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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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CHAPTER 10

The diachronic development of $\pi\upsilon$

10.1 Introduction

As we have seen in the previous chapter, $\pi\upsilon$ developed several uses in classical Greek. In this chapter, I will try to shed some light on how these uses came about. I will address the following questions and sub-questions:

1. How did the semantic change from locative $\pi\upsilon$ to other interpretations come about?
 - (a) Are there any differences between the earlier stages of the language and classical Greek?
 - (b) If so, is this due to the limitations of our synchronical corpus, or has the language changed?
 - (c) Can we determine any bridging contexts (Heine, 2002; Diewald, 2006a)?
 - (d) What characteristics do potential bridging contexts have?
2. Do we find regularities in the linguistic and communicative context that can be linked to specific interpretations and that may have belonged to the linguistic knowledge of the speaker?
3. What determines whether an interpretation is likely to have been used by the Greeks?

In order to answer these questions, I will study a diachronic corpus, which will be described below.

10.1.1 The diachronic corpus

The diachronic corpus consists of poetry by the following authors.¹ The fragmentary works of these authors were excluded.

- Homer (around 750 BC, 203,242 words)
- Hesiod (around 700 BC, 16,205 words)
- Aeschylus (524-456 BC, 51,315 words)
- Sophocles (496-406 BC, 59,946 words)
- Euripides (485-406 BC, 160,468 words)
- Aristophanes (450-385 BC, 98,698 words)

The latest part of this diachronic corpus is contemporary with most of the synchronic prose corpus we used in the previous chapter. There are tragedies from 472 BC onwards going on until 405. The last comedy in the corpus is from 388 BC. The synchronic prose corpus ranges from around 430 BC- 355 BC. This overlap may allow us to see whether the differences are due to genre differences between poetry and prose or to the development of modal $\pi\omicron\upsilon$. If a change is due to historical development, we would expect to find it only in the later texts, but if it is both in earlier and later tragic texts, but not in the prose corpus, or vice versa, it is more likely that the differences are genre related. For this reason, we will study the diachronic corpus in parts. We will start with the epic part of the corpus and after that we will continue with tragedy and comedy. We will also look at the possibility of differences within the tragic genre, because this genre covers the largest period of time.

The diachronic corpus is very different both in terms of genre and types of texts from the synchronic prose corpus which we studied in the previous chapter. First, the diachronic corpus consists completely of poetry. Second, the conventions of Ancient Greek literature, although they were still in development at this time, required different types of poetry to be written in different dialects. This means that choral parts in the plays are written in a literary form of the doric dialect.

Although for another reason, the epic works by Homer are also commonly assumed to contain a mixture of dialects, mainly Ionic, Aeolic and possibly some traces of the Mycenaean dialect (1200 BC) which belongs to the Arcado-Cyprian branch.² This mixture of dialects within the Homeric texts may be an effect of the way these poems originated. As Parry (1971) has shown, it is likely that the Homeric epics have originated in a panhellenic oral tradition, in which it was common to combine fixed, metrical formulas into a story while telling that story. Although there must have been written versions in earlier times, versions remained significantly different, as we can see from papyri, until around 150 BC (Latacz, 2012). This last text is also basically the text we have today.

¹The dates given in this overview are based on The New Pauly online.

²There also may be Atticisms in the text, which are due to later changes to the text before the standardization of the text.

However, most of the text probably originated in the 8th or 7th century BC.³ Even though the Homeric texts were probably written down relatively early, they still show features that link them to the earlier oral tradition. This means that we find exactly the same formulas repeated in different places in the texts, including what may be described as some (metrical) copy-paste errors in the connection of fixed metrical formulas (Bakker (1988, 187) after Parry (1971, 203; 215)). This sometimes resulted in formulas that were less integrated in the situational context, creating discrepancies. Since there are formulas in which $\pi\upsilon\upsilon$ is found, the formulas and their use will be referred to in the discussion below.

The combination of a mixture of dialects and both very old and newer forms suggests that we cannot completely trust all Homeric constructions and uses as originating from the 8th century BC. In addition, the Homeric texts and their sometimes archaic language have greatly influenced later authors, especially those writing poetry. This implies that we need to be very careful in drawing conclusions about the development of Greek on the basis of Homeric data in particular and, to a lesser extent, other poetic texts. However, the Homeric texts may provide evidence from very early stages of Greek and we cannot ignore this evidence.

Between the epic authors and the first tragic author, Aeschylus, there is a gap of more than a hundred years in the corpus. This, together with the special history of the epic texts, makes them fundamentally different from the other authors. Therefore, I will first discuss epic poetry, apart from the other works in the diachronic corpus. I will compare the use of $\pi\upsilon\upsilon$ in the epic texts with the prose authors from the classical period discussed in the previous chapter. Next, we will proceed to the other genres, which are much more directly connected both in time and place of composition to the prose authors.

One of the ways to find out how modal $\pi\upsilon\upsilon$ developed, is to look at the differences in use of the particle between earlier times and in the classical period. It is both interesting to see whether the contextual features are different between earlier texts and the classical period and whether the interpretations were different. However, this would assume that apart from the difference in the period of writing there are no other differences between the texts. As we have seen above, there are many generic and dialectal differences between the synchronic prose corpus and the diachronic corpus. This means that we need to be very careful in drawing conclusions on the basis of differences between the diachronic corpus and the synchronic prose corpus.

10.1.2 Scholars on Homeric $\pi\upsilon\upsilon$

Bolling (1929) has written an article specifically on the meaning of $\pi\upsilon\upsilon$ in Homer. He follows Wackernagel's interpretation of $\pi\upsilon\upsilon$ as can be seen from the abstract of his article:

³This overview of the textual transmission of the Homeric texts was based on Latacz (2012).

The etymological meaning ‘somewhere’ of this particle seems obsolete in the Homeric poems, in which it designates an emotional coloring that may be described as confident belief in something that cannot be demonstrated. Nowhere is it the expression of a doubt.

Later on, Bolling (1929, 104) modifies this statement a bit, theoretically allowing for a locative interpretation of *που*.

“There are passages, of course, in which a translation ‘somewhere’ will not offend; but they should be taken to show no more than the way in which the change of meaning was brought about. They do not seem to form a series illustrating various steps in that process, and the probability is that the change was considerably earlier than our records.”

Denniston (1950, 267) has a specific comment on *δήπου* in Homer:

“This combination is already found in Homer, but it is probable that the words do not coalesce as closely in him as in later writers.

Later on, Denniston states on *δήπου* in general:

Strictly speaking, the certainty of *δή* is toned down by the doubtfulness of *που*. But often the doubt is only assumed *μετ’ εἰρωνείας* (not always ‘ironically’ in the modern sense of the word), ‘presumably’, ‘I believe’, ‘I imagine’ being virtually equivalent to ‘of course’.”

This irony has been called into question by Verdenius (1956, 251ff), who does agree that in some cases *που* is used ‘by a speaker who is quite sure of his ground’, but claims that this has nothing to do with irony. According to Verdenius, *που* may be used both to strengthen and to weaken, depending on the context.

In the case of *ἦ που*, however, Denniston (1950, 285) says the two particles form a unity in Homer even when they are not placed next to each other.

Slater (1969), in his specialized dictionary on Pindar translates *που* as ‘somehow’, but the translations of Pindar from English, French and German do not show that translation, they prefer ‘no doubt’ and ‘wohl’ for the Pindaric instances of *που*.⁴ Also, Wackernagel’s interpretation of *που* was originally triggered by passages from Pindar.

In the *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos*, W. Beck follows Verdenius (1956) in the sense that he distinguishes two uses of modal *που*: 1. *probably* used in phrases with indicative whose truth the speaker holds to be probable. This use is frequently found in sentences that are formally explanatory and in statements and 2. *possibly* used to express possibility. In this last option, Beck specifically mentions the use of *που* in *εἰ* clauses⁵, the combination with *τις*, as well as the presence of *που* in *either...*

⁴The translations used were: English: Svarlien (1990), French: Puech (1949, 1952b,a, 1955), German: Werner (1967).

⁵As we already saw above and will see again below, most instances of *εἴ που* and *που* in *either...or...* clauses are either generalizing or locative. Since there are no other indications for an interpretation ‘possibly’, this category will not be used in this dissertation.

or... clauses. The types of sentences which Beck mentions are: 1. clauses that speculate about the state or motivations of third persons, 2. final clauses and 3. prohibitions.

We can conclude from the literature above that we will probably find that $\pi\omicron\upsilon$ did already have a modal value in the epics and that with respect to the earliest texts there is already some discussion about the argumentative orientation of $\pi\omicron\upsilon$.

10.2 Differences in the use of $\pi\omicron\upsilon$ between epic poetry and classical Greek prose

10.2.1 Introduction to epic $\pi\omicron\upsilon$

Just like in the previous chapter, I used three translations (one in English, one in French and one in German) of the text in the diachronic corpus, mostly from academic, bilingual editions. This way, it was possible to work with judgements that were independent of my personal view on the interpretation of $\pi\omicron\upsilon$. In addition, this method allowed us to see how consistent the interpretations of different scholars with different mother tongues are. The clearest difference in interpretation is when one translator interprets $\pi\omicron\upsilon$ as locative and another translates it as modal. As before, these will be called the controversial instances of locative $\pi\omicron\upsilon$. Less clear are the cases in which the shades of modal that are used differ, because it is always hard to assess the exact interpretation that was the basis for a choice of a particular translation.

The number of controversial instances of locative $\pi\omicron\upsilon$ is much larger in the diachronic corpus than was the case in the synchronic prose corpus. This is even more extremely the case for the epics. In 30 of the 164 cases of epic $\pi\omicron\upsilon$ (18.2%) translators do not agree whether $\pi\omicron\upsilon$ is to be interpreted as locative or as modal (in the synchronic corpus this was only 5.8%, i.e. 22 out of 304). In addition, 7 times commentaries interpret $\pi\omicron\upsilon$ as locative whereas the translators do not make that choice. This high level of controversy may be an indication that the markers of locative and/or modal $\pi\omicron\upsilon$ were not as clear in Homer as they were in the classical period. This may be due to an ongoing development. Therefore, we will study these examples in detail in section 10.2.2 below.

According to Bolling (1929), locative $\pi\omicron\upsilon$ does not occur in Homer anymore although in some contexts it is possible to read a locative interpretation. This view is not shared by translators and commentators. For instance in the following example Ameis and Hentze (1879) say that this is to be interpreted as locative and the English and German translators also choose a locative interpretation. A modal interpretation would not be completely impossible, because the other people present may also know that the lyre has been left behind, but since the rest of the relative clause is purely about a location and since there is no communicative reason to mark that people may know that the lyre lies in the halls, a locative interpretation seems the most plausible option.⁶

⁶It is very hard to come up with an example in which it would be contextually impossible to have some

- (1) Δημοδόκῳ δέ τις αἶψα κιῶν φόρμιγγα λίγειαν
οἰσέτω,

ἣ που κεῖται ἐν ἡμετέροισι δόμοισιν.
which που lies in our halls.
REL.NOM.SG ΠΟΥ 3SG.PRS PREP DAT.PL DAT.PL.

English: And let one go straightway and fetch for Demodocus the clear-toned lyre which lies somewhere in our halls.

French: Vite! à Demodocos qu'on s'en aille chercher la cithare au chant clair: elle est restée chez moi.

German: Schleunig die klingende Leier für unsern Demodokos! Sicher liegt sie noch irgendwo daheim in unsrem Palaste.⁷

Od. 8.255⁸

In the following example, translations and the commentary of Ameis and Hentze also agree on a locative interpretation.

- (2) ὄφρ' ἂν ἐγὼν ἔλθω Σπάρτην ἐς καλλιγύναικα
Τηλέμαχον καλέουσα, τεὸν φίλον υἱόν, Ὀδυσσεῦ:
ὅς τοι ἐς εὐρύχορον Λακεδαίμονα παρ Μενέλαον
ᾤχετο πευσόμενος μετὰ σὸν κλέος,

εἷ που ἔτ' εἷης.
if που still you were.
CONJ ΠΟΥ ADV 2SG.PRS.OPT.

English: while I go to Sparta, the land of fair women, to summon thence Telemachus, thy dear son, Odysseus, who went to spacious Lacedaemon to the house of Menelaus, to seek tidings of thee, if thou wast still anywhere alive.

French: tandis que je m'en vais jusqu'à Lacédémone, la ville aux belles femmes, rappeler, cher Ulysse, Télémaque, ton fils! car il s'en est allé vers Sparte à la grand'plaine savoir de Ménélas si l'on parlait de toi, si tu vivais encore.

German: Selbst aber gehe ich nach Sparta, das voll ist von herrlichen Weibern, rufe Telemachos auf, deinen lieben Sohn, mein Odysseus. Diesser ist fort, zu erkunden, wo und ob du noch lebest, fragt Menelaos in Sparta, das breite Plätze zum Tanz hat.

Od. 13.415⁹

In example (2), *που* seems to fulfill the function of a predicative complement. Theoretically, it would be possible to read the verb *be* (εἷης) as existential 'whether

sort of modal interpretation, since modal interpretations are inherently subjective. However, I think the examples mentioned here show enough indications for a locative interpretation that the choice for a modal interpretation would be hard to uphold.

⁷This translator uses the same text, that is, with a relative pronoun, not a participle. This means that either *sicher* is a double translation of *που* or this is a rather free translation, which may be connected to the fact that it is a poetic translation.

⁸Trans. English: Murray (1919b), French: Bérard (1924), German: Weiher (1961).

⁹Trans. English: Murray (1919b), French: Bérard (1924), German: Weiher (1961).

you still existed' and *που* as 'as you can imagine' but this seems far fetched. Therefore, it seems that *που* did have a locative use in the epics.

In addition to these locative examples, it is methodologically the most sound approach to see whether we can still find some traces of locative *που* and to let go of this interpretation only if the context forces us to do so, since it is morphologically clear that the original interpretation of *που* was locative. In addition, we find some clearly locative examples in later times, suggesting that the locative interpretation had not become obsolete. Therefore, the first question that needs an answer is whether there are instances of *που* in the epic corpus that are unequivocally modal. The next step is whether modern scholars agree on which instances are modal and which ones may be locative and what features of the context influence this decision. This will be discussed in section 10.2.2.

The first thing that catches the eye when comparing the collocations of modal *που* in epic poetry (Homer and Hesiod) with modal *που* in the synchronic corpus (see table 10.1), is that the collocation *δή που* is far less frequent than in the prose corpus. In addition the presence of *που* in *εἰ* 'if, whether' clauses is much higher in the epic corpus and the use of *τις* 'some, someone, something, somehow' is also much more frequent in the epics. High frequencies of *εἰ* and *τις* may be related because they frequently occur together (in the epics in 15 out of 26 *εἰ*-clauses).

		Epic modal <i>που</i>	Classical modal <i>που</i>
<i>δή που</i>	'evidently'	5.7% (7)	39.8% (121)
<i>ἦ που</i>	<i>affirmative ptcl</i>	5.7% (7)	7.6% (23)
<i>εἶ που</i>	'if/whether'	21.1% (26)	2.6% (8)
know + <i>που</i>		2.4% (3)	6.3% (19)
<i>γάρ που</i>	'for, because'	4.9% (6)	19.7% (60)
<i>τίς που</i>	'some, someone, something, somehow'	34.1% (42)	3.6% (11)
<i>μή που</i>	'lest', <i>neg</i>	7.3% (9)	0% (0)
<i>ἢ που...ἢ...</i>	'or...or'	13.0% (16)	3.3% (4)

Table 10.1: The frequency of collocations and verbs with *που* in percentages of the total incidence of modal *που* in the respective corpus. The raw numbers are given between brackets. Total modal *που* in the Epic part of the diachronic corpus is 123 and in the synchronic corpus 304. N.B. These collocations are not mutually exclusive, that is, there are cases in which more than one of the collocations is found in the same clause.

In epic poetry, 7 instances out of 123 instances of modal *που* (6%) are a case of *δή που*, whereas in the synchronic corpus this was 40%. This may be just a difference between genres. However, as was noted above, Denniston has observed that *δή που* seems to coalesce less in Homer than in other authors, which is an indication that we may have to do with a previous stage of the development of *δή* and *που*. The collocation *ἦ που*, on the other hand, seems to be about equally frequent in the epic

texts as in the synchronic corpus. Both the collocations *δί που* and *ἦ που* will be discussed more elaborately in section 10.2.3.

Another difference seems to be that conditional clauses with *που* (*εἰ* ‘if, whether’ clauses) are not mainly translated as locative, as was the case in the synchronic corpus, but are also very frequently translated as modal in epic poetry. This seems to be related to the frequent use of *τις* as well (*τις* is found in 15 of 26 cases of *εἶ που*, 57.7%). The high frequency of *που* in conditional clauses may have played a role in the development of modal *που*. Therefore, we will discuss these two categories more elaborately in section 10.2.4.

There are also collocations with *που* in the epic texts which were not present in the synchronic corpus. The frequent use of *που* in clauses with the conjunctions *μή* ‘lest’ and *ἢ...ἢ* ‘either... or’ will be discussed respectively in section 10.2.4 and in section 10.2.5.

