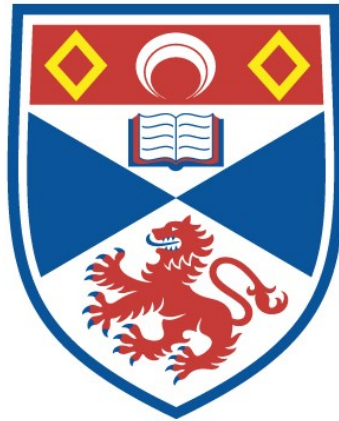


THE SYNTAX OF POSTPOSITIVES IN CLASSICAL
GREEK PROSE

M. H. B. Marshall

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
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M.H.B. Marshall

The S Y N T A X of P O S T P O S I T I V E S in
C L A S S I C A L G R E E K P R O S E

Thesis submitted to the University of St. Andrews in
application for the degree of Ph.D.



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I hereby certify that Mr Morrison H.B. Marshall has been engaged upon research work under my supervision and that he has fulfilled the conditions of Resolution no. 1 and that he is qualified to submit the accompanying thesis in application for the degree of Ph.D.

Supervisor

I was admitted as a research student of the University of St. Andrews in Martinmas Term 1958 and pursued research into Greek word-order, especially in Thucydides, Plato and Demosthenes. I declare that the accompanying thesis has been composed by myself and records work done by myself then and since and has not been previously submitted in any application for any higher degree.

Abstract of thesis by M.H.B. Marshall:

The Syntax of Postpositives in Classical Greek Prose.

Postpositives (in particular, αὐτ-, μ-, ἄν, τις), which do not stand in initial position, have a strong traditional tendency in early Greek word-order to stand in 'peninitial' (second) position; but by classical times this has been modified by frequent 'deferment' to later positions. The thesis is a preliminary to a study of the causes of deferment through comparison of peninitial and deferred instances in which the author has free choice between different word-orders, i.e. is constrained neither by rules associated with his dialect or period nor by habitual formulae. Rules, which reduce the number of 'possible' positions, are listed, and their exceptions studied, in Chapter Two, and Formulae, which may explain, by attraction to the position following particular words, individual cases of both peninitial position and deferment, in Chapter Three. In Chapter One, possible causes of deferment are discussed: 'unit-formation', 'colon-formation', 'formulaism'. Comparison of passages in Homer and Herodotus suggests that in many cases these overlap, different causes reinforcing each other; this will make it difficult to eliminate the possibility that further causes may exist. Despite grounds for doubting that grammatical relations determine word-order, there are many cases where a deferred postpositive follows its most closely-related verb; it is revealed that the change from prevalence of peninitial position in Homer to deferment in Herodotus is accompanied more than anything else by an increase in the order verb-postpositive. This theme is continued in Chapter Two with the discovery in Rules XXIV ff. that not only does ἄν not come later than directly after its verb but the others studied are similarly influenced by elements, verbal or substantival, to which they 'belong'; thus the problem of relations with the verb reduces in normal usage to two possibilities, either somewhere before or directly after; the latter is a primary phenomenon compatible with peninitial position but often causing deferment. The tables proving Rules XXV ff. reveal interesting patterns which may be stylometrically useful. In Chapter Four, the conclusions are summed up, and some applied to textual problems in the texts mainly studied (Thucydides, Plato, Demosthenes) and tentatively to detecting discrepancies of style in the spurious and suspected works of the Platonic corpus.

Contents

Bibliography	1.0.2
Chapter One: Section One: Introduction	1.1.1
Section Two: Appendix A	1.2.1
Section Three: Appendix B (Glossary 1, List of works examined 10, Text and editions 11)	1.3.1
Chapter Two (Rules): Section One (Contents 1, Preamble 2, List of Rules 6)	2.1.1
Section Two: Rules and Exceptions	2.2.1
Section Three: Appendix A (X-tables)	2.3.1
Section Four: Appendix B (initial Xq... lists)	2.4.1
Chapter Three (Formulae): Section One (Contents 1, Preamble 1b)	3.1.1
Section Two: ἄν	3.2.1
Section Three: τλς	3.3.1
Section Four: αὐτ-	3.4.1
Chapter Four (Conclusions): Section One: General	4.1.1
Section Two: Text	4.2.1
Section Three: Platonic <u>spuria</u> and <u>dubia</u>	4.3.1

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(reprinted identically as leading item in Kleine Schriften, Göttingen 1953).

Abbreviations used above: CQ = Classical Quarterly; IF = Indogermanische Forschungen; NGG = Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.

The Syntax of Postpositives in Classical Greek Prose

Chapter One: Introduction

Postpositives It is often said that the Greek language is completely free in its order of words: that while in English the order subject-verb-object is a general rule and in Latin subject-object-verb is usually taught as a rule, there is no need so to instruct a learner of ancient Greek. But this covers only a small part of the field of word-order; Greek is in some ways as fixed in this respect as English; articles, for instance, precede and do not follow to nouns to which their force applies. In fact the statement that Greek word-order is free overlooks, firstly, numerous patterns, which, though we have a 'feeling' for them through experience, are only with difficulty reduced to rule, and, secondly, of a number of negative rules of limitation which form a useful framework into which to fit a study of word-order. Some words, for instance, are never found in initial position in a sentence and others stand there only in special senses or circumstances. These are the postpositives of the title; postpositives do not stand alone as a complete utterance and are always preceded by some other word (hence, though often in final position, they are not found in initial position); they are to be distinguished on the same level of definition from prepositives and mobiles (Dover, p. 12 ff.); the former also do not stand alone but always precede some other word (and hence frequently are in initial position but never final), while the latter are not subject to the same limitations and are found as complete utterances.

Postpositives may be grouped according to function. First we may mention a set of connective or 'introductory' particles: ἄρα, γάρ, γε, δέ, μέν, μέντοι, τε, τοίνυν κτλ. the word δὲ, of which in Epic poetry there are a number of instances in initial position (e.g. Hom. Od. I 194 δὲ γάρ μιν ἔφραυτ' ἐπιδήμιον εἶναι), is otherwise postpositive and belongs to this group although it and γε have other uses apart from the introductory; compare also αὖ and -περ, which seem to belong to this class. Enclitics (e.g. τε, γε above) are postpositive by definition; but many postpositives are not enclitic; enclitics and accented postpositives will be dealt with indifferently. Next are the words ἄν, κε(ν) and κα, which are everywhere postpositive, performing in different dialects with minor differences of position the function of modal particles. Third, certain personal pronouns: σφε, σφι, με, μου, μοι, μιν (νιν), αὐτόν, αὐτοῦ, αὐτῷ and the plurals thereof, when used as an anaphoric pronoun; the word τοι (Denniston p.537 ff.) is certainly postpositive, whether as pronoun or particle, whether or not these are in origin different words. Fourth, the word τις, indefinite in use and enclitic in accentuation, along with που, πως and other such indefinite words, may be treated as postpositive; πω seems to belong to this group.

With τις and the indefinites we meet a common difficulty: in form and spelling they are identical, except for πω, with a corresponding set of words, interrogative in this case, τίς, πότε, πῶς κτλ., from which they differ in appearance only by accent. These interrogatives are not postpositive, but stand more often than not in initial position. In view of the fact that written accentuation is a post-classical convention, can we be sure that there are no initial instances of τίς, πως κτλ. accented in our texts and treated as interrogative but which the author intended as indefinite? (Dover, p.12)? Until we know the answer to such questions we cannot be sure that in

studying 'postpositive' τις we are dealing really with a postpositive and not with the fortuitously medial or final instances of a word that is not postpositive but mobile, for mobiles are not always initial or early in a sentence. For practical purposes, however, it is possible to exclude cases subject to such ambiguity, with the aid partly of a further distinction which is perhaps also of help in resolving the theoretical problem.

Emphasis It seems that all reliably postpositive words are unemphatic (i.e. cannot in themselves express the main point of a sentence or clause nor be set in antithesis, contrast or balance, whether explicit or implicit, though they may be closely related to words which are so set), for which see the list above, p.1.1.2: the unemphatic με is postpositive, while ἐμέ is mobile; anaphoric αὐτόν differs in sense from αὐτός 'self', which is mobile, but equally 'self' is emphatic and the other unemphatic, since for emphatic-anaphoric senses demonstratives are normally used. Interrogatives bear the main point of their clause, and even when repeated dispensably (in sentences like τις ἐστίν οὗτος καὶ τις ἕκαστος;) do not seem to be unemphatic; indefinites however are divisible into an emphatic and an unemphatic use; the latter are very common and seem to be all postpositive, i.e. there are no mobile-unemphatic indefinites (see Appendix A, pp.1.2.4 ff. below). Can we then say not only that reliably postpositive words are unemphatic but that all unemphatic words are postpositive? Although με is unemphatic and postpositive, ἐμέ emphatic and mobile, the difficulties of accentual convention (Dover p.13) arise if we try to extend this to the second person pronoun: all initial instances are conventionally accented and treated as emphatic, while medial instances are accented if apparently emphatic but treated as enclitic if apparently unemphatic. Proof of the contention 'un-

emphatic $\sigma\epsilon$ σου σοι is postpositive' would demand a separate decision, ignoring accentuation and position, on the status of each instance followed by a classification of the unemphatic cases according to word-order; but in fact in too many cases a decision on status is impossible. It is necessary therefore to omit this word from a study of postpositives; the risk of mistaking medial mobiles for postpositives is in fact far greater than with $\tau\iota\varsigma$. The statement above, p.1.1.3, that there are no mobile-unemphatic indefinites is a finding from Appendix A, which deals only with Thucydides, Plato and Demosthenes; cases like $\tau\iota\varsigma$ ἔνδοον (Dover, p.12) may be soluble with the aid of the emphatic/unemphatic distinction; if $\tau\iota\varsigma$ is not in fact interrogative (which it may indeed be) its initial position may be explicable by emphatic status, the point of the question being someone/no-one rather than in/out. Similarly, cases of initial $\sigma\epsilon$ which are unemphatic seem to be rare, and we cannot but observe that clearly unemphatic cases behave very like $\mu\epsilon$. It remains a reasonable hypothesis that there is a general correlation between unemphatic status and postpositive word-order; the suggestive evidence is strong. (In this same category of accentual convention may be mentioned also the pronouns $\acute{\epsilon}$ (ἐο/οὐ) οἱ and $\sigma\phi\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$ $\sigma\phi\epsilon\omega\nu$ $\sigma\phi\iota\sigma\iota$ in Epic and Herodotus these appear regularly as unemphatic-anaphoric pronouns with postpositive word-order; in Attic prose as indirect reflexives, occasionally initial and emphatic - e.g. Pl.Smp.174e.)

Pronouns in the nominative cases have been excluded from the list of postpositives (p.1.1.2); in fact $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\omega}$ and $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$ regularly appear in initial position, and are therefore mobile, unless we can distinguish some range of usage in which initial position is avoided. In pursuance of the possibility that all unemphatic elements are postpositive, we may consider whether 'unemphatic $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\omega}$ ' is postpositive, just as it is possible that 'unemphatic $\sigma\epsilon$ ' is so. Now elementary grammars teach

that personal pronouns are used in the nominative case only where specific emphasis is required. Kühner-Gerth (ii.1, p. 556) acknowledge that ἐγώ may be used without particular emphasis in expressions like Sophocles Antigone 997 ὡς ἐγὼ τὸ σὸν φρίσσω στόμα, Xenophon Anabasis II.11.3 ὡς ἐγὼ νῦν κυνθάνομαι. Schwyzer, on the other hand, (II p.187-8) records work suggesting that in such cases the pronoun is in implicit contrast and so in fact emphatic. However a possible unemphatic-postpositive use of the nominative ἐγὼ is suggested by the presence in Homer of many cases in which this word is expressed where it could be omitted without damaging the sense; these are of various types (Il.I 26, 29, 76, 117 etc.) but notice in particular Il.I 26 μή σε, γέρον, κολήσιν ἐγὼ παρὰ νηυσὶ κίχελω, Od. I 65 πῶς ἂν ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆος ἐγὼ θελοιο λαθοῖμην; In these lines the nominative pronoun is not only apparently unnecessary for the sense but is tucked between mutually closely-related elements of a high degree of emphasis, in a manner strongly reminiscent of postpositives, as in Pl.Plt. 267b ἄν εἰς ἓν τις αὐτὸ ὄνομα συναγαγεῖν βουληθῆ, Lg.VIII 839b εἰ τοῦ νόμου τις τούτου δύναίτο ἐγκρατῆς εἶναι. There is a subjective impression in such cases that the postpositive actually contributes to the emphasis on the enclosing elements; but subjectivity must be guarded against. Other pronouns too are used in the nominative case although they are unnecessary for the sense and indeed the emphasis falls on something else: Il.I 65 εἴτ' ἄρ' ὁ γ' εὐχολῆς ἐπιμέμφεται εἴθ' ἑκατόμβης, Od.XIII 254 (καὶ μιν...προσηύδα) οὐδ' ὁ γ' ἀληθέα εἶπε πάλιν δ' ὁ γε λάζετο μῦθον· Il.IX 315 οὔτ' ἔμεγ' Ἀτρεΐδην Ἀγαμέμνονα πεισέμεν οἴω/ οὔτ' ἄλλους Δαναούς, 522 τῶν μὴ σύ γε μῦθον ἐλέγξης/ μηδὲ πόδας. In these, a pronoun is used 'unemphatically' though accompanied by a particle, γε, which normally emphasizes the preceding word (not to mention οὔτε, the force of which in Il. IX 315 applies not to the pronoun but to the proper name); and

its position is compatible with postpositive status. It seems likely that in such cases an expression developed as a formula in one type of context has been pressed into use in another; Il.IX 522 suggests at first sight a degree of implicit contrast; but the context suggests rather that this is at least somewhat faded; that thought could be covered by the emphasis on τῶν. In Il.I 65 above it seems, notwithstanding the 'postpositive' status of the pronoun, that it is the common verb which occupies the typically 'unemphatic' position between the elements emphasized, which here are alternatives, 'prayer' and 'sacrifice'. This 'demotion' of 'unemphatic' mobiles to 'postpositive' status seems to apply also to demonstratives; in Thucydides II.49.5 καὶ πολλοὶ τοῦτο τῶν ἡμελημένων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἔδρασαν..., the sense is 'which many in fact did...', and τοῦτο is unemphatic, anaphoric, and in typically postpositival position; this may apply even to I.2.6 καὶ παράδειγμα τόδε τοῦ λόγου... (CQ. N.S.25, 26 ff.). We may therefore hypothesize that some words are unconditionally postpositive because always unemphatic, while others are mobile or postpositive according to status in context; if so, this will apply also to the plurals of personal pronouns, ἡμᾶς, ὑμᾶς etc., for these too are used 'unemphatically' and with seeming postpositive word-order (Th.III.39.2 μετὰ τῶν πολεμικωτάτων ἡμᾶς σπάντες διαφθεῖραι); but to this the same point applies as to σε; there are too many cases where the degree of emphasis is obscure. For further illustration of this type of word-order, in words which are at least normally postpositive, see pp.1.1.13 ff. below.

The above closes the discussion of the identity of postpositives; in the main part of this study attention has been limited to four; anaphoric αὐτόν, αὐτοῦ, αὐτῶ and plurals, referred to as αὐτ- μου μοι, referred to as μ- ἄν τς and all its cases.

Peninitialism Do postpositives exhibit any character in common other than exclusion from initial position?

It is an elementary commonplace that the connective particles listed above (p.1.1.2) are placed 'after the first word in the sentence' and only rarely elsewhere; a random reading of any Greek author will show this to be true - Pl.Smp.189a ἐκδεξάμενον οὖν ἔφη εἰπεῖν... οὐ μέντοι πρὶν γε... πάνυ γάρ εὐθύς ἐπαύσατο... Wackernagel (loc.cit.) observed that this principle is of wider application; discussing the etymology of μιν, he found that it shares with postpositive pronouns in contemporary Indo-European languages a strong tendency to stand in what we may call 'peninitial' position, i.e. directly after the first word in the sentence. In fact the first five instances of μιν in the Iliad are (if we ignore cases where one position only, consistent with the definition of 'postpositive', is possible): 1.29 πρὶν μιν καὶ γῆρας ἔπεισιν, 100 τότε κέν μιν ἱλασσάμενοι πεπύθοιμεν, 201 καὶ μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερδόντα προσηύδα, 237 νῦν αὐτέ μιν υἷες Ἀχαιῶν ἐν παλάμῃς φορέουσι, 290 εἰ δέ μιν αἰχμητήν ἔθεσαν θεοὶ αἰὲν ἔδοντες. Now it is necessary in defining the position of a postpositive relative to prepositives and mobiles to ignore other postpositives which may stand adjacent; the word-order of one postpositive in relation to another is a separate question answered by a different set of rules. In the instances above, both κεν and μιν in 100 and both δέ and μιν in 290, are in peninitial position; and so four of the first five cases of μιν in the Iliad are in peninitial position.

Wackernagel's principle, as he himself showed, is confined neither to μιν nor to Homer. ... There follows some general illustration of this tendency in Homer and other authors. Exemplified are μιν, σφε (inc.σφεας κτλ.), ἐ, κε, αὐτ-, μ-, ἄν, τις, so far as they occur significantly in any author, αὐτ-in Homer being neglected. Homeric μιν having been illustrated above, the remainder of the Homeric postpositives are exempli-

by the first five instances found in the books indicated.

Homer σφε A 8 τίς τ' ἄρ σφε θεῶν... ξυνέηκε...; 73 ὁ σφιν
 εὐφρονέων ἀγορήσατο..., 253 = 73, 338 καὶ σφωιν δὸς
 ἄγειν ἐ B 5 ἦδε δέ οἱ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀρίστη φαίνεται βουλή, 184
 ὅς οἱ ὀπήδει, 186 αὐτὸς... ἐλθὼν δέξατό οἱ σκῆπτρον...,
 215 ἀλλ' ὅ τι οἱ εἴσαιτο... ἔμμεναι, 217 τὼ δέ οἱ ὦμω κυρτῶ.

κε Ω 37 τοὶ κέ μιν ὦκα ἐν πυρὶ κήαιεν..., 56 εἴη κεν
 καὶ τοῦτο τεδὸν ἔπος, 75 ὡς κεν Ἀχιλλεὺς... λάχη,
 92 ὅτι κεν εἴπη, 116 αἶ κέν πως ἐμέ τε δεῖση...

μ- α 220 τοῦ μ' ἐκ φᾶσι γενέσθαι, 220, ἐπεὶ σύ με τοῦτ'
 ἐρεεῖνεις, 231 ἐπεὶ ἄρ δὴ ταῦτά μ' ἀνείρσαι..., 251
 τάχα δὴ με διαρραίσουσι καὶ αὐτόν, 304 οἱ πού με μάλ' ἀσχαλῶσι
 μένοντες.

ἄν β 76 ταχ' ἄν ποτε καὶ τίσις εἴη, 77 τόφρα γὰρ ἄν κατὰ
 ἄστν ποτιπτυσσοίμεθα..., 219 ἢ τ' ἄν τρυχόμενός περ
 ἔτι τλαίην ἐγλαυτόν, 374 πρὶν γ' ὅτ' ἄν ἐνδεκάτη τε δωδεκάτη τε
 γένηται, 62 ἢ τ' ἄν ἀμυναίμην...

τις φ 70 οὐδέ τιν' ἄλλην μυθοῦ ποιήσασθαι ἐπισχεσθῆν
 ἐδύνασθε, 93 οὐ γὰρ τις... τοῖος ἀνὴρ... οἶος Ὀδυσ-
 σεὺς ἔσκε, 157 νῦν μὲν τις καὶ ἔλπετ'... γῆμαι, 160 ἄλλην δὴ
 τιν' ἔπειτα Ἀχαιῶδων εὐπέπλων μνάσθω..., 193 βουκόλε καὶ σύ,
 συφορβέ, ἔπος τί κε μυθησάμην.

II.Bk.I, chosen to illustrate σφε/σφεας, in fact contains only four instances with more than one possible position. Of the 29 postpositives above, 26 are in peninitial position, if we follow the convention that adjacent postpositives be ignored in assessing position and reckon that in ἐ II.II 215 and ἄν Od.II 374 the postpositive is peninitial within the relative clause. In authors later than Homer, illustration of peninitial position requires concentration on those cases which are in fact peninitial. For the Herodotus list, which follows, the first five peninitial postpositives have been collected from Bks.I and IX in alternation.

Ἡδτ. μιν 1.12.1 καὶ μιν ἐκεῖνη ἐγχειρίδιον δοῦσα κατακρύπτει,
 24.7 καὶ μιν εὐ πρήσσοντα λίποιεν ἐν Τάραντι, 30.2
 θεησάμενον δέ μιν τὰ πάντα... εἶρετο..., 30.5 καὶ μιν Ἀθηναῖοι
 δημοσίη τε ἔθαψαν..., 35.1 Κροῖσος δέ μιν ἐκάθηρε.

σφε 9.5.1 τὸν σφι Μουρυχίδης προσφέρει, 6 ὅσα σφι ὑπέσ-
 χετο ὁ Πέρσης μεταβαλοῦσι δώσειν, 7 καὶ σφι ἦν Ἰα-
 κίνθια, 8.1 καὶ σφι ἦν πρὸς τέλει, 10.1 ὁ μὲν σφι ταῦτα συν-
 εβούλευε.

ἐ 1.1.3 τὸ δὲ οἱ οὐνομα εἶναι..., 8.1 ἦν γὰρ οἱ τῶν αἰχμοφόρων Γύγης ὁ Δασκύλου ἀρεσκόμενος μάλιστα, 9.1 μή τί οἱ ἐξ αὐτῶν γένηται κακόν, 12.1 οὐδέ οἱ ἦν ἀπαλλαγὴ οὐδεμία, 14.1 ἀλλ' ὅσα μὲν... ἀναθήματα, ἔστι οἱ πλεῖστα ἐν Δελφοῖσι.

αὐτ- 9.17.2 ἦγε δὲ αὐτοῦς Ἄρμονκύδης..., 22.2 πεσόγτι δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι... ἐπεκράτο, 28.6 ἐστρατήγεε δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀριστ-είδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου, 31.5 ἀλλὰ τινες αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων ἠύξον, 34.2 ὁ δὲ... ἐπορέγεται ὄρων αὐτοῦς τετραμμένους...

μ- 1.11.4 ἐπεὶ με ἀναγκάζεις... κτείνειν οὐκ ἐθέλοντα..., 32.1 ὦ Κροῖσε, ἐπιστάμενόν με τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἔδν φθονερδν... εἴρω-τῆς..., 40 τῆ με νικᾶς..., 89.1 ἐπειτὲ με θεοὶ ἔδωκαν δοῦλόν σοι..., 90.2 ὦ δέσποτα, εἴσας με χαρῆ μάλιστα... ἐπειρέσθαι...

ἄν 9.27.4 καὶ γὰρ ἄν χρηστοὶ τότε ἔδντες... εἶεν..., 45.1 οὐ γὰρ ἄν ἔλεγον, εἰ μὴ..., 45.2 πάλαι γὰρ ἄν ἐμάχεσθε, 111.5 οὔτε γὰρ ἄν τοι δοῖην..., 113.2 τὰ περ ἄν καὶ ἐγένετο...

τις 1.9.1 μή τί οἱ ἐξ αὐτῶν γένηται κακόν, 9.1 μή τί τοι ἐξ αὐτῆς γένηται βλάβος, 20 ὅπως ἄν τι προειδῶς... βουλευῆται, 24.7 εἴ τι λέγοιεν περὶ Ἀρίονος, 27.2 εἴ τι εἶη νεώτερον περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

In the ἄν list above, the use of ἄν with relative pronouns in clauses with the subjunctive mood has been excluded (as also in the following lists). The above instances, selected as stated (p.1.1.8) are peninitial within the immediate finite-verb clause, if vocative expressions and other, adjacent, postpositives are discounted. For the Thucydides list, which follows, have been selected the last five peninitial postpositives in Bks. II - IV, one book for each postpositive; except for μ-, of which there are so few instances that it is necessary to examine more than one book to find five.

Thuc. αὐτ- 2.98.3 πορευομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ ἀπεγίγνετο..., 99.5 βραχὺ δὲ τι αὐτῶν... κατῴκηται, 101.1 ἀπιστοῦντες αὐτὸν μὴ ἦξειν, 101.2 καθημένου δ' αὐτοῦ... ἐφοβήθησαν..., 101.5 καὶ ἐπειδὴ αὐτῷ οὐδὲν ἐπράσσετο.

μ- 2.17.2 καὶ μοι δοκεῖ... ξυμβῆναι, 42.2 δοκεῖ δὲ μοι δηλοῦν... 4.59.1 τὴν δοκοῦσάν μοι βελτίστην γνώμην εἶναι, 85.1 ἡ μὲν ἔκπεμψίς μου καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς..., 87.3 προσεῖναι δὲ τί μοι... τὸ εὐλογον.

ἄν 3.59.1 ἀλλ' οἷός τε ἄν ὄντες πάθοιμεν, 59.1 ᾗτινί ποτ' ἄν καὶ ἀναξίῳ ξυμπέσοι, 59.3 εἰλόμεθα γὰρ ἄν..., 64.4 τίνες ἄν οὖν ὑμῶν δικαιότερον... μισοῖντο; 113.6 αὐτοβοεῖ ἄν εἶλον.

τις next page

τις 4.127.2 μέρος δέ τι καταλιπόντες..., 128.4 ἢ εἴ τινα
σκεύει ἐκπεπτωκότε, 130.1 ἦν γάρ τι καὶ στασιασμοῦ...,
130.4 καὶ τινος αὐτῆ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου εἰπόντος..., 130.7
εἴ τινας ἠγοῦνται αἰτίους εἶναι...

Under μ- above, IV.59.1 and 85.1 have the postpositive peninital within the rules of Attic prose, where pronouns and ἄν are excluded from the position following the article; otherwise all instances are peninital according to conventions already mentioned. Cases like IV.59.1 are avoided in the remaining lists. For the Plato lists, which follow, the first and last five peninital instances of each postpositive in alternation have been collected from Symposium.

Plato αὐτ- Σμπ.175γ ἦκειν οὖν αὐτὸν..., 176β ἀκούσαντα οὖν αὐτῶν ἔφη Ἐρυξίμαχον...φάναι..., 179β ὄντων αὐτῆ πατρός τε καὶ μητρός, 182α ὀρῶντες αὐτῶν τὴν ἀκαιρίαν..., 185γ τυχεῖν δ' αὐτῆ τινὰ...λύγα ἐπιπεπτωκυῖαν.

μ- 218γ καὶ μοι φαίνῃ..., 219ε ταῦτά τε γὰρ μοι πάντα προύγε- γόνει, 222α ἄ με ὕβρισην, 222γ νήφειν μοι δοκεῖς..., 222ε οἶεται μοι δεῖν πανταχῆ περιεῖναι.

ἄν 175α ποῦ ἂν εἴη, 175δ εὔ ἂν ἔχοι..., 175δ οὐ γὰρ ἂν προα- ἔστης, 176γ ἔρμαῖον ἂν εἴη..., 176γ ἴσως ἂν ἐγὼ...εἴην...

τις 220γ τελευτῶντες δέ τινες τῶν Ἰώνων..., 221β εἴ τις ἄφε- τρι τούτου..., 221β σχεδὸν γὰρ τι τῶν οὕτω διαχειμένων... οὐδὲ απτονται, 221γ πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἂν τις καὶ ἄλλα ἔχοι..., 221ε σατύρου δὴ τινα ὕβριστοῦ δορᾶν.

For the Demosthenic list, which follows, the first and last five peninital instances of each postpositive alternately have been collected from the speech Against Meidias.

Dem. αὐτ- 4 ἑώρων γὰρ αὐτὸν ἄρτι...οἱ ἔποσει, 28 τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐγὼ προὔβαλδμην, 68 ἐχρῆν γὰρ αὐτὸν..., 71 ὅτι αὐτὸν ὕβρίζειν ᾤετο, 75 ἀκούω γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐγῶγε μιᾷ μόνον ἄλῶναι φήσῃ.

μ- 151 ἐπειδὴ με μὴ πείθοιεν, 174 κάλει μοι καὶ τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας, 191 γεγραφέναι μέντοι μοι τὸν λόγον Μειδίαν, 207 μὴ μ' ἀφαιροῦ τὴν τιμωρίαν, 216 ὥστε μ' ὡ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι φοβη- θέντα...προέσθαι.

ἄν 1 ὅπερ ἂν καὶ ὑμῶν ἕκαστος προεῖλετο πράξαι, 4 οὐ γὰρ ἂν καταγνοῖην..., 5 οὐδὲν ἂν ὑμῶν ἤξλου δεισθαι, 14 ὡς ἂν ἐπαινοῦντες..., 17 οὐδ' ἂν ἠγωνισάμεθ'...

τις next page

τις 147 λαβών γέ τι πλημμελοῦνθ' ὥς φασιν, 148 μή τί γε τῶν
 ἄλλων ἠγεμών, 159 εἰ τις οἰκοδομεῖ λαμπρῶς..., 172 καὶ
 μὴν εἰ τις αὐτοῦ ταῦτ' ἀφέλοιτο, 175 Καρδὸς τινος ἀνθρώπου.

The above lists (pp.1.1.8 ff.) are intended to illustrate peninitial position of postpositives without going into questions of the extent of, or variations in, the tendency; it is clear that to some extent it affects all the postpositives listed and Ionic and Attic literature of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. Notice how the tendency produces clusters of postpositives; that is commonest in, but is not confined to, peninitial position; all postpositives in a cluster are reckoned to occupy the same 'position'.

Some comments are required on peninitialism. Wackernagel himself (p.336) mentioned 'virtually peninitial' position ('so gut wie zweiter Stelle') - e.g. Hom.Od.I 135 ἡδ' ἵνα μιν περὶ πατρὸς ἀποιχομένοιο ἔροιτο. Here we feel that μιν, though not peninitial in the utterance as a whole, may be treated as peninitial because the word preceding the relative is an extraneous prepositive used to relate the clause to its context; this judgment depends on our established ideas of the limits of a 'clause'. In the numerical assessment of peninitialism which follows (p.1.1.16) such cases have in Homer been excluded from the peninitial category (to give as critical a view as possible in that author) but freely admitted in other authors. Also 'virtually peninitial' are cases like Il.I 114 ἐπεὶ οὐ ἔθεν ἐστὶ χερσίων, 261 καὶ οὐ ποτέ μ' οἷ γ' ἀθέριζον. Here we may feel that the immediate clause is introduced by οὐ, that the author began with οὐ ἔθεν ἐστὶ χερσίων, οὐ ποτέ μ' οἷ γ' ἀθέριζον and 'afterwards' added ἐπεὶ and καὶ to fit the context; but οὐ is not a prepositive (Dover, p.14) and does not 'introduce' clauses, though it does tend to stand initial where there is no prepositive and directly to follow any introductory prepositive which does appear (Moorhouse, p. 89 ff.); cases like Il.I 114 and 261, though similar, are

are therefore not identical to Od.I 135 and II 99; they are not admitted as peninitial in the numerical assessment of p. 1.1.16.

A more important point about peninitial position is this: while many postpositives appear to be peninitial in order to be near the verb or the part of the sentence to which they 'belong' (Il.24.756 ἀνέστησαν δέ μιν..., Od.1.97 τά μιν φέρον...), many others are peninitial despite a resulting remoteness from the more closely related words (in Pl.Smp.222e οἶεταί μου δεῖν πανταχῆ περιεῖναι, μου 'belongs' in the ordinary sense neither to οἶεταί nor to δεῖν but to the second infinitive, and οἶεταί μου in itself makes no more sense than the verb alone). Further, peninitial position often puts the postpositive not only remote from the words to which it 'belongs' but between ('separating') words which are closely related one to another but only distantly related to the postpositive. The following lists illustrate these two connected phenomena. First, remoteness from the grammatically-related verb; postpositive and relevant verb are underlined.

Homer A 29 πρὶν μιν καὶ γῆρας ἔπεισιν, 610 ὅτε μιν γλυκὺς ὕπνος ἱκάνοι, Ω 12 οὐδέ μιν ἤως φαινομένη λήθεσκειν Ω 532 καὶ ἔ κακῆ βούβρωστις ἐπὶ χθόνα δὴν ελαύνει B 160 καὶ δέ κεν εὐγυλῆν;.. ἀλκοιεν, Ω 733 ἐνθα κεν ἔργα ἀεικέα ἐργάζοιο Ω 240 ὅτι μ ἦλθετε κηθήσοντες, β 79 νῦν δέ μοι ἀπρήκτους ὀδύνας ἐμβάλλετε θύμῳ, ψ 216 μή τις με βροτῶν ἀπάφοιτο ἔπεσσι Ω 152 μηδέ τι οἱ θάνατος μελέτω φρεσὶ, ψ 159 ὅτε τις χρυσὸν περιχεύεται ἀργύρῳ ἀνήρ.

Hdt. 1.12.1 καὶ μιν ἐκείνη ἐγχειρίδιον δοῦσα κατακρύπτει, 9.34.1 ὡς μιν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἐμισθοῦντο... 74 ἵνα δὴ μιν οἱ πολέμιοι ἐκπίπτοντες ἐκ τῆς τάξις μετακινήσαι μὴ δυνατάτο 1.69.3 καὶ γὰρ τινες αὐτοὺς εὐεργεσάει εἶχον... 1.89.1 ἔπειτέ με θεοὶ ἔδωκαν... 9.27.4 καὶ γὰρ ἂν χρηστοὶ τότε εὐόντες... νῦν ἂν εἶεν φλαυρότεροι 1.41.2 μή τινες κατ' ὁδὸν κλώπες... φανέωσι... 80.4 τῷ δὴ τι καὶ ἐπεῖχε ἐλλάμψεσθαι ὁ Λυδός, 9.91.2 εἰ τινα ὄρητο λέγειν...

Thuc. 2.67.1 ὃς αὐτοὺς ἔμελλεν... ἀναπέμφειν...

Plato next page

Plato Σμπ.185γ τυχεῖν δ' αὐτῷ τινὰ λύγγα ἢ ὑπὸ πλησμονῆς ἢ...
ἐπιπεπτωκυῖαν, 174ε καὶ τι ἔφη αὐτόθι γελοῖον παθεῖν,
 198γ καὶ γὰρ με Γοργίου ὁ λόγος ανεμλίνθησκεν.

In Hdt.IX.27.4 there is an ἄν in immediate proximity to the verb, despite which a previous one, related to the same verb, is in peninitial position in the sentence. Note that with τις it is often necessary to underline non-verbal elements. Next, peninitial postpositives 'separate' closely-related words to which they are themselves distantly related; the relevant postpositive is spaced-out and the elements 'separated' are underlined.

Homer B 22 τῷ μιν ἐεισάμενος προσεφώνεεν..., α 198 χαλεποῖ.
 δέ μιν ἄνδρες ἔχουσι, 432 ἴσα δέ μιν κεδνῆ ἀλόχῳ
 τλεν..., β 84 Ἀντίνοος δέ μιν οἶος ἀμειβόμενος προσέειπε.
 B 128 πολλά κεν δεκάδες δεινοίατο..., Ω 661 ὠδέ κέ μοι
ῥέζων Ἀχιλεῦ κεχαρισμένα θέλης, 686 σεῖο δέ κεν ζῶον καὶ
 τρίς τόσα δοῖεν...

Hdt. 1.31.2 οἱ δέ σφι βόες...οὐ παρεγένοντο ἐν ὄρῃ, 2.45.2
ὀλίγων γὰρ σφι ἡμερέων λείπεται σιτήρα· 1.75.3 θαλῆς
 οἱ ὁ Μιλήσιος διεβίβασε· 9.111.3 ὦ δέσποτα, τίνα μοι
λόγον λέγεις ἀχρηστον; 1.56.1 τοῦς ἄν Ἑλλήνων...προσκή-
 σαιτο...

Thuc. 2.36.1 δικαίον γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ πρέπον δὲ ἅμα...τῆν
 τιμὴν...δίδοσθαι, 49.6 ἐλκώσεώς τε αὐτῆ ἰσχυρᾶς ἐγ-
 γιγνομένης...· 2.48.3 καὶ ἀφ' ὧν ἄν τις σκοπῶν...μάλιστα ἄν
 ἔχοι...μὴ ἀγνοεῖν.

Plato Σμπ.215ε πολύ μοι μᾶλλον...ἢ τε καρδίᾳ πηδᾶ..., 219ε
ταῦτά τε γὰρ μοι πάντα προὔγεγόνει· 221γ πολλὰ μὲν
 οὖν ἄν τις καὶ ἄλλα ἔχοι...

Dem. 21.51 ὑβρίν ἄν τις μόνον κατέγνω..., 196 μεγάλην
 μεντ ἄν ἀρχὴν...εἴης εὐρηκώς.

Postpositives like δέ, γὰρ κτλ. since they do not 'belong' to particular words in a sentence, cannot be said to be remote from them; so this judgment may be made of one or more postpositives in a cluster while of others not; similarly, τις in Thuc.II.48.3 agrees with the following participle, while ἄν is remote from its verb and surrounded by grammatically remote words; in Plato Smp.221c however, both are remote etc. Note

that, in view of the convention that adjacent postpositives occupy the same 'position', no postpositive in a cluster can be said to separate another from a mobile or prepositive; in Thuc.II.48.3, both ἄν and τις 'directly' follow the relative pronoun and 'directly' precede the participle.

We may conclude from the above lists that peninitial position of postpositives is not motivated by a desire to keep closely related words together, but to some extent has the opposite effect (though neither is it always incompatible with such proximity); cf.p.1.1.5 above. But the effects of the tendency towards peninitial position are on occasion yet more striking. It will be clear from the above that it is easier to exemplify it from Homer than from later authors; but even in Homer (p.1.1.11 above) it normally respects our established ideas about the boundaries of finite-verb clauses (though participial and infinitive clauses are a different matter - see the lists). Consider however (Wackernagel p.342) a sixth century inscription from Rhodes, IG XII.i.737 (Buck 100) Ζεὺ δέ νιν ὅστις πημαίνοι λειώλη θεῖη and Hom.Il.XXI 347 χάρει δέ μιν ὅστις ἐθεῖρη. In both, the postpositive pronoun is governed by the verb of the relative clause but, through peninitial position in the sentence as a whole, appears, if we follow our usual conventions, to be part of the main clause. Similar to those, though progressively less so, are: Thuc.IV.80.3 προεῖπον αὐτῶν ὅσοι...ἀξιοῦσι κρίνεσθαι, Plato Rep.479c ἔχεις οὖν αὐτοῖς, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὅ τι χρήση; Grg.521d πονηρός τις μ' ἔσται ὁ εἰσάγων, Chrm.153a καὶ με ὡς εἶδον. Thuc.IV.80.3 may be the equivalent of προεῖπον αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀξιοῦντας κρίνεσθαι, but if we take the postpositive as genitive after ὅσοι alone and not the whole relative clause, then a postpositive which 'belongs' within the relative clause has been promoted to a peninitial position in the whole sentence so that it appears to belong to the governing verb; the same applies even more clearly to Rep.479e; an articular participial clause (Grg.521d) is

normally marked off from the sentence at large by the article, just as a relative clause by the relative pronoun; but here the tendency to peninitial position in the sentence (actually the apodosis) as a whole has overcome that barrier, so that $\mu\epsilon$ appears to 'belong' to ἔσται' in Chrm.153a again the initial boundary of the relative clause is ignored in favour of peninitial position in the sentence as a whole; $\kappa\alpha\iota$ in fact introduces the whole sentence, not merely the relative clause, but nevertheless this is a less 'serious' infringement of our usual expectations, for the postpositive does not thereby come into the vicinity of an unrelated verb.

Postpositives then, both connective and others, have a tendency, which does not proceed from their definition, to stand in peninitial position; in the former case, it is not possible to speak of 'grammatical' or 'syntactical' relations; but the latter, in obeying this peninitial tendency, often disrupt grammatical groupings, to the extent, on occasion, of ignoring what we commonly feel to be rigid clause boundaries. It is clear also from Wackernagel that peninitial position of postpositives is not peculiar to Greek but is inherited by it from the Indo-European matrix.

Deferment Yet Wackernagel's observation did require to be made; most of us, though conscious of expressions like οὐκ ἄν and εἴ τις in Attic prose, may fail to observe it in other words and to distinguish it in Homer from the effects of oral composition. How strong is peninitialism? The following table (covering Iliad I, II 1-483, XXIV, Odyssey I, II, XXI, XXII, XXIII 1-343; Hdt. I 1-92, IX; Thuc. II and VI, except for μ -, for which all books have been examined; Plato Symposium, Demosthenes Against Meidias) gives the fraction not in peninitial position of all instances of all the postpositives examined in the range, where more than one position, consistent with the definition of 'postpositive', is possible;

17/93 means '17 not peninitial out of a total of 93 instances in the range'; see also pp.1.1.11 and 12.

	Homer	Hdt.	Thuc.	Plato	Dem.	t%
μιν	17/93	23/44				29.2
ἐ	14/120	36/90				23.8
σφε	1/22	52/97				44.5
κε	15/195					7.7
αὐτ-		65/99	274/363	78/98	75/89	75.9
μ-	41/214	19/41	26/41	42/91	61/81	40.4
ἄν	8/33	11/26	80/129	80/125	65/102	58.6
τις	54/201	44/100	190/284	87/163	108/158	54.2
total	149/878	250/497	570/817	287/477	309/430	
" %	16%	50.3%	70%	60%	72%	

Clearly, the proportion of non-peninitial or 'deferred' instances in Homer is very low, despite the fact that cases like ἦδ' ἴνα μιν... have in Homer been counted as deferred but peninitial in the other authors (while cases like ἐπεὶ οὖ ἐ count as deferred in all) - p.1.1.11 above. If ἦδ' ἴνα μιν and the like were counted as peninitial, the body of deferred cases would be reduced by: μιν α 95, 135, β 99, ἐ B 215, κε B 332, 366, β 97, 99, φ 260, χ 58, 72, 443, ψ 269, ἄν Ω 480, β 374, χ 468, ψ 233; seventeen instances, which would reduce the percentage deferred in Homer to 15%. We may conclude that in Homer the great majority of postpositives are in peninitial position. After Homer, however, the proportion of deferred postpositives increases sharply; Herodotus has less deferment than any of the Attic three, but is far closer to them in this respect than to Homer. But since in every instance counted there are at least two possible positions for the postpositive, consistent with the definition, from chance alone we should expect well above 50% deferment, and probably only Thucydides and Demosthenes approach that; but such overall considerations are of limited interest, since it is clear from the table that there is great variation between different

postpositives. In respect of ἄν in fact the proportion of deferred cases to total has been exaggerated in the latter four authors; Wackernagel (p.379) mentioned the well-known fact that ἄν and κε in indefinite relative clauses (ὅστις ἄν, ὅπως ἄν κτλ., followed by the subjunctive mood) are exempt from deferment; in fact they are so regularly fully peninitial within the clause that in some cases ἄν coalesces with the introductory prepositive to form a single word, as in ὅταν and ἔάν (the latter of which differs quantitatively from εἰ ἄν); further, these compounds, defying Rule XIV (p.2.1.11), give, when accompanied by δέ, γάρ κτλ., not ὅτε δ' ἄν..., εἰ γάρ ἄν... but ὅταν δέ..., ἔάν γάρ... In this indefinite use then ἄν is so regularly peninitial (for the few exceptions in the main authors studied see p.2.2.1 below) that it ceased to be interesting at an early stage in this study and, in particular, was omitted from the figures for all the post-Homeric authors in the above table; in Homer it is not convenient to attempt a distinction between the two uses; for Herodotus, the indefinite instances from I 1-92 would add 12 to the total and nil to the deferred; but the instances from IX and the other authors have not been collected.

Dialect A further caution is required in interpreting the table on p.1.1.16. The definition of 'peninitial' should be permitted to vary according to dialect if an excessive impression of deferment is not to be gained from some of the figures. In Homer and Herodotus we fairly commonly find cases like B 217 τὸ δέ οἱ ὦμα κυρτῶ, I.1.3 τὸ δέ οἱ οὖνομα εἶναι..., 31.2 οἱ δέ σφι βόες...οὐ παρεγένοντο..., 71.2 τῶν τις Λυδῶν...συνεβούλευσε... although we also find cases like Q 497 τοὺς δ' ἄλλους μοι..., I.85.2 ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ..., 66.2 ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι..., the former are by no means a rarity; whereas in Attic, despite some exceptions (pp.2.2.41 ff.), such a formulation is distinctly abnormal. Hence, while a change in the definition of 'peninitial' is itself evidence of significant

difference between periods of time or authors' usage, yet it must be allowed that cases like Symposium 190c αἱ τιμαὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς...ἤφρανεζετο should count as peninitial (αὐτ- only, not γὰρ) for they are indeed evidence of that tendency within Attic; if so, then six instances (αὐτ- 185δ, 190γ, 223γ· μ- 214ε· ἄν 174β· τις 172α) are peninitial, and the deferred column in the table (p.1.1.16) is correspondingly reduced; this point applies as much to prepositions as to articles (Rule XIX, p.2.1.14).

When the above considerations (pp.1.1.15 ff.) are taken into account, it is clear that not only in Homer, but also in Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, and Demosthenes, postpositives do tend towards peninitial position. But in these latter authors the situation is very different; it would appear, from Wackernagel and from the above table, that peninitial position of postpositives is a trait retained by Greek from the Indo-European matrix; this is seen almost unaltered in Homer, but thereafter there are changes which differentiate postpositives of the introductory type from pronominal and other types; the former, even in Attic, remain almost entirely in peninitial position, unaffected even by the change which there forbids the others from directly following articles and prepositions; but the latter appear increasingly in later positions, even though a peninitial tendency remains detectable to an extent which could surprise the unobservant.

But the table (p.1.1.16) gives only a superficial impression of the changes; the proportion of deferment varies not only between one postpositive and another, but, as detailed examination shows, varies according to the different expressions in which the particular postpositive is involved. For example, in the passages contributing to the table (p.1.1.16), the overall peninitial:deferred ratio of the postpositive τις is Homer 147:54, Hdt. 56:44, Thuc.94:190, Plato 76:87, Dem. 50:108; this shows a progression from a majority of peninitial

instances to a majority of deferred, though Plato has a greater proportion peninitial than we might expect from his chronological position (on the assumption that the progression is a chronological one); but if we consider only sentences beginning with εἰ, the ratio of εἰ τῆς to εἰ...τῆς is for the same sequence of authors 10:1, 18:4, 44:13, 24:7, 13:13; here too there is a decrease in the proportion peninitial, and Plato has an anomalously high proportion peninitial; Demosthenes shows a greater departure from peninitial position than we might expect, but, more important, there is in all authors a far smaller proportion of deferred than in τῆς in general. It is therefore important to consider the phraseology associated with different postpositives.

Further evidence So far, however, it remains possible that peninitial position of the non-connective postpositives was adopted by Homer for metrical or similar reasons and that the peninitial tendency as observed later results from dialectal or literary influence of Homer on Herodotus and of both upon Attic authors. But that the phenomenon is not merely Homeric but a character of the underlying Greek language itself may be seen from an examination of the following sixth or fifth century inscriptions, which are from locations and contexts unlikely to be influenced by literary conventions: Buck nrs.50, 52, 57, 58, 59, 61, 62, 63, 64, 70, 84, 85, 92, 97, 100, 116, 117, from Phocian, Locrian, Elean, Laconian, Argolic, Corinthian, Megarian, Rhodian, and Cretan linguistic contexts.

A very large part of the relevant occurrences in these sources are of κα in the indefinite use; it is no less bound to peninitial position than indefinite ἄν in the classical authors; αἰ κα..., αἰ δέ κα..., ὅστις δέ κα..., ἔντε κ'ἀποτέλει (from Buck nr.52, spelling Atticized) represent the norm. Of 233 occurrences in the whole selection, twelve only are not peninitial (two in nr.57, ten in nr.117), and even in those

κα follows the relative prepositive, which happens not to be initial in its clause; in three cases (ὅτιμι κα λῆι at nr.117 VII 51-2, VIII 6, VIII 11) the words preceding the prepositive are more properly part of the main clause. Nowhere does κα come later than directly after the relative prepositive. Of κα in its other use (confined to nrs.61, 62, 64, all from Olympia) there are fourteen occurrences, of which only four or five are deferred; the norm is represented by 61.5 ἐπενπῶι ζέ κ'Ελληνοζίκας..., 62.5 τάλαντόν κ'ἀργύρο ἀποτίνοιαν..., and those deferred are 61.3 ζέκα μναίς κα ἀποτίνοια..., 61.7 ἐν τᾷ ζεκαμναίαι κ'ἐνέχοιτο, 61.8 καὶ πατριᾶς ὁ γροφεύς ταύτᾳ κα πᾶσ-κοι, 62.10 ἐν τέπιάροι κ'ἐνέχοιτο..., 64 ...κα θεαρῶς εἴε· but the last may be peninitial. Of 46 occurrences of τις (mostly in the inscribed laws), thirteen are deferred; of these, two directly follow the 'introductory' prepositive, which happens not to be initial in its clause (117.III 40 ἄλλο δ'αἶ τι πέροι, XI 20 τῶν δὲ πρόθα ὅπαι τις ἔκει...); of the remainder, three are 'virtually peninitial' (cf. p.1.1.11, 16), 117.V 10, 17, 22 αἶ ζέ κα μέ τις ἔι τούτον· the norm in τις is represented by αἶ τις..., αἶ δέ τις... So far then not only do these inscriptions show a high proportion of peninitial instances, but the phraseology recalls much that we have seen elsewhere (pp.1.1.8 ff. and 12 ff.), though with detail differences from Attic, such as αἶ τις κα..., αἶ δέ κα... for ἐάν τις..., ἐάν δὲ... This suggests that peninitialism is no less native to these dialects than to the language of Homer and the Attic authors. Cases like DGE 412, 3 ἄ δέ κα Φρατρα... (Dover, p.14) are not only forbidden in Attic by Rule XVIII (p.2.1.13) but seem to be at least rare in Homer (the articular usage itself being rare), despite the occurrence of such as, on the one hand, Il. XXIV 615 τῆ δεκάτῃ δέ κε... and on the other Od.I 396 τῶν κέν τις τόδ' ἔχησιν. This impression is reinforced by μ- in the inscriptions; of seven instances, only one is deferred; the norm is seen in 52 A 15 ἐνορμέοντι μέμ μοι ἀγαθὰ εἴη and

92 α Σιμλων μ'ἀνέθεκε... deferred is 85 48-9 κατὰ ταῦτά σφιν ἔστο... (cf. p.1.1.17).

Peninitial position of postpositives therefore seems to be a basically Greek, not a Homeric, phenomenon; further evidence that it is not due to imitation of Homer is provided by an examination of some 'pre-Socratic' writers of whose work a usable volume is preserved in Diels-Kranz. Individually, many have too few instances of any one postpositive to give worthwhile evidence, and they fall into a variety of genres, which forbids treating them as a single mass; they have therefore been divided into groups as follows. Hexameter writers, Xenophanes, Empedocles, Parmenides; Ionic/Attic prose writers, Zeno, Melissus, Diogenes of Apollonia, Anaxagoras, Democritus, Heraclitus; Doric verse (doubtfully genuine), Epicharmus; Doric prose, Philolaus and Archytas. In view of the sparseness of the evidence, for each author shall be given the proportions of all the relevant postpositives together, with no distinction between one word and another; for each postpositive shall be given the ratio in each of these groups of authors as a whole, without distinction between individual authors. In Doric prose, Philolaus has three peninitial out of five postpositives occurring, Archytas five out of twelve; in Doric verse, Epicharmus has five out of 21; in Ionic/Attic prose, Zeno 3/6, Melissus 21/25, Diog.Ap. 8/12, Anaxagoras 7/11, Democritus 35/65, Heraclitus 9/17; hexameter verse, Xenophanes 17/23, Empedocles 27/38, Parmenides 22/27. Since the hexameter writers use Homeric phraseology, it is unsurprising that they have a very high proportion of peninitial position; but the Ionic/Attic prose shows a proportion peninitial slightly higher than that in Herodotus (p.1.1.16, 49.7%), while even the Doric prosaists have a fairly high proportion; only Epicharmus (cf. Demosthenes, p.1.1.16) has a proportion which may approach a chance distribution, but that may be due to late composition. As to individual words: in Doric prose, κα.

(indefinite use) has three peninitial occurrences to nil deferred, κα (other) one to four, μ- 1:0, τις 4:4; in Doric verse (i.e. Epicharmus), κα (indefinite) 2:0 (other) 2:7, τις 9:1; in Ionic/Attic prose, μιν 1:0, ἐ 1:0, σφε 1:0, αὐτ- 1:0, μ- 4:9, ἄν (indefinite) 14:0, (other) 37:20, τις 27:23; hexameter writers, μιν 7:2, ἐ 3:0, σφε 9:0, κε (indefinite) 3:0, (other) 12:4, μ- 6:1, ἄν (indefinite) 2:1, (other) 7:2, τις 20:12. With the exception then of κα in Doric (and particularly Epicharmus) peninitial position forms a large proportion of the whole. As to indefinite ἄν, the single case of deferment is Empedocles fr.112 Diels ln.7 (textually doubtful) τοῖσιν ἄμ' εὔτ' ἄν ἴκωμαι..., where ἄν is peninitial relative to the 'introductory' prepositive, which happens (if genuine) not to be initial in the clause (cf. pp.1.1.19-20). There also occur the following instances of familiar peninitial phraseology: Archytas fr.1 καλῶς μοι δοκοῦντι...γνώμεναι... αἱ γὰρ τις ῥάβδον λαβῶν κινεῖ... Zeno fr.2 οὐδὲν ἄν μεῖζον ποιήσειεν Melissus 7.3 πῶς ἄν μετακοσμηθὲν τῶν ἐόντων εἶη; Diog.Ap.fr.5 καί μοι δοκεῖ... αὐτὸ γὰρ μοι τοῦτο θεοῦ δοκεῖ εἶναι... Anaxagoras fr.4 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν μοι λέλεκται... Democritus fr.254 ὁκόσῳ ἄν μᾶλλον ἀνάξειοι ἐόντες...ἴωσι..., 262 καί οἱ τοῦτο ἐγκάρδιον ἀνάγκη εἶναι. That is merely a selection; but note in particular Melissus 7.5 ἀπὸ γὰρ ἄν ὄλοιτο... cf. pp.1.1.17 ff. above, and consider also Homer Il. II 160 καὶ δέ κεν εὐχολῆν...λίποιεν and Hdt.I.108.2 ἐκ γὰρ οἱ τῆς ὀφιοῦς...οἱ ὄνειροπόλοι ἐσήμαινον... also Rule XIX, p.2.2. 43 below.

Causes of deferment It seems therefore that peninitial position of postpositives was a tendency inherited by Greek in general from its Indo-European background; this is seen almost unaltered in Homer; but in later Greek and Attic prose in particular the tendency underwent great modification, wherein individual phraseology, particular ex-

pressions, is important. What then are the circumstances of this deferment? We may begin to answer this by use of comparisons among material already given above.

From such cases as Homer Il.XXI 347, IG XII.i 737, Plato Rep. 479c (p.1.1.14 above) it appears that peninitial position antedates the division of sentences into distinct principal and subordinate clauses; but χαίρει δέ μιν ὅστις... is a rare formulation even in Homer, where the normal limits of peninitial position are represented by such as ἦδ' ἵνα μιν... (p.1.1.11); instances which infringe this structural barrier seem to be cases of fixed, habitual or conservative phraseology surviving from earlier times; the causes may be, in Homer metrical conservatism, in the inscription the same, perhaps combined with religious; even Rep.479c seems to be a habitual formula, for the same words recur in Dem.59.98 ...οὐκ εἶχον αὐτοῖς ὅ τι χρῆσονται... Habitual formulae are relevant also to Homer Od.XXIII 56 κακῶς δ' οἴπερ μιν ἔρεζον... here metre would permit κακῶς δέ μιν οἴπερ..., which would be more peninitial without danger of misinterpretation. Normally a relative prepositive is initial in the relative clause, and then a postpositive 'belonging' to the clause cannot, by definition, precede the prepositive, for it would then be initial; habitual repetition leads to the expectation that postpositives do not precede relative pronouns etc., and that is then applied even when the prepositive is not initial; this seems to explain Od.XXIII 56, which also is evidence that χαίρει δέ μιν ὅστις... is no longer a normality in Homer. Thus habitual formulae may favour both peninitial position and deferment. (Cf. pp.1.1.17 ὅταν, 19-20 κα).

Unit-formation Further compare (pp.1.1.17, 18) Homer Il.II 217, Hdt.I.1.3 with Plato Smp.190c. Similarly we find routinely in Homer α 434 καί ἐ μάλιστα δμῶων φιλέεσκε, A 255 ἦ κεν γηθήσαι..., Ω 655 καί κεν ἀνάβλησις...γέννη-

ται, α 288 ἢ τ' ἄν τρυχόμενός περ ἔτι τλάλης... yet in Attic ἢ ἄν..., καὶ ἄν..., καὶ αὐτ-... are of at least limited occurrence; Homer writes α 198 χαλεποὶ δέ μιν ἄνδρες ἔχουσι, β 84 Ἄντινοος δέ μιν οἶος..., though χαλεποὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ἄνδρες... (unlike χαλεποὶ δ' ἄν...), would be, while far from impossible, unusual Attic. Hence one 'cause' of postpositive deferment seems to be the development in initial position of unified groups of two or more words which may (on occasion) exclude particular postpositives from peninitial position if that would disrupt the group; excluded thus from peninitial position the postpositive is peninitial in a secondary sense, only if the elements of the unit are treated as a single word. Units are of two main types: pM... and (p)MM... (see Alphabetical Symbols, p.1.3.2 below). In the latter, two or more mobile elements form a unit excluding the postpositive from the position between them, as in Dem.21.25 δίκας ἰδίκας μοι προσῆκεν αὐτῷ λαχεῖν yet strict peninitialism may always prevail, giving the more striking cases of peninitial position such as listed on p.1.1.13 above, e.g. Πλ.Σμπ.215ε πολὺ μοι μάλλον..., while different postpositives have different propensities to attain strict peninitial position. In cases of (p)MMq..., (p)MMMq... etc. in which there is a close relation between the mobiles, either grammatical agreement as in Dem. 21.25 above, or semantic association as in Homer Od.II 379 αὐτὸν κ' ἔπειτ' αἰ οἶνον... ἀφυσσεν, unit-formation of the (p)MM type seems acceptable as a 'cause' of deferment; but it would be perilous to suppose the formation of a unit unless some such fairly obvious connexion between the mobiles could be found.

The essence of pM... type unit-formation is the exclusion of postpositives from the position directly following the prepositives; since prepositives cannot form a complete utterance except with the accompaniment of a following mobile (not only καὶ but also καὶ με are incomplete utterances) it is

not surprising if they form units with these mobiles. Under this heading fall not only the pM... type of unit but also the pp... and the combination of both, ppM..., a postpositive being excluded from following any p in the sequence. But a different subdivision is required.

(a) Where both p and M are a particular type of word in a particular relation, i.e. p is a preposition or article and M is a noun governed or introduced by p, or the first mobile in a noun phrase so introduced: cf. Σμπ.190γ αἱ τιμαὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς..., 185δ ἐν τῇ κάρῳ γὰρ αὐτοῦ... (p.1.1.18 above), which are pMqq... and ppMqq... respectively; regularly, most or all non-connective postpositives (and occasionally even connectives) are excluded from directly following the article and from directly following the preposition except in certain conditions, for which see Rules XVIII and XIX, pp.2.2.41 ff. The occasional deferment of connectives as a result of unit-formation (of any kind) is useful for detecting the types of expression which form units, since connectives are rarely deferred for any other reason. Unit-formation of this kind seems to apply, with the article, even in Homer (τῆ δεκάτῃ δέ κε..., p.1.1.20, but contrast p.1.1.17), but may be less advanced with the preposition (Od.XXII 82 ἐν δέ οἱ ἥπατι κῆξε..., cf. Hdt.I.108.2, p.1.1.22).

(b) Where M is a particular kind of word, but p is not, i.e. where M is a negative, N. A non-connective postpositive tends not to stand between a prepositive and a following negative (cf.p.1.1.11); probably the frequency of Nq... where N is initial (as it often is) leads to Nq rather than qN even in the presence of p, i.e. pNq... (cf.p.1.1.23). In much the same category we may place the pp... units, like ἡδ' ἵνα μιν..., Il.XXIV 768 ἀλλ' εἴ τις με... See Rules XI and XII, p.2.1.9 ff., 2.2.19 ff.

(c) Where neither p nor M is any particular kind of word and there is no particular relation between p and M;

certain postpositives simply become excluded from the position following certain prepositives (cf. p.1.1.23-24, $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda$, $\tilde{\eta}$ $\kappa\tau\lambda$). Rules XX - XXIII list the details, pp.2.1.15 ff. Perhaps this should not be called unit-formation, since it appears that the important determinants are those of the identity of the prepositive and that of the postpositive, as individual lexical units, but not that of the mobile: if $pMq...$ is a case of deferment through unit-formation, we expect the nature of p and M to matter rather than that of p and q , pM being the unit. But a general examination of the positions occupied by postpositives in sentences introduced by prepositives suggests that a unit-forming propensity is a character of certain prepositives, so that pq is forbidden and pM normal (whatever the identity of M), but that certain postpositives through the formation of habitual formulae (whether $pq...$ or longer expressions) are enabled to maintain the pq position; e.g. $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda$ tends not to be directly followed by postpositives, the result being that $\kappa\alpha\tilde{\iota}$ $\tilde{\alpha}\nu...$ is extremely rare, $\kappa\alpha\tilde{\iota}$ $\tilde{\alpha}\upsilon\tau-$ of limited occurrence, $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda$ $\mu-$, though frequent, is usually in expressions like $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda$ $\mu\omicron\iota$ $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon$, $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda$ $\mu\omicron\iota$ $\delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\tilde{\iota}$, and $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda$ $\tau\iota\varsigma$ is similarly commonest in substantival phrases without verb (p.3.3.52 ff.); all four are influenced to some degree by a unit-forming propensity on the part of $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda$. It has already been suggested (p. 1.1.24) in connexion with MM units that some postpositives are better able than others to stand peninitial despite unit-forming tendencies; it is sometimes difficult to avoid the decision that one postpositive in a sentence is deferred by unit-formation while another is not. Note also that while the various types of $p...$ unit-formation ((a), (b) and (c) above) are sufficiently regular that strict peninitial position is treated as an exception to a Rule (Ch.II), MM unit-formation (p.1.1.24) is much less predictable; it is a matter of alternative regular wordings. So much on unit-formation.

Colon-formation Contrast Il.II 22 τῷ μιν εἰσάμενος προσ-
 εφώνεεν, Od.I 291 νοστήσας δὴ ἔπειτα φάλην
 ἔς πατρίδα γαῖαν σῆμά τέ οἱ χεῦται... While in the former
 (and others listed on p.1.1.13) we might suppose that q is
 peninitial in the sentence despite a potential unit-formation
 in the surrounding words, it is clear in the latter that the
 deferment is due to something else; cf also Hdt.I.36.3 Κροῖσος
 δὲ μνημονεύων τοῦ ὄνειρου τὰ ἔπεα ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε, 22.4 μετὰ δὲ
 ἦ τε διαλλαγὴ σφι ἐγένετο... Unit-formation alone would give
 τῷ εἰσάμενός μιν... Ed. Fraenkel (loc.cit.) named this
 phenomenon colon. A sentence is separated into two or more
 phrases possibly marked by a pause in pronunciation, and defer-
 ment results through the positioning of q in a trailing phrase;
 within the phrase it will often be peninitial (another form of
 secondary peninitialism, cf. p.1.1.24 above) but may be subject
 to yet further deferment through unit-formation, as in Hdt.I.
37.1 φαρμένου δὲ τοῦ Κροῖσου/ τὸν κατὰ σφι πέμψειν..., Hom.II.
II 372 αἱ γὰρ Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἀπολλών/ τοιοῦτοι
δέκα μοι συμφράδμονες εἶεν... in the former, the pM unit-for-
 mation is possibly obligatory, since q (contrast p.1.1.17) is
 not in this case semi-genitival.

Fraenkel enumerates various types of colon-formation,
 which are listed here with attached index-letter for convenient
 reference later. A: participia absoluta; e.g. Isaeus III 51
 γενομένων δὲ τούτων/ δοκεῖ ἄν...ἐπιτρέψαι...; B: participia
coniuncta; e.g. Hdt.IV.119.2 καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑπακούσαντες/ τούτῳ
 ἄν ὑμῖν ἐπρήσσομεν, Thuc.II.87.3 καὶ μὴ ἀπειρίαν...προβαλλομέν-
 ος/ εἰκότως ἄν ἔν τινι κακοῦς γενέσθαι... C: prepositional
 expressions of content equivalent to a finite-verb clause; e.g.
Thuc.VI.9.3 καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς τρόπους τοὺς ὑμετέρους/ ἀσθενῆς
 ἄν μου ὁ λόγος εἴη. D: various infinitival and similar con-
 structions; e.g. Dem.4.31 δοκεῖτε δέ μοι/ πολὺ βέλτιον ἄν...
 βουλευσασθαι... (with unit-formation). This type has several
 varieties; the main verb, the infinitive (or participle), the

the accusative subject or object of the infinitive, form different groupings on different occasions. E: parallel and antithetic balances; the element carrying the point of an antithesis (etc.) forms a separate colon; e.g. Hdt.I.42.1 ἄλλως μὲν/ ἔγωγε ἂν οὐκ ἦτα..., Thuc.I.70.4 οἴονται γάρ/ οἱ μὲν/ τῆ ἀπουσίᾳ ἂν τι κτᾶσθαι..., III.56.2 πόλιν γὰρ...καταλαμβάνοντας...ὀρθῶς τε ἐτιμωρησάμεθα...καὶ νῦν/ οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως... Observe here the expression οὐκ ἂν more on that later. This category, being potentially of wider application than many of those above, is in fact of considerable importance, and not merely for explaining deferment from peninitial position; see e.g. Rules XXIV ff., pp.2.2.63 ff. F: short expressions, often one word, isolated as cola for the sake of tabulation, summary, or emphasis; e.g. Hdt.VI.98 ...Δαρείου... καὶ Ξέρξου...καὶ Ἀρτοξέρξου...τούτους μὲν δὴ τοὺς βασιλέας/ ὧδε ἂν καλέοιεν... It is not clear how distinct this is from type E above; the particular short expressions, called Kurzcola, include the frequent νῦν δέ/..., ὅμως δέ/..., μετὰ δέ/... G: cola defined by the leading word of the trailing phrase rather than the nature of the words preceding the division; i.e. cola introduced by interrogatives or negatives; e.g. Aeschylus Agamemnon 1018 τὸ δ' ἐπὶ γὰν πεσὸν...μέλαν αἶμα/ τίς ἂν πάλιν ἀγκαλέσαιτ'...;

These, the main Fraenkelian categories of cola, are probably not an exhaustive list of the syntactical circumstances of deferment through colon-formation, but they are likely to be the most common ones in which such deferment is frequent or customary rather than occasional. This varies according to the identity of the postpositive involved; Fraenkel uses ἂν to establish the categories; but it becomes clear (Rule X, p.2.1.8) that ἂν is not necessarily deferred in the grammatical circumstances of categories A and B but despite an opening participial clause may come peninitial in the sentence as a whole (indeed the strongly peninitial tendency of ἂν is

well known mainly because of that); in Hdt.IX.27.4 καὶ γὰρ ἂν χρηστοὶ τότε ἔδοντες/ ὠὔτοί/ νῦν ἂν εἶεν φλαυρότεροι the second ἂν is not required for the sense but by its presence gives a clue to the colon-division (a category B colon, the participial clause, is followed by a strong pause; ὠὔτοί, as subject of the main verb, is probably followed by a less marked pause, but forms a colon of category F); colon-formation does not necessarily produce deferment. On the other hand pronominal postpositives (Rule X) are excluded, if they 'belong' to the main clause, from appearing within such participial clauses; for them, the position indicated by colon-deferment in categories A and B is more nearly obligatory; yet it has not been found necessary to apply Rule XV (p.2.1.12) to participial clauses. On the other hand again, deferments resulting from colon-formation outside the listed categories, such as Hdt.I. 10.2 καὶ ἡ γυνή/ ἐπορᾷ μιν ἐξιόντα (Dover, p.17) or IX.110.1 καὶ ἡ Ἀθηστρίς/ πυνθάνεται μιν ἔχουσιν are probably less obligatory, in view of I.24.7 καὶ μιν Ἀθηναῖοι δημοσίῃ τε ἔθαφον..., where the colon-division may well exist, but relatively minor considerations such as the absence of an article and the presence of τε have sufficed to prevent deferment of μιν.

Not only may colon-formation be diagnosed on occasion outside Fraenkel's categories, but, as hinted above (p.1.1.28), those he does list may overlap. In Euthyphro 9c (Dover, p. 18) ὥστε τούτου μὲν/ ἀφίημι σε, is the colon-formation (which almost certainly exists) due to implicit antithesis with some other charge or to its being a summary of preceding material, as in Hdt.VI.98 (p.1.1.28)? Does it belong to category E or category F? Categories E and F involve the same phraseology and are probably due to general emphasis on the words in question, though differently motivated; hence to conclude that colon-formation is present does not necessarily require the diagnosis of a particular type. Perhaps more serious is this: Fraenkel admits that in category G most instances are

consistent with some other category; Pl.Phd.93e τοῦτο δ' αὖ πεπονθυῖα/ ἄρ' ἄν... fits B as well as G, and Thuc.IV.59.2 καὶ περὶ μὲν τοῦ πολεμεῖν ὡς χαλεπὸν/ τίς ἄν... fits C as well as G. As evidence of G colon-formation independent of other categories he cites A.Ag.1018 (p.1.1.28 above) and Hippocrates Ant.Med.5.5. (Kuehlewein) τῷ δὲ εὐρήματι τοῦτω καὶ ζητήματι/ τίς ἄν... Now some instances under category C (prepositional expressions functioning as clauses) are in fact part of another tendency, but one which applies to some postpositives only; it emerges from the present study (Rule XVII, p.2.1.13) that after any pqM in which p is an article or preposition, q a connective, and M the noun introduced by p or the first mobile in a noun phrase so introduced, ἄν and τίς do not directly follow M, nor directly follow the end of the phrase if it is longer than pqM; in other words, such a pqM combination always, as far as ἄν and τίς are concerned, forms a separate colon (unless the postpositives actually 'belong' to the articular or prepositional phrase itself); we do not find expressions like μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ' ἄν φαίνων..., ὁ δὲ λόγος τινὰ περὶ... Thus not only Phd.93e and Thuc.IV.59.2 may be accounted for under a category other than G, for A.Ag.1018 and Hipp.Ant.Med.5.5 belong to this post-Fraenkelian colon-category of pqM. It may therefore appear that Fraenkel's category G is illusory.

But that is possibly not the appropriate conclusion. Interrogatives and negatives, though not actually prepositives, are very like them, for occurrences in final position are rare (Dover p.14 and, e.g. Pl.Plt.261c λέγεις δ' αὐτῶν ἀναληπτέον εἶναι πότερον;) and they tend strongly to stand in initial position. The evidence of Moorhouse (p.69 ff.) shows that through time negatives are increasingly postponed to medial positions; the present study (p.3.2.33 ff.) suggests that the same may apply to interrogatives, for the Formulae (see p.1.1.32 ff. below) τίς ἄν κτλ., postponed to medial position, are particularly common in 'late' Plato. Prepositives too, as in

Od.XXIII 56 κακῶς δ'οἶπερ μιν ἔρεζον..., though it is not clear if this changes with time, are subject to such postponement; cf. also Thuc.VI.79.1 ...οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς φίλοις...τῶν δὲ ἐχθρῶν ἦν τις ἐφ'ὕμᾳς ἴη, Plato Smp.209a τούτων δ'αὖ ὅταν τις ἐκ νέου ἐγκύμων ἦ τὴν ψυχὴν, Rep.479a τούτων γὰρ δὴ...τῶν πολλῶν καλῶν μῶν τί ἐστὶν ὁ..., Laws 742b ἰδιούμενος δὲ ἄν τις φαίνεται. In all these, the leading colon, i.e. preceding the (quasi-) prepositive, fits Fraenkel's E or F category or is emphasized for some similar reason. It may be that 'postponed prepositive/interrogative/negative' is a kind of colon-formation, but that the latter requires classification along a different axis from A, B, C etc. Fraenkel states (p.343) that medial οὐκ ἄν seems not to occur except where the preceding words form a colon in one of the other categories. Perhaps then colon-formation of any kind on the A, B etc. axis requires, when complicated by the presence of a (quasi-)prepositive, to be divided into type (i) and type (ii); thus ἦν δὲ τις τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐφ'ὕμᾳς ἴη would be 'latent' colon-formation with q peninitial (for colon-formation can probably occur though not betrayed by the order of words); while the deferment of q would be divisible into 'E/F colon-formation type i' with the wording ἦν δὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν/ ἐφ'ὕμᾳς τις ἴη, and ditto 'type ii' with τῶν δὲ ἐχθρῶν ἦν τις... The motivation would be a desire for increased clarity of the emphasis on the leading colon; Phd.93e τοῦτο δ'αὖ κεπονθυῖα... fits, as well as G, not only category B (p.1.1.30), but also F. It is perhaps not irrelevant, however, that οὐκ ἄν, τί ἄν, εἴ τις, εἰάν τις are Formulae (p.1.1.32 ff. below); but this does not seem to apply to οἶπερ μιν, μῶν τι. The identity of the (quasi-) prepositive is important; connectives, like καί, are postponed hardly at all, the negative οὐ quite commonly; any degree of emphasis obtained by postponing the latter would lose impact through habituation. That ends discussion of colon-formation as a 'cause' of postpositive deferment.

Formulaism Relevant also to the word-order of postpositives is the occasional prevalence of 'pattern' over 'principle', the determination of position by what we may call 'formulae' (Dover, pp.4, 7-8, 56 ff.). An assemblage of words, brought together originally to satisfy the requirement of meaning, the word-order being determined possibly by chance, may, because it has already been composed, be re-used again and again in the same order; it is then a formula, and its word-order may be explicable by the existence of the habit or tradition. The tradition may then become so strong that the associated word-order may be used even where the basic principles of structure are thereby breached. Perhaps four stages may be distinguished: original composition in obedience to principle; establishment, through repetition, of a formula; use thereof where order is determined purely by the formula but without infringing principle; lastly, breaching of principle by the strongly-established formula. The most reliable evidence is furnished by the last situation; but it is reasonable to suppose that expressions exist which, although they have never attained the last stage, are nevertheless formulae; they will be more difficult to detect, but collection and comparison of instances in a hypothetically formulaic order with instances of the same wording in other orders may suffice to suggest them.

Patterning of this kind may apply to expressions of all kinds. Many will take the form of a relation between two or more mobile elements ('MM... formulae') such as (Dover, pp.60 ff.) the 'command + name of holder' type; others may have the form pM... or pq... or Mq; possibly also in an MM or pM formula postpositives may be admitted in accordance with the meaning of the sentence but without being themselves part of the formula, so that while the order of the other elements is formulaic that of the postpositive is free; equally, the opposite may perhaps occur - e.g. in formulae like ἦγε δὲ αὐτοῦς

...Μαδύης, ἐστρατήγεε δὲ αὐτοῦ Τιγρᾶνης, the consistent position of the postpositive within the expression may be part and parcel of the formula; but this is subject to a further complication to be discussed below (p.1.1.39 ff.).

But in this study it is naturally in those formulae which directly involve postpositives that we are mainly interested, and in particular those which appear to explain the position of postpositives in the sentence. Often we may suspect that a postpositive is in deferred position because it has (according to the definition of 'postpositive', which predicts close relation between a postpositive and the preceding rather than the following expression) developed a formulaic attachment to the position following a particular word, so that, when that word is later than initial position, g is later than peninitial; e.g. the tendency of ἄν to follow adverbs, and some adverbs rather than others; of τις to be attached to adjectives with which it is in grammatical agreement, and to some rather than to others; expressions like τάχ' ἄν, οὐκ ἄν, ἄλλο τι. Such expressions often give good evidence of formulaism by breaching some principle; e.g. Pl.Prt.353c ἄλλο τι γάρ... infringes the principle represented by Rule XIV (p.2.1.11) that connective postpositives precede those under study, when they fall adjacent, giving γάρ ἄν..., γάρ τι..., δ' ἄν... δέ τι... In other cases we may have to rely on numerical evidence (p.1.1.32); but cases like Od.XXI 217εἰ δ' ἄγε δὴ καὶ σῆμα ἀριφραδέος ἄλλο τι εἶπω are suggestive through strange word-order. Formulaic order of this kind may become established in possibly more than one way; but a probable suggestion is that it is due to peninitial position where the non-postpositive stood in initial position; some of the words for which such a formulaic relationship is eventually confirmed are in fact words listed (Dover, p.27) as 'preferential'. But there are other possibilities.

The interaction of pattern and principle has already been

mentioned (p.1.1.23) in connection with cases like κακῶς δ' οἴπερ μιν... (on which see also 1.1.30 ff.). While οἴπερ μιν does not appear to be in itself a habitual expression (and we would not wish thereby to explain why not οἴπερ...μιν) the prevalence of pattern over principle seems to explain why not μιν οἴπερ, even in the form κακῶς δέ μιν οἴπερ, and why (Rule II, p.2.1.6) the postpositives being studied do not precede such prepositives in general. Nevertheless it seems desirable to keep the expression 'formula' to refer to habitual relations between specific items of vocabulary: καλῶς ἄν at least attracts the hypothesis of formulaism, while εὖ ἄν does not. In this study, expressions of the wording p_q or M_q listed (or potentially listable) as determining the position of q through that of p or M, are called Formulae (capital F); while M_q Formulae often explain why q is deferred, p_q Formulae (apart from cases of 'postponed prepositive' - p.1.1.31) explain why it has resisted the tendencies of deferment.

