Interpreting particles in dead and living languages : a construction grammar approach to the semantics of Dutch ergens and Ancient Greek pou
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The contextual features of Ancient Greek που in classical prose (480-323 BC)

9.1 Introduction

The results of the study of the interpretation of *ergens* suggest that the interpretation of the Ancient Greek particle που may also have been dependent on certain features of the context. In this chapter, we will try to find the contextual features and constructions that may have played a role in the interpretation of Ancient Greek που.

In the corpus study on *ergens* we started out with native speaker intuitions on the interpretation of *ergens*. For Ancient Greek these interpretations are of course not available. Therefore, we will adapt our methodology to what is available. We will study a large part of the transmitted corpus and we will use translations as expert interpretations.[1]

Just like Dutch *ergens*, Ancient Greek που has a locative interpretation 'somewhere, anywhere', as in example (1).

(1)   εἰ   δὲ ἐν   τῇ   Ἀττικῇ ἢ   ἄλλοθί που ἡ   μεγίστη
       whether and in   the   Attica   or else   που the   large
       CONJ   CO   PREP   ART.DAT.SG DAT.SG CO ADV   που ART.NOM.SG NOM.SG

       ἑορτὴ   εἴρητο,   οὔτε   ἐκεῖνος ἔτι   κατενόησε   τό
       festival   was said   nor   he   again thought about the
       NOM.SG. 3SG.PLUP.PASS   NEG=CONJ NOM.SG ADV   3SG.AOR   ART.NOM.SG

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[1] For a discussion on the drawbacks of translations see page 175.

τε   μαντεῖον οὐκ ἐδήλου.
and oracle   not made clear.
CO   NOM.SG   NEG 3SG.IMPF.

Whether the grand festival that was meant was in Attica or elsewhere was
a question which he never thought of, and which the oracle did not offer to
solve.   Th. 1.126.6[2]

This interpretation is in many cases uncontroversial. Therefore, we would expect
the contextual features of locative που to be comparable to the contextual features
of *ergens*. If this is the case, we may limit ourselves in the remainder of this chapter
to the more controversial instances of που, which generally are the modal instances
of the particle. However, we first need to determine what cases are to be interpreted
as locative που.

As I said above, many of the cases of locative που are uncontroversial, but there
are also some more controversial cases. It would be interesting to see whether con-
textual features could help us to decide on these more controversial cases. In or-
der to make the distinction between controversial and non-controversial instances
of locative που as independent of my personal interpretations as possible, I have
taken translations of the the Greek texts in my corpus in three different modern
languages: English, French and German. I have taken translations in different lan-
guages, because traditions may vary from country to country, as well as the capacity
of languages to express certain modalities.[3] If all three translations considered an in-
stance of που to be locative or at least one of the translations did so and the other(s)
did not show any indication that they did not interpret που as locative, I have taken
this instance to be uncontroversial. This results in 55 out of 381 (14.4%) instances of
uncontroversial locative που in the corpus.

In 22 out of 381 cases (5.8%) there are both locative and non-locative interpreta-
tions in the translations of που. These cases will be labelled as *controversial*. The other
304 instances of που in the corpus are translated as modal by at least one translator
except for 20 cases out of 381 (5.2%) in which none of the translators translated που.

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[2]In order to keep the glosses as readable as possible, it is only indicated if a verb is not indicative
and active/middle voice. In addition, it is not indicated whether a form is a (personal) (pro)noun. The
abbreviations follow the list provided by the *Framework for Descriptive Grammars*-project (Bernard Comrie,
William Croft, Christian Lehmann, Dietmar Zaefferer). The English translations are taken from the editions
on the Perseus website (http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/) unless indicated otherwise.

[3]These translations were taken from bilingual academic editions as much as possible. A list of the
translations used is given in the *translations* section of the bibliography. For English most translations are
taken from the Loeb Classical Library series (except for those cases in which the Loeb edition was not
available via Perseus), for French they are from the series from Les Belles Lettres, also called the *éditions
Budé*. The German translations are not all from one series, but most translations were from academic
bilingual editions. For every translation cited below, the translator will be indicated.

9.2   Controversial and non-controversial locative που

In the uncontroversial cases of locative που, we find that about 55% of the cases (30 out of 55) behave exactly as we expected on the basis of the contexts of locative *ergens*. In these cases, the only type of markers που is combined with frequently are locative adverbs, locative verbs and locative prepositions. In the remaining 45%, though, there are also other types of markers with which που is frequently found, for instance conditionals (24 times, 8 of which are also combined with the indefinite pronoun τις). This may be an indication that we have to do with another (sub)category. In some of these cases there are also markers of place like locative verbs. The frequent presence of που in a conditional clause may of course be a coincidence, therefore we will first see whether these cases also show the same characteristics which we found in the other instances of locative που: locative verbs, adverbs and prepositions.

In many cases, we find locative markers (16 out of 24) to be present in the conditional clauses. In this respect, most of these forms can be included in the same group as the other locative cases. This does not mean, however, that the group of instances of που in conditional clauses does not show clear patterns/constructions. There are, for instance, 5 instances (out of 24) which contain the verb δεῖ 'there is need'. In addition, there are 6 cases with verbs of seeing (ὁράω, 1 time αἰσθάνομαι), which were considered to be locative verbs. A third group of what can be seen as locative verbs, consists of 4 cases and is characterized by existential *be* (εἰμί). We are left with three cases which are not part of one of the patterns described.[4]

Overall, this means that in most cases the interpretation of που as locative in a conditional clause may be independent of its use in a conditional clause, because the locative markers already point into a locative direction. The expressions containing δεῖ are less clear. In many cases the overall context is compatible with a locative interpretation, which would explain why the translators in some cases agree on a locative interpretation.

However, there are also instances with δεῖ that are comparable to the ones about which there is agreement, but which are translated differently by the translators. Because there is not always a direct connection to a location, these cases can often also be interpreted as temporal or as 'somehow', options which were also found in the literature on που (for temporal see Ellendt and Genthe (1872), for *somehow* see Slater (1969) and Scolnicov (2003)).[5] An example is given in (2) below.

The main reason the translators do not translate που with *somehow* may be that they do not consider this translation to be an option (this option is not mentioned in Denniston or LSJ). This does not mean that these implications were not there for

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[4]Th. 4. 11. 4. 3., Th. 8. 27. 4. 5., X. *Ap.* 23 9.

[5]Ancient Greek had an adverb/particle *somehow*: πως which was related to πῶς 'how' in the same way as που is related to ποῦ 'where'. The use of πως seems to be much more like a manner adverb than is the case with the English form *somehow*. According to LSJ it is frequently found with manner adverbs and a short survey of the less than 100 examples in our corpus showed that it is frequently combined with verbs like *be able to* (οἷός τε εἰμί, δύναμαι, ἐχω + inf.) or *convince* or other action verbs, also when it is found in conditional clauses. There are some cases, especially with verbs of saying that look a bit like uses of που, but in general πως is used more a like manner adverb.

the Greeks themselves. However, in order to show that this was the case, we would need clear switch contexts (i.e. contexts in which no other interpretation is possible anymore (Diewald, 2002)).

(2)   καὶ ὅτε εἰρήνη ἦν, ὑμεῖς καὶ χρήμασι καὶ τιμαῖς τούτων ἐπλεονεκτεῖτε· καὶ νῦν
         τοίνυν ἐπεὶ πόλεμός ἐστιν, ἀξιοῦν δεῖ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀμείνους τε τοῦ πλήθους
         εἶναι καὶ προβουλεύειν τούτων καὶ προπονεῖν,

         ἤν   που δέῃ.
         if   που there was need.
         CONJ=PTCL που 3SG.PRS.SUBJ

         English: while peace lasted, you had the advantage of them alike in pay and in
         standing; now, therefore, when a state of war exists, it is right to expect that
         you should be superior to the common soldiers, and that you should plan for
         them and toil for them <u>whenever</u> there be need.
         French: pendent le temps de paix, vous aviez une solde plus forte, vous jouissiez
         de plus d'honneurs qu'eux. Aujourd'hui donc que c'est la guerre, c'est aussi
         pour vous un devoir de l'emporter sur leur multitude, de veiller à leur salut,
         de vous donner du mal <u>en toute occasion</u> pour eux.
         German: Und solange Friede war, empfinget ihr mehr Geld und Ehre als sie,
         und jetzt also, im Kriege, müßt ihr von euch selber verlangen, daß ihr tapferer
         seid als die Menge, daß ihr für sie mit Rat und, wenn es not tut, mit der Tat
         euch einsetzt.   X. *An.* 3.1.38[6] [7]

    In example (2) we find an example with δεῖ. In these examples there is no di-
rect evidence as to which interpretation is best. It would be possible to interpret
που as temporal as is suggested by the English translation, but a *somehow* interpreta-
tion is also possible and a locative interpretation cannot be excluded either, because
the effect would be almost the same. It does not really matter whether it is at some
unspecified time or at an unspecified place that the necessity arises. What is most
important is that the situation is not specified. The choice for a temporal or a loca-
tive interpretation is purely a matter of convention with respect to whether time or
place is seen as the relevant parameter.

    If we now look at the corpus as a whole for a moment, we see that the combina-
tion of δεῖ and που occurs 15 times in the whole corpus, 8 of which are cases of εἰ, δεῖ
and που. Some of these cases are translated as locative and some as modal/temporal.
Many of the translators do not translate που at all in these examples, so most of them
are not part of the category 'controversial' because there is only one translator that
seems to have translated the particle at all.

    If we now return to the controversial instances of που we see that just like in the
group of uncontroversial instances of που, a large part of the controversial instances
of που is found in a conditional clause (10 out of 22, 45%). These clauses also contain
locative verbs or verbs that at least may be interpreted as locative, which explains

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[6]Trans. English: Brownson and Dillery (1998), French: Masqueray (1930), German: Müri (1954).
[7]For a discussion of this type of conditional see Wakker (1994, 277).

why some translators have chosen a locative translation. What is less clear, is why other translators have chosen a modal interpretation even though locative markers were present. In order to find out why that may have been the case, we first need to find out more on the relation between the context and modern and ancient interpretations of που. This will be the topic of section 9.2.1. After that, we will discuss the instances of controversial locative που from the perspective of ambiguity and compatibility. At the end of this chapter, after an elaborate study of modal που, we will return to controversial locative που, to see whether the characteristics of both locative and modal που may help in the interpretation of controversial locative που.

9.2.1 Ambiguity versus compatibility

Before discussing the controversial examples more elaborately, I will first make a distinction between ambiguity and compatibility. As we will see below, many of the cases of controversial locative που allow both for a modal reading and for a locative reading. However, the fact that both readings are possible, does not mean that που was ambiguous for a speaker of Greek. I will explain this further.

In example (3), I have given an example in English to explain the distinction between ambiguity and compatibility. The sentence in example (3) both allows for the addition of *somewhere* and for the addition of *surely*. They can even be used at the same time. If we assume that που can be translated both with *surely* and with *somewhere*, the choice between these two interpretations may be difficult for the translator, because the sentence is compatible with both interpretations. However, this does not mean that a speaker of Greek, who knew the conventions with respect to που, felt both options were available.[8] This means that examples like (3) are compatible with both a locative and a modal interpretation, but it does not imply that they are ambiguous.

(3) a. I saw you before
   b. I saw you somewhere before
   c. Surely I saw you before
   d. Surely I saw you somewhere before[9]

However, there are also examples in which the effect of the use of an indefinite expression may imply a modal reading (for an example see the next section below). In these cases, the situation is different. Not only does the sentence allow for both a modal interpretation and a locative interpretation, the modal interpretation also can be seen as an implicature of the locative interpretation. These cases may have been part of the development of the locative use of που into its modal use and, as such, may have been ambiguous for the Greeks in some stage of the development.

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[8]The results on *ergens* show that speakers of Dutch distinguish very clearly between locative and modal interpretations. Although this cannot be generalized to Greek as such, it may be that the lack of ambiguity in the case of *ergens* is due to a feeling of the speakers that there is too much difference in interpretation between a full fledged modal interpretation and a indefinite locative interpretation. This may have been the same for speakers of Greek.

[9]This example was taken from: http://elric225.deviantart.com/.

The reason the difference between ambiguity and compatibility is important is that what we miss in a dead language is precisely the knowledge which we need to distinguish between those two. The only guideline to decide whether an instance of που is ambiguous or only compatible with several interpretations is our general competence to make implicatures. This competence is, however, strongly influenced by the conventions of our own language. This means that the fact that some translators translate που as locative and others translate it as modal does not yet tell us much about the ambiguity of που for the Greeks. It only tells us that these contexts are compatible with the translations chosen by the translators.

In example (4), for instance, the German translation uses both the adverb *wo* 'where, somewhere' and the particle *wohl*. This makes it hard to decide which of the two is, according to the translator, the translation of που. It may also be that the translator translated που twice.