10.2.2 Variation between locative and modal *που* in translations of the epics

The first question to be answered is whether modal *που* already existed in the epic texts and whether it was used in the same way as in the classical prose corpus. This seems to be the case, as can be seen from the following example.

- (3) Ζεὺς γάρ που τό γε οἶδε καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ
 Zeus for που the ptcl knows and immortal gods
 NOM.SG CONJ. που ART.ACC.SG FOC.PTCL 3SG.PRS CO NOM.PL NOM.PL

ἄλλοι,
 other,
 NOM.PL.

εἶ κέ μιν ἀγγείλαιμι ἰδών

English: For Zeus, I ween, and the other immortal gods know whether I have seen him, and could bring tidings;

French: Zeus et les autres dieux immortels savent bien si, l’ayant vu, je puis t’en donner des nouvelles;

German: Zeus wird es wissen und wohl auch die andern unsterblichen Götter, ob ich ihn sah und melden ihn könnte;

*Od.*14.119^{10 11}

In this example, it is irrelevant where Zeus is, although it is theoretically possible that the speaker wants to express that he does not know where Zeus and the other gods are. The use of the name Zeus also makes it impossible to generalize the

¹⁰Trans. English: Murray (1919b), French: Bérard (1924), German: Weiher (1961).

¹¹Ameis and Hentze (1879) say the following about the use of *που* in this passage: 119= Γ 308. *που* ... οἶδε *weiss wohl, mag wissen*. Aus dem lokalen *πὸ* (v 415. ξ 44) ist ein modales geworden. Zum Gedanken vgl. ο 523. β 332.

statement by means of a locative marker (e.g. *Every few years some manufacturer somewhere puts out a Miller CD*¹²). Therefore, it seems much more plausible to read a modal marker with a positive argumentative orientation for $\pi\upsilon\upsilon$ instead of a locative adverb.

The next step is to determine when $\pi\upsilon\upsilon$ is modal and what modal value it has. Both on the choice between locative and modal and the exact modal value the translations do not always agree. We will start with the cases in which it is controversial among the translators whether $\pi\upsilon\upsilon$ is to be interpreted as locative or as modal.

The high number of controversial instances of locative $\pi\upsilon\upsilon$ in the epic texts may be due to an ongoing change. However, it is also possible that we have to do with the compatibility problem that was discussed more elaborately in the chapter on synchronic $\pi\upsilon\upsilon$. That is, the main problem we have is that without the detailed knowledge of the way $\pi\upsilon\upsilon$ was interpreted of a native speaker we are dependent on the information the context provides. However, since modal and locative interpretations are so far apart, modal and locative interpretations do not exclude each other, which makes it possible that a context is compatible with both a locative interpretation and a modal interpretation, although this does not mean that these cases were ambiguous for the Greeks. Therefore, the main question is how likely it is that for the Greeks the instances of controversial $\pi\upsilon\upsilon$ were ambiguous. If the controversial instances of $\pi\upsilon\upsilon$ were the effect of a change in progress, that is, if these instances were also ambiguous for the Greeks themselves, we would expect that the group of ambiguous cases formed a distinct type of examples, since new interpretations tend to evolve in specific contexts (Traugott, 2003; Diewald, 2006a; Heine, 2002).

However, one can only categorize groups of examples if there is some agreement on the original interpretations. If there is a lot of variation in the translations of both the non-controversial cases and the types of examples that are considered controversial, it is likely that the problems with the interpretation of $\pi\upsilon\upsilon$ are due to our lack of knowledge of the conventions with respect to $\pi\upsilon\upsilon$ in Ancient Greek.

Variation between locative and modal translations is very frequently found in clauses with a conditional. This conditional often introduces an indirect question or a complement clause. In almost all of these examples, a locative marker (a locative verb or adverb or preposition) can be found in the direct environment of $\pi\upsilon\upsilon$. In some cases, however, the value of $\pi\upsilon\upsilon$ seems too indefinite compared to the specificity of the marker of place.

The modal interpretations in the translations seem to be triggered by the fact that a goal is expressed or in some other way the situation described cannot be verified by the person making the statement. Sometimes there is a modal verb in the direct environment of $\pi\upsilon\upsilon$.

I will start with some examples with a conditional:

¹²<http://www.amazon.com/Essential-Glenn-Miller/product-reviews/B0009POI00>.

- (4) ἦ δ' ἀνδρὶ ἰκέλη Τρώων κατεδύσεθ' ὄμιλον
 Λαοδόκῳ Ἀντηγορίδῃ κρατερῷ αἰχμητῇ,

Πάνδαρον ἀντίθεον διζημένη εἴ που ἐφεύροι.
 Pandaros god-like searching if που she could find.
 ACC.SG ACC.SG NOM.SG CONJ που 3SG.AOR.OPT.

English: But Athene entered the throng of the Trojans in the guise of a man, even of Laodocus, son of Antenor, a valiant spearman, in quest of god-like Pandarus, if haply she might find him.

French: Cependant la déesse, ayant pris forme d'homme, plonge dans la masse troyenne. Sous les traits du fils d'Anténor, Laodoque, puissant guerrier, elle part en quête de Pandare égal aux dieux - où le trouver? -

German: Sie aber mischte sich unter der Troer und war einem Manne ähnlich, Laodokos, Sohn des Antenor, dem mächtigen Krieger. Wie sie nun Pandaros suchte, den göttlichen, ob sie ihn fände,

Il. 4.88^{13 14}

In example (4), we see that the basic question regarding the value of *που* is what is supposed to be the value of X in the following sentence: seeking the godlike Pandarus, if X she could find him. In the position of the X we either have a modal particle or a locative indefinite, which does not take up an argument position. Since *που* is not in an argument position, we have the possibility not to take *που* as a locative marker.

In order to understand this example, we need to know that there are two possible syntactic analyses of this example. The first analysis is that the *εἴ*-clause is a purpose clause¹⁵ 'searching for the godlike Pandarus in order to find him'. The object of *ἐφεύροι* is in that case implicit. The second analysis is that the object phrase is taken out of its syntactic context, which is not uncommon in Ancient Greek, making the *εἴ*-clause dependent on *διζημένη* 'searching' resulting in the interpretation 'searching (to see) if she could find the godlike Pandarus'.

The only reason for a modal reading is that the *που*-clause seems to express a purpose, but otherwise the presence of the verb *to find* directly next to *που* suggests a locative reading. This raises the question of whether an interpretation like *haply*, which is very frequent in the English translation of epic *που* and which does not have good equivalents in the other languages, really is one of the possible interpretations of *που*. In this particular case, the fact that it is a goddess who is searching suggests that the chances of not finding Pandarus are small. This makes it less likely that there was any need for an extra marker to stress the mere possibility of success. The use of the phrase *εἴ που ἐφεύροι* 'if perhaps/anywhere she could find him' may of course just be due to conventionalization of this phrase or it may even have been a fixed formula, since it is found word for word in another passage as well (5.169). This means

¹³Trans. English: Murray (1924), French: Mazon et al. (1955), German: Rupé (1961).

¹⁴Ameis and Hentze (1905) say about this passage: 88= E 169 *εἴ που ἐφεύροι* Wunschsatz aus der Seele der Athene: 'wenn sie ihn doch irgendwo fände', erläutert *διζημένη*.

¹⁵For an extensive discussion on this type of conditional clause in Ancient Greek see Wakker (1994, 375).

that with our current information this is a case of compatibility. The only way we may be able to say something more is by getting a clearer picture of the use of modal *που* in this period, which we will do below.

In the following example, we find *που* next to the indefinite *τις* in a list of options of where Odysseus may have gotten a specific garment. In this situation, it would not be strange to add an indefinite marker of place, but a marker of uncertainty would of course also be possible. This use of *που* looks a lot like the use of *ergens* in Dutch as a general marker of place in combination with other indefinite markers.¹⁶ The parallel with Dutch shows that without the knowledge of whether *που* really had the value of *haply*, we can only say that both interpretations are compatible with this context.

- (5) οὐκ οἶδ' ἢ τὰδε ἔστο περὶ χροῖ οἴκοθ' Ὀδυσσεύς,
ἢ τις ἐταίρων δῶκε θεῆς ἐπὶ νηὸς ἰόντι,

ἢ τις που καὶ ξεῖνος,
or some που even stranger,
CONJ NOM.SG που FOC.PTCL NOM.SG

ἐπεὶ πολλοῖσιν Ὀδυσσεύς,
ἔσκε φίλος; παῦροι γὰρ Ἀχαιῶν ἦσαν ὁμοῖοι.

English: I know not whether Odysseus was thus clothed at home, or whether one of his comrades gave him the raiment when he went on board the swift ship, or *haply* even some stranger, since to many men was Odysseus dear, for few of the Achaeans were his peers.

French: J'ignore si, chez lui, Ulysse avait déjà ces mêmes vêtements: sur son croiseur, en route, les avait-il reçus d'un compagnon, d'un hôte? il avait tant d'amis! parmi les Achéens, combien peu l'égalaient!

German: Ob noch daheim diese Kleider Odysseus am Leibe getragen, oder beim Gang auf das eilende Schiff ein Gefährte sie brachte, oder ob es *woanders* ein Gastfreund tat; denn bei vielen war ja Odysseus geliebt, da nur *wenig* Achaeier ihm glichen, all das weiß ich ja nicht.

Od.19.239^{17 18}

In example (6), however, we find an example in an argumentative sentence in which the choice would be between a locative interpretation 'he left to Lemnos somewhere' or an interpretation with a strongly positive argumentative orientation. In this example Ares tries to convince Aphrodite to have an adulterous affair with him, while her husband is away.

¹⁶E.g. *Tegenwoordig is er bijna altijd voor welke gitaar dan ook wel weer ergens een of ander budget merk te vinden wat ze uitbrengt.* 'Nowadays you can find for any guitar some budget brand somewhere that produces them.' From: <http://www.gitaarnet.nl/archive/index.php/t-105901.html>.

¹⁷Trans. English: Murray (1919b), French: Bérard (1924), German: Weiher (1961).

¹⁸Ameis and Hentze (1879) interpret *που* here as *irgendwo* [*unterwegs*].

- (6) δεῦρο, φίλη, λέκτρονδε τραπέιομεν εὐνηθέντες οὐ γὰρ ἔθ' Ἥφαιστος μεταδήμιος,
 ἀλλά που ἤδη / οἴχεται ἐς Λῆμον μετὰ Σίντιας ἀγριοφώνους.
 but που already / has left to Lemnos among Sintians of savage speech.
 CONJ που ADV / 3SG.PRS PREP ACC.SG PREP ACC.PL ACC.PL.

English: Come, love, let us to bed and take our joy, couched together. For Hephaestus is no longer here in the land, but has now gone, I ween, to Lemnos, to visit the Sintians of savage speech.

French: Vite au lit, ma chérie! quel plaisir de s'aimer!... Héphaestos est en route; il doit être à Lemnos, parmi ses Sintiens au parler de sauvages.

German: Komm, Geliebte, aufs Lager; wir legen uns nieder zur Freude; Nicht mehr zuhause ist unser Hephaistos; er weilt schon in Lemnos irgendwo eben; dort hausen die Sintier, kräftige Brüller.

Od. 8.293¹⁹ 20

The locative interpretation could be questioned on the basis of the meaning of the verb οἴχεται 'has departed'. Since there is already a specific location to which Hephaistos is going in the sentence, a locative reading of *που* is somewhat problematic. The other option is to see *που* in this example as modal. In that case, the argumentative orientation of *που* must be positive and the strength of the argumentation must be strong, because this phrase is part of an argumentation. Ares is trying to convince Aphrodite to have an adulterous affair with him now her husband is gone. If the argumentative strength were weak, that would only arouse Aphrodite's worries.

These examples show very clearly that without a very clear picture of the properties of modal *που*, it is impossible to decide which examples were locative, which ones were modal and which ones can be seen as possible bridging contexts. The modal translations of *που* are so different in these examples that either *που* had several modal interpretations, with different argumentative strengths, or (some of) these examples were locative and only one of the two types of modal interpretations was an option. However, all these examples contain locative markers, which would suggest that they may have been locative.

In the following sections, I will describe the contextual features of *που*, starting with the clear collocations (i.e. *δή*, *ἦ*, *εἰ*, *τις*, *γάρ*, *verbs of knowing*, *ἦ...ἦ...* and *μή*) and ending with the less clearly marked examples which have only their situational context in common.

10.2.3 *δή που* and *ἦ που* in epic texts

As was noted by Denniston, the combination of *δή* and *που* in Homer cannot always be read as 'of course', as is the case in classical times. In the following cases *που* cannot be interpreted like a straightforward 'of course', because of a counterfactual

¹⁹Trans. English: Murray (1919a), French: Bérard (1924), German: Weiher (1961).

²⁰Ameis and Hentze (1879) say about *που* in this example: *που wohl* bezieht sich auf das Ziel ἐς Λῆμον. ἀλλά που ἤδη= β 164.

situation in example (7) and because of the second possibility that follows in example (8).

- (7) τὸν δ' ἐπικερτομέων προσέφησ' Πατρόκλεες ἵππευ:
ὦ πόποι ἦ μάλ' ἔλαφρός ἀνὴρ, ὡς ῥεῖα κυβιστᾶ.

εἰ δὴ που καὶ πόντῳ ἐν ἰχθυόεντι γένοιτο,
if ptcl που also see in full of fish would be,
CONJ PTCL ΠΟΥ PTCL DAT.SG PREP DAT.SG 3SG.AOR.OPT,

πολλοὺς ἂν κορέσειεν ἀνὴρ ὅδε τήθεα διφῶν
νηὸς ἀποθρώσκων, εἰ καὶ δυσπέμφελος εἴη,
ὡς νῦν ἐν πεδίῳ ἐξ ἵππων ῥεῖα κυβιστᾶ.
ἦ ῥα καὶ ἐν Τρώεσσι κυβιστητῆρες ἕασιν.

English: Then with mocking words didst thou speak to him, knight Patroclus: Hah, look you, verily nimble is the man; how lightly he diveth! If he were on the teeming deep, this man would satisfy many by seeking for oysters, leaping from his ship were the sea never so stormy, seeing that now on the plain he diveth lightly from his car. Verily among the Trojans too there be men that dive.

French: Ah! qu'il est souple, celui-là! quelle aisance dans ses sauts! S'il se trouvait un jour sur la mer poissonneuse, ce chercheur d'huîtres-là nourrirait bien des gens, en sautant ainsi du haut d'une nef, même par gros temps, à voir l'aisance avec laquelle il saute d'un char dans la plaine. Il est vraiment de bons sauteurs chez les Troyens!

German: Seht, wie behende der Mann, wie leicht er taucht in die Tiefe! Zeigte er nur im fischbelebten Meer seine Künste, viele würden gespeist von dem Mann, wenn er hoch von dem Borde spränge nach Austern, und stürmte das Meer auch noch so gewaltig, leicht, wie jetzt er im Felde vom Wagen sich wirft in die Tiefe. Wohl, auch im troischen Volke noch scheint es Taucher zu geben!

Il. 16.746²¹ 22

In example (7), Patroclus is speaking about a man who was just killed and fell off a wagon. We may read δὴ as 'evidently', since from the previous qualification that the man dived so well it follows (according to the speaker) that he would have been a good oyster seeker. An interpretation 'of course' is a bit problematic, because of the condition and the counterfactual situation. However, it is not completely impossible. The presence of a locative phrase πόντῳ ἐν ἰχθυόεντι 'in the sea full of fish', however, makes it also possible that *που* was interpreted as locative.

Ameis and Hentze (1879) suggest for example (8) that it may be read as locative, something that also seems possible for example (7). It is possible to read these examples as locative, as they contain references to non-specific places like on the sea

²¹Trans. English: Murray (1919b), French: Mazon et al. (1955), German: Rupé (1961).

²²Ameis and Hentze (1905) εἰ δὴ που vgl ρ 484, *gesetzt gar etwa*.

(ἐν πόντῳ) in (7) and the mainland (ἠπείρου) in (8). The translators of example (7) did not translate δὴ and *που* at all, in example (8) only the German translator has translated *που* and he has chosen a locative interpretation.

- (8) τοῦτοισιν μὲν ταῦτα μέλει, κίθαρις καὶ ἀοιδή,
 ῥεῖ', ἐπεὶ ἀλλότριον βίστον νήποινον ἔδουσιν,
 ἀνέρος, οὗ δὴ *που* λεύκ' ὀστέα πύθεται ὄμβρῳ
 of a man, of whom ptcl *που* white bones are rotting rain
 GEN.SG REL.GEN.SG PTCL *που* ACC.PL ACC.PL 3SG.PRS.PASS DAT.SG
 κείμεν' ἐπ' ἠπείρου, ἢ εἰν ἀλὶ κῦμα κυλίνδει.
 lying on land, or into sea wave rolls.
 PTC.PRS.ACC.PL PREP GEN.SG CONJ PREP DAT.SG NOM.SG 3SG.PRS.

English: These men care for things like these, the lyre and song, full easily, seeing that without atonement they devour the livelihood of another, of a man whose white bones, rot in the rain as they lie upon the mainland, or the wave rolls them in the sea.

French: ils vivent chez autrui, mangeant impunément les vivres d'un héros, dont les os blanchissant, pourrissant à la pluie, jonchent quelque rivage ou roulent sous le flot.