The aim of this study is to clear the ground of cases in which q is constrained by such forces as Formulaism, in order to enable subsequent study in Attic prose of peninitial position and deferment in sentences where the author has relatively free choice of word-order. Since it appears that postpositives have an initially peninitial tendency, a matter of importance for the latter purpose is the mode of introduction ('introtypes') of a sentence or clause (asyndeton, καί, δέ, ὅτι κτλ.) and it appears that the extent of deferment varies in part according to introtypes. A large proportion of introtypes are prepositives; the forces of unit-formation (p.1.1.26) mean that in specific cases the wording p_q, often normal in Homer, is 'forbidden' in Attic; despite Od.I 302 ἵνα τις σε καὶ ὀφιδόνων ἐὺ εἴπη, ἵνα τις (Rule XXIII, p.2.1.17) is not found in Attic prose. On the other hand, both ἕως τις and ἕως...τις are normal, and seem the proper object of research into free choice. By further contrast to both of those,

however, in a clause beginning with εἰ and containing τις, wordings other than εἴ τις are relatively unusual and that is a very common expression. It is difficult not to feel that while ἕως τις is due merely to peninitial tendency as still at work in Attic, and despite the degree of variation in deferment after different prepositives, the selective reluctance to defer after εἰ is due to Formulaism, especially as we also find breaches of principle like (p.2.2.31) εἴ τις ἄρα, εἴ τῳ δέ' further, after εἰ (as after οὔτε), τις often appears in an otiose way - Thuc. IV.62.2 εἴ τῳ τί ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸν ἢ εἴ τῳ τὰ ἐναντία.

Discussion of causation The above three influences (pp.1.1.23 ff.), unit-formation, colon-formation and Formulaism, are those which may be agreed initially to produce deferment of postpositives. Not only is Formulaism relevant to Chapter Three (Formulae) below, but some understanding of unit- and colon-formation is necessary in preparation for much that appears in Chapter Two (Rules). Ultimately it may prove possible to explain all deferment in terms of these three influences. But we cannot expect to assign every instance of deferment to one or another until all the types or potential cases have been enumerated. In the case of Formulaism, probably that merely requires the detection of pg and Mq expressions which occur particularly frequently; unit-formation should probably be confined to a fairly small range of close grammatical and probably substantival relationships. But as to colon-formation, Fraenkel probably did not exhaust all the possible types; e.g. Il.II 372 is treated above (p.1.1.27) as colon-formation, and it seems probable that 'prepositive + prolonged vocative' should count as a colon-category; indeed vocative expressions in general (Rule XV, p.2.1.12, cf. Dover p.13) are not directly followed by postpositives 'belonging' to the sentence at large. There

is therefore work to be done in enumerating these various things; but apart from the practical difficulties therein, the fact that colon-types in particular have not been exhaustively listed presents us with a danger; since unit-formation and Formulaism present comparatively little difficulty, there is a temptation to suppose that by elimination the residue must be colon-formation; but it is possible that the above three influences do not exhaust all the possibilities on that level; there is therefore a boundary problem between colon-formation by elimination and any fourth or fifth type of 'cause'; this is bound to be further exacerbated by difficulties in assigning individual cases among the three.

Before we go on to exemplify practical difficulties, there are more 'philosophical' problems about the use of the word 'cause'. While it may be true that the rise of the three above-listed phenomena is the cause of deferment in general, nevertheless in individual cases it begs a question if we simply call any one of these influences the cause. As between acceptable cases of unit-formation and peninitial position, why does Herodotus write (I.59.4) οἱ μιν ἐλαύνοντα εἰς ἀγρὸν ἠθέλησαν ἀπολέσαι... but (IX.93.4) τὴν πολλοὺς μιν μακαριεῖν... ἔχοντα? Why (IX.34.1) ὥς μιν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἐμισθοῦντο... but (I.34.2) ὥς ἀπολέει μιν...? Again, as between unit-formation and colon-formation, why (I.82.7) μηδὲ τὰς γυναῖκάς σφι χρυσοφορήσειν, but (I.10.2) καὶ ἡ γυνὴ/ ἐπορᾷ μιν ἐξιόντα? It is clear that we cannot predict from the nature of the opening expression whether unit-formation or colon-formation will be the chosen formulation. The element of choice on the author's part means that the cause in the individual case is his choice; unit-formation etc. function as pre-conditions or models which enable a particular choice but do not compel it.

Nevertheless it should be possible to map out the preferred choices of different authors in conjunction with different phraseology. Here practical difficulties, some with a theoret-

ical aspect, arise. Usually there is little difficulty in deciding if unit-formation, colon-formation or Formulaism is operating in a particular case. As between the first two, consider Hdt.I.82.7 μηδὲ τὰς γυναῖκας σφι χρυσοφορήσειν and I.22.4 μετὰ δὲ ἢ τε διαλλαγῆ σφι... Sentences with postpositive deferred but not far from the beginning are those in which confusion between unit- and colon-formation is potentially most likely; but μηδέ, a prepositive, can hardly be a separate colon, so that in I.82.7 the 'cause' of deferment is the unit μηδὲ τὰς γυναῖκας. In I.22.4, μετὰ δὲ ἢ τε διαλλαγῆ can hardly be a unit, and the 'cause' is the colon μετὰ δέ/... But some cases are more difficult. In Homer Il.XXIV 635 λέξον νῦν με τάχιστα..., Formulaism is out of the question, yet, while it may be difficult to admit that verb-adverb is at all plausible as a potential unit, neither is it easy to class the case as colon-formation; in all the cola envisaged to this point, the words following the colon-division more nearly make complete sense than those preceding; that applies without qualification to Thuc.VI.9.3 πρὸς μὲν τοὺς τρόπους τοὺς ὑμετέρους/ ἀσθενῆς ἄν μοι ὁ λόγος εἴη, Hdt.IV.119.2 καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑπακούσαντες/ τῷ τὸ ἄν ὑμῶν ἐπρήσομεν, and with almost as little to Dem.4.31 δοκεῖτε δέ μοι/ πολὺ βέλτιον ἄν...βουλευσασθαι, or (Fraenkel p.327) Thuc.VI.18.7 παράπαν τε γιγνώσκω/ πόλιν μὴ ἀπράγμονα/ τάχιστ' ἄν μοι δοκεῖν...διαφθαρῆναι' but νῦν με τάχιστα would, as a trailing colon, be of an entirely different character. Possibly it is a case of enclitic νυν (LSJ νῦν II 1, 3); in that case με would be peninitial (since all members of a postpositive cluster occupy the 'same' position); but see also pp.1.1.47 below and 2.2.65, 73; against its being enclitic is the connection in sense with τάχιστα.

However, instances of this kind, because comparatively few, cause correspondingly little trouble. Apart from the occasional difficulty of deciding whether unit- or colon-formation is the influence at work, these two may operate se-

parately in some instances, as in Il.II 372 (p.1.1.27), so that it makes no sense to ask which is the main 'cause'. On the other hand, there are numerous cases where, if we insist on thinking in terms of the cause, an overlap between a Formulaic expression and one of the other two tendencies causes trouble in deciding which is that 'cause'. In ὅπως οὐκ ἄν, ὅπως οὐ is a pN unit (p.1.1.25, Rule XII, p.2.1.10), but also οὐκ ἄν is certainly a Formula (p.3.2.4 ff.); the deferment could be accounted for entirely by the unit-formation; the virtual peninitial position which results may be due purely to peninitialism, but Formulaism also is a possible reason why there is no further deferment; but in view of the Formula, it is possible that it too explains why not ὅπως ἄν οὐ, since ὅπως οὐ may be a less established unit than ὅπως μή or καὶ οὐ. Hence both Formula and unit-formation must be taken into account. The same applies to co-occurrence of Formulaism and colon-formation, as in many of Fraenkel's examples, such as Hdt.IX.45.2 καὶ ἄντ' ἐλευθέρας δεδουλωμένην/ οὐκ ἄν ἐθέλοισι ὄρᾱν τὴν 'Ελλάδα' καὶ...δεδουλωμένην appears to be a category B colon-formation, while once again οὐκ ἄν is a Formula; which is the major influence in determining the position of ἄν? We could suppose that the colon-formation, setting in relief ἐλευθέρας and δεδουλωμένην, determines the main division in the sentence, while the Formula (together with peninitialism) explains the position of q in the trailing colon; but perhaps the colon-formation is itself determined by the Formula, perhaps but for the Formula Herodotus might have written καὶ ἄντ' ἐλευθέρας/ δεδουλωμένην ἄν οὐ... in fact even as it stands it is arguable that there is a colon-division at that point. Hence it seems illegitimate (especially in view of the argument of p.1.1.36) to settle upon one or the other as the cause; not only may the actual wording of a sentence be the outcome of a tug-of-war between 'rival' forces (Dover, p.8) but different influences may reinforce each other. This is important,

because a high proportion of the instances of Formulae, when in medial position, co-exist in this way with unit-formation or colon-formation; Fraenkel in fact (p.1.1.31 above) says that medial οὐκ ἄν is always preceded by expressions which fit some other of his colon-categories. This may appear to cast doubt on the reality of the Formulae; but in the case of οὐκ ἄν at any rate, we are reassured by wordings like οὐκ ἄν οὖν (p.2.2.29) and the use of οὐκ ἄν as a complete clause (Plato Rep.402d), apart from which, when these two words occur in the same sentence, the order οὐκ ἄν is overwhelmingly dominant numerically.

Postverbal position In conjunction with the fact that colon categories have almost certainly not been exhaustively listed, the possibility that 'causes' of deferment exist over and above unit-formation etc. was mentioned above (p.1.1.36) as causing boundary problems. There are in fact instances which suggest a fourth causation type: consider Hdt.I.24.5 τελευτῶντος δὲ τοῦ νόμου ῥῆψαί μιν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἑωυτὸν..., 43.3 καὶ τὸν τοῦ παιδὸς μόνον ἐσήμηνέ οἱ, 58 Πελασγῶν μάλιστα προσκεχωρηκότων αὐτῷ, IX.106.2 ἀδύνατα γὰρ ἐφαίνετό σφι εἶναι... These are representative of a body of instances in which the postpositive directly follows a verb, the verb to which it 'belongs', whether as subject or direct or indirect object. We may be tempted to suppose that the postpositive is deferred in order to follow the verb, and that relation to a verb is a further determinant of word-order and 'cause' of deferment. A small number of such instances might be dismissed as due to chance; yet although they are quite numerous, the possibility remains that this is a secondary phenomenon, resulting either from peninitialism (where the verb is initial), from unit-formation (where it is preceded only by a prepositive, καὶ βουλομένην ἄν...), or from colon-formation (as in I.24.5 above, where the verb is preceded by

a category A colon). Probably in most cases the order verb-postpositive can be so accounted for. Yet in Hdt.IX.45.2 and the like (p.1.1.38 above) the undoubted colon-formation was not permitted to cast doubt on the reality of the Formula opening the trailing colon. And in a number of cases it is difficult to account for the order in such other ways: in Hdt.I.90.2 εἰ ἑξαπατᾶν τοὺς εὖ ποιοῦντας νόμος ἐστὶ οἷ, there is certainly a colon-division after the participle (category D, p.1.1.27), but νόμος ἐστὶ does not seem to be a unit, yet neither is it easy to envisage a pause, νόμος/ ἐστὶ οἷ in this case however the copula is perhaps itself a postpositive (Dover, p.13), and if so the instance reduces to a normal case of Mqq and the problem disappears; but in IX.35.1 ὧς δὲ καὶ Σπαρτιῆται (...) πάντως συνεχώρεόν οἱ it will not go away so readily; πάντως is certainly preceded by a pause (marked by the parenthesis), but neither does πάντως συνεχώρεον seem a plausible unit nor πάντως/ συνεχώρεόν οἱ a plausible colon-formation.

That is suggestive evidence for verb-postpositive as a 'cause' of deferment. But it is difficult reliably to assert where or where not a Greek speaker would have been pleased to pause in a sentence. It is possible that we must add to the list of colon-types one more defined by what follows the pause, viz. 'colon where pause precedes verb'. In Hdt.I.10.2 καὶ ἡ γυνή/ ἐπορᾷ μιν ἐξιόντα and I.43.3 καὶ τὸν τοῦ παιδὸς μόνον/ ἐσήμηνέ οἱ, there is little doubt that a colon-division does precede the verb, and it does not seem to be a type listed by Fraenkel, though it could be the same type as IX.104 καὶ τέλος/ αὐτοῖ σφι ἐγίνοντο...πολεμιώτατοι perhaps pM, where M is a noun, is a potential leading colon; on the other hand it is conceivable that a verb tended to be preceded by colon-divisions and that ultimately, at the extreme of division of sentences, constituted a colon in itself. Again, possibly verb-postposi-

tive began as a secondary phenomenon, the indirect consequence of peninitialism, unit-formation, and colon-formation, but by the force of patterning became a kind of formula (p.1.1.32), thereby becoming a primary phenomenon; in that case it could be primary without implying a desire for juxtaposition of grammatically related elements (p.1.1.39).

There is a strong motivation for scepticism against such a hypothesis, that postpositive word-order is determined in part by juxtaposition of grammatically related elements, in the fact that the whole problem of Greek word-order is caused in large part by the very difficulty of asserting that elements which 'belong' together grammatically are set in adjacent positions. As between φέρων τ'ἀπερῆσι ἄποινα and καὶ ἀγλαὰ δέχθαι ἄποινα (Dover, p.6), even if the former is normal, the fact that the latter can be as readily understood militates against any suggestion that there is a general connection between grammatical relation and juxtaposition or that it applies to verbal relations as well as substantival or to relations between mobiles and postpositives as well as to those between one mobile and another. Postpositives are subject to forces such as peninitialism, from which mobiles are apparently free; from this point of view, it seems particularly unlikely as a motive for deferment, which seems to be a historically increasing tendency (p.1.1.16 above, Dover p.15), that they should seek juxtaposition with grammatically related words, when that was unnecessary earlier.

On the other hand, if the characters which we can predict from the definition of 'postpositive' are reliable, then, supposing that related mobiles do tend to fall adjacent, if such a principle applies also to mobile-postpositive relations, it is not adjacency which should matter but what we may call 'subjunction', i.e. the Mq formulation. For qM and $q...M$, according to the definitive predictions, should be indifferent;

hence, while adjacency resulting from grammatical relation between M and M' may take the form either of MM' or of M'M (as against M...M' or M'...M), the corresponding relationship between M and q gives, not qM or Mq (adjacent) as against q...M and M...q (separate), but rather a choice between q...M, qM and M...q (all 'separate') as against Mq (subjoined). If grammatical relations do draw mobiles and postpositives together, Mq (including verb-postpositive) should be the result. Further, grammatical relation is in fact important in unit-formation and colon-formation; in the former, (p)MM units (p.1.1.24) exclude from between the mobiles postpositives which are related to the main verb rather than to the unit, while the mobiles themselves are closely related - when they are not closely related, we suspect that it is not a unit. In fact in that case we suspect that it may be a colon-formation instead; these are characterized by the pause or the colon-division, after which a postpositive is peninitial or later (but not initial) in the trailing colon; but the colon-division separates material that is comparatively unrelated, which is to imply that internally the cola each consist of material related by sense, and q is deferred into the phrase to which it more closely 'belongs'; in πρὸς μὲν τοὺς τρόπους τοὺς ὑμετέρους/ ἀσθενῆς ἄν μου ὁ λόγος εἴη, both ἄν and μου 'belong' more closely to the trailing colon in which they are located.

On the other hand, unit-formations seem to be outnumbered by peninitialism of the kind illustrated on p.1.1.13 above, where q is remote from its grammatical relatives and 'separates' closely related words; there is also the evidence (Dover, pp. 18-19) that deferment also ('distribution') produces 'unnatural' as well as 'natural' wordings, in cases like Hdt.I.30.2 νῦν ὡν ἕμερος ἐπειρέσθαι μοι ἐπῆλθέ σε εἰ... and SEG XII.87 καὶ ἡ οὐσία δημοσία ἔστω αὐτοῦ. In the former of these, each postpositive is subjoined to the verb to which the other

'belongs' (μοι, though near to its 'own' verb, is not subjoined to it), so that distribution appears to scatter postpositives in a manner indifferent to their grammatical relations; in the latter, αὐτοῦ is remote from the noun to which, we think, it 'belongs'.

Assessment Is it then a matter of peninitial position versus grammatical relation, or is the latter of no significance? Is there an 'equally large number' (Dover, loc. cit.) of 'unnatural' as of 'natural' wordings? Partly to investigate such problems, partly to illustrate the various forms of deferment discussed, an exhaustive analysis is now presented, of the deferred instances only, in the Homeric and Herodotean material examined (p.1.1.15 above). Unit-formation is indicated by brackets, (...), around the 'unit'; colon-formation by the oblique, /, marking the division; Formulaism by underlining the Formula; the extent of overlap is illustrated by using two or more signs as appropriate; sentences with more than one postpositive are cited once for each.

Homer (1) 'Virtually peninitial' instances of the ppg... type (p.1.1.11); in Herodotus these have been treated as peninitial and so are omitted on p.1.1.47 below.

α 95 ἦδ' ἵνα μιν... (= 135), β 99 εἰς ὅτε κέν μιν... B 215 ἀλλ' ὅτι οἱ εἴσαιτο... B 332 εἰς ὃ κεν... (= β 97, χ 58, 72, 443, ψ 269), 366 ἦδ' ὅς κ'... β 99 εἰς ὅτε κέν μιν..., φ 260 καὶ εἰ κ'... Ω 768 ἀλλ' εἰ τις με..., φ 427 οὐχ ὥς με..., χ 61 οὐδ' εἰ μοι... Ω 480 ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἄν... (= χ 468, ψ 233), β 374 πρὶν γ' ὅτ' ἄν... Ω 74 ἀλλ' εἰ τις..., 768 ἀλλ' εἰ τις με..., ψ 159 ὥς δ' ὅτε τις...

In Il.XXIV 74 and 768, εἰ τις is also Formulaic; these two cases have not been assigned to a separate overlapping category because from now on all the above cases will be regarded as peninitial.

(2) Unit-formations of the pN type (pp.1.1.11, 25).

Ω 21 ἵνα μή μιν ἀποδρῦφοι..., χ 359 εἰ δὴ μή μιν ἔπεφνε... A 114 ἐπεὶ οὐ ἔθεν ἔστι χερσῶν, Ω 214 ἐπεὶ οὐ ἔ... α 236 ἐπεὶ οὐ κε... A 153 ἐπεὶ οὐ τί μοι..., 261

list continues

A 261 καὶ οὐ ποτέ μ' οἷ γ' ἀθέριζον, Ω 594 ἐπεὶ οὐ μοι... Ω 337 ὡς μήτ' ἄρ τις ἰδῆ...

(3) Unit-formations of the pM type (p.1.1.25 ff.).

A 508 ἀλλὰ σὺ περ μιν τῖσον... A 381 ἐπεὶ μάλα οἱ φίλος ἦεν, α 37 ἐπεὶ πρό οἱ εἶπομεν..., 264 ἀλλὰ πατήρ οἱ..., φ 336 ἀλλ' ἄγε οἱ δότε... (= φ 177) Ω 665 τῆ δεκάτῃ δέ κε... B 112 ὅς πρὶν μὲν μοι..., Ω 197 ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τόδε εἶπέ... (= 380, α 169, β 212, γ 417, φ 171), 497 τοὺς δ' ἄλλους μοι ἔτικτον..., α 158 ἦ καὶ μοι νεμεσήσεται..., 220 ἐπεὶ σὺ με..., 231 ἐπεὶ ἄρ δὴ ταῦτά μ'..., φ 102 ἦ μάλα με..., 284 ἦ ἦδη μοι..., γ 391 εἰ δ' ἄγε μοι... (= φ 35), φ 16 καὶ ἐξ ὕπνου μ'..., 276 καὶ τότε μ'... A 62 ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ τινα..., Ω 374 ἀλλ' ἔτι τις..., 564 ὅτι θεῶν τίς σ' ἤγε..., β 108 καὶ τότε δὴ τις..., γ 151 ἦ μάλα δὴ τις...

Notice in (2) and (3) above the importance of phraseology; in (2) ἐπεὶ οὐ outnumbers any other single such expression; in (3) ἀλλὰ occurs twelve times, mostly with ἄγε, and ἐπεὶ is numerous in the residue.

(4) (p)MM unit-formations (p.1.1.24).

A 237 νῦν αὐτέ μιν... A 291 τοῦνεκά οἱ προθέουσιν... β 379 αὐτίκ' ἐπειτά οἱ... A 455 ἦδ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν μοι..., Ω 560 μηκέτι νῦν μ' ἐρέθιζε..., 765 ἦδη γὰρ νῦν μοι..., γ 491 πῦρ νῦν μοι...γενέσθω, φ 213 αὐτὰρ μὴ νῦν μοι..., 261 εἰπ' ἄγε μοι...

In Il.I 291 above, τοῦνεκά has been interpreted as a unit, = τοῦ ἔνεκα. A remarkable number of the MM unit-formations are time-expressions, many involving νῦν (cf. p. 1.1.37 above); in most, it seems unlikely that νῦν could be enclitic.

(5) Reasonably acceptable colon-formations, arranged

partly by colon-category, partly by general similarity. Ω 740 τῶ/ καὶ μιν λαοὶ μὲν ὀδύρονται..., α 339 τῶν/ ἔν γέ σφιν αἶδε..., φ 348 τῶν/ οὐ τίς μ...

φ 94 ὄφει δ'/ ἄλλοτε μὲν μιν...ἦλσκεν...

φ 56 κακῶς δ'/ οἷπερ μιν ἔρεζον..., Α 32 σαώτερος/ὡς κε νέηαι.

α 217 ὡς δὴ ἔγωγ' ὄφελον/ μάκαρός νύ τευ ἔμμεναι νιδός.

Ω 568 τῶ νῦν/ μή μοι..., α 262 ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν/ οὐ οἱ δῶκεν.

A 256 ἄλλοι τε Τρῶες/ μέγα κεν κεχαροίετο..., Ω 437 σοὶ δ' ἂν ἐγὼ πομπός/ καὶ κε κλυτὸν Ἄργος ἰκοίμην.

list continues

A 520 ἢ δὲ/ (καὶ αὐτῶς) μ' αἰέν... νεικεῖ, B 372 αἰ γὰρ...
 "Απολλον/(τοιοῦτοι δέκα) μοι συμφραδμονες εἶεν...

Od.I 339 τῶν ἔν, in the first paragraph of (5) above, could be a unit; but in view of the others in the group, it seems likely that this too is a Kurzcolon of Fraenkelian category F (p.1.1.28 above). In the last item, Il.II 372, μοι may be so placed in order to throw some emphasis on δέκα, for a postpositive, by contrast, often seems to lend greater emphasis to the preceding word, as it does in Dem.21.25 δέκας ἰδίας μοι. had the 'unit' been in the reverse order, g would perhaps have been disruptively peninitial in the colon, δέκα μοι τοιοῦτοι, ἰδίας μοι δέκας (p.1.1.13).

(6) Formulaism (p.1.1.32)

β 411 μήτηρ δ' ἐμοὶ οὐ τι πέπυσται, φ 217 εἰ δ' ἄγε δὴ καὶ σῆμα ἀριφραδὲς ἄλλο τι εἶπω, 344 τόξον μὲν Ἀχαιῶν οὐ τις ἐμεῖο κρείσσων, χ 351 ὡς ἐγὼ οὐ τι ἐκῶν..., ψ 262 αὐτίκα δ' ἐστὶ δαήμεναι οὐ τι χέρειον.

Colon-formation should probably not be ruled out even in the above instances, for the evidence generally suggests that medial Formulae are preceded by colon-divisions (e.g. Fraenkel p.343, p.1.1.31 above); but it seems difficult to fit colon-divisions into some of those above, and at least in the οὐ τι instances not only the position but the very presence of the postpositive is due to the Formula. For ἄλλο τι see pp.3.3.78 ff. below. In Attic prose, οὐ τις is 'forbidden' under Rule XXIII, p.2.1.17, but in Homer it may be a Formula; at any rate the adverbial οὐ τι is certainly a Formula, for it persists into Attic as an exception to that Rule (p.2.2.57, not listed in Chapter III). In Od.II 411, we should perhaps read μήτηρ δέ μοι..., which would be more readily interpreted as a colon-formation.

(7) Formulaism + unit-formation of pM or pN type.

A 153 (ἐπεὶ οὐ) τς μοι..., B 338 (οἷς οὐ) τι μέλει..., Q 68 ἐπεὶ οὐ τι..., 505 οἷ οὐ πῶ τις..., 538 ὅτι οἷ οὐ τι...,

list continues

β 118 οὔ οὐ πῶ τιν' ἀκούομεν, 199 ἐπεὶ οὐ τίνα δεῖδμεν...,
233 ὡς οὐ τις μέμνηται, 240 ἀτὰρ οὐ τι..., 282 ἐπεὶ οὐ τι...,
φ 327 ἀλλ' ἄλλος τις..., χ 6 ὄν οὐ πῶ τις...

In the above, pM or pN unit-formation is undoubtedly present, though to what extent it should be regarded as causal, in view of the Formulae also present, is open to dispute; οὐ τις has been accepted as a Formula (cf. p.1.1.44⁵ above).

(8) Formulaism + colon-formation.

φ 187 ἀγῶρων δ' / οὐ κέν τις ζῶδες... A 205 ἦς ὑπεροπλήσει / τάχ' ἂν ποτε θυμὸν ολέσση, 301 τῶν / οὐκ ἂν τι φέροις..., B 250 τῶν / οὐκ ἂν βασιλῆσας..., χ 325 τῶν / οὐκ ἂν θάνατόν γε... A 108 ἐσθλὸν δ' / οὔτε τί πω εἶπας ἔπος..., 160 τῶν / οὐ τι μετατρέπη..., 198 τῶν δ' ἄλλων / οὐ τις ὄρατο, 241 τότε δ' / οὐ τι δυνήσεται... (= 588), 271 κείνοισι δ' / οὐ τις... 301 τῶν / οὐκ ἂν τι φέροις..., 511 τὴν δ' / οὐ τι προσέφη..., B 122 τέλος δ' / οὐ πῶ τι πέφανται, 354 τῶν / μή τις πρὶν ἐπειγέσθω..., Ω 94 τοῦ δ' / οὐ τι μελάντερον ἔπλετο..., 256 τῶν δ' / οὐ τίνα φημι λελεῖφθαι, 366 τῶν / εἴ τίς σε ἴδοιτο..., β 60 ἡμεῖς δ' / οὐ νύ τι τοῖοι..., 87 σοὶ δ' / οὐ τι... αἰτιοί εἰσι, 121 τῶν / οὐ τις..., 235 ἀλλ' ἦτοι μνηστῆρας ἀγήνορας / οὐ τι μεγαλῶ..., φ 210 τῶν δ' ἄλλων / οὐ τευ ἀκουσα, 309 ἐνθεν δ' / οὐ τι σαῶσαι..., 348 τῶν / οὐ τίς μ'..., φ 187 ἀγῶρων δ' / οὐ κέν τις ζῶδες...

In the above, οὐ κέν, οὐκ ἂν, οὐ τις and οὐ τι (cf. p.1.1.44⁵ above) have all been accepted as separate Formulae; and so cases of οὐ κέν τις, οὐκ ἂν τις, appear twice. In Attic, though οὐ τις is 'forbidden', adverbial οὐ τι seems to be a Formula; although οὐ τις is 'forbidden', the Formula οὐκ ἂν (p.3.2.4 ff.), through 'induction' (Glossary) enables the wording οὐκ ἂν τις despite which, though adverbial οὐ τι is found, οὐκ ἂν τι is not (p.2.2.57).

(9) Doubtful cases (a) miscellaneous

A 407 τῶν νῦν μιν μνήσασα... φ 23 τῶν κε τάχα στυγερώς μιν ἐγὼν ἀπέπαρφα... (≡ φ 374 τιν').

(b) Verb-postpositive

B 186 αὐτὸς... ἐλθὼν / δέξατό οἱ..., Ω 53 μὴ ἀγαθῶ περ ἐόντι / νεμεσηθέντων οἱ ἡμεῖς, 780 ἦ γὰρ Ἀχιλλεύς / πέμπων μ' ὡδ' ἐπέτελλε..., φ 79 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν... περιδώδομαι... / κτεῖναί μ'...

(c) next page

(c) of special interest:

Ω 635 λέξον νῦν με τάχιστα..., β 25 κέκλυτε δὴ νῦν μευ... (= 161, 229).

In (a) above, is Il.I 407 τῶν/ νῦν μιν... or (τῶν νῦν) μιν... ? Cf. (5), p.1.1.44 above; Il.XXIV 740 etc. support the former, but 568 (fifth paragraph in that set) the latter, for there is evidence (p.1.1.36 above) that expressions of the same kind may be treated both as unit-formations and, when the postpositive is a further point deferred, as colon-formations; νῦν also seems to be a ready unit-forming word in Homer (p.1.1.44 above). In Od.XXIII.23, should we divide to give τῶ κε/ (τάχα στυγερῶς) μιν... or τῶ κε τάχα/... ? Neither sense nor grammar helps, but probably the latter, since τάχα στυγερῶς seems an unlikely unit, and with the latter both cola would contain a peninitial postpositive.

In (b) above, a colon-formation is reasonably certain in every case; but in addition, the trailing colon opens with the wording verb-postpositive, which may or may not (p.1.1.39 ff.) also take part in the causation.

On (c) above, cf. p.1.1.37 above; the unitforming properties of νῦν (p.1.1.44) suggest that Il.XXIV 635 at least may be a unit-formation; on the other hand νῦν με τάχιστα perhaps fits the V/MqM type of colon-formation (which explains deferment not just from peninitial position); see pp.2.2.65, 73. That ends the account of the deferred instances in Homer. In the Herodotean material, which follows, ppq... units have been treated as peninitial and so omitted; the numbering does not, therefore, correspond with that of the Homeric material.

Herodotus (1) pN units. 1.32.5 εἰ μὴ οἱ τύχη ἐπίσποιτο...
 9.61.3 καὶ οὐ γὰρ σφι ἐγένετο...
 9.27.4 ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ τι προέχει...

(2) pM and NM units. Next page.

(2) pM and NM units; some of these (but not all) are, like the units in (1) above, already obligatory by this time.

1.33 οὔτε λόγου μιν ποιησάμενος... 9.93.4 τὴν πολλοὺς μιν μακαριεῖν ἀνθρώπων ἔχοντα.

1.36.3 καὶ ταῦτά οἱ νῦν μέλει, 60.2 εἰ βούλοιτό οἱ... ἔχειν..., 61.1 οὐ βουλόμενός οἱ γενέσθαι..., 61.1 οἷα δὲ παίδων τέ οἱ ὑπαρχόντων..., 85.2 ἢ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ εἶπε..., 9.5.2 εἴτε καὶ ταῦτά οἱ ἔανδανε, 33.1 ὡς δὲ ἄρα πάντες οἱ ἔτετάχατο..., 37.4 οὐ μέντοι ἔς γε τέλος οἱ..., 64.2 τῶν δὲ κατύπερθέ οἱ προγόνων..., 109.2 ὅ τι βούλεται οἱ γενέσθαι...

1.31.2 ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμάξης δέ σφι ὠχέετο..., 61.4 καὶ πάντα σφι ἐξήρτυτο..., 61.4 καὶ Νάξιός σφι ἀνὴρ ἀπιγμένος..., 66.2 ἢ δὲ Πυθίη σφι χρᾶ... (= 67.2), 82.7 μὴδὲ τὰς γυναῖκάς σφι χρυσοφορήσειν, 89.3 καὶ σύ τέ σφι οὐκ ἀπεχθήσεαι... 9.8.2 ὅτι ὁ Ἰσθμός σφι ἐτετείχιστο..., 41.2 ἔνθα σῖτόν τέ σφι ἐσηηνεῖται..., 49.3 ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ γὰρ σφι..., 89.2 εἰ ἐθέλει σφι... εἶπεῖν.

1.5.4 τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν σμικρὰ γέγονε, 9.3 κατὰ νότου τε αὐτῆς γένη, 13.2 καὶ οἱ βασιλέες αὐτῶν 9.15.2 οὐ τι κατὰ ἔθος αὐτῶν..., 22.2 τὸν τε δὴ ἵππον αὐτοῦ..., 39.2 τὰ λοιπὰ αὐτῶν ἠλαυνον..., 46.2 καὶ τὴν μάχην αὐτῶν..., 58.1 καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφεοὺς αὐτοῦ..., 67 ὥστε τριηκόσιοι αὐτῶν... ἔπεσον, 86.1 ἐν πρώτοισι δὲ αὐτῶν..., 86.2 τὴν τε γῆν αὐτῶν ἔταμνον..., 87.1 ἢ ἡμέας αὐτοῖσι παραδῶτε, 89.3 καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ..., 90.3 τὰς τε γὰρ νέας αὐτῶν..., 90.3 μὴ δόλῳ αὐτοὺς προάγοιεν..., 113.2 καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ, 119.2 καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ.

1.37.2 οὔτε τινα δειλίην μοι παριδῶν... 9.16.2 ἐπεὶ νυν ὁμοτράπεζός τέ μοι... ἐγένεο, 101.1 ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται.

1.45.2 ἀλλὰ θεῶν κού τις, 58 ἀπὸ σμικροῦ τεο, 68.4 κατὰ τοιδόνδε τι, 73.4 καὶ αἰεὶ τι φερόντων... 9.3.1 ἀλλὰ οἱ δεινός τις ἐνέστακτο ἡμερος, 6 ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ τινα ἄλεωρῆν εὐρήσονται, 93.1 ἐκ θεοπροπίου τινός, 106.1 καὶ θησαυροὺς τινας χρημάτων εὐρον, 116.3 ἵνα καὶ τις μάθῃ...

For those of the above units which are probably obligatory, see Rules XVIII -XXIII, pp.2.1.41 ff. Expressions of the form article-noun- αὐτοῦ (fourth paragraph under (2) above) are accepted as Formulaic (p.3.4.3), but the unit-formations are quite sufficient to account for deferment above.

(3) Units of the (p)MM type. 1.62.1 ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ σφι χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ σφι ὕστερον δῆλα... ἐγένετο, 101.3 σωτηρίας εἰνεκά σφι.

9.94.1 τίνα δόκησιν ἂν ἔλοιτο.

On (3) above, the few instances are confined to σφι and ἄν in IX.101.2, the unit has not extended, as we might have expected, to include ὕστερον contrast IX.101.3 ὡς μέντοι ἡ κληδὼν αὕτη σφι... with I.61.4 καὶ Νάξιός σφι ἄνηρ... in (2); emphasis on the word preceding the postpositive is perhaps relevant (cf. p.1.1.45), but observe that prepositival unit-formation to some extent becomes obligatory and certainly outnumbered MM unit-formation.

- (4) Acceptable colon-formations. 1.11.3 μετὰ δέ/ ἰκέτευε/ μή μιν... ἐνδέειν, 82.8 τὸν δὲ ἕνα λέγουσι.../ αὐτοῦ μιν ἐν τῆσι θυρήσιν καταχρήσασθαι ἑωυτόν 9.112 καὶ... ἑκταμοῦσα/ ἐς οἶκόν μιν ἀποπέμπει... 1.3.1 ...λέγουσι... Ἀλέξανδρον... ἀκηκοῦσα.../ ἐθέλησας οἱ... γενέσθαι..., 32.6 ταῦτα δέ/ ἡ εὐτυχίῃ οἱ ἀπερύκει, 53.3 τοῦς δὲ... δυνατωτάτους/ συνεβούλευδόν οἱ ἐξευρόντα φίλους προσθέσθαι, 79.1 ...εὕρισκε/ πρῆγμα οἱ εἶναι..., 81 Κροῖσος δέ/ δοκέων οἱ χρόνον ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἔσεσθαι..., 91.1 καὶ ἔσχε τὴν... τιμὴν/ οὐδὲν οἱ προσήκουσαν 9.94.1 κατημένου Εὐνήλου.../ ἐλθόντες οἱ παρίζοντο...
- 1.3.2 ὡς οὐ δόντες.../ βουλοῦσθαι σφι... δίκας γίνεσθαι, 22.4 μετὰ δέ/ ἡ τε διαλλαγὴ σφι..., 37.1 οὐ φαμένου δὲ τοῦ Κροῖσου/ τὸν παῖδά σφι πέμψειν..., 73.3 ὥστε δὲ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενος αὐτούς/ παῖδάς σφι παρέδωκε... 9.7.1 ἅμα δέ/ τὸ τεῖχος σφι... ἐπάλις ἐλάμβανε, 35.1 συγχωρησάντων... τῶν Σπαρτιητέων/ οὕτω δὴ/ πέντε σφι μαντευόμενος ἀγῶνας..., 98.2 καὶ οὐδείς/ ἐφαίνετο σφι ἐπαναγόμενος..., 101.2 γεγονέναι δὲ νίκην τῶν... Ἑλλήνων/ ὀρθῶς σφι ἡ φήμη συνέβαινε ἐλθοῦσα, 104 καὶ τέλος/ αὐτοῖ σφι ἐγίνοντο... πολεμιώτατοι, 111.1 ὅτι ἀτυχῆσαι τὸν χρηρίζοντα/ οὐ σφι δυνατόν ἐστι...
- 1.5.2 οὕτω δὴ/ ἐθελοντὴν αὐτὴν... συνεκπλῶσαι, 62.2 ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἔπυθοντο/ ἐκ τοῦ Μαραθῶνος αὐτὸν πορεύεσθαι... 9.33.4 ...περὶ πολλοῦ ποιουμένου Σπαρτιήτας/ φίλον αὐτὸν προσθέσθαι...
- 1.30.2 νῦν ὦν/ ἡμερος/ ἐπειρέσθαι μοι..., 37.2 νῦν δέ/ ἀμφοτέρων με τούτων ἀποκλήσας ἔχεις..., 37.2 νῦν τε/ τέοισί με χρῆ ὄμμασι φοιτέοντα φαίνεσθαι...; 35.3 τίς τε ἔων καὶ κόθεν... ἦκων/ ἐπίστιός μοι ἐγένεο; 41.2 ὄφελεις γὰρ/ ἐμοῦ προποιήσαντος.../ χρήστοισί με ἀμείβεσθαι. 9.79.1 φᾶς/ ἀμεινὸν με ἀκούσεσθαι, 111.3 κελεύων με γυναῖκα.../ ταύτην με κελεύεις μετέντα..., 120.3 νῦν ὦν/ ἀποινά μοι τάδε ἐθέλω ἐπιθεῖναι.
- 1.42.1 ἄλλως μὲν/ ἔγωγε ἄν οὐκ ἦια... 9.27.4 καὶ γὰρ ἄν... ἔδοντες/ αὐτοῖ/ νῦν ἄν εἶεν..., 27.4 καὶ τότε ἔδοντες φλαυροί/ νῦν ἄν εἶεν..., 51.2 νῆσος δέ/ οὕτω ἄν εἴη..., 94.2 ...ἐπήβολος γενόμενος/ τοῦ λοιποῦ ἄν... εἶναι, 99.3 τοῖσι καὶ κατεδόκεον/ νεοχμὸν ἄν τι ποιέειν...

list continues

1.2.1 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα/ Ἑλλήνων τινὰς (...) φασί... ἀρπάσαι...,
 17.3 αὐθις δὲ/ ἐκεῖνων ἐργαζομένων/ ἔχοι τι καὶ σίνεσθαι...,
 19.1 ... ἐμπιπραμένου.../ συνηνεύχθη τι τοιόνδε γενέσθαι...,
 51.4 ἐπέγραψε δὲ/ τῶν τις Δελφῶν..., 59.4 ἐδέετό τὲ τοῦ δήμου/
 φυλακῆς τινὸς... κυρῆσαι, 61.2 τὸν δὲ/ δεινὸν τι ἔσχε..., 71.2
 παρασκευαζομένου δὲ.../ τῶν τις Λυδῶν..., 84.4 ἰδὼν τῆ προτε-
 ραίῃ/ τῶν τινὰ Λυδῶν... καταβάντα, 85.3 ἦε γὰρ/ τῶν τις Περ-
 σῶν... 9.16.3 ... ὄφειαι/ ὀλίγου τινὸς χρόνου διεληθόντος/ ὀλίγους
 τινὰς τοὺς περιγενομένους, 60.3 εἰ δ' ἄρα... καταλελάβηκε/ ἀδύν-
 ατόν τι ποιέειν, 99.3 τοῖσι καὶ κατεδόκειον/ νεοχμὸν ἂν τὶ
 ποιέειν...

In (4) above, second paragraph, σφι in IX.98.2 seems to 'belong' to the participle. Pendent participial constructions have been treated as separate clauses, so that IX.108.1 ... πρήσσει τὸν γάμον.../ δοκέων αὐτὴν μάλλον λάμψεσθαι... has been omitted; nevertheless the separateness of such a clause seems due to the same forces as colon-formation, and in many cases it is possible to imagine a rearrangement of words in which the postpositive would be peninitial in the sentence as a whole; often however a pronoun refers to something first mentioned in the course of the sentence itself. Similarly I.68.2 ἢ κου ἂν, ὧ ξεῖνε Λάκων, εἴπερ εἶδες.../ κάρτα ἂν ἐθώμαζες has been omitted on the ground that the postpositive is peninitial in the apodotic clause and 'cannot' appear earlier. In the last paragraph, τῶν τις... (abnormal in Attic) may be due to formulaism; cf. Rule VII, p.2.2.10.

(5) Colon-formation + non-obligatory unit-formation.

1.53.3 προλέγουσαι Κροίσω.../ (μεγάλην ἀρχήν) μιν καταλύσειν.
 1.2.1 ταῦτα μὲν δὴ/ (ἴσα πρὸς ἴσα) σφι γενέσθαι,
 9.93.3 αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα/ (οὔτε πρόβατά) σφι ἔτικτε... 1.29.2 αὐτοὶ γὰρ/ (οὐκ οἶοί τε ἦσαν) αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι.

(6) Formulaism is present, but some other influence, also present, may be the 'cause' of deferment.

1.29.1 (ὡς ἕκαστος) αὐτῶν ἀπικνέοιτο..., 31.2 ἔδεε πάντως/ τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν... νομισθῆναι, 31.4 αἰ δὲ Ἀργεῖται/ τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν, 54.2 (καὶ ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ) αὐτῶν γενέσθαι..., 32.4 τουτέων... εἰουσεῶν... δισφυριέων/ ἢ ἐτέρῃ αὐτῶν..., 76.2 εἶλε δὲ/ τὰς περιοικίδας αὐτῆς ἀπάσας, 80.4 καὶ οὐκ ἀνέχεται/ (οὔτε τὴν ἰδέην αὐτῆς) ὀρέων...

list (6) continues

9.45.2 καὶ ἀντ' ἐλευθέρας δεδουλωμένην/ οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλοιμι ἰδεῖν...
 1.29.1 (ἵνα δὴ μὴ) τινα τῶν νόμων..., 32.2 (τὰ μὴ) τις ἐθέλει,
 39.2 (ἢ ἄλλου) τευ, 44.1 ...συντεταραγμένος/μᾶλλον τι ἐδεινο-
 λογέτο..., 50.1 ἐλπίζων/τὸν θεὸν/μᾶλλον τι...ἀνακτῆσεσθαι,
 50.1 ...προεῖπε/θύειν/πάντα τινὰ αὐτῶν ὃ τι ἔχοι..., 56.1 τοῦ-
 τοιοῖσι...ἔπεσι/ὁ Κροῖσος/πολλόν τι μάλιστα πάντων/ἦσθη, 74.3
 (καὶ μᾶλλον) τι ἔσπευσαν..., 90.4 (εἰ οὐ) τι ἐπαισχύνεται...
 9.10.2 ...μετὰ ταῦτα/(οὐ πολλόν) τινα χρόνον βιούσ..., 17.4
 νῦν ὧν/ἀνδρα πάντα τινὰ ὑμέων..., 27.5 ὥσπερ ἐστὶ πολλά τε καὶ
 εὖ ἔχοντα/εἴ τειοσι καὶ ἄλλοισι...

Formulaic expressions (see Chapter III, and for οὐ τι p.2.2.57) are indicated above by underlining, unit-formation by brackets, and colon-division by /. Among the τις instances (this page), I.56.1 τοῦτοιοῖσι κτλ. illustrates the increasing tendency to break sentences into large numbers of separate cola (p.1.1.40); it also illustrates how in that process the close relationship within groups of words which produces unit-formation is by the same token a potential generator of colon-divisions, for the drawing together of related words also separates them from less closely related words; in this case πολλόν τι μάλιστα πάντων, though a colon in this sentence, is a potential unit; notice also that colon-divisions may be ranked in a hierarchy; here, each successive division is a mere sub-division of the trailing colon left by the last, and each successive phrase is more closely related to, and less radically divided from, the verb. In IX.27.5, ὥσπερ εἴ τειοσι would be a possible order, and what we find is 'type ii' colon-formation (p.1.1.31).

(7) The order verb-postpositive (with or without the presence of the other possible 'causes').

1.9.1 (ὥστε μηδὲ μαθεῖν) μιν..., 10.2 καὶ ἡ γυνὴ/ ἐπορᾷ μιν...,
 13.1 ἦν μὲν τὸ χρηστήριον/ ἀνέλη μιν..., 24.3 ...κελεύειν/ ἡ
 αὐτὸν/ διαχρᾶσθαι μιν..., 24.5 τελευτῶντος δὲ.../ ῥῖψαι μιν...,
 34.2 (ὡς ἀπολέει) μιν..., 34.3 ἐωθότα δὲ/ στρατηγέειν μιν...,
 48.1 τῶν μὲν δὴ/ οὐδὲν/ προσετό μιν, 60.1 οἱ τε τοῦ Μεγακλέ-
 ουσ στασιῶται καὶ.../ ἐξελαύνουσι μιν, 70.3 ἰδιώτας δὲ ἀνδρας
 πριαμένους/ ἀναθεῖναι μιν..., 87.1 (καὶ ῥύσασθαι) μιν... 9.
 22.2 πρὶν γε δὴ μαθῶν τις τὸ ποιούμενον/ παῖει μιν..., 22.3

μιν list continues

22.3 (οὔτε γὰρ πεσόντα) μιν εἶδον..., 53.4 καὶ ἐπειρῶντο/πελθοντές μιν..., 110.1 καὶ ἡ Ἄμυστρος/ πυνθάνεται μιν ἔχουσαν, 113.2 (καὶ γὰρ ἔστεργόν) τέ μιν..., 120.4 ...τιμωρέοντες/ἐδέοντό μιν καταχρησθῆναι...

1.43.3 καὶ τὸν...μόρον/ ἐσήμηνέ οἱ, 45.1 ὀπισθε δέ/ εἶπετό οἱ... 59.5 ...ἔξαπατηθεὶς/ ἔδωκέ οἱ..., 59.5 ...ἔχοντες/ εἶποντό οἱ..., 61.1 οὐ βουλόμενος.../ ἐμίσητό οἱ..., 68.5 οἱ δέ/ ἐκ λόγου πλαστοῦ/ ἐπενείκοντες οἱ..., 90.2 εἰ ἔξαπατᾶν.../ νόμος ἐστὶ οἱ, 90.3 ...αὐτὶς παραιτεόμενος/ ἐπέϊναί οἱ..., 91.3 (καὶ ἐχαρῆσατό) οἱ 9.15.2 (καὶ ἦν συμβαλόντι) οἱ μὴ ἐκβάλῃ..., 34.2 ...ἦσαν/δῶσοντές οἱ ταῦτα, 35.1 ὡς δὲ καὶ Σπαρτιῆται (...)/ πάντως συνεχώρεόν οἱ, 37.2 (ὅπως ἐξελεύσεται) οἱ..., 71.3 (ἐκ τῆς παρεούσης) οἱ αἰτίης, 72.2 καὶ ἔλεγε.../ (οὐ μέλειν) οἱ..., 72.2 καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐστὶ οἱ ἀποδεδεγμένον..., 94.3 οἱ δέ/ πριάμενοι παρὰ τῶν ἐκτημένων/ διδοῦσά οἱ..., 110.2 ...χρηρίζει τοῦ Ξέρξου/δοθῆναι οἱ...

1.1.3 πέμπτη δὲ.../ἐξημπολημένων σφι σχεδὸν πάντων..., 2.3 ὡς οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι/ Ἰοῦς τῆς Ἀργεῖης/ ἔδοσάν σφι δίκας..., 3.2 τοὺς δέ/προῖσχομένων ταῦτα/προφέρειν σφι..., 24.7 φαμένων δὲ ἐκελῶν ὡς.../ ἐπιφανῆναι σφι..., 36.3 Κροῖσος δὲ μνημονεύων ...τὰ ἔπεα/ἔλεγέ σφι τὰδε 9.6 ...προσεδέχοντο...ἦξιεν/τιμωρῆσοντά σφι, 9.2 ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Χίλκος/ἔλεγε ἄρα σφι..., 25.2 μετὰ δέ/ἔδοξέ σφι..., 25.2 ἐς τοῦτον δὴ.../ἔδοξέ σφι..., 52 (ἐς τὴν δὴ συνέκειτό) σφι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, 55.1 καὶ ὁ κῆρυξ ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων/παρίστατό σφι..., 55.2 (τὰ παρεόντα) σφι πρήγματα, 57.3 καὶ οἱ τε ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον/παρεγίνοντό σφι..., 57.3 καὶ ἅμα καταλαβόντες/προσεκιάτο σφι..., 70.1 προσελθόντων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων/κατεστήκειέ σφι..., 73.2 τότε λέγουσι.../ἐξηγησαμένων σφι..., 86.1 αὐτίκα βουλευομένοισί σφι ἔδοκε..., 100.1 ἡ δὲ φήμη/διήλθε σφι..., 104 ἄλλας τε κατηγεόμενοι σφι ὁδοὺς φεύγουσι, 106.2 ἀδύνατα γὰρ ἐφαίνετό σφι εἶναι..., 117 (ἐπεὶ δὲ πολιορκεομένοισί) σφι...ἐπεγένετο.

1.11.1 ὁ δέ/ οὐδὲν δοκέων αὐτὴν...ἐπίστασθαι..., 24.3 (οὐκ ὦν δὴ πελθεῖν) αὐτὸν..., 24.7 (ὡς δὲ ἄρα παρεῖναι) αὐτοῦς..., 43.2 (εὐρόντες δὲ καὶ περιστάντες) αὐτὸ..., 44.2 ὡς φύλακα συμπέμφας αὐτὸν εὐροί..., 46.1 εἰ κως δύναιτο/πρὶν.../καταλαβεῖν αὐτῶν ἀξαναομένην τὴν δύναμιν, 52 τῷ δὲ Ἀμφιάρεω/πυθόμενοι αὐτοῦ τὴν τε ἀρετὴν..., 58 Πελασγῶν μάλιστα προσκεχωρηκότων αὐτῷ, 70.2 ...πυθόμενοι Σάμιοι/ἀπελοῖατο αὐτὸν..., 73.3 ὥστε δὲ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενος αὐτοῦς..., 74.3 (οἱ δὲ συμβιβάσαντες) αὐτοῦς..., 75.6 κῶς γὰρ...πορευόμενοι/διέβησαν ἂν αὐτὸν ; 80.5 (καὶ εἶδον) αὐτάς, 91.3 δεύτερα δὲ τούτων/ καιομένῳ αὐτῷ ἐπήρκεσε 9.14 ἦδη δὲ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἐόντι αὐτῷ..., 5.3 καὶ κατὰ μὲν/ἔλευσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα/κατὰ δὲ..., 16.2 ...τὸν Πέρσην... γλῶσσαν ἰέντα/εἰρέσθαι αὐτὸν..., 17.2 ἡμέρησι δὲ...ὑστερον/ ἦλθον αὐτῶν ὀπλίται χίλιοι, 17.4 (ἀλλὰ μαθέτω τις) αὐτῶν, 31.2 ὅ τι μὲν ἦν αὐτῶν δυνατώτατον..., 34.2 ...ἐπορέγεται/ὄρων αὐτοῦς τετραμμένους/φᾶς..., 55.1 καὶ ἐς νεκρεὰ ἀπιγμένους αὐτῶν τοὺς πρώτους, 57.1 προτεροδόντων δὲ.../καταδόξας αὐτοῦς...ἀπολείπειν αὐτὸν...

αὐτὸν list continues

69.2 ἔσπεσόντες δὲ/κατεστόρεσαν αὐτῶν ἑξακοσίους, 71.3 (ὅς γένοιτο) αὐτῶν ἄριστος, 84.2 ὅστις μέντοι ἦν αὐτῶν ὁ ὑπελό-
μενος..., 85.3 πρόξεινον ἔδντα αὐτῶν, 86.1 καὶ ἔξαιτέειν αὐ-
τῶν τοὺς μηδίσαντας, 90.2 ἦν μούνον/ίδωνται αὐτοὺς..., 90.2
οὐχ, ἑτέρην ἄγρην τοιαύτην/ εὐρεῖν ἂν αὐτοὺς, 90.2 θεοὺς τε
...ἀνακαλέων/προέτρεπε αὐτοὺς..., 107.1 καὶ γυναικὸς κακῶ/φᾶς
αὐτὸν εἶναι, 109.2 ἦσθεῖς δὲ καὶ ταύτην/ἐκέλευσε αὐτήν...

1.8.2 οὐ γὰρ σε δοκέω/πεῖθεσθαί μοι λέγοντι..., 32.5 (τὸ εἶρεδ)
με, 38.2 τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἕτερον διεφθαρμένον/ οὐκ εἶναι μοι λογίζο-
μαι, 39.2 (εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ ὀδόντος) τοι εἶπε/τελευτήσειν με,
51.3 οὐ γὰρ τὸ συντυχὸν/φαίνεται μοι ἔργον εἶναι...

1.75.6 κῶς γὰρ ὀπίσω πορευόμενοι/διέβησαν ἄν αὐτόν; 9.90.2
οὐκ ἑτέρην ἄγρην τοιαύτην/εὐρεῖν ἄν αὐτοὺς.

1.19.2 (εἴτε δὴ συμβουλεύσαντός) τευ εἴτε..., 61.3 (αἴτινές
σφι προαιδέατό) κού τι 9.17.4(ἀλλὰ μαθέτω) τ ι ς αὐτῶν,
17.4 κρέσσον γάρ/ποιεῦντάς τι...τελευτήσαι..., 22.2(πρὶν γε
δὴ μαθῶν)τις...

In (7) above, cases like IX.98.2 καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐφαίνετό σφι
ἐπαναγόμενος, where the postpositive 'belongs' entirely to the
subordinate verb, which follows and does not precede, have been
omitted. Possibly in the above cases some alternative expla-
nation for deferment is present in every case, but there are
some in which it is difficult to see any apart from the word-
ing verb-postpositive; in IX.14, ἦδη δὲ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἔδντι could
perhaps be a unit; but this explanation seems difficult in
I.58 Πελασγῶν μάλιστα προσκεχωρηκότων αὐτῷ.

(8) Doubtful cases other than verb-postpositive.

1.45.2 εἶς δὲ οὐ σύ μοι...αἴτιος..., 74.1 ἐν δὲ καὶ
νυκτομαχίην τινα ἐποίησαντο. 9.25.2 ὁ γὰρ χῶρος ἐφαίνετο ἐὼν
πολλῷ ἐπιτηδεύτερός σφι..., 91.4 ὡς προειδός πλεῦν τι καὶ
τούτου, 89.2 ἐπιθήσεσθαι γὰρ οἱ πάντα τινα οἶετο..., 94.1 τὰ
μὲν χρηστήρια ταῦτά σφι ἐχρήσθη, 101.3 ἦν δὲ ἀρρωδίη σφι...

In (8) above, doubt concerns either the position of
colon-divisions or the choice between colon-formation and
unit-formation. Do πλεῦν τι and πάντα τινά (which are For-
mulae) go with the preceding or the following words? Will
εἶναι form a colon like ἐπέγραψε δὲ/τῶν τις Δελφῶν or join
with the preceding words as a postpositive or the following as
a prepositive (Dover, pp.41, 48)? On IX.94.1, on the one

hand cf. IX.101.3 ὡς μέντοι ἡ κληδὼν αὕτη σφι... but on the other observe the contrast with the next sentence in Herodotus, which favours category E colon-formation.

Conclusions of assessment We know from the table on p.1.1.16 that while in Homer 16% (at the highest estimate) of the total occurrences of postpositives examined are deferred, in Herodotus about 50% are deferred. Wherein does this increase occur? If we ignore pp unit-formation (p.1.1.43), which has not been collected from Herodotus, the Homeric material yields 104 deferred instances, Herodotus 239; if we relate this to the above-mentioned percentage, it implies a total of over 700 occurrences in Homer, in Herodotus about 480 (but this has not been obtained by enumeration, and the table on p.1.1.16 is not based on exactly the same assumptions as the above list of deferments). Now pN and MM unit-formations (pp.1.1.43-44, 47, 48) number nine each in Homer, three and four respectively in Herodotus, i.e. about the same proportion of the above-mentioned total. Unit-formations of the pM type (pp.1.1.44, 48) increase absolutely from 29 to 52; the last represents a slightly smaller proportion of the deferred instances (22% as against 28%) but relative to the total occurrences an increase from about 4% to 10/11%. Unaccompanied colon-formations (pp.1.1.44, 49) increase absolutely from 13 to 49, an increase from 12½% to 20½% of the deferments, from about 2% to about 10% of the total. Formulaism (because of its tendency to coincide with other 'causes') is more difficult to reckon up, but does not seem to increase.

So far then our conclusion from the assessment is that pN and MM unit-formations remain steady as a very minor constituent of occurrences, while pM unit-formation and colon-formation increase from a minor position to about 10% of the total. But the most striking difference between Homer and Herodotus lies in the numbers of the wording verb-postpositive. It is perhaps the rarest of all wordings in Homer, but

increases from four occurrences to 100, from 0.6% of total occurrences to 20.8%, from 4% of deferred to 42%, the largest single class.

As a consequence, the complication introduced by the existence of this wording is an unavoidable problem; it will be a greater barrier to classification of deferment in terms of unit- and colon-formation and Formulaism in Herodotus than it would in Homer, and the Attic authors are like Herodotus or even more so. Secondly, the numbers of the wording are in favour of taking it as a primary phenomenon and a 'cause' of deferment, for the great increase in deferment between Homer and Herodotus is accompanied more than anything else by an increase in the wording verb-postpositive.

It may of course be a mere consequence of unit-formation or, more likely, of colon-formation, for in many individual instances (p.1.1.51 ff.) the latter is certainly present and outnumbers the former (cf. also pp.1.1.39-40). Colon-formation could enter into the question in two ways. Perhaps the verb chances to stand initial in the trailing colon, the leading colon being definable according to Fraenkel's categories or similar; it would then be a secondary phenomenon; but it would be necessary to observe that in Herodotus the trailing colon more often opens with a verb than in Homer, so that even so the position of the verb is important. Alternatively, there is an increase in the number of cola out of which a sentence is built, so that ultimately single mobiles, including the verb, may constitute cola. But even so (and this applies to both arguments), the question is, why in a sentence of M/M/M... do we so often find M/M/V_q/M... or some other order including V_q? Why is q so often attached to that particular single-word colon which is the verb? For verb-postpositive, with or without other 'causes' of deferment, far outnumbers unaccompanied colon-formation.

Perhaps verb-postpositive is to be regarded as a Formula

(p.1.1.41) and thereby a primary phenomenon, without requiring the admission of grammatical relations. It certainly resembles Formulaism in a particular way and is unlike unit- and colon-formation. But, as distinct from the general concept of pattern and principle (p.1.1.34), it seems desirable to keep that of Formulaism to account for relations between particular lexical elements, particular postpositives and mobiles - οὐκ ἄν, τάχ' ἄν, but not adverb- ἄν, because that would obscure the differences between those two, and between them and other not particularly Formulaic expressions, like νῦν ἄν. Among verbs, it is possible that φαίην ἄν is Formulaic (p.3.2.117), and possibly γίγνοίτο ἄν is Formulaic over a restricted range, i.e. in Plato's Laws; that would be obscured by a blanket category of verb-postpositive as a Formula.

The same point applies to relations between postpositives and nouns or adjectives in agreement; why are pronominal or adjectival postpositives so often subjoined to nouns and adjectives? Consider: Hdt.IX.60.3 εἰ δ' ἄρα αὐτοῦς ὑμέας/καταλελάβηκε/ἀδύνατόν τι βοηθήειν, 99.3 τοῖσι καὶ κατεδόκειον/νεοχμόν ἄν τι ποιέειν, I.56.1 τούτοισι ἐλθοῦσι τοῖσι ἔπεισι/ὁ Κροῦσος/πολλόν τι μάλιστα πάντων/ἦσθη. In the last item, πολλόν τι is possibly, but not certainly, Formulaic (p.3.3.125); however, the division of the sentence into short phrases or cola is not in itself inconsistent with a wording τούτοισί τι, ὁ Κροῦσός τι or ἦσθη τι' hence it is difficult not to feel that g appears where it does because it 'belongs' grammatically to that particular colon, and within the colon to that particular word. If we are deal with this by positing a blanket Formula category of 'adjective + τις' we will suffer the same disadvantage as is mentioned above, namely that it will obscure the differences between strongly and weakly Formulaic expressions like ἄλλος τις and ἕτερός τις, and between both and probably non-Formulaic expressions like ἀδύνατόν τι.

The above arguments, however, cannot carry us very far. It had been hoped to account for all deferments in terms of unit- and colon-formation and Formulaism, but that is hindered by the suspicion that verb-postpositive also is a 'causal' influence and by the difficulty in separating that from the effects of colon-formation and the other 'causes'. Some solution to this problem is in fact found: see pp.2.1.18 ff., 2.3.1, 44 ff.

Objectives Remember that the definition of 'peninitial' (p. 1.1.17) alters somewhat between periods and dialects. Chapter Two (Rules) aims basically to establish the limits of normal variation in Attic prose, so that, the abnormal being laid to one side, authors' choice among the normal possibilities may subsequently be studied; thus cases like Dem.21.151 ἐπειδὴ με μὴ κέθοιεν (cf. p.1.1.11, 25, 43) and Thuc.V.37.2 καὶ εἴ τινα πρὸς ἄλλον δέοι can be treated as exceptional (and so listed under the appropriate Rule), while cases like Hdt.IX.89.3 πεμφθεῖς κατὰ τι πρῆγμα may be regarded as instances of q peninitial within the prepositional phrase, that being treated, according to Rule V (p.2.1.7), as a self-contained 'clause'. In Thuc.V.37.2 the exceptional degree of peninitialism is probably due to Formulaism on the part of εἴ τις. Formulaism, which also produces deferment, is another constraint acting to cut down the free choice of wording; e.g. in Plato La.192a καὶ σχεδὸν τι αὐτὸ κεντήμεθα, no other position is possible for τι, given that of σχεδὸν, for the expression σχεδὸν τι is never 'resolved' into other orders; such cases also must be discounted in any examination of free choice. And so, in Chapter Three (Formulae), are listed all those instances of word-orders which appear to be Formulaic; against them are tabled all occurrences in which the constituent vocabulary of a suspected Formula is present but is not arranged in the Formulaic order; e.g. ἄλλο τι is certainly a Formula and Plato Chrm.173d οὐ ῥαδίως εὐρήσεις ἄλλο τι τέλος

is an instance of it; but ἄλλο τι, unlike σχεδόν τι, can be 'resolved'; and may appear as, for example, in Gorgias 458c βουλομένου τι καὶ ἄλλο πράττειν, where Formulaism has been frustrated by peninitialism. The more numerous and varied such 'Antiformulaic' instances are, the less strongly Formulaic the expression is.

It is hoped that once the definition of the normal has been made clear by the Rules and instances filtered out of exceptional order on the one hand and Formulaic on the other, it may subsequently prove possible to classify the residue (including 'Antiformulaic' instances) as the result of free choice on the part of the author. Since (cf. p.1.1.34) it is from the beginning of the sentence that deferment takes place, the mode of introduction or 'introttype' (asyndeton, καί, εἰ κτλ.) is important; since the Rules lay down certain positions as exceptional, it may be possible to classify normal occurrences in terms of 'possible', i.e. regular, positions, the 'first possible' constituting peninitial position as defined within Attic prose, the 'second possible' being the next regular position following that, etc. That in fact falls outside the limits of the present study. But it is from a provisional attempt to classify particular cases in this way that there emerge the Rules, supplying the answer to the question 'Why not peninitial?', the question why in given circumstances a given type of position is almost never (i.e. apart from the exceptions) occupied by a postpositive, but instead deferment to a later point takes place. Since grammatical relationship as an explanation of deferment is at least controversial (p.1.1.41 ff.). (and MM unit-formation, for example, seems to be a rarity) it has been treated from this point of view as a hypothesis of last resort (cf. p.2.1.19). It does not arise until Rules XXIV ff. (and then in an unexpected form), which do not, for the most part, explain deferment, differing therein from most of the others.

In Chapter Four (Conclusions) are summed up the findings from Chapters Two and Three. While those Chapters, by exhaustively listing the exceptions to each Rule and the instances of each Formula enable a comparison between the usage of different authors, attention has been paid in particular to differences within Plato which may prove useful from the point of view of assigning relative dates to some of his works. Material thus yielded by the exceptions and the Formulae is summed up in Chapter Four. Further, many instances in the various lists are textually uncertain and their evidential value is thus vitiated; these are marked (t) or (τ) at the point of listing; but in a number of cases the uncertainty concerns the actual position of postpositive, and in some of them the evidence provided by the study itself may be helpful; such cases also are presented in Chapter Four. There also the behaviour of postpositives in the spurious or suspected works of the Platonic corpus is compared with genuinely Platonic material and tentatively examined for resemblances and discrepancies.

From this point (including Appendix A, which follows), our attention is confined to the postpositives αὐτ-, μ-, ἄν and τῆς, and to the authors Thucydides, Plato, and Demosthenes, for whom the various lists are intended to be exhaustive.

Chapter One ctd.: Section Two.

Appendix A

The following is a list of instances where points of difficulty or interest arise in connection with the distinction between mobiles and postpositives (cf. pp.1.1.3 ff.). These are divided as follows: (I) the instance is either certainly or possibly a mobile; (II) (p.1.2.7 below) the instance is in co-ordination or antithesis and a mobile would be normal, but instead a postpositive is used, because, by idiom or oversight, one side only of the balance is emphasized. Both of these are subdivided in accordance with the identity of the postpositive/mobile involved; further subdivision is explained ad loc. For list of works examined and abbreviations etc. see Appendix B below.

(I) (a) αὐτ- The mobile use of αὐτός is well-known and requires no enumeration; only disputable cases are listed. (1) Cases where grammar suggests mobile, but that makes little sense. Πλ.Σφ.254δ πότερα δύο τινὲ γένη αὐτῶ;(τ)· N.9.878α ὄθεν ἕνα...εἰσποιοῦντας...ἐκονομάζοντας...τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐπευξαμένους αὐτὸν κληρονόμον καταστήσαι... Δημ. 36.15 ...φίλον μᾶλλον ἔχειν τοῦτον ἢ διὰ ταῦτ' ἐχθρὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι· 19.60 ὀγδόη τοίνυν, ἑβδόμη, ἕκτη, πέμπτη, τετράς, αὐτὸ συμβαίνει εἶναι πέμπτην.

In (1) above the sense 'self' does not fit, and yet in most cases the word is either in agreement with others (Sph. 254d) or initial in a phrase (Dem.19.60) or both (Lg.878a); Rule XV (subordinate clauses followed by colon-division) has not been applied to participial clauses, but probably it should apply to the longer ones, though not the shorter. In Dem.36.15, 'rather to have him as a friend than to be an enemy oneself' is on general grounds a more plausible expression but in context inferior in sense to 'rather to have him as a friend than that he should be an enemy'.

(2) Next page.

(2) Grammar consistent with postpositive, but mobile better sense. (i) Postpositive and mobile would have different references:

Πλ.Σφ.239α μήτε τὸ παράπαν "αὐτὸ" καλεῖν· N.11.930γ ἡ μήτηρ τῶν παιδῶν αὐτοῦ μένουσα τρεφέτω.

In (2) (i) above, 'Nor should one call (sc. it) "it" at all' and 'remain on the spot' are superior sense (and in the latter case more idiomatic phraseology) to 'Nor should one put a name to it at all' and 'mother of his children'.

(ii) Grammar and perhaps sense favour mobile, but postpositive is not impossible.

Πλ.Π.3.428δ οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει τινὸς βουλευεται, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ὅλης (τ)· Πλτ.268γ ἕως ἂν...καθαρὸν μόνον αὐτὸν ἀποφῆνωμεν(τ)· N.7.795ε καὶ ἀποδιδομένης ἐκάστοις αὐτοῖς αὐτῶν εὐρύθμου κινήσεως...

In the last case above phraseology also favours mobile.

(iii) Grammar suggests postpositive, but mobile is better sense.

Θ.5.17.2 ...οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἔφασαν οὐ βίβρα ἀλλ' ὁμολογίβρα αὐτῶν προσχωρησάντων καὶ οὐ προδόντων ἔχειν τὸ χωρίον· 8.5.3 καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν αὐτοῦ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ὑπήκουον τῶν... Λακεδαιμονίων. Πλ.Λυ.217β πρὶν γενέσθαι αὐτὸ κακόν· Απ. 33δ χρῆν δῆπου//νυνὶ αὐτοῦς ἀναβαίνοντας ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖν, Κρα. 391δ ὅτι οἱ γε θεοὶ αὐτὰ καλοῦσι...ἄπερ ἐστὶ φύσει ὀνόματα, 393ε ἕως ἂν αὐτοῦ ἐνδηλουμένην τὴν δύναμιν ἐντιθῶμεν, 393ε ὃ αὐτὸ ἡμῖν δηλώσει· Π.4.431β κρείττω γὰρ αὐτὴν αὐτῆς δικαίως φῆσεις προσαγορεύεσθαι (≡ Πρμ.141α, 146α, 146γ)· Πρμ.154β γίγνεσθαι γε αὐτὸ πρεσβύτερον ἐτι...οὐκ ἂν ἐτι δύναίτο· Θτ.200ε ὃ τὸν ποταμὸν ἄρα καθηγούμενος/-/ἔφη ἄρα δειξέειν αὐτό, 202α εἴπερ ἦν δυνατὸν αὐτὸ λέγεσθαι· Σφ.243δ οἶον αὐτῶν παρόντων ἀναπυθνομένων ὡδε, 263ε καὶ μὴν ἐν λόγοις γε αὐτὸ ἴσμεν ὄν (τ)· Τι.70δ καὶ περὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτὸν περιέστησαν οἶον μάλαγμα (τ)· N.9.872ε γενέσθαι τε αὐτὸν θηλείας μετασχόντα φύσεως ἀναγκαῖον... Δημ.1.4 καὶ πανταχοῦ αὐτὸν παρεῖναι τῷ στρατεύματι· 19.226 ὡπερ ἂν παρεστηκότος αὐτοῦ· 23.92 κἂν αὐτοῦ νῦν ἀποψηφίσθητε, ἢ γε πόλις...· 27.56 ὡστε γενέσθαι μετ' ἐκείνης αὐτῶν κύριον· 29.8 ...οὐ μόνον αὐτοῦ κατέγνωσαν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπιγεγραμμένων ἐτίμησαν· 40.25 ἀλλὰ προσθέντας αὐτοῦς ἐκδοῦναι...· 50.17 ...ἀποδοῦναι αὐτὸ καὶ τοὺς τόκους· 59.111 διότι ὁμοίως αὐταῖς ταύτην κατηξιούτε...

In Th.V.17.2 above, the participial expression may explain ὁμολογίβρα appositionally, or the latter may be a subord-

inate part of the former; probably the first mentioned is the case, but the second is not impossible, being supported by καὶ οὐ προδόντων, which suggests that ὁμολογία, and not αὐτῶν, is the main point. In R.IV 431b etc. not only sense but phraseology favour mobile.

(3) Sense suggests possibly mobile but not sufficiently to counter the impression from grammar that it is postpositive.

Πλ.Π.7.527ε μόνω γὰρ αὐτῷ ἀλήθεια ὁράται· 3.417α ἀλλὰ μόνους αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει οὐ θέμις· Πρμ.127ε ὡς ἄρα δεῖ αὐτὰ ὁμοιά τε εἶναι καὶ ἀνόμοια, 128δ ὡς ἐτι γελοιότερα πάσχοι ἂν αὐτῶν ἢ ὑπόθεσις, 137γ οὔτε ἄρα μέρος αὐτοῦ οὔτε ὅλον αὐτὸ δεῖ εἶναι, 154α ἀλλὰ τί αὐτὸ περὶ τοῦ γίνεσθαι αὐτὸ πρεσβύτερόν τε καὶ νεώτερον.... N.7.837α δύο γὰρ ὄντα αὐτὰ καὶ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τρόπον ἄλλο... περιλαβὼν... ἀπορίαν... ἀπεργάζεται· 10.910β οὐσιν αὐτῶν βελτίοσιν. Δημ.32.4 οὗτος δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκείνῳ τὸν γόμον οἰκεῖον ἔχειν αὐτὸν τῆς νεώς.

A degree of comparison or contrast implied by the context of the above cases weakly suggests 'self', 'own' etc. R.III 417a and VII 527e are similar to Plt.268c, (2) (ii) above; in this case however probably the full emphasis falls on μόν-.

(4) Postpositive would break a Rule (Ch.II). (i) Therefore probably mobile, as sense also suggests.

Θ.3.111.3 καὶ τινὰς αὐτῶν τῶν στρατηγῶν... ἠκόντισέ τις· 4.124.1 πρὸς τοῖς αὐτοῦ περιλοίοις τῶν Πελοποννησίων...· 8.46.1 ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτῷ λυπηρούς (τ), 48.4 ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀρχῇ, 85.2 ... πορευομένους ἐπὶ καταβολῇ τῇ αὐτοῦ μάλιστα... (τ), 88 ἐς τὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἀθηναίων φιλίαν (τ). Πλ.Γργ.481β οὐδὲν μέντοι οἶον τὸ αὐτὸν ἐρωτᾶν· Κρα.412δ ὥστε αὐτὸ μηδὲν στέγειν· Φδ.70ε ἐκ τοῦ αὐτῷ ἐναντίου (τ), 82α κατὰ τὰς αὐτῶν ὁμοιότητος..., 108γ τὸν αὐτῇ ἐκάστη τόπον οἰκήσαντα, 108γ εἰς τὴν αὐτῇ πρέπουσαν οἰκήσιν· Π.2.371γ ἀργήσει τῆς αὐτοῦ δημιουργίας...· Θτ.198γ ... ἀριθμοῖ ἂν ποτέ τι ἢ αὐτὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν αὐτὸ ἢ ἄλλο τι... (τ)· Τι.52ε σεῖσθαι μὲν ὑπ' ἐκείνων αὐτῇ, κινουμένην δ' αὐτὴν πάλιν ἐκεῖνα σεῖειν· N.6.757γ πρὸς τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν· 7.802γ κατὰ τὸν αὐτῶν νοῦν. Δημ.5.20 οὐδέ γε τῶν αὐτοῖς πεπονημένων... τὴν δόξαν ἔχειν (τ)· 27.43 περὶ δὲ τῶν αὐτῷ δοθέντων· 55.7 πρὸς... τοὺς/-/τὰς αὐτῶν πράξεις παρέχομαι.

On the above, cf. in most cases Rule XVIII (p.2.1.13); but also Rule XX (p.2.1.11) for Th.III.111.3 and Pl.Cra.412d, and Rule XXV (p.2.1.21 and context) for Tht.198c and Ti.52e.

(ii) Next page.

(ii) Rule genuinely broken by a postpositive.

Θ.4.73.2 καὶ αὐτοῖς ὡσπερ ἀκονιτὶ τὴν νίκην δικαίως ἂν τίθεσθαι. Πλ.Κρα.439α ἐκ τῆς εἰκόνοσ μανθάνειν αὐτὴν τε αὐτὴν... 439α ἢ ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας αὐτὴν τε αὐτὴν... Πρμ.142α τοῦτω τῷ μὴ ὄντι εἴη ἂν τι ἢ αὐτῷ ἢ αὐτοῦ; 156γ δεῖ δῆλου αὐτό γε μὴδ' ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ εἶναι. Πлт.266ε ὡς οἰκείας καὶ αὐτῷ ταύτης οὔσης τῆς ἐπιστήμης. Σφ.240β εἴπερ αὐτό γε μὴ ἀληθινὸν λέγεις. Ν.7.846α αὐτὸν ἢ τῶν αὐτοῦ τι. 9.856β τὸν δὲ κοινωνοῦντα...λεληθότα τε ταῦτα αὐτόν, ἢ μὴ λεληθότα...δεῖ δεῦτερον ἡγεῖσθαι... Δημ.9.45 οὐ γὰρ ἂν αὐτοῖς ἐμελε... 22.5 ἐστὶ γὰρ εἰς μὲν//αὐτῷ λόγος. 28.6 οὐδ' αὐτὴν ἀπέδοσαν. 43.47 ὅτι οὔτε θεοπόμπῃ τῷ πατρὶ τῷ αὐτοῦ...

On the above, see Rules XII (Sph.240b), XV (Dem.22.5), XVIII (Lg.VII 846a, Dem.43.47), XX (Th.IV.73.2, Prm.142a, Plt.266e, Dem.9.45, 28.6), XXV (Cra.439a bis, Lg.IX 856b, Dem.22.5 again). In addition, Prm.156c and Sph.240b (again) infringe the principle underlying Rule XIV, though γε has been ignored in collecting the exceptions to that Rule. In Thucydides, καὶ αὐτ- is a minority normality, occasional rather than exceptional, but is listed under the exceptions to Rule XX; in Cra.439a, despite the collocation, the second αὐτὴν in both instances seems to be postpositive, 'it'; in Prm.142a, the sense is 'to or of it'; and the instance should perhaps be assigned to (i) above; in Prm.156c and Sph.240b the force of γε does not seem to apply to αὐτό. in Plt.266e the force of adverbial καὶ seems to apply to ταύτης. in Lg.VII 846a it is τι, not αὐτοῦ, which is in balance with mobile αὐτόν. in Lg.IX 856b there seems to be an anacoluthon. In the Demosthenic cases, it is merely the infringement which suggests the possibility of a mobile, but that is not supported by the context. That ends the instances of αὐτ- under (I).