(4)   οὐκ ἄρα ἐστίν   που τὸ   ἕν,   μήτε ἐν   αὐτῷ μήτε
       not thus is   που the   one,   nor   in   itself nor
       NEG PTCL 3.SG.PRS που ART.NOM.SG NOM.SG, NEGCO PREP DAT.SG NEGCO

       ἐν   ἄλλῳ   ἐνόν.
       in   other being in.
       PREP DAT.SG PTC.PRS.NOM.SG.

       English: Then the one is not <u>anywhere</u>, neither in itself nor in something else.
       French: L'Un n'est donc <u>nulle part</u>, ni en soi, ni en autre que soi.
       German: Also ist das Eins <u>wohl</u> gar nicht <u>wo</u>, wenn es weder sich selbst noch einem andern einwohnt.[10]   Pl. *Prm.* 138b.[11]

The other translators choose a locative translation, probably because both the position of που after the verb and the locative prepositional phrases suggest that this was to be interpreted as locative. A non-locative reading would result either in an existential reading for ἐστίν 'is' suggesting that the speaker means that the one does not exist, instead of not being anywhere, because που functions as the predicative complement of the copula construction, or the scope of the negation has to be interpreted wider by reading a double negation construction in which the two locative phrases are the predicative complement. Such a double negation is possible in Ancient Greek and the two negations would not cancel each other out, but both the word order and the syntactic construction suggest that the locative phrases may be seen as appositions. However, a modal interpretation cannot be fully excluded, since, as we will see later, the context is typical of the type in which we find modal που as well. The results on *ergens*, however, suggest that speakers make a clear choice between interpretations that are so far apart. Therefore, I will assume that an individual speaker of Greek chose between a modal interpretation and a locative one, which would make this an example that is theoretically compatible with both a modal and a locative reading, but was probably not ambiguous for the Greeks.

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[10]I interpreted *also* as the translation of ἄρα.
[11]Transl.: English: Fowler (1926), French: Diès (1923), German: Schleiermacher and Kurz (1983).

What we can conclude from this digression on ambiguity and compatibility is that we need to be careful in drawing conclusions on the basis of compatibility of a specific context with an interpretation. As was clear from the English example, compatibility with more than one interpretation does not mean that a form was necessarily ambiguous for the Greeks, because they had more specific information about the use of που in various contexts. In the remainder of this chapter I will try to find out what this specific information on the use of που may have been. This will hopefully allow us to get a better insight in the use of modal που and the contextual characteristics that play a role in the choice between the various uses of που.

9.2.2   Controversial locative που

In the previous section, I mentioned cases in which there may have been an implicature involved. In example (5), for instance, a situation is described in which some part of the army was cut off from the rest of the army, without food.

(5)   πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τοῖς   πόνοις   οὐ μόνον ἐμοῦ   περιῆν,   ἀλλὰ
      first   ptcl ptcl the   hardships not only   me   surpassed, but
      ADV   PTCL PTCL ART.DAT.PL DAT.PL   NEG ADV   GEN.SG 3.SG.IMPF CONJ

      καὶ τῶν   ἄλλων ἁπάντων - ὁπότ’ ἀναγκασθεῖμεν
      also the   other   all   - when be forced
      PTCL ART.GEN.PL GEN.PL GEN.PL   - CONJ 1.PL.AOR.PASS

      ἀποληφθέντες   που, οἶα δὴ   ἐπὶ   στρατείας, ἀσιτεῖν,
      being cut off   που, like PTCL to   campaign, go without food
      PTC.AOR.PASS.NOM.PL PTCL, CONJ PTCL PREP GEN.SG   INF.PRS

      English: Well, first of all, he surpassed not me only but every one else in bearing hardships; whenever we were cut off <u>in some place</u> and were compelled, as often in campaigns, to go without food,
      French: Quand nos communications étaient coupées <u>en quelque point</u>, comme cela arrive en campagne, et que nous devions rester sans manger, ni l’autre n’égalait son endurance.
      German: Erstens also war er bei den Strapazen nicht nur mir überlegen, sondern auch allen anderen – wen wir einmal, wie das auf einen Feldzug ja vorkommt, <u>irgendwie</u> abgeschnitten waren und nichts zu essen hatten,

Pl. *Smp.*219e[12]

In this sentence, που is translated as *at some place* (English and French) and as *irgendwie* ‘somehow’ (German). If one is cut off from the rest of the army one can say that this happened *at a place of which the exact location is not specified*, but one can also interpret that somewhat broader as *in some situation of which the exact circumstances, like the place, are not relevant.* In this sentence, που is found directly after the participle and before οἶα ‘like’ instead of in the second position in the clause. This position

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[12]Transl.: English: Lamb (1925), French: Robin et al. ([1923] 1989), German: Boll and Buchwald (1969).

before a generalizing element *like* may have contributed to the choice for the translation *irgendwie*, but the position after the verb can also be seen as an argument in favor of a locative interpretation. The *irgendwie* interpretation adds an evaluation of the speaker, which is a reason to call it a modal interpretation. In this example, there may have been a direct connection between the locative interpretation and an inference like the one in the German translation. For this reason, it is possible that such examples were ambiguous between a locative and a more generalizing interpretation like *somehow* at some point in the Greek language.

The previous examples were special either because one translation seemed to express two interpretations of πoυ, or because the interpretations given to πoυ may be seen as implicatures. However, there are also several examples in which the translators differ in their interpretations of πoυ without a clearly implicational relationship between the interpretations.

In the following examples πoυ is translated either in a locative way or with something like *by chance*. Contrary to the translation *irgendwie*, the interpretation *by chance* is not indefinite anymore. The interpretation *by chance* implies that one does not have control over the situation.

(6)   ἢν   δέ πoυ μoρίῳ τινὶ   πρoσμείξωσι, κρατήσαντές   τέ
      if   and πoυ part some   engage with   overcoming   and
      CONJ=PTCL CO   πoυ DAT.SG DAT.SG 3.PL.AOR.SUBJ, PTC.AOR.NOM.PL CO

      τινας ἡμῶν   πάντας αὐχoῦσιν ἀπεῶσθαι καὶ νικηθέντες   ὑφ'
      some   of us all   boast   repel   and being defeated by
      ACC.PL GEN.PL ACC.PL 3.PL.PRS INF.PERF CO   PTC.AOR.PASS PREP

      ἁπάντων ἡσσῆσθαι.
      all   to be defeated.
      GEN.PL   INF.PRS.PASS.

English: But if they by chance engage with a division of our forces and defeat a few of us, they boast that they have repulsed us all, and if the victory is ours, they claim that they have been beaten by us all.
French: Mais, ont-ils affaire à une fraction d'entre elles, vainqueurs de quelques-uns des nôtres, ils proclament nous avoir tous repoussés, et, vaincus, avoir été battus par toutes nos troupes.
German: Treffen sie dann irgendwo auf einen Splitter und besiegen einige von uns, so prahlen sie, sie hätten uns allen geworfen, und unterliegen sie: sie seien der Gesamtheit gewichen.   Th.2.39.3.4.[13]

In example (6), the speaker is explaining how the enemy will claim complete victory if they have defeated a small part of the army and if they are defeated themselves by only a part of the army they will claim that they found the complete army against them. This is quite a general statement on how these things work. The locative interpretation is triggered by the locative implications of πρoσμείξωσι 'to engage with'.

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[13]Transl: English: Forster Smith (1919), French: Romilly et al. (1953) German: Landmann (1960).

However, this verb does not require a locative argument, which makes it possible to interpret που in another way. This other interpretation may be temporal or modal, but an epistemic interpretation like *perhaps*, as is sometimes proposed for που, is a bit problematic because the situation described is presented as a hypothetical situation for which some hypothetical behavior of the enemy is predicted.

　　The relationship of locative *ergens* to the interpretation *by chance* might be seen as follows. If a situation will arise somewhere, it is unclear what the exact circumstances are. Therefore, we may interpret που as *irgendwie* 'somehow'. However, if one does not know what the exact circumstances are that cause such a situation to arise, one cannot prevent that situation from arising, therefore it may be seen as arising *by chance*. This relation between the locative interpretation of που and the *by chance* interpretation depends on the *somehow* interpretation. This interpretation is not very commonly used, neither translations nor the descriptions of που mention it very frequently and the *by chance* interpretation even expands that interpretation further. Therefore, I consider this interpretation a case of a compatible interpretation of which it is unknown whether it was a serious option for the speakers of classical Greek. That is, the context of examples (6) and (7) allow for this interpretation, but there is no direct indication that this interpretation was used instead of a locative interpretation.

(7)　　(καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι προσέκειτο τὸ καλὸς τῷ ἀγαθῷ, ὅντινα ἴδοιμι καλόν, τούτῳ προσῄειν καὶ ἐπειρώμην καταμανθάνειν)

εἴ	που ἴδοιμι	προσηρτημένον	τῷ	καλῷ
if	που I would see	combined	the	beautiful
CONJ	που 1SG.AOR.OPT	PTC.PERF.PASS.ACC.SG	ART.DAT.SG	DAT.SG

τὸ	ἀγαθόν.
the	just.
ART.ACC.SG	ACC.SG

English: (And, first, because the epithet 'beautiful' is added to 'good,' I went up to every person I noticed, and tried to discover) whether I could <u>anywhere</u> see goodness in combination with beauty.
French: (Tout d'abord parce que ce mot "bien" se dit du moral et du physique, si je voyais un homme bien de sa personne, je l'abordais et j'essayais de me rendre compte) si <u>par hasard</u> il était aussi "bien" au moral qu'au physique.
German: (Und weil das "Schöner" vor dem "Guten" stand, wendete ich mich zunächst, wenn ich einen Schönen sah, an diesen, und versuchte herauszubekommen,) ob ich <u>irgendwo</u> mit dem Schönen das Gute verbunden sähe.

X. *Oec.* 6.15.3 [14]

　　As we have seen above, the verb *to see* is frequently found with a locative interpretation of που. However, this verb does not require a locative complement. This

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[14] Transl.: English: Marchant ([1923] 1968), French: Chantraine (1949), German: Audring (1992).

means that another interpretation is also possible. In example (7), the speaker de-scribes how he tried to test the hypothesis that beauty is connected to goodness. First, the speaker looked to see whether someone was beautiful and then he tried to find out whether the beautiful person combined beauty with goodness. Two transla-tors seem to have taken this location to be metaphoric in the sense that *at some place* (within that person) the beauty was connected to goodness. The French translation took a more interpretative approach by adding *par hasard* 'by chance'. The context allows for this interpretation, but just like in the previous example, there is no clear reason to believe that this instance was ambiguous, or that πoυ was commonly used to express 'by chance'.

In example (8), the translations differ again in another way. In this example, πoυ is translated either as locative, which would be triggered by the verb *to say*, or with 'if I remember correctly' (French), and 'as you know' (German).

(8)   (Stranger: Παρμενίδης δὲ ὁ μέγας, ὦ παῖ, παισὶν ἡμῖν οὖσιν ἀρχόμενός τε καὶ
       διὰ τέλους τοῦτο ἀπεμαρτύρατο, πεζῇ τε ὧδε ἑκάστοτε λέγων καὶ μετὰ μέτρων—
       "οὐ γὰρ μήποτε τοῦτο δαμῇ, φησίν, εἶναι μὴ ἐόντα: [21 paragraphs])

       Stranger: ὅτι   ὁ   μέν πού φησιν: (οὐ γὰρ μήποτε τοῦτο
       Stranger: because he   πoυ says   not for   never   this
                 CONJ   NOM.SG PTCL πoυ 3.SG.PRS: NEG PTCL NEG   NOM.SG.