German: Die da sind Leute, die halten es gerne mit Leier und Liedern; Leichtthin verzehrt sich ja fremdes Vermögen, da nichts es sie kostet. Dieses gehört einem Mann, dessen weiße Gebeine im Regen irgendwo liegen und faulen, im Meer, wo die Wogen sie rollen, oder im Festland.

Od. 1.161²³ 24

In example (8), we have a comparable problem. In this example, Telemachus, the son of Odysseus, is talking to Athena, who is disguised as a stranger. He has lost all hope that Odysseus will return, as is clear both from this passage and from a statement a few lines below: νῦν δ' ὁ μὲν ὡς ἀπόλωλε κακὸν μόρον, οὐδέ τις ἡμῖν / θαλπωρή, εἴ πέρ τις ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων / φῆσιν ἐλεύσεσθαι: τοῦ δ' ὄλετο νόστιμον ἡμᾶρ. / "But now he has thus perished by an evil doom, nor for us is there any comfort, no, not though any one of men upon the earth should say that he will come; gone is the day of his returning."

In the synchronic corpus, δὴ *που* into can generally be interpreted as 'of course', implying that the information is supposed to be shared. However, since Telemachus cannot assume that the stranger to whom he is talking knows all about Odysseus' fate, an interpretation like 'of course' is not possible. This means that we may need to split δὴ *που* in δὴ + *που*. For *που* there are two options. Another modal interpretation or a locative interpretation. Both the passage itself and the extra lines cited above show that it is unlikely for Telemachus to be uncertain about the death of

²³Trans. English: Murray (1919a), French: Bérard (1924), German: Weiher (1961).

²⁴Ameis and Hentze (1879): *Που* kann auch hier, wie 94, noch ortlich verstanden werden; vgl. Die Klage γ89.

Odysseus. This means that an uncertainty reading as is sometimes proposed in the literature does not really match this context. The only thing Telemachus may not know is whether Odysseus' bones are on the main land or at sea. On the other hand, a locative interpretation, as is chosen in the German translation fits the context much better. Telemachus may indicate by means of *δή* that he himself believes that it is evident that Odysseus is dead. Because of the verb to lie (*κείμεν'*) and the implication of a location by means of *ὄμβρω* 'in the rain', *που* can be interpreted as locative.

However, there are also instances in the epics that seem to be closer to the classical use of *δή που* and of which it is less likely that they were interpreted as locative, although a locative interpretation remains possible. In example (9) a supposedly common truth about mortals is used in an argument between Zeus and Hera, in which Hera wants to show that her involvement with the Trojan war is completely normal. Theoretically, it would be possible to say that 'some mortal anywhere evidently is likely to accomplish what he can for another man' in which *anywhere* stresses the general validity of the statement, but there is no direct locative marker to support that interpretation. Also the translations do not interpret the passage this way, but they choose a modal interpretation with a positive argumentative orientation (I ween, doch). The fact that this is presented as common knowledge, which is evident for everyone, allows *που* to be interpreted as modal.

- (9) καὶ μὲν δὴ πού τις μέλλει βροτὸς ἀνδρὶ τελέσσαι,
 even ptcl ptcl που some is likely mortal man accomplish,
 CONJ PTCL PTCL που NOM.SG 3SG.PRS NOM.SG DAT.SG INF.AOR,
 ὅς περ θνητός τ' ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ τόσα μῆδεα οἶδε:
English: Lo, even a man, I ween, is like to accomplish what he can for another man, one that is but mortal, and knoweth not all the wisdom that is mine.
French: S'il est vrai qu'un homme doit, à l'égard d'un autre, achever son dessein, alors qu'il est mortel et sait si peu de choses,
German: Kann doch ein Irdischer selbst einem anderen Mann es vollenden, der nur ein Sterblicher ist und nicht so gewitzigt im Planen.

Il. 18.362²⁵ 26

The following example has both the particles *ἤ* and *δή*. This is the only time in both the synchronic and the diachronic corpus that the particles *ἤ*, *δή* and *που* are found in the same clause, although *ἤ δή* does occur regularly. The French and German translators have chosen translations which we also find in the classical period for *δή που*. The reason this passage can be interpreted as modal is that it would be normal to assume that your enemy hopes to destroy your besieged city and that this enemy also is aware that you know that he wants that. Example (10) is one of about 4 examples in this corpus that theoretically could be interpreted as an explicitly metaphorically locative use of *που*, because of the presence of *ἐνὶ φρεσὶ* 'in your heart'. This use was probably the source of the modal interpretation of *ergens*. In chapter 11 we will

²⁵Trans. English: Murray (1924), French: Mazon et al. (1955), German: Rupé (1961).

²⁶Ameis and Hentze (1905) Που kann auch hier, wie 94, noch ortlich verstanden werden; vgl. Die Klage γ89.

discuss this type of examples more elaborately.

- (10) (ὥς Ἀντήνορος υἱὸς ἀγαυοῦ δῖος Ἀχίλλεω
οὐκ ἔθελεν φεύγειν, πρὶν πειρήσασθαι Ἀχιλλῆος.
ἀλλ' ὃ γ' ἄρ' ἀσπίδα μὲν πρόσθ' ἔσχετο πάντοσ' ἔϊσην,
ἐγχεῖν δ' αὐτοῖο τιτύσκετο, καὶ μέγ' αὐτεῖ')

ἦ δή που μάλ' ἔολπας ἐνὶ φρεσὶ φαίδιμ' Ἀχιλλεῦ
ptcl ptcl που very you hope in heart famous Achilles
PTCL PTCL ΠΟΥ ADV 2SG.PERF PREP DAT.PL VOC.SG VOC.SG

ἦματι τῶδε πόλιν πέρσειν Τρώων ἀγερώχων

English: (even so lordly Antenor's son, goodly Agenor, refused to flee till he should make trial of Achilles, but held before him his shield that was well-balanced upon every side, and aimed at Achilles with his spear, and shouted aloud:) Verily, I ween, thou hopest in thy heart, glorious Achilles, on this day to sack the city of the lordly Trojans.

French: "Tu t'es figuré sans doute en ton coeur, illustre Achille, que tu détruirais aujourd'hui la cité des Troyens altiers?"

German: Sicherlich hast du gar sehr schon gehofft, du stolzer Achilleus, heute wohl noch zu zerstören die Stadt der mutigen Troer.

Il. 21.583²⁷

The examples above show that *δήπου* in the epics had probably not yet become the fixed combination it is in the classical period. The interpretation of *δή* in combination with locative *που* seems possible in all instances, but the types of locative interpretations are not the same. The use of a locative to express the generality of a statement as in example (9) does not have the same relationship to a modal interpretation as a metaphorically locative interpretation as in (10). The only thing these examples seem to have in common is that what is said can be assumed to be generally known or retrievable information. If these contexts were bridging contexts, the process at work seems to be general inferencing, which was projected onto *που*, a form that did not function as an argument within the clause and which did not add much to the overall interpretation of the sentence. However, that would not explain why *που* was found so frequently in these clauses or how this process worked. Therefore, it is hard to say whether this really is the way the modal interpretation of (*δή*)*που* evolved.

ἦ που

Contrary to the examples of *δήπου* discussed above, the cases of *ἦ που* in the epics generally do show a clear modal interpretation, but *a fortiori* arguments which were most frequent in classical prose do not occur in Homer and Hesiod. The cases of *ἦ που* in the epics are mostly conclusions on the basis of indications in the direct context.

²⁷Trans. English: Murray (1924), French: Mazon et al. (1955), German: Rupé (1961).

In example (11), for instance, the sound of human voices is a reason to believe that there are humans around. The presence of existential *be* in combination with *σχεδόν* makes it possible to interpret this example as locative, but the type of situation is comparable to example (12).

- (11) (ὡς τέ με κουράων ἀμφήλυθε θῆλυς ἀυτή·
 νυμφάων, αἱ ἔχουσ' ὀρέων αἰπεινὰ κάρηνα
 καὶ πηγὰς ποταμῶν καὶ πίσεια ποιήεντα.)
 ἦ νύ που ἀνθρώπων εἰμὶ σχεδὸν ἀυδήέντων;
 ptcl now που people I am near of human speech;
 PTCL PTCL που GEN.PL 1SG.PRS ADV GEN.PL;

English: There rang in my ears a cry as of maidens, of nymphs who haunt the towering peaks of the mountains, the springs that feed the rivers, and the grassy meadows! Can it be that I am somewhere near men of human speech?
French: qu'entends-je autour de moi? des voix fraîches de filles? ou de nymphes, vivant à la cime des monts, à la source des fleuves, aux herbages des combes? ou serais-je arrivé chez des hommes qui parlent?²⁸
German: Doch eines ist sicher: Menschen mit menschlicher Stimme bin ich jetzt nahe.

Od. 6.125²⁹ 30

In the following example, the speaker suggests a quite general explanation for the unexpected behavior of Hector. He expects that this behavior is a sign that something bad has happened to Hector. Therefore, this example is comparable to the previous example. However, in this case a locative interpretation is very unlikely because trouble, as an abstract concept, generally does not have a place. The only way we could interpret this example as locative is if we implicitly add *in your heart* as was the case with *ergens*. In that case we would read *Did some trouble come upon thee somewhere [in your heart]*. As we will see on page 273, there are some cases in which we may read this metaphor explicitly. However, ἦ που is found in conclusions on the basis of new information more often, which suggests that this is a modal use of ἦ που.

- (12) Ἔκτορ υἱὲ Πριάμοιο, τί ἦ δὲ σὺ νόσφιν ἀπ' ἄλλων
 ἦσ' ὀλιγηπελέων;
 ἦ πού τί σε κῆδος ἰκάνει;
 ptcl που somehow you anxiety attains;
 PTCL που ACC.SG ACC.SG NOM.SG 3SG.PRS;

English: Hector, son of Priam, why is it that thou apart from the rest abidest here fainting? Is it haply that some trouble is come upon thee?

²⁸ According to the French editor, the lines should be reordered. The translator apparently has interpreted ἦ as ἦ and που does not seem to be translated, unless we see a translation of που in the use of the future du passé in *serais*.

²⁹ Trans. English: Murray (1919a), French: Bérard (1924), German: Weiher (1961).

³⁰ Ameis and Hentze (1879): ἦ νύ που oder etwa.

French: Hector, fils de Priam, pourquoi es-tu là, assis loin des autres, sans force? Un souci te point sans doute.

German: Hektor, Priamos' Sohn, warum so fern von den andern sitztest du kraftlos hier? Hat irgendein Leid dich getroffen?

Il. 15.245³¹

One might argue that a conclusion on the basis of specific information is comparable to the line of reasoning *if x is the case than certainly y*, which would look very much like the instances in the synchronic corpus. However, there is also one example that does not show these characteristics as in example (13).

- (13) Πάτροκλ' ἦ που ἔφησθα πόλιν κεραϊζέμεν ἀμήν,
 Patroclus ptcl που you said city sack our,
 VOC.SG PTCL ΠΟΥ 2SG.IMPV ACC.SG INF.FUT ACC.SG,
 Τρωϊάδας δὲ γυναῖκας ἐλεύθερον ἡμᾶρ ἀπούρας
 ἄξειν ἐν νήεσσι φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν

English: Patroclus, thou thoughtest, I ween, that thou wouldest sack our city, and from the women of Troy wouldest take the day of freedom, and bear them in thy ships to thy dear native land.

French: Ah! Patrocle, tu croyais sans doute que tu allais emporter notre ville, ravir aux femmes troyennes le jour de la liberté et les emmener sur tes nefes aux rives de ta patrie.

German: Patroklos, hast du so bald schon gehofft, unsre Stadt zu verwüsten und die troischen Weiber, beraubt der glücklichen Freiheit, fort in den Schiffen zu führen zum lieben Lande der Väter?

Il. 16.830³²

In this example, the speaker, who has just killed Patroclus, stresses that the hopes of Patroclus have been destroyed by repeating them in the past tense. Although functionally this may be seen as a conclusion on the basis of the fact that Patroclus is dead, literally this is not what is said in example (13). Therefore, this example shows that ἦ που can also be found outside of a conclusion.

What might be an explanation for this exception, is that ἦ is part of the words of Patroclus instead of of the matrix clause.³³ In that case Patroclus would have said that, verily, he would destroy the city. However, it is difficult to show whether this really was the case.

Summarizing, we can say that δὴ που does not seem to have its conventionalized modal function in the epics yet. In some examples it seems that δὴ που really consists of δὴ and locative που, in other examples it is possible to interpret both δὴ and που as modal, although not as 'of course' as is generally the case in classical Greek. The modal examples have in common that they are found in clauses that express

³¹Trans. English: Murray (1924), French: Mazon et al. (1955), German: Rupé (1961).

³²Trans. English: Murray (1924), French: Mazon et al. (1955), German: Rupé (1961).

³³For a more elaborate discussion of focalization in the Iliad, see Jong (1987).

accessible information, but are otherwise very different. Possibly, the development of locative *δή που* into modal *δή που* has taken place by means of inferencing and projecting this inference on the collocation *δή που*.

The collocation *ἦ που* is not used in a *fortiori* arguments, as in the synchronic corpus, but mostly in conclusions drawn on the basis of factual information. In most examples, this collocation is already clearly modal in the epic texts.

In general, we can say that the development of modal *που* probably took place before our first texts began, although *δή που* seems to have developed its conventional meaning only after the epic period.

10.2.4 *εἰ που* and *τίς που* in epic texts

What is comparable between the epics and the classical period, is the frequent collocation of the conditional conjunction *εἰ* and *που*. In the epics, this combination is even more frequent than in classical times: in the epics it occurs in 24% of the instances of *που*, whereas in classical times it is found in only 11% of the *που*-clauses. One of the possible explanations for this collocation, is that it is an effect of word order phenomena (*εἰ* is generally the first word in a clause and *που* the second). To test this, we compare the collocation of *εἰ* and *που* with the use of the semantically relatively neutral connector *δέ* ‘and, but’ and *που* in both corpora. Contrary to *εἰ*, the particle *δέ* ‘and, but’ is generally found in the second position in the clause, but much more robustly so than *που*. This means that *δέ* and *που*, if they are found within the same clause, are expected to occur adjacent to each other. The only intervention between *δέ* and *που* would normally be from other particles with the same word order preferences. These particles were not counted as intervening words. The conjunction *εἰ* ‘if’, which is in the first position in the clause would therefore also be expected to occur adjacent to *που*: the only forms that would normally intervene are other particles, which were not taken into account. This means that as long as *εἰ* and *δέ* are always in their respective positions in the first and second position in the clause, word order principles would have the same effect on their occurrence with *που*.

Since *δέ* ‘and, but’ is one of the most common connectors in Ancient Greek with a very regular position in the clause and a relatively neutral connective function, we will use it as a kind of gold standard, the occurrence of which we do not expect to be influenced by the presence of *που*. We will compare the frequency of *εἰ* and *δέ* on their own in both corpora. If there is no semantic influence of *που*, we would expect *εἰ* and *δέ* to have the same proportion with respect to each other in the corpora as a whole as in the examples with *που*, since if the combination with *που* is due to coincidence, the set of instances with *που* would just be a random sample. However, as can be seen from table 10.2, word order can on its own not explain the high frequency of the collocation *εἰ που*.

		εἶ που	δέ που	εἶ total	δέ total	Total nr. που
Epic poetry	(219,447 wo)	24.4% (40)	5.5% (9)	752 ³⁴	12211	164
Classical prose	(617,107 wo)	11% (43)	7% (25)	3799 ³⁵	18978	381

Table 10.2: The distribution of the collocations εἶ που compared to δέ που and the total frequency of εἶ and δέ in the early Greek epics and classical prose.

In table 10.2, I have given the numbers of the collocations of εἶ που and δέ που in percentages with respect to the total number of instances of που in each corpus (between brackets the raw numbers), as well as the frequencies of εἶ and δέ in the corpora in total. As we see in table 10.2, the proportion of instances of εἶ που and δέ που is the opposite of the situation in the corpora as a whole: although εἶ is far less frequent than δέ in the corpus as a whole, the opposite is true for εἶ που and δέ που in both epic poetry and classical prose. This is a good indication that the collocation εἶ που cannot just be an effect of word order.

From this short survey we can conclude that it would be interesting to see whether the collocation εἶ που can be said to contain one or more constructions and what the reason might be that these forms are so frequently combined.

In the synchronic corpus, examples of εἶ που often receive a locative translation, but a locative translation is not always the choice of the translators in the epics. However, the locative translations still seem overrepresented in the epic instances containing εἶ που. Of the 40 instances of που in epic εἶ-clauses 12 are considered to be locative by at least one translator (30%), whereas in the whole diachronic corpus only 23% (83 out of 355) is considered to be locative by at least one translator.