(I) ctd. (b) τις (1) Cases of mobile τις are unfamiliar enough to be worth listing:

Πλ.Θτ.147β τινὸς γὰρ ἐπιστήμην... (≅ 163ε, 160β, Σφ.262ε)'

Πλ.Κρι.49α ἢ τινὶ μὲν... (≅ Π.10.596δ, Φδρ.267δ, Δημ.9.2, 56, 23.208)'

Πλ.Απ.17β ...ἢ τὶ ἢ οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς εἰρήκασιν (≅ Κρα.412γ ἀλλὰ, Π.4.438γ καὶ, 5.476ε ἢ, Πρμ.145γ οὔτε ἐν, Θτ.152δ μήτε, 160β ἢ,

list continues

157β μήτε (τ), 163ε ἦ, 193α ἦ, Σφ.262ε μή δέ, 263β ἔπειτα δέ γε, Δημ.22.36 ἀλλά, 23.74 ἦ). Πλ.Ν.8.846α ἦ.

Πλ.Πρμ.160ε καὶ τοῦ τινός (≅ 160ε, 164α, Σφ.237γ, Φλβ.51α, 53ε, 54γ).

The above are divided into initial instances, those related by μὲν...δέ, those introduced by prepositive connectives (or similar expressions) and those used with the article. In all, τις is the main element in its phrase, standing in contrast, antithesis or co-ordination, in the sense something/nothing, something/all, particular/general, or similar. In Tht.160b, ἦ πρός τι has been omitted; although the sense 'something' is in implied contrast to 'nothing', within the apodosis the choice is between to, of, and in relation to, so that in πρός τι it is possibly the preposition that bears the main point; cf. Prm.142a, p.1.2.4.

(2) Somewhat less certainly mobile cases.

Πλ.Χρμ.168β ἔστι μὲν αὕτη ἡ ἐπιστήμη τινός ἐπιστήμη, 168β καὶ ἔχει...δύναμιν ὥστε τινός εἶναι. Ευθδ.291α ἀλλὰ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔτι τινὰ ἐζητήσατε τέχνην; 291δ ...ἡ...τέχνη τί ἡμῖν ἀπεργάζεται ἔργον ἢ οὐδέν; Πρμ.145δ ἐν τινὶ γὰρ ἐνὶ μὴ ὄν οὐκ ἂν ἔτι δύναίτο ἐν γε ἀπασιν εἶναι, 145δ οὐδὲ μὴν ἐν τισὶ τῶν μερῶν, 145δ εἰ γὰρ ἐν τισὶ τὸ ὅλον εἴη.

The above are probably also mobile, but, all being medial, it could perhaps be argued that the necessary sense could be satisfied with a postpositive, especially where the word is not the single main element in its clause (e.g. in Prm.145d the emphasis could be on 'one' rather than 'something').

(3) Where a case could be made for interpretation as mobile, but word is probably postpositive.

Πλ.Μεν.73ε ἡ ἀρετὴ τις, 73ε ὅτι σχῆμά τι ἐστίν, 74β ἡ σχῆμά τι, 74β ὅτι σχῆμά τι, 74γ ἡ χρῶμά τι, 74γ ὅτι χρῶμά τι. Λυ.220β ...τὸ...φίλον οὐ φίλου τινός ἐνεκα φίλον ἐστίν; 220β μὴ φίλου τινός ἐνεκα τὸ φίλον φίλον εἶναι, 221γ ...τὸ φίλον φιλεῖν τι καὶ διὰ τι; Κρα.387δ ἔδει τῷ φαμεν τέμνειν, 387ε ἔδει τῷ κερκίζειν, 387ε ἔδει τῷ τρυπᾶν, 387ε ἔδει τῷ ὀνομάζειν. 4. 438β οἶδόν τινος εἶναι μεῖζον, 438β οἶα εἶναι του (= 438δ), 438γ ἐπιστήμη δέ τις καὶ ποιά τις ποιοῦ τινός..., 5.476ε ὅτι γιγνώσκει τι. 10.597α ἀλλὰ κλίνην τινὰ, 597δ ἀλλὰ μὴ κλίνης τινός, 597δ μὴδὲ κλινοποιός τις.

list continues

Θτ.147β όταν ἀποκρίνηται τέχνης τινὸς ὄνομα, 157α ἀλλὰ τινι ἀεὶ γίγνεσθαι, 160α ἀνάγκη δέ γε ἐμέ τέ τινος γίγνεσθαι..., 160α ἐκεῖνός τέ τινι γίγνεσθαι...

In all the above there is a contrast of some sort, usually by implication, but phraseology is compatible with postpositive.

(4) Repetitive idioms of which the sense suggests, but does not require, mobile τις, but the phraseology often positively suggests a postpositive. (i) λέγειν τι

Πλ.Μεν.92δ καὶ ἴσως τι λέγεις· Ευθδ.305ε δοκοῦσί σοί τι/-/λέγειν (τ)· Π.1.329ε καὶ λέγουσι μὲν τι, οὐ μέντοι γε ὅσον οἴονται· 3.397γ ποιηταὶ καὶ οἱ τι λέγοντες· Θτ.148γ καὶ τι οἴου Θεόδωρον λέγειν..., 191γ εἶ τι λέγω, 193α λέγω τί ἢ οὐδέν; 208ε ἐφάπνετό τί μοι λέγεσθαι· Φδρ.260α μή τι λέγωσι (τ)· Σφ.237δ ὡς ἀνάγκη τὸν τι λέγοντα ἔν γέ τι λέγειν, 237ε τὸν δὲ ὅη μή τι λέγοντα..., 237ε τὸ τὸν τοιοῦτον λέγειν μὲν τι, λέγειν μέντοι μηδέν· Ν.9.862α εἶτε τι λέγω.

Tht.193a above has already been recorded in (1), p.1.2.5 above, and certainly has mobile τι, but in general the meaning of the idiom can be satisfied with emphasis on the verb. R. III 397c and Sph.237d infringe Rule XVIII (pp.2.1.13, 2.2.42), and that perhaps suggests mobile usage, but that Rule is also infringed in many cases where the sense seems entirely unemphatic; in both instances here the wording seems to have a more literal and less idiomatic sense than is customary. In other instances the phraseology is strongly suggestive of a postpositive: Euthd.305e, Tht. 191c, 208e, Phdr.260a, Lg.IX 862a.

(ii) εἶναι τις/τι Πλ.Γργ.472α καὶ δοκούντων εἶναι τι, 527δ ὡς τι ὄντας (= Π.5.480α, Φδρ.243α)· Μνξ. 247β ὅτι ἀνδρῶν οἰομένων τι εἶναι...· Ευθδ.303δ ...σεμνῶν...καὶ δοκούντων τι εἶναι· Π.5.455γ ἐν οἷς δὴ τι δοκεῖ τὸ...γένος εἶναι· 6.505ε ἀπρομαντευομένη τι εἶναι· 9.583γ οὐκοῦν καὶ τὸ μήτε χαίρειν...εἶναι τι; Θτ.166β μᾶλλον δὲ τὸν εἶναι τινα καὶ οὐχὶ τοῦς.

In this category also belong perhaps Ap.21e τοῦς τι δοκούντας εἶδέναι, Δημ.10.71 ὡς σὲ μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει δεῖ τινὰ φαίνεσθαι, which are intermediate between (i) and (ii). In (ii) as in (i) the sense potentially suggests emphasis, but there

is even less support for interpretation as mobile (except for the infringement of Rule XVIII in Ap.21e, to which the same argument applies as in (i)). Also as in (i), there is a mixture of more idiomatic cases ('worthwhile') and more literal or philosophical. Many cases above seem to display typically postpositival peninitial position, and on cases like ...ολομένω τι εἶναι cf. p.2.2.67. That ends the lists of (I).

(II) (Cf. p.1.2.1) The instance is in contrast, antithesis, or co-ordination, but the word used seems to be a genuine postpositive and not merely a mobile mistaken for one; either because of an author's personal style or because of oversight (the trailing part of the antithesis is an 'afterthought'). No instance of τις is in itself sufficient to establish this conclusively (pp.1.1.2 ff.); but there are certainly cases in which με is used where we expect ἐμέ. Given that this phenomenon exists, we do find cases of τις which seem to fit it. Some cases in (I) above perhaps fit this description, but the following are the more certain cases.

μ- Θ.2.60.7 ὥστ' εἴ μοι καὶ μέσως ἡγούμενοι μᾶλλον ἑτέρων προσεῖναι αὐτὰ... 4.85.1 ἡ μὲν ἐκπεμφίς μου καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς... γεγένηται 6.16.1 καὶ προσήκει μοι μᾶλλον ἑτέρων ἀρχειν..., 89.1 ἵνα μὴ χεῖρον τὰ κοινὰ τῷ ὑπόπτῳ μου ἀκροάσηθε. Πλ.ΙΕ 372β οὐδὲ γὰρ μοι δοκεῖ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ὑμῖν; Ευθδ.283ε ὅτι μαθῶν μου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων καταφεύδει... Φδ.60γ ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ αὐτῷ μοι ἔοικεν..., 77β οὐδὲ αὐτῷ μοι δοκεῖ... ἀποδεδειχθαι, 88γ ... συγγνώμην ἔχω ὑμῖν - καὶ γὰρ αὐτόν με νῦν ἀκούσαντά σου τοιοῦτόν τι λέγειν... ἐπέρχεται, 88δ ὅτι καὶ αὐτῷ μοι ταῦτα προὔδέδοκτο, 117δ ὁ δὲ Κρίτων ἐτι πρότερός μου// Εξανέστη (τ). Δημ.42.14 ... οὐ προσέχοντά μοι τὸν νοῦν οὐδὲ τοῖς νόμοις' 45.85 μὴ περιλῶντέ με καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας... 50.12 διὰ τὸ ἀριστὰ μοι πλεῖν τὴν ναῦν.

Phd.71c ... ἐγὼ σοι... σὺ δέ μοι... has been omitted above on the ground that σὺ δ' ἐμοί is equally likely text; the other Phaedo instances are of a different character; the contrast implied in αὐτόν με is explicit in 88c.

αὐτ- Next page.

αὐτ- Πλ.Π.1.336δ εἰ μὴ πρότερος ἐωράκη αὐτὸν ἢ ἐκεῖνος ἐμέ·
 10.600β καὶ οὐχὶ μάλλον ἂν αὐτῶν ἀντείχοντο ἢ τοῦ χρυ-
 σοῦ· N.8.847β καὶ ἐάν τις αὐτοῦς ἕτερος ἢ κείνοι τινα ἄλλον
 ἀδικῶσι· 9.877α ὅς αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν τρωθέντα ἐλεήσας... Δημ.
 6.12 οὐ γὰρ δὴ τριήρεις γ' ὄρα πλείους αὐτοῖς ἢ ὑμῖν οὔσας· 23.
 T49 . . μισθουμένου... πάλιν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ στρατεύμα· 24.79 εἴ-
 ναι αὐτῷ ἢ ἄλλῳ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου...· 59.6 ἵνα ἀτιμώσειεν αὐτὸν
 καὶ παῖδας τοῦς ἐκείνου, 39 καὶ εἰσάγει αὐτὴν καὶ τὰ παῖδρα...

τις Θ.2.51.3 τὸ γὰρ τῷ ξυγενεγκὸν ἄλλον τοῦτο ἔβλαπτεν, 39.3
 κρατήσαντές τέ τινας ἡμῶν πάντας ἀυχούσιν ἀπεῶσθαι. Πλ.
 Πρτ.351β λέγεις δέ τινας, "... τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐ ζῆν, τοὺς δὲ
 κακῶς; Π.1.349δ μουσικὸν δέ τινα λέγεις, ἕτερον δὲ ἄμουσον;
 Θτ.157α τό τέ τινα συνελθόν... ἄλλῳ προσπεσόν...· N.10.888γ
 πολλοῖσι μὲν οὐ, μείναι δὲ οὐν τισίν. Δημ.8.15 εἰ τισὶ μά-
 λον ἀπιστοῦσιν ἢ ἡμῖν· 26.20 οὐ δεῖ γὰρ παρανομεῖν δόντας
 τισὶ τοῦς ἄλλους κατὰ τοῦς νόμους ἀξιούν πράττειν.

Tht.157a above infringes Rule XVIII and may therefore be mobile; but in some cases it seems that the author has chosen to emphasize an unexpected element in the contrast; Lg.X 888c means not 'has persisted not perhaps in many but at any rate in some', but 'not perhaps in many but at any rate has persisted (in some)'. The Demosthenic cases in particular give the impression throughout of falling into the 'after-thought' category.

Chapter One ctd: Section Three: Appendix B: Glossary and
List of Works Examined.

I Glossary (a) Terms used (see also (b), (c), and (d) below)

<u>term</u>	<u>see</u>
Anticounterformula	p.3.1.9.
Antiformula	pp.1.1.58, 3.1.9.
attach, attachment	(d) below.
'belong'	(d) below.
colon, cola, colon-division, colon-formation	pp.1.1.27 ff.
Concord (-relation)	pp.2.1.20, 25.
connective	p. 1.1.2 and (d) below.
Counterformula	p.3.1.9.
defer, deferment	p.1.1.16 and (d) below.
Former	(d) below.
formula, formulaic, formulaism	pp.1.1.32 ff.
Formula etc.	p.1.1.34 and 3.1.1 ff.
grammatical groups	(d) below.
'induction'	(d) below.
immediately super- /sub-ordinate	p.2.1.9 (Rule XI).
introttype	p.1.1.58.
member, sentence-member	(d) below.
mobile	p.1.1.1.
Multiple Antiformula	p.3.1.9.
nexal	(d) below.
peninitial	pp.1.1.7 ff. and (d) be-
<u>plain</u>	(d) below. (low.
position	(d) below.
'possible'	(d) below.
postpositive	p.1.1.1 ff. and (d) be-
prepositive	pp.1.1.1 and (d). (low.
promote, promotion	(d) below.
prospective	(d) below.

<u>term</u>	<u>see</u>
quasi-prepositive	(d) below.
relative	(d) below.
retrospective	(d) below.
special	(d) below.
subjoin, subjunction	pp.1.1.41 f.
unit, unit-formation	pp.1.1.23 ff.
Verb	p.2.1.24 and (d) below.

(b) Abbreviations and Alphanumeric symbols.

Af.	Antiformula (q.v.).
Cf.	Counterformula (q.v.).
c=	see (c) below.
e.g.f.	<u>exempli gratia ficti.</u>
F	as abbreviation, Formula (in headings); as symbol, Former (q.v.).
λ	see p.3.1.12-13.
M	a mobile word.
N	a negative word; see in (d) below.
O	clause or phrase not containing either a V- or a W-element (qq.v. and contrast Y below).
p	a prepositive (q.v.).
q	a postpositive (q.v., and (d) below).
q̄	the postpositive concerned (see (d) below).
t (τ)	total (in tables); elsewhere, textual uncertainty.
V (-element)	Verb (q.v., and (d) below).
V'	verb to which q̄ does <u>not</u> 'belong'; see pp.2.2.67, 74 ff.
W (-element)	word in Concord-relation to q̄ (q.v.).
X (-element)	any expression of the nature of V or W (qq.v.).
Y (-element)	expression other than V or W, non-X (qq.v.).

F, M, N, O, p, q, q̄, V, V', W, X, and Y are used in symbol-sequences, so that prepositive-mobile-postpositive (e.g.f. καὶ οὗτος αὐτὸν...) may appear as pMq (usually pMq̄); if ἄλλο τι is a Formula, καὶ ἄλλο τι may (for that purpose) be symbolized as pFq̄; ὅς ἂν ὀρήη as pqV, λόγος τις as Wq̄,

ctd.

ἐκέλευσε ποιεῖν τι (where q 'belongs' to ποιεῖν) as $V'Vq$,
καὶ οὐ... as $pN...$, etc.

(c) Non-alphabetic symbols.

Alternative indicated in brackets is form used in Greek type-face, where that differs.

- // inserted in quotation or symbol-sequence to denote an 'intrusive' subordinate clause; thus, e.g.f. οὗτος δ' ἂν βουλόμεθα συμβουλευσεται αὐτοῖς (see Rule XV, p.2.1.12) may appear as οὗτος δ' // ..., and be symbolized as $Mq//Vq$; q is then in second 'possible' position (Rule XV) and probably also last 'possible' (Rule XXV).
- /-/ as above, to denote a vocative expression, such as ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι.
- /!/ (/!/) ditto to represent an expletive or oath, such as νῆ Δία.
- ,"...., " ditto to represent an 'intrusive' 'said he' or similar expression.
- () ditto to represent a parenthesis.
- ! (?) indicates an item above the general level of evidential value of other instances in the same list; mainly, the infringement of a Rule (Ch.II) as a witness to Formulaism (Ch.III); see pp.3.1.11 ff.
- † (+) attached to citations to denote the opposite of plain (q.v.).
- = introduces reference to instance(s) of identical wording to the preceding.
- c= (≅) ditto, approximately identical; extended to more general comparison.
- ° see p.3.1.13.

(d) Explanations not given elsewhere.

attach, attachment: in a Formula (q.v.) the postpositive may be said to be Formulaically attached to the other element, but only subjunction (q.v.) counts as attachment; τι is attached to ἄλλο in ἄλλο τι, but not in τι ἄλλο or any other order.

'belong': in a sense any word in a sentence may be said to

belong to any other word in the same sentence, but we do not normally so use the word. In general, words 'belong' to those others to which they are most closely related grammatically; adjectives 'belong' to nouns to which they are in attributive agreement; in predicative agreement they may be said rather to 'belong' to the verb through which that relation is expressed; adverbs 'belong' to the verbs, adjectives, etc., which they modify; nouns to the verbs of which they are the subject or the object, direct or indirect, or to other nouns to which they are genitively related. Here, postpositives may be said to 'belong' as follows: ἄν to the verb which it modifies; αὐτ- and μ- as above on nouns; τις as αὐτ-, but also to words to which it agrees attributively, as λόγος τις. Postpositives also 'belong' to the clauses of which those other words form part. See also pp.2.1.24 ff, 2.2.75 ff., and on Concord and Verb ((a) above).

connective: adjective applied to co-ordinating conjunctions, but also to postpositive particles performing the same type of function: ἀλλά, καί, καίτοι, οὐδέ κτλ., but also ἄρα, γάρ, δέ, μέντοι κτλ., though not necessarily to all uses of each. See also p.1.1.2.

defer, deferment, peninitial (-ism), promote, promotion: postpositives tend to stand as second word in the sentence; this position is called 'peninitial' (on the analogy of 'penultimate') and the tendency to take that position is called 'peninitialism'; these terms may also be used when a postpositive, though not second word in the sentence, is in first 'possible' position (qq.v. below), as in καὶ οὗτος ἄν... When a postpositive is later than second word or first 'possible' position it is said to be deferred from it; in καὶ οὗτος ἄν... ἄν may be said to be deferred from the position after καί in accordance with Rule XXII (p.2.1.16); but in general deferment refers to the situation of being later than first 'pos-

sible' position. When a postpositive is remote from the words to which it 'belongs' and in or nearer to peninitial position, it may be said to be promoted.

Former: in a Formula (q.v.), the mobile or prepositive to which q is attached (q.v.) is called the Former.

grammatical groups: for the purpose of classifying 'normal' occurrences of postpositives, those neither exceptional nor Formulaic (p.1.1.58), a task not recorded in this study, finite-verb clauses in complex sentences (protases, apodoses, noun-clauses, etc.) may be treated, under the Rules (Ch.II), like simple sentences, i.e. as self-contained entities; but infinitival and participial clauses are potentially subject to interweaving; e.g.f. τούτων τινάς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὁ θεὸς ἄν κελεύοι τιμῆσαι. It is necessary to consider the position of q not only in the sentence as a whole (τινάς first 'possible' (q.v.), ἄν third 'possible', in that example) but also in relation to these interwoven patterns; in the example, ὁ θεὸς ἄν κελεύοι is one grammatical group, and the other, divided into two fragments, is τούτων τινάς τῶν ἀνδρῶν τιμῆσαι' the former would be called main, while subordinate groups like the latter would be governed or participial as the case might be; for the different relations in which infinitival groups may stand, see p.2.1.25. This type of classification is greatly simplified by Rules XXIV ff., which permit us to ignore a later verb when q 'belongs' entirely to the earlier; κελεύει τις τιμᾶν becomes as simple as κελεύει τις τοῦτο (cf. p.2.4.1 ff.).

'induction': This is perhaps a type of formulaism (q.v.), which may be called qq formulaism (as distinct from pq, Mq, MM etc.). It often appears that a given postpositive has a tendency to stand directly after another, particular, postpositive, when present; the position of q is then determined not by its own properties in relation to the sen-

tence at large but by that of the other postpositive to which it is attached. This may be referred to as induction, q being said to be induced by the presence of the other to occupy that position. Thus, firstly, q may appear in a position which according to the Rules and to the conventions of position (q.v.) is exceptional for q but not for the other postpositive; e.g. οὐκ ἄν is a Formula (p.3.2.4 ff.) while οὗ τις is exceptional under Rule XXIII (p.2.1.17); according to the conventions of position, οὐκ ἄν τις is an instance of οὗ τις, and should be no less exceptional; it does however occur far more often than οὗ τις unqualified (p.2.2.57). Secondly, it often seems due to induction that after a given introtypic (q.v.) a given postpositive is more frequent than otherwise; e.g. αὐτ- seems to be more often peninitial following εἴ τις than after εἰ without τις (εἴ τις being a Formula, p.3.3.5).

member: or sentence-member. When a sentence or clause is divided into phrases mutually parallel in grammar but subordinate to the sentence at large, by co-ordinating particles such as μὲν...δέ, τε...τε..., τε...καί..., καὶ... καὶ..., ἢ...ἢ..., the phrases introduced by each particle may be referred to as members; e.g.f. in τότε μὲν ὄρᾶν βούλομαι τότε δ' ἀκούειν, τότε μὲν ὄρᾶν and τότε δ' ἀκούειν are members joined by the common main verb.

N: symbol for a negative word; used for uncompounded negatives, but may also denote negatives compounded with postpositival elements, such as οὐδέποτε.

nexal and special: see Moorhouse passim, but esp.pp.1 - 6.

The distinction as applied to negatives is that a nexal negative applies to the verb or the central proposition of the sentence while a special negative negates some particular element within the sentence, the main proposition remaining affirmative; e.g. respectively Hom.Il.I 106 οὐ πώ ποτέ μοι τὸ κρήγυρον εἶπας, A.Ag.1082 ἀπώλεσας γὰρ οὐ

μόλις τὸ δεύτερον. This concept must be taken into account in a study of word-order, for it cannot be assumed that special negatives will obey the same Rules (e.g. Rule XII, p.2.1.10) as nexal. Neither however can it be simply applied (Moorhouse, pp.4 ff.); a negative may be special in sense and yet indistinguishable in position from a nexal (εἰ μὴ κακῶς πράττει may mean both 'unless he does badly', nexal, and 'if he does well', special), while a negative that is nexal (negating main verb) may have a specific reference which leads to its being prefixed to a particular word (e.g.f. ἀφ'ἤκουτο οὐδ'οἱ πρῶτοι implies that none arrived); and even ordinary nexal negatives are subject to postponement wherein they are prefixed to the verb. Hence in this study it is not often expressly applied to negatives. It may however usefully be extended to other areas: adverbial καί may apply to the whole sentence or to an element within it; again, in Rule VIII (p.2.1.8) the expression 'special conjunction phrase' is used; in a sentence like Πλ.Θτ.157δ ἐπειδὴν οὖν ὄμμα καὶ ἄλλο τι τῶν τούτῳ συμμέτρων πλησιάσαν γεννήσῃ λευκότητά τε καὶ αἴσθησιν αὐτῇ σύμφυτον, καὶ...συμμέτρων and καὶ...σύμφυτον are 'special conjunction phrases', and τι and αὐτῇ could be called 'specially related', while οὖν is 'nexally related'.

peninital: see under deferment above.

plain: in classifying 'normal' usage (cf. grammatical groups above and p.1.1.58) postpositives are to be assigned to 'first possible' and 'second possible' etc. position in the sentence, called A-, B-, C- and D-position (the last being 'fourth and later...'); in B-, C- and D-position it is desirable to label as a distinct class those in which q is also in last possible position; this may occur e.g. because q follows the last mobile, i.e. is at the end of the sentence; it may be that q is either more or less often deferred to that position than to others, for the last possible is prima facie dif-

ferent in character from other positions. But the class of 'last possible' is greatly enlarged and given greater importance by Rules XXIV ff., under which \underline{q} does not come later than directly after the last (or only) X-element, even if the sentence itself continues further (cases of X... \underline{q} occur but are clearly exceptional - pp.2.3.1 ff.), so that if the last or only X-element is near the beginning, 'possible' (q.v.) positions will be few. Cases of A-position also being last 'possible' (when a single X-element is initial or virtually so) are listed on pp.2.4.1 ff.; cases of C- and D-position last 'possible' may be labelled ‡ (++) in Greek face); but the evidence suggests that when B-position is the last 'possible', i.e. when there are two 'possible' positions only, pen-initial and X \underline{q} , the ratio peninitial : deferred, varying also according to introttype (q.v.), is often different (not necessarily in the same direction) from that in cases with greater numbers of 'possible' positions (contrast δζ@βούλοιτο@, δζ@ οὔτω@φιλανθρωπῶπως@βούλοιτο@, where @ marks 'possible' positions for ἄν). Hence cases with three or more 'possible' positions are labelled plain, and those with two only labelled †, which implies that \underline{q} must be either peninitial or in last 'possible' position.

position: the location of a postpositive in a sentence, expressed either in terms of its distance from the beginning or in terms of the preceding mobile (see Formula, X-element). In the former case, assessment of position is subject to two main conditions; first, the convention (see p.1.1.7, 11) that postpositives other than the one in question do not count, so that the degree of separation from peninitial position is unaffected by any number of others, all those in a cluster occupying the same 'position' relative to mobiles and prepositives; secondly, the Rules laid out in Ch.II; the latter mainly define locations from which postpositives are habitually excluded, positions that are, according to the

Rules, 'impossible'; 'possible' positions are those not excluded by Rule.

'possible': see position above.

postpositive: see pp.1.1.2 ff. The term may refer to any of the words detailed as postpositive in those pages, but when used in Chs.II and III without qualification will refer to one of the set αὐτ-, μ-, ἄν, τις. Postpositives are symbolized by the letter q, while q denotes the particular postpositive in question whatever that may be. In general in any context implying one particular postpositive as its topic, q will refer to that postpositive; but on occasion it may mean the postpositive in whatever context, identity unspecified.

prepositive: see p.1.1.1. Prepositives include prepositions and the article (see Rules V, VI, IX, XVII, XVIII, XIX), but the term more often denotes conjunctions, both co-ordinating (καί κτλ.) and subordinating (εἰ κτλ.) -- see Rules II, VII, VIII, XI, XX ff. The term 'relative prepositive' is used as a virtual synonym of 'subordinating conjunction'; either term is used to denote ἄτε, ἔάν, εἰ, ἐπεὶ, ἐπειδάν, ἐπειδὴ, ἕως, ἡλίκος, ἡνίκα, ἵνα, καίπερ, μή = lest, οἷος, ὅπ-, ὅς, ὅστις ὅ τι, ὅτι = that/because, ὅσος, ὅταν, ὅτε, πρίν, ὡς, ὥσπερ/καθάπερ, ὥστε.

promote, promotion: see under defer above.

prospective and retrospective: when conjunctions and connecting particles are used correspondingly (καί...καί, τε...καί, μὲν...δέ, ἢ...ἢ κτλ.), the first is called prospective, the second (and later) retrospective. The word καί requires to be considered not merely as two different entities (conjunction and adverb), but as three, prospective, retrospective, and adverb; although the first is not properly speaking a conjunction, nevertheless in many ways it is clo-

ser in word-order usage to the conjunction than to the adverb; e.g. καὶ is normal as adverb, but rare not only as 'and' but also as 'both'.

quasi-prepositive: any word which behaves generally like a prepositive (q.v.) but does not fulfil all the requirements of the definition. The term usually refers to negative and interrogative words, which resemble prepositives in almost always standing in initial position and relating mainly to following, not preceding, words, but are nevertheless found occasionally in final position (Dover, p.14). It is probably strictly correct to call them preferential mobiles (id. p.20) but they differ from other such not only in being much more rarely final, but in the stronger tendency to relate to what follows.

relative: see on prepositive above.

retrospective: see under prospective above.

special: see nexal above.

Verb: written with a capital letter, means 'the verb to which q "belongs"'. See p.2.1.24 ff. Prepositions are not counted as Verb.

That completes the Glossary (p.1.3.1 ff.).

II List of Works Examined (a) Authors and Works.

The lists presented in Chapters II and III (and Appendix A, p.1.2.1 above) are intended to be exhaustive of those classes of data for the authors Thucydides, Plato, and Demosthenes. Of the corpus of each of those authors, the following works have been examined.

- (1) Thucydides. All the books, cited thus: Bk.VI, ch.1, §2 as VI.1.2 (Greek face 6.1.2); Bk.V ch.70

(which is not divided into sections) as V.70 (5.70).

(2) Plato The certainly and more probably spurious works in the corpus have been excluded in the hope that some interest may emerge from subsequent comparison of such works with the material from the rest of the corpus. The material here presented is from the following works (each list is given in the order here indicated, which is intended to be approximately chronological, in order to facilitate the detection of any variations through time or conspicuous departures therefrom; the contractions are those of Liddell-Scott-Jones, Greek-English Lexicon; and, where they notably differ, the corresponding Greek contractions are given in brackets): Hp.Mi. (IE), Chrm., Ia., Ion., Prt., Euthphr., Ap., Cri., Grg., Men., Ly., Mnx., Euthd., Cra., Hp.Ma. (IM), Smp., Phd., R. (II.), Prm., Tht., Phdr., Sph., Plt., Phlb., Ti., Criti., Lg. (N.). Citations of Republic and Laws number the book: R. III 416c, Lg. X 904d (II.3.416γ, N.10.904δ).

(3) Demosthenes Apart from the certainly spurious Against Theocrines, there is in the Demosthenic corpus a greater number of works of disputable genuineness than in the Platonic. All bouletic and dicastic speeches, private and political, have been included, i.e. except Letter of Philip, Epitaphius, Eroticus, Proems, Letters. Citations are given thus: 1.10, 59.42 (i.e. Ol.I §10, Against Neaera §42), in numerical order.

(b) Text and Editions.

The citations are based on the text of the following editions.

(1) Thucydides Editions consulted are:- (i) Bibliotheca Teubneriana, Leipzig: Thucydidis Historiae iterum rec. Carolus Hude, Vol.I libri I - IV 1913, Vol.II libri V - VIII 1925; id. post C.Hude ed. Otto Luschnat, Vol.I libri

I - II 1954. (ii) Collection des Universités de France... Guillaume Budé, Paris, 'Les Belles Lettres': Thucydide La Guerre du Péloponnèse, Livres VI et VII...par Louis Bodin et Jacqueline de Romilly, 1955.

Citations from Thucydides are based on the texts of the above editions, thus: Bks.I and II Iuschnat, III - V and VIII Hude, VI - VII Bodin-de Romilly, (as available to the author at time of collection).

(2) Plato The citations are based throughout on the text of the Budé edition (cf. (1) above), of various editors and dates as follows. Tome I, M.Croiset, 7th edn.1959; II, M.Croiset, 4th edn.1956; III.i M.Croiset & L.Bodin 5th edn.1955, III.ii Croiset & Bodin 7th edn.1960; IV.i L.Robin 7th edn.1960, IV.ii L.Robin 6th edn.1958, IV.iii L.Robin 4th edn.1954; V.i L.Méridier 3rd edn. 1956, V.ii L.Méridier 3rd edn. 1961; VI, E.Chambry & A.Dies, 1959; VII.i E.Chambry 5th edn.1961, VII.ii E.Chambry 1957; VIII.i A.Dies 3rd edn.1956, VIII.ii A.Dies 3rd edn. 1955, VIII.iii A.Dies 3rd edn.1955; IX.i A.Dies 3rd edn.1960, IX.ii A.Dies 1959; X, A.Rivaud, 3rd edn. 1956; XI.i E.des Places 1951, XI.ii E. des Places 1951; XII.i A.Dies 1956, XII.ii A.Dies & E.des Places, 1956.

(3) Demosthenes Budé editions (cf. (1) above): Harangues, Tome I M.Croiset 1959, II M.Croiset 1959; Plaidoyers Civils, I L.Gernet 1954, II L.Gernet 1957, III L.Gernet 1959, IV L.Gernet 1960; Plaidoyers Politiques, I, B. Navarre & P.Orsini 1954, II J.Humbert & L.Gernet 1959, III G.Mathieu 2nd edn.1956, IV G.Mathieu 1958. But for Speeches 18. and 21 textual information has been taken from Teubner editions (cf. (1) above) as follows: Demosthenis Orationes ed. C. Fuhr editio maior Vol.I, Leipzig 1914; id. post C. Fuhr ed. Ioannes Sykutris Vol.II pars i, Leipzig 1937.

Oxford Classical Texts (Scriptorum Classicorum Biblio-

theca Oxoniensis) have also been consulted throughout; but it is from the above editions that the citations are basically derived and by reference to the apparatus of the above editions that the sign (t) or (τ), indicating textual dubiety, is to be explained.

Chapter Two: RulesContents

	page
Preamble	2.1.2
List of Rules (with statement, explanation, discussion)	2.1.6
- I, 6; II-VI, 6-7; VII-X, 7-8; XI-XIII, 9-10; XIV, 11; XV-XVII, 12-13; XVIII-XIX, 13-14; XX-XXIII, 15-17; XXIV-XXVII, 18-21; importance of XXV ff., 21 ff.; why X...g abnormal, 23; identity of X-elements, 24; synopsis of exception-types to XXV ff., 26.	
Rules and Exceptions -- Rule I	2.2.1
- Rules II ff. (II,2; III,4; IV,5; V,5; VI,9)	2.2.2
- Rules VII ff. (VII,10; VIII,11; IX,14; X,15)	2.2.10
- Rules XI ff. (XI,19; XII,22; XIII,27)	2.2.19
- Rule XIV	2.2.28
- Rules XV ff. (XV,33; XVI,38; XVII,39)	2.2.33
- Rules XVIII ff. (XVIII,41; XIX,43)	2.2.41
- Rules XX ff. (XX,43; XXI,48; XXII,51; XXIII,54)	2.2.43
- Rules XXIV ff. (XXIV,59; XXV,60, synopsis 60a; XXVI, 93; XXVII,96, synopsis 96a)	2.2.59
Appendix A (preamble 1; guide to tables 5b; tables of $\alpha\upsilon\tau$ - 6, μ - 20, $\tau\iota\zeta$ 25; truth of X...g exceptional, 44; comparison of V and W as X-elements, 44; of different postpositives, 48; of authors' practice, 50)	2.3.1
Appendix B (preamble 1; $\alpha\upsilon\tau$ - 1, lists 2 ff.; μ -5, lists 6 ff.; $\tau\iota\zeta$ 9 ff.)	2.4.1

Chapter Two: Section One

Preamble and list of Rules

The main purpose of the Rules is to set up a framework defining the normal and abnormal and listing the instances of the latter, so that the former may then be classified in terms, inter alia, of "first possible position," (peninitial within the limits of the given type of utterance in Attic), "second possible position," etc. What positions are "possible" is determined negatively by the Rules, which define in each type of context what positions are not "possible" - i.e. not normally occupied by a post-positive or the postpositive concerned. "Possible" positions are any not "prohibited" by a Rule.

For instance, in Pl.R.II 382b ἀλλὰ μὴν ὀρθότατά γ' ἄν, ὃ νυνδὴ ἔλεγον, τοῦτο ὡς ἀληθῶς ψεύδος καλοῖτο, there would appear, if we ignore all pre-conceptions, to be twelve possible positions for ἄν - ἀλλ' ἄν μὴν..., ἀλλὰ μὴν ἄν..., ...ὀρθότατ' ἄν γε..., the wording as we have it, ...ὀρθότατά γ' ὃ ἄν... κτλ., down to καλοῖτο ἄν. One does not, of course, for everyday purposes, envisage ὃ ἄν... as a possible wording for a sentence like this, because ὃ "belongs" to the principal, not the relative clause. But in view of χαίρει δέ μιν ὅστις ἐθείρη (see p.l.l. 14), we cannot, in a study such as this, ignore the possibility that a postpositive "belonging" to one clause may appear "within" another, alien, clause. Hence a Rule is necessary stating that postpositives do not occur in "alien" clauses. This particular Rule is Rule VII; there are exceptions to it, but they seem to be genuinely exceptional.

But even prior to any consideration of Rules, a convention operates, namely that, as we are investigating primarily the relations of post-positives with non-postpositives, and not, except secondarily, those of one postpositive with another, and as postpositives have a tendency, stemming originally from peninitialism, to occur in clusters, postpositives occurring in directly adjacent positions are reckoned both to occupy the same "position" (p.l.l. 11)

whether one finds ὁ ἂν τις εἴποι or ὁ τις ἂν εἴποι, both postpositives are in peninitial position. In the case of Pl.R.II 382b, μήν being a postpositive, there is only one "possible" position before ὀρθότατα, for in both ἀλλ' ἂν μήν and ἀλλὰ μήν ἂν, ἂν would be peninitial; thus the number of "possible" positions has been decreased even before calling upon any Rule. In fact, if we found ἀλλ' ἂν μήν..., there are two Rules of which it would be in breach, XIV and XXII: the former "prohibits" formulations like ἂν μήν (ἂν δέ, τις δέ, μέ τε κτλ.) and any such wordings found are listed as exceptional; this actually makes no difference to the number of "possible" positions, but it clears the ground of such abnormalities and allows easier classification of the normal... δ' ἂν..., ...δέ...ἂν... etc. etc. instances. The latter Rule, XXII, "prohibits" ἂν from directly following ἀλλά, and, within the above-mentioned convention, this means, μήν being a postpositive, that not only ἀλλ' ἂν μήν... but also ἀλλὰ μήν ἂν... is "prohibited", since in both ἂν "directly" follows ἀλλά. Rule XXII also independently "prohibits" ἂν from following μήν, considered as an individual word; if we found any instances of ἀλλὰ μήν ἂν..., each would be twice recorded as an exception to Rule XXII, once under ἀλλά, and once under μήν. (also, any instances of ἀλλ' ἂν μήν... would be twice recorded as exceptions, once under Rule XIV, and once in the ἀλλά section of Rule XXII). The result of all this in R.II.382b is that by the operation of Rules and conventions, there is no "possible" position before ὀρθότατα. After that word, γε is a postpositive; therefore whether we find ἂν γε or γ' ἂν, there is one "position" only between ὀρθότατα and ὁ. The wording ἂν γε would in fact be exceptional under the principle upon which Rule XIV depends; but the actual wording of Rule XIV refers to "connective" postpositives, being intended to apply to postpositives which have been admitted as "introtypes" for classification of normal instances; γε has not been so treated therefore the exceptional nature of ἂν γε has been ignored (if there are any instances, which is unlikely). In R.II 382b, then, up to this point, the wording as we have it gives the only "possible" position for q anywhere before ὁ. Rule VII then "prohibits" it from appearing "within" the relative clause; Rule XV from appearing in the position between ἔλαγον and τοῦτο. In the words which follow, ὡς ἀληθῶς is apparently an articular expression in the adverbial "case" (LSJ ὡς Ab III a.), and q is consequently

"prohibited" by Rule XVIII from following ὡς. And so there are not twelve "possible" positions in this sentence, but only five: (1) the actual wording found (which is therefore an instance of q peninitial), (2) ... τοῦτ' ἄν..., (3) ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄν..., (4) ... ψεῦδος ἄν..., (5) ... καλοῖτο ἄν.

It is intended for the purpose of classifying normal instances deliberately to omit occurrences in which the postpositive is simultaneously in first and last "possible" position, and investigate only those in which there is a "possible" variation in position. The basic type of "first and last" is the Mq type of complete utterance (Dover, p.14); q cannot come earlier because qM is impossible by definition and M...q is impossible because M and q are the only words present. Sentences of this type will be completely ignored, unless they are in some way exceptions to a Rule or instances of Formulaic phraseology; an Mq of Formulaic wording is evidence of some value for the Formula concerned, though less reliable than an instance in a longer sentence. But the main point is that by the operation of the Rules the class of "first and last" instances is enlarged to include others apart from simple Mq; e.g.f. ὄρᾳ αὐτόν, ὄρᾳ με, ὄρῃ ἄν, ὄρᾳ τις, ὄρᾳ τινα are all "first and last" for reasons of definition only; but, as Rules XX, XXI and XXIII "prohibit" αὐτ-, μ- and τις respectively from directly following simple οὐ, then οὐχ ὄρᾳ αὐτόν, οὐχ ὄρᾳ με, κτλ. are also "first and last" through the operation of these Rules; (but since οὐκ ἄν is not exceptional but Formulaic (Ch.III ἄν-Formula nr.1), οὐχ ὄρῃ ἄν, differing from οὐχ ὄρᾳ τις, would be an instance of q Antiformulaic and in second and last possible position). Again, Rule V means virtually that a prepositional phrase is to be treated as a sentence in itself; hence, any instances like πρὸς αὐτόν, πρὸς με, πρὸς τινα are treated as "first and last" and ignored, even though they rarely constitute a complete utterance. Prepositional phrases will be classified as to variation of "possible" positions of q only when longer than the simple pq - e.g.f. πρὸς τινα τῶν βασιλέων, πρὸς τῶν βασιλέων τινα. This applies to all those Rules which define a certain range of the sentence as the "possible" range of a postpositive; and often, when one Rule cuts down the range of possible variation in one way, and another, or others, cuts it down in a different way,

the simultaneous operation of Rules may result in a sentence being "first and last" and consequently ignored for Classification. A certain category of such instances is given in Rules Appendix B, p.2.4.1 ff.

Ch.2, section 1 ctd.

List of Rules

Each Rule has an individual number, but they are arranged in groups according to resemblances in content.

I In those relative clauses where the verb, if present, is in the subjunctive mood, ἄν does not occur except in peninitial position directly after the prepositive relative; e.g. ὅστις ἄν τοῦτ'εἶπη, NOT ὅστις τοῦτ'ἄν εἶπη, ὅστις εἶπη ἄν (contrast ὅς τοῦτ'ἄν εἶποι, where ὅς ἄν..., though frequent, is by no means exclusive). See pp.2.2.1 ff.

Rules II, III, IV, V, and VI deal with the general tendency of postpositives to be placed 'within' clauses or phrases to which they 'belong'.

II Postpositives belonging by sense to a clause introduced by a prepositive relative do not precede that word or come later than directly after the last mobile in that clause; e.g. οὕτως εἶ μοι διαλέγεσθε, εἶ μοι οὕτω διαλέγεσθε, εἰ οὕτω μοι διαλέγεσθε, NOT οὕτω μοι εἰ διαλέγεσθε. See pp.2.2.1 ff.

III When an interrogative word is postponed, ἄν and τις are confined to the part following the interrogative; e.g.f. εἰρήνην δὲ μετὰ πάντα ταῦτα πῶς ἄν ἄχρηστόν τις εἶναι φαίη; NOT εἰρήνην δ' ἄν... See p.2.2.4.

IV When a sentence is broken up midway into members introduced by pre- or post-positive connectives (the first prospective, the other(s) retrospective) postpositives do not precede the beginning of the first unless common to both or all; e.g. καὶ ἐκεῖνων οἱ μὲν ἐβοήθουν αὐτοῖς οἱ δὲ ὄλωσεν ἡμέλουν τοῦ πράγματος,

NOT/

NOT καὶ ἐκεῖνων αὐτοῖς οἱ μὲν... (but οἱ δ' αὐτοῖς ἐβοήθουν τε καὶ ἐτιμῶρουν is regular). See p.2.2.5.

V Postpositives 'belonging' by sense to a prepositional phrase do not precede the preposition or come later than directly after the last word (other than q itself) in the phrase; e.g. ἀφίκοντο δ' εἰς τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν, εἰς δὲ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν ἀφίκοντο, NOT ἀφίκοντο δ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, εἰς δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἀφίκοντο αὐτῶν. See pp.2.2.5 ff.

VI Postpositives belonging by sense to an articular verbal phrase (participial or infinitival) do not precede the article or come later than directly after the last word (other than q itself) in that phrase; e.g. ἤκουσιν οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει αὐτοῦς ἰδόντες, NOT ἤκουσιν αὐτοῦς οἱ..., οἱ...ἰδόντες ἤκουσιν αὐτοῦς - but οἱ ἰδόντες ἐν τῇ πόλει αὐτοῦς ἤκουσι would be regular in relation to this Rule, though it would infringe Rule XXV (V...q within the articular phrase). The criterion of 'belonging' to the articular verbal phrase is to be governed by the verb of the phrase or in agreement or a genitival relation with the element which is governed; elements genitival to the phrase as a whole are excluded: in οἱ ἰδόντες αὐτῶν, ἰδόντες is W, not V, to q, V being the verb of which οἱ ἰδόντες is (in this case) subject. See pp.2.2.9 ff.

Rules VII, VIII, IX and X correspond to II - VI but deal with the converse: postpositives 'belonging' to the sentence at large do not appear 'within' various subordinate groupings.

VII Postpositives belonging by sense to a superordinate clause do not appear within a subordinate clause to which they do not; e.g. εἰάν δὲ μὴ ἐθέλη περθεσθαι, ἀπάγγελον αὐτῷ τὰ ἐφηφισμένα, NOT εἰάν δὲ αὐτῷ μὴ ἐθέλη...ἀπάγγελον... (if the sense is the same). See pp.2.2.10 - 11.

VIII Postpositives belonging by sense to the sentence at large do not appear within special conjunction phrases to which they do not belong; e.g.f. ἐκεῖνός τε με καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλοὶ ἐπήνεσαν, ἐκεῖνός τε καὶ... πολλοὶ ἐπήνεσάν με, NOT ἐκεῖνός τε καὶ με..., ἐκεῖνός τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων με... But obs. that Rule XV has not been applied to conjunction phrases like this. The term 'special conjunction phrase' does not apply to phrases which have or could have a μέν or a prospective τε, but does apply to those which form only part of the sentence and begin with καί, ἀλλά, δέ, κτλ. See also Rules IV and XIII. This Rule applies to cases where two or more verbs are joined by conjunctions but do not constitute a set of separate sentences because there is material common to both or all; a postpositive common to both or all will not appear within the second or later clause. See pp.2.2.11 ff.

IX Postpositives belonging to the sentence at large do not appear within verbal articular phrases (participial or infinitival) to which they do not belong; e.g.f. οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀφικόμενοι ἐπίστευον αὐτοῖς, ἐπίστευον αὐτοῖς οἱ..., NOT οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῖς ἀφικόμενοι ἐπίστευον (if the sense is the same); but in non-verbal articular phrases e.g.f. ὁ κακὸς αὐτὸν λόγος ἐξαπατᾷ would be regular. On relations with the article itself see Rule XVIII. See pp.2.2.14 - 15.

X In a sentence of participial and main clauses, pronominal postpositives belonging exclusively to main by sense do not appear within the participial clause, whether or not there is a common element (other than q itself) to the two clauses; if the participial clause precedes the main, q does not follow an introductory prepositive; e.g.f. παρὼν δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει διέβαλλέ με, παρὼν δ' ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῇ πόλει διέβαλλεν αὐτόν, καὶ παρὼν ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῇ πόλει διέβαλλέ τινας ἡμῶν, NOT παρὼν δέ με..., παρὼν δ' ἐκεῖνος αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει..., καὶ τινας παρὼν ἐκεῖνος... The Rule does not apply to ἄν (παρὼν δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει διαβάλλοι ἄν,

παρῶν δ' ἂν ἐν τῇ πόλει διαβάλλοι would be equally regular) nor to postpositives which are themselves common to participial and main (παρῶν τις ἐν τῇ πόλει διέβαλλέ με, παρόντας αὐτούς ἐν τῇ πόλει διέβαλλεν would be regular); any word which is common to both clauses is counted as part of participial unless it is separated from it by part of main (παρῶν δέ μ' ἐκεῖνος διέβαλλεν, where ἐκεῖνος is common, would count as an exception, just like ἐκεῖνος δέ με παρῶν...), but since Rule XV does not apply to participial clauses both ἐκεῖνος δέ παρῶν με διέβαλλε and παρῶν δ' ἐκεῖνός με... would be regular - cf. Th.I.90.5 ἀσχολίας δέ τινος οὔσης αὐτούς ὑπολειφθῆναι, a type which does not seem sufficiently less frequent than other corresponding word-orders to call exceptional. An introductory prepositive of any kind is conventionally reckoned as part of whatever clause comes first. See pp.2.2.15 ff.

Rules XI, XII and XIII state that postpositives do not occur between pairs of words generally describable as prepositives and quasi-prepositives. Probably there is a general tendency to avoid pqp..., whatever the identities of the prepositives, e.g. εἴ μ' ὁ τοιοῦτος... is avoided in favour of εἰ ὁ τοιοῦτός με... But the Rules have been confined to certain specific situations.

XI Postpositives do not intervene alone between a connective or relative prepositive or quasi-prepositive and an immediately following relative prepositive, neither (1) when belonging by sense to the immediately subordinate clause, nor (2) when to the immediately superordinate; e.g.f. καὶ ἐὰν τις συμβουλεύῃ, ὅπως ἐὰν παρῶσι συγγενώμεθ' αὐτοῖς, NOT καὶ τις ἐὰν..., ὅπως αὐτούς ἐὰν... 'Alone' requires explanation: the Rule does not apply if a mobile, in addition to anything else, comes between prepositives. Likewise 'immediately sub-/super-ordinate': in ἐὰν δ' ὅταν παρῆ μὴ φῆ συνειδέναί αὐτοῖς, ἐλέγξομεν

αὐτόν, the last two words form an absolute apodosis, immediately to the εἰ-clause, but only remotely to ὅταν παρῆ to the latter clause, μὴ φῆ κτλ. is immediately superordinate; there are no cases found corresponding to (in the above sense) εἰ δ' αὐτόν ὅταν παρῆ μὴ φῆ...ἐλέγξομεν - and any which appeared would form a third category in addition to the (1) and (2) of the Rule. Examples of prepositive and quasi-prepositive clusters to which the Rule refers: καὶ εἰ, ἀλλ'ὅτι, ὥσθ'ὅπως, ὅπως εἰ, οὐχ ἵνα, πῶς εἰ. As a result of this Rule, together with Rule XV, the postpositives in a sentence like Pl.Smp.22ld εἰ οἷς...λέγω ἀπεικάζοι τις αὐτόν may be treated as being in first and last 'possible' position, the apodosis being ἀπεικάζοι κτλ., and since εἴ τις οἷς is 'impossible', cases like Smp.22ld have not been listed as Antiformulaic in Ch.III, τις, Formulae 1 - 4 (εἴ τις κτλ.) any cases of εἴ τις οἷς which do occur are superior evidence for the Formula; similarly οὐκ ἂν εἰ. This Rule and Rule II are comparable, both stating that q does not come before a relative prepositive; the situations to which they apply are different, but the two tendencies probably reinforce each other. See pp.2.2.19 ff.

XII Postpositives do not intervene alone between a prepositive or quasi-prepositive and an immediately following negative or interrogative; e.g.f. εἰ μὴ μοι βοηθήσης, εἰ δὲ μὴ μοι..., NOT εἰ μοι μὴ..., εἰ δέ μοι μὴ... Further examples of the prepositive and quasi-prepositive clusters concerned: καὶ μὴ, ἀλλ'οὐ, ὅς οὐ, καὶ πῶς, ἄρ'οὐ. See pp.2.2.22 ff.

XIII Postpositives do not intervene alone between an introductory prepositive and the first word of a sentence-member introduced by a prospective postpositive conjunction; e.g.f. καὶ οὗτος μὲν με ἐπήνεσε ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἔβλαψαν, OR ἐπήνεσέ με, OR ἔβλαψάν με, NOT καὶ με οὗτος μὲν..., although q in this instance is common to both verbs; on the other hand καὶ τότε με οὗτος μὲν κτλ. would be regular, with common q; and the Rule applies equally to postpositives not in common,

though any infringing this Rule would also be exceptions to Rule IV. This Rule (XIII) is similar to XI and XII: expressions like οὗτος μὲν are treated as analogous to a prepositive. But it also forms a group with IV and VIII; IV, VIII and XIII together determine the 'possible' positions in a very frequent type of sentence - where a sentence proceeds some way with common words and then medially divides into members introduced by pro- and retro-spective connectives. A postpositive of common relationship, with the same relation to both members, may come before the first member with the rest of the common words (Rule IV permits), provided it is not thereby in a position like καὶ με οὗτος μὲν... (Rule XIII forbids); or within the first member in the divided part of the sentence (no Rule forbids, and this is probably the most frequent position for a common postpositive); but it does not normally come within the second or a later member (Rule VIII forbids, the second member being a 'special conjunction phrase'); a postpositive belonging by sense to one or other of the members, not common to both, appears within the particular member to which it 'belongs' (Rule IV refers). See pp.2.2.27 ff.

XIV When an introductory postpositive and one of the four under study are directly adjacent, the introductory precedes; e.g.f. ὅστις γὰρ αὐτὸν..., εἰ δέ τις..., νῦν τέ με..., ἤδη οὖν ἄν..., NOT ...αὐτὸν γὰρ..., ...τις δὲ..., ...μέ τε..., ...ἄν οὖν... Alone in this study this Rule deals with relations between one set of postpositives and another, as against those between postpositives and other kinds of word; accordingly it is not grouped with any other Rule. 'Introductory' refers to those postpositives which, unlike the pronouns αὐτ-, μ-, τις and the modal ἄν, keep more strictly to peninitial position, like δέ and γὰρ. The full list of those considered is ἄρα, γὰρ, γοῦν, δέ, δή, δῆτα, οὖν, μὲν, μέντοι, μήν, τε, τοίνυν.

δή has been taken as introductory when in peninitial position and for most purposes ignored when in later positions; for the purposes of this Rule, however, any occurrence of any of these words, in whatever function, adjacent to any of the four under study, has been included. Under δή are included δήποτε, δήπου, δήπουθεν. See pp.2.2.28 ff.

Rules XV, XVI and XVII state that postpositives do not follow directly after certain kinds of material.

XV When a sentence or clause is interrupted or preceded by a subordinate clause or certain kinds of parenthesis, postpositives belonging to the superordinate clause do not follow directly upon the subordinate or parenthesis; e.g.f. ὕστερον δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἀφικόμεθα, συνεγενόμεθα αὐτῷ· νῦν δ' ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, προσέχετε μοι...· "ὕμῖν οὖν," ἔφη, "νοῦν ἂν προσέχειν συμβουλεύσαιμι· -- NOT αὐτῷ συνεγενόμεθα, μοι προσέχετε, ἂν νοῦν προσέχειν. That is, 'intrusive' expressions of these kinds are usually followed by a colon-division (Glossary). As a result of this Rule (often in conjunction with others) many postpositives are in 'first and last possible' position; e.g.f. in the sentence ὅπως μὴ, ἐάν τις παρῆ, ὀφόμεθ' αὐτόν, q is in the only 'possible' position because Rule XII 'forbids' ὅπως αὐτόν μὴ, Rules XX and (in this case) XI forbid μὴ αὐτόν, Rule VII 'forbids' positions between ἐάν and παρῆ (of which there is here only one, τις being q), and Rule XV 'forbids' παρῆ αὐτόν ὀφόμεθα. See p.2.2.33.

XVI Under the conditions mentioned in Rule XV above, postpositives belonging by sense to the subordinate clause or parenthesis are not initial in it; e.g.f. τότε δὲ τί αὐτοῖς δρᾶν προσήκοι διηγήσατο· "ἀληθῶς," φησὶν τις ἴσως, "...· -- NOT τότε δὲ αὐτοῖς τί..., "ἀληθῶς," τις φησὶν... That is, subordinate clauses and 'parenthetic' expressions of the kinds mentioned on Rule XV are usually preceded as well as followed by a colon-division. See p.2.2.38.

XVII When a sentence opens with pqM where p is an article or preposition, q a connective (or similar) word, ἄν and τις do not follow directly upon M, nor directly at the end of the prepositional or articular phrase as a whole if it consists of more than merely pqM; e.g.f. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀληθῶς ἄν φαίη τις ἐθέλειν, οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολὺ μᾶλλον ἄν ἐπίστευσάν τισι..., NOT μετὰ δὲ ταῦτά τις..., οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἄν... In other words expressions of this type are followed by a colon-division so that for ἄν and τις the earliest 'possible' position is pqM/Mq; this does not seem to apply to αὐτ- and μ-, where not only expressions like ὁ δὲ πατήρ αὐτοῦ but others also are against it. Further, with expressions like μετὰ δὲ τούτων τῶν ἀληθῶν λόγων, μετὰ δὲ...λόγων νῦν ἄν βουλομένην τι καὶ ἄλλο λέγειν is preferred to μετὰ δὲ τούτων τῶν ἀληθῶν λόγων ἄν τι..., μετὰ δὲ τούτων ἄν τι... still being avoided; on the other hand perhaps μετὰ δὲ τούτων τῶν ἀληθῶν ἄν λόγων should be regarded as 'possible', but the evidence is sparse. On the Rule as a whole, compare Fraenkelian colon-type C (p.1.1.27). As a result of this Rule, some postpositives are in first and last 'possible' position; in Th.I.101.4 τῆς μὲν γῆς βλάπτειν ἄν τι μέρος and Πλ.Π.10.609δ τὴν μὲν ἄλλου πονηρίαν ἀπολλύναι τι, ἄν and τι in the former and τι in the latter are in earliest 'possible' position by this Rule, while ἄν in the former and τι in the latter are in last 'possible' by Rules XXIV and XXVII; in the former, XXVII would permit μέρος τι, VWq. See p.2.2.39.

Rules XVIII and XIX deal with prepositions and the article.

XVIII The postpositives under study (unlike δέ, γάρ κτλ) do not directly follow the article, neither (1) when belonging by sense entirely without the articular phrase, nor (2) when belonging entirely within that phrase, nor (3) when

belonging both within and without; e.g.f. (1) οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι αὐτοὺς ἀπέκτειναν (NOT οἱ δὲ αὐτοὺς Λακεδαιμόνιοι...), (2) οἱ πολλάκις αὐτοὺς ὀρῶντες, οἱ τὸν πατέρα μου διώκοντες (NOT οἱ αὐτοὺς...ὀρῶντες, οἱ μου τὸν πατέρα...), (3) ὁ πατήρ μου ἐνόσει (NOT ὁ μου πατήρ...). In (3), the articular phrase as a whole is the W-element to q and the main verb is the V-element, so that q belongs both within and without the articular phrase; in οἱ τὸν πατέρα μου διώκοντες ἐπέτρεψαν... (or οἱ ἀνδριάντας τινὰς ποιοῦντες κακοὶ ἦσαν) the V-element to q is the participle, so that q belongs entirely within the articular phrase. This Rule deals with the position directly following the article; distinguish from Rule IX, which excludes postpositives as in (1) above from any position within a participial phrase as in (2) above; neither Rule however forbids e.g.f. αἱ ἐν τῇ στρατοπέδῳ αὐτοὺς νόσοι ἐπέεζον, which remains 'possible'. This Rule distinguishes Attic prose from Ionic: In Herodotus cases like οἱ δὲ σφι βόες...οὐ παρεγίνοντο (1.31.2) are less abnormal. See p.2.2.41.

XIX The postpositives under study (unlike δέ, γάρ κτλ.) do not directly follow a preposition unless 'belonging' to the prepositional phrase, i.e. (1) ἄν not at all, (2) αὐτ- and μ- not unless directly governed by the preposition, (3) τις not unless either directly governed or in agreement or a genitive relation (in either direction) with the element governed; e.g.f. (1) ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἄν ἐξέβαλον αὐτούς, NOT ἐξ ἄν τῆς... (2) λαβόντες τὴν πόλιν καὶ ὀρῶμενοι ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐλήστευον..., ἐχθροὶ εἰσι πρὸς με, BUT πρὸς πολλὰ αὐτῶν οὕτως ἔχουσι, εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν μου φέρουσι τὰ σκεῦη, εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον αὐτοὺς ἀπήγαγον, εἰς ἀνάγκην με ἔβαλες, NOT πρὸς αὐτῶν πολλὰ..., εἰς αὐτοὺς τὸ..., εἰς μ' ἀνάγκην... (3) πρὸς τινας ἐχθρὸν εἶναι, διὰ τινα ἔχθραν φοβεῖσθαι, εἰς τινας τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐν τινος φιλίας (OR δι' ἔχθραν τινά κτλ.) BUT εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδόν τινας ἐδῶξαν, NOT εἰς τινας τὸ... On the other hand (cf. XVIII above) εἰς μεγάλην ἄν μέ τις αὐτῶν ἀνάγκην ἔβαλεν remains

'possible', the Rule referring only to the position directly after the preposition. In cases like ἐξ αὐτῆς, πρὸς με, q is in first and last 'possible' position within the prepositional phrase, and hence ignored in this study, which is not concerned with the position of prepositional phrases within sentences; but prepositional phrases with this grammatical relation are sometimes longer and do give scope for variation: Dem. 59.37 ὡς αὐτὴν ἑταίραν οὔσαν, Θ. 3.37.2 πρὸς ἐπιβουλευόντας αὐτοὺς καὶ... ἀρχομένους, Δημ. 21.31 εἰς Δημοσθένην ὄντα με (= 'against me qua Demosthenes'). (In cases like Th. III.37.2 an ἄν could go with the participles: what would then be the normal or abnormal order is unknown in the absence of such instances.) When q is genitive, cases like εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ are first and last 'possible', and scope for variation is illustrated by Δημ. 27.22 πρὸς τὸν ἄλλον αὐτοῦ τρόπον, Θ. 3.21.3 ἔς τε τὸ ἔσω μέτωπον αὐτοῦ. Obs. that with τις the range of grammatical relations permitting q directly after the preposition is much greater; in general, τις may follow directly if it or its W-element (Glossary) is governed by the preposition. The latter introduces a variety of grammatical relations (as distinct from word-orders), one of which is relatively rare in itself (ἐν τινος φιλ(α)): Θ. 1.106.1 ἔς του χωρίου ἰδιώτου is the only case of its particular set of relations, but since χωρίου τινός as well as ἰδιώτης τις is acceptable as Wq, and in view of 6.16.5 ἐν τινος λαμπρότητι (so that ἔς του χωρίου would be unsurprising), I.106.1 seems not only the standard of normality within its otherwise unrepresented grammatical class but as regular as πρὸς τινὰς τῶν... See p.2.2.43.

In sentences opening with prepositives, peninitial position (pq...) is less common than peninitial position in sentences which are asyndetic or introduced by postpositives (Mq... or Mqq...); this is less true of subordinating than of co-ordi-

nating conjunctions, and in general there is variation according to the identity of prepositive and postpositive. Rules XX - XXIII state that particular postpositives do not directly follow certain particular words, mostly prepositives.

XX The following words are not directly followed by αὐτ-:

ἀλλά (both connective and adverbial, including ἀλλὰ γάρ κτλ.), ἦ, καί (as on ἀλλά), οὐκοῦν, οὐ (including postpositional compounds, such as οὔτε, but not mobile ones like οὐδέεις), μή (as on οὐ), πρίν, ὥστε. The following cases are doubtful through paucity of evidence: πρ probably exceptional - ἦ, καίτοι, τοιγάρτοι less certainly exceptional - ἐπεὶ πρ possibly 'regular' - καίπερ, ὅτε, τοιγαροῦν. See pp.2.2.43 ff.

XXI The following words or expressions are not directly followed by μ-:

ἀλλά (adverbial and ἀλλὰ γάρ κτλ.), ἦ, καί (adverbial), οὐ, οὐδέ, μηδέ, οὔτε, μήτε. (But ἀλλά μ- connective, καί μ- connective, καὶ γάρ μ- κτλ., οὐ γάρ μ- κτλ., οὐδέεις μ-, μή μ-, μή γάρ μ- (?), μηδέεις μ-, appear to be normal.) E.g.f. ἀλλά μοι λέγε, καί μοι δοκεῖ, καὶ γάρ μοι φίλον ἂν εἶη, οὐ γάρ μοι ἀρέσκει, μή μ' ἀτιμάσης, οὐδέεις μ' ἀπατήσει, BUT NOT εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι ἀλλά μοι νῦν γε ἐπίδειξαι, ἀλλὰ γάρ με φῆς ἀδικεῖν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ μοι οὗτος ἀρέσκει, οὐ μ' ὀρᾷ, οὐδέ με πείσεις, κτλ. See pp.2.2.48 ff.

XXII The following words are not followed by ἄν: ἀλλά (at

all), εἰ, ἐπεὶ, εἴτα/ἔπειτα, ἦ, ἦ, καί prospective or connective (i.e. 'both' and 'and'), καίπερ, καίτοι, ὅτι (= 'that'), οὐκοῦν, ὥστε, δῆ, μὴν e.g.f. τοῦτον μὲν κἂν πολίτης ὦν ἐμίσουσιν, πολλάκις δὴ τοῦτο ἂν ἐθέλοι εἰπεῖν, οὐ μὴν τοῦτό γ' ἂν βούλοιο ἀκούειν, BUT NOT ἀλλ' ἄν... (at all), εἰ ἂν κτλ., πολλάκις δὴ ἄν..., οὐ μὴν ἄν... (BUT δῆποτ' ἄν..., δῆπου ἄν... regular). Since this Rule, unlike all others except XIV, makes some statements about relations between postpositives (as distinct from those between a postpositive and a mobile or prepositive), it is worth noting that the convention that

intervention of a postpositive does not constitute separation of a following postpositive from a preceding word will not apply to this type of relation; Dem. 36.11 τὸ δὴ ποτ' ἂν εἴλετο... is not an exception. As a result of this Rule, a sentence like Pl. Ap. 40a ἄ γε δὴ οἰηθείη ἂν τις... has ἂν in first and last 'possible' position (Rules XIV and XXIV also apply, and γε is a postpositive). See p. 2.2.51 ff.

XXIII The following words or expressions are not directly followed by τις: ἀλλά (adverbial and ἀλλὰ γὰρ κτλ.), ἐπεὶ, ἵνα, καὶ (as on ἀλλά), μή (as negative), οὐ, οὐδέ and μηδέ (adverbial), οὐκοῦν. E.g.f. οὐχ οὗτος ἀλλὰ τις σοφός, ἐπεὶ σοφῶν τινῶν ἀκούω..., ἵνα ὕστερον τινῶν ἀκούοι, ἐβούλετο μὴ συγγενέσθαι τισίν ('some', not 'any'), οἷα οὐκ ἴδοι ἂν τις, ὕστερον δὲ οὐδ' ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν τις ἠύρισκετο..., NOT ἀλλὰ γὰρ τις..., ἀλλὰ δὴ τις..., ἐπεὶ τινῶν..., ἵνα τινῶν..., ἔτι δὲ καὶ τις τῶν σοφῶν..., ἐβούλετο μὴ τισὶ δοκεῖν..., οἷα οὐ τις..., ὕστερον δὲ οὐδέ τις... With τις, there is in many cases a sharp phraseological and contextual watershed between the frequent and the rare. While ἀλλά τι and καὶ τις connective are normal (and to some extent Formulaic, Ch. III, τις, nrs. 6 and 7), ἀλλὰ γὰρ τις, ἀλλὰ δὴ τις, καὶ γὰρ τις, καὶ δὴ τις κτλ. and καὶ τις adverbial are exceptional. Again, the following seem Formulaic: μή τις where μή is a prepositive relative (e.g. Pl. Prt. 321a μὴ τι γένος ἀιστωθείη) (Ch. III, τις, nr. 12), μή τις where μή, though a negative, is in peninitial position after a prepositive, as εἰ μή τις, καὶ μή τις, ὅπως μή τις, ἄρα μή τις, (also nr. 12), οὐδέ τις and μηδέ τις connective (nrs. 9a and 11), οὔτε τις and μήτε τις (nrs. 9 and 10), οὐ γὰρ τις (nr. 8) - notwithstanding which, the following seem exceptional: μή τις where μή is both a negative and in initial or medial position, especially the latter, οὐ τις, expressions like οὐ μέντοι τις (other than οὐ γὰρ τις), expressions like μὴ γὰρ τις. See p. 2.2.54.

Rules XXIV - XXVII each state that a given postpositive does not stand later than directly after elements to which it 'belongs'.

XXIV The postpositive ἄν does not stand later than directly after the verb to which it belongs; e.g.f. πολλάκις ἄν τοῦτο γίγνοιτο, πολλάκις μὲν τοῦτ' ἄν γίγνοιτο, πολλάκις μὲν τοῦτο γίγνοιτ' ἄν, τοῦτ' ἄν πολλάκις γίγνοιτο κτλ., NOT ...γίγνοιτο πολλάκις ἄν, ...γίγνοιτο τοῦτ' ἄν.

This tendency was observed by Wackernagel, p.392. It is from that that a similar tendency has been discovered to affect the other postpositives also. See pp.2.2.59 ff.

Preamble to Rules XXV - XXVII There can be no doubt that Rule XXIV is true. Such a Rule is useful in view of the intention to classify postpositives in terms of 'possible positions'; the position following the last relevant verb becomes the last 'possible'; the rest of the sentence may be ignored and any cases of V...q relegated to the category of 'exceptions'. Is it then possible to extend the principle? The wording ὀρώη ἄν νῦν αὐτόν may seem less probable than νῦν ἄν αὐτόν ὀρώη, νῦν ἄν ὀρώη αὐτόν, ὀρώη ἄν αὐτόν νῦν. Investigation in the terms of Rule XXIV produces however a mixed bag of unfavourable instances of which the following is a selection:-

Θ.3.20.1 ἐξηγησαμένων τὴν πείραν αὐτοῖς...; 104.1 ἐκάθηρε μὲν γὰρ καὶ Πεισίστρατος ὁ τύραγνος πρότερον αὐτήν. Πλ.Γργ.453α ἔστιν γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ κεφάλαιον αὐτῆς, 473δ εὐδαιμονέστερος μὲν τοῦν οὐδέποτε ἔσται οὐδέτερος αὐτῶν. Σφ.240δ καὶ τὴν τέχνην εἰναί τινα ἀπατητικὴν αὐτοῦ. N.11.930α εἰάν δ' αἱ ψυχαὶ κυμαίνωσι μειζρόνως αὐτῶν. Πλ.ΙΕ 372ε καὶ μὴ φθονήσης ἰάσασθαι τὴν ψυχὴν μου. Σφ.221δ θηρευτὰ τινε καταφαίνεσθον ἄμφω μοι. Δημ.18.267 παρ' ἅς παράγνωθι καὶ σύ μοι... 55.21 ...μόνοι δικάζεσθαι τετολήμασιν οὗτοί μοι. Πλ.Ευθδ.284γ ποιοῖ γὰρ ἄν ἤδη τι. Φλβ.34ε διφῆ γέ που λέγομεν ἐκάστοτέ τι. Δημ.1.20 λέγουσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς ἄλλοι... 23.35 σὺ γράφεις ἄνευ κρίσεώς τιν' ἀγώγιμον...

The situation in the above list of contrary examples seems quite different from that in ἄν. In word-order, obs. that in Th.III.104.1 αὐτ- is much further deferred from the Vq position than any instance of ἄν listed among the exceptions to Rule XXIV. And as to numbers, αὐτ- has over 600 cases of V...q (as against 35 with ἄν). However, expressions of the type ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ, which occur in the list, prevail sufficiently over other formulations of the same words to be accepted as a Formula (Ch.III, αὐτ-,nr.1); perhaps then the Formula, like οὐκ ἄν under Rule XXIV, generates exceptions to a principle applicable to αὐτ- as to ἄν. But subtraction of the Formulaic instances yet leaves too large a residue of 'exceptions' for acceptance of a Rule that 'αὐτ- does not stand later than directly after its verb'.

In reckoning the 'possible positions' of ἄν, no difficulty was caused by the principle of ignoring grammatical relations (cf. pp.1.1.12 ff., 41, 58), and little in αὐτ- and μ-, but in τις it led to doubts as to the value of the results; consider, for example, on the one hand, Pl.R.IX 588c καὶ ἄλλαι τινὲς συχναὶ λέγονται ξυμπεφυκυῖαι ἰδέαι πολλαὶ εἰς ἔν γενέσθαι, and, on the other, Δημ.15.19 εἰ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν ἡγεῖται/.../ συγκινδυνεύειν τι τὴν παρ' ἡμῶν πολιτείαν. In the former, it is difficult not to feel that there are more 'possible positions' than in the latter and that grammatical relationship has much to do with that. It seemed useful, therefore, to separate τις as 'adjective' from τις as 'pronoun'. This then revealed that the two problems, (a) whether postpositives other than ἄν avoid standing later than directly after verbs, and (b) whether grammatical relationship is of significance in word-order, are related. On setting aside 'adjectival' τις, it is revealed that to the restricted class of instances with no nouns or adjectives in agreement, the principle applies in the same terms as to ἄν. In Pl.Grg. there are 87 instances of τις somewhere before the verb (q(...)V), 25 directly following the verb (Vq), but none

at all later than that. But where $\tau\iota\varsigma$ is in agreement with a noun or adjective, $V\dots\underline{g}$, without qualification, is not an exception: Dem.1.20 above (p.2.1.18) must be regarded as normal. In fact the principle can apply to $\tau\iota\varsigma$ only if we employ a concept of higher generality than 'verb'; we must acknowledge the substantival type of relationship and admit to consideration what we may call Concord: any element which either (a) is in direct agreement with \underline{g} (provided that both have the same relation to the verb, i.e. that one is not subjective or objective while the other is predicative) or (b) is in a genitival relation (in either direction) with \underline{g} . In Dem.1.20 ἄλλου is Concord-element in relation to $\tau\iota\nu\alpha\varsigma$, but in 23.35 (p.2.1.18) there is no Concord-element, ἀγώγιμον being predicative after γράφεις. This concept brings under a single view all relations comprised in ἡ οἰκία αὐτοῦ, πολλοὶ αὐτῶν, ὁ πατήρ μου, ἀνὴρ τις, ἕτερός τις, τῶν ἀνδρῶν τις, κίνδυνός του.

And so the principle is: $\dots\underline{g}(\dots)X$ and $(\dots)X\underline{g}(\dots)$ are normal, but $(\dots)X\dots\underline{g}$ is abnormal, where the X-element is either Verb or Concord or both. Where more than one X-element is present, 'possible' positions are: $\dots\underline{g}(\dots)X\underline{g}(\dots)X\underline{g}(\dots)X\underline{g}(\dots)$ etc., while $(\dots)X\dots\underline{g}(\dots)X\dots\underline{g}$ are exceptional, whether all X-elements are Verb, all Concord, or a mixture of the two. The wordings $\dots\underline{g}(\dots)X(\dots)X$ and $(\dots)X\underline{g}(\dots)X$ are normal in relation to both X-elements; $(\dots)X\dots\underline{g}(\dots)X$ is normal in relation to the second X but exceptional in relation to the earlier. But \underline{g} may stand later than directly after one X-element by being directly subjoined to another later one, giving $X(\dots)X\underline{g}$, hence Dem.1.20 is a normal case of $V(\dots)W\underline{g}$ (see Alphabetical Symbols). Stated in these terms, the principle is applicable to $\tau\iota\varsigma$ the simpler form, Rule XXIV, sufficed for ἄν, which is not involved in substantival relations; it is true also for $\mu-$, where ^{however} Concord-elements are comparatively uncommon. Proof of its application to $\mu-$ and $\tau\iota\varsigma$ is furnished by the figures collected in the corresponding tables in

Appendix A, pp.2.3.20 ff. Thereafter (pp.2.3.6 ff.), collection of the figures for $\alpha\upsilon\tau-$ on the same basis reveals a resemblance in pattern with $\mu-$ and $\tau\iota\zeta$ which prompts acceptance in $\alpha\upsilon\tau-$ also. Hitherto, the relatively large proportion of exceptions in $\alpha\upsilon\tau-$, together with the unacknowledged effect of Concord-elements (not just Formulae), obscured the truth; once Concord-elements are appropriately treated, the remaining unfavourable cases, though fairly numerous, can be treated as exceptions to a genuine Rule. We may now state the Rules:

XXV The postpositive $\alpha\upsilon\tau-$ does not stand later than directly after X. See pp.2.2.60 ff.

XXVI The postpositive $\mu-$ does not stand later than directly after X. See pp.2.2.93 ff.

XXVII The postpositive $\tau\iota\zeta$ does not stand later than directly after X. See pp.2.2.96 ff.

Importance and advantages of this principle. Given that postpositives do not stand later than directly after elements to which, verbally or substantively, they are grammatically related, grammatical relationship may be accepted more readily than hitherto as a determinant of their word-order, in addition to colon-formation, unit-formation, and Formulaism. Thus we find a solution to the problems of pp.1.1.39-57. The problem of the high frequency of Vq in Herodotus and the Attic authors may be met by admitting Vq as a primary phenomenon which varies between authors. Further, the difficulty of investigating relations between postpositives and X- (particularly V-) elements is now simplified; given the definition of 'postpositive' (e.g. p.1.1.41), $\dots q \dots V$ and $\dots qV$ are probably indifferent; now, as between Vq and $V \dots q$, the latter has been cut out by Rule; so now we need not consider on an equal basis $\dots q \dots V$, $\dots qV$, Vq and $V \dots q$, but only $\dots q(\dots)V$ on one hand and Vq on the other.