       δαμῇ,   εἶναι   μὴ ἐόντα   [...]
       be proved,   be   not being
       3.SG.AOR.SUBJ.PASS INF.PRS NEG PTC.PRS.ACC.SG

       Theaetetus: λέγει γὰρ οὖν οὕτως.)
       English: (Stranger: But the great Parmenides, my boy, from the time when we
       were children to the end of his life, always protested against this and con-stantly repeated both in prose and in verse:"Never let this thought prevail,
       saith he, that not-being is; [...21 paragraphs...]])
       Stranger: Because he [= Parmenides *EK*] says <u>somewhere</u>: (Never shall this
       thought prevail, that not-being is; [...]
       Theaetetus: Yes, that is what he says.)
       French: Il dit, lui, <u>s'il me souvient</u>:
       German: Er sagt <u>doch</u>:   Pl. *Sph.* 237a and 258d.[15]

Probably, the reason two of the translators have chosen a non-locative way of trans-lating πoυ is that the speaker is citing a phrase from Parmenides which he has cited in the exact same way earlier in the conversation with the addition that the citation is found in both prose and poetry. This means that the interpretation *somewhere* is a bit odd, because somewhat earlier the speaker was apparently still aware that Par-menides had said this several times in different types of texts. For the same reason, most other translations that are commonly given for πoυ, like *perhaps, I think* seem a

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[15]Transl.: English: Fowler (1921), French: Diès (1923), German: Schleiermacher (1970).

bit out of place. The French translation seems to have tried to add some sort of uncertainty by suggesting that the speaker may have forgotten the exact formulation. This is probably also triggered by the answer of Theaitetos *Yes, that is what he says.*. The German translation chooses a more interactive interpretation. Both interpretations are adjustments to the requirements of the context, but the French translation is not a very common translation, whereas the German translation with the particle *doch* is one of the most frequent German translations given to που in this corpus.[16]

What we can conclude from these cases of controversial locative που is the following. In almost all cases of controversial locative που there are some markers available that may trigger a locative interpretation. However, these triggers do not require a locative argument, which makes it possible to interpret που in another way (i.e hypoanalysis, Croft, 2000). The instances of controversial locative που show a variety of modal translations, which in most cases are either not one of the most common interpretations of modal που or do not seem to have any relationship (anymore) to the locative interpretation. This raises the question of whether the translations of που really reflect interpretations that were possible for the Greeks and if so, which features of the context allowed them to decide. The features of the context that seemed to play a role in locative που have been discussed above. Just as in the case of *ergens*, most (possibly) locative instances of που are accompanied by locative adverbs, locative verbs or locative prepositions. It may be that the in depth study of the contextual features of modal που will provide the insights necessary to decide on the controversial cases. Therefore, we will come back to this group after discussing modal που.

9.3   Modal που

9.3.1   Contextual characteristics of modal που

In the synchronic corpus, there are 304 (out of 381) instances that are not interpreted by any of the translators as locative. We will now investigate the exact contextual features of these non-locative cases.

The first thing that catches the eye when investigating the direct collocations of non-locative που (i.e. the forms that are directly before or after που), is that several collocations occur very frequently. Most of them are also mentioned in grammars and dictionaries. The most frequent collocation is the particle δή 'evidently'[17], which

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[16] If we count only those cases in which *doch* o.a. 'you know, of course' (Translation Duden-Oxford dictionary) is the only translation of που, it is found in 63 out of 304 non-locative instances of που.

[17] Denniston (1950, 203-4) describes δή in the following way: The essential meaning seems clearly to be 'verily', 'actually', 'indeed'. δή denotes that a thing really and truly is so: or that it is very much so. Van Ophuijsen (1993) describes δή as an evidential, which can be justified by what is visible, when quoting the words of the interlocutor, when naming something, when referring to the speaker's own words, in self-evident statements and in arguments. According to Sicking, δή conveys to the hearer the speaker's suggestion that the two of them share information, in a wider sense including opinions. Wakker (1997a) on the other hand says that δή draws special attention to the importance and interest of the proposition presented. In this dissertation I have chosen to treat δή as a particle roughly meaning 'evidently', following

occurs next to που in 121 of the 304 non-locative cases of που (40%). Another frequent collocation is with the particle ἦ *expressing certainty*[18], which is found directly before που 23 times (7.6% of non-locative που).

Other particles that are frequently found next to που are: ἄν *modal particle*, γάρ 'for', δέ 'and, but', μέν *topic marker* and καί 'and, also, even'. Since these particles are among the most frequent particles in Greek, this raises the question of whether the combination of που with these particles is not just a result of their position in the clause, since in Ancient Greek most particles are generally found in a concatenation in Wackernagel position.[19]

The placement properties of που and Greek particles in general may explain these collocations to a certain extent, but not all Greek particles are on the list of particles that co-occur frequently with που, although we would expect almost all particles to be on this list if this was purely a matter of word order. A particle like οὖν[20], for instance, which occurs 60% less in the corpus than γάρ (respectively 2107 times and 5541 times) is not found together with που in this corpus at all, whereas μήν, which is much rarer than οὖν in the corpus (566 times) co-occurs with που 3 times.[21] This suggests that there is some reason που occurs with some of these particles and not with others. One way to find out how big the role of placement rules is in the co-occurrence of these particles, is to compare the frequency with which they co-occur with που with their general frequency. If the ratio of the frequencies of the particles in the corpus as a whole is comparable to their ratio together with που, we may consider the cases together with που as a random sample. In table 9.1 below, the frequency of the co-occurrences with που are related to the general frequency of the particle in this corpus.

Van Ophuijsen, because it seemed that that function fitted the contexts best.

[18]Denniston (1950, 279) calls ἦ an *affirmative particle*, which is essentially followed by Sicking. Wakker (1997b) says that the function of ἦ is to express that there is no denying that the proposition is really, undeniably true, whether speaker and addressee like that or not. In contexts with που, ἦ is used in inferences and *a fortiori* arguments, which is best compatible with the reading of this particle as affirmative.

[19]This is roughly the second position in the clause and it is named after a famous article of Wackernagel on this subject (Wackernagel, 1892). For more information about this position and its exceptions see Goldstein (2010).

[20]Denniston says that οὖν either expresses actuality or inferentiality. Sicking describes the particle as marking that what precedes is relevant for what follows, i.e. the preceding is often marked as introductory, explanatory or providing background. Wakker (2009) says that in Lysias οὖν indicates that the speaker proceeds to a new important point (thereby having the effect of indirectly characterizing the preceding unit as relevant but subsidiary to or preparatory for what he is going to say now). Bakker (2009), however, shows that there is a large group of examples in which this description of οὖν does not hold. She suggests that οὖν also has another use presenting the utterance as expected.

[21]The reason οὖν is generally not found together with που may be that, as we will see later on, modal που is found in sentences with content which is accessible (i.e. already known or deducible) to the addressee. These sentences are often found in situations in which the speaker is bringing to the foreground some of their common ground in order to be able to refer to it in his argumentation. (For a general discussion of common ground and the function of lexical markers of common ground see Nemo (2007).) This means that που is almost by definition not found in a new important point to which the preceding was preparatory, because the που-clause itself is preparatory.

		% of total number of words in corpus	% of ptcl + που in modal που	p values
δή	'evidently'	0.3% (1589)	39.8% (121)	0*
γάρ	'for, because'	0.9% (5541)	19.7% (60)	2,7E-263*
ἄν[22]	*modal ptcl*	1.0% (6421)	9.5% (29)	8,1E-48*
μέν	*topic marker*	1.5% (9200)	8.9% (27)	4,9E-26*
ἦ	*affirmative ptcl*	0.3% (130)	7.6% (23)	0*
δέ	*topic marker/ conjuction*	3.1% (18980)	4.6% (14)	0,1**
καί	*connector, focus ptcl*	5.4% (33113)	5.3% (16)	0,9**
Total number of words in the corpus			617107	
Total number of modal που			304	

Table 9.1: The particles that form a collocation with που with their frequencies. * means significant on the p < 0.05 level in a χ^2 test (df = 1 for all tests), ** means not significant on the p < 0.05 level. The numbers between the brackets are the raw numbers.

In table 9.1 we see that the co-occurrence of δέ 'and' and καί 'and, also, even' with modal που is not significant. This is remarkable, since Greek particles, including που, tend to be in Wackernagel position and therefore are expected to be found more frequently next to each other than chance.[23] In addition, it is relatively easy to find significant combinations due to the fact that word order is not completely random, which is assumed by a test like this. What is clear is that the collocation of που with δή and ἦ are the most unlikely to be due to chance, followed by γάρ 'for' and μέν *topic marker*. Since the total number of instances of ἄν is not reliable, we will leave this particle out of our quantitative discussion for now. The modal particles δή 'evidently' and ἦ *expressing certainty* may be collocated with που because they function in the same modal domain as που. For the particles γάρ and μέν it is more difficult to determine why they are so frequently found in the direct environment of που. We will discuss these issues more elaborately below on page 202. Now we will continue to investigate the other types of forms which are frequently found in the environment of που.

Apart from the particles mentioned, there are also other forms that are collocated with modal που, such as the adverb πάντως 'certainly', and the pronoun τις.[24] In addition, I have studied the finite verbs of που clauses. The most frequently found

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[22]Due to homonymies of other forms with contractions with ἄν (ἤν (εἰ + ἄν) = ἦν he/I was) it is impossible to determine the total number of instances of ἄν in the corpus. Therefore these numbers are probably too low, which means that the chance of ἄν + που is probably larger than these numbers suggest. This implies that the co-occurrence with που is probably less significant.

[23]The particle καί is an exception in that is often occurs in the first position of the clause or before the word over which it has scope. However, in its first position in the clause we would still expect it to be found frequently next to που, if other particles, which may be in between καί and που, are not taken into account.

[24]Both are significantly often found directly next to που: πάντως, χ^2 (1) = 2780,4, p < 0.0001) and τις χ^2 (1) = 3,2, p < 0.0001.

verbs in που clauses are the following, most of these verbs occur in all persons, i.e.
1st, 2nd and 3rd:

- copula (69 out of 304, of which 35 with a subjective adjective and 34 without a
  subjective predicative complement)

- verbs of knowing (γιγνώσκω (6), οἶδα (10), ἐπίσταμαι (3))

- verbs of speaking (λέγω (16) φημί (10), καλέω (7))

- modal verbs like δεῖ 'there is need, must' (9) and φαίνω 'seem' (5).

The next question is what these characteristics of the context tell us about που.
We will investigate whether the translations of που differ depending on the collo-
cation with which που is combined. We will start with the particle combinations δή
που and ἦ που and compare them. In addition, we will compare the translations of
δή που and ἦ που with the translations of the other instances of modal που.

δή που

English		French		German	
surely	32	[no transl.]	18	doch wohl	24
[no transl.]	14	certes	10	[no transl.]	23
I presume	12	assurément	8	doch	16
of course	11	évidemment	8	sicherlich	9
you know	7	n'est-il pas vrai?	8	wohl	6
I suppose	6	à coup sûr	7	bekanntlich	4
as you know	5	sans doute	7	ja	4
I take it	4	n'est-ce pas	4	ohne Zweifel	3
I imagine	3	j'imagine	3	doch sicherlich	2
certainly	2	je suppose	3	gewiss	2

Total number of instances of δή που: 121

Table 9.2: The top ten most frequent translations of δή που in English, French and
German.[25] NB. This table is to be read vertically, since not all instances of δή που
were systematically translated in the same way for each modern language.

From table 9.2, we can see that the most frequent translations of δή που are: En-
glish: *surely, I presume, of course*, French: *certes, assurément, évidemment, n'est-il pas vrai?*
and in German *doch wohl, doch, sicherlich*. The dictionary entries of the most frequent
translations are given below.

Surely: a) Certainly, assuredly, undoubtedly. Often with less emphasis,
as a mere intensive: Truly, verily, indeed.

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[25]For the translations used see the *Translations* section of the bibliography.

b) Used to express a strong belief in the statement, on the basis of experience or probability, but without absolute proof, or as implying a readiness to maintain it against imaginary or possible denial: = as may be confidently supposed; as must be the case; may not one be sure that...? (The chief current sense.)

Oxford English Dictionary, online version March 2012.[26]

<u>Certes</u>: Marque une affirmation ou souligne une opposition
Marks an affirmation or underlines an opposition

Larousse online

<u>Doch</u>: a) gibt einer Frage, Aussage, Aufforderung oder einem Wunsch eine gewisse Nachdrücklichkeit
Gives a question, statement, (strong) request or wish a certain emphasis
b) drückt in Ausrufesätzen Entrüstung, Unmut oder Verwunderung aus
expresses in exclamation sentences indignation, irritation or surprise
<u>wohl</u>: drückt in Aussage- und Aufforderungssätzen eine Bekräftigung, Verstärkung aus
expresses in statements and (strong) requests a reinforcement, strengthening
c) drückt in Fragesätzen die Hoffnung des Sprechers auf eine Zustimmung aus
expresses in questions the hope of the speaker that the addressee will give his approval

Duden online[27]

These dictionary entries show that there are some regularities in the translations that are chosen δή που. The common denominator seems to be that all translations have a positive argumentative orientation. That is, all translations have as their common effect that they invite the addressee to accept the statement as true.

The translations of ἦ που are given in table 9.3. The most frequent translations are English: *surely*, French: *à plus forte raison* 'the more reason there is to', German: *doch, geschweige denn, gewiss, wahrlich.* The translations of ἦ που are comparable to the translations of δή που in that they seem to express a positive argumentation. However, they differ in one respect. In the translations of ἦ που, we find many comparison related translations like *à plus forte raison*, 'the more reason there is to', *geschweige denn* 'let alone' and *much less, much more surely.* This suggests that many of the examples involve comparisons of the *a fortiori* type. This is also noted by Denniston (1950, 281-2) and a look at these examples shows that they are for the major part construed

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[26] For a more extensive discussion of the values of *surely* see Downing (2006) and Simon-Vandenbergen and Aijmer (2007) and for a more historical perspective see Traugott (2012).

