SYNTAX OF THE MOODS AND TENSES OF THE GREEK VERB
SYNTAX

OF

THE MOODS AND TENSES

OF

THE GREEK VERB

BY

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PREFACE.

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

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

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

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

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

It is hardly necessary to remark that the work, in its present enlarged form, is not intended for use as a grammatical text-book in the class-room, except perhaps the portion printed in the largest type. On the other hand, it is hoped that the increased fulness and the greater space given to discussions will make the work more useful for private study and for reference.

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

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

W. W. GOODWIN.

**Pallanza, Lago Maggiore,**

*24th September 1889.*
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ERRATA.

Page 76, line 2 of II., for prohibitions—subjunctive read prohibitions.

Subjunctive.

,, 94, line 1 of 274, for Ὁπως read Ὁπως.
,, 127, line 6 of 352, change ; to ,
,, 148, line 1, for ἀποστερεῖν read ἀποστερεῖν.
,, 154, line 5, broken η in ἥκοισατε.
,, 159, line 3 of footnote, for ahanisyat read ahanisyat.
,, 160, line 12 of 433, for σφων read σφων.
,, ,, line 1 of examples under 435, for ἠθέλεσον read ἠθέλεσον.
,, 186, line 5 of 492, for μενοινήσωσι read μενοινήσωσι.
,, 190, line 15 of examples under 503, for ἀρχαίετε read ἀρχαίετε.
,, 233, in title of 610, for Ἐφ' read Ἐφ'.
,, 234, line 15 of 612 (end), for ἐφ read ἐφ'.
,, 253, line 3, for iv. 4, 4 read iv. 2, 4.
,, 304, line 14, for ω read φ.
,, 305, line 1 of 759, omit two commas.
,, 325, line 5 of examples under 812, insert Οὐδ' before ἄρνησι.
,, ,, line 8 of do., put periods after xix and xx.
,, 326, line 3 of 815, 2, omit comma at the end of the line.
,, 338, after example in 850, add ΘΗΧ. i. 114.
,, 353, line 8 of 890, for ἐννύντα read ἐννύντα.
,, 376, line 6 of 2, for ῥαχ' read ῥαχ'.
,, 396, last line of 2, for Ὁπως read Ὁπως.
CHAPTER I.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE MOODS.

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

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

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

I. INDICATIVE.

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

Γράφει, he is writing; ἔγραψεν, he was writing; ἔγραψαν, he wrote; γράψει, he will write. Γράφει; is he writing? ἔγραψατε; did you write? γράψετε; will you write? τι ἔγραψαν; what did he write?

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

Λέγει ὅτι γράφει, he says that he is writing (he says γράφω); λέγει ὅτι γράψει, he says that he will write (he says γράψω); ἔρωτα τι ἔγραψαμεν, he asks what we wrote; ἔρωτα εἰ ἔγραψα, he asks whether I wrote.
(b) A distinct statement of an object aimed at or feared. E.g.
Επιμελείται ἐπος τοῦτο γενήσεται, he takes care that this shall be done (339); φοβούμεθα μὴ ἄμφοτέρων ἡμαρτήκαμεν, we fear that we have missed both (369, 2).

(c) A distinct supposition of an absolute statement, that is, a supposition that such a statement is, was, or will be true. E.g.
Εἰ γράφει, if he is writing; εἰ ἔγραψεν, if he wrote; εἰ γέγραψε, if he has written; εἰ γράφει, if he shall write or if he is to write. What is supposed in each case could be expressed by γράφει, ἔγραψεν, γέγραψε, or γράψει.

4. The past tenses of the indicative may, further, express a supposition that some statement either had been or were now true, while it is implied that really it was not or is not true. E.g.
Εἰ ἔγραψα, if I had written; εἰ ἔγραφον, if I were now writing or if I had been writing; the context indicating that really I did not write or am not writing (410). These expressions originally always referred to the past, as they do in Homer.

5. Out of the form of unreal supposition (4) were developed after Homer the use of the past tenses of the indicative with εἴθε or εἴ ἔρα in wishes (732); and also the Attic construction of the past tenses of the indicative to express an unaccomplished purpose (333), where there is an assimilation of the final clause to a preceding indicative. E.g.
Εἴ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐποίησα, οὐὶ ἐποίησα, 0 if I had only done this! Εἴθε τοῦτο εἴχες, 0 if you only had this!
Εἴθε τότε ἀπέθανον, οὐα μὴ τοῦτο ἔπαθον, would that I had then perished, that I might not have suffered this.

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

II. SUBJUNCTIVE.

6. (a) The subjunctive, in its simplest and apparently most primitive use, seen in Homer (284), expresses futurity, like the future indicative, and has οὐ for its negative. E.g.
Οὐ γὰρ πῶς τοῖς ἵδον ἄνθρωπος αὐτῷ ἄναψας, for never did I see such men nor shall I ever see them, Π. i. 262; καὶ τοτὲ τις εἰπηκόν, and some one will some time say, Π. vi. 459.

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

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

Αὔθι μέν ὅ ε θέω; shall I remain here or run? II. x. 62. So πη ἴω; whither shall I go? Od. xv. 509. But the future indicative can be used in the same sense; as τι δήτα δρῶμεν; μητέρ ἡ φονεύσομεν; what are we to do? shall we slay our mother? EUR. EL. 967. (See 68.)

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

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

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

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

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

"Ἐρχεται δῶς τοῦτο ἢγ, he comes that he may see this (317); ἐπιμελεῖται δῶς τοῦτο γένηται (or γενήσεTA), he takes care that this shall be done (339). In clauses of purpose the future indicative is sometimes used (324), and in the construction of 339 it became the regular Attic form.

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

(a) In the former it supposes such a future case as the Homeric subjunctive (6) states; as εἶν τις εἶπη, if one shall say (the thing supposed being εἶπη τις, one will say); here the future indicative may be used
in essentially the same sense (447). In the general condition it supposes an event to occur at any time, as we say if any one ever goes or whoever goes, with an apodosis expressing repetition or a general truth; as εάν τίς κλέφτη (or δέ αν κλέφτη), κόλαφεται, if any one steals (or whoever steals), he is always punished.

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

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

III. OPTATIVE.

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

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

Thus ἵομεν, may we go, corresponds as a weaker form to ἴωμεν, let us go. Corresponding to ἔξελθων τις ἴδετω, let some one go out and see, we have ἔξελθων τις ἴδοι, may some one go out and see, Od. xxiv. 491. Ἐλοιτο αν, he would take or he might take, corresponds to the Homeric ἐληται or ἐληταί κε, he will take or he may take (201, 1).

We find in Homer a few optatives expressing concession or permission, which have a neutral sense and can hardly be classed as either potential or wishing. See II. iv. 17, εἰ δ' αὖ ποιεῖται πάσιν φίλοι καὶ ἓδε πέλας, ἢ τοι μὲν οἰκέωτο τόλμης Πριάμου Ἀπακτος, αὕτε δ' Ἀργεῖν Ἐλευθῆν Μενελαος ἄροιτο, where we may translate the apodosis either let the city still be a habitation and let M. carry away Helen, or the city may still be a habitation and M. may carry away Helen. In iii. 72 we have γυναίκα τε οἰκαθ' ἄγεσθω, and in iii. 255 τῷ δ' κε νικήσαντι γυνή καὶ κτήμαθ' ἐποιτο, where ἄγεσθω and ἐποιτό κε refer to essentially the same thing with ἄγοιτο in iv. 19. Following II. iii. 255 (above) we have οἱ δ' ἀλλοι ναίοιμεν Τροίην, τοι δ' νέονται, i.e. the rest of us may remain dwellers in Troy, while
they will return to Greece. From such neutral future expressions were probably developed the two distinct uses of the optative. In its hortatory sense as a form of wishing, the optative was distinguished by the use of μή as a negative; while in its potential sense it had οὐ as its negative (as in οὐ μὴν γὰρ τι κακότερον ἄλλο πάθοιμι, for really I can suffer nothing worse, II. xix. 321), and it was soon further marked by the addition of κέ or ἄν. (See Appendix I.)

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

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

15. In all forms of indirect discourse the same principle (14) holds, that the optative after past tenses represents (in a changed relation) an indicative or a subjunctive of the direct form, which original mood is always used after present and future tenses, and may be retained after past tenses (667, 1).

Here again we see what the change is, for we represent it by our change from is to was, have to had, shall and will to should and would, etc.; as λέγει ὃτι ἄλληθες ἐστίν, he says that it is true; ἔλεξεν ὃτι ἄλληθες εἶ (οὐ ἔστιν), he said that it was true; λέγει ὃτι γράφει, he says that he will write; ἔλεξεν ὃτι γράψαι (οὐ γράψαι), he said that he would write. So οὐκ οἶδα τί εἴπω, I know not what I shall say; οὐκ ἠδὲν τί εἴποιμι (οὐ εἴπω), I knew not what I should say.

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

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

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

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

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

IV. IMPERATIVE.

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

Φεύγε, begone! Ἔλθετω, let him come. Δός μοι τοῦτο, give me this. Μὴ ποίει ἄδικα, do not do what is unjust.
CHAPTER II.

THE TENSES.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I. TENSES OF THE INDICATIVE.

Present.

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

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

*Η πρύμα τοῦ πλοίου δ ἐς Δήλον Ἀθηναῖοι πέμπονσιν*, the stern of the ship which the Athenians send to Delos (every year). *Plat.* Phaed. 58 A. Τίκτει τοι κόρος ὑβριν, ὅταν κακῷ ἀδίκος ἐπηγαί, satiety begets insolence, whenever prosperity follows the wicked. *Theog.* 153. Ἐν χρόνῳ ἀποφθέγει τὸ τάρβος ἀνθρώποιν, in time timidity dies out in men. *Aesch.* Ag. 857.

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

Σὺν δ' ἀμα τ' αὐτίκα πολλὰ δίδοι, he offers many things. *Ill.* ix. 519. Πείθονσι ημᾶς έναντία καὶ τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τῷ δίκαιῳ ψηφίσας, they are trying to persuade you to vote contrary both to the laws and to justice. *Isae.* i. 26.

This conative significance is much more common in the imperfect. See 36 and the examples.

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

Κείνον ἵχνεύω πάλαι, I have been tracking him a long time (and still continue it). *Soph.* Aj. 20. Οὐ πάλαι σοι λέγω ὅτι ταῦτα φημι εἶναι; i.e. Have I not long ago told you (and do I not still repeat) that I call it the same thing? *Plat.* Gorg. 489 C. Θεοῦ αἰτῶ ... φρονράς ἔτειας μήκος. *Aesch.* Ag. 1. So πολλὸν χρόνον τοῦτο ποιῶ. So in Latin, iam dudum loquor.

27. The presents ἤκω, I am come, and οἰχομαι, I am gone, are used in the sense of the perfect. An approach to the perfect sense is sometimes found in such presents as φεύγω, in the sense I am banished, ἀλλάκομαι, I am captured, νικῶ and κρατῶ, I am victorious, ἡπτοραὶ, I am conquered, ἀδικῶ, I have been unjust (I am ἀδίκος). So the Epic ικῶ and ἰκάνω, with ἀλλομαι and sometimes τίκτω in tragedy. E.g.

Οἰχεῖται εἰς ἅλα διάν, he is gone to the divine sea. *Ill.* xv. 223. Θημιστοκλῆς ἤκω παρὰ σί, I, Themistocles, am come to you. *Thuc.* i. 137. Τοῦ ἀδίκου φεύγουντας δικαίως κατήγαγον, they justly restored those who were unjustly banished. *Plat.* Menex. 242 B. Ἰλίου ἀλληκομένου, after the capture of Ilion. *Thuc.* vi. 2. So ἀλληκομένου τοῦ τίρευος. *Hdt.* i. 45. Ὀποιαδήποτε ἀνοιγμένης θύρης, behind the open door. *Hdt.* i. 9. Εἰ πάντα ποιήσαντες ἐλυμαίνετο τοῖς δολοῖς, ἐως ἀνέργειε, τί Δημοσθένης ἀδικεῖ; how is Demosthenes to
blame? Dem. xviii. 303. Πόργων ὀλλυμένων ἐν ναυσίν ἤβαν, I embarked after the towers had been destroyed. Eur. I. T. 1108. Ἡδὲ τίκτει σε, this woman is thy mother. Id. Ion. 1560.

Present participles are given in some examples here where they illustrate the meaning of the tense.

28. The Greek, like other languages, often uses such presents as I hear, I learn, I say, even when their action is finished before the time to which they strictly refer. E.g.

Εἰ στασιάζοσιν, ἄπειρον πληθοῦμεθα, if they (the Sicilians) are in discord, as we learn. Thuc. vi. 16. Ἐπὶ τόλεμοι, ὡς ἐγὼ ἀκοῇ αἰσθάνομαι, ἔφη τόσομα, Íd. vi. 20.

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

Σεῦ, ἄντερεσ εµι ὅπο γαίαν, I shall go. Il. xviii. 333. Εµοί πάλιν ἐν ἔκεινα, I shall recur to that. Plat. Phaed. 100 B. Ὡς φίλε, ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπειμήν, σῶς καὶ κέινα φυλάξων. Od. xvii. 593. Ἀλλ' ἐστι εµι, σοῦ δ' οὐ φροντίω, but I'll go in and not mind you. Ar. Nub. 125. Εἰ δ' εἶθι ἀπίσασιν, ἡμεὶς μόνοι μενοῦμεν, but if they (shall) depart, we alone shall remain. Xen. Cyr. iv. 5, 24.

In Homer εµι is used also as a present; as οἷος δ' ἀστήρ εἰσὶ μετ' ἀστράσι, Il. xxii. 317. So ii. 87, xi. 415; Od. iv. 401; and often in similes. This is doubtful in Attic; as in πρόσειμι δῷμα καὶ βρέτας τὸ σὸν, Aesch. Eum. 242, where πρόσειμι may be πρός + εµί. See Krüger and Classen on ἐπίσασιν, Thuc. iv. 61.

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

Προεῖπον ὅτι, εἰ μὴ παρεσώμεθα συντρατευόμενοι, ἐκεῖνοι ἔφη ἵμας ἰόειν, i.e. that they would come against us. Xen. Hell. v. 2, 13. See also v. 1, 34, where εἰ μὴ ἀπόειν corresponds to εἰ μὴ ἐκπέμφωνεν. As ἤνοι in this use is equivalent to a future optative, it is naturally rare (128). Ἀπείναι ἐνομιζέν ὅταν βούληται, he believed he could depart (Ἀπειμή) whenever he pleased. Thuc. v. 7. So οὐκ ἐφασαν (ἐφη) ἰέναι, Xen. An. i. 3, 1 and 8; i. 4, 12: cf. ii. 1, 3, ii. 6, 10. Καὶ τὸ πῦρ γε ἀδ προσέπτο τοῖς ψυχροῖς αὐτῶ ἦ πετείηναι ἦ ἀπολείσθαι. Plat. Phaed. 103 D. (Προσσύντος is an ordinary present participle: see 31.) Οὐ γὰρ ἦδειν ἐξιών, for he did not know that he was to go. Ar. Pac. 1182. 'Ο δ' εἶς Πέρσας ἴὼν παρὴν συνοικεσκιημένος. Xen. Cyr. iv. 5, 26. Ταῦτ' εἶραν ἀνωτάτην ὡς ἀπίων. Plat. Prot. 335 C (this might come under 31). So ἀνωτήτηκεν ὡς ἐξίων, ib. 335 D. Παρασκευάζετο ὡς ἀποιοδόσα. Xen. Cyr. i. 3, 13. So Thuc. vi. 63.

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

Οὐδὲν ἀν διάφορον ποιοῖς ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ταύτων ἐοιεν. PLAT. Rep. 360 C. Εἴ τοι πολέμοις ἐοῖ. Ib. 415 E. See ἐοί in Rep. 490 B, in a peculiar indirect quotation. "Οδε ὡσι. Id. Tim. 78 C. In XEN. An. i. 3, 1, after ἔναι as future (30), we have ἐβιάζετο ἔναι and ἔρχοτο προεύναι. 'Εξῄν αὐτῷ εἰσιόντε ἐΙ τὰς οἰκίας συγγίνεται ὑπὲρ βούλουτο. PLAT. Rep. 360 C. 'Αποτερπόμενος ὁ ἄρη καὶ διὰ τὸν σώματος ἔω ἑώ. Id. Tim. 79 C. So ANT. v. 78, vi. 45.

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

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

Εἴ αὐτὴ ἡ πόλει λιθφήσεται, ἔχεται ἡ πάσα Σικελία, if this city shall be captured, all Sicily is (at once) in their possession. THUC. vi. 91. Μένομεν ἐως ὡς ἐκαστοὶ κατὰ πόλεις λιθφόμεν; shall we wait until we are each captured, city by city? Id. vi. 77. Εἴ δὲ φρεν ὑμῖν, δειξάτω καὶ παρασχέσθω, κἀγὼ καταβαίνω, and I will take my seat. DEM. xix. 32. So ἄπόλλυμαι, I am to perish, Lys. xii. 14. For a similar use of the perfect, see 51. (See also 61.)

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

Βούλην ἐπιτεχνάται ὡς μὴ ἄλοιπεν Ἀθηναίοι, he contrives a plan to prevent the Athenians from assembling. HDT. i. 63. Κελεύει πέμπει άνδρας· ἀποστέλλονσιν ω, καὶ περι αὐτῶν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς κρύφα πέμπει. THUC. i. 91. Δαρείου καὶ Παρνατόδος γίγνονται παῖδες δῷ. XEN. An. i. 1, 1. Τοιαῦτα τοῦ παρόντος ἡνίκ ἡλιω δείκνυσι τὸνυν ἐκλομένον ἐγγούμενον. SOPH. El. 424.

The historic present is not found in Homer.

**IMPERFECT.**

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

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

*Επὶ Κέκροπος δ' Ἀττικὴ κατὰ πόλεις ὑσκεῖτο, καὶ οὐ δεῖνησαν βουλευσόμενοι, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ἐκάστοι ἐπολίτευόντο καὶ ἐβουλεύοντο. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ Θηρέως ἐβασίλευσεν, ἐς τὴν ἑνὶ πόλιν ὁδὸν ἐνυψίσατε πάντας. ΤHUC. ii. 15. (Here the imperfects refer to the state of the country or to customs; the aorists state events, βασίλευσεν, became king, ἐνυψίσατε, collected into one state.) Καὶ παραστάς δ' μὲν ἔθεν ὣ δ' ἔθεν, ἐβόων, ἐξεκροσύνη μὲ τελευτώτες ἐχλεῦαξον· ὡμέις ὡ εὔρειατε, καὶ οὐν' ἄκοιν ὑθέλετε οὔτε πιστευεῖν ἐβούλευσθε, they kept on shouting, etc., and you laughed, etc. Dem. xix. 23. Ἐπειράμων τι λέγειν ποιόν δν εἰς τὴν βούλην ἀπήγγειλα. Ibid. Πότερον ταύτα πάντα ποιόν ήδίκει καὶ παρεσπόνδει καὶ ἐνει τὴν εἰρήνην ἡ οὖ; in doing all these things was he acting unjustly and breaking the peace, etc.? Id. xvii. 71; see also ib. 69. (Compare τὴν εἰρήνην ἔλυσε τὰ πλοία λαβών, of the event, ib. 73.) Παρελθὼν ἐπὶ ὁράκης ἥματίων ἥείον συμπολεμεῖν. Ib. 87. Ὡμέις γὰρ ταῦτα ἐπράττετε, καὶ ταύτα πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ἤρεσκεν. (of a course of action). Id. xix. 189. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐλευ Ὁλυμπίδος Φιλίππος, Οлимπία ἐποίει, εἰς δὲ τὴν χρησιν πάντας τοὺς τεχνίτας συνήγαγεν. Ib. 192. Εἴδα τότ οὖν ἐλεγες παραχρήμα ταύτα οὐδ' ἐδίδασκες ήμᾶς; did you then not tell this at once on the spot, or instruct us? Ib. 25.

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

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

(Φίλιππος) Ἀλόννησον ἐδίδαυ, Philip offered Halonnesus (lit. tried to give it). Aeschin. iii. 83. Ἐκαστος ἐπείθεν αὐτοῦ ὑποστήριξι χρήσει, each one tried to persuade him to undertake the command. Xen. An. vi. 1, 19.

Κύμια ἵσται' ἄνωμον, κατὰ δ' ἔρεε Πηλεώνα, and was about to overpower the son of Peleus. II. xxi. 327. Ἐμισθόντο παρ' οὔκ ἐκδιδώντος τὴν αὐλήν, he tried to hire the yard of one who refused to let it. Hdt. i. 68. Πέμψαντες ζε Σάρδις χρυσόν ὑνέσοντο, they sent to Sardis and wanted to buy gold. Hdt. i. 69. Ἐπείθυμησε τῆς χλανίδος, καὶ αὐτὴν προσελθὼν ὑνέσετο, he took a fancy (soi) to the cloak, and tried to buy it. Hdt. iii. 139. Ἀ ἐπράσσετο οὐκ ἐγένετο, what was attempted did not happen. Thuc. vi. 74. So προσετίθει, she wanted to add, Ar. Nub. 63.

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

Ο δ' χλος κατὰ θεάν ἕκεν, the crowd had come to look on. Thuc. vi. 31. Ἐπεί οὖρο νῦ Πύλονδε, after thou wast gone by ship to Pylos. Od. xvi. 24.
38. The imperfect sometimes denotes likelihood, intention, or danger in past time (see 32). E.g.

*Επειδή τὸ ψεύδεσθαι ἀπ' ὀλλυτο, when he was on the point of ruin through his deceit. ANT. v. 37. Καὶ τάμ’ ὑπηρεσί κε τέκν, ἀπ' ὀλλυμν δ’ ἐγώ, and my children were about to die, and I was about to perish. ΕΥ. H. F. 538. Ἑκατόμην ζεφει, I was to be slain, Id. I. T. 27.

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

*Ὡ γείων ὑμίσθημεν οὐδὲ δικαιοὶ ἦσαν Φαίηκων ἡγήτσες ἡμῖν μέσον, i.e. they are not, as I once imagined. Od. xiii. 209. Ό νὸν όννον ἔνεν ἐρίδων γένος, ἀλλ’ ἐπ’ γαίαν εἰσὶ δῶ, there is not after all merely one race of discords, but there are two on earth. HES. Op. 11. 'Οδ’ ἦν ἄρα ἐνελλαβόμεν με, this is then the one who seized me. SOPH. Ph. 978. Ό σὺ σῶν μόνος ἄρ’ ἡσθ’ ἐποψ; are you not then the only epops (as I thought)? ΔΡ. ΑΝ. 280. Ἐρ’ ὅσον ἦν τὸ δένδρον, ἐφ’ ἐπερ ἤγες ἦμις; is not this then the tree to which you were bringing us? PLAT. Phaedr. 230 A.

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

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

*Ἡ ἂ μονική αὐτοῖστροφος τῆς γυμναστικῆς, εἰ μέμνησα, music then (as we proved) corresponds, if you remember, to gymnastics. PLAT. Rep. 522 Α. Καὶ δίκαιαν ἄν ἄφοςμεν ἄνδρα εἰναι τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ, ὑπερ καὶ πόλει ἦν δικαία, and now we shall say that a man is just in the same way in which also a state was (shown to be) just. Ib. 441 D. Διὰ ἀκθοροίμεν ἐκεῖνο, ὅ τι μὲν δικάιω βιλτιον ἐγιγνητα, τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ ἀπ' ὀλλυτο, we shall destroy that which (as we proved) becomes better by justice and is ruined by injustice. PLAT. Crit. 47 D.

41. The Greek sometimes uses an idiom like the English he was the one who did it for he is the one who did it; as ἦν ὁ τήν γνώμην ταύτην εἰπών Πεισάντος, THUC. viii. 68; τίς ἦν ὁ βοηθήσας τοῖς Βυζάντιοι καὶ σώσας αὐτούς; DEM. xviii. 88.

**PERFECT AND PUPERFECT.**

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

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

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

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

Πεποιηκός ἐστιν (or ἦν), he is (or was) in the condition of having done,—he has done (or had done). Ἐμοῦ οἱ νόμοι οὐ μόνον ἀπεγνωκότες εἰσὶν μὴ ἀδικεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κεκελευκότες ταύτην τὴν δίκην λαμβάνειν, it is the laws which not only have acquitted me of injustice, but have commanded me to inflict this punishment. LYS. i. 34. Ἐτόλμω λέγειν ὡς ἐγὼ τό πράγμα εἰμὶ τούτῳ δεδρακόσ, he dared to say that I was the one who had done this deed. DEM. xxi. 104. In DEM. xviii. 23, οὔτε γὰρ ἦν προσβεία πρὸς οὐδένα ἀπεσταλμένη τότε τῶν Ἑλλήνων means for there was no embassy then out on a mission to any of the Greeks; whereas ἀπέσταλτο would have given the meaning no embassy had ever been sent out (see 831).

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

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

Ἐπιμελῶς ο! θεοὶ Σαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι δέονται κατεσκευάσασιν, the Gods have carefully provided what men need. XEN. Mem. iv. 3, 3. Ὅν τοινοτῶν τινες ὑποθῆκας ὡς χρή ἦν καταλελύσασιν, some of the poets have left us suggestions how to live. ISOC. ii. 3. Ἀκῆκοα μὲν τούνομα, μνημονεύω δ' οὖ, I have heard the name, but I do not remember it. PLAT. Theaet. 144 B. "Α σοι τίχη κέχρηκε, ταύτ' αφεῖλε, Fortune has taken back what she has lent you. MEN. Fr. 598.

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

Ποίω σὺν ἔργῳ τοῦτ ἀπειλήσας ἔχεις; have you made this threat? SOPH. O. C. 817. Τὸν μὲν προτίσας, τὸν δ' ἀτιμάσας ἔχεις; Id. Ant. 22; see ib. 32. Ἡμᾶς πράγας ἀσκοπον ἔχει περάνας. Id. Aj. 21. Ἡνάτο γὰρ ταύτ', οὔδε τω λήξαντ' ἔχει, i.e. the story has not yet ceased to be told. Id. O. T. 731; see Tr. 37, ἀρρήτορα ἔχω. "Ος σφε νῦν ἀτιμάσας ἔχει. EUR. Med. 33; see ib. 90. Ἄρεως τε
PERFECT AND PLUPERFECT INDICATIVE


45. 'Εγκλήσας ἔχει τὰ συτία. Id. Eccl. 355. "Ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς σὺ δουλώσας ἔχεις, i.e. whom you hold in slavery or whom you have enslaved. Hdt. i. 27. 'Αμφοτέρων με τούτων ἀποκλησίας ἔχεις. Id. i. 37; so i. 41. 'Αλαζόνι ἑπιτρέψατες ἰμέας αὐτοῦ ἔχομεν, we have entrusted ourselves, etc. Id. vi. 12. Πολλὰ χρήματα ἔχομεν ἀνηρπακότες. Xen. An. i. 3, 14 (here ἔχομεν expresses possession). See Thuc. i. 68; Dem. ix. 12, xxvii. 17.

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

Κρύψατε γὰρ ἔχοντι θεοί βίον ἀνθρώπους.

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

"Ον γ’ εἶχον ἡδη χρόνον ἐκβεβληκότες. Soph. Ph. 600. See Hdt. i. 28, 73, and 75; Xen. An. iv. 7, 1.

49. (a) The perfect of many verbs has the signification of a present, which may usually be explained by the peculiar meaning of the verbs. Thus θνήσκειν, to die, τεθνηκέναι, to be dead; καλεῖν, to call, κεκλήσθαι, to be called or named; γίγνεσθαι, to become, γεγονέναι, to be; μμιμνησκεῖν, to remind, μεμνήσθαι, to remember; εἰδέναι, to know; ιστάναι, to stand, ἔστάναι, to stand. So βεβηκέναι, to stand; ἔγγυηναι, to know; ἡμφιέσθαι, to wear; κεκτήσθαι, to possess; πεποίθεναι, to trust; πεφυκέναι, to be (by nature); etc.

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

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

"Ἀπέσταλκά σοι τόνδε τὸν λόγον, I send you this speech. Isoc. i. 2. Μετ’ Ἀρταβάζου, ον σοι ἔπεμψα, πράσσε. Thuc. i. 129. (Here ὃν ἔπεμψα refers to the man who was to carry the letter.) So scripsi and misi in Latin.

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

"Ὅτε τι et με τὸξων ἐγκρατής ἀισθητεῖται, ἐλωλα, I shall perish at once. Soph. Ph. 75. Κάν τούτο νικώμεν, πάντ’ ἡμῖν πεποίηταί. Xen. An. i. 8, 12. So periss in Latin.

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

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

55. The aorist of verbs which denote a state or condition generally expresses the entrance into that state or condition. E.g. ἐμείχ, I am king, ἐβασίλευσα, I became king; ἔφικα, I hold office, ἔριζα, I took office; πλουτῶ, ἐπλούτησα, I became rich. Τῇ ἄλλῃ ζωῇ, she was his wife in good faith, and has not yet even to this day been divorced; but she went to live with him from Timocrates while T. was still living. DEM. xxx. 33.

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

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

Τῶν οἰκετῶν οὐδένα κατέλιπεν, ἄλλα ἀπαντα πέτρακεν, he (has) left none of the servants, but has sold everything. AESCHIN. i. 99.

Έτράποντο ἐς τὸν Πάνορμον, ἔθεντερ ἄνηγάγωντο, they turned towards Panormus, whence they (had) set sail. THUC. ii. 92.

Κύρον δὲ μεταπέμπεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὡς αὐτὸν συγκατῆνα ἐποίησεν, from the dominion of which he (had once) made him satrap. XEN. An. i. 1, 2.

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

 Españ ἐτελεύτησε Δαρείος καὶ κατέστη Ἀρταξέρξης, after Darius (had) died and Artaserxes had become established. XEN. An. i. 1, 3.

Οὐ πρόσθεν ἔξενεγκείν ἑτὸλμησαν πρὸς ἡµᾶς πόλεµον πρὶν τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἡµῶν συνέλαιν, they did not dare to bring war upon us until they (had) seized our generals. Ib. iii 2, 29. But the pluperfect may still be used after ἐπεί or ἐπειδή, to give additional emphasis to the doubly past action; as in DEM. xviii. 42, ἐπειδὴ ἐξῆπατησθε μὲν ὡµεῖς, εἶπατηντο δι οἱ Φοκεῖς καὶ ἀνὴρ κυντο αἱ πόλεις, τί ἐγένετο;

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

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

Ἐπήνευεν ἕργον καὶ πρόνοιαν ἦν ἔθου, I must approve your act, etc. SOPH. Aj. 536. Ἡσύχην ἀπείλας, ἐγέλασσα ψολοκοσμίας, I am amused by your threats, I cannot help laughing, etc. AR. Eq. 696.

61. The aorist sometimes refers vividly to the future, like the present (32) or perfect (51); as ἀπωλόμην εἴ με λείψεις, I perish if you leave me. EUR. Alc. 386: so Med. 78. See also ὀλετο, ll. ix. 413 and 415.

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

Τί οὖν οὐ διηγήσω ἡµῶν τὴν ἐννοίαν; why then don't you tell us about the meeting? PLAT. Prot. 310 A. Τί οὖν οὐ καὶ Πρόδικον καὶ Ἰππίαν ἐκαλέσαμεν; why then don't we call Prodicus and Hippias too? Ib. 317 D. So τί οὖν οὐ . . . ἐσκέψω; Id. Soph. 251 E. See also SOPH. O. T. 1003.

For the gnomic aorist see 154.

Future.

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

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

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

Πραγματεύονται ὅπως ἀρξοντιν, they take trouble to gain power. XEN. Rep. Lac. xiv. 5. "Ἄρ πο (διαιρετέον) ὀἵτως ἀρξοντιν τε καὶ ἀρξονταί; must we not distinguish between those who are to rule and those who are to be ruled? PLAT. Rep. 412 B. Πὴ στασιάσσουιν οἱ ἐπικουροὶ καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες; how will they fall into faction? Ib. 545 D (see below, ὅπως ὃς πρῶτον στάσις ἐμπεσε).

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

'Ἀνὴρ ὁ φεύγων καὶ πάλιν μαχήσεται. MEN. Mon. 45. "He that fights and runs away may turn and fight another day."

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

Φιλόσοφος ἡμῖν ἔσται ὁ μέλλων κάγαθος ἔσεσθαι φύλαξ, he will prove to be a philosopher. PLAT. Rep. 376 C.

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

Τί δῆτα δράμει; μητέρ' ἢ φονεύσομεν; what shall we do? shall we kill our mother? EUR. El. 967: so Ion. 758. Ποῖ τρέψομαι; whether shall I turn? Id. Hipp. 1066. Εἴτ ἐγώ σου φείδομαι; Λρ. Αcb. 312. Τί οὖν ποιήσομεν; πότερον εἰς τὴν πόλιν πάντας τοὺ τοῦν παραδεξάμεθα; what then shall we do? Are we to receive all these into the state? PLAT. Rep. 397 D.

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

Πρὸς ταῦτα πράξεις οἶον ἂν θέλης, you may act as you please. SOPH. O. C. 956. Πάντως δὲ τοῦτο δράσεις, but by all means do this. AR. Nub. 1352. So in the common imprecations, ἀπολέωθε, οἰμώξαςθε, may you perish, etc. XERI δ' οὗ ψάφετε πτε. EUR. Med. 1320. Compare the Latin facies ut sciam, let me know; abibis, depart.

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

Ταύτην, ἂν μοι χρήσθη συμβούλιον, φυλάξετε τὴν πίστιν πρὸς
The tense sometimes denotes a present intention, expectation, or necessity that something shall be done, in which sense the periphrastic form with μέλλω (73) is more common.

E.g.

Τί διαφέροντι τῶν ἐπὶ άνάγκης κακοπαθοῦντων, εἰ γε πεινήσουσι καὶ διψήσουσι καὶ ῥιγήσουσι καὶ ἄρνησόσουσι; if they are to endure hunger and thirst, etc. XEN. Mem. ii. 1, 17. (Here εἰ μέλλουσι πεινήσει καὶ διψήσει, etc., would be more common, as in the last example under 73.) ΄Αρε πλήκτρον, εἴ μαχεῖ, ταιε ψω τορ, εἰ εαυτού to πολέμοι, etc., if you are going to fight. AΣCH. Av. 759. The distinction between this and the ordinary future (63) is important in conditional sentences (see 407).

72. A still more emphatic reference to a present intention is found in the question τί λέξεις; what do you mean to say? often found in tragedy; as ὅμως, τί λέξεις; ἦ γὰρ ἐγγύς εστί ποι; EUR. Hec. 1124. So Hec. 511, 712; Hipp. 353; Ion. 1113; SOPH. Ph. 1233.

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

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

Μέλλει τούτῳ πράττειν (or πράξειν), he is about to do this, or he intends to do this. So in Latin, facturus est for faciet. Μέλλω ύμας διδάσκειν οθεν μοι ή διαβολή γέγονε. PLAT. Ap. 21 Β. Ούκοιν δείσει τοῦ τοιοῦτου τινὸς ἐτε ἐπιστάτου, εἰ μέλλει ἡ πολιτεία σψεσθαι; if the constitution is to be preserved. PLAT. Rep. 412 Α. (See 71.)

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

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

76. The imperfect (seldom the aorist) of μέλλω with the infinitive expresses past intention, expectation, or necessity. E.g.
The future perfect denotes that an action will be already finished at some future time. It is thus a perfect transferred to the future. *Eg.*

Кαί με ἡν ἐξελέγχη, οἴκ ἀχθεσθήσομαι σοι, ἀλλὰ μέγιστος εὐεργετής παρ’ ἐμοὶ ἀναγεγράψει, you will have been enrolled as my greatest benefactor. *Plat*. Gorg. 506 C. "Ἡν δὲ μὴ γένηται, μάτην ἐμοὶ κεκλαύστεαι, σὺ δ’ ἐγχανὼν τεθνήξεις, I shall then have had my whippings for nothing, and you will have died grinning. *Ar*. Nub. 1435.

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

Δύναμις, ἢς ἐς ἀδίδον τοῖς ἐπιγιγνοµένοις μνήµη καταλελείψεται, power, the memory of which will be left to our posterity for ever. *Thuc*. ii. 64. (Compare 105.)

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

Εἴ δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς ὧστισον δύνατο διδάξαι, πᾶς δ’ παρὼν φόβος λελύστεαι, all the present fear will be at once dispelled. *Dem*. xiv. 2. (Here the inferior MSS. have λέλυται, which would be like ὅλωλα, quoted in 51.) Φράξε, καὶ πεπράζεται, speak, and it shall be no sooner said than done. *Ar*. Plut. 1027. Εὐθύς Ἀρι💰 άφεστής, ὡτε φίλος ἡμῖν ἀνδεῖς λελείψεται. *Xen*. An. ii. 4, 5.

80. The future perfect can be expressed by the perfect participle and ἐσομαι. In the active voice this is the only form in use, except in a few cases (chiefly ἐστήξω and τεθνήξω). *Eg.*

"Ἀν ταῦτ’ εἰδόµεν, καὶ τὰ δέοντα ἐσόµεθα ἐγνωκότες καὶ λόγων ματαιών ἀπηλλαγμένοι, we shall have already resolved to do our duty and shall have been freed from vain reports. *Dem*. iv. 50. (See 45 and 831.)

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

Οὐ σωτηρίας ἔσει; *Soph*. O. T. 1146. Λυπηθεῖσι ἔσετι. *Soph*. O. C. 816. (See 47 and 831.)

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

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

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

II. TENSES OF THE DEPENDENT MOODS.

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

The tenses in these two uses must, therefore, be discussed separately.

A. NOT IN INDIRECT DISCOURSE.

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

PRESENT AND AORIST.

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

Έαν ποιήτης τοῦτο, if he shall be doing this, or if he shall do this (habitually); έαν ποιήσῃ τοῦτο, (simply) if he shall do this; έαν ποιήσῃ τοῦτο, if he should be doing this, or if he should do this (habitually);
ally); εἰ ποιήσειε τούτο, if he should do this; ποιεῖ τούτο, do this (habitually); ποιήσον τούτο, do this. Οὕτω νικήσαμε τ' ἐνώ καὶ νομίζομεν σοφός, on this condition may I gain the victory (aor.) and be considered (pres.) wise. AR. Nüb. 520. Βούλεται τούτο ποιεῖν, he wishes to do this (habitually); βούλεται τούτο ποιήσαι, (simply) he wishes to do this. For other examples see below.

This is a distinction entirely unknown to the Latin, which has (for example) only one form, si faciat, corresponding to εἰ ποιήσειε and εἰ ποιήσον, and only facere to correspond to both ποιεῖν and ποιήσαι (as used above).

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

Εάν γάρ τι σε φανὼ κακῶν πεποιηκώς, ὅταν ἔμεθα κακώς κακὸν, οὐ καὶ ὅταν ἔμεθα κακῶς κακόν; if I shall appear (aor.) to have done you any wrong, and if I shall appear (pres.) to have done you no wrong. ΧΕΝ. ΣΥΡ. v. 5, 13. Εἰ μὲν γάρ προσδέχοιτο Φώκας συμμάχους . . . εἰ δὲ μὴ προσδέχετο, κ.τ.λ. ΔΕΜ. xix. 318. Εἰ τινὲς πολλῶν θυμάτων ἦσαν αἴτιοι, (ἐνα) πάντων τούτων δεκαπλασίως ἀληθῶς ὑπέρ ἐκάτων κομίζοιντο, καὶ αὐτὸ εἰ τινὲς εὐφραγίας εὐφραγηκότες ἔλεγεν, (ἐνα) κατὰ ταῦτα τὴν ἄξιαν κομίζοιντο, if any had caused many deaths, that they might receive (aor.) suffering for all these, tenfold for each; and again, if they had done kind services to any, that they might in like manner receive (pres.) their due reward. ΕΠΑΙ. ΡΕΠ. 615 B. In the last example, it is obvious that the change from κομίζοιντο to κομίζοιντο is connected with the change from εἰ ἦσαν to εἰ εὐφραγηκότες ἔλεγεν; but it is questionable whether the latter change is the cause or the effect, and it is also quite as hard to see the reason for this change in the protasis, when both conditions are equally general, as for that in the final clause. Probably no two scholars would agree in the reasons which they might assign for the use of the tenses in these examples. It is certain, however, that either present or aorist would express the meaning equally well in all these cases.

Subjunctive and Imperative.

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

Πειθόμεθα πάντες· φεύγωμεν σῶν νυνὶ φίλην ἐσ πατρίδα γαῖαν, let us all be persuaded; let us fly, etc. Il. ii. 139. Τί φῶ; τί δρῶ; what shall I say? what shall I do? Πῶς ὁμιλήτων ποιώμεν; how then shall we act about this? PLAT. Phil. 63 A.

Ἀναλογισμέθα τὰ ἡμολογημένα ἢμῖν, let us enumerate the points which have been conceded by us. PLAT. Prot. 332 D. Μηδέν φοβηθῆ, fear not. Μηδέν φοβού, be not timid. Τί ποιῆσο; what shall I do (in this case)? But τί ποιῶ; what shall I do (generally)? Οὐ μὴ τούτο εἴπης, you shall not say this. Οὐ μὴ γένηται, it will not happen. So in the Homeric οὐδὲ ἔδωμαι, nor shall I ever see (6).

"Αν δὲ τις ἀνθιστήτατι, πειρασόμεθα χαλεπάσχομεν, but if any one shall stand opposed to us, we will try to subdue him. XEN. An. vii. 11. Κάν πόλεμος ἢ, ἡς ἄν ἐν ἅλλον ἐγχώμεν στρατεύσομεν, σοῦ τε καὶ τῶν σου ἀδεξώμεθα, and if there shall be war, so long as we shall be able, etc. XEN. Hell. iv. 1, 38. 'Αλλ' ἢ ἂν γιγνώσκω βέλτιστα έρω, but I will speak as I shall think best. THUC. vi. 9. Οὐκ ἦν βούλης τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ἀρχάρην τι λέγε περὶ αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπαγγέλλοντας, whomsoever you shall wish, etc. Isoc. i. 33. "Απας λόγος, δν ἄπη τὰ πράγματα, μάταιόν τι φαίνεται καὶ κενόν, all speech, if (wherever) deeds are wanting, appears vain and empty. DEM. ii. 12. Συμμαχεῖν τούτως ἐθέλοντον ἄπαντες, οὐκ ἄν βρωσί παρεσκευασμένουs, all are willing to be allied to those whom they see prepared. DEM. iv. 6.

"Ος δὲ ἐπωμεθα, let us obey as I shall direct. Il. ix. 704. "Ην εὐγνός έλθη χάνατος, οὐδεὶς βουλεῖται θησκεῖν, if death comes near (the moment that death comes near), no one wants to die. EUR. Alc. 671. "Ην τὴν εἰρήνην ποιήσωμεθα, μετὰ πολλῆς άσφαλείας τὴν πόλιν οἰκήσουμεν, if we (shall) make the peace, etc. Isoc. viii. 20. 'Ον μὲν άν ἀνήσυχα (ος ὁ κώμος), χαλεπαίνει. 'Όν δὲ άν γνώρισοι (ος άθυς), αστάπεται, i.e. whomsoever the dog sees (at any time). PLAT. Rep. 376 A.

"Ἀκεῖ μοι κατακάσσαται τάς ἀμάξας, ίνα μὴ τὰ ἐγκύς ἤμων στρατηγῆς, ἀλλα πορεύωμεθα ὑπ' ἄν τη στρατιά συμφέρῃ, it seems good to me to burn the wagons, that our beasts of burden may not be our generals, and that we may go on whithersoever it may be best for the army. XEN. An. iii. 2, 27. Καὶ γὰρ βασιλεὺς αἴρεται, οὖχ ἵνα ἐκαντον καλῶς ἐπιμέληται, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ οἱ ἑλέμενοι δ' αὐτῶν εἶ τράπτωσι. XEN. Mem. iii. 2, 3.

"Δεδοικα μὴ ἐπιλαθώμεθα τῆς οἰκάδε ὄδου, I fear lest we may forget the road home. XEN. An. iii. 2, 25. Διανοεῖται αὐτὴν λύσα, ὥς μὴ διαβῆτη ἀλλ' ἀπολαβήθη, i.e. he intends to destroy the bridge, that you may not pass over but be caught. Th. ii. 4, 17.

"Φεῦγε, ἑγομένος; χαρόντων, let them rejoice; μὴ νομίζετε, do not believe. Εἰπέ μοι, tell me; δότε μοι τούτο, give me this. Σφενδόνην τὸς οἶκου, let some one give me a sling. Δι. Av. 1187.
When the aorist subjunctive depends on ἐπειδάν (or ἐπάν, ἐπήν), after that, it is referred by this meaning of the particle to time preceding the action of the leading verb, so that ἐπειδάν τοῦτο ἴδω, ἴπτω means after I (shall) have seen this, I will come; and ἐπειδάν τοῦτο ἴδω, ἀπέρχομαι, after I have seen this, I (always) depart. In such cases it may be translated by our future perfect when the leading verb is future, and by our perfect when the leading verb denotes a general truth and is translated by the present. As the subjunctive here can never depend upon a verb of simply present time, it can never refer to time absolutely past; and we use the perfect indicative in translating such an aorist after a verb expressing a general truth, merely because we use the present in translating the leading verb, although this is properly not present but general in its time.

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

Χρή δὲ, ὅταν μὲν τιθήσθε τοὺς νόμους, ὅποιοι τινὲς εἰσι σκοπεῖν, ἐπειδάν δὲ θήσθε, ψυλάττειν καὶ χρήσθαι, while you are enacting laws, you must look to see of what kind they are; but after you have enacted them, you must guard and use them. Dem. xxi. 34. (Here the present τιθήσθε with ὅταν, while, refers to an action continuing through the time of the leading verb; but θήσθε with ἐπειδάν, after that, refers to time past relatively to the leading verb.) Ταύτα, ἐπειδάν περὶ τοῦ γένους ἴπτω, τότε, ἄν βούλησθε ἀκούειν, ἰπτω, when I shall have spoken about my birth, then, if you desire to hear, I will speak of these things. Dem. lvii. 16. (Here the aorist έιπω, though absolutely future, denotes time past with reference to ἰπτω.) Ἐπειδάν διαπράξωμαι ἃ δέομαι, ἴπτω, when I shall have accomplished what I desire, I will come. Xen. An. ii. 3, 29. 'Επειδάν δὲ κρύψωμεν γῆ, ἄνπορ ἡρμηνεύομεν ὡς τῇ τόλως λέγει ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἔπαινον τόν πρόποντα, when they have covered them with earth, etc. Thuc. ii. 34. "Εως ἄν σφάζηται τὸ σκάφος, τότε χρή προθύμωμεν ἐκμάθησαι, ἐπειδάν δὲ ἡ βάλαστα ὑπέροσχον, μάταιος ἡ στοιχιός, as long as the vessel remains in safety (present); but the moment that the sea has overwhelmed it (aorist). Dem. ix. 69. "Εως ἄν ἐκμάθητης, ἵπτω, until you have learnt fully, have hope. Soph. O. T. 834. Μία δὲ κλίνη κενὴ φέρεται τῶν ἀφανῶν, οἱ ἄν μὴ εὑρεθῶσιν ἐς ἀναίρεσιν, and one bier is always carried empty, in honour of the missing, whose bodies are not (have not been) found. Thuc. ii. 34. Διανοείται, ἄν ἄλλοι τῇ ἀρέτῃ καταπράξωσι, τούτων ἀσυμμορίως; i.e. he thinks of having an equal share in those things which others by their valour have acquired? Xen. Cyr. ii. 3, 5. Πάνθ' ὦν ἄν ἐκ πολέμου γιγνόμενης εἰρήνης προεθῇ, ταύτα τοῖς ἀναλήσασιν ἅπαλλυται, all things which are (or have been) abandoned when peace is made are always lost to those
who abandoned them. DEM. xix. 151. "Ην δ' ἀρα καὶ του πείρας / σφαλαγίαν, ἀντεξόμενας ἀλλα ἐπλήρωσαν τὴν χρείαν, if they have been disappointed in anything, they always supply the deficiency, etc. (154 and 171). THUC. i. 70. Οὐχὶ παύσωμαι, πρὶν ἄν σε τῶν σῶν κύρων στήσω τέκνων, I will not cease before I have (shall have) made you master of your children. SOPH. O. C. 1040. Μὴ στέναξε πρὶν μᾶθη, do not groan until you have heard. SOPH. Ph. 917.

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

"Ον μὲν ἂν ἔδη ἄγνωτα (ὁ κύων), χαλεπαίνει· ον δ' ἂν γνώριμον (ἔδη), ἄσπαζεται, κἂν μὴ δέν πάστε ὅπως αὐτοῦ ἁγαθὸν τεπόνθη, whomsoever he sees whom he knows, he fawns upon, even if he has hitherto received no kindness from him. PLAT. Rep. 376 A. Compare this with ἔδοκα μὴ αληθές τι, I fear it may prove true. DEM. i. 1. Δεινῶς ἄθυμω, μὴ βλέπων δὲ μάντις γ', lest the prophet may to have his sight (cf. the following δείξεις δέ μᾶλλον). SOPH. O. T. 747; so ANT. 1114. "Ορᾳ μὴ περί τοὺς φιλτάτοις κυβέρνης, becave lest it may prove that you are taking what is dearest. PLAT. Prot. 314 A. "Ορᾳ δὲ πόσῶς μὴ παρὰ δόξαν ὀρμολογής. Id. Crit. 49 C. In all these cases the present indicative would be required if the object of fear were really present (369, 1).

Compare the examples of the perfect subjunctive in 103.

92. The present subjunctive with μὴ or ὅπως μὴ after verbs of fearing, though it generally refers to a future object of fear, may also denote what may hereafter prove to be an object of fear. Ex. Δέουσα μὴ ἄλληθες γ', I fear it may prove true. DEM. i. 1. Δεινῶς ἄθυμω, μὴ βλέπων δὲ μάντις γ', lest the prophet may to have his sight (cf. the following δείξεις δέ μᾶλλον). SOPH. O. T. 747; so ANT. 1114. "Ορᾳ μὴ περί τοὺς φιλτάτοις κυβέρνης, becave lest it may prove that you are taking what is dearest. PLAT. Prot. 314 A. "Ορᾳ δὲ πόσως μὴ παρὰ δόξαν ὀρμολογής. Id. Crit. 49 C. In all these cases the present indicative would be required if the object of fear were really present (369, 1).

Compare the examples of the perfect subjunctive in 103.

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

In II. x. 537 there is a similar case of the aorist optative in a wish: ἃ γὰρ δὴ δεῦ ἡμεὶς ἐκ Τρώων ἔλασαίσατο μιῶνυς ἐπίσω, i.e. may it prove that they have driven the horses away from the Trojans (95).

Optative.

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

Εἴθε τοῦτο εἶν (utinam sit), O that this may be. Εἴθε μὴ ταῦτα πάσχοιεν, may they not suffer these things (with a view to the progress of their suffering). But εἴθε μὴ ταῦτα πάθοιεν, may they not suffer these things (viewed collectively). Εἴθε σὺ τοιοῦτο ἄν φίλοις ἕμεν γένοιο, may you become a friend to us. XEN. Hell. iv. 1, 38. Μὴ γένοιο, may it not happen. See examples of the optative with ἄν below.

Οὗ γὰρ ἄν ἐπαινοίη με, εἴ ξελαύνοιμι τοὺς ἐξεργάτας, for he would not praise me, if I should banish my benefactors. XEN. An. viii. 7, 11. Εἴης φορὴς ὅπως ἄν, εἴ πράσσοις καλῶς, you would not be endurable, if you should be in prosperity (at any time). AESCH. Prom. 979. Πῶς γὰρ ἄν τις, ἢ γε μὴ ἑπίστατο, ταῦτα σοφὸς εἴη; for how could any one be wise in that which he did not understand (i.e. εἴ τινα μὴ ἑπίστατο)? XEN. Mem. iv. 6, 7. Ἀλλ’ εἴ τι μὴ φέροιμεν, ἠτρυνεν φέρεν, but if we neglected to bring anything, he always exhorted us to bring it. EUR. Alc. 755. Οὐκ ἀπελείπετο ἄτι αὐτοῦ, εἴ μὴ τι ἀναγκαῖον εἴη, he never left him, unless there was some necessity for it. XEN. Mem. iv. 2, 40.

Εἴ ξελθοί, πάντ’ ἄν ἔδοι, if he should go, he would see all. Εἴ ξελθοί, πάνθ’ ἔδοτ, if ever (whenever) he went, he (always) saw all. Οὐδ’ εἴ πάντες ξέλθοιεν Πέρσαι, πλῆθει γε οὐχ ὑπερβηλοίμεθ’ ἄτι τοὺς πολεμίους, not even if all the Persians should come, should we surpass the enemy in numbers. XEN. Cyrt. ii. 1, 8. Ὄτε ἦξε τοῦ δεινοῦ γένοιοτο καὶ ἕξειη πρὸς ἄλλους ἄρχοντας ἀπιάνα, πολλοὶ αὐτοῦ ἀπελείπον, but when they were come out of danger and it was in their power (present) to go to other commanders, (in all such cases) many left
him. Id. An. ii. 6, 12. "Ανευ yap αρχόντων οίδιαν ἂν οὕτε καλὸν οὕτε 
ἀγαθὸν γένοιτο, nothing could be done, etc. Ib. iii. 1, 38. Οὐκ οἶδα 
ὅ τι ἂν τις χρήσαιτο αὑτοῖς, I do not know what use any one could 
make of them. Ib. iii. 1, 40.

Τούτου ἐπεθύμει, ἵνα εἴη πράττοι, he desired this in order that he 
might be in prosperity. Ἔφοβεῖτο μὴ τούτο ποιοῖν, he feared lest they 
should do this (habitually). Δήλος ἦν ἐπιθυμιῶν ἄρχειν, ὥσπερ πλεῖω 
λαμβάνοι, ἐπιθυμιῶν δὲ τιμᾶσθαι, ἵνα πλεῖστο κερδάσθαι: φίλος τε 
ἔβουλετο ἵνα τοὺς μέγιστα δυνάμειν, ἰνα ἂδικῶν μὴ διδοῖ ἔκκη. 
XEN. An. ii. 6, 21. (Here the aorist optative would have referred to 
single acts of receiving, getting gain, and suffering punishment, 
while the present refers to a succession of cases, and to a whole course of conduct.)

"Ἡν ὁ Φίλιππος εἰν φόβῳ μη ἐκφύγω τὰ πράγματ' αὑτόν, Philip 
was in fear lest the control of affairs might escape him. DEM. xviii. 33.

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

Oἷς μὲν ἴδοι εἰτάκτων λόγος, τίνες τε εἰδεν ἡρώτα, καὶ ἐπεί πῦθοῖτο 
ἐπήνει, he asked any whom he saw marching in good order, who they were; 
and after he had ascertained, he praised them. XEN. Cyr. v. 3, 55. 
Περιεμομένης ἄκοστοτε ἐως ἀνοιχθῇ τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἐπειδὴ δὲ 
ἄνοιχθῇ, εἰσῆκαμεν παρὰ τὸν Σωκράτη, we waited each morning 
until the prison was opened (or had been opened); and after it was opened, 
we went in to Socrates. PLAT. Phaed. 59 D. In PLAT. Rep. 331 C, εἰ 
τὸ λάβοι παρὰ φίλου ἄνδρος σωφρονοῦντος ὀπλα, εἰ μανεῖς ἀπαίτοτοι, 
is thus given by Cicero (Offic. iii. 95): Si gladium quis apud te sanae 
mentis deposuerit, repetat insaniens; and there can be no doubt that 
εἰληφώς εἴη (the equivalent of deposuerit) would have been more exact 
than λάβοι in Greek (see 91). For a peculiar aorist optative in Il. x. 
537, see above (93, end).

Infinitive.

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

"Εξέστι μὲν εἰν, it is possible to remain. 'Εξέσται τοῦτο ποιεῖν, it will be possible to do this. Δέομαι ὑμῶν μένειν, I beg you to remain. Τι τὸ κωλυόν ἐτι αὐτόν ἔσται, Βαδίζειν ὅποι βουλέται, what will there be to prevent him from going whither he pleases? Dem. i. 12. Ἐκέλευσα αὐτὸν τοῦτο ποιεῖν, I commanded him to do this. 'Εβούλετο σοφὸς εἶναι, he wished to be wise. Δεινὸς ἐστι λέγειν, he is skilled in speaking. Ὡρα βαδίζειν, it is time to be going. Πᾶν ποιοῦσιν ὡστε δίκην μή διδόναι, they do everything so as to avoid being punished. Plat. Gorg. 479 C. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐπιτιμάν ἰσώς φῆσαι τις αὐν ῥᾴδιον εἶναι, τὸ δ’ ἰτι διε πράττειν ἀποφαίνεσθαι, τοῦτ εἶναι συμβολοῦν, some one may say that finding fault is easy, but that showing what ought to be done is the duty of an adviser. Dem. i. 16. (Ἐπιτιμάν, ἀποφαίνεσθαι, and πράττειν belong here; but είναι in both cases is in indirect discourse, 117.) Οὐ πλεονεξίας ἐνεκεν ταύτ εἴπατε, αλλὰ τῷ δικαίωτερα τοῦ Θηβαίου ἢ υμάς ἄξιούν, he did this not from love of gain, but because of the Thebans making juster demands than you. Id. vi. 13. Ἐπείχθη δὲ Ἀταλάντη νῆσος, οὐ μὴ ληστὰς κακουργεῖν τὴν Ἑὔβοιαν, in order to prevent pirates from ravaging Euboea. Thuc. ii. 32.

Πόλεως ἡτα γάνατος ἀνάστατον γενέσθαι, it is death for a city to be laid waste. Lycurg. 61. Ἡσπερ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοῖς καλοῖς κάγαθοις αἵρετοροι ἐστὶ καλὸς ἀποθανεῖν ἢ Ἰῆν αἰσχρός, οὕτω καὶ τῶν πόλεων ταῦτα ὑπερυψοῦσιν λυστελεῖν (ἡγούντο) εἰς ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι μᾶλλον ἢ δούλων ὑμῶς γενειν, as it is preferable for honourable men to die (aor.) nobly rather than to continue living (pres.) in disgrace, so also they thought that it was better (pres.) for the pre-eminent among states to be (at once) made to disappear (aor.) from among men, than to be (once) seen (aor.) to fall into slavery. Isoc. iv. 95. Πέμπουσιν ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν πρέσβεις, δεόμενοι μὴ σφάσῃ περιορὰν φθειρομένους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τε φεύγοντας ἔνυπερ λάξας σφαῖς καὶ τὸν τῶν βαρβάρων πόλεμον καταλύσατε, asking them not to allow them to be brought their exiles to terms with them, and to put an end to the barbarians' war. Thuc. i. 24. Τὸ γὰρ γνῶναι ἐπιστήμην τοῦ λαβεῖν ἐστιν, to learn is to obtain knowledge. Plat. Theaet. 209 E. Πάντες τὸ καταλυσεῖν αὐτὰ πάντων μᾶλλον μάλλα σφαίρας, we all try most of all to avoid leaving them behind. Xen. Mem. ii. 2, 3. Οὐ γὰρ τὸ μη λαβεῖν τάμαθα αὐτοὶ γε χαλεπόν ὡσπερ τὸ λαβόντα στερηθῇ χαλινῆς. Id. Cyt. vii. 5, 82. Τοῦ πιεῖν ἐπιθυμία, the desire of obtaining drink. Thuc. vii. 84. Κελεύει αὐτὸν ἑλθεῖν, he commands him to go. Ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἑλθεῖν, he commanded him to go. Κe-
30 THE TENSES [97

λέσει αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν, he will command him to go. Πρὸς τῷ μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς προσβείας λαβεῖν, tois αἰχμαλώτους ἔλισατο, besides receiving nothing from the embassy, he ransomed the captives. DEM. xix. 229. Εἶ πρὸ τοῦ τοῖς Φωκίαις ἀπολέσθαι ψηφισαμεθε βοηθεῖν, if before the destruction of the Phocians you should vote to go to their assistance. Id. xviii. 33. Τὰς αἰτίας προφεραμε, τοῦ μὴ τίνα ἐξ ὦν τοσοῦτος πόλεμος κατέστη, that no one may ever ask the reason why, etc. THUC. i. 23. Τὸν ὡτερ τοῦ μὴ γενέσθαι ταῦτ' ἀγώνα, the contest to prevent these from being done. DEM. xvii. 201.

No account is here taken of the infinitive with ἀν (204).

97. The distinction between the present and aorist infinitive is well illustrated by Aristotle, when he says of pleasure, Eth. x. 3, 4, ήσθήναι μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ ταχέως ὡσπερ ὀργῆσθαι, ἠδεσθαι δ' οὐ, oūdē πρὸς ἐπερ χαδίζειν, δὲ καὶ αὐξέσθαι καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα. metαβάλλειν μὲν οὖν ἐς τὴν ἠδεσθην ταχέως καὶ βραδέως ἕστιν, ἐνεργεῖν δὲ κατ' ἄλλην οὐκ ἐςτι ταχέως, λέγω δ' ἠδεσθαι. We may become pleased (ἡσθήναι) quickly, as we may get angry quickly; but we cannot be pleased (ἡσθήσθαι) quickly, even as compared with another person, although we can thus walk and grow and do such things. We may then change into a state of pleasure quickly or slowly, but we cannot actually enjoy the pleasure, I mean BE PLEASED (ἡσθήσθαι), quickly.

So in PLAT. Theaet. 155 C, Socrates says, ἄνεν τοῦ γίγνεσθαι γενέσθαι ἀδύνατον (sc. ἐμέ ἐλάττω), i.e. without going through the process of becoming (γίγνεσθαι) smaller, it is impossible for me to get (γενεσθαι) smaller.

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

Δέγεται δὲ 'Ἀλκμαιωνι τὸν 'Απόλλωνα ψαύτην τὴν γῆν χρῆσαι οἴκειν, it is said that Apollo gave a response to Alcmene that he should inhabit this land (warned him to inhabit it). THUC. ii. 102. Χρωμένω δὲ τῷ Κύλωνι ἄνειλεν ὅ θεός ἐν τῷ Διός τῇ μεγίστῃ ἥρτῃ καταλαβείν τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἀκρόπολιν, that he should seize. Id. i. 126. Ἐκέχρητο γὰρ τοὺς Ἐπαρτήτης, ἡ Δακεδαϊμονα ἄναστον γενέσθαι ἡ τῶν βασιλεα σφέων ἀπολέσθαι. HDT. vii. 220. Ἐθέσπισε κομίζει καὶ εἰσίδειν. EUR. i. T. 1014. Ὁς χρησμὸν ὅτι τὴν πόλιν διαφθαρῆναι, as if there were an oracle dooming the city to perish. PLAT. Rep. 415 C. Πολλάκι χρήσατο γὰρ οἱ ἐπιτι θυσίαν ἰνήγαγεν φθίσθαι ἢ ὑπὸ Τρώεσσι δαμήναι, the diviner told him that he must either die by painful disease, or perish at the hands of the Trojans. II. xiii. 667. But we find ἄνειλεν ἐσεθεῖν, THUC. i. 118; χρῆσατο κρατήσειν, LYCURG. 99; ἐκχρηστο βασιλεύειν, HDT. ii. 147; as indirect discourse.
99. Even verbs of saying and thinking, as λέγω when it signifies to command, and δοκεῖ, it seems good, may take the present or aorist infinitive not in indirect discourse, like other verbs of the same meaning. Εἶπον seldom takes the infinitive, except when it signifies to command (753). The context will always distinguish these cases from indirect quotations. *E.g.*

Τούτοις ἔλεγον πλεῖν, I told them to sail. *Dem.* xix. 150. (Τούτους ἔλεγον πλεῖν would mean I said that they were sailing.) Εἶπὼν μηδένα παρενείας εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, having given orders that no one should pass into the citadel. *Xen.* Hell. v. 2, 29. "Ὡς φίλοι, ἂν μὲν κεν ἐγὼν εἴπομι καὶ ἄμμιν μνηστήρων ἐς ὑμῖλον ἀκοντίσας, now I would command you to join me in hurling, etc. *Od.* xxii. 262. Παραδοῦναι λέγει, he tells us to give her up (he says, give her up). *Aph.* Av. 1679. Δοκεῖ ἡμῖν τοῦτο ποιεῖν (or ποιήσας) it pleases us to do this. (But δοκεῖ μοι υμᾶς τοῦτο ποιεῖν (or ποιήσας) generally means it seems to me that you are doing this, or did this.) "Εδοξε in the sense it was resolved, introducing a decree, is followed by the present or aorist (not future) infinitive.

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

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

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

Αἴτιοι οὖν εἰσί καὶ ἐμὲν πολλῶν ἠδὸν ψευδὴν καὶ δῇ ἄδικως γέ τινας ἀπόλεσθαι, they are the cause why you were deceived and some even perished (i.e. they caused you to be deceived and some even to perish). *Lyk.* xix. 51. Τεθνάσιν οἱ δὲ ζῶντες αἴτιοι θανεῖν, they are dead; and the living are the causes of their death. *Soph.* Ant. 1173. "Ἡ μοι μητρὶ μὲν θανεῖν μόνη μετατίτις. *Id.* Tr. 1233.

**Perfect.**

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

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

Τὸ χρόνον γεγενήσθαι πολὺν δύσικα μὴ τινα λήθην ὕμιν πεποιήκῃ, I fear lest the lapse of a long time that has occurred may (when you come to decide the case) prove to have caused in you some forgetfulness (see 91). Dem. xix. 3. (Μὴ ποιῇ would mean lest it may cause, the time being the same as before.) Χρὴ αὐτὰ ἐκάτερον εἰτεραν, ὅπως ἐνελληψῃ τὰ ὀφειλόμενα, we must hear what awaits each of them after death, that (when we have finished) each may have fully received his deserts. PLAT. Rep. 614 A. Τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις, κἂν δεδωκότες διδοῖν εὑθὺν, τὴν ἀειλογίαν ὅπως προεινομένοι, I see that other men, even if they have already rendered their accounts,—i.e. if they are (in the state of) persons who have rendered their accounts,—always offer a perpetual reckoning. Dem. xix. 2. Άνθρείον γε πάνυ νομίζομεν, οὐδὲν δὲντετελεσθην ὃθ' ὧν πληγή πατέρα, we always consider one very manly who has (may have) beaten his father. AR. AV. 1350. Νόμον θήσεί μηδενί τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑμᾶς βοηθέου ὃτι μὴ πρότερος βεβοηκώς ὑμῖν ὃ, to enact a law that you shall assist no one of the Greeks who shall not previously have assisted you. Dem. xix. 16. (Οὐ δὲν μὴ πρότερος βοηθῇ would mean who shall not previously assist you.)

"Εδείσαν μὴ λύσασα ἡμῖν ἔμπεπτωκοι, they feared lest madness might prove to have fallen upon us. XEN. An. v. 7, 26. (Μὴ ἐμπωτωί would mean lest it might fall upon us.) Ἐδείσθην τῶν δικαστῶν μηδέν τοιοῦτον πράξει, ώς ἐγὼ μηδένα Ἀθηναίων ἀπεκτῶν ἐίην, that I might not be in the position of having put an Athenian to death. DEM. liii. 18. "Ἡν γὰρ ἐτέρη λέγον οὐσι ταύτ', ἐγὼ ἐκ ἐκπεφευγοῦν πάθος, I should (in that case) have escaped harm. SOPH. O. T. 839. Πῶσ οὐκ ἄν οἰκτρότατα πάντων ἄν ἔγω πεποιθώς εἴην, εἰ ἐμὲ ψυφισαίτω ἔιναι ξένον; how should I not have suffered the most pitiable of all things, if they should vote me to be an alien? Dem. lvii. 44. (This could have been expressed, with a very slight difference in meaning, τῶς οὐ πεποιθεῖσαν ξένοις, εἰναι ξένοις; how should I not have suffered, etc.) Εἰ οὕτων πεποιθώς ἐκάτερον ὕμιν εἰην, οὐ καὶ ἄμφετεροι ἄν τοῦτο πεπόνθησιμεν; if each of us should have suffered anything whatsoever, would not both of us have suffered it? PLAT. Hipp. M. 301 A. Οὐκ ἄν διὰ τούτο γ' εἴεν οὐκ εἴθως δεδωκότες, this, at least, cannot be the reason why they did not pay it at once; lit. they would not (on inquiry) prove to have not paid it at once on this account. Dem. xxx. 10.

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

The perfect optative can hardly be accurately expressed in English. For when we use the English forms *would have suffered* and *should have suffered* to translate the perfect optative, these are merely vaguer expressions for *will* and *shall have suffered*. (See the examples above.) *I should have suffered* is commonly past in English, being equivalent to ἔπαθον ἄν; but here it is future, and is therefore liable to be misunderstood. There is no more reference to past time, however, in the perfect optative with ἄν, than there is in the future perfect indicative (77) in such expressions as μάτην ἐμοί κεκλανσεται, I shall have had my whippings for nothing (referring to those received in his boyhood), Ar. Nub. 1436.

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

Ταύτα μὲν δή ταύτη εἰρήσθω, let so much have been thus said, (= εἰρημένα ἐστώ), i.e. let what has been thus said be sufficient. Plat. Crat. 401 D. But ὅμως δὲ εἰρήσθω ὁτι, κ.τ.λ., still let as much as this (which follows) be said (once for all), that, etc. Id. Rep. 607 C. Περὶ τὸν δὲ εἰρήσθω τοίν παιδὶ, let this have been said (once for all) by way of introduction. Isoc. iv. 14. Ταύτα πεπαιδήσθω τε Ἰζερέω, let this be the end of the play, etc. Plat. Euthyd. 278 D. Πεπαιδήσθω τε τοίν προειρήσθω, κ.τ.λ., still let such a man remain (where we have placed him), corresponding to democracy. Id. Rep. 561 E. Ἄπειργασθήσθω δή ἵμιν αὐτὴ ἡ πολιτεία, let this now be a sufficient description of this form of government. Ib. 553 A. Μέχρι τούτων δέ ἐρήσθω ὁ βραδυτής, at this point let the limit of your sluggishness be fixed. Thuc. i. 71.

The third person plural in the same sense could be expressed by the perfect participle with ἐστων, as in Plat. Rep. 502 Α, οδοὶ τοίνυν τούτων τε πεπεισμένωι ἐστων, grant then that these have been persuaded of this.

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

Εἰλήφθω ἄνεμος ἄνεμος ἀπὸ τῆς AB τυχόν σημείον τὸ Δ, καὶ ἄνεμος ἄνεμος ἀπὸ τῆς ΑΓ τῆς AD ὑπὸ ἡ βραδυτής, at this point let the limit of your sluggishness be fixed. Thuc. i. Pr. 9.

107. The perfect imperative of the *second* person is rare; when it is used, it seems to be a little more emphatic than the present or aorist. *E.g.*
108. In verbs whose perfect has the force of a present (49) the perfect imperative is the ordinary form; as μέμνησο, κεκλησθώ, ἔσταθ, ἔστατα, τεθνάω, τεθνάτω, ἰστώ. So κεχηνατε, AR. Ach. 133; μη κεκράγατε, Vesp. 415. The perfect imperative active seems to have been used only in such verbs. Occasionally we find the periphrastic form with the participle and εἰμί, as ἑστω ξυμβεβηκαια, PLAT. Leg. 736 B.

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

Οδε βουλευσθαι ετι δρα, ἀλλα βεβουλευσθαι της γαρ ἐπισοφης νυκτός πάντα ταῦτα δει πεπράχθαι, it is no longer time even to be deliberating, but (it is time) to have done deliberating; for all this must be finished within the coming night. PLAT. Crit. 46 A. 

Και μην περι δι' γε προσέπαστε προσήκει διψεκκέναι, and it is his duty to have attended to the business about which you gave him instructions. DEM. xix. 6. (This refers to an ambassador presenting his accounts on his return.) Ξυνετόγχαι πολλάκιον διὰ τὴν στενοχωρίαν τὰ μὲν ἄλλοις ἐμβεβληκέναι τὰ δ' αὐτῶν ἐμβεβλήθαι, δοῦ τε περι μίαν ξυνηρτήσθαι, it often befell them to have made an attack on one side and (at the same time) to have been attacked themselves on the other, etc. THUC vii. 70. Ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὰ μὲν μέγαστ' αὐτῶν ἡ θαυμασθεῖ βιούν, καὶ τα κατεκρητθαῖθαι μικρὰ δὲ τινα παραλείψεσθαι, for it must be that the most important subjects have been used up, and that only unimportant ones have been left. ISOC. iv. 74. Ὑπὲρ ἰδεον ἐμβαίναιν διὰ τὸ καταπεπληρωμέναι τῇ θυσῳ, they were unwilling to embark on account of having been terrified by the defeat. THUC vii. 72. Τὸ γὰρ πολλὰ ἀπολωλεκέναι κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀμελείας ἀν τῆς θείη δικαίως, τὸ δὲ μήτε πάλαι τοῦτο πεπιστεύκηναι, τὸ δὲ μήτε τούτων ἑνεπερσάρει τὴν ἡμῖν συνισταῖ δυνάμεις ἀντιπροσώπου, τῆς παρ' ἐκείνων ἐννοιας ἐνεργήτημ' ἀν ἐγγονεθθεί, for our having lost many things during the war one might justly charge upon our neglect; but our never having suffered this before, and the fact that an alliance has now appeared to us to make up for these losses, I should consider a benefaction, etc. DEM. i. 10. (Compare γεγενήσθαι in the first example under 103.) Ἐφθασαν παροικοδομήσαντες, ὡστε μηκῶς μήτε ἀυτῶν κωλύσαντες ἦν, ἀυτῶν ἐκείνως τε καὶ παντάπασιν ἀπεστερήσεσθαι . . . σφαζύπτεσθαι, i.e. they carried their own wall first beyond that of the Athenians, so as no longer to be themselves interfered with by them, and so as to have effectively prevented them from walling them in. THUC viii. 6. Ἐπεμελήθη καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, ὡστε τῶν παρόντων τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἄγαθων μηδὲν μὴν ἀνεν τῆς πόλεως.
The perfect infinitive sometimes signifies that the action is to be decisive and permanent (like the perfect imperative, 105); and sometimes it seems to be merely more emphatic than the present or aorist infinitive. E.g.

Ἐφεύλοι τὴν θύραν κεκλείσθαι, they ordered that the door should be shut (and remain so). XEN. Hell. v. 4. 7. Βουλόμενοι δὲ καὶ δικαστήριον μοι ἵωρίσθαι παρ’ ὑμῖν ὅτι τάναντι ἔμοι καὶ τούτοις πιπρακτεῖν, i.e. wishing to have it once for all settled in your minds. DEM. xix. 223. Θελούσας πρὸς τοὺς αὐτούς ἐπωκόκεσαι, eager to fall before the gates. AESCH. Sept. 462. Ἡ λαναν ἐπὶ τὸν Μένωνον, ὅστις ἐκεῖνος ἐκπεπλήχθη καὶ τρέχειν ἐπὶ τὰ ὁπλα, he marched against the soldiers of Menon, so that they were (once for all) thoroughly frightened and ran to arms. XEN. An. i. 5, 13. (Here ἐκπεπλήχθαι is merely more emphatic than the present or aorist would be.)

**FUTURE.**

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

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

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

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

Ἐδείχθησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν Μεγαρέων ναοὶ σφᾶς ἐξυμπροπέμψειν, they asked the Megareans also to escort them with ships. THUC. i. 27. Ἐβοῦλοντο προτιμώρησεσθαι. Id. vi. 57. So ἐπιεξερήσειν ἐθελῆσεις; AESCHIN. iii. 152. Το στόμα αὐτοῦ διωνοῦντο κλήσεις. THUC. vii. 56. Ἐφιέμενοι μὲν τής πάσης ἄρξεις, βοηθεῖ δὲ ἀμα εὑρεπεκτον θουάμενον τοὺς ἄντων ἐξυγεγονοὶ καὶ ξυμμάχοις. Id. vi. 6. (Here βοηθεῖ is regular.) Τοῦ ταῖς ναοὶ μὴ ἀθυμεῖν ἐπιεξερήσει, to prevent them from being without spirit to attack them in ships. THUC. vii. 21. οὐ' ἀποκολύσειν δύναται ὅστε. Id. iii. 28. Εἴ σε γ' ἐν λόγοις πείσειν δυνησόμεθα. SOPH. Ph. 1394. Εἴ τις εἰς τοῦτο ἀναβάλλεται ποιήσειν τά δέωντα, if any one postpones doing his duty as far as this. DEM. iii. 9. (The ordinary construction would be ἀναβάλλεται ποιεῖν οὐ ποιήσαι.) Οὔτε τῶν προγόνων μεμνησθαί [δεῖ] οὔτε τῶν λεγόντων ἄνεχεσθαι, νόμον τε θήσειν καὶ γράφειν, κ.τ.λ. DEM. xix. 16. (Here we have δεῖ θήσειν.) Πολλοὶ δὲ χίμενον γε ἀδικήσειν καὶ κατ' ἐμαυτὸ ἐρείν αὐτόν. PLAT. ΑΡ. 37 Β.

Τοῦ δὲ μήρους παρέδοσαν τῷ Ἀργείων δήμῳ διὰ ταύτα διαχρήσεσθαι, that they might put them to death. THUC. vi. 61. So πείσεσθαι. Id. iii. 26. Ἐφ' ὑπει σαβοθήσειν. AESCHIN. iii. 114 (see 610).

Ἀποδείξα ἄυτον τήν προίκα οὐ διδωκότα οὕτω μεγάλοις τεκμηρίοις ὡστε ὑμᾶς ἀπάντας εἰσεσθαί. DEM. xxx. 5 : so xxxii. 5. Ἐλπίδι τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ κατορθώσειν εὐπρέπουντες, having committed to hope what was uncertain in the prospect of success. THUC. ii. 42. (Here κατορθώσειν is more explicit than the present κατορθοῦσθαι would be: τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ κατορθοῦν would mean simply what was uncertain in regard to success.) Τοῦ ἐς χείρας ἐλθεῖν χιπτότερον τὸ ἐκφοβήσειν ἡμᾶς ἀκινδύνους ἡγούνται, they feel more confidence in the prospect of frightening us without risk than in meeting us in battle. Id. iv. 126. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐξελέγξειν αὐτὸν θαρρῶ καὶ πάνω πυτέων, I have courage and great confidence as to my convicting him. DEM. xix. 3. (Here most of the ordinary Mss. read ἐξελέγχειν.)

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

B. OPTATIVE AND INFINITIVE OF INDIRECT DISCOURSE.

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

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

PRESENT OPTATIVE.

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

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

Περικλῆς προηγόρευε, ὡς Ἀρχιδαμός οἱ ξένοι εἶη, Pericles announced that Archidamus was his friend (i.e. he said ξένοι μοί ἐστίν).

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

Εἶπεν ὡς ἄνδρα ἂγοι ὣν ἔρρικας δέοι, he said that he was bringing a man whom it was necessary to confine (he said ἄνδρα ἂγω ὣν ἔρρικας δέοι).

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

*E.g.*

Κλάρχος ἐβουλεύετο, εἰ πέμποιέν τινας ἢ πάντες ἐοιεν, Clearchus was deliberating whether they should send a few or should all go. (The question was, πέμπωμεν τινας ἢ πάντες)
38 THE TENSES [117

*ωμεν; shall we send a few, or shall we all go? See 677.) The
context will always make it clear whether the optative represents a
subjunctive (as here) or an indicative (1).

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

"Ἀπεκρίναντο ὑπὶ οὐδεὶς μάρτυς παρείη, they replied that no witness
had been present (when a certain payment was made). DEM. xxx. 20.
(They said οὐδεὶς παρήν.)

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

PRESENT INFINITIVE.

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

Φησὶ γράφειν, he says that he is writing; ἔφη γράφειν, he said
that he was writing; φήσει γράφειν, he will say that he is (then)
writing. (In all three cases he says γράφω.) Ἀρρωστεῖν προ-
φασίζεται, he pretends that he is sick; ἔξωσον ἄρρωστεῖν τουτονί,
he took his oath that this man was sick. DEM. xix. 124. Οὐκ ἔφη αὐτὸς
ἀλλ' ἔκεινον στρατηγεῖεν, he said that not he himself, but Nicias, was
general; i.e. he said οὐκ ἔγω αὐτὸς ἀλλ' ἔκεινος στρατηγεῖ. THUC.
iv. 28. See other examples under 683.

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

'Έλπίζων εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ὀλιβώτατος, taúta ἐπειρώτα, he asked
this, trusting that he was the most happy of men. HDT. i. 30. So i. 22,
ἐλπίζων συνεχεῖν τε εἶναι ἱσχύρην καὶ τὸν λέων τετρῦσθαι.
Συνά δέ ἔλπιζω λέγειν, and I hope I speak for the common good.
AESCH. Sept. 76. Ὁμώνυμες βλέπειν τὸν οὐκέτ ὀντα ζωντ 'Αχιλ-
λέα πάλιν, i.e. swearing that they saw Achilles alive again. SOPH. Ph.
357.

Compare the first two examples with ἔλπίζει δύνατος εἶναι, he hopes
to be able, PLAT. Rep. 573 C; and the last with ὅμος εἶναι μὲν
τὴν ἄρχην κοινὴν, πάντοπος δ' ὑμῖν ἀποδοῦναι τὴν χώραν, to swear
that the dominion shall be common, and that all shall surrender the land,
DEM. xxii. 170. (See 136 and the examples.)

119. (As Imperfect.) The present infinitive may also
represent an imperfect indicative of the direct discourse,
thus supplying the want of an imperfect infinitive. E.g.
Τίνα οὖν εὐχὰς ὑπολαμβάνετε εὐχεσθαί τοὺς θεοὺς τὸν Φίλιππον ὅτε ἐσπενδεν; what prayers then do you suppose Philip made to the Gods when he was pouring his libations? DEM. xix. 130. (Here the temporal clause ὅτε ἐσπενδεν shows that εὐχεσθαί is past.)  
Πότεροι οἶσθε πλέον Φωκέα Θηβαίων ἢ Φίλιππον ὴμῶν κρατεῖν τῷ πόλεμῳ; do you think that the superiority of the Phocians over the Thebans or that of Philip over you was the greater in the war (the war being then past)? DEM. xix. 148. (Here the direct discourse would be ἐκράτονν and ἐκράτει.)  
Πώς γὰρ οἶσθε δυσχερώς ἀκούειν Ὠλυνθίων, εἰ τίς τι λέγων κατὰ Φίλιππον κατ' ἐκείνου τῶν χρόνων ὅτε Ἀνθεμοῦντα αὐτοὺς αἵει; . . . ἄρα προσδοκάν αὐτούς τοιάτα πείσεσθαι (sc. οἶσθε); . . . ἄρ' οἶσθε, ὅτε τοὺς τυράννους ἐξέβαλλε, (τοὺς Θετταλοῖς) προσδοκάν, κ.τ.λ.; for how unwillingly do you think the Olynthians used to hear it, if any one said anything against Philip in those times when he was ceding Anthemus to them, etc.? Do you think they were expecting to suffer such things? Do you think that the Thessalians, when he was expelling the despots, were expecting, etc.? DEM. vi. 20 and 22. (The direct questions were πῶς ἦκουοι εἰ λέγοι; and προσεδόκων;)  
Καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων ἡμῶν λέγοντας ἀκούειν τούτῳ τῷ ἔθει χρήσθαι, I hear that they used to follow this custom. DEM. iii. 21. Τὰ μὲν πρὸ Ἑλλήνων οὐδὲ εἶναι ἢ ἐπίκλησιν αὕτη (sc. δοκεῖ), in the times before Hellen this name does not appear to have even existed. THUC. i. 3. Again, in the same sentence of Thucydides, παρέχεσθαι, to have furnished.  
Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐφη σφάλεσθαι μὲν δεῖπνεῖν, ὁν τῷ σωκράτῃ οὐκ ἐκεῖνοι τὸν ἡμᾶς περισσεῖν, . . . δέξομαι, ὅταν . . . γίγνοιτο. PLAT. Rep. 430 A. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐφη σφάλεσθαι μὲν δεῖπνεῖν, τὸν δὲ Σωκράτη οὐκ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον τὸν ὄν Αγάθωνα πολλάκις κελεύειν μεταπεμφθαι τῷ Σωκράτῃ, ἐδείπνομεν, δὲν  οὐκ εἰσήλθοι· τὸν Σωκράτη, ἐδείπνομεν, δὲν  οὐκ εἰσῆλθοι, ἐκεῖνος δὲν  ἐκέλευς. Συντυχείν γὰρ (ἐφη) Ατρεσίδας παρά Φιλίππου παρεκμένον, καὶ μετ’ αὐτοῦ γύναι καὶ παιδάρια βαδίζειν, for he said that he had met (aor.) Atrestidas coming from Philip, and that there were walking with him (impf.), etc. DEM. xix. 305. Τοῦτ’ ἐγὼ φημὶ δεῖν ἐμὲ μὴ λαθεῖν, I say that this ought not to have escaped my notice. DEM. xviii. 190. (The direct form was τοῦτ’ ἐδεί, ἐμὲ μὴ λαθεῖν, 415.)  
The imperfect infinitive is found even in Homer; as καὶ σὲ, γέρον, τὸ πρὶν μὲν ἄκοιμην ὄλβιον εἶναι, we hear that you were once prosperous. Π. xxiv. 543. So Π. v. 639; Od. viii. 181, 516. For the imperfect participle, see 140.

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


**PERFECT OPTATIVE.**

121. The perfect optative in indirect discourse may represent—

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

"Ελέγε δοσιν ἄγαθα Κύρος Πέρσας πεποιήκοι, he told how many services Cyrus had done the Persians. Hdt. iii. 75. (Πεποιήκοι here represents πεποίηκε.) Οὕτως ἐλεγον ὡς πεντακόσιοι αὐτοίς εἴησαν ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς δεδεκασμένοι. Lys. xxix. 12. (Here the direct discourse was πεντακόσιοι εἶσιν δεδεκασμένοι.)

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

"Εἶπεν ὅτι Δέξιππον ὃς ἐπαινοίη εἰ ταῦτα πεποιήκως εἶη (he said oυ̃ ἐπαινοίη εἰ ταῦτα πεποίηκε, I do not approve him if he has done this). XEN. An. vi. 6, 25.

"Ελέγομεν ὅτι ἐνα ἐκαστὸν ἐν δει ἐπιτηδεύειν, εἰς δ' αὐτοῦ ἐφόσον ἐπιτηδειοφάτη πεφυκυνέα ἐη (we said ἐκαστὸν ἐν δει ἐπιτηδεύειν, εἰς δ' ἐν ὑπερφυκυνέα, each one is to practise one thing, for which his nature is best fitted; though this might be πέρφυκε, like πεποίηκε in the first example). PLAT. Rep. 433 A.

**PERFECT INFINITIVE.**

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

Φῆσι τούτο πεπραχέναι, he says that he has done this; ἐφη τούτο πεπραχέναι, he said that he had done this; φῆσι τούτο πεπραχέναι, he will say that he has done this (the direct form in each case being
The perfect infinitive rarely represents a pluperfect of the direct form. *E.g.*

"Λέγεται ἄνδρα ἐκπεπλήκται πολὺν τινα χρόνον επὶ τῷ κάλλει τοῦ Κύρου, it is said that a man had been struck with amaze ment for some time at the beauty of Cyrus (i.e. ἔξεπέπληκτο).* XEN. Cyr. i. 4, 27.

123. The perfect infinitive may represent—

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

"Ελεγαν ὅτι πεμφείε σφάς ο βασιλεύς, they said that the king had sent them (i.e. they said ἐπεμψεν ημᾶς ο βασιλεύς).* XEN. Cyr. ii. 4, 7. Then γνώσθη ὅτι οἱ βαρβάροι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὑποτέρψαν, then it became known that the barbarians had sent the man.* XEN. An. ii. 4, 22.

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

"Ευσεβῶς σωτήρια θνσειν ἐνθα πρῶτον εἰς φιλίαν γῆν ἄφικοιτο, they vowed that they would make thank offerings for their deliverance wherever they should first enter a friendly land (i.e. ἐνθα καὶ . . . ἄφικες, θύσομεν).* XEN. An. v. 1, 1 (see iii. 2, 9).

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

E.g.

Οἱ Ἐπεδάμνοι τὸν θεὸν ἐπήροντο εἰ παραδοθούν τῇ πόλιν, they asked whether they should deliver up their city to the Corinthians (i.e. they asked the question, παραδοθοῦμεν τῇ πόλιν; shall we deliver up our city?), THUC. i. 25. Ἐσκόπουν ὥς κἀλλος ἐνέγκαμι αὐτῶν, I looked to see how I could best endure him (i.e. I asked, πῶς ἐνέγκω αὐτῶν; how can I endure him?). EUR. Hipp. 393. Διεσιώστηκε σκοτῶν ὃ τι ἀποκρίνατο, he continued silent, thinking what he should answer (i.e. thinking τί ἀποκρίνωμαι:). XEN. Mem. iv. 2, 10. (See 677.)

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

AORIST INFINITIVE.

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

Φησιν τοῦτο ποιήσαι, he says that he did this (i.e. he says τοῦτο ἐποίησα); ἐψε τοῦτο ποιήσαι, he said that he had done this (i.e. he said τοῦτο ἐποίησα); φήσει τοῦτο ποιήσαι, he will say that he did this (i.e. he will say τοῦτο ἐποίησα). 'Ὁ Κύρος λέγεται γενέσθαι Καμβύσης, Cyrus is said to have been the son of Cambyses. XEN. Cyr. i. 2, 1. Παλαιότατοι λέγονται ἐν μέρει τῶν τῆς χώρας Κύκλωπες οἰκήσα, the Cyclops are said to have settled most anciently in a part of the country. THUC. vi. 2. Ἡσαν ὑποποίησα αὐτῶν μὴ προθύμωσα σφῶν πέμψαί & ἐπέμψαν, they were suspected by them of not having sent to them with alacrity what they did send. THUC. vi. 75.

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

Φάτο γάρ τίσασθαι ἄλειτα, for he said that he should punish the

1 See Madvig's Bemerkungen über einige Punkte der griechischen Wortfü-

gungslehre, pp. 34-44: Griech. Syntax, § 172 a, Anm.
od. xx. 121. (In II. iii. 28, we have in most Mss. and editions φάτο γάρ τίσεσθαι ἀλείτην, in precisely the same sense; but Bekker has τίσασθαι.) So ἐφάμην τίσασθαι in II. iii. 366. Καὶ αὐτῷ οὐ μέμψασθαι Ἀπρίλην (sc. ἀπεκρίνατο) παρέσεσθαι γάρ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ἄλλους ἄξειν, and (he answered) that Apries should not have reason to blame him; for he not only would be present himself, but would bring others. Hdt. ii. 162. (Notice the strange transition from the aorist (?) to the two futures.) Ἐφησίν οὖδὲ τὴν Δίως Ἐρίν πέδρο σκήψασαν ἐμποδῶν σχέσειν. Aesch. Sept. 429. Ὅμως γάρ νῦν ἀκετεῦσαι τὰδε, I think of imploring. Eur. I. A. 462. (Hermann reads ἀκετεύσειν by conjecture.) Ἐνόμισαν ἐπιθεμενοὶ ῥᾳδίως κρατήσαι, they thought they should gain the victory. Thuc. ii. 3. Νομίζω, ἣν ἱππεὺς γένομαι, ἀνθρώπος πτηνός γενέσθαι. Xen. Cyr. iv. 3. 15. Οὐκ ἐφασάν ἐπιτρέψαι ταύτα γενέσθαι, they said they would not permit this to happen. Lys. xiii. 15; same in xii. 47. Τούτο δὲ οὐετά διὰ μᾶλλον γενέσθαι, εἰ σοὶ συγγενοίτο, and he thinks that this would be most likely to happen to him if he should join himself with you. Plat. Prot. 316 C. (Here we should expect γενέσθαι ἄν, to correspond to εἰ συγγενοίτο.)

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

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

**Future Optative.**

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

"Υπείπών τάλλα ὅτι αὐτὸς τάκει πράξοι, ψχετο, having suggested as to what remained, that he would himself attend to things there, he departed. Thuc. i. 90. (Here πράξοι represents πράξω of the direct discourse, for which we might have πράξει in the indirect form. See, in the same chapter, ἀποκρινάμενοι ὅτι πεμφονσιν, having replied that they would send, where πεμφοιεν might have been used.) Ἐὰν τινα φεύγοντα λήψοιτο, προηγόρευεν ὅτι ως πολέμια χρήσοιτο. Xen. Cyr. iii. 1, 3. (Here the announcement was Ἐὰν τινα λήψομαι, ὡς πολεμίῳ χρήσομαι.) Ἐλεγεν ὅτι ἐτοιμὸς εἰσ ἡγεσθαι αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸ Δέλτα, ἔνθα πολλὰ λήψοιτο. Xen. An. vii. 1, 33. (He said ἐτοιμὸς εἰμι . . . ἔνθα λήψομαι.) Here belongs the rare use after ἐλπίς in Thuc. vi. 30, μετ' ἐλπίδος τέ ἄμα καὶ ὁλοφθηρόν, τά μὲν ὡς κτήσοιτο, τούτο δ' ἐῖ ποτε ὅψιντο, i.e. (they sailed) with hope and
lamentations at once,—hope that they might acquire Sicily, lamentations at the thought whether they should ever see their friends again (δυσομεθαμεν).

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

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

'Επεμελείτο ὅπως μήτε ἀσιτοι μήτε ἀποτοι ἐσοιντο, he took care that they should be neither without food nor without drink (his thought was ὅπως μήτε ... ἐσοιντο). XEN. Cyr. viii. 1, 43.  'Επεμελήθη ὅπως οἱ στρατιώται τοὺς πόνους διυνήσοιντο ὑποφέρειν. XEN. Ag. ii. 8. Μηδὲν οὖν άλλο μηχανάσθαι, ἢ ὅπως ἦμιν ὅτι κάλλιστα τοὺς νόμους δέξείντο ὠστε βαθύν. PLAT. Rep. 430 A. See Tim. 18 C, μηχανώμενοι ὅπως μηδέν γνώσοιτο, νομισμένει δὲ πάντες (where γνώσοιτο represents γνώσεται, while the next word νομισμένει is retained in the indicative). Ἐσκόπει ο Μενεκλής ὅπως μή ἐσοιτο ἁπαίς, άλλ' ἐσοιτο αὐτῷ ὅς ζωντα τε γηροτροφήσοι και τελευτήσαντα θάψοι αὐτόν, και εις τὸν ἐπείτα χρόνον τά νομισματα αὐτῷ ποιήσοι, Memecles took thought that he might not be childless, but might have some one to support his old age while he lived and to bury him when he died, etc. ISA. ii. 10 (see 134). Other examples are XEN. Cyr. viii. 1, 10; Hell. viii. 5, 3; Oec. viii. 5; PLAT. Ap. 36 C; ISOC. xxii. 13; ISA. vi. 35; DEM. xxvii. 40 (ὁπως μισθώσοιτο, in the MSS.) In XEN. Hell. ii. 1, 22 we have ὥς with the future optative: προείπεν ὥς μηδὲς κινήσοιτο έκ τῆς τάξεως μηδὲ ἀνάξειτο. In all such cases the future indicative is generally retained (340).

131. The future optative is found in four passages after verbs of fearing, three times with μή, and once with ὅπως μή:

Κατέβαλε το Ἡρακλεωτῶν τείχος, οὐ τούτο φοβούμενος, μή τινες πορεύσοιντο ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμιν, not fearing this, lest any should march into his dominions. XEN. Hell. vii. 4, 27. So XEN. Mem. i. 2, 7. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀν ἐδείξας παρακινδυνεύεις, μὴ ὡς ὥρθος αὐτὸ ποιήσῃς, άλλα καὶ περὶ τοῦ γραμματείου, ὅπως μή ὑπὸ τοῦ Μενεξένου συλληψθήσοιτο. ISOC. xvii. 22. (Here the fear was expressed originally by ὅπως μή συλληψθήσεται, 370.) As μή with the future indicative is rare after verbs of fearing (367), it is still rarer with the future optative after such verbs.

132. No case is quoted of the future optative in a pure final
clause, except a peculiar one with μή in PLAT. Rep. 393 Ε : Ἀγαμέμνον ἄγριαινεν, ἐντελλόμενον νῦν τε ἀπίναι καὶ αὕθειν μὴ ἐλθεῖν, μὴ αὐτῷ τὸ τε σκῆπτρον καὶ τὰ του θεοῦ στέμματα οὐκ ἐπαρκέσοι.  
(Another reading, ἐπαρκέστειν, of inferior authority, is adopted by Bekker.) If ἐπαρκέσαι is retained (as it is by most editors), it can be explained only by assuming that Plato had in his mind μὴ οὐκ ἐπαρκέσει. If μή έπαρκέσοι is retained (as it is by most editors), it can be explained only by assuming that Plato had in his mind μὴ οὐκ ἐπαρκέσει. If έπαρκέσει: έπαρκέσει. If έπαρκέσει: If έπαρκέσει is retained (as it is by most editors), it can be explained only by assuming that Plato had in his mind μὴ οὐκ ἐπαρκέσει. If έπαρκέσει is retained (as it is by most editors), it can be explained only by assuming that Plato had in his mind μὴ οὐκ ἐπαρκέσει.

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

134. A future optative rarely occurs in a relative clause of purpose after a past tense; as αἰρεθέντες ἐφ᾽ ὧν πολιτεύσονται, having been chosen for the purpose of making a code of laws, by which they were to govern. XEN. Hell. ii. 3, 11. (Here we have an indirect expression of the thought of those who chose the Thirty, of which the direct form is found in ii. 3, 2, ἐδοξε τριάκοντα ἀνδρὰς ἐλέσθαι, οἳ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους εὐνοεῖοντα, καθ᾽ οὓς πολιτεύσονται.) See ISAE. ii. 10 (quoted in 130).

**Future Infinitive.**

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

Τραφεῖν φησίν, he says that he will write; γράφειν ἐφη, he said that he would write; γράφειν φήσει, he will say that he will write: all representing γράφω, I will write. Πολλοὺς γε ἐσεῖθαν ἐλέγων τοῖς ἐθελοντας, they said that there would be many who would be willing. XEN. Cyr. iii. 2, 26.

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

Τρωχιν δ᾽ ἔλεπτο θυμὸς νῆας ἐνιπρήσειν κτενέειν θ' ἡρωας Ἀχαιοῦς. Πολλοὺς γε ἐσεῖθαν ἐλέγων τοῖς ἐθελοντας, they said that there would be many who would be willing. XEN. Cyr. iii. 2, 26.

Να πάτω τὰ καθίσματα, for they
expected that there would be a battle. Thuc. iv. 71. 'Εν ἐλπίδι ών τὰ τείχη αἱρήσειν. Thuc. vii. 46. 'Ελπίζει δύνατος εἶναι ἄρχειν, he hopes to be able to rule. Plat. Rep. 573 C. (Compare εἶναι in Hdt. i. 22 and 30, quoted in 118.) Πάλιν ἔμολ' ἀ πάρος οὖποτε ἠλπισεν παθεῖν. Eur. H. F. 746. Εἴ γὰρ κρατήσας τῷ ναυτικῷ, τὸ Ῥήγων ἠλπίζον Ῥηγίων χειρώσασθαι, they hoped to subdue Rhegium. Thuc. iv. 24. Οὗτ' ἐν ἐλπίδι ἦν αὐτὰ βελτίω γενέσθαι, there would not be even a hope of their becoming better. Dem. iv. 2. Besides these constructions, ἐλπίζω (or ἐλπίς) has the infinitive with ἀν in Thuc. vii. 61; Ὡ with the future indicative in Eur. El. 919, with the future optative in Thuc. vi. 30 (see 128), with the aorist optative and ἀν in Thuc. v. 9; ὅσως with the future indicative in Soph. El. 963, Eur. Her. 1051.


"Ομολόγησα εἰς τῇμερον παρέξεσθαι. Plat. Symp. 174 A. "Ομολογήσαντε ποιήσειν τὸ κελεύομενον. Id. Phaedr. 254 B. So Ant. vi. 23; And. i. 62. Compare φαμέν τούτον ὁμολογηκεν ταῦτα ποιήσειν with φασκὸντες σε ὁμολογηκεν πολιτεύεσθαι, Plat. Crit. 51 E and 52 D. See Crit. 52 C; and compare ξννεθου πολιτεύσθαι, ib. 52 D. "Επείσθην τὴν σύνοδον τῇ όγδότημεν ὑμολογήσει ποιήσασθαι. Dem. xiii. 12.

"Ἠγνύστο μὴν αὐτοὶς κακὸν πείσασθαι, he pledged himself that they should suffer no harm. Xen. An. vii. 4, 13. Προσαγαγόν ἐγγυτὰς ἡ μὴν παρέξεσθαι, having given securities as a pledge that he would go. Id. Cyp. vi. 2, 39.


Τάγα οὐδένα εἰκὸς σιν αὐτῷ βουλήσεσθαι εἶναι, it is likely that soon nobody will want to be with him. Xen. Cyp. v. 3, 30. "Εκ μὲν τοῦ παντότε κακῶς πράττειν τὰς πόλεις μεταβολῆς τυχεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον εἰκὸς ἐστιν, εἴ δὲ τοῦ παντάπασι γενέσθαι ἀνάστατον καὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἀλλίπων στερηθῆναι. Lycurg. 60.

"Ομοσσον ἡ μὴν μοι ἀρχήσειν. Pl. i. 76; so x. 321. "Ομοσσας ἀπάξειν οἰκᾶσθαι, εἰς Τροίαν μ' ἀγεί, Soph. Ph. 941; cf. Ph. 594, 623.

FUTURE PERFECT.

137. The future perfect of the dependent moods is rare, except in verbs whose perfect has the meaning of a present (49), where it is an ordinary future (82).

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

Ταῦτα (ἐφη) πεπράξεσθαι δῶν ἣ τριῶν ἡμερῶν, he said that we should see these things already accomplished within two or three days. Dem. xix. 74. (Here the direct discourse was πεπράξεται ταῦτα, these things will have been already accomplished.)

III. TENSES OF THE PARTICIPLE.

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

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

PRESENT PARTICIPLE.

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

Τούτῳ ποιοῦσιν νομίζοντες δίκαιον εἶναι, they do this thinking it is just. ΄Εποίοντες ημίζοντες, they were doing it in the thought, etc. Έποίοντες νομίζοντες, they did it in the thought, etc. Ποιόντες νομίζοντες, they will do it in the thought, etc. Ταῦτα ἐπράχθη Κόνωνος στρατηγὸν τος, these things were done when Conon was general. Isoc. ix. 56. (Στρατηγὸν τος is present relatively to ἐπράχθη.) Κάετοι ταῦτα πρᾶπτων τί ἐποίει; now in doing this what was he doing? Dem. ix. 15. Ταῦτα περιλείπετε γιγνόμενα, to see this go on. Dem. xviii. 63.

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

Οἱ συμπρεσβεύοντες καὶ παρόντες καταμαρτυρήσοντες, those who were his colleagues on the embassy and who were present will testify. Dem. xix. 129. (Here the embassy is referred to as a well-known event in the past.) Φαίνεται γάρ ἣ νῦν Ἐλλάς καλομένη ὦ πάλαι βεβαιός οἰκουμένη, ἀλλὰ μεταναστάσεις τε οὖσαι τὰ πρῶτα, καὶ ἠδίος ἐκαστοι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπολείποντες, i.e. the following things are evident, Ἐλλάς ὦ πάλαι βεβαιός ψκεῖτο, ἀλλὰ μεταναστάσεις
48 THE TENSES

ήσαν, καὶ ἐκαστοι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπέλειπον. Θυκ. i. 2. Οἱ δὲ τὸν Σωκράτην δεικνύοντα τοῖς ξυνοῦντι ἑαυτὸν καλὸν κἀκεῖνον ἄκτιν. ὡδὰ δὲ κἀκεῖνος σωφρονοῦντε ἐστε Σωκράτει συνήστην. Χεν. Μειν. i. 2, 18. (The direct discourse was ἐδείκνυ οὐσίαν καὶ ἐσωφρονεῖτην.)

In Θυκ. iv. 3, ἦ Πυλὸς ἔστιν ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ ποτὲ οὔσῃ γῇ. Pylos is in the country which was once Messenia, οὔσῃ is imperfect, and denotes time absolutely past, as is shown by ποτὲ, without which it would be the country which is (now) Messenia.

141. An attributive present participle (824) occasionally refers to time absolutely present, even when the leading verb is not present. This is always denoted by νῦν or some other word in the context. E.g.

Τὴν νῦν Βοιωτίαν καλουμένην ἡκησαν, they settled in the country now called Boeotia. Θυκ. i. 12. Ὅ τοίνυν Φιλίππος ἦ ἄρχων, oπω Ἰοπείθους στρατηγοῦντος, οὐδὲ τῶν ὄντων ἔν Χερρονήσῳ νῦν ἄπεισαλμένων, Σέρρειον καὶ Δορίσκον ἔλαμβανε, Philip then in the beginning, when Diopseithes was not yet general, and when the soldiers who are now in the Chersonese had not yet been sent out, seized upon Serrium and Doriscus. Δεμ. ix. 15. (Here στρατηγοῦντος is present to the time of ἔλαμβανε, while ὄντων is present to the time of speaking.)

For a corresponding use of the aorist participle, see 152.

Perfect Participle.

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

Ἐπαινοῦσι τοῖς εἰρηκότας, they praise those who have spoken. Εὐπήνεσαν τοῖς εἰρηκότας, they praised those who had spoken. Ἐπαινοῦσι τοῖς εἰρηκότας, they will praise those who will (then) have spoken. Ἐπέδειξα οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ἀπήγγελκότα (Αἴσχινην), I showed that Aeschines had announced nothing that was true (i.e. I showed, οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ἀπήγγελκεν). Dem. xix. 177. Τοῦς δεσμώτας μετεμελοντο ἅπαξ ἔδεικνυσι, they repented of having restored the captives. Θυκ. v. 35. Τῆς Ἀλυσίδος χαλεπῶς ἐφερέν ἀπεστερημένος, he took it hard that he had been deprived of Aeolis. Χεν. Ηλλ. iii. 2, 13.

