

STUDIES IN THE LANGUAGE OF MENANDER

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In my investigation of the use of the perfect (part I) and of hyperbaton (part II) I address a cross-section of syntactical questions which reflect elements of the language of drama, of New Comedy, of the end of the classical period, of verse, and of a conversational register in a literary dialogue form at times naturalistic, and at others conventional, rhetorical, or formulaic.

1. I describe the use of the perfect indicative in Menander from various angles including a survey of the perfects found in Menander from verbs which were not previously attested in the perfect (1.7); the notion of innovation is challenged in the face of the accident of attestation and the different genres of the different sources, and I refer to the general problems of studying a dead language. In the following section I describe the typical use of perfects by grammatical categories (2.1), and extra-grammatical categories including discourse mode, sentence-type and non-hypotactic dependence (2.2), and lexical criteria (2.3). In the taxonomy of my description and in my analysis I apply the principle that verbal categories and their morphological manifestations are fluid and complex rather than discrete. For example, in my attempt to understand the use of the temporal value of the perfect I take into account compositional elements such as the use of adverbs (2.1.5); for mood, I try to illustrate the illocutionary wealth of the perfect indicative (2.2.2) and relate this to the relative absence of non-indicative perfect forms (2.1.3) as well as to the frequency of perfects in dialogue mode (2.2.1). The principle of the integration of categories, grammatical and metagrammatical, is seen in the correlation between the low incidence of perfects in subordinate clauses (4) and the exposure of other mechanisms for dependence (2.2.3) which are a particularly salient feature of the dialogue mode: dependence may be logical, or communicational ('stimulus and response' 2.2.3b). Along with (2.2.3), and hypotactic subordination (4), I also consider the transitivity of the perfect (3), not only an exercise in description, but in order to argue that in Menander's time (and genre etc.) perfects are less often transitively used than not; I show that examples with direct objects display weak transitivity (3.2.1, 3.2.4). A relatively weak transitive use supports (although is not synonymous with) the argument that these are not 'resultative' perfects in the sense that they approach aorists. My primary aim is to describe the workings of the perfect and its syntactic environment in Menander, and not to enter into the controversy over the chronology of the resultative perfect. However, evidence points to Menander's retaining a classical use of the perfect quite distinct from the aorist: the perfect is not used as a narrative tense (5), and when it is found in narrative passages it either exits the narrative frame or serves as a border or as a rhetorical or structural 'signpost'. In (5) I also discuss some narrative patterns which are typical of New Comedy, and the consistent use of perfects in direct speech within a past setting.

2. Greek word order is 'free but not arbitrary', to quote Marouzeau. One of the less arbitrary features is the tendency for certain modifiers to be adjacent to their head noun. In part II I examine the separation of four modifiers from the substantives they modify: numerals (2), indefinites (3), possessives (4) and the demonstrative οὗτος (5). I move from the inherently most closely cohering (numerals) to the most loosely (demonstratives are often interpreted as being in an appositive or predicative rather than an attributive relation). The enclitic forms, especially of possessives (4.3), are more closely studied since they are also used in later classical Greek as an alternative to the dative forms of the enclitic pronouns in the 'sympathetic' function. In such cases (as with 'loose' demonstratives) the affiliation of the genitive enclitic must be reassessed. As an exercise in description, and in the principle of cumulative evidence, I try to interpret the effect created by the use of hyperbaton in terms of degrees of nuance, emotion, and disruption to the sentence. The nature of the intervening element and the structure of the rest of the sentence are important factors. In Menander's genre certain contexts recur, and certain nuances, tones and attitudes tend to be emphasized.

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0. PRELIMINARIES

1. A full syntax of Menander ought to be written in the fashion of Moorhouse's syntax of Sophocles, ideally with the addition of several chapters on patterns conditioned by, or typical of, the genre and register in which Menander writes, most saliently the alternatives to subordination. Such an endeavour demands a better understanding of the broader entity known as Greek, which is the product of mature familiarity with a broad range of texts and a distinct conception of the grammatical and syntactic categories tested and fine-tuned by an empirical reading and rereading through prisms of grammatical perspective. In this thesis I have chosen two fairly broad issues in syntax on which I perform experiments of method: In **Part I** I thoroughly examine the perfect in Menander, not only in order to observe the frequency of the perfect, to list the occurrences, and to show that Menander's perfect is essentially 'classical' (and not a substitute for the aorist), but also to identify it with dialogue, and, through the analysis of the individual contexts and the charting of recurring patterns, to gain a better knowledge of Menander's dialogue technique. To use a metaphor from the laboratory, the 'stains' showing up (the perfect finite forms) on an X-Ray image of the text can indicate for us where the dialogue is and can chart a sample to be analyzed. In **Part II** I discuss the phenomenon called by some 'hyperbaton', and by others 'Sperrung' or 'disjonction'. I take four types of closely-knit nominal word-groups and look at the ways in which they are split. This works in the domains of style and syntax which are closely interrelated.

Part I relies heavily on the combinatorics of external verbal signs and **Part II** relies heavily on the sometimes subjective art of interpretation of emotion and nuance in the language and in the implied context. The method used in **Part II** also insists on the cumulative weight of individual verbal and other contextual elements in the balance between emphatic or rhetorical or artificial structuring of periods on the one hand, and loose, non-poetic lack of continuity in syntax on the other. Nevertheless, some common syntactical by-products emerge from the discussions in both parts: to some degree in both **I** and **II** I deal with continuity of expression in a stylization of

conversational Greek in verse-form in a genre which inherits certain conventions influencing language. In **Part I**, the syntax of the perfect leads (inevitably, I hope) to the syntax of comic dialogue -- and in particular of antilabe, partly defined by considerations of versification: division of syntactic constructions by speaker-change, by asides, and by parenthesis elicits recurring comments. In **Part II**, what is considered a word-group, and what kind of interruption creates discontinuity are central issues; here too, verse is brought into the discussion.

2. The verse form in which our text was performed and written down to some extent dictates the position and frequency with which certain words, even certain constructions, are used.¹ It is true that in New Comedy (with very few exceptions) no lyric metres are used, but only the so-called spoken metres; and it is well-known that the rules of resolution, caesura, and Porson's Law are looser in New Comedy than in Tragic spoken verse;² I hope to show that in addition, the association of verse-end as a syntactic border is weak in this genre.³ This respect for the syntactic border at verse-end begins to be broken in earlier drama, but one must distinguish between continuation over verse-end for effect (where the status of verse-end is still respected), and continuation over verse-end because the verse is less strongly associated with a syntactic unit.⁴ The tension between units of verse and syntactical units is discussed in *GGL* I.2 146f, and I quote only the kernel of it:

Die Forderung, daß Versschluß und Satzschluß im Sprechvers ständig zusammenfallen, oder gar die, daß im Gespräch jeder der Unterredner abwechselnd nur einen Vers-Satz sprechen sollte, ist gewiß so wenig im Drama jemals aufgestellt worden, als er in der Iambographie Geltung gehabt hat.

3. Specific methods are set out in the introductions to **Parts I** and **II**. A general principle which is common to both is cumulative, combinatory thought. This is reflected on many levels: I try to look at both the form and the function of any phenomenon (see e.g. my treatment of sentence-types in 2.2.2 in **Part I**); the

¹ On this, see e.g. Sachtschal (1908).

² For a definitive discussion on Menander's metre, see Handley (1965) pp.56-73. See also West (1982) 88-90 for a comparison between tragic and comic verse.

³ See e.g. discussion of antilabe in 2.2.2, and on enjambment in **Part II**.

⁴ For applications of verse as a factor in distinguishing between antilabe and 'looser' rapid exchange, see 2.2.1 in **Part I**; for enjambment, see **Part II** of the thesis.

traditional verbal categories of aspect, tense, mood, and transitivity cannot be entirely isolated from one another; a verb form cannot be understood without understanding its relation to the other parts of the sentence ('compositional elements' in Fanning (1990), 'context' in McKay (1965 on) -- see 1.6); sentences in a text cannot be treated in isolation from those neighbouring them ('transphrastic relations'); and logical, temporal, and communicative interdependence are not only formed by subordination or connective particles. Finally, the diagnosis of emotional, rhetorical and emphatic tones is at best inexact and subjective; the accumulation of signs more easily indicates a certain tone or nuance than any single sign -- this is manifest particularly in my interpretations of the passages in **Part II**, but also for example in the brief reference to emphatic or affective adverbs in 2.1.5 and in the description of sentence-types in 2.2.2 (with tables 1-5 in Appendix II) of **Part I**.

4. The period during which Menander flourished coincides with the beginning of the Hellenistic period; his first play was performed in 321, one year past the cutoff point usually offered for the classical period. As a historical dividing point, this is, like any specific date, arbitrary. The dates of Menander coincide just as neatly (and arbitrarily) with the beginning of the chronological period assigned to the Koine. The *terminus post quem* is most often associated with Alexander the Great:

...schwankt [der Ausdruck κοινή] in der ...Wissenschaft: nach den einen ist die κοινή die konventionelle nachklassische Literatursprache, ...nach den andern nur die nachklassische Umgangssprache. Demgegenüber scheint es richtig, unter Koine die gesamte gemeingriechische, zur Einheit tendierende Sprachentwicklung zusammenzufassen seit dem Ausgang des 4. Jahrhunderts vor Chr..., von Alexander dem Großen bis Justinian.

This broad inclusive chronological range adopted by Schwyzer (1953) 118 is not different from that of others who define the Koine.⁵ But what matters is not so much what precise chronological point one assigns to the beginning of the Koine, or whether one gives it a broad and inclusive or a narrow and exclusive chronological division. The register and dialect of the person writing are just as important as the period in which he flourished in establishing whether or not he writes in Koine Greek. This is convincingly illustrated in the contrast between the contemporary authors

⁵ Compare e.g. Thumb (1901) 8f; Meillet (1975) 254.

Demosthenes and Aristotle, one writing classical Greek, the other writing in Greek which is closer to Koine, as this contrast is drawn in Hult (1990) 13:

Post-classical or Hellenistic Greek, κοινή, represents a development of the classical language. Demosthenes (384-322) is an entirely 'classical' writer (actually the classical writer who later, in the Roman period, was most admired and imitated by the Atticists), whereas his exact contemporary Aristotle is one of the first 'post-classical' writers, exhibiting some traits which became typical of Koine Greek.

5. The register in which Menander wrote, then, is just as important a factor as the time at which he wrote. Without identifying his register it will be difficult to appreciate his position and the value of his text for the study of phenomena in language which undergo change during the Hellenistic period on the one hand, and which reflect colloquial or conversational Greek on the other. While I do not agree with Rydbeck's defeatist dismissal (1967) 186ff of evidence for what he terms 'Volkssprache',⁶ he is correct in observing that the term 'Koine' subsumes different spoken and literary levels of post-classical Greek, which must be distinguished. I follow the lead of Bubeník (1989) and break up the analysis of register into points on two scales:⁷ spoken $\diamond$ written, and vulgar $\diamond$ elevated. This gives the term register two dimensions which are compatible in that neither is a function of chronological development, only their attestation is: both spoken Greek and vulgar Greek begin to be documented in later periods than written and elevated Greek, although they most certainly were current before it became acceptable to record them.

But there is no need to limit ourselves to the chronological context of the end of the classical period for applications of discussions on register to Menander. Stevens (1976) 1-9 offers an analysis of the registers of Attic Tragedy, which in some senses is more cognate with Menander than the texts on which Rydbeck bases his discussion on register. It is true that the evidence for spoken language in Attic Tragedy is only indirect, but the same may be said of Menander, even if to a lesser degree. Stevens defines the language as a *Kunstsprache* with influences from current conversational

⁶ See in particular p.187 note 3 for his exclusion of Menander and Aristophanes as opposed to his inclusion of Plautus for Latin. He gives no specific reasons or examples.

⁷ Compare also a complex definition of register in Beaman (1984).

idiom.⁸ Stevens' discussion contributes to a more accurate awareness of the subtleties of distinction which help to sharpen the definition of register. In particular he points out (p.3f) that *prosaic* expressions are typified by not blending in with either poetic speech or conversation, and draws an important distinction between neutral language (which fits into most contexts) and colloquial language which may add a 'distinctly conversational flavour' when used in a poetic or prose context, but which is distinct from the language of ordinary conversation, which is neutral (elsewhere 'the dialogue style'). It is important here to underline the distinction between what is colloquial, and what is typical of the *dramatic* dialogue style (p.8); this distinction is generic as much as registral. From another angle, experts on Plato have contributed to our concept of register: Des Places in his (theoretical) discussion on the distinction between oral and spoken styles (1934), and Tarrant in his more textual discussion (1996). I refer, finally, to Dover (1981) which again focuses on prose.⁹

The form of the spoken language of Menander's day is irretrievable. The study of modern languages is the study of their spoken language, while the study of an ancient language is necessarily the study of a literary or documentary register which may, depending on the author or genre, reflect a closer or more distant approximation of the spoken language, but never the purely spoken language. The practice of writing in a register of some literary level emerged for cultural reasons rather than strictly linguistic ones, and this alone justifies, even requires, the study of Menander's language within its literary tradition. From the opposite end, the absence of written attestations of the spoken language, a form which has eluded us not only in antiquity, but throughout the history of the Greek language (see Browning (1983) 4-6), leaves us with approximations of the spoken language. In this respect, among the attestations which are closest to the spoken language are Menander's plays.¹⁰ The interest in the spoken elements of dead languages may be exemplified by the seminal work of J.B. Hofmann, who discusses the

⁸ Indeed in the body of his book he focuses on *expressions* and *idioms* which seem colloquial, even in the sections with titles promising *syntactic* phenomena.

⁹ But see his comments on pp.19f.

¹⁰ For an interesting investigation of some classical Greek syntactical structures with considerations of spoken and written language, see Slings (1992).

special problems involved, and there is a consensus on the success of his endeavour, despite the difficulties.¹¹ Finally, I add that the work and methods of linguists studying Modern Greek, who bring their experience of consideration for the spoken nature of the language into their methods, set a good example and contribute to our understanding of ancient Greek. This is particularly important for those who do not ignore the fact that Greek, although it has undergone change and upheaval, is an evolving continuum; many features are common to many periods and dialects of Greek, and comparisons among them often contribute more than they confuse.

The problems of studying a dead language (especially by applying the pragmatic approach) are tackled not only by Pinkster (1990) and Wakker (1994), but were discussed already by Happ (1967) Weinrich (1971), Fajen (1971), Pinkster himself (1972), and Rosén (1980).

Bubeník (1989) 23f assumes that writing and speech occupy parallel positions; in this he argues with those who maintain that writing is only an indirect reflection of meaning, and is filtered through speech (see his note 1 *ad locum* for references to Saussure et al.): "No sociolinguistic study of a dead language would be possible without assuming that the function of written language is autonomous", says Bubeník. On p.25f he concedes that both writing and speech, although autonomous direct representations of meaning, are still part of the same language, and interactions are important. My study does not profess to be sociolinguistic, but although I do not focus on sociolinguistic issues, they most certainly will not be ignored. Nevertheless, for the purposes of my study it is less important to determine the status of the plays' register *per se*, but the (approximate) identification of Menander's register helps in a more accurate assessment of the forms he uses and the functions he lends them, and conversely the evidence from Menander may be fitted into a more complex charting of forms and their functions in the multidimensional entity that is the Greek language.

6. Previous studies in the language of Menander have covered a broad range of issues, but some are out-of-date because they precede the publication of the Bodmer papyri,

¹¹ For a discussion of Hofmann's approach and his understanding of the concept of spoken language, see the introduction to Ricottilli's translation (1985) 9-71.

and others are mainly lexical or an enumeration of occurrences of very specific phenomena and miss out on the opportunity offered by the syntax of Menander. The recent rediscovery of the bulk of Menander as we know it has resulted most seriously in the gap in the traditional manuals, lexica and grammars. A general survey is carried out in del Corno (1975), and studies using language to make literary interpretations are Sandbach (1970), Bozanic (1977), and Turner (1980). Some products of research postdating the publication of the Bodmer papyri which touch on syntax are Ferrero (1976), González Merino (1981), Guido (1983), and Ireland (1981).

7. The value of Modern Greek for the understanding of ancient Greek is not only intuitively obvious, but has been argued on scientific grounds by scholars such as Thumb (1914) and Goosens (1946), and practiced not only by Jannaris (1897), but by non-Greek classicists such as Trenkner (1960) and Shipp (1979), and by linguists such as Janse (1993).

The bulk of applications from Modern Greek are to Koine Greek, particularly the varieties of Biblical Greek, but applications of Modern Greek have also been successful with respect to texts from the classical period. There are good reasons why Modern Greek cannot be ignored for the study of an author such as Menander. Modern Greek is a spoken language, and offers evidence for which we have no counterpart in ancient Greek; although it cannot fill that gap of evidence, analogy with Modern Greek offers a better approximation than, say, analogy with English. This is particularly the case regarding intonation, word-order, ellipse, and other features at work on the level of conversation. For example, in a discussion of question-sentences (ii 522f), why should KG draw an analogy with German word-order (initial position of the verb) to show how different languages use different strategies when questions do not open with question-markers? In Greek the word-order in this sentence pattern does not change (see 2.2.2, paragraph 4); illustrations of German intonation likewise are less appropriate than those of Modern Greek, even if Greek has undergone fundamental changes. So, despite *caveats* against extreme

reliance on Modern Greek,¹² it must certainly not be abandoned, especially in favour of analogy with one's own language, which only amplifies the distortion of what must at best be an approximation.

¹² McKay (1994) xi; Thumb (1914) 184.

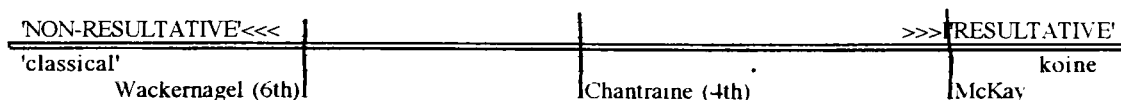
PART I: THE PERFECT

1. INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background and objectives

Within the history of ancient Greek both the forms and the uses of the perfect underwent changes. The perfect in the earliest literary texts is attested with intransitive verbs denoting *states* (e.g. δέδοικα 'I am afraid'). As we progress in time we find more texts attesting the use of the perfect in an increasing variety of verbs. Ultimately the paradigms of the perfect system were standardized and were able to accommodate any verb. There is controversy among scholars as to *when* the perfect evolved from a form used to describe the state of the subject, with emphasis on the continuing present state and little anterior time value, to a form which could be applied to any verb and used with reference to a past action and governing an object similarly to an aorist.

In the initial stage of change, perfect forms were also applied to verbs denoting transitive actions, to emphasize the state of the subject (e.g. δέδωκε (τοῦτο): 'He gave this and is the giver'), and later the state of the object (e.g. δέδωκε τοῦτο: 'He gave this and it is given'). Such perfects formed from transitive verbs, in which the balance leans toward the resulting state, were termed 'resultative', but this term was used differently by different people. Those scholars, such as Wackernagel (1904), who termed 'resultative' any perfect whose emphasis was felt to fall on the result -- whether of the subject or of the object -- tended to find examples of 'resultative perfects' in earlier texts than scholars such as McKay (1965) who restrict the term 'resultative' to those perfects where one can show with certainty that the emphasis falls on the resulting state of the *object*.



The next step, once the emphasis of the past action took footing and present state (of the subject) lost primacy, was the increase in the use of the perfect with emphasis on the past event, and then merely with reference to a past event. Texts from the Hellenistic period attest perfect forms which are interpreted by some scholars as interchangeable with aorists. So, to give a highly simplified synopsis, the perfect follows the trend below:

INTRANSITIVE STATE > TRANSITIVE EVENT AND THE RESULTING STATE OF THE SUBJECT > TRANSITIVE EVENT AND THE RESULTING (PRESENT) STATE OF THE OBJECT > EMPHASIS ONLY ON (PAST) TRANSITIVE EVENT > PAST EVENT = NARRATIVE TENSE

Although one may sketch these trends in broad strokes, it is more difficult to pinpoint an exact period when the change in the value of the perfect took place. This is due to the differing way in which different scholars defined 'resultative' and interpreted specific passages as 'resultative' or 'perfect for aorist'. I hope to show that Menander's perfect is 'classical': I try to dispel the identification of Menander's perfect as 'resultative' by investigating the degree of their transitivity (3), and as 'perfect for aorist' by assessing (a) the (lack of) anterior reference in subordinate (4), transphrastically related (2.2.3), and main (5) actions, (b) the compatibility of adverbs accompanying Menander's perfects with aorists (and other aspects and tenses) (2.1.5) and (c) the use of perfects in Menander's narrative passages (5).

It must however be clear already from the above-mentioned parameters through which I assess the transitivity and temporal value of the perfect that a demonstration of the 'classical' nature of Menander's perfect, and the controversy over chronology, are not my only concern. I analyze Menandrian texts to better understand or raise questions about features of the perfect which may apply more generally (such as illocutionary range in the indicative, presented in 2.1.3). Other considerations are less strictly linguistic, and may apply to usage characteristic of certain discourse modes (such as dialogue, presented in 2.2), or certain genres (such as lexical and thematic reasons for the attestation and distribution of 'new' perfects in Menander, listed and discussed in 1.7), or structures within the genre (such as climaxes or *oratio recta* in narrative (5)).

Among other things this investigation is meant as a description of Menander's language, and data from texts of uncertain authorship might distort the accuracy afforded by an autonomous description. I have therefore deliberately limited myself to a strictly closed corpus based on the works safely ascribed to Menander and edited by Körte-Thierfelder, and by Sandbach up through 1990, but excluding the *Fragmenta quaedam papyracea incertiauctoris* included in this edition. After characteristics of Menander's language are drawn and methods for assessing the text-type are more fully developed it will certainly be worthwhile to compare and contrast his language with that of such works, as well as with the Comic Fragments, but this is outside the scope of the present thesis.

The spread of the perfect form and its evolving usage is an interesting phenomenon in Greek as a whole, and after being studied by Wackernagel (1904) and Chantraine (1927), was then re-examined by McKay (1965) and Fanning (1990) more recently. Although Chantraine did take into consideration some passages in Menander, which included the parts of plays preserved in the Cairo papyrus, more recent discoveries of Menander, and new approaches to the perfect during various stages in the evolution of ancient Greek, especially those of McKay and Fanning, but also of others, demand a reassessment of this phenomenon.

Menander is not just another classical author whose evidence simply adds parallels to an already existing pool of information. For a phenomenon such as the perfect, which evolved with time, Menander can be seen as a new source of evidence, throwing light on a genre, period, and register for which he provides a significant contribution of new material. Happily, the form in which the bulk of Menander's writings has survived, papyri, is unencumbered by a misleading manuscript tradition which may reflect the usage of much later Greek.¹ Less fortunately, papyri offer challenges of their own, in the material (survival of the flora -- papyrus rolls -- is precarious, and the fauna -- worms -- may consume relative pronouns or reduplication prefixes), and also in the gap between what Menander wrote and what the scribe copied. Already in early pre-Christian papyri (as in later manuscript traditions) the gap between autograph and copy is one of Greek language over time, but more markedly one of Greek language across social or artistic divides.

Recent commentaries on Menander make individual notes about usage, raising questions about features such as the use of the perfect for aorist, but they do not offer a more general and systematic description of the usage and spread of the perfect in Menander. As a result, the extent to which Menander's use of the perfect reveals new forms and functions, and consequently Menander's place in the evolution of the perfect, may be overlooked.

¹ See McKay (1965) 2f.

It seems necessary to start any examination of the perfect by drawing up a list of perfects found in Menander, giving a short profile of the verbs which tend to appear in the perfect, and to proceed with a more detailed survey of new perfects. Only then will it be possible to try to determine the extent of Menander's innovation,² or the new evidence Menander gives for the evolution of the perfect. It is hoped that a description of the spread and behaviour of the perfect in Menander can then make a contribution to more general studies of the perfect in Greek. As a by-product of this investigation I hope to throw some new light on other, more general, questions of syntax in Menander, and on methods of tackling the language of a comic drama which presents a stylized form of conversational Greek, keeps to certain conventions of performance and structure, is written in metre, has been preserved on papyrus rather than in a rich manuscript tradition, and is in a language for which we have no live informants. Consequently, I have taken the opportunity to examine quite closely issues that arise out of the study of the perfect in Menander, but are not of direct concern to the narrow question of Menander's place in the changes in the use of the perfect form. Namely, while discussing Menander's use of adverbs with perfects, I enter into detail about the use of these adverbs elsewhere in Menander (2.1.5ff); while discussing Menander's use of perfects in subordinate clauses, I chart some general patterns of subordination in Menander (§4 and Appendix III); inevitably my discussion of the perfect leads me to discussions of certain uses of the narrative tenses (§5) and the other primary tenses (*passim*). On a methodological level, discussions of Menander's use of the perfect in different grammatical and syntactic categories have necessarily led me to discussions of the conflicting taxonomies based on form and function, namely, indicative and modal, transitive and intransitive, and main and subordinate clauses. The criterion of form cannot be used to the exclusion of function and context.

Even a brief and superficial glance at the profile of the perfect (1.1) will reveal the importance non-morphological and meta-linguistic factors have for an investigation such as will be undertaken here. In addition to person and number, mood, and voice, the

²In his consideration of Aristophanes, McKay (1965) 3 raises the distinction between what would be considered innovation and what is in fact a reflection of a certain type of diction.

traditional morphological categories of the verb in any finite tense-form,³ I muster textual, syntactic (§§3, 4), illocutionary (2.2.2), semantic (2.3), contextual, communicational (2.2.1ff) and generic criteria (§2.2, §5). These criteria are all vital for an analysis of all the levels and dimensions in which a certain form functions. In this I am guided by the precedent of those who have investigated dead languages using the pragmatic approach or some contribution from the methods of this approach, in which functions can be represented by a variety of constructions and forms, and are indicated not only by grammatical and syntactic categories.⁴

I shall begin by briefly introducing the grammatical elements of the verb as they are relevant for the perfect (1.2 transitivity, 1.3 time, and 1.4 aspect). In 1.5 I discuss some non-grammatical categories, and in 1.6 my methods. In 1.7 I enter into the first investigation: listing and discussing the verbs which come in the perfect indicative for the first time in Menander in list I (1.7.1), and follow this with lists II (Menandrian perfects first found in the fourth century), III (Menandrian perfects in use in classical Greek from the fifth century), and IV (perfects used throughout classical Greek with attestations before the fifth century), tracing the perfects in Menander from those first attested in times closest to his own through to those perfects attested already in Homer and the early classical authors (1.7.2-.4). These lists will not include participles, infinitives, or non-indicative forms, and will treat specific compounds separately. The non-finite forms will not be treated because they lack the formal categories of tense and the personal endings and there is argument among grammarians as to the transitive force of non-finite forms; since I am interested in how these categories of time, person and transitivity interact with the aspect, it does not seem appropriate to begin an investigation with forms which lack such elements. The survey is limited to indicative forms because the perfects found in Menander are overwhelmingly indicative, a preference consistent with classical Greek usage generally; non-indicative forms are so rare that there is little to be said about them (see 2.1.3). The compounds are listed and discussed separately (with reference to the

³ See 2.1 and its subsections.

⁴ See Pinkster (1972 and 1990) for applications to Latin syntax, and now Wakker (1994) for a study of a specific structure in ancient Greek (conditional sentences), and a general survey in the introduction, pp. 12-19.

simplex where relevant) for a number of reasons: a) this brings out the frequent use of certain compounds, and compounds in general, which may be significant for characterizing the perfect; b) some compounds have a different meaning from the simplex, or do not represent a literal combination of their components;⁵ c) as a matter of idiom, different authors have personal, stylistic, or metrical preferences in the use of simplex and compounds, or in the use of one compound rather than another.

After describing the spread of the perfect form in Menander, I hope to approach his usage of the perfect from several angles. One is the description of the categories (§2). I begin with the grammatical verbal categories which have a role in perfect finite verbs (2.1): this includes person and number, voice, mood, and temporal value. Charting the preferred categories in perfect forms can tell us more about its transitivity, modal and illocutionary force, and temporal value. Since one of the difficult problems in understanding the perfect is the temporal value (and since adverb usage has been neglected by grammarians) I devote disproportionate space to a description of temporal adverbs found with perfects, comparing the uses of these adverbs here and their use with verbs in other forms (2.1.5).⁶ I then move onto a grey area between discourse and syntax, which I prefer to keep within a discussion of the perfect although it has more general ramifications (2.2): I define the modes of discourse spanning from antilabe through prologue and monologue on the basis of a combination of formal, logical, contextual (and arbitrary) criteria, with the immediate purpose of showing that Menander's perfect is typical of dialogue (and to some extent of monologue). A broader purpose of this section (2.2.1) is to set up parameters for a definition of dialogue forms and functions which may be generalized. In 2.2.2 I define sentence types and analyze the forms and functions of sentences in which perfects are used. 2.2.3 is a synthesis of some of the findings of the previous two sections and an introduction of further criteria for a redefinition of syntactic and communicational dependence and an assessment of the types of syntactic dependence at play in sentences with verbs in the perfect. This is meant to be a representative of

⁵ Among the perfects in Menander, the following compounds may be so considered: ἀναιρέω, ἀπαγγέλλω, ἀπαλλάττω, ἀπογιγνώσκω, ἀπολογέομαι, ἐξισάζω, καταλαμβάνω, περισπάομαι, προλέγω, συγχωρέω, συμβαίνω, ὑπερπαίω, ὑπακούω, ὑπέχομαι, and ὑπολαμβάνω.

⁶ This results in some descriptions of non-temporal uses of these adverbs.

cohesion in dialogue on the one hand, and at the same time a description of the typical cohesion of sentences with perfects and the sentences surrounding them. Typical semantic groups to which many verbs used in the perfect belong are discussed in 2.3, with special reference to the themes in Menander's comedies.

Another angle is syntactical: is the perfect form which is attested transitive or not?⁷ This may prove helpful in reconsidering the question of the 'resultative' perfect: Wackernagel and Chantraine traced a development from the older intransitive perfects with a focus on the state of the subject to the newer transitive active perfects with a focus on the state of the object (§3).

Another angle is morphosyntactical: a) What time values are represented in the perfect aspect? Is it a primary tense? This may be addressed by examining the moods of clauses subordinated to main clauses with perfects (4.6), and by examining the use of perfects in narrative passages (§5). b) May perfect forms be used to represent past actions (§4 and *passim*)? This question requires a reconsideration of the concept of relative time value in finite Greek verb forms. If Menander's perfects were found to be largely transitive and widely used to refer to anterior action, this would support the argument for an early transition of the value of the perfect (e.g. Chantraine (1927)). I hope to show that the perfect in Menander is not significantly used in these ways.

It is important to remember that just as forms evolved, so did the processes of complementation, and it is advisable to judge the transitivity of a verb not by its typical definition, but by its usage in the particular passage in which it occurs. I hope to provide adequate treatment of transitivity for all (active and middle) perfects (§3).

⁷ A question put forward by McKay (1965) 3. Fanning (1990) devotes chapter 3 to the effect of inherent meaning on aspectual function; much of the discussion has bearing on the question of transitivity, and the 'Aktionsarten' which are particularly suited to the perfect. The term 'Aktionsart' (or 'procedural nature') refers to the nature of the action (event or process) or the state of a specific verb (as a lexical item): this is inherent and unchangeable. This feature is distinct from 'aspect', which is used to refer to one of a range of viewpoints (perfective, imperfective or stative) through which action or state verbs may be expressed in aspectual forms (in Greek: with aorist, imperfect or perfect stems). Depending on the inherent nature of the verb and its meaning it is more or less compatible with one of the aspects, and therefore the aspectual forms, to be applied. See 1.4 for the need for a distinction between the two terms when discussing Greek.

1.1 profile

The perfect indicative occurs more than 430 times in the remains of Menander, formed from 180 different verbs.⁸ A brief survey would describe the typical perfect in Menander as active, third person singular indicative, without a personal pronoun.⁹ This form typically occurs in a simple, positive independent statement, in the dialogue mode, and not in a narrative. The typical perfect will overwhelmingly occur without an adverb modifying either the stage or the intensity of the action, but it will not infrequently come with a preverb, usually of the type which does not modify the meaning of the compound verb, but does influence the Aktionsart.¹⁰

The spectrum spanning from states to punctuals can be divided by infinite nuances, and conventionally is divided into four degrees of dynamism. Following the crude distinction state vs. event,¹¹ fewer Menandrian perfects are formed from state verbs than from non-state verbs, but any of the more complex divisions based on procedural character (e.g. Fanning (1990)) immediately reveal that state verbs are the single largest group from which perfects are formed. More often than not the perfect will be intransitive or intransitively used. Whether or not the verb takes an object, the emphasis of the action or the resulting state will still fall on the agent. This profile is a composite of all of the individual typical traits, but there is no one example where all of these conditions are fulfilled.

1.2 transitivity

The transitivity of the perfect forms can be indicated superficially by observing the distribution of voice forms among perfects.¹² A closer look at the complementation of perfects offers information which is more meaningful, and contributes to a fuller

⁸See **Appendix Ia** for a full list and references.

⁹ If the perfect comes with a personal pronoun, it is most likely to do so in the second person singular (for more detailed data, see **2.1.1**).

¹⁰ Of the 180 different verbs whose perfect finite appears in Menander, 87 are compounds with one of a variety of preverbs: ἀνα-, ἀπο-, δια-, εἰς-, ἐκ-, ἐν-, ἐπι-, κατα-, προσ-, συν-, ὑπο-, ὑπεκ-, and ὑπερ-. The most common are ἀπο- (with 17 different verbs) ἐκ-, ἀνα- and κατα-. I refer here to **3.4** for a full list and discussion on transitivity and the resultative. An additional 15 compounds (as well as two textually uncertain ones at *Her.*[79] and *Kith.*[61]) are formed with ἀ- *privativum*.

¹¹ See McKay (1994), Binnick (1991), and Sihler's distinction (discussed below in **2.1.3**).

¹² See e.g. the remark in Fanning (1990) 48 on the possibly meaningful interaction between aspect and categories such as voice. Cf. also Comrie (1981). For a distribution of the perfects in Menander by voice, see **2.1.2** below.

understanding of the functions of the perfect form. Chantraine (1927) 11 remarks on the large number of passive perfects in Homer, in his summary of Delbrück's classification of Homeric perfects.¹³ He comments that the passive is natural in a tense signifying state, and reserves his own more elaborate analysis and explanation to chapter III of the *Histoire*.

In the course of my investigations of the perfect (and not only in §3 which concerns transitivity) I will hold active and middle as more important than passive forms; see e.g. 1.7.1 and the sections which follow. I admit that in some cases it is difficult to distinguish whether a mediopassive form is used as a middle or as a passive.

1.3 time value

Relating to the usage of the perfect is the question of its temporal and aspectual values and the interaction between them. This is not an isolated syntactic phenomenon, but must be tested through the context: the verbal context (including adverbs and preverbs) can give indications of time;¹⁴ the interrelation of tenses within narrative structures on the one hand, and transphrastically in dialogue on the other, can help to determine the usage and function of the perfect; and finally, the broader literary context can also offer important information.¹⁵

The perfect, which has traditionally been seen as having a composite value made up of a past action and the resulting present state, can be used in some contexts where both action and resulting state are emphasized, and in others where one of the two -- often the state -- is predominant, sometimes to the exclusion of any nuance of past action.

Fanning (1990) 119f introduces a modified version of this description of the constituents of the Greek perfect, after re-examining the received two-dimensional definition given immediately above, in the light of a stricter distinction between the English perfect and actual Greek usage, and between aspect, Aktionsart and tense:

¹³ See more on classification of verb 'types' in §2.3.

¹⁴ See Mandilaras (1972) 225-6; Fanning (1990) 300. I add here the importance of studying the context provided by temporal clauses or main verbs (if the perfects are in subordinate clauses), which are in theory adverbial expressions (although in 2.1.5 below we will be looking only at the adverbial expressions in the 'adverb' word-class).

¹⁵ McKay (1965) 5 and *passim*.

The perfect in NT Greek is a complex verbal category denoting, in its basic sense, a state which results from a prior occurrence. Thus, it combines three elements within its invariant meaning: the Aktionsart-feature of stative situation, the tense-feature of anteriority, and the aspect of summary viewpoint concerning the occurrence. In individual texts one can observe degrees of emphasis on one or the other of these features due to a variety of contextual factors, but some allusion to all three elements is normally preserved even if one is highlighted over the others.

It must be recalled that the subject of our investigation is Menander, and not New Testament Greek. Nevertheless the sensitivity to the distinctions between Aktionsart, tense and aspect is equally vital to any register, period, and genre. It is equally true of Menander that not all three dimensions (Aktionsart, tense, and aspect) are at work to the same degree in every occurrence of every perfect form. We must not divorce Aktionsart from the analysis of the value of a perfect form.

1.3.1 perfect in form, present in meaning

In extreme cases, the verb has only a present meaning, its past expressed by the pluperfect. This is sometimes referred to as perfect *pro praesente*. Lists are given in the various Grammars, each including a different combination of verbs.¹⁶ Those perfects which have no counterpart in the present form, I exclude, namely οἶδα, ξοικα and εἶωθα.¹⁷ I do include the perfects of ἵστημι, κράζω, ἀπόλλυμι, and ἀποθνήσκω, which also have present forms, some with a distinct meaning.¹⁸

Finally, the perfect form γέγονα may be used *pro praesente* in some of its meanings, but as a 'true' perfect in other meanings and contexts. γίγνομαι also has fully productive forms of the other tenses. This is a borderline case, and its *pro praesente* status must be assessed at each occurrence within its individual context (2.1.4). In general Chantraine (1927) 152 extends this group almost infinitely and claims a greater prevalence and influence of *pro praesente* perfects than commonly recognized by grammarians. He does not recommend exhaustive lists, warning that "presque tous les parfaits intransitifs peuvent s'employer comme des présents" (p.146f). Still, I would like to suggest that Chantraine's method of finding *pro praesente* perfects coordinated with or in the vicinity of morphological presents misses some of the nuances which are observed

¹⁶ E.g. Stahl (1907) 108. Cf. Gildersleeve (1900-1910) 100; KG i 149; Jannaris §1868; Wackernagel (1904).

¹⁷ The first appears in Menander many times, the other two less often.

¹⁸ For this distinction, see Chantraine (1927) 147. For one explanation of this, see Fanning (1990) 139f.

even among the limited examples he gives: the perfect forms are not merely 'near' the present forms, but are often syntactically interdependent, either in a relation of subordination (his example S.El.64) or transphrastically. Many of the examples he gives are extracted from rapid exchange in dialogue and this common feature can sharpen the somewhat broad inclusiveness of Chantraine's definition of the perfect *pro praesente*, although in principle he is correct.

1.3.2 perfect with future meaning

In a handful of passages the perfect is used with a future sense, usually as a result of the particular context or syntactical constellation in which it appears rather than from a tendency of a particular verb to appear in the perfect with a future meaning (*pro futuro*). The best example for a perfect used with a future meaning in a context which is clearly future is perhaps Asp.343ff:

:: τέθνηκας ἐξαίφνης· βοῶμεν "οἶχεται
Χαιρέστρατος" <καὶ> κοπτόμεθα πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν.
σὺ δ' ἐγκέκλεισαι, σχῆμα δ' ἐν μέσῳ νεκροῦ
κεκαλυμμένον προκίεταί σου. ::

'Then you're suddenly dead. We shout, 'Khairestratos is gone', and weep and wail outside the door. You're locked up inside. Then a dummy, wrapped up to look like your corpse, will lie in state -- '19

The context is set in the future by virtue of the fact that Daos gives details of his plan to dupe Smikrines. He opens the plan in a nutshell at Asp.329, and the use of future indicative forms begins at 339f and resumes again at 353ff.

In Menander perfects are found in a range of future syntactical contexts: In subordinate clauses (and in their participial alternatives), perfects recur in future environments (see 4.8). In paratactically dependent statements, perfects recur in responses to commands, which have 'future' value (see 2.2.3).

Fanning (1990) 304 briefly refers to a *proleptic* perfect in New Testament usage, noting that it occurs in a future syntactic environment ("after a conditional element... which throws the entire statement into the future"). The examples confirm that in the New Testament this use of the perfect reflects a choice of form to represent a temporal nuance;

¹⁹ Translations for Menander in this thesis are taken from Miller (1987) and modified only if their wording obscures some point in my analysis.

perfects used in this way come from a range of verbs, and only γέγονεν is vulnerable to the charge that it is perfect only in form.²⁰ In Sophocles, a corpus more cognate with Menander, Moorhouse (1982) 201 gives two examples of a perfect with reference to future in the apodosis (S.Phil.76; OT 1166), but both are forms of the verb ὄλωλα, which appears in the perfect idiomatically. The classical example given by a number of grammarians is

Ar.Lys.595: ὁ μὲν ἤκων γάρ, καὶν ἦι πολίος, ταχύ... γεγάμηκεν. 'A man comes home, and even if he's grey-haired, he's soon a husband of a young girl' (tr. Sommerstein).

In Menander the range of such verbs is wider (see respective sections referred to above).

1.3.3 anteriority

It has been argued that the perfect has come to be used as a narrative tense. Aside from scanning narrative passages for perfect forms (§5), one may show that the use of the perfect approaches that of a narrative tense ('secondary') (and that by extension the perfect is becoming the equivalent of an aorist) by showing perfects with strong anterior value.²¹ This is most easy heuristically through an analysis of perfects in relative and other subordinate clauses. But transitions in time can be analyzed also in perfects coordinated with other verbs or linked to them transphrastically in other ways. πεπότηκεν at fr.538.7, for example, could be brought as an example of a perfect form with reference to a past event that is used for contrast with present and with future in the most obvious way (lines 6f):

σὲ δὲ τὸ κάκιστον τῶν κακῶν πάντων φθόνος/ φθισικὸν πεπότηκε καὶ ποήσει καὶ ποεῖ... 'What's rotted, rots, and will rot you, say I, is the worst of all diseases, jealousy' (tr. Edmonds).

The generalizing tone of the passage is clear, but its broader context is missing.²² A good counter-example to the argument for perfects with anterior value is D.685:

ὥς ἐκείνος ἐξέβη/ δεῦρ' ἐξελήλυθ'. 'When he safely emerged, I came out, and here I am.'

²⁰ Jas. 2: 10. The other forms are κεκράτηνται (John 20: 23), πεπλήρωκεν (Rom. 13: 8), κατακέριται (Rom. 14: 23), and τετελείωται (1 John 2: 5).

²¹ This is shown for NT for example in Blass-Debrunner §345, specifying perfects following verbs of perception.

²² Ruijgh (1991) 204 refers to this use (and this passage) when introducing the 'complexive' use of the perfect (in his terms 'totalisant-itératif') and compares E.Tro.468.

The perfect at D.509 comes in a rapid exchange, and the transphrastic transition between past and present²³ is enforced by contrast with the present, and the use of an adverb to emphasize this contrast (quoted from D.507):

ἀλλ' εἶρηχ' ἀπλῶς
μὴ προσιέναι μοι πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ.
:: ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκ εἶρηκας:: ἀλλὰ νῦν λέγω::

'(Knemon) I've simply told everyone in the neighbourhood to keep away from me.
(Sikon) You didn't tell me. (Knemon) Well, I'm telling you now.'

It is important to keep in mind that anteriority is a relative value, and in order to recognize it, one must recognize relative time value in the Greek verb. A step in the right direction would be a closer look not only at tenses in main verbs or simple sentences, but in subordinate clauses as well. Subordinate clauses (and their functional counterparts where there is no formal subordination)²⁴ often involve a temporal dependence which provides more numerous and more easily recognizable instances of anteriority. As I stated above, the question of anteriority leads to the more general and basic question of relative time, to which we now briefly turn.

The early modern grammarians recognized that one-to-one correspondence between relative time value and a specific tense form in Greek was tenuous, but they found this difficult to formulate. This can be applied to subordinate clauses in general, since temporal relations, whether simple and transparent or complex and ambiguous, may exist not only in temporal clauses, but in relatives, conditionals, and other types of subordinate clause (see §4).

It is important to understand Wackernagel's (1920) specific view of time in classical Greek, which he sees as distinct from Latin, for example; he admits a dual notion of time, hesitantly²⁵ terming one absolute and the other relative. What Wackernagel rejects vehemently is the artificial constructing (Umgestaltung) of a system or equivalence of specific forms representing relative (and absolute) time. In his view the basis of this error lies in the comparison of Greek with Latin *consecutio temporum*. I quote the passage in full, found at I.150f (emphasis my own):

²³ Cf. the perfect in D.728: "οὐκ ἔαίς με προσιέναι/ οὐ προσέρχομ'. οὐδὲν ἡμῖν γέγονας αὐτὸς χρήσιμος/ οὐδ' ἐγὼ σοὶ νῦν."

²⁴ -- in dialogue (see 2.2.2), in parataxis (4.7), or participial and infinitival constructions (see 4.8).

²⁵ In his words: "...man kann vielleicht sagen..."

Wenn wir von der Zeitbedeutung des Verbums sprechen, so liegt es uns vom Deutschen und vom Latein her am nächsten, an den Ausdruck der Zeitstufe zu denken. **Der Begriff »Zeitstufe« umfasst genau gesehen zweierlei.** Einmal verstehen wir darunter das zeitliche Verhältnis einer Handlung oder eines Vorganges zum Sprechenden und unterscheiden in dieser Hinsicht Gegenwart, Vergangenheit und Zukunft wobei es auf die Grösse des Abstandes im ganzen nicht ankommt; jedenfalls kommt dieser zumeist durch Adverbien und sonstige Beisätze zum Ausdruck. Neben dieser, **man kann vielleicht sagen** absoluten Zeitstufe, gibt es noch eine relative Zeitstufe, den Abstand einer Handlung von einer andern sonst erwähnten. Es ist eine Spezialität des Latein und in diesem besonders ausgebildet, neben der Vergangenheit die Vorvergangenheit und das in der Zukunft Vergangene als solches zu bezeichnen. Diese Ausdrucksformen für die relativen Zeitstufen hat Gottfried Hermann geglaubt im Griechischen als vorhanden nachweisen zu können. Wie er da der Sprache Gewalt angetan hat, habe ich schon erwähnt.

Humbert (1960) especially p.134 is far less cautious, and he categorically dismisses the possibility of relative time values, and bases this on an impressionistic verdict on the national character of the ancient Greeks which has nothing to do with grammar or syntax. In practice, when studying subordinate clauses the grammarians KG (1898), Mayser (1926-34) and Schwyzer (1950) 297ff in turn reveal correlations between mood and temporal nuance, between the time in the main clause and that of the subordinate clause (temporal context), and between relative time and form. These are all steps towards an admission of relative time, and a means of conceiving it by considering the particular context for each passage rather than an artificial correspondence between a certain form and a general relative time value. In my opinion one may adopt a flexible view which embraces Wackernagel's objection to a strict *consecutio temporum* in Greek with specific forms representing specific relative times, but gives Greek due credit for accommodating concepts of relative time represented by the combination of main act/state and relative act/state as reflected in their forms, in adverbs, and other compositional elements. The importance of context has led McKay to a definitive separation between the tense-form and the time value. McKay (1994) 39 sees the tense as a form indicating the categories of person and number in the indicative mood. His basic definition does not include the category of time, which he thinks is determined by the context:

4.1.2. Time and the Tenses. It is commonly assumed that each tense has, or should have, a time reference proper to it. Although this is true of some languages, the tenses of ancient Greek do not signal time except by implication from their relationship to their context. Most of the tenses could be used with present, past or even future reference, depending on the time indicated mainly by other factors in the context. Not all the possibilities are found in the limited range and volume of the NT writings.

McKay steers clear of the question of absolute and relative time, but in principle -- and in practice -- the importance he attributes to context ensures that this issue is addressed.²⁶

In any genre of literature -- of communication for that matter -- in which events play a role, whether this be the plot in a play, or the story of a narrative of any sort, the order of these events is important. They fall within a temporal hierarchy, which it is sometimes important to identify. Once this is recognized, one must admit that ancient Greek, also, by context if not by strict formal *consecutio temporum*, accommodated the expression of such order with a certain degree of subtlety.

In closing this brief summary of relative time, I refer the reader to **2.1.5f** for an examination of the role of adverbs in assessing the temporal and aspectual value of perfects;²⁷ to §4 for a closer look at the use of the perfect in dependent subordinate clauses, and a discussion of whether this will give us any clues as to the growth of the anterior value of the perfect when used in main clauses; and to §5 where I discuss the workings of the perfect in Menander's narrative passages, keeping in mind the principle of an ordered account of events.

1.4 aspect

Rather than treating it on its own, I have discussed the term aspect in connection with transitivity (**1.2**), and with time value (**1.3**). For one definition of aspect, see Fanning (1990) chapter 1 and my discussions above. The form which makes a perfect recognizable as such is an aspect-form, not a tense-form, and it corresponds to the nature more than to the time of the action or state (but to neither exclusively). This is tied in with the procedural character (state as opposed to event or process) and semantic characteristics (generality, recentness, completeness, relevance to the present time) typical of the perfect forms.²⁸ This is the opportunity to remark that it is not possible to consider any of the formal categories as discrete from the others, aspect least of all. The semantic and procedural nature of verbs, their Aktionsart, make them more compatible with some aspect forms (and adverbs -- see **2.1.5**) than with others: continuing states resulting

²⁶ For perfect see McKay (1965) 6 n.23 with references.

²⁷ Adverbs of intensification and attenuation, and adverbs of generalization, are treated separately (**2.2ff** and *passim*).

²⁸ Sometimes referred to as 'Aktionsart'.

from actions completed in the past have a procedural character typically compatible with perfect forms.

A study of the usage of the perfect in Menander cannot disregard the issue of the essence of the perfect *aspect* in Greek. This thesis does not address as one of its main questions the definition of the perfect aspect based on evidence from Menander, or even within Menander -- aspectology is a field unto itself. But the term *aspect* will be used, and used in a somewhat more specific manner than it is by many linguists. Comrie (1976) represents those who include under the term *aspect* both formal and semantic elements: he refers -- by choice -- by one and the same term to two phenomena which I prefer to distinguish:

a) Comrie uses *aspect* with reference to verbal aspects such as 'perfective', 'imperfective', and 'perfect', as reflected -- in Greek -- by specific, distinct forms at least in part of the verbal system (e.g. in the past: aorist, imperfect, and pluperfect). I shall refer to these as *aspects*, in particular when talking about the forms (termed 'tenses' by others), but also when discussing properties such as punctuality, durativity, and result which are *not* inherent to the meaning of the verb, but describe the viewpoint of the action which the user chooses to emphasize.

b) Comrie also uses the term *aspect* for semantic features inherent to the meanings of particular verbs on the one hand, and those indicated by the context (e.g. by adverbs). Such features are better referred to in this thesis as *Aktionsarten*, or *procedural nature*. It is true that there is some correlation between the *Aktionsart* indicated by the inherent meaning of a verb and the aspect-form with which it is compatible (e.g. state verbs like 'to be afraid' or 'to be at fault'), but one is inherent and internal, and the other is external. It may be that Comrie is right in claiming that it is difficult and impractical to make a distinction between aspect and *Aktionsart* which will hold in general and across languages. I follow Fanning (1991) who prefers to maintain the distinction. For his purposes, a definition of aspect requires the phenomenon to be distilled from similar phenomena related to temporality (tense and semantic indications of process of event or state).

For my purposes, maintaining a distinction is vital if I am to fully and distinctly analyze the elements, formal and semantic -- or grammatical and lexical -- which accompany perfect forms. Students of ancient Greek, a language in which aspect is clearly a productive formal category, cannot afford the luxury of ignoring the distinction between aspect and Aktionsart, however difficult and problematic.

1.5 non-grammatical environment or contexts conducive to the perfect

Non-grammatical elements in the context may identify passages as non-narrative, and in particular as descriptive or emotionally expressive, or in commentary mode; on a different level such elements may identify passages of extreme or categorical expression, and those in which there is a self-conscious shift in the level of the text, such as *oratio recta* or stage-directions. A mode of discourse conducive to the perfect is the dialogue, and certain sentence types also recur with perfects, while others avoid it.

1.5.1 genre, register, text, and form

A very important factor in the analysis of features in a literary text is the genre to which it belongs. Genres manifest their typical forms, follow certain structural conventions, and prefer certain registers -- and certain syntactic constructions -- over others. If we consider the text of New Comedy, the genre in which Menander wrote, we must first of all notice the fact that it is the text of performed drama, in verse form, in dialogue mode. It is further noticeable that the level of speech represented (the register) is not vulgar, but also not very poetic; it is feasible that a form similar to it in many respects may have been used in real, everyday life.

As stated, certain conventional generic forms must be reckoned with when analyzing the language of Menander within particular passages: it is a performed drama, extending from a tradition of drama, in which a system of formal structures (*Bauformen*) had developed. The behaviour of a verb or the forms of phrasal dependence, for example, are likely to differ in a prologue and in a rapid exchange.²⁹ Because the texts were originally performed before a live audience, and not written for a readership, elements such as entrances and exits, gestures, and quotations of other characters within the

²⁹ The association of syntactic preferences with certain *Bauformen* is exemplified in Ireland's analysis of Menandrian prologues (1981).

actor's own speech must have been patently clear in the action and the delivery, explicitly included in the text, or both. The use of a limited number of actors in a variety of roles must have also led to certain conventions.³⁰ My final example is the convention of monologue, which is found in all forms of drama but nowhere in authentic everyday speaking practices, of sane people, in the words of Hirzel I (1895) 7.³¹

The comic dialogue mode features a high degree of contact between speakers, and its wording renders a stylized form of conversation, but at times it may reflect conversation that is close to realistic.³² Comic dialogue can take on a form that features asymmetrical, highly informal rapid exchange, where syntactic constructions are shared by the interlocutors, and great economy is practised in the reiteration of subjects, objects, and verbs. Moreover, such a mode yields frequent paratactic structuring of logically dependent phrases. Sometimes asyndetic parataxis is used for effect, but on other occasions is an alternative to hypotactic constructions, an alternative more suited perhaps to rapid exchange meant to reflect the natural conversation of 'normal' people.

Of the genres in which ancient Greek literary texts have survived, New Comedy ranks high among those featuring registers reflecting standard informal speech.

It is obvious that classical Greek is no longer a spoken language, and we cannot hope to recreate it fully, but by paying attention to some procedures which spoken language is assumed to use, it will be possible to interpret the forms we find according to their functions, and better understand the functions in Menander's Greek. These may bring us a step closer in the direction of a clearer picture of the patterns in comic dialogue. By extension, we will perhaps be left with a somewhat closer understanding of the usage in natural conversation. On a methodological level, this is a case study for the merits of analyzing the language of a literary text not only on the basis of its morphological categories. But morphological categories are a good point of departure for more than one reason: they are convenient for the heuristic stages of research, traditionally they have

³⁰ I refer here to one example: the address of a character by his name in situations where perhaps it would not be used in other written genres on the one hand, or in a natural conversation on the other.

³¹ For a less categorical view of dramatic dialogue vis-à-vis speech in real life, see Bain (1977) 10, n.4. In his scale of more and less realistic natural conventions, monologue falls into the former.

³² See Sandbach (1970) 114.

served to identify certain usages, and they have become a conventional, consistent index in analysis and comparison.

1.6 approaches

I hope to combine below a number of approaches, components of which are particularly suited to the Menandrian corpus. The *synchronic* approach is useful for the description of phenomena of a particular author, because his usage may reflect choice or may be dictated by non-chronological factors. Only once these are adequately identified, both for the particular author or corpus, and for the period in which he produces, is there a justification for integrating such data into a historical frame. As an example, I mention one feature, parataxis, which has been wrongly considered by some grammarians to be an 'early' construction, while in fact parataxis is not so much a factor of chronology as it is a factor of a combination of genre and register. The fact that prose developed as a written genre later than poetry in classical Greece does not mean that the syntactic structures of hypotactic subordination are necessarily 'later'; in any case the earlier attestation of paratactic constructions is not the correct reason for antedating them.³³ Whether or not the perfect appears more frequently in Menander for chronological reasons will have to be discussed in the conclusion to Part I of this thesis. Criticism has been aimed at language analysis following the synchronic approach, because there is no comparison or contrast: my ultimate objective is surely not to study the language of Menander in a vacuum, and ideally I would prefer to compare his use of certain forms and constructions systematically with the uses of cognate authors. A proper description of an individual author's language not only presents features which are typical, specific, or idiosyncratic to that author, but also describes features which are obvious and common in other authors; a positive descriptive account can be useful for comparisons with other comic authors, other writers of Attic, or of classical Greek.

³³ See Hummel (1993) for this very argument, in her treatment of Pindaric syntax on the basis of genre rather than chronology.

Text grammar has not been pursued by modern grammarians of ancient Greek in a conscious or systematic manner, although Mayser (1926) does indeed deal with issues particular to papyri which have a vital bearing on the analysis of their language.³⁴

A programmatic treatment of the grammar as 'defined' by its text is given by Scherer (1975) for Latin.³⁵ Scherer himself shares some features of the approach already introduced by Kühner, who shows a sensitivity to preferences of different genres for certain constructions. In the impossible but necessary task of drawing a complete, inclusive picture of the Greek language, Kühner gives general rules, and then comments on the differences in the different genres adding ample illustration. This gives the casual student the impression that the Greek grammatical and syntactic systems are a collection of anomalies. More practised students will feel grateful that Kühner included so many different examples of the largest variety of authors and genres that could safely be subsumed under a single title. It is in this context that Moorhouse's monograph on Sophoclean syntax is so valuable as a precedent, recognizing the need for a separate examination of the syntax of an individual author, and where necessary placing Sophoclean features in relation to 'normal' usage. It is not Moorhouse's professed aim to analyze the extra-grammatical factors, and he uses the traditional formal categories and descriptive approach, but despite the scope he has delineated,³⁶ in practice he also treats features such as the illocutionary force of certain forms.³⁷ On a deliberately programmatic level, it is Bers (1984) who introduces an investigation of phenomena in the language which are differentiated for a poetic literary register in contrast with prose: for example accusative of direction after verbs of motion or potential optatives without ἄν as *differentiae* of poetry. Agreement on details within the individual *differentiae* which

³⁴ Occasional comment has been made on patterns defined by their position in the text: I refer for an example to Fraenkel's treatment of certain forms at the end of a speech (1963) 52 n.1. The perfect in this specific pattern was termed already by Wackernagel (1920) 170ff the 'rhetorical perfect'. For examples in Menander see 5.3.3 below. Other scholars studying general questions of Greek Language have shown sensitivity to the position or role of a passage within the structure of the text, including Denniston (1966) and Trenkner (1960).

³⁵ See, e.g. pp.104ff the section 'Textsyntax', which takes into account certain stages such as the beginning of a text.

³⁶ In his preface he professes not to treat style.

³⁷ See e.g. his treatment of deliberative questions (1982) p.223f.

Bers identifies is not always met by all scholars,³⁸ but I believe Bers' recognition of differences on a syntactic level in different genres is very important in principle, as is its application to specific phenomena in practice. Moorhouse's remark (1985) 94, that in Tragedy Bers does not specifically mark off lyrics from dialogue, provokes a more general consideration of differences between syntax of dialogue verse and syntax of lyric verse, and, by extension, of the essence of spoken verse. This in turn naturally leads to the question of distinctions between the syntax of dialogue and non-dialogue.

The term *Text* is in fact ambiguous, implying on the one hand a literary text, its structure, conventional constituents, and their external manifestations as *Bauformen*, etc.; on the other hand the term *Text* implies a unit of analysis used in some linguistic approaches which extend beyond morphosyntax, where phrases and other units of expression are assessed for completeness, autonomy, interaction, and the forms which convey these different statuses. It is difficult to separate the two, and the analysis of *Text* implying literary composition can greatly profit if it does not exclude considerations of linguistic *Text*.

Dressler, a linguist, raises the issues of *Text* and specifically *Textsyntax* in the arena of Indo-European on the broadest chronological and dialectal scale. I refer particularly to (1971) 17f, where Dressler pays due attention to the somewhat neglected question of sentence-connection, which will figure repeatedly in this thesis (see 2.2.2 and the end of 3.2.5 on ellipse). To illustrate how textlinguistic distinctions can sharpen the way in which we analyze certain features of syntax, Dressler (1971) 18 serves as an excellent example. According to Dressler, the distinction between an isolated and a connected sentence explains the difference in word-order in many Indo-European languages, where isolated simple unemphatic main clause statements do not normally allow a (main) verb to come first in the sentence. Whether or not one is in complete agreement with Dressler's sweeping 'rule', the distinction isolated/connected, and the suggestion that connection may be expressed by initial positioning of the verb, are worth considering in a broader study of Menander's syntax.

³⁸ See, e.g., Moorhouse (1985) 95. Moorhouse himself agrees that in the areas studied by Bers, syntactic usage in Tragedy and *epinicia* is distinct from that in comic verse and prose.

In principle the *pragmatic* or *functional* approach is most suited to spoken languages with contemporary informants, because of its attention to the message and to procedures of communication which go together with and beyond the traditional morphosyntactic categories. Some of these categories, such as tone and gesture, are inaccessible to the student of classical languages. Almost paradoxically, this same approach can contribute to the analysis of classical texts;³⁹ it is a method successful with texts whose registers and forms are most closely associated with natural conversation. Very crudely put, functional grammar is based on the principle that function, and not form, is the underlying constant, and the key to analyzing phenomena in language. I use some techniques inspired by the pragmatic method, in which all elements of a sentence or expression contribute to its analysis: this leads to the use of tables which may seem overloaded with apparently trivial nuances in column after column of detail. For example, it is the cumulative force of the brevity of a sentence, the use of $\gamma\epsilon$, an oath to Herakles in the nearby environment, and perhaps an abusive vocative, which together contribute to the 're-diagnosis' of an apparently normal affirmative statement as exclamatory, even when it does not open with an exclamatory $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ or $\acute{o}\iota\omicron\varsigma$ (see **2.2.2** below, with table 3 in Appendix II). In other words, the illocutionary value of a sentence is not determined by a single 'normal' form, but by the function of a sentence coming in a number of forms, with certain external signs often accumulating. This approach does not rule out the possibility that the same functions are expressed without textual signs, but in dead languages the lack of extratextual criteria makes such analysis extremely speculative (see **0.5**). A disadvantage which may be called nothing if not unaesthetic is the above-mentioned elaborate tabulation often resulting from the empirical nature of the pragmatic method. It must be kept in mind that patterns consist of combinations, and the more the factors to which a construction may be reduced, the sharper the definition of its function will ultimately be. Tabulation helps create a synoptic tool for identifying patterns of combination, and should not be abused for statistics; their limited significance for dead

³⁹ See e.g. the recent work on conditionals by Wakker (1994).

languages is discussed elsewhere (e.g. 1.7.5).⁴⁰ Furthermore, such tabulation provides the fullest report of data for interactive use by the reader, who may control the effects of subjective analysis and interpretation of data. In any case, I do not follow the functional approach and pragmatic method strictly, but try to retain the terminology with which classicists are familiar, and to emphasize the role of the text, or take into account literary criteria such as generic conventions.

If we turn now to the specific question of the perfect, we find combinations of some of the approaches outlined above, beginning with Haupt (1867), who organizes the occurrences of the perfect in Euripides according to general distinctions such as the perfect form's reference to present/past, state/action, and other interesting, somewhat subtler distinctions based mainly on semantic interpretation; most passages receive a running commentary. I pass now over the works of Wackernagel and Chantraine, which are discussed above (§1, 1.2): they give a chronological overview and mainly adhere to the traditional categories of tense, aspect and voice. Chantraine lets other considerations filter into his chronological framework, and although they seem to depart from the scheme, in practice they betray an awareness that synchronic, pragmatic and other approaches are unavoidable. Time and its functions in the text are brilliantly exposed and analyzed by Weinrich (1973), whose approach takes into account factors such as word-order, marked versus normal tense use, and the place and function of a passage in the structure of the text. Most notable is his system of analyzing tense on the basis of dimensions, differentiating between background and foreground within narrative, or between narrative and commentary; and between retrospection, zero degree and anticipation. The most important methodological lesson to be borrowed from this inspiring work and applied to ours is Weinrich's attention to and successful manipulation of context in his analysis of the textual functions and interrelations of different time forms within a shared text.⁴¹ Weinrich attaches the temporal and textual value not to the tense

⁴⁰ It may be noted that in the strict approach of functional grammar quality is on principle preferred over quantity; see e.g. Bolkestein (1985).

⁴¹ His conception of conditional forms as metaphorical, albeit for modern European languages, provokes a reconsideration of the nature of time and tense-forms in subordinate clauses.

itself, but to the transition between neighbouring tenses.⁴² His own application is mainly to modern European languages, and although he analyzes literary texts, he refers to many registers and forms of non-literary communication: a few of these are spoken language, language of children who have not completed their cognitive development, notes, research abstracts, and modern media forms. Reference to such forms serves as a counterpoint for his fine observations on literary forms. His own recommendation to apply his methods to ancient languages (p.290ff) has met with unfair criticism.⁴³

Another work on tense in the text is Fleischman (1990) on Medieval French: her approach focuses on a more homogeneous corpus and on specific forms; the emphasis on metalinguistic criteria (as she calls them) is analogous to the extension beyond grammatical categories in the pragmatic method, and may not be so different. An essential difference of course is Fleischman's concentration on text, as opposed to the concentration in functional grammar on communication; this difference leads to the divergence in the criteria themselves. Fleischman's approach however lends more importance to form and the interaction between various forms in a text, than to function, and there is an attempt to trace the diachronic evolution of the function of forms such as the narrative past in French. The similarity in the nature of the corpus (performed verse) and the remove from the time of usage (Medieval French and classical Greek) make this an interesting work for comparison, but the narrative mode and entirely different set of conventions are sharply contrasted with the scenic dialogue and conventions of New Comedy.⁴⁴ Finally, I mention a recent collection of papers on the function of tense in texts edited by Gvozdanović et al. (1991) where however the literary and textual issues are not pursued systematically by all contributors. Ruijgh's paper on ancient Greek is alone among studies on modern languages.

⁴² The terms he uses are 'homogeneous' and 'heterogeneous' for the presence or absence of the 'concordance des temps' which is quite formal. In my discussions on the **concord or identity of forms** in §4 below I am indebted to Weinrich's method, although I make adjustments and try to keep the terminology as transparent as possible.

⁴³ See Fajen's (1971) arguments for and against the application of Weinrich's methods specifically to Greek.

⁴⁴ The chapters most relevant for our purposes are chapter 3 ("Ungrammatical" Tenses...', especially §3.2 'Diegetic and Mimetic Discourse') and chapter 6 ('Textual Functions').

Although the importance of context is affirmed by many of the scholars and in many of the approaches outlined above, it is espoused most wholeheartedly, and executed most fully, by McKay. In a series of articles (see Bibliography) McKay's use of context -- both verbal, syntactic context and interpreted context -- is professed and also directly applied to the achievement of a deeper understanding of the perfect: "The most important principle in studying syntax is to subordinate all else to the study of context" (1963). I would like to suggest that McKay's reference to context coincides with his application of methods and criteria which have been independently used by theoretical aspectologists under the term 'compositional elements' (Fanning (1990) 1.2.3) and by textlinguists under the term 'combinatorics' (Weinrich (1973) chapter 9).

I end this survey by turning back to a very early proponent of pragmatic methods which were later to be incorporated into what has become a highly formalized and almost abstract theoretical system of functional grammar. Gildersleeve (who in his own grammar (1900-1911) focuses on the variety of functions of the present, aorist, imperfect, and perfect rather than on the typical time values traditionally associated with these forms) tries to attach certain uses to different registers, in his third article on problems in Greek syntax (1902) 284ff:

In practical life the perfect was much more frequently used than we might gather from a general survey of the literature, and in fact, the nearness of any department of literature to the practical life may readily be measured by the perfect. The perfect belongs to the drama, to the orators, to the dialogues of Plato. The drama, to be sure, is under the thrall of verse and the perfect is a heavy form and suffers a replacement by the aorist; and yet it is of not infrequent occurrence. ...In history the perfect has no place outside the speeches and the reflective passages in which the author has his say.

and in a critique of Stahl's grammar (1908b) 390 in answer to Stahl's observation that the height of the perfect is in Isocrates and Demosthenes:

Isocrates and Demosthenes, it might have been remarked, are orators, of whom perfects are to be expected (see *AJP* 23, p.248) **for oratory stands nearer to practical life**. The drama it is true, is handicapped by verse but, for all that, Aristophanes does not shun the perfect, and the resurrected Menander has it. [emphasis mine].

In the first of these passages, Gildersleeve shows the importance of 'departments of literature' (i.e. genres/registers), of relation to natural speech;⁴⁵ he introduces the formal

⁴⁵ Cf. another early association of perfect with spoken registers, Jannaris' 'colloquial perfect' §1862, 1871 (however he treats the perfect as a past tense, under the influence of its later use).

distinction of verse, and even implicitly sets up the opposition of narrative and commentary in his contrast between absence of the perfect in 'history' (i.e. historical narrative) and its presence in 'speeches and reflective passages' within history. Later, in his critique of Stahl, Gildersleeve offers an alternative to the diachronic explanation of the perfect which interprets the frequency in Isocrates and Demosthenes as a chronological 'peak', and suggests genre and register as reasons for this frequency.

1.7 usage

1.7.1 Perfects found first in Menander

There are fifty one verbs for whose perfect finite (indicative) form Menander is the earliest source in surviving Greek literature. These verbs are given in list **I** below. The list is limited to finite indicative perfects, for reasons given in 1.1 above.⁴⁶ I distinguish between **A** active and middle, and **B** passive (see 1.2 above). Compounds are treated distinctly. The text of three perfects found first in Menander, those of κατατίθημι, κηδεύω and παίζω, is not secure; in addition the perfect of λοιδορέομαι is a conjecture of Körte, and not a form preserved from Menander's time.⁴⁷

For most of these verbs,⁴⁸ there is only a single occurrence of the perfect in the surviving Menandrian corpus, but three verbs, which are rather rare in other authors, appear with relative frequency in Menander in their new perfect forms; these are the perfects of λαλέω, πλήττω, and φοφέω (five times each). The explanation for the relatively frequent occurrence of these forms seems to lie in the genre in which Menander wrote as much as in the growing use of such perfects in general. Forms of both πλήττω and φοφέω come in conventional expressions uttered by actors in typical dramatic situations, especially in New Comedy.⁴⁹

Unfortunately, such considerations cannot help to explain the fact that most of the other verbs occur in these new perfect forms only once each.

Identification of perfects which are 'new'

Some of the perfect forms appearing first in Menander were already recognized as 'new' in the lexica, but naturally these do not include the perfects which were found after the main body of the work on the lexica of LSJ and of Chantraine was carried out.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ The non-finite non-indicative forms are mediopassive imperatives, in a few recurring verbs (see 2.1.3).

⁴⁷ For references to passages in Menander, see the individual discussion of the verbs. λοιδορέομαι and others conjectured rather than preserved are included for completeness. Compare also (from perfects attested before Menander): ἀπογιγνώσκω, and λογίζομαι.

⁴⁸ ἀγοράζω, εἰσπηδάω, and ἐμβροντάομαι have 2 examples each.

⁴⁹ On the convention, see GS *at* Sam.301 (*inter alia*), and Handley *at* D.188, and references given there, especially Ch. Dedoussi (1964) 6ff. More recent discussions are found in Bader (1971), Petersmann (1971), and Frost (1988).

⁵⁰ Of course the final volume of Chantraine came out as late as 1980, but the contents do not consistently reflect the most up-to-date findings.

Moreover, although Chantraine's particular interest in the evolution of the perfect (1927) is reflected in his *Dictionnaire*, LSJ are less consistent in presenting the relevant evidence. In particular, when LSJ refer to perfect forms in the lemmata of verbs, the first passage quoted is presumed to imply the earliest example in each case.⁵¹ Many perfects in fact found in Menander are referred by LSJ to later authors, sometimes later by several centuries. Rediscovery in the second half of this century of papyri containing lost Menandrian texts suggests earlier use of more than a dozen perfects.⁵² Those Menandrian perfects which *are* referred to by LSJ (implying that they are offering the earliest attestation) are not surprisingly ones preserved in the Cairo papyrus or in book-fragments.⁵³ But other perfects, which were attested by the time LSJ were at work, are ignored.⁵⁴ When one traces some perfects referred to by LSJ, they prove to be participles or infinitives rather than finite forms (to which this study is limited).⁵⁵ Finally, the perfects of the verbs κηδεύω and παίζω, which are textually unsound, and of the verb λοιδορέομαι, which is a conjecture, are understandably not quoted in the lexica with reference to Menander.

The somewhat erratic documentation described above justifies a more detailed account of the attestations of perfect forms. I have based my search on texts available on TLG version D, using Pandora 2.5.2.

After identifying the perfects in Menander which (on our present evidence) he introduces for the first time, I gradually revert stage by stage, until I list perfects in Menander which are used from the beginning of classical Greek: I have defined, perhaps using arbitrary

⁵¹ See preface 1925, iii (in a discussion of Passow's historical method which LS adopt, they quote from his Essay 1912): "...citations should be chronologically arranged in order to exhibit the history of each word and its uses."

⁵² Fifteen such perfects are attested exclusively in the Bodmer papyrus, or in post-1960 papyri: PBod. contributes the perfects of ἀποπέμπω, ἀριστάω, ἀφαιρέομαι, βωλοκοπέω, διευτυχέω, ἐγκλείομαι, ἐνσεύω, ἐπακούω, ἐπικαύομαι, καταλιπαρέω, κατατίθημι, ὀδυνάω, ὑπακούω; ; P.Oxy.2656 (1965) contributes the perfect of σπείρω; and finally the perfect of χειμάζομαι is contributed by POxy.2654 (1968).

⁵³ Eight such verbs in the list of forms opening the lemma are given in their perfect forms: εἰστρέχω, ἐκκλείω, ἐκπηδάω, ἐκχέω, κίχημι (s.v. χράω B), πλήττω, σκευάζω and φοφέω. Additional Menandrian passages are referred to in LSJ, but not for the sake of the perfect: ἀφυβρίζω, εἰπηδάω, ἐκλακτίζω, ἐμβροντάομαι, ἐνθριώω, καταδουλώω, συγχέω, ὑπεκδύομαι.

⁵⁴ To give just one puzzling example, I refer to ἀγοράζω attested in a book-fragment within Athenaeus, on which LSJ are silent (though they refer to a passive form in another fragment and to Alexis). LSJ give no information on the following perfect forms occurring already in the P.Cair. or the book-fragments: ἀνατρέπομαι, ἀπονόομαι, ἀποσώζω, ἐκπέμπω, κινέω, λαλέω, λυπέω.

⁵⁵ See above, and in 1.1.

cut-off points, four stages: **I** 'new' perfects; **II** those used in the fourth century before Menander; **III** perfects first found in the fifth century; and **IV** perfects found before the fifth century.

I place my authors not on the basis of date of birth, but on their '*floruit*'. For example, Plato and Xenophon, although they were born already in the fifth century, essentially write in the fourth century. Likewise, the orators who were born in the mid-fifth century, from Lysias on, flourished mainly in the fourth century.⁵⁶ I do not mean by this that their language reflects usage whose *terminus post quem* is 399 B.C.; but it is appropriate to distinguish between these two centuries, because the fourth is already the century of a new genre in Comedy, and is a watershed in historical developments which will lead to changes in the Greek language.

In group **III** I include Hippocratic attestations; despite the doubts over the authorship of some of his treatises, it is highly likely that these were written during the fifth century, and for the classification undertaken here, time-frame is more important than authorship. This is worth noting, and for those who do not accept this dating I list here those perfects in Menander whose placement as 'fifth century perfects' hinges on evidence from Hippocrates: ἀγρυπνέω, ἄρχομαι, διακόπτομαι, δουλόομαι, θορυβέομαι, ὀρμάω, παραλείπομαι, παραφύω, προλέγω, προσπίπτω, and ὑπολαμβάνω.⁵⁷

Finally, I have used evidence preserved in historical and philosophical fragments with caution. I refer to the term 'Sperrung', especially in fragments from Jacoby FGrH, but also from Diels-Kranz, when the text quoted is printed in a widely spaced format, implying relatively close quotations, as opposed to paraphrase. I have not hinged the placing of a perfect in a certain stage on the basis of an uncertain quotation.

⁵⁶ In effect, only Antiphon is considered a fifth-century orator under these terms.

⁵⁷ The treatises in question are Prog., VM, Oss., Morb.Sacr., Vectiar., Mul.Aff., VC, Aer, Med., and Ep.3. I follow Kudlien's description (*Kleine Pauly*, s.v. Hippokrates) of 'alt' for the bulk of these treatises. The most problematic, Ep.3, may not be authentic, but is placed among the relatively early letters by Smith (1990), 18ff. While I accept Kudlien's dating, I follow the approach in *OCD* which favours a common period over authenticity; *OCD* refer to 5/4th century, while Kudlien refers to the fifth when speaking of 'old' treatises. See *OCD*, s.v.: "It seems likely that none of the books preserved under the name of Hippocrates is genuine. ...It is probable rather that the writings come to Alexandria as the remnants of medical literature which had circulated in the fifth and fourth centuries, but that they were anonymous, as technical literature of that period commonly was."

I. Perfects first attested in Menander:

IA: active and middle

1. ἀγοράζω (Sk.14; fr.318.2)

Both LSJ and Chantraine refer to Arist.[Oec].1352b7 when introducing the perfect of this verb,⁵⁸ but fail to indicate that the form is an infinitive.⁵⁹ So in fact the two Menandrian passages offer the earliest surviving finite examples of this perfect.⁶⁰

2. ἀνοίγω (fr.192.2)

The new perfect form ἀνεώχας is not attested in a finite form before this passage.⁶¹ The older perfect form of this verb is also used by Menander (see IV).

3. ἀπονοέομαι (Pk.375)

The middle perfect of this compound is paralleled only by participial perfect forms.⁶² The simplex is used in a finite indicative perfect in the fourth century.⁶³ The active perfect of the simplex νοέω is used in Menander (see III below).

4. ἀποπέμπω (Asp.313)

The perfect of this compound is not found before this passage. Menander also uses the perfect of the simplex πέμπω (see III), and of the compound ἐκπέμπω (see 15 below).

5. ἀποσώζω (Ep.1108)

This compound seems to come in the perfect first in Menander, although earlier authors have other tenses (see LSJ s.v.). Other -σώζω compounds do have perfects attested in earlier sources. The simplex is also used in the perfect by Menander (III).

6. ἀριστάω (D.779)

The perfect of this verb is previously attested only in infinitive and participle forms.⁶⁴

7. ἀφαιρέομαι (Asp.225)

This perfect is referred to (by TLG) in connection with the fifth century historian Ctesias.⁶⁵ However, I find it difficult to accept with a high probability that these are the words of Ctesias (i.e. fifth century). Based on the manner in which they are printed by Jacoby, these may just as well be the words of either of the Hellenistic historians Bion or Alexander Polyhistor, or even of the sixth century A.D. excerptor Agathias.

8. ἀφυβρίζω (fr.319.1)

This compound, which is extremely rare in any form, is found in the middle perfect in Alexis 46.4. The perfect active form of the compound found here in Menander is not paralleled in classical Greek.⁶⁶

⁵⁸ With later examples in Polybius and Pausanias.

⁵⁹ Moreover, this is attested in the second book, parts of which are not by Aristotle; see Victor (1983) 11-13.

⁶⁰ The mediopassives referred to by LSJ in Isaeus and Menander (805 K-T) are participial forms. Some third century papyrus examples are PCair., Zen.3, doc.59318r,q, and PLond., Vol.7, doc.1964r, p.1.7.

⁶¹ D.[42].30.4 has a participle form.

⁶² D.19.69.9; 25.32.9; 43.42.1. Thphr.Char.6.1.2.

⁶³ Aristoxenus Harm.8.4. The other example is a participle, at Alex.2.9, with ἦν.

⁶⁴ In Xenophon, including Cyr.4.2.39(a participle), and several times in the Comic Fragments: Diph.45.4. Antiph.216.25. Dromo 2.1. Later in Diodorus 2.37 (infinitive).

Note also ἠρίσταμεν in Ar.fr.513 K-A and Theopomp.23, and ἠριστάναι in Hermipp.60. No such shortened forms occur in Menander and are left out of the main discussion.

⁶⁵ FGrH 688 F 1 ο β.13.

⁶⁶ The simplex ὕβρικα is found several times in Demosthenes: 4.50.3; 21.129.1, 169.4; 22.68.10; 27.65.6; 43.71.3.

9. βωλοκοπέω (D.514)

The passage in which this verb comes has been preserved in a fragment which was once attributed to Aristophanes (Demjančuk 57D); since the discovery of the Bodmer papyrus, where this passage appears as part of the *Dyskolos*, it can safely be said that Menander is the first to attest the perfect form of this verb.

10. διευτυχέω (D.486)

The perfect of this compound is not found in authors before or contemporary with Menander.⁶⁷ It is a rare verb in any form. Menander also uses the perfect of the simplex τυγχάνω (see **IV**) and of the compounds ἀτυχέω and εὐτυχέω (see **II**).

11. εἰσπηδάω (D.602; Sam.564)

I have not found parallels for the perfect of this compound. The simplex is not attested in the perfect,⁶⁸ but other compounds appear in the perfect earlier than Menander.⁶⁹ For ἐκπηδάω, the other compound attested in the perfect in Menander, see **16** below.

12. εἰστρέχω (Sam.361)

εἰσδεδράμην in Menander seems to be the first witness of the perfect of this compound. Perfects of other compounds are attested as early as Herodotus and in Xenophon; for the simplex (also found in the perfect in Menander), see list **II** below.

13. ἐκκλείω (Sam.416)

This particular compound comes in the perfect first in Menander, and I have not yet found another example in later literature. Menander does not use the simplex in the perfect, which is also relatively new, first attested in Theophrastus.⁷⁰

14. ἐκλακτίζω (fr.16.1)

This verb is not attested in the perfect in earlier authors. The simplex is attested only once in the perfect (Ar.*Nub.*136).

15. ἐκπέμπω (Pk.178)

The passage in Menander offers the earliest example for the finite perfect of this compound.⁷¹ Also used by Menander are the perfects of the simplex πέμπω (see **III**) and the compound ἀποπέμπω (see **4** above).

16. ἐκπηδάω (Pk.527)

Although the perfect appears already in Xenophon as a participle (*HG*.7.4.37.2), the passage in Menander seems⁷² to be the earliest example of the perfect in a finite indicative form.⁷³ In Menander the compound εἰσπηδάω occurs in the perfect, for which see **11** above.

⁶⁷ I found two non-finite perfect forms, both perfect active participles: Apollodorus 2.2 (inc. Car. vel Gel.), D.[*Erot.*]28.11. The pluperfect indicative is used much later, in P1b.fr.12.4.

⁶⁸ except in the infinitive, much later (Aesop.203).

⁶⁹ E.g. ὑπερπεπήδηκεν (D.23.73.11).

⁷⁰ *Char.*18.4. Other compounds are also rare; one example is ἀποκέκληκα (Ar.*Av.*1262), with the older spelling.

⁷¹ Aeschines twice uses the perfect active participle of this compound: 3.58.4, 64.8.

⁷² There is another example in Comedy - Eriphus fr.4.1, but it cannot be definitively shown that he wrote earlier than Menander.

⁷³ See also PSI vol.5, 456,12.

17. ἐκχέω (fr.670.2)

This passage is quoted by LSJ as the first example of the perfect of any of the -χέω verbs, including the simplex.⁷⁴ A thorough search confirms this; I found perfects in fifth (Empedocles DK 31 B.39.3) and fourth century authors (Aristotle), but these were mediopassive, and not active, like the Menandrian example.

18. ἐνθριώ (Sam.586)

A rare verb in any form, this is the only surviving example of the perfect active.⁷⁵

19. ἐνσείω (D.581)

Before the discovery of the Bodmer papyrus, the earliest example for the perfect of this verb was as late as Lucian;⁷⁶ the perfect of another compound appears in an author contemporary with Menander,⁷⁷ but no sign of the perfect of the simplex, σείω.⁷⁸

20. ? ἐξισάζω (Ep.792)

This perfect is unparalleled in classical Greek. The form in this passage is read with difficulty, and is a borderline case between reading and conjecture.⁷⁹

21. ἐπακούω (D.821)

There are no parallels of use in the perfect in authors before or contemporary with Menander.⁸⁰ This verb is used in other forms in the early classical period.⁸¹ See simplex in **IV** and ὑπακούω **38** below.

22. καταδουλόω (Mis.fr.2.1)

The perfect middle is attested in the fifth century,⁸² but no active perfect forms of this transitive verb 'to enslave' are found.⁸³ The simplex is found in Menander in the middle (see **III** below).

23. καταλιπαρέω (Sam.721)

Prior to the publication of the Bodmer papyrus this passage was not part of the surviving Menandrian corpus, and indeed the perfect was not at all attested.⁸⁴ GS remark that the rarity of this verb may have contributed to the absurd effect in the passage.

24. καταπέτομαι (Kol.40)

The perfect κατέπτηκεν from this verb is unparalleled in classical Greek. Much later, the verb πτήσσω takes the same form for its perfects. The form in this passage is identified with this verb by LSJ and Chantraine, and this interpretation is adopted by GS.

⁷⁴ The simplex is found in fourth century authors in the mediopassive (e.g. Theocr. *Epigr.* 4.8 Gow).

⁷⁵ The perfect passive infinitive is used at Ar. *Lys.* 663.

⁷⁶ ἐνσέσεικα, *Merc. Cond.* 30 (s.v. σείω); ii A.D. pap. (s.v. ἐνσείω).

⁷⁷ Philem. 87.2; κατασέσειχ' ὑμᾶς ἄνω (em. Mein.). -κεν A. See K-A *ad locum* for other editors' suggestions, including καῖτα σέσειχ' (Kaehler) and κατὰ δ'έσεισ' (Herwerden).

⁷⁸ In his *Dictionnaire*, Chantraine informs us that the passive perfect (σέσεισμαι) is current throughout the 'Attic' period, but the active (σέσεικα) is Hellenistic and late.

⁷⁹ See Turner (1983) 47 and Gronewald (1986) 7 for details of the reconstruction of this passage.

⁸⁰ Pl. *Phdr.* 272c3 is a participle.

⁸¹ E.g. aorist imperative Hes. *Op.* 273. A. *Cho.* 725.

⁸² E. *IA* 1269. Hdt. 5.116.3.

⁸³ The state verb δουλεύω does occur in the perfect (finite form X. *An.* 4.8.4.2).

⁸⁴ Neither of the two passages from Lucian to which LSJ refer for this verb yields a perfect: *DDeor.* 25.2 has the aorist, and *Cat.* 4 has the imperfect.

25. κατατίθημι (D.920)

The perfect of this compound is not found before our passage in Menander. The simplex perfect τέθηκα is not used by Menander, but is found in fourth century authors.⁸⁵

26. ? κηδεύω (Ep.690)

If the reading is correct, this would be the earliest example in the perfect. The papyrus has only κηδε[, but most have conjectured the perfect finite κηδέυκε.⁸⁶

27. κινέω (fr.30.1)

There is one example of this active perfect attributed to an earlier author than Menander, but the passage of Ctesias (FGrH 688 F 25.5) gives Ctesias' thoughts indirectly, and although Jacoby prints them with 'Sperrung', their language may reflect Apsines (second century A.D.) as much as Ctesias.

28. κίχρημι (fr.396.2)

The active perfect (κέχρηκεν) of this verb, derived from χράω, does not appear in any earlier references, and then again only in much later authors.⁸⁷

29. λαλέω (D.9; Pk.320, 347, 509; Sik.fr.11.6)

This perfect appears relatively often in Menander, but nowhere else in Comedy. The perfect is used in later Greek (e.g. NT), but Menander seems to give us our first examples.

30. λυπέω (Pk.494)

Aside from this example, there is a parallel in Adesp.1017.55.⁸⁸ Other active forms are participial.⁸⁹

31. ὀδυνάω (Asp.371)

On the whole this is a fairly rare verb, to judge from references in LSJ. Our passage seems to offer the earliest example in the perfect active, and a more rigorous search on the Pandora yields no examples in the perfect from a later period.

32. ? παίζω (fr.209.3)

If one adopts Sandbach's suggestion and reads πέπαιχεν instead of πέπαικεν as given in the mss. of Athenaeus (II.71e), this would be the earliest example of the perfect of this verb. The earliest secure example attested is Plu.Dem.9, but other perfects found in Menander (e.g. ἔσπαρκα)⁹⁰ provide good arguments against dismissing Sandbach's emendation along these lines. The form πέπαικεν is also a late form, appearing first in the simplex⁹¹ in the Septuagint (Nu.22.28). Since both forms are new, it seems best to base one's choice of reading, with Sandbach, on the better meaning.

33. πλήττω (D.188; Ep.906; Sam.301, 367, 555)

The later⁹² aspirated form πέπληχ- is first attested in Menander, and the relative frequency of this form may be due more to the natural appropriateness of this verb to

⁸⁵ Spelled τέθεικα: e.g. Alex.15.13. D.20.99.7. Arist.Top.139a9, 17. Spelled τέθηκα: D.3.13.1; 20.56.1; 22.16.3; 24.66.3, 70.5, 88.1, 99.8. Third century papyri e.g. PHib., Vol.2, doc. 212,1,12.

⁸⁶ But cf. Wilamowitz κηδευκώς.

⁸⁷ E.g. Plb.29.21.6.3. The fourth century inscription IG II (2) 233b3 is a supplement. An earlier possible example is PTebt.895,3.

⁸⁸ The fragment is attributed by some to Menander; see Austin's introduction to the papyrus text.

⁸⁹ D.24.175.8.

⁹⁰ which were previously considered to be of much later origin.

⁹¹ For the compound ὑπερπέπαικεν, see list III.

⁹² Labelled 'Hellenistic' by Chantraine, s.v.

New Comedy than to the currency of this perfect. Note, however, that it is not found in other Comic Fragments.

34. πταίω (Ep.821)

This is probably⁹³ the earliest example of the finite active perfect (Chantraine's reference to Isocrates s.v. proves to be a participle).

35. σκευάζω (Sam.599)

This is the earliest example of the active perfect of this verb. Perfects of a range of compounds do appear in fourth century writers.⁹⁴

36. σπείρω (Mis.233)

Both Chantraine and LSJ give the impression that the perfect of this verb comes much later,⁹⁵ but the example from Menander (in a papyrus published only in 1965)⁹⁶ brings back the date of the first example of this perfect.

37. συγχέω (fr.523.1)

There is no earlier example of the perfect of this verb. The perfect ascribed to Democritus DK 68 B.156.3 proves on closer inspection to be a Plutarchan paraphrase.

38. συμπείθω (Sk.260)

The compound of this 'older' form, συμπέποιθ', is unparalleled in classical Greek literary texts, although the simplex is Homeric according to Chantraine (1927) 33. By the fifth century the newer forms πέπεικα etc. are used; Menander uses the simplex, and an active compound (III), as well as the passive (50 below).

39. υπακούω (D.494)

I have found no parallel perfects of this compound (whose meaning significantly departs from that of the simplex 'to hear'). See IV for the simplex, and above for the compound ἐπακούω.

40. υπεκδύομαι (Ep.904)

The verb is a rare one in any form, and I have not been able to find an example of the perfect earlier than the one above from Menander. The perfect of the simplex δύνω is also used by Menander, as early as Homer (see IV below). Menander also uses ἐκδεδυκῆτα (fr.171.2), a participle of the 'late'⁹⁷ perfect form of the compound ἐκδύνω.⁹⁸

41. υπέρχομαι (fr.431.1)

Menander offers the first attestation of this finite indicative perfect.⁹⁹

⁹³ It cannot be shown that Bato used this perfect (in fr.1.1) earlier than Menander.

⁹⁴ E.g. κατα- (Xen.Mem.4.3.3.3; D.2.15.4; 7.43.4 etc.); παρα- (Xen.Apol.30.7; Cyr.8.5.23.7; Pl.Soph.251b6; Hyp.Dem.4.19.2; D.8.32.3 etc.); συμπαρα- (Xen.Cyr.7.5.81.3); συγκατα- (Pl.Pl.274d3; Lg.920e1); ἐπι- (D.24.176.5).

⁹⁵ E.g. LXX.Is.37.30.

⁹⁶ In O10 (=POxy.2656). Cf. the supplemented form in PCair., Zen.3, doc.59404r, 7. The papyri give other third century examples.

⁹⁷ See LSJ, who imply s.v. ἐκδύνω that the earliest example is from an epigram of Rufinus (27.6 Page =AP 5.73.6).

⁹⁸ For other compounds, cf. e.g. ὑποδέδυκεν Ar.V.188.

⁹⁹ Subjunctives are attested in Hp.Morb.3.16.54 and Diaeta in m.6.14.

42. φοφέω (D.204; Ep.875; Karch.4; ?Mis.282;¹⁰⁰Sam.669; fr.766.1)

The verb occurs in other tenses in earlier authors, mostly in drama. Other than the six cases of the perfect active in Menander, there are two in other fragments of New Comedy, attributed to no definite author.¹⁰¹

IB: passive forms:

43. ἀνατρέπομαι (Sam.548)

This compound is not attested in the perfect before the Menandrian example.¹⁰² The simplex is also preserved only in non-finite forms.¹⁰³

44. ἀπολαμβάνομαι (Kol.5.2)

This passive perfect is the first such form attested in classical Greek. See III for Menander's use of the active simplex in the perfect.

45. ἐγκλείομαι (Asp.345)

I have found no finite parallels for this perfect, which Menander is the first author to use.¹⁰⁴ Menander also uses the active perfect of the compound ἐκκλείω (see 13 above).

46. ἐμβροντάομαι (Grg.4.1; Kol.63)

This perfect, used twice in Menander, is unparalleled in finite forms.¹⁰⁵

47. ἐπικαύομαι (D.754)

The simplex, which is not used in the passive perfect before Menander, is attested in participle form in fifth century authors.¹⁰⁶ This form is by all accounts rare, and I found no examples of it in fourth century authors.

48. ? λαιδορέομαι (Kon.[13])

This perfect is not found in authors before Menander. Plato and Demosthenes offer a few active perfects.¹⁰⁷ LSJ refers to X.Hell.5.4.29.7, but this turns out to be a participle. These are parallels Körte may have relied on to support his conjecture, but it must be kept in mind that this perfect finite form is not actually found in the remains of Menander.

49. περισπάζομαι (Ep.360)

This particular compound is not attested in the passive perfect in an earlier author, although there is an aorist finite form, and a perfect active infinitive of this compound.¹⁰⁸ The simplex is used in the perfect passive in Hp.Morbis 1.20.35, as is a variety of compounds. The active compound ἀνασπάζω is used by Menander in the perfect (III).

¹⁰⁰According to Turner's reading of O10 in the ed.pr., but see GS *ad locum* and *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* Vol.33 (1960).

¹⁰¹ ἐψόφηκεν ἡ θύρα in Adesp.1014.4 (for a summary of views for and against attribution to Menander see Austin *ad locum*); and ἀλλ' ἐξιὼν τις ἐψ[όφηκε τὴν θύραν] 1071.4, supplemented on the basis of parallels with ἐξιὼν τις. The latter fragment was believed by Körte to be from Menander, but is listed among the Adespota by Austin.

¹⁰² There is one participle in Apollodorus 13.16 (inc. Car. vel Gel.) with εἶσιν, and one infinitive in Nicolaus 1.9.

¹⁰³ E.g. the participle in Arat.Phaen.1.30, with many parallels in infinitives and participles.

¹⁰⁴ For a participle in the fourth century, see Arist.fr.39.

¹⁰⁵ The only form of a perfect stem attested before Menander is the infinitive at D.19.231.5.

¹⁰⁶ E.g. E.Cyc.457; Th.4.34.2 etc. This particular compound (ἐπ-) is found in the participle in Pl.[Ep.]340d8.

¹⁰⁷ Pl.Phdr.241e5, 260d3. D.57.34.8.

¹⁰⁸ X.Cyr.3.1.13.2 and Arist.fr.39 Rose, respectively.

50. συμπεῖθομαι (D.818)

Surprisingly, there are no parallels of this compound in finite indicative passive forms, and only accident has preserved this example in the Bodmer papyrus. See 38 above for the old form of the active perfect of this compound.

51. χειμάζομαι (Karkh.6)

This perfect is not previously used, although Pindar uses the perfect of a similar verb, χειμαίνω.¹⁰⁹

1.7.2 II. perfects found in Menander with parallels in other fourth century authors

IIA: active and middle

1. ἀναιρέω (Kol.93; Sk.82)

This verb is not used in the perfect very often, even in Menander's century, but there is an example among the fragments of Comedy (Philem.106.4);¹¹⁰ the few other examples I found were all in prose.¹¹¹ The simplex αἶρέω is not found in Menander in the perfect active, and this is one of the verbs whose meaning changes significantly in composition (see 1.1).

2. ἀναφέρω (D.685)

The earliest parallels for this verb, which rarely occurs in the perfect, are from Demosthenes.¹¹²

3. ἀπαγγέλλω (Pk.267)

The citations in LSJ suggest that Plutarch is the earliest source for the perfect of this verb.¹¹³ A thorough search has yielded some Demosthenic parallels,¹¹⁴ so the passage above cannot be considered the earliest attestation of the perfect of this verb. No perfects of the simplex or other compounds are attested in Menander.¹¹⁵

4. ἀπαλλάττω (Ep.416)

The parallels for the perfect of this verb are rare and from the fourth century. LSJ refer to X.Mem.3.13.6.6. I add Dem.18.65.2 and Ep.4.8.5.

5. ἀπογιγνώσκω (Pk.[745])

This perfect is found twice in fourth century writers.¹¹⁶

6. ἀποδιδράσκω (Sam.358)

LSJ refer to this passage when they introduce the perfect form. As we have seen on other occasions, such a reference is not a definitive indication of the earliest attestation of a finite form. In my own search I found other perfects in Xenophon, a fourth century author.¹¹⁷

¹⁰⁹ I found the participle in the Hellenistic D.S.Bibl.5.58.2.4.

¹¹⁰ Aristophanes offers none, A.Ag.267 is the simplex, and in E.El.608 the form is a passive perfect.

¹¹¹ Cf. Xenophon and orators (e.g. Isae.Or.3.fr.1.2.1).

¹¹² D.41.8.6; 11.4.

¹¹³ Fab.16 (=Teub.I.359.28).

¹¹⁴ D.19.183.6; 60.34.4.

¹¹⁵ LSJ give Polybius as the first source for the perfect of the simplex.

¹¹⁶ D.4.43.1. Arist.EN 1115b2.

¹¹⁷ X.An.4.8.3; Cyr.4.1.105. It is also found in the third century comic author Bato, fr.2.4; 5.15. Participial forms are also found (Ar.V.1310; X.An.6.4.8.5; Pl.Th.203d10).

7. ἀπολαμβάνω (fr.516.2)

Lysias gives early examples of this perfect (19.24.2; 29.7.1).¹¹⁸

8. ἀποστέλλω (D.263)

The perfect of this compound is not attested with certainty until the generation leading up to Menander. The lone Euripidean passage, Phoen.863 (quoted unclearly by LSJ) is read in some mss. as ἐπέσταλκ' and in F as ἀπέσταλκ'. The examples from the Hippocratic and Platonic epistles present problems of authenticity.¹¹⁹ Our few certain parallels are from the fourth century.¹²⁰

9. ἀτυχέω (Asp.287; Ep.891; fr.136.1)

The perfect of this verb is rare not only before, but also during Menander's time. I have found, aside from the examples in Menander, only one other certain finite active form.¹²¹

10. βιόω (Kith.fr.1.11)

The finite perfect of this verb is common throughout the fourth century mainly in orators (e.g. Isocr.15.27.1) and Plato (Grg.523d1). There are also two examples from Aristotle (HA 576b2, 577b29).