As was already said above in the section on the variation in the translations of που, the variation in the translations of εἶ που sentences is relatively high. On the basis of the strong preference for a locative interpretation in this context in the synchronic prose corpus we may hypothesize that also in the epics this group was in fact mainly locative. However, there are instances in which a locative interpretation does not really fit the context. This is for instance the case in example (14). In this

³⁴This number is found by a lemmatized TLG search on εἶ and ἐάν, filtering out the irrelevant forms. Because of their homonymy the variants ἦν (1sg, 3sg impf of *to be* and contraction of εἶ + ἄν) and ἄν (= εἶ + ἄν) had to be left out of this count. However, for the sake of this argument this does not matter, since the difference between the frequency of εἶ and δέ is so large that it is very unlikely to be reversed if we were able to take those forms into account. In addition, the total number of cases of ἦν in this corpus is only 32, so this can never change the large differences in frequency.

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example, Achilles is mourning the death of Patroclus. He compares Patroclus' death to how he would feel if his father died, or his son. When he thinks of his son, he realizes that he does not know whether he is still alive, but continues to imagine how Patroclus, if he had not died, would have shown his son his possessions after he himself had died, as was foretold. Since Achilles has no reason to believe his son to be anywhere else than Scyrus, as is shown by the fact that he is talking in the present tense about his son growing up in Scyrus in the main clause, the use of *που* 'somewhere' does not seem to be appropriate.

(14) ἤε τὸν ὃς Σκύρω μοι ἔνι τρέφεται φίλος υἱός,

εἴ που ἔτι ζῶει γε Νεοπτόλεμος θεοειδής.
if που still lives ptcl Neoptolemos godlike.
CONJ που ADV 3SG.PRS PTCL NOM.SG NOM.SG.

English: nay, nor though it were he that in Scyrus is reared for me, my son well-beloved, if so be godlike Neoptolemus still liveth.

French: Non, je saurais souffrir rien de pis, quand même j'apprendrais la mort [...] de mon fils qui grandit à Scyros - si du moins il vit encore, ce Néoptolème pareil à un dieu.

German: oder vom Tode des lieben Sohns, der in Skyros heranwächst; Wenn er wirklich noch lebt, Neoptolemos, göttlich von Ansehn.

Il. 19.327³⁶

However, Achilles has no specific reason either to believe that his son is dead, except for a possible assumption that if fate had taken Patroclus from him, it might also have taken away his son. The addition of more uncertainty to the conditional clause by means of *που* (*if perhaps*) is therefore not very likely, although the English translation seems to suggest such a reading. A reading like that would suggest that Achilles really has a specific reason to think that his son is dead. The only two remaining interpretations of *που* are either 'if at least godlike Neoptolemos is still alive' as in the French translation, which may also be triggered by the use of *γέ* *focus particle* or an interpretation of the type *if, of course, godlike Neoptolemos is still alive*, with an accent on *if*.

However, 'if he still lives somewhere', seems -out of this particular context- a very common thing to say about someone you haven't heard about for a long time, as can be seen from comparable statements in the *Odyssey* in which the phrase *εἴ που ἔτι ζῶει* 'if he is still alive somewhere' is used three times of Odysseus followed by locative-friendly phrases like *and sees the light of the sun* (e.g. *Od.* 20.207, 4.833, 14.44). Therefore, this expression may be either a formula that is used in a place where it does not completely fit, or in Homer the modal interpretation is completely acceptable in an *εἴ*-clause. The first option may sound somewhat strange, but as has been shown by Bakker (1988, 187), there are all kinds of indications that Homeric formulas are not always perfectly integrated in the context in which they are used. One of the examples given by Bakker (1988, 189) is a case in which a formula mentioning

³⁶Trans. English: Murray (1924), French: Mazon et al. (1955), German: Rupé (1961).

olives on a tree is used in the context of edible food. However, olives are not edible directly from a tree, which was presumably known to the poet. In other uses of the formula, it is found in the context of a garden, in which the olives on the tree fit perfectly. The same type of imperfect integration of a formula into the context may be an explanation for the use of *που* in example (14). Achilles is talking about someone he has not seen for a long time, just like in the case of the other uses of the formula, but the fact that he knows where his son is does not completely fit the fixed formula, which makes it less perfectly integrated in the context. From this example, we may conclude that the main reason not to interpret this example as locative, is that the overall context blocks this interpretation. Otherwise, the locative expression in the main clause and verb that implies a location in the *εἰ*-clause would be a good reason to interpret *που* as locative here.

What most of the examples of *εἷ που* have in common is that a locative interpretation of *που* would not be impossible, but it seems superfluous information, as in example (15). We see again that if we try to give a modal interpretation to this kind of use, we soon end up in an interpretation like in the French translation *seulement* ‘if only’. This gives us the choice either to assume on the basis of many of these examples some use of *εἷ που* (*τις*) which is comparable to *at least*, or to assume a locative reading.

(15) ἦ θήν σ' ἐξανύω γε καὶ ὕστερον ἀντιβολήσας,

εἷ	πού	τις	καὶ	ἔμοιγε	θεῶν	ἐπιτάρροθός	ἐστί.
if	που	someone	also	me	of the gods	helper	is.
CONJ	ΠΟΥ	NOM.SG	PTCL	DAT.SG=PTCL	GEN.PL	NOM.SG	3SG.PRS.

English: Verily I will yet make an end of thee, when I meet thee hereafter, if so be any god is helper to me likewise.

French: Sois tranquille; ton compte est bon, si je te rencontre, même dans longtemps. Que je trouve seulement, moi aussi, un dieu pour m'aider!

German: Sicherlich töt' ich dich noch, sobald ich dir künftig begegne, wollte vielleicht auch mir ein Gott zu Hilfe dann eilen!

Il. 11.366³⁷

An interesting feature of many of the examples of *εἷ που* is the presence of the indefinite pronoun *τις* (15 out of 40 (37.5%) examples in total). This implies that not only the location could be unknown, but also other participants (*τις* ‘some, someone, something’) or characteristics of the situation (*τι* *adv.* ‘somehow’). This is very similar to the common Flemish expression *ergens iets* ‘somewhere something’ or the use of *ergens* that was mentioned in section 10.2.2 above in which the main function of locative *ergens een of andere...* ‘somewhere some...’ seems to be to signal that the speaker does not have a specific individual or thing in mind. Of all 40 instances of *εἷ που* in the epics, there are only two examples in which such an interpretation would not fit at all. We will now discuss these two examples.

³⁷Trans. English: Murray (1924), French: Mazon et al. (1955), German: Rupé (1961).

In example (16), Nestor starts a request to finish their meal and postpone further stories to the next day. As part of his request he adds the phrase εἴ τί που ἔστι ‘if somehow *που* it is possible’ indicating that he does not want to be as impolite to request the impossible and giving his addressees the possibility to say what is possible and what is not possible.

- (16) καὶ νῦν, εἴ τί που ἔστι, πίθοιό μοι
 and now, if somehow *που* it is possible, listen to me
 CONJ ADV, CONJ ADV που 3SG.PRS, 2SG.AOR.OPT DAT.SG:
 οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ γε/τέρπομ’ ὀδυρόμενος μεταδόρπιος,
English: And now, if it may in any wise be, hearken to me, for I take no joy in weeping at supper time
French: Mais ce soir, si tu veux, écoute mon conseil: je ne trouve aucun charme à ces pleurs après boire;
German: Höre auch jetzt auf mich, wenn es irgendwie möglich!

Od.4.193³⁸ 39

The question here is what the function of *που* is. One of the options, which would fit the majority of the examples, is to say that the combination of *που* and *τις* is so generally used to denote a situation which is not specific that it does not matter that *που* is not directly referring to a place. In that case we would need to say that εἴ ποῦ *τις*, just like the Flemish *ergens iets* has become a marker of an unspecified situation in which the unspecified place is not the main point anymore. Another option is to interpret *που* as modal ‘if somehow -of course- it is possible’, expressing that the speaker suggests that it is generally recognized that he does not want to force anyone to do something that is impossible.

In the following example *που* is not only combined with εἰ and *τις*, but also with δῆ. Antinous just hit a wanderer in the home of Odysseus, who is assumed to be dead. In fact, the wanderer is Odysseus in disguise. In the Greek tradition, it is a holy custom that foreigners are treated well. This holy custom is upheld by the gods, who may test humans by appearing on their doorstep as beggars or wanderers to test the hospitality of humans. In example (17), Antinous is reprimanded for his bad behavior towards a guest.

- (17) Ἄντινο’, οὐ μὲν κάλ’ ἔβαλες δύστηνον ἀλήτην,
 οὐλόμεν’, εἰ δῆ ποῦ τις ἐπουράνιος θεός ἐστιν.
 wretched, if ptcl *που* some heavenly god is.
 VOC.SG, CONJ PTCL *που* NOM.SG NOM.SG NOM.SG 3SG.PRS.

English: Antinous, thou didst not well to strike the wretched wanderer. Doomed man that thou art, what if haply he be some god come down from heaven!
French: Antinoos, frapper un pauvre vagabond! insensé, quelle honte!... si c’était par hasard quelqu’un des dieux du ciel!

³⁸Trans. English: Murray (1919a), French: Bérard (1924), German: Weiher (1961).

³⁹Ameis and Hentze (1879): εἴ τί που ἔστι *wenn es irgend etwa möglich ist*.

German: Nein, Antinoos, dies war nich schön, dieser Wurf auf den armen Bettler. Verwünschter du! Wenn es ein Gott es, ein Himmlischer wäre!

Od. 17.484⁴⁰ 41

Since the wanderer who may secretly be a god is actually there, it is hard to assume that *που* refers to the place in which the god is. However, the presence of *δή* in a conditional clause is already problematic by itself, because there is nothing in the conditional clause that can be evident. The only sensible interpretation is to let *δή* have scope over more than the propositional content of the conditional clause as in *You doomed (that is what you are), evidently, if this was some god from heaven*. However, if we allow *δή* to have scope over the whole sentence instead of only within the conditional clause, that may also be the case for *που*. In that case it would be possible to read this sentence as *Evidently, as we all know, doomed (as you are) if this is a god from heaven*. A modal interpretation like ‘of course’ is unlikely, because it is unknown whether the content of the conditional phrase is true. On the other hand this is typically a situation in which it does not matter exactly which god may be disguised as the wanderer and therefore this example could also be explained by a conventionalization of *εἴ ποῦ τις* in which *δή* expresses that it is evident that Antinous is in trouble if the wanderer really was a god. This would, again, point in the direction of a generalizing function of *που*.

We may conclude that *εἴ ποῦ τις* may have been a conventionalized expression. This is both shown by its high frequency and its sometimes not completely transparent interpretations, which may be comparable to Dutch *ergens een of andere* or Flemish *ergens iets*. Generally, it is possible to read *που* as a locative marker, which has as its main function to show that the speaker is not speaking about a specific occurrence or thing. There are a few cases, however, in which a locative interpretation is hardly possible. However, also in these cases the feature of not speaking about a specific situation, person or thing is present. This would be an indication that this generalizing use of the locative interpretation really was conventionalized up to the point that it may lose its locative connotation, just like in Flemish. However, it is not impossible to interpret some of these examples as modal, because the information provided is part of the general knowledge of the world.

As we said above, a collocation which is much more frequent in the epics than in the synchronic corpus is *μή ποῦ τις* ‘lest someone somewhere’ as in example (18). This seems to be the negative counterpart of *εἴ ποῦ τις*. None of the translators have translated *που* in this passage.

- (18) Εὐρύλοχ', ἧ μάλα δὴ με βιάζετε μούνον ἔοντα.
 ἀλλ' ἄγε νῦν μοι πάντες ὁμόσσετε καρτερὸν ὄρκον·
 εἴ κέ τιν' ἠὲ βοῶν ἀγέλην ἢ πῶυ μέγ' οἴων
 εὔρωμεν,

⁴⁰Trans. English: Murray (1919b), French: Bérard (1924), German: Weiher (1961).

⁴¹Ameis and Hentze (1879): εἰ δὴ που κτέ. *wenn es nun vielleicht ein Gott ist!* Halb Ausruf halb Frage, wie bei Schiller: "Wenn der Guss misslang?" Die Redeweise des Fremden (469. 475f.) macht die Übermütigen bedenklich.

μή πού τις ἀτασθαλίησι κακῆσιν
 lest που someone recklessness bad
 CONJ=NEG ΠΟΥ NOM.SG DAT.PL DAT.PL

ἢ βοῦν ἢέ τι μῆλον ἀποκτάνη·
 or cow or some cattle kills:
 CO ACC.SG CO ACC.SG ACC.SG 3SG.AOR.SUBJ.

English: Eurylochus, verily ye constrain me, who stand alone. But come now, do ye all swear to me a mighty oath, to the end that, if we haply find a herd of kine or a great flock of sheep, no man may slay either cow or sheep in the blind folly of his mind;

French: Je suis seul, Euryloque, et vous en abusez! Du moins jurez-moi, tous, le plus fort des serments que, si nous rencontrons quelque troupe de vache ou quelque grand troupeau de brebis, nul de vous n'aura l'impiété fatale d'en abattre; sagement, sans toucher ni vaches ni moutons,

German: Da ich allein bin, Eurylochos, könnt ihr ja freilich mich zwingen; Darum kommt un beschwört mir jetzt alle mit kräftigem Eide: Finden wir Herden von Rindern, finden wir Scharen von Schafen, keiner verfall mir dann in den törichten Frevel und schlachte irgendein Rind oder Schaf!

Od. 12.300⁴² 43

Example (18) can be syntactically interpreted in two ways. Either we can read the μή clause as the actual oath depending on the verb ὀμόσσατε 'you have to swear', or we can read the μή clause as a loosely constructed purpose clause. Arguments for that last reading are the evaluative description of the reason some of the soldiers may break their oath ἀτασθαλίησι κακῆσιν 'because of reckless badness' and the use of τις instead of a first person. These properties of the sentence are not likely to be part of the oath taken by the soldiers and the viewpoint clearly lies with Odysseus (the behavior would be a badness), who is advocating his view against protesting soldiers.

On the other hand, the conditional clause does not really seem to have a main clause if we choose the second reading and the conditional clause already contains a locative verb (εὔρωμεν 'we will find') giving the impression that Odysseus is talking about a specific place (i.e. the place in which they see the cattle). From this point of view, it would be problematic to interpret που as locative, since the location is already mentioned. However, from the context it is clear that Odysseus means *in every case in which you see cattle*. The suggestion of repetition makes it possible to give an indefinite locative interpretation to που in the μή-clause.

A modal interpretation is problematic because the που-clause more or less expresses the oath that Odysseus wants his men to swear. Any form of modification would bring in even more of Odysseus' viewpoint. Theoretically, it would be possible

⁴²Trans. English: Murray (1919a), French: Bérard (1924), German: Weiher (1961).

⁴³Ameis and Hentze (1879): μή πού τις mit dem Konjunktiv wie σ65, dass nicht etwa einer, als warnendes Verbot zum Ausdruck dessen, was sie schwören sollen nicht zu tun; sonst folgt nach ὀμόσαι der Infinitiv.

to read ‘in order that - as is my wish, as you know by now - no one will slaughter...’ However, a generalizing locative interpretation seems to fit the context and the general use of *που* in repeatable clauses better, since, just like in many *εἴ που*-clauses, it does not matter in this passage who wants to slaughter the cattle or where or when he wants to do it: he is not allowed to do so. Therefore, it seems most likely that *που* has a generalizing locative value here.

Concluding, we can say that the collocation of *εἴ που* is more frequently found than would be expected on the basis of the general frequency of *εἰ* in the corpus and a comparison with the particle *δέ*. In the synchronic prose corpus almost all instances of *εἴ που* were translated as locative, but this was not the case in the epic corpus. However, *εἴ που*-sentences are more frequently interpreted as locative than would be expected on the basis of the frequency of locative interpretations of *που* in the corpus as a whole (30% of the the *εἴ που*-clauses is interpreted as locative whereas in the epics, tragedy and comedy together this was only 23%). The amount of variation in the translations of *εἴ που*-clauses was relatively high. This may be because there are only very few examples in this category in which a locative interpretation is not at least possible. Another characteristic of *εἴ που*-clauses was their frequent co-occurrence with forms of the indefinite pronoun *τις* ‘some, someone, something, somehow’. The combination of *που* with the indefinite pronoun reminded us of the Flemish use of *ergens iets*, which was discussed in our corpus study of *ergens*. In Flemish, this has become a construction to mark that more specific information is not known or not relevant. It can be used both in locative and non-locative contexts. In many of the cases of *εἴ που* in which a locative interpretation did not fit the context very well we also found *τις* or a reference to a person, thing or situation of which the specific details were not important, because the situation frequently reoccurred and the participants changed or because there were other reasons the details did not matter. Therefore, it was proposed that Ancient Greek also used *που* as a generalizing (locative) marker. This use was frequently found in *εἰ*-clauses with *τις*, but not exclusively.

Another collocation, which was not found in the synchronic corpus, is *ἢ που...ἢ...* ‘either *που*... or...’. To this collocation we will turn now.

10.2.5 The collocation *ἢ που...ἢ...* ‘either *που*... or...’

There are 22 examples out of 164 (13%) in which *που* is found in *either... or...* sentences in the epics. This raises the question of whether this was a construction and whether all these examples have the same interpretation. If we look at the translations, we find 6 cases in which at least one translator used a locative translation, there are 13 cases in which only one translator chose a modal translation whereas the other translators did not translate *που* and the types of modal translations differ. This leaves us with 3 cases in which none of the translators translated *που*. Especially the French translators did not generally translate *που* in this type of sentences. Possibly this is because the standard translations of *που* are relatively informal and this translation uses a very high register. The English translator translates almost all cases with *haply*, whereas the German translation uses both locative translations

(e.g. example (19)) and modal translations. These modal translations can have both a neutral/negative argumentative orientation (e.g. (21)) and a positive one (e.g. (20)). The direction or the argumentative orientation and the types of translations used for each particular example of *που* frequently differs between the translators.

