This is necessary because the equivalent of this form, τοῦτο ἐὰν ἐπάθεις εἰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἐπάθεις, always involves ὅσον ἐπάθεις τοῦτο, since τοῦτο and τὸ εἰκὸς are here made identical, and τὸ εἰκὸς ἐπάθεις is denied. When, however, one of these expressions is made the apodosis of an unreal condition external to itself, it may be so modified by the new condition as no longer to imply the opposite of the infinitive as before. This is the case with the four examples under (1), in which we certainly do not find οὐ ποιεῖς, ἀλλὰ λέγει καὶ συμβολεύει, οὐκ ἤπωστο, and οὐκ ἤράσθης implied in the form of expression. The apparent paradox here is explained by the principle stated in § 511, that when several protases, not co-ordinate, belong to the same sentence, one always contains the leading condition, to which the rest of the sentence (including the other conditions) forms the conclusion; and when this leading condition is unreal, it makes all subordinate past or present conditions also unreal, so far as the supposed case is concerned, without regard to their own nature. A sentence like this, If you had been an Athenian, you would have been laughed at if you had talked as you did, shows the principle clearly. This has become the relation of the unreal protasis involved in εἰκὸς ἐὰν σε τοῦτο πάθειν, when this expression is made the apodosis of a new unreal condition. Thus, when χρὴν σε ποιεῖν in Hes. i. 39, which by itself could admit only an unreal object, follows εἰ ὅπο ἁδικός εἴπε τελευτήσεις με, even τὰ ποιεῖς can be its object, and the whole can mean if the dream had said I was to perish by a tooth, you would do what you now do if you did what was right. The new chief protasis that has come in has changed the whole relation of the old implied protasis to the sentence as a whole.

It is often difficult to express in English the exact force of these expressions, even when no external protasis is added, and the opposite of the infinitive (not that of the leading verb) is therefore implied. Thus, a common translation of Dem. xvii. 248, οἱ δὲ ἀγνωστοῦ τι θαυμαστών ἢν τοὺς πόλιν πρὸς ἐμέ, it would have been no wonder if the mass of the people had been somewhat unmindful of me (Westermann translates unschuldhar gewesen wäre), would seem to require ἢν ἄν. But the strength of the apodosis lies in the infinitive, and the meaning (fully developed) is, the mass of the people might have been somewhat unmindful of me (ἀγνωστος ἢν τι) without doing anything wonderful (i.e. if they had done a very natural thing). With θαυμαστῶν ἢν ἄν there would have been an undue emphasis thrown upon θαυμαστῶν. In Plut. Rep. 474 D, ἀλλὰ ἐπρέπει λέγειν ἃ λέγεις is equivalent to ἀλλος ἐλεγεν ἃν πρατόντως ἃ λέγεις, another would becomingly say what you say, the opposite of λέγειν being implied. Ἐπρέπειν ἃν λέγειν would have caused a change of emphasis, but would have substantially the same general meaning, it would have been becoming for another to say what you say. See also Dem. xviii. 16, xlv 69, and
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Plat. Euthyd. 304 D, quoted in § 419; and the discussion of Eur. Med. 490 in § 422, 1.

We have seen that we cannot make the denial of the action of the infinitive an absolute test of the proper use of the form without ἄν where there is an external protasis added to the condition implied in the expression itself. The examples last quoted show that we cannot make the denial of the leading verb an absolute test of the proper use of the form with ἄν. In fact, this idiom is too flexible and too dependent on the momentary feeling of the speaker or writer to subject itself to any such strict rules as are usually forced upon it. The following rules seem to me to be as exact as the Greek usage warrants. 1

1. The form without ἄν is used when the infinitive is the principal word, on which the chief force of the expression falls, while the leading verb is an auxiliary which we can express by ought, might, could, or by an adverb.

2. On the other hand, when the chief force falls on the necessity, propriety, or possibility of the act, and not on the act itself, the leading verb has ἄν, like any other imperfect in a similar apodosis.