11. δείκνυμι (Mis.190)

This attestation in Menander is important, because the only other occurrences of the simplex in a finite perfect active form are in Alexis (270.1) with an aorist variant,¹²² and then one contemporary passage.¹²³ The aorist continues to be the preferred form, the perfect used only much later.¹²⁴

12. διαμαρτάνω (Asp.110)

This compound is found in Isocrates,¹²⁵ and again in the perfect in New Comedy,¹²⁶ and in later prose authors.¹²⁷ Isocrates is on the borderline between being considered a fifth and a fourth century author, but since I use an arbitrary division, and his works were published in the fourth century, strictly speaking, I include this in II.

13. διώκω (D.118)

Hyp.Lyc.16 is cited as the earliest passage in which the perfect of this verb is attested.¹²⁸ The Menandrian occurrence (a 'new' contribution, from the *Dyskolos*) is an important parallel for this extremely rare form.¹²⁹

¹¹⁸ Demosthenes offers many parallels, e.g. 34.14.2 (and at least 4 more in this speech alone).

¹¹⁹ Hp.Ep.18.21, 20.19; Pl.Ep.12, 359e1. On problems of authenticity in epistolary literature, see e.g. Goldstein (1968) and Smith (1990) and works referred to in their bibliographies.

¹²⁰ Isoc.1.2. D.12.6.2 (=Anaximenes FGrH 72 F 41.29); 56.40.7. Thphr.Char.24.13.2.

¹²¹ Philem.107.3. Cf also Aeschin.[Ep.]11.2.5 and D.[42].21.5, of uncertain authorship. The reference in LSJ (D.20.53) is not to a finite form.

¹²² There are two finite perfects of the compound ἀποδείκνυμι in Comedy (Alex.263.14 and Diph.73.3). The Demosthenic passage referred to by LSJ is a compound with ἐπι-.

¹²³ Arist.fr.2.9 Rose. At Thphr.fr.59.1.3 Wimmer δέδειχεν is the word of the excerptor.

¹²⁴ Plb.5.105.9.2.

¹²⁵ Isoc.3.5.3; 4.11.3; 15.303.2. The pluperfect is used by Demosthenes (18.30.9).

¹²⁶ Adesp.1017.22 and 49.

¹²⁷ Pl.Phil.48e9; R.334e1. X.Mem.4.6.11.10 bis. Eudoxus fr.67.19 Laserre. Aristoxenus Harm.10.21 da Rios. Arist.Cael.307a4; Pol.1293b25; Resp.474a18. Thrasyarchos DK 85 B.5.11 is only a paraphrase.

¹²⁸ So in LSJ, Chantraine (= fragment Ar, column 13, line 15).

¹²⁹ So rare, in fact, that it has elicited emendation (Shipp suggests a 'natural tense', ἐδίωκ'). I add the participle at Arist.fr.469 Rose.

14. ἐγχειρέω (Her.42)

This perfect is used in the fourth century by authors slightly earlier than Menander.¹³⁰

15. εὐτυχέω (Pk.1007; F.I.49)

This perfect has a fourth century parallel;¹³¹ compare τυγχάνω (see **IV**) and other compounds ἀτυχέω and διευτυχέω (see **9** above, and **I**, respectively). It is also used in the (?post-Menandrian) comic author Bato 1.2.

16. θαυμάζω (D.79)

This verb is not attested in earlier centuries in the perfect, but is used by fourth century prose authors.¹³²

17. καταλαμβάνω (D.E.106)

I have not found parallels for the perfect of this compound before the fourth century.¹³³ The simplex of this verb is also found in the perfect in Menander (see **III** below for simplex, and other compounds).

18. καταλείπω (Pk.342, 506 bis)

This perfect is mainly used in fourth century orators.¹³⁴

19. καταφεύγω (Pk.321, 401)

Unlike the perfect of φεύγω (see **III**), this compound is found rarely in the perfect, and only from the fourth century.¹³⁵

20. κομίζω (Asp.275; Sk.314)

This verb is not found in the perfect before Isaeus 5.44.4. Other simplex active finite parallels are found in fourth century prose.¹³⁶

21. κρίνω (D.833)

This perfect is seldom used by authors writing before Menander; LSJ refer to Pl.Lg.734c3, and there are other examples in orators¹³⁷ and Aristotle.¹³⁸

22. λογίζομαι (Ep.[140])

This perfect is found in Lysias (32.21.4).

23. μαίνομαι (Ep.879)

The perfect μεμάνημαι is found in Theocritus; the older form μέμνηνα, not found in Menander, is preferred by tragic authors, and is used already by Alcman 68 Bergk.¹³⁹

¹³⁰ Aeschin.2.130.5. Arist.Metaph.1000b32; Rh.1404a13.

¹³¹ D.19.67.4.

¹³² X.Mem.1.4.2.6; 1.4.3.2; 3.1.3.3. Pl.Th.161c3. Thphr.Char.8.10.1. Cf. also comic authors Philem.51.1. Alex.204.1.

¹³³ Theopompus FGrH 15 F 21.3 (note however that this is printed by Jacoby as a paraphrase and not a quotation). Epicurus Ep.fr.113.4 Arrighetti. Aeschin.2.90.3.

¹³⁴ E.g. D.60.1.10; etc. Hyp.Lyc.4.47.6; [Epit.] 11.18, 14.7, 13. Lycurg.Leocr.48.9.

¹³⁵ E.g. D.28.20.5.

¹³⁶ X.Hell.2.4.15.2. Pl.Crit.45b4. D.56.20.4; 56.45.6.

¹³⁷ D.18.165.10; 19.233.8; 25.37.2, .40.6. Hyp.Eux.38.24. Cf. also in Comedy at Nicolaus 1.45.

¹³⁸ Arist.Rh.1364b12; 1376a8; 1391b8; 1398b30.

¹³⁹ The newer form: Th.Id.10.31. The older form: E.IA 264; Ba.359. S.Ant.790; El.879. (Also Hp.Ep.17.40.)

24. μηνύω (Pk.148)

This perfect is found beginning in the fourth century.¹⁴⁰

25. ὁμολογέω (Sam.651 C)

The perfect is found in orators flourishing in the fourth century,¹⁴¹ and often in Plato (e.g. Smp.202d4). It must be noted that although I did not find fifth century parallels, the pluperfect used in Thucydides suggests that this may be due to the vagaries of text survival rather than a late introduction of this perfect.

26. παραπόλλυμι (D.695)

The same perfect (παραπολώλεκ-) is attested in D.21.91.6. See **III** below on ἀπόλλυμι.

27. παροινέω (D.93)

This perfect, featuring both lengthening and prefix reduplication, in itself suggests a new formation. This formation is found with another verb in Menander in a non-finite form.¹⁴² This verb is found, with this formation, in the fourth century in Heniochus 5.14.¹⁴³

28. παροξύνομαι (D.383; Sam.621)

This perfect is attested in the fourth century (D.6.18.3).

29. πέρνημι (Kol.56, 126)

An early example of this elusive form (πέπρακα, not to be confused with πέπραχα) is found in Isaeus fr.1.2.1 of oration 3, and in other fourth century authors.¹⁴⁴

30. πιστεύομαι (fr.159.1)

The middle perfect is attested in Aelian's report of Ctesias' views (FGrH 688 F 45q.23), but the paraphrase form does not merit considering these words as fifth century words. The first direct attestations are from fourth century prose.¹⁴⁵

31. προέρχομαι (D.576; fr.100.2)

In the fourth century this compound is used widely in the perfect.¹⁴⁶ I have found no earlier examples.¹⁴⁷

32. προσαγορεύω (D.10)

Menander does not use the simplex of this verb in the perfect (or in other tenses). The proper Attic aorist and perfect were formed with the stems used for these tenses of λέγω -- i.e. προσείπον, προσείρηκα (see LSJ s.v.). We find the perfect προείρηκα in Menander (see **III**). The few passages such as D.Ep.4.4.3,¹⁴⁸ in which the perfect of προσαγορεύω is used, prevent us from including this among the verbs with a perfect found first in Menander.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁰ And.myst.22.9; 29.3. X.Hell.3.3.10.5. Frequent in Plato (e.g. Soph.226a4).

¹⁴¹ Lys.1.34.8. And.myst.29.4; 32.6; 62.3. Isae.3.1.7; 7.21.4. D.19.22.6; 24.65.9. Lycurg.Leocr.29.4.

¹⁴² δεδιωικηκ[ως] Pk.272. See GS *ad locum*. Cf. also Antiph.156.4.

¹⁴³ Cf. infinitive perfect active in PRainCat.49r, 3.

¹⁴⁴ Demosthenes has many examples, such as 19.118.4.

¹⁴⁵ E.g. D.23.68.7.

¹⁴⁶ E.g. Antiph.54.4. D.4.9.2.

¹⁴⁷ Antiphon DK 87 B.19.2 is not a legitimate fifth century attestation: the words are those of Harpocration, given as a synonym for Antiphon's use of ἀνήκει (note the common use of perfect forms in later lexicographical works, both in lemmata and in the definitions).

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Arist.fr.536.11 Rose.

¹⁴⁹ Assuming Demosthenes' fourth Epistle is authentic or contemporary (see Goldstein (1968) 4).

33. προσέρχομαι (D.309, 471)

This perfect is used by orators flourishing in the fourth century, e.g. Lys.22.1.1. For the other compounds, see on ἔρχομαι in III below.

34. τρέχω (fr.690.1)

Like some other verbs listed here, the perfect of this one is not attested first in Menander, but is very rare elsewhere. Rigorous searches yield only Philemon 38.1 (a single word without context),¹⁵⁰ and half a dozen compound forms, in the prose authors. At this time δέδρομα is still the preferred form. See list I above for the compound εἰστρέχω.

35. ὑπέχομαι (Her.43)

This perfect is used in Pl.Phdr.235d7, and X.Oec.3.1.2.

IIB passive

36. ἀπολείπομαι (D.775)

The perfect passive form of this compound is not found before the fourth century, and is then infrequent.¹⁵¹ Menander also uses the perfect of the compound καταλείπομαι (see IIIB) and the simplex active λείπω (see IIA).

37. ἐλέεομαι (fr.479.1)

This perfect passive is found in orators flourishing in the fourth century.¹⁵²

38. κατακόπτομαι (D.398)

The one fourth century attestation of this compound in the passive perfect is Antiphanes 202.8. There are no earlier parallels. Compare the compound διακόπτομαι (IIIB below).

IIC uncertain

39. πλέκομαι (Her.12)

The finite form is found in Pl.Thg.202b3 and later in Arist.HA616a5. The form quoted by LSJ s.v. (implying the 'earliest' attestation of a perfect) is in fact a participle. The context in this passage does not offer sufficient indications for determining whether the perfect is here used as a middle or a passive.

1.7.3 III. perfects in use from the classical Period (fifth century)

IIIA active and middle

1. ἀγρυπνέω (fr.100.3)

This verb is rare in all forms. Besides the perfect in the passage referred to above, we may compare ἡγρύπνηκεν in Hippocrates.¹⁵³

2. ἀδικέω (Asp.215; Grg.2.3; D.E.110 bis; D.140, 303; Her.[79]; Kith.[61]; Pk.514; Sam.68)

This perfect active is used not infrequently in the fifth century and is attested already in Euripides, Thucydides, and the fifth century orators.¹⁵⁴ Note that in two of the Euripidean passages there are alternative (aorist) readings for the verbs. This verb continues to be used in the perfect in fourth century authors.

¹⁵⁰ A word used by Philemon, as listed in a lexicographical lemma. See note on προσέρχομαι above.

¹⁵¹ D.34.38.5; Thphr.Physicorum Opiniones 12.89.

¹⁵² Lys.10.1.22.1; [2].40.1. D.19.309.10; 21.182.10.

¹⁵³ Hp.Prog.2, in a subordinate clause: χρὴ ἐπανερέσθαι... μὴ ἡγρύπνηκεν. It appears in the aorist at X.Hell.7.2.19.7 (and also twice in the aorist of the compound δι-- in drama).

¹⁵⁴ E.Alc.689; Med.309; Ba.1344. Th.3.63.1.2; 5.89.1.5. There are additional instances in the orators and Aristophanes.

3. αἰσθάνομαι (Ep.557; Sam.308)

The findings suggest that the perfect of this verb is not used in early classical Greek, and its use grows with the prose authors: In fifth century drama it is found only three times.¹⁵⁵ The frequent examples come from Xenophon and Plato. The similarities of formation of the aorist and perfect on the one hand, and the misunderstanding of nuances of the perfect on the other, have been at the centre of recurring aorist variant readings for perfects of this verb. See e.g. 4.2.1.

4. ἀκούω (Asp.82; D.918; Pk.319; Sam.128, 259, 271, 477, 589; Sk.206; F.I.53; fr.208.2)

This verb appears in the perfect regularly from the fifth century (e.g. A.PV 740. Ar.Nub.738). The compounds which appear in the perfect, however, are not common before or during Menander's time; see ἐπακούω and ὑπακούω in I above.

5. ἀμαρτάνω (Sam.3)

The perfect of this verb begins to come into use not infrequently in the fifth century in dramatic authors¹⁵⁶ and also in the historians and the orators.¹⁵⁷ Its use is somewhat more frequent in the prose authors, especially Plato. The compound διαμαρτάνω is also used once in the perfect in Menander (see II).

6. ἀναπείθω (D.838)

This compound is used in the perfect earlier, in fifth century Comedy (Theopompus 61.2), and in later Comedy, but only rarely.¹⁵⁸ See 43 for the simplex πείθω.

7. ἀνασπάω (fr.362.2)

The perfect of this verb is rare; I found only a few attestations from fifth and fourth century authors.¹⁵⁹

8. ἀποβαίνω (F.I.49)

Unlike the simplex, which is not used in the perfect in Menander, but is very common throughout classical Greek, this compound is not found very often in the perfect. There are a few prose parallels.¹⁶⁰ συμβαίνω is also used in the perfect by Menander (see 54 below).

9. ἀπόλλυμι (Grg.5; Kol.88; fr.703.1)

The 'first' perfect form ἀπολώλεκα etc. is later than the 'second' perfect form ἀπόλωλα etc. (for which see IV below). I found no forms in Tragedy. Comedy uses this form several times,¹⁶¹ but it becomes more common in prose, especially among the orators.¹⁶² The compound παραπύλλυμι is discussed in II, but the compound εἰσ]απύλλυμι (D.681) is a supplement and is not taken into account.

10. ἀπολογέομαι (Sam.334)

The earliest parallel I found is from a fifth century oration (Antiphon 5.85.2), and the other from a fourth century oration (Aeschin.2.180.4).

¹⁵⁵ E.Hipp.1403; Ba.605. Ar.V.673. (Adesp.1103.33 has a participle.)

¹⁵⁶ E.Alc.616; Hipp.21, 320. Cf. Ar.Ran.1135. Antiph.202.3

¹⁵⁷ The earliest is Hdt.9.79. The optative finite is used by Pausanias in an indirect account of Eumelos (FGH 451 F.2a.10).

¹⁵⁸ Antiph.188.18.

¹⁵⁹ Thucydides 6.1 (a single word in a lexical lemma; the need to define a word may be another indication of its rare use; cf. τρέχω used in Philemon). Hp.Superf.22.2. D.19.314.6; [49].13.1.

¹⁶⁰ Lys.28.14.4. X.Cyr.7.2.15.2; Vect.5.12.1.

¹⁶¹ Ar.Nub.26, 857; Vesp.275a; Lys.952. Pherecr.155.10. (?Post-Menandrian) Comedy: Bato 5.1.

¹⁶² Fourth century examples are Lys.19.8.4 and Isoc.5.5.5.

11. ἄρχομαι (D.392)

LSJ record the perfect simplex in Hippocratic writing, and it is never commonly used.¹⁶³ A compound, ἐνήρκται, is also found in Menander. The simplex continues to be used in the perfect in the fourth century.¹⁶⁴

12. βουλευόμαι (fr.336.6)

This verb recurs in the middle perfect in Herodotus and Sophocles, and later in Demosthenes.¹⁶⁵

13. γαμέω (Asp.260; fr.59.2)

This verb seems to be used in the perfect only in Comedy: LSJ's reference to Ar.Lys.595 represents the only fifth century instance of this verb in the perfect,¹⁶⁶ with parallels from fourth century New Comedy (Antiph.220.1, 220.2; Adesp.1084.3, 1084.4).

14. ἐγείρω (Kon.4)

The perfect at Ar.Lys.306 firmly puts this perfect in use in the fifth century. Examples become more frequent in later classical authors, such as Plato and Aristotle, and Menander does not use the later perfect ἐγήγεργα.

15. εἰσέρχομαι (Asp.122, 428; Mis.271, 286; Pk.984; Sam.425)

The perfect is used already in the fifth century, with examples slightly increasing later on.¹⁶⁷

16. ἐκβάλλω (Sam.407)

Although the simplex and other compounds are used in the perfect throughout the fifth century, this particular compound is not very frequent,¹⁶⁸ and the fourth century offers only a small number of additional parallels for this perfect form.¹⁶⁹

17. ἐμμένω (Sk.415)

There is one example of this perfect already in Thucydides (1.6.1.1), but I have not found others before Menander.

18. ἐμπίπτω (Asp.403)

This compound is frequently found in the perfect in drama from Sophocles on (e.g. S.Ph.695), and in other, mainly dramatic authors.¹⁷⁰ The perfect of the simplex πίπτω, also found in Menander is likewise used from this period (see 46 below).

19. ἐξελαύνω (Sam.436)

The perfect of this compound is rare, but used from Sophocles on.¹⁷¹ The simplex is not found in the perfect in Menander.

¹⁶³ To the Hippocratic passages in LSJ (VM 5.3; Oss.11.5) I can add only one of doubtful authenticity: [Acut.]9.7.

¹⁶⁴ E.g. Pl.Hi.Mi.364a8; Lg.722c7, 790c2. Arist.PA 677b16, 34.

¹⁶⁵ Hdt.3.134.17 (e.g.). S.El.385, 947; OR 738. D.20.35.6. The active is found in the fourth century (e.g. D.22.37.1).

¹⁶⁶ Pl.Lg.877e4 (LSJ) does not refer to a finite verb form, and is from a later stage.

¹⁶⁷ Fifth century: Iophon fr.1.1 Snell. Fourth century: And.myst.29.3. Lys.[6].52.4.

¹⁶⁸ E.Tro.1128. Hp.Ep.14.23.

¹⁶⁹ D.29.3.1; 55.29.2.

¹⁷⁰ Besides other examples in Sophocles and Euripides, cf. also Ar.V.1203, and the later comic author Philpides 9.1. Cf. also D.19.259.2.

¹⁷¹ S.OC 376. Ar.Nub.1472 (but nowhere else in Comedy or Tragedy). D.6.4.1; and 6.58.4. The pluperfect is found at Hdt.5.90.6.

20. ἐξέρχομαι (D.686; Mis.A23)

Although used more frequently in the fourth century, this perfect is found already in Hdt.9.12.9. The simplex and other compounds are also used in the perfect in Menander (see ἔρχομαι 24 below).

21. ἐξευρίσκω (Kol.89; Sam.680; fr.89.2; 757.1)

For the perfect simplex in Menander, see 25 below. This compound is found first in Hdt.1.196.29, and not infrequently in the perfect (both with and without lengthening).

22. ἐξίστημι (Her.70; Sam.279, 620)

The earlier examples of this perfect are few,¹⁷² but it becomes slightly more frequent in the fourth century.¹⁷³ See IV for the simplex ἵστημι, the compound παρίστημι, and reference to other compounds used in Menander.

23. ἐπιλανθάνομαι (D.456; Sam.429)

The perfect of the active simplex λανθάνω is used from an early stage (see IV below); this middle compound is found first in fifth century drama,¹⁷⁴ but also in Xenophon, Plato, and other fourth century texts.¹⁷⁵

24. ἔρχομαι (Asp.15; D.764; Karkh.31; Kith.[35], 44, 66; Mis.A32, 259; fr.105-6.1)

The perfect of this simplex is current from the fifth century,¹⁷⁶ although it must have been used earlier since some compounds are found already in Homer (see ἀπέρχομαι in IV below). Other compounds used in the perfect in Menander are ἀπέρχομαι, εἰσέρχομαι, ἐξέρχομαι, προέρχομαι, προσέρχομαι, and ὑπέρχομαι.

25. εὐρίσκω (D.489; Ep.869; fr.409.2)

The Sophoclean passage cited by LSJ for the perfect (OT 546) implies that it is not attested earlier. I have found other fifth century examples,¹⁷⁷ and it is often used e.g. in fourth century Comedy. The perfect is also used in Menander with the compound ἐξευρίσκω, see 21 above.

26. ἔχω (Kol.4.2; fr.419.1)

I found this perfect once in a fifth century text.¹⁷⁸ Parallels are more common in later prose authors.¹⁷⁹

27. θεάομαι (Ep.325)

This verb is used in the perfect by fifth century comic authors.¹⁸⁰ In later prose it is twice found in Xenophon,¹⁸¹ and not infrequently in Plato.

¹⁷² Hp.Art.47.57. Empedocles DK 31 B.35.10.

¹⁷³ E.g. D.32.32.7. Arist.EE 1229a3; EN 1149b35; Rh.1404b13.

¹⁷⁴ E.Ba.188, IA 1232. Ar.Nub.631.

¹⁷⁵ Aeschin.1.85.6; 2.36.6. Arist.Rh.1392b18; Top.157b14, 16.

¹⁷⁶ E.g. A.PV 943. Hdt.1.35.16; 2.50.2. Critias DK 88 B.16.16 etc.

¹⁷⁷ Hdt.7.10.47; 8.109.10. Hp.de Arte 12.10.

¹⁷⁸ Hdt.6.47.4. The form at Ar.fr.898.2 Edmonds is the editor's (the codd. have ἐξήμμαι which is read also by subsequent editors).

¹⁷⁹ Plato and Demosthenes, but also once in Thphr.Char.2.3.4. Cf. also the late comic author Dionysius 2.32.

¹⁸⁰ Ar.Nub.370; Hermipp.37.1; Magn.2.1. See Lysippus 8.1, 8.2, with Kaibel's reservations (quoted by K-A *ad locum*).

¹⁸¹ X.Mem.2.1.31.5 (=Prodicus DK 84 B.2.75); Cyr.7.5.7.2.

28. θύω (D.554, 567)

This perfect is rare before Menander, but is attested in Aristophanes (Lys.1062). Fourth century parallels are Isoc.7.10.5 and Heniochus 2.2.¹⁸²

29. καλέω (Sam.296)

Among the dramatic authors, Aristophanes is the first to use this verb in the perfect (none are found in Tragedy). Other comic authors also use the perfect several times.¹⁸³ I have not found examples from early prose authors, and the examples implied by TLG for Hellanicus and Parmenides are misleading; the former is an indirect quotation and the latter a paraphrase introducing the fragment, and their language reflects that of the later writers Athenaeus and Sextus rather than the fifth century historian and thinker themselves.¹⁸⁴

30. καταπίνω (Ep.368)

This perfect is found mainly in comic authors, beginning in the fifth century,¹⁸⁵ and also later.¹⁸⁶ The simplex is also used in the perfect by Menander (see 46).

31. κατεργάζομαι (D.864)

The finite perfect is attested as early as Aeschylus and in subsequent tragic authors.¹⁸⁷ The simplex is not found in the perfect in Menander,¹⁸⁸ and continues to be used later.

32. κράζω (Mis.A53; Sam.364, 553)

This perfect prevails in Aristophanes,¹⁸⁹ with no examples in the tragic authors and only a rare example in prose.¹⁹⁰ It continues to be used in the fourth century.¹⁹¹

33. κτάομαι (Pk.781)

This verb is found in perfect finite forms¹⁹² no earlier than the fifth century, when examples are numerous (e.g. E.El.1003).

34. λαμβάνω (Asp.394; D.136; Ep.517; Mis.306; Pk.985; Sam.54; Sk.261; fr.352.3)

This perfect, though extremely frequent in Attic authors,¹⁹³ is not used by the earliest authors (LSJ cite Sophocles OT 643 when introducing the perfect form εἴληφα, which implies they do not have an earlier reference).¹⁹⁴ The non-attic form λελάβηκα is not found in Menander.

35. λέγω (D.[303], 316, 501, 507, 509, 750, 822; Ep.292, 293bis, 352, Her.43; Kon.14; Pk.[158], 289, 327, 792, 798, 823; Sam.437, 662; fr.334.1)

¹⁸² Pl.R.328c2 (τεθυκὼς γὰρ ἐτύγγχανεν) is not a parallel form, but a-analytical construction.

¹⁸³ Ar.Ecc.349; Plu.260. Diph.17.7; 42.6. Strato 1.6, 1.7, 1.18. Adesp.1093.356.

¹⁸⁴ Hellan. FGrH 645a F 1.2. Parmenides DK 28 B.1.

¹⁸⁵ A.Av.1147; fr.732.1 K-A (note that codd. have -πέπτωκεν). Archippus 19.1.

¹⁸⁶ Anaxilas 22.19. Alex.76.4. In a non Comic author, cf. also Arist.HA 621a13.

¹⁸⁷ A.Ag.526. E.HF 151; IT 1081; Hel.107.

¹⁸⁸ But see the periphrastic expression εἴμ' ἐργασμένος Sam.642.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. also Eup.113.1

¹⁹⁰ Hp.Morb.Sacr.15.13.

¹⁹¹ E.g. Philem.65.2. Acschin.3.218.6. Arist.HA 614a1.

¹⁹² Hes.Op.437 has a perfect infinitive of this verb.

¹⁹³ E.g. Th.1.77.6.2. Lys.1.83.6.

¹⁹⁴ The attestation in Archilochus is correctly dismissed, because contention among scholars has split them in equal numbers between those following Bergk (fr.143) in adopting Lucian's εἴληφας, and those following Diels in adopting the testimony of Leo Philosophus, ἐδράξω.

The earliest perfects I found were from fifth century Tragedy, e.g.g. A.Suppl.246 and S.Ant.886.¹⁹⁵

36. λούομαι (Pk.305)

I found one example of the finite perfect in Aristophanes (Pax 868), and one fourth century example in Thphr.Char.9.8.3.

37. νοέω (fr.779.2)

This simplex is attested in the fifth century comic author Strattis (fr.43.2), and then in later philosophical authors.¹⁹⁶ The middle compound ἀπονοέομαι is also used in Menander (see **IA**) above.

38. νομίζω (Asp.175, 334; D.E.101; D.173; Ep.135, 352; Pk.489; fr.613a.2)

The perfect is widely used in the fifth century,¹⁹⁷ and continues to be frequent in the fourth.¹⁹⁸

39. ὄμνυμι (Pk.791, 793)

This perfect is also widely used throughout the fifth and fourth centuries, in a range of authors among which orators are prominent.

40. ὀράω (D.409, 669; Ep.383, [860]; Kol.[88]; Mis.A5; Sam.61; fr.208.2)

The perfect is at least as early as the fifth century, but I have not been able to find pre-fifth century examples so far.

41. ὀρμάω (Asp.320; Ep.419)

A fifth century attestation of this perfect is found in Hp.Oss.15.4, but it becomes somewhat more frequent in the fourth century.¹⁹⁹

42. παραφύω (fr.337.3)

This perfect is paralleled (in compound form) in Hp.Vectiar.1.26. Its use slightly increases in the fourth century.²⁰⁰

43. ? πείθω (D.38; Pk.327, [328]; Sam.558)

I have found a possible fifth century example of this perfect.²⁰¹ Menander uses the compound ἀναπείθω in the perfect (for which see **6** above).

44. πέμπω (D.72; Pk.354)

This perfect is not very common in classical Greek, but is used already by Thucydides (7.12.1.1), and then by fourth century orators and other authors.²⁰²

¹⁹⁵ Anaximander DK 12 B.1.1, referred to in TLG, offers a parallel from Simplicius, which is of no use to us. It may be noted that *verba dicendi, declarandi, et sentiendi* found in connection with fragments of philosophers, sophists, and historians are on the face of it suspect.

¹⁹⁶ Pl.Phdr.229c4. Arist.Metaph.1048b24, 34.

¹⁹⁷ Early examples are Ar.Ach.993; Ep.714 (this *verbum percipiendi* at Heraclitus DK 22 B. 70.2, e.g., is Stobaeus').

¹⁹⁸ Axionicus 6.8K, LSJ's reference, is misleading because of the earlier perfects found.

¹⁹⁹ Alexis 140.14 (at line 8 codd. have aorist, and the perfect is Meineke's). Thphr.fr.9.20.4 Wimmer (Sud.).

²⁰⁰ Theopompus FGrH 115 F 287.5 (Given in direct quotation. Note further that the excerptor, Clemens, introduces the words with γράφει, implying an established, written text.). Anaxilas 22.13. Thphr.HP 3.18.11.11.

²⁰¹ Gorgias DK 82 B.8a.4, if this is considered a direct quotation made by Plutarch: it is not printed with 'Sperrung', but the contents are given with first person references, to suggest relatively direct discourse.

²⁰² Orators e.g. D.4.48.4.

45. πίνω (Kol.fr.2.4; Pk.471)

This perfect appears as early as Aeschylus, with other parallels from fifth and fourth century drama.²⁰³ Other fourth century authors use this perfect.²⁰⁴ See also compound καταπίνω above.

46. πίπτω (D.628)

The perfect is firmly established throughout fifth century literature and is too frequent to cite fully. I give two early examples: A.Eum.147, and Hdt.6.12.15. Menander also uses compounds in the perfect (see ἐμπίπτω 18, and προσπίπτω 51).

47. πλανάομαι (fr.683.7)

This perfect is used already in early Tragedy, and then in later prose.²⁰⁵

48. ποιέω (Sam.308, 387C, 487, 652; Ph.20; fr.323.1; 740.6)

This perfect active is found in the early fifth century, e.g. Th.1.10.4.1, and continues to be widely used. Sam.387 is found in the middle in the Bodmer papyrus, and this is read by Sandbach: either way this belongs in IIIA.

49. προλέγω (Pk.152)

This perfect appears in Hippocrates and then in several fourth century authors.²⁰⁶ See discussion on προσαγορεύω in II above.

50. προσίστημι (D.96)

This perfect is rare, but a parallel from Aristophanes (V 811) places it firmly in the fifth century.

51. προσπίπτω (Ep.881)

The earliest parallel for this perfect is Hp.Mul.Aff.2.72. It recurs in the fourth century.²⁰⁷

52. σπουδάζω (D.148; Kith.100; Sam.139, 145, 185)

One dual form (ἐσπουδάκατον) in Aristophanes (V.694) puts back the use of this perfect well into the fifth century, but it is more commonly found later.²⁰⁸

53. συγχωρέω (D.786)

Although most of the parallels are from the fourth century,²⁰⁹ a Euripidean fragment (965.1 Nauck²) may place this perfect already in the fifth century.

54. συμβαίνω (Sam.55, 424, 434; Sk.[125]; fr.774.1)

This perfect is well placed in the fifth century, with examples as early as S.El.262.

55. συμπλέκομαι (Ep.236)

The parallel at E.Ba.800 is early, and this perfect appears also in the fourth century.²¹⁰

²⁰³ A.Th.806. S.Tr.1056. Eub.123.3 bis.

²⁰⁴ See Theocr.H.2.56. Callim.110.77 Pfeiffer. Thphr.Char.10.3.1. Arist.Pr.871a9.

²⁰⁵ A.PV 565. Pl.Plt.263c7; 264c7.

²⁰⁶ Hp.Morb.Sacr.7.2. E.g. Din.Dem.78.5.

²⁰⁷ E.g. Aeschin.3.59.2.

²⁰⁸ In Plato, in New Comedy (Antiphan. 182.2. Philem. 82.12) and orators (Lycurg.Leocr.107.3).

²⁰⁹ E.g. Pl.Chrm.175b5. D.34.44.4. Arist.Metaph.1006a27.

²¹⁰ Pl.R.533c4. Aeschin.2.153.1.

56. σώιζω (D.726; Ep.351; Sk.379)

A fifth century parallel is found at E.Ion 1386. The fourth century offers more parallels.²¹¹ This passive perfect is also used in Menander (see **IIIB** below).

57. ταραύτομαι (D.313)

Homer uses an older active perfect form τέτρηχα in this intransitive sense (Il.2.95). The middle perfect form is used to describe a (mental) state in Hippocratic texts, and in Ar.Nub.388.

58. τίκτω (Asp.218; Ep.639)

This perfect is found already in Herodotus, and is used elsewhere and later.²¹²

59. τολμάω (Sk.11.6)

Early fifth century examples (from Euripides and Herodotus) are paralleled throughout the classical period and up to this example in Menander.²¹³

60. ὑπερπαίω (Asp.117)

The example at Ar.Eccl.1118 places this perfect well in the fifth century, although it is rarely used elsewhere then or later.

61. ὑπολαμβάνω (Asp.270)

The earliest that the use of this perfect can possibly be placed is Hp.Ep.3.12,²¹⁴ but most examples are from authors flourishing in the fourth century.²¹⁵ The simplex is also used by Menander (34).

62. φεύγω (D.164)

Ctesias FGrH 688 F 24.6 is the earliest example,²¹⁶ with more parallels in the fourth century orators.²¹⁷

63. φροντίζω (Asp.119, 392; fr.588.1)

This perfect is found in fifth century comic authors, and continues to be used later.²¹⁸

64. χάσκω (D.441)

The earliest finite²¹⁹ perfect forms are from Aristophanes, many of them from the Aves.²²⁰

²¹¹ Pl.Lg.776d8. Hyp.Eux.47.2. Thphr.Char.25.6.3.

²¹² Hdt.1.112.10; .11. X.Cyr.5.13.1. In Comedy: Plato 2.2; 65.5. Adesp.1096.58 K-A.

²¹³ E.Med.695. Hdt.1.159.6. Pl.Phdo.102e5 etc. The orators give many examples.

²¹⁴ The reference given by TLG to Mimnermus (FGrH 578 F 10.6) is misleading: the perfect here is in the later Greek of the writer of the second Argumentum to S.Ant.

²¹⁵ Isoc.15.243.5; 5.124.4. Pl.Phl.36e10.

²¹⁶ This passage shows signs of firm attestation: besides being printed with 'Sperrung', it is also a reported conversation. I am informed by D. Gera that Demetrius is in other fragments a relatively reliable excerptor. An earlier optative finite form is found at Il.21.609.

²¹⁷ Hyp.Lyc.fr.13.13. Aeschin.3.194.7.

²¹⁸ Eup.386.3. Ar.Eccl.263. Later e.g. Isoc.fr.10.2.

²¹⁹ Perfect active participles are used already by Homer (Il.16.409) and Semonides (17.110 P).

²²⁰ E.g. Ar.Av.1671.

IIIB passive

65. ἀδικέομαι (F.I.28, 59, 60)

There are many fifth century examples, and I give some early ones: Th.1.39.33. E.IA 1138. Its use in the fourth century grows. The active ἀδικέω is also used by Menander in the perfect (see **IIIA** above).

66. ἀνάπτομαι (Sam.674)

LSJ give a passive perfect example from Euripides (HF 549).

67. ἀναρπάζομαι (Asp.13)

The only parallel for this perfect from the fifth century is E.Phoen.1079. In the fourth century it is also rare.²²¹

68. διακόπτομαι (Sam.679)

The earliest example I have found of this passive perfect is Hp.VC 17.9. Compare the compound κατακόπτομαι also found in the perfect in Menander (see **II B** above). The active perfect is not used by Menander.

69. δοκέομαι (D.[885]; Her.71; Sam.117)

The use of the perfect is firmly placed in the fifth century, with parallels as early as Herodotus (e.g. 4.68.4).

70. δουλόομαι (fr.568.1)

Hippocrates uses this perfect before Menander.²²²

71. ἐνάρχομαι (Sam.674)

The simplex is also used in the perfect by Menander, as a middle (see **11** in **A** above). This compound is used in the passive in the fifth century e.g. E.El.1142.²²³

72. θορυβέομαι (Sam.426)

This verb is attested in perfect finite forms beginning with Hippocrates Morb.Sacr.17.8, and then in later prose.²²⁴

73. λυπέομαι (Sam.696)

The passive perfect is found already in Euripides (Ion 1311); the active perfect is used for the first time in Menander (see **I** above).

74. νομίζομαι (fr.592.3)

A fifth century example of this passive perfect is E.Alc.111. This form continues to be current in the fourth century as well.²²⁵ The active perfect νομίζω is also used in Menander (see **IIIA**).

75. παραλείπομαι (D.780)

Examples of the passive perfect form are few in the fifth century,²²⁶ and the fourth century does not see a large increase in its use. The passive simplex λείπομαι is not used by Menander in the perfect, but see the active compound καταλείπω and the simplex λείπω, both in **II** above.

²²¹ Aeschin.3.133.3; D.21.124.7; Din.4.24.2; fr.3.8.

²²² Hp.Aër.232.25; Morb.Sacr.1.79.

²²³ Cf. another compound in Euripides: Hrc1.601 (κατ-).

²²⁴ Plato (e.g. Lg.640a12), and Aeschin.2.4.5.

²²⁵ E.g. Theocr.14.24.97. D.43.22.10.

²²⁶ See e.g. Hp.Medic.13.3.

76. πράττομαι (Sam.530)

This perfect is often used already in the fifth century, and continues to be used in the subsequent century. I refer only to two examples: E.Med.364, 1064.

77. προστάττομαι (Sam.199)

This perfect is found in the Attic orators, not only in the fourth,²²⁷ but already in the fifth century.²²⁸

78. σώιζομαι (fr.59.9)

This perfect is found already in Aeschylus (Th.804), and in other fifth century tragic authors.²²⁹ It continues to be found in fourth century prose authors.²³⁰ The active is also used by Menander in the simplex (see **IIA**), and in the compound ἀποσώιζω (see **IA**).

79. φθείρομαι (Her.13; Pk.778)

Thucydides uses this perfect (3.13.3.2; 7.12.4.1), and it continues to be used by later writers.

1.7.4 IV. perfects in use from early classical Greek

IVA active and middle

1. ? ἀνέωιγ- (fr.206.1)

The form ἀνέωιγ- is used already in Homer (Il.16.221), but is probably imperfect (thus LSJ). For intransitive use it is replaced in Attic by the passive form ἀνέωικται (see Chantraine (1927) 38 and *Dict.* s.v.), but Menander uses this active intransitive form ἀνέωιγε, which was previously attested in later authors such as Lucian. He also uses (transitively) the newer aspirated form, for which see **I**.

2. ἀπέρχομαι (Ep.1007; Pk.492)

Il. 24.766 offers an early Greek example of this perfect. See **III** for Menander's use of the perfect of the simplex and references to perfects of other compounds.

3. ἀπόλλυμι (D.84; Ep.751, 906; Kol.86; Mis.247; Pk.1018; Prnth.9; Sam.315, 324; Ph.66; fr.568.7)

The 'second perfect' form ἀπόλωλα etc. is current from Homer on.²³¹ I refer here to list **III** above for the form ἀπολώλεκα etc., also found in Menander.

4. γίγνομαι (Asp.112, 262, 366; D.35, 324, 398, 543, 558, 728; Ep.296, 372, 1121, [1130]; Mis.204, fr.6.1; Pk.[124], 182, 399, 533, 711, 724, 1021; Sam.66, 132, 248, 480, 500, 513, 522, 699, 713; Sk.127, 354; F.I.55; fr.790.2)

It appears already in Homer (Il.19.122).

5. δέιδω (D.151, [248], 900; Kith.48; Kol.130; Mis.268; Sk.97; fr.620.11)

This verb is used in this perfect form already in Archilochus fr.196a,³⁹ West, and is current and frequent throughout.²³² In Comedy alone there are more than 20 instances of this form (as well as a few in the other perfect, δέδια etc.²³³).

²²⁷ E.g. D.23.69.4; 35.48.2. Lys.7.29.3.

²²⁸ Antiphon Tetr.1.4.2.6; 2.1.1.4.

²²⁹ E.g. E.Hel.1032.

²³⁰ E.g. X.An.6.3.16.5. Pl.Crit.109d3.

²³¹ E.g. Il.15.129 (5 times in Od.).

²³² Any significant change is in the complementation of this verb (see §3 below).

²³³ Men. Thphr.1.13. Cf. Amph.33.6.

6. δίδωμι (D.722, 770; Ep.287; Kith.90; Pk.150, 757; Sk.96; fr.620.6)

Although not attested in Homer, this perfect appears already in Pindar (LSJ quote N.2.11) and in Tyrtaeus fr.2.13 West. It is used as often as the aorist in Euripides, and is found not infrequently in the earlier Tragic authors. Menander uses the perfect passive of this verb as well (see B below).

7. ? δύω (fr.702.2)

This perfect is used three times already in Homer.²³⁴ This form is not in the codices, which have δέδωκα, but is a conjecture of Cobet (see K-T *ad locum*).

8. θαρρέω (D.692)

The seniority of the perfect with this verb is firmly established with attestations from Homer (Il.9.420 etc.).

9. θνήσκω (Asp.216, 343, 421, 472, 501, 502; D.438, 648; Mis.249; Sam.539; Sk.126; fr.453.1; 479.1)

The perfect appears already in Homer.²³⁵ In fact the present stem is not productive in classical Greek.

10. ἵστημι (D.100, 168; Ep.935; Mis.A6, 23; Pk.770; Sam.105, 406; fr.325-6.2; 352.1)

Already Homer shows seven examples in the *Iliad*, and one in the *Odyssey*.²³⁶ There are also many pluperfects and a subjunctive form (Il.17.435). Compounds are also used in the perfect: παρίστημι 13 below, and προσίστημι and ἐξίστημι in III.

11. λανθάνω (Ep.432; fr.33.1)

The earliest use of this perfect is Semonides 7.9 West.

12. μανθάνω (Asp.113; D.419; Sam.655)

Already Anacreon uses this perfect (71.3 Page). Herodotus uses this perfect 5 times, and it is used by other fifth century authors as well.²³⁷

13. παρίστημι (D.702; fr.153.3)

This compound occurs as early as Homer Il.16.853; 24.132, and Mimnermus 2.5 West, but the simplex is far more common in the earlier stages. This compound is far more common in the fourth century.²³⁸

14. πάσχω (Grg.84; D.298; Ep.363, 367; 854, fr.9.1; Her.18; Mis.249, 388; Pk.758; fr.568.6; [949.1])

There are no examples of this perfect in the *Iliad*, but the *Odyssey* offers two perfects: 13.6, and 17.284.

15. πηγνυμι (Sam.515)

This perfect is used e.g. in Il.3.135. Chantraine (1927) 33 discusses this perfect.

16. πυνθάνομαι (Ep.[138], 579; Sk.193)

This verb appears in the perfect as far back as Homer,²³⁹ and is used in the perfect by writers of drama and dialogue alike. Note however that it is not used in the perfect by Aristophanes.

²³⁴ Il.5.811; 9.239. Od.12.93.

²³⁵ Il.18.12. Eight more in the *Odyssey*.

²³⁶ Il.3.231; 4.236; 4.434; 5.186; 5.485; 18.172; 23.327. Od.1.185.

²³⁷ E.g. Empedocles DK 31 B.26.8; B.17.9 (the Hippocratic passages are spurious).

²³⁸ D.6.6.6. Thphr.Sens.3.7 Diels. Arist.AP 7.4.11.

²³⁹ LSJ quote Od.11.505.

17. τρέφω (Sk.226)

The earliest attestation of this perfect is Od.23.237, but used in the intransitive sense 'to be congealed'; see Chantraine (1927) 35. This form in Menander is not a new form, but has a new meaning and is transitively used.

18. τυγχάνω (D.126; Pk.1023)

Od.10.88 is the earliest example of this perfect.

19. φρίττω (Ep.901)

Homer uses this perfect four times.

20. χράομαι (D.E.62; Ep.911; Pk.315)

Od. three times (3.266; 14.421; 16.398).

IVB passive

21. δίδομαι (D.E.90)

This perfect is used already from Homer Il.5.428, and Aeschylus (Suppl.1041) and has parallels in fifth and fourth century authors.²⁴⁰

²⁴⁰ E.g. E.Suppl.757.

1.7.5 discussion

Using consistent boundaries, which may at times seem arbitrary, to classify the verbs whose perfects appear in Menander, I found the following distribution:

period of earliest parallel for a Menandrian perfect	number of such verbs used in Menander in perfect
I (perfects first attested in Menander)	51 (42 active and middle, 9 passive) ²⁴¹
II (perfects first attested in the fourth century)	39 (35 active and middle, 3 passive, 1 uncertain)
III (perfects first attested in the fifth century)	79 (64 active and middle, 15 passive)
IV (perfects first attested before fifth century)	21 (20 active and middle, 1 passive)

TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION OF VERBS WITH PERFECTS IN MENANDER - NEW TO HOMERIC

The largest single group of perfects in Menander consists of those used from the fifth century (more or less equivalent to Chantraine's definition 'attique'), group **III**. These figures on their own do not show any consistent pattern of increase in the use of the perfect. They must be considered along with other factors:

- a) Eleven of the verbs are included in **III** on the basis of evidence from Hippocrates.²⁴²
- b) Fifteen of the verbs in **III** are passive,²⁴³ and these fifteen distort the general figures somewhat more seriously. Group **I** has at least eight perfect passives attested first in Menander. I must also account for a factor of subjectivity in my distinction between middle forms (which I take with actives), and passive forms.²⁴⁴

Identification of the single time-section, arbitrarily delimited, which is the provenance of the largest number of verbs used in the perfect in Menander, is not on its own very informative. The figures (such as they are) show no discernible growth in the use of unprecedented perfects from the fourth century through to Menander's time (groups **I** and **II**), as compared with the fifth century (group **III**). Menander uses only slightly more 'relatively new' perfects than he does perfects originating in the fifth century.²⁴⁵ But this may indicate only a spurt in the development of the active perfect *forms* in the fifth

²⁴¹ One of these, the perfect of λοιδορέομαι, is a conjecture.

²⁴² Nevertheless, if they were to be moved *en bloc* to group **II**, group **III** would still be the largest single group, with 68 verbs. It would change the ratio between groups **I** and **II**: group **II** would have two verbs less than group **I**, instead of the present ratio, in which group **I** has twelve more than group **II**.

²⁴³ Three of these from Hippocrates (διακόπτομαι, δουλδομαι, and παραλείπομαι).

²⁴⁴ See e.g. βουλεύομαι in **IIIA** or θορυβέομαι **IIIB**.

²⁴⁵ The ratio would be 90 : 79, almost equal (the ratio is not greatly changed if passives are excluded -- 76 : 64).

century; it indicates nothing about the syntactic and other *use* of these perfect forms, which will be studied in the following sections (§3, §4). The figures may also indicate the accident of survival of fifth century texts. My final point pivots on this notion of accident: without the current evidence from Menander, which includes verbs whose perfects were once believed or implied to originate much later -- e.g. σπείρω believed to originate in the Septuagint²⁴⁶ -- or whose perfects were not attested until the discovery of papyri in the second half of this century, of course the figures would be different. It is not the precise figures which are significant, but the large crop offered by a single author. I hope to show in the subsequent sections that the reasons are not chronological, or not only chronological, but have to do with other factors, such as genre, register, and syntax.²⁴⁷

the formation of verbs in group I

The immediate task, however, is to survey the 51 verbs found first in Menander, and briefly to assess their formation. Relatively recent formation may be indicated by some sign of derivation. Obviously it is not necessary to assess how recently the verbs of earlier provenance were formed. I would like to single out those 'new' Menandrian perfects which show no signs of recent formation, and to recall that Menander's introduction of perfects is not motivated only by change in the language.

24 of the 51 verbs have a *derived* form; most of these are denominatives (a), and the rest show some other signs of secondary derivation (b).

(a): Sixteen verbs attested in the active and middle perfect (indicative) first in Menander are clearly identifiable *denominatives*:²⁴⁸ ἀγοράζω, ἀπονοέομαι, ἀριστάω, ἀφυβρίζω, διευτυχέω, ἐκκλείω, ἐνθριόω, ἐξισάζω, καταδουλόω, καταλιπαρέω, κηδεύω, λυπέω, ὀδυνάω, παίζω, σκευάζω, and ψοφέω. Four passives are also denominative: ἐγκλείομαι, ἐμβροντάομαι, ἐπικαύομαι, and χειμάζομαι.

²⁴⁶ See on this verb in I, above, and see also 1.7.1.

²⁴⁷ See McKay (1965) 3 against an interpretation of innovation in the face of newly introduced perfect forms, and more generally, Happ in Dönnges & Happ (1977) 139 on the use of statistics in dead languages.

²⁴⁸ See Chantraine ss.vv. for details.

(b): Four verbs that are not denominatives show other signs of derivation:²⁴⁹ ἀποσωίζω (from σῶς), βωλοκοπέω, ἐκλακτίζω (an -ίζω derivation), and κίχρημι (derived from χράω).

In addition to these 24, new formations are also reflected in the following:

The perfect forms of 4 of the 51 verbs are 'new' forms (replacing older existing ones): ἀνέωιχα (from ἀνοίγω) -- the older form being ἀνέωιγα (also attested in Menander); εἰσδεδράμηκα (from εἰστρέχω) -- the older form would be -δέδρομα; and the aspirated πέπληχα (from πλήττω) -- the older form would be πέπληγα.

One perfect, ὑπεκδέδουκα, has the relatively young 'ὑπεκ-' double preverb.

Seventeen of the 51 perfect forms come from verbs which are not derived in the ways described above: ἀποπέμπω, ἀφαιρέομαι, εἰσπηδάω, ἐκπέμπω, ἐκπηδάω, ἐνσεύω, ἐπακούω, κινέω, λαλέω, παταίω, σπεύρω, συμπεύθω, ὑπακούω, ὑπέρχομαι, ἀνατρέπομαι, ἀπολαμβάνομαι and relatively speaking συμπεύθομαι.²⁵⁰ Many of these do represent newly introduced compounds, when they form new combinations with different preverbs. But it is primarily attestation which shows that these are 'newly introduced'.

The connection between denominative verbs and the resultative was noted at least as early as Chantraine(1927) 14; this can be extended to other verbs of secondary derivation. So the new, derived verbs are semantically suited for such applications.

More than two thirds of the verbs in list I are *compound* forms:²⁵¹ **IA** active and middle forms (27/42) ἀνοίγω, ἀπονοέομαι, ἀποπέμπω, ἀποσωίζω, ἀφαιρέομαι, ἀφυβρίζω, διευτυχέω, εἰσπηδάω, εἰστρέχω, ἐκκλείω, ἐκλακτίζω, ἐκπέμπω, ἐκχέω, ἐνθριόω, ἐνσεύω, ἐξισάζω, ἐπακούω, καταδουλόω, καταλιπαρέω, καταπέτομαι, κατατίθημι, συγχέω, συμπεύθω, ὑπακούω, ὑπεκδύομαι, and ὑπέρχομαι. **IB** passive forms (7/9) ἀνατρέπομαι, ἀπολαμβάνομαι, ἐγκλείομαι, ἐμβροντάομαι, ἐπικαύομαι, περισπάζομαι, συμπεύθομαι.

²⁴⁹ See Chantraine, *Idem*.

²⁵⁰ Note, however, that λαλέω is in no manner an old verb, and συμπεύπεισμαι, like other passive perfects, is derived not from the perfect o-grade stem, but the present passive stem.

²⁵¹ See column 3 in table 2 below for figures and percentages.

The widespread use of compounds in Menander is discussed for its bearing on metre by Prato et al. (1983). These forms are of importance to any discussion of perfects for another reason: in many cases, a compound is differentiated from its simplex by a nuance in Aktionsart: Most typically ἐκ-, ἀπο-, and κατα-, but also other preverbs, have a 'perfectivizing' effect on some verbs. In other instances, the preverb denotes a source or destination of the action, thereby setting bounds or limits to its extent.²⁵²

transitivity (see column 4 in table 2 below)

The final point of interest which may contribute on a superficially descriptive level is the complementation of these perfects first attested in Menander.

Half of the active and middle perfects (20/42) occur in passages where they take some sort of direct object.²⁵³

There are ten such verbs (two of them in relative clauses) taking an (enclitic) pronoun in the accusative, e.g. βωλοκοπέω at D.514f: καλῶς γέ με βεβωλοκόπηκεν.²⁵⁴

Note that seven of these are similar in meaning, having some connotation of cheating, duping, or vexing someone (see 2.3.5 for more on verbs of wrongdoing).

Perfects of ten of the verbs govern some other noun in the accusative, e.g. πλήττω, which always has the complement τὴν θύραν, as in Sam.301: ἀλλὰ τὴν θύραν προῶν πέπληχε.²⁵⁵ The transitivity of the perfects in these passages will be discussed in fuller detail in §3 below.

Among those new perfects that do not govern an accusative form in their respective passages, three are verbs of motion:

²⁵² The place of such compounds in the classification of verbs by action type is discussed in Fanning (1990) 150ff.

²⁵³ I do not take into account IB here, because the passives will not take an accusative object, and they are less important for the question of the resultative perfect.

²⁵⁴ Cf. the perfects of ἀποπέμπω (Asp.313) in a relative clause, ἀποσώζω (Ep.1108), ἀφαιρέομαι (Asp.225), ἐκκλείω (Sam.416), ἐνθριόω (Sam.586), καταδουλόω (Mis.2.1), λυπέω (Pk.494), ὀδυνάω (Asp.371) in a relative clause, and σκευάζω (Sam.599).

²⁵⁵ For other examples of the perfect of this verb, see list I. Cf. perfects of ἀγοράζω (fr.318.2), ἀνοίγω (fr.192.2), ἐκχέω (fr.670.2), ἐνσεύω (D.581), κινέω (fr.30.1), κίχρημι (fr.396.2), σπείρω (Mis.233), συγχέω (fr.523.1), and ψοφέω (at Ep.874, Sam.669, and fr.766.1).

One such verb comes with a pronoun in the dative: ἐκλακτίζω (fr.16.1). an expressive verb of motion with the metaphorical meaning 'to escape'. The pronoun is most probably a sympathetic dative.²⁵⁶

Two other verbs of motion are 'bounded' by adverbs of destination:

The perfect of εἰστρέχω at Sam.361: μαινόμενος εἰσδέδραμηκεν εἴσω τις γέρων, and the perfect of ὑπεκδύομαι at Ep.904: .../διόπερ ὑπεκδέδυκα δεῦρ' ἔξω λάθραι.

The perfects of these two may be explained not so much by linguistic innovation in Menander (they are not 'resultative'), but by innovation of technique -- as an alternative to the Euripidean stage-entrance announcement, Menander develops a technique in which the perfect often figures.

To some extent the variety of complementation usually found in verbs of saying can be found in the few examples in new perfect forms: with πρὸς + accusative: λαλέω (Pk.320). With dative: λαλέω (? D.9, Pk.509, Sik.fr.11.6). Absolute: perfect of λαλέω (Pk.374).

There is only one other new perfect, which is absolute: D.779:

τί τοῦτο, Σώστρατ'; ἡριστήκατε;/ 'Well, Sostratos. Lunch over?'

Based on these preliminary investigations of the 'new' perfects, a few comments can be made regarding their transitivity:

Roughly one half of the verbs which have 'new' perfect forms in Menander take a direct object and are clearly transitive (**3.2**). They are good candidates for classification as 'resultatives' according to the traditional view; but McKay has shown how a careful interpretation of the contexts can in most cases prove that the emphasis in such cases falls on the subject. Many are verbs with a meaning apposite to New Comedy ('to cheat' etc., or 'to beat at the door' etc.). Genre or register may be as strong a reason as chronological development for finding them first in Menander.

²⁵⁶ W. Havers (1911) has shown the compatibility of the dative with verbs of motion, p.4 and *passim*, category VI.

The three verbs of motion, which are expressive and mostly mean 'to escape', are also apposite to New Comedy, and this may be why we find them in the perfect for the first time in Menander.

Again, λαλέω is a word from a register which was not previously used in literary Greek with great frequency, and Menander's widespread use of the verb in general²⁵⁷ makes it plausible that we find more examples in the perfect as well. This seems to be as much a matter of vocabulary as one of syntax.

The only active perfect in a fully absolute use among the 'new' perfects of Menander is from ἀριστάω at D.779. This same verb is also attested with the accusative (see LSJ s.v.), but not necessarily in the perfect. Semantically, it belongs to the same group as ἐσθίω, a verb Chantraine (1927) 7f thought was one of the first to have a 'resultative' perfect, leading other verbs of eating in its wake.

If we wish to interpret the usage of the perfect in this particular passage on its own merits, we note that Kallippides, who is surprised to see his son Sostratos outside (speaking in exclamatory mode), puts emphasis on the state (rather than the time of the actions), which he attributes to Sostratos and co.: 'You are all finished with lunch?!' In this sense this verb, although a new active form, is not resultative - it focuses on the state of the subject to which it is addressed.

1. time section	2. passive	3. compound	4. transitive (A)
I 'new'	9/51 17%	34/51 66%	20/42 47%
II 4th	3/39 7%	24/39 63%	24/35 70%
III 5th	14/79 17%	32/79 40%	30/65* 46%
IV pre-5th	1/21 4%	3/21 14%	8/20* 40%

TABLE 2. FORMATION OF VERBS IN GROUP I ('NEW') WITH FORMATION OF OTHER VERBS IN PERFECT
 * Four of these have also intransitive uses (see §3).

²⁵⁷ E.g. 21 times in the present alone. N.B. only once in the aorist (Ep.300), in a relative clause with anterior value, in a narrative where sequence of events is important to distinguish.

2. CATEGORIES

If we consider the verb in the perfect from formal, syntagmatic, pragmatic and contextual angles, we approach a profile of the most typical environment of the perfect (outlined in 1.1). This breadth of scope introduces much detail which needs to be sifted, but it also leads to a clearer understanding of the use of the perfect in Menander, in the Greek of his period, and of his genre. Perhaps the multisectional approach will also suggest new criteria for assessing this enigmatic form in other comparable authors, for whom working methods have not been satisfactorily developed or applied.

I shall begin (in 2.1) by examining the categories by convention considered those which comprise the verb form (grammatical categories): person, number, voice, mood and temporal value.²⁵⁸ In addition, I shall examine syntactic and textual categories which address the illocutionary value of the environment in which the verb functions, such as discourse type, sentence type, and transphrastic cohesion (2.2).²⁵⁹ I end section 2 with a short list of some typical semantic groups of verbs used in the perfect in Menander, although this is not meant to define or explain the perfect, but merely to describe it from another angle (2.3).

The data given here are not only charted for the purpose of describing the typical environment of perfects, but also to serve as a ready reference for subsequent discussions of individual phenomena.

2.1 grammatical categories

I open the discussion by repeating the warning on the treatment of grammatical (and other) categories. Although they will be organized and presented along traditional lines, this is merely a point of departure, as well as an attempt to maintain transparency of system for the benefit of those schooled in Classics. I refer to Wallace (1982) for an eloquent and convincing theoretical discussion of the interrelationships between the different verbal categories (and also the formal signs and themes which represent them).

²⁵⁸ I do not include here other aspects/tenses (but see 1.4), since the focus of this study is the perfect, although I do make contrasts with the aorist, and compare with present *passim*, and I examine the temporal value of the verb or the sentence, as detected in its modifiers (adverbs) or its context.

²⁵⁹ See especially tables 1-5 in Appendix II.

2.1.1 person and number

There are more occurrences of perfects in the third person singular (3s) than in the first person singular (1s) and second person singular (2s) combined,²⁶⁰ with almost twice as many 1s as 2s.²⁶¹ Thus the perfect occurs most frequently in 3s, then in 1s, and least often in 2s. In itself the almost equal division between 3s and non-3s sits well with the fact that the perfect is a form used in dialogue (rather than narrative).²⁶²

More interesting is the ratio of perfects with explicit pronoun to those without.²⁶³ This test is applied to first and second persons, which have nominative personal pronouns. The 2s (the person least frequently found in verbs occurring in the perfect) has the highest percentage of explicit pronouns, 19%, and in 1s perfects are accompanied by an explicit pronoun 16% of the time.²⁶⁴

For 3s I have a total figure of 216 occurrences with the perfect. There is no 3s in the paradigm of the personal pronoun ἐγώ, σὺ --, and I have no parallel for the breakdown of figures for 1s and 2s. However, it must be noted that only 72 of the 216 perfects in 3s come without any kind of explicit nominal or pronominal marker. Moreover, a detailed look at explicit agents shows that despite the 3s personal ending, some of these perfects represent actions and states of third person plural (3pl) subjects, others are impersonal, and yet others²⁶⁵ imply 1s. Among the 144 3s perfects with some explicit agent expression, 30 are indefinite (two-thirds nominal, one-third pronominal).

²⁶⁰ The gross figures for proportions 3s : 1s+2s are 216 : 193. Among these, nine are conjectural: D.[248], [885]; Ep.[690], [1130]; Her.[79]; Kon.[13]; Pk.[158], [328]; fr.[949.1]. To these one may also add nine cases where the specific person or number is unclear: Asp.366; Ep.1007; Kith.[35], 100; Kol.56; Pk.1023; Sk.96, fr.11.3, 11.6.

²⁶¹ 105: 62.

²⁶² On the application of the category of person for distinguishing between tenses etc. in narrative and commentary mode, see e.g. Weinrich (1973) 259-262.

²⁶³ ἐγώ, σὺ respectively, but also with intensifying αὐτός (1s: Sam.271; fr.59.2. 2s: D.728; Mis.A23; Sam.61) or the 2s familiar οὗτος (Ep.935). Most interesting would be the comparison of this ratio with an analogous ratio of aorists with explicit pronoun to aorists without, as suggested to me by McKay in a personal communication.

²⁶⁴ The references are given for the perfects occurring with explicit pronoun, and will be useful in various discussions below, namely: 2.2.1 and 2.2.2, and 3.4 with n.608). 21+[2]/125+[2] 1s: Asp.15, 215; D.E.110; D.72, 316, 398, 489; Ep.[287], [359], 901; Kol.89; Mis.A6, 23, 306; Pk.327, 489, 514, 778; Sam.271; fr.30.1; 59.2; 664.1; 779.2. 11+[1]/68 in 2s: Asp.13, 345; D.441, 728; Ep.935; Mis.A5, A23, A32; Pk.320, 399, [745]; Sam.61 (αὐτός... σὺ), 387C.

²⁶⁵ Those representing 1s are rare: Asp.287; Her.71, and Sam.652.

The explicit use of the pronoun with a verb which has a personal ending is an important sign in assessing the emphatic nature of perfects, regardless of whether the emphasis lies in the subject or in the object. This in turn is vital in a discussion of the resultative perfect.²⁶⁶

2.1.2 voice

As already observed in §1 in the profile of the typical Menandrian perfect, the overwhelming majority have an active, deponent or middle form. I have identified as passive only 27 forms (not including the supplemented perfect of λοιδορέομαι, or πλέκομαι with uncertain voice).²⁶⁷ Most of these occur only once each.²⁶⁸ In all there are 31 occurrences of indicative finite passive perfects in Menander. Those used metaphorically, and those used to denote an emotional state, such as χειμάζομαι or ἐμβροντάομαι, may be confused with middles and in some the choice is difficult (e.g. ἐπικαύομαι or θορυβέομαι). I have tried to base the classification on grammar and syntax as well as meaning. It is interesting to note that the agents of perfect passives are expressed in only four of the passages: they are constructed with datives three times,²⁶⁹ and with ὑπό + genitive once.²⁷⁰ In classical Greek the dative of agent is used especially with *perfect* passive constructions -- although of course this is optional rather than obligatory (see also McKay (1965) 4).

Middles are identifiable by a number of criteria, and where they take a direct object (e.g. ἀφαιρέομαι), or where they reflect self interest of the agent (e.g. λούομαι), there is no question as to their function and status. Those which express emotional or mental states (e.g. παροξύνομαι) are prone to be confused with passives, and indeed there are some overlapping values in meaning and transitivity. I have identified 12 verbs with perfect middles (not including the perfects of λογίζομαι, which is conjectural, and of the 15

²⁶⁶ See McKay (1980) 30f.

²⁶⁷ Namely: ἀδικέομαι, ἀνάπτομαι, ἀναρπάζομαι, ἀνατρέπομαι, ἀπολαμβάνομαι, ἀπολείπομαι, διακόπτομαι, δίδομαι, δοκέομαι, δουλόομαι, ἐγκλείομαι, ἐλεέομαι, ἐμβροντάομαι, ἐνάρχομαι, ἐπικαύομαι, θορυβέομαι, κατακόπτομαι, λυπέομαι, νομίζομαι, παραλείπομαι, περισπάομαι, πράττομαι, προστάττομαι, συμπείθομαι, σώζομαι, φθείρομαι, χειμάζομαι. Their references in Menander are found in Appendix Ia.

²⁶⁸ The exceptions are ἐμβροντάομαι (twice), ἀδικέομαι (three times), and φθείρομαι (twice).

²⁶⁹ Her. 17 and Sam. 117 with δοκέομαι and at D. 818 with συμπείθομαι.

²⁷⁰ D. 398 with κατακόπτομαι.

verbs which are considered deponents).²⁷¹ In all there are 16 occurrences of perfect middles.²⁷²

The disadvantage of rigid divisions into morphological categories is again manifest here: the function which is reflected in passive forms coincides with the function reflected in some perfect (active) forms, and I reiterate the importance of studying more closely the transitivity of the individual verbs and their perfect forms (§3).

2.1.3 mood

I have found only a handful of examples of finite perfects which are not indicative.²⁷³ The imperatives are mostly from verbs which are perfect in form but present in meaning, or verbs whose perfect is idiomatic. That is not to say that indicatives are not used, as alternatives to other moods, with modal or other illocutionary values such as implied in deliberative, hypothetical, prescriptive, exclamatory, voluntative and other uses on this level. The illocutionary force and modal use of the indicative are often overlooked,²⁷⁴ although the grammars do offer treatment and examples of the full range of uses of the indicative,²⁷⁵ and my own perusal of the examples in the literature leaves me with the impression that a fair number of these indicatives are in fact perfect forms.²⁷⁶ When such notions are conveyed by verbs in indicative forms, other elements in the sentence, pragmatic and syntactic rather than morphological, contribute to the production of semantic equivalents. For more on the illocutionary uses of perfect indicatives, see

²⁷¹ The middles are ἄρχομαι, ἀφαιρέομαι, βουλεύομαι, ἐπιλανθάνομαι, λούομαι, παροξύνομαι, πιστεύομαι, πλανάομαι, συμπλέκομαι, ταράττομαι, ὑπέχομαι, χράομαι.

²⁷² Again, the majority of verbs appear only once in the perfect, but the perfects of ἐπιλανθάνομαι and παροξύνομαι are each used twice, and χράομαι is used three times in the perfect.

²⁷³ Three textually sound subjunctives, in periphrasis: Kith. 46f: ἡ γεγονός, fr.612.11 ἡ γεγονώς, and fr.628.2: ἡ συγκεκλεισμένος (and one supplement, monolectic: Pk.[777]: [γεγένηται]). Fifteen imperatives: Asp. 229 (μέμνησο); Grg. 84 (ἔρρωσο); D. 213 (ἔρρωσ'), 847 (κέκτησ'), 945 (μέμνησο); Ep. 1112 (ἀφείσο); Pk. 170 (ἔρρωσθ'), 291 (εὐχθω); Sam. 350 (πέπαυσ'), 580 (κέκραχθι), 612 (πέπαυσω), 721 (ἀφείσθω); Sk. 114 (δεδόχθω); fr.59.4 (ἀνερρίφθω); 944.1 (μέμνησ'). For a survey of the perfect in non-indicative moods in Greek see Harry (1905) and, for perfect forms in later Greek, (1906).

²⁷⁴ A reason for this might perhaps be analogous to the perception of the nominative as non-oblique already by ancient grammarians. See Calboli (1966) 184 for the ancient analogy between nominative case and indicative mood.

²⁷⁵ See e.g. Jannaris §1901-7 (and also his Appendix V sections 3ff, where he struggles with the formal divisions into moods and the functions common to the various forms); Smyth §1769ff (ranging from assertions to doubts), Goodwin §391.2 and 3; or Schwyzler (1950) 344ff.

²⁷⁶ For example, a look at examples for μή + indicative (as a variation on μή + subjunctive) in KG ii 394 (§553b6) reveals not a general indicative use, but the overwhelming use of the perfect to replace subjunctives etc. in μή clauses after verbs of fearing.

2.2.1 below. If we move from modal uses of indicative perfects in independent simple sentences to those linked paratactically, again we find the recurring use of perfects, especially in paratactic conditions, identified with comic drama already by Wackernagel (see 4.7). In such cases there is no subordinating conjunction, and this may explain the avoidance of the subjunctive which came to be a sign of subordination;²⁷⁷ the effect of two 'independent' phrases linked by nothing other than position is in these cases a sought effect, consciously constructed. Moving from paratactic dependence we consider the use of perfect *indicatives* in subordinate clauses, the few cases where the text has a conjunction, such as ὅτε or ἐλ, followed by the perfect indicative. Not always, but often, the meaning is a generalization, which is apposite to one of the semantic values of the perfect aspect in its finite forms. These and other perfects in subordinate clauses are listed and discussed in §4.

With respect to mood (and to aspect) it is obvious that the traditional division into categories of the verb is counterproductive if one has no regard to the interplay between the different categories. Their interplay is not only manifest in the usage, but it seems that the links between mood and aspect are bound up in the prehistory of the perfect. My thesis does not address this question in detail, but it is important to recall especially with reference to §4. Sihler (1995) §410 divides Proto-Indo-European verbs into stative and eventive inflections. This implies that the difference in form (stem and ending) at some stage in the development of Greek reflected a difference in the procedural nature of the verb, namely states or actions. The impact of this division is not merely formal; for example, eventives manifested a voice contrast, but states did not: the systems were not equivalent in terms of categories. In §415 Sihler discusses another difference: he refers to evidence (§533) that the subjunctive and optative moods (and possibly imperatives) were limited to eventive verbs. I shall not pursue these theoretical points, but a reference to this discussion (for Indo-European) puts my own observations for Menander (in Greek) into a more general framework.

²⁷⁷ See Hermann (1895), and Calboli (1966).

I cautiously suggest that there may be a correlation between the historical distinction of the stative and eventive verbal systems and the consistently defective mood paradigm in the perfect in classical Greek. This absence of non-indicative forms in the perfect system in turn puts a heavy load on the functions of the indicative. The presence of perfect indicatives with illocutionary force and in sentence-patterns where oblique mood-forms are normally found may be explained in part by this absence and partly by semantic elements inherent in the perfect aspect, such as duration into the present, and generality.

2.1.4 temporal value

In 1.3 above I introduce the various time values borne by verbs in the perfect, which include *pro futuro* and *pro praesente*. The former are determined by the context, and are few. The latter are mainly idiomatic, and for completeness I list them below. There are nine different verbs used by Menander in such a way, and most of these are among the earliest perfects attested in classical Greek (see 1.7.4): ἀνοίγω, ἀπώλλυμι, γίγνομαι, δίδω, ἵστημι, θνήσκω, κράζω, παραπώλλυμι and πάσχω. Although the variety is small, there are almost one hundred passages in which they are used, so they still represent about 22% of all occurrences of the perfect in Menander. For references, see Appendix Ia.

2.1.5 adverbial modifiers

Less than ten per cent -- 42 -- of the more than 430 occurrences of the perfect appear with temporal adverbial expressions.²⁷⁸ The use of adverbs with a relatively small percentage of perfects in Menander suggests that the perfect form alone is sufficient for bringing across the nuances which are characteristic of it, or discrete from other forms (viz. present on the one hand, narrative pasts on the other). This interpretation of the low frequency of explicit temporal modifiers supports the description of the perfect as a marked tense in such oppositions (see 1.4). However, the figures for the perfect cannot

²⁷⁸ Asp. 13, 343; D. 72, 100, 126, 168, 554, 602, 695 (two adverbs), 722, 822, 864, 918; Ep. 351, 416, 419, 869, 1108, 1121; Kol. 89; Mis. A32, 204, 286; Pk. 267 (two adverbs), 347 (two adverbs), 354, 509 (two adverbs), 533, 1018, 1021; Sam. 54, 334, 436, 555, 620; Sk. 126, 261 (two adverbs); fr. 33.1; 352.1; 409.2; 523.1; 664.1. Adverbs are found with the following perfects which are not in the text: Kol. [93]; Pk. [823]; Sam. 416; fr. [396.2]. Four perfects possibly but not certainly are accompanied by temporal adverbs: Kol. [63]; Sam. [248]; Sk. 82 (context is missing), 126 (not according to Sandbach's speaker division and my interpretation).

be taken on their own; they have more significance when compared with the presence and absence of these adverbs with the primary or the narrative tenses. It is generally held that adverbs have orientations to particular Aktionsarten, aspectual forms reflecting them, and/or tenses:²⁷⁹ namely that some adverbs tend to be compatible with inherently durative verbs or those whose imperfective aspect is highlighted, while others are more compatible with inherently punctual verbs or those whose perfective aspect is highlighted, etc.; with regard to time, some adverbs are more compatible with primary tenses and others with secondary tenses. Among the adverbs to be discussed below this is mainly correct, although some show more flexibility than others, and adverbs such as ἄρτι cannot be distinguished in this way, because they simultaneously emphasize elements of the 'then' and the 'now', elements of a past event and of a present state. Because the manuals and lexica of classical Greek are wanting in data on the orientation of individual adverbs, such a comparison necessitates an examination not only of the use of these adverbs with the perfect (section **A** for each adverb), but of the other syntactic environments, at least of these same adverbs (section **B**). Once it is ascertained by comparison whether or not the adverb used with the perfect in each passage is compatible with that adverb's regular use, or whether it is exceptional, we can ask whether such an adverb is performing some significant role in the passage where it does appear with the perfect, and what this affirms about the defined conception of the perfect.

Already Rutherford (1881) 200f, in a brief but perceptive and sensitive comment on a perfect treated by Phrynichus in *Ecl.*xcv, mentions the use of adverbs normally accompanying aorists. He first draws a distinction between the older classical Greek perfect and the perfect as we know it, e.g. in English. The adverbs he names as incompatible with the 'old' perfect are ἤδη, πολλάκις, πω, πρόποτε. When found with perfect forms, he says, these approach the perfect as we know it in English. This implies for Rutherford a change in the function of the perfect which he detects through what he calls the 'misuse' of the adverb. Mandilaras (1972) 266 has defined the use of

²⁷⁹ Those scholars anchoring their analyses in contexts are more cautious of making exclusive or typical identifications of this type. I refer in particular to Weinrich (1973) 263ff who is careful to use only relative terms ('favoriser/défavoriser', 'attiré' etc.) when associating adverbs with tenses; however he does reveal some interesting patterns for French.

certain adverbial expressions as an important criterion in identifying perfect forms used as aorists in later Greek. In subsequent studies McKay (1980) 31-2 and Fanning (1990) 300ff both criticize the overuse and exclusive use of such a criterion, ministering a variety of illustrations and *caveats*. I agree, in particular since a purely mechanical reading of the temporal use of adverbs and of tense forms of verbs can prove very misleading. *νῦν*, for example, does not necessarily denote the present, just as *φησι* in narratives need not refer to the present. The difficulty is compounded by the absence of a systematic study of adverb use in classical Greek.

Unlike Rutherford or Mandilaras, I do not focus on the issue of 'perfect for aorist' but rather on the variety of values of the perfect, temporal and otherwise. Temporal characteristics at times are linked to the inherent meaning of a verb form and at others depend on the broader syntax and context, for example in a subordinate clause or participial equivalent, or in a main clause with contextual or dialogic dependence. In passages where the sequence of events has some importance, independent sentences following one another may be put into a temporal hierarchy with the help of adverbs.²⁸⁰ In other statements which are self-contained and do not refer to some temporal context or hierarchy, the adverb may be used to highlight the recentness of a state or an action.

Additional uses of adverbial expressions, which transcend the temporal reference, must be noted. Although they do not contribute to our understanding of the temporal values of the perfect, they may be compatible with some other nuance of the perfect, and in any case they cannot be overlooked in an examination of adverb use:

1) *Semantic* uses of adverbs are linked historically with the functions of preverbs.²⁸¹ This is manifested in forms such as *πάλιν*, which can be used with *simplicia* (or compounds) in the way 'come back' is equivalent to 'return' in English. This may be loosely compared with the semantic use of *μεταξύ* with the *simplex* *λαλέω* to form the expression corresponding to the English compound 'interrupt'.

²⁸⁰ For example contrasts between 'then' and 'now' (see especially the sections on *ἀρτίως* or *νῦν* below).

²⁸¹ See Strömberg (1946) for a discussion of preverbs, with focuses, however, on their composition with adjectives rather than verbs.

2) Adverbial expressions may be used to emphasize *logical* connections between phrases and sentences in ways analogous to particles. This is illustrated by *νῦν* in a transition from one state to another; for example general to specific, *irrealis* to *realis*, negative to positive, or narrative to deictic.²⁸²

3) Finally, adverbial expressions may be used for *affective emphasis*, and in this function they are not distinctly temporal or logical, modifying rather the sentence at large, and not a particular component of it.²⁸³ One example is the use of adverbs such as *νῦν*, *ἔτι*, *ἤδη* and *ποτε* in commands as 'prods', and to add an urgent tone.²⁸⁴ In this use such adverbs are affiliated to futures and quasi-futures ('futures') in the sense that these are forms in which commands etc. occur; the temporal function, however, is not in focus here, as in the other instances of adverbs whose affective function is emphasized. Another example is *πάνιν*, used in emotionally charged sentences, often with other signs of exclamation such as oaths.

In practice, then, adverbial forms do not function only as modifiers of the verb, but also in ways analogous to particles, preverbs, conjunctions, and interjections in logical and affective roles.²⁸⁵ On the one hand I study the adverbs modifying the action of the verb, and more specifically the temporal character of that action; on the other hand, I try not to ignore the other uses of these same forms, even at the cost of digressing. I include and discuss these forms as a means of keeping the temporal value of temporal adverbs within the wider context, and to keep the other uses in mind.

My parameters for the adverb are quite broad, including expressions which combine the indeclinable form and the function of modification of the verb.²⁸⁶ I do not include

²⁸² Compare also *πάνιν* in reciprocal transitions from one subject to another (cf. *μέν...δέ*) or connecting a term in a series of like terms (cf. *καί*); or *ἔτι* in counterfactual clauses.

²⁸³ The use of the connective particle *καί* to modify the sentence at large is similarly distinguished by Trenkner (1960) 31f, note 2, from *καί* modifying the verb. Pinkster (1972) discusses in chapter 10 the use of adverbs as 'connectors' and identifies Latin 'connector' adverbs.

²⁸⁴ Compare also with *θάρρον*. In his monograph on Latin adverbs, Pinkster (1972) 40 speaks of the notion of *adverbia hortativa* (recognized already by ancient grammarians, but which he sometimes questions). See also Trenkner (1960). For Greek particles see Denniston (1966) 13-14 (*ἀλλά* in commands and exhortations), and 125 (*γέ*).

²⁸⁵ See Pinkster (1972) for the nexus of these forms and their functions, especially §8.2 on interjections and adverbs.

²⁸⁶ In this I follow Pinkster (1972) 17f and 42f, who follows roughly the criteria of Priscian.

temporal phrases falling within the broadest definition of a modifier,²⁸⁷ such as temporal and other subordinate clauses, which are syntactic constructions in their own right.²⁸⁸ By the same token as I try to remain within the forms that are defined as adverbs, I try also to limit my term to temporal function, and do not discuss here adverbs of intensification or attenuation (2.2.2).

In order to find out if the use of adverbs in passages with perfects can instruct us about values of the perfect in Menander, it seems worthwhile to compare the adverbs in these passages with the general use of these same adverbs. Ideally, Menander's usage should be compared with as wide a sample as possible, preferably consisting of drama, prose dialogue (Plato) and orators, and optimally with general classical Greek usage. Unfortunately, lexical and grammatical material on typical tenses, constructions and proposition types used with individual adverbs in classical Greek is not always forthcoming,²⁸⁹ or not sufficient or consistent. Information or comment on clause types typically hosting the individual adverbs is even rarer. The notion that adverbial expressions tend to be compatible with certain tenses, aspects, or verb types (classified by a combination of meaning and procedural traits) and incompatible with others, is accepted by some and at least taken into consideration by many; although these are not students of classical Greek, I am guided by their premises and methods.²⁹⁰ In modern grammars of ancient Greek, the role of the adverbs in signifying time is anticipated in the pragmatic method of Gildersleeve and some theoretical observations of Schwyzer (1950). Gildersleeve explicitly mentions certain adverbs in his definitions of specific uses of tense forms. They help him identify and define temporal values and Aktionsarten of certain aspectual forms, and they figure in his examples. In his introduction to the tenses, (1950) 269f, Schwyzer reminds the reader that the stem bears only aspectual, not temporal meaning, and that it is the indicative forms which give the temporal information. After distinguishing between the stem in general and the indicative forms, Schwyzer adds

²⁸⁷ As described in Pinkster (1972) chapter 6, and Binnick (1991) 300f.

²⁸⁸ For these, see 4 below. For a more elaborate account of perfects modified by subordinate clauses, see 2.2.1 below.

²⁸⁹ NT Greek and later Greek are better provided for in this respect.

²⁹⁰ E.g. Weinrich (1973) chapter 9.II for tense in Romance languages, or Fanning (1990) *passim* for NT Greek aspect.

that among the indicatives, this applies more strongly with preterite, augmented tenses (and the future). Schwyzer quite categorically asserts that the indicatives of the present and the perfect contain no indication of time.²⁹¹ On this point, and specifically its extreme tone, I am not in full agreement with Schwyzer, and I bring it here only as the context within which he refers, quite correctly, to a use of the adverbs ignored or underemphasized by other grammarians of ancient Greek. Schwyzer suggests that this time element, missing or very weak in present and perfect forms, may be expressed by adverbial expressions ('Adverbia oder Adverbialen'), and among his examples he mentions *νῦν* and *ἄρτι*, which I have found with the perfect in Menander (as well as *τότε* and *ἀεί*, which I have not). This is an important point, but to say that such a use of the adverb is 'similar to the augment', as he goes on to say directly, is misleading. On the one hand, Schwyzer does not mention in this context the many and varied non-temporal values and uses of adverbs such as logical connections and affective tone²⁹² (which may be expected in genres such as dramatic dialogue) -- these could occur with the present and perfect without indicating a time;²⁹³ on the other hand, he leaves the casual reader with the impression that the sense of time is conveyed either in the augment or in some explicit formal sign such as the adverb, and that without e.g. an adverb, there is no temporal value to the present or perfect indicative. The evidence, at least from Menander, contradicts this.²⁹⁴ But, although Schwyzer's presentation of the use of the adverb in indicating time is somewhat misleading, (and although he fails to mention the distinction between adverbs in main clauses and adverbs in subordinate clauses), his observation is highly noteworthy, and only highlights the shortcomings in this area of Greek grammar. My brief analysis of the general use of the individual adverbs used with

²⁹¹ In his words: "keinerlei Tempuszeichen enthalten" (II.269).

²⁹² He does of course discuss these and other non-temporal functions of adverbs in his general outline on the uses of adverbs (II.414).

²⁹³ Cf. the many forms of intensification studied, e.g. by Thesleff for Plato, in a dialogue form with affinities to Menander in this respect.

²⁹⁴ For the 'habitual' present with *πολλάκις* or *ἀεί* Fanning (1990) 214f shows counter-examples without adverbs, conveying analogous meanings. This underscores the optional nature of the adverbial usage. Unfortunately, besides this NT study, and Pinkster (1972), a general study for Latin (itself too theoretical and not entering into register or literary considerations), we have no body of material already studied and available for comparison. Individual comments may be found on adverbs of sudden and unexpected nature in Lazzeroni (1957), on adverbs of countable action in Armstrong (1982) and on *πολλάκις* and *ἄρτι* in Ruijgh (1991).

perfects in Menander is made in order to compare the use of the adverb modifying a perfect with the common uses indicated for that adverb.

In Menander we find the following adverbial expressions used with perfects (given in alphabetical order): ἄρτι/ἀρτίως, ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἐξαίφνης/ἐξαπίνης, ἔτι, ἐχθές, ἤδη, ἐν ἡμέραι μιᾷ, μεταξύ, μυριάκις, νῦν, ὄρθριον, πάλαι, πάλιν, πέρυσι, πλεῖν ἢ πεντάκις, πολλάκις and derivatives and combinations of some of the above. This involves more than just the four adverbs cited by Rutherford (albeit in a different context), and their function in most cases is certainly not to create a synthetic 'aorist' value.

I shall examine each adverb in turn, and give my conclusions in **2.1.5.17**.

2.1.5.1 ἄρτι/ἀρτίως

LSJ 1, s.v. include ἀρτί as used of the present with perfects, in contrast with πάλαι, and say that in later Greek it comes to equal νῦν. Conversely (2, s.v.) ἄρτι may be used of the past with imperfects and aorists, in contrast with νῦν. In addition (3, s.v.) ἄρτι may be used with imperatives and other equivalents of the future, to mean 'just now', 'presently'.

A: ἄρτι/ἀρτίως with perfects

ἄρτι/ἀρτίως occurs five times in Menander with verbs in the perfect: D.554, 695; Mis.204, 286; Sam.436. In three of these passages, the perfects are from verbs occasionally found in the perfect elsewhere *pro praesente*;²⁹⁵ in the remaining passages²⁹⁶ the adverb gives an explicit indication of the recentness of actions expressed in a full-fledged perfect. In illustration I cite the passage at Sam.436:

(Νικ.) τὴν Χρυσίδα/ ἐξελήλακ' ἐνδοθέν σου, φίλταθ', ὁ πατήρ ἀρτίως. '(Nik.) Your father has just thrown Khrysis out of the house, buddy.'

Unlike παραπόλως at D.695, for example, which bears a present value, the perfect of ἐξελαύνω here is not in the perfect by idiom. Rather, ἐξελήλακ' in this passage has signs of the newer so-called 'resultative' perfects; most obviously, it takes a direct object (τὴν Χρυσίδα). Still, ἐξελήλακ' is not used to replace an aorist; rather, one of the

²⁹⁵ παραπόλως D.695 (see also νῦν at **2.1.5.10**); γέγονεν Mis.204 (the context of which is too fragmentary to contribute to a judgment of the function of the perfect); εἰσελήλυθ' Mis.286.

²⁹⁶ D.554, with τεθύκαμεν and Sam.436, discussed next.

values of the perfect is to focus on the recentness of a past action or its result, and this value of the perfect is reinforced by the use of the adverb of recent action here. I may add that in this particular passage the emphasis on recentness has dramatic importance: the sentence is a response to the amazed questions of the ignorant Moskhion. Nikeratos is divulging fresh news; its incongruity with what Moskhion knew before makes it dramatically important.²⁹⁷

None of the five instances of ἄρτι/ ἀρτίως with the perfect are in subordinate clauses. But closer examination reveals that at least two of these are responses in quick dialogue or antilabe (D.554; Sam.436), so that even when there is no subordination there is a broader syntactic, logical or discursal dependence.

B: ἄρτι/ ἀρτίως elsewhere in Menander

An examination of the overall use of ἄρτι/ἀρτίως in Menander offers the following findings: this adverb privileges verbs in secondary tenses; among primary tenses with ἄρτι are the five with perfects (specified above), two with presents bearing the older stative value of the perfect,²⁹⁸ and one possible future.²⁹⁹ Eleven of the finite verbs qualified by ἄρτι/ ἀρτίως are in a secondary tense (as opposed to the seven or eight with primary tenses), with no distinct preference between aorist and imperfect.³⁰⁰ Of these eleven instances, ἄρτι comes with a past in a clearly subordinate construction seven times.³⁰¹ Of the four which remain,³⁰² two are responses and one is parenthetical; although in their formal structure these are not subordinated, nor are they independent.

²⁹⁷ For the mode by which question and answer give first the general nature of some pivotal event, and then a dramatic announcement of it, see my discussion of the introductory dialogue in Euripidean messenger-speeches. See also § 5.

²⁹⁸ νοῶ at Ep.515f and κατανοῶ at Sam.522 (both in responses in antilabē, connected with γάρ).

²⁹⁹ At Kith.[64] the adverb is not clearly attested; furthermore, it is unclear whether ἄρτι is oriented to the future in the apodosis of the future-more-vivid condition, as Sandbach prints it, following Wilamowitz (ἀν δὲ μὴ τύχη/ ὦν ἔνδο[ν, ἄρτι] πρὸς ἀγορὰν πορεύσομαι), or whether ἄρτι goes with the protasis, as suggested in GS *ad locum*. In any case, this passage cannot be cited as a firm attestation for an early example of ἄρτι with the future, considered a later Greek construction.

³⁰⁰ What may be noted however is the recurrence of action verbs (vs. states): **Aorists** Asp.[330] (ὁ ὑπείπας); Ep.436 (παρ'οὐ παρέλαβον), Ep.936 (ἐξῆλθον); Sam.263 (ἐξῆλθον), Sam.541 (κατέλαβον + accusative participle), Sam.684 (τουτὶ παρέλιπον). **Imperfects** D.216 (ὅπερ ἔμελλες), 891 (partitive, ἔπασχες); Pk.331 (ἔφησθα + Acl); Sam.212 (ἐγίγνετο); . Sk.349 (partitive, ἔλεγον).

³⁰¹ Asp.330; D.891; Ep.436; Sam.263; Sk.349. Two more are parenthetical phrases in relative clause form: D.216 and Sk.212.

³⁰² Ep.936 (answer in antilabe, connected with ἀλλά); Pk.331 (but some words at the beginning are missing); Sam.541 (response to 'what happened?') and 684 (explanatory parenthesis). A textually unclear passage, not contributing much, occurs at Ep.883.

One ought to keep in mind that the figures are all low, so a majority of eleven (secondary) : seven (primary) is of little consequence on its own. However, the seven (or eight) primary forms are mainly with a past action implied, and are perfect in either form or value. The typical environment³⁰³ for ἄρτι/ἀρτίως in Menander is with verbs in past tenses, subordinate for the most part to a future context.³⁰⁴ The seven occurrences of ἄρτι in subordinate clauses with secondary tenses do not numerically add up to more than the seven occurrences of the adverb in main clauses with primary tenses, but the subordinate status of the former is more firmly established than the independent status of the latter. Moreover, we have not taken into account the instances of ἄρτι/ ἀρτίως with participial phrases which are equivalent to subordinate clauses:³⁰⁵ it is difficult to decide on form alone whether or what sort of time relation is being drawn in such passages. I briefly observe however the future context in Asp.139, and contemporaneous relative time of the phrases with ἄρτι at Sk.207 and Sam.432. (The passages are interpreted in the previous note.) In Pk.175 it is unclear whether the adverb modifies the finite verb or the participle (or both).³⁰⁶

One important use of ἄρτι/ ἀρτίως which is not represented in the passages where this adverb accompanies a perfect, but which is worth noting here, is its use in contrasts between 'then' and 'now' (LSJ 2, s.v. ἄρτι). In such antitheses of time, adverbs work for either side of the contrast. An example of ἄρτι/ ἀρτίως to underline the 'then'³⁰⁷ (with νῦν in the 'now') is found at Pk.347:

ἀρτίως μὲν οὐ[κ ἀλ]ηθές, νῦν δὲ λεαλίη πάλιν. '(Moskhion to Daos): Lies a minute ago, now your babblings make some sense.'

³⁰³ If we take into consideration the options main clause primary tense / main clause secondary / subordinate clause primary / subordinate clause secondary. The grid formed by this would show (respectively) 7 / 4 / 0 / 7.

³⁰⁴ Asp.330; D.216, 891; Ep.436; Sk.349. Subordinate to present contexts are Sam.212 and Sam.263, where the adverb comes in a subordinate clause with a verb in a past form, but a durative or recent nuance.

³⁰⁵ Three accompany present participles, representing imperfects, with a main verb in a primary tense: Asp.114 (ἐστι > ≈ ὅς πάντα ἀνέκρινε ἄ.), Asp.421 (syntax shared with interlocutor: ...τέθνηκε:: ≈ ὅς ἐλάλει ἄ.); Sk.207 (ἀκήκοα > ≈ ὅτε ἔλεγε ἄ.). Two accompany aorist participles: Asp.139 (βουλήσεται > ≈ ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε ἄ. or ἐπειδὴ ἀκούσῃ ἄ.) and Sam.432 (εἶπεν > ≈ ὅτε περιέτυχεν ἄ. μοι...).

³⁰⁶ Pk.174ff: (Sosias) κατέλιπον προύμενον/ ἄριστον αὐτοῖς ἄρτι, καὶ συνηγμένοι εἰς ταῦτόν εἰσιν οἱ συνήθεις, τοῦ φέρειν αὐτὸν τὸ πρᾶγμα ῥᾶιον. P.Heid. 219 has γαρτι.

³⁰⁷ Cf. Asp.330, (vs. νῦν 'now'); Pk.172. Compare also Ep.435f (vs. πάλιν), with subordination rather than coordination.

An example of ἄρτι/ ἄρτίως to underline the more recent past (the 'now')³⁰⁸ (with εὐθύς in the more distant past ('then')) is Sam.411ff:

(Νικ.) ἐμβροντησία/ ἄλλ' ἔστ' ἐκεῖνος ἡδύς. οὐκ ὠργίζετο/ εὐθύς; διαλιπὼν δ'; ἄρτίως; '...Sheer lunacy! But Demeas is an easygoing chap. He wasn't angry at first, was he? Only later on? Quite recently?'

In the first example the verb implied with ἄρτι is some form of λαλέω, but not necessarily the perfect. In the second example it is difficult to infer.

The use of ἄρτι with perfects is confined formally to main clauses, although with other forms it is frequent in subordinate clauses or equivalents.

2.1.5.2 ἐξ ἀρχῆς

This adverbial expression, associated with remoteness of action or its inception, emphasizes ongoing effect and totality.³⁰⁹ There is only one example used with the perfect in Menander, in the passage quoted below, where it probably qualifies the perfect in the subordinate relative clause, D.822:

ἐπακήκο' ὑμῶν ἐξιὼν πρὸς τῇ θύρᾳ/ ἅπαντας οὖς εἰρήκατ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς λόγους.
'(Gorgias) [*entering from Knemon's house*]: I heard your whole conversation, right from the beginning, from the doorway on my way out.'

The few remaining passages with this adverbial expression in Menander do not contribute much to our general understanding of its usage.³¹⁰

2.1.5.3 ἐξαίφνης/ἐξαπίνης

This adverb is associated with suddenness of action, but LSJ do not discuss the tenses it accompanies. KG ii 82 Anm.4 list this along with other adverbs which are used with *participia conjuncta* (including genitive absolute), to render a more precise time-relation.³¹¹ Lazzeroni (1957) discusses the aspectual orientation of adverbs of sudden action; there ἐξαίφνης figures several times, but his data do not include Menander. Lazzeroni's data (p.90) clearly show that ἐξαίφνης and related expressions are most strongly affiliated with the aorist (in his survey of classical Greek authors, there are 90

³⁰⁸ Cf. Sam.263. (At Sam. 725 εὐθύς does not imply 'then', but the speed of that action.)

³⁰⁹ For a discussion of the present tense for a 'past still in progress', see Fanning (1990) 217f, where he gives examples with ἤδη and ἀπ'ἀρχῆς, among other expressions.

³¹⁰ Once in a past context, with an aorist in a relative clause (Asp.87), once in an apodosis of a future temporal sentence (Thphr.1.2), and two passages from fragments without a clear time frame or sufficient context (fr.152.3; 759.1).

³¹¹ Note that their examples involve *aorist* participles (Pl.Grg.523e and Cra.396b).

examples of such expressions with verbs in the aorist, as opposed to 11 each with verbs in the imperfect and perfect).

A: ἐξαίφνης/ἐξαπίνης with perfects

Menander has two instances of this adverb with the perfect, one with the form ἐξαίφνης at Asp.343:

(Δα.) τέθνηκας ἐξαίφνης· βοῶμεν "οἴχεται/ Χαιρέστρατος"... 'Then you're suddenly dead. We shout, "Khairestratos is gone",... ' (N.M.).

and one with the form ἐξαπίνης (not found in Tragedy) Sk.260f:

"ταυτὶ συμπέποιθ', ὥς οὔτοσὺ νῦν ἐξαπίνης εἴληφε διαθήκας ποθέν..." "'So I'm to believe that this man has suddenly now got hold of a will from somewhere"...'(translation mine -- with illocutionary interpretation of a statement -- cf. N.M.'s equivalent with a deliberative question).

In neither passage is the immediate context set in the past. In Asp.343, Daos is planning the deceit by which Smikrines' designs are to be foiled. He describes the scenario and allots each participant a role. In fact, the perfect, in the broader future context, functions here *pro futuro* (1.3.2). In Sk.260f, there are two observations particular to the passage; first, the adverb is repeatedly used within a short space,³¹² and in addition, it is used in *oratio recta* where other perfect forms feature (see 5.4.3 below): In this *oratio recta* it exits the narrative frame and the past time-line. For the perfect in subordinate clauses, see 4.5 below.³¹³

The suddenness of the action places focus on the details of manner rather than the time of the action.³¹⁴ εἴληφε in Sk.261 is a punctual event, but the procedural nature of τέθνηκε at Asp.343 is less obvious and this difficulty is reflected in the translation. The standard meaning of τέθνηκε is 'he is dead', a state. Although on the face of it a state would not be considered logically compatible or idiomatically normal with such an adverb, in this particular passage it may be precisely the adverb which emphasizes the change in state, or suggests a punctual act.³¹⁵

³¹² Other occurrences of this adverb in the passage are at Sk.219, 259, and 274.

³¹³ And cf. ἤδη conjectured with perfect in a subordinate clause at Sam.248 (2.1.5.6).

³¹⁴ Although it is compatible, for example, with the punctual Aktionsart.

³¹⁵ If the perfect is *pro futuro* it no longer necessarily has a stative value, and is therefore more readily compatible with an adverb used with punctual actions.

B: ἐξαίφνης/ἐξαπίνης elsewhere in Menander

Other Menandrian passages featuring this adverb do come in past contexts, and imply relative recentness when occurring in apodoseis of temporal clauses, but also sudden action or change (with *praesens historicum*);³¹⁶ there is no single prevailing pattern, and the examples are too few,³¹⁷ but note the correlation between low focus on temporal value, and low incidence of this adverb in subordinate clauses. The Aktionsart of the verbs modified by ἐξαίφνης in Menander is often punctual,³¹⁸ and although their action is not transitive, it does reflect change.

2.1.5.4 ἔτι

This adverb is associated with the ongoing effect of an action. LSJ list uses with present, or in past mostly with imperfect (giving presumably anomalous examples with aorist, Pl.Prt.310c (etc.) and with perfect 'already', Pl.Men.93a6). It is also used in commands or questions to emphasize urgency or impatience.

A: ἔτι with the perfect

The verb in fr.352.1 has a perfect form, but functions as a present (ἔστηκας):

<οἶμοι>, τάλαν· ἔστηκας ἔτι πρὸς ταῖς θύραις/ τὸ φορτίον θείς; 'Oh dear! You're still standing by the door, though you've put your burden down.'

Because of the use of emotional expressions and an indignant question, I am inclined to attribute some affective force to ἔτι in this passage.

B: ἔτι elsewhere in Menander

The remaining examples of ἔτι from Menander are also predominantly found in present contexts³¹⁹ (many with a negative, and most in an independent sentence, but in

³¹⁶ For *praesens historicum* of a sudden action, in conjunction with an adverb of suddenness, cf. also Asp.49 (ἄφνω...ἐπιπίπτουσιν).