In example (19), the English translator has chosen to stress the possibility of the meeting places, but the German translation decided to let the fact that these are two locations be leading. Since I have not found any compelling evidence for *που* ‘haply’, I would prefer the locative reading.

- (19) σιγῇ νῦν, μή τίς με προσαυδάτω ἐπέεσσιν
 ὑμετέρων ἐτέρων, ξυμβλήμενος ἢ ἐν ἀγυιῇ,
 ἢ που ἐπὶ κρήνη
 or που at well
 CONJ που PREP DAT.SG

English: Be silent now, and let no one of your company speak to me, if he meets me in the street or haply at the well,

French: Silence maintenant! que personne jamais ne m'accoste ou me parle, si quelqu'un de vos gens me rencontre soit dans la rue, soit à la source.

German: Jetzt aber still! Kein Wort darf keiner von euren Gefährten, wen er mich irgendwo trifft, an mich richten; nicht auf der Straße nicht an der Quelle.

Od. 15.442⁴⁴ 45

- (20) ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τόδε εἰπὲ διοτρεφὲς Εὐρύπυλ' ἦρωας,
 ἢ ῥ' ἔτι που σχήσουσι πελώριον Ἴηκτορ' Ἀχαιοί,
 either ptcl still που hold mighty Hector Achaeans,
 CONJ PTCL ADV που 3PL.FUT ACC.SG ACC.SG NOM.PL

ἢ ἤδη φθίσονται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δουρὶ δαμέντες;

English: But come, tell me this, Eurypylus, warrior fostered of Zeus, will the Achaeans haply still hold back mighty Hector, or will they now perish, slain beneath his spear?

French: Mais, réponds-moi, Eurypyle, divin héros: les Achéens sont-ils encore en mesure de contenir le monstrueux Hector? ou sont-ils donc désormais voués à périr par lui, domptés sous sa javeline?

German: Sage mir dies doch an. Eurypylos, Göttlicher Krieger: Werden die Danaer wohl dem gewaltigen Hektor noch trotzen, oder sinken sie schon, von seiner Lanze bezwungen?
Il. 11.820⁴⁶

In example (21) both the English and the German translation have chosen a translation with a neutral/negative argumentative orientation.

⁴⁴Trans. English: Murray (1919a), French: Bérard (1924), German: Weiher (1961).

⁴⁵Ameis and Hentze (1879): *που vielleicht*.

⁴⁶Trans. English: Murray (1924), French: Mazon et al. (1955), German: Rupé (1961).

- (21) ὦ φίλοι οὐκ ἂν δῆ τις ἀνὴρ πεπίθοιθ' ἐῷ αὐτοῦ
 θυμῷ τολμήεντι μετὰ Τρώας μεγαθύμους/ἐλθεῖν,
 εἷ τινά που δηΐων ἔλοι
 in order to someone που slaying seize
 CONJ ACC.SG ΠΟΥ PTC.PRS.NOM.SG 3SG.AOR.OPT
 ἐσχατόωντα, ἢ τινά που καὶ φῆμιν ἐνὶ
 straying about the edge of the camp or some που even rumor in
 PTC.PRS.ACC.SG CONJ ACC.SG ΠΟΥ PTCL ACC.SG PREP
 Τρώεσσι πύθοιτο,
 Trojans hear
 DAT.PL 3SG.AOR.OPT

English: My friends, is there then no man who would trust his own venturesome spirit to go among the great-souled Trojans, if so be he might slay some straggler of the foemen, or haply hear some rumour among the Trojans

French: Amis, n'est-il pas un guerrier qui s'assure assez en son coeur hardi pour aller, au milieu des Troyens magnanimes, voir s'il peut s'emparer de quelque ennemi sur leur ligne avancée, ou bien encore saisir quelque rumeur au milieu des Troyens sur ce qu'ils méditent en leur âme?

German: Freunde, möchte denn jetzt kein Mann dem eigenen kühnen Mute vertraun und selbst zu den mutigen Troern sich wagen? Ob er einen Versprengten vielleicht von den Feinden ergriffe, oder vielleicht ein Gespräch der troischen Männer behorchte, was sie untereinander beraten.

Il. 10.207⁴⁷

The translations in example (21) seem to be based on the fact that two options are presented. However, since both instances of *που* are part of purpose clauses, markers with a neutral/negative argumentative orientation seem to stress very strongly that this may not be successful, which is either a rhetorical trick of the speaker, for which there is little evidence, or just not very helpful for his goal (i.e. finding volunteers to do this). Someone who is told that there is little chance that he will be successful, generally does not feel very inclined to do something, unless he feels challenged. In addition, locative markers are present in both clauses (respectively ἐσχατόωντα 'straying about the edge of the camp' and ἐνὶ Τρώεσσι 'among the Trojans'). Again it does not really matter where this person is or what rumor is learned and the function of *που* seems to be to make this situation less specific. This suggests that a (generalizing) locative interpretation is an option in this example.

Many of the cases of *που* in *either... or...*-clauses are combined with the pronoun *τις* and in many respects these examples are similar to the εἷ πού τις examples discussed above. Just like in the εἷ πού τις cases, most of these instances are also accompanied by words that imply locations. There are 14 out of 22 examples in which a locative verb or preposition is found in the same clause and in addition there are

⁴⁷Trans. English: Murray (1924), French: Mazon et al. (1955), German: Rupé (1961).

several examples in which other words in the clause imply a location, as in example (22).

In example (22) the speaker asks about the land he has arrived on, whether it is an island or mainland. Since the speaker does not know where this land is located and pieces of land inherently have a place a locative interpretation is possible as well as a more generalizing locative interpretation. The translators do not translate *που*.

- (22) ἦ πού τις νήσων εὐδείελος, ἦέ τις ἀκτὴ
 either *που* some isles clear-seen, or some foreland
 CONJ *που* NOM.SG GEN.PL NOM.SG, CONJ NOM.SG NOM.SG
 κεῖθ' ἀλὶ κεκλιμένη ἐριβόλακος ἠπεῖροι;
 lies sea resting very fertile land
 3SG.PRS DAT.SG PTC.PERF.NOM.SG GEN.SG GEN.SG;

English: Is it some clear-seen island, or a shore of the deep-soiled mainland that lies resting on the sea?

French: Est-ce une île pointant sur les flots comme une aire ou, penchée sur la mer, n'est-ce que l'avancée d'un continent fertile?

German: Ists ein Insel, die weithin man sieht, oder lehnt eine Küste hier sich ans Meer, eine Festlandserde voll mächtiger Schollen?

Od. 13.234⁴⁸

In one case there are no locative markers or other indefinite markers and a locative interpretation is not likely. In example (23), fear cannot hold someone somewhere, or be somewhere unless we interpret this instance as metaphorical, like in the case of *ergens*. However, the fact that the fear is the subject in this clause makes it difficult to interpret this as happening within someone's mind. A second option is that the speaker, the goddess Athena, is merely offering a possible suggestion, as is the choice of the English translator. A third option is to interpret *που* as marking that they both know that the last option in fact is the right solution. This is shared information, since this is about the state of mind of the addressee himself. The latter interpretation is largely in line with the interpretation of Bolling (1929, 102), who says that 'The particle then expresses the confidence of the speaker that this time he has hit the truth'. Example (23) is followed by the conclusion and accusation that Diomedes, the addressee, does not live up to his father's standards, which can of course be both about his physical endurance and about his courage.

- (23) ἀλλά σευ ἢ κάματος πολυᾶϊξ γυῖα δέδυκεν
 ἦ νύ σέ που δέος ἴσχει ἀκήριον
 or now you που fear restrains heartless
 CONJ PTCL ACC.SG *που* NOM.SG 3SG.PRS NOM.SG

English: yet either hath weariness born of thy many onsets entered into thy limbs, or haply spiritless terror possesseth thee.

⁴⁸Trans. English: Murray (1919b), French: Bérard (1924), German: Weiher (1961).

French: est-ce donc la fatigue du combat bondissant qui pénètre tes membres? ou est-ce une terreur lâche qui te retient?

German: Deine Glieder jedoch sind matt vom stürmischen Treffen, oder dich lähmt gar Furcht, die entseelende!

Il. 5.812⁴⁹

Concluding, we can say that most of the examples of *που* in *either... or...* clauses seem to have a generalizing locative interpretation. However, there are some exceptions, which may have received a modal interpretation.

10.2.6 General contextual characteristics of modal *που* in the epics

As we said in the theoretical chapter, we are trying to find out what knowledge a language user may have used when interpreting modal *που*. One of the types of information a speaker may have used, is the kind of situation in which *που* is commonly used. As we already saw above, we find *που* in conditional clauses describing generally occurring or recurring situations, in (negative) purpose clauses and *either... or...* clauses. However, there are also some regularities in the situational contexts of *που* that are not directly connected to a particular collocation. These cases will be discussed in this section.

As was already noted by Wackernagel (1885) and Bolling (1929), we find *που* commonly (8 times) in (fatalistic) statements about the gods in the epics.⁵⁰ Many of these examples are quite fatalistic, which makes it likely that the speaker is presenting what he supposes to be the common view in his community. Two of these examples were already mentioned in (3) and (5) above. They are reproduced below in (24) and (25). Two new examples are presented under (26) and (27).

In example (24) the speaker presents the actual reality of a possible situation as knowledge of the Gods. Both the French and the German translators have chosen a reinforcing translation of *που* (*savent bien*, *wohl*). It seems unlikely that the speaker doubts the knowledge of Zeus and the other gods here because it is a generally shared assumption in (Greek) religion that the gods know what is going to happen.

(24) Ζεὺς γάρ που τό γε οἶδε καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ
 Zeus for που the ptcl knows and immortal gods
 NOM.SG CONJ. ΠΟΥ ART.ACC.SG FOC.PTCL 3SG.PRS CO NOM.PL NOM.PL

ἄλλοι,
 other,
 NOM.PL.

εἶ κέ μιν ἀγγείλαιμι ἰδών

English: For Zeus, I ween, and the other immortal gods know whether I have seen him, and could bring tidings;

French: Zeus et les autres dieux immortels savent bien si, l'ayant vu, je puis

⁴⁹Trans. English: Murray (1924), French: Mazon et al. (1955), German: Rupé (1961).

⁵⁰That is, in the following passages: *Il.*10.70; *Il.*14.69; *Il.*14.120; *Il.*21.83. *Il.*13.225; *Od.*6.190; *Od.*14.119.

t'en donner des nouvelles;

German: Zeus wird es wissen und wohl auch die andern unsterblichen Götter, ob ich ihn sah und melden ihn könnte;

Od. 14.119⁵¹ 52

Talents are seen as gifts from the gods in Greek religion, an assumption which is used in example (25) to remind Achilles that his strength is not his personal achievement and therefore not something on which he should pride himself. The argument is more effective because it is based on a generally accepted worldview in Greek society. If this was just the personal opinion of Agamemnon, the speaker, it would be far less effective, because it would just express that Agamemnon is not impressed with Achilles' strength, whereas this statement about the gods implies that no one needs to honor Achilles because of his strength, since it is only a gift from the gods. This would mean that stressing that this is common knowledge is rhetorically making this a more effective way of offending Achilles.

- (25) εἰ μάλα καρτερός ἔσσι, θεός που σοὶ τό γ' ἔδωκεν
 if very strong you are, god που you the ptcl has given
 CONJ ADV NOM.SG 2SG.PRS, NOM.SG που DAT.SG ACC.SG PTCL 3SG.AOR
English: If you are very strong, it was a god, I think, who gave you this gift.
French: Pourtant, si tu es fort, ce n'est qu'au Ciel que tu le dois...
German: Bist du gewaltig, so hat ein Gott wohl die Kraft dir gegeben!

Il. 1.178⁵³ 54

In example (26), we find an explanation of why certain things happened: because Zeus and the gods wanted it that way. This is also commonly assumed in (Greek) religion, that things happen the way they happen because the gods want it that way. This may be assumed to be shared information and a hedge here would mean that this basic assumption is called into question. For this last option, there is no evidence in the broader context.

- (26) ἀλλ' ὃ μὲν αὐτόθι μείνε, πατήρ δ' ἔμὸς Ἄργεϊ νάσθη / πλαγχθεῖς:

ὡς γάρ που Ζεὺς ἤθελε καὶ θεοὶ ἄλλοι.
 Such for που Zeus wanted and gods other.
 ADV CONJ που NOM.SG 3SG.IMPF CO NOM.PL NOM.PL.

English: He verily abode there, but my father went wandering to Argos, and there was settled, for so I ween was the will of Zeus and the other gods.

French: Mais cependant qu' OEnée demeurait là, mon père, lui, s'en fut, au bout de ses erreurs, se fixer à Argos. Ainsi sans doute en avaient décidé Zeus et les autres dieux.

⁵¹Trans. English: Murray (1919b), French: Bérard (1924), German: Weiher (1961).

⁵²Ameis and Hentze (1879): 119= Γ 308. που ... οἶδε weiss wohl, mag wissen. Aus dem lokalen πὸν (v415. ξ 44) ist ein modales geworden Zum Gedanken vgl. ο 523. β 332.

⁵³Trans. English: Murray (1924), French: Mazon et al. (1955), German: Rupé (1961).

⁵⁴Latacz and West (2000): wenn du sehr stark bist, hat doch wohl ein Gott dir das gegeben!

German: Dieser blieb daheim, indessen mein Vater nach Argos wanderte, lange verirrt; so wollten es Zeus und die Götter.

Il. 14.120⁵⁵

A last example can be found in (27), in which Nausikaa is explaining why she does not assume that Odysseus is a bad man, because he is ill-fated. She says that Zeus gives ill fate to both good and bad men and he has given Odysseus' fate to him. This last statement clearly is just an implication of the way things are commonly assumed to work according to Nausikaa.

- (27) (τὸν δ' αὖ Ναισικᾶα λευκώλενος ἀντίον ἠΰδα
 ξεῖν', ἐπεὶ οὔτε κακῶ οὔτ' ἄφροني φωτὶ ἔοικας
 Ζεὺς δ' αὐτὸς νέμει ὄλβον Ὀλύμπιος ἀνθρώποισιν,
 ἐσθλοῖς ἠδὲ κακοῖσιν, ὅπως ἐθέλησιν, ἐκάστω')

καί που σοὶ τὰδ' ἔδωκε, σὲ δὲ χρεὶ τετλάμεν
 and που to you this he has given, you and must suffer
 CONJ που DAT.SG ACC.PL 3SG.AOR, ACC.SG AND 3SG.PRS INF.PERF

ἔμπης.

in any case.

ADV.

(νῦν δ', ἐπεὶ ἡμετέρην τε πόλιν καὶ γαῖαν ἰκάνεις,
 οὔτ' οὖν ἐσθῆτος δευήσσαι οὔτε τευ ἄλλου,
 ὧν ἐπέοιχ' ἰκέτην ταλαπεῖριον ἀντιάσαντα.)

English: (Then white-armed Nausicaa answered him: Stranger, since thou seemest to be neither an evil man nor a witless, and it is Zeus himself, the Olympian, that gives happy fortune to men, both to the good and the evil, to each man as he will;) so to thee, I ween, he has given this lot, and thou must in any case endure it. (But now, since thou hast come to our city and land, thou shalt not lack clothing or aught else of those things which befit a sore-tried suppliant when he cometh in the way.)

French: s'il t'a donné ces maux, il faut bien les subir

German: Dir wohl gab er das Deine; da mußt du es eben ertragen.

Od. 6.190^{56 57}

The examples above show that *που* is regularly found in uncontroversial statements about the gods. As was noted by Bolling (1929) and Wackernagel (1885), these examples do not aim to raise doubts about religious assumptions. They are rather religious truisms, that are shared by the whole religious community. This is comparable to many of the examples we saw in the synchronic prose corpus in which we also found that *που* is frequently found in statements of which the content is ac-

⁵⁵Trans. English: Murray (1924), French: Mazon et al. (1955), German: Rupé (1961).

⁵⁶Trans. English: Murray (1919b), French: Bérard (1924), German: Weiher (1961).

⁵⁷Bierl and Latacz (2008): καὶ που σοὶ *auch wohl dir*.

cessible to the addressee (i.e. already known or deducible from what is known). The examples above suggest that this use was already present in the epics.

Another type of situation in which *που* is found regularly is, as was also noted in the LfgE, the attribution of actions, thoughts or motives to others. However, most of the attributed actions, thoughts or motives are directly related to the role the people to whom they are attributed are playing: a daughter of whom parents are imagined to be proud, an enemy who is suggested to wish to conquer the city he is attacking, or a family whose head of household is far away, which is supposedly sitting in their home waiting for the head of household to return. This means that these attributions do not really contain guesswork of the speaker. Generally, the speaker is describing situations that he assumes to have occurred on the basis of information that is generally known.