Aorist Participle.

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

Ταῦτα ποιήσαντες ἀπελθεῖν βούλονται, having done this, they (now) wish to go away. Ταῦτα εἰπόντες ἀπῆλθον, having said this, they went away. Οὐ πολλοὶ φαίνονται ἐνυπηθόντες, not many appear to have joined in the expedition. Θυκ. i. 10. Βοιωτοὶ ἦς Ἀρης ἀναστάντες τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἡκησαν, Boeotians who had been driven
from Arne settled Boeotia. THUC. i. 12. "Εφαμεν ούτε ἐπιστήμην ούτε ἀγνοαν ἐπ᾿ αὐτῷ ἔσεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸ μεταξὺ αὐτοῦ φανέν ἀγνοίας καὶ ἐπιστήμης, i.e. we said that it would be the province of neither knowledge nor ignorance, but of that which should have appeared (φανέν) in due course between these. PLAT. Rep. 478 D. (Here φανέν is past to ἔσεσθαι, though absolutely future; see 22.) Ἄφικετο δὲ τὸ πλοῖον, γνόντων τῶν Κεφαλλήνων, ἀντιπράττοντος τοῦτον, ἐνταύθα καταπλείν αὐτῷ, the vessel arrived here, the Cephallenians having determined that it should return to that port, although this man opposed it. DEM. xxxii. 14. (Here γνόντων denotes time past relatively to ἀφικετο, and ἀντιπράττοντος time present relatively to γνόντων, which is its leading verb.)

144. When the aorist participle is used with any form of λανθάνω, to escape the notice of, τυγχάνω, to happen, and φθάνω, to anticipate, except the present and imperfect, it does not denote time past with reference to the verb, but coincides with it in time. Thus ἔλαθον ἀπελθόντες means they went away secretly (= ἀπῆλθον λάθρα); οὐκ ἔφθησαν ἀπελθόντες, no sooner were they gone (= οὐ πρότερον ἀπῆλθον); ἔτυχον ἐσελθόντες, they came in by chance, or they happened to come in (= εἰσῆλθον τύχη). E.g.

Τοῦτος δ᾿ ἔλαθεν ἐισελθὼν Πρίαμος, and Priam entered unnoticed by them. II. xxiv. 477; so xvii. 2 and 89. Ἐλαθεν (αὐτήν) ἀφθεντα πάντα καὶ καταφέληκα ἐπετελεσθενα, everything took fire and was consumed before she knew it. THUC. iv. 133. Λανθάνει (historic present) στὰίλην παῖσας, SOPH. El. 744. Ἐφθη όρεξαμενος, he aimed ablow first. II. xvi. 322. Αὐτοὶ φθήσανται αὐτὸ δράσαντες, they will do it first themselves. PLAT. Rep. 375 C. Ὑπὸ γὰρ ἐφθῆ μοι συμβάσα ἡ ἀτυχία, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπεχείρησαν, κ.τ.λ., for no sooner did this misfortune come upon me, than they undertook, etc. DEM. lvii. 65. Στρατιά ὑπὸ στόλος μέχρι ἔλαθον παρελθοῦσα, an army of no great size had by chance marched as far as the Isthmus. THUC. vi. 61. Ἐτυχε δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο τοῦ καράου ἐλθὼν, and he happened to come just at that moment. Id. vii. 2. Ολίγα πρὸς τὰ μείλλοντα τυχεῖν πράξαντες (sc. ἄτυχοντα), they think that it was their fortune to accomplish only a little in comparison with their expectations. Id. i. 70. So τοῦτ' ἔτυχον λαβων, I happened to take this, An. Eccl. 375.

Ὁπότερος κε φθήσων ἄφρεξαμενος χρόνο καλοῦ, whichever shall first hit, etc. II. xxiii. 805. Βουλοίμην ἂν λαθεῖν αὐτὸν ἀπελθῶν, I should like to get away without his knowing it. ΧΕΝ. An. i. 3, 17. Τοὺς ἄνθρωπος λήσομεν ἐπιπεσόντες. 1b. vii. 3, 43. Εὐλαβεῖσθαι παρακελεύσωσθε ἄλληλοις, ὅπως μὴ πέρα τοῦ σύντονος σοφώτεροι γενόμενοι λήσετε διαφθαρέντες, you will exhort one another to take care lest, having become wiser than is proper, you become corrupted before you know it. PLAT. Gorg. 487 D. (Here γενόμενοι is an ordinary aorist, past with reference to the phrase λήσετε διαφθαρέντες.)

The last four examples show that this use of the aorist participle is allowed even when the whole expression refers to the future.
145. The aorist participle has the same use with συμπίπτω, to happen, in Herodotus (890). E.g. 
Кαὶ τόδε ἐτερον συνέπεσε γενόμενον, and this other event occurred (as it chanced). Hdt. ix. 101.
So συνυκρέω in Hdt. viii. 87 (see 889).

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

"Οπερ λαβοῦσα τυγχάνει μήτηρ χερόιν, which, as it happens, the mother has taken in her hands (happens to have taken). Eur. Bacch. 1140.
"Αρωτα τυγχάνοντι πράξαντες, it happens that they fared the best. Isoc. iv. 103. Δικαίως ἂν τὴν αὐτὴν εὐργεσίαν ἀπολάβοιμεν, ἥν εὐπροει δικαίως ἂν τυγχάνομεν εἰς γῆς ὑπάρξαντες, we should justly receive back the same kindness which it is our own fortune to have first shown to you (we happen to have begun). Id. xiv. 57. Πρὸς τί του εἶπων κυρεῖς; wherefore did you chance to speak thus (does it chance that you spoke)? Soph. El. 1176. Ποῦ κυρεῖ ἐκτόσιος συνθείς; Id. O.C. 119. "Ορα καθ’ ὅπων μὴ καταυλισθείς κυρῆ, see lest it may chance that he has retired to sleep within. Id. Ph. 30. Compare συνεκκύρησε παραπεσοῦσα, happened to collide. Hdt. viii. 87 (889). Μίξις μία λύπης τε καὶ ήδονῆς συμπίπτει γενομένη, i.e. happens to have occurred (Badham proposes γεγομένη). Plat. Phil. 47 D.
Οίω δ’ ἀρα Κίρκην ἔς Ἀἰδεὶς ἐλθόντες ἐλήθομεν, nor was it unknown to Circe that we had returned from Hades. Od. xii. 16. "Οσοί ἐτύγχανον οὕτως ἄθροι ξυνεξελθόντες, all who happened to have thus come out together. Thuc. iii. 111. Εἰ τι ποὺ αἰγών περιλεῖφθην ἐτύγχανε γένος, if any race of goats happened to have been left. Plat. Leg. 677 E. Ἀρωταγόρῳ δὲ συνέππησε τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου πάντα συνελθόντα, and it was the fortune of A. that all these came to him at the same time. Hdt. v. 36. (Here it is difficult to distinguish the doubly past time; but the analogy of the other examples, and the difficulty of conceiving an imperfect and aorist as coincident in time, seem decisive.) ὘ρθῶς σφι ἡ φήμη συνεβαίνει ἐλθοῦσα, rightly, as it happened, had the report come to them. Id. ix. 101. Just below: τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης συνεβαίνε γίνεσθαι, i.e. they (the battles of Plataea and Mycale) happened to fall on the same day.

In Lys. xii. 27 we have the aorist and perfect participles together with ἐτύγχανε, each expressing its own time: δῶτις ἀντιπόν γε ἐτύγχανε καὶ γνώμην ἀποδεεγγείλειν, who chanced to have spoken in opposition to and to have shown his opinion.

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

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

"Ετύγχανον ἀρτι παρειληφότες τὴν ἀρχήν, they happened to have just received their authority. THUC. vi. 96. "Εάν τις ἤσυχηκώς τι τυγχάνῃ τὴν πάλιν, if it ever happens that one has wronged the city. DEM. xviii. 123. So THUC. i. 103 (see 887).

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

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

Προσδεχόμενος τοὺς Ἀθηναίον κατοικήσειν περιείδειν αὐτήν [τὴν γῆν] τμηθεΐσαν, ἀνείχεν, expecting that they would be unwilling to see their land ravaged, etc. THUC. ii. 18. But in ii. 20 we find the aorist infinitive, ἔληπεν τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἂν περιείδειν τμηθῆναι, would not let their land be ravaged, referring to precisely the same event from another point of view (see 903, 6). Μὴ περιείδητε ἡμᾶς διαφθαρὲτας, do not look on and see us destroyed. HDT. iv. 118. Οὐ μὴ σὲ ἐγὼ περιόψομαι ἀπελθόντα, I will by no means let you go. AR. Ban. 509. "Ετήλησαν ἐπείδειεν ἐρήμην μὲν τὴν πόλιν γενομένην τὴν δὲ χώραν περιτείδειν, ἀπαντάς, ἐδω καὶ τὸν πόλεμον περι τὴν πατρίδα τὴν αὐτῶν γεγενόμενον. ISOc. iv. 96. (Here the aorist participle denotes the laying waste of the city (as a single act), while the presents denote the continuous ravaging of the country and the gradual coming on of a state of war. This is precisely the difference between the present and aorist infinitive in similar constructions.) Ἐπείδον τὴν ἐαυτῶν πατρίδα ἀνάστατον γενομένην. ANT. v. 79.

Εἰ κεῖνον γε ἐδομεὶς κατελθόντι "Αἰδος εἰσώ, if I should see him go down and enter Hades. II. vi. 284. Μὴ μ' ἰδεῖν θανόνθ' ὑπ' ἀστών, not to see me killed by the citizens. EUR. Or. 746. Διὰ τὸ σωφρονεῖν τῷ πάστορ' ἐδέες ἢδ' ἀμαθῶν τι γενόμενον; AR. Nub. 1061. Ὅταν αὐτὸν ἔδεεν ἐξαιρήσεις πταίσασα χαὶ προς τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐκχέαντα τὰ τὰ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἤσυχον, . . . ἢ ἀποθανόντα ἢ ἐκπεσόντα ἢ ἀτιμωθέντα καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ἀπαντάν ἀποβαλλόντα. PLAT. Rep. 553 A. See SOPH. Ant. 476.

So after ἀκόμον; as αἰ' κ' ἔθελησο' εἰπόντος ἀκόμοιμεν, in case he will hear me speak, II. vii. 281. Τοσαίτα φωνήσαντος εἰσηκοσάσαμεν, so much we heard him say. SOPH. O. C. 1645. So also πραθέντα τὰλύμα, endured to be sold, AESCH. Ag. 1041; στείρας ἐτλα, Sept. 754:
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for τλάω with the regular infinitive, see Isoc. iv. 96, quoted above.
So μένειν νοστήσαντα ἀνακτα, to await the king's return, II. xiii. 38.

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

150. An aorist participle denoting that in which the action of a verb of past time consists (845) may express time coincident with that of the verb, when the actions of the verb and the participle are practically one. E.g.

Νεμέο ἐπὶ οἵ καλέσας, he called him to him by a nod. Od. xvii. 330.
Βῆ αἴξασα. II. ii. 167. Ἐξ' ἐπίστησας ἀναμήνησας με, you did well in reminding me. PLAT. Phaed. 60 C. Μή τε ἔσχασεν ἐμοῦ καταψήφισάμενοι, lest you make any mistake in condemning me. Id. Ap. 30 D.

151. In such passages as ὁμολογήσαν τοῖς Άθηναίοις τείχη τε περιελόντες καὶ ναύς παραδόντες φόρον τε ταξάμενοι, THUC. i. 108, the aorist participle is past with reference to the time of the beginning of the peace to which ὁμολογήσαν refers, and the meaning is, they obtained terms of peace, on condition that they should first (before the peace began) tear down their walls, etc. Such passages are THUC. i. 101, 108, 115, 117. See Krüger's note on i. 108, and Madvig's Bemerkungen, p. 46. Madvig quotes, to confirm this view, LEX. xii. 68: ὑπόρχετο εἰρήνην ποιήσειν μίτε ἔμηρα δοῦν μίτε τὰ τείχη καθελὼν μίτε τὰς ναῦς παραδοῦν, i.e. he promised to make a peace without giving pledges, etc.

152. An attributive aorist participle occasionally refers to

1 See the discussion of this, with especial reference to the New Testament, where examples of this kind are frequent, by Professor W. G. Ballantine, in the Bibliotheca Sacra for October 1884, p. 787.
time absolutely past, without regard to the time of its verb. 

E.g.

'Ἡγεμόνα παρεχόμενοι Μεγάπανον τὸν Βαβυλώνος ὑπετεινον τούτων ἐπιτροπεύσαντα, i.e. they had as their leader Megapanus, who after this was made governor of Babylon. Hdt. vii. 62. (Here the aorist participle is past at the time of writing only; it is even future compared with the time of παρεχόμενον.) So in vii. 106: κατέλιπε δὲ ἄνδρα τοιώνδε Μασκάμην γενόμενον, and he left M. (in authority), who (afterwards) proved himself such a man (the evidence of his later merits follows in a relative sentence).

For the corresponding use of the present participle see 141.

For the use of the aorist infinitive and participle with ἄν, see 207 and 215. For the aorist participle with ἔχω and εἶχον as a circumlocution for the perfect and pluperfect, as θαυμάσας ἔχω and εἶχον, see 47 and 48. For the rare use of the aorist participle with ἔσομαι for the future perfect, see 81. For the aorist participle in protasis, see 472 and 841.

**FUTURE PARTICIPLE.**

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

E.g.

Τούτῳ ποιήσων ἔρχεται, he is coming to do this; τούτῳ ποιήσων ἤλθεν, he came to do this. Πεμφθήσεται ταύτα ἐρωτεῖ, he will be sent to say this. Οἶδα αὐτὸν τούτῳ ποιήσοντα, I know that he will do this; οἶδα τούτῳ ποιήσων, I know that I shall do this; ἤδειν αὐτὸν τούτῳ ποιήσοντα, I knew that he would do this.

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

**GNOMIC AND ITERATIVE TENSES.**

**GNOMIC AORIST AND PERFECT.**

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

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

E.g.

Κάτθαν' ὁμὼς οὖτ' ἀργὸς ἄνηρ δὲ τε πολλὰ ἐνοργών, the idle man and he who has laboured much alike must die. Il. ix. 320. "Ὅστε καὶ ἀλκιμον ἄνδρα φοβεῖ καὶ ἀφείλετο νίκην, who terrifies even a valiant
man and snatches his victory away. II. xvii. 177 (see 157, below). Βία καὶ μεγάλωνον ἐσφαλὲν ἐν χρόνῳ. PIND. Py. viii. 15. Σοφοὶ δὲ μέλλοντα τριταίον ἀνέμεν ἐμαθοῦν, οὐδ’ ἐπ’ ἀρετῆς. Id. Nem. ii. 17. Καὶ δὴ φίλον τις ἔκταν’ ἀγνοίας ὑπὸ, and now one may kill a friend through ignorance. Aesch. Supp. 499. 'Αλλὰ τά τοιαύτα εἰς μὲν ἄπαξ καὶ βραχὶν χρόνον ἀντέχει, καὶ σφόδρα γε ἡ ἄνθρωπος ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, ἀν τὰ χρόνια ἀνακαλύπτει καὶ περὶ αὐτὰ καταφεύγει. DEM. ii. 10 (see 157 and 171). "Ἡν ἄρα σφαλὼσιν, ἀντεπληρώσαντες ἀλλὰ ἐπιλήμφωσαν τὴν χρείαν, they supply the deficiency (as often as one occurs). THUC. i. 70. "Ἡν δὲ τοῖς τούτων τι παραβαίνης, ήμιάν υπὸ τοιῶν ἐπέθεσαν, i.e. they impose a penalty upon every one who transgresses. XEN. Cyr. i. 2, 2. Δεινών τ’ ὅμα πνευμάτων εκκόψει στένοντα πόνον. SOPH. Aj. 674. Εἴνας τοῖς τούτων τι παραβαίνη, ζημίαν αὐτοῖς επέθεσαν, i.e. they impose a penalty upon every one who transgresses. XEN. Mem. iv. 2, 35. Τό δὲ μὴ ἐμποδώσῃ νῦν αἰσχρόν εὐφόρησ’, ώστε ἄστερον τρέφειν, i.e. many cases have often occurred in which such a man has become rich the next day, etc. PHI. Fr. 120. Ἀθροιζομένες ἄνδρες οὐπω τρόπαιον ἔστησαν. PLAT. Criti. 108 C. Οὐδεὶς ἐπιληφθέον ταχῶς δικαίως ὄν, no man ever became rich suddenly who was just. MEN. Fr. 294. Compare DEM. iv. 51. (See Krüger, § 53, 10, A. 2.)

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

Πολλά στρατόπεδα ἤδη ἐπεσένυ ἐν ἔλασσώνων, i.e. many cases have already arisen, implying it often happens. THUC. ii. 89. Μέλλων γ’ ιατρός, τῇ γνώσει διδόν χρόνων, ἐλάσατ’ ἤδη μάλλον ἡ τεμών χρόα, the slow physician, by giving the disease time, may work more cures than he who cuts too deep.EUR. Fr. 1057. Πολλάκις ἔχων τις οὔδε τάναγκα τῶν ἐν μνήμῃ πρέπει, i.e. cases have often occurred in which such a man has become rich the next day, etc. PHI. Fr. 120. Ἀθροιζομένες ἄνδρες οὕτω τρόπαιον ἔστησαν. PLAT. Criti. 108 C. Οὐδεὶς ἐπιληφθέον ταχῶς δικαίως ὄν, no man ever became rich suddenly who was just. MEN. Fr. 294. Compare DEM. iv. 51. (See Krüger, § 53, 10, A. 2.)

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

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

"Ηριπε δ' ὡς ὅτε τις δρῶν ἤριπεν, and he fell, as when an oak falls, (literally, as when an oak once falls). Il. xiii. 389.

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

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

(a) "Οπου δ' ὃβριζεν δρᾶν θ' ἀβούλεται παργ',

but where man is permitted to insult and to work his own will, believe that that state, though it may run before fair breezes, must in time sink to the depths. Soph. Aj. 1082. (Here πεσείν represents ἐπεσείν of the direct form, which can be only gnomic.) Εἰ σοι διὸς παράσηκην ἡγομένῳ χαλεπῶν εἶναι φιλίαν συμμένειν, καὶ διαφορὰς γενομένης κοινῆς ἀμφότερος καταστήματι τὴν συμφορὰν, if you fear, thinking that it is hard for friendship to abide, and that when a quarrel occurs the calamity that arises is common to both (the direct form would be χαλεπῶν ἐστιν, καὶ κοινῆ κατέστη ἡ συμφορὰ). Plat. Phaedr. 232 B. Ἡγομένης δὴ ἀληθείας οὐκ ἀν ποτε φαίμεν αὐτὴν χορὸν κακῶν ἀκολουθήσαι, now when truth leads, we never could say that a chorus of evils accompany her (ἐκολούθησεν).

(b) Σμικρῷ χαλινῷ δ' οἴδα τοῖς θυμουμένοις ἄπους καταρτύθηντας, and I know that high-spirited horses are tamed by a small bit. Soph. Ant. 478. Οἶδα τοὺς τοιούτους ἐν μὲν τῷ κατ' ἀυτῶς βιω λυπηρῶς ὄντας, τῶν δὲ ἐπειτα ἀνθρώπων προσποίησιν εὐγγενείας τιμι καὶ μὴ οὐναν καταλιπόντας, I know that such men, although in their own lifetimes they are offensive, yet often leave to some who come after them a desire to claim connexion with them, even where there is no ground for it. Thuc. vi. 16.

(c) A clear case of the gnomic aorist in the optative is seen in Plat. Rep. 490 B, in the peculiar oratio obliqua introduced by ἀπολογογράμμα δτι (in A), which implies a philosophic imperfect (40) and thus takes the optative. We have πεφυκώς εἶ, ἐμμένοι, ἔτοι, etc., representing πέφυξε, ἐμμένει, ἔστι, etc.; and afterwards γνοιτ'] πεφυκώς (representing ἐγνω πεφυκώς τε καὶ ἀληθῶς έγι καὶ τρέφεται), i.e. he attains knowledge (aor.), and then truly lives and is nourished (pres.), where the gnomic force of the aorist is plain.

160. The gnomic perfect is found in the infinitive of indirect discourse in Dem. i. 18: εἰ δὲ τις σώφρων ἡ δίκαιος, παρείσθαι καὶ
εν ουδενός ελαει μερει τον τουούτον (φησιν), such a man (he says) is always thrust aside and is of no account.

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

**Iterative Imperfect and Aorist with "Αν.—Ionic Iterative Forms in -σκον and -σκόμην.**

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

Διηρότων ἄν αὐτῶς τί λέγοιεν, I used to ask them (I would ask them) what they said. Plat. Ap. 22 B. Εἰ τινες ἓδοιεν τῷ τοιόσοφοις ἑπερητοῦντας, ἀνεθάρσησαν ἄν, whenever any saw their friends in any way victorious, they would be encouraged (i.e. they were encouraged in all such cases). Thuc. vii. 71. Πολλάκις ἥκοισαμεν ἄν τι κακῶς ἠμᾶς βουλευσάμενους μέγα πράγμα, we used very often to hear you, etc. Arn. Lys. 511. Εἰ τις αὐτῷ πέρι τοῦ ἀντιλέγοι μηδὲν ἔχων σαβεῖ λέγειν, ἐπὶ τὴν ἰπόθεσιν ἐπανήγεν ἄν πάντα τὸν λόγον, he always brought the whole discussion back to the main point. Xen. Mem. iv. 6, 13. ὅπτοτε προοβλέψει τινας τῶν ἄν ταῖς τάξεσι, τοτὲ μὲν εἶπεν ἄν· ὁ ἄνδρες, κ.τ.λ. τοτὲ δ' ἂν ἐν ἄλλοις ἄν ἔλεγεν. Id. Cyg. vii. 1, 10. So Hdt. ii. 109, iii. 51 and 148.

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

163. The Ionic iterative imperfect and aorist in -σκον and -σκόμην express the repetition of such actions as the ordinary imperfect and aorist express. E.g.


164. Herodotus sometimes uses the iterative forms in -σκον and -σκόμην with ἄν in the construction of 162. He uses this form of the aorist in only two passages, in both with ἄν. E.g.

Φοιήνας κλαίσεσκε ἄν καὶ ὀδυρέσκετο. iii. 119. Ἐς τούτους δικος ἔλθων ὁ Σκύλης, τὴν μὲν στρατινὰς καταλείπεσκε ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ, αὐτὸς δὲ δικος ἔλθως ἐς τὸ τείχος, λάβεσκε ἄν 'Ελληνιδα ἀσθήτα. iv. 78. So λάβεσκον ἄν, iv. 130. See Krüger, II § 53, 10, 5.
DEPENDENCE OF MOODS AND TENSES.

165. In dependent sentences, where the construction allows both the subjunctive and the optative, the subjunctive is used if the leading verb is primary, and the optative if it is secondary. (See 21.) *E.g.*

Πράττομεν ἃ ἃν βούλωμεν, they do whatever they please; but ἔπραττον ἃ βούλοιμον, they did whatever they pleased.

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

Δέγκομεν ὃτι τόπτο βούλομαι, they say that they wish for this; ἔλεξαν ὃτι τόπτο βούλοιτο, they said that they wished for this.

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

Εἶπεν ὃτι βούλεταί, for εἶπεν ὃτι βούλοιτο, he said that he wished (i.e. he said βούλομαι). Ἐφοβείτο μή τοῦτο γένηται, for ἐφοβείτο μή τοῦτο γένοιτο, he feared lest it should happen (i.e. he thought, φοβούμαι μή γενηται). (See 318.)

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

'Εγώ οὐκ οἶδα ὡς ἃν τις σαφέστερον ἐπιδείξειν, I do not know how any one could show this more clearly. *Dem. xxvii. 48.* 

Δεί νάρ ἐκείνῳ τῷ γνώμῃ παρατήσῃ, ὡς ὡς άκ τής ἀμελείας ταῦτης τῆς ἄγαν ἰώσον ἄν ὁρμήσατε. *Dem. iv. 17.*

Εἴ δ' ὡς ἄλλο τι γνώσεσθε, δ μὴ γένοιτο, τίνα οίσθεν αὐτὴν ψυχὴν εἶχεν; *Dem. xxviii. 21.*

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

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

**Indicative.**

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

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

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

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

"Εγραφον ἢν ἡλικα ὡμας ἐβ ποιήσω, εἰ ἐβ ὡδειν, I would tell you in my letter how great services I would render you, if I knew, etc. Dem. xix. 40. Πάνω ἀν ἐφοβοῦμαι, μή ἀπορήσωσι λόγων. Plat. Symp. 193 E. Ἐφοβοῦμιν ἀν σφόδρα λέγειν, μή δόξω, κ.τ.λ., I should be very much afraid to speak, lest I should seem, etc. Plat. Theaet. 143 E. Ταυτ' ἀν ἡδη λέγεις ἐπεξείρων, ἢ' εἰδήτε. Dem. xxiii. 7 (for the construction here see 336). See Xen. An. v. 1, 10; Dem. xvi. 12.

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

"Αλλὰ καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἄν ἔδεισας παρακινθοῦσει, μὴ ὁν ὡρθῶς αὐτὸ ποιήσατε. Plat. Euthyph. 15 D. 'Αλλ' ὁδὲ μετά πολλῶν μαρτύρων ἀποδιδόσα εἰκῇ τὶς ἄν ἐπιστέσεσθε, ἢ' εἰ τίς γίγνοιτο διαφορά, κομίσασθαί βοῶς παρ' ὑμῖν δύνηται. Dem. xxi. 20. (Here the subjunctive δύνηται is properly used after a past tense (318), but the optative shows that the leading verb is secondary.) See ἴνα γίγνοιτο, after an imperfect with ἄν, Plat. Men. 89 B. Ἡρήν ἐπείρεσθαὶ κότερα τὴν ἄνωτον ἢ τὴν Κύρου λέγοι ἀρχήν, he ought to have asked whether the oracle meant his own or Cyrus’s empire. Hdt. i. 91.

**Subjunctive and Imperative.**

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

"Επευοδθ' ὅτι έν τις ἡγήτα, follow whithersoever any one leads the way. Thuc. ii. 11. Ἑκοσώμεν εἰ πρέπει ζ ὀὐ. Plat. Rep. 451 D.

175. But when a subjunctive depends upon a past tense, as often happens in final clauses (318), it may be followed by an optative; as in Xen. Hell. vi. 5, 21, ἢγε τὴν ταχύτητιν εἰς τὴν Εὔταιαν, θεμυστέοις ἀπαγαγεῖς τοὺς ὁπλίτας πρὶν καὶ τα πυρά τῶν πολεμιῶν ἱδεῖν, ἵνα μὴ τις εἴπῃ ὡς ψεύδων ἀπαγάγοι, he led on, wishing to lead off his soldiers before they even saw the enemies’ fires, that no one might say that he had led them off in flight (187). With the other reading, ἵνα μὴ τις εἴποι, the example would illustrate 176 A (below).
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176. As the optative refers sometimes to the future and sometimes to the past, it exerts upon a dependent verb sometimes the force of a primary, and sometimes that of a secondary tense.

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

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

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

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

Εἴης φορητὸς οὐκ ἂν, εἰ πράσσοις καλῶς, you would be unendurable, if you should be prosperous. AESCH. Prom. 979. Ἀνδρὶ δὲ κ' οὖν εἰς εἰς μὲνες Τελαμώνιος Ἁίμως, ὅς θυμότως ο' εἷς καὶ ἔδωκε Δημήτερος ἀκτήν. II. xiii. 321. Πῶς γὰρ ἄν τοῖς, ἃ γε μή ἑπίστατο, ταύτα σοφὸς εἴη; for how could any one be wise in those things which he did not understand? XEN. Mem. iv. 6, 7. Δέοιτο ἂν αὐτὸν μένειν, ἐστε οὖν ἀπέλθοις. Id. Cynt. v. 3, 13. Εἰ ἀποθνῄσκω μὲν πάντα ὡσα τοῦ ἴν μεταλάβοι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀποθάνοι μένοι ἐν τούτῳ, ἄρ' οὐ πολλῇ ἀνάγκη τελευτώντα πάντα τεθνάναι; if all things partaking of life should die, and after dying should remain dead, must it not very certainly follow that all things would finally be dead? PLAT. Phaed. 72 C. Ὅς ἀπολοίσθω καὶ ἄλλος ὡ τοιαύτα γε ἔξοι, may any other man also perish who shall do such things. Od. i. 47. Τεθνάνην, ὅτε μοι μηκέτι ταύτα μέλοι, may I die, when I (shall) no longer care for these!
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MIMN. Fr. i. 2. (Here ὅταν μηκέτι μέλη might be used without change of meaning. See the second example under b.)

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

"Ἡν ὅν μᾶθης μοί τούτων, οὐκ ἂν ἀποδοίην, ἵνα τίνας σιμφώνοις, ἄν συμφωνοις, ἕτοιμος ἦν ἔτοιμος οὐκ ἔκειν, ἣν ἂν τὰ ἀγαθαὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει, I would never advise the city to make this peace, as long as a single Athenian shall be (should be or was) left. DEM. xix. 14. (Here ἔως λείποιτο would be the common form.) "Ως ὅτε ἂν γίνεται κακό, ἢ δώκητε κακόν τῷ ἐμοί, ἐν ἂν τὰ πολεμῶ, as each one of you would be ashamed to leave the post at which he may be (might be) placed in war. AESCH. iii. 7. (Here ἃν ταχθῆνεν would be the more common expression.) Τῶν ἀποστόλων ἕντο ἐντο, ἦ δοὺς δυνηθεὶς μὴ πράξῃ, ὅ would be one of the strangest things ἵνα, when he gets the power, he fails (shall fail) to do this. DEM. i. 26.

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

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

"Ἡ βάθι τῶν ἡμῶν ὁδόν, ὅφρα ἑγεῖ, ὅποιος. Od. vi. 57, xvi. 87; II. xxiv. 264. Δὶ ὅτος ἂν παῦρα συνήφη, ὅφρα ὁρφὴν SOPH. El. 1433. Τίς αὐτὸν ἂν καλέσεις, ὃς ἐγεῖ; EUR. Bacch. 1558. Ὀκνούν ἂν ἐς τὰ πλοῶν ἐμβαίνει, μὴ καταδύσῃ φοβούμενον δ' ἂν τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ ἐπέσον, μὴ ἡμᾶς ἀγάγῃ ἄδειν οὐχ οἷον τοῦ ἔτσι εἴθημεν. xen. An. i. 3, 17. Τίς οὐκ ἃν φεύγῃ, ἢ δή ἀκόν αὕτη περιπέτεια, ἢν ἐγεῖ; DEM. xxv. 33. Ὀλοκληρωμένος ἂν ἡμᾶς μέγα νῦν ἀνθρώπων στρατηγηγοί καὶ λοχαγοί ἀντικαταστάθωσιν. XEN. An. iii. 1, 38. Εἶ δὲ καὶ ὅπως εἰρήνη ἔσται φανεροὶ εἴητε ἐπιμελοῦμεν. ID. Vect. v. 10 (see 180, b).

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

Διὰ τούτ' εἰκότως βούλοιτ' ἂν ἥμας ἐξολώλει, ἦν τοῖς τελετάς λάβοιεν. AR. Pac. 411. Οὐκ ἂν τῷ πάντω γε μέγα τι εἴπε, εἰ βουκάλους . . . προσθείμεν, ἦν οἱ γεωργοὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀρνῷ ἔχοιεν

1 See Weber, Absehntssätze, pp. 220, 221; 245-247. I have assumed that Weber's collection of examples is complete.
βούς. PLAT. Rep. 370 D. Πειρήψυν (ἄν) μή πρόσο ύμών εἶναι, ἵνα, εἴ πον καιρὸς εἴη, ἐπίφανεῖν. XEN. Cyr. ii. 4, 17. So Cyr. i. 6, 22; An. ii. 4, 3, iii. 1, 18 (with various readings in last two). Ἡ φυλικὴ γελοια τίς ἄν φαίνετο, εἰ μή σύγε ἑπιμελοῖο ὅπως ἐξωθέν τι εἰςφέροιτο. XEN. Oecon. vii. 39. Εἴ δὲ καὶ ὅπως τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀποφανεῖτο, εἰς ἐπιμελοῦμενοι. XEN. V vect. v. 9; but in the next sentence, ὅπως εἰρήνη ἐσταί (see 180, a).

181. (c) After an optative in a wish twelve examples of these clauses with the optative and ten with the subjunctive are cited from Homer and the lyric and tragic poets. These are 

Τάχιστα μοι ἐνδον ἐταίροι εἶεν, ἵν ἐν κλεῖσῃ λαράν τετυκοῖμεθα δόρον. Od. xiv. 407. So xviii. 368, xx. 79. (Subjunctive in II. xvi. 99, xxiv. 74; Od. iv. 735, xviii. 202.) So THEOG. 885, 1119; PIND. Py. v. 120 (?). (Subjunctive in Nem. viii. 35.) "Ελθοι ὅπως γένοιτο τῶν ἕμοι λυτήριος. AESCH. Eum. 297. "Ενομιάν ὅπως ἐπεστί πόντου πρόβλημ' ἀλίκλυσ τόν, τά; Ιεράς ὅπως προσείπο Αθήνας. SOPH. Aj. 1217; so Ph. 324 and Tr. 953. (Subjunctive in SOPH. Tr. 1109.) Εἴ μοι γένοιτο φθόγγος καὶ ἐλεύθερος, ὃς πάνθ' ὄμαρτή τῶν ἐχοιντὸς γουνάτων. EUR. Hec. 836; so Hipp. 732. (Subjunctives in EUR. Hel. 174, Suppl. 621, I.T. 439, Ion. 671.)

182. No case of either subjunctive or optative after an optative in a wish in prose is cited by Weber. Perhaps one may be found in DEM. xviii. 89, where Cod. Σ reads, ὃν διαμάρτοντες, καὶ μετάσχοιν ὅν ἴματι τοῦ βέλτιστον τοῦθεν προσείπομεν 'Αθήνας. SOPH. AJ. 1217; so Ph. 324 and Tr. 953. (Subjunctive in SOPH. Tr. 1109.) Εἴ μοι γένοιτο φθόγγος ἐν βραχίοσι, ὃς πάνθ' ὄμαρτή τῶν ἐχοιντὸς γουνάτων.

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

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

Οὗ γὰρ ἀν τοῦτό γ' εἶποι, ὃς ἔλαβεν. AESCHIN. ii. 151. 'Εκείνο λέγειν ἂν ἐπιχειρήσει Δεσινη, ὡς αἰ λειτουργία εἰς πένης ἀνθρώπον ἐρχονται (187). DEM. xx. 18; so xvi. 4. Εἴ ἄποδειξθείν τίνα ὑπὸ ἥγεσθαι τοῦ λαῷ τοῦ. XEN. An. iii. 2, 36.

185. But in DEM. xvi. 5 we find the optative in an indirect quotation: οὗ γὰρ ἐκείνο γ' ἂν ἐστουεν, ὡς ἄνταλλάσσειν βουλοῖμεθ' ἀντιπάλους Λακεδαιμονίων ἀντί Θηβαίων. There are no other
readings, and we must call it an exceptional case of assimilation (we could not say this, that we wished, etc.) unless we emend it either by reading βουλόμεθα (as proposed by Madvig, Bemerk. p. 21) or by inserting ἂν. In Plat. Rep. 515 D, we find in the best MSS. τί ἂν οἴει αὐτόν εἶπεν, εἴ τις αὐτῷ λέγω δι᾽ ἑτέρα μὲν ἑώρα φλυαρίας, νῦν δὲ ὑπόθεται βλέποι; what do you think he would say, if any one should tell him that all that time he had been seeing foolish phantoms, but that now he saw more correctly? (Some MSS. read βλέπει.)

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

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

Οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις ἔξελθων δ᾽ τι χρῶν σαυτῷ, if you should withdraw, you would not know what to do with yourself. Plat. Crit. 45 B. Οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις δ᾽ τι χρήσατο σαυτῷ, ἀλλ᾽ ἐλεγχότοις ἂν καὶ χασμῷ οὐκ ἔχων δ᾽ τι εἴποις. In PLAT. Rep. 515 D, we find in the best Mss. τί άν οἴει αὐτόν εἶπεν, εἴ τις αὐτῷ λέγω δι᾽ ἑτέρα μὲν ἑώρα φλυαρίας, νῦν δὲ ὑπόθεται βλέποι; what do you think he would say, if any one should tell him that all that time he had been seeing foolish phantoms, but that now he saw more correctly? (Some MSS. read βλέπει.)

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

INFINITIVE AND PARTICIPLE.

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

Βούλεται λέγειν τί τοῦτο ἐστιν, he wishes to tell what this is. 'Εβούλετο λέγειν τί τοῦτο εἶη, he wished to tell what this was. Φησίν ακηκόηνε τί ἐστιν, he says he has heard what it is. "Εφὴ ἀκηκόηνε τί ἐστιν, he said he had heard what it was. "Εφῆς τούχεν ὅ τι ἄν βούλησθε, he says he will do whatever you may wish. "Εφῆς τούχεσθαι ὅ τι βούλοισθε, he said he would do whatever you might wish.


Βούλεται γνώναι τί τοῦτο ἐστιν, he wishes to learn what this is. 'Εβούλετο γνώναι τί τοῦτο εἶη, he wished to learn what this was.

Οὐδεὶς πώποτε τούτων δεδοκατὲ τὴν δωρεὰν ταύτην οὐδ᾽ ἂν δοήτη, ἐξειδέναι τοὺς ἑνὸς ἐχθροὺς ὑπρίζειν αὐτῶν ἐκάστῳ, ὅποτ᾽ ἂν βούλησθαι καὶ ἂν ἄν δύνηται τρόπον. Dem. xxii. 170. Οὐδ᾽ ἐνίοις οὔτε Θηβαῖοι οὔτε Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὔτε ὑπερτάτωστοι συνεχώρηθη τοῦτο ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ποιεῖν ὅ τι βούλοισθε, never was this granted you, etc., to do whatever you pleased. Id. ix. 23. Here ποιεῖν denotes a habit,
and is followed by the optative (532); if the leading verb were συν-χωρέσει, we should have ποιείν δι τι ἀν βούλησθε. Compare the two subjunctives in the preceding example.

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

Πῶς γὰρ οἴοσθε διασχερῶς ἄκοινεν, εἰ τίς τι λέγοι; how unwillingly do you think they heard it, when any one said anything? DEM. vi. 20. So Plat. Rep. 430 A. See these and other examples under 119.

For the perfect see Xen. Cyr. i. 4, 27, and Thuc. v. 49, under 123.

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

"Εφε γνώναι τι τούτο εἶη, he says that he learned what this was. "Εφε γνώναι τι τούτο εἶη, he said that he had learned what this was.

Φησὶ γνώναι τι τούτο εἶη, he says that he learned what this was. Ψήφων δὲ δείκαις μὴ διηθεὶς ποτὲ ἢ ἔχοι δικὰς, αἰεγαλῶν ἐνδον τρέφει, and once he took fright lest he might sometime lack pebbles (for votes) to enable him to be a judge, and so he keeps a beach on the premises. AR. Vesp. 109. Πρὸς ὅργην ἐκφέρει, μεθεἰσά μοι λέγειν ἅ χρῆσομε, you rush into a passion, after you gave me leave to say what I wished (i.e. ἃ ἄν χρῆσομε). Soph. El. 628.

"Ιστε ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντας ἵνα τοῦτο ἠθομέν, you know that we came that we might see this.

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

Ψήφων δὲ δείκας μὴ διηθεὶς ποτὲ ἢ ἔχοι δικάς, αἰεγαλῶν ἐνδον τρέφει, and once he took fright lest he might sometime lack pebbles (for votes) to enable him to be a judge, and so he keeps a beach on the premises. AR. Vesp. 109. Πρὸς ὅργην ἐκφέρει, μεθεἰσά μοι λέγειν ἅ χρῆσομε, you rush into a passion, after you gave me leave to say what I wished (i.e. ἃ ἄν χρῆσομε). Soph. El. 628.

"Ιστε ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντας ἵνα τοῦτο ἠθομέν, you know that we came that we might see this.

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

THE PARTICLE "AN.

192. The adverb āv (with the epic kē, Doric kā) has two uses, which must be distinguished.

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

2. In its other use, it is joined regularly to el, if, to relative and temporal words, and sometimes to the final particles ὡς, ὡς, ὡς, ὡς, ὡς, ὡς, when any of these are followed by the subjunctive. Here, although as an adverb it qualifies the verb, it is so closely connected with the relative or particle, that it often coalesces with it, forming ēāvn, ἂν, ἃν ὡταν, ὁπόταν, ἐπειδάν, ἐπάν or ἐπήν (Ionic ἐπείν).

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

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

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

**INDICATIVE WITH ἂν.**

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

When this seems to occur, there is generally a mixture of constructions; as in *Plat.* Leg. 712 E, ἐγὼ δὲ οὖν ἐξαίφνης ἀν ἐρωτηθεῖς ἵνα ὑπερ ἐπον. οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, where ἀν was used with a view to a following οὐκ ἀν εἶπομε or some such construction, for which οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν was substituted. The meaning is, *If I should suddenly be asked,* *I could not say,* etc. In Plato, and more frequently in Aristotle, καί εἰ (= καὶ ἂν, εἰ) may be used like καὶ εἰ, without regard to the mood of the verb which is to follow, to which καί really belongs. See *Plat.* Men. 72 C, καί εἰ πολλά εἰσίν, ἐγὼ γὲ τί εἶδος ταύταν πάσαν ἔχων, i.e. even if they are many, still (it would seem to follow that) they all have one and the same form. So Rep. 579 D, Soph. 247 E. See *Aristot.* Pol. iii. 6, 1, καί εἰ πλείους, followed by εἰσίν.

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

'Ἀλλ’ ἤδη, ἔτι δὲ κέ τοι Χαρίτων μίαν ὑπεροτεράων δῶσω, ὅπως ἔμειναι καὶ σήν κεκλήθαι ἄκοιτιν, I will give you one of the younger Graces, etc. *Plat.* xiv. 267. Καί κέ τις δῆ ἐρέει Τρώων ἀπεργοῦντων, and some one will (or may) thus speak. *Plat.* iv. 176. 'Ο δὲ κέν κεχολώστεται ἦν κέν ἰκώμαι, and he may be angry to whom I come. *Plat.* i. 139. Εἰ δ’ ἄγε, τοὺς ἄν ἔγνω ἐπιβόμαι, οἱ δὲ πιθέων. *Plat.* ix. 167. Παρ’ ἐμοί γε καὶ ἄλλοι, οἱ κέ με τιμήσωσι, others, who will honour

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1 See Monro, *Homerian Grammar,* pp. 265-267. For Pindar, see Gildersleeve in *Am. Jour. Phil.* iii. pp. 446-455, where may be found a complete enumeration of the passages in Pindar containing either ἀν (30 cases) or κέ (33 cases).
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me. II. i. 174. El δ’ Ἄδωνες ἐλθοι καὶ ἱκου’ ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν, ἀλή κε σὺν φιάνι βιας ἀποτίσεται ἀνδρῶν. Od. xvii. 539. Here ἀποτίσεται κε, which may be aorist subjunctive (201, 1), is used nearly in the sense of the optative, corresponding to the optatives in the protasis.

Kέ is much more common with the future than āv.

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

Ἄγνωτους δὲ οὖχ ὅρω ποία δυνάμει συμμάχοι χρησάμενοι μᾶλλον āν κολάσεσθε τῆς νῦν ὑμῶν ἐμοί οὐσίας. XEN. An. ii. 5, 13. Ἐφη οὖν ὁν ἐρωτώμενον εἰπείν, οὐχ ᾗκει, φάναι, οὐδ’ āν ἢζει δεῖρο, he said that the one who was asked replied, “He hasn’t come, and he won’t come this way.” PLAT. Rep. 610 D. (The only other reading is ἢζοι. The colloquial style here makes āν less objectionable; see SOPH. Ant. 390, quoted in 208.) Ἐφη λέγων πρὸς υμᾶς ὡς, εἰ διαφεύξοιμη, ἢδη āν ὑμῶν οἱ εἰς πάντες παντάπασι διαφθαρήσονται. Id. Ap. 29 C. Κάν ἄτ’ ἐτ’ φόνιον δόσομαι αἷμα (so the Mss.). EUR. El. 484.

See 206 and 216, on the future infinitive and participle with āv.

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

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

SUBJUNCTIVE AND OPTATIVE WITH "ĀV.

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

201. 1. In epic poetry, when the independent subjunctive has nearly the sense of the future indicative (284), it sometimes takes κέ or āv. This forms a future potential expression, nearly equivalent to the future indicative with κέ or āv, and sometimes approaching the optative with κέ or āv. E.g.
196] THE PARTICLE άν

Εί δέ κε μή δώρσιν, ἐγὼ δέ κεν αὐτός ἐλώμαι, and if he does not give her up, I will take her myself. II. i. 324; see also i. 137.

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

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

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

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

Εἰ τοῦτο ποιήσειεν, ἀθλὸς άν εἶη, if he should do this, he would be wretched. 'Ηδέως άν ἐροὶμην αὐτόν, I should like to ask him. (See 233 and 455.)

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

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

INFinitive with "Αν.

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

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

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

Φησίν αὐτοῖς ἐλευθέρους άν εἴναι, εἰ τοῦτο ἐπραξαν, he says that they would (now) be free, if they had done this (εἴναι άν representing ἠσαν άν). Φησίν αὐτοῖς ἐλευθέρους άν εἴναι, εἰ τοῦτο πράξαν, he says that they would (hereafter) be free, if they should do this (εἴναι άν representing εἴησαν άν). Οἶδας γὰρ τὸν πατέρα οὐκ άν φυλάττειν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν λαμβάνειν τῶν ξύλων; do you think he would not have taken care and have received the pay for the timber? DEM. xlix. 35. (Here the direct discourse would be ἐφύλαττεν άν καὶ ἐλάμβανεν.)
THE PARTICLE ἂν

68

Mārturēw ἔχρωντο, μή ᾄ τούς γε ἵσοψηφος ἀκοντα, εἰ μή τι ἱδίκουν οἴς ἐπήθησαν, ἡν προφετεύειν, they used us as an argument, that people who had an equal vote with themselves (like us) would not be serving with them against their will, unless those whom they attacked were guilty of some wrong. THUC iii. 11. Ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἄν οὐκ ἀχαριστῶς μοι ἔχειν, for I think it would not be a thankless labour (οὐκ ᾄ ἔχοι). XEN. AN. ii. 3, 18.

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

Ei μὴ τάς ἄρετας ἄπρι αὐτῶν ἐκείνας οἱ Μαραθῶνι καὶ Σαλαμῖνι παρέχοντο, . . . πάντα ταῦτα ἃ ὅ τῶν βαρβάρων ἂν ἐσαλωκέναι (sc. φόρμεν ἂν τις), if those at Marathon and Salamis had not exhibited those deeds of valour in their behalf, any one would say that all these would have been captured by the barbarians. DEM. xix. 312. (Here εσαλωκέναι ἂν represents εσαλωκέσαν ἂν.) Ἄλλ' ἄν οὐκ ἂν γηγοιμ ἄνθης ἄδικην ἐδωκέναι, εἰ ἄκροσάμενοι αὐτῶν καταψηφίσασθε, but I do not believe they would (then) have suffered sufficient punishment, if you after hearing them should condemn them. LYS. xxvii. 9. (Here the protasis in the optative shows that δεδωκεναι ἂν represents δεδωκότες ἂν εἴειν (103); but if the protasis were εἰ κατεφηφίσασθε, δεδωκεναι ἂν would represent εδεδώκεσαν ἂν, they would have suffered.) See also, in xxvii. 8, οὐκ ἂν ἀπολλέναι, ἄλλα δικην ἐδωκέναι, representing perfect optatives with ἂν. Ἄνδραποδοθεῖς ἂν δικαίως κεκλησάται (ἡγεῖτο). XEN. Mem. i. 1, 16. (Here κεκλησάται ἂν represents κεκλημένοι ἂν εἴειν.)

These constructions are of course rare, as are the forms of the finite moods here represented.

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

Οὐκ ἂν ἂγειεθ' αὑτῶν κἀν ἐπιδραμεῖν; do you not believe that (if this had been so) he would even have run thither? i.e. οὐκ ἂν ἐπεδραμεν; DEM. xxvii. 56. Ἀνευ δὲ σευσμοῦ οὐκ ἄν μοι δοκεῖ το τοιοῦτο ἢπαμβήναν γενέσθαι (οὐκ ἄν ἢπαμβήναι representing οὐκ ἄν ἢπεζήν), but unless there had been an earthquake, it does not seem to me that such a thing could have any chance have happened. THUC iii. 89. Τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἢλπιζεν ἣν ἄν ἐπέεξελθείν καὶ τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἄν περιείχειν τηθῆναι (i.e. ἂν ἐπεζήθην καὶ οὕτω καὶ περιέδοιεν). ID. ii. 20. Οἷδ' ἄν κρατήσαται αὐτῶν τῆς γῆς ἧγομαι (i.e. κρατήσειαν ἂν). ID. vi. 37.

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

Νομίζοντες, εἰ ταύτην πρώτην λάβοιεν, μᾶδις ἄν σφόσι τάλλα προσχωρήσειν. Thuc. ii. 80. (Here the direct discourse would regularly have had either the future indicative without ἄν, or the aorist optative with ἄν.) The same may be said of Thuc. v. 82, νομίζων μέγιστον ἄν σφόσι ὑφελήσειν (where one Ms. reads by correction ὑφελήσατο). See also Thuc. vi. 66; viii. 25 and 71; and PLAT. Crit. 53 D; Crat. 391 A. Σχολή τοῦ ἂνείν δεύτ᾽ ἂν ἠγούχον ἐγώ, I declared that I should be very slow to come hither again. Soph. Ant. 390. (Here the colloquial style may account for ἂνείν ἄν, as for ἂνείν ἄν in PLAT. Rep. 615 D, unless we take ἄν with ἠγούχον. See 197.) In PIND. Ol. i. 108, we have εἰ δὲ μὴ ταχὺ λίποι, ἐτι γλυκτέραν κεν ἔλπωμαι σὺν ἀρματὶ ὁφυ κλείζειν.

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

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

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

Ἄκομα Λακεδαίμονίους τότε ἐμβάλοντας ἄν καὶ κακώσαντας τὴν χώραν ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπὶ οἴκου πάλι, I hear that the Lacedaemonians at that time, after invading and ravaging the country, used to return home again. Dem. ix. 48. (Here ἀναχωρεῖν ἄν represents ἀναχώρον ἄν in its iterative sense, they used to return.) Φάσί μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐρπομένων τὰ τῶν ἠγούν ἀνέρων οὐκ ἄν ἠξελθεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς σιτίσκου τῶν δ᾽ ἀντιβολεῖν ἄν ὄμοιοι, they say that, when he was feeding on men of wealth, he never would get away from the meal-tub; and they all alike used to implore him (οὐκ ἄν ἠξηλθέν, οἶ δὲ ἄντιβόλου οὖν ἄν). Ar. Eq. 1295.

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

Τὰ δὲ ἐντὸς οὕτως ἐκαίτε, ὡστε ἡδιστα ἄν ἐς ὑδωρ ψυχρὸν σφάσ αὐτῶν ἐπιτείν, so that they would most gladly have thrown themselves into cold water (ἐπιτείν ἄν here being equivalent to ἐπιτείν ἄν). Thuc. ii. 49. Μίας τρέφει πρὸς νυκτὸς, ὡστε μήτ ἐμὲ μήτ ἄλλον,
Neither me nor any other who beholds the light. So Tr. 669. "Εφθασαν παρελθόντες τῇ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἰκοδομίᾳ, ὅσε μηκέτι μήτε αὐτοὶ κωλύσατε ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἐκεῖνος τε καὶ παντάπωσιν ἀπετερηκέναι, εἰ καὶ κρατοῦν, μὴ ἂν ἔτι σφάς ἀποτείχῃ σα, so as to be no longer themselves obstructed by them, and so as to have deprived them absolutely of the power of ever again wailing them in, even if they should be victorious. THUC. vii. 6. "Ὑσομεν τὴν νύκτα πάσαν ώστε ἵνα βουλήσεται καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τυχεῖν ὧν μᾶλλον ἦ κρίναι κακός, we will rain all night long, so that perhaps he will wish to have the luck to be (that he might by chance find himself) in Egypt rather than to judge unfairly. AR. Nub. 1130. (Here τυχεῖν ἂν follows βούλομαι like the future infinitive in THUC. vi. 57: see 113.) We have ἑλπίζω followed by the infinitive and ἂν in THUC. vii. 61, τὸ τῆς τύχης κἀν μεθ' ἡμῶν ἑλπίσαντες στήναι, hoping that fortune may take sides with us (σταίη ἂν). See also SOPH. El. 1482, ἄλλα μοι πάρες καὶ σμικρὸν εἴπειν, but permit me at least to say a little (that I might say even a little, εἴποιμι ἂν).
See the corresponding use of the future infinitive in similar expressions, where there is the same approach to indirect discourse (113).

Even the infinitive with the article occasionally takes ἂν, as in ANT. v. 8, τὸ τοῦ υμᾶς διδάξω, οὐ τῷ φεύγειν ἂν τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ύπέτερον, this I will teach you, not because I would avoid your people. In SOPH. Ant. 236, τῆς ἑλπίδος τὸ μὴ παθεῖν ἂν ἄλλο, the hope that I could not suffer anything else, the construction is practically that of indirect discourse (794).

PARTICIPE WITH "ἈΝ.

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

The participle with ἂν is not, like the infinitive with ἂν, found chiefly in indirect discourse; but ἂν is more frequently added to an attributive or a circumstantial participle (822) to give it a potential force equivalent to that of the indicative or optative with ἂν. The participle with ἂν is not found in Homer or Pindar.

( Present.) The present participle (like the present infinitive) with ἂν represents the imperfect indicative or the present optative with ἂν. E.g.
Οἶδα αὐτοῖς ἐλευθέρους ἂν ὄντας, εἰ τοῦτο ἐπράξαν, I know they would (now) be free, if they had done this. Οἶδα αὐτοῖς ἐλευθέρους ἂν ὄντας, εἰ τοῦτο πράξαν, I know they would (hereafter) be free, if they should do this. (In the former ὄντας ἂν represents ἔσαν ἂν, in the latter εἴσαν ἂν.) Τῶν λαρμαῦντων δικὴν ὄντες ἂν δικαίως (i.e. ἦμεν ἂν), whereas we should justly be among those who inflict punishment.
THE PARTICLE ἀν

DEM. vii. 3. "Ὅσπερ ἐσχὲ μὴ κατὰ πόλεις αὐτὸν ἐπιτέλεστας τῆς Πελοποννήσου πορθεῖν, ἀδυνάτων ἀν ὄντων (.navigateByUrl, when you would have been unable to bring aid (ἀδύνατοι ἀν ἤτε). THUC. i. 73. Πόλλ' ἀν ἐξων ἐτέρ' εἰσεῖν περὶ αὐτής παραλείπω, although I might be able to say many other things about it, I omit them. DEM. xiii. 258. 'Απὸ παντὸς ἂν φέρων λάγων δικαίωμα μηχάνημα ποικίλον (i.e. ὅσ' ἂν φέρεις), thou who wouldst derive, etc. SOPH. O. C. 761.

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

Οὔτε ὅτα ὅτε ἂν γενόμενα λογοποιοῦσιν, they relate things which are not real, and which never could happen (i.e. οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο). THUC. vi. 38. 'Εφ' ἡμῶν οὐ γεγονός οἷδ' οἶδα εἰ γενόμενον ἂν, (a thing) which has not occurred in our day, and I doubt whether it ever could occur (γένοιτο ἂν). PLAT. Rep. 414 C. 'Αλλὰ βαδίως ἂν ἀφεθήσει, εἰ καὶ μετρίως τι τούτων ἐποίησε, προείλετο ἀποθανεῖν, whereas he might easily have been acquitted, etc. XEN. Mem. iv. 4, 4. Καὶ εἰ ἀπήχθηση τῷ ἂπτῃ ἡμεῖς, εὐ ἕστη ἂν ἄν ἦσσον ὑμᾶς λυπηρούς γενομένους τοὺς ἕμμαχοις, καὶ ἀναγκασθέντας ἂν ἃ ἀρχεῖν, κ.τ.λ. (i.e. ὅσ' ἂν ἐγένετο, καὶ ἡμασθήσθη ἂν), if you had become odious as we have, we are sure that you would have been no less oppressive to your allies, and that you would have been forced, etc. THUC. i. 76. 'Ορὼν τό παρατείχισμα ἀπολοῦν ἂν καὶ, εἰ ἐπικρατήσει τής ἀναβάσεως, ῥροδίως ἂν αὐτὸ ληφθέν (i.e. βαδίως ἂν ληφθεῖ), seeing that it would easily be taken, etc. Id. vii. 42. Σο δὰ τάχ' ἂν συμβάντων, DEM. xxiii. 58 (see 918).

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

Ἀφίετε ἂν ἀφίετε, ὡς εἰμι οὐκ ἂν ποιήσοντος ἄλλα, οὐδ' εἰ μέλλω πολλάκις τεθνάναι (i.e. οὐκ ἂν ποιήσω ἄλλα): so all MSS. PLAT. Ap. 30 B. Τοὺς ὅσοιν ἂν ἐκείνου ποιήσοντας ἄνηθρωκότες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐσώμεθα. DEM. xix. 342. (Here most MSS., including Σ, have ποιήσοντας, but A has ποιήσαντας.) Πάλαι τίς ἂν ὅσῳ ἔρωτις ἂν κάθηται, many a one has long been sitting here who perhaps would be very glad to ask (so all MSS.). DEM. ix. 70.

217. The participle with ἂν can never represent a protasis, because there is no form of protasis in the finite moods in which ἂν is separable from the conditional particle. (See 224.)

Position of ἂν.

218. 1. When ἂν is used with the subjunctive, if it does not coalesce with the relative or particle into one word (as in ἂν, ὅτα, etc.), it is generally separated from it only by such monosyllables as μέν, δὲ, τέ, γέρα, καί, νῦ, πέρ, etc., rarely τις.

See examples under 444 and 529.
2. In Homer and Hesiod two such words may precede κι; as εἰ περ γάρ κεν, εἰ γάρ νύ κε, εἰ γάρ τίς κε, δο μὲν γάρ κε. This is rare with ἀν in prose; see DEM. iv. 45, ὅποι μὲν γάρ ἂν. Exceptional are ὅσοι τις ἂν, οἶμαι, προσθῆ, DEM. ii. 14; ὅ τι ἀλλα ἂν δοκῇ ὑμῖν, XEN. Cyr. iv. 5, 52. The strange καθ᾽ ἂν μηνύῃ ἂν τις, ANT. ν. 38, is now corrected to ἂν μηνύῃ, but still stranger is ὅποιος ἂν φάρυγς ἂν ἴμων χανδάν (7), AR. Ran. 259.

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


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

Καὶ νῦν ἔδωκα ἂν μοι δοκῶ κοινωνήσαι, and now I think I should gladly take part (ἀν belonging to κοινωνήσαι). XEN. Cyr. vili. 7, 25. So AESCHIN. iii. 2 (end). Οὐδ᾽ ἂν ὑμεῖς οἴδ᾽ οτι ἐπαύγασθε πολεμοῦντες, nor would you (I am sure) have ceased fighting. DEM. vi. 29. Πότερα γὰρ ἂν οἰέσθη ῥαὼν εἴναι; Dem. xili. 45. Ἐκλέξαντα δὲ μὴ προφεῦσι μηδὲς μὴτ ἂν ψῆθη τήμερον ἡθήναι, selecting what nobody knew beforehand and nobody thought would be mentioned to-day. Dem. xviii. 225. (Here ἡθήναι ἂν = ψῆθη ἂν. If ἂν were taken with ψῆθη, the meaning would be, what nobody would have thought had been mentioned.) Τί οὖν ἂν, ἔθην, εἰς ἂ ἔρως; PLAT. Symp. 202 D.

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

Οὐκ οἴδ᾽ ἂν εἰ πείσαμι, I do not know whether I could persuade him. ECR. Med. 941. (The more regular form would be οὐκ οἴδα εἰ πείσαμι ἂν.) So Alc. 48. Οὐκ ἂν οἴδ᾽ εἰ εὔναίμην. PLAT. Tim. 26 B. Οὐκ οἴδ᾽ ἂν εἰ ἑκτεράμην παῖετο τοιοῦτον. XEN. Cyr. v. 4, 12. So οὐκ ἂν οἴδ᾽ ὅ τι ἀλλα εἰχὸν ψηφίσασθαι, I do not know what other vote I could have given (τί ἀλλο εἰχὸν ψηφίσασθαι), DEM. xiv. 7.

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

Thus τάχ' ἂν γένοιτo means it might perhaps happen, and τάχ' ἂν ἐγένετo means it might perhaps have happened; but the latter can never mean perhaps it happened, like ὅσος ἐγένετo. Τάχα alone often means perhaps, as in XEN. An. v. 2, 17. Aristotle writes τάχα and ἂν separately in the same sense as τάχ' ἂν; as τάχα δὲ καὶ μάλλον ἂν ταύτην ὑπολάβαι, Eth. Nic. i. 5, 6.

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

Αλλ' ὡ μέλ' ἂν μοι συτίων διπλῶν ἑδει, Δ. Ρακ. 137. So τὸ μέλλον, ἐπεὶ γένοιτ', ἂν κλίοις (or without the commas), the future you can hear when it comes, Aesch. Ag. 250.

REPETITION OF ἂν.

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

'Οστ' ἂν, εἰ σθένος λάβομι, δηλώσαιμ' ἂν οἴ αὐτοῖς φρονώ. Soph. El. 333. Οὐ τὰν ἔλοντες αἰθίδις ἂνθαλοίεν ἂν. Aesch. Ag. 340. Ἀλλους γ' ἂν οὖν ὑόμεθα τὰ ἡμέτερα λαξβίτας δειξαί ἂν μάλατα εἰ τι μετράζων. Thuc. i. 76. (See 220.) Οὗτ' ἂν κελεύσαμι, οὖτ' ἂν, εἰ δέλους ἔτι πράσσειν, ἕμοι γ' ἂν ἥνεως δράφης μέτα. Soph. Ant. 69. Δέγω καθ' ἐκαστὸν δοκείν ἂν μοι τὸν αὐτὸν ἄνδρα παρ' ἕμοι ἐπὶ πλείον ἂν εἰδὴ καὶ μετὰ χαρίτων μάλιστ' ἂν εὐπατέλως τὸ σώμα αὐτοφικη παρέξοθαί. Thuc. ii. 41. (Here ἂν is used three times, belonging to παρέξοθαί.) 'Τιμῶν δὲ ἔρημος ἂν οὐκ ἂν ἦκανον οἴμαι εἰναι οὐτ' ἂν φιλὸν ὕψεθαι οὐτ' ἂν ἐχθρὸν ἀλέξασθαί. Xen. An. i. 3, 6. (Here ἂν is used three times, belonging to εἰναι.) Καὶ ἂν ἐνείκωθ' αὐτὸν κἂν επιδραμεῖν; Dem. xxvii. 56.

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

Νομίζατε τὸ τε φαύλον και τὸ μέσον και τὸ πάνω ἄκριβες ἂν εὐγκραθῇν μάλιστ' ἂν ἵνα κρεῖν, believe that these, if they should be united, would be especially strong. Thuc. vi. 18. (Here εὐγκραθῇν, not with ἂν, is equivalent to εἰ εὐγκραθῇ.) Ἀγώνας ἂν τίς μοι δοκεί, ἐφή, ὅ πατερ, προειπών ἐκάστους καὶ ἄθλα προτιθείς μάλιστ' ἂν
It seems to me, said he, father, that if any one should proclaim contests, etc., he would cause, etc. XEN. Cyr. i. 6, 18.

(Here the protasis implied in the participles is merely emphasised by ἣν, which belongs to τοιοῦτος.) See also λέγοντος ἦν τίνος πιστεύσαι εἰ oίληθε; (i.e. εἰ τις ἔλεγεν, ἐπιστευσαν ἦν;) do you think they would have believed it, if any one had told them? Dem. vi. 20. (Here ἦν stands near λέγοντος only to point this out as the protasis to which its own verb πιστεύσαι is the apodosis, with which ἦν is not repeated.)

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

Τῷ κε μᾶλ' ἦν ἔμεινε καὶ ἐσείμενος περ ὁδὸν,

η κέ με τεθυνών ἐνι μεγάροις ἔλειπεν. Od iv. 733.

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

Καρπεραί, ὡς οὔ θ' ἦν κέν "Αρης οὖν οἵτων μετελθὼν

οὔτε κ' Ἀθηναίη λαοσόσος. Il. xiii. 127.

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

Οὐδ' ἦν ἐμε, ἤνικα δεύο ἀποπλείει ἐβουλόμην, κατεκάλυμεν, οὔδε τοιαῦτα λέγειν τούτῳ προσέταττεν, εἰ δὲ ἦν ἰκισθ' ὤμεις ἐμέλλετ ἐξεναι. DEM. xix. 51. (Here ἦν is understood with προσέταττεν.) Ὄπω δὲ δρῶν οὔδεν ἦν διάφορον τοῦ ἑτέρου ποιοί, ἄλλ' ἐπὶ ταύτων ἐσσευ' ἄμφοτεροι. PLAT. Rep. 360. Οὐκοῦν κἀ' εἰ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ φῶς ἀναγκάσασθαι αὕτως ἰδήνειν, ἀλλ' ἐγείν τε ἦν τὰ δίματα καὶ φεύγειν ἀποστρεφομένοιν (οὐ) λαοςίς. Il. 515 E. (Κάν belongs to the infinitives; 223.)

See also XEN. An. ii. 5, 14. Πάντα ὑπεί ὁ Φίλιππος, πολλὰ λέγοντος ἐμὸν καὶ γραμμάτος ἔδει, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὡς ἦν εἰς κοινὸν γνώμην ἀποφασισμόν, μετὰ ταύτα δ' ὡς ἀγνοούτας διδάσκων, τέλευτα δὲ ὡς ἦν πρὸς πεπρακότας αὐτούς καὶ ἀνασκόπως ἀνθρώπως οὐδὲν ὑποστελλομένου. DEM. xix. 156. The clauses with ὥς represent (1) ὡς ἔλεγον ἦν εἰ ἐφαινόμην, as I should have spoken if I had been merely informing my colleagues; (2) ὡς ἔλεγον (ἀν) εἰ ἀγνοούτας ἐδίδασκον, as I should have spoken if I had been instructing ignorant men; (3) ὡς λέγομι ἦν, as I should speak to men who had sold themselves, etc. In the second clause, the construction remaining the same, ἦν is omitted; but in the third, where an optative is implied, ἦν reappears.

In PLAT. Rep. 398 A, we find ἦν used with two co-ordinate optatives, understood with a third, and repeated again with a fourth to avoid confusion with a dependent optative in a relative clause. "Ἀν may be understood with an optative even in a separate sentence, if the construction is continued from a sentence in which ἦν is used with the optative; as in PLAT. Rep. 352 E: "Εσθ' ὀφθ' ἦν ἄλλω ἰδεῖσι ὦ

ὁθαλμοῖς; Οὔ δέτα. Τί δέ; ἀκούσας ἄλλῳ ἦ ὦτιν; So with πράττοι after γάρ, ib. 439 B.
ELLIPtical Uses of "AV."

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

Oi oiketai de' g'youn: 'All' o'uk av pr' tou (sc. 'thergkon), the slaves are snoring; but they wouldn't have been doing so at this hour in old times. AR. Nub. 5. 'Oς ou' av ast'wv twv' av ekpe'Tov pv, ou' av te'k'vov tois' emois (sc. ekpe'Tovm), stergwv omwv. SOPH. O. C. 1528.

Τ' av dokei oui Pro'mos (sc. πρά'εια), ei τα'v' hνneν; but what think you Priam would have done if he had accomplished what you have? AESCH. Ag. 935. ∆'wv'frov' m'en ouk av μα'λλον, ευνχ'ηs 8' ι'wv (sc. oβ'da). EUR. Alc. 182: cf. AR. Eq. 1252. (See 483.)

So πω'v yap av (sc. ει'η); how could it? πα's ouk av; and similar phrases; especially ὅσπερ av ei (also written as one word, ὅσπερανει), in which the av belongs to the verb that was originally understood after ei; as φοβο'υμενοσ ὅσπερ av ei πα'ις, fearing like a child (originally for φοβο'υμενοσ ὅσπερ av ἐφοβε'το ei πα'ις ην). PLAT. Gorg. 479 A. See DEM. xviii. 194: τ' χρη' ποιειν; ὅσπερ av ei τ'is ναυκληρον παντ' ἐπι σωτηρία πρά'εανα. . . τ'is ναυαγίας αἵτη'σα, what are we to do? (We are to do) just what a shipowner would do (ποιοί av) if any one should blame him for the wreck of his ship, etc. See φήσειεν av, which explains the omitted verb, just afterwards.

228. Κα'v in both its meanings (as ka'i with the adverb av, and as ka'i with ἕν = ἕν) may stand without a verb. E.g.

'All' άνδρα χρη' dokeiν πε'νειν av κα'v ἀπ' σμ'ικρον πακοvox. SOPH. Aj. 1077. (Here κα'v, for και av, which we may express by even or though it be, belongs to πε'νειν understood.) 'Ικανος ουν τουτο έχομεν, κα'v ei πλενανχ' σκοπ'ιμεν; are we then satisfied of this (and should we be so) even if we were to look at it in various ways? PLAT. Rep. 477 A. (We must supply ικανος έχομεν with κα'v.) See different cases of κα'v ei in 195, in which a verb follows to which av cannot belong.

Και οτι τις άν, οτιμαι, προσθη' κα'v μικραν δο'μαμ, παντ' ωφελεξ, and, I think, wherever we add even (though it be) a little power, it all helps. DEM. ii. 14. (Here καν -και av τις προσθη', even though we add.) Μετρησον ει'ρηνης τι μοι, κα'v πεντ' έτη, measure me out some peace, even if it be only for five years (και av μετρησηγ). AR. Ach. 1021.

229. "Av may be used with a relative without a verb, as it is with ei (in av = ei av) in the last examples (228). So in XEN. An. i. 3, 6, ος έμου oυn ι'ννος οτ'η άν και ι'μεις, ουτω την' γνώμην έχετε (i.e. οτη' άν και ι'μεις έχετε), be of this mind, that I shall go wherever you go.
CHAPTER IV.

USE OF THE MOODS.

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

231. These constructions are discussed under the following heads:

I. The potential optative and indicative.
II. The imperative and subjunctive in commands, exhortations, and prohibitions—subjunctive and indicative with μή and μή οὐ in cautious assertions.—"Οπως and ὅπως μή with the independent future indicative or subjunctive.
III. The subjunctive (like the future indicative) in independent sentences.—The interrogative subjunctive.
IV. οὐ μή with the subjunctive or future indicative.
V. Final and object clauses after ἵνα, ὡς, ὡς ὅστε, ὧφρα, and μή.
VI. Conditional sentences.
VII. Relative and temporal sentences, including consecutive sentences with ὅστε, etc.
VIII. Indirect discourse.
IX. Causal sentences.
X. Expressions of a wish.
SECTION I.

The Potential Optative and Indicative.

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

I. POTENTIAL OPTATIVE.

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

234. The neutral optatives like II. iv. 18 are rare even in Homer, the language having already distinguished the two meanings in sense, and marked them in most cases by external signs. The optative expressing what may happen in the future took the particle κε or ἀν, and was negatived by οὐ, denoting the relations which we express by our potential mood with may, can, might, could, would, and should. Thus ἔλθοιμι κε ἢ κεν ἄλοιψ, I may slay or I may be slain, II. xxii. 253; ἀνὴρ δὲ κεν οὐ τι Διὸς νόον εἰρύσασις, a man cannot contend against the will of Zeus, II. viii. 143.¹ On the other hand, the simple optative (without κε or ἀν) was more and more restricted to the expression of a wish or exhortation, and was negatived by μή; as μή γένοιτο, may it not happen, πιθοίο μοι, listen to me (Od. iv. 193), as opposed to οὐκ ἄν γένοιτο, it could not happen. The potential forms ἔλθοιμι ἄν

¹ When the idea of ability, possibility, or necessity is the chief element in the expression, and is not (as above) merely auxiliary, it is expressed by a special verb like δύναμαι, δεί, or χρή. Especially, the idea of obligation is generally expressed by δεί or χρή with the infinitive; as τοῦτο χρή κλείειν, him we must obey, Soph. Ant. 666.
and ἴδομεν ἄν differ from the more absolute future indicative and the old subjunctive forms ἔλθω and ἴδω, I shall go and I shall see, by expressing a future act as dependent on some future circumstances or conditions, which may be more or less distinctly implied. The freedom of the earlier language extended the use of the potential optative to present and sometimes even to past time. See 438 and 440.

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

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

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

Ἐµοὶ δὲ τὸν ἄν πολὺ κέρδιον εἶη, but it would at that time (be likely to) profit me far more. 11. xxi. 108. Ψεύγωμεν ἄτι γὰρ κεν ἀλλὰ µεν κακὸν ἡµαρ, let us flee; for perchance we may still escape the evil day. Od. x. 269. Πλησίον ἀλλήλων· καὶ κεν διόστεφσελας, the rocks are close together: you might perhaps shoot an arrow across the space. Od. xii. 102. So Od. xxiii. 195. Οὐκοῦν τὸροις ἄν τύρῳ δωρέαν έµοί; would you then grant me this favour? Aesch. Prom. 616. So
πάν γάρ άν πόθοι μου, for you can learn anything (you please) from me. Ib. 617. Τί τόνδ' άν είποις άλλο; what else could you say of this man? SOPH. Ant. 552 and 652. Πολλάς άν εύροις μηχανάς, you can find many devices. EUR. And. 85. Ἐφομαί τοι καί ούκ άν λειφθείην, I will follow you and in no case will I be left behind. HDT. iv. 97. Οί μὲν (sc. λέγοντες) άς οἴδεν άν τρόπῳ ἔλθοιεν οὗ Άθηναίοι. THUC. vi. 35. Ένθα πολλήν μὲν σφωρτούσην καταμάθοι άν τις. XEN. An. i. 9, 3. So Mem. i. 3, 5, iii. 5, 1 and 7. Δις έί τών αυτών ποταμών ούκ άν ἐμβαίης, you cannot step twice into the same river (saying of Heraclitus). PLAT. Crat. 402 A. Οὔ μήν έστι καλλίων έδος οὐδ' άν γένοιτο, there is none and there could be none. Id. Phil. 16 B; so 64 B. 'Ακούοις άν, you can hear. Id. Rep. 487 E. Δειξάτω ὡς οἱ Θετταλοὶ νὼν ούκ άν ἐλέυθεροι γένοιτο ἄμενοι, let him show that they would not now gladly become free. DEM. ii. 8. 'Ηδως δ' άν έγωγ' έροίμην Λεπτίνην, but I would gladly ask Leptines. Id. xx. 129. ΄Εί γηγόησε ταύτα, γένοτο γάρ άν καί τούτο, if he did not know this,—and it might easily so happen. Ib. 143. Οὔτ' άν οὕτος έχωι λέγειν οὐθ' έμείς πεισθείητε. Id. xxii. 17. Ποί οὖν τραποίμεθ' έτι; in what other direction could we possibly turn? PLAT. Euthyd. 290 A. Ούκ άν μεθέίμην τόν θρόνον, I will not give up the throne. AR. Ran. 830. So ούκ άν δεχοίμην, AESCH. Eum. 228. Τίς ούκ άν αγάσαιτο των άνδρων τής αρετής; who would not admire the valour of these men? (i.e. every one must admire their valour). DEM. xviii. 204.

Βουλοίμην άν, I should like, is used like velim. For ἐβουλόμην άν, vellem, see 246. 237. The potential optative in the second person may have the force of a mild command or exhortation. E.g.

Συ μὲν κομίζοις άν σεαντόν ἢ θέλεις, ήπιο τι μενιατο έπει έχοι σεαντόν, you may take yourself off whether you please (a milder expression than κομίζε σεαντόν). SOPH. Ant. 444. So Ant. 1339. Κλύοις άν ήδη, Φοίβε προστατήριε, hear me now. Id. El. 637. Χωροίς άν είσω. Id. Ph. 674.

So probably II. ii. 250: τῷ οὐκ ἀν βασιλῆς ἀνά στόμ' έχον ἀγορεύοις, therefore you must not take kings upon your tongue and talk (or do not take, etc.) 238. Occasionally the potential optative expresses what may hereafter prove to be true or to have been true. E.g.

Πού δερ' άν εἶεν οἱ έξενο ήτοι; where may the strangers be? (i.e. where is it likely to turn out that they are?) SOPH. El. 1450. 'Η γάρ έμη (sc. σοφία) φαύλη τοι έν είη, for it may turn out that my wisdom is of a mean kind. PLAT. Symp. 175 E. 'Ελλήνων τινάς φως ἀρπάσαι Εὐφώην’ έιήσαν δ’ ένοι Κρήτες, and these would prove to be Cretans (or to have been Cretans), HDT. i. 2. Αὑταὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀν πολλαὶ είν πον, and these (the islands) would not prove to be many. THUC. i. 9.

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

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

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

Οὐκακώτερον ἄλλο πᾶθομε. II. xix. 321. Τοῦτον γε σπορέων καὶ ἐκ πυρὸς αἰθημένου ἄμφω ὑπότηςαμεν. II. x. 246. Ρεῖα θεός γ' ἐθέλων ἁμένονας δωρῆσαιτο. II. x. 556: see Od. iii. 231. Χερμάδιον λάβε, δ' οὖ δύο γ' ἀνδρε φέροιειν. II. v. 302: so xx. 285.
OxEC τις πείσειε γυναῖκα. Od. xiv. 122. So also II. vii. 48, xiv. 190, xv. 45, 197.

See, further, Hes. Theog. 723 and 725; Pind. Ol. x. 21, Py. iv. 118.

241. Some cases of the optative without ἄν occur with the indefinite ἔστιν ὅς in Homer, and with ἔστιν ὅς τις, ἔστιν ὅπως, ἔστιν ὅποι, in the Attic poets. These form a class by themselves. E.g.


242. On the other hand, a few other cases in the Attic poets are mere anomalies, even if we admit that the text is sound. E.g.

Τέαν, Ζεύ, δύνασιν τίς ἄνδρων ὑπερβασία κατάσχοι; what transgression of man can check thy power? Soph. Ant. 605. Ἀλλ᾽ ὑπέρτολμον ἄνδρός φρόνημα τίς λέγοι; Aesch. Cho. 594. Πῶς οὖν τάς, ἧς εἰπὼς τις, ἔξημάρτανες; i.e. as one might say. (?) Eur. Andr. 929. Θάσσον ἥ λέγοι τις πόλον ἐπιστήσαμεν. Id. Hipp. 1186. Ὡσπερ εἰπότις τόπος, as one would say τόπος. (?) Ar. Av. 180.

The cases cited from Attic prose are now generally admitted to be corrupt. See Krüger, ii. 54, 3, Anm. 8.

II. POTENTIAL INDICATIVE.

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

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

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

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

"Oio av eis phaojmen per avpi Sarpedon dieon evyno, no longer would even a shrewd man have known Sarpedon. II. xvi. 638. 'Ypto kev taleisipon per dieov etlen, fear might have seized even a man of stout heart. II. iv. 491. See other Homeric examples below.

'Alli xla bev mene dhi poiote touvneidos tayx av ev orgev biaosthav maillov i gnwirr phrœnoi, but this reproach may perhaps have come from violence of wrath, etc. Soph. O. T. 523. (Here tayx av xla expresses past possibility, with no reference to any definite condition, unfilled or otherwise.) Theos xar xynv filon tayx av eis ymnwves eis xenos talai, for perchance it may have been thus pleasing to Gods who of old bore some wrath against our race. Id. O. C. 964. (According to the common punctation tayx av would be taken with ymnwves, = o tayx av eis ymnwves, who may perchance have been some whom, see Plat. Phaedr. 265 B, below; but the analogy of O. T. 523 favours the other interpretation.) Prov poiou av ton' avtoi odwsiex eilei; i.e. who might this man have been to whom Ulysses was sailing? Id. Ph. 572. 'O theasamenov pas av tis yndh yrasvthi dais einae, every man who saw this drama (the "Seven against Thebes") would have been eager to be a warrior. Ar. Ran. 1022. (This is the past form of pas av tis yrasvthi dais einae, every one would be eager, having no more reference to an unfilled condition than the latter has.) Diebhsan, ws men eikos kai lhgetai, epiv xhedwv, tayx av ev de kai allas pws espleswvntes, i.e. while they probably crossed on rafts, they may perhaps have crossed in some other way by sailing (diebhsan with tayx av in the latter clause meaning they may have, or might have, perhaps crossed under other (possible) circumstances). Thuc. vi. 2. 'Epepiouswvthei ou av tis ekwv idov, and any one would have been encouraged who saw that. Xen. Hell. iii. 4, 18. Xattov xws tis av xeto, sooner than one would have thought. Id. An. i. 5, 8. 'Enva de evyno av tis doun axion evh tii filwstha arxonta, there any one might have learned, etc. Id. Cyt. vii. 1, 38. 'En tavthi tiv ylika lhgetav pros wsav ev x av mlvwta ev pistevsate, talking to you at that age at which you would have been most likely to have put trust in them. Plat. Ap. 18 C. "Iwov men allh theouiv tivov epastomwv, tayx o av kai alloue paraferomwv, muthi-kon tina ymnwv prospeisamven 'Erosa, while perhaps we were clinging to some truth, although perchance we may have been led aside into some error (paraferomwv av = paraferomwv av), we celebrated Eros in a mythical hymn. Id. Phaedr. 265 B. Tiv xar kai bovlwvav metepem-pesth av avtois ev touthi tiv kairw; for with what wish even could you possibly have been summoning them at this time? Dem. xviii. 24. Pio av o mi parwv miwv epithevmwv evw ti se ydiiketai; i.e. how was I
likely to do you any wrong? Id. xxxvii. 57. Τὸν χορὸν συνέλεξα ὡσπερ ἄν ἠδίστα καὶ ἐπιτηδεῖοτα ἀμφιτέρους ἐγίγνετο, I collected the chorus in the way which was likely to be most agreeable and convenient to both. ANT. vi. 11.

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

'Αλλὰ τάχιστα πείρα ὡσπερ κεν δὴ σὴν πατρίδα γαῖαν ἵκρα· ἡ γὰρ μὴ γε κιχήσει, ἡ κεν Ὄρεστης κτείνεν ὑποβάμενος, σὺ δὲ κεν τάφου ἀντιβολήσας, but strive with all speed to come to your fatherland; for either you will find him (Aegisthus) alive (and so can kill him yourself), or else Orestes may have already killed him before you come, and then you can go to his funeral. Od. iv. 544. (Here κεν κτείνεν, by a change in the point of view, expresses what will be a past possibility at the time of the arrival of Menelaus, to which time the following optative is future.) Καὶ γὰρ Τρώας φασὶ μαχητὰς ἐμμεναι ἄνδρας, οἱ κεν τάχιστα ἐκρίνας μεγά νεῖκος, for they say that the Trojans are men of war, who would most speedily have decided a mighty strife (implying that they would therefore speedily decide any impending strife). Od. xviii. 261. (This was said by Ulysses before he went to Troy. See 249.)

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

Οὐ γὰρ κεν δύναμεσθα θυράων υψηλάων ἀπώσασθαι λίθον, for we could not have moved the stone from the high doorway. Od. ix. 304. Μίνοις ὡς ἦθελόν δ' ἄν ἐκτὸς ἄν τυχείν, I will remain; but I should have preferred to take my chance outside. SOPH. Aj. 88. Τσύτον τίς ἄν σοι τάνδρος ἀμέινων ἐφρέθη; who could have been found, etc.? Ib. 119. Ἐκλυον ἄν ἐγὼ οὔδ' ἄν ἡλπίσ' αὐθίνα, I heard a voice which I could never even have hoped to hear. Id. El. 1281. Δ' ἐξέλεξας, οἷν ἐγὼ ἣκα τ' ἄν ἡθέλησο' ἀλολύσων κλέων. Id. Ph. 426. Κλέων ἄν οὐδ' ἀπαξ ἐβούλομην, I should have wished not to hear it even once. Ib. 1239. Οὐκ ἐσθ' ὡσπερ ἐπεκεκ ἄν ἦ Δίος δάμαρ Λητῶ τοσαύτην
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When no definite condition is understood with the potential indicative, the imperfect with ἀν regularly refers to past time, according to the older usage (435), like the aorist; as in the examples above.

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

'Εγὼ δ' ἐβονλόμην ἂν αὐτοὺς ἀλθῇ λέγειν: μετήν γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἔμοι τοῦτον τάγαθον οὐκ ἑλάχιστον μέρος. νων δὲ οὕτε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς τοιαῦτα ὑπάρχει οὕτε πρὸς ἐμέ, and I should like it if they spoke the truth; for (were that so) no small part of this advantage would be mine: but this is not true of them, etc. Lys. xii. 22. Μειδίαν, ἄν ἐβονλόμην ἂν πολλοί ἐνεκεν ξίν, Midias, whom for many reasons I
should like to have alive. AESCHIN. iii. 115. See LYCURG. 3. (For ἔβοιλόμην ἄν as past, see SOPH. Ph. 1239, quoted in 245.) See also AR. Nub. 680, ἐκεῖνο δ' ἦν ἄν καρδόπη, Κλεωνύμη, and this would be καρδόπη, etc.

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

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

'Αλλά κε κείνα μάλιστα ιδὼν ὀλοφύραο θυμῷ, but you would have lamented most in your heart if you had seen this (ιδὼν = εἶ ἔδεις). Od. xi. 418. Όοδε κεν αὐτὸς ὑπέκφυγε κῆρα μέλαινα, ἀλλ' Ἡφαίστος ἐρντο, nor would he by himself have escaped, but Hephaestus rescued him. II. v. 22. 'Αλλ' εἰκάσατε μὲν, ἥδυς· οὐ γὰρ ἄν καρα πολυστεφῆς ᾧ ἐξετε, but, as it seems, he has good news; for (otherwise) he would not be coming with head thus thickly crowned. SOPH. O. T. 83; so O. C. 125, 146. Πολλὸν γὰρ ἄν τὰ ὅργανα ἦν ἄξια, for instruments would be worth much (if they had this power). PLAT. Rep. 374 D. "Ὑπετε τὰν εἰρήνην ἄμως; οὐ γὰρ ἦν δ' ἃν ἐποιεῖτε, for there was nothing that you could have done (if you had not kept the peace). DEM. xviii. 43. Σημεῖον δέ· οὐ γὰρ ἄν δεύο ἡκον ὡς ὑμῶς, for (otherwise) they would not have come hither to you. Id. xix. 58. Τότε Φιλίστωρ προδέδωκέναι πάντας ἄν ἐσχεν αἰτίαν, in that case she (Athens) would have had the blame of having betrayed all to Philip. Id. xviii. 200. See other examples in 472.

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

For a periphrastic form of potential indicative with ἐδει, χρήν, etc., with the infinitive, see 415.
For the Homeric use of the present optative with κέ or ἀν as a present potential form (like the later imperfect with ἀν), see 438.
For the rare Homeric optative with κέ in the sense of the past tenses of the indicative with κέ or ἀν, see 440.

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

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

SECTION II.

The Imperative and Subjunctive in Commands, Exhortations, and Prohibitions.—Subjunctive and Indicative with μή and μή οὐ in Cautious Assertions.—"Οπως and ὄπως μή with the Independent Future Indicative, etc.

IMPERATIVE IN COMMANDS, ETC.

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

Δέγε, speak thou. Φεῦγε, begone! Ελθέτω, let him come. Χαιρέντων, let them rejoice. Ἐρχεσθον κλισίην Τηληίαν Ἀχιλήος. II. i. 322. Ζεῦ, θεωρὸς τῶνδε πραγμάτων γενοῦ. Aesch. Cho. 246.

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

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

"Ακοινο πᾶς, hear, every one! AR. Thes. 372. Χώρει δεύρο πᾶς ὑπηρέτης τῷ σκέλει θένε τήν πέτραν, but do you know what you must do?—strike the rock with your leg! AR. Av. 54. Οἶσθ' ὃ μοι σύμπραξον; do you know what you must do for me? EUR. Her. 451. Οἶσθά νυν ὁ μοι γενέσθω; δεσμά τοις ξένοισι πρόσθε, do you know what must be done for me?—put bonds on the strangers. Id. I. T. 1203. Οἶσθ' ὡς ποίησον; do you know how you must act? SOPH. O. T. 543. (Compare EUR. Cyc. 131, οἰσθ' οὖν ὃ δράσεις; do you know what you are to do?)

The English may use a relative with the imperative, as in which do at your peril. See HDT. i. 89, κάτισον φυλάκους, οἱ λεγόντων ὃ γίνεται ἐκατερόφθέν. So SOPH. O. C. 473.

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

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

Πλούτει τε γάρ κυρίων, εἰ βούλει, μέγα, καὶ ἡ τύραννον σχῆμα ἔχων, Ἡμᾶς grant that you are rich and live in tyrant's state (lit. be rich, etc.) SOPH. Ant. 1168. Προσεπάτω τινὰ φιλικὸν ὃ τε ἄρχων καὶ ἰδιώτης, suppose that both the ruler and the private man address one in a friendly way. XEN. Hier. viii. 3.

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

1 See Postgate in Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society, III. 1, pp. 50-55.
by the first person of the subjunctive, which expresses both positive and negative exhortations and appeals (the negative with μή). "Αγε, ἀγεῖ, εἰ δ' ἀγε, φέρε, θι, δεύρο, and δεῦτε (251) may precede this subjunctive; so sometimes ἔα, permit, let.

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

"Ιωμεν, let us go; μή ἰωμεν, let us not go. Ἰκαδε περ σὺν νησι νεώμεθα, ονδε δ' εῖμεν, let us sail homeward with our ships, and leave him. Π. ii. 236. 'Αλλ' ἀγε μηκετι ταύτα λεγόμεθα, but come, let us no longer talk thus. Π. xiii. 292; so ii. 435. 'Αλλ' ἀγε δη και ναι μεδώμεθα θούριδος ἄλκης. Π. iv. 418. Εἰ δ' ἀγετ' ἀρφι πόλιν σὺν τεύχει πειρηθώμεν. Π. xxii. 381; so 392. 'Αδείτε, φίλοι, τὸν ξείνον ἐρώμεθα. Ὀδ. viii. 133. Μή δη πω λύωμεθα ἵπτους, ἀλλ' ἱετε Πάτροκλον κλαίωμεν. Π. xxiii. 7. 'Αλλ' ει δοκεῖ, πλεομεν, ὄρμασθα ταχυς. Ὁρ. Ph. 526. Επισχετον, μάθωμεν.

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

'Αλλ' ἀγε δη τα χρήματ άριθμήσω καϊ δωμαι, come, let me count the things and see. Οδ. xiii. 215. 'Αλλ' ἀγεθ' ὅμιν τεύχε ἕνεικω θωρηθήναι. Οδ. xxii. 139. 'Αδείτε με δοτι τάχυτα, πώλας 'Αἰδοι περήψω, bury me as quickly as possible; let me pass the gates of Hades. Π. xxii. 71. 'Αλλ' ἀγε νῦν ἐπίμεινη, ἀρήμι τεύχεα δωμ. Π. vi. 340. Φέρε ἀκούω, come, let me hear. Πτη. i. 11. Σιγα, πνοα μάθω φέρε προς σος βάλω. Ευρ. H. F. 1059. 'Επίσχετ', αἀδην τόν ἐσωθεν ἐκμάθω. Ἰδ. Ἰππ. 567. Λέγε δη, ἰδω. Ἡρ. Rep. 457 C.

Μή σε, γύρον, καίληγον εγώ παρά νησι καθείω, let me not find you at the ships! Π. i. 26. Μή σεν ἀκούσω εὐχομένον. Π. xxii. 475. 'Αλλα μ' εκ γε τύσει γης πόρθμευεν ὡς τάχυτα, μήδ' αὐτοῦ θάνω. Ὁρ. 701. 'Ο ξείνον, μη δῆτ' ἀδικηθω. Ἰδ. O. C. 174.

258. In the first person (255-257) both present and aorist subjunctive are used with μή, the distinction of 259 applying only to the
second and third persons. In affirmative exhortations the second and third persons of the subjunctive are not regularly used, the imperative being the only recognised form. But in *Soph.* Ph. 300, *φέρ*, ὃς τέκνων, νῦν καὶ τὸ τῆς νόησον μάθης (if the text is sound), the positive μάθης seems strangely to follow the analogy of the negative ὑ μάθης. Nauck reads μάθε here. See also τὸ ψάφισμα ἀνατιθῆκα in an inscription quoted in Appendix I. p. 385.

**IMPERATIVE AND SUBJUNCTIVE IN PROHIBITIONS.**

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


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


INDEPENDENT SUBJUNCTIVE WITH μή IMPLYING FEAR (HOMERIC).

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

Μή δὴ νῆς ἐλωσὶ καὶ οὐκέτι φευτὰ πέλωνται, may they not (as I fear they may) seize the ships and make it no longer possible to escape. Il. xvi. 128. Μή δὴ μοι τέλέσωσι θεοὶ κακὰ κήδεα θυμῷ, may the Gods not bring to pass (as I fear they may) bitter woes for my soul. Il. xviii. 8. Μή τι χολωσάμενοι ῥέξῃ κακὸν νῦσα Ἀχαιῶν, may he not (as I fear he may) in his wrath do anything to harm the sons of the Achaeans. Il. ii. 195. Ω μοι ἐγὼ, μή τίς μοι υφαίνησιν δόλων αὕτε ἀνανάτων. Od. v. 356. Μή πώς μ᾽ ἐκβαινόντα βάλῃ λίθῳ προτί πέτρῃ κῆμα μέγ᾽ ἀρπάξαν, μελῆ δὲ μοι ἔσσεται ὁρμῇ, I fear that some great wave may dash me against a solid rock, and my effort will (then) be in vain (the expression of fear being merged in an assertion). Od. v. 415. See also Il. xxi. 563; Od. v. 467, xvi. 24, xxi. 213. Τῶν εἰ κεν πάντων ἀντήρομεν, μὴ πολύπτυχα καὶ αἰνὰ βίαι ἀποτίσει ἔλθων, i.e. I fear you may punish their violence only to our bitter grief (and may you not do this). Od. xvi. 255. Μή τι κακὸν ῥέξωσι καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐξελάσωσιν, ἀλλῶν δὲ ἀφικόμεθα γαῖαν, may they not (as I fear) do us some harm and drive us out, and may we not come to some land of others. Od. xvi. 381. Μή μὲν ἐγὼ μὲν ἰκωμαι ἰὼν, δὲ μ᾽ οὐκ ἔλέγοις, I fear I may approach him as I come, while he will not pity me. Il. xxi. 122 (see Od. v. 415, above). Μή τοι κατὰ πάντα φάγωσιν κτήματα δασσάμενοι, σὺ δὲ τυνσίν ὀδὸν ἔλθης. Od. xiv. 12.

The present subjunctive occurs in Od. xv. 19, μή τι φέρησαι, and in xvi. 87, μὴ μὲν κερτομέωσιν. See also πέλωνται in Il. xvi. 128, above. (See 258.)

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

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

(b) In like manner, by prefixing other verbs than those of fearing to such clauses, the original negative final clause with μή is developed; as μαχοῦμεθα μὴ νῆς ἐλωσὶ, we will fight that they
may not seize the ships. Again, if the leading clause were removed from a sentence like αύτον νείνιν ἐπὶ πῶργῳ, μή παῖδ᾽ ὄρφανῳν θήρας χήρην τε γυναῖκα, remain here on the tower, lest you make your child an orphan and your wife a widow, II. vi. 431, there would remain μή . . . θήρας, do not make, or may you not make, in the originally independent form, like the clauses with μή in 261. (See 307.)

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

Thus μή νήσας ἔλωσι being may they not seize the ships, μή οὖ νῆσας ἔλωσι would be may they not fail to seize the ships, implying fear that they may not seize them. Homer has one case of μή οὖ after a verb of fearing: δείδω μή οὖ τίς τοι ὑπόσχεται τόδε ἔργον, II. x. 39. He has several cases of μή οὖ in final clauses and one in an object clause (354). II. i. 28, μή νῦ τοι οὖ χραίσμη σκήπτρον καὶ στέμμα θεό, is often cited as a case of independent μή οὖ, meaning beware lest the staff and fillet of the God shall prove of no avail to you. So Delbrück (I. p. 119), who nevertheless quotes II. i. 565, ἀλλ᾽ ἀκόννα κάθησο ἐμφώ δ᾽ ἐπειθείου μύθοι, μή νῦ τοι οὖ χραίσμησιν ὅσοι θεοὶ εἰσ᾽ ἐν Ὀλυμπῷ, as containing a dependent final clause. In the two other cases of μή οὖ with the subjunctive in Homer, II. xv. 164 (an object clause, see 354), and xxiv. 569 (final), the dependence of the clause with μή οὖ is even more obvious; and in II. xxiv. 584 we have in μή οὖκ ἐφιστάτο the decisive proof that this clause is felt to be dependent in the change from the subjunctive to the optative after a past tense. It is therefore more than doubtful whether μή οὖ χραίσμη in II. i. 28 is not dependent on μή σε κείειν in vs. 26. Plato in paraphrasing this passage (Rep. 393 E) takes the clause as final and dependent (see 132). But, whether we have a case of independent μή οὖ with the subjunctive in Homer or not, there can be no doubt that this is the original form from which came the dependent final clause with μή οὖ.

264. After Homer we find no examples of the independent clause with either μή or μή οὖ until Euripides, who has independent μή in Alc. 315 (μή σοι διαφθεὕρῃ γάμους), Orest. 776 (μή λαβωσί σ᾽ ἀγανεν), H. F. 1399 (ἀιμα μή σοῖς ἐξομαρέωμαι πέτλος), and μή οὖ in Tro. 982 (μή οὖ πείσῃς σοφοῖς), besides Rhes. 115 (μή οὖ μέλης). Aristophanes, Eccl. 795, has a doubtful μή οὖ λάβης (Heindorf and Meineke, for MSS. λάβοις). Besides these six cases, we have in Plato three of μή with the subjunctive implying apprehension in the Homeric sense (261): Euthyd. 272 C (μή οὖν τις ὀνειδίσῃ), Symp. 193 B (μή μοι ὑπολαβῇ), Leg. 861 E (μή τις οὖρται).

Euripides and Herodotus are the first after Homer to use μή οὖ in dependent clauses of fear (306).
SUBJUNCTIVE AND INDICATIVE WITH μή AND μη οὕ IN CAUTIOUS ASSERTIONS.

265. In Herodotus v. 79 we have ἄλλα μᾶλλον μή οὕ τοῦ μαντήματος, but I suspect rather that this may prove not to be the meaning of the oracle. This is the first example of a construction, very common in Plato, used also by Aristotle, and found once in Demosthenes, in which μή with the subjunctive expresses a suspicion that something may be (or may prove to be) true, and μη οὕ with the subjunctive a suspicion that something may not be true; the former amounting to a cautious assertion, the latter to a cautious negation. Examples from Plato are:—

Μη ἀγροικότερον ἢ το σπάθεις εἴπειν, I am afraid the truth may be too rude a thing to tell. Gorg. 462 E. Μη οὗ σφάδως ταῦτα σκέψαμεν, ἢ τῶν μαδῖων ἀποκτενών, I suspect these may prove to be considerations for those, etc. Crit. 48 C. Μη φαύλον ἢ καὶ οὗ καθ’ ὄνων, I think it will be bad and not in the right way (i.e. μη οὗ ἢ). Crat. 436 B. 'Αλλά μη οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, ἢ λα' ἀναγκαῖον ἢ εἰδότα πέπεσθαι (i.e. μη ἢ). Crat. 436 B. 'Αλλά μη οὐ τοῦ ἢ χαλεπῶν, θάνατον ἐκφυγεῖν, but I suspect this may not be the hard thing, to escape death. Ap. 39 A. Ἡμῖν μη οὐδέν ἁλλό σκεπτεῖν ἢ, I am inclined to think we have nothing else to consider. Crit. 48 C. Μη οὗ δέι σπολογίζεσθαι, I think there will be no need of taking into account, etc. Crit. 48 D. Μη οὐκ ἢ διδάκτων ἀρετή, it will probably turn out that virtue is not a thing to be taught. Men. 94 E. 'Αλλὰ μη οὐχ οὕτως ήμεῖς ἄμεν, but I think we shall not prove to be of this kind. Symp. 194 C. 1

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

In Dem. i. 26 we have μη λιαν πικρῶν εἰπεῖν ἢ, I am afraid it may be too harsh a thing to say.

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

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

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

'Ορα μη ἄλλο τι τὸ γενειαίου καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τοῦ σφάζειν καὶ σφάζεσθαι, see to it lest (it prove true that) these may be different things, etc. Plat. Gorg. 512 D. The common translation, see whether they may

1 Other examples in Plato are Phaed. 67 B, 69 A ; Theat. 158 D ; Crat. 429 C, 432 A, 432 B, 435 C, 438 C, 440 C ; Men. 89 C, 94 B ; Lys. 209 A, 219 D, 220 A ; Symp. 214 C ; Parm. 130 D, 132 B, 134 E, 136 D ; Leg. 635 E ; Theag. 122 B ; Amat. 137 B. See Weber (pp. 191, 192), who gives these examples in Plato, with Hdt. v. 79 and Dem. i. 26, as the only cases of independent μη or μι οὕ in this peculiar sense before Aristotle.
not be different, gives the general sense, but not the construction, which is simply that of \( \mu \eta \) ἄλλο τι ἢ (265) transferred to a dependent clause.

268. In a few cases Plato has \( \mu \eta \) with the subjunctive in a cautious question with a negative answer implied. As \( \mu \eta \) ἄλλο τι ἢ τούτο means this may possibly be something else, so the question \( \mu \eta \) ἄλλο τι ἢ τούτο; means can this possibly be something else? The four examples given by Weber are:—

Μὴ τι ἄλλο ὡς παρὰ ταῦτα; can there be any other besides these? Rep. 603 C. Ἀρα \( \mu \eta \) ἄλλο τι ἢ θάνατος ἢ τούτο; is it possible that death can prove to be anything but this? Phaed. 64 C. So \( \mu \eta \) τι ἄλλο ἢ ἢ, κ.τ.λ.; Parm. 163 D. Ἄλλα \( \mu \eta \) ἢ \( \mu \eta \) περεργία ἢ καὶ τὸ ἐρωτήσαι σε περὶ τούτου; but can it be that even asking you about this is inquisitiveness on my part? Sisyph. 387 C (this can be understood positively, it may be that it is, etc.).

In XEN. Mem. iv. 2, 12, the same interrogative construction occurs with \( \mu \eta \) οὐ: \( \mu \eta \) οὐν οὐ δύναμαι ἔγω τὰ τῆς δικαιοσῦνης ἔργα ἐξηγῆσασθαι; do you suspect that I shall be unable to explain the works of Justice?

In PLAT. Phil. 12 D we have τῶς γὰρ ἡδονὴ γε ἡδονὴ \( \mu \eta \) οὐχ ὁμοίατον ἢν ἢ; for how could one pleasure help being most like another? Here ἢν ἢν takes the place of ἢ, and τῶς shows that the original force of \( \mu \eta \) is forgotten.

INDICATIVE WITH \( \mu \eta \) AND \( \mu \eta \) οὐ IN CAUTIOUS ASSERTIONS.

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

Μὴ γὰρ τούτο μὲν, τὸ ἢν ὀποιοῦνδ' χρόνον, τὸν γε ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀνδρὰ ἔστιν ἢ στὶ καὶ ὃ ἐπιφύσχτει (i.e. καὶ \( \mu \) οὐ \( \phi πλαττ\)), for I am of the opinion that this, merely living for a certain time, is what one who is truly a man should disregard, and that he should not be fond of life.

Plat. Gorg. 512 D. (This passage is often strangely emended and explained.) Ἄλλα ἠρα \( \mu \eta \) οὐν τοιαύτην ὑπολαμβάνεις σου τὴν μάθησιν ἔστηται, I suspect that you do not think your learning will be like this. Id. Prot. 312 A. Ἄλλα \( \mu \eta \) τούτο οὐ καλὸς ὁμολογήσαμεν, but perhaps we did not do well in assenting to this. Id. Men. 89 C. (This may be interrogative (268): can it be that we did not do well, etc.)

So Aristotle, Eth. x. 1, 3, \( \mu \eta \) ποτε δὲ οὐ καλὸς λέγεται, but it may be that this is not well said: compare x. 2, 4, quoted in 265.

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

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

272. The earliest example is Aesch. Prom. 68, ὁπως μὴ σαντὸν οἰκτεῖεσ ποτὲ, beware lest at some time you may have yourself to pity, which conveys a warning, like μὴ σε κιχείω, II. i. 26. In Aesch. Ag. 600, we have the first person singular with ὁπως (used like the subjunctive in 257): ὁπως δ' ἄριστα τὸν ἐμὸν αἰδοῖν πόσιν στενῶ δέξασθαι (not mentioned by Weber). In Sophocles there is only one case, O. T. 1518, γῆς μ' ὁπως πέμψεις ἀπόκοιν, send me forth an exile from the land (like πέμψον με). Five examples in Euripides are simple exhortations, as ἄλλ' ὁπως ἀνήρ ἐσεῖ, but see that you are a man, Cycl. 595; so also Cyc. 630, H. F. 504, I. T. 321, Or. 1060 (with doubtful construction): one conveys a warning, Bacch. 367, Πενθέης δ' ὁπως μὴ πένθος εἰσοίσει δόμοις τοῖς σοίσι, beware lest Pentheus bring sorrow (πένθος) into your house.