Again, the admission of substantival relationships on the same basis as verbal offers a way of dealing with sentences like SEG xii.87 (p.1.1.42), καὶ ἡ οὐσία δημοσία ἔστω αὐτοῦ. It is an essential corollary of the principle, that in the presence of a Concord-element both it and \underline{q} have the same grammatical relation to the rest of the sentence. Not only is ἄλλον τινά as a whole the object of the verb in ὄρω ἄλλον τινά, but in πολλοὶ αὐτῶν πάρεισι \underline{q} 'belongs' to the verb as well as to πολλοί. For word-order purposes \underline{q} 'belongs' equally to all X-elements (partitive and possessive genitives seem to be treated identically, though only the latter can be replaced with a possessive dative which 'belongs', in the more conventional sense, to the verb). Hence in SEG xii.87 \underline{q} 'belongs' to ἔστω no less than to ἡ οὐσία' attraction from the W-element to the verb is no more or less justifiable an explanation than the opposite attraction in καὶ δημοσία ἔστω ἡ οὐσία αὐτοῦ. The order actually found is less common than that because expressions like ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ are Formulaic (Ch.III, αὐτ-,nr.1), unlike other $W\underline{q}$, but ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ is not a Rule and departures from it are not exceptional. Exceptional would be ἡ οὐσία δημοσία αὐτοῦ ἔστω or ἡ οὐσία ἔστω δημοσία αὐτοῦ, $W\dots\underline{q}V$ and $WV\dots\underline{q}$ respectively (p.2.1.26 below). See also p.2.1.25. Having established what is exceptional we can proceed by means of the same numerical tables which prove the principle (Appendix A, pp.2.3.1 ff.) to investigate the frequency of the various normal formulations; hence we discover that $X(\dots)X\underline{q}$ is not so common in general as $X\underline{q}(\dots)X$ (see SEG xii.87 above).

The extension of the principle from ἄν to the other three postpositives under study suggests that it may be applicable also to σε, ὑμᾶς κτλ. (see p.1.1.3, 6) and also to the remainder of the 'indefinite' set, to που, ποι, ποθεν, ποτε κτλ. Not only is εἴ ποτε as Formulaic as εἴ τις (Ch.III, τις,nr.1), but ἄλλως πως, like ἄλλος τις is a Concord-relation. Extension of the principle to adverbial expressions like ἄλλοσέ ποι

and μάλλον τι is useful in interpreting sentences like Th. VII.40.3 ...μόλις ποτε ἀντανήγοντο. The first two words could be a fortuitous combination of the form Mq, like νῦν τις. But, given that μάλλον τι and ἄλλως πως are instances not merely of Mq but of Wq, and the information (LSJ μόλις) that μόλις πως is found, it seems probable that μόλις ποτε also is a case of Wq. The analogy of ἄλλος τις then suggests that μόλις πως means 'in a manner which barely escaped failure' and μόλις ποτε 'at a time which...' (ditto), i.e. 'at the eleventh hour', 'at the last possible moment'; cf. Hdt. VI.37.2.

Again, the abnormality of X...q greatly simplifies the intended task of analysing non-Formulaic and non-exceptional postpositives in terms of 'possible position'; all that follows the last X-element (relating to q) may be ignored; hence many complex sentences may be treated as simple, provided that q 'belongs' unambiguously to the earlier verb; e.g.f. καί μοι δοκεῖ βουληθῆναι ἄν, which is inescapably complex relative to ἄν, may be treated relative to μοι as no less simple than καί μοι δοκεῖ τοῦτό γε.

Why is X...q abnormal? The minimal complete utterance which actually involves a postpositive must by definition be Mq. If q is, say, δέ, then the mobile may be almost anything; but if q is one of the postpositives studied, say τις, then the mobile will almost always be an X-element, λέγεταί τι, ὁρῶ τινά, λόγος τις, τῶν ἀνδρῶν τις, for οὗτός τι, νῦν τις, are highly unlikely. In the latter case the postpositive would contribute nothing to the sense and if those mobiles formed an utterance, say as reply to a question, the postpositive would be omitted unless, failing grammatical relationship, it had a Formulaic relationship with the mobile, as is the case in such utterances as οὐκ ἄν, πῶς γάρ ἄν; for 'No' and 'Of course' (Ch.III, ἄν, nrs.1 and 3). These facts make the phrase Xq a primary phenomenon. Such a sentence

both satisfies all the properties of postpositive word-order (p.1.1.7 ff.), including peninitialism (of which it could even be the origin) and also generates a tendency towards the wording Xq , so that it is potentially a basic ingredient of longer sentences. But then, there are other possibilities; with initial X , say V , it may take the form VqM , which still satisfies both the Xq tendency and peninitialism (see lists of such sentences in Appendix B, p.2.4.1 ff.); but with the verb in a later, say final, position (towards which there is a strong tendency) there is a choice between peninitialism, with MqV , and the Xq formulation, with MVq ; but both cannot be satisfied at once. In such a three-word sentence, a further wording remains, VMq ($X...q$), which satisfies neither peninitialism nor the Xq tendency; hence the abnormality of $X...q$, whether X is V or W . The inclination in general is to satisfy one tendency or the other or, if possible, both. The main cause of deferment from peninitial position is probably the tendency to Xq ; with sentences longer than above, other influences, unit- and colon-formation, may operate; the result, sentences like M/MqV and $(MM)qV$, should perhaps be regarded as modified forms of peninitialism, all together standing in contrast to the Xq formulation. Deferment from the Xq position, XMq etc., may also be due to those influences. All this is not to be taken to suggest that Xq is a historically earlier formulation; the evidence of pp.1.1.43 ff. suggests rather the opposite.

But if that evidence of paucity of, followed by increase in, the use of the wording Vq is taken in conjunction with the finding of Moorhouse (pp.89 ff.) that the negative through time comes more often to be placed before the verb, we perhaps find confirmation of the suggestion that Vq is the main cause of postpositive deferment and unit- and colon-formation modified forms of peninitialism. It seems that we are dealing with two sentence-types: $Mq(...)V$ or $pq(...)V$ or $Nq(...)V$ on the one

hand, and (...)NV(...) and/or (...)V_q(...) on the other. The latter could be called 'verb-centred' and could represent an increasing tendency mentally to build up a sentence with the verb (or X-element) as its initial core; so that, instead of N_qMMV we find MMNV_qM..., etc.etc. No attempt has been made here to verify this eleventh-hour hypothesis. Cases of initial X_q... (both W_q... and V_q...) in Thucydides etc. are listed in Appendix B to this chapter; the instances of V_q in Homer and Herodotus listed on pp.1.1.46 and 51 ff. above are not in initial position, for that is a list of deferred postpositives; but it would be interesting if it were discovered that V_q (when not constituting a whole sentence in itself) first appeared in initial position in sentences and appeared in medial position only in historically later works.

Expressions which constitute X-elements. (1) Verbs, V-elements.

More words than are strictly speaking verbs are counted as V-elements or Verbs; which verbs in a complex sentence count as V-elements to q also requires clarification. (a) V_q are: ὄρᾱ τις, ὄρῶ τινά, πιστεύει τινί, ἄπτεται αὐτοῦ, ἀνάγκη αὐτῷ (ὄρᾱν), φίλος μοι (but φίλος μου W_q), σοφώτερος αὐτοῦ. Adjectives and nouns of apparently verbal force are accepted as V-elements as appropriate.

(b) In a complex sentence, verbs which stand in the following relations to q count as V-elements (indicated by underlining, while cases of X...q are illustrated in brackets and marked E): παρῆν ὄρώντων αὐτῶν (ὄρώντων παρῆν αὐτῶν E), ταῦτα ποιήσαντες ἤμαρτον αὐτοῦ (ἤμαρτον ποιήσαντες αὐτοῦ E), ταῦτά τινες ποίησαντες ἀπῆλθον, ...ποίησαντες ἀπῆλθόν τινες, ...ἀπῆλθον ποίησαντές τινες, ἐξιόντα αὐτὸν ἔλαβον, ἔλαβον ἐξιόντ' αὐτόν, ἐξιόντα ἔλαβον αὐτόν, ἐκέλευσέ τις ταῦτα ποιεῖν (ἐκέλευσε ποιεῖν τις E), κελεύω πιστεύειν αὐτοῖς (πιστεύειν κελεύω αὐτοῖς E), ἐκέλευσα αὐτόν παρεῖναι, ἐκέλευσα παρεῖναι αὐτόν, παρεῖναι ἐκέλευσα αὐτόν, δοκεῖ τις παρεῖναι, παρεῖναι δοκεῖ τις, δοκεῖ παρεῖναι τις, (φησὶ) τυγχάνειν με παρόντα κτλ.

According to Rule V, prepositional phrases constitute a separate clause from the rest of the sentence; any V-element is like Th.III.37.2 πρὸς ἐπιβουλεύοντας αὐτοῦς... Exceptions to that Rule (p.2.2.5 ff.) suggest that the phrase has become an integral part of the sentence, as if the substantive were governed directly by the superordinate verb; this produces among others sentences like Th.I.49.5 μέχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου πλεύσαντες αὐτῶν (cf. SEG xii.87, p.2.1.22 above), which is WVq (regular under Rule XXV) if πλεύσαντες is classed as V, W...q (exceptional), if not. But since the majority of prepositional phrases are self-contained, sentences like I.49.5 are listed as exceptions, (Seven) W...q (p.2.2.91 below).

(2) Concord, W-elements. See p.2.1.20 above. But note in addition:- (a) Agreement. Often two or more nouns, adjectives, or both may agree with a single q: Θ.6.27.2 εἴ τις οἴδεν ἄλλο τι ἀσέβημα γινόμενον, 70.1 βροντᾶς τε ἅμα τινᾶς γενέσθαι καὶ ἀστραπᾶς, Πλ.Γργ.458γ ὥστε... προὔργιαίτερόν τι γενέσθαι ἄλλο... In such cases all the agreeing elements have been assigned the status of W-elements, so that καλόν τι καὶ ἀγαθόν, βασιλεύς τις ἢ καὶ ποιμήν, καλός τις λόγος, λόγος τις καλός, would all be classed as Wq(...). This is despite the impression that in such cases not all these elements are on all fours; in a noun-adjective mixture, while καλός τις λόγος and λόγος τις καλός seem indifferent, as also ἔστι δέ τις (...) καλός (...) λόγος and ἔστι δέ τις (...) λόγος (...) καλός, it seems probable that λόγος καλός τις is much less rare than καλός λόγος τις. That could suggest that one element is less of a W-element than the other. (b) The genitival relation. Genitival expressions may occur as part of a larger substantival expression (cf. (a) above); ἄλλος τις τῶν τοιούτων resembles ἄλλος τις τοιοῦτος, and is undoubtedly much the same sort of expression. But λόγος τῶν τοιούτων τις (unlike λόγος καλός τις in (a) above) seems so unlikely as properly to be regarded not as WWq but as W...q, an exception to Rule

XXVII; accordingly genitivals are assigned W-status in relation to g only in the absence of elements in direct (non-predicative) agreement; e.g. in Θ.1.106.1 ἔξ του χωρίου ἰδιώτου, the last word has been classed as a W-element, but not the penultimate, though it would be if ἰδιώτου were absent. There are in fact degrees of proximity in W-relationships. Note also that genitively-related postpositives are taken as having the same verbal relations as the W-element; from that point of view κελύω αὐτόν παρεῖναι and κελύω αὐτοῦ τὸν πατέρα παρεῖναι do not differ; in each, both verbs count as V, giving $V\bar{g}(\dots)V$ and $V\bar{g}WV$.

Synopsis of types of exception in Rules XXV ff. For the various configurations of V, W, and g, both regular and exceptional, and numbers of occurrences, see Appendix A, pp.2.3.1 ff. Under Rules XXV ff. the exceptions are listed under the following main headings. (One) $V\dots\bar{g}$; (Two) $V\dots\bar{g}(\dots)V$; (Three) $W\dots\bar{g}(\dots)V$; (Four) $W(\dots)V\dots\bar{g}$; (Five) $V\dots\bar{g}(\dots)W$; (Six) $V(\dots)W\dots\bar{g}$; (Seven) $W\dots\bar{g}$; (Eight) $W\dots\bar{g}(\dots)W$; (Nine) miscellaneous mixtures. Cases of $V(\dots)V\bar{g}$ and the corresponding exception $V(\dots)V\dots\bar{g}$ have been included in $V\bar{g}$ and $V\dots\bar{g}$; likewise for W-elements - any $X(\dots)X$ receives separate listing only if either (a) g falls between X and X, or (b) the two elements are not both W or both V. For further detail in the classification of exceptions see the separate lists themselves. To Rule XXVI (μ-) there are relatively few exceptions and they are divided so far as necessary into the same classes as those under Rule XXV (αὐτ-); exceptions to Rules XXV and XXVII are classified in much the same way in categories (One) $V\dots\bar{g}$ and (Two) $V\dots\bar{g}(\dots)V$; in the others the classification differs or instances are too few to require division.

Chapter Two: Section Two

Rules and Exceptions

The Rules are arranged (see List of Rules) in groups according to resemblances in content; Rule I stands first and alone in its group. For explanation see p.2.1.6.

Rule I In those relative clauses where the verb, if present, is in the subjunctive mood, ἄν does not occur except in peninitial position directly after the prepositive relative.

Only this Rule asserts that positions other than the peninitial after a prepositive are irregular. It renders negligible any study of variation in 'possible' positions of ἄν in this usage, confined either to the few exceptions or to the word-order of the prepositive relative itself.

Exceptions to Rule I Pl.N. 1,647ε ὅπως πλέον ἄν ἐθέλη τις πεινῆν αὐτοῦ. 5.739γ ὅπου τὸ πάλαι λέγόμενον ἄν γίγνηται. (τ). 8.850α τὸ δὲ ὠνηθὲν ἢ πραθὲν ὅσω πλέον ἄν ἢ καὶ πλεονος ἦ... 11.955ε ὅποτέρῳ τὸ δημόσιον ἄν χρῆσθαι βούληται.

All the exceptions appear to be in Pl.Lg. We should perhaps suspect formulaism on the part of ὅσω πλέον, giving an exception through unit-formation (see p.1.1.23). Lg.VI 767d καὶ ἄριστ' ἄν... φαίνεται διακρίνειν is not so much an exception as an unnecessarily repeated, regularly positioned (Rule XXII) ἄν in a καὶ -clause which continues a preceding conditional relative clause.

The above ends the account of Rule I. Rules II - VI form a single group. See next page.

Rule II Postpositives belonging by sense to a clause introduced by a prepositive relative do not precede that word or come later than directly after the last word in that clause. For explanation see p.2.1.6.

Exceptions to Rule II

(1) Where q, promoted in position, is thereby subjoined to a word belonging to a different clause, the superordinate. Subdivided: (1a), although the word preceding q is formally part of a different clause, explanation in terms of attraction to the Xq formulation seems appropriate (see Rules XXIV ff. and Section Three, Appendix, below); (1b), q appears to be similarly attracted to a verb, but one to which it does not 'belong'; (1c), Formulaism (see Chapter Three) appears to be the cause; (1d), none of these explanations apply. Further subdivision: (--1), q is thereby peninitial in the sentence as a whole; (--2), not so.

(1a1) @.4.80.3 προεἶπον αὐτῶν ὅσοι...ἀξιοῦσι...κρίνεσθαι.

In the above, the relative clause is subject of the infinitive, and since q is genitival to that the sentence is equivalent to προεἶπον αὐτοῦς...κρίνεσθαι, wherein q would count as 'belonging' to both verbs.

(1a2) Πλ.Κρα.417γ ἀλλ' αἰεὶ λφει αὐτῆς ἂν τι ἐπιχειρῆ τέλος ἐγγίγνεσθαι. Φδ.89γ ἀλλ' εὐλαβηθῶμέν τι πάθος μὴ πάθωμεν Π.10.595α τὸ μηδαμῆ παραδέχεσθαι αὐτῆς ὄση μιμητικῆ.

The above are equivalent to VqVWV, VqWV, VqW respectively. In Phd.89c, q is accompanied by a W-element in promotion from the μη-clause, but not subjoined to it; we should perhaps rather think of μη as displaced.

(1β1) Πλ.Π.5.479γ ἔχεις οὖν αὐτοῖς," ..., "ὅ τι χρήσει; (cf. Dem.59.98 below).

(1β2) Δημ.23.199 ἐκεῖνοι, ..οὐκ ἐφηφίσαντο αὐτὸν ἂν τις ἀποκτείνῃ... 59.98 ...οὐκ εἶχον αὐτοῖς ὅ τι χρήσονται

(1γ2) Πλ.Τι.26β, ἐγὼ γὰρ /- / οὐκ ἄν οἶδ' εἰ, δυναμένη... Δημ.45.7 ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτός οὐκ ἂν οἶδ' ὅ τι ἄλλ' εἶχον...

Ti.26b and Dem.45.7 above share even $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ but cf. also Eur. Alc.48 $\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \acute{\omicron}\acute{\iota}\delta'\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\ \pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\sigma\alpha\iota\mu\acute{\iota}\ \sigma\epsilon$. See Chapter Three, $\acute{\alpha}\nu$, Formula 1. A habitual phrase incorporating Formulaic attraction of $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ to an alien $\acute{\omicron}\upsilon$, varied by Euripides metri gratia?

(181) Θ.2.37,3 καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν ὅσοι τε...καίονται. Πλ.Πρτ. 354α οὐκοῦν πάλιν ἄν αὐτοῦς τὸ ἐναντίον εἰ ἐροίμεθα... φαῖεν ἄν; (τ).

Rule XX applies to both of the above. Prt.354a is the only case in (1) where q is remote from its clause and entirely surrounded by elements of the principal clause.

(182) Πλ.Κρα.383β ἐρωτῶ οὐν ^{αὐτὴν} ἐγὼ αὐτῆ πότερον Κρατύλος...ὄνομα (τ) Πρμ.165α ὅτι αἰεὶ αὐτῶν ὅταν τις τι λάβῃ...

(2) q promoted before p is nevertheless preceded by a word of its own clause. Subdivided: (2a), an X-element is present such that either Rule II must be infringed (giving $Xqp...$) or one of Rules XXV and XXVII (q.v., giving Xpq , which is far commoner than Xqp); (2b) others. Subdivided again: (--1) q peninitial in sentence as a whole, (--2) not so. The (2a) instances are further subdivided: (2a-a) Xq is the actual formulation, (2a-b) not so.

(2a1α) Πλ.Π.8.551γ ὄρος αὐτῆς οἷός ἐστιν· 10.612ε ...οὐ λανθάνει) ἐκάτερος αὐτῶν οἷός ἐστιν· N.5.742β ἐκπέμπειν τινὰ ἄν δέη. Δημ.40.56 τὴν δ' ἡλικίαν αὐτῆς εἰ ἴδοιτε.

R.551c and 612e are comparable in the above, but if in the latter we take the subject of λανθάνει as ἐκάτερος and not the whole interrogative clause ἐκάτερος...ἐστιν, the infringement disappears.

(2a1β) Πλ.N.7.800γ δημοσίᾳ γὰρ τινα θυσίαν ὅταν ἀρχὴ τις θύσῃ.

The above would become (2a2a) if q were postponed into the Xq position θυσίαν τινά.

(2a2α) Πλ.Π.9.581α ἄρ' οὐν καὶ τὴν ἡδονῶν αὐτῶν καὶ φιλίας εἰ φαῖμεν εἶναι...

(281) Πλ.Τι.23ε καὶ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῖς ὁ κάλλιστον ἐπράχθη.

In the above, the relative clause αὐτοῖς ὁ...ἐπράχθη is in Concord-relation (see Rules XXIV ff. and Appendix) to τῶν ἔργων, the whole substantive phrase τῶν ἔργων...ἐπράχθη thus being treated as a single unit with q in peninitial position (subject to Rule XX).

(3) q is later than directly after

the last mobile of the subordinate

clause: Δημ.20.123 τὸν ὅς καταλείπεται λέγοντά τι αὐτοῖς.

23.131 οὐχ ὅπως ἀποδώσει χάριν ἐσπούδασεν αὐτῷ. In this category

are two instances only; 20.123 means 'he who says that there is something left for them'. Such interweaving is less uncommon in infinitive clauses, which may have influenced the order here. Such instances infringe also Rules XXIV ff., q.v., esp. XXV, Exceptions, (One) V...q (9), p.2.2.67-8 e.g. Dem.57.67 οἱ καὶ οἱ τινες εἶναι μαρτυροῦσιν αὐτῷ, less rare in Demosthenes than in Thucydides or Plato. That ends the account of exceptions to Rule II.

Rule III When an interrogative word is postponed, ἄν and τις are confined to the part of the sentence following the interrogative.

See p.2.1.6.

Exceptions to Rule III

(1) ἄν Πλ.Ιε 374γ δέξατο δ' ἄν
πότερον...; (= πότερον δ' ἄν

δέξατο...).

(2) τις Πλ.Πλτ.266β πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις
ἕτερον αὐτῷ τι τῶν...εὐδοκί-

μησάντων ἄρα καθορίζμεν; Σφ.238α μὴ ὄντι δέ τι τῶν ὄντων ἄρα ποτε
προσγίγνεσθαι φήσομεν δυνατόν εἶναι;

In (2) above, both cases are from 'late' Plato, both ἄρα, and the first has the interrogative in a particularly late position. On (1) above, when an X-element precedes the interrogative, a conflict necessarily arises between conformity to this Rule and to Rules XXIV and XXVII, which 'forbid' X...q; in general, Xq seems to be preferred to Xq (see Rule XXVII, Exceptions (Three) W...q (...))V (al), inc.Pl.R.V 479a τούτων γὰρ δὴ/-/, "... τῶν πολλῶν καλῶν μῶν τί ἐστὶν ὁ..., p.2.2.102). But this

is perhaps inapplicable to ἄν, for there are no such instances among the much fewer exceptions to Rule XXIV. We should perhaps suspect that this Rule is a secondary result of: (a) the Formulaism of πῶς ἄν κτλ. (Chapter Three, ἄν, Formula 3), (b) the tendency to the order ἄν τις, (c) the general tendency of the verb to appear in the latter part of sentences with postponed interrogatives (cf. Fraenkelian colon type G, Introduction, p.1.1.28 above) - in (1) above the exception is perhaps rather in the order of verb and interrogative than in that of q.

Rule IV When a sentence is broken up midway into members introduced by pre- or post-positive connectives (the first prospective, the other(s) retrospective) postpositives do not precede the beginning of the first unless common to both or all. See p.2.1.6.

Exceptions to Rule IV There are none, given that in Th.VI.31.3 ὅπως αὐτῷ τινὶ εὐπρεπέα τε ἢ ναῦς μάλι- στα προέξει καὶ τῷ ταχυναυτεῖν, τινί does not agree with εὐπρεπέα, but αὐτῷ τινὶ is common to both members, cf. VI.77.2 ἐς αὐτόν τινα. Thus from the point of view of variation among 'possible' positions, only the particular member to which q 'belongs' in this sense need be considered.

Rule V Postpositives 'belonging' by sense to a prepositional phrase do not precede the preposition or come later than directly after the last word (other than q itself) in the phrase.

Exceptions to Rule V These are classified as follows. First, where q is promoted to a position before the preposition; Second, where it is deferred to a position outside the phrase. These are subdivided: (1), words which do not normally 'belong' to the prepositional phrase are treated as if they did, so that the phrase merges with the sentence at large; (2), q remains in contact with words which regularly

'belong' to the prepositional phrase, the preposition being 'postponed' (cf. postponement of interrogatives mentioned on Rule III above). Further subdivision: (a) Xq formulation results; (b) $pq...$ (c) other. The instances of promoted q are further subdivided: (1), thereby peninitial in sentence at large, (2), not so.

- First (1a1) Θ.3.85.2 διεσώθησαν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐς πεντακροσίους. Πλ. Σφ.250β καὶ ἀπιδὼν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν τῆς οὐσίας κοινω-
νίαν.
First (1a2) - Πλ.Θτ.168ε ἐμὲ καὶ σὲ δεῖ...σπουδάσαι αὐτοῦ περὶ
τὸν λόγον.
- Πλ.Φδ.89β εἰώθει γὰρ//παύειν μου εἰς τὰς τρίχας.
Δημ.47.65 οὐδ' ἦδειν εἰσεληλυθότα μου εἰς τὴν
οἰκίαν.

In all the (1a2) cases, q , though not peninitial in the whole sentence, is so in the infinitival/participial phrase - cf. Fraenkelian colon category D (p.11.27). In Appendix A p.2.3.1 ff., postpositives in regular position in prepositional phrases have been considered in relation to elements within that phrase only, but those infringing this Rule in relation to the sentence at large, so that those in (1a1) and (1a2) above would be classed as $Vq(...)W$; on the other hand, e.g.f. παύειν εἰς τὰς τρίχας μου would not appear as VWq , for q would be treated as in 'first and last possible' position in the prepositional phrase, and omitted. In V-W sentences (as distinct from W-V), where q is $\mu-$, VqW considerably outnumbered VWq (unlike $\alpha\upsilon\tau-$, where the numbers are approximately equal); hence the occurrence of instances like those in (1a2) $\mu-$ above is probably due to the influence of the VqW formulation; the $\alpha\upsilon\tau-$ exceptions in (1a1) and (1a2) are relatively much more rare.

- First (1b1) - Πλ.Φδ.109ε εἴ τις αὐτοῦ ἐπ' ἄκρα ἔλθοι· Πλτ.257γ
πρὶν ἂν αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἔλθωμεν. Δημ.13.11
ὅταν αὐτῶν εἰς χρεῖαν ἔλθητε.
- Θ.5.37.2 καὶ εἴ τινα πρὸς ἄλλον δεῖσι. Πλ.Σφ.265δ
καὶ τισιν ἐν τοιοῦτοις εἵδεσιν· N.1.644α ἢ τινα
πρὸς ἰσχυρὸν· 11.920δ ἢ τινος ὑπ' ἀδείκου βιασθεῖς...

In (1b1) αὐτ- above, observe the presence of ἐλθ- in all instances; but suspect also the influence of induction, with εἴ τις, πρὶν ἄν, ὅταν. In (1b1) τις, εἴ τις καὶ τις and ἢ τις are all Formulaic: see τις-Formulae nrs. 1, 5, 6 (Ch.III).

First (1γ1) Πλ.Πρμ.149α τρίτον δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν μέσῳ.

First (1γ2) - Πλ.Φδ.118α ἤδη οὖν σχεδόν τι αὐτοῦ ἦν τὰ περὶ τὸ ἦτρον ψυχόμενα... Φδρ.250β ἀλλὰ οἱ ἀμυδρῶν ὀργάνων μόγις αὐτῶν καὶ ὀλίγοι ἐπὶ τὰς εἰκόνας ἴδοντες... (t).

- Πλ.Θτ.194γ ὅταν μὲν ὁ κηρὸς του ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ...
N.12.952β εἴ τινα φῆμην τινῶν περὶ θέσεως νόμων
...εὐρέν τινας ἔχοντας φράζειν...

In (1c1) above, the only explanation presenting itself seems to be peninitialism in the sentence as a whole; in (1c2), even that is unavailable; in Phd.118a, the order is exceptional only if q 'belongs' strictly to ἦτρον within the prepositional phrase; but it may go with τὰ..., in which case there is no exception. In Phdr.250b, the context suggests that q makes marginally better sense with εἰκόνας than with μόγις καὶ ὀλίγοι, and in that case it is exceptional and to be explained by peninitialism within the phrase μόγις...ἴδοντες, which appears to be preceded by something like a Fraenkelian colon of type C (p.l.1,27). In Tht.194c, perhaps q goes almost as much with 'wax' as with 'head'; in Lg.XII 952b the sense appears to be 'about the passing of some laws'. Now we pass to those in which q is accompanied by other words 'belonging' to the prepositional phrase.

First (2α1) Πλ.Φδ.109α ὁμοίου τινὸς ἐν μέσῳ τεθέν.

First (2α2) Q.1.9.3 καὶ ναυτικοῦ τι ἅμα ἐπὶ πλέον.

The criteria for 'belonging' to a prepositional phrase are: to be governed by the preposition or in agreement or a genitival relation, either direction, with the element which is governed. These conditions are satisfied in the above not only by q but by ναυτικοῦ and ὁμοίου, despite the fact that q agrees with ὁμοίου but not with ναυτικοῦ. We now pass to the Second set of exceptions to Rule V.

Second (1a) - Θ.1.49.5 μέχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου πλεύσαντες αὐτῶν.
 Πλ.Π.6.491α εἰς τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα καθισταμένας αὐτῆς.
 Πλτ.270γ τοῖς ἐντὸς ἡμῖν οἰκοῦσιν αὐτοῦ. Δημ.10.61 πρὸς τὰ
 τεύχη προσβάλλων αὐτῶν(τ) 41.9 ἢ παρὰ τῆς γυναικὸς εἶχον αὐτ-
οῦ(τ). - Πλ.Πρμ.138ε ἢ μήτε ἐντὸς εἶναι τινος μήτε ἔξω
 Πλτ.268δ ...δεῖ καθ' ἑτέραν ὁδὸν πορευθῆναι τινα.
 Τι.50β ...μετ' ἀσφαλείας ἐθέλει δέχεσθαι τινος. Ν.3,696β παρὰ
 θεοῦ διεμαντεύσατό τινος. 7.808α ὑπὸ θεραπευτῶν ἐγείρεσθαι
τινων. 8.850β πρὸς εὐεργεσίαν τῆς πόλεως γεγονέναι τινα ἱκανήν.

The majority of the instances in (1a) above have q attracted into the position WVq and these are so classed in Appendix A to this chapter - though q in regular position (e.g.f. μέχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου αὐτῶν) would be classed as Wq, verbs outside the prepositional phrase being ignored, or as WqW, and cases of 'first and last possible' position omitted. ∴ Πλτ.270c (αὐτ-) and Πρμ.138e (τις) on the other hand are the only instances in the Rule V exceptions in which q is directly and uniquely governed by the 'preposition' and has no W-element; it is interesting that both have ἐντὸς as the 'preposition'. In Lg.VIII 850b (τις) it is possibly rather the verb which is 'irregularly' inserted into the prepositional phrase than q which is irregular. Since it is doubtful whether the verb in such cases should or should not count as V in relation to q, the WVq instances above are listed again under W...q in the exceptions to Rules XXV and XXVII.

Second (1b) Πλ.Κρα.407δ περὶ δὲ ἄλλων εἶ τινων βούλει(τ).

Second (1γ) Πλ.Τι.52γ ...ἐν ἑτέρῳ προσήκει τινὶ γίνεσθαι.
 Δημ.59.41 ἐπὶ προσχήματος ἤδη τινός οὔσα.

Cra.407d seems to be a hybrid of εἶ δὲ περὶ ἄλλων τινῶν βούλει and περὶ δὲ ἄλλων ὄντινων βούλει, influenced by the Formula εἶ τις (Ch.III, τις, Formula nr. 1). In Τι.52c, if verbs outside the prepositional phrase are to be considered as V-elements, γίνεσθαι is V but not προσήκει. All three instances in (1b) and (1c) are listed again among the exceptions to Rule XXVII, Seven, W...q, p.2.2.109 below.

By definition, there are in the Second list, no instances

of the type labelled (2a-) in the First list, for in the positions following the preposition q accompanied by a word to which it 'belongs' is regular; nor are there any other cases of (2--) in the Second list.

Overall on Rule V, observe that while μ - forms a fair proportion of the exceptions under First (1a-) (i.e. VqW), it is unrepresented in the Second list, and there it is typically $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau$ - and $\tau\iota\varsigma$ which are involved in exceptions of the WVq type, (1a) - despite the fact that in $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau$ - (see Appendix A to this chapter) WVq is a minority formulation by comparison with WqV . That ends the account of Rule V exceptions.

Rule VI Postpositives belonging by sense to an articular verbal phrase (participial or infinitival) do not precede the article or come later than directly after the last word (other than q itself) in that phrase. See p.2.1.7.

Exceptions to Rule VI The few that occur fit into the same classification as that used for Rule V above.

First (1c1) Πλ.Γργ.521δ πανηρός τις μ' ἔσται ὁ εἰσάγων· Φδρ. 232γ πολλά γὰρ αὐτούς ἔστι τὰ λυποῦντα(τ). Δημ. 47.55 καὶ οὐκ ἦν αὐτόν ὁ θρέφων· 59.1 πολλά με τὰ παρακαλοῦντα ἦν/-/. (2a1) Πλ.N.12.941γ μικρόν τι γὰρ ὁ κλέπτων...(τ).

In the First list of exceptions to Rule VI, all have q peninitial in the sentence at large; in contrast to Rule V above, Xq formulation is not a ^{major} cause of the infringement, and occurs, in the form of Wq , only in the case of 'postponed article', (2a1), which infringes also Rule XIV, and in which μικρόν τι is a case of $\tau\iota\varsigma$ -Formula nr.24. We now pass to the only case of infringement through deferment:

Second (1c) Πλ.Μνξ.249ε ὅστις σοὶ ὁ εἰπὼν ἔστιν αὐτόν.

This last above, like the majority in the First list,

has the infringement in association with a predication of the articular phrase by means of εἶναι. There seems to be no exception in which the articular phrase is infinitival.

Rule VII Postpositives belonging by sense to a superordinate clause do not appear within a subordinate clause to which they do not belong. See p.2.1.7.

Exceptions to Rule VII The exceptions are few; in all, q is τι and is object of the superordinate clause, and the subordinate is a relative clause in genitival relation to q. The exceptions are classed as follows: (1--) the above is true with no further complication, (2--) there is in addition some superfluity of expression; (-a-) the relative clause precedes, (-b-) the superordinate precedes, (-c-) the superordinate is 'understood'; (--1) q is peninitial in the relative clause, (--2) not so; obs. that (-a1) implies q peninitial in the sentence as a whole, subject to other Rules.

(1a1) Πλ.Ευθδ.277α οὐκοῦν ὦν τι σὺ ἐπίστασαι, "... , "ἀποστοματίζεις;

(1β1) Πλ.Θτ.188α ...δοξάζειν ἢ ὦν τι οἶδεν ἢ μὴ οἶδεν.

(1γ1) Πλ.Θτ.192α ὦν τι μὴ αἰσθάνεται.

(1γ2) Δημ.25.77 ὦν ὁ πατήρ τι πεπορήμε/;/.

ὦν τι... (cf. perh. the Herodotean τῶν τις...) may be a formula deriving from a state in which q belonging to the main clause took peninitial position in the sentence as a whole at the cost of standing within the relative clause, that normally preceding the main: cf. Howorth on ὅς ἄν... (see Bibliography). In Dem. 25.77 the peninitial position would produce a tribrach, τι ὁ πα-, with hiatus. In the following, there is an element of superfluity:

(2a2) Δημ.20.117 ...δεῖξαι...ὦν ἔδοσαν τῷ τι, τοῦτ'ἀφηρημένους, 120 ὅταν ὦν ἐδώκατέ τῷ πρότερόν τι, τοῦτ'ἀφέλησθε.

(2β1) Δημ.24.123 ἢ ἄλλο τι ποιῆ ὧν τι νόμοι ἀπαγορεύουσι(τ).

In (2α2) above, τοῦτο in both cases superfluously repeats the sense of q; but if it were omitted, nothing would distinguish the wording from q initial in the main clause, an infringement of Rule XV. In Dem.24.123, q appears to repeat the previous τι, but may be a textual error of the Budé editors or even a misprint; οἱ νόμοι, the reading of most editions, seems the right sense.

It is possible that all the ὧν τι instances, though exceptional according to the wording of the Rule, may be less rare than the precisely corresponding 'regular' wording, ἀποστοματίζει τι ὧν..., as ἔστιν ὅστις is formulaically normal, not ἔστιν τις ὅς.

Rule VIII Postpositives belonging by sense to the sentence at large do not appear within special conjunction phrases to which they do not belong. See p.2.1.8.

Exceptions to Rule VIII These have been divided as follows.

(1--), there is a single verb common to both parts of the sentence; (2--), each part has its own verb. (1--) and (2--) are then subdivided in different ways: (1a-) by the infringement q is significantly nearer than otherwise to the verb to which it 'belongs'; (1b-), not so; (2x-), the first verb could be omitted without much affecting the sense, so that q is close to the verb which could function in common; (2y-), not so, for the verbs have an important distinction in sense; at this point an asterisk * denotes a case of superfluously repeated q. All instances may be further subdivided: (--1), X_q formulation results, (--2) Formulaic wording (see Chapter III) results, (--3) other cases.

(1α*1) Δημ.55.17 ...τίς, ἀν...τὸ...ὑδωρ εἰς τὸ χωρίον ἢ τὴν οἰκίαν ὃ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔν τὴν αὐτοῦ;

As in a number of cases, not only q in the above but also the common verb is 'irregularly' positioned within the phrase; but the exception is apparent only, for the special phrase virtually ends with the noun, αὐτοῦ going in sense also with χωρίον.

(1α2) Πλ.Θτ.163α ἀλλ' οὐ δίκαιον/---/οὔτε σὺ οὔτ' ἄν ἡμεῖς φαίμεν· N.12.958ε ...μήτε ζῶν μήτε τις ἀποθανῶν στερείτω...

(1α*2) Θ.2.41,1 ...λέγω...ἐπὶ πλεῖστ' ἄν εἶδη καὶ μετὰ χαρίτων μάλιστα ἄν εὐτραπέλωσ...παρέχεσθαι.

(1α3) Πλ.Λυ.214ε ὅτι οὖν ὅμοιον ὄψοιεν ὁμοίῳ τίνα ὠφελίαν ἔχειν ἢ τίνα βλάβην ἄν ποιῆσαι δύναίτο; Φδρ.276γ ...τὰ μὲν σπουδῇ τὰ δὲ ὡς ἐτέρως ἄν//ποιοῦ. N.2.668α οὐ γάρ//τό γε ἴσον ἴσον οὐδὲ τὸ συμμετρον ἄν εἴη τὸ συμμετρον ὅλως 5.738ε οὔτ' ἄν τιμῆς τῆς ἀξίας οὔτ' .../οὔτε δίκης, ποτὲ τις ἄν τῆς προσηκούσης ὀρθῶς τυγχάνοι 7.800γ ἀρ οὐκ (ἄν φαίμεν) ἀθυμῶν...πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄν οἰκειοῖς φθέγγοιτο... 10.892β τὰ δὲ...ὕστερα καὶ ἀρχόμενα ἄν ἐκ τέχνης εἴη Δημ.1.7 σφαλεροὶ σύμμαχοι καὶ μέτροι του ταῦτ' ἄν ἐγνωκότες ἦσαν ἴσως.

Ly.214e above is not classed as (2--) because q goes with the common verb δύναίτο· nevertheless the first infinitive could be omitted and that would make ποιῆσαι common and so put q in 'regular' position; Rule XV does not apply to co-ordinated and disjunctive phrases; yet the motive for not having q earlier in the sentence is probably proximity to the common verb. In Phdr.276c, the subordinate clause which precedes the common verb puts q in the special phrase, though final in it. It seems to be merely considerations of rhythm and style that determine whether the common verb accompanies q within the special phrase (as in Lg.II 668a) or is put in the 'regular' common position (as in X 892b, Dem.1.7); in either case, the motivation for the position of q seems to be proximity to the verb; this may well be so even for the Formulaic cases (1α2) (though in (1α*2) the Formulaism is probably the main motive), since with οὔτε...οὔτε..., Formulaism would be satisfied with the 'regular' order, i.e. in the first clause; with τις, on the other hand, unlike ἄν, μήτε τις, whether with or without the (usual) repetition of q, tends to suggest a different reference

of the pronoun in the different clauses, so that *τις* when common to both rarely appears as *μήτε τις* even within the first clause, though that would be 'regular' according to this Rule.

(1a*3) Πλ.Ν.5.738ε οὐτ' ἄν.../οὔτε.../οὔτε δέκης ποτέ τις ἄν τῆς προσηκούσης ὀρθῶς τυγχάνοι.

The above is listed twice because ἄν, unlike *τις*, is superfluously repeated.

(1b*2) Πλ.Γργ.475ε ὅτι οὐτ' ἄν ἐγὼ οὐτ' ἄν σὺ οὔτε.../δέξαιτ' ἄν...

(1β3) Πλ.Π.8.580α ὅτι ἀνάγκη καὶ εἶναι, καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον γίνεσθαι αὐτῷ ἢ πρότερον διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν φθονεῖν...

The preceding is classed as (1--), not (2--), because formally the common verb is ἀνάγκη, governing *q* in the dative; but in sense αὐτῷ = αὐτόν, subject of both infinitives; that would class as (2x3), and proximity to the verb is unlikely to motivate the infringement, for that would be satisfied by the 'regular' εἶναι αὐτόν' but the position of *q* is not the only oddity of word-order in this sentence.

(2x1) Δημ.27.55 ὅτι οὐτ' ἄν τάλλ' ἐπέτρεπεν οὐτ' ἄν ταῦθ' οὕτω καταλείπων αὐτοῖς ἔπραξε.

Separate verbs with *q* in common; but the main distinction is οὔτε τάλλα οὔτε ταῦτα, the sense of which could be expressed with a common verb; if the first were omitted, *q* would be regular in position.

(2y2) Πλ.Τι.33δ αἷς οὔτε λαβεῖν οὔτε αὐτὴν ἀμύνασθαι χρεῖα τις ἦν.

(2y3) Πλ.Τι.45γ ὥστε τὸ μὲν ἄλλο//στέγειν πᾶν, τὸ τοιοῦτον δὲ μόνον αὐτὸ καθαρὸν διηθεῖν N.7.802δ ...μισοῖ καὶ ἀνελεύθερον αὐτὴν προσαγορεύει.

In *Ti.45c* above, *q* appears to be the common subject of both infinitives.

For the Formulae involved in the instances marked (--2) see Chapter III as follows: ἄν, οὐκ ἄν 1, μάλιστα ἄν 12 τις, οὔτε τις 9, μήτε τις 10. This ends the account of Rule VIII.

Rule IX Postpositives belonging to the sentence at large do not appear within verbal articular phrases (participial or infinitival) to which they do not belong. See p.2.1.8.

Exceptions to Rule IX First, infinitival phrases:

Πλ.Απ.39δ εἰ...οἴεσθε...ἐπιση-
σειν τοῦ ὀνειδίζειν τινὰ ὑμῖν ὅτι... N.9.875β εἰάν ἄρα
καὶ τὸ γινῶναι τινος ὅτι.../λάβη.

In both of the above the ὅτι-clause is the object of the articular infinitive and so part of the articular phrase; in Ap.39d g is in grammar purely the object of the superordinate verb, but the infringement could be due to adopting word-order suited to τὸ ὀνειδίζειν, in which g would be the subject of the articular infinitive.

Second, participial phrases:-

(1) g is in a genitival relation to

the whole of the articular phrase:

Πλ.Γργ.451β ὅτι τῶν διὰ λόγου τινος τὸ κῦρος ἔχουσῶν Δημ.
14.6 ἀλλ'...ἐνδέχεσθαι μοι δοκεῖ τῶν ἰδίᾳ τινος συμφερόντων
διοικουμένων... 20.133 ἀλλ'εἰ διὰ τοῦτον πάλιν καὶ τῶν ἐκείνω
τινος δοθέντων ἀφέλονται, 146 ἐν ἧ τοῦτ' ἐνεστί τὸ τῆς ἀτελείας
τῶν ἐκείνω τινος δοθέντων 24.2 ἵνα τῶν πολλῶν χρόνον ὑμᾶς τινος
ἐκκαρπωμένων...καταθῶσιν.

In Grg.451b the ὅτι-clause constitutes the whole of an utterance, the verb of which g is the subject being supplied from the context; this leaves only two 'possible' positions for g, ὅτι τις τῶν... and ...ἔχουσῶν τινος, the former of which would be cacophonous (and in any case ὅτι τις is comparatively rare) and the latter of which would be a very late position for g in Plato. Cf. Tht.192a ὧν τι μὴ αἰσθάνεται, for the occurrence of g in a similar expression with the governing verb omitted, Rule VII, (1a1), p.2.2.10 above. This class is in general comparable with the exceptions to Rule VII. If g were in a genitival relation to a particular element in the articular phrase (e.g.f. οἱ τοῦς ὑεῖς αὐτῶν διώκοντες, οἱ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινος διώκοντες) the participle would be the V-element to g; but with g in such a relation to the phrase as

a whole, the V-element to q is the superordinate verb, ἀφέλονται in the case of 20.133 above, which is to be classed not as WqV (where participle is V) but as WqWV (where participle is W); cf. Appendix A. Observe both here and under Rule VII the large proportion of Demosthenic exceptions, and in particular speeches 20 and 24, especially the former; counting Rules VII and IX together we have four exceptions from 20 with τι appearing within a phrase genitival to it; here as in VII τοῦτο is involved, and in 20.146, following the pattern of 133, as 120 follows that of 117, τῶν ἐκεῖνω τι δοθέντων seems formulaically extended into a context where q is grammatically functionless and dispensable in sense; on that cf. again Tht.192a, which follows the pattern of 188a.

Second ctd., (2) the rest:

Πλ. N.4, 722ε οἱ τέ
γε δὴ διπλοῖ ἔδοξαν νυνδὴ μοι λεχθέντες νόμοι οὐκ εἶναι ἀπλῶς
...διπλοῖ. Δημ. 3.24 ὑπήκουε δ' ὁ ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἔχων αὐ-
τὸ ἴς βασιλεύς 23.62 ὅταν... πάντα τὰναντία τῶν ἐν τοῖς
νόμοις τῆς γεγραμμένων γράφῃ.

On Lg.IV 722ε, cf. Rule VII (1a*1) and thereon, p.2.1.11-12; the sentence appears to mean οἱ νυνδὴ διπλοῖ λεχθέντες νόμοι οὐ μοι ἔδοξαν εἶναι ἀπλῶς...διπλοῖ. Similarly in Dem.3.24 q appears to belong to the main verb. That ends the account of Rule IX.

Rule X In a sentence of participial and main clauses, pronominal postpositives belonging exclusively to main by sense do not appear within the participial clause, whether or not there is an element (other than q itself) common to the two clauses; if the participial clause precedes the main, q does not follow an introductory prepositive. See p.2.1.8.

Exceptions to Rule X These are divided as follows. (1---), exceptions which are possibly apparent only, due to difficulties in operating the conventions; (2---), possibly more genuine exceptions. Both then subdivide: (-a---)

(-a--) either there is no element in common (K) to participial and main or K follows main, (-b--) K is present and in contact with the participial clause. (-a--) and (-b--) then subdivide differently: (-ai-) the participial clause consists of one word only, apart from any prepositive, viz. the participle, (-aai-) of more than one word; (-bx-) the order is K-ptc, (-by-) the order is ptc-K. All then are finally classed: (---1) the 'exception' is caused by the formulation pq..., (---2) by a Formula (see Chapter III), (---3) others. In (-b--) sentences, cases where the participial clause, apart from K, consists of one word only, are separately listed as (-b--)(i). The conventions which cause trouble are those of taking K and an introductory prepositive as part of the participial clause, and it is perhaps hardly surprising that this is so, especially (in the case of the prepositive) when the participial 'clause' consists of the participle only.

(1ai1) Πλ.Ευθδ.299β ἔάν τις αὐτῷ τριψαξ ἐγμεράση ἔλλεβδρου ἄμαξαν. Δημ.17.1 εἰπερ αὐτὸ πεπεισμένοι ποιοῦσι.
47.30 ὅποτε αὐτὸν ἠκων ἀπαιτοῖην.

In Euthd.299b, τις is common to both verbs and immune from the Rule; ἔλλεβδρου ἄμαξαν is beyond main and may be ignored on the grounds of Rule XXV; but αὐτῷ appears to belong to main only and is therefore exceptional if we accept the conventions in such cases; in this instance the wording is possibly the result of 'induction' following the Formulaic ἔάν τις. From the Demosthenic instances it seems likely that single-word participial 'clauses' are not 'clauses' at all but adverbial to main and to be treated like any other mobile.

(1ai1) Πλ.Σφ.259γ ὅταν τέ τις ἕτερόν ὄν πη ταύτων εἶναι
φῆ' Τλ.85δ ἄς ὅταν τις καὶ θεθνεῶτος αἵματος...
συναγάγη, 88δ ὅταν μὲν τις ἠσυχίαν ἄγον... παραδιδῶ.

Perhaps these are more nearly genuine exceptions; ὅταν τις, though not admitted as a Formula in Chapter III, is a very common expression and could be the cause of an exception.

(1bx1) Θ.4.5.1 καὶ τὶ καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ στρατὸς...ὧν ἐπέσχευ(τ). Πλ.Π.8.525δ ἐάν τις αὐτῆ ὁρατὰ...ἔχοντας...προτεινόμενος διαλέγεται. Δημ.28.30 ἐπειδὴ μ οὔτοι συγγενεῖς ὄντες οὐκ ἠλέησαν (τ).

In Th.IV.5.1 both postpositives go with main, τὶ adverbially; καὶ αὐτοὺς infringes Rule XX, and καὶ τὶ καὶ is an instance of a formulaic expression (not admitted to Chapter III) which also produces exceptions to Rule XXIII (though this is not one of them). In R.VIII 525d, the position of αὐτῆ may be due to induction; for τις see (1bx2). In Dem.28.30 the order found avoids hiatus in ἐπειδὴ οὔτοι.

(1bx1)(i) Θ.8.1.1 ὅποσοι τὶ τότε αὐτοὺς θειάσαντες ἐπήλπιθεν ἔδεισεν... Πλ.Θτ.166α ἐπειδὴ αὐτῷ παιδὸν τι ἐρωτηθῆν ἔδεισεν...

In Th.VIII.1.1 ὅποσοι is both p and K; but τότε seems to go with main only and the participle to be adverbial (cf. on (1a11) above) so that there is no participle 'clause' at all; for αὐτοὺς see (1bx3) below. In Tht.166α, τὶ is common but αὐτῷ belongs to main only; K (παιδὸν τι) and the participle do seem to form a phrase though these are the only constituents.

(1bx2) Πλ.Π.8.525δ ἐάν τις αὐτῆ ὁρατὰ...ἔχοντας προτεινόμενος διαλέγεται.

Here τις belongs to προτεινόμενος διαλέγεται but not to ἔχοντας: ἐάν τις is not only pq but Formulaic (Ch.III, τις, 3).

(1bx3) Θ.2.94.3 ὅτι καὶ αἱ νῆες αὐτοὺς ...καθελκυσθεῖσαι...ἐφόβουν 3.111.4 καὶ Σαλύνθιος αὐτοὺς ...ὧν ὑπεδέξατο 4.78.6 οἱ δὲ Περραιβοὶ αὐτοὺς ...ὄντες...κατέστησαν... 7.78.6 καὶ οἱ τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ Συμμάχων αὐτοὺς ἐπιπῆς καὶ ἀκοντισταὶ ὄντες πολλοὶ...ἐκώλυον... Πλ.Π.3.388δ σχολῆ ἂν ἑαυτὸν γέ τις ἀνθρώπον ὄντα ἀνάξιον ἠγήσαιτο... 414ε καὶ ἡ γῆ αὐτοὺς μήτηρ οὔσα ἀνῆκεν Πλτ.279α τί δῆτα παράδειγμά τις ἂν ἔχον...παραθέμενος εὖροι... Δημ.41.18 ὡστ' οὐκέτι ὁ Πολύευκτος αὐτὰ πεισθεῖς ἐμοὶ κατεχαρίζετο...

In the above, the convention of taking K and the participial clause as an undivided whole seems to break down; in Th.

VII.78.6, q falls within K, a particularly long expression in this case, something which would not count as an exception in the absence of a participle; in the other Thucydidean instances, q intervenes between K and the participial clause (cf. R. III 414e); in all, the clause is an adjunct to a basically substantive expression, and resembles a relative clause.

(1bx3)(i) ©.8.1.1 ὅποσοι τι τότε αὐτοὺς θείσαντες ἐπ-
ήλπισαν. Πλ.Ν.4.719δ εἰ μὲν γυνή μοι διαφέρουσα
εἶη πλούτῳ. Δημ.39.20 ἦν ὁ πατήρ αὐτὸν ἀναγκασθεὶς
ἐποιήσατο 41.22 καὶ οὐ μόνον ὁ Πολύευκτος αὐτὰ ἀποθνή-
σκων ἐνεκεκλήκει (τ).

On Th.VIII.1.1 see (1bx1)(i) above; it is repeated here because αὐτοὺς is not in the order pq. In Lg.IV 719d, πλούτῳ belongs to the participle, but its position beyond the main verb means that under Rule XXVI it can be ignored in relation to q. On Dem. 41.22, cf. 41.18, (1bx3) above. In general, see on (1a11) above.

(1by2) Πλ.Ν.11.931γ μὴ δὴ τις ἀτιμαζομένῳ μὲν...πατρὶ...
ἡγεῖσθω γίγνεσθαι...

(1by2)(i) Πλ.Π.8.558β εἰ μὴ τις ὑπερβεβλημένην φύσιν ἔχοι.

On the Formulae μὴ τις and εἰ μὴ τις see Ch.III, τις, Formula nr. 12. Lg.IV 931c is not in fact listed under Formula 12 because μὴ is grammatically a negative (verb ἡγεῖσθω) so that the sentence infringes Rule XXIII, but it seems likely that that infringement is due to the influence of the Formula; it also infringes Rule XIII; it therefore seems possible that this is one of the more genuine exceptions to the present Rule; it may therefore be significant that εἰ μὴ τις is found in R.VIII 558b, so similarly classified; but the impression of a genuine exception is there lessened by the fact that the participle is used as a mere adjective.

We now come to cases which do not depend on the conventions:

(2bx3) Πλ.Σφ.219β ὅπερ ἂν μὴ πρότερόν τις ὄν ὕστερον...ἄγῃ.

(2by3) Δημ.2.8 ἡνίχ' ἕκαστοι συμφέρον αὐτὸν ἑαυτοῖς ὄν-
οντό τι πράξειν.

In Sph.219b, K is ὅπερ, in Dem.2.8, τι. In both, q ap-
pears within the participial clause, in the narrow sense, it-
self; it is remarkable that there are so few such instances.

Few also are exceptions (real or apparent) classed (--y-),
where a common element appears in the order ptc-K-main; per-
haps in that order the convention of taking K and the partici-
pial clause, where possible, as a single whole corresponds more
closely to reality. That ends the account of Rule X.

Rule XI Postpositives do not intervene alone between a connec-
tive or relative prepositive or a quasi-prepositive
and an immediately following relative prepositive, neither (1)
when belonging by sense to the immediately subordinate clause,
nor (2) when to the immediately superordinate. See p.2.1.9.

Exceptions to Rule XI (1) q is part of the subordinate:
Πλ.Χρμ.153α καὶ με ὡς εἶδον
εἰσιόντα... Γργ.506β καὶ με ἔαν ἐξελέγχης.

These are the only exceptions in this category, both of
them with καὶ με and from 'early Plato'.

(2) q is part of the superordi-
nate. Most exceptions are
with ἄν and require subdivision; first, the other cases.

αὐτ- Θ.3.75.4 καὶ αὐτῶν τινὰς/οἷς.../εἰ.../διέφθειραν ἄν· 7.
16.1 ἀλλ' αὐτῶ/ἕως ἄν...ἀφίκωνται/...προσείλοντο..., 80.3
καὶ αὐτοῖς/οἶον φιλεῖ.../ἐμπέπτει... Δημ.46.23 οὐκοῦν αὐ-
τόν/εἶπερ.../λαχεῖν ἔδει...

καὶ αὐτ-, ἀλλ' αὐτ- and οὐκοῦν αὐτ- infringe also Rule
XX, but the first is relatively common in Thucydides.

μ- Πλ.ΙΕ 366ε καὶ μοι/ὥσπερ τὰ πρότερα/...ἀποκρίναι· Ευθδ.
278γ ἵνα μοι/δ ὑπέσχοντο/ἀποδώσιν· ΙΜ 289δ εἰ μοι/ἄπερ
νῦν/ἀπεκρίνω ἄρα· Φδ.105β καὶ μὴ μοι/δ ἄν ἐρωτῶ/ἀποκρίνου (t).

In the above, μ-, instances, the content of the relative
clause is either verbless or the object of the main verb, and

so perhaps not felt as a clause at all.

τις θ.1.102.3 μή τι/ἦν παραμείνωσι/...νεωτερόσωσι* 3.75.4 καὶ
αὐτῶν τινας/οἷς ἐπέτυχον//διέφθειραν ἄν* 6.89.3 ἢ εἰ τις
διδότι... Δημ.24.213 εἰ τις δ...* 25.30 εἰ τις ἐξ ὧν...
39.3 μή τις οἷ' ὑπὸ πολιτευομένου...

εἰ τις and μή τις are Formulae: Ch.III, τις, Formulae nos. 1 and 12.

Rule XI is perhaps mainly dependent on a formulaic attraction between prepositives, ἀλλ' εἰ... tending to prevent ἀλλὰ μ' εἰ... if so, then possibly exceptions occur either when the prepositive combination is rare and so not formulaic or when q itself is involved in a formula, giving cases like, on the one hand, ἵνα μοι δ... or, on the other, εἰ τις δ...

Formulae are particularly important in the ἄν instances, to which we now pass. They are classed as follows: (F----) Formulaic wording, (m) miscellaneous residue; (F----) then subdivides into (F1---), (F2---) etc., according to the number borne by the individual Formulae in Chapter III, ἄν. Further subdivision is explained in the text.

(F1a1) οὐκ ἄν εἰ, in general: Πλ.Χρμ.155α οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄγ που εἰ...
ἐτύγχανε...αἰσχροὺν ἄν ἦν...
Πρτ.328α οὐδέ γ' ἄν οἶμαι εἰ... Π.2.378α τὰ δὲ...ἔργα, οὐδ' ἄν
εἰ ἦν ἀληθῆ, ὥμην δεῖν...λέγεσθαι... Δημ.6.16 οὐκ ἄν ἡγοῦ-
μαι...οὔτε...οὐτ' ἄν εἰ... 15.14 οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἄν εἰ... 22.45
ἃ οὐδ' ἄν εἰ... 37.16 οὐδ' ἄν εἰ τι... (τ) 47.73 οὐδ' ἄν εἰ...

There are no unqualified instances of οὐκ ἄν εἰ even the above are all variants of οὐδ' ἄν εἰ or οὐτ' ἄν εἰ. In Πρτ.328α οἶμαι has the status of a postpositive.

(F1a2) οὐκ ἄν εἰ γε Πλ.Λυ.221γ οὐκ ἄν, εἰ γε... αἴτιον ἦν...
οὐκ ἄν ἦν... IM 294δ Π.3.402δ Πρμ.
131β(τ) Θτ.164ε οὐ τι ἄν οἶμαι/-/εἴπερ γε..., 201γ Σφ.255δ.
Δημ.23.118 57.25 οὐ γὰρ ἄν δήπου εἰ γε...

(F1b) other οὐκ ἄν Pl.Kra.422ε ἄρ' οὐκ ἄν ὥσπερ... Φδ.94ε οὔτε
γὰρ ἄν ὡς ἔοικεν... Δημ.4.5 οὐδὲν ἄν
ῶν... 25.33 τίς οὐκ ἄν εἰς ὅσον... 36.10 οὐ γὰρ ἄν ποτ' ἐπει-
δή...

(F3) Πλ.Ευθφρ. 7β ἄρ' ἂν εἰ...· Ευθδ.279α ἄρ' ἂν εἰ...· Ν.3.677γ πῶς γὰρ ἂν/~/εἰ γε...· Δημ.18.195 τί ἂν, εἰ...· 21.115 ἄρ' ἂν εἰ γε...· 23.117 τίν' ἂν εἰ..., 120 ἄρ' ἂν ὦν...· 47.66 καίτοι πῶς ἂν εἰ... (= 77).

(F4a1) κἂν εἰ in general Πλ.Γργ.514δ τὰ τε ἄλλα κἂν εἰ...παρεκαλοῦμεν... ἐπεσεφάμεθα δήπου ἂν...· Λυ.209ε, 210α· Φδ.106α· Π.7.515ε· Σφ.224δ, 256β. Δημ.19.282 καίτοι κἂν εἰ...ὑπῆρχεν...· 24.109· 30.14(τ)· 45.12.

(F4a2) ditto where ἂν disagrees with the verb forms Πλ.Πρτ.328α ἀλλὰ κἂν εἰ ὀλίγον ἔστιν τις ὅστις διαφέρει...ἀγαπητόν· Μεν.72γ· Φδ.71β· Π.5.473α κἂν εἰ μὴ τῷ δοκεῖ (= 9.579δ) Σφ.247ε, 267δ.

(F4a3) similar, but the εἰ -clause is in accord Πλ.Π.3.40εβ ὡς ἱκανῶν ὄντων... ἴασασθαι...κἂν εἰ τύχοιεν... πτόντες· 5.477α ἱκανῶς οὖν τοῦτο ἔχομεν, κἂν εἰ...σοικοῦμεν, ὅτι...γνώστον· 10.612γ ...ἤτείθε κἂν εἰ μὴ δυνατόν εἴη...ὁμως δοτέον εἶναι...

(F4a4) κἂν εἰ, κἂν = and Πλ.Πρτ.318γ ...εἴποι ἂν...κἂν εἰ...ἐπανερόιτο...εἴποι ἂν...· Μεν.98δ...διδασκίτων...κἂν εἰ γε διδασκίτων εἴη, φρόνησις ἂν εἶναι (τ)· Λυ.20εβ...ἐπιτρέπουσι...κἂν εἰ βούλοιο...ἔβεν ἂν; Φδ.72γ ...οὐδαμοῦ ἂν φαίνοιτο...κἂν εἰ συγκρίνοιτο...ταχύ ἂν...γεγονός εἴη...
Λκ

(F4b) καὶ γὰρ ἂν εἰ Πλ.Γργ.465γ καὶ γὰρ ἂν εἰ μὴ...ἐπεστάται...τὸ τοῦ Ἀναξαγόρου ἂν πολὺ ἦν.

All the exceptions caused by κἂν have εἰ as the prepositive.

(F22a) ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ with verb Πλ.Πρτ.318β ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ...ἐπισημήσειεν...· 327ε, 335ε, 341γ, 343ε, 346δ· Απ.23β(τ), 27α(τ), 27ε(τ)· Γργ.447δ, 451α, 453γ, 474γ, 479α, 518β· Κρα.395ε, 410β, 430α· Φδ.109γ· Π.7.529δ· 10.616δ(τ). Δημ.6.8· 9.30· 18.194, 243· 20.143· 24.73· 25.21, 69.

(F22b) ὥσπερ ἀνεῖ without verb Δημ.20.32 παρὰ δὲ τὰς δέκα ὥσπερ ἀνεῖ δισχιλίους· 25.48(τ).

(F22c) ὥσπερ οὖν ἂν εἰ Πλ.Απ.17δ ὥσπερ οὖν ἂν εἰ...ἐτύγχανον...συνεγιγνώσκετε δήπου ἂν μοι...· Π.4.420γ.

ὥσπερ οὖν ἂν : see Rule XIV.

(F22d) καθόπερ ἂν εἰ Pl.N. 3.684γ καθόπερ ἂν εἰ τις...προστάττοι...· 9.872γ.

In fact exceptions due to Formulae listed in Ch.III almost all have εἰ as the trailing, relative, prepositive,

those with other prepositives in the trailing position being confined to οὐκ ἄν (F1b) and to the interrogative (Dem.23.120 in (F3)) a total of six instances. We come now to the miscellaneous instances.

(m) Θ.2.94.1 ὅπερ ἄν, εἰ ἐβουλήθησαν... ῥαδίως ἐγένετο· 6.78.4
 ἄπερ ἄν εἰ... (τ). Πλ.Πρτ.344β ὡς ἄν εἰ... Π.2.368δ
 οἴανπερ ἄν εἰ... 6.493α οἴδονπερ, ἄν εἰ... Δημ.23,46 ἦνπερ
 ἄν εἰ... 45.33 ὅστις ἄν, δι' ὃν ὠφειλήκει... τούτῳ... ἐπέτρεφεν;

In all except the last instance the trailing prepositive is once again εἰ, and ⁱⁿall without exception the opening *pe*, though not accepted as a Formula in Ch.III, is a very frequent expression close to Formulaic status; observe the number of -περ cases (cf. ὥσπερ above).

That ends the account of the exceptions to Rule XI, but for one instance which does not fit clearly either list (1) or list (2): Pl.Ti.55c ἃ δὴ τις εἰ πάντα λογιζόμενος... ἀποροῦ... ἠγήσασαί' ἄν... Here *q* is subject of both clauses, and so unsuited to the (1) list, but, since *ἃ* is a connective relative governed by the participle, seems to be within the clause to which it belongs, and so unsuited to the (2) list; nor is it clear whether the Rule applies to connective relatives at all; if not, consider under Rule II.

Rule XII Postpositives do not intervene alone between a prepositive or quasi-prepositive and an immediately following negative or interrogative. See p.2.1.10.

Exceptions to Rule XII These are classified as follows. (1) Where trailing element is interrogative; (2) Where negative. At this point difficulties arise. It seems likely that this Rule is inapplicable to special negatives (see Glossary), which therefore form a doubtful category. But also, in addition to negatives that are clearly special in sense (do not negate the main verb), e.g. Πλ.Σμπ.216ε ἔάν τι μὴ ἀληθὲς εἴπω (= If I say anything untrue), which are classed

as (2a1), there are cases in which the main verb is negated but the negative places particular emphasis on the following expression, e.g. Θ.7.50.3 ὡς αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ ὁ Νικίας... ἤναντιοῦτο, classed as (2a2); there are also those where a negative which appears 'special' in word-order is entirely nexal in sense, e.g. Θ.6.34.8 ὅτι αὐτοῖς οὐ μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐφθαίρομεν· these are classed in (2b), along with the others properly subject to the Rule; (2b) is subdivided according to the identity of postpositive, prepositive and negative.

(1) Πλ.Πρμ.136γ ἀλλὰ μοι τί οὐ διήλαθες... This seems to be the only exception in category (1): because of Rules XXI and XXVI the only fully 'regular' position would be διήλαθές μοι...· τί μοι οὐ also would infringe Rule XII and οὐ μοι XXI.

(2a1) - Θ.4.131.3 καὶ αὐτῶν οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἤδη ἐν ἔργῳ ὄντων...

- Θ.2.44.2 οὐχ ὧν ἂν τις μὴ πειρασομένους ἀγαθῶν στερίσκηται, 60.1 εἴ τι μὴ ὀρθῶς... χαλεπαίνετε. Πλ.Σμκ.214ε εἴαν τι μὴ ἀληθῆς εἴπω· Πλτ.298β εἴ τι μὴ μέγα λέληθεν, 296β ἂν τις ἄρα μὴ κείθω... ἀναγκασθῆ...· 310γ εἴ τι μὴ κατὰ τρόπον πράττουσι (τ). Δημ.26.24 εἴαν τις οὐκ ὄντα νόμον παρέσχηται· 22.7 εἴ τι πρόποτε μὴ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἐπράχθη.

- Dem. 46.13 πῶς ἂν οὐ μὴ εἰδῶς... ἔδωκεν ἂν...

For εἴ τι and εἴαν τι see Ch.III, τις, Formulae nrs.1 and 3.

(2a2) - Θ.6.103.3 ὡς αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου... οὐδεμία ἡμεν· 7.50.3 ὡς αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ ὁ Νικίας... ἤναντιοῦτο. Πλ.Πστ.323γ ὅτι αὐτὴν οὐ φύσει ἡγούνηται εἶναι· Ευθδ.290γ ὅσοι γε αὐτῶν μὴ παντάπασι ἀνόητοί εἰσι· Μεν.925 τί δὲ αὐτῆ οὐ σὺ ἔφρασας; Π.1.343α ὅς γε αὐτῆ οὐδὲ πρόβατα... γινώσκεις· 6.505α ὅτι αὐτὴν οὐχ ἱκανῶς ἴσμεν. Δημ.52.93 δι' ὅπερ αὐτοῖς οὐχ ἥμισα παρηκολούθει...

- Πλ.Σμπ.317γ καὶ μοι οὐδὲ τοῦτο... ὑπήκουσεν. Δημ.58.4 ὥστε μοι μηδὲ τὸν συνεροῦντ' εἶναι.

- Δημ.14.36 ὅς' ἂν οὐδὲ καταράμενος εὐρέ τις...· 19.9 ὅστις ἐν οὐκ εἰκότως...

- Θ.7.66.1 εἴ τις μὴ ἐπὶ ὅσον δεῖ ἡσθηται. Δημ.9.24 ἐπειδὴ τισιν οὐ μετρῶς ἐδόκουν προσφέρεσθαι.

A negative which for any reason (and the reasons vary, even within (2a2) above) goes closely with the following expression, may be expected to have its word-order determined by the position of that expression, not by proximity to the introductory prepositive.

(2b) ἐὰν αὐτ- μή Πλ.Φδ.92δ ἂν τις αὐτοῦς μὴ φυλάττηται· Π.9.
574α ἐὰν δὲ δὴ αὐτῷ μὴ ἐπιτρέπωσιν.

In view of Rule XX, sentences like the above have one 'possible' position only for q, viz. Vq; μηδὲν αὐτ- is however possible (see below).

εἰ αὐτ- μή Πλ.Φδρ.279α εἰ αὐτῷ μὴ ἀποχρήσαι. Δημ.41.22
εἰ μὲν αὐτῷ μηδὲν προσῆκεν...

ἐπειδὴ αὐτ- οὐ Θ.2.101.5 ἐπειδὴ αὐτῷ οὐδὲν ἐπράσσετο...
Πλ.Πρμ.159δ ἐπειδὴ αὐτοῦ οὐδαμῆ μετέχει.

ἵνα αὐτ- μή Θ.8.45.2 ἵνα αὐτῶν μὴ οἱ ναῦται... ὑβρίζοντες...
ἔχωσι...

ὅπως αὐτ- μή Πλ.Π.4.424β ὅπως ἂν αὐτοῦς μὴ λάθῃ...

ὅς αὐτ- μή Πλ.Ν.6.756δ ὅς ἂν αὐτῶν μὴ βούληται...

ὅστις αὐτ- μή Δημ.45.68 ὅστις αὐτῷ μηδενὸς συμβεβηκότος
δεινοῦ... διαγεί...

In Dem.45.68 above, q 'belongs' to the participle and refers to the same person as the relative, which is subject of the main verb. Cf. Rule VI: no Rule has been judged necessary to refer similarly to anarthrous participle clauses, though the converse is dealt with by Rule X (that q belonging to main does not appear within participial).

ὅταν αὐτ- μή Πλ.Ευθδ.295δ ὅταν αὐτῷ μὴ ὑπέκω.

ὅτε αὐτ- οὐ Δημ.19.209 ὅτ' αὐτὸν οὐκ εἴατε πρεσβεύειν.

ὅτι αὐτ- οὐ Θ.6.34.8 ὅτι αὐτοῦς οὐ μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων
ἐφθείρομεν· 8.89.4 ὅτι αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐδόκει...
Δημ.48.6 ὅτι αὐτῷ οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἔτι πρᾶγμα...

ὡς αὐτ- οὐ Θ.1.109.3 ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ οὐ προύχῳρει...· 5.22.2
ὡς δ' αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐσήκουον...· 8.17.3 ὡς αὐτοῦς
οὐκ ἐδέχοντο. (Cf. p.2.2.27.)

ὥστε αὐτ- μή Πλ.Κρα.412δ ὥστε αὐτὸ μηδὲν στέγειν.

That ends the exceptions with αὐτ-. In the majority, the verb directly follows the negative, and that, with Rules XX and XXV, greatly limits the number of 'possible' positions; when the order is different, we are given an initial false impression

of a special or similar negative (compare Th.VIII.45.2, VI.34.8, with (2a1) and (2a2) above).

ἐάν μ- μή Πλ.Απ.29ε καὶ ἐάν μοι μὴ δοκῆ... Φδρ.236ε
ἐάν μοι μὴ εἴπῃς...

ἐπειδάν μ- μή Πλ.Απ.23β ἐπειδάν μοι μὴ δοκῆ.

ἐπειδὴ μ- οὐ Πλ.Γργ.519ε ἐπειδὴ μοι οὐκ ἐθέλεις ἀποκρι-
νεσθαι. Δημ.50.7 ἐπειδὴ μοι οὐκ ἤλθεν...

ἐπειδὴ μ- μή Δημ.21.151 ἐπειδὴ με μὴ πείθοιεν.

ἵνα μ- μή Πλ.Γργ.495α ἵνα δὴ μοι μὴ ἀνομολογούμενος ἦ ὁ
λόγος.

καὶ μ- μή Πλ.Απ.20ε καὶ μοι/-/μὴ θορυβήσητε, 31ε καὶ μοι
μὴ ἀχθεσθε... Γργ.486α καὶ μοι μηδὲν ἀχθεσθῆς.

Δημ.5.15 καὶ μοι μὴ θορυβήση μηδεὶς... 13.3 καὶ μοι μὴ θορυβήσ-
ητ'//, 34 καὶ μοι μηδὲν ὀργισθῆτε 18.59 καὶ με μηδεὶς ἀπαρτᾶν
ὑπολάβῃ... 20.102 καὶ μοι μηδὲν ὀργισθῆς... 23.144 καὶ μου
μηδεὶς ἀχθεσθῆ τῆ ὑποσχέσει 57. καὶ μοι/°/μηδεὶς θορυβήση...
59 καὶ μοι/°/μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ...

In the above the Rule is habitually broken by a standard conversational/oratorical formula 'Don't heckle/be angry/reply...'
Cf. the καὶ μοι λέγε/ἀπόκριναί/ἀναγίνωσκε τὸν νόμον formula, which leads to infringement of Rule XI, Pl.Hp.Mi.366ε καὶ μοι ὥσπερ τὰ πρότερα...ἀπόκριναί (p.2.2.19 above); cf. also the formula under ὅπως below.

ὅπως μ- μή Πλ.Μνξ.249ε ἀλλ'ὅπως μοι μὴ κατερεῖς... Π.1.
336γ καὶ ὅπως μοι μὴ ἐρεῖς...; 337β ὅπως μοι/-/
μὴ ἐρεῖς...

ὅς μ- μή Πλ.Θτ.151β οἷ ἄν μοι μὴ δόξωσι...

ὅς μ- οὐ Πλ.Φδρ.242γ ἢ με οὐκ ἐῤ...

ὅτι μ-οὐ Δημ.49.20 ὅτι μοι οὐτ'ἐμαρτύρησεν...

Dem.49.20 also infringes Rule XIII.

ῶστε μ- μή Πλ.Κρα.427δ ῶστε με μὴ δύνασθαι...

That ends the exceptions with μ-.

ἄρ' ἄν οὐ Πλ.Πρτ.356ε ἄρ' ἄν οὐκ ἐπιστήμη; 357α καὶ ἄρ' ἄν
οὐ μετρητικὴ τις;

The expression ἄρ' ἄν is Formulaic, but so is οὐκ ἄν (Ch. III, ἄν, Formulae 1 and 3).

ἦ γὰρ ἂν οὐ Πλ.Ευθδ.280α ἦ γὰρ ἂν οὐκέτι...εἴη.

The expression ἦ ἂν is not Formulaic in Attic, but ἦ γὰρ ἂν is normal in Homer (Il.I.232 etc.). We now pass to τις.

ἐάν τις μή Πλ.Φδ.92δ ἂν τις αὐτοῦς μή φυλάττηται N.6.
774α ἂν δ' ἄρα τις μή πελθῆται ἐκῶν 11.915α
ἐάν τις μή θεραπεύη... Δημ.10.52 ἂν τι μή νῦν ἐπανορθωσώ-
μεθα 50.57 ἐάν τις μή διαδέξῃται...

εἴ τις μή Θ.1.72.2 εἴ τι μή ἀποκωλύοι 2.5.1 εἴ τι ἄρα
μή προχωροῖ, 64.5 εἴ δέ τις μή κέκτηται 5.
26.2 εἴ τις μή ἀξιῶσει... 8.43.2 εἴ τι μή ἤρεσκεν αὐτοῖς.
Πλ.Σφ.250γ εἴ γάρ τι μή κινεῖται.

The above list is unusual in having a majority of Thucydidean instances. The expression εἴ τις is a Formula, but so is μή τις following a prepositive (Ch.III, τις, Formulae nrs.1 - 4, 12) We must however consider the possibility that εἴ μή τι could approximate in sense to εἴ μηδέν.

ὅς τι μή Πλ.Χρμ.170α ἄ τις μή οἶδεν, 175γ ἄ τις μή οἶδεν
μηδαμῶς Λυ.210δ ἐν οἷς τις μήπω φρονεῖ Π.6.
506γ περὶ ὧν τις μή οἶδεν Θτ.192α ὧν τι μή ἐπίσταται (= τι ὧν)
N.10.905γ ἧν τις μή γιγνώσκων (οὐδ' ἂν τύπον ἴδοι ποτε.

In the last instance the negative is special in that it belongs exclusively to the participle: but the relative is in the same condition.

ὅταν τις μή Πλ.Π.7.536α ὅταν γάρ τις μή ἐπίσταιται...
πόλις.

ὅταν τις, though not admitted as a Formula to Ch.III, is a very frequent expression.

The great majority of exceptions to Rule XII have μή as the negative, but it is likely that this is due to the selection of prepositives introducing these sentences. That ends the account of Rule XII.

Rule XIII See next page.

Rule XIII Postpositives do not intervene alone between an introductory prepositive and the first word of a sentence-member introduced by a prospective postpositive conjunction. See p.2.1.10.

Exceptions to Rule XIII These are classified as follows: (1) pg is Formulaic (Chapter III); (2) pg, though not admitted as a Formula in Ch.III, is a very frequent expression; (3) pg shows no particular tendency; (4) pg is 'exceptional' under a Rule.

(1) Πλ.Γργ.502β ἐάν τι αὐτοῖς ἠδὲ μ ἐ ν ῆ...° Θτ.188ε εἴ τις ὄρῃ μ ἐ ν τι...° N.9.867γ ἂν ἄρα τις αὐτόχειρ μ ἐ ν...° Δημ.34.4 ἐάν δέ τις γενέσθαι μ ἐ ν...° 43.76 ἢ εἰ τινες τοὺς τ ε γένει...

See Chapter III, τις, Formulae 1 - 4.

(2) - Θ.4.111.2 ὡς αὐτοῖς ἢ τε πόλις διήρητο..., 127.2 καὶ ὡς αὐτοῖς αἱ τ ε ἐκδορομαί...° 5.57.1 ὡς αὐτοῖς οἱ τ ε...° 8.102.1 ὡς αὐτοῖς οἱ τ ε φρυκτωροῖ...