Examples of the form with ἄν are generally regular. See those quoted in § 423. A standard case is Dem. iv. 1, οὐ τὰ δεόντα συνέβαλεν ταῖς, οἶδαν ἄν ὡμᾶς νῦν ἐδεί βουλέωσαν, if these had given you the necessary advice, there would be no need of your deliberating now. Here, as in all the ten examples of ἐδεί ἄν quoted by La Roche, we find ἐδεί ἄν in its meaning there would be (or would have been) need, whereas in the form without ἄν we generally have ἐδεί in the sense of ought, expressing obligation and not necessity. Of course, the idea of necessity is incompatible with that of an act not done. If La Roche's statistics are complete here, we see that the Greeks almost always expressed obligation or propriety, and generally expressed possibility, by the form without ἄν, reserving ἐδεί ἄν for the idea of necessity, and ἐχρήν ἄν for a few cases in which the idea of possibility was to be made specially emphatic.

It is not surprising, under these circumstances, that the form without ἄν should often be used where we are at first inclined to think ἄν

1 When an external protasis is added, there is no necessity for any denial of the action of the apodosis at all (see § 412). But this denial, though not essential, is generally implied in the apodosis of an unreal condition, and the apodosis (as a whole) happens to be denied in all the cases of the construction of ἐδεί etc. with the infinitive which are discussed here. No notice is taken, therefore, of the principle of § 412 in this discussion.

2 See La Roche on "ἄν bei ἐδεί und ἐχρήν" in the Zeitschrift für die osteuropäischen Gymnasten for 1876, pp. 588-591. He professes to give all the cases; but his twenty-one examples of ἐδεί ἄν include eleven in which ἐδεί has the genitive of a noun and no infinitive. Omitting these, we have only ten of ἐδεί ἄν with the infinitive: Thuc. i. 74; Lys. Frag. 56 (88 Scheible); Isoc. xv. 17; Isa. iv. 4; Dem. iv. 1; Plat. Rep. 328 C, Theaet. 106 E, Gorg. 514 A, Alc. i. 119 B; Dem. lvii. 47 (only the last three affirmative); with four of ἐχρήν ἄν: Lys. iv. 13, Frag. 47 (79 Scheible); Isa. x. 13; Dem. xxiv. 146. He finds ἐχρήν ἄν only in Lys. xii. 48, where he proposes to omit ἄν, overlooking ἐχρήν ἄν προσόδοκεως in Dem. xviii. 195. Both of these passages are discussed below, pp. 409, 410.
is required. It must be remembered that the real apodosis here is not the central infinitive alone, but this infinitive modified by the idea of obligation, propriety, or possibility in the leading verb, that is, conditioned by the implied protasis which the expression includes (see § 420). This modification may be so slight as to leave the infinitive the only important word in the apodosis; in this case the opposite of the infinitive is generally implied, as it always is when no protasis is added: thus, Eun. Med. 520, χρήσε σ', εἰτερ ἴσθε μή κακός, πείσαντά με γαμέν γάμον τόνδε, implies ἀλλ' ούκ εὐγέμεις πείσας με. It may be so great as to make the idea of obligation etc. a prominent factor in the apodosis, still stopping short of the point at which this favourite Greek idiom was abandoned and an ordinary apodosis with ἄν was substituted in its place. The Greeks preferred the form without ἄν almost always where we can express the apodosis by the verb of the infinitive with ought, might, or could, or with an adverb, although we sometimes find it hard to express the combined idea in English without giving undue force to the leading verb. Sometimes, when the idea of obligation, propriety, or possibility is specially prominent in the apodosis, although no ἄν is used, the opposite that is suggested combines this idea with that of the infinitive. This is the case with the examples in (1), in which the distinction between the two forms is very slight and of little practical account. In Hdt. i. 39, the apodosis is you would then properly do what you now do (or you would then, if you did what you ought, do what you now do), implying now you do not do this properly. With χρήσε ἄν it would have been it would then be your duty to do what you now do, the chief force being transferred from the act to the duty or necessity. Still, this change might have been made without otherwise affecting the sense. In Dem. ix. 6, the apodosis is in that case the speaker would properly talk of nothing else than this (implying now he may properly talk of another matter); whereas with ἔστι ἄν it would be there would then be no need of his talking of anything else, with greater emphasis on the ἔστι and with a change of meaning. In Dem. xviii. 37, ἐνάλλακσαν means he might then possibly have accused me, implying he could not possibly accuse me as it was; with ἐνάλλι ἄν it would have been it would then have been possible for him to accuse me, the emphasis being transferred with no other change of sense. The same is true of Eun. Med. 490. Likewise, in Isoc. xviii. 21, the apodosis, in that case we ought not to wonder at him or we should not properly wonder at him, is equivalent to οὐκ ἄν θυμα-μαξομεν ἂνωσ, with the opposite implied, now we do wonder at him properly (νῦν θυμαμαξομεν ἂνωσ). This combination of two ideas in an apodosis of this kind is analogous to that which we often find in an ordinary apodosis with ἄν; thus, in Isoc. vi. 87, οὐχ οὖτος δ' ἄν προ-θύμως ἔτι τὸν πόλεμον ὡς παρεκάλων, ε' μή τὴν εἰρήνην ἑωρα-νος κρατερῶν, θαυμαμαξομεν ἂνωσ, I should not scour you with all this zeal to war, did I not see, etc., the apodosis which is denied includes οὐκ ἂν προθύμως.