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

Κατάθον σὺ τὰ σκεῦα ταχέως, χώπως ἐρεῖς ἐνταύθα μηδὲν ψεύδος, put down the packs quickly, and tell no lies here. Ran. 627.

'Αλλ' ἐμβά χώττω; ἄρεις τήν Έώτειραν. Ib. 377. See also Eq. 453, 495, Eccl. 952, Ach. 955. Νῦν οὖν ὁπως σώσεις με, so now save me. Nub. 1177. Ὅτες παρέσει μοι καὶ σὺ καὶ τὰ παιδία, be on hand, you and your children (an invitation). Av. 131. Αγε νῦν ὁπως εὔθεως υφαρσάσει. Nub. 489.

274. (Examples from Prose.) Ὅτως οὖν ἐσεσθε ἄνδρες ἄξιοι τῆς ἑλευθερίας, prove yourselves men worthy of freedom. Xen. An. i. 7, 3.

1 See Weber, pp. 85, 95, 113, 124, for the history of this usage. Weber cites 41 examples from Aristophanes, besides Ach. 343; 13 from Plato, whose extraordinary use of the independent sentence with μὴ has been noticed; 7 from Xenophon, 9 from Demosthenes, 2 from Lysias, and one from Isaeus.
"Ὅπως μοι, ὃς ὑπόθεπτε, μὴ ἔρεις ὅτι ἐστι τὰ δώδεκα δις \( \varepsilon \), see that you do not tell me that twice six are twelve. PLAT. Rep. 337 B: so 336 D. Φέρε δὴ ὅπως μεμνησόμεθα ταῦτα. Id. Gorg. 455 D. "Ὅπως γε, ἢ τι τοιῶν γίγνηται, τοῖτον ἐπαίνεσθε καὶ τιμήσετε καὶ στεφανώσετε, ἐμὲ δὲ μὴ καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὸν ἔναντίον, ὅπως τοῖτος ὄργιεισθε. DEM. xix. 45. "Ὅπως τοῖνν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου μηδὲν ἔρεις, see therefore that you say nothing about the war. Ib. 94.

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

275. Although the second person is naturally most common in these expressions, the first and third persons also occur. E.g. "Ὅπως δὲ τὸ σύμβολον λαβόντες ἐπειτὰ πλησίον καθεδονμεθα. ΑΡ. ΕΕ. 297. Οἶμοι τάλας, ὃ Ζεὺς ὅπως μὴ μ ὃψεται, don't let Zeus see me! Id. Αν. 1494. Καὶ ὅπως, ὄσπερ ἐρωτώσι προθύμως, οὕτω καὶ ποιεῖν ἐθελήσωσιν. DEM. viii. 38. (See also 278.)

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

277. In a few cases the prohibition with ὅπως μή takes the form of a warning. Besides AESCH. Prom. 68 and EUR. Bacch. 367, quoted above, see XEN. ΚΥΤ. i. 3, 18, ὅπως οὖν μὴ ἀπολεῖ μαστιγούμενος, look out that you are not flogged to death. So PLAT. Prot. 313 C, quoted in 283.

278. "Ὅπως μή with the future indicative or the subjunctive sometimes occurs in independent sentences implying a desire to avert something that is not desired, like μή with the subjunctive in Homer and sometimes in Attic Greek (261; 264). E.g. "Ὅπως μή ἅλυχροι μὲν φανούμεθα ὁσθενεῖς δὲ ἐσόμεθα, let us not appear base and be weak (as I fear we may). XEN. ΚΥΤ. iv. 2, 39. Ὅπως μὴ ἀναγκάσωμεν (so most MSS.) αὐτούς, κἂν μὴ βουλόντα, ἁγαθῶς γενέσθαι, there is danger of our compelling them to become brave, even against their will. Ib. iv. 1, 16. Καὶ ὅπως οἱ μὴ τὸ χωρίον ἡδέως δρώνεν ἕνδα κατέκακον ἢμῶν τοὺς συμμάχους, and let us not allow them even to enjoy the sight of the place where they slew our allies. Ib. v. 4, 21. "Ὅπως μή φύσῃ τις ἡμᾶς ἠτάθησθην, take care lest anyone say of us, etc. Id. ΣΥΜΡ. iv. 8. 'Ἤλλ' ὅπως μὴ οἶχ οἶος τῇ ἐσομαι, προθυμούμενος δὲ γέλωτα ὄφλησο, but I am afraid that I shall not have the power, but that in my zeal I shall make myself ridiculous. PLAT. Rep. 506 D. So Men. 77 Α.

279. These cases (278) are analogous to those of ὅπως μή with the future indicative or the subjunctive after verbs of fearing, in place of the simple μή (370). They are also a connecting link between the subjunctive with μή in prohibitions and the rare future indicative with μή in the same sense; as ταύτην φυλάξε τὴν πίστιν, κἂν μὴ βουλήσεσθε εἰδέναι, hold fast to this security, and do not wish to know, etc., DEM. xxii. 117 (see other examples in 70).

280. In a few cases ὅπως μή with the subjunctive expresses a cautious assertion, where the simple μή is generally used (265). E.g.
Καὶ δόσως μὴ ἐν μέν τοῖς ξυγραφήμασιν ἴ συντο, καὶ ἵ αιτι ἔν οὕτως, καὶ ἵ λίας κατὰ ποιήσῃ, παξιωδεθρον κακῶν ἔν τιν δρᾶμαν ἐμβάλλωσι, ἵ καὶ ἵ τοις ζωγράφησιν ἵ τοντο, and it 'may be that this will prove true in the case of pictures. *Plat.* Crat. 430 D. Weber (p. 264) quotes Hdt. vi. 85 for this sense; ὅκως ἐξ ὑστερῆς μὴ τι ὕμι, ἵ ταῦτα ποιήσῃ, παξιωδεθρον κακῶν ἔν τιν δρᾶμαν ἐμβάλλωσι, ἵ is not unlikely that they will turn about and bring some fatal harm on your country; but this can be understood like the examples in 278.

281. Ός ἀν σκοποὶ νῦν ἴ τον εἰρημένων, mind now and guard what I have said (i.e. be watchful to do it), *Soph.* Ant. 215, must be brought under this head (271). In the early stage of the Attic construction of δόσωs with the future, of which only two cases occur in Aeschylus and one in Sophocles (272), ὅς ἀν ἴ τον was here used like δόσως ἵ εκεῖθε. Compare ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὅς ἀν πραξῆθη, *Xen.* Hipp. ix. 3 (see 351).

282. In *Ar.* Ach. 343 is the single case of δόσωs μὴ with a present tense, expressing a suspicion and apprehension concerning a present ground of fear: ἀλλ' δόσως μὴ τι τοῖς τρίβωσιν ἴ γκεφενταί ποι λίθοι, but I am afraid they now have stones hidden somewhere in their cloaks. This bears the same relation to the common δόσως μὴ with the future (272) that φοβοῦμαι μὴ πᾶσχοιν, I fear that they are suffering (369, 1), bears to φοβοῦμαι μὴ πᾶσχοιν, I fear that they may suffer (365); and the same that μὴ τοῦτο ἐστίν ἵ στί (269) bears to μὴ σκέπτεσθαι ἵ (265).

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

Ως ἡ δὲ τοῦτο μὴ διδάξῃς μηδένα, but be sure that you teach this to nobody. *Ar.* Nub. 824. Καὶ δόσως γε μὴ δ σοφιστής ἐξαπατήσῃς ἵ μᾶς, and do not let the sophist cheat us. *Plat.* Prot. 313 C. Ἀλλ' δόσως μὴ τι ἵ μᾶς σφήλαγκτο τό δεῖ τοῦτο. Id. Euthyd. 296 A. Ὄπως μηδεὶς σε πείνη, do not let anybody persuade you, etc. Id. Charm. 157 B. Καὶ δόσως μὴ σοφιστής τοπλάκως ἵ μᾶς ἐξαπατήσῃ, and see that you do not do what has often harmed you. *Dem.* iv. 20.

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

SECTION III.

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

HOMERIC SUBJUNCTIVE.

284. In the Homeric language the subjunctive is sometimes used in independent sentences, with the force of a future indicative. The negative is οὐ. E.g.

Οὐ γάρ πα τοίον ὤσον 
οὐδὲ ἔδωμαι, for I never yet saw nor shall I ever see such men. II. i. 262. Ἡμῖν ἐν πάντεσιν περικλὺνα 
δόρ ὄνομήνω, I will enumerate the gifts before you all. II. ix. 121. 
Δύσομαι εἰ 'Αἴδαο καὶ ἐν νεκύαισι φαείνω, I will descend to Hades 
and shine among the dead (said by the Sun). Od. xii. 383. (Here the 
future δύσομαι and the subjunctive φαείνω do not differ in force.) 
Μνήσομαι οὐδὲ λάθωμαι 'Απόλλωνος ἐκάτοι, I will remember and 
will not forget the far-shooting Apollo. Hymn. Ap. 1. Αὐτοῦ οἱ 
θάνατον μητύσομαι, οὐδὲ νῦ τὸν γε γνωτό περὶ 
κατάκλυσιθανόντα, i.e. they shall not give his dead body the honour of a funeral 
pyre. II. xv. 349. Εἰ δὲ κε τεθνήτω ἄκοντο, σῆμα τοι 
χεύω καὶ ἐπὶ κτέρεα κτερεῖσω, I will raise a mound for him, and pay him 
funeral honours. Od. ii. 222. Οὐ γάρ τις με βίγ γε ἐκὼν ἄκοντα 
διήταται. II. vii. 197. Καὶ ποτέ τις εἰπήσειν, and some one will say. 
II. vi. 459. (In vs. 462, referring to the same thing, we have οὐκ 
ποτε τις ἐπεξε.) Οὐκ ἔσθ' οὐδὲ ἀνήρ οὐδὲ 
ἐσσεται οὐδὲ γένεται, οὐ 
κεν Τηλεμάχῳ σὺ νῦ 
εἷς χείρας ἔδωκε. Od. xvi. 437. Οὐδὲ μιν ἀν-
στήσει: πρὶν καὶ 
κακὰν ἄλλο πάθεσθα, nor will you bring him back 
to life; sooner will you suffer some new evil besides. II. xxiv. 551 (the 
only example of the second person).

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

Εἰ δὲ κε μη 
δώσων, ἐγὼ 
δὲ κεν 
αὐτὸς ἔλωμαι, but if he does not 
give her up, I will take her myself. II. i. 324. (Here ἔλωμαι κεν has a 
shade of meaning between ἔλοιμη κεν, I would take, and αἴρησομαι, I 

Η
will take, which neither Attic Greek nor English can express. See 235, end.) Τήν μεν πέμψω, ἐγὼ δὲ κ’ ἀγω Βρισεία, her I will send; but I shall take Briseis. Il. i. 184. Νῦν δ’ ἂν πολλὰ πάθησιν, but now he must suffer much, etc. Il. xxii. 505. Ημεῖς ὑπεροπλίγησι ταύτα” άν ποτὲ θυμόν ἀλέσσα, by his own insolence he may perchance lose his life. Il. i. 205.

286. In the following cases the subjunctive and the optative with κέ or ἀν are contrasted:—

“Ἀλλον κ’ ἔχει τὰ ἔρημη θρόνων, ἀλλον κ’ θη ψευδή, one mortal he (a king) will hate, and another he may love. Od. iv. 692. Εἰ τίς σε ἰδοίτο, ἀυτός ἂν ἐπείποι᾽ Ἀγαμέμνονι, καὶ κεκέναι ἄφαθος ἀνίκος ἐκροοὶ γένηται, if any one should see you, he would straightway tell Agamemnon, and there might (may) be a postponement, etc. Il. xxiv. 653. Εἰ μὲν δὴ ἄντικεφον σὺν τεύχοις πειρήθεις, οὐκ ἂν τοι χραίρημησι βίος καὶ ταρήσῃ ίοί. Il. i. 386. Compare ἢν χ’ ἴμιν σάφα εἰπώ ὅτε πρότερος γε πυθοίμην, (a message) which I will (would) tell you plainly so soon as I shall (should) hear it, Od. ii. 43, with ἢν χ’ ἴμιν σάφα εἰπώ ὅτε πρότερος γε πῦθοιτο, ii. 31,—both referring to the same thing.

INTERROGATIVE SUBJUNCTIVE.

287. The first person of the subjunctive is used in questions of appeal, where the speaker asks himself or another what he is to do. The negative is μή. In Attic Greek this subjunctive is often introduced by βούλει or βούλεσθε, sometimes in poetry by βέλες or βέλετε. Ἔγ.

Εἰπώ τούτω; shall I say this? or βούλει εἰπώ τούτω; do you wish that I should say this? Μή τούτο ποιώμεν (or ποιήσωμεν); shall we not do this? Τί εἰπώ; or τί βούλεσθε εἰπώ; what shall I say? or what do you want me to say?

Πη τ’ ἄρ’ εγώ, φίλε τέκνον, ἰὼ; τεύ δόμαθ’ ἰκωμαι; οἱ ίδες σής μητρός ἰὼ καὶ σοί δόμοι; whether shall I go? to whose house shall I come? etc. Od. xv. 509. Ἡ αὐτὸς κεύω; φάσθαι δὲ με θυμός ἐνώγηε. Od. xxi. 194. Ἡ Ζεῦ, τ’ λέξω; ποῖ φρενών ἐλθω, πάτερ; Soph. O. C. 310. Ὀμόι ἐγώ, πά βω; πά στω; πά κέλσω; Eur. Hec. 1056. Ποῖ τράπωμαι; ποί πορευθώ; Ib. 1099. Εἰπώ τι τῶν εἰσώτων, δε δέσποτα; shall I make one of the regular jokes? Ar. Ran. 1. Τίνα γάρ μάρτυρα μείω τοὺς σοι μάρτυρα; i.e. how shall I bring forward a greater witness? Dem. xix. 240. Μηδ’ εἶν τι ἄνωμι, ἐρωμαι ὅποιον πολεί; may I not ask, etc.? Μηδ’ ἂν ἀποκρίνωμαι οὖν, ἂν τίς με ἐρωτά νέος, ἂν εἴδω; and may I not answer, etc.? Xen. Mem. i. 2, 36. Μηδ’ ἂν ἀποκρίνωμαι, ἂλ’ ἀπερεν εἰπώ; Plut. Rep. 337 B. Μη μὴ φομέν; Ib. 554 B. Μηθωσῶμεθα οὖν κήρυκα, ἡ αὐτὸς ἀνείτω; Ib. 580 B. Μηθωντα ἄνδρα πάντω σοφόρα δέσθε ευμπτότης, ἡ ἀπείρωμεν; will you receive him, or shall we go away? Id. Symp. 212 E. Ἀρα μη αἰσχυνθωμεν τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα μηδ’
σασθαι; shall we then be ashamed to imitate the king of the Persians?
—we shall not be ashamed; shall we? 

Ποῦ δὴ βούλεις καθισθήμενοι ἀναγώμεν; where wilt thou that we sit down and read? 

Που δὴ βονλει καθ ιζάμεν άναγνώμεν; where wilt thou that we sit down and read? 

So with κελευτε: Αλλα πως; εἰπω κελευτε και οὐκ ὅργιεσθε;
do you command me to speak, and will you not be angry? 

Et βονλεσθε θεωρήσωμεν, if you wish us to examine, quoted in 287, shows that we have in βονλεσθε with the subjunctive a parataxis not yet developed into a leading and a dependent clause. It is probable that nothing like this was felt in the simple subjunctive as it is found in Homer. The original interrogative subjunctive is probably the interrogative form corresponding to the subjunctive in exhortations (256); έλθωμεν, let us go, becoming έλθωμεν; shall we go? (See Kühner, § 394, 5.) When βούλεις and βονλεσθε were first introduced in appeals to others, the two questions were doubtless felt to be distinct; as βονλεσθε; εἰπω; do you wish? shall I speak?—which were gradually welded into one, do you wish that I speak? Compare in Latin cave facias,—visne hoc videamus? etc. No conjunction could be introduced to connect βονλει or θελει to the subjunctive in classic Greek, as these verbs could have only the infinitive; but in later Greek, where ίνα could be used after θέλω, the construction was developed into θέλετε ίνα εἰπω; do you wish me to speak? See pánta δος αν θέλητε ίνα ποιώσιν ιμιν οι άνθρωποι, whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, 

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

Πότερον σέ τις, Ἀλεξίν, τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρῶν ἦ ἔμον εἶναι φή; i.e. shall we call you the city's enemy, or mine? DEM. xviii. 124. έίτα ταύθ' οὗτοι πείσωσιν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν σε ποιεῖν, καὶ τὰ τῆς σῆς πονηρίας ἐργά ἐφ' εὐνοούσι ἀναδέχωνται; i.e. are these men to believe, etc.; and are they to assume, etc.? Id. xxii. 64. Τί τις εἶναι τοῦτο φή; Id. xix. 88. Πῶς τις τοι πείθηται; how can one obey you? Id. i. 150. Θύγατερ, ποι τις φροντίδος ἔλθῃ; SOPH. O. C. 170. Ποί τις σοι φύγη; Id. Aj. 403. Πόθεν οὖν τις τρίτης ἄρξῃται μάχης; PLAT. Phyl. 15 D.

Πῶς οὖν ἐτ' εἰπτης δτι συνέσταλμαι κακοῖς; EUR. H. F. 1417, the only case of the second person, is probably corrupt. Dindorf reads ἀν εἰπτεις.

290. The subjunctive is often used in the question τί πάθω; what will become of me? or what harm will it do me? literally, what shall I undergo? E.g.

"Ωμοί εὖ, τί πάθω; τί νῦ μοι μήκιστα γάνθρα; Od. v. 465. So Π. ικ. 404. Τί πάθω; τί δε δρῶ; τί δε μήσωμαι; AESCH. Sept. 1057. Τί πάθω; τί δε μήσωμαι; οἰμοι. SOPH. Tr. 973. Τό μέλλον, εἰ χρή, πείσομαι τί γάρ πάθω; I shall suffer what is to come, if it must be; for what harm can it do me? EUR. Ph. 895. (The difference between τί πάθω; and τιμότοι; in its ordinary use is here seen.) Ομολογήκα τί γάρ τιμότο; PLAT. Polit. 295 E, where μή έξεστό; is the interrogative of μή έξεστό, let him not be allowed, as μή έλθεμέν, let us not go. See also the indirect question in PLAT. Leg. 800, έπανερωτώ πάλιν, τῶν ἐκμαγείων ταῖς ὁδαῖς εἰ πρῶτον ἐν τοῦτο ημίν ἄρεσκον κεῖσθαι, I ask again, whether first this is to stand approved by us as one of our models for songs. We cannot express such an imperative precisely in English; and there is the same difficulty with οἴσερ' τι δράσσων; etc., in 253. See also ὡστε with imperative forms (602).

291. (Negative μή.) The negative μή of the interrogative subjunctive is explained by the origin of the construction (288). If ἔλθωμεν; shall we go? is the interrogative of ἔλθωμεν, let us go, then μή ἔλθωμεν; shall we not go? is the interrogative of μή ἔλθωμεν, let us not go, and implies (addressed to others) do you wish not to have us go? This is still more evident when βούλεσθε is prefixed to the subjunctive (288). Similar to this interrogative form of the subjunctive of exhortation is the rare interrogative imperative (also negated by μή); as αν ὁ μετὰ τέχνης γράφας ἀφίκηται, μή ἔξεστο τῇ ἐπαρατάς; i.e. is he not to be allowed to give other orders? PLAT. Polit. 295 E, where μή ἔξεστο; is the interrogative of μή ἔξεστο, let him not be allowed, as μή ἔλθωμεν; (above) is that of μή ἔλθωμεν, let us not go. See also the indirect question in PLAT. Leg. 800, ἐπανερωτώ πάλιν, τῶν ἐκμαγείων ταῖς ὁδαῖς εἰ πρῶτον ἐν τοῦτο ἦμίν ἄρεσκον κείσθαι, I ask again, whether first this is to stand approved by us as one of our models for songs. We cannot express such an imperative precisely in English; and there is the same difficulty with οἴσερ' τι δράσον; etc., in 253. See also ὡστε with imperative forms (602).

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

2. A similar use of μή is found with the potential optative (with ἄν) in questions, if the idea of prevention is involved in it; as τί οὖν οὐ σκοπούμεν πῶς ἄν αὐτῶν μή διαμαρτάνομεν; why then do we not consider how we can avoid mistaking them? (the direct question here would differ little from πῶς μή διαμαρτάνωμεν). XEN. Mem. iii. 1, 10. So πῶς ἄν τις μή θυμώ λέγοι περὶ θεῶν; how can one help being excited when he speaks of Gods? PLAT. Leg. 887 C. Sometimes such an optative with μή is in a second clause, preceded by a positive question, so that the harshness of μή ἄν with the optative is avoided; as τί ἄν λέγοντες εἰκὸς ἢ αὐτοὶ ἀποκοιμημένοι ἢ πῶς τοὺς ἔκει ξυμ-μάχους σκηπτόμενοι μή θαυμάζοιμεν; i.e. what good ground can we give for holding back ourselves, or what decent excuse can we make to our allies there for withholding our aid from them? THUC. vi. 18. So τίνα ἄν τρόπον ἐγὼ μέγα δυναμίν καὶ μῆδείς με ἀδίκοι; in what way can I have great power and prevent any one from doing me wrong? PLAT. Gorg. 510 D. See also I soc. v. 8, xiv. 6. In DEM. xxi. 35, πότερα μή δὲ διὰ τοῦτο δίκην ἢ μείζω δοῖη δικαίως; shall he escape punishment for this, or would he rather deserve a still greater penalty?—doίη is used as if οὐκ ἄν δοίη had preceded (Schaefler inserts κάη).

In PLAT. Phaed. 106 D is the singular expression, σχολὴ γάρ ἄν τι ἄλλο φθόραν μή δέχοιτο, εἰ γε τὸ ἀβανατὸν άιδον ὁ φθόραν δέχεται, for hardly can anything else escape from admitting destruction if the immortal, which is eternal, is to admit it. This differs from the preceding interrogative examples merely in the substitution of σχολή, hardly, for πῶς or τίνα τρόπον.

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

SECTION IV.

Οὐ μή with the Subjunctive and the Future Indicative.

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

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

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

(Aor. Subj.) Καὶ τῶν' ἄκοιτας οὐ τι μή λήψη δόλω, I shall not be caught by any trick. Aesch. Sept. 38. So Sept. 199, Supp. 228. Οὐ μή πεθαίνω, he will not obey. Soph. Ph. 103. Οὐ γὰρ σε μὴ γνῶτε. Id. El. 42. Καὶ οὐ τι μῆ λάχωσι τοῦτε συμμαχοῦ. Id. O. C. 450. Οὐτοὶ σ᾽ Ἀχαίων, οἶδα, μὴ τις ύπὲρση. Id. Aj. 560. 'Ο δὲ οὐ πάρεστιν, οὐδὲ μὴ μόλη ποτὲ, but he is not here, and he never will come. Eur. H. F. 718. Καὶ μὴ ποθ' ἄλω. Ar. Ach. 662. Τὸν ἦν κρατήσωμεν, οὐ μή τις ἄλλος στρατός ἀντιστῇ κοτε ἄνθρωπων. Hdt. vii. 53. So i. 199. Οὐ μή ποτε ἠσβάλωσίν. Thuc. iv. 95; cf. v. 69. Οὐ μὴ σε κρύψω πρὸς δύνα σα βούλομαι ἀφικέσθαι. Xen. Cyr. vii. 3, 13. 'Ως οἷ 'Αρμένοι οὐ μὴ δέξωμαι τοὺς πολεμίους. Ib. iii. 2, 8 (see 296, b). 'Αν καθῶμεθα οἴκο, οὐδέποτ' οὐδὲ τινιν οὐ μὴ γένηται τῶν δεόντων. Dem. iv. 44; so ix. 75. Οὔτε γὰρ γίγνεται οὔτε γέγονεν οὐδὲ οὐν μὴ γένηται ἄλλοιον ἧθος πρὸς ἀρετήν, for there is not, nor has there been, nor will there ever be, etc. Plat. Rep. 492 E. (Here οὐδὲ μὴ γένηται seems merely more emphatic than the ordinary οὐδὲ γένησεται.)


(Pres. Subj) Ην γὰρ ἀπαξ διό η τριών ἡμερῶν ὅδον ἀπόχωμει, οὐκέτι μη δύνηται βασιλείς ἡμᾶς καταλαβεῖν. Xen. An. ii. 2, 12. So οὐ μὴ δύνωνται, Id. Hier. xi. 15. Πρὸς ταῦτα κακώργησε καὶ συκοφάντες, εἰ τι δύνασαι: ἀλλ' οὐ μὴ οἶδ' ἄλλο, but you will not be able. Plat. Rep. 341 B. Οὐ γὰρ μὴ δυνατὸς ἦν. Id. Phil. 48 D. In the much-discussed passage, Soph. O. C. 1023, ἄλλοι γὰρ οἱ σπεύδοντες, οὐς οὐ μὴ ποτὲ χρώμας φυγόντες τήρον ἐπεύχονται θεοί, for there are others in eager pursuit; and they (the captors) will never (be in a condition to) be thankful to the Gods for escaping these and getting out of this land, the chief force is in φυγόντες, as if it were οὐ μὴ φύγωπι ὅστε ἐπεύχονται θεοί, the present subjunctive expressing a state of thankfulness.
297] Οὐ μὴ WITH SUBJUNCTIVE AND FUTURE INDICATIVE 103

(Pros. Ind.) Οὐ σοι μὴ μεθέψομαι ποτε. Sop. El. 1052. Οὕ του μὴποτε σ᾽ ἐκ τῶν ἐμπρόσθην, ἢ γέρον, ἵκνετα τις ἄξει. Id. O. C. 176; so οὐκ οὖν μὴ δοιπορίσεις, O. C. 848. Μα τὸν Ἀπόλλω οὐ μή σ᾽ ἐγὼ περιφομαπελθόντ' (i.e. περιφομαπαμελθόντι). Ar. Ran. 508. Τοὺς πυνηροὺς οὐ μὴ ποτε βελτίους ποιήσετε. Aeschin. iii. 177.

296. Οὐ μὴ with the subjunctive or the future indicative can stand in various dependent sentences:—

(a) Especially in indirect discourse; as εἴ γὰρ οὐδ᾽ σαφῶς ὅτι ταῦτ᾽ . . . οὐ μὴ τιλάθη. Ar. Pac. 1302. So XEN. Cyr. viii. 1, 5, Hell. iv. 2, 3; PLAT. Rep. 499 B. See also THUC. v. 69. We have οὐ μὴ with the future optative after ὑς, representing the future indicative of the direct form, in Sop. Ph. 611: τὰ τ᾽ ἄλλα πάντ᾽ ἔθεσθωσεν, καὶ τάπὶ τροῖς πέργαμ᾽ ὃς οὐ μὴ ποτε πέρσαολεν εἰ μὴ τόνδ᾽ ἄγινοντο. (The direct discourse was οὐ μὴ ποτε πέρσαολον εἰ μὴ τόνδ᾽ ἄγινοντο.) In a similar construction in Xen. Hell. i. 6, 32, the future indicative is retained after a past tense: εἴπεν ὅτι Ἡ Σπάρτη οὐδέν μὴ κάκων οἰκεῖται αὐτοῦ ἀποθανόντος. In Eur. Phoen. 1590, we have the future infinitive of indirect discourse with οὐ μὴ: εἰπε Τειρεσίας οὐ μὴ ποτε, σοῦ τάνδε γῆν οἰκούντο, εὖ πράξειν πόλιν, representing οὐ μὴ εὖ πράξει πόλεως.

(b) In causal sentences with ὅς; as Ar. Av. 461: λέγε θαρρήσας, ὅς τὰς σπονδὰς οὐ μὴ πρῶτον παραβώμεν, for we will not break the truce before you have spoken. So XEN. Cyr. iii. 2, 8 (see 295).

(c) In consecutive sentences with ὅστε; as PLAT. Phaedr. 227 D: οὖν ἐπιστηθύμηκα ἀκούσαι, ὅστε, εάν ποιή τὸν περίπατον Μέγαράδε, οὐ μὴ σοῦ ἀπολειψθῶ. In Aesch. Ag. 1640, τὸν δὲ μὴ πειθάνωρα ἐξύξω βαρείας οὔτι μὴ σεράφθορον κριθώντα πόλοιν, and I will yoke him who is not obedient under a heavy yoke, (and I will let him run) by no means as a wanton colt in traces, οὔτι μὴ belongs grammatically to ζενξω, though its position makes it affect the following words in sense: cf. καὶ μὴν τὸν ἐφε τινὸς γνώμην ἐμοί, Ag. 931, where the force of μὴ falls on the words that follow it. See Paley's note on Ag. 1640 (1618).

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

'Ο παῖ, τί θροεῖς; οὐ μὴ παρ᾽ ἡλιφ τάδε γνροῦσει, do not (I beg you) speak out in this way before the people. Eur. Hipp. 213. *Ο θύγατερ, οὐ μὴ μίθον ἐπὶ πολλοὺς ἐρεῖς. Id. Supp. 1066. Ὁ μὴ γνωντικὸν δειλὸν εἰσονὶεῖς λόγον, do not adopt the cowardly language of women. Id. And. 757. Οὐ μὴ ἐξεγερεῖς τὸν ὑπον κάτοχον κάκ-
298. A prohibition thus begun by οὐ μή with the future or subjunctive may be continued by μηδέ with another future form. An affirmative command may be added to the prohibition by a future or an imperative with ἀλλά or δέ. 

Οὐ μή καλεῖς μ’, δυνρωθ’, ἱκετεῦ, μηδέ κατερείς τοῦνομα, do not call to me, I implore you, nor speak my name. 

Οὐ μή προσοίσεις χείρα μηδ’ αφεί πέπλων, do not bring your hand near me nor touch my garments. 

Οὐ μή λαλήσεις, ἀλλ’, ακολουθήσεις ἐμοί, do not prate, but follow me. 

Οὐ μή σκωφῆς μηδέ ποίησῃ (so all the Mss.) ἀπερ οἱ τρυγοδαίμονει οὕτοι, άλλ’ εὔφημε, do not scoff, nor do what these wretches do; but keep silence!

The clause with μηδέ is here a continuation of that with οὐ μή, οὐ belonging to both. The future in the clause with ἀλλά or δέ is like that in πάντως τοντο δράσεις, by all means do this.

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

Οὐ σιγ’ ανέξει, μηδέ δειλίαν ἀρείς; will you not keep silence, and not become a coward? 

Οὐ λαλήσεις, μηδέ ποίησῃ ἀρείς; will you not extend your hand and not distrust me? 

Οὐκ εἶ ὁτ’ οἶκοιν, οὐ τε Κρέων κατὰ στέγας, καὶ μή τὸ μηδέν ἀλγος εἰς μέγ’ οἶστε;
300. All the examples under 297 and 298 are usually printed as interrogative, in accordance with Elmsley's doctrine, stated in his note to Eur. Med. 1120 (1151) and in the Quarterly Review for June 1812. He explains οὐ μὴ λαλήσεις; as meaning will you not stop prating? (lit. will you not not prate?); and when a second clause in the future with μηδὲ or ἀλλά follows, he extends the interrogative force of οὐ also to this. But this explanation requires an entirely different theory to account for οὐ μὴ in clauses of denial (295), where no question is possible. Moreover, the five examples of the second person of the subjunctive quoted under 295, taken in connection with those in 297 and 298, are sufficient to show the impossibility of separating the two constructions in explanation. One of the examples in 298 (Ar. Nub. 296), where the imperative εὐφήμει follows in the clause with ἀλλά, seems decisive against the interrogative theory. The examples under 299 are really interrogative; but they consist practically of an exhortation followed by a prohibition (both being interrogative), and contain no construction with οὐ μὴ at all.

301. In most modem editions of the classics the subjunctive is not found in the construction of 297; and in many cases the first aorist subjunctive in -ςεις has been emended to the future, against the authority of the Mss., in conformity to Dawes's rule. (See 364.) Thus, in Ar. Nub. 296 and 367, the Mss. have the subjunctive; and in 296, οὐ μὴ σκάψεις could not be changed to οὐ μὴ σκώψομαι, as the future of σκώπτω is σκώφομαι. Elmsley's emendation σκύψει, which is adopted by most editors, requires a greater change than should be made merely to sustain an arbitrary rule, which rests on no apparent principle. If both constructions (295 and 297) are explained on the same principle, there is no longer any reason for objecting to the subjunctive with οὐ μὴ in prohibitions; and it seems most probable that both future indicative and subjunctive were allowed in both constructions, but that the subjunctive was more common in clauses of denial, and the future in clauses of prohibition.

SECTION V.

Final and Object Clauses after "Γα, ὄς, ὁπως, Ὁφρα, and Μή.

CLASSIFICATION.—NEGATIVES.

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

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

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

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

304. Although the object clauses of class Β partake slightly of the nature of final clauses, so that they sometimes allow the same construction (the subjunctive for the future indicative), still the distinction between classes Α and Β is very strongly marked. An object clause, as we have seen, can stand in apposition to a preceding τούτο; whereas a final clause would stand in apposition to τούτου ενεκα, as ἔρχεται τούτου ἔκεκα, ἵνα ἢμuddenly ἐνεκα, he comes for this purpose, viz., that he may assist us. The two can be combined in one sentence; as σπουδάζει ὠπώς πλουτήσει, ἵνα τοὺς φίλους ἐδ θιγή, he is eager to be rich, that he may benefit his friends.

Care must be taken not to mistake the nature of an object clause with ὠπώς when its subject is attracted by the leading verb; as σκόπει τὴν πόλιν ὠπώς σωθήσεται, σκόπει ὠπώς ἡ πόλις σωθήσεται, see that the city is saved. So also when an object clause of the active construction becomes a subject clause in the equivalent passive form; as ἔπράττετο ὠπώς συμμαχίαν εἶλνα ψηφιώσε, it was brought about that
you should vote to have an alliance made (Aeschin. iii. 64), which represents the active construction ἐπράττον ὡς ψηφιεῖσθέ.

305. The regular negative after ἵνα, ὡς, ὡς, and ὁφρα is μή; but after μή, lest, οὐ is used. E.g.

'Απέρχεται, ἵνα μή τούτο ὡς, he is departing that he may not see this. Φοβεῖται μή οὖ τούτο γένηται, he is afraid that this may not happen.

306. This use of μή οὖ (305) occurs in Homer in a few final clauses (263) and once after δείδω (Π. x. 39). After this it is confined to clauses after verbs of fearing, with the exception of Χεν. Mem. ii. 2, 14, Cyne. vii. 10, and the peculiar μή οὐκ ἐπαρκότει in Plat. Rep. 393 E (132). This use of οὐ after μή is naturally explained by the origin of the dependent clause with μή (263); but after μή had come to be felt as a conjunction and its origin was forgotten, the chief objection to μή . . . μή was probably in the sound, and we find a few cases of it where the two particles are so far apart that the repetition is not offensive. Such a case is Χεν. Mem. i. 2, 7: ἐθαῦμαξε δ' ἐκ τις φοβούστο μή οὗ γενόμενος κάλος κάγαθος τῷ τὰ μέγιστα ἑνεργεῖται μή τὴν μεγίστην χάριν ἔξοι, where we should expect μή οὐκ ἔξοι. So Θυκ. ii. 13: ὑποτενύσας μή . . . παραλίπη καὶ μή ἀνάση. So in a final clause, μή . . . μή προσδέχοιτο, Plat. Euthyd. 295 D.

DEVELOPMENT OF CLAUSES WITH ἵνα, ὡς, ὡς, ὁφρα, AND μή.

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

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

309. This simple construction of a dependent verb introduced by μη with no connecting conjunction remained the established form after verbs of fearing in all periods of the language; and occasional exceptions, like μη φοβού ως ἀπορήσει, do not fear that you will be at a loss (371), or φοβει δως μη δνον τράγμα τυγχάνης πράττων; (370), and ου φοβούμεθα ἑλασσομένως θαι, we are not afraid that we shall have the worst of it (372), in place of the regular μη ἀπορήσῃς, μη τυγχάνης, μη ἑλασσομένως, only prove the rule. The original independent sentence with μη, expressing an object of fear which it is desired to avert, like μη νημα ἑλωσι, is well established in Homer and appears occasionally in the Attic poets (261; 264). But in Plato it suddenly appears as a common construction, expressing, however, not an object of fear but an object of suspicion or surmise (265), so that μη with the subjunctive is a cautious expression of a direct assertion; as μη ἀγροικότερον ἃ τὸ ἀληθὶς εἰπεν, I rather think the truth may be too rude to tell (Gorg. 462 E).

310. In like manner, the simple negative form of the pure final clause, as ἀπόστιχε, μη τι νοήση Ἡρη (quoted above), was already established in Homer, the negative μη serving as a connective, so that the want of a final conjunction was not felt. Here also the feeling of dependence is shown by the subjunctive becoming optative when the leading verb is past; as in φεύγομαι μη τις με ἐδή and ἐφογον μη τις με ἐδοι. But it is obvious that

1 See Brugmann, Griechische Grammatik, p. 122.
only negative purpose could be expressed by this simple form, in which μή could serve as a connective. We find, it is true, a few positive sentences in which a purpose is implied by the mere sequence of two clauses; as ἀλλ' ἄγε νῦν ἱδώς κε Νέστορος ἵππο- δάμου· εἴδουμ (subj.) ἵν τινα μὴ τινί εἰν οὐ θησίοι κἀκεκουθεν, i.e. go straightway to Nestor: let us know what counsel he buries in his breast (Od. iii. 17), and θάπτε με ὅτι τάχισσα· πῦλας Ἀιδών περήσω, bury me as quickly as possible: let me pass the gates of Hades (II. xxiii. 71). But these disconnected expressions, with no particle to unite them, could never satisfy the need of a positive sentence of purpose. To supply this want, several final particles were developed, and were already in familiar use in Homer. These are ἵνα, ὡς, ὅπως, and ὕφα, which will be discussed separately.

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

312. ("ὤς.) 1. ὡς is originally an adverb of manner, derived from the stem Ὄ of the relative ὃς, like οὗτος from the stem of ὅτος. As a relative it means originally in which way, as; as an indirect interrogative it means how, whence comes its use in indirect discourse (663, 2). Since purpose can be expressed by a relative pronoun, which in Homer regularly takes the subjunctive (568), as ἵγεμον ἔσθηλον ὅπασσον, ὡς κέ με κεῖσ' ἄγαγγ γναίκας, to lead me thither (Od. xv. 310), so can it be by the relative adverb of manner, as κρίν' ἄνδρας κατὰ φύλα, κατὰ φρήτρας, ὡς φρήτρη τοι φρήτρη τοι ἄρηγγγ, φύλε δε φύλνις, divide the men in that way by which clan may help clan, etc., i.e. (so) divide them that clan may help clan, etc. (II. ii. 362). Here the original force of ὡς can be seen; but in Od. xvii. 75, ὅτρυνον ἐμύν ποτὶ δώμα γναίκας, ὡς τοι δώμοι ἀποπήμψω, in order that I may send you the gifts, the final force is as strong as if we had Ἴνα ἀποπήμψω.

2. ὡς, however, always retained so much of its original relative nature that it could take κέ or ἄν in a final sentence with the subjunctive, like other final relatives, which in Homer hardly ever omit κέ before a subjunctive (568). Compare ὡς κέ με κεῖσ'
The final clause thus receives a conditional form, with which it must have received originally more or less conditional force. Thus an expression like πείθεω ως αν κίδος ἄρηαι probably meant originally obey in whatever way you may gain glory, or obey in some way in which you may gain glory, ως αν ἄρηαι being chiefly a conditional relative clause (529); but before the Homeric usage was established, the final element had so far obliterated the relative, that the conditional force of ως αν must have been greatly weakened. The expression in Homer (Il. xvi. 84) may have meant obey that (if so be) you may gain me glory. (See examples under 326.) The same is true of the less common use of κε or αν with ὁφρα and ὁπος in Homer (327; 328). How far the original conditional force survived in the Attic ως αν and ὁπος αν with the subjunctive, especially in ὁπος αν of Attic prose, is a question which at this distant day we have hardly the power to answer, and each scholar will be guided by his own feeling as he reads the expressions. (See 326; 328; 348.) It certainly can be seen in some of Xenophon's uses of ὁς αν with the subjunctive; see Cyr. ii. 4, 28, and Eques. i. 16, quoted in Appendix IV.

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

313. (Ὁ πος.) 1. Ὅπος is related to ως as ὅποτε to ὅτε, being the adverb of the relative stem -οτε and the indefinite stem το- combined. Like ως, it is originally a relative adverb, meaning as; and it can always be used in this sense, as in οὔτως ὁπος

1 See Gildersleeve in Am. Jour. Phil. iv. p. 422.
2 Weber (p. 174) quotes two passages of Demosthenes as examples of final ως with the future indicative, a construction otherwise unknown in Attic prose: ὣς δὲ σαφῶς γνῶς εἰσαθε δι' ἄληθα λέγω, ἕγω μὴ ἐρω, xxiv. 146; and ὣς δὲ καταφάνει εύτασι δι' ἰδιώτερον ἀναμμενοῦντες περιγένοντο, ἀναγιγώσκε τὰς μαρτυρίας, xliii. 42. But compare the common formula of the orators ως (οτρ) ἀληθLIB λέγω, λαβὲ τὴν μαρτυρίαν (οτρ κάλε τοῦ μαρτυρίας), e.g. in Dem. xxvii. 28, with the occasional full form, ἵνα εἴητέ ταῦτα δι' ἄληθε λέγω, λαβὲ τὴν μαρτυρίαν, Dem. xlv. 19; so xvii. 305. See also ως εἴκοτα ποιοίμεν, καὶ τάδ' ἐννοήσας (sc. ἵνα εἴητε), XEN. Hell. ii. 3, 35. This common ellipsis shows that in Dem. xliii. 42 we can easily supply a final clause like οτρ εἴητέ before ὣς καταφάνει εύτασι, that you may know how it is to be established, etc. In xxiv. 146 there is no need even of an ellipsis, as we can translate how you are to know that I speak the truth, I will explain to you.
δύνανται, thus as they can, Thuc. vii. 67. Then it is used in indirect questions, in the sense of δεινος τρόπος, how, in what way, and is followed by the future indicative; as σκοπείν ὁπως ἡ πόλις σωθήσεται, to see how the city can be saved. So τοις γεγενημένοις πονηροῖς, ὁπως μὴ δώσουσι δίκην, δῶν δεικνυσι, he shows those who have been rascals how they can avoid suffering punishment (= δεινος τρόπος, μὴ δώσουσι), Dem. xxiv. 106. Then, by a slight modification in sense, it may denote also the object to which the striving, etc., is directed; so that σκοπεῖν (or σκοπεῖν τοῦτο) ὁπως ἡ πόλις σωθήσεται may mean to see (to this, viz.) that the city shall be saved. Here, however, the subjunctive is sometimes allowed, as the interrogative force of ὁπως is lost sight of and its force as a final particle, in order that, begins to appear. From this it becomes established as a final particle, and denotes the purpose in ordinary final clauses. From the original force of ὁπως as a relative, used in indirect questions in the sense of how, we must explain its occasional use in indirect questions in the sense of ὡς (706).

The interrogative force of ὁπως can be seen from passages in which other interrogative words take its place in the same sense; as Dem. xvi. 19, σκοπεῖν εν ὁτου τρόπου μὴ γενήσονται (φίλοι), to see in what way they can be prevented from becoming friends; and Thuc. i. 65, ἐπρασσεν ὁπη ὀφελία τις γενήσεται, he negotiated to have some help come (how some help should come). So Thuc. iv. 128, ἐπρασσεν ὁπως τάχιστα τοις μὲν ξυμβήσεται τοῖς δὲ ἀπαλλάξεται. 1

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

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

314. (Ὁ ὑφρα.) The most common final particle in Homer

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1 See Madvig's Syntax, § 123.
is ὀφρα, which is originally a temporal particle, meaning while (so long as) and then until. From the last meaning the final force was naturally developed, as the idea of until, when it looks forward to the future, may involve that of aiming at an object to be attained, as in English we shall fight until we are free.

Another temporal particle meaning both while and until, ὕως, is used in a final sense in a few passages of the Odyssey (614, 2). Both of the temporal uses of ὀφρα appear in full vigour in Homer; but its final character must have been more distinctly marked at an earlier period than that of either ὃς or ὅπως, so that it seldom took either κε or ἀν before the subjunctive.

Oφρα is found only in epic and lyric poetry.

315. (Negative Final Clauses.) The need of these final particles was first felt, as has been shown (310), in positive clauses of purpose, as a negative purpose could always be expressed by the simple μή, which thus became in use a conjunction. Still the final particles were as well suited to negative as to positive final clauses, and they could always be prefixed to μή, which thus was restored to its natural place as a negative adverb. Thus φεύξομαι ὃν μή τίς με ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα μή τίς με ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα ἴνα ἴ

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

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

316. Finally, the Attic Greek took the last step in developing the final clause, by using the past tenses of the indicative with ὀφρα, ὅς, and ὅπως to express a purpose which failed of attainment because of the failure of the action of the leading sentence; as τί μέ νύκ ἐκτεινας, ὃς μήποτε τοῦτο ἐδειξα; why did you not kill me, that I might never have shown this? (See 333.)

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

317. Pure final clauses regularly take the subjunctive if the leading verb is primary, and the optative if the leading verb is secondary. *Eg.*

Νῦν δ' ἐρχεσθ' ἐπί δεῖπνον, ἵνα ξυνάγωμεν "Αρηα. Π. ii. 381. Σοι δ' ὑπὲρ μνηστήρες ὑποκρίνονται, ἵνα εἰδής αὐτὸς σῷ θυμῷ εἰδῶς δὲ πάντες 'Αρχιοι. Ο. ii. 111. Εἴπω τι δήτα καλλ', ὡν ὅργίαν πλέον; ΣΟΦ. Ο. Τ. 364. Καὶ γὰρ βασιλέως αἱρεῖται, ὡν ἵνα καντον καλῶς ἐπεμελήται, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ οἱ ἐλέμονοι δὲ αὐτὸν εἴ τράτωσι. ΧΕΝ. Μεμ. iii. 2, 3. Δοκεὶ μοι κατακαῦσαι τὰς ἀμάξας, ἵνα μὴ τὰ λεύκη ἡμῶν στρατηγή. Id. An. iii. 2, 27. Πρὸς τοὺς ζώνας, ἵνα μὴ δεδεικτείναι ἐκεῖ, τόν ζώντα ἐξήισαι. Ο. Τ. 364. Και yap βασιλεν αιρεΐται, οὔχ ἵνα εαυτοῦ καλώς ἐπιμελήται, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ οἱ ελόμενοι δί αυτὸν εὐ πράττοντι. ΧΕΝ. Mem. iii. 2, 3. Αοκεί μοι κατακαύσαι τάς ἀμάξας, ἵνα μή τὰ ζεύγη ἡμῶν στρατηγή. Id. An. iii. 2, 27. (Here the final clause depends on some implied expression like I say this.) Ωρίνυθ', ἵν' ἀθανάτοισι φόως φέροι ἡδέ βροτοίσιν. Od. ν. 2. Φίλθ5 εβούλετο εῖναι τοις μέγιστα δυναμένοι, ἵνα ἀδίκων μὴ διδοίη δίκην. ΧΕΝ. An. ii. 6, 21. Τὸ φήσας ταύτα τούτο γράφω (hist. pres.), ὡν οὖστι γίγνοντι' οἱ θρίαμβοις, καὶ μὴ κύριος τῆς Θράκης κατασταίγη. ΧΕΝ. xviii. 27.

Βουλήν δ' 'Αργεώς ύποθησόμεθ', ἵ τις νῦνει, ὡν μὴ πάντες ὀλονται ὀδοσταμένοι τεοί. Π. viii. 36. Διανοεῖται αὐτήν (γέ-φυραν) λύσαν, ὡν μὴ διαβήτητε, ἀλλ' ἵνα μὲν ἐκεῖνο ἐπικρατήσῃ, ὡν μὴ διανοείται αὐτήν (γέ-φυραν). ΧΕΝ. An. ii. 4, 17. Πέφνε δ' Εύρυτον, ἵνα Αὔγεαν λάτριον μισθόν πράσσοτο. ΠΙΝΔ. Ο. λ. (x.) 31. Καί σ' εἴσεπεμπον, ὡν μὴν κλεις. ΣΟΦ. ΑΝΤ. 19. 'Επεμψά οἱ πύθοιτο. Β. ο. Τ. 71. Τούτο οὐτερ ἕνεκα ψυκτων μέσας αἰσθανώτα, ὡν συνεργούσις ἔχοι. ΧΕΝ. ΑΠ. i. 9, 21.

Τὸν δὲ μνηστήρας λογώσων, ὡνος ἀπὸ φίλου ὀλονταί εἰς 'Ιθάκης. Ο. ΧΙΙ. ίν. 181. Μέθες τῶν' ἄγγον νῦν, ὡνος τὸ πάν μάθης. ΣΟΦ. EL. 1205. Εἰς καιρόν ἤκείς, ὡνος βδῆς δικής αἰκούσης. ΧΕΝ. ΣΥΡ. iii. 1, 8. Παρακαλεῖς ἵστροι, ὡνος μὴ ἀποθάνηγ. ΙΔ. ΜΕΜ. ii. 10, 2. Οἴμαι δὲ ταύτα γίγνεσθαι, ὡνος ὡς τοὺς αὐτούς χρονοὺς κρί-νοσιν ἰπολιτά, ὡνος ὡς τοὺς αὐτούς ἀυλητὰς ἐπαινεῖσιν, ὡνος ὡς τοὺς αὐτούς ποιητὰς αἰρωμένα, ὡνος ὡς τοὺς αὐτούς θύματα ἐξήισαι, ἵτι δὲ τοὺς νόμοι πείθωσιεν. ΙΔ. ΜΕΜ. iv. 4, 16. 'Ἐν χείρος-σιν θηρικ, ὡνος ὡς τῆς δικής δικής. Ο. ΧΙΝ. 312. 'Αφικόμων, ὡνος σου πρὸς δόμουσ ἐλθόντος εἰ δράσαμι τ. ΣΟΦ. Ο. Τ. 1005. Ἐπιστευόντο ἐγκλήματα ποιούμενοι, ὡνος σφίσιν ὡς μεγάλη πρόβασις εἰ τοὺς πολέμειν. ΣΤΕΥ. i. 126.

Κεφαλῆς κατανεύσομαι, ὡφρα πεποίθης. Π. ii. 524. 'Οροσε δὴ νῦν, ξείνεις πόλιν' ἵμε, ὡφρα σε πέμψω. Ο. vi. 255. Αὐτὰ ἐμοὶ γέρας αὐτή' ἐτούμασθα, ὡφρα μὴ οἶς 'Αργεώς ἀγέραστος εἰ. Π. ii. 118. Δόμον Φερεφόνας ἔλθη, ὡφρα 'Ιδώ' οόν εἰπής. ΠΙΝΔ. Ο. ΧΙΝ. 20. ὡς δὲ μὲν ἐνθα ταύτα κατάθηται ἐτευγμένονον περ ὅδοιον, ὡφρα ἐταρόν θάπτοι καὶ ἔπτε κτέρας κτερίσειεν. ΙΔ. ο. iii. 284.

'Αλλα σὺ μὲν νῦν ἀντίς ἀπόστιχε, μὴ τι νοσήσῃ 'Ηρα' ἐμοὶ δὲ κε ταύτα μελήσεται ὡφρα τελέσσω. Π. ii. 522. ὡν δὴ' αὐτὸν ἀξιος δευρό, μὴ τοις ἀναρτάσῃ; ΣΟΦ. ΑΙ. 986. Δυστιτελεὶ ἐάσαι ἐν τῷ
As final clauses after past tenses express some person’s previous purpose or motive, they allow the double construction of indirect discourse (667, 1); so that, instead of the optative, they can have the mood and tense which the person himself would have used in conceiving the purpose. Thus we can say either ἦλθεν ἵνα ἴδω, he came that he might see, or ἦλθεν ἵνα ἴδη, because the person himself would have said ἔρχομαι ἵνα ἴδω, I come that I may see.

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

Ἐπεκλώσαντο δὲ διήθρον ἀνθρώποι, ἵνα ἵσι καὶ ἱσομένους ἀδόχη. Od. viii. 579. Ἀχλίν δ’ αὖ τοι ἀπ’ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔλον, ἵ πρὶν ἐπήν, ἀφὴν εὖ γιγνώσκῃς ἤσιν θεόν ἵδε καὶ ἄνδρα. Π. v. 127. Ἀριστοτέλεις ἐνεβούλευεν ἐκπλήσσα, ὡς ἔπε τὸ πλέον ὁ σῖτος ἀντίς χρ. Τυχ. i. 65. Ἡλθόν προσβεβονλομεν, ὡς μὴ σφώτ οὖ τ’ Ἀττικόν (ναυτικόν) προσγενόμεν έμπόδιον γενήσαι. Id. i. 31. Ἐξαφώρων ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων, ὡς μὴ κατὰ φῶς θαρσαλεωτέροις οὖσι προσφέρωνται καὶ σφόν ἐκ τοῦ ίσον γίγνωσται, ἀλλ’ ήσοντο ὁσι. Ιδ. i. 3. Καὶ ἐπίτηδες σε οὐκ ἡγείρον, ἵνα ἔρχεται διάγγεις. Plat. Crit. 43 Β. Πλοία κατεκακοσεν ἵνα μή Κύρος διαβη. Χεν. Αν. i. 4, 18. Ταύτα ἵνα κωλύθ’ οἱ νόμοι συνήγαγον νῦν, ὡς ἰνα κυρίας τοῖς ἀδικοῖς ποιήτε. Dem. xix. 1. Καὶ περί τούτων ἐμφάνισθη, ἵνα μή ταύτα πάθητε. Ιδ. iii. 6. (Here the purpose was conceived in the form ἵνα μή ταύτα πάθωσιν.)

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

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

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

'Εξακοσίοις λογάδας ἐξέκριναν, ὅπως τῶν τοῦ Ἐπιπολῶν εἶναν φύλακες καὶ, ἂν ἦν ἄλλο τι δῆτι, ταχὺ ἐξωστάτως παραγίγνονταί, i.e. they selected them, that they might be guards of Epipolae, and that they might be on hand if they should be needed for anything else. THUC. vi. 96. Παρανύσχον δὲ φρουτών, ὅπως ἀσαφῆ τὰ σημεία τοῖς πολεμίοις ἄ κα μῆ βοήθοίεν, they raised fire-signals at the same time, in order that the enemy's signals might be unintelligible to them, and that they (the enemy) might not bring aid. Id. iii. 22.

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

322. The use of the optative for the subjunctive in final clauses after primary tenses is, on the other hand, very rare, and is to be viewed as a mere irregularity of construction. See ἡξω τῇλ 'Ἰθάκης, ἵνα μοὶ βίοτον πολιν ἄλφοι, Od. xvii. 250; ὅπως μαχέοιτο, II. i. 344; and vii. 340, xvii. 88. So SOPH. El. 56, O. C. 11; Hdt. ii. 93 (ἵνα μὴ ἀμάρτοιεν). Most of these are emended by various editors; and no good reason for the anomaly appears in any of them.

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

Τοῦτον ἔχει τόν τρόπον ὃ νόμος, ἵνα μὴ δεῖ πεισθῆναι μηδ' ἐξαπατηθῆναι γένοιτ' ἐπὶ τῷ δήμῳ. DEM. xxii. 11. (Here ἔχει implies also the past existence of the law; the idea being, the law was made as it is, so that it might not be possible, etc.) So DEM. xxiv. 145, 147. In DEM. iii. 34 ἵνα τοῦθ' ὑπάρχοι depends on a past verb of saying to be mentally supplied. In AR. Ran. 23, τοῦτον δ' ὀχῶ, ἵνα μὴ ταλαιπωροῖτο μήδ' ἀχθος φέροι, I am letting him ride, that he might not be distressed, etc., the meaning of ὀχῶ goes back to the time when Dionysus first let the slave mount the ass.

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

1 Weber cites the following cases, in addition to those given above. For ἵνα: AESCH. Cho. 265, Suppl. 449; SOPH. Aj. 698 (?); EUR. El. 835; AR. Vesp. 528, Pac. 309, 431, Lys. 1093, Themis. 431, 653, 285 (?), Eccl. 783, 997; ANDOC. i. 89; XEN. Hipp. i. 18, Mem. ii. 1, 1 (ταῦτα δὲν ἤτοι ἡταί). In XEN. Cyr. ii. 1, 4 and 21 the MSS. vary: in Cyr. iii. 3, 42 ἵνα is probably independent. For ὥστε: II. viii. 110; Od. iv. 163, xvii. 6. For ὥς: EUR.
116 FINAL AND OBJECT CLAUSES


"Ἀν or κὲ in Final Clauses with Subjunctive.

325. The final particles which have a relative origin, ὡς, ὅπως, and δφρα, sometimes have ἄν or κὲ in final clauses with the subjunctive. They did this originally in their capacity as conditional relatives; and it is probable that at first κὲ or ἄν with the relative gave the clause a combined final and conditional force, in which the conditional element gradually grew weaker as the relative particles came to be felt chiefly or only as final particles (312, 2). "Ινα and μή never take ἄν or κὲ in this way. 1

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

Πείδο, ὡς ἂν μοι τιμὴν μεγάλην καὶ κύδος ἂρης, ὅτε, that thou mayest gain for me great honour and glory. Π. xvi. 84. Αὐτὸς ὃι προφρών ὑποθήματι, ὡς κα μᾶλ' ἄσκηθες ἢν πατρίδα γαῖαν ἢκηταί. Od. ν. 143. Πάϊσατε, ὡς χ' ἅ δεινός ἐνίσπη ὅτε φιλοῦσιν. Od. viii. 251. Αλλ' ἂν ἦν, κυν' ἄν' ἔρεξθε, σαύτερος ὡς κέ νέας, that thou mayest go the more safely. Π. i. 32. Προσβούμεθα... συμπέμψαι ἦμιν, ὡς ἄν μιν ἐξέλωμεν ἐκ τῆς χώρης. Ηρ. i. 36. Τοὺς ἐμοίς λόγον δυναμ' βᾶλ', ὡς ἄν τέματ' ἐκμάθης ὅδου. Aesch. Prom. 705. 'Αλλ' ἐάσυμεν, φίλοι, ἐκήλων αὐτὸν, ὡς ἂν εἰς ὑπόν πέσῃ.

Bacch. 784. For μὴ: Od. xxiv. 544; Theog. 1307; Ar. Eccl. 488. Only four undoubted examples occur in prose.

1 In the single case of κὲ with ἰνα, Od. xii. 156, ἀλλ' ἐρέω μὲν ἐγώ, ἰνα εἰδόθεσε κα κέ θάρωμεν, ἀν ἐλεύθερον δανατον καὶ κήρα φύγωμεν, ἰνα κε is not used like ὡς κε, etc., above, but ἰνα is followed by a potential subjunctive with κέ (365). The repetition of κὲ removes the case from the class under consideration. "Iνα in its sense of where may have ἄν (see Soph. O. C. 405). Μὴ, lest, may have ἄν with the optative after verbs of fearing (368).
SoPH. Ph. 825. Καθείρζατ αὐτῶν, ὡς ἄν σκότιον εἰρομαι κνέφας. Eur. Bacch. 510. Τοῦτι λαβὼν μου τὸ σκιάδειον ὑπέρεχε ἀνωθεν, ὡς ἄν μή μ’ ὄρωσιν οἱ θεοί. AR. Av. 1508.

2. In Attic prose ὡς ἄν with the subjunctive is found only in Xenophon and in one passage of Thucydides.

The last is Thuc. vi. 91: (πέμψετε) Ἀνδρα Σπαρτιάτην ἄρχοντα, ὡς ἄν τούς τε παρόντας ξυντάξῃ καὶ τοὺς μὴ θέλοντας προσαναγκάσῃ. See Xen. An. ii. 5, 16, ὡς δ’ ἄν μάθησιν, ἀντάκουσον. So An. vi. 3, 18. See other examples of Xenophon’s peculiar use of ὡς ἄν with the subjunctive in Appendix IV.

327. (Ὁφρα.) Ὅφρα κε and ὅφρ’ ἄν have the subjunctive in a few final clauses in Homer. E.g.

Ὁδοίν νῦν σοι ἀμι ἔφεσα, ὅφρα κεν εύοχ σοίσιν ἐν μεγάροισιν. Od. iii. 359. "Ἰομεν, ὅφρα κε θάσσον ἔγειρομεν ὅζον Ἀρηα. Αἰγ. 1508.

Τοῦτ ἔσιν ἀγ’ ἐς τόλμων, ὅφρ’ ἄν εκείθε δαίτα πτώχειη. Od. xvii. 10.

For ὅφρα κε and ὅφρ’ ἄν with the optative, see 329, 1.

328. (Ὁπως.) Ὁπως does not occur in Homer in pure final clauses with either κε or ἄν. Ὁπως ἄν final with the subjunctive appears first in Aeschylus, and remains in good use in Attic poetry and prose, being almost the only final expression found in the formal language of the Attic inscriptions. One case of ὅκως ἄν occurs in Herodotus. E.g.

Φύλασσε τὰν οἶκον καλῶς, ὅπως ἄν ἀρτίκολα συμβαίνῃ τάδε, watch what goes on in the house, that these things may work harmoniously. AESCH. Cho. 579: so Prom. 824, Eum. 573, 1030, Suppl. 233. Ἡσθε πᾶν τὸ δρόμον, ὅπως ἄν εἴδως ἦμι ἄγιειλης σαφῆ. SOFf. El. 40.

Τοῦτ αὐτὸ νῦν διδαχ’ ὅπως ἄν εκμάθω. Id. O. C. 575. ὅκως ἄπιθ’, ὅπως ἄν τοις τάξεις καὶ θανχίλαν ἀπ’ ἀπώσιν; AR. Lys. 1223. Ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίει τάν δεῦ εἴνεκεν, ὅκως ἄν δ’ ἐγείρη ἄγιειλη Ἀλλατρη. HDT. i. 22 (see 318). Διὰ τῆς σῆς χώρας ἀξιεὶς ἦμις, ὅπως ἄν εἴδομεν, κ.τ.λ. XEN. Cyr. v. 2, 21. Καὶ φατε αὐτόν τὸν σώλον εἶναι, ὅπως ἄν φαίνηται ὡς κάλλαστος καὶ ἄρστος. Plat. Symp. 199 A. ἂν γε τινας ὑποτειχή ἐλεύθερα φρονήματα ἔχουσας μη ἐπιτρέψῃ αὐτῷ ἄρχειν, (πολέμου καὶ) ὅπως ἄν τούτους μετὰ προφάσεως ἀπολύῃ, that he may destroy them. Id. Rep. 567 A. ἐνεσκεβοῦμεν καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἀσκοῦμεν, οὐχ ἴνα τῶν ἄλλων ἔλαττον ἔχωμεν, ἀλλ’ ὅπως ἄν ὡς μετὰ πλείστων ἀγαθῶν τῶν βίων διάγομεν. ISOc. iii. 2 (ἵνα καὶ ὅπως ἄν may here be compared in sense: see 312, 2).

Τὴν πόλιν συνκέχειν, ὅπως ἄν μιαν γνώμην ἔχωσιν ἀσκοῦσα καὶ μη τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἢδονήν ποιώσων. DEM. xix. 298: so xiv. 23.

"Ἀν or κἐ in Final Clauses with Optative.

329. 1. (Ὡς and ὅφρα in Homer and ὡς and ὅκως in Herodotus.) In Homer ὡς κε and ὡς ἄν sometimes have the optative in final
clauses after both primary and secondary tenses. "Оφρα κε and ὠφρ' αν occur each once in Homer with the optative after past tenses. Herodotus has ὄν and δκως ἀν with the optative after past tenses, and δκως ἀν once after a present tense. This optative with κε or ἂν after primary tenses is certainly potential as well as final; and this analogy makes it difficult or impossible to take it in any other sense after secondary tenses, though here the potential force is less obvious.

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

'Ἀπερρίγασι νέεσθαι ὡς κ' αὐτὸς ἔδνώσαιτο θύγατρα, they dread to go to him that he may settle (if he will) the bridal gifts of his daughter, lit. that he would settle, etc. Od. ii. 53. Κνυζώσω δὲ τοι ὄσος, ὡς ἂν διεκέλιοι φανεῖς, I will dim your eyes, to the end that you might appear unseemly. Od. xiii. 401. Δύο δούρε καλλιπότεν, ὡς ἂν ἐπιθύμητε ἐλοίμεθα. Od. xvi. 297. Τῷ κε τὰξα γνοῖς φιλότητα τε πολλὰ τε δώρα ἐξ ἐμεν, ὡς ἂν τίς σε συναντῶμεν μακαρίζοι, so that one would call you blessed. Od. xxii. 164 (= xv. 357, xix. 310). Ἡγείσθω δρχηθμοΐ, ὡς κέν TIS φαίη γάμον εμμεναι ἐκτος άκονων, let him lead off the dance, so that any one who should hear without would say there was a marriage. Od. xxiii. 134. Ἰσχεσθε τττολέμον, ὡς κεν ἀναίμωτι γε διακρινθέτε τάχιστα. Od. xxiv. 531.

Κελεύει σε τὸ παιδίον θείαι, δκως ἂν τάχιστα διαφθαρεῖ, he bids you so expose the child that he would be likely to perish most speedily. HDT. i. 110.

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

'Ἅπερρίγασι νέεσθαι ὡς κ' αὐτὸς ἔδνώσαιτο θύγατρα, they dread to go to him that he may settle (if he will) the bridal gifts of his daughter, lit. that he would settle, etc. Od. ii. 53. Κνυζώσω δὲ τοι ὄσος, ὡς ἂν διεκέλιοι φανεῖς, I will dim your eyes, to the end that you might appear unseemly. Od. xiii. 401. Δύο δούρε καλλιπότεν, ὡς ἂν ἐπιθύμητε ἐλοίμεθα. Od. xvi. 297. Τῷ κε τὰξα γνοῖς φιλότητα τε πολλὰ τε δώρα ἐξ ἐμεν, ὡς ἂν τίς σε συναντῶμεν μακαρίζοι, so that one would call you blessed. Od. xxii. 164 (= xv. 357, xix. 310). Ἡγείσθω δρχηθμοΐ, ὡς κέν TIS φαίη γάμον εμμεναι ἐκτος άκονων, let him lead off the dance, so that any one who should hear without would say there was a marriage. Od. xxiii. 134. Ἰσχεσθε τττολέμον, ὡς κεν ἀναίμωτι γε διακρινθέτε τάχιστα. Od. xxiv. 531.

Κελεύει σε τὸ παιδίον θείαι, δκως ἂν τάχιστα διαφθαρεῖ, he bids you so expose the child that he would be likely to perish most speedily. HDT. i. 110.

It must be confessed that there are some difficult questions concerning these optatives with κε or ἂν in final clauses after past tenses. It may perhaps be thought that the subjunctive after ὡς κε, δκως ἂν, etc., has been changed to the optative after a past tense retaining κε or ἂν without effect on the verb. Compare ὡς ἂν with the optative (613, 4; 702). Would ὡς ἂν in HDT. i. 22 (quoted in 328) have changed its nature if ἄγγειλη had been changed to ἄγγειλει;? On the other hand, can we separate the optatives in HDT. i. 75 and 99 (in b) from the optative in i. 110 (in a)? The potential view seems, on the whole, much the more natural; but the potential force can be expressed in English only with great difficulty, owing to the ambiguity of our auxiliaries might, would, should, etc.
330] "Οπως άν with the potential optative in a final sense is found once in Thucydides and four times in Xenophon:—

Τάς πρώτας κατεβάζουσαν, ὅπως άν ἀπολισθάνοι τῇ χείρὶ ἐπιβαλλομένη, ἡ γάρ μετακινεῖται, ἐξ άλλων πόλεων περιβάλλοντο, τοις στρατιώταις. Χειρ. Ηλλ. iv. 8, 30. (Here ἐπιβαλλομένη of the iron hand when thrown on might be likely to slip off.) Θουκ. vii. 65. "Εδώκε μὲν αὐτῷ τὸν πολιτείαν ἐμπλουμοῦσαν, ὅπως άν, πληρωθέντος τῶν ναυτικῶν, τοῖς Αθηναίοις εἰτερῶτας προσδέομαι. Χειρ. Ηλλ. iv. 8, 16. (Here πληρωθέντος προσδέομαι of a navy should be manned, stands as protasis to προσδέομαι άν.) "Οπως δ' άν όρισθαι προσδέομαι τοις στρατεύματα ἓναι τε, καὶ ἐκπώματα. Χειρ. Ηλλ. iv. 8, 30. Πάσιν ἐδίδου βοήθειαν, οὕτως άν μισθός γένηται τοῖς στρατεύμασι. Χειρ. Ηλλ. iv. 8, 30. (One Ms. omits άν.) Ἡ αὐτοκράτεια Εὐριπίδου, ὅπως άν μισθός γένηται τοῖς στρατεύμασι. Χειρ. Ηλλ. iv. 8, 30. (Here ἐπεφέρον διατεθείη Ηρακλείδων, ὅπως άν μισθός γένηται πολλοῖς στρατεύμασι. Χειρ. Ηλλ. iv. 8, 30. (Some Mss. have ὅπως γένηται.)

In these cases the final force is equally strong with the potential.
Elliptical Constructions.

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

ΒΔ. ἵνα τί; ΠΡ. δῆλον τοιοῦτοίς ἵνα . . . ἔχωσιν. AR. Eccl. 719. So Nub. 1192, Pac. 409. So DEM. xix. 257: ἵνα τί; ἵνα ὥς μετὰ πλείστης συγγνώμης παρ' ὑμῶν κατηγορῶ. Just before this we have διὰ τί; ἵνα μήτε ἐλέον μήτε συγγνώμης τούχων. So PLAT. Ap. 26 C.

332. A final clause may stand without a leading verb expressed, when the omission can easily be supplied; as ὅτι ἡρξα, μή αποδήμησον; ἵνα γε μὴ προλαβὼν χρήματα τῆς πόλεως ή πρᾶξεις δρασμῶν χρήση, because I held an office, may I not leave the country? No: that you may not take to flight, etc. AESCH. iii. 21.

SECONDARY TENSES OF INDICATIVE IN FINAL CLAUSES.

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

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

Οὐκ ἂν ἐγκόμην, ἵν' ἢ τυφλὸς τε καὶ κλών μηδὲν, in that case I should not have forborne (to destroy my hearing), so that I might (now) be both blind and devoid of hearing (implying that really he is not so). SOPH. O. T. 1367. Φεῦ, φεῦ, τὸ μὴ τὰ πράγματα ἀνθρώπωσι ἐχεῖν φωνήν, ἵν' ἂν μὴ δεῦν οἱ δεινοὶ λόγοι, Alas! alas! that the facts have no voice for men, so that words of eloquence might be as nothing. EUR. Fr. (Hipp.) 442. 'Εβουλόμην μὲν ἄτερον ἂν τῶν ἡθῶν λέγειν τὰ βέλτιστα, ἵν' ἐκαθήμην ἃς φάσας. AR. Eccl. 151. Ἕχρην εἰκασκελάπταντας μάρτυρας πολλοὺς παρασημώνασθαι κελεύως τὰς διαθέκας, ἵν', εἰ τε ἐγίνετο ἀμφιματήσης τῆς, ἦν οἰς τὰ γράμματα ταῦτα ἐπανελθέντας. DEM. xxviii. 5. (This implies that they did not have the will thus sealed, so that it is not now possible to refer to it in case of dispute.) Ἕξωρησον ἂν μὲ τὸν παίδα, ἵν' εἰ μὴ παρεδίδον ἡμᾶς δίκαιον λέγειν ἐδόκουν. DEM. xxix. 17. Ἕχρην αὐτοῦ τὴν προ-
334. This construction is the result of an assimilation, which makes more distinct the connection in thought between the two clauses. It is especially common after secondary tenses implying unfulfilled conditions and unaccomplished wishes.

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

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

Οὐς (τῶν νέων τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς) ἡμέοις ἄν ἐφυλάττομεν ἐν ἀκρόπολει, ήνα μηδεῖς αὐτοὺς διέφθειρεν, ἄλλη ἐπειδὴ ἀφίκοιτο ἐν τῇ ἡλι...
κίνιν, χρήσιμοι γένοντο ταῖς πόλεσιν, we should guard (in that case) in the Acropolis, that no one might corrupt them (as some now corrupt them), and that when (in the future) they should become of age they might become useful to their states. PLAT. Men. 89 B. (Here it is not implied that they never become useful, this depending partly on the future.) Ταύτ’ ἂν ἰδίω λέγειν πρὸς ἰμάς ἐπεχείρουν, ἣν ἐιδήτε πολλοῦ δειν ἄξιον ὄντα τυχεῖν τοῦ ψηφίσματος αὐτὸν τουτού, I should (if that were so) be now undertaking to explain this to you, that you might (after hearing me) know that he is far from deserving the honour of the proposed decree. DEM. xxiii. 7. Καίτοι χρήν σε ἢ τούτον μὴ γράφειν ἢ ἐκείνον λέειν, οὐ χρήσιμοι γένονται, πάντα συνταράζαι, i.e. you ought not to have confused everything in order that what you want might be done. DEM. xxiv. 44.

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

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

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

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

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

Ἐπιμελεῖται ὁπως (ἢ ὁπως μὴ) γενήσεται οὐ γένηται, he takes care that it may (or may not) happen. Ἐπιμελεῖτο ὁπως γενήσεται, γενήσεται, ὁπως γένους, he took care that it should happen.
(Fut.) To μεν καλῶς ἔχων ὅπως χρονίζων εἰς μενεὶ βουλευτέον, we must take counsel that what is well shall continue to be well. AESCH. Ag. 846. Διὸς δὲ τόνδε φράζεται ὅπως μηδεὶς βροτῶν κείνοι πάροιδεν ἀμφιεστεῖται χρον. SOPH. Tr. 604. οἶο δέ μέλειν χρῆ τὰλλ ὅπως ἔξειν καλῶς. EUR. I. T. 1051. Εἰρήνη δ' ὅπως ἔσται προτιμῶν οὐδὲν, but that there shall be peace they care not. AR. Ach. 26. οἶο μελέτω ὅπως μή σε ᾠδήται. HDT. I. 9. ὁ ὁρὰ ὅπως μή ἀποκτήσων, we must take counsel that what is well shall continue to be well. AESCH. Ag. 846. Αἰδονς δέ τόνδε φράζεται ὅπως μηδεὶς βροτῶν κείνοι πάροιδεν ἀμφιεστεῖται χρον. SOPH. Tr. 604. οἶο δέ μέλειν χρῆ τὰλλ ὅπως ἔξειν καλῶς. EUR. I. T. 1051. Εἰρήνη δ' ὅπως ἔσται προτιμῶν οὐδὲν, but that there shall be peace they care not. AR. Ach. 26. οἶο μελέτω ὅπως μή σε ᾠδήται. HDT. I. 9. ὁ ὁρὰ ὅπως μή ἀποκτήσων, we must take counsel that what is well shall continue to be well. AESCH. Ag. 846.
340. It will thus be seen that the future indicative is the most common form in these sentences, after both primary and secondary tenses; the future optative, which is theoretically the regular form after secondary tenses, being rarely used. (See 128.)

Homer ete other early Usages.

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

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

Αὐτοὶ δὲ φραζόμεθ' ὅσως ὃς’ ἀριστα γένηται, let us ourselves consider how the very best things may be done. Od. xiii. 365. Φραζόμεθ' (imperfect) Ἀργείσωσιν ὅσως ὃς’ ἀριστα γένοιτο. Od. iii. 129. Φράζομεθ’ ὅσως κε ἀληθής κτείνης. Od. i. 295. Περιφράζομεθα πάντες νόοτον, ὅσως ἐλθοσιν, i.e. how he may come. Od. i. 76. Φράζομεθ’ ὃς κεν μνείσωμεν. Π. i. 112. Φράζομεθα ὃς κε γένηται, ἐπεὶ πολυκήραξ οὐσιν. Od. i. 205. Ἀμα πρόσωσ και ὅσως λεισύσατι ὅσως ὃς’ ἀριστα γένηται, i.e. he looks to see how, etc. Π. i. 110. Ἐνόησε θεὰ ὃς Ὁδύσεις γέροιτο. Od. vi. 112. Οὐ γάρ ὃς τούτον μὲν ἐβούλευσας νόον αὐτή, ὃς ἢ τοι κεῖνος 'Οδύσεις ἀποτιθέσεται ἐλθών; Od. v. 23. Βούλευσαι ὅσως ὃς’ ἀριστα γένοιτο. Od. ix. 420. Ἡλθον, εἰ των βουλήν εἰπο ὅσως Ἰδάκην ἐς παπαλόεσσαν ἱκοίμην. Od. xi. 479. Μερμήριξεν ὅσως ἀπολοίατο πᾶσαι νῆσε. Od. ix. 554. Μερμήριξε κατὰ φρένα ὃς 'Ἀχιλλα τιμήσῃ (ος τιμήσει), i.e. how he might honour Achilles. Π. ii. 3. Ἀλλ' ἀγε μῆτιν ἄψων ὅσως ἀποτιθομαί αὐτοῖς. Od. xiii. 386. Ἀφενον αύτ' θυμόν ὅσως παύσωε κόνοι διὸν Ἀχιλλα. Π. xxii. 137. Μερμήριξεν ὃς' χ' ὃ ξείνος ἢν πατρίδα γαῖαν ἐκῆται, μηδὲ τι μεσσηγός γε κακόν καὶ πίμα πάθρησιν. Od. vii. 192. Ἡμύνημον Ἀρ. Ρυθ. 148 we have τευνίσομαι ὃς κε γένηται. Πειρά ὅσως κεν δὴ σὺν πατρίδα γαῖαιν ἐκῆται, i.e. try to find means by which you may go, etc. Od. iv. 545. Πειρᾶ ὃς κε Τρωῆς ὑπερφίλαλοι ἀπόλωνται. Π. xxi. 459. Τοίς δὲ πόλλ' ἐπέτελλε πειρᾶν ὃς πε-
OBJECT CLAUSES IN HOMER

πίθοιεν ἄμυμον Πηλείωνα. II. ix. 179. In II. xv. 164 we have φραζέσθω μή μ’ οὐδὲ ταλάσσῃ μείναι (354).

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

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

For ὡς ἂν in Herodotus, see 350; for οὔτως ἂν in this construction, see 348, 349.

344. In Homer οὔτως takes the future indicative chiefly when it is merely an indirect interrogative, with no reference to purpose, as in II. ii. 252, οὐδὲ τί πώ σάφη ἔδει οὔτως ἤσται τάδε ἔργα, we do not yet even know certainly how these things are to be; or in Od. xiii. 376, φραζέμεν ἄπως μνηστήριον ἀναίδεσι χείρας ἐφήσεις, consider how you will lay hands on the shameless suitors. See II. ix. 251; Od. xx. 38. In Od. xx. 28 the future indicative is retained after a past tense, there being as yet no future opticative (128); ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα ἐλάσσετο μερμήριζων ὁ πώς ὑμη μνηστήριον ἀναίδεσι χείρας ἐφήσεις. Ὀπως may take the future (like other tenses) as a simple relative; as in II. i. 136, οὔτως ἐντάξειν ἔσται, as shall be an equivalent.

345. Ὀφρα has the subjunctive in an object clause in II. vi. 361, ἤθε γὰρ μοι θυμὸς ἐπέσσυται, Ὀφρᾳ ἐπαμυνὼς Ἡρωίς, and the opticative in Od. iv. 463, τίς συμφράσσατο βούλας δφρα. μ' ἔλοις; In II. i. 523, ἐμοὶ δέ κε ταύτα μελήσεται ὁφρᾳ τελεσσω, Ὀφρα may mean until.

346. The single object clause of this class in Pindar is Pyth. i. 72, νέον ἄμερον δφρα κατ' οίκον ὁ Φοίνιξ ὁ Τυρσανών τὰ ἄλαλοφ έχη, grant that the Phoenician, with the Etruscan war-cry, may keep quiet at home. (See 359.)

347. As relics of the Homeric usage we find ὡς with the subjunctive in sentences of this class in Eur. Med. 461, I. T. 467, PLAT. Rep. 349 C; and with the opticative in AESCH. Prom. 203 (see 353, below). Herodotus has ὡς with the future indicative in iii. 84, 159, vii. 161 (in the last ὡς στρατηγήσεις γλίχειας). Herodotus has ὡς ἂν with the subjunctive in iii. 85, μηχανό ὡς ἂν σχεδὴν ποτὸ γέρας, which is cited as the solitary case of ὡς ἂν in these object clauses after Homer, except in Xenophon (351). See also SOPH. Ant. 215 (in 281, above).

"Οπως ἂν in Attic Greek and Herodotus.

Ὡς and ὡς ἂν in Xenophon.

348. The Attic writers sometimes use οὔτως ἂν with the subjunctive in these object clauses. This occurs chiefly in Aristophanes, Xenophon, and Plato. E.g.

Σκέπει ὡς ἂν ἀποθάνωμεν ἁδρικώτατα, see that we die most manfully. AR. Eq. 80. Διαμηχανήσωμεν ὡς ἂν ἴστιν καὶ πρόν λάβης,
I will contrive that (somehow?) you get a rotten mast. Ib. 917. So AR. Nub. 739, Ecc. 623, Ach. 1060, Eq. 926. Μᾶλλον ἡ πρόθεσθε εἰσήγαγεν αὐτούς ὧν καὶ ἔχοντες τι οἰκάδε ἄφικαται. XEN. An. vi. 1, 17. (Here some word like εἰσέλεια is understood as the subject of εἰσήγαγεν.) Τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμελεῖται ὧν καὶ θηρώσων. Id. Cyth. i. 2, 10. Ἐκέλευεν τὸν Φεραύλαν ἐπιμελήθηναι ὧν καὶ οὕτω γένηται ἁφόρον ἢ ἐξέλασις. Ib. viii. 3, 6 : so v. 5, 48. See also XEN. Cyne. vi. 23; Eques. iv. 3. Ἡ ἄλλων ἐφέμενοι δικάσανσιν ἡ τούτου, ὧν καὶ ἐκατον μήτ ἢ ἔχων ἀμφότερα μήτε τῶν αὐτῶν στέρωνται; PLAT. Rep. 433 E. Πάντα ποιοῦντα ὧν καὶ σφίσι τὸ νηόλατον ἐπιτρέψῃ. Ib. 488 C. 'Εάν δέ ἐλθῃ, μηχανητέον δικάσαντε, ὧν καὶ διαφύγῃ καὶ μὴ δέ δίκην ὃ ἐχθρός. Id. Gorg. 481 A.

Besides the examples cited above, Weber gives fifteen of Plato, and the following: SOPH. Tr. 618; EUR. I. A. 539; ISA. vii. 30; DEM. xvi. 17, xix. 299. He adds HDT. i. 20, where ὧκseven καὶ is certainly final.

349. The only case of ὧκσαν with the optative in an object clause in Attic Greek, except in Xenophon (351), is PLAT. L. 207 E, προθυμοῦντα ὧκσαν ἑνδαιμονοιχα, which is potential and on the Xenophontic model (see 351, 2). In DEM. XXXV. 29, ἐκέλευομεν τούτους ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὧκσαν ἑν τάχιστ ἀπολάβοιμεν τὰ χρήματα, Cod. A reads ἀπολάβωμεν.

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

Προθυμοφαίνων δε Δοξίω ὧκσαν γένοιτο, being zealous that it might (in some way) be done. i. 91. So ii. 126, iii. 44, v. 98.

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

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

'Επιμελοῦντα ὧς ἢ ἄν ὧκτας. Oec. xx. 8. (Here the regular Attic usage requires ὧκσαν ἢ ἄν.) 'Επιμελοῦσθαι ὧς ἄν πραξά, to take care that they shall be done. Hipp. is. 2. 'Επιμελοῦσθο ὑς ἢ κυλίσοιται. Cyth. vi. 3, 2. ὃς ἢ καλῷ ἢ ἄν ὃς ἢ καλῷ ἢ ἄν. Χρ. ι. 2, 13. Προειπεν ὧς καὶ ἢ ἄν ἢ καλῷ ἢ ἄν ἢ καλῷ ἢ ἄν. Hell. ii. 1, 22 (see 355).

For Xenophon's regular use of ὧκσαν in all these constructions, see examples under 339. For his regular use of ὧκσαν ἄν with the subjunctive, see 348.
NEGATIVE OBJECT CLAUSES

2. When the optative follows ὡς ἀν or ὅπως ἀν, it is always potential, and the original relative and interrogative force of ὡς and ὅπως plainly appears. E.g.

'Επιμέλονται ὡς ἀν βέλτιστοι εἶναι οἱ πολίται, they take care that the citizens may be best (to see how they might be best). Cyr. i. 2, 5. Ὑς ἀν ἀσφαλέστατα γ' εἶδείην ἐποίουν, I took steps that (by which) I might know most accurately. Ib. vi. 3, 18. Σκοπῶ ὅπως ἀν ὡς ῥεῖτα διάγοιν, I am considering how they might live the easiest lives. Symp. vii. 2. (Cf. PLAT. Lys. 207 E, quoted in 349.) For a full enumeration of all the irregular passages of this class in Xenophon, see Appendix IV.

**Negative Object Clauses.**

352. None of the object clauses with ὅπως or ὡς in Homer (341) are negative, except that Od. vii. 192 combines ὡς κε ἵκησαι with μηδὲ τι πάθησιν. Negative object clauses are expressed in Homer, like most negative final clauses (315), by the simple μὴ with the subjunctive or optative, as in Π. v. 411, φραξίζω μὴ τίς οἱ ἀμείνων σείο μάχησαι, and Π. xv. 164, xxii. 358; Od. xvi. 595, all with φράζομαι μὴ and the subjunctive. So μέμβλετο τείχος μὴ Δαναοί πέρσαις, Π. xxi. 517. These examples show a common origin with clauses after verbs of fearing, but the optative in the last example indicates that the original parataxis is no longer felt.

353. The earliest example of a negative object clause with a final particle and μὴ is AESCH. Prom. 203, σπεόδοντε? ὡς Zeis μὴτίτ άρξείεν θεών. In all the Attic writers and in Herodotus the development of the negative object clause with ὅπως μὴ and the future keeps pace with that of the negative final clause with ινα μὴ, etc.

354. (Μὴ for ὅπως μὴ in Object Clauses.) Verbs of this class (339) which imply caution, especially ὦρω and σκοπῶ, may have the simple μὴ with the subjunctive (rarely with the future indicative), even in Attic prose, like ordinary verbs of fear and caution (365), as well as ὅπως μὴ with the future. Such verbs belong equally to the two classes B and C (303). E.g.

Σκόπει μὴ σοι πρόνοι ἦ τοῦ θεοῦ φιλακτέα. SOPH. O. C. 1180. Ὀρα σὺ μὴ νῦν μὲν τὶς εὐχερῆς παρῆσ. Π. Ph. 519. Ὁρα μὴ παρὰ γνώμην πέσῃς. EUR. H. F. 594. Σκόπει τάδε, μὴ νῦν φυγόντες εἰδ' ἄλωμεν ὀστέρον. Π. And. 755. Τηροῦ μὴ λάβῃς ἤπειρα. AR. Vesp. 1386. Ὁρα μὴ μάτην κόμπος δ' λάγος οὖν εἰρήμενος, i.e. lest this may prove to have been spoken, etc. ΗΔΤ. vii. 103. Ὁρα μὴ πολλὼν ἔκαστῳ ἢμῶν χειρῶν δείσεις. XEN. CYR. iv. 1, 18. Σκόπει δὴ μὴ τούτως αὐτὸν ἐξαετήσῃτα καὶ καταγελάσῃ. DEM. xi. 151. Ὁρα ὁδ' μὴ τι καὶ νῦν ἐγράψῃτα. PLAT. SYMP. 213 D. So Π. xv. 164 (see 342).

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

355. Verbs of asking, entreating, exhorting, commanding, and forbidding, which regularly take an object infinitive, sometimes have an object clause with ὅπως or ὅπως μή in nearly or quite the same sense. E.g.

Διὸ δὲ τόνδε φράζ ὅπως μηδεὶς βροτῶν κείνου πάροιθεν ἀμφί-
δύσεται χροί, i.e. tell him that no one shall put on the robe before himself.
SOPH. Tr. 604 : so Aj. 567. Λακεδαιμονίων ἔδειντο τὸ ψήφισμ' ὅπως ἡμαστραφείη, AR. Ach. 536. Καὶ σ’ αἰτῶ βραχύ, ὅπως ἔσομαι σοι Φανός, Id. Eq. 1566. Ὅκως ἐστίνγ νένηται τὸ ἔργον παρακλεισάμενον, ἔργον εἴσοντο προθυμόστερον. HDT. ix. 102. Τὸ Πάνακτον ἔδειντο Βοιωτοῖς (ἵ ὅπως παραδώσουσι Λακεδαιμονίωι.

356. This is rare in Homer; but twice in the Odyssey λίσσομαι has an object clause with ὅπως:—

Διὸ δὲ τόνδε φράζ ὅπως νημιστείνει παρ' ἵνα εἰπη, and implore him yourself to speak the truth. Od. iii. 19. (Compare the regular construction, οὐδὲ σε λίσσομαι μένειν, Π. i. 174.) Διὸ δὲ τόνδε ἱππάτων κλυτοεργόν ὅπως λύσεις, he implored him to liberate Ares. Od. viii. 344.

357. Ἄσσομαι with ένα and the subjunctive is found in Od. iii. 327: λίσσεσθαι δέ μιν αὐτὸς ἐνα νημερτέα εἰπη, and implore him yourself that he may speak the truth. With this we may compare DEM. xvi. 28, δηλοὶ ἐσομαι οὑ τά Θεσπια κατοικίσθωσι μόνον ποιοῦμενοι τὴν σπουδὴν, it will be evident that they take an interest not merely in having Thespiae established; in both cases the object clause falls into the construction of a pure final clause. This is very rare in classic Greek; but it reappears in the later language, as in the New Testament: thus ἐντολήν καὶ τὴν δίδωμι ἡμῖν, ἵνα ἁγαπᾶτε ἄλληλοις, a new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another, Joh. Evang. xiii. 34. So ἐδείχθην ἐνα ἐκβάλλωσιν, Luc. ix. 40. Compare the Latin, rogat ut licet.

358. In Od. xvii. 362 we find ὀμηρν’ ὃς ἄν πύρα κατά μνηστή-

359. The singular case of ὅς with the subjunctive in Π. i. 558, τῇ

Achilles, etc. has the appearance of indirect discourse; but probably κατανενω όσ is used with the same feeling as λίσσομαι όσ in 356, promising to act here taking the same construction as entreating to act. See PIND. Py. i. 72 (in 346). 'Ως, as an adverb of manner, is here clearly on its way to its use in indirect discourse. Some read τιμήσεις and ολέσεις.

360. A singular use of όσ and the future indicative with δει σε in place of the regular infinitive occurs in SOPH. Aj. 556, δει σε όσ δείξεις, for δει σε δείξαι, and Ph. 54, τήν Φιλοκτήτον σε δει ψυχήν όσ λόγουσιν εκκλήσεις λέγων. So Cratinus, Fr. 108, δει σε ευχήμονος ἔλεγκτρων μηδέν διοίσεις. This would be like δεομαι όσ (355) except for the object σε, which is like σε in δει σε τούτον, the όσ clause representing the genitive.

Object Infinitive and Indirect Questions.

361. Some verbs which regularly take an object clause with όσ sometimes take an object infinitive, which may have the article τοῦ or τό. (See 373 and 374.) E.g. 'Αεί τινα ἐπεμέλοντο σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς εἶναι, they always took care that one of their own number should be in the offices (where we should expect τίς ἐσται or ἐσοί). THUC. vi. 54. 'Οδ' ἐπεμελήθην τοῦ διδασκαλοῦ μοί τίνα γενέσθαι τῶν ἐπισταμένων. XEN. Mem. iv. 2, 4. Τό μὲν οὖν λεκτικοῦ γίγνεσθαι τοῦς συνόντας οὐκ ἐσπενδέων. Ib. iv. 3, 1. (See 793.)

362. Verbs signifying to see or look out (like σκοπῶ) may be followed by an indirect question with εἰ, whether; as εἰ εξαπόνησης καὶ ἐνεργάτει σκόπει, see whether you will assist me, etc. SOPH. Ant. 41.

For independent clauses with όσ and όσ μη with the future, often explained by an ellipsis of σκόπει or σκοπείτε, see 271-283.

Aorist Subjunctive in -σω and -σωμαι.—Dawes's Canon.

363. When an aorist subjunctive active or middle was to be used with όσ or όσ μη in any construction, the second aorist was preferred to a first aorist in -σω or -σωμαι, if both forms were in use. This preference arose from the great similarity in form between these sigmatic aorists and the future indicative (as between βουλεύση and βουλεύσει, βουλεύσηται and βουλεύσεται). This made it natural also for a writer to avoid those forms of the subjunctive which were nearly identical with the future indicative where the latter could be used as well. This of course does not apply to the first aorist subjunctive passive, which has no resemblance to the future; and there is no reason for applying it to liquid aorists like μείνω and σφῆλω.

364. The general rule laid down by Dawes more than a century ago (Misc. Crit. pp. 222 and 228), the so-called Canon Dawesianus, K
which declared the first aorist subjunctive active and middle a solecism after ὅπως μὴ and οὐ μὴ, was extended by others so as to include ὅπως (without μή), and the Greek authors were thoroughly emended to conform to it. As this rule has no other foundation than the accidental circumstance just mentioned (363), it naturally fails in many cases, in some of which even emendation is impossible. In the first place, there is no reason for applying the rule to pure final clauses, in which the future indicative is exceptional (324); and here it is now generally abandoned in theory, though not always in practice. There is, therefore, no objection whatever to such sentences as these: ὃν ἐνεκα ἔπαθήναι, ὅπως ἀπολαύσωμεν καὶ ὅπως γενόμεθα, Χ.Υ. Στη. χ. ἵ. 3. 82; ἐκκλησίαν ξυνήγαγον, ὅπως ἔπομνήσω καὶ μέμψωμαι, Θυκ. ι. ii. 60; and τὴν ἀγοράν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν κομίσαι, ὅπως παρά τὰς ἀδικοσονταί, καὶ δι' ἀλύγο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπιχειρώσιν, Θυκ. χ. ι. 39, in which the best Mss. have the subjunctive. Indeed, where the reading is doubtful, the subjunctive should be preferred in these cases. Secondly, in independent prohibitions with ὅπως μὴ, although the future is the regular form, there is less objection to the subjunctive (even the first aorist) than in positive commands with simple ὅπως, since the analogy of the common μὴ ποιήσῃς τοῦτο, do not do this, supports ὅπως μὴ ποιήσῃς τοῦτο in the same sense (283). There is no such analogy, however, to justify such a positive command as ὅπως ποιήσῃς τοῦτο, do this, and this form has much less manuscript authority to rest on. Thirdly, in the case of οὐ μὴ, if both constructions (denials and prohibitions) are explained on the same principle, no reason exists for excluding the subjunctive from either; and it cannot be denied that both the first and the second aorist subjunctive are amply supported by the manuscripts. (See 301.) Fourthly, in object clauses with ὅπως there is so great a preponderance of futures over subjunctives, that the presumption in all doubtful cases is here in favour of the future, as it is in favour of the subjunctive in pure final clauses. A much stronger case, therefore, is made out by those who (like Weber and most modern editors) change all sigmatic aorist subjunctives in this construction to futures. Some cases, however, resist emendation; as Χ.Υ. Α. η. v. 6. 21, κελεύσοι προστατεύσαι ὅπως ἐκπλεύσῃ ἢ στρατιά, where we cannot read ἐκπλεύσει, as the future is ἐκπλεύσομαι or ἐκπλευσόμαυ. In Δεμ. ι. 3. 2, all Mss. except one read παρακεκάσοχθεσθαι τὴν ταχύτητα ὅπως ἔνθενδε βοηθήσητε καὶ μὴ πάθητε ταύταν, and it seems very arbitrary to change βοηθήσητε to βοηθήσετε and leave πάθητε. But a few cases like these weigh little against the established usage of the language, and we must perhaps leave the venerable Canon Davesianus undisturbed in the single department of object clauses with ὅπως, although we may admit an occasional exception even there.

See Transactions of the American Philological Association for 1869-70, pp. 46-55, where this question is discussed more fully.
C. CLAUSES WITH μή AFTER VERBS OF FEARING, ETC.

365. Verbs and phrases which express or imply fear, caution, or danger take μή, lest or that, with the subjunctive if the leading verb is primary, and with the optative if the leading verb is secondary. The subjunctive can also follow secondary tenses to retain the mood in which the object of the fear originally occurred to the mind.

Μή (like Latin ne) denotes fear that something may happen which is not desired; μή οΰ (ut non) denotes fear that something may not happen which is desired. E.g.

Φοβούμαι μή γένηται (vereor ne accidat), I fear that it may happen: Φοβοφιτείαι μή τι πάθη; (vereor ne tollam), I fear that it may not happen.

Δείδω μή οΰ τις τοί σωματος αφεθηται τοδε έργον. II. χ. 39. (This is the only case of μή οΰ in these sentences in Homer. The next that are found are EUR. And. 626, El. 568, Phoen. 263. See 264, above.) Οί μή φοβούμαι μή σ' "Αργός αποκτείναυ θέλη.

Φροντίζω μή κράτιστον μοι σιγάν. Id. Mem. iv. 2, 39. Φυλαττόμενος μή δόξη μανθάνειν τι. Ib. iv. 2, 3. (This is the only case of μή in these sentences in Homer. The next that are found are EUR. And. 626, El. 568, Phoen. 263. See 264, above.) Οΰ φοβή μή "Αργός άποκτείναυ θέλη.

Ούκοΰν νυν και τούτο κίνδυνος, μή λάβωσι προστάτας αυτών τινας τούτων, there is danger of this, that they may take, etc.

Μή αίσχυνομένος μή φορτικώς σκοπώμεν. PLAT. Phaedr. 257 C. Εδείσαν μή λύττα τις ωστι τερ κυσίν έμπεπτώκοι. Ib. ν. 7, 26. Ήποπτεύσας μή την θυγατέρα λέγοι, ήρετο, having suspected that he might mention his daughter. Id. Cyr. v. 2, 9. "Ηθίμισάν τινες, εννοούμενοι μή τα επιτήδεα ούκ έχοιν επόθεν λαμβάνοιν. Id. An. iii. 5, 3. Ούδεις
For the present subjunctive in these sentences denoting what may hereafter prove to be an object of fear, see 92.

366. The manner in which this complex sentence expressing fear was developed from an independent sentence like μή νήας ἔλωσι, may they not seize the ships, and a preceding verb of fearing like δείδω, the two gradually becoming one sentence, has already been explained (307). As the fear and the desire to avert the cause of fear are both implied in μή with the subjunctive, it is not strange that this expression can follow verbs like ὁρῶ and οἶδα which do not imply fear in themselves; as ἔξελθων τις ίδοι, μή δή σχεδόν ώσι κιόντες, let some one go out and see that they do not approach near (cf. videat ne accedant); originally, let some one go out and look to it: may they not approach, Od. xxiv. 491. So οὐδε τί ίδμεν, μή ἐν και διὰ νύκτα μενοινήσωσι μάχεσθαι, nor do we know any way to prevent their being impelled to fight even during the night; originally, nor have we any knowledge: may they not be impelled to fight, II. x. 100. See also PLAT. Phaed. 91 D, τόδε ἄδηλον παντὶ, μῆ πολλά σώματα κατατρίφσαι ἡ ψυχή τὸ τελευταῖον αὐτῇ ἀπολλυταί, i.e. no one knows any security against the soul itself finally perishing, etc.

367. (Future Indicative.) Sometimes, though seldom, μή has the future indicative after verbs of fearing. The examples are:—

Φῶν ὁμοίωσεται φόβῳ, μή πόλις πάρηηται ... καὶ τὸ Κισίων πόλισι άντίδουσιν ᾑσται, βιοσιν βείν ἐν τέσσερας τή στράτει νακις. AESCH. Pers. 115. Ταύτ' οὖν φοβούμαι, μη πόσις μὲν Ἡρακλῆς ἐμὸς καλείται (hut.), τῆς νεωτέρας δ' ἀνήρ. SOPH. Tr. 550. Δέδοικα μὴ ἄλλου τῖνος μεθέξω. XEN. Cyr. ii. 3, 6. Φοβοῦμαι δὲ μὴ τίνας ἥδονας ἡδοναί εὑρήσομεν ἐναντίας. PLAT. Phil. 13 A. Ἀλλὰ (φοβάρον καὶ σφαλερὸν) μή σφαλεῖς κείσομαι. Id. Rep. 451 A. (The last two examples are not given by Weber.)

For three cases of μή with the future optative after past tenses of verbs of fearing, representing the future indicative, see 131.
The particles ἄν and κέ are never used with μή and the subjunctive. But a potential optative with ἄν can follow μή after a verb expressing fear or anxiety, after both primary and secondary tenses (168). E.g.

Δέοιμα γάρ μή πρῶ λέγοις ἄν τὸν πόθον τὸν ἵππον, I fear that you might perhaps tell. SOPH. Tr. 631. Οὔτε προσβοκὶα οὐδεμια (ὅν) μή ἄν ποτὲ οἱ πολέμοι ἐπὶ τελέσειν. THUC. ii. 93. 'Έκεινο ἐννοοῦ μῆ λιὰν ἄν παχῦ σφόνοισθε ιν, lest (in that case) I should be very soon brought to my senses. XEN. An. vi. 1, 28. Δειπνεῖτε μῆ καταλυθηι ἄν ο ὄμου. LYS. xiii. 51.

369. (Present and Past Tenses of Indicative with μή.) Verbs of fearing may refer to present or past objects. (See 308.) Μή can therefore be used with the present and past tenses of the indicative after these verbs.

1. Μή with the present indicative expresses a fear that something is now going on. E.g.

Δέοιμα μῆ πήγην δεῖ, I am afraid that you need blows. AR. Nub. 493. Ὄρωμεν μῆ Νικίας οἴεται τι λέγειν, let us be cautious lest Nicias is thinking that he says something. PLAT. Lach. 196 C. (Here οἴεται would have meant lest Nicias may think, in the future.) 'Όρα μῆ ἐκείνον κωλύειν. Id. Charm. 163 A. Φοβείσθη μῆ δυσκολώτερον τι νῦν διάκειμαι ή ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν βίῳ, you are afraid that I am now in a more peevish state of mind than I used to be in (where the subjunctive would have been future, lest I may hereafter be). Id. Phaed. 84 E. 'Επίστηχος, ὡς ἄν προβεβεβηνῶ ὑστέβην, μῆ τις πολιτῶν ἐν τρίβῳ φαντάζεται, καὶ μοῦ ἐλθῇ φαύλος ὡς δούλῳ φόνγοι. EUR. Phoen. 92. (Here μῆ φαντάζεται means lest any one is now to be seen; and μῆ ἐλθῇ, lest any report may come hereafter.) 'Αλλ' εἰσόμεθα μῆ τι καὶ κατάχειτον κρυφῆς ὁλυπτεί καρδίας θυμομένης, δόμους παραστείχοντες. SOPH. Ant. 1253. (The idea is, we shall learn the result of our anxiety lest she is concealing, etc.) Κάμαυτής π' ἐρι θέλω πυθείναι, μῆ τι τοῖς πάλαι κακοῖς προσκειμένοι τι πόρμα σῆν διάκει, φέρω, and I wish to inquire about myself, (in fear) lest, etc. EUR. Her. 481. "Αναξέ, ἔμοι τοι, μῆ τι καὶ θεηλατον τούργον τόδ', ἡ ξύνοια βουλεύει πάλαι. SOPH. Ant. 278. (The idea is, my mind has long been deliberating in anxiety lest this is the work of the Gods, εστίν being understood after μή.) "Ορυ, φυλασσοῦ, μῆ τις ἐν στίβῳ βροτῶν (sc. ἐστιν). EUR. I. T. 67.

1 In this passage and the following, if anywhere, it would seem necessary to admit the interrogative force often ascribed to μή. But here, as elsewhere, it is plain that the dependent clause with μή expresses the object of an apprehension. To establish μή as an interrogative, meaning whether, μή should not only follow a verb like ἔοι, but also be followed by a clause expressing no object of apprehension, like εἰσόμεθα μῆ τι φήλοι οὖν, we shall learn whether our friends are now living; but no such example can be found in classic Greek. The use of εἰ, whether, after verbs of fearing (376) shows how the Greeks expressed an indirect question in such cases.

2 That this is the correct explanation, and that we need not emend the
2. Μή with the perfect indicative expresses a fear that something has already happened. The difference between this and the perfect subjunctive is often very slight, the latter expressing rather a fear that something may hereafter prove to have happened (103). E.g.

Νῦν δὲ φοβούμεθα μὴ ἁμφοτέρων ἀμαμενε, but now we fear that we have missed both at once. Θυκ. iii. 53. (The perfect subjunctive here would mean lest it may hereafter prove that we have missed.) Δέδοικα μὴ λελήθαμεν (τὴν εἰρήνην) ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἄγοντες, I fear that we have been unconsciously enjoying peace borrowed at high interest. Dem. xix. 99. Φοβούμαι μὴ λόγοι τοις ψευδέσιν ἐντευχή-καμεν. Πλατ. Lys. 218 D.

3. Μή can be used with the imperfect or the aorist indicative, to express fear that something happened in past time.

Δείδω μὴ δὴ πάντα θεά νημερτέα εἶπεν, I fear that all that the Goddess said was true. Od. v. 300. 'Αλλ' ὅρα μὴ παίζων ἐλεγεν, but be careful lest he was speaking in jest. Plat. Theaet. 145 B.

370. (Ὅπως μή for μή with Verbs of Fearing.) Verbs denoting fear and caution are sometimes followed by an object clause with ὅπως μή and the future indicative, the subjunctive, or the optative, like verbs of striving, etc. (339). It will be noticed that ὅπως μή here is exactly equivalent to μή in the ordinary construction, so that φοβοῦμαι ὅπως μή γενήσεται (or γένηται) means I fear that it will happen (not I fear that it will not happen). E.g.