[27] The Duden-Oxford German-English dictionary translates *doch* in statements as *you know, why (certainly), of course.* For an in depth discussion of German *doch* see Pittner (2007) and for a comparison with Dutch *toch* see Foolen (2006).

ἦ̃ πον

English		French		German	
surely	12	à plus forte raison	12	doch	2
much less	2	[no transl.]	4	geschweige denn	2
certainly	1	?vraiment	1	gewiss	2
depend upon it	1	à coup sûr	1	wahrlich	2
I imagine	1	combien…	1	doch gewiss	1
may be sure	1	en bien??	1	doch wahrlich	1
much more surely	1	question	1	doch wohl	1
of course	1	sans doute	1	ja wohl	1
verily	1	soyez-en sûrs	1	sicher	1
?how, pray	1	—	—	sicherlich	1

Total number of instances of ἦ̃ πον: 23

Table 9.3: The top ten most frequent translations of ἦ̃ πον in English, French and German.[28] NB. This table is to be read vertically, since not all instances of δή πον were systematically translated in the same way for each modern language.

as [conditional clause] ἦ̃ πον.… Since this use of ἦ̃ πον is only very rarely found with ἦ̃ alone (and never in this corpus) and in almost all cases some form of conditionality seems to be present, we may assume that the combination [conditional clause] ἦ̃ πον… was a conventional way of expressing an *a fortiori* effect in Greek.

We may conclude that the difference between the translations of δή πον and ἦ̃ πον seems to be that δή πον directs the addressee towards agreement, possibly in some emphatic way, whereas ἦ̃ πον feels much more at home in comparisons with a reinforcing character.

Now we will compare the translations of δή πον and ἦ̃ πον with the translations of other instances of modal πον. Are the translations of δή πον and ἦ̃ πον fundamentally different from the other interpretations of modal πον, or are the translations of these frequent collocations closely connected to the translations of the other instances of modal πον?

The translations of modal πον excluding δή πον and ἦ̃ πον show a much larger incidence of non-translations than was the case for δή πον and ἦ̃ πον. The most frequent translations (English: *I suppose, I think, you know,* French: *j'imagine, sans doute, je crois,* German: *doch, wohl, doch wohl*) still have a positive argumentative orientation, as can be seen from the dictionary descriptions below (the German translations are the same as the translations of δή πον and ἦ̃ πον).

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[28]For the translations used see the *Translations* section of the bibliography.

The other cases of modal που

English		French		German	
[no transl.]	105	[no transl.]	55	[no transl.]	63
I suppose	6	j'imagine	20	doch	44
I think	4	sans doute	12	wohl	18
you know	4	je crois	9	doch wohl	6
I presume	3	en somme	8	ja	3
surely	3	n'est-ce pas?	7	doch irgendwie	2
may	2	peut-on dire	7	ja wohl	2
no doubt	2	en quelque façon	2	vermutlich	1
of course	2	je pense	2	doch auch	1
why	2	peut-être	2	gewiss	1

Total number of instances of modal που without δή and ἦ: 160

Table 9.4: The top ten most frequent translations of modal που without δή and ἦ in English, French and German.[29] NB. This table is to be read vertically, since not all instances of που were systematically translated in the same way for each modern language.

> I suppose: To entertain as an idea or notion sufficiently probable to be practically assumed as true, or to be at least admitted as possibly true, on account of consistency with the known facts of the case; to infer hypothetically; to incline to think: sometimes implying mistaken belief.
>
> Oxford English Dictionary

> j'imagine: je suppose, je présume 'I suppose, I presume'
> sans doute: probablement, selon toute vraisemblance 'probably, there is every appearance that'.
>
> Larousse online Français[29]

The most frequent translations of modal που (without ἦ or δή) were also present in the top ten translations of δή που and ἦ που. This suggests that the contextual features of modal που are not fundamentally different from the ones that are in the context of δή που and ἦ που, because they all are translated with forms expressing a positive argumentative orientation.

9.3.2   Argumentative orientation and argumentative strength

It is a common habit of people across languages to use markers of certainty more frequently than is justified on the basis of the situation at hand. In other words, people tend to exaggerate (e.g. Millward, 1989, 205). As a result, markers of certainty

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[29]j'imagine: http://www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais/imaginer/41619/locution, sans doute: http://www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais/sans%20doute.

[30]For the translations used see the *Translations* section of the bibliography.

tend to weaken with respect to their argumentative strength over time and they frequently express a lower level of certainty than would be expected on the basis of their compositional literal meaning. For instance, in modern French, the expression *sans doute* (lit. 'without doubt') is often more comparable to English *probably* than to *without (any) doubt* (Simon-Vandenbergen and Aijmer, 2007; Simon-Vandenbergen, 2007). However, in older French and in certain contexts it is still used with the original meaning of *certainly*. Many of the French translations used are made early in the twentieth century and are written in an archaic style. This means that the exact intention of the translator is difficult to assess. However, *sans doute* still has a positive argumentative orientation in its modern use and in some translations of που, we even find *sans aucun doute* 'without any doubt at all'. This last reinforcement is now commonly used to make sure the interpretation is stronger than *probably.*

By saying that a marker like *sans doute* is less strong, but still has a positive argumentative orientation, we have made a difference between argumentative orientation and argumentative strength, as was explained in the previous chapter. The question we will try to answer in the following discussion is whether there are reasons to think that που may have had a positive orientation.

The most frequently used translations of που all showed a positive argumentative orientation, although they did not all have the full argumentative strength. Many of the translations suggest that the belief of the speaker in the proposition is based on a mental construct, for instance argumentation or experience, rather than just objective facts. This is for example the case with the translations *I suppose* and *à plus forte raison.*

Another reason to assume that που has a positive argumentative orientation is that verbs of knowing are frequently present in που sentences. An example is given in (9). Verbs of knowing have a positive argumentative orientation since they generally assume that the knowledge described is either shared by others or consists of irrefutable facts (Sanders, 1994, 24). Verbs of knowing occur with δή που and the other instances of modal που, but not with ἦ που. This may be due to the frequent presence of *a fortiori* arguments in ἦ που sentences. In the next section we will elaborate on the implications of the frequent combination of που with verbs of knowing.

(9)   (ἀλλ' ὅμως σύ με φής, ὦ Μέλητε, τοιαῦτα ἐπιτηδεύοντα τοὺς νέους διαφθείρειν;)

καίτοι	ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν	δήπου	τίνες	εἰσὶ	νέων
yet	we know	δήπου	which	are	of the youth
CONJ	1PL.PRS	PTCL δήπου	INT.NOM.PL	3PL.PRS	GEN.PL

διαφθοραί·
temptations.
NOM.PL

(σὺ δὲ εἰπὲ εἴ τινα οἶσθα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ γεγενημένον ἢ ἐξ εὐσεβοῦς ἀνόσιον ἢ ἐκ σώφρονος ὑβριστὴν ἢ ἐξ εὐδιαίτου πολυδάπανον ἢ [ὡς] ἐκ μετριοπότου οἰνόφλυγα ἢ ἐκ φιλοπόνου μαλακὸν ἢ ἄλλης πονηρᾶς ἡδονῆς ἡττημένον.)

English: (But in spite of all, Meletus, do you maintain that I corrupt the young by such practices?) And yet <u>surely</u> we know what kinds of corruption affect the young; (so you tell us whether you know of any one who under my influence has fallen from piety into impiety, or from sober into wanton conduct, or from moderation in living into extravagance, or from temperate drinking into sottishness, or from strenuousness into effeminacy, or has been overcome of any other base pleasure.")

French: Nous savons bien pourtant, <u>n'est-ce pas?</u>, comment sont les jeunes gens corrompus.

German: Und <u>doch</u> wissen wir, welches die Verführungen der Jugend sind!

X. *Ap.* 19.3[31]

As we saw in the discussion of the concept of argumentative orientation as described by Verhagen (2005), one of the indications for the effect of a form on the addressee is the types of answers it invites and actually receives. In those cases in which που is found in dialogue (i.e. in some parts of the works of Plato and Xenophon), we see that the reactions to που clauses always agree with the speaker and in many cases contain extremely positive reactions (see for instance the answer Πῶς γὰρ οὔ; in example (14) on page 197 below). However, we not only find που in sentences that are reacted to, but also in answers together with other markers that have a positive argumentative orientation like πάντως 'certainly, in all respects' (which occurs 6 times together with που in this corpus) and δή *modal particle* as in example (10) below.

(10)   (Οὕτω μὲν τοίνυν ἤδη οἱ ἐμοὶ ὀφθαλμοὶ καλλίονες ἂν τῶν σῶν εἴησαν. Πῶς δή; Ὅτι οἱ μὲν σοὶ τὸ κατ' εὐθὺ μόνον ὁρῶσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐμοὶ καὶ τὸ ἐκ πλαγίου διὰ τὸ ἐπιπόλαιοι (5) εἶναι. Λέγεις σύ, ἔφη, καρκίνον εὐοφθαλμότατον εἶναι τῶν ζῴων;)

Πάντως   δήπου,   ἔφη·
Certainly, of course, he said.
ADV   δή που   3SG.IMPF

ἐπεὶ καὶ πρὸς ἰσχὺν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἄριστα πεφυκότας ἔχει.

English: "In that case, it would appear without further ado that my eyes are finer ones than yours." "How so?" "Because, while yours see only straight ahead, mine, by bulging out as they do, see also to the sides.") Crit. "Do you mean to say that a crab is better equipped visually than any other creature?" Soc. "<u>Absolutely</u>; for its eyes are also better set to insure strength."

French: A ce compte, mes yeux seraient déjà plus beaux que les tiens. - Comment donc cela? - C'est que tes yeux voient seulement droit devant eux, tandis que les miens voient aussi à coté puisqu'ils sont à fleur de tête. - Alors, d'après toi, de tous les animaux c'est l'écrevisse qui a les plus beaux yeux? - <u>Assurément</u>; car ses yeux sont aussi les plus puissants.

German: Behauptest du damit, fiel er ein, daß also der Krebs unter den Tieren

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[31] Transl. English: Todd (1922), French: Ollier (1961), German:Bux (1956).

die schönsten Augen besitzt? Freilich, <u>ganz gewiß</u>, antwortete Sokrates, da er auch hinsichtlich der Schärfe ganz ausgezeichnet gewachsene Augen besitzt.

X. *Smp.* 5.5.7[32]

In example (10), Socrates is confirming an inference on the basis of his own statement. This means that the addressee expects Socrates to agree and since Critias has made the right inference, Socrates can wholeheartedly agree, using two markers with a positive orientation together with που, followed by a short summary of why he thinks that is the case. This agreement is translated by all translators with markers with a strong positive orientation like *absolutely, ganz gewiß, assurément.*

We may conclude that both the translations of modal που and its contextual characteristics suggest that που has a positive orientation, although it may be that just like in the case of French *sans doute* it does not always have its maximum strength.

9.3.3   Accessible information in που-clauses

As we saw above, we frequently find factive verbs of knowing in δή που sentences and the other modal instances of που. One of the characteristics of verbs of knowing is their factivity. That is, the complement of a verb of knowing is considered to be a fact or generally held belief. Consider, for instance, the following examples:

(11)   a.   I don't think he was ill yesterday. -> He was probably not ill.
        b.   I think he was ill yesterday -> He may have been ill.

(12)   a.   I didn't know he was ill -> it is considered a fact that he was ill.
        b.   I know he was ill -> it is considered a fact that he was ill.

The complement of verbs of knowing is always considered to be a fact or commonly held belief (as in cases like 'I know that is wrong'), even if the matrix clause is negated. This implies that when a speaker is using a verb of knowing, the addressee is supposed to accept the information that is given as a fact or share the moral values. Verbs of knowing in που-clauses also occur in the first person plural. This is another indication that the content of the matrix clause is presented as shared.

The references to shared information by verbs of knowing and the descriptions and translations of δή που raise the question as to whether it is only in sentences with verbs of knowing and δή που that shared information or irrefutable facts are found in the context of που or that this is a more general feature of the contexts in which modal που is found. The latter is suggested by the following translations of που in sentences without verbs of knowing: *you know, as you know, as everybody knows, tu le sais, vous le savez, wisst ihr wohl, bekanntlich, selbstverständlich, of course, natürlich, bien sûr.* Most of these examples are cases of δή που, but not all of them. There are 12 instances in which που is translated with one of the translations above in which δή is not present. This suggests that the interpretation of που as *this information is generally known/ accessible to (the speaker and) the addressee* is not limited either to the

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[32]Transl.: English: Todd (1922), French: Ollier (1961), German: Bux (1956).

combination with verbs of knowing or to the collocation with δή που. Therefore, it may be connected to (the contextual characteristics of) modal που itself. Examples of the sentences in which these translations were chosen are given in examples (13) (δήπου) to (15) below (the last two examples are cases without δή).