³¹⁷ In apodoseis to temporal ὥς-clauses: Sam.543 (aorist > aorist); Sk.219f (aorist > [*praesens historicum*]). In an extension to an apodosis of a general condition (with present indicative): Asp.219. With *praesens historicum* in narratives (in independent sentences): Ep.487; Sk.259. The remaining passages are insufficient in context, or the verb is missing from the text (Kol.33; Sam.207; Sk.274), and in one the adverb is not fully preserved in the text (Sam.[215]).

³¹⁸ E.g. κατέπεσεν, προστρέχει, παραπηδάι. θύουσι at Asp.219 is only apparently durative: it is here in the negative (οὐκέτι) which gives it punctuality.

³¹⁹ Namely Asp.219, 395 (ὥστε + infinitive); D.84, [240], 346, 504, 583, [599], 752, 955; Ep.434, 518 (participle); Mis.264 (infinitive); Pk.817; Sam.680; Sk.401; fr.100.3, [198.7] (participle); fr.527.1. Present implied at Sk.372 (antilabe). Imperfect at D.121, 686 (ἐδυνάμην, a modal verb!). Aorist at Asp.[457]. Future at D.512, [692]; Pk.824, 717; Sk.366.

dialogue). The past is found with certainty in two passages only. This adverb is also used with commands and prohibitions, and with questions, where it adds an expression of urgency, with indicative forms and with other moods.³²⁰

2.1.5.5 ἐχθές

Although this adverb appears only once with the perfect, at Mis.A32, it is a noteworthy passage because such adverbs denoting a specific point of time (in the past) seem on the face of it to be incompatible with the traditional conception of the aspectual viewpoint embodied in the perfect form.³²¹ I quote the passage from Mis.A31f:

ἐχθές γὰρ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν/ ἐλήλυθας τὴν ἡμέτεραν σὺ διὰ χρόνου. 'You only got back home yesterday after a long absence.'

The use of the perfect must be considered together with the meaning and Aktionsart of the verb in this particular context. Here it expresses punctual change, and is bounded by the complement εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν.

Unfortunately, Menander does not offer much material for comparison elsewhere. There is one other passage where this adverbial expression is used with sufficient context, with the past.³²²

2.1.5.6 ἤδη

This is one of the four adverbs mentioned by Rutherford in his comment on perfect for aorist. In this sense (and in others), it is retrospective, and occurs for example with idioms of age already reached. Aside from temporal reference, it tends to occur also with expressions of necessity, underscoring urgency or impatience.

A: ἤδη in the perfect

ἤδη is not found on its own with a perfect in Menander in any textually reliable passages: Sam.[248] offers ἤδη, a reading of Sudhaus, which Sandbach adopts. But in addition to the uncertainty of the reading of the adverb here, the syntax is not preserved in full; we have a contrast between the past and the present, but the leading verb in the present is

³²⁰ With commands and prohibitions: Asp.202; D.316; Pk.336. Implied: Pk.319; Sk.348. In questions: D.504, 955; Sam.680; Sk.401. With potential optatives at Ep.715, 720; Sk.271. With subjunctive in the protasis of a future-more-vivid condition: Ep.544, [1069]; (other subjunctives D.268; fr.177.4).

³²¹ Cf. also ἐξαίφνης, πέρυσιν, ὄρθριον and ἐν ἡμέραι μιᾷ.

³²² At Ep.383 (ἔπινον, also with πάλαι). The passage at Sk.308 is defective; too much of the context is missing.

missing, leaving only the ἐπεὶ clause which includes the adverb, accompanying a perfect.

Sam.245ff:

"ὦ τάλαιν' ἐγώ,
πρώην τοιοῦτον ὄντα Μοσχίων' ἐγὼ
αὐτὸν ἐτιθηνούμην ἀγαπῶσα, νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ
παιδίον ἐκείνου γέγονεν ἤδη καὶ τόδε" (at which point the text
breaks off). '(Nurse) "Dear me, it seems only yesterday that I was cuddling and
nursing Moskhion, just like this, and now that his son has been born..."

The perfect in this passage does show some of the features recurring with perfects, for example *oratiorecta*, or the propensity for the perfect form of γίγνομαι meaning 'to be born' (see 2.3.5 below). Note that the perfect with the conjectured adverb comes here in a subordinate clause.³²³ It is also consistent with the recurrence of ἤδη with descriptions of age 'already' reached.³²⁴

Fr.[396.2], where K-T read Hermann's emendation ἤδη -- none of the three versions handed down from antiquity offer this adverb -- is a problematic passage. The verb immediately following the adverb, if it is to be read, is an aorist (ἡιτήσατ'); the perfect is joined by a connective (ἢ κέχρηκεν):

ἤδη τις ὑμῶν παιδίον/ ἡιτήσατ' ἢ κέχρηκεν, ἄνδρες γλυκύτατοι;
'Has any one of you kind gentlemen [ever] borrowed or lent a baby..?' (Edmonds).

This sentence, expressing generality (τις), with the speaker addressing the audience, falls within a pattern of sweeping statements, implying 'ever', often expressed in Greek by ποτε or one of its derivatives.

The adverb ἤδη is not found in Menander on its own³²⁵ with the perfect (apart from the possible reading and the emendation discussed above, respectively).

B: ἤδη elsewhere in Menander

The single occurrence of ἤδη with an aorist in Menander is in an extreme expression, at Fr.63.1, with πώποτ'. The other instance of this adverb with a secondary tense is at Fr.437.1, with a pluperfect form bearing in this verb a simple preterite value (ἐστήκεσαν). ἤδη overwhelmingly accompanies main verbs in primary tenses.³²⁶ At

³²³ Cf. e.g. perfect with adverb (ἐξαπίνης) at Sk.261 above.

³²⁴ D.946; Her.28 in Menander.

³²⁵ For Pk.267, also with πολλάκις see 2.1.5.16.

³²⁶ 32 times with primary tenses and 6 with no verb, but implying primary time.

D.430f (ἥδη τεθυκέναι/ ἡμᾶς ἔδει), it is unclear whether the adverb refers more closely to the adjacent perfect infinitive, to the main verb, imperfect in form but not in the actual past, or perhaps refers in some degree to both. Analogy with other passages in Menander suggests that the adverb is most strongly linked with ἔδει; first, because of the relatively rare connection of the adverb with perfect forms, and, more importantly, the frequent use of ἥδη with expressions of necessity. Ten Menandrian passages feature ἥδη in commands, exhortations, or other expressions of necessity.³²⁷ This use is reminiscent of the use of ποτε with imperatives to express urgency (see LSJ III.2); more generally, in affective language, which is frequent and natural in drama, it is not unusual to find adverbs and particles as 'prodders', reflecting the urgency or impatience of the speaker (see 2.1.5 paragraph 3).

Aside from the recurrence of ἥδη with expressions of necessity, as discussed above, this adverb generally in Menander tends to recur in main clauses, with primary tenses, and more specifically, with futures. In addition to the ten 'quasi-futures' of necessity, there are three instances with future indicative, as well as four with presents with future meaning.³²⁸

In Menander overall, ἥδη is used in main clauses overwhelmingly (40 times out of 43), and in subordinate clauses only two or three times.³²⁹

In conclusion, I would like to place the two passages in which ἥδη possibly accompanies a perfect within a comprehensive understanding of the use of this adverb (at least in Menander). In its appearance with the perfect, ἥδη does not reflect the typical overall usage of Menander: what can be salvaged of the context of Sam.[248], i.e. the fact that the adverb accompanies a subordinate verb, shows that this is a rare instance of the use of this adverb in subordinate clauses. The use of ἥδη elsewhere with the future or 'future'

³²⁷ ἥδη comes with imperatives at D.848 and Sam.370 (implicit, in antilabe); with a hortatory subjunctive at D.957; with a verbal construction at Ep.982, and δέι, χρή, ἀνάγκη and other impersonals at Asp.374; D.E.29; D.229, 379 (also with infinitive), 697, 873.

³²⁸ Future indicatives: Grg.76; Sam.324 (implied, in antilabe), 718. Presents with future meaning: Mis.237; Sam.154, 193, 390. (Sam.[694] is not included).

³²⁹ Once conjectured with a verb in the perfect at Sam.248, discussed above, and twice more, at Asp.6 (ᾧμιμν>future infinitive), and at Ep.163 (future>subjunctive in an indirect deliberative). Not in subordinate clauses, but in dependent participial phrases, it is used a further 4 or 5 times (D.162; Ep.421; Pk.131 (perfect active); Sam.157; fr.87.3 (perfect active)).

is paralleled in Greek at large, but in Menander this use far outweighs the retrospective use found in Greek in general (as reported in the grammars and lexica).

2.1.5.7 ἐν ἡμέραι μιᾷ

This adverbial expression denoting a specific time duration has one notable example with the perfect in Menander, in a main clause, at D.864f:

ἐν ἡμέραι μιᾷ κατείργασμαι γάμον / <ὄν> οὐδ' ἂν εἷς ποτ' ὤιετ' ἀνθρώπων ὅλως. 'In one single day I've achieved a marriage that no one would ever have thought possible!'

This perfect does not express a state; it is a transitive event verb bounded by a direct object, with a non-durative Aktionsart ('punctual'), of the type more often found in the aorist aspect, but gradually found with perfects as well. In this passage the action of the verb in the perfect is rendered specific by the adverbial expression and contrasted with the general statement (in the imperfect).

2.1.5.8 μεταξύ

A: μεταξύ with the perfect

This adverb is used twice in the same extended passage in sentences where there are perfects. At Sam.423 μεταξύ is used in contradistinction to the phrase with the perfect (see B below). At Sam.415 the affiliation of the adverb is less precise. I quote the passage at large, from Sam.412ff:

(Νικ.) οὐκ ὠργίζετο
εὐθύς; διαλιπὼν δ'; ἀρτίως; (Χρ.) ὅς καὶ φράσας
εἰς τοὺς γάμους μοι τᾶνδον εὐτρεπῇ ποεῖν
μεταξύ μ' ὥσπερ ἐμμανῆς ἐπεισπεσὼν
ἔξωθεν ἐκκέκλεικε.

'(Nik.) He wasn't angry at first was he? Only later on? Quite recently? (Chr.) Yes. He'd told me to get the house ready for the wedding, and then, when I was up to my eyes in it, he burst in like a maniac, and he's locked me out of the house.'

In this passage Khrysis emphasizes the sudden,³³⁰ unexpected change in Demeas' behaviour. Strictly speaking the adverb may modify the *participium conjunctum* (in the aorist), as Norma Miller's translation implies. However, one cannot disregard the

³³⁰ Another adverb expressing suddenness which is used with a perfect by Menander is ἐξαίφνης (see 2.1.5.3 above).

possibility of taking both *μεταξύ* and *ἐπεισπεσών* as expressions modifying the punctual, bounded action -- the sudden and unexpected expulsion (*μέ... ἐκκέκλεικε*).³³¹

B: *μεταξύ* elsewhere in Menander

This adverb is used twice more in Menander: at Ep.248 in a protasis to a future-more-vivid condition, where it seems to function on the semantic level, rather than temporally relating the action of the verb with another action in the wider context.³³² At Sam.423, *μεταξύ* modifies a genitive absolute phrase which is equivalent to an imperfect temporal clause; in this passage (as at Sam.415) the adverb is used to set up an ongoing situation (a background event in a narrative) into which another event suddenly 'lands' (note that this main clause has a verb in the perfect) Sam.423f:

μεταξὺ τῶν γάμων πορευμένων/ συμβέβηκ' οἰωνὸς ἡμῖν ἄτοπος. 'Right in the middle of the wedding preparations, something very unlucky has happened.'

2.1.5.9 *μυριάκις*

Menander uses this adverb of frequency compatibly with a perfect form (perfects may be used with general or timeless reference, or uncountable action),³³³ at D.917f:

(Kn.) οὐδέν ἐστιν./ (Sik.) οὐκ ἔστιν; (Kn.) <ἀλλ'> ἀκήκοας *μυριάκις*. '(Kn.) I haven't any of these things. (Sik.) Haven't any? (Kn.) I've told you so a thousand times!' (N.M.).

This may be compared with the use of the perfect of an action which has been repeated often or is typical, expressed by the 'countless' agent of the action, *μυρίοι*, at Sam.485f.

2.1.5.10 *νῦν/ νυνί*

Although there are some examples of *νῦν* used with secondary tenses to express the immediate past, (LSJ 2, *s.v.*), and with the future indicative to express the future (LSJ 3, *s.v.*), the basic time reference of *νῦν* is the present. This is the view of KG ii 116 (§498.1). When *νῦν* is used with past forms it marks them as prospective (i.e. modal forms). It is also used in temporal antithesis, where it stresses relative time, sometimes in subordinate clauses, but mainly in coordinated main clauses. In addition to strictly temporal uses of this adverb, it is used in logical transitions (*irrealis* to *realis*, general to

³³¹ The effect of the close proximity of *με* to *μεταξύ* in this sentence strengthens this interpretation.

³³² *ἐὰν λαλήῃς μεταξύ, τῇ βακτηρίᾳ/ καθίζομαι σου.* (λαλήῃς μεταξύ = 'interrupt').

³³³ Cf. *πολλάκις*, *πλεῖν ἢ πεντάκις*, discussed below.

specific, narrative to deictic etc.), which are conceptually related to and idiomatically derived from temporal terms. Finally, *νῦν* is used affectively as a 'prod' in commands etc. These uses are all found in Menander.

A: *νῦν* with perfects

νῦν accompanies 23 of the perfects found in Menander, namely the perfects at Asp.13; D.100, 126, 695 (with ἀρτίως), 722; Ep.351, 416, 869, 1108, 1121; Kol.89; Pk.347 (with πάλιν), 533, 1018, 1021; Sam.334, 620; Sk.82, 261 (with ἐξαπίνης); fr.33.1; 409.2; 523.1; 664.1.³³⁴ A closer look at the passages leads to several observations:

a) Very rarely do the perfects modified by *νῦν* take a direct object (where the emphasis is not on the subject).³³⁵ In fact, many of the perfects modified by *νῦν* either emphasize the resulting state and not the action,³³⁶ or are formed from stative verbs, some with purely present value.³³⁷ In the case of perfects whose resulting state is emphasized, the adverb *νῦν* helps to highlight the present state, which is inherent in the perfect form; see for example Pk.1021, where Pataikos says to Polemon:

νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἡμῖν γέγονεν ἀρχὴ [πραγμάτων]/ ἀγαθῶν τὸ σὸν πάροινον.
'Why, now your antics have become the beginning of good for us.'

γίγνομαι at times refers specifically to an action of becoming or being, and at other times, as here, to the present state resulting from a [past] becoming. In fact γίγνομαι is often used with emphasis on the resulting state (which explains the frequent appearance of this verb in the perfect). The perfect ἀπόλωλα and its compounds are so often used with emphasis on the state, that the perfect has become almost idiomatic; in such a case, *νῦν* would not be needed to emphasize the present state denoted by this verb, and indeed from among the fifteen occurrences of this verb in the perfect, the only passages with *νῦν* are at D.695 and Pk.1018.³³⁸

³³⁴ In addition, note D.643 (periphrastic) and Sk.97, where the text is damaged, so some missing element may change the sentence.

³³⁵ Such as εἶληφε διαθήκας (Sk.261) or εὔρηκα (Ep.869) (direct object implied in context) and εὔρηκεν ἕτερον (fr.409.2).

³³⁶ E.g. δέδωκε (D.722); σέσωκεν (Ep.351); ἀπῆλλαχα (Ep.416); ἀποσέσωκεν (Ep.1108); λελάληκας (Pk.347); ἀπολελόγηται (Sam.334); λέληθας (fr.33.1). Naturally also passive ἀνῆρπασαι (Asp.13).

³³⁷ With ἔστηκα (D.100; fr.664.1). Cf. ἀπόλωλας (Pk.1018); παραπόλωλας (D.695); γέγονε (Ep.1121; Pk.533, 1021); ἐξέστηκα (Sam.620).

³³⁸ ὁραῖς; ἀκαρῆς *νῦν* παραπόλωλας ἀρτίως. and Ὑπολλων, ὅς καὶ *νῦν* ἀπόλωλα πα[ρ] ὀλίγον].... In the latter passage, the *νῦν* has another role, setting this clause in the 'now' vis-à-vis a future main clause. See below for more on this use of *νῦν*.

b) 90% (18/23) of perfects modified by *νῦν* are not in subordinate clauses.³³⁹

c) In almost 25% (6/23) of passages where the perfect is used with *νῦν*, some sort of *transition* is markedly expressed, partly through the use of the adverb.³⁴⁰

νῦν with *δέ* is most commonly known for its use after counterfactual conditions, explicitly marking the transition in the argument from *irrealis* to *realis*.³⁴¹ The Menandrian example of *νυνὶ δέ* used in such a way is with the perfect at Sam.334; the counterfactual condition begins at Sam.330ff:

εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἢ βουλόμενος ἢ κεκνισμένος
ἔρωτι τοῦτ' ἔπραξεν ἢ μισῶν ἐμέ
ἦν ἂν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς διανοίας ἔτι θρασὺς
ἐμοὶ τε παρατεταγμένος. νυνὶ δέ μοι
ἀπολελόγηται τὸν φανέντ' αὐτῷ γάμον
ἄσμενος ἀκούσας.

'For if he'd done this from malice aforethought, or in the grip of the passion of love, or from dislike of me, he'd still be brazening it out and marshalling his forces against me. As it is, he's cleared himself completely, in my judgment, by his enthusiastic agreement to this marriage, when it was proposed to him.'

νῦν figures in some form or other in other logical transitions not formally identical to, but comparable with, the transition from *irrealis* to *realis*, including the transition from a previous intention or expectation to the current reality.³⁴²

The *temporal sequence* is emphasized in the transition from 'then'>'now' through the use of *νυνὶ δέ* at Ep.1121. I quote 1118ff:

τότε γὰρ οὐμὸς δεσπότης
τοῖς Ταυροπολίοις, Σωφρόνη, ταύτην λαβὼν
χορῶν ἀποσπασθείσαν -- αἰσθάνει γε; νή,
νυνὶ δ' ἀναγνωρισμὸς αὐτοῖς γέγνε καὶ
ἅπαντ' ἀγαθά.

'Last year at the festival, my master took the girl away from the dancing -- get me? Yes, and now they've recognized one another, and all is sweetness and light.'

The finite verb in the 'then' phrase (*τότε...*) is intentionally omitted by Onesimos, but is probably some preterite or an equivalent.

The passage below illustrates a transition from a narrative past to a deictic present, a temporal transition from past to present is implicit in a shift from a narrative to the time of

³³⁹ *νῦν* accompanies four perfects in subordinate clauses: D.100; Ep.351; Kol.89; Sk.261. I do not include as subordinate Pk.1018, which is an example of 'relativischer Anschluß' (see 2.2.2, and 4.1).

³⁴⁰ Asp.13; D.100, 722; Ep.869, 1121; Sam.334.

³⁴¹ See Wakker (1994) 153-154 on the role of *νῦν* as explicit marker.

³⁴² Asp.13 (ὥμην > *νυνὶ δέ*); D.722 (ὥτόμην... > μόλις δέ *νῦν*); Ep.869 (προσποιησάμην...ἔν' εὖροιμ' > *νῦν* εὖρηκα.).

the narrator, and the shift is made from the forms aorist as a secondary tense > perfect as a primary tense. The transition may also be perceived on the level of discourse. I quote D.98f:

προήλθε μοι
 γραῦς τις κακοδαίμων, αὐτόθεν δ' οὗ νῦν λέγων
 ἔστηκε' ἔδειξεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ λοφιδίου
 ἐκεῖ περιφθειρόμενον ἀχράδας, ...συλλέγοντα

'...A miserable old crone answered [the door], and from the very spot where I stand speaking to you now, she pointed him out, trailing along on that hill there, collecting wild pears...'

The transition is structured as a parenthesis within the narrative, typical in such cases.³⁴³

B: use of the adverb νῦν with other verb forms:

νῦν elsewhere in Menander typically modifies verbs in primary tenses, reflecting the general norm in Greek (see e.g. LSJ s.v.). Specifically, in Menander νῦν is used seven times to modify a verb in a secondary tense,³⁴⁴ while I have found 128 passages in which this adverb comes with a present, a future, or an equivalent to the future ('future'); together with the 23 perfects, this makes for the wide ratio of secondary tenses to primary tenses accompanied by νῦν in Menander (151:7). Closer inspection further reduces the true secondary forms with νῦν: four of the seven prove to be secondary only in form: ἔμελλε + infinitive (Asp.137); ἔδει + infinitive (D.238f); ἐχρήν + infinitive (Pk.992 and Sam.499). Although their contexts are set in the past, these expressions convey intention and necessity (modal verbs), which are prospective rather than retrospective. Closer scrutiny of the few passages quoted by KG similarly dispels the impression of a significant use of νῦν with secondary tenses.³⁴⁵

νῦν is typically used with primary tenses, and in independent sentences rather than subordinate clauses. Specifically it occurs only 10% of the time in subordinate clauses (24/158).³⁴⁶ These proportions are the same as those which apply to νῦν accompanying perfect finite forms (see A:b above).

³⁴³ See 4.1.4; 5.4.1.

³⁴⁴ Asp.137, 176; D.238f, 7715; Pk.127, 992; Sam.499.

³⁴⁵ KG ii 116 (§498.1): Compare their example Dem.29.9 νῦν... αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ διδάξειν ἐμέλλομεν. The examples from Homer give aorists which might have appeared in somewhat later Greek in the perfect, e.g. ἐνίκησεν at Il.3.439.

³⁴⁶ The 24 occurrences of νῦν in subordinate clauses (or other dependent constructions, mainly participles) are: Grg.18, 86; D.25, 288, 382, 538, 730; Ep.1.2, 269, 295, 328, 356, 464, 522, 572,

Closer inspection of the sentences and contexts reveals that about one third of the 93 independent sentences featuring *νῦν* are in some way affective: twenty-one help to express commands or necessity,³⁴⁷ and fourteen others are in some way affective (with exclamatory or deliberative questions);³⁴⁸ the adverbs in many of these instances, and especially in the commands, convey the urgency or impatience of the speaker, and are used in drama and other literary forms of dialogue when a natural effect is sought.³⁴⁹

Where *νῦν* is not used for affect, often it marks a transition of some sort, either temporal or logical.

Not unlike ἄρτι, *νῦν* may be used in a temporal transition in either 'side' of a contrast: it can represent the later stage ('now') in a contrast between 'then' and 'now' e.g. Sk.246ff:³⁵⁰

"Σικυώνιος τὸ πρότερον εἶναι προσεδόκων
καὶ γὰρ· πάρεστι δ' οὗτοσί μοι νῦν φέρων
μητρὸς διαθήκας καὶ γένους γνωρίσματα..."

"I used to think that I was a Sikyonian. But this servant here [*indicating* Pyrrhias] has just brought me my mother's will, and tokens of my birth..."

Alternatively, *νῦν* can represent the earlier stage ('now') in a contrast between 'now' and 'later' e.g. D.541:³⁵¹

"τί οὖν.../ ...ποῶμεν; αὔριον τηρήσομεν/ αὐτόν, τὸ δὲ νῦν ἐῶμεν;" "So what do we do now? Look for him tomorrow and call it a day now?"

In both passages above, temporal adverbs in the other 'side' of the 'then'/'now' divide (τὸ πρότερον and αὔριον) enhance the antithesis of time. In comparable passages, the use of an adverb is more consistent when 'now' is contrasted with 'later', and in fact the

1128; Kith.101 (genitive absolute); Pk.269, 495; Sam.318, 420, 523; fr.186; 503. I did not include here D.158, which is more precisely 'relativischer Anschluß'.

³⁴⁷ Asp.331; D.69, 133, 160 (with πάλιν), 541, 856, 859; Ep.307, 373, 1104, 1111; Mis.256, fr.4.1; Pk.310, 345; Sam.349; Sk.397; fr.63.2; 319.1; 679.1. And probably Ep.[498].

³⁴⁸ Asp.209, 221, 250, 352; D.190, 457, 610, 630; Ep.439, 493; Her.25; Pk.352, 522; Sam.494.

³⁴⁹ Note also in general the recurring use of *νῦν* in *oratio recta*: D.538, 541, 729; Kol.51; Pk.1006; Sam.247; Sk.247, 261 (with ἐξαπίνης).

³⁵⁰ Other passages where *νῦν* marks the 'now' side of a 'then' and 'now' antithesis or transition: D.509 (present), 729 (ø); Ep.fr.1.2 (present participle); Her.27 (present participle); Kith.fr.1.6 (present); Pk.491 (ø); Sam.238 (ø), 247 (missing), 378 (ø); fr.303.3; 303.3; 303.4 (all ø). In the passages where I added ø, a verb (in a primary tense) is implied rather than expressed. *νῦν* at Sam.210 is not included here, because the transition of general to specific is much more strongly felt than any temporal transition.

³⁵¹ Cf. *νῦν* in the following: Asp.94 (with future+infinitive); D.133 (imperative), 358 (present), 541 (deliberative); Ep.378 (future), 412 (present), 552 (hortative subjunctive); Sam.450 (present).

adverb in the passage above, αὐριον, recurs in several of the parallels.³⁵² In passages of the type exemplified by Sk.247 above, where there is a contrast or transition between 'then' and 'now', this contrast is not so consistently represented by adverbs in the simple way shown for the antithesis of 'now' and 'later' such as D.541. The antithesis between 'then' and 'now' is achieved by a permutable combination of adverbs and/or change of tense. It is necessary to show this by quoting more fully some of the parallel passages given in the note to Sk.247.

In two of the passages a shift from secondary tense (no adverb) to primary tense with νῦν is sufficient, namely at Ep.fr.1.2, and at Her.27 which I quote from 23ff:

(Δα.) ἐγένετο τούτῳ δίδυμα.../ ..., ἥ τε Πλαγγών.../ ...τὸ μαιράκιόν θ', ὁ Γοργίας./ (Γετ.) ὁ τῶν προβατίων ἐνθάδ' ἐπιμελούμενος/ νυνὶ παρ' ὑμῖν; '(Daos):He had twins... Plangon... and the boy, Gorgias. (Get.) Is that the boy who works with your folks now as a shepherd?'

The broader context is clearly narrative, and perhaps in such contexts less of a need was felt for an explicit adverb placing it in the past.

At Pk.491 the antithesis is marked by a bare secondary tense for the 'then' phrase, and νῦν without a verb for the 'now' phrase.

ἤρεσκες αὐτῇ τυχὸν ἴσως, νῦν δ' οὐκέτι. 'Perhaps she liked you then, and doesn't any longer.'

Notice that the antithesis is not exclusively temporal: there is also a logical transition between a previous misconception and the present (corrected) conception.³⁵³

2.1.5.11 ὄρθριον

This adverb of a specific point in time accompanies the perfect in Menander at D.70:

(Χαιρέας) καὶ νῦν γε δεῦ/ ταῦτα διακοῦσαι πρῶτον ἡμᾶς, (Σωσ.) ὄρθριον/ τὸν Πυρρίαν τὸν συγκυνηγὸν οἴκοθεν/ ἐγὼ πέπομφα -- '(Kh.) And now we must hear all about the problem. (Sos.) As soon as it was light, I sent Pyrrhias my huntsman out...'

³⁵² Specifically at D.133, 541; and Ep.378. Other adverbs of future time in such passages are ὕστερον (D.358), and τότε (Ep.552). εἴτ' may itself refer to subsequent time at Asp.94, and Sam.450 is the only passage where the 'later' side of the antithesis is implied only in the future time of the verb, with no adverb -- and of course by contrast with νῦν.

³⁵³ Cf. Kith.fr.1.6.

Like other passages in which adverbs of a punctual time modify perfects, this reflects an infrequent use, and the verb is neither stative nor durative, but has a specific object (i.e. it has a 'punctual' Aktionsart).

2.1.5.12 πάλαι

πάλαι is associated with remoteness of action (defined 'long ago' by LSJ I s.v.), sometimes lasting into the present. Some of LSJ's examples are with verbs in the perfect, and this temporal quality (durativity) is compatible with the inherent Aktionsart of many verbs in the perfect, but the remote past is not. When it is negated (οὐ πάλαι) it becomes analogous to other expressions of recentness which **are** compatible with the perfect. πάλαι modifies verbs in a way comparable to certain uses of ἐξ ἀρχῆς on the one hand, and of ἤδη on the other.

A: πάλαι with the perfect

This adverb is found modifying a perfect only once with certainty, at Her.71:

ἄ καὶ ποιήσω καὶ δέδοκται μοι πάλαι- 'What I shall do, what I've long made up my mind to do -'

πάλαι is also possibly used with perfects at Sam.54, D.[885] and Kol.63. The three passages are problematic: in the first it is not certain that the adverb directly or exclusively modifies the main verb εἴληφα, in the second the perfect is supplied and not in the text, and in the last the adverb is unclear in the papyrus.

At Sam.54 τὸ παιδίον γενόμενον εἴληφ' οὐ πάλαι, the translation is difficult: The logical connection with the *participium conjunctum* can be temporal ('The baby's been born, and I've acknowledged it not long ago.'), or it may imply consecutive and causal links ('Now that the baby's been born, I've recently acknowledged it.'): in both these instances, an attempt is made to attach the force of 'οὐ πάλαι' to the 'main' verb εἴληφα. Alternatively, the adverbial expression may be taken with the *participium conjunctum* and implied by extension to the perfect finite form, as Norma Miller does: 'The baby was born a few days ago and I formally acknowledged it as mine.' In any case, this example illustrates a frequent problem in assessing the specific force of an adverbial expression.

D.885 reads πάλαι δ[έδοκται. There is a wide consensus favouring this reading, but unfortunately this passage cannot be admitted as evidence for πάλαι with the perfect.

At Kol.63, the papyrus (P.Oxy.1237) is difficult to read at just the point where the perfect ends:

ἐ]μβεβρόντησαι πάλαι. Since the left side is missing from the papyrus beginning at line 55 (and in the following lines at varying degrees), we are in the dark about the structure of the sentence at large.

The adverb πάλαι at D.78 is contiguous to the verb τεθαύμακα, but may be taken to modify the subordinate clause, as indicated in the context and shown by the translation 78ff:

καὶ τὴν διατριβὴν ἣτις ἔστω αὐτοῦ πάλαι
τεθαύμακα· εἰρήκειν γὰρ εὐθὺς οἴκαδε
αὐτῷ παρεῖναι πυθομένῳ τὰνταῦθά μοι.
'...I can't think what's keeping him. My instructions were to report straight back home to me, when he'd found how things stood out there.' (N.M.).

B: πάλαι elsewhere in Menander

The scant evidence for πάλιν with the perfect does not lend itself to a comparison with the general use of this adverb, although semantically it seems compatible with the perfect. The data I give below on πάλαι with other verb forms are included for completeness rather than as a direct contribution to the understanding of the perfect.

The adverb πάλαι tends to come in sentences where the verb is in the present; I found 11 examples.³⁵⁴ Many of these verbs bear a meaning or an Aktionsart which is compatible with the basic meaning of πάλαι: they denote ongoing states or durative actions.³⁵⁵ Note also πάλαι at D.565 with οἶδα and at D.776 with φρουδοῖ...εἰσιν. At D.555, although the adverb comes on its own as a one-word response in quick antilabe, the context clearly implies ἔστι. This adverb is much less frequently used in Menander with secondary tenses (three times).³⁵⁶ Again, the imperfect aspect of ἐπινοῖ expresses a durative viewpoint of the act of drinking, compatible with the basic meaning and Aktionsart of this adverb, and the aorist form at Pk.146 of a punctual event is compatible with the negative οὐ πάλαι, which expresses recentness (≈ ἄρτι).

³⁵⁴ Grg.17; D.206, 585, 615; Ep.fr.3.1, 854; Kol.45; Mis.312; Pk.391; Sam.675; Sk.205. Note however that at Ep.fr.3.1 and Kol.45 the adverb does not refer to the action in the main clause. In the other passages it is also not always easy to determine precise or exclusive affiliation.

³⁵⁵ States: e.g. ὀκνῶ (Grg.17) or βοηθῶ (Sk.205). Ongoing actions: e.g. διατρίβω διακονῶν (D.206), ἐπιμένεις (Pk.391), or περιμένουσι (Sam.675).

³⁵⁶ Ep.383 (imperfect, with ἐχθές); Pk.146 (aorist, negative); F.I.45 (aorist).

At D.615 πάλαι may refer to almost any of the elements, or to the sentence as a whole:

εἰμὶ γάρ, ἀκριβῶς ἴσθι, σοὶ πάλαι φίλος/ πρὶν ἰδεῖν. '...For your friend I've been, I assure you, for ages before we met.'

2.1.5.13 πάλιν

In defining πάλιν, LSJ give the meaning 'back' as an adverb of place, often with verbs of coming (I s.v.), and 'again', 'once more' as an adverb of time (II.1 s.v.). In addition are uses of logical types other than time: reciprocation in the concrete sense with verbs of giving (I.1 s.v.) or abstractly to express contradiction (I.2 s.v.). This seems to me related to LSJ's definition 'in turn' (III s.v.), which suggests not only sequence, but contrast. I also observe that πάλιν is prospective, and may occur in future contexts. Finally, an affective or emphatic force may be seen in passages where it is felt to modify the sentence at large.

A: πάλιν with the perfect

Five times πάλιν accompanies verbs in the perfect:

(1) D.167f: οἱμοι, πάλιν τις οὕτοσι πρὸς ταῖς θύραις/ ἔστηκεν ἡμῶν. 'Heavens! Here's another one, standing right beside the door.'

(2) D.602: εἰς]πεπήδηκεν πάλιν. 'He's gone rushing in again.'

(3) Pk.347: ἀρτίως μὲν οὐκ ἀληθές, νῦν δὲ λελάληκας πάλιν. 'Lies a minute ago, now your babblings make some sense.'

(4) Pk.354: πάλιν πέπομφε τὴν χλαμύδα φέροντά με/ καὶ τὴν σπάθην, ἵν' ἴδω τί ποιεῖ καὶ λέγω ἐλθών. 'Back again I'm sent with cloak and sword, to see what's doing, then go and report.'

(5) Sam.555: πάλιν πέπληχε τὴν θύραν. 'There's the door again.'

In all these passages, πάλιν comes with the verb -- only (4) is part of a complex sentence, but there too the adverb clearly accompanies the main verb. In passages (2,4, and 5) πάλιν is used in the most literal sense, namely 'again', qualifying the action as a recurrence. In this sense the expressions imply that they are subsequent to an earlier action; in other words there is a nuance of relative subsequence. It must be noted, however, that in addition to a temporal reference πάλιν makes in these passages, it is used in an exclamatory environment, to which it may contribute, and which is compatible

with the perfect form. πάλιν in (1) illustrates this well, and I quote the passage more fully from D.164ff:

πέφευγα δὲ
διὰ τοὺς παριόντας. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοὺς λόφους ἄνω
ἤδη διώκουσ'. ὦ πολυπληθείας ὄχλου.
οἱμοι, πάλιν τις οὐτοσί πρὸς ταῖς θύραις
ἔστηκεν ἡμῶν. '

'I've abandoned [this piece of land] because of the traffic. But now they're following me up to the tops, hordes of them. Heavens, here's another one, standing right beside the door' (N.M.).

Norma Miller's translation suggests that πάλιν here describes τις οὐτοσί. This may well offer a successful English rendering, but we must not rule out the possibility that in Greek πάλιν is conceived with the verb; in fact it opens the phrase and may be used to set the general tone.

B: πάλιν elsewhere in Menander

πάλιν is used 67 times elsewhere in Menander.³⁵⁷ Defining or detailing the strictly temporal character of the action of a verb is not one of πάλιν's major functions. This is suggested already in the variety of uses defined by LSJ. The nuances LSJ identify are corroborated in Menander's use of this adverb.

Before giving examples, I must stress that, as with all adverbs, the position of πάλιν in the sentence is quite free, so if πάλιν is not adjacent to the verb, it is difficult to determine whether it specifically defines the verb or goes with the whole sentence (as it does at Sam.275).³⁵⁸ A further complication presents itself in the disyllabic form (cf. παλαι), which draws half of all occurrences of πάλιν in Menander (37/72) to verse-end,³⁵⁹ sometimes separating the adverb from the verb to which it belongs.

I now turn to a survey of the uses of πάλιν in Menander, which offer parallels to the uses listed by LSJ (but which I organize differently below).

³⁵⁷ This figure includes Pk.364], a supplement which seems quite secure.

³⁵⁸ πάλιν δ', ἐπειδὴν τὴν λέγουσαν καταμάθω/ τίτην ἐκείνου οὖσαν, εἴτ' ἐμοῦ/ λάθραι λέγουσαν, εἴτ' ἀποβλέψω πάλιν/... This is analogous to the clarifying or rhetorical repetition of ἄν when it occurs in the sentence once near the beginning of the sentence, and then adjacent to a term it is especially modifying. See KG i 246f for discussion and examples of repeated ἄν.

³⁵⁹ Asp.38, 523; D.22, 256, 285, 445, 804, 810; Ep.256, 289, 350, 435, 612; Her.29; Mis.38, 171, 304; Pk.168, 347 (with νῦν), [364]; Sam.80, 277, 581, 681, 686; Sk.123, 245, 259; Ph.59, 61; fr.213.4; 269.2; 309.4; 402.2; 435.1; 451.15; 740.11.

1) At least ten qualify verbs of coming and going. *πάλιν* in such expressions functions as a synthetic equivalent to a preverb.³⁶⁰ Some of these are found with *simplicia* of verbs of motion,³⁶¹ but also with compounds.³⁶² Note the recurrence of the preverb *ἀνα-*, for which see LSJ F s.v. (in composition), meaning 'repeated' (3) and 'back' (4).³⁶³

2) *πάλιν* is used in Menander with other verbs to denote 'again', 'another time' less idiomatically, with any action verb. *πάλιν* in the phrase *ἐποίμαινον πάλιν ἔωθεν* (Ep.256) suggests the herding that took place previously, as explicitly stated by Daos at Ep.243:³⁶⁴

...ἐποίμαινον τριακοστὴν ἴσως/ ...ταύτην ἡμέραν αὐτὸς μόνος/... '...about a month ago I was herding my sheep..., not a soul in sight...'

In other passages, without explicit mention of the previous occurrence, *πάλιν* is used to mean 'again'.³⁶⁵

3) As already suggested above, it is not in every sentence possible to affiliate an adverb specifically with the verb when the adverb has bearing on the sentence in general; this often applies when adverbs realize their affective or logical uses rather than their temporal uses. I limit myself to a short mention of instances of *πάλιν* decidedly referring to a subordinate action, either in a subordinate clause, such as *πάλιν* at Ep.350:³⁶⁶

...καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς ζητεῖς λαβεῖν/ ἴν' ἀσφαλέστερον πονηρεύσῃ πάλιν...
'Are you trying to get your hand on him, too, to make your next attempt at crime safer?...'

³⁶⁰ Compare the relationship between the forms 'return' and 'go back' in English.

³⁶¹ E.g. D.428: (γραῦ, τὴν θύραν...ἄνοιγε μηδενί/) ἕως ἂν ἔλθω δεῦρ' ἐγὼ πάλιν. '(...don't open the door for anyone) until I get back.' Cf. also D.265, 478; Pk.[364]; Sam.547; Sk.123.

³⁶² E.g. Sam.686: γελοῖος ἔσομαι, νῆ Δί', ἀνακάμπτων πάλιν./ 'A fine fool I'll look if I have to do a U-turn.' Other occurrences of *πάλιν* are found at: D.22 (with ἀπῆλθε); D.256 (ἔρχετ' ἀνακάμψας); Ep.578 (ἀναστρέφει...π. αὐτίς); Ph.84 (ἐξῆιξε).

³⁶³ See also Bauer-Gingrich 1., s.v. *πάλιν*: '...pleonastically with verbs already including the concept 'back', such as *ἀνα-* compounds.'

³⁶⁴ A parallel of *πάλιν* referring to an act explicitly mentioned in the context is found at Sk.259, and perhaps also at fr.63.2.

³⁶⁵ Asp.67; D.636; Mis.304; Sam.567; fr.309.4; 451.15.

³⁶⁶ Cf. D.427f: γραῦ, τὴν θύραν κλείσας' ἄνοιγε μηδενί./ ἕως ἂν ἔλθω δεῦρ' ἐγὼ πάλιν. 'Lock the door, woman, and don't open it for *anyone*, until I get back.' At Sam.277 *πάλιν* is positioned with the subordinate clause (ἐπειδὴν) ἀποβλέψω, but its verse-end position hints that it is 'misplaced' (and may be used to introduce a parallel clause, with a 'logical' rather than a temporal use here).

or in a participial phrase with a discrete action subordinated to the main action in the sentence, e.g. πάλιν at Sam.686, equivalent to the protasis of a future-more-vivid condition:³⁶⁷

γελοῖος ἔσομαι, νῆ Δί', ἀνακάμπτων πάλιν. 'A fine fool I'll look, if I have to do a U-turn.'

The important feature these passages share is their future contexts (ζητεῖς λαβεῖν, ἄνοιγε, ἔσομαι, κεύσω) in which they are consistently found; πάλιν is used to refer to a relative subsequent action in a variety of future clauses.³⁶⁸ This leads me to the observation that πάλιν less frequently modifies a verb or a sentence whose verb is in a narrative tense: I found only nine examples (out of a total of 72 occurrences of this adverb).³⁶⁹ None are strictly temporal in the sense of answering the question 'when?', but those accompanying an action in a narrative sequence of events imply relative time,³⁷⁰ others are used semantically,³⁷¹ and one example is used as a logical connector.³⁷²

4) In addition to the simple semantic meaning of 'again' (which implies some previous occurrence), and to the temporal reference which πάλιν bears in expressions of a subordinated action, it has other functions: these stem from its semantic function expressing the recurrence of an action, and an extension from semantic use to the function of logical connectors in contrasts. A complex period will describe a certain action done one way, sometimes by one party, then another way or at other times by a second party. 'Again' is also used in English in a comparable way, but it is worth making the distinction which the shared idiom blurs. Let us illustrate this with the passage where Moskhion enters into detail regarding the friendship of the young girl's mother with Khrysis, at Sam.37:

³⁶⁷ Cf. Mis.171: κελεύσω τοῦτον ἐπὶ δείπνον πάλιν/ τὸν δεσπότην καλέσαντα; The nominative participle at Sam.547 is part of the verbal expression of the action of the subject and not a discrete action subordinated to it (the leading verb is missing). For D.538, see 'logical' use below.

³⁶⁸ Future temporal, final, *participia conjuncta* equivalent to a future-more-vivid protasis, and equivalent to an indirect command.

³⁶⁹ Asp.67 (with imperfect); D.22 (aorist), 113 (*praesens historicum*); Ep.256 (imperfect); Sk.198 (aorist), 259 (*praesens historicum* also with ἐξαίφνης); Ph.84 (aorist); fr.402.2 (aorist); 745.4 (aorist).

³⁷⁰ E.g. D.113.

³⁷¹ E.g. D.22.

³⁷² fr.745.4.

τά τε/ πλείστ' ἦν παρ' αὐταῖς ἦδε, καὶ πάλιν ποτέ/ αὐται παρ' ἡμῖν.
'...[Khrysis] was often in their house, and they'd visit us, too.'

The implied relationship is 'she for one' and 'they for their part'.³⁷³ In a slightly distinct use of πάλιν (which also stems from its lexical meaning), πάλιν has evolved as a logical connector (equivalent to a coordinating conjunction), e.g. at Sam.275ff.³⁷⁴

πάλιν δ', ἐπειδὴν τὴν λέγουσαν καταμάθω
τίτθην ἐκείνου πρῶτον οὔσαν, εἴτ' ἐμοῦ
λάβθαι λέγουσαν, εἴτ' ἀποβλέψω πάλιν
εἰς τὴν ἀγαπῶσαν αὐτὸ καὶ βεβιασμένην
ἐμοῦ τρέφειν ἄκοντος, ἐξέστηχ' ὅλως.

'But then again, when I remember that the woman was once Moskhion's nurse, and that she didn't know I could hear what she was saying; and when I look at Khrysis, who adores the baby and has insisted on keeping it against my wishes -- well, I'm absolutely fit to be tied.'

The construction of the sentence is complicated, and involves a sequence of participial phrases complementing ἐπειδὴν καταμάθω, itself one of a sequence of temporal clauses. This is further complicated by the connection of the first and second participles (οὔσαν and λέγουσαν) by εἴτα, followed directly by εἴτα connecting the second temporal clause (ἐπειδὴν...ἀποβλέψω) with the first. One might argue that πάλιν here helps to disentangle a long, complex sentence.

Somewhat similar to this, in that it connects concepts rather than modifying specific actions, is πάλιν used with an entire sentence, emphatically. An example where πάλιν is best translated as 'indeed' is found at Pk.341:

[νῦν δοκ]εῖς λεγεῖν μοι Δᾶέ τι πάλιν:: 'Now you're talking, Daos!'

It almost does service here for the exclamation point in English.

5) When not acting as a logical connector, in main clauses πάλιν is often used with commands; this is an affective use, and often it will come first in the sentence, e.g. at D.419:

πάλιν αἵρου δὲ ταυτὶ καὶ φέρε/ εἴσω . '...Now pick up all this stuff again and take it inside...'

2.1.5.14 πέρυσιν

This adverb is used in proximity with the perfect in Menander only once, at Sk.126:

³⁷³ Analogous uses of πάλιν are found at D.285; fr.395.5; 745.4.

³⁷⁴ Cf. Asp.349 (in future context with *praesens pro futuro*); D.538 (also with εἴτα); fr.213.4 (last in list of nouns).

(Στρ.) [μὴ γὰρ ἡ μήτηρ] τέθνηκε. (Πυρρίας) πέρυσιν. '(Str.) [I hope it's] not that my mother's dead. (Pyrrh.) Yes. [Died] last year. '

The adverb is supplied by the interlocutor, and as with many instances in antilabe, the verb is not repeated.³⁷⁵ Here is an example of a combination (τέθνηκε πέρυσιν) which probably would not be found in the mouth of one speaker, or where the perfect would not be used if the moment of death implied here were referred to more explicitly. The 'full' version would probably have the verb repeated in the aorist. Stratophanes refers to the mother's state of being dead, while Pyrrhias refers to the inception of this state, i.e. the moment of death (which would be put in the aorist).

πέρυσιν is one of the few adverbial expressions found with or near a perfect that locates the action at some specific point in the past. Elsewhere in Menander the evidence on πέρυσιν is too patchy to be of value in a discussion.³⁷⁶ Note however that it is used again in antilabe in one of the passages in the previous note.

2.1.5.15 πλεῖν ἢ πεντάκις

This expression is in effect equivalent to πολλάκις, discussed below. As an expression of frequency it is compatible with durative verb forms. There is an isolated example of this expression, with the perfect at Ep.419:

τὸν δακτύλιον ὥρμηκα πλεῖν ἢ πεντάκις/ τῷ δεσπότῃ δεῖξαι προσελθών...
'Half a dozen times I've embarked on the business of going to my master and showing him the ring.'

2.1.5.16 πολλάκις

Ruijgh (1991) 219 uses examples with this adverb for the perfect in one of its typical but neglected uses: he calls it 'totalisant-itératif', and it is called also 'komplexiv' by Mayser. This use of the perfect is compatible with other adverbial expressions such as μυριάκις, or πλεῖν ἢ πεντάκις, and of course may be expressed without adverbs.

A: πολλάκις with perfects

This adverb is used in Menander twice with perfect finite forms, not alone but in combination with other adverbs: πολλάκις ἤδη at Pk.267 and πολλάκις πρότερον at

³⁷⁵ See 2.2.2, and 3.2 for omissions of parts of sentences in dialogue.

³⁷⁶ πέρυσιν is found again at Ep.476 (in antilabe, with an implicit present participle or the corresponding imperfect, in a past context), 862 (verb in the past supplemented, text has ἦ[λθες]), and Kol.50 in *oratio recta*, π. ἦσθα coordinated with νυνὶ δὲ πλουτεῖς).

Pk.508-9. In both passages the speaker refers to the past habitual actions of his addressee, either in a recrimination (Pk.267) or in a bid for a favour (Pk.508-9). Reference to the frequency of an action, to its habitual or recurring or general nature, is not incompatible with the perfect aspect (1.4). Note that neither ἀπήγγελλας at Pk.267 nor λελάληκας at Pk.509 are states; but the Aktionsart of both includes duration, and they may come without an object (i.e. their Aktionsarten are closer in orientation to states than to punctual actions).

B: πολλάκις elsewhere in Menander

It is interesting that the few other occurrences of this adverb are with *participiaconjuncta* from *praesens pro perfecto* or perfect stems.³⁷⁷ In effect they are equivalent to perfects in subordinate clauses. It is rare then to find this adverb not in some way affiliated with perfects or presents.

³⁷⁷ Asp.17; fr.87.3 (with πρότερον and ἤδη); 499.3. Aorist indicative at fr.722.5.

2.1.5.17 synopsis and discussion

	PF. 1.	OTHER PRIM ^Y 2.	SEC ^Y 3.	PF. IN SUBORD. 4.	OTHERS IN SUB. 5.	STATE or ACTION 6.
ἄρτι/ἀρτίως 2.1.5.1	5	3	11	0	?7	mixed
ἐξ ἀρχῆς 2.1.5.2	1	1	1	1	1	action
ἐξαίφνης/ἐξαπίνης 2.1.5.3	2	1	4 ¹⁰	1	0	mixed
ἔτι 2.1.5.4	1	25 ¹	2 ²	0	0	n/r*
ἐχθές 2.1.5.5	1	0	1+ ¹	0	0	action
ἤδη 2.1.5.6	0	32	2 ³	0	2	
ἐν ἡμέραι μιᾷ 2.1.5.7	1	0	0	0	0	action
μεταξύ 2.1.5.8	?1	1	1 ⁴	0	1	action
μυριάκις 2.1.5.9	1	0	0	0	0	action
νῦν 2.1.5.10	23+ ³	128	7 ⁵	4	24	mixed
ὄρθριον 2.1.5.11	1	0	0	0	0	action
πάλαι 2.1.5.12	1 ⁶	10	3	1	4 ⁷	mixed ⁸
πάλιν 2.1.5.13	5+ ¹	18 ⁹	9 ¹⁰	0	7 ¹¹	n/r
πέρυσι 2.1.5.14	?0	0	2 ¹²	0	?1	see section
πλεῖν ἢ πεντάκις 2.1.5.15	1	0	0	0	0	action
πολλάκις 2.1.5.16	2+ ²	0	1	0	0 ¹³	dur. action

TABLE 3. SYNOPSIS OF ADVERBS AND THEIR SYNTACTIC ENVIRONMENT IN MENANDER

Notes to table 6: * n/r = not relevant.

+ with a number next to it indicates occurrences among these which are combined with other adverbs.

column 1: perfects with this adverb; column 2: other primary tenses; column 3: secondary tenses; column 4: frequency of this adverb with subordinate perfects; column 5: with other subordinate verbs; column 6: prevailing verb-type (state or action).

1) four are uncertain readings and one is implied. 2) these are modal verbs. 3) D.429 is not included. 4) the participial form is equivalent to an imperfect.

5) 4 of these pasts are with modal verbs! 6) not included are Kol.63 or D.885. 7) including D.78 and Sam.54. 8) ongoing states or durative actions. 9) not including those used as logical connectors. 10) including 2 instances of *praesens historicum*. 11) not including Sam.547, 227; D.538. 12) including Kol.56 and Ep.476, but not Ep.862. 13) see section for some perfect participles with possible subordinate finite equivalents.

discussion

Aside from the obvious finding that νῦν is the adverb most frequently used with a perfect, some other facts may be observed, which are partly represented or summarized

in table 3 above. Of course many of the expressions, taken separately, are too infrequent to lead to any sweeping conclusions. If we group the expressions according to the temporal quality they express, or the Aktionsart with which they are most compatible, we get some composite figures which give a more general picture. I note here the difficulty of avoiding the interference of English usage, and recall that I have tried to base the groups on their Greek usage, as far as I was able to gather it from their definitions and descriptions in Greek lexica and grammars.

1. The first obvious distinction is between those adverbs found with perfects which elsewhere in Menander prefer primary tenses, and those which prefer secondary tenses. Primary tenses in general are preferred with ἔτι, ἤδη, νῦν, πάλαι, and πάλιν. Some of these adverbs are also found a handful of times with secondary forms, but these are often modal verbs, which, taken with infinitives, are prospective rather than retrospective. Since our basic position is that in Menander's time the perfect is still a primary tense, we were not surprised that it is not often found with adverbs which in general prefer secondary tenses.

Only ἄρτι shows the unusual combination of more than marginal use with the perfect on the one hand, and a preference for secondary tenses on the other. However, as discussed in §2.1.5.1, the ratio is not very significant. In fact the flexibility of this adverb (equally frequent with secondary and with primary tenses) and its compatibility with the perfect go hand in hand with the complex temporal, aspectual, and Aktionsart reference of perfects (past action with present ongoing state). Perhaps more anomalously combined with the perfect were the less flexible adverbs, identified more strongly with the past and found only once each in association with perfects; namely ὀρθριον, ἐχθές, and πέρυσι. Singly they are hardly significant, and even taken as a group they produce only two examples clearly linked with the perfect,³⁷⁸ and three firm comparable uses with secondary tenses, but none with other primary tenses.³⁷⁹ Even if we take into consideration that the figures in column 2 (other primary forms with the adverbs) are

³⁷⁸ In §2.1.5.14 I show that in fact πέρυσι is not connected with the perfect, but with an implied aorist.

³⁷⁹ ἐξαίφνης/ἐξαπίνης and ἐν ἡμέραι μιᾷ would add three instances with the perfect, and four with secondary tenses (as well as one with the present).

inflated by inclusion of timeless presents or adverbs not used temporally, we can still safely conclude that aside from ἄπρι, adverbs which as a rule temporally modify secondary tenses are only used closely with perfects twice in Menander, and in both cases the verbs denote punctual bounded actions. These are the only cases where an adverb is possibly used to make it clear that the past action is emphasized more than the present resulting state (see 1.3).

2. The next observation may be flawed by a lack of evidence for the adverbs at large, but even if one focuses on νῦν, one notices the relatively low incidence of adverbs modifying subordinate perfects (10%). The superficial reason for this is the low incidence of perfects in subordinate clauses (see §4); but the low incidence of both may be related to a deeper reason, namely the possibility that the temporal value of the perfect is not very productive in Menander, and by extension that emphasis on the past event is lower than the emphasis on the present state. This will be discussed more carefully in 4.8, but now is the time to generally define the role of the adverb in subordination. A brief comparison of the fourth and the fifth columns in table 3 suggests that in non-perfect subordinate clauses (column 5), the adverb plays a greater role than it does in subordinate clauses with perfects (column 6), but the 47 instances of adverbs in subordinate clauses collected (excluding the perfect) represent only 17% of the 263 adverbs not with perfects.³⁸⁰ The relatively low percentage of adverbs in subordinate clauses (and therefore their high rate in independent sentences) suggests more than one interpretation: a) that adverbs are used not only as temporal markers; b) that dependence and relative time are not necessarily expressed by formal subordination (see 2.2.2 and §4).

3. My final suggestion is that rather than acting as temporal markers across the board (cf. Schwyzer's equating such adverbs with the augment, for example), these adverbs have a range of temporal, semantic, logical and affective uses. Adverbs are not only used with relative temporal force in subordination or coordination, or with absolute temporal force in verbs lacking other temporal markers. Gildersleeve's suggestions, noted above in the introductory section, are validated when we see deceptive combinations of form and

³⁸⁰ And not including those adverbs used substantively etc.

temporal value: adverbs like νῦν and ἤδη are used with presents *pro futuro* and *pro perfecto*; ἔτι for example is used with secondary tenses when they are modal, to give them prospective value; ἐξαίφνης/ἐξαπίνης is used with *praesens historicum* to add punctuality, and by extension to set it in the past.

2.2 other categories

The other categories I shall discuss before moving on to complementation also involve syntax, but in a broader sense than the forms and morphosyntactic categories traditionally associated with the verb. In **2.2.1** I introduce and define the *modes of discourse* used in Menander's comic dialogue along a spectrum spanning from antilabe to prologue. In **2.2.2** I offer a preliminary discussion of the distinction between form and function of *sentence type* as identified by a combination of traditional sentence forms on the one hand and the illocutionary force of their constituents on the other. I then discuss the remaining features and patterns of the different sentence types in which perfects are used. In **2.2.3** I combine considerations of discourse mode, sentence status and sentence type -- especially dialogue, interdependence, and illocutionary force -- in an attempt to analyze the syntactic, transphrastic, and communicative contexts in which perfects (as the dialogue tense-aspect)³⁸¹ are frequently found: I follow more or less traditional sentence types for the organization of the material; 'responses' are not treated as a separate sentence type in this taxonomy: all five sentence types treated offer examples which function as responses. Since 'responses' have an important function and also distinctly typical *syntactic* characteristics and patterns, they are discussed as a group at the end of **2.2.3** (and supplemented with table 6 in Appendix II).

As an apology for what may seem digressive to a disproportionate degree within the framework of a discussion of the perfect, I add to the association of the perfect form with the dialogue two reasons for the detail entered into in the subsections of **2.2**. 1) Typical types of illocutionary force are found in contexts where the perfect is used, and these are better illustrated and analyzed in detail than recognized impressionistically, and 2) the infrequency of perfects in formal subordination (see **4.8**) should not be simplistically correlated with the prevalence of independent phrases as hosts for perfect forms: in a notion of dependence which takes into account communicative interaction, coordination and asyndeton as well as subordination, there is room for a more complex description of the transphrastic dependence in which perfects are often involved. More specifically, it is

³⁸¹ See **1.6**, end, for the notion of the perfect as a form typical of dialogue.

the connections between neighbouring actions and/or states ('transitions'), expressed in a variety of forms, which help to define *relative time*, not only 'temporal' subordination and sequential coordination; on a different issue, the syntactic behaviour especially prevalent in dialogue (such as ellipse) offers a new contribution to understanding the *transitivity* of verbs, itself important in placing Menander's use of the perfect on the spectrum which spans from stative to resultative.

Finally, a better acquaintance with the dialogue mode typical of Comedy may explain mechanisms such as aspect shift in question and answer (2.2.3), and in general a detailed study of a limited sample (such as the perfect finite indicative forms) can bring out the difficulties and questions which will stimulate the criticism necessary for developing a more successful and consistent method of studying formalized conversational Greek as reflected in the stylized forms found in literary genres.

Since context is vital in determining discourse-mode, itself an essential element in the analysis carried out in this section, I shall not include the perfects found in book fragments.

2.2.1 discourse mode: dialogue vs. non-dialogue

To understand and fully appreciate Menander's language one must keep in mind that it belongs to the dialogue mode -- and may be conditioned by it. Andrieu (1952) 25, after presenting the problem of the lack of autographs in ancient literature (and the lack of a system of signs for extra-verbal, extra-textual elements), introduces the dual nature of ancient dialogue: it is either a) within a prose account ('le dialogue en récit'), where insertions such as 'ἔφη'³⁸² connect the conversation to the context, or b) dialogue which constitutes the formal framework itself ('dialogue juxtaposé'). It is the latter type which interests us here, because direct dialogue is the form of ancient dramatic texts (may I add *performed* dramatic texts, in *verse* form), and, in contrast with the 'quoted' dialogues (using ἔφη etc.), the inadequacy of ancient graphic presentation of change of speaker adds another dimension to an already complex problem.³⁸³ The contrast between the

³⁸² and '*inquit*' -- Andrieu focuses on Latin. Had his focus been on Greek he would surely have dwelt on devices such as ὅτι used as a colon.

³⁸³ Just as Andrieu classifies some 'prose' dialogues within 'dialogue juxtaposé', to use his term, e.g. Pl.Leges, or Cic.De legibus, I might add that in Menandrian dialogue we have examples of 'dialogue en

method of insertion and method of juxtaposition leads to the observation that juxtaposition as a general characteristic of scenic dialogue extends also to characterize the syntactic mode prevailing in dialogues. Andrieu goes on to describe the use in 'dialogue en récit' of syntactic mechanisms for integrating the citations (as well as other insertions)³⁸⁴ into the 'récit': indirect free style, relative phrases (for parentheses etc.), and connecting particles are some features he lists. For the 'paratactic' mode in scenic dialogue to succeed, Andrieu assumes that it should be backed up by a good punctuation system signalling interlocutors. I should like to argue that a syntactic style adapted to dialogue can equally provide this support,³⁸⁵ but a syntactic system compatible with such dialogue had not been adequately identified, organized and analyzed when Andrieu wrote his monograph, and his focus was on the development of the graphic signs such as *dramatis personae* and punctuation.³⁸⁶

A basic question that has to be asked is whether or not a passage in which a perfect is found is a passage of dialogue. It is not always easy to identify a true dialogue passage. The nature of a dynamic drama is such that people enter or exit the stage at various times, sometimes unannounced, and the text itself will not always firmly indicate whether a person is alone on stage or not. Further, the speaker may have company on stage, which he may or may not be addressing. One must allow for a variety of modes along a spectrum ranging from a rapid exchange in antilabe form with up to three interlocutors, to sustained soliloquy.

definition of modes of discourse (numbered as in table 4)

1. Formally *antilabe* occurs when delivery is relayed from one actor to another in the middle of a verse. In terms of discourse, it is a type of dialogue; a degree of interaction between the actors is required for them to be considered interlocutors. The ultimate

récit', e.g. the conversation at Sk. 189-279 reported in Blepes' long narration, or in the shorter passage in Pk. This will be discussed in 5.4.3. A separate study of the syntax of dialogues in epigrams (the relevant passages have been collected and interpreted on a literary level by Rasche (1920)), and in the Hellenistic poets will surely be illuminating.

³⁸⁴ References, documents, parentheses, definitions, etc. For specific mechanisms and detailed examples, see Andrieu (1948). It may be obvious that such mechanisms have bearing on genres such as oratory, lexicography, etc., although Andrieu does not elaborate on this.

³⁸⁵ I refer here to one example, the paratactic sequence of two propositions in which the second details, defines, or explains the first, with 'colon' effect (see 2.2.3 below).

³⁸⁶ See GS p.40 in the introduction, and Lowe (1962).

interaction takes place when each of the interlocutors complements the other's part of a shared syntactic construction, especially in constructions which are considered close-knit. The formal definition of antilabe given in the first sentence above is derived from an amalgam of Schmid's comments in the *GGL*.³⁸⁷ In the context of antilabe, some very interesting and highly relevant comments are made on the relation between verse unit and syntactic unit (146f), to which we shall return below. Sophocles is thought to have introduced the use of antilabe as a medium for conveying less formal dialogue; many references to interruptions in the antilabe mode are given at 1.3 p.812 n.10.

Hesychius uses the term ἀντιλαβή with reference to a stichomythic structure made up of a series of half-verses: ἀντιλαβαί· διαλογικαὶ ῥήσεις ἐξ ἡμιστίχων λεγόμεναι κατὰ μικρὸν παρὰ τραγικοῖς.³⁸⁸ This implies a symmetrical structure with a formal rigidity which is not reflected in looser, more inclusive definitions of the form, as applied for example to later Tragedy and Comedy.³⁸⁹ The loose definition is most appropriate with reference to Menander.

The comparative neglect of antilabe may partly be due to its definition among the ancients,³⁹⁰ and perhaps also due to the fact that antilabe has not been recognized as a discrete dialogue mode among the 'canonical' *Bauformen* of Tragedy. Antilabe is not associated with particular functions or recurring contexts to the same degree as stichomythia and the monologue, two forms which have won a place among this 'canon' of *Bauformen* and the voluminous treatment to match. Köhler (1913) still remains the

³⁸⁷ This is a composite of the narrower definition implied in 1.2 on p.135 ("Verteilung eines Sprechverses auf zwei Personen") and the broader definition given in n.2 on p.481, using the terms 'Vers' and 'mehr Personen'. Although the limitation to two speakers reflects the use in many of the antilabai in Tragedy (but by no means all -- see Listmann (1909)), Comic dialogue features many instances of verses shared by more than two interlocutors. The parameter of spoken metre found in Schmid's narrower definition is adopted in my definition, since Menander (with very few exceptions -- see GS p.36) does not use lyric metres.

³⁸⁸ Compare Latte's reading: ἀντιλαβαί· λογικαὶ ῥήσεις ἐξ ἡμιστίχων λεγόμεναι κατ' ἀμοιβὴν παρὰ <τοῖς> τραγικοῖς.

³⁸⁹ See Köhler (1913) on verse breaks, and Gross (1905) on a loose definition of stichomythia.

³⁹⁰ Aside from the definition given by Hesychius, Schwyzer (1939), in a discussion of parenthesis, refers on p.31 n.3 to the use of ἀντιλαβή and its verb ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι for a tagmatic rupture of the sentence, namely the parenthetic insertion of comment between e.g. an adjective and a substantive. My own quick search among the Scholia of poets, orators and prose authors featuring dialogue rendered a handful of passages in which forms of the verb ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι may be used with reference to dialogue or dialogue technique, and a closer analysis may bear fruit: Σ *al* Ar.*Ach.*443.4, *al* Hom.*Od.*3.43 and *al* S.*Aj.*1127, perhaps *al* Pl.*Lg.*672a ter and *al* S.*Aj.*849a. In most cases, however, this verb means to take or to feel. The noun is used literally ('handle').

only monograph on antilabe, and is very valuable for interpreting common contexts in which antilabe is used for effect, especially in Sophocles.³⁹¹ Some of the examples Köhler offers are indeed of the symmetrical 1/2 - 1/2 type which fall within the narrow definition of Hesychius, but he observes (p.6), after giving one such example, that ἐξ ἡμιστίχων as found in this definition should not be taken too literally. In fact Köhler seeks a much wider definition, and beside all these examples of passages where antilabe is used as a medium to enhance pathos, he devotes a whole section (21ff) to the others, including antilabe approximating the loose, relaxed ('frei, ungezwungenen') dialogue technique of the Comic authors.³⁹² He does not find it coincidental that this sort of antilabe (he calls it 'comic' antilabe) is more often found in Sophocles' last two works (*Philoctetes* and *Oedipus Coloneus*), in Euripides' *Orestes* and *Bacchae*, and in the satyr plays (but not in *Rhesus*). For the approach taken in my thesis, the other important contribution of Köhler's investigation is the attention he draws (pp.51-2) to the use of particles and the functional relations of the divided verse-parts; although Köhler himself does not pursue this further, such insight inevitably leads to some specific, but also to broader issues of syntax in comic antilabe.³⁹³

All said, we are still left with the need to delineate the parameters for what we shall consider antilabe: a) following the notion that a major innovation in dialogue-technique contemporary with or later than Aeschylus³⁹⁴ is a break in mid-verse as opposed to a break between verses, this is a basic criterion. b) the surrounding text also defines what may be included among instances of 'comic' antilabe; not included are those mid-verse breaks which form a transition from one extended rhesis to another (as e.g. Köhler's example S.Phil.466); for the antilabe to have its effect strictly speaking it should come within a series of such shared verses or at least in rapid dialogue.³⁹⁵ c) the exchange must be rapid; strict convention ought to include only those passages where no

³⁹¹ I list them here briefly: reunion and greeting (p.10 -- e.g. S.OC.311, 327-333); farewell (p.13 -- e.g. S.OC.845-847); unexpected news (p.17 -- e.g. S.Aj.981-5); dispute (p.19).

³⁹² Details on p.27f, with a list of all occurrences in Phil. and OC which are 'more Attic, colloquial, realistic' and 'not for affect'.

³⁹³ I apply factors of connective particles and antilabe in 2.2.3.

³⁹⁴ PV 980 cannot be included as Aeschylean, but see Griffith (1977) 139.

³⁹⁵ In this formal respect the 'comic' antilabe agrees with the Hesychian symmetric antilabe, as commented by Kaibel (1896) at S.El.1220 (p.260 n.1).

interlocutor speaks more than the equivalent of one line at a time. d) there must be interaction between the interlocutors: among the verse-breaks excluded are the following: series of short alternating strings of asides, e.g. by two eavesdroppers; verses shared with an entering actor or an exiting one who is not in contact; and in passages which are essentially long *rheseis* delivered by one character to another, basically passive, listener, verses in which remarks of acquiescence, comprehension, or prodding to go on are interjected by the listener (see also §5).

The instances such as described and listed in b) and d) above are not in dialogue, or not in exchange, and ought to be termed verse-breaks rather than *antilabe*, if a definition of this term is to include the element of dialogue exchange.

2. *Stichomythia* in its strict sense is exceptional in Menander, and occurs in the recognition scene at Pk.755ff with allusions to Tragic form and contexts. Being a canonical tragic *Bauform*, *stichomythia* has been well-documented and analyzed, and I merely summarize what Seidensticker has to say (1971, p.183f).³⁹⁶ In ancient theory *stichomythia* is defined as a tragic and comic form in which two or three interlocutors have a regular exchange of single verses. Seidensticker's key word is regular ('regelmäßig'), by which I suppose he means proportional or symmetrical, because he accepts a slightly broader definition which also includes exchanges of hemistichs and of distichs. The confusion is caused by the modern critics' reference to irregular forms of rapid exchange as *stichomythia*. Seidensticker finds this extension problematic, and prefers to classify such passages as *Gesprächsverdichtung* (for which see his 1969 works thus entitled). I find such passages important, and perhaps they ought to be taxonomically distinct from strict symmetric *stichomythia*, which is not quantitatively significant in Menander. These passages I discuss in the next paragraph.

3. Any passages which do not strictly fall within *antilabe* can be accommodated in the more general mode of *rapid exchange*. Naturally *antilabai* (and *stichomythiai*) are also forms of rapid exchange, and the distinction, especially between *antilabe* (1) and rapid

³⁹⁶ For the syntax in Aeschylean *stichomythia*, I refer to Ireland (1974).

exchange (3) may at times be subtle and seem trivial.³⁹⁷ However, some arbitrary borderline has to be drawn, in order to create categories that might help to test the difference between the effects the breach of the verse has on syntax,³⁹⁸ and the effects other forms of rapid exchange have on syntax. This is particularly interesting in a verse corpus such as Menander's. Most of the systematic work carried out on Greek dialogue has focused on prose dialogue.³⁹⁹

4. *Average dialogue* is the (perhaps unsatisfactory) term used to describe typical conversation, not too rapid, but not in rhesis form: it is usually graphically obvious while perusing a text. The level of syntactic interaction may be lower, but the exchange is livelier than in rhetic dialogue.

5. Dialogue may be functioning also when the exchange is less rapid and involves the textual or discursal form termed *rhesis* (although this term is also used of non-dialogue speeches). Like *stichomythia*, this form too has been studied monographically. Mannsperger (1971) defines it as longer than *stichomythia*, enabling more development of concepts. As for its parameters, she determines (p.144) that any dialogue speech less than 5 or 6 lines is considered *stichomythic* (using of course the 'modern', inclusive meaning of the term).

The term *rhesis* refers to a discursive form of expression, but may fall within dialogue, if there is an element of exchange. Instances in which there is no real exchange (frequently, although not necessarily, in longer *rhesis*), but where another character on stage is addressed, are problematic: they have dialogue status on the basis of communication, but they share the length, the low interaction and the syntactic autonomy and complexity characteristic of monologues and prologues.

6. The *prologue* is a special case. The *prologos* does make contact with the audience; but he does not interact (as a character) with other characters in the play. This distance is

³⁹⁷ See Seidensticker's attempt to subsume under 'Gesprächsverdichtung' formal *stichomythia* as well as less formal *stichomythia* (which would include the asymmetrical verse-breaks embraced in the modern term 'antilabe'). The nature of comic dialogue, with its higher frequency of 'asymmetrical' exchange, makes these distinctions and their analysis more crucial for us in this study than it is for Seidensticker in his.

³⁹⁸ See *GGL* I.2, 146f (quoted in §0).

³⁹⁹ See e.g. Hirzel (1895) and other references in the appendix 'Dialogus' at the end of *Kleine Pauly* vol.II. See also note 383 above.

amplified when the *prologos* is a deity or an abstract being. For this reason, and also because this *Bauform* developed its own conventions and syntactic patterns,⁴⁰⁰ it is treated separately from monologues.

7. *Monologues* are treated by Blundell (1980), whom I accept as a definitive authority. Rarely do I disagree with his determination of a passage as a monologue passage. His basic distinction is a scenic one: "My area includes all those utterances which are not straightforwardly addressed to another person present on stage" (p.5). This is a fine touchstone, as it takes into account communicative interaction and the variety of forms of monologue (including very short asides etc.),⁴⁰¹ and excludes long *rheseis* which are similar in form to many 'typical' monologues, but are in fact addressed to others, such as D.708ff or Sk.176ff (see Blundell (1980) 5). My own sensibility is to forms of communication more than to scenic interactions; although I recognize the latter as crucial in analyzing a dramatic play, I also exclude from monologue such passages where an actor talks back into the house, perhaps to a character who has spoken or will speak on-stage at some other point (and not just 'household slaves' or other mutes). I consider such passages evidence for the language used in *dialogue* of the comic type.⁴⁰²

At this point I also remark on the complex status of self-address in monologues, and of *oratio recta* in monologue, and in prologues (where it is not found in Euripides). It is not always easy to decide how to classify these, but I try to remain consistent to the basic forms, since the contact in such passages is metaphorical and not directly enacted on stage.⁴⁰³

TABLE 4. SYNOPSIS OF DISTRIBUTION OF PERFECTS AMONG DIFFERENT MODES OF DISCOURSE

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
ANTILABE			DIALOGUE <-I-> NON-DIALOGUE			
						MONOLOGUE

⁴⁰⁰ There is abundant literature on the conventions of prologues for both tragic and comic authors. Interestingly, for the syntax, Ireland (1981), writing on Menander's prologues, seems to pioneer this area of study.

⁴⁰¹ On asides, of course, see Bain (1977).

⁴⁰² The passages in question are: Asp.164-6, 233-5; D.206b-207a, 427-429, 456-7a, 487-8a, 546, 866, 874, 879; Ep.430-1a, 853, 932b; Mis.276; Pk.181, 366; Sam.440, 198, 301, 421, 713; Sk.377.

⁴⁰³ For *oratio recta* in narrative sections, see 5.4.3.

The table given above illustrates the preference of dialogue over non-dialogue as the mode in which perfects are used. Although the one most frequent type, the 'average' dialogue (4 in the table), is within the dialogue mode, so are the two least frequent, stichomythia (2) and rapid exchange (3), as defined above. Antilabe features a frequency of perfect forms which cannot be ignored, and this interesting finding will be pursued in more detail in 2.2.3 below. First, however, I would like to recall that the relatively high frequency of perfects in monologues may be connected with the tendency for commentary, deliberations, and generalizing tone in this form.⁴⁰⁴ It must be stressed that the distribution of perfects along the spectrum which spans from broken conversation to long monologue speeches at best has limited value and as a datum must be accepted with some reservation. The same point applies here as I make elsewhere regarding *Satzart* : this may reflect the relative distribution not only of perfect finite forms, but of the modes of discourse themselves.

As the detailed figures below will ultimately show, dialogue broadly defined is the preferred mode for the occurrence of perfect forms. I have been able to identify 172 definite examples of (finite) perfects found in dialogue of one form or another. Six additional perfects may perhaps be considered as occurring in dialogue, but the fragmentary nature of the remains of those passages makes it impossible to include them as definite examples.⁴⁰⁵ Caution must be taken not to include among dialogues those passages in which there is change of speaker, or more than one speaker, but not **exchange**. More difficult to classify are passages where there is a simulated dialogue, or self-address. Most examples of dialogue fall within the middle of the spectrum of the dialogue form: 83 occurrences are in dialogue of a moderate length and nature; less⁴⁰⁶ discursive on the one hand, and less rapid an exchange on the other. In addition, there are occurrences which fall on either side of the mean; most in the form of rapid exchange

⁴⁰⁴ For this pattern, see Blundell (1980) 23 (e.g. *Sam.*206ff), and p.61, *ad D.*860ff, with footnote 54 giving parallels.

⁴⁰⁵ *Asp.*262, [320]; *D.*920; *Kol.*56; *Mis.*388; *Sam.*145.

⁴⁰⁶ Since it is difficult to gauge by precise, absolute quantities what constitutes a rapid or a discursive exchange, I prefer to speak here in relative terms.

of one form or another, and a few in passages which are in effect speeches of various length given by one character to others on stage.

More specifically, seven are found in easily distinct 'rapid exchange' (3),⁴⁰⁷ one of the perfects in dialogue occurs in the stichomythia form (2),⁴⁰⁸ and at least fifty in antilabe (1).⁴⁰⁹

Finally, a slight minority of the perfects in dialogue exchange fall at the other end of the form -- 32 occurrences of the perfect are found in speeches of some length (5).⁴¹⁰

Among the types of rhesis (5, 6, and 7), the monologue is the mode preferred by perfects: I found 47 definite occurrences,⁴¹¹ and 9 possible ones⁴¹² in monologues. There were 20 definite⁴¹³ and 2 possible examples⁴¹⁴ of perfects in prologues.

Ideally the figures of distribution of perfects among different discourse forms ought to be judged in relation to the general distribution of such forms in Menander (i.e. what proportion of Menander is monologue, rhesis, dialogue etc.). The fragmented nature of the corpus does not easily lend itself to a quantitative distribution with reliable figures.⁴¹⁵

⁴⁰⁷ D.456 (to offstage character), 554, 775; Pk.494; Sam.199 (to offstage character), 436, 487.

⁴⁰⁸ Pk.798.

⁴⁰⁹ Definitely in antilabe: Asp.260; Grg.84; D.E.110, 110; D.72, 84, 93, 409, 441, 509, 692, 702, 754, 779, 780, 900, 918; Ep.293, 293, 935; Her.70; Kith.44; Mis.247; Pk.305, 401, 489, 745; Sam.117, 296, 308, 308, 315, 387, 407, 434, 437, 480, 500, 522, 530, 586, 662, 680, 721; Sk.379; F.I.28, 53, 55, 59, 60. Only twelve of these are in trochaic tetrameters. Another twelve cases may or may not be considered to be in antilabe: the following for textual reasons: Asp.502; D.140; Karkh.6; Kon.4; Pk.724, 758; Sk.127; and the following because of the low level of contact between the speakers: Pk.305; Sam.139, 324, 539; Sk.354. In any case they clearly fall on the side of rapid exchange rather than longer speeches.

⁴¹⁰ Asp.82, 343, 345; D.126, 136, 173, 324, 438, 628, 695, 726, 728; Ep.292, 351, 352, 517, 751, 875, 1121; Her.42, 43, 43; Kol.86, 88, 88, 89, 93; Mis.233, 271; Pk.984, 985; Sk.206 (o.r.).

⁴¹¹ Including Zutrittsmonologe as defined by Blundell (1980) (marked 'z'): Asp.15, 215, 216z, 287, 392, 394; D.164z, 168, 188, 263z, 383, 392, 398, 398, 486, 494, 515, 543, 648, 669, 681, 685, 686; Ep.416, 419, 557, 579, 879, 891, 901, 904, 906, 906, 911z; Mis.306z; Pk.985; Sam.248, 259, 271, 279, 364, 548, 553; 555, 620, 621, 651Cz. Among the passages listed above, the following are scenically monologues, but artificially they are not: Asp.215 (to Τύχη); 287 (self); Ep.891; Mis.306; Sam.248, 259 (all o.r.); Pk.985 (imaginary address).

⁴¹² Kith.66; fr.208.2; 333.2; 453.1; 568.1; 568.6; 568.7; 581.2; 620.11.

⁴¹³ Asp.110, 112, 113, 117, 119, 122; Grg.5; D.9, 10, 35, 38; Pk.[124], 148, 150, 152, [158]; Sam.3, 54, 55; Sk.14 (*oratio recta*). For more on the perfect and this *Bauform*, see §5.4 (*transitions*).

⁴¹⁴ Ph.20, [23].

⁴¹⁵ I have prepared a provisional division of Menandrian passages into the two large groups monologue and dialogue - but it is beyond the immediate scope of this thesis. Such an endeavour is a compromise, and I do not attempt to make accurate calculations by counting how many lines of either mode are identified. The futility of systematically and consistently counting Menandrian verses is shown by Bain (1984) 30 and the left-hand column in the table on p.31. He arrives at a figure of 4080 verses, not including prologues and lines from book fragments of the surviving plays.

2.2.2 sentence types and illocutionary modes: forms and functions

Form and function are often confused when we try to characterize the *type of sentence*. I do not mean by sentence type the same thing as do Webster and those who follow his approach (1941) of measuring sentence length and using the data for stylometric aims.⁴¹⁶ My aims are more descriptive and less quantitative, with more emphasis on communicative aspects, and on the contribution of sentence length to the identification of the function of sentences with different shapes and patterns. It will turn out later that the distinction of very short sentences does play a role in the analysis of sentence type as I see it.

There are indicative forms, interrogative forms, imperative forms, exclamatory forms, etc. These may manifest themselves through heuristically transparent signs such as moods, word-order, openers, etc.⁴¹⁷ However, just as an interrogative form does not necessarily ask, or just as an indicative form does not necessarily simply state information, we cannot base the other functions of sentences on forms alone. It is better to keep in mind the variety of functions each form may have, and in turn when discussing a certain function, e.g. the directive function, it is well worth remembering that this includes not only imperative and subjunctive forms, but also future indicatives. I stress this well-known and obvious caution, because in this section, by following the convention of classifying the sentences by form, I do not mean to privilege form over function; but it is easier heuristically, and leaves the reader with the option of evaluating my interpretation of the functions. The pragmatic approach has brought successful and illuminating applications of the illocutionary force of sentences, especially in Latin studies. Scherer (1975) 146-174 has identified for Latin syntax three sentence types ('Satzarten'): statements ('Behauptungssätze'), ?demands⁴¹⁸ ('Begehrungssätze'), and questions ('Fragesätze'). Within these, he has been able to fit in a wide variety of logical

⁴¹⁶ Ireland elaborates on this approach in a study of Aeschylus which has not been accessible to me (1964 dissertation), and Griffith (1977) 215-217 discusses the merits and problems of this approach for stylometry (in fact he does not find that it makes a positive contribution).

⁴¹⁷ The particular signs tending to identify the specific sentence types are discussed and applied in the respective paragraphs of the list in 2.2.2.

⁴¹⁸ I find it difficult to translate into English and perhaps it is no coincidence that Scherer chose an ambiguous term under which he subsumes a gamut of nuances from polite requests to bare imperative barks.

and illocutionary functions. Pinkster (1991) has devoted chapter 10 to an investigation of the overlaps and discrepancies between form and function on the level of the sentence in classical Latin.

Already KG discuss (often as *Anmerkungen*) the 'special' uses of some sentences within the traditional sentence types organized by form (statement as defined by indicative mood, imperatives, interrogatives and exclamations as defined by imperative mood, openers, etc.). Scherer's division into three *Satzarten*⁴¹⁹ is based on what he sees as self-sufficient models (i.e. the form and the function are self-defining), and what may strictly be considered within the realm of *langue*. I am more wary of distinguishing phenomena of *langue* from those of *parole* in a dead language; mine is a working division rather than a theoretical one. On this occasion, I divide the perfects used in Menander into groups of formal sentence types: 1. statements; 2. affective statements; 3. sentences in exclamatory form; 4. sentences in interrogative form; and 5. negative sentences. Detailed evidence is supplemented in tables 1-5 in Appendix II, and in my discussion I try to add as much information on form and context as is possible without losing sight of the traditional distinctions by which they are classified. In doing so I hope to expose patterns suggesting different pragmatic uses, especially current in dramatic dialogue, and I also hope to test a system which is better suited for a discussion of the syntax of texts written (and performed) with a view to recreating natural conversation. Note that commands are not represented here, although they figure extensively in Menander's dialogue: my point of departure is the finite indicative perfect, and other than the few imperative forms of perfects with present meaning, the non-indicative moods such as optative, also associated with (polite) commands, are not represented in the perfect in Menander (2.1.3); nor are the perfect indicatives in Menander used as quasi-futures to express commands.⁴²⁰

⁴¹⁹ Not to be confused with his 'Satztypen' (see p.124) which have to do with the complexity of the verb's valence and the actual or implicit contour this lends the sentence.

⁴²⁰ A very loose interpretation of an imperative nuance in the perfect *pro futuro* may be argued for *Asp.*³⁴³ with difficulty.

In principle, the criteria of intonation and gesticulation may be very helpful in assessing the type of sentence at issue,⁴²¹ but as readers, we have limited information on intonation and facial expression for specific passages,⁴²² and we are relatively unfamiliar with the norms of a language no longer in use. We are also deprived of the help of reliable and systematic punctuation (which of course a live audience would not need if they perceive the intonation and gesticulation). Any signs indicating the illocutionary force of a certain sentence form in an individual context will be signs we find in the words of the text.

In discussing the individual sentence types, I try to consider such formal factors as a) the *length of a sentence*. Generally a short sentence on its own is not an adequate indication of illocutionary force in a sentence, for example an exclamatory force; but in combination with some other expression, or perhaps with the context, brevity will add weight to such an identification.⁴²³ This formal criterion is discussed with respect to all sentence types except those with interrogative form.⁴²⁴ b) The tabulation of the use of *openers* is particularly important in the case of exclamations and questions -- if only to show that openers are not uniformly used: although the presence of openers most certainly indicates a particular sentence form, they are not required, and their absence does not preclude a sentence from being interrogative or exclamatory. In other sentence types this is not relevant, although I do not rule out a loose analogy with particles and demonstratives; however, the latter are cumulative signs while openers may define particular sentences as belonging to a certain form. c) *Versification* also contributes a formal criterion to our pool of diagnostic tools. As with other cumulative signs, versification has no value on its own, but taken with contextual criteria it can indicate perhaps a rapid exchange.⁴²⁵ The criterion of verse-break⁴²⁶ is particularly relevant in a discussion of statements, affective statements, and negative statements.

⁴²¹ See e.g. already Jannaris §§2033 and 2046 on sentence-questions.

⁴²² But see paragraph 4 below on exclamations.

⁴²³ This must not be confused with specific contexts which are not tied in with illocutionary force but which might be conducive of short sentences. See also discussion of brief statements in §1 of 2.2.2, and of responses in 2.2.3.

⁴²⁴ A separate column is offered in all the tables in **Appendix II**, except table 4, where indication of one-word interrogatives is given by '+1' in column 5 ('affect.').

⁴²⁵ Antilabe is marked '+A'.

⁴²⁶ Whose presence is marked '+' in columns named 'v.b.' (verse break) in tables 1, 2 and 5. In tables 3 and 4 if there is antilabe it is noted ('A') in the columns named 'dialogue'.

In addition, the following compositional factors play a role in assessing the syntactic behaviour of the forms at hand:

d) *Particles* figure in a variety of functions: *connective particles* are important in assessing the logical and communicative dependence of affirmative and negative statements,⁴²⁷ and sometimes their functions within dialogue. In discussing affective statements I refer more generally to particles, since there is less logical connection, and more affective use of particles.⁴²⁸ In the description of exclamations proper I note the (rare) use of $\gamma\epsilon$.⁴²⁹

e) The presence of *participles* is considered in affirmative statements⁴³⁰ as a factor in the broader discussion of dependence in 2.2.3. f) Presence of *objects* is taken into account in the discussion on responses in 2.2.3.⁴³¹

We move now from clear-cut signs in the words of the text to more fluid indications, for which I observe not the presence or absence of forms, but syntactic dependence: I determine the presence or absence of dependence on the basis of formal signs such as connectives (d above) and participles (e), not alone but in combination with my assessment of the sentence and its context. I report, then, on g) *apodotic* dependence in statements.⁴³² Statements (formal sentence type 1.) have the broadest range of functions, and therefore I devote a specific discussion on apodotic dependence to this sentence type. h) *Dependence*⁴³³ discussed for statements (1.) refers to those with explanatory and interactive nuance (since apodotic dependence is discussed separately for this sentence-type). For affective, interrogative, and negative sentences (2., 4. and 5.), dependence includes apodotic and explanatory dependence, as well as interactive dependence.⁴³⁴ For exclamations (3.) I discuss only the presence or absence of

⁴²⁷ Their presence is marked '+' in columns named 'conn.' (connectives) in tables 1 and 5.

⁴²⁸ See the column 'particle' in table 2. Notice should also be taken of 'dep.' (column 6) in table 4 for $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ in questions.

⁴²⁹ Marked '+' in column ' $\gamma\epsilon$ ' in table 3. It is more common in other sentence types to add an exclamatory nuance.

⁴³⁰ '+' in the column 'ptcp' in table 1.

⁴³¹ See also column 'obj.' in table 6.

⁴³² Column 'apod.' in table 1. In other sentence types apodotic dependence is included among those marked '+' in columns named 'dep.' (dependence).

⁴³³ For a definition of terms mentioned here, see 2.2.3.

⁴³⁴ '+' in columns named 'depend.' in tables 2,4 and 5. If it is the interactive dependence of response, its presence is marked '+R' (in table 1 as well).

responses,⁴³⁵ because explanatory and apodotic dependence have not been detected.⁴³⁶ *Responses* discussed in 2.2.3 are dependent by definition (they are all interactive).

Contextual factors are also taken into account; these too are a combination of formal signs (e.g. affective particle (d) or antilabe (c)).

i) The most important distinction is whether or not a sentence is in *dialogue*. This is discussed for all sentence types.⁴³⁷ Antilabe ('A' in the tables) is a descriptive element which is also factored in. j) When any of the sentences functions as a *response* this is noted, on the basis of my reading of the context. An observation on the presence of the response function⁴³⁸ must be taken together with other factors, as seen in the discussion of the individual sentence types and in the overview of common traits of all sentence-forms functioning as responses.⁴³⁹

k) One may assess whether a sentence functions as a question (rather than a rhetorical question or an exclamation) by checking whether *it is answered*.⁴⁴⁰ l) If it is a *rhetorical* question this can usually be determined through lack of answer and the broader context.⁴⁴¹

m) *Affective* value is a sum of the sentence-form itself, of formal signs, and of context. Its general presence is added in for statements (where this includes attenuation as well as intensification) and questions,⁴⁴² as well as for negative statements.⁴⁴³ Where it is more prevalent, in affective statements and in exclamations, a combination of signs (brevity (a) and particles (d) already introduced among the formal signs above) and expressions is discussed. Affective expressions may be oaths, abusive address, use of the second person, adverbs and particles used for affect rather than manner or connection respectively (πᾶλιν, γε etc.); affective language may be *attenuative* (indefinite articles, ἴσως, litotes, ὥς ἔοικε etc.) or *intensifying* (extreme πάντ-, μόν-, sarcastic εἶ,

⁴³⁵ In the column called 'response' in table 3.

⁴³⁶ Except perhaps in Pk.315.

⁴³⁷ In columns named 'dial' in all of the tables.

⁴³⁸ 'R' in the columns entitled 'depend.' or 'resp.'.

⁴³⁹ Discussed in 2.2.3 with table 6.

⁴⁴⁰ See the column 'is it answered?' in table 4.

⁴⁴¹ In the column 'rhet.' in table 4.

⁴⁴² Columns named 'affect.' in tables 1 and 4.

⁴⁴³ See the column 'illoc./rhet.' in table 5.

emphatic personal pronouns, deixis, etc.).⁴⁴⁴ *Position* of the perfect may also indicate rhetorical emphasis, or some illocutionary force.⁴⁴⁵

formal sentence types

1. *Statements* often have more than a neutral factual illocutionary value. I include in this most basic list (see Appendix II table 1) many perfects in sentences which feature affective language, sometimes to a significant degree.

In many statements with a verb in the perfect (57 to be exact) no affective tone is detected through explicit signs or in the context.

A larger group (72) is made of up perfects in sentences with some affective tone,⁴⁴⁶ but many of these do not approach exclamation.

a) Fifty three of the 72 are *intensified* in a variety of ways, but many of these are simply vivid expressions such as D.383, featuring an oath in the vicinity, emphatic ordering, and the intensifier διπλασίως; this sentence is not exclamatory *per se*: The extreme expression at this point may be partly explained by analogy with the generic habit in the opening of monologues.⁴⁴⁷ I quote from D.381ff:

ὦ πολυτίμητοι θεοί,
οἷς ἀποτρέπεις νυνὶ γὰρ ὥς οἶμι με σύ,
τούτοις **παρῶξυμ'** εἰς τὸ πρᾶγμα διπλασίως.
'Heavens, man, you think you're putting me off, but everything you say is making me
twice as enthusiastic for the job.'

Another example of an emphatic proposition (with a verb in the perfect) is Ep.[138], in short, simple composition, with ἀκριβῶς, and with a deictic pronoun serving as a very explicit subject. Rather than diagnosing this passage as an exclamatory proposition, it is

⁴⁴⁴ While a groundbreaking investigation has been carried out for intensification in ancient Greek by Thesleff (1955), I am not aware of a monograph on attenuation which focuses on linguistic questions. (But see e.g. Lammermann (1935) for rhetorical and sociological uses of attenuation. I have been unable to include my own investigation 'Euphemism in Menander' which discusses forms of attenuation as well as topics attenuated.)

⁴⁴⁵ Marked in columns 'emph. pos(ition)' in tables 2 and 3 (the column 'pos.' in table 6 has syntactic rather than affective ramifications). The problem of identifying an ordinary word-order is addressed in **Part II** of the thesis.

⁴⁴⁶ Marked by '+' in column 8 for the relevant passages.

⁴⁴⁷ See Blundell (1980) 61.

worth remembering that as an aside, this sentence would be expected to feature affective language, perhaps reflecting (or prompting?) affected delivery:⁴⁴⁸

δώδεκα./ [πέπυσ]τ' ἀκριβῶς οὕτοσ' ἰ τὰ πράγματα. 'He's got the sum right. His information service is quite reliable.' (Note N.M.'s loose translation).

b) Nineteen of the affirmative statements with verbs in the perfect have some *attenuative* element, which may be used as an urbane mannerism,⁴⁴⁹ and others for avoiding actual indelicacy.⁴⁵⁰ I call specific attention here to four occurrences of the perfect with ἴσως (one also with τυχόν).

(1) D.126: (Χαίρ.) τυχόν ἴσως <ὅδ'> ὀδυνώμενός τι νῦν τετύχηκε.

'(Khair.) He seems a bit upset at the moment.'

(2) D.303: (Σωσ.) εἰ τοῦτ' ἀδίκημ' ἐ[ῖρηκ]ας, ἡδίκηκ' ἴσως.

'(Sos.)...If that's the 'crime' that you're talking about, then perhaps I'm guilty.'

(3) D.775: (Καλλιπ.) ἀπολέλειμ' ἴσως. '(Kallip.)[entering] Perhaps I'm too late.'

(4) Ep.579 (quoted from 577): ('Ον.) Σμικρίνης ἀναστρέφει/ ἐξ ἄστεως, πάλιν ταρακτικῶς ἔχων αὐτίς· πέπυσται τὰς ἀλ[ηθείας] ἴσ[ως]/ παρά τινος οὔτος.

'(On.) Oh, it's Smikrines, back again from the city, all set to make more mischief. Perhaps someone's told him the truth.'

The following similarities in the context emerge; aside from (4), spoken by Onesimos, who uses more than one register (see Sandbach (1970) p.136), the other passages are all from the *Dyskolos*, and are spoken by urbane gentlemen. Although Menander generally has his characters speak politely, in this play the contrast between town and country is one of the main themes. ἴσως used in such a way with an indicative cannot be ruled out as an equivalent of the potential optative,⁴⁵¹ where the retention of the perfect aspect means that the optative mood *form* must be forfeited -- the perfect system does not have productive mood paradigms, and the indicative is used to retain the aspect, with the mood elements usually expressed by mood supplied outside the verb form (see 2.1.3 above).

⁴⁴⁸ Bain (1977) uses the term *sotto voce* with reference to asides (p.12 and *passim*) and their delivery (p.18). It seems asides were delivered in a different tone, if the scholiasts refer to them as ἡσυχῇ (whether or not the scholiasts were right in the ascription of aside status to each passage they interpret in this way). Nothing about delivery is mentioned in Bain's **definition** (p.17). Common features in many of the asides which recur in Bain's individual analyses of them are outbursts (e.g. p.56), or surprise (e.g. *Mis.*323 p.125), and exclamatory tone is often observed.

⁴⁴⁹ So probably with the perfects at e.g. D.558; Ep.432.

⁴⁵⁰ Thus for example *Sam.*132 (illegitimate son), 424, and 434. Attenuation of death (of a sacrificial animal) is probably comic in D.438.

⁴⁵¹ The potential optative is widespread in Menander. I do not include above Pk.471, where the adverb is used to approximate an amount, rather than to attenuate the action (in the perfect); further this sentence opens with relativischer Anschluß and so is not considered a straightforward affirmative statement form.

I should not go so far as to say that this 'equivalence' is applicable to other perfects attenuated in other ways: aside from its approximative use with numerals,⁴⁵² ἵσως is used with a range of verb forms, sometimes understood as a separate adverb 'perhaps', but it is also used as a particle lending a verb its unsure or potential tone.⁴⁵³ The use of this particle with the optative + ἄν in Menander is rare.⁴⁵⁴ Mainly Menander uses this particle with indicative forms, including some with added illocutionary force: with impersonals in the present indicative, many of them 'modal' such as δεῖ, equivalent to a command;⁴⁵⁵ or interactive, equivalent to questions.⁴⁵⁶

Further study of ἵσως with the future may prove illuminating, since the future is rich in illocutionary force: the future indicative is used in commands (often with negative questions) as an alternative to the imperative form, and also as an equivalent to the subjunctive in deliberative questions and protaseis to future conditions.⁴⁵⁷

c) On its own, like any other discrete feature, the *brevity* of the form of a proposition will not determine that it is exclamatory, or even affective.⁴⁵⁸ It is customary for a rhesis, for example, to close with a short statement announcing its end. Thus the passages Asp.82, D.543, Ep.292, and 352, although short, are not exclamatory. For a different reason Asp.343 (with an expressive adverb of abrupt action) and Ep.287, although short, are not exclamatory: each forms the *climax* of a sequence of events (the first in the future, the second in the past).⁴⁵⁹ Asides also come in short sentences (e.g. D.136). Naturally responses in antilabai are short, and although they create the effect of lively rapid

⁴⁵² Asp.83, 350; D.118, 327, 683; Ep.243; Pk.471. See §2 in **Part II** of thesis, for a discussion of approximation and exaggeration of quantities and measures.

⁴⁵³ On ἵσως as a particle see González Merino (1980) 173f. I was unable to locate his reference to Hellwig (1947) 148.

⁴⁵⁴ D.368 in the apodosis of a future-less-vivid condition, and Sam.685 in a negative potential sentence. A brief check of τυχόν offers comparably rare examples with optative + ἄν in Menander: Ep.903, also in the apodosis of a condition. Ep.601 κύβοι is not sufficient in context, although an optative is suggested. The remaining passages in Menander with τυχόν all feature verbs in the indicative.

⁴⁵⁵ E.g. Grg.79. ἵσως is also used with explicit or implicit (ø) present indicatives with some 'modal' nuance: Asp.160(ø), 285; D.239 (expressing possibility), 746, 958; Ep.413; Sam.?27, 592 (δεῖ); Ph.88.

⁴⁵⁶ E.g. the statement ὑπερδαινέεις ἵσως at Her.17 eliciting a response.

⁴⁵⁷ Menander offers only three instances: D.E.24; Ep.562, and Pk.853. Perhaps an investigation of cognate authors will add examples beyond those in Goodwin (1897).

⁴⁵⁸ Briefly composed statements are marked in column 3 of table 1. See also tables 2, 3, and 5 in Appendix II and the relevant discussions in the current sections.