Δείδου ὅπως μή κτή τις σωπής τῆς ἀναρρήξεις, I fear that a storm of evil will burst forth from this silence. Soph. Ο. T. 1074 (the earliest example). Τού δαίμονος δείδουχ ὅπως μή νεξιομαι κακοδαιμόνος, I fear that the luck that I shall get will be bad luck. Arv. Eq. 112. Εὐλαβοῦμεν ὅπως μὴ οἰχήσωμεν. Plat. Phaed. 91 C. Δείδουκα ὅπως μὴ ἀνάγκη γενήσεται, I fear that there may be a necessity. Dem. ix. 75. Οὔ φοβεῖ ὅπως μὴ ἀνάσκην τράγμα τυχάνη πράςσων; Plat. Euthyph. 4 E. Φιλάττοῠ ὅπως μὴ εἰς τοῦκαντόν ἐλέγη. Xen. Mem. iii. 6, 16. Ἡδεώς ἄν (ὁρεύμαθι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, εἰ μὴ φοβούμην ὅπως μὴ ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ἔστωμαι. Ib. ii. 9, 3. Τοῦς προεστέρως ἀντιπαρακελεύομαι μὴ κατασχωθήναι ὅπως μὴ δοξεῖ μαλακός εἶναι, i.e. not to be shamed into fear lest he may seem to be weak. Thuc. vi. 13.

Compare the corresponding use of μή for ὅπως μή in ordinary object clauses, especially with ὅρω and σκοπῶ, which belong equally to both classes, B and C. (See 354.)

371. (Indirect Discourse with ὅς or ὅπως.) In curious contrast passage so as to read τοῦργον τὸς δὲ ἐννοεῖ βουλεύει πάλαι, is suggested by the scholiion: ἡ σύναξι μα. βουλεύεται καὶ οὔτε μὴ καὶ βεβλημένη ἐστὶ τὸ πράγμα. So perhaps we should read φασίθεσθαι μὴ τι δαμόθινον τὰ πράγματα ἐλαύνει (vulg. λαύει) in Dem. ix. 54 (with Cod. A). But the subjunctive in both passages might be explained on the principle of 92.
with the preceding construction with διόν μή for μή (370) is
that by which verbs of fearing sometimes take the construction
of ordinary indirect discourse. Here ως and even διόν, that,
may introduce the object of the fear, thus taking the place of
μή in the common construction. This apparently occurs only
when the leading verb is negatived. E.g.

Μη δείσης ποθ' ως γέλωτε τούµον φαιδρόν ὄφεται κάρα, do not fear
that she will ever see my face joyful (=μή ἔδη). SOPH. El. 1309: so
1426. Ἀνθός μή φοβοῦ ως ἀπορήσεις ἄξιον, do not fear that you
will be at a loss. XEN. Cyr. v. 2, 12. (Here the direct discourse
would be ἀπορήσω, I shall be at a loss.) Μη δείσητε ως οὐχ Ἡδεως
καθευδήσετε, do not fear that you will not sleep sweetly. Id. vi. 2, 30.
(Here μή οὐχ would be the ordinary expression.) Οὐ τούτο δέδοικα,
ς εἰν ακραίοθε αὐτών ἀποφημιεῖθε, I have no fear of this, that you
will acquit them if you hear them. LYS. xxvii. 9. Μη τρέσης ὅποις σὲ
τις ἀποστάσει βία, that any one shall fear you away by force. EUR.
HER. 248. Μη φοβεῖ τρές εἵμε, ὃς σε περίγροος λέγω λόγον τόνδε,
μήτε γυναῖκα τὴν ἐμὴν, μή τί τοι ἐξ αὐτῆς γένηται βλάβος, do not
fear either that I am saying this to try you (ὡς λέγω), or lest any harm
shall come (μή γένηται). HNV. i. 9. (Here the two constructions after
φοβεῖ make the principle especially clear.)

In all these cases μή or διόν μή would be regular, and exactly
equivalent to ως and διόν here. In the same way, we say in English
he fears lest this may happen and he fears that this may happen in
the same sense. In Greek we might have μη τρέσης διόν μή σὲ τις ἀπο-
στάσει (370) in the same sense as μη τρέσης ὅποις σὲ τις ἀποστάσει
(above).

372. (Infinitive.) The future infinitive may stand in indirect
discourse after verbs of fearing, to represent a future indicative
of the direct course. E.g.

Οὐ φοβοῦμεθα ἐλασσώσεσθαι, we are not afraid that we shall
have the worst of it. THUC. v. 105. (Here μή with the subjunctive
would be the regular form.)

373. The present or aorist infinitive (without μή), not in indirect
discourse, may follow verbs of fearing, to denote the direct object
of the fear; as in English, I fear to go. This infinitive may have the article.
E.g.

Φοβοῦμαι ὅποι διελέγχει σε, μή ὑπολάβης, κ.τ.λ., I am afraid to
refute you, lest you may suspect, etc. PLAT. Gorg. 457 E. Φοβήσεται
ἀδίκειν, he will be afraid to do wrong. XEN. Cyr. viii. 7, 15. (But
φοβήσεται μή ἀδίκην, he will fear that he may do wrong.) Δεδιώρηκαν
φασκόνων Κερκυρων ἐξειν αὐτῶν. THUC. i. 136. Οὐ κατέδεικταν
ἐσελθεῖν. Id. iv. 110. Πέφυκα Ἐρμίνι τελέσαν τὰς κατάρας, I
shudder at the idea of the Fury fulfilling the curses. AESCH. Sept. 720.
(But in vs. 790, τρέω μή τελέση means I tremble lest she may fulfi
136. (Final and Object Clauses) See also Xen. An. i. 3, 17. To άποθνήσκειν ουδείς φοβεί- ται, το δ' άδικείν φοβείται. Plat. Gorg. 522 E.

374. Verbs of caution may be followed by an infinitive (with or without μή), which sometimes has the article; the infinitive or the infinitive with μή having the same meaning as a clause with μή and the subjunctive or optative. E.g.

Ποιις ουχ άξιόν γε φυλάξασθαι τοιούτον γενέσθαι; why ought he not to guard against becoming such a man himself? Xen. Mem. i. 5, 3. (Here γενέσθαι is equivalent to μή γένηται.) Philostómēnos το λυπήσαί τινα, taking care to offend no one. Dem. xviii. 258. Φυλάσσειν μηδένα περαιούνται, to guard against any one's crossing over. Thuc. vii. 17. Φυλαττόμενον και προορώμενον μή κατασχόναι ταύτην. Dem. xxv. 11. (For μή in this construction see 815, 1.)

375. Κίνδυνος εστι, the principal expression denoting danger, which takes μή and a finite verb, is quite as regularly followed by the infinitive. E.g.

Ου συμφερός κίνδυνος εστιν έξαπατηθήναι, there is no little danger of their being deceived. Plat. Crat. 436 B.

Κίνδυνεύω is regularly followed by the infinitive (747).

376. (Indirect Questions.) Verbs of fearing may be followed by an indirect question introduced by εί, whether, or by some other interrogative. "Οπως as an interrogative here must not be confounded with ὅπως as a conjunction. E.g.

Ου δέδοικα εί Φίλιππος ζή, αλλ' εί της πόλεως τέθνηκε το τού τάδικοντα μισείν και τιμωρείσθαι, I have no fear (on the question) whether Philip is alive; but I have fear (about this), whether our city's habit of hating and punishing evil-doers is dead. Dem. xix. 289. Φόβος εί μοι ζώσιν ους εγώ θέλω. Eur. Her. 791. Φέρουσά σοι νέους ήκω λόγους, φόβω μεν εί τις δισταστών αίσθησαι, through fear whether any one will perceive it (where μή αίσθηται would have meant lest any one shall perceive it). Eur. Andr. 60. See Xen. Cyr. vi. 1, 17. Φοβούνται οτι ποτέ προβήσεται η του άνδρος δύναμις. Xen. Hell. vi. 1, 14. (The direct question would be οτι προβήσεται;) Τὴν θεον δ' ὅπως λάθω δέδοικα, I am in fear (about the question) how I shall escape the Goddess. Eur. I. T. 995. (The direct question was ποις λάθω; 287.) So Soph. Ph. 337. Αποροῦντες ποις χρή απειθεῖν, φοβούμενοι δε ποις χρή απειλοῦντι ὑπακούσαι. Xen. Cyr. iv. 5, 19.

377. (Causal οτι.) Verbs of fearing may be followed by οτι, because, and an ordinary causal sentence with the indicative (713). E.g.

Ουκ άξιόν διὰ τούτο φοβείσθαι τοις πολεμίοις, οτι πολλοί τινι Γάλλοις οντες, to fear them, because they happen to be many. Isoc. vi. 60. Φοβουμένης της μήτρος, οτι το χωρίον έπνθάνετο νοσώδεις είναι. Id. xix. 22. Οτι δε πολλών άρχονσι, μη φοβηθήσετε, αλλά πολύ μάλλον διὰ τούτο θαρρείτε, do not be afraid because they rule many, etc. Xen. Hell. iii. 5, 10. Εφοβείτο, οτι αφθόνεσθαι έμελλε τα βασίλεια οίκοδομεῖν άρχόμενος, he was afraid, because he was about
to be seen beginning to build the palace. Id. Cyt. iii. 1, 1. Φοβούμενος τὸ κάσθαι καὶ τὸ τέμνεσθαι, διέ ἄλγειν, fearing them because they are painful. PLAT. Gorg. 479 A. So THUC. vii. 67.

SECTION VI.

Conditional Sentences.

378. A conditional sentence consists of two clauses, a dependent clause containing the condition, which usually precedes and is called the protasis, and the leading clause containing the conclusion, which is called the apodosis. The protasis is regularly introduced by the particle εἰ, if, negatively εἶ μή.

379. Αἰ is a Doric and Aeolic form for εἰ, and is sometimes used in epic poetry in the forms αἴθε and αἰ γάρ, and less frequently in αἰ καὶ.

380. The name protasis is often restricted to clauses introduced by a particle meaning if. But it applies equally to all conditional relative and temporal clauses (520), and it properly includes all clauses which naturally precede their leading clauses in the order of thought, as ἐπει ἤσθετο τὸντο, ἀπῆλθεν, after he perceived this, he departed. Such a clause may still be called a protasis, even when it follows its leading clause, provided the order of thought is not changed.

381. The adverb ἄν (epic κέ or κέν, Doric κά) is regularly joined with εἰ in the protasis when the verb is in the subjunctive, εἰ with ἄν (ἄ) forming the compound ἥαν, ἂν, or ἄν (ά). (See -200.) The simple εἰ is used in the protasis with the indicative and the optative.

The same adverb ἄν is regularly used in the apodosis with the optative, and also with the past tenses of the indicative when non-fulfilment of the condition is implied.

382. The only Ionic contraction of εἰ ἄν is ἂν, which is used in Homer and Herodotus. The Attic Greek has ἥαν, ἂν, and ἂν (ά); but

1 Αἰ for εἰ is usually left in Homer by editors as the Mss. give it. But Bekker (Homerische Blätter, pp. 61, 62) quotes Heyne with approval, who says that no human being can tell why we have αἰ in one place and εἰ in another. Bekker cites, to illustrate this, αἰθ' ὦν χόλων τέλεσει 'Αγαμέμνων, II. iv. 178, and εἰθ' ὡς τοι γοώναθ' ἐπεπτε, iv. 313; also αἰ κε ̣δεί κηται, II. ν. 129, followed immediately by άταρ εἰ κε 'Αφροδίτη ἐλθ' ἐς πέλαμον. Bekker in his last edition of Homer (1855) gives only εἰ, εἰθεί, and εἰ γάρ, without regard to the Mss.; and he is followed by Delbrück.
αν, if, was probably never used by the tragedians or by Thucydides, although the Mss. have it in a few cases.

383. The negative particle of the protasis is regularly μή, that of the apodosis is οὐ.

384. When οὐ is found in a protasis, it is generally closely connected with a particular word (especially the verb), with which it forms a single negative expression; so that its negative force does not (like that of μή) affect the protasis as a whole. *E.g.*

Πάντως δὴ πον (οὔτως ξέχη), ἐάν τε σὺ καί Ἀνυτος οὐ φήτε εάν τε φήτε, if you deny it, as well as if you admit it. *Plat. Apol.* 25 B. Εἰ τοὺς θανόντας οὐκ ἐδοξ (καὶ καλὸν) θάπτειν, if you forbid burying the dead. *Soph.* Aj. 1131. Εἰ μὲν οὐ πολλοί (= ὀλίγοι) ἥσαν, καθ’ ἔκαστον ἀν περὶ τούτων ἤκουσέ, if there were only a few, etc. *Lys.* xiii. 62: cf. 76. Τὸνδὲ μὲν οὐδὲν ὅσον ἐστίν, εἰ γε ἂρ’ ἥμων γε τῶν ἐν μίσω οὐδὲς οὐδέποτε ἄρξηται, there is no fairness in this, if (it is the plan, that) no one is ever to begin with us. *Xen.* Cyr. ii. 2, 3.

In all these cases μή could be used, even where οὐ seems especially proper; as in ἀν τ’ ἐγὼ φῶ ἀν τε μή φῶ, whether I admit or deny it, *Dem.* xxi. 205. See *Eur.* Hipp. 995, οὐδ’ ἦν σὺ μή φῆς. The use of μή or οὐ was determined by the feeling of the speaker at the moment as to the scope of his negation. The following example makes the difference between οὐ and μή particularly clear, μή affecting merely the verb, and μή affecting the whole clause (including the οὐ): εἰ μή Πρόξενον οὐχ ψηλεῖ βὰν, if it had not been that they did not receive Proxenus, they would have been saved, *Dem.* xix. 74.

385. Εἰ οὐ with the indicative is sometimes found in Homer where the Attic Greek would have εἰ μή; as in εἰ δὲ μοι οὐκ ἐπέεσσε ἐπείπερῃ σοι. See also *Isoc.* i. 44, μηθαυμάσης εἰ πολλὰ τῶν εἰρημένων οὐ πρέπει σοι. See also 387.

386. After verbs expressing wonder, delight, and similar emotions (494), where a protasis seems to take the place of a causal sentence, εἰ οὐ can be used, on the principle of 384, though here μή is more common. See examples of εἰ μή under 494; and for εἰ οὐ see *Isoc.* i. 44, μηθαυμάσης εἰ πολλὰ τῶν εἰρημένων οὐ πρέπει σοι. See also 387.

387. When two clauses introduced by μὲν and δὲ depend upon a single εἰ which precedes them both, οὐ is used even more frequently than μή; as such clauses have their own construction independently of the εἰ, which merely introduces each of them as a whole, not affecting the construction of particular words. *E.g.*

Δεινὸν ἄν εἴη, εἰ οἴ μὲν ἐκεῖνον ἐξόμολοι ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ τῇ αὐτῶν φέροντες οὐκ ἀπεροῦσιν, ἢμεις δ’ ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτοὶ σφέσεθαι οὐκ ἀρα
388. The most obvious natural distinction is that of (a) present and past conditions and (b) future conditions. Present and past conditions (a) are divided into two classes by distinguishing (1) those which imply nothing as to the fulfilment of the condition from (2) those which imply that the condition is not or was not fulfilled. Future conditions (b) have two classes (1, 2), distinguished by the manner in which the supposition is stated. Class 1 of present and past conditions is further distinguished on the ground of the particular or general character of the supposition, as explained below in II. (394).

389. Excluding from the class (a) 1 the present and past general suppositions which have a peculiar construction (395, a and b), we have—

I. Four Forms of Ordinary Conditions.

(a) Present and Past Conditions.

390. In present or past conditions, the question of fulfilment has already been decided, but we may or may not wish to imply by our form of statement how this has been decided. In Greek (as in English or Latin) we may, therefore, state such a condition in either of two ways:—

1. We may simply state a present or past condition, implying nothing as to its fulfilment; as if he is (now) doing this, εἰ τὸῦτον πράσσει, —if he was doing it, εἰ ἐπράσσει,—if he did it, εἰ ἐπράσσε, —if he has (already) done it, εἰ πέπρασσε,—if he had (already) done it (at some past time), εἰ πέπρασε. The apodosis here expresses simply what is (was or will be) the result of the fulfilment of the condition. Thus we may say:—

Εἰ πράσσει τοῦτον, καλῶς ἔστιν, if he is doing this, it is well; εἰ πράσσει τοῦτον, ἡμᾶρτηκεν, if he is doing this, he has erred; εἰ πράσσει τοῦτον, καλῶς ἔστιν, if he is doing this, it will be well. Εἰ ἐπράσσε (or ἐπράσσε) τοῦτον, καλῶς ἔστιν (εἰ ἔστιν, ἐστίν, or ἔστι), if he did this, it is (was or will be) well. Εἰ πέπρασσε τοῦτον, καλῶς ἔστιν, if
he has done this, it will be well. So with the other tenses of the indicative in the apodosis. (See 402.)

So in Latin:  Si hoc facit, bene est;  Si hoc fecit, bene erit; etc.

2. On the other hand, we may state a present or past condition so as to imply that it is not or was not fulfilled; as if he were (now) doing this, ei τοῦτο ἐπράσεως;—if he had done this, ei τοῦτο ἐπράξες (both implying the opposite). The apodosis here expresses what would be (or would have been) the result if the condition were (or had been) fulfilled. The adverb ἀν in the apodosis distinguishes these forms from otherwise similar forms under (a) 1. Thus we may say:—

Εἴ ἐπράσεως τοῦτο, καλῶς ἀν ἐλέη, if he were (now) doing this, it would be well; or if he had been doing this, it would have been well.

Εἴ ἐπράξες τοῦτο, καλῶς ἄν ἔσχε (or ἀν ἐλέη), if he had done this, it would have been well (or it would now be well). On the other hand, ei ἐπράξες τοῦτο, καλῶς ἔσχε (without ἀν) would mean if he did this, it was well. (See 410.)

In Latin:  Si hoc faceret, bene esset (present);  Si hoc fecisset, bene fuisset (past).

391. The Greek has no form implying that a condition is or was fulfilled, and it is hardly conceivable that any language should find such a form necessary or useful.

(b) Future Conditions.

392. The question as to the fulfilment of a future condition is still undecided. We may state such a condition in Greek (as in English and Latin) in either of two ways:—

1. We may say if he shall do this, ἐὰν πράσοςη (or πράξη) τοῦτο (or, still more vividly, ei πράξη τοῦτο), making a distinct supposition of a future case. The apodosis expresses what will be the result if the condition shall be fulfilled. Thus we may say:—

Ἐὰν πράσοςη (or πράξη) τοῦτο, καλῶς ἔσχε, if he shall do this (or if he does this), it will be well (sometimes also ei πράξη τοῦτο). (See 444 and 447.) In Latin:  Si hoc faciet (or si hoc faceret), bene erit.

2. We may also say if he should do this, ei πράσοσοι (or πράξεις) τοῦτο, καλῶς ἔσχε, still supposing a case in the future, but less distinctly and vividly than before. The apodosis corresponds to this in form (with the addition of ἀν), and expresses what would be the result if the condition should be fulfilled. Thus we may say:—

Εἰ πράσοσοι (or πράξεις) τοῦτο, καλῶς ἀν ἔχω, if he should do this, it would be well. (See 455.) In Latin:  Si hoc faciat, bene sit.
393. The Latin commonly employs the future indicative, *si hoc faciet* (corresponding strictly to *εί τούτο πράξει*, *if he shall do this*), or the future perfect, *si hoc fecerit*, to express the form of protasis which the Greek expresses by ἵνα and the subjunctive (*ἵνα τούτο πράσση* or *πράξῃ*); and it uses the form *si hoc faciat* to represent the Greek *εί τούτο πράσσοι*, *if he should do this*.

II. Present and Past General Suppositions.

394. The supposition contained in a protasis may be either particular or general.

A particular supposition refers to a definite act or to several definite acts, supposed to occur at some definite time (or times); as if he (now) has this, he will give it; if he had it, he gave it; if he had had the power, he would have helped me; if he shall receive it (or if he receives it), he will give it; if he should receive it, he would give it. So if he always acts justly (or if he never commits injustice), I honour him; if he acted justly on all these occasions, he will be rewarded.

A general supposition refers indefinitely to any act or acts of a given class which may be supposed to occur or to have occurred at any time; as if ever he receives anything, he (always) gives it; if ever he received anything, he (always) gave it; if he had (on any occasion) had the power, he would (always) have helped me; if ever any one shall (or should) wish to go, he will (or would) always be permitted. So if he ever acts justly, I (always) honour him; if he ever acted justly, he was (always) rewarded.

395. Although this distinction is seen in all classes of conditions, present, past, and future (as the examples show), it is only in present and past conditions which do not imply non-fulfilment (i.e. in those of 390, 1) that the Greek distinguishes general from particular suppositions in construction. Here, however, we have two classes of conditions which contain only general suppositions.

(a) When the apodosis has a verb of present time expressing a customary or repeated action, the protasis may refer (in a general way) to any act or acts of a given class which may be supposed to occur at any time within the period represented in English as present. Thus we may say:—

*Εάν τις κλέπτῃ, κολάζεται, if (ever) any one steals, he is (in all such cases) punished; *Εάν τις πράσσῃ (or πράξῃ) τοιουτόν τι, χαλεπάνουμεν αὐτῷ, if (ever) any one does such a thing, we are (always) angry with him; *Εάν τις τούτου πίη, ἀποθνήσκει, if any one (ever) drinks of this, he dies. (See 462.)
(b) When the apodosis has a verb of past time expressing a customary or repeated action, the protasis may refer (in a general way) to any act or acts of a given class which may be supposed to have occurred at any time in the past. Thus we may say:

Εἴ τις κλέπτω, ἐκολάζετ ὡς, if (ever) any one stole, he was (in all such cases) punished; εἴ τις πράσσοι (or πράξει) τοιούτον τι, ἐχαλεπτώνομεν αὐτῷ, if (ever) any one did such a thing, we were (always) angry with him; εἴ τις τούτο τιός, ἀπέθνησκεν, if any one (ever) drank of this, he died. (See 462.)

396. Although the Latin sometimes agrees with the Greek in distinguishing general conditions from ordinary present and past conditions, using si faciat and si faceret in a general sense, like ἐάν πράσσῃ and εἴ πράσσοι above, it yet commonly agrees with the English in not recognising the distinction, and uses the indicative alike in both classes. Even the Greek sometimes (especially in poetry) neglects the distinction, and uses the indicative in these general conditions (467).

397. In external form the general present condition coincides with the more vivid future condition, 392, 1, as both are expressed by ἐάν and the subjunctive, the form of the apodosis alone distinguishing them. But in sense there is a much closer connexion between the general present condition and the ordinary present condition expressed by εἴ and the present indicative, 390, 1, with which in most languages (and sometimes even in Greek) it coincides also in form (see 396). On the other hand, ἐάν with the subjunctive in a future condition agrees substantially in sense with εἴ and the future indicative (447), and is never interchangeable with εἴ and the present indicative.

ORIGIN OF THE GREEK CONDITIONAL SENTENCE.—EARLY COMBINATIONS OF εἴ WITH κέ OR ἄν.

398. It is impossible to discuss intelligently the origin of the conditional sentence until the etymology and original meaning of the particles εἴ, αἴ, ἄν, and κέ are determined. On these questions we have as yet little or no real knowledge. The theory of εἴ or αἴ which identifies it with the pronominal stem sva (σφε), Oscan svaí, and Latin si, is perhaps the most common. By this the original meaning of εἴ, or rather of one of its remote ancestors in some primitive language, would be at a certain time (or place), in a certain way.1 But, even on this theory, we can hardly imagine any form of εἴ as existing in the Greek language until the word had passed at least into the relative stage, with the force of at which time (or place), in which way, under which circumstances. It cannot be denied that the strong analogy

1 See Delbrück, Conj. u. Opt., pp. 70, 71, who terms this a “wahrscheinliche positive Vermuthung.”
between conditional and relative sentences and the identity of most of their forms give great support to any theory by which the conditional sentence is explained as an outgrowth of the relative, so that the conditional relative sentence is made the original conditional construction. Thus εὶ ἡλθεν might at some time have meant in the case in which he went, and εἰ ἡλθῃ, in the case in which he shall go (or in case he shall go), etc. But here we are on purely theoretical ground; and we must content ourselves practically with the fact, that in the earliest Greek known to us εἰ was fully established in its conditional sense, like our if and Latin si.

399. The regular types of the conditional sentence, which are given above (390-395) as they appear in Attic prose, have been mainly sifted from a rich variety of forms which are found in earlier Greek. In Homer we have all tenses of the indicative used as in Attic Greek, except that the imperfect has not yet come to express an unreal present condition, but is still confined to the past. The future indicative sometimes has κε in protasis, and the future with κε or ἄν can stand in apodosis. The subjunctive in protasis can have εἰ κε (even εἰ ἄν), ἤν, or εἰ alone; and it can stand in a future apodosis either alone or with ἄν or κε (like the optative). The optative sometimes has εἰ κε in protasis, and occasionally stands in apodosis without ἄν or κε. Once we find εἰ κε with the aorist indicative (Il. xxiii. 526).

Thus, while we have in Attic prose two stereotyped forms of future conditional sentences, εάν (ἤν, ἄν) δι;, ἐλοίμαθαι and εἰ ὄρι, ἐλοίμαθαι ἄν, we have in Homer ἤν δι;, εἰ κε δι;, εἰ δι;, and εἰ ὄρι, εἰ κε ὄρι, in protasis; and ἐλοίμαθαι, ἐλοίμαθαι κε, ἐλοίμαθαι, ἐλοίμαθαι κε, and ἐλοίμαθαι κε (or ἄν), rarely ἐλοίμαθαι alone, in apodosis; with every variety of combination of these. (For the details and examples, see 450-454 and 460.)

400. There is a tendency in Homer to restrict the subjunctive with simple εἰ (without κε or ἄν) to general conditions (468), and a similar but less decided tendency to restrict the subjunctive with conditional relatives without κε or ἄν to the generic relative construction (538). But the general condition with εἰ appears in Homer in a primitive stage, compared with the corresponding relative construction, which is fully developed. Both subjunctive and optative are freely used in general relative conditions in Homer, as in Attic Greek; while in general conditions with εἰ the subjunctive occurs only nineteen times and the optative only once (468). On the supposition that the clause with εἰ is derived from the relative clause, this would appear as the ordinary process of development.
401. It is perhaps the most natural view of the various conditional expressions, *ει*, *ει κε*, *ει ἄν*, etc. to suppose that at some early stage the Greek had two perfectly analogous forms in future conditions, one with two subjunctives, and one with two optatives, e.g. *ει δῶ τούτο, ἔλωμαι κε* and *ει κε δοίη τούτῳ, ἔλοίμην κε*, both of which forms actually occur in Homer. Gradually the tendencies of the language restricted the use of *κε* more and more to the subjunctive in protasis and the optative in apodosis, although for a time the usage was not strict. This state of transition appears in Homer, who preserves even a case of an otherwise extinct use of *ει κε* with the aorist indicative. Shortly before this stage, however, a new tendency was making itself felt, to distinguish the present general condition from the particular in form, the way being already marked out by the conditional relative sentence. As this new expression was to be distinguished from both the really present condition *ει βουλέται* and the future *ει κε βουλέται*, the half-way form *ει βουλέται* (which had nearly given place to *ει κε βουλέται* in future conditions) came into use in the sense *if he ever wishes*. This would soon develop a corresponding form for use after past tenses, *ει βουλομαι* if *he ever wished*, of which we see only the first step in Homer, Π. xxiv. 768. (See 468.) It would hardly be possible to keep the two uses of *ει* with the subjunctive distinct in form, and in time the form with *κε* (or ἄν) was established in both (381). But we see this process too in transition in Homer, where *ει κε* or some form of *ει ἄν* is used in all future conditions except nine, and has intruded itself into five of the nineteen general conditions. We must suppose a corresponding process in regard to *κε* or ἄν in conditional relative clauses to have gone on before the Homeric period, with more complete results. In Attic Greek, except in a few poetic passages, the usage is firmly

1 As I do not profess to have any distinct theory of the origin or the original meaning of either κε or ἄν, I have not attempted to define their force, except so far as they emphasise what we see by usage may be implied by the sentence without their aid.

2 Monro (Hom. Gr. p. 263) thinks "the primary use of ἄν or κεν is to show that the speaker is thinking of particular instances or occasions." If this is so, we should expect these particles to be first used in future conditions, while the later general conditions would first take the simple ει, as is here supposed.

3 See Am. Jour. Phil. iii. pp. 441, 442, where Gildersleeve refers to the use of ει, δε, etc. with the optative in oratio obliqua, representing ἄν, δε, etc. with the subjunctive in the direct form, as evidence of an old use of ει, δε, etc. with the subjunctive.
established by which the subjunctive in protasis requires ἀν in both particular and general conditions.

I. FOUR FORMS OF ORDINARY CONDITIONAL SENTENCES.

(a) PRESENT AND PAST CONDITIONS.

1. Simple Suppositions (chiefly Particular).

402. When the protasis simply states a present or past particular supposition, implying nothing as to the fulfilment of the condition, it takes a present or past tense of the indicative with εἰ. Any form of the verb may stand in the apodosis to express the result if the condition is or was fulfilled. E.g.

Εἰ ἐφρ Shall, καὶ ἦστασα, ἐφὶ, if it thundered, it also lightened. (This implies no opinion of the speaker as to the reality of the thunder.) Εἰ δὲ οὐτό τοῦτ ἔστιν, ἐμοί μέλλει φίλον εἶναι. Π. i. 564. Ei ὁτε κοίραν ἔκαν, νῦν αὐτὸν δὲ γῆρας ὁπάρει. Π. iv. 321. Εἰ μᾶλλον καρπός ἐστιν, θέος που σοὶ τό γ' ἔδωκεν. Π. i. 178. Εἰ δὲ χρή καὶ πάρ σοφὸν ἀντιφέρεται, ἐρέω, but if I must match myself against the wise one, I will speak. PIND. Py. ix. 54. Εἰ θεοὶ τι δρώσιν ἀνοχρόνο, οὐκ εἰσίν θεοὶ, if Gods do aught that is base, they are not Gods. EUR. Bell. Fr. 294. Εἰ ἐγὼ Φαιδρὸν ἄνευ, καὶ ἐμαυτοῦ ἐπιλέκτησα άλλα γὰρ οὐδὲστρά ἐστι τούτων, if I do not know Phaedrus, I have forgotten myself; but neither of these is the case. PLAT. Phaedr. 228 A. Εἰ μὲν (Ἀσκληπίου) θεοὶ ἴν, οὐκ ἴν ἀνοχροκερδῆς· εἰ δὲ ἀνοχροκερδῆς, οὐκ ἴν θεοῦ. Π. Rep. 408 C. Εἰ δὲ κείνοις ἀνθεν- νάστερον ἴν, ξαυτῶ τοῦ πάθους αἴτιον ἡγήσατο. DEM. xxiii. 54.

403. The imperative, the subjunctive in exhortations or prohibitions, the optative in wishes, the potential optative or indicative with ἀν, or the infinitive may stand in the apodosis. E.g.

'Αλλ' εὶ δοκεῖ σοι, στείχει, ἐφὶ, if thou art resolved, go. SOPH. Ant. 98. (Here εἰν δοκῇ would refer to the future, while εἰ δοκεῖ is strictly present in its time. Cf. Ant. 76.) 'Αλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ, πελάμως, ὁ ῥμασθω ταχύν. Π. Ph. 526. Εἰ μὲν ἐστά με τοιοῦτον, . . . μηδέ φονὴν ἀνάσχησθε. DEM. xviii. 10. 'Αλλ' εἰ που πτωχὸν γε θεός καὶ ἐρνύες εἰσίν, 'Αντίνοον πρὸ γάρμο τέλος θανάτου κιχεύ. Od. xvii. 475. 'Αλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ σοι ταῦθα, ἵπα τὶς ἀδικίας λυό τάχος, ὃς if this please you, let some one quickly loose my shoes. AESCH. Ag. 944. Κάκιστ' ἀπολοίμην, Ξωνίαν εἰ μὴ φιλῶ. AR. Ran. 579. Πολλὴ γὰρ ἄν εὐδαιμονία εἰς περὶ τοὺς νέους, εἰ εἰς μὲν μόνος αὐτοῦ διαφθεῖρει οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ὡφελοῦσιν. PLAT. Ap. 25 B. See also II. vi. 128, εἰ . . . εἰλήλουσα, οὐκ ἄν . . . μαχοίμην. Τὸν 'Υπέρειδην, εἰσπερ
CONDITIONAL SENTENCES

404. This form of condition may be used even when the supposition is notoriously contrary to fact, if the speaker does not wish to imply this by the construction; as in Dem. xviii. 12, τῶν μέντοι κατηγορίων, . . . εἰπέρ ἡσαν ἀληθείς, οὐκ ἐνι τῇ πόλει δίκην ἄξιαν λαβείν, but if the charges were true (=erant, not essent), the state cannot obtain adequate satisfaction. So in English, we can say if three times six are twenty as well as if three times six were twenty, or if all men are liars as well as if all men were liars,—from different points of view.

405. A present or past general supposition is sometimes expressed by the indicative: see examples in 467. Here the Greek neglects the distinction which it regularly makes between general and particular suppositions of this class.

406. Pindar uses these simple conditions with εἰ and the indicative more than all other forms. But among his forty-eight cases are many general conditions (467), which most writers would have expressed by the subjunctive.

407. (Future Indicative in Present Suppositions.) Even the future indicative with εἰ may be used in a present condition, if it expresses merely a present intention or necessity that something shall be done hereafter; as when εἰ τοῦτο ποιήσει means if he is (now) about to do this, and not (as it does in an ordinary future condition) if he shall do this (hereafter). E.g.

Ἀριστερῶν εἰ μᾶχει, raise your spur, if you are going to fight. Ar. Av. 759. (Εἰ μᾶχει in protasis commonly means if you shall fight, like εἰάν μᾶχῃ, Ἡ νῦν εἰγώ μὲν οὐκ ἀνήρ, αὐτὴ δ' ἀνήρ, εἰ ταῦτ' ἀνατέ τήδε κείσεται κράτη, i.e. if this is to pass unpunished. Soph. Ant. 484. Τί διαφέροι τῶν ἐξ ἀνάγκης κακοπαθοντων, εἰ γε πεινήσουσι καὶ διψήσουσι καὶ ῥίγωσουσι καὶ ἀγρυπνήσουσι καὶ τάλα πάντα μοχθήσοντες κατὰ ἀκόντες; how do they differ, etc., if they are to suffer hunger, thirst, etc.? Xen. Mem. ii. 1, 17. So εἰ πόλεμος τε δαμος καὶ λοιμὸς Ἀχαιῶν, if both war and pestilence are to lay the Achaians low, II. i. 61; and εἰ διαβληθήσωμαι, if I am to be slandered, Eur. Hec. 863. In II. v. 715, η ἡ ὅ' ἀλιν τῶν μᾶν ὑπέτημεν Μενελάω, . . . εἰ οὗτοι μαίνεσθαι ἐάσομαι οὖλον Ἀρηα, vain is the word we pledged, if we are to permit, etc., the verb of the apodosis is past, showing that the condition is not future.

408. It is important to notice that a future indicative of this kind could not be changed to a subjunctive with εἰ without an entire change of sense and time. It must therefore be distinguished from the future in future conditions, where it is generally interchangeable with

1 See Am. Jour. Phil. iii. p. 438.
the subjunctive (447). Here it is nearly equivalent to the periphrastic future expressed by μέλλω and the infinitive (73), in which the tense of μέλλω (as in εἰ μέλλοντι τούτο ποιεῖν = εἰ τούτο ποιήσοντων) shows that the condition is really present and not future. So with the Latin periphrastic future, εἰ hoc facturus est.

409. A present condition may be expressed by a potential optative in the protasis, and a present or past condition by a potential indicative; as εἰπερ ἀλλῳ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ πείθοτεμην ἐν, καὶ σοὶ πείθομαι, if (it is true that) I would trust any one of mankind, I trust you, Plat. Prot. 329 B; εἰ τούτῳ ἴσχυρόν ἦν ἐν τούτῳ τεκμήριον, κάροι γενέσθω τεκμήριον, ὅτι, κ.τ.λ., if (it is true that) this would have been a strong proof for him (if he had used it), so let it be a proof for me, that, etc., Dem. xlix. 58. (See 458, and other examples in 506.)

2. With Supposition contrary to Fact.

410. When the protasis states a present or past supposition, implying that the condition is not or was not fulfilled, and the apodosis expresses what would be (or would have been) the result if that condition were (or had been) fulfilled, the past tenses of the indicative are used in both protasis and apodosis, and the apodosis contains the adverb ἄν.

The imperfect here, in either protasis or apodosis, refers to present time or to an act as going on or repeated in past time, the aorist to a simple occurrence in past time, and the (rare) pluperfect to an act completed in past or present time. E.g.

Εἰ τούτῳ ἐπρασσε, καλώς ἄν εἰ ἔχεν, if he were (now) doing this, it would be well (implying that he is not doing it). This may also mean if he had been doing this, it would have been well (implying that he was not doing it). The context must decide, in each case, to which time the imperfect refers. Εἰ τούτῳ ἐπράξει, καλῶς ἄν εἰ ἔχεν, if he had done this, it would have been well (implying that he did not do it). Εἰ τούτῳ ἐπεπράχει, καλῶς ἄν εἰ ἔχεν, if he had finished doing this (now or at any past time), it would be well (implying either he has not or he had not finished it).

(Impf. of Present Time.) Εἰ δέ μι' δι' ἀλ λόγους ἐξηραχείς, οὐκ ἄν ἥσθα λυπηρά κλίνετ, if you always began your talk to me in this way, you would not be offensive to listen to (as you are). Soph. El. 556. So El. 992, 1331, O. T. 1511; and Aesch. Sept. 662, Ag. 1395. Καὶ νῦν εἰ φοβερόν τι ἐνωρόμεν, πάν ἄν σοι προεφφάρομεν, if we saw any cause of alarm, we should tell it all to you. Hdt. i. 120. Ταῦτα οὐκ ἄν ἐδόθηντο ποιεῖν, εἰ μὴ καὶ διαίτη μετρά ἐρώντο, they would not be able to do this, if they did not lead an abstemious life. Xen. Cyr. i. 2,
16. Εύισθ' ὅτι εἰ τι ἔμοι ἐκήδον, οὐδενὸς ἄν οὔτω με ἀποστερεῖν ἐφιλάττον ὡς ἀξίωματος καὶ τιμῆς, if you cared for me at all, you would take precaution, etc. Id. v. 5, 34. Πολὺ ἀναματο- τερον ἥν, εἰ ἐπιμῶντο, it would be much more wonderful, if they were honoured. Plat. Rep. 489 B. Δέγουσι πάντα ἥ ἔχεις καίτοι εἰ μὴ ἐτύχακεν αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήμη ἐνοῦσα, οὐκ ἄν οἰοὶ τ' ἦσαν τούτο πούεσιν, they tell everything as it is: and yet if knowledge did not chance to be in them, they could not do this. Id. Phaed. 73 A. Ὅχι οὔτω δ' ἄν προθύμως ἔπει τὸν πόλεμον ὑμᾶς παρεκάλουν, εἰ μὴ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐκόρων ἄκοχραν ἠσμένην, I should not exhort you, did I not see (as I do), etc. Isoc. vi. 87.

(Impf. of Past Time.) Καὶ ταῦτα ἄν οὐκ ἐπρασσοσον, εἰ μὴ μοι πικράς αὐτῷ τ' ἀράς ἢράτου, and this I should never have done, had he not invoked bitter curses on myself. Soph. O. C. 951. Οὐκ ἄν νησῶν ἐκράτει, εἰ μὴ τι καὶ ναυτικον εἰχεν, he would not have been master of islands, if he had not had also some naval force (implying ναυτικον εἰχεν and νησῶν ἐκράτει, he had a navy, for he was master of islands). Thuc. i. 9. (Ταύτα) οὐκ ἄν προέλεγεν, εἰ μὴ ἐπιστέεν ἀληθεύσειν, he would not have declared these things (referring to several), had he not been confident that he should speak the truth. Xen. Mem. i. 1. 5. Εἰ χρ' άν άνδρες ἀγαθοί, ὡς σὺ φης, οὐκ ἄν ποτε ταύτα ἐπασχόν, if they had been good men, as you say, they would never have suffered these things (referring to several cases). Plat. Gorg. 516 E.

(Aorist of Past Time.) Εἰ μὴ ὄρκοις ἡρέθην, οὐκ ἄν ποτ' ἐσχον μὴ οὐ τάς ἐξετευν πατρι, had I not been bound by oaths, I should never have refrained, etc. Eur. Hipp. 657. Καὶ ηἷους ἄν διὰ ταῦτα ἀπέθανον, εἰ μὴ ἡ ἄρχη διὰ ταχέως κατελύθη. Plat. Ap. 32 D. Τι ποτ' ἄν ἐπαθὼν μπ' αὐτῶν, εἰ πλεῖον χρόνον ἐπιστροφήθην; εἰ κατελείψη κατανοήσεως, έξ ἐτη δ' προσεπετροπευθήνυ ὡς αὐτῶν, οὐδ' ἄν τὰ μικρὰ ταύτα παρ' αὐτῶν ἀπέλαβον. Dem. xxvii. 63. Εἰ τοίνυν ο Φίλιππος τότε ταύτην ἐσχε τήν γνώμην, οὐδέν άν νυνι πεποίηκεν ἐπράξεν, οὐδε τοσαντην ἐκτήσατο δύναμιν. Id. iv. 5.

(Different tenses in Protasis and Apodosis.) Εἰ μὴ ὄρκος ἡρέθην, οὐκ ἄν ποτ' ἐσχον μὴ οὐ τάς ἐξετευν πατρι, had I not been bound by oaths, I should never have refrained, etc. Eur. Hipp. 657. Καὶ ηἷους ἄν διὰ ταῦτα ἀπέθανον, εἰ μὴ ἡ ἄρχη διὰ ταχέως κατελύθη. Plat. Ap. 32 D. Τι ποτ' ἄν ἐπαθὼν μπ' αὐτῶν, εἰ πλεῖον χρόνον ἐπιστροφήθην; εἰ κατελείψη κατανοήσεως, έξ ἐτη δ' προσεπετροπευθήνυ ὡς αὐτῶν, οὐδ' ἄν τὰ μικρὰ ταύτα παρ' αὐτῶν ἀπέλαβον. Dem. xxvii. 63. Εἰ τοίνυν ο Φίλιππος τότε ταύτην ἐσχε τήν γνώμην, οὐδέν άν νυνι πεποίηκεν ἐπράξεν, οὐδε τοσαντην ἐκτήσατο δύναμιν. Id. iv. 5.

These examples show the fully developed construction, as it appears in the Attic writers and in Herodotus. For the more primitive Homeric usage, see 435 and 438.
411. This construction is equivalent to that of the Latin imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive in protasis and apodosis. With regard to the tenses, the Latin imperfect subjunctive represents the Greek imperfect indicative referring to present time, and rarely that referring to past time; while the Latin pluperfect subjunctive represents the Greek aorist and pluperfect indicative, and also most cases of the Greek imperfect referring to past time.

412. 1. It will be seen that, when this construction is used, it is usually implied not merely that the condition of the protasis is not (or was not) fulfilled but also that the action of the apodosis does not (or did not) take place; thus εἰ τοῦτο εἶρον, ἐπείρισθη δὲν, if I had said this, he would have been persuaded, generally implies not merely that I did not say this but also that he was not persuaded. But this denial of the apodosis is not an essential character of the construction, as we can see if we change the apodosis to οὐκ άν ἐπείρισθη, he would not have been persuaded, when it is not implied that he really was persuaded. We have seen that there is nothing in the nature of the potential indicative which makes a denial of its action necessary (244); and when this form is made the apodosis of an unreal condition, it simply states that something would happen (or would have happened) in a case which did not arise. Denial of the apodosis can follow as a logical inference from denial of the protasis only in the rare cases in which the unreal condition is the only one under which the action of the apodosis could have taken place, as when we say if the moon had entered the earth's shadow, she would have been eclipsed, where the denial of either clause carries with it by necessity the denial of the other. But if we say if it had rained, the ground would be wet, the denial of the protasis cuts off only one of many conditions under which the ground might be wet. Such sentences as this are, however, very common, though they are not used to prove the opposite of the apodosis (that the ground is not wet); but they are arguments in which the apodosis is assumed to be false (on the ground of observation or experience), and from this it is argued that the assumption of the protasis is false; that is, since the ground is not wet (as we can see), it cannot have rained, which is a good argument. This is the case in Θυκ. i. 9, and Πλατ. Gorg. 516 E (quoted in 410, above); where it is argued that Agamemnon had a navy because this was a necessary condition of his ruling islands, and that certain persons were not good men because they suffered what they did, the facts of ruling islands and of suffering being assumed in the argument as established on independent evidence. In other cases, where it is stated that the apodosis would follow as a consequence from the fulfilment of the condition, as in Σοφ. Αι. 45, κἂν ἐξεπράξατ' εἰ κατημῆλθ' ἐγὼ, he would even have accomplished it, if I had been careless, whatever negation of the apodosis is implied (here οὐκ ἐξεπράξατο) comes from a feeling that when the only condition under which it is stated that an action would have taken place fails, there is no reason for believing it to have taken place at all. We may doubt whether any
negation of the apodosis is implied in the form of expression in such cases. Certainly, in many cases in which the apodosis states a consequence which would follow from the action of an unreal protasis, this negation is assumed as already known apart from the construction; thus in Soph. El. 556 (quoted in 410) the apodosis means you would not then be offensive to listen to, and the only ground on which we mentally add as you now are is our knowledge of Clytaemnestra's feeling towards Electra. If the sentence were if all men began their speeches politely, they would not be offensive, we should not think of supplying as they now are without some knowledge of the facts.

2. When the sentence merely affirms or denies that one act, if it had occurred, would be accompanied by another act, and there is no necessary relation between the two acts as cause and effect, and there is no argument drawn from the admitted unreality of the conclusion to prove the opposite of the condition, no denial of the apodosis is implied in the expression, although we may know from the context or in some other way that the action of the apodosis does not (or did not) occur. Thus in Plat. Ap. 17 D, εἰ τῷ δόγματι ξένους έτύχανον ἄν, ἔννεγκρήςκε δὴ πού ἂν μοι εἰ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ φωνῇ ἔλεγον, etc., if I were really a foreigner, you would surely pardon me if I spoke in my own dialect, etc., it is not implied that now you do not pardon me. We should rather say that nothing at all is implied beyond the statement you would pardon me in that case. If the apodosis were you would not be angry with me, the impossibility of understanding but now you are angry would make this plainer. Again, in Xen. An. vi. 1, 32, οὐδ' ἄν ἔγωγε στασιάζον εἰ ἄλλον εἴλεσθε, neither should I (any more than Xenophon) be quarrelsome if you had chosen another man, nothing like στασιάζω is implied; on the other hand, any such implication as οὐ στασιάζω must come from the circumstances of the case, not from the form of expression.

In Soph. O. T. 220, οὐ γὰρ ἂν μακράν ἰχνευον αὐτός, if the protasis is εἰ ἰχνευον αὐτός, if I were undertaking the search by myself (alone), the apodosis I should not be very far on the track does not imply μακράν ἰχνευο, or anything more than the sentence states. (See 511.)

Agamemnon 996, εἰ παρούσα πλησία ἔλεψες οὖν ἔδρασε, κἀρτ' ἄν ϕύκτωρ, the statement does not imply οὐκ ϕύκτωρ, although this may be true.

3. Further, in concessive sentences introduced by καὶ εἰ or εἰ, even if or although, or οὐδ' εἰ, not even if, where it is stated that something would be true even in a supposed case (which does not arise), we have what amounts to a statement that the thing in question would be true in any case. Here, therefore, the action of the apodosis is distinctly affirmed; as in Isoc. xxi. 11, Νικίας μὲν, εἰ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον κυριαρχεῖτί, τότ' ἄν ἔταυσατο. Εὐθύνους δὲ, καὶ εἰ μὴ μέτα τῶτερ διενοήθη άδίκειν, τότ' ἄν ἔπηρθη, i.e. Ν. would then have stopped, while E. would have been urged on, in any case. So Dem. xxx. 14, and xl. 23. See Plat. Rep. 620 D, τὰ ἄρτὰ ἄν ἐπραξε καὶ πρώτη λαχοῦν (καὶ εἰ πρώτη ἐλαχέν), τί would have done the same even if it had drawn the first choice.
413. In the unreal conditional sentence, therefore, the unreality of the supposition is always implied, and that of the apodosis is generally either assumed or implied. The implied opposite of an imperfect is always present or imperfect, that of an aorist is an aorist, and that of a pluperfect is usually a perfect or pluperfect. Thus εἰ ἔπρασσε, when it means if he were doing, implies ἀλλ' οὐ πράσσει, but really he is not doing; if he had been doing, it implies ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔπρασσε, but really he was not doing: εἰ μὴ ἔπραξεν, if he had not done, implies ἀλλ' ἔπραξεν, but really he did do: εἰ ἐπεσεύχηκε τούτο, if he had already done this, implies either ἀλλ' οὐκ πεποίηκεν, but really he has not done it, or ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπεσεύχηκε, but really he had not done it, according to the context. The aorist, however, is very often used here, as elsewhere, where the pluperfect would express the time intended more exactly; as in the sentence quoted in 410 from DEM. iv. 5, οὐδὲν ἄν ἄν νῦν πεποίηκεν ἔπραξεν, where the perfect πεποίηκεν shows that the pluperfect might have been used for ἔπραξεν (see 58).

414. Sometimes an aorist not referring to past time is found in the apodosis, after a protasis in the imperfect referring to the present. This occurs chiefly in Plato, and generally with εἰπον ἄν, ἐπεσεύχηκαίν, ἄν, or a similar verb, meaning I should at once reply. The aorist excludes the idea of duration which the imperfect would express, and for the same reason it cannot be strictly present; in effect it does not differ much from an aorist optative with ἄν, the apodosis really being the result (in the case supposed) would be (ὥν ἄν) that I should reply (εἰπον ἄν), etc. E.g. 

Εἴ μὲν οὖν σὺ μὲ ἣρωτας τι τών νῦν δή, εἰπον ἄν, κ.τ.λ., if then you were asking me any one of the questions before us, I should (at once) say, etc. PLAT. Euthyph. 12 D. "Ὡςπερ ἄν εἰ ἔτυγχαν ὃς ὑποδημά-των θημοιογές, ἐπεσεύχηκά τοίνυν ἄν δή ποῦ σοι ὧν σκυντόμασι, ἂς, if he chanced to be a maker of shoes, he would answer that he was a cobbler. Id. Gorg. 447 D. See also PLAT. Symp. 199 B, Theag. 123 B; ANT. Tetr. A. β. 13. In PLAT. Prot. 311 B, C, we have εἰ τίς σὲ ἡρετῷ, τί ἄν ἐπεσεύχηκ; with the answer εἰπον ἄν ὃς, κ.τ.λ., twice, referring to present time; but in D, εἰ οὖν τίς ἦμάς ἑροτό (future), followed by τί ἄν αὐτῷ ἄποκριναιμέθα;

An example of this is found in SOPH. Ant. 755: εἰ μὴ πατήρ ἥσθ', εἰπον ἄν σ' οὐκ εἰ φρονεῖν, if you were not my father, I should say you were not right in mind. See EUR. Alc. 125, ἦλθεν ἄν, i.e. (the result would be that) she would return. So Alc. 360.

APODOSIS WITHOUT ἄν.—"Εδει, χρῆν, etc. WITH THE INFINITIVE.

415. A peculiar form of potential indicative without ἄν consists of an infinitive depending on the imperfect of a verb of
obligation, propriety, or possibility, like ἐδεί, χρὴν or ἐχρὴν, εἰκὸς ἢν, or προσῆκεν. This expression refers to past or present time, and generally implies a denial of the action of the infinitive. Thus ἐδεί τοῦτον ἀπόθανεῖν in this idiomatic use means he ought to have perished (but did not); ἐδεί ἡμᾶς τοῦτο ποιεῖν means we ought to be doing this (but we are not) or we ought to have done this (but we did not do it). This combination contains in other words what might have been expressed substantially by a past indicative with ἀν of the verb of the infinitive, qualified by an adverb or other expression denoting obligation, propriety, or possibility: thus ἐδεί τοῦτον ἀπόθανεῖν is (as a construction) equivalent to οὗτος δικαίως (or ἀξίως) ἃν ἀπέθανεν, he would justly have perished, and εἰκὸς ἢν σὲ τοῦτο παθεῖν is equivalent to τοῦτο εἰκότως ἃν ἐπαθεῖς, you would properly have suffered this (implying οὐκ ἐπαθεῖς). Strictly, the expression involves also an unreal protasis, as (in the last case) ἢ τὸ εἰκὸς ἐπαθεῖς, which with the apodosis τοῦτο ἐπαθεῖς ἃν appears substantially in εἰκὸς ἢν σὲ τοῦτο παθεῖν. (See 511.)

When the present infinitive is used, the expression is present or past; with the aorist infinitive it is always past.

416. The following imperfects may take the infinitive in this sense: ἐδεί, χρὴν or ἐχρὴν, εἰκὸς ἢν, προσῆκεν, ἐνήν, ἐξῆν, ἢ (or ἐτηρχήν), it was possible, one might, the impersonal ἢν with adjectives or nouns expressing obligation, propriety, possibility, and similar ideas, as δικαίον ἢν, ἀξίων ἢν, καλὸν (κάλλιον, κράτιστον, ἀσφαλέστερον ἢν), εἰσχρόν ἢν, προσήκον ἢν, οὐθεμαστὸν ἢν, άσφαλέστερον ἢν, ἰκνιόν ἢν, ἐνεχότων ἢν, συγγνωστὸν ἢν, συγγεγραμμένον ἢν, ἐργον ἢν, ἢ with the verbal in -τέος, —also ἐπρεπεν, συνέφερεν, ἐλύστελεν, with other verbs of the same nature. To these must be added the expressions specially mentioned below in 424-431.

417. These are all originally expressions of past necessity, obligation, etc., involving no reference to any condition (unfulfilled or otherwise); and in this sense they may always be used, as in DEM. xix. 124, ἐδεί μένειν, he was obliged to stay (and did stay), and HDT. i. 8, χρὴν γὰρ Κανδαύλη γενέσθαι κακῶς, for C. was doomed to fall into trouble. It is only by idiomatic usage that the denial of the action of the infinitive comes to be implied in them, and that a past tense comes to express present time, both of which characteristics are found in Greek, Latin, and English; as ἐδεί σε αὐτῶν φιλεῖν, debebas eum colere, you ought to love him (but

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1 See Isoc. v. 34. 2 Isae. ii. 15; Aristot. Eth. x. 9, 18 (p. 1181 a, 4). 3 DEM. xx. 23. 4 Isoc. xx. 14. 5 DEM. xviii. 248. 6 Lys. vii. 24. 7 Ant. v. 13. 8 Aristot. Eth. x. 9, 19 (p. 1181 a, 6). 9 Lys. xiii. 28. 10 DEM. lix. 112. The imperfects not included in these references will be found among the examples in 419-422. The above list could doubtless be greatly extended.
you do not), ought being the past of owe. The infinitive is felt to be negatived, even when the negative belongs to the leading verb.

418. Like the potential indicative, this form of expression can either (1) be used alone, with no external protasis expressed or distinctly implied, as in χρήν σε ἐλθεῖν, you ought to have gone; or (2) stand as apodosis to an unreal protasis, as in εἰ ἐκέλευσε, χρήν σε ἐλθεῖν, if he had commanded it, you ought to have gone.

419. I. When these expressions are used alone, the denial of the action of the infinitive is always implied. E.g.

Τοίσδε γὰρ μὴ ἔδει, for these ought not to be living (as they are). SOPH. Ph. 418. "Εδει μὲν τὸς λέγοντας ἀπαντὰς μὴτε πρὸς ἔχθραν ποιεῖσθαι λόγον μηδένα μὴτε πρὸς χάριν, i.e. the speakers ought not to say a word out of regard either to enmity or to favour (and yet they do so). DEM. vii. 1. Σιγάνσας ἦνιδ ἐδεί λέγειν, keeping silence when he ought to speak. Id. xviii. 189: cf. xviii. 191.

εἰ ἔκέλευσε, χρήν σε ἐλθεῖν, if he had commanded it, you ought to have gone.

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πρὸς ἔχθραν ποιεῖσθαι λόγον μηδένα μὴτε πρὸς χάριν, i.e. the speakers ought not to say a word out of regard either to enmity or to favour (and yet they do so). DEM. vii. 1. Σιγάνσας ἦνιδ ἐδεί λέγειν, keeping silence when he ought to speak. Id. xviii. 189: cf. xviii. 191.

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θανεΐν, θανεΐν σε, πρέσβευ, χρήν πάρος τέκνων. EUR. And. 1208. Τί έχρήν με ποιεῖν; μή προσάγειν γράψαι (τον πρέσβεις); what ought I to have done (which I did not do)? Ought I not to have proposed (as I did) to invite the ambassadors? DEM. xxviii. 28. "Εξερήσθη πάντων τῶν πολεμίων μὲν οὖν καὶ δίκαιον ἦν τοὺς τὸ στέφανον οἰομένους δεῖν λαβεῖν αὐτοὺς ἰαίνους ἐπιδεικνύναι τοῦτο, μὴ ἐμὲ ἐκάκως λέγειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο παρέντες έκεῖνο ποιούσι, κ.τ.λ., i.e. those who think they ought to receive the crown ought to show that they deserve it themselves, and not be abusing me; but since now they have neglected the former and do the latter, etc. Id. li. 3.

εἰ ἔκελευσε, χρήν σε ἐλθεῖν, you ought yourself never to have gone to Troy, and you ought (now) to keep me away from it. SOPH. Ph. 1363. See AESCH. Ag. 879, Cho. 930; SOPH. El. 1505. Θανείν, θανείν σε, πρέσβευ, χρήν πάρος τέκνων. EUR. And. 1208. Τί έχρήν με ποιεῖν; μή προσάγειν γράψαι (τον πρέσβεις); what ought I to have done (which I did not do)? Ought I not to have proposed (as I did) to invite the ambassadors? DEM. xxviii. 28. "Εξερήσθη πάντων τῶν πολεμίων μὲν οὖν καὶ δίκαιον ἦν τοὺς τὸ στέφανον οἰομένους δεῖν λαβεῖν αὐτοὺς ἰαίνους ἐπιδεικνύναι τοῦτο, μὴ ἐμὲ ἐκάκως λέγειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο παρέντες έκεῖνο ποιούσι, κ.τ.λ., i.e. those who think they ought to receive the crown ought to show that they deserve it themselves, and not be abusing me; but since now they have neglected the former and do the latter, etc. Id. li. 3.

Σφαΐν δ', ώ τέκν, οὔ μὲν εἰκός ἦν πονεῖν τάδε, those of you who ought to be bearing these labours. SOPH. O. C. 342. Πρὸς τούτοις τὸν ἀγώνα καταστήσας, oὐς εἰκός ἦν τῷ μὲν τεθνεῶτα τιμωρούσι γενέσθαι τῷ δ' ἐπεξιόντι βοηθοῦσι, who properly should have come forward to avenge the dead and to help the prosecutor. ANT. i. 2. Εἰ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων μὲν ἐσώθημεν, οἷς εἰκός ήν διακωλύειν μὴ σωζεσθαι, i.e. who would naturally have tried to prevent us from being saved. LYS. xx. 36. See DEM. xl. 30. Καὶ μάλιστα εἰκός ἦν ὑμᾶς προορᾶσθαι αὐτὰ καὶ μὴ μαλακῶς, ὥσπερ νῦν, ἐνυμαχεῖν. THUC. vi. 78. (The orator adds, ἀλλ' οὖθ' ἡμείς γέ πω οὖθ' οἱ άλλοι ἐπὶ ταύτα ἀρμαθεί.) Μένειν γὰρ ἐξήν τῷ κατηγοροῦντι τῶν άλλων, he might have stood his ground (but really he ran away). DEM. iii. 17: cf. xviii. 14, xxvii. 58; LYS. xii. 31.

Τὴν διαθήκην ἦφανικατε, ἐξ ἦν ἔδεινει περὶ πάντων τῶν ἀλῆθεων, you have concealed the will, from which we (now) might know the truth about the whole matter. DEM. xxviii. 10. Τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐξήθρας ἦμας ἐφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν δίκαιον ἦν τὸν ἐξετασμὸν ποιεῖσθαι, i.e. we should justly settle up our quarrel by ourselves. Id. xiii. 16: cf. 13,
where δίκαιον ἦν is understood with χρήσθαι, he would justly have used them. Πράττων πολὺ βέλτιον ἦν οἱ προσήκον ἦν (sc. πράτ- 
teων), being much better off than you deserve to be. Id. xlv. 69. Καὶ 
μὴν δὲ ἔδωκαν γ’ ἦν ἀκούσαν, indeed, it was worth your while to hear 
them (ἀξίως ἐν ἥκοντα). PLAT. Ethyd. 304 D. The person addressed 
had just said οὐκ οἶος τ’ ἂν κατακόμειν.

"Ἀλλ’ έπρεπεν λέγειν ἃ λέγεις, another would have becomingly 
said what you say (ἄλλοις ἂν ἔλεγε πρεπόντως). PLAT. Rep. 474 D. 
Τὸ δυσχερέστατον τῶν ὁμοίων, δ’ τῶν φθονούσιν ἔργον ἦν 
λέγειν, ἀλλ’ οὗ τῶν προεστῶν τῆς τοιαύτης παιδεύσεως, the most 
disagreeable of names (Sophist), which the envious ought to use rather 
than those who stand at the head of the business in question. ISOc. xiii. 19.

420. II. When this form is made the apodosis of an unreal 
condition (expressed or distinctly implied), it states that what 
the infinitive denotes would necessarily, properly, or possibly be 
done (or have been done) if the case supposed were a real one. 
The chief force of the apodosis here always lies in the infinitive, 
while the leading verb acts as an auxiliary (which we can 
generally express by ought, might, or could, or by an adverb), 
modifying the idea of the infinitive more or less in different 
cases. But when the chief stress is laid on the necessity, pro-
priety, or possibility of the act, and not on the act itself, so that 
the real apodosis is in the leading verb, this takes ἂν, like any 
other imperfect in such an apodosis (423). In some cases, how-
ever, even when no ἂν is added, the force of the infinitive is so 
modified by the idea of the leading verb that the opposite of the 
apodosis (which is generally inferred) cannot be expressed with-
out including both ideas (see examples in 422, 1).

421. In the following examples the infinitive represents the 
real apodosis, and its action is denied as when no protasis is added (419):—

Εἰ ἐπ’ ἡμέας μούνον ἔστρατηλάτες ὁ Πέρσης, χρῆν αὐτὸν πάντων 
tῶν ἀλλῶν ἀπεχόμενον νεάνι οὖντω ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέρην· καὶ ἂν ἔδωκαν 
pᾶν ὡς ἐπὶ Σκύθων ἐλαύνει, if the Persian were making his expedition 
against us alone, he should leave all others and be marching directly into 
our country; then he would show everybody that he was marching against 
Scythians. HHT. iv. 118. Δεῖν (= ἐδεί) δὲ, εἰπέρ ἢν ἰνατόν, ἀνευ τῶν 
ἀλλῶν αὐτὸ λέγεσθαι· νῦν δὲ ἄδύνατον. PLAT. Theae. 202 A. 
Χρῆν σ’, εἰπέρ ἦσθα μὴ κακῶς, πείσαντα μα γαμεῖν γάμον τοῦ δ’, 
ἀλλ’ μὴ σεγγυ φίλων, i.e. if you were not base, you should make this 
marrige with my consent, and not (as you do) in secret from your friends, 
EUR. Med. 586. Εἰ τίνα (προικα) εἰδίδω, εἰκὸς ἦν καὶ τὴν δοξίαν 
ὑπὸ τῶν παραγένεσθαι φακόντων μαρτυρεῖν θα, i.e. if he had given 
you dowry, it would naturally have been attested by witnesses. ISAE. iii. 
28. See ID. iv. 18. Ἐμὲ εἰ μὲν ἐν ἄλλαις τοῖς ἡμέραις ἔδίκησε 
tι τοῖτων ἑνώθην ὅντα, ἱδία καὶ δίκην προσήκεν αὐτῷ διδόναι,
422. 1. In the following examples the idea of the infinitive is so modified by that of the leading verb, that the real apodosis (the opposite of which is implied) includes both ideas; but the chief force still remains in the infinitive, so that no an is added.

Εδεί δικαίως είναι, ἐξῆν αὐτῷ μεταθεσαι τὸν ὄκον, ἢ γήν προκάμπτων τοὺς παιδέων τρέφειν, i.e. he might have let the house, or have bought land and supported the children from the income. Lyt. xxxii. 23. Εν αὐτῇ τῇ δίκῃ ἐξῆν σοι φυγῆς τιμήσασθαι, εἴ έβονλου. Plat. Crit. 52 Ε. (See Isoc. xvii. 29.) Πολλοὶ δόξω, ὡς ὅσο ὅν σε σωζεῖν εἴ ήθελον αναλίσκειν χρήματα, άμελήσαι, many will think that, whereas I might have saved you if I had been willing to spend money, I neglected it. Ib. 44 B.

The preceding examples confirm the reading of the best Mss. in
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Eur. Med. 490, εἴ γὰρ Ἰοδό' ἀπαίετε, συγγυνωστὸν ἦν σοι τὸν ἔρασθήναι λέγον, which may be translated, for if you had remained still childless, you might pardonably have become enamoured of this new marriage, the apodosis being equivalent to ἔρασθής ἔν with an adverb meaning pardonably (if you had done what would have been pardonable). This implies not you were not enamoured, but you were not pardonably enamoured. If no protasis had been added, συγγυνωστὸν ἦν ἔρασθήμεν (in its potential sense) must have meant you might pardonably have become enamoured (but you did not), and then ἔν would have been required to give the sense it would have been pardonable (but is not so). The other reading, συγγυνωστὸν ἦν, would make the same change in the balance of force that χρήν ἔν, ἐδεί ἔν, ἐνήν ἔν, and ἀξιόν ἔν, which would make in the preceding examples.

2. In concessive sentences introduced by καὶ εἰ, even if, οὐδ' εἰ, not even if, or εἰ, although, containing unreal conditions, where the action of the apodosis is not denied but affirmed (see 412, 3), the real apodosis may be represented by an infinitive and a leading verb like ἐδεί, ἐξήν, etc. combined. E.g.

Οὐκ ἔξην αὐτῷ δικάζεσθαι περὶ τῶν τότε γεγενημένων, οὐδ' εἰ πάντα ταύτ' ἦν πεποιηκὼς ἄ φασιν οὕτος, he could not maintain a suit about what was then done, even if I had really done what he says I did (implying ὅλ' ἔξεστιν αὐτῷ δικάζεσθαι, but with the chief force on δικάζεσθαι). Isoc. xviii. 19. Οὐδ' εἰ γνήσιοι ἔσαν εἰσποιητοί δὲ, ὡς οὕτω ἔφασαν, οὐδ' οὕτω προσήκεν αὐτοῖς ἑντάξειος εῖναι, not even if they were genuine sons and were afterwards adopted into another family, would they now properly belong to E.'s house (implying they do not properly belong there). Isae. vi. 44. See also Hdt. vii. 56; Dem. xvi. 199, xxiii. 107.

Οὐδ' εἰ γὰρ ἦν τὸ πράγμα μὴ θεήλατον, ἀκάθαρτον ν' μας ἐκος οὐτος ἔκανα, for even if the duty were not urged upon you by a God, you ought not to leave the guilt unpurged as you do. Soph. O. T. 255. (Here the apodosis as a whole is affirmed, although the infinitive itself, not to leave, is denied. So in the two following examples.)

Καλὸν δ' ἦν, εἰ καὶ ἁμαρτάνομεν, τούτῳ εἰςαί τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ὀργῇ, ἦμι δ' ἀισχρῶν (sc. ἦν) βιῶσασθαι τῇ μετριότητα, if we had even been in the wrong, they might fairly have yielded to our wrath, while we could not have done violence to their moderation without disgrace. Thuc. i. 38. Ἀξιόν ἦν, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν αὐταῖς πρότερον ὑπῆρξεν ἄγαθον, (παύετι) τῆς μεγίστης δωρεᾶς παρὰ τῶν Ελλήνων τυχεῖν, i.e. these cities, even if they had had no other merit to rely on, deserved to receive (ought to have received) the greatest reward from the Greeks (which, it is said, they did not receive). Isoc. xii. 71.

423. (Εἰδει αὖ, etc.) The examples in 421, 1 and 2, show that the common rule for distinguishing Εἰδει etc. with the infinitive (without αὖ) from Εἰδει αὖ etc. with the infinitive,—that the former is used when the action of the infinitive is denied, the
latter when the obligation, propriety, or possibility is denied, —often cannot be applied, though as a working rule it can be used in the great majority of cases. While there are many sentences in which either form would express the required sense, the essential distinction is, that the form without ἀν is used when the chief force of the apodosis falls on the infinitive, the leading verb being an auxiliary (see 420); but the leading verb takes ἀν when the chief force falls on the necessity, propriety, or possibility of the act, rather than on the act itself.

The following examples will illustrate the form with ἀν:—

Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ ἔτει ἐν δυνάμει ἢν τοῦ ἐρείδως πορεύεσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἀστυ, οὐδὲν ἀν σε ἔδει δεύρο ἴναι· ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἂν παρὰ σὲ ἵππον ὤν δὲ σε χρὴ πυκνότερον δεύρο ἴναι, i.e. in that case there would be no need (as there now is) of your coming hither. Plat. Rep. 328 C. Τὸ μὲν πατρὶ αὐτῆς, εἰ παῖδες ἀρρενεὶς μὴ ἐγένοντο, οὐκ ἂν ἔζην ἂνεν ταύτης διαθέσθαι, her father, if he had had no male children, would not have been allowed to leave her out of his will (implying ἀλλ' ἐζῆν). Isae. x. 13. Εἰ οὖν παρεκαλούμεν ἀλλήλους ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκοδομικά, πότερον ἐδεί ήμᾶς σκεύασθαι ἡμᾶς αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐξετάσαι εἰ ἐπιστάμεθα τὴν τίχυν; ἔδει ἂν ἢ νῦ; i.e. in that case would it be our duty or not to examine ourselves and inquire whether we understand the art? Plat. Gorg. 514 A. See also Dem. iv. 1, quoted in 410.

A comparison of these examples with those in 422, 1, will show the distinction between the two forms and also the narrowness of the line which sometimes separates them.

For a discussion of χρῆν and χρῆν ἂν in Dem. xviii. 195, and of χρῆν and χρῆν ἂν in Lys. xii. 32 and 48, and for other remarks on these constructions, see Appendix V.

424. 1. The imperfect ὀφελλον or ὀφελλον of ὀφέλλω (Epic of ὀφεῖλον), owe, debeto, and the aorist ὀφελεν or ὀφελον are sometimes used with the infinitive in Homer like χρῆν, ἔδει, etc. in the later construction (415). E.g.

Τιμὴν πέρ μοι ὀφελλεν Ἡλιοκομπὸς ἐγνατόλεια Ζεὺς ψηφίσθησε· νῦν δ' οὖδὲ με τυθὼν ἵτισεν, i.e. Zeus ought to have secured me honour; but now he has not honoured me even a little. Il. i. 353. Νῦν ὀφελεν κατά πάντας ἀριστής ποιεσθαι λισσόμενος, now ought he to be labouring among all the nobles, benefiting them. Il. x. 117. 'Αλλ' ὀφελεν ἀθανατοίοις εὐχεσθαί, but he ought to have prayed to the Gods. Il. xxiii. 546. For the reference to present time in Il. x. 117, see 246 and 734.

2. From this comes the common use of this form in expressions of a wish, in Homer and in Attic Greek; as ὀφελεῖ Κῦρος ζῆν, would that Cyrus were living (lit. Cyrus ought to be living), Xen. An. ii. 1, 4. (See 734.)

425. Similar to this is the occasional use of ἵβονόλομην (with-
out άν) and the infinitive, to express what some one wishes were now true (but which is not true). E.g.

Εβουλόμην μέν οὖν καί τήν βουλήν καί τάς ἐκκλησίας ὀρθῶς διοικεῖσθαι καί τοὺς νόμους ἴσχύειν, I would that both the Senate and the assemblies were rightly managed, and that the laws were in force (implying the opposite of ὀρθῶς διοικεῖσθαι and ἴσχύειν). This is analogous to οφελεῖν εἰναι, would that it were, and έδει εἰναι, it ought to be (but is not). Aeschin. iii. 2. Ἑβουλόμην μέν οὖν ἐρίζειν ἐνθάδε, I would that I were not contending here (as I am), or I would not be contending here. Ar. Ran. 866. Εβουλόμην τήν δύναμιν τοῦ λέγειν έξ ίσον μοι καθεστάναι τῇ συμφορῇ, I would that power of speech equal to my misfortune were granted me. Ant. v. i. Ἑβουλόμην κάγω τάληθη πρὸς ὑπάρ πειν δυνηθήναι, I would that I had found the power to tell you the truth. Isae. x. 1. Ἑβουλόμην μηδ’ ύφ’ είνος ἀδικεῖσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν, I would I had not been wronged by a single one of the citizens. Id. Frag. 4 (Scheibe): see Frag. 22.

426. 'Εβουλόμην άν, vellem, I should wish or I should have liked, can always be used as a potential indicative, like έδει άν etc. (423): see Ar. Eccl. 151 ; Aeschin. iii. 115. (See 246.)

427. (a) The aorist of κινδυνεύω is used with the infinitive, as a periphrasis for the verb of the infinitive with άν. E.g.

Ἡ πόλις κινδύνευε πάσα διαφθαρῆναι εἰ άνέμου ἐπεγένετο, the city ran the risk of being utterly destroyed if a wind had arisen. Thuc. iii. 74. Εἰ μή έξεφύγομεν εἰς Δελφοὺς κινδύνευσαμεν απολέσθαι, we ran the risk of perishing had we not fled to Delphi, i.e. we should very probably have perished if we had not fled. Aeschin. iii. 123. For κινδύνευσα αν see (b) below.

So with κίνδυνος ήγ: as in And. ii. 12, εἰ τότε τα ἐπιτίθεια μη εισήχθη, οὐ περὶ τοῦ σώσα τάς Λήγιας δ κίνδυνον ήν αὑτός μᾶλλον ή, κ.τ.λ., i.e. they ran a risk, in case the supplies had not then been brought in, not so much about saving Athens, as, etc. (b) When the chief force of the apodosis lies in κινδύνευσα, even though the meaning is not much affected by the distinction in form, αν is used (as with έδει etc. in 423). So in Xex. An. iv. 11, εἰ πλείους συνελέγησαν, κινδύνευσαν αν πολὺ διαφθαρῆναι τοῦ στρατεύματος, if more had been collected, there would have been danger of much of the army being destroyed.

428. (a) The imperfect of μέλλω with the infinitive may express a past intention or expectation which was not realised, and so take the place of the verb of the infinitive with αν. E.g.

Ἡ μάλα δ’ Ἀγαμέμνονος φθίσεσθαι κακὸν οὕτων έμελλόν, εἰ μή . . . 'έπες, i.e. I should have perished like A. (lit. I was to have perished), if thou hadst not spoken. Od. xiii. 383. Μέλλειν μέν ποτε οἴκος ὁδ’ ἀρσείοι καὶ ἀμμοῦ έμελεύει· νόν δ’ έτέρως εξελόντο θεοί, this house was to have been rich and glorious; but now the Gods have willed it otherwise. Od. 1. 232. Οὐ συνοπτεύεσθαι έμελλόν, they were
not going to join him, or they would not have joined him (in that case). Dem. xix. 159; see xviii. 172. "Ἡτον τὸ ἀδίκημα πολλῶν οὐσῶν ἐμελλε ἔδειλον ἔτερον, the offence would have been less plain when there were many olive trees). Lys. vii. 24. See Thuc. v. 38, μέλλοντες πρότερον, εἰ ταῦτα ἔπεσαν, πειράσεσθαι. Compare the Latin: Hoc facturi erant, nisi venisset, they were to have done this (would have done this), had he not come.1

(d) A single case of ἃν with ἐμελλε occurs in And. i. 21: εἰ καὶ πατήρ ἔσοδε τούτῳ ὑπομένειν, τοὺς φίλους ἃν οἴσῃ... ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ὅν ἃν παρατεύοντα καὶ δεῖσθαι ἀπάναι ὅτι ἃν ἐμελλε σωθῆσσαι; i.e. to depart to a place where he would have been likely to be safe. Most critics repudiate this ἃν; but it seems perfectly analogous to ἃν with ἐδεῖ, χρῆν, etc. (423).

429. Similar is the use of ἐφην in Od. iv. 171: καὶ μν ἐφην ἔλθαντα φιλήσαμεν ἔξοχον ἄλλων, εἰ νον νόστον ἔδωκεν (Zeus), i.e. I intended to love him (and should have done so) had Zeus granted us a return.

430. An analogous case is Lys. xii. 60: ἀπολέσαι παρεσκέψεται τῇ πόλις εἰ μή δι' ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς, they were preparing to destroy the city (and would have destroyed it) had it not been for good men.

431. A few expressions which have no dependent infinitive are practically equivalent to a potential indicative with ἃν, and so can stand as the apodosis of an unreal condition. E.g.

Τούτῳ δ' εἰ μὴ ομολογοῦν ἃ οὕτω ἔσοδε, αὐτέρκη ἐκοίμη ἐνοχὸς ἃν, but if they had not acknowledged to him what he wanted, he was liable to no charge (i.e. he could not have been accused). Lys. vii. 37. 'Ως, εἰ μν τὸ ἐπ' αὐτοφόρῳ μὴ προσεγέγραπτο, ἐνοχὸς ἃν (= ἃν) τῇ ἀπαγωγῇ, assuming that, if the words ἐπ' αὐτοφόρῳ had not been added, he might properly have been tried by ἀπαγωγή. Id. xiii. 85. Πιστεύοντος γὰρ ἐμοὶ ἐδειναι ἂ λέγειν, καλὸς εἰ δὲ εἶν ἡ παραμυθία, i.e. for if I trusted (= εἰ ἐπίστευον) to any knowledge of my own about what I am saying, the consolation which you offer would encourage me (lit. your consolation was good on that supposition). Plat. Rep. 450 D. (We might have had καλὸν ἃν σε παραμυθεῖσθαι in the same sense.) Εἰ τὸ κωλύσαι τῷ τῶν Ἐλλήνων κοινωνικῶν ἐπετράκειν ἐγὼ Φίλιππω, σοι τὸ μὴ συγγράψαι λοιπὸν ἃν, in that case it remained for you not to keep silent (i.e. you should not have kept silent). Dem. xviii. 23. (The article with συγγράψαι only slightly distinguishes this from the examples under 421.)

432. The same explanation applies to other cases in which a rhetorical omission of ἃν in apodosis is commonly assumed; as in

1 This use of ἐμελλεν with the infinitive corresponds precisely to the Sanskrit use of the past future tense in the sense of the Greek aorist indicative with ἃν. Thus "if he had said (avakṣyat) this, he would have slain (ahānisyat) Indra" (Cat. Brāhma. i. 8, 91), where the two verbs are augmented past futures, meaning literally he was going to say and he was going to stay. See Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar, § 950.
160 CONDITIONAL SENTENCES [433

EUR. Hec. 1113, εἵ δὲ μὴ Φρυγών πύργους πεσόντας ἀκοῦν Ἑλλήνων
dορι, φόβον παρέχειν οὐ μέσω διὸ κτύπου, but if we had not known
that the Phrygian towers had fallen, this noise gave us cause for terror in
earnest (i.e. would easily have terrified us).

433. Occasionally a protasis takes the place of the infinitive
in the construction of 419. E.g.

Ἐπεὶ τόδε κέρδιον ἦν, εἵ νόστησ Οδυσσέας καὶ ὑπότροπος ἐκεῖο
δώμα, for it had been a greater gain if Ulysses had returned (for κέρδιον
ἦν Ὀδυσσέα νοστήσα). Od. xx. 331. Compare Matth. Ev. xxvi. 24,
καλόν ἦν αὐτῷ, εἵ οὐκ ἐγεννηθῇ ο ἀνθρώπος ἐκεῖνος, it had been good
for that man if he had not been born (for καλόν ἦν αὐτῷ μὴ γεγενηθήναι).
Εἰ δὲ ἀποφεύγεται, κρείττων ἦν ὁ ἀγών μὴ γεγενηθέν (εἰ μὴ
ἐγεγενήστο), but if he is acquitted, it were better that the trial had never
taken place (for κρειττών ἦν τὸν ἀγώνα μὴ γεγενήσθαι). Aeschin. i. 192.

This occasional substitution of a protasis does not indicate that the
infinitive in κρείττων ἦν αὐτῷ ἐλθεῖν, he had better have gone, was felt
as a protasis. We could substitute for this English it were better if he
had gone, but only by a change of construction.

HOMERIC PECULIARITIES.

434. In Homer the construction of the unreal conditional
sentence is not completely developed. It is not improbable
that in the primitive language the optative could express in a
rough way both present and past unreal conditions, and in
Homer the present unreal condition is still expressed only by
the present optative (438).

435. The aorist indicative in Homer, both in protasis and in
apodosis with ἂν or κέ, is used as in Attic Greek; but the
imperfect is always past, never present.1 E.g.

Καὶ νῦ κὲ δὴ ἔξωφεσι αὐτοσχέδιον οὐτάζοντο, εἵ μὴ κήρυκες
Ἁλθεον, they would have wounded each other, had not heralds come. Il.
vii. 273. Ἕνθα κα λογιῶς ἦν καὶ ἀμήχανα ἔργα γένοντο, εἵ μὴ ἀρ
δέω νόσησε πατήρ ἀνδρών τε θεῶν τε, then there would have been, etc. Il.
viii. 130. So viii. 366. Καὶ νῦ κὲ δὴ προτέρῳ ἐτ' ἔρις γένετ' ἀμ-
φῶτεοσιν, εἵ μὴ Ἀχιλλεύς αὐτός ἀνίσταται καὶ κατέρυκεν. Il.
xxiii. 490. See Il. xi. 504; Od. xvi. 221, xxiv. 51.

1 Mr. Monro (Horn. Gr. p. 236) doubts this statement, and refers to Od.
iv. 178, καὶ καθ' ἐνθάδ' ἐνθάδ' ἐστε ἐμισγόμεθα', οὐδέ κεν ἥμας ἄλλο διέκρημεν, as
a case in which "the imperfect ἐμισγόμεθα takes in the present time, we
should (from that time till now) have been meeting." It seems to me that,
according to the Homeric usage, we can find no more in βάμα ἐμισγόμεθα κε
than we should have had frequent meetings, and the rest comes from the
context. In any case, this use is far removed from the Attic ἐμισγόμεθα ἐν ἐκ
βασιλέα, we should (now) be on our way to the King (410). A nearer approach
to the later use perhaps appears in Il. xxiv. 220, εἵ μὴ γάρ τις μ' ἄλλος ἐκ-
λευει, if any other (had I) commanded me. But see Il. ii. 89.
436. We find the imperfect referring to present time in Theognis: see vs. 905, *ε'ι μὲν γὰρ καταδείν βιότον τέλος ἤν, εἰκός ἄν ἦν.* See Pind. Nem. iv. 13.

437. In II. xxiii. 526, *ε'ι κέ is found with the aorist indicative in protasis, κέ apparently adding nothing to the sense:—

Τού κέν μιν παρέλασον' οὐδ' ἀμφήριστον θήκεν.

438. (Optative in present unreal Conditions.) In Homer a present unfulfilled condition is regularly expressed by the present optative with ε'ι, and its apodosis (if present) by the present optative with κέ or ἄν.

The only instance of this form in both protasis and apodosis is II. xxiii. 274, *ει μὲν νῦν ἐτί ἄλλω ἀεθλεύοιμεν Ἀχαιοί, ἦ τ' ἄν ἐγὼ τὰ πρῶτα λαβὼν κλοσίζοντες φεροίμην,* we were now contending in honour of any other (than Patroclus), I should take the first prize and bear it to my tent. Twice we have the optative with ἄν in apodosis with the regular imperfect or aorist indicative (past) in the protasis: II. ii. 80, *ει μὲν τις τὸν ὄνειρον ἄλλον ἐνισπέν, ψευδός κέν φαίμεν καὶ νοσφιζοίμεθα μᾶλλον,* if any other had told the dream, we should call it a lie and rather turn away from it; and the same apodosis after ε'ι τις μ' ἄλλοις ἐκέλευν, in II. xxiv. 222. In Od. ii. 184, *οὐκ ἄν τόσσα θεσποτέων ἀγόρευες, οὔδ' κέ Τριλείμαχον κεχολωμένον ὡδ' ἁνιείης,* we have first the imperfect with ἄν as a past apodosis, (in that case) you would not have made this speech with all its divination; and then the present optative with κέ as present, nor would you be urging Telemachus on, as you now are; both referring to an unfulfilled past condition, if you had perished, suggested by καταφθίσθαι ὃφελες in vs. 183.

439. See the corresponding use of the present optative in Homer to express an unaccomplished present wish (739). In both wishes and conditional sentences, it must be remembered, the use of the optative in its ordinary future sense is completely established in Homer. See examples in 455 and 722.

440. (Optative in past unreal Apodosis.) Homer has four cases of the optative with κέ (three aorist and one present) in the apodosis referring to the past, with the regular indicative in the protasis expressing a past unfulfilled condition. These are—

Καί νό κεν ἐνθ' ἀπόλοιτο άναξ ἀνδρῶν Αἰνείας, *ει μὴ ἄρ' ὥστε νόσησε Δίος δυνάστηρ' Ἀφροδίτη, Aeneas would have perished, had not Aphrodite quickly perceived him.* II. v. 311. Καί νό κεν ἐνθ' ἀπόλοιτο

Μ
"Ἀρης ἄτος πολέμοιο, εἰ μή Ἡεριβοία Ἀρμῖς ἐξήγγειλεν. II. v. 388. Οὔ κε θανόντι περ ὅδ' ἀκαχοίμην, εἰ μετὰ οἷς στίψασαι δάμῃ Τρώων ἐνὶ δήμῳ, I should not have felt so grieved if he had perished, θανόντι (=εἰ θάνει) being further explained by εἰ ... δάμην. Od. i. 236. Ἔνθα κε ρία φέροι κλυτὰ τεύχεα, εἰ μή οἱ ἁγάσσατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων, he would easily have borne away the famous armour had not Phoebus Apollo grudged him. II. xvii. 70. Here ἀπώλετο, ἀκαχόμην, and ἐφερέ should be the regular forms even in Homer, corresponding to the regular protases.

441. In the transitional state of the Homeric language we see that the past tenses of the indicative had fully established themselves in the protasis of past unreal conditions, but not so thoroughly in the apodosis, where the optative occasionally occurs. In present unreal conditions, the optative alone is used in both protasis and apodosis.

442. Besides the full conditional sentences above quoted, we find in Homer many potential optatives with κέ or ἀν which seem to belong to the borderland between past and future conclusions, and are not definitely fixed in the past (like the apodoses in 440) by a past tense in the protasis.

Such are especially φαίης κέ, as in Il. iii. 220, xvi. 697, and οὐκ κέ φαίης, as in Il. iv. 429, xvii. 366, Od. iii. 124, Il. iii. 392. In the first four cases it seems most natural to translate them as past, you would have said, nor would you have said; but in the last two cases it is more natural to translate nor would you say (future), and so with φαίην κεν, Il. vi. 285. But in the fluid state of the language which allowed both ἀπώλετο κέ and ἀπόλοιτο κέ to mean he would have perished, and φέροι κέ to mean both he would carry (fut.) and he would have carried, according to the protasis which was used with them, it is easy to understand how φαίης κέ (without a protasis) might have a vague potential force, you might perchance say, which could be felt as either past or future as the context demanded. We must, therefore, hold that the optative with κέ in such cases expresses merely what could happen, without any limitations of time except such as are imposed by the context; and according to the limitations thus imposed we translate such optatives (with more exactness than they really possess) either as past or as future. In one case the feeling of past time is seen in the dependent verb: Il. v. 85, Τυδείδην δ' οὐκ ἀν γνοίης ποτέροισι μετείη, you would not have known to what side he belonged. (This occurs in the same book of the Iliad with both the examples of ἀπόλοιτο κέ for ἀπώλετο κέ.)

Other examples are the following:—

Οὐκ ἄν ἐπειτ' Ἄνδρον γ' ἐρίσσειν βροτὸς ἀλλος, no other mortal could then vie with Ulysses (after a past verb). Il. iii. 223. Ἀνθ' οὐκ ἀν δρίζοντα ἐδοξει 'Αγαμεμνόνα δίων. Il. iv. 223. Ἐνθ' οὐκ κέν μία ἄποστο εὐβαίη, πετοὶ δὲ μενόις εἰ τελέουσιν (the connection with μενόις gives εὐβαίη a past direction). Il. xii. 58. Ἐνθ' κ' ἐπειτα καὶ ἀδάνατός πέρ ἐπελθὼν θηήσατο ἰδὼν καὶ ταρφθεὶν φρεσίν.
HOMERIC USAGES IN HERODOTUS AND IN ATTIC GREEK.

(a) Herodotus has a few cases of the potential optative with the same vague reference to time which has been noticed in Homer (442), and we may sometimes translate these, like those in Homer, by past expressions. E.g.

Τάχα δὲ αὖ καὶ οἱ ἀποδέμενοι λέγοιειν ἀπικόμενοι ἢς Σπάρτης ὡς ἀπαρεθείσαν ὑπὸ Σαμίων, and perhaps those who sold it (the cup) might come to Sparta and tell that they had been robbed of it. HDT. i. 70 (see Stein's note). All that the optative itself seems to express is that this would be a natural story for them to tell. In vii. 214, εἰδείη μὲν γὰρ αὖ καὶ ἑοὶ μὴ Μηλιενς ταῦτην τὴν ἀτράπον Ὄνητης, εἰ τῇ χώρῃ πολλὰ ὁμιλήκως εἶη, for Onetes, even if he was not a Malian, might know this path, supposing him to have had much acquaintance with the country, the optative in protasis (expressing no condition contrary to fact) shows that εἰδείη αὖ is not felt to be past. See also vii. 180, τάχα δ᾽ αὖ τι ἐπαύριοι; viii. 136, τάχ’ αὖ προλεγο; might perhaps warn him; ix. 71, ταῦτα αὖ εἶπονει, they might say this.

For εἰςαν δ᾽ αὖ οὖτοι Κρήτες, HDT. i. 2, and similar expressions, see 238.

(b) In EUR. Med. 568, οὐδ᾽ αὖ σὺ φαίης εἰ σε μή κνίζοι λέχος, the condition seems to be present and contrary to fact, like εἰ μή ἐκνιζεν. See also PLAT. Menex. 240 D, ἐν τούτῳ δὴ αὖ τις γενόμενος γνοῖ οὐι ἄρα ἐπιγχανον δῶτες, κ.τ.λ. Such examples are extremely rare in Attic Greek.

(b) Future Conditions.

1. Subjunctive or Future Indicative in Protasis with a future Apodosis.

444. When a supposed future case is stated distinctly and vividly (as if I shall go or if I go in English) the protasis generally takes the subjunctive with εἰάν, ήν, or αὖ (a) (Epic εἰ ke or αἳ ke). The apodosis takes the future indicative or some other form expressing future time, to denote what will be the result if the condition of the protasis is fulfilled. E.g.

Εἰάν τι λάβω, δώσω σοι, if I (shall) receive anything, I will give it to you. 'Εἰάν τι λάβης, δὸς μοι, if you receive anything, give it to me. Εἴ δὲ κεν ὁ ἔφησ καὶ τοι τείθωνται Ἀχαιαὶ, γνώση ἐπείθ' ὡς θ' ἡγεμώνων κακός δὲ τε νυ λαϊ, but if you shall do thus and the Achaeans
obey you, you will then learn both which of the leaders and which of the soldiers is bad. II. i. 364. Αὐτὸν γνῶς καὶ τῇ καλῇ καὶ τῇ κακῇ. 

Il. ii. 364. Αἰτωμένως ὀνομάζεται, τὸν νὰ ἄνθρωπον ἔπειθε, καὶ πολὺς πάντας, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἔν νῆσσι νεῶμεθα πολυπόθωςν ἐπικρατεῖς ζεῖς τοῖς Μενέλαοις, Τρώας ἤρεθ᾽ Ἐλείνα καὶ κτῆμα πάντα ἀποδότας. II. iii. 281. 

Here ἐχέτω, νεῶμεθα (subj. in exhortation), and ἀποδότας (infin. for imperative) are in the apodosis. Αὐτῶν ἐλη κεραόν τράγον, αἰγὰ τύ λαψή. THEOC. i. 4. "Αν δέ τι θανάτῳ, ἐν τῷ ἐν πάση πολλῇ, εἴ τις, τέλειοί τε, ἐσσὼ μιν χλαίναν τε κτήματα καλά.

So αἴκε δώσ-ι. II. i. 128. Εἴ μέν κεν Μενέλαον Ἀλέξανδρος καταπέφνι/, αὖτε ἐπιθ᾽ Ἐλείνην ἐχέτω κ αὐτῆς κτήματα πάντα, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐν νῆσσι νεῶμεθα πολυπόθωςν εἰ δὲ κ᾽ Ἀλέξανδρον κτείνῃ ξανθός Μενέλαος, Τρώας ἤρεθ᾽ Ἐλείναι καὶ κτήματα πάντα ἀποδοῦναι. II. iii. 281. 

Here ἐχέτω, νεῶμεθα (subj. in exhortation), and ἀποδότας (infin. for imperative) are in the apodosis. Αὐτῶν ἐμενοι τος αὖτε, ἐπείθ' Ἐλείνην καὶ κτήματα πάντα, ήδ' εν μή ημέν. Αίκα τήνος ἐρήκε κεραόν τράγον, αἰγὰ τύ λαψή. THEOC. i. 4. "Αν δέ τι; ἀνθίστηται, σὺν μίν πειρα-σόμεθα χειρούσθαι, if any one shall stand opposed to us, with your help we will try to overcome him. XEN. AH. vii. 3, 11. Κάν μή εἰς μένεν Μενέλαον Αλέξανδρο καταπέφνι/, αὖτε ἐπιθ᾽ Ἐλείνην καὶ κτήματα πάντα ἀποδότας. IL ii. 281. 

Here ἐχέτω, νεῶμεθα (subj. in exhortation), and ἀποδότας (infin. for imperative) are in the apodosis. "Αν δέ τι; ἀνθίστηται, σὺν μίν πειρα-σόμεθα χειρούσθαι, if any one shall stand opposed to us, with your help we will try to overcome him. XEN. AH. vii. 3, 11. Κάν μή εἰς μένεν Μενέλαον Αλέξανδρο καταπέφνι/, αὖτε ἐπιθ᾽ Ἐλείνην καὶ κτήματα πάντα ἀποδότας. IL ii. 281. 

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Here ἐχέτω, νεῶμεθα (subj. in exhortation), and ἀποδότας (infin. for imperative) are in the apodosis. Αὐτῶν ἐμενοι τος αὖτε, ἐπείθ' Ἐλείνην καὶ κτήματα πάντα, ήδ' εν μή ημέν. Αίκα τήνος ἐρήκε κεραόν τράγον, αἰγὰ τύ λαπή.
used emphatically for the future, like δομολογῶ above quoted (444) from ΧΕΝ. Cyt. v. 5, 13, or παῦλά ἐστι in ΠΛΑΤ. Rep. 473 D.

446. The English, especially the colloquial language, seldom expresses the distinction between this form of the future condition and the present condition (402). Thus modern custom allows us to use the inexact expression if he wishes, not merely for εἰ βούλεται, if he now wishes, but also for εἰς βούληται, if he shall wish. The sense, however, generally makes the distinction in time clear.

It is worth noting that the Authorised Version of the English New Testament never uses forms like if he does, if he is, in either future or present conditions, even when the Greek has the present indicative with εἰ; but it has either the subjunctive or the future indicative in future conditions, and the subjunctive in present conditions. The Revised Version, on the other hand, admits the present indicative (as if he is) in present conditions, but not consistently. See ΛΟC. xxiii. 35, εἰ οὖν ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός, Α. V. if he be Christ, R. V. if this is the Christ; but in ΜΑΘ. vi. 23, εἰ οὖν τὸ φῶς τὸ ἐν σοί σκότος ἐστίν, both versions have if therefore the light that is in thee be darkness. See also Cor. ii. v. 17.

447. (Future Indicative in Protasis.) The future indicative with εἰ is often used in the protasis to express a future condition. This is a still stronger form of expression than the subjunctive, though it sometimes alternates with it in the same sentence. Both, however, correspond to the English if I shall do this, if I do this, etc. The future, as an emphatic form, is especially common when the condition contains a strong appeal to the feelings or a threat or warning. It is thus a favourite construction with the tragedians. E.g.

Εἰ γὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς οὖς ἐπὶ Τρώησας μαχεῖται, οὐδὲ μίννθ' ἔξονσι ποδώκεα. Πηλείων, if Achilles shall fight alone against the Trojans, not even a little while will they keep back the swift son of Peleus. ΙΙ. xx. 26.

Εἰ δὲ σὺ γ' ἐς πόλεμον πυλήσεις, ἢ τέ σ' ὀσίρις βιγγίσας πόλεμόν γε, καὶ εἰ δείκτεις πύθημα, if you shall mingle in the battle, verily do I believe you will shudder at the very name of battle, even if you hear it elsewhere (away from the war). ΙΙ. v. 350. Εἰ δὲ μοι οὖ τίσουσι βοῶν ἐπιείκε' ἀμοβύν, δόσουμε εἰς 'Αἰδαο καὶ ἐν νεκύεσσι φαείνω, but if

1 In "minatory and monitory conditions": see Gildersleeve in Trans. of Αμ. Φιλ. Assoc. for 1876, p. 13. This article contains an enumeration of all the cases of εἰ with the subjunctive in future conditions and of εἰ with the future indicative in the three tragedians. It appears that in Aeschylus there are 22 cases of the future and only 8 of the subjunctive; in Sophocles 67 futures and 55 subjunctives; in Euripides 191 futures and 177 subjunctives. If we omit the futures which are equivalent to μέλλω with an infinitive, for which the subjunctive could not be substituted (see 407), we have in Aeschylus 15 futures in future conditions and 8 subjunctives; in Sophocles 46 and 55; in Euripides 98 and 177. In Attic prose Τhucydides and Λysias have the largest proportion of futures; but in prose, as in Aristophanes, the subjunctives always preponderate.
they do not pay me a proper requital for my cattle, I (the Sun) will descend to Hades and shine among the dead. Od. xii. 382. *Εϊ δὲ προς τούτους ἐτι τελευτήσει τὸν βίον εἰ, οὕτως ἐκεῖνος τὸν σὺ ὑπείρεις Δάδειος κεκλήσας αὖτος ἠτι, and if besides he shall still end his life well, he is that happy man you are seeking. Hdt. i. 32. *Αλλ' εἰ σε μαρτήσει ψήφος, Ἀλλ' ἐρεῖς τάχα, but if the judgment shall lay hold of you, you will soon tell another story. Aesch. Eum. 597. See Prom. 311, Sept. 196, Suppl. 472, 474, 924, Cho. 683. *Εϊ ταῦτα λέξεις, ἐχθαρεί μὲν εξ ἐμοῦ. Soph. Ant. 93. See Ant. 229, 324, O. T. 843, 846, O. C. 628, Ph. 75, El. 465, 834, 1004. *Εϊ τρεῖς ἀρκέσεις, κακὸς φανεί, if you aid this man, you will appear base. Eur. Hec. 1233. *Μη δ' ἄρα, εἰ μὴ φαγάνον σπάσω. Id. Or. 1147. See Hec. 802, Or. 157, 272, 1212, Med. 346, 352, 381. *Εϊ μὴ καθέξεις γλῶσσαν, ἢταν σοι κακά. Eur. Aeg. Fr. 5. *Εϊ δὲ μὴ τοὺς ἐπιδείξει, πῶς χρή ταῦτα τῇ προκλήσει προσέρχειν ὑμᾶς τὸν νοῦν. Dem. xxvii. 52. *Εϊ δ' ὑμεῖς ἄλλο τι γνώσεσθε, δ μὴ γένοιτο, τίνα οἴσθε αὐτὴν ψυχήν ἔσειν; but if you shall give any other judgment, etc. Id. xxviii. 21. (Referring to the same thing, xxvii. 67, Demosthenes had said ἔναν γὰρ ἀποφόρυγα μὲν οὕτως, δ μὴ γένοιτο, τὴν ἐποβελίαν ὀφλῆσα.) *Ην ἔθελομεν ἀποθνῄσκειν ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων, εὐδοκησάμενοι· εἰ δὲ φοβησόμεθα τοὺς καθόντος, εἰς πολλὰς ταραχὰς καταστήσομεν ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς. Isoc. vi. 107. Here what is feared is expressed by the emphatic future as a warning, while the alternative that is preferred has the subjunctive. See also Dem. xviii. 176, where εἰ προαιρήσομεν ἵματι, εἰ τι δύοκλον περακαίν Θεβαίοις πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τούτου μεμνησθαί, if we shall prefer to remember every unpleasant thing the Thebans have ever done to us, is vividly stated by the future, as this is the course which the orator especially fears and wishes to warn the people against; while he puts his own proposition into the milder subjunctive form, ἢν μέντοι πεισθῆτε μετὰ καὶ πρὸς τῷ σκοπεῖν ἄλλα μὴ φιλονεκεῖν γένατε. See also Isoc. xv. 130. In other cases it is difficult to detect any distinction, as in Dem. xxvii. 67 and xxviii. 21 (above), and in Ηυτ. i. 71; cf. Π. i. 135 and 137. *448. The future in protasis is also appropriately used when a future apodosis is implied in a past tense; as in Soph. O. T. 843, εἰ λέξει τὸν αὐτὸν ἀριθμὸν, οὐκ ἐγὼ ἱκτάνον, if he shall tell the same number (it will follow that) I did not kill him. So Eur. Med. 1249. *449. This use of the future must be distinguished from its use in present conditions (407), where it is equivalent to μέλλω and the infinitive and cannot be interchanged with the subjunctive.

**HOMERIC PECULIARITIES.**

In the Homeric language the following peculiarities appear in this construction:—

*450. By far the most common Homeric form with the sub-
junctive in future conditions is εἰ κε, often εἰ μὲν κε, εἰ δὲ κε, etc. (218). "Ην also is frequent, being the only Homeric contraction of εἰ ἀν. Εἰ δ᾿ ἀν occurs in II. iii. 288, and εἰ περ ἀν in II. v. 224 and 232. "Ην περ γάρ κ᾿ ἓκλωσιν is found in Od. xviii. 318.

451. Εἰ κε or αἰ κε is sometimes found even with the future indicative in Homer. E.g.

Αἰ κεν ἀνεν ἐμέθεν Ἡλίου πεφιδήσεται οὐδ᾿ ἐθελήσει ἐκπέρ-σαι, ἄτω τούτο. II. xv. 213. (See 196.)

452. The subjunctive with κέ is sometimes used in the apodosis instead of the future indicative, thus making the apodosis correspond in form to the protasis. E.g.

Εἰ δὲ κε μὴ δώσῃν, ἕγω δὲ κεν αὐτὸς ἐλαύμαι, and if he do not give her up, I will take her myself. II. i. 324 (compare i. 137). This gives a form with two subjunctives analogous to that which has the optative in both protasis and apodosis (460). See 399. (For δὲ in apodosis see 512.)

For the Epic use of the future indicative with κέ or ἀν in apodosis, see 196.

453. The simple εἰ (without κέ or ἀν) is sometimes used with the subjunctive in future conditions in Homer, apparently in the same sense as εἰ κε or ἵν. E.g.

Εἰ περ γάρ σε κατακτάνη, οὐδ᾿ εἰτ ἐγὼ γε κλαύσομαι. II. xxii. 86. Εἰ δ᾿ αὖ τις βάησε θεῶν ἐν τὸν πόντῳ τλήσομαι ἐν στήθεσιν ἐχων ταλαπενθέα θυμόν. Od. ν. 221. So II. i. 341, v. 258, xii. 223, 245; Od. i. 204, i. 188, xii. 348. Only these nine cases occur, and the more common use of the simple εἰ with the subjunctive in Homer is in general suppositions (see 468).

454. 1. This Homeric use of the simple εἰ with the subjunctive in future conditions was allowed by poetic license in a few passages of the Attic drama, chiefly in tragedy, even in the dialogue. E.g.

Εἰ γάρ θάνης καὶ τελευτήσας ἀφης. SOPH. Aj. 496. Δυστάλαινα τάρ᾿ ἐγὼ, εἰ σον στερηθησαί. Id. O. C. 1442. Εἰ μὴ σ᾿ ἐκφάγοι ἐκ τῆς γῆς, οὐκ ἄποιν τις ῥήσομαι. AR. Eq. 698. So AESCH. Pers. 791, Eum. 234; Eur. I. A. 1240, εἰ πεισθής (Mss.); all in dialogue. In Sappho 118, 1 we have αἳ τε ἐργαί.

2. In Attic prose, this construction is extremely rare and always doubtful. The Mss., however, have it in a few passages, as THUC. vi. 21: Οὐ ναυτικής στρατιάς μόνον δεὶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πεζῶν πολῖν ἐξαφνείν, ἀλλος τε καὶ εἰ ἕνωσαν αἱ πόλεις φοβηθείσαι. (Here a few inferior Mss. read ἵν.)
2. Optative in Protasis and Apodosis.

455. When a supposed future case is stated less distinctly and vividly than the subjunctive would state it (as if I should go in English), the protasis takes the optative with εἰ. The apodosis takes the optative with ἂν to denote what would be the result if the condition of the protasis should be fulfilled. E.g.