A striking illustration of the modification of the infinitive in an apodosis of this kind by the force of the leading verb may be seen in
the examples under (3). Here in concessive sentences, in which the
apodosis must be affirmed, we find the action of the infinitives denied.
This shows that the infinitive alone is not the real apodosis. In
Soph. O. T. 255, the actual apodosis is you would not properly leave the
guilt unpurged (implying you do not properly leave it). In Thuc. i. 38,
the apodosis is they would fairly have yielded (implying they did not
yield, but it was fair that they should). In Isoc. xii. 71, it is they
would deservedly have received, ἐτύχον ἄν ἄξιος (implying that it was
only undeservedly that they failed to receive the reward). The remarks
that have been made above apply also to the concessive sentences in
(2), in which nothing in the apodosis is denied. Here, too, the form
with ἄν might have been used by transferring the force of the expres-
sion from the infinitive to the leading verb.

It has been seen that ἐδεί ἄν with the infinitive differs from ἐδει
without ἄν in meaning as well as in the balance of emphasis. On the
other hand, ἐδείν ἄν differs from ἐδεῖν only in the latter respect. See
Isae. x. 13, τῷ μὲν πατρὶ αὐτῆς, εἰ παῖδες ἀρρενεῖς μὴ ἔγενοντα, ὥν ἄν ἐδεῖν ἄνευ τάςης διαθέσεως, i.e. in that case he would not have been
permitted (by law) to leave his daughter out of his will; and Dem. xxiv.
146, ὅτε γὰρ ἄν ἐδεῖν ὑμῖν τιμᾶν ὧτι χρή παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτίνα, i.e. if
this law were passed, you would not have the power (which you now have)
of assessing penalties. Compare with these Isoc. xviii. 19, οὐκ ἐδεῖν
αὐτῷ διακάλεσθαι, he could not (in that case) maintain a suit, where ἐδεῖν
ἄν would only give more emphasis to the possibility, which is done in
the preceding examples. For the ordinary use of ἐδεῖν and the infinitive
see Plat. Crit. 52 C, ἐδεῖν σου φυγῆς τιμήσεσθαι εἰ ἔβολεν, you
might have proposed exile as your penalty if you had wished to (implying
only οὖ φυγῆς τιμῆσθαι).