- Πλ.Απ.38δ οἱ ἂν ὑμῖν μ ἐ ν... (τ)° Σμπ.190γ ὡς ἂν εἶεν τ ε...° Δημ.53.12 ἄπερ ἂν νέος τ ε...

- Πλ.Π.7.535δ ὅταν τις φιλογυμναστῆς μ ἐ ν...° N.7.821α ἐπειδὴν τις τι καλὸν τ ε οἴηθῃ...εἶναι...° 11.931γ μὴ δὴ τις ἀτιμαζομένῳ μ ἐ ν πατρὶ...° Δημ.40.1 ὅταν τις ὀνόματι μ ἐ ν...

The expression ὡς αὐτοῖς, where ὡς = ἐπειδὴ, is a frequent juxtaposition in Thucydides; cf. Rule XII, p.2.2.24, ὡς αὐτ- οὔ. On Lg.XI 93lc, see Rule X, (lby2), p.2.2.18 above.

(3) - Θ.2.68.7 οἱ αὐτοῖς Φορμίωνά τ ε στρατηγὸν ἔπεμψαν...° 8.76.7 ἦν αὐτῷ ἀδειάν τ ε ποιήσωμεν...° Πλ.Γργ.502β ἐάν τι αὐτοῖς ἠδὲ μ ἐ ν...° N.9.ὡν αὐτῇ τυχοῦση μ ἐ ν...

- Πλ.Βυθδ.289ε καὶ γὰρ μοι οἱ τ ε ἄνδρες...° Δημ.49.20 ὅτι μοι ο ὕ τ ἐμαρτύρησεν...

- Θ.5.54.4 ὡν τινες οἱ μ ἐ ν...

Dem.49.20 is listed here because οὔτε incorporates τ ε. In Th.V.54.4, τινὲς οἱ μὲν... recalls the Formula (Ch.III, τις, nr.14) οἱ μὲν τινες...οἱ δέ τινες...° it has not been listed as Antiformula there because g appears to be the whole which is divided into the two parts ('Some of them did, some A, some B'); that is not however certain; g, though common in grammar

to both members, could be in individual agreement to each of the two demonstratives, representing ὧν οἱ μὲν τινες...οἱ δὲ τινες...

(4) 0.1.110.4 καὶ αὐτοῖς ἔκ τε γῆς...(τ), 134.4 καὶ αὐτὸν ἐμέλλησαν μὲν... 4.129.4 καὶ αὐτοῖς Νικίας μὲν... 5.3.4 καὶ αὐτοῖς τὸ μὲν Πελοποννήσιον... 7.25.1 καὶ αὐτῶν μίαν μὲν... 8.42.1 καὶ αὐτῷ ἕτερος τε... Πλ.Π.3.397β οὐκοῦν αὐτοῖν τὸ μὲν...

The expressions καὶ αὐτ- and οὐκοῦν αὐτ- infringe Rule XX; but the former, while undoubtedly exceptional in Plato and Demosthenes, is a fairly common expression in Thucydides; and occurrences such as those above (and cf. Rule XI, (2), p. 2.2.19 and XII (2a1), p.2.2.23 above) suggest that in Thucydides it verges on the Formulaic.

Overall, there is a degree of correlation in the exceptions between the identity of the phrase pq and that of the prospective conjunction; notably ὡς αὐτοῖς οἱ τε (not μὲν) seems to be a repetitive pattern in Thucydides, and εἰάν/ὅταν τις M μὲν occurs to the exclusion of εἰάν/ὅταν τις M τε. The exceptions to the Rule are proportionately commonest in Thucydides: he has thirteen to Plato's twelve and Demosthenes' five. The Thucydidean instances consist of twelve with αὐτ- (of which four with μὲν and eight with τε) and one with τις (μὲν). In the other two authors exceptions range over all four postpositives, mostly with μὲν. That ends the account of Rule XIII.

Rule XIV When an introductory postpositive and one of the four under study are directly adjacent, the introductory precedes. See p.2.1.11.

Exceptions to Rule XIV There are no exceptions with αὐτ- or with μ- in Pl. Lg. XI 926e εἰς τινα γὰρ οὖν μοι καιρόν, μ- occurs in proximity to a τις exception but is itself regular. With ἄν and τις, the fairly frequent

exceptions seem motivated mostly by Formulae (Chapter III). They are therefore classified as follows: (1) ἄν, (2) τις. These subdivide: (-F-), exceptions caused by Formula (Ch.III); (-X-), by the Xq formulation; (-p-) by the formulation pq (unless Formulaic); (-m) miscellaneous. The cases of (-F-) are then subdivided according to the number of the Formula involved (Ch.III); finally the introductory postpositive is named.

(1F1) ἄρα Πλ.Μεν.93δ οὐκ ἄν ἄρα τήν γε φύσιν...ἠτιάσατ' ἄν τις...
 δῆ- Δημ.27.55 οὐκ ἄν δῆπου...· 29.15 ὄν οὐκ ἄν δῆπου...·
 40.23 οἱ οὐκ ἄν δῆπου...· 47.11 οὗτοι γάρ/οὐκ ἄν δῆ-
 που... - 37.18 οὐ γὰρ ἄν δῆπου...· 57.25 οὐ γὰρ ἄν δῆπου..., 48.
 - 58.24 ὧν οὐδεὶς ἄν δῆπου...
 οὖν Θ.1.9.4 οὐκ ἄν οὖν νήσων...ἐκράτει. Πλ.Ευθδ.3068 οὐκ
 ἄν οὖν...· Π.1.333ε οὐκ ἄν οὖν...(τ)· Θτ.162α.
 Δημ.24.146.

(1F3) δῆ Πλ.Πρμ.144β πῶς γὰρ ἄν δῆ...·
 οὖν Θ.3.64.4 τίνες ἄν οὖν... Πλ.Γργ.467α πῶς ἄν οὖν...·
 Λυ.209β τί ποτ' ἄν οὖν...· Συμπ.202δ πῶς ἄν οὖν...(τ)
 Φδ.64α πῶς ἄν οὖν δῆ...· Π.3.414β τίς ἄν οὖν...· 4.437β ἀρ' (ἄν)
 οὖν...(τ)· 7.521δ τί ἄν οὖν...(τ)· Θτ.160δ πῶς ἄν οὖν...(τ)
 Ν.2.666δ τίς ἄν οὖν...· 7.811α τί δῆποτ' ἄν οὖν... Δημ.19.
 85 πῶς ἄν οὖν...· 21.26 τίς ἄν οὖν...· 25.33 τίς ἄν οὖν...
 43.59 πῶς ἄν οὖν...· 76 πῶς ἄν οὖν μάλλον...(τ)· 44.48 πῶς ἄν
 οὖν...· 45.62 τίς ἄν οὖν...· 46.13 πῶς ἄν οὖν μὴ εἰδώς...
 48.50 πῶς ἄν οὖν μάλλον...· 50.35 τίς ἄν οὖν...· 55.19 πῶς ἄν
 οὖν...
 Dem.46.13 infringes also Rule XII.

(1F5) δέ Θ.6.2.4 τάχα ἄν δέ...ἐσπλεύσαντες.
 οὖν Πλ.Απ.34γ τάχ' ἄν οὖν...(τ).

(1F7) τε Θ.2.63.3 τάχιστ' ἄν τε...

(1F13) οὖν Δημ.34.40 δικαίως ἄν οὖν...

(1F14) οὖν Πλ.Π.5.469γ μάλλον γ' ἄν οὖν... Δημ.31.9 τί μάλλον
 ἄν οὖν...

(1F15) οὖν Πλ.Απ.31γ ἴσως ἄν οὖν..., 28β ἴσως δ' ἄν οὖν...(τ)
 Γργ.518γ ἴσως ἄν οὖν...· Φδρ.234β ἴσως ἄν οὖν...(τ).

(1F18) τοίνυν Δημ.46.27 ἠδέως ἄν τοίνυν...

(1F20) οὖν Πλ.Γργ.452γ φαῖμεν ἄν οὖν...

(1X) οὖν Πλ.Απ.20γ ὑπολάβοι ἄν οὖν τις... Γργ.475δ δέξαιτο ἄν οὖν... Π.9.584ε θαυμάζοις ἄν οὖν...

(1m) ἄρα Πλ.Πρμ.137γ ἀμφοτέρως ἄν ἄρα...(τ).

δῆ ὁ.8.87.5 ὁ δὲ χάριν ἄν δῆπου... Πλ.Ευθδ.286α ἦ οὕτω μὲν ἄν δῆπου... Δημ.23.96 κύριον ἄν δῆπουθεν...

οὖν ὁ.1.76.4 ἄλλους γ' ἄν οὖν..., 77.6 ὑμεῖς γ' ἄν οὖν... Πλ.Π.1.349ε δοκεῖ ἄν οὖν...(τ) 5.472δ οἷεῖ ἄν οὖν...(t).

(τ).

τοίνυν Πλ.Λυ.214γ ταύτη μὲν ἄν τοίνυν...

Exceptions of this sort are a useful index for expressions which may be revealed on further examination to be Formulaic; hence, e.g., φαῖμεν ἄν (1F20 above) is admitted as a Formula in Ch.III; but other evidence would not support adopting, say, δέξαιτο ἄν (1X above) as a Formula. On the other hand δοκεῖ ἄν and οἷεῖ ἄν, though not admitted in Ch.III, possibly are formulaic. The occurrence of exceptions in fact varies according to the vocabulary: there are no instances of ἄν γάρ and one only of ἄν δέ, while it will readily be admitted that γάρ ἄν and δ' ἄν are very common. On the other hand ἄν οὖν is numerous, to the point of being comparable in numbers with οὖν ἄν, but the latter is more frequent: e.g., among sentences neither exceptional nor Formulaic, οὖν ἄν occurs at Ap.37d, Men.84c, 94e, R.IX 584d, Lg.V 740b, IX 870b (corresponding to (1m) οὖν, above); as a further sample, (1F3) οὖν above may be compared with Ch.III, ἄν, Formula nr.3, πῶς, τις κτλ. ἄν' the ratio πῶς, τις κτλ. ἄν οὖν: πῶς, τις κτλ. οὖν ἄν is Thuc.1:0, Plato 10:40, Dem.11:3. (consider both Formula and Anticounterformula in Ch.III). The exception ἄν δῆ is also frequent; δῆ ἄν has been treated also as exceptional (though not δῆποτ' ἄν κτλ.), and is listed under Rule XXII; there is one instance only of οὐκ ἄν ἄρα but οὐκ ἄρ' ἄν is also very rare - see Ch.III, ἄν, Formula nr.1; despite the frequency of οὐκ ἄν οὖν, οὐκ οὖν ἄν is rare (cf. Rule XXII, οὐκοῦν ἄν is exceptional). Although Rule XIV is by and large true, there are areas of phraseology where the 'exception' is

the norm. We pass now to the τις exceptions.

(2F1) ἄρα Θ.1.136.4 εἶ τι ἄρα... 2.5.1 εἶ τι ἄρα μὴ... 12.1
εἶ τι ἄρα μᾶλλον... 87.1 εἶ τις ἄρα... 3.30.3,
67.2 εἶ τις ἄρα καὶ ἐγένετο 6.24.4 εἶ τῷ ἄρα καὶ μὴ ἤρεσκε,
78.1. Πλ.Λα.185ε(τ)· Μνξ.242δ· Π.4.433α· Θτ.185α· Ν.2.668β
εἶ τις ἄρα που καὶ γίγνοιτο 3.686γ, 686δ· 7.816ε(τ). Δημ.
3.26· 13.29· 20.138· 22.57· 23.207· 24.116· 25.86 εἶ τῷ τις
ἄρα... 47.79· 59.31.

δέ Θ.7.75.4 εἶ τῷ δὲ προλίποι...

δή Πλ.Πρτ.332γ καὶ εἶ τι δὴ... Πρμ.135β εἶ γέ τις δὴ...
(τ).

οὖν Πλ.Φδ.69ε εἶ τι οὖν... Τι.48α. Δημ.21.8 εἶ τις
οὖν ὑμῶν ἄρα..., 35.

(2F2) ἄρα Πλ.Γργ.512α εἶ δέ τις ἄρα... Ν.11.932ε εἶ τε τις
ἄρα...

(2F3) ἄρα Πλ.Πλτ.296β ἄν τις ἄρα μὴ περὶ θων... ἀναγκάζη... Ν.9.
876γ· 11.921δ ἔάν τις ἄρα καὶ... Δημ.20.166 κἄν τις
ἄρ' ἔλθῃ ποτε καιρὸς.

(2F4) ἄρα Θ.2.87.9 ἦν δέ τις ἄρα... Πλ.Ν.6.755γ ἔάν τις ἄρα
δοκῆ τινι...

(2F12) δή Πλ.Π.5.470α ἔάν μὴ τι δὴ... Πλτ.292ε μὴ τι δὴ βασι-
λῆς γε. Δημ.2.23 μὴ τί γε δὴ τοῖς θεοῖς.

οὖν Πλ.Μεν.86ε εἶ μὴ τι οὖν ἀλλὰ σμικρόν γε... χάλασον.

(2F13) ἄρα Πλ.Φδ.78β τῷ ποῖω τινι ἄρα...

γάρ Πλ.Σφ.245δ ποσόν τι γάρ ὄν... Δημ.3.32 ὅποῦ ἄττα
γάρ ἄν ἦ... 13.25 ὅποῦ ἄττα γάρ ἄν...

δέ Πλ.Φλβ.37γ ποιῶ τινε δὲ οὐ γίγνεσθον(τ).

δή Πλ.Θτ.191ε ποῖω τινι δὴ;(τ).

οὖν Πλ.Λυ.206α ποῖός τις οὖν ἄν σοι δοκεῖ...; Π.6.496α
ποῖ ἄττα οὖν εἰκός...

(2F13) above combines instances from Ch.III, τις, Formulae
nrs. 13, 13a, 13b.

(2F16) ἄρα Πλ.Γργ.515β ἢ ἄλλου του ἄρα... Θτ.189β.

γάρ Πλ.Πρτ.353γ ἄλλο τι γάρ//φατὲ...@.

δή Πλ.Ν.9.861δ ἀλλὰ ἄλλω τινι δὴποτε...(τ).

οὖν Πλ.Χρμ.167β ἄλλο τι οὖν...@· Πρτ.354δ@, 358γ@· Κρι.
52δ ἄλλο τι οὖν ἦ...· Γργ.467δ@, 475δ@, 495γ@· Μεν.
84δ@· Ευθδ.276α@, 283δ@, 284β@, 298α@· Κρα.401β@· Π.1.337γ@·
7.522ε@· 9.576γ@.

(for @ see next page)

Interrogative ἄλλο τι without ἦ is marked by @.

- (2F17) μέντοι Πλ.Κρα.386α οὐ πάνυ τι μέντοι...
 (2F19) μέν Πλ.Ν.12.948γ ὅτι μέρος τι μέν...(τ).
 (2F20) οὖν Θ.6.64.1 τοιόνδε τι οὖν...
 (2F24) γάρ Πλ.Ν.12.941γ μικρόν τι γάρ ὁ κλέπτων...(τ).

The above instance infringes also Rule VI.

- (2F26) μέντοι Πλ.Πλτ.294α τρόπον τινὰ μέντοι...(τ).
 (2F31) δὴ Δημ.17.22 ἦττόν τι δήπου...
 οὖν Πλ.Π.5.472ε ἦττόν τι οὖν...

- (2X) ἄρα Πλ.Γργ.477δ ὑπερφυεῖ τινὶ ἄρα...· Θτ.209α τῶν κοινῶν
 τι ἄρα...(τ)· Ν.12.943ε μὴ διαμαρτῶν τις ἄρα...
 δὴ Πλ.Φδρ.246α ἔοικέ τῳ δὴ...(τ)
 οὖν Πλ.Π.5.455γ οἴσθα τι οὖν...· Φδρ.258γ οἴει τινὰ οὖν...
 Ν.7.799α ἔχει τις οὖν... Δημ.57.26 οἴεται τις
 οὖν...

- (2p) ἄρα Πλ.Π.1.334α ὅτου τις ἄρα...
 γάρ Πλ.(Π.2.363β ὡς τέ τευ γάρ φησι...)* Πρμ.145δ ἔν τινι
 γάρ...· Ν.11.926ε εἰς τινὰ γάρ οὖν μοι καιρόν...
 οὖν Πλ.Ν.6.772δ ὁπόθεν τις οὖν...(τ). Δημ.45.33 εἰ καὶ
 καθ' ὅτου τις οὖν... (εἰ καὶ καθ' ὅτου οὖν τις...).

- (2m) ἄρα Πλ.ΙΜ 297ε πῶς τι ἄρ' ἂν ἀγωνιζοίμεθα;
 γάρ Πλ.Λυ.208δ οὐ τι γάρ που...
 μήν Πλ.Ν.10.906ε ἀλλ' οὐ τι μήν...
 μέν Πλ.Τι.41β οὐ τι μέν δὴ...
 οὖν Πλ.Π.4.443β ἔτι τι οὖν ἕτερον...· Ν.11.926ε τί δὴ τις
 οὖν...;

οὐ τι (Ly.208d, Lg.X 906e, Ti.41b above) is certainly formulaic, but is listed not in Ch.III but as an exception to Rule XXIII (which forbids οὐ τις). R.IV 443b above is Antiformulaic (Ch.III, τις, nr.28 ἕτερος) as well as exceptional, though ἔτι τι is not Formulaic.

Overall, while in ἂν infringement is mostly due to οὐκ ἂν and τίς/πῶς κτλ.ἂν in connexion with οὖν and δήπου, in τις the

majority causal Formulae are εἰ τις and ἄλλο τι with ἄρα and οὖν, and both ἄρα and οὖν, like οὖν (but not δὴ) with ἄν, readily enter into infringements in general. Exceptions with δέ are as rare as in ἄν, but γάρ-exceptions are fairly numerous in τις, not totally absent as in ἄν. For the ratios εἰ τις ἄρα: εἰ ἄρα τις, ἄλλος τις οὖν: ἄλλος οὖν τις, κτλ., see Ch. III, τις, Formulae 1, 16 etc. In sentences neither exceptional nor Formulaic, ἄρα τις preceded by an X-element (corresponding to (2X) ἄρα above) occurs at Pl.Euthphr.14e, Grg.502c, Euthd.302b, Cra.388a, 403c, R.I 334a, Sph.233c, 250b, ἄρα τις outnumbering τις ἄρα by 8:3; ἄρα τις preceded by a Y-element (corresponding to (2m) ἄρα above) occurs at Grg.493a, Phlb.35b, Phd.68a, Prm.161d, outnumbering τις ἄρα 4:1; ἄρα τις preceded by a prepositive (corresponding to (2p) ἄρα above) occurs at Tht.190a (1:1). The order οὖν τις preceded by an X-element (corresponding to (2X) οὖν above) occurs at La.192d, Ap.20c, Euthd.287d, Cra.403d, R.I 349e, V 462a, VII 537e, X 617d, 621a, Ti.21b, Dem.31.5, outnumbering τις οὖν 10:5; οὖν τις preceded by a Y-element (corresponding to (2m) οὖν above) occurs at Ion 532e, Ap.30c, 34c, Ly.207d, R.II 375a, VI 495e, Prm.161d (7:2); οὖν τις preceded by a prepositive (corresponding to (2p) οὖν above) occurs at Euthd.277a, Cra.413b, Lg.IX 877e (3:2). That ends the account of Rule XIV.

Rule XV When a sentence or clause is interrupted or preceded by a subordinate clause or certain kinds of parenthesis, postpositives belonging to the sentence or superordinate clause do not directly follow the subordinate clause or the interruption. See p.2.1.12.

Exceptions to Rule XV These are divided as follows. The interrupting (or preceding) material is (1) a subordinate clause, (2) 'he said', (3) a vocative expression, (4) an oath. Sections (3) and (4) divide no further, but (1) and (2) subdivide differently: (1a-) the clause

is a relative one equivalent to a substantive, adjective, or participle; (1b) a comparative clause of primarily substantive content ('verbless'); (1c-) the rest. Of these, (1a-) subdivides: (1a1) the relative clause is itself in W-relation (see Rules XXV ff.) to q, (1a2) not so; (1b) divides no further, but (1c-) divides into (1ci) relative clause, (1cii) comparative clause, (1ciii) others. Section (2) divides: (2q) 'he said' is ἔφη and possibly of postpositival status in the particular case, like this verb in many infinitive constructions (cf. R.IV 431b κρείττω γὰρ αὐτὴν αὐτῆς δικαίως φήσεις προσαγορεύεσθαι); (2r) the rest. In addition to the above, there are, scattered throughout, instances of X...q (see Rules XXV ff. and Appendix A) such that the only matter separating X from q is the intrusive clause or parenthesis itself, X//q etc. These have not in fact been listed as exceptions to Rules because the intervention of a subordinate clause, vocative, etc. does not always seem significant from that point of view; in particular ἔφη = 'he said' often seems to be of postpositival status ((2q) above); these instances are here labelled (X...); this does not apply where anything other than the clause or parenthesis itself lies between X and q.

(1a1) Δημ.13.13 εἰ μὲν ὑμᾶς δυναμένην/ὦν λέγω/τι πεῖσαι 19.319 ἢ διεπράξαθ' /ὦν ἐβουλήθη/τι παρελθῶν (X...) 23.167 ἢ αὐτὸς ἐπέσθη/ὦν ὡμολογήκει καὶ ὑπέσχητό/τι πράξαι.

The above are equivalent to WqV and VWq (Appendix A) and to that extent the label (X...) is inappropriate.

(1a2) - Pl. 0t.188γ οὐ μὴν ἄ γέ τις οἶδεν οἶεται που/ἄ μὴ οἶδεν/αὐτὰ εἶναι(X.) Δημ.22.5 ἔστι γὰρ εἰς μὲν/ὄν οἶεται τεχνικῶς ἔχειν/αὐτῷ λόγος 23.121 ἀπέδωκε δὲ πάνθ' /ὄσα ἀπώλεσαν/αὐτοῖς 202 πρὸς τῷ πάνθ' /ἄ μέγιστ' ἦν/αὐτῷ δοῦναι 24.36 τὰς ἄλλας/ἄς γέγραφ' /αὐτῶν φυλακὰς (X...) 59.29(X...).

- Δημ.50.60 ὥστε δοῦναι/ὄσα ἐβούλετό/μοι (X...).

In Tht.188c above, q superfluously repeats (or is a postpositival 'antecedent' of) the earlier relative clause; the later such clause is the predicate of εἶναι. In 24.36, τὰς ἄλλας taken as part of the W-element τὰς...φυλακὰς possibly

the relative clause should also be taken as part of W; if so, (X...) is not justified.

(1b) - Πλ.Ν.7.800β ἀσφαλέστατον/καθάπερ ἐμαγεῖ' ἄττα/ αὐτοῖσιν ...πλάσασθαι...

- Πλ.Π.3.415ε εἰ πολέμιος/ὥσπερ λύκος ἐπὶ πόλυν/τις ἴοι (X...)* Ν.5.746α ἢ πλάττων/καθάπερ ἐν κηροῦ/τινὰ πόλιν (X...).

In Lg.VII 800b, the content of the 'clause' is so substantial as actually to be the object of the infinitive, καθάπερ being adverbial; in R.III 415e, q could possibly, but improbably, belong to λύκος.

(1ci) - Δημ.21.150 ...ἀλλοτρίοις/ὅπερ ἔστιν/αὐτὸν χρώμενον.

- Πλ.Τι.69β τότε γὰρ οὔτε τούτων/ὅσον μὴ τύχη/τι μετεῖχεν. Δημ.6.26 εἰ Μεσσήνιοι καὶ...τινὲς/παρ' ἄ...ὀρῶσι/τι πράξουσι.

Ti.69b above is comparable with (1b): primarily substantive content. Possibly Dem.6.26 should be assigned to (1ai) on the ground that παρ' ἄ...τι is equivalent to approximately περιττόν τι.

(1cii) ὡς ἔοικε - Πλ.Γργ.510δ αὕτη/ὡς ἔοικεν/αὐτῷ ὁδός ἐστιν' Φδ.106ε τὸ μὲν θνητόν/ὡς ἔοικεν/αὐτοῦ ἀποθνήσκει(X...)* Π.8.567γ ὡς ἔοικε γὰρ/αὐτῷ, "...", "ἀνάγκη..." Κ.1.640γ ...περὶ γε συνουσίας/ὡς ἔοικεν/αὐτὸν φρόνιμον εἶναι δεῖ.

- Πλ.ΙΜ 291γ ταύτη μὲν τῇ ἀποκρίσει//οὐδὲν/ὡς ἔοικέ/μοι ἀναφανήσεται κάλλιον...

others - Πλ.Θτ.180β ἡγούμενοι/ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ/αὐτὸ...εἶναι.

- Δημ.45.24 ἔτι τοίνυν/-//ὡς γέγραπται/τις ἂν ἐξετάσας ...γνοίη...(τ).

In Pl.Grg.510d etc., ὡς ἔοικε is possibly of postpositival status, the equivalent of postpositival οἶμαι = πού' R.VIII 567c is perhaps against that, but οἶμαι is not always postpositival even when it does not affect the grammar: Ap.28b οἶμαι δὲ καὶ αἰρήσει. Tht.180b is perhaps on the analogy of ὡς ἔοικε.

(1ciii) See next page.

- (1ciii) - Θ.3.31.1 καὶ ἅμα/ἦν ἐφορμῶσι σφίσι/αὐτοῖς δαπάνη
 γίνεται. Πλ.ΙΜ 291γ ἀλλ' εἰ βούλει/αὐτῷ ἀποκρίναί...
 Δημ.59.81 ὡς αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα οὖσαν/αὐτὴν λαμβάνων...
 - Πλ.Φδ.101ε σὺ δὲ/εἴπερ εἶ τῶν φιλοσόφων/οἶμαι ἄν//
 ποιοῖς. Δημ.45.37 ὁ γὰρ...μαρτυρῶν δῆλον ὅτι καθ'
 ὁποίας ἄν εἶδεῖν, 37 καὶ ὁ...μαρτυρῶν δῆλον ὅτι καθ' ὁποίας ἄν
 εἶδεῖν.

Dem.59.81 is an unreal exception; ὡς...οὖσαν is both a
 ὡς-clause and a participial clause; from the former point of
 view the Rule applies, but from the latter the sentence is a
 normal case of V_q(...)V (Appendix A). In Phd.101e, if οἶμαι
 is postpositival (= που) then ἄν is 'directly' after the if-
 clause. On Dem.45.37: a 'clause' abbreviated to such an ex-
 tent virtually becomes a free mobile to which the Rule should
 probably not apply. Hp.Ma. has in a single paragraph, 291c,
 two unique exceptions to this Rule: (1cii) ὡς ἔοικε followed
 by μοι and (1ciii) with αὐτ- in Plato.

- (2q) - Πλ.Ευθδ.298ε ἔγωγε τοι εἶδον, ἔφη, αὐτὸν ὀχεύοντα...
 Φδ.60δ λέγε τοίνυν, ἔφη, αὐτῷ...(X...), 74δ ἀναγκαῖον,
 ἔφη, αὐτὸ ἀνάμνησιν γεγονέναι. Π.1.340α εἰάν σύ γε, ἔφη, αὐτῷ
 μαρτυρήσης. 8.547α καὶ ὀρθῶς γ', ἔφη, αὐτὰς ἀποκρίνεσθαι φήσο-
 μεν. 9.588β νῦν δὴ, ἔφη, αὐτῷ διαλεγώμεθα...(τ). Δημ.50.26
 οἶμαι δέ σοι, ἔφη, αὐτὸν οὐδὲν διοίσεσθαι(X...).
 -Πλ.Π.5.467ε ὀρθῶς, ἔφη, μοι δοκεῖς λέγειν.
 -Πλ.Π.1.341ε ἢ ὀρθῶς σοι δοκῶ, ἔφη, ἄν εἶπεῖν...
 -Πλ.Λυ.204ε οὐ γὰρ πάνυ, ἔφη, τι αὐτοῦ τοῦνομα λέγουσι(X...)

The best evidence for postpositival status of ἔφη is Ly.
 204e above, where the word appears to disrupt the Formulaic
 expression πάνυ τι (Ch.III, τις, Formula nr.17).

- (2r) - Πλ.Π.1.353γ ἦ τις, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, αὐτῶν ἡ ἀρετὴ (τ). 6.500δ ἄν
 οὐν τις, εἶπον, αὐτῷ ἀνάγκη γένηται... 7.515γ σκόπει δὴ,
 ἦν δ' ἐγώ, αὐτῶν λύσιν...(X...).
 -Πλ.Πρμ.137β τίς οὖν, εἶπεῖν, μοι ἀποκρίνεῖται;(τ).

The (2r) instances are perhaps on the analogy of (2q);
 but they are of slightly different character.

(3) See next page.

(3) - Πλ.Φδρ.228γ σὺ οὖν, ὦ Φαῖδρε, αὐτοῦ δεήθητι· Σφ.248β τάχ' οὖν, ὦ Θεαίτητε, αὐτῶν τὴν...ἀπόκρισιν...κατακούεις· Φλβ.25β καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τις, ὦ Πρώταρχε, αὐτῶν...γεγονέναι(X...), 57γ τὸν οὖν, ὦ Πρώταρχε, αὐτῶ δίδομεν...; Πлт.258δ δεῖ γε μὴν, ὦ Σώκρατες, αὐτὸ εἶναι καὶ σὸν (X...).

- Πλ.Λα.199ε λέγειν τι, ὦ Σώκρατές, μοι δοκεῖς· Πлт.277δ παραδειγματος, ὦ μακάριε, αὐ μοι...δεδέηκεν· Φлβ.54β λέγ' ὦ Πρώταρχε, μοι· N.3.702β ἐγὼ τινα, ὦ ξένε, μοι δοκῶ κατανοεῖν.

- Πл.Флβ.36γ πῶς δ', ὦ Σώκρατες, ἄν εἶεν...(τ).

- Πл.П.1.337ε πῶς γὰρ ἄν, ἔφην ἐγὼ, ὦ βέλτιστε, τις ἀποκρι-
γαιτο...; Σφ.244β μῶν, ὦ παῖ, τι πλημμελοῦμεν... N.3.
683β εἰ γοῦν, ὦ ξένε, τις ἡμῶν ὑπόχοιτο θεός.

In Phlb.25b, the X-element from which q is postponed by the vocative is itself a postpositive, τις. In Plt.277d, αὐ is postpositive. It is difficult to believe that a vocative expression can have postpositival status, and yet in Lg.III 683b above such an expression appears to disrupt the Formula εἴ τις (Ch.III, τις, Formulae nrs.1, 2); so also πῶς ἄν in Phlb.36c (Ch.III, ἄν, Formula nr.3).

(4) Δημ.37.27 ἵνα νῆ Δία αὐτοῦς κτήσωμαι.

There is one exception only under (4).

It is odd that vocative expressions, which are part of the quotation, and 'he said', which is not, should be treated so similarly; both tend to be placed so that in the exceptions q is peninitial, or nearly so, in the sentence, if the 'parenthesis' is either given postpositival status or not counted as part of the sentence (the latter treatment suggests itself rather for 'he said' than for vocatives, yet it is 'he said' which seems more obviously postpositival); this seems to reflect a tendency of these expressions, even where no exception occurs, to be placed after a strongly emphatic mobile, usually the earliest in the sentence (see (2q) and (3) above: this does not apply to subordinate clauses, which, in these exceptions, are themselves the main point - (1a-) and (1b)). The expression πάνυ τι is so rarely found in Antiformulaic order (otherwise only La.182e(t)) that we may suspect πάνυ ἔφη τι to be Formulaic, not Antiformulaic, ἔφη being postpositival;

the same is suggested by the fact that list (2) is confined to ἔφη and a small number of cases of other relatively short expressions - there are none of ἧ δ' ὄς ὁ δεῖνα' postpositival status may also apply to vocatives - in list (3) obs. that in almost all instances the 'parenthesis' is preceded as well as followed by a postpositive, τις ὦ Σώκρατες μοι, γούν ὦ ξένοι τις κτλ.

As to authors: Thucydides is almost unrepresented in these exceptions; Demosthenes has a concentration of exceptions in (la-), Plato, as we would expect, in (2) and (3). Within Plato, exceptions of type (2) are mainly in R., of type (3) in Sph., Plt., Phlb. and Lg., and absent from R. That ends the account of Rule XV.

Rule XVI Under the conditions mentioned in Rule XV, postpositives belonging by sense to the subordinate clause or parenthesis are not initial in it. See p.2.1.12.

Exceptions to Rule XVI These are few, but mostly correspond to type (3), 'he said', in the exceptions to Rule XV above:-

μ- Δημ.19.197 ... ἠνάγκαζον οὗτος (μοι δοκεῖ).

ἂν Πλ.Κρι.528 ἄλλο τι οὖν, ἂν φαῖεν, ἧ... παραφάσεις; IM 299a μανθάνω, ἂν ἴσως φαίη, καὶ ἐγὼ Φδ.87α τί οὖν, ἂν φαίη ὁ λόγος, ἐτι ἀπιστεῖς...; Ν.7.800γ ἂρ' οὐκ, ἂν φαῖμεν, ἀθυμίαν...; Δημ.1.14 τί οὖν, ἂν τις εἶποι, ταῦτα λέγεις...; (τ), 19 τί οὖν, ἂν τις εἶποι, σὺ γράφεις...; 44.55 ὅτι νῆ Δά; ἂν εἶποι, τοῦτον εἰσπεπόνημα...(τ).

τις Dem.1.14, 19 above.

Dem.19.197 (μ-) possibly is assimilated in word-order to ἀναγκάζειν οὗτος μοι δοκοῦσι' alternatively, the 'parenthesis' μοι δοκεῖ is equivalent to πού and so not colon-separated from its matrix. Dem.44.55 (ἂν) is the second instance of νῆ Δά exceptionally not followed by a colon-division: cf. 37.27, p.2.2.37 above. All the ἂν-exceptions have ἂν φαίη/
εἶποι,

and the majority open with an interrogative: $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma/\pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ κτλ. $\grave{\alpha}\nu$ and $\omicron\upsilon\kappa$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ are Formulae (Ch. III, $\acute{\alpha}\nu$, Formulae nrs. 1 and 3), which may explain cases like $\acute{\alpha}\rho' \omicron\upsilon\kappa$ ($\acute{\alpha}\nu$ φαῖμεν)... and $\tau\acute{\iota}$ $\omicron\upsilon\kappa$, $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ εἶποι... Formulaic also is φαίην $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ (not εἶποιμ' $\acute{\alpha}\nu$): see also therefore 1+20 and 3+20 (Anticounterformula under lists 1 and 3). Hp.Ma. is again unique (cf. p. 2.2.36 above): it has the only non-interrogative $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ -exception in Plato, the only one not explicable by a Formula - also the only exception with ἴσως (though φαίην $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ἴσως is normal, 15+20 in the lists of $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ -Formula nr. 15). That ends the account of Rule XVI.

Rule XVII When a sentence opens with pqM where p is an article or preposition, q a connective (or similar) word, $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ and $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ do not follow directly upon M, nor directly at the end of the prepositional or articular phrase as a whole if it consists of more than merely pqM. See p. 2.1.13.

Exceptions to Rule XVII These are divided as follows. (1), q is directly followed by the last X-element, giving pqM(M...)qX; this subdivides, (1a) pqWqW, in which the W-elements are necessarily in agreement, (1b) pqM(M...)qV. (2), pqM(M...)qM'(...)V; subdivided, (2a) M' goes closely with the earlier M(M...), (2b) M' goes with the following verb. The subdivisions (a) and (b) in (1) and (2) thus correspond.

(1a) Θ. 4.13.2 προσεβοήθησαν γὰρ) τῶν τε φρουρίδων τινες αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐκ Ναυπάκτου...

See Rule IV; q belongs exclusively to the τε-clause.

(1b) - Πλ. Πρμ. 159γ ...) τὸ τε ἐν ᾧ εἶη... N. 3.691β τὸ τοίνυν σαφέστατον ᾧ εἶη... Δημ. 23.30 περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀκουσίων ᾧ λέγοι' 25.93 καὶ γὰρ) τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ᾧ τις ἴδοι... ≡ 45.76 καὶ) τοῦς μὲν ἄλλους ᾧ τις ἴδοι...

(1b) continues overpage.

(1b) - Θ.4.28.1 ... τῶν τε Ἀθηναίων τι ὑποθορυβησάντων...
 5.10.5 ἀλλὰ) τὰς τε πύλας τις ἀνοιγέτω... 6.71.2 τῶν
 τε πόλεων τινὰς προσαγγώνται... Dem.25.93 c= 45.76 as above;
 58.43 τὸν μὲν Δημοσθένην τις ὑπωρόσατο...

In Prm.159c and Lg.III 691b the regular wording would be εἴη ἄν, a hiatus which is usually avoided. In Dem.25.93 and 45.76, which are seemingly variants of a single habitual phraseology, the position of τις seems due to induction by ἄν.

(2a) - Πλ.N.3.692γ τὰ τε νοηθέντα ἄν καλὰ τότε πάντα ἀπέσωσε...

- Θ.4.62.2 τὴν δὲ αὐτοῦ τινὰ σωτηρίαν... προῖδεῖν. Πλ.
 IE 366α τῶν μὲν δυνατῶν τινὲς καὶ σοφῶν... εἰσὶν οἱ ψευ-
 δεῖς... Σμπ.183δ εἰς δὲ ταῦτά τις αὐ βλεψας ἠγήσασατ' ἄν...

(2b) - Πλ.N.9.862ε τοῦς τε ἄλλους ἄν διπλῆ ὠφελούεν...

- Θ.1.2.4 ... αἱ τε δυνάμεις τις μεζους ἐγγιγνόμεναι...
 ἐνεποιοῦν... 2.4.3 τῶν δὲ Πλαταιῶν τις τὰς πύλας...
 ἔκλησε 8.1.3 τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τις ἐς εὐτέλειαν σωφρονίσει,
 74.2 ... τῶν μὲν Παράλων τινὰς οἱ τετρακόσιοι δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἔδη-
 σαν... Πλ.Σμπ.172α τῶν οὖν γνωρίμων τις ὀπισθεν κατιδῶν με
 ... ἐκάλεσε. Δημ.6.12 οὐδ' ἐν μὲν τῇ μεσογειᾷ τιν' ἀρχὴν εὐρη-
 κε... 23.142 ἐν δὲ Ἀμφιάκῳ τινὲς ἄνθρωποι γίγνονται...

There are sentences in which there is a choice between infringing Rule XVII or XXVII. Among cases where q is preceded by a W-element, in Th.IV.13.2 (1a), VI.71.2 (1b) and Hp.Mi. 366a (2a), the earliest 'regular' position under this Rule would be consistent with Rule XXVII, giving WWq, WVq. But in Th.II.4.3, VIII.1.3, 74.2, Pl.Smp.172a (all (2b) above), the earliest under this Rule (τὰς πύλας τις, ἐς εὐτέλειαν τις, οἱ τετρακόσιοι τινας, ὀπισθεν τις) would infringe Rule XXVII, giving W...q(...)V (see Rule XXVII, (Three), p.2.3.101); that is however a fairly 'standard' group of exceptions, including Dem.30.37 τῶν μὲν γὰρ μαρτυρησάντων ἤδη τινες... ἔδοξαν.

Overall, exceptions with ἄν are few: none in Thucydides, four in Plato (confined to Prm. and Lg.) and four in Demosthenes (reducible to two, each repeated with slight variation). But τις is different: 9 in Thucydides, three in Plato, five (reducible to three, two being due to induction) in Demosthenes. In Thucydides in fact 'exceptions' are almost as nu-

merous as those in earliest 'regular' position (see I.142.4; II.35.2, 60.6, 105.4; IV.52.1, 121.2; VII.2.3, 78.4; VIII.48.1, 71.3) and there are none in second earliest. It is therefore in relation to τις a two-author Rule. In Plato there are about 35 in earliest 'regular' position, eight in second earliest, in Demosthenes four and six respectively. That ends the account of Rule XVII.

Rule XVIII The postpositives under study (unlike δέ, γάρ κτλ.) do not directly follow the article, neither (1) when belonging by sense entirely without the articular phrase, nor (2) when belonging entirely within that phrase, nor (3) when belonging both within and without. See p.2.1.12-14.

Exceptions to Rule XVIII A number of 'exceptions' have been omitted here and recorded in Ch.I Appendix A, on the ground that they are not postpositives but in fact mobiles; cases subject to doubt are listed here also. The exceptions are divided into the groups indicated in the wording of the Rule, subdivided according to the identity of π.

(1)-Πλ.Σμπ.177α ἡ μὲν μοι ἀρχὴ τοῦ λόγου ἔσται... Π.3.396γ ὁ μὲν μοι δοκεῖ μέτριος ἀνὴρ...ἐθέλησειν... Φδρ.236δ ὁ δέ μοι λόγος ὄρκος ἔσται Φλβ.14α τό γε μὴν μοι ἴσον τοῦ...λόγου ἀρέσκει.

-Θ.6.64.1 τοὺς γὰρ ἄν φιλοῦς...βλάπτειν ἄν... Πλ.Κρα.433γ τὸ μὲν ἄν πολὺ ἴσως ἐκ προσηκόντων εἴη γραμμάτων....

This is a rarity. In all, π is preceded by another post-positive (induction?). All the μ- cases are of μοι, two of them semi-genitival like the Herodotean τὸ δέ οἱ οὖνομα (1.1.3 κτλ.); three are associated with the word λόγος (epideictic style?), while ὁ μὲν μοι δοκεῖ...ἐθέλησειν is perhaps equivalent to ὁ μὲν που...ἐθέλησει.

(2) - Θ.3.36.5 καὶ οἱ αὐτοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων συμπράσσοντες 8. 47.2 ...δημοκρατία τῇ αὐτὸν ἐκβαλοῦση...(τ). Πλ.Κρα. 404α ...δεσμοῖς...τοῖς αὐτοῦ λέγομένοις Θτ.206δ τὸν γοῦν αὐτὸ δρῶντα N.1.631β τοὺς αὐτοῖς χρωμένους 7.806ε τὰ τῶν αὐτοῖς οἰκείων. Δημ.2.7 τῶν αὐτῶ χρησαμένων 17.5 τοῖς δ' αὐτοῦς... ἀνηρηκόσι...

- Πλ.Ν.8.837ε τὸ δέ μοι δεδομένον...

Perhaps δ'έμοι.

- Θ.2.51.3 τὸ γὰρ τῷ ξυνενεγκὸν ἄλλον τοῦτο ἔβλαπτεν (≡ Πλ. Θτ.157α, Φλβ.51α). Πλ.Απ.21ε τοὺς τι δοκοῦντας εἰδέναι· Φδ.63ε τοὺς τι τοιοῦτον ποιοῦντας (≡ Ν.9.868ε· 10.901α τέ τι· Δημ.20.161· 23.9)· Π.1.331ε τὸ τινος καταθεμένου... ἀποδίδοναι...· 2.363α οἱ τινῶν κηδόμενοι, 371δ τοῖς τι δεομένοις ἀποδόσθαι· 3.397γ ποιηται καὶ οἱ τι λέγοντες...· 7.527β ἀλλὰ οὐ τοῦ ποτέ τι γιγνομένου... (τ)· 10.607ε οἱ ποτέ του ἐρασθέντες· Θτ.189α καὶ ὁ ἄρα τι ἀκούων ἔν γέ τι ἀκούει (≡ Σφ.237δ), 199δ τὸ τινος ἔχοντα ἐπιστήμην... ἀγνοεῖν· Πλτ.276β τὸ τινας ἀμφισβητεῖν· Ν.1.649δ εἰς τὸ τι τολμᾶν (τ)· 2.663β πρὸς τὸ τινα ἐθέλειν ζῆν· 7.797γ τὸν τι νέον ἀεὶ καινοτομοῦντα, 798β τὸ τι κινεῖν τῶν...· 11.935β εἰς τὸ τι γελοῖον... φθέγγεσθαι. Δημ.18.114 τῷ τιν' ἀρχὴν ἀρχοντι (τ)· 20.158 τὸ τιν' αὐτόχειρ' ἄλλον ἄλλου γίγνεσθαι· 23.67 ὁ τιν' αἰτιώμενος...

With τις, mobile status as explanation of the 'exception' should perhaps be considered in Th.II.51.3 (cf. Th.157a, Phlb. 51a, contrast with ἄλλος, ἕτερος), Pl.Ap.21e, R.II.363a (οἱ τινῶν edd.), III 397c, Th.189a (cf. Sph.237d); in general, it seems least likely where g is either preceded by another postpositive (induction?) or accompanied by a W-element. Since τοιοῦτόν τι is a Formula (Ch.III, τις, nr.18) it is remarkable that these exceptions should produce so many cases of Antiformula (Phd.63e etc.), especially as τὸ τι unlike εἶ τι, can hardly be formulaic itself; but see p.3.3.100 - pg... forms a large proportion of Antiformulaic instances. It is clear that the main source of exceptions is τις belonging within the articular phrase. We now pass to type (3).

(3) - Θ.5.10.9 οἱ δὲ αὐτοῦ ξυστραφέντες ὀπλῖται... ἡμύνοντο. Πλ.Σφ.247γ ... ἐπαισχυνθεῖεν οἱ γε αὐτῶν σπαρτοὶ τε...· Τλ.89ε ὅτι τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν... διαγόν... ἀνάγκη γίγνεσθαι...· Ν.5.728α τὸ γὰρ αὐτῆς τρίμιον... ἀποδίδοται...

Th.V.10.9 above is comparable with (1) R.III 396c in that a verb also comes between article and noun; this would not be irregular if it were separated from the article by another mobile (e.g.f. τὸ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπέζεεν αὐτοὺς νόσημα).

- Δημ.23.61 εἰάν... ἄγη καὶ φέρη βίβη τὰ τινος ληζόμενος

The last is unique and perhaps merits a separate category.

It defies not only this Rule but Formulaism (why not *ἐάν τινος ἄγῃ τὰ χρήματα* ?); *τινός* is perhaps emphatic -- we expect an articular phrase to be capable of standing alone, which *ῥα* could not; but if *χρήματα* is to be omitted, the juxtaposition is inevitable. Type (3), like (1), is a rarity. That ends the account of Rule XVIII.

Rule XIX The postpositives under study (unlike *δέ, γάρ κτλ.*) do not directly follow a preposition unless 'belonging' to the prepositional phrase, i.e. (1) *ἄν* not at all, (2) *αὐτ-* and *μ-* not unless directly governed by the preposition, (3) *τις* not unless either directly governed or in agreement or a genitival relation (in either direction) with the element governed. See p.2.1.14.

Exceptions to Rule XIX There are none with *αὐτ-* or *τις* (not even any like *εἰς αὐτοῦ τὴν οἰκίαν*, a type which, in view of the situation in *τις*, one might have expected to be not extremely exceptional). In both of those which do occur *ῥα* belongs grammatically to the main verb: Πλ. N.11.926ε *εἰς τινὰ γὰρ οὖν μοι καιρὸν φαινόμεθα...διεξελεῖν*. Θ.5.22.2 *πρὸς γὰρ ἄν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους...χωρεῖν*. In Ig.926ε, *τινὰ γὰρ* is an exception also to Rule XIV above; in both, *ῥα* is preceded by one or more other postpositives (induction?). That ends the account of Rule XIX.

Rule XX The following words are not directly followed by *αὐτ-*: *ἀλλά* (both connective and adverbial, including *ἀλλὰ γάρ κτλ.*), *ἢ*, *καί* (as on *ἀλλά*), *οὐκοῦν*, *οὐ* (including postpositival compounds such as *οὔτε* but not mobile ones like *οὐδές*), *μή* (as on *οὐ*), *πρίν*, *ὥστε*. The following cases are doubtful through paucity of evidence: *ῥα* probably exceptional -- *ἦ, καίτοι, τοιγάρτοι* less certainly exceptional -- *ἐπεὶ* *ῥα* possibly 'regular' -- *καίπερ, ὅτε, τοιγαροῦν*. See p.2.1.16.

Exceptions to Rule XX These lists not only enumerate the exceptions in those cases to which the Rule certainly applies, but review the evidence more generally in the cases mentioned as doubtful (marked *).

ἀλλά Θ.2.21.2 ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς//γῆς τεμνομένης...δεινὸν ἐφαίνετο...
 4.57.2 ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς κίνδυνος ἐφαίνετο... Πλ.Γργ.463γ
 ἀλλ' αὐτὸν λέληθα... (≡ Π.10.619β λαθεῖν). Δημ.21.165 ἀλλ'
 αὐτῶν ἕκαστος...οὐκ ἀπέδρα... (pMq Th.3, Pl.20, Dem.6; pMMq
 Pl.21, Dem.11).

ἀλλ' αὐτ- is perhaps not exceptional in Thucydides (cf. καί below), where there is one more only of pMq than of pq; but it may be significant that both pq have verb ἐφαίνετο, as in Plato both have λανθάνω with the last cf. also Dem.36.28 οὐδ' αὐτὸν λέληθεν.

* ἐπεὶ Πλ.Φδ.102α ἐπεὶ αὐτῶ ταῦτα συνεχωρήθη· Σφ.225γ ἐπεὶ περ αὐτὸ διέγνωκεν. (pMq: Pl.Euthd.283d, R.VIII 567e. pMMq: Pl.Hp.Mi.364e, Dem.50.23.)

ἢ Πλ.Κρα.433ε ἢ αὐτὰ ποιῆσαι...(τ). (pMq Th.3, Pl.4, Dem.1; pMMq Th.2, Pl.8, Dem.4)

The single exception is textually doubtful; see p.4.2.5.

* ἦ There are no instances of pq in these authors. pMq: Pl. Prt.330a, R.VI.510a (both ἦ καί).

καί connective Θ.1.74.1 καὶ αὐτὸν διὰ τοῦτο ὑμεῖς ἐτιμήσατε...
 (τ), 94.2 καὶ αὐτῆς τὰ πολλὰ κατεστρέφαντο,
 103.3 καὶ αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι δεξάμενοι...κατόπισαν, 110.4
 καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐκ τε γῆς ἐπιπεσόντες..., 134.4 καὶ αὐτὸν ἐμέλλησαν
 μὲν... 2.18.2(τ), 80.5(τ) 3.113.1 4.29.2 καὶ αὐτῶ ἐτι ῥώ-
 μην καὶ ἡ νῆσος ἐμπρησθεῖσα παρέσχεν, 46.3, 48.4, 50.2, 57.2,
 67.4 καὶ αὐτοῖς ἅμα καὶ οἱ...Μεγαρήεις...(τ), 73.2, 109.5, 110.1,
 123.1, 129.4 καὶ αὐτοῖς Νικίας μὲν..., 131.3 5.3.4 καὶ αὐτοῖς
 τὸ μὲν..., 22.1, 37.5 6.28.2, 59.3, 100.2, 101.4 7.25.1 καὶ
 αὐτῶν μὲν..., 34.2, 35.2, 43.5, 53.2, 57.2 8.10.2, 26.3,
 35.2, 42.1 καὶ αὐτῶ ὑετός τε..., 65.2. Πλ.ΙΕ 371δ καὶ αὐτοῦ
 αὐτῶ τούτῳ...περιέσεσθαι... Απ.22δ καὶ αὐτῶν αὕτη ἡ πλημμέ-
 λεια...ἀπέκρυπτεν Γργ.448ε καὶ αὐτῶ...ἀπεκρίνω· Ευθδ.275ε καὶ
 αὐτοῦ μεταξὺ ταῦτα λέγοντος... Φδ.75β καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐνδεέστερά ἐσ-
 τιν, 77β καὶ αὐτῆ...τέλος ἢ Π.1.338γ καὶ αὐτῶ ξυμφέρι...,
 339β καὶ αὐτὸ φῆς εἶναι...(τ) 2.360α καὶ αὐτῶ οὕτω συμβαί-
 νειν... 9.578γ καὶ αὐτῶ...ἐμπορισθῆ... Θ.1.106.1 καὶ τι
 αὐτῶν μέρος...ἐσέπεσεν...(τ) 3.80.1 καὶ τινὰς αὐτῶν ἐπεισαν...,
 113.3 καὶ τις αὐτὸν ἤρετο... 4.48.1 καὶ τις αὐτοῖς ἐδήλωσε,

121.2 καὶ τι αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπράσσετο... (τ), 130.4* 5.36.1 καὶ τινες αὐτῶν καὶ ἐναντίοι..., 62.2 καὶ τινες αὐτοῖς καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν... (τ)* 6.69.1 καὶ τινες αὐτοῖς... καὶ ἀπεληλύθεσαν. Πλ. Πρωμ. 1286 καὶ τις αὐτὸ ἐκλεφε γραφέν. Πλ. Φδρ. 237β καὶ ποτε αὐτὸν αἰτῶν ἔπειθεν... (τ). Θ. 3.75.4 καὶ αὐτῶν τινες οἷς ἐπέτυχον// εἰέφθειραν ἂν* 8.11.1 καὶ αὐτῶν τινες ἀπέθανον. (pMg Th. 54, Pl. 61, Dem. 37)

There are no exceptions of this type in Demosthenes (contrast οὐ γάρ below); in Thucydides on the other hand καὶ αὐτ- must be regarded as normal (49 p_q against 54 pM_q). Thucydides in fact uses καὶ αὐτ- in defiance of Rule XIII: I.110.4, 134.4, IV.129.4, V.3.4, VII.25.1, VIII.41.1 (all quoted in list). καὶ τις αὐτ- may be induction: obs. the relative paucity (despite καὶ αὐτ- in general) of καὶ αὐτ- τις against καὶ τις αὐτ-, while καὶ τις is close to being a Formula (Ch. III, τις, nr. 6, 'verbless'); obs. also that the idiom of 'double-καὶ' (of which καὶ τις (...) καὶ... is a particular variant and καὶ δὴ καὶ another) is relatively commoner in καὶ τις αὐτ- than in καὶ αὐτ- (all quoted in list). In Plato, Phdr. 237b καὶ ποτε αὐτ- is textually doubtful: see p. 4.2.7.

καὶ γάρ Θ. 3.5.2 καὶ γάρ αὐτοῖς Μελέας... ἀφικνεῖται... Πλ. Γργ. 447γ καὶ γάρ αὐτῷ... Πλ. Φδρ. 257γ καὶ γάρ τις αὐτὸν/-/ἐναγχος τῶν πολιτικῶν... ὠνεῖδιζε....

Here the difference between Thucydides and Plato is no longer seen; the last infringes also Rule XXIII.

καὶ adverbial Θ. 4.5.1 καὶ τι καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ στρατὸς... ὧν ἐπέσχευ (τ)* 7.73.1 λέγων ταῦτα ἃ καὶ αὐτῷ εἰδοκεῖ (τ). Δημ. 19.280 οἱ δὲ καὶ τινες αὐτῶν ἐτι ζῶντες.

This is a rarity and two instances are textually doubtful: on VII.73.1 see p. 4.2.3. Again the double-καὶ idiom, and cf. in particular IV.29.2 (καὶ αὐτ- above).

*καίπερ There are no instances of p_q in these authors; pM_q, Th. VIII.63.3.

*καίτοι No instances of p_q in these authors. pM_q: Dem. 18.139, 24.77, 47.17. pMM_q: 13.26, 18.51, 33.25, 34.15, 49.57.

οὐκοῦν Πλ.Π.3.397β οὐκοῦν αὐτοῖν τὸ μὲν... ἔχει... Φλβ.47ε οὐκοῦν αὐτὰς...
 εὐρήσομεν... Σφ.254δ οὐκοῦν αὐτῶν ἕκαστον... ἐστίν... Δημ.46.23
 οὐκοῦν αὐτόν//λαχεῖν ἔδει... (pMq Pl.6, pMMq Pl.3)

R.III 397b infringes also Rule XIII.

οὐ Θ.8.56.2 οὐ γὰρ αὐτῇ πᾶν... ἦν. Δημ.18.277 οὐ γὰρ αὐτῇ δικαίως οὐδ'.../
 χρῆται· 19.159 οὐ γὰρ αὐτῷ συστρατεύσειν... 23.205 οὐ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀπεδίδοντο...
 27.42 οὐ γὰρ αὐτῇ συμφέρει... Δημ.28.6 οὐδ' αὐτὴν ἀπέδοσαν· 36.28 οὐδ' αὐτὸν
 λέληθεν. Πλ.Θτ.173ε οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀπέχεται... Θ.4.99 καὶ οὐκ ἂν αὐτούς...
 κρατήσῃ... Πλ.Π.3.397δ ἄλλ' ἴσως, "... οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν ἀρμόττειν φαίης·
 Π.9.589ε οὐκ ἂν αὐτῇ ἐλυσιτέλει... Θτ.197δ ἔχειν μὲν οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν αὐτό,
 κειτῆσθαι· γε μὴν φαίμεν. Δημ.18.127 οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν οἶμαι... 174 οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν
 ἠκούομεν· 19.14 "οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν... εὐρεῖν οἶμαι..." 27.56 ... οἴεσθ' οὐκ ἂν
 αὐτὴν λαβεῖν... Πλ.Π.3.408ε οὐ γὰρ ἂν αὐτὰ ἐνεχώρει... Δημ.9.45 οὐ γὰρ ἂν
 αὐτοῖς ἐμελεν... 27.51 οὐ γὰρ ἂν αὐτοῦ κατεδιήτησεν... 39.12 οὐ γὰρ ἂν
 αὐτὸ ποιήσαιμεν. Θ.8.68.3 νομίζων... οὐκ ἂν ποτε αὐτὸν... κατελθεῖν. Πλ.Πεν.95γ
 ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποτε αὐτοῦ τοῦτο θιούσαις... Φλβ.56ε οἱ δ' οὐκ ἂν ποτε αὐτοῖς
 συνακολουθήσειαν... Δημ.36.52 οὐκ ἂν ποτ' αὐτ' ἀνήλωσας. Πλ.Γογ.487ε
 οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε αὐτὸ συνεχώρησας... Φδ.98α οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε αὐτὸν ἦμην...
 Πλ.Λα.120α οὐ μὲντοι πᾶποτε αὐτοὺς ἀνηρώτησα... Θ.7.66.1 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν αὐτῶν
 οὕτω προθύμως ἀντελάβεσθε (τ).

On Dem.36.28 (οὐδέ), see on ἄλλά above. Tht.197d (οὐκ ἂν αὐτ-) seems to be one of three cases only (see also 197c, Sph.255e) in which two instances of postpositival αὐτ- occur side by side (contrast frequency of τίς τι., e.g. in Ch.III. τις, Formula nr.1); this does not happen at all with ἂν or μ-. There are no instances at all of direct juxtaposition οὐκ αὐτ- (where postpositival); however, with the intervention of another postpositive such as γὰρ or ἂν (Ch.III, ἂν, Formula nr.1 οὐκ ἂν) induction does produce exceptions. In this list it is Demosthenes who has the greatest number of exceptions, Thucydides the least (contrast above); in fact with οὐ γὰρ it seems to be a two-author Rule only - the ratio οὐ γὰρ αὐτ-; οὐ γὰρ N (M) αὐτ- is Th.1:3, Pl.0:6, Dem.4:4, and if οὐ γὰρ ἂν αὐτ- is included the 'exceptions' are increased by one only in Plato but in Demosthenes by three. In οὐκ ἂν αὐτ- also Demosthenes is in the majority.

μή 0.5.5.3 εἰ μή αὐτοὺς κατεῖχεν... 6.76.1 μή αὐτὴν καταπλα-
 γῆτε. Πλ.Απ.288 μή αὐτὸν οἶει... Γργ.483γ ἵνα μή αὐτῶν
 πλέον ἔχωσιν· Λυ.207β μή αὐτῷ ἀπεχθάνοιτο· Π.4.430α καὶ μή αὐ-
 τῶν ἐκπλῦσαι τὴν βαφὴν... (τ)· 5.500ε εἰ μή αὐτὴν διαγράφειαν...
 Δημ.32.17 εἰ μή αὐτὸν ἐγὼ ἐξάξω· 39.38 ὕστερόν τε μή αὐτὸν
 φαίνεσθαι... 0.5.14.4 εἰ μή τις αὐτοῖς... ἀποδώσει· 6.40.2
 καὶ εἰ μή τι αὐτῶν ἀληθές ἐστίν· Πλ.Γργ.458γ μή τινὰς αὐτῶν
 κατέχομεν..., 520ε εἴαν μή τις αὐτῷ... διδῶ... Κρα.429γ εἰ μή
 τι αὐτῷ... προσήκει (τ)· Π.6.492α εἴαν μή τις αὐτῷ βοηθήσας θε-
 ῶν τύχη· Τι.18ε καὶ μή τις αὐτοῖς ἐχθρα... γίγνηται. Δημ.10.
 10 εἰ μή τις αὐτὸν κωλύσει· 19.225 μή τις αὐτὸν ἰδῆ... 35.45
 εἰ μή τις αὐτῷ... (≅ 47.64, 49.15, 50.11). 0.8.46.3 ἦν
 μή ποτε αὐτοὺς μή ἐξέλωσι, Πλ.Π.4.421ε ὅπως μή ποτε αὐτοὺς
 λήσει... 7.530ε μή ποτ' αὐτῶν τι ἀτελὲς ἐπιχειρῶσι... μανθάν-
 εῖν... 0.5.69.1 καὶ οὐ μή ποτέ τις αὐτοῖς ἄλλος... ἔλθῃ·
 Πλ.Ν.5.729β μή ποτέ τις αὐτὸν ἰδῆ... Πλ.Φδ.94γ ... ὠμολο-
 γήσαμεν... μή ποτ' ἂν αὐτὴν... ἄδειν... (τ). 0.2.89.5 μή δὴ
 αὐτῶν τὴν δύναμιν δείσῃτε. Πλ.Ν.3.694δ μήτε αὐτοῖς ἐναντι-
 οὔσθαι. Πλ.Θτ.153δ μηδέ τιν' αὐτῷ χῶραν ἀποτάξῃς. Πλ.Ν.7.
 798ε μήτε τις αὐτοὺς πείσῃ...

μή differs from οὐ in that μή αὐτ- is not totally ab-
 sent. It is however undoubtedly exceptional; as a sample,
 among expressions like εἰ μή, καὶ μή κτλ., the ratio pNq:
 pNMq: pNMMq is Th.1:1:1, Pl.3:9:4, Dem.1:7:4, while 39.38 seems
 to be the only case of μή αὐτ- in medial position. With the
 Formula p μή τις however (Ch.III, τις, nr.12), induction makes
 a great difference; cases of ποτε, πω being omitted, the ra-
 tio p μή τις αὐτ-: p μή τις M αὐτ- is Th.2:0, Pl.4:1, Dem.5:0.

* ὅτε Δημ.6.22 ὅτ' αὐτοῖς τοὺς τυράννους ἐξέβαλλε· 23.187 οὐθ'
 ὅτ' αὐτὸν ἐποιεῖσθε πολίτην· 32.22 ὅτ' αὐτὰ καταλιπεῖν τοὺς
 ναύτας ἔπειθεν. pMq: Th.II.54.4, 102.5; Pl.Prm.156a, 158b,
 Phlb.57a, Lg.XII 967a; Dem.16.29, 21.226, 47.10, 57.26.

With ὅτε, pq is in Demosthenes almost as numerous as pMq,
 but is absent from the other authors.

πρὶν 0.1.132.5 πρὶν γε δὴ αὐτοῖς//... μνηστῆς γίγνεται...
 3.101.2 πρὶν αὐτῶν εἶλον κώμην... pMq: Th.V.41.3, VIII.
 45.1; Pl.R.III 393e, Sph.254b, Plt.281d, Phlb.16d. pMMq: Dem.
 18.30.

* τοιγαροῦν Πλ.Ν.3.695δ τοιγαροῦν αὐτῷ τὰ στρατεύματα... προσ-
 εκτήσατο... pMq: nil.

* τοιγάρτοι No cases of pq or of pMq. pMMq: Pl.Smp.179d.

ὥστε Θ.1.84.3 ἢ ὥστε αὐτῶν ἀνηκουστεῖν. Πλ.ΜνΞ, 238ε ὥστε αὐ-
 αὐτῶν ἀνώμαλοι καὶ αἱ πολιτεῖαι. Κρα.41 δ ὥστε αὐτὸ μηδὲν
 στέγειν. Φδ.111α ὥστε αὐτὴν ἰδεῖν εἶναι θέαμα... Π.1, 336ε ὥσ-
 τε αὐτῷ οἶός τ' ἐγενόμην ἀποκρίνασθαι. Δημ.21.155 ὥστ' αὐτῶν
 ἐνλοῖς...περὶ εστίν. (pMq: Pl.8. pMMq: Th.5, Pl.2, Dem.5)

Here Demosthenes and Thucydides prefer pMMq, Plato pMq,
 so that pq is exceptional. That ends the account of Rule XX.

Rule XXI The following words or expressions are not directly
 followed by μ-: ἀλλά (adverbial and ἀλλὰ γάρ κτλ.),
 ἢ, καί (adverbial), οὐ, οὐδέ, μηδέ, οὔτε, μήτε. (But ἀλλά μ-
 connective, καί μ- connective, καὶ γάρ μ- κτλ., οὐ γάρ μ- κτλ.,
 οὐδεῖς μ-, μή μ-, μή γάρ μ- (?), μηδεῖς μ-, appear to be nor-
 mal.). See p.2.1.16.

Exceptions to Rule XXI There are no exceptions with ἀλλά ad-
 verbial, ἀλλὰ γάρ κτλ., καὶ adverbial,
 μηδέ, μήτε. In the lists which follow, a dash (-) in the open-
 ing position indicates that the expression has been treated as
 exceptional; brackets enclose lists in which the expression pq
 has been treated as normal but some proof seems worthwhile;
 in addition to either of these, * indicates cases where doubt
 remains.

(ἀλλά μ- connective pq Pl.37, Dem.1; pqMq Pl.24, Dem.8)

- ἀλλὰ γάρ μ- κτλ. γάρ pqq nil; pqMq Pl.La.200d, R.V 471c.
 δὴ pqq nil; pqMq Pl.R.I 351c. μήν pqq
 nil; pqMq Pl.Phil.63a; pqMMq Pl.Chrm.161a.

- ἢ Πλ.Φδρ.228α καίτοι ἐβουλόμην γ' ἂν μάλλον ἢ μοι πολὺ χρυσοῦν
 γενέσθαι. (pMq Pl.5, Dem.1; pMMq Pl.1)

This is unique in these authors; that, together with the
 appearance of metre, suggest a verse quotation; however, ap-
 parently insignificant combination of linguistic irregularity
 and appropriate metre is found at Th.IV.17.2.

(καί connective pq Th.1, Pl.97, Dem.73; pMq Th.2, Pl.41, Dem.25.)

(καὶ γάρ κτλ. γάρ pqq Pl.Ia.197d, Smp.193e, 198c; pqMq Pl.Ia.180c, Prt.347c, Ly.213e, Cra.417e, Phd.88c. γάρ οὖν pqqq Pl.Ia.184b. δῆτα pqq Pl.Euthphr.11d. οὖν pqq Pl.Phdr.235a. μέντοι pqq Pl.Plt.291b. μήν pqq Pl.Frt.309a; pqMq Pl.Euthphr.12a. μέν δῆ pqqq nil, pqqMq Pl.Cra.396d, R.IV 428a. (pq(q)q 8, pq(q)Mq 8).

- οὐ μ- (1) οὐ μοι δοκεῖ/φαίνεται Πλ.Γργ.475ε οὐ μοι δοκεῖ... (≡ Λυ.220ε, Κρα.429β, Φδ.87α). Μεν.78α οὐ μοι δοκεῖ, ὧ Σώκρατες (= 84γ, 95β), 89α οὐ μοι δοκεῖ (= 96β, 99β. Π.2.379β, 382δ. 4.422δ. 6.486β. 9.583ε. Πρμ.152ε). Λυ.210δ /%/, "... /-/οὐ μοι δοκεῖ. Κρα.423δ ἐπειτα οὐκ//οὐ μοι δοκοῦμεν..., 440β οὐ μοι φαίνεται... IM 287δ οὐ μοι δοκεῖ, ἀλλ' ὅτι..., 292β οὐ μοι δοκεῖ/-/οὐκ, εἰ..., 297γ οὐ/%/οὐ μοι φαίνεται. Π.3.390γ οὐ/%/,"..., "οὐ μοι φαίνεται, 399γ οὐ μοι, "..., "φαίνεται, 399ε /%/, "..., "οὐ μοι φαινόμεθα, 404δ οὐ μοι δοκῶ (= Θτ.158ε). Π.4.441δ οὐ μοι δοκοῦμεν, "..., "ἐπιλελησθαι. 5.466β οὐ μοι δοκεῖ, ἔφη. 9.589γ οὐ μοι δοκεῖ, "..., "οὐδαμῆ γε. Πρμ.131ε οὐ/%/,"..., "οὐ μοι δοκεῖ... Πλ.Ιων541α οὐκ αὖ μοι δοκεῖ τοῦτο. Λυ.216β οὐκ ἂν μοι δοκεῖ οὕτως ἔχειν. Θτ.155δ οὐ πῶ μοι δοκῶ. Πλ.Γργ.468δ ἀλλ' οὐ μοι δοκεῖ... N.2.664β ἀλλ' οὐ μοι φαίνεται... Θ.3.89.5 ἄνευ δὲ σεισμοῦ οὐκ ἂν μοι δοκεῖ... Πλ.Γργ.500ε ὅτι ἡ μὲν ὀφοποιική οὐ μοι δοκεῖ...εἶναι... Π.9.571α τὸ τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν// οὐ μοι δοκοῦμεν...διηρῆσθαι. Σφ.235δ τὴν δὲ...ιδέαν//καταμαθεῖν οὐδέπω μοι δοκῶ...δυνατὸς εἶναι (τ).

(2) others Πλ.ΙΕ 373α ὅτι οὐκ ἂν με ἰάσαιο. Π.1.338β ὅτι δὲ οὐ με φῆς χάριν ἐκτίνειν. Ιων.541γ ἡ δὲ ὑμετέρα...οὐκ ἂν με ἔλοιτο... Σμπ.217ε τὸ δ' ἐντεῦθεν οὐκ ἂν μου ἠκούσατε λέγοντος. Δημ.48.45 ἡ διὰ τί σύ/-/οὐδεπώποτε μοι ἔλαχες...

Instances in (1) above are divided according as the negative is initial (or virtually so), initial with intervening miscellaneous q, preceded by a prepositive, or medial. It is clear that οὐ μοι δοκεῖ/φαίνεται is a formula: the proportion of δοκεῖν/φάνεσθαι sentences is in general high among those with μ-, but not so high as this; οὐ μοι δοκεῖ may stand alone (= 'I think not'), possibly preceded, interrupted or followed by oaths, vocatives, or 'he said', or it may be incorporated in the structure of a larger sentence (Grg.475e etc. initial, Th.III.89.5 etc. medial). But, even in the latter case, the phrase maintains its integrity as a unit; mobiles do not come between οὐ μοι and δοκεῖ/φ when one does come between negative and verb, the exception is replaced by regu-

lar order, giving (e.g. in asyndeta and apodoses) Prt.331b οὐ πάνυ μοι δοκεῖ (≡ Men.73δ, 77δ, 98β, Π.1.332ε, 4.435γ, and cf. Smp.180c, R.VII 529a) Grg.448d τὸ ἐρωτώμενον οὐ πάνυ μοι φαίνεται..., Απ.28α οὐ πολλῆς μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἀπολογίας, Κρα. 417γ οὐ ταύτη λέγειν μοι δοκεῖ..., 419β οὐ πάνυ χαλεπά μοι φαίνεται - while the exceptionalist above has no instance of οὐ μοι M δοκεῖ. Conversely, in sentences of the form οὐ(...) δοκεῖ with no intervening mobile, οὐ μοι is the rule and οὐ δοκεῖ μοι a rarity (listed in Appendix B, μ- (2a), p.2.4.7 below). Among the other exceptions ((2) above) there is one instance only of direct οὐ μ-, the others being due to induction.

(οὐ γάρ μ- κτλ.* γάρ Nqg Pl.Euthphr.6d, Grg.472b, R.V 595b, Phlb.28a; NqMq Pl.Ap.37e, Cra.414b, Dem.21.120, 42.11, 45.47, 50.36, 52.30, 55.18. μέντοι Nqg Pl.Euthd.298a, Cra.421d. (Nqg 6, NqMq 8))

- οὐδέ μ- * Πλ.Γργ.505γ οὐδέ γέ μοι μέλει... * Θτ.150δ οὐδέ τί μοι ἐστίν... * Δημ.8.72 οὐδέ γέ μοι δοκεῖ...(τ). (pMq: Th.VI.92.2, Pl.Smp.215e, Dem.21.102)

All three exceptions seem due to induction (none of the pMq cases has a postpositive following οὐδέ, while Dem.8.72 if textually correct (see p.4.2.9) is a member of the οὐ μοι δοκεῖ formula.

- οὔτε μ- * Πλ.ΙΕ 369δ οὔτε μοι μέλει * Π.1.338β οὔτε γὰρ ἂν με λάθοις... pMq Pl.Chrm.169c. οὔτε γὰρ M μ- Δημ. 40.57, 45.22.

One case only of οὔτε μ-, the other exception due to induction.

(μῆ μ- e.g. initial in asyndeta and apodoses: Nq Pl.3, Dem.5; NMq Pl.1, Dem.2)

(μῆ γάρ μ-* Nqg nil, NqMq Dem.34.16. μῆ μέντοι μ- Πλ.Θτ.149α. μῆ οὖν με Δημ.45.78. μῆ οὖν M με Δημ.55.35)

- μηδέ μ-* pg nil, pMq Dem.21.29.

That ends the account of Rule XXI.

Rule XXII The following words are not directly followed by
 ἄν: ἀλλά (at all), εἰ, ἐπεὶ, εἴτα/ἔπειτα, ἦ, ἦ,
 καὶ prospective or connective (i.e. 'both' and 'and'), καίπερ,
 καίτοι, ὅτι (= 'that') οὐκοῦν, ὥστε, δῆ, μὴν (but κἄν adverbial and καὶ γὰρ ἄν are regular, indeed Formulaic (Ch. III, ἄν, nr.4)). See p.2.1.16.

Exceptions to Rule XXII As in XXI above, the dash (-) precedes entries dealing with an expression (p?) which has been treated as exceptional, while brackets enclose those where the expression has been treated as regular but some proof seems worthwhile; * marks cases still subject to doubt.

- ἀλλά connective Πλ.Πρμ.147α ἀλλά πῆ ἄν ἐν ἦν. (pMq Th.3, Pl. 11, Dem.6; pMMq Pl.10, Dem.5.)
- ἀλλά adverbial No exceptions; pMq etc. not collected.
- ἀλλά γὰρ κτλ.* Πλ.Φδ.87δ ἀλλά γὰρ ἄν φαίη... (pqMq: none with γὰρ" Pl.Prt.327c (οὖν); pqMMq Pl.Grg.477e, R.X 602e, 603a, Prm.145a (all μὴν)).

γὰρ may have some inductive force derived from καὶ γὰρ ἄν, οὐ γὰρ ἄν κτλ. the μὴν cases have little value as evidence because, quite apart from ἀλλά, μὴν ἄν itself is 'forbidden' by this very Rule.

- εἰ* Pl.Χρμ.169β εἴ τε τι ἄν ἡμᾶς ὠφελοῖ... Δημ.15.16 εἴ ποτ' ἄν εὖ φρονῆσαι ἠθέλησαν. 50.67 εἰ τοίνυν ἄν ἐμοὶ τότε ὠργίζεσθε. (pMq Pl.La.200d, Cra.398e, Smp.210a, R.VIII 553e, IV 442e, Dem.19.172; pMMq Pl.Ph1b.60d.)

No case of εἰ ἄν... εἴ τις and εἴ ποτε are Formulaic (the former in Ch. III, τις, nr.1) giving possible induction in Chrm.169b and Dem.15.16; εἰ τοίνυν may have some Formulaic force too. Among the 'regular', pMq etc., cases, only La.200d, Cra.398e and Ph1b.60d have εἴ τις.

- ἐπεὶ No cases of ἐπεὶ ἄν (pMq Pl.4, pMMq Pl.5).
- εἴτα/ἔπειτα* No cases of εἴτ' ἄν, ἔπειτ' ἄν. (pMq Pl.Cra.438c, Lg.XII 962b; pMMq Lg.II 662e.)

- ἡ No cases of ἡ ἄν. (pMq Th.1, Pl.8, Dem.10; pMMq Pl.8, Dem.1.)
- ἡ* Πλ.Ευθδ.280α ἡ γὰρ ἄν οὐκέτι σοφία εἴη· Φδρ.227δ ἡ γὰρ ἄν ἄστεῖτοι...εἶεν. (pMq Pl.Phd.84b, R.IX 581b (cf. Mnz.236b, Euthd. 285e, 299c, R.I 327c, VI 510a, Tht.171d, all ἡ καί); pMMq Mnz.235e.)

Euthd.280a infringes also Rule XII; ἡ γὰρ ἄν is formulaic in Homer (Il.I 232 etc.).

- καί prospective Πλ.Φδ.79α οὐκοῦν τούτων μὲν κἄν ἄφαιο (κἄν... κἄν...). Δημ.14.4 ἡγοῦμαι γὰρ/-/τοὺς Ἕλληνας //κἄν συμμαχήσαι καὶ...ἔχειν..., 26 ὅστις οὐκὶ κἄν δοῖη καὶ... εἰσενέγκαι* 19.334 ἐπεὶ...ὑστερον κἄν ἐπῆνουν καὶ στεφανοῦν ἐκέλευον.

The context suggests that in none of these does κἄν mean 'also', 'even' or any adverbial sense, which would give an ordinary instance of the Formula κἄν (Ch.III, ἄν, nr.4).