Εἰ ἔλθοι, πάντ' ἂν ἦδοι, if he should go, he would see all. Εἰ σ' εὖτος ἐθέλοι φιλεῖν κῆδοιτό τε θυμῷ, τῷ κέν τις κεῖνον γε καὶ ἐκκελάθοιτο γάμῳ, if she should be willing thus to love you, etc., then some of them would cease even to think of marriage. Od. iii. 223. Ἡ κεν γνηθόηαι Πρίμασ Πρίμασι τε παίδες, Ἀλλοι τε Τρώες μέγα κεν κεξαροίατο θυμῷ, εἰ σφών τάδε πάντα πυθοίατο μαρμαρίην. Π. i. 255. 'Αλλ' εἰ μοι τί πίθοιο, τό κεν πολλ' κέρδων εἰη. Π. vii. 28. Εἴης φορητός οὐκ ἀν, εἰ πράσσοις καλῶς, you would not be bearable if you should ever be in prosperity. Aesch. Prom. 979. Ὄκος δ' αὐτός, εἰ φθογγύν λάβοι, σαφέστατ' ἂν λέξεις. Id. Ag. 37. Οὔδ' γὰρ ἂν Μηδοκόσ με ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπαινοίη, εἰ ἐξελαύνοιμι τοὺς εὐρηγέτας. Xen. An. vii. 7, 11. Οὔδ' εἰ πάντες ἐλθοίεν Πέρσαι, πλήθει γε οὖχ ὑπεβαλοίμεθ' ἂν τοὺς πολεμίους. Id. Cyr. ii. 1, 8. Οὐ πολλ' ἂν ἄλογα εἴη, εἰ φοβοίτο τοὺς τάνατον τοῦ πολεμίου; Plat. Phaed. 68 B. Εἰ δὲ τίς κρατούντας τοὺς πλήθους ἐπ' ἀρετὴν προτρέψειεν, ἀμφοτέρους ἂν ὄνησεις. Isoc. ii. 8. Εἰ τῶν σοι συνόντων ἐπαρθεῖτ' ποιεῖν ἂ σὺ τυχάναις εὐλογών, πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἀθλιώτατος εἴη; Id. xi. 47. Πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἂν οἰκτρότατα πάντων εὕω πετωνύως εἴην, εἰ ἔμε ψηφίσαιοντο εἰναι ξένον; how then should I not have suffered (lit. be hereafter in the condition of having suffered) the most pitiable of all things, if they should vote me a foreigner? Dem. lvii. 44. (See 103 for other examples of the perfect optative.)

456. This form of the conditional sentence in its fully developed use, as it appears in Attic Greek, must be carefully distinguished from that of 410; the more so, as we often translate both εἰη ἂν and ἄν ἂν by the same English expression, it would be; although the latter implies that the supposition of the protasis is a false one, while the former implies no opinion of the speaker as to the truth of the supposition. We have seen (438-440) that the more primitive Homeric language had not yet fully separated these two constructions, and still used the optative in the apodosis of present, and sometimes of past, unreal conditions.

On the other hand, the distinction between this form and that of 444 is less marked, and it is sometimes of slight importance which of the two is used. As it is often nearly indiscernible in English whether we say if we shall go (or if we go) it will be well, or if we should go it would be well, so may it be in Greek whether we say εἰ τῶν ἐλθομεν
καλῶς ἐξει or ei ἐλθομεν καλῶς ἄν ἐξοι. In writing Greek, this distinction can generally be made by first observing the form of the apodosis in English; if that is expressed by should or would, it is to be translated by the Greek optative with ἄν; if it is expressed by shall or will, by the future indicative. Other forms of the apodosis, as the imperative, will present no difficulty. The form to be used in the protasis will then appear from the principles of the dependence of moods (170-178); the optative will require another optative with ei in the dependent protasis, while the future indicative or any other primary form will require a subjunctive with εἶν or a future indicative with ei.

457. In indirect discourse after past tenses we often find an optative in protasis, which merely represents the same tense of the subjunctive or indicative in the direct discourse. See 667, 1; 689; 694.

For the occasional omission of ἄν in an apodosis of this kind, see 240-242.

458. The potential optative with ἄν may stand in the protasis with ei; as in ei ἐλθομη ἄν, supposing that I should go, easily distinguished from ei ἐλθομη, supposing that I should go. Such an expression does not belong here, but is really a present condition. (See 409; 506.)

459. The future optative cannot be used in protasis or apodosis, except in indirect discourse to represent a future indicative of the direct discourse. (See 128 and 203.)

HOMERIC PECULIARITIES.

460. Eί κε with the optative is sometimes found in Homer, and ei περ ἄν occurs once.1 This is a mark of the unsettled usage of the earlier language, in which κέ or ἄν was not yet required with the subjunctive in protasis, and was still allowed with the optative or indicative (401). It is difficult to see any essential difference between these protases with ei κε and those with the simple ei and the optative. E.g.

Εί δὲ κεν Ἀργος ικοίμεθ' Ἀχαικόν, οθδαρ ἀρόης, γαμβρός κέν μοι ἵοι, and if we should ever come to Achaeian Argos, then he would be my son-in-law. II. ix. 141; cf. ix. 283, and Od. xii. 345, xix. 589. Πώς ἄν εγώ σε δεομη μετ' ἀθανάτωσι θεωσι, εί κεν Ἀργος οίχοιτο χρόο καλ δεσμον ἀλύζασι. Od. viii. 352. Τών κέν τοι χαρίσαιτι σπατήρ ἀπερείς ἀποινα, εί κεν ἐμε ζων πεπύθοιτι ἐπι νησίν Ἀχαιών. II. vi. 49. The distinction between these cases and those of 458 is obvious.

In II. i. 60, ei κεν with the optative forms a subordinate protasis,

1 See the examples in Lange, Partikel EI, pp. 185, 186. There are twenty-six cases of ei κε with the optative in Homer, and one of ei περ ἄν (II. ii. 597); besides II. v. 273 (= viii. 196) and Od. xvii. 223, mentioned in the text (461).
with a remoter and less emphatic supposition than the main protasis
εδίκοντας ούτος άγγελος καὶ ηλιώμ άρχον, now I think we shall be driven back and shall return
home again—that is, supposing us to escape death—if both war and pestilence are at the same
time to destroy the Achaeans. In II. ii. 597 we have
er άν αυτάί Μόσσαι αείδοται.
These constructions are never negative.

461. In the strange protasis, εί τούτω κε λάβοιμεν, II. v. 273
and viii. 196, the separation of εί from κε might compel us to recongnise a potential force, if we could (possibly) secure these; but the difference between this and the Attic examples of εί with the potential
optative and άν (458; 506), and the difficulty of seeing any difference between this and εί τούτω λάβοιμεν, if we should secure these, induced Bekker to read εί τούτω γε λάβοιμεν here, and also τόν γε εί μοι
δοίης (for τόν κ' εί) in Od. xvii. 223.

The Homeric use of the optative in present and past unreal
conditional sentences has been discussed (438).

II. PRESENT AND PAST GENERAL SUPPOSITIONS.

462. In present or past general suppositions, the
apodosis expresses a customary or repeated action or a general
truth in present or past time, and the protasis refers in
a general way to any act or acts of a given class. Here
the protasis has the subjunctive with έάν after present
tenses, and the optative with εί after past tenses. The
apodosis has the present or imperfect indicative, or some
other form which implies repetition. E.g.

'Ήν ἔγγος ἔλθη θάνατος, ούδείς βούλεται θησκεῖν, if (or when)
death comes near, no one is (ever) willing to die. Eur. Alc. 671. "Ην
μέν άδή καί νήφοις, χρέωνται αὐτῷ, ἤν δὲ μή άδή, μετεισάιε.
Hdt. i. 133. Διατελεὶ μωσών, οὐκ ἦν τίς τι αὐτόν αδική, άλλ' έάν
τίνα τοπτεύσῃ βελτίων καίντοι εἶναι, he continues to hate, not if
any one wrongs him, but if he ever suspects that any one is better than
himself. Xen. Cyt. v. 4, 35. "Απας λόγος, άν απ' τὰ πράγματα,
μάταιον τι φαίνεται καί κενόν, all speech, if deeds are wanting, appears
mere emptiness and vanity. Dem. ii. 12. 'Εὰν δὲ δάξη τὰ δίκαια
ξικαλεῖ καὶ ἔλη τὸν δεδράκότα τοῦ φόνου, οὐδ' οὕτω κύριος
γίγνεται τοῦ ἀλόντος. Id. xxiii. 69 (so 74, 75, 76).

'Αλλ' εί τι μή φέροιμεν, άντρυνειν ψέφειν, but if we ever stopped
bringing him food, he always urged us to bring it. Eur. Alc. 755. Εί
tις αντείπω, εδώς τεθνήκει, if any one objected, he was a dead man
at once (52). Thuc. viii. 66. Εί τινα πνιθάνοτο ἵβρισεν,
tούτον ἔδικαίειν. Hdt. i. 100. Εί δὲ τίνας θορυβουμένους αἰσθοῦ-
463. This optative referring to past time must be especially distinguished from the optative in ordinary protasis referring to the future (455). Εἴ and εάν in this construction are often almost equivalent to ὅτε or ὅταν (which are the more common expressions), and the protasis has precisely the same construction as the relative sentences of 532.

464. The present and aorist subjunctive and optative here do not differ except as explained in 87. The future optative of course is never used here (128).

465. The examples in 462 exhibit the ordinary Attic usage. In Homer we find this construction in a partially developed state: see 468.

466. The gnomic aorist (154) and other gnomic and iterative expressions (162; 163) may be used in the apodosis of these general conditions. The gnomic aorist, as a primary tense, is followed by the subjunctive. E.g.

*Ἡν σφαλώσιν· αντελπίσαντες ἄλλα ἐπάληψαν τὴν χρείαν, if they fail, they always supply the deficiency, etc. Τθυκ. i. 70. *Ἡν δὲ τοῦτον τε παραβαίνων, ἤγιον αὐτοῖς ἐπέθεσαν, they (always) impose a penalty upon every one who transgresses. Χεν. Κύρ. i. 2, 2. Εἴ των ἰδοὺν πρὸς συμμαρτυροῦντας, ἀνεθάρσησαν ἄν, whenever any saw their friends in any way victorious, they would be encouraged (i.e. they were encouraged in all such cases). Θθυκ. vii. 71. See Χεν. Μεμ. iv. 6, 13, quoted in 162.

467. (Indicative.) The indicative is sometimes found in the place of the subjunctive or optative in these general conditions, that is, these follow the construction of ordinary present and past suppositions, as in Latin and English. Here the speaker refers to one of the cases in which the event may occur, as if it were the only one—that is, he states the general supposition as if it were particular. E.g.

Μοίραι δ' ἀφήσαντες, εἶ τις ἔχθρα πέλει ὡμογόνοις, αἰδῶ καλύψαι, the Fates stand aloof to hide their shame, if there is enmity among kindred. Πινδ. Πυ. iv. 145; cf. Ολ. i. 64. (See 406.) Εἴ τις δεό ἣ καὶ πλέον
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if any one ever counts upon two or even more days, he is a fool. SOPH. Tr. 944. "Ελευθέρως πολιτεύο-
μεν, οὐ δὲ ἄργης τὸν πέλας, εἰ καθ’ ἦδον τι δρά, ἔχοντες, i.e. not (having a habit of) being angry with our neighbour if he ever acts as he pleases. THUC. ii. 37. (Here the indicative δρά is used as if some particular act of one neighbour, and not any act of any neighbour, were in mind.) Εἰ γάρ τις ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ τετυμένοις τολμᾷ βοηθεῖν τοῖς παράνομοι γράφοντας, καταλαῦει τὴν πολιτείαν ὃδ’ ᾖς τετίμηται. AESCHIN. iii. 196. Εἰ τίς τι ἐπηρώτα, ἀπεκρίνοντο, if any one asked anything, they replied (to all such). THUC. vii. 10. "Εμείς οὖν ei τις κακῶς πάσχων ἡμυνετο, ἀλλ’ ei τις εἰκρατούμενος ἀχάρι-
στος φαῖνοιτο. XEN. Ag. xi. 3. Here, without any apparent reason, the writer changes from the indicative to the optative. (See 534.)

HOMERIC AND OTHER POETIC PECULIARITIES.

468. In Homer the subjunctive appears in protasis in general suppositions (462) only nineteen times, and the optative only once. Here the subjunctive generally (in fourteen cases) has the simple ei (without κε or ἄν). E.g.

"Εἰ περ γάρ τε χόλον γε καὶ αὐτήμαρ καταπέψῃ, ἀλλὰ γε καὶ μετάποσθεν ἔχει κότον, ὀφρα τελάσῃ, for even if he swallows his wrath for the day, still he keeps his anger hereafter, until he accomplishes its object. Π. i. 81. Tών οὖ τι μετατρέψωμ’ οὐδ’ ἀλεγίζω, ei τ’ ε’ δει’ ἱσωσι, ei τ’ ε’ ἀφαιρετά. I do not heed them nor care for them, whether they go to the right or to the left. II. xii. 238. So Π. iv. 262, x. 116, xvi. 263, xxi. 576, xxii. 191 (the last four in similes); Od. i. 167, vii. 204, xii. 96, xiv. 373, xvi. 98 (= 116).

"Ποτὲ δαιμονὸς ικτηταί, σοὶ τὸ γέρας πολὺ μείζων, ἐνεὰ a di
division comes, your prize is always much greater. Π. i. 166. So Od. xi. 159, ἦν μὴ τις ἔχῃ. Besides these two cases of ἦν, Homer has two of ei κε, Π. xi. 391, xii. 302; and one of ei περ ἄν, Π. iii. 25 (five in all).

The single case of ei with the optative in a past general condition in Homer is II. xxiv. 768: ἀλλ’ ε’ τὶς με καὶ ἄλλοις ἐνίπτοι, ἀλλὰ ὅπ τὸν γε κατέρυκς, but if any other upbraided me, you (always) re-
strained him.

469. Pindar has only eight cases of the subjunctive in protasis. These all have general suppositions and all have the simple ei;1 as πολλοὶ δὲ μέμνανται, καλὸν ei τι ποναθή, but many remember it if a noble work is done, Ol. vi. 11.

470. The other lyric and elegiac poets show no preference for the simple ei. The following cases may be cited: CALL. i. 13 ei ἦ (but ἦν

1 Am. Jour. Phil. iii. p. 448. The examples are Ol. vi. 11; Pyth. iv. 266, 273 (perhaps also 269); Nem. vii. 11, ix. 46; Isth. iii. 68, iv. 12; Frag. 171 (Böckh), 5. The references to the other poets in 470 and 471 do not profess to be complete.
471. In the Attic poets we find a few cases of the simple εἰ in general conditions. E.g.

'Αλλ' ἀνδρα, κεί τις Ἑ σοφὸς, τό μανθάνειν πόλλ' αἰσχρόν οὐδὲν καὶ τό μη τείνειν άγαν. SOPH. Ant. 710. So Ant. 887; Ο. Τ. 198, 874; O. C. 509.

For the simple εἰ in future conditions, see 453; 454. For the probable relation of εἰ to εἰ κε, ἢν, εάν, etc., see 401.

PECULIAR FORMS OF CONDITIONAL SENTENCES.

Substitution and Ellipsis in Protasis.—Protasis without a Verb.

472. Often the protasis is not expressed in its regular form with εἰ or εάν, but is contained in a participle, or implied in an adverb like οὕτως or δικαίως, in a preposition with its case, or in some other form of expression. When a participle represents the protasis (841), its tense is always that in which the verb itself would have stood in the indicative, subjunctive, or optative. The present (as usual) includes the imperfect, and the perfect includes the pluperfect. E.g.

Τοίτο ποιοντες εἰ πράξοσιν (i.e. εάν ποισιν), if they (shall) do this, they will prosper. Τοίτο ποιήσαντες εὐ άν ἔπραττον (i.e. ε'ίς εποίησαν), if they had done this, they would be in prosperity.

Πώδε δήτα δίκης οὐνής άπόλωλεν τόν πάτερ άρτου δήγας; i.e. how is it that Zeus has not been destroyed, if Justice exists? AR. Nub. 904. (Here δίκης οὐνής represents εἰ δίκη εστίν.) 'Αλλ' εἰσόμεθα δόμον τοντο πατόντων (εάν παραστείχωμεν), but we shall know, if we enter the house. SOPH. Ant. 1255. Σὺ δὲ κλῆνεν εἰςε τάχα (εάν κλῆνε), but you will soon know, if you listen. AR. Νυ. 1390. So μη μαθών, unless I learn, for εάν μη μάθων, Nub. 792. Καὶ κεν τούτ' ἐθέλοιμι άρέσθαι (αύτος δίδοντος = εί Ζεύς διδοίη), and this I should like to obtain, if Zeus would only give it. Od. i. 390. Τοιαύτα τάν χρήσωσαν έχοις, such things would you suffer, if you should live with women. AESCH. Sept. 195. Όδ' άν συντούσμα τάν ώταν δρών στείχουσαν ἀστούς (i.e. εί δρόην). SOPH. Ant. 185. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τό αύτο τούτο παθόντων, διπλασίαν ἄν
CONDITIONAL SENTENCES

τὴν δύναμιν εἰκάζεσθαι (οἴμαι), but if the Athenians should ever suffer this (παθόντων = εἰ πάθοιεν), I think it would be inferred that their power was twice as great. *Thuc.* i. 10. (Here only the context shows that παθόντων does not represent εἰ ἐπάθοιν, if they had ever suffered.) Πρὶν γενέσθαι ἥπιονοπαθίην εἴ τις ἀκοίνοπαθίας (i.e. εἰ ἢκονεν), before it happened, any one would have disbelieved such a thing if he had heard it. *Thuc.* vii. 28. Οὔ γάρ ἂν μεταπείθειν ὑμᾶς ἥξητε μὴ τοιαῦτης οὐσίας τῆς ὑπαρχοῦσιν ὑπολήψεως, for he would not be seeking to change your minds, if such were not the prevailing opinion (i.e. εἰ μὴ τοιαῦτὴ ἦν).

Πρὶν γενέσθαι ήπίστησεν ἢ πίστης ΤΙΣ άκουσας (i.e. εἰ ήκονεν), before it happened, any one would have disbelieved such a thing if he had heard it. *Thuc.* vii. 28. Οὔ γάρ ἂν μεταπείθειν ὑμᾶς ἥξητε μὴ τοιαῦτης οὐσίας τῆς ὑπαρχοῦσιν ὑπολήψεως, for he would not be seeking to change your minds, if such were not the prevailing opinion (i.e. εἰ μὴ τοιαῦτὴ ἦν).

Τό μεν ἐπ’ ἐκείνης πολλάκις ἂν διελύθησαν, if it had depended on him, they often would have been disbanded. *Isoc.* iv. 142. Διὰ γε υἱός αὐτοῦς πάλαι ἂν ἀπολῦσετε, if it had depended on yourselves, you would long ago have been ruined. *Dem.* xviii. 49. (So sometimes καθ’ υἱός.) Πάλαι γὰρ ἂν ἐνεκά γε ψηφισμάτων ἔδωκες δίκην, for, if decrees were of any avail, he would long ago have suffered punishment. *Id.* iii. 14. (Here the protasis is implied in ἐνεκά γε ψηφισμάτων.) Οὔτω γαρ οὐκέτι τὸν λοιπὸν πάθοινος ἂν κακῶς, for in that case we should no longer suffer. *Id.* iv. 15. Σοὶ όν οὔτω περιστερόγενος ἂν, *Xen.* An. i. 1, 10. Οὔδ’ ἂν δικαίος ἂς κακὸν πέσομεν τ. *Soph.* Ant. 240.

In such cases the form of the apodosis generally shows what form of protasis is implied. When the apodosis is itself expressed by an infinitive or participle (479), as in *Thuc.* i. 10 (above), the form of the protasis is shown only by the general sense of the passage.
473. The future participle is not used to represent the future indicative in future conditions (447); it may, however, represent the future in present conditions (407), where it is equivalent to μέλλω and the infinitive; as in DEM. xxiv. 189, μή περι τούτων ὑμῶν οἰσόντων τήν ψήφον, τί δει ταύτα λέγοντα ἐνοχλεῖν με νυνί; if you are not to give your vote about this, μὴ οἰσόντων representing ei μὴ οίσοτε = ei μὴ μέλλετε φέρειν. The present and aorist participles, when they represent the present and aorist subjunctive, express future conditions, thus making the future participle unnecessary. The aorist participle in protasis can always represent an aorist subjunctive in the sense explained in 80.

474. The verb of the protasis is suppressed in the Homeric ei δ', ἄγε, come now! This is commonly explained by an ellipsis of ἀνέλθει, if you will, come now! But it is probable that no definite verb was in the speaker’s mind in such expressions, even when we find it necessary to supply one. E.g.

EI δ' ἄγε, τοι κεφαλὴ κατανεύσομαι, come now! I will nod my assent to thee. II. i. 524. EI δ' ἄγε μην, πείρησαι, ἵνα γνώσω καὶ σῶς, well! come now, try it. II. i. 302. EI μὲν δὴ θεός ἐσσι θεοίῳ τε ἐκλυνε ἀνάδης, ei δ' ἄγε μοι καὶ κείνον ὅρμον κατάλεξον (the apodosis being introduced by ei δ' ἄγε, come now, tell me). Od. iv. 831.

475. (Ὡς εἰ.) There is a probably unconscious suppression of the verb of the protasis when ὡς εἰ or ὡς εἰ τε is used in comparisons (especially in Homer) with a noun or adjective or with a participle. E.g.

Τῶν νέων ὑκέατω ὡς εἰ πτερὸν ἡ νόημα, their ships are swift as (if) a wing or thought. Od. vii. 36. Ὡς μ' ἀσύφηλον ἐφέξεν Ἀτρείδης ὡς εἰ τυν ἄτιμον μετανάστην, for the son of Atreus insulted me like (i.e. as if he were insulting) some despised wanderer. II. ix. 648. Ἐπλέομεν Βορῆμ άνέμοι ὑκιδίως ὡς εἰ τε κατὰ βόον, we sailed on with the north-east wind easily, as if (we were sailing) down stream. Od. xiv. 253. In all these cases no definite verb was in mind after ei, but the addition of ei to ὡς shows that a conditional force was felt (at least originally) in addition to the comparison; and this is the only difference between these examples and those with the simple ὡς or ὡς τε, as ἐστήκειν ὡς τός τε λέω, he stood like a lion. In Attic poetry we find μάτηρ ὡς εἰ τε πιστά, like some faithful mother, Soph. El. 234; and πτύσας ὡς εἰ τε διαφεύγει, spurning her as an enemy, Ant. 653. With Od. vii. 36 compare Hymn. Ap. Py. 8, πρὸς Ὀλυμπον ὡς τε νόημα εἴςω, and 270, ἐπὶ νῦν νόημ' ὡς ἀλτο πέτεσθαι.

1 See Lange, Partikel EL, p. 234. Lange is at great pains to show that there is no ellipsis here, or indeed in any cases of ei without a verb like ei πρὸ ἀνάγκη, if necessary. By “ellipsis” we often mean merely what one language finds it necessary to supply to translate an idiom of another. There are few ellipses of which a speaker is really conscious when he uses them. In this sense, it seems to me that, whenever we use ei without a verb, there is at least a suppression (if not an ellipsis) of a verb.
Óλοφρόνωμεν ὃς εἶ θανατόνδε κιόντα, bewailing him as if going to his death (in full as if they were bewailing him going), for which we say (changing the construction) as if he were going. Il. xxiv. 328. See also II. xvi. 192, v. 374. Ἀμφὶ δὲ καπνὸς γίγνεται ἐξ αὐτῆς ὃς εἰ πυρὸς αἰθομένον, i.e. the smoke rises from it (the fountain) as if (it rose) from a blazing fire. Il. xxii. 150. So Od. xix. 39. What seems like a more natural construction with ὃς εἶ or ὃς εἴ τε is that of the optative with the apodosis suppressed (485).

In all these cases there is also a suppression of the verb of the apodosis (see 485). For the participle in such expressions see 867-869.

476. (Εἶ μή.) Ei μή is used without a verb in various expressions to introduce an exception.

1. With nouns and adjectives. E.g.
Τῆς γὰρ τοῦ 'Αχιαῖν ἄλλος ὁμοῖος, εἰ μὴ Πάτροκλος; who is like to you, except (unless it be) Patroclus? Il. xvii. 475. See Il. xviii. 192, xxiii. 792; Od. xii. 325, xvii. 383. Such expressions are like the simple εἰ τὸ γ' ἀμεινον, if this is better, Il. i. 116; ei ἐτεο'ν περ, xiv. 125; εἰ περ ἀνάγκη, xxiv. 667.

2. With participles. E.g.
Εἰ μή κρεμάσας τὸ νόημα, τοκ. I could never have done it, except by suspending thought. An. Nub. 229. So οὐδέν ποτ' εἰ μὴ ἐξυπανομένην, ΑΕΣΧ. Ag. 1139; εἰ μὴ καταδέσσατος, ΘΥΣ. vii. 38; εἰν μὴ τῆς δεῖας δοξολογίας, Dem. xxiv. 46.

3. In the expression εἰ μή διὰ τοῦτο (or τούτον). E.g.
Καὶ εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ τρίτον, ἐνέπεσεν ἀν, and, had it not been for the Prytanes, he would have been thrown in. Plat. Gorg. 516 E. (Compare διὰ γε ὑμᾶς, Dem. xviii. 49, quoted in 472.) Οὐ γὰρ ὃς εἰ μὴ διὰ Λακεδαμονίων, οὐδ' ὃς εἰ μὴ Πρόξενον οὐχ ὑπεδέσατο, οὐδ' ὃς εἰ μὴ δὲ 'Ἡγησίπτων, οὐδ' ὃς εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸ κατά τὸν αὐτὸν οὐκ Φωκείς, οὐξ οὖν τότε ἀπεγγέλειν, for he did not then report that if it had not been for the Lacedaemonians, or if they had not refused to receive Proxenus, or if it had not been for Hegesippus, or if it had not been for this and that, the Phocians would have been saved. Dem. xix. 74.

4. In the rare expression εἰ μή εἰ, except if, except in case that. E.g.
Ὁ χρηματιστικός τῆς τοῦ τρίτον ἡδονῆς ἢ τῆς τοῦ μανθάνειν οἴσοσιν ἀξίων φήσει εἰ, εἰ μή εἰ τι αὐτῶν ἀγρύφων τοιεί, the money-maker will say that the pleasure of receiving honour or that of learning is not worth anything, unless (it is worth something) in case either of them produces money. Plat. Rep. 581 D. In Prot. 351 C, ἐγὼ γὰρ λέγω, καθ' ὃ ἡδονή ἐστί, ἃ ἡ ποτὲ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀγαθά, μὴ εἰ τι αὐτῶν ἀποβιβασθῇ ἄλλο--; for I ask this: so far as they are pleasant, are they not just so far good, without taking into account any other result (i.e. other than their pleasantness) which may come from them? — μή is not a mistake for εἰ μή, but it seems to imply a conditional participle like
SUBSTITUTION AND ELLIPSIS IN APODOSIS

477. Equivalent to εἰ μῆ εἰ (476, 4) is πλὴν εἰ, except if or unless, in which πλὴν represents the apodosis. E.g.

Οὐδὲ τὰ ὁνόματα οὐν τε αὐτῶν εἰδέναι, πλὴν εἰ τις κωμῳδιοῦσιν γεγενέσθαι ὧν, it is not possible to know even their names, except in case one happens to be a comedian. Plat. Ap. 18 C.

478. In alternatives, εἰ δὲ μῆ, otherwise, regularly introduces the latter clause, even when the former clause is negative. Εἰ δὲ μῆ is much more common here than εἶν δὲ μῆ, even when εἶν μὲν with the subjunctive precedes. The formula εἰ δὲ μῆ was fixed in the sense of otherwise, in the other case, and no definite form of the verb was in mind.

Πρὸς ταῦτα μῆ τύπτῃ· εἰ δὲ μῆ, σαυτὸν ποτ' αὐτιάσει, therefore do not beat me; but if you do, you will have yourself to blame for it. Ar. Nub. 1433. Εἰ μῆ θανόμαι γ'· εἰ δὲ μῆ, οὐ λείπων ποτέ, if I do not die (I will leave the place); otherwise (if I die) I shall never leave it. Eur. And. 254. See Soph. Tr. 587. Πόλεμον οὐκ εἶν τοίευν· εἰ δὲ μῆ, καί αὐτοὶ ἀναγκασθήσονται ἐφασαν φίλους ποιεῖσθαι οὐς οὐ βούλονται, they said that otherwise (εἰ δὲ μῆ) they should be obliged, etc. Thuc. i. 28. Εἶπον (Πανανᾶς) τοῦ κήρυκος μῆ λείπετον· εἰ δὲ μῆ, πόλεμον αὐτῷ Σπαρτιάτας προαγορεύειν, they ordered him not to be left behind by the herald: and if he should be (εἰ δὲ μῆ), (they told him) that the Spartans declared war against him. Id. i. 131. Μῆ ποιήσῃς ταῦτα· εἰ δὲ μῆ, αὐτὰν ἔξετε. Xen. An. vii. 1, 8. 'Εὰν μὲν τι ὑμῖν δοκῇ ἄλλας λέγειν, ἐνυμολογήσατε· εἰ δὲ μῆ, παντὶ λόγῳ ἀντιτείνετε. Plat. Phaed. 91 C. So εἶν μὲν πείσητε, . . . εἰ δὲ μῆ, k.t.l., Dem. ix. 71.

Εἰ δὲ alone is sometimes used for εἰ δὲ μῆ; as in Plat. Symp. 212 C, εἰ μὲν βούλετι, . . . εἰ δὲ. So εἰ δ' οὖν (sc. μῆ), Soph. Ant. 722, Eur. Hipp. 508.

The potential optative and indicative with ἀν, so far as they are apodes, might be classed here; but these have higher claims to be treated as independent sentences. See Chapter IV., Section I.

Substitution and Ellipsis in Apodosis.

479. The apodosis, in any of its forms, may be expressed by an infinitive or participle, if the structure of the sentence requires it.

N
1. It may be expressed by the infinitive or participle in indirect discourse, each tense representing its own tenses of the indicative or optative, the present including the imperfect, and the perfect the pluperfect. If the finite verb in the apodosis would have taken ἅν, this particle is used with the infinitive or participle. E.g.

"Ἡγούμαι, εὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖτε, πάντα καλῶς ἔχειν, I believe that, if you are doing this, all is well. 'Ἡγούμαι, εὰν τοῦτο ποιηθῇ, πάντα καλῶς ἔχειν, I believe that, if you (shall) do this, all will be well. 'Ἡγούμαι, εἰ τότε ποιεῖτε, πάντα καλῶς ἄν ἔχειν, I believe that, if you should do this, all would be well. 'Ἡγούμαι, εἰ τοῦτο ἐποιήσατε, πάντα καλῶς ἄν ἔχειν, I believe that, if you had done this, all would now be (or would have been) well. Οἶδα ὅμως, εὰν τοῦτο ποιήσῃ, εἰ πράξοντας, I know that, if you do this, you will prosper.

Πῶς γὰρ οὖσθε δυσκέρως ἀκούειν Ὁλυνθίου, εἰ τίς τι λέγοι κατά Φιλίππου κατ' ἑκείνους τοὺς χρόνους; how unwillingly do you think the O. heard it, if any one said anything against Philip in those times? Dem. vi. 20. (Here ἀκούειν represents the imperfect ἡκοον, and εἰ λέγοι is a general supposition, 462.)

For examples of each tense of the infinitive and participle, see 689. For the use of each tense of the infinitive or participle with ἅν and examples, see 204-208; 213-216.

2. It may be expressed by the infinitive in any of its various constructions out of indirect discourse, especially by one depending on a verb of wishing, commanding, advising, preparing, etc., from which the infinitive receives a future meaning. Such an infinitive is a common form of future apodosis with a protasis in the subjunctive or indicative. E.g.

Βούλεται ἐλθεῖν εὰν τούτῳ γένηται, he wishes to go if this shall be done. Παρασκευάζομεθα ἀπελθείν ἂν δννώμεθα, we are preparing to depart if we shall be able. Κελεύει σε ἀπελθειν εἰ βούλει, he bids you depart if you please. (See 403 and 445.)

3. The apodosis may be expressed in an attributive or circumstantial participle. E.g.

'Ραδίως ἄν ἀφεθεῖσα εἰ καὶ μετρίως τι τοιτῶν ἐποίησε, προείλετο ἀποθανεῖν, whereas he might easily have been acquitted (ἀφεθηθή ἄν), if he had done any of these things even in a moderate degree, he chose to die. Xen. Mem. iv. 4, 4. Σκέμματα τῶν ραδίως ἀποκτινντων καὶ ἀναβίωσκομένων γ' ἄν, εἰ oίοι τε ήσαν, considerations for those who readily put men to death, and who would bring them to life again too if they could. Plat. Crit. 48 C. ('Ἀναβιωσκομένων ἄν = ἀνεβιώσκοντο ἄν.) 'Ὡς οἶος τ' ὄν σε σώζει εἰ ἦθελον ἀναλίσκειν χρήματα, whereas I might have saved you if I had been willing to spend money. Ib. 44 B.

480. A verbal noun may take the place of an apodosis. E.g.

'Ὡς δὲντ' ἀναστητήρα Καδμείων χθονὸς εἰ μὴ θεῶν τις ἐμπόδων
έστη δορί, as one who would have laid waste (= άνέστησεν αὐ) the Cadmean's land, if some one of the Gods had not stood in the way of his spear. AESCH. Sept. 1015.

481. Other forms in which an apodosis may appear, as a final clause, need no discussion. (See 445.)

In indirect discourse, after past tenses, an optative in the apodosis often represents an original indicative or subjunctive. (See 15 and 467.)

482. The apodosis is sometimes omitted, when some such expression as it is well or it will be done can be supplied, or when some other apodosis is at once suggested by the context. E.g.

'ΔΑΓ' εἶ μὲν δώσουσι γέρας μεγάθυμου Αχαιοί, άργας κατά θυμών, ὅπως άντάξιον έσται,—εἶ δὲ χε μὴ δώσω, αὕτου ἐνωμοί, if they give me a prize,—well; but if they do not, I shall take one for myself. II. i. 135. (Here we must understand something like εὖ ἐφες, it will be well, after έσται.) Εἴ περ γὰρ κ' ἐθέλησιν Ὀλύμπιοσ στρατοπεδής εξ εἰδών συνήθεις,—ο γὰρ πολὺ στρατός έστιν. II. i. 580. (Here we must understand he can do it after the protasis. The following γὰρ refers to this suppressed apodosis.) Εἴ μὲν εὖ ὃμας ἱκανῶς διδάσκας ὁπως δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἴναι,—εἶ δὲ μη, καὶ παρὰ τῶν προεγενημένων μανθάνετε. XEN. Cyr. viii. 7, 24.

Έιναι πατριώτικοι εὐχέμεροι εἶναι, εἴ περ τε γέροντ' εἶρηνε ἐπελθών Λαέρτη, we boast that we are friends by inheritance, (as you may know) if you go and ask Laertes. Od. i. 187. Προσηγορεύθης ἦ Δίος κλείνη δάμαρ μέλλονσ έσεσθ', εἰ τώνδε προσσαίνει σὲ τί. AESCH. Prom. 834.

483. Sometimes the adverb ἄν, without a verb expressed, represents an apodosis in the indicative or optative, when the verb can easily be supplied. E.g.

Ο οἰκέται βέγκουσιν· ἄλλ' οὐκ ἄν πρὸ τοῦ (sc. οὖτως ἔρρεγκον), but they would not have been snoring at this late hour in old times. AR. Nub. 5. (See 227.) So πῶς γὰρ ἄν; (sc. εὖ) how could it be?

484. In ὡσπερ ἄν εἴ with a noun, as ὡσπερ ἄν εἴ παις, like a child, there is originally a suppression of the verbs of both protasis and apodosis (227; 485); but in use the expression hardly differs from ὡσπερ. (See 868-870.)

485. (Ὠς εἴ and ὡσπερ εἴ.) There is an unconscious suppression of the verb of the apodosis when ὡς εἴ, ὡς εἴ τε, and ὡσπερ εἴ are used in similes and comparisons. E.g.

Δαι έπονθ', ὡς εἴ τε μετὰ κτίλων ἐσπετο μῆλα, the hosts followed as if sheep followed a ram. II. xiii. 492. (No definite verb is understood here, either with ὡς in Greek or with as in English, but the origin of the expression is the same in both.) Φιάλαν ὡς εἴ τε δωρήσεται. PIND. Ol. vii. 1. Καὶ με φίληρ' ὡς εἴ τε πατήρ ὁν παίδε ϕυλήρη. ΙΙ. ix. 481. Οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἴσαν ὡς εἴ τε πυρὶ χθὼν πάσα νύμφῃ, i.e. their march was as if the whole land should flame with fire (originally
as it would be if, etc.) II. ii. 780. Βή δ' ἵμεν, πάντοτε χειρ' ὄρεγὼν, holding out his hand as if he had long been a beggar (438). Od. xvii. 366. For other optatives with ὡς εἰ, see II. xi. 467, xxii. 410; Od. ix. 314, x. 416.

"Ωσπέρ εἰ παρεστάτες, as if you had dwelt near by. Aesch. Ag. 1201. "Ομοία ώσπερ εἰ τις πολλὰ ἐσθίων μηδέποτε ἐμπίπλαιτο, just as if one should eat much and never be filled. Xen. Symp. iv. 37.

There is the same suppression of the apodosis in the examples in 475, where the protasis also is wanting with ὡς εἰ and similar expressions.

Apodosis contained in the Protasis.

486. A protasis may depend on a verb which is not its apodosis, the real apodosis being so distinctly implied in the form of expression that it need not be stated separately.

487. 1. This is found especially in Homer, where εἰ κε (αἰ κέ) or ἤν (without an expressed apodosis) often seems to have the force of in the hope that; as in πατρὸς ἐμὸς κλέος μετέρχωμαι, ἢν πῶν ἄκοινω, I am going to seek tidings of my father, if I shall chance to hear of him, i.e. that I may hear of him if perchance I shall, or in the hope that I shall hear of him (Od. iii. 83). Here the protasis carries with it its own apodosis, which consists of an implied idea of purpose.1 The whole sentence (both protasis and apodosis) is thus condensed into the protasis; but the apodosis is always felt in the implied idea of purpose or desire which is inherent in the idiom. As we have seen (312, 2) that final clauses with ἄν or κε and the subjunctive originally included both a conditional relative clause and a final sentence, so here we have both a conditional and a final force included under a single conditional form; and this double force is felt also in the English translation, if haply, in the hope that, in case that, etc. E.g.

Αὐτάρ σοι ποικιὼς ὑποθήσομεθ', αἰ κε πιθαί, but we will make you a wise suggestion, for you to obey it if you will. II. xxi. 293. (Here the protasis αἰ κε πιθαί with its implied apodosis seems like πείθοι ἄν εἰ πείθοι, you can obey if you please, Aesch. Ag. 1049, and χαίροιτ' ἄν εἰ χαίροιτ', Ib. 1394.) So II. i. 207, 420, xi. 791, xxiii. 82; Od. i. 279. Πέμψω δ' ἐς Σπάρτην... νόστον πενθόμενον πατρὸς φίλου, ἢν πῶν ἄκοινος, ἢδ' ἵνα μιν κλέος ἐχρησον, I will send him to Sparta, to ask about his father's return, in hope that he may hear of it, and in order that glory may possess him. Od. i. 93. (Here the

1 The English translation of certain conditional clauses in the New Testament which have this peculiar construction preserves the sense of purpose or desire with the original form of protasis. Thus, that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him and find him, Acts xvii. 27; and he came (to the fig tree), if haply he might find anything thereon, Mark xi. 13.
APODOSIS CONTAINED IN THE PROTASIS

added final clause shows the distinction between this and the protasis ήν που έκοψω.) So Od. i. 281, ii. 216, 360, iii. 83. Εἰπέ μοι, αἱ κε πολι γενώ τοιούτον ἐνντα, εφ’ ἱππας Μάξανη τούτου γένηται, εφ’ ἵππας ην γεννήσεται (i.e. in hope that you may become), etc. II. viii. 282. So II. xi. 797, 799, xiii. 236, xiv. 78, xvi. 39, 41 (cf. 84), xvii. 121, 692, xviii. 199. Καὶ οἱ ὑποστάσεις ένιακάδεκα βιοίς ἐρευνώμενες, αἱ κε εἴλεψη ἀστν τούτον ἱππας, . . . αἱ κεν Τυδέως ύλος ἀπόσχη Ἴλιου ἱρής, let her promise to sacrifice twelve oxen (to Athena), in hope that she may pity the city, . . . εφ’ ἱππας ην γεννήσεται the subject is ready for either result, though the former is hoped for or expected. E.g.
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1. Ίθύς φίρεται μένε, ἤν τίνα πέφυ άνδρών ἦ αὐτὸς φθεται πρώτῃ ἐν ὁμόλογα, i.e. he (a lion) rushes on, ready to slay or to perish. Il. xx. 172. In Od. xxiv. 216, the common text has πατρός πειρήσομαι, αἱ κέ (or εἰ κέ) μ᾽ ἐπιγνώσῃ... ἢ κεν ἄνεμοι, I will try my father (ready for either result), in case he shall recognise me or shall not know me (where κεν alone in the second clause is very strange). But La Roche reads ἦ κε μ᾽ ἐπιγνώσῃ, as an indirect question, one Ms. having ἦ κε: see also Od. xvi. 265. Ἐπιγνώσῃ is Hermann's conjecture for ἐπιγνωσι or γνωσι.

488. The optative with εἰ (rarely εἰ κέ) is sometimes used in Homer like the subjunctive after primary tenses in sentences of this class. It is also very common after past tenses, representing a subjunctive of the original form, though occasionally the subjunctive is retained in indirect discourse (696). E.g.

'Αλλ' εἴ τὸν δώτῃν ὄσιμαι, εἴ τοι θεόν ἄνδρων μνημήρων σκέδασων κατὰ δώματα θεία, but I am still expecting the poor man, if haply he should come and scatter the suitors. Od. xx. 224. So Od. ii. 351. 'Αλλά τις εἰ Άγαμέμνονι, εἴ πλείων παρὰ καθαρὰν ἐπιστρέψεις νέοθα, let some one go to Ά., in hope that he may escort, etc. Od. xiv. 496. See also 491, below.

Βούλευον ὅποιο δ' ἀρνεστα γένοιστο, εἴ τιν' ἐταίρωσιν θανάτου λόγῳ εὑρόμην, i.e. if haply I might find some escape. Od. ix. 420. 'Αλλ' ἐγὼ οἱ πληθυντί, ὅφρα αὐτόν τε ἐδούμαι καὶ εἰ μοι ξέινα δοίη, but I disobeyed them, in order that I might see him (the Cyclops) and in hope that he would show me hospitality. Od. ix. 228. (The final clause and the protasis are here again clearly distinguished: see Od. i. 93 under 487, 1.)

Πολλά δε τούθ επήλθε μετάνευσιν, εἴ πόθεν εξενροί. II. xviii. 321. Περίθη δὲ εἰ αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐντεσι, εἴ οἱ ἐφαρμόσει καὶ ἐνέρχοι ἄγλαα γνώσιμο, i.e. he tried himself in his armour, eager for it to fit him and for his limbs to play freely in it (if haply it should fit him, etc.). II. xix. 384. (See the cases of the subjunctive after πειρώςμαι in 487, 1. Here there is no indirect question, for Achilles can have no real doubt about the fit.) Ἐν δὲ πίθοι οἴνου θασσαν, εἴ πον' Ὀδυσσεῖν οὐκ ακοῦστε στέγειε, i.e. the casks of wine were waiting for the return of Υἶσσ. Od. ii. 340. Ἡμετέρον κάτω ὄρατο, ποτιδέμενος εἰ τι μὲν εἴποι, i.e. he sat looking down, waiting for Penelope to speak. Od. xxiii. 91. Τὸς ἦνογει εἰπεῖν ἐπος, εἰ κ' ἐθέλητε πανίσχυσαι πολέμων, he bade me say this word, if haply you might be willing to stop the war. Il. viii. 394. (This appears in vs. 387 as εἰ κέ γένασται, and the direct form of the command in vs. 375 is εἰ κέ ἐθέλωσον.) In Il. xiv. 163-165 we have εἰ πον ἔμειραστο... τῷ δὲ χείρῃ after a past tense. Νῦν παρέξετε, εἴ πον ἔφεσον ἡμῶν, Od. v. 439. (Compare vs. 417, εἰ δὲ κέ παρανήγομαι, ἄν πον ἔφεσω, under 487, 1.)

See also Il. ii. 97, iii. 450, iv. 88, x. 19, xii. 122, 333, xiii. 807, xx. 464, xxiii. 40; Od. i. 115, iv. 317, ix. 267, 317, 418, x. 147, xi. 479, 628, xii. 334, xiv. 460, xxii. 91, 381.

489. This construction (487; 488) with both subjunctive and
optative is found also in Attic Greek and in Herodotus, but with less variety of expression, and at the same time with some extension of the usage. Especially to be noticed are the protases depending on verbs like βούλομαι and θέλω in Herodotus. E.g.

Θήβας ἡμᾶς πέμψον, εάν πως διακυβέρνησον οὖν τούς ὀμαῖς, send us to Thebes, to prevent, if happily we may, etc. Soph. O. C. 1769. Τῆς ἐμῆς γνώμης ἄκουσον, ἐάν τι σου δοκῇ λέγειν, hear my judgment, in the hope that you may think there is something in what I say. Eur. H. F. 278. Ἐδίδοτο τοῖς Ἀρισταγόρεω, εἰ καί αὐτοῖς παράσχω δύναμιν τινα καὶ κατέλθονεν ἐν τῷ ἐναντιών, they besought A., if in any way he might supply them with an armed force and they might be restored to their own land (to do this). Hdt. v. 30. Φρονήσαντες εἰ καί ἐν γένοιτο τοῖς Ἐλληνικοῖς, having it at heart that, if it were in any way possible, the Hellenic race should be made one. Id. vii. 145. Βουλομένην εἰ καί ἀμφότεροι γενοίσατο βασιλείς, i.e. wishing that both might be made kings, if in any way this could be done. Id. vi. 52. Ἐβουλεύετο θέλων εἰ καί τούτους πρώτους ἔλοι, Id. ix. 14. Πρόθυμοι ἦσαν ἐπιχείρεσις (sc. ἤτοι νυνὶ), εἰ καί ἔλοιεν αὐτός. Id. viii. 6. Πεμψάντες παρ' Ἀθηναίοις προσβεβίζεις, εἰ πως πείσειαν μὴ σφών πέρι νεωτερίζειν μηδὲν, to persuade them if they might, etc. Thuc. i. 58. Πορευόμενοι ἐν τῇ Ἀθήνῃ ἡμαῖς βασιλεία, εἰ πως πείσειαν αὐτῶν, followed by εὐδύναι οὔτε, εἰ δύνασθαί, εὐδυναί, in nearly the same sense. Id. ii. 67. Πισθοῦόμενοι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐν τῇ Καρμάριμαν προσβεβίζασθαι, εἰ πως προσαγάγοιτο αὐτῶν, that they might send on an embassy to C., to bring the town over if they could. Id. vi. 75. (Compare εἰ Ἀκράγαντα Σικανόν ἀπέστειλαν, ὡς ὑπαγάγοιτο τὴν πόλιν εἰ δύνασται, vii. 46. This might have been εἰ πως ὑπαγάγοιτο τὴν πόλιν, and in vi. 75 we might have had ὡς προσαγάγοιτο αὐτῶν εἰ δύνασται, with nearly the same force, but with different constructions.) See v. 4, εἰ πως . . . διασώσειμαι. 'Ηκεῖται πρὸς σὲ δεῖρι ἄφιγμεθα, εἰ πως πόλιν φράσεις ἡμῖν εὔρον, we have come hither to you as suppliants, in the hope that you might tell us of some city soft as a fleece (to have you tell us, if perchance you might do so). Ar. Av. 120. "Ἀκουσάν καὶ ἔμοι, εὰν σοι ταῦτα δοκῇ, listen to me too, in the hope that you may think the same (in case the same shall seem true to you)." Plut. Rep. 358 B: so 434 A. "Ορα ὁδών καὶ πρόσθυμον κατιδεύειν, εὰν πως πρότερος ἕμοι ἔδωκα καὶ ἔμοι φράσης, i.e. for the chance that you may see it first and tell me. Ib. 432 C: so 618 C, Theaet. 192 C, Soph. 226 C. See also Xen. An. ii. 1, 8, ἄν τι δύνανται, and Ar. Nub. 535. On this principle we must explain Ar. Ran. 339, οὐκοῦν ἀτρέμ μὲν, ἣν τι καὶ χορδῆς λάβης, will you not keep quiet then, in the hope of getting some sausage too (i.e. to have some sausage if you chance to get any) ?

490. 1. The apodosis may, further, be suggested by the context, even by the protasis itself, without implying that the protasis expresses a purpose or desire of the leading subject. This gives rise to a variety of constructions. E.g.

Κτανείν ἐμοὶ νῦν ἔδοσαν, εἰτέ μὴ κτανῶν θέλομη ἄγαισθαι πάλιν ἐς
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1. 'Argeían χθόνα, they gave her (Helen) to me to slay, or, in case I should prefer not to slay her but to carry her back to the land of Argos (for me to do this). Eur. T. 874. Ἤν (τὴν ἕσσαμα) γε οὐκ ἐπὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐπονήσασθε, τῶν δὲ ἑχθρῶν ἦν τις ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς ἢ, i.e. you made it (to use) in case any of your enemies should come against you. Thuc. vi. 79. Πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, εἰ ἐπιβοηθοῦσιν, ἑχάρων, they marched towards the city, (to be ready) in case the citizens should rush out. Id. vi. 100. Τάλλα, ἦν εἰ ναυμαχεῖν οἱ 'Αθηναίοι τολμήσωσι, παρεσκευάζοντο, they made other preparations, (to be ready) in case the Athenians should venture on further sea-fights. Id. vii. 59. Κήρυγμα ποιοῦνται ... τῶν ναυσιτῶν εἰ τις βούλεσθαι ἔπει ἔλευθερον ὅσο σφῶς ἀπίηναι, they make proclamation, in case any of the islanders wishes to come over to them with promise of freedom (for him to do so). Id. vii. 82. Οὐδεμία βλάβη τῶν πρός τὰς πόλεις διαπομπῶν ἐξ τῆς κατασκοπηῆς καὶ ἦν τι ἄλλο φαίνηται ἐπιτήδειον, there is no harm in the envoys whom we have sent to the various cities, partly for inquiry, and also in case any other advantage may appear (to secure this), i.e. to secure any other advantage that may appear. Id. vi. 41. So καὶ εἰ τινα πρὸς ἄλλον δίοι, Id. v. 37. Ἀρᾶς ποιοῦνται, εἰ τις ἐπικηρυκύεται Πέρσαις, they invoke curses, if any one (i.e. to fall on any one who) sends heralds to the Persians. Isoc. iv. 157. Φιλοτιμεῖται μηδὲ εἰ ἐφ᾽ ἄλλῳ ἡ ἐπί χρημάτων κτήσει καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο εἰς τοῦτο φέρη, i.e. for anything else that may lead to this. Plat. Rep. 553 D. See Aris. Eth. x. 9, 2: εἴχεν (τὴν ἀρετὴν) καὶ χρησθαι πειρατῶν, ἢ εἰ πως ἄλλως ἀγαθοὶ γνωσθήσαται, we must try to possess and employ virtue, or if there is any other means of becoming virtuous (to use this).

2. In the Homeric examples in which the protasis consists of an infinitive depending on ἔθέλω (487, 1, end), the apodosis is suggested by the infinitive rather than by ἔθέλω. This shows that αἱ κ ἔθελσι in itself has no final force. See also Od. xxi. 381, πάπτηνεν δ᾽ 'Οδυσσεύς κατ᾽ ἐν δόμων, εἰ τις ἐρήμων ὡς ὑποκλεστείτο ἄλλων κήρα μέλαιναν, he peered through his house, in case any man might still be alive and hiding himself (i.e. to find any such man), where no desire or hope is implied, and the construction is like that of Thuc. vi. 100 (above).

In Plat. Rep. 327 C, οὐκοῦν ἢτι ἐλλείπεται τῷ ἦν πεῖσῳ τῷ ὡς χρή ἡμᾶς ἀφείναι; the subject of ἐλλείπεται is a protasis introduced by τῷ, into which the apodosis has been wholly absorbed. The construction is, is there not still left the supposition of our persuading you that you must let us go? But the meaning is, is it not left for us to persuade you that you must let us go, if we can (i.e. πείσαι ἦν πεῖσῳ) ? This is an important example for explaining this whole class of sentences (486-490). The cases in 490 make it plain that the final force often ascribed to εἰ or ἦν comes from the suppression of an apodosis containing the idea of purpose or desire, since the same form of protasis which is sometimes called final has no final force when a slightly different apodosis is implied (as in Thuc. vi. 79, 100, vii. 59).
491. Sometimes a clause with εἰ κε or ἢν (rarely εἰ) and the subjunctive, or with εἰ κε or εἰ and the optative, in Homer is the object of οἶδα, ἐδούν, or a verb of saying, expressing in a conditional form a result which is hoped for or desired. These clauses have the appearance of indirect questions; but the analogy of the preceding examples (487-490) shows that all are based on the same idiom,—a protasis which involves its own apodosis so that it would be useless to express the latter separately. The examples are these:—

Τίς οὖν εἰ κε καὶ αὐτὸς ἢν κόλας ἐπὶ νηδὸς ἕλε φίλων ἀπόληται, who knows the chances that he too may perish, etc.? or who knows the chances of his perishing, etc., if haply he may? Od. ii. 332. (We may translate colloquially: who knows he too shall perish?) Τίς οὖν εἰ κ' Ἀχιλέως φθήν ἐμὼ ὑπὸ δουρί τυχεῖς ἀπὸ θυμὸν ὀλέσσαι; who knows the chances that Achilles may first be struck (the chances of his being first struck, if haply he shall be)? II. xvi. 860. (We should naturally express this by a different construction, whether he may not be first struck.) Τίς οὖν εἰ κ' οἱ σὺν δαίμονι θυμὸν δρίνω παρείπων; who knows the chances of my rousing his spirit by persuasion, if haply I shall do so? II. xv. 403. In II. xi. 792 we have Nestor's advice to Patroclus, τίς οὖν εἰ κ' οἱ σὺν δαίμονι θυμὸν δρίνω παρείπων; who knows the chances that you could rouse his spirit by persuasion? (δρίνω κε being potential). Οὐ μὴν οὖν εἰ αὐτὺς κακορράφης ἀλεγινὴς πρῶτη ἐπάφρηται καὶ σε πληγῆσιν ἰμάσσω, I am not sure of the chances of your being the first to enjoy your own device, etc., i.e. I am not so sure that you may not be the first to enjoy it, if it shall so chance. II. xiv. 16. Ζεὺς γὰρ ποτὲ γε οἶδε καὶ ἀδικέτοι θεό τὸλλοι, εἰ κε μὲν ἄγγειλαμι ἢδον ἐπὶ πολλὰ δ' ἀλήθην, Zeus and the other immortals (alone) know this, the chance of my bringing news of him, if haply I have seen him and so might do this. Od. xiv. 119. Εἰ δ' ἄγε δὴ μοι τοῦτο, θεά, νημερτές εἰσπε οἱ δὲν ἐπι-προφύγουμει Χάρυβδων, τὴν δὲ κ' ἀμμαινῶν ὅτε μοι σίνοτο γ' εἶπον, i.e. tell me this without fault, the chance of my escaping Charybdis if haply I should do this, and of my then keeping Scylla off if I could. (lit. tell me this, supposing I should escape Charybdis and could then keep Scylla off.) Od. xii. 112 (this translation supposes κ' to be potential, affecting only ἀμμαινῶν).

'Ἡ μένετε Τριάδας σκυδὸν ἀλβέμεν, ὀφρα ἕπητ' αἰ κ' ὑμμαν ὑπέροχα ἁχέφα Κρονίων; are you waiting for the Trojans to come near, or may you see the chances of the son of Cronos holding his hand over you?—or that you may see him hold his hand over you, if haply he may do this? II. iv. 247. (We might say, is it that you may see it,—supposing the son of Cronos to hold his hand over you?) Τῶν σ' αὗτως μνήσω, ἵν' ἀπολλήζων ἀπατῶν, ὑπ' ἔρωτις ην τοι χράεσιν φιλότητες τε καὶ εὐνή, i.e. that you may see the chances of your device availing you, or that you may see it if perchance your device shall avail you. II. xv. 31.

See also II. xx. 435, ἄλλῃ ἢ τοι μὲν ταῦτα θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κεῖται,
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αἰ κέ σε χειρότερός περ ἐὼν ἀπὸ θυνὸν ἐλωμαι, i.e. this rests with the Gods, for me to take your life away, weaker though I am, if perchance I may. The conditional construction is more obvious here than in II. iv. 247 and xv. 31; but in all three we naturally fall into an indirect question when we attempt to express the thought in English.

492. A comparison of these peculiar conditional constructions (491) expressing hope or desire with clauses with μή expressing anxiety and desire to prevent a result, both depending on οἴδα or ἕδον, is suggestive. With Od. ii. 332 and II. xvi. 560 (in 491) compare II. x. 100, οδεῖ τι ἔδειν, μὴ πως καὶ διὰ νῦκτα μενουσητοβι κάνεσθαι, nor do we know any way to prevent their being impelled, etc., and Plat. Phaed. 91 D (quoted in 366); and with II. iv. 247 and xv. 31 (491) compare Od. xxiv. 491, ἐδοῖ μὴ δὴ σχεδόν ὅσοι κιόντες (366). This comparison shows that εἶδεναι (or ἰδεῖν) εἰ κε τούτο γένηται means to know (or see) the chances of gaining this (object of desire); while εἶδεναι (or ἰδεῖν) μὴ τούτο γένηται means to know (or see) some way to prevent this (object of fear). The idea of desire or anxiety belongs to the dependent clause, and not at all to the leading verb.

493. These Homeric expressions (491), in which nearly all the force is in the protasis, so that the apodosis is not only suppressed but hardly felt at all, helps to show how the particle εἰ came to be an indirect interrogative, in the sense of whether. But in Attic Greek, where the interrogative use is fully established, only the simple εἰ (never ἦν or εάν) can mean whether, even when the verb is subjunctive (680).

Εἰ' AFTER EXPRESSIONS OF WONDER, INDIGNATION, ETC.

494. After many expressions of wonder, delight, contentment, indignation, disappointment, pity, and similar emotions, a protasis with εἰ may be used to express the object of the emotion. When the supposition of the protasis is present or past, a causal sentence would generally seem more natural. Such expressions are especially θαυμάζω, αἰσχύνομαι, ἀγαπῶ, ἀγανακτῶ, and δεινόν ἐστιν. E.g.

Θαυμάζω δ' ἐγώ γε εἰ μηδεὶς ὅμων μητ' ἐνθυμεῖται μητ' ὁργίζεται, ὄρων, κ.τ.λ., I wonder that no one of you is either concerned or angry, when he sees, etc. (lit. if no one is either concerned or angry, I wonder). Dem. iv. 43. Ἡ' ἀλλ' ἐκέινον θαυμάζω, εἰ Δακεδαμονίων μὲν ποτε γνώρηστε, ὀνεὶ δ' ὑπενείτε ἐξείναι καὶ μέλλετε εἰσφέρειν, but I wonder at this, that you once opposed the Lacedaemonians, but now are unwilling, etc. Id. ii. 24. (The literal meaning is, if (it is true that) you once opposed, etc., then I wonder.) Ὅνε̑ς ἄγαπε εἰ μηδὲν δέωκεν, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ καὶ χριστὸν στεφάνῳ στεφάνωθησθαι ἁγανακτεί, he is not content if he has not been punished; but if he is not also to be crowned with a
golden crown, he is indignant. AESCHIN. iii. 147. Καί ὃς ἀληθῶς ἀγανάκτο, ἐν οὕτωι δ νῶ μη οἰός τ' εἰμὶ εἰπεῖν, ἦν ἰνδιάγνητο that (or if) I am not able, etc. PLAT. Lach. 194 A. Οὐ δὴ θαυμαστῶν ἔτιν, ἐν στρατεύομεν καὶ πονῶν ἐκείνος αὐτὸς ἦμων μελλόντων καὶ ψφισμένων καὶ πυθανομένων περιγίγνεται, ἦν ἰνδιάγνητο that he gets the advantage of you, etc. DEM. ii. 23. Μηδὲ μέντοι τούτῳ μείων δόξητε ἐχεῖν, ἐν ὁι Κυρεῖοι πρόσθεν σὺν ἦμων ταττόμενοι νῦν ἀφεστήκασιν, i.e. do not be discontented, if (or that) the Cyreneans have now withdrawn. XEN. An. iii. 2, 17. Αἰνῶ σε, ἐν κτενεῖς δάμαρτα σὺν. EUR. Tto. 890.

Δεινὸν ἀν εἰ ἐπήγαμα, ἐν Σάκας μὲν δούλους ἐχομεν, Ἐλλήνας δὲ σὺν τιμωρησόμεθα. ΗΡΩ. viii. 9. Αἰσχρόν ἔστιν, ἐν εἰγό μὲν τὰ ἐργα ὑπέμεινα, ὑψεῖς δὲ μηδὲ τοὺς λόγους ἀνέξεσθε. DEM. xviii. 160. Δεινὸν ἂν εἰ, ὡς ἐν εἰς μὲν εὐκίνοις εὐμαχοὶ οὐκ ἀπερόουσιν, ἡρεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἀρα δαπανήσομεν. ΗΡΩ. i. 121. Τέρας λέγεις, ἐν . . . οὐκ ἂν δύναιναι λαθεῖν. PLAT. Men. 91 D (see 506). Δεινὸν εἰς οἴ αὐτοὶ μάρτυρες τούτων μὲν ἂν μαρτυρώντες πιστοὶ ἦσαν, ἦμοι δὲ μαρτυρώντες ἄπιστοι ἢσονται, ἦν ἰνδιάγνητο that the same witnesses testifying for them would have been trustworthy, and testifying for me are to be untrustworthy. ANT. vi. 29. See AESCHIN. i. 85.

In all the preceding examples the protasis belongs under 402, the futures expressing present suppositions (407). For εἴ οὐ see 386 and 387, with examples.

495. The same construction is sometimes used when the leading verb is past. E.g.

Κατεμέμφετο αὐτὸν καὶ τοῖς σύν αὐτῷ, ἐν οἴ αὐτοὶ ἀκμάζειν μᾶλλον έκατόν ἐδοκούν. XEN. Cyr. iv. 3, 3. But generally such sentences are affected by the principle of indirect discourse, and have either the optative or the form of the direct discourse: see XEN. Cyr. ii. 2, 3, ἦσαν εἰ δεινοῦν οἱ δοκοῦν τοιούτοι ἢσαν, ἦμοι δὲ μαρτυρώντες ἄπιστοι ἢσονται, it is hard that the same witnesses testifying for them would have been trustworthy, and testifying for me are to be untrustworthy. ANT. vi. 29. See AESCHIN. i. 85.

These expressions may also be followed by ὅτι and a causal sentence, as in PLAT. Theaet. 142 A, ἐθαύμαζον ὅτι οὐκ οἶος τ' ἦ ἐφείν. The construction with εἴ gives a milder or more polite form of expression, putting the object of the wonder etc. into the form of a supposition, instead of stating it as a fact as we should do in English. They may also be followed by protases expressing ordinary conditions, which have nothing peculiar: see ISOC. xv. 17, ἀγαπητόν (sc. ἐστίν) ἦν ἐκλαβεῖν δυνατῶς τὸ δίκαιον, they must be content if they are able (cf. xix. 20); and PLAT. Prot. 315 E, DEM. ii. 23 (εἰ περίεμεν).

497. This construction must not be mistaken for that in which εἴ is used in the sense of whether, to introduce an indirect question; as ἦρωτον εἴ ἠλθεν, I asked whether he had come.
Mixed Constructions.

498. The forms of protasis and apodosis which are contained in the classification above (388-397) include by far the greater number of the examples found in the classic authors. Many cases remain, however, in which the protasis and apodosis do not belong to the same form. Especially, the great wealth of conditional expressions which the Homeric language exhibits in both protasis and apodosis (399) allowed great variety of combination; and the early poets used much greater freedom in these sentences than suited the more exact style of Attic prose.

I. Optative in Protasis, with Future or Present Indicative or an equivalent form in Apodosis.

499. (a) In the earlier language a protasis with the optative is not infrequently followed by an apodosis with the future indicative or imperative or (in Homer) with the subjunctive. The subjunctive or future indicative in Homer may also take κε or αν (452).

E.g.

Εἰ τίς μοι ἀνήρ ἀμ' ἐποιτο καὶ ἄλλος, μᾶλλον θαλπωρὴ καὶ ταρσαλεωτέρον ἔσται, if any other man should follow with me, there will be more comfort and greater courage. II. x. 222. (The want of symmetry in the Greek is here precisely what it is in the English; and εἰ ή αν is no more required in the apodosis than έποιτο, he will tell you, etc. Od. iv. 388. See II. ix. 388, and xxiii. 893, πόρωμεν, εἰ ἔθελοι. Τόν γ' εἰ πως σο σύ δύναι λοχηγάμενο λελαβόται, os κέν τοι εἰπήγει δδάν, he will tell you, etc. Od. iv. 388. See II. xi. 386, εἰ πειρηκής, σύκ ἀν τοι χραισμησι βιός; and II. ii. 488, xx. 100, Od. xvii. 539. Εἰ δέ δαίμον γενέθλιος ἔρηποι, Δί τούτ' ένυμλώ τ' ἐκδόσομεν πράσσειν. Pind. Ol. xiii. 105.1 So in an old curse, εἰ τις τάδε παραβαίνοι, ἐναγής ἔστω, Aesch. iii. 110. See Soph. O. T. 851, εἰ τι κάκτρεποιτο, οὗτοι τόν γε Λαίου φόνον φανεὶ δικαίως ἀρθόν.

500. (b) A present indicative in the apodosis with an optative in the protasis is sometimes merely an emphatic future expression. E.g.

Πάντ' ἡμεῖς, εἰ σε τούτων μοιρ' ἐφίκοιτο καλών, you have the whole, should a share of these glories fall to your lot. Pind. Isth. iv. (τ.) 14. So καίρον εἰ φθέγξαιο, μείων ἐπεται μόρος ἀνθρώπων, i.e. should you speak seasonably, you are sure to be followed by less censure of men, Py. i. 81. In Thuc. ii. 39 we have καίτοι εἰ ῥαθυμία μᾶλλον ἡ πόνων μελέτη ἐθελομεν κινδυνείς, περιγίγνεται ἡμῖν, κ.τ.λ.,

1 For the cases in Pindar here and in 500 and 501, see Am. Jour. Phil. iii. p. 444.
and now supposing that we should choose to meet dangers with a light heart rather than with laborious training, we secure the advantage, etc. This sentence is loosely jointed, like the others which have this combination; the condition is stated as a remotely supposed case, in the vague future form, but the apodosis, we at once gain this advantage, etc., is adapted to a present supposition. The optative is generally emended to έθέλομεν, although it is one of the best attested words in Thucydides, being in the best Mss. and also being quoted by Dion. Hal, as a faulty expression. The criticism of Dionysius (de Thuc. Idiom. 12, 1) is instructive: ἐνταῦθα γὰρ τὸ μὲν έθέλοιμεν βήμα τοῦ μέλλοντός ἐστὶ χρόνον δηλωτικόν, τὸ δὲ περιέργειν περὶ παρόντος ἀκόλουθον δ' ἂν ἦν εἰ συνέργει τῷ έθέλοιμεν τὸ περιέσται, i.e. the future expression εἰ έθέλομεν should have a future form like περιέσται to correspond to it.

In Dem. xviii. 21, εἴ γὰρ εἶναι τι δοκοῖ τὰ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς ἀπόκημα, οὐδὲν έστι δήσου πρὸς ἐμὲ, the apodosis refers to the real protasis if there is any apparent fault.

501. (c) In most cases, however, the present indicative in the apodosis precedes, containing a general statement, and the optative adds a remote future condition where we should expect a general present supposition. E.g.

Οὐ μοι δέμος έστι, οὐδ' εἴ κακῶν σέβειν ἐλθοί, έξείναι ἀτυμησα, it is not right for me—even supposing a more wretched man than you should come—to dishonour a stranger. Od. xiv. 56. Θρησκεύως γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀμείνων ἐργοῖς τελέσει, εἴ καὶ ποθεν ἄλλοθεν ἐλθοί. Od. vii. 51. So v. 484, viii. 138; ll.ix. 318. Οὔτ' οὖν ἄγελθη ἤτι πείθοιμαι, εἴ ποθεν ἐλθοί, οὔτε θεσπορίζεσθαι έμπάξομαι, ἦν τινα μήτηρ ἔξερέηται, neither do I any longer put trust in reports—should any one come—nor do I regard any divination which my mother may ask. Od. i. 414. (Here the remoteness of the supposition in εἴ ἐλθοί is contrasted with the greater vividness of that expressed in ἔξερέητα). Δεινόν τί, εἴ κ' έδ' άμαξαν ὑπέβιον ἄχθους ἄνατον κακάζεις τὰ δὲ φάρσαν έμπανάμεη, it is hard, . . . supposing you should break your axle and your load should perish. Hes. Op. 692. Κέρδος δὲ φαλτατοῦ, ἐκόντος εἶ τις ἐκ δόμων φέροι, it is the dearest gain, if one should bring it from the house of a willing giver. Pind. Py. viii. 13. See Isth. ii. 33. So Soph. Ant. 1032.

In most of these examples a general supposition with the subjunctive (or present indicative) in the protasis would have agreed more closely with the thought. If the protasis had preceded, so as to determine the character of the sentence, the apodosis would naturally have had the optative with κέ or αὖ, or some future form (as in the cases under a).

502. (d) The optative in protasis sometimes depends on the present of a verb of obligation, propriety, or possibility with an infinitive, the two forming an expression that is nearly equivalent in sense to an optative with αὖ. E.g.
Εἰ γὰρ εἴησαν δύο τινες ἐναντίοις νόμοι, οὐκ ἀμφοτέροις ἐνι δήποιν ψυχής ἀσθανατος, for if there should be two laws opposed to each other, you could not surely vote for both. Dem. xxiv. 35. This is analogous to the apodosis formed by ἐδει, χρήσθαι, ἐνέσθαι, etc., with the infinitive (415). There, for example, ἐνέπλησθαι εἶναι, he could have gone, is nearly equivalent to ἤλθαι ἀν, and here ἐνέστην αὐτῷ ἔλθειν, he could go, is nearly equivalent to ἤλθοι ἀν. This use of the optative is more common in the corresponding relative conditional sentences (555).

II. Indicative or Subjunctive in Protasis, with Potential Optative or Indicative in Apodosis.

503. (a) A present or past tense of the indicative in the protasis with a potential optative or indicative (with ἀν) in the apodosis is a perfectly natural combination, each clause having its proper force. E.g.

Εἰ δὲ τις ἄθανάτων γε κατ’ οἰκον οἰκήλαμβάς, οὐκ ἂν ἦγομεν θεοποιήσεις ἐπιφανείας ἑκατομμυρίων, but if thou art one of the immortals come from heaven, I would not fight against the Gods of heaven. II. vi. 128. Πολλὴ γὰρ ἂν εὐδαιμονία εἴη περὶ τούς νόμους, εἰ εἰς μὲν μόνος αὐτοῖς διάφορες, οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι ὧφελονται, for there would (naturally) be great happiness, etc. Plat. Ap. 25 B. Εἰ τι θεσφατον πατρὶ χρησμοίων ἰκνείθ', ὡστε πρὸς παῖδες θανεῖν, τῶς ἂν δικαίως τοῦτ’ ἄνελεις ἐμοί; if a divine decree came to my father through oracles that he was to die by his sons’ hands, how can you justly reproach me with this? Soph. O. C. 969; so 974-977. "Ὡς' εἰ μοι καὶ μέσως ἦγομεν τῆς ἑρωίδου μᾶλλον ἐπέρων προσεϊναι αὕτα πολεμεῖν ἐπείσθητε, οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως νῦν τού γε ἀδικεῖν αὐτίαν ψεφοίμην, if you were persuaded to make war by thinking, etc., I should not now justly be charged with injustice.

Τάκτ. ii. 60. Εἰ γὰρ οἵτινες ἄρθις ἐπέστησαν, ὡς εἰς αὐτοῖς ἡρήξαται, ἐφεξήκοντα, for if these had a right to secede, it would follow that your dominion is unjust. Id. iii. 40: see vi. 92, and Dem. xxi. 37. Καίτοι τότε τὸν Ὀπερέθην, εἰπέρ ἀληθῆ μον νῦν καταγορεῖ, μᾶλλον ἂν εἰκότως ἡ τούτῳ ἐδίωκεν, and yet, if he is now making true charges against me, he would then have prosecuted Hypereides with much more reason than (he now has for prosecuting) this man. Dem. xvii. 223. Εἰ γὰρ γυναῖκες εἰς τὸν ἡρῴους τρᾶσως, . . . παρ’ οὐδεν αὐτίας ὧν ἂν ὠλλώναι πόσες, for if women are to come to this height of audacity (407) it would be as nothing for them to slay their husbands. Eur. Or. 566. Τούτω, εἰ καὶ τάλλα πάντα ἀποστεροῦσιν, ἀποδοῦναι προσήκεν, even if they steal all the rest, they ought to have restored this (415). Dem. xxvii. 37.

504. (b) An unreal condition in the indicative followed by a potential optative seldom occurs and is not a strictly logical combination. E.g.

Εἰ τούτ’ ἐπεξείρουν λέγειν, οὐκ ἔσθ’ ὡστε οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως
επιτιμήσει μου, if I were undertaking to say this, (the result would be that) every one would censure me with reason. Dem. xviii. 206. (Here many Mss. and Dion. Hal. p. 1054 read ἐπετίμησε, the ordinary form in such an apodosis.) See [Lys.] xv. 8.

505. (c) When a subjunctive or a future indicative in protasis has a potential optative in the apodosis, there is sometimes a distinct potential force in the apodosis (as in 503), and sometimes the optative with ἂν is merely a softened expression for the future indicative (235). E.g.

Εἰ μὲν κεν πατρὸς βιωτὸν καὶ νόστων ἀκούσω, ἢ τ' ἄν προχώμενός περ ἐτι παραίην εἰναιντόν, if I hear of my father's life and return, wasted as I am, I can still endure it for a year, Od. ii. 218. (See the next verses, 220-223, εἰ δε κεν πεθεψώσο ἀκούσω, with future forms in the apodosis. See also the corresponding verses, Od. i. 287-292.) Άλλ' ἐτι μὲν καὶ καὶ ὡς κακά περ πάσχοντες ἰκομήθη, αἱ κ' θῆλησ σὸν θυμῶν ἔρωκάκειν, but still even so, though suffering evils, you may come home, if you will curb your passion. Od. xi. 104; so xi. 110 and xii. 137. See II. xxi. 556. Εἰ δε κεν νυφ' ἀρόσσης, τῶς κὲν τοι φάρμακον εἴη, but if you plough late, this may be your remedy. Hes. Op. 485; so 665. Άλλ' ἔν ἐφής μοι, . . . λέξαιμ' ἂν ὀρθῶς, i.e. I would fain speak. Soph. El. 554. So O. T. 216, Phil. 1259; Eur. Hel. 1086. Θάλε γὰρ ἂν πολλαὶ γέφυραι δον, ἐχοιμέν ἂν ὃποι φυγόντες ἡμεῖς σωζόμεν, for not even if there are (shall be) many bridges, could we (in the case supposed) find a place to fly to and be safe. Xen. An. ii. 4, 19.

Εἰ γάρ τι λέξεις ἤ χολώσεται στρατός, οὔτ' ἂν ταφεῖν παῖς ἄδικο λόγον, οὐκ' οἰκτον τυχοῖ, for if you say anything by which the army shall be made angry, this child cannot be buried or find pity. Eur. Tro. 730; see Suppl. 603, Cycl. 474. Φρούριον εἰ ποιήσωται, τῆς μὲν γῆς βλάσποιεν ἂν τὶ μέρος, οὐκ' μέντοι ἰκανὸν γε ἐσταὶ κολύειν ἡμᾶς, κ.τ.λ., if they (shall) build a fort, they might perhaps injure some part of our land; but it will not be sufficient to prevent us, etc. Thuc. i. 142.

In the following examples the optative with ἂν seems to form a future apodosis to the future protasis; though in some of them it may be thought to be potential:—

Εἰ δὲ κεν εὐτυλογία δώῃ κλυτὸς εἰνοσίγας, ήματί κεν τριτάτῳ Φθίνῃ ἐρίβωλον ἰκοιμήν, i.e. on the third day I shall arrive. II. ix. 362. (The reference to this in Plat. Crit. 44 B shows that ἰκοιμήν ἂν is a mere future.) See II. xiii. 377, xvii. 38; Od. xxi. 114. Άδίκοιμεν ἂν εἰ μὴ ἀποδώσω, I should be guilty of wrong, should I (shall) not restore her. Eur. Hel. 1010. See Ion. 374, Suppl. 520, 1. A. 1189, Cycl. 198. 'Ην οὖν μάθης μοι τὸν ἄδικον τοῦτον λόγον, οὐκ' ἂν ἀποδώσων οὗτ' ἂν ὀβολοῦν οὐδενί, ὅσοι (shall) learn this cheating reason for me, I will not (or I would not) pay even an obol to any one. An. Nub. 116. Καὶ οὕτως ἂν δεινότατα πάντων πάθοιεν, εἰ οὕτως δομήσησοι κατ' ἐκείνους τῶν ἀνδρῶν τόσοι πράκτορα γεννήσονται. Lys. xiii. 94. (Here we should expect εἰ γένοιτο.) Τῶν ἄτοπω-
III. Potential Optative or Indicative (with ἀν) in the Protasis.

506. A potential optative (with ἀν) in the protasis may express a present condition, and a potential indicative (with ἄν) a present or past condition. E.g.

Εἰ μηδὲ δοῦλον ἀκράτη δεξαίμεθ' ἄν, τῶς οὐκ ἄξιον αὐτῶν ἱερὰς ἀνθροίσιν τοιούτων γενέσθαι; ἢ τιμία ἄναλωσόμεθα, ἢ ταὐτά δυνηθείς μή πρᾶξει. DEM. i. 26.

507. It is obvious that such forms (506) express simple present or past conditions, the real protasis always being if it is (or was) the case that something would now be (or would have been), or if it is the case that something would hereafter be under certain circumstances. (See 409.)

IV. Irregular Combinations.—Present or Past with Future in one Protasis.

508. In a few irregular constructions, which are only cases
of *anacoluthon*, the speaker adapts his apodosis to a form of protasis different from that which he has actually used. *E.g.*

Ἐγὼ μὲν ἄν, εἰ ἔχωμι, ὃς τάχιστα ὅπλα ἔποιοῦμην πᾶσι Πέρσαις. ΧΕΝ. ΣΥΤ. ii. 1, 9. (Here ἔποιοῦμην ἄν is used as if εἰ ἔχον, if I were able, had preceded. We should expect ποιοῦμην ἄν, which is found in one Ms.) Εἰ δὲν εἰδέειν ὅτι θεᾶται αὐτοῦ, ἐντοῦ ἄν ἐπὶ τοὺς πόνους ... καὶ κατεργάζομαι ἄν αὐτήν, if then they knew that she (virtue) sees them, they would rush into labours and would secure her. ΧΕΝ. ΣΥΝ. xii. 22. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ εἰς γυναῖκα σωφρονεστέραν ξίφος μεθείμεν, δυσκλεῖς ἄν ἄν φῶνος. ΕΥΡ. ΟΡ. 1132. (Here we should expect εἰ.)

509. The same protasis may have one verb in the indicative referring to present or past time, and another in the optative referring to the future. *E.g.*

Ἐγὼ οὔτως ἄν εἰργασμένος, εἰ, ὅτε μὲν με οἱ ἀρχοντες ἔταττον, τότε μὲν ἔποιον τού δήμου αὐτοῦ τιν τάξιν, I should therefore (prove to) have behaved outrageously, if when the state authorities stationed me I stood my ground, but (if) now when God stations me I should desert my post. ΠΛΑΤ. ἈΡ. 28 E. (Here the supposed combination of the two acts is the future condition to which the future apodosis refers.) Ἐτεύχομαι πάσι τούτοις, εἰ ἀλήθείᾳ πρὸς υμᾶς εἴποιμι καὶ εἴπον καὶ τότε ἔτερον Φίλιππον ποιήσετε, ἀνπερ ὅτῳ προσέχητε τοῖς πράγμασι τον νοῦν, for if anything shall happen to this Philip, you will soon create another if this is your way of attending to the business. ΔΕΜ. ΙV. 141. Εἰ δὲ μητ' ἐστε μήτε ἄν εἰπεῖν εἴχοι μὴ δέω καὶ τίμησιν, τί τὸν σύμβουλον εἴχρην ποιεῖν; but if there neither is nor was (any such thing), and if no man yet even at this day could possibly tell of any, what ought the statesman to have done? Ηβ. 190.

V. Several Protases in one Sentence.

510. Two or more protases, not co-ordinate, may belong to the same sentence; but one always contains the leading condition, to which the rest of the sentence (including the other conditions) is the conclusion. Here several protases may belong to one apodosis; or the leading condition may be followed by two subordinate conditions, each with its own apodosis. *E.g.*

Καὶ γὰρ ἄν οὖτος τι πάθη, ταχέως ὑμεῖς ἐτερον Φίλιππον ποιήσετε, ἀνπερ οὖτω προσέχητε τοῖς πράγμασι οὖν νοῦν, for if anything shall happen to this Philip, you will soon create another if this is your way of attending to the business. ΔΕΜ. ΙV. 11. ΣΟ. ΧVII. 195, 217 (two cases in each). Εἰ δ᾿ ἐμὲν νέοι δὶς καὶ γέροντες, εἰ τις ἔξημαρτανε, διπλόν βίου λαχόντες ἔχρηθομεθ᾿ ἄν, if we were twice young and twice old, in case any one of us was in fault we should secure a double life and set ourselves right. ΕΥΝ. ΣΥΝ. 1084. ΣΕΕ. ΡΑΝ. 1449. Εἰ ξένος ἔτυγχανον ἄν, ξυνεγιγνώσκετε δῆπον ἄν μοι εἰ ἐν ἔκεινῃ τῇ φωνῇ τε καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐλεγον εἰ δισέρπε τεθράμμην, i.e.
if I were a foreigner, you would pardon me if I spoke in my own dialect, etc. PLAT. AP. 17 D. Εἰ τίς σε διήμωτα τούτο, τί ἐστι σχῆμα; εἰ αὐτῷ εἶπες ὅτι στρογγυλότης, εἰ σοι εἶπεν ὅπερ ἔγω, εἶπες δῆτον ἄν ὅτι σχῆμα τι. Id. Men. 74 B.

Εἰ μὲν περὶ κανονὸν τῶν πράγματος προντίθετο λέγειν, ἐπισχοῦν ἃν ἐστι πλείστων τῶν εἰρήκειν ἀπεφήναν, εἰ μὲν ἡρεμεῖ τι μοι τῶν ὑπὸ τούτων ῥηθέντων, ήρεμεῖν ἃν ἴχνον, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τότε ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπειρώμην ὀγγίζωσκω λέγειν, ἢ. ἢ. if the subject of debate were new, I should have waited for others to speak; and then, if I liked anything that was said, I should keep quiet, and if not, I should try to say something myself. DEM. iv. 1; see also xxxiii. 25.

511. It will be noticed that when the leading condition is unreal (as in EUR. Supp. 1084, PLAT. AP. 17 D, and DEM. iv. 1, above), this makes all subordinate past or present conditions also unreal, so far as the supposed case is concerned, without regard to their own nature. Thus, in DEM. iv. 1 and xxxiii. 25 we have two directly opposite suppositions both stated as contrary to fact, which could not be unless the leading supposition had made the whole state of things supposed in the sentence unreal like itself. It is obvious, therefore, that such a subordinate condition may refer to a case which is not in itself unreal, although it is part of a supposition which as a whole is unreal. This can be seen more easily in English. We can say, if he had been an Athenian, he would have been laughed at if he had talked as he did; but we are far from implying that the latter supposition (the subordinate one) is contrary to fact, although it would be expressed in Greek by εἰ ἠλεγεν. Still it is part of a supposed unreal state of things. This explains an apparent inconsistency in respect to sentences like εἰκός ἤν σε τούτο παθεῖν, you ought properly to have suffered this, when the opposite of the infinitive is implied (415), the expression being practically equivalent (as a conditional form) to τούτο ἐπαθεῖς ἡν εἰ το εἰκός ἐπαθεῖς. As τούτο and το εἰκός are here identical, the apodosis is denied in the denial of the protasis. But if a new unreal protasis is added, the opposite of the infinitive is not necessarily implied (see 422, 1); and if we add a concessive protasis and say καί εἰ μὴν ἔδωκες, εἰκός ἤν σε τούτο παθεῖν, even if you had done nothing unjust, you ought (still) to have suffered this, τούτο generally represents what actually took place (see 422, 2). Here a new chief protasis has come in and changed the whole relation of the apodosis to the sentence. This offers a satisfactory explanation of the apparent anomaly in SOPH. O. T. 221, οὐ γὰρ ἂν μακρὰν ἔχεινον αὐτός, μὴ οὐκ ἔχων τι σύμβολον, where μὴ οὐκ ἔχων is obviously equivalent to the condition εἰ μὴ εἶχον, while there is yet no such opposite implied as but I have a clue. The chief condition lies in the emphatic αὐτός, which is especially forcible after ξένοις καὶ ταύτος ὁ, and involves εἰ μόνον ἔχεινον. The meaning is, for I should not be very far on the track, if I were attempting to trace it alone without a clue. Thus without a clue becomes part of the unreal supposition without being itself contrary to fact, while μὴ in μὴ οὐκ
εχων shows that εχων is conditional, and not merely descriptive (as if it were ουκ εχων). For μη ου with the participle, see 818.

**Δέ, ἀλλά, AND αυτάρ IN APODOSIS.**

512. The apodosis is sometimes introduced by δε, ἀλλα, or αυταρ, but, as if the apodosis were co-ordinate with the protasis, and were not the leading sentence. This occurs when the apodosis is to be emphatically opposed to the protasis. It is especially common in Homer and Herodotus. E.g.

Ει δε κε μη δώσων, εγω δε κεν αυτος ελωμαι, but if they do not give it to me, (then) I will take one myself. II. i. 137. Ει περ γαρ ταλαιο γε περικτεινεμεθα παντες νηυσιν ετε 'Ἀργείων, σοι δε ου δεος εστι απολλισθαι. I. xii. 245. Ει περ . . . καταπέθη, ἀλλα τε και μετόπισθεν εχει κότον. II. i. 91. Ει δε θανόντων περ καταλιθοντει ειν 'Αδεαο, αυταρ εγω και κειθε φιλου μεμνημοι έταιρον. II. xii. 389. Ει μεν εστι τουτο μη δυνατον φοινασαι, υμεις δε έτι και νυν εκ του μεσου ημιν εξεθε. Htt. viii. 22. 'Αλλα ει μηδε τουτο βουλει αποκρινασθαι, ου δε τοντειθεν λεγε. XEN. Cyg. v. 5, 21.

513. This apodotic δε cannot be expressed in English; as our adverbs then, yet, still, etc., necessarily fail to give the force of the Greek δε, which is always a conjunction.

The expression ἀλλα νυν, now at least, is elliptical for ει μη προτερον ἀλλα νυν (with apodotic ἀλλα); as εαυτον το δικαιον ἀλλα νυν εθελητε δραν, if even now (though not before) you will do what is right, AR. AV. 1598. See DEM. iii. 33. Sometimes ἀλλα alone seems to imply ει μη τι ἀλλο; as in AR. Nub. 1364, εκελευσται αυτον ἀλλα μηρινην λαβοντα τω Αιγχυλου λεξαι τι μοι, I lade him at least (if nothing more) take a myrtle branch and give me a bit of Aeschylus. So 1369. In PLAT. Rep. 509 C, ει μη τι ἀλλα . . . δεξιων, if for nothing (else), that you may at least describe, etc., ἀλλα introduces an apodosis after ει μη τι (sc. ἀλλο).

For δε used in the same way to introduce the sentence upon which a relative clause depends, see 564.

**SECTION VII.**

**Relative and Temporal Sentences.**

514. Relative sentences may be introduced by relative pronouns and pronominal adjectives, or by relative adverbs of time, place, or manner. They include therefore all temporal sentences.
Clauses introduced by ἐκός, πρὶν, and other particles meaning until have many peculiarities, and are treated separately (611-661).

515. Relative sentences may be divided into two classes:—

First, those in which the antecedent of the relative is definite; that is, in which the relative pronouns refer to definite persons or things, and the relative adverbs to definite points of time, place, etc. Secondly, those in which the antecedent is indefinite; that is, in which no such definite persons, things, times, or places are referred to.

516. Both the definite and the indefinite antecedent may be either expressed or understood. E.g.

(Definite) Ταῦτα ἐχω ὄρρης, you see these things which I have; or ἐχω ὄρρης. Ὡτε ἔβουλετο ἡλθεν, (once) when he wished, he came.

(Indefinite) Πάντα ἀν βούλωνται ἔξοντιν, they will have everything which they may want; or ἀν βούλωνται ἔξοντιν, they will have whatever they may want. Ὠταν ἐλθητ, τότε τούτο πράξω, when he shall come (or when he comes), then I will do this. Ὡτε βούλουτο, τούτο ἐπρασσεν, whenever he wished, he (always) did this. Ὠς ἀν εἶπω, ὦτως ποιώμεν, as I shall direct, so let us act.

517. The relative may be used to express a purpose (565), or in a causal sense (580). The antecedent may then be either definite or indefinite.

518. When the antecedent is indefinite, the negative of the relative clause is μή; when it is definite, οὐ is used unless the general construction requires μή (as in prohibitions, wishes, final expressions, etc.).

A. RELATIVE WITH DEFINITE ANTECEDENT.

519. A relative with a definite antecedent has no effect upon the mood of the following verb; and it therefore may take the indicative (with οὐ for its negative) or any other construction that can occur in an independent sentence. E.g.

Λέγω ἀ οἴδα, I say what I know. Λέγω ἀ ἡκοισα. Λέξῳ ἀ ἄκηκοια. Ἐλέεκαν ἀ ἡκοισαν. Πάντα λέγει ἀ γενήσεται. Πράξοντιν ἀ βούλονται (or ὡς βούλονται), they are doing what (or as) they please. (On the other hand, πράξοντιν ἀ ἀν βούλονται, or ὡς ἀν βούλονται, they will do what they please, or as they please; the antecedent being
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indefinite.) Αίγω α ούκ αγνοώ, I am saying that of which I am not ignorant.

'Αλλ' οτε δή β' έκ τού δυνατή γένετ' ὡς, καὶ τότε δὴ πρός
'Ολυμπον έσαν θεοί αὐτοί ἐόντες, but when now the twelfth day from that
came, etc. II. i. 493. Τής ἕσθ' ο χάρων δήτ', ἐν δὲ βεβήκαμεν.
Soph. Œ. C. 52. "Εώς έστι καρός, ἀντιλάβεσθε τῶν πραγμάτων,
i.e. now, while there is an opportunity, etc. DEM. i. 20. (If the exhortation were future, he would say "Εώς έν ἂν καρός, so long as there shall be an opportunity.) 'Ο δὲ ἀνάβας, έως μὲν βάσιμον Ἰν, ἐπὶ τοῦ έπτον ἢγεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀβατα ἤν, καταλιπών τοῦ έπτον ἐσπευδε πέζ." XEN. An. iii. 4, 49. So I. i. 193, είος ἀρωματε. Οίτε δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀπο-
βαινόντων τὸ πλέον τῆς αἰτίας ἔξομεν, οὕτω καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν τι
αὐτὸν προδώμασι, we who are to bear the greater part of the blame, etc.

ΤΗΣ. i. 83. "Οθέν δ' οὖν ῥέστα μαθήσεσθε περὶ αὐτῶν, ἐντεῦθεν
ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐγώ πρῶτον πειράσομαι διδάσκειν. DEM. xxvii. 3. (Here ἐντεῦθεν refers to the point at which he intends to begin.) 'Η δὴ
λοίγα ἐγ', ὅτε μ' ἔχοδοπῆσα εφήσεις 'Ηρρ, οτ' ἂν μ' ἐρέθησαν
όνεδειον ἐπέσαν, surely there will be sad work, when you shall impel
me, etc. II. i. 518. (Here οτε refers to some time conceived as definite ;
whereas οτ' ἂν ἐρέθησαν, when (if ever) she shall provoke me, is indefinite ;
see 530.) Νῦς δ' έστοι ὅτε δὴ στυγερός γάμος ἀντιβολήσεi οὐλο-
μένης ἐμέθεν, τῆς τε Ζεὺς ἄπηνρα. Od. xviii. 272. (The
time is conceived as definite.) Τηνικαύτα, οτε οὖν' ο τι χρη ποιεῖ
ἐξετε, then, when you will not even be able to do what you ought. DEM.
xxix. 262.

'Αρξομαι δ' ἐντεῦθεν οἴειν καὶ οὐκίς βράστ' ἂν μάθοιτε κάγῳ
τάχιστ' ἂν διδάσκαι. DEM. xxvii. 5. (With the potential optative
compare the future indicative in DEM. xxvii. 3, above.) Νῦν δὲ τούτο
οὖκ ἐποίησεν, ἐν δὲ τοῦ δήμου ἐτίμησεν ἂν, but he did not do this, in
which he might have honoured the people. Id. xxix. 69. Είς καλὸν υἱόν
'Ανυστο δὲ παρεκαβέστο, ὁ μεταδόμεν τῆς ἐπιστήμης. PLAT. Men.
89 E (subjunctive in exhortation). Όὑκουν ἄξιοι τῶν τῶν κατηγόρων
λόγοις πυτεύοντας μᾶλλον ἂ τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ, δὲ οὐκ
συφόστατον ἐλεγχόν τοῦ ἄλθος νομίσατε. LYS. xix. 61. (Here
the imperative νομίσατε is used in a sort of exclamation after ὅν,
whereordinarily δεῖ νομίσαι would be used. See 253.) "Αν γὰρ ἀποφύγῃ
με οὖν, δ μὴ γένοιτο, τὴν ἐποβελίαν ὄφλήσω. DEM. xxvii. 67
(optative in wish).

So in μεμνημαι ὅτε and similar expressions. E.g.
Οὔ μένιν ὅτε τ' ἐκρέμω υψοθεν; do you not remember (the time)
when you hung aloft? II. xv. 18. Εί μεμνημαι ὅτι ἐγὼ σοι ἀπεκρι-
νάσθην. PLAT. Men. 79 D. Όὐθ' ὅτε ἐφάνη. EUR. Hec. 112. (See
913.)

B. RELATIVE WITH INDEFINITE ANTECEDENT.—CONDITIONAL
RELATIVE.

520. A relative with an indefinite antecedent gives a
conditional force to the clause in which it stands, and is
called a conditional relative. The conditional relative clause
stands in the relation of a protasis to the antecedent clause,
which is its apodosis (380). The negative particle is μή.

Thus, when we say ἀ νομίζει ταῦτα λέγει, he is saying what he
(actually) thinks, or ἀ νομίζει ταῦτα ἔλεγεν, he was saying what he
thought, the actions of νομίζει and ἔλεγεν are stated as actual
facts, occurring at definite times; but when we say ἀ ν νομίζῃ
(ταῦτα) λέγει, he (always) says whatever he thinks, or ἀ ν νομίζοι
(ταῦτα) ἔλεγεν, he (always) said whatever he happened to be thinking, νομίζει
and νομίζοι do not state any such definite facts, but rather what
some one may think (or may have thought) on any occasion on which
he may speak or may have spoken. So, when we say ἀ ν νομίζει
taῦτα λέξει, he will say what he (now) thinks, νομίζει
denotes a fact; but when we say ἀ ν νομίζει λέξει, he will say whatever he happens
to be (then) thinking, νομίζει denotes a supposed future case.
Again,—to take the case in which the distinction is most liable
to be overlooked,—when we say ἀ ν οίδα οἴομαι εἴδεναι,
what I do not know, I do not think that I know, οίδα, as before,
denotes a simple fact, and its object ἀ has a definite antecedent:
but when Socrates says ἀ μὴ οίδα οἴομαι εἴδεναι, the meaning
is whatever I do not know (i.e. if there is anything which I do not
know), I do not even think that I know it. In sentences like this,
unless a negative is used (518), it is often difficult to decide
whether the antecedent is definite or indefinite: thus ἀ οίδα
οίομαι εἴδεναι may mean either what I (actually) know, I think that
I know, or whatever I know (if there is anything which I know), I
think that I know it.

521. The analogy of these indefinite relative clauses to con-
ditional sentences will be seen at once. The following examples
will make this clearer:—

"Ο τι βούλεται δώσω, I will give him whatever he (now) wishes.
Εἰ τι βούλεται, δώσω, if he wishes anything, I will give it. (402.)
"Ο τι ἐ βούλετο ἔδωκα ἀ ν, I should have given him whatever he had
wished. "Ο τι μὴ ἐ γένετο ὅκ τι ἐπικ, I should not have told what
had not happened. Εἰ τι ἐ βούλετο, ἔδωκα ἀ ν, if he had wished any-
thing, I should have given it. Εἰ τι μὴ ἐ γένετο, οὐκ ἂν ἐπικ, I should
not have told anything if it had not happened. (410.)
"Ο τι ἀ ν βούληται, δώσω, I will give him whatever he shall wish.
Εάν τι βούληται, δώσω, if he shall wish anything, I will give it.
(444.)
"Ο τι βούλοιτο δοίην ἀ ν, I should give him whatever he might
wish. Εἰ τι βούλοιτο, δοίην ἀ ν, if he should wish anything, I should
give it. (455.)
"Ο τι άν βούληται δίδωμι, I (always) give him whatever he wishes. "Ο τι βούλοιτο εδίδουν, I always gave him whatever he wished. 'Εαν τι βούληται, δίδωμι, if he ever wishes anything, I (always) give it. Ει τι βούλοιτο, εδίδουν, if he ever wished anything, I (always) gave it. (462.)

522. The particle ἀν (Epic κέ) is regularly joined with all relative words when they are followed by the subjunctive. With ὅτε, ὅποτε, ἔπει, and ἡπείδη, ἀν forms ὅταν, ὅποταν, ἐπάν or ἐπήν (Ionic ἐπέδαν), and ἡπείδαν. In Homer, where κέ is generally used for ἀν, we have ὅτε κέ, ἔπει κέ, etc. (like εἴ κέ), also δὲν ἀν, where in Attic we have ὅταν, ὅποταν, ἐπείδαν. Ἕπην, however, occurs often, and ἔπει κέ once, in Homer. Both Ἕπην and ἐπήν are rare in Attic.

523. The classification of common conditional sentences, with four classes of ordinary conditions and two of general conditions, given in 388-395, applies equally to conditional relative sentences.

I. FOUR FORMS OF ORDINARY CONDITIONAL RELATIVE SENTENCES.

524. The conditional relative sentence has four forms, two of present and past (525 and 528) and two of future conditions (529 and 531), which correspond to the four forms of ordinary protasis.

(a) PRESENT AND PAST CONDITIONS.

525. When the relative clause simply states a present or past supposition, implying nothing as to the fulfilment of the condition, the verb is in one of the present or past tenses of the indicative. The antecedent clause can have any form of the verb, like an ordinary apodosis. (See 402.) E.g.

"Α μὴ οἶδα, οὐδὲ οἶμαι εἰδέναι (like εἴ τινα μὴ οἶδα). ΠΛΑΤ. ΑΡ. 21 D. (See 520.) Χρήσθων ἀ τι βούλονται, let them deal with me as they please (i.e. εἴ τι βούλονται). ΛΡ. ΗΒ. 439. 'Επιτύχων ὅραν θ᾽ ἄ δει με, κων ὅραν ά μὴ πρέπει, I know how to see anything which I ought to see, and not to see anything which I ought not. ΕΥΡ. ΆΝΩ, ΦΡ. 417. "Α δεῖ is nearly equivalent to εἴ τινα δεῖ, and ἄ μὴ πρέπει to εἴ τινα μὴ πρέπει.) Τοὺς πλεῖστους ἔνθατε ἔπεσον ἑκάστους ἑθαψαν οὔς δὲ μὴ εὐρίσκον, κενοτάφιον αὐτοῖς ἐποίησαν, i.e. they raised a cenotaph for any of them whom they did not find (like εἴ τινας μὴ εὐρίσκοι). ΧΕΝ. ΑΝ. ΒΙ. 4. 9. Τί γὰρ; ὡς τε δαπανηρὸς ἦν μὴ αὐτάρκης ἐστίν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τῶν πλησίον δεῖ ται, καὶ λαμβάνων μὴ δύναται ἀποδιδώναι, μὴ
λαμβάνων δὲ τὸν μὴ διδόντα μισεῖ, οὐ δοκεῖ σοι καὶ οὗτος χαλεπὸς φίλος εἶναι; (i.e. supposing a case, εἴ τις . . . μὴ αὐτάρκης ἔστιν, κ.τ.λ.) Id. Mem. ii. 6, 2. So ἦτοι μηδεμίων ἔμμαχει, Θουκ. i. 35. 'Α γὰρ τις μὴ προσεδόκησεν, οὐδὲ φυλασσόμενε γέγορε, for there is no opportunity even to guard against what we did not expect (like εἴ τινα μὴ προσεδόκησε τις). Αντ. ν. 19. Εἰς τὰ πλοία τοὺς τε ἀσθενοῦντας ἐνεβίβασαν καὶ τῶν σκευῶν ὅσα μὴ ἀνάγκη ἢν ἔχειν (like εἴ τινα τῶν σκευῶν μὴ ἀνάγκη ἢν ἔχειν), i.e. any which they did not need. Χεν. Αν. ν. 3, 1. 'Ανθρώποις διέφθειρεν (ἤ θάλασσα) δοσὶ μὴ ἔδωκαντο φθηναῖ πρὸς τὰ μετέωρα ἀναδρόμεντες, i.e. if any were unable to escape soon enough to the high land, so many the sea destroyed. Θουκ. iii. 89. Οὐδὲ μὴ αἴρεσις γεγένηται τὰλλα εὐτυχοῦσι, πολλή ἄνω αποκαλύπτει· εἴ δὲ ἀναγκαῖον ἦν, κ.τ.λ., for any who have had the choice given them, while they are prosperous in other respects, it is great folly to go to war (i.e. εἴ τισιν αἴρεσις γεγένηται). Id. ii. 61. Πάντες ίσοις Χαβρίαν οὐτε τύποντα οὐθ' ἄρπαζον τὸν στέφανον οὐθ' ἄλως προσώποθ' ὥσι μὴ προσήκειν αὐτῷ, nor going anywhere at all where it was not lawful for him (i.e. εἴ τι ποιῇ προσήκει). Δεμ. xxii. 64. Πῶς οὖν αἱ ἀγαθοὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς φίλοι έσονται, οἱ μὴ ἀπόντες ποθεῖναι ἀλλόκειν μετὰ παράντες χρείαν αὐτῶν ἕχουσι; (i.e. εἰ μη ἕχουσι). Πλατ. Λυσ. 215 B. Νυκτὸς δὲ τὶ πάσιν υμῖν μέλλει συνοίησαι (i.e. εἴ τι μέλλει), may any plan prevail which will benefit you all. Δεμ. iv. 51.

526. Care must be taken here (as in conditional sentences) not to include in this class general suppositions which require the subjunctive or optative (532). On the other hand, the examples falling under 534, in which the indicative is allowed, might properly be placed here, as they state a general supposition as if it were a particular one.

527. A conditional relative clause (like a clause with εἰ, 407) may take the future indicative to express a present intention or necessity. E.g.

Ἐν τούτῳ κεκοιλθαί ἐξοικεῖ ἐκάστῳ τὰ πράγματα ῞ μη τις αὐτῶς παρέσται, each man felt that all progress was at an end in any affair in which he was not personally to take part. Θουκ. ii. 8. The direct form was ἐν τούτῳ κεκοιλθαί (51; 122) ῞ μη παρέσται. Οὐ δὲ ἀνθρώπους τις ἀνυχῆσει, τοῦτο τούτου ἐπιστήμων ἔσται; but if one is to miss the truth of anything, will he ever understand it? Πλατ. Θεατ. 186 C. So probably Χεν. Συγ. i. 5, 13, δὲ τι γὰρ μὴ τοιοῦτον ἀποβήσεται παρ' ὑμῖν, εἰς ἐμὲ τὸ ἐλλείπον ἔσται, i.e. if there is to be any failure on your part to come up to my expectations, the loss will fall on me.

This is the only form of conditional relative sentence that regularly takes the future indicative. (See 530.)

528. When a relative clause expresses a present or past condition, implying that it is not or was not fulfilled (like a protasis of the form 410), the verb is in a past tense of the indicative.
The antecedent clause generally has a past tense of the indicative with ἀν; but it may have a past tense of the indicative in an unreal condition, in an unaccomplished wish, or in a final clause. E.g.