(13)   ἃ δ' αὖ εἶπεν ὡς ἐγώ εἰμι οἷος ἀεί ποτε μεταβάλλεσθαι, κατανοήσατε καὶ ταῦτα.

τὴν	μὲν	γὰρ	ἐπὶ	τῶν	τετρακοσίων	πολιτείαν
the		for	in favor of	the	fourhundred	government
ART.ACC.SG	PTCL	PTCL	PREP	ART.GEN.PL	GEN.PL	ACC.SG

καὶ	αὐτὸς	δήπου	ὁ	δῆμος	ἐψηφίσατο,
even	itself	δήπου	the	people	voted,
PTCL	NOM.SG	δήπου	ART.NOM.SG	NOM.SG	3.SG.AOR

διδασκόμενος ὡς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πάσῃ πολιτείᾳ μᾶλλον ἂν ἢ δημοκρατίᾳ πιστεύσειαν.

English: Again, as to his statement that I have a propensity to be always changing sides, consider these facts also: it was the people itself, <u>as everybody knows</u>, which voted for the government of the Four Hundred, being advised that the Lacedaemonians would trust any form of government sooner than a democracy.

French: Autre propos: je suis homme à changer sans cesse d'opinion; sur quoi je vous prie de considérer ceci: le régime des Quatre-Cents a été, <u>à coup sûr</u> voté, par le peuple lui-même, qui était informé que les Lacédémoniens se fieraient à n'importe quel gouvernement qu'à la démocratie.

German: Zu dem weiteren Punkt aus Kritias' Rede, daß ich ein Mensch bin von der Art, die beständig ihre Gesinnung wechselt, so bedenkt auch dieses: über die Verfassung unter den Vierhundert hat <u>bekanntlich</u> das Volk selbst abgestimmt, da es davon unterrichtet war, daß die Lakedaimonier jeder anderen Regierungsform eher vertrauen würden als einer Demokratie.

X. *HG.* 2.3.45[33]

The reason translations like *as everybody knows* and *bekanntlich* fit the context in example (13) so well, is that the addressees are only reminded of these recent historical facts, which they are supposed to know. This gives them their persuasive argumentative strength as arguments. This fragment is part of a defense speech. Therefore, it is important for the speaker to present his arguments as historical facts which are known to everyone.

(14)   ΣΩ. Οὐκοῦν τὸ μὲν ἕτερον ὄνομα αὐτῆς οὐ χαλεπὸν εἰπεῖν δι' ὃ κεῖται. ΕΡΜ. Τὸ ποῖον;

ΣΩ. "Παλλάδα" που αὐτὴν καλοῦμεν.

Pallas	που	her	we call.
ACC.SG	που	ACC.SG	1PL.PRS.

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[33] Transl.: English: Brownson (1918), French: Hatzfeld (1936-1939), German: Strasburger (1970).

ΕΡΜ. Πῶς γὰρ οὔ;

English: Socrates: It is easy to tell the reason of one of her two names. Hermogenes: What name? Socrates: We call her Pallas, you know. Hermogenes: Yes, of course.

French: Socrate: L'autre nom de la déesse, il n'est pas difficile d'en dire la raison. Hermogène: Lequel? Socrate: C'est Pallas, n'est-ce pas?, que nous l'appelons. Hermogène: Évidemment.

German: Sokrates: Vom anderen Namen, den die Göttin trägt, ist es nicht schwer, den Grund anzugeben. Hermogenes: Von was für einem? Sokrates: Wir nennen sie doch auch 'Pallas'? Hermogenes: Ohne Zweifel.

Pl. *Cra.* 406d[34]

Example (14), which was also mentioned above, is an example without δή, showing that this type of interpretation is also found for που itself. Socrates just went a bit too fast for Hermogenes, who then asks to what second name he is referring. Socrates realizes that the term *second name* is perhaps too abstract a reference and reminds his interlocutor that Athena is also called Pallas. This is common knowledge as can be seen for instance from the use of a generalizing first person plural verb. However, just saying that we call her Pallas may imply that Socrates thinks his addressee does not know enough Greek or that he is very stupid. One way to cancel this inference is to express that he is aware that the content of his statement is already known to his addressee. This is exactly what is marked by the English translation *you know* and the German translation *doch*. The French tag-question *n'est-ce pas?* after a statement also indicates that the speaker assumes that the addressee already has access to this information. That this is shared information is also clear from the answer Πῶς γὰρ οὔ; 'yes of course' (lit. For how not?).

(15)   καὶ ἄνευ σχήματος ἄρα: οὔτε γὰρ στρογγύλου οὔτε εὐθέος μετέχει. Πῶς;

Στρογγύλον	γέ	πού	ἐστι	τοῦτο	οὗ	ἄν	τὰ
round	ptcl	που	is	this	of which	ptcl	the
NOM.SG	FOC.PTCL	που	3SG.PRS	NOM.SG	REL.GEN.SG	PTCL	NOM.PL

ἔσχατα	πανταχῆ	ἀπὸ	τοῦ	μέσου	ἴσον	ἀπέχῃ.
extremes	everywhere	from	the	middle	equally	be away from.
NOM.PL	ADV	PREP	ART.GEN.SG	GEN.SG	ADV	3SG.PRS.SUBJ.

Ναί.

English: (And it is without form, for it partakes neither of the round nor of the straight. "How so?") "The round, of course, is that of which the extremes are everywhere equally distant from the center." "Yes."

French: —Pourquoi? —Cela, sans doute, est rond, dont les extrémités sont partout à égale distance du centre. —Oui.

German: —Wieso? —Rund ist doch wohl das, dessen Enden überall von der

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[34] Transl.: English: Fowler (1926), French: Méridier (1931), German: Gigon and Rufener (1912-1998).

Mitte gleich weit abstehen? — Ja.

Pl. *Prm.* 137e[35]

In example (15) we see the same pattern. One of the interlocutors has just jumped to a conclusion. The addressee does not understand how their discussion about the One is related to straight lines and circles and asks for clarification. The speaker knows that in order to let his interlocutor follow his argument, he has to get back to something which is part of their common ground. In order to do so, he recalls the definition of a circle, a mathematical object which is generally known. This way, he can refer to that definition in his explanation. However, he does not want his addressee to think that he assumes that this definition is unknown to him, because that would imply that he thinks his addressee is stupid. Therefore, he marks the fact that this is common ground by means of που. This way, he lets his addressee know that he is aware that this is already part of their common ground, which makes sure the addressee will not draw the wrong conclusions. The που-statement does not contain subjective information, but only a factual and non-controversial description. Therefore, this sentence allows for an interpretation of που (without δή) as shared information. In the English translation, this is marked by the translation with *of course*, in German we find *doch wohl*, in which *doch* marks the sharedness of the information.

Another large group of verbs frequently found with που were the verbs of saying. Some of these examples are in the first person singular. This use of the first person singular with που is interesting, since one is supposed to know what one just said or is going to say. This implies that modal markers which mark uncertainty generally do not occur with first person singular verbs or the use with a first person pronoun results in a different interpretation. I will give three examples in which που is combined with a first person singular or plural. Two of these examples are cases of που and one is a case of δή που.

(16)   (ΞΕ. Τρίτον τοίνυν ἔτι σε σμικρόν τι παραιτήσομαι.
         ΘΕΑΙ. Λέγε μόνον.)

         ΞΕ. Εἶπόν   που νυνδὴ   λέγων
             I said   που just now saying
             1SG.AOR που PTCL   PTC.PRS.NOM.SG

         (ὡς πρὸς τὸν περὶ ταῦτ' ἔλεγχον ἀεί τε ἀπειρηκὼς ἐγὼ τυγχάνω καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ νῦν.
         ΘΕΑΙ. Εἶπες.)
         English(Stranger: Then I have a third little request to make of you.
         Theaetetus: You have only to utter it.)
         Stranger: I said a while ago (that I always have been too faint-hearted for the refutation of this theory, and so I am now.
         Theaetetus: Yes, so you did.)
         French: J'ai avoué, je crois, tout à l'heure, d'une façon expresse, (qu'une telle réfutation a toujours dépassé mes forces et les dépasse assurément encore.)

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[35]Transl.: English: Fowler (1926), French: Diès (1923), German: Schleiermacher and Kurz (1983).

German: Stranger: Ich sagte <u>doch</u> eben (daß ich von dieser Widerlegung schon immer habe ablassen müssen, und so auch jetzt.)

<div align="right">Pl. *Sph.* 242a</div>

In example (16), the speaker is reminding the addressee of something he said before, which is acknowledged by the addressee. This implies that the fact that the speaker said it is shared information. In the German translation this is marked with *doch*. The previously uttered sentence to which the speaker refers contained information about his personal stance. This makes it unlikely that he is now suggesting he is not sure that this is what his stance was, because stance taking is often what a conversation is about (Du Bois, 2007).

In example (17), (an example with δή) the speaker, a stranger, is describing a general habit of people by means of a generalizing first person plural.

(17)   (ΞΕ. Λέγωμεν δὴ καθ' ὅντινά ποτε τρόπον πολλοῖς ὀνόμασι ταὐτὸν τοῦτο ἑκάστοτε προσαγορεύομεν.) ΘΕΑΙ. Οἶον δὴ τί; παράδειγμα εἰπέ.

ΞΕ. Λέγομεν ἄνθρωπον δήπου πόλλ' ἄττα ἐπονομάζοντες,
    we say   man   δήπου many things naming
    1PL.PRS ACC.SG   δήπου ACC.PL ACC.PL PTC.PRS.NOM.PL

(τά τε χρώματα ἐπιφέροντες αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ σχήματα καὶ μεγέθη καὶ κακίας καὶ ἀρετάς, ἐν οἷς πᾶσι καὶ ἑτέροις μυρίοις οὐ μόνον ἄνθρωπον αὐτὸν εἶναί φαμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἕτερα ἄπειρα, καὶ τἆλλα δὴ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον οὕτως ἓν ἕκαστο ὑποθέμενοι πάλιν αὐτὸ πολλὰ καὶ πολλοῖς ὀνόμασι λέγομεν. ΘΕΑΙ. ἀληθῆ λέγεις.)
English: (Stranger: Let us, then, explain how we come to be constantly calling this same thing by many names. Theaetetus: What, for instance? Please give an example.) Stranger: We speak of man, <u>you know</u>, and give him many additional designations; (we attribute to him colors and forms and sizes and vices and virtues, and in all these cases and countless others we say not only that he is man, but we say he is good and numberless other things. So in the same way every single thing which we supposed to be one, we treat as many and call by many names. Theaetetus: True.)
French: L'étranger — Expliquons donc comment il se peut faire que nous désignions une seule et même chose par une pluralité de noms. Théétète:—As-tu un exemple? Donne-le. L'étranger:—Nous énonçons "l'homme", <u>tu le sais</u>, en lui appliquant de multiples dénominations. Nous lui attribuons couleurs, formes, grandeurs, vices et vertus; en toutes ces attributions, comme en des milliers d'autres, ce n'est point seulement homme que nous l'affirmons être, mais encore bon, et autres qualifications en nombre illimité. C'est ainsi pour tous autres objets: nous ne posons, également, chacun d'eux comme un que pour le dire aussitôt multiple et le désigner par une multiplicité de noms. Théétète —Tu dis vrai.
German: Fremder: Erklären wir denn auf welche Weise wir doch jedesmahl eine und dieselbe Sache mit vielen Namen benennen. Theaitetos: Wie was

doch? Gib mir ein Beispiel. Fremder: Wir sagen <u>doch</u> von einem Mensen gar vielerlei, indem wir ihn danach benennen, wenn wir ihm Farbe beilegen und Gestalt und Größe, auch Fehler und Tugenden, in welchen und hunderttausend anderen Fällen wir denn nicht nur sagen, daß er ein Mensch ist, sondern auch, daß er gut ist, und unzähliges andere, ebenso verhält es sich mit allen anderen Dingen, daß wir jedes als Eins setzen, und hernach doch wieder vieles davon sagen, mit vielerlei Benennungen erklären durch vielerlei Worte. Theaitetos: Wahr gesprochen.

<div align="right">Pl. *Sph.* 251a[36]</div>

Since the description of the way people speak in example (17) is an everyday fact of life, it is of course known to Theaetetus. This is also expressed by the use of a generalizing first person plural (we = people in general). This is probably why the translators use translations like *you know, tu le sais, doch.*

In example (18) below, Socrates is telling Eryximachus why his proposal to discuss love-matters will not be rejected.

(18)   Οὐδείς σοι, ὦ Ἐρυξίμαχε, φάναι τὸν Σωκράτη, ἐναντία ψηφιεῖται.