- καί connective Pl.Λυ.208β ...ἐπιτρέπουσιν...κἄν εἰ βούλοιο... τύπτειν ἔφεν ἄν· Πρτ.318γ ...εἰ...ἐπανερόιτο...εἴποι ἄν...κἄν εἰ...ἐπανερόιτο...εἴποι ἄν... Μεν.98δ ...οὐκοῦν διδασκτὸν ἔδοξεν...κἄν εἰ γε διδασκτὸν εἴη, φρόνησις ἄν εἶναι; (τ)· Φδ.72γ κἄν εἰ συγκρίνοιτο...ταχὺ ἄν...γεγονὸς εἴη..., 79α οὐκοῦν τούτων μὲν κἄν ἄφαιο) κἄν ἴδοις κἄν αἰσθοιο;

There are no cases of καὶ ἄν that, together with the numerous instances of κἄν εἰ (which form a conspicuous sub-class of the Formula κἄν) suggest that these exceptions are due to an incursion of the Formula into the connective-prospective usage, where it is not normally found. Though there is a general resemblance between ἄν and αὐτ- in their relations with prepositives, the Formula κἄν is an exception to it; and though καὶ αὐτ- is common in Thucydides (Rule XX above), and also κἄν adverbial, κἄν connective-prospective is confined to Plato and Demosthenes. Numbers of regular cases are: pMq Th.7, Pl. 24, Dem.4; pMMq Th.7, Pl.35, Dem.9. (Figures for prospective not collected.). Cf. p.2.2.21.

- καίπερ, καίτοι* No exceptions; pMq and pMMq not found either.
- ὅτι = 'that'; see next page.

- ὅτι = 'that' Πλ.Φλβ.62δ ὅτι τις ἀνβλάπτειτο... (pMq Pl.20, Dem.7; pMMq Pl.8, Dem.1.)

The solitary 'exception' is probably in fact a case of pronominal ὅτι, 'I do not know what harm one might suffer'. Though ὅστις ἄν with the subjunctive is a Rule (I above) and ὅστις ἄν with the optative or the aorist indicative very frequent, ἄν shares with αὐτ- (among other things) a tendency not to follow ὅτι = 'that'; with ὅτι + ἄν this reaches the strength of a Rule, but it does apply to a lesser extent to ὅτι + αὐτ-, ὡς + αὐτ-, ὡς + ἄν with ὡς, the distinction is between the senses 'as' or 'when' and 'that', the latter being less frequently directly followed by ἄν and αὐτ-.

- οὐκοῦν No exceptions (pMq Pl.9, pMMq Pl.7).

On οὐκοῦν/οὐκουν distinction, Budé text accepted; οὐκουν ἄν also tends to be avoided (see Ch.III, ἄν, Formula nr.1 for any instances); see Rule XIV above for οὐκ ἄν οὖν, which replaces it (p.2.2.29).

- ὥστε Pl.Απ.35α ὥστ' ἄν τινα καὶ τῶν ξένων ὑπολαβεῖν... (pMq Th.IV.73.2, VI.37.2, Dem.18.30; pMMq Pl.Euthd.284b, Dem.40.30, 51.14.)

Another tendency shared with αὐτ-. Since ὡς ἄν is frequent, it is another case of distinction in word-order between relative and other usages.

- δὴ * Πλ.Χρμ.168γ πάντως δὴ ἄν που... ὑπάρχοι(τ)· Πρωτ.317ε νῦν δὴ ἄν, "... , "λέγοις... Λυ.220δ καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἄν... γένοιτο· Μνξ.240δ ἐν τούτῳ δὴ ἄν τις γενόμενος γνοίη... Π.2.376γ οὗτος μὲν δὴ ἄν οὕτως ὑπάρχοι· 3.413ε οἷος δὴ ἄν ὦν... εἴη· 8.557γ παντοδαποὶ δὴ ἄν οἶμαι... μάλιστ' ἐγγίγνοιτο... Πρωτ.161β εἴη δὴ ἄν... (MqMq Pl.12, Dem.1; MqMMq Pl.7, Dem.2)

Despite οὐκ ἄν and οὐ γὰρ ἄν there is no case of οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἄν (nor οὐ γὰρ ἄν δὴ), but οὐ γὰρ δὴ M ἄν occurs at Th.IV.87.4. Chrm.168c and R.VIII 557c are members of the Formula πᾶς ἄν (Ch.III, ἄν, nr.9) - but why not πάντως ἄν δήκου? Again, οὕτως ἄν and οὕτως ἄν are frequent expressions, though they fall short of inclusion in Ch.III.

- μήν No instances of ...μήν ἄν. (καὶ μήν p_qM_q Pl.R.III 412d, Lg.IV 711b, Dem.23.96; p_qMM_q Pl.R.III 410d, Lg.I 628a, III 687d, Dem.20.150, 24.75. οὐ μήν N_qM_q Pl.Prm.162d; N_qMM_q Pl.Prm.146e, Dem.14.3. ἀλλὰ μήν p_qM_q nil, p_qMM_q Pl.Grg. 477e, R.X 603a, Prm.145a. ἢ μήν p_qM_q nil, p_qMM_q Dem.19.292.)

μήν is rare and not found with ἄν except in these expressions involving prepositives or the negative; nevertheless it seems much more assiduously separated from a following ἄν than δὴ the absence of ἀλλὰ μήν ἄν and ἢ μήν ἄν could be due to the Rule against ἀλλ'ἄν and ἢ ἄν, but the avoidance of καὶ μήν ἄν and οὐ μήν ἄν is despite κἄν, καὶ γὰρ ἄν, οὐκ ἄν, οὐ γὰρ ἄν (Ch.III, ἄν, Formulae nrs.1 and 4). That ends the account of Rule XXII.

Rule XXIII The following words or expressions are not directly followed by τις: ἀλλά (adverbial and ἀλλὰ γὰρ κτλ.), ἐπεὶ, ἵνα, καὶ (as on ἀλλά), μή (as negative), οὐ, οὐδε and μηδέ (adverbial), οὐκοῦν. See p.2.1.17.

Exceptions to Rule XXIII As in XXI and XXII above, the dash (-) precedes entries dealing with an expression which has been treated as exceptional, while brackets enclose those where the expression has been treated as regular but some proof seems worthwhile; * marks cases still subject to doubt.

(ἀλλά τις connective normal. p_q Pl.15, Dem.1; p_qM_q Th.1, Pl. 20, Dem.12. See also Ch.III, τις, Formula nr.7.)

- ἀλλά adverbial No cases of ἀλλά τις. (Regular, p_qM_q etc., not noted.)

- ἀλλὰ γὰρ τις κτλ.* Πλ.Π.7.530γ ἀλλὰ γὰρ τι ἔχεις ὑπομνήσαι... (τ). Πλ.Π.10.600α ἀλλὰ δὴ τις πόλεμος... (p_qM_q Pl.Euthd.304e(μέντοι), Phlb.35b(μήν); p_qMM_q Pl.Phd.63a(μήν).

- ἐπεὶ No instances of ἐπεὶ τις. (p_qM_q Pl.Grg.473e; p_qMM_q Pl.Euthphr.4c, R.II 382b, Tht.142b.)

(ἢ τις normal. pg Pl.5, Dem.1; pMq Pl.21, Dem.2; see also Ch.III, τις, Formula nr.5.)

- ἵνα Πλ.Π.1.346α ἵνα τι καὶ περαίνωμεν. (pMq Pl.2, Dem.5; pMMq Dem.4.)

(καὶ τις connective normal. pg: (καὶ τις καὶ) Th.18, Pl.1, Dem.2; (others) Th.7, Pl.42, Dem.15; pMq Th.34, Pl.38, Dem.39.) See also Ch.III, τις, Formula nr.6)

- καὶ (adverbial) (1) Θ.8.11.3 ἀλλὰ καὶ τινὰς προανηγγμένας μετακαλεῖν. Θ.8.48.3 εἰ καὶ τι παραυτίνα ἤχθοντο. Πλ.ΙΕ 366ε εἰ καὶ τις σε ἔροιτο... Λα.182γ εἰ καὶ τῷ...δοκεῖ... Κρα.428α τὸ εἰ καὶ τις...καταθεῖη... Φλβ.50β εἰ καὶ τις φιλονικοῦ... Ν.1.632δ εἴτε καὶ τισιν ἔθεσιν 3.684γ 9.860δ. Δημ.24.48 εἰ καὶ τις ἐπεχειρεῖ... 27.27 30.4 55.21. Πλ.Πλτ.275ε ἢ καὶ τινὰ ἐπιμελητικῆν, 295γ, 299δ ἢ καὶ τινὰ ἰποφορβίαν αὐ...θεασώμεθα Φλβ.61α Τι.23α, 70β, 83γ Ν.2.652α 3.681δ, 683ε 4.704γ, 738δ, 742α 9.858β 12.950δ. Δημ.20.123 ἢ ξένος ἢ καὶ τις πολίτης. Πλ.Ν.8.831α καὶ δὴ καὶ τίνος ἀποθανόντος... Πλ.Π.8.567β οὐκοῦν καὶ τινὰς τῶν... Πλ.Π.10.607β μὴ καὶ τινὰ σκληρότητα...καταγνῶ... Θτ.143ε μὴ καὶ τῷ δόξω... ('regular' not collected)

(2) Θ.2.21.1 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ//καὶ τινὰ ἐλπίζον εἶχον... Πλ.Ν.6.767α δικαστῆς δὲ οὐκ ἄρχων καὶ τινὰ τρόπον ἄρχων...γίγνεται... Φδρ.258ε τίνος μὲν οὖν ἔνεκα ἂν τις ὡς εἰπεῖν ζῶη...;(τ). ('regular' not collected)

Phdr.258e above seems due to induction resulting from the Formula ἂν (Ch.III, ἂν nr.4). In general, καὶ τις with adverbial καὶ seems a rarity, except where καὶ is preceded by certain introductory prepositives, viz εἰ and ἢ. The last is confined to late Plato and one case in Demosthenes; in general, pκαὶ τις is a Platonic usage and rare with other than ἢ and εἰ, though with these it seems to be formulaic within its confines.

- καὶ γάρ κτλ.* (1) Θ.4.31.2 καὶ γάρ τι καὶ ἔρυμα...ἦν...(τ), 83.3 καὶ γάρ τι καὶ Ἀρραβαῖος ἐπεκηρυκῆστο... 6.103.4 καὶ γάρ τινὰ καὶ ὑποψίαν...εἶχον, 61.2 καὶ γάρ τις καὶ στρατιὰ...οὐ πολλὴ εὐτυχε...παρελθοῦσα. Πλ.ΙΜ 297ε καὶ γάρ οὖν δὴ τι καὶ οἶμαι ἄρτι ἠύπορηκέσαι. Πλ.Σφ.251γ καὶ δὴ τι καὶ πάσσοφον οἰομένοις...ἀνηρηκέσαι.

(2) Πλ.Φδρ.257γ καὶ γάρ τις αὐτὸν...τῶν πολιτικῶν...ἠνεύδισε...

καὶ τις καὶ, which includes καὶ γάρ τις καὶ and variants, is formulaic; outside that, καὶ γάρ τις is a rarity. In (1)

above, there is a curious resemblance between Hp.Ma.297e and Sph.251c. The corresponding 'normal' usage follows.

(καὶ γὰρ...τις κτλ. γάρ: pqMq Pl.Ly.213e, Cra.400c, Dem.20.39;
pqMMq Pl.Chrm.163d, Euthd.277d, R.IV 441a,
Lg.II 672a, Dem.19.22. δή: pqMMq Pl.Sph.259a (καὶ δὴ καὶ).
μῆν: pqMq Pl.R.IV 432c, Dem.23.141 (καὶ μῆν...καὶ); pqMMq Pl.
Phlb.37a (καὶ μῆν καὶ), Dem.24.75.)

- μῆ* (1) μῆτιadverb Πλ.Πλτ.292ε μῆ τι δὴ βασιλῆς γε. Δημ.2.23
 μῆ τί γε δὴ τοῖς θεοῖς 8.27 μῆ τι ποιή-
 σαντί γ' ἢ... 19.137 μῆ τί γ' ἄ... 21.148 μῆ τί γε τῶν ἄλλων
 ἡγεμόν* 22.45 μῆ τί γ' ἐφ' ᾧ... 53 μῆ τί γ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως (= 24.165)
 54.17 μῆ τί γε δὴ ποιεῖν... Πλ.Φλβ.30δ ...τὸν λό-
 γον ἡμᾶς μῆ τι μάτην ὀδύνης/--εἰρηκέναι.

(2) μῆ interrogative Πλ.Πρτ.310β μῆ τι νεώτερον ἀγγέλλεις;
 Γργ.488β μῆ τι ἄλλο λέγεις τὸ δίκαιον
 εἶναι...; Π.10.603γ μῆ τι ἄλλο ἦν...; Θτ.146δ μῆ τι ἄλλο φρά-
 ζεις...;(τ), 146ε μῆ τι ἄλλο ἦ...; 158ε μῆ πῆ τινα δύναιμι...
 ἔξει...; 196β μῆ τι τότε γίνεταί ἄλλο...(τ), 209α μῆ τί σε αὖ
 μᾶλλον δοξάσω...;(τ) Φδρ.273α μῆ τι ἄλλο λέγει...; Πλ.Π.5.
 479β καὶ μεγάλα δὴ καὶ.../καὶ.../καὶ.../μῆ τι μᾶλλον//ταῦτα
 προσρηθῆσεται...; 10.598α κλίνη//μῆ τι διαφέρει...;

(3) others Θ.7.29.3 καὶ ἀπροσδοκῆτοίς μῆ ἂν ποτέ τινας...
 ἐπαναβάντας ἐπιθέσθαι. Πλ.Π.9.574β ἀρα...φέλ-
 σαιτο μῆ τι δρᾶσαι τῶν... N.12.959β βοήθειάν τε αὐτῷ μῆ τινα
 μεγάλην εἶναι...

Th.VII.29.3 in (3) above seems to be a hybrid between φο-
 βεῖσθαι μῆ τινες... and other constructions. The adverbial
 μῆ τι is comparable with οὐ τι below, but, except for the soli-
 tary medial instance Phlb.30d, is confined to a particular idiom
 involving γε, δὴ, or both. That seems to be a formula (not listed
 in Ch.III), while interrogative μῆ seems to have a block immuni-
 ty from the Rule. Outside these, μῆ τις seems indeed rare.
 The normal usage with negative μῆ follows.

(μῆ...τις e.g. initial in asyndeta, apodoses, and pendent par-
 ticiples: Th.I.38.4, IV.126.4; Pl.La.200e, Ly.220b;
 Dem.25.95 (cf. Pl.Prt.332c, 351c - interrogative).)

- μῆ γὰρ τις κτλ.* Πλ.Λα.182ε μῆ μέντοι τι πάνυ σπουδαῖον(τ)
 Π.4.438α μήτοι τις...θορυβῆσθ' 5.480α μῆ
 οὐν τι πλημμελήσομεν...; N.5.729α μῆ δὴ τις φιλοχρημονεῖτω...
 11.931γ μῆ δὴ τις ἀτιμαζομένῳ μὲν...ἡγεῖσθω... (NqMq Euthd.272c)

There seem to be no actual cases with γὰρ, which is an

exception to the usual situation among such combinations, where normally γάρ is more commonly, or less rarely, followed by any q than are other similar postpositives (cf., e.g. καὶ γάρ κτλ., p.2.2.55).

- οὐ (1) οὐ τι adverb Πλ.Λα.192γ οὐ τι πᾶσα γε... Λυ.205α /-/ οὐ τι τῶν μέτρων δέομαι ἀκοῦσαι... 208δ οὐ τι γάρ που διακωλύει... Κρα.393β Φδ.82γ Π.1.331β 2.362δ 5.450ε Θτ.146α, 161β(τ), 164ε οὐ τι ἂν οἶμαι /- / εἶπερ... Φδρ. 242δ γε, 278γ Φλβ.52α γε Τι.19δ, 41β οὐ τι μὲν δὴ λυθήσεσθαι γε... Ν.4.706α, 715γ. Πλ.Φδ.81δ καὶ οὐ τί γε... 103γ κατ- τοι οὐ τι... (τ) Π.1.351α 4.438ε Θτ.167α γε, 168ε γε, 187α ἀλλ' οὐ τι μὲν δὴ... Σφ.255α ἀλλ' οὐ τι μὴ... (= Ν.10.906ε) Τι. 72β. Πλ.Πρτ.317α ἡγοῦμαι γάρ αὐτοὺς οὐ τι διαπράξασθαι ὁ ἐβουλήθησαν Π.2.358γ ἐπεὶ ἔμοιγε /- / οὐ τι δοκεῖ οὕτως (τ), 373ε ...μελίζονος... δεῖ οὐ τι σμικρῶ (τ) Θτ.156ε καὶ ἐγένετο οὐ τι ὄφεις Ν.4.704α λέγω δὲ οὐ τι τούνομα... 7.789γ ἕνεκα τῆς εὐ- εξίας οὐ τι τῆς τῶν...

Adverbial οὐ τι seems to be a Formula (not in Ch.III), οὐ τι neuter but not adverbial being rare or absent; obs. the infringements of Rule XIV (all quoted); cf. (and contrast) μή τι above, p.2.2.56, and obs. Lg.XI 913d, (3) below.

(2) οὐκ ἂν τις Πλ.Π.8.563γ οὐκ ἂν τις περθεοίτο... Πρμ. 134γ οὐκ ἂν τινα μᾶλλον ἢ θεὸν φαίης ἔχειν... Θ.1.122.1 ὅσα οὐκ ἂν τις νῦν προῖδοι 8.66.5 οὐκ ἂν ποτέ τις φετο... Πλ.Σμπ.182γ καὶ οὐκ ἂν τις εἴποι... 216β ὁ οὐκ ἂν τις οἴοιτο... Ν.8.828δ οἴαν οὐκ ἂν τις εὐροί... Πλ.Σμπ.212β ὅτι συνεργὸν... οὐκ ἂν τις ραδίως λάβοι Τι.89γ οὐ βλον οὐκ ἂν ποτέ τις... βιφή Ν.1.650α καὶ... λέγων οὐκ ἂν τις ποτε ἀνύσειεν 5.739α τάχα δὲ οὐκ ἂν τις... (normal, e.g. following an introductory prepositive: p οὐκ ἂν M τις Pl.R.X 604a, Lg.VII 821a, Dem.49.35; p οὐκ ἂν MM τις Pl.Grg.464a, R.VI 510e.)

'Not...any' is usually expressed by οὐδέν. But that does not exclude the occurrence of οὐ and τις in the same sentence in other senses: οὐκ ἂν τις is less common than might be expected, and there is no case of οὐκ ἂν τι (contrast οὐ τι ἂν Tht.164e (1) above), probably because οὐκ ἂν τις means 'One would not', a sense which is unlikely to require the neuter. For any instances of οὐκ ἂν...τι ('something') see Ch.III, ἂν, Formula nr. 1. Induction seems responsible for οὐκ ἂν τις.

(3) others - see next page.

(3) others Πλ.Φλβ.57β ἐν τούτοις δὲ ἄρ' οὐ τινα τέχνην...
 N.10.890α ἀλλ' οὐ δὴ τινα φύσει' 11.913δ καὶ
 ἀνελόμενον οὐ τι μικρόν, πλῆθος δ'... (normal, e.g. (1) ini-
 tial in apodoses, asyndeta and pendent participles, NMq Th.I.10.
 1, 69.4, VII.57.1, Pl.Sph.257b; (2) following introductory pre-
 positive, pNMq Pl.Grg.478a, 490a(t), Prt.344c, Phd.104e, R.V
 459a, Phdr.252b, Lg.III 676a, Dem.54.13; pNMMq Pl.Hp.Mi.363a,
 R.V 453a, Sph.234c, Lg.VII 805d.)

Lg.XI 913d seems the only instance of non-adverbial οὐ τι,
 'Not something minor, but...' But its uniqueness, together
 with resemblance to R.II 373e μέζονος...οὐ τι μικρῶ, where
 ἡ is undoubtedly adverbial, may suggest that here too its basic
 force is adverbial, the occurrence of ἡ as adverb having pre-
 empted repetition of the same word as substantive, the sense
 being οὐδαμῶς (οὐ τι) μικρόν τι, without change to the ulti-
 mate meaning. Anyway, apart from adverbial οὐ τι and οὐκ ἄν
 τις, exceptions seem a rarity.

(οὐ γάρ τις is a Formula: Ch.III, τις, nr.8)

- οὐκ ἄρα κτλ.* No cases of οὐκ ἄρα τις, οὐκ οὖν τις, οὐ τοί-
 νυν τις. (NqMq Pl.Prm.132e (ἄρα), Dem.19.
 276 (τοίνυν); NqMMq Pl.Phd.70b (οὐκ οὖν), Dem.45.15 (τοίνυν).)

- οὐδέ/μηδέ adverbial Πλ.Αυ.215β ὁ δὲ μή του δεόμενος οὐδέ τι
 ἀγαπήν ἄν' Π.2.379β ὁ δὲ γε μηδὲν κακὸν
 ποιῶν οὐδ' ἄν τινος εἴη κακοῦ αἵτιον. (normal, e.g. following
 an introductory prepositive, Pl.Ti.29a, Dem.18.248.)

(οὐδέ/μηδέ connective are Formulae: Ch.III, τις, nrs.9a and 11.)

(οὔτε τις/μήτε τις are Formulae: Ch.III, τις, nrs.9 and 10.)

- οὐκοῦν No instances of οὐκοῦν τις. (normal, pMq Pl.9; pMMq,
 Pl.10, Dem.1.)

That ends the account of Rule XXIII. It seems worthwhile
 to make some comparison of the relations between prepositives
 and the different postpositives. Although ἄν and τις frequent-
 ly occur side-by-side (possibly because they, and τις in parti-
 cular, are more strongly affected by both formulaism and induc-
 tion (which is a kind of formulaic attraction between postposi-
 tives), nevertheless in relations with prepositives the main

resemblance seems to be between ἄν and αὐτ- and between τις and μ-, possibly because of the similarities in sound. Most notably, whereas ἄν and αὐτ- avoid following καί and ἀλλά connective, τις and μ- are excluded from the position after only the adverbial uses; cf. also p.2.2.53.

Rule XXIV The postpositive ἄν does not stand later than directly after the verb to which it belongs. See p. 2.1.18 ff.

Exceptions to Rule XXIV These have been divided as follows.

(1-) Where V...g appears due to a Formula (Ch.III, ἄν), subdivided according to the numbers assigned to the Formulae in Ch.III; (2) g is subjoined to a different verb from that to which it 'belongs'; (3) VMg where M is a substantive; (4) ditto where adverb.

(1-) (-1) Πλ.Π.7.528α φθονοῖς μὴν οὐδ' ἄν ἄλλω 9.589ε οὐκ ἄν αὐτῷ ἐλυσιτέλει οὐδ' ἄν πάμπολυ...λαμβάνειν Φλβ.64α καὶ οὐκ ἄλλως ἄν ποτε γένοιτο οὐδ' ἄν ἐν N.5.743γ εἶεν δὲ οὐκ ἄν ποτε... Δημ.9.13 οἱ ἐποίησαν μὲν οὐδὲν ἄν κακόν (τ) 29.2 ἠδίκουν μὲν οὐδ' ἄν οὕτως 36.49 οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο γ' ἔχοις οὐδὲν ἄν ποιῆσαι. (-4) Πλ.Κρα.421δ εἶη δὲ κἄν... (-5) N.1.645γ φανεῖη δὲ τάχ' ἄν... (-9) Πλ.Πλτ.300β ...ἀνατρέποι πᾶσαν ἄν πρᾶξιν... N.1.648β φαίη που πᾶς ἄν δηλονότι, 2662ε ζητοῖ που πᾶς ἄν... 10.900ε καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτως ὁμολογοῖ πᾶς ἄν. (-12) Πλ.Ν.10.904β ἐν τῷ παντὶ παρέχοι μάλιστ' ἄν ῥᾶστα... Δημ.20.61 μάθοιτε δὲ τοῦτο μάλιστ' ἄν (τ). (-13) Πλ.Πλτ.289α ἦν γὰρ δικαιοτάτα μὲν ἄν τεθὲν..., 305ε τὴν δὲ...προσαγορεύοιμεν δικαιοτάτ' ἄν πολιτικῆγ Φλβ.30γ σοφία καὶ νοῦς λεγομένη δικαιοτάτ' ἄν. Δημ.18.94 οἱ καὶ μεμφάμενοι πολλὰ καὶ δίκαι' ἄν... 23.185 ἦν ἔδωκε δικαίως ἄν 39.33 οὐκ ὦν δ' οὐκ ἐπηρεᾶζου δικάως ἄν 24.177. (-14) Δημ.24.196 καὶ παροξύνειε μᾶλλον ἄν τινα μισεῖν ἦ... (-15) Πλ.Κρα.421δ εἶη μὲν οὖν ἴσως ἄν... (-17) Πλ.Ν.12.958α ὃ δικάως εἶη πολλὰκις ἄν εἰρημένον.

R.VII 528a above (-1): ἄν μὴν and μὴν ἄν are 'forbidden' by Rules XIV and XXII respectively. In R.IX 589e and Phlb. 64a (-1) both g and the Former to which it is subjoined are a repetition, and in Dem.36.49 the Former only. In a number of cases the causation of the infringement is shared between Formulaism and colon-formation; g is Formulaically attracted

to a position where it is peninitial in a trailing colon, so that there would be no irregularity were the cola in the reverse order - οὐδὲν ἂν κακὸν/ἐποίησαν, ἐποίησαν μὲν/οὐδὲν ἂν κακόν.

So: (-1) R.IX 589e, Dem.9.13, 36.49; (-9) Plt.300b; (-12) Lg.X 904b; (-13) Plt.289a; (-17) Lg.XII 958a; (and possibly (-1) R.VII 528a, Phlb.64a, Dem.29.2). Cf. pp.2.2.63 ff. below.

(2) Πλ.Σμπ.215δ ἐγὼ γοῦν/-//εἶπον ὁμόσας ἂν... N.10.896δ ...εἶη γεγονότα ἂν.

The last is perhaps a unit-formation, εἶη-γεγονότα ἂν .

(3) Πλ.Φδρ.257γ ...ἐπίσχοι ἡμῶν ἂν... N.4.710δ ἐκ τυραννίδος φῆς γενέσθαι πόλιν ἂν... 6.774δ καὶ... Ἐν τῶν καλῶν δρόμῳ τοῦτ' ἂν... 11.913α τὸ δὴ μετὰ ταῦτ' εἶη συμβολαίων ἂν... δεόμενα... 927ε εἶχεν τινα λόγον ἂν... τιθέναί. Δημ.4.42 ἀποχρῆν ἐνίοις ὑμῶν ἂν μοι δοκεῖ 6.37 οὐδένα γὰρ βουλομένην ἔγωγ' ἂν... 24.83 ...προσπεριελήφει τοὺς νόμους ἂν.

Colon-formation seems to be present in Lg.913a, while in 927e ἔχειν-λόγον is perhaps a unit-formation. In Dem.4.42, the regular position after the infinitive would result in a tribrach, ἂν μοι is a common juxtaposition, and μοι is in its standard position.

(4) Πλ.Πρωμ.246γ ἕτερον ἄρα//εἶη ταύτη ἂν... N.8.834β ...γίγνοι-το ἐξῆς ἂν νομοθετούμενα.

The last again seems affected by colon-formation.

There seems little need to doubt the truth of Wackernagel's observation here listed as Rule XXIV; the exceptions are few relative to the great numbers of regular sentences with ἂν. Obs. also the confinement of exceptions to 'middle-late' Plato (esp. Lg., where alone is there any great number) and Demosthenes.

Rule XXV The postpositive αὐτ- does not stand later than directly after X. See pp.2.1.18 ff.

Exceptions to Rule XXV For the main divisions see pp.2.1.26ff.

(One) V...g (for numbers and those of corresponding regular wordings see pp.2.3.6 ff.) is divided
(ctd. p.61)

Rule XXV: index of exception classes (cf. p.2.1.26).

	page
(One)V... <u>q</u> Defn. of subdivns., (1), (2), 61; (3), (4), (5), 63; (6), (7), 64; (8), (9), 66;	60
(10)(3+) 68, (4+)(5+) 69, (6+)(7+)(8+) 70; discussion (table) 71 ff., Is there attraction to V' <u>q</u> ? 74, origin of V' <u>q</u> 75.	
(Two)V... <u>q</u> (...)V Defn. of subdivns., (1--), 77; (2--), 79; (3) 80; (4--) 81; (5) 85.	77
(Three)W... <u>q</u> (...)V Defn. of subdivns., (1--), 86; (2), (3), (4), 88.	86
(Four)W(...)V... <u>q</u> (1), (2)	89
(Five)V... <u>q</u> (...)W Defn. of subdivns., (1-) 89; (3), (4) 89 90.	89
(Six)V(...)W... <u>q</u>	90
(Seven)W... <u>q</u> (1), (2)	91
(Eight)W... <u>q</u> (...)W	91
(Nine)Misc.Mixtures (1), (2), (3)	92

into sections numbered (1) - (10) (similarly (One) V...g under Rules XXVI and XXVII pp.2.2.93 and 97 below). The content of (1) - (4) is as follows: (1) VMg(...) where M is adverb; (2) ditto where M is substantive; (3) As in (2), but with two or more MM in mutually close relation; (4) VMM(...)g where the intervening mobiles are not, or not all, closely related. These sections appear to comprise the 'simplest' instances of V...g, arranged in inverse order of the proximity of g to V. Sections (5) - (9) are explained on p.2.2.63 below; (10) contains instances which combine two or more characteristics of the other sections.

(One)V...g (1) Θ.1.44.2 ξυγκρούειν δ' ὅτι μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἀλλή-
λοῖς, 83.3 πορισώμεθα οὖν πρῶτον αὐτὴν 3.101.2
ξυνέπρασσον δὲ μάλιστα αὐτῶ... 114.1 καὶ ἐγένετο ἅμα αὐτῶ...
4.58 ὅσπερ καὶ ἐπεισε μάλιστα αὐτοῦς 5.10.8 καὶ ὁ Βρασιδᾶς
ὑποχωροῦντος ἤδη αὐτοῦ... 8.14.1 καὶ ἀφέντες ἐνταῦθα αὐτοῦς,
23.6 καὶ... ἐλόντες διεκόμεσαν πάλιν αὐτοῦς... Πλ.Κρι.43δ
καὶ καταλιπόντες ἐκεῖ αὐτό 1.346β ... ἔνενα τούτου καλεῖς
μᾶλλον αὐτὴν ἰατρικὴν; 2.382β καὶ μισοῦσι μάλιστα αὐτό Σφ.
253α τῷ μέλλοντι δρᾶν ἱκανῶς αὐτό N.2.662δ ἐροίμεθ' ἂν ἴσως αὐ-
τοῦς πάλιν... 7.796ε λέγωμεν τοίνυν ἐξῆς αὐτά 10.902δ ... ἔξει
ποτε καλῶς αὐτῶ... Δημ.20.2 ἀλλ' ἐκεῖν' ἂν ἐροίμην ἠδέως αὐ-
τόν 23.1 καὶ μὴ... ἀποστερηθῆναι πάλιν αὐτῆς, 172 τούτους δέ//
ὀρκίσαι πάλιν αὐτόν 26.19 διὰ ταῦτα προσποιῆσαι νῦν αὐτόν ἀρ-
μόττει 40.54 ... οὐδὲν ἦττον διηάζομαι νῦν αὐτοῖς 42.25 ἄξιον
ἀφεῖναι νῦν αὐτόν ἐστίν 50.60 ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι ἐτι αὐτὴν βοη-
θῆσαι...

(2) Θ.1.87.2 δείξας τι χωρίον αὐτοῖς, 95.2 ἢ φαί-
νοῖτο ἀριστα αὐτοῖς, 138.5 δόντος βασιλέως αὐ-
τῶ... 3.20.1 ἐξηγησαμένων τὴν πεῖραν αὐτοῖς... 88.2 νέμονται
δὲ Λιπαραῖοι αὐτάς 4.29.1 καὶ ψηφισαμένων Ἀθηναίων αὐτῶ...
92.6 νικήσαντες γὰρ ἐν Κορωνεῖα αὐτοῦς... 7.36.3 ... ἀναρρή-
ξειν τὰ πρόφραθεν αὐτοῖς 8.24.4 καὶ ὅσῳ ἐπεδίδου ἢ πόλις αὐ-
τοῖς... 90.5 καὶ ἦρχον αὐτοὶ αὐτῆς. Πλ.Λα.193α ὅτι βοηθή-
σουσιν ἄλλοι αὐτῶ, 194β ὥστε μὴ συλλαβεῖν τῷ λόγῳ αὐτὴν Πρτ.
313β εἴτε χρὴ ἐπιτρέπειν σαυτὸν αὐτῶ εἴτε μὴ, 334γ εἰπόντος
οὖν ταῦτα αὐτοῦ... Εὐθφρ.4β οὐ γὰρ ἂν... ἐπεξῆσθα φόνου αὐτῶ,
14δ καὶ προσέχω τὸν νοῦν αὐτῆ (≡ Εὐθδ.272δ) Κρι.54α μὴ συνόν-
τος σοῦ αὐτοῖς Λυ.206δ καλεσάτω οὖν οὗτος αὐτόν, 214α ἀλλὰ
τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν φασὶ ποιεῖν φίλους αὐτοῦς Μνξ.249δ Εὐθδ.
283β(τ) Κρα.399δ Φδ.60γ ... συνῆψεν εἰς ταῦτόν αὐτοῖς τὰς
κορυφὰς (τ), 103δ Π.4.432ε 6.510γ 7.520α ἀλλ' ἵνα καταχρηταί/76ο
αὐτὸς αὐτοῖς... 523α Πρμ.139α 139α ἀλλὰ μὴν εἶναι γέ φαμεν
ἐν τινι αὐτὸ ἀδύνατον, 151δ ἀνάγκη πλέον εἶναι καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν
αὐτῶν Θτ.201α, 206δ Φδρ.271ε(τ) Σφ.256α(τ) Φλβ.45γ, 46ε
(list continues)

Τι.44δ, 83ε° Κοιλι.112γ° Ν.1.640δ, 645ε° 3.680α° 6.756β, 757β, 774β° 7.821β° 9.873δ° 10.909β° 11.919γ την δὲ λύκαις προτετραμ-
μένην εἰς ἀναισχυντίαν αὐτήν. Δημ.2.12 τοσοῦτω μάλλον ἀπισ-
 τοῦσι πάντες αὐτῷ° 9.47 ὑφίστατο δ' οὐδὲν αὐτοῦς° 14.12° 15.11,
 16° 17.7° 18.33, 81° 19.62, 127° 20.23(τ), 28, 42, 54, 80° 21.
 208(τ)° 23.41, 89, 136, 163 ὅτ' ἦν ἀδηλα τὰ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῷ,
 203° 24.27, 28, 72, 137° 25.58° 30.22° 31.12° 33.34° 34.2° 37.
 5, 26° 39.27° 40.59(τ)° 41.18° 44.9, 26, 54 εἶχεν ἄν λόγον αὐ-
 τῷ...° 45.4° 50.68° 53.6, 7, 9° 54.26° 57.23, 27° 58.27, 38° 59.
 22 (≅ 60), 63, 69.

In Prm.139a ((2)above) both γε and φαμεν have been treated as postpositives, and ἔν τινι as amounting to a mobile, which is not certain. In 151d, even if πλέον is V, so also is εἶναι° the sentence is similar to section (6), p.2.2.64 below. On 44.54: cf. Lg.XI 927e in (3), p.2.2.60 above, and thereon.

In (1) and (2) above, which are in many ways very similar, colon-formation, V/Mq, and unit-formation, (VM)q, seem at first equally unlikely as explanations of deferment from the Vq position; but cf. p.1.1.43 ff. and obs. numerous cases of μάλιστα, νῦν and πάλιν as the deferring adverb; but see also pp.2.2.71 ff. below.

(One)V...q (3) @.2.85.5 οἱ δὲ ἀποπέμπουσιν εἴκοσι ναῦς αὐτῷ(τ)°
 6.93.1 διδάξαντος ταῦτα ἕκαστα αὐτοῦ° 7.25, 6
 προσαγαγόντες γὰρ ναῦν μυριοφόρον αὐτοῖς..., 27.2 τὸ γὰρ εἶναι
 πρὸς τὸν ἐκ Δακελείας πόλεμον αὐτοῦς..., 85.3 καὶ διεπλήσθη
 πᾶσα Σικελία αὐτῶν° 8.42.4 καὶ ξυμμιγείσων τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καύνου
 ἑπτὰ καὶ δέκα νεῶν αὐτοῖς. Πλ.Πρτ.319δ οὐδὲ δόντος διδασκάλου
 οὐδενὸς αὐτῷ° Κρα.417γ καὶ παρέχει ἄπαυστον καὶ ἀθάνατον
 αὐτήν° Π.8.568α καὶ θαυμάζουσι δὴ, "... , "οὔτοι οἱ ἑταῖροι αὐτόν
 (τ)° Ν.2.671δ ...εἶναι νομοφύλακας καὶ συνδημιουργοὺς αὐτοῖς...°
 5.729ε ὡς ὑπηρετηκῶς πάντων κάλλιστ' ἀνθρώπων αὐτοῖς° 6.764ε
ἱκανὸς δὲ εἰς ἀρχῶν αὐτοῖς...° 7.805δ ...γενέσθαι γέ τινα τάξιν
 ἑτέραν αὐταῖς; Δημ.5.15 εἰ γενήσεται πόλεμος πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτοῖς°
 9.22 ἀλλ' ὅρῳ συγκεχωρηκῶτα ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἀρξαμένους
 αὐτῷ° 16.19 βουλομένων δὲ γενέσθαι φίλων αὐτῶν° 23.121 ἀπέδωκε
 δὲ πάνθ' ὅσ' ἀπώλεσαν αὐτοῖς° 25.56 καὶ κρύπτει καὶ διασφίζει τὰς
 πρώτας ἡμέρας αὐτόν ἐκείνη° 54.27 ...ἔσεσθαι τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν
 λόγων αὐτοῖς° 58.26 καὶ πεποιηκυίας τῆς μαρτυρίας τῆς...ἀναγνωσ-
 θείσης αὐτόν ὑπόδικον.

In (3) above it seems clear that the intervening mobiles form a unit, but not so clear whether that includes the verb, (VMM)q, or there is a colon-division, V/(MM)q... The latter

is suggested by R.VIII 568a and Dem.9.22; but if (2) above is in part to be taken as unit-formation, it is difficult to deny it in, say, Prt.319d in (3). That however is perhaps a reason to deny it in (2). Compare (3) with (7b), p.2.265 below.

(One)V...g (4) Θ.5.112.2 ἀλλὰ τῆ τε μέχρι τοῦδε σωζούση τύχη
 ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτήν· 6.72.4 ἦσαν γὰρ πέντε καὶ
 δέκα οἱ στρατηγοὶ αὐτοῖς· 8.19.2 καὶ ἐλθούσης παρὰ Καλλιθέως
 ἀγγελίας αὐτοῖς... Πλ. Θτ.183β οἰκειοτάτη γούν διάλεκτος
 αὐτῆ αὐτοῖς· N.9.881ε ...ἔστω τῶν κατηγορημάτων τῶν μεγίστων
 ἐν τοῦτο αὐτῷ. Δημ. 8.18 ἢ κατασκευάζειν ἐκεῖ τιν' ἀσχολίαν
 αὐτῷ; 19.17 χειροτονησάντων ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρκους αὐτόν· 22.5
 ...διδόναι τὸν δῆμον τὴν δωρεάν αὐτῆ (τ)· 25.77 ἀλλὰ κατεγγώ-
 καθ' ὑμεῖς ἐν τούτοισι τοῖς δικαστηρίοις αὐτοῦ θάνατον, 79 ἐστὶν
 ἀδελφός τις οὗτος αὐτῷ· 42.27 ...οὐκ ἀπογράφω τὴν προῖκα χρέως
 αὐτῆ· 45.40 ὡς ἀφέντος ἐμοῦ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων αὐτόν· 52.19 ἢ μὴν
 δελξαντος ἑαυτοῦ εὐθύς αὐτῷ τὰ γράμματα...

In (4) above the intervening mobiles seem divided between some which go closely with the preceding verb and others which are more separate. Of the above categories (1) - (4), the most numerous is (2); there is perhaps no significant distinction between (1) and (2); the combined category (1+2) is perhaps then the most 'basic'. More light will be shed on this by categories (5) - (9), to which we now proceed.

In (5) below, the deferment from the Vg position seems due to a colon-formation like that of Fraenkelian type E (p.1.1.28 above); it subdivides: (a) V/Mqg etc., (b) Vg/Mq etc., where q represents μέν, τε. (6) seems due to similar causation but is characterized by adverbial καί. In (7) are cases due seemingly to colon-formation of the type V/MqM in which g is separated from V by the first of two or more mobiles which are mutually closely related but comparatively remote from g; (7) subdivides into (a), where the reality of the trailing colon is doubtful in view of a possible pause after g (which would give a case of (2) above), (b), where the MM are particularly closely related (unlike (a)), and (c), where the trailing colon is that part of a complex sentence which is subordinate or superordinate to V, and hence alien to g (an alien 'grammatical

group'). In (8) are cases of MVMg in which the two MM are closely related, g 'belonging' to V. In (9) are cases of V(...)V'g in which V' is a verb to which g does not 'belong'. We now procede to (5).

(One)V...g (5) (a) Θ.1.97.1 ἃ ἐγένετο πρὸς τε τὸν βάρβαρον αὐ-
τοῖς καὶ πρὸς... Πλ.Μνξ.238γ καλεῖ δὲ
ὁ μὲν αὐτὴν δημοκρατίαν... Κρα.439α ἐκ τῆς εἰκόνοσ μανθάνειν
αὐτὴν τε αὐτὴν...καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα... (τ).

(b) Θ.3.98.1 μέχρι μὲν οὖν...εἶχόν τε τὰ βέλη
αὐτοῖς... 4.6.2 ...ξυνέβη ἀναχωρήσαί τε
θαῖσσον αὐτοὺς καὶ... Πλ.Σμπ.191γ μετέδηξέ τε οὖν οὕτως αὐ-
τῶν... (τ) Θτ.197β ἔχειν μὲν οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν αὐτό, κεντήσασθαι γε
μὴν φαῖμεν N.11.938β γραφέσθω μὲν ὁ βουλόμενος αὐτὸν... κρινέ-
σθω δὲ... 12,947ε γράφεσθαι μὲν τὸν βουλόμενον αὐτὸν ὁ νόμος
προσταττέτω, ὁ δ' ἀγῶν...γιγνέσθω...

On Tht.197b above see p.2.2.46 above. On Lg.XI 938b and XII 947e, cf. 937e (in (10) (4+...) below). In Cra.439a (a), we expect g to be understood from the preceding mobile use; but cf. the following sentence in that passage, not listed here because, lacking a verb, it is not an exception. Note that in (a) the formulation seems to place an emphasis upon the expression following V, in (b) upon V itself. This may perhaps supply a motivation for the wording in other cases, where explicit co-ordinating particles are absent.

(One)V...g (6) Θ.3.23.5 ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἡ διάφευξις αὐτοῖς...
7.22.1 οὗ ἦν καὶ τὸ νεώριον αὐτοῖς 8.85.2
ξυνέπεμψε δὲ καὶ Τισσαφέρνης αὐτῶ... Δημ.59.4 συνηκολού-
θει δὲ καὶ ἡ Νικαρέτη αὐτῆ.

Section (10) below in fact contains even more instances of this formulation, i.e. in combination with other categories. Obs. that but for καί, which emphasizes the element preceding g (cf. (5) above) these cases would be indistinguishable from category (2), p.2.2.61 above; cf. also (7) (a) below.

(One)V...g (7) (a) Θ.1.128.5 εἶχον δὲ/Μηδοὶ αὐτὸ καὶ βασιλέως
προσῆκοντές τινες... 4.36.1 εἰ δὲ βούλον-
ται...περιέναι/κατὰ νότου αὐτοῖς ὁδῶ ἢ ἂν...εὐρη 5.49.1 οὐκ
ἐκτίνοντες/τὴν ὁδὴν αὐτοῖς ἦν... 6.75.3 ἦσαν γὰρ/ὑποπτοὶ αὐ-
τοῖς οἱ Καμαριναῖοι... 7.79.4 ἀποτειχιούοντας αὐ/ἐκ τοῦ ὀπισθεν
αὐτοῖς ἢ προεληλύθεσαν 8.2.2 καὶ μὴδ' ὑπολείπειν/λόγον αὐτοῖς
ὡς...

Π.5.461β ἀφήσομέν που/ἐλυθέρους αὐτοὺς συγγίγνεσθαι... Δημ.
23.160 ἀρ' οἷεσθ' ἂν ὑποδέξασθαι/τοὺς Ἀβυδηνοὺς αὐτὸν ἢ τοὺς
 Σηστίους... (τ), 211 καὶ κατεσκευάκεν/τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ
 ἑμπόριον... 24.1 ὡς αἰτιὸς ἐστίν/ἄλλος τις αὐτῷ πλὴν... 30.
 24 λαβὲ/τὰς μαρτυρίας αὐτοῖς ὡν ἐναντίον ἀπεκρίναντο 32.18
 μετὰ ταῦτα προῦκαλεῖθ' /ὁ Πρῶτος αὐτὸν καὶ ἡμεῖς... 49.35 καὶ
 ἔδεήθη/οὗτος αὐτοῦ συστήσας...

The oblique (/) above indicates the hypothetical colon-division which motivates classification in category (7); in (7) in general the trailing colon, if real, is of the kind in which separation from other cola is merely a consequence of the internal unity of the trailing colon itself (cf. Fraenkelian type G) - i.e. it does not result from the nature of the leading colon. In the above cases it is only in many instances comparison with (b) below which prompts the suggestion that we are dealing with a V/MqM formulation. At one extreme it seems possible in Th.I.128.5, Dem.23.160, 211, 32.18, 49.35, that q is followed by a pause, and that the instance should be relegated to (2), p.2.2.61 above; but in Th.V.49.1, 8.2.2, Dem.24.1, 30.24, it seems that the defining relative which follows q forms a unitary phrase with the M which follows V.

(One)V...q (7)(b) Θ.8.104.4 ...ἀποκλήσαι/τοῦ ἔξω αὐτοὺς ἔκπλου (τ). Πλ.Φδ.104ε τὸ γὰρ ἐναντίον/ἀεὶ αὐτῷ ἐπιφέρει (τ) Π.8.559δ ...οἷου εἶναι/ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ μεταβολῆς... 10.605α καὶ τιθεῖμεν/ἀντίστροφον αὐτὸν τῷ ζωγράφῳ Τι.42δ διαθεσμοθετήσας δὲ/πάντα αὐτοῖς ταῦτα, 72ε ...συνίστασθαι/μάλιστα ἂν αὐτῷ πάντων πρέποι Ν.4.713ε οὐκ ἐστίν/κακῶν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ πόνων ἀνάφευξις 7.816β ὄντων δὲ/μετρῶν αὐτῶν πρὸς τὰς ἡδογὰς... Δημ.20.85 οὐκ ἂν ἐδώκατε/ταύτην αὐτῷ τὴν χάριν; 153 ἀγάγνωθι λαβῶν/τὸν νόμον αὐτοῖς ὃν λέγω (τ) 22.35 ἐστίν γὰρ/εἰς αὐτῷ τοιοῦτος... 23.7 ἄξιον ὄντα/τυχεῖν/τοῦ ψηφίσματος αὐτὸν τουτου(τ) 24.84 δοῦς γὰρ//τὴν κατάστασιν αὐτῷ τῶν ἐγγυητῶν 25.36 ἐστίν δὲ/πάντ' αὐτῷ ταῦτα.

In Phd.104e above, the context suggests, despite initial impressions, that q 'belongs' to ἐναντίον, which is therefore V, and ἀεὶ goes with the following verb. Dem.23.7 should perhaps be listed rather in (c) below. If category (3), p.2.2.62 above, is to be explained not only by unit-formation but by colon-formation, V/(MM)q, then (7)(b) above corresponds to that as V/MqM. Dem.24.84 suggests the colon-division is real.

(One)V...q (7)(c) Πλ.Π.6.493δ ἡ...ἀνάγκη/ποιεῖν αὐτῷ ταῦτα...
 Τι.78α καὶ στεγέειν/οὐδὲν αὐτὸ δύναται.
 Δημ.19.25 καὶ δοκῆ/δεινὸν αὐτῷ καὶ υπερβάλλον εἶναι, 253 ἔν/
 Σόλωνος αὐτῷ μεμνήσθαι, 317 ἦν δὲ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον/μεγ' αὐτῷ κατ'
 ὑμῶν...πράξει· 21.192 εἰ γὰρ...ἐπῆει/τὰ τοιαῦτ' αὐτῷ σκοπεῖν·
 24.116 καὶ οὐκ ἀπέγραψεν/ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων αὐτῷ ταῦν' ἀδικεῖν·
 25.68 οὐκ ἐνι/τῶν αἰσχροῶν αὐτῷ τούτων ἀπαλλαγῆναι· 55.18 οὐ
 γὰρ ἐκπιεῖν γε δῆπου με/Καλλικλῆς αὐτὸ προσαναγκάσει.

In Dem.55.18 above, q 'belongs' (as object) to the subordinate verb and is deferred into the material belonging to the superordinate; in the others q 'belongs' to the superordinate and is deferred into the subordinate.

(One)V...q (8) Θ.4.22.2 γιγνώσκειν...οὐδὲν ἐν νῶ ἔχοντα δίκαιον
 αὐτοῦς· 6.66.1 μακρᾶς οὔσης τῆς ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦς.
 Πλ.Ν.2.657β ...εἰς νόμον ἄγειν καὶ τάξιν αὐτά· 3.698ε εἰ δὲ τι
 ἐκώλυεν ἄλλο αὐτοῦς· Δημ.20.56 τουτὶ παρὰ πάντ' ἔσται τὸν
 λόγον αὐτοῦς· 23.13 καὶ τουτ' ἦν τὸ κατασκευάσθαι αὐτοῦς, 24 εἰς
 μὲν ταύτην τίθεμαι τὴν τάξιν αὐτὸν...· 32.31 ἐτι τοίνυν ἑτέρα
 τίς ἐστὶν ἐλπίς αὐτοῦς...

All the above show the pattern (...)MVMq except Lg.III 698e, where the earlier M is replaced by a postpositive; this may or may not be a member of the same category. In Dem.23.13 q may 'belong' to κατασκευάσμα (= κατεσκευασμένον)· if so, it is not an exception at all. Otherwise, these instances all fit the pattern of MVMq where the MM go closely together. The explanation of category (8) may be: the MM form a potential unit (like the trailing colon in category (7)) which admits within it the unemphatic verb, given ad hoc postpositival status, so that it takes the position occupied by q in category (7); but elements with ad hoc postpositival status would lose it if juxtaposed with words which are normally postpositives, so that q must be deferred; thus (7), V/MqM, and (8), MVMq, are alternatives, given that qMVM is not available (because it would emphasize q); for actual development of unit-formation which is potential in (7), see category (3), p.2.2.62 above.

(One)V...q (9) Θ.1.144.2 ἔδοκει γὰρ ὁ...πόλεμος καὶ ὡς ἔσεσθαι
 αὐτοῦς· 7.72.4 καὶ βουλομένων πληροῦν αὐτῶν.
 (list continues)

Πλ.Χρμ.154γ ...ἔρᾶν ἔμοιγε ἔδοκουν αὐτοῦ· Πлт.295γ ...ὑπομνήματα γράφειν ἂν ἐθέλειν αὐτοῖς...· Τι.22α καὶ ποτε προαγαγεῖν βουλευθεῖς αὐτοῦς...· 77α ...συνέβαινεν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἔχειν αὐτῶ. Δημ.9.24 καὶ οἱ μηδὲν ἐγκαλεῖν ἔχοντες αὐτοῖς· 10.9 ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιτρέφετε τοῦτο ποιεῖν αὐτῶ· 18.143 καὶ κενὴν αἰτίαν...ἐπάγειν μ' ὑπελάμβανον αὐτῶ· 19.204 ...ἐνεστι λέγειν αὐτῶ...· 235 ...ἠγχομήν...περιεῖναι δεῖν αὐτῶν...· 20.123 τὸν ὡς καταλείπεται λέγοντά τι αὐτοῖς· 23.131 οὐχ ὅπως ἀποδώσει χάριν ἐσπούασεν αὐτῶ, 149 οὐς...ἔδωκε φυλάττειν αὐτῶ, 163...σφίσειν ἔμελλον αὐτόν, 219 καὶ μὴ ἐπιτρέπετε λέγειν αὐτοῖς· 25.42 ὧν ἐτιμήθη μὴ λέγειν αὐτῶ (τ)· 27.54 ὡς δ' οὐκ ἀληθῆ λέγειν οἶόν τ' αὐτόν· 29.11 παραδοῦναι παῖδ' ἠθέλον αὐτῶ...· 36.9 καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ...ἔστ' εἰπεῖν αὐτῶ· 45.32 μὴ ἔξεῖναι δὲ τραπέζιτεύειν αὐτῶ· 47.57 ἀπαγορευούσης τῆς γυναικὸς μὴ ἀπτεσθαι αὐτοῖς, 80 ἀλλὰ μετέλθειν ἐκέλευσα αὐτόν· 50.30 λογίσασθαι δ' ἠθέλον αὐτῶ...· 57.30 ὥστε//εἶναι πολιτήν προσήκειν αὐτόν, 67 οἰκέτοί τινες εἶναι μαρτυροῦσιν αὐτῶ.

In the above, g follows the verb to which it does not belong; that to which it does 'belong' is underlined. In Dem. 47.80, g is object of the infinitive; in 27.54 and 57.30 g has been treated as subject of the subordinate verb and grammatically remote from the superordinate, whereas had the case been dative, it would have been taken as object of superordinate and remote from the subordinate and not an exception at all. Some of the above may perhaps belong to other categories (e.g. (2) in the case of Πлт.295c, Dem.9.24 etc.) and only fortuitously have g subjoined to an alien verb; but the possibility that postpositives may to some extent be attracted to the position following alien verbs is suggested by the large number of sentences like Θ.1.144.4 καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις πειρᾶσθαι αὐτὰ μὴ ἐλάσσω παραδοῦναι (where g is object of the second infinitive) together with the rarity of such as Dem.18.289 ἃ δημοσίᾳ προέλαεθ' ἢ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐπιγράψαι. As evidence of the frequency of the former, consider the following (cases with peninitial g omitted):-

Th.I.138.2, 144.4; III.40.5; IV.32.4; VII.56.2; VIII.6.4(t), 47.1, 82.3. Pl.Ap.17b, 20b; Grg.522b; Men.94d; Ly.206c; Euthd.299d, 306d; Cra.399e(t), 413d(t), 425c, 438e(t); Smc.218a, 220d; Phd.115d; R.I 333c, 343e; II 375c, 380a; IV 436b; VI 503d; VII 535b; Prm.140a; Tht.197c; Sph.232b; Πлт.277b; Phlb.64e; Lg.I 648a; XI.722b. Dem.8.40; 21.5, 25, 33; 22.28; 33.38; 36.33; 45.5; 49.49; 50.28; 57.53; 59.85.

For further discussion of the possibility of attraction

to the position following an alien verb (the V'g position) see pp.2.2.74 ff. below. That ends the account of category (9).

In category (10) below are instances which appear to combine patterns associated with categories (3) - (9) above. Suspected colon-divisions are marked /, suspected unit-formations are bracketed.

(One)V...g (10) (3+...) (+5) Πλ.N.1.639γ ὁ δὲ/(μήτε ἑορακῆς εἶη ποτ')/ὀρθῶς αὐτήν... (+6) Δημ. 20.54 ἀνάγνωθι/(καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμ')αὐτοῖς... (+7) Ε.Σ.8.2 καὶ ἔδοξε/(πρῶτον ἐς Χίον) αὐτοῖς πλεῖν (τ). Πλ.ΙΜ 290δ πρό-τερον οὖν πρέπει()/((χρυσῆ τορύνῃ)αὐτῆ ἢ συκίνῃ; Ν.7.815γ ἐλο-ορίσασθαι μὴν μοι ταύτη δοκεῖ/(σχεδὸν ὀρθότατον)αὐτὸ εἶναι. Δημ. 43.12 καὶ οὐκ ἐγένετο/(παῖς ἄρρη)αὐτῷ οὐδὲ εἰς. (+8) Πλ.Π.9.579α εἰ καὶ ἄλλους,"...," ὁ θεὸς κύκλω κατοικίσειεν(γέγονας πολλοὺς)αὐτῷ. Δημ.19.23 καὶ μικρὰν ὑπεφῆνατ' (ἐλπίδ' ἠντινεῦν) αὐτοῖς. (+5+9) Πλ.Τι.76γ συγγενὲς μὲν/(ἱμαντῶδες ὄν)αὐτοῦ, σκληρότερον δὲ... (+6+7) Θ.4.78.2 ἦγον δὲ/(καὶ ἄλλοι θεσσαλῶν) αὐτὸν καὶ...Νιμονίδα... (+7+9) Δημ.3.24 ὑπήκουε δ'/(ὁ ταύ-την τὴν χώραν ἐχων)αὐτοῖς βασιλεὺς 59.29 καὶ ἐχρῶντο/(ὅσον ἐ-βούλογο)αὐτῆ χρόνον. (+5+7+9) Δημ.22.5 ἐστὶ γὰρ/εἰς ἐν (ὄν οἰεταὶ τεχνικῶς ἐχειν)αὐτῷ λόγος (τ). (+6+7+9) Πλ.Π.9.580α ὅτι ἀνάγκη/καὶ εἶναι (καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον γίγνεσθαι)αὐτῷ πρό-τερον...φθονερῶ...

All the above cases of (3+...) have in some form the unit-formation which seems characteristic of category (3). The reader is reminded that category (5) is characterized by colon-formation of Fraenkelian type E, with μέν or τε, (6) by ditte with καί, (7) by the pattern V/MqM, (8) by the pattern MVMq, and (9) by V'g where V' is a verb to which g does not belong. In the above, V is underlined in connexion with (7), V' in connexion with (9), and μέν, τε, καί in connexion with (5) or (6). In Lg.I 639c in (+5), μήτε causes a category E colon-formation which follows the verb, but the latter forms a unit together with accompanying pre- and post-positives. Hp.Ma.290d in (+7) supports the hypothesis of colon-division following the verb in sentences of the (7) type. In Pl.R.IX 579a in (+8), the pattern MVMq is complicated not only by a substantival unit-formation following the verb but by the promotion of the first M to near the beginning of the sentence. Dem.59.29 in (+7+9) in-

fringes also Rule XV, p.2.2.35 above; so also 22.5 in (+5+7+9).

(One)V...g (10) (4+) (+5) Θ.7.55.2 οὐ δυνάμενοι ἐπενεγκεῖν/ (οὐτ'
ἐκ πολιτείας τι μεταβολῆς) τὸ διάφορον αὐ-
τοῖς... 8.89.3 ἦν δὲ/ τοῦτο μὲν/ σχῆμα πολιτικὸν τοῦ λόγου αὐ-
τοῖς... Πλ.Ν.11.937γ ἐνδεικνύτω μὲν/ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ βουλευ-
μενος αὐτόν... (+8) Δημ.2.5 καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἠκει τὴν τελευ-
τὴν τὰ πράγματ' αὐτῶν 37.13 εἰ μὴ πρατῆρες γιγνοίμεθ' ἡμεῖς τῶν
κτημάτων αὐταῖς. (+5+6) Θ.3.104.1 ἐκάθηρε μὲν γὰρ/ καὶ Πεισίσ-
τρατος ὁ τύραννος πρότερον αὐτήν.

The reader is reminded that category (4) consists of instances in which g is further deferred than in (1+2) from the Vg position, and in a manner which cannot be explained by, or only by, unit-formation as in (3), category E colon-formation as in (5) and (6), or patterns such as in (7) and (8). In Th.VII.55.2 (+5) above, type E colon-formation explains why not Vg; οὐτ'...μεταβολῆς is a unit resulting from Rule VIII; but why g does not directly follow that expression is unexplained; perhaps there is a tendency (like Rule XV) to avoid the position directly following such expressions (but lack of clear evidence has prevented formal statement of such a Rule, and consider R.IX 580a, p.2.2.68 above), but if not, we are forced to think of an unexplained colon-formation as in (4), p.2.2.63 above. In Th.VIII.89.3, σχῆμα πολιτικὸν τοῦ λόγου is not an entirely convincing unit-formation. In (+8) the pattern MVM is followed by a further deferment, apparently giving MVM/Vg, but in 37.13 τῶν κτημάτων goes in sense with πρατῆρες, and γιγνοίμεθ' ἡμεῖς could be a unit (or ἡμεῖς a postpositive), which would make a nearly normal (8)-pattern.

(One)V...g (10) (5+) (+7) Θ.4.13.2 προσεβοήθησαν γὰρ/ τῶν τε
φρουρίδων τινες αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐκ Ναυπάκτου
καὶ Χῆαι τέσσαρες 7.79.5 καὶ οἱ Συρακόσιοι/ προσέβαλλον τε
πανταχῆ αὐτοῖς κύκλῳ... Πλ.Π.3.401α ἐστὶν δὲ γε/ πλήρης μὲν/
γραφικὴ αὐτῶν καὶ πᾶσα ἡ δημιουργία, πλήρης δὲ... N.5.745a
νομίζειν μὲν/ κοινὴν αὐτὴν τῆς πόλεως συμπασης... 7.799ε τοῦ-
τῳ μὲν... βεβαιώσομεν δὲ/ τότε αὐτὸ ὁπόταν... (+9) Θ.8.109.
1 διαβεβλήσθαι τε/ νομίσας αὐτοῖς σφόδρα (τ). (+7+8) Πλ.Π.
4.704δ μεγάλου τινος ἐδεῖ/ σωτήρδός τε αὐτῆ καὶ νομοθετῶν...

Here the vocabulary of type E colon-formation coincides in (+7) with the pattern V/MgM, and in (+7+8) with that and

the pattern MVM in addition, giving MVMqM.

(One)V...q (10) (6+) (+7) Θ.6.101.5 ἦσαν γὰρ/καὶ τῶν ἰππέων αὐ-
 τοῖς οἱ πολλοὶ ἔνταυθα. Πλ.Προμ.161δ ἔστι
 γὰρ/καὶ ἰσότης αὐτῶ μεταξὺ...ούσα... Δημ.22.35 εἶσι, δὲ/καὶ
 περὶ ἄλλων αὐτῶ λόγοι... 27.46 λαβὲ δὴ/καὶ ταύτας αὐτοῖς τὰς
 μαρτυρίας... (+7+9) Δημ.21.170 ἐξεῖναι δὲ/καὶ ὑβρίζειν αὐ-
 τοῖς ὃν ἂν βούλωνται.

The vocabulary of category (6) (καὶ) combines in (+7) with the pattern V/MqM, and in (+7+9) with the subjoining of q to an alien verb. Obs. the resemblance in wording between all except 27.46 and 21.170, and possibly even including the latter.

(One)V...q (10) (7+) (+8) Πλ.Τι.49α πάσης εἶναι γενέσεως/ἵπο-
 δοχὴν αὐτὴν οἶον τιθήνην, 62δ ποῖά τις
 ἐπιφέρων ὀνόματα αὐτῶ ἐναντία... Δημ.18.28 ἢ θέαν μὴ νεῖλαι
 τὸν ἀρχιτέκτον' αὐτοῖς κελεῦσαι 25.17 ἕτερος δὲ οὐδὲ εἰς ἔστιν
 ἀνεκτὸς αὐτῶ λόγος. (+9) Δημ.21.89 συνέβη δ' ὑπερημέρῳ γενο-
 μένῳ/λαθεῖν αὐτῶ διὰ τὸ ἀδικηθῆναι 36.9 ἄχρι μὲν τούτου τοῦ
 χρόνου πῶς ἔνεστ' /ἐγκαλεῖν αὐτῶ μισθώσεως; 37.8 εἶλεν γὰρ/εἰσ-
 ελθὼν αὐτὸν ὡς ὑμᾶς.

In (+8) above the pattern MVMq combines with V/MqM to give either MVM/MqM (Ti.49a) or MVMqM (Ti.62d, 18.28, 25.17); but Ti.62d may also divide MqV/MqM, Dem.18.28 should perhaps be in category (2), p.2.2.61 above (does ἀρχιτέκτονα 'belong' mainly as subject to νεῖμαι or as object to κελεῦσαι?), and 25.17 has an extra M at the beginning of the pattern. In (+9), q in Dem.21.89 has two V-elements, the initial main verb and the participle, but according to our conventions V(...)Vq is treated as Vq, V(...)V...q as V...q.

(One)V...q (10) (8+) (+9) Πλ.Μνξ.249ε ὅστις σοι, ὁ εἰπὼν ἔστιν
 αὐτόν. Δημ.14.39 καὶ ταῦτ' ἂν ἐπὶ σκοπεῖν
 αὐτῶ 23.77 ὅτι δεῦρ' οὐχ οἶόν τε εἰλαεῖν αὐτῶ 59.33 καὶ ὡς ἄλ-
 λους τε πολλοὺς ἐπὶ κῶμον ἔχων ἦλθεν αὐτὴν...

MVMq in which the last M is the verb to which q does not belong (pVMq in Μνξ.249e); the type E colon-formation in 59.33 seems to have no part in explaining why not Vq.

A general discussion of (One)V...q follows.

General discussion of (One)V...g. First, a numerical summary of the main categories within (One)V...g. In this table, entries following '+' are derived from category (10), p.2.2.68 ff. In the main columns, unity = one instance of g; but since (10) consists of sentences combining two or more categories, any one instance of g there generates two or more unit entries in the table, so that after '+' unity represents not one instance of g but one instance of a given category associated with g (MVMgM is one of MVMg and one of V/MgM).

	Th.	Pl.	Dem.	total	page
(1)	8	7	7	22	61
(2)	10	41	53	104	61
(3)	6 + 2	7 + 6	7 + 6	20 +14	62 & 68
(4)	3 + 3	2 + 1	8 + 2	13 + 6	63 & 69
(5)(a)	1 } + 6	2 } + 7	} + 1	} 9 +14	64 & 68 ff.
(b)	2 }	4 }	}	}	
(6)	3 + 3	+ 2	1 + 4	4 + 9	64 & 68 ff.
(7)(a)	6 }	1 }	6 }	36 } +26	64 }
(b)	1 } + 5	7 } +10	6 } +11		65 } & 68 ff.
(c)	}	2 }	7 }		66 }
(8)	2	2 + 5	4 + 8	8 +13	66 & 68 ff.
(9)	2 + 1	4 + 3	20 +10	26 +14	66 & 68 ff.
	<u>44</u> +20	<u>79</u> +34	<u>119</u> +42	<u>242</u> (+96)	

The total 96 after the + sign is fictitious; category (10) comprises 43 instances of g. Demosthenes has the largest numbers of V...g and seems to have a particularly disproportionate number in (9).

Categories (5), (6), (7) and probably in part (3) seem to depend on colon-formation; (8), and in part (3), upon unit-formation; to decide upon the relative importance of these two influences we need to assign (1) and (2) also, especially as (2) is the most numerous; but it is there that decision is most difficult. Categories (1+2) are basic in the sense that

they are most numerous and seem simplest; yet, like (4) and unlike (3), (5), (6), (7), (8) and possibly (9), they exhibit no pattern which might supply an explanation for the deferment. But they may be basic also in that they form an ingredient in the constitution of some of the more complex patterns: e.g. to convert (2) to (7) we need merely add to VMq a further M closely related to that already present, giving $VMqM$; to produce (8) we add it at the beginning, $MVMq$. And so La.193a ὅτι βοηθήσουσιν ἄλλοι αὐτῷ may readily become ὅτι βοηθήσουσιν ἄλλοι αὐτῷ λόγοι or ὅτι λόγοι βοηθήσουσιν ἄλλοι αὐτῷ.

Sentence length is relevant; prolonged deferments from the Vq position will be possible only with long sentences in which V is early; in a short sentence or with V late, deferment may be restricted to VMq . Thucydides seems to have these exceptions mainly in short sentences with initial verb (p.2.2. 61); in Plato and Demosthenes are some with late verb. In a long sentence the deferment (in the form VMq) may be the consequence of some undetected larger pattern, e.g. Θ.8.24.4 ὅσα ἐπεδίδου ἢ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον, in which the expressions underlined seem to belong together.

Further, with a sentence as short as MMq it is impossible in principle, without reference to other similar expressions, to decide if colon- or unit-formation is the cause, $(MM)q$ or M/Mq . The absolute interval between M and M can be called a pause only by comparison with shorter intervals, i.e. only if a sentence contains at least two runs of closely joined words potentially separable at some point by a longer interval. Thus the same words may be a unit or may be colon-divided according to the immediate context: λόγους-τοιούτους αὐτοῖς ἔλεγε unit, λόγους/τοιούτους-αὐτοῖς-δοκοῦντας ἔλεγε colon-division. But we would call the latter a colon-division only because τοιούτους...δοκοῦντας goes more closely together. And so sentences like MMq are perhaps neither units nor cola but potentially either. And $MVMq$ seems a unit, despite similarity to V/MqM .

External comparison may be available from λέξον νῦν με τάχιστα, p.l.1.37, which is revealed as deferment (if at all) not only from peninitial position but from the V_q position. Verb-adverb is a less probable unit-formation than adverb-adverb (as μηκέτι νῦν μ' ἐρέθιζε) and the line is perhaps more comparable with Th.VIII.104.4 ἀποκληῖσαι τοῦ ἔξω αὐτοῦς ἔκπλου than with anything else. Hence (1+2) consists mainly perhaps of potential colon-formations. Thus unit-formation seems to be, here as in deferment from peninitial position (p.l.1.54), a minor constituent; it is perhaps the cause in (8), but otherwise enters with reasonable certainty only into (3) and there not as primary cause - (MM) does not explain why not V_q(MM) but only why not VM_qM.

Category (5), dependent on Fraenkelian type E colon-formation, appears to place an emphasis either upon the mobile following the verb (ἀ ἐγένετο πρός τε τὸν βάρβαρον αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸς...) or upon the verb itself (...ξυνέβη ἀναχωρήσαι τε θάσσον αὐτοῖς καὶ...); similarly category (6) must emphasize the element following the καί. This prompts the further observation that in (7) emphasis often falls on the earlier M in the V/M_qM pattern (19.25 καὶ δοκῆ/δεινὸν αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπερβάλλον εἶναι). In (8) too, emphasis falls on the two MM flanking the postpositival verb, especially the earlier. Further, (7) often coincides with (5): Th.IV.13.2 προσεβοήθησαν γὰρ/τῶν τε φρουρίδων τινες αὐτοῖς τῶν... Again, (6) is convertible by removal of καί into (2), where in fact in some cases clearly the mobile following V is emphatic: Θ.8.90.5 καὶ ἦρχον αὐτοὶ αὐτῆς. Cases like ὅσφ ἐπεδίδου ἢ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον (Th.VIII.24.4 in (2)) have an emphasis on the verb itself.

Hence it may be that deferment from the V_q position is mainly a matter of stylistic patterning motivated by a desire to emphasize certain words, sometimes more elementary, sometimes more elaborate, involving colon-formation more than unit-formation. Even in (4) there is often emphasis, here seemingly

upon the element preceding that which precedes \underline{q} (καὶ ἐλθοῦσης παρὰ Χαλκιδέως ἀγγελίας αὐτοῖς, ἢ κατασκευάζειν ἐκεῖ τιν' ἀσχολίαν αὐτῷ).

Yet in cases like τοσοῦτῳ μᾶλλον ἀπιστοῦσι πάντες αὐτῷ (Dem. 2.12 in (2)) it is difficult to see any important emphasis on the verb or the following mobile, while in 44.54 ἔχειν-λόγον seems to be a unit. It is possible that with the increase in $V...q$ which we see in Demosthenes there is less restriction on what may constitute a unit, and, given that different postpositives are in different degree open to deferment to $V...q$, that a wider range of expressions may be a unit to one postpositive than to another. This perhaps applies also to (8). Alternatively, a term is missing from the calculation and a new concept is required. Sentences like 2.12 are frequent in Demosthenes.

Is there attraction to the $V'q$ position? So far category (9) (p.2.2.66 and 68 ff.) has barely been mentioned. It is possible (subject to the doubts expressed above) that as deferment from peninitial position is a matter of unit- and colon-formation and attraction to the Vq position, so deferment to $V...q$ is due to unit- and colon-formation and attraction to $V'q$, where V' is a verb to which q does not 'belong' (if Formulaism is ignored).

Category (9) is of little importance in αὐτ-, but in τις it forms a high proportion of $V...q$ cases. In αὐτ-, $V'q$ may be fortuitous, at any rate in Plato and Thucydides. The ratios of potential to actual cases of $V'q$ are: Th.13:3, Pl.46:7, Dem.78:30. But the boundaries of the potential are difficult to determine, and in any case the number of mobiles in a sentence is also relevant. A number of instances of $V'q$ break other Rules, Rules less commonly broken than XXV: Mnx. 249e (8+9) Rule VI, R.IX 580a (3+6+7+9) Rule VIII, 3.24 (3+7+9) VIII, 20.123 (9) II, 22.5 (3+5+7+9) XV, 23.131 (9) II, 59.29

(3+7+9) XV. The order V'q also occurs in regular sentences: see p.2.2.67 above, and consider also such as Plt.277b μέλλουσι τοῦ δέοντος ἠναγκάσθημεν αὐτοῦ μέρει προσχρήσασθαι, where q and the surrounding words except the main verb belong to the infinitive.

Origin of V'q This has a bearing on the validity of formulating Rules XXIV ff. in terms of elements to which q 'belongs'. Two possibilities come to mind: either Vq is a primary phenomenon and V'q is by analogy with that, or verb-q, whatever the verb, is a primary phenomenon. In the latter case, we would have an explanation for the rarity of sentences like 18.289 ἃ δημοσίᾳ προέβλεθ' ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐπιγράφαι that is regular relative to Rule XXV as it stands (because q 'belongs' to the infinitive) but would be an exception to a hypothetical rule 'q does not stand later than directly after any verb in its sentence except by being subjoined to a later one'.

Cases of V'q(...)V (see list of those with V' medial on p.2.2.67 above) are in fact far commoner than those of V(...)V'q listed in (9) and (10). That could suggest that V'q is inhibited where it would result in V...q, i.e. that the Rule as it stands is right, the distinction between V and V' is real and V'q results from analogy. But in fact (though it is not shown in Appendix A), V(...)Vq, where q 'belongs' to both verbs, is itself rarer than Vq(...)V where ditto.

That V and V' are on all fours is supported by a degree of concomitant variation: in the Homeric and Herodotean material analysed at pp.1.1.43ff., esp.54, not only is Vq commoner in Herodotus than Homer, but so also is in fact V'q. But concomitant variation could be consistent with a merely analogical connexion.

In favour of analogy is the suggestion (p.2.1.23) that the Xq (inc. Vq) tendency arises from the use of Xq as a com-

plete utterance: V'q̄ can hardly appear as a complete utterance, for βούλομαι αὐτῷ, ἠναγκάσθημεν αὐτοῦ, δοκεῖ ἄν, κελεύει μου, δεῖ τινι, are not meaningful alone, and given the definition of V' could hardly be so; δοκεῖ ἄν is probably formulaic, but even so is not found alone. And so V'q̄ is unlikely to be a primary phenomenon.

On pp.1.1.55 ff. the argument was rejected that Vq̄ resulted from colon-formation. More likely perhaps however is that Vq̄ is in origin a primary phenomenon and V'q̄ is secondary in ways that involve colon-formation. That would fit Th.I.144.4 and Plt.277b, where it would even be associated with emphasis on τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις and μέζονι τοῦ δέοντος, which is appropriate in those contexts. The sequence V'q̄(...)V, with V' initial and the position of q̄ due to peninitialism within the sentence, becomes habitual (e.g. Th.I.88 ὀρῶντες αὐτοῖς τὰ πολλὰ... ὄντα); then ...V'q̄(...)V, with V' medial and q̄ peninitial only within the phrase, is a trailing colon in an emphasis-motivated colon-formation, μέζονι τοῦ δέοντος (or...) being emphatically promoted beyond the normal opening of the sentence, i.e. the main verb, like δῶρον ἢ δῶρον ἕάν τι διδῶ (cf. Rule XXVII, (Three)W...q̄(...)V (a1) Wpq̄V, p.2.2.102 below). The totality of these occurrences might secondarily produce a tendency towards V'q̄ in itself, resulting in infringements like V(...)V'q̄ as in category (9). In addition to the cases of medial V'q̄ (...)V listed on p.2.2.67, see the following of initial V'q̄:

Th.I.88; II.6.2(t); III.13.4, 62.4; V.8.4(t), 45.3; VI.64.1, 104.2; VIII.88.1, 94.2, 100.2. Pl.Chrm.175c; La.179b, 182e; Ap.20a, 37d; Grg.460a; Men.84a, 89d; Mnx.239d, 243a, 245c, 248c; Euthd.286c, 306a; Cra.390e, 415c, 422b, 430e, 432d; Phd.25a(t), 89b; R.I 347c; II 359b, 366d; VI 494b, 502d; VII 562b; X 606b, 614a; Prm.128c; Tht.175c; Phdr.243b, 266b; Plt.258c; Phlb.23a; Lg.V 747b; VI 766a; VIII 829a. Dem.10.18; 19.79; 59.20 (= 41).

In the following cases of (...)V'q̄(...)V, q̄ 'belongs' to the main verb and V' is the infinitive:

Pl.R.VI.503b; Prm.138d, 151e; Lg.VIII 842d. Dem.19.103, 164, 332; 21.162; 24.126; 40.29; 45.52.

The above ends the account of Rule XXV, (One)V...g (for main division of exceptions to this Rule see p.2.1.26); there follow the remainder of exceptions to Rule XXV.