"Α μὴ ἐβούλετο δοῦναι, οὐκ ἂν ἔδωκεν, ἦν ὅτι ἐδώκεν, οὐκ ἂν ἔδωκεν. Ὁπέτερον τοῦτον ἑποίησεν, οὐδενός ἂν ἦττον Ἀθηναίων πλοῦτιον ἱστον, whichever of these he had done (he did neither), they would be as rich as any of the Athenians. Lys. xxxii. 23. Όύτε γὰρ ἂν αὐτοὶ ἐπεχειροῦνε ματίνι ἡ ἡπιστάμεθα, οὔτε τοῖς ἀλλοις ἐπετρέπονε ἄν ἱρομενέ ἀλλο τοῖς πράττενε ἂ δ ὑπ τοῖς πράττοντες ὑπὸ ὁμμύλλον πράξεν, τοῦτο δ' ἄν ὁ ἡπιστήμημεν εἰχον, for (if that were so) we should not be undertaking (as we are) to do things which we did not understand, nor should we permit any others whom we were ruling to do anything else than what they were likely to do properly; and this would be whatever they had knowledge of. Plut. Charm. 171 E. (Here ἂ μὴ ἡπιστάμεθα = εἰ τίνα μὴ ἡπιστάμεθα, if there were any things which we did not know,—ἄν ἱρομενέ = εἰ τοὺς ἱρομενέ,—ἄ το τοῦ ὁμμύλλον = εἰ τοῦ ὁμμύλλον,—and ὁ ἡπιστήμημεν εἰχον = εἰ τοὺς εἰχον. It is implied that none of the cases here supposed ever actually arose. "Ὅσπερ τοῖς ἀλλοις τοῖς ἐπετρέπονε, ἐν τοῖς ἐπετρέπονε αὐτοῖς ἐν ὁμοιοῖς, ὅποτε προτότο ἐκεῖνο ἐγνωμεν, ἵκανός ἂν εἰχεν ἥμα, εἰ δὲ τα τρία πρότερον ἐγνωρίσαμεν, αὐτῷ ἂν τούτῳ ἐγνωριστο τὸ ἐπετρέπον. Plut. Rep. 428 A. (Here the antithesis of ὁσπερ πρώτον ἐκεῖνο ἐγνωμεν, in (whatever) case we had recognized this first, and εἰ τα τρία πρότερον ἐγνωρίσαμεν, if we had recognized the three sooner, makes the force of the relative especially clear.) Ἐβασάνεν ἂν ἀν τοιούτοις ἐδόκει, they would have questioned them (under torture) so long as they pleased. Dem. lxx. 25. Εἴ δὲ οἶκοι εἰχον ἕκαστο ταῖς δίκαις, τοῦτος ἂν ἀπώλλοσαν οἵτινες φίλοι μᾶλλον ἄθιναν Ἀθηναῖων τῷ δήμῳ, if each had their trials at home, they would ruin any who were especially friendly, etc. Xen. Rep. Ath. i. 16. (Here οἵτινες ἄθιναν = εἰ τίνες ἄθιναν, forms a second protasis to the apodosis ἀπώλλοσαν ἂν. See 511.) Καί ὃποτικά ἐφαίνετο τοῦτο τοῦτο τεταρτοκώς, ὡμολογεῖτι ἂν ἤ κατηγορία τοῖς ἐργοις αὐτοῖς, and if he ever appeared to have done this, his form of accusation would agree with his acts. Dem. xviii. 14.

Εἴ ξένος ἔτυγχανον ἂν, ἔνεγεγνώσκετε δῆπον ἂν μοι εἰ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ φωνῇ τε καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐλεγον ἐν ὁπέτερ ἐτεθράμμενην, if I happened to be a foreigner, you would surely pardon me, if I were (now) addressing you in both the language and the manner in which I had been brought up. Plut. Ap. 17 D. Ὄι δὴ ἔγω γ' ὁφελον μάκαρος νῦ τεν ἐμεμεναι νῖος ἄνερος, ἂν κτεάτσατο εἰς ἐπὶ γῆρας ἐτετμεν, 0 that I were the son of some fortunate man, whom old age had found upon his own estate (i.e. if old age had found any such man, would that I had been his son). Od. i. 217. So II. vi. 348 and 351.

So when the relative sentence depends on a past indicative in a final clause (333); as in Dem. xxiii. 48, ταύτα γε δῆπον προσήκε
γράψαι, ἵνα ὅτι ποτὲ τούργον ἐπράχθη, τούτῳ τά ἐκ τῶν νόμων ὑπήρχε δίκαια, he ought to have written it in this way, in order that any one by whom the deed had been done might have his rights according to the laws. (This implies that the law was not so written, so that the case supposed in ὅτι ἐπράχθη never arose.) So DEM. liii. 24, ὅν ἀκούσαντες ἐκ τοῦτων ἐγνώσασθε ὅποιον τι ὧμιν ἐδόκει, that you might have voted whatever seemed good to you.

All examples of this form fall equally well under the general rule for assimilation (559).

(b) Future Conditions.

529. (Subjunctive.) When the relative clause expresses a future condition of the more vivid form (like a protasis of the form 444), and the verb of the antecedent clause also refers to the future, the relative is joined with ἂν (or κέ) and takes the subjunctive. E.g.

Τάων ἦν κ' ἔθελωμι φίλην ποιήσομί ἀκοιτιν (like εἰ κέ τινα ἔθελομι), whosoever of these I may wish I shall make my wife. II. ix. 397. Ἐκ γὰρ Ὄρεστοι τίς ἐκστεί 'Ατρέδαο, ὅποτ' ἄν ἡβήσῃ τε καὶ ἦς ἰμεῖρεται αὐξ, i.e. vengeance will come from Orestes, when he shall grow up, etc. (like εάν ποτε ἡβήσῃ). Od. i. 40. Τότε δ' αὐτο μαχΗ- στεί, ὅποτε κέν μιν θυμός ἐνι στήθεσιν ἀνώγη καὶ θεός ὀργη. II. ix. 702. 'Αλλ' ἄγεθ', ὅσ ἂν ἔγνων εἴπω, πειθωμεθα πάντες, let us obey as I may direct, i.e. if I give any direction (ἐάν πως εἴπω), let us obey it. II. ii. 139. Ἡμεῖς αὔτ' ἄλοχους τε φίλας καὶ νήπια τέκνα ἔξομεν ἐν νήεσιν, ἐκην πτολείθρον ἐλωμεν, when we shall have taken the city. II. iv. 238. So εἴτε ἂν πάτησωσιν, I. i. 242. Οὐκούν, ὅταν δὴ μὴ σένων, πεπαίσσομαι, therefore, when I shall have no more strength, I will cease. SOPH. Ant. 91. Ταύτα, ἐπειδὰν περὶ τοῦ γένους εἴπω, τότε ἕω, I will speak of this, when I shall have spoken about my birth. DEM. lvii. 16. (See 90.) Ἐπειδὰν διαπράξωμαι ἂ δεομαι, ἦσω. XEN. An. ii. 3, 29. Τίνα οἰσεθε αὐτὴν ψυχὴν ἔξειν, ὅσ τε ἐδή τῶν πατρών ἄπεστερμένον; what feelings do you think she will have, when (or if at any time) she shall see me, etc.? DEM. xxviii. 21. Τοῦτων δὲ Ἁθηναίους φημι δεῖν εἶνα πεντακοσίους, ἦς ἂν τινος ὑμῖν ἡλικίας καλῶς ἔχετε δοκῇ, from whatever age it shall seem good to you to take them (i.e. if from any particular age, etc.) I. i. 21. Τῶν πραγμάτων τοῦ βουλευομένος (ἡγεῖσθαι δεῖ), ἵνα ἂ ἂν ἐκείνοις δοκῇ ταύτα πράττηται, in order that whatever shall seem good to them shall be done. II. 39. Οὐ μοι φόβον μέλαθρον ἐλπὶς ἔμπαιτεν, ἦς ἂν αἱθη πῦρ ἐφ' ἐστίας ἔμις Ἀγισθος, so long as Aegeus shall kindle fire upon my hearth. AESCH. Ag. 1434.

530. The future indicative is very rarely used in conditional relative clauses, as it is in common protasis (447), in the place of the subjunctive; as it would generally be ambiguous, appearing as if the ante-
cedent were definite. Some cases of ὅσος with the future, as ὅσοι 
βουλήσονται, Thuc. i. 22, are perhaps exceptions. (See 527.)

531. (Optative.) When the relative clause expresses a future condition of the less vivid form (like a protasis of the form 455), and the antecedent clause contains an optative referring to the future, the relative takes the optative (without ἄν).

The optative in the antecedent clause may be in an apodosis with ἄν, in a protasis, in an expression of a wish, or in a final clause. *E.g.*

Μάλα κεν θρασυκάρδιος εἶη, ὅς τότε γνηθήσειεν ἰδὼν τόνον οὐδ' ἀκάχοιτο (i.e. εἶ τις γνηθήσει, μάλα κεν θρασυκάρδιος εἶη), any one who should then rejoice would be very stout-hearted. II. xiii. 343. Βουλοίμην κ' ἐπάρουσον ἐὼν θητενέμεν ἄλλῳ ... ὁ μὴ βιότος πολύς εἶη, I should wish to be a serf attached to the soil, serving another man who had not much to live on. Od. xi. 489. Ζηνός οὐκ ἄν ἄσσον ἱκοῖμην, ὅτε μὴ αὐτός γε κελεύοι, unless he should himself bid me. II. xiv. 247. So II. vi. 329 and 521; and ὅστις καλέσει, Ar. Nub. 1250. Οὐκ ἄν σὺν θρέψαις ἄνδρα, ὅστις ἑθέλοι τε καὶ δύνατο σοῦ ἀπέρουκεν τοῖς ἑπιχειροῦντας ἀδικεῖν σε; would you not support any man who should be both willing and able, etc.? XEN. Mem. ii. 9, 2. Πεινών φάγοι ὅποτε βούλοιτο, when he is hungry, he would eat whenever he might wish (like εἶ ποτε βούλοιτο). Ib. ii. 1, 18. So i. 5, 4; i. 7, 3; iv. 2, 20. Πῶς όν ἄν εἴδεις περὶ τούτου τοῦ πράγματος οὖν παντάπασι αἵτως εἶης; how then could you know about that thing of which you had no experience at all? PLAT. Men. 92 C. Ἀρ' ἄν ἧγορο ταύτα σὰ εἶη, ὅσοι ἑξείη καὶ ἀποδόθαι καὶ δόναι καὶ θύσαι ὅστις βούλοιο θεων; I. βούλοιτο, when he is hungry, he would eat whenever he might wish (like εἶ ποτε βούλοιτο). Ib. ii. 1, 18. So i. 5, 4; i. 7, 3; iv. 2, 20. Πῶς όν ἄν εἴδεις περὶ τούτου τοῦ πράγματος οὖν παντάπασι αἵτως εἶης; how then could you know about that thing of which you had no experience at all? PLAT. Men. 92 C. Ἀρ' ἄν ἧγορο ταύτα σὰ εἶη, ὅσοι ἑξείη καὶ ἀποδόθαι καὶ δόναι καὶ θύσαι ὅστις βούλοιο θεων; I. βούλοιτο, when he is hungry, he would eat whenever he might wish (like εἶ ποτε βούλοιτο). Ib. ii. 1, 18. So i. 5, 4; i. 7, 3; iv. 2, 20. Πῶς όν ἄν εἴδεις περὶ τούτου τοῦ πράγματος οὖν παντάπασι αἵτως εἶης; how then could you know about that thing of which you had no experience at all? PLAT. Men. 92 C. Ἀρ' ἄν ἧγορο ταύτα σὰ εἶη, ὅσοι ἑξείη καὶ ἀποδόθαι καὶ δόναι καὶ θύσαι ὅστις βούλοιο θεων; I. βούλοιτο, when he is hungry, he would eat whenever he might wish (like εἶ ποτε βούλοιτο). Ib. ii. 1, 18. So i. 5, 4; i. 7, 3; iv. 2, 20. Πῶς όν ἄν εἴδεις περὶ τούτου τοῦ πράγματος οὖν παντάπασι αἵτως εἶης; how then could you know about that thing of which you had no experience at all? PLAT. Men. 92 C. Ἀρ' ἄν ἧγορο ταύτα σὰ εἶη, ὅσοι ἑξείη καὶ ἀποδόθαι καὶ δόναι καὶ θύσαι ὅστις βούλοιο θεων; I. βούλοιτο, when he is hungry, he would eat whenever he might wish (like εἶ ποτε βοúλοιτο). Ib. ii. 1, 18. So i. 5, 4; i. 7, 3; iv. 2, 20. Πῶς όν ἄν εἴδεις περὶ τούτου τοῦ πράγματος οὖν παντάπασι αἵτως εἶης; how then could you know about that thing of which you had no experience at all? PLAT. Men. 92 C. Ἀρ' ἄν ἧγορο ταύτα σὰ εἶη, ὅσοι ἑξείη καὶ ἀποδόθαι καὶ δόναι καὶ θύσαι ὅστις βούλοιο θεων; I. βοúλοιτο, when he is hungry, he would eat whenever he might wish (like εἶ ποτε βούλοιτο). Ib. ii. 1, 18. So i. 5, 4; i. 7, 3; iv. 2, 20. Πῶς όν ἄν εἴδεις περὶ τούτου τοῦ πράγματος οὖν παντάπασι αἵτως εἶης; how then could you know about that thing of which you had no experience at all? PLAT. Men. 92 C. Ἀρ' ἄν ἧγορο ταύτα σὰ εἶη, ὅσοι ἑξείη καὶ ἀποδόθαι καὶ δόναι καὶ θύσαι ὅστις βούλοιο θεων; I. βοúλοιτο, when he is hungry, he would eat whenever he might wish (like εἶ ποτε βοúλοιτο). Ib. ii. 1, 18. So i. 5, 4; i. 7, 3; iv. 2, 20. Πῶς όν ἄν εἴδεις περὶ τούτου τοῦ πράγματος οὖν παντάπασι αἵτως εἶης; how then could you know about that thing of which you had no experience at all? PLAT. Men. 92 C. Ἀρ' ἄν ἧγορο ταύτα σὰ εἶη, ὅσοι ἑξείη καὶ ἀποδόθαι καὶ δόναι καὶ θύσαι ὅστις βοúλοιο θεων; I. βοúλοιτο, when he is hungry, he would eat whenever he might wish (like εἶ ποτε βοúλοιτο). Ib. ii. 1, 18. So i. 5, 4; i. 7, 3; iv. 2, 20. Πῶς όν ἄν εἴδεις περὶ τούτου τοῦ πράγματος οὖν παντάπασι αἵτως εἶης; how then could you know about that thing of which you had no experience at all? PLAT. Men. 92 C. Ἀρ' ἄν ἧγορο ταύτα σὰ εἶη, ὅσοι ἑξείη καὶ ἀποδόθαι καὶ δόναι καὶ θύσαι ὅστις βοúλοιο θεων; I. βοúλοιτο, when he is hungry, he would eat whenever he might wish (like εἶ ποτε βοúλοιτο). Ib. ii. 1, 18. So i. 5, 4; i. 7, 3; iv. 2, 20.
II. GENERAL CONDITIONAL RELATIVE SENTENCES.

532. A conditional relative sentence may express a general supposition, when the verb of the antecedent clause denotes a customary or repeated action or a general truth, while the relative clause refers in a general way to any act or acts of a given class. Here the subjunctive with ὅς ἢ, ὅταν, etc., follows primary tenses, and the optative (without αὐ) follows secondary tenses. (See 462.) E.g.

'Εχθρός γάρ μου κεῖνος ὅμως Ἄϊδαο πνλησιν, ὃς ἔτερον μὲν κεῦθῃ ἐνὶ φρεινί, ἄλλο δὲ εἶπῇ, for that man (i.e. any man) is hated by me like the very gates of Hades, who conceals one thing in his mind and speaks another. II. ix. 312. 

Δείκτης εἰς τὸν ὄρους τοὺς φίλους, ὅταν γὰρ, ὁμοίως ἃν, ἦν τί πᾶν γιαφόην πράξειν αὐτοῖς πρῶτειν ὅσα ὅ ἄρχων προστάττοι. ΧΕΝ. ΣΥΡ. ii. 1, 31.

For καί or ἀν in these relative sentences in Homer, see 542. All these examples fall also under the general rule for assimilation (558).
GENERAL CONDITIONS

533. The gnomic aorist and the other gnomic and iterative tenses (154-164) can be used in the antecedent clause of these general propositions. The gnomic aorist, as usual, is a primary tense, and is followed by the subjunctive (171). E.g.

"Οσκέθεοι ἐπιστέθαται, μάλα τ' ἐκλνον αὐτοῦ, whoever obeys the Gods, to him they are ready to listen (ἐκλνον is aoristic). II. i. 218.

"Οταν τις Ὀσπερ όδος ἅχυση, ἦ πρώτη πρόφασις ἀπαντά ἀνεχαίτως καὶ διέλυσεν. Dem. ii. 9. "Ὅποτε προσβλέψει τινας των έν ταις τάξεις, είπεν ἄν, ὅ ἄνδρες, κ.τ.λ., i.e. he used to say, etc. Xen. Cyr. vii. 1, 10. "Οὐτ' ἅλλοτε πάποτε προς χάριν εἰλόμην λέγειν, ὃ τι ἄν μή καὶ συννοίσει πεπισμάνον ὅ, I have never on other occasions preferred to say anything to please which I have not been convinced would also be for your advantage. Dem. iv. 51. (Here εἰλόμην has a sense
approaching that of the gnomic aorist, and is followed by a subjunctive. See 156.)

Homer examples of relatives with κέ or ἃν and the subjunctive in general conditions are here included with the others, because this construction is fixed in the Homeric usage. In the greater number of general relative conditions which have the subjunctive, however, Homer uses the relative without κέ or ἃν, as he prefers the simple εἴ in the corresponding conditional sentences (468). See examples in 538.

534. (Indicative.) The indicative is sometimes used instead of the subjunctive and optative in relative sentences of this class. (See 467.) Here one of the cases in which the event may occur is referred to as if it were the only one. This use of the indicative occurs especially after the indefinite relative ὅστις; as the idea of indefiniteness, which is usually expressed by the subjunctive or optative, is here sufficiently expressed by the relative itself. E.g.

Εχθρός γάρ μοι κείνος ὁμως Ἀιδαο πύλησιν
Γέγενται, δς πενή εἰκών ἀπατήλα βάζει. Od. xiv. 156.

Compare this with Il. ix. 312, the first example under 532.

Ἐμοὶ γάρ ὅστις πᾶσαν εὐθύνον πᾶλιν
Μὴ τῶν ἀρίστων ἀπέτεται βουλευμάτων,
Ἀλλ' ἐκ φάβου του γλῶσαν ἐγκλείάς ἐχει,
Κάκιστος εἶναι νῦν τε καὶ πᾶλαι δοκεῖ·
Καὶ μείζον ὅστις ἄντι τῆς αὐτοῦ πάτρας
Φίλον νομίζει, τοῦτον οὐδαμῷ λέγω. SOPH. ANT. 178.

(Here we might have had δς ἃν . . . μὴ ἀπέτεται, ἀλλ' . . . ἐχει, and δς ἃν νομίζει, without any essential difference in meaning.)

Οὕτως πρὸς τὰς ἐμφορὰς γνώμη μὲν ἢκιστα λιποῦνται, ἔγγυ
δε μάλιστα ἀντέχουν, οὕτοι καὶ πόλεως καὶ ἱδιῶν κράτιστοι
εἴσιν. THUC. II. 64. So in the same chapter, ὅστις λαμβάνει.

Ὅστις δ' ἀφικνεῖτο τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως πρὸς αὐτόν, πάντας οὕτω διατίθεται
ὁπετέμπητο, whoever came to him, he always sent away, etc. XEX. ANT. 1, 5.

Ὅστις λαμβάνει πάνε ἐνή, αὐτός δ' ἐδύνατο παρα-
σκευάσασθαι, διαπέμπων ἐκέλευς τοὺς φίλους ἵπποις ἐμβάλλειν τούτον.
Th. i. 9, 27. (In the last two examples there is some Ms. authority
for the more regular ἀφικνεῖτο and δύνατο.)

535. This use of the indicative (534) is rare in temporal sentences. See, however, the following:—

Περὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀδικοῦντων, ὡς δικάζωνται, ὅπερ ἀπὸ τῶν
κατηγόρων πυθότατοι. LYS. xxii. 22. Ἐξελα διαφανεῖς
ὅποτε ὁ πολεμίς αὐτοῦς ὁπετέμπητοι ἐμελάλλουν. XEX. ANT. 1, 5.

536. The Greek generally uses the indicative in relative clauses
depending on general negative sentences, where in Latin a subjunctive is more common. A general negation is really particular. *E.g.*

Παρ' ἐμοί δὲ οὐδεὶς μαθησαμεν, ὅστις μὴ ἰκανός ἐστιν ἵνα πολέμι ἐμοί, ἵνα. *Xen. Hell. vi. 1, 5.* Οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὐδεὶς ὀργίζω ὅστις μὴ ὑπέτει ἀποκυνδάμεν, for no one was angry with any one who did not think that he was about to perish (i.e. el μὴ ὑπέτει). *Ib. vii. 4, 37.* Οὐδαμοῦ πώποθ', ὅποι πρεσβευτής ἐπέμψαν ὑψ' ὑμῶν ἔγι, ἡμεθηρεῖς ἀπῆλθον τῶν παρὰ Φιλίππου πρεσβεων, nowhere, whether I was sent as ambassador, did I ever come off worsted by Philip's ambassadors. *Dem. xviii. 244.* Here the leading sentence is particular, on no single occasion was I worsted, so that ἐπέμψαν is regular; if the nearly equivalent universal affirmative on every occasion I proved superior had been intended, we should have had περιφεριαν. See xviii. 45, προσελεγόν καὶ διεμαρτυρόμην καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν ἐστί καὶ ὅποι περιφερηq; and the following in 244, ἐν ὁς κρατηθείς οἱ πρεσβεῖς αὐτοῦ τῷ λόγῳ, ταῦτα τοῖς ὤποις ἐπιών κατεστρέφετο. Notice the imperfects in the two affirmative examples, and the aorist in the preceding negative example.

537. 1. The indicative is generally used in Greek (as in Latin) in parenthetical relative clauses, like ὅ τι ποτ' ἐστίν, whatever it is (quidquid est), ὅστις ποτ' ἐστίν (or ἐσται), etc. *E.g.*

Zeus, ὅστις ποτ' ἐστίν, εἰ τῶν οὕτω κεκλημένω, τούτων ὑπὲρ ἐσταμένω, Zeus, whoever he may be, etc. *Aesch. Ag. 160.* Δούλευο μεν θεοίς, ὅ τι ποτ' εἰσίν θεοί. *Eur. Or. 418.* Ἡμῖν γε κράτεσαν . . . δουληθήνυ ὑπομελέται ἡτεις ἐσταί, but it is better for us to submit to slavery, whatever it may be. *Hdt. vi. 12.* So ὅ τι δῇ κοτέ ἐστί, vii. 16.

2. But ὅστις in such expressions can have the construction of an ordinary conditional relative, so that in future and general conditions it may take the subjunctive. *E.g.*

'Ἀλλ' ὁ προσαφάνες αὐτῶν, ὅστις ἢ, λόγον παρέχει, but each one who has to do with them, whoever he may be, gives his own account of them. *Aesch. i. 127.* 'Ἀλλ' ἡ τρν ὑπὸν ἐδει κεκεφαρομενέαν εἶναι τούτων, ὅστις ἢ, but this officer ought always to be elected by you, whoever he may be. *Dem. iv. 27.* See *Theog.* 964.

Homer and other Poetic Peculiarities in Conditional Relative Sentences.

**SUBJUNCTIVE WITHOUT ΚΕ OR ΑΝ.**

538. In general conditions which take the subjunctive, Homer commonly uses the relatives without ΚΕ or ΑΝ. This corresponds to his preference for the simple EL in general conditions (468); but relative clauses of this class are much more frequent with him than the clauses with EL. *E.g.*
"οτι μάλ' ού δηναίως ούς ἀθανάτως μάχηται. Ἰ. ν. 407. 'Ανθρώποις ἐφορέ, καί τίνι δέ τις ἄμαρτη. Οδ. xii. 214. Ζεῦς δ' αὐτὸς θείον τοιούτως ἀθανάτοις ἀμάρτησιν. ὢσθολοι ήδὲ κακοῖς, ὅπως θέλησιν, έκάστῳ. Οδ. vi. 188. Τί μήν σοι ποτὲ ἵσων έξω γέρας, ὅποτ 'Αχαιοι Γρών έκπέρώσος εὐναιόμενον πολεμεῖον. Ἰ. i. 163. So also Ἰ. i. 554, iii. 109, xiv. 81; Οδ. viii. 546, xviii. 134.

Here the meaning is essentially the same as when κέ or εύ is added, as in the examples under 532. The greater development of the general relative condition in Homer, especially in the use of the optative, compared with the less developed general condition with εί, has already been noticed (17, 460, 468).

539. The relative (like εί) is sometimes found in Homer without κέ or εύ in future conditions. E.g.

Γήμασθ' είς τις ἄριστος ἄνηρ καϊ πλείστα πόρησιν, (tell her) to marry whoever may be the best man and may offer the most. Od. xx. 335. But in vs. 342, referring to the same thing, we have γήμασθ' φ' κ' ἐθέλη, to marri whom she may please. Πειθείο δ' ὃς . . . εν φρεσί τείχων. Ἰ. xvi. 83; so Οδ. vi. 189. Τί μήν γάρ ποτέ φησι τους πέσηπ τέσσερα ὡν εἶσθαι, δφρ' αρετήν παρέχωσι θεοί καὶ γοννατ δρώρη, he says he shall never suffer evil hereafter, so long as the Gods shall supply valour, etc. Od. xviii. 132. So Ἰ. xii. 234.

540. "Εύ is sometimes omitted in general relative conditions with the subjunctive in lyric, elegiac, and dramatic poetry, as in Homer. A few examples occur in Herodotus; and even in Attic prose exceptional cases are occasionally found in the manuscripts. (See 469-471.) E.g.

Μέγα τοι κλέος αἰελ, δουν γεράς ἐπιτ' ἐγαλαϊν, great always is his glory, whom thy illustrious honour (Olympia) follows. ΠΙΝΔ. ΟL viii. 10. So ΟL. iii. 11, Νεμ. ix. 44. Πάντας ἑκατονταὶ καὶ φιλέω ἐκὼν δότις ἐρωτ' μηδὲν αἰσχρόν. ΣΙΜΟΝ. ν. 20 (but δ' ἵσων γεράς ενθυμ. in the same ode). Τ. ΤΥΡΤ. xii. 34; ΣΟΛ. xiiii. 9 and 55, xxvii. 3; ΣΙΜΟΝ. iviii. 5, lxxxi. 7 (ὁφρα . . . ἓχη, but δικαίων in vs. 10).

Γραντα δ' ὀρθοῖν φλαύρον, δ' νέος πέση. ΣΟΠΗ. Ο. C. 395. Τὸν δὲ πημονών μάλιστα λυποῦν ι' φαινώστ' ανθιάρετοι. Ιδ. Ο. T. 1231. So ΑΣΣ. Sept. 257, Ευμ. 211, 661, and probably 618 (δ' ι' κελεύσθη, for ΜΣ. κελεύσθη, after είπον denoting a habit). Τούτω γάρ μήτε δόσει μήτε τείχεα η ἡκτισμένα, . . . κως οὐκ ἵσων οδχοι αμαχοί; ΠΙΗΤ. iv. 46. So i. 216, ii. 85, iv. 66. 'Επιχώροιν δ' ἵνα μὲν βραχεῖς ἐρκώσι μ' πολλοῖς χρήσθαι, it being our national habit not to use many words where few suffice. Θ.Θ.Π. iv. 17. (Here δ' μὲν . . . πολλοῖς make five feet of an iambic trimeter, and the words are probably quoted from some poet. See Κλασσέν' s note. The sentence continues, πλείον δ曳 ἠν καιρός η, κτ.λ.) See also ΠΛΑΤ. Λεγ. 737 B, δος η' and δοιος μετη'.

541. In the lyric and elegiac poets, as in Homer, the form with δ' or κέ was in good use in these sentences. See ΠΙΝΔ. Πί. i. 100 (δ' δ'
HOMERIC SIMILES

542. In Homer the conditional relative (like εἰ) sometimes takes κέ or ἄν with the optative, the particle apparently not affecting the sense. E.g.

‘Ἡ δὲ κ’ ἐπειτα γῆμαιδ’ δς κεν πλείστα πόροι καὶ μόρσιμος ἐλθει, and she then would marry whoever might give the most gifts, etc. Od. xi. 161. ὡς κε . . . δοίη χ’ κ’ ἑθέλοι, that he might give her to whomever he pleased. Od. ii. 54. In these two cases ὡς πόροι and χ’ ἑθέλοι would be the common expressions. In Od. iv. 600, however, δώρον δ’ ὄτι κέ μοι δοίης, κεμίλιον ἑστω, whatever gift you might choose to give me, etc., may be potential. Νῦν γάρ ἤκτορ’ ἑλοι, ὡς εν μάλα τοι σχοδόν ἐλθει. II. ix. 304. Ὡς τὸ καταβρόξειν ἑπήν κρητήρι μιγείη, ον κεν εφημέριος γε βάλοι κατὰ δάκρυ παρεῖν, whoever should drink this when it was mingled in the bowl, would let no tear fall down his cheeks on that day. Od. iv. 222. So ἐπήν . . . εἰν, II. xxiv. 227.

One case occurs of ὡς κε with the optative in a general relative sentence of past time: ἐπενθομεθα . . . ὡς κεν τιν’ ἐπίζαφελος χόλος ἵκοι, II. ix. 525.

HOMERIC SIMILES WITH ὩΣ ETC.

543. In Homer similes and comparisons may be expressed by the subjunctive with ὡς ὡς (rarely ὡς ὦτ’), as when, sometimes by ὡς or ὡς τε, as. Except in a few cases of ὡς ὦτ’ ἄρ, neither ἄν nor κέ is found in these expressions.

544. With ὡς ὦτ’ or ὡς ὦτ’ the subjunctive clearly expresses a general condition, and the meaning is as happens when, etc. E.g.

‘Ὡς δ’ ὦτ’ κινήσῃ Ζέφυρος βαθὺ λήμον ἐλθών, λάβρος ἐπαγίζων, ἐπὶ τ’ ὠμίει ἄσταχυσεσιν, ὡς τὸν πᾶσ’ ἀγορή κινήτη, and as (happens) when the west wind comes and moves a deep grain field, and it bows with its ears, so was their whole assembly moved. II. ii. 147.

‘Ὡς δ’ ὦτ’ ὀπωρινὸς Βορέης φορέσσειν ἀκάνθας ἀμ πεδίων, πυκιναί δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλης ἐκχονται, ὡς τὴν ἄμ πέλαγος ἀνεμεὶς φέρον ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα. Od. v. 328.

See II. v. 597, vi. 506, viii. 338; Od. iv. 391, xix. 518; for ὡς ὦτ’, Od. iv. 335, xvii. 126.
545. With ὡς or ὅς τε the conditional force of the subjunctive is not so obvious, especially as it depends directly on the verb of the antecedent clause, which is always particular and generally past. Here we should expect the present indicative, which sometimes occurs (548). We may suppose that the analogy of the far more frequent clauses with ὡς ὅς (544) caused the same construction to be used also in these, in which the meaning is clearly the same. *E.g.*

'Ως ὅς ἦν Κάισαρ, παρηγορεύεται ἐν τῆς ἀντικτόνι πόλει τούτην Ἰηροῦν καὶ τούτην Ἰησοῦν'.

546. In all the cases of ὡς τε the pronominal article οἱ or τοῖς precedes, referring to the subject or object of the antecedent clause. *E.g.*

'Οἱ δ', ὅς τε ἀντικτόνι ἐκ τῆς ἀντικτόνι πόλει τούτην Ἰησοῦν καὶ τούτην Ἰησοῦν τῆς Ἰωάννης'.

547. When a simile has been introduced by the subjunctive with ὡς or ὅς ὅς, it may be continued by verbs in the present indicative, which seem to be independent of the original construction. Even the aorist indicative may be used to add vividness to the description. *E.g.*

'Ὅς ὅς τε τίς τ' ἐλεφάντα γυνὴ φοίνικι μηνὴν'.

1 Delbrück, *Conj. u. Opt.* pp. 161, 162, cites 63 cases of this construction (49 in the Iliad, 14 in the Odyssey), of which 35 have ὡς ὅς, 10 ὅς τε ὅς, 8 ὅς ὅς ὅς, 8 ὅς, and 7 ὅς τε.
548. Sometimes the first clause of the simile has the present or aorist indicative. E.g.

'Ως δ' ἀναμαμάει βαθ' ἀγκαα θασπιδαες πὺρ, ὦς δ' ἐγ γε πάνη θῶν. II. xx. 490. 'Ως δ' ὅποτε πλῆθων ποταμοίς πεδίονδε κάτεσιν, πολλάς δ' ὃς ἀπόστασις, ὦς ἐφέσεν. II. xi. 492. Ἡμπε δ' ὄρεν ὃτε τις ἄρωσι ἡρπεν, ὁπό τα πλήθων ποταμοί παδίονδα κάτεισιν, πολλάδ' ἐσφέρεται, ὢς ἐφέσεν. II. xi. 492. Ἦρπε δ' ὃτε τις ἄρωσι ἡρπεν, and he fell as when an oak falls (once fell). II. xiii. 389.

549. Another form of Homeric simile consists of ὦς with a noun, followed by a relative with the subjunctive, which may be followed by an indicative as in 547. E.g.

'Ὁ τί μή καὶ θύνε, αἴγερο ὅς, ἢ βά' τ' ἐν εἰμενη έλεος μεγάλοι πεφναν έκάει, ἡ τ' ἐν εἰαμενή έλεος μεγάλο έχάει, άτάρ τε άοίζοι επ' ακρότατ' πεφνασιν. Τήν μεν θ' άρματοπηγόν άνήρ αίθων σιδήρω έξετομ, όφρα ίτνν κάμψη περικαλλεί δίφρψ', έμεν τ' άζομενη κείται ποταμοΐῳ παρ' Όχθαιν Άνθίδην Σιμοείσιν εξενάριξεν Αίαδι διογενή. II. iv. 482.

For ὦς ei or ὦς ei τε with the optative in Homeric similes, see 485.

"Ὁ τι μή and ὦς δον μή without a Verb.

550. "Ὁ τι μή and ὦς δον μή, like ei μή (476), are used in the sense of except, unless, with no verb expressed. E.g.

Ὁ τι γάρ μή Ἀθήναι, ἥν οὐδὲν ἄλλο πόλισμα λόγιμον, for except Athens (what was not Athens) there was no (Ionic) city of any account. Hist. i. 143. So i. 18, οὐδαιμοί δ' τι μή Χιοι μούνιν. Οὐ γάρ ἦν κρήνη, δ' τι μή μία ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀκροπόλει, for there was no spring, except one on the very citadel. Thuc. iv. 26: so iv. 94, vii. 42. Οὔτ' επί θεωρίαν ἐξήλθης δ' τι μή άπαξ εἰς Ίσθμόν, οὔτε ἄλλοσ οὐδαιμον εἰ μή τοι στρατευόμενοι. Plut. Crit. 52 B. So Phase. 67 A, Rep. 405 C.

"Ἰσθι γάρ δοκών ἐμοί καὶ ἔμφυτεύσα τούργιον εἰργάσθαι θ', ὦς δον μή χαρσί καίνων, i.e. and to have done the deed too, except so far as you did not slay with your own hands. Soph. O. T. 346.

551. Homer once has ὦ τι μή or ὦτε μή in the same sense: οὔ τε τερ σπένδοκε θεών δ' τι μή Διω πατρι, i.e. except to Zeus (οὔ τι μή = ei μή), II. xvi. 227. Here Lange (p. 161) reads ὦτε μή.
Special Forms of Antecedent Clause.

552. A conditional relative clause (like a protasis with εἰ) may depend on an infinitive or participle (with or without ἀν), on a final clause, on a protasis, or on a verbal noun representing the antecedent clause (or apodosis). E.g.


Καὶ ἐμὲ δεὶ ἀπηλλάξθαι κατὰ τὰς συνθῆκας, ἐπειδή τὸ περὶ τοῦ Πρωταγόρου λόγου τέλος σχοίη, i.e. I ought to be released according to what we agreed to do when the discussion of the doctrine of Protagoras should come to an end. Plat. Theaet. 183 C.

553. After past verbs of waiting or expecting in Homer ὥστε with the optative sometimes has the meaning of until, like ὡς. E.g.

Οἱ δὲ ἔατ᾽ . . . ποτὲ δέμενοι δππότ’ ἀρ ελθοι Ἰδαῖος, and they sat waiting until (for the time when) Idaeus should come. Il vii. 414. So iv. 334, ix. 191, xviii. 524. (See 698.)

Mixed Conditional Constructions.

554. The relative with the optative sometimes depends on a present or future tense. This occurs chiefly in Homer, and arises from the slight distinction between the subjunctive and optative in such sentences. E.g.

Αἱτὶ ά έσσείται νῖας ἐνπρήσαι, ὅτε μὴ αὐτὸς γε Κρονίων ἐμβάλοι αἰθόμενον δαλὸν νήεσσι, it will be a hard task for him to fire the ships, unless the son of Kronos should himself hurl a flaming brand upon the ships. II. xiii. 317. (Regularly δὲ κε μὴ ἐμβάλει, unless he shall hurl.) So Od. xix. 510. Καὶ δὲ ἄλλῃ νεμεσώ ή τις τοιαύτα γε ρεζοι, and I am angry with any other woman who says (should say) the like. Od. vi. 286. (This resembles the loosely jointed examples in 500.)

Τοιοῦτος δὲ ἔκκας, ἐπεὶ λούσατο φάγοι τε, εἴθεμεναι μαλακῶς, and you seem like such a man as would sleep comfortably (like one likely to sleep comfortably) after he had washed and eaten. Od. xxiv. 254. (This resembles the examples in 555.)

The optative regularly follows an optative in a wish (177).

555. In Attic Greek an optative in the relative clause sometimes depends on a verb of obligation, propriety, possibility, etc., with an infinitive, the two forming an expression nearly equivalent
to an optative with ἄν, which would be expected in their place. (See 502.) E.g.

'Αλλ' ἂν πόλις στήσει, τούθε χρή κλύειν, we should obey any one whom the state might appoint (if the state should appoint any one, we ought to obey him). Soph. Ant. 666. (Xρή κλύειν is followed by the optative from its nearness to δικαίως ἄν κλύειν τις.) 'Αλλ' τοῦ μὲν αὐτὸν λέγειν ἃ μὴ σαφῶς εἰδεῖν χείσεται δει, i.e. we ought to abstain, etc.; like φείδοτο ἄν τις. Xen. Cyrt. i. 6, 19. Ὅσ' δὲ ποιήσασθαι τις βούλοιτο συνεργοῦν προθύμοιν, τούτους παντάπασιν ἐμοιγε δοκεῖ ἀγαθοῖς θηρατέον εἶναι (θηρατέον εἶναι = θηράν δεῖν). Ib. ii. 4, 10. Ὅπερορμαν οὐ δυνατον ἡμῶν ἀνδρὶ δὲ εἰδεῖν κυρίους ὄντας ὅ τι βούλεσθε αὐτῷ χέματα. Id. Hell. vii. 3, 7. So Ib. iii. 4, 18. Σωφρόνων ἐστὶ μηδὲ εἰ μικρὰ τὰ διαφέροντα ἐγκόλομον ἀναιρεῖσθαι. Ib. vi. 3, 5. So after πολὺ βρόν (ἔστι), Ib. vi. 5, 52. Σωφρόνων ἐστιν, εἰ μὴ ἀδικοίνοιτο, ἡμυγχαίες, i.e. it is proper for prudent men, etc. Thuc. i. 120. 'Αποδοτείον οὐδ' ὅπως τοῦτο, ὅποτε τις μὴ σωφρόνως ἀπαίτοι. Plat. Rep. 332 A.

556. An indicative or subjunctive in the relative clause may depend on a potential optative (with ἄν), sometimes when the potential force is felt in the apodosis, and sometimes when the optative with ἄν is treated as a primary tense from its nearness to the future indicative. E.g.

Οὔκοιν καί τὸ ὄρνινεν καί τὸ νοσεῖν, ὅταν ἀγαθοῦ τινος αἰτη γίγνηται, ἀγαθὰ ἄν εἴη, therefore, both health and disease, when they prove to be the causes of any good, would naturally be good things. Xen. Mem. iv. 2, 32; so ii. 2, 3. "Ὅταν δὲ τίς θεῶν βλάπτῃ, δύναι ἄν οὖδ' ἂν ἵκων φυγεῖν, when one of the Gods does mischief, not even a strong man could escape. Soph. El. 696. "Ἰδοντάς ἀποφύγειν ἄν ἄνθρωπόν ὅτι δὲν βόλου δίκην, so that you can (could) get off in any suit you please. Ar. Nub. 1151. Οὕτως τοῖς μὲν ἵκων μὴ εἰκονυς, τοῖς δὲ κρείσσοι καλῶς προσφέρονται, πρός τοὺς ἄνθρωπον μέτριοι εἰσὶ, πλεῖστ' ἄν ὄρθονται. Thuc. v. 111. 'Ο δὲ μηδὲν κακῶν ποιεῖ, οὔδ' ἄν τινος εἴη κακοῦ αἰτίων; and what does no harm could not be the cause of any harm at all, could it? Plat. Rep. 379 B. 'Εγὼ δὲ ταύτην μὲν τὴν εἰρήνην, ἢς ἂν εἰς Ἀθηναῖσι λείποτα, ὅρκοντ' ἄν συμβουλεύσασι ποιήσωσιν τῇ πόλει, I would never advise the city to make this peace, so long as a single Athenian shall be left. Dem. xix. 14. (Περε ἐως λείποτο, so long as one should be left, would be more regular.) "Ὅταν δ' αφανίσωσι τις τάκριβες λόγῳ ἐξαπατάν πειρατά, πώς ἄν δικαίως πιστεύσωσι; Ib. xxxiii. 36. (See 178.)

557. A conditional relative clause may contain a potential optative or indicative (with ἄν), which has its proper meaning. E.g.

'Εξ ἄν ἂν τίς εἴη λέγων διαβάλλων, ἐκ τούτων αὐτοὶ πείσεσθαι (ἔστη), he said that they would form their opinion upon any slanders which any good speaker might choose to utter. Thuc. vii. 48. "Οὔτ' ἂν ὁμείς
Assimilation in Conditional Relative Clauses.

558. When a conditional relative clause referring to the future depends on a subjunctive or optative referring to the future, it regularly takes by assimilation the same mood with its leading verb. The leading verb may be in a protasis or apodosis, in another conditional relative clause, in an expression of a wish, or in a final clause. E.g.

Εἰάν τινες οί δύνανται τούτο ποιώσι, καλῶς ἔξει, if any who shall be able do this, it will be well. Ἐἰ τίνες οἱ δύνανται τοῦτο ποιοῦν, καλῶς ἔχο, if any who should be able should do this, it would be well. Ἐἴθε πάντες οἱ δύνανται τοῦτο ποιοῦν, ὅ that all who may be able would do this. (Here the principle of assimilation makes oἱ δύνανται after an optative preferable to oἱ ἄν δύνανται, which would express the same idea.) Τεθναίην ὅτε μοι μηκέτι ταῦτα μέλος, may I die when these are no longer my delight. Μίμν. ι. 2. So in Latin: Si absurde canat is qui se haberi velit musicum, turpior sit—Sic injurias fortunae quas ferre nequeas defugiendo relinquas.

For examples see 529 and 531.

559. When a conditional relative clause depends on a past tense of the indicative implies the non-fulfilment of a condition, it regularly takes a past tense of the indicative by assimilation. The leading verb may be in a protasis or apodosis, in another conditional relative clause, in an expression of a wish, or in a final clause. E.g.

Εἰ τίνες οἱ ἐδύναντο τοῦτο ἔγραψαν, καλῶς ἦν ἐγένετο, ὅ if any who had been able had done this, it would have been well. Ἐἴθε πάντες οἱ ἐδύναντο τοῦτο ἔγραψαν, ὅ that all who had been able had done this. So in Latin: Nam si solos eos diceres miseros quibus moriendum esset, neminem tu quidem eorum qui viverent exciperes.

For examples see 528.

560. It will be seen that this principle of assimilation accounts for the unreal indicative and the optative in conditional relative sentences, which have been already explained by the analogy of the forms of protasis. (See 528 and 531.) In fact, wherever this assimilation occurs, the relative clause stands as a protasis to its antecedent clause.
Occasionally this principle is disregarded, so that a subjunctive depends on an optative (178).

For the influence of assimilation in determining the mood of a dependent sentence, see 176.

561. The indicative in the construction of 525, referring simply to the present or past, cannot be affected by assimilation, as this would change its time. *E.g.*

‘Ὑμεῖς δ' ἔλοισθε δ' τι καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ ἀπασι: συνοίσειν ὑμῖν μέλλει, and may you choose what is likely to benefit the state and all of you. DEM. iii. 36. Compare this with DEM. ix. 76, δ' τι δ' ὑμῖν δοκεῖε (so Σ originally), τοὐτ', δ' πάντες θεοί, συνενέγκοι, whatever you may decide, may this be for our good.

In Soph. Ant. 373, δ' τάδ' ἔροιει would belong here; but δς τάδ' ἔροιει (Laur.), = ἐκ τις τάδ' ἐροιει, falls under 558.

562. The principle of 558 and 559 applies only to conditional relative clauses. If the relative refers to a definite antecedent, there can be no assimilation, and the indicative or any other construction required by the sense is used. *E.g.*

Εἰ τῶν πολιτῶν οἱ συν πιστεύομεν, τούτως ἀπηστήσωμεν, οΐς δ' οὐ χρώμεθα, τούτως χρησάμεθα, ὡς συνεβείμεν ἀν. AR. Ran. 1446. Εἰθ' ἦσθα δυνατός δρᾶν ὅσον πρόθυμος εἰ, O that thou couldst do as much as thou art eager to do. EUR. Her. 731. (With ἦσθα for εἰ the meaning would be as much as thou wilt (or mightest be) eager to do.)

563. Conditional relative clauses depending on a subjunctive or optative in a general supposition (462; 532) are generally assimilated to the subjunctive or optative; but sometimes they take the indicative (534). *E.g.*

Οὐδ', ἐπειδ' ἐν ήν πριγναι κύριος γένηται, τῷ προδότῃ συμβούλου προί τῶν λοιπῶν ἐτί χρῆται. DEM. xviii. 47. See Plat. Rep. 508 C and D (reading ἐν δ' ἣλιος καταλάμπει); Charm. 164 B. 'Ο δ' τότε μάλιστα ἐξαρείειν, ὡς τᾶς εὐποίει έτίσθησε ὡς δέοιντο ἀποτέμενοι. XEN. Ag. ix. 2.

Αἰτία μὲν γὰρ ἔστιν, ὅταν τις ψευδο χρησάμενος λόγῳ μὴ παράσχηται πάσιν ὡς ἔλεγε, ἠλεγχος δ' δ' ὅταν δ' ἐν έξι' τις καὶ τάξησθε ὡς έδειξήρ. DEM. xxii. 22. (Here δ' ἐν έλεγε and δ' ἐν ἐγή are nearly equivalent.) 'Εκάλει δ' καὶ ἐτίσθαι ὡς τινὰς ἐδέκλαι τοιοῦτον τινὰ τοιοῦτας δ' πάντας ἀβούλετο ποιείν. XEN. Cyr. ii. 1, 30. (Here Βούλετο for ἀβούλετο would correspond to δέοιντο in Ag. ix. 2, above.)

Δέ in the Antecedent Clause.

564. The conjunction δέ sometimes introduces the clause on which a relative depends. Its force here is the same as in apodosis (512). *E.g.*

Οὐ θερ φύλλων γενεθ, τοι' δέ καὶ ἀνδρῶν. II. vi. 146. ’Επει
te ὃ πάλεμος κατέστη, ὃ δὲ φαίνεται καὶ ἐν τούτῳ προγνοῦς τὴν δύναμιν, and when the war broke out, (then) he appears, etc. THUC. ii. 65. Μέχρι μὲν οὖν οἱ τοξόται ἔχουν τὰ βέλη αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ τε ἥταν χρήσιμαι, οἱ δὲ ἀντέχον, so long as their archers both had their arrows and were able to use them, they held out. Id. iii. 98. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἄφικομεν μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν . . . φαίνονται δὲ οὖδ᾽ ἐνταῦθα πάση τῇ δυνάμει χρησάμενοι. Id. i. 11. Ὡσπερ οἱ ὀπλίται, οὗτος δὲ καὶ οἱ πελτασται. XEN. Cyr. viii. 5, 12.

**Final Relative Clauses Expressing Purpose.**

565. *(Future Indicative.)* In Attic Greek a relative with the future indicative often expresses a purpose, like a final clause. Its negative is μὴ. *E.g.*

Προσβείαν δὲ πέμπειν, ἢτοι ταύτ᾽ ἐρεῖ καὶ παρέσται τοῖς πράγμασιν, and to send an embassy to say these things, and to be present at the transaction. DEM. i. 2. Φημι δὴ δειν ἡμᾶς πρὸς Θεταλοὺς προσβείαν πέμπειν, ἢ τοὺς μὲν διδάξει ταύτα, τοὺς δὲ παροξυνεῖ. Id. ii. 11. Ἐδοθε τῷ δήμῳ τριάκοντα ἄνδρας ἔλεσθαι, οἱ τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις ἐξουσιοῦσιν, καθ᾽ οὓς πολεμεύσουσι, the people voted to choose thirty men, to compile the ancestral laws by which they were to govern. XEN. Hell. ii. 3, 2. Εἶναι δὲ πέμψαι (ἐκέλευσε) τινὸς, οἵτινες αὐτῷ τὰ ἔνδον ἰδόντες ἀπαγγελοῦσιν. XEN. Cyr. v. 2, 3. Ναυτικὸν παρασκεύαζον ὃ τι πέμψωσιν ἐς τὴν Δέσβον, καὶ ναύαρχον προσέταξαν Ἀλκίδαν, δοὺς ἐμελλέων ἐπιπλείσεσθαι. THUC. iii. 16. See DEM. xxi. 109. Οὐ γὰρ ὅτι μοι χρήματα, ὅποθεν ἐκτίσει, for I have no money to pay the fine with. PLAT. Ap. 37 C.

'Ρῆψον μὲ γῆς ἐκ τῆς, δοὺς τητητὸν φαινούμαι μηδὲν ἄριστον προσήγορον. SOPH. O. T. 1437; so 1412. Μέλλουσι γὰρ σ᾽ ἐνταῦθα πέμψειν, ἔνθα μὴ ποθ᾽ ἧλιον φέγγος προσφέρει, ἣως δ᾽ ύμνήσεις κακά, they are to send you where you shall never behold the sun's light (to some place, that there you may never behold, etc.). Id. El. 379. So Aj. 659; Tr. 800.

566. The antecedent of the relative in this construction may be either definite or indefinite; but the negative is always μὴ because of the final force. The future indicative is regularly retained after past tenses, as in object clauses with ἄν τι (340); but see 573 and 574.

567. A past purpose may be expressed by the imperfect of μέλλω. See 76; and THUC. iii. 16, quoted in 565.

568. *(Subjunctive and Optative in Homer.)* In Homer these final relative clauses have the subjunctive (generally with κέ) after primary tenses, and the present or aorist optative (without κέ) after secondary tenses. *E.g.*

Καὶ ἄμ ἡγεμόν᾽ ἐσθλόν ὁπασσον, ὃς κέ με κεῖσ ἀγάγη, and also send a good guide, who shall lead me thither (to lead me thither). Od. xv. 310.
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Αὐτὸς νῦν ὅνομι ἑβρεό, ὁ τι κε θήναι παιδὸς παιδὶ φίλῳ, find a name to give the child. Od. xix. 403. Τέων σύνομα εἰπέ, ὁν τι οὐ δειίνον, ὃ κε σὺ χαίρῃς. Od. ix. 355. Αὐτίκα μάντις ἔλειπεῖται, ὃς κέν τι εἴπησιν ὅδον. Od. x. 538. Ἔλκος δ' ἑτηρ ἐπιμάσσεται, ὃς ἐπὶ-θήσει τάραξα, ᾧ κεν παῦσητε μελανίνων ὄουνων. II. iv. 191. Ἀλλ' ἀγετε, κῆποις ὄτρωνμεν, οἵ κε τάχιστα ἐλθοῦσ' ἐς κλαυάν Πηληνάδων Ἀχιλῆος. II. ix. 165. Ἐκδοτε, καὶ τιμὴν ἀποτινεῖμεν χνί τιν' ἐῳκεν, ἦ τε καὶ ἐπεμένωσι μετ' ἄνθρωποι πέληται. II. iii. 459. The last verse (found also iii. 287) is the only case of the relative with the subjunctive without κε in these sentences.

"Δαγγελον ἤκαν, ὃ δ' ἀγιείλεε γυναικί, they sent a messenger to tell the woman. Od. xv. 458. Πάτητεν δ' ἀνὰ πύργον Ἀχαιών, ἦ τε κεν ἐντολήν, ἦ τε κεν ἐντάτοταν ἄμυνα. H. i. 192. So τοι κ' ἐπιβάθην, II. v. 192 (cf. xxii. 348). In none of the Homeric examples of this construction is the relative clause negative.

569. The earlier Greek here agrees with the Latin in using the subjunctive and optative, while the Attic adopts a new construction with the future indicative.

570. The future indicative occurs in Od. xiv. 333, ὅμοσε νῦν κατειρώθηκει καὶ ἐπαρτέας ἐμέν ἐπάρφως, οἵ δὲ μὲν πέμψωμει φίλην ἐς παρθήν γαῖαν. The potential optative with κε may take the place of a future form; as οὐδὲ οἱ ἄλλοι εἴδω, οἵ κεν κατὰ δήμον ἀλλή-κοις κακότητας, Od. iv. 166. So τῶν κ' ἐπιβαίνην, II. v. 192 (cf. xxii. 348). In none of the Homeric examples of this construction is the relative clause negative.

571. A final force is seen in a few Homeric temporal clauses with δτε (ὅτ' ἄν, ὅτε κε) or ὅποτε with the subjunctive, which are chiefly expressions of emphatic prediction:—

"Εστεται Ἰμαρ ὅτ' ἄν ποτ' ὁλῶλα "Ἰλίος ἰρή, Ζεὺς δέ άφιν αὐτός ἐπιστείγεσιν ἐρέμουν ἀγίῳ πάσιν, a day shall come when sacred Ilios shall fall (i.e. a day for the fall of Ilios) and when Zeus shall shake his terrible aegis before them all. II. iv. 164; so vi. 448. See II. viii. 373, xxi. 111. See Monro, Hom. Gr. p. 209.

572. In Attic Greek the subjunctive is not used in final relative sentences as it is in Homer (568). The subjunctive in a few expressions like ἐξεῖ δ' τι εἴσηγη, he has something to say, seems to be caused by the analogy of οὖκ ἐξεῖ δ' τι εἴσηγη, he knows not what to say, which contains an indirect question (677). E.g.

Τοιοῦτον ἔδω παρέδοσαν, ὡστε ἰκατέρων ἐχεῖν ἐφοί τι φιλοτι-μηθὼσιν, that both may have things in which they may glory. I soc. iv. 44. (Here there is really no indirect question, for the meaning is not that they may know in what they are to glory.) Οὐδὲν ἐτί διασεῖτε αὐτῷ, εἶν μονόν ἔγρα ὑἱὸν διαλέγοντας, ἵνα ἐπεί ποτὲ διέσχατο τι ἃ καθ' εἴσηγον. PLAT. Symp. 194 D. Τοῖς μέλλονσι δέ εἶν τι εἰσφέροισιν. XEN. Oec. vii. 20. Compare ἀπορεῖς δ' τι λέγησι καὶ εἴσηγες δ' τι λέγησι in the same sentence, PLAT. ION. 536 B.

573. On the other hand, the present or aorist optative rarely occurs
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in Attic Greek in a final sense after a past tense or after another optative. E.g.

"Ανδρα ουδέν' έντοπος (δρων), ούχ οσίς άρκεσειεν, ούο' οσίς
νόμων κάμινον συλλαβοίτο, i.e. when I saw no one to assist me,
etc. SOPH. Ph. 281. Κρόποιον' έαυτήν ένθα μή τις εἰσίδων, βρυχάτοι,
Id. Tr. 903. Ει τις θεών άνδρα θείη είς έρημίαν, όσπον αυτό μιθείς
μέλλοι βοήθεσεν, if some God should place a man in a desert,
where there should be no one likely to help him (this may be purely conditional).
PLAT. Rep. 578 E.

574. The future optative also occasionally occurs, as the natural
correlative of the regular future indicative, which is generally retained
after past tenses (566). E.g.

"Εφευρον ένθα μήτι' οψοίμην ονείδη τελούμενα, I fled to (some
place) where I might never see the disgrace accomplished. SOPH. O. T. 796.
Εσκόπει οτίων έστωκαί αυτώ οσίς έστωκα γρηγοροφήσαοι και τελευ-
τήσαντα άψωι αυτόν και τά νομιμόμενα αυτώ ποιήσαοι. ISAE. ii. 10.
Αρεθέθησα ἐφ' άντι έχεγγράψαι νόμομ, καθ' απόστανα πολιτεύσοντο,
having been chosen with the condition that they should compile laws,
by which they were to govern. XEN. Hell. ii. 3, 11. (See Ib. ii 3, 2, quoted
in 565, where καθ' οίς πολιτεύσουσι is used in the same sense.)

CONSECUTIVE RELATIVE CLAUSES EXPRESSING RESULT.—

CAUSAL RELATIVE.

575. (Indicative, with negative ού.) The relative with any tense
of the indicative can be used to denote a result, in the sense of
ωστε with the indicative (582). The negative here is ού. This
occurs chiefly after negative clauses, or interrogatives implying a
negative. E.g.

Τις ούτω μαίνεται οσίς ού βούλεται σοι φίλος είναι; who is so
mad that he does not wish to be your friend? XEN. An. ii. 5, 12. (Here
ωστε ου βούλεται might be used.) 'Ακούσας τουαθ' α' των τουω' ου
ποτ' ειδρανει' βλον. SOPH. O. C. 1352. So Hdt. vii. 46. Τις ούτων
εύθης οὔτων υψών, οσίς ανευει τόν εκείον πόλεμον δεύο ήξοντα,
άν αμελήσαμεν; i.e. who of you is so simple that he does not know, etc. I
DEM. i. 15. (Here ωστε ανευει might be used.) Τις ούτω πόροω
των πολιτικῶν ήν πραγμάτων, οσίς ουκ εγγύς ήναγκάσθη γενέσθαι
τῶν συμφορῶν; ISOC. iv. 113. Τις ούτως βάθυμος οσίν, οσίς
ού μετασχείν βουλήσεται ταύτης της στρατείας; Id. iv. 185.
So also with the potential optative; άσ ουδείς άν γένοιτο ούτως
άδαμάντων, δι άν μέεινειν εν τη δικαιοσύνη, no one would ever become
so adamantine that he would remain firm in justice. PLAT. Rep. 360 B.

576. (Future Indicative, with negative μή.) The relative with
the future indicative may denote a result which is aimed at, in
the same general sense as ωστε with present or aorist infinitive
(582), but with more exactness (577.) The negative is μή. E.g.
Εὗχετο μηδὲνιν τοιαύτην γενέσθαι, ἢ μην παύσει καταστρέψασθαι τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἰ.ε. no such occurrence as to prevent him from subjugating Europe. Hdt. vii. 54. (We might have ὤστε μην παύσαι. Compare εἰς τοιαύτην ἓλθε μεταβολὴν ὁσθ' ἀπάσης τῆς ἀσίας γενέσθαι δεσπότης, Isoc. v. 66.) 'Ανόητον ἐπὶ τοιαύτως ἰέναι ἢν κράτησας μη κατασχῆσει τίς, it is absurd to attack men of such a kind that if we overcome them we shall not hold them. Thuc. vi. 11. (Here ὤστε μη κατασχεῖν, so as not to hold them, could express only the general sense of the construction.) 'Ο γράφων ἰδία τι Χαριδήμω ποιοῦντο δ μη πάτη καὶ οὐκ ἔσται. Ὑδ. xii. 324. Τίς οὐκ ἂν δέξασθαι τοιαύτης πολιτειάς μετέχειν, ἢ μη διαλῆκει χρηστός ἂν; Isoc. iii. 16. Όποις τοιαύτα λέγειν (πρέπει) ἢς δ' ἂν ἔμεθεν ἔπιστασθαι τῶν πεισθέντων. Ἰδ. iv. 189. Τοιάς ἐγγίσεις λέγειες ἢς μητε αὐτοῖς χειρῶν εἶναι δόξεις μήτε τοὺς μιμομένους λυμανεῖ. Ἰδ. xi. 49.

577. The construction of ὤστε after τοιοῦτος (584), which best corresponds to this relative expression, is not common, as οὕτως is the natural antecedent of ὤστε, while τοιοῦτος is naturally followed by οἷος or οἷς. The relative clause with the future is a much more definite expression, with its power of designating time, number, and person, than the infinitive. (See Thuc. vii. 11, under 576.) Τοιοῦτος may also be followed by οἷος and the infinitive (759).

578. Οὕτως as a relative is sometimes used in this construction in a way which illustrates its use as a final particle. (See 313.) E.g.

Ποιεῖ δὲ ὦτω δόκω τῶν σῶν ἐνδεήσει μηδένιν, and act so that there shall be nothing wanting on your part; lit. act in that way by which, etc. Hdt. vii. 18. Τοῦ οὕτως ἐπιστασθαι ἄνθρώπων ἅλλων προστατεῖν ὦτως ἐξοντεῖ τά ἐπίστηδεια, . . . τοῦτο θαυμαστὸν ἐφαίνετο, i.e. in such a way that they should have, etc. Xen. Cyr. i. 6, 7. So Cyr. ii. 4, 31.

579. (Optative.) The relative in this consecutive construction does not take the subjunctive. The optative occurs occasionally depending upon another optative. We find the future optative in Plut. Rep. 416 C, φαίη ἀν τίς δεῖν καὶ τᾶς οἰκήσεις καὶ τῆς ἁλλῆς οὐσίας τοιαύτην αὐτῶς παρασκευάσασθαι, ἀντις μῆτε τῶν φύλακας ἢς ἄριστον εἶναι παύσιν αὐτοῖς, κακογείτες τῇ ἐπάροι περὶ τῶν ἅλλων πολιτῶν, with which compare 415 E, τοιαύτας οἷς χειμώνως τε στέγει καὶ θέρων ικανάς εἶναι. The aorist occurs in Dem. vi. 8, ἡ ἡμετέρα πόλει οὐδὲν ἂν ἐνδεξαίατο τοσοῦτον οὐθ' ποισίσθαι, ὡς' οὐ πεισθήνης τινάς' Ελληνῖσσι ἐκείνῳ προέει θε', i.e. nothing so great as to persuade you to sacrifice any of the Greeks to him (= ὦστε ὕμας πεισθεῖν προέει θα'). The practical difference between the pure optative here and the potential προσβαίνει ἀν, like ὦς ἀν μείνειν in Plut. Rep. 360 B (quoted in 575), is slight; but it would be seen if we had ὦστε προσβαίνει here (so great as to make you sacrifice) and ὦστε μείνειν ἀν there (so firm that he would remain).
580. The relative may have a causal signification, being equivalent to ὅτι, because, and a personal pronoun or demonstrative word. The verb is generally in the indicative, as in ordinary causal sentences (713); but it may be in the potential optative or potential indicative. The negative is οὐ; but when the relative clause is conditional as well as causal, the negative is μή. E.g.

Θανατώσατον ποιεῖς, ὃς ἤμιν οὐδὲν δίδωσ, you do a strange thing in giving us nothing (like ὅτι σὺ οὐδὲν δίδωσ). XEN. Mem. ii. 7, 13. Δόξας ἄμβατα εἶναι, ὃς . . . ἐκέλευ, believing him to be unlearned, because he commanded, etc. HDT. i. 33. Τὴν μητέρα (ἐμακάριον), οἷον τέκνων ἐκύρησε (like ὅτι τοίων). Id. i. 31. Εὐδαιμον ἐφαίνετο, ὃς ἄδειος καὶ γενναῖος ἐτελεύτα, i.e. because he died so fearlessly and nobly (ὡς being equivalent to ὅτι οὕτως). PLAT. Phaed. 58 E.

Ταλαίπωρος εἶ, ὃ μήτε θεοὶ πατρώοι εἰσὶ μήθ' ἱερά, you are wretched, since you have no ancestral Gods (if you really have none), etc. Id. Euthyd. 302 B. Πῶς ἄν ὅρθως ἐμοὶ καταγιγνώσκετε, ὃ το παράπαν πρὸς τούτον μηδὲν συμβόλαιον ἔστειν; i.e. since I have no contract at all with this man (or if I have no contract). DEM. xxxiii. 34. Ὡς τοῖνυν μηδὲς τετωλυμηκε τῶν οἰκείων τούτῳ μαρτυρήσει, τῶς οὖν εἰκός ἔστιν ὡς ήγείσατα με τάληθ' λέγειν; whereas then (or if then) no one has dared, etc. Id. xlix. 38. So lv. 26. Ὀπότε αἱ μὲν ἔκ τοινυν ἐμοὶ νείμητε το ἀπορον τούτῳ, ἐν ψι δ' ἂν αὐτοὶ εὐπορεῖτε, do not then bring upon me this perplexity, in which yourselves would not know what to do (half causal, half conditional).

581. In the last examples with μή, the causal and the conditional forces are united, but in English we can express only one of them. Thus ὃ μήτε θεοὶ πατρώοι εἰσί, besides its causal force, implies a condition; so that we might translate equally well if (as it appears) you have no ancestral Gods, you are wretched. The same combination of cause and condition is seen in the Latin siquidem.

CONSECUTIVE CLAUSES WITH ὅστε OR ὅς AND WITH ἐφ' ὃ OR ἐφ' ὃτε.¹

582. A consecutive clause expresses a consequence, that

is, the effect or result (actual or potential) of something that is stated in the leading clause. Such a clause is introduced by some relative word, generally by ὡστε, so as, so that (See 575.) The consequence may be either one which the action of the leading verb aims at and tends to produce, or one which that action actually does produce. This is the fundamental distinction between ὡστε with the infinitive (with μὴ for its negative) and ὡστε with the indicative (with οὐ for its negative). E.g.

Πάν τοιοῦσιν ὡστε δίκην μὴ διδόναι, they do everything in such a way as (i.e. so as) not to suffer punishment, i.e. they aim, in all they do, at not being punished; it is not, however, implied that they actually escape. PLAT. Gorg. 479 C. On the other hand, τὰν τοιοῦσιν ὡστε δίκην οὐ διδόσαι would mean they do everything in such a way that (i.e. so that) they are not punished.

583. Though this illustrates the fundamental distinction in thought on which the distinction in form is based, there are many examples in which ὡστε with the infinitive and ὡστε with the indicative seem to amount to essentially the same thing, although the processes by which the meaning is expressed in the two constructions are essentially different. Thus we can say οὕτως ἐστί δεινὸς ὡστε δίκην μὴ διδόναι, he is so skilful as not to be punished, and also οὕτως ἐστί δεινὸς ὡστε δίκην οὐ διδόσαι, he is so skilful that he is not punished; and though we should receive the same impression from both statements, so that both might be made of the same man under the same circumstances, yet the two constructions (one stating a tendency and the other a fact) are very different, and they seemed far more so to a Greek than they do to us.

584. ὡστε is properly a relative particle of comparison, meaning as. Its correlative so may be expressed in a demonstrative like οὕτως, or implied; as οὕτως ἐστὶ δεινὸς ὡστε σὲ πείσαι, he is so skilful as to persuade you, or ἡ πόλις τετείχθαι ὡστε ικανὴ εἶναι σώζειν τῶν ἐνοικίων, the city is walled so as to be able to keep its inhabitants safe. (See τοιοῦτοι καὶ οὕτω τρέφειν κύνας ὡστε ἐπιχειρήσαι, PLAT. Rep. 416 A; and compare τοιοῦτος οἶος with the infinitive in 759.) These expressions in Greek state no more than he has the skill to persuade you and the city has walls enough to be able, etc.; the further ideas that he does persuade and the city is able are inferences, which are strongly suggested and generally felt when the expressions are used, but they do not lie in the words. When the Greek wishes to express these facts definitely and not to leave them to inference, it uses the indicative with
όστε; as οὖτως ἐστι δεινὸς ὁστε σε πειθει, he is so skilful that he persuades you, or ἡ τόλμης τετείωσται ὁστε ικανὴ ἐστιν. But here the use of a finite verb compels the writer to make his expression more definite than it was before; for, whereas ὁστε πειθει and ὁστε ικανὴ είναι meant only (so) as to persuade and (so) as to be able, without limiting the expressions to past, present, or future time, he cannot use a tense of the indicative without fixing its time, that is, without making a definite statement. So long as the infinitive has no subject and can be translated by our simple infinitive (as above), we can generally express its force without putting into our translation more than we find in the Greek; the formal distinction between so skilful as to persuade and so skilful that he persuades being apparent even when we mean substantially the same by both. When the clause with ὁστε is negative, a marked distinction appears in Greek to show the different point of view taken in the two expressions, and we have ὁστε μὴ πειθει and ὁστε οὐ πειθει. This is of course lost in English with our single negative. But when the infinitive has a subject, it must be translated by a finite verb in some definite tense, number, and person, that is, by a statement and not by a mere expression of tendency, although the force of the infinitive in Greek is the same as before. Thus we generally translate σχολάζεις, ὁστε θαυμάζειν ἐμε (EUR. Hec. 730), you delay, so that I am astonished, as if it were ὁστε θαυμάζω εγώ, simply because we cannot use our infinitive with a subject expressed. If, however, we substitute an equivalent form which avoids this difficulty, like so as to astonish me, we see that there is really no such definite character in ὁστε θαυμάζειν ἐμε as we impose upon it, and that it no more expresses a statement than ὁστε σε πειθει (above) does. The same difficulty of translating the Greek infinitive with its subject has done much to obscure the force of the tenses of the articular infinitive and of the infinitive with ἄν. (See also 603.)

In many uses of the infinitive with ὁστε it is not even inferred that the result towards which the infinitive expresses a tendency is actually reached. Thus, in clauses with ὁστε expressing a purpose or a condition, and where the infinitive is generally used without ὁστε, we cannot substitute the indicative for the infinitive (see the examples under 587, 2 and 3, and 588).1

1 Shilleto (in the Appendix to his edition of Demosthenes de Falsa Legatione) thus illustrates the distinction between ὁστε οὐκ ἐβούλετο and ὁστε μὴ βούλεσθαι. "The difference seems simply to be this: οὖτως άφρων ἂν ὁστε οὐκ ἐβούλετο, he was so foolish that he did not wish (expressive of the real result or consequence); οὖτως άφρων ἂν ὁστε μὴ βούλεσθαι, he was so foolish as not to wish (expressive of the natural consequence). . . . Now it is obvious that an energetic speaker, wishing to express that the result (was not only of a
585. In Homer ώστε (or rather ὡς τε) is found, with two exceptions (589), only in the sense of as, like ωσπερ. See its use in similes, as ὡς τε λέων ἔχαρη, Il. iii. 23. The τε here is like that commonly added to relatives in Homer (as in ὡς τε) and to ἐτει in Herodotus. The Attic poets are the first to use ώστε freely with the infinitive. In Sophocles we first find ώστε with the finite moods; this seems to have arisen from a desire to express definitely the accomplishment of the result, which the infinitive expressed only by inference.

586. ὡς, originally of the same meaning with ὡς τε, was seldom used in consecutive sentences except in certain authors. (See 608.)

"Ωστε with the Infinitive.

587. "Ωστε with the infinitive, with a demonstrative expressed or implied, means so as; but when the infinitive has a subject which must be expressed in English, we are generally obliged to translate the particle with its antecedent by so that. The expression properly means only that one action or state is of such a nature as to be followed by another as a consequence; but it is often implied also, apart from the words, that the second action or state actually does follow.

1. The consequence may be simply a result which a previous act tends to produce. E.g.

"Ἀμφὶ δὲ κυκλοῦντο πᾶσαν νῆσον, ὦστ' ἀμηχανεῖν ὁποι τράποιν, and they encircled the whole island, so that they (the Persians) knew not whither to turn (i.e. so as to perplex the Persians, etc.) Aesch. Pers. 457. Τόσονδε μισεῖν ὦστε τὴν δίκην πατείν, to hate so violently as to trample on justice. Soph. Aj. 1335; so 1325. Σὺ δὲ σχολάζεις, ὦστε θαυμάζειν ἐμέ, but you delay, so that I am astonished (see 584). Eur. Hec. 730. Πάντας οὕτω διατίθεις ἀπεξέμπετο ὦστε αὐτῷ μᾶλλον φίλους εἶναι ἢ τῷ βασιλεί. Xen. An. i. 1, 5. Δισκολία καὶ μανία πολλάκις εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν ἐμπίπτονσιν οὕτως ὦστε καὶ τὸς ἐπιστήμους ἐκβάλλειν. Id. Mem. iii. 12, 6. Ἡν πεπαιδευμένοις οὕτως ὦστε πάνυ μικρά κεκτημένοις πάνυ βρῖσος ἐχεῖν ἀρκοῦντα, he had been so educated as very easily to have enough, although he possessed very little. Ib. i. 2, 1. Φῦναι δὲ ὁ Κύρος λέγεται φιλοτιμότατος, ὦστε πάντα μὲν τὸν ἀνατλήναι πάντα δὲ κίνδυνον ὑπομεῖναι. Id. Cyg. i. 2, 1. Ἀπέχρη γὰρ ἃν τοὺς γνωσθέων ἐμμένειν, ὦστε μηδεμίαν ἡμῖν εἶναι πρὸς τούτον nature to follow, but) actually did follow, would employ the indicative: whereas in ordinary and unimpassioned language the infinitive would imply all that was necessary, the natural consequence supposing the real."
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διαφορᾶς, for we should be content to abide by the decision so as to have no difference with him. DEM. xxvii. 1. Πολλὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχω ἀρκούντως έρείν, ὥστε ἦνας μὴ ἀπολεθήναι τῶν πραγμάτων μὴ ἀγνοῆσαι, κ.τ.λ. Id. xxvii. 2. Τοιοῦτον ἔδει ἦμιν παρέδοσαν, ὥστε ἀπαισαμένους συνελθεῖν ἐς ταύτων. ISOC. iv. 43. So iv. 42. Εἰ τοιοῦτον εἶ ἡ σοφία, ὥστ' ἐκ τοῦ πληρεστέρου εἰς τὸν κενώτερον ἐρεῖν ἦμων, of such a nature as to flow. PLAT. Symp. 175 D.

Πείσομαι γὰρ οὐ τοσοῦτον οὐδὲν ὅστε μὴ οὐ καλῶς θανεῖν, for I shall suffer nothing so terrible as to prevent me from dying gloriously. SOPH. Ant. 96. (For μὴ οὐ see 815, 2.)

2. The consequence may have the form of a stipulation, condition, or limitation. E.g.

Ποιοῦντας ὑμολογίαν πρὸς Πάχητα, ὥστε Ἀθηναῖοι εἴξειν βουλεύσαι περὶ τῶν Μυτιληναίων, they make a treaty with Paches, to the effect that the Athenians shall be permitted, etc. THUC. ii. 28. 'Ἀναστήσας αὐτοὺς ὥστε μὴ ἀδικήσαι, having removed them on condition of doing them no harm. Ibid. So i. 29, vii. 83. So Id. iii. 114, Ἑμμαχίαν ἐπούσαντο ἐπὶ τούτῳ, ὥστε μὴ στρατευέναι. 'Εξόν αὐτοῖς τῶν λοιπῶν ἀρχεῖν Ἐλλήνων, ὥστ' αὐτοῖς ὑπακούειν βασιλεῖ, it being in their power to rule the rest of the Greeks, on condition that they should themselves serve the King. DEM. vi. 11.

3. The consequence may be aimed at as a purpose, the consecutive clause becoming also final. E.g.

Πᾶν ποιοῦσιν, ὥστε δίκην μὴ διδόναι, they do everything in such a way as not to suffer punishment, i.e. that they may not suffer. PLAT. Gorg. 479 C. (Here ἵνα μὴ with the subjunctive might be used, but it would express only the final element.) Ἑβονλήθησαν Ἐλεισίνα εξιδιώσασθαι, ὥστε εἴναι σφίσι καταφνείν εἰ δεήσεις, they wished, to appropriate Eleusis, so that they might have a refuge if they should need it. XEN. Hell. ii. 4, 8. Μηχανάς ενρήσομεν, ὥστε ὡς τὸ πάν σε τῶν ἀπαλλάξαι πόνων, we will find devices to free you, etc. (= ὡς σε ἀπαλλάξουμεν). AESCH. Eum. 82.

588. The infinitive with ὥστε sometimes follows verbs of wishing, commanding, etc., which regularly takes a simple infinitive of the object (746), less frequently verbs which take an infinitive of the subject (745); and sometimes adjectives and nouns which regularly take the simple infinitive (758). E.g.

Κύπριε γὰρ ἤθελ' ὥστε γίγνεσθαι τάδε, for the Cyprian Goddess wished this to be done, i.e. had (such) a wish (as) that this should be done. EUR. Hipp. 1327. Δικαιών ὥστ' ἐμοὶ κλύειν λόγους, asking that he (Polynices) should hear my words (to the effect that he should hear). SOPH. O. C. 1350. Τὸν στρατηγόν τῶν πόλεων ἐδίδοσκεν ὥστε δόντα χρήματα αὐτῶν πείσαι, he instructed him to give money and persuade the generals. THUC. viii. 45. Τὸ μὲν δύνασθαι, δ' Φαιδρὲ, ὥστε
Consecutive Clauses with ὦστε, the ability to become a finished disputer (i.e., having such power as to become). Plut. Phaedr. 269 D. Ἐλθόντες πρὸς αὐτοῖς πείθουσιν ὦστε μετὰ σφῶν Ἀργεὶ ἐπὶ κειρὴσαι. Thuc. iii. 102. (In the same chapter, πείθει Ἀκαρνάνας βοηθήσαι Ναυτάκτης.) Ἐπεισοῦν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὦστε ἔξαγαγείν ἐκ Πύλου Μεσσηνίων. Id. v. 35. Ψηφισάμενοι αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι ὦστε πάρχονται, having voted to defend them, etc. Id. vi. 88. Ἐπεὶ ἀνάγκην καθώστημεν ὦστε κινδυνεύειν, having voted to defend them, etc. Id. vi. 88. Eis δύναμιν ὦστε εγγενέσθαι, power to grow up in it, PLAT. Polit. 433 B. Εἰς τι θέσφατον πατρὶ χρησμόν, etc. ὦστε πρὸς παιδῶν θανέων, i.e. if my father was warned by oracles that he should perish by his children's hands. SOPH. O. C. 969.

Πάνω μοι ἐμέλησεν ὦστε εἴδέναι, it concerned me very much to know. XEN. Cyr. vi. 3, 19. Ἀδύνατον ὑμῖν ὦστε Ἡρακλῆς τοῦτο σοφώτερον τίνα ἔλεγον, it is impossible for you to choose any one wiser than Protagoras here (you have not such power as to choose). PLAT. Prot. 334 C. SO XEN. Mem. i. 3, 6. Ἐπεὶ δέτοι πρὸς τὴν μάχην, ὦστε πολέμου μὲν μηδὲν ἔτι ἄφασθαι, πρὸς δὲ τὴν εἰρήνην μᾶλλον τὴν γνώμην εἴχον. THUC. v. 14. (Here the construction changes suddenly to the indicative in εἴχον.) Ἄρ' ἐστιν ὦστε κάγγυθεν θεῶν λαβεῖν; is it possible for me to have a sight of it near by? SOPH. Ph. 656.

Πῶς γὰρ τις καὶ καταφέρῃ ἄν ὦστε δει προστάτευον τὸ προσήκον; for how could one become capable of always giving the proper command? (so capable as) PLAT. Polit. 295 A. Πότερα παιδεῖ εἰς, ἀρχηγότερον ὦστε μαθῶν ἡμῖν τὰ φραγμάτεα ἄνδρες; i.e. are they wiser than men in learning, etc. XEN. Cyr. iv. 3, 11. Νέοι ὀστε τοσοῦτο πράγμα διέλεγον, too young to decide. PLAT. Prot. 314 B. So γέρων ὀστε α' ὥφελεν, EUR. Andr. 80. Ψυχρόν (ὁστε τοῦ ὠδηρ) ὀστε λούσασθαι, the water is too cold to bathe in. XEN. Mem. iii. 13, 3. (Cf. λούσασθαι ψυχρότερον and θερμότερον πιεῖν, in the same section.)

In many of these cases it seems impossible to believe that ὀστε added anything to the sense, even as it was felt by the Greeks. The expressions were probably stereotyped in usage, and their origin was forgotten. Indeed, ὀστε and ὡς (608) sometimes seem to have no more meaning than our to with the infinitive, which in some cases we can use or omit at pleasure, though with some change of sense, as in I dare say and I dare to say. Compare I command you to go and I bid you go. The examples show that there is hardly a construction in which the simple infinitive was used where ὀστε is not occasionally prefixed to it. It is important here to remember that ὀστε means only as or, including the antecedent, so as; never so that, except in the construction with the finite moods, although this is often a necessary makeshift in our translation.

For ὀστε or ὡς with the infinitive after the comparative and ἦ, see 775 (b).

589. ('Ως τε in Homer.) The only two Homeric examples of ὀστε (ὡς τε) with the infinitive are Il. ix. 42, εἰ δὲ σοι αὐτῷ θυμάτω Q
επεσανται ὦς τε νεεσθαί, ἔρχεο, but if your own mind is eagerly set upon returning, go; and Od. xvii. 20, οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ σταθμοὶ μένεν ἐπὶ τηλίκος εἰμὶ, ὄς τε ἐπιτελαμένης σημαντορ σάντα πιθεσθαί, for I am no longer of a fit age to abide at the sheeplolds, (and there) to obey in everything a master's command (this comes under 587, 2, above). These cases seem to show that the usage was already established; although Lehr (de Aristarchi Stud. Horn. p. 157) proposes to expunge ὦς τε in both. In Hes. Op. 43 we have ημιδιως γὰρ κεν καὶ ἐπ’ ἡμασὶ ἐργάσσας, ὦς τε σε κεῖς (= καὶ εἰς) ἑναιτὸν ἐχειν καὶ ἀεργον ἐόντα, i.e. so as to have enough for a year, even without working.

590. (Tenses.) The tenses of the infinitive most frequently used with ὦςτε are the present and aorist, with their usual distinction (87). See the examples above.

The perfect is sometimes used to express completion or decisiveness of the action (109; 110). E.g.

Neωτι ἀπὸ νόσου βραχύ τι λελωφήκαιν, ὦςτε καὶ χρήμασι καὶ τοῖς σύμμασιν ηmegaθαί, i.e. we have recovered a little, so as to have increased. THUC. vi. 12. Λόγων καὶ βουλεμάτων κοινών ἀν σε ποιούτο, ὦςτε μυρά ἐν σε λεληθέναι ἤν βουλόμεθα εἰδέναι, so that not a single one of the things we wish to know should have escaped you. XEN. Cyg. vi. 1, 40. Τουαύτα πολιτεύματα ἐλέσθα (ἐμοι ὑπήρξεν) ὦςτε πολλάκις ἐστεφανώσθαι, καὶ μηδὲ τοῦ ἔχοντας ἐπίχειρειν λέγειν, κ.τ.λ., so as often to have been crowned (perfect), and so as not even to have my enemies undertake (present) to say, etc. DEM. xviii. 257. See Id. xiiii. 68; LYS. xxxii. 27; Isoc. iii. 32, iv. 45; ISA. x. 1; and the examples quoted in 109 and 110.

591. 1. The future infinitive with ὦςτε is common only when it depends on an infinitive in indirect discourse and represents a future indicative of the direct form; so εἰς τοὺς ἀναιδείας αὐτὸν ἥξειν ἄκοιν, ὦςτε Λακεδαμιωνῶν καταγγέλεσθαι, DEM. xix. 72. So LYS. v. 2. See other examples under 594.

2. Elsewhere it is rare and perhaps doubtful. In DEM. xix. 5 and xxi. δ, ὦςτε ὑμᾶς ἀσταντος εἰσεσθαί is found in all MSS., and it is no more objectionable than other exceptional uses of the future, as that after βούλομαι and δέομαι (see 113), or than ὦςτε with the infinitive with ἄν not in indirect discourse (211; 592). In DEM. xvi. 4 we have, ἔστι τοῖνυν ἐν τινι τοιοῦτω καιρῷ τὰ πράγματα νῦν, . . . ὦςτε Θηβαῖοις μὲν ἀσθενεῖς γενέσθαι, Λακεδαμιωνίους δ’, εἰ ποιήσονται τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν ὑπ’ ἐαυτοῖς, πάλιν ἰσχυροῖς γενέσθαι, the change of time making the change of tense natural.

In THUC. iii. 34 we have, προκαλεσάμενος ἐς λόγους Ἰππίαν, ὦςτε, ἣν μηδὲν ἄρσκον λέγη, πάλιν αὐτὸν καταστήσειν ὀς το τεῖχος σῶν καὶ ὑψις, on the condition that, if his proposals should not be satisfactory, he would restore H. to the fort safe and sound. Here καταστήσειν represents καταστήσω in the words of Paches; but the future is still exceptional in its use (see 113). In THUC. i. 29, iii. 28 (two passages) and 114,
vii. 83, where there was the same ground for the future, we find the present or aorist infinitive with ὡστε.

592. The infinitive with ἄν (not in indirect discourse) can follow ὡστε to express a consequence in a potential form, corresponding to the potential optative or indicative. E.g.

"Αποτετειχισμένοι ἦσαν, ὡστε μηδὲ εἰ μετέπεμφαν ἄν αὐτοὺς ὕπελείν; they would have been already walled in, so that, even if they had sent for them, it would not any longer have been of as much use to them. THUC. vii. 42. Τῶν οἰκείων ἦσαν, ὡστε ἄν δόνα σωσθαί ἐπανελθεῖν οἰκαί, so that he would not be able to return. Id. viii. 35. See also the examples under 211, and the cases of indirect discourse with ὡστε ἄν under 594. (The translation of the infinitive here is necessarily inexact. See 584.)

593. Herodotus often writes οὖτω ὡστε together, οὖτω referring to the whole leading sentence, and not (as it generally does) to a single word or expression. E.g.

"Απέδρη ἐς Τεγέην, τὰς μὲν νύκτας πορευόμενος, τὰς δὲ ημέρας καταδύνων ἐς ἡλι βουλομένος, οὖτω ὡστε τρίτῃ εὐφρόνη γενεσθαι ἐν Τεγέῃ, he escaped to Tegea, travelling by night and hiding in the woods by day, (in such wise) as on the third night to arrive at Tegea. HDT. ix. 37. So iii. 105, viii. 27, ix. 61, 73.

For the same usage before a finite verb, see 601 (end).

594. ("ὢστε with Infinitive in Indirect Discourse. "ὢστε οὖ.) When a clause with ὡστε depends on an infinitive in indirect discourse, and is itself a part of the quotation, its verb representing a finite mood of the direct form, it regularly has the infinitive, in the tense of the direct discourse, even when on other grounds a finite verb would seem more natural. Here the future infinitive and the infinitive with άν may be used, as in other indirect discourse (135; 204). The negative οὐ of the direct form is generally retained with such an infinitive. E.g.

"Εφασαν τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰς τοῦτο τρυφῆς ἐλθεῖν ὡστε οὐκ ἔθελειν πίνειν εἰς τούτο τρυφῆς ήλθον ὡστε οὐκ ἔθελεν πίνειν), they said that the soldiers became so fastidious that they would not drink any wine unless it had a strong bouquet. XEN. Hell. vi. 2, 6. Ὑμᾶς εἰδενει ἤγοιμαι τοῦτον οὖτο σκαῖρον εἰναι ὡστε οὐ δύνασθαι μαθεῖν τὰ λεγόμενα. LYS. x. 15. Οὕτω δὲ ἄτοπονς τινὰς ἐν τῇ πόλει εἰναι ὡστε οὐκ αὐτοὶ ἵνα σωσθαί λοιδοφιλούμενοι αὐτῷ (i.e. οὕτως ἄτοποι ὡστε οὐκ αὐτοῖς σωσθαί). DEM. xix. 308. So xviii. 283, xix. 152. Εἶναι δὲ σολλούς ἄλλους (sc. ἐφή), οὕς βούλεσθαι κοινωνεῖν τῆς συναξῆς, ὡστε οὔτε χρημάτων οὔτε στρατιωτῶν ἐσεθαί ἀπορίαιν (i.e. ἄλλοι εἶναι, οὕς βούλομαι (see 755) κοινωνεῖν, ὡστε οὐκ ἐσται ἀπορία). Aeschin. iii. 96: so l. 174. Τοσοῦτον φρονήσατε φης αὐτοῖς ὡστε οὖς ήγήσασθαι σφας αὐτοῖς ἄξιοις εἶναι ζήν, κ.τ.λ.
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(i.e. τοσούτον ἐφόροντο ὡστε οὐχ Ἡγήσαντο). Isoc. xii. 255. Ἐνιαὶ δὲ (sc. λέγεται) τεχνητὰ οὐδεὶς ἐπέρη ὁμιον, οὕτω ὡστε, εἰ μὴ προλαμβάνει τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐν ψυ τοῖς μύρμηκας συλλέγεσθαι, οὐδένα ἂν σφέων ἀποσφέσθαι (i.e. εἰ μὴ προλαμβάνουν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐν ψυ συλλέγοντο, οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀποσφήσθο). Hdt. iii. 105 (see 755): so i. 189. Τοιαῦτα ἑνομίζετο τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῇ εἶναι, ὡστε οὐκ ἂν ποθ' ἐτέρας ἐπιθυμῆσαι πολιτείας (i.e. οὐκ ἂν ἐπιθυμῆσα). Lys. xvii. 6: so xxi. 18. See also Thuc. v. 40, viii. 76; Isæ. iii. 39, xi. 27; Plat. Ap. 26 D, Euthyd. 305 C, Leg. 806 A, Alcib. ii. 143 D.

595. "Ὡστε μὴ", however, as the ordinary form with the infinitive, may be used in indirect discourse (594), even with the future infinitive or the infinitive with ἄν. E.g.

Τηλικάυτην ἡγείσθαι πολῖν οἰκεῖν τὸ μέγεθος, ὡστε μηδ' ἂν ὠτῶν ἃ δείκνυν πείσεσθαι. Dem. ix. 67. "Ὡμην οὗτως ἐμφανῆς εἶναι τοῖς ἄλοχονευομένοις πολεμῶν, ὡστε μηδὲν ἂν ποτε γενέσθαι πιστὸν τῶν λεγόντων. Isoc. xii. 20: so xii. 144. In Isæ. iii. 51, ὡστε μηδὲ ἐκδούσαι would have been the same in the direct form.

596. Cases of ὡστε with a finite verb in indirect discourse are rare, but sometimes occur; as οἰομαί σ' ἀναπείσειν, ὡστε γε οὐδὲν ἀντερεῖς, Ar. Nub. 1342. So Eur. Tr. 973; Plat. Leg. 692 D.

597. 1. Occasionally ὡστε οὐ with the infinitive represents a finite mood with οὐ of direct discourse, even when there is no preceding infinitive to assimilate it (as there is in all the cases in 594). E.g.

'Εννοησάτω ὥστε οὕτως ἦδνν τότε πόρρω τῆς ἡλικίας ἢν ωστ', εἰ καὶ μή τότε, οὐκ ἂν πολλῷ ὑπερτερῶν τελευτήσαι τὸν βίον, let him reflect that he was then already so far advanced in life that he would have ended his days not much later, etc. (i.e. οὐκ ἂν πολλῷ ὑπερτερῶν ἐτελευτήσῃ). Xen. Mem. iv. 8, 1. (Seume classes this with the cases in 597, 2 because of οὐ πολλῷ. But the infinitive depends directly on a clause with ὃτι in indirect discourse.) So in Aristot. Pol. ii. 9, 17: λέγουσι ὡς μετεδίδοσαν τῆς πολιτείας, ὡστ' οὐ γίνεσθαι τότε τῆν ὀλιγανθρωπίαν.

2. Sometimes οὐ is found with ὡστε and the infinitive when the negative belongs to a single word, as in οὐ πολλοί for ὀλίγοι. See Isoc. viii. 107: οὐτῶς κακῶς προστήρησαν τῶν πραγμάτων ὡσθ' ἡμᾶς οὐ πολλοίς ἔστειν ὑπερτερὸν πάλιν ἐπιπολάσαι. So Isæ. ix. 17.

598. In a few cases, however, ὡστε οὐ is found with the infinitive where none of the preceding explanations (594; 597) will apply. Such are the following:—

"Ὡστ' οὖτε νυκτὸς ὑπον οὐτ' εἰς ἡμέρας ἐμὴ στεγάζειν ἐδώ, ἀλλ' ἂ προστατῶν χρόνος διήγη μ' ἀιν' ἂν ἡμηνμένην, so that neither by night nor by day did sweet sleep spread her wings over me. Soph. El. 780. (Here there is an easy transition from the infinitive to the following indicative.) Οὐ μακρὰν γὰρ τείχεων περιπτυχαὶ, ὡστ' οὐχ ἀπαντᾷ σ' εἰδαί τά δρόμενα, not so large that you do not know all (i.e. the city is so small, that you know all) that is done. Eur. Ph. 1357. "Ὡστ' οὖδ'
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611. ὡστε with the indicative means properly so that, and expresses the actual result of the action of the leading verb. 

1 The explanation of ὡστε ὧ with the infinitive on the ground of oratio obliqua was first made, I believe, by Shilleto in the Appendix to his Demosthenes de Falsa Legatione (1844). It is also given by Madvig (Synt. § 205, Anm. 3), who confines ὡστε ὧ to clauses depending on the infinitive of oratio obliqua after verbs like φημι, οίμαι, etc. (i.e. like the examples in 594). Shilleto’s faith in his own explanation was somewhat shaken by finding that four of the passages quoted in 598 could not be brought under his canon. Under the influence of Shilleto’s essay, I originally suggested the mixture of two equivalent constructions given above, as applicable to all cases of ὡστε ὧ, not appreciating the wide influence of the principle of oratio obliqua upon the construction.
Οὐτως ἄγνωμόνως ἔχετε, ὥστε ἐλπίζετε αὐτὰ χρηστά γενήσεσθαι, κ.τ.λ.; are you so senseless that you expect, etc.? Dem. ii. 26. (Here ὥστε ἐλπίζειν, so senseless as to expect, would express the senselessness of expecting, without necessarily implying that you do expect.) Ἡθηκέν, ὥστε πᾶν ἐν ἡτίχυσι, πάτερ, ἔσεστι φωνεῖν, he has gone, so that we can say everything in quiet. Soph. O. C. 82. So Ph. 75, El. 1204. Οὔτως ἡμῖν δοκεῖ πιετὸς ἄξια εἶναι, ὥστε πάντες τὸ καταλιπεῖν αὐτὰ μάλιστα φεύγομεν, so that we all especially avoid, etc. Xen. Mem. ii. 2, 3. Όψιν ἤκεν, ὥστε πάν ἡσυχοί, πάτερ, ἐξεστὶ φωνεῖν, he has gone, so that we can say everything in quiet. Soph. O. C. 82. So Ph. 75, El. 1204. Οὔχ ἦκεν ὥσθ' οἱ Ἑλλήνες εφ ῥόντιζον. Id. An. ii 3, 25. Εἴς τούτ ἀπλησίας ἰθάν, ὥστ' οὐκ ἐξήρκεσέν αὐτοῖς ἐχεῖν τὴν κατὰ γῆν ἀρχήν, ἄλλα καὶ τὴν κατὰ θάλασσαν δύναμιν οὕτως ἐπεθύμησαν λαβεῖν, ὥστε τοὺς συμμάχους τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἀφιστασαν. Isoc. xii. 103. Ταῦτα τετοίηκα ἀκόντων Ἀθηναίων, ὥστ', εἴπερ εἰ φοροῦντε, τούτους μὲν ἐξήρκον ὑπολήψεσθε, ἐμοὶ δὲ πιστεύσετε. Dem. xvi. 40. Οὔτως ἐναργές ἐστι, ὥστ' εὗρίσκετε. Aesch. i. 128. Ὡστ' εάν τίτταρα μόνον πολεις πείσης, καί τὰς ἀλλὰ πολλὰς κακῶν ἀταλάξεις. Isoc. v. 31. (Examples like ὥστ' ... πιστεύσετε in Dem. xvi. 40 might be punctuated in this way.) So οὕτω ὥστε in Herodotus (see 593); as ἐς πάν κακοῦ ἀπίκατο, οὕτω ὥστε ἀνάστατοι ἐγίνοντο, vii. 118.

602. As ὥστε in this construction has no effect upon the mood of its verb, it may have any construction that would be allowed in an independent sentence. It may thus take a potential optative or indicative with ἀν, a prohibitory subjunctive, an imperative, or an interrogative. E.g.


603. Occasionally there is a change from the infinitive to a finite verb in a sentence after ὥστε, with a corresponding change in meaning; as in Thuc. iii. 21, ὥστε πάροδον μὴ εἶναι παρὰ τύργον, ἀλλὰ δὲ αὐτῶν μέσων διήγεσαν, i.e. the towers were built so as to allow no passage by a tower outside, but so that the men passed through the inside of them. (See 584.)

604. A few cases occur of a peculiar assimilation of a clause with ὥστε to a preceding optative in protasis, ὥστε having apparently the force of a conditional relative. E.g.

Εἰ τίς τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν σὴν οὕτω χρηστά γενήσεσθαι, ὥστε φίλειν αὐτὴν μᾶλλον ποιησεῖν ἔστω, ἡ σε, ἄρ' ἂν σε εὐφράναί, οὐδ' ἂν σε εὐφράναί; if one should court your wife so as to make her more fond of himself than of you, etc. Xen. Cyr. v. 5, 30 (two MSS. have τοιοῦτο). So v. 3, 47 (εἴσοιτο). Εἰ τίς χρήστο τῷ ἀργυρῷ ὥστε πριαμένοι οἶον ἑταίραν διὰ ταῦτην κάκιν
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μὲν τὸ σῶμα ἔχοι, κακίον δὲ τὴν ψυχήν, πῶς ἄν ἄφελμον εἴη; Id. Oec. i. 13. Καταγελαστότερον εἰ...γείς εἰς τοσούτον μικροφυχίας ἦλθομεν, ὡστε τὰ προστάγματα τούτων ὑπομείναμεν (so Cod. Urb.; other MSS. ὑπομείνα). Isoc. vi. 84.

605. A few cases occur of ὡστε with the optative in indirect discourse. E.g.

Ἐλογίζομον δὲ καὶ τὸ ἵππικον, ὡς τὸ μὲν ἀντίπαλον πολλά, τὸ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀλήγον εἴη, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ὅτι οἱ νεκροὶ ύπὸ τῷ πένθει ἐκείντο, ὡστε οὐδὲ κρείττοσον οὐδὲ βάδιον εἴη ἄνελέσθαι. XEN. Hell. iii. 5, 23. See also Isoc. xvii. 11.

606. As the regular negative of the infinitive after ὡστε is μή, so that of the indicative and potential optative is οὐ. In Dem. xix. 218 we have ὡστε μῆτε...μῆτε...μῆθε... ἀλλὰ καὶ... ἐκα τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποίησας ὅτι ἄγαπητός, where the force of a preceding εἴ seems really to govern the verb, that of ὡστε being wasted in the eight lines which separate the verb from it. In Dem. liv. 15, μηδ' ὅτιον ἔσται can be taken with εἴ. In Soph. Tr. 575, ἔσται τοῦτο κηρητήριον, ὡστε μῆτιν εἰςιδών στέρξει γυναίκα κείνος ἀντὶ σοῦ πλέον, i.e. a charm to prevent him from loving more than you any other woman whom he may see, ὡστε μὴ seems to have a final sense with the future, like a final relative. Compare ὡστε μὴ with the infinitive in Plat. Gorg. 479 C (quoted in 587, 3).

"Ωστε WITH THE PARTICIPLE.

607. (a) As a clause with ὡστε depending on an infinitive in indirect discourse is generally assimilated to that infinitive, so one depending on a participle in indirect discourse may be assimilated to the participle. E.g.

Οὐδ' οὔτως ἀγνώμονα οὐδ' ἀτόπον οὔδένα (sc. ὑπό οντά) ὡστε, εἰ μὴ ποιήσοντος ἀπαντε ὅτα ἄν αὐτός, οὐ φάσκοντα ποιήσειν οὔδει αὐτόν, nor do I see that any one is so unwise or absurd, that, if all will not do whatever he does, he too refuses to do anything (i.e. οὐδέις οὔτως ἀγνώμων ἔστιν ὡστέ οὐ φάσκει). Dem. x. 40. 

Τὰ δὲ πράγματα (ὁρῷ) εἰς τοῦτο προήκοντα, ὡστε ὅποιος μὴ πεισόμεθα αὐτῷ πρότερον κακῶς σκέψομαι δέον, but I see things have come to this, that we must ὡστε (ὅτι) consider how we may not ourselves suffer harm first. Id. iii. 1.

1. Ἐπιδεῖξε Ἀστύφιλον οὔτω σφόδρα μισεῖν, ὡστε πολύ ἂν θάττων διαθέμενον μηδένα ποτὲ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ οἰκείων διαλεξῆσθαι ἡλέφθηναι Κλέωνι, μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν τότε κεῖνον ποιησάμενον, I will show that Astypilus so hates him, that he would much sooner have ordered in his will that no one of his relatives should ever speak to Cleon, than have adopted his son as his own (πολύ ἂν θάττων διαθέτο). Isae. ix. 16. Other examples are [Dem.] Erot. 3; Isoc. iv. 64; Plat. Rep. 519 A.

(b) In two cases there is a like assimilation to a participle not in indirect discourse:—
RELATIVE AND TEMPORAL SENTENCES

Τῶν θεατῶν συμφιλονεικούντων ἐκείνης καὶ μηκοῦτων τούτων, οὕτω τῶν χορῶν τῶν μὲν ἐπαινούντων, τοῦ δ' ἀκροάσασθαι οὐκ ἐθελοῦντων. AND. iv. 20. Συγγιγομεν ἔχειν εἰ, προελθούσω εἰς τούτο ὡστε ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ δούλων ὑβρισθείς, οὐ δύναμαι κατα-σχεῖν, κ.τ.λ. DEM. xlv. 83.

The last examples seem to show that clauses with ὡστε can be assimilated to a preceding participle as we have seen them assimilated to an optative (604). Compare with this construction Isoc. iv. 21, οὐδέστε γάρ ἂν ἐπέραν πόλιν ἐπιδείξει τοσοῦτον ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ κατά γην ὑπερέχοσαν, ὅσον τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις τοῖς κατὰ θάλατταν διαφέρουσαν.

'ΩΣ USED LIKE ὡστε.

608. In their original use ὡς and ὁπ τε are related precisely as ὡς and ὁπ τε in Homer. But in consecutive sentences ὡστε gradually gained almost exclusive control, so that ὡς here became very rare. ὡς occurs chiefly in Aeschylus, Sophocles, Herodotus, and Xenophon, where it is used in the same constructions and in the same sense as ὡστε. E.g.

(WITH INFIN.) "Ἡκουσίν ἐκφυγόντες. ὡς στένειν πόλιν Περσῶν. Aesch. Pers. 510. Πεπωκὼς γ', ὡς βρασύνεσθαι μάλλον, βρότειον αἷμα, κάμος ἐν δόμοις μένει, having drunk of mortals' blood so as to be more emboldened, a band of revellers abides in the house. Id. Ag. 1188. So Pers. 437, Ag. 546, Eum. 36, 427, 799, 895. Σύμμετρος γάρ ὡς κλέειν, for he is just in time for us to hear. Soph. O. T. 84. οὐδὲν ἦν ἢγη λόφον δικαίως εἶχον, ὡς στέργειν ἐμέ. Id. Ant. 292. So Tr. 1125. οὐκ ἐστο τούτῳ αὔριονεν ἀπικόμοιν ὡς δέξας ἔν τινι ἐμαυτοῦ δύναμεν περίσσεσθαι τῆς βασιλείας. Hdt. iii. 146. "Ὑψηλὸν δὲ οὐ τὸ δέ τι λέγεται, ὡς τὰς κορυφὰς αὐτοῦ οὐχ ἤδη τε εἶναι ἰδέας, διὸ καὶ λέγεται, and it (the mountain) is said to be so high, that it is not possible to see its summits. Id. iv. 184. ὁ θυραμὸς τοσοῦτος τὸ βάθος, ὡς μηδὲ τα δόρατα ὑπερέχειν τοῦ βάθους. Xen. An. iii. 5, 7. So ii. 3, 10. Φέροντα κόκωνα, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀρύσασθαι. Id. Cyg. i. 2, 8. ἐν τῷ ἁσφαλεί ἡδὴ ἐσομαί, ὡς μηδὲν ἄν ἐπὶ κακῶν παθεῖν. Ib. viii. 7, 27. See iv. 2, 8. οὕτω γάρ δοκούμεν παρακενάσθαι ὡς, ἐν μὲν ἀληθεύητε, ἰκανοὶ εἶναι ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ ποιεῖν· ἐν δὲ ἢς εἰσαπατήτε, οὕτω νομίζομεν ἐχεῖν ὡς οὐχ ἡμᾶς ἐφ' ὑμῶν ἐσεθθατεί, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς ἐφ' ἡμῶν γενήσεσθαι. Ib. iv. 2, 13. (In the last clauses we have ὡς in indirect discourse, like ὡστε in 594, the direct form being οὐχ ἡμεῖς ἐσομαίνθατε, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὑμεῖς γενήσεσθαι. Most Mss., however, have γενέσθαι."