⁴⁵⁹ See also 5.4 on the use of primary tenses at significant points in the narrative. Also to be included here perhaps is Ep.325, which is short, and in a point of transition.

exchange, they are not exclamatory (e.g. D.692, or Ep.293).⁴⁶⁰ Brevity in conjunction with other symptoms offers a better indication of the sentence types in which it tends to recur.

Possibly exclamatory sentences are D.489 (which is also a response), and D.576 (an aside) accompanied by an imprecation. Definitely exclamatory (and also brief) are Pk.527 and F.I.49a, and perhaps they belong in table 2 of Appendix II. In general the borders between the sentence types are fluid.

Before moving on to a discussion of the clearly affective propositions with verbs in the perfect (which I have put in a separate list, in table 2) I mention those 'short' sentences which in effect are one word: the verb (in the perfect). Some of these verbs retain their value as grammatical expressions with categories expressing a subject and an action or state (e.g. Ep.352 εἴρηκα, summing up a rhesis, or Sam.564 εἰσπεπήδηκεν, an exit acknowledgment). Other one-word expressions are exclamatory and approach the status of interjections (see table 3), e.g. ἀπόλωλα.

2. *Affective statements* do not normally comprise a sentence type in their own right, and this group is made up of borderline cases between 1. (statements) and 3. (exclamations). What defines members of this group rather than 1. is the higher accumulation of intensifying elements: some feature γέ, which comes in emphatic or exclamatory contexts (see Denniston *GP* 115, 126ff),⁴⁶¹ or no connective,⁴⁶² which makes for an abrupt effect reflecting an exclamatory tone; some have other forms of intensification, including extreme expression (referred to in column 5 as EXT): many passages which feature superlatives, negatives and comparatives, παν- or ὅλ- components, or πώποτε, are set apart from more mildly affective statements in 1. Those sentences in 2. featuring extreme expression belong to a specialized pattern of extreme expression, which coincides with a conventional context in New Comedy monologue. Finally, many of the affective

⁴⁶⁰ See 2.2.3b (*responses*).

⁴⁶¹ Namely D.515, 681; Ep.236; Sam.680. For γε as a conversation connective, see 2.2.3 below.

⁴⁶² See those marked ' ' in column 4 of table 2.

statements show emphatic positioning of the perfect at the beginning of the verse (sometimes also in combination with the end of a sentence, itself emphatic).⁴⁶³

Many of the sentences in 2. are shorter than sentences in 1.,⁴⁶⁴ but obviously if intensifiers are accumulated, then brevity is not extreme.⁴⁶⁵ An accumulation of at least two of the components brevity, particle or intensifier (represented in columns 3-5) and perhaps emphatic position (represented in column 6) suggests that a sentence belongs in this group, although the evidence on brevity is more important for determining an exclamation (group 3. below), and of course the individual contexts of the passages have the last word.

3. Full-fledged *exclamations* are classically identified by exclamatory openers or the *genitivus exclamationis*.⁴⁶⁶ Only nine of the 21 exclamations with a perfect in Menander open with an exclamatory ὦς or οἶος etc. Although most of the exclamatory sentences share the feature of brevity,⁴⁶⁷ seven of the exclamations without an exclamatory opener are short in the extreme: they are one-word sentences.⁴⁶⁸ In theory exclamations share with interjections the exclamatory function, and the tone in which they are delivered. Some of the one-word exclamations with perfects may in fact be considered interjections, in that they are fixed (e.g. ἀπόλλωλα at Ep.906; Prnth.9; Sam.329), but Menander also uses ἀπόλλωλας in an exclamatory context (Sam.315), so the paradigm is still grammatically active, and none of the contexts with ἀπόλλωλα in 1s suggests a breakdown in category function.⁴⁶⁹ Finally, I refer to two passages where the context explicitly defines the exclamatory status of the sentences (with perfects) by using performative verbs describing the intonation (shouting, which is natural in an exclamation):

⁴⁶³ Those with either are marked '+' in column 6 of table 2. Those with emphatic position both in the verse and in the sentence are: Asp.117, 421; D.79, [248], 515, 681; Sam.429.

⁴⁶⁴ The figures, for what they are worth, are 10/33 vs. 64/164.

⁴⁶⁵ hence '±' often found in column 2, which may also indicate that the sentence is not complex.

⁴⁶⁶ I have found this use in the vicinity of only two perfects used in affective statements, Ep.372 and Sam.429 -- one with an interjection, one the bare genitive (see Stevens (1976) 61 for evidence of the colloquial nature of the bare genitive; he quotes more passages from Menander of bare genitive than genitive with an interjection).

⁴⁶⁷ The highest percentage of any sentence type (15/23), although in absolute terms more examples are found among statements (64/164 marked '+' in table 1).

⁴⁶⁸ See column 3 in table 3 ('short'); those marked '1' refer to the one-word sentences.

⁴⁶⁹ Some Latin verbal forms have become 'invariables' as defined by Pinkster (1972) 135; i.e., their fixed form leaves the categories of person, number, etc. inactive. See Pinkster (1972) 3.2 for the contrast between the imperative 2s *age!*, and the interjection *age* in Plt.Mil.928 in a context with 2pl *abite*.

(1) Pk.489: :: ἐγὼ γαμετὴν νενόμικα ταύτην. :: μὴ βόα., and

(2) F.I.28f: :: ἡδικήμεθα. /:: μηθὲν βοήσης.

4. The major functional distinction to be made with respect to *sentences in interrogative form* is between true and rhetorical questions. This is particularly important in an exercise in identifying the components of dialogue exchange and analyzing their construction. But first I must identify the forms of questions. Sentences are most easily identified as interrogative through the presence of an interrogative opener. However, with or without such an opener, their status as questions may be indicated in the context by the presence of an answer, although this is in the realm of function more than form. The indications of word-order and intonation are less reliable in the case of our corpus (see 1.5). However, there are indications that word-order and intonation played some role in marking the interrogative function of a sentence, if I am to deduce from the distributions of patterns in the sample offered by perfects in sentences considered interrogative:⁴⁷⁰ Out of the 52 passages under consideration (see table 4 in Appendix II) only 14 have a clearly identifiable question-word,⁴⁷¹ usually opening the question (see 'interrogative openers', column 1 in table 4).⁴⁷²

The other formal sign which may be considered is word-order. I will try to present the word-order in sentence questions in a way which will illustrate recurring patterns, without categorically arguing for a distinct word-order for questions, but suggesting a difference between patterns of questions with openers and of those without openers.

One immediately draws a contrast between the regularity of order in questions with question openers on the one hand, and on the other hand the variety, even inconsistency, of patterns found in questions without openers. In questions opening with τ- or π-

⁴⁷⁰ For a less detailed distribution in a larger more heterogeneous collection of interrogative sentences, I intend to compare the rate at which questions in all forms are answered by analyzing data I have collected on corresponsive exchange in dialogue. This is beyond the scope of the present thesis, but fits a larger investigation on dialogue techniques in a variety of genres.

⁴⁷¹ τί in Asp.215; Grg.84; D.702; Sam.308, 480, 652; F.I.60. τίς in D.204, 409. ποῖ in D.441. ὅρα in Kith.66, 100; Mis.A5; Sam.586. Perhaps to be included are also μή opening D.E.106 and D.648. Not included are Pk.319 and 327, for which some editors read πῶς, or D.[920], where τίς is supplied and D.[140], where τί is supplied.

⁴⁷² For postponed question openers, see Thomson (1939).

question-words, normally⁴⁷³ the verb is the first constituent to follow the opener, e.g. D.441: ποῖ κέχηνας, ἐμβρόντητε σύ;. 'What are *you* gaping at, hophead?' Only postpositives precede the verb (δέ in D.409 and Sam.308, σε in Asp.215). However, the examples from Menander often involve states or verbs used intransitively (thus Grg.84; D.441, 702, and Sam.308, and possibly D.204). Only two examples have explicit objects, in which the position of the object in such interrogative sentences may be observed; in Asp.215 the object, an enclitic pronoun, comes second in the sentence: τί σ' ἡδίκηκα τηλικούτ' ἐγώ;, whereas in D.409, the other example, the object, a noun (perhaps an internal accusative), does not usurp the place of the verb as it is normally found in questions opening with τ- and π- question-words: τίς δ' ἑώρακεν ἐνύπνιον;.

Among the ten questions opening with such question words, in only two (Sam.480 and Sam.652) the verb is not the first mobile constituent following the question-word opening the sentence.

In the questions opening with interrogative particles (in Menander only ἄρα is used in questions with verbs in the perfect), there is no such tendency; rather, in all four instances, the verb comes at the end of the phrase or question:

- (1) Kith.66: ἄρ' οὖν ὁ πατήρ ἐλήλυθ', ἦ...;
- (2) Kith.100: ἄρα τοῦ κιθαριστοῦ Φανίου/ ταύτην λαβεῖν ἐσπούδακας...
- (3) Mis.A5: ἄρ' ἄλλον ἄνθρωπόν τιν' ἀθλιώτερον ἑώρακας;
- (4) Sam.586: ἄρ' ὁ σός με παῖς ἐντεθρίωκεν;

Note that there is artificial structuring (2)-(4) .

In Modern Greek there is no difference between the word-order typical of statements and that of 'yes-no questions' (questions whose answer is expected to be answered by 'yes' or 'no', as opposed to question-word questions, etc.). The example given by Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton (1987) 4 shows only a difference in intonation. They begin their analysis by contrasting the intonations in questions and statements: "The intonation associated with questions is a rising one, with a slight fall at the end of the utterance."

They give the example

⁴⁷³ Eight out of ten questions with such question words: Asp.215; Grg.84; D.204, 409, 441, 702; Sam.308; F.I.60.

o tákis píje s to nosokomío? (3)
'Takis went to the hospital?'

"as opposed to the generally falling intonation of statements." Their illustration of this, using the same sentence, is

o tákis píje s to nosokomío. (2)
'Takis went to the hospital.'

In English, although the translation of Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton's example (3) given above is acceptable, it is more idiomatic to use a pattern typical of questions: 'Did Takis go to the hospital?'

Questions opening with question-words are treated separately by these authors (1.1.1.2.2): Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton report that in Modern Greek

There is no special intonation associated with such questions, although the yes-no rising-falling intonation can occur in question-word questions. Similarly **there is no special word-order** associated with such questions, besides the fronting of the question-word, **but there seems to be a distinct preference for placing the verb right after the question-word.**

I have emphasized their observations on the recurrence of verbs immediately after the question-word in question-word questions, because this corroborates my own observations about question-word questions in Menander, and suggests that comparisons with Modern Greek in certain specific cases show similarities which make Modern Greek a more suitable analogue than, say, English, in discussions of (hypothetical) sentence patterns.

The 29 clear examples of interrogative sentences featuring perfects which do not open with question words ('-' in column 1 of table 4), either π-/τ- words or ἀρα,⁴⁷⁴ do not share a common, highly consistent recurring pattern of word-order and in this respect do not differ from statements. A pattern which does recur is the initial position of the

⁴⁷⁴ I do not include οὐ etc. as interrogative question-openers in the same sense as the words listed above, because οὐ etc. occur equally in other sentence types and do not 'mark' questions as such. Note however that when οὐ opens negative *questions*, the verb often immediately follows (as in 'word-questions'): D.501, 648, 751, 786; Kith.44; Sam.581; F.I.53.

emphasized element, e.g. in Asp.260,⁴⁷⁵ where, in response to Khairestratos' remark, Smikrines rejoins:

μόνος γεγάμηκα πρεσβύτερος; 'Am I the only man to marry later in life?'

Only the form of this sentence is interrogative; it functions as a response, and is not itself answered. Rather than asking, it rhetorically proclaims: I am not the only man to marry later in life. All told, six passages show the pattern of initial emphasized element (see previous note), but this is only roughly a fifth of all such questions; in addition, examples can be supplied for question forms where the emphatic constituent **follows** an initial verb.⁴⁷⁶ This lack of a truly consistent word-order pattern in the sample of (perfects in) question-sentences without interrogative openers suggests that perhaps intonation played an important role in indicating the interrogative nature of a sentence, especially in the absence of interrogative particles.

We come finally to sentences in interrogative form which proclaim rather than ask. There are 25 rhetorical questions with perfects ('+' in column 2 of table 4). If we leave aside punctuation (question-marks in this text are largely the products of editorial discretion),⁴⁷⁷ most rhetorical questions do not open with interrogative words (although οὐ is not uncommon); but a fair number are put in an explicit interrogative form.⁴⁷⁸ Context is the easiest but also the most subjective method of identifying which questions are rhetorical and which function as interrogatives.

One transphrasal indication which eases the task of interpretation is the absence or presence of an answer (column 3 in table 4). This is interesting not only for diagnostic reasons, but because a brief look at how questions in the perfect are answered may serve as a small-scale application of the more general mechanism of question and answer in comic dialogue. Starting with the hypothesis that rhetorical questions are not answered, I found that at least 26 of the interrogatives were answered; I then looked more carefully at

⁴⁷⁵ Cf. Mis.A23; Pk.320, 327; Sam.296; F.I.59

⁴⁷⁶ Depending on the interpretation of 'emphatic', one may consider D.E.110; Ep.751; Sam.61.

⁴⁷⁷ As shown e.g. in Mastronarde (1979).

⁴⁷⁸ Asp.215; D.441, 648; Kith.66, 100; Mis.A5; Sam.480.

the questions and answers, and found that some were dialogal continuations, but non-answers,⁴⁷⁹ so this test is only partly accurate.

With respect to the transitions from question to answer, questions asked in the perfect are answered in primary tenses where there is an explicit verb.⁴⁸⁰ I briefly summarize other features in the connection between question and answer which I found in responses to questions asked in the perfect: seven of the responses include a connective;⁴⁸¹ three are connected by what I refer to as a 'connective question'⁴⁸² -- this is not an answer to the question, but introduces the answer by repeating words in the question in a way which bridges the two phrases.⁴⁸³ In a different form, a bridging function ('cohesion' among Textgrammarians) may be understood, I believe, in vocatives of contact, such as at φίλτατ' in the response at Pk.770, as seen in the passage which I quote from 768:

οὐ παρ' αὐτὸν οὐτοσὶ/ τράγος τις ἢ βοῦς ἢ τοιοῦτὶ θηρίον/ ἔστηκεν; :: ἔλαφος, φίλτατ', ἐστίν, οὐ τράγος. 'Wasn't the next figure a goat or a cow or some animal like that? :: Not a goat, my friend, it's a stag.'

Connection patterns will be elaborated for responses in the perfect in the discussion on responses in 2.2.3.

5. The most important observation to be made regarding *negative statements* with verbs in the perfect is that they are comparatively rare: there are only 27 definite occurrences (and 6 possible ones).⁴⁸⁴ At the outset I note that negation is one of the compositional elements believed to interact with aspect in a meaningful way. Wallace (1982) 203-4 discusses this in the general context of the loose borderlines and interactions between the forms and the functions of the various categories, including verbal categories. A more specific application to negative and aspect in Greek is made by Heitrich (1978) 45-51 for Herodotus, and although Rijksbaron (1979) and Fanning (1990) 174-8 question

⁴⁷⁹ For a discussion of these in (Italian) conversation and dramatic representations of conversation see Stati (1982).

⁴⁸⁰ The recurrence of this pattern of primary tense concord suggests that the imperfect supplemented in the response to D.140 and that the aorist in Ep.935 are exceptional.

⁴⁸¹ Asp.428; D.779; Ep.935; Kith.44; Pk.327; Sam.61, 117.

⁴⁸² Grg.84; Ep.293; Sam.61.

⁴⁸³ In the case of repeated indefinite relatives (πῶς; :: ὅπως; ...) this interrogative response is seen as an abbreviated indirect question; this prevalent explanation found in commentaries does not sufficiently emphasize the communicative and transphrastic role of this repetition and only alleges its ontogenesis.

⁴⁸⁴ This may be contrasted with the 164 occurrences of affirmative statements and 33 expressive statements. But there are fewer exclamations, 23.

Hettrich's specific methods and in consequence the conclusions, the general view is still valid.⁴⁸⁵

A closer look at the contexts in the Menandrian passages reveals that not all the phrases with a negative particle connote a negative proposition. Most markedly, negative interrogative forms in rhetorical questions are tantamount to positive statements, e.g. D.501:⁴⁸⁶

οὐκ εἶρηκά σοι πρὸς τὴν θύραν/ μὴ προσιέναι; 'Haven't I told you not to come near my door?'

This sentence may be understood as ≈'I've told you not to come near my door' (see also 4. *interrogatives* above).

Three more perfects come in negative sentences where the negative serves to attenuate rather than to negate; instead of a positive statement such as 'mother died' which would be perceived as excessively blunt, one finds 'mother hasn't died, has she?' or 'I fear lest mother has died'. Although in fact the verb 'to be dead' tends to recur in similarly attenuated constructions,⁴⁸⁷ it is a verb whose perfect is used virtually *pro praesente*, and

I prefer to give the example at D.E.106, quoted from 104ff:

τί κατηφὴς καὶ σκυθρωπός, εἶπέ μοι;
καὶ βλέμμα τοῦθ' ὑπόδακρυ· μὴ νεώτερον
κακὸν κατείληφάς τι τῶν [γ'] ἐνταῦθα;

'Why so glum and gloomy for goodness' sake? There are even tears in your eyes. Has something else gone wrong?' (≈ Surely nothing else has gone wrong!)

As in the cases with the verb τέθνηκε, such a construction is used here too in the context of a misfortune, to understate the eventuality of a feared disaster.

The attenuative force in such interrogative forms in itself suggests they do not function as information-seeking questions, or exclusively so. In fact, apodeictic rhetorical questions (see Mastronarde (1979) 8f) often open with ἄρα, μή, οὐ or some combination of these.

Five of the perfects in negative sentences come in extreme expressions, translated with 'never', e.g. Asp.119 (which I quote from 117ff):⁴⁸⁸

οὗτος οὐτε συγγενῇ

⁴⁸⁵ For a more favourable review, not mentioned by Fanning, see Ruijgh (1979).

⁴⁸⁶ Cf. D.786; Ep.135, 416, 751; Pk.770; Sam.589; F.I.?53.

⁴⁸⁷ Cf. D.648 and Sk.[126]. Attenuation of the idea of death in general (as well as other unpleasant or indelicate issues) is discussed separately in connection with euphemism in Menander (see note 444).

⁴⁸⁸ Cf. Asp.287; D.9, 10, 669.

οὔτε φίλον οἶδεν οὐδὲ τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ
αἰσχροῦν πεφρόντικ' οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ βούλεται
ἔχειν ἅπαντα...

'He takes no account of the claims of relatives or friends, never gives a thought to the wickedness of his life. He wants everything for himself.'

On closer examination many of the remaining negative statements, apparently straightforward, do reveal rhetorical or illocutionary force, and it is these which I shall now study more closely for their syntactic dependence and communicative interaction. I begin by making the observation that among the passages above with perfects in negative sentences with some rhetorical or illocutionary force, not all were in dialogue.⁴⁸⁹ We have already referred to the rhetorical element of monologues (Blundell (1980) 61) and to their artificial nature (Hirzel (1895) 7) and discuss them on other occasions (1.4.3 and 2.2.3b). In the remaining passages the negative statement may come in contrast with a positive, in an antithetical pattern οὐκ...ἀλλ' or οὐκ...δέ, where the force of the negated clause rests in its combination with the corresponding positive clause, e.g. D.E.101 (cited 99ff):⁴⁹⁰

καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔγωγ' ὀργίζομαι,
τὰ δ' οὐκ ἐκείνον τοῦ γεγονότος αἵτιον
ἀδικήματος νενομίκα, τὴν δ' ἱταμωτάτην
πασῶν ἐκείνην.

'I'm furious with him, and yet I don't altogether blame him for letting me down; it's *her*, the bold piece.'

The antithesis is basically logical, but manifests itself rhetorically. Other negative statements with verbs in the perfect come in dialogue as responses, themselves parts of temporal antitheses, see D.509 (cited 507ff):

(Κν.)ἀλλ' εἶρηχ' ἀπλῶς
μὴ προσιέναι μοι πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ.
(Σι.) ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκ εἶρηκας. (Κν.) ἀλλὰ νῦν λέγω.

'(Kn.) I've simply told everyone in the neighbourhood to keep away from me. (Sik.) You didn't tell me. (Kn.) Well, I'm telling you now.'

In the following temporal antithesis (D.727-9) there is also a logical cause and effect link, with the perfect at D.728 representing the past, the cause:

⁴⁸⁹ The rhetorical questions at Ep.135 and 416 are not in dialogue, in an affective question with μή not in dialogue at D.648, and none of the five negative sentences with extreme expressions implying 'never' are in dialogue.

⁴⁹⁰ Cf. (both with ἀλλά in the positive clause) D.764 and Her.42 where the negative phrase is a response to a question.

ὅπερ ἂν ἄλλος καὶ δικαίως· "οὐκ ἔαις με προσιέναι·/ οὐ προσέρχομ'· οὐδὲν
ἡμῖν γέγονας αὐτὸς χρήσιμος·/ οὐδ' ἐγὼ σοὶ γὺν."
'Another man might (with some justification) have said "You don't let me come near you;
I'm keeping well away. You've never done anything for my family: I'm doing nothing
for you now."'

The passage above, within Knemon's *apologia*, is Knemon's rendering of how someone (even Gorgias, if he were different) would have reasonably responded to Knemon's request for help. In a passage in imagined *oratio recta* one would expect to find traits which typify it as 'spoken'; note the asyndetic paratactic causal construction 'οὐκ ἔαις...' which may safely be interpreted as: 'since you don't ...'. Note also the overall use of short simple phrases with a minimum of logical connectives, but expressing complex links.⁴⁹¹

2.2.3 dependence and interaction

Trenkner (1960) offers sound guidance in attempts to disentangle transphrasal relations from the apparently simple correlation of form and function. One of the central aims of her monograph on καί is to argue against the view that its repetition and recurrence in certain textual environments is a Semitism -- and she conclusively shows that it is a native Greek feature -- yet Trenkner's fine distinctions also raise our sensitivity to typical patterns of the various genres, and to idiosyncrasies in the different modes of discourse. The main focus of Trenkner's study is on narrative (but also descriptive) passages: by distinguishing between artistic and simple narrative (p.3), she is able to interpret judgements by the ancient critics on authors who feature λέξις εἰρομένη, featuring connection by δέ and hypotactic constructions, and authors who prefer the διαλελυμένη style, such as Ktesias.⁴⁹² More commonly a distinction may be made between different passages within particular authors. In Xenophon, for example, she distinguishes between the artistic style in the novellas and more serious passages, and the simple narrative in the episodes. A distinction more relevant for our discussion is between the three types of narrative found in (Old) Comedy: didactic, character drawing, and anecdotes and satires. It is this last group, says Trenkner, which features the purest

⁴⁹¹ Cf. also Saun. 259, a negative sentence with a verb in the perfect; this too is in *oratio recta* (see also 5.3). The lack of connective (although an explanatory nuance is detectable) here too may be a deliberate reflection of 'spoken' language.

⁴⁹² For which she refers to Photius's critique at Bibl. 45a16.

mimesis of popular narrative (p.4). Trenkner produces a table (p.8) which shows the regularity of the use of *καί* in similar narrative styles by a variety of authors. A number of other 'narrative conjunctions' are found; Comedy uses *εἴτα* as a common alternative.⁴⁹³ I would like to observe here that Trenkner's table shows Aristophanes to be the author using the highest percentage of 'other connectives'.⁴⁹⁴ We will return to a discussion of Menander's use of connection in narrative sections in §5 below. I would like to anticipate at this point by observing that although ideally one ought to study the means of connection of all the phrases and sentences in Menander, there is some value in studying the connection of perfects separately. Assuming that perfects are not normally used as narrative tenses (see 5.2 below), studying connection techniques of phrases with perfects is somewhat equivalent to studying connection in dialogue (and commentary) **as opposed to** studying connection in narrative (and description).⁴⁹⁵ Trenkner herself (p.31f) addresses the question of *καί* in non-narrative, generally paratactic, texts, referring to the representation of conversation in the dialogues of Plato and Aristophanes,⁴⁹⁶ and makes a sweeping statement on the dependence of all propositions in such contexts:

Dans un contexte paratactique, aucune proposition n'est vraiment indépendante, chacune résulte de la précédente ou subit son influence, et crée une circonstance nouvelle pour la suivante...

There is more truth in this statement than meets the eye; it is made in extreme terms, and perhaps for rhetorical reasons. I do not believe that Trenkner meant this in a categorical way, as her own discussion takes account of many exceptions. I hope to show that when this is qualified by the patterns special for and typical of drama and New Comedy, a high proportion of statements in Menander with verbs in the perfect (generally not in narrative

⁴⁹³ See Dover (1968) 83.

⁴⁹⁴ Trenkner does not comment on this statistic, which is quite remarkable (31% of the conjunctions Aristophanes uses in such contexts are 'autres liaisons': Isaeus shows not half that percentage -- 14%, and Thphr. *Char.* less than that). Andocides and Plato only partly approach this, with 20% each. Not entirely surprising is the fact that the text with the closest percentage of 'autres liaisons' is a Modern Greek popular tale with 28% (see Trenkner (1960) 6 for reference).

⁴⁹⁵ The distinction between narrative and dialogue in the study of particles is mentioned in the introduction of Denniston (1966) and is observed in specific usages *passim*; this distinction, and the distinction between rhesis and dialogue exchange is applied with success in the study of asyndeton in Menander (Ferrero (1976) 92) and the study of particles in Menander (González Merino (1980)).

⁴⁹⁶ Compare the independently formulated but apposite definition 'dialogue paratactique' in Andrieu (1952), discussed in 2.2.1 above.

contexts) are indeed dependent or linked, either logically or communicatively, with a neighbouring proposition, usually a preceding one.

The basic distinction is not one of form (i.e. whether there is a connective or not), but whether or not the statement is 'apodotic' and/or 'responsive'. Logical ('apodotic') and/or communicative ('responsive') interdependence can be achieved by a variety of means some of which the modern reader can detect in the form (particle coordination, superordination, participial conjuncts, demonstrative correlation) or in the context (presence of a question, command, or statement, explicit in the text, or implicitly deduced; rapidity of exchange). Since we are deprived of intonation and gesticulation, we are limited to the indications given above, and to an analysis of combinatory factors.

The inherent dependence of phrases in dialogue is recognized by Scherer (1975) 106. I end the preliminary remarks by referring to Dressler (1971) 19, §15, where a variety of syntactic mechanisms indicating connection (textual dependence) is proposed:⁴⁹⁷ Dressler includes the initial position of the verb, use of conjunctions, anaphoric pronouns, and ellipse. To this list I would like to add what I have observed from studying the connections of question and answer (and other stimulus and response exchanges) in Menandrian dialogue: connectives, repetition,⁴⁹⁸ and perhaps vocatives which make the bond between the interlocutors more intimate.⁴⁹⁹

I have found twelve perfects in *apodoseis* to subordinate clauses and indirect discourse (and possibly two more),⁵⁰⁰ and fifteen perfects governing dynamic infinitives, future participles of purpose, and similar constructions.⁵⁰¹ It is difficult to draw the line between subordinate clauses and complement clauses, particularly in the case of expressions of fearing and verbs taking infinitives which may be perceived as introducing

⁴⁹⁷ I recall here that Dressler focuses on the connection of simple statements in main clauses (he does not specify if they are non-negative).

⁴⁹⁸ —both indications of connection discussed already by other philologists.

⁴⁹⁹ On these, see especially b) *response* and 2.2.2 above, paragraph 4.

⁵⁰⁰ These are listed and discussed in 4.6.

⁵⁰¹ After verbs of convincing (equivalent to an indirect command): D.38; Sam.558. After verbs of promising, agreeing: Her.43b (if we accept Croiset's supplement $\sigma[\nu\sigma\kappa\iota\epsilon\iota\nu]$); Pk.791; Sam.651C. After verbs of sending (equivalent to purpose): D.72, 263; Pk.178 (all with future participle accusative), and Pk.354 (present participle). After verbs of motion (equivalent to purpose): D.471 (with future participle); Ep.419 (aorist infinitive). After verb of fearing: Kol.130 (with present infinitive). With supplementary participles: D.126; Ep.432.

indirect discourse;⁵⁰² what is important is the total of 27 (and two) instances of perfects in statements with apodotic function.⁵⁰³

In addition, six perfects come in main clauses which are correlated with relatives, e.g. at D.383:⁵⁰⁴

ὦ πολυτίμητοι θεοί/ οἷς ἀποτρέπεις νυνὶ γὰρ ὥς οἶμι με σύ,/ τούτοις παρώξυμ' εἰς τὸ πρᾶγμα διπλασίως.
'Heavens, man, those very things by which you think you're putting me off, they're what spur me on twice as much for the job.'

The demonstratives in these and other types of statements may be perceived as connective.

A statement may be 'apodotic' in relation to a participial expression, such as it is to the genitive absolute with causal force at Asp.110:

κειμένης δ' ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς/ τῆς ἀσπίδος τοῦ μαιράκιου τ' ὠιδηκός/ οὗτος διημάρτηκεν.
'And what with the shield lying there among the corpses, and the young man's body decomposing, Daos here [naturally] made a mistake.'

In thirteen additional sentences certainly (and in three possibly), perfects are 'apodotic' to participles representing a range of logical connections.⁵⁰⁵ In addition to these *participia conjuncta*, compare also participial object clauses which are logically dependent on perfects.⁵⁰⁶

Beyond these constructions of subordination or quasi-subordination (at most involving 50 of the 164 perfects under discussion in this section), one must reckon for the remaining perfects which are in some other way dependent. They may have a logical or communicative interaction with the neighbouring phrase (usually the phrase preceding them), and in this sense they are not independent.⁵⁰⁷ Logically dependent (non-apodotic)

⁵⁰² Note that the protasis in hypotactic constructions sometimes precedes the apodosis, it may follow (especially in conditions and indirect discourse: however, verbs governing complement clauses seldom show such flexibility). In the sample above only twice (D.126 and Pk.791) did the complement precede the verb, both times in rhetorically rich passages.

⁵⁰³ All '+' in column 6 of table 1.

⁵⁰⁴ Cf. D.E.90; D.383, 821, 864; Kol.88, 93. Most of these have a correlative demonstrative, but contrast Kol.93.

⁵⁰⁵ Asp.112 (concessive or temporal); D.35 (?causal), 38, 398b, 722 (causal); Ep.360 (concessive); Her.18 (causal), 43b (temporal); Mis.A6 (temporal or concessive); Pk.178 (causal), 492 (temporal or causal); Sam.334 (causal or temporal), 424 (temporal), 425 (temporal), 721 (manner); Sk.206 (temporal).

⁵⁰⁶ D.724-6 and Ep.1108, both concessive. For (accusative) (future) participles with verbs of sending and motion, see above n.501.

⁵⁰⁷ See Trenkner (1960) 31, and my discussion at the beginning of the section.

phrases are found in *antitheses and adversative* statements, usually with some connective particle, e.g. Pk.347, with δέ:⁵⁰⁸

ἀρτίως μὲν οὐ[κ ἀλ]ηθές, νῦν δὲ λελάληκας πάλιν. 'Lies a minute ago, now your babblings make some sense.'

The contrast at Pk.489 (in antilabe) is drawn without recourse to a connective, and can be interpreted from the context, given here from 486ff:⁵⁰⁹

(Πα.) εἰ μὲν τι τοιοῦτ' ἦν, Πολέμων, οἷόν φατε

ὑμεῖς τὸ γεγονός, καὶ γαμετὴν γυναῖκά σου--

(Πο.) οἷον λέγεις, Πάταικε. (Πα.) διαφέρει δέ τι.

(Πο.) ἐγὼ γαμετὴν **νενόμικα** ταύτην. (Πο.) μὴ βόα.

'(Pataikos) Now, Polemon, if the sort of thing you've been telling me about had happened to your lawful wedded wife -- (Pol.) This is outrageous, Pataikos! (Pat.) [*mildly*] It does make a difference. (Pol.) [But] I do regard her as my lawful, wedded wife! (Pat.) No need to shout...'

Nevertheless, such instances of contrast are not as frequent as *explanatory statements* or *responses*. Dialogue such as found in Menander is not a good breeding-ground for independent propositions; the motivation for saying something is a) to explain a previous statement (in a continuous speech), or b) to respond to a question, a comment, or a statement of one's interlocutor (or in self-address).

a) This relation expressed asyndetically may be equated with the *colon* in punctuation. The proposition may elaborate on or explain a previous one, in which case it follows a 'colon'-type pause, and may be understood as 'namely, i.e.', as in Asp.394:

καλῶς ἐπόησε. πρόφασιν εἴληψ' ἄσμενος/ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὥστε μὴ φιλανθρώπως ἔτι/ ταῦτ' ἐξετάζειν...

'He's done me a favour: He's provided me with a most welcome excuse to scrutinize the list without any feelings of altruism...' (Cf. N.M.'s use of 'for' instead of a colon).

Or it may convey a more sharply causal relation, as understood in the English 'for', e.g. in Asp.262 (quoted 260ff):

ἀνθρωπίνως

τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἔνεγκε, Σμικρίνη, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν.

τῇ παιδί ταύτῃ **γέγονε** Χαιρέας ὁδὶ

σύντροφος ὁ μέλλων λαμβάνειν αὐτήν.

'For heaven's sake, Smikrines, show some human feeling. Khaireas here, who's engaged to marry the girl, has grown up with her.'

⁵⁰⁸ Cf. Asp.13 (μὲν), 15 (δέ), 175 (δέ), 345 (δέ); Hcr.43a (ἀλλά); Kol.130 (δέ); Pk.791 (δέ); Sam.334 (νυνὶ δέ), 487 (ἀλλά).

⁵⁰⁹ One probable parallel is F.I.49a. Apparent parallels at D.900; Sam.425, and 620 are in fact apodotic rather than communicative.

Normally the perfect in asyndeton interacts in such a way with the previous proposition, as illustrated above. On rare occasions a statement (with the perfect) may introduce a following proposition, in which case it precedes a 'colon' type pause, e.g. Pk.793 (quoted from 792):

καὶ τοῦτό μοι σύσσημον εἶρηκεν σαφές· ὁμώμοκεν τῇ μητρὶ. 'Another piece of clear confirmation! She gave her word to my 'mother'.'

There are 29 such instances (as well as 3 possible instances) of perfects in apparently independent statements,⁵¹⁰ which are paratactically linked, usually with a preceding proposition,⁵¹¹ giving detail, explanation, or an equivalent ('i.e., namely'). Many of these are asyndetic.⁵¹² Many of these 29 are not in dialogue.⁵¹³

b) In terms of communicative interaction an interesting case is presented by the apparently independent phrases which function as *responses* in dialogue and in fact transphrastically depend on the question they answer, on the command to which they acquiesce or which they refuse, or on the statement to which they correspond. I believe I have identified 53 such responses among sentences with verbs in the perfect (for references see those marked with an 'R' in tables 1-5, and for a synopsis see table 6, in Appendix II). The most common single type is the response to a question, with a straightforward example at D.554 (cited from 553ff):

(Σω.) τί ποιεῖτ' ἐνθάδ', εἰπέ μοι; (Γε.) τί γάρ· τεθύκαμεν ἄρτι καὶ παρασκευάζομεν ἄριστον ὑμῖν. '(Sos.) What are you all doing here? (Get.) Why, we've just finished the sacrifice, and now we're getting lunch ready.'

This type of dependence is structured in a paratactic (sometimes asyndetic) form, suited to direct dialogue: the question is asked by one speaker and the answer is given by his interlocutor.⁵¹⁴

⁵¹⁰ Asp. 113, 225, 262, 394; D. 96, 164, 489, 558, 770, 775, 818, 864, [885]; Ep. [138], 579, 875, 881, 901, 904, 1108; Mis. 268, 306; Pk. 342, 399, 793, 1023; Sam. 54, 128, 364, 387; Sk. 14; F.I. 49b. For explanatory 'responses', see b) below.

⁵¹¹ Other than Pk.793 above, those which link up to a following proposition (are 'prospective', to use the terminology of Denniston (1966)) are: D. 489, 558, 775 and Ep. 901. Note that in all of these the following proposition has the connective γάρ, which tightens the link. Two also have anticipatory expressions: μέν in Ep. 901, and ἐνθαδί in D. 558, while others have the verb first (see Dressler (1971) and Scherer (1975)).

⁵¹² The following include connectives: Asp. 113 (μὲν οὖν); D. 96 (δέ), 164 (δέ); Ep. 904 (διόπερ), 1108 (καὶ νῦν μέν); Pk. 1023 (διὰ τοῦτο); Sam. 128 (ἄρα), 364 (γούν), 387 (ἀλλά).

⁵¹³ A brief look at table 1 indicates this by the many passages marked '-' in column 1.

⁵¹⁴ Cf. D. 780; Ep. 293; Sam. 132, 407, 436f, and perhaps ?558.

Alternatives are sought for the connective particles usually used in prose to indicate logical, sometimes interactive, connections. The alternative used in the passage above is the repetition of the question word from the preceding question in the form 'τί γάρ';⁵¹⁵ These responses are mostly to questions such as 'how' 'who?' 'why?' etc. (i.e. with question-words) and involve genuine exchange and progress in the conversation through question and answer.

Another bridge between interlocutors which may be seen as an alternative to the connectives appropriate to dialogue is the use of a vocative or some other expression involving the second person (the interlocutor); I have found only one example among the responses with verbs in the perfect, at D.750 (in the passage quoted below 748ff).⁵¹⁶

(Γο.) δέῃ δὲ μετὰ σοῦ νυμφίον
ὥς τάχισθ' εὐρεῖν <τιν'> ἡμᾶς τῇ κόρῃ, σοὶ συνδοκοῦν.
(Κν.) οὗτος, εἴρηχ' ὅσ' ἐφρόνουν σοι· μὴ 'νόχλει, πρὸς τῶν
θεῶν::

'(Go.) ...We must find a husband for the girl without delay, if you agree. (Kn.) Look, I've told you my intentions. Leave me alone, for goodness' sake.'

In some passages where the stimulus superficially takes on the form of a question, the speaker is responding to the question of an interlocutor, but the question functions more like a *prompt* for the continuation of a narrative⁵¹⁷ or of some other account. Greek expressions equivalent to 'go on!' and 'what next?', rather than contributing to a genuine question and answer progression, are interjected into a continued rhesis and do not play an active role in the progress of information exchange. The perfect at Mis.A53 is a response to just such a question,⁵¹⁸ in a passage quoted from 50ff:

(Θρ.) τηρῶ τὸν Δία
ῥόντα πολλῶι νυκτὸς οὔσης, ἀστραπᾶς,

⁵¹⁵ For 'τί γάρ;' opening answers to τί questions, see GS at Ep.261. Cf. Ep.293 (Συ.) εἴρηκεν; (Σμ.) οὐκ ἤκουσας; εἴρηκεν., and Sam.434 (Μο.) ποῖα; (Νι.) πολί; ἀηδία τις συμβέβηκεν ἔκτοπος. More passages are indicated in column 6 of table 6 by '(qu)' or '(qu rp)'.

⁵¹⁶ Compare Pk.770, where φίλτατ', an intimate vocative, serves to bridge the response to the stimulus in an analogous manner; this is not a response with a perfect, and although I have found only one example with the perfect, a more general investigation will surely yield further examples (not in the perfect).

⁵¹⁷ Cf. 5.4 below for prods and interlocutor participation in narrative rheses.

⁵¹⁸ Cf. Asp.343 'τί οὖν;' interjected by Khairestratos into Daos' detailed account of his plan. An uncertain parallel is Sam.558 where Demeas asks Nikeratos 'τί φῆις;' after Nikeratos begins a short account; however this is probably still an exchange, because the question is more than a prompt, it asks 'how?'. For more possible examples see passages marked 'prompt qu' in column 2 of table 6.

βροντάς. ἔχων αὐτὴν δὲ κατακείμεναι· (Γε.) εἴτα τί;
 (Θρ.) κέκραγα 'παιδίσκη'...
 '(Thr.) I wait for the right moment, for a real rainstorm at night, thunder and lightning, and I'm in bed with her. (Get.) Then what? (Thr.) Then I call out 'My girl...'

Note that the surrounding context is missing from this passage, although I follow Turner (1981) 17 in interpreting this as a narrative (of past actions).

In F.I.55 we have a question of one speaker answered (in the perfect by the interlocutor) and this is clearly a dialogue (antilabe) with full exchange. However, there is no symmetry between the interlocutors: one is passive, mainly asking for further clarification or stating his ignorance in brief interruptions to the other's speeches.

Only two passages in which perfects are found in response to questions are not in dialogue (Sam.361, 406). The question form in both, 'τί τοῦτο;', represents an idiomatic exclamation of surprise rather than an information-seeking question with interrogative function, as illustrated by Sam.361 when seen in its context (cited from 360f):

'Ἡράκλεις. τί τοῦτο παῖ;/ μαινόμενος εἰσδέδραμῃκεν εἴσω τις γέρων·
 'Herakles! What was that!?' Some old man, raving, just ran inside!'

In fact the whole passage, formally composed of an interjection in question form and a statement (with a perfect), may be analyzed as an exclamation (reinforced not only by the choice of the perfect form, but by an exclamatory oath and an idiom expressing surprise).

Apparently independent phrases (with the perfect) are also interactively linked with statements to which they respond. The perfect (D.126) offers a good illustration of this in the passage D.123ff where Sostratos brushes aside Pyrrhias' warnings, but Khairreas here acquiesces:

(Πυ.) ...ἵκετεύω σ', ἄπιτε. (Σω.) δειλίαν λέγεις.
 (Πυ.) οὐκ ἴστε τὸ κακὸν οἶόν ἐστι. κατέδεται
ἡμᾶς. (Χαι.) τυχὸν ἴσως <ὄδ'> ὀδυνώμενός τι νῦν
τετύχηκε
 '(Pyrrh.) For goodness' sake, move off! (Sos.) Chicken! (Pyrrh.) You don't realize the danger. He'll eat us alive! (Khair.) Perhaps he may be a bit upset now.'

Note the typically rapid exchange (here involving three actors) in mid-verse, and the lack of connectives. On the illocutionary status of the sentence D.125f, see 2.2.2 1)b: the

statement may be taken as a question -- in any case in communicative terms it responds to the interlocutor's statement.⁵¹⁹ The perfect is found in rejoinders of statements at D.833, D.900, and Sam.139:

(1) D.832f:

(Σω.) ...οὐκ ἄξιον κρίνεις σεαυτὸν τοῦ γάμου.

(Γο.) ἐμαυτὸν εἶναι κέκρικ' ἐκείνης ἄξιον,
λαβεῖν δὲ πολλὰ μικρ' ἔχοντ' οὐκ ἄξιον.

'(So.) ...You're saying you're not worthy of the match! (Go.) I reckon that personally I am a worthy match for her, but it's not right to accept a fortune when one has so little.'

(2) D.900: (Γε.) ...ἔσται τις ἡδονή, λέγω. (Σικ.) τὸν Γοργίαν δέδοικα/ μὴ καταλαβὼν ἡμᾶς καθαίρη

'(Ge.) ...That'll be fun, I tell you. (Sik.) But what about Gorgias? I'm a bit scared he might catch us and wallop us.'

(3) Sam.138f: (Δη.) σὺ μὲν/ παίζεις. (Μο.) μὰ τὸν Διόνυσον, <ἀλλ'>
ἐσπούδακα.

'(De.) You must be joking. (Mo.) By God I'm not. I'm perfectly serious.'

Note that the six clear-cut examples (and two discursively problematic ones)⁵²⁰ share external features of change of speaker (which involves a verse-break in D.126, 900; Ep.[140]; Sam.139 and F.I.28) and all come without connectives except Sam.139, if we read the correction of Arnott adopted by Sandbach. But a connective in this sort of interactive dependence is rare and noteworthy.

Least often, apparently independent statements (with the verb in the perfect) in fact respond to commands (in a variety of forms). The response to a command may be acquiescence (those in the perfect: D.72, 692; Sam.721), or it may be a refusal (D.750) or a stall (Sam.679). Here the choice of the perfect and its effect can be felt in consistent contrast with the future or quasi-future; in an acquiescing mode the perfect conveys the effect of 'done!', an exaggeration of 'I shall do it immediately'.⁵²¹ This is most clearly illustrated by the abrupt exchange at D.692: θάρρει. :: τεθάρρηκ'.⁵²² I note for completeness that connectives are not used in these responses either; it is the rapid exchange and responsive function that link these statements with the commands to which they respond. Note that all (except D.750) are in antilabe.

⁵¹⁹ Another positive response is D.419 (μεμάθηκα). The response at Her.18 may be explanatory: (Γε.) ὑπερδαιπνεῖς ἴσως/ (Δα.) πέποιθα τὴν ψυχὴν τι.

⁵²⁰ Ep.[140], an aside, and F.I.28, an interjection.

⁵²¹ See perfect *pro futuro* (presented in 1.3.2). This is analogous to informal use of the aorist indicative when referring to the present in the so-called 'dramatic aorist' (see Gildersleeve (1910) §262). See also McKay (1965) 5, with n.20.

⁵²² Compare the use of the present *pro futuro* at Sam.670: ἔτι λαλεῖς οὗτος; :: βαδίζω.

Finally, Sam.713 is a response to an offstage speaker, and we cannot tell whether it is a response to a question, to a statement, or to a command.

As anticipated in 2.2.2 (a), brevity is a natural feature of responses. In addition to the one-word responses at D.692 and Ep.293a,b mentioned earlier, I refer to D.419, Her.70 and Sam.315.⁵²³ These are responses not only to questions, but also to commands and corresponding statements.⁵²⁴ There are equally many examples of responses which are not 'short'.⁵²⁵ Only twelve of the responses include the object of the perfect,⁵²⁶ but there is not much evidence to suggest that many of those without objects are 'missing' an object (even a brief synopsis of the verbs indicates that many are intransitive, but of course only a close examination of the individual contexts can determine this).⁵²⁷ No correlation is indicated between the presence of an object and the lack of brevity.⁵²⁸ It can safely be said, then, that brevity is not a necessary feature of responses; although it is natural and may explain the recurrence of 'missing' subjects, objects, verbs, etc. in responses, it cannot be used as a criterion on its own, but adds weight in an approach using the cumulative effect of a variety of indications.

Bearing in mind all the *caveats* spelled out in §0 above, I refer here to the application of brevity made by Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton (1987) in determining the response as a distinct speech act (§1.1.2.4.1: answers as a distinct speech act). Note that they specify 'answers to questions':⁵²⁹

There are no **formal** [my emphasis] means by which answers -- whether to yes-no questions, question-word questions, or echo-questions -- are distinguished from other types of speech acts. They differ from questions, commands, and exclamations in intonation, having instead the intonation of statements. **Typically though not necessarily, however, they are shorter than** statements and are often somewhat elliptical...

⁵²³ Compare also a one-word response with a perfect imperative at Sam.721: ἀφείσθω. Other short responses are marked '+' in column 5 of table 6.

⁵²⁴ For details, see column 2 in table 6 for these passages.

⁵²⁵ Although 'short' is a somewhat subjective criterion, these would probably fall within a consensus. The following are borderline cases and have been excluded: Mis.A53; Sam.139, 434, 7713.

⁵²⁶ those marked '+' in column 8 of table 6.

⁵²⁷ See in particular §3 below.

⁵²⁸ This can be seen even in a superficial glance at the combinations of columns 5 and 8, where there is not tendency for '-' with '+' respectively.

⁵²⁹ whereas we follow the broader definition given in Thesleff (1961).

Although I cannot comment on the intonation of the ancient Greek interrogative or compare the intonation in answers with that in statements and contrast these with the intonation of other sentence types, I do make the following comments: 1) The observation on comparative shortness made by Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton coincides with my observations above on brevity in responses (not only to questions) in Menandrian dialogue. 2) The elliptic nature of responses (i.e. beyond brevity, the apparent 'absence' of an 'obligatory' element in the sentence) is discussed in §3 below for objects. 3) On a close reading of the rest of Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton (1987), and of other works on Modern Greek, I would add to their 'lemma' on answers as speech acts the element of word-order: namely, answers differ from statements in the order of the clitic object pronoun. In Modern Greek the definite object of a transitive verb is 'necessary' and cannot be omitted even in rapid exchange. I bring here example (40) from Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton (1987) 14:

A: *évala* to vivlió s to trapézi? B: *to évala*
 A: Did you put the book on the table? B: I did/ yes.

In such a constellation (with a transitive verb such as *válo*, here governing a definite object) it is impossible in Modern Greek to have a response 'B: * *évala*.'. An explicit (if pronominal) reference to the object is obligatory.⁵³⁰

My final observations on the patterns in responses have to do with the patterns of shift in forms identified with transitions between stimulus and response. Chantaine (1927) 147 touches in an unsystematic way on relations between verbs across phrases when he interprets perfects as *pro praesente* because they are coordinated with or simply in *proximity* with presents. Had his focus been more syntactic and attuned to the recurrence of dialogue in the examples he gives, he would have noted for the reader that there are distinct identifiable connections to be made between the phrases in which these verbs are found, and that many are in dialogue. The *economy of forms* maintained between main and subordinate clauses may be applied to phrases or clauses transphrastically dependent but not formally subordinate. This includes texts comprising questions and answers, or

⁵³⁰ It would be interesting to compare this with usage in Comic and Platonic dialogue within the framework of a general survey of dialogue technique which does not focus mainly on perfects.

any stimulus and response. This notion of economy has helped some to explain a lack of repetition ('ellipse') of constituents such as subject (in subordinate clauses or in series of events in narrative sequence), object (in transphrastic constructions), and verb. It has led others such as Wackernagel (1920) 177 and Watkins (1966) to formulate explanations for sequences involving a compound verb followed by a simplex without change of meaning. On the analogy of economy in this specific and long-recognized pattern,⁵³¹ Kiparsky (1968) assesses the shift of tense-forms from one phrase to the next. If one combines the notion of non-arbitrary shifts in tenses (especially of identical verbs), and the notion of interrelation of interlocutions, this builds a context within which to view patterns involving perfects in dialogue exchange. I illustrate below three specific patterns:

1. perfect > perfect, e.g. D.507ff:⁵³² (Κν.) ἀλλ' εἴρηχ' ἀπλῶς/ μὴ προσιέναι... / (Σι.) ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκ εἴρηκας. 'I've said not to go...' 'Not to me you didn't.'

2. perfect > perfect, e.g. D.779f:⁵³³ (Κα.) τί τοῦτο, Σώστρατ'; ἡριστήκατε;/ (Σω.) ἀλλὰ καὶ σοὶ παραλέλειπται. πάραγε. 'Well, Sostratos? Lunch over?' 'Yes, but we've kept some for you, go on in.'

3. perfect and same verb in another form:

a. D.832f: (Σω.) ...οὐκ ἄξιον κρίνεις σεαυτὸν τοῦ γάμου./ (Γο.) ἐμαυτὸν εἶναι κέκρικ' ἐκείνης ἄξιον,...

'(So.) ...You're saying you're not worthy of the match! (Go.) I reckon that personally I am a worthy match for her...'

b. Kol.fr.2.3f: ...τρίς ἐπέπιον μεστόν γε. :: Ἀλεξάνδρου πλέον/ τοῦ βασιλέως πέπωκας::

'Three times I drained a golden goblet... -- and it was full every time. :: You've drunk more than king Alexander.'

c. D.692: :: θάρρει. :: τεθάρρηκ'... 'Cheer up! :: Don't worry...'

Pattern 1. features identical repetition, which is a reflex of conversation as much as economy is. The use of repetition in responses is discussed by Thesleff (1961), mainly for Latin, and in the Greek grammars *passim* but less specifically and systematically. My translation uses '*did*', the English mechanism which best reflects the effect the repetition seeks in other languages. Pattern 2. is perhaps more context-oriented; one may suggest an 'attraction' of forms, but no general explanation may be given. Pattern 3. is

⁵³¹ As well as analogy with alternations of augmented tenses with the present in past contexts, and comparable phenomena in other Indo-European languages.

⁵³² Cf. Asp.502; D.E.110; Ep.293a, 293b; E.I.60.

⁵³³ Cf. Pk.327; Sam.361, 407, 437, 558.

most closely analogous to the transphrastic interplay mentioned above, and may be compared with the interplay between compound and simplex in dialogue (e.g. Pl.R.6.370e: προσδεήσει... δεήσει, cf. S.OT 1076).⁵³⁴ There are only three examples in Menander involving the perfect, and although the commentators discuss the individual occurrences within their contexts, it is worth keeping in mind the possibility of a deliberate pattern in such cases.

Most of the responses are in present contexts, and none are combined with phrases having a verb in a secondary tense. The only significant transition is between future and perfect,⁵³⁵ which corresponds to shifts between future main clauses and perfect subordinate clauses, and their equivalents (see §4).

closing remarks

Verbs in the perfect are not associated with any one particular type of sentence, although they are more frequent in affirmative non-subordinate statements than in any other sentence type. This preference may reflect the distribution of sentence types in the language at large rather than any special quality of the perfect.

The single most frequent type of sentence in which the verb comes in the perfect is the affirmative statement. However, perfects occur not infrequently in other types of sentences as well: in negative statements and in both affirmative and negative interrogative sentences.⁵³⁶ I believe I have illustrated the tendency for comic dialogue (and the perfects which are typical of them) to use exchange, particles, word-order, asyndetic juxtaposition and other effects to create the cohesion achieved in other types of discourse by subordination.

⁵³⁴ Many examples are also given in Brunel (1938), ignored by Watkins (1966).

⁵³⁵ See column 10 in table 6.

⁵³⁶ As with modes of discourse, I prefer to relegate figures to the footnote: 164 statements (1.), 52 sentences in interrogative form (4.), 34 negative statements (5.), 33 affective statements (2. -- although these may be an offshoot of 1. or 3.), and 23 exclamations (3.).

2.3 semantic groups

I have found that the types of verb which come in the perfect are varied, and no generalization can be made about the meanings of verbs which tend to be used in the perfect. Taxonomies based on meaning such as those of Wackernagel (1904) are useful, but no two are the same, and they reflect individual, perhaps subjective, distinctions in the minds of their particular authors. Chantraine (1927) summarizes the classification given in Delbrück *Grundriß* IV 178f for stative perfects in Homer. Such classifications are carried out for the *praesens historicum* as well; Lilja (1968) 105f summarizes and argues with one such arrangement by Koller (1951), but basically stays within the system of semantic organization. Aside from arbitrary and subjective lines of division, it is difficult to apply a classification based on one corpus to another, no matter how systematic, because the use and prevalence of verbs from certain lexical groups within a defined corpus is ultimately dictated by its genre and the themes it treats.

Fanning (1990) 128ff gives an elaborate, symmetrical system of division of verbs based not on meaning, but on subtle distinctions of the degree of procedural character: along a spectrum ranging from states to punctuals Fanning locates activities, accomplishments and climaxes. I agree with McKay (1994) 29 n.1 that the distinction between action verbs and stative verbs is the important one. Below I merely present some major groups of verbs which appear in the perfect in Menander, and discuss possible reasons for the occurrence of perfects in verbs belonging to certain semantic fields. The most interesting groups are those in which the meaning has some particular significance for the genre of Comedy (at times specifically for New Comedy).⁵³⁷ The ultimate point in this exercise (2.3) is to show that unless one customizes the traditional semantic classifications of verb-types, especially for use as a basis for analysis of aspect or Aktionsart, to the corpus one is investigating and to its generic features, such classifications are of limited use when transferred.

Verbs which tend to recur in the perfect in Menander belong to the following groups: verbs of perception and verbs of judgment, which I find somewhat difficult to distinguish

⁵³⁷ E.g. πλήγγω, φασέω, etc. Notice that there are no examples of κρούω in the perfect.

sharply;⁵³⁸ *verba dicendi*; verbs of motion; verbs expressing door-noise; verbs of wrongdoing; verbs describing the milestones of life; and verbal expressions describing personal situations and emotional states. In the notes below I normally mention only the verbs; for their references, see Appendix Ia.

2.3.1 verbs of perception and verbs of judgment:

Verbs of perception which most often occur in the perfect are verbs of hearing⁵³⁹ (11 times), closely followed by verbs of seeing.⁵⁴⁰ A more general verb of perception, αἰσθάνομαι, occurs twice. Verbs of learning or understanding, which are at the borderlines of this group, occur six times.⁵⁴¹ Other verbs which may or may not be grouped here are verbs of forgetting, overhearing, etc.⁵⁴²

Verbs of thinking and judgment which occur quite often in the perfect are νομίζω (eight times) and φροντίζω, though there are others.⁵⁴³

2.3.2 *verba dicendi*

The verb which occurs by far the most often in the perfect (as well as in other tenses) is λέγω (23 times). Other verbs are λαλέω, κράζω, προσαγορεύω and ἀπαγγέλλω. There are other verbs which have more complex meanings, but at their basis involve speech acts, such as to promise, to agree, or to make an oath.⁵⁴⁴

2.3.3 verbs of motion

Quite a large variety of verbs of motion may be found among the perfects used in Menander. Still, the most commonly recurring verbs are ἔρχομαι and its compounds. The incidence of compound forms is higher than that of the simplex ἔρχομαι.⁵⁴⁵ Other than τρέχω and εἰστρέχω the rest of the verbs are of a more expressive nature: εἰσπηδάω, ἐκπηδάω, ὀρμάω, ὑπεκδύομαι. ἀποδιδράσκω, ἐκλακτίζω and καταφεύγω

⁵³⁸ Perhaps one can say that verbs of judgment often govern a phrase whose constituents are in a predicative relation, or a subordinate clause. Verbs of perception may often merely govern one direct object in the accusative, or express an absolute state of perception.

⁵³⁹ I.e. ἀκούω.

⁵⁴⁰ I.e. ὁράω and θεάομαι.

⁵⁴¹ I.e. μαρτυράω and πιστεύω.

⁵⁴² ἐπιλανθάνομαι and ἐπακούω.

⁵⁴³ κρίνω, νομίζομαι and νοέω. ὑπολαμβάνω and καταλαμβάνω essentially belong in this broad category. λογίζομαι would belong here, but it is supplemented rather than attested.

⁵⁴⁴ From the verbs ὑπέχομαι, ὁμολογέω (perfect in P. Cair., but aorist in P. Bodm.), and ὁμνυμι.

⁵⁴⁵ With 18 examples: ἀπέρχομαι, εἰσέρχομαι, ἐξέρχομαι, προέρχομαι, προσέρχομαι and ὑπέρχομαι. There are only 9 examples of the simplex.

mean 'to escape'; *πλανάομαι* is used metaphorically and strictly it belongs in 2.3.6 below. Generally speaking the frequency of the verbs of motion can be explained by their recurring use in drama to express in-text stage-directions in the form of entrance and exit announcements. The variety may be explained by Menander's move away from the rather formulaic use of fixed expressions of visual announcements towards a more naturalistic melding of this information into the role of the speaker in each context. Finally, recurring use of the perfect in these stage-directional phrases may be seen as part of a more general tendency for the use of primary tenses in stage-directional phrases to set them apart in the commentary mode.

2.3.4 verbs expressing door noise

Closely connected in their dramatic function with verbs of motion are the perfects of the verbs *πλήττω* and *ψοφέω*, which are also used mainly in primary tenses, and are typical of New Comedy. Their perfects are not attested before Menander (see 1.7.1).

2.3.5 verbs of wrongdoing

This is not a traditionally defined group of verbs in the way *verba dicendi* or verbs of motion are, but represents a collection of verbs conveniently grouped together in a discussion of usage of the perfect. Verbs of wrongdoing inherently emphasize the continuing responsibility of the subject for an action carried out in the past; this is how the perfects of such event verbs are seen as states.⁵⁴⁶ Besides *ἀδικέω*, *ἀμαρτάνω*, *διαμαρτάνω*, *ἀτυχέω* and *ποιέω*⁵⁴⁷ which are very general, here too a wide variety of verbs represents a commensurate variety of actions which imply some kind of *αἰτία* on the part of the subject. Some mean 'to destroy',⁵⁴⁸ others imply an action done in stealth, e.g. 'to overhear' at D821.⁵⁴⁹

Other verbs signify harsh reactions and extreme behaviour (such as expelling someone out of a household, or rejecting a lover), and can be associated to the group of 'bad' acts by these contexts, if not just by their basic meaning. Some of these forms of behaviour

⁵⁴⁶ See already Chantraine (1927) 175, and among subsequent scholars, McKay (1965).

⁵⁴⁷ At Sam.308, 487, 652; fr.740.6. In other passages they are used without this nuance.

⁵⁴⁸ Grg.3 (*ἀπολωλεκ-*); D.681 (*εἰσαπολωλεκ-*); Kol.88 (*ἀπολωλεκ-*); 96 (*ἀναιρέω*).

⁵⁴⁹ See also Her.42 *λάβθαι μὲν*, 'Ἡράκλεις, οὐδ' ἐγκεχειρήκ',... and perhaps the verbs of motion at Ep.904 (*ὑπεκδύομαι*) and at fr.431.1 (*ὑπέρχομαι*).

and the verbs that express them deserve specific mention and treatment because they are characteristic of New Comedy plots and situations. A good example are verbs of cheating and swindling, since the *topos* of the suspicious father-in-law who is sure he is being cheated by his present or future son-in-law (or the master by his slave) is a common one.

The specific situation of expulsion which comes to mind, and which in fact supplies the examples of perfect forms, is in the *Samia*, where Khrysis is expelled from Demeas' house, and then from Nikeratos'.⁵⁵⁰ Rejection plays a part in the drama that unfolds in the *Perikeiromene*, for example, where Glykera spurns Polemon's advances, and this is expressed by verbs meaning 'to abandon' etc., often coming in the perfect.⁵⁵¹ Feelings of being cheated or swindled are expressed in the perfect in two plays:⁵⁵² in the *Epitrepontes*, Daos feels that although he was the one who found the exposed child and all that was left with it, he has been robbed of everything -- he feels totally 'cleaned out'.⁵⁵³ In the *Samia*, Nikeratos twice in the perfect,⁵⁵⁴ in a single conversation, jumps to the conclusion that he has been 'cheated' by Moskhion, assuming he will not marry his daughter.⁵⁵⁵ The wider context of the *Fabula Incerta* is not full enough for a certain comparison to be drawn.

In fact many verbs which can be shown to put emphasis on the (resulting) state of the subject may be interpreted in individual contexts as 'αἰτία verbs'.

2.3.6 milestones of life:

Verbs meaning 'to be born', 'to get married', and 'to die' are verbs which signify major landmarks in life. They often denote events which also become situations, and narratives if not whole plots often revolve around these events. It should be noted here that many of these verbs also appear in narratives in what is called the *praesens tabulare*.⁵⁵⁶ There

⁵⁵⁰ *Sam.* 407 (ἐκβάλλω), 416 (ἐκκλείω), and 436 (ἐξελαύνω).

⁵⁵¹ *PK* 321 (καταπέφευγ'), 342 (καταλέλοιπεν), 401 (καταπέφευγε), 492 (ἀπελήλυθεν), and twice in 506 (καταλέλοιπε).

⁵⁵² The wider context of *F.I.* is not full enough for a certain comparison to be made.

⁵⁵³ *Ep.* 360 (περισπάομαι).

⁵⁵⁴ with verbs of cheating in similar contexts in the present also.

⁵⁵⁵ *Sam.* 586 (ἐνθριόω), and 599 (σκευάζω).

⁵⁵⁶ On this see e.g. Lilja (1968) 116, and references there.

may be some connection or relationship between the perfect and the present aspects used with these verbs.

'To die' occurs in the perfect thirteen times,⁵⁵⁷ and in the aorist only three times.⁵⁵⁸ Verbs meaning 'to be born' and 'to marry' are both much less frequent in the perfect.⁵⁵⁹ It is not clear whether or not 'to live' (occurring once in the perfect at Kith.fr.1.11) ought to be included here.

2.3.7 personal situations and emotional states:

This covers a wide variety of states of mind or body which can but need not be meticulously subdivided for our purposes. The most frequent emotional states are δέδοικα 'to fear',⁵⁶⁰ and ἀπόλωλα 'to be done for' expressing despair.⁵⁶¹ Other emotional states are also expressed in the perfect.⁵⁶² The state 'to be out of one's mind, to be crazy' takes on a variety of expression: ἀπονερόμαι, ἐμβροντήμαι, ἐξέστηκα, μεμάνημαι, χόλη μέλαινα προσπέπτωκεν.

Many of these are in middle or passive form, and the active forms do not often take direct objects, but belong to the perfects which had been used regularly in classical Greek, rather than those innovated by Menander or during his time. Rather than make a correlation between perfect forms and the meanings of these verbs, I note that they have a common stative quality. In addition, many are given in the first and second persons and an affective or exclamatory tone may be detected.

Aside from these groups, which attract to them many of the perfects found in Menander, perhaps for generic reasons as much as for reasons of common Aktionsart, are many other perfects which do not belong to any specific one of these groups, and this is a clear argument for common features in both grammatical and metagrammatical contexts.

⁵⁵⁷ See θνήσκει in Appendix Ia for references.

⁵⁵⁸ Ep.268; Pk.145; fr.264.14.

⁵⁵⁹ 'To be born' Asp.218; ?Ep.639 (τίκτω); F.I.55 (γίγνομαι). 'To get married' Asp.260; fr.59.2.

⁵⁶⁰ Ten times; cf. πέφρικα (Ep.901).

⁵⁶¹ Nine times. Other similar expressions are: παραπόλλως, and ἔφθαρμαι.

⁵⁶² 'To be angry' 'to be confused' τεθορύβημαι, 'to be troubled' τετάραγμαi, 'to be distressed' κεχείμασμαι.

3. COMPLEMENTATION AND THE RESULTATIVE

An important question revolving around the perfect and the development of its use in Greek at different stages of the language is the gradual transition from use primarily in verbs of state, expressing the result of action on the **subject**, to use with verbs of action, where the emphasis of the result of an action does not necessarily rest on the subject.⁵⁶³

Identification of the stage in the development of Greek at which the perfect began to have a resultative use remains controversial.⁵⁶⁴ The period in which Menander writes is identified by some as a period in which the resultative use of the perfect was becoming more regular. Whatever position one takes, it is worth remembering the principle that one feature does not simply replace another, as recalled by Browning (1983) 10. McKay suggests two points which I think significantly affect the way this question ought to be addressed: a) transitivity is not a quality which lends itself to identification on superficial evidence such as the presence of an accusative substantive with the verb,⁵⁶⁵ just as intransitivity is not diagnosed by the absence of an object ((1965) 3). b) a perfect should not be identified as 'resultative' merely because it is transitive ((1965) 9).

Consequently, it is necessary to examine the verbs used by Menander in the perfect in terms of their transitive value (3.1-3.4).

Modern scholars frequently determine the transitivity of a verb on the basis of its meaning alone. There are a number of reasons why this is either misleading or not adequate: if such a determination is made on the basis of the verb's meaning alone, there is the risk of falling under the influence of the usage (in terms of transitivity and complementation) of one's own language rather than of classical Greek. One example is καταφεύγω, intransitive in the perfect in Menander, intransitive with a terminal accusative in poetic Greek (e.g. E.IA 911), and perceived as transitive in English. Even when one determines transitivity on the basis of the usage of the verb itself in Greek, one must take

⁵⁶³ Wackernagel (1904) and Chantraine (1927) take up the classic argument about the resultative perfect (see also discussion in §1).

⁵⁶⁴ See McKay (1965) 2f for arguments against the early dates of the currency of the resultative perfect proposed by Chantraine and Wackernagel.

⁵⁶⁵ See already the *caveat* of Chantraine (1927) 6.

into account not only the value of the verb as it is defined in the lexica,⁵⁶⁶ but also its transitivity in the particular passage in which it occurs (in the perfect). Some verbs which begin their life with intransitive use gradually come to be used transitively. Other verbs originally used transitively shift to intransitive use.

In the course of §3 I shall discuss further factors in determining transitivity (which by no means automatically indicates a 'resultative' force) such as the practice of a particular author and the different modes of discourse and sentence type.

To return to the notion of transitivity, it is vital to recall that a verb may have common uses, or may have uses which are recognized as typical because they are prevalent in authors privileged in grammars and lexica; yet the diagnosis of the verb's behaviour must take into consideration the habits of a genre,⁵⁶⁷ and ultimately the particular context of the individual passage in question.

An early study in transitivity which charts the complementation of verbs in a particular corpus of literature in Greek, examining and documenting each verb individually and describing all the possible constellations for each, is Helbing (1928): this study focuses on the Septuagint, a post-classical text riddled with Hebraisms. In this sense Helbing's findings do not offer much which is of direct use for comparison with the complementation of Menander, but the method he uses is a first step in the right direction. It is Happ (1976) who initiates the application of the modern approach he calls *Dependenz-Grammatik* (conceived in Tesnière (1959)) to a 'dead' classical language. Although in his monograph Happ treats a Latin corpus, and surely the workings of Latin complementation are different from those of Greek, there is much to learn from his methods.⁵⁶⁸

I summarize very briefly those principles Happ outlines and uses which may contribute to a better analysis of the complementation of perfects in Menander. Happ's point of

⁵⁶⁶ Menander in particular receives incomplete coverage in such works as LSJ, and this applies not only to those parts recently discovered, as has been shown in detail in 1.7 above.

⁵⁶⁷ An example of such a habit would be the 'terminal accusative', but since its use is a *differentia* of poetic language, as shown by Bers (1984) 64ff, it is not relevant for the discussion of Menander's register (for which see 0.5).

⁵⁶⁸ See Bolkestein (1976) and Rosén (1978) for detailed assessments of Happ's approach and its application to the corpus he uses.

departure is that the verb governs 'positions', one of which is the 'position' of complement. His method is strongly syntactical and he successfully dislodges the blind dependency on morphology which results from the equivalence accusative = object = sign of transitivity. Happ goes on to list forms and constructions which may fill the 'object position' (calling them *Einfüllungen* -- 'complements'), and tries to draw a distinction between complements and free constituents (*freie Angaben*) which do not need to be taken necessarily as complements of the verb. Complements do not come only in the form of nominal 'objects' in accusative (or with other cases, including ablative, in Latin), but may be represented by a variety of clause types. The kernel of Happ's work is set out in lemmatic form, and he treats each verb individually, listing all the forms of complementation the verb shows within Happ's chosen corpus. For each verb Happ further notes which complementations are obligatory and which are optional ('*fakultativ*'). Some forms of complementation are constructed over a span of more than one phrase or unit of discourse (i.e. they are 'transphrastic'); among these Happ defines *oratio recta* and *obliqua*, and 'ellipse' in question and answer and in other complex structures. In his treatment of 'ellipse' he refers to the work of Dressler (see Happ (1976) 252 for references). I reiterate here the importance of ellipse for assessing complementation in dialogue, and especially comic dialogue (although in a specific study of the perfect it does not figure prominently). Despite the excellent model this work offers, one must recall that the workings of Latin complementation are distinct from those of Greek. Happ (1977) in Dönnges & Happ offers some advice on a taxonomy of Greek complementation, giving examples for sentence-patterns from Isocrates which are illuminating. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to try and construct a full lexicon of dependencies for the individual verbs in all their forms in Menander.⁵⁶⁹

Guided by these considerations, I begin with a survey of the transitivity and complementation of the verbs found in the perfect, as reflected in the passages and their context, with only subsidiary reference to their definitions in the lexica. It will be found

⁵⁶⁹ This is a project which perhaps should be undertaken for a broader corpus embracing cognate authors with similar dialogue content and verse form (e.g. the spoken dialogue passages in Aristophanes and those in Comic Fragments which offer sufficient context) and perhaps be compared with the results of an analogous undertaking for Platonic dialogues.

that an object can appear, of course, in the accusative, but also in other oblique cases (3.2.2), or can be understood from the context without appearing (3.2.3). Accusatives need not necessarily express objects (see 3.1.2): they may be 1. adverbial (see already Chantraine (1927) 248 for an example with πέπονθα), 2. cognate or internal accusatives, or 3. reflexive pronouns, 4. (demonstrative) pronouns which serve as correlatives binding main clauses with relative clauses, or 5. subjects of subordinate clauses appearing ahead of their clause in the accusative as quasi-objects of the main verb ('prolepsis'). Consequently, I found it necessary to check for each occurrence of every verb in the perfect a) whether or not it was used with an accusative; b) whether the accusative found with a verb was a true direct object (3.2) or only apparently so (3.1.2); c) whether such a verb without an object was truly intransitive (3.1) or indeed used transitively but not explicitly so (3.2.3).

Ideally it would be interesting to compare the transitivity of these perfects with the transitivity of their counterparts in other aspect-forms of the same verbs in Menander, and with 'typical' overall use of these same verbs in other classical authors. Such a comparison would require a rigorous 'lexicon' following criteria similar to those used below for the perfect (see previous note).

3.1 I. intransitive

More verbs are used in the perfect (for a variety of reasons) when their value is intransitive than when it is transitive. Many of these describe states, and some describe verbs of motion. They offer more occurrences, but a more limited spectrum of types of verbs than shown by verbs used transitively. Finally, there are verbs which are perfect in form alone, and usually present in meaning; these are verbs which were used in the perfect during much of the classical period (see 1.7.3-4). The general trend shows that the verbs used intransitively have perfects which came into use early in the classical period, and fewer of these perfects are new.⁵⁷⁰

⁵⁷⁰ Thirteen verbs are from group IV, twenty-seven are from group III, twelve are from group II, and twelve are from group I. These figures are offered merely for an impression and not as significant statistical data. Some of the verbs in the list above were not included in this distribution because I was uncertain of the period of the introduction of their perfects.

active and middle

ἀγρυπνέω (fr.100.3), ἀδικέω (Grg.2.3; D.140, 303), ἀκούω⁵⁷¹ (Asp.82; Pk.319; Sam.128, 259; F.I.53), ἀμαρτάνω (Sam.3), ἀπαλλάττω (Ep.416), ἀπέρχομαι (Pk.492), ἀποβαίνω (F.I.49), ἀπόλλυμι (D.84; Ep.751, 906; Kol.86; Mis.247; Pk.1018; Prnth.9; Sam.315, 324; Ph.66; fr.568.7), ἀπονοέομαι (Pk.375), ἀτυχέω (Asp.287; Ep.891; fr.136.1), ἀφυβρίζω (fr.319.1), βιώω (Kith.fr.1.11), βουλεύομαι (fr.336.6), γαμέω (Asp.260; fr.59.2), γίγνομαι (Asp.112, 262; D.35, 324, 398, 543, 558, 728; Ep.296, 372, 1121, [1130]; Mis.204, fr.6.1; Pk.[124], 399, 533, 711, 724; Sam.66, 132, 248, 480, 500, 513, 522, 713; Sk.354; F.I.55; fr.790.2), δείδω⁵⁷² (D.900; Kith.48; Mis.268; Pk.182, 1021; Sk.97; fr.620.11), διαμαρτάνω (Asp.110), διευτυχέω (D.486), ἐγείρω (Kon.4), ἐγχειρέω (Her.42), εἰσέρχομαι (Asp.122, 428; Mis.271, 286; Pk.984; Sam.425), εἰσπηδάω (D.602; Sam.564), εἰστρέχω (Sam.361), ἐκλακτίζω (fr.16.1), ἐκπηδάω (Pk.527), ἐκχέω (fr.670.2), ἐξέρχομαι (D.686; Mis.A23), ἐξίστημι (Her.70; Sam.279, 620), ἐπιλανθάνομαι (Sam.429), ἔρχομαι (Asp.15; D.764; Karkh.31; Kith.[35], 44, 66; Mis.A32, 259; fr.105-6.1), εὐτυχέω (Pk.1007; F.I.49), θαρρέω (D.692), θαυμάζω (D.79), θνήσκω (Asp.216, 343, 421, 501, 502; D.438, 648; Mis.249; Sam.539; fr.453.1; 479.1), θύω (D.567), ἴστημι (D.100, 168; Ep.935; Mis.A6; Sam.105, 406; fr.325-6.2; 352.1; 664.1), καταλιπαρέω (Sam.721), καταφεύγω (Pk.321, 401), κατεργάζομαι (fr.333.2),⁵⁷³ κράζω (Mis.A53; Sam.364, 553), λαλέω (Pk.347, 509⁵⁷⁴), λανθάνω (Ep.432),⁵⁷⁵ λέγω⁵⁷⁶ (D.316; Ep.292, 293 bis, 352, Her.43; Pk.289; Sam.437), λούομαι (Pk.305), μαίνομαι (Ep.879), μανθάνω⁵⁷⁷ (D.419; Sam.655), νοέω (fr.779.2), ὀρμάω (Asp.320; Ep.419), παίζω (fr.209.3), παραπόλλυμι (D.695), παραφύω (fr.337.3), παρίστημι (D.702; fr.153.3), παροινέω (D.93), παροξύνομαι (D.383; Sam.621), πάσχω (Grg.84; D.298; Ep.363, 367, 854, fr.9.1; Her.18; Mis.249, 388; fr.568.6), περισπάομαι (Ep.360),

⁵⁷¹ Used also transitively.

⁵⁷² Also transitive.

⁵⁷³ Used transitively as well (3.2).

⁵⁷⁴ With dative indirect object.

⁵⁷⁵ Used here in an auxiliary function, with the participle (χλευάζουσ') conveying the main idea.

⁵⁷⁶ Here in an absolute use, 'I have spoken'; elsewhere with more elaborate complementation.

⁵⁷⁷ Used also transitively (3.2.3).

πήγνυμι (Sam.515), πίνω (Kol.fr.2.4; ?Pk.477),⁵⁷⁸ πίπτω (D.628), πλανάομαι (fr.683.7), ποιέω⁵⁷⁹ (fr.?323.1, 740.6), προέρχομαι (D.576; fr.100.2), προλέγω (Pk.152), προσέρχομαι (D.329), προσίστημι (D.96), προσπίπτω (Ep.881), σπουδάζω (D.148; Sam.139), συγχωρέω (D.786), συμβαίνω (Sam.55, 424, 434), συμπλέκομαι (Ep.236),⁵⁸⁰ συμπείθω (Sk.260), τaráττομαι (D.313), τίκτω (Asp.218), τρέχω (fr.690.1), τυγχάνω (D.126),⁵⁸¹ υπακούω (D.494), υπεκδύομαι (Ep.904)⁵⁸², υπέρχομαι (fr. 431.1), φρίττω (Ep.901), ?φροντίζω (Asp.119), χάσκω (D.441), ψοφέω (D.204).⁵⁸³

The underlined perfects are used intransitively although this use is not obvious until they are further scrutinized (3.1.2).

passive

The verbs below may be used transitively, but in the following passages they are constructed in the (perfect) passive acting on the subject of the passive sentence - the end product is the description of a state, resulting from a previous action.⁵⁸⁴

ἀδικέομαι (F.I.28, 59, 60), ἀναρπάζομαι (Asp.13), ἀνατρέπομαι (Sam.548), ἀπολαμβάνομαι (Kol.fr.5.2), διακόπτομαι (Sam.679),⁵⁸⁵ δίδομαι (D.E.90), δοκέομαι (Her.71; Sam.117), ἐγκλείομαι (Asp.345), ἐλεέομαι (fr.479.1), ἐμβροντάομαι (Grg.4.1), ἐπικαύομαι (D.754), θορυβέομαι (Sam.426), κατακόπτομαι (D.398), παραλείπομαι (D.780), πράττομαι (Sam.530), προστάττομαι (Sam.199), συμπείθομαι (D.818), σώζομαι (fr.59.9), φθείρομαι (Pk.778), χειμάζομαι (Karkh.6).

The agent is expressed in only four of the passages (δέδοκται μοι and ἐμοί, συμπέπεισμαι σοι, and κατακέκομμαι ὑπό + genitive; see list above for references).

⁵⁷⁸ But see end of 3.1.2.

⁵⁷⁹ Used mainly as transitive (see 3.2).

⁵⁸⁰ This may be passive.

⁵⁸¹ Used here in an auxiliary function, with the participle (ὀδυνώμενος) conveying the main idea. It is used also transitively (3.2.2).

⁵⁸² Not subordinate here; διόπερ is used demonstratively.

⁵⁸³ This verb used also transitively, with τὴν θύραν as direct object.

⁵⁸⁴ The following, although clearly attested perfects, come in passages which do not offer sufficient context and cannot be included in the list: δοκέομαι (D.[885]), δουλόομαι (fr.568.1), ἐμβροντάομαι (Kol.63), λυπέομαι (Sam.699), πλήττομαι (Her.12), and φθείρομαι (Her.13).

⁵⁸⁵ Metaphorical meaning, with *accusativus graecus*; not to be confused with middle + accusative object.

The subjects of these passives (the bearers of the states or objects of the actions expressed) are mostly expressed in the personal endings of the verbs (but cf. ἐγώ with the perfect (D.398, 778), and σύ (Asp.13, 345), as well as some explicit substantives for third person).

The perfect of ἀπολείπομαι (D.775) is used in a context in which the transitive action is emphasized at least as much as its result on the object of the act of abandonment (the subject of the passive sentence).

Among the verbs used transitively and listed above (active) I note that the following are used apodotically (i.e. leading into complex sentences): ἀκούω, δίδω, ἔρχομαι, λέγω, μανθάνω, ὀρμάω and συγχωρέω. As we show with δίδω in paragraph 4 of 3.1.2 below, the transitivity of such verbs, when occurring with accusatives, must be particularly suspect.

intransitive perfects whose use is unclear in textually incomplete passages

The following passages include verbs which are typically considered state or motion verbs, which can safely be labelled intransitive, but since they appear in damaged texts, and their complements (or lack of them) are missing, I list them separately: ἀπέρχομαι (Ep.1007), γίγνομαι (Asp.366; Sam.699; Sk.127), θνήσκω (Asp.472; Sk.126), ἵστημι (Mis.23; Pk.770), πάσχω (Pk.758).

3.1.2 perfects with accusatives not transitively used

In the following passages, more careful scrutiny of the accusatives in sentences with verbs in the perfect listed in 3.1.1 above shows that the transitivity is uncertain, or only apparent. In some instances different interpretations may determine that the perfects are being used transitively, but because of the uncertainty, I choose not to include them among clear instances of transitive use, and therefore they are not in 3.2.

1) Sometimes qualifiers of a verb describing a state appear in accusative form in the guise of objects, but rather than being objects of any transitive action upon them, they qualify the state described in one of a variety of ways:

as exclamatory openers: κράζω (Sam.553: ἡλίκον), λέγω (Sam.437: οἶον), πάσχω (D.298: ὅσα; Ep.363: ᾗ, 367: αἰσχροῦ γ' ᾗ; Mis.249: ὡς οἰκτρά). I treat exclamatory

openers as nearer to invariables, while (accusative) interrogative openers are treated as having a role in the syntax and valence of the verb.

- a neuter adjective qualifies, and *accusativus graecus* limits the scope of the verb itself, rather than complementing it: ἀγρυπνέω (fr.100.3: τὴν νύκτα), ἀκούω (Asp.82: πάντα), διακόπτομαι (Sam.679: τὸ στόμα), κράζω (Sam.364: παμμέγεθες), πάσχω (Her.18: τὴν ψυχὴν τι, and Mis.388: ἀγάθ'), περισπάομαι (Ep.360: ἅπαντα), ποιέω (fr.740.6: ἄτοπον), συμπείθομαι (D.818: πάντα).

-negative neuter accusative pronouns: ἀκούω (Sam.259: οὐκ ἄ. οὐδέν), πάσχω (Ep.fr.9.1: οὐθὲν π. δεινόν; fr.568.6: οὐδέν).

2) Cognate or internal accusatives can be interpreted with the perfects at fr.670.2 (χοᾶ/ἐκκέχυκας); at D.567 (τεθύκαθ' ἱερείον); at fr.333.2 (κατείργασται...ἔργον); at Ep.292 (εἴρηκα...λόγον); ?at Pk.471 (πέπωκεν...κοτύλην); and at fr.323.1 (πεποιήκατ' ἔργον). Another internal accusative comes with a verb in the perfect at fr.690.1 (δεδράμηκα...δρόμον), along with other complements, in a more complex sentence. In fact, if other occurrences of these verbs are considered, different results apply for each of the verbs: e.g. in Menander θύω is elsewhere used in the perfect to express an (intransitive) state, λέγω and ποιέω as states and actions, and κατεργάζομαι may be interpreted as transitive. Internal objects may be implied for D.554 τεθύκαμεν and 779 ἠριστήκατε, and for Kol.fr.2.4 πέπωκας.

3) Similarly reflexive pronouns in the accusative represent internal objects, i.e. objects of actions whose effect does not pass from the subject; thus the reflexive objects of the perfects at Ep.432, Sam.429 and 620.

4) Although the perfects of ἀδικέω (Grg.fr.2.3) and συμπείθω (Sk.260) appear to have a demonstrative pronoun in the accusative as an object, in fact these are correlatives and do not lend the verbs in these passages any direct transitivity, but rather introduce an antecedent for the ensuing relative.

5) In a somewhat related syntactical construction, *prolepsis*, the subjects of subordinate clauses formally appear in accusative form as direct objects of the main verb, but they

function mainly as subjects (of the subordinate clauses). E.g. D.79:⁵⁸⁶ τὴν διατρίβην ἥτις ἔστ' αὐτοῦ πάλαι τεθαύμακα.

3.1.3 uncertain interpretation

It is difficult to establish whether the perfects in the following passages are used transitively or the accusatives are internal or adverbial: θύω (D.567), πίνω (Pk.471), ποιέω (fr.323.1), and φροντίζω (Asp.119). D.786 'οὐ συγκεχώρηχ';' may be taken as absolute (despite the fact that strictly speaking it is a derived verb, and therefore the noun from which it is derived implies an internal object).

I include these in **I** because it is more important to list in **II** exclusively those passages where perfects are definitely used transitively.

3.2 II. transitive

Verbs in the perfect which act 'transitively' in Menander govern direct objects in the accusative, genitive, and dative. They are not obligatory in all contexts (**3.2.5**). In addition to nominal objects, verbs may govern object clauses, but these are rare in Menander (**4.8**). Objects identified most easily are nouns (**3.2.1**) and personal and demonstrative pronouns (**3.2.2**) in the accusative. After listing the verbs whose perfects are used transitively, I will argue that in many cases the transitivity is weak.

3.2.1 perfects with accusative noun complements

The following verbs are transitive, governing nouns in the accusative:

ἀγοράζω (fr.318.2), ἀκούω⁵⁸⁷ (fr.208.2), ἀνοίγω (fr.192.2), ἀνασπάω (fr.362.2), ἀπογιγνώσκω (Pk.[745]), ἀπολαμβάνω (fr.516.2), δίδωμι (D.722, 770), ἐνσείω (D.581), ἐξελαύνω (Sam.436), ἐξευρίσκω (fr.89.2; 757.1), ἐπλανθάνομαι (D.456), εὕρισκω (D.489; fr.409.2) ἔχω (Kol.4.2), θεάομαι (Ep.325), καταλαμβάνω (D.E.106), καταλείπω (Pk.342), κατεργάζομαι (D.864),⁵⁸⁸ κινέω (fr.30.1), κίχρημι (fr.396.2), λαμβάνω⁵⁸⁹ (Asp.394; D.136; Sam.54; Sk.261), μηνύω (Pk.148), δρώω (D.409; Ep.383; Mis.A5; Sam.61; fr.208.2), πλήττω⁵⁹⁰ (D.188; Ep.906;

⁵⁸⁶ Cf. D.900.

⁵⁸⁷ Used also intransitively (**3.1**).

⁵⁸⁸ See **3.1.2** for the intransitive use of this perfect.

⁵⁸⁹ Also governs pronoun objects in accusative (**3.2.3**).

⁵⁹⁰ This verb always comes in the perfect with the object τὴν θύραν.

Sam.301, 367, 555), ποιέω (Sam.308, 387, 652; Ph.20), προσαγορεύω (D.10), σπείρω (Mis.233), συγχέω (fr.523.1), τρέφω⁵⁹¹ (Sk.226), ὑπερπαίω (Asp.117), φοφέω⁵⁹² (Ep.875; Sam.669; fr.766.1).

The single most widely represented group is **III**, perfects attested in the fifth century. However, the trend shown indicates that the newer perfects more commonly (fifteen times) govern accusative noun direct objects.⁵⁹³ Note also that many (13) are from book-fragments.

An important pattern that emerges from a closer study of these passages is the prevalence of nouns without an article, with a generic article or with an explicit indefinite or general expression. This suggests that many of the verbs which are strictly speaking transitive are less strongly transitive than if they were to govern definite direct objects.⁵⁹⁴

3.2.2 perfects with complements in cases other than accusative

There are a few verbs which are transitively used in the perfect with noun objects in other cases: χράομαι with dative (Ep.911; Pk.315)⁵⁹⁵ and the following with genitive, τυγχάνω (Pk.1023), φροντίζω (Asp.392; fr.588.1).

3.2.3 perfects with pronoun complements in the accusative

Verbs governing personal (or demonstrative) pronouns in the accusative are:

ἀγοράζω (Sk.14),⁵⁹⁶ ἀδικέω (Asp.215; D.E.110b; Her.[79]⁵⁹⁷), ἀναιρέω (Sk.82), ἀναπείθω (D.838), ἀναφέρω (D.685), ἀποδιδράσκω (Sam.358), ἀπόλλυμι (Grg.5; Kol.88; fr.703.1), ἀποσώζω (Ep.1108), ἀφαιρέομαι (Asp.225), βωλοκοπέω (D.515), δείδω⁵⁹⁸ (D.151), διώκω (D.118), εἰσαπόλλυμι (D.681), ἐκβάλλω (Sam.407), ἐκκλείω (Sam.416), ἐνθριόω (Sam.586), καλέω (Sam.296), καταδουλόω (Mis.fr.2.1),

⁵⁹¹ The reduplication prefix is missing from the text, but it is quite clear in this case that the verb is attested in the perfect τέτροφα.

⁵⁹² This perfect occurs once in an absolute sense (no object), at D.204, and another time with uncertain valence, in a passage where part of the text is missing, at Karkh.4.

⁵⁹³ The distribution is two verbs from those used in the perfect in the early classical period **IV**, twelve verbs from group **III**, seven verbs from group **II**, and eight from group **I**.

⁵⁹⁴ For the relationship between the definiteness of the subjects and objects and the transitivity of the verb see Wallace (1982) 6.2 and Fanning (1990) 166f.

⁵⁹⁵ [καταχράομαι] at Pk.325 with μοι is not attested in the text.

⁵⁹⁶ Also appears in previous list, referring to another passage, in which the verb governs a noun in accusative.

⁵⁹⁷ (pronoun clear in the text, the verb a supplement).

⁵⁹⁸ Elsewhere this perfect is not transitive.

καταλείπω (Pk.506a, 506b),⁵⁹⁹ καταπίνω (Ep.368), λαμβάνω⁶⁰⁰ (Ep.517, Mis.306;⁶⁰¹ Pk.985), λανθάνω⁶⁰² (fr.33.1), λυπέω (Pk.494), μανθάνω⁶⁰³ (Asp.113), ποιέω (Sam.487),⁶⁰⁴ σκευάζω (Sam.599), σώιζω (Ep.351).

Many of the verbs in the lists above are held by the lexica to have transitive value.

3.2.4 transitivity of perfects in relative clauses

Transitive verbs within relative clauses require separate mention:⁶⁰⁵ ἀδικέω (Sam.68), ἀκούω (Sam.271), ἀπόλλυμι (Grg.5); ἀποπέμπω (Asp.313), δίδωμι (Kith.90; Pk.150,⁶⁰⁶ 757; fr.620.6), ἐξευρίσκω (Kol.89), ἔχω (fr.419.1), κομίζω (Asp.275; Sk.314), λέγω (D.822; Sam.662), ὀδυνάω (Asp.371).

Many of these relative pronouns in the accusative (or genitive) have antecedents which are emphasized, so although strictly speaking there are verbs (in the perfect) governing accusatives, they form expressions which are often ancillary to some subject or object in the main clause, and their transitive force in these passages is relatively weak.

3.2.5 perfects with objects implied in context

Indiscriminate mechanical culling of accusative objects, with no regard to syntactic criteria beyond form or to context, will not yield all transitively used perfects. In the passages below it is possible to interpret objects which are implied in the structure or in the context:

1. D.918 <ἀλλ'> ἀκήκοας μυριάκις can either be understood as a state 'you have been a hearer many times' or with an object implied from the rest of the conversation: 'you have heard [this, i.e. that I don't have any of the things you are asking for] many times.' Even if interpreted as transitive it approaches a correlative and is weakly transitive here.

⁵⁹⁹ See also 3.2.1.

⁶⁰⁰ Governs also noun objects (3.2.1).

⁶⁰¹ Not to be confused with verbs taking two objects with predicative relation between them (which in this case would imply that the verb has a conceptual meaning); here the other accusative, παρθένον, is circumstantial to the object, σε: 'I took you in while [you were] a virgin.'

⁶⁰² This verb comes in the perfect also intransitively (3.1).

⁶⁰³ Used also intransitively (3.1).

⁶⁰⁴ This verb, like ἀγοράζω, καταλείπω and λαμβάνω, is found in Menander in the perfect governing noun objects in accusative as well as a pronoun.

⁶⁰⁵ I note here also those mentioned in previous lists which come in other subordinate clauses: καταπίνω 'unless', λαμβάνω (Ep.517) indirect question, ὁράω (Ep.[860]) 'just as', σπείρω with δῆλον ὥς.

⁶⁰⁶ The object is expressed in the relative pronoun ᾧν, which appears in the genitive rather than the accusative, due to attraction to θνασθαι in the preceding clause.

2. Ep.368 is uncertain. εἰ μή τι καταπέπωκε may imply part of πάντα in the question 'πάντα ἔχεις;' to which it answers; in such a case a partitive genitive may be implied.
3. Ep.517 εἴληφα the object implied quite clearly is the ring mentioned in 514 (δακτύλιον) and which is the topic of the passage.
4. Ep.869 The object of εὔρηκα (and εὔροιμι which immediately precedes) is not repeated, but the same τεκοῦσαν mentioned in 868.
5. Kol.93 The object of ἀνήρηκεν appears, but grammatically it is in the nominative; the long sentence in which this verb occurs shifts its orientation midway: '...any rulers who ever [were]... and I refer [specifically] to those totally ruined [these days] this one thing alone is **their** ruin - the sycophants.'
6. Pk.781. It is unclear whether ταῦτα is the object of the participial phrase λαβοῦσα or primarily serves as the implicit object of the main verb κέκτησθαι. In the former instance, the object of the verb is implied from the object of the previous circumstantial participial phrase (transphrastic anaphora omitted).
7. Sam.54. The child either appears in the accusative, in which case it is the explicit object of the verb εἴληφα, or it is a nominative and there are two phrases, the main clause implying the same object as the participial clause.
8. Sk.96 δέδωκ', ἐδέξω. The object in this passage is implied rather than expressed, but is clear from the context. The omission sits well with the effect sought by the use of asyndeton. The perfect may be used here to emphasize the state of giver (versus the action or state of the object).

The elimination of all passages where an apparently transitive perfect is shown to be intransitive, including passages where an implied accusative turns out to be an internal accusative, leaves us with very few examples of perfects with an object implied in the context. This is surprising because we are told by scholars of drama such as Stevens (1976) 6 and Legrand (1917) of ellipse or brachylogy in comic dialogue. Thomas (1979) looks at the different varieties of absence of objects etc. and in particular differentiates between omission of an element supplied in the context, the proper 'ellipse', and omission by idiom, where it is not supplied by the context but by the speaker's

proficiency.⁶⁰⁷ I believe that the two examples of *ellipse* with the perfect which fit this definition of ellipse are Ep.517 and Ep.869; in the first example, δάκτυλιον is understood from its mention in the wider context of this rapid exchange, and in the second example τεκοῦσαν is mentioned in one of the preceding phrases. It is the relative absence of ellipse in sentences with perfects which helps to establish, alongside weakness of objects and emphasis on subjects even when there are objects, the generally classical, intransitive use of the perfect in use of Menander.

I would not be at all surprised to find that a large number of ellipses involve aorists or presents of transitive verbs. However, caution should be exercised when trying to determine what constitutes ellipse rather than the idiomatic omission of constituents ('elision'). To this category belong some omissions in responses (e.g. φημι, εἴρηκα, etc.), where an idiomatic repetition of a verb is made in affirmation or negation and perhaps some of the categories (including transitivity) of this type of invariable connoting 'yes' in the form of a verb are less active.

3.3 textually problematic passages

1. ἀπαγγέλλω (Pk.267): the verb in the perfect is clearly read, but λόγους (in the phrase λόγους /οὐκ ἀληθεῖς) is very unclear. Moreover, in this sentence the verb also governs a prepositional phrase.
2. δείδω (D.248): the perfect δέδοικ' is supplemented to a verbless sentence with a direct object (τὸν γέροντα).
3. At Sk.97f the text is problematic, as is the rest of the text in the passage, so the context is unclear, the speaker and the subject are uncertain. Is the complement δεσπότην ξένο[ν νέον]/ τρίτον τ' ἐρῶντ' ? That is, does the verb δέδοικε here take accusative and participle?
4. λέγω (Pk.158): likewise, the perfect εἴρηχ' is supplemented (or read) in a sentence with a direct object (τὰ λοιπά).
5. πυνθάνομαι (Ep.138): only the τ of the supplemented verb [πέπυσ]τ' is actually read in the papyrus. At Ep.579 the verb is somewhat more readily restored from the

⁶⁰⁷ I will not discuss here his third type, 'non-realization'.

remaining πεπ[.]ται, and there is some object, as the article τὰς is clearly read. But too much has been supplemented to make this a sound example.

6. τολμάω at Sk.fr.11.3 comes after the demonstrative τουτί, but the rest of the verse is missing, and so we cannot determine the nature of the complement.

Finally, perfects, whose complementation is missing because of damage to the text, are formed from verbs whose value is not typically identifiable: ἐμβροντάομαι (Kol.63), δείκνυμι (Mis.190), ἐμμένω (Sk.415), καλύπτομαι (Ph.23), λαλέω (Pk.347), λέγω (Kon.14), πέρνημι (Kol.56), πέτομαι (Kol.40), πυνθάνομαι (Ep.596; Sk.192), σπουδάζω (Sam.145, 185), τίκτω (Ep.639), ψοφέω (Karkh.4).

At Pk.514 the sentence is cut off intentionally by the interlocutor, so the complementation of ἀδικέω can only be guessed.

ἀδικέω (D.E.110a) is also missing its context due to damage to the text.

3.4 distribution by degree of transitivity

After checking the transitivity of the above verbs not merely on the basis of the dictionary definition (in any case LSJ and the traditional grammars and lexica do not adequately cover Menander) but on the basis of their usage in the contexts in which they appear, I found 91 instances of perfects with transitive use. Many of these are of weak transitivity, and therefore I conclude that in Menander's Greek the intransitive use of the perfect is still firmly prevalent.

On high incidence of certain preverbs in perfect, see §1.

closing remarks

If we take into account the combination of the very scant evidence for emphasis on the object of a verb in the perfect (n.608), together with the high incidence of indefinite objects among the accusative nouns governed by perfects (3.2.1), the prevalence of (unemphatic) enclitic pronouns among pronominal objects (3.2.3), the only weakly transitive use of the perfect with objects in relative clauses (3.2.4) and perhaps also the infrequency of ellipse with verbs in the perfect (3.2.5 end), we do not see a tendency for strongly expressed objects, or for the importance of the object and for transitive value in the use of the perfect. We should not be deceived by the high frequency of accusatives in

the vicinity of perfects. Menander's usage does not represent that of the resultative perfect found in later Greek. An application of close study of verbal environment⁶⁰⁸ and broader context modelled on McKay's methods confirms that even in many passages where transitive verbs in the perfect have direct objects the emphasis clearly falls on the state of the subject or the responsibility of the subject for the action.⁶⁰⁹ In others there is no clear emphasis on either subject or object (often in such instances the state or action itself or the manner in which it occurs is emphasized).⁶¹⁰ Rare are the examples where emphasis falls on the (state of) the object (resulting from an action given by a verb in the perfect).⁶¹¹

The infrequency of examples of truly strong transitive perfects where emphasis falls on the object fits in with McKay's postponement of the stage in the development of Greek when the perfect was used as a resultative perfect, and contradicts the argument, given in general works on the perfect in Greek, for the early development of the resultative perfect. The argument that Menander's perfect does not usually govern direct objects without emphasis on the subject must be taken together with the argument that Menander's perfect is not a narrative tense (§5).