(Two)V...g(...)V: where g is placed between two verbs, to both of which it 'belongs', and is later than directly after the earlier. Remember that V(...)Vg and V(...)V...g are treated as Vg and V...g respectively; so, V(...)V...g(...)V is treated as V...g(...)V. For numbers, including those of regular wordings, see pp.2.3.8 ff. The main division is as follows: (1) the relation between the verbs is participial; (2) they are in a co-ordinated relation; (3) one of the V-elements is not a verb in the ordinary sense (cf. p.2.1.24); (4) g is object of the main verb and subject of the other, as κελεύω αὐτὸν τοῦτο ποιεῖν (5) the subordinate verb is predicate of the main, as δοκεῖν αὐτὸν εἶναι. These main categories subdivide differently; see explanation at the head of each. This classification is followed also under Rule XXVI (except for the content of (3)) and under Rule XXVII (where the detailed division also, as far as necessary, is the same).

In (1), which follows, the sub-division is: (1a-) the order is main-participial; (1b-) participial-main. Both further subdivide: (--1) g is separated from the earlier verb by word(s) belonging to that verb; (--2), by word(s) belonging to the later verb; (--1) is VM(M...)g + (...)V, (--2) is V(...)+ M(M...)g(...)V; one instance is classed as (--3): intermediate.

(Two)V...g(...)V (1a1) Θ.4.54.1 καὶ εὐρον εὐθὺς αὐτοὺς ἐστρατο-
πεδευμένους ἅπαντας 7.81.2 ... ἐκυκλοῦν-
τό τε ῥᾶν αὐτοὺς δίχα δὴ ὄντας... Πλ.Ιων 535ε καθορῶ γὰρ
ἐκάστοτε αὐτοὺς ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος κλζόντας τε... Απ.28γ
ἐπειδὴ εἶπεν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῷ προθυμουμένῳ... Ν.10.900β ἀποδιοκομ-
πήσασθαι λόγοις αὐτὸ προσιδόν... (τ) 11.923δ εἰδὲ περιγίγνηται
τις τῶν ὑέων αὐτῷ μὴ... πεποιημένος... Δημ.23.158 ὅτι οὐχ ὑπο-
μενεῖ Κότυς αὐτὸν ἐπιδόντα 55.7 ἀλλ' ἐξήρηκει ταῦτ' αὐτοῖς ἡδικη-
μένοις περιορᾶν.

In all of these g is separated from the preceding main verb by one word only and with the exception of Ion 535e g is direct-

ly followed by the participle; there, words belonging to the main verb follow. Since instances of (--1) take the form V...q + (...)V, it is not surprising to find that most of these resemble (one)V...q; most resemble categories (1+2) of that set, but Th.VII.81.2 is like (5). In Lg.XI 923d, q appears to belong to both verbs, but the dative is genitival and the order may be under the influence of τῶν ὑέων αὐτοῦ, which would be regular. In Dem.55.7, ταῦτα seems to belong to both participle and infinitive; the sentence is classed here on the belief that it also goes with the main verb.

(Two)V...q(...)V (1a2) Θ.1.73.4 ὅπερ ἔσχε μὴ κατὰ πόλεις αὐτὸν ἐπιπλέοντα...πορθεῖν. Δημ.46.3 ὡς αὐτὸς εἶδεν παραγενόμενος αὐτὰς διατιθεμένου τοῦ πατρὸς(τ) 58.40.

In most categories X... + q(...)X is commoner than the corresponding exceptions of the form X...q + (...)X, but not in this case. Th.I.73.4 is classed in (1--) rather than (4--) because κατὰ πόλεις belongs to the participle, not the infinitive. In Dem.46.3, q is common to main verb and genitive absolute; it is classed in (--2) rather than (--1) on the belief that the sense is '...saw them himself, by being present when...'

(Two)V...q(...)V (1b1) Θ.4.27.2 ὅτι ἔχοντάς τι ἰσχυρὸν αὐτοῦς ἐνόμιζον...ἐπικηρυκτεύεσθαι 8.45.3
 ...ἐδίδασκε δόντα χρήματα αὐτὸν πείσαι...(τ), Πλ.ΙΕ 371δ ὥστε ...λοιδοροῦντα τοὺς ἀλαζόνας τῆ...λοιδορία αὐτὸν παραχρήμα... φάναι ἀποπλευσεῖσθαι... Σφ.224β ὅμως δὲ μαθημάτων οὐσαν πρῶτον αὐτὴν...προσειπεῖν ἀνάγκη N.1.643δ ὃ δεήσει γενόμενον ἀνδρ' αὐτὸν...εἶναι... 12.957γ καὶ κερτημένον γράμματα αὐτῶν περὶ μανθάνειν. Δημ.8.64 καὶ λαβόντα χρήματ' αὐτὸν ἀσφαλές ἐστι λέγειν... 23.151 ἀντὶ τούτων ὡς ὀφείλουσ' ἡ πόλις αὐτῷ στεφάνου...δέδωκεν 25.63 ὑμεῖς δ' ἔξαλληλακότων τῶν νόμων αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας εἰς ὑμᾶς αὐτοῦς καταμείξετε; 24.38 φασὶ γὰρ παραστησάμενον τοὺς παῖδας αὐτὸν...ομεῖσθαι.

On Lg.XII 957c: a postpositive followed by a governing preposition is classed as part of the sentence at large. As in (1a1), the typical instance has q separated by one word from the preceding verb (exception: Hp.Mi.371d) and directly followed by the later verb or words belonging to it (exception: 25.63); Hp.Mi.371d is comparable with Ion 535e in (1a1) above. As in

(1a1), there is similarity to (One)V...q: Sph.224b has the (8)-pattern, MVMq.

(Two)V...q(...)V (1b2) Θ.6.69.3 καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ξυγκαταστρεφάμεν-
οἷς ῥῆον αὐτοῖς ὑπακούσεται (τ). Πλ.Μεν.
81δ οὐδὲν κωλύει...ἀναμνησθέντα()τάλλα πάντα αὐτὸν ἀνευρεῖν
Π.4.427β ὅσα τοῖς ἐκεῖ δεῖ υπηρετοῦντας ἰλεως αὐτοῦς...εχειν
Πλτ.273ε ...κοσμεῖ τε καὶ ἐπανορθῶν ἀθάνατον αὐτὸν καὶ.../ἀπερ-
γάζεται N,12.952γ τελευτήσαντά τε τιμαῖς αὐτὸν...τιμάτω...
Δημ.59.22 Ἀθηναίῳ ὄντι ξένης θυγατέρα αὐτῷ ἐγγυῆσαι... (τ) (≅
62).

(Two)V...q(...)V (1b3) Πλ.Π.10.611β οὐ λελωβημένον δεῖ αὐτὸ
θεάσασθαι...

(--3) is a category set up to cover this instance; the word separating q from the preceding verb is the main verb itself; this is perhaps more closely connected with the latter part of the sentence, giving a particular sub-division of (1b2).

In (2), which follows, where the verbs are in co-ordination, the subdivision is as in (1) above, but without (-a-) and (-b-); (---1) signifies instances in which q is separated from the preceding verb by word(s) belonging to that verb, (---2) where it is preceded by at least one word belonging to the latter verb; (---3) is comparable with (1b3) above.

(Two)V...q(...)V (2-1) Πλ.N.3.687α εἰ συνέστησάν τε ἀσφαλῶς
αὐτὸ διέσωζόν τε... 9.856β λεληθότα
τε ταῦτα αὐτὸν ἢ...μὴ τιμωρούμενον. Δημ.8.37 ἀφέστατε δῆλον
ὅτι αὐτῷ καὶ φανερόν πεποιθήκατε...; 65 τῷ τοῦς τυράννους ἐκ-
βαλεῖν Φίλιππον αὐτοῖς καὶ...ἀποδοῦναι (= 10.67) 16.17 συστρα-
τεύονται πάντες αὐτοῖς οὗτοι καὶ βοηθῶσι προθύμως 19.136 τοῦς
ἐκαστα πράξοντας ἐν ὑμῖν αὐτῷ καὶ διοικήσοντας 24.27 λαβὲ τὸ
φήμισμ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀναγίγνωσκε σύ.

As in (1-1) there are resemblances to (One)V...q: Lg.III 687a and IX 856b have type E Fraenkelian colon-formation as in (5) of (One)V...q, while Dem.16.17 exhibits the V/MqM pattern of (7) (see pp.2.2.64 ff.)

(Two)V...q(...)V (2-2) Πλ.Τι.45γ ὥστε τὸ μὲν ἄλλο στέγειν πᾶν
τὸ τοιοῦτον δὲ μόνον αὐτὸ καθαρόν δι-
ηθεῖν N.7.802δ ...μισεῖ καὶ ἀνελεύθερον αὐτὴν προσαγορεύει.

Both of these infringe also Rule VIII, p.2.2.13.

(Two)V...g(...)V (2-3) Πλ.Ν.3.686α οὐκοῦν καὶ τὸ βεβαίως οἴεσθαι ταῦθ' ἔξιεν εἰκὸς αὐτοῦς καὶ... ἐξείναι.

Cf. (1b3), p.2.2.79. Here, εἰκὸς is a common superordinate verb to the two infinitives to which g 'belongs'. In this case, unlike (1b3), g is subject of the infinitives, and could be taken as 'object' of εἰκὸς, like κελεύω αὐτὸν τοῦτο ποιεῖν. We now pass to (3), where one V-element is not a verb.

(Two)V...g(...)V (3) Θ, 7.71.5 παραπλήσια δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν αὐτοῖς ἐπασχόν 8.10.1 καὶ κατάδηλα πολλοῦ αὐτοῖς τὰ τῶν Χίων ἐφάνη. Πλ.Ευθδ.295α τί μεῖζον ἔρμαιον αὐτοῦ ἂν εὐροῖμι...; Π.6.487ε οὐς ἀχρήστους ὁμολογοῦμεν αὐτοῖς εἶναι 7.518β ἦττον ἂν καταγέλαστος ὁ γέλως αὐτῷ εἶη... Δημ.27.20 ὥστε γενέσθαι μετ' ἐκείνης αὐτῶν κύριον.

Euthd.295a above seems a fairly clear unit-formation; Th. VII.71.5 is like category (6) of (One)V...g, p.2.2.64; Pl.R.VI 487e is like category (9) there (pp.2.2.66 and 74 ff.); it also seems to be an emphasis-motivated colon-formation, like Plt.277b μεῖζονι τοῦ δέοντος ἠναγκάσθημεν αὐτοῦ μέρει...

We now pass to (4), where g is object of the main verb and subject of the infinitive. The subdivision here, with the exception of that into (-a) and (-b), is different from that in (1) above. It is followed also by the exceptions to Rule XXVII, p.2.2.101 below. (4a-) comprises cases in which the governing verb precedes, (4b-) those in which the subordinate infinitive precedes. (4a-) and (4b-) then subdivide in different ways. In (4ai) g is separated from the preceding main verb by one mobile only, in (4aii) by two or more mobiles, but in both (--i) and (--ii) these mobiles belong to the infinitive; in (4aiii) g is separated from the preceding main verb by word(s) which belong to that verb; in (4aiv) part of the words preceding g belong to the preceding main verb, part to the following infinitive, but in that order. In (4bx) g is separated from the preceding infinitive by a one-mobile expression belonging to that verb, in (4by) by a longer expression, while in (4bz), of the intervening words, part belongs to the preceding infinitive, part to the following main verb. (For

'infinitive' in the preceding paragraph, read 'infinitive or participle'.)

(Two)V...g(...)V (4ai) Θ.1.72.1 νομίζοντες/μᾶλλον ἂν αὐτοὺς...
 τραπέσθαι... 2.5.2 καὶ τὸ... ὕδωρ ἐπό-
 ησε/βραδύτερον αὐτοὺς ἐλθεῖν (τ), 17.2... προῆδει/μὴ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ
ποτε αὐτὸ κατοικισθησόμενον, 62.1... ἀπέδειξα/οὐκ οὐθῶς αὐτὸν
 υποπτευόμενον, 90.2 3.68.4 4.29.2, 115.2 ἢ, ποῖτο μάλιστα αὐ-
 τοὺς προσκομιεῖν... 120.3 8.68.3 νομίζων/οὐκ ἂν ποτε αὐτὸν...
 κατελθεῖν. Πλ.Πρτ.313α διακινδυνεύοντα/ἢ χρηστὸν αὐτὸ γενέσθαι
 ἢ πονηρὸν Men.98ε ὠμολογήκαμεν ἀρα/μήτε διδακτὸν αὐτὸ μήτε φρό-
 νησιν εἶναι Mnξ.243γ οἰομένων γὰρ/ἢ δὴ αὐτὴν καταπεπολεμηθῆσαι (τ)
 Ευθδ.275α... ἐπιθυμοῦντες/ὡς βέλτιστον αὐτὸν γενέσθαι Κρα.396δ
 καὶ αἰτιῶμαί γε/-/μάλιστα αὐτὴν ἀπὸ εὐθύφρονος... προσπεπτωκέναι
 μοι, 402β... φασί/τὴν Ἀθηναίων αὐτὸν νοῦν... πεπορηκέναι, 429γ,
 432γ καὶ οὐκ ἀναγκάζειν//μηκέτι αὐτὴν εἰκόνα εἶναι IM 288β οἶε
 οὖν/ἔτι αὐτὸν ἐπιχειρήσειν..., 302γ διότι συνεχώρεις /ἀμφοτέρας
 τε αὐτὰς εἶναι καλὰς καὶ ἐκατέραν; 302ε διὰ τοῦτο ἐλέγετο/καλὰς
 αὐτὰς εἶναι Σμπ.195γ, 215α Φδ.98α, 77δ(τ) Π.5.457γ φήσεις δέ
 γε, "... , "οὐ μέγα αὐτὸ εἶναι" 6.509δ νόησον τοίνυν, "... , "// δύο
αὐτῶ εἶναι" 7.515β οὐ ταῦτα ἦγῃ ἂν τὰ ὄντα αὐτοὺς νομίζειν ὀνο-
 μάζειν...; (τ), 538α μαντεύομαι τοίνυν, "... , "μᾶλλον αὐτὸν τιμᾶν
 ἂν... (τ) 8.548δ οἶμαι μὲν, "... , "ἐγγύς τι αὐτὸν Γλαύκωνος τελέ-
 νειν... 10.596ε ἀλλὰ φήσεις/οὐκ ἀληθῆ οἶμαι αὐτὸν ποιεῖν... (τ)
 Πρμ.134γ φάλης ἂν που//πολύ αὐτὸ ἀκριβέστερον εἶναι... Θτ.171β,
 196α(τ), 196α ἢ πάντες λέγουσίν τε καὶ οἴονται/δώδεκα αὐτὰ εἶναι;
 Σφ.246δ, 265δ N.712δ 7.801α δεῖ δὴ/τὸν νοῦν αὐτοῖς σοδδρα προσ-
 ἔχειν... 8.840ε. Δημ.8.62 (= 10.64) πόθεν οἴεσθε νῦν αὐτὸν
 ὑβρίζειν...; 18.213... ἤξιουν//χάριν αὐτοῦς ἀποδοῦναι 21.40
 μὴ τοίνυν ἔατε/ταῦτ αὐτὸν λέγειν... (τ) 23.100 οὐκ οἶμαι λέγειν
 αὐτὸν ἔξειν, 119 εἰ δὴ τότε//ἔγραφέ τις/ἐκδοτὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι,
 126 ἐγὼ νομίζω/-/ἅμα τ' αὐτοὺς ἂν τυγχάνειν... 142 27.21, 46
 40.32 ἐβουλόμην τὰν/τοιοῦτον αὐτὸν εἶναι 50.36 54.13 ἀγὼ πέ-
 πυσμαι λέγειν αὐτὸν παρεσκευάσθαι 57.25... ἐφαίνετο πείσας/συγ-
 γενεῖς αὐτοὺς ἑαυτοῦ φάσκειν εἶναι 59.81 ὅτι οὐκ ἦδει/Νεαίρας
 αὐτὴν οὖσαν θυγατέρα.

Prt.313a, Men.98e, Hp.Ma.302c and 23.126 above exhibit Fraenkelian type E colon-formation, like (5a) in (One)V...g, associated with emphasis on the word opening the trailing colon; as in that case (cf. p.2.2.73) this serves to draw our attention to the fact that a great number of the other cases in (4ai) above may be interpreted as a colon-formation of the form V/Mg (...)V, in which the trailing colon is the infinitival or participial part of the sentence and the main emphasis falls upon M; this is indicated by the oblique (/) and by underlining of the word emphasized; also, all instances given as references

alone are of this type. Of a total of Th.10, Pl.30, Dem.15, such instances number Th.8, Pl.20, Dem.8. Among them, the hypothesis of colon-formation is particularly supported by Cra. 396d, R.V 457c, VI 509d, VII 538a, 18.213, 23.119, 40.32, where an interruption (vocative, subordinate clause) occurs at the point of colon-division. In many cases the emphasized M is the predicate of the infinitive; but outside those, observe the frequency of μάλλον, μάλιστα in this position. In addition, in Th.VIII.68.3 and Cra.432c q directly follows the negative (infringing Rule XX in the former). Further, there are the following cases in which colon-formation is present, but M seems to bear only a secondary emphasis: Cra.402b, Hp.Ma. 302e, R.VIII 548d, Lg.VII 801a, 8.62 (= 10.64), 40.32, 59.81. Comparison of Th.I.72.1 with IV.115.2 reminds us (cf. p.2.2.72) how readily the colon-formation V/Mq... passes into the 'unit' MVMq as in (8) of (one)V...q; cf. also R.VII 515b and possibly Dem.23.100. The (7)-pattern of (One)V...q, V/MqM, is found in 57.25. Dem.54.13 (cf. perh. 23.100) is difficult to diagnose; in R.IX 596e, οἶμαι = που, and is postpositival.

(Two)V...q(...)V (4aii) Θ.2.64.3 γινώτε δὲ ὄνομα μέγιστον αὐτὴν ἔχουσαν 3.24.1 νομιζόντες ἠκιστ' ἂν σφᾶς ταύτην αὐτοῦς ὑποτοπῆσαι τραπέσθαι... Πλ.Γργ.522α οὐκοῦν οἶει/ἐν πάσῃ ἀπορίᾳ ἂν αὐτὸν ἔχεσθαι... Φδ.104δ ...μὴ μόνον ἀναγκάζει/τὴν αὐτοῦ ἰδέαν αὐτὸ ἔχειν...(τ) Π.2.369β οἶμαι μὲν γὰρ/οὐκ ὀλίγον ἔργον αὐτὸ εἶναι (τ) 3.400γ καὶ τούτων τισὶν οἶμαι τὰς ἀγωγὰς τοῦ ποδὸς αὐτὸν οὐχ ἥττον φέγειν... Πρμ.137δ δεῖ δέ γε/μὴ πολλὰ ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ εἶναι Θτ.188γ ἀλλ' οὐ μὴν οἶεται που/ἂ μὴ οἶδεν αὐτὰ εἶναι Σφ.231ε ...συγχωρήσαντες δοξῶν ἐμποδῶν μαθήμασιν περὶ ψυχὴν καθαρτὴν αὐτὸν εἶναι Τι.19γ ...ἀκούσαιμ' ἂν ἀθλοῦς//τούτους αὐτὴν ἀγωνιζομένην... Ν.3.697γ ἀνευρίσκομεν δὲ/ἐπὶ ἔτι χεῖρους αὐτοῦς γεγονότας Δημ.2.26 διὰ τούτων ἐλπίζετε τῶν αὐτῶν πράξεων ἐκ φαύλων αὐτὰ χρηστὰ γενήσεσθαι; 19.112 ... ἔφη/Θεσπιάς καὶ Πλαταιᾶς αὐτὸν ἔχειν 20.105 πάνυ τοίνυν σπουδῆ τις ἀπήγγελλέ μοι περὶ τοῦ...διδόναι τοιοῦτόν τι λέγειν αὐτοῦς παρεσκευάσθαι (τ) 21.150 καὶ φανερόν ποιεῖ/τοῖς παροῦσιν ὡσπερ ἄλλοτριῶς//αὐτὸν χρώμενον 23.213 οὐδὲν γὰρ δεῖ/πλεῖω τῶν ἀναγκῶν αὐτὸν ἐξετάζεσθαι 30.7 ὁρῶν τῆς θ' αὐτοῦ πατρῴας οὐσίας καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς οὐκ ὀλίγης αὐτὸν κύριον γεγενημένον 36.32 τόδ' ὡμολόγεις κυρίως δόντος τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ σοῦ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους αὐτὴν γεγαμῆσθαι. (+ Θ.8.8.2 καὶ ἔδοξε πρῶτον ἐς Χίον αὐτοῦς πλεῖν (τ)).

The standard exceptions in the above list seem to correspond to the standard in (4ai), differing by the addition of unit-formation, $V/(MM)\underline{q}...$, where (MM) is emphatic, thus being comparable to (3) of (One)V... \underline{q} , p.2.2.62. Both (4ai) and (4aii) thus consist largely of exceptions similar to Fraenkelian colon type D (to which the occasionally coinciding type E instances draw the attention). In the standard cases, the colon-division and the emphasis are marked by / and underlining respectively. Some cases are more complicated. In Th.III.24.1 there seem to be two colon-divisions, $V/M/M\underline{q}...$, both ἥκιστα and ταύτην requiring emphasis separately. Extra colon-divisions also seem required in Ti.19c, 36.32, 20.105; in all of these the word or expression preceding \underline{q} is emphatic; in the last it is τοιοῦτόν τι λέγειν, which may be a unit, but is perhaps more probably broken by a colon-formation putting the emphasis on the adjective; obs. that colon-division may emphasize either the initial mobile in the trailing colon or the expression preceding the division, giving a kind of Kurzcolon (cf. Plt.277b μέζονι τοῦ δέοντος/ἤναγκάσθημεν αὐτοῦ...). In Prm.137d it is not clear if μὴ πολλὰ ἀλλ' ἓν is or is not a unit. In Sph.231e the prolonged substantival phrase δοξῶν...καθαρτήν seems likely to be a unit, being closely related by comparison to the rest of the sentence, but within itself it possibly has minor colon-divisions; cf. 30.7, where τε and καί seem relevant. R.III 400c exhibits the (8)-pattern of (One)V... \underline{q} , but complicated by unit-formation, $MV(MM)\underline{q}$ (can $MVM\underline{q}$ then be a unit? - but there could be hierarchies of units); Dem.2.26 seems to be $MV(MM)/M\underline{q}MV$ (cf. p.2.2.70) with the emphasis on χρηστά. In Tht.188c (which infringes Rule XV) the unit is a relative clause, underwritten as a unit by Rule VII; the infringement of Rule XV seems to result from the means used to emphasize the relative clause. Dem.21.150 also infringes Rule XV, but with the emphasis on ἀλλοτρίοις.

(Two)V...g(...)V (4aiii) Δημ.1.12 τί τὸ κωλύον ἔτ' αὐτὸν ἔσται
βαδίζειν...; 24.114 ὅπως ὀρῶν ἀπαν-
τες αὐτὸν δεδεμένον· 39.13 ὀρᾶτε μὲν γὰρ ἀπαντες αὐτὸν χρώμεν-
ον...· 46.13 πῶς ἂν οὖν μὴ εἰδῶς ὁ πατήρ αὐτὸν Ἀθηναίων ἐσό-
μενον...; 59.51 ὀρῶν δ' ὁ Φράστρω αὐτὴν οὔτε κοσμίαν οὔσαν...

Here g is postponed from the Vg position by being excluded from within the words belonging to the main verb; obs. the resemblance of phraseology throughout most cases. To Dem. 59.21 correspond as regular word-order Th.II.4.6 ὀρῶντες δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ Πλαταιῆς ἀπειλημένους..., 81.5; III.16.1; IV.34.1 (cf. with different vocabulary Euthd.274d, 290e, Lg.III 680b, 21.75, 49.32, 34). But the most normal formulation is MVg... (cf. p.2.1.24), e.g. Th.II.59.3 ὁ δὲ ὀρῶν αὐτοὺς...μέλλοντας...

(Two)V...g(...)V (4aiiv) Θ.4.34.1 καὶ ξυνειθισμένοι μᾶλλον/
μηκέτι δεινοὺς αὐτοὺς ὁμοίως σφίσι φαί-
νεσθαι. Πλ.Φδ.94γ οὐκοῦν αὐ ὠμολογήσαμεν ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν/μή-
ποτ' ἂν αὐτὴν...οὔσαν...ἄδειν...(τ)· II.6.616δ νοῆσαι δὲ δεῖ//
τοιόσδε αὐτὸν εἶναι· N.5.728δ μηνύειν δὴ μοι φαίνεται/τάσδε καὶ
τοιόσδε τινὰς αὐτὰς εἶναι... Δημ.18.35 καὶ ἀκούσεσθε δυοῖν
ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν/φίλον αὐτὸν γεγενημένον· 57.43 ...μαρτυρεῖ τοῖς
ἔργοις/ἀστήν τε αὐτὴν καὶ πολῖτιν εἶναι.

The above combine the characters of (4aiii) with those of (4ai) and (4aii), q.v. We now pass to cases in which the main verb follows the subordinate.

(Two)V...g(...)V (4bx) Θ.7.73.1 ὡς οὐ χρεῶν ἀποχωρῆσαι τῆς
νυκτὸς αὐτοὺς περιιδεῖν. Πλ.Πлт.305α
οὐκοῦν ἄρχουσαν ταύτης αὐτὴν ἀποφανόμεθα...(τ), Δημ.20.100
δι' ὧν//θεῖναι τὸν νόμον αὐτὸν ἀναγκάσει· 54.9 οἱ δὲ κροτεῖν
τοῖς ἀγκῶσιν αὐτὸν ἠξίου...· 58.12 εἰ δὲ πλεύσαντα δικαίως αὐ-
τὸν/()φαίνει...(τ).

This is similar to (4aiii) above, but with main verb and infinitive (or...) in the reverse order. In this case however there seem to be no exactly corresponding instances of the 'regular' formulation Vg(...)V; there is nothing like κροτεῖν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἀγκῶσιν ἠξίου. It seems that with the verbs in this order, and where there are words belonging to the infinitive, either the order is 'exceptional', as above, or the words mentioned are put after the main verb, as in Euthd.305c ἀλλ' ἐπάειν αὐτὸν φασι περὶ τοῦ πράγματος..., Prm.127b, 161e, Lg.

IV 711b. This may be the result of a strong tendency, when q is between the verbs and they are in this order, to have q directly preceding the subordinate.

(Two)V...q(...)V (4by) Πλ.Τι. 49α τίν' οὖν ἔχον δύναμιν κατὰ φύσιν αὐτὸ ὑποληπτέον;

(Two)V...q(...)V (4bz) Δημ. 16.12 ἔὰν μὴ ποιῶν ὃ τι βούλονται πάλιν αὐτοὺς ἔατε.

These would support the same impression. That ends the account of (4) of (Two)V...q(...)V; in (5), which follows, the subordinate verb is the predicate of the main.

(Two)V...q(...)V (5) Θ. 1.92 ἅμα δὲ καὶ προσφιλεῖς ὄντες, ἐν τῷ τότε διὰ τὴν... προθυμίαν τὰ μάλιστα αὐτοῖς ἐτύγγανον. Δημ. 6.14 οὐκοῦν φασὶ μὲν μέλλειν/πρὸς τοὺς ἐρεχί- οὺς αὐτὸν ὑπόπτως ἔχειν.

In Dem. 6.14 above, q is subject of both verbs; in Th. I.92 it appears to be a common dative. In the former, the position of q corresponds to that in the standard cases of (4ai), p. 2.2. 81; in the latter, the syntax of τὰ μάλιστα is not clear; if it goes with the participle, the sentence corresponds to (4by) above, if with the main verb, to (4bz).

The above completes the lists of (Two)V...q(...)V. On X...q(...)X in general see pp. 2.1.20 and 2.3.47. In view of the expectation that X...q(...)X is only partly exceptional because divided between X...q + (...)X and X... + ...q(...)X, it is interesting to see from the above lists that cases of V... + ...q(...)V are the more numerous, and that those of V...q + (...)V often resemble those of (One)V...q (see comments following individual lists). These proportions are not however uniformly distributed: in the participial and co-ordinative types, (1--) and (2--), V...q + (...)V is in the majority (1a1, 1b1, 2-1) and also in those divisions of the 'infinitival' (ποιῶν αὐτὸν κελεύω) type where the subordinate verb precedes (4bx, 4by). Demosthenes has unusually high numbers of V...q + (...)V (2-1, 4aiii, 4bx). (Three)W...q(...)V follows overpage.

(Three)W...q(...)qV For overall numbers, including those of corresponding regular orders, see pp.2.3. 12 ff. The primary division here is: (1) WMq..., with apparent colon-formation, i.e. W/Mq...; (2) ditto with apparent unit-formation (WM)q...; (3) as (1), but trailing colon lengthened by unit-formation, W/(MM...)q...; (4) W is itself a postpositive. (1) is subdivided: (1a-) word(s) separating W from q are emphasized, that being the apparent motive for the exceptional order; (1b); not so. (1a-) subdivides yet further, as explained after each list. Under Rule XXVII, the above classification is NOT used for (Three)W...q(...)qV (and Rule XXVI has too few exceptions in that category to require division).

(1a1) Πλ.Π.1.348γ τὸ μὲν που ἀρετὴν αὐτοῖν καλεῖς, τὸ δὲ κακίαν: ὅταν οἱ μὲν θεοὶ αὐτῶν οἴωνται εἶναι... Σς.220β καθ' ἃ τὸ μὲν ἔρκεσιν αὐτοῖν ποιεῖται...(τ), 225α τὸ μὲν ἀμιλλητικὸν αὐτῆς τιθέντες..., 262ε τὰ δὲ ἀρμόττοντα αὐτῶν λόγον ἀπηργάσαντο, 267ε ὁ μὲν γὰρ εὐήθης αὐτῶν ἐστίν· Πλτ.261β τὸ μὲν ἀψυχα αὐτῶν ἐστὶ που συμπάντων... Φλβ.55δ εἰ τὸ μὲν ἐπιστήμη αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἐχόμενον... Τι.69ε καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὸ μὲν ἄμεινον αὐτῆς τὸ δὲ χεῖρον ἐπεφύκει· Ν.1.627γ ...θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν τοῖς πλεῖστος μὲν ἀδίκους αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι... 7.815ε τὸ μὲν ἐκ πόνων τινῶν αὐτοῦ... ἔχον... Δημ.16.2 ...τοῖς μὲν Ἀρκάδας τούτους δὲ Λάκωνας αὐτῶν εἶναι νομίσαι.

In the above, we have Fraenkelian type E colon-formation (see pp.1.1.27 ff.) with μὲν/δέ, and the co-ordination emphasizes the M which separates W from q. The majority are in fact cases of ὁ μὲν/δέ. It seems to be mainly a 'late Plato' usage.

(1a2) Θ.7.37.2 καθ' ὅσον πρὸς τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῦ ἑώρα. Πλ.Πλτ. ὅσους μὴ θεὸς αὐτῶν... ἐκόμισεν· Ν.2.670β ὅσοι προσάδειν αὐτῶν καὶ βαίνειν ἐν ῥυθμῷ γεγόνασι διηναγκασμένοι· 12.967β ὅσοι τῆς ἀκριβείας αὐτῶν ἠπτοντο.

In the above, W is ὅσος, and again we have type E colon-formation, the contrast implied by ὅσος putting emphasis as before on the element between W and q

(1a1+2) see overpage.

(Three)W...q(...)V (1a1+2) Πλ.Π.7.516γ ὅσα τε πρότερα αὐτῶν καὶ ὕστερα εἰώθει καὶ ἅμα πορεύεσθαι, 526δ ὅσον μὲν, "... , "πρὸς τὰ πολεμικὰ αὐτοῦ τείνει" N.11.930α καὶ ὅσοι μὲν ἂν ἄπαιδες αὐτῶν ἢ ὀλιγόπαιδες διαφέρωνται...

In the above, ὅσοις combined with the formal marks of type E colon-formation as seen in (1a1), μὲν/δέ and τε/καί, and in R.VII 526d the colon-formation seems guaranteed by 'he said'.

(Three)W...q(...)V (1a3) Δημ.4.47 πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς οὐδείς οὐδ' ἀπαξ αὐτῶν ἀγωνίσασθαι...τολμᾷ...

Here emphasis is marked by οὐδέ. But perhaps the sentence should be relegated to (2) below, (WM)q, p.2.2.88.

(Three)W...q(...)V (1a4) Θ.1.21.1 καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ χρόνου αὐτῶν ...ἐκνευικηκότα. Πλ.Θτ.193ε καὶ τὴν γνῶσιν κατὰ τὴν αἴσθησιν αὐτοῦ ἔχων Πλτ.292α πάντως τοῦνοια οὐδείς αὐτῆς εἰώθε μεταλλάττειν. N.1.634ε ποῖα καλῶς αὐτῶν ἢ μὴ καλῶς ἔχει. 5.746ε ...μηδὲν ἄμετρον αὐτῶν εἶναι. 12.958α ταῖς πράξεσι νόμους αὐτῶν χρῆσθαι γίνεσθαι... Δημ.58.63 οὐδένα γὰρ ἀξίως αὐτῶν τῆς πονηρίας τετιμῶρησε.

In the above, the M separating W from q again seems to be emphatic, though there are no formal signs of colon-formation or express words of emphasis. It seems possible then that all the above (1a-) sentences are cases of W/Mq... colon-formation with emphasis on M. In (1b), which follows, are instances different from that, but which are probably not unit-formations as in (2).

(Three)W...q(...)V (1b) Θ.2.49.7 τῶν γε ἀκρωτηρίων ἀντίληψις αὐτοῦ ἐπεσημαίνεν. 6.102.3 καὶ αἱ νῆες ἅμα αὐτῶν...κατέπλεον. Πλ.Απ.18δ ὅτι οὐδὲ τὰ ὄνοματα οἶδόν τε αὐτῶν εἶδέναι. Μνξ.237α τὴν εὐγένειαν οὖν πρῶτον αὐτῶν ἐγκωμιάζωμεν, 237δ δεύτερος δὲ ἔπαινος δικαίως ἂν αὐτῆς εἴη... Π.10.612α νῦν δὲ τὰ πάθη τε καὶ εἶδη//ἐπιεικῶς αὐτῆς διεληλύθαμεν. Πρμ.137δ μέρη γὰρ ἂν ἤδη αὐτοῦ τὰ τοιαῦτα εἴη. Σφ.255γ, ...ἀμφοτέρω οὕτως αὐτὰ...προσεροῦμεν. Δημ.13.18 αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ὀρθῶς αὐτῶν ἔχει. (+ Πλ.Π.6.503γ καὶ τὸ βέβαιον ἅπαν αὐτῶν...

Here we have WMq with an apparent emphasis on the W-element. It is possible that here too there is emphasis-motivated colon-formation; in (One)V...q (5) (pp.2.2.64 and 73 above) type E colon-formation emphasizes sometimes V, sometimes the expression following V. Anyway, in αὐτ-(Three)W...q(...)V, sentences of the type W/Mq... have in the great majority of

cases emphasis upon M: contrast the corresponding category in τις (Rule XXVII, p.2.2.102 below). That completes (1--); in (2) below are cases of unit-formation, (WM)q.

(Three)W...q(...)V (2) @.5.55.5 ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι αὐτῶν ἔδει. Πλ. Φόρ.257β ἵνα καὶ ὁ ἔραστής ὄδε αὐτοῦ μηκέτι ἐπαμφοτερίζῃ... Σφ.262β κἄν πάντα τις ἐφεξῆς αὐτὰ εἴπῃ Πλτ.308γ πάντα εἰς ἓν αὐτὰ συνάγουσα N.2.673α τὴν ἐντεχνον ἀγωγὴν ἐπὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον αὐτοῦ γυμναστικὴν προσείπωμεν.

The above are not all equally convincing as examples of unit-formation; Sph.262b and Plt.308c could be colon-formation emphasizing both W and M. In the great majority of cases of (Three)W...q(...)V, q is separated by one M only from the position after W; in (3), which follows, are the exceptions to that.

(Three)W...q(...)V (3) Πλ.Λυ.207δ ὀπότερος δικαιότερος καὶ σοφότερος αὐτῶν εἴη Πλτ.261β τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ ταῦς τῶν ἀφύχων γενέσεσιν αὐτοῦ τάττοντες... Τι.71δ καὶ πάντα ὀρθὰ καὶ λεῖτα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐλεύθερα ἀπευθύουσα.

The above seem to be a combination of colon- and unit-formation, W/(MM...)q; Plt.261b in particular suggests this. In (4), which follows, W is itself a postpositive.

(Three)W...q(...)V (4) Πλ.Γργ.469δ κἄν τινα δόξῃ μοι τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῶν κατεαγέσθαι δεῖν Κριτι.120γ εἰ τίς τι παραβαίνειν αὐτῶν αἰτιῶτό τινα N.12.945β ἂν τίς τί πη σχολιὸν αὐτῶν καμφθεῖς...(τ).

Possibly we should not expect sentences with postpositival W-element to obey the rules of mobile W-elements.

That completes the lists of (Three)W...q(...)V. In a number of cases (Sph.262e in (1a1), Ig.II 670b in (1a2), Ap.18d in (1b) and Criti.120c in (4)) q directly follows V', a verb to which it does not 'belong'; but this does not seem important as a cause of the exception. The main cause seems to be emphasis-motivated colon-formation; unit-formation, here as in (One)V...q (pp.2.2.71 ff.), seems minor. The great majority of exceptions are in 'late' Plato, only (3) and (4) having cases from early Plato, and Thucydidean and Demosthenic instances being rare (cf.pp.2.3.12 ff.). (Four)W(...)V...q follows.

(Four)W(...)V...q (1) 0.4.92.6 πεῖραν δὲ ἔχομεν ἡμεῖς αὐτοῦ...
 113.2 οἱ μὲν τινες ὀλίγοι διαφθείρονται
ἐν χερσὶν αὐτῶν. Πλ.Π.9.580δ ...ἐνὶ οὐκ ἔσχομεν ὄνοματι προσ-
ειπεῖν ἰδίῳ αὐτοῦ. Σφ.240δ καὶ τὴν τέχνην εἶναι τινα ἀπατητικὴν
αὐτοῦ. Φλβ.13β ὁμῶς πάντα σὺ προσαγορεύεις ἀγαθὰ αὐτὰ. Τι.60α
τέτταρα δὲ//...εἴληφεν ὄνόματα αὐτῶν. Ν.5.747δ οἱ μὲν γέ που...
ἀλλόκοτοί τε εἶσι καὶ ἐναίσιοι αὐτῶν. 11.930α ἔαν δ' αἱ ψυχαὶ
κυμαίνωσι μειζρόνως αὐτῶν.

The above are instances of W(...)VMq, i.e. q separated by one mobile only from V, comparable with (One)V...q categories (1) and (2), pp.2.2.61 ff.; Lg.V 747d is comparable also with category (8) there, p.2.2.66. On R.IX 580d: obs. that when W is a noun and q a possessive genitive, an adjective in agreement with the noun, even attributively, is not necessarily treated as part of W (cf.p.2.1.26); however in view of ἰδίῳ, αὐτοῦ is perhaps mobile, 'self'. In (2), which follows, q is separated from V by more than one mobile, cf. (One)V...q (4), p.2.2.63.

(Four)W(...)V...q (2) Δημ.20.40 χρήματα γὰρ ἔστιν ἀεὶ παρ' ἡμῶν
αὐτοῦ.

That ends the lists of (Four)W(...)V...q; for numbers, including those of regular instances, see pp.2.3.12 ff.

(Five)V...q(...)W For numbers, including those of regular wordings, see pp.2.3.14 ff. The division here is approximately that of (Three)W...q(...)V, p.2.2.86 above. (1a) colon-formation V/Mq with emphasis on M; (1b) V/Mq, but M is not emphasized; (2) - no instances; (3) as (1), but trailing colon lengthened by unit-formation; (4) W is itself postpositive. This classification is NOT like that used for (Five)V...q(...)W in τις (Rule XXVII below).

(Five)V...q(...)W (1a) 0.5.15.1 ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ Σπαρτιάται αὐτῶν
πρώτοι τε... 8.108.4 καὶ ἐπαγγελίας
στρατιᾶν αὐτῶν τοῖς βελτίστοις. Πλ.Π.4.440γ καὶ//οὐκ εθέλει
πρὸς τοῦτον αὐτοῦ εγείρεσθαι ὁ θυμὸς. Ν.1.645α δεῖσθαι ὑπηρε-
τῶν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀγωγὴν. Δημ.24.120 διαφέρει δὲ τοσοῦτον αὐτῶν
ἢ ἱεροσολῶν...

It seems clear in the above that M in VMq is emphasized;

that this is due to colon-formation, V/M_q, is less certain; it seems however much more certain that it is not a matter of unit-formation, (VM)_q.

(Five)V...q(...)W (1b) Πλ.Απ.18δ οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀναβιβάσαι οἶδόν τ' ἔστιν αὐτῶν...οὐδένα· Τι.83γ ...ἔσχευ λόγον αὐτῶν ἕκαστον ἴδιον· Ν.12.945ε τεκταινώμεθα δὴ τινα τροδπον αὐτῶν τοιάνδε γένεσιν (τ).

As in (1a) it is uncertain that the above are cases of colon-formation, V/M_q, but unit-formation, (VM)_q, is not a convincing description either; certainly however the motive for the exception does not seem to be emphasis on the M following in the verb. There are no instances of (2) (which would be clear cases of unit-formation); in (3), which follows; an apparent colon-formation has the trailing colon lengthened by unit-formation.

(Five)V...q(...)W (3) Πλ.Π.6.497δ ...δεδηλώκατε μακρὰν καὶ χαλεπὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀπόδειξιν· Φλβ.18ε πῶς ἔστιν ἔν καὶ πολλὰ αὐτῶν ἑκάτερον. Δημ.21.170 ἔξεῖναι τοὺς ἰδίους ἐχθροὺς ὑβρίζειν αὐτῶν ἐκάστῳ.

Observe similar wording in Phlb.18ε and Dem.21.170 above, also in Ti.83c of (1b) above; cf. also R.IX 580d in (Four) W(...)V...q (1), p.2.2.89 above.

(Five)V...q(...)W (4) Πλ.Σφ.242γ πολεμεῖ δὲ ἀλλήλοις ἐνίοτε αὐτῶν ἄττα πη (τ)· Τι.27β παρὰ σοῦ δὲ πεπαιδευμένους διαφερόντως αὐτῶν τινάς, 53ε δυνατὰ δὲ ἐξ ἀλλήλων αὐτῶν ἄττα...γίγνεσθαι (τ).

In general, the instances of (Five)V...q(...)W are less easily analysed than those of (Three)W...q(...)V (pp.2.2.86 ff.).

(Six)V(...)W...q Πλ.Κρα.421δ εἴη μὲν οὖν ἴσως ἂν τι καὶ τοιοῦτον αὐτῶν· Π.5.449β καὶ λαβόμενος τοῦ ἱματίου ἄνωθεν αὐτοῦ...· Φλβ.49β καὶ τούτων ἀναγκαιότατον επισθαι τοῖς μὲν ῥώμην αὐτῶν...

For numbers of corresponding regular wordings see pp.2.3. 14 ff. (Six)V(...)W...q is less numerous than (Four)W(...)V...q. Phlb.49b seems to be a case of type E colon-formation: cf. Lg.V 747d, p.2.2.89 and also (Three)W...q(...)V, p.2.2.86. Cra.421d is an exception^a also to Rule XXIV (p.2.2.59 above,

(1-), and also to Rule XXVII, (Five)V...q(...)W, p.2.2.107 below. If τοιοῦτον is not predicate but in W-relation to τι, the exception to this Rule disappears. That ends (Six)V(...)W...q.

(Seven)W...q (cf. pp.2.3.16 ff.) (1) Θ.1.49.5 καὶ μέχρι τοῦ
στρατοπέδου πλεύσαντες
αὐτῶν. Πλ.Π.6.491α εἰς τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα καθισταμένας αὐτῆς.
Δημ.8.59 πρὸς τὰ τεῖχη προσβάλλων αὐτῶν (τ) (= 10.61(τ)) 41.
9 ἢ παρὰ τῆς γυναικὸς εἶχον αὐτοῦ.

See p.2.1.25 and 2.2.5 ff. esp. 2.2.8, on Rule V and the conventions consequently governing treatment of prepositional phrases. And so these are cases of W...q in the form W(...)V'q, where V' is a verb to which q does not 'belong'. But since the irregularity seems due to the prepositional expression behaving other than as a self-contained unit, these instances have in Appendix A, pp.2.3.16 ff., been listed among WVq.

(Seven)W...q (2) Πλ.Θτ.144γ ...ἠλέφοντο) ἑταῖροί τε τινες οὗτοι
αὐτοῦ (καὶ αὐτός, 156α ἀρχὴ δὲ//ἦδε αὐτῶν
Φλβ.53δ καὶ ἔραστὰς ἀνδρείους αὐτῶν N.6.764γ τοὺς μὲν παιδεύ-
αζ αὐτῶν ἔνεκα...(τ).

See p.2.1.11; under the conventions derived from Rules IV, VIII and XIII, q in Tht.144c above 'belongs' only to the τε-clause, and the verb is thus formally ignored. Phlb.53d: cf. p.2.2.88, (2), of (Three)W...q(...)V. Lg.VI 764c seems to be type E colon-formation; cf. (Three)W...q(...)V (1a1), p.2.2.86.

(Eight)W...q(...)W (cf. p.2.3.17) Δημ.4.17 ἐπὶ τὰς ἑξάφωνης
ταύτας ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκειᾶς χώρας
αὐτοῦ στρατείας...

See pp.2.1.25-6. When q is embedded in a substantival phrase to which as a whole it is in Concord-relation, the elements preceding and following are treated as distinct but connected W-elements, as in λόγος τις καλός, τὰ νῦν αὐτῶν πράγματα. But in this case the prepositional expression seems a degree more remote; cf. Lg.II 673a, p.2.2.88, (Three)W...q(...)V (2).

(Nine) Miscellaneous mixtures: overpage.

(Nine) Miscellaneous mixtures: instances with more than two X-elements; cf. pp.2.3.19 ff.

(Nine) misc. mixtures (1) VW...qV Δημ.21.194 ἢ καὶ γελοῖ' εἶναι τὰ νῦν οἶμαι δάκρυ' εἰκότως ἀν αὐτοῦ δοκοῖη.

In the above, τὰ δάκρυα, which is W-element to q, is subject of both main verb and infinitive.

(Nine) Misc. mixtures (2) V...qWV Θ.1.55.1 ἐτύγγανον δὲ καὶ δυνάμει αὐτῶν οἱ πλείους... ὄντες... Πλ.Π.10.616γ καὶ ἰδεῖν αὐτόθι κατὰ μέσον τὸ φῶς ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὰ ἄκρα αὐτοῦ τῶν δεσμῶν τεταμένα Θτ.172β ὡς οὐκ ἔστι φύσει αὐτῶν οὐδὲν... ἔχον Φλβ.52ε προελόμενοι πρῶτον αὐτῶν ἐν τι σκοπῶμεν (τ).

In R.X 616c above, it is possible that τὰ ἄκρα should have the status of W; but q 'belongs' much more closely to τῶν δεσμῶν° cf. on ἄλλος τῶν τοιοῦτων τις, p.2.1.26.

(Nine) Misc. mixtures (3) W...qWV Πλ.Πλτ.277β μεῖζονι τοῦ δέοντος ἠναγκάσθημεν αὐτοῦ μέρει προσγράσασθαι Τι.39α τὸ μὲν μεῖζονα αὐτῶν τὸ δ' ἐλάττω κύκλον ἴον.

Of the above instances of (Nine), on (1) Dem.21.194 and (2) Pl.R.X 616c, cf. (One)V...q (7), p.2.2.64 ff.; on (2) Th.I.55.1 cf. (One)V...q (6), p.2.2.64; Tht.172b and Phlb.52e cf. (One)V...q (1) and (2), p.2.2.61; on (3) Plt.277b, cf. (one)V...q(9), p.2.2.66 and also p.2.2.74 ff.; Ti.39a, cf. (Three)W...q(...)V (1al.) p.2.2.86. And so despite the multiplicity of X-elements, these seem to fall into familiar categories of deferment.

That ends the lists of exceptions to Rule XXV. The following is a numerical summary:-

	(One)	(Two)	(Three)	(Four)	(Five)	(Six)	(Seven)	(Eight)	(Nine)	tot.
Th.	53	23	5	2	2		1		1	87
Pl.	97	64	38	6	10	3	5		5	228
Dem.	<u>120</u>	<u>51</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	—	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>183</u>
	<u>270</u>	<u>138</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>498</u>

Plato shows particularly high totals in (Three) and (Five), Demosthenes in (One). Plato has high numbers throughout (Three)

(p.2.2.86 ff.), but the Demosthenic prominence in (One) is due mainly to his high numbers in (2) (not (1)) and (9): pp.2.2.61-2, 2.2.66-7, table on p.2.2.71). That ends the account of Rule XXV.

Rule XXVI The postpositive μ - does not stand later than directly after X. See pp.2.1.18 ff.

Exceptions to Rule XXVI These fall into the same primary divisions, (One)V...g etc., as the exceptions to Rule XXV, pp.2.1.26 ff. For numbers and those of corresponding regular wordings, see pp.2.3.20 ff.

(One)V...g This falls into the same categories of apparent causation as (One)V...g under Rule XXV (pp.2.2.60-61, 63-64, 68, discussion pp. 2.2.70 ff.). In view of the small numbers of exceptions, these categories are in the following list indicated by bracketed numerals after the individual entry.

(One)V...g Πλ.Γργ.4628 ἐροῦ νῦν με (1)· Σμπ.194α φαρμάττειν βούλει με/-/, "... (9)· Σφ.221δ θηρευτά τινα καταφαίνεσθον ἄμφω μοι (2). Δημ.16.18 τό γ' ἐπελθὼν εἶπεῖν μοι (τ) (9)· 18.59 τὸ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν τᾶριστά με (2), 180 λέγε τὸ ψήφισμά μοι(τ)(2), 196 ἐστὶ δὲ ταυτὶ πάντα μοι...(3), 217 λέγε δὴ καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ψηφίσματα μοι (3+6), 267 παρ' ἄς παράγωνθι καὶ σύ μοι...(τ)(6)· 19.173 ἀλλ' οἶμαι περιῆσαν οὗτοί μου(2), 202 καὶ συνήρεσκε ταῦτά μοι...(2)· 21.26 οὐναντιος ἦκεν ἂν εὐθύς μοι λόγος(τ)(1), 28 ὅτι καὶ δίκας δίδωσ' ὁ νόμος μοι(2), 106 καὶ μηδὲ ταφῆναι προσυπῆρχεν οἴκοι μοι(8), 117 καὶ//πλεῖστα παρεσχηκότος ἐκείνου πράγματα μοι...(4)· 24.41 μνημονεύετε δ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ μοι...(2)· 36.21 λαβὲ τὰς μαρτυρίας μοι...(2)· 37.1 γεγεννημένων ἀμφοτέρων μοι τούτων...(7), 23 μεμαρτύρηται μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ μοι τοῦ λόγου...(5+6+7)· 45.46 λαβὲ τὴν ἀντιγραφὴν αὐτὴν μοι (3), 57 καὶ δ' ἦς ἦν ὁ πλεῖστος ἐλεγχὸς μοι(3), 84 ἀνελ' οὐν ἐκ μέσου μοι Πασικλέα...(2), 86 ...οὐχ ἱκανὸν ὄν τὸ ὕδωρ ὀρω μοι(9)· 50.22 καὶ ἐπιτετριηρχημένων ἤδη μοι...(1), 60 ὥστε δοῦναι ὅσα ἐβούλετό μοι(9)· 54.7 ...περιπατοῦντος ἐσπέρας ἐν ἀγορᾷ μου...(4)· 55.21 ...μόνοι δικάζεσθαι τετολημῆκασιν οὗτοί μοι(4)· 58.4 οἱ...ἐγκαταλελοίπασιν νυνὶ με(1), 5 δῖοπερ...ἔδωκεν ὁ πατήρ μοι(2).

On the above, cf. table of (One)V...g under Rule XXV, p. 2.2.71. Here as there Demosthenes has the greatest number

of exceptions in the category, here however by a much larger margin; there the excess was most notably due to cases of (9), here to cases of (2). In particular: 18.120, 217, 267; 36.21, 45.46 and possibly 24.41 in the above list are comparable with 30.24 (p.2.2.65 (7a)), 20.54 (2.2.68 (10)) and 20.153 (2.2.65 (7b)). The courtroom formula 'read the evidence' seems both in $\alpha\upsilon\tau$ - and in μ - to make for exceptions to the Xq principle. Cf. also (Two)V... \underline{q} (...)V, p.2.2.94 below. For λέγε μοι..., λαβέ μοι..., κάλει μοι... κτλ., see p.2.4.6 below. The exceptions are confined to the asyndetic forms of these formulae and to those introduced by postpositives; with $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ or more particularly $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$, the norm is $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ μοι..., $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ μοι... (Pl.Euthphr.6b, Hp.Mi.364e, Dem.18.105, etc.etc.; in fact Demosthenes avoids $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ μ -, and in him, unlike Plato, $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ μ - is confined to such formulae). That ends the account of (One)V... \underline{q} under Rule XXVI.

(Two)V... \underline{q} (...)V The primary division of these is the same as for (Two)V... \underline{q} (...)V under Rule XXV, p.2.2.77, except for (3), which here represents a type absent from the $\alpha\upsilon\tau$ - lists. For numbers including those of corresponding regular wordings, see pp.2.3.21 ff.

(Two)V... \underline{q} (...)V (1a) Δημ.18.115 λέγε τὰ ψηφίσματα μοι τὰ τοῦ-
τοις γεγενημέν' αὐτὰ λαβών, 120 λέγε δ'
αὐτόν μοι τὸν νόμον λαβών(τ)· 21.46 ἀνάγνωθι δ' αὐτόν μοι λαβών
τὸν...νόμον· 55.35 ἀλλ' ἐκβάλλουσιν ὅπως ἐκ τοῦ δήμου μ' ἐλαύν-
οντες...

(1a) above contains participial instances in which the main verb leads; unlike those in $\alpha\upsilon\tau$ -, p.2.2.77, (1a) here is difficult to subdivide; on 18.115, 120, 21.46, see on (One)V... \underline{q} above ('read me the evidence').

(Two)V... \underline{q} (...)V (1b) Πλ.N.3.688γ σπουδάζοντα δ' εἴ με τιθέναι
βούλεσθε.

(1b): participial with participle leading; instances of the form $Xp\bar{q}$... are absent from the $\alpha\upsilon\tau$ - exceptions (Rule XXV) but are of importance in $\tau\iota\varsigma$ (Rule XXVII); given the postponed

εί, either this Rule or Rule II (σπουδάζοντα δέ μ'εί...) must be infringed. See pp.2.2.102, 112, below.

(Two)V...q(...)V (2) Δημ.53.17 ἀποκειμένου γὰρ ἤδη μου...καὶ μέλλοντος...

Cf. (2-1), p.2.2.79 above; here, there are no other cases of (2).

(Two)V...q(...)V (3) Πλ.Ευθφρ.9β ἴθι περὶ τούτων πειρῶ τί μοι σαφές ἐνδείξασθαι. Μεν.82δ φέρε δὴ πειρῶ μοι εἰπεῖν. Π.1.352β ἴθι δὴ, "...", "καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μοι...ἀποπλήρωσον. Σφ.257δ ἴθι νῦν τόδε μοι λέγε.

The above group, assigned to (3), corresponds to nothing under Rules XXV or XXVII. In expressions like ἴθι δὴ μοι εἰπέ, both verbs have here been classed as V, q 'belonging' to both; it does not however 'belong' to the main verb in cases like πειρῶ μοι εἰπεῖν. Expressions like ἴθι, φέρε, should perhaps be regarded as interjections, in accordance with which this whole class of sentences, 'regular' and 'exceptional', have, for the purpose of the statistics presented at pp.2.3.20 ff., been treated as qV; but the infrequency of cases like the above list suggests a justification for treating them as V; contrast the 'regular' usage:- Πλ.Ιων 535β ἔχε δὴ μοι τόδε εἰπέ, 538δ ἴθι μοι ἔξευρε... Πρτ.352α, 352α. Γργ.449δ, 495γ, 500ε ἴθι δὴ//διομολόγησαί μοι... (Vq). Λυ.204ε καὶ μοι ἴθι ἐπίδειξαι... Εὐθδ.293β, 302ε. Κρα.385β. IM 288α. Σμπ.199γ ἴθι οὖν μοι...καὶ τόδε εἰπέ. Π.5.474γ ἴθι δὴ ἀκολούθησον μοι... (Vq). 9.577γ, 580α. Φδρ. 262δ.

(Two)V...q(...)V (4ai) Πλ.Φλβ.45γ ἀλλ'οἴου/μέγεθος με ζητεῖν... Π.3.392β εἰάν ὁμολογῆς/ὀρθῶς με λέγειν. Δημ.18.250 τότε ἐφηφίζεσθε/τᾶριστά με πράττειν. 27.5 ἠγγύμενος //οὐκ ἂν χειρόν μ'ἐπιτροπευθῆναι..., 53 δέον ἕτερα μ'αυτοῦ κατηγορεῖν... 37.1 ...μὴ φάσκειν ἀληθῆ με λέγειν. 41.16 τοὺς εἰδόμενος ἐλαττόν με κομισάμενον. 57.52 ...φασὶ πάντα μ'ὠνεῖσθαι.

(Two)V...q(...)V (4aii) Πλ.Απ.18ε καὶ οἰθήθητε δεῖν πρὸς ἐκεῖνους πρῶτόν με ἀπολογήσασθαι. Δημ.30.6 ...ὅστις οὐχ ἠγεῖτο τῶν εἰδόμενων δίκην με λήψεσθαι...

The two above lists have the same definition as (4ai) and (4aii) under Rule XXV, pp.2.2.81 ff., and in (4ai) the findings are similar - Fraenkelian colon-formation with emphasis on the word following the main verb; in (4aii) there is less of the

pattern V/(MM)g, colon-formation followed by unit-formation -- but Dem.30.6 conforms to it. There are no cases of (4aiii) or (4aiv).

(Two)V...g(...)V (4bx) Δημ.50.53 ...ἀποπλεῖν οἴκαδέ με ἐκέλευ-
σεν.

Cf. p.2.2.84 above.

(Two)V...g(...)V (5) Δημ.18.57 τοῦ μὲν οὖν γράφαι πράττοντα
καὶ λέγοντα τὰ βέλτιστά με...διατελεῖν

In (5), g is subject of main verb (here infinitive) and predicate (here participle); on causation, cf. (One)V...g (2), pp.2.2.61 (Rule XXV) and 93 above. That ends the account of (Two)V...g(...)V. One exception to this Rule only remains.

(Three)W...g(...)V Πλ.Θτ.166δ τὸν δὲ λόγον αὖ μὴ τῷ ῥήματι
μου δῶκε.

This is the only exception to Rule XXVI involving a W-element (cf.2.3.44 ff., esp.46-7); it seems better sense to take g with λόγον than with ῥήματι. Cf. Rule XXV, (Three)W...g(...)V (1a4), p.2.2.87 above; this case too seems to fit the pattern W/Mg... with emphasis on M; contrast (1b), p.2.2.87 and also (Three)W...g(...)V under Rule XXVII. That ends the account of exceptions to Rule XXVI.

Rule XXVII The postpositive τις does not stand later than directly after X. See pp.2.1.18 ff.

Exceptions to Rule XXVII These fall into the same primary divisions, (one)V...g etc., as the exceptions to Rule XXV, pp.2.1.26 ff. For numbers, including those of regular wordings, see pp.2.3.25 ff.

(One)V...g (cf. p.2.3.25): this falls into the same categories of apparent causation as (One)V...g under Rule XXV, pp.2.2.60-61, 63-64, 68, discussed at 70 ff. But here, there is also the influence of Formulaism (Chapter III); the categories up to (9) have therefore been numbered as in (One)V...g
(ctd.p.97)

Rule XXVII: index of exception classes (cf. p.2.1.26).

	page
(One)V... <u>q</u> Defn. of subdivns., 96; (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), (6), (7), (9), 97; (10), (11), summing up (table), 98.	96
(Two)V... <u>q</u> (...) <u>V</u> Defn. of subdivns., (1--), 99; (3) 100; (4--), (5), 101.	99
(Three)W... <u>q</u> (...) <u>V</u> Defn. of subdivns., 101; (a-) 102; (b-) 104; (c) 105; summing up, 105.	101
(Four)W(...) <u>V</u> ... <u>q</u>	106
(Five)V... <u>q</u> (...) <u>W</u> Defn. of subdivns., 106; (a-) 106; (b-) 107; (c-) 108.	106
(Six)V(...) <u>W</u> ... <u>q</u>	109
(Seven)W... <u>q</u> Defn. of subdivns., 109; (a--) 109; (b) 110.	109
(Eight)W... <u>q</u> (...) <u>W</u> (1), (2), (3), (4)	111
(Nine) Misc. Mixtures	111
Enumeration of Xp <u>q</u> and X-adverb- <u>q</u>	112

of Rule XXV; but (10) here contains the instances of apparent Formulaic causation, while those in which more than one 'cause' act together have been assigned to (11).

(One)V...q (1) Θ.6.36.2 οἱ γὰρ δεδιότες ἰδίᾳ τι. Πλ. Ευθδ.284γ
 ποιοῦ γὰρ ἂν ἤδη τι· Π.6.504γ δοκεῖ δ' ἐνλοτέ
 τισιν...· Φλβ.34ε διψῆ γέ που λέγομεν ἐκάστοτέ τι (τ)· N.6.779α
 τῷ φρουρεῖν ἀεὶ τινὰς...· 10.901β καὶ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι διαφερόντως
 τινός. Δημ.4.42 νῦν δ' ἐπιχειρῶν ἀεὶ τινι καὶ...· 13.14 ἀνέφξαν
 δήπου πρῶην τινέσ...

Cf. pp.2.2.61 and 73 above; Euthd.284c and R.VI 504c suggest infringement motivated by emphasis on verb.

(One)V...q(2) Δημ.1.22 ἤκουον δ' ἔγωγέ τινων· 18.227 οἰόμενοι
 περιεῖναι χρήματά τῳ· 19.294 ἦσαν... κλέπτοντες τὰ
 κοινὰ τινες; 20.40 ὅπως οὐκ ἀντιδώσει τῷ Λεύκωνί τις· 23.35
 σὺ γράφεις ἀνεν κρίσεώς τιν' ἀγώγιμον...; 53.7 ... εἰσενεγκεῖν
 αὐτῷ τι ἐκέλευέ με (τ).

(One)V...q (3) Δημ.42.7 καταστήσας φυλάττειν ἔνδον τινάσ.

(One)V...q (4) Πλ.N.11.933β ἂν ποτε ἄρα ἴδωσίν που κήρινα μιμή-
 ματα πεπλασμένα εἴτε ἐπὶ θύραις εἴτε.../εἴτε.../
 γονέων αὐτῶν τινέσ. Δημ.21.109 ἄνθρωπος εἰ ποιήσας δεινὰ/ο/
 καὶ πόλλ' ἀδίκως τινά... (τ)· 54.14 ἐρῶσι δ' ἐκ τούτων ἐταίρων
 τινέσ.

(One)V...q (5) Θ.7.55.2 οὐ δυνάμενοι ἐπενεγκεῖν οὔτ' ἐκ πολιτείας
 τι μεταβολῆς τὸ διάφορον...· N.7.799β τάξαι μὲν
 πρῶτόν τινάσ (τ).

(One)V...q (6) Δημ.19.89 γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν τινέσ.

(One)V...q (7) Πλ.Μεν.75ε ἀλλὰ σὺ γέ που καλεῖς πεπεράνθαι τι
 καὶ τελευτηκέναί. Δημ.8.57 ὡς ἄρα βούλονται
 πόλεμόν τινες ποιῆσαι...· 20.37 καὶ ποιεῖν ἀεὶ τι προθυμούμενος
 ὑμᾶς εὔ. (Πλ.Κρα.385α δ' ἂν θῆ καλεῖν τις ἐκάστον (τ). δ)

Dem.20.37 appears to mean ἀεὶ προθυμούμενος ποιεῖν τι, q
 'belonging' exclusively to the infinitive, so that, like the
 rest in (7), it fits the pattern V/MqM where the MM are closely
 related. There are no cases of (8) except in combination with
 other categories - see (11) below.

(One)V...q (9) Πλ.Πρτ.313α εἰ μὲν τὸ σῶμα ἐπιτρέπειν σε ἔδει τῳ·
 Σφ.217ε ὅσον... ἐλπῖσειεν ἂν αὐτὸ εἶναί τις· Τι.
 49ε ... δηλοῦν ἠγούμεθά τι· N.4.707β ... οὐκ ἂν δύναίτο ὁρθῶς ἀπο-
 διδόναι τις· 6.780γ καὶ φοβερὸν ἐπιτάξαι τισίν. Δημ.20.123
 τὸν ὡς καταλείπεται λέγοντά τι αὐτοῖς· 21.171 ἵνα μὴ ὀφείλειν
 οἴησθαι τι...

(One)V...g (10) Πλ.Θτ.156ε καὶ ἐγένετο οὐ τι ὄφις... N.11.
913δ καὶ ἀνελόμενον οὐ τι σμικρὸν...

Cf. p.2.2.57 for οὐ τι under Rule XXIII.

(One)V...g (11) (3+) (+7+9) Πλ.N.9.879α εἰάν δέ...αἰτιᾶται τοῦ
δούλου...μηχανὴν εἶναι τις τὸ γεγονός.

(5+) (+9) Πλ.Τι.66δ ἀλλὰ ἢ βρεχομένων ἢ.../
ἢ.../ἢ.../γίγνονταί τινων.

(7+) (+9) Πλ.Απ.39δ ...ἐπισχῆσειν τοῦ ὀνειδίζειν
τινὰ ὑμῖν ὅτι... Κρα.385α ὃ ἂν εἴη καλεῖν
τις ἕκαστον (τ) N.7.798α ἂν ποτ' ἀρα ἀναγκασθῆ μεταβάλλειν αὐ
τις ἠντινοῦν (τ). (+8+9) Δημ.24.36 τοὺς συνηγόρους οὐναίτ'
ἂν πεῖσαί τις σιωπᾶν* 37.58 ὅτι πολλὰ συμβέβηκε ἠδικῆσθαί τισιν
ἤδη... (= 38.21).

The following table (numerical summary of (One)V...g) is
for comparison with that on p.2.2.71 (Rule XXV).

	Th.	Pl.	Dem.	total
(1)	1	5	2	8
(2)			6	6
(3)		0 + 1	1	1 + 1
(4)		1	2	3
(5)	1	1 + 1		2 + 1
(6)			1	1
(7)		1 + 4	2 + 3	3 + 7
(8)			0 + 3	0 + 3
(9)		5 + 5	2 + 3	7 + 8
(10)		2		2
	<u>2</u>	15 <u>16 + 11</u>	<u>16 + 9</u>	<u>33 +</u>

While in αὐτ- (Rule XXV) the most important single 'cause'
of (One)V...g is (2) (i.e. VMg where M is substantival), in τις
(Rule XXVII) it is (9) in Plato (V(...)V'g) and (2) only in
Demosthenes; further, under Rule XXVII, (2) is confined to
Demosthenes and in Plato the second most important 'cause' is
(1) (VMg where M is adverb), whereas, under Rule XXV, (1) is of
little importance. That ends the account of (One)V...g.

(Two)V...g(...)V: see next page.

(Two)V...q(...)V For numbers, including those of regular wordings, see pp.2.3.27 ff. This has been divided in general (and, where worthwhile, in detail) in the same way as under Rule XXV, pp.2.2.77 ff. Section (1--), which follows, comprises participial instances, (-a-) with main verb leading, (-b-) with participle leading; (--1) q is separated from the preceding verb by an expression belonging to that verb, (--2) by an expression belonging to the following verb.

(Two)V...q(...)V (1a1) Θ.8.93.2 ἐλθόντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων τινες ῥημένοι...διελέγοντο...

In the above the two relevant (i.e. nearest) verbs are both participles, but the earlier being superordinate is classed as main; the words following the 'main' verb belong to it.

(Two)V...q(...)V (1a2) Θ.6.21.1 καὶ μὴ ἀντιπαράσχωσιν ὑμῖν φίλοι τινες γενόμενοι... Δημ.22.32 ἂν ᾤσιν ἔτ' Ἀνδροτίωνός τινες αἰσχρὸν βεβιωκότες 24.212 κατηγοροῦντα νόμον τινὸς οὐκ ἐπιτήδειον θέντος.

In Th.VI.21.1 above, φίλοι seems to be predicate of γενόμενοι and ὑμῖν probably postpositival. Otherwise in the above the words following the first verb belong to the second.

(Two)V...q(...)V (1a1+2) Πλ.Ν.8.837β τί ποτε βούλοισι ἂν αὐτῶ γενέσθαι τὸν τρίτον ἐρωτά τις ἔχων...; Δημ.15.22 ἀκούω δ' ἐγὼ πολλάκις ἐνταῦθα παρ' ὑμῖν τινῶν λέγοντων...

The index 1+2 in the above indicates that of the words between the relevant verbs the earlier belong to the earlier, the later to the later; in 15.22 this is not certain; but in both it seems likely that the words immediately preceding q belong to the later verb.

(Two)V...q(...)V (1b1) Πλ.Σμπ.210β ὥστε καὶ εἰάν ἐπιεικῆς ᾦν τὴν ψυχὴν τις κἂν σμικρὸν ἄνθος ἔχη ᾠδρ.268γ εἰ Σοφοκλεῖ προσελθὼν καὶ Εὐριπίδῃ τις λέγοι...

The latter above exhibits the pattern MVMq (= (8) of (One) V...q, p.2.2.66 above).

(Two)V...q(...)V (1b2): see next page.

(Two)V...q(...)V (1b2) Πλ.Σφ.237γ οὐδ'...φέρων ὀρθῶς ἂν τις
φέρου· Φλβ.34α ...τὴν μνήμηγ...λέγων
 ὀρθῶς ἂν τις λέγοι...; 51β ...τίνας...υπολαμβάνων ὀρθῶς, τις
διανοοῖτ' ἂν; (τ) N.1.628δ ...διανοούμενος οὕτω τις οὐτ' ἂν...
 γένοιτο... Δημ.40.21 ψευδόμενος δὲ καὶ...λέγων ἤδη τις
 δόκην οὐκ ἔδωκεν.

(Two)V...q(...)V (1b1+2) Πλ.Σμπ.220γ συννοήσας γὰρ αὐτόθι
 ἔωθεν τι εἰστήκει σκοπῶν.

As in (1a1+2), in (1b1+2) above the words between the two verbs seem to relate some to the earlier some to the later, but those immediately preceding q belong to the later. Of the fourteen participial cases listed above in (1--), those of (-b-) (participle first) slightly outnumber those of (-a-) (main verb first) 8:6; but those of (a) appear in all three authors (but mainly Demosthenes) while those of (b) are highly concentrated in Plato. Also, (--2) sentences (and those in general in which q is immediately preceded by a word belonging to the later verb) outnumber (---1) sentences 11:3. These three, being V...q + (...)V are the more genuine exceptions than the others, which are V... + Mq(...)V (see pp.2.2.77 ff. and 2.3.47). That completes the account of the (1--) (participial) cases of (Two) V...q(...)V. There are under Rule XXVII no instances of (Two) V...q(...)V with the verbs in co-ordination (contrast Rule XXV, p.2.2.79 above); in (3), which follows, one of the V-elements is not conventionally a verb (cf.p.2.2.80 above).

(Two)V...q(...)V (3) Πλ.Η.2.380β κακῶν δὲ ἀπτιον φάναι θεῶν
 τινι γίγνεσθαι... (τ) N.3.700α οὐκ ἦν/-/...
 ὁ δῆμος τινων κύριος.

On R.II.380b above cf. R.VI 487e on p.2.2.80; in Lg.III 700a it would be difficult to say whether the word preceding q belongs more closely to the earlier or the later V-element, but cf. Dem.27.56 on p.2.2.80. In (4--), which follows, q is object of the main verb and subject of the infinitive; for the principle of sub-division, see p.2.2.80.

(Two)V...q(...)V (4): see next page.

(Two)V...q(...)V (4ai) Πλ.Λυ.209α ὅταν γὰρ βούλωνται αὐτοῖς τι ἢ ἀναγνωσθῆναι ἢ... (τ) Π.10.602ε καὶ σημαίνοντι μερίζω ἅττα εἶναι...

In R.X 602e above, μερίζω has been taken as predicate of the infinitive.

(Two)V...q(...)V (4aii) Θ.1.40.5 φανερώς δὲ ἀντελπομεν τοὺς προσήκοντας ξυμμάχους αὐτόν τινα κολάζειν.

(Two)V...q(...)V (4aiii) Δημ.24.196 καὶ παροξύνειε μᾶλλον ἂν τινα μισεῖν ἢ προτρέφει ἐλεεῖν.

In the above, μᾶλλον has been taken with the main verb. There are no cases of (Two)V...q(...)V (4b-) (with infinitive leading - cf. p.2.2.84 ff.); as in (1--), the majority of cases are of the form V... + Mq(...)V (cf.p.2.2.100). That ends the list of (4--); in (5), which follows, the subordinate verb is predicational and q the subject of both.

(Two)V...q(...)V (5) Πλ.Τι.88γ εἰ μέλλει δικαίως τις... κελῆσθαι.
N.5.742β ἰδιούμενος δὲ ἂν τις φαίνεται (τ).
Δημ.23.111 ἄ μοι δοκεῖ μᾶλλον ἂν τις ἰδῶν ἀπιστεῖν...

In Ti.88c above, the word preceding q again belongs to the following verb; on Lg.V 742b, see p.2.2.94 above, (Two)V...q(...)V (1b); Xq... is particularly common in (Three)W...q(...)V, p.2.2.102 below. That ends the account of (Two)V...q(...)V.

(Three)W...q(...)V For numbers, including those of corresponding regular wordings, see pp.2.3.36 ff.

As in Rule XXV, p.2.2.86 ff., many exceptions of this pattern are of the form WMq..., apparently 'caused' by colon-formation (cf. Fraenkelian type E, p.1.1.28) motivated by emphasis. But there are also differences; first, in Rule XXV, the emphasis in these exceptions falls most often upon the word separating W from q (while W itself is sometimes a prepositive), but under Rule XXVII the emphasis mainly seems to fall on the W-element itself; secondly, the 'emphasis-motivated' exceptions consist to some extent of different phraseological types in αὐτ- and in τις, while those that are common to both are in different proportions. Hence (Three)W...q(...)V has been differently di-

vided here: (a-) q separated from preceding W by one word only (either mobile or prepositive), with apparent emphasis on W; (b) ditto, but emphasis, if any, not on W; (c) more than one non-postpositival word separates q from W. Further subdivision of (a-) and (b-) is explained in each case.

(Three)W...q(...)V (a1) Wq Θ.1.18.3 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων εἰ τινές που διασταῖεν· 2.72.3 καὶ ἄλλο εἴ τι δυνατόν...· 3.81.2 τῶν ἐχθρῶν εἴ τινα λαβοῖεν· 3.79 τῶν δὲ ἐχθρῶν ἦν τις...· 7.20.3 του στρατεύματος τε εἴ τι ὑπελέλειπτο. Πλ.Γργ.504δ καὶ δῶρον εἴαν τι διδῶ· Λυ.205β οὐδὲ μέλος εἴ τι πεποίηκας...· Φδ.62γ εἴ τι· Π.5.479α μῶν τι· 7.516γ εἴ τινες· Πρμ.166β οὔτε τι· Σφ.246β τῶν δὲ ἄλλων εἴ τις τι... (τ)· Ν.1.634ε εἴ τις τι· 6.762δ εἴαν τις τι· 8.847α ζέλων δὲ ἂν τις...· 9.854ε πολίτης δὲ ἂν τις ποτέ τι...· 879α εἴαν τις· 12.953γ τέταρτος δὲ ἂν ποτέ τις...· Δημ.9.61 τῶν δὲ πολλῶν εἴ τις αἰσθοίτο...· 18.315 ἀλλὰ πρὸς σὲ καὶ ἄλλον εἴ τινα βούλει...· 19.334 εἴ τις· 20.100 ἡμεῖς, ἐγώ, Φορμίων, ἄλλον εἴ τινα βούλεται...· 27.22 εἴ τι, 65 ...οὐδὲ τῶν...ἀμαρτόντων ὅταν τινός καταψηφίσῃσθε· 48.12 εἴ τι· 49.3 ἄλλου εἴ του· 57.12 εἴ τινος.

In 18.315 and 20.100 above a fixed phrase seems to have formed (εἴ τις = ὅστις) -- cf. Cra.407d in (Seven)W...q (a1c) below, p.2.2.109. It is not clear whether Wq should be classed as exceptional at all, for p is a minor separation of q from W and Wqp would in many cases infringe Rule II. Xqp in general is absent from the exceptions to Rule XXV and found under Rule XXVI only on p.2.2.94 (Two)V...q(...)V (1b) Lg III 688c (but cf. p.2.2.96 (Three)W...q(...)V). In all cases above the W-element seems to be emphasized; yet in all but one case (μῶν τι) pq is Formulaic (Ch.III, τις-Formulae nrs.1, 3, 9, εἴ τις, εἴαν τις, οὔτε τις, and esp. 1+16, p.3.3.16) or almost so (ὅταν τις). However, Formulaism would be compatible with regular order (εἴ τι ἄλλο) and emphasis on W is shared with other categories of (Three)W...q(...)V, where Wq is absent. It cannot be said that either emphasis on W or pq Formulaism reliably predicts any type of W...q infringement; but that Wq does not occur without emphasis on W and pq Formulaism would be a more reliable prediction; the exceptions are μῶν τι above (where there is at least emphasis on W) and (bi), p.2.2.104 below, which is significantly different in other ways too.

In (a2), which follows, W is separated from q by a single, adverbial, mobile.