In example (28), for instance, Odysseus is imagining the feelings of pride that he assumes Nausikaa's family to feel for her, because of her beauty.

- (28) εἰ μὲν τις θεός ἐσσι, τοῖ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν,
 Ἄρτεμιδί σε ἐγὼ γε, Διὸς κούρη μέγαλοιο,
 εἶδός τε μέγεθός τε φυήν τ' ἄγχιστα εἴσκω·
 εἰ δέ τις ἐσσι βροτῶν, τοῖ ἐπὶ χθονὶ ναιετάουσιν,
 τρὶς μάκαρες μὲν σοί γε πατήρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ,
 τρὶς μάκαρες δὲ κασίγνητοι·

μάλα πού σφισι θυμὸς/ αἰὲν εὐφροσύνησιν ἰαίνεται
 much που to them heart/ always with glad thoughts is warmed
 ADV ΠΟΥ DAT.PL NOM.SG ADV DAT.PL 3SG.PRS.PASS

εἴνεκα σεῖο,
 because of you
 PREP GEN.SG

λευσσόντων τοιόνδε θάλος χορὸν εἰσοιχνεῦσαν.

English: But if thou art one of mortals who dwell upon the earth, thrice-blessed then are thy father and thy honored mother, and thrice-blessed thy brethren. Full well, I ween, are their hearts ever warmed with joy because of thee, as they see thee entering the dance, a plant so fair.

French: comme, en leurs cœurs charmés, tu dois verser la joie, chaque fois qu'à la danse, ils voient entrer ce beau rejet de la famille!...

German: um deinetwillen ja wird sich immer und stark ihr Gemüt erwärmen mit guten Gedanken, wenn sie ein solches Geschöpf im Reigen schreitend erblicken.

Od. 6.155⁵⁸

The available evidence (Nausikaa's appearance and behavior as well as Odysseus knowledge of how a Greek family works) leads Odysseus to the conclusion that this must be the case. Since the evidence that is available to him is also available to his

⁵⁸Trans. English: Murray (1919b), French: Bérard (1924), German: Weiher (1961).

addressees, he may assume others will come to the same conclusion, which makes this accessible information.

In example (29), Agamemnon is speaking to the assembled warriors, who all know the situation. Agamemnon assumes that their wives and children are in their houses waiting for them, because that is what they are commonly supposed to do. Therefore, this attribution is an imagination of a situation on the basis of shared knowledge, which is already accessible for his addressees.

(29) (έννεά δὴ βεβάασι Διὸς μεγάλου ένιαυτοί, καὶ δὴ δοῦρα σέσηπε νεῶν καὶ σάρτα λέλυνται')

αἱ δέ που ήμέτεράι τ' ἄλοχοι καὶ νήπια τέκνα/ εἶατ'
 they and που our ptcl wives and infant children/ are sitting
 NOM.PL CONJ που NOM.PL PTCL NOM.PL CO NOM.PL NOM.PL 3PL.PERF

ένι μεγάροις ποτιδέγμεναι'
 in halls waiting
 PREP DAT.PL NOM.PL

ἄμμι δὲ ἔργον/ αὔτως ἀκράαντον οὔ εἶνεκα δεῦρ' ἰκόμεσθα.

English: (Already have nine years of great Zeus gone by, and lo, our ships' timbers are rotted, and the tackling loosed;) and our wives, I ween, and little children sit in our halls awaiting us; yet is our task wholly unaccomplished in furtherance whereof we came hither.

French: et, tandis que, chez nous, femmes, jeunes enfants, en nos manoirs attendant, la tâche reste inachevée, pour laquelle justement nous sommes arrivés ici.

German: Unsere Weiber indes und unerfahrenen Kinder sitzen daheim und schmachten nach uns; doch gänzlich erfolglos, enden wir nimmer das Werk, um dessentwillen wir kamen.

Il. 2.136⁵⁹

Several other types of recurring situations in *που*-contexts have been discussed in the sections on specific collocations. What we can conclude from the two types of situations discussed here is that in the epics we also find the pattern of *που* occurring in clauses of which the information is accessible, which strengthens the conclusions that were drawn on the basis of the synchronic prose data.

In this section, we have seen that apart from the situational contexts in which *που* was used frequently that were mentioned in the sections on specific collocations such as conditional clauses describing generally occurring or recurring situations, (negative) purpose clauses and *either... or*-clauses, *που* was also frequently used in other types of situational contexts. We found *που* regularly in (fatalistic) statements about the gods, which can be seen as generally accessible information and in sentences in which role related actions, thoughts or motives were attributed to others, which is inferable information.

⁵⁹Trans. English: Murray (1924), French: Mazon et al. (1955), German: Rupé (1961).

10.2.7 Conclusion on epic *που*

In this section on epic *που*, we described the contextual characteristics of epic *που* and linked them to tendencies in translations in three languages. We compared these results with the results of the synchronic prose corpus that was studied in the previous chapter in order to see whether we could find traces of the development of modal *που* in the earlier texts. We will start this conclusion with a summary of the results of the contextual study of *που*.

Regularities in the context of epic που and their relations to interpretations

Modal interpretations of *που* are already found in the epics, although the number of instances in which a locative interpretation is possible is somewhat higher than in the synchronic corpus (25% vs 20%). Especially the cases of ἢ *που* seem to provide clear evidence for a modal interpretation of *που*, whereas in many cases of δή *που*, *που* in fact still seems to have a locative function.

A category that is very prominent in the epics is the use of *που* with the pronoun *τις*. In most of these cases, we can interpret *που τις* as a way of generalizing the statement. Not a specific instance is meant, but the phenomenon in general. This use is also found in conditional clauses or complement clauses with a conditional, or in *either... or...* constructions. This means that there may have been a connection for speakers between a generalizing (locative) use of *που* and its use together with εἴ (*τις*) ‘if, whether’, μή (*τις*) ‘lest, so that not’, *τις* ‘someone, some, something, somehow, and ἢ (*τις*)...ἢ ‘either...or’.

Just like in the synchronic prose corpus, modal *που* is collocated with ἢ, εἰ and *τις* in the epics. Although they are present, collocations with δή, γάρ and verbs of knowing are less frequent than in the prose corpus. Collocations that are present in epics that were not present in the synchronic prose corpus are: ἢ *που*... ἢ..., and μή *που*.

The locative instances of *που* are generally accompanied by locative verbs and locative adverbs or prepositions.

In total we are left with 45 instances in which the *που*-clause does not contain one of these markers. This means that by only following the collocational patterns described above, a speaker would already be able to interpret 73% (119) of the instances of *που* in the epics (164). This clearly was not (always) an automatic process, since in some cases there are several contradicting cues in the context (e.g. a locative verb in a sentence with a modal marker). However, in general we can say that it seems that much of the interpretative work may have been done by using the speaker’s knowledge about the conventional contexts and its conventional interpretations.

In addition, we found that there were some situational contexts that seemed to occur frequently: 1. *που* was frequently found in (fatalistic) truisms about the gods and 2. *που* was also found in situations in which a speaker imagined a third person to have certain thoughts or be in a certain situation which were easily linkable to that person’s situation. Both types of contexts showed a clear relationship with (generally) accessible knowledge.

The comparison between the epics and the synchronic prose corpus

As was said above, the modal use of *που* seemed to have been present already in the epic period. This made it hard to find out more about the development of modal *που*. However, the interpretation of modal *που* seemed to be in line with our findings in the prose corpus: many contexts clearly indicated that the information presented in the *που*-clause was already accessible to the addressee. However, the collocation *δή που* does not seem to have been a collocation yet. Also there were some collocations which we did not find in the synchronic prose corpus: *μή που* and *ἤ που...ἤ*. Although there was more disagreement in the translations on the interpretations of *που*, I have not been able to find clear bridging contexts. This is probably due to the fact that modal *που* already arose before the textual transmission started.

10.3 The use of *που* in tragedy and comedy

10.3.1 Translations and collocations of *που* in tragedy and comedy

The second part of the diachronic corpus, which consists of tragic and comic works, is for a small part contemporary with the synchronic prose corpus. The main difference is that it is poetry. Because the earliest texts in this corpus are a bit older than the synchronic prose corpus and the genre of tragic poetry is more closely related to epic poetry than the prose texts in the synchronic corpus, we may find some traces of the development of, for instance, *δή που* in this corpus. In addition, this corpus of tragedy and comedy may show us to what extent the characteristics found in the synchronic prose corpus were genre related and thus this corpus of tragedy and comedy may be seen as a test case for the conclusions that were drawn in the chapter on the synchronic prose corpus.

The level of variation in the translations of *που* between locative and modal in tragedy and comedy (+/- 500-390 BC) sits between that of the epic part of the corpus and that of the synchronic prose corpus. The percentage of cases in which the translators did not agree on the choice between locative and modal was 18.2% (30 out of 164) in the epic corpus, 10.5% (20 out of 191) in tragedy and comedy and 5.8% (22 out of 381) in the synchronic corpus. However, the earlier tragic works from Aeschylus do not cause greater variance than the later works, which makes it difficult to say whether this change is due to a diachronic development or to genre differences. What is clear, is that most of the controversial instances in tragedy and comedy contain locative markers like locative adverbs and verbs or are combined with *εἰ* or *τις*.

The top 10 translations of modal *που* (again defined on the basis of the absence of locative translations) do differ from the epic corpus and are much more in line with the synchronic corpus in that the argumentative orientation of the most frequent translations is clearly positive (e.g. surely, no doubt, sans doute, naturellement, wohl, doch).

From table 10.3 it is clear that the translations of this part of the diachronic corpus are much closer connected to the translations of the synchronic prose corpus

English		French		German	
Modal $\pi\omicron\upsilon$ in tragedy and comedy (+/-500BC - +/-390 BC)					
[no transl.]	61	[no transl.]	59	[no transl.]	90
surely	21	sans doute	32	wohl	20
no doubt	8	naturellement	9	doch	9
perhaps	8	je suppose	7	ja	4
I suppose	5	peut-être	5	doch wohl	3
I think	6	donc	3	vielleicht	3
must	4	je pense	3	etwa	2
ever	3	quelque	3	je	2
must be	3	pourtant	3	für sicher	1
somehow	3	certes	2	du begreifst doch	1
Classical modal $\pi\omicron\upsilon$ (+/- 400 BC - +/-350 BC)					
[no transl.]	119	[no transl.]	75	[no transl.]	87
surely	47	j'imagine	23	doch	62
I presume	15	sans doute	20	doch wohl	31
of course	14	à plus forte raison	13	wohl	23
I suppose	12	certes	10	sicherlich	10
you know	11	je crois	10	ja	7
as you know	5	évidemment	9	gewiss	5
I take it	5	n'est-ce pas?	9	ja wohl	5
certainly	4	à coup sûr	8	bekanntlich	4
I imagine	4	assurément	8	ohne Zweifel	3

Table 10.3: The top ten translations of modal $\pi\omicron\upsilon$ in tragedy and comedy compared to the synchronic prose corpus. N.B. this table is to be read vertically, since the translations in the three languages are not consistent enough to line them up horizontally.

than was the case for the epic corpus. The same is true for the collocational properties of tragedy and comedy as we can see from table 10.4.

In this table, we see that $\delta\eta\ \pi\omicron\upsilon$ is already quite frequent in the tragedy and comedy corpus and clearly more frequent than in the epic corpus (respectively 18.1% and 5.7%), although it is still less frequent than in the prose corpus (40%). This suggests that $\delta\eta\ \pi\omicron\upsilon$ may be developing its modal meaning in this period or is already modal in this stage. The collocations with $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ and $\tau\iota\varsigma$ are more frequent in poetry than in prose, but for $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ we see the opposite. This may have to do with the fact that in prose we find $\pi\omicron\upsilon$ more frequently in argumentative contexts due to the genres in that corpus (oratory, socratic dialogue and speeches in historiography). The presence of verbs of knowing seems comparable in both corpora.

In the following sections, we will see whether $\delta\eta\ \pi\omicron\upsilon$ has already developed its collocational status and whether there are other characteristics of the epic corpus that can also be found in the later part of the diachronic corpus. In addition, we will test the findings of the synchronic prose corpus on the partly contemporary corpus of tragedy and comedy.

Collocates	Translations	% of modal <i>που</i> in tragedy and comedy	% of modal <i>που</i> in synchronic prose
δή	'evidently'	18.1% (27)	39.8% (121)
ἤ	<i>affirmative ptcl</i>	19.5% (29)	7.6% (23)
εἴ	'if/whether'	8.7% (13)	2.6% (8)
know		5.4% (8)	6.3% (19)
γάρ	'for, because'	3.4% (5)	19.7% (60)
τις	'some, someone, something, somehow'	14.8% (22)	3.6% (11)
μή	'lest', <i>neg</i>	2.7% (4)	0% (0)
ἢ...ἢ	'or...or'	2.7% (4)	3.3% (4)

Table 10.4: The frequency of collocations and verbs with *που* in percentages of the total incidence of modal *που* in the respective corpus. The raw numbers are given between brackets. Total modal *που* in the tragedy and comedy part of the diachronic corpus is 149 and in the synchronic corpus 304. N.B. These collocations are not mutually exclusive, that is, there are cases in which more than one of the collocations is found in the same clause.

10.3.2 The status of *δή που* and *ἤ που*

δή που

In the corpus from 500 to 390 BC, *δή που* seems to be used in the same way as in the synchronic prose corpus. That is, the speaker is convinced that what he says is evident and shared by others, although not always by the addressee. For instance in example (30), the comic character Socrates is claiming something that, in his view, is completely evident from observations. Since everyone can make these observations, there is no reason to assume that others have not made the same observation and have drawn the same conclusions.

- (30) Strep.: τί λέγεις σύ;
ἀλλὰ τίς ὕει; τουτὶ γὰρ ἔμοιγ' ἀπόφηναι πρῶτον ἀπάντων.

Socr: αὗται δήπου
those ptcl
NOM.PL PTCL

μεγάλοις δέ σ' ἐγὼ σημείοις αὐτὸ διδάξω.

φέρε, ποῦ γὰρ πώποτ' ἄνευ νεφελῶν ὕοντ' ἤδη τεθέασαι;
καίτοι χρῆν αἰθρίας ὕειν αὐτόν, ταύτας δ' ἀποδημεῖν.

English: Strepsiades: What do you say? Who rains then? For first of all explain this to me. Soc. These to be sure. I will teach you it by powerful evidence. Come, where have you ever seen him raining at any time without Clouds? And yet he ought to rain in fine weather, and these be absent.

French: Strepsiade: Que dis-tu? Mais qui fait pleuvoir? Explique-moi cela avant

tout. Socrate: Elles, sans doute; et je t'en donnerai des preuves formelles. Voyons, quand l'as-tu jamais vu faire pleuvoir jusqu' à ce jour sans nuées? Il faudrait pourtant qu'il fit pleuvoir par un ciel serein et sans qu'elles fussent là.

German: Strepsiades: Ei, was sagst du? Und wer regnet denn dann? Das muß du nun doch mir vor allen Dingen erklären! Sokrates: Wer? Diese, sonst niemand! Das will ich dir gleich mit gewichtigen Gründen beweisen! Du sag mir einmal, ob du jemals den Zeus hast regnen sehn ohne Wolken? Bedenk doch: ein Regen aus ein blauer Luft, und die Wolken sind dann wohl auf Reisen?

Ar. Nu. 369⁶⁰ 61

In example (31), we have a comparable situation in that the speaker is convinced that society will work in the same way as it always did if the god Wealth will make everyone rich. Since everyone knows that you can buy slaves for money, the use of 'of course' fits this context very well.

(31) ΠΕ. Πόθεν οὖν ἔξεις θεράποντας;

XP. Ὠνησόμεθ' ἀργυρίου δήπου.
we will buy for money δήπου.
1PL.FUT GEN.SG PTCL

ΠΕ. Τίς δ' ἔσται πρῶτον ὁ πωλῶν,
ὅταν ἀργύριον κάκεϊνος ἔχη;

English: Poverty: Your slaves! And by what means will these slaves be got?

Chremylus: We will buy them.

Poverty: But first say, who will sell them, if everyone is rich?

French: Pauvreté: Comment donc auras-tu des serviteurs?

Chrémyle: Nous les achèterons à prix d'argent, naturellement.

Pauvreté: Mais d'abord qui sera le vendeur, si celui-là aussi a de l'argent?

German: Penia: Die Bedienten? Woher bekommst du dann aber die Sklaven?

Chremylos: Natürlich: die kauft man für Geld!

Penia: Doch vor allem - wo werden Verkäufer sich finden, wenn keinem an Geld es gebricht?

Ar. Pl. 519⁶²

There is only one example in which *δή* and *που* are not placed next to each other and in which *που* may, under influence of the verb *κλύω* 'I hear' be interpreted as locative, as can be seen from the French and German translations. In this example, Oidipous is speaking. He is blind and completely at the mercy of Creon, who has

⁶⁰Transl: English: Oates and O'Neill (1938), French: Coulon and Daele (1923-1934), German:Werner and Seeger (1963).

⁶¹Dover (1968): There seems to be no true parallel to this apparently impatient *δήπου*, often diffident, which can be used when the speaker is actually confident (Denniston 267), and Socrates may be using a bland tutorial ploy: 'Well, there is no alternative, is there?'