⁶⁰⁸ (1) presence of explicit pronouns (in first and second person forms): Asp.215; D.E.110; D.489; ?Mis.A5; Sam.61, 387. Contrast (transitive perfect) verbs in first and second person **without** explicit pronoun (those with a pronoun are listed in the notes to 2.1.1). (2) Without explicit pronoun, but some other self-reference such as ὁ αὐτός: D.581; Ep.431; or ὁ μέλλων: Ep.891. (3) Self-reference in the third person in self-address: Sam.652. (4) Explicit or elaborate mention of a third person subject: Asp.114ff, 225; ?Grg.5; D.685; Ep.1108; Kol.88; Pk.506; Sam.407f, 413, 586f, 599; Sk.14. Contrast passages where there is an explicit, but indefinite subject: Her.[79]; Sam.296; D.188; fr.766.1. (5) Context can also suggest emphasis on the subject, e.g. D.118

⁶⁰⁹ On this notion, see Chantraine (1927) 175. See also 2.3.5 for verbs of wrongdoing. This notion is taken up by McKay in many instances, and not only for verbs whose meanings are most applicable, to show that although there is an object the emphasis is on the subject and his state.

⁶¹⁰ D.151, 515, 681; Ep.1108; Pk.494; Sam.358. Note that in all of these the object is an enclitic pronoun.

⁶¹¹ Her.[79]; Sam.296 (in both the object is put into higher profile by an indefinite subject). Asp.225 (explicit use of a demonstrative for the object -- but contrast Sam.486 where the demonstrative at the beginning of the sentence may partly function to connect sentences.).

4. THE PERFECT IN SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

The perfect comes most commonly in affirmative statements which form simple sentences.⁶¹² When verbs appear in the perfect in subordinate clauses of complex sentences, they may contribute to a fuller picture of the nature of the perfect; they may bear a temporal value -- as a primary tense in certain constructions, and with anterior reference in others; when used with anterior force, perfects often come in a non-past context.

Perfect indicatives are even used in syntactic constructions which may be seen as alternatives to modal forms. I do not suggest that these perfect indicatives are established substitutes or strict equivalents of modal forms,⁶¹³ but merely point out such a use of the perfect. This naturally leads to the question whether or not the use of the perfect in subordinate clauses may be viewed with the same criteria, and having a similar status, as main verbs appearing in the perfect.⁶¹⁴

The perfect comes in a variety of subordinate clause types: relative clauses (4.1), temporal clauses (4.2), causal clauses (4.3), conditional clauses (4.4), and in indirect discourse (4.5) in the form of indirect questions, and ὅτι and ὥς object clauses after *verba dicendi et sentiendi* and, once, after an impersonal expression. A perfect is also found in a result clause, a construction which is sometimes considered subordinate, and sometimes not.⁶¹⁵ The perfect is not used in purpose clauses in Menander. I will discuss these constructions in turn, and after describing their use with perfects (4.1.1, 4.2.1, etc.), I shall discuss Menander's general use of these constructions (4.1.2, 4.2.2, etc.). The section on relative clauses (4.1) is more elaborate than the other sections, and includes subsections on anteriority (4.1.1.1 and 4.1.3) and on

⁶¹² For detailed figures, see 2.2.2.

⁶¹³ Additional considerations which may be important in a discussion of the verb appearing in the perfect, in particular about its status within the hierarchy of the sentence, are the use of perfects in generalizations with 'timeless' value, and their use with future value in complex sentences (4.8).

⁶¹⁴ See 3.2.4, and 4.8.

⁶¹⁵ The perfect at D.627 is not included in the discussion below, and I quote it here, D.625ff: :: ὁ δεσπότης ἐν τῷ φρέατι :: πῶς; :: ὅπως; / ἵνα τὴν δίκελλον ἐξέλαι καὶ τὸν κάδον, / κατέβαινε, κατ' ὠλισθ' ἄνωθεν, ὥστε καὶ / πέπτωκεν. See Smyth §2255: "A clause with ὥστε and a finite verb contains the main thought, and is often so loosely connected with the leading verb as to be practically independent and coördinated." Further formal proof at Smyth §2273: "ὥστε has no effect on the mood of the finite verb...". Notice that the passage is a narrative one.

parenthesis (4.1.4). In discussions of all the clause types I devote some attention to the interplay between verb forms in main clauses and in dependent clauses, creating uniformity ('concord') or transitions.

Many of the points concerning dependent anteriority are introduced in 1.3.3. Appendix III may serve as a reference to the general use of these subordinate constructions in Menander, which are compared with perfect forms in these constructions.⁶¹⁶

Instances in which the verb in the main clause of a complex sentence comes in the perfect are slightly less frequent than perfects in subordinate clauses (4.6).⁶¹⁷ Although strictly speaking these passages do not belong here from a formal perspective, examining the perfect as a subordinator can enhance, at least dialectically, a discussion about the varying values of perfects as affected by the status of their verbs in the fluctuating hierarchy of a complex sentence. Specifically, they show the lack of influence a perfect form has as a subordinator: the forms of verbs in clauses dependent on subordinators in the perfect reinforce the status of the perfect as a primary tense.

It may be worth comparing the use of perfects in constructions which are not subordinate clauses, but parallel in function to the above relatives, temporals, conditionals and indirect discourse. Such paratactic and participial constructions may add evidence for the (distinct) use of perfects in verbs which are not leading verbs (4.5.4, 4.8).

The comparatively limited use of perfects in subordinate clauses does not necessarily result from a general reluctance to use them in dependent propositions, but may have to do with the preference in this register and metrical form for expressing dependence in ways other than subordination.

4.1 relative clauses

Relative clauses are used extensively by Menander, and the majority have verbs in the present, by far the single most frequent form, with all other forms taken together roughly equalling it in frequency. There are only a handful of relative clauses with verbs in the future.⁶¹⁸ Monteil (1963) places the Greek relative within its Indo-European framework,

⁶¹⁶ In 4.1.2, 4.2.2, 4.3.2, 4.4.2, and 4.5.3.

⁶¹⁷ The figures, for what they are worth are about 30 and about 40, respectively.

⁶¹⁸ See Appendix IIIa table a, row 3 ('primary to primary').

and discusses the development of the relative as a subordinator from a diachronic perspective of ancient Greek, and contrasts its use across some dialect boundaries. In addition, this work identifies a wide variety of functions carried out by clauses subordinated by relatives. However, the treatment of mood and tense in the relative clause is not to the fore, and observations from the perspective of genre are rare. Moorhouse (1982) chapter 15 offers a unique treatment of the relatives of a specific dramatic author, focusing in his study on the familiar issues of attraction, inverse attraction, and the variety of subordinators of relative clauses in Sophocles. Little is devoted to the moods and tenses of verbs in relative clauses,⁶¹⁹ or to the degree of subordination as opposed to independence of clauses opening with relative pronouns or adverbs. The neglect of the latter issue is particularly unfortunate, since dramatic works such as the Tragedies of Sophocles offer an opportunity to address the definition of sentence structure in dialogue. The redefinition of subordination in relation to other forms of transphrasal dependence makes the interpretation of perfects in relative clauses all the more complicated, and although this difficulty cannot be resolved here, it must be introduced and taken into consideration (2.2.2). In addition to describing the data (4.1.1, 4.1.2), in the following sections I touch on the combination of forms in main and relative clauses with special reference to anteriority (4.1.1.1 and 4.1.3). Other transphrastic functions of phrases opening with relative pronouns are parenthesis (4.1.4) and 'relativischer Anschluß'. Those relative sentences where the verbs in both clauses have the same form ('concord', 'identity', 'uniformity') are compared with sentences where there is a shift of form between the main and relative clause, in an attempt to identify patterns typical to temporal transition on the one hand, and to non-temporal transition on the other.⁶²⁰

⁶¹⁹ See also Mayser II/1 76ff (for relative pronouns), and II/3 57f (for mood and tense). Schwyzer (1950) 642 discusses mood in relative clauses and the status of relatives in the hierarchy of the sentence.

⁶²⁰ The shift may be a subtle one between different primary forms (e.g. a present>perfect shift) or secondary forms (e.g. imperfect > aorist) or the shift may be across the boundary between primary and secondary tenses (e.g. aorist>present).

4.1.1 perfects in relative clauses

There are 24 viable⁶²¹ examples of perfects appearing in relative clauses: Asp.122, 275, 313, 334, [371]; Grg.5; D.100, 298, 324, 822; Kol.86, 87, 89; Pk.150, 152, 289, 757, 798; Sam.68, 271, 662; fr.620.6; 690.2; 790.2.

The majority of the relative clauses listed above open with short relative pronouns (ὅς etc.). Others open with οὗ used as a relative adverb of place (Asp.122 and D.100); with ὥσπερ (Pk.152) and with ὅνπερ (Pk.798), used as relative adverbs of comparison;⁶²² the longer forms ὅσος, of quantity, and οἷος, of quality, open very few clauses whose verbs come in the perfect -- Asp.313; D.298 and Kol.87 open with the former, D.324 with the latter. The indefinite relative does not open any clauses featuring perfect verbs, but perfects are used in clauses opening with 'short' relative pronouns which may be interpreted as indefinite.

In several of the passages listed, there may be competing motivations for a specifically perfect form, and these must be kept in mind in a discussion of relative time. The perfect ἀπόλλωλα at Kol.86, for example, seems to be idiomatic.⁶²³ In fact all of the perfects in the relative clauses listed above are found not infrequently in Menander, and are formed from verbs used in the perfect by Menander in main clauses.

4.1.1.1 anteriority of perfects in relative clauses

Of the twenty four perfects in relative clauses listed above, six may be interpreted as expressing an action or a state occurring prior to the action of the main clause.⁶²⁴ Yet it is questionable whether these passages support the argument for a generally anterior value of the perfect.⁶²⁵ In all these passages, where the anterior value of the perfect clearly overshadows its value as a resulting state, the actions are anterior to main actions

⁶²¹ Some passages in which parts of sentences (especially the main verb) are missing also show evidence of relative clauses with a verb in the perfect, but they are not complete enough to be of use in the discussion; e.g. Kith.90; Sik.314.

⁶²² None opening with the relative adverb ὥς feature a verb in the perfect.

⁶²³ See 2.1.5.1, where this verb's preference for the perfect form is discussed.

⁶²⁴ Asp.122, 275, [371]; Pk.757; Sam.68, 662. Possibly anterior are four more: D.822; Pk.150; Sam.271; Sk.314.

⁶²⁵ See, in general, 1.3.3 above. I recall here Blass-Debrunner §345.

set in a present or a future context rather than in the past.⁶²⁶ The most obvious example occurs at Asp.[371], where the formal transition from the future indicative to the perfect renders a quite transparent relation of antecedence:

λήψομαι, νή τὸν Δία, / [ὧν] μ' ὠδύνηκε πώποτ' ἀξίαν δίκην· 'By Zeus, I'll exact retribution worthy of [all that] he has ever wronged me.'

The important notion conveyed by the perfect in this particular passage is not only a notion of anteriority, but of generality ('ever'). This generality may be seen as timeless, or not time-specific: 'all that he will be found to have **ever** wronged me.' All said, although this example illustrates the model of the future context most patently, with its future indicative form, it has no value in charting and quantifying Menandrian usage, since the relative pronoun is a supplement in this passage.

Other verb forms indicating future environment are imperatives, e.g. Pk.757:⁶²⁷

ἐξένεγκε μου / [τὴν κιστίδ'] ἔξω, Δωρί, τὴν τὰ ποικίλα / [ἔχουσιν· οἶσθα ν]ῆ Δί· ἦν δέδωκά σοι / [τηρεῖν· 'Bring out [the box] for me, Doris, the one with the design; gee, you know, [the one] which I gave you [to take care of].'

or subjunctives, such as the one implied with *ἵνα* at Asp.275:

τὸν Δᾶον ὥς με πέμψατε, ἵν' ἀπογραφὴν ὦν κεκόμικεν δὴ μοι - 'Send me Daos, so that [... e.g. I may get] a record of what he brought me.'

In the relative clause in Asp.122,⁶²⁸ the function of description is more active than that of time sequence:

οὗ δ' εἰσελήλυθ' ὁ θεράπων ἐν γειτόνων / ἀδελφός οἰκεῖ τοῦδε τοῦ φιλαργύρου / νεώτερος, ... 'Where the servant went in next door [*pointing*], that's the house of Money-grubber's younger brother...'

Although εἰσελήλυθ' is not strictly speaking stage-directional, the propensity for verbs of motion to come in primary tenses (not infrequently in the perfect) in Menander may also play a role in the choice of the perfect form here (see 2.3.3). The reference is not to an event in the story-line: with the deictic, dramatic reference (relative to location on the stage), and its parenthetical nature, this passage is reminiscent of D.100: αὐτόθεν δ' (οὗ

⁶²⁶ Those with a clearly identifiable future context (in a variety of forms, as shown) are Asp.275, [371]; Pk.757; Sam.662. Among those with possibly anterior value, Pk.150 comes in a future context. See 4.8.

⁶²⁷ Cf. Sam.661f, another passage where the main clause has an imperative.

⁶²⁸ Cf. also Asp.334; D.100; Pk.150; Sam.68 (αἰσθάνομαι understood), 271 (φέρω understood); fr.620.6.

νῦν λέγων/ ἔσθηκ') ἔδειξεν αὐτόν... I add parentheses in this passage to indicate the narrator's brief exit from the account of past events of the third person, and transition to a reference to himself in the present.⁶²⁹ This contrast between 'then' and 'now' is nicely sharpened by νῦν (2.1.5).

Whatever anterior force is interpreted in ἡδίκηκας at Sam.68, one cannot disregard the recurring use of perfects of this verb and others with meanings of praise, blame, or authority of the agent, in functions other than time relation.⁶³⁰ Not all perfects in relative clauses are to be interpreted as indicating exclusive -- or any -- relative anteriority.

The verb δίδωμι, which we saw at Pk.757 in a relative clause used with distinct anterior reference, is a good example of the ability of a verb to be used in a variety of values, depending on context. This same verb appears in the perfect twice (Pk.150, and fr.620.6) in relative clauses with two dimensions -- not just anteriority, but continuity into the present, just as strongly presented. Consider the passage at fr. 620.6:

ᾧ δ' ἡ φύσις δέδωκε, ταῦτ' ἔχει μόνα. 'What nature has given, is all [the donkey] has.'

The perfect equally projects anterior force of the act of giving and continuing force of the giving which occurred in the past, i.e. that what nature gave continues to be a gift. In this passage one may read additional nuances typically expressed by the perfect, such as emphasis on the subject, and the stating of a generalization (as in Pk.150 listed above, and also in Asp.334).

Had anteriority indeed become the predominant feature of the perfect by Menander's time (as it later was to become, during the time when the perfect functioned more similarly to the aorist), the perfect would have appeared more often in clauses relative to main actions in the past.⁶³¹ But as shown in 4.1.1, and in sections on the other types of subordinate clauses, this is not what the texts or their interpretation indicate.

⁶²⁹ For a discussion of this passage and others in which an exit from the narrative frame is marked by non-narrative forms, see 5.4. On the parenthetical function of some relative constructions, see 4.1.4.

⁶³⁰ See 2.3.5 and 3.4.

⁶³¹ Contrast the following passages, in which the perfect is in a timeless, general, or parenthetical relative clause: Asp.122; D.25+, 99+, 359; Kol.86, 89+.

4.1.2 relative clauses in Menander, a survey of general usage

If we consider all relative clauses in Menander,⁶³² we may perhaps be able to determine whether there is any typical pattern or verb-form used to express anteriority, and what place the perfect has within the larger system of relative clauses. First, one must cull the truly relative clauses from other constructions which open with relative pronouns. I limit my general investigation to clauses opening with the 'short' relative pronoun ὅς.⁶³³ The so-called relativischer Anschluß, although opening with the relative pronoun, does not express subordination: Menander seems to have used this construction only twice with the verb in a perfect form (Pk.471 and Sam.413); syntactic and generic ramifications of relativischer Anschluß are briefly discussed in 2.2.2 and 5.

A brief perusal of the data as presented in table a of Appendix IIIa, combined with my own investigation of these passages, yields the following preliminary observations:

- i) Menander offers no instances of the use of the *optativus obliquus* in a relative clause dependent on a main verb in a secondary tense. Subjunctives are found in dependent relative clauses in a handful of passages.⁶³⁴
- ii) The formal constellation occurring most often is a verb in a primary tense in a relative clause subordinated to a main verb in a primary tense, where the two are not the same tense.⁶³⁵ This may be due to the large pool of primary tenses in the first place, and to the numerous possible alternatives to the future indicative (with the notation 'fut'). More importantly, the narrative mode is not as frequent as the dialogue of the here and now, or of the tangible immediacy in recognitions, arguments, bargaining, threats, deliberations, planning and other contexts which fill the discourse of dramatic works, and New Comedy in particular.⁶³⁶

⁶³² For an exhaustive list, see Appendix IIIa.

⁶³³ In the Appendix, I list all relative clauses, including those opening with adverbs, and other relative pronouns, such as οὗτος, ὅσος etc. I also try to indicate in which cases those opening with ὅς are equivalent to ὅστις, or to τίς, and other openers introducing relative clauses.

⁶³⁴ referred to in Appendix IIIa under the rubric **other sequences** in row 3 of table a.

⁶³⁵ Called 'mixed' primary > primary in row 3 in table a.

⁶³⁶ One may hypothesize that a dépouillement of an author such as Herodotus would yield different findings.

iii) Verbs in relative clauses used parenthetically never have full identity of form with the main verb. Most often they follow the pattern of a main verb in a secondary tense and a parenthetic verb in a primary tense, e.g. at Ep.464f:

τὸ παιδάριον, ὃ νῦν τιθηνεῖθ' ἡ γυνή/ 'Ονήσιμ', ἔνδον, οὗτος εὗρεν ἀνθρακεύς; 'The baby -- the one the woman is now nursing in the house -- Onesimos, did this charcoal-burner find [it]'.

Relative clauses may either have or lack *temporal reference* in relation to the main clause. If relative clauses appear to be timeless, the construction in which they are clothed may serve to express a general or a parenthetical statement, and some may also appear in a so-called 'parenthetic' position. Among the relative constructions I examined in Menander, I interpret as functioning parenthetically in all likelihood fifteen (and possibly a further three) of the thirty six clauses where no relative time relation was identified.⁶³⁷ When relative time is expressed in the relative clause, it is often contemporaneous with the absolute time in the main context; it must be remembered, however, that contemporaneous time and timelessness are easy to confuse, especially in relative sentences with present > present formations. Compare specific simultaneous time expressed in D.257: ὁ τὴν χλανίδ' ἔχων; οὗτος ἐστὶν ὃν λέγεις; with D.361, where generality is implied: βαδίζειν <εἰμ'> ἔτοιμος οἷ λέγεις.⁶³⁸ Admittedly some measure of subjectivity is involved in determining whether or not there is a specific time relation; it is also worth recalling that since the subjunctive is rarely found in relative clauses (with ἄν), the difference between specific and general relative clauses is either marked by indefinite or generalizing pronouns (πᾶς, τις, ποτε etc.) or is implied without any sign, as in D.361 above.

I close with some very general observations based on the analysis of time-relations expressed with relative clauses (table b in Appendix IIIa):

⁶³⁷ I have identified them as Asp.36f, 65, 122f, 134, 168; Grg.46f, 57; D.25ff, 99f, 7812; Ep.269, 464; Her.24; Kith.fr.1.2; Pk.127, 808; Sk.253, 7354. Their function and the form of the verbs in them are discussed in 4.1.4. Possible time relations are interpreted on the basis of formal sequence and adverbs, but most importantly, context; suggested time-relations are charted in table b of Appendix IIIa.

⁶³⁸ Passages of the former type are referred to in table b, row 2, column 3; and of the latter type in row 4 of column 3.

i) The variety of forms used to express each of the time relations in relative clauses suggests support for the argument that there is no (exclusive or typical) *consecutio temporum* in Greek (see 1.3.3). Of course the evidence from relative clauses gives only a partial picture, and must be supplemented with evidence from other formations in which temporal transitions may be expressed, such as temporal clauses, participial phrases, and coordinated or asyndetically related phrases (4.7 and 4.8).

ii) Certain formal sequences or shifts are typical of non-temporal relative sentences, and are avoided when the expression of relative time is sought. Specifically there is a clear correlation between shift of forms and the expression of transition in time or discourse mode on the one hand,⁶³⁹ and on the other hand a correlation between uniformity of verbs in the main clause and the relative clause in timeless or general sentences.⁶⁴⁰

iii) There is a consistent absence of adverbs in sentences with concord (where one might expect them to be used to indicate subtle time relations) in timeless sentences.⁶⁴¹ Conversely, the role of the adverb cannot be ignored in relative sentences expressing temporal relations (the passages referred to in rows 1 through 3) where adverbs are most commonly attested. The use of adverbs is not limited to creating a temporal hierarchy among identical forms (column 3), where in fact their use is relatively infrequent: the adverbs are most prevalent in cases where the forms themselves could in theory represent a hierarchy or transition. This in itself suggests that there is no strong indication that specific forms express specific time-relations, and the role of adverbs in such constellations may be significant and should be noted.

4.1.3 relatives used with anterior value in Menander

A closer look at the use of all relatives in Menander reveals that verbs in relative clauses with time value anterior to the time of the main clause⁶⁴² occur most frequently in the aorist,⁶⁴³ but imperfects and perfects are also found, both about half as often as

⁶³⁹ Many examples are referred to in rows 1-3 of column 2 in table b.

⁶⁴⁰ Compare the examples in column 3, row 4 ('timeless/general') with the very few examples in column 3 of rows 1-3.

⁶⁴¹ As shown by column 3, row 4, where only *Ep.*269 and *Kol.*89 have identity of form.

⁶⁴² Identified 39 times; see table b in Appendix IIIa, row 1 'anterior'.

⁶⁴³ Sixteen times: *Asp.*68, 87 (ἐξ ἀρχῆς), 283 (μηνοῦ), 292, 330 (ἀπρίως); *D.*813, 891; *Ep.*281, 299, [394], 436 (ἀπρίως); *Pk.*[795] (τότ'); *Sam.*[7] (τῷ τότ' εὐθέως χρόνῳ), 710; *Sk.*253; *Ph.*40.

aorists.⁶⁴⁴ There is one example of anterior time value for a present form of a *verbum dicendi*, clearly a *praesens historicum*, but a handful of other presents are also used with anterior value.⁶⁴⁵ The variety of tenses in which relative anterior action (introduced by the short relative pronoun ὅς etc.) is expressed is not surprising; and the one frequent tense is the aorist, the anterior tense *par excellence*. More interesting are the *patterns of sequence* between main and subordinate verb-forms when there is a clearly identifiable anterior relation. The precise figures (e.g. 16 out of 39 are aorist) and specific correspondences (for example eight instances of future and its equivalents in the main clause > aorist in the subordinate relative clause)⁶⁴⁶ are data of some value, but far more basic and significant is the essential absence of uniformity between verbs in main clauses and subordinate clauses where anteriority is expressed. If one looks at table b in Appendix IIIa, one can see that anterior dependent actions (with a secondary tense) introduced by a relative pronoun most often come in a *non-past context*.⁶⁴⁷ This will be discussed in 4.8 in conjunction with evidence from other constructions.

Table b shows that there are fewer passages in which the aorist or imperfect is the verb form expressing an action anterior to a main action in a *past context*.⁶⁴⁸ There are only seven passages in which there is full concord of form of secondary tense between main clause and subordinate clause (aorist > aorist or imperfect > imperfect).⁶⁴⁹ Closer attention to the contexts confirms the expectation that the instances with concord of imperfect form express contemporaneity in a past context. Sam.705 and fr.789.¹⁶⁵⁰ do not express a specific temporal relation, but rather are general in context, the aorists in the latter passage being gnomic aorists. The three remaining instances of concord are all passages situated within narratives, where the incidence of aorists is high. Although there is uniformity of tense (i.e. aorists in main and subordinate clauses), the distinct

⁶⁴⁴ Imperfects 9 times: Asp.24; D.90; Ep.450; Kith.55; Pk.144; Sam.113, 212, 616; Sk.349. Perfects 6 times and 4 possibly (4.1.1.1).

⁶⁴⁵ Sam.679 *praesens historicum*; other presents at Ep.693; Sam.282, 420; F.D.2, mainly anterior in future contexts (see f>pr and 'f' > pr in row 3 of table a).

⁶⁴⁶ 'f'>a in the table.

⁶⁴⁷ See row 1 ('primary to secondary') column 2.

⁶⁴⁸ See the last few lines of row 1 in column 2.

⁶⁴⁹ See two final rows in table a in Appendix IIIa.

⁶⁵⁰ The final passages of the last two lines in row 5, i > i and a > a respectively.

value of either of the verbs, and the sequence of events, so important in narrative, is expressed with the help of adverbial expressions in two of the three passages.⁶⁵¹

Relative clauses expressing an action detectably anterior to the main action were found in narrative passages eight times in Menander.⁶⁵² Intuitively one would have expected narrative passages to be the setting for a greater proportion of the 37 instances of relative clauses with identifiable anterior value. Anteriority is a *sine qua non* notion in narrative, where the sequence of events defines the plot. Yet, as stated just above, Menandrian drama is just as much about (non-narrative) dialogue and present and future contexts as it is about the narration of the plot and the telling of other stories.⁶⁵³ In addition, I refer briefly to the preference for parataxis (both coordinated and asyndetic) in dramatic dialogue and certain 'registers' of narrative (see 2.2.3 and §5).

It would furthermore be incorrect to assume that adverbs qualifying verbs in relative clauses always express or emphasize time anterior to a main context. They do so, for example, with the adverb τότε, at Pk.[795]:⁶⁵⁴

γυνή μ' ἔθρεψεν, ἣ] τότ' εἶδεν κειμένην. 'A woman brought me up. The one who found me.'

An adverb may be used to strengthen the implication of a relative past when a verb form is omitted in the relative clause e.g. Ep.870:

σέ/ ὄρω γάρ, ἦν καὶ τότε. (Habrotonon on recognizing Pamphile as the girl from last year's Tauropolia) 'You're the girl I saw before.'

But adverbs in relative clauses with anterior action do not always serve to express or emphasize this anteriority; in some anterior relative clauses they serve to sharpen the nature of the action, locating it somewhere within the past. Thus for example instances of ἀπτίως or ἄρτι specify the recentness of the past action (or state) of the verbs which they accompany, when these verbs have an imperfect form, such as at Sam.212:⁶⁵⁵

⁶⁵¹ ἐξ ἀρχῆς at Asp.87 (the main and relative split between the interlocutors), and τότε at Pk.[795],

⁶⁵² Five times in the aorist (Asp.68, 87; Ep.299; Pk.[795] stichomythia; Sam.[7] prologue); twice in the imperfect (Asp.24; Pk.144 prologue); and once in the perfect (Pk.150 prologue).

⁶⁵³ Pace the anecdote, reported in Plut.De gloria Athen.4, in which Menander describes how he composes his plays: "νῆ τοὺς θεούς, ἔγωγε πεποίηκα τὴν κωμωδίαν. ὠκονόμηται γὰρ ἡ ὑπόθεσις, δεῖ δ' αὐτῇ τὰ στιχίδια ἐπάσαι" (K-T, T 11).

⁶⁵⁴ Cf. Asp.24 and Sam.[7].

⁶⁵⁵ Cf. Sk.349.

ἐγώ
ὁ τοὺς γάμους ποῶν,...
ὧι πάντα κατὰ νοῦν ἀρτίως ἐγίγνετο,
οὐδ' εἰ βλέπω,... οἷδ[α νῦν]
καλῶς ἔτ·

'I, who was preparing to make a wedding..., for whom not long ago everything was going according to plan, now I'm not sure if I'm still alright.'

or when the verb has an aorist form, such as at Asp.330:⁶⁵⁶

ὁ γὰρ ὑπεῖπας ἀρ[τίως]/ δόξαι σε δεῖ νῦν... 'What you've just said must now seem true...'

4.1.4 parenthetical relatives in Menander

Finally, just as we identified relative clauses which related one main action to another, conjoining independent sentences, but using the forms of subordination ('relativischer Anschluß'), and then excluded them from our discussion,⁶⁵⁷ we must try to determine which relative clauses, regardless of the tense-forms of their verbs, while subordinated to a main clause, have a parenthetical function, and are somehow independent of the other constituents of the sentence. In such cases there is formal syntactic subordination, but rather than falling within a temporal hierarchy, such parenthetical clauses, opening with subordinating relative pronouns, are not dependent on the time frame in the main clause, but have a position within a hierarchy of discourse. It will be found that in relative clauses with parenthetical function, primary tenses prevail, although some secondary tenses do appear.⁶⁵⁸ The perfects appearing here do not contribute to an argument for the anterior value of the perfect in subordinates, and they behave in the same way as independent clauses with perfects in commentary mode. The most striking feature common to all the sentences in which I identified relatives in a parenthetical function is the consistent avoidance of uniformity between the verb in the main clause and the verb in the subordinate clause: in such sentences, if the main verb is in a narrative tense (i.e. there is a past context), the verb in the parenthetical relative clause will come in a primary tense. A transparent example, with a formal shift from aorist to present, is supplied at Grg.46f:

⁶⁵⁶ Cf. D.891 and Ep.436.

⁶⁵⁷ See Appendix IIIa, and sections 2.2.1, 2.2.2, and 5.

⁶⁵⁸ Those with secondary tenses are discussed at the end of the section.

ὁ Κλεαίνετος γάρ, οὐ τὸ μεираάκιον [τὸ σὸν]
 ἐργάζεται, πρῶην ποτ' ἐν ταῖς ἀμπέλοις
 σκάπτων διέκοψε τὸ σκέλος χρηστῶς πάνυ.
 'Kleainetos, where [your] son works, sometime a day or two ago, while digging among
 the vines, he got his leg all cut up, very nicely.'

In a few instances the main clause has a primary tense, and the verb in the subordinated
 parenthetical phrase is in a 'narrative' tense, as is seen in the shift from 'future' to aorist
 at Sk.253, which I quote from 252ff:

ἀλλ' ἂν φανῶ τῆς παρθένου
 καγὼ πολίτης, ἦν ἔσωισα τῷ πατρί,
 ἔασατ' αἰτῆσαί με τοῦτον καὶ λαβεῖν.
 'But if I also turn out [to be] a citizen [in common with] the girl, whom I saved for her
 father, let me ask him and take [her as my wife].'

The choice of an aorist here (and it is a result of choice, because both metrically and
 idiomatically the perfect is viable with the verb σώιζω) may be explained as a conscious
 effort to show that an action is clearly anterior to the main context. Yet both its
 positioning and its function point to the parenthetical nature of this relative clause. The
 parenthetical clause ἦν ἔσωισα τῷ πατρί comes in a middle position, which typifies
 parenthesis, and is in fact called the 'parenthetical' position. In this sentence, the clause
 splits the protasis ἂν φανῶ... and the apodosis ἔασατ'..., the constituents of a future-
 more-vivid condition. The relative clause is not a constituent of the condition, although it
 does give details qualifying one of the actants, the παρθένος.⁶⁵⁹

This middle position, although typical of parenthetical clauses, and sometimes found in
 definitions of them, is not what defines them. Indeed among the fifteen (and three)
 parenthetical clauses opening with a relative pronoun in Menander, four clearly (and two
 possibly) come in the 'parenthetic' position, some splitting complex sentence-
 structures,⁶⁶⁰ others through the introduction of new agents.⁶⁶¹

⁶⁵⁹ See KG ii 353, concerning parentheses: "Ihrem Inhalte nach gehören sie zur Einheit des
 ganzen Gedankens, ihrer Form nach aber stehen sie selbstständig da und sind als grammatische
 Hauptsätze anzusehen" (emphasis my own).

⁶⁶⁰ Asp.168, splitting ὤφελε from its infinitive; Kith.fr.1.2 and Pk.808 splitting object clause
 constituents in indirect discourse; For Ep.464 and Sam.354, see below, 4.8.

⁶⁶¹ I.e. the agent of the action or state in the parenthetical clause is not the same as the one in the
 leading sentence, and perhaps not even referred to in the main sentence (cf. *genitivus absolutus*). D.99f;
Her.24; Pk.127.

The majority of relative clauses which can be shown to be temporally parenthetical do not come in the 'parenthetical' position in the sentence, and they do not interrupt the basic structure of the sentence.

A minority of parenthetical phrases features verbs in secondary tenses on which I now comment individually.⁶⁶²

(1) In Asp.65 αἷς εἶπον comes in a narrative passage of the familiar style,⁶⁶³ where parenthetical references to previous comments are not uncommon. Hence parallels for *verba dicendi* in secondary tenses may be found elsewhere in parenthetical statements (§5). (2) Asp.168 ὁν δίκαιον ἦν is in an *irrealis* context, where imperfects and other pasts are used metaphorically. (3) Pk.127 ἦν νῦν εἶδετε is in a prologue, where deixis and references to seeing and other cognitive senses are typical. νῦν puts this aorist in the immediate past. (4) Pk.808 ἦ παρεῖχ' is a borderline case: it may be considered parenthetical because it is omissible, and it has an explanatory function -- both features of parenthetical phrases. Note that this phrase is in an account of past events, in stichomythia with an imperfect. (5) Sk.253 ἦν ἔσωσα τῷ πατρί is aorist in form but does not necessarily refer to a past action; the emphasis is on the girl's present safety.

To sum up, just as the middle position, although it does not define parenthesis, is typical of it, so, too, a typical characteristic of parenthesis is a polar shift from a secondary to a primary tense (and vice-versa).

4.1.5 uniformity of leading and dependent verbs in relative sentences

It is interesting that although a non-aorist anterior (i.e. an 'anterior' perfect) would be particularly useful in expressing anteriority in a sentence in which the main verb itself is in the aorist, no such example has been found in Menander.⁶⁶⁴ Rather, even when the main verb itself comes in the aorist (as an absolute indication of the past), the aorist is

⁶⁶² The passages are: Asp.65, 168; Pk.127, 808; and Sk.253.

⁶⁶³ See Trenkner (1960) for the various narrative styles based on syntactic compositional features.

⁶⁶⁴ Grg.5 is a possible example, but the leading action (in this passage a state) is expressed by a participle, whose 'crutch' verb is only a supplement, missing in the papyrus. And indeed it has been supplemented in the aorist by Sandbach: [ἔτυχέ τι] συμβεβηκός ὃ μ' ἀπολώλεκε/...

again used within the relative clause, now to indicate a time previous to the time of the main verb (in these instances in the past, with aorist aspect), e.g. Ep.299:⁶⁶⁵

, ποιμήν τις ἐξηγγείλε μοι, πρὸς ὃν οὕτως ἐλάλησε. 'Some shepherd, to whom [Daos] here [had] talked, told me.'

Although Menander offers us a handful of sentences in which the main clause and the relative clause both feature imperfect forms, it is difficult to interpret an anterior relationship between the dependent and the leading verbs.

In both cases of a perfect in the main clause as well as in the relative clause (full formal identity), adverbial expressions may help to clarify the time-relation between the main and the subordinate clauses.⁶⁶⁶ The actions in the relative clauses are contemporary -- if not subsequent -- to the actions of the main clauses. See Kol.89:⁶⁶⁷

τῷ οὗτ' ἀπολώλεκεν μόνον/ ταύτας ὃ νῦν διὰ τοῦτον ἐξεύρηκ' ἐγώ.
'This thing alone has brought to ruin these [cities] [a thing] which I've just now discovered because of [the flatterer]'

Finally, in Asp.334, the anteriority of the (perfect) action in the relative clause is not certain, and in other passages the perfect is timeless, general, or parenthetical.⁶⁶⁸

The absence of perfects even as an artificial device to produce distinct forms (which are preferred in the expression of relative time) is a further argument in support of an inherently weak anterior value of perfect forms, especially in past contexts.

4.2 temporal clauses

Temporal clauses opening with temporal conjunctions are used less often by Menander than relative clauses opening with pronouns (including temporal expressions such as ἐν ᾧ ἡμέραι). Work focusing specifically on temporal clauses is sparse; Rijksbaron's monograph, which treats temporal clauses in Herodotus, is informative, but Herodotus is

⁶⁶⁵ Other aorists in relative clauses anterior to absolute pasts are Asp.87, ?292; Pk.795; fr.780.1. The majority of relative clauses with verbs in the aorist in Menander are correlated with main clauses expressing necessity, wish, or some other non-past notion.

⁶⁶⁶ This is analogous to the situation in other sentences where the main clause and the relative clause both have the same tense and aspect; an adverbial expression explicitly marks the verb in the relative as e.g. anterior, when both verbs are in the aorist: Asp.87 (ἐξ ἀρχῆς); Pk.795 (τότε) - in the other passages referred to in the preceding note, it is not clear that the aorist comes in an exclusively anterior function.

⁶⁶⁷ Cf. D.822 with contemporary ongoing but complete action: ἐπακήκο' ὑμῶν ἐξιὼν πρὸς τῇ θύρᾳ/ ἅπαντας οὕς εἰρήκατ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς λόγους. 'While going out to the door, I've overheard everything you've said, from the beginning.'

⁶⁶⁸ Asp.122; D.25+, 99+, 354; Kol.86, 89+

a prose writer, with much more narrative material, and a far greater volume of surviving text than Menander; statistics offered by Rijksbaron for the author of his work cannot be used as a control, and only leave us with regrets over how much of Menander has been lost. In addition, Rijksbaron does not discuss the perfect, and perhaps in Herodotus' time, dialect, and genre, the perfect is neither as ambivalent in status as it is in later classical Greek, nor as prevalent as it is in dramatic works. The role of the temporal clause in the expression of precise time-sequences deserves more discussion than Rijksbaron gives it. Variation is a factor to be reckoned with not only with respect to style, but also regarding the syntactic wealth and standing of Herodotus. Moorhouse (1982) 293 presents conjunctions used to open temporal clauses of time 'when' and states that some conjunctions are distinctly used to open anterior clauses, and others are used for contemporary connection. In other conjunctions, including ὅτε and ὥς, he believes that "distinctions need not be sharply drawn"; however, his statement on absolute rather than relative use of the aorist needs further qualification in order to be understood.

ὥς introduces temporal clauses denoting actions anterior to those in the corresponding main clauses, but it is a mistake to identify ὥς clauses definitively with anteriority. In non-past contexts, and with the particle ἄν attached, ὥς clauses can of course have non-anterior value; even in past contexts they are not exclusively used with anterior clauses.⁶⁶⁹ The discussion will in the main proceed as it has for relative clauses, but I would like at this point to reiterate the importance of considering the fluid nature of time-relations: some verbs expressed in past tenses describe actions which in certain contexts continue into the present.⁶⁷⁰

⁶⁶⁹ See, e.g., Smyth §2383b. LSJ, *s.v.*, in the sublemma on temporal use, mentions 'past tenses' without specifying. KG are more specific, giving its use specifically with the **aorist** indicative, at §567.1. Note however, that KG, and Mayser, organize treatment of forms in subordinate clauses by mood, and not by tense or conjunction, so no conclusions are made about typical (indicative) tense forms with ὥς.

⁶⁷⁰ See Smyth, §2388: "The time denoted by a temporal clause is not always solely contemporaneous, antecedent, or subsequent to that of the principal clause, but may overlap with the time of the principal clause."

As in relative clauses, the aorist (and not pluperfect) is the typical form used in temporal clauses for actions anterior to those in main clauses.⁶⁷¹ No examples of temporal clauses were found in Menander with pluperfects. Moorhouse (1982) 294 reports that perfects are rare in Sophocles in temporal clauses and the pluperfect is found only once. A final note on the structure of sentences with a temporal clause: the terms main and subordinate refer to the independent clause and the *ὥς*-clause respectively, although the order is usually reversed.⁶⁷²

4.2.1 perfects in temporal clauses

Four clauses with verbs in the perfect open with temporal conjunctions; three with conjunctions deriving from relative adverbs (*ὥς*, *ὅτε*), and one with *ἐπεὶ*. They are called temporal clauses after the form of the conjunctions which open them, although I hope to show they are not strictly speaking temporal:

(1) *Ep.*557: *ὥς ἤισθηθ'* ὅτι/κατὰ τὸν ἔρωτ' οὐκ ἔστ' ἐλευθερίας τυχεῖν/ ... τὴν ἑτέραν *πορεύεται*/ ὁδόν. 'When she feels that she can't get freedom [from love]... she takes another road.'⁶⁷³

(2) *Pk.*1007: *ὅτ' εὐτύχηκας*, *τότε* δέχεσθαι τὴν δίκην/ τεκμήριον τοῦτ' *ἐστὶν* Ἕλληνας τρόπου. 'To accept an honourable settlement when you're in a strong position -- that's proof that you're a true Greek.'

(3) *Sam.*66: δειλὸς ἤδη *γίνομαι*/ ὥς πλησίον τὸ πρᾶγμα *γέγονε*. 'I've lost my nerve now that the crunch has come.'

(4) *Sam.*247: *νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ*/ παιδίον ἐκείνου *γέγονεν* ἤδη καὶ τόδε/ [text broken off] 'and now that his son here has been born...'

In passage (1) above there is no idiomatic, semantic or generic reason for the use of the perfect *ἤισθηθ'*. The passage comes in a monologue delivered by Onesimos in a pensive mood, rather than in a narrative of past actions. Caught up in his suspicions, Onesimos reasons with himself and argues his specific case, but draws on stereotypical generalizations about the unreliability of women, although referring specifically to

⁶⁷¹ See primarily KG ii §386.14; also Smyth §1943 and Jannaris §§1857, 1879. For examples and discussion of pluperfects with temporal *ὥς*-clauses (in Herodotus), see Rijksbaron (1973) 117f, 217f and *passim*.

⁶⁷² On the order of clauses in sentences with temporal clauses, and the significance of postponed temporal clauses, see Rijksbaron (1973).

⁶⁷³ Compare the translations: 'That's one little smart girl! No sooner sees that the love-game's no road to freedom, but only to heartache, then off she goes on the other track.' (N.M.) or 'Einfälle hat die Dime. Wie sie sieht, daß ihr zur Freiheit seine Liebe nicht verhilft... geht sie ihren andren Weg.' (Wilamowitz (1925) 201).

Habrotonon (τὸ γύναιον). I do not see any past context here, although the clause opens with the temporal conjunction ὥς (found in past temporal contexts elsewhere in classical Greek). If any temporal relation is at work here, it is in the present.⁶⁷⁴ This shift from a present main context to a perfect (ὥς ἦσθηθ' < ...πορεύεται) may be understood either as an alternative form of ὥς ἄν, or ὅταν in a present generalization,⁶⁷⁵ or as an expression of a contemporaneous specific time relation in the present; but the sequence and context do not suggest a temporal relation set in the past. The form of the main verb (present with non-narrative value) anticipates what the context confirms.

An aorist form is typical with ὥς in narrative and other past contexts. The expectation of this typical form may have been what influenced copyists into making a hypercorrection, reading ἦσθεθ', an aorist (see Wilamowitz and GS *ad locum*). I must add that the Cairo papyrus is unclear in the extreme here, and it is hard to see whether the copyist made a 'mistake' (ἦσθεθ' aorist) or wrote the perfect (ἦσθηθ').

Passage (2) is a clear example of a generalization opening with ὅτε and the perfect indicative, as an alternative to the far more frequent ὅταν + present subjunctive. The verb εὐτυχέω describes a state, and has a strong tradition of perfect forms (in non-past contexts) in classical Greek (1.7.3). In this passage the perfect is used with modal value: Pataikos enters the stage, in dialogue, and although he addresses Glykera, a particular person, a gnomic tone peppers his expression of satisfaction.

A tendency -- let us call it idiomatic (as opposed to grammatical) -- for εὐτυχέω to occur in the perfect, combined with the avoidance of monolectic subjunctive perfect forms,⁶⁷⁶ may have contributed to the preference of the indicative without ἄν; within the indicative system, the perfect is highly compatible for use in generalizing statements. Analogies for indicatives with illocutionary modes used as alternatives to non-indicative forms are presented in 2.2.2.

⁶⁷⁴ See for example Norma Miller's translation (previous note).

⁶⁷⁵ There is a fine line between present contemporaneous time relations and (timeless) generalizations (4.1.2).

⁶⁷⁶ Monolectic such as ἡγήκητι in contrast with periphrastic forms such as εὐρηκώς ἦν.

γέγονε in passage (3) is a perfect more in form than in function; γέγονεν here, as elsewhere,⁶⁷⁷ is equivalent to the present. In this passage the *pro praesente* meaning of the perfect form is indicated not only by idiom, but also by context (the speaker refers to his present situation; moreover, the perfect fits in well with the mode of (self-) comment). Nevertheless, one cannot overlook the fact that both the main and the subordinate clause feature forms of the same verb, γίγνομαι, referring to actions which to some extent co-occur. The main action (γίγνομαι), and the subordinate action (γέγονε) nevertheless have different subjects (the speaker and the affair respectively); it may be that some formal differentiation delineating this shift in the subject may be sought in such an instance.⁶⁷⁸ There is a temporal correspondence between the two clauses, as reflected in N.Miller's translation, although I note that a comparative correspondence is also suggested: ὥς in what is a clear construction of comparison is paralleled at Sam.619:

ὥς δὲ μᾶλλον ἔνους γίνομαι/ καὶ λαμβάνω λογισμόν, ἐξέστηκα νῦν/ τελέως ἑμαυτοῦ καὶ παρώξυμαι σφόδρα... 'But now that I've had time to collect my wits and think over what happened, I'm furious, absolutely livid...'

Passage (4) offers the one ἐπεὶ-clause⁶⁷⁹ with a verb in the perfect, and I quote below from Sam.244ff:

ὥς δ' ἐπαύσατο
κλαῖον, πρὸς αὐτὴν φησιν "ὦ τάλαιν' ἐγώ,
πρώην τοιοῦτον ὄντα Μοσχίων' ἐγὼ
αὐτὸν ἐτιθνούμην ἀγαπῶσα, νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ
παιδίον ἐκείνου γέγονεν ἤδη καὶ τόδε
[text broken off]"

'When [the baby] stopped crying, [the nurse] said to herself: "Oh poor me, not two days ago, when Moskhion was just like this I was nursing him lovingly, but now that *his* son has already been born [...]"...'

The verb in the subordinate clause is the perfect of γίγνομαι in the sense of 'to be born'.⁶⁸⁰ I will try to show that the perfect is used here to emphasize relative completeness, but also to formally mark a contrast in time. The context is easy to identify: the passage contains Demeas' narrative of the manner and circumstances in

⁶⁷⁷ Cf. *pro praesente* (1.3.1; 2.1.4).

⁶⁷⁸ I refer here to two examples where the forms of εἰμί and γέγονα are used in the same sentence: D.324 (ταύτηι πατήρ/ ἐσθ' οἷος οὐδεὶς γέγονεν...), and Sk.354 (γέρων ὅς εἰμι γέγονα.).

⁶⁷⁹ ἐπεὶ-clauses are rare throughout Menander: two other passages with subordinate ἐπεὶ clauses will be discussed at 4.2.2.

⁶⁸⁰ Cf. Sam.132; F.I.55, and see 2.3.6.

which he discovered that Moskhion is the father of the baby. The sentence occurs in *oratiorecta*;⁶⁸¹ it is an exit from the narrative, and the time relation involves the nurse's comparison between nursing Moskhion then (πρώην), and nursing his son now (νῦν δέ). Similar contrasts or comparisons between situations 'then' and 'now' are made in parenthetical phrases opening with relatives, with verbs typically in primary tenses when exiting a narrative.⁶⁸² The rest of the sentence is cut off by a break in the papyrus at this point in the text, so any comment about time-relation between the main and subordinate or parenthetical clauses is purely speculative.

4.2.2 other clauses opening with temporal conjunctions in Menander

Temporal clauses which have indicative verb-forms tend to emphasize a temporal relationship whereas those in non-indicative forms tend to be general and less oriented to specific time-relations. Since one of the aims is to assess the temporal force of perfect indicatives in subordinate clauses and place them within a spectrum of time and mood, I will limit the detailed discussion below to indicative temporal clauses.

Menander follows the norm in his use of aorist with temporal ὥς-clauses. I found twenty five sentences with temporal ὥς-clauses: most sentences with temporal ὥς-clauses feature verbs in the aorist.⁶⁸³ The remaining examples have imperfects,⁶⁸⁴ except one in the present (Sam.619), and of course Ep.557 and Sam.66 mentioned above, with a perfect.

This is not the place to examine in detail the time-relation between the verbs in the main and subordinate clauses of all these examples; perhaps, however, it is worth noting that besides passages with the main verb (as well as the verb in the subordinate clause) in the aorist,⁶⁸⁵ the tenses in the two clauses are often different. Sometimes the main verb is a

⁶⁸¹ This *per se* may explain the high frequency of adverbs; see comments in 2.1.5.3, 2.1.5.10.

⁶⁸² Cf. 4.1.4, and 5.4.1.

⁶⁸³ Four-fifths (19/25): Asp.45; Grg.50; D.670, 685; Ep.329, 369, 892 (participle); Pk.154, 300, 318, 537; Sam.122, 127, 219, 244, 542; Sk.3, 218; fr.15.1.

⁶⁸⁴ D.20, 121; Her.31; F.I.15. Another imperfect comes in a temporal clause with ἦνίκα (the only such temporal clause in use in the remains of Menander), at Sk.281f: [ἐ]κρυπ[τε γὰρ σῶμ' ἦνίκα] ἐξεπέμπομεν/ [πρὸς τὴν] ξένην σε τὴν τότε αἰτοῦσαν τέκνα.

⁶⁸⁵ More than one third of all sentences with ὥς clauses in aorist: Grg.50; D.670; Ep.892; Pk.300; Sam.219, 542; Sk.3; fr.15.1.

historical present,⁶⁸⁶ or can appear as an imperfect,⁶⁸⁷ and in two cases there is a perfect in the **main** clause (D.685; Ep.369).⁶⁸⁸

4.3 causal clauses

The difference between causal and other clauses is sometimes difficult to determine, since there is an overlap in the uses of the various subordinating conjunctions (e.g. ἐπεὶ, ὥς), as well as in functions of different constructions (e.g. causal conditionals, or conditional relatives). I discuss only the most certain examples of causal clauses.

4.3.1 perfects in causal clauses

There is only one example of a causal clause with a verb in the perfect in Menander, at Grg.fr.2.2f:

(ὁ δ' ἡδίκηκός...) ...κακοδαίμων ἔσθ', ὅτι τοῦτ' ἡδίκηκεν οὐ τυχὸν μεταλήψεται. '(The one who damaged...) ...is in bad luck, because he's damaged the very thing he may later receive.'

This example does not contribute much to an analysis of the modal or the temporal value of the perfect, because it involves a verb which recurs in the perfect due to its procedural nature: it is stative, and more specifically emphasizes the responsibility of the subject.

4.3.2 other causal clauses in Menander

As can be seen from a brief glance at Appendix IIIc, which lists all subordinate causal clauses, these are very seldom used in Menander. This is not to say that no causes are expressed or explanations given. Rather, Menander prefers to express causal propositions through sentences connected by γάρ and δέ, or in asyndeton, rather than by subordination (2.2.3). This is not merely a choice of this particular author's style, but has to do with the nature of the comic dialogue and its attempt to reflect natural, informal conversation.

4.4 conditional sentences

Conditional sentences have received treatment in the grammars, as well as in articles by the grammarians. Aside from scanning examples given in cognate authors, which are usually organized by form, by logical definition, or both (as in Smyth), I refer here to

⁶⁸⁶ Asp.45; Ep.329; Pk.318; Sam.244; Sk.[218].

⁶⁸⁷ Pk.154, 537 (and aorists follow); Sam.122.

⁶⁸⁸ See below, 4.6.

several very closely related discussions: Sobolevskij (1891) 91ff gives an annotated inventory of the formal sequences in conditional sentences in Aristophanes. He includes *pro praesente* perfects among presents, and consequently his data reveal a low frequency of perfects in Aristophanes' conditional clauses, which is comparable with the low frequency of perfects in conditional clauses in Menander (but which does include most *pro praesente* perfects). For conditions in Sophocles we consult Moorhouse (1982) chapter 16: the example of a simple condition with a perfect in the protasis, S.E.646 (p.280) may not be a 'true' perfect -- the form $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\phi\eta\nu\epsilon\nu$ may be used idiomatically rather than with any illocutionary or modal force. The perfects in the protasis quoted by Mayser II/3 p.85ff are in recurring formulaic conditions, and again their idiomatic rather than illocutionary or modal force is at work. The seminal work of Wakker (1994) offers a less formal, more functional analysis of various constructions involving conditional clauses. Her discussion of the question of $\epsilon\iota$ + future indicative as opposed to $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$ + subjunctive shows proper attention to the form of the main clause and the interrelation between it and the context; her method serves as a warning against tying particular semantic uses too closely with certain formal sequences: I elaborate on this in 4.4.2 below. In general I point to Wakker's application of the principle of illocutionary, rhetorical, and attitudinal functions to her analysis of the Greek conditions.

4.4.1 perfects in conditional clauses

A perfect may occur in the apodosis either of a general conditional sentence (where the protasis typically has $\alpha\tilde{\nu}$ + subjunctive), or of a simple present condition (4.6). Perfects are also found in protasis of a variety of types of condition. In addition, the perfect is found in paratactically combined phrases bearing a conditional relationship.⁶⁸⁹ I shall discuss (1) a possible future-more-vivid condition, (2) a possible future-less-vivid condition, and (3) a possible present condition. I shall then offer alternative interpretations, since these three sentences do not 'fit' into the usual formal schemes offered for conditional sequences.

⁶⁸⁹ For perfects in complex sentences, but not in subordinate clauses, see 4.5.4, 4.7.

(1) One may interpret the sentence below as a *future condition*, with a verb in the perfect in its protasis, D.316:

ἀλλ' εἴ τι καὶ γὰρ τοῦ δέοντος σφοδρότερον/ εἴρηκα, μηδὲν τοῦτο λυπεῖτω σ' ἔτι. 'But if I have spoken more vehemently than necessary, let this not offend you still.'

The action (if not the resulting state) in the protasis precedes the command expressed in the apodosis, and the condition involves a temporal sequence as well as a logical proposition. The contrast between 'then' and 'now' is mostly implicit, but the adverb ἔτι places some emphasis on the relative subsequence of the apodosis, and the nuance of anteriority suggested by the perfect form. 'Future-more-vivid' conditions more frequently have ἄν and subjunctive in the protasis, which in this case (if so interpreted) opens with the conditional particle εἰ.⁶⁹⁰ In a variation of such future conditions the protasis opens with the particle εἰ and a future indicative form.⁶⁹¹ Some grammarians call this variation the 'emotional' future condition.⁶⁹² Alternatively, this sentence may be interpreted as indirect discourse introduced by one of the *verba affectuum* with εἰ (rather than ὅτι or ὥς).

Variations on the basic pattern εἰ + future indicative > future indicative⁶⁹³ are not elaborated in most grammars, and examples of εἰ with perfect forms are not given. A rare attempt at fitting perfect forms into any scheme of conditional expression is found in Wakker (1994) 125 note 4, where perfect forms are mentioned as alternatives to present indicatives.

The sentence above may be interpreted as indirect discourse introduced by one of the *verba affectuum* with εἰ (rather than ὅτι or ὥς), where the meaning is 'Don't take offence that/since I have spoken so vehemently'.

Rather than analyzing the perfect as an alternative primary tense in the indicative, one may compare the perfect indicative in some of these constructions opening with εἰ + perfect

⁶⁹⁰ *ἐάν λέγω οἱ εἴπω,... μηδὲν λυπεῖτω.

⁶⁹¹ *εἰ ἐρῶ,... μηδὲν λυπεῖτω. Menander has Asp.314f and Pk.398.

⁶⁹² See e.g. Smyth §2328 'emotional future conditions' where the form of the protasis is described as usually being εἰ + future indicative; apodoseis usually come in the form of threats, warnings or appeals. See also Gildersleeve (1876), 2-23. More recent discussions include Wakker (1994) 167ff.

⁶⁹³ See e.g. D.798; Ep.468; Pk.[269], with present indicatives or their equivalents in the protasis, and Mis.262f with present indicative in the apodosis.

indicative with a subjunctive perfect and *ἐάν* in a variation of mood; in other contexts one may view the perfect as gnomic in analogy with the gnomic aorist, which also appears in future contexts.⁶⁹⁴ This passage may be interpreted in the context of other complex sentences with a formal transition from future to perfect (4.8).

(2) The passage below may be interpreted, from its content,⁶⁹⁵ as a *future-less-vivid condition* D.309ff:

ἐπὶ κακῶι δ' εἰ προσελήλυθ' ἐνθάδε/ ἢ βουλόμενος ὑμῶν <τι> κακοτεχνεῖν λάθραι,/ οὗτός μ' ὁ Πάν,.../ αἱ Νύμφαι θ' ἅμα/ ἀπόπληκτον.../ ἤδη ποήσεται. 'If I have come here with evil intent [which is highly unlikely/ which I deny], or desiring furtively to devise some evil, let Pan here and the nymphs strike me...'

(3) The perfect at Sam.699 comes in a *simple present condition*.⁶⁹⁶

εἰ σ...[.....]ς γέγονεν ἡδὺς τοῦ βίου,/ τοῦτόν εἰμ' ὁ δοῦς [ἔγωγε]. 'If ...[any part] of your life has been [and continues to be] sweet,⁶⁹⁷ [I] am the one who has granted it.'

The use of the perfect here may be attributed to the not unparalleled choice of a perfect instead of a present as the primary tense used in the protaseis of present simple conditions.

4.4.2 other conditions and conditionals in Menander

It is unfortunate that the excellent treatment in Wakker (1994) does not include Menander, particularly since she focuses on illocutionary functions of conditionals. A full and detailed application of her principles of analysis to the workings of conditions in Menander is beyond the scope of this thesis, but deserves serious treatment. I merely offer a summary description of the range of conditions found in Menander, and refer the reader to Appendix III d for a fuller list.

i) The most common type of condition in Menander is the future condition ('future-more-vivid') in the form *ἐάν/ ἄν* + subjunctive > future or 'future'.⁶⁹⁸ Sometimes more

⁶⁹⁴ See e.g. Gildersleeve (1900-1910) 111 (§257). Cf. also Wakker (1994) 174f with note 105, where she contrasts *εἰ* + indicative where temporal reference of the *εἰ* clause is given by the tense form, and *ἐάν* + subjunctive, where the aspect (present subjunctive or aorist subjunctive) refers to the time relative to the main clause.

⁶⁹⁵ Compare other future-less-vivid conditions with self-damnation in apodoseis. Wakker (1994) 189f sees these as pseudo-conditionals presenting a strong statement in a rhetorical manner; in note 123 she offers many useful examples from Greek literature. For parallels from Menander see below 4.4.2.

⁶⁹⁶ Cf. e.g. D.303.

⁶⁹⁷ Compare Austin's rendering (1969) 161-170: 'if you have found life a pleasant haven' based on his reading and supplements: εἴ σο[ι] λ[ιμὴν τι]ς γέγονεν.

⁶⁹⁸ Varieties are given in Appendix III d under the rubric 'mixed'.

immediacy is added through the use of adverbs such as εὐθύς in the apodosis (e.g. Asp.433f or Ep.520f).⁶⁹⁹

ii) It is worth noting that among future conditions in their most standard form are seven examples of *threats* (and one of a promise).⁷⁰⁰ Some are rough (e.g. D.482ff) and others are attenuated (e.g. D.961). In contrast, there is only one example of a threat with a conditional clause in the form εἰ + future indicative (Pk.398f). This distinct preference for subjunctive forms in the so-called 'minatory' conditions⁷⁰¹ in Menander contradicts the implications made by traditional grammarians. Moorhouse (1982) 277 associates εἰ + future indicative with threats, although he admits to an overlap of forms. The evidence from Menander fits in well with Wakker (1994) 194: "'Minatoriness' is then essentially a mode of interpretation and has nothing to do with the semantics of εἰ with future indicative."

iii) Not entirely unrelated in tone are conditions in which the apodosis expresses a self-imprecation; see D.309ff (with a protasis in the perfect) discussed in 4.4.1 (§2). These are seen by Wakker (1994) as pseudo-conditionals. I refer to Asp.[269f], 314f; D.482ff; Ep.574ff and 1062f.

iv) Another recurring use of the conditional form in Menander is in illocutionary functions. In particular I refer to discourse situations in which the relation between the conditional clause, often meaning 'if you like', and the main clause, is not one of hypothesis and consequence, but of one proposition, and its qualification, in the cases at hand often a more polite expression of a demand, e.g. D.781f.⁷⁰²

εἰσιὼν αὐτῷ λάλει <νῦν>, εἴ τι βούλει τῷ πατρὶ/κατὰ μόνας. 'Go in, and you can talk to your father on your own, if you want to.'

In this passage Gorgias addresses his social superior Sostratos, and tries to make his command soft-spoken. In other passages characters from a range of status speak, and it is the specific context rather than their character or status which makes them use a more

⁶⁹⁹ ἄρτι at Kith.63f is supplied, not in the text.

⁷⁰⁰ Threats: D.482ff, 961ff; Ep.248f, 551, 1125f; Sam.388f, 440. Promise: D.729ff.

⁷⁰¹ They do not need a special name in my opinion: Wakker illustrates many semantic contexts in which conditions recur, and the data above show that such conditions do not use special forms.

⁷⁰² Cf. D.176; Ep.227f, 493ff; Sam.470f, and 714.

polite wording: at Sam.470f, for example, Demeas, although clearly superior to Moskhion whom he addresses, uses an illocutionary conditional not because he is polite, but because in this particular situation he is desperate. Wakker correlates the higher frequency of main clauses which are not simply statements with illocutionary conditionals,⁷⁰³ and in fact finds many cases with imperatives or their equivalents.

v) I refer the reader to the handful of general conditions in Menander with aorist and perfect apodoseis (referred to in Appendix III d). The latter are discussed in 4.6 and 4.8.

vi) There are individual examples of noteworthy uses of conditional clauses in other functions which are paralleled in other Greek authors. I have noted above those uses which are uncommonly frequent or different in Menander and which are especially apposite for this genre, text, and mode of discourse. Although it does contribute to an assessment of the wealth of syntactic variety and the range of illocutionary uses to which constructions for logical relations are used, evidence from Menander's use of conditionals, when compared with evidence from other subordinate clause types, does not add much to our understanding of the temporal uses of the perfect.

4.5 indirect discourse

The ties between indirect discourse and the perfect are complex. The use of the perfect in *oratio recta*, at least in literary registers, and the prevalence of perfect forms in dialogue mode lead one to expect a role for the perfect in indirect discourse as well.⁷⁰⁴ However, the evidence, which is inevitably representative rather than exhaustive,⁷⁰⁵ indicates a far greater proportion of participial and infinitival object constructions than finite forms introduced by ὅτι or ὥς. With such a minority of examples of finite forms in indirect

⁷⁰³ As opposed to (non-illocutionary) conditions which tend to have statements rather than commands, questions and other illocutionary forms in their apodoseis.

⁷⁰⁴ Weinrich (1973) 199f, in his penetrating discussion on temporal transitions and their textual ramifications, draws fine lines between direct discourse, indirect discourse, and free indirect style (*discours vécu*). He identifies distinct formal and syntactic phenomena for each of the three modes, and although his analysis is based on evidence from modern French prose, it covers some common ground with our (ancient, non-romance) dramatic text in that both are literary, textual and deliberate.

⁷⁰⁵ It is heuristically impossible to account for all examples of *oratio obliqua*, as some examples are implicit, and others depend on interpretation when there are no outward signs in the text.

discourse, we can at best describe them, and await further research on cognate texts before arriving at any conclusions. I treat indirect questions separately in 4.5.3.

4.5.1 perfects in indirect discourse

Below I quote in full the four passages where perfects are used in indirect discourse (other than questions):⁷⁰⁶

(1) Mis.233 (quoted from 231ff):

ἐκ Κύπρου παρῶν
ἐνταῦθα πρῶτον τῶν ἐμῶν ταύτην ὁρῶ.
καὶ δηλον ὥς ἔσπαρκε τῶν οἴκοι τινὰς
ὁ κοινὸς ἐχθρὸς πόλεμος ἄλλον ἀλλαχῇ.

'I come from Cyprus, and first thing I see here is my daughter. It's clear that War, the common enemy, is the scatterer of others of my household in all directions.'

(2) Sam.513 (quoted from 507ff):

εἰ γὰρ ἐμὸν ἦ[σχυνε λέ]κτρον,...
παλλακὴν δ' ἂν αὔριον
πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων ἐπώλουν, ...
...ὥστε μὴθὲν εἶναι μήτε κουρείον κενόν
μὴ στόαν, καθημένους δὲ πάντας ἐξ ἑωθिनοῦ
περὶ ἐμοῦ λαλεῖν λέγοντας ὥς ἀνὴρ Νικήρατος
γέγον'...

'If she had shamed my bed, I would have sold her the very first thing in the morning, ... so that there wouldn't be a single barbershop or stoa empty, everyone would be about from the crack of dawn talking about me, saying what a man Nikeratos is...'

(3) Pk.321:

φησ[ί] "πῶς δ' ἀ]κήκοεν;/ ἡ σὺ λελῶληκας πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅτι φοβηθεῖς' ἐνθάδε/
καταπέφευ' αὕτη [πρὸς ἡμᾶς; πάνυ] γε. ..." "...she says, "how did he get wind of this? Have *you* been gossiping, telling him that because she was frightened, she's run for refuge to our house? Yes, that's it..."

(4) Sk.260f:

...φησι "ταυτὶ συμπέποιθ', ὥς οὐτοσὶ/ νῦν ἑξαπίνης εἴληφε διαθήκας ποθὲν/
ἐστὶ τε πολίτης ὑμέτερος... τε... τὴν κόρην ἀφήσει[αι]."
'...he says "So I'm to believe that this man here has just all of a sudden gotten a will from somewhere and is your fellow citizen, and ...will let this girl go!"

I merely comment that all four examples are within complex constructions, syntactically and/or discursively: (1) and (4) are conceptual indirect discourse, i.e. they quote (indirectly) thoughts rather than words. (3) is in indirect speech. (2) is couched in an elaborate contrary-to-fact condition with rhetorical point; in fact it may be interpreted as an indirect exclamation. (3, 4) are indirect discourse given in *oratio recta* within narrative

⁷⁰⁶ I do not include the perfect in Pk.327, which is a supplement.

passages, where perhaps details of delivery would help the audience sort out the different levels of discourse.⁷⁰⁷

4.5.2 indirect questions

There are only two passages in Menander where indirect questions have perfect forms:⁷⁰⁸

(1) Ep.854: οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι κακὸν πέπονθέ μοι. 'I don't know what's wrong with him.'

(2) Ep.516: κατιδὼν μ' ἔχουσιν ἀνακρινεῖ πόθεν
εἴληφα. φήσω "Ταυροπολίοις παρθένος
ἔτ' οὔσα" τά τ' ἐκείνηι γενόμενα πάντ' ἐμὰ
προουμένη.
'When he sees me wearing [the ring], he'll ask where I got it. I'll say, "At the Tauropolia, while I was still a virgin", making her story my own.'

(1) most probably involves a frequently used perfect of a state verb rather than a conscious choice of the perfect form. Further, (1) is only an indirect question in form; it is a rhetorical equivalent of a stronger, more direct, exclamation. (2) offers one of the rare examples of a perfect involved in transphrastic ellipsis of an otherwise obligatory object. Further, it is another piece of evidence for our collection of perfect forms used in subordinate clauses in *future* contexts, and where there is an anterior value with relation to the future (4.8).

4.5.3 survey of indirect questions in Menander

All combinations of moods and tenses are used in indirect questions, and only tendencies may be described: the most frequently used sequence is primary > primary (most often present > present). The optative in a past sequence is used only once at fr.254; this is worth noting because generally speaking *optativus obliquus* is rare in Menandrian subordination. The other notable formation is future indicative in indirect questions, found seven times (mainly after primary tenses).⁷⁰⁹

⁷⁰⁷ Note that both also show uniformity between the perfects (of the *verba dicendi et sentiendi*) in the leading verbs and the perfects in the subordinate clauses. This may be explained by the fact that they are set within a larger framework of *oratio recta* in narrative passages.

⁷⁰⁸ I am uncertain whether Ep.352 is to be viewed as an indirect question or an indefinite relative object clause: κρίνον ὅ τι δίκαιον νερόμικας. Note the future context. Pnth.fr.3.3 has a periphrastic perfect.

⁷⁰⁹ See table c, Appendix IIIe.

4.5.4 participial alternatives to object clauses

Perfect participles are often used with *verba declarandi et percipiendi* as alternatives to object clauses with ὅτι or ὡς after such verbs.⁷¹⁰ The pattern occurs in past contexts, e.g. 1) Asp.69:⁷¹¹

ἐν δὲ τοῖς νεκροῖς/ πέπτωκός τ' εἶδες τοῦτον; '(Smikrines asks Daos): 'Was it among the corpses that you saw him **dead**?'

and in future contexts, with main verbs in the future indicative, or equivalent. I give the sentences below in full, so that the pattern might be synoptically illustrated:

(1) Ep.915: "...αὐτὸν δὲ δείξω σ' εἰς ὅμοι' ἐπταικότα..." (Kharisios quoting an imagined force): "...I will prove you to have erred in the same things..."

(2) Mis.261 (from 260f): νῦν ἢ μακάριον ἢ τρισαθλιώτατον/ δείξεις με τῶν ζώντων ἀπάντων γεγονότα. (Thrasonides): 'Now you will prove that I am either blessed, or the most severely cursed of all men alive.'

(3) Mis.309f: "...τεθνηκότα/ πέψει μ' ἐάν μ' ἐγκαταλίπηις." (Getas quoting Thrasonides): 'You'll learn that I've died if you leave me.'

(4) Sam.152: εἰ γὰρ⁷¹².../ ἐσπουδακότα μ' αἴσθοιο συλλάβοις τέ μοι; (Moskhion to Demeas): 'I wish that you could grasp that I am serious, and [I wish that you would] help me.'

To this list should be added an example in the nominative, with a passive main verb:

(5) Ep.918: "ἐπιδειχθήσει θ' ἅμα/ ἀτυχῆς γεγονώς." (Kharisios, quoting a 'force'): 'You will be proved to have been unfortunate.'

The complementary participles above all denote states rather than actions, so that the perfect is compatible with them. The anteriority is that of the state, or the result of a past action, already established before it is proved, discovered, or exposed. Note that (1, 3, 5) are in *oratiorecta*.

⁷¹⁰ See KG ii §482 (participles as verbal complements); and §550 (ὅτι clauses etc.). For example: αἰσθάνομαι τὸν παῖδα μανθάνοντα 'I feel that the boy understands', sometimes found in the construction αἰσθάνομαι ὅτι ὁ παῖς μανθάνει.

⁷¹¹ Cf. Asp.44: οἱ βάρβαροι... ἔμενον,... πεπυσμένοι τὴν δύναμιν ἐσκεδασμένην. Pk.1011: ἀλλ' ἔθυσον... / [Γλυκέραν] ἀνευρηκυῖαν οὐς[]/ πυθόμενος. Sam.239: ἰδοῦσα δὲ τὸ παιδίον κεκραγὸς ἡμελημένον / ἐμέ τ'...προσέρχεται/ .../εἰπούσα.../ ἐφίλησε, περιήνεγκεν. Sam.40: εἰς' Αδώνι' αὐτὰς κατέλαβον/ συνηγμένους ἐνθάδε...

⁷¹² Following the supplement suggested by Austin.

4.6 subordinators in the perfect

There are less than thirty perfects in Menander's remains which may be considered subordinators, or having subordinating force.⁷¹³ Despite the comparatively few passages, there is a variety of formal patterns of transition from main clause to subordinate clause.

In D.685, the action of the (aorist) verb in the subordinate clause is prior in time to the action of the (perfect) verb in the main clause: ὥς ἐκεῖνος ἐξέβη/ δεῦρ' ἐξελήλυθ' (α). This seems to provide a good example of a perfect which does not express anteriority.⁷¹⁴ In fact I see this passage as an example of a motivated entrance acknowledgment, a number of which I have collected with verbs (of motion) in the perfect, emphasizing the resulting state of the subject (i.e. 'I am now on stage'). In contrast with the aorist in the subordinate clause above, with imperfects (as in the examples in the previous note) there is always the possibility of contemporaneity. The overwhelming majority of perfects in main clauses 'govern' clauses with verbs in primary tenses of the indicative.⁷¹⁵ Most importantly, no subordinating verbs in perfect form govern *optativus obliquus*.

A handful of passages in Menander feature present general conditions with perfect in the apodosis (as an alternative to the present).

(1-2) Asp.216, 218, parallel apodoseis: ἂν λάβω ποτ' ἔργον, ... ἢ τέθνηκέ τις ... ἢ τέτοκε ... κυοῦσά τις...

(3) Ep.fr.9.1: οὐθὲν πέπονθας δεινὸν ἂν μὴ προσποῇ.

(4) fr.620.11: ἂν γλαῦξ ἀνακράγηι, δεδοίκαμεν.

The norm in Menander is not different from that found elsewhere in classical Greek. Namely, present general conditions (with protasis εἰ + ἂν + subjunctive) are found with a present (indicative) apodosis.⁷¹⁶ One can either interpret the occurrence of the perfects

⁷¹³ Asp.175, 216, 218, 394; Grg.fr.2.3; D.79, 303, 313, 383, 507, 686, 750, 821, 833, 900; Ep.368, 557; Kol.89; Mis.fr.2.2; Pk.[158], 320, 327b, 354; Sam.308, 522, 620, 621; Sk.354; fr.588.1.

⁷¹⁴ Cf. perhaps D.750: εἴρηχ' ὅς' ἐφρόνουν σοι, and Pk.[158]: [εἴρηχ'] ὅν τρ[όπον] ὤιχετ'...

⁷¹⁵ The subjunctive is found in only 5 passages: D.900 (δέδουκα μή...); Pk.354 (ἵνα), and with ἂν four times in conditional clauses (Asp.216, 218; Ep.fr.9.1; fr.620.11).

⁷¹⁶ The passages in Menander with clearly identifiable present general conditional sentences with present indicative apodoseis are as follows: D.169f, 394f, 397, 461ff, 665, 789f; Kol.98f; Kon.fr.1.1.

here as 'alternatives to the present' as part of the formula for a present general condition; or one can explain that almost all of the perfects found in these passages are used as presents, perfect only in form.

There are only five instances of uniformity between a perfect in a main clause and a perfect in a subordinating clause: two are in *oratio recta* within narrative passages (see 4.5.1), one is in a condition (D.303), and two are in relative sentences (D.821 and Kol.89, a rhetorically elaborate passage).

4.7 paratactic constructions

Wackernagel (1897) 31 [= (1953) I 792] introduced the notion that it was a typically Comic feature to use parataxis when expressing conditions. He admits it is found here and there in a variety of texts. The best example with which to open the discussion comes not from Menander, but from Anaxandrides 53 K-A, since it shows this construction with the parallel options all used together (lines 4ff):⁷¹⁷

ἡ γὰρ πένης ὦν τὴν γυναῖκα χρήματα λαβὼν ἔχει δέσποιναν... / ...ἦν δ' αὖ λάβῃ / μηδὲν φερομένην, δοῦλος τ' αὐτὸς γίγνεται / ... (9) ἀλλ' ἔλαβεν αἰσχρὰν· οὐ βιωτόν ἐστ' ἔτι / ... / ἀλλ' ἔλαβεν ὡραῖαν τις· οὐδὲν γίγνεται.
'If a man's poor, what's given him with his wife makes her... master; if he's not and dowry's not in the lot, he's still a slave... If he takes an ugly [wife] life for him is no longer livable... and if he takes a pretty [wife] nothing going' (adapted from Edmonds).

But this passage, though it offers such a wide variety of constructions for expressing conditional propositions, does not show any perfect forms, although these are included in the variety described by Kock in a commentary on another paratactic condition *ad* Timoc.6.13-16) "in apodosei praesens, perfectum, aoristum promiscue posuit". I refer to two passages in Menander where parataxis is used to express general conditions:⁷¹⁸

(1-2) D.58f and 64f:

παραλαμβάνει τις τῶν φίλων
ἑρῶν ἑταίρας· εὐθὺς ἀρπάσας φέρω,
....
γόνιμον λέγει τις καὶ κόρην ἐλευθέραν
ἕτερος τίς εἰμ' ἐνταῦθα· πυνθάνομαι γένος,...

⁷¹⁷ As implied by Wackernagel, who listed the alternative constructions when quoting this passage: "(nachdem eine Bedingung durch ein Partizip, eine zweite durch einen ἦν-Satz gegeben ist)" It is worth recalling the variety of constructions within which this parataxis is current in Comedy and cognate genres, especially when chosen for affect.

⁷¹⁸ Paratactic or parenthetical formations are used also to introduce indirect discourse: Pk.530: ἀλλὰ ξένους, φίλ', εἶχον·. Pk.781: πόθεν λαβοῦσα ταῦτα κέκτησθαι φράσων. Sam.308: συγκρύπτεις τι πρὸς μ' ἡμισθημαί. Probably Sk.96: δέδωκε', ἐδέξω, although there is insufficient context.

'...A friend asks me for help -- he's in love with a call-girl. I go straight into action, grab her, carry her off... But if a friend is talking about marriage and a 'nice' girl, then I take a different line. I check on family...'

(3) D.493ff:

πρεσβύτερός τις τῇ θυρᾷ
ὕπακῆκο· εὐθύς πατέρα καὶ πάππα[ν λέγω].
γραῦς· μητέρ'. ἂν τῶν διὰ μέσου τ[ις ἢ γυνή],
ἐκάλεσ' ἱερέαν...

'...An older chap answers the door: I promptly address him as 'Father' or 'Dad'. If it's an old woman, then 'Ma'. If it's a middle-aged woman, I call her 'Madam'.'

The variety mentioned by Wackernagel is shown in (3), and Miller's translations reflect this variety. The (stereo)typical use of parataxis in general conditions is a stylized pattern in rhetic speech in recurring contexts in Comedy (both examples above are in descriptions of behaviour).⁷¹⁹ *Oratiorecta* is another context in which paratactic conditions are found in what may be a deliberate construction (see 5.5.2 and e.g. D.728). Such parataxis is generically and textually conditioned and is not to be wholly identified with naturalistic cohesion of phrases, as often found in dialogue exchange (2.2.3).

4.8 discussion

i) In all I identify less than forty perfects in subordinate clauses. The single largest group consists of relative clauses with perfects (24), and then fewer are conditions and indirect discourse (with 4 or 5 each), temporals (3), indirect questions (2), and one causal clause with a verb in the perfect.

If these absolute figures are compared with Menander's general use of the clause types, we see that on the whole (and not only with perfects) he uses relative clauses much more commonly than any of the other subordinate constructions; the use of the perfect in relative clauses, then, may be not so much a reflection of a tendency for perfects to occur in this type of clause, as of a general Menandrian tendency to use such clauses. As suggested in 4.3.2, the infrequency of causal clauses is countered by the use of γάρ and δέ to express causal connection, as well as the asyndetic expression of causal relation between phrases. It is also possible that the frequency of perfects in relative clauses may inflate the impression of perfects in subordinate clauses, since some relatives can be

⁷¹⁹ I hesitantly describe them as 'recipes' of behaviour, and in so doing, compare the use of paratactic phrases accumulated in these contexts with paratactic conditions accumulated in instructions and prescriptions which appear e.g. in legal texts.

shown to function parenthetically, in which case they are discursively but not syntactically dependent (4.1.1.1, 4.1.5, §5). Low rates of perfects in subordinate clauses can *prima facie* support the argument that they are not commonly used with anterior force; but this involves the assumption that subordination is used (only) for expressing anteriority, and that anteriority cannot be expressed through other means. The question of anteriority of the perfect must be more carefully assessed through a more subtle interpretation of the data.

ii) I have observed on several occasions the recurring use of the perfect in future environments, either as independent *pro futuro* expressions (e.g. Asp.343), or as anterior relative to a future context. Here I try to integrate the scattered evidence which has emerged in the study of a wide variety of constructions of dependence. In addition to the use of the perfect for relative anteriority in a future context in subordinate constructions (4.1, 4.4, 4.5.2), and in the parallel participle constructions (4.5.4), I include instances of perfects which are transphrastically dependent (2.2.3).

This pattern of transition from future or 'future' to perfect is found with perfects in *relative* clauses, for example after the imperative at Sam.662:⁷²⁰

(1) :: βαδίζε καὶ σιωπῇ τοῦθ' ὃ σοι εἴρηκα ποίει. :: 'Go and do what you're told, and keep quiet about it!'.⁷²¹

with a perfect in *indirect discourse*, such as the indirect question at Ep.516:

(2) ...ἀνακρινεῖ πόθεν εἴληφα... '...He'll ask me where I got it...'

and with a perfect in a *condition*, at D.316:

(3) ...εἰ τι κἀγὼ τοῦ δέοντος σφοδρότερον/ εἴρηκα, μηδὲν τοῦτο λυπεῖτω σ' ἔτι. 'Well, if I've spoken a bit strongly, forget it now.'

The perfect aspect is also repeatedly used in participial complement clauses of *verba sentiendi et percipiendi* as illustrated fully in 4.5.4; I offer Ep.915 as an example:⁷²²

(4) αὐτὸν δὲ δεῖξω σ' εἰς ὅμοι' ἐπαικότα. 'I'll show you that you've come the same sort of cropper yourself.'

⁷²⁰ Cf. Asp.275, [371], Pk.150, 757.

⁷²¹ Cf. N.M.. 'Go and do what I tell you...'

⁷²² Cf. Ep.918; Mis.261, 309f; Sam.152.

In passages with paratactic formations of dependence, too, there are cases of transition from phrases with future or 'future' verb forms to phrases with perfect verb forms. Those with transphrastic explanatory relations (2.2.3a) do not exhibit many clear cases,

but see e.g. Mis.306:

(5)

"ἀντιβολῶ, Κράτεια, σέ,
μή μ' ἐγκαταλίπης· παρθένον σ' εἴληφ' ἐγώ,
 ἀνὴρ ἐκλήθην πρῶτος, ἡγάπησά σε,
 ἀγαπῶ, φιλῶ..."

"Please, Krateia, don't leave me. You were a virgin when I took you [prisoner]. I had the name of being your first lover; I loved, I *do* love you, I adore you..."

or Sk.14:⁷²³

(6) "βέλτιστε, θάρρει," φησὶν, "ὁ Σικυώνιος/ ἡγόρακεν ὑμᾶς..." "Cheer up, mate." he said, "The man who's bought you is the Sikyonian..."

Note that (5, 6) are in *oratio recta*, where logical dependence is often expressed paratactically.

More typical are transitions from future (or 'future') to perfect in stimulus to response exchanges (2.2.3b) e.g. the statement to statement exchange at Sam.308a (quoted from 306ff):⁷²⁴

(7) (Δη.) ἄκουε δὴ νυν, Παρμένων· ἐγὼ σε μαστιγοῦν, μὰ τοὺς δώδεκα θεούς,/ οὐ βούλομαι διὰ πολλά. (Πα.) μαστιγοῦν; τί δὲ πεπόηκα; '(Dem.) Now you listen to me, Parmenon. I don't *want* to beat you, I really don't. I have my reasons. (Parm.) Beat me? Whatever for?"

In particular responses to commands ('future') recur in the perfect, as for example at D.692:

(8) θάρρει. :: τεθάρ[ρηκ'].

In a sense all the examples given above reflect perfect forms used with anterior reference, but in a future environment. We have seen (especially in 4.1 and 4.5.4) examples of perfects which have some reference to an action or a state anterior to the past, but I believe the accumulation of examples above shows that the perfect has a special use as anterior in *future* contexts.⁷²⁵

⁷²³ Cf. D.770, 864; Ep.904; Pk.399. The other passages where there is a formal shift from future to perfect are more loosely dependent: D.96, 558; Ep.881.

⁷²⁴ In other examples of statement to statement exchange it is not so easy to illustrate temporal transition (Asp.270, 343; D.419; Pk.[745]; Sam.117). I prefer to see them as formal transitions.

⁷²⁵ In addition to occasional anteriority in past contexts and frequent non-temporal uses.

In view of the above examples, it is in this context rather than in a discussion of recapitulation or summary in narratives (§5) (as Wackernagel thought) that I prefer to recall Wackernagel's reference to an anticipatory perfect (1920) 171:

Vielmehr ist von einem antizipatorischen Gebrauch des Perfekts zu reden; der Sprecher drückt gleich schon die Fertigstellung der Handlung aus, um deren Vollzug es sich handelt.

iii) Uniformity between perfect in the main clause and perfect in the subordinate clause is rare by all accounts (see i above and 2.2.3b). It will be shown in §5 that the perfect functions to mark off borders in narrative, and exits from the narrative frame, it is not surprising that syntactically this uniformity is only rarely found.

iv) The most common transitions of form in complex sentences are from present to perfect, and it may be noted that, as expected, when perfects are part of a subordinating clause, the subordinate clause never features *optativus obliquus*.

v) I now move onto somewhat less firm ground, and reflect on a possible modal interpretation of one or two of the perfect forms in subordinate clauses. The paucity of perfect subjunctive active forms, not only monolectic (e.g. εὐρήκηι), but also those termed periphrastic (e.g. γεγονὼς ἦι), has been clearly shown by Harry for classical and later Greek.⁷²⁶ I have already noted that perfect finite non-indicative forms are very rare in Menander, with only 3 firm examples of perfect subjunctives (all active, but from the verb γίγνομαι, used for states). The avoidance of forming perfect subjunctives may be explained by any of a number of reasons, some subjective, some speculative. What I offer here is the evidence for what may be avoidance of forming (artificially) perfect subjunctives, in contexts where the indicative, *specifically of perfects*, can also comfortably convey the illocutionary or temporal nuance which the subjunctive mood would have added. It is not simply any indicative form used as an alternative to the subjunctive, but the *perfect indicative* as a modally marked alternative. If we briefly review the findings of indicative perfects in subordinate clauses which can be interpreted as alternatives to ἄν + subjunctive perfects, we see possible equivalents to general temporal clauses:

⁷²⁶ See Harry (1906) esp. pp.55f, 60f and 70.

Pk.1007: ὅτ' εὐτύχηκας, τότε δέχεσθαι τὴν δίκην τεκμήριον τοῦτ' ἐστίν Ἕλληνας τρόπου. ≈ * ὅταν εὐτύχηκῃς

The case for Ep.557 is more difficult to argue, but may not be entirely ruled out:

Ep.557: ὡς ἤισθηθ' ὅτι/ ... οὐκ ἔστ' ἐλευθερίας τυχεῖν/ ... τὴν ἑτέραν πορεύεται ὁδόν: ≈ * ὡς ἂν ἤισθητ'

These two verbs are not attested in perfect subjunctive forms anywhere in the whole range of Greek literature.⁷²⁷ However, εὐτύχηκας is habitually found in perfect indicative form, so the preference for a perfect indicative over the alternative * ὅταν εὐτυχῇς with present subjunctive seems idiomatic. But since the perfect, besides being idiomatic with this verb, often comes as a formal marker bearing a nuance of generality, the indicative, specifically of a perfect (generalizing) form, without ἂν, may suffice for a protasis of a present general temporal condition.⁷²⁸ The perfect of αἰσθάνομαι, in the second passage, is more extreme and artificial; this verb does not have an idiomatic tendency to be used in perfect forms. Perhaps there is a mechanical use of the perfect specifically to denote generality, as an alternative to the subjunctive of the more commonly used present or aorist forms ἂν αἰσθάνηται or αἰσθήται. There seems to be no idiomatic or semantically oriented explanation for this perfect, and as noted (4.2), this is just the reason for doubts in the reading and interpretation of this sentence; an aorist after ὡς would not work as well with the primary tense in the main clause (which is clearly not a *praesens historicum* in this passage).

closing remarks

I conclude by recalling that comparatively speaking perfects are not often found in subordinate clauses, but rather express logical, chronological and discursal dependence by other means. They are not frequently used in past contexts with anterior force, but do recur in future contexts with such a nuance, not only in hypotaxis as shown in §4, but in many dependent transphrastic and dialogic constructions. Other, formal shifts from

⁷²⁷ See e.g. the list in Harry (1906) 70.

⁷²⁸ We may compare e.g. Menander's general preference even in indefinite and general relative sentences for a short relative pronoun and the indicative or an indefinite with an indicative rather than relatives with ἂν and the subjunctive (see Appendix III).

present to perfect, and more notably from pasts to perfects, are explained not temporally, but with respect to their exit from the narrative mode in which they are positioned (§5).

5. NARRATIVE

The perfect in classical Greek is not considered a narrative tense, and it is in general terms that the perfect is thus described by the grammars:

KG i 167 (§386.13) simply set up an opposition between the perfect and the aorist, and in this way imply that the perfect is not a narrative tense:

'...Der Aorist scheidet die vergangene Handlung von der Gegenwart des Redenden, das Perfekt verknüpft sie mit der Gegenwart des Redenden... Daher ist jener [der Aorist] die Zeitform der Erzählung, dieses [das Perfekt] die [Zeitform] des Urteils, der beschaulichen Betrachtung' (supplements in square brackets are mine).

Wackernagel (1920) 170f briefly surveys the development of the perfect from its original (stative) use, through the resultative use, and, finally, in purely narrative use, first in non-literary sources (third century B.C.), and only later in literary texts:

Da hat man schließlich das Perfekt rein erzählend verwandt, auch wo überhaupt von keiner Nachwirkung in die Gegenwart die Rede war. Dieses **narrative** [emphasis mine] Perfektum kommt zuerst auf Inschriften und Papyri vor; später dringt es auch in die Literatur ein...

Mayser (1926) 139 also uses specific terminology linking the Hellenistic perfect with narrative:

In der hellenistischen Zeit dringt das Perfekt immer mehr in die Sphäre des Aor. ein und dient als **erzählendes** Tempus.

Schwyzler (1950) 287f (Anm.2):

Seit der hellenistischen Zeit wird der Ind. Perf. gleichwertig mit dem Ind. Aor. gebraucht; ...Die Entwicklung des präsentischen Perfekts zum **erzählenden** hat sich in verschiedenen indogermanischen Sprachen unabhängig und in verschiedenen Formen vollzogen...

In addition to the need to actively deduce from the formulation of the grammarians that the perfect is not a narrative tense in classical Greek, the examples are few and given almost completely out of context.⁷²⁹ A study which systematically and thoroughly tests the occurrence, use, or status of the perfect in classical Greek literature with reference to narrative has not yet been undertaken.⁷³⁰

Although most narratives in drama take a rhetic form, some occur within a more rapid exchange;⁷³¹ these are included in the running list (5.1), and are marked by an asterisk,

⁷²⁹ See especially in Wackernagel, *loc. cit.*

⁷³⁰ Works such as Harry (1905, 1906) do not discuss the criterion of narrative; it is discussed for later non-literary Greek by Dieterich (1898) 230ff.

⁷³¹ D.69ff (*I), 412ff (*II); Ep.465ff (*III); Her.21-35 (*IV); Mis.A33f (*V); Pk.779-806 (*VI); Sam.434ff (*VII).

yet they are given their own numbering (as in the note above). At one extreme are monologues which are uninterrupted, and at the other are rapid question-and-answer exchanges (5.2). In both there is a tendency for less detail and more summary: news given in a rhetic speech is sometimes previewed in headline form in a preceding dialogue.⁷³² I do not include below examples of entrants in mid-conversation informing the audience or other characters of events.⁷³³

I hope to show that in Menander the perfect is rarely the form of a verb used in the narrative account of action in temporal sequence. This could of course be shown by a simple *dépouillement* of the verbs found in narrative sections of Menander, but more can be learned from a closer examination of conditions under which perfects are indeed used in passages which are defined as narrative. In this section I shall not list all the occurrences of narrative tenses, but will focus on the perfect forms: I shall try to show that those verbs which come in the perfect in narrative sections are not strictly part of the running narrative:⁷³⁴ they may be at the beginning or the end of a narrative (perhaps announcing its beginning or end) (5.3); they may be found in the middle of a story, but their content will often indicate that they are not strictly part of the telling of events, but rather that they are comments on the story, a digression or a parenthetical exclamation, or that in some other way they leave the framework of the direct account of an action (5.5). Their formal and syntactic distinctiveness reflect discursal transition.

When verbs in the perfect are part of the account of events, they may come at a climax in the action, or at some other turning-point, to show a shift in the events themselves or in some aspect of them (5.4).

⁷³² Such introductory dialogues are common for example in Euripides; see de Jong (1991) 32. Fraenkel (1912) 7 and *passim* considers such *diverbia* a feature distinct to the *bipartita narratio* of Tragedy: "ut...sollicito diverbio summa rei deinde continua oratione singulorum factorum series secundum temporis ordinem narretur."

⁷³³ See Frost (1988) 10 and passages referred to there, especially (b) apistetic questions which involve parenthetical use of *verba dicendi* in *oratio obliqua* as in D.50f, 233f, and *Mis.* 259.

⁷³⁴ McKay (1981) also concurs that in the narrative of past events, imperfects and aorists were the pasts **predominantly** used. He does not exclude the use of perfects in narrative, but treats them along with presents (p.9f): "In narrative accounts of past events it is clear that the aorist and the imperfect are dominant tenses... while present and perfect are only used for special effect..." This 'special effect' may be reduced to more specific factors, such as those set out in this section.

Another exit from the sequence of events is more formally distinct: although there is no clear-cut rule, past events given in *oratio recta* within a narrative appear with verbs in the perfect, where one would expect an aorist in a straightforward narrative (5.5.3). This occurs not only in reported dialogue, where it would seem more natural as an imitation of conversation, but also in longer reported speeches and may have come to be mechanically used, although in origin it arose within the natural usage of the perfect. In order to show how perfects are rarely used in narrations proper in the ways described above, I must first identify the passages (5.1), and give a brief description of their form and construction (5.2).

5.1 list of passages identified as narrative

Asp.23-82 (I); 102-112 (II prologue);

Grg.beginning-6 (short) (I); 46-76 (II)

D.14-25 (I prologue);⁷³⁵ *69-75 (*I dialogue); 97-118 (II); 189-193 (III); *409-417 (*II, dialogue, dream); 525-543 (IV); 576-586 (V); 670-686 (VI).⁷³⁶

Ep.242-274 (I); 294-300 (IIa); 327-333 (IIb); 451-454 (III); *465-491 (*III, dialogue); 885-900 (IV).⁷³⁷

Her.*21-35 (*IV, dialogue)

Kith.?93-96 too short (and no perfects found)

Mis.A30-A45f (*V, dialogue)

Pk.beginning-162 (I prologue); 318-323 (II); 537-550 (III);⁷³⁸ *779-811 (*VI, stichomythic dialogue).⁷³⁹

Sam.3-49 (I prologue); 219-266 (II); *434ff (*VII); 641-655 (III).⁷⁴⁰

⁷³⁵ The rest of the prologue is not narrative in the strict sense of actions recounted, but rather describes the setting, the characters, and their relations with one another.

⁷³⁶ Of an uncertain nature are: D.627f, and 940-953. GS compare with messenger-speeches (i.e. a narrative nature is implied for) 522-545 and 666-689 (see IV and VI in list above).

⁷³⁷ GS compare the passage Ep.878-907 (see IV in list above) with a messenger-speech.

⁷³⁸ This is not the natural end of the passage, but the text is cut off at this point.

⁷³⁹ The rest of the passage (until Pk.826) is not strictly narrative, but a description of items (typical of recognition scenes).

⁷⁴⁰ Several other shorter passages in the *Samia* which cannot be included in the list should be mentioned: Sam.424-426 (descriptive, see end of 5.3.1); Sam.540ff (very short informative question and answer); and Sam.556ff (a narrative of a contemporary situation).

Sk.beginning-14ff (I prologue);⁷⁴¹ 188-271 (II).⁷⁴²

5.2 forms and structure in narrative sections

A more detailed examination of forms within narrative and of their contexts indicates that usually a) verbs describing action in a narrative appear in some typical narrative tense (e.g. the aorist) and not in the perfect; and that b) the occurrence of perfects within a narrative may indicate a temporary exit or digression from the body of the narrative or, more seldom, a turning point within the narrative. I shall examine all perfects found in narrative sections in Menander and show that this is consistent.

A serious problem of method arises when I try to define the limits of a narrative section (for the purpose of scanning it for verbs in the perfect). The difficulty is amplified by the fact that those selfsame boundaries of a narrative will often have specifically perfect forms (5.3) - which cannot be taken as part of the narrative proper in such a scan. For this reason the list of narrative sections given in 5.1 (for reference in the following discussion) refers to the passages in rough terms.

In most of the narrative passages above, aorist forms indeed predominate, but are rarely used to the exclusion of the imperfect, or, more rarely, the pluperfect or (historical) present.

This is an important point, since, along with instances in which the choice (especially between aorist and imperfect) is arbitrary, stylistic, or unexplainable using our present knowledge, there are instances in which the choice is significant, or follows a certain pattern.

The narrative passages fall into two main groups, those in *rhetic* form and those in more rapid dialogue exchange. Narratives in *rhetic* form are usually not interactive. Clearly those delivered in *prologues* have no interruptions by other characters.⁷⁴³ In prologues, any exits from the narrative are made by the speaker himself, for exit or comment, which may include reference to the act of narration itself. The *prologos* may interrupt the flow of the narrative to address the audience (Asp.II). Monologue narratives (e.g. D.IV and

⁷⁴¹ The end trails off into highly damaged text.

⁷⁴² II probably is in progress already by Sk. 176, but the text is not well enough preserved until line 188. I am uncertain about including the rapid dialogue at Sk. 125ff.

⁷⁴³ Asp.II; ?Grg.I; D.I; Pk.I; Sam.I; Sk.I.

VI) have typical features which are discussed by Blundell (1980). I note the variation produced in Sam.III where the monologue features self-interruptions.

Rhetic narratives may be delivered in the presence of other actors, sometimes unnoticed by the narrator, e.g. D.III and V;⁷⁴⁴ the audience and actors consider the asides made during the course of such rhesis interruptions, but in the eyes of the narrator, his narrative is uninterrupted, and this is usually reflected in the continuity of his language. Blundell (1980) 22 n.29 points out in this context the continuity of syntax (by the speaker of the rhesis). In another variation, rhetic narratives are delivered to other characters who participate, without however contributing to the narrative of events. Thus in Asp.I, Daos delivers a narrative rhesis with Smikrines interjecting *prompt questions* such as :: τί οὖν δὴ γίνεται; ::/ at Asp.39b,⁷⁴⁵ or interjecting *short reactions* of fascination such as :: ὡς καλόν:: / at Asp.33b;⁷⁴⁶ or of comprehension. In theory the narrator's resumption of the story after a prompt is a response, but one must consider the prompt question as being a question only in form. Such exchanges do not constitute dialogues⁷⁴⁷ (and verse breaks in such cases probably should not be defined as antilabai).⁷⁴⁸ Fraenkel (1912) 11 and *passim* presents interruptions of (rhetic) narrative as typical of comedy: "Amat [comoedia] contra [perpetuam unius orationis continuationem] interruptiones scurrilem in modum factas". I note that in Menandrian narrative passages, which are not infrequently modelled on Tragic messenger-speeches, interruptions are not necessarily *scurrilem in modum*. Bain (1977) 128 identifies interruptions by addressees as a frequent comic technique to enliven the narrative. He does not consider them asides.