It remains to discuss two passages in which χρῆν ἄν occurs, with a
view to La Roche's disbelief in the existence of this form (see footnote
2, p. 407). In Dem. xviii. 195, we have χρῆν and χρῆν ἄν in close
succession, with no essential change in meaning except the difference
in emphasis above mentioned. The sentence is: εἰ μετὰ Θηβαίων
ἵμων ἀγωνιζόμενος οὕτως εἴσημος πράξας, τί χρῆν προσδοκάν εἰ
μηδὲ τούτων ἐχομεν συμμάχους; . . . καὶ εἰ τινες τυμῶν ἡμερῶν ἀπό
τής Ἀττικῆς ὥδε τῆς μάχης γενομένης τοσοῦτος κίνδυνος καὶ φόβος
περιέστη τήν πόλιν, τί ἄν, εἰ ποῦ τῆς χώρας παῖτο τούτῳ πάθος
συνέβη, προσδοκήσας χρῆν; i.e. when it was fated that we should
fare as we did with the Thespians on our side, what ought we to have expected
(which we did not find ourselves expecting) if we had not secured even these
as allies? And, if so great danger and terror surrounded the city when
the battle was fought two or three days' journey from Attica, what should
we have had to expect (which we did not really have to expect) if this
calamity had occurred within our own country? Here the unreal sup-
position of not having secured the Thespians as allies, or (its probable
consequence) the battle of Chaeronea having been fought in Attica,
suits either form of apodosis, τί χρῆν προσδοκάν; or τί ἄν χρῆν
προσδοκήσαι; the expectation itself in the former case, and the
necessity for the expectation in the latter, being specially emphasised. It is hard to believe that the orator felt any important change in the general force of his question when he added ἄν in the second case.

In Lys. xii. 32, we have, addressed to Eratosthenes, σφα σε, εἶτε ἡσθον ἀρρεντός, τοις μέλλοντος μᾶλλον αὐτός ἀποθανεῖσθαι μοι περιτον γενέσθαι ἢ τοῖς ἀδίκοις ἀπολογουμένοις συλλαμβάνειν, if you had been an honest man, you ought to have become an informer in behalf of those who were about to suffer death unjustly, much rather than (and not to have arrested (as you did) those who were doomed to perish unjustly; but in 48, referring to the same man and the same acts, the orator says εἶτε ἥν ἄν διὰ δαμασκεδομένος, ἔχοντες ἄν πρῶτον μὲν μὴ παρανόμους ἀρχεῖν, ἐπειδὴ τῇ βουλῇ μαντικὴ γενέσθαι, κ.τ.λ., if he had been an honest man, he would have had, first, to abstain from lawlessness in office, and, next, to come before the Senate as an informer, etc. La Roche proposes to omit ἄν in the second passage, because it would be absurd to suppose that ἀλλ' ἔχοντες is implied in the sense that E. had a right to be lawless in office (“or durfte paranoimous archein”) because he was not honest. What is implied is rather ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχοντες μὴ παρανόμους ἀρχεῖν, i.e. not being an honest man, we did not have to abstain from lawlessness in office, etc., which we can understand without absurdity. The passage, like so many sentences of this class, is simply an argument to prove that E. was not honest. If he had been honest (it is said), he would have had to do certain things (which, it is implied, all honest men do); but he did not do these (as is stated, εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστασιν ἄγαθον μὲν οὐδὲνος μετέσχε, ἀλλον δὲ πολλῶν); therefore he was not honest. There is a slight slip in showing (in the words last quoted) that he did not do the things in question, and not that he did not have to do them; so that of the two constructions, ἔχοντες in 32 and ἔχοντες ἄν in 48, the former is more strictly logical. This use of ἔχοντες ἄν is the counterpart of that of χρῆν, ἦδει, ἦν, and ἔθυμαστόν ἦν in the passages quoted above (1), where the forms with ἄν might have been used.