⁶²Transl: English: Oates and O'Neill (1938), French: Coulon and Daele (1923-1934), German:Werner and Seeger (1963).

taken over his kingdom after Oidipous found out that he had killed his father and married his mother. Creon has entered the room with Oidipous' children, but Oidipous is not aware of the presence of his children until he hears them sobbing. As soon as Oidipous realizes what he is hearing he says the following words:

(32) τί φημί;

οὐ δὴ κλύω που πρὸς θεῶν τοῖν μοι φίλοι
not ptcl I hear by gods the me loved
NEG PTCL 1SG.PRS ΠΟΥ PREP GEN.PL GEN.DU DAT.SG GEN.DU

δακρυροούντοιν, καί μ' ἐποικτίρας Κρέων
ἐπεμψέ μοι τὰ φίλατ' ἐκγόνοι ἐμοῖν;

English: What is this? Oh, gods, can it be my loved ones that I hear sobbing, can Creon have taken pity on me and sent my children, my darlings?

French: n'entends-je pas ici mes deux filles qui pleurent? Créon, pris de pitié, m'aurait-il envoyé ce que j'ai de plus cher, mes deux enfants?

German: Hör'ich nicht, Götter, meine beiden Lieben wo weinen und schluchzen? Hat sich Kreon mein erbarmt und schickt die liebsten mir von meinen Kindern her?

S. OT. 1472⁶³ 64

In example (32), *δὴ* and *που* are not placed next to each other. In fact, *που* is placed directly after the verb *κλύω* 'I hear'. This seems to be an exclamation of the type *Ann, that can't possibly be you!* indicating surprise. The use of *δὴ* seems to suggest that it is evident to the speaker that this cannot be the case. The position of *που* suggests that it should not be read as belonging to *δὴ*, but as locative, which is the interpretation of the French and German translators. However, there is another example of a comparable exclamation in the corpus in which *δὴ που* are adjacent. This example is shown under (33). In this example, a man looks out of his window early in the morning and sees in the dark some man in a colorful garment who is relieving himself. Men did not usually wear such colorful clothes so the speaker can barely believe his eyes when he recognizes his neighbor in women's clothes.

(33) Man: τίς ἔστιν; οὐ δὴ που Βλέπυρος ὁ γειτνιῶν;
Who is? not ptcl=ptcl Blepyrus the neighbor?
NOM.SG 3SG.PRS? NEG PTCL=PTCL NOM.SG ART.NOM.SG NOM.SG?

Blepyrus: νῆ τὸν Δί' αὐτὸς δῆτ' ἐκεῖνος. Man: εἰπέ μοι,
τί τοῦτό σοι τὸ πυρρόν ἔστιν;

English: Who's that? Is that not my neighbor Blepyrus? Why, yes, it's no other. Tell me, what's all that yellow about you?

⁶³Transl. English: Jebb (1914), French: Dain and Mazon (1958), German: Willige and Bayer (1966).

⁶⁴Kamerbeek (1967): οὐ δὴ ...που Soph. eight times has οὐ δὴ, usually followed by *που* or *ποτε*, to introduce a surprised or incredulous question. The idiom seems peculiar to him (Denniston 223 II). Slightly more emphatic than οὐ τι ...που. Dawe (2006): οὐ δὴ ...που this and πρὸς θεῶν, express incredulity. Surely that can't be my daughters I hear crying? The girls had probably entered with Creon at 1422, but only now does a sob betray their presence.

French: Qui est-là? Ce n'est pas je suppose, Blépyros, mon voisin? Blepurus:
Eh oui, par Zeus, c'est lui-même. Dis-moi, qu'as-tu là de roux?
German: Wer da? Doch nicht mein Nachbar Blepuros? Beim Zeus, er ist's leib-
haftig! Sag mir doch! Was ist das braune Zeug da?

Ar. Ec. 327⁶⁵ 66

The existence of this last example makes it even harder to decide on example (32), since it means that it is not impossible for *δή που* to be used in such contexts. Therefore, the position of *που* seems the best indication that this may be interpreted as locative, although a modal interpretation is also possible.

Summarizing, we have seen that *δή που* is already being used as a collocation in this corpus. There was only one example in which there were indications for a locative interpretation.

ἦ που

Just like in the epics, *ἦ που* is not used in *a fortiori* arguments in tragedy and comedy. However, there does seem to be a clear pattern in the use of *ἦ που*. In most instances of *ἦ που*, the speaker draws an inference on the basis of information he just received, as in example (34).

In the following example, the statement of Mnesilochus is the reason for the servant to conclude that he must have been a very insolent fellow in his youth. Examples like these suggest that *ἦ που* was used in inferences of which the basis is very clear. The *a fortiori* arguments may have been a subconstruction of this use.

(34) Mnesilochus: ὄς ἔτοιμος σοῦ τοῦ τε ποιητοῦ
τοῦ καλλιποῦς κατὰ τοῦ θριγκοῦ
συγγογγύλας καὶ συστρέψας
τουτὶ τὸ πέος χοανεῦσαι.

Servant: ἦ που νέος γ' ὦν ἦσθ' ὕβριστῆς
ptcl που young ptcl being you were insolent man
PTCL που NOM.SG PTCL PTC.PRS.NOM.SG 2SG.IMPf NOM.SG

ὦ γέρον.
o old man.
PTCL VOC.SG.

English: Mnesilochus: Take care of yourself and of your sweet-voiced poet!
I have a strong tool here both well rounded and well polished, which will
pierce your enclosure and penetrate you.

Servant: Old man, you must have been a very insolent fellow in your youth!

⁶⁵Transl.: English: Oates and O'Neill (1938), French: Coulon and Daele (1923-1934), German: Seeger (1979).

⁶⁶Ussher (1973): in incredulous questions, Cf. Ach.122

French: Hé, hé! dans ta jeunesse, tu devais être un mauvais sujet, vieillard.
German: Frech, Alter, warst du wohl als Knabe schon!

Ar. Th. 63⁶⁷ 68

Another example can be found in example (35). In this example the woman, after she has been told that Karion farted, infers that the god must not have liked that.

- (35) (Cario: οὐδέπω.
 μετὰ τοῦτο δ' ἤδη καὶ γέλοιον δῆτά τι
 ἐποίησα. προσίοντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ μέγα πάνυ
 ἀπέπαρδον ἢ γαστήρ γὰρ ἐπεφύσητό μου.)

Wife: ἦ που σε διὰ τοῦτ' εὐθὺς ἐβδελύττετο.
 ptcl που you because of this immediately felt sick
 PTCL ΠΟΥ ACC.SG PREP ACC.SG ADV 3SG.IMPF.

English: (Cario: He did not tarry; and when he was near us, oh! dear! such a good joke happened. My belly was quite blown up, and I let a thunderous fart!)

Wife: Doubtless the god pulled a wry face?

French: Sans doute pour ce fait il te prit aussitôt en dégoût?

German: Da wandt er sich wohl gleich mit Ekel ab!

Ar. Pl. 700⁶⁹

What we have seen in this subsection is that ἦ που is just like in the epics, used to mark inferences, usually based on recently received or presented information. The *a fortiori* arguments in the synchronic prose corpus may have been a specific subconstruction of this use.

10.3.3 Verbs of knowing

Just like in the synchronic prose corpus, we regularly find *που* in clauses with a verb of knowing as their main verb (8 times). In this corpus we do not find verbs of knowing in the first person, but we do find other indications that the speaker has good reasons to assume that the content of the sentence he is presenting is already known to the addressee. In example (36), for instance, the speaker, a messenger, includes the reason he thinks the addressee already knows what he is telling him: because the addressee was actually present when that part of the story took place.

⁶⁷Transl: English: Oates and O'Neill (1938), French: Coulon and Daele (1923-1934), German: Werner and Seeger (1963).

⁶⁸Austin and Olson (2004): ἦ που ... γε is commonly used in a fortiori arguments (e.g. Lys 13.57), although here "the relationship is implied, the second clause being unexpressed" (Denniston 282): "You must certainly have acted outrageously when you were young, old man [if you're acting this way now]"

⁶⁹Transl: English: Oates and O'Neill (1938), French: Coulon and Daele (1923-1934), German: Werner and Seeger (1963).

(36) (Messenger: ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἤδη κάποθαυμάσαι πρέπον.)

ὡς μὲν γὰρ ἐνθένδ' εἶρπε, καὶ σύ που παρῶν
 how ptcl for from here he went, and you που being present
 ADV PTCL CONJ ADV 3SG.IMPFF, CONJ NOM.SG ΠΟΥ PTC.PRS.NOM.SG

ἔξοισθ',
 you know,
 2SG.PERF,

(ὑφηγητῆρος οὐδενὸς φίλων,
 ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἡμῖν πᾶσιν ἐξηγούμενος.)

English: (Messenger: In that you touch upon what is indeed worthy of wonder.) How he departed from here, you yourself must know since you were here: (with no one of his friends as guide, but rather with himself leading the way for us all.)

French: Au moment où il s'est éloigné d'ici - tu étais là, tu le sais comme moi (- aucun des siens ne lui servait de guide, c'est lui qui nous conduisait tous.)

German: Denn wie er von hier wegging, weißt du selber ja, weil du dabei warst: (nicht von Freundeshand geführt, er selber war es, der uns allen schritt voran.)

S. OC. 1587⁷⁰

This example shows that also in the corpus of tragedy and comedy, *που* is used with verbs of knowing and in contexts in which the content of the clause is presented as already accessible to the addressee.

10.3.4 εἰ πού τις, μή πού τις and ἢ που (τις)...ἢ...

Of all cases of *που* in *εἰ* clauses in the later part of the diachronic corpus (23 in total), 10 are considered locative by at least one of the translators. This is about 43.5%, which is much more than the 23% locative cases in the whole diachronic corpus.

As we have seen in the epic part of the corpus and the synchronic corpus, this is a recurring pattern. Apparently, locative *που* feels at home in conditional clauses or dependent clauses with *εἰ*. If we look now at the translations given to the non-locative cases, we see something that is quite different from the epic part of the corpus, although not incompatible with our findings there.

First, we see a clear selection of cases in the corpus. Except for two examples from Aeschylus, all cases of *εἰ που* with non-locative *που* are found in Aristophanes (the latest author of the corpus). In *εἰ που* clauses with locative *που* only half of the cases came from Aristophanes, most other examples coming from Sophocles (one of the earlier authors of the corpus). The dominance of Aristophanes may have several explanations. It may be a reflection of a development, but it may also reflect the uncertainty of the translators. For instance, English translations of the non-locative

⁷⁰English: Jebb (1928), French: Dain and Mazon (1958), German: Willige and Bayer (1966).

examples are seldom given (10 out of 13 are not translated), and if there is a translation it is *ever*, a temporal expression. The French translations have forms containing *quelque* ‘some’ three times and *quelquefois* ‘sometimes, ever’ once. The German translations seem to translate *που* with *je* ‘ever’ several times. This suggests that *εἴ που* may have had a temporal interpretation in Aristophanes. However, the translations don’t generally use these comparable translations for the same example. Most examples are only translated in one of the languages. There is only one example in which the translations in two languages seem to match. This example is given in (37). In this example two poets compete about who writes the best introductions to a play. The problem is what the criteria should be. Therefore, one may also read *if I somewhere in my text say the same word twice*. Another interesting thing about this example, is that *που* is found directly before an ordinal number. As we will see in the chapter in which *ergens* and *που* are compared, the combination of *που* and a number in Herodotus generally results in the interpretation *about/around*. In example (37), this seems impossible, because the ordinal number *twice* is used to express *more than once*, instead of a specific number which can be modified by *που*.

(37) Εὐριπίδης: ἐγὼ φράσω.

κᾶν που δις εἶπω ταυτόν, ἢ στοιβὴν ἴδης
 and που twice I will say the same, or padding you will see
 CONJ=PTCL που NUM 1SG.AOR.SUBJ ACC.SG, CONJ ACC.SG 2SG.AOR.SUBJ.

ἐνοῦσαν ἔξω τοῦ λόγου, κατάπτυσον.

English: Euripides: I’ll tell you.

And if I ever I say the same word twice, or if you see padding in there irrelevant to the plot, spit on me.

French: Je vais le dire. Et si je me répète, ou si tu y vois du remplissage, une cheville, conspue-moi.

German: Und sag ich je was zweimal oder zeigst du mir ein Flickwort, spei es mir ins Gesicht!

Ar. Ra. 1178⁷¹

What seems to be the point in the *εἴ που*-clauses, is again that it does not really matter exactly what the situation is or where it will take place. This seems to be the case in example (38).

(38) Κλ.: καὶ μὴν εἴ ποῦ τις ἀνὴρ ἐφάνη τῷ δήμῳ μᾶλλον
 and ptcl if που some man seemed the people more
 AND PTCL CONJ που NOM.SG NOM.SG 3SG.AOR DAT.SG DAT.SG ADV

ἀμύνων / ἢ μᾶλλον ἐμοῦ σε φιλῶν,
 warding off / or more than me you loving,
 PTC.PRS.NOM.SG / CONJ ADV GEN.SG ACC.SG PTC.PRS.NOM.SG,

⁷¹Transl: English: Oates and O’Neill (1938), French: Coulon and Daele (1923-1934), German: Werner and Seeger (1963).

ἐθέλω περὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς περιδόσθαι.
 I am willing about the head wager.
 1SG.PRS PREP ART.GEN.SG GEN.SG INF.AOR.

English: Cleon: Never had Demos a defender or a friend more devoted than myself; on my head, on my life, I swear it!

French: Le Paphlagonien: Eh bien, si jamais a paru un homme luttant davantage pour le peuple (à Demos) ou t'aimant plus que moi, j'y veux gager ma tête.

German: Nein, sag ich, wie hat nie sich ein Mann für den Demos gestellt vor die Risse, Nie hat ihn ein Bürger geliebt so wie ich, den Kopf will ich wetten zur Stunde!

Ar. Eq. 790⁷²

In example (38), we find a very general statement. The speaker compares himself to all men in the world and he will bet his head on it that there is none, no matter where or when who is more devoted to Demos than himself. *If some man anywhere or if some man ever* boil down to the same thing. The choice is probably steered by the conventions of the modern languages, in which it is common to stress generality over time *if ever*. Again, just like we found in the synchronic corpus, it would be possible to read examples as temporal, but we do not have unequivocal temporal examples.

In this part of the corpus, there are only four examples of *μή που* and seven examples of *ἢ που... ἢ...* and they are all comparable to the *εἶ που* cases, so we will not discuss them separately.⁷³

We may conclude that, if we accept that one of the functions of using an indefinite locative can be to express that the details of a situation, like the place, do not matter, most of the cases of *εἶ που* seem to have a generalizing (locative) interpretation, often, but not always, triggered by either locative markers in the clause or other indefinite markers like *τις*. The same is true for *μή που* and *ἢ που... ἢ...* 'either...or' clauses.

10.3.5 General contextual features of modal *που*

In the epics, we frequently found *που* in fatalistic statements about the gods. Although this is not very common in tragic poetry and comedy, there are a few examples, as in (39).

(39) Atossa: μηχαναῖς ἔζευξεν Ἑλλης πορθμόν, ὥστ' ἔχειν πόρον. Dareius: καὶ τόδ' ἐξέπραξεν, ὥστε Βόσπορον κλῆσαι μέγαν'

Atossa: ὧδ' ἔχει' γνώμης δέ πού τις δαιμόνων
 such it is for this purpose but που someone of the gods
 ADV 3SG.PRS GEN.SG CONJ ΠΟΥ NOM.SG GEN.PL

⁷²Transl: English: Oates and O'Neill (1938), French: Coulon and Daele (1923-1934), German: Werner and Seeger (1963).

⁷³*μή που*: A.Pr.247; S.Aj.533; Ar.Ec.482; Ar.V.247. *ἢ που...ἢ...*: S.Aj.176; S.Aj.1244; S.Ph.215; S.Oc.1059.

ξυνήψατο.
have assisted.
3SG.AOR.

Darius: φεῦ, μέγας τις ἦλθε δαίμων, ὥστε μὴ φρονεῖν καλῶς.
English: (Atossa: By a clever device he yoked the Hellespont so as to gain a passage.
Darius: What! Did he succeed in closing the mighty Bosporus?)
Atossa: Yes indeed. One of the divine powers must have assisted him in his purpose.
French: Un dieu sans doute avait touché ses esprits
German: Ja, er tat's. Beim Plan war wohl ein böser Dämon mit im Spiel.

A. Pers. 724⁷⁴

In example (39), we find Atossa concluding that if Xerxes managed to close the Bosporus, this was only possible with help of the gods, since it is generally known that great deeds can only be done with divine help. It may be argued that this interpretation does not work because Aeschylus uses δαίμονες here instead of the more positive term θεοί 'gods'. However, as becomes clear in the following dialogue, Atossa already knows that the expedition ended in disaster, which would color her statement negatively, but this does not change the generally known conclusion that divine powers must have helped him in such an act. This can be seen from the reaction of Darius. Only after another negative expression from Atossa, Darius asks her what happened that she is lamenting Xerxes' action so much. Apparently, her first choice of δαίμονες was not foreboding enough for him to ask that immediately.