 οὔτε   γὰρ ἄν   που ἐγὼ   ἀποφήσαιμι,
nor   for ptcl που I   am able to reject
NEG=CONJ CO PTCL που NOM.SG 1SG.AOR.OPT

ὃς οὐδέν φημι ἄλλο ἐπίστασθαι ἢ τὰ ἐρωτικά,
English"No one, Eryximachus," said Socrates, "will vote against you: <u>I do not see how</u> I could myself decline, when I set up to understσand nothing but love-matters;
French: Personne, dit Socrate, ne votera contre ta proposition, Éryximaque! Elle n'a chance d'être combattue, ni <u>sans doute</u> par moi, qui assure ne rien savoir d'autre que ce qui a trait à l'<u>amour</u>;
German: Niemand, Eryximachos, habe Sokrates gesagt, wird gegen dich stimmen. Denn weder könnte <u>wohl</u> ich selbst es ablehnen, der ich, offen gesagt, mich nur in der Welt des Eros auskenne.

<div align="right">Pl. *Smp.* 177d[37]</div>

Example (18) is again an example of που without δή. Both the use of γάρ 'for' as a causal connective and the use of the first person contribute to the impression that what is said is known to both the speaker and the addressee. The causal connective implies that the conclusions that have just been stated are true according to the speaker. He will give the reason they are true in the γάρ sentence. This implies that the statement made in the causal sentence is also true according to the speaker. In addition, the speaker uses his own generally known behavior (saying that he does not know anything but love-matters) as an argument. Therefore, the speaker presents it as very implausible, both for himself and for Erymachus, who knows these facts as

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[36]Transl.: English: Fowler (1921), French: Diès (1923), German: Schleiermacher (1970).
[37]Transl.: English: Lamb (1925), French: Robin et al. ([1923] 1989), German: Boll and Buchwald (1969).

well and is therefore able to follow the same line of reasoning, that he would vote against Erymachus. This explains translations like *I do not see how, sans doute, wohl.*

A frequent collocation which was mentioned above, but not yet discussed is the direct collocation of που with γάρ 'for, because', a particle which is almost exclusively found in Wackernagel position. As we saw in example (18) for που, statements which contain accessible information can be used as explanation for a situation or statement. This may be an explanation for the frequent use of γάρ with δή που (34 out of 60 instances of γάρ που). Apart from this last collocation, γάρ που is also regularly found with verbs of saying and mental state predicates (respectively 6 times and 4 times). These three characteristics can account for 44 out of 60 instances of γάρ που.

Since example (18) was an example of γάρ που without δή, I will now give an example with δή as well. In example (19), an opinion is explained by what seems to be an almost redundant line of reasoning. This means that the speaker presents his view as evident and therefore shared by everyone. This is expressed by the translations *evidemment* and *sicherlich wird doch.*

(19)   τοὺς δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν σωφροσύνην ἐνεργαζομένους πῶς οὐκ ἄλογόν ἐστιν μὴ τοῖς μαθηταῖς μάλιστα πιστεύειν;

Οὐ	γὰρ	δή	που περὶ		τοὺς	ἄλλους	ὄντες
not	for	δή	που with respect to the			others	being
NEG	PTCL	PTCL	που PREP		ART.ACC.PL	ACC.PL	PTC.PRS.NOM.PL

καλοὶ	κἀγαθοὶ	καὶ	δίκαιοι	περὶ		τούτους
good	and just	and	righteous	with respect to		them
NOM.PL	CO=NOM.PL	CO	NOM.PL	PREP		ACC.PL

ἐξαμαρτήσονται		δι'	οὓς	τοιοῦτοι	γεγόνασιν.
will be acted unjustly upon	because of	whom	such	they have become
3PL.FUT		PREP	REL	NOM.PL	3.PL.PERF.

English: But men who inculcate virtue and sobriety–is it not absurd if they do not trust in their own students before all others? For <u>it is not to be supposed</u> that men who are honorable and just-dealing with others will be dishonest with the very preceptors who have made them what they are.
French: Mais n'est-il pas illogique que ceux qui inculquent aux autres la vertu et la sagesse n'aient pas la plus grande confiance dans leur disciples? <u>Evidemment</u> ceux-ci s'ils sont honnêtes et justes envers les autres, ne commettront pas de faute à l'égard de ceux grâce auxquels ils ont acquis tout cela,

German: <u>Sicherlich</u> wird <u>doch</u>, wer anderen gegenüber edel und gerecht ist, sich nicht <u>gegen</u> den verfehlen, dem er diese Eigenschaften zu verdanken hat!

<div align="right">Isoc. 13.6.6[38]</div>

These examples show that που may well have had the function of marking that the speaker believes the content of the που-clause to be accessible, either because it is part of his knowledge of the world, which includes commonly held values, or because it can be deduced from known information. The function of που to mark accessibility may of course also be used for rhetorical purposes. In the following example from Thucydides, a general is trying to calm his soldiers, who are on the verge of mutiny. They have convinced themselves that their general will, once they are in the ships, not bring them home, but to a new battle field. The general follows this line of reasoning in order to show that they do not need to fear that he will deceive the army, because if the army finds out that they have been deceived, they will murder him.

(20)   (ποιῶ δ' ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατηθέντας καὶ γοητευθέντας ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἥκειν εἰς Φᾶσιν· καὶ δὴ ἀποβαίνομεν εἰς τὴν χώραν·)

γνώσεσθε	δήπου	ὅτι	οὐκ	ἐν	τῇ	Ἑλλάδι	ἐστέ·
you will know	δήπου	that	not	in	the	Greece	you are;
2PL.FUT	δήπου	CONJ	NEG	PREP	DAT.SG	DAT.SG	2PL.PRS;

(καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν ἔσομαι ὁ ἐξηπατηκὼς εἷς, ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ ἐξηπατημένοι ἐγγὺς μυρίων ἔχοντες ὅπλα.)

English: (But suppose you have been deceived and bewitched by me and we have come to the Phasis; we accordingly disembark upon the shore;) you will perceive, <u>likely enough</u>, that you are not in Greece; (and I, who have done the deceiving, will be one lone man, while you, the deceived, will be close to ten thousand, with arms in your hands. Then how could a man bring down punishment upon himself more surely than by planning in that way for himself and for you?)

French: Nous débarquons donc dans le pays. Vous vous apercevrez bien, <u>je pense</u>, que vous n'êtes pas en Grèce.

German: Nun gut, ich bringe es dazu, daß ihr, von mir getäuscht und verzaubert, zum Phasis kommt. Un schon steigen wir an Land. Da werdet ihr <u>doch wohl</u> erkennen, daß ihr nicht in Griechenland seid.

<div align="right">X. *An.* 5.7.9[39]</div>

The general's argument in example (20) is based on the assumption that the soldiers will recognize that they are not in Greece when they arrive at the shore. Since the soldiers are from Greece, he can present this as a shared assumption, which will

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[38] Transl.: English: Norlin (1928), French: Mathieu and Brémond (1962), German: Ley-Hutton and Brodersen (1993).

[39] Transl. English: Brownson and Dillery (1998), French: Masqueray (1930), German: Müri (1990).

make it less likely that the soldiers will argue that they won't recognize Greece. This makes the argument stronger. Any form of hedge here would weaken the general's argument and would increase the chance of mutiny. Therefore, this seems a rhetorically very smart use of the implication of πoυ that the information offered is already accessible.

Summarizing, we have seen several types of examples, which were shown to exist both with πoυ and with δή πoυ, that contained information that was already accessible to the addressee. The translations of πoυ show that in the majority of the cases πoυ is interpreted by modern translators as having a positive argumentative orientation. In addition, there are indications, from the words that are frequently found in the surroundings of πoυ (like verbs of knowing and the particles δή and ἦ) that modal πoυ feels at home in contexts in which the content of the clause is presented as known or deducible to either the addressee or people in general. Also, πoυ itself was regularly translated by scholars in all three languages with markers expressing this accessibility of the information presented (i.e. translations like: *you know, as you know, as everybody knows, tu le sais, vous le savez, wisst ihr wohl, bekanntlich, selbstverständlich, of course, natürlich, bien sûr*). This also fits the frequent collocation with the causal connective γάρ, which may be found next to πoυ so frequently because it introduces arguments that need to be presented as generally known.

We may ask ourselves why πoυ is used in clauses whose content is already accessible to the addressee. An explanation may be that, normally, one violates Grice's maxim of quantity (Grice, 1989) if one states something which one knows is already accessible to the addressee. The general effect of such violation is that the addressee gets the impression that the speaker thinks he is stupid. However, in order to highlight certain information and make it part of the common ground in that conversation, it may be useful for the speaker to violate Grice's maxim (cf. Pittner, 2007; Nemo, 2007). To avoid suggesting to the addressee that he thinks his addressee does not know this information, the speaker needs to mark that he is aware that the information is already accessible. Since the obvious or trivial statements, as Sicking called them, do not result in reactions of offense by the addressees, it may well be that, as was apparently also the conclusion of the translators, πoυ is fulfilling that function. This use of πoυ may of course also be put to use for rhetorical purposes. Suggesting that something is shared information may have the effect that the addressee will not question the information provided, because he does not want to deviate from the norm. For that reason, we often find the particle in γάρ clauses in argumentative passages.

On the basis of these four types of indications: 1. the frequent co-occurrence with markers like δή, ἦ and verbs of knowing 2. the frequent presence of πoυ, both with and without δή in passages which contain already accessible information, 3. the frequent translation of πoυ with forms that indicate shared information by translators in three different languages and 4. the communicative need for this kind of marker in πoυ contexts[40], it is reasonable to think that modal πoυ had a conventional

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[40]The communicative need is of course related to the presence of accessible information in πoυ-clauses and presumably the communicative need for markers of accessibility is also a reason the translators have

implication that the speaker presents the information conveyed in the που-clause as accessible to the addressee, either by means of reasoning or because of knowledge of the world, moral conventions or generally held beliefs. Accessibility, especially when based on knowledge of the world, often seems to imply a positive argumentative orientation and is compatible with a relatively high argumentative strength. In the section on the development of που we will test this idea against a corpus of poetry, which is partly contemporary with the prose corpus that was studied in this chapter.

9.3.4 General contextual characteristics of modal που in classical prose

As we have seen in passing above, modal που is found in statements and in answers, as well as in arguments and *a fortiori* arguments. There are also other situations in which που seems to be conventionally used. One of these situations may be seen a form of argumentation as well. In most cases it is characterized by οὐ γὰρ (δή)που and it is used to present some line of reasoning or idea as completely ridiculous by stressing the opposite.

In example (21), for instance, οὐ γὰρ δή seems to have the function of presenting the negated sentence as so obviously the right thing to think for everybody, that there is no need for argumentation.

(21)   οὐ γὰρ δήπου,
         not for δήπου,
         NEG CONJ PTCL,
         ὦ Θεόμνηστε, εἰ μέν τίς σε εἴποι πατραλοίαν ἢ μητραλοίαν, ἠξίους ἂν αὐτὸν
         ὀφλεῖν σοι δίκην, εἰ δέ τις εἴποι ὡς τὴν τεκοῦσαν ἢ τὸν φύσαντα ἔτυπτες,

         ᾤου   ἂν αὐτὸν ἀζήμιον δεῖν εἶναι ὡς   οὐδὲν
         you would think ptcl him   unpunished must be   because not one
         2SG.IMPF   PTCL ACC.SG ACC.SG   INF.PRS INF.PRS CONJ   NEG

         τῶν   ἀπορρήτων εἰρηκότα.
         the   forbidden having spoken.
         GEN.PL GEN.PL   PTC.PERF.ACC.SG.

         English: For I presume, Theomnestus, you would not go so far, (while expecting to get satisfaction from a man who called you a father-beater or a mother-beater,) as to consider that he should go unpunished for saying that you struck your male or your female parent because he had spoken no forbidden word!
         French: Voyons, Théomnestos: si on t'appelait πατραλοίας ou μητραλοίας (qui bat son père ou sa mère), tu croirais avoir droit à une réparation; mais si

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chosen these types of translations, even though many of these translations are not mentioned in dictionaries or descriptions. Therefore, these arguments all seem to point in the same direction and are not completely independent of each other.

quelqu'-un disait que tu as frappé ton père ou ta mère, tu le croirais inattaquable, sous prétexte qu'il n'a pas employé un des mots interdits!
German: Du würdest doch wohl, Theomnestos, nicht erwarten, dass jemand dafür zu büßen habe, wenn er dich "Vatermörder" oder Muttermörder nennt, aber straflos davonkommt, wenn er sagt, du habest "die die dich geboren" oder "den, der dich gezeugt" erslagen - dann hätte er ja keine strafbare Beleidigung ausgesprochen.