It may be noted that in essentially rhetic narratives, some contribution may be made by the listener, but an occasional exchange within what is essentially a rhesis does not turn such a passage into a narrative in dialogue form. In Asp.I, for example, Smikrines, the

⁷⁴⁴ Compare *VI (Pk.779ff) where a third party on stage comments aside while two characters are engaged in stichomythic dialogue.

⁷⁴⁵ Cf. D.103a. More examples of prompt questions are also referred to in table 6 of Appendix II (in the context of dependence rather than the construction of narrative).

⁷⁴⁶ Cf. also in this passage Asp.48b, 62b; D.102b, 112a, 116f and compare Grg.II, discussed next.

⁷⁴⁷ See also Ireland (1981) 180: "Smikrines acts as little more than a quasi-protatic character... whose utterances serve... to bring his existence to the attention of the audience, to **prompt** Daos, and to split up an... otherwise lengthy monologue."

⁷⁴⁸ See 2.2.1.

listener, asks an information-seeking question at Asp.68f: ἐν δὲ τοῖς νεκροῖς/ πεπτωκότ' εἶδες τοῦτον; -- or at Asp.72: :: πῶς οὖν οἶσθα; :: These questions elicit further information, and only after the end of the narrative is announced at Asp.82, are details extracted through question-and-answer exchange.⁷⁴⁹ An interesting variation on addressee participation which leads to information is found in Ep.I, where the narrator engages a listener who is present at the narration but who is also a figure in the events related: in a rhetorical use of question and answer within a rhesis, Daos elicits Syros' confirmation of the verity of events, thereby adding credence to his story and argument, Ep.273ff:

ἔδωκ', ἀπῆλθεν μυρία
εὐχόμενος ἀγαθὰ· λαμβάνων μου κατεφίλει
τὰς χεῖρας. ἐπόεις ταῦτα; :: ἐπόουν. :: ἀπηλλάγη.
μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς περιτυχών...

'...I handed over [the baby], and off he went, calling down countless blessings on my head, and trying to kiss my hands. [To Syros] You admit this? :: I do. :: I never saw him again. Then, suddenly, he turns up with his wife...'

Note that the Cairo papyrus has preserved the change of addressee mark in line 275, a dicolon; the punctuation for change of addressee is supported here in the grammar by a transition from third person to second person. Whereas here, and in previously discussed passages where prompt questions and reactions are interjected, the narrator resumes his rhesis without further ado,⁷⁵⁰ in Grg.II the narrator himself reacts to the addressee's interjectory remarks. Here real exchange occurs, but not in the service of the account of events: these constitute short exits from the narrative. In illustration I quote Grg.53f, where Philinna interjects into Daos' continuum of events, commenting that this is not 'good' news as he promised, and Daos takes the time to retort before resuming (ἐνταῦθα) the narrative sequence.⁷⁵¹

⁷⁴⁹ The tapering off of a narrative rhesis into a question-and-answer exchange for details of particular interest to the listener at the end has become part of the definition of dramatic narrative *Bauformen* such as the Euripidean messenger-speech.

⁷⁵⁰ Although admittedly when the narrative resumes in such cases it often reaches a point of transition (see 5.4).

⁷⁵¹ I take Sandbach's interpretation following Nicole, confirmed in the 1990 edition, rather than giving 54b to Myrrhine. The parallels for the particular tendency of Daos in this scene to retort to the interjectory remarks fit in with assigning the this retort to Daos.

ἀλλ' ἐκκορηθείης σύ γ'· οἶα τὰγαθὰ/ ἤκεις ἀπαγγέλλων:: σιώπα, γράιδιον./
ἐνταῦθα... 'Well, for heaven's sake! So this is the 'good news' you've come to tell us!
:: Silence, ma'am. Then...'⁷⁵²

This passage offers similar parallels at line 49: /τάλαιν' ἐγώ :: θάρρει· τὸ πέρας δ'
ἄκουέ μου/... and at line 63 /φίλον τέκνον. :: νῆ τὸν Δί' , εὖ δῆθ' οὔτοσί/ ... In
all three passages Daos fills out the verse with his response to Philinna's interjected
reactions and then resumes the narrative.

In addition to question-and-answer exchanges for details when a narrative rhesis tapers
off, infrequently⁷⁵³ narrative rheseis in Menander are preceded by introductory dialogues
where headlines are given and the nature of the narration is previewed (saying whether it
is good or bad news, long or short, detailed, first hand, etc.).⁷⁵⁴ Examples are Asp.I
and Sk.II (but the text is damaged). Normally however Menandrian narrative rheseis are
introduced by general statements made by the narrator himself often in extreme terms, or
previewing the nature or process of narration.⁷⁵⁵

In narratives conveyed in *dialogue* form, the medium for progressing through the events
of the narrative is the question and answer (and other stimulus and response forms).
Although the text of dialogue narratives is not always graphically distinguishable from
some of the rhetic passages discussed, the information-seeking questions and their
answers are not to be confused with asides or prompt questions and short reactions
interjected by someone who is not in effect participating in the act of narration. Whereas
such asides and interjected questions and reactions do not stop the rhetic flow of the
narrative, and often the syntax is unaffected, in narratives built through dialogue
exchange the syntax is often shared by the interlocutors, formally reflecting the full
cooperation of the interlocutors in the production of a story.⁷⁵⁶ Notice that many of the
questions are 'who?' (e.g. Asp.411) 'what?' 'why?' (Sam.437c) 'where?' (Sam.438a)

⁷⁵² N. Miller gives this half-line to Myrrhine: 'Don't interrupt, Philinna.'

⁷⁵³ Whereas in Euripidean messenger-speeches introductory dialogues are virtually universal -- see de Jong (1991) 32.

⁷⁵⁴ See Erdmann (1964).

⁷⁵⁵ Grg.II; D.II, IV, VI; Pk.II, III; Sam.III. See also 5.3.2. De Jong *ibidem* suggests that the consistent use of introductory dialogues in Euripidean messenger-speeches may be connected with an the Greek preference (observed by previous scholars such as van Groningen or van Otterlo) for foreknowledge over suspense (as we use this term). It may be worth considering this a preference in certain genres rather than 'Greek' preference.

⁷⁵⁶ E.g.: D.71; Her.21b-25b, 27; Pk.809f.

or 'how?' questions. 'Yes-no questions' are also asked (with answers adding new detail), e.g. Ep.471f: :: ἀπέβαλεν δέ, φήις,/ Ταυροπολίοις αὐτόν; :: παρουνῶν γ', ὡς ἐμοῦ/ τὸ παιδάριον εἶφ' ἀκόλουθος. ::

One cannot overemphasize the consistency with which events themselves are narrated in secondary tenses, both in the rhetic and in the dialogue narratives. It is on this note that I move on to patterns where perfects are used in narrative passages.

5.3 perfects at the extremes of narratives

Perfects at narrative borders are not considered strictly part of narrative sequences, as listed in the inventory in 5.1 above. However, the fact that perfects are used specifically at boundaries of narrative passages is significant, and they play a role in the textual and literary construction of narrative passages. This is particularly true of narratives embedded in drama (itself a 'dialogue juxtaposé' in Andrieu's terms).

Not only drama, but other literary genres, especially those which represent to some degree or other elements of oral speech, feature conventions which offer explicit, formal settings for narrative passages and descriptive or deliberative speeches. Piecemeal comments by several scholars could be brought together to suggest elements of individual 'grammars' of literary texts in different genres: van Otterlo (1944) introduced the term *Ringkomposition* and along with it drew widespread attention to the notion that repetitions of content are part of the structure of narratives, not only in Homeric epic, but in other genres as well. Trenkner (1960), in the context of cohesion in a narrative progression (with καί and by other means), refers in passing to 'generic' introductions in fables and anecdotes (p.35, n.2); to transitions from introduction to narrative (with καὶ γάρ), giving an Aristophanean example (p.35, n.3); to formulaic closures of chapters (with conclusive καί), giving examples from historical prose (p.37), and comparing (n.1) analogous formulae in the Greek Novel. It is in the orators that some scholars have identified the convention of closing an argument with a short announcement of its end. The perfect used in such expressions led Wackernagel 1920 (170f) to discuss the term 'rhetorical perfect'.⁷⁵⁷ Austin *ad* Asp.82ff offers parallel closing announcements in

⁷⁵⁷ Introduced by previous commentators.

drama without giving details of form. On checking the references I found that many have the verb in the perfect (A.Eum.710; S.Aj.480; Phil.389). To Austin's parallels I add those Euripidean examples from Fraenkel (1963) 52 n.1 which also feature perfects: E.Or.1203; IA 400; and Med.354. In the context of reconstructions of lost text in the beginning of the *Misoumenos*, Brown (1981) 26 reminds us of the usage of orators, who explicitly mark the beginning of a speech by announcing it (as well as using γάρ after such an opening).

It is Griffith (1977) 207ff who discusses formal composition of speeches in dramatic texts; he considers a) *Ringkomposition* and framing techniques and b) "rhetorical 'sign-post' formulae for speech division". Griffith tries to show that the *Prometheus Vincitus* features artificial transitions when compared especially with speeches in Aeschylean plays, and his aims are stylometric.⁷⁵⁸ Although my aim is descriptive rather than strictly comparative, Griffith's tabulation of the workings of a 'sign-posting' system in speeches where there is a continuous unfolding of past or future events (rheseis) from Tragedy is, I find, useful. In his table 10, Griffith breaks down the passages into 'introductions', 'transitions', and 'conclusions' (which may be either statements of completion or final summaries). A synoptic glance at his table shows that only rarely does a rhesis feature sign-posts at all possible points (e.g. PV 476ff). I note that perfects are occasionally used in such passages (e.g. PV 740ff or A.Eum710 in 'conclusions'), but a more correct description would be that 'sign-post' passages feature primary tenses (or no verb). Adopting Griffith's notion of 'signposts' in rheseis, I attempt to show that among perfects found in or around narrative passages some may be explained as occurring in such 'sign-post' sections;⁷⁵⁹ I term them *precapitulations* (5.3.1), *recapitulations* (5.3.3), and *transitions* (5.4). I organize them among other features which are typical of the structure of Comic rheseis, so that along with precapitulations and recapitulations I also discuss general reflection introducing a narrative (5.3.2), and comments on the

⁷⁵⁸ Compare Slings (1981) 36 in the introduction to Plato's *Cleitophon* on the stylometric criterion of fluent versus abrupt transitions.

⁷⁵⁹ Perfects used for discursal (to exit the narrative frame) rather than for structural reasons (to distinguish the frame from the content) are discussed in 5.5.

quality or nature of the narration (in 5.3.1). Along with transitions I discuss *climaxes*, and also more loosely use the term *turning-points* (5.4).

5.3.1 brief introductory summaries (precapitulations)

Narrative sections are sometimes introduced by a short, general statement of what has happened, which is then narrated in detail: I repeat part of a quotation from Fraenkel (1912) 7,⁷⁶⁰ emphasizing here the functional contrast between summary and detail in different sections of narrative passages: "**summa rei** deinde continua oratione **singulorum factorum** series."⁷⁶¹ The precapitulation, as this may conveniently be termed, at times comes with the verb in the perfect,⁷⁶² and the detailed account follows in a combination of narrative tenses.⁷⁶³ For example Moskhion says something to this effect: a bad event has happened -- details to follow:... I quote Grg.5ff:

[ἔτυχε τι] συμβεβηκὸς ὃ μ' ἀπολώλεκε
[ἀπόδη]μον εἰς Κόρινθον ἐπὶ πράξιν τινα·
[κατιῶν ὕ]πνῳ γινομένου ἑτέρους γάμους
[καταλαμ]βάνω μοι, ...

'...a blow fell which has finished me. I was off in Corinth on private business, and I come back in the evening to find a *different* marriage being organized for me...'

The unfortunate occurrence, in this instance, is that the young man's father has set up a marriage for him, but not to the girl with whom he has fallen in love. It is possible that this passage was originally part of a longer narrative,⁷⁶⁴ and line 5 introduced a new section of it (as a transition); since the text preceding it is too severely damaged, and cut off, one cannot be sure. The next passage offers a stronger example. Parmenon, the slave, opens a monologue of self-accusation alternating with self-defense in these (emotional, but) summary words Sam.642f:

νῆ τὸν Δία τὸν μέγιστον, ἀνόητόν τε καὶ/ εὐκαταφρόνητον ἔργον εἴμ'
εἰργασμένος· 'God Almighty! What a fool I've been, beneath contempt, really.'

⁷⁶⁰ See n.732 at the beginning of §5.

⁷⁶¹ In (1912) 7 Fraenkel emphasizes the widespread use of the *diverbium* form in Tragedy in contrast with Comedy for this introductory *summa*, but whether it comes in dialogue form or in a 'precapitulation', the function is the same, and the distinction between summary and detail are the same.

⁷⁶² The perfect is not the only form found, but the perfect and the present, which is also found in such contexts, are typically non-narrative tenses.

⁷⁶³ The passages to be discussed are Grg.5f, Sam.642ff, and Sam.3ff.

⁷⁶⁴ See GS *ad locum*.

Then he refers to the particulars, mentioning his foolish actions in narrative tenses (aorist): ...ἔδρεια καί.../ ἔφυγον.⁷⁶⁵

Reverting to the mode of self-deliberation, Parmenon asks himself (line 644) what he has done to deserve this (τί δ' ἦν τούτου πεπονηκὼς ἄξιον;/). In this passage the distinction between general rubrics and detailed accounts is not only reflected in a consistent distinction between the perfect and narrative tenses, but is explicitly stated -- in this context perhaps by conscious choice for a more rhetorical contrast (line 645):

καθ' ἐν γὰρ οὕτωςι σαφῶς σκεψώμεθα. 'Let's look at the case dispassionately and in detail.'

Indeed Parmenon goes on to enumerate the series of events, each time stopping to dissociate himself from responsibility or blame. The events (all committed by others) are given in aorist form: ὁ τρόφιμος ἐξήμαρτεν... (646); ἐκύησεν αὕτη (648); τὸ παιδάριον εἰσῆλθεν... (649); ἦνεγκ' ἐκεῖνος (650) etc. After recounting each such event, Parmenon reiterates his own lack of guilt in the matter, in the present, or without a verb: e.g. ἀδικεῖ...οὐδὲν Παρμένων. (647); Παρμένων οὐκ αἴτιος. (648). Parallel to these are rhetorical questions, with the verb in the perfect, when he asks 'what have I done/ done wrong?': See τί Παρμένων ἐνταῦθα πεποίηκεν κακόν; (652), or line 644 above.⁷⁶⁶

In sum, the perfect is used in precapitulating, general headlines, whereas the secondary tenses are used to give the detailed actions and events. Moreover, the shift from secondary to primary verb forms further along in the passage coincides with shifts from narrative to commentary mode.

Moskhion's monologue, with which the *Samia* opens, furnishes us with another example: The first few lines are missing, but we seem to be close to the beginning. In a nutshell, Moskhion has behaved poorly (referring on one level to the specific act of getting Nikeratos' daughter pregnant, and on another more general level to shameful

⁷⁶⁵ This is particularly interesting, since the verb 'to fear' is regularly used in the perfect (δέδουκα etc.); this strengthens the claim that the aorist is not arbitrary, but intentionally chosen here.

⁷⁶⁶ For more or less rhetorical dynamics of question and answer in narrative sections see 5.2 (and especially discussion of Ep.273ff).

behaviour as a poor return for his adoptive father's generosity and kindness), as expressed at Sam.3:

ἡμάρτηκα γάρ.

It cannot be ascertained whether there were other perfects summarizing or announcing Moskhion's admission of guilt. Note the presence of γάρ. Even if the other actions described in the passage now lost were already part of a running narrative, the perfect here would coincide with an exit from the narrative continuum for a commentary, an explanation, as signalled by the particle.⁷⁶⁷

In the lines which follow Moskhion gives a long descriptive account of how well Demeas treated him and what a good start in life he gave him; the tenses used are those typical in narrative, the so-called narrative tenses: [εὐεργέ]ται (line 9) and [ε]γράφη (line 10) only suggest narrative tenses, but definite examples are found in lines 14ff.⁷⁶⁸

On two occasions during Moskhion's long account he makes explicit mention of going into detail, at Sam.5f:

[μᾶλλον] δὲ τοῦτ' ἂν εὐλόγως ὑμῖν ποεῖν/ [.....] τὸν ἐκείνου διεξεληθὼν τρόπον.
'...but it [the story] will make more sense to you if I explain in some detail what my father's like.'

and at Sam.19f:

καὶ γὰρ ἅμα τὰ πράγματα/ ἡμῶν δίδειμι πάντ'· ἄγω γὰρ πῶς σχολήν. 'I'll tell you all about us at one go, I've nothing else to do.'

In Grg.5f and Sam.642f discussed above, the events that are first introduced by a general summary statement are unfortunate or -- at the least -- not positive. Although it is true that the events announced in this general manner are negative,⁷⁶⁹ the function of their general nature here is not to conceal the harshness of the events themselves, but rather to open a detailed account with a brief recapitulation. The perfect is used because it is better suited to convey a general state, in contradistinction with the aorists' suitability for the specific, detailed account of the events that follow.

For a discussion of Pk.[124], see **5.3.3**.

⁷⁶⁷ For γάρ as a regular feature in explanatory parenthesis -- which exit their syntactic continuum -- see Schwyzler (1939) 30f.

⁷⁶⁸ E.g. παρέτρεφέ (14), ἐφυλάρχησα (15), ἐδυνάμην (16) etc.

⁷⁶⁹ Although softening the downpour of bad news by introducing it in general terms does not explain the habit of introducing messages of all sorts in general terms.

Here I digress to mention several other Menandrian passages featuring a veiled announcement of some negative event -- usually embarrassing or contrary to convention rather than tragic. The verb used is συμβαίνω,⁷⁷⁰ the event implied is described as ἄτοπος or ἔκτοπος, and the verb form -- perfect. In these passages the general statements are not followed by proper narrative accounts.

(1) At Sam.424, Nikeratos reports an unexpected troublesome development befalling his family, in the midst of preparations for a wedding: συμβέβηκ' οἰωνὸς ἡμῖν ἄτοπος. He then *announces* the appearance at his doorstep of Khrysis (whom he does not mention by name) lines 424f:

ἐκβεβλημένη
εἰσελήλυθεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς παιδάριον ἔχουσα τις·
δάκρυα γίνεθ', αἱ γυναῖκες τεθορύβηνται. Δημέας
σκατοφαγεῖ....

'A woman, thrown out of house and home, has crossed our threshold with a child in her arms; there have been tears, and the women are all upset and disorganized. Demeas really is a clot....'

We are told Khrysis has been expelled (from Demeas' house), but the emphasis is on the effect of her appearance at this time. What follows the general announcement of the event (given above), is a tableau of the situation, a still frame, and clearly not a narrative of a sequence of actions.⁷⁷¹ It is not coincidental that the verbs appear in the perfect or the present and are state verbs.

(2) In the same scene as the one discussed above, Moskhion has now joined in, and in the dialogue which ensues Nikeratos informs him why the wedding is being delayed, Sam.433ff:

(Νι.) τάνθ' ἄγνοῶν πάρει;/ (Μο.) ποῖα; (Νι.) ποῖ'; ἀηδία τις συμβέβηκεν ἔκτοπος. '(Nik.) You don't know what's been going on here! (Mo.) No, what? (Nik.) You may well ask. Something very unpleasant indeed.'

What follows is **not** a detailed narrative by Nikeratos, proceeding systematically from one point to another in the sequence of events; rather, he blurts out to Moskhion 'your father has driven Khrysis out of the house' (line 436, with the perfect ἐξελέλακ'). The

⁷⁷⁰ Cf. Grg.5f, mentioned above, with [ἔτυχε τι] συμβεβηκὸς ὃ μ' ἀπολώλεκε.

⁷⁷¹ See Burian (1977) on the tableau (?as a *Bauform*), and compare Mis.A6ff.

rapid dialogue between the two resumes in antilabe form, and, as before (‘Ηράκλεις’ at line 435), Moskhion's reaction comes without delay (οἶον εἶρηκας at line 437); there is no long account for him to hear out patiently.

(3) The most extreme example of a brief rubric, almost a heading, is the verbless recapitulation of the episode in the *Dyskolos*, in which Knemon falls into the well, as it is told by Simike. At D.624 she says: ὁ δεσπότης ἐν τῷ φρέατι. More facts are given in lines 626f. Again, what follows is not a long narrative, but a short outline. The use and sequence of tenses are not typical of a narrative.⁷⁷²

I return from the digression to present an even more general way to announce an event one has recounted or will recount in more detail: γέγονεν οὕτως. This is how at Ep.296 Syros summarily confirms Daos' basic claim that the latter found the baby.⁷⁷³ This rubric can be seen as a recapitulation of Daos' detailed account which has just ended, but also as confirmation of μόνος εὔρ' οὐτοσὶ/ τὸ παιδίον... (294f). It is possible that in this passage γέγονεν οὕτως may also serve as a 'recapitulation' of Syros' version of what happened, which follows in detail, in typical narrative form.⁷⁷⁴

5.3.2 general reflection on an event made before entering a detailed narrative account

While discussing the perfects at the boundaries of the narrative proper, mostly with an announcing or summarizing function, I must mention another type of narrative boundary, with verbs also typically in the perfect, but in another function. Just as one may summarize in a brief, general way what is about to be (or has already been) described in detail, one may also make general reflections on a situation before going into a detailed narrative account. This general reflection mostly comes before the narrative.⁷⁷⁵ Such reflective passages bounding narrative sections are another venue for verbs in perfect

⁷⁷² See Handley *ad locum* for comments on the variety of tenses.

⁷⁷³ See GS *ad locum*.

⁷⁷⁴ See the sequence of aorists: ἔλαβον (298), and ἐξήγγειλε (299). (The aorist ἐλάλησε at 300 is not included here, because, strictly speaking, it is in a (descriptive) relative clause, an action subsidiary to the main sequence of events).

⁷⁷⁵ On the identification of a typical introductory 'general reflection', see Handley *at* D.666-90; see also his reference to Pk.353 and to Fraenkel (1912) 48ff. Blundell (1980) discusses this with reference to monologue rheseis.

forms. For example, at D.666ff, Sostratos begins a monologue with a general reflection on Knemon's near drowning in the well, mostly to opine on what a lucky chance it was (or would have been). The verb comes in the perfect. Only then does he enter into a detailed account, giving the sequence of events and reactions, in a succession of aorists and imperfects (I quote from D.667):

οὐπώποτ' ἐν τῷμῳ βίῳ
εὐκαιρότερον ἄνθρωπον ἀποπεπνιγμένον
έόρακα μικροῦ...
ὁ Γοργίας γάρ, ὡς τάχιστ' εἰσῆλθομεν,
εὐθὺς κατεπήδησ'...

'..I have never in my whole life seen a man so conveniently half-drowned... As soon as we got there, Gorgias jumped straight down into the well,...'

Although a general statement of the above-mentioned type includes a summary of the events described in the following narrative section, it does not function as a recapitulation. The general nature of this passage recalls others which are structured according to a recurring pattern, in a generalizing, often extreme or absolute tone, and it is probably mainly for this nuance that the perfect is used in these passages. Such general statements vigorously expressed typically introduce long rheseis (often monologues) in New Comedy.

5.3.3 brief summaries (recapitulation) or statements announcing the end of an account

I now move from recapitulations to examples of brief summaries of narratives or announcements of the end of a narrative.⁷⁷⁶ In the first example, from the *Perikeiromene*, a general phrase stating 'this happened' (or 'the following happened') is used. As a recapitulation, this probably refers to what has just been described in more detail, although ταῦτα may be interpreted as referring to what is consequently told.⁷⁷⁷ The example is an uncertain one, since most of the phrase is merely a supplement to damaged text: although no finite verb forms can be identified, the context suggests the end of a detailed account of giving over a child for adoption. Then, at Pk.[124], Agnoia says:

(1) /**[γέγον]**ε δὲ τα[ῦτ'...

⁷⁷⁶ The passages discussed are Pk.[124], D.543, Pk.323, Sam.82, Ep.292, and Pk.823.

⁷⁷⁷ Demonstratives not infrequently are used in this prospective way in narratives.

What follows is a description (with a series of genitive absolutes) of the situation some years after the adoption, when the children are grown.

In D.IV Sostratos ends his narrative⁷⁷⁸ of how he injured himself trying to make an impression on Knemon as a farmer at D.543:⁷⁷⁹

(2) ἡ πρώτη μὲν οὖν [ἐφό]δος τοιαύτη γέγονεν

Pk.II is another narrative passage which features a recapitulating summary, not as neutral as the ones above with γέγονεν and demonstratives, but giving one specific action, and generalizing with πάντα (and the perfect), at Pk.323:

(3) πάντ' [ἄν]ήρπαστ' ἐκ μέσου.

The preceding narrative is also introduced by a general statement, then a temporal clause in the past, but the bulk is conveyed in *oratio recta*.

Aside from general 'this happened' statements summing up and capping narratives, accounts may close with a statement announcing their end. At Asp.82, Daos finishes telling his version of what happened at battle and afterwards, and then closes with the statement:

(4) ἀκήκοας μου πάντα.

This and similar turns of phrase are used quite often at the ends not only of narrative speeches but also in other types of long speech, and they are particularly associated with legal arguments.⁷⁸⁰ Compare Ep.292, with the phrase

(5) εἴρηκα τόν γ' ἐμὸν λόγον.

Daos announces the end of his speech, the end of his turn to speak; it caps not only his version of what happened (the narrative), but also the deliberations and argument which followed (the discourse of legal orations).⁷⁸¹

Our final example is not of a recapitulation of a narrative, but a rhetorical flourish dramatically used in a recognition scene. At Pk.823, Glykera culminates her dramatic and detailed inventory of the tokens left with her when she was exposed as a baby with the words:

⁷⁷⁸ In secondary tenses, with *oratio recta* insertions.

⁷⁷⁹ The rhesis then goes on, but in the 'now'; see also 5.4.

⁷⁸⁰ See Fraenkel (1963) 52, and the background given at the beginning of 5.3.

⁷⁸¹ See Cohoon (1914) 195.

(6) πάντα [καθ' ἑ]ν εἴρηκα σ[ο]ι.

At this moment, the drama of the recognition of long-lost father and daughter (and son/brother) reaches a climax. Note also that the tokens are listed and described in a rapid exchange between Pataikos and Glykera, in antilabe form.

As with other extra-narrative comments,⁷⁸² the tendency for the use of perfect forms comes alongside a tendency for the use of the present. Compare the closing formula πάντ' ἔχεις with the present at Sam.387, for example.⁷⁸³

5.4 perfects at turning-points in the narrative

A narrative is a balance between the objective stating of facts and the subjective choice of facts and manner of telling them, whether this is deliberate or by virtue of the narrator's situation.⁷⁸⁴ Throughout §5 I try to argue for the tension between narrative and comment, and to illustrate consistent formal patterns involving the respective use of narrative tenses, and commentary tenses such as the perfect. When a narrator turns from the time of events ('then') to the time of narration ('now' in dramatic terms), he often also turns from fact to comment.

By deciding what in his opinion is the highlight of a sequence of events, he is in effect adding comment to fact. A narrator may explicitly label the nutshell, the culmination, or the point of his story by expressions such as τὸ δὲ πέρας, or τὸ κεφάλαιον. On other occasions the culmination will come abruptly or without explicit self-definition. A common feature of such climaxes and turning-points in Menandrian narrative is the frequent use of the perfect.⁷⁸⁵ Climaxes may be distinguished from other turning-points by subtle interpretation, but they share the function of transitions into the commentary mode. These transitions are reflected in the shift from secondary to primary tenses. My distinctions below between the two are not intended to be strict.

Grg.II; D.II; and Ep.IV feature *climaxes*, as does possibly D.V.

⁷⁸² See 5.5 for other types of exits from the narrative and their tendency for primary tenses.

⁷⁸³ Austin *ad locum* gives other formulae; one in the present (πάνυ μαυθάνεις), and one in the perfect (πάντ' ἀκήκοας).

⁷⁸⁴ See de Jong (1991) 63ff, and her quotation on p.65 from Bal (1985) 100.

⁷⁸⁵ De Jong (1991) 45 discusses this use of the *praesens historicum* (among its other uses) in the Euripidean messenger-speech. I note that in Menander not all turning-points are in the perfect.

In Grg.II, for example, a series of pasts representing a narrative sequence (e.g. ἀνέκρινεν line 67, ὤιεν' line 72, and νοῦν ἔσχε line 74) culminates in the main point of Daos' speech, namely that the girl is being offered marriage by the farmer. The climax, identified by the narrator explicitly (τὸ κεφάλαιον) comes in the perfect at Grg.74:

(1) τὴν γὰρ παῖδ' ὑπέσχηται γαμεῖν/ κεφάλαιόν ἐστὶ τοῦτο τοῦ παντὸς λόγου.
'...For he plans to marry your daughter. That's the sum and substance of the whole story.'

The narrative culminates here, and what follows relates to events current at the time of narration.

In D.II the main point is made when the narrator resumes after an interjectory comment at line 116f.⁷⁸⁶ It is similar to (1) with respect to the explicit identification as a climax (τὸ δὲ πέρας). I quote D.116ff:

(2) :: μαινόμενον λέγεις/ τελέως γεωργόν. :: τὸ δὲ πέρας· φεύγοντα γὰρ/ δεδίωχ' ἴσως με στάδια πέντε καὶ δέκα. 'From what you say, the farmer's a raving lunatic. :: To finish my story: I took to my heels and he ran after me for the better part of two miles...'

In D.V the climax comes unheralded, but is a culmination of a series of pasts, abruptly coordinated with a narrative past. In effect it is the use of the perfect -- as a shift from secondary to primary tenses, from narrative to comment -- (and the final position in the series) which marks the pulling up out of the well at D.685 as a climax (I quote 682ff):

(3)

τὸ σχοινίον γὰρ ἐμβλέπων τῇ παρθένῳ
ἀφῆκ' ἴσως τρίς. ἀλλ' ὁ Γοργίας Ἄτλας
ἦν οὐχ ὁ τυχών· ἀντεῖχε καὶ μόλις ποτὲ
ἀνενήνοχ' αὐτόν...

'For as I gazed into the girl's eyes, I let the rope go, two or three times. But Gorgias was a veritable Atlas: he kept a grip on [Knemon] and eventually, with considerable difficulty, got him up.'

⁷⁸⁶ See also (5) below.

In Ep.IV the climax is marked by τὸ δὲ πέρας, but there is no perfect.⁷⁸⁷ After a series of pasts⁷⁸⁸ and *oratio recta*, at Ep.891f the narrator highlights what he considers the main point:

(4) τὸ δὲ πέρας,/ ὥς πάντα διακούσας ἀπῆλθ' εἴσω ποτέ,/ βρυχηθὺς ἔνδον, τιλμός, ἔκστασις συχνή. 'Finally, when he'd had everything, he went back into the house, where there was moaning, tearing of hair, lunatic raving without end.'

The narrator temporarily returns to the past after this climax, but the transition to his 'now' is not long in following.

In addition to the four passages discussed above, I refer to D.V which is not a definite case. Consider the passage quoted from D.579ff

(5)

ἀνῆψα τὴν δίκελλαν ἀσθενεῖ τινι
καλωιδίῳ σαπρῶι διερράγῃ τέ μοι
τοῦτ' εὐθύς. :: ὀρθῶς. :: ἐνσέσεικα θ' ἀθλία
καὶ τὴν δίκελλαν εἰς τὸ φρέαρ μετὰ τοῦ κάδου.

'...So I tied the mattock to a poor rotten old piece of rope, and it promptly broke on me. :: Oh, great! :: And-- I'm in trouble -- into the well I dropped the mattock along with the bucket.' (translation from 581b mine).

A textual problem in this passage is presented in the dicolon after εὐθύς in the papyrus, and the interjectory remark printed in Sandbach's edition disturbs some editors who perhaps would prefer an uninterrupted continuum (see Handley, GS *ad locum* for details). (2) above offers a parallel for an interjectory comment not only in narrative rheseis in general, but preceding a climax in particular.

Line 581 may represent a comment by the narrator on her responsibility for the current state (reflected in the use of the perfect and the emphasis on the subject bolstered by the explicit ἀθλία -- see 3.4 (with n. 608) and 2.1.1); or it may be a transition from the narrative's 'then' to the narrator's 'now'; a third possibility is that this represents a climax.

⁷⁸⁷ But note the verbless sentence with nominalizations of verbs expressing states (reflected in N. Miller's translation by the consistent choice of gerund forms as action nouns). ἀπῆλθ' cannot be a highlighted action: its subordinate status on the syntactic level probably reflects the narrator's wish to keep it in the background.

⁷⁸⁸ including ἀνέκραγε which idiomatically recurs in the perfect and is here deliberately put into a narrative tense -- cf. ἔδεισα (Sam.643) in and my similar comment in n.765 in 5.3.1.

Not included among the passages above is D.628 with the perfect πέπτωκεν.⁷⁸⁹ this is not a narrative passage but an example of a brief account outlining essentials, whose culmination comes in the perfect. This is quite a natural use of the perfect, whose syntax (a 'result' clause) coincides with its discursal function (a culmination).

Two other passages which are not narratives of past events point up their highlights through expressions with πέρας: at Ep.287 this is used, with a perfect, in the punchline of an argument: τὸ πέρας· δέδωκα σοι τι τῶν ἐμῶν ἐ[γώ·];⁷⁹⁰ at Ep.533 Habrotonon marks with πέρας (but not a perfect) the *pièce de résistance* of her planned coup in her own description of how it will proceed: τὸ πέρας δὲ πάντων, "παιδίον τοῖνυν" ἐρῶ/["ἔστ]ι γεγονός σοι"...

Asp.II; Grg.I; D.V;⁷⁹¹ Ep.I; Pk.I; Sam.I, and II feature *transitions* from 'then' to 'now'.⁷⁹² They are consistently marked either by a perfect⁷⁹³ or, less frequently, by a *praesens historicum*.⁷⁹⁴ I observe already at the outset that most of these transitions round off narrative sections in prologues. This distinction is important since presence (of a perfect) in the prologue mode affects the temporal, discursal, and conventional levels of interpretation. Pk.I will be discussed as a representative example (and of course details must be modified for the interpretation of other passages). I begin with a quotation from Pk.145ff:

αὕτη μὲν οὖν ἀπέθανεν, ὁ δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν
ἐπρίατο ταύτην ὁ στρατιώτης οὐ πάλαι.
ἐν γειτόνων δ' οἰκοῦσα τὰδελφοῦ τὸ μὲν
πρᾶγμ' οὐ μεμήνυκ' οὐδ' ἐκείνον βούλεται
εἶναι δοκοῦντα λαμπρὸν εἰς μεταλλαγὴν
ἀγαγεῖν...

'Well, the old woman died, and not long ago the soldier bought this [*pointing*] house. She's living next door to her brother but she hasn't breathed a word of what she knows -- doesn't want to compromise his apparent social standing...'

⁷⁸⁹ See also comments of Handley and GS *ad locum*.

⁷⁹⁰ This understanding of πέρας and patterns in which it is sometimes used supports δέδωκε against Gronewald's suggested δ' ἔδωκε. Was he uncomfortable with the absence of a connective? I would be surprised to find τὸ πέρας *et simil.* with aorists in comparable passages.

⁷⁹¹ This passage also has a climax.

⁷⁹² And Sam.I also from 'then' to 'then'.

⁷⁹³ Asp.112; Grg.5; D.686; Pk.148; and Sam.54.

⁷⁹⁴ Grg.5; Sam.265. A non historical present is found (with νῦν) at Ep.269.

Pk.148f represents a shift from past events to the present of the narrative, contemporary with the time of narration, and the dramatic time. The ability to mark such a shift is especially important in prologues, which are highly deictic in other respects as well:⁷⁹⁵ they are expository by definition, and the wording typical of prologues suggests that the *prologos* points out people and things on stage, or metaphorically. Showing is more important than telling in the prologue as opposed to other venues for narrative in drama.⁷⁹⁶ With the predominantly deictic nature of prologues in mind, in addition to 'now' prevailing in descriptive passages, it is not surprising to find consistent transitions from 'then' to 'now' in narrative sections. These periodic retreats back to the deixis alternating with temporary forays out into the narrative may be likened to the periodic modulations of the line representing a cosine on a graph. This may offer one explanation for the frequent use of historical presents and perfects in prologues, which, on a spectrum, lie closer to deixis than to narrative.

I end this section by drawing attention to the fact that the frequency of the perfect in Menander's prologues is contrasted with a somewhat less frequent use in Euripides.⁷⁹⁷

5.5 perfects which appear within narrative passages, in phrases which exit the narrative frame

The perfect forms discussed in 5.5 are positioned within narrative passages, but they exit the time frame or the context of the narrative in various ways. On a formal level a shift out of the narrative would intuitively call for a non-narrative tense and on a syntactic level this is manifested by an exit from the syntactic continuum (5.5.1); on a logical level, the shift is from telling to commenting, or from a retrospective (indirect) record to a live

⁷⁹⁵ Note that the need to mark narrative parts of prologues with pasts gives us one of the rare examples of ἀπῆθανεν (a verb preferring the perfect form in many contexts). This may be compared with my comments on ἀνέκραγε and ἔδεια in n.788 above.

⁷⁹⁶ E.g. the Euripidean messenger-speech. See de Jong (1991) 139, and 172f where she strikes a balance between elements of telling and showing.

⁷⁹⁷ Besides perfects with idiomatic present meanings at HF 29; Hel.22; Or.59, 66; IT 56; Tro.40; Med.37, 66; Herc.2; Pho.86, see also Alc.21; Tro.17, 31; Med.34; Hipp.2, 21, 55; IA 112; Hel.405; Ion 68; Or.33; Hec.2. Out of a large total of lines of prologue surviving from Euripides, this is a small crop when compared with Menander's remains. Despite the relatively few surviving parts of prologues, Menander shows the following perfects: Asp.110, 112, 113, 117, 119, 122; Grg.5; D.9, 10, 35, 38; Pk.[124], 148, 150, 152; Sam.3, 54, 55; Sk.14. Note moreover the tendency for clustering of Menander's perfects in prologues, whereas in Euripides they are often isolated or rare in the prologue. This matter obviously deserves further study in conjunction with *praesens historicum*; unfortunately prologues were not within the scope of de Jong (1991).

(direct) record of events. This shift may be associated with parenthetical phrases (5.5.1), other departures from the narrative frame for comment (5.5.2) and *oratiorecta* (5.5.3).

5.5.1 perfects in parenthetical phrases

Parenthetical phrases typically come in a primary tense, and in fact most tend to be in present forms (with timeless or present value). The perfect is not a definitive feature of parenthesis, but parenthesis is one explanation for the occurrence of a perfect in a narrative passage. In practice I have found few examples of perfects in parenthesis exiting a narrative, but in principle parenthesis within narrative is an important case where syntactic and discursal function coincide. A thorough reading of all parenthetical passages shows that even primary tenses are not definitive of parenthesis, but rather it is the shift from the typical tense of the surrounding discourse (in narratives this is the past) to a contrasted form which helps to set apart and mark the parenthetical phrase.⁷⁹⁸

At D.100, within a clearly narrative section, where the actions are recounted in typical narrative tenses,⁷⁹⁹ the perfect form ἔστηκα is used. In this particular instance, the verb 'to stand', when referring to the present, has a perfect form, but is not a 'true' perfect, so no further explanation for the perfect form is necessary; however, it is a good example of the (non-narrative) present (note the explicit νῦν) appearing in a parenthetical statement within a narrative passage. D.99f: αὐτόθεν δ' οὗ νῦν λέγων/ ἔστηκα ('in the place where I now stand speaking') comes parenthetically to indicate from where the old woman did her pointing; the woman's appearance and action are narrated in the normal form: προῆλθέ μοι/ γραῦς τις κακοδαίμων, .../ ... ἔδειξεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ λοφιδίου/ ἐκεῖ... ('A mean old woman came up to me... [and] pointed him out, over there on the little hill.').

Many examples of relative clauses within narrative may be considered parenthetical, or of an equivalent nature, somewhat subordinated to the main account, an exit from the

⁷⁹⁸ Form and defining elements are discussed in 4.1.4, where examples of parenthesis with secondary tenses within a non-past environment are also given.

⁷⁹⁹ ἔφην (98), προῆλθε (98), and ἔδειξεν (100).

narrative frame.⁸⁰⁰ Hence it is not surprising to find a present in many of these relative clauses within a narrative, many of them not strictly parenthetical.⁸⁰¹

In a short parenthetical statement the verb in the perfect at Pk.152 formally⁸⁰² sets the parenthesis apart from its narrative environment⁸⁰³ as seen in the quotation from Pk.151f:

ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου δ' ὁφθεῖσ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ θρασυτέρου/ ὥσπερ προείρηκ' ὄντος,
ἐπιμελῶς τ' αἰ/ φοιτῶντος..., ἔτυχ' ἐσπέρας/... 'But, quite accidentally, he saw her.
He's a bold lad, as I told you, and he's always hanging about the house. Well, yesterday
evening she happened to be...'

The narrative environment is manifested in the aorist forms, with which the perfect clearly contrasts. Note the acute disruption the parenthetical phrase creates between two elements of a *genitivus absolutus* construction.⁸⁰⁴ Most of the parentheses within narrative passages are not so disruptive.⁸⁰⁵ Schwyzer (1939) 31 identifies interruptions between attribute and substantive in Tragedy⁸⁰⁶ but attributes the major development in the interruption of subordinate sentences (by independent sentences) to Lysias and the other orators.

5.5.2 departures from the narrative frame for comment

One type of departure within a narrative is a comment of opinion made by the person who is also telling the account; in the middle of his direct account of a sequence of actions, he will interject some subjective commentary which is not part of the direct sequence of events. The content of the external comment at Pk.158 (in the same narrative discussed directly above) is similar to that in the parenthetical phrase just mentioned: the narrator is making an explicit reference to the process of narration: τὰ λοιπὰ δ' αὐτὸς [εἴρηχ']. It

⁸⁰⁰ See 4.1.4.

⁸⁰¹ E.g. Asp.36 (not parenthetical), 134 (not parenthetical), 168 (not in narrative); Grg.47; Ep.269 (not parenthetical), 464 (not in a proper narrative); Her.24.

⁸⁰² And in a relative clause in this instance syntactically reflecting that it is not on the level of the sequence of events.

⁸⁰³ Two examples of perfects in parenthetical phrases which are **not** within narrative passages are Mis.271, and Pk.533.

⁸⁰⁴ The following parentheses within a narrative also split a complex construction: Ep.257, where it splits a verb of motion from a future participle -- but this passage may reflect a symmetrical rhetorical construction with the split components at polar ends of the phrase, and the parenthesis at the centre; and Sam.19f where the long parenthetical phrases splits the 'auxiliary' συνέβη from its accusative and infinitive (see LSJ s.v. συμβαίνω IIb).

⁸⁰⁵ Grg.46b, 57a, 66; D.25f, 100; Pk.127f.

⁸⁰⁶ E.g. E.Hipp.936: φεῦ τῆς βροτείας -- ποῖ προβήσεται; -- φρενός.

is not parenthetical in form (i.e. it does not literally cut through parts of a sentence), but is equally a digression from the frame of the account proper.⁸⁰⁷ Again, as in D.100 discussed in **5.5.1**, this example is given to illustrate a comment within a narrative, and not as an attestation for the use of the perfect in such a case -- it is conjectural.

Other examples of exits from the narrative, especially for comment on the act of narration itself, have already been referred to in **5.3.1**, e.g. Sam.645 (with a present). I add here the reference to Sam.47, also with a present: ὁκνῶ λέγειν τὰ λοιπά.

5.5.3 oratio recta

The perfect is used often in *oratio recta* in Greek literature,⁸⁰⁸ although this fact is not given due attention by grammarians and this phenomenon is significant enough to warrant a separate discussion, but within the scope of this thesis I limit myself to a list of the passages, an attempt to find competing reasons for the choice of a perfect form, and a short discussion of the place of *oratio recta* in drama and its function within narrative rhesis.

There are 15 perfects in Menander used in *oratio recta*, and most of these can safely be considered as occurring within a narrative passage.⁸⁰⁹

- (1) D.728: "οὐκ ἔαις με προσιέναι· οὐ προσέρχομ'· οὐδὲν ἡμῖν **γέγονας** αὐτὸς χρήσιμος· οὐδ' ἐγὼ σοὶ νῦν." *Knemon airing a hypothetical reaction of Gorgias.*
- (2) Ep.891: "οἶαν λαβῶν/ γυναῖχ' ὁ μέλεος **ἡτύχηκα**." *Onesimos quoting Kharisios.*
- (3) Kol.126: "ἄν σε μή, μαστιγία - / [...π]έπρακας πλέον ἔχοντι χρυσίον..." *Pimp quoting an anonymous person.*
- (4) Mis.306 *Getas quoting Thrasonides*:

"ἀντιβολῶ, Κράτεια, σέ,
μή μ' ἐγκαταλίπηις· παρθένον σ' εἴληφ' ἐγώ,
ἀνὴρ ἐκλήθην πρῶτος, ἡγάπησά σε
ἀγαπῶ, φιλῶ, Κράτεια φιλτάτη· τί σοι
λυπηρόν ἐστι τῶν παρ' ἐμοί; τεθνηκότα

⁸⁰⁷ One could argue that this phrase does feature a formal sign, 'parenthetical δέ sometimes used to introduce parenthesis similarly to γάρ, more readily identified with this function.

⁸⁰⁸ In some authors or some types of works more than others: e.g. in the direct speech in Theophrastus' *Characteres* more consistently (but not universally!) than in the reported speeches of Xenophon's *Cyropaedeia*.

⁸⁰⁹ D.728 is not in a narrative passage, Mis.306 is in a passage whose nature cannot be firmly ascertained as narrative, Sk.82 is doubtful and does not constitute a definite example of perfect in *oratio recta*. Finally we cannot be sure in what environment fr.318 came.

πεύσει μ' ἔάν μ' ἐγκαταλίπηις."

(5-7) Pk.319-321 *Daos quoting Moskhion's mother:*

"μηδὲν ἔτι τούτων" φησί, "πῶς δ' ἀκῆκοεν;
ἦ σὺ λελάληκας πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅτι φοβηθεῖς ἐνθάδε
καταπέφευγ' αὕτη [πρὸς ἡμᾶς; πάνυ] γε. μὴ ὥρας σύ γε"

(8) Sam.248: "πρώην... ἐγώ/ αὐτὸν ἐτιθηνούμην ἀγαπῶσα, νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ παιδίον
ἐκείνου γέγονεν ἤδη καὶ τόδε..." *Demeas quoting nurse.*

(9) Sam.259: "αὐτὴ καλεῖ, τίτθῃ, σε" καὶ "βάδιζε καὶ σπεῦδ'. οὐκ ἀκῆκο'
οὐδέν." *Demeas quoting woman.*

(10) Sk.14: "θάρρει...ὁ Σικυώνιος/ ἡγόρακεν ὑμᾶς,..." *Prologos quoting anonymous person.*

(11) Sk.82: "ἀνῆρηκάς με νῦν" *Context defective.*

(12) Sk.206: "καὶ τὰ πόλλ' ἀκῆκοα/ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ἄρτι πρὸς τὸν δέσποτην."
Blepes quoting probably Moskhion.

(13) Sk.226: "τέ]τροφα μικρὸν παιδίον" *Context defective.*

(14) Sk.261: "ταυτὶ συμπέποιθ' ὥς οὕτοσι/ νῦν ἐξαπίνης εἴληφε διαθήκας
ποθὲν/ ἐστὶ τε πολίτης ὑμέτερος,..." *Blepes quoting Moskhion.*

(15) fr. 318.2: μικρὸν ἐπιμείνας προστρέχει/ "ἡγόρακά σοι περιστέρια <ταδί>"
λέγων *Context defective.*

In many of the passages above, the verbs can be shown to follow the traditional use of the perfect describing the state of the subject. Only in (10, 11, 13, 14 and 15) can it be shown, according to criteria set out and applied in §3, that the perfects govern a direct object, and among these the objects in (13, 14) are indefinite, indicating comparatively weak transitivity.⁸¹⁰ The transitivity of πέπρακας in Kol.126 cannot be evaluated, since the text is damaged.

Only in (7, 14) are the perfects subordinated hypotactically (see 4.5).⁸¹¹ Notable are (1, 4, 9, 10) which feature parataxis (as possibly does 3). One cannot rule out the possibility that the perfect form and the (sometimes asyndetic) paratactic structure are both⁸¹² deliberate choices (and not merely *variatio* to avoid monotony) used in these contexts to colour the *oratio recta* with elements of conversational syntax.⁸¹³

⁸¹⁰ In (15) <ταδί> is a supplement of Cobet.

⁸¹¹ Probably (8) also, but the context is cut off.

⁸¹² I note here also the recurrence of certain adverbs in *oratio recta*; see e.g. n.349 in 2.1.5.10 B, and comments on ἐξαίφνης (2.1.5.3) and ἤδη (2.1.5.6).

⁸¹³ See also 2.2.3 (p.121) and 4.8 (p.191). For the less acutely paratactic causal link suggested in (9) see 2.2.3.

The rheseis in which these citations of direct speech occur may be narratives of events or situations such as Demeas' long monologue in the *Samia*, in which two of our perfects are found (248, 259), or Blepes' narrative in the *Sikyonios*, in which three perfects in *oratio recta* are found (206, 226, and 261). Blepes' narrative is similar in many respects to a messenger-speech and has in fact been compared to the messenger-speech in Euripides' *Orestes*. Most recently, de Jong has discussed the role of *oratio recta* in Euripidean messenger-speeches,⁸¹⁴ and although in the same context she also treats the use of *praesens historicum*, she does not address the recurrence of perfects in *oratio recta* in messenger-speeches, and by extension, in long narrative rheseis; perhaps this is because Euripidean *oratio recta* does not feature as consistent a use of the perfect as does that of Menander.⁸¹⁵

Onesimos' monologue in the *Epitrepontes* begins as an announcement of his master Kharisios' madness (878ff), but then describes his behaviour through an account of a conversation and actions, including our passage at 891; in fact I believe I identify three more rheseis which give a sketch of a character's behaviour or state, and where *oratio recta* is used to enliven the speaker's description of the behaviour. I refer to Getas' use of *oratio recta* (4) to enliven his diagnosis of his Thrasonides' weakness (ὦς ὄρει); to the pimp's recourse to quotations (3) of the man he wants to describe as ῥ|αχι|τ|ής; and to Blepes' repeated introduction of the express words of Moskhion (12) who is typified as λευκόχρων, ἐξυρημένον etc. At this point I merely refer the reader to Theophrastus' use of *oratio recta* in his character sketches, and leave this as an open observation.

In addition to narrative monologues and messenger-speeches, one perfect is found in *oratio recta* in a prologue at Sk.14. In contrast to the use in the narrative passages, where the perfect is common and even used to stylize conversation (and set it apart from the narrative sequence) the perfect in *oratio recta* is less common in prologues because *oratio recta* itself is rare in this *Bauform* (and the perfect on the other hand quite well-represented). *Oratio recta* is only once⁸¹⁶ used to enliven a prologue in the way it has

⁸¹⁴ See de Jong (1991) 131-138, 172ff, and her Appendix H.

⁸¹⁵ I hope to publish a separate study on this.

⁸¹⁶ May it be noted that this is unparalleled in Euripidean prologues.

come to be used in messenger-speeches and other narrative passages. This is the only example of *oratio recta* in a Menandrian prologue, although it must be noted that we do not have many remains of intact prologues.

I refer here to the use of *oratio recta* in the prologues of the *Hydria* and the *Georgos* which do not survive, but are suggested in Quintilian IO 11.3.91 (quoted in GS).

Cum mihi comoedi quoque pessime facere videantur quod etiam si iuvenem agant, cum tamen in expositione aut senis sermo, ut in Hydriae prologo, aut mulieris, ut in Georgo, incidit, tremula vel effeminata voce pronuntiant.

Perhaps the rest of Quintilian's critique on melodramatic delivery of an old or effeminate person's direct speech by an actor representing a young man should be added to what GS quote: "in illis quoque est aliqua vitiosa imitatio, quorum ars omnis constat imitatione". Quintilian's prescription is influenced by his general preference for delivery which is not overdone (compare his criticism of *cantare* in oratory at 11.3.57 etc.), a stand which may be influenced by general trends as well as personal taste. Other than these hints from a Roman critic with his own biases, writing at a remove from the time when Menander's plays were composed and first performed, one can only speculate on the mode in which such passages of *oratio recta* were delivered and how they were set apart for the audience from the surrounding text.⁸¹⁷ De Jong (1991) 174f discusses tone as one of the aspects of presentation, where the difference between enacted drama and messenger-speeches is manifest. She notes that the tone of direct quotations "must be indicated *expressis verbis*" by the messenger. She adds that this is seldom used by Euripides, at least in comparison with Homer, whose speeches are considered more 'dramatic'. A short survey of the Menandrian passages indicates that in many, explicit or implicit detail of tone is given when the *oratio recta* is introduced by the narrator. I refer to one example, the detail of a loud and then a quiet tone of the nurse's words as reported by Demeas in the words leading up to (9) Sam.257ff:

καὶ παρεξήλλαξέ τι
 "αὐτὴ καλεῖ, τίτῃ, σε" καὶ "βάδιζε καὶ
 σπεῦδ'· οὐκ ἀκήκο' οὐδέν· εὐτυχέστατα."

'...And then, raising her voice, "Mistress is asking for you, Nurse" and, quietly, "Quick! He hasn't heard a word. We're in luck."

⁸¹⁷ A study of the metre of passages in *oratio recta* and its comparison with the metre of surrounding text may be one approach: I have found no comments on this in the handbooks on Greek metre.

The Greek has καί rather than explicitly 'quietly', but N. Miller follows GS in this interpretation, which fits the context beautifully. The other examples are less complex and do not involve a change of tone, but a certain tone, attitude, or gesture.⁸¹⁸

My discussion of *oratio recta* closes with a reference to a pre-Bodmerian essay; Osmun (1952) 159 makes comments which are relevant to the dramatic value of *oratio recta* in Menander:

Menander is ever conscious that he is writing for the stage and that the medium of expression in that form is dialogue... quoted speeches are wonderfully consistent in their colloquial tone with the character of the speaker quoted, so that we must imagine the monologist as being a rare mimic.

Osmun analyzes the major speeches and dialogues and shows that the speaker imitates the words or style of the character he quotes which we can compare with that character's speech (e.g. Kharisios in the *Epitrepontes*), or brings across the typical temperament of a character whose speech we do not experience directly on stage (e.g. Moskhion's mother in the *Perikeiromene*). Osmun barely finds comparable use of *oratio recta* in Aristophanes (161), and qualifies Euripides' use (162) observing that his quotations seems to be more part of the narrative.

concluding remarks

I believe I have shown that the perfect form is not used in Menandrian narratives in the detailed sequential material on the time-line which constitutes the narrative. This is one more piece of evidence for the classical use of Menander's perfect. In the process I show some special uses of the perfect at structural joints and borders in the narrative, and as a marker, perhaps mechanical, for comment and other non-sequential material positioned in but exiting from the flow of the narrative.

⁸¹⁸ ἀνέκραγε with (2), [βο]ῶν ἀπειλῶν (3), and other tones in (12) and (14). Naturally more examples could be found in *oratio recta* in general, and not specifically those featuring perfects.

6. CONCLUDING SUMMARY

Already when one compares Menandrian perfects as illustrated in the profile of typical characteristics of a perfect in Menander (1.1) with our more general knowledge of the perfect, one may safely say that perfects in Menander are closer to the classical perfect than to the perfect in its later uses.

I identify two important characteristics which most clearly argue for a "classical" use of the perfect: 1) Menander's perfects are more often intransitive than transitive, and when transitive, they are for the most part only weakly transitive (3.2), or emphasize the state of the subject. 2) Menander's perfects are only several times found with adverbs normally accompanying aorist (or other) pasts, such as *πέρυσιν* or *ἐχθές* (2.1.5.17); his perfects are not used in subordinate clauses with anterior reference to the past, and their use in apodotic phrases never elicits the *optativus obliquus* (4.8); Menander's perfects are hardly used in narratives, and even when they are, I think I have shown (5) that these perfects are found at structural boundaries and turning-points where they exit the frame of the narrative: in other words, close attention is necessary not only to the passage at large, but also where the form lies within the structure -- an extreme case may be seen in the consistency of the use of perfects in *oratio recta* when situated in a narrative frame but exiting it.

And so, there is a temptation to place Menander's perfect in the realm of post-classical usage because of the combination of the fact that (a) he writes after the onset of the Hellenistic period; (b) his usage attests to a significant contribution of new perfect forms and it is tempting to correlate spread of usage with evolving usage; (c) many perfects come with nouns in the accusative; and (d) some are located in passages which are broadly defined as narrative. The illusion created by this apparently cumulative evidence is dispelled when the contexts are more closely examined and more precise structural patterns are recognised. Not only are the perfects neither 'resultative' nor 'perfect for aorist', but even the conditions leading up to such types of perfects are not generally met. The perfects used in Menander are by and large perfects from verbs which previously formed perfects, but a finding which is significant (1.7) is that over a quarter of the

verbs which show perfect forms do not form such perfects in texts earlier than Menander's. The fact that so many perfects are attested first in Menander may tell us as much, or more, about the vocabulary of the genre in which he wrote as it does about Menander as an innovator, or about the spread of perfects in his time - the productivity of the paradigm.

In my attempt to understand the use of the perfect in Menander not only in terms of the verbal categories and characteristics of 'tense', 'aspect', 'transitivity' etc., I found that some patterns of context recur: (a) on the most general level, the perfect is very common in rapid exchange and the dramatically defined form *antilabe*, and also in other forms of discourse (2.2.1). This finding opens up the broader questions of form and the discourse mode of dialogue. The classification and identification of sentence-type (2.2.2) and sentence-connection (2.2.3) must be applied with attention. (b) Perfects for example are not found in commands (2.2.2), and this may be connected with the fact that the imperative perfect forms are rare and limited to only a few verbs (2.1.3). Note at the same time the frequency of perfect indicatives in expressive or extreme statements and exclamations (2.2.2 and tables).⁸¹⁹ (c) In the realm of sentence connection, a fresh look at the relations between perfects and their surrounding context⁸²⁰ reveals that the perfect does reemerge in response to or dependent on a future context, sometimes with anterior force (4.8).

Ultimately, there is nothing in Menander's perfect which I can admit is idiosyncratically Menandrian, although verbs typical of New Comedy are found in the perfect (sometimes for the first time). However, closer familiarity with the patterns of Menandrian usage may help in cases where the reading of a papyrus is difficult,⁸²¹ and where different editors hesitate between perfect and aorist variants and conjectures.⁸²²

⁸¹⁹ In general the poverty of non-indicative perfect forms may be correlated with the wealth and variety of the illocutionary force of the **indicative** perfect. The question of the richness of the perfect indicative and the indicative in general is worthy of a separate study.

⁸²⁰ Not only between main and subordinate clauses (4) but also between other interdependent phrases (2.2.3).

⁸²¹ E.g. *Ep.* 557, discussed on p. 175.

⁸²² E.g. *Ep.* 287, discussed in note 790.

PART II: HYPERBATON

1. INTRODUCTION

In the discussion following Sandbach's paper on manipulation in Menander's language (1970), Ludwig suggests the need for further study of what he calls Menander's 'poetic syntax'. Sandbach himself proposes hyperbaton, among examples of topics that might 'repay' study. He warns that "[hyperbaton] is so usual in verse that it may pass unnoticed in Menander and be more frequent than [Sandbach has] supposed". Handley adds that metrical and rhythmic effects may contribute to the effects of sentence structure. There are also those who disregard the study of hyperbaton. I disagree with Dik (1995) 6 n.10 whose low estimation of this subject ('discontinuity') may be due to a simplistic and narrow view of the phenomenon:

Over the years, especially hyperbaton (constituent discontinuity) has been a very popular subject. Dover (1960:6) correctly pointed out that 'theses are written about καὶ ἀγλαὰ δέχθαι ἄποινα (*Il. A,23*) but not about φέρων τ' ἀπερείσι' ἄποινα (*Il. A,13*)'. I do not intend to contribute any more to this eschewed state of affairs than strictly necessary.

I am sure Dover's comment implies not that the study of hyperbaton is unrewarding, but perhaps that studying it as a fixed pattern involving this specific contour is too limited. At any rate, many of the studies which discuss the word-order in noun-phrases and also disjunction of noun phrases tend a) not to clearly define the parameters of 'adjective' very sharply and b) to confine discussions of hyperbaton to adjective-noun groups split by a verb.¹ It is not surprising that with such a narrow peripheral range the evidence does not lead to any observations which have ramifications for a better understanding of the Greek phrase and sentence: as we shall see, verbs are often the intervening elements in cases of hyperbaton where the least disruption to the syntactic and semantic flow of the sentence is felt. A more penetrating examination² offers examples of intervening elements from a wide variety of sentence constituents, creating an equally wide range of degrees of disruption depending on their syntactic compatibility with the constituents they split and with the sentence at large. Dover himself (1961) 68f, in his review of Bergson (1960), warns against the isolation of the noun-adjective complex from its *formal* context; the

¹ In fact the three [!] passages Dik allocates to her discussion of 'discontinuity' on p.79f all feature verbs as intervening elements (to be precise, forms of the verb στρατεύομαι).

² See already Fraenkel (1928) 162-168 who recommends a distinction between light and unusual divisions ('Sperrungen').

broader layout in which the noun-adjective complex is embedded is important in the analysis of the factors determining the order of the noun and adjective. If this is true in the case Dover considers, where the components are adjacent, it is *a fortiori* necessary in the case of hyperbaton as I define it.

Let us return to point a) above. Kaibel, Lindhamer, and Fraenkel all observed that not all words modifying nouns are separated from their head nouns with the same frequency or effect, and they all roughly distinguished 'pronominal' adjectives from descriptive adjectives, each observing the types found in his or her specific corpus.³ These distinctions have been largely ignored in Bergson's (1960) definition of the parameters of the adjective (and in Dover's review); it may be that Bergson excluded *a priori* non-descriptive adjectives, but in the elaborate space he gives to his distinction between determinative and qualitative adjectives, room could have been made for the lower bounds of a descriptive adjective, if only because Bergson himself has an excursus on hyperbaton in his (1960) book.

I distinguish between lexical and grammatical uses (sometimes referred to as 'non-lexical') of attributive modifiers such as indefinites and demonstratives, and I shall use these terms freely for all four attributes discussed. This distinction is somewhat analogous to the tendency by some grammarians to distinguish between pronominal attributes and descriptive adjectives. Joseph and Philippaki-Warbuton (1987) for example are consistent in their use of the term 'modifiers' when discussing those attributes which have uses with low lexicality and high grammaticality.

The study of hyperbaton does indeed repay its efforts; not in the form of conclusive objective answers to simple questions which may be asked about Greek word order, but rather in a greater familiarity with the different patterns of usage an investigation unfolds, and in the lines of further inquiry to which it leads. Foremost, such a study introduces yet another new aspect of the text of which one needs to be aware while reading.

³ See e.g. Fraenkel (1928) 166 bottom "...ein Pronomen, Numeral... aber keines eigentliches Epitheton..." or e.g. the contrast in Kaibel (1893) 99f between pronominal adjectives of a wide variety and "beliebige andere Adjektive".

As will emerge from the following paragraphs, by hyperbaton I mean the separation of closely cohering words, specifically of modifier and substantive.

It is interesting to note that already in his first work on accentuation and syntax, Fraenkel (1928) 168 strongly recommends the study of hyperbaton in Comedy. His point of departure is the short excursus on 'Sperrung', which one can only regret did not mushroom into a full-fledged study of this phenomenon in the comic authors Fraenkel knew so well. On this occasion, his main point was the confirmation of Kaibel's remark (1893) 99ff that among the attributive groups certain pronominal groups tend to be separated more more frequently than noun phrases with adjectives in general. After surveying the different genres, Fraenkel points out the importance of further investigations in genres which have some affinity with the spoken language: "...die Komödie und die schlichte Prosa können gute Führer sein. Dann wird von selbst herauspringen, wie die Sperrung in den Dienst des emphatischen Ausdrucks tritt;..." This is merely one in a series of recurring recommendations by Fraenkel to investigate hyperbaton.⁴

The basic rationale for studying the separation of the four types of attributive word-groups I have chosen for my sample is the inherently close connection of their components; one can comment on the observable deviation from a natural tendency; namely the separation of words which tend to come in adjacent order.

The notion that words are not isolated members of a sentence, but rather that a sentence is made up of word-groups, was appropriately presented by Havers (1931) p.13:

§16 Die in der Zeitreihe aufeinander folgenden Wörter stehen nicht als isolierte Glieder in dieser Reihe; sie schließen sich vielmehr in bestimmter Weise an einander an und bilden typische synt. Gruppen: Verbum mit Substantivum, Substantivum mit Adjektivum, Präposition mit Kasus usw., so daß wir sagen können: Der Satz besteht in der Regel nicht aus Wörtern, sondern aus **Wortgruppen**. [emphasis mine]

Note the focus on *syntactic* groups and the use of a term equivalent to the English 'word-groups', which will often be referred to in the present study. Havers himself points out the importance of recognizing word-groups for explaining syntactic phenomena: "Dieser

⁴ Compare e.g. ad A. Ag. 13.

Zusammenschluß der Wörter zu Wortgruppen ist für die Erklärung synt[aktischer] Erscheinungen von fundamentaler Bedeutung."

The term *Wortgruppe* is defined in Ries (1928) 5. His upper and lower bounds influence the sample I choose and discuss: "Wortgruppe ist also jedes Gebilde, das weder Einzelwort (Kompositum) noch Satz ist." Havers, who refers to Ries' definition warns (14) that word-groups and compounds are not sharply distinct.⁵

In classical Greek, with its generally free word order, there are certain syntactic word-groups which tend to cohere more closely than others. When such word-groups are split, one can speak of a disruption of normal word order with a certainty one cannot apply to other word sequences and their 'normal' or 'abnormal' order.

Different scholars have suggested different word-groups as being closely cohering, or belonging together ('eng zusammengehörig'):

Fraenkel (1964b) 322 n.4 refers in this way to partitive and possessive constructions.

Dover mentions in a similar context words in polyptosis such as *μόνος μόνωι* (1960) 16 and (1985) 48; numerals and the words to which they refer (1960) 17;⁶ adjectives or adverbs accompanied by an intensifier, such as *πολὺ πλείονες* (1985) 48. Noteworthy is Dover's use of the term 'indissoluble' in describing the closeness of numerals and the items counted.

How can one decide what is to be considered 'eng zusammengehörig'? Usage in literary verse texts may be misleading, and data from the study of related phenomena in oratory, to the limited extent that the study of hyperbaton as a trope indeed took into consideration Wortgruppenlehre (e.g. de Vries (1938)), can no more be used to describe in an unqualified manner the norm of spoken Greek than can the data from Menander. Likewise the analogy with parallel elements in compounds may be misleading: the fact that the attributive element comes first in compounds such as *τετράδραχμος* does not indicate anything about the 'norm' in analytic syntactic constructions such as *τέτταρες δραχμαί*. One may turn to the evidence from non-literary texts for help: these also show

⁵ I recall that Havers' main orientation in this book is German, where this is particularly the case, and which offers an important point of analogy with Greek.

⁶ Dover refers here also to Fraenkel (1928) 120ff.

a variety allowing for both preceding and postponed attributive, but considerations of idiom rather than rhetorical choice or poetically 'marked' deviation are applied with more certainty, although not without reservation: formulaic set expressions may influence the high incidence of certain patterns which are not necessarily reflections of ordinary speech. One factor which is possibly helpful in learning about word-groups is the extent to which enclitics breach the unity of such word-groups: It is assumed that enclitics and postpositives which orient their position in the sentence after the first mobile word or word-group will split some less closely-knit groups, and not split those which tend to be indissoluble. In the same vein, punctuation practices in some non-literary texts may indicate what were considered tightly-knit word-groups. Thraette (1980) 80f explicitly speaks of the fact that in certain private inscriptions, interpuncts are not found between article and noun. Devine and Stevens (1994) 388f apply this and other inscriptional evidence to a discussion of syntactic and phonological phrasing.

In addition to such general evidence, which is scarce, it is of some value also to compare the practice of individual authors regarding specific word-groups for which hypothetically there may be a tendency for adherence. Towards such a comparison I offer a representative description of the usage of Menander.

For a general discussion of the distinction between attributive position versus apposition and predication, see already Gildersleeve (1900-1911).

the sample

Four word-groups were chosen for this study because of the relative abundance of examples, and for the relatively close attributive relation between the noun and its modifier. The study tries to examine the attributive groups and their separation in an order which reflects the degree of cohesion being breached. In addition, each of these four types of attributes plays a significant role in drama, and in New Comedy in particular, as will be explained in more detail below. This role makes their emphasis more significant.

a) *Numerals* (§2) usually come adjacent to the items they count. This type of word-group is treated by Dover as a coherent unit in his work on the position of postpositives

(1960), and is included as an 'eng zusammengehörige Gruppe' by Kaibel, Lindhamer, and Fraenkel, who were also interested in questions of Sperrung. If one refers to Ries' discussion on Wortgruppenlehre (1928), and his parameter of compounds,⁷ in principle the group numeral+item comes very close to this parameter. Brushing aside the considerations of chronology, genre and register in the concurrence of compounds with more analytic syntactic constructions, it is interesting to note that numbers and the items they count often appear in compound form in various cross-sections of Greek. For a moment let us overlook the differences in meaning and/or function between a compound form such as τετράδραχμος, -ον etc., and an analytic construction such as τέτταρες δραχμαί, -άς etc.;⁸ rather, the close cohesion of a group such as τέτταρες δραχμαί can be illustrated among other things by the propensity for these elements (numeral + item) to form a compound. Evidence for a generally preceding position of numbers in Modern Greek is discussed in Joseph and Philippaki-Warbuton (1987) 53 §1.2.5.2.6: they make a distinction between nondeclinable and declinable numerals the latter of which sometimes follow the numeral; interestingly they also report on 'floating' of some (of the declinable numerals) -- i.e. separation from the item quantified.

If, as we shall find, numerals are used relatively often in hyperbaton in order to draw attention to them (through the split, in combination with other mechanisms of expressive speech), one must consider the significance of numerals in Menander's New Comedy. Dowries are offered generously and squandered liberally, and their sizes are compared and exaggerated, as are wages and property; the fee of a *hetaira* can cause astonishment or anger, and a dead man's abundant booty can be ogled and coveted.

b) *Indefinites* (§3) also adhere to the nouns (or adjectives) they modify more closely than proper adjectives do. Their use as indefinite articles with nouns⁹ makes the link between indefinite and noun more basic,¹⁰ and one may look to the close adherence of definite

⁷ -- Einzelwörter -- which are in his opinion below the lower bound of what consists of a *Wortgruppe*.

⁸ In brief, internally the numeral counts the item, but taken as a compound the numeral and counted item function together as an inalienable attribute of some noun; there is more hierarchy and less equality between the constituents in the numeral + item group (although together they can fulfill the function of subject, object etc.).

⁹ See KG i 590, 662, 665; Jannaris §1449.

¹⁰ Perhaps even grammaticalized.

articles for an analogy. The enclitic nature of indefinite *τις* etc. leads them to latch on to the first mobile word in a sentence, phrase, or *Kolon* and very often, but not necessarily, this is the noun or adjective they modify. A split between a noun (or adjective) and the indefinite that modifies it is perceived as more acute than a split between a noun or adjective and a less closely syntactically (and semantically) adhering modifier.

The many examples of indefinites both adjacent to and split from the words they modify attest to their important place in the language of Menander's drama. They are not so much used for emphasis in the sense of intensification, although when they add nuances of varying degrees of contempt or irony this is sometimes the case. More often indefinites are used for attenuation in expressions of euphemism, understatement, refinement or some other mannerism, or to lend a certain speech or scene a more general tone or style (e.g. *Sam.* 43f: 3.1.2 (9)). Not only the intensifying indefinites, but also those adding an attenuating tone or nuance are highlighted by hyperbaton in dramatically charged situations. One such situation is the recognition scene, and it is tempting to speculate that such scenes may have been overacted in New Comedy: a character tries to recall a childhood token from memory in order to verify its identification, and the indefinite forms add to the sense of clouded uncertainty of the character's memory as the suspense leading up to the recognition is drawn out for maximum dramatic effect.

In their description of Modern Greek, Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton (1987) 52 describe the "canonical placement" of articles (both definite and indefinite) as the *pronominal* position, recalling that neither article is obligatory. This evidence may not be of great comparative benefit, because Modern Greek does not use *τις* forms, but an indefinite article derived from the numeral 'one', and other forms resulting from post-classical developments.¹¹

c) *Possessives* (§4) fall into two formal groups; the adjectival forms *ἐμός*, *σός* etc., and the enclitic forms *μου*, *σου* etc. Perhaps this distinction should not be taken too rigidly for all aspects under examination, as there seems to be no clear-cut difference in

¹¹ For more on indefinites in Modern Greek, I refer the reader to Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton (1987) 153 and 160f.

meaning¹² and the Menandrian corpus does not offer conclusive evidence for the preponderance of the *μου/ σου* forms which prevail in later Greek as it evolves,¹³ and which completely take over in Modern Greek.¹⁴ Moreover, the enclitic status of the plurals *ἡμῶν*, *ὑμῶν* and of the 'tonic' third persons *αὐτοῦ/ -ῆς/ -ῶν* is not completely stable. Nevertheless, a distinction between possessives with enclitic forms and those with non-enclitic forms is necessary, and even desirable, for certain questions which arise and challenge the notion of the high degree of cohesion of enclitic possessives and the nouns in the sentences which they are believed to modify when these are not in adjacent position (4.3). The same words which appear in Menander with these possessives (often *inalienabilia* such as family members etc.) also do so very often¹⁵ with only the article. This suggests that the existence of any explicit possessive at all adds emphasis,¹⁶ and the specific effect of the hyperbaton itself may not be very strong.

Here again the many occurrences of possessives (adjacent and in hyperbaton alike) fit the dramatic situations in which they find themselves, such as confusion of identity, or arguing who should receive something, to mention but two in very general terms.

The evidence from Modern Greek relates to the genitive clitic forms, and in Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton (1987) 51f their normal position is described as "*following the possessed noun*";¹⁷ this consistent position of genitive clitic forms is contrasted with other nouns in the possessive genitive, whose position is more flexible, which may either follow or precede the possessed noun.

d) Examination of *demonstratives* (§5) further opens up the question of the inherently close relation of the word-group being split. In many of the passages the separation is a graphic one, in the eyes of the reader, rather than representative of an acute split of two closely cohering elements of a word-group. The demonstrative and the noun with which

¹² Although they may have different undertones and nuances (see §4 below).

¹³ and perhaps as the lower strata of the language are more commonly put down in writing.

¹⁴ Except in 'conservative' dialects such as Pontic, where vestiges of *ἐμός* etc. "seem to linger" (Jannaris §554b).

¹⁵ I have found more than one hundred examples of *inalienabilia* with definite articles used as possessives, checking just those words which were alternatively accompanied by some form of a possessive pronoun.

¹⁶ It is important to note that implicit possessives (i.e. with the article) can also be shown to be just as emphatic in certain contexts and syntactic patterns.

¹⁷ -Although they may optionally attach to a prenominal adjective.

it agrees grammatically are often in apposition or even more loosely related, and the distance between them may not be so much a product of separation as a reflection of their relative independence from one another. It is more difficult to determine which distantly postponed demonstratives function more independently (e.g. in appositive and predicative relations), and which reflect the hyperbaton of attributives, or dissoluble attributives, and because of this difficulty I include both types; perhaps a comparison of the patterns they reveal will add insight into the workings of 'true' syntactic hyperbaton. The most important and obvious role of demonstratives in drama is their deictic function, felt not only in those which are deictic in form (see 5.1). Demonstratives used deictically come in heated conversation referring to people or objects, sometimes with a nuance of contempt; they are also typically used in expository prologues and other rheseis, referring sometimes to props on stage or to characters being introduced.¹⁸

Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton (1987) 52 describe the position of demonstrative modifiers in Modern Greek first of all in terms of the article: demonstratives obligatorily occur with the definite article. Regularly demonstratives are placed *before* the article (even when there are adjectives in the noun phrase).¹⁹ Postnominal, and post-adjectival, placement is also possible, but described as being a more emphatic position.

It should be added that although I tend to believe these attributive modifiers are rarely gratuitous, in addition to contributing to the effect sought through their nuances, such indefinites, possessives and demonstratives sometimes contribute to the affective wordiness of the characters who are meant to imitate natural everyday speech.²⁰

aims

The aims of the section on hyperbaton are mainly descriptive; by examining in detail the context and the structure of the individual passages in which closely cohering word-groups are split, I hope to draw attention to recurring patterns and mechanisms of hyperbaton of this type and to arrive at some more general observations. The questions

¹⁸ See Taplin (1977) 150f.

¹⁹ Between the article and the noun demonstratives are read as predicates rather than attributes.

²⁰ See Stevens (1976) 19ff and Chafe (1982) 46 on 'fuzziness'.

which arise from studying these patterns have their own value, and may shed some light on the syntax and dramatic technique used in (but certainly not exclusive to) Menander's New Comedy. A 'poetic syntax' must examine the ways in which normal syntax is similar to and different from non-poetic syntax; other genres -- most notably oratory -- also use hyperbaton, but oratory is an artificial literary form full of tropes, itself having no fewer conventions than drama.

Some questions which I hope to address in passing during the course of my description are a) To what extent does hyperbaton contribute to the emphasis of the group or part of the group which is split? b) How significant is the distance of the elements which are split? c) What effect does the intervening element have on the separation? d) Under what circumstances? e) What role does metre play? What role versification? f) Are there typical contexts or types of discourse in which hyperbaton occurs and do certain character-types have a certain tendency to use hyperbaton in their speech?

The investigation of such questions leads to further questions which are important in themselves, especially in the comparatively uncharted terrain of *Wortgruppenlehre*: a) In the light of the high incidence of hyperbaton in groups involving nouns and pronominal modifiers, is a split always effected, or is the hyperbaton more perceived than real? More specifically, if an enclitic possessive pronoun (e.g. *μου* or *σοι*) or indefinite (e.g. *τι*) comes close to a verb, can it be taken with the verb, rather than or in addition to the noun? Perhaps it modifies the sentence more broadly? b) When the intervening element is an intrusive enclitic pronoun,²¹ are the separation and the resulting disruption felt, or is Wackernagel's Law a stronger force, making this 'intrusion' natural and cancelling out any effect it might otherwise have?

methods and terms

I open with the technical detail that the textual references indicate the whole hyperbaton and not the pronoun or attribute involved.

Methods for describing the patterns of hyperbaton and determining the degree of their effect can be very roughly divided into two main areas: the context and the structure. The

²¹ I.e. on the one hand it does not expand the meaning of the attributive group, while on the other it retains its autonomy.

term *context* is a broad one; it may imply the formal, conventional context of a passage (e.g. the New Comic context in verse form of any passage in Menander); it can also imply the discourse context (e.g. a dialogue or monologue, a rapid exchange or a rhetic speech etc. in a dramatic text such as a Menandrian Comedy); it may imply typically recurring situations such as recognition scenes or a plan being set out. These implications are included in some of my discussions of context, but primarily I address the issue of the individual context. This includes indications of nuance and emotional tone or some other attitude felt in the passages in which such hyperbaton occurs. Such contextual tones can be detected by some verbal indication such as a direct reference through performative verbs,²² but this is infrequent. Tone and emotion may often be identified by outward verbal signs when expressive and intensive speech are indicated in the wording, but it is rather more difficult to evaluate and objectively interpret emotional context once identified. Some methods and procedures which have been successful in other areas of the study of dead languages in literary texts may be adopted to help determine an intensive tone and emotional context:²³ in particular I shall be looking at the use of exclamations, the use of oaths and abusive address (for more detail see §5), and the use of $\gamma\epsilon$ and other intensifying particles and adverbs. Naturally our understanding of the situation and context will help to interpret the tone of the individual passages identified by verbal signs, as well as those which do not have such typical verbal indications.

Nuance is meant to distinguish less lexical from more lexical uses of attributive adjectives. This is especially relevant in the case of indefinites (3.1) and demonstratives (5.1). I begin by identifying those used with minimal nuance. In the conclusion I shall discuss whether these were less involved in dramatic emphasis and what degree of disruption was involved. In theory the more pronominally, less lexically used attributes may be seen as more closely syntactically linked to the head noun, and thus their separation more remarkable.

²²E.g. Smikrines refers to his own anger at *Asp.* 180: ὀργίζομαι. Thrasonides expresses his state of fear at *Mis.* 268: δέδοικα. See also 2.2.2 paragraph 3 (exclamations) in **Part I** of the thesis.

²³E.g. in determining illocutionary force of different forms of statements and other sentence types. See 2.2.2 in **Part I**.

Emotional tone is described for all four attributes in hyperbaton (2.3, 3.2, 4.1, and 5.2). In the discussion of numerals it is more convenient to discuss emotional tone after structure, and in the others before structure; in the discussion of demonstratives I set anger (5.2.3) apart from other emotions (5.2.2); I begin with identifying the passages with hyperbaton where a *matter-of-fact* tone is used, and then those with greater degrees of emotional tone. The tone is identified through the context, and on occasion inferred from the sentence-type. I am aware of the subjective nature of these identifications and therefore my descriptions of context and details of text may seem lengthy and repetitive, but are meant to give the evidence on which I base my identifications.

Nuance and *tone* should not be confused. A good example of the difference is given by Asp.138 (5.2).

The term *structure* used in relevant subsections below usually refers to the position of words in the sentence and to their syntactic affiliations with other words in the sentence. This presupposes that words which are closely affiliated are also adjacently positioned ('dissoluble' groups to use Dover's term). Assuming that adjacency is the standard constellation, the breach of the standard through separation may be interpreted as a *chosen* alternative (for style, specific effect or metrical convenience). A subtler distinction of the structure of the sentence in which a split occurs can help assess the degree of *disruption* and/or *autonomy* in syntax or meaning. The interrelation between the intervening disjunctive element and the disjoined 'dissoluble' elements is an instructive indication; the split may be caused by a compatible or an incompatible interruption, and this adds a further dimension in assessing the level of effect. In less acute instances, *the interrupting element* may expand the closely knit expression or in some other way not be disruptive. Parenthesis may be considered disruptive only to a degree, because the interrupting element is autonomous, and if it is an idiomatic parenthetical expression, its position is taken for granted and although it may create effect, it is not highly disruptive.²⁴ When the interrupting element is itself part of another larger construction, or cannot be integrated syntactically into the group it is splitting, it is

²⁴ See Schwyzer (1939) 31f, and discussion in 4.1.4 and 5.5.1 in **Part I** of the thesis.

most highly disruptive to the flow of the sentence. The criteria of syntactic autonomy of disjoined element and disjoining element, of compatibility, and of degrees of disruption, seem to be more successful for the analysis of the effect of hyperbaton than such criteria as length of the intervening element. The degree to which the interposed element disrupts the flow of the sentence normally, but not always, corresponds to the effect it gives (see §6).

This 'disruption' to the flow of the sentence and the attention it draws to certain constituents takes a central place in this investigation; for our purposes, the distinction between separated attributives preceding the split and those following it is regarded as less important. It is not certain that our knowledge of ancient Greek enables us to determine which follows the norm and which opposes it. My brief general summaries of standard word-order of constituents in Modern Greek are given simply to provide a more natural basis for analogy than English word-order can offer. In contrast, attention is devoted to those instances in which the division of a closely-knit word-group involves verse-end, and to any contributions this may offer to a discussion of enjambment.

metre and versification

In all four types of attributive groups I examine for hyperbaton, there are certain words which fit conveniently at verse-end: Among the indefinites, all the disyllabic forms which together come 88% of the time (and in particular *τινα*, which accounts for a little over 43% of all disyllabic indefinites at verse-end); among the numerals, *δέκα* and teens ending with *-δεκα* which come at verse-end 60% of the time;²⁵ among the demonstratives, the deictic masculine accusative, *τουτονί*;²⁶ less can be said with

²⁵ *δέκα* and *-δεκα* come at verse-end twelve times in all (*Asp.*223; *D.*118; *Ep.*136, 137, 335; *Kol.fr.*2.1; *Sam.*392; *fr.*2.1; 264.3; 264.7; 292.1; 454.2). Of these five are in hyperbaton (*Ep.*136; *Kol.fr.*2.1; *fr.*264.3; 264.7; 292.1). Not at verse-end these forms come eight times in all (*Her.*94; *Kol.*127, 129; *Sam.*306; *fr.*325-6.3; 333.11; 343.1; 794-5.6). None are in hyperbaton. In Comedy (except Aristophanes) almost one half of these forms come at verse-end (29:38)

²⁶ *τουτονί* comes at verse-end seventeen times in all (*Asp.*88, 247, 333, 387, 467; *D.*5, 47, 659; *Ep.*466, 514; *Kol.*66 (the only word in the verse); *Mis.*137, 314; *Pk.*476; *Sam.*309, 499 (trochaic tetrameter); *fr.*620.3). Of these, three are in hyperbaton (*Asp.*247, *D.*47, and *Ep.*514). *Sam.*[165] is a supplement.

certainty for the possessives in general, although the enclitics *μου* and *σου* come at verse-end more than a quarter of the times they occur.²⁷

These forms conveniently fit at the end of iambic trimeters and catalectic trochaic tetrameters in general, and when such words, at verse-end, are separated from the nouns they modify, the metrical convenience is a consideration which cannot be ignored. Metrical considerations also help in a reverse manner: Some examples of hyperbaton are clearly not conditioned by metre, since in these passages it can be shown that by switching the order of words which creates hyperbaton, the verse will scan just as well in another order without the hyperbaton.

In experimenting with alternatives to the order of words in the text as it has come down to us, and in which the text was most probably originally written, there is always the danger that other requirements are being breached, perhaps requirements of which we are not aware.

There is a handful of passages for which I was able to find metrically sound alternatives without hyperbaton, but these alternatives vary in their degrees of certainty, for the reasons mentioned above.

The most secure instances are those in which the two elements of the attributive group are separated by a single word, e.g. *D.260* *θεῶι θύειν τινί*, where, by a simple transposition, one has **θύειν θεῶι τινί*. This also scans correctly, and has no hyperbaton. Four of the other instances of hyperbaton examined below are also similarly 'rectifiable', and cannot be said to be metrically 'necessary'.²⁸

Other passages needed various degrees of doctoring which resulted in more than a simple transposition of single words, to show they could be written conforming to the metre, but without hyperbaton. Those requiring more radical changes are unstable examples, because such changes may interfere with other requirements, such as avoiding hiatus, or an intentional build-up or some other effect sought by Menander, but which we are unable to identify with our current limited knowledge of ancient practice.

²⁷ There are thirteen certain instances, and three conjectured or partly conjectured instances out of 52 occurrences of *μου/ σου* in Menander altogether.

²⁸ *Asp.* 185f; *D.* 189; *Mis.* 247f; *Sam.* 72f.

Versification leads to the question of divisions of closely-knit groups over verse-end. This is more interesting, and such findings may take their place in discussions on enjambment -- the break up of the concord between the unit of versification and the syntactic unit.

2. NUMERALS

The fifteen passages in which the numeral does not come adjacent to the item it counts are all examples of full-fledged hyperbaton: namely, the number and the item counted are in close attributive relation, and hyperbaton in such cases indeed involves the separation of a coherent word-group.²⁹

In all fifteen passages where the close attributive group numeral + item is split, some emphasis is indicated in the context itself or in some other nuance:

In thirteen passages³⁰ the context indicates that the number (or number+item group) represents a non-standard amount or size for what is being counted or measured; an unusually large amount of drinking is emphasized at Kol.fr.2.1, and the paltry size of a sacrificial animal is emphasized at fr.264.2. These are only examples; full discussion of all the contexts of passages is given in **2.1**. The historian's knowledge of *realia* can offer an approximate idea of an object's real cost or size, but the subjective opinion of the speaker plays a more important role in helping us to assess the real, emphatic, and rhetorical value of the amounts used. This opinion is interpreted from the wider context of the play, e.g. at Ep.136f (see passage (4) in **2.1**).

In D.402f there is exaggeration, which I distinguish from non-standard amounts and sizes, because it seems to reflect a less realistic effect. (In fr.292.1f there is not enough context.) An added nuance of approximation is felt four times (see **2.1**, end), and in all four passages this coincides with the unusually large size/amount being emphasized. This nuance is not the only factor contributing to the emphasis felt; rather, the examples are discussed for the bearing the hyperbaton has on the structure of the sentences in other instances.

In sections **3**, **4**, and **5** I discuss in detail the contexts (including nuances, emotional tones, and attitudes), and the structure, as they occur in the individual passages. In the discussion of the hyperbaton of numerals (in contrast to the discussions of indefinites,

²⁹ The passages are: Asp.34f, 82f; D.327; 402f, 924; Ep.136f; Her.16; Kol.fr.2.1; Mis.220; fr.215.3; 264.3; 264.7; 292.1; 297.1f; 451.4.

³⁰ Including D.924 and fr.297.1f which are less certain for textual reasons. Excluded are D.402f and fr.292.1f.

possessives, and demonstratives which follow), it is more convenient to discuss structure before emotional tone.

2.1 context and nuance

The potential for the emphasis of a numeral or an attributive group composed of numeral and item lies in the inherent contrast between something's size or amount described in a particular context with its expected or standard amount. The number (or the whole expression of quantity)³¹ is sometimes larger than expected and therefore emphasized, e.g. Her.16: :: πλέον δυοῖν σοι χοινίκων ὁ δεσπότης/ παρέχει,... ('Your master is giving you more than double rations'), and sometimes it is smaller than normal, and again the focus of emphasis, eg. fr.264.2f: ἡγορασμένον/ δραχμῶν ἄγω προβάτιον ἀγαπητὸν δέκα./ ('...bringing to the gods a satisfactory little sheep that I bought quite cheaply').

In Her.16 the sum of "more than two khoinikes is larger than is usually given to a slave by his master in such circumstances" (GS *ad locum*). The large amount is further pursued in the continuation of the passage; Geras suggests that it is not so good that Daos receives such a large sum, since he probably eats too much as a result.

In the latter example (fr.264.2f), a sheep bought at ten drachmas is not top of the market (see GS *ad locum*). The unexpectedly low value of the sheep is emphasized here to imply that the offering is not very generous, and, consequently, one should not expect much good fortune in return, and in any case not more than ten drachmas' worth.

In most of the passages where I found that a point is being made about unusual values, an unusually high (rather than low) value is implied: In addition to Her.16 discussed above, to some extent or other the same may be said of Kol.fr.2.1f; fr.451.4; D.327; Ep.136f; fr.215.2f; Asp.34f, 82f; Mis.220 and perhaps fr.297.1f. Unexpectedly small values are emphasized by hyperbaton twice in fr.264; at line 3 discussed above, and at line 7. It is unclear whether or not fr.297.1 is meant to express an unusual rate of pay.

³¹ In the passages discussed below the emphasis appears to fall particularly on the numeral (often in contrast with other numbers) in Her.16; Kol.fr.2.1; fr.451.4; Ep.136f, and D.402f. It falls on both parts of the split attributive group in Asp.34f, 82f; fr.215.2f; 264.3, and 264.7 (10 drachmas vs. one talent). (For examples of emphasis on both parts of a phrase (split by a vocative) see Fraenkel (1965) 40.) It is difficult to determine whether the emphasis lies in the numeral '2' or in the group '2 talents' at D.327. Cf. also fr.297.1 and 292.1, where it seems to be on the numeral, but there is no context.

Each of the passages noted above presents its own particular context, and some comment is necessary in order to show that the number may be emphasized because it gives an amount that is not standard:

(1) In Kol.fr.2.1, Bias boasts to Strouthias of how much he drank in Kappadokia:

κοτύλας χωροῦν δέκα/ ἐν Καππαδοκίαι κόνδυ χρυσοῦν, Στρουθία,/ τρὶς ἐπέπιον μεστόν γε. 'Once when I was in Kappadokia, Strouthias, after dinner I three times drained a golden goblet which held four pints -- and it was full every time.'

Here, although we do not have the direct dramatic context, the context in which Athenaeus quotes this passage makes it clear that five pints and some is an excessive amount to drink. At X 434a Athenaeus begins a new section on famous wine-lovers and great wine-drinkers, beginning with Proteas of Makedon,³² and an anecdote of how he outdrank Alexander, himself also a great drinker,³³ followed by anecdotes of Alexander's drinking: Alexander's drinking prowess is used by Strouthias in Kol.fr.2 as an index of excess which he suggests Bias has outstripped.

(2) Fr.451.4 is a somewhat longer fragment in which the number separated from the items it counts is absurd in its context. One can learn of this context not only from within the fragment itself, which is not short; the comment of the excerptor, Athenaeus, suggests further details. At IV 170d Athenaeus begins the discussion of the difference between *mageiroi* and *trapezopoioi*.³⁴ Discussion of various functions of others involved in the preparation of meals follows. Fragment 451 is brought as an example of the confusion of functions; namely the *mageiroi* interfere with the functions usually taken up by *demiourgoi*, to make various types of cakes.³⁵ Athenaeus introduces fr.451 by saying Menander (although perhaps 'the speaker of these verses' would be more accurate) scolds (καταμεμφόμενος) the *mageiros* for interfering with the functions of the *demiourgos*. So from the excerptor we learn the tone of the speaker (if not his identity). It seems the speaker also loses patience with the *mageiros* (line 2) for

³² "ἔπινε δὲ καὶ... πλείστον"

³³ "ἔπινε δὲ ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος πλείστον,"

³⁴ Citing a passage from Antiphanes 150 K-A as evidence for what the normal functions of the *τραπεζοποιός* were.

³⁵ As Athenaeus indeed illustrates by quoting a passage from Antiphanes 224 K-A.

concerning himself with how many courses there are (i.e. a matter for the *trapezopoios*):
πόσας τραπέζας μέλλομεν ποεῖν τρίτον/ ἤδη μ' ἐρωτᾷς·

The passage itself states that the meal is topsy-turvy, (lit: πάντα γὰρ τὰναντία/ νῦν ἐστίν, line 8), with the *mageiros* preparing cakes and desserts, and the *demiourgos* preparing the meat and the main dishes, all served in the wrong order. In such an absurd meal, what difference does it make whether or not the feast is commensurate with the paltry sacrifice?³⁶ To this end, he uses an absurd number, eight, to contrast with the meagre offering, lines 4f:

ὀκτὼ ποήσοντες τραπέζας, δύο, μίαν,/ τί σοὶ διαφέρει τοῦτο; '...setting tables, eight, two, one, what's it to you?'

(3) In D.327 the two-talent property in itself is not remarkable, except perhaps that it is larger than one would expect for a man who seems to lead a poor lifestyle. The contrast lies in the notion that a two-talent property is a considerable amount of land for someone to insist on working alone,³⁷ a notion repeated often in the short passage quoted below:

τούτῳι ταλάντων ἔστ' ἴσως τοῦτ' ἑνεῖν
τὸ κτῆμα. τοῦτ' αὐτὸς γεωργῶν διατελεῖ
μόνος, συνεργὸν δ' οὐδέν' ἀνθρώπων ἔχων,
οὐκ οἰκέτην οἰκεῖον, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ τόπου
μισθωτόν, οὐχὶ γείτον', ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μόνος.

'His property here is not small [lit.: is worth about two talents!],³⁸ but he persists in farming it all by himself. He won't have any help -- no farm servant, no locally hired labour, no neighbour to lend a hand; just himself alone.'

(4) Ep.136f appears in a context which offers other signs (see lines 139f) that the amount implied by the expression 'δῶδεκα/... δραχμάς' is large.

πορνοβοσκῶι δῶδεκα/ τῆς ἡμέρας δραχμὰς δίδωσι. '...he's paying £20 a day to a pimp.'

GS have reservations about whether or not 12 drachmas was really an extravagant fee to pay for the services of an *hetaira*, but considerations of context outweigh dry *realia* here: it is the subjective opinion of Smikrines which he himself, as speaker of these lines, expresses. We know he considers this an extravagant sum also by what he says at 139f:

³⁶ χοιρίδιον ἔν. Note the diminutive form and cf. προβάτιον at fr.264.3.

³⁷ Cf. Handley *ad* 842-4: "Knemon's estate is given a value which makes it... far too large for a normal Attic farmer to work alone."

³⁸ N.M.: 'really a very decent one', which doesn't bring across its unusually high value and large size, which is meant to be contrasted with the fact that Knemon works it himself.

μῆνος διατροφὴν ἀνδρὶ καὶ πρὸς ἡμερῶν/ ἕξ. To Smikrines twelve drachmas is an amount sufficient for a person's upkeep for a month and almost a week more.³⁹

(5) Fr.215.2f is a clear example of emphasis on a large amount, the contrast is explicit:

<Φιλ> ὁ τὴν πῆραν ἔχων;/ <Α.> πῆρας μὲν οὖν τρεῖς.

Monimos is mentioned by A, and his interlocutor asks (line 2 quoted above): 'Oh, you mean the one with the purse?' to which A replies (line 3 above) '[Purse?] Purses, three of them!'⁴⁰

(6) and (7) Asp.34f and 82f are examples for emphasis of the attributive unit as a whole in this case: 600 χρυσοῦς. The context of the former passage perhaps indicates that this is a large sum to be brought home as booty; note Daos' words at 32f: χρήματα/ ἕκαστος εἶχε πόλλ' ἀπελθών.⁴¹ One is left with the impression that Smikrines' mind is fixed on the booty, and more specifically on the 600 χρυσοῦς. Smikrines' first reaction as soon as Daos finishes his long, sad narrative is to verify the details of the booty, when at 82f he says χρυσοῦς φῆις ἄγειν/ ἑξακοσίους.

(8) At Mis.220 Getas is using a conventional number for an old man, to highlight Demeas' old age and its incongruity with the young girl (Krateia) whom he sees Demeas embracing; he does not yet know they are father and daughter.

There are fewer examples of emphasis on an amount smaller than expected. Aside from fr.264.3f mentioned at the beginning of the section on numerals, the same fragment gives us our other example, at line 7.

(9) In fr.297.1f it is difficult to determine whether or not the numeral -- four -- or the amount expressed by the numeral and the counted item -- '4 obols' -- is being emphasized as unusual. The fragment is very short:

μετ' Ἀριστοτέλους γὰρ τέτταρας τῆς ἡμέρας/ ὀβολοὺς φέρων. 'with Aristotle at four obols a day...'

³⁹ Whether a moneygrubbing old man's price sense is standard or not is another matter.

⁴⁰ The liberal rendering is meant to bring out the emphasis given to the plurality of purses in the original.

⁴¹ This may, of course, modify their collective booty, and not just the 600 χρυσοῦς, in which case there is no clear indication of how great a sum this really is.