(WITH INDIC.) Πρὸς τάδ' ὡς Σοῦσον μὲν ἄστυ πάν κενανάραν στένει. Aesch. Pers. 730. Οὕτως ἔχει γ' ἡ πίστις, ὡς τὸ μὲν δοκεῖν ἐνεστι, πείρα δ' οὐ προσωμιλήσα τι, so stands my confidence, that belief is in it, while I have had nothing to do yet with testing it. Soph.
CONSECUTIVE CLAUSES WITH ώ?, εφ' φ, εφ' φτε

Tr. 590. Ούτω δή τι κλεινή ἐγένετο ώς καὶ οἱ πάντες "Ελλήνες Ροδώπων τὸ οὐνόμα ἐξέμαθον, i.e. so that all the Greeks came to know well the name of Rhodopes. Hdt. ii. 135. Τούτω προσφελέει οὔτω δή τι ἐγένοντο ώς σφέας ἐκέλευ ς τῆς εαυτοῦ χώρης οἰκήσας. Hdt. i. 163. So iii. 130. Οὔτω μοι προθύμως ἐβοήθησας ώς νῦν τὸ μὲν ἐπί ἐμοὶ οἶχομαι, τὸ δ’ ἐπί σοι σέσωμαι. Xen. Cyr. v. 4, 11. Τοσοῦτο πλεονεκτήσει ώς πεινῆσας τῶν ἡδίστων σιτιῶν τεῦξεταί. Ib. vii. 5, 81. So Hell. iv. 4, 16.

609. Besides the authors above mentioned, Euripides has one example of ώς with the infinitive like ὄστε, CycL 647; Thucydides one, vii. 34; and Plato one, Rep. 365 D. We have ώς with the indicative in PLAT. Men. 71 A; and with the participle in Xen. Cyr. vii. 5, 46, and PLAT. Tim. 56 C (ῶς here having both the participle and the infinitive).

For ώς with the infinitive after the comparative and ἦ, see 764.

Εφ’ φ and εφ’ φτε WITH THE INFINITIVE AND THE FUTURE INDICATIVE.

610. 1. 'Εφ’ φ and εφ’ φτε, on condition that, for the purpose of, take the infinitive, like ὄστε in some of its senses. E.g.

'Εκεῖν ὅτι σπείρασθαι βούλοντο, εφ’ φ μήτε αὐτὸς τοὺς "Ελλήνες ἀδικεῖν μήτε ἐκεῖνος καίειν τᾶς οἰκίας, λαμβάνειν τῇ τάπτήσει δοῦν δέοντο. Xen. An. iv. 4, 6. Πῶς ἄν οὗτος θέλοι τὰ ἀλλότρια ἀποστερεῖν εφ’ φ Κακόδοξος εἶναι; Id. Ag. iv. 1. 'Αφείμεν σε, ἐπ’ τούτῳ μέντοι, εφ’ φτε μηκέτι φιλοσοφεῖν, on condition that you will no longer be a philosopher. PLAT. Ap. 29 C. Λαμβάνετε εφ’ φτε ξυγγάφαι νόμον, καθ’ οὕτως πολιτεύοντο, for the purpose of compiling laws. Xen. Hell. ii. 3, 11. (For πολιτεύοντο, see 574.) Διωμολογήθη αὐτῷ ἀποστερῆσθαι Ἀθηναία τοῦ ἐναντίῳ ἐκάστῳ μνᾶς εἰκοσί, εφ’ φτε βοηθήσειν τοῖς Ἀμφισσαῖοι. Aeschin. iii. 114. (For the future infinitive, see 113.)

2. Herodotus and Thucydides sometimes have ἐφ’ φ or εφ’ φτε, on condition that, with the future indicative. E.g.

'Επὶ τούτῳ δὲ ὑπεξισταμαι τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐφ’ φτε ὑπ’ οὗδεινος ἤμεν ἀρξόμαι, I withdraw upon this condition, that I shall be ruled by none of you. Hdt. iii. 83. Τούτου δ’ ἰδον πάντως ἐών κατήγαγε, ἐφ’ φτε οἱ αὐτόν τοὺς ἱροφαίται τῶν θεῶν ἔσονται. Id. vii. 153. Καὶ τὴν Βουσιάν ἐξέλιπαν Ἀθηναίοι πᾶσαν, σπονδάς ποιησάμενοι ἐφ’ φ τοὺς ἄνδρας κομιούνται. Thuc. i. 113. Εὐνισθήσαν ἐφ’ φτε ἐξισαί, ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ὑπόστολοι καὶ μηδέποτε ἐπιβιβάζονται αὐτής, they made an agreement with the condition that they should depart from Peloponnesus under truce, and never again set foot in it. Id. i. 103.
Temporal Particles signifying Until and Before.

A. "Εως, ὥστε, ἴσος ὀρ εἰς ἄσοκε, ἐπετε, ἄχρη, μέχρη, UNTIL.

611. All of these words are used also in the sense of while, so long as, and have the constructions of ordinary relative clauses (514). In common with dum, donec, and quoad in Latin, and while or whiles in Elizabethan English, they mean not only during the time when, but also up to the time when. As relatives, in the former sense they can have an antecedent like τέως, so long, ἴως etc. meaning as; in the latter sense they can have one like μέχρη τοῦτον, down to that time, ἴως etc. supplementing this by at which or when. The idea of a clause with until is that the action (or negation) of the leading clause continues to a time at which that of the dependent clause takes place. That the former action then ceases is an inference generally made, but not positively implied in the language, and not necessary. Our word until thus includes what the Greek may express by μέχρη τοῦτον ἴως or (omitting the antecedent) by ἴως alone.

612. A clause with until referring to an actual past occurrence (613) is simply a temporal clause of this peculiar character, with the construction of a relative clause with a definite antecedent (519). But when it refers to the future, it becomes a conditional relative clause, and μαχοίμαι ἴως ἃν τὴν πόλιν ἐλω, I shall (continue to) fight to the time at which I shall take the city, has the conditional force which comes from the indefinite antecedent; for even if μέχρη τοῦτον were inserted here, it would denote no definite period, but only one limited or conditioned by the future capture of the city. The actual apodosis to the condition is not μαχοίμαι alone, but rather the whole implied idea, I shall go on fighting to the future time, the limit of which is set by ἴως ἃν ἐλω. It has been seen (486 ; 490) that ordinary conditional clauses may condition not their expressed leading clause, but one which the context implies; as ξυμμαχίαν ποιούμεν, ἤν τις ἐφ ἡμᾶς ἔρ, we are making an alliance, (to be ready) in case any one shall attack us. Again, a conditional clause may refer to an object which is aimed at in the action of the leading verb; as Πάτροκλον ἐφετε ὑπονοῦς, εἰ κέν μιν ἔλης, turn your horses on P., if haply you may take him, i.e. that you may take him, if haply you may (487, 1). In like manner a conditional relative clause with until is

1 In Homer, where the form ἵως would seldom suit the verse, ἴως or ἑως is commonly written.
2 "He shall conceal it whiles (= until) you are willing it shall come to note." Shakespeare, Twelfth Night, iv. 3. See Abbott's Shakespearian Grammar, p. 93.
very apt to refer to an object aimed at, and thus to become at once final, relative, and conditional: thus in II. iii. 291 (see 613, 3), it is distinctly implied that the end of the war (τέλος πολέμου) is a condition which is to limit the time of fighting, and also an object at which the fighting aims. The same is true in general of the other forms of conditional relative sentence which the clause with until may take. It will be seen (614, 2) that in the Odyssey ἕως develops a peculiar force in this direction, which makes it almost a final particle.

613. ("Εως"). 1. When ἕως, until, refers to a definite past action, it takes the indicative, usually the aorist. E.g.


In the last two examples πρότερον and μέχρι τούτου are antecedents of ἕως, until, as τέως often corresponds to ἕως, while.

2. When a clause with ἕως, until, refers to a result which was not attained in past time in consequence of the non-fulfilment of a condition, it takes a past tense of the indicative, like a conditional relative clause in a similar case (528). E.g.

Ἡδέως ἂν τοῦτο ἐτι διελεγόμην, ἕως αὐτῶ τῆς τοῦ Ἀμφίανος ἀπέδωκα ῥησον ἀντὶ τῆς τοῦ Ζήθου, I should gladly have continued to talk with him, until I had paid him back Amphion's speech in return for Zethus's. Plat. Gorg. 506 B. Οὐκ ἂν ἔπαινομ, ἕως ἀπεπειράθην τῆς σοφίας ταυτησ. Id. Crat. 396 C. Ἐπισκοῦν ἂν, ἕως οἱ πλείστῳ τῶν εἰσθόντων γνώμην ἀπεφήναντο, . . . ἰησοῦν ἂν ἦγον, i.e. I should have waited until most of the regular speakers had declared their opinion, etc. Dem. iv. 1. (For ἂν here, see 223.) So Ar. Pac. 71. In Lys. xxii. 12 we have ἕως ἐπέλισεν ἀπὸ τῆς φαίνοντος.

The leading verb must be an indicative with ἂν, or some other form implying the non-fulfilment of a condition. (See 559.)

3. When a clause with ἕως refers to the future, and depends on a verb of future time (not an optative), ἕως has ἂν or κέ and the subjunctive, like a conditional relative clause (529). E.g.
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Μαχήσομαι αύθι μίνων, εἴως κε τέλος πολέμου κιχείω, I shall remain here and fight, until I (shall) find an end of the war. Il. iii. 291. 

Μέχρι γὰρ τούτου νομίζω χρὴναι κατηγορεῖν, ἓως ἂν θεαίαν δοξὴ τῷ φέευγοντι δέξα εἰργάσθαι, for so far do I think I ought to proceed in my accusation, until it shall appear that deeds deserving have been done by the defendant. Lys. xii. 37. 

The present subjunctive is rare; but when it is needed, it is unobjectionable: see Thuc. i. 90 (quoted in 614, 1).

4. When a clause with ἓως refers to the future and depends on an optative with ἀν, it generally has the optative (without ἀν) by assimilation, like a conditional relative clause (531). E.g.

Εἴ δὲ πάνω σπονδάζοι φαγείν, εἴποιμ ἂν ὅτι παρὰ ταῖς γυναικῶν ἔστιν, ἓως παρατείνῃ τίτον, but if he should be very eager to eat, I should tell him that his dinner is with the women, until I put him to torture. Xen. Cyr. i. 3, 11. 

The optative with ἓως is most common after past tenses, in the construction of 614. 

5. When the clause introduced by ἓως, until, depends upon a verb denoting a customary or repeated action or a general truth, and refers in a general way to any act or acts of a given class, it takes ἀν and the subjunctive after primary tenses, and the simple optative after secondary tenses. (See 532.) E.g.

'Α δ’ ἂν ἀσύντακτα γ’ ἄναγκη ταῦτα αἰτί πράγματα παρέχειν, ἓως ἂν χώραν λαβῇ, they must always make trouble until they are put in order. Xen. Cyr. iv. 5, 37. 

The optative with ἓως is most common after past tenses, in the construction of 614.
CLAUSES WITH ἕως, etc., until

614. (Final use of ἕως.) 1. It will be seen by the examples under 613 (see the first under 3 and the first three under 4) that the clause with ἕως very often implies a purpose, the attainment of which is aimed at or expected. When such a clause, implying a purpose which would originally be expressed by a subjunctive, depends on a past tense, it generally takes the optative; but the subjunctive also may be used, to retain the mood in which the purpose would be originally conceived, as in final clauses (318). E.g.

Οὐδ’ ἐτλίπόσιος ἑψωσθαι μέγα δῶμα διαμπερίς, εἰος ἰκοίτο, nor did she dare to guard her husband’s great house constantly until he should come. Od. xxiii. 150. Ἡσυχάζα τῇ στρατῷ, ἕως τοῖς Ἀμπραικώιαῖς δέοι βοήθειν, he kept quiet until it should be necessary to help the Ambriacians. Thuc. iii. 102. (The present optative is rare.) So Lys. xiii. 25. Σπουδές ἑποίησαντο, ἕως ἀπαγγελθείη τὰ λεγόντα εἰς Δακεδαίμονα, they made a truce, (to continue) until what had been said should be announced at Sparta. Xen. Hell. iii. 2, 20. (Here ἕως ἁν ἀπαγγελθῇ might have been used, as in the following examples.) Ἐως δ’ ἁν ταῦτα διαπράξωται, φυλακὴν καὶ μυσθὸν τοῖς φρούροις εἰς μηνοῦν κατέλιπε. Ib. ν. 3, 25. Ἀλλ᾽ ἐπισχεῖν (τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐκέλευεν) μέχρι τοσοῦτον, ἕως ἁν το τείχος ικανὸ  ν αἴρωσιν ώστε ἀπομάχεσθαι, but he bade them detain the ambassadors until they (the Athenians) should be getting their wall high enough to defend. Thuc. i. 90. (Most editors emend αἰρώσιν to the aorist ἀρώσιν, which with ἕως would mean until they should get the wall high enough, the former being less definite and exact in its time, and therefore more appropriate here.)

For the intermediate form of ἕως ἁν with the optative in such sentences, see Soph. Tr. 687, and Isoc. xvii. 15 (in 702).

2. In five passages in the Odyssey ἕως with the optative after a past tense has an unusually strong final force, so that it appears almost like a final particle.

Πέρπε δὲ μιν πρὸς δῶματ’ Ὀδυσσήος, εἰος Πηνελόπειαν ὀδυρομένην γούσαν παύσει κλαυθμοῖο, she sent her to the house of Ulysses, (to the end) that she might cause Penelope to cease her lamenting. iv. 799. Ὑπὲρ δ’ ἐπὶ κρατινὸν Βορέην πρὸ δὲ κύματ’ ἐξεν, ἐως. δ’ γε Φαεχέσσι φιληρέμουσι μιγείη, and she roused swift Boreas and broke the waves before him, that Ulysses might come to the oar-loving Phaeacians. ν. 385. Μοχλὸν ὑπὸ σποδοῦ ἱλασα πολλῆς, εἰος χερσαίοις, I pushed the club under the deep ashes, that it might be heated (to remain until it should be heated). ix. 375. So δῶκεν ἐλαιον, εἰος χυτλώσαιτο, vi. 79; and άρώμενος εἰος ἰκοίτο, xix. 367.

In none of these cases will until express the final force of the clause with ἕως. It appears as if ἕως here began the same course by
which ὀφρα, ὡς, and ὅπως became final particles (312-314), but did not complete the change.

615. (Ὅφρα.) In epic poetry ὀφρα, until, is used like ἡως.

E.g.

Ὡς μὲν Ὑπῆκας ἀνδρας ἔπεμψεν Τυδέος νῖος, ὀφρα διώδέκ' ἐπεβείν, until he had slain twelve. II. x. 488. Ἡρ' ἕμεν, ὀφρ' ἄφικοντο κάτα στρατόν, ἡ μον ἄνωγε. II. xiii. 329. Ἡνει, ὀφρα μέγα σπέος ἵκετο. Od. v. 57. (See 613, 1.)

Ἀλλὰ μὲν', ὀφρα κέ τοι μελιδέα οἶνον ἐνέκω, but wait, until I shall bring you honey-sweet wine. II. vi. 258. Τόφρα δ' ἐπὶ Τρώωσι τίθει κράτος, ὀφρ' ἀν Ἀχαιοὶ νῖον ἐμὸν τίσωσιν, ὀφέλλωσιν τε ἐ τιμή. II. i. 509. So II. xv. 232. (See 613, 3.)

Νωλεμέως δ' ἐχύμην, ὀφρ' ἐξεμέσειεν ὀπίσω ἀπὸν καὶ τρόπων αὕτως, I clung steadfastly, until she (Charybdis) should vomit forth again the mast and keel. Od. xii. 437. (See 614, 1.)

616. (Εἰς ὃ κ' and ἐς ὃ.) Homer uses εἰς ὃ κ', or εἰσόκε, until, like ἡως κ', with the subjunctive, and once with the optative. Herodotus uses ἐς ὃ and ἐς ο', until, like ἡως, with the indicative, and ἐς ὃ ἀν with the subjunctive. E.g.

Μέμνετε εἰς ὃ κατά τέρα τάξιν αἵμαρχον ζείλωμεν, wait until we capture Priam's great city. II. ii. 331. Ὑψι δ' ἐπεν ἐννόων ορμίσσομεν, εἰς δ' κεν ἐπί θηρίων ἀμβρότητι, and we will moor them far out by stones, until divine night shall come. II. xiv. 77. In II. xv. 70 we have εἰς ὃ κ' Ἀχαιοΐ Ἰλιον ἔλοιεν, depending on an optative with ἀν (613, 4; 542).

Ὅτος δὲ ἀνηκόστετε τε καὶ λόγον εἰς οὐδένα, ἐς ταύτα ἐπὶ τὴν δίκην, but he disobeyed and paid no attention to me, until he got his punishment. ΗΗΡ. i. 115. Ὁ Δηῖκης ἦν πολλὸς αἰνέμον, εἰς τοῦτον καταίσχυνες βασιλεά σφίσι εἰναι. Id. i. 98. So i. 158, 202; v. 92; vi. 75. Ἀπείχον τής ἐξεφεύροσον οὐδὲν ἠλάσθον, ἐς οὐ δὴ Δίχης ἄνεφη. Id. i. 67. (Many editors change ἐς οὐ to ἐς ὃ.) In i. 143, ἐως οὐ ἀπείθεν αὐτάς, until they had shown them all, ἐς οὐ of the Mss. is generally emended to ἐς δ'. Ἀλλ' αὕτα ἐγὼ τῷ Ἑλλην χείρι φυλάξω, ἐς ἀν αὕτος ἐλθὼν ἐκείνοις ἀπαγαγόθαί τε ταξίθη, ἦν εἰς ὁλόκληρη τήν παρούσαν ἄνθρωπον ἐλάσατο ἀπάσας αὐτάς, I shall keep them until he comes himself and wishes to take them away. Id. ii. 115.

A singular case of ἐς ὃ occurs in THUC. v. 66, ἐς οἱ ἐμένητο, as far back as they remembered (Schol. μετά τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων μνήμην).

617. (Ἐστε.) "Εστε, until, is not found in Homer, but is used like ἡως in tragedy, in Attic prose (especially in Xenophon), and in Herodotus. E.g.

Χρόνον ταῦτα ἦν τοσοῦτον, ἐστ' ἐν αἰðημέρῳ μέσῳ κατέστη τὴ λαμπρὸς ἁλῶν κύκλος καὶ καίμε, ἐθαλάπη. SOPH. ANT. 415; so EL. 753; AESCH. Prom. 457. Συνεινευμένες ἀπώντες, ἐστε ἐπὶ ταῖς σκηναῖς ἐγένοντο, they marched away without stopping, until they came to the tents. ΧΕΝ. CYP. VII. 5, 6; so AN. III. 4, 49.

Τὴν παρούσαν ἀντιλήψεω ὑφι, ἐστ' ἀν Δίος φρόνημα λαφήσεω
CLAUSES WITH έως, ETC., until

χόλου. Aeschin. Prom. 375; so 697. "Αφδογγον εἶναι τὸν παλαμναίον νόμος, έστ' ἂν σφαγί καθαμάξωσι, it is the law that the murderer shall be speechless until streams of blood have been poured upon him. Id. Eum. 448. Αὐτῷ τῷ μεινόμεν έστ' ἂν καὶ τελευτήσωμεν. Hdt. vii. 141. Περιμένετε έστ' ἂν έγώ έλθω. Xen. An. v. 1, 4.

'Επιμείνει κελεύσαντες έστ' θυσίας έλθον, έθίντω, bidding them wait until they had consulted, they made sacrifice. Id. An. v. 5, 2. (Έστ' ἂν θυσίας έτυχήθη might have been retained from the direct form, as in the next example.) Α'πεκρίνατο φυλάτταντας αὐτὰ, έστ' ἂν αὐτός ἔλθην λάβη τὰ δόρα, until he should come and take the gifts. Id. Hall. iii. 1, 15. So An. vii. 1, 33; Hdt. viii. 4.

'Οπότε ἡροί ἀρίστουν, ἀνέμενεν αὐτὸς έστε ἐμφάγοιν τι, ὡς μὴ θυσίας, he always waited until they had eaten something. Xen. Cyt. viii. 1, 44.

618. ("Αχρί and μέχρι.) "Αχρί and μέχρι, until, are used like έως, but chiefly in prose and in later Greek. E.g.

Καὶ ταύτα ἐποίοις μέχρι σκότος έγένετο, until darkness came on. Xen. An. iv. 2, 4; so iii. 4, 8. Εἰστήκει μέχρι ἐως έγένετο. Plat. Symp. 220 D.

Μέχρι δ' ἂν ἐνίσχυ τὴν κατασκευήν, but until έως, let the true remain. Xen. An. ii. 3, 24; so i. 4, 13. Εἰπε τοὺς προφύλαξις κελεύειν τοὺς κήρυκας περιμένειν ἀχρί ένα σχολάσῃ, to wait until he should find leisure. Ib. ii. 3, 2. Μέχρι δὲ τούτῳ ἐκεῖνον, μενέομεν παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς, but until we see this, we shall remain by ourselves Hdt. iv. 119 (for the omission of έν έως 620). Herodotus prefers the form with ο_ui (619).

"Αχρί is much less common in this sense than μέχρι. The forms ἀχρίς and μέχρις are not used by the best writers.

619. ("Αχρί and μέχρι.) "Αχρί and μέχρι, until, are used like έως, but chiefly in prose and in later Greek. E.g.

Των δὲ ταύτα προσάτων, ἀχρί δὲ δέλγος ἐγράφη, to wait until he should be taught. Xer. i. 37. So Cyt. v. 4, 16; Thuc. v. 26; Hdt. i. 187, vii. 60. Τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἀπελυσάτω δουλείας, ἀπό τούτων ἀνέλιαί. Ib. i. 3, 2. Μέχρι δὲ τούτῳ ἐκεῖνον, μενέομεν παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς, but until we see this, we shall remain by ourselves Hdt. iv. 119 (for the omission of έν έως 620). Herodotus prefers the form with ο_ui (619).

Παραδίδωμι ἐντελεύσαντα πολέμου κατασκευήν, έως έγένετο, to watch him until he dies. Hdt. i. 117 (see 614). Κατατίθεται ἐς Ἑλλήνας μέχρι δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τι δόξης, until the Athenians shall pass some vote about them (see 620). Thuc. iii. 28.

620. (Omission of έως.) "Αν is sometimes omitted after έως and the other particles meaning until (including πρίν), when they take the subjunctive. This is most frequent in tragic poetry, but it occurs sometimes with έν έως in Herodotus, and with μέχρι and μέχρι (or ἀχρί) o_ui in Herodotus and Thucydides. E.g.

"Εν τῶι θεάων καὶ τῷ λυπεθαίμαθε. Soph. Aj. 555. 'Αρήγει ἂν τῇ ἐγώ μεληθῇ. Ib. 1183. So O. C. 77, Tr. 145, Ph. 764. 'Εν ο_ui ἀποδέχονται η ἐν τῇ παρευρῆσθη τι ἀδικον, μέχρι τούτου. Hdt. iii. 31. Μηδένα ἐκβίαι μέχρι τού άνθρωπος γένηται, that nobody should leave the ship
before she sailed. Thuc. i. 137. Αὖτον ἐς φυλακῇν δικσόμασιν, μέχρι οὗ Ἀθηναίες πεμφθόμεν. Id. iv. 46; see iv. 16 and 41, and iii. 28 (quoted in 619). See also μέχρι δὲ τούτῳ ἓώμεν, Hdt. iv. 119, and ἄχρι δὲ τελεσθήσῃ, Id. i. 117.

The only case in Homer of this omission of κέ or ἄν is the doubtful one, ἔχει κότον ὁφρα τελέσσῃ, II. i. 82, where ὁφρα may perhaps be final. (See 468.)

For πριν without ἄν with the subjunctive, even in Attic prose, see 648.

B. Πριν, BEFORE, UNTIL.¹

Meaning and General Use of πριν.

621. Πριν was originally a comparative adverb (=πρότερον and πάρος), formed from πρό and meaning before. It appears in the usual adverbial relations; as πριν μοι ἤπειριτο, he once promised me; πριν ἄν, having of old; ἐν τῷ πριν χρόνῳ, in the former time; and it once takes the genitive like a preposition in Pind. Py. iv. 43, πριν ἀρας, before its time. With the infinitive it originally expressed a simple temporal relation, πριν ἐλθεῖν being the equivalent of the latter πρὸ τοῦ ἐλθεῖν, before going. With the finite moods πριν always expresses a limit of time and means until, like ἔως, having become a conjunction, not losing, however, its original meaning of before. From this original comparative meaning, πριν has a negative force, implying that something does or does not happen before (i.e. in the absence of) another event; so that οὔπω or μήπω with a temporal participle may generally be substituted for πριν and the infinitive. Thus, in ναὶ δὲ Πηδαίων πριν ἐλθεῖν ὑίας Ἀχαίων, II. xiii. 172, for πριν ἐλθεῖν, before they came, we could substitute οὔπω ἐλθόντων, etc. So πριν ἄν with the subjunctive is often interchangeable with ἵνα μή, and always implies it; thus μὴ ἀπέλθης πριν ἄν ἀκούσῃς, do not depart until you hear, implies ἵνα μὴ ἀκούσῃς, without hearing. One result of this negative character of πριν is its strong affinity for the aorist, the tense which denotes simple occurrence. (See Am. Jour. Phil. ii. pp. 466 ff.)

622. In Homeric Greek πριν generally takes the primitive construction with the infinitive without regard to the nature of the leading verb. In lyric poetry, Herodotus, and Attic Greek, πριν takes the infinitive chiefly when the leading clause is affirmative; otherwise, it takes one of the finite moods, like ἔως, having the sense of until. But, while the indicative may sometimes follow πριν, meaning until, when the leading clause is affirmative, the

¹ Geschichtliche Entwickelung der Constructionen mit Πριν, von Josef Sturm: Heft 3 of Schanz's Beiträge.
subjunctive and optative are never used unless the leading clause is negative or involves a negative idea.

Development of the Constructions with πρίν.

623. The Attic uses of πρίν with the indicative, subjunctive, and optative, are seen in a primitive stage of development in Homer. The construction of πρίν itself with the indicative was yet unknown; but four cases of πρίν γ' ὅτε with the indicative show a tendency in this direction. Six cases of πρίν (without ἄν or κέ) with the subjunctive and one with the optative (in indirect discourse) mark the beginning of the later usage with these moods. On the other hand, 81 cases of πρίν with the infinitive show the prevailing Homeric construction. Here, as in all periods of the language, when πρίν takes the infinitive, we have simply a statement of fact, that one thing precedes another; in ναὶ δὲ Πήδαυν πρίν ἔλθειν νῆας Ἀχαιῶν, and he dwelt in Pedaeum before the coming of the sons of the Greeks, πρίν ἔλθειν implies no more than πρὸ ἀφίξας or the later πρὸ τοῦ ἔλθειν. Any further idea that may be implied comes from the context, and is not found in the words. This use of πρίν has little analogy in Greek syntax, its nearest parallel being the later use of ὥστε or ὡς with the infinitive. The simplest theory, which best suits the Homeric usage, seems to be that πρίν has a "quasi-prepositional" relation to the infinitive, which is a verbal noun, a relation the same in effect as that of πρὸ in πρὸ τοῦ ἔλθειν in the later Attic construction. (See Xen. Mem. ii. 6, 6, and Dem. xix. 73.) A similar use of αντί with the infinitive in a few cases in Herodotus (see 803) shows a tendency to go further in the same direction.

624. The Homeric language was generally contented with the simple πρίν and the infinitive, even when it was implied that the clause with πρίν set a limit to the action (or negation) of the leading clause, i.e. when πρίν could be expressed by until. So in II. xxi. 100, πρίν Πάτροκλον ἐπιστείναι αὐτίμου ἦμαρ, τὸφα τί μοι πεφιώσθαι φίλτερον ἦν Τρώων, i.e. until the death of Patroclus I preferred to spare the Trojans (which he will no longer do); and xix. 312, οὔδε τι θυμό τέρπετο πρίν πολέμου στόμα δύμαναι, i.e. he felt no pleasure until he entered the battle; in both cases the Attic Greek might have used πρίν with the indicative. So also when the clause with πρίν is future and conditional; as in II. xix. 423, οὐ λάξω πρίν Τρώας ἄδην ἔλάσαι πολέμων, I will not stop until I have given the Trojans enough of war. It was in cases like the last, where the mere temporal πρίν ἔλάσαι expresses the future condition very imperfectly, that the need of a more exact form was
first felt. The need existed only after negative sentences, as here only could such a future condition be expressed by πρὶν consistently with its original meaning before. I shall not cease fighting until (before) I see the end of the war contains a future condition (= ἵνα µῆ), which πρὶν can properly express; but the equivalent affirmative, I shall go on fighting until I see the end of the war, could not be expressed by πρὶν, as we cannot substitute before for until, but it would require ἐώς, which is until with no sense of before. The forms of parataxis suggested a simple and natural way of meeting this want, through the adverbial use of πρὶν. In a sentence like οὐδὲ µὲν ἀνοστήσεις πρὶν καὶ κακὸν ἄλλο πάθεσθα, nor will you recall him to life:—sooner than this will you suffer some new affliction, II. xxiv. 551, we have only to remove the colon and make πρὶν a conjunction to obtain the regular construction of πρὶν with the subjunctive, nor will you recall him to life before (until) you suffer some new affliction. This result could not have been attained with an affirmative leading clause; for while οὐ τοῦτο ποιήσω πρὶν µὲ κελεύσῃ, I shall not do this:—you shall command me first, gives the meaning I shall not do this before you command me, the paratactic affirmative, τοῦτο ποιήσω πρὶν µὲ κελεύσῃ, would give only you will command me before I do this. I shall do this before you command me would be τοῦτο ποιήσω πρὶν σε κελεύσαι, which is not the result of any form of parataxis. The six cases of πρὶν with the subjunctive in Homer are all without ἄν or κε, and all follow negatives. The primitive character and the rarity of this construction seem to show that we are nearer the original parataxis here than in any other form; while the change of the subjunctive to the optative after a past tense in II. xxi. 580 (see 639) shows that the dependence of the clause with πρὶν is thoroughly established (cf. 307). An attempt to arrive at the same result in a more awkward way appears in two cases of πρὶν γὲ ἄν with the subjunctive in the Odyssey (641), where πρὶν introduces the subjunctive with ἄν very much as it introduces the infinitive.

625. No case of πρὶν with the indicative occurs in Homer; but the want was supplied by πρὶν γὲ ἄν with the indicative, which resembles πρὶν γὲ ἄν with the subjunctive just mentioned. As this construction is not the result of parataxis, and there is no such obstacle to combining the ideas of until and before in statements of past fact after affirmative clauses as was felt in future conditions (624), we find πρὶν γὲ ἄν with the indicative after both affirmative and negative sentences (see the examples in 636). It thus appears that πρὶν was not sufficiently established as a conjunction in Homer to take the indicative without the
intervention of ὅτε, although πρὶν with the subjunctive had become a fixed construction.

The history of the uses of πρὶν after Homer will be found below. (See 627; 632-634; 637; 642; 643; 645.)

Πρὶν WITH THE INFINITIVE.

626. (In Homer.) In Homer the infinitive regularly follows πρὶν after both affirmative and negative sentences, often where the Attic Greek would have the finite moods. E.g.

Ναὶ δὲ Πῆδαιον πρὶν ἠλθείν νιᾶς Ἀχαϊῶν. II. xiii. 172. Τοῦ δ᾿ ἐφθη ὑπὲρμένος πρὶν οὔτάσαι, οὐδ᾿ ἀφάμαρτεν. II. xvi. 322.

Πρὶν δὲ πρὶν περ πρόμος ἐλάβης ὑπὲρμα γυνιά, πρὶν πάλειμον τ᾿ ἰδέειν παλμόμεν τε μέρεμερα ἔργα, before they saw the war, etc. II. viii. 452. (See 657.)

627. (After Homer.) The lyric poets, Herodotus, and the Attic writers use the infinitive after πρὶν chiefly when the leading sentence is affirmative. But the infinitive is always required when πρὶν means simply before, not until. E.g.

Πρὶν ἐκτελέσαι κατέβη δόμον Ἀιδος. THEOG. 917. "Ισταμαῖ ἀμπνέου πρὶν τι φάμεν, I stand taking breath before I speak. PIND. Nem. viii. 19; so Py. ix. 113. Πρὶν δὲ παρεῖναι ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, ὅπως καρπός ἐκ τοῦ προβοηθήσαι ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ, before he comes into Attica, etc. Hdt. viii. 144. Πρὶν νῦν τὰ πλεῖον ἵστος πείρα, before seeking further, etc. SOPH. O. C. 36. Πρὶν ἔσοδον οὖν αὐτὸν πρὶν ἀκαοῦσαι. THUC. ii. 12. So ii. 13, πρὶν ἔσοδον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικῇ. Ἀφίασιν τὰ βῆλη πολὺ πρὶν ἔσοδον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικῇ. ΧΕΙ. Cyp. iii. 3, 60. Ἡμεῖς τῶν Μεσοήνην ὕλομεν πρὶν Πέρσας.
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λαβείν τήν βασιλείαν καὶ κρατήσαι τῆς ἱπείρον, καὶ πρὶν οἷς
σθήναι τινας τῶν πόλεων τῶν Ἑλληνίδων. Isoc. vi. 26. Καὶ πρὶν εξ
μήνας γεγονέναι, ἀπέδωκε. PLAT. Prot. 320 A. 'Ἀπωλόμεσθ' ἄρ',
eἰ κακὸν προσώπωμεν νέον παλαιῶς, πρὶν τόθ' ἔξηντε ληκέναι, we are
turned, then, if we shall add a new calamity to the former one, before we
shall have exhausted this (109). EUR. Med. 78.

In the following cases the infinitive is necessary, even after negatives.
Πρὶν οὖς Ἀφροδίτην ἐλθεῖν μίαν ἠμέραν οὐκ ἔχρησαν, she was not a
widow a single day before she went to Aphrodite (where until would be
absurd). DEM. xxx. 33. Οὔτε γὰρ πρὶν ἡ τῆς θόνων τὴν δίκην ἔχεν
ἀν δικαζόμεθα, i.e. he did not have it even before he lost the suit (much
less afterwards). ISAE. v. 21. So AR. Av. 964; THUC. i. 39, 68.
See also Isoc. v. 70, τότε διδυσίων υἱὸν πρότερόν τι πάθης πρὶν τέλος
ἐπιθείναι τοὺς προτερόνιους, when they fear lest you may meet with
some disaster before you finish what you are doing (not until you finish).
Indeed, μὴ after a verb of fearing does not make a negative sentence
so far as the sense is concerned, what affects the dependent clause
being the positive idea in πάθης : see SOPH. Tr. 632.

628. An infinitive with πρὶν sometimes depends on a negative
clause, where a finite mood might be allowed, because the temporal
relation is still so prominent as to determine the construction. This
may happen when the clause with πρὶν precedes, so that the dependen-
ce which until expresses is obscured by the position. E.g.
"Ὅποιοι μὴ πρότερον νοεῖ ἐσται πρὶν πυθέσθαι ἄπαντας, i.e. lest night
should come before they had heard them all. AND. i. 43. Πρὶν τὴν
ναυμαχίαν νικήσαι ἡμᾶς, γῇ οὐκ ἢ ἄλλη ἢ χωρίδιον μικρῶν, before
we gained the naval victory, he had only a little piece of land (the
argument tries to prove that he died poor). LYS. xix. 28. Καὶ μοι μὴ
θρυμβήσῃ μυθεῖς πρὶν ἀκοῦσαν, and let no one interrupt me before he
hears (where πρὶν ἀν ἀκούσῃ, until he hears, would suggest the wrong
idea). DEM. v. 15. Πρὶν δὲ ταύτα πράξαι, μὴ σκοπείτε τις εἰς ἐπών τὰ
βέληστα ἀπολέσθαι βουλήσται (where the irony of the question
would make until absurd). Id. iii. 12: so 13. Πρὶν μὲν γὰρ τούτο
πράξαι Λεωκράτην ἀδηλὸν ἢν ὁποῖοι τινές ἐντέτυγχανον νῦν
dὲ πάσι φανερῶν (where the temporal relation in πρὶν μὲν καὶ νῦ
δὲ is the only important one). LYCURG. 135. See also AESCH. Sept.
1048, Ag. 1067; SOPH. Aj. 1419; XEN. Cyp. iv. 3, 10.

629. The infinitive sometimes follows πρὶν after negative sentences
where we might have the optative, which for some reason was not
common after πρὶν. E.g.
Οὖκ ἂν μεθεῖτο πρὶν καθ' ἡδονῆν κλύειν, he would not give it up
until he should hear (before hearing) what he desired. SOPH. Tr. 197.
(We might have πρὶν κλύειν : cf. Tr. 2, οὐκ ἂν αἰών έκμάθως βρετῶν,
πρὶν ἂν θαίη τις, where πρὶν θάνοι might have been used.) So Aesch.
Supp. 772. Οὔδ' ἂν διαβουλεύσασθαι ἐτε ἐφη, πρὶν τρις ἐννέα ἡμέρας
μείναι, until he should wait, etc. THUC. vii. 50. 'Ικέτευν μηδαμῶς
ἀποτρέπεσθαι, πρὶν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν χώραν, until they should invade
the country. XEN. Hell. vi. 5, 23. Οὕτε αὐτὸς ποτε πρὶν ἁδρώσαι δείτην ὑπείται. Id. Cyr. viii. 1, 38. (Here πρὶν ἁδρώσει in the generic sense would be the natural expression; but it is doubtful whether this construction was ever used with πρὶν. For An. iv. 5, 30, see 646.)

630. There remain some cases of πρὶν with the infinitive after negative clauses where the older usage seems to be retained in place of the more exact later use of the indicative or subjunctive. E.g.

Οὐδὲ πρὸς δικαιοτρίῳ οὐδὲ βουλευτηρίῳ ἄφθην οὐδεπώποσε, πρὶν ταῦτα τὴν συμφορὰν γενέσθαι, i.e. never, until this calamity befell me. Lys. xix. 55. "Εσειδὴ δ' οὐκ οἰόν τ' ἐστὶν αἰσθήσθαι (τοὺς πονηροὺς) πρὶν κακῶς τινα παθεῖν ὑπ' αὐτῶν, but since it is not possible to recognize them until somebody is hurt by them (for πρὶν ἂν πάθῃ τις). Isoc. xx. 14. In such cases the temporal relation seems to exclude the other in the writer's mind.

631. (Ἡ πρὶν.) We sometimes find ἥ πρὶν, than before, with the infinitive, a past verb being understood after ἥ. E.g.

Οἱ πολέμοι πολὺ μὲν ἐλάττονες εἰσὶν ὃς ἕτερον ἡ πρὶν ἡττηθήναι, πολὺ δ' ἐλάττονες ἡ δ' ἄπειρασαν ἡμᾶς, they are much fewer now than (they were) before they were beaten, etc. XEN. Cyr. v. 2, 36. So vii. 5, 77. Ἐπείδη δ' οὐκ ἦστι σέβησθαι (τοὺς πονηροὺς) πρὶν ἑπιμένῃ οἱ πολίν πολὲν ἔφηκεν Ἀπόλλων, i.e. every one was slain, until Apollo sent an arrow at the monster. Three cases occur in Pindar: Ol. ix. 57, xiii. 65; Nem. iv. 28. The last is the first case of πρὶν with the indicative after a negative sentence. These are the only cases before the Attic writers.

632. (Early Poets.) Πρὶν with the indicative does not occur in the Iliad or Odyssey, except in πρὶν γ' ὄτε (see 636). The first case of simple πρὶν with the indicative is Hymn. Ap. Py. 178, δ' τῇ γ' ἀνικώσει, φέρεσκε γὲ μιν αἰσύμοι ἡμαρ, πρὶν γέ οἱ ἐφήκεν Ἀπόλλων, i.e. every one was slain, until Apollo sent an arrow at the monster. Three cases occur in Pindar: Ol. ix. 57, xiii. 65; Nem. iv. 28. The last is the first case of πρὶν with the indicative after a negative sentence. These are the only cases before the Attic writers.

633. (Attic Poets.) Aeschylus has one example, after a negative: οὐκ ἦν ἄλεξημι οὐδέν, ἀλλά φορμάκων κραίμα κατεσκέλλοντο, πρὶν γ' ἐγὼ σφαιρὰ κραίτει νὰ τιόμον αἰσεμάτων, until I showed them, etc., Prom. 479. So likewise Aristophanes: πρότερον δ' οὐκ ἦν γένος ἄθανάτων, πρὶν ἔρως ξυνημίζειν ἀπάντα, Λυ. 700. Sophocles has one, after an affirmative: ἤγομην δ' ἀψνυμάς, πρὶν μοι τούχῃ τοιάδ' ἐπέστη, until this fortune befell me, O. T. 775. Euripides has seven examples, all (according to Sturm) after affirmatives, as follows:—

'Εν εὖδα δ' πως ἐστη, πρὶν δὴ τις ἐφθεῖγεν. And. 1145. "Αφρων νεως τ' ἦν, πρὶν ἐνείδον οἴον ἦν, I was a witless youth, until I saw, etc. I. A. 489 (where there is a negative force in ἄφρων). "Ανω-
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λόλνξε, πρίν γ' ὄρρ, she shouted, until she saw, etc. Med. 1173. (Here the contrast of εἴτε ἥκεν μέγαν κῶκυτον in 1176 gives the idea that she did not begin the loud wailing until she saw the foam.) Σπουδαί ἦσαν ἵσαι, πρίν Αἀερτιάδης πείθει στρατιάν. Hec. 132. The others are Alc. 128; Rhes. 294, 568.

These are all the cases of πρίν with the indicative which precede those in prose. It will be seen that the idea of until is always conspicuous, even when the leading verb is affirmative; and in the earlier stages of the construction little regard was paid to the character of the leading sentence. With prose a new and stricter usage begins (634).

634. (Prose.) In Attic prose and in Herodotus, πρίν, until, referring to a definite past action, regularly takes the indicative after negative sentences or those implying a negative, very rarely after affirmative sentences. Ε.γ.

Οὔτί κω συμβολὴν ἐποίησε πρίν γε δὴ αὐτοῖς προταμὴν ἐγένετο, he did not yet make an attack until his own day of command came. Hdt. vi. 110. So vi. 79, vii. 239, ix. 22; all with πρίν γε δή. Τοῦτον τοῦ ἔπεος λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιήσαν πρίν δὴ ἐπετελέσθη. Id. i. 13. For πρὶν ἦ in Herodotus see 651; and for πρότερον ἦ in Herodotus and Thucydides, see 653.

Οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσαντο ἐν ὀργῇ ἔχοντες αὐτὸν, πρὶν ἐξημίσασαν χρήματι, they did not cease to regard him with wrath until they fined him. Thuc. ii. 65. Οὐδ' ἤξισαν νεώτερον τι θείου εἰς αὐτῶν, πρὶν γε δὴ αὐτοὺς ἄνηρ Ἀργιλιὸς μηνυτὴς γίγνεται, i.e. until he becomes, etc. Id. i. 132. Οὔτε τότε ἤνα ἦθελε, πρίν ἦ γυνὴ αὐτῶν ἔπευρε. Xen. An. i. 2, 26. Οὐ πρότερον ἠθέλησαν ἀπελθεῖν, πρὶν αὐτῶν ἔξηλασαν βάρ. Lys. iii. 7. Μεσσηνίοις πολιορκοῦσιν οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσαντο, πρὶν ἔξεσθαλέν εἴς τὴν χώραν. Isocr. xii. 91. (Isocrates has the formula οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσαντο πρὶν with the indicative nine times.) Οὐκ ἦν ἐν Ὅθβας άσφαλές, πρὶν τὴν Βουωτίαν ἀπέδωκαν καὶ τοὺς Φωκαῖς ἀνέλει. Dem. viii. 65. Πάλιν τούτο τέμνων οὐκ ἐπανήκε, πρὶν ἐφευρὼν σκαίον τιν ἐρώτησα ἐξοντάριον μαλ' ἐν δίκῃ. Plat. Phaedr. 266 A. (This is the only case in Plato; but he has three indicatives in unfulfilled conditions. See 637.)

635. The only examples in prose of πρίν with the indicative after strictly affirmative sentences are these three:—

Ἐπὶ πολὺ διάγοντω τὸς Ἡμέρας πειρώμεοι ἀλλήλων, πρὶν δὴ Ἀριστωτίων πείθει τοὺς ἀρχοντας. Thuc. vii. 39. Παραπλησίως ἔπασχον, πρὶν γε δὴ οἱ Συρακοῦσαι ἐπηγαζόντο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ κατεδίωκον ἐς τὴν γήν. Id. vii. 71. Προσεπολέμει Ἀριστοφάνης, πρὶν αὐτῷ τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην ἡπείρασεν ἐπαγγελίαν ἐν τῷ ὅμω ἤπειρεν ἕως Τιμάρχῳ ἐπήγγειλε, he continued to attack Aristophanes, until A. threatened him before the people with this same kind of summons (to ἔσσε κατοικία) which I served on Timarchus. Aeschin. i. 64. In these cases the force of until in πρὶν is made especially emphatic by the continuation of the state of things described by the leading imperfects. There seems to
be a feeling implied like that in οὗ πρότερον ἔπαυσαντο πρὶν (see Sturm, p. 333).

Sturm cites also Thuc. i. 51 and 118, iii. 29 and 104, as examples. But the first two have actual negatives in the leading sentence; in iii. 29, τοὺς Ἀθηναίωνς λανθάνουσι, πρὶν δὴ τῇ Δήλῳ ἔσφιν, the idea is that the Athenians did not see them until, etc.; in iii. 104, τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἀγώνας κατελύθη ἑπὸ ἐξαιροῦν, πρὶν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι τὸν ἄγωνα ἐποίησαν, the meaning is, the games were broken up (i.e. were no longer held) until the Athenians renewed them at this time. (See Am. Jour. Phil. ii. p. 469.)

636. Πρὶν γ΄ ὄτε, until, has the indicative in Homer, after affirmative as well as negative sentences. These cases occur:—

Ἐτὶ ἤσα μάχη τέτατο, πρὶν γ΄ ὄτε δὴ Ζεὺς κίδος ὑπερτέρον Ἕκτορι δόκειν, the battle hung equally balanced, until (when) Zeus gave higher glory to Hector. II. xii. 436. Ἡμεθ’ ἀπεκλεῖαν, πρὶν γ΄ ὄτε δὴ μὲ σὸς νοὶ ἀπὸ μεγάρου κέλεσαν, until your son called me. Od. xxiii. 42. Οὔδ’ ὡς τοῦ θυμὸν ἔπειθον, πρὶν γ΄ ὄτε δὴ θάλαμος πάκτος εῆβάλλετο, i.e. until the battering began. II. ix. 587. So in the suspected verses, πρὶν γ΄ ὄτε ἥτο... θάρσυνας, Od. xiii. 322. For Od. iv. 178, see 637.

Four cases of πρὶν γ’ ὄτε δὴ with the indicative are found in the Homeric Hymns: Ap. Del. 49; Cer. 96, 195, 202; after which this strange construction disappears.

637. (Indicative with πρὶν in unfulfilled conditions.) When the clause introduced by πρὶν, until, refers to a result not attained in past time in consequence of the non-fulfilment of some condition, it takes a past tense of the indicative like the corresponding clause with ἐσ (613, 2). We find examples only of the aorist indicative after negative sentences:—

Ἐχρήν τοὺς άλλους μή πρότερον περὶ τῶν ἀμφιβολομένων συμβολεῦσαι, πρὶν περὶ τῶν ἀμφιβολομένων ἡμᾶς ἐξὶδέσαν, they ought not to have given advice about undisputed matters, until they had instructed us about what is in dispute. Isoc. iv. 19. Χρήν τοῖς Λεπτίνην μὴ πρότερον τιθέναι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ νόμον, πρὶν τούτον ἐλευσί, before he had repealed this one. Dem. xx. 96. Ὅδε ἄν ἐπεσκεφάρεθα πρότερον εἴτε διδάκτων εἴτε οὗ διδάκτων ἡ ἀρετή, πρὶν δὲ ἐπὶ πρῶτον ἐξῆτη ἡ ἡμεταμφήσιμον αὐτῷ, we should not have inquired whether virtue was teachable or not, until we had first asked what it is in itself. Plut. Men. 86 D; so 84 C, and Theaet. 165 D.

Besides these five cases in prose, we have the same construction with πρὶν γ’ ὄτε δὴ in Od. iv. 178: οὔδε κεν ἡμᾶς ἀλλο διέκρινεν, πρὶν γ’ ὄτε δὴ θανάτου μέλαν νέφος ἀμφηκάλυψεν, nor would aught else have separated us until the black cloud of death had covered us.

For the same construction with πρότερον ἦ in Hdt. viii. 93, see 653.
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Πρίν WITH THE SUBJUNCTIVE AND OPTATIVE.

SUBJUNCTIVE.

638. When a clause with πρίν, until, refers to the future, and depends on a negative clause of future time (not containing an optative), πρίν takes the subjunctive, like ἔως in a similar case (613, 3).

639. In Homer πρίν does not take κε or ἄν with the subjunctive, the form of the original parataxis being still retained (624). The examples of the subjunctive are these:—

Οὐ γάρ πώ καταδύσομεθ' εἰς 'Αιδανός, πρίν μόρσιμον ἄμαρ ἐπέλθη, we shall not yet descend to the house of Hades, until the fated day shall come. Od. x. 174. (Here, if we insert a colon after δόμους and take πρίν as an adverb, sooner than this, we have the paratactic form.) So II. xviii. 135; Od. xiii. 335, xvii. 7. In II. xviii. 190, οὐ μὲ πρίν γ' εἴα θωρήσεσθαι, πρίν γ' αὐτὴν ἐδώμαι, she did not permit me to arm myself until I should see her, the subjunctive of direct discourse (seen in xviii. 135) is retained after a past tense. So Η xxiv. 781. In II. xxi. 580 a similar subjunctive has been changed to the optative (644).

640. Hesiod has two cases of πρίν with the subjunctive, Th. 222, Op. 738, still without κε or ἄν as in Homer. Πρίν ἄν first occurs in Theogn. 963 (see 642).

641. Two cases of πρίν γ' ὅτ' ἄν (used like πρίν) with the subjunctive occur in the Odyssey. The first is especially instructive, ii. 373: ἄλλ' δρομον μή μητρί φίλη τάδε μυθησασθαι, πρίν γ' ὅτ' ἄν ἐνδεκάτη τε δυδεκάτη δένηται, ή αὐτὴν ποθέσαι καὶ ἀφορμήσθαι, but swear not to tell this to my mother until the eleventh or twelfth day shall come, or (until) she shall miss me and hear of my departure. Here πρίν first introduces ὅτ' ἄν γένηται and then the two infinitives, having the same prepositional force with both. But in iv. 746, where the same scene is described, we have ἐμὲ δ' ἐλεοῦ μέγαν δρόκον, μή πρίν σοι ἑρείειν πρὶν δυδεκάτην γε γενέσθαι ή σ' αὐτὴν ποθέσαι καὶ ἀφορμήσθαι, the simpler and more common πρὶν γένεσθαι taking the place of the unwieldy πρὶν γ' ὅτ' ἄν γένηται. The other case is iv. 475: οὐ πρὶν μοῦρα φίλους ἰδείειν, πρὶν γ' ὅτ' ἄν Αἰγύπτω τοῦ ὀδορ ἔλθῃς.

642. After Homer and Hesiod πρίν ἄν is established as the regular form with the subjunctive. E.g.

Μὴ ποτέ ἐπανήσῃς πρὶν ἄν εἰδής ἀνδρα σαφηνεώς. Theog. 963 (the earliest case of πρὶν ἄν). Οὐδέ λιχεῖ πρὶν ἄν ἡ κορέσα κέαρ ἡ ἔλῃ τις ἀρχαῖς. Δεσ. Prom. 165. Οὐ γάρ ποτ' ἔλθη πρὶν ἄν κεῖνας ἐναργεῖς διεύρ. μοι στήνης ἄγων, you shall not depart until you bring those girls and place them before my eyes. Soph. O. C. 909. Οὐ μὴ
CONSTRUCTIONS WITH πρὶν

643. When a clause with πρὶν, until, referring to the future, depends on a negative clause containing an optative in protasis or apodosis, in a wish, or in a final clause, it may have the optative (without ἀν) by assimilation, like a conditional relative clause (613, 4), or it may take the infinitive. These cases of the optative occur:—

Οὐ γὰρ ἐν εἰδείς ἄνδρος νόον οὐδὲ γυναῖκος, πρὶν πειρήθητι, for you cannot know the mind of a man or a woman until you have tested it. Theog. 125 (the earliest example). Οὐποτ' ἐγὼ' ἀν, πρὶν ἔδοιμ' ὥρθων ἔτεος, μεμφομένον ἄν καταφαίην, never would I assent when men blame him, until I should see the word proved true. Soph. O. T. 505. Μή σταίη πολυκωπον όχημα ναός αντώ, πρὶν τάδε προς πόλιν ἀνύσητε, may his ship of many oars not stop until it makes its way to this city. Id. Tr. 655; so Phil. 961 (both after optative of wish). Παρανίσχον φρυκτον, ὅπως μὴ βοηθόειν πρὶν σφών οἴ ανδρείς οἳ εἰσώντες ἀποφάγοιεν, they raised signal torches, that the enemy might not come to the rescue until their own men who had gone forth had escaped. Thec. iii. 22. Νομίσαντες οὐκ ἄν ἐτε τῶν Βρασίδαν σφών προσπούστησαι οὐδὲν πρὶν παρασκευάσαίντο, thinking that B. would not cause any further secessions of their allies until they had made preparations. Id. iv. 117. So Xen. Hell. ii. 3, 48 (two examples). Οὐκ ἂν πρότερον ὀρθήσητε, πρὶν πὴ βεβαιόσα σα τὸν σκέψας τῆς πορείας. Plat. Leg. 799 D. Εἶ ἐλκοι τις αὐτὸν, καὶ μὴ ἀνείη πρὶν ἐξελκύσειεν εἰς τὸ τοῦ ἥλιου φῶς, if one should drag him, and not let him go until he had dragged him out into the sunlight. Id. Rep. 515 E.

These are all the cases of this use of the optative with πρὶν cited by Sturm. In many cases where the optative could have been used, the infinitive appears (see 629).

644. The optative with πρὶν is more frequent in indirect discourse after a negative verb of past time, representing a subjunctive of the direct form, which is often retained. (See the corresponding use of ἦς, 614.) E.g.

Οὐκ ἔθελεν φεύγειν πρὶν πειρῆσαι Ἀχιλῆς, he would not fly
until he should try Achilles. Il. xxi. 580. (The direct form was πρὶν πειρῆσωμαι, and πειρήσθαι might have been used here. See Il. xviii. 190, in 639.) So Hymn. Cer. 334; Hes. Scut. 18. "Εδοξέ μοι μὴ σέγα, πρὶν φράσαιμι σοι, τόν πλοῦν ποιείσθαι. Soph. Ph. 551. (In Aj. 742 we have πρὶν τύχη in a similar sentence.) "Εδέοντο μη ἀπελθεῖν πρὶν ἀπαγάγοι τὸ στράτευμα (v. 1. πρὶν ἀπαγάγῃ). Xen. An. vii. 7, 57. (See εἴπον μηδενα τῶν ὅπσεθεν κινεῖσθαι πρὶν ἀν ὁ πρόσθεν ἤγγηται, Cyri. ii. 2, 8.) 'Απηγόρευε μηδενα βάλλειν, πρὶν Κύρος ἐμπλησθείη θηρών, until Cyrus should be satisfied. Id. Cyri. i. 4, 14. "Ἡγούθ' οὐδέν οὐδ' τ' ἐναι κινεῖν, πρὶν ἐκποδόν ἐκεῖνος αὐτοῖς γένοιτο. Isoc. xvi. 5. So Plat. Ap. 36 C, Rep. 402 B, Leg. 678 D.

For the infinitive, often preferred to the optative in such sentences, see 629.

Πρὶν with Subjunctive in General Suppositions.

645. When the clause introduced by πρὶν, until, is generic, and depends on a negative clause of present time expressing customary or repeated action or a general truth, we have πρὶν ἀν with the subjunctive (613, 5). E.g.

'Ορὼς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους οὐ πρόσθεν ἀπιόντας γαστρός ἐνεκα, πρὶν ἀν ἀφώσιν οἱ ἀρχοντες. Xen. Cyr. i. 2, 8. Οὐ χαρ πρότερον κατήγορος παρὰ τοῖς ἀκούοισιν ἵππων, πρὶν ἀν ὁ φεύγων ἀδυνατήσῃ τὰς προερμένας αὐτὰς ἀπολύσασθαι. Aesch. ii. 2. Οὐδεὶς πάστο τι έπέθετο (gnomic) πρότερον τῇ τοῦ δήμου καταλίκη, πρὶν ἀν μείζων τῶν δικαστηρίων ἰσχύς. Id. iii. 235. Οὐ πρότερον παύονται, πρὶν ἀν πείσωσιν οὖς ἡδικησαν. Plat. Phaed. 114 B. So Leg. 968 C.

646. It is doubtful whether the optative was ever used with πρὶν in the corresponding generic sense. In Xen. An. iv. 5, 30, for πρὶν παραθείνει the weight of Mss. authority seems to favour πρὶν παραθείναι. In Il. ix. 488 πρὶν γ' δητ δή σ' ἀσαμι is of this class.

647. The principle by which πρὶν takes the subjunctive and optative only after negative sentences, or sentences which were felt as negative, seems to have allowed of no exceptions. The two following cases have been cited:—

Αἰσχρὸν δ' ἧγομαι πρότερον παύσασθαι, πρὶν ἀν ψεῖς δ' τι ἀν βουληθεὶς θυγατρίσῃ, which is practically equivalent to I refuse to stop until you have voted what you wish, αἰσχρὸν having elsewhere a negative force (see 817). Lys. xxii. 4. "Οστίς οὖν οἴεται τοὺς ἄλλους κοινῷ τι πρᾶξειν ἀγαθόν, πρὶν ἀν τοὺς προεστῶτας αὐτῶν διαλάξῃ, λιν ἀπλως ἔχει καὶ πόρρῳ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐστίν, which amounts to this: nobody but a simpleton thinks that the others will do anything in common until their leaders are united. Isoc. iv. 16. In Simon. Am.
CONSTRUCTIONS WITH πρίν

i. 12, πρίν ἤκυραι cannot be correct, as πρίν here does not mean until, but merely before.

648. Πρίν, like ἐως, etc. (620), sometimes takes the subjunctive without ἂν, even in Attic Greek. E.g.

Μὴ στέναζε πρίν μάθης. Soph. Ph. 917. So Ant. 619, Aj. 742, 965, Tr. 608, 946. Οὐκ ἐστιν ὅστις αὐτῶν ἐξαρθησται, πρὶν γυναῖκ' ἐμοὶ μεθῆ. Eor. Alc. 848. So Or. 1218, 1357. Μὴ, πρὶν γ' ἀκούσης γάτηρα στάνων μελῶν. Ar. Ran. 1281. So Eccl. 629. See Hdt. i. 32, iv. 157, vi. 82. Even in Attic prose the MSS. omit ἂν in some places; as Thuc. vi. 10, 29, 38, viii. 9; Xen. Oec. xii. 1, Cyn. iii. 6; Aeschin. iii. 60; Hyper. Eux. xx. 10 (§ 4); Plat. Theaet. 169 B, Tim. 57 B; but many editors insert ἂν in all these places on their own responsibility.

649. A few cases of πρὶν ἂν with the optative, if the text is sound, are to be explained (like those of ἐως ἂν, 613, 4, end) as indirect discourse in which the direct form had πρὶν ἂν with the subjunctive. See Xen. Hell. ii. 4, 18 (quoted in 702).

650. In sentences with πρὶν we sometimes have a subjunctive depending on an optative with ἂν, as in conditional relative sentences (556). E.g.

Οὐκ ἂν αὐτῶν ἐκμάθοι βροτῶν, πρῖν ἂν θάνη τις, you cannot fully understand the life of mortals, until one dies. Soph. Tr. 2. Οὐκ ἂν ἀπελθομεί πρῖν παντπάσιν ἢ αἰτίων λυθή. Xen. Oec. xii. 1. Ἡ λέγομεν ἂν τι ἄλλης, οὐ μὴν σαφές γε οὐδε τέλεον πρὶν αὐ (?) καὶ ταιτας αὐτῆς τάσας περιέλωμεν; Plat. Polit. 281 D. The leading verb here has merely the effect of a future form on the clause with πρὶν.

Πρὶν ἂ, πρότερον ἂ, AND πάρος, IN THE SENSE OF πρὶν.

651. Πρὶν ἂ, sooner than, which is a more developed form of πρὶν, is found twice in the Iliad with the infinitive; and very frequently in Herodotus with the infinitive (only after past tenses), the indicative, and the subjunctive (without ἂν). E.g.

Οὐ μὴν σφοί γ' ὅιο πρὶν γ' ἀποπαύσοσθαι πρὶν ἢ ἔτερον γε πειόντα αἴματος ἄσαι Ἄρης. I. n. 287. The same words occur after πρὶν ἂ in xxii. 266. Οἱ δα Λιγυπτιοί, πρὶν μὲν ἢ Ψαμμίτιχον σφέων βασιλεύσαι, ἐνόμιζον ἐστιν τοὺς πρώτους γενέσθαι πάντων ἀνθρώπων. Hdt. ii. 2. Πρὶν γάρ ἂ ὅπως σφέας ἀναπλωσάη ἐς τὰς Σάρδις ἢλω ὁ Κροίσος. Id. i. 78. Οὐ γάρ δὴ πρότερον ἀπαίσιθη, πρὶν ἢ σφεας ὑπσηρίους ἐποίησατο. Id. vi. 45. Ἀδικεῖν ἀναπειθόμενος πρὶν ἢ ἀτρέκεος ἐκμάθη. Id. vii. 10. Οὐ πρότερον παύσομαι πρὶν ἢ ἐλω τε καὶ πυρώσω τὰς Ἀθήνας. Id. vii. 8.

652. A few cases of πρὶν ἂ occur in the MSS. in Attic prose, as in
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THUC. v. 61, and XEN. Cyr. i. 4, 23, Ag. ii. 4, An. iv. 5, 1; but many editors omit η.

653. Πρότερον η is sometimes used like πρὶν η, in the sense of πρὶν.

This occurs chiefly with the infinitive in Herodotus and Thucydides, and with the subjunctive in Herodotus. Πρότερον η with the indicative is sometimes used like πρὶν, but it more frequently expresses a looser relation between two sentences which are independent in their construction (654). E.g.

(Infinit., only after past tenses.) Ταυτά εξαγγέλθη Πρότερον η τὸν Δαυρίσιαν ἀπικέισθαι, this was announced before D. arrived. ΗΔΤ. v. 118. "Ησαν οὕτως τὸ μὲν πρότερον η Πέρσας ἀρξαί Μήδων κατηκούσας, tōte δὲ Κύρου. Id. i. 72. (Πρότερα as adj. for πρότερον): ταυτά καὶ πείνε γενεσθαι ἀνδρῶν πρότερα ἑστὶ η Ἡρακλεία ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι γενέσθαι. Id. ii. 44. 'Επὶ τούτων πομπαίων πρότερόν η ἀισθέσθαι αὐτούς εὐθὺς 

858. Πρότερον η with the indicative is sometimes used like πρὶν, but it more frequently expresses a looser relation between two sentences which are independent in their construction (654). E.g.

(Infinit., only after past tenses.) Ταϋτα εξαγγέλθη Πρότερον η τὸν Δαυρίσιαν ἀπικέισθαι, this was announced before D. arrived. ΗΔΤ. v. 118. Ἡσαν οὕτως τὸ μὲν πρότερον η Πέρσας ἀρξαί Μήδων κατηκούσας, tōte δὲ Κύρου. ΗΔΤ. v. 118. Ἡσαν οὕτως τὸ μὲν πρότερον η Πέρσας ἀρξαί Μήδων κατηκούσας, tōte δὲ Κύρου. ΗΔΤ. v. 118. Ἡσαν οὕτως τὸ μὲν πρότερον η Πέρσας ἀρξαί Μήδων κατηκούσας, tōte δὲ Κύρου. ΗΔΤ. v. 118. Ἡσαν οὕτως τὸ μὲν πρότερον η Πέρσας ἀρξαί Μήδων κατηκούσας, tōte δὲ Κύρου. ΗΔΤ. v. 118. Ἡσαν οὕτως τὸ μὲν πρότερον η Πέρσας ἀρξαί Μήδων κατηκούσας, tōte δὲ Κύρου. ΗΔΤ. v. 118. Ἡσαν οὕτως τὸ μὲν πρότερον η Πέρσας ἀρξαί Μήδων κατηκούσας, tōte δὲ Κύρου. ΗΔΤ. v. 118. Ησαν οὕτως τὸ μὲν πρότερον η Πέρσας ἀρξαί Μήδων κατηκούσας, tōte δὲ Κύρου. ΗΔΤ. v. 118. Ἡσαν οὕτως τὸ μὲν πρότερον η Πέρσας ἀρξαί Μήδων κατηκούσας, tōte δὲ Κύρου. ΗΔΤ. v. 118. Ἡσαν οὕτως τὸ μὲν πρότερον η Πέρσας ἀρξαί Μήδων κατηκούσας, tōte δὲ Κύρου. ΗΔΤ. v. 118. Ησαν οὕτως τὸ μὲν πρότερον η Πέρσας ἀρξαί Μήδων κατηκούσας, tōte δὲ Κύρου. ΗΔΤ. v. 118. Ἡσαν οὕτως τὸ μὲν πρότερον η Πέρσας ἀρξαί Μήδων κατηκούσας, tōte δὲ Κύρου. ΗΔΤ. v. 118. Ἡσαν οὕτως τὸ μὲν πρότερον η Πέρσας ἀρξαί Μήδων κατηκούσας, tōte δὲ Κύρου. ΗΔΤ. v. 118. Ἡσαν οὕτως τὸ μὲν πρότερον η Πέρσας ἀρξαί Μήδων κατηκούσας, tōte δὲ Κύρου. ΗΔΤ. v. 118. Ἡσαν οὕτως τὸ μὲν πρότερον η Πέρσας ἀρξαί Μήδων κατηκούσας, tōte δὲ Κύρου. ΗΔΤ. v. 118. Ἡσαν οὕτως τὸ μὲν πρότερον η Πέρσας 

654. In other cases of πρότερον η with the finite moods or the infinitive, there is no meaning of until, and η merely connects two verbs as when it follows μᾶλλον. E.g.

'Εκέλευε τὸν ἄγγελον ἀπαγγέλλειν ὅτι πρότερον η ἄν οὗτος βουλήσεται, he bade the messenger announce that he should come sooner than he wanted him (the direct form being ησαν πρότερον η βουλήσεται). ΗΔΤ. i. 127. Πολύ πλεῖον πλῆθος περιεσπειτόν ἐμελλεν πρότερον η οἱ φίλοι παρήσαν, i.e. much sooner than his friends arrived. ΧΕΝ. Συρ. vii. 5, 41. Πρότερον ἡ καὶ τὸ μείον δοκεῖ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ εὑρεῖν η δανειζόμενος λαβεῖν (i.e. πρότερον εὑροι ἡ
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So with πρόσθεν ἢ, which is not used like πρίν; as προσθέν ἢ ἢ σὺ ἐφαίνον, τούτ’ ἐκηρύξθη, Soph. O. T. 736. See also Xen. An. ii. 1, 10, ἀπεκρίνετο διὶ πρόσθεν ἢ ἢ ἀποθάνον ἢ τα ὅπλα παραδοίησαν, they answered, that they would die before they would give up their arms.

655. Thucydides once uses ὅστερον ἢ with the infinitive, after the analogy of πρότερον ἢ: πρίν δὲ ἀναστήναι, ἢ πρόσθεν ἢ ἢ ἀνάστησαν, ἢ αὐτοῖς ἀληθεύσαν, Πάμμαλλον πέμψαντες Σεληνώντα κτίζοντος, before they were removed, and a hundred years after their own settlement, vi. 4.

656. Πάρος, before, which is originally an adverb like πρίν, is used in Homer with the infinitive, but never with the other moods. E.g.


Πάρος with the infinitive occurs twelve times in Homer, always after affirmative sentences (except in Od. xxiii. 309).

Πρίν (as Adverb), πάρος, πρότερον, πρόσθεν, ETC., BEFORE πρίν, IN THE LEADING Sentence.

657. Homer very frequently has the adverb πρίν, and occasionally other adverbs of the same meaning, in the clause on which πρίν with the infinitive or subjunctive depends. E.g.

Μη πρίν ἐπ’ ήέλιον δώσοι, πρίν με κατὰ πρήνις βαλέειν Πρίμων μέλαθρον, may the sun not (sooner) go down before I have thrown to the ground Priam’s palace (the first πρίν emphasising in advance the idea of the second). Il. ii. 413. So Il. i. 97, ii. 354, iv. 114; Od. iv. 747; Il. ix. 403 (τὸ πρίν). Οὐ γάρ μιν πρόσθεν παίνεσθαι ὅπως, πρίν γ’ αὐτῷ με ἑνητα. Od. xvii. 7. So with οὐ γάρ πω, Od. x. 174.1

658. In Attic Greek πρότερον or πρόσθεν frequently stands in the clause on which πρίν depends, like the adverb πρίν in Homer (657). E.g.

'Αποθνησκοῦσι πρότερον πρίν δῆλοι γέγνεσθαι οἴοι ἤσαν. Xen. Cyr. v. 2, 9. Καὶ έτί πρότερον, πρίν ἢ τὴν Ἐρόδον αὐτοῦς ἀναστή-

1 See Sturm, pp. 239, 261-263, who calls attention to the decrease of the double πρίν in the Odyssey. Of 43 cases of πρίν with the infinitive in the Iliad, 20 have a preceding πρίν or other adverb; of 30 cases in the Odyssey, only 10 have such an adverb. Besides πρίν or τὸ πρίν in the leading clause in Homer, ἄποθεν occurs three times, and πρόσθεν and πρότερον each once. Before πρίν with the subjunctive in Homer such an adverb is always found, πρίν twice, οὖπω or μύηπω three times, and πρόσθεν once.
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ναί, τάδε ἐπάσπετο. ΤHUC. viii. 45. Πρότερον οὐκ ἦν γένος ἄθανατων, πρὶν ἔρως ἐνεμίζετο ἄπαντα. AR. An. 700. Οὐ πρότερον πρὸς ημᾶς τὸν πόλεμον ἐμφάνιστε, πρὶν ἐνόμισα, κ.τ.λ. ΧΕΝ. Αν. iii 1, 16. Οὐ τοίνυν ἀποκρούμεθα πρότερον, πρὶν ἄν πυθομαι. ΡΛΑΤ. Euthyd. 295 C. Καὶ οὐ πρόσθεσον ἤστησαν, πρὶν (ἡ) πρὸς τοίς πεζοῖς τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἐγένοντο. ΧΕΝ. Συγ. i. 4, 23. Δεῖται αὐτοῦ μὴ πρόσθεν καταλύσαι πρὶν ἄν αὐτῷ συμβουλεύσεται. ΧΕΝ. Αν. i. 1, 10. The formula οὐ πρότερον παύσασθαι πρὶν with the indicative in the orators is familiar (see 634).

659. Other adverbs of time sometimes occur in the leading clause: thus πάροιθεν . . . πρὶν, SOPH. El. 1131; οὔπω . . . πρὶν, ΤHUC. vii. 71, viii. 9. Πρὶν (used as in Homer) occurs twice in Euripides, and before πρὶν ἡ in ΗΕΤ. i. 165. Even πρὶν in composition may refer to a following πρὶν, as προὐφαγόν τὰς ἐκκλησίας πρὶν ἐπιδημήσαι τοῖς πρόσβεσις, Aeschin. ii. 61. See DEM. iv. 41, οὐδέ πρὶ τῶν πραγμάτων προοράτε οὐδεν, πρὶν ἄν πυθήθηκε.

660. Φθάνω in the leading sentence may emphasise a following πρὶν. Ex.

"Ἐφθην αἰνήσας πρὶν σου κατὰ πάντα δαήμαι ἥθελ. ΘΕΟΣ. 969 (see 887). So Π. xvi. 322, ἐφθη ὁρθάμενος πρὶν οὐτάσαι. "Ἐφθήσαν αἰνήσασο πρὶν ἡ τούς βαρβάρους ήκειν, they arrived before the barbarians came. ΗΕΤ. vi. 116: so ix. 70. Φθήσονται πλεύσαντες πρὶν Χῖος αἰσθηθαὶ. ΤHUC. viii. 12. Φθὴναι συμβαλόντες πρὶν ἐλθείν τοὺς βοηθήσοντας, to join battle before the auxiliaries should come up. ISOC. iv. 87.

661. In ΗΕΤ. vi. 108 we find the infinitive depending on φθάνω . . . ἡ, the verb implying πρότερον οὐ πρὶν: φθαίητε ἀν πολλάκις ἐξαναποδοθήσετε ἡ τινα πνθήσεθαι ἡμέων, you would often be reduced to slavery before any of us heard of it.

SECTION VIII.

Indirect Discourse or Oratio Obliqua, including Indirect Quotations and Questions.

662. The words or thoughts of any person may be quoted either directly or indirectly. A direct quotation is one which gives the exact words of the original speaker or writer. An indirect quotation is one in which the original words conform to the construction of the sentence in which they are quoted. Thus the expression ταῦτα βούλομαι may be quoted either directly (in oratio recta), as λέγει τις "ταῦτα βούλομαι"; or indirectly (in oratio obliqua), as
λέγει τις ὅτι ταύτα βούλεται οὐ φησί τις ταύτα βούλεσθαι,
some one says that he wishes for these.

663. Indirect quotations may be introduced by ὅτι or ὡς and occasionally by other particles (negatively ὅτι ὦ, ὡς ὦ, etc.) with a finite verb; sometimes by the infinitive without a particle; sometimes also by the participle.

1. ὅτι, that, was originally the neuter relative ὃ τι, used as a limiting accusative, in respect to which (or what), as to which, how far, etc. In Homer ὅ, neuter of the relative ὃς, is used like ὅτι (709, 1). Thus ὅδα ὅ τι (or ὅ) κακὰ μὴ δεῖται at first meant I know as to what he plans evil, or I know about his planning evil, and afterwards came to mean I know that he plans evil.

2. ὡς, the relative adverb of manner (312, 1), in this construction originally meant in what manner, how; and afterwards became established in the same sense as ὅτι, that. Compare the German use of wie (how) in narration. How for that is heard in vulgar English (as I told him how I saw this), and how that was once in good use in this sense for that. Ὄπως is sometimes used like ὡς in indirect discourse (706).

3. By a use similar to that of ὡς (2), οὐκείπα καὶ διεσύνεκα are sometimes weakened from their meaning for which purpose, wherefore, to the same sense as ὅτι and ὡς, that (710, 1). These words are also used in a causal sense, because, like ὅτι, ὅ, and ὡς (712).

On the other hand, διότι, because, sometimes has the sense of ὅτι, that (710, 2).

4. ὅτε, when, in Homer sometimes loses its temporal force, and approaches ὅτι in meaning (709, 3).

664. 1. Indirect quotations with ὅτι, ὡς, etc., form the chief part of the class of substantive sentences, in which an assertion introduced by one of these particles is the subject or the object of a verb. But these sentences have no peculiar construction, except after verbs implying thought or the expression of thought (verba sentiendi et declarandi), as they elsewhere have the simple indicative or any other form which would be used in the corresponding independent assertions. See οὐχ ἀλής ὡς ἐκείπετε κτήματι ἄμα, is it not enough that you wasted my property? Od. ii. 312; πολύ κήδιον ἐπέλεγο ὅτι ὑπολείπει, II. xv. 227; τούτῳ δίζων ἐπαινεῖν, ὅτι τῶν φόβων δίελυσαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων (668), PLAT. Menex. 241 B; τούτῳ ἄδικεί, ὅτι ἄδικον τὴν ἐπιείκειαν καθίστησιν, DEM. XX. 155.

2. The infinitive of indirect discourse belongs to the large class of subject and object infinitives (745; 746; 751), being distinguished from the others of this class by preserving the time of its tense from the finite verb which it represents (85; 667, 3). 1

1 See Schmitt, Ueber den Ursprung des Substantivsatzes mit Relativpartikeln im Griechischen, in Schanz's Beiträge, Heft 8.
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665. 1. Indirect questions may be introduced by ει, whether (rarely by ἀπα), and also by interrogative pronouns, pronominal adjectives, and adverbs, and by most relatives. Alternative indirect questions may be introduced by πότερον (πότερα) . . . ἢ, εἰτε . . . εἰτε, εἰ . . . ἢ, εἰ . . . εἰτε, whether . . . or.

'Εάν or ἢν never means whether (see 493).

2. In Homer single indirect questions (when they are not introduced by interrogatives) generally have ἢ or εἰ, whether; and alternative questions have ἢ (ἡ) . . . ἢ (ἡ), sometimes εἰ τε . . . εἰ τε, whether . . . or.

Bekker never allows ει or ει τε in indirect questions in Homer, always writing ἢ οτ ἢ τε, without regard to the Mss.

3. Indirect questions follow the same principles as indirect quotations with ὅτι or ὣς, in regard to their moods and tenses. (For examples, see 669.)

666. The term indirect discourse or oratio obliqua includes all clauses which express indirectly the words or thoughts of any person (including those of the speaker himself), after verbs which imply thought or the expression of thought (verba sentiendi et declarandi), and after such expressions as φαίνεται, it appears, δοκεῖ, it seems, ἰδίλλων ἵστων, it is evident, σαφές ἵστων, etc.

The term may be further applied to any single dependent clause, in any sentence, which indirectly expresses the thought of any other person than the speaker (or past thoughts of the speaker himself), even when the preceding or following clauses are not in indirect discourse. (See 694 and 684.)

GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF INDIRECT DISCOURSE.

667. The following are the general principles of indirect discourse, the particular applications of which are shown in 669-710.

1. In indirect quotations after ὅτι or ὣς and in indirect questions,

(a) after primary tenses, each verb retains both the mood and the tense of the direct discourse, no change being made except (when necessary) in the person of the verb;

(b) after secondary tenses, each primary tense of the indicative and each subjunctive of the direct discourse may be either changed to the same tense of the optative or
retained in its original mood and tense. The imperfect and pluperfect, having no tenses in the optative, are generally retained in the indicative (but see 673). An aorist indicative belonging to a dependent clause of the direct discourse remains unchanged, but one belonging to the leading clause may be changed to the optative like a primary tense.

2. Secondary tenses of the indicative expressing an unreal condition, indicatives with ἄν, and all optatives (with or without ἄν), are retained, with no change in either mood or tense, after both primary and secondary tenses.

3. When the quotation depends on a verb which takes the infinitive or participle, the leading verb of the quotation is changed to the corresponding tense of the infinitive or participle, after both primary and secondary tenses, ἄν being retained if it is in the direct form; and the dependent verbs follow the preceding rules.

4. The adverb ἄν is never joined with a verb in indirect discourse unless it stood also in the direct form. On the other hand, ἄν is never omitted in indirect discourse if it was used in the direct form; except that, when it is joined to a relative word or a particle before a subjunctive in direct discourse, it is regularly dropped when the subjunctive is changed to the optative after a past tense in indirect discourse.

5. The indirect discourse regularly retains the same negative particle which would be used in the direct form. But the infinitive and participle sometimes take μή in indirect discourse where οὐ would be used in the direct form. (See examples under 685 and 688.) In indirect questions introduced by εἰ, whether, and in the second part of alternative indirect questions (665), μή can be used as well as οὐ.

668. As an indirect quotation or question is generally the object or subject of its leading verb, it may stand in apposition with a pronoun like τούτο which represents such an object or subject; as τούτο λέγομεν, ὅτι σοφὸς ἐστίν, we say this, that he is wise; τούτο δῆλον ἐστίν, ὅτι σοφὸς ἐστίν, this is plain, that he is wise; τούτο σκεύημεθα, εἰ ἀληθῆ λέγεις, we shall inquire into this, whether you tell the truth.
SIMPLE SENTENCES IN INDIRECT DISCOURSE.

Indicative and Optative after ὅτι and ὡς, and in Indirect Questions.

669. When the direct form is an indicative (without ἀν) in a simple sentence, we have (667, 1) the following rules for indirect quotations after ὅτι or ὡς and for indirect questions:—

1. After primary tenses the verb stands in the indicative, in the tense of the direct discourse. *E.g.*

Λέγει ὅτι γράφει, he says that he is writing; λέγει ὅτι ἔγραψεν, he says that he was writing; λέγει ὅτι γέγραψεν, he says that he has written; λέγει ὅτι ἔγγραψε, he says that he had written; λέγει ὅτι ἔγραψε, he says that he wrote; λέγει ὅτι γράψει, he says that he shall write.

ἐὰν ὅτι ὅσ' εἰμι καὶ ἐκ Πύλου εἰλήλουθα, say that I am safe and have come from Pylos. Od. xvi. 131. Ὅστρυνον δ' Ἄχιλῆι εἰπεῖν ὅτι πά ρά ὀι πολὺ φιλότατος ἀλεθ' ἑταίρος, urge him to tell Achilles that his dearest friend perished. II. xvii. 654. (See 663, 1.) Γνωτόν δὲ ὡς ἄδη Τρώσσοιν ὀλέθρου πείρατ' ἐφῆπταί. II. vii. 401.

Λέγει γὰρ ὅσι όιδέν ἔστιν ἄδικωτερον φήμης. Aesch. i. 125. Οὐ γὰρ ὃν τούτο γ' εἶποι, ὡς ἔλαβεν. Id. ii. 151. Ἐδ' ὅτε, ὅτι πλείστον δειαφέρει φήμη καὶ συκοφαντία. I. ib. 145. Ἀλλ' ἐννοεῖν χρή τούτο μὲν, γυναῖκ' ὅτι ἐφύγει. Soph. Ant. 61. Καὶ ταῦθ' ὃς ἄληθι λέγω, καὶ ὅτι ὑπεδόθη ἡ ψύφος εν ὑπάσει πλείους τε ἐγένοντο των ψηφισαμένων, μάρτυρις ὑμῖν παρέξομαι. I shall bring witnesses to show that I speak the truth, etc. Dem. i. vii. 14.

(Indirect Questions.) Ἕρωτα τί βούλονται, he asks what they want; Ἕρωτα τί ποιήσονται, he asks what they will do.

Σὺ δὲ φράσαι εἰ με σαφέσεις (Bekker ἦ με), and do you consider whether you will save me. Iu. i. 83. Σάφα δ' οὐκ οἶδ' εἰ θεος ἐστιν. I. n. 183. "Ὅφρα καὶ Ἑκτωρ εἶπεῖ τῇ καὶ ἐμὸν δόρῳ μαίεται ἐν παλάμησι (v I. εῖ και). I. viii. 111. "Οφρα δωμένῃ καὶ ἐτέων Κάλλας μαντεύεται ἵκ καὶ οὐκί. I. ii. 299; so Od. iv. 487, 712. "Ὅς εἶπεν ὅ τοῦσσον ἐγχώσατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων, εἰ τ' ἀρ' δ' ὡς εὐχωλής ἐπιμέμβεται εἰ θ' ἐκατόμβης (Bekker ή τ'). II. i. 64; see ii. 349. Πίστευς ἐρωτάντεσ εἰ λήσται εἰσίν, asking whether they are pirates. Theoc. i. 5. Εἰ ἔμπωθον ἔσεις καὶ ἐνεργάσεις σκόπει. Soph. Ant. 41. See Eur. Alc. 784. Ἐβδοίες δ' ὅν δ' ἐβλαστήσειν οὐκ ἕχω λέγειν. Soph. Tr. 401. 'Ερωτᾶς εἰ οὐ καλὴ μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, you ask whether it does not seem to me to be fine. Plut. Gorg. 462 D. Βουλχόμενος ἐρείσθαι εἰ μαθὼν τίς τι μεμνημένος μὴ οἴδεν. Id. Theaet. 163 D. Σκοπώμεν εἰ ήμῖν πρέπει ἠ οὐ. Id. Rep. 451 D. Τοῦτ' αὐτὸ, εἰ χαίρεις ὡς χαίρεις, ἀνάγκη δ' ὅποι σε
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άγνοείν. Id. Phil. 21 B. (For ὅ and μή in the last four examples, representing ὅ of the direct question, see 667, 5.) θαυμάζω πότερα ὡς κρατῶν αἰτεῖ τά ὡς διὰ φιλίαν δώρα. XEN. An. ii. 1, 10. Σήμαν' εἰτ' ἔχει χῶρον πρὸς αὐτὸν τόνδε γ' εἰτ' ἄλλη κυρεῖ. SOPH. Ph. 22. Εἴτε κατὰ τρόπον κεῖται εἰτέ μή, οὔτω διὰσθαι. PLAT. Crat. 425 B (667, 5). See also XEN. Cyr. ii. 1, 7 (εἰ ... εἴτε μή); ἘΤΡ. Alc. 139 (εἰ ... εἴτε). Περὶ πάντων ἰδώμεν, άρ' οντωσί γ' γνεται πάντα. PLAT. Phaed. 70 D. (Ἀρα regularly introduces only direct questions.)

It is to be noticed that indirect questions after primary tenses retain an indicative of the direct question in Greek, where the subjunctive is used in Latin. Thus, nescio quis sit, I know not who he is, in Greek is simply ἀγνοῶ τίς εστίν. This does not apply to indirect questions which would require the subjunctive in the direct form (677).

2. After secondary tenses the verb may be either changed to the optative or retained in the indicative, the tense of the direct discourse being retained in either case. The optative is the more common form. E.g.

'Ελεξεν ὅτι γράφων (or ὅτι γράφει), he said that he was writing; i.e. he said γράφω. 'Ελεξεν ὅτι γεγραφών εἰς (or ὅτι γεγραφεῖν), he said that he had written; i.e. he said γέγραφα. 'Ελεξεν ὅτι γράφοι (or ὅτι γράφει), he said that he should write; i.e. he said γράφω. 'Ελεξεν ὅτι γραφεῖν (or ὅτι γράφεσθαι), he said that he had written; i.e. he said γέγραφα. (For the imperfect and pluperfect, see 672.)

(Optative.) 'Ενέπλησε φρονήματος τοῦ 'Αρκάδας, λέγων ὡς μόνοις μὲν αὐτοῖς πατρις Πελοπόννησος εἰς, πλεῖστον δὲ τὸν 'Ελληνικῶν φύλον τὸ 'Αρκαδικὸν εἰς, καὶ σώματα ἐγκρατέστατα ἔχοι. XEN. Hell. vii. 1, 23. (He said μόνοις μὲν ὡς ἠμιν ἐστὶ, πλεῖστον δὲ ἐστὶ, καὶ σώματα ἔχει: these indicatives might have been used in the place of εἴς, εἶπ, and ἔχοι.) 'Ελευθέρων δὲ τῶν 'Ελλήνων, ι. e. he said that they had been defeated (he said ἠττηταὶ). Ib. vii. 1, 35. So HDT. i. 83 (perf. and pres.) ἤττησιν τᾶλα οὗτος καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸς τάκει πράξεως, having hinted that he would himself attend to affairs there. THUC. i. 90. (He said τάκει πράξεως, and πράξει might have been retained. See 128.) 'Ο δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι ἐσονταὶ (he said ἐσονταὶ). XEN. Cyr. vii. 2, 19. 'Ελευθέρων οὗτος ερωτάντων ἦταν ἄρκας οὗτος τὸν κακὸν, καὶ σωματα ἐγκρατέστατας ἔχοι. XEN. An. i. 4, 18. (They said ἐπεμψεν ἵμας, and the question to be asked was ὅτι ἐστὶν ὅποιος ὅποιος. 'Ελευθέρων δὲ τῶν κακῶν, they said that the king of the Indians had sent them, commanding them to ask on what account there was war. Ib. ii. 1, 7. (They said ἐπέμενεν ἵμας, and the question to be asked was ἔτι ἐστίν ὅποιος ὅποιος. 'Ελευθέρων δὲ τῶν κακῶν, they said that this river had never been ἔγενετο) forable except then. Id. An. i. 4, 18. Περὶ τοὺς Αθηναίοις, ἦταν ἀρχειάρχους μὲν τὰς κακὰς καὶ κακὰς γράφεις. XEN. An. i. 4, 18. (Ἀρα regularly introduces only direct questions.)
13. (He said ξένος μοι ἐστίν, οὐ μέντοι ἐγένετο. See 116, 1; 124, 1.) "Εγώσαν ὅτι κενὸς ὁ φῶς εἰς. XEN. An. ii. 2, 21. Προειδούντες ὅτι ἐσοίτο ὁ πόλεμος, ἐβούλοντο τὴν Πλάταιαν προκαταλαβεῖν. ΤΕΥΣ. ii. 2. "Επειρώμην αὐτῷ δεικνύα, ὅτι οἴοιτο μὲν εἶναι σοφός, εἰ ἐστιν ὡς. ΠΛΑΤ. ΑΡ. 21 C.

(Indicative.) "Ελεγον ὡς ἐλπίζουσιν σὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔζευς μοι χάριν, they said that they hoped, etc. ISOCC. v. 23. (They said ἐλπίζουμεν, which might have been changed to ἐλπίζουσιν.) "Ηκε δ' ἀγγέλλων τις ὡς τοὺς πρωτάνεις ὡς Ἐλάτεαι κατείληπται, some one had come with the report that Elatea had been taken. DEM. xvii. 169. (Here the perf. opt. might have been used.) "Δεινοὺ λόγους ἔτολμα περὶ ἐμοῦ λέγειν, ὡς ἔγω τὸ πράγμα εἰμὶ τούτῳ δεδρακὼς. ἸΔ. xxi. 104. Αἰτισάμενοι γὰρ μὲ αὐτὸ ναί, ἄν ὁ δικήγορος τις, τῶν πατέρας ὡς ἀπέκτων ἐγὼ τὸν ἔμαντον, κ.τ.λ. ἸΔ. xxii. 2. "Φανερῶς εἰπὼν ὅτι ἡ μὲν πόλις σφῶν τετείχοσα τῇ δή, he said that their city had already been fortified. ΤΕΥΣ. i. 91. "Αποκρινάμενοι ὅτι πέμποντο πρέσβεις, ἐνθνς απῆλλαξαν. ἸΔ. i. 90. (Cf. ὅτι πράξοι, quoted above from the same chapter.) "Ηδεσαν ὅτι τοῦ ἀττεγκόντας οἰκέτας ἔξαιτήσομεν. DEM. ΧΧΧ. 23. (*Έξαιτήσομεν might have been used.) "Επόλμα λέγειν ὅτι ἐπέρ νημών ἐφεαυτόν ἐλκνσε καὶ νῦν ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις κινδύνοις. ΙΔ. xxii. 59.

(Indirect Questions.) "Ἡρωτήσεν αὐτὸν τί ποιοίη (ορ τί ποιεί), he asked him what he was doing; i.e. he asked τί ποιείς; "Ἡρωτήσεν αὐτὸν τί πεποιηκώς εἴη (ορ τί πεποίηκεν), he asked him what he had done; i.e. he asked τί πεποίηκε; "Ἡρωτήσεν αὐτὸν τί ποιήσει (ορ τί ποιήσει), he asked him what he should do; i.e. he asked τί ποιήσεις; "Ἡρωτήσεν αὐτὸν τί ποιήσειεν (ορ τί ἐποίησεν), he asked him what he had done; i.e. he asked τί ἐποίησες;

"Εἰπεν αὐτῷ κόθεν λάβοι τὸν παῖδα, he asked whence he had received the boy. ἸΔ. i. 116. "Ἡρωτών αὐτὸν εἰ ἀναπλεῦσει τίνι ἐποίησεν ἀργόριον, I asked him whether he had taken the money. DEM. L. 55. (The direct question was ἀνάπλευσε; See 125 and 670, b.)

Εἰπετῷ ὅτεν χρηίζον ἱκόμην, he asked what I wanted that I came. ὈΔ. xvii. 120. "Ἡπάρανι τι ποτε λέγει, I was uncertain what he meant. ΠΛΑΤ. ΑΡ. 21 B. (Here λέγει might have been used.) "Εβουλεύοντο αὐτὸν τὶν αὐτὸν καταλείψουσιν, they were considering whom they should leave here. DEM. xix. 122. "Ερωτώντων τινῶν διὰ τί ἀπεθανεν, paraγγέλλαν ἐκέλευν, κ.τ.λ. XEN. ΗΕΛL. ii. 1, 4.
670. (a) After past tenses the indicative and optative are in equally good use; the optative being used when the writer incorporates the quotation entirely into his own sentence, and the indicative when he quotes it in the original words as far as his own construction allows. The indicative here, like the subjunctive in final clauses after past tenses (318), is merely a more vivid form of expression than the optative, with no difference in meaning. We even find both moods in the same sentence. E.g.

Οντ ο ι, έλεγαν ότι Κόρος μεν τέθνηκεν, 'Αριαιός δέ πεφευγὼς ἐν τῷ σταθμῷ εἶ η καὶ λέγοι, κ.τ.λ. ΧΕΝ. Άν. ii. 1, 3. (Here τέθνηκεν contains the most important part of the message.) Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐπινθάνετο ἡδή αὐτῶν καὶ ὅποιν ὦν διήλασαν, καὶ εἰ οίκοιτο ἀ χώφα. Ι. Συγ. iv. 4, 4. Ἐτάλμα λέγει, ὡς χράᾳ τε πάρσολλα ἐκτέτικεν ὑπὲρ ἕμου καὶ ὧς πολλά τῶν ἐμῶν λάβοιεν. ΔΕΜ. xxvi. 49. "Ομοιοι ἦσαν θαυμάζειν ὅσοι ποτὲ τρέψονται οἱ "Ελληνες καὶ τί ἐν νῦ ἐχοίεν. ΧΕΝ. Άν. iii. 5, 13.

(b) The perfect and future were less familiar than the other tenses of the optative, so that these tenses were sometimes retained in the indicative even when the present or the aorist was changed to the optative. See the last two examples under (a). In indirect questions the aorist indicative was generally retained (see 125). Some writers (as Thucydides) preferred the more direct forms in all indirect discourse (320).

671. In Homer this construction (669) is fully developed in indirect questions: see examples of both indicative and optative in 669, 1 and 2. But in indirect quotations, while the indicative is freely used after both present and past tenses, the change of the indicative to the optative after past tenses had not yet been introduced. In the single case of εἰπέν ὡς with the optative, μερήριζε... ἐκατα εἰπέν, ὡς ἐλθοι καὶ ἴκοιτ' ἐσερίδα γαίαν, he hesitated about telling him each event, how he had returned, etc., Od. xxiv. 237, ὡς appears only on its way from its meaning how (663, 2) to its later use with the optative as that. We first find the optative in genuine oratio obliqua (with ὡς) Ηυμν. Βεν. 214, εἰπέν ὡς ἐλθ. Further, the later principle by which the indicative after past tenses (when it is not changed to the optative) retains the tense of the direct form is almost unknown in the Homeric language. Here a present or perfect indicative of the direct discourse after a past tense is changed to an imperfect or pluperfect; so that I knew that he was planning evil, which in Attic would be ἠγίγνωσκον ὅτι κακὰ μήδετο (ορ μηointments), in Homer is ἠγίγνωσκον ὅ (=ότε) κακὰ μήδετο, Od. iii. 166. (For examples, see 674,) The aorist indicative, which has no corresponding tense to express its own time referred to the past, was always retained after past tenses; as in γνὸ ὃν εἰ οὔντε Ἰλαθεν, Ι. Χα. 439; so i. 537, xxii. 445. Likewise the future indicative is once retained, in Od. xiii. 340, ἦδε' ὅ νοστήσετο, I knew that you would return; but elsewhere the past future with
εμελλον is used, as in II. xx. 466, ουδε το γην δ ου πεισθαι εµελλεν, and Od. xix. 94, II. xi. 22. These examples show the need of the later future optative (129). In II. xxii. 10, ουδε το ποι με έγνωσ ως θεος ειμι, and xx. 265 the present expresses a present truth rather than a past fact.

It thus appears that the peculiar constructions with ὦται and ὦς in oratio obliqua (667, 1, b), which gave such grace and variety to the later language, were not yet developed in Homer; but clauses with ὦται, ὦς, etc., were still connected with the leading verb by the same looser construction which we use in English (as I knew that he was planning evil), the dependent verb expressing its own absolute time (see 22), as it did in the relative clauses in which these clauses originated, or in the more primitive parataxis. Thus γιγνωσκον δ κακα μηδετα (above) meant originally I knew as to what he was planning evil; and without ὦ, in a still earlier stage, I knew: he was planning evil (which we can say in English). Even after the more thorough incorporation of the dependent clause was established, by which either μηδεται or μηδοιτο became the regular form, the more primitive imperfect is occasionally found, even in Attic prose (see 674, 2).

The most common Homeric construction in indirect discourse is that of φημι with the infinitive, of which 130 examples occur.

672. An imperfect or pluperfect of the direct discourse is regularly retained in the indicative, after past tenses, for want of an imperfect or pluperfect optative. E.g.

'Ακοσα σε Ξενοφων λεγεν ὦται ὦρως γτις και αυτο το έργον αυτοι μαρτυροη, he said that they had accused him rightly, and that the fact itself bore witness to them; i.e. he said ὦρως γτις και το έργον υπαν μαρτυρετ. Xcn. An. iii. 3, 12. Εγε γαρ λεγεν, και ὦται μονοι των 'Ελλωνων βασιλει συνεμαχοντο εν Πλαταιους, και ὦται γαρ βοηθησετε στρατευσαγιον επι βασιλεα (he said μονοι συνεμαχομεθα, και ουδετε στρατευσαμεθα). Ix. Hell. vii. 1, 34. Τουτον κακον ἡρμην ει τινε ειεν μαρτυριεν δυν εναντι龛 την πρωκι ρησονετα, αυτοι δ Αφοβου, ει τινε παρηγον δε απελαμβανεν, I asked each of these men whether there were any witnesses before whom they had paid the dowry; and Aphobus, whether there had been any present when he received it. Dm. xxx. 19. (The two questions were ει σοι μαρτυριν τινε; και παρηγον τινε;)
673. (Imperfect Optative.) In a few cases, the present optative is used after past tenses to represent the imperfect indicative. The present optative thus supplies the want of an imperfect, like the present infinitive and participle (119 and 140). This can be done only when the context makes it perfectly clear that the optative represents an imperfect, and not a present.  

Τὸν Τιμάγοραν ἀπέκτειναν, κατηγορούντος τοῦ Λέωντος ὡς οὔτε συνκηρύξει ἐθέλοι ἐαυτῷ μετὰ τε Πελοπίδου πάντα βουλεύοιτο.  

Χεν. Ηλλ. vii. 1, 38. (The words of Leon were οὔτε συνκηρύξει ἦθελέ μοι, μετὰ τε Πελ. πάντα ἐβουλεύετο.) Τὰ πεπραγμένα διηγοῦντο, ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμιους πλέοιεν, τὴν δὲ ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ναυαγῶν προστάξασιν ἀνδράςιν ἰκανοῖς.  

1b. i. 7, 5. (The direct discourse was αὐτῶν μὲν ἐπέλεμεν, τὴν δὲ ἀναίρεσιν προσετάξαμεν.)  

Καὶ μοι πάντες ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι οὐδεὶς μάρτυς παρεῖν, κομίζοντες δὲ λαμβάνων καθ’ ὅσονον ἀνθρώποι Αφρόδης παρ’ αὐτῶν, they all replied, that no witness had been present, and that Aphodius had received the money from them, taking it in such sums as he happened to want.  

Dem. xxx. 20. (The direct discourse was οὐδέκα μάρτυς παρέστη, ἐκομίζετο δὲ λαμβάνων καθ’ ὅσονον δέοιτο. Παρείη contains the answer to the question εἴ τινες παρήσαν in the preceding sentence, quoted in 672. The imperfect in that sentence prevents the optatives in the reply from being ambiguous.)  

Ἀκούσας πιστεύω τούτοι, ὡς άρα Λέωντιος, αἰσθόμενος νεκρούς παρὰ τὰ δημίου κειμένους, ἀμα μὲν ἔδειν ἐπίθυμοι, ἀμα δ’ ἀδ δυσχεραινοὶ καὶ ἀποτρέποι ἔκατον, καὶ τέως μάχοιτό τε καὶ παρακαλύπτοιτο.  

Plat. Rep. 439 E. (All the optatives represent imperfects.) See also Htr. ix. 16 (end).

674. 1. In Homer, where clauses with ὅτι, ὡς, etc. are not yet constructed on the principles of indirect discourse (see 671), a present or perfect of the direct form appears as an imperfect or pluperfect in these clauses after past tenses.  

Οὐδὲ τι γῇ ὅτι δημόσιωτα λαοί. Πι. xiii. 674 (here the present optative or indicative would be regular in Attic Greek).  

Ἐπόρονσε, γεγυμνόμενον δ’ οἱ αὐτοὶ ἐπείρεσι χείρας Ἀπίλλων (later ἐπερεῖσὶ or ἐπερεῖσι).  

Πι. v. 433. Ὡς γὰρ οἱ τις ἦγειλ’ ὅτι ήδέ οἱ πόσις ἐκτοθεί μιμνε πυλάων. Πι. xxii. 438. See Od. xxiv. 182; and iii. 166, discussed in 671.

2. We sometimes find the imperfect and pluperfect with ὅτι or ὡς representing the present or perfect of the direct form after past tenses, even in Attic Greek. In such cases the context always makes it clear that the tense represented is not an imperfect or pluperfect (672).  

Ἐν πολλῆ ἁπατή ἦσαν οἱ Ἑλληνες, ἐννοοῦμενοι μὲν ὅτι ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλεῖων θύραις ἦσαν, κύκλῳ δὲ αὐτοῖς πόλεις πολέμια ἦσαν, ἄγορὰν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐτι παρέξειν ἐμελλεῖν, ἀπείχον δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὃι μείν η μίρα στάδια, προειδοδόκεσαν δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι, μόνοι δὲ καταλειμμένοι ἦσαν οὐδὲ ἵππεα οὐδενα σώμαχον.
the Greeks thought: We are at the king's gates; hostile cities surround us; no one will supply us a market; we are not less than ten thousand stades from Greece; the barbarians have betrayed us, and we have been left alone. **Xen. An. iii. 1, 2.** (The direct forms would be the present and perfect indicative.)

3. In such cases the more thorough incorporation of the dependent clause which is required to make the oratio obliqua complete is wanting, and the clause stands in the loose relation in which, for example, causal sentences usually stand to their leading verb (see 715). For the same incomplete oratio obliqua in dependent clauses of a quotation, see 691 and 701.

675. 1. An indirect quotation with δέι or ως and the optative is sometimes followed by an independent optative, generally introduced by γάρ, which continues the quotation as if it were itself dependent on the δέι or ως. **E.g.**

"Ηκούον δ' ἔγωγέ τινων ὡς οὐδὲ τοῦς λυμένας καὶ τὰς ἀγορὰς ἔτι δώσοιεν αὖτις καρποῦσθαι· τά γὰρ κοινά τὰ Θεταλῶν ἀπὸ τούτων δεόν διοικεῖν, for (as they said) they must administer, etc. **Dem. l. 22.**

676. We may even have δέι or ως with the optative when the leading verb is not past, if there is an implied reference to some former expression of the thought quoted. **E.g.**

"Ἄρ' οὖν δὴ ὦ καὶ μετριῶς ἀπολογησόμεθα, δέι πρὸς τὸν πενεκὼς εἰὴ ἀμφιλλασταθείη, καὶ οὐκ ἐπιμένοι, . . . ἀλλ' ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἀμβλύνουτο, καὶ τελευτῶσα γε ἐν τῷ καλομένῳ θανάτῳ ἀπολλήθοι, and (according to the theory) it lives in misery, etc., and finally perishes in what is called death. **Plat. Phaed. 95 D.** (Plato is here stating the views of others.)
Subjunctive or Optative representing the Interrogative Subjunctive.

677. In indirect questions, after a primary tense, an interrogative subjunctive (287) retains its mood and tense; after a secondary tense, it may be either changed to the same tense of the optative or retained in the subjunctive. E.g.

Φραζωμεθ' . . . ἢ β' αὕτης πάλευμον ὅρσομεν (subj.) ἢ φιλότητα μετ' ἀμφότερου βάλωμεν, let us consider whether we shall again rouse war or cast friendship upon both armies. II. iv. 14. Σοῦ δὲ μοί νημερτῆς ἐνίατε, ἢ μν ἀποκτεῖνοι ἢ σοι ἐνθάδ' ἂγω, and do you tell me truly whether I shall slay him or bring him hither to you. Od. xxii. 166. See Od. xvi. 73, xix. 524. Πρὸς ἀμφότερα ἁπόρω, ταύτην θ' ὁποῖς ἐκδώ καὶ πάλλ' ὁπόθεν διοικῶ, I am at a loss on both questions, how I shall give her a dowry (πῶς ταύτην ἐκδώ;), and how (whence) I shall pay my other expenses (πῶθεν πάλλα διοικῶ;). DEM. xxvii. 66. Βουλευόμαι ὅπως σε ἀποδώ. I am trying to think how I shall escape you (πῶς σε ἀποδώ;). ΞΕΝ. Cyri. i. 4, 13. Οἶκ ἔχω τὶ λέγω, I know not what I shall say. DEM. ix. 54. So in Latin, non habeo quid (or quod) dicam. Oūκ ἔχω σῶμα; οὕτω ἀπάλλαγω, I have no device (i.e. I know not) how I shall escape. Aesch. Prom. 470. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ δι' ἀπειρίαν γε οὐ φύσεως ἔχειν ὅ τι εἴπης, for it is not surely through inexperience that you will declare that you know not what to say (i.e. τί εἴπω;). DEM. xix. 120. So δ τι δῶ and οἷς δῶ, ΞΕΝ. An. i. 7, 7. (See 572.) Τὰ δὲ εἴπωμα τάκτον οὖκ οἶδ' εἰ Χρυσίνθος τούτῳ δῶ, I do not know whether I shall give them, etc. Id. Cyri. viii. 4, 16. Ἐπανερομένου Κτησιφώτου εἰ καλίσῃ Δημοσθένην, when Ctesiphon asks whether he shall call Demosthenes. Aeschin. iii. 202. (For εἰ see 680.)