Lys. *In Theomnestum 1.* 8.1 [41]

In example (21), the use of δήπου seems to have the effect that one can already feel general indignation should anyone try to go against this claim, because these are very basic shared values.

Another example, this time from Plato and without δή, is given in example (22). There is less indignation in this example, but the main effect, the presentation of the unnegated sentence as ridiculous because it is obvious that this is not the case, is comparable.

(22) οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄν   που τῇ   ἀληθείᾳ ὁ   ἕτερος τοῦ   ἑτέρου
      not   for ptcl που the   truth   the   one   the   other
      NEG   CONJ PTCL που DAT.SG DAT.SG NOM.SG NOM.SG GEN.SG   GEN.SG

      φρονιμώτερος εἴη,
      wiser   would be,
      NOM.SG   3SG.PRS.OPT,

      (εἴπερ ἃ ἂν ἑκάστῳ δοκῇ ἑκάστῳ ἀληθῆ ἔσται.)
      English: For one man would not in reality be at all wiser than another (if whatever seems to each person is really true to him.)
      French: Car l'un ne saurait point sans doute être plus raisonnable que l'autre, (si les opinions de chacun sont pour chacun la vérité.)
      German: Denn es wäre ja in Wahrheit nicht Einer vernünftiger als der Andere, (wenn was Jedem schiene auch für Jeden wahr wäre.)

Pl. *Cra.* 386c

Now we have both made a description of the characteristics of locative που and have a much clearer picture of the functions of modal που, we will go back to the controversial instances of locative που to see whether this information may help us decide which interpretation is the most likely to have been the one chosen by the Greeks themselves.

9.4   Back to controversial locative που

In section 9.2.2, we saw that in order to explain and disambiguate the controversial cases of locative που, we needed both information on the non-controversial cases of

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[41] Transl. English: Lamb (2000), French: Gernet and Bizos (1955), German: Huber (2004/2005).

locative που as well as information on modal που. Of the 22 instances of controversial locative που, 16 contain a verb with a locative implication, one is combined with the particle δή, one has a form of δεῖ 'it is necessary, must' as its main verb and one last instance was combined with the verb *say.*

There are four features of the context that were mentioned only in passing that may also have had influence on the interpretation of που and which are present in this group of examples. These are: 1) the position of που in the clause, 2) the presence of τις 'some, something, somehow', 3) the larger context, which may block an otherwise completely sound interpretation, 4) the information status of the content of που-clause (i.e. does the που-clause contain known information?)

The position of που in the clause is in some cases just after the locative verb, which is in the middle of the sentence as in example (23). Since in most other cases που is found in Wackernagel position in the second position of the clause, this is an indication that we may be dealing with the adverbial locative που instead of modal που.

(23) ἄλλον   δέ   γε   ἴσως   ἀπολειπόμενόν που   διὰ   ῥᾳστώνην καὶ
      other and PTCL perhaps fall behind   που because of indolence and
      ACC.SG CONJ PTCL ADV   PTC.PRS.ACC.SG PTCL PREP   ACC.SG   CO

      κωλύοντα   καὶ ὑμᾶς τοὺς πρόσθεν   καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς
      preventing   also you   the   at the front and us   the
      PTC.PRS.ACC.SG PTCL ACC.PL ACC.PL ADV   CO ACC.PL ACC.PL

      ὄπισθεν   πορεύεσθαι ἔπαισα πύξ,
      at the back go   hit   with the fist
      ADV   INF.PRS   1SG.AOR ADV

(ὅπως μὴ λόγχῃ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων παίοιτο.)
In still another case, the man, perhaps, who fell behind <u>somewhere</u> out of indolence and prevented both you in the van and us in the rear from going on, I struck such a one with the fist (in order that the enemy might not strike him with the lance.)
French: Il se peut bien encore, si quelqu'un restant en arrière par nonchalance empêchait d'avancer aussi bien vous qui étiez en tête, que nous autres qui étions en queue, que je lui aie donné des coups de poing (pour que l'ennemi ne lui donnât pas de coups de lance.)
German: Einen andern, der <u>wohl</u> aus Bequemlichkeit zurückblieb und euch vorn und uns hinten am Marschieren hinderte, habe ich vielleicht auch mit der Faust geschlagen, (damit er nicht von den Feinden mit der Lanze geschlagen werde.)

X. *An.*5.8.16.1[42]

The combination of που with τι 'some, something, somehow' in a sentence like (24) is an indication that indefiniteness plays a role in the sentence.

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[42] Transl: English: Brownson and Dillery (1998), French: Masqueray (1930), German: Müri (1954).

(24)   οἱ μὲν δὴ δόντες καὶ τρεῖς τριήρεις καὶ ἀφορμὴν εἰς ξένους χιλίους ἐξέπεμψαν
        τὸν Ἀναξίβιον. ὁ δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἀφίκετο, κατὰ γῆν μὲν ἀθροίσας ξενικὸν τῶν τ᾽
        Αἰολίδων πόλεων παρεσπᾶτό τινας τοῦ Φαρναβάζου καὶ ἐπιστρατευσάσαις
        ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἄβυδον ἀντεπεστράτευε καὶ ἐπεπορεύετο καὶ ἐδῄου τὴν
        χώραν αὐτῶν: καὶ ναῦς δὲ πρὸς αἷς εἶχε συμπληρώσας ἐξ Ἀβύδου τρεῖς ἄλλας
        κατῆγεν,

        εἴ   τί   που λαμβάνοι   Ἀθηναίων   πλοῖον ἢ τῶν
        if   somehow που he could take of the Atheneans ship   or the
        CONJ ADV   που 3SG.PRS.OPT   GEN.PL   ACC.SG CO ART.GEN.PL

        ἐκείνων συμμάχων.
        of them allies.
        GEN.PL   GEN.PL.

        English: Accordingly the ephors gave Anaxibius three triremes and money
        enough for a thousand mercenaries, and sent him out. When he had reached
        Abydus, his operations by land were as follows: after collecting a mercenary
        force, he proceeded to detach some of the Aeolian cities from Pharnabazus,
        take the field in retaliatory expeditions against the cities which had made ex-
        peditions against Abydus, march upon them, and lay waste their territory.
        On the naval side, in addition to the ships which he had he fully manned
        three others from Abydus, and brought into port whatever merchant vessel
        he found <u>anywhere</u> belonging to the Athenians or their allies.
        French: d'autre part, après avoir équipé, en plus des navires qu'il avait déjà,
        trois autres celui fournit Abidos, il faisait la course pour essayer de capturer
        quelque vaisseau des Athéniens ou de leurs alliés.
        German: und nachdem er zu den Schiffen, die ihm schon zur Verfügung standen,
        noch drei weitere, die Abydos ihm stellte, mit einer vollständigen Mannschaft
        besetzt hatte, fuhr er an die Küste, um <u>möglichst</u> irgendwelche Transport-
        fahrzeuge der Athener oder ihrer Bundesgenossen zu kapern.

                                                                    X. *HG.* 4.8.33.8[43]

    In this example, we may either connect τι to πλοῖον, as in 'some ship' or inter-
pret it adverbially as 'somehow'. Often we find the collocation τίς που in descriptions
of situations that may occur or have occurred more than once as in example (24).[44]
Because the participants in the event change every time the situation occurs, it is
impossible to be definite about the identity or the location of these participants,
which would be an argument in favor of a generalizing locative interpretation. The
German and probably the French translation choose translations which reinforce the
uncertainty expressed by the εἰ clause. However, the εἰ clause expresses a goal, which
makes the addition of extra uncertainty communicatively less useful. In addition, we
have found very little evidence in favor of a neutral or even negative argumentative

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[43]Transl.: English: Brownson (1918), French: Hatzfeld (1936-1939), German: Strasburger (1970).
[44]For a discussion of conditionals that presuppose that the content of the conditional clause has been
(sometimes) realized, like is the case in (24), see Wakker (1994, 276).

orientation for modal που in this corpus. Therefore, I would interpret που as a generalizing marker of place here, just as the English translation does.

If we take the collocations as a lead, there are only two cases of controversial locative που for which there are linguistic, contextual arguments to interpret as modal. The first is the case in which we also find δή, which is given in example (25), the other one is dependent on the larger context. This last example was already discussed above under (8), which is reproduced below as (26).

In example (25), the speaker cites a passage from Homer. Since δήπου is modal in all other instances in this corpus and is generally interpreted as 'of course', it implies that the addressee already knows or should know the content of the δήπου-clause. This is also what is expressed by both the English and the French translation. Therefore, it is most likely that δήπου was interpreted as modal in the classical period.

(25)   ἔστι   μὲν γὰρ δήπου καὶ Ὁμήρῳ
         is   ptcl for δήπου ptcl in Homer
         3SG.PRS PTCL PTCL δήπου PTCL DAT.SG
         (γάνυται δέ τ' ἀκούων.)
         English: Homer, <u>you remember</u>, has the words,("He joys to hear";)
         French: On lit en effet, <u>vous le savez</u>, dans Homère:
         German: Denn es steht <u>irgendwo</u> bei Homer.

X. *Smp.* 8.30.3[45]

Example (26), which was already discussed under (8) above, is a comparable situation. This time, however, it is clear from the text some paragraphs above that the speaker already mentioned this passage before, even giving information about the texts in which this information was found. This makes it unlikely that he has already forgotten this information and is adding *somewhere*. It is much more likely that he is showing that he is aware that he is repeating himself and thus gives accessible information, which is expressed by που.

(26)   (Ξένος: Παρμενίδης δὲ ὁ μέγας, ὦ παῖ, παισὶν ἡμῖν οὖσιν ἀρχόμενός τε καὶ διὰ
         τέλους τοῦτο ἀπεμαρτύρατο, πεζῇ τε ὧδε ἑκάστοτε λέγων καὶ μετὰ μέτρων—
         "οὐ γὰρ μήποτε τοῦτο δαμῇ, φησίν, εἶναι μὴ ἐόντα:
         [21 paragraphs])

         Ξένος: ὅτι   ὁ   μέν πού φησιν: (οὐ γὰρ μήποτε τοῦτο
         Stranger: because he   που says   not for   never this
                    CONJ   NOM.SG PTCL που 3.SG.PRS: NEG PTCL NEG   ACC.SG.

         δαμῇ,   εἶναι μὴ ἐόντα   [...]
         be proved,   be   not being
         3.SG.AOR.SUBJ.PASS 3.SG.PRS NEG PTC.PRS.ACC.SG

         Θεαίτητος: λέγει γὰρ οὖν οὕτως.)
         English: Stranger: (But the great Parmenides, my boy, from the time when we

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[45]Transl. English: Todd (1922), French: Ollier (1961), German: Bux (1956).

were children to the end of his life, always protested against this and constantly repeated both in prose and in verse:"Never let this thought prevail, saith he, that not-being is;
[21 paragraphs])
Stranger: Because he says <u>somewhere</u>: (Never shall this thought prevail, that not-being is;
Theaetetus: Yes, that is what he says.)
French: Il dit lui, <u>s'il me souvient</u>:
German: Er sagt <u>doch</u>:

<div align="right">Pl. <i>Sph.</i> 237a and 258d.[46]</div>

In conclusion, we can say that the contextual characteristics of locative and modal που allow us to argue for one of the two possible interpretations on relatively objective grounds. Locative interpretations generally contain locative markers, whereas modal interpretations often show use of the modal particles δή and ἦ, as well as verbs of knowing, verbs of saying and the copula. Modal instances also contain information which is presented as accessible for the addressee.

9.5   Conclusion

In this chapter, it was investigated to what extent it would be possible to link contextual features to the translations of που which were chosen by translators in three different languages. This was done in order to discover the function of modal που and how speakers distinguished locative and modal uses of που. It was shown that both locative interpretations and modal interpretations have specific contextual characteristics, which may have allowed speakers to distinguish between those two major interpretations.

The contextual characteristics of locative που were generally not very surprising, but they covered a large proportion of the instances that were translated as locative, indicating that speakers really may have used these markers as ways to disambiguate locative from modal που. It was found that locative translations were generally connected to locative markers like verbs implying a location, locative prepositions and locative adverbs. A subgroup of locative που, which often also had a generalizing function, was frequently combined with the conditional εἰ as well as the indefinite pronoun τις. The use of που with numbers 'about, around' was not unequivocally present in this corpus, nor did I find any instances in which only the interpretation *somehow* fitted the context.

Modal translations frequently had a positive argumentative orientation. Modal translations were frequently found if που was placed next to the particles δή and ἦ. The combination of που with γάρ as well as with verbs of knowing, saying and the copula is also very frequent.

By means of the following collocations we could account for 71% of the instances of που in the synchronic prose corpus.

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[46]Translations English: Fowler (1921), French: Diès (1923), German: Schleiermacher (1970).