Was four obols remarkably little or much daily pay for a soldier in Menander's time?⁴² The excerptor does not provide any further information on the context; what interests him in this passage is a lexical point.⁴³

(10) D.924 as it is read by most editors, also has hyperbaton of the numeral + item group in a context where a non-standard amount is emphasized:⁴⁴ Ἰποδῶν τὸ μῆκος ἑκατόν:: Getas is aware that he is asking for a large embroidered cloth, and this is consistent with other preposterous requests he and especially Sikon are making of Knemon in this scene. A numeral may also be emphasized when it is *exaggerated*. I have found one example among the passages with numerals in hyperbaton.⁴⁵

(11) In D.402 Getas appears, complaining about how the women loaded him down with tons (literally: four donkey-loads) of freight (quoted from D.401):

παῖ Γέτα,/ τοσοῦτ' ἀπολείπη; :: τεττάρων γὰρ φορτίον/ ὄνων συνέδησαν αἱ
κάκιστ' ἀπολούμεναι/ φέρειν γυναῖκές μοι. 'Hey Getas! Hurry up! :: A four-
donkey load, that's what these blasted women tied up for me to carry.'

In other examples where Menander uses an exaggerated numeral it is not separated from the item it counts, e.g. D.390: ἀλλ' ἡ δίκηλλ' ἄγει τάλαντα τέτταρα/ αὕτη προαπολεῖ μ'.⁴⁶ (For the split between head noun and demonstrative, see §5 and 5.2.2 (5).) There may be no explanation for the fact that most exaggerated numerals more frequently come adjacent to the counted item,⁴⁷ but they are emphatic in themselves, whereas perhaps it is felt that an added sign of emphasis is needed to express non-standard quantification, an emphasis to which hyperbaton contributes.

Approximation is another situation in which the attributive group numeral+item is split. This is found at Asp.34f: χρυσοῦς τινας/ [ἑξακοσί]ους, at D.327: ταλάντων ἔστ' ἴσως τουτὶ δυεῖν τὸ κτῆμα, at Her.16 πλέον δυοῖν σοι χοινίκων., and at Mis.220: ἐτῶν τις ἐξήκονθ'.

⁴² GS p.298 ad Ep.140 offer some estimates for various skills and services at different periods as an index for comparison.

⁴³ φέρειν· λαμβάνειν.

⁴⁴ An important exception is the reading of Lloyd-Jones, for which see 2.2.3, end.

⁴⁵ Perhaps Kol.fr.2.1 may be considered here too.

⁴⁶ Cf. D.546: τί τὸ κακόν; οἷε χείρας ἐξήκοντα με,/ ἄνθρωπ' ἔχειν;, fr.61.4: ἀνίσταμαι γοῶν τέτταρας κεφαλὰς ἔχων., fr.201.1 <ῶν> ἄσιτος ἑπτα μῆνας,..., fr.416a.5: ταῦτα, κὰν ἑκατόν ἔτη βιώω, ἀεὶ ὄφει παρόντα, κὰν ἐνιαυτοὺς σφόδρ' ὀλίγους·/.

⁴⁷ Note the recurrence of numerals idiomatically used in exaggerations, such as 'four'.

In all four passages the amounts are emphasized for their unusually large size (see discussions above). As with exaggerations, there are also examples of approximations without the split of item counted from numeral: in expressions following the pattern 'x ἢ y', e.g. τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας/ ἡμέρας at Pk.343f;⁴⁸ and with ἴσως, e.g. ἴσως σταδία πέντε καὶ δέκα D.118.⁴⁹

Finally, fr.292.1f has no context, the whole fragment is very short: ἐκκαίδεκα/ κείνῳ ἀμίδες; the excerptor (Photius) offers no hint either, his main concern being the συναλοιφή.

2.2 structure

In this section (as well as in 3.3, 4.2, and 5.3) I try to distinguish the various degrees of disruption caused by hyperbaton. In these sections most passages are quoted to show the constellation of the words; fuller quotations with translations are found in the more interpretative sections on nuance and emotion, to which cross-references are often made.

2.2.1 phrases formed by elements of hyperbaton are extended attributive groups or otherwise self-contained; no disruption.

In nine of the instances in which the attributive group numeral+item are separated, they form, along with their separating element, a self-contained phrase.⁵⁰ (a) In the first five passages (listed in previous note) the separating element is an expression of rate or measurement, such as τῆς ἡμέρας ('per diem') in Ep.136f: προνοβοσκῶι δώδεκα/ τῆς ἡμέρας δραχμὰς δίδωσι (cf. fr.297.1f). Other such expressions (of measurement) similarly divide a numeral+item unit in D.402f ::τεττάρων γὰρ φορτίον/ ὄνων..., and Kol.2.1 ::κοτύλας χωροῦν δέκα.

D.924 deserves special mention. As it is read by Handley and Sandbach, ἵποδῶν τὸ μῆκος ἑκατόν...; this is clearly another example similar to the ones listed above. However, if one adopts Barrett's supplement in D.924, as Lloyd-Jones does, there is no hyperbaton: Getas says [ἑκατόν] ποδῶν τὸ μῆκος, and Knemon reacts by expressing himself in extreme terms 924f:

⁴⁸ Cf. fr.794-5.5 and 7; and fr.153.2f.

⁴⁹ Cf. Asp.84.

⁵⁰ In order of mention: Ep.136f; fr.297.1f; D.402f; Kol.fr.2.1; D.924 (Sandbach); Asp.34f; Mis.220; Asp.82f; fr.292.1f.

ἐκατόν; εἴθε μοι γένοιτο/ [ἐνὸς πό]θεν.

(b) Another way in which the self-contained unit is extended (and not disrupted by hyperbaton) is by the insertion of *τινας*, for approximation, into the attributive group, as in Asp.34f: *χρυσοῦς τινας/ [ἐξακοσί]ους*. The *τινας* is not an intrusive element infringing on the autonomy of *χρυσοῦς ἐξακοσίους*. Rather, as in the examples with terms of measurement given above, an extended but self-contained unit is formed. Mis.220 may be another example (ἐτῶν τις ἐξήκονθ').

Of the five definite and two uncertain examples given above, several, besides being extended coherent units in meaning, form a syntactic unit, mainly as the direct object of a verb: *δῶδεκα/ τῆς ἡμέρας δραχμὰς* in Ep.136f is the direct object in the following sentence pattern: indirect object **direct object** verb. Compare the patterns at fr.297.1f (prepositional phrase γάρ - **direct object** - verb) and Asp.34f (subject - verb - **direct object**).⁵¹ In D.402 and Kol.fr.2.1 the expanded attributive phrases form direct objects, but the sentences are disrupted in other ways.

(c) In two other passages, the separating element is a verb, which together with the attributive group it splits forms a sentence. In Asp.82f the verbal expression governs the group: *χρυσοῦς φῆις ἄγειν/ ἐξακοσίους*. In fr.292.1f the attributive group is the subject of the verb that splits it: *ἐκκαίδεκα/ κείνθ' ἀμίδες*.

2.2.2 uncertain degree of autonomy of the phrase created by hyperbaton and/or disruption

In fr.451.4 the attributive group is also split by a verbal expression which governs it: *ὁκτὼ ποιήσοντες τραπέζας...*, and a verb - **direct object** phrase is formed, which is self-contained on one level; but this phrase is in turn dependent on τί σοι διαφέρει (line 5), putting this participial phrase in a subordinate status.

2.2.3 not self-contained and/or clearly causing disruption

In the remaining passages,⁵² the words splitting the attributive group may be seen as not belonging with them either in meaning or in syntax.

⁵¹ The verb is participial in form, perhaps accompanying a missing finite verb at the beginning of the sentence (see lacuna in the text).

⁵² D.327; Her.16; fr.215.2f; 264.3, and 264.7.

In D.327 the intervening words are the verb (ἔστ', which goes with τούτῳ at the beginning of the sentence), an expression of approximation (ἴσως), and τουτί, which modifies a word coming after the attributive group. This forms an interlacing of two different attributive groups ταλάντων... δυεῖν and τουτί... τὸ κτήμα:

τούτῳ ταλάντων ἔστ' ἴσως τουτί δυεῖν/ τὸ κτήμα. See 2.1 (3) for fuller quotation and translation.

In Her.16 the intervening element (σοι) is the indirect object of the verb (παρέχει) which occurs at the end of the sentence:

πλέον δυοῖν σοι χοινίκων ὁ δεσπότης παρέχει. See 2.1 beginning for fuller quotation and translation.

The attributive group, which is the direct object of the verb, and the intervening element, an indirect object, have no close syntactic link or immediate, independent connection in meaning. This is the only example of a pronoun found as an element separating a numeral+item group.⁵³ Pronouns divide possessives and demonstratives from their 'head' nouns slightly more frequently, sometimes creating a juxtaposition of personal pronouns.⁵⁴

Fr.215.3 is an illustrative example of the force particles can occasionally have when they come in the intervening position, but rather than causing disruption it creates the illusion of two independent 'phrases' with a pause.

In the two examples from fr.264 (lines 3 and 7) the words separating the item from the numeral constitute more of the rest of the sentence, but in both instances the sentences are disrupted, and incomplete without some element which lies elsewhere in the sentence, neither in the parts of the attributive group nor in the intervening words:

lines 2f: ἡγορασμένον/ δραχμῶν ἄγω προβάτιον ἀγαπητὸν δέκα,

lines 7f: δραχμῶν μὲν ἀγαθὸν ἄξιον λαβεῖν δέκα/ ἡμᾶς.

In line 3 the attributive is a genitive of price dependent on ἡγορασμένον from the previous verse. In lines 7f the sentence is constructed from ἄξιον with *accusativus cum infinitivo* (*ἄξιον ἡμᾶς λαβεῖν), and the object of the verb 'to receive' in the

⁵³ Often the enclitic comes in the first available place *after* such a group, which is treated as a unit.

⁵⁴ Cf. D.311; Ep.861; Sam.585f. Cf. also Sam.322, and non-enclitic ἡμᾶς at fr.581.1, ἐγώ at D.189, 526, 940. See also §6.

subordinate clause is 'ten drachmas-worth of good fortune'. The strands of this sentence, quoted above, are entwined, if not tangled.

2.3 emotional tone and other attitudes

In passages where the attributive group numeral + item is separated, the emphasis, where it occurs, is often corroborated by a desire to show an unusual size or amount (2.1). Often the separation does not cause major disruption to the sentence, nor are other parts of the sentence disrupted (2.2). These findings are consistent with the evidence of emotion expressed in these passages.

Only one of the passages with hyperbaton of numerals from their head nouns is clearly spoken in a tone of *anger*; Smikrines has already worked up a good deal of anger by the time he refers to his son-in-law Kharisios' bad behaviour at Ep.136f. See already his first words at line 127:

ἄνθρωπος οἶνον. αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἐκπλήττομαι/ ἔγωγ'. 'And he's [drinking very expensive] wine! That's what staggers me.'

Then again, after Khairestratos speaks, at 133 Smikrines resumes his invective, moving on from Kharisios' drinking to his womanizing, and worst of all (in Smikrines' opinion), his frittering away of Pamphile's dowry: πάλιν οἰμω[ζέτω.]/

In other passages, the emotion expressed is less extreme, but some emotion does coincide with disruption or other emphasis. At Her.16 Getas speaks to his fellow slave, Daos, with some *sarcasm* (see πονηρόν in line 17).⁵⁵ At D.402f the tone of Getas' complaint is strengthened by exaggeration,⁵⁶ and the great weight he is carrying is emphasized. The sentence is not disrupted by the hyperbaton itself,⁵⁷ but there is disruption further along in the sentence,⁵⁸ and all these effects, along with hyperbaton, indicate emphasis. Other emotionally coloured contexts are felt in the *boastful* tone of Bias in Kol.fr.2.1, where the large amounts he drinks are meant to be emphasized,⁵⁹ and where this emphasis coincides with hyperbaton which does not acutely disrupt the flow

⁵⁵ For the effect of the separation on the syntax of this sentence, see 2.2.3.

⁵⁶ See 2.1 (2).

⁵⁷ See 2.2.1.

⁵⁸ After the direct object, 'four donkey-loads', the two other strands, συνέδησαν... φέρειν... (the verbal expression governing this direct object), and αἱ κάκιστ' ἀπολούμεναι/... γυναῖκες are interlaced.

⁵⁹ See 2.1 (1).

of the sentence, but does appear in a sentence which is disrupted in other parts; compare also the *exasperation*, or at least impatient scolding, in fr.451.4,⁶⁰ where an emphasized numeral comes in hyperbaton.⁶¹

closing remarks

Just as we have seen that there is emotion in sentences with varying degrees of disruption, there are also examples of disrupted sentences in less emotionally charged contexts than the ones referred to above: Such a case⁶² is the passage in which Gorgias is describing to Sostratos Knemon's insistence on working a large piece of property without help, at D.327. This is a *matter-of-fact* (if somewhat vivid) description.⁶³

In the majority of passages with hyperbaton of the number+item group, the result is not a disruption of the flow of the sentence: the intervening element is not an intrusion, but more of an expansion of the attributive group (seven passages) or it forms a self-contained phrase together with the group it splits (twice).

In four passages the hyperbaton causes a disruption, created by an intervening element which intrudes on the group.

At the end of 2.2 I discussed three passages in which the dynamics of dialogue, as reflected in formal aspects, help identify where in the sentence the emphasis lies.

The comparatively small inventory of examples of hyperbaton of the attributive group number+item weakens their statistical value, but I give some basic figures below for a very general impression: In nine of the passages where there is separation, the numeral follows, and in six the numeral precedes this separation. In four of the six times the separation passes over verse-end, the numeral precedes the separation,⁶⁴ and follows it twice.⁶⁵ I note that about half of the numerals in hyperbaton are indeclinable and three of the six which precede the split are indeclinable.

⁶⁰ See 2.1 (2).

⁶¹ Here there is no disruption, and the phrase formed by the hyperbaton is a dependent clause, but self-contained (see 2.2.2).

⁶² The two other examples I have found with numerals in hyperbaton both come from fr.264 (lines 3 and 7); see 2.2.3 for discussion of disruptions in this passages. The tone is matter-of-fact.

⁶³ For the disruption, see the beginning of 2.2.3 above.

⁶⁴ D.402f; Ep.136f; fr.292.1f and 297.1f.

⁶⁵ Asp.34f and 82f.

Among eight passages in which the identity of the speaker can be determined, a variety of characters is represented, and more than half are slaves.⁶⁶ I recall that these figures are of limited value, because there are not enough examples to indicate any tendency, and other attributive types will corroborate that there is no tendency for any particular type of character to use hyperbaton.

Only one passage (Asp.34f) comes in a longer narrative; most of the hyperbata in passages where one can identify the type of discourse may be identified as parts of dialogue exchanges⁶⁷ (or in speeches in the presence of other characters).

Most of the numerals in hyperbaton come in statements. Asp.82f comes in a question, and D.924 is textually incomplete, but is probably a command or request. Fr.451.4 is declarative, but comes within a larger question, not asking information as at Asp.82f above, but in an affective manner of speech fitting someone who is exasperated (see 2.1) and fr.215.3 comes in a response.

The marked features of the hyperbaton of numerals are their infrequency and the fact that in most there is an emphatic context, and also no disruption to the flow of sentence and meaning.

In most of the passages where the group numeral+item is split, there is no marked emphasis on other parts of the sentence. In fr.451.4, besides the emphasis on ὀκτώ,⁶⁸ there is also emphasis on τί σοι διαφέρει;. It is not a matter for a cook.

In two, perhaps three passages (Ep.136f, fr.215.3, and perhaps D.924) the emphasis on the numeral is indicated not only by the context, by the emotional tone (for Ep.136f) and by the hyperbaton (in the case of the first two; none of the three come in disrupted sentences), but also through the other signs:

In Ep.136f, Khairestratos repeats (aside) what must have been the key-word in Smikrines' indignant sentence:

(Σμ.) πορνοβοσκῶι δώδεκα/ τῆς ἡμέρας δραχμὰς δίδωσι· (Χα.) δώδεκα/ [πέπυστ'] ἀκριβῶς οὕτοσι τὰ πράγματα. '(Smikrines) ...and he's paying 12 drachs

⁶⁶ Asp.Daos once, Smikrines once; D.Gorgias once, Getas twice; Ep.Smikrines once; Her.?Getas once; Kol.?Bias; Mis.Getas; fr.451.4 the *trapezopoios*.

⁶⁷ Asp.82f; D.9224; Her.16; Kol.fr.2.1; fr.215.3; 451.4.

⁶⁸ an extremely high number, vs. δύο or μίαν, minimal numbers, and in contrast with χοιρίδιον ἓν.

a day to a pimp. (Khairastratos) [*aside*] Twelve. That's correct. His information is quite reliable... '

In fr.215.3 the object in question is repeated, in dialogue, and the point of the repetition lies in the change - the plural in line 3 in contrast with the singular in line 2:

<Φιλ> ὁ τὴν πήραν ἔχων; / <Α> πήρας μὲν οὖν τρεις. See 2.1 (5) for a fuller discussion and translation.

In D.924, if one accepts the reading of Lloyd-Jones with Barrett's emendations, Knemon is not concerned so much with the quality of the tapestry Getas asks to borrow, as he is with the size:

(Γε.) καὶ παραπέτασμα βαρβαρικὸν ὕφαντόν
[ἐκατόν] ποδῶν τὸ μήκος. (Κν.) ἐκατόν; εἴθε μοι
γένοιτο
[ένός πό]θεν.

'And an oriental hanging, brocaded, a hundred feet long. (Kn.) I wish I had -- [even one foot]! (N.M.)'

Sandbach's reading does not reflect such a repetition, but on the other hand maintains hyperbaton.

3. INDEFINITES

In 35 passages the indefinite is not immediately adjacent to the noun (or adjective) it modifies. This represents the separation of particularly close word-groups in most passages.⁶⁹

3.1 nuance

3.1.1 no nuance detected

In twelve of the passages the indefinite pronoun functions as an *indefinite article* and usually no nuance is detected, e.g. Asp.63f:⁷⁰

αὐτοῦ δ' ἔωθεν **χάρακα** βαλόμενοι **τινα**/ ἐμένομεν· 'At dawn, we built a palisade, and there we stayed.'

3.1.2 some negative or attenuative nuance felt

In twelve passages, the indefinite modifying a noun adds a perceptibly *negative* connotation to the noun.

Sometimes the noun itself has a negative meaning, as in Asp.224f:⁷¹

(1) **νεκρὸς**/ ἐλθὼν **τις** ἐκ Λυκίας ἀφήρηται βίαι/ ταύτας. '...Now a corpse arrives from Lycia and steals the lot.'

Sometimes the indefinite comes in a *context* in which a negative connotation is implied.

In the passage above the cook's attitude rather than the negative meaning of the word **νεκρός**, seems to be the main pejorative force behind the negative connotation conveyed by the indefinite **τις**.

One typical context is the disdain for women and their habit of sacrificing (and a disdain for anything remotely connected with this).⁷² An example is found at D.260f, where Sostratos explains that Getas is absent because Sostratos' mother sent him off to hire a cook for one of her many sacrifices. It is these sacrifices and this religious involvement to which Sostratos refers lightly, even condescendingly:⁷³

⁶⁹ The passages are: Asp.5f, 63f, 80f, 224f, 388, 390; D.23f, 38, 110, 113, 260, 263f, 283, 291, 526, 608f, 768f, 940; Ep.169f, 485, 691; Kith.46f; Pk.821; Sam.43f, 45, 555f; Sk.133f; fr.209.4; 416b.1; 455.1; 612.8f; 699.1; 754.2f; 793.1; 796.2.

⁷⁰ Cf. also Asp.80f (plural); D.23f, 38, 110, 113, 291f, 768f; Sk.133f; fr.209.4; 612.8f; 793.1.

⁷¹ Cf. fr.455.1 ἀστοργίαν... τιν'... 699.1f χαμαιτύπη/ ...τις. 754.2f **τινα**/ ...ἀκρασίαν.

⁷² This is a *topos* common in Greek literature generally; for an old but useful collection of the material see Foucart (1873), especially chapter XVI 'Jugement des anciens sur les thiasés', pp.153-177, for the literary material.

⁷³ Cf. lines 262f, and 264f, for further examples of condescension in this passage.

(2) μέλλουσα δ' ἢ μήτηρ θεῶι θύειν τινί / οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτῳ ποιεῖ δὲ τοῦθ' ὁσημέραι./... 'My mother's planning to sacrifice to some god or other -- no idea which -- she does this every day...'.⁷⁴

A comparable disdain may be felt with reference to revelries in general, perhaps reflected by a nuance in the indefinite,⁷⁴ not referring only to women.⁷⁵

There may also be a negative twist to the expressions in D.608f⁷⁶ and Sam.555f.⁷⁷

In four passages, the indefinite serves to attenuate the good quality given in an adjective, as, for example, at Ep.485,⁷⁸ where Habrotonon is perhaps avoiding unqualified flattery when referring to the girl she saw in a ravaged state during the Tauropolia (and who turns out to be Pamphile):

(3) ...εὐπρεπῆς τις, ᾧ θεοί/ καὶ πλουσίαν ἔφασάν τινα. '...She was very pretty; rich, too, they said.'

The indefinite in Pk.821, χόρος... τις, serves as an indefinite article. In addition it possibly bears an added nuance worth noting: it seems the indefinite is similarly used (but not in hyperbaton) in other descriptions of tokens, as for example at Pk.763 (τράγος τις) and at line 820 ([πορφύρ]ᾱ ζώνη τις); and at Ep.385 (ἀλεκτρυών τις) and 387 (ὑπόχρυσος δακτύλιος τις).⁷⁹ In the *Perikeiromene*, the indefinite is possibly used in a situation where Glykera is describing objects from memory:⁸⁰ the indefinite may be used to help bring across her uncertainty or caution, adding its own contribution to the dramatic effect in the run-up to the recognition.⁸¹

⁷⁴ Fr.416b.1 πανήγυριν... τιν'. fr.796.2f τινα/ ...έορτήν. Unfortunately neither passage offers very much context.

⁷⁵ Ep.169f ὄχλος/ ...τις. The crowd in this passage is also given the negative description of 'somewhat drunk' (as in Asp.247). It is interesting to compare the use of ὄχλος as an insult at Sk.150, and perhaps at 161.

⁷⁶ ἐργάται/ ...τινες. 'mere workers'. But this need not necessarily be condescending, particularly since Getas, himself a slave, is speaking. Still, Getas is a town slave, and perhaps he is reflecting Sostratos' attitude, or that of townspeople versus country farmers (such as Gorgias and Daos).

⁷⁷ σκηπτός... τις.

⁷⁸ Cf. Daos referring indirectly to a plan of his own with affected modesty at Asp.388. At Asp.5f and D.283 a wish for something better is made in (reverent?) understatement.

⁷⁹ Cf. also Ep.386 διάλιθόν τι, and line 404 στρεπτόν τι. Ep.388 γλύμμα ταῦρος ἢ τράγος/ οὐκ ἄν διαγνοίην· reflects uncertainty by different means.

⁸⁰ Cf. also perhaps Habrotonon describing from memory the girl whom she suspects may be the mother of the child (Pamphile) at Ep.483f. But she may be speaking with more assertion.

⁸¹ It would be interesting to compare and contrast this with recognition scenes elsewhere in Greek literature; e.g. in Tragedy, for the affinity in metre, or in the Ancient Novel, for affinity in tone and motifs. A useful account of tokens and their function in recognition-scenes is given in Hähle (1929).

Other passages in which the indefinite has an uncertain or more complex nuance are discussed below:

(5) At D.526 Sostratos refers to a good quality in himself and it is not clear whether the indefinite attenuates or intensifies⁸² this quality (quoted D.525f):⁸³

εὐθὺς γὰρ ἐμπεσὼν πολὺς, / νεανίας ἐγὼ τις, ἐξαίρων ἄνω / σφόδρα τὴν
δίκελλαν, ὥς ἂν ἐργάτης. 'You see, I went hard at it at once, quite the young
enthusiast, swinging the mattock right up then driving it down deep, working like a
navvy.'

Is Sostratos saying he is 'a bit of an enthusiast' -- referring with affected modesty to a good quality in himself ('vigour' in the words of GS *ad locum*),⁸⁴ or 'quite the young enthusiast'?⁸⁵ I suggest that 'something of an enthusiast' brings across in English the same ambiguity found in the original.

(6) Ep.691, which I take to be spoken by Smikrines, offers a stronger example for an intensifying indefinite:

ὕψηλός ὢν τις αὐτ[ις]· οὐκ οἰμώζεται; 'He'll pay for being so high and mighty.'

Smikrines does not mince words, especially not when he is angry, as here,⁸⁶ and it would be awkward in such a context for him to attenuate a strong word,⁸⁷ although he may be using it (and the indefinite) ironically.

(7) At Asp.390 Daos ironically attenuates the convincing performance the bogus doctor will make and in so doing indirectly understates the success of his own plan, implying 'much convincing effect':⁸⁸

ὃ τ' ἰατρὸς ἡμῖν πιθανότητα σχῆι τινα. '...and if our 'doctor' performs with some conviction.'

⁸² See KG ii.663 (§ 470.3). Cf. Mayser II/2/85 (§ 69.ii.1.c) specifically for what he calls 'neutral adjectives'.

⁸³ Cf. also perhaps Ep.484f: do the indefinites reflect Habrotonon's affected modesty or uncertainty when recalling something from memory (see (3))? Or is she speaking in no uncertain terms: 'she was very pretty... and quite rich'?

⁸⁴ Blundell (1980) 54 mentions self-ironization in connection with this phrase, giving examples in note 25. Also note other expressions of attenuation in this speech: μετεστρεφόμεν π (line 529) and ἀπεξολούμην ἀτρέμα δ' (line 534).

⁸⁵ Intensive, as understood by Handley (and the interpretation adopted in Norma Miller's translation); other expressions of intensification are found in this account of Sostratos: σφόδρα (line 527), ἐπὶ πλέον... φιλοπόνως (line 528, and see Handley (1992) 227), παντελῶς (line 533).

⁸⁶ See 3.2.

⁸⁷ See n.95 (3.1 end).

⁸⁸ Compare his wish to attenuate the hoped-for success of his plan in Asp.388 referred to in the note to (3).

(8) At D.940 (as in the rest of the passage) Sikon is speaking in an affected tone; it fits one described as a vainglorious cook,⁸⁹ and later on in the scene, when he describes the festivities, Sikon's language becomes quite florid.

(9) Sam.43f comes in Moskhion's narrative which opens the play and seems to function as the prologue (see GS p.544). He describes how he got drawn into the festivities held in his father Demeas' house. His involvement was inevitable -- the noise of the festivities was keeping him awake. The indefinite modifies ἀγρυπνίαν in some way which is difficult to pinpoint. Perhaps it should be taken more broadly with the other indefinites and expressions of uncertainty and caution spread throughout this speech by Moskhion.⁹⁰

(10) At Kith.46f, where the context is rather opaque, it seems that one of the interlocutors, B, is worried about the whereabouts of a woman,⁹¹ and it has been a long time since he's heard anything:

λογίζομαι πᾶν, μή τι κατὰ θάλατταν ἦ/ ἀτύχημα γεγονὸς... 'I think of everything -- an accident at sea, ...'

The speaker B, thinking of every eventuality (λογίζομαι πᾶν) has reason to worry. He expresses his worries euphemistically, preferring τι κατὰ θάλατταν.../ ἀτύχημα to some more specific expression, such as a rape or kidnapping by pirates and possible consequent sale into slavery, or drowning, shipwreck or any number of horrors one fears met at sea,⁹² fear which the ancient Greeks took in earnest.

The majority of indefinites in hyperbaton do not function simply as indefinite articles, but have some added meaning. However, there are examples parallel to those given above for attenuation of all kinds **without** hyperbaton. Compare Ep.169f (note 7 1 to 3. 1 (2)) with ὅχλος τις at D.432; compare D.260 (3. 1 (2)) with fr.210.2 τινα θεόν;⁹³ compare

⁸⁹ Handley (1992) 295.

⁹⁰ Cf. lines 18, 21, 27, 40, 45; ὥς in 22, 27, 47; οἶμαι in 43; and πῶς in 20.

⁹¹ line 42: τί δὴ τὸ λυποῦν σ' ἐστίν. [...οὐ]κ ἤγαγες/ ἐνταῦθα τὴν γυναῖκα κα[.....]ν/ (B.) οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπου γῆς ἐστίν. (A.) οὐκ ἐλήλυθεν;/

⁹² Unless the damaged περι[...]ζας represents an expression which does specify such a horror.

⁹³ Compare further fr.416b.1 and 796.2 (n.7 0 to 3. 1 (2)) with Alexis fr.222 K-A πανήγυριν τινα/ (line 11) and ἐράνου τινός (line 16).

fr.699.1 in n.67 (to 3.1 (1)) with παλλακή τις at fr.453.2; and compare Ep.691 (3.1 (6)) with τις ὑψηλός at Ep.922.⁹⁴

Besides these, there are many more examples of τις with different nouns or adjectives of negative connotation and adjectives of positive connotation where there is **no** hyperbaton. Hyperbaton alone does not determine the nuance, though perhaps the accumulation of nuance felt in the indefinite and hyperbaton, along with other factors discussed below, together create an emphatic effect.

3.2 emotion

The discussion will be divided into section 3.2.1 treating passages with little or no emotion, 3.2.2 treating passages which are not emotionally neutral, and 3.2.3 treating passages with hyperbaton where strong emotions are detected.

3.2.1 little or no emotion felt

In ten of the passages which feature hyperbaton of noun (or adjective) and the indefinite that modifies it, the tone is matter-of-fact,⁹⁵ six other times, a degree of vividness is felt.⁹⁶ Some of the book-fragments do not provide sufficient context for determining whether or not they are spoken in a matter-of-fact tone, let alone a more specific emotion of any kind.⁹⁷

3.2.2 the attitude or emotional tone is not neutral

Several passages are spoken in what is probably a moralizing or gnomic tone, e.g. D.283,⁹⁸ where Gorgias speaks to Sostratos:

(1) βελτίον' εἶναι μερίδα προσδοκᾶν **τινα**/ See 3.3.2 below for a fuller quotation and translation of the passage.

⁹⁴ These are the only two places where ὑψηλός is attested in New Comedy, and in fact the discussion on 3.1 (6) revolves around a word for which there are not enough examples for a full understanding of its meaning and usage.

⁹⁵ Asp.63f, 80f; D.23f, 38; Ep.169f; Sam.43f; fr.209.4; 416b.1; and 754.2f. D.38 and Sam.43f are spoken in passages where there is some self-reference or involvement of the speaker in what is being described.

⁹⁶ D.110, 113, 526; Pk.821; Sam.45; Sk.133f.

⁹⁷ Fr.699.1f; 793.1 and 796.2. The matter-of-fact tone of the book-fragments listed in note 96 above may also be less clearly ascertained than the tone of the passages from the papyrus remains, which come in fuller contexts.

⁹⁸ Cf. also D.291 somewhat later in this same passage, where Gorgias' speech also takes on an admonitory tone; again Gorgias, at D.768f; perhaps also fr.455.1.

Affected modesty or refinement seems to be the tone in several passages, e.g. when Habrotonon, the *hetaira*, describes the young woman of good birth she recalls from the Tauropolia, Ep.484ff:

(2)

::οὐδὲν οἶδα· πλὴν ἰδοῦσά γε
γνοίην ἂν αὐτήν. εὐπρεπὴς τις, ὦ θεοί·
καὶ πλουσίαν ἔφασάν τινα::

'No. But I'd know her if I saw her. She was very pretty; rich, too, they said.'

Habrotonon may be affecting refined modesty, so as not to seem to flatter a woman of good birth in a transparent, vulgar manner,⁹⁹ Compare also Daos' use of hyperbaton at Asp.388, 390 when referring to a plan about which he is proud, but which he understates with (affected?) modesty:¹⁰⁰

(3)

ἔξει τιν' ἀμέλει διατριβήν οὐκ ἄρρυθμον
ἀγωνίαν τε τὸ πάθος, ἂν ἐνστήῃ μόνον,
ὅ τ' ἱατρὸς ἡμῖν πιθανότητα σχῆι τινα.

'Our 'tragedy' is going to provide fine fun and excitement, if it once gets going, and if our 'doctor' performs with some conviction.'

Sikon, the cook, is simply putting on airs when he speaks of his preparations at D.940:

(4) ἡντρέπιζον συμπόσιον ἐγὼ τι/ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν· '...I was getting the drinks ready for them.'

It is not felt so much in this one sentence, as in Sikon's tone in the scene as a whole, and especially further on, when his style and metre become elevated.¹⁰¹

3.2.3 strong emotions

In the remaining passages in which there is hyperbaton of the indefinite, stronger emotions may be detected.

At Asp.5f Daos is feeling *grief* over the death of his master Kleostratos, and, more importantly, over the fact that his master will miss out on the fruits of his success, and not live out an honourable life (4ff):¹⁰²

(1)

ῥίμην γὰρ εὐδο[ξο]ῦντα καὶ σωθέντα σε
ἀπὸ στρατείας ἐν βίῳ τ' εὐσχήμονι
ἤδη τὸ λοιπὸν καταβιώσεσθαι τινι.
στρατηγὸν ἢ σύμβουλον ὠνομασμένον,...

⁹⁹ Other possible undertones are discussed at 3.1 (3) above (uncertainty while speaking from memory); 3.1 (5) and n.84, 86 (possible intensification).

¹⁰⁰ For hyperbaton in other passages where a slave is excited about a plan, cf. 1, 4.1.2 (at Asp.345f), 5.2.2 (with (3)).

¹⁰¹ See GS at 946-953, and at individual verses; see also Handley *ad locum*.

¹⁰² See also Blundell (1980) 75, with note 9a.

'For I thought you'd come safely back from the war, a hero, and that you'd live the rest of your life in some style, with the title of General or Privy Counsellor.'

Anger is also expressed by Smikrines at Ep.691. The passage comes after a lacuna of about seven lines and precedes another longer lacuna of about fourteen lines (see Sandbach's text). There is no direct reference to anger in the surviving text,¹⁰³ but the content makes it quite clear that Smikrines is angry at his son-in-law Kharisios' behaviour, and he expresses himself accordingly,¹⁰⁴ e.g. ...οὐκ οἰμώζεται;.

Strong *complaint* is felt in the cook's tone at Asp.224f, and in the passage more generally. He is complaining about difficulty in finding work (quoted Asp.223f):

(2)

δραχμῶν τριῶν ἦλθον δι' ἡμερῶν δέκα
ἔργον λαβών· ὥμην ἔχειν ταύτας· νεκρὸς
ἐλθὼν τις ἐκ Λυκίας ἀφήρηται βίαι
ταύτας.

'After ten days without work, I landed this three-drach job, and this time I thought I'd got the money. Now a corpse arrives from Lycia and steals the lot.'

In addition to the separation of νεκρός from τις, where some disruption is caused,¹⁰⁵ note the following: the first sentence above is disrupted; ταύτας at the end of the second sentence echoes the same word at the end of the previous sentence; the repetition helps give the effect that the cook is lashing out his grievances in a manner which is far from calm and collected (see GS *ad* 224-6). The complaining is accompanied by ill-concealed impatience and irritation, as expressed by θάπτόν ποτε at line 222, and the abusive ἱερόσυλε at line 227.

Disdain is felt at D.260, and 263, not only as a nuance lent by the indefinites,¹⁰⁶ but in the trouble Sostratos takes in elaborating on this all too frequent and far-reaching habit of his mother (cited 259ff):

(3)

τὸν μὲν Γέταν οὐκ ἔνδον ὄντα κατέλαβον,
μέλλουσα δ' ἡ μήτηρ θεῶι θύειν τινί-
οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτῳ - ποιεῖ δὲ τοῦθ' ὅσημέραι,
περιέρχεται θύουσα τὸν δῆμον κύκλῳ
ἅπαντ' ἀπέσταλκ' αὐτὸν αὐτόθεν τινὰ
μισθωσόμενον μάγειρον. ἐρρῶσθαι δὲ τῇ

¹⁰³ Contrast Asp.180, where Smikrines says πάντα ταῦτ' ὀργίζομαι/ ὀρῶν. In this passage, cf. also the hyperbaton of possessive and item possessed at line 183 and of demonstrative from noun at line 185.

¹⁰⁴ See 3.1.2 (6) for the intensifying nuance of the indefinite here; there is, however, no disruption to accompany the angry tone (3.3.1). On the tone see also GS *ad* 691ff.

¹⁰⁵ See n.125 below.

¹⁰⁶ At Sam.45 it is just a nuance; the emotion of the speaker is on the whole matter-of-fact.

θυσίαι φράσας ἤκω πάλιν πρὸς τὰνθάδε.
'I didn't catch Getas at home, and my mother's planning to sacrifice to some god or other -- no idea which -- she does this every day, trailing round the whole district, making offerings, and she'd sent Getas out to hire a cook, locally. Well, I've waved goodbye to the religious bit, and come back to business here.'

Some urgency is felt in fr.612, and especially at lines 8f, where presumably a son is trying to give his mother a convincing argument on why lineage is not as important as circumstances and character.

(4)

εἰ μὴ λέγειν δ' ἔχουσι τούτους διὰ **τινα**
τόπου **μεταβολῆν** ἢ φίλων ἐρημίαν,
τί τῶν λεγόντων εἰσὶ δυσγενέστεροι;

'Those few who can't tell [their grandparents] because they've moved or lost relations, p'r'aps, aren't therefore proved greater outsiders than the rest who can' (Edmonds).

The context (and indeed the identity) of the play is not known, and all that can be gleaned from the excerptor, Stobaeus, is the information contained in the titles of the sections; he simply collects and quotes passages without any commentary. In both places where this fragment is quoted, the titles indeed suggest that the excerptors chose this passage for its claim that lineage is not the exclusive sign of εὐγενεία.

It may be with some *surprise* that at D.608f Getas reacts to Sostratos' entry with Gorgias and Daos (quoted from 607ff):

(5)

ἀλλ' ὁ τρόφιμος γὰρ οὕτοσιν προσέρχεται
ἄγων μεθ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἐπικλήτους· **ἐργάζεται**
ἐκ τοῦ τόπου **τινές** εἰσιν. ὦ τῆς ἀτοπίας.

'Oh, here comes young master with his guests. Local farm-labourers they are. How peculiar.'

Getas cannot fathom why Sostratos is inviting these two, or how he has befriended them; the difference in class seems utterly incongruous to him (ὦ τῆς ἀτοπίας). The contrast between tone and form is not stated in the text, but is one of the *Leitmotivs* of the *Dyskolos*.

Worry is the emotion in Kith.46f (see 3.1 (10) for quotation, translation and a more elaborate discussion).

3.3 structure

3.3.1 phrases formed by elements of hyperbaton are self-contained. no disruption felt¹⁰⁷

The clearest examples where hyperbaton creates no disruption are passages in which a short self-contained phrase or sentence is formed by an attributive group and a finite verb which intervenes. In D.110, for instance, the elements of the split attributive group are the direct object of the verb which divides them: βῶλον αἵρεται τινα/.¹⁰⁸ The elements of the split attributive group at fr.209.4 function as the subject of the (intransitive) verb that intervenes: τηθῖς παραλαλεῖ τις.¹⁰⁹ This pattern of split groups is more frequent when they function as objects than as subjects.

It is also quite clear that there is no disruption in fr.455.1, where the sentence consists of the verb+direct-object-phrase formed from the combination of the disjoined and disjunctive elements, and the subject which immediately follows:¹¹⁰ ἀστοργίαν ἔχει τιν' ὁ σκληρὸς βίος.

In passages where the intervening element is a verb in participle or infinitive form it is less clear whether or not the group and the intervening element form a self-contained phrase either in meaning or in syntax.¹¹¹

In some cases the meaning of a phrase formed by an attributive group and an intervening participle is complete on its own,¹¹² and the participle is not subordinate to the finite verb in the sentence; rather, the finite verb and the participle represent two independent actions, perhaps occurring at different points in time. This may be illustrated by

(1) Asp.63f:¹¹³ :: αὐτοῦ δ' ἔωθεν χάρακα βαλόμενός τινα/ ἐμένομεν. In Daos' narrative, a sequence of actions is described: 'we put up a palisade and then we waited.'

¹⁰⁷ In order of mention: D.110, 113; Ep.485; Sam.45; fr.793.1; 209.4; 699.1f; 455.1; Asp.390, 63f, 80f; D.291; Ep.691; fr.612.8f; 754.2f; D.526; Pk.821.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. D.113; Ep.485 (with ellipse of εἶναι); Sam.45; fr.793.1.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. fr.699.1f.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Asp.390, with subject preceding the phrase formed by the elements of the hyperbaton. Both are within the confines of a single verse.

¹¹¹ The ones tending to less disruption are given below, the others will be treated in 3.3.2 and 3.3.3.

¹¹² Similarly to the finite verbs in the examples above.

¹¹³ Cf. Asp.80f: ...μείναντες... ἐπλέομεν... 'we stayed there a few days, and then we sailed', and D.291: ...δοκεῖς μοι... ἐζηλωκέναι... νομίζων... ἐπιτηρῶν... 'your idea is to seduce... or to watch for an opportunity...'.

It may be noted here that the sequence of actions in narrative (cf. Asp.80f discussed in the previous note) comes sometimes in the combination of finite and participle as one variation of coordination.¹¹⁴

In Ep.691 the participle and the attributive group it splits are independent in meaning from the main verb, but the two verbal forms seem to represent a situation (participle) simultaneous to the main action (in a finite verb):

(2) ὕψηλός ὢν τις αὐτ[ις]· οὐκ οἰμώξεται; 'He'll pay for being so high and mighty.'

In any event, the sentence is not disrupted by the intervening participle and the phrase is a self-contained part of the larger sentence.

The insertion of words (other than verbs) between the substantive and the indefinite also produces phrases that retain their autonomy; for example, the intervening word may be a genitive governed by the parts of the (split) attributive group, as in fr.612.8f:¹¹⁵

(3) διὰ τινα/τόπου μεταβολήν.

I present two final passages in which the attributive group is split, but there is no resulting disruption; the phrases formed are self-contained. At D.526 the expression νεανίας ἐγώ τις is self-contained; the group and the intervening element belong together, in any way one chooses to relate them to the rest of the sentence (quoted 525ff):

(4) εὐθύς γὰρ ἐμπεσὼν πολὺς,/ νεανίας ἐγώ τις, ἐξαίρων ἄνω/ σφόδρα τὴν δίκελλαν, ... ἐπεκείμην φιλοπόνως,.... (see 3.1 (5) for translation).

The only other example of a pronoun (again ἐγώ, at D.940) separating a closely-tied substantive and indefinite does not go closely with the group it splits, and is treated in 3.3.3 (5).

(5) At Pk.821, the attributive group and the intervening elements make up the whole of what Glykera says: :: χορός τε παρθένων ἑνταῦθά τις:: In this sense it is a self-contained speech-act. The verb is understood from the context,¹¹⁶ and 821 may even be perceived as being part of the same sentence (τε) interrupted by Pataikos.¹¹⁷ For the

¹¹⁴ See Blundell (1980) 33 on 'participial clustering'.

¹¹⁵ Cf. fr.754.2f: διὰ τινα/αὐτῶν ἀκρασίαν.

¹¹⁶ Pk.821f: :: [πορφυρ]ᾶ ζώνη τις ἦν./ (Πατ.) ἦν γάρ::

¹¹⁷ For syntax shared by interlocutors in antilabe, see 2.2.2 in Part I of the thesis.

close grammatical relation between attributive group and intervening element, compare the genitive constructions at fr.612.8f and 754.2f.¹¹⁸

3.3.2 autonomy of phrases formed by hyperbaton self-contained to a limited or uncertain degree and/or some disruption felt¹¹⁹

In the following passages it is less clear whether or not the phrases created by the separation are self-contained in grammar and/or meaning, and how much effect this has on the flow of the sentence.

(1) At fr.416b.1 it is difficult to determine the degree to which the phrase πανήγυριν νόμισόν τιν' is self-contained, but it may not be crucial, since the infinitive (of the *accusativus cum infinitivo* complement of νόμισον) follows directly: /πανήγυριν νόμισόν τιν' εἶναι...

Moreover, the meaning, if not the construction, is complete without the verb εἶναι.¹²⁰

(2) At D.23f it is unclear how independent the phrase in hyperbaton is from the other details added on:

χωρίδιον/ τούτῳ δ' ὑπάρχον ἦν τι μικρὸν ἐνθαδί/ ἐν γειτόνων. 'He owns this small-holding here, next door...'

Strictly speaking the words 'He owns a small-holding' form a phrase which may stand on its own; but μικρόν and ἐνθαδί both refer back to this phrase rather than stand on their own.¹²¹

(3) At Asp.388 the phrase τιν' ἀμέλει διατριβήν directly follows ἔξει, the verb that governs it, so although the phrase cannot stand on its own, there is no disruption to the syntactic flow of the sentence: ἔξει τιν' ἀμέλει διατριβήν οὐκ ἄρρυθμον/ ...ἂν ἐνστῇ μόνον/... The derived particle, ἀμέλει, modifies the sentence as a whole, and is not restricted by form to a particular part of the sentence (such as enclitics and postpositives often are). By the same token, however, the intervening element, ἀμέλει, does not add anything exclusively or specifically to the attributive group it splits. Rhythmically some disruption may be felt in more than one way: a) This is the only

¹¹⁸ See 3.3.1 (2) above, with note 115.

¹¹⁹ In order of discussion: fr.416b.1; D.23f; Asp.388; D.283, D.38; Asp.224f; D.260, D.263f; fr.796.2f.

¹²⁰ Compare other examples from Menander where νομίζω comes without the copula of the predicative phrase it governs: See Asp.175f, 334f; D.173f etc.

¹²¹ -- except in the sense of added information, but they still refer back.

example in Menander's papyrus remains of separation of the elided form *τιν'* from the substantive it modifies.¹²² This in itself is rare, as is the fact that the indefinite precedes separation. b) The derived particle *ἀμέλει* is indeed only a particle, but a long one (three syllables). Usually particles are not considered significant separating elements;¹²³ but there are special cases: compare *πήρας μὲν οὖν τρεῖς* at fr.215.3, where the tangible effect of the separation can be shown (2.1 (5) and 2.2.3 end).

(4) D.283 clearly comes in a disrupted sentence; I include it among the unclear cases to show that self-contained phrases or sentences are not mutually exclusive to disruption, and that the effects of the hyperbaton cannot be filed away into convenient compartments by simple criteria. The whole sentence is given from D.280ff:

τοῖς δ' ἐνδεῶς πράττουσιν, ἂν μηδὲν κακὸν
ποιῶσιν ἀποροῦντες, φέρωσιν δ' εὐγενῶς
τὸν δαίμον', εἰς πίστιν ποτ' ἐλθόντας χρόνῳ,
βέλτιον' εἶναι μερίδα προσδοκᾶν τινα.

'While the needy, provided that in their necessity they keep clear of crime, and accept their poverty like honest men, come in due course into credit, and can expect their shares in life to improve.'

This passage is an anacolouthon within a larger elaborate period (see GS *ad* 272).

Before moving on to the cases where the phrases formed by hyperbaton are not self-contained, and the sentences are disrupted, I give those examples where the attributive group together with the intervening element (often a subordinate verbal form such as the infinitive or participle) may have a meaning on their own, but are grammatically dependent on other parts of the sentence:¹²⁴

(5) *ἐπιμέλειαν σχεῖν τινα*/ at D.38 is on its own a meaningful phrase, but grammatically it depends on the main verb *πέπεικεν*, which is constructed here with accusative (*ἡμᾶς*) and infinitive (*σχεῖν*), quoted from D.36ff:¹²⁵

τὰς δὲ συντρόφους ἐμοὶ
Νύμφας κολακεύουσ' ἐπιμελῶς τιμῶσά τε
πέπεικεν αὐτῆς **ἐπιμέλειαν σχεῖν τινα**

¹²² There are two examples in the book-fragments: fr.416b.1 and 455.1.

¹²³ Other indefinites in attributive groups with intermediate particles are *Κλεόστρατος δέ τις*/ (Ep.389) and *τήθη δέ τις*/ (fr.581.4).

¹²⁴ Contrast with examples in 3.3.1, where less disruption is felt (e.g. Asp.63f).

¹²⁵ Cf. 1) *νεκρὸς/ ἐλθὼν τις* (Asp.224f), closely tied to *ἀφήρηται*. 2) *θέωι θύειν τινί*/ (D.260), dependent on *μέλλουσα*. 3) *τινα/ μισθωσόμενον μάγειρον* (D.263f), with *ἀπέσταλκ'*. 4) *τινα/ ἄγειν ἑορτήν* (fr.796.2f), dependent on *ἐστ' ἀνάγκη*.

ἡμᾶς.

'She's careful in her service to the Nymphs who share my shrine, and so we think it proper to take some care of her.'

3.3.3 not self-contained and/or clearly causing disruption¹²⁶

In the remaining passages the phrases formed by hyperbaton are not self-contained, and there is usually disruption, either in the hyperbaton, or in the sentence as a whole.

At Sk.133f the phrase formed by hyperbaton constitutes a large part of the sentence (including within it another hyperbaton) (see **4.2.3** (9) below) but is not strictly speaking self-contained, since it does not include the object. However, the object immediately precedes, coming at the beginning of the sentence. The disruption is not caused so much by the breach of the autonomy of the attributive group τωι/... Βοιωτίωι/- as it is caused by the extreme length of the separation and the more disrupted nature of the other hyperbaton; the anteposition of the direct object (δίκην) also contributes to the effect. Sk.133f:

(1) καὶ δίκην δέ τωι ὠφλεν ὁ πατήρ, ὡς ἔοικε, ζῶν ὁ σὸς Βοιωτίωι/-:: 'And when your father was alive, he apparently lost a case brought by some Boeotian-'

There may be an intentional (artificial) symmetry here. Alternatively, there is the possibility that the indefinite is not as closely linked to Βοιωτίωι as it seems at first glance; instead of being in an attributive relation to the indefinite, Βοιωτίωι may be in apposition, and then the distance would not be perceived as an (acute) separation of two parts of a closely-knit word-group.

At D.768f the attributive group and the intervening element have no direct link in syntax or meaning,¹²⁷ and the words τινὶ εὐπορῶν πένητι do not form a phrase of their own -- the intervening element, εὐπορῶν, is an intrusion. The intrusion is matched by other disruptions in the sentence,¹²⁸ which I quote in full (D.767f):

(2)

ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ μέρει μάλιστ' ἀνὴρ
δείκνυτ', ἐξισοῦν ἑαυτὸν ὅστις ὑπομένει τινὶ
εὐπορῶν πένητι.

¹²⁶ Sk.133f; D.768f; Ep.169f; Sam.555f; D.940; Kith.46f.

¹²⁷ But note the (possibly intentional) contrastive juxtaposition of 'rich man' (εὐπορῶν) and 'poor man' (πένητι); see GS *ad locum*.

¹²⁸ In particular: postponement of ὅστις and resulting distance between ὑπομένει and the infinitive it governs (ἐξισοῦν ἑαυτόν).

'A man really proves his true worth when, although he's well-off, he's ready to treat a poor man as his equal.'

At Ep.169f, two separate strands of a sentence are interlaced: the subject (ὄχλος... τις) and the action (εἰς τὸν τόπον... ἔρχεθ'); furthermore the sentence is enclosed at either end by symmetrically separated elements of an expression adding more details about the subject and syntactically depending on it as a partitive genitive:¹²⁹

(3) μειρακυλλίων ὄχλος/ εἰς τὸν τόπον τις ἔρχεθ' ὑποβεβρεγμένων... 'Yes, there's a bunch of young drunks coming this way...'

The interlacing and the enveloping patterns here indicate a symmetry, perhaps artificial or formal, rather than disruption. This fits in well with the fact that this is a formula for introducing the chorus at the end of Act I.

At Sam.555f the attributive group (σκηπτὸς... τις) and the intervening element (ἄνθρωπος) are syntactically incompatible, and this may be what makes it one of the more jarring examples:¹³⁰ ἄνθρωπος, a subject, splits an expression which is the predicate:

(4) στρόβιλος ἦ/ σκηπτὸς ἄνθρωπός τις ἐστί::

At D.940 the subject (ἐγώ) splits the direct object (συμπόσιον... τι) of the sentence, and together they have no syntactic autonomy or independent meaning:

(5) ἡτρέπιζον συμπόσιον ἐγώ τι/ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν· τούτοις -- ἀκούεις;... '...I was getting the drinks ready for the men. They... -- are you listening?...'

It should be noted that since the verb immediately precedes, the disruption is not very acute when the sentence is taken as a whole.

At Kith.46f the expression μή τι κατὰ θάλατταν ἦ/ ἀτύχημα is somewhat awkward, but could conceivably be understood on its own. I now quote the whole sentence:

(6) λογίζομαι πᾶν, μή τι κατὰ θάλατταν ἦ/ ἀτύχημα γεγονὸς ἢ περι[...]ζας.

When the rest of the sentence is given, it becomes clearer that there is an interlacing of two strands: τι κατὰ θάλατταν.../ ἀτύχημα, and the split of the composite verbal

¹²⁹ In content, that they are drunken youths; grammatically, by a genitive dependent on ὄχλος... τις.

¹³⁰ See GS' remark *ad locum* terming this separation 'noteworthy'.

expression ἤ/... γέγονος is more disruptive than the split of the attributive group,¹³¹ but the hyperbaton clearly brings disruption to the flow of the whole sentence.

In a few passages the emphatic position of some other part of the sentence helps to determine that relatively less emphasis lies in the phrase created by the hyperbaton of the indefinites.

Thus, emphasis falls elsewhere in narratives where the adverb of time or place comes first in the sentence, and expresses (in whole or in part) the new or important information in the sentence, e.g. αὐτοῦ (..ἐμένομεν) at Asp.63f:¹³²

/:: αὐτοῦ δ' ἔωθεν χάρακα βαλόμενός τινά/ ἐμένομεν. 'At dawn, we built a palisade, and there we stayed.'

By the same token, when part of the attributive group comes first in the sentence this is an indication that emphasis lies therein, and the presence of hyperbaton adds weight to this emphasis. Often it is a direct object which comes forward in this way, as at Sam.43f:¹³³

ἀγρυπνίαν/ ὁ θόρυβος αὐτῶν ἐνεπόει γάρ μοι τινά. 'In any case, the noise they were making would be keeping me awake.'

The emphasized word may also be a subject, e.g. D.608f:¹³⁴ ἐργάται/ ἐκ τοῦ τόπου τινές εἰσιν. Note also that the emphatic word, besides coming first in the sentence, is at an emphatic position at verse-end.

There are no examples of the indefinite as the first word in the sentence but it begins a participial purpose clause at D.263f:

ἀπέσταλκ' αὐτὸν αὐτόθεν τινά/ μισθωσόμενον μάγειρον. '...and she'd sent Getas out to hire a cook, locally.'

In this passage the negative connotation of the indefinite (3.1 (2) with note) and the grammatical disruption in the sentence (3.3.2 and note to (5)) are further signs of emphasis.

¹³¹ In cases where *τι* is involved it is always difficult to determine whether it 'goes' with the neuter noun or attenuates the verbal expression.

¹³² Compare Asp.80f: εἴτ' ἐκεῖ... μέιναντες..., and Sam.45 /ἐπὶ τὸ τέγος... which are emphasized.

¹³³ Cf. Asp.5f (ἐν βίῳ τ' εὐσχήμονι/... τινι/), D.113 (χάρακα), 283 (βελτίον'...)291 (καιρὸν); fr.416b.1 (πανήγυριν), fr.455.1 (ἀστοργίαν) and perhaps also Asp.390 (πιθανότητα), D.38 (ἐπιμέλεια).

¹³⁴ Cf. perhaps also Sam.555f (σκηπτός).

Other passages in which the indefinite precedes the separation have other signs of emphasis: Asp.388 was shown to be coloured in tone (3.2.2 (3)), and in a sentence somewhat disrupted in flow (3.3.2 (3)). D.768f was shown to come in a disrupted phrase and sentence (3.3.3 (2)). For some of the book-fragments¹³⁵ not enough context is available in order to determine whether or not an anteposed indefinite is particularly emphatic.

Finally, it should be noted that in all the examples given above (except for elided τιν' at Asp.388) anteposed (disyllabic) indefinites happen to come at verse-end, a position which they often assume, and which may be particularly convenient (see §1 above).

closing remarks

In almost three quarters of these passages, the indefinite follows the separation.¹³⁶ The preference of indefinites for a position following rather than preceding the separation is comparable to the strong tendency for indefinites to follow the word they modify in the normal construction when there is **no** separation.

Separation passes over verse-end fourteen times; eight times when the indefinite is anteposed,¹³⁷ and six times when it is postponed.¹³⁸

Although hyperbaton with indefinites appears in twelve passages spoken by slaves and those of a lower status (including cooks and *hetairai*), it is also featured in thirteen passages spoken by a variety of other characters. Moreover, nine passages are spoken by characters of uncertain identity.¹³⁹

Only six of the passages come in dialogue exchanges; the rest are in speeches of various lengths, narratives, or in prologues or other monologues, and one is in a formal introduction of the chorus at the end of Act I (Ep. 169f).

¹³⁵ Fr. 612.8f; 754.2f; and 796.2f.

¹³⁶ The nine passages in which the indefinite precedes the separation are: Asp. 80f, 388; D. 263, 768f; Kith. 46f; Sk. 133f; fr. 612.8f; 754.2f; and 796.2.

¹³⁷ See previous note; all examples of hyperbaton with anteposed indefinite except Asp. 388 pass over verse-end.

¹³⁸ Asp. 224f; D. 23f, 608f; Ep. 169f; Sam. 43f; fr. 699.1.

¹³⁹ In the Asp. Daos five times, the cook once; in D. Getas once, Sikon once, Pan twice, Pyrrhias twice, Sostratos three times, Gorgias three times; Ep. Habrotonon Khaireas and Smikrines once each; Pk. Glykera once; Sam. Moskhion twice, Demeas once; Sk. Pyrrhias once. The speakers are unknown in Kith. 46 and the book-fragments.

Only five of the passages do not come in statements: Ep.169f is an exclamation. Ep.691 is a question spoken in an angry tone; Kith.46f is a negative condition (with the verb in subjunctive form); fr.416b.1 is a request by the speaker (with the verb in imperative form); and fr.612.8f is part of a larger question in a line of argument.

In about one third of the passages with indefinites in hyperbaton, the indefinite seems to function as an indefinite article, with no added nuance (3.1.1). In approximately another third of the passages, the indefinite seems to add a negative connotation of some kind. In the rest there is some more subtle or more complex added nuance (see 3.1.2). It emerges that the indefinite bears an added nuance in a clear majority of the passages in which it comes in hyperbaton.

In sixteen of the passages where the indefinite and the noun (or adjective) it modifies are separated, the tone is matter-of-fact. In eight there is a more coloured tone, not so much emotional as affected (see 3.2.2), and in eight there is stronger emotion. The remaining passages do not offer sufficient contexts for determining their emotional tone or the tone of the indefinites used in them.

The structure of the sentences in which indefinites come in hyperbaton are discussed in 3.3. In about half of the passages the disjunctive and disjointed elements of hyperbaton form self-contained phrases, and do not cause disruption to the sentence. In about a quarter there is a limited or uncertain degree of autonomy of the phrases formed by hyperbaton, and an equally limited or uncertain degree of disruption. In only six passages are the phrases formed by the disjunctive and disjointed elements of hyperbaton clearly not self-contained, and disruptive. The remaining passages are too fragmentary for further comment to be made on their structure.

correlations between nuance and emotional tone

There are a series of examples of hyperbaton in which there are low degrees of nuance and emotion, i.e. there is a *matter-of-fact* tone and no nuance: Asp.63f, 80f; D.23f, 38; fr.209.4. All except D.23f and 38 also have no disruption. Three other hyperbata with no nuance exhibited slight attitude: D.110, 113 and Pk.821 -- these had no disruption either. But on the whole there is not the same consistency as found for numerals, and a

variety of combinations of degrees of nuance, emotion and disruption accompanied the separation. Acute disruption was never found in passages where there was not at least some nuance or some emotional tone.

4. POSSESSIVES

Before entering into a description of the circumstances in which possessives come in hyperbaton, I make the following observations about the forms of the possessives involved: Of the 34 occurrences,¹⁴⁰ seventeen are of the adjective form ἐμός etc.; thirteen are enclitic genitives of personal pronouns μου etc.; thirteen are genitives of αὐτός, and one is a genitive reflexive of ἑαυτοῦ. In rough terms, then, there is no significant preference for the adjectival forms over the enclitic genitives of the personal pronouns. It is interesting that the more directly the possessive refers to the speaker, the more often it occurs in hyperbaton: only three are plural.¹⁴¹ In the singular, most occur in the first person.¹⁴²

In what follows the enclitics will be marked with an asterisk (*) to help create a synoptic impression of emerging patterns which might indicate a distinction in usage.

In addition to the explicit possessive function, nuance as such does not play a decisive role in possessives, although these may express a weaker or stronger degree of possession in different circumstances. The only difference which concerns us here is relative inherent cohesion of possessive and the item possessed, relative to cohesion with other words in the sentence; this is inextricably linked to structure, especially of the enclitics (4.2, 4.3).

In 4.3 I attempt to show that when an enclitic is separated from the noun, it is sometimes not a result of a split; rather, an enclitic genitive is governed by the verb in the same way as the dative.

4.1 emotion

4.1.1 no significant emotional or other tone felt¹⁴³

Possessives come separated from the nouns they modify five times in passages spoken in a matter-of-fact tone: at Asp.376f Khaireas is offering his help in the plan to fool

¹⁴⁰ Asp.182f, 284ff, 345ff, 348f, 376f, 420f; D.E.fr.2.2; D.167f, 189, 226f, 240f, 241f, 305f, 482, 737f; Ep.273f, 468, 861, 953f, 1100; Mis.247f, 267; Sam.365, 388f, 418, 436, 568f, 585f, 632; Sk.134, 354f; F.I.17; fr.1.3; 431.

¹⁴¹ ἡμετέραν D.E.fr.2.2; ἡμῶν D.167f and 482. Note that all are in the first person.

¹⁴² The distribution (in ascending order of occurrence) is: four times in the third person, eleven times in the second person, and sixteen times in the first person.

¹⁴³ In order of mention: Asp.376f; D.737f; Asp.348f; Sk.354f; Ep.273f*

Smikrines; at D.737f Knemon is calmly giving Gorgias instructions. At Asp.348f and Sk.354f there is no emotion felt in the words themselves, but the wider context of the passages is one in which the speakers (Daos and Theron respectively) are explaining or giving more instructions regarding their respective plans (see §1). Furthermore, Sk.354f is a command (πρόσθες...) and this adds to the vividness of tone. Another passage spoken in a more vivid matter-of-fact tone is Ep.273, in Daos' narrative of his version of what happened with the foundling and with Syros.

4.1.2 moderate or uncertain degree of emotional or other tone¹⁴⁴

Sam.632 is a borderline case: no strong emotion is expressed in this passage, but it is certainly not matter-of-fact. Moskhion is speaking in a monologue which is affected in tone. The metre is at times strict and there are other signs of tragic diction (e.g. the word γνώμη at line 632). The structure of the sentence further indicates an artificial rhetorical flourish (4.2.3).

At Asp.345f Daos is divulging his plan, and even if he prevents himself from expressing outright excitement, he confidently tells Khairestratos what he must do.

At Ep.468 Habrotonon expresses her compassion for the foundling (αἶ δύσμορ') and urges Onesimos to use his new-found information¹⁴⁵ to recover the child to its parents; in Habrotonon's opinion Onesimos should not abandon responsibility.

At Ep.861 Habrotonon speaks to the reticent¹⁴⁶ Pamphile in an engaging tone (see φιλάττη at 860 and γλυκεῖα at 862). At Ep.953f Habrotonon seems to speak in a tone similar to Kharisios', not so much in order to encourage him as to mollify him (see 952f: :: μὴ μάχου, / [γλυκύτ]ατε).

At Sam.365, in the cook's speech, in which he is generally overreacting, he refers to Demeas' behaviour as crazy, and sarcastically (ἀστεῖον πάνυ line 364) ponders how 'nice' it would be if Demeas were to smash his dishes:

ἀστεῖον πάνυ/ εἰ τὰς λοπάδας ἐν τῷ μέσῳ μου κειμένας/ ὄστρακα ποῆσαι
πάνθ' ὅμοια. 'A fine thing if he shatters all my crockery that's been set out'.

¹⁴⁴ In order of mention: Sam.632; Asp.345f*; Ep.468, 861, 953f*; Sam.365*. 418; Sk.134; D.E.fr.2.2; fr.1.3.

¹⁴⁵ Namely that the ring found with the child belongs to Kharisios.

¹⁴⁶ See line 866 (Habrotonon to Pamphile) μηδέν με δείσις

At Sam.418 the sentence itself is probably spoken with the urgency and directness of any imperative, when Nikeratos orders Khrysis to go to his wife after he learns Demeas has evicted her. Although there is no stronger tone in this sentence itself, from the point at which Nikeratos notices Khrysis outside the door of Demeas' house (line 405), his surprise is expressed verbally in oaths (line 405, 408) and in declarations of Demeas' craziness (line 416f).

At Sk.133f Pyrrhios speaks in a cautious (ὥς ἔοικε) tone; he is trying to add information to what Theron has just said to Stratophanes. He may even be attempting a delicate way of mentioning a debt, ever an unattractive prospect.

Two passages do not provide a context which is sufficient to suggest what tone, if any, emotional or other, there may be: D.E.fr.2.2, and fr.1.3.

4.1.3 strong emotion¹⁺⁷

There is a large variety of strong emotions:

Anger is the tone in five passages where there is hyperbaton of the possessive: At Asp.182 Smikrines characteristically defends the future of his property and is angry at those he perceives as threatening it; at D.482* Knemon angrily threatens to make an example of anyone he catches trespassing -- again a vociferous defense of one's private property (and perhaps privacy); at Ep.1100 Smikrines is angry at Onesimos for suggesting something negative in his nature -- note the term of abuse he uses; at Sam.388f*, again a threat (cf. D.482 above), at 585f Nikeratos jumps to conclusions and angrily hurls an accusation at Demeas -- that his son Moskhion has cheated Nikeratos; finally, at F.I.17 a father whose pride has been hurt angrily accuses a young man of rejecting his daughter.

In four passages¹⁺⁸ the emotion of *worry* is felt; this is verbally reflected in the exclamations οἱμοι (the first three) or in Sam.568f: ὦ τάλαιν' ἐγώ, τί δράσω; ποῖ φύγω;.

¹⁺⁷ In order of mention: Asp.182; D.482*; Ep.1100; Sam.388f*, 585f; F.I.17; D.167f*, 189; Mis.247f; Sam.568f*; Mis.267f; Asp.284ff, 420f*; D.240f, 241f, 226f, 305f.

¹⁺⁸ D.167f*, 189; Mis.247f; Sam.568f*

Mis.267f comes in a passage where Thrasonides refers directly to his *fear* more than once (ὁκνηρῶς, τρέμων line 266; δέδοικα line 268).

Grief is clearly the emotion in Khaireas' imaginary address to the absent Kleostratos at Asp.284ff. At Asp.420f, it is simulated grief which must be made very blatant but also made to seem very sincere as Daos tells Smikrines of his brother Khairestratos' death.

A more general *urgency* is felt in four occurrences of hyperbaton of the possessive: D.240f and 241f come in a passage in which Gorgias reproaches Daos for not confronting Sostratos for making advances on Knemon's daughter; he tried to convince Daos of the immediacy of their responsibility for the girl. At D.226f Daos verbally expresses his urgent (γε, τὴν ταχίστην) need (δεῖ) to go and warn Gorgias of the threat Sostratos poses:

οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ <τ>ἀδελφῶι γε δεῖ/ αὐτῆς φράσαι με τὴν ταχίστην ταῦθ',... 'Well, I'd better tell her brother about this right away.'

At D.305f Sostratos is urgently impatient, and wants to meet the father of the girl for whom he has fallen.

4.2 structure

4.2.1 phrases formed by hyperbaton are self-contained¹⁴⁹

In eight passages, a finite verb is in direct syntactic relation with the attributive group noun + possessive, which it splits:

The word-group is a direct object governed by the verb that intervenes, e.g. at D.240f¹⁵⁰ (in genitive): ἀδελφῆς ἔτι μέλει/ ἐμῇ[ς]. There are other syntactic relations, e.g.

D.167f:¹⁵¹ πρὸς ταῖς θύραις/ ἔστηκεν ἡμῶν.

In two passages, longer self-contained phrases are made up of the attributive groups and everything that intervenes, e.g. D.241f:¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ D.240f; Ep.273f*; Sam.568f*; fr.1.3; Sam.418; D.167f*; Ep.468*, 953f*; D.241f; D.E.fr.2.2.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Ep.273f* (...μου κατεφίλει/ τὰς χεῖρας.); Sam.568* (τὸ παιδίον/ λήψεταιί μου.); fr.1.3 (τοῦμόν ἐπίδω χωρίον); and Sam.418 (πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα δεῦρ' ἀκολουθεῖ τὴν ἐμήν).

¹⁵¹ Cf. Ep.468* and 953f, where the group is a predicate: εἰ τρόφιμος ὄντως ἐστί (includes subject) σου and τῆς γαμετῆς γυναικὸς ἐστί σου/ [subject].

¹⁵² Cf. D.E.fr.2.2.

ὁ πατὴρ ἀλλότριος εἶναι βούλεται/ αὐτῆς... 'Her father wants nothing to do with us...' ¹⁵³

Note the high incidence of enclitic possessives in the passages in this section; many are close to the verb (see 4.3).

4.2.2 uncertain degree of autonomy of phrase formed by elements of hyperbaton and/or uncertain degree of disruption caused ¹⁵⁴

In two passages, the intervening elements are participles, which govern the groups they split to form meaningful phrases, but in both cases these participles are grammatically subordinate to the finite verbs in the sentences, e.g.

(1) D.482, ¹⁵⁵ where προσιόντα and the group it splits and governs are dependent on λάβω:

ἂν ἡμῶν προσιόντα τῇ θύρᾳ/ λάβω τιν',... (ἡμῶν is read in *editio princeps*).

In two passages the intervening elements are infinitives, again governing the groups they split. The phrases formed are independent in their basic meaning but not in their grammar or full meaning.

(2) For example, at D.305f ¹⁵⁶ the phrase formed by hyperbaton may be understood on its own, but grammatically the verb βούλομαι is needed:

βούλομαι δ' αὐτῆς ἰδεῖν/ τὸν πατέρα'.

In three passages the intervening element is a vocative, which in a sense 'belongs' to the sentence as a whole, ¹⁵⁷ and the degree of the intrusion it creates may be no smaller or greater when it comes within a closely cohering group than when it comes in another part of the sentence.

(3) So, for example, at Ep.1100 ¹⁵⁸ the phrase οὐμός, ἱερόσυλε, νῦν τρόπος is the self-contained subject of a larger sentence:

:: εἴθ' οὐμός, ἱερόσυλε, νῦν τρόπος ποεῖ/ ἀμαθέες τι; ::

¹⁵³ πρὸς ἡμᾶς cannot come on its own, but although it depends on the preceding words, they may stand on their own.

¹⁵⁴ In order of mention: D.482*; Sk.354f; D.305f; F.I.17; Ep.1100; Sam.388f*, 436*; Mis.267*; fr.431.1*; D.189; and Mis.247f.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Sk.354f, where the participle ἀπολέσας and the group it splits and governs are dependent on the imperative πρόσθε.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. F.I.17, where the infinitive ἔχειν and the object it splits are dependent on the finite verb ἀναίνει.

¹⁵⁷ --and to no particular part, similarly to parentheses.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Sam.388f* (where the phrase is an object) and Sam.435f* (where it is a subject).

The remaining passages require individual discussion:

(4) At Mis.267 the word **τι**, which comes between **ψυχή** and **μου**, seems to belong more closely to another strand of the sentence (**τι... κακόν**); interpreted in this way, disruption is felt:

μαντεύεθ' ἡ ψυχή τι μου, Γέτα, κακόν.

There is always the possibility that **τι** modifies the sentence as a whole, giving it a general nuance of attenuation, and for this reason it is not certain whether or not it creates an intrusion of the unity and autonomy of the phrase ***ἡ ψυχή μου**. It seems quite clear, however, that the enclitic goes more closely with **ἡ ψυχή** than with the verb **μαντεύεται**.

(5) At fr.431.1 there is a reverse ambiguity in

:: ὑπελήλυθέν τέ μου/νάρκα τις ὅλον τὸ δέρμα::

If **μου** goes with **ὅλον τὸ δέρμα**, there is no doubt that disruption is created, since the insertion of the subject (**νάρκα τις**) into elements of the object creates a juxtaposition of syntactically incompatible elements. But there is a question whether **μου** is in fact very closely linked with **ὅλον τὸ δέρμα** and whether the distance and disruption have effect. Alternatively, **μου** may go more closely with the verb, **ὑπελήλυθεν**, to which it is closer in location; the meaning of the verb and the **σχῆμα καθ' ὅλον καὶ μέρος** suggest an enclitic in the genitive with the same function as a sympathetic dative (4.3).

In two passages echoing tragic diction **ἐγὼ** is juxtaposed with a form of **ἐμός**: D.189: **οἶμοι τάλαινα τῶν ἐμῶν ἐγὼ κακῶν**· and Mis.247f: **οἶμοι τάλαινα τῆς ἐμῆς/ ἐγὼ τυχῆς**. In this cliché the literary reminiscence itself, or the mood it evokes, may be more potent than any vestige of the effects of the separation and the juxtaposition of unrelated strands of a sentence.

4.2.3 phrases formed by the elements of hyperbaton are not self-contained and/or disruption¹⁵⁹

In three passages the intervening element is a finite verb which does not directly or on its own govern the group it splits. At Asp.182,¹⁶⁰ for example, the verb (οὐχί) καταλείψω most directly governs the expression διαρπάσαι/ τούτοις, which in turn governs more directly the split group τὴν οὐσίαν...τὴν ἐμήν, and reading the sentence one can feel the disruption caused by the fragmentation of the strands of the sentence described above:

(1) τὴν οὐσίαν/ οὐχὶ καταλείψω τὴν ἐμήν διαρπάσαι/ τούτοις. 'I'll leave no property of mine for them to get their hands on'.

In four passages, the phrases formed by the elements of the hyperbaton require some other word or words from other parts of the sentence in order to complete the meaning and grammar. In two of these, the main verb is not part of this phrase, e.g.

Asp.420f,¹⁶¹ where τέθνηκεν comes at the very end of the sentence:

(2) :: ἀδελφός - ὦ Ζεῦ, πῶς φράσω; - σχεδόν τι σου/ τέθνηκεν:: 'Your brother -- O God, how can I tell you? -- is near to death.'

Note the rhetorically structured symmetry in this sentence.

In two other passages, the possessive+item group is in the genitive case, and requires a *regens*, which is found elsewhere in the sentence outside of the phrase formed by the group and the intervening element. For example at Asp.345f¹⁶² the group νεκροῦ/ ...σου requires the *regens* σχῆμα, which is at the beginning of the phrase:

(3) σχῆμα δ' ἐν μέσῳ νεκροῦ/ κεκαλυμμένον προκίεσται σου. 'Then a dummy, wrapped up like your corpse, will lie in state --'

Note also the separation between ἐν μέσῳ and προκίεσται. Disruption is certainly caused by the hyperbaton here (but see 4.3).

The remaining passages are individually discussed:

¹⁵⁹ In order of mention: Asp.182, 376f; D.226f; Asp.420f*; Ep.861; Asp.345f*; D.737f; Sam.365*, 585f; Asp.284ff, 348f; Sam.632; Sk.134.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. the more straightforward examples at Asp.376, where ἥξω goes closely with the participle παραλαβών which is outside the phrase formed by the elements of the hyperbaton, and D.226f, where δέῃ governs a clause coming later in the sentence.

¹⁶¹ Cf. Ep.861, where the verb δίδου also comes at the end; the sentence however is shorter and there is no real danger of misunderstanding.

¹⁶² Cf. D.737f, where the group τοῦ κτήματος/ ... τοῦμοῦ requires the distantly located *regens* <θ>ῆμιου.

(4) Sam.364f: ἀστεῖον πάνυ/ εἰ τὰς λοπάδας ἐν τῷ μέσῳ μου κειμένας/ ὄστρακα ποῆσαι πάνθ' ὅμοια. (For translation, see 4.1.2).

At Sam.365 the group and the intervening element make no sense on their own and represent the juxtaposition of a direct object and the adverb which have no direct syntactic links: τὰς λοπάδας ἐν τῷ μέσῳ μου. The intervening element goes closely with the verb κειμένας. As the verb comes directly after the phrase (see above), the disruption does not acutely affect the understanding of the sentence.

For (2, 3, and 4) see 4.3.

(5) Sam.585f is the only example of a possessive from a close word-group (here ὁ σός... παῖς) in hyperbaton, caused by an intervening enclitic pronoun (here με). A juxtaposition between first and second person, and between subject and object is created; there is interlacing of less closely related strands -- the subject phrase given above and the words με... ἐντεθρίωκεν:

:: ἄρ' ὁ σός με παῖς/ ἐντεθρίωκεν; :: 'Your son's hocused me, hasn't he?'

(6) At Asp.284ff the separation is wide and the sentence is long, but the elements of the hyperbaton do not include all parts of the sentence, and there is clear disruption. There is interlacing of τὸ μὲν σὸν.../ .../ πάθος and κατὰ λόγον/ ...ἐστί. Furthermore, the sentence itself is part of a longer, rather complicated period:

τὸ μὲν σὸν πρῶτον, ὦ Κλεόστρατε
ἴσως ἐλεῆσαι καὶ δακρῦσαι κατὰ λόγον
πάθος ἐστί, δεύτερον δὲ τοῦμόν.

'First of all, Kleostratos, it's perhaps proper to express my pity and sorrow for your sad fate, and then for my own.'

(7) ἐπὶ κληρὸς ἢ θυγάτηρ ὁμοίως γίνεται/ ἢ σὴ πάλιν τῇ νῦν ἐπιδίκῃ παρθένῳ. 'Then *your* daughter becomes an heiress, just like the girl whose case is at issue.'

At Asp.348f the words splitting the group ἢ θυγάτηρ... ἢ σὴ belong to different strands in the sentence and do not form a self-contained phrase with the group they split; γίνεται goes most closely with the predicate at the head of the sentence, ἐπὶ κληρὸς (in English word order: *ἢ θυγάτηρ ἢ σὴ γίνεται ἐπὶ κληρὸς...), and ὁμοίως cannot on its own modify the verb: it is only meaningful when taken here with the words it governs in the

dative, and which come later in the sentence (in English word order: *ὁμοίως τῇ νῦν ἐπιδίκῳ παρθένωι).

In (6, 7) notice that the possessive and noun split coincide with expressions emphasized by contrast.

(8) At Sam.632 the genitive and its *regens* are intertwined in an artificial way, appropriate to a monologue containing rhetorical flourishes:

οὐδ' ἐὰν/ ὁ τῆς ἐμῆς νῦν κύριος γνώμης Ἔρωσ. 'It's impossible, forbidden by Love, the master of my will.'

(9) At Sk.134 the phrase formed by the elements of the hyperbaton (ὁ πατήρ, ὡς ἔοικε, ζῶν ὁ σὸς) is not self-contained; the participle in this instance cannot support the phrase on its own, and in meaning it 'goes with' the main verb in the same way as a subordinate temporal clause would (as reflected in the translation). Disruption is further caused by parenthetical expressions, the interruption¹⁶³ and the wide separation caused by the other hyperbaton in this sentence, within which the hyperbaton of the possessive falls (see

3.3.3 (1)):

καὶ δίκην δέ τωι/ ὦφλεν ὁ πατήρ, ὡς ἔοικε, ζῶν ὁ σὸς Βοιωτίῳ - / (Στρ.) ἐπυθόμην. 'When your father was alive, he apparently lost a case brought by some Boeotian. (Str.) Yes, I know.'

It is not easy to determine which mechanism is more influential in this sentence: the difficult structure, which is meant to make the sentence sound artificial, or the interruption and disruption, meant to lend the sentence a spontaneity identified perhaps with natural, lively conversation.

4.3 enclitic possessives¹⁶⁴

Wackernagel devotes section IV (pp.362ff) of his seminal work on the position of enclitics and particles in the sentence (1892) to enclitic personal pronouns which function as attributive genitives (among which he also includes *μοι* and *σοι*). He starts by stating that although the natural position of such genitives is after their substantives, anteposition is also found, which he says is equally valid. His Homeric examples show

¹⁶³ Stratophanes' ::ἐπυθόμην:: at 135 interrupts the main part of the sentence from πολλῶν ταλάντων, which is strictly speaking governed by δίκην at line 133 at the beginning of the sentence. Of course it may also be taken as an additional short elliptic sentence.

¹⁶⁴ There are thirteen enclitic possessives possibly involved in hyperbaton in Menander: Asp.345f, 420f; D.167f, 482; Ep.273f, 468, 953f; Mis.267; Sam.365, 388f, 435f, 568f; and fr.431.1.

that these enclitics come second in the sentence directly preceding their substantives, and thus fall within the behaviour outlined in his word order law ('Wackernagel's Law').¹⁶⁵ Note that the examples of **anteposed** (non-separated) enclitics in Menander (given below) do not on the face of it¹⁶⁶ fall within Wackernagel's Law:

Sam.709: μὴ μνημονεύσης ἡμέραν **μου** τοῦ βίου/ μίαν

Fr.665 /ἦν γὰρ κακῶς **μου** τὴν γυναιχ' οὕτω λέγεις,/...

D.646: Ἱεροπρεπὴς πῶς ἐστὶ **ἡμῶν** ἡ τέχνη.

Wackernagel thinks (p.364) that the influence of his Law is more significant in instances where an anteposed genitive enclitic pronoun is separated from its substantive by other words. If this is not the rule, he says, it is at the least quite frequent in *later authors* for the genitive pronoun separated from its substantive to come second in the sentence.

Among the cases of enclitic possessives in Menander which are separated from their host (if the item possessed is their host), in D.482 and Ep.273 separation may perhaps be motivated by the adoption of second position in the sentence.

In D.482 ἡμῶν¹⁶⁷ comes second in the sentence: ἂν **ἡμῶν** προσιόντα **τῇ** θύρῃ/ λάβω τιν'

Another force which may be at work in this separation is the convenient verse-end position of the disyllabic θύρῃ. Moreover, ἡμῶν is not necessarily unemphatic (as GS suggest); Knemon is angry that things are happening at **his** doorstep (see 167f, and 173ff). In Ep.273f **μου** comes second in the sentence:

λαμβάνων **μου** κατεφίλει/ τὰς χεῖρας.

In this passage, too, the normal position for enclitics may not be the only force at work; the genitive may be interpreted as adverbial and 'sympathetic'.

It seems that later authors took the liberty of placing these genitives further away from the beginning of the sentence. Wackernagel continues, however, by saying that these genitive pronouns, separated from their substantive and not second in the sentence, quite

¹⁶⁵ E.g. ι 20: καί μευ κλέος οὐρανὸν ἵκει.

¹⁶⁶ But if ἡμέραν in Sam.709 and ἐστὶν in D.646 are seen as the beginning of new *Kola*, μου and ἡμῶν come second in the respective *Kola*.

¹⁶⁷ For those who read ὑμῶν a similar rationale applies, because the separation from τινὰ would be equally explained by the enclitic standing second in the sentence.

frequently maintained anteposition, following, in his view, the old word order Law. But in only one of the Menandrian instances of possessive enclitics separated from their nouns and not second in the sentence (Sam.435f) is the possessive pronoun **anteposed**. In Menander, except for D.482 and Ep.273f mentioned above, enclitic possessives which are separated from the item they modify do not come second in the sentence. Only Sam.365 does not come at the end of a verse, metron, or speech (positions which may or may not have significance of their own).

Perhaps a more important consideration than the position of the enclitic in the verse¹⁶⁸ is its position not only in the sentence, but in shorter divisions within the sentence -- clauses or *Kola*. In many of the passages the enclitic may be perceived as second in a clause or *Kolon* (the start of which I mark with an x); I quote them below:

Asp.345: x προκείται σου. Ep.468 x ἐστί σου (which would then be a predicate). Ep.953 x ἐστί σου. Mis.267 x ἡ ψυχὴ τι μου (after the first mobile word in the clause, and an enclitic). Sam.365 x ἐν τῷ μέσῳ μου (after a prepositional phrase taken as the first element). Sam.568 x λήφεται μου.¹⁶⁹

When an enclitic possessive is separated from the noun to which it properly belongs, it may be close to (but not necessarily after) a verb.¹⁷⁰ This brings us to an important factor in the separation of possessives from the nouns they modify. This factor applies only to enclitics, but is a significant element in better understanding the mechanism of alleged hyperbaton of possessives.

It is not always clear whether the enclitic personal pronoun is strictly possessive, or also adverbial. A lack of any comprehensive study on complementation of verbs in Menander makes it yet more difficult to determine this. Even in his study of the genitive in Aristophanes, Poultney (1936) sometimes finds it difficult to determine which is the stronger force -- possessive or adverbial. His treatment of Ach.1166 is a good example:

εἴτα κατάξειέ τις αὐτοῦ μεθύων τῆς κεφαλῆς Ὀρέστης. '...then may a drunkard break his head, even Orestes' (Sommerstein).

¹⁶⁸ Which may be less significant in Menander, where enjambment is more frequent, and the verse-end is not necessarily a strong syntactic break-off point.

¹⁶⁹ Sam.388f would be analyzed by Fraenkel (1965) as x ἄνθρωπέ x σου.

¹⁷⁰ Such is the case in Asp.345f, 420f; D.482; Ep.273f, 468, 953f; Sam.365, 568f ;fr.431.1.

On p.9, under his heading 'possessive genitives with nouns that are parts of the body (B.1)', Poultney says that "the relation is to be felt as possessive rather than partitive [i.e. adverbial]". Elsewhere, however, he gives this same verse as an example of a partitive genitive as an object of a verb (E.3.a, p.78), without referring to the possessive.

A further complication is introduced by a diachronic shift in case usage. In some places where a reader of predominantly classical texts would expect to find the sympathetic dative μου/ σοι etc., he finds μου/ σου instead. This is true not only of Menander,¹⁷¹ but for Aristophanes as well.¹⁷² Various editors¹⁷³ have been the victims of this pitfall. Van Leeuwen for example emends μου to μοι at Px.628: ἐπεὶ τοι τὴν κορώνεων γέ μου/ ἐξέκοψαν.¹⁷⁴ '...They cut down my raven-fig tree, you know...' (tr. Sommerstein).

In Menander, both Sudhaus and Körte change μου to μοι at Sam.365.¹⁷⁵ It is vital in such instances to keep the genitive case if that is what is transmitted, while recognizing the sense associated in classical Greek with the sympathetic dative. Once this policy is adopted, it is easier to consider more of the separated genitive enclitics as possibly being adverbial or sympathetic, as well as (or instead of) being possessive.

I should like to consider at this point the relation of the *verbs* to the enclitics in the passages where the possessives in hyperbaton are enclitic.

At Asp.345f νεκροῦ/ ...προκείσεται σου the proximity of the enclitic to the verb strengthens the suggestion that it can be construed with the verb as well as with νεκροῦ. A similar verb in fact comes in Menander with a 'sympathetic genitive', if the form may so be called, at Sam.365 (see below).

¹⁷¹ C. Dedoussi (1965) comments on this at Sam.365 (line 150 in her edition) with reference to μου taking over from μοι in later Greek.

¹⁷² On this change in general, see Havers (1911), introduction and *passim*.

¹⁷³ Interestingly, this was more common before 1911 when Havers introduced and systematically studied the problematic shift between dative and genitive (and sometimes also other competing constructions) for expressing the relation he called 'sympathetic', best known to classicists from the term 'sympathetic dative'.

¹⁷⁴ On p.141 in particular, and also elsewhere in his section on Aristophanes, Havers gives many more examples where editors, often van Leeuwen, but also others such as Meineke and Cobet, emend genitive forms to dative forms. Havers rectifies the texts to their original state, time and again reminding us that the dative is not characteristic of Aristophanes' idiom.

¹⁷⁵ As did Austin in his original reading of Sam.451; he withdrew this soon afterwards.

At Asp.420f σου/ τέθνηκεν also features the above-mentioned proximity of the enclitic to the verb. If Havers had included Menander in his survey,¹⁷⁶ he would have placed this passage among examples in his Kategorie III (verbs affecting a person in a more general way -- as opposed to parts of the body (Kat. I) or soul (Kat. II)).

In D.482 ἡμῶν προσιόντα τῇ θύρῃ/ again the enclitic comes next to a verbal expression. Here too it is clear that ἡμῶν is the possessive of θύρῃ, but this does not rule out a sympathetic effect with the verb of motion (Havers' Kat. VI).

In Ep.273f μου κατέφιλει/ τὰς χεῖρας is yet another instance of proximity of verb and enclitic. The καθ' ὅλον καὶ μέρος construction here associates the verb with the whole person as well as with his hand: 'He kissed me on the hand' rather than 'he kissed my hand'.¹⁷⁷ Havers shows that in Aristophanes this type of construction very often has a genitive in sympathetic function.

In Ep.468 ἐστί σου/ opens up the possibility of understanding σου as the predicate to the subject τρόφιμος, namely 'Master is yours'. However, I take the subject to be understood, and τρόφιμος... σου to be the predicate; in this instance the attribute σου is separated from its substantive. No sympathetic nuance is felt here.

In Ep.953f τῆς γαμετῆς γυναικός ἐστί σου/ [τέκνον] (or [τουτί]) it seems safe to assume that the missing word is some subject or other, and there is no sympathetic effect.

In Mis.267 /μαντεύεθ' ἡ ψυχὴ τι μου, Γέτα, κακόν/, the enclitic is closer in position to the noun than to the verb. μαντεύομαι is not a verb which typically comes with a sympathetic dative or genitive. One cannot, however, rule out some effect of the verb of informing μαντεύομαι on the genitive μου.¹⁷⁸

In Sam.365 ἐν τῷ μέσῳ μου κειμένῃ/ the pronoun and the verb are adjacent. A sympathetic effect is felt, and is comparable to that in προκίσεται, a verb of similar meaning at Asp.345 above.

¹⁷⁶ He used Aristophanes as the representative of Comedy, and did not treat Menander or the other Comic authors.

¹⁷⁷ A distinction made not only by Havers, but by others as well -- e.g. Humbert (1960), to name but one.

¹⁷⁸ μαντεύομαι govern the genitive in A.Ag.1367 (see Fraenkel *ad locum*).

In Sam.388f we have before us another example of the καθ' ὅλον καὶ μέρος construction, and the verb, although far removed in position from the pronoun, has an influence over it: κατάρξω τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνθρωπέ σου. See the discussion on Ep.273f above.

At Sam.436 it would be difficult to show any sympathetic influence or other effect of the verb on the pronoun. Khrysis is not related to Moskhion in a way which would warrant such a notion: τὴν Χρυσίδα/ ἐξελήλακ' ἔνδοθέν σου, φίλταθ', ὁ πατήρ ἀρτίως.

The passage at Sam.568f τὸ παιδίον/ λήψεταιί μου illustrates Havers' Kategorie IV, where he classifies examples of sympathetic dative and genitive with verbs of taking, and also Haver's Kat.V, with people in close relationships. The child is not Khrysis', but she has a strong feeling for it.

The final example is from fr.431.1f, a clear instance of the genitive enclitic pronoun with sympathetic function (again in a καθ' ὅλον καὶ μέρος construction):

ὑπελήλυθέν τέ μου/ νάρκα τις ὅλον τὸ δέρμα. 'A kind of numbness has come all over me' (Edmonds).

In concluding this section, it is interesting to observe that Wackernagel, when speaking about enclitics, speaks of 'possessive' genitives and datives, while Havers,¹⁷⁹ speaking about the same forms, speaks of 'sympathetic' genitives and datives. This crossover, although not absolute, is added evidence of the adverbial (including sympathetic) and possessive functions that can be shared by a single pronoun in the same sentence. This puts into question how closely and exclusively linked the enclitic possessive is to the noun from which it is separated, and whether this can be considered full-fledged hyperbaton.

closing summary

27 of the 34 passages in which the possessive is not adjacent to the item possessed are spoken with some emotion or coloured tone. Many of the emotions are stronger.

In 23 of the passages the phrase formed by hyperbaton some lack of autonomy or disruption is felt (4.2.2, 4.2.3)

¹⁷⁹ Many of their examples overlap.

In nineteen of the passages where there is separation the possessives follow, and in fifteen they precede the separation: the non-enclitic forms follow (ten times) and precede (eleven times) with almost equal frequency; only in the enclitics is there any significant preference (nine times versus four), but the overall sum is too small to bear any weight.

When the separation passes over verse-end (eighteen times), it follows more often than it precedes (11 times versus 7).¹⁸⁰

Characters from all walks of life, of all ages and dispositions, speak in passages which feature hyperbaton of possessives; there is no one particular type which speaks in a majority of passages.¹⁸¹

Most of the passages come in dialogue (or in speeches given in the presence of other characters).

The sentences are usually statements. Asp.345 is imperative in meaning (with a verb in future indicative form); D.737f, Ep.861 and Sam.418 are commands (with verbs in the imperative). Ep.1100 and F.I.17 are questions, both spoken in a clearly angry tone (see 4.1.3).

¹⁸⁰Of these, the proportions for enclitics is 4 following versus 1 preceding the verse-end.

¹⁸¹ Asp.Daos three times, Khaireas twice, and Smikrines once; D.Knemon three times, Gorgias twice and Sostratos, Daos and the girl once each; in Ep. Habrotonon three times, and Smikrines and Daos once each. Mis.Thrasonides and Krateia once each; Sam. Nikeratos three times, the cook, Demeas, Khrysis and Moskhion once each; Sk. Pyrrhias and Blepsos once each. The following cases of hyperbaton involving possessives had uncertain speakers: D.E.fr.2.2; F.I.17; fr.1.3; 431.1.

5. DEMONSTRATIVES

The twenty eight passages¹⁸² where the demonstrative οὗτος, αὕτη, τοῦτο does not come adjacent to the noun are of two orders: those that are in a close attributive relationship, where the split is a full-fledged hyperbaton, and those in which there are alternative interpretations suggesting that the relation may be looser, and therefore the split less significant.

The cohesion of the group being split and the consequent effect of the separation are central questions in Part II of the thesis, so it is important to bear in mind the distinction between close attributive cohesion and looser links. It is, however, difficult to make this important distinction with certainty; as many details as possible are given for the passages which I think show a looser cohesion of the demonstrative and noun, but it is a matter for personal judgment. To some, for example, it may seem that in any sentence where the demonstrative *follows* the separation, it may be taken as an appositive.

The passages in which the demonstratives and the nouns they modify seem to me more loosely linked, will in some parts of §5 be printed in italics.

In some passages,¹⁸³ at first glance there seems to be hyperbaton of a close-knit attributive group consisting of a demonstrative and a noun. Further examination indicates that the demonstrative perhaps may not 'go together' with this noun as closely as it would in a strictly attributive relation: a) The demonstrative sometimes stands quite independently in the sentence, in an adverbial function. b) A link between the demonstrative and a verb of motion may at times be felt -- a link at least as close as the demonstrative might have with the noun with which it agrees grammatically. c) Finally, there are examples where the relation between the noun and the demonstrative is a relation of apposition rather than a closer attributive link. The demonstratives in these last examples are less syntactically dependent, and perhaps form their own short *Kola*; their

¹⁸² Asp.91f, 138ff, 185f, 246ff, 398; Grg.26f; D.5, 32, 311ff, 390f, 873; Ep.326, 338f, 465, 514f, 543, 1111; Pk.145f, 361f; Sam.72f, 280f, 322, 440, 460; Sk.359; fr.56.1; 581.1; 620.3.

¹⁸³ I abstain from figures, because some passages are borderline cases and may tend to either interpretation, perhaps depending on the subjective judgment of the reader; the passages in question are (in order of mention): D.5; Ep.514; fr.56.1; Asp.246ff; Sam.280; D.390; Ep.465; Asp.138f, and D.311f.

distance from the noun is more natural and may have less effect. In such cases the separation observed may not be the separation of elements of a strictly coherent group.

a) The demonstrative may be taken as *adverbial* at D.5:

τὸν ἀγρὸν δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ δεξι' οἰκεῖ τουτονὶ/ Κνήμων. 'This farm here on my right is where Knemon lives.'

One may interpret an attributive relation between the noun and the adjective in this passage: 'Knemon lives in **this here** field, on the right.' Alternatively, the passage may lend itself to an interpretation in which the demonstrative is adverbial, i.e. 'Knemon lives in the field on the right, here [*pointing*].' Similarly Ep.514f may be understood as 'I'll take the ring here...': τὸν δακτύλιον λαβοῦσά τ' εἴσω τουτονὶ/ εἴσειμι πρὸς ἐκεῖνον., and in fr.56.1 the demonstrative may also be taken on its own: /ὁ φανός ἐστι μεστὸς ὕδατος οὕτοσί. (see also (c) below). Note that in all three examples the demonstrative follows, at verse-end.

b) In other passages, the proximity of a verb of motion introduces the possibility that the demonstrative may 'go' as closely *with the verb* as it does with the noun. In such cases, where it can be argued that the demonstratives are adverbial, the separation may not necessarily be between elements of a strictly coherent word-group.¹⁸⁴ Note the proximity of the demonstrative to the verb of motion in Asp.246ff:

καὶ γάρ τινα/ ὄχλον ἄλλον ἀνθρώπων προσιόντα τουτονὶ/ ὀρῶ μεθύοντων.
'There's another lot coming here, I see, all pretty drunk.'

and Sam.280f:

ὦλλ' εἰς καλὸν γὰρ τουτονὶ πάρονθ' ¹⁸⁵ ὀρῶ/ τὸν Παρμένοντ' ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς.
'Oh, Good! Here's Parmenon back from the market.'

c) D.390 is *not adverbial* like the passages above; the verb in the sentence is not a verb of motion and has no other special link with the demonstrative:

ὦλλ' ἡ δίκελλ' ἄγει τάλαντα τέτταρα/ αὕτη. 'Help! This mattock must weigh a couple of hundred-weight!'

¹⁸⁴ See LSJ s.v. οὗτος C.I.5 'like adverb in local sense'; see also KG i 642 (§467.2), who point out the use in Tragedy of ὅδε to indicate someone's entrance: 'here comes...'. They also point out that in Tragedy οὗτος is less often used in this spatial sense. This is the place to mention that ὅδε slowly loses currency (see e.g. Mayser II/2 78 §68, and more generally Jannaris §563).

¹⁸⁵ As read by Sandbach; the other papyrus has προσιόνθ'.

It is possible that this demonstrative does not 'go' very closely with δίκελλα syntactically.¹⁸⁶ Strictly speaking this may not be the division of a closely cohering word-group *ἡ δίκελλα αὕτη. Rather, the demonstrative (which may have been accompanied by a gesture), can also be taken as a phrase on its own, 'here', in apposition to the mattock mentioned in the previous phrase. Cf. fr.56.1 in (a) above.

At Ep.465 the demonstrative may likewise be interpreted 'this man', with ἀνθρακεύς not a closely cohering substantive, but an explanatory afterthought, with a pause after εὔρεν:

τὸ παιδάριον, ὃ νῦν τιθηνεῖθ' ἡ γυνή, / Ὀνήσιμ', ἔνδον, οὗτος εὔρεν ἀνθρακεύς; 'Onesimos, the baby the woman's nursing now in the house -- was it the charcoal-burner who found it?'

However, the standard editions do not mark a pause, and the editors seem to understand *οὗτος ἀνθρακεύς εὔρεν [αὐτὸν];, if I may use a word order which more clearly reflects the meaning for English speakers. Compare remarks made in the discussion of the structure of Asp.138f in 5.3.2 (3) and of D.311f in 5.3.3.