Another situation in which *που* is regularly found in tragedy and comedy is in incredulous or reluctant questions as was also noted by Denniston (1950, 492). The reluctance or incredulity is mainly expressed by means of negation. Of all 56 questions in which *που* occurs (including possibly locative instances), 38 (68%) contain a sentence negation. In example (40), for instance, Jason, who has just learned that his new wife was killed by his former wife, is approached by the chorus with some bad news. The worst Jason can think of, but which seems too outrageous even for his former wife Medea, is that she is planning on killing him as well.

(40) Chorus: (ὦ τλήμων, οὐκ οἶσθ' οἱ κακῶν ἐλήλυθας,
'Ἰάσον· οὐ γὰρ τοῦσδ' ἄν ἐφθέγξω λόγους.)

Iason: τί δ' ἔστιν; οὐ που κάμ' ἀποκτεῖναι
what but is? not που also me kill
NOM.SG CONJ 3SG.PRS? NEG που CO=PRN.ACC.SG INF.PRS
θέλει;
she wants?
3SG.PRS?

⁷⁴Transl. English: Smyth (1922), French: Mazon (1920), German: Werner (1969).

(Chorus: *παῖδες τεθνᾶσι χειρὶ μητρῶα σέθεν.*) *English:* (Chorus-Leader: Poor Jason, you have no idea how far gone you are in misfortune. Else you would not have spoken these words.)

Jason: What is it? Surely she does not mean to kill me as well?

(Chorus-Leader: Your children are dead, killed by their mother's hand.)

French: Qu'y a-t-il? Voudrait-elle, à mon tour, me tuer?

German: Wie? Hat sie mich selber dem Tod bestimmt?

E. Med. 1308⁷⁵

The function of *που* in example (40) may be to express that it is commonly known that the situation he is proposing would not be expected to be the case. The fact that this question is posed with a negation suggests that contrary to that expectation, there may be reason to believe it is actually true.

Summarizing, we have seen that just like in the epic corpus, we find *που* in fatalistic statements about the gods in tragedy and comedy, which is again a type of accessible information. Also, we find the particle in reluctant or incredulous questions, which suggests that common sense (or other accessible information) would predict that the content of the question is not true, although the negative question expresses that the speaker has (just) received information implying that it may be true anyway.

10.3.6 Conclusion on *που* in tragedy and comedy

The collocational behavior of the poetic texts from 500-350 BC from tragedy and comedy is comparable to the synchronic corpus, although just like in the epic corpus *either...or* sentences seem to play a role as well. If we take *δή*, *ἦ*, *γάρ*, mental state predicates (mainly verbs of knowing) and verbs of saying as indicators of a modal interpretation, *εἰ*, *ἦ...ἦ* and *τις* as indicators of a generalizing locative interpretation and locative adverbs and verbs as clues that indicate that *που* may be interpreted as locative, we find that 78% (149 out of 191) of the instances of *που* could be interpreted using these cues. This high percentage in combination with the fact that in the three types of corpora used the same collocations tended to show up, suggests that *που* was part of conventionalized constructions containing these cues.

Most examples in the later part of the diachronic corpus show similar behavior to the synchronic corpus. In almost all cases *δή που* seems to have its conventionalized interpretation. There is only one case in which *δή* and *που* were not adjacent.

There is no absolutely compelling evidence for a temporal interpretation of *που*, although some translators use temporal translations and there are many instances in which this interpretation would fit. The use of *ἦ που* seems to be somewhat broader than in the synchronic corpus, because it mainly is found in inferences on the basis of

⁷⁵Mastronarde (2002): *ἦ που* probably carries a tone of sarcasm here, or possibly a tone of bewilderment; the alternative reading *οὐ που* (in a papyrus) would be preferable only if one wishes Jason to adopt a tone of lively concern and fear. On the alternation of these two combinations in MSS. see Mastronarde on Phoen. 1072, with refs. Page (1976): *ἦ που* interrogative: I expect...?, here perhaps sarcastic Denniston 286. For a discussion on the question of whether we should read *ἦ που* or *οὐ που* see Caspers (2010)

recent statements or events in combination with some knowledge of the world. We may see the *a fortiori* arguments that were frequently found in the synchronic corpus, as a special subcategory of this type. Just like in the synchronic prose corpus, verbs of knowing were regularly present in *που*-clauses. There were also other indications that in these sentences, the speaker assumed that the content of the *που*-clause was already accessible information for the addressee.

There is reason to assume that εἴ ποῦ τις (and some constructional variants like εἴ ποῦ, ποῦ τις and ἤ ποῦ (τις)) is a common phrase expressing that no specific person or thing is meant but the phenomenon in general, wherever it is. This would bring us to a threefold classification of the use of *που*: 1. locative indefinite, 2. generalizing (via indefinite location) 3. presenting the proposition as containing accessible information, which has, apart from its general use in statements and arguments, four specific subconstructions: a) on the basis of (recent) information (ἤ ποῦ, as described on page 257) or b) on the basis of (self)evident information (δὴ ποῦ, as described on page 254), c) in sentences in which the speaker attributes knowledge to the addressee (verbs of knowing) or d) in incredulous or reluctant questions with a negation.

Although *που* is used in many situations, both in the epic corpus and in tragic and comic poetry, it is regularly found in (fatalistic) statements about the gods. This is probably comparable to the use of *που* in truisms, which we saw in the synchronic prose corpus, since religious assumptions are also shared in a community. If a speaker presents something as accessible information, this often implies that he wants the addressee to draw the conclusion that what the speaker says is true. Therefore, modal *που* has a positive argumentative orientation.

10.4 The diachronic development of *που* from Homer to Isocrates

Now that we have studied the three periods in detail, we will zoom out and compare the three periods. From the translations in table 10.4, it is clear that the only period that seems to deviate from the others is the epic period. In the latter period we find, to some extent, more translations like *haply, peut-être, vielleicht*.

However, if we look at the examples that are translated in this way in detail, we again run into the problem that the translators do not use the same translations for the same examples. This suggests that it is not the specific characteristics of the individual examples which have triggered the choice for these translations. There are several cases in which one of the other translators chooses a translation with a much more positive argumentative direction than *haply, peut-être, or vielleicht*. We will now discuss the one example in which all three translators do agree and have chosen translations like *haply, peut-être or vielleicht*, that is, translations with a neutral or even negative argumentative orientation.

In example (41), the English translation of *που* is *haply*, the French translation is *peut-être* and the German translation is *vielleicht*. In this example, Penelope is calling her servant, because she wants him to go to Odysseus' old father for help against the

English		French		German	
Epic modal <i>που</i> (+/-800 BC- 650)					
haply	36	[no transl.]	72	wohl	36
I ween	34	sans doute	19	no	35
no	25	peut-être	5	vielleicht	20
methinks	9	par hasard	3	etwa	4
so be	5	bien	2	ja	4
forsooth	4	je crois	2	irgendwie	3
indeed	3	seulement	1	doch	2
surely	2	assurément	1	gewiss	2
full likely	1	n'est-ce pas?	1	schon	2
I think	1	il faut	1	sicherlich	2
Modal <i>που</i> in tragedy and comedy (+/-500BC- 390 BC)					
[no transl.]	61	[no transl.]	59	[no transl.]	90
surely	21	sans doute	32	wohl	20
no doubt	8	naturellement	9	doch	9
perhaps	8	je suppose	7	ja	4
I suppose	5	peut-être	5	doch wohl	3
I think	6	donc	3	vielleicht	3
must	4	je pense	3	etwa	2
ever	3	quelque	3	je	2
must be	3	pourtant	3	für sicher	1
somehow	3	certes	2	du begreifst doch	1
Modal <i>που</i> in classical prose (+/- 400 BC- 350 BC)					
[no transl.]	119	[no transl.]	75	[no transl.]	87
surely	47	j'imagine	23	doch	62
I presume	15	sans doute	20	doch wohl	31
of course	14	à plus forte raison	13	wohl	23
I suppose	12	certes	10	sicherlich	10
you know	11	je crois	10	ja	7
as you know	5	évidemment	9	gewiss	5
I take it	5	n'est-ce pas?	9	ja wohl	5
certainly	4	à coup sûr	8	bekanntlich	4
I imagine	4	assurément	8	ohne Zweifel	3

Table 10.5: The top ten translations of modal *που* in the different parts of the diachronic corpus. N.B. this table is to be read vertically, since the translations in the three languages are not consistent enough to line them up horizontally.

suitors, who want to marry her because they think Odysseus is dead. Until Penelope has made a choice between one of them, they enjoy her hospitality and this way they ruin her.

- (41) (ἀλλά τις ὀτρηνῶς Δολίον καλέσειε γέροντα,
 δμῶ' ἐμόν, ὄν μοι δῶκε πατήρ ἔτι δεῦρο κιούση,
 καί μοι κῆπον ἔχει πολυδένδρεον, ὄφρα τάχιστα
 Λαέρτη τάδε πάντα παρεζόμενος καταλέξει.)
- εἰ δὴ πού τινα κεῖνος ἐνὶ φρεσὶ μῆτιν ὑφήνας
 if ptcl που some he in heart plan having weaved
 CONJ PTCL ΠΟΥ ACC.SG NOM.SG PREP DAT.PL ACC.SG PTC.AOR.NOM.SG

ἐξελθὼν λαοῖσιν ὀδύρεται, οἷ μεμάασιν
 ὄν καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς φθῖσαι γόνον ἀντιθέοιο.

English: (But now let one hasten to call hither the aged Dolius, my servant, whom my father gave me before ever I came hither, and who keeps my garden of many trees, that he may straightway go and sit by Laertes, and tell him of all these things.) So haply may Laertes weave some plan in his heart, and go forth and with weeping make his plea to the people, who are minded to destroy his race and that of godlike Odysseus.

French: Peut-être le Veillard verra-t-il un moyen de quitter sa retraite et d'émouvoir ces gens qui veulent supprimer sa race dans le fils de son divin Ulysse!

German: vielleicht, daß der einen wirksamen Plan verständig entwirft, auf die Straße geht und zu klagen beginnt vor dem Volk, das daran ist, die Sippe, seine und die des göttergleichen Odysseus, zu tilgen.

*Od. 4.739*⁷⁶ ⁷⁷

The interpretation of *που* is very hard in this example. There are only two other examples ((7) and (17)) in all three corpora in which *δὴ που* is found in a conditional clause. This means that *εἰ δὴ που* occurs only in Homer. However, *δὴ* does occur by itself in conditional clauses fairly often both in Homer and elsewhere. This suggests that the collocation *δὴ που* cannot occur in conditional clauses, whereas the not yet collocated forms *δὴ* and *που* can, by themselves, occur in conditional clauses. This would imply that we need to interpret both particles separately.

The interpretation of example (41) is hard because the content of the plan seems to be given already (i.e. making a plea to the people) which evokes the impression that the *εἰ*-clause expresses a request of Penelope, whether he (would be willing to) go and make a plea to the people. This would require the ellipsis of a verb of asking. The function of *δὴ* would then be to express that, given the news that Penelope just sent him, it is evident why she makes this request. However, it is hard to imagine something being both evident and merely possible as is expressed by the translations *haply*, *peut-être* and *perhaps* unless we go so far as to attribute to *που* the function of a politeness marker in requests even though there is only one other example in which *που* may be interpreted in this way in all three corpora (*Od.4.193* as given in example (16) on page 239). In addition, the translations seem to ignore the conditional conjunction *εἰ* and the particle *δὴ*. Another reading of this example would be

⁷⁶Trans. English: Murray (1919a), French: Bérard (1924), German: Weiher (1961).

⁷⁷Ameis and Hentze (1879): *εἰ δὴ πού* wie *αἶ κέν πως*, *ob denn vielleicht*.

a metaphorical reading as in *somewhere in his heart*, which in my view seems the best option here.

This was the only example in which all three translations interpreted *που* as weakly modal. However, there are some cases (8 in total) in which the English and the German translations agree and in the French translation there is no translation given. These examples almost all come from the epic part of the corpus. This group of examples is quite homogeneous. Five examples contain *τις*, the remaining three examples contain *εἰ* and *ἢ που* and the last one contains *δή*. This means that most of these examples belong to the category that was discussed elaborately above: the group of examples in which *που* seems to express that the situation described is not to be taken too specifically, like in example (42).

- (42) νόστου δὴ μνησαίμεγαθύμου Τυδέος υἱὲ
 νῆας ἔπι γλαφυράς, μὴ καὶ πεφοβημένος ἔλθῃς,
 μή που τις καὶ Τρῶας ἐγείρῃσιν θεὸς ἄλλος.
 lest που some ptcl Trojans arouses god other,
 CONJ=NEG που NOM.SG PTCL ACC.PL 3SG.AOR.SUBJ NOM.SG NOM.SG,

English: Bethink thee now of returning, son of great-souled Tydeus, to the hollow ships, lest thou go thither in full flight, and haply some other god rouse up the Trojans.

French: Songe au retour vers les nefes creuses, fils du magnanime Tydée - à moins que tu ne veuilles qu'il tourne en dérouté: redoute qu'un autre dieu n'aïlle réveiller les Troyens.

German: Denke der Heimkehr jetzt, du Sohn des erhabenen Tydeus, fort zu den räumigen Schiffen, auf daß du nicht gingest als Flüchtling, wenn vielleicht ein anderer Gott die Troer noch weckte!

Il. 10.511^{78 79}

In this example, an indefinite (*τις*) other god is mentioned in a negative purpose clause, which may also be read as *for fear that*. It is possible to say *in order that/ for fear that some other god will not perhaps rouse up the Trojans*, but it is also possible that this is again a more generalizing context *to make sure that some other god somewhere will not rouse up the Trojans*, in which *somewhere* stresses that Diomedes does not have some particular god in mind. This is typically an instance of a bridging context in the direction of a weak locative general indefiniteness like in the case of Flemish Dutch *ergens iets* 'somewhere, something' or standard Dutch *ergens een of andere* 'somewhere some'. This interpretation would have my preference, because it fits so many other cases of *που τις*.

We already saw some collocations above, but we have not compared the different periods with respect to their collocations. In table 10.6 an overview of the collocations of modal *που* in the three periods is given. We see a clear increase in the

⁷⁸Trans. English: Murray (1924), French: Mazon et al. (1955), German: Rupé (1961).

⁷⁹Ameis and Hentze (1905): μή που τις wie N 293 § 130 dass nur nicht etwa, ein selbständiger Befürchtungssatz zur Erklärung der vorhergehenden Warnung; Sinn: leicht könnte ein anderer Gott... Vgl. τ 83, Z96.

collocation δή που, and a decrease in the use of εἶ που and τις. However, we must keep in mind that the three corpora are far from comparable in terms of text types and genres, which means that they do not give a good overview of the Greek language. Still, there seems to be a tendency for the collocations which point in the direction of a positive argumentative orientation to increase, although the variation is very large, as can be seen especially in the case of ἦ που.

	Epic modal που +/-800 BC- 650 BC	Tragedy and comedy +/-500BC- 390 BC	Classical modal που +/- 400 BC- 350 BC
δή που	5.7% (7)	18.1% (27)	39.8% (121)
ἦ που	5.7% (7)	19.5% (29)	7.6% (23)
εἶ που	20.3% (25)	8.1% (12)	2.6% (8)
know	2.4% (3)	5.3% (8)	6.3% (19)
γάρ	4.9% (6)	3.4% (5)	19.7% (60)
τις	34.1% (42)	16.8% (25)	3.6% (11)

Table 10.6: The frequencies of the contextual characteristics of modal που in the different parts of the diachronic corpus in percentages of the instances of modal που in each respective corpus.

10.5 Conclusion

In this chapter we studied the diachronic development of που. There were already modal instances of που in the earliest texts, but the collocations and constructions were not exactly the same as in later periods. For instance the collocation δή που does not seem to have been a collocation in the epic texts as was already noted by Denniston. However, this already seems to have changed in the earliest texts after the epics. There are also collocations that seem to disappear like the collocations with μή and ἦ...ἦ... However, this may be due to the fact that both parts of the corpus contain different genres (i.e. epics vs. tragedy/comedy).

On the basis of these data it seems that there were already basically three uses of που in the earliest texts:

1. the locative use
2. the weakly locative use with a generalizing function
3. the modal use with a positive argumentative orientation and the suggestion that the addressee has access to the information provided (by means of reasoning or knowledge of the world)

The modal use may have arisen as an inference on the basis of the larger context, but that cannot really be shown, because the development has taken place already before the historical period. The weakly locative use seems to have arisen in contexts

with other indefinite markers like τις and possibly also in ει ('if, whether')-clauses and ἢ...ἢ... 'either... or' clauses.

The locative use of που is generally marked by locative markers like verbs implying a place, locative adverbs and locative prepositions. The weak locative use may also be accompanied by locative markers, but is most frequently found with the indefinite τις, the conjunction ει 'if, whether' and ἢ...ἢ... 'either... or' clauses. The modal examples are, especially in later times, accompanied by δι, ἦ and mental state predicates like *to know*. In later times, they are also frequently found in assertive sentences with the copula. In general, modal που is found in sentences which contain information that is presented as already accessible to the addressee.