The Latin follows precisely the same principle as the Greek in the use of such imperfects as debet, licebat (= χρῆν, ἦδην), and debent, licearet (= ἔχοντες ἄν, ἦδην ἄν), with reference to present time. But when such expressions are past, the Latin uses debet or debuerat in the sense of χρῆν, and debuerat for χρῆν ἄν, both with the present infinitive; while the Greek keeps the imperfect in all cases. See Cic. Phil. ii. 99, Quem patris loco, si uilla in te pietas esset, colere debes (= χρῆν σε φυλείν), you ought to love (but you do not); and Cluent. 18, Cluentio ignoscere debexitis quod haec me dici pattiatur; nihil ignoscere non debes si tacerem (= οὐ ἄν εἰς καὶ οὐχ ἐπιγγίσκως χρῆν εἰ ἐκβολήν), it would not be right for you to pardon me if I were silent. In the former case the emphasis falls on colere; in the latter on non debes, which is in strong antithesis to debuitis. See also Cic. Verr. ii. 5, 50: Qui ex foedere ipso navigaret, et, ne in freto ante sua tecta et domos navigaret, . . . retio abs te ius foederis et imperii condicionein.
distinct antecedents, when these depend on expressions implying doubt, perplexity, or ignorance. See examples in § 572, 2. Thus, in οὐ γὰρ ἀλλον οὐδὲ ὀπω λέγω, we cannot distinguish the modal force of the subjunctive from that in οὐ γὰρ οὐδὲ ὀπω ἀλλο λέγω, the subjunctive being deliberative in both. The former is the result of a simple evolution, by which a relative clause derives its modal force from an interrogative form. Whatever final force is felt in the expression comes from the intimate relation between the deliberative and the hortatory subjunctive (see § 291). See A. Sidgwick in the Classical Review for 1891, p. 148. We have the evolution actually going on in ΧΕΝ. Αν. i. 7, 7, where μή οὐκ ἔχω ὅ τι δῶ is interrogative and μή οὐκ ἔχω ἰκανος οἷς δῶ is purely relative, while the modal force of δῶ must be the same in both. See also ΧΕΝ. Hellen. i. 3, 21, ΣΟΡ. Φιλ. 692, ΘΕΙΟ. ΧΧV. 218. In ΑΕΣΧ. Πρωμ. 470, ΛΥΣ. ΧΧV. 1, ΙΣΟ. ΧΧI. 1, we may call the dependent clause an indirect question, depending directly on the idea I cannot (could not) see. See Tarbell in Classical Review for 1891, p. 302.

While most of the optatives quoted in this discussion are simply explained as correlatives of the deliberative subjunctive, a very different problem is presented by the examples in § 573. In ΣΟΡ. Τρ. 903, κρύψας ἐμαυτὴν ἐνθα μή τις εἰσίδει, we cannot suppose an Attic construction like κρύψω ἐμαυτὴν ἐνθα μή τις εἰσίδῃ, for we should certainly find εἰσόφεται, as in ΣΟΡ. Αί. 658, κρύψω τόδε ἐγχυος ἐνθα μή τις δύνηται. (For an occasional future optative, see § 574.) In Αι. Ραν. 97, ὅστις λάκοι clearly expresses purpose, and we cannot think of substituting ὅστις λάκη for it; and ὅστις φθέγχεται, the true Attic expression, is found in the next verse: the latter decides the force of ὅστις λάκω. It would seem that the optative, which is further removed than the subjunctive from the original deliberative construction, took another step in the process of “extension,” and gave us a few such expressions as have been quoted. Another case of final optative is ΠΛΑΤ. Ρεπ. 398 Β, ὅς . . . μιμοῖτο καὶ . . . λέγω. In Ρεπ. 578 Ε, εἰ τίς θεῶν ἄνδρα θείη εἰς ἐρημίαν, ὅπως αὐτῷ μὴ δεῖ μέλλον βοηθήσειν, if some God should put a man in a desert, where there should be nobody likely to help him, we might take the second clause as either final or conditional; it probably combines a final with a conditional force, expressing the purpose of putting the man into a desert and also continuing the condition of the preceding clause.

In ΣΟΡ. Φιλ. 279–282, ὄρωντα (past) λαὸς βεβοῦς, ἄνδρα δ' ὀφδέν ἐντοπον (sc. ὄντα), οὐχ ὅστις ἀρκεσειεν οὐδ' ὅστις συνλάβοιτο, I formerly classed the optatives with those in § 573; but it now seems to me that ὀφδέν ἐντοποί ὅστιν ὅστις ἀρκεσί would be as natural as ἐμοί γὰρ οὐκέτ' ἕστω εἰς τι βλέπω in Αί. 514, and I have therefore included this passage with the examples under § 573, 2.
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II. 7 | 999 | 96 | 148 | 292 |