5.1 nuance

5.1.1 no nuance is felt

It is odd to regard a deictic demonstrative as bearing no nuance, since we speak of a deictic nuance in non-deictic demonstratives. Bearing this in mind, there are nine, and perhaps eleven, demonstratives involved in hyperbaton for which I detect no nuance,¹⁸⁷ although it must be said that three of these *denote* deixis.¹⁸⁸

5.1.2 nuance is felt

Nuance is felt to some degree or other in the demonstrative itself in ten of the passages where the demonstrative is separated from the noun it modifies;¹⁸⁹ in eight additional passages whose demonstratives have some perceptible nuance, the close-knit attributive link of the constituents being split is less certain.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁶ The noun and the demonstrative do however feature full grammatical concord.

¹⁸⁷ Asp.791f, 185f; D.5, 873; Ep.326, 514f, 543, 1111; Pk.7361; Sam.280, ?440.

¹⁸⁸ D.5; Ep.514f; Sam.280f. I discuss the last two in 5.1.2 as well.

¹⁸⁹ In the order of mention: Asp.398; Grg.26f; Sam.322; Sk.359; D.32; Pk.145f; Sam.72f; Ep.338f; fr.620.3; and Sam.468.

¹⁹⁰ In the order of mention: D.311, 390; Ep.465; Asp.138f; D.5; Ep.514; Sam.280f; and fr.56.1.

Contempt, which can sometimes be felt in demonstratives,¹⁹¹ seems to occur in four of the passages where demonstratives come in hyperbaton, e.g. Asp.398, where it modifies a pejorative word:¹⁹²

(1) ἐγὼ ἴδα **τούτου** τὰς τέχνας τοῦ δραπετοῦ. 'I know the ways of this tricky customer.'

Among the passages where the demonstrative does not come in deictic form, in eight it has a *deictic* function, and is probably accompanied by a gesture on the part of the speaker, e.g. Sk.359:¹⁹³

(2) :: ἄριστα. **τοῦτον** διαφύλαττε τὸν τρόπον/ τό τ' ἐπιδακρύειν... 'Splendid! Just go on like that, and shed a tear or two...'

Theron is not made to understand Kikhesias' sadness here, but interprets the expression on his face (and perhaps other gestures), and the tone of his voice as a sign of how suitable Kikhesias could be for the simulation of a lamenting father. It is in this context that Theron says 'keep this up', probably pointing to Kikhesias and referring to his behaviour, and specifically to the expression on his face and his gestures.

(3) In Ep.338f, where the demonstrative has deictic nuance, the emphasis falls elsewhere in the sentence (in the contrast between the speaker -- ἐμέ -- and Daos).

οὐ δὴ καλῶς ἔχει τὸ μὲν σῶμ' ἐκτρέφειν/ ἐμὲ **τοῦτο**, τὴν [δὲ] τοῦδε τῆς σωτηρίας/ ἐλπίδα λαβόντα Δαὸν ἀφανίσαι 'It's really not fair that I should feed and clothe the child, sir, while Daos takes his only hope of rescue and makes it vanish into thin air.'

(4) In Sam.468, the demonstrative singles out the substantive 'this **one** kindness'; the scene is highly dramatic, and Moskhion asks a very angry Demeas for a favour:

:: **ταύτην** ἐμοὶ δὸς τὴν χάριν. :: 'Then grant it to me as a favour.'

(5) At Sam.440, although the passage is spoken with effect,³ it is difficult to identify the precise nuance in the demonstrative, which is only one element contributing to the anger expressed (see 5.2.3):

¹⁹¹ See LSJ s.v. οὗτος C.I.3.

¹⁹² Cf. Grg.26f (with ἀλαζόνα); and Sam.322 (deictic, with τὸν ἀσεβῆ). See also Asp.138f discussed below.

¹⁹³ Cf. D.32 and Pk.145, which come in prologues, and where Pan and Agnoia are probably pointing to houses on stage, and Sam.72f, where Parmenon is most probably pointing to the door. Others with deictic nuance are Ep.338f (3), and, with less cohesion, D.311f, D.390 and Ep.465 end of 5.1.2.

ἂν λάβω ξύλον, ποιήσω τὰ δάκρυ' ὑμῶν ταῦτ' ἐγὼ/ ἐκκεκόφθαι. 'If I get my hands on a stick, I'll knock tears out of you all right.'

At Asp.138f, where the relation seems to be one of apposition rather than strictly attributive modification, there is also a nuance of contempt in the demonstrative, qualifying (perhaps rather loosely) a pejorative word (ὁ πονηρός).¹⁹⁴

In D.311, D.390 and Ep.465, where the cohesion of demonstrative and substantive is not so tight, the demonstrative also bears deictic nuance.¹⁹⁵

The demonstrative also has deictic *form* in sentences where the strict attributive relation between demonstrative and substantive is less certain: Asp.138f; D.5; Ep.514; Sam.280f; and fr.56.1.

5.2 emotion and tone

5.2.1 little or no emotion¹⁹⁶

In eight passages there is a *matter-of-fact* tone, without significant traces of emotion.

These sometimes come in prologues, e.g. D.5,¹⁹⁷ where Pan is describing the scene:

τὸν ἄγρὸν δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ δεξι' οἰκεῖ τουτονὶ/ Κνήμων, (see opening section of **5** for passage and suggested translations).

At Asp.138 (see previous note) we have a good example of the difference between nuance and tone: a nuance of contempt or condescension may be felt by some readers (**5.1.2** end), but the tone Tykhe uses in the prologue remains detached, or at least matter-of-fact.

At other times the dramatic situation is an announcement of a character's arrival or presence, and hardly any emotion is detected, e.g. Sam.280f:¹⁹⁸

ἄλλ' εἰς καλὸν γὰρ τουτονὶ πάρονθ' ὁρῶ/ τὸν Παρμένοντ' ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς.
'Here's Parmenon back from the market.'

The expression ἄλλ' εἰς καλόν indicates that Demeas considers Parmenon's arrival opportune (see GS p.571), and is a conventional comment added to visual entrance

¹⁹⁴ See other passages with *contempt* expressed by a demonstrative at the beginning of **5.1.2** with n.192.

¹⁹⁵ The demonstrative at Ep.465 may be accompanied by a gesture, referring to Syros, but he is no longer present on the stage. For other examples see n.194.

¹⁹⁶ In order of mention: D.5, 32; Asp.138f; Pk.145f; Sam.280f; Asp.246; Ep.465, 543.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. Tykhe at Asp.138f; Pan again at D.32; and Agnoia at Pk.145f.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. Asp.246ff with the conventional announcement of the χορός sometimes found at the end of the first act in the plays of New Comedy.

announcements;¹⁹⁹ it probably does not reflect any strong emotion on Demeas' part.²⁰⁰ In fact Demeas has shown admirable restraint throughout his long speech, and only has one short outbreak at line 279 (ἐξέστηχ' ὄλως), which he quickly reins in (GS *ad locum*).

Two additional passages with hyperbaton of the demonstrative in which no strong emotion is felt by the reader are passages spoken by Habrotonon in dialogue with Onesimos. In Ep.465 she asks a practical question, seeking information. In Ep.543 no precise emotion is identifiable,²⁰¹ although this is a lively dialogue and an oath Habrotonon uses adds vividness to what she says:²⁰²

:: νῆ τὸ θεῶ, **πάντων** γ' ἐμαυτῇ σ' αἴτιον ἡγήσομαι **τούτων**:: 'Oh, yes. You get my eternal gratitude for all my blessings.'

The passages in fr.56.1 and 620.3 do not provide sufficient context for determining what kind of emotion, if any, is expressed.

5.2.2 stronger tone, more emotion

Stronger tone and more emotion are expressed in eleven of the passages.²⁰³

(1) At D.873 Sostratos robustly²⁰⁴ ignores Gorgias' modesty and protestations at having to join in the company of women he does not know, and explains to Gorgias why he need not be shy: οἰκεία **ταῦτ'** ἤδη νομίζειν **πάντα** δεῖ.

(2) Some urgency is felt in Sostratos' tone in D.311f, as he tries to convince Gorgias that his intentions are not dishonourable. Sostratos uses an imprecation:

οὗτός μ' ὁ Πάν, μειράκιον, αἱ Νύμφαι θ' ἅμα
ἀπόπληκτον αὐτοῦ πλησίον τῆς οἰκίας
ἤδη ποιήσειαν.

'...may Pan here, sir, and the Nymphs strike me dead right here, beside the house.'

¹⁹⁹ In a separate investigation of Menander's wording and tone in entrance announcements, I find that he uses other means when he wants the acknowledgee to make subjective comment on the timing or manner of the entrant or to react in some other way. The use of formal visual announcements is less frequent than in Euripides.

²⁰⁰ But cf. N. Miller: 'Oh, Good!'

²⁰¹ Are there perhaps traces of sarcasm? The rest of this dialogue is quick and sharp.

²⁰² I refer in n.215 to other passages with hyperbaton in which an oath adds intensity; oaths often occur where there is stronger emotion.

²⁰³ D.873, 311f; Ep.338f; Sam.468; fr.581.1; Ep.514; Sk.359; Asp.398, 81f; D.390; Ep.326; and Pk.361.

²⁰⁴ τίς ὁ λῆπος;... 'rubbish!' (line 872). Note also the interruption.

In a similarly urgent tone, Syros vehemently argues his case at Ep.338f, in an attempt to convince Smikrines that he (and not Daos) should keep the tokens. Also, at Sam.468 Moskhion urgently pleads with Demeas (**5.1.2** (4)). At fr.581.1, although there is no full context, what remains reflects the urgent tone of someone complaining from his own experience.

In three plays (*Aspis*, *Epitrepontes* and *Sikyonios*) there are situations in which a slave has hit upon a plan to resolve a problem. When the slave describes details of this plan, a breathless excitement, a hint of letting the others in on the conspiracy, or sometimes an obvious self-effacing suppression of pride may be felt in his or her tone. In such passages, with their coloured and expressive tone, one finds hyperbaton not only involving demonstratives, but other modifiers as well.²⁰⁵

Two passages with hyperbaton of the demonstrative probably come in such a situation:

(3) For the hyperbaton at Ep.514, where Habrotonon must be excited when telling Onesimos part of her plan, I refer to Ep.51 lff:

:: θέασ', 'Ονήσιμε,
 ἂν συναρέσῃ σοι τοῦμὸν ἐνθύμημ' ἄρα.
 ἐμὸν ποιήσομαι τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτ' ἐγώ,
τὸν δακτύλιον λαβοῦσά τ' εἴσω **τουτονὶ**
 εἴσειμι πρὸς ἐκεῖνον.::

'Onesimos, I've just had an idea. See what you think. I'll pretend this happened to *me*, and I'll go in to Kharisios, wearing this ring.'

At Sk.359 it dawns on Theron how suitable Kikhesias could prove for the simulation he is planning, and it is with overt enthusiasm that he tells Kikhesias to keep up his moaning.²⁰⁶

More precise feelings can be detected in what is said in the following passages:

Suspicion is the feeling Smikrines expresses at Asp.398,²⁰⁷ where it coincides with the nuance of contempt (**5.1.2** (1)).

(4) It is with a degree of *sadness* that at Asp.91f Daos resigns himself to the moment when he must go in and inform Kleostratos' family of the bad news:

²⁰⁵ Cf. sections 1 and 3.

²⁰⁶ A full quotation and more discussion of this passage are found on **5.1.2** (2) above.

²⁰⁷ And already at the beginning of his speech, line 393: Δᾶος μετὰ τούτων ἐστίν.

παράγωμεν εἰσω τὸν ταλαίπωρον λόγον/ ἀπαγγελοῦντες τοῦτον οἷς ἥκιστα
χρῆν. 'We'd better go in and tell the sad story to those it will affect most.'

(5) There is an obvious use of *exaggeration* at D.390,²⁰⁸ where the pampered Sostratos finds it difficult to cope with the hard labour, and Menander makes the most of this comic situation:

ἄλλ' ἢ δῖκελλ' ἄγει τάλαντα τέτταρα/ αὕτη· προαπολεῖ μ'. 'Help! This mattock must weigh a couple of hundredweight.'

(6) A complimentary tone may lie behind what Syros says at Ep.326, when he makes it clear that he assumes Smikrines is well-versed in the theatre.²⁰⁹ This kind of tact can do no harm when Syros makes his claim, and it complements his use of well-developed argumentation, line 325f:

τεθέασαι τραγωιδούς, οἶδ' ὅτι,/ καὶ ταῦτα κατέχεις πάντα. 'You've been to the theatre, I'm sure, and know all the stories.'

(7) At Pk.361ff the situation Daos describes and his *worried* tone come across, among other things, in his verbal intensity.²¹⁰ As Polemon approaches, Daos shudders at how terrible things could be if his own master, Moskhion's father, were to arrive now as well:

:: ὁ ξένος ἀφῖκται. χαλεπὰ ταῦτα παντελῶς
τὰ πράγματ' ἐστί, νῆ τὸν Ἀπόλλω, ταῦτά [γε.]
καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον οὐδέπω λογίζομαι,
τὸν δεσπότην, ἂν ἐξ ἀγροῦ θάττον π[άλιν]
ἔλθῃ, ταραχὴν οἷαν ποήσει παραφ[ανείς].::

'The General's home! That certainly makes things awkward. And that's not to mention the nub -- if *our* Master comes back from the country sooner than expected, there'll be fine furore when *he* appears on the scene.'

5.2.3 extreme emotion

The strongest emotion is anger, which appears in one form or another in six passages.²¹¹

It is safe to assume that Onesimos is angry when he threatens Smikrines at Ep.1111: τῶν ἐγκλημάτων/ ἀφείσο τούτων, as is Demeas when he threatens the slaves in the house at Sam.440 (see 5.1.2 (5)). More generally, it is probable that in a context where

²⁰⁸ See §2.

²⁰⁹ In the context that there are cases known from Tragedy where wrong identification has led to awful consequences: Syros wants to avert such disaster for the foundling in his care, by preventing Daos from walking off with its tokens.

²¹⁰ The word παντελῶς modifying the emphatically placed χαλεπά, the use of the oath νῆ τὸν Ἀπόλλω, and the repetition of ταῦτα.

²¹¹ In their order of mention: Ep.1111; Sam.440, 72f; Asp.185f; Grg.26f; and Sam.322.

slaves and masters are communicating there is a likelihood for abuse and anger to be felt in the tone of the masters.

At Sam.72f there is impatient anger, probably accompanied by shouting²¹² and gesticulation;²¹³ Parmenon is exasperated with Moskhion's whimpering and wants the wedding to get started.

Angry people speak in angry tones in other passages as well: Smikrines is angry at Asp.185f (and says so explicitly at line 180: ὀργίζομαι); at Grg.26f Philinna says she can barely restrain herself (μικροῦ δέω on line 25) from giving Moskhion a piece of her mind. The intensity is indicated also by the oath on line 24.²¹⁴

5.3 structure

Some of the demonstratives in hyperbaton which are emphasized come in sentences which flow smoothly, others are found in sentences which are disrupted in varying degrees.

5.3.1 the disjunctive and disjoined elements of hyperbaton form self-contained phrases. no disruption.²¹⁵

In five passages, where the separating element is a finite verb, in direct syntactic relation with the attributive group it splits, there is no disruption, e.g. Ep.326, governing a direct object:²¹⁶ ταῦτα κατέχεις πάντα, or Ep.1111:²¹⁷ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων/ ἀφείσο τούτων.

In D.5 too a self-contained meaning is formed by the elements of disjunction, which make up the longer, whole sentence: τὸν ἀγρόν δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ δεξι' οἰκεῖ τουτονὶ/ Κνήμων (see (a) in opening remarks to §5).

²¹² Khrysis at Parmenon, line 69: τί βοᾷς, δύσμορε;. See also 2.2.2 in Part I of the thesis (§3 on exclamations).

²¹³ See deictic nuance above, 5.1.2 with n.194.

²¹⁴ Compare the use of an oath by a patently angry Demeas at Sam.323, in the same passage where the hyperbaton at 322 is used; at Sam.442, in the same passage with the hyperbaton of 440; and in passages with weaker, but perceptible, emotional tone: Ep.543, Pk.361ff, and Asp.393 (in the same speech as the hyperbaton at 398).

²¹⁵ In the order of their mention: Ep.326; Pk.145f; Ep.1111; Sk.359; Sam.468; D.5; Ep.465; Asp.91f; Ep.514f; D.32; Ep.543; D.390f; fr.56.1; 620.3.

²¹⁶ Cf. Pk.145f: τὴν οἰκίαν/ ἐπρίατο ταύτην (with explicit subject ὁ στρατιώτης following).

²¹⁷ Compare the following short sentences with verbs in the imperative as separating element: Sk.359 :: τοῦτον διαφύλαττε τὸν τρόπον, and with an indirect object as well as a direct object, Sam.468 :: ταύτην ἐμοὶ δὸς τὴν χάριν::.

At Ep.465, the subject (οὗτος... ἀνθρακεύς) and the verb which splits it together form an extended subject, which stands on its own as part of a longer sentence, lines 464ff (τὸ παιδάριον,.../ ...οὗτος εὔρεν ἀνθρακεύς;) The disruption in this sentence is not caused by the hyperbaton of the demonstrative, which in fact may serve to resolve some of this disruption. The subject plus verb group may perhaps be interpreted as a complete meaningful phrase on its own if one supplies an elliptic pronoun for the direct object (see §5 (c) above). Moreover, in this passage, the relation between demonstrative and noun may be a looser one of apposition rather than a tighter attributive relation.²¹⁸

As with previous attributive groups (see especially indefinites 3.3.1), non-finite forms of the verb, such as participles and infinitives, are treated on two levels. Here I shall treat those instances where, along with the attributive groups they split, verbal expressions form phrases which are comparatively more independent of the main verbs in the sentences, and which have meaning, and perhaps also syntactic unity, even when they stand on their own.²¹⁹

Asp.91f is a typical example of the *participium coniunctum* which has a life of its own;²²⁰ the participle παραγγελοῦντες is not subordinate to the finite verb παράγωμεν, but means 'let's go in and [let's] tell...', where a phrase is formed from a combination of an autonomous verb and a direct object:²²¹

παράγωμεν εἴσω τὸν ταλαίπωρον λόγον/ ἀπαγγελοῦντες τοῦτον. (see 5.2.2 (4) for translation and discussion).

Wide hyperbata, with elements at opposite extremes of longer sentences, are self-contained, in that they include the rest of the sentence, e.g. Ep.543:²²²

:: νῆ τὸ θεῶ, πάντων γ' ἑμαυτῇ σ' αἴτιον/ ἡγήσομαι·τούτων:: (see 5.2.1 end for translation and discussion).

²¹⁸ I am grateful to Peter Brown for bringing to my attention the appositive relation of the demonstrative to the noun in this phrase.

²¹⁹ Those which bear more clearly subordinate forms will be treated in 5.3.2.

²²⁰ Like παράγωμεν above, λαβοῦσα also comes with a verb of motion, in the same sentence as εἴσειμι at Ep.514f. Cf. D.32, where other participles form independent clauses (lines 30, 31), all of them descriptive phrases elaborating on and loosely connected to the more general αὐτὸς-ζῆι μόνος.

²²¹ As in Ep.514f and D.32 (direct object of a verb with ἀπό+gen. -- see LSJ s.v. παύω I.2).

²²² In other examples where the rest of the sentence intervenes, the inherent cohesion of the demonstrative and the substantive may be weaker: D.390f: ἀλλ' ἡ δίκηλλ' ἄγει τάλαντα τέτταρα/ αὕτη, fr.56.1: ὁ φάνος ἐστι μεστὸς ὕδατος οὕτοσί, and fr.620.3: τὸν ὄνον ὁρᾶν ἔξεστι πρῶτα τουτονί.

In fact the protracted distance between the two elements of the attributive group (πάντων .../ ...τούτων) is possibly the factor that prompted Vollgraf to emend to πάντως, but Menander does not shun even wider separations (§6).

5.3.2 uncertain degree of independence of phrase formed by hyperbaton and/or uncertain degree of disruption.²²³

In the following passages, there is more doubt as to how self-contained the phrases formed by hyperbaton really are. Some may have a meaning on their own, but are not independent in grammar and/or syntax; some have an effect on the flow of the sentence, causing disruption to it, even if the phrases themselves technically form autonomous grammatical constructions:

(1) In Ep.338f the phrase formed by the hyperbaton, τὸ μὲν σῶμ' ἐκτρέφειν ἐμὲ τοῦτο, has all the components needed for a meaningful sentence; grammatically, however, it is governed by an impersonal expression 'it is not right/fair that...', here taking accusative and infinitive:²²⁴

οὐ δὲ καλῶς ἔχει τὸ μὲν σῶμ' ἐκτρέφειν/ ἐμὲ τοῦτο... (translation in 5.1.3 (3)).

(2) In Sam.280f the demonstrative and the proper noun (which is in apposition, and basically less closely linked than an attributive group) are separated by a verbal expression, and together they form a coherent and self-contained phrase: 'I see Parmenon here coming',²²⁵ but there is some disruption, because 'coming' is not independent of ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, further along in the sentence:

ἀλλ' εἰς καλὸν γὰρ τοῦτον ἰ παρόνθ' ὁρῶ/ τὸν Παρμένοντ' ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς. (translation and discussion in 5 (b) and 5.2.1).

(3) At Asp.398 the attributive group and the intervening element form a genitive construction 'the machinations of this rogue'. Although the construction itself is

²²³ In the order of their discussion: Ep.338f; Sam.280f; Asp.398; Sam.440; Asp.246ff, 138ff; Org.26f; Pk.361f.

²²⁴ Cf. δεῖ + infinitive at D.873, discussed in 5.3.3.

²²⁵ In my rendering I place the word 'here' in a position which I hope reflects the ambiguity of its affiliation; to 'Parmenon' on the one hand, and to the verb of motion on the other.

complete, as a unit in the sentence at large it is a direct object dependent on the verb that precedes:²²⁶

ἐγώϊδα τούτου τὰς τέχνας τοῦ δραπέτου.

This is an example of a sentence which does not run smoothly when taken in full, but whose parts can be autonomous.

Passages in which the intervening element is an adverb are also somewhat problematic. On the one hand, the adverbs do not specifically belong to the attributive groups which they split, and in that sense they constitute an intrusion; on the other hand, their position in the sentence is comparatively free, and in that sense they do not strictly 'belong' to another specific element in the sentence when they modify the sentence as a whole. Nevertheless, if they are free to stand in most places, they do not necessarily have to split an attributive group, as they do for example at Asp.138f:

(4) τοὺς ἑξακοσίους χρυσοὺς ἀκούσας οὕτοσί γὰρ ἀρτίως/ ὁ πονηρός.²²⁷

It is always possible that less of a split is felt here, with ὁ πονηρός as an addition in apposition to οὕτοσί: 'This man [i.e. the bad one, Smikrines, versus the good one, χρηστός on line 126 -- Khairestratos].²²⁸

In Grg.26f the intervening adverb does go with the verb earlier in the sentence: καλέσασα τὸν/ ἀλαζόν' ἔξω τοῦτον. In Pk.361f the adverb also goes more closely with a word earlier in the sentence; it modifies the word χαλεπά, the predicate of the sentence:

χαλεπὰ ταῦτα παντελῶς/ τὰ πράγματ' ἐστί,...

In both these passages, disruption is clearly felt.

5.3.3 phrases formed by elements of hyperbaton are not self-contained; there is disruption.²²⁹

Disruption seems to be unequivocal in two passages where the disjunctive element is a verbal form, but not independent:

²²⁶ Cf. Sam.440: ἀν λάβω ξύλον, ποιήσω τὰ δάκρυ' ὑμῶν ταῦτ' ἐγὼ/ ἐκκεκόφθαι., and Asp.246ff*: .../ ὅχλον ἄλλον ἀνθρώπων is a complete construction, but does not stand on its own in the sentence.

²²⁷ Note also γάρ so late in the sentence. But if one interprets a pause after ἀκούσας, the particle comes 'second' in the *Kolon* beginning with οὕτοσί.

²²⁸ I am grateful to Peter Brown for bringing this apposition and contrast to my attention.

²²⁹ The passages are: D.873; Sam.72f; Asp.185; D.311f*; Sam.322; fr.581.1.

At D.873, the phrase ταῦτ' ἤδη νομίζειν πάντα cannot grammatically stand on its own, because the infinitive depends on δεῖ. More importantly, even without explicit δεῖ, the predicate (οἰκεῖα) is required for a complete meaningful phrase. As it is, the sentence begins with the predicate, and in this case would not be misunderstood, but the sentence does not flow smoothly: οἰκεῖα ταῦτ' ἤδη νομίζειν πάντα δεῖ.

In Sam.72f the phrase formed by the attributive group and the intervening participle is not self-contained; there is no close grammatical or syntactic link either. The construction of the sentence as a whole is burdened with multiple subordination,²³⁰ and there is disruption in the hyperbaton and elsewhere in the sentence, 71ff:

βούλομαι εἶναι τοὺς γάμους ἤδη, πεπαῦσθαι τουτονὶ πρὸς ταῖς θύραις/ κλάοντα ταύταις,... 'I want the wedding now, I want this chap here to stop wailing at this door here.'

In the remaining passages are those in which the intervening element clearly has no direct syntactic link with the attributive group it splits; for example, the phrase τὴν παρθένον γυναῖκα ταύτην formed by the hyperbaton in Asp.185. The second object, γυναῖκα, intrudes on the group which forms the first object in predicative relation,²³¹ which is in accusative (subordinate) form. They do not have direct syntactic links, and the phrase is incomplete on its own. Note however that the verb immediately precedes, so the phrase can be understood, but there is clear disruption: λήψομαι τὴν παρθένον γυναῖκα ταύτην.

In other cases, the juxtaposition (as a result of hyperbaton) of incompatible syntactic forms involves pronouns, e.g. the phrase οὗτος μ'ὁ Πάν, which is formed by the hyperbaton in D.311f (subject + direct object).²³²

In these sentences, the intervening element cannot form a phrase with the group it splits, and since it is incompatible, is an intrusion. Whether or not this causes disruption, or simply reflects the possibility that Wackernagel's Law is stronger than the cohesion

²³⁰ βούλομαι + accusative (τουτονί) + infinitive (πεπαῦσθαι); and πεπαῦσθαι + participle (κλάοντα) -- see LSJ s.v. πᾶν I.3.

²³¹ The second object and the first object are equivalent to a predicate and a subject (respectively).

²³² Cf. Sam.322: τουτονί μοι τὸν ἀσεβῆ (direct object + indirect object); fr.581.1: τοῦτον ἡμᾶς τὸν τρόπον.

between attributive demonstrative and noun, is a moot question, but one of the important issues the study of hyperbaton raises.

closing remarks

There is no significant difference in the frequency of the position of the separated demonstratives: thirteen demonstratives precede the separation, and fifteen follow it. Within the group of less closely cohering demonstratives, a similar proportion of frequency applies (four preceding and five following the separation).

In most of the separations involving verse-end (seven out of the ten) the demonstrative comes after the separation.²³³

Eight of the 28 demonstratives come with deictic suffix -ί,²³⁴ but this may not be very significant, because there are cases in which the demonstrative without the deictic suffix can also be understood to have strong deictic function.²³⁵ Note that six of the eight demonstratives with deictic form come in passages where the basic link between demonstrative and noun may be looser.

Characters of all social strata use passages in which hyperbaton of the demonstrative was found.²³⁶

Four of the passages are in prologues.²³⁷ Thirteen of the passages are clearly parts of dialogue, and two more come in Syros' long speech (Ep.326, 338f). The rest are in either monologue, or in a form which is difficult to determine.

Most of the demonstratives in hyperbaton come in statements. Those that do not are affective and their expressivity may play a role in determining the emphasis in the hyperbaton: D.311f is in an imprecation (with the verb in optative form). Ep.465 comes in a question. Sam.468 is a desperate request (with the verb in imperative form); Ep.1111, Sam.322 and Sk.359 are commands (with verbs in the imperative).

²³³ Asp.91f; D.390; Ep.338f, 543, 1111; Pk.145f; Sam.72f. The three instances in which the demonstrative precedes are Asp.138f; Pk.361f, and Sam.280f.

²³⁴ Asp.138f, 246f; D.5; Ep.514; Sam.280f, 322; fr.56.1; 620.3.

²³⁵ E.g. at Pk.145f, Agnoia probably points to the house when she says ...τὴν οἰκίαν/ ἐπρίατο ταύτην... Cf. 5.1.2 with n.194

²³⁶ In Asp. Daos and Smikrines speak twice each and Tykhe speaks once; In Grg. Philinna; D.Sostratos three times, and Pan twice; Ep.Habrotonon three times, Syros twice and Onesimos once; Pk.Agnoia and Daos once each; Sam.Demeas three times and Parmenon and Moskhion once each; Sk.Theron. The three fragments have unidentified speakers.

²³⁷ Asp.138f, D.5, 32, Pk.145f. See 5.1.2 with n.194, and 5.2.1 with n.198.

In eighteen of the passages (eight with a looser link between demonstrative and noun) the demonstrative bears some added nuance. Seventeen of the passages in which there is hyperbaton of a demonstrative are spoken with a stronger tone or emotion.²³⁸

In almost one half of the passages there is no significant disruption. In about a quarter of the passages there is some degree of disruption to the flow of the sentence. In the remaining quarter of the passages, the phrases formed by hyperbaton are clearly not self-contained and there is disruption, sometimes acute.²³⁹

Following the methods used in the other groups, I have found that hyperbaton usually coincides with other signs to emphasize a part of the attributive group, either the demonstrative or the noun, or the split attributive group as a whole.

Those sentences in which the main emphasis falls elsewhere can be ruled out first, e.g. Pk.361f,²⁴⁰ where the emphasis falls on the first word in the sentence, the predicate:

χαλεπὰ ταῦτα παντελῶς/ τὰ πράγματ' ἐστι.

This sentence²⁴¹ is spoken with strong emotion (worry), and the accumulation of the tone and the separation of χαλεπά from the modifying adverb παντελῶς contribute to the emphatic force of the sentence; the separation of ταῦτα and πάντα is in this instance subsidiary.

Also at D.390* the main emphasis falls on the exaggerated weight (four talents) and the link may be appositive rather than attributive, and therefore weaker.

In some sentences there seems to be no special emphasis, and although formally there is a division between two parts of the closely cohering attributive group demonstrative + noun, there are no other factors in the sentence to contribute to emphasis: This is true of

²³⁸ The stronger the emotion, the less cases there are from passages where the link between the demonstrative and the noun is weak. For more on this see 5.2 below.

²³⁹ Note that with regard to the flow of the sentence as well, the examples from passages where there is less cohesion between demonstrative and noun come mainly in sentences where there is no disruption. See 5.3.1.

²⁴⁰ Cf. Asp.138f* τοὺς ἑξακοσίους χρυσοῦς (direct object); D.873 οἰκεία (predicate); Ep.465* τὸ παιδάριον at 464 (direct object); Sam.322 ἱμάντα (direct object).

²⁴¹ In the other sentences given in the footnote above the tone and nuance likewise contribute to the emphasis of those words and the hyperbaton of demonstrative and noun is either subsidiary, or further contributes to the general disorder of the sentence (see at D.873). Note that in two cases (marked with an asterisk) there may not have been such close syntactic links.

five passages in which there is some deictic nuance in the demonstratives: D.5*, 32; Pk.145f*; fr.56.1*; and fr.620.3.

Note that three come in prologues and the other two are fragments for which background information is limited.

Other passages in which there seems to be little emphasis by hyperbaton are Asp.246ff* and Sam.280f*, both announcements; the first is a loose formula sometimes used at the end of Act I in New Comedy, and in the second the arrival of a new character is announced. In neither of these is any emotion detected, and the phrases formed by hyperbaton may or may not be self-contained (see 5.3.2). There is no acute disruption, and note that in both passages there is doubt as to whether the relation between the demonstrative and the noun being split is strictly attributive.

In passages with hyperbaton where some degree of emotion can be identified, and emphasis cannot be positively attached to another part of the sentence, hyperbaton can, with emotion and perhaps other contributory factors, be seen to draw emphasis to the demonstrative, the noun, or both.

This is less common when there is no disruption in syntax or meaning.²⁴² In three such passages there is emphasis on the demonstrative, probably effected by hyperbaton in combination with nuance, and an emotioanl or coloured tone, e.g. Moskhion's desperate plea at a highly dramatic moment, Sam.468:²⁴³ :: ταύτην ἔμοι δὸς τὴν χάριν::

In one passage, Ep.326, there is emphasis on part of the attributive group, πάντα. There is no nuance, but a flattering tone (5.2.2).

Emphasis is more common in emotional passages with hyperbaton when, along with other factors, the hyperbaton itself creates diruption to the sentence, as e.g. in Asp.398:²⁴⁴ ἐγώϊδα τούτου τὰς τέχνας τοῦ δραπέτου, where there is a nuance of

²⁴² There is probably no emphasis on the demonstrative in hyperbaton at Asp.91f (no nuance 5.1.1, some sadness 5.2.2), and Ep.1111 (no nuance, admonitory tone and imperative in a short sentence).

²⁴³ Cf. Sk.359 with deictic nuance (5.1.2), excitement in a plan conceived (5.2.2) and again a short imperative, and cf. also Ep.514f*, with a plan (5.2.2), but a weaker example of the role of the hyperbaton because of the possibility of a looser syntactic link between demonstrative and noun.

²⁴⁴ Cf. Grg.26f with a similar nuance (5.1.2) and degree of disruption (5.3.2), and even stronger emotion (5.2.3); while these two have emphasis on the demonstrative, emphasis seems to lie in the noun at Ep.338f, and the hyperbaton comes in conjunction with an urgent tone (5.2.2) and an added nuance (5.1.2).

contempt (5.1.2), coinciding with a suspicious tone (5.2.2), and a certain degree of disruption (5.3.2).

And where, in addition to hyperbaton, there is clearly strong disruption and an emotional tone as at fr.581.1²⁴⁵ (5.3.3 and 5.2.2 respectively), the emphasis on the demonstrative seems certain.

In those sentences in which the hyperbaton comes with an extreme emotion and causes marked disruption, e.g. Asp.185f, and also with nuance, as at Sam.72, it clearly plays a role in the emphasis of the part or parts of the group it splits.

The importance of close scrutiny of the context, nuance, tone, structure, and other characteristics of the individual passages cannot be overestimated; the concluding discussion may leave one with the impression that there is a simple formula -- namely, the more factors, the stronger the emphasis. A cautionary counterexample is Ep.543, where there is no nuance, and no disruption and no definite emotional tone; and yet this is an example where the hyperbaton has effect on its own, perhaps by the sheer distance between the parts of the attributive group:

νῆ τῷ θεῷ, πάντων γ' ἐμαυτῇ σ' αἴτιον/ ἡγήσομαι τούτων.

There is emphasis on πάντων, and perhaps also on the demonstrative, and Habrotonon may have a hint of sarcasm in her voice (see 5.2.1).

²⁴⁵ Cf. D.311f* where in addition to urgent tone (5.2.2) and substantial disruption (5.3.3) there is added nuance; note again that the group split may not be exclusively attributive, and the hyperbaton may not be so effective.

6. CLOSING REMARKS ON HYPERBATON

Specific observations were made and summarized in 2-5. In this section I briefly generalize on some of the observations and findings and raise some questions.

- i) If we look at all the groups, we note that examples of hyperbaton with combined extreme degrees of all of the criteria are not frequent. While numerals, indefinites, and demonstratives all had less hyperbata with the highest level of disruption, a little over a third of possessives in hyperbaton showed disruption (4.2.3). It is always possible that my criteria were not consistent, although I have justified my classifications in most cases.
- ii) The intervening element varies in form, length, and disruptive force, and the compatibility of the intervening element with the constituents it split proves to be more important in determining the level of disruption than, say, length. Short intervening elements are not necessarily undistruptive,²⁴⁶ just as long intervening expressions are not necessarily disruptive.²⁴⁷ Dover's requirement that the surrounding words be part of an analysis of a word-group (such as noun and adjective) proves vital. The most salient example for this is the verb as an intervening element. On its own it does not indicate its disruptive effect: a verb splitting an attributive group often creates with the group a self-contained phrase, but we have seen passages in which the verb attaches to some other subject or complement, and the attributive group it splits itself has an unrelated function in the sentence at large. Other incompatible combinations are created by nominal intervening elements such as subjects splitting a group which functions as a predicate, or any other nominal phrase; in nominal phrases word-order is more important and such fragmentation is more likely to create disruption in meaning. Sometimes they are simply incompatible, as in the case of accusative enclitic pronouns splitting attributive groups in the nominative: this creates subject + object combinations which are not autonomous (e.g. 5.2.2 (5) or 5.3.3 (5)).
- iii) There are contexts which recur in New Comedy, such as entrance-announcements and prologues (§5), recognition-scenes (§3) and identity and ownership (§4) involving

²⁴⁶ E.g. 3.3.2 (3), 3.3.3 (5). See also Bergson (1960) 201.

²⁴⁷ See 4.2.1 and Ep. 543 in 5.3.1.

conventional phraseology or typical arguments which may cause the recurring use of these particular attributes in the patterns they are found.

iv) A loose correlation may be identified between low disruption and low nuance (i.e. use of the indefinite as an indefinite article) in hyperbata involving indefinites (§3) on the one hand, and on the other more significant or emphatic hyperbaton when the indefinite is more 'lexical', for example with a negative nuance. An analogously loose correlation was felt between demonstratives with demonstrative function (low level of nuance) and low level of disruption on the one hand hyperbata with higher levels of disruption involving demonstratives with the (more lexical, less grammatical) nuance of contempt.

v) I recall that some examples of hyperbata showed symmetry, formal structuring, and rhetorical motivations. Löpfe (1940) 138ff distinguishes two 'types' of hyperbaton; 'natural' and 'rhetorical'.

vi) The modifiers most frequently involved in split over the verse end were possessives, but all modifiers were to some extent involved: numerals and indefinites preferred to precede the split and the verse division (8: 6 and 4: 2 respectively), while possessives and demonstratives preferred to follow the split and the verse division (11: 7 and 7: 3 respectively). All of these figures are low and the proportions between them only give an impression. A comparison with enjambment in Menander should prove interesting, but criteria need to be worked out more rigorously.

Appendix Ia: indicative finite perfects in Menander

ἀγοράζω (Sk.14; fr.318.2)
ἀγρυπνέω (fr.100.3)
ἀδικέομαι (F.I.28, 59, 60)
ἀδικέω (Asp.215; Grg.2.3; D.E.110a, 110b; D.140, 303; Her.[79]; Kith.[61]; Pk.514; Sam.68)
αἰσθάνομαι (Ep.557; Sam.308)
ἀκούω (Asp.82; D.918; Pk.319; Sam.128, 259, 271, 477, 589; Sk.206; F.I.53; fr.208.2)
ἀμαρτάνω (Sam.3)
ἀναιρέω (Kol.93; Sk.82)
ἀναπείθω (D.838)
ἀνάπτομαι (Sam.674)
ἀναρπάζομαι (Asp.13; Pk.[323])
ἀνασπάω (fr.362.2)
ἀνατρέπομαι (Sam.548)
ἀναφέρω (D.685)
ανοίγω: ἀνέωιγα (fr.206.1)
 ἀνέωιχα (fr.192.2)
ἀπαγγέλλω (Pk.267)
ἀπαλλάττω (Ep.416)
ἀπέρχομαι (Ep.1007; Pk.492)
ἀποβαίνω (F.I.49)
ἀπογιγνώσκω (Pk.[745])
ἀποδιδράσκω (Sam.358)
ἀπολαμβάνομαι (Kol.fr.5.2)
ἀπολαμβάνω (fr.516.2)
ἀπολείπομαι (D.775)
ἀπόλλυμι: ἀπόλωλα (D.84; Ep.751, 906; Kol.86; Pk.1018; Prnth.9; Sam.315, 324; Ph.66; fr.568.7)
 ἀπολώλεκα (Grg.5; Kol.88; Mis.247; fr.703.1)
ἀπολογέομαι (Sam.334)
ἀπονοέομαι (Pk.375)
ἀποπέμπω (Asp.313)
ἀποστέλλω (D.263)
ἀποσώζω (Ep.1108)
ἀριστάω (D.779)
ἄρχομαι (D.392)
ἀτυχέω (Asp.287; Ep.891; fr.136.1)
ἀφαιρέομαι (Asp.225)
ἀφυβρίζω (fr.319.1)
βιόω (Kith.fr.1.11)
βουλεύομαι (fr.336.6)
βωλοκοπέω (D.515)
γαμέω (Asp.260; fr.59.2)
γίγνομαι (Asp.112, 262, 366; D.35, 324, 398, 543, 558, 728; Ep.296, 372, 1121, [1130]; Mis.204; fr.6.1; Pk.[124], 182, 399, 533, 711, 724, 1021; Sam.66, 132, 248, 480, 500, 513, 522, 699, 713; Sk.127, 354; F.I.55; fr.790.2)
δείδω (D.151, [248], 900; Kith.48; Kol.130; Mis.268; Sk.97; fr.620.11)
δείκνυμι (Mis.190)
διακόπτομαι (Sam.679)
διαμαρτάνω (Asp.110)
δίδομαι (D.E.90)
δίδωμι (D.722, 770; Ep.287; Kith.90; Pk.150, 757; Sk.96; fr.620.6)

διευτυχέω (D.486)
 διώκω (D.118)
 δοκέομαι (D.[885]; Her.71; Sam.117)
 δουλόομαι (fr.568.1)
 ? δύω (fr.702.2 Cobet δίδωμι cod.)
 ἐγείρω (Kon.4)
 ἐγκλείομαι (Asp.345)
 ἐγχειρέω (Her.42)
 ? εἰσαπόλλυμι (D.[681] this compound conj. Sandbach)
 εἰσέρχομαι (Asp.122, 428; Mis.271, 286; Pk.984; Sam.425)
 εἰσπηδάω (D.602; Sam.564)
 εἰστρέχω (Sam.361)
 ἐκβάλλω (Sam.407)
 ἐκκλείω (Sam.416)
 ἐκλακτίζω (fr.16.1)
 ἐκπέμπω (Pk.178)
 ἐκπηδάω (Pk.527)
 ἐκχέω (fr.670.2)
 ἐλεέομαι (fr.479.1)
 ἐμβροντάομαι (Grg.4.1; Kol.63)
 ἐμμένω (Sk.415)
 ἐμπίπτω (Asp.403)
 ἐνάρχομαι (Sam.674)
 ἐνθριόω (Sam.586)
 ἐνσείω (D.581)
 ἐξελαύνω (Sam.436)
 ἐξέρχομαι (D.686; Mis.A23)
 ἐξευρίσκω (Kol.89; Sam.680; fr.89.2; 757.1)
 ἐξισάζω (Ep.792)
 ἐξίστημι (Her.70; Sam.279, 620)
 ἐπακούω (D.821)
 ἐπικαύομαι (D.754)
 ἐπιλανθάνομαι (D.456; Sam.429)
 ἔρχομαι (Asp.15; D.764; Karkh.31; Kith.[35], 44. 66; Mis.A32, 259; fr.105-6.1)
 εὐρίσκω (D.489; Ep.869; fr.409.2)
 εὐτυχέω (Pk.1007; F.I.49)
 ἔχω (Kol.4.2; fr.419.3)
 θαρρέω (D.692)
 θαυμάζω (D.79)
 θεάομαι (Ep.325)
 θνήσκω (Asp.216, 343, 421, 472, 501, 502; D.438, 648; Mis.249; Sam.539; Sk.126; fr.453.1; 479.1)
 θορυβέομαι (Sam.426)
 θύω (D.554, 567)
 ἵστημι (D.100, 168; Ep.935; Mis.A6, 23; Pk.770; Sam.105, 406; fr.325-6.2; 352.1)
 καλέω (Sam.296)
 καταδουλόω (Mis.fr.2.1)
 κατακόπτομαι (D.398)
 καταλαμβάνω (D.E.106)
 καταλείπω (Pk.342, 506a, 506b)
 καταλιπαρέω (Sam.721)
 ?καταπέτομαι (Kol.40)
 καταπίνω (Ep.368)

? κατατίθημι (D.[920] corr. aor. in perfectum Handley)
 καταφεύγω (Pk.321, 401)
 ? καταχράομαι (Pk.325 conj. Robert)
 κατεργάζομαι (D.864; fr.333.2)
 κηδεύω (Ep.[690])
 κινέω (fr.30.1)
 κίχρημι (fr.396.2)
 κομίζω (Asp.275; Sk.314)
 κράζω (Mis.A53; Sam.364, 553)
 κρίνω (D.833)
 κτάομαι (Pk.781)
 λαλέω (D.9, Pk.320, 347, 509; Sk.11.6)
 λαμβάνω (Asp.394; D.136; Ep.517; Mis.306; Pk.985; Sam.54; Sk.261; fr.352.3)
 λανθάνω (Ep.432; fr.33.1)
 λέγω (D.[303], 316, 501, 507, 509, 750, 822; Ep.292, 293a, 293b, 352, Her.43;
Kol.14; Pk.[158], 289, 327, 792, 798, 823; Sam.437, 662; fr.334.1)
 λογίζομαι (Ep.[140])
 ? λοιδορέομαι (Kol.[13])
 λούομαι (Pk.305);
 λυπέομαι (Sam.696)
 λυπέω (Pk.494)
 μαίνομαι (Ep.879)
 μαιθάνω (Asp.113; D.419; Sam.655)
 μηνύω (Pk.148)
 νυέω (fr.779.2)
 νομίζομαι (fr.592.3)
 νομίζω (Asp.175, 334; D.E.101; D.173; Ep.135, 352; Pk.489; fr.613a.2)
 ὀδυνάω (Asp.371)
 ὄμνυμι (Pk.791, 793)
 ὁμολογέω (Sam.651 C)
 ὀράω (D.409, 669; Ep.383, [860]; Kol.[88]; Mis.A5; Sam.61; fr.208.2)
 ὀρμάω (Asp.320; Ep.419)
 ? παίζω (fr.209.3 Sandbach -- πέπαικεν codd.)
 παράλείπομαι (D.780)
 παραπόλλυμι (D.695)
 παραφύω (fr.337.3)
 παρίστημι (D.702; fr.153.3)
 παροινέω (D.93)
 παροξύνομαι (D.383; Sam.621)
 πάσχω (Grg.84; D.298; Ep.363, 367; 854, fr.9.1; Her.18; Mis.249, 388; Pk.758;
 fr.568.6; [949.1])
 πείθω (D.38; Pk.327, [328]; Sam.558)
 πέμπω (D.72; Pk.354)
 περισπάομαι (Ep.360)
 πέρνημι (Kol.56, 126)
 πηγνυμι (Sam.515)
 πίνω (Kol.fr.2.4; Pk.471)
 πίπτω (D.628)
 πιστεύομαι (fr.159.1)
 πλανάομαι (fr.683.7)
 πλέκομαι (Her.12)
 πλήττω (D.188; Ep.906; Sam.301, 367, 555)
 ποιέω (Sam.308, 387, 487, 652; Ph.20; fr.323.1; 740.6)

πράττομαι (Sam.530)
 προέρχομαι (D.576; fr.100.2)
 προλέγω (Pk.152)
 προσαγορεύω (D.10)
 προσέρχομαι (D.309, 471)
 προσίστημι (D.96)
 προσπίπτω (Ep.881)
 προστάττομαι (Sam.199)
 πταίω (Ep.821)
 πυνθάνομαι (Ep.[138], 579; Sk.193)
 σκευάζω (Sam.599)
 σπείρω (Mis.233)
 σπουδάζω (D.148; Kith.100; Sam.139, 145, 185)
 συγχέω (fr.523.1)
 συγχωρέω (D.786)
 συμβαίνω (Sam.55, 424, 434; Sk.[125]; fr.774.1)
 συμπείθομαι (D.818)
 συμπείθω (Sk.260)
 συμπλέκομαι (Ep.236)
 σώιζω (D.726; Ep.351; Sk.379)
 σώιζομαι (fr.59.9)
 ταραττομαι (D.313)
 τίκτω (Asp.218; Ep.639)
 τολμάω (Sk.11.6)
 τρέφω (Sk.226)
 τρέχω (fr.690.1)
 τυγχάνω (D.126; Pk.1023)
 υπακούω (D.494)
 υπεκδύομαι (Ep.904)
 υπερπαίω (Asp.117)
 υπέρχομαι (fr. 431.1)
 υπέχομαι (Her.43)
 υπολαμβάνω (Asp.270)
 φεύγω (D.164),
 φθείρομαι (Her.13; Pk.778)
 φρίττω (Ep.901)
 φροντίζω (Asp.119, 392; fr.588.1)
 χάσκω (D.441)
 χειμάζομαι (Karkh.6)
 χράομαι (D.E.62; Ep.911; Pk.315)
 ψοφέω (D.204; Ep.875; Karkh.4; Mis.?; Sam.669; fr.766.1).
 ώνέομαι (fr.581.2 K-T, codd. -- present Cobet, Sandbach)

Appendix Ib: other forms with the perfect stem in Menander

pluperfects in Menander:

Asp.26

D.53, 79, 156

Ep.259, 490

Her.5.1

Kol.?40

Pk.520:

fr.155-156.1; 427.1; 434; 437.2

future perfects in Menander:

Asp.252f (prphr); 345 Austin

D.364

Sam.80, 549

subjunctive perfects in Menander:

Kith.46f: (subjunctive) ἦι γεγονὸς

Pk.[777]: [γεγένητ]αι

fr.628.2: ἦι συγκεκλεισμένος.

612.11

perfect imperatives in Menander:

Asp.229

D.847, 945

Ep.?1112

Sam.350, 580, 612

perfect infinitives in Menander:

D.289

Ep.305, 572, 882

Her.1

Mis.[A14]

Pk.[288], [330], [719]

Sam.72, 79, [250], 345, 441, 615, 618, 622

.

Appendix II: sentence types in which perfects are used (discussed in 2.2.2 and following sections) A=antilabe; R=response; ext=extreme; ctxt=context; i=one-word sentence. Other notation given in list of abbreviations with bibliography.

TABLE 1: STATEMENTS WITH VERBS IN PERFECT, SYNOPSIS OF FORM/FUNCTION

	1 DIAL. EXCHANGE	2 V B	3 SHORT	4 PTCP.	5 CONN	6 APODOTIC	7 DEPENDENCE	8 AFFECT
Asp. 13	-				+		+	
15	-	-		+	+	-	+	
82	+	+	+		-	-	-	-
110	-	-	-	+	-	+		-
112	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
113	-	-	±	-	/+	-	+	±
175	+	-		-	+	-	+	+
216	-	-	-	-		+	-	-
218	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
225	-	-	±	+	-	-	+	-
262	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
343	+	-	+	-	-	-	+R	+
345	+	-	±	-	+	-	+	-
394	-	-	-	-	-	>ώστε inf.	+	+
D.E.62	+		-	-	+	+	-	-
90	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
D.35	-			+	+	+	-	-
38	-	-	-	+	+	>inf.	+	-
72	+	+A	-	-	-	> f.ptcp.	+R	+
96	+	-	±	-	+	-	+	-
98	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
(≈qu.) 118	+	±	±	(+)	+	-	-	+
126	+	-	-		-	> ptcp.	+R	+
136	-	±	+	-	-	-	+	+
151	-(self)	-	-	-	/+	-	-	+
164	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
188	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+
263	-	-		+	-	> f.ptcp.	-	-
303	+	-	±	-	-	+	-	+
313	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
383	- ?	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
398a	-	-	+	-		+	+	?
398b	-	-	-	+	-	+	?-	-
419	+	-	+	-	-	-	+R	-
438	+	-	+	-	+	-		+
471	+	-	-	-	/+	> f.ptcp.	+ R	-
489	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	?
494	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	
507	+	-	-	-	/+	> inf.	-	+
543	-	-	+	-	/+	-	-	
554	+	-	±	-	-	-	+R	-
558	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+
576	-	+	+	-		-	-	+
581	+	[+]	±	-	+	-	-	+
602	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
628	+	+A	-	-	+	-	-	-
685	-	-	±	-	+	-	-	+
686	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
692	+	+A	+	-	-	-	+	-
722	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
726	+	-	-	+	-	> obj.ptcp.	-	-

Appendix II, table 1 continued

	DIAL. EXCHANGE 1.	V.B. 2.	SHORT 3.	PTCP 4.	CONN. 5.	APODOTIC 6.	DEPENDENT 7.	AFFECT 8.
<u>D.750</u>	+					+	+R'	?
770	+	-	+	-	-		+	-
775	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+
780	+A	+	±	-	+	-	+R	+
818	+	-	±	-	-	-	+	+
821	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+
833	+	-	-	-	-	> AcI	+R	?
838	+	-	?	?	?	?	?	-
864	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
[885]	- ?	-	-	-	-	> inf.	+	?
900	+	+A	-	-	-	> μñ c.subj.	+R	?
<u>Ep.[138]</u>	-	-	+		-		+	+
[140]	-	+	+	-	-		+	+
287	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	?
292	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
293b	+A	+	+	=		=	+R	+
296	+		-	-	+	-		
325	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
352	+	-	+1	-	-	-	-	?
360	-	-	±	+	-	+	+	+
419	-		-	+	-	>inf., >ptcp.	-	+
432	-	-	-	-	-	> ptcp.		+
579	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
869	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	?
875	+	-	±	+	-	-	+	-
881	-		+	-	-	-	+	+
901	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	?
904	-	-	+	-	?+	-	+	+
906b	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+
911	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1108	+	-	-	-	/+	> acc. ptcp.	+	+
1121								
<u>Her.18</u>	+			+		?	+R	?
43a	+	-	?+	-	+	-	+	-
43b	+	-	-	+	+	> inf., >ptcp	+	-
<u>Karch.31</u>	+	-	+	+	-		?	+
<u>Kith.48</u>	+	-	+		?		-	-
<u>Kol.256</u>	+	?	?	?	+	?	?	?
88	+	-	-	-	-	+		+
93	+	-	-	-	-	+		+
130	- ?	-	+	-	+	> inf.	+	-
4.2	?+	-	-	-	-	?	?	-
5.2	?	-	-	-	+	-	?	-
<u>Mis.A6</u>	-	-		+		+	-	?
A32	+	-	-	-	+	-		?
A53	+	-	+	-	-	-	+R	±
249b	+	+A	+1	-	-	-	+	?
259	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
268	+	-	+1	-	-	-	+	?
306	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	?
fr.6.1	? no ctxt	?+	+	-	-	no ctxt	no ctxt	-
<u>Pk.[124]</u>	-	-	+		+	-		-
[158]	-	-	±	-	+	> ind. qu.	-	-
178	-			+	+	> f.ptcp.	+	-

Appendix II, table 1 continued

Appendix II, table I continued

	DIAL EXCHANGE V B	SHORT	PTCP	CONN	APODOTIC	INTERACTIVE	AFFECT	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Pk. 267	+				+			?
305	+	+	+	-	/+	-	-	?
342	+	-	+	-	-		+	+
347	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
354	-	-	-	+	-	> purpose	-	+
399	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
489	+	+A	+	-	-	-	+	+
492	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	
509	+	-	-		+		-	
527	-		+	+	-	-	-	+
533	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
791	+	-	+	-	+	> μή c.f.inf.	+	-
792	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
793	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	?
(798	+	-	-	-	'as'	-	+	+))
823	+		+	-	-	-	-	+
1021	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
1023	+	-	?	-	-	-	+	-
Sam 3	-		+		+		?	
54	-	-	-	+	-	?	+	
55	-	-	±	-	+	-		+
128	-		+	-	/+	-	?	+
132	+	±	-	-	-	-	+R	+
139	+	+	+	-	<+>	-	+R	+
199	+	-	-	-	πλήν	-	+	?
30i	-	+	±	+	+	-	-	?
308b	+	+A	±	-	-	+	+R	-
334	- ?			+	+	+	+	+
358	-	-	±	-	-	-	-	+
≈excl 361	-		±	+		-	+R'	+
364	-	-	+	-	γούν	-	+	
367	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	?
387	+(at mute)	+	+	-	+	-	-	+
406	-	-	-	+	-	-	+R'	+
407	+	+	±	-	-	-	+R	+
424	-	-	-	+	?	+	-	+
425	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-
426	-	-	+	-	-	-	?	-
434	+	+A	+	-	-	-	+R	+
436	+	+A	-	-	-	-	+R	+
477	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
487	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+
500	+	+	±	-	-	-	-	+
515	-			-	+			+
548	-	-	+	-	-	-		+
555	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
558	+	-	-	-		> inf.	+R	+
564	-	-	+l	-	-	-	-	+
620	-	-	-		-	+	+	+
621	-	-	-	-	+	+	?	+
651C	-	-	-	-	-	> inf.	-	-
655	-	-	+l	-	-	-	+(self)	+
669	-	-	±	+	-	-		
679	+	+A	+	-	-	-	+R	+ ?
713	+	-	+	-	-	-	+?R	-

Appendix II, table 1 continued

	DIAL. EXCHANGE 1.	V.B. 2.	SHORT 3.	PTCP. 4.	CONN. 5.	APODOTIC 6.	INTERACTIVE 7.	AFFECT 8.
Sam.721	+	+A	+	+		+	+	?
Sk.14	+		-	-		-	+ (o.r. in pro)	
96	?+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
97	?+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
206	+	-	-	?+	+	+	+ (o.r.)	+
379	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-
Ph.20	- ?		?	?	-	?	-	-
E.I.28	+	+	+				+R	+
49	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+
49	+		+	-		-	+	+
55	+	+	-	-	/+	-	+R	+

Appendix II: Table 2 (for reference with 2.2.2 and §6).

TABLE 2: AFFECTIVE STATEMENTS WITH VERBS IN PERFECT, SYNOPSIS

	DIAL. EXCHANGE 1	V.B. 2	SHORT PARTICLE 3	INTENS. 4	EMPH. POSITION 5	DEPENDENCE 6	7
Asp.117	-			+	+ EXT	+	
392	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
403	-	+	±	-	?	+	+
421	+	+				+	+R
501	+	-	?	?	?	?	?
D.79	+			+	+	+	+
168	-	+	-	-	+	+	-
[248]	+	-	±	[-]	+	+	+
398	-	-		-	±	+	+
515	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
567	+	-	*	+	+	-	+
681	+	+	±	+	+	+	+
695	+	-	-		+	-	+
918	+	+A	-	<+>	+ EXT	-	+R
Ep.[140]	-	+	+	+	+	+	
236	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
372	-	-	±	-	+	-	-
383	-	-	+		+ EXT	+	-
Kol.2.4	+	+A	±	-	+EXT	+	+R
Mis.247	+	+	?	?	+	-	?
Pk.494	+	+	-	-	+		+R
506a	+		±	-	+	+	+
506b	+	-	±	-	+	+	-
514	+	-	-	+	+	-	+
711	+	-	±	+	+ EXT	+	+
984	-	-	+1	-	-	-	-
?Prnth.9	+	-	+1	-	+	+	
Sam.279	-	-		-	+ EXT	+	+
429	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
539	+	+A	+	-	-	-	+R
680	+	+A	+	+	+	-	+
Sk.354	?+	+	+	-	-	+	-
F.I.49a	+		+	-	+	+	+

Appendix II, table 3

TABLE 3: EXCLAMATORY SENTENCES WITH PERFECTS, SYNOPSIS

	1. OPENER	2. DIAL.3.	SHORT	4 yc	5. INTENSIF.	6 VOC/2S	7 EMPH.POS	8. RESPONSE
<u>D.</u> 84	-	+	+1		-		+	
148	+		+		+		+	-
168	-				+	?	+	-
<u>Ep.</u> 363	+	+	+		+		+	?
367	+	+	+	+	+		+	?
879	-		+		+	-	+	-
891	+		±		+	-	+	-
906a	-		+1			-	+	-
<u>Her.</u> 70	-	+	+1	-		+		+
<u>Mis.</u> 249a	+	+	±	-	+	+	+	-
<u>Pk.</u> 182	+		+	-	+	-		
315	+		±	-		-		-(dep)
489	-	+A	±	-	+	-		+
2527	-		±			-		
758	-	?	?		+	-	+	
985	+		±		+	+	+	
<u>Sam.</u> 315	-	+A	+1			+		+
324	-	+	+1			-		
437	+	+A	+			+		+
555	-		+		+			
599	-	+A	+		+			
<u>Fl.</u> 28	-	+A	+1		-		+	
49b	-	+	+1		-		+	

Sentences with exclamatory function in other forms:

Interrogative forms: D.173, 441, 702; Ep.935; Sam.105, 586.

TABLE4 : INTERROGATIVES WITH VERBS IN THE PERFECT: SYNOPSIS OF FORM AND FUNCTION

The perfects marked * in the table below are negative and are analyzed in table 5, as well.

	INTERROPER 1.	RHET 2.	IS IT ANSWERED? 3.	DIALOGUE 4.	AFFECT 5.	DEPEND 6.	CONN 7.	VERB POS 8.
Asp.215	+	+			±			q+
Asp.260	-	+		+A	±	+R	-	q+
Asp.270	-	+		+	+	+?R	-	e.s.
Asp.428	-		+	+			δέ	b.s.
Asp.502	-	+		+	?1	+?R	?	/+
Grg.84	+	-	+	+	+			q+
Grg.4.1	-	+	? ctxt missing	? (")	+1	?ctxt	-	/+
D.E.106*	+(μή)	?	+	+	+	-	[γ']	
D.E.110	-	+	-	+	+	+R	δέ	::b.s.
D.140	[+]		+	+	±	+	δέ	
D.173 ≈excl	-	+		+	+			e.phr.
D.204	+	?	+	-(self)	+			q+
D.409	+		+	+	-	+	δέ	q+
D.441 ≈excl	+	+		+	+		-	q+
D.456	-	+		+		+	-	e.s.
D.*501	-	+		+		+	-	ng+
D.*648	+(μή)	+		-(self)		?ctxt	ἀλλ'	ng+
D.702 ≈excl	+	?	-(no ctxt)	+	+	+R		q+
D.779	-	?	+	+A	+1			+/:
D.*786	-	+	+(self)		-	+R		ng+
D.[920]	[+]	-		?	±		?	e.s.
Ep.293a	-		+	+	+1	+R		/::+::
Ep.*751	-	+		ctxt missing	+		-οὐν	ng+
Ep.935 ≈excl	-		+	+A	+			/+
Kith.*44	-		+	+A		+R		ng+::/
Kith.66	+	+		-	+		οὐν	e.phr.
Kith.100	+	+	ctxt missing	+	+	+	-	
Mis.A5	+	+		-(νύξ)	+		-	/+.
Mis.A23	-	?	+	+	+		δέ	+/:
Mis.286	-	-	+(?)	+	+	-	-	
Mis.388	-	+	text missing	+(into house)		+	-	b.s.
Pk.319	[+]	+	-	+(o.r.)		-	[δέ]	+/:
Pk.320	-(?)	+	-	+(o.r.)	±	+	-	
Pk.327a	txt missing	-	+	+A		+	?	
Pk.327b	-	+	+(self)	+	±	+R	δ'	-
Pk.375	-	+		+	+	-		/::+
Pk.745	-	-?		+A	±	+R, γάρ		::+
Pk.*770	-	?	+	+A	±	no ctxt		/+.
Sam.61	-		+	+	+			/::+
Sam.105≈excl	-	+		+	+		-	- or bs
Sam.117	-	-	+	+A		+R, dem	-	::+
Sam.185	text missing	-	-	+		no ctxt	-	+/:
Sam.296	-	-	+	+A	+	+R	-	+::
Sam.308a	+		+	+	+	+R	δέ	/+::
Sam.480	+	+	+	+A	+	+R	γάρ	
Sam.586≈excl	+	+	+	+A	+		-	/+::
Sam.*589	-	+		+	±	+	-	ng+
Sam.652	+		+(self)	-(self)	-	+	-	
Sk.*[126]	text missing		+	+	+	-	[γάρ]	+.[::]

appendix II, table 4, end.

	INTERR.OPENER 1.	RHET IS 2.	IT ANSWERED? 3.	DIALOGUE 4.	AFFECT 5.	DEPEND 6.	CONN 7.	VERB POS 8.
<u>F.I.</u> *53	-	+	+(self)	+A	-	+R		ng+/-
<u>F.I.</u> *59	-	-	+	+A	+	+	γάρ	+::
<u>F.I.</u> 60	+	+	+	+A		+R γάρ	γάρ	e.s.

TABLE 5: NEGATIVE SENTENCES WITH PERFECTS, SYNOPSIS

The following perfects (marked * in table below) are also interrogative and are analyzed in table 4: D.E.106; D.501, 648, 786; Ep.751; Kith.44; Pk.770; Sam.589; Sk.[126]; F.I.53, 59.

	DIALOGUE 1.	V.B. 2.	SHORT 3.	CONN. 4.	DEPENDENT 5.	ILLOCUT./RHETOR. 6.
<u>Asp.</u> 119	-		-	+	+	+
287	-	-	-	+	+	+
<u>D.E.</u> 101	-	-	-	+	+	+
*106	+	+		[+]	+	+
<u>D.</u> 9	-				+	+
10	-			+	+	+
(148 B	-		+	+	-	+))
324	+	±	-	-	+	+
*501	+	-	-	-	+	+
509	+	+	+	+	+R	-
*648	-		+	+	?ctxt	+
669	-				-	+
728	+(o.r.)				+	
764	+	-	-	+	+	+
*786	+	-	+	-	+R	+
<u>Ep.</u> 135	-	-	+	-	+	+
368	+			-	+R	-
416	-		+	+	-	+
*751	?ctxt		+	+	-	+
[1130]	+		+	?	-	+
9.1	?	-	?	-	+	+
<u>Her.</u> 42	+	-	-	+	+R	+
<u>Karkh.</u> ?6	?+	?+	?	-	?	+
<u>Kith.</u> *44	+	+A	+		+R	
[61]	-				+expl, γε	+
<u>Kon.</u> 4	?	+	+		?+	?
<u>Pk.</u> 148	-			+	+	-
?724	+	+	?	?	ctxt missing	ctxt missing
*770	+	+	-	-	ctxt missing	+
<u>Sam.</u> 259	+(o.r.)	-	+	-	+(after :)	
?522 ¹	+	+A		+	+	
*589	+				+	+
<u>Sk.</u> *[126]	+			?	-	+
415	+	+	?	?	?ctxt missing	?
<u>F.I.</u> *53	+	+A	+	-	+R	+

¹ 'unless' statement, perhaps subordinate.

TABLE 6: RESPONSES AND THEIR FORMS (for consultation with §2.2.3)

	STATEMT 1.	STIM. 2.	DIAL. 3.	V.B. SHORT 4.	CONN 5.	POS. 6.	OBJ 7.	VERB 9.	CONXT 10.	
Asp.260	interrog	statement	+	+A	±			γεγάμηκα	present	
270	interrog	statement	+	+	-		e.s.	υπέιληφας	future	
343	+	prompt qu	+	-	+		/::+	τέθνηκας	futures	
421	aff stmt	prompt qu	+	+	+		/+ +	τέθνηκεν	present	
502	interrog	?statement	+	?	+		+	τέθνηκεν	τέθνηκ	
D.E.110	interrog	?statement	+	+A	+	+ δέ	+	ἡδίκηκα	ἡδίκηκας	
D.72	+	order	+	+A		-	e.ph.	πέπομφα	future	
D.126	aff stmt	statement	+				/+::	τετύχηκε	future	
419	+	statement	+		+1		/+	μεμάθηκα	pr/fut	
? 471	+	question	+	n/r	-	+	/+	προσεληλυθ	present	
509	negative	statement	+		+	+μέν	e.s.	εἶρηκας	εἶρηχ'	
554	+	question	+	-		-(qu rp)	/+ +	τεθύκαμεν	present	
692	+	command	+	+A	+1	-	::	τεθάρρηκ'	θάρρει	
702	interrog	greeting	+	+?A	±	-		παρέστηκας	vocat.	
750	+	command	+		±	-(voc.)		εἶρηχ'	'future'	
780	+	question	+	+A	±	+ἀλλὰ καί	e.s.	παραλέλειπ- ται	perfect	
786	ng.intrg	complaint	+		+	-(qu rp)	-	συγκεχώρηκ'	present	
833	+	accusation	+		-	-	-	κέκρικ'	κρίνεις	
900	+	statement	+	+A		-	+/-	δέδοικα	future, 'f'	
918	aff.decl.	doubt qu	+	+A	+	?<ἀλλ>		ἀκήκοας	present	
Ep.293a	interrog	statement	+		+1	-	::/+::	εἶρηκεν	εἶρηκα	
293b	+	doubt qu	+	+A	+1	-(qu)	e. sp	εἶρηκεν	εἶρηκεν	
368	negative	question	+	n/r	-	?εἰ μή	-	?τι	καταπέτωκε	present
Her.18	+	stmt(≈qu)	+		-		/+ +	πέποιθα	present	
42	negative	question	+	+A	-	+μέν	e.ph.	ἐγκεχεῖρηκ:	present	
70	exclam	curse	+	+A	+1		::+	ἐξέστηκας	curse	
Kith.44	interrog	indir. qu.	+	+A	+	-	+/- e.s.	ἐξεληλυθεν	present	
Kol.2.4	aff.decl	statement	+	+A	±	-	e.s.::	πέπωκας	ἐπέπων	
Mis.A53	+	prompt qu	+	-	+	-	::/+ +	κέκραγα	impl.pres	
Pk.327b	interrog	question	+	+A		+ δ'		εἶρηκα	perfect	
489	exclam	insinuation	+	+A	±			++	νερόμικα	present
494	aff.decl	accusation	+	+A	-	-(qu)		+	λελύπηκας	perfect
[745]	interrog	response	+	+A	-	[γάρ]	::b.s.	+	[ἀπέγν]ωκας	'future'
Sam.117	interrog	exhortat'n	+	+A	+		:: b.s.	-	δέδοκται	'future'
132	+	info qu	+					-	γέγονε	impl.pres
139	+	disbelief	+	+A	±	?<ἀλλ>	+/- e.s.	-	ἐσπούδακα	present
296	interrog	summons	+	+A	+	-	e.s.	+	κέκληκε	voc.!
308a	interrog	threat	+	+A	+	+δέ(qu)	/+ e.s.	+	πέποηκα	'future'
315	exclam	response	+	+A	+1	-	::	-	ἀπόλωλας	present
361	+	exclam qu	-self		±	-			εἰσδεδράμηκ	perfect
406	+	"	-self	-	-		/+	-	ἔστηκε	
407	+	info qu	+	+A	+	-	::b.s.	+	ἐκβέβληκε	perf ptcp
434	+	question	+	+A	±	-(qu rp)			συμβέβηκεν	no verb
436	+	question	+	+A	-		/+	+	ἐξεληλακ'	impl perf
437	exclam	response	+	+A	+		e.s.	?	εἶρηκας	perfect
480	interrog	question	+	+A	±	+ γάρ	-		γέγονεν	impl pres
539	aff.decl	order	-exits	+	±		-		τέθνηχ'	pr impv
558	+	prompt qu	+	-		-(qu)	-	+	πέπεικε	perfect
679	+	command	+	+A	+	-	::+		διακέκομαι	ng fut.
713	+	n/a	+inside	n/r	+	-	-	-	γέγονε	n/a
F.I.53	interrog	info qu	+	+A	+	-	+/- e.s.	-	ἀκήκοας	impl pres
55	+	question	+	+A	-	καί, γάρ		-	γέγονεν	present
60	interrog	parenth qu	+	+A	+	γάρ	e.s.	-	ἡδίκηται	ἡδίκηται

Appendix III: Subordinate clauses in Menander

IIIa: Relative clauses in Menander

SHORT RELATIVE PRONOUNS: 1. list; 2. table a; 3. table b; 4. N.B.)

1. with short rel prons (192 attested with context, 13 supplemented or uncertainly read, 14 not included because although pronoun itself attested, too much of context missing to confirm that the pronoun is used as a relative, and not in other uses -- see N.B.)

Asp.24, 36, 40 (adv.), 58, 65, 68, 87, 92, 122 (?adv), 134, 150, 168, 176, 204, 249 (indf), 275, 283, 292, 293, 326, 330, 334, [371],

Grg.5, 46 (adv.), 57, [59], 2.3
D.E.94, 4.1 (indf)

D.25 (adv.), 90, 99 (adv.), 156, 232, 257, 340, 356, 359 (?adv.), 361 (?adv.), 363 (?adv.), 381, 382, 401(adv.), 619 (f cond), 731, [760], 786 (indf), 812, 813, 822, 891

Ep.[171], 269, 281, 295, 299, 332, 345 (?o.o.), [394], 436, [442], 444 (?o.o.), 450, 464, 481, 501, 523 (cond), 556 (cond), 693, [866], 870, 919, 1123, 1131

Her.24
Kith.55, 1.2
Kol.86, 89, 116, 118 (fut), 122
Mis.215, 249, 2.2

Pk.127, 144, 150, 275, 404 (adv.), 405, 477, 495, 537, 717, 753, 757, 780, [795], 808, 983, 997

Sam.[7], [48], 68, 113, 121, 154, 212, 221, 231, 270, 281, 377, 402, 420, 521, 523, 603, 616, 640, 658, 661, 668, 679, 700, 705, 710

Sk.[129], 253, 314, 349, 354
F.Du. 2
Ph.17, 40,

fr.59.8; 60.2; 60.4; 80.1 (indf); 82.3; 101.2; 143.2; 144.1; 177.4 (cond); 198.5; 210.3; 221.1; 238.5; 264.14 (adv.); 287.5 (adv.); 295.3; ?302.1; 304.2; 324.3 (indf); 333.4; 333.7; 335.3 (indf); 353.1; 405.1; 418.3 (indf); 440.1; 442.3 (indf); 464.1; 479.2; 480.3; 487.2; 489.2; 490.2; 500.1; 509.2; 514.1; 528.1 (indf); 543.7 (indf); 580.1; 581.4; 581.5; ?581.9; 588.2; 612.11 (cond); 616.3; 620.6 (cond); 634.4 (indf); 696.2; 718.10; 740.2; 740.3; 740.11; 743.2 (?oo); 780.1; 781.1; 790.2; 950.1; x16b.2

Of the passages referred to above, 18 are identified as having a parenthetical function: Asp.36, 65, 122, 134, 168; Grg.46, 57; D.25, 99, ?812; Ep.269, 464; Her.24; Kith.1.2; Pk.127, 808; Sk.253, 354; 60.4; .
ca. 1/4 of these come with adverbs (see next).

37 of the relative clauses include **adverbs**: Asp.24, 87, 176, 283, 330, [371]; D.25, 99, 822, 891; Ep.269, 295, 436, 444, 464, 870, 919; Kith.55; Kol.89; Mis.215, 2.2; Pk.127, 495, 537, [717], [795]; Sam.[7], 121, 212, 420, 523, 705; Sk.349; F.D.2; 353.1; 479.2; 616.3

only a few of which are **parenthetical**: D.25, 99; Ep.269, 464; Pk.127

and of which following are in clauses identifiable as **anterior**: Asp.24, 87, 283, 330, [371], 822, 891; Ep.436, 870; Kith.55; Pk.[795]; Sam.[7], 212, ?420; Sk.349; F.D.2; ?353.1; 479.2; 616.3

that leaves these clauses with adverbs: Asp.176; Ep.295 (pr>pr vûv), 444, 919; Kol.89; Mis.215, 2.2; Pk.495 (pr> pr vûv), 537, [717]; Sam.121 (incompl), 705

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TABLE A: CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN MAIN CLAUSE VERBS AND RELATIVE CLAUSE VERBS

PRIMARY TO	pr > i: <u>Asp.24, 58</u> ; <u>Ep.450</u> ; <u>Kith.55</u> ; <u>Sam.113, 640, 700</u> ; fr.304.2
	pr > a: <u>Ep.[394]</u> ; <u>Ph.40</u>
	'f' > i: <u>Sam.113</u>
SECOND-ARY	'f' > a: <u>Asp.283, 330</u> ; <u>D.813, 891</u> ; <u>Ep.281, 436</u> ; <u>Sam.[7], 710</u> ; <u>Sk.253</u>
	pf > i: <u>Asp.176</u> ; <u>Mis.249</u> ; <u>Sam.212</u> ; fr.479.2
	other sequences: <u>D.90</u> Ø > i or a; <u>D.812</u> pr > periphrastic ἔχθω + a ptcp; <u>Ep.870</u> pr > Ø past implied; <u>Pk.144</u> Ø > i; <u>Sk.349</u> Ø implied impv > i
1	
SECOND-ARY TO PRIMARY	i > pr: <u>Grg.57</u> ; <u>Ep.1123</u> ; <u>Kith.1.2</u> ; fr.581.4.
	i > pf: <u>D.25</u> ; <u>Pk.537</u>
	a > pr: <u>Asp.293</u> ; <u>Grg.46</u> ; <u>Ep.464</u> ; <u>Her.24</u>
2	a > pf: <u>Grg.[5]</u> ; <u>D.99</u> .
	a ptcp > pr: <u>Asp.36</u> ; <u>Grg.[59]</u> ; <u>Sam.658</u> .
	other sequences: <u>Asp.134</u> past > pr; <u>Sam.221</u> (ἐκέλευσε + inf > pr); fr.581.5 ἔδει + infs > f see next
PRIMARY TO PRIMARY (MIXED)	pr > f: <u>D.401</u> ; fr.528.1 (aux + inf); 581.9; 743.2
	pr > pf: <u>Asp.122, 334</u> ; <u>Kol.86</u> ; <u>Sam.271</u> ; <u>Sk.314</u> ; 620.6; 790.2
	f > pr: <u>Ep.693</u> ; <u>Kol.118</u> ; fr.59.8; 144.1; 442.3
3	f > pf: <u>Asp.[371]</u> ; <u>D.359</u>
	'f' > pf: <u>Sam.120+</u>
	'f' > pr: <u>Asp.92, 249</u> ; <u>D.340, 363, 731, [760]</u> ; <u>Ep.501</u> ; <u>Pk.477, 780, 983</u> ; <u>Sam.282, 420, 679</u> ; <u>F.D.2</u> ; fr.60.2; 238.5; 353.1; 490.2.
	impv > f: <u>Asp.204</u> ; <u>Ep.444</u>
	impv > pf: <u>Pk.757</u> ; <u>Sam.661</u>
	pf > pr: <u>D.382</u> ; <u>Sam.521</u> ; <u>Sk.354</u> ; fr.588.2
	pf > f: <u>Grg.fr.2.3</u>
	pr ptcp > pr: <u>D.E.94</u> ; <u>D.356</u> ; <u>Ep.269, 345</u> ; fr.509.2; 740.3
	other sequences: <u>Asp.275</u> (Ø [sj impl] > pf); <u>D.326, 619</u> (impv > sj), ; <u>Ep.523</u> (f > pr sj), 556 (impv > sj); <u>Kol. ?122</u> ; <u>Mis.215</u> (pr>potential opt); <u>Pk.150</u> ('f' > pf), 275, [717] (Ø>fut.); <u>Sam.68</u> (Ø>pf); fr.221.1 (potential opt > f); 612.11 (pr > pf sj).
SECOND-ARY TO SECOND-ARY (MIXED)	i > a: <u>Asp.65</u> ; *68
	a > i: <u>Ep.919</u> ; <u>Pk.808</u> ; fr.333.4; 616.3; 781.1
	plp > i: <u>D.156</u>
4	a ptcp > i: <u>Sam.616</u> ; fr.80.1
	a ptcp > a: <u>Ep.332</u>
	other sequences: <u>Asp.168</u> (ᾠφελε > ἦν), 292 (a + inf > a); <u>Pk.127</u> (gen.abs. > 'a')
FULL FORMAL IDENTIT Y	pr > pr: <u>Asp.150</u> ; <u>D.E.4.1</u> ; <u>D.232, 257, 361, 381, 786</u> ; <u>Ep.[171], 295, [442], [866], 1131</u> ; <u>Pk.404, 405, 495</u> ; <u>Sam.[48], 154</u> (or ind.qu.), 377, 402, 523, 603, 668 (both + inf); fr.82.3 (both + inf); 101.2; 143.2; 198.5; 210.3; 295.3; 324.3; 335.3; 418.3; 464.1; 487.2; 500.1; 580.1; 634.4; 740.11.
	PF > PF: <u>D.822</u> ; <u>Kol.89</u> ; <u>Mis.fr.2.2</u> (implied in subordinate clause).
	SJ > SJ: fr.514.1
5	I > I: <u>Asp.40</u> ; <u>Ep.481</u> ; <u>Sam.231, 705</u>
	A > A: <u>Asp.87, 292</u> ; <u>Ep.299</u> ; <u>Pk.?[795]</u> ; fr.80.1.

TABLE B: TIME RELATIONS AND THE VARIETY OF FORMS IN RELATIVE SENTENCES IN MENANDER

1. RELATION	2. MAIN VB FORM ≠ SUB VB FORM	3. MAIN AND SUB VB FORMS SAME
1. ANTERIOR	Ø>past: <u>D</u>.90 pr>Ø: <u>Ep</u>.870; <u>Pk</u>.144+ pr>i: <u>Asp</u>.24+; <u>Ep</u>.450; <u>Kith</u>.55+; <u>Sam</u>.212+, 640 pr>a: <u>Ep</u>.[394]; <u>Ph</u>.40 f>pr: <u>Ep</u>.693 'f'>a: <u>Asp</u>.330+; <u>D</u>.813, 891+; <u>Ep</u>.281, 436+; <u>Sam</u>.[7]+, 710; <u>Sk</u>.253 'f'>i: <u>Sam</u>.113 'f'>pf: <u>Asp</u>.275, [371]+; <u>Pk</u>.150; <u>Sam</u>.661. 'f'>pr: <u>Sam</u>.120+ Ø>i: <u>Sk</u>.349+ Ø>pf: <u>Pk</u>.757; <u>Sam</u>.68, 271 i>a: <u>Asp</u>.68 pr>prphr: <u>D</u>.812 a.aux+inf>a: <u>Asp</u>.292 ainf>a: <u>Asp</u>.283 a.ptcp>i: <u>Sam</u>.616+	pf>pf: <u>D</u>.822+ a>a: <u>Asp</u>.87+; <u>Ep</u>.299
2. SIMULTANEO US	pf>i: <u>Asp</u>.176+; <u>Mis</u>.249 fear+inf>pr: <u>Ep</u>.501 pf>pr: <u>D</u>.382; <u>Sam</u>.521; <u>Sk</u>.354 'f'>pr: <u>Asp</u>.249; <u>D</u>.340, 363; <u>Sam</u>.282, 679 pr>pf: <u>Asp</u>.334 (and antr?) a>i: <u>Ep</u>.919+ plp>i: <u>D</u>.156 a.+inf>i: <u>Pk</u>.808; <u>Sam</u>.221 a.ptcp>pr: <u>Sam</u>.658 impv>sj: <u>D</u>.619	pr>pr: <u>Asp</u>.150; <u>D</u>.257, 381; <u>Ep</u>.295+, [442], [866], 1131; <u>Pk</u>.404, 495; <u>Sam</u>.154, 377, 523+ i>i: <u>Asp</u>.740; <u>Ep</u>.481; <u>Sam</u>.231+, 705 ?: <u>Pk</u>.405; fr.500.1; 740.11 prptcp>pr: <u>Asp</u>.326; <u>D</u>.356; <u>Ep</u>.345
3. SUBSEQUENT	pr>f: <u>D</u>.401 pf>f: <u>Grg</u>.fr.2.3 impv>aux+inf: <u>Ep</u>.444+	aptcp>a: <u>Ep</u>.332

4. TIMELESS/ GENERAL	'f'>unreal past: <u>Asp.92</u> pr>unreal past: <u>Mis.215</u> pr>i: <u>Asp.58</u>; <u>Sam.700</u> a>pr: <u>Asp.293</u>; <u>Grg.(46)</u>; <u>Ep.(464+)</u>; <u>Her.(24)</u> i>pr: (<u>Grg.57</u>); <u>Ep.1123</u>; <u>Kith.(fr.1.2)</u>; <u>Pk.537</u> a>pf: <u>D.(99+)</u> i>pf: <u>D.(25+)</u> past>pr: <u>Asp.(36)</u>, (134) pr>pf: <u>Asp.(122)</u>; <u>Kol.86</u> f>pf: <u>D.359</u> 'f'>pr: <u>Asp.204</u>; <u>D.731</u>, 786; <u>Pk.477</u>; <u>Sam.221</u> pf>Ø: <u>Mis.fr.2.2</u> Ø>pr: <u>Pk.927</u> a>i: <u>Asp.(168)</u> i>a: <u>Asp.(65)</u> impv>f: ? <u>Asp.204</u> f>sj: <u>Ep.523</u> impv>sj: <u>D.619</u>; <u>Ep.556</u> gen.abs>pr: <u>Pk.(127)</u>	pr>pr: <u>D.E.fr.4.1</u>; <u>D.232</u>, 361; <u>Ep.[171]</u>; <u>Sam.[48]</u>, 402, 603; 668. fr.101.2; 143.2; 198.5; 210.3; 295.3; 324.3; 335.3; 418.3; 464.1; 487.2; 580.1; 634.4; 740.11 prptcp>pr: <u>D.E.94</u>; <u>Ep.269+</u> pf>pf: <u>Kol.89+</u>
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N.B. Not included are clauses opening with:

- forms which look like relatives but are articles accented because of following enclitic or elided form: Asp.25, 328; Grg.82; Her.24; Pk.369; Sam.235; fr.277.3; 401.4; 616.2.
- relative pronouns which open a sentence, and are not correlated within the sentence, but rather are equivalent to a connective and demonstrative ('relativischer Anschluß'): Asp.40, ?58, 127; Grg.4.1; D.163, 800, 868; Ep.454; Her.71; Kith.50, 2.2; Kol.128; Mis.[155], 264; Pk.[281], 369 (or art.), 471, [761]; Sam.226, 413, 519, 728; fr. 25.1; ?39.8; ?181.1; 209.2; ?258.1.
- short relative forms which open an indirect question (or indirect discourse), (see later for longer forms): Asp.187, 347; D.7381, 719; Ep. 7345, ?444, 515; Pk.135, ?158, 403, 474, ?780, ?983; Sam.2531; fr.622.6; 678.1
- short relative forms opening exclamations: Ep.367, 368; Her.76, 77; Pk.1018; 333.7
- relative pronouns, but in passages whose text is damaged, or giving incomplete sentences: Asp.368, [489], 493, 542; Grg.5, [59]; D.E.109; D.[760]; Ep.661; Her.52, 73; Kith.82, 90; Kol.116, 118, 122; Mis.424, 440; Pk.287, 717, [720], 753, 780, 795, 1011; Sam.121, 314; Sk.120, [129]; Ph.[17]; fr. 617.2;

with indef.rel. pronouns /± other indef signs

Asp.8, 328; Grg.2.1; 3.2; D.E.[90], 5.2; D.74, 235, 522, 647, 713, 768; Ep.309, 310, 318, 415; Thphr.1.3; Kol.90; Pk.534; Prnth.3.1; Sam.690;
fr.55.2; 101.1; 142.1; 157.2; 255.1; 264.2; 276.6; 335.1; 336.1; 418.4 ; 511; 524;
541.1; 555.1; 576.1; 582.1; 612.6; 647.1; 725.1; 770.1; 941.1

? D.250 = indef. pron.; Grg.2.1 gen +, prs; 3.2 w/correl

with οἷος, ὅσος:

Asp.113, 192, 312 PF; Grg.27, 40; D.E.98; D.112, 276, 298 PF, 324 PF; Ep.328, [397], 984; Kol.87 PF, 90, [124]; Pk.486; Sam.102, 35, 496
fr.198.6; 251.1; 417.6; 436.1; 451.6; 532.1; 656.4; 690.2 PF; 737.1; 746.2

Appendix IIIb: Temporal Clauses in Menander

There are 32 temporal clauses opening with 'temporal conjunctions' in Menander, for those with a verb in the perfect, see 4.2.1

1 opens with ἐπεὶ: Sam.247 (PF < PR)

1 opens with ἥνικα: Sk.281 (I > I)

4 open with ὅτε: Ep.314 (I < I); Pk.1007 (PF < PR); Sam.379 (I > I); 740.2 (A > I) prnth; ?<742.3> (I > I or PR > PR)

26 open with ὥς: Asp.45; Grg.50; D.20, 121, 670, 685; Ep.329, 369, 557, 892; Her.31; ?Kon.14; Pk.154, 300, 318, 537; Sam.122, 127, 219, 244, 542, 619; Sam.3, 218; F.I.15; fr.15.1

TABLE II: CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN MAIN CLAUSE VERBS AND TEMPORAL CLAUSE VERBS

ὥς sec < prim	a < 'pr': <u>Asp.</u> 45; <u>Ep.</u> 329; <u>Pk.</u> 318; <u>Sam.</u> 244 a < 'pf': <u>D.</u> 685 'pf' > i : <u>Ep.</u> 369 (~)
ὥς prim < sec	Ø
ὥς prim < prim	pf < pr: <u>Ep.</u> 557 pr < 'pf': <u>Sam.</u> 619
ὥς sec < sec	a < i: <u>Her.</u> 31 (~); <u>Pk.</u> 154, 537; <u>Sam.</u> 122 a < past: <u>Sk.</u> 3, 218 i < a: <u>D.</u> 20; <u>F.I.</u> 15 i < Pr ptc: <u>D.</u> 121 (~)
ὥς aor < aor	<u>Grg.</u> 50; <u>D.</u> 670; <u>Pk.</u> 300 (~); <u>Sam.</u> 219, 542; 15.1

(~) The sentences with the less frequent order of main clause > ὥς clause are D.121; Ep.369; Her.31; Pk.300 -- the first three with imperfect, the last one with aorist; they all have causal nuance. (See Rijksbaron)

adverbs highly represented in temporal clauses: In all the clauses with full concord of forms.

- opening passages in which text is damaged, or giving incomplete sentences: for ἐπεὶ Ep.438, 980; Sk.99; for ὅτε Ep.596; 121.8; 151.245 Austin

IIIc Causal Clauses in Menander

For causal clauses with verbs in the perfect, see **4.3.1**.

Menander offers only 4 passages with causal clauses whose context is intelligible:

1 opens with ἐπειδὴ: Asp.181

2 open with ὅτι: Ep.278; Sam.374

1 opens with ὥς: D.532f

- the text is damaged at D.837 and at fr. 494.1

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IIIId Conditions in Menander

for conditional clauses with verbs in the perfect, see 4.4.1.

future:

future-more-vivid:

Asp.199, 233ff, 272ff, 388ff, 433f; D.174f, 176, 195, 205, 243ff, 407, 482ff, 729ff, 961ff; Ep.248, 493ff, 520f, 536f, 544ff, 551, 568ff, 1062f, 1068, 1125f; Kith.63f, fr.11.1; Pk.271-5, 364f; Sam.25f, 388f, 440, 470f, 526f, 560f, 682ff, 714; Sk.148f, 252f; Ph.86f, 89; fr.276.14f

with εἰ + find in prot: Asp.314f; Pk.[269], 398

subordinated to a verb in the past: fr.58.1ff; 287.3ff.

no verb in protasis

Asp.157

broken between two speakers:

D.855 σύμπεισον αὐτόν:: ἄν δύνωμαι.

future-less-vivid: D.367f; Ep.455f, 714f; Sam.364f, 607f; fr.554.1f.

question and answer:

D.E.14 only prot, typical of flv; then interrupted.

D.349 μάτην δὲ κακοπαθεῖς :: [οὐκ, εἰ λά]βοιμι τὴν κόρην.

Ep.367f πάντ' ἔχεις; :: οἶμαί γε δή./ εἰ μὴ τι καταπέπωκε...

mixed

D.733 εἰ γὰρ καὶ σφόδρ' ὑγιαίνοιμ' ἐγώ, αὐτός οὐ δυνήσομ' εὐρεῖν indic apod

Ep.902f ἄν ἴδῃ μέ που τὸν διαβάλλοντα, τυχὸν ἀποκτείνειεν ἄν. pot apod

?Thphr.1.1 εἴ τις θεῶν... λέγοι... εὐθὺς εἰπεῖν ἄν δοκῶ.

?Sam.141 ἀλλ' εἰ δικαίως ἐξετάσαι τις, γνήσιος ὁ χρηστός ἐστιν,... indic apod

pasts:

contrary to fact: Ep.334ff; Sam.330ff, 506f, 623-629, 724f; fr.264.11ff

general

Kith.55f; fr.287.3

simple:

present: D.303, 313ff, 384ff, 781, 798f; Ep.227f, 281f, 288ff, 458f, 495f, 718

q/a: Asp.352f: (Χα) νυνὶ μανθάνω. :: (Δα.) εἰ μὴ πέτρινος εἶ.

general:

60.1; 250.5

present: Ep.574ff; Thphr.fr.1.14; fr.210.2ff; 60.3f

w/aor apod: Grg.37f; D.495f; Ep.[1095f]; Ph.36;

w/pf apod: Asp.216ff; Ep.fr.9.1

rel cond.:

Asp.379; D.619; Ep.237f; 523f, 556; Thphr.fr.1.3; Kol.[118]; Sam.301f; Sk.181; fr.612.2f

'conditional' clause forms in parenthetical position, in sentence of wish nature

Grg.43f; Ep.511f; ?59.1

IIIe Indirect Discourse in Menander

opening with ὅτι:

Asp.149, 333; D.788, 565; Ep.538, 557; Pk.159, 319, 320, 542; Sam.24, 267, 317, 318, 410; fr.494.2; 538.1.

opening with ὥς:

Sam.589; Sk.143.

pr > pr	pf > pr	'f' > pr	primary > f	past > pr	a.ptcp > pr
<u>D.</u> 788; <u>Ep.</u> 538f	<u>Ep.</u> 557f	<u>Asp.</u> 333; <u>Pk.</u> 542f	<u>D.</u> 565f	<u>Pk.</u> 319	<u>Pk.</u> 159

table C: some primary to primary and secondary to primary sequences.

QUESTIONS

opening with ἵνα: Asp.275; Pk.404

opening with short relative pronouns

Asp.95, 150, 187, 199; Grg.18, 67, 86; D.77, 124, 529, 544, 750, 813; Ep.463, 479, 483, 502, 516, 531, 553; Karkh.33, fr.2.1; Kon.fr.1.2; Pk.?135, 296f, 355, 404; Pnsth.fr.6.1; Sam.70, 97, 216, 287ff, (314), ?397, (453), 592f; Sk.9f, 185; fr.?83.1; 288.1; 309.1f; 381.1f; 451.2f; 552.1ff; 581.4; 581.4; 581.8; 581.15; 612.5; 622.6; 773.1

opening with indefinite relative pronouns and adverbs

Asp.151, (177), 199; Grg.20f; D.61, 78, 235, [246], (261), 363, (485), 510f, 625, 827; Ep.480f, 497, (611), ?(854), 909, 982, 1117, 1127; Her.12; Karkh.14; Kith.44; Kol.95f; Pk.177, (306), 504f, 750; Pnsth.fr.3.2; Sam.[60], 213, 261, 268, 283f, 391, 481; Sk.107; Ph.49; fr.204.1; 254

MOOD SEQUENCE

PASSAGES

pres. ind. > pres. ind.	<u>Grg.</u> 18, 86; <u>D.</u> 124, [246], 813; <u>Pk.</u> 404; <u>Sam.</u> 70, 97, 288, 290; 309.1f; 381.1f. <u>D.</u> 827; <u>Ep.</u> 1117, 1127; <u>Kith.</u> 44; <u>Kol.</u> 95f; <u>Pk.</u> 504f, 750; <u>Sam.</u> 213, 283; <u>Sk.</u> 107
'primary' > pres. ind.	<u>D.</u> 77; <u>Ep.</u> 463, 553; <u>Pk.</u> 296, 355; <u>Sam.</u> 216, 592f; fr.83.2f; 581. <u>D.</u> 61; <u>Ep.</u> 497f, 909, 982f; <u>Karkh.</u> 14; <u>Sam.</u> [60], 391.
perfect ind. > present ind.	<u>D.</u> 78f
past > pres. ind.	<u>Asp.</u> 150f; <u>Grg.</u> 67; <u>Ep.</u> 479; <u>Sk.</u> 9f, 185.
pres. ind. > fut. ind.	<u>Sam.</u> 287ff; 451.2. 204.1.
'primary' > fut. ind.	Fr.581.15f; 622.5f. <u>Grg.</u> 20f
past > fut. ind.	<u>D.</u> 529f
pres. ind. > past	<u>Ep.</u> 502f; <u>Karkh.</u> 2.1; fr.288.1. <u>Ep.</u> 480f; <u>Sam.</u> 261.
'fut' > past	<u>Ep.</u> 530f; <u>Sam.</u> 397
perfect > past	<u>D.</u> 750
past > past	<u>D.</u> 235
pres. ind. > perfect	<u>Ep.</u> 854
future ind. > perfect	<u>Ep.</u> 516
'primary' > potent. opt.	<u>Asp.</u> 95f. <u>D.</u> 510f.
c.t.f. past > potent. opt.	<u>Asp.</u> 187.
past > oblique opt.	fr.254

TABLE D. MOODS IN INDIRECT QUESTIONS, AND THEIR CONTEXTS

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Notation and Abbreviations

notation for tables

primary tenses: **pr** = present; **f** = future; '**f**' = quasi-future and equivalent to future; **pf** = perfect.

secondary tenses: **i** = imperfect; **a** = aorist; **plp** = pluperfect.

other abbreviations: **ptcp** = participle; **inf** = infinitive; **aux** = auxiliary or modal; **impv** = imperative; **sj** = subjunctive; **gen.abs.** = genitive absolute; **ind.qu.** = indirect question; **AcI** = accusativus cum infinitivo; **ctxt** = context; **A** = antilabe; **+l** = one-word sentence; **impl** = implicit

references in **bold italics** indicate that forms in the sequence are used in non-transparent functions (e.g. *praesens historicum*, gnomic aorist, etc.).

+ after a reference indicates an accompanying adverb.

(references in parentheses) indicate that the forms are in a parenthetical clause.

[references in square brackets] indicate that the reading of the form discussed is difficult or a supplement.

grammatical person and number are abbreviated 1s, 2s, 3s, 1pl, 2pl, 3pl.

verse border is represented by /

change of speaker is represented by ::

transitions between main and subordinate clauses, as well as temporal and logical transitions, are represented by > (or sometimes by < if their order in the sentence is not the same as their hierarchical or logical order).

implicit parts of phrases, often the verb, are represented by Ø

abbreviations of works frequently referred to

Austin = 1970: *Menandri Aspis et Samia II Susidia interpretationis*

Chantraine, Dict. = 1968-1980: *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*

Edmonds, J.M., 1961: *The Fragments of Attic Comedy*

GGL = Schmid, W., und Stählin, O., 1934-40: *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*

GP = Denniston, J.D., *The Greek Particles*

GS = Gomme, A.W., and F.H. Sandbach, 1974: *Menander: A Commentary*

Handley = Handley, E., 1992: *The Dyskolos of Menander*, ed. and comm., 2nd edn.

K-A = Kassel, R., and C. Austin, *Poetae Comici Graeci*,

KG = Kühner, R., and Gerth, B., 1898: *Ausführliche Grammatik*

K-T = Körte, A., and A. Thierfelder, *Menander reliquiae*, II, 1953.

LSJ = Liddel-Scott and Jones, *A Greek Lexicon*, 9th edn. Unfortunately, the revised supplement published in August 1996 was only available to me after the Thesis was completed.

LXX = The Greek Septuagint

N.M. = Miller, N., translation of Menander

NT = New Testament in Greek

OCD = *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2nd edn.

TLG = Thesaurus Linguae Graecae, electronic version D on CD-ROM.

Wilamowitz = von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, U., 1925: *Menander. Das Schiedsgericht*