Ἐν δὲ οἱ ήτορ μερομίρζεν, ἢ οὐ γε τών μὲν ἀναστήσειν, ὃ δ' Ἀτρείδου ἐναρέζει, ἢ χόλον παῦσειν ἐρητούσε εἰ τιθομ. Π. i. 188. (The direct questions were τοῖς μὲν ἀναστήσω; Ἀτρείδου δ' ἐναρέζει; παῦσω ἐρητούσ' εἰ τιθομ.) Κλήρους πάλλουν, ὁ πράττειν δὴ πρόσθεν ἀφείται χάλκεον ἔγχος, i.e. they shook the lots (to decide) which should first throw his spear, the question being πότερος πρόσθεν; II. iii. 316. Ἐξηρατηριάζετο εἰ ἐκβάλει τόν Ἀδριστον. ἩΔ. v. 67. Ἐπήροντο εἰ παραβόλειν Κορυνθίων τήν πόλιν, they asked whether they should give up their city, the question being παραβώμεν τήν πόλιν; ΘΕΟC. i. 25. Ἐβουλευόμενοι εἰ τὰ σκευοφόρα ἐνταῦθα ἀγούσιν ἢ ἀπείτον εἰ τὸ στρατόπεδον. ΞΕΝ. An. i. 10, 17: so i. 10, 5. Ἡπόρει δ' τι χρήσαι τῷ πράγματι, he was at a loss how to act in the matter, i.e. τί χρὴσομαι; Iδ. Hell. vii. 4, 39. Οὐ γὰρ εἴχομεν ὅπως δρώντες καλὸς πράξαμεν, for we could not see how we should fare well, if we did it. Soph. Ant. 270. Ἀσπέροντος δὲ βασιλέως δ' τι χρῆσηται τῷ παρεόντι πράγματι, Ἐπιάλτης ἤλθε οἱ ἐς λόγοις. ἩΔ. vii. 213. Ἡπόρρησε μὲν ὅποτε-
The context must decide whether the optative in an indirect question represents a subjunctive (as here) or an indicative (669). The distinction is especially important with the aorist optative (see 125).

When the leading verb is an optative referring to the future, the optative can be used, by assimilation, to represent the subjunctive in these indirect questions. E.g.

Χαρίειντα γούς πάθοιμ' ἄν, εἰ μὴ ἰχοὺς ὄποι ταῦτα καταθεῖν, if I should not have anywhere to put these down (know where to put them).  

The same principle applies when a secondary tense of the indicative without ἄν in the construction of 415 is quoted. E.g.
"Εξεγείν ὅτι κρεῖττον ἦν αὐτῷ τότε ἀπόθανεῖν, he said that he had better have died at once. Lys. x. 25. (The direct discourse was κρεῖττον ἦν μοι ἀπόθανεῖν.)

Infinitive in Indirect Discourse.

683. When the infinitive stands in indirect discourse, its tense represents the corresponding tense of the finite verb in the direct form, the present and perfect including the imperfect and pluperfect. If ἄν was used in the direct form, it must be retained in the quotation, each tense with ἄν representing the corresponding tenses of either indicative or optative with ἄν. E.g.

Φησὶ γράφειν, he says that he is writing; ἔφη γράφειν, he said that he was writing; φήσει γράφειν, he will say that he is (then) writing. (He says γράφει.) Φησὶ (ἔφη) γράφειν ἄν, εἰ ἑώνατο, he says (or said) that he should now be writing, if he were able. (He says ἔγραψεν ἄν.) Φησὶ (ἔφη) γράφειν ἄν, εἰ δύνατο, he says (or said) that he should write, if he should (ever) be able. (He says γράφομεν ἄν.)

Φησὶ γράψαι, he says that he wrote; ἔφη γράψαι, he said that he had written; φήσει γράψαι, he will say that he wrote. (He says ἔγραψα.) Φησὶ (ἔφη) γράψαι ἄν, εἰ ἑώνητο, he says (or said) that he should have written, if he had been able. (He says ἔγραψα ἄν.) Φησὶ (ἔφη) γράψαι ἄν, εἰ δύνατο, he says (or said) that he should write, if he should (ever) be able. (He says γράψαμεν ἄν.)

Φησὶ (φήσει) γεγράφεσαι, he says (or will say) that he has written; ἔφη γεγράφεσαι, he said that he had written. (He says γέγραφα.)

For the perfect with ἄν, see below and 206.

Φησὶ (φήσει) γράφειν, he says (or will say) that he will write; ἔφη γράφειν, he said that he would write. (He says γράψω.)

(Present.) Καὶ τέ μὲ φησὶ μάχει Θρόσσων ἄρηγεῖν. II. i. 521. Πῶς δὴ φῆς πολέμιον μεθέμεν; II. iv. 351. So II. xvii. 338. Σκυῖζεσθαί οἱ εἰπέ θεοὺς, ἐρε δ' ἔξοχα πάντων αθανάτων κεχολῶσθαι, tell him that the Gods are angry with him and that I am enraged with him beyond all the immortals. II. xxiv. 113. Ἀρρωστείν προφασίζεται, he pretends that he is sick: ἔγραφεν ἀρρωστείν τοῦτον ἵπτε, he took his oath that this man was sick. DEM. xix. 124. Οὐκ ἔφη αὐτὸς ἄλλ' ἔκεινον στρατηγεῖν, i.e. Leon said that not he himself, but Nicias, was general; i.e. he said, οὐκ ἐγὼ αὐτὸς ἄλλ' ἔκεινος στρατηγεῖ. THUC. iv. 28. Τίνας οὖν ἐκείς ὑπολαμβάνειν' ἔχεσθαι τοῦ Φιλίππου ὅτε ἐσπένθευ; what prayers do you suppose Philip made, etc.? DEM. xix. 130. (Εὐχεσθαι represents ἡνχετο: see 119.) Όλιβι γὰρ ἄν οὐκ ἄχαρίστως μοι ἔχειν, for I think it would not be a thankless labour; i.e. οὐκ ἄν ἔχωι. XEN. An. ii. 3, 18. Ὅσοτε γὰρ τὸν πατέρα οὖκ ἄν φυλάττειν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν λαμβάνειν τῶν παλαιότερον ἔγλωσσαν; do you think that my father would not have taken care and have received the pay for the timber
sold? i.e. οὐκ ἄν ἐφίλαττεν καὶ ἐλάμβανεν; Dem. xlix. 35. (See 205.)

(Aorist.) Οὔτε κε φαίης ἄνδρι μαχησά, μενον τόν γ' ἔθημεν, nor would you say that he came after a battle with a man. Il. iii. 393. Κατα- σχέτιν φησί τούτοις, he says that he detained them. Τοὺς δ' αἰχμα- λώτους οὔτ' ἐνθυμηθήναι φησί λύσοσθαι, but he says that he did not even think of ransoming the prisoners. Dem. xix. 39. (He says κατέσχον and οὔτ' ἐνέθυμηθήν.) Ο Κύρος λέγεται γενέσθαι Καμβύσεω, Cyrus is said to have been the son of Cambyses. Xen. Cyr. i. 2, 1. Τούς Ἀθηναίους ἦπισεν ὅσως ἄν ἐπέξελθεν καὶ τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἄν περι- ιδεῖν τμῆθαι, he hoped that the Athenians would perhaps march out and not allow their land to be laid waste; i.e. ὅσως ἄν ἐπέξελθοεν καὶ οὐκ ἄν περιείδοεν. Thuc. ii. 20. Απήσαν νομίσαντες μή ἄν ἄτι ικανοὶ γενέσθαι καὶ κωλύσαι τὸν τείχοςμόν. (Here οὐκ ἄν γενό- μεθα would be the direct form: see 685.) So i. 139. Οὔκ ἄν ήγείσθ' αὐτὸν κἀν ἐπιδραμεῖν, do you not believe that (in that case) he would have run thither? i.e. ἐπέδραμεν ἄν. Dem. xxvii. 56. (See 223.) A single infinitive with ἄν occurs in Homer: καί δ' ἄν τοῦ ἄλλους ἐφ' παραμυθήσασθαι, Il. iii. 684. (The direct discourse is given in the words of Achilles in vs. 417, καί δ' ἄν παραμυθήσασθαι.) (See 207.)

(Perfect.) Φρονέω τετιμήσθαι Δίως αἰσθή, I feel that I have been honoured. Il. ix. 608. Φησίν αὐτὸς αἰτίας γεγενήσθαι, he says aitios γεγενήσθαι. Dem. xix. 37. Εἴκαζον ἦ διώκοντα οἴχεσθαι ἦ καταληφόμενον τι προεχήθακέναι. Xen. An. i. 10, 16. (Their thought was ἦ διώκων οἴχεται, ἦ προεχήθηκεν.) "Εφή χρήμαθ' ἐαν τοὺς Ὀθμιάνους ἐπικεκερυκέναι, he said that the Thebans had offered a reward for him. Dem. xix. 21. 'Αντέχεον μή δικαίως σφών καταδείκασθαι, λέγοντες μή ἐπηγγέλθαι πω ἐς Λακεδαίμονα τὰς σπόνδας ἄπτερα, καταδείκτος τοις ὁπλίταις, they rejoined that they (the Eleans) had not justly condemned them, saying that the truce had not yet been announced at Sparta when they sent in the soldiers (they said οὐκ καταδε- δίκασθε, and οὐκ ἐπηγγέλμεν ἦσαν πώ αἰ σπόνδαι ἄπτερα, οὐκ ἐπηγγέλμεν.). Thuc. v. 49. So ἐκπεπχέκαθα, representing ἐπεπχέκαθα, Xen. Cyr. i. 4, 27. (See 123, above.)

(For examples of the perfect infinitive with ἄν, representing the pluperfect indicative and the perfect optative, see 206.)

(Future.) Ἐφης οὖς ἐσσεσθαι. Il. xxii. 331. So Od. iv. 664. Καί μοι έπετεν Μυρύμδονος τὸν ἄριστον λείψειν φάος ἥλιοι, he told me ὅ ἄριστον . . . λείψει. Il. xvii. 9. Καί δ' ἡ οἵ γέρας αὐτῶς ἀφαι- ρήσεται αὐλειδί. Il. i. 161. Ἐπαγγέλλεται τά δίκαια ποιήσει, he promises to do what is right. Dem. xix. 48. "Εφη ἦτος ἡμερῶν εἰκός γαρ ἤξειν Λακεδαιμονίων ζώντας ἄ αιτος ἀποκτενεῖν, he said that within twenty days he would either bring them alive or kill them where they were. Thuc. iv. 28. (Cleon said ἤξει ἄ αιτος ἀποκτενεῖν.) Τάτα γαρ (φησί) παράξεσθαι δωσιν ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν, he says that this will have been accomplished within two or three days (137). Dem. xix. 74. (For the rare future infinitive with ἄν, see 208.)
684. The infinitive is said to stand in indirect discourse and its tenses correspond to those of the indicative or optative, when it depends on a verb implying thought or the expression of thought (one of the class of verba sentiendi et declarandi), and when also the thought, as originally conceived, would have been expressed by some tense of the indicative (with or without ἄν) or optative (with ἄν), so that it can be transferred without change of tense to the infinitive. Thus in ξολεία έλθείν, he wishes to go, έλθείν represents no form of either aorist indicative or aorist optative, and is therefore said to be not in indirect discourse. But in φησιν έλθείν, he says that he went, έλθείν represents ἔλθον of the direct discourse. The distinction in the time of the infinitive (especially of the aorist infinitive) in these two uses is obvious.

It may be asked why the infinitive after certain other verbs should not be said to stand in indirect discourse; for example, why in κελεύει σε έλθείν or μή έλθείν we should not say that έλθείν represents έλθε or μή έλθης of direct discourse. This might perhaps be done; and we might possibly make έλθείν in βούλομαι έλθείν represent έλθομι, may I go. But with other verbs of the same class, as those of advising, teaching, striving, choosing, no form of direct discourse can even be imagined. It is much harder to draw a line between these last verbs and verbs like κελεύω and βούλομαι, or even between these two, than where it is drawn above. It is impossible to say where a Greek would have drawn the line, or to be sure that he would have drawn any line at all; for our own use, the usual definition of the infinitive in oratio obliqua (as given above) is certainly the most convenient.

685. (Μή with Infinitive.) The negative particle of the infinitive in indirect discourse is regularly οὐ, which is retained from the direct form (667, 5). But, after certain verbs which belong to the intermediate class between those which take the infinitive in indirect discourse and those which do not (see 136), the infinitive regularly takes μή for its negative. Such are verbs of hoping, promising, and swearing; with those signifying to agree or consent (ὁμολογώ), to trust (πιστεύω), to be persuade (πεπείσμαι), to testify (μαρτυρώ). The infinitive occasionally has μή even after the verbs which most regularly take the infinitive with οὐ in indirect discourse, as φησί, λέγω, νομίζω, γνωσίμα, etc. E.g.

Χρήν δούσαι μή έκόντα έλθείν, he had to swear that he did not come intentionally. Ἑντ. ii. 179; so ι. 165. Ὄνννσιν μή πώποτ' άμείνον' ἐπη μηδέν έλθον, he swears that nobody ever heard better verses. Αν. Vesp. 1047. Ὅμως μικρά εἴρηκέναι. Ωμ. α. xxi. 119. Ὁταν έλπίςωσιν οὗτοι μή ἀλλως τόν νέον καθέξετιν. Πλατ. Rep. 572 E. Ουδέμιάν ύμείν ύμων έλθείν μή οὐ δώσειν ύμείς δίκην. Ἑντ. vi. 11. (For μη οὐ see 815, 2.) Μαίαδος οὖς ύπορχόμενος κατένεκε μή τον' ἀποκλέξειν δι' Ἐκαπάκιος ἐκτείνοντε. Προπ. 521; so μή τινα ἀπεσθαί. Προπ. 525.

1 See Liddell and Scott, ed. 7, under μή, B. 5, C; also Gildersleeve in Am. Jour. Phil. i. p. 51.
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"Ωμολογήσαμεν μήποτε καν αυτήν έναντία " Αδειν. ΡΛΑΤ. Εφαε. 94 C. Μεμαρτυρήσαν οι πρότερον ἐργαζόμενοι μή εἶναι σηκών ἐν τῷ χαριτ. 

LYS. vii. 11. So DEM. xiv. 15. Σωκράτη γε ἐγὼ ἐγγυνάω μή ἐπι-

λήσθαι. ΡΛΑΤ. Προτ. 336 D. Πιστεύω μή ψεύσειν με ταῦτα τὰς 

ἀγαθὰς ἐλπίδας. ΧΘΝ. ΣΥΓ. i. 5, 13. Πέπεισμαι ἐγὼ μηδένα ἀδικεῖν 

ἀνθρώπων. ΡΛΑΤ. ΑΡ. 37 A: so 37 B. 

Φαίην δ’ ἂν ἐγώ γε μηδενι μηδεμίαν εἶναι παύσεσαι παρὰ τοῦ μή 

ἀράσκοντος. ΧΘΝ. ΜΕΝ. i. 2, 39. So ΡΛΑΤ. Προτ. 155 A. Πάντες 

ἔρουσι τὸ λοιπὸν μηδὲν εἶναι κερδαλεῶτερον ἀρετῆς. ΧΘΝ. ΣΥΓ. vii. 

1, 18. Ἐνόμισε δὲ μή ἂν γενέσθαι ποτὲ πιστῶν ἀνήρωσιν. Ιβ. vii. 5, 

59. Καὶ ἄρτι ἑλεγον μηδενα ἐθέλειν ἐκάντα ἀρχεῖν. ΡΛΑΤ. ΡΕΡ. 346 

Ε. Τίς ἂν ὑεν μὲν παίδας ἡγοῖτο εἶναι, ὑθεύς δὲ μή; Ιδ. ΑΡ. 

27 D. Προσέληξον μή ἂν γέγονεσθαι πόλεμον (i.e. οὐκ ἂν γέγονοι 

πόλεμοι). ΘΘΥΣ. i. 139. See also ΘΘΥΣ. ν. 49, νι. 102, quoted in 683. 

The examples in the last paragraph are opposed to the regular 
usage of the language, which would demand οὐ in all of them. We 
must suppose that the use of μή with the infinitive was so fixed, before 
the infinitive began to be used in indirect discourse, that μή always 
seemed natural, even after οὐ had become the regular form after verbs 
of saying, thinking, etc. We sometimes find strange uses of μή. In 
ΘΘΥΣ. i. 118, ὄντες μὲν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ μή ταχείς ἐνείας ἐστι τοὺς πολι-

μοὺς, having even before this been not slow to go into wars, it may be 
difficult to find a better explanation of the anomalous μή than the 
perhaps heretical one, that τοῦ μή ταχείς ἐνείας had a more natural 
sound than τοῦ οὐ ταχείς ἐνείας, although neither τοῦ nor the negative 
has anything to do with the infinitive. So some people say between 
you and I, merely because you and me sounds vulgar.

686. With μή and the infinitive in indirect discourse we may 
come the rare ὅτι μή with the indicative, which occurs in ΘΘΟΓ. 
659, οὐδ’ ὁμοία χρή τοὖθ’. ὅτι μήποτε πρήγμα τοῦ ὅτι, and 
ΑΝΤ. ν. 21, ταῦτα σκοπεῖτε, ὅτι μή προνοία μᾶλλον ἐγένετο ἂν 
τόχυ: see also ΣΟΡΘ. ΑΝΤ. 685, ὅπως ὅποτ μή λέγεις ὅρθος τάδε. 
"Ὅτι μή with the indicative became a regular construction in later 
Greek (as in Lucian). Ὅμοια ὅτι μή ἐσται in ΘΕΟΓΝΙΣ suggests the 
still more puzzling cases of μή alone with the indicative after oaths 
in Homer and Aristophanes: ἵστω Ζεῦς, μή μὲν τοῖς ἑπευγενοῖν ἀνήρ 
ἐποχιστήσαται ἄλλος, Π. Χ. 329; ἴστω νῦν τάδε γαῖα . . . μή δέ 
ἴμων ἑστήτα Ποσειδόνι ἐνοπίθθων πημαίνει Τρώας, Π. ΧΧ. 36; μᾶ 
tοῖν Ἀπόλλω μή σ’ ἐγώ κατάκλινίω χαμαι, ΑΡ. ΛΥΣ. 917; so ΕΚΚΛ. 
1000; μὰ γῆ, μὰ παγίδας, . . . μὴ γ’ ἱπατοτροποὶ ἦκονοσά 
πω, Αὐ. 194. I have no explanation, even to suggest, of the strange 
use of μή in these last examples.

Participle in Indirect Discourse.

687. When the participle stands in indirect discourse,
it follows the rules already given for the infinitive (683), in regard to its tense and the use of ἀν. *E.g.*

'Αγγέλλει τούτοις ἐρχομένους, he announces that they are coming; ἠγγέλει τούτοις ἐρχομένους, he announced that they were coming. (The announcement is οὗτοι ἐρχομένοι.) 'Αγγέλλει τούτοις ἐλθόντας, he announces that they came; ἠγγέλει τούτοις ἐλθόντας, he announced that they had come. (He says ἐλθοῦσιν.) 'Αγγέλει (ήγγειλε) τούτο γενησόμενον, he announces (or announced) that this is (or was) about to happen. (He says τούτο γενήσεται.)

Οὐδ' ἀρα πώ τι ήδη Πάτροκλον τεθνηότα δῖος 'Αχιλλεύς, nor yet did Achilles have any knowledge that Patroclus was dead. II. xvii. 402. Τίγνωσκε θεόν γόνον ἠύν εόντα. 11. vi. 191. Τῆς έρωτος αὐτούς καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἕξελει, for they saw that they were not succeeding in their attempts, and that the soldiers were distressed by the delay; i.e. they saw οὐ κατορθοῦμεν καὶ οἱ στρατιώται ἔχονται. THUC. vii. 47. Εἰμιένομεν οἷς ὁμολογήσαμεν δικαίοις οὕσιν; do we abide by what we acknowledged to be just (i.e. δίκαια ἐστίν) P L A T . G R I T . 50 Α. Πάντ' ενεκα εαντον ποιων εξελήλεγκται, it has been proved that he is doing everything for his own interest. D E M . ii. 8. Αὐτῷ Κῦρον ἐπιστρατεύοντα πρῶτος ἠγγειλα, I first announced to him that Cyrus was on his march against him. XEN. An. ii. 3. 19. See SOPH. O. T. 395. Η σάφα οἴδε νοστήσαντά σε δενρο, whether she is perfectly certain that you have returned hither. OD. xxiv. 304. Ἐπιστράμενοι καὶ τὸν βάρβαρον αὐτὸν περὶ αὐτῷ τὰ πλεῖον σφιλέντα, καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοις πολλὰ ἡμᾶς ἦδή τοῖς ἀμαρτήσαντας αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ ᾦ· ὑμῶν τιμωρία περιγεγενημένους (i.e. οἱ βάρβαροι οἱ σφάλη, καὶ ὑμεῖς περιγεγεγενημέθα). THUC. i. 69. So in the same chapter, τὸν Μήδον αὐτοὶ ίσμεν ἐκ πειράτων γῆς επὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐλθόντα, i.e. ὁ Μήδος ἦλθεν. Επειδή ἠγγεληθεσαν αὐτῷ τὴν τῶν Βοωντῶν ἐγγίσαν, ἀλλ' ἐς διαφορὰν μεγάλην καθεστῶτας αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν Λακεδαιμονίους (i.e. ὁ Αρετῆς ἐπέρα χαὶ καθήσατον). Id. ν. 44. Οὐ γὰρ ήδησαν αὐτὸν τεθνηκότα, for they did not know that he was dead (i.e. τέθνηκεν). XEN. An. i. 10. 16. See AND. i. 23; SOPH. Tr. 739. 'Επιστράμενοι οὖν ἐλθὲς ἀπηγγελκότα ἀλλὰ φερακίσαν' ὁμᾶς, I have shown that he has reported nothing that is true, and that he deceived you (ἀπηγγέλκεν καὶ ἐφε- νάκισεν). DEM. xix. 177.

Εἰ εὖ ἦδεν καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν μοι γενησομένην, if I were sure that I should obtain an alliance also (i.e. συμμαχία μοι γενησέται). Ibid. 40. So XEN. Hell. iv. 7. 3. 'Ο δ' ἀντοφείλων ἀμβλυτέρος, εἴδως οὖν ἐὰν χάριν ἀλλ' ἐς διείλημα τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀποδόσων, knowing that
he shall not return the benefit, etc. (i.e. οὐκ ἀποδόσω). Thuc. ii. 40. Ίνοντες οὖν ἀποκολύσεως δυνατοί δυντες, εἰ τ' ἀπομονωθῆσονται τῆς ἐξυμβάσεως, κενδυνεύσοντες, ποιοῦνται ὁμολογίαν (i.e. οὔτε δυνατοί ἐσμεν, εἰ τ' ἀπομονωθήσομεθα, κενδυνεύσομεν). Id. iii. 28.

Εὖ δ' ἦσο, μηδέν ἂν με τούτων ἐπιχειρήσαντα σε πείθειν, εἰ δυναστεῖαν μόνον ἢ πλούσιον ἱώρων ἢ αὐτῶν γενησόμενων. Isoc. v. 133 (μηδέν ἂν ἐπιχειρήσαντα represents οὐδὲν ἂν ἐπεχείρησε, and γενησόμενον represents γενήσεται). Εὖ ἦσον μὴ ἂν ἠδον ὑμᾶς λυπηροὺς γενομένους (i.e. οὔκ ἂν ἐγένοντο). Thuc. i. 76. Σκοπούμενος οὖν εὐφροσύνην ἄνδρον ἂν ἄλλως τούτῳ διαπραξάμενος, I found that I could accomplish this (διαπραξαίμην ἂν) in no other way. Isoc. xv. 7.

"Ὅτως δὲ γε τοῖς πολεμίωσ δύνασθε κακῶς ποιεῖν, οὐκ οἴσθα μανθάνοντας ὑμᾶς πολλᾶς κακογιαίας; do you not know that you learned, etc. ? XEN. Cyr. i. 6, 28. (Here δύνασθε and the whole context show that μανθάνοντας represents ἐμανθάνετε.) Μέμνημαι δέ ἐγωγε καὶ παις ων Κριτία τίδε ξυνόντα σε, I remember that you were with (ξυνήσθα) this Critias. PLAT. Charm. 156 A. (See 140 and the examples.)

See other examples in 904.

688. (Negative μή.) The participle of indirect discourse, like the infinitive, regularly retains the negative of from the direct form. But, as in the case of the infinitive (685), we find many exceptions. Compare Isoc. v. 133 and Thuc. i. 76, which have μή after οἴδα, with Thuc. ii. 40 and Isoc. xv. 7, which have οἴδα οὐ (all quoted in 687). See also Soph. O. C. 656, 797 (οἴδα μή), Ph. 79 (ἐξοίδα μή), O. C. 1121 (ἐπισταμαι μή); Eur. Tro. 970 (ὅλεξω μή); Thuc. ii. 17 (προφεδε μή). Here also the irregularity may be explained by the fixed earlier use of μή in other constructions affecting the later construction of indirect discourse (685).

INDIRECT QUOTATION OF COMPLEX SENTENCES.

689. When a complex sentence is indirectly quoted, its leading verb follows the principles already stated for simple sentences (669-688).

1. If the quotation depends on a primary tense, all the dependent verbs of the original sentence retain the mood and tense of the direct discourse.

2. After a secondary tense, all dependent verbs of the original sentence which there stood in the present, perfect, or future indicative, or in any tense of the subjunctive, may either be changed to the same tense of the optative or retain
both the mood and tense of the direct discourse, the optative being the more common form. When the subjunctive is changed to the optative, ἄν is dropped, ἐὰν, ὅταν, etc., becoming el, ετε, etc.

3. But dependent secondary tenses of the indicative and all dependent optatives remain unchanged after all tenses (see, however, 693). E.g.

1. (After primary tenses.) "Ἀν δ' ὡμεῖς λέγητε, ποιήσειν (φήσι) δ' μητε', αἰσχύνην μητε' ἀδοξαί ἀντ' φέρει. DEM. xix. 41 (i.e. ποιήσω, ἔμ νυ ἐμοὶ φέρει). Ἡ θρήσκῳ γάρ, ἂν τοῦτο ἄκριμβος μᾶθητε, μᾶλλον ὡς τούτοις μὲν ἀποστῆσειν ἐμοί δὲ βοηθήσειν. Id. xxx. 25. 'Εάν τεκέιν εἰδῷμεν, ὅτι ἀπανθ' ὅσα πάτου ἓπεισαμέν τινα πράξειν ύπερ ἡμοῖν καθ' ἡμοῖν εἰρήνη, κἂν μὴ νῦν ἑθέλωμεν ἕκα πολεμεῖν αὐτῷ, ἐνθάδ' ἦσαν ἀναγκασθῆσθαι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, κ.τ.λ. Id. iv. 50. Προσεύξοτι ὅτι, ὅπυρ' ἂν ἀποκρίνηται, ἑξελεγχθῆσαι.

2. (Optative after secondary tenses.) Ἐξε τω ὧτι ἄνδρα ἄγω δὲν εἰρξαι δεοι, he said that he was bringing a man whom it was necessary to confine, i.e. he said ἄνδρα ἄγω δὲν εἰρξαι δεί. XEN. Hell. v. 4, 8. Ἀπεκρίνατο δὲτι μανθάνοιεν οἴ μανθάνοντες οὐκ επίσταντο, i.e. he replied, μανθάνοντες οὐκ ἑπίστανται. PLAT. Euthyd. 276 E. (Here οὐκ shows that οὐκ has a definite antecedent, and takes the optative only because it is in indirect discourse. So with ὧν in the preceding example.) Ἀγνώσιασ ἔλεγεν ὅτι, εἰ βλαβερά πεπραχώς εἴη, δίκαιος εἴη ζημιούσθαι, i.e. he said εἰ βλαβερά πέπραχε, δίκαιος εστί ζημιούσθαι. XEN. Hell. v. 2, 32. So An. iii. 5, 15 and vi. 6, 25.

Εἰ δὲ τινα βιοῦντο λήψεται, προηγεύεται ὅτι ὡς πολεμεῖς ἡρη- σοίτο. Id. Cyr. iii. 1, 3. (This is a quotation of εἰ τινα λήψει, χρήσομαι. Γνώτε δὲ ὅτι, εἰ δύσοιεν εὐθήνας, κινδυνεύοιεν ἀπολέσθαι, πέμπονται καὶ διδάσκονται τοὺς Θηβαίους οὐ, εἰ μή στρα- τεύοιεν, κινδυνεύοιεν οἵ 'Αρκαδές πάλιν λακωνίσασι. Id. Hell. vii. 4, 34. 'Ηδέ τι γὰρ ὅτι, εἰ μάχης ποτὲ δέχεσθαι, ἐκ θυμῶν αὐτῷ παραστάτας ληστῶν εἰπ. Id. Cyr. viii. 1, 10. (The direct discourse was εἰ τι δεῖσθαι, ληστῶν ἤστεν.)

(The dependent clause is found in the direct form in iii. 2, 9: δοκεῖ μοι εὑρέσαι τῷ θεῷ τοῦτον θύσειν σωτηρία ὅπου ἂν πρῶτον εἰς φιλιάν χώραν ἄφικωμεθα.)

Τούτῳ ἐπαγγελματίαν νομίζων, ὡς τῆς πόλεως προλάβοι, πάντα ταῦτα βεβαιῶς ἔξειν (ὡς ἂν προλάβω, βεβαιῶς ἔξω). Dem. xviii. 26. *Ἡλπιζον νπό των παίδων, επειδή τελεσίσειν τον βίον, ταφήσεσθαι (επειδὰν τελεσίσωμεν, ταφῆσομέθα), Lys. xiii. 45. Κώνων ἐδίδασκεν ὡς οὕτως μὲν ποιοῦντι πάσα οὐ αὖτω τοῖς φιλίαις μοι ἐκάστῃ πολλὰ πράγματα ἰκανή εἰπέρ παρέχεται, καὶ κινδύνος εἰπὶ μὴ καὶ οἱ Ἑλληνες, εἰ ταῦτα αἰσθούντα, συγεραίνει. XEN. Hell. iv. 8, 2. Εἴπε τε ὅτι πᾶσα ἄναγκη εἰς ὑποτήν τοῦτον ἐλλόγιον γενέσθαι, εἴπέρ εἰς ἥλικιν ἔλθω (εἴπερ ἂν ἄλθω, ἐλεγέτο). ΡΙΑΤ. Theaet. 142 D. Καὶ οὐκ ἔφασεν ποτέ πιστὸν ἄνθρωπον ὃστις ἂλλον μᾶλλον φιλήσοι τῷ τῆς φνεύλας δεομένῳ, he believed that no man could ever be made faithful who was to love any one more than the one needing his guardianship (οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο εἰ φιλήσῃ). XEN.Cyr.vii. 5, 59. "Ηλπιζον νπό των παίδων, επειδή τελεσίσειν τον βίον, ταφήσεσθαι (ἐπεὶ δὲν τελεσίσωμεν, ταφήσομεν)." Derivative from ἔπειδη, οὕτως μὲν εἴπερ ἂν εἰς ἄλθω, ἐλέγετο. XEN. Hell. iv. 8, 2. Καὶ οὐκ ἔφασεν ποτέ πιστὸν ἄνθρωπον ὃστις ἂλλον μᾶλλον φιλήσοι τῷ τῆς φνεύλας δεομένῳ, he believed that no man could ever be made faithful who was to love any one more than the one needing his guardianship (οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο εἰ φιλήσῃ). XEN. Hell. v. 2, 2. (Πολλά τοῦτο παίδων ἄλθων, εἰ περ ἂν εὕρωσιν βούλομαι, εἰς τοῦτο ήν πάθη φανερός, εἴπερ ἂν εὑρώση μία ἀνθρώπου μᾶς, εἰ περ ἂν τὴν τιμωρίαν ηδονήσῃ. Εἴπε τε ὅτι πᾶσα ἄναγκη εἶπεν ἄλθω, εἰς τὸν ήμῶν θεοῦ.) Dem. xxiii. 12. (Subjunctive and Indicative retained after secondary tenses.) Καὶ οὐκ ἔφασεν εἰς τῷ πολέμῳ τῷς παίδων ἀνθρώπους, εἰς τὸν πολέμον πάσης τιμωρίας, εἴπερ ἂν εἴπερ τῆς πολεμίας οἰκεῖον. Even in Homer, II. ii. 597, we find στείτο γάρ εὐχόμενος νικησέμεν, εἰ περ ἂν αὐτῶι Μοῦσαι άἰείδοιεν, for he promised with a boast that he would be victor, even if the Muses themselves should sing. (For εἰ with the optative, see 460; or άείδοιεν may represent a subjunctive, 692.) Εἴπε τε ὅτι πᾶσα ἄναγκη εἴπερ εἰς τὴν καλαμίαν διαπράξειν, κ.τ.λ. XEN. Hell. v. 2, 2. (Πολλά τοῦτο παίδων ἄλθων, εἰς τὸν πολέμον πάσης τιμωρίας, εἴπερ ἂν εἴπερ τῆς πολεμίας οἰκεῖον. Even in Homer, II. ii. 597, we find στείτο γάρ εὐχόμενος νικησέμεν, εἰ περ ἂν αὐτῶι Μοῦσαι άἰείδοιεν, for he promised with a boast that he would be victor, even if the Muses themselves should sing. (For εἰ with the optative, see 460; or άείδοιεν may represent a subjunctive, 692.)
of 'Ελλήνας εἰς 'Ιωνίαν πάλιν. ΞΕΝ. Αν. ι. 4, 12 and 13.  "Εφη χρῆναι, οί δέ ελεγχθὼσι διαβάλλοντες τῶν 'Ελλήνων, ὡς προδότας ὄντας τιμωρηθήναι. Ιδ. ii. 5, 27.  See ΑΕΣΧΙΝ. iii. 146.

Εἰ δὲ μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐφοσοῦν αὐτῶν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀποκτενεῖν οὐς ἔχουσι τοίς, otherwise, they said, they should themselves kill their men whom they had in their hands alive (ἔχουσι might have been used). ΘΥΚ. ii. 5.  Κατασχίσειν τάς πύλας ἐφασαν, εἰ μὴ ἓκοτες ἀνοίξουσιν. ΞΕΝ. Αν. vii. 1, 16.  (Εἰ μὴ ἀνοίξουσιν might have been used.) So ΘΥΚ. i. 137.  Αὐτοῖς τοιαύτη δόξα παρεῖστηκε, ὡς, εἰ μὲν πρότερον ἐπὶ ἄλλην πόλιν έσας, ἐκεῖνοι καὶ 'Αθηναίοις παλεύσουσιν: εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖθε πρῶτον ἀφίξονται, οἴδαν τῶν τολμήσειν, κ.τ.λ. ΛΕΣ. ii. 22.  Οδέδεν ὁφέλος ἐρχόμενον εἰναι λόγων, εἰ ταῦτ' οἱ Φιλιπποὺ μὴ συμπεισθήσονται προσβείς. ΑΕΣΧΙΝ. iii. 71.  "Ο πρόδοθον ἢν ἐσόμενον, εἰ μὴ οὐκ αἰτήσετε, it was manifest that this would be so unless you should prevent it (i.e. ἢς, κ.τ.λ.) He did not prevent it. ΘΥΚ. i. 138.  Αντελεγον, λέγοντες μή ἐπηγγέλθαι πω τὰς σπονδάς or ἐσέπεμφαν τοὺς ὦπλίτας. ΘΥΚ. ν. 49.  "Έλεγον ὡς Ξενοφών οἰχοίτο ὡς Ξενοφών οἰχέραιον καὶ ἐπιεχοῦτο τοὺς ἄνδρας, that he blamed them for what they had done before (i.e. ξέρειτε μεμφόμεθα ύμΐν). ΞΕΝ. ΗΛΛ. iii. 2, 6.

3. (Past tenses of Indicative retained after secondary tenses.) Επιστεύλαι δὲ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἐφόρους (ἐφασαν) εἰπείν, ὡς δὲν πρόθυνε ἐποίειν μέμφοιντο αὐτοῖς, that the Ephors charged them to say that they blamed them for what they had done before (i.e. ών προσθεῖτε μεμφόμεθα ύμΐν). ΞΕΝ. ΗΛΛ. iii. 2, 6.

"Ηλπιζον τοὺς Σικελοὺς ταύτη, οὺς μετέπεμφαν, ἀπαντύσεσθαι, they hoped that the Sikels whom they had sent for would meet them here. ΘΥΚ. vii. 80.  Λέγονσι δὲ τινες καὶ ἐκούσιον φαρμάκι ἀποθάνειν αὐτούν, ἀδύνατον νομίσαντα εἰπτελέσαι βασιλεύς ἢ πτέρον χρῆσθαι, and some say even that he (Themistocles) died a voluntary death by poison, believing that it was impossible to perform for the King what he had promised (ἀδύνατον εἰσίν επιτελέσαι βασιλεύς ἢ πτέρον χρῆσθαι). ΘΥΚ. i. 138.  Αντελεγον, λέγοντες μή ἐπηγγέλθαι πω τὰς σπονδάς or ἐτέμεναν τοὺς ὀπλίτας. ΘΥΚ. ν. 49.  "Έλεγον ὡς Ξενοφών οἰχοίτο ὡς Ξενοφών οἰχέραιον καὶ ἐπιεχοῦτο τοὺς τὸ ναύλον ἀπεδείκτης.  ΔΕΜ. ΧΧΧ. 19.

The aorist indicative is not changed to the aorist optative here, to avoid confusion, as the latter tense in such dependent clauses generally represents the aorist subjunctive of the direct form. Thus ἐφη δὲ καὶ ἂν εὑροὶ ἠδότες means he said that he would give whatever he might find (ἀν εὑροὶ δόσω); but if ἂν εὑροὶ could also represent ἂ εὑροὶ, it might also mean he said that he would give what he had found. In the leading clause the ambiguity is confined to indirect questions, in which the aorist indicative is generally retained for the same reason (see 125).

(Past tenses of the Indicative in unreal conditions retained.) Ἐδόκει, εἰ μὴ ἐφθοσαν ἑξαλαβώντες τοὺς ἄνδρας, προδοθήσαν ἢν τὴν πόλιν. ΘΥΚ. vii. 55.  "Εκαστον ἥρμονι, εἰ τινες εἶχεν πάρτερας ἢν ἐανατίνα τὴν προκὴ ἀπέδοσαν (ἐι οἱ πάρτερας, δν ἐναντίον ἀπέδοσε). ΘΥΚ. vii. 55. (If ἐφθοσαν were optative, it would represent an optative of direct discourse.) Οἶσθαι τὸν πατέρα, εἰ μὴ Τιμοθέου ἢν τὰ ἔξω καὶ ἐδεήθη οὗτοι αὐτοῦ παρασχεῖν τὸ ναύλον, ἀσάν ἢν ποτε,
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κ.τ.λ., αλλ’ οὐκ ἀν φιλάττειν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν λαμβάνειν, ἐως ἐκομι-σατο τὰ ἑαυτοῦ; DEM. xlix. 35. Τούτων εἰ τί ἦν ἀληθεῖς, οἴσθ’ οὐκ ἀν αὐτήν λαβεῖν; Id. xxvii. 56. ἞δειως ἄν ἴδων πνεύμαθ’ τίν’ ἀν ποτε γνώμην περὶ ἵμοι εἰχετε εἰ μὴ ἐπετρεπτοράχθη αλλ’ πλέων ψχόμην. Id. l. 67.

(Independent Optatives retained.) Εἴπεν οτι ἐλθοί εἰς λόγους εἰ δμήρους λάβοι (he said ἐλθομὶ ἀν ἐς ὁμόρους λάβομι). XEN. Hell. iii. 1, 20. Ἡττον ἀν διὰ τοῦτο τυγχάνειν (dokei moi), εἰ τε δόεισθ’ παρ’ αὐτῶν. Id. An. vi. 1, 26. Ἐποίηκεν οτι οὐκ ἀν ποτε προοίτο, ἐπεὶ ἀπάξ φίλος αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο, οὐδ’ εἰ ἐτι μεῖν μείους γένοντο ἐτι δὲ κάκιον πράξειν. Id. i. 9, 10. Θεύν αν τι παθείν σαυτόν ἥλπιζε, εἰ πυθόμην οὗτο τὰ πεπραγμένα σοι. DEM. xix. 240.

Sentences such as these are often translated like those which had a future and a dependent subjunctive in the direct discourse. Thus ἔλεγεν ὅτι χαίροι αὐτὸ γένοιτο or ἐλεγε χαίρειν αὐτὸ γένοιτο, as well as ἔλεγεν χαιρήσοι εἰ τούτο γένοιτο or ἔλεγε χαιρήσειν εἰ τούτο γένοιτο, may all be translated he said that he should rejoice if this should happen; although in the first two sentences the direct discourse was χαίροιμι αὐτὸ γένοιτο, I should rejoice if this should happen,

690. The dependent verbs of a quotation may be changed to the optative in indirect discourse, even when the leading verb retains the indicative; and sometimes (though rarely) a dependent verb retains the subjunctive or indicative, when the leading verb is changed to the optative. This may give rise to a great variety of constructions in the same sentence. E.g.

Δηλώσας ὅτι ἑτοίμοι εἰσί μάχεσθαι εἰ τις ἑξέρχοιτο. XEN. Cyr. iv. 1, 1. (Ἐτοίμοι εἰσίν ἄν τις ἑξέρχηται.) Δικαόνος εἰπεν ὅτι παραστοῦνος ὑμᾶς ἔχω, καὶ ὅτι ἀν πείρᾳ πολιτείας ὑμῖν ἐσταὶ ἀλλὰ πείρᾳ σωτηρίας, εἰ μὴ ποιήσητε ὅ Θηραμένης κελεύει. LYS. xii. 74. (Ἐγὼ, καὶ οὐκ ἐσταί ἀν μὴ ποιήσῃς ὅ Θ. κελεύει. There is no need of the emendations χουστατ’ καὶ κελευ’.) Ἐδοκεὶ δὴλον εἰναι ὅτι αἰρήσονται αὐτὸν εἰ τις ἐπιψῆφις. XEN. An. vi. 1, 25. Οὐκ ἡγεῖται Ἐπίβουλος ὅτι, εἰ λόγος ἀποδοθῇσιο ἀν παρα-γένοιτο μοι πάντες οἱ δημόται καὶ ἡ ψῆφος δικαιώς δῶθη, δικαίως γενήσονται οἱ μετὰ τοῦτο συνεστηκότες. DEM. lvi. 16. (Εἰ ἀπο-δοθῇσι καὶ ἔσται παραγένοιται καὶ ψῆφος δοθῇ, δικαίως γενήσονται.) Ἀγνίλαν γνώτις ὅτι, εἰ μὲν μηδέτερον συνεστηκοῦσα, μοισθοῦν οὐδέτεροι λύσει τοῖς Ἐλλησιν, ἀγοράν δὲ οὐδέτερος παρέξει, ὅποτερος τ’ ἀν κρατήσῃ, οὗτος ἑξῆρθ’ ἔστας· εἰ δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῳ συνεστηκῃ, οὔτος γε φίλος ἐσοιτο, κ.τ.λ. XEN. Ag. ii. 31.

Ἐλεγον ὅτι εἰκότα δοκοῖ δτεύειν λάγειν βασιλεῖ, καὶ ἥκοιεν ἡγομόνας ἑχοντες, οἱ αὐτῶν, ἐὰν σποδαί γένωται, ἄξουσιν ἀνθῶς ἑξοριστα ἐτα ἑπτήσθες. Id. An. ii. 3, 6. Ἐπιρρώτα, ποία ἐι τών ἀρων ὅποθεν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι καταθέντες ληξίζονται. Id. Cyr. iii. 2, 1. Ἐλεγες ὅτι μέγαςτον εἰς μαθεῖν ὅπος δεῖ ἐξεργάζεσθαι ἔκαστα· εἰ δὲ μὴ, οὐδὲ
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τῆς ἐπιμελείας ἐφησθα ὡφελος οὐδὲν γέγονεθα, εἰ μή τις ἐπίσταιτο ἁ δεὶ καὶ ὡς δεὶ ποιεῖν. Id. Οε. xv. 2.

In DEM. xviii. 148, we have both constructions of 689, 2 in the same sentence: εἰ μήν τοῦτο τῶν ἐκείνων συμμάχων εἰσηγοῖτο τις, ὑπόφεσθαι τὸ πράγμα ἐνόμιζε πάντας· ἄν δὲ Ἀθηναῖος ἢ ὁ τούτο ποιῶν, εὐπόρως λῆνε. Here εἰ εἰσηγοῖτο represents ἄν (= ἔν) εἰσηγήται, corresponding to ἄν ἔν. By keeping the subjunctive in the latter case, the expression is made more vivid by contrast.

In PLAT. Rep. 337 A we have τούτοις προὔλεγον, ὅτι εἰρωνεύσοι καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ποιήσοις ἡ ἀποκρινοῖ, εἰ τίς τι σε ἐρωτά, ἵσηγήται ἐάν τίς τι αὐτὸν ἐρωτᾷ (subj.). Ἐάν ἐρωτᾷ must have been retained or changed to ei with the optative; and ἐρωτᾷ in the text is probably a copyist's mistake for ἐρωτῇ, a form of the optative frequently found in the Cod. A Parisin. of Plato. See in the Republic 516 A (καθορφ), 518 A (γελφ), 559 A (μελετφ), 598 C (ἐξαπατφ). There is, however, a various reading ἐρωτο in a few Mss. in 337 A.

691. The imperfect or pluperfect sometimes stands irregularly in a dependent (as well as in the leading) clause of the indirect discourse after a secondary tense, to represent a present or perfect indicative, which would regularly be retained or changed to the present or perfect optative. Such clauses are really not included in the indirect discourse. (See 674; 701.) E.g.

"Ελεγον οὐ καλὼς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλευθεροῖν αὐτὸν, εἰ ἄνδρας διεφθείρεν οὐτε χείρας οὔτε πολεμίους (οὐ καλὼς ἐλευθεροῖς, εἰ διαφθείρεις). THUC. iii. 32. Οὔτε γάρ τοῖς θεοῖς ἔφη ναζον αὐτὸν οὔτε χείρας οὔτε πολεμίους (οὐ καλὼς ἐλευθεροῖς, εἰ διαφθείρεις). XEN. Mem. i. 3, 3. Καὶ ἐφῆ εἰ σαράντα ἕξανθες ὡσον ήν ἄνηλωμένον (δουν μη ἕστειν ἄνηλωμένον). DEM. xlviii. 16. Καί εἰ ἄνηλωμεν τῇ πόλεις ἀποδώσεις (ἁγοῦν), Ιθωσὶν ὅτι ἐγὼ δοχεῖν ἀποδώσει. Id. xix. 151.

692. In a few cases, a relative or particle which had ἄν with the subjunctive in the direct form irregularly retains ἄν in indirect discourse after a past tense, although the verb has been changed to the optative. This must not be confounded with ἄν belonging to a potential optative (506; 557). E.g.

"Ον καὶ ἄν ὡς ὡσον ήγεῖτο τῶν εἰδότων δίκην με λήψεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν, ἑπειδαν τάχατα ἀνήρ εἶναι δοκιμασθεῖν (so the Mss.). DEM. xxx. 6. (The direct discourse was ἑπειδὰν δοκιμασθῇ, and the regular indirect form would be ἑπειδὴ δοκιμασθεῖν or ἑπειδὰν δοκιμασθῶ.) (See also 702.)

693. When no ambiguity can arise from the change of an aorist indicative to the optative in a dependent clause of the indirect discourse, this tense may follow the general principle. This occurs chiefly in
causal sentences after ὅτι, εἶπε, etc., because (713), in which the subjunctive can never be used.  

E.g.

Εἶχε γὰρ λέγειν ὡς Δακεδαμόνοι διὰ τούτο πολεμήσειν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι οὐκ ἐθελήσασιν μετ᾽ Ἀγγειαλόν ἐλθεῖν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν οὐδὲ θύσαι ἐάσειαν αὐτῶν ἐν Ἀυλίδι. ΧΕΝ. ΗELL. vii. 1, 34. (The direct discourse was ἔπολέμησαν ἡμῖν, ὅτι οὐκ ἠθελήσασιν ἐλθέαν οὐδὲ θύσαι εἰάσασιν αὐτῶν.) Ἀπηγήσασθαι (φασι) ὡς ἀνοσιώτατον μὲν εἴη εἰργασμένος δι᾽ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἀποτάμοι τὴν κεφαλήν, σοφώτατον δὲ ὅτι τοὺς φυλάκους καταμεθύσας καταλύσει τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ κρεμάμενον τὸν νεκρὸν. ΗΗΩ. ii. 121. Here ὅτι κατάλυσει represents ὅτι κατέλυσα, because I took down; δι᾽ ἀποτάμοι (so the MSS.) might also be understood in a causal sense, since he had cut off, although in the sense of when he cut off it could not be ambiguous here. Madvig, however, reads ὅτι in both clauses. See ΧΕΝ. ΜEM. i. 4, 19 (quoted in 714). (See also 700, and the examples.)

SINGLE DEPENDENT CLAUSES IN INDIRECT DISCOURSE.

694. 1. The principles which govern dependent clauses of indirect discourse (689) apply also to all dependent clauses in sentences of every kind (even when what precedes is not in indirect discourse), if such clauses express indirectly the past thought of any person, even that of the speaker himself. This affects the construction only when the leading verb is past; then the dependent clause may either take the optative, in the tense in which the thought was originally conceived, or retain both the mood and the tense of the direct discourse. When a subjunctive is changed to an optative, ἄν is dropped.

2. Secondary tenses of the indicative here (as in 689, 3) regularly remain unchanged. But an aorist indicative sometimes becomes optative when no ambiguity can result from the change (see 693): this may occur in causal sentences (699 and 714) and in the relative sentences of 700.

The principle of 694 applies to the following constructions:—

695. I. Clauses depending on the infinitive which follows verbs of wishing, commanding, advising, and others which imply thought but do not take the infinitive in indirect discourse (684).

E.g.

Ἑβούλοντο ἐλθεῖν εἰ τοῦτο γένοιτο, they wished to go if this should happen. (Here the original expression of the thought would be βουλόμεθα ἐλθεῖν ἐὰν τοῦτο γένηται, and therefore ἐὰν γένηται might be
II. Clauses containing a protasis, the apodosis of which is implied in the past leading verb or its adjuncts. E.g.

Διδόντος δ’ αὐτῷ πάμπολλα δώρα Τιθραύστου, εἰ ἀπέλθοι, ἀπεκρίνατο, when Τ. offered (to give) him many gifts, if he would go away. XEN. Ag. iv. 6. ('Εὰν ἀπέλθῃ might be used.) Φύλακα συμπέμπει, ὅπως γαρ φανείη τοῖς Θρακημοῖς, and (to be ready) in case any wild beast should appear; his
thought being ἐὰν τι φανῇ. Id. Cyr. i. 4, 7. Πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, εἰ ἐπὶ θοίες, ἐκχύρους, they marched towards the city, in case they (the citizens) should rush out (i.e. so as to meet them, if they should rush out), the thought being ἦν ἐπιβοηθοῦσιν (490, 1). Thuc. vi. 100. Οὔ τινος πολέμου πέρας οὐδ' ἀπαλαγῇ Φιλίστυ, εἰ μὴ Θηβαῖος καὶ Θεσπαλός ἐχθροῖς ποιήσει τῇ πόλει, i.e. Philip saw that he could neither end nor escape the war unless he should make the Thebans and Thessalians hostile to the city (the original apodosis, I cannot end or escape the war, to which εἴ μή ποιήσω was the protasis, is implied in οὔ τινος . . . Φιλίστυ). Dem. xviii. 145.

"Ην δὲ τις εἰπη ἡ ἐπιψηφίση κινεῖν τὰ χρήματα ταῦτα ἐς ἄλλο τι, βάναυσον ξημαν ἐπέθεντο, they set death as the penalty (i.e. voted that death should be the penalty) if any one should move, or put to vote a motion, to divert this money to any other purpose. Thuc. ii. 14. (Εἰ εἰποὶ ἡ ἐπιψηφίσεως might be used.) Τάλλα, ἦν ἢν ναυμαχεῖν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τολμήσω ἵπτομαρα, παρεσκευάζοντο, i.e. they made their other preparations, (to be ready) in case the Athenians should still dare to risk a sea fight (their thought being we will be ready in case they shall dare, ἦν τολμήσωσι). Id. vii. 59. So ἦν ἔσων, Id. iv. 42. Οὔ το λοιπῶν ἐμελλὼν ἔξειν εἰ μὴ ναυκρατήσουσιν, they were not likely to have them (provisions) for the future (as they thought) unless they should hold the sea. Id. vii. 60. "Ἡν οὔδεν μάλλον μέγ' αὐτῷ καθ' ὑμών οὖν ὧν πράξας, εἰ μὴ τοὺς Φωκέας ἀπολεί, he was none the more able even then to do you any great harm (he thought) unless he should destroy the Phocians (εἰ μὴ ἀπολεῖ). Dem. xix. 317. See II. v. 301. Καὶ ἐγὼ τὸν Εὖνόν ἐμακάρισα, εἰ ἐν γεγόνεν ἐξει ταῦτην τὴν τέχνην καὶ ὀπτῶς ἐμελλὼς διδάσκει, I congratulated him (told him he was happy), if he really had this art. Plat. Ap. 20 B. (Here εὖν and διδάσκει might be used.)

697. III. Clauses containing a protasis depending on a past verb of emotion, like θαυμάζω, αἰσχόμαι, etc. (494). Ε.χ. "Εθαύμαξε δ' εἰ τις ἄρετήν ἐπαγγελλόμενον αργύριον πράττοιτο, he wondered that any demanded money, etc. Xen. Mem. i. 2, 7. (But in i. 1, 13, we find θαύμαξε δ' εἰ μὴ φανερὸν αὐτοῖς ἐστιν, he wondered that it was not plain.) "Εχαίρον ἀγαπῶν εἰ τις έάσοι, I rejoiced, being content if any one would let it pass. Plat. Rep. 450 A. Οὐκ ήσαν ήσαν ήσαν οὐκ εἰ τοιούτο κακὸν ἐπάγει τῷ, he was not ashamed if (or that) he was bringing such a calamity on any one. Dem. xxi. 105. Τῷ δὲ μηδὲν ἐναυτῷ συνειδῆσαι δεινὸν εἰσεῖ, εἰ πονηρῶν ἐργῶν δόξα τουνοεῖν τῷ συναρτήσαμαι, it seemed hard, if he was to appear to be implicated, etc.; he thought, δεινὸν ἐστίν εἰ δόξω (407). Id. xix. 33. (Here δόξα might be used like éáσοι above.) Οἱ δ' ἠκτειρὼν, εἰ ἀλῶσοντα, and others pitied them if they were to be captured, the direct thought being we pity them if they are to be captured, εἰ ἀλῶσοντα, which might be retained (see the next example). Xen. An. i. 4, 7. Οὐκ ἑφασαν ἐπιτρέψαι, οὐκ ἐλεοῦντες τὰ τείχη εἰ πεσότα, οὐδὲ κραδάμουν τῶν νεῶν εἰ Δακεδαιμονίων παραδοθήσονται, i.e. they felt no pity for the
walls if they were to fall, nor care for the ships if they were to be surrendered. 

698. IV. Temporal sentences expressing a past intention, purpose, or expectation, especially those introduced by ἐώς or πρὶν, until, after past tenses. E.g.

"ὤρε δ' ἐπὶ κραυγὰν Βορέων, πρὸ δὲ κύματ' ἔαξεν, ἐὼς δ' γε Φαῖδησσαν φιληρέτωσαι μυγείῃ, i.e. to the end that (until) Ulysses should get to the Phaeacians; originally ἐὼς ἄν μυγῇ (614, 2). Od. v. 385. So ἐώς θερμαῖνοτο, Od. ix. 376. Ἐπούντο ἐπούσαντο ἐὼς ἀπαγγέλθη ἀτα λεχθεῖν οἰς Λακεδαίμονα, they made a truce (to continue) until what had been said should be announced at Sparta; i.e. ἐὼς ἄν ἀπαγγέλθῃ, which might have been retained. XEN. Hell. iii. 2, 20. Ἀπεγόρευε μηδένα βάλλειν πρὶν Κύρος ἐμπληθῇ θηρών, until Cyrus should be satisfied. Id. Cyr. i. 4, 14. (His words were πρὶν ἄν ἐμπληθῇ,) Οἱ δὲ μένοντες ἐστάσαν ὀππότε πύργος Αχαιῶν ἄλλος ἐπελθὼν Τηρῶν ὠμήσει μοῖς τὴν πολέμου, i.e. they stood waiting for the time when, etc. II. iv. 334. So II. ii. 794. Προϊόντασαν τὸ στίφος, ὡς παυσάμενοι τοῦ διωγμοῦ ἔτει σφόδροι προορίζοντας, when they should see them, etc. XEN. Cyr. i. 4, 21.

Οὐ γὰρ δὴ σφεας ἀπίει οὐκ ἤθες τῆς ἀποικίας πρὶν δὴ ἀπίκωσαι ἐς αὐτὴν Διόσ. HDT. iv. 157. 'Απίκοιντο might be used. Οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι οὐ προεθυμήθησαν ἐμπλεῖν πρὶν τὰ Ἰσθμία, ἀ τότε ἴν, διεστήσασιν, until they had (should have) finished celebrating the Isthmian games, which were then going on. THUC. viii. 9.

699. V. Past causal sentences in which the cause is stated as one assigned by another, so far as these allow the optative (714). E.g.

"Εκάκιζον γὰρ σφεας ἀπίει οὐκ ἤθες τῆς ἀποικίας πρὶν δὴ ἀπίκωσαι ἐς αὐτὴν Διόσ. HDT. iv. 157. 'Απίκοιντο might be used. Οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι οὐ προεθυμήθησαν ἐμπλεῖν πρὶν τὰ Ἰσθμία, ἀ τότε ἴν, διεστήσασιν, until they had (should have) finished celebrating the Isthmian games, which were then going on. THUC. viii. 9.

Though the optative is allowed here, on the principle of indirect discourse, the indicative of the direct form (e.g. ἐπεξάγει in the above example) seems not to have been allowed (see 715). Causal sentences are usually constructed without reference to the principle of indirect discourse (see 713).
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τίκτουσαν λίποι, by which (as she said) he had perished himself, and had left her the mother, etc. Soph. O. T. 1245. If the relative clause contained merely the idea of the speaker, ἔθανε and ἔλιπε would be used. Here no ambiguity can arise from the use of the aorist optative (see 693). Τὸ τοῦ κραίττουν ἐμφήρον ἐλεγεν ἡ γοίητο ὁ κραίττων αὐτῷ ἐμφήρειν, he meant the superior's advantage which the superior believed to be his own advantage. Plat. Rep. 340 B. This construction is rare in Attic Greek, but is not uncommon in Herodotus.

701. The imperfect and pluperfect occasionally represent the present and perfect indicative in this construction. Such clauses are simply not included in the indirect discourse. (See 674; 691.) E.g.

'Ετοίμοι ἐν, εἰ μὲν τούτων τί εἰργαστο, δίκεν δοῦναι, εἰ δ' ἀπολυθείη, ἄρχειν, he was ready, if he had done any of these things, to be punished; but if he should be acquitted, to hold his command. Thuc. vi. 29. (Εἰ εἰργαστο represents εἰ εἰργασμαι, while εἰ ἀπολυθείη represents εὰν ἀπολυθῶ.)

702. Ἀν is occasionally retained with relatives and temporal particles in sentences of this kind, even when the subjunctive to which they belonged has been changed to the optative. (See 692.) E.g.

Τοῦ δὲ λαμβάνωντα τῆς ὀμιλίας μαθῆν ἀνδραποδίστας ἐνιαυτῶν ἀπεκάλει, διὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον αὐτοῖς εἶναι διαλέγεσθαι παρ' όν ἄν λάβοιεν τὸν μισθόν, because they were obliged (as he said) to converse with those from whom they received the pay. Xen. Mem. i. 2, 6. (Here ἄν ἄν λάβοιεν represents ὅν ἄν λάβοισιν.) Καὶ μοι τάδ' ἄν πρόρρητα, τὸ φάρμακον τούτο συζεῖν ἐμὲ ἄες ἄν ἀρτέχρωστον ἀρμόσαμι ποι. Soph. Tr. 687 (see Schneidewin's note). 'Ηξίων αὐτοὺς μαστιγοῦν τὸν ἐκδικήσες ἄες ἄν τάληθη δόξειν αὐτοῖς λέγειν. Isoc. xvii. 15. Χαίρειν ἄες ἄν καὶ ὅσον ἀποκρίνια ἦν ἄν τὰ ἄρ' ἐκείνης ὁμηρθέντα σκέψασθαι, you would not answer (you would say) until you should have examined, etc. (ἔως ἄν σκέψωμαι). Plat. Phaed. 101 D. Here we must place έτων έκσωτοί τατο, Aesch. Pers. 450, if the text is sound. Παραδίδουσιν αὐτοῖς μὴ πρότερον ἐπιτίθεσθαι πρὶν ἄν τῶν σφετέρων ἄν πεῦσε τις ἄν τροφείη. Xen. Hell. ii. 4, 18; so πρὶν ἄν μετέχοιεν, ii. 3, 48. See έως ἄν οἱ νῦμοι πεθεῖν. And. i. 81. Many scholars repudiate this use of ἄν and emend the passages: see Dindorf on Soph. Tr. 687.

It is doubtful whether ἵν was ever thus used with the optative.

703. Upon this principle (694) final and object clauses with ἵνα, ὡς, ὡς, ὡς, ὡς, and μὴ, after past tenses, admit the double construction of indirect discourse, and allow the subjunctive or the future indicative instead of the optative, to retain the form in which the purpose would be originally conceived. (See 318 and 339.)

704. The principles of indirect discourse (689, 2) apply to future conditional and conditional relative clauses which depend upon final and object clauses after past tenses. E.g.
705. Οΐδ' ὅτι sometimes means I am sure, when the context readily suggests a verb for ὅτι. E.g.

Πάρεμι δ' ἄκων οὐχ ἔκοιν, οἰδ' ὅτι, and here I am, against my will, and against your will, I am sure. Soph. Ant. 276. Μᾶ τόν Δί' οὐκουν τῷ γε σφ', σάφ' ἵνα τῇ ὅτι, i.e. be assured. Ap. Pl. 889. Πάντων οἰδ' ὅτι φηγάνων γ' ἵνα, when all, I am sure, would say. Dem. ix. 1. Βοῦλομαι μενοῦνεντας ομόν οἰδ' ὅτι τοὺς πολλοὺς ὑπομνήσαι, i.e. I wish to remind you, though I am sure most of you remember it. Id. xix. 9.

In such cases it would be useless or impossible to add the implied verb.

"Οπως, ὅ, οὖνεκα, and οὖνεκα in Indirect Quotations.

706. "Οπως is sometimes (especially in poetry) used in indirect quotations in the sense of ὅ. E.g.

Τούτ' αυτῷ μή μοι φράζ', ὅπως οὐκ εἷς κακῶς, this very thing tell me not, that you are not base. Soph. O. T. 548. "Αναξ, ἐρών μὲν οὐχ ὅπως τάχους ὑπὸ δύσπεπτος ἰκάνω, I will not say exactly that I come breathless with haste. Id. Ant. 223. Μή γὰρ ἐπιτύχῃς ὅπως εἴρην ἔκβαλε, for do not hope that you will expel me. Eur. Her. 1051. So Soph. El 963. Ἄναπεισόν μή μοι ἀμείνων ἐστί ταύτα οὕτω ποιεομενα. Hdt. i. 37. Οὐ μὲν οὖν φήμων ὅπως Ἀγαπτοί παρ' Ἕλληνων ἔλαβον τούτο. Id. ii. 49. So iii. 115, 116. See also ὅπως οὐ πάντα ἐπισταμαί, Plat. Euthyd. 296 E. In most of these, the original modal force of ὅπως, how, can be seen.

In Soph. Ant. 685, we have ὅπως σὺ μὴ λέγεις ὅρθως τάδε, where μὴ is a standing phrase. It probably must be classed with the very rare ὅτι μὴ with the indicative, and with the irregular μὴ with the infinitive after verbs of saying and thinking (for all these see 685 and 686, above).

707. (Οὐχ ὅπως, οὐχ ὅτι, etc.) Ὅχι ὅπως or (rarely) μὴ ὅπως, and οὐχ ὅτι or μὴ ὅτι, by the ellipsis of a verb of saying, often mean I do not speak of or not to speak of: 'Αλλά, ἀλλά καί, ἀλλ' οὔχ, or ἀλλὰ μὴ, usually follows in a clause which expresses a strong antithesis. After οὐχ the implied verb of saying would be an indicative, after μὴ it would be an imperative or subjunctive; but, like most elliptical idioms, this is often used where the ellipsis cannot be precisely supplied. What is men-
tioned in the former clause as not to be spoken of may be understood to be either affirmed or negated by the expression, according to the context; so that the force of οὐχ ὅπως may sometimes be conveniently given by not only, sometimes by so far from (not only not). E.g.

Οὐχ ὅπως τὰ σκεύη ἀπέδοσθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ θυραί ἀφήρησθησαν, not to speak of your selling the furniture (i.e. not only did you sell the furniture, but), even the doors were carried off. Lys. xix. 31. (With λέγω supplied with οὐχ ὅπως we have I do not speak of your selling the furniture; but this would be awkward, and probably no precise verb was thought of.) Εἴ κατώρθωσεν εἴκεινος, οὐχ ὅτι τῶν ὅντων ἀν ἀπωτερήμην, ἀλλὰ ὅτι ἦν ἄξιον, if he had succeeded, not to speak of being deprived of my property, (not only should I have been deprived of my property, but) I should not even be alive. Dem. xxiv. 7. Οὐκ ἐστιν ἀξία μὴ ὅτι δὲν ἔνοικ ταλάντων προσόδου, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐκοίσε μνών, it is not sufficient to represent an income even of twenty minas, not to speak of two talents. Id. xxxvi. 39. Τῶν ὀν εὐχῶς ἐφτασαν γενήσεσθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἰμετέρας ἰδίως δύναμιν προσλαβεῖν περιόφεσθε, not to speak of (so far from) your becoming a hindrance to them, you will even permit them to add to their power from your own dominions. Thuc. i. 35. Μὴ ὅπως ὅρθεὶν ἐν ρυθμῷ, ἀλλ' ὅπως ὅρθονσθαι ἐδύνασθε, not to speak of dancing in time, you could not even stand erect. Xen. Cyr. i. 3, 10. Τοὺς Θηβαίους ἥγειτο ἐστιν ὅτι βούλεται πράττειν εαυτὸν, καὶ οὐχ ὅτι ἀντιπράξειν καὶ διακωλύσειν, οὐχ ὅτι συστρατεύσεις, he thought the Thebans would let him do as he pleased, and—not to speak of opposing and hindering him—would even join forces with him. Dem. vi. 9. (Here no definite verb can be supplied.) Ἐδιδάσκον τὸν δῆμον ως οὐχ ὅπως τιμώρησαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπαινέσαι τὸν Ἀσπρίαν, that, so far from having punished S., they had even praised him (οὐχ ὅπως with an optative after ὦς in indirect discourse). Xen. Hell. v. 4, 34.

708. Occasionally one of these expressions stands in the second clause; as διὰ τὸν χειμώνα οὐδὲ πλεῖν, μὴ ὅτι ἀναιρεῖται τοὺς ἄδερμας, δύνατον ἄν, on account of the storm it was not possible even to sail, much less to pick up the men (not to speak of picking up the men). Xen. Hell. ii. 3, 35. So πεπαύμεθ᾽ ἡμεῖς, οὐχ ὅπως σε παντόσομεν, we have been stopped ourselves; there is no talk of our stopping you, Soph. El. 796.

Compare Dem. xix. 137: ἐπύθησον αὐτὸν οὐδὲ τοῦ ἐν ἑαυτῷ κύριον αὐτῷ βεβαιῶσαι, μὴ γάρ ὅποσ οὐκ ἦθος τράξαι, i.e. not at all (much less) to do what he had promised him.

709. 1. In Homer ὅ, the neuter of ὦς, is used like ὅτι, that. E.g.

Γιγνώσκων δ οἱ αὐτῶς ὑπέρεχε χειρὰς Ἀπόλλων, knowing that Apollo himself held over him his hands. II. v. 433. Εὐν δὲν καὶ ἡμέρας ἠδὲ τοι σθένος οὐκ ἐπείκικτον. II. viii. 32. Λείποντες γὰρ τὸ γε ἐπάντω, ὅ μοι γέρας ἔχειτα ἄλλας, that my prize goes elsewhere. II. i. 120. So Od. xii. 295. (See 663, 1, and 671.)
2. In the following cases δ τ' for δ τε (neuter of δ τε) is used in Homer like δ and ὅτι:—Γεγυνωσκον δ τ' ἀναλκις ἐγν θεός, knowing that the Goddess was weak. Il. v. 331: so xvi. 623, Od. viii. 239. Ὅς εἰδον' δ τ' ἀρ ἐκ Δώις ἦλθεν ὅρνις. Il. viii. 251. Νῦν δ' ἦδη τὸδε βῆλον, δ τ' ὦκετί νόστιμος ἦστιν. Od. xx. 333.

Since ὅτι does not allow elision, it is now customary to write this form δ τ' (as above). But Schmitt (after Capelle) writes ὅτε in all these cases, assuming the form to be an elided ὅτε (709, 3).

3. In a few cases ὅτε, when, is used in Homer in a sense which approaches very near that of ὅτι, that. E.g.

Ὅδ' ἐλαθ' Αἴαντα Ζεὺς, ὅτε δὴ Τρόις ἐπέδω νίκην, i.e. nor was Ajax unaware that Zeus was giving victory to the Trojans (lit. when Zeus was giving). Il. xvii. 626. Compare Il. xxiv. 563, οὔδε μὲ λήθεις, ὅτι τε θεῶν τίς 9 γῆς. See Schmitt, pp. 40-50.

This occasional use of ὅτε seems hardly to justify the assumption that δ τ' in all the cases in 709, 2 stands for ὅτε.

710. 1. Ὅνεκα in Homer, and Ὅθονεκα and Ὅνεκα in the tragedians, are sometimes used like ὅτι or ὅ, that. E.g.

Πεῦθετο γὰρ Κύπρονδε μέγα κλέος, οὐνεκ' Ἀχαιοί ἐς Τροίς νήσισιν ἀναλίσσεσθαι ἔμελλον, for in Cyprus he heard a mighty rumour, that the Achaenians were about to sail for Troy in ships. Il. xi. 21. So Od. v. 216, xiii. 309. Ἀγγελεί ὃθονεκα τῆν ὁρίζων, report that Orestes is dead. Soph. El. 47; see El. 1478. Ἰσθι τοῦτο, οὐνεκ' Ἑλληνες ἔσμεν, know this, that we are Greeks. Id. Ph. 232. Ἐκδιδαχθείς Ὅνεκα ἀκουσά ἔρξειεν τάδε. Id. Tr. 934.

2. Διότι is sometimes used in the sense of ὅτι, that, by Aristotle, and occasionally by Herodotus and even by Isocrates. E.g.

Διότι μὲν τοινυν οὐχ ἡ αὐτή (sc. ἐστί), φανερόν ἐκ τούτων, i.e. that it is not the same, is plain from this. Aristot. Pol. iii. 4, 7. So Metaph. x. 5, 3. Διότι εκ τῶν βαρβάρων ἱκει, πνευματικοὺς οὖς εὐφύσιοι ἔως. Hdt. ii. 50: see ii. 43 (with Stein's note). See Isoc. iv. 48: συνειδῦν διότι τοῦτο ... ἔφιμεν ἔχοντες, καὶ διότι ... αὐτῶν διψήκαμεν.

"Ὅτι before Direct Quotations.

711. Even direct quotations are sometimes introduced by ὅτι, rarely by ὅ, without further change in the construction. ὅτι or ὅ here cannot be expressed in English. E.g.

"Ο δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι Οὐδ' ἐλ γενοῖμην, ὅ Κῦρε, σοὶ γ' ἂν ποτὲ ἐτὶ δόξαμι. Xen. An. i. 6, 8. Ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι 'Ω διστότα, οὐ ἕγ. Id. Cyp. vii. 3, 3. Ἐπ' ὅτι δ' ὅτι Εἰς καιρὸν ἥκεις, ἔφη, ὅπως τῆς δίκης ἀκούσης. Ib. iii. 1, 8. Ἡ ἐρώτημα πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ὅτι 'Ηδίκει γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἡ πόλις, καὶ οὐκ ὄρθως τῆς δίκης ἔκρινε,—ταύτα ἢ τί ἐρώτημα; Plat. Crit. 50 B; so Phaed. 60 A. "Ἄν λέγη τις τάληθη, ὅτι Δηρεῖτε, ὅ άνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. Dem. viii. 31: so xviii. 40, 174; xix. 22, 40, 253. See also
SECTION IX.

Causal Sentences.

712. Causal sentences express the cause of something stated in the leading sentence. They may be introduced by ὅτι, διότι or διότερ, ὡς, οὖνεκα or ὁδούνεκα, because; by ἐπεί, ἐπεἶδη, ὅτε, ὅπότε, εὖτε, and sometimes ὅπου, since, seeing that; and in Homer by ὃ or ὃ τε (ὁ τε'), because.

713. (Indicative.) Causal sentences regularly take the indicative, after both primary and secondary tenses; past causes being expressed by the past tenses of the indicative. The negative particle is οὐ.  

Eg.

Κήδετο γάρ Δαναών, ὅτι βαθύσκοντας ὁ ὀρᾶτο, for she pitied the Danaans, because she saw them dying. Π. i. 56.  

Χωμένος, δ τ' ἀριστον 'Αχαιών, ὅτι θέαν έτισάς, angry, because you did in no way honour the best of the Achaeans. Π. i. 244.  

Δημοβόρος βασιλεύς, ἐπεί οὐτίδαςιν ἀνάσσεις. I. l. 251.  

Νοικον ἀνά στρατόν δρα κακήν, ὀπότε καὶ λαοί, οὖνεκα τὸν Χρύσην ἐτίμασεν ἀρρήτα."Ἀτρείδης. Π. i. 11.  

Τηλέμαχον θαύραζον, δ ἁθαρσάλεως ἀγόρεεν, because he spoke boldly. Οδ. i. 382.  

Καὶ τρόπος δέ τοι ἔτις σαμαγμένη ἀνθρώπων διὰ τί ἀλλ' ἀφεθεῖν ὅτι δ' το αὐτῷ πάλει; διὰ τί δὲ ἀλλ' ἀλλ' οὔτως ἀλλ' ἄλλοις εἴσιν οἱ ἐμπλέκοντες διὰ τί δὲ ταῖς τάξει κάθηντ' αὖτε τ' ἀναπτύσσει χρόνος, i.e. since time develops all things.  

THUC. vii. 34.  

Μᾶλλον τι εὐνοολογεῖτο δι' αὖ λαόν ἀπάτεσθαι τοῦ αὐτός φόμον ἐκάθηρε. Πολ. ii. 44.  

Πρὸς ταύτα κρίττε μηθεν', ὥς ὁ πάνθ' ὅρων καὶ πάντ' ἀκούων πάντ' ἀναπτύσσετε χρόνος, i.e. since time develops all things. SOPH. Fr. 280.  

Μέγα δὲ τὸ ὄμοι τραφήναι, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖς Θηρίοις πόθος τοῖς ἐγγίζεται τῶν συντάφοις. ΧΕΧ. Mem. ii. 3, 4.  

Ὅτε' οὖν παραμεύνοι οὐδὲν ἐς πλέον πολὺ, ἤκεισιν ἀφίγμαι. SOPH. O. T. 918.  Ἐποτέ οὖν πόλεως μὲν τὰς ἑδίως ἔμφασις οἰκεῖ τὰς φέρειν, εἰς δ' ἐκαστὸς τὰς ἑκέειν ἀδύνατος (sc. ἐστὶ), τῶς οὖ κρη πάντας ἀμένειν αὐτῇ; THUC. ii. 60.  Ἐστὶ τοιῶν τοῦθ' οὖτος ἐχεῖ, προσήκει προνοίως ἐθέλειν ἀκούων τῶν βουλομένων συμβουλ.

1 See Spieker in Am. Jour. Phil. v. pp. 221-227, who has traced the history of this construction and collected examples, especially those in the Orators.
717] CAUSAL SENTENCES

714. (Optative.) When, however, the speaker implies that a cause was assigned by some other person, the principle of indirect discourse (694), after past tenses, allows the verb to stand in the optative, in the tense originally used by the person who assigned the cause (699). E.g.

Τὸν Περικλέα ἐκάκιζον, δότι στρατηγὸς ὦν οὐκ ἐπεξέγαγοι, they abused Pericles, because being general he did not lead them out. Thuc. ii. 21. (This states the reason of the Athenians for reproaching Pericles (ὅτι ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἐπεξέγαγε), if Thucydides had wished to assign the cause merely on his own authority, he would have used δότι οὐκ ἐπεξῆγεν. Cf. Thuc. vii. 34 in 713.) Τῶν συνόντων ἔδοκεν ποιεῖν ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἁπάσων, ἐπεί εἰπεν ἕν γνήσιαν τοῦ μηδὲν ἰδοὺ ὁ πόλεμος διαλαθείν (see 693). Xen. Mem. i. 4, 19. Ὡσθα ἐπαινόσαντα αὐτὸν (Ὁμηροῦ) τὸν Ἀγαμήμονα, ὡς βασιλεῖς εἴη ὁ γαβός, because (as he said) he was a good king. Id. Symp. iv. 6. Ἐκάλεε... τὸν μὲν ἐπίστιον (Δί), διότι φοίνικο τοῦ παῖδος ἐλάνθανε (694, 2) βάσκων, τὸν δὲ ἐταιρήσων, ὡς φύλακα συμπέμψας αὐτὸν εὐρήκοι πολεμῶσατον. Hdt. i. 44. (Croesus would have said διότι ἐλάνθανον and ὡς εὐρήκα.)

715. We should suppose that in causal sentences of the latter class (714) the mood and tense by which the cause would be originally stated might also be retained, as in ordinary indirect discourse; so that in Thuc. ii. 21, above, for example, we might have ὅτι οὐκ ἐπεξάγει in the same sense as ὅτι οὐκ ἐπεξέγαγοι. This, however, seems to have been avoided, to prevent the ambiguity which might arise from the three forms, ἐπεξῆγεν, ἐπεξάγει, and ἐπεξάγει. It will be remembered that the form ἐπεξῆγεν, which is the most common in the expression of a past cause, is also the original form for expressing the corresponding time in indirect discourse, although it became exceptional here in the later usage (671 ; 674).

For causal relative sentences see 580. For the causal participle see 838.

716. The optative in causal sentences is not found in Homer.

717. A cause may be expressed by a potential indicative or optative with ἀν.

Διότι οὖν σου παραμείναι ἡμᾶς ἢ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἢν ἐνοῦ καὶ καὶ ἡ σοῦ, I beg you then to remain with us; as there is not one whom I should hear more gladly than you. Plut. Prot. 335 D. Νῦν δὲ, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐθέλεις καλ ἢ μὲν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπεί καὶ οὐκ ἢν ὁδοῖς τε ἐγὼ σου παραμείναι ἀποτείνοντι μακροὺς λόγους, ἔλθειν γὰρ ποιεῖ με δι' εἰρικαὶ ἐπεὶ καὶ ταῦτα ἢν ἢς σου ἢν ἴδως σου ἤκουσαν (οτι ἐπεί see 719, 2). Ib. 335 C. Ὄτι τῶν ἄδικωτῶν ἢν ἐμέμνητο τῶν αὐτῶν, εἰ τί περί ἐμοῦ γ' ἐγραφεῖν. Dem. xviii. 79 ; so xviii. 49.
718. A causal sentence may be interrogative, or its verb may express a wish or a command.  
E.g.

'Επεί, φέρ' είπε, πού σου μάντις εἶ σαφής; for—come tell me—where do you ever show yourself a prophet?  
SOPH. O. T. 390. 'Επεί διδάζουν, ἦ μάθη εἶ ἐμοῦ, τί μοι κέρδος γένοιτ' ἓν.  
Id. EL 352: so O. C. 969.  
See PLAT. Gorg. 474 B: ἐπεί σὺ δέξαι' ἓν; 'Επεί άθεος ἀφίλος ὅτι πύματον ὀλοίμαν, for—may I perish!  
SOPH. O. T. 662.

719. 1. A causal sentence may give the cause of something that is implied, but not expressed, in the leading sentence. Especially it may give the reason for making a statement, rather than for the fact stated. In dialogues, a causal sentence may refer to an implied yes or no.  
E.g.

Ὁ νῦν καὶ ὧμῖν οἶκοι ἐνεστὶ γόος, ὅτι μ' ἠλθετε κηδήσοντες; have you now no mourning at home, that you have come to distress me? (i.e. I ask this, because you have come).  
IL xxiv. 239. (If the two clauses were reversed—have you come because you have no mourning at home?—the causal relation would be plainer.) Ὁ μ' ἐφασκέθ' ὕποτροπον οἶκαδ' ἵκεσθαι, ὅτι μοι κατεκείρετε οἶκον, i.e. you thought I should never return (as is plain), because you wasted my house.  
Od. xxii. 35. See ἐπεί in Od. i. 231. Ὡς ἕστων ἀνδρὸς τοῦτο τάργα ταῦτα σοι, yes (answering the preceding question), for here you have the deeds of this man.  
SOPH. Aj. 39: so Ph. 812.

2. By a natural ellipsis, ἐπεί sometimes has virtually the force of although or and yet.  
E.g.

Ἀσχυνούμην ἃν ἔγωγε τούτῳ δρολογείν, ἐπεί πολλοί γέ φασι τῶν ἄνθρωπών, I should be ashamed for my part to admit this, and yet many men do say so (in full, I speak for myself alone, since many say this).  
PLAT. Prot. 333 C.  
See ibid. 335 C (quoted in 717), where ἐπεί ἃν . . . ἵκεσθαι refers to the implied idea I am sorry after all to go.  
In Od. i. 236, ἐπεί οὐ κε . . . ἄκακολομην, and yet I should not be thus afflicted by his death, refers to what ἀστορ σuggests, I am especially grieved by his death in obscurity (cf. vss. 241, 242).

SECTION X.

Expression of a Wish.

720. Wishes may be divided into two classes: (a) those referring to a future object, and (b) those referring to a present or past object which (it is implied) is not or was not attained. To the former class belong such wishes as O that he may come! or O that this may happen!—Utinam veniat, Utinam fiat; and to the latter, such as O that this had happened! or O that this were true!—Utinam hoc factum esset, Utinam hoc verum esset.
From its use in wishes the optative mood (ἔγκλισις εὐκτικὴ) received its name.

WISHES REFERRING TO THE FUTURE.

721. A wish referring to the future may be expressed in Greek in two ways:—

I. by the optative alone; as in γένοιτο τοῦτο, may this happen, μὴ γένοιτο τοῦτο, may this not happen;

II. by the optative with εἰθε or εἰ γάρ (Homeric also αἰθε or ατ γάρ), sometimes by the simple εἰ, negatively εἰθε μὴ, εἰ γάρ μὴ, etc.; as in εἰθε γένοιτο τοῦτο, O that this may happen, εἰ γάρ μὴ γένοιτο, O that it may not happen.

722. I. The pure optative in a wish (with no introductory particle) is an independent verb. E.g.

'Ὑμίν μὲν θεοί δοιεν 'Ολυμπία δόματα ἔχοντες ἐκπέρσαι Τίριαρόιο πόλιν εἰ δ' οίκαδ' ἰκέσθαι, may the Gods grant you to destroy Priam's city, etc. Π. i. 18. Μὴ μᾶν ἀστονεί γε καὶ ἄκλειως ἀπολοίμην, may I not perish, etc. Π. xxii. 304. Μηκέτ' ἐπετ' Ὀδυσσῆς κάρη ὦμοιων ἐπείη, μὴν ἐτι Τηλεμάχου πατὴρ κεκλημένος εἴη, then may the head of Ulysses no longer stand on his shoulders, and no longer may I be called the father of Telemachus. ΙI. ii. 259. Τεθναίην οτε μοι μηκέτι ταῦτα μέλοι, may I die when these are no longer my care. ΜΗΜΝ. i. 2. Τὸ μὲν νῦν ταῦτα πρήσσοι τάπερ εν χερσὶ ἔχεις, may you for the present continue to do what you now have in hand. ΗΔΤ. vii. 5. "Ω παῖ, γένοιο πατρὸς εὐτυχέστερος. ΣΟΡΗ. Aj. 550. Οὐτὸ νικήσαιμι τ' ἐγὼ καὶ νομίζοιμι μοῦ σοφός, on this condition may I gain the prize (in this contest) and be (always) considered wise. Δ. Ν.υ. 520. Θήσω πρυτανεί', ἡ μηκέτι ζωὴν ἐγώ, or may I no longer live. Ιb. 1255. Σωνενέκικοι μὲν ταῦτα ὅσ σουλάμεθα, may this prosper as we desire. ΘΕΗΣ. vi. 20. "Αλλὰ βουληθε'ις, but may you only be willing! ΠΛΑΤ. Euthyd. 296 D. Πλούσιον δὲ νομίζοιμι τὸν σοφόν. Ιd. Phaedr. 279 C. Νικήσῃ δ' ὁ τοί πᾶσιν ὑμῖν μέλλει συνοίσει, and may that opinion prevail which is to benefit you all. ΔΕΜ. iv. 51. "Ὁ τι δ' ὑμῖν δοκεῖτε, τοὺτ', ὁ πάντες θεοὶ, σωνενέκικοι (see 561). Ιd. ix. 76. So εἶν, well, be it so.

For the relation of the optative in wishes to the optative in its most primitive meaning, see Appendix I.

723. II. The optative in a wish with εἰθε (αιθε), εἰ γάρ (αἰ γάρ), or εἰ is probably in its origin a protasis with the apodosis suppressed. E.g.

Ἀδῷ' οὖντος ἐπὶ πᾶσι χόλον τελέσει 'Αγαμέμνων, O if Agamemnon would thus fulfill his wrath upon all. ΙΙ. iv. 178. Αἰθ' οὖντος,
Ενίατος, φίλον Δία σαρπί γένοιο ώς ἐμοί, mayest thou become in like manner a friend to father Zeus. Od. xiv. 440. Αἱ γὰρ δὲ οὕτως εἴη, φίλος Ὑπὲρ Μενελαος, O that this may be so. II. iv. 189. Αἱ γὰρ ἐμοί τοσοῦθε θεοὶ δύναμιν περιθείεν, O if the Gods would clothe me with so much strength! Od. iii. 205. 'Αλλ' εϊ μὲν δεικησαίμεθ' ἔλοντες, τεῦχε τ' ἄρων ἁφελοῖμεθα, καὶ τιν ἔταιρων αὐτοῦ ἄρμονομεν δαμασαίμεθα νηλεί χαλκῷ, but if we could only take him and insult him, and strip him of his armour, and subdue, etc. Π. xvi. 559.1 Εἴθε µήποτε γνώιες ὡς εϊ, may you never learn who you are. SOPH. O. T. 1068. Εἴθ' ὦµιν ἀµφοῖν νοος γένοιτο σωφρονεῖν. Id. Aj. 1264. Εἴθε παῖς ἐµὸς εὐθροσος εἴη. EUR. Bacch. 1252. Εἴθε γένοιμην, τέκνον, αὐτὲ σού νεκρός. Id. Hipp. 1410. Εἴθ', ο λοφε, οὐ τοιοῦτος ὡς φίλος ἡµῶν γένειο. XEN. Hell. iv. 1, 38. Εἴθε γὰρ γένοιτο. Id. Cyt. vi 1, 38. Εἴθε γὰρ τοῦτο εἴη, if it may only depend on this! PLAT. Prot. 310 D. Εἴθε γράφειεν ὡς χρή, κ.τ.λ. Id. Phaedr. 227 C. The simple εϊ (without -θε or γάρ) with the optative in wishes is poetic. 'Αλλ' εϊ τις καὶ τονσδε μετοιχόμενος καλεσείεν. Η χ 111. See three other Homeric examples cited in the footnote.2 Εἴθε μοί εὐνείµη μόρα. SOPH. O. T. 863. Εἴθε μοι γένοιτο φόνοος ἐν βραχίονι. EUR. Hec. 836. The future optative was not used in wishes. The perfect was probably not used, except in the signification of the present (see 48); as in II. ii. 259, quoted in 722.

724. In Homer, as the examples show, both present and aorist optative are freely used in future wishes, as in the corresponding future conditions (455). But the present optative

1 On this passage we have the note of Aristarchus in the Scholia: ἐ δεικη, δι' ἐξουσιασκοστέον τὸ καλὸς ἀν ἐχω 'εϊ αὐτὸν δεικνύει δεικησαίμεθα, καλὸς ἄν ἐχω. Schole. Α. It does not follow necessarily from this that Aristarchus explained all optatives with forms of εϊ in wishes by supplying καλὸς ἄν ἐχω as an apodosis (see Lange, p. 6, note 15); but if he explained this passage as an elliptical protasis, he can hardly have objected to the same explanation of other similar passages. It is surely no more necessary or logical to insist on explaining both forms of wishes alike, than it would be in English to insist that may I see him again and if I might see him again are originally of the same construction.

2 The Homeric examples of the optative with various forms of εϊ or αϊ are of the highest importance for the understanding of the construction generally. The following is a list of the passages (according to Lange, Partikel EI, pp. 19-40):—

Simple εϊ with optative: Π. x. 111, xv. 571, xvi. 559, xxiv. 74. (4.)
Αἰθε or εϊθε with optative: Π. iv. 178; Od. ii. 33, xiv. 440, xv. 341, xvii. 494, xviii. 202, xx. 61. (7.)
Eight examples (five with εϊθε, two with εϊ γάρ, one with αϊ γάρ), in which the present optative expresses an unattained present wish, are omitted here and will be found under 739. The cases discussed in 739 are not included here.

For the use of αἱθε, αϊ γάρ, and αϊ (for εϊθε, etc.) in Homer, see footnote to 379.
in Homer also expresses a present wish implying that it is not attained, as it may express a present unreal condition (438). For this use, see 739.

725. In the poets, especially Homer, the simple optative may express a command or exhortation, in a sense approaching that of the imperative. E.g.

Ταύτ' εἴποις Ἀχιλήι, (you may) say this to Achilles. II. xi. 791. Τεθναίης, & Προίτ, ή κάκτανε Βελλεροφόντην, (you may) either die, or kill Bellerophon. II. vi. 164. 'Αλλά τις Δολίων κάλεσσει, let some one call Dolios. Od. iv. 735. So in prohibitions with μή: μηδὲ εἴτε σοι ὅημεν ὑποστρέψειας Ὀλυμπον, II. iii. 407 (between two pairs of imperatives). See alsoAESCH. Prom. 1049 and 1051.

For Homeric optatives (without ἀν), which form a connecting link between the potential and the wishing optative (like II. iv. 18, 19), see 13 and 233.

726. The poets, especially Homer, sometimes use ὡς before the optative in wishes. This ὡς cannot be expressed in English, and it is probably exclamatory. It must not be confounded with οὕτως used as in 727. E.g.

'Ως ἀπόθανω καί ἄλλος ὡς τοιαύτα γε τέμυ, O that any other may likewise perish, etc. Od. i. 47. See Od. xxi. 201. 'Ως ὃ τάδε πόρων ὡλιτ', εἴ μοι δέμως τάδ' αἰνών. SOPH. El. 126. Compare ut pereat telum, Hor. Sat. ii. 1, 43.

727. Οὕτως, thus, on this condition, may be prefixed to the optative in protestations, where a wish is expressed upon some condition; the condition being usually added in another clause. E.g.

Οὕτως δύνασθε τούτων, μὴ περιόδητε με, may you enjoy these on this condition,—do not neglect me. DEM. xxviii. 20.

728. When the potential optative is used to express a wish, as in πῶς ἀν ὅλομυν, how gladly should I perish, EUR. Supp. 796, it does not belong here, as ὅλομυν ἀν and ὅλομυν are, in use, wholly different constructions. If ei γάρ κεν μύμως, Od. xv. 545, is a wish, ei κεν may be used as it often is in protasis in Homer (460) in the same sense as ei, or the optative may be potential in the sense O if you could remain. In II. vi. 281, ὡς κε ὡς καὶ ὡς γαίᾳ χάνων, if κε is correct, must mean O that the earth could gape for him at once (potential). But the exceptional character of these expressions makes both suspicious. Hermann and Bekker read ei γάρ καὶ in Od. xv. 545; and Bekker reads ὡς δἐ in II. vi. 281.

729. The infinitive occurs twice in Homer in wishes with ei γάρ: see 786, and 739 (end). For the infinitive used like the simple optative in wishes, especially in poetry, see 785.

730. There are many passages in Homer in which it is open to doubt whether the poet intended to express a wish with some
form of εἰ, followed by a potential optative in a new sentence, or to form a complete conditional sentence. Such are—

Εἰ γὰρ εὖ' ἄρσεν τέλος ἡμετέρῃς γένοιτο·
οὐκ ἂν τίς τούτων γε ἔλθρονον Ἦώ ἰκοῖτο. Ὀδ. xvi. 496.
Αἰ γὰρ τοῦτο, ξείνε, ἔπος τετελεσμένον εἰη·
τῷ κε τάχα γνώνης φιλότητα τε πολλά τε δώρα
ἐξ εἰμεύ. Ὀδ. xv. 536.

If we keep the colon after γένοιτο in the former passage, we may translate, O that fulfilment may be granted our prayers: not one of these would (then) see the fair-throned Dawn. With a comma after γένοιτο, we may translate, if fulfilment should be granted our prayers, not one of these would see the fair-throned Dawn. So in the second passage we may translate, according to the punctuation, O that this word may be accomplished: then would you quickly be made aware of kindness and many gifts from me;—or if this word should be accomplished, you would then quickly be made aware, etc. These are probably rightly punctuated above, especially the second; and the wish is on the verge of independent existence, being almost ready to dispense with the apodosis. The half-independent half-dependent nature of such clauses is best seen in a case like the following, where εἰ ἐθέλοι is first stated as an independent wish, and is afterwards repeated as the protasis of a regular apodosis:

Εἰ γὰρ σῴδε ἐθέλοι φιλέειν γλαυκώπις 'Αθήνη
ὡς τότε 'Οδύσσεος περικήδετο κυδαλίμων
δήμῳ ἐν Τρώων, ὃτι πᾶς ἤχεομεν ἅλγε' 'Αχαῖοι' . . .
εἰ σ' οὕτως ἐθέλοι φιλέειν κήδειτό τε θυμῷ,
τῷ κέν τις κείνων γε καὶ ἐκελαλάθοιτο γάμῳ. Ὀδ. iii. 217.

The meaning is, if only Athena would love you as she then loved Ulysses; . . . if (I say) she should thus love you, then would many a one (of the suitors) cease to think of marriage. Here, instead of leaving a simple apodosis like the καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι of Aristarchus to be mentally supplied, or to be felt without being actually supplied, the protasis is repeated (as if by afterthought) and a more precise form of conclusion is then actually expressed.

Such examples as the first two are sometimes adduced as evidence that εἰ with the optative in protasis was originally a form of wish, to which an apodosis was afterwards appended. For a discussion of this view, see Appendix I.

WISHES (NOT ATTAINED) IN PRESENT OR PAST TIME.

731. A wish referring to a present or past object, which (it is implied) is not or was not attained, may be expressed in Greek in two ways:—

I. by the past tenses of the indicative, used as in unreal conditions, with εἴθε or εἰ γάρ; or
II. by ὧφελον, aorist of ὧφελμο, owe, with the infinitive.

732. I. The past tenses of the indicative with εἴθε or εἴ γάρ, in present and past wishes, correspond to the optative with these particles in future wishes. The construction was originally a protasis with its apodosis suppressed, εἴ γάρ με εἴδες meaning, O if you had seen me! This form of wish is common in the Attic writers, but is unknown to Homer (735).

The imperfect and aorist indicative are distinguished here as in the unreal condition (410). E.g.

Ἰὸ γὰ γὰ, εἴθε ἐζ' ἐδέξαμαι, O Earth, Earth, would that thou hadst received me. AESCH. Ag. 1537. Εἴ γάρ μ' ὑπὸ γῆν ἤκεν, O if he had sent me beneath the earth. Id. Prom. 152. Εἴθε σε εἴθε σε μὲν τοῦτον εἰδόμαν. SOPH. O. T. 1217. Εἴθ' εὑρομένον σ', "Ἄδημπτε, μὴ λυποῦ- μενον. EUR. Alc. 536. Εἴθε σοι, ὦ Περίκλεις, τότε συνεγενόμην, would that I had met you then. XEN. Mem. i. 2, 46. Εἴθ' εἴξεις, ὦ τεκόνθα, βελτίων φρένας, O mother, would that you had a better understanding. EUR. El. 1061. Εἴ γάρ τοσαύτην δύναμιν εἴξον, would that I had so great power. Id. Alc. 1072. Εἴθ' ἤσθα δυνατός δράν ὅσον πρόθυμος εἶ. Id. Her. 731.

733. The indicative cannot be used in wishes without εἴθε or εἴ γάρ, as it would occasion ambiguity; this cannot arise in the case of the optative, which is not regularly used in independent sentences without ἀν, except in wishes. SOPH. O. C. 1713, ἰῶ, μὴ γὰς ἐπὶ ξέναν ἔχρηξίς (so the MSS.) is often quoted to show that at least the indicative with μὴ alone can be used in negative wishes, with the translation, O that thou hadst not chosen to die in a foreign land. But the passage is probably corrupt, as the following words ἄλλ' ἔριμος ἐθανεῖ show. See, however, Hermann's note on this passage, and on EUR. Iph. Aul. 575.

734. II. The aorist ὧφελον, ought, and sometimes (in Homer) the imperfect ὧφελλον, of ὧφελμο (Epic ὧφελλο), owe, debeo, may be used with the infinitive to express a present or past unattained wish. The present infinitive is used when the wish refers to the present or to continued or repeated past action, and the aorist (rarely the perfect) when it refers to the past.

*Ὡφελον or ὧφελλον may be preceded by the particles of wishing, εἴθε and εἴ γάρ, and in negative wishes by μὴ (not ou). E.g.

*Ὠφέλε τούτο τοιείν, would that he were (now) doing this (lit. he ought to be doing it), or would that he had (habitually) done this (lit. he
ought to have done this). "Ωφελε τούτο ποιήσαι, would that he had done this.

"Ων ὁφελον τριτάπην περ ἑξών ἐν δόμαια μοῖραι ναείν, οἱ δ' ἄνδρες σῶοι ἰμενεα, οἱ τῦτ', ὀλοντα, Ο that I were living with even a third part, etc., and that those men were safe who then perished. Od. iv. 97. So Il. i. 413. "Ἀνδρός ἐπειτ' ὁφελον ἄριστον εἶναι ἄκοιτας, ὃς ἔδη νέμειν τε καὶ αἰσχεία πόλλ' ἄνθρωπου, O that I were the wife of a better man, who knew, etc. Il. vi. 350. Τὴν ὁφελ' ἐν νέσσοι κα-
tακτάμεν Ἀρτεμίς ὑφ, O that Artemis had slain her, etc. Il. xix. 59. Αἴθ' ὁφελεῖς στρατοῦ ὕλου σημαίνειν. Il. xiv. 84. Αἴθ' ἀμα
tάντες "Εκτόρος ὁφελετ' ἀντὶ θησ' ἐπι νησοί πεφάσθαι, would that ye all had been slain instead of Il. xiv. 253. Μηδ' ὁφελεῖς λίσσεσθαι ἄμωρονα ΤΙηλεΐωνα, would that you had not besought the son of Peleus. Il. ix. 698. (See 736, below.) So xv. 86; Od. viii. 312. Μηκέτ' ἐπειτ' ὁφελον (ἢ) ἑώ πέμπτοις μετείναι ἄνδράς, ἀλλ' ἐπί τράπη θανεῖν ἀνθρώπων, would that I were no longer living with this fifth race of men, but had either died before it or been born after it. Hes. Op. 174. Ὅλεσθαι ὁφελετ' ἄγαν ἔμιρᾳ, O that I had perished on that day. Soph. O. T. 1157. Μὴ ποτ' ὁφελεῖς λιπεῖν τὴν Ἐκύρον, O that I never had left Scyros. Id. Ph. 969. See El. 1021. Εἴθ' ὁφελ' Ἀργοὺς μὴ διαπτάσθαι σκάφος Κόλχων ἐς αἰαν κνανέας Σαμπληγάδας. Eur. Med. 1. Εἰ γάρ ὁφελον οἴοι τε εἶναι οἱ πολλοὶ τὰ μέγιστα κακὰ ἐξεφαξοῦσαι, O that the multitude were able, etc. Plat. Crit. 44 D. Εἰ γάρ ὁφελον (sc. κατιδεί). Id. Rep. 432 C. Παθόντων ά μή ποτ' ὁφελον (sc. παθεῖν), when they suffered what would they had never suffered. Dem. xviii. 288; so 320. So ὡς μύτηντε ὁφελεν, Xen. Cyr. iv. 6, 3 (see 737).

735. This form with ὁφελον or ὁφελον is the only expression known to Homer for past wishes, the secondary tenses of the indicative being not yet used in this construction, although they were already in good use in past (though not in present) conditions (435). In present wishes, Homer has the present optative (739) as well as the construction with ὁφελον. (See 438.)

736. For an explanation of the origin of the use of ὁφελον in wishes, see 424. It is there seen to be analogous to εἴπει and χρῆν with the infinitive, implying that what ought to be or to have been does not or did not happen. Only after its original meaning was obscured by familiar use could εἴθε or εἴ γάρ have been prefixed to it. Μὴ ὁφελον may be explained in the same way; or we may suppose that μὴ originally belonged to the infinitive, and afterwards came to negative the whole expression. See the examples in 734.

737. Ὡς, used as in 726, often precedes ὁφελον etc. in Homer, and rarely in the Attic poets. E.g.

"Ἡνύθες ἐκ πολέμου; ὧς ὁφελεῖς αὐτόθ' ὀλέσθαι, would you had perished there. Il. iii. 428. "Ὡς δ' ἐμ' ὁφελον νικάν τοιῷν ἐπ' ἀδήπη, O that I had not been victorious in such a contest. Od. xi. 548.
Neither the secondary tenses of the indicative nor the form with ὃψελον in wishes can (like the optative) be preceded by the simple εἴ (without -θε or γάρ).

739. (Present Wishes in Homer.) In Homer a present unattained wish may be expressed by the present optative, like a present unfulfilled condition (438). Here εἴθε or εἴ γάρ generally introduces the wish. E.g.

Εἴ γὰρ ἐγὼν οὖν γε Δῶς πᾶσι αἰγίχοιο
εἴθεν ἢματα πάντα, τέκοι δὲ μὲ πότινα Ἡρη,
τιοίμην  δ' ὡς τίετ' Ἀθηναία καὶ Ἀπόλλων,
ὡς νῦν ἡμέρη ήδε κακὸν φέρει Ἀργείσιν, 

O that I were the son of Zeus, and that Hera were my mother, and that I were honoured as Athena and Apollo are honoured, etc. II. xiii. 825. (Here τέκοι is nearly equivalent to μήγηρ εἴθ: cf. ὀ τεκόωσα, O mother, quoted under 732.) Almost the same wish occurs in II. viii. 538.

"Ω γέρον, εἴθ' ὡς θυμὸς ἐνι στήθέσοι φίλοισιν
ὡς τοι γούναθ' ἐποίτο, βή δέ τοι ἐμπέδος εἴθ':

would that, even as thy spirit is in thy breast, so thy knees obeyed and thy strength were firm. II. iv. 313. At the end we have the more common form of a present wish, ὅψελεν τις ἄλλος ἔχειν, would that some other man had it (γήρας).

Εἴθ' οὐκ ἥβωσομε, βή δὲ μοι ἐμπέδος εἴθ':
τῷ κε τάχ' ἄντίτεσε μάχης κορυφαίολος Ἑκτώρ,

O that I were again so young, and my strength were firm, etc. II. vii. 157. The same wish, in precisely the same words, occurs also in II. vi. 670, xxiii. 629, and Od. xiv. 468; also in II. vii. 132 in the form αἱ γάρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ, . . . ἥβωσοι' ὡς δτ' . . . μάχοντα. See Od. xiv. 503, ὡς νῦν ἥβωσομεν, repeating the idea of vs. 468. In Od. xviii. 79 we have νῦν μὲν μήτ' εἴθες, Βουγαία, μήτε γένοιο, better that thou wert not now, thou braggart, and hadst never been born, where γένοι looks like a past wish; but not having been born may be included in the present wish of εἴθε: compare τέκοι in II. xii. 826 (above). For αἱ γάρ ἐλασχαίσοτο, II. x. 536, see 93 (end).

For the infinitive with αἱ γάρ in a past unattained wish in Homer, see 786.

It has been seen that the use of the moods and tenses in both classes of wishes with εἴ γάρ and εἴθε is precisely the same as in the corresponding forms of protasis (455; 410). The analogy with the Latin is also the same as in protasis:—
el γὰρ τὸ τοῦτο ποιή (or ποιήσσεν), O si hoc faciat, O that he may do this; el γὰρ τὸ τοῦτο ἐποίει, O si hoc faceret, O that he were doing this; el γὰρ τὸ τοῦτο ἐποίησεν, O si hoc fecisset, O that he had done this; el γὰρ μὴ ἐγένετο, utinam ne factum esset, O that it had not happened.

It must be remembered that it is the futurity of the object of a wish, and not its probability or possibility, that requires the optative. No amount of absurdity or extravagance in a future wish can make anything but the optative proper in expressing it. As Aristotle says (Eth. iii. 2, 7), βούλησις δ' εἰτὶ τῶν ἀδύνατων, εἰς ἀθανασίας, wish may refer to impossibilities, as that we may live for ever; but this very wish would require the optative. So no amount of reasonableness in a present or past wish can make the imperfect or aorist indicative improper; for we may wish that the most reasonable thing were or had been ours, only such wishing implies that we do not or did not have it.