10 | 130, 134, | 103 | 146 | 7 | 687, 688 |

574 | 113 | 575 | 17 | 498 |

32 | 781 | 142 | 472 | 24 | 799 |

39 | 594 | 144 | 779 | 115 | 763 |

51 | 596 | 148 | 868 | 122 | 807 |

IV. 18 | 421 | 154 | 777\(^1\) | 130 | 447 |

5 | 613\(^3\) | 157 | 490 | 270 | 781 |

12 | 854 | 165 | 613\(^3\) | 15 | 614, 702 |

VI. 2 | 387 | 175 | 864 | 16 | 895, 915\(^2\) |

35 | 130 | 179 | 867 | 18 | 131 |

44 | 422\(^2\) | 185 | 575 | 22 | 421 |

49 | 904 | 189 | 576 | 29 | 421 |

VII. 30 | 348 | 23 | 689\(^2\) | 422\(^2\) | \text{*} |

IX. 16 | 607 | 31 | 601 | 21 | 422\(^1\) |

17 | 597 | 56 | 410 | 51 | 333 |

X. 1 | 425, 590 | 66 | 576 | 22 | 496 |

13 | 423 | 70 | 627 | 22 | 377 |

XI. 6 | 335 | 93 | 259 | 22 | 630 |

22 | 136 | 110 | 761 | 11 | 412 |

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22 | 425 | 60 | 377 | 60 | 377 |

LIUSURGIS.

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61 | 96 | 61 | 96 |

91 | 795 | 91 | 795 |

92 | 98 | 92 | 98 |

100 | 791 | 100 | 791 |

135 | 628 | 135 | 628 |

Lysias.

I. 26 | 711 | 26 | 711 |

29 | 355 | 29 | 355 |

34 | 45 | 34 | 45 |

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**Theact. 142 A**

**Timaeus 18 C 130**

**Thag. 123 B 414**

**Fragm. 131 778**

**v. 8 861**
| V. 20 | 540 | Ajax | 1325 | 587 ¹ | Antig. | 710 | 471 |
| LVIII. 5 | 540 |  | 1334 | 260 | 722 | 478 |
| LXXXV. 7 | 540 | 1335 | 587 ¹ | 754 | 387 |
| 10 | 540 | 1419 | 628 | 755 | 414 |
| | | Antig. | 9 | 887 | 759 | 387 |
| | | 19 | 317 | 889 | 875 ¹ | 1087 | 454 |
| | | 22 | 47 | 381 | 844 | 903 ² | 1032 | 501 |
| | | 32 | 47 | | 1063 | 916 |
| SIMON. AMORG. | | VII. 15 | 470 | 41 | 362 | 669 ¹ | 1092 | 915 ² |
| | | 69 | 470 | 44 | 875 ² | | |
| | | 79 | 470 | 61 | 669 ¹ | | |
| | | 76 | 403 | 69 | 223 | | |
| | | 79 | 795 | | | | |
| SOLON. | | | | | | | |
| IV. 30 | 470 | 91 | 529 | | | 1168 | 264 |
| XII. 1 | 470 | 93 | 447 | | | 1173 | 101, 749 |
| XIII. 9 | 540 | 96 | 587 ¹ | | | 1253 | 389 |
| 28 | 470 | 98 | 403 | | | 1255 ² | 472 |
| 55 | 540 | 178 | 584 | | | 1339 | 287 |
| 75 | 541 | 185 | 472 | | | | |
| XXVII. 3 | 540 | 215 | 231, 347 | | | 1105 | 971 |
| | | 223 | 706 | | | 1114 | 92 |
| | | 229 | 447 | | | 1168 | 254 |
| | | 235 | 794 | | | 1173 | 101, 749 |
| | | 236 | 212 | | | 1253 | 389 |
| | | 240 | 239, 472 | | | 1255 ² | 472 |
| | | 242 | 916 | | | 1339 | 287 |
| | | 264 | 794 | | | | |
| | | 270 | 677 | | | | |
| | | 276 | 795 | | | | |
| | | 278 | 369 | | | | |
| | | 292 | 609 | | | | |
| | | 324 | 447 | | | | |
| | | 373 | 561 | | | | |
| | | 390 | 197, 208 | | | | |
| | | 415 | 617 | | | | |
| | | 443 | 812 | | | | |
| | | 444 | 237 | | | | |
| | | 455 | 827 | | | | |
| | | 496 | 454 | | | | |
| | | 506 | 881, 903 ¹ | | | | |
| | | 536 | 60 | | | | |
| | | 550 | 722 | | | | |
| | | 555 | 620 | | | | |
| | | 556 | 860 | | | | |
| | | 560 | 285 | | | | |
| | | 567 | 365 | | | | |
| | | 659 | 565 | | | | |
| | | 686 | 915 ² | | | | |
| | | 674 | 155 | | | | |
| | | 715 | 713 | | | | |
| | | 742 | 644, 648 | | | | |
| | | 905 | 648 | | | | |
| | | 956 | 317 | | | | |
| | | 1077 | 228 | | | | |
| | | 1082 | 159 | | | | |
| | | 1121 | 364 | | | | |
| | | 1123 | 620 | | | | |
| | | 1217 | 181 | | | | |
| | | 1264 | 723 | | | | |