- δή 'evidently'

- ἦ *affirmative particle*

- γάρ 'for, because'

- πάντως 'certainly, in all respects'

- verbs of knowing (οἶδα, γιγνώσκω, ἐπίσταμαι)

- verbs of saying (λέγω, φημί)

- εἰ *conditional*

- τις 'some, someone, something, somehow'

- locative adverbs

- locative prepositions

- locative verbs

This suggests that knowing these collocations and their common use would already give a speaker a good idea of how to interpret που. However, as we see in figure 9.1, the collocates of που did not always exclude each other. Sometimes they were used together. However, the figure also shows that the overlap between the collocates that were related to a locative interpretation (the right side of the chart, mostly in pastel colors) and the ones that were connected to the modal interpretations (on the left, mostly in bright colors) is minimal even though some of the forms are quite generally used forms like γάρ 'for, because'. This suggests again that this division is not coincidental and that these markers may point speakers in the direction of a specific domain of interpretation. In addition, it may be hypothesized on the basis of this distribution that for speakers these domains may have been completely separated.

In figure 9.1, we see that almost one third of the instances of που is collocated with δή 'evidently' and the other collocations also suggest a positive argumentative orientation. These contextual features led us to a feature of many translations of που: many of the translations used imply that the information given in the που clause is either (generally) known information or deducible information, which is a more general characteristic of many που-clauses as was already noted by Sicking (1993). Expressing that information is (generally) known or accessible is also one of the effects of verbs of knowing and compatible with the common descriptions of the effect of the particle δή 'evidently'. Many contexts in which που was found without these frequently co-occuring particles and verbs pointed in the same direction. Therefore, a conventional use of που may have been to express that the information in the που-clause was accessible to the addressee or presented as such by the speaker.

In the theoretical introduction to this dissertation, I said that I would attempt to describe the knowledge of the speaker about the use of που. Although the exact
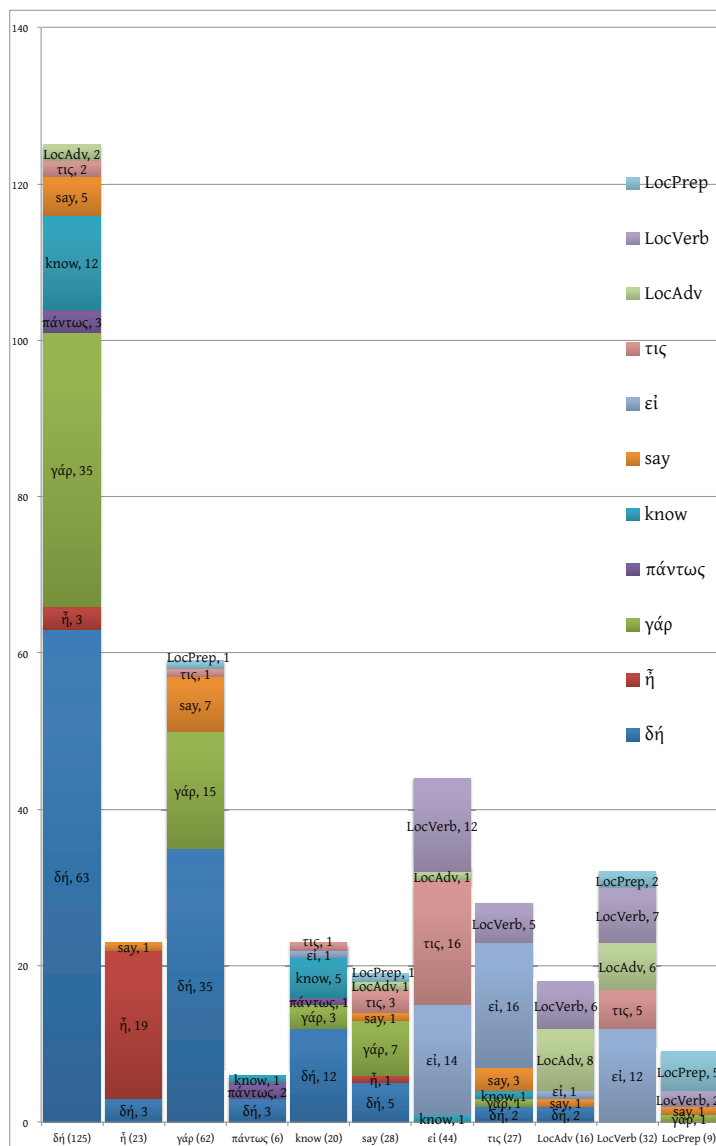
Figure 9.1: The collocates of που with a specification of the overlaps with other collocates. The repetition of the form below the bar within the bar itself indicates the part of the instances of that form that did not have any other collocates. N.B. Due to the overlaps, the total number of collocates is more than the total number of instances of που (381).

level of abstraction is difficult to assess, we can say that it is likely that a speaker of Greek knew that που was used regularly in certain constructions and in specific types of situations. He probably needed this knowledge in order to comply with the conventions of his language community. Therefore, I will now summarize some constructional characteristics which were discussed briefly above and which may have helped a speaker of Greek to decide on a specific interpretation.

Locative που seems to have been accompanied by locative verbs, adverbs and prepositions. Within this group there is a large subgroup of cases which occur in a conditional clause and which seem to have had the function of making the event repeatable (every time something was somewhere) or generalizable. Although we cannot be sure that (all) speakers saw (all) these connections, it may be useful to present the locative constructions in a constructional network as in 9.2. This network contains all kinds of smaller regularities and some basic abstractions over them, which are probably the basis of everyday language use. The level of abstraction that is presented is just a guess and may have varied between individual speakers.

Modal που is very frequently accompanied by the particle δή and in cases in which an *a fortiori* argument was needed also with ἦ. This last combination generally had the form [conditional clause] ἦ που ..., which showed some variation in the choice of the conjunction and some adverbs were regularly added. In the case of δή που the collocation was, apart from simply expressing evident accessibility as in 'of course', regularly used with a negation and the particle γάρ, which may have served the purpose of expressing some indignation or ridicule. Especially in answers που could be combined with πάντως in cases in which one is completely sure of oneself. Sentences with verbs of knowing, saying and copular constructions were contexts in which modal που was frequently used as well. All in all, this may have been combined into a construction network as is presented in figure 9.3 below. Locative που is not incorporated because locative and modal που were probably homonyms as is suggested by the lack of connections between the constructions in which locative που and modal που are used.

These linguistic contextual characteristics could account for over 70% of the instances of που. This suggests that conventional patterns may have played a role in the interpretation of που.

που + [locative verb]

που + [locat. prep] + [locat. verb]
'somewhere/anywhere'

που + [locat. adv] + [locat. verb]
'somewhere/anywhere'

που + ἄλλοθι + [locat. verb]

που τις + [locat. verb]
generalizing (locative) ○

εἰ που + [locat. verb]
generalizing (locative) ○

που τις + [locat. verb] +
[locat. prep]

που τις + [to see] ○

που τις +
[locat. verb]

εἰ που + [to be/locat. verb] +
[locat. prep.]

εἰ που + [to be] + ἐν

εἰ που + [to see]

εἰ που + τις [locat. verb
(indic./ opt. iter.)] ○

που + ἐν + [locat. verb]
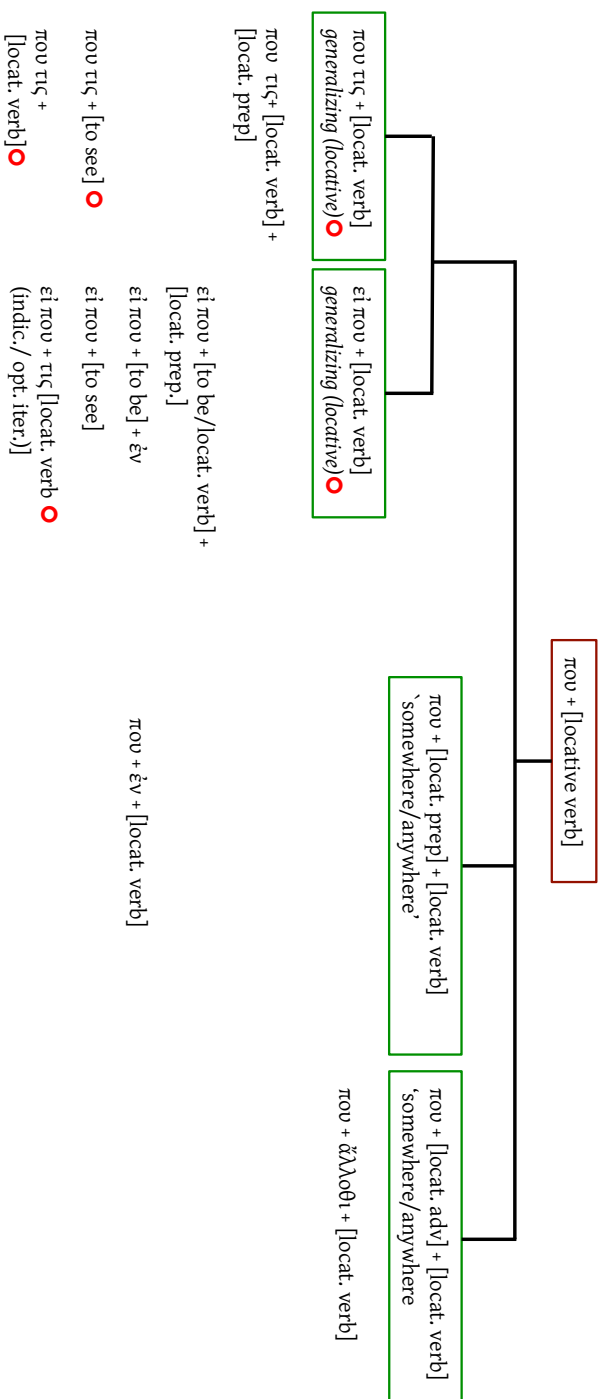
○ Used in sentences which describe repetitive or commonly occurring situations of which the exact details do not matter.

Figure 9.2: The proposed construction network of που 'somewhere'

Modal που
used to mark that the content of the clause is –according to the speaker– already accessible to the addressee

που ⊙■→
Propositional content is already accessible to the addressee

ἦ που
Inference on the basis of recently received information which is accessible to the addressee ❖

δή που ⊙■+
Propositional content is evident and already accessible to the addressee

πάντως δή που ⊙
'certainly, of course'

δή που + verbs of knowing ⊙+
The facts/shared moral values presented by the complement of the verb of knowing are presented as evident and already accessible.

γάρ δή που +
Argument or explanation by means of an evident statement which is accessible to the addressee.

Οὐ γάρ δή που ◆+
Argument or explanation by means of a negated evident statement which is accessible to the addressee.

δή που + verbs of saying ■
The complement of the verb of saying is presented as evident and already accessible.

πάντως που ⊙
'certainly, as you well know'

που + verbs of knowing ⊙+
The facts/shared moral values in the complement of the verb of knowing are presented as already accessible.

γάρ που +
Argument or explanation by means of a statement which is accessible to the addressee.

Οὐ γάρ που ◆+
Argument or explanation by means of a negated statement which is accessible to the addressee.

που + verbs of saying ■
The complement of the verb of saying is presented as already accessible.

[condition] + ἦ που
if X then certainly Y ★

εἰ ... + ἦ που
if X then
certainly Y ★

ὅστις ... ἦ που
whoever X then
certainly Y ★

ὅπου ... ἦ που
when X then
certainly Y ★

ἦ που ❖
*Inference on the
basis of recently
received
information
which is
accessible to the
addressee*

εἰ γάρ ... + ἦ που
for if X then
certainly Y ★

ὅστις γάρ ... ἦ που
for whoever X then
certainly Y ★

ὅποτε ... ἦ που
when X then
certainly Y ★

ὅπου γάρ ... ἦ που
for when X then
certainly Y ★

καίτοι εἰ + ἦ που
N.B. if X then
certainly Y ★

καίτοι ὅποτε ... ἦ που
N.B. when X then
certainly Y ★

εἰ ... ἦ που σφόδρα
if X then certainly
much more Y

ὅπου ... ἦ που σφόδρα
when X then certainly
much more Y ★

⊙ ◆ ○ ■ ★ ✧ + ✪ ↑

⊙ Frequently used in truisms or propositions containing generally known information, such as the meaning of words, myths, generally held beliefs, religious assumptions or proverbs.
◆ Frequently used to express that the opposite (i.e. the non-negated version of the statement) would be ridiculous because it would go against all reason or shared values in Greek society.
○ Frequently used in answers to obvious questions or in reaction to a truism.
■ Frequently used to mark a repetition of what has been said earlier or a (recent) historical fact/quote.
★ Used in a fortiori arguments.
✧ Used in inferences on the basis of recently received new information.
+ Frequently used in arguments.
✪ Frequently used in fearful or incredulous questions.
↑ Frequently used in inferences.

Figure 9.3: The proposed construction networks of modal που