**Sophocles.**

| Ajax | 20 | 26 |
| 21 | 47 |
| 39 | 719 |
| 45 | 412 |
| 75 | 289 |
| 88 | 245 |
| 119 | 245 |
| 122 | 859 |
| 186 | 881 |
| 281 | 917 |
| 326 | 916 |
| 389 | 219 |
| 403 | 289 |
| 410 | 787 |
| 465 | 875 ³ |
| 496 | 454 |
| 506 | 881, 903 ¹ |
| 536 | 60 |
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| 560 | 285 |
| 567 | 365 |
| 659 | 565 |
| 686 | 915 ² |
| 674 | 155 |
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| 742 | 644, 648 |
| 905 | 648 |
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| 1176  | 146      | 503, 588, 718 |
| 1204  | 601      | 508      |
| 1205  | 317      | 1023     |
| 1281  | 245      | 295      |
| 1309  | 371      | 1040     |
| 1331  | 410      | 90       |
| 1370  | 919      | 1121     |
| 1402  | 339      | 888      |
| 1426  | 371      | 1180     |
| 1439  | 180      | 364      |
| 1450  | 288      | 1210     |
| 1478  | 710      | 1350     |
| 1505  | 419      | 1579     |
| 1521  | 627      | 1588     |
| 47    | 795      | 1645     |
| 49    | 811      | 148, 884 |
| 52    | 519      | 1680     |
| 77    | 620      | 1713     |
| 82    | 601      | 733      |
| 83    | 875      | 1724     |
| 84    | 713      | 324      |
| 119   | 146      | 1769     |
| 125   | 247      | 489      |
| 146   | 247      | Oed. Tyr. 9 |
| 170   | 289      | 761      |
| 174   | 257      | 912      |
| 176   | 295      | 129      |
| 271   | 602      | 198      |
| 310   | 287      | 216      |
| 342   | 419      | 412, 818 |
| 359   | 818      | 511      |
| 395   | 540      | 229      |
| 405   | 825a     | 422      |
| 414   | 889      | 255      |
| 442   | 791      | 288      |
| 450   | 295      | 841      |
| 478   | 253      | 296      |
| 509   | 471      | 316      |
| 565   | 807      | 346      |
| 575   | 328      | 850      |
| 628   | 447      | 591      |
| 630   | 916      | 867      |
| 656   | 688      | 625      |
| 667   | 867      | 637      |
| 731   | 259      | 650      |
| 761   | 214      | 692      |
| 797   | 688      | 701      |
| 816   | 81       | 736      |
| 817   | 47       | 747      |
| 848   | 295      | 701      |
| 909   | 642      | 786      |
| 951   | 410      | 775      |
| 956   | 69       | 817      |
| 964   | 244      | 580      |
|       |          | 834      |

**Philoct.**

22 669¹

|       |          | 51, 447, 601 |

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