(Three)W...q(...)V (a2) Πλ.Χρμ.167ε φόβον δὲ ἤδη τινὰ κατανεύ-
 ηκας; Euthphr.8β ἀνθρώπων/-/ἤδη τινέ-
 ἤκουσας...; Λυ.223α ...ἄλλον ἤδη τινὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων κινεῖν.
 Π.1.345β ταῦτ' οὖν καὶ ἕτερος ἴσως τις ἡμῶν πέπονθεν. Τι.88δ καὶ
 σεισοῦς ἀεὶ τινὰς ἐμποιῶν... N.7.816ε καινὸν δὲ ἀεὶ τι...ραλ-
 νεσθαι... Δημ.21.141 πάλιν ἄλλον ἴσως τινὰ...ὀνομάζων. 30.
 37 τῶν μὲν γὰρ μαρτυρησάντων ἤδη τινέες...έδοξαν.

In Chrm.167e above, the emphasis on φόβον can be seen in its distinction in the context from ἐπιθυμίαν and ἔρωτα. Euthphr.8b supports the hypothesis of a colon-division after W in such cases. R.I 345b suggests Fraenkelian colon-type E (cf. (One)V...q (6), pp.2.2.64, 93 and 97). In 30.37 adherence to Rule XXVII (Wq μαρτυρησάντων τινέες) would infringe Rule XVII; obs. that that Rule envisages a regular colon-division after expressions like τῶν μὲν γὰρ μαρτυρησάντων. On the above list in general cf. (One)V...q (1), pp.2.2.61, 93 and 97, also some cases in (Three)W...q(...)V (1b), p.2.2.87. Obs. the frequency of ἤδη, ἀεὶ and ἴσως in this position. In (a3), which follows, are cases of WMq... where M is a substantive.

(Three)W...q(...)V (a3) Πλ.Γργ.517γ, ὡς ἄρα διττὴ αὕτη τις ἢ
 πραγματεία ἐστίν. Π.3.411ε ...θεὸν
 ἔγωγ' ἂν τινὰ φαίην δεδωκέναι... Πлт.307δ παιδιὰ τοίνυν αὕτη γέ
 τις ἢ διαφορὰ τούτων ἐστίν... Τι.21ε οἷς τῆς πόλεως θεὸς ἀσκη-
 γός τις ἐστίν (τ). N.3.701α εἰ γὰρ δὴ δημοκρατία ἐν αὐτῇ τις...
 ἐγένετο... Δημ.15.19 ...καινὸν αὐτοῖς ἂν τι γενέσθαι προσέκο-
 ῶσι. 21.171 μικρὰ γὰρ αὕτη γέ τις ἦν. 24.196 οὐτ' ἀλλως πρὸς
 καὶ φιλόανθρωπος σύ τις τῶν ἄλλων διαφορῶς ὢν... 51.19 ἀλλ' ἱερο-
 σύνην ἰδίαν αὐτοῖς τινὰ ταύτην ἔχοντες.

In all the above cases W does seem to be emphasized. Obs. the suite of cases with αὕτη between W and q; in Plt.307d it seems, despite γε, to be no more emphatic than ἔγωγε in R.III 411e; cf. perhaps Th.I.1.2 κίνησις γὰρ αὕτη μέγιστη..., 31.1 παρασκευὴ γὰρ αὕτη πρώτη..., where the main emphasis is on the enclosing words; on this hypothesis αὕτη is near to q status and the infringement only apparent. On the other hand, Grg.517d, R.III 411e, Plt.307d and 21.171 suggest the pattern W/MqM (cf. (One)V...q(7), pp.2.2.64, 93, 97); that supports

the hypothesis of W/Mq colon-formation. In Dem.51.19, though ἰδὲν seems emphatic, the infringement may be due to a formulaic unit-formation ἰδὲν αὐτοῖ, similar to ὡς ἕκαστος. In (a4), which follows, are instances in which q is separated from W by a verb to which it does not 'belong', WV'q.

(Three)W...q(...)V (a4) Πλ.Γργ.503β ...τῶν παλαιῶν ἔχεις τινὰ εἶπειν...; Μεν.88δ φρόνησιν δεῖ τινὲ εἶναι. Φδ.60β ὡς ἄτοπον, "... /-/ἔοικέ τι εἶναι...(τ)" Π.4.425δ τούτων τολμήσομέν τι νομοθετεῖν; Θτ.200β ἑτέραν αὐτῶν οἴεται τινα εἶναι. Φλβ.61δ δόξαν μοι δοκῶ τινὰ ἀποφήνασθαι ἄν. Ν.6.754ε εἰν δέ τις ἕτερον φαίνεται τι κερκτημένος. Δημ.3.338 καὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἀξιοῦντά τι πράττειν.

Here the hypothesis of W/MqV colon-formation seems most convincing, Fraenkelian type E (emphasis on W) coinciding with type D or similar (main/infinite, p.1.1.27). Separation of q from a preceding X-element by an alien verb (V') occurs as an important element in (One)V...q above (pp.2.2.97, 98) but confined to Plato; here too it is mainly in Plato; by contrast it is absent from (Three)W...q(...)V under Rule XXV (p.2.2.86 ff.) and in (One)V...q is only an occasional 'cause', mainly in Demosthenes and a very different sentence-type (pp.2.2.55 and 71). That ends the lists of (a-); in (b-), which follows, the pattern is still WMq..., but emphasis, if any, is not on W.

(Three)W...q(...)V (bi) Πλ.Π.5.462γ ὅταν που ἡμῶν δάκτυλος του πληγῆ. Σφ.261α ὧν ἐπειδὴν τι προβαλῆ. Δημ.42.13 ὧν εἴ τις ἄκυρον ἠγήσασαίτο...

In the above, the W-element is either a prepositive or a postpositive (ἡμῶν) the latter two are cases of Wpq (cf. on (a1) p.2.2.102 above). Th.IV.63.1 ὧν ἕκαστός τι... would be listed here if the manuscript reading were right, but it should be ὡς: CQ. N.S.24 (1974) 28 ff. In (bii), which follows, W is a mobile, but still does not seem to be particularly emphatic.

(Three)W...q(...)V (bii) Θ.1.133.1 ἐς ἣν τῶν ἐφόρων ἐγτός τινος ἐκρυψε (τ). Πλ.Γργ.461δ τῶν ὁμολογησάμενων εἴ τί σοι δοκεῖ μὴ καλῶς ὁμολογησθαι. Π.6.485γ ἡ οὖν ἀκατέστερον σοφία τι ἀληθείας ἂν εὐροῖς; Φλβ.62γ ὡς περ θυρωρὸς τῆς οὐ- τις ὠφούμενος. Ν.7.804β σμικρὰ δὲ ἀληθείας ἄττα μετέχοντες. Δημ.28.4 τούτων εἴ τι ἦν ἀληθές (τ), 20 ...ἀνάξιον αὐτῆς τι παθεῖν

In Th.I.133.1 above, the context gives no support for supposing emphasis on ἐφόρων' in Grg.461d the main point seems to be μὴ καλῶς, in R.VI 485c and Lg.VII 804b ἀληθείας' in 28.20, αὐτῆς may be emphatic, but cf. perhaps 51.19 in (a3), p. 2.2.103 above (also possibly 15.19 in that list and R.VI 485c in this one). That ends the lists of (b-); in (c), which follows, q is separated from W by more than one mobile.

(Three)W...q(...)V (c) Πλ.Π.4,429γ σωτηρίαν ἔγωγ', "... , "λέγω τινὰ εἶναι τὴν ἀνδρείαν" Prm.133β εἰ ἐν εἰδος ἕκαστον τῶν ὄντων ἀεὶ τι ἀφοριζόμενος θήσεις' Φδρ.264ε ὅτι δ' οὐδὲν διαφέρει αὐτοῦ πρώτον ἢ ὑστατόν τι λέγεσθαι' Σφ.243β τούτων/-/ἑκάστοτέ σὺ τι/ῶ/συνίης...

Prm.133b, Sph.243b and R.IV 429c above resemble respectively (a2), (a3) and (a4) above (pp.2.2.103-4 above) with an additional word preceding Mq; Phdr.264c has a postpositive as W-element - cf. (bi) p.2.2.104; in R.IV 429c, as in (a4), W seems emphatic. That ends the lists of (Three)W...q(...)V; exceptions to Rule XXVII are generally fewer than to Rule XXV; the fact that (Three)W...q(...)V under the two Rules is approximately equal in numbers, and that the two sets of lists are differently drawn up, makes it both convenient and useful to compare the numbers of the same categories in the different lists in the following table.

(Three)W... <u>q</u> (...)V only αὐτ-:τις	Th.	Pl.	Dem.
W <u>pq</u> ...	0:4	0:15	0:11
W-advb.- <u>q</u> ...	2:1	7:6	3:2
W-noun- <u>q</u> ...	3:0	24:9	1:5
WV' <u>q</u> ...		3:7	0:1
WMM(M...) <u>q</u> ...		<u>4:4</u>	
	<u>5:5</u>	<u>38:41</u>	<u>4:19</u>

In τις, Wpq is the commonest single 'cause' (it is also confined to τις) whereas in αὐτ- it is W-noun-q, except in Demosthenes, where it is W-advb-q; Plato has the overall highest number of instances, and WMM(M...)q and (almost) WV'q are confined to him. That ends the account of (Three)W...q(...)V.

(Four)W(...)V...g Pl.Ti.53b ἔχοντα αὐτῶν ἅπτα, 793
 εἰς ὃ τῶν φερομένων δύναται, ἂν εἰσελθεῖν τι.
 N.1.629δ ...πολὺ φαυλότερος εἶποι Τυρταίου τις, τάληθές· 3.631δ
 θεός εἶναι κηδόμενος ὑμῶν τις· 6.771α ἀρχὴ, δὲ ἔστω τῶν... νέων
 ἦδε τις. Δημ.19.192 μικρὸν ἀκούσατέ μου ἔξω τι τῆς πρεσβείας
 ταύτης (τ).

In terms of (One)V...g (pp.p.2.60 ff., 63 ff., 68, 70 ff.),
 19.192 is WVMgM and fits category (7), Ti.53b is MVMg, category
 (8), and Lg.I 629d MVMgM, (7+8); Ti.79b is V(...)V'g (9); in
 Lg.III 691d, ὑμῶν is possibly postpositival. For numbers,
 including those of corresponding regular wordings, see pp.2.3.
 29 ff. That completes the list of (Four)W(...)V...g.

(Five)V...g(...)W For numbers, including those of correspond-
 ing regular wordings, see pp.2.3.32 ff.
 Here, as in (Three)W...g(...)V above, the main 'cause' of in-
 fringement seems to be emphasis-motivated colon-formation. But
 in this case, it is M in the sequence XMg which is emphasized,
 not X; this differs from (Three)W...g(...)V under this Rule,
 but resembles both (Three)W...g(...)V and (Five)V...g(...)W
 under Rule XXV. Despite the difference, it is convenient to
 divide the following instances in general (but not in detail)
 on the same lines as (Three)W...g(...)V, pp.2.2.101-2, not as
 in (Five)V...g(...)W under Rule XXV. Thus, (a-) VMg... where
 M is emphasized, (b-) other VMg..., (c-) VMM(M...)g... Further
 sub-division is explained in each case.

(Five)V...g(...)W (a1) Θ.3.43.3 ὁ γὰρ διδοὺς φανερώς τι ἀντιθῶν.
 Πλ.Τι.19α ἢ ποθοῦμεν ἔτι τι τῶν ῥηθέντων;
 (τ). Δημ.8.18 ἢ κατασκευάζειν ἐκεῖ τιν' ἀσχολίαν αὐτῷ· 23.36
 ὁ γράφων ἰδίᾳ τι Χαριδῆμω τοιοῦτον, 99 ὡς γέγονε καὶ πρότερόν
 τισιν ἄλλοις...

The above are VMg... where g is an adverb (cf. (One)V...g
 pp.2.2.61 and 97 and thereon) and the context in every case in-
 dicates that the adverb is a main point; in 23.99 the emphasis
 is explicitly indicated by καί (cf. (One)V...g (6), pp.2.2.64
 and 97). In (a2), which follows, VMg where M is substantival.

(Five)V...q(...)W (a2) Θ.8.100.5 προσεγέροντο δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς
 Ἑλλησπόντου τινες δύο νῆες... Πλ.
 Γργ.472γ ἔστιν μὲν οὖν οὗτος τις τρόπος ἐλέγχου... Π.7.531α
 ...κατακοῦειν ἐν μέσῳ τινὰ ἡχὴν... Δημ.18.277 εἰ δ' οὖν ἔστι
 καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ τις ἐμπειρία τοιαύτη 19.52 εἴπερ ἦν ὑγιές τι τού-
των 40.48 ...λέγειν περὶ ἐκείνης τι φλαῦρον.

Obs. καὶ in two of the above; cf. on 23.99 in (a1) above.
 It is clear in Grg.472c that οὗτος (not accepted as a W-element)
 is emphatic; in R.VII 531a and 40.48 the intervening M is an
 important part of the sense, and in 19.52 it is the predicate.
 On (a3), which follows, cf. p.2.1.26; in the presence of W-
 elements in direct agreement, words in genitival relation to
 q have not been accepted as W (because πολλοὶ ἀνθρώπων τινές
 seems to be W...q); in the following list are cases of an ap-
 parent V/MqW pattern in which M is in this or a similar way
 closely related to W and so of ambiguous status.

(Five)V...q(...)W (a3) Πλ.Σμπ.212ε ...ἔστεφανωμένον αὐτὸν κιτ-
 τοῦ τέ τινι στεφάνῳ δασεῖ καὶ ἰων. Σφ.
 235β ...τοῦ γένους εἶναι τοῦ τῶν θαυματοποιῶν τις εἰς Τι.71γ
 ...ἀποζωγραφοῖ πραότητος τις ἐκ διανοίας ἐπίπνοια. Δημ.19.115
ἔστιν οὖν οὕτω τις ἀνθρώπων ἀνόητος... (= 38.12).

Cf. V...q (7), V/MqM, pp.2.2.64 ff., 93, 97, and on Sph.
 235b (10) (7+8), MVMqM, pp.2.2.70,98. We may consider q to
 be peninitial in the 'W-phrase'. That ends (a-); we now pass
 to (b-) where the intervening M is not clearly emphatic.

(Five)V...q(...)W (bi) Θ.2.23.1 ...ἔδῃουν τῶν δῆμων τινὰς ἄλλους
 τῶν... Δημ.2.12 παθεῖν ἀδίκως τῶν
 κακῶν... 9.76 εἰ δέ τις ἔχει τούτων τι βέλτιον (τ) 21.48 εἴσιν
 Ἑλληνές τινες ἄνθρωποι... 23.125 εἰ γὰρ ἔστι τῷ δοτέῳ τι
τοιούτου.

Those in (bi) above can be neither asserted nor denied
 to have M emphatic in VMq. Th.II.23.1 and Dem.9.76 recall
 (a3) preceding. In (bii), which follows, the formal character-
 istics of type E colon-formation (p.1.1.28) are present, but
 it is not M that is emphasized.

(Five)V...q(...)W (bii) Πλ.Κρα.421δ εἴη μὲν οὖν ἴσως ἂν τι τῆ
 ἀληθείᾳ καὶ τοιούτου αὐτῶν... Ν.9.872α
 ἂν δὲ αὐτόχειρ μὲν μή, βουλεύση, δὲ θάνατόν τις ἄλλος...
 Δημ.19.118 καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἔσθ' ἐκάστω τις προφασίς...

In Cra.421d above it is τοιοῦτον that is emphasized, not ὡς (cf. however p.2.2.103 (a2)), in Lg.IX 872a the verb, and in Dem.19.118 τῶν ἄλλων. In (biii), which follows, type E colon-formation (p.1.1.28) is again present, here in the particular form of V/pq..., with emphasis on the W-element.

(Five)V...q(...)W (biii) Πλ.Φλβ.18β ...κατενόησεν εἴτε τις θε-
 ὀς... N.4.705γ οὐκ ἔστιν οὔτε τις ἐλάττη
 ... Δημ.14.40 ...δεομένους ἦτοι τινὸς ἐκουσίου ἢ ἀκουσίου δι-
 αλλακτοῦ.

That ends (b-); in (c-), which follows, q is further deferred from the Vq position than above.

(Five)V...q(...)W (cx) Πλ.N.5.736δ ...οὐτ' αὖ κινεῖν δυνατόν
 ἐστὶ τίνα τρόπον 7.803ε παίζοντά ἐστι
 διαβιωτέον τινὰς δὴ παιδιὰς

It is possible that Lg.VII 803e is one of the rare cases of emphatic τις· otherwise both appear to be VV'q (cf. (One) V...q (9), pp.2.2.66-7, 97) with V' consisting of a two-word unit-formation. In (cy), which follows, unit-formation again seems to play a part, giving VMMq...

(Five)V...q(...)W (cy) Δημ.1.14 τὸ προῖεσθαι καθ' ἕναστος ἀεὶ τι
 τῶν πραγμάτων... 21.185οἶον ἔστι μέτριος
 καὶ φιλόανθρωπος τις ἡμῶν...(τ).

The above are like (a2), p.2.2.107 above, an emphatic intervening M being extended by unit-formation (cf. (One)V...q (3), p.2.2.62 and discussion 71 ff., esp.74 - unit-formations commoner in Demosthenes?). In (cz), which follows, are miscellaneous instances of VMM(M...)q...

(Five)V...q(...)W (cz) Πλ.Κρα.386α ἢ ἔχειν δοκεῖ σοι αὐτὰ αὐτῶν
 τινὰ βεβαιότητα... Π.2.371γ ...κομίσας
 ὁ γεωργὸς εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν τι ὧν ποιεῖ... N.4.708β ...ἀναγκάζοιτ'
 ἂν ἐτέρωσε ἀποξενοῦσθαι πόλεως τι μῦθον.

Cra.386a above resembles Dem.15.19 in (Three)W...q(...)V (a3), p.2.2.103, with the addition of V' after V. Lg.IV reduces to (a3), p.2.2.107, if the infinitive is counted as V (as it would be if main were active or, say, δοκεῖ). That ends the account of (Five)V...q(...)W.

(Six)V(...)W...q Πλ.Ν.4.713α καὶ δουλευουσῶν μέρεσιν ἑαυτῶν
 τισί· 8.839δ ...λόγον ἐχόμενον πιθανότητος
 εἶπεῖν τινός. Δημ.44.48 πῶς ἂν οὖν εἴησαν...οὐτε εἰ τινὲς...

For numbers, including those of corresponding regular wordings, see pp.2.3.32 ff. Lg.IV 713a: cf. Ti.53b in (Four) W(...)V...q, p.2.2.106, VIII 839d: cf. (One)V...q (9), pp. 2.2.66-7,97. 44.98: cf. (One)V...q (1), pp.2.2.61 and 97, also (Three)W...q(...)V (a2), p.2.2.103, and (Five)V...q(...)W (a1), p.2.2.106.

(Seven)W...q For numbers, including those of corresponding regular wordings, see pp.2.3.34 ff. Instances are divided thus: (a--), W...q with emphasis on W, (b) WMq with main emphasis not on W; (a--) subdivides, (a1-) Wpq, (a2-) WMq. Further subdivision is explained at each list.

(Seven)W...q (a1a) Πλ.Σφ.217δ ἢ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἴ τις σοι κατὰ νοῦν· N.8.834β ἵππων δὲ ὑμῖν χρεῖα μὲν οὐτε τις πολλῶν οὐτε πολλή.

Cf. on (Three)W...q(...)V (a1), p.2.2.102; this applies also to (alb), which follows.

(Seven)W...q (alb) Πλ.Κρα.407δ περὶ δὲ ἄλλων εἴ τινων βούλει(τ).

Both (alb) above and (alc) below are in different ways prepositional; in (alc) it is the actual preposition which separates q from W.

(Seven)W...q (alc) Πλ.Σφ.237γ ὅτι τῶν ὄντων ἐπὶ τι...οὐκ οἶστέον (τ)· Πλ.τ.300α ...ἢ κέρδους ἐνεκέν τινος ἢ.../ ...ἐπιχειροῖ... Δημ.13.30 οἱ τῶν κοινῶν ἐπὶ τῷ γεγενημένοι.

If prepositions were accepted as V-elements these would be regular; but whether or not irregular under this Rule, they are certainly not conventional and cannot be listed as normal prepositional phrases; they do not infringe Rule V. That completes the Wpq cases in W...q. We pass to WMq.

(Seven)W...q (a2x) Πλ.Γργ.462γ ἐμπειρίαν ἔγωγέ τινα· Φδ.104δ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐναντίου τῷ ἀεὶ τινός (τ)· Π.4. 445γ τέτταρα δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς ἄττα...(τ).

The above are miscellaneous cases of WMq with emphatic W.

The following two lists are prepositional.

(Seven)W...q (a2y) Πλ.Πλτ.308α ἄρ' οὐκ ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἀεί τινα...
 συντείνοντες... Τι.52γ ... ἐν ἑτέρῳ προσήκει
 τινὶ γίνεσθαι. Δημ.59.41 ἐπὶ προσχήματος ἤδη τινός οὔσα.

(Seven)W...q (a2z) Πλ.Πλτ.268δ δεῖ καθ' ἑτέραν ὁδὸν πορευθῆναι
 τινά· Τι.50β ... μετ' ἀσφαλείας ἐθέλει δέχεσθαι
 τινός· Ν.3.696β ... θεῖον παρὰ θεοῦ διεμαντεύσατό τινός· 7.808α
 ... ὑπὸ θεραπεινίδων ἐγείρεσθαι τινων.

Ti.50b in (a2z) above is in fact WVMq, but does not seem to justify a separate list. See pp.2.1.25, 2.2.6, 8, 91. Instances in (alb), (a2y) and (a2z) above are here listed as W...q according to the convention derived from Rule V that prepositional phrases are self-contained, only verbs subordinate to the preposition being counted as V-elements; but since in many cases Rule V is broken because a superordinate verb is in fact acting as V (the phrase becoming integrated with the sentence at large), cases like μέχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου πλεύσαντες αὐτῶν, though listed as exceptions to Rules XXV ff. of the type (Seven)W...q (WV'q where V' is an 'alien' verb), are for the purposes of Appendix A (which include comparison of different patterns of W and V) counted as WVq; correspondingly (a2z) above is there listed as WVq, and (alb) and (a2y) as W...q(...)V. But even if these are counted as W...q, the category remains clearly exceptional (pp.2.3.34 ff.). We now pass to (b), in which the main emphasis is not on W.

(Seven)W...q (b) Θ.8.92.2 πληγεῖς ὑπ' ἀνδρός τῶν περιπόλων τινός.
 Πλ.Ν.6.757δ ἢ καὶ κράτος δήμου τι· 7.790ε δι
 ἔξιν φαύλην τῆς ψυχῆς τινά· 8.833β πρὸς ἱερὸν Ἀρεώς τι.

Cf. pp.2.1.26 and 2.2.107 (a3); in the presence of a W-element in agreement, a genitive is not accepted as such; in the above cases the W-element seems extended by unit-formation which defers q from the element in agreement; the effect also seems to put emphasis on the genitive. That ends the account of (Seven)W...q. (Eight)W...q(...)W follows overpage.

(Eight)W...g(...)W For numbers, including those of corresponding regular wordings, see p.2.3.36 ff. The division into (1), (2), (3), (4-), is explained in each case.

(Eight)W...g(...)W (1) Πλ.Ν.3.700β ὄδῃν ὡς τινὰ ἐτέραν

The above is Wpq(...)W; cf. p.2.2.102 (a1) and 109 (a1a), (a1b), (a1c), esp. the last.

(Eight)W...g(...)W (2) Πλ.Π.3.404α ἀλλ' ὑπνώδης αὕτη γέ τις καὶ σφαλερὰ... Δημ.21.101 ἕτερος οὕτως τις βλαίος..., 185 ἄλλος οὕτως τις ἀναίδης.

Cf. p.2.2.103 (a3) and perhaps GrG.472c in (a2) p.2.2.107. The demonstrative seems to be emphatic, but less so than the enclosing words.

(Eight)W...g(...)W (3) Πλ.Σφ.220α κατ' ἓνια τῆς κολυμβητικῆς ἄττα μέρη· Κριτι.109ε εἰ μὴ σκοτεινὰς περὶ ἐκάστων τινὰς ἀκράς· Ν.3.700β κατ' εἶδη τε εαυτῆς ἄττα καὶ σχήματα.

Cf. (Seven)W...g (b), p.2.2.110, also Lg.IV 713a in (Six) V(...)W...g, p.2.2.109.

(Eight)W...g(...)W (4) Ν.8.850β ...πρὸς εὐεργεσίαν τῆς πόλεως γεγονέναι τινὰ ἱκανήν.

Cf. (Seven)W...g (a2z), p.2.2.110, also (b) below on that page. That ends the account of (Eight)W...g(...)W.

(Nine)Miscellaneous mixtures Instances with more than two X-elements; for numbers, including those of corresponding regular wordings, see pp.2.3.38 ff. and 41 ff.

(Nine) W...gWV (p.2.3.41) Πλ.Κρα.425α ...μέγα ἦδη τι καὶ καλὸν καὶ ὄλον συστήσομεν· Π.10.608ε κακὸν ἐκάστω τι καὶ ἀγαθὸν λέγεις· Ν.12.959β βοήθειάν τε αὐτῷ μὴ τινὰ μεγάλην εἶναι... Δημ.20.3 καὶ συμμάχους ἦδη τινὰς ἦττους... ἐπέισθηθ' ελέσθαι.

(Nine)W...gVW (p.2.3.41) Θ.6.70.1 καὶ ξυνέβη βροντιάς τε ἅμα τινὰς γενέσθαι καὶ ἀστραπᾶς. Πλ.Π. 8.567δ κηφῆνας, "...", "δοκεῖς αὐ τινὰς μοι λέγειν ἔνιρκους τε καὶ παντοδαπούς. Δημ.32.11 ἐκ τούτων ἕνα//πρεσβευτὴν ἐκ βουλής τινὰ λαμβάνομεν γνώριμον...

(Nine)WV...qW (p.2.3.42) Πλ.Φλβ.25γ θερμότερον ἐφθεγγόμεθα νῦν δῆπου τι καὶ ψυχρότερον.

If νῦν is to be taken as postpositival, then, since δῆ and που are also postpositival, the exception disappears, becoming WVqW (pp.2.3.37 ff.).

(Nine)WV...qV (p.2.3.42) Πλ.Φλβ.23δ μῶν οὖν σοι καὶ πέμπτου προσδέησαι διάκρισίν τινος δυναμένου;

(Nine)WVW...q (p.2.3.42) Πλ.Ν.10.903β ἐπωδῶν γε μὴν προσδεῖσθαί μοι δοκεῖ μύθων ἐτι τινῶν.

(Nine)V...qWV (p.2.3.42) Th.4.92.1 γρηῖν μὲν//μηδ' ἐς ἐπίνουιν τινὰ ἡμῶν ἐλθεῖν... Πλ.Σμπ.205β ἀφελόντες γὰρ ἄρα τοῦ ἔρωτός τι εἶδος ὀνομάζομεν...(τ)* Ἰφ.257δ ἐστὶ τῷ καλῷ τι θατέρου μῦθον ἀντιτιθέμενον;

In Th.IV.92.1 above, ἡμῶν is perhaps postpositival.

(Nine)V...qVW (p.2.3.42) Πλ.Φδρ.260ε ὡσπερ γὰρ ἀκούειν δοκῶ τινῶν προσιόντων...λόγων.

That ends the account of (Nine)Miscellaneous Mixtures, and also the main lists of exceptions to Rule XXVII. The formulation Xpq..., usually as Wpq..., but occasionally as Vpq..., has been mentioned above at: (Two)V...q(...)V (5), p.2.2.101; (Three)W...q(...)V (a1), p.102, (bii) p.104; (Five)V...q(...)W (biii), p.108; (Seven)W...q (a1a), (a1b) and (a1c), p.109; (Eight)W...q(...)W (1), p.111. With the exception of (Seven)W...q, these are all varieties of X...q(...)X, and Xpq(...)X seems to be a variant of X/Mq(...)X, i.e. a less genuine exception than X...q + (...)X. It seems worthwhile to list all the references to Xpq: Th.I.18.3, II.72.3, III.81.2, VI.79.1, VII.20.3; Pl.Grg.461d, 504d, Ly.205b, Cra.407d, Phd.62c, R.V 479a, VII 516c, Prm.166b, Sph.217d, 237c, 246b, 261a, Plt.300a, Ph1b.18b, Lg.I 634e, III 700b, IV 705c, V 742b, VI 762d, VIII 834b, 847a, IX 854e, 879a, XII 953c, 959b; Dem.9.61, 13.30, 14.40, 18.315, 19.334, 20.100, 27.22, 65, 28.4, 42.13, 48.12, 49.3, 57.12.

Another type which seems to deserve separate enumeration is X-adverb-q, at any rate in those frequent cases where the adverb is ἤδη or ἀεὶ. X-ἤδη-q is listed above at:

(One)V...g (1), p.2.2.97; (Two)V...g(...)V (1b2), p.100; (Three)W...g(...)V (a2), p.103; (Nine)Miscellaneous mixtures, p.111. Enumeration: Pl.Chrm.167e, Euthphr.8b, Ly.223a, Euthi.284c, Cra.425a; Dem.20.3, 30.37, 40.21, 59.41. X- $\alpha\epsilon\zeta$ c is listed at (One)V...g, (1), p.103, (7), p.103; (Three)W...g(...)V (a2), p.103; (Five)V...g(...)W (cy), p.108; (Seven)W...g (a2x), p.109, and (a2y), p.110. Enumeration: Pl.Grg.462c, Phd.104d, Prm.133b, Plt.308a, Ti.88d, Lg.VI 779a, VII 816e; Dem.1.14, 4.42, 20.37, 40.21, 59.41.

That ends the lists of exceptions to Rule XXVII; the following is a numerical summary of the main divisions, for comparison with that on p.2.2.92.

	(One)	(Two)	(Three)	(Four)	(Five)	(Six)	(Seven)	(Eight)	(Nine)	tot.
Th.	2	3	5		3		1		2	16
Pl.	20	14	41	5	14	2	16	6	10	128
Dem.	<u>19</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>68</u>
	<u>41</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>65</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>212</u>

In both $\alpha\upsilon\tau$ - and $\tau\zeta$, it is Plato who has particularly high numbers in (Three); but in $\tau\zeta$, unlike $\alpha\upsilon\tau$ -, Plato actually has more in (Three) than in (One) and the others follow the same tendency, so that (Three) is in $\tau\zeta$ the overall most numerous class. That ends the account of exceptions to Rules.

Appendix A.

6

The following (p.2.3.⁶ff) are a set of numerical tables showing the frequency of different word-order relations of X-elements and q, in order to prove the contention that wordings involving the formulation X...q are exceptional and to show the relative frequency in different authors of ...q(...)X(...) and (...)Xq(...) in the various forms in which they appear. (See pp.2.1.18 ff.) No figures have been collected for ^Wq. It is clear from the paucity of exceptions to Rule XXIV, compared to the numbers of that postpositive in general, that 'exceptions' to Rule XXIV are undoubtedly exceptional.

This appendix consists almost entirely of numerical tables; only in a few cases have references or quotations of instances been given. For the primary purpose of proving that any (...) X...q(...) formulation is 'exceptional' this is all that is required. To give references for all the instances would involve an excessive consumption of time and space. The following convention has been followed: X-elements of the one status not separated by any of the other status are treated for listing purposes as a single element. E.g. while cases of (...)W(...)V(...) Wq(...)V(...) are listed under that heading, cases of W(...)Wq are listed under Wq, so that (...)W(...)Wq(...)V(...) is called (...)Wq(...)V(...), (...)Wq(...)V(...)V(...) is called (...)Wq(...)V(...) etc., etc. These limitations seem compatible with the aim of showing the comparative rarity of X...q; for secondary purposes, such as that of comparing the occurrences of different combinations of W and V, whether 'exceptional' or otherwise, they do imply some imperfection. It would indeed be interesting to compile lists fully classified by the aid of quotation and giving full value to every X-element. E.g. it would be interesting to list not only the statistics of (...)q(...)V(...) and (...)Vq(...), including V(...)Vq, etc. but also to separate the cases of Vq with V initial, medial, virtually final, those of (...)q(...)V(...) with V virtually initial, medial, final etc., etc. A fair number of cases of V...q have V initial, and it would be interesting to see the significance of the position of Vⁱⁿ determining (if it does) whether

the final wording is ...q(...)V(...), (...)Vq(...) or V...q. But this would open a whole new investigation. References and usually also quotations have been given in the exception lists under Rules XXV, XXVI, and XXVII, for all instances involving any form of X...q. In this appendix, some of the less common combinations of W and V, whether or not involving X...q, have been quoted.

The following is an outline of the arrangement of the tables, with examples quoted for all the formulations for which figures only have been given in the tables, apart from cases of X...q, which are given, as stated above, in the main part of the chapter. The examples, unless otherwise stated, are from Pl.R.I.

The tables, separately drawn up for each postpositive, are arranged and numbered as follows:--

(1) Sentences containing a Verb or Verbs but no Concord.

(a) Where there is one Verb only, or, if more than one, all are before, or all after q. The table gives figures for ...q(...)V(...), (...)Vq(...) and (...)V...q(...), contracted in column headings and elsewhere for convenience, to qV, Vq and V...q.

Examples:

qV 328ε ἢ πῶς σὺ αὐτὸ ἐξαγγέλλεις; 342α ἦτις αὐτῇ τὸ συμφέρον σιέφεται, 339β καὶ αὐτὸ γῆς εἶναι. 336δ ἀλλὰ σαφῶς μοι καὶ.../λέγε, 336δ καὶ μοι δοκεῖ... 331γ εἴ τις λάβοι..., 332α ὅποτε τις μὴ σαφρόνως ἀπαιτοῖ.

Vq 328γ διὰ χρόνου γὰρ καὶ ἐωράκη αὐτόν, 330δ εἰσέρχεται αὐτῷ..., 352γ ὅτι εἶπὼν τις αὐτοῖς δικαιοσύνη. 328ε δοκεῖ γὰρ μοι χρῆναι..., 335ε εἰ ἄρα τὰ ὀφειλόμενα ἐκάστω ἀποδιδόναι φησὶν τις δίκαιον εἶναι.

(b) Where there are two or more Verbs and q falls between two; the headings are (...)q(...)V(...) and (...)V...q(...)V(...), shortened to Vq(...)V and V...q(...)V.

(i) The Verbs are related participially, or joined by a connective, or one is not strictly a verb (obs. that this category covers (1), (2) and (3) as set out on p.2.2.77). Examples: 330β βουλόμενος ἔτι λέγειν αὐτὸν ἐκίνουν..., 345α εἰν εἶ τις αὐτὴν ἢ μὴ διασωλύη..., 334ε πονηροὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς εἰσὶν, 341α οἴει γὰρ με...κακουροῦντά σε ἐρέσθαι.... 331ε τό τινος καταθεμένου τι ὄπωπὸν μὴ σαφρόνως ἀπαιτοῦντι ἀποδιδόναι, 341δ οὐκοῦν ἐκάστω τούτων ἔστιν τι συμφέρον.

(ii) q is object to the main verb and subject of the infinitive/participle ((4) on p.2.2.77). Examples: 334β καί φησιν αὐτόν... κενάσθαι..., 344β ὅσοι ἀν πύθονται αὐτόν... ἠδικοῦνται... 341γ οἶει γὰρ ἂν με... οὕτω μανῆναι..., 350ε ὅτι δημηγορεῖν ἂν με καίης, 348δ σὺ δὲ οἶει με... λέγειν;

(iii) The subordinate verb is predicate of the main ((5) on p.2.2.77). Examples: Πλ.Πεν.89γ εἰ μέλλει τι αὐτοῦ ὑγιὲς εἶναι. In this instance each post-positive is a W-element to the other, so both have the same verbal relations.

(2) Where there are present both Verb(s) and Concord-element(s).

(a) Where these elements are in the order Concord-Verb.

The headings are (...)q(...)W(...)V(...), (...)Wq(...)V(...), (...)W...q(...)V(...), (...)W(...)Vq(...), (...)W(...)V...q(...); shortened to qV, WqV, W...qV, WVq, WV...q. Examples: qVW Π.4.430α ἵνα θεουσοποιὸς αὐτῶν ἢ δόξα γίγνοιτο, Πρτ. 310γ τότε μου ἀδελφὸς λέγει..., 349β ... δοκεῖ τί σοι ἂν ἐθέλειν πλέον ἔχειν; WqV Π.4.436δ ὅτι τὸ μὲν τι αὐτοῦ ἔστικε... Απ.41ε τοὺς ὑεῖς μου// τιμωρήσασθε..., 346α οὐιοῦν καὶ ἀφελίαν ἐκάστη ἰδίαν τινι ἡμῖν παρέχεται; VqV Π.4.428α εἰ ἐν τι ἐζητούμεν αὐτῶν..., 337β ἄλλ' ἕτερον εἶπω τι τοῦ ἀληθοῦς;

(b) Where the elements are in the order Verb-Concord: ...q(...)V(...)-

W(...), (...)Vq(...)W(...), (...)V...q(...)W(...), (...)V(...)Wq(...), (...)V(...)W...q(...), shortened to qVW, VqW, V...qW, VWq, VW...q. Examples: qVW Π.4.430α καὶ μὴ αὐτῶν ἐμυλῶναι τὴν βαρῆν. 327β καὶ μου ὀπισθεν ὁ πᾶς λαβόμενος τοῦ ἰματίου... Π.4.437δ ...ἐπιθυμιῶν τι ὄσοιμεν εἶναι εἶδος; VqW 330ε ...τότε δὴ στρέφουσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν..., Ἰων 535α ἀπει γὰρ πῖς μου τοῖς λόγοις τῆς ψυχῆς/-/. 353δ ψυχῆς ἔστιν τι ἔργον...; VWq 349δ τοιοῦτος ἄρα ἔστιν ἐκίτερος αὐτῶν. ἸΕ 372ε καὶ μὴ φρονήσης ἰάσασθαι τὴν ψυχὴν μου. 332β ὀφείλεται δέ γε οἶμαι παρά γε τοῦ ἐχθροῦ τῷ ἐχθρῷ //κακόν τι.

(3) Where no Verb is present, the only X-element being a Concord.

(a) Where there is one W-element only, or, if more than one, all are before, or all after, q. Headings are (...)q(...)W(...), (...)Wq(...), (...)W...q(...), shortened to qW, Wq, W...q. Examples: qW 346β αὐτῆς γὰρ αὐτῆς ἢ δύναις, Π.4.428δ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ὅλης, 328δ ἐπὶ τινος ἐμμεσθαίου..., 333ε εἶτε τινι καὶ ἄλλῃ. It should be remembered that

prepositions are not accepted as X-elements; the last word in R.IV 426d may be predicative rather than an W-element. Wq II.4.426a τὸς αὐτῶν αὐ χαρίεν; 331β ἡ θαῦ θυσίας τινάς.

(b) Where there is more than one W-element, q falling between two.

Headings are (...)Wq(...)W(...) and (...)W...q(...)W, shortened to Wq(...)W, W...q(...)W. Examples:-
Wq(...)W II.4.435δ ἐνάμιλλον ἄρα//πρὸς ἀρετὴν πόλεως τῆ τε σοφία αὐτῆς καὶ τῆ σωφροσύνη καὶ τῆ..., 351γ ἡ ἄλλο τι ἔθνος.

(4) More complex mixtures of Verb and Concord. In μ- there are very few of these. In αὐτ- and τις they are divided into (a) commoner types, (b) less common types; but the variety of headings under (a) and (b) in αὐτ- and τις is slightly different, and in τις both (a) and (b) are sub-divided into (i) types with multiple Verb, (ii) with multiple Concord, (iii) with both multiple Verb and multiple Concord; in αὐτ- the division into (i), (ii) and (iii) applies only to (b), the less common types. In both αὐτ- and τις the 'less common types' are quoted in full. The following are examples of the types which are not quoted in the lists in the case of the given postpositive. The headings are of the form WqVW, VqVW, shortened from (...)Wq(...)W(...)V(...), etc., etc.
 αὐτ- WqVW II.7.526δ τὸ δὲ πολὺ αὐτῆς καὶ πορρωτέρω προσιὸν σκοπεῖσθαι δεῖ...
VWqW II.3.411δ εἴ τι καὶ ἐνῆν αὐτοῦ φιλομαθὲς ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ (unless αὐτοῦ with ψυχῇ), Πρμ.155δ καὶ ἐπιστήμη δὴ εἴη ἂν αὐτοῦ καὶ δόξα καὶ ... VqVW
 Λα.186α προθυμούμενοι αὐτῶν ὅτι ἀρίστως γενέσθαι τὰς φυγὰς (q in same verbal relation as W-element); VWqV II.2.381γ ...κάλλιστος καὶ ἀριστος ὢν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν μένει... VqVW Σφ.234α ...ποιήσας αὐτῶν ἕκαστα...ἀποδίδοται. τις WqVW
 346β οὐδὲν τι μᾶλλον...καλεῖς... VWqW II.2.364γ ...δίκαιον...βλάψειν ἑταίρωι
τισιν καὶ καταδουλοῦν. VWqW Σφ.216β θεὸς ὢν τις ἐλεγκτικὸς. WqVW 339β μέσος τις γέγονα χρηματιστῆς... VqVW II.6.500γ ἡ οἶει τινα μηχανὴν εἶναι... WqV
 II.7.521β ἔχεις οὖν,"..., "βίον ἄλλον τινα...κατακρονοῦντα... qVWV 350α εἴ τίς σοι δοκεῖ ἐπιστήμων...ἐθέλειν...

That concludes the outline of the arrangement of the tables with examples. But before continuing to the tables themselves, there remains one point to explain. There are many sentences in which even prior to the

statement of Rules XXIV - XXVII the wording $X...q$ is 'impossible.' E.g.f. the sentence $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu \acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\tau\epsilon\lambda\iota\nu\epsilon\nu$ may be arranged in that order, or as $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\tau\epsilon\lambda\iota\nu\epsilon\nu \acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$, $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\tau\epsilon\lambda\iota\nu\epsilon\nu \acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu \acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$, or as $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\tau\epsilon\lambda\iota\nu\epsilon\nu \acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$, the last being $V...q$ and an infringement of Rule XXV but of no other Rule, principle or convention. But the sentence $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu \acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\tau\epsilon\lambda\iota\nu\epsilon\nu$, though $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\tau\epsilon\lambda\iota\nu\epsilon\nu \acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ is possible, cannot appear as either $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\tau\epsilon\lambda\iota\nu\epsilon\nu \acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu \acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ or $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\tau\epsilon\lambda\iota\nu\epsilon\nu \acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$, for either of these latter wordings would have a prepositive in final position, virtual or actual, and that possibility is excluded by definition (see p.1.1.1). If then such sentences are admitted to the tables here, this must distort the result by increasing the numbers of $q(...)X$ and Xq without any corresponding possibility of increase in $X...q$. For full accuracy, sentences in which $X...q$ is an impossibility prior to the statement of Rules XXIV - XXVII must be omitted from the table. On the other hand any instance of $...q(...)X(...)$ and of $(...)Xq(...)$ is interesting as tending further to reinforce the habit of choosing that formulation, and from the point of view of comparing the proportions of these two formulations, apart from proving the rarity of $X...q$. A compromise between these requirements was sought thus: it had become clear in the course of the work leading up to the formulation of the hypothesis of the abnormality of $X...q$, that if the hypothesis were to fail at all, this was most likely to happen in $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (see pp.2.1.18 ff); and so in drawing up the main table of the $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ instances, namely (1)(a), two different entries were made for each work, the first including, the second excluding, sentences of the above-mentioned kind; the result showed that even in $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$, where $X...q$ is commonest, it is nevertheless still rare by comparison with $...q(...)X(...)$ and $(...)Xq(...)$. In the other postpositives $X...q$ was already known to be proportionately rarer than in $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ it therefore seemed safe to do without this procedure in those tables.

And so, in the $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ table (1)(a), the first figure in each of the columns qV and Vq includes sentences like $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\tau\epsilon\lambda\iota\nu\epsilon\nu \acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ and the second excludes them. Excluded also in all tables are instances of Xq in which q is in 'first and last possible position' because Xq constitutes the whole sentence. Works for which there are no entries in any given table are just omitted from that table.

Ch.2, section 3 ctd. (Appendix A)

Guide to tables

αὐτ-- (1)(a) 6; (1)(b)(i) 8, (1)(b)(ii) 10, (1)(b)(iii) 12;
(2)(a) 12, (2)(b) 14; (3)(a) 16, (3)(b) 17; (4)(a) 18;
(4)(b)(i), 19, (4)(b)(ii) 19, (4)(b)(iii) 20.

μ-- (1)(a) 20; (1)(b)(i) 21, (1)(b)(ii) 22, (1)(b)(iii) 23;
(2)(a) 23; (2)(b) 24; (3)(a) 24; (4) 25.

τς (1)(a) 25; (1)(b)(i) 27, (1)(b)(ii) 28, (1)(b)(iii) 29;
(2)(a) 29, (2)(b) 32; (3)(a) 34, (3)(b) 36; (4)(a)(i)
37, (4)(a)(ii) 39; (4)(b)(i) 41, (4)(b)(ii) 42.

Table of $\alpha\beta\tau$. [Cf. p. 2.2.61 ff]

(1)(a)	αV		$V\beta$		$V\dots\alpha$
Thucydides I	70	64	90	78	9
II	33	32	69	59	1
III	54	50	50	42	7
IV	64	61	68	61	8
V	51	48	69	62	3
VI	57	54	58	55	5
VII	49	46	59	58	10
VIII	<u>71</u>	<u>66</u>	<u>90</u>	<u>82</u>	<u>12</u>
	<u>442</u>	<u>421</u>	<u>553</u>	<u>497</u>	<u>55</u>
Plato <u>Hp. Mi.</u>	4	3	5	4	
<u>Chrm.</u>	18	17	17	13	1
<u>La.</u>	23	22	9	8	2
<u>Ion.</u>	2	2	2	2	
<u>Prt.</u>	45	41	42	38	3
<u>Euthphr.</u>	10	8	8	5	2
<u>Ap.</u>	16	14	8	6	
<u>Cri.</u>	9	8	4	3	2
<u>Grg.</u>	51	49	49	34	
<u>Men.</u>	32	28	18	15	
<u>Ly.</u>	17	13	10	9	2
<u>Phx.</u>	12	12	8	6	3
<u>Euthd.</u>	33	27	25	21	2
<u>Cra.</u>	51	48	28	24	3
<u>Hp. Ma.</u>	21	20	16	10	1
<u>Smp.</u>	23	20	25	22	1
<u>Phd.</u>	62	58	54	48	4
<u>R. I</u>	28	27	28	25	1
II	25	21	13	12	1
III	32	25	22	21	1
IV	24	22	11	10	1
V	16	15	13	12	1
VI	33	31	17	15	2
VII	26	23	23	21	3
VIII	19	18	14	13	2
IX	13	12	10	10	2
X	29	25	21	19	1
<u>Prm.</u>	33	26	35	30	3
<u>Tht.</u>	53	48	50	49	5
<u>Phdr.</u>	38	37	15	15	1
<u>Sph.</u>	58	54	34	28	2
<u>Plt.</u>	54	52	26	25	1
<u>Phlb.</u>	23	20	11	11	2
<u>Ti.</u>	58	57	26	25	10
<u>Criti.</u>	13	13	4	4	1

Table continues

(1)(a) αβτ-	αV		Vα		V...α
Plato Lg. I)	36	32	3	3	6
ctd. II)					
III	21	21	14	13	2
IV	14	13	11	11	2
V	20	20	9	9	3
VI	23	22	20	20	4
VII	28	27	12	11	6
VIII	17	13	4	4	
IX	18	18	15	15	3
X	11	11	16	15	2
XI	10	10	13	11	3
XII	20	20	12	12	1
	<u>1222</u>	<u>1123</u>	<u>830</u>	<u>737</u>	<u>98</u>
Demosthenes 1		7		4	
2		4		1	2
3				2	1
4		2		3	
5		2		2	1
6	5	4		3	
8		8	6	5	1
9		9		4	3
10	6	4		2	2
13	2	1		2	
14		5		5	2
15		8	4	3	2
16	3	2	6	5	1
17		7		4	1
18	20	19	36	33	4
19	46	44	47	45	9
20	22	21	14	12	11
21	22	18	27	24	4
22		11	7	4	4
23	24	23	25	24	18
24	19	17	24	19	8
25	15	13	9	8	8
26		3		1	1
27		12	8	6	2
28		5		3	
29		1		2	1
30		5		6	2
31		3		2	1
32	6	5		5	2
33	9	7	12	11	1
34		3	17	16	1
35		2	11	8	
36		10		9	2
37	5	3		6	4

Table continues

Aut. (1)(a)	qV	Vq	V...q
Demosthenes	38	4	4
ctd.	<u>39</u>	5	10
	<u>40</u>	14	25
	<u>41</u>	3	6
	<u>42</u>	1	5
	<u>43</u>	10	11
	<u>44</u>	3	7
	<u>45</u>	13	10
	<u>46</u>	4	5
	<u>47</u>	13	38
	<u>48</u>	7	6
	<u>49</u>	12	22
	<u>50</u>	18	22
	<u>51</u>	3	2
	<u>52</u>	10	16
	<u>53</u>	8	13
	<u>54</u>	2	6
	<u>55</u>	1	1
	<u>56</u>	4	12
	<u>57</u>	8	8
	<u>58</u>	8	16
	<u>59</u>	26	65
	<u>26</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>60</u>
	<u>488</u>	<u>460</u>	<u>629</u>
			<u>576</u>
			<u>142</u>

(1)(b)(i)	Vq(...)V	V...q(...)V	[Cf. p. 2.2.77 ff]
Thucydides I	14	1	
II	9		
III	9		
IV	13	2	
V	7		
VI	6	1	
VII	11	2	
VIII	9	2	
	<u>78</u>	<u>8</u>	
Plato <u>Hp. Mi.</u>	1	1	
<u>Chrm.</u>	4		
<u>La.</u>	2		
<u>Ion.</u>	1	1	
<u>Prt.</u>	4		
<u>Euthphr.</u>	2		
<u>Ap.</u>	2	1	
<u>Grg.</u>	3		
<u>Men.</u>	5	1	
<u>Euthd.</u>	1	1	
<u>Cra.</u>	4		
<u>Smp.</u>	12		
<u>Phd.</u>	11		

Table continues

αὐτ- (1)(b)(i)	V _α (...) _V	V... _α (...) _V
Plato R.I	5	
ctd. II	2	
III	2	
IV	1	1
V	3	
VI	1	1
VII	3	1
VIII	4	
IX	4	
X	1	1
<u>Prm.</u>	6	
<u>Tht.</u>	10	
<u>Phdr.</u>	7	
<u>Sph.</u>	5	1
<u>Plt.</u>	1	1
<u>Phlb.</u>	2	
<u>Ti.</u>	14	1
<u>Criti.</u>	1	
<u>Lg. I</u>)	5	1
II)		
III	1	2
IV	2	
V	1	
VI	6	
VII	2	1
VIII	2	
IX	2	1
X	4	1
XI	2	1
XII	2	2
	<u>153</u>	<u>21</u>
Demosthenes 1	1	
<u>8</u>	1	3
<u>9</u>	1	
<u>14</u>	1	
<u>15</u>	1	
<u>16</u>		1
<u>18</u>	7	
<u>19</u>	9	1
<u>20</u>	2	
<u>21</u>	5	
<u>22</u>	2	
<u>23</u>	4	2
<u>24</u>	5	1
<u>25</u>	3	1
<u>27</u>	1	1
<u>29</u>		1
<u>30</u>	2	
<u>32</u>	2	

Table continues

$\alpha\delta\tau$ - (1)(b)(i)	$V_q(\dots)V$	$V\dots q(\dots)V$
Demosthenes <u>33</u>	6	
ctd. <u>34</u>	1	
<u>35</u>	3	
<u>40</u>	3	
<u>42</u>	1	
<u>43</u>	1	
<u>45</u>	2	
<u>46</u>	1	1
<u>47</u>	12	
<u>49</u>	4	
<u>50</u>	1	
<u>52</u>	3	
<u>53</u>	3	
<u>54</u>		1
<u>55</u>		1
<u>56</u>	1	
<u>58</u>	3	
<u>59</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>2</u>
	<u>108</u>	<u>16</u>

(1)(b)(ii)	$V_q(\dots)V$	$V\dots q(\dots)V$
Thucydides I	8	1
II	10	5
III	5	2
IV	9	4
V	6	
VI	9	
VII	7	1
VIII	<u>9</u>	<u>1</u>
	<u>63</u>	<u>14</u>

Plato <u>Hp.Mi.</u>	1	
<u>Chrm.</u>	5	
<u>La.</u>	8	
<u>Prt.</u>	8	1
<u>Euthphr.</u>	1	
<u>Ap.</u>	4	
<u>Cri.</u>	3	
<u>Grg.</u>	6	1
<u>Men.</u>	12	1
<u>Ly.</u>	5	
<u>Mnx.</u>		1
<u>Euthd.</u>	18	1
<u>Cra.</u>	6	5
<u>Hp.Ma.</u>	4	3
<u>Smp.</u>	13	1
<u>Phd.</u>	8	4
<u>R.I</u>	4	
II	1	1
III	7	1
IV	3	

Table continues

$\alpha\beta\gamma$ (1)(b)(ii)	$V_q(\dots)V$	$V\dots q(\dots)V$
Plato <u>R.V</u>	2	1
<u>ctd.</u> VI	2	1
VII	8	3
VIII	4	1
IX	1	
X	4	2
<u>Prm.</u>	8	2
<u>Tht.</u>	11	4
<u>Phdr.</u>	4	
<u>Sph.</u>	9	3
<u>Plt.</u>	1	2
<u>Phlb.</u>	6	
<u>Ti.</u>	5	2
<u>Criti.</u>	1	
<u>Lg.I</u>)	3	
II)		
III	1	1
IV	2	1
V	1	1
VII	3	
VIII	2	1
X	3	
XI	2	
XII	1	
	<u>201</u>	<u>45</u>
Demosthenes <u>1</u>		1
<u>2</u>	1	1
<u>3</u>	1	
<u>5</u>	2	
<u>8</u>	1	1
<u>9</u>	1	
<u>10</u>	2	1
<u>13</u>	1	
<u>15</u>	3	
<u>16</u>	1	1
<u>18</u>	1	2
<u>19</u>	10	1
<u>20</u>	1	2
<u>21</u>	6	2
<u>22</u>	4	
<u>23</u>	3	5
<u>24</u>	5	1
<u>25</u>	1	
<u>27</u>	5	2
<u>28</u>	3	
<u>30</u>	1	1
<u>33</u>	2	
<u>34</u>	3	
<u>36</u>	2	1

Table continues

$\alpha\beta\tau$ (1)(b)(ii)	$Vq(\dots)V$	$V\dots q(\dots)V$
Demosthenes <u>37</u>	1	
std. <u>38</u>	2	
<u>39</u>		1
<u>40</u>	5	1
<u>45</u>	4	
<u>46</u>		1
<u>47</u>	7	
<u>48</u>	2	
<u>49</u>	7	
<u>50</u>	8	1
<u>52</u>	2	
<u>53</u>	3	
<u>54</u>	1	2
<u>56</u>	2	
<u>57</u>		2
<u>58</u>	9	3
<u>59</u>	6	2
	<u>119</u>	<u>35</u>

(1)(b)(iii)	$Vq(\dots)V$	$V\dots q(\dots)V$
Thucydides I	1	1
IV	2	
V	2	
VI	1	
VII	1	
VIII	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
	<u>8</u>	
Plato <u>Men.</u>	1	
<u>Smp.</u>	1	
<u>Phd.</u>	1	
<u>Prm.</u>	1	
<u>Tht.</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>
	<u>5</u>	
Demosthenes <u>6</u>		1
<u>8</u>	1	
<u>19</u>	1	
<u>20</u>	1	
<u>25</u>	1	
<u>47</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
	<u>5</u>	

(2)(a)	qWV	WqV	$W\dots qV$	WVq	$WV\dots q$	[Cf. p. 2.2.86 ff.]
Thucydides I	2	16	1	6		
II	2	11	1	6		
III	1	13		2		
IV	4	16		2	2	
V	4	7	1	1		
VI	3	13	1	3		
VII	1	6	1	2		
VIII	<u>5</u>	<u>10</u>		<u>2</u>		
	<u>22</u>	<u>92</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>2</u>	

Table continues.

$\alpha\tau$ (2)(a)	qWV	WqV	$W...qV$	WVq	$WV...q$
Plato <u>Chrm.</u>		3		2	
<u>La.</u>		3			
<u>Ion.</u>	1				
<u>Prt.</u>	2	7		1	
<u>Euthphr.</u>		2			
<u>Ap.</u>	4	6	1	1	
<u>Grg.</u>	1	11	1	4	
<u>Men.</u>	2	1		1	
<u>Ly.</u>	1	3	1	2	
<u>Mnx.</u>		1	2		
<u>Euthd.</u>	2	4		1	
<u>Cra.</u>	5	12		2	
<u>Hp.Ma.</u>	1	3			
<u>Smp.</u>		1		1	
<u>Phd.</u>	4	8		2	
<u>R. I</u>		1	1		
II		5			
III	2	3		1	
IV	4	5		1	
V	2	6		1	
VI	1	5	6	2	
VII	3	4	2	1	
VIII	1	7		2	
IX	1	3			1
X		8	1	1	
<u>Prm.</u>	2	15	1		
<u>Tht.</u>	3	17	2	4	
<u>Phdr.</u>	4	6	1		
<u>Sph.</u>	7	15	6	3	1
<u>Plt.</u>	4	7	5		
<u>Phlb.</u>	5	15	1	1	1
<u>Ti.</u>	4	23	2	2	
<u>Criti.</u>	1	6	1		
<u>Lg. I</u>)	2	5	4	3	
II)		6		1	
III		3		1	
IV		6	1		1
V	1	5			
VI	3	6	1		
VII		4			
VIII	1	4			
IX	1	5			
X		6	1		1
XI	1	2	3		
XII	<u>76</u>	<u>270</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>5</u>

Table continues

$\alpha\beta\tau$ - (2)(a)ctd.	qWV	WqV	$W\dots qV$	WVq	$WV\dots q$
Demosthenes 2	1				
<u>4</u>			1		
<u>8</u>				1	
<u>9</u>		1			
<u>10</u>				1	
<u>13</u>	1		1		
<u>14</u>		2			
<u>15</u>	1	2			
<u>16</u>			1		
<u>17</u>		2			
<u>18</u>		3			
<u>19</u>	1	6		1	
<u>20</u>		3	1		1
<u>21</u>	2	2			
<u>22</u>		1		1	
<u>23</u>		2			
<u>24</u>		3		2	
<u>25</u>		4			
<u>27</u>		6			
<u>28</u>		1			
<u>30</u>				1	
<u>34</u>		1			
<u>36</u>				1	
<u>39</u>				1	
<u>40</u>		4			
<u>41</u>				1	
<u>43</u>		3		1	
<u>44</u>		3		1	
<u>45</u>		1			
<u>47</u>		1			
<u>48</u>		1			
<u>49</u>	4	5			
<u>53</u>		1			
<u>54</u>		1		2	
<u>56</u>		1			
<u>57</u>		2			
<u>58</u>	1	1	1	1	
<u>59</u>		<u>10</u>		<u>1</u>	
	<u>11</u>	<u>73</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>1</u>

(2)(b)	qVW	VqW	$V\dots qW$	VWq	$VW\dots q$	[Gf.2.2.89 ff]
Thucydides I		3		4		
II		2		1		
III	1	6		3		
IV	1	6		6		
V		2	1	1		
VI		3		4		
VII		6		2		
VIII	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>		
	<u>3</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>0</u>	

Table continues

$\alpha\beta\gamma$ - (2)(b)ctd.	αVW	VqW	$V\dots qW$	VWq	$VW\dots q$
Plato <u>Chrm.</u>				1	
<u>Prt.</u>	1	1		3	
<u>Euthphr.</u>	1			2	
<u>Ap.</u>		3	1	1	
<u>Cri.</u>		1			
<u>Grg.</u>	1	4		3	
<u>Men.</u>		5		2	
<u>Ly.</u>		1			
<u>Mnx.</u>		4			
<u>Euthd.</u>	1	3		3	
<u>Cra.</u>	2	4		4	1
<u>Smp.</u>		3		1	
<u>Phd.</u>		5		3	
<u>R.I</u>		1		2	
II		1		3	
III		2		1	
IV	1	2	1		
V		2			1
VI		3	1	3	
VII	1	2		2	
VIII		4		2	
IX				1	
X	2	2		2	
<u>Prm.</u>		2		3	
<u>Tht.</u>		6		4	
<u>Phdr.</u>		3		3	
<u>Sph.</u>	1	3	1	3	
<u>Plt.</u>	2	3		2	
<u>Phlb.</u>		2	1	3	1
<u>Ti.</u>		3	3	6	
<u>Criti.</u>		1		1	
<u>Lg.I</u>		6	1	1	
II		2		1	
III		1		1	
IV		1			
V		1			
VI	1	1		1	
VII		2		2	
VIII				1	
IX		1			
X		3		2	
XI				1	
XII		1	1	2	
	<u>14</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>76</u>	<u>3</u>
Demosthenes	4			1	
	<u>14</u>			1	
	<u>15</u>			2	
	<u>18</u>	2		6	
	<u>19</u>	2		1	
	<u>20</u>			2	

Table continues

$\alpha\beta\tau$ (2)(b)	qW	VqW	$V\dots qW$	VWq	$VW\dots q$
Demosthenes	<u>21</u>		1	1	
ctd.	<u>22</u>	2			
	<u>23</u>			1	
	<u>24</u>	1	1	4	
	<u>27</u>			1	
	<u>30</u>			1	
	<u>35</u>			1	
	<u>43</u>	3		1	
	<u>47</u>	1		1	
	<u>53</u>			2	
	<u>56</u>			1	
	<u>57</u>			2	
	<u>59</u>	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{6}{17}$	$\frac{5}{34}$	$\bar{0}$
		$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{6}{17}$	$\frac{5}{34}$	$\bar{0}$
(3)(a)	qW	Wq	$W\dots q$	(cf. 2.2.91 ff).	
Thucydides I		1			
II	1	2			
III	1	2			
IV		3			
V	1	4			
VI		<u>2</u>			
	$\frac{3}{2}$	<u>14</u>		$\bar{0}$	
Plato					
<u>Prt.</u>	1	2			
<u>Euthphr.</u>		2			
<u>Grg.</u>		2			
<u>Men.</u>		1			
<u>Ly.</u>		1			
<u>Mnx.</u>	1				
<u>Euthd.</u>		1			
<u>Cra.</u>		5			
<u>Hp. Ma.</u>		3			
<u>Phd.</u>	1				
<u>R. I</u>	1				
<u> II</u>	1				
<u> IV</u>	1	1			
<u> V</u>		1			
<u> VII</u>		4			
<u> VIII</u>		3			
<u> X</u>	1	2			
<u>Prm.</u>		1			
<u>Tht.</u>		1	2		
<u>Phdr.</u>		3			
<u>Plt.</u>		4			
<u>Phlb.</u>		5	1		
<u>Ti.</u>	1	8			
<u>Criti.</u>		1			
<u>Lg. I</u>)					
<u> II</u>)		1			

Table continues

$\alpha\delta\tau$ (3)(a)	qW	Wq	W...q
Plato <u>Lg.</u> VI		1	1
ctd. X	<u>2</u>		
	<u>10</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>4</u>

Demosthenes	<u>14</u>	1	
	<u>18</u>	1	
	<u>23</u>	1	
	1		
	<u>24</u>	1	
	<u>26</u>	1	
	<u>27</u>	3	
	<u>33</u>	1	
	<u>39</u>	1	
	<u>43</u>	1	
	<u>44</u>	2	
	<u>47</u>	2	
	<u>56</u>	2	
	<u>57</u>	1	
	<u>59</u>	2	
	<u>1</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>0</u>

(3)(b) $Wq(\dots)W$ $W\dots q(\dots)W$ [Cf. 2.2.91 ff.]

Thucydides III	1	
IV	1	
V	1	
VIII	<u>1</u>	
	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>

Plato <u>La.</u>	1	
<u>Ap.</u>	1	
<u>Gra.</u>	1	
<u>Smp.</u>	1	
<u>E.</u> IV	1	
<u>Prm.</u>	1	
<u>Sph.</u>	3	
<u>Phlb.</u>	2	
<u>Ti.</u>	1	
<u>Criti.</u>	1	
<u>Lg.</u> I)	1	
II)		
VII	<u>1</u>	
	<u>15</u>	<u>0</u>

Demosthenes	<u>2</u>	1
	<u>4</u>	
	<u>18</u>	1
	<u>22</u>	1
	<u>27</u>	1
	<u>59</u>	<u>1</u>
	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>

$\alpha\beta\gamma$ (4)(a)	$WqWV$	$WVqW$	$VqWV$	$VWqV$	$VqWV$
Thucydides II		1	1	1	1
III		1			1
IV	1	1	1	1	
V	1				1
VI	2	1			
VII	1				
VIII	1				1
	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>
Plato La.			1		
Prt.					1
Grg.	2				
Men.				1	
Mnx.				1	
Euthd.				2	
Hp. Ma.				1	
Smp.				1	
Phd.	2				
R. II				1	
III		1			
IV				1	
VII	2				
VIII	2				
IX	2				
Prm.	2	1			
Tht.				1	
Phdr.	2				
Sph.					1
Plt.	2	1	2	2	3
Phlb.	2			3	
Ti.	4			2	
Criti.	1				
Lg. I	3				
II	1				
III	1				
IV	1				
V	1				
VII	1				
VIII	1				1
IX				1	1
X	2				
XII				1	
	<u>33</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>7</u>
Demosthenes 6	1				
14				1	
19	2			4	1
21	1				1
24					1
25	2				
32	1				

Table continues

αὐτ-	(4)(a)	WqWV	WVqW	VqVW	WqV	VqWV
Demos themes	44				1	
ctd.	59	7	0	0	6	1/4

(4)(b)(i)

WVqV Πλ.Ι.6.493γ ἤδη πρότερον του ἡμιούσας αὐτῶν λόγον διδόντος...,

Πρμ.164δ καὶ ἀριθμὸς δὲ εἶναι αὐτῶν δόξει, Σφ.255α περὶ γὰρ ἀμφοτέρωθεν θάτερον ὁποτέρου γινόμενον αὐτοῖν ἀναγκάσει μεταβάλλειν...
Τι.72γ πάντα ἢ σπληνὸς καθαίρουσα αὐτὰ δέχεται μονότης, Π.7.307α ἀλλ' ἐν τρόπῳ βοσημάτων ἕκαστον κινούμενον αὐτῶν δεῖ ζῆν.

WVqV Θ.2.75.1 ἐλπίζοντες ταχίστην αἴρεσιν ἔσεσθαι αὐτῶν, 84.3 καὶ κατέστησαν ἐς ἀλήκην μὲν μηδένα τρέπεσθαι αὐτῶν... Πλ.Ν.10.909α εἰ μὲν δοκῆ τις σφραγισθῆναι αὐτῶν.

qVWV Θ.4.50.2 καὶ αὐτοῦ κομισθέντος οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰς μὲν ἐπιστολάς μεταγραφόμενοι... ἀνέγνωσαν. Πλ.Κρα.393ε ἀλλ' ἕως ἂν αὐτοῦ ἐνόηλουμένην τὴν δύναμιν ἐντιθῶμεν, Φδ.92δ ὡς περὶ αὐτῆς ἐστὶν ἡ οὐσία ἔχουσα... 118α ἤδη οὖν σχεδὸν τι αὐτοῦ ἦν τὰ περὶ τὸ ἦτρον ψυχόμενα.
W...qV [cf.2.2.92] Δημ.21.194 ἦ καὶ γελοῖ' εἶναι τὰ νῦν οἶμαι δαίρι' εἰκότως ἂν αὐτοῦ διοική.

V...qVW [cf.2.292] Θ.1.55.1 ἐτύγχανον δὲ καὶ δυνάμει αὐτῶν οἱ πλείους... ὄντες... Πλ.Π.10.616γ καὶ ἰδεῖν... ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὰ ἄκρα αὐτοῦ τῶν δεσμιῶν τεταμένα, Θτ.172β ὡς οὐκ ἐστὶ φύσει αὐτῶν οὐδέν... ἔχον, Φλβ.52ε προελόμενοι πρῶτον αὐτῶν ἐν τι σιοπῶμεν.

(4)(b)(ii)

WqVW Θ.4.44.2 ... οἱ πλείστοι τε αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον καὶ Λυκόφρον δὲ στρατηγός.

Πλ.Σφ.229γ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτῆς ἀντίσταθμον μέρεσιν, Πλτ.264δ ἐφ' ἑκατέρω τούτων τὸ μέρος αὐτῆς ἐπιπνέοντος ἐνάτερον, Ν.3.680γ καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἄλλα αὐτοῦ διεληλύθαμεν μάλ' ἄστεϊα. Δημ.1.13 τὰς δ' ἐπ' Ἰλλυριοῦς καὶ Παίονας αὐτοῦ καὶ.../ καὶ.../ παρὰλείπω στρατείας, 24.19 ἐν ἂν αὐτοῦ τις ἐποιεῖτο κατηγορημα, 27.58 πᾶσας αὐτοῦ διαλύσω τὰς ἀπολογίας.

WVqV Πλ.Π.9.590ε τὸ δὲ τρίτον... οὐκ ἔσχομεν ὀνόματι προσειπεῖν ἰδίῳ αὐτοῦ, Σφ.226α τοιόνδε τι μεταθήσκας ἔχονος αὐτοῦ. Δημ.19.2 ... κατασκευάσει μηδὲν εἶναι κατήγορον αὐτοῦ.

αὐτῶν (4)(b)(i.i) ctd.

WVWqW Θ.4.128.4 ὅσοις ἐνέτυχον κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ζεύγεσιν αὐτῶν βοεικοῖς.

W...qVW [cf.2.2.92] Πλ.Πλ.277β μείζονι τοῦ δέοντος ἠναγκάσθημεν αὐτοῦ
μέρει προσγράσασθαι, Τλ.29α τὸ μὲν μείζονα αὐτῶν τὸ δ' ἐλάττω κῆλον ἴον.

VWqW Θ.5.65.5 καταπλαγέστες τῇ ἐξ ὀλίγου αὐτῶν ἀναγωήσει, 6.28.2 ἐπιλέγοντες
τεμῆρια τὴν ἄλλην αὐτοῦ...καρανοίαν. Πλ.Π.6.494γ προκαταλαμβάνοντες
καὶ.../τὴν μέλλουσαν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν, 499ε καὶ διορίζη...τὴν τε φύσιν αὐτῶν καὶ
τὴν ἐπιτήδευσιν, Σφ.247γ ἐπεὶ τούτων οὐδ' ἂν ἐν ἐπαισχυνθεῖεν οἱ γε αὐτῶν
σπαρτοὶ τε καὶ αὐτόχθονες, Φλβ.44γ σκεφάμενος ἔτι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα αὐτῶν δυσχεράσιμα,
Τλ.64ε βία γὰρ τὸ πάμπαν οὐκ ἐνὶ τῇ δικαιρίσει τε αὐτῆς καὶ συγκρίσει. Δημ.12.252
πανταχόθεν μὲν τοίνυν ἂν τις ἴδοι τὴν ἀγνωμοσύνην αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν βασκανίαν...
19.257...ἠτίμως ὑπαικούσαντά τιν' αὐτοῦ κατήγορον, 24.70 ἔστι γὰρ οὐ τὸ μὲν
αὐτοῦ καλῶς κείμενον, τὸ δ' ἡμαρτημένον, 25.60 ἐν τοίνυν εἰπὼν ἔτι τῶν ἰδίων αὐτοῦ
πονηρευμάτων... 27.7 ...ἀιοῦσαι τὰ τ' ἐνεργὰ αὐτῶν καὶ ὅσ' ἦν ἀργὰ καὶ... 41.11
λαβέ μοι πάντων αὐτῶν τὰς μαρτυρίας, 49.10 ...ἔξαιτουμένων τῶν ἐπισηδίων καὶ
οἰκείων αὐτοῦ ἀπάντων.

(4)(b)(iii)

WqVWV Πλ.Κρα.426β εἰ οὖν τις τὸ παλαιὸν αὐτῆς εὔροι ὄνομα...ομιβαῖνον.

VWqVW Πλ.Σφ.257γ τὸ δ' ἐπὶ τῷ γιννόμενον μέρος αὐτῆς ἕκαστον ἀπορίσεν...ἴσχει...

Tables of μ"

(1)(a)	qV	Vq	V...q [cf.p.2.2.93]
Plato <u>Hp.Mi.</u>	19	6	
<u>Chrm.</u>	30	18	
<u>La.</u>	23	15	
<u>Ion</u>	17	6	
<u>Prt.</u>	49	23	
<u>Euthphr.</u>	36	7	
<u>Ap.</u>	71	22	
<u>Cri.</u>	10	11	
<u>Grg.</u>	101	33	1
<u>Men.</u>	41	21	
<u>Ly.</u>	19	10	
<u>Mnx.</u>	11	13	
<u>Euthd.</u>	55	20	
<u>Cra.</u>	54	39	
<u>Hp.Ma.</u>	45	8	
<u>Smp.</u>	50	32	1
<u>Phd.</u>	74	20	
<u>R.I</u>	37	4	
II	9	7	

Table continues

μ (1)(a) ctd.	qV	Vq	V...q
Plato R.III	11	5	
ctd. IV	12	6	
V	17	9	
VI	7	4	
VII	9	5	
VIII	2	3	
IX	6	2	
X	7	4	
<u>Frm.</u>	12	2	
<u>Tht.</u>	51	31	
<u>Phdr.</u>	32	19	
<u>Sph.</u>	24	2	1
<u>Plt.</u>	12	7	
<u>Phlb.</u>	24	16	
<u>Ti.</u>	3	3	
<u>Criti.</u>	1		
<u>Lg. I</u>)	16	9	
II)			
III	5	1	
IV	11	6	
V	3		
VI	2		
VII	8	4	
VIII	4	1	
IX	2		
X	6	6	
XI	2		
XII	2	2	
	<u>1042</u>	<u>452</u>	<u>3</u>
Demosthenes <u>1</u>	1		
<u>2</u>	2	2	
<u>3</u>	1	1	
<u>4</u>	3	3	
<u>5</u>	1	1	
<u>8</u>	2	2	
<u>9</u>	1		
<u>13</u>	4	4	
<u>14</u>	4		
<u>15</u>	5	3	
<u>16</u>	1	1	1
<u>18</u>	27	34	5
<u>19</u>	17	27	2
<u>20</u>	1	9	
<u>21</u>	30	34	4
<u>22</u>	1		
<u>23</u>	5	12	
<u>24</u>	4	4	1
<u>25</u>	4	6	
<u>27</u>	16	9	

Table continues

μ (1)(a) ctd.	\underline{aV}	\underline{Vg}	$\underline{V...g}$
Demos thenes <u>28</u>	7	4	
ctd. <u>29</u>	3	2	
<u>30</u>	6	8	
<u>31</u>	1	2	
<u>32</u>	2	1	
<u>33</u>	6	18	
<u>34</u>	9	9	
<u>35</u>	6	7	
<u>36</u>	1	9	1
<u>37</u>	8	12	2
<u>38</u>	3	1	
<u>39</u>	2	3	
<u>40</u>	20	22	
<u>41</u>	7	10	
<u>42</u>	9	17	
<u>43</u>	5	2	
<u>44</u>	3		
<u>45</u>	7	18	4
<u>46</u>	4	2	
<u>47</u>	36	39	
<u>48</u>	11	7	
<u>49</u>	10	8	
<u>50</u>	40	43	2
<u>51</u>	1	1	
<u>52</u>	6	3	
<u>53</u>	15	12	
<u>54</u>	4	7	1
<u>55</u>	9	14	1
<u>56</u>	3	12	
<u>57</u>	13	19	
<u>58</u>	13	8	2
<u>59</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>8</u>	
	<u>413</u>	<u>470</u>	<u>26</u>

(1)(b)(i) $\underline{Vg(...)}V$ $\underline{V...g(...)}V$ [cf.2.2.94]

Plato <u>Hp.Mi.</u>	1
<u>Chrm.</u>	2
<u>Ion</u>	2
<u>Prt.</u>	3
<u>Euthphr.</u>	1
<u>Ap.</u>	10
<u>Grg.</u>	5
<u>Men.</u>	2
<u>Euthd.</u>	5
<u>Hp.Ma.</u>	1
<u>Cra.</u>	3
<u>Smp.</u>	6
<u>Phd.</u>	1
<u>R.I</u>	1
II	1

Table continues

μ - (1)(b)(i) ctd.	V _g (...)V	V... _g (...)V
Plato <u>R.V</u>	1	
ctd. IX	1	
<u>Prm.</u>	1	
<u>Tht.</u>	2	
<u>Sph.</u>	1	1
<u>Lg.III</u>	1	1
VII	<u>1</u>	
	<u>51</u>	<u>2</u>
Demosthenes <u>15</u>	1	
<u>18</u>	6	2
<u>19</u>	5	
<u>21</u>	4	1
<u>22</u>	2	
<u>23</u>	1	
<u>24</u>	2	
<u>25</u>	1	
<u>27</u>	2	
<u>28</u>	1	
<u>32</u>	1	
<u>33</u>	1	
<u>34</u>	1	
<u>35</u>	1	
<u>37</u>	1	
<u>38</u>	1	
<u>39</u>	1	
<u>40</u>	1	
<u>45</u>	1	
<u>47</u>	2	
<u>49</u>	1	
<u>50</u>	3	
<u>53</u>	3	1
<u>54</u>	3	
<u>55</u>	2	1
<u>57</u>	<u>2</u>	
	<u>50</u>	<u>5</u>

(1)(b)(ii)

Plato <u>Hp.Mi.</u>	1	
<u>La.</u>	4	
<u>Ion</u>	1	
<u>Prt.</u>	5	
<u>Euthphr.</u>	2	
<u>Ap.</u>	4	1
<u>Cri.</u>	1	
<u>Grg.</u>	5	
<u>Men.</u>	1	
<u>Euthd.</u>	2	
<u>Smp.</u>	5	
<u>Phd.</u>	3	
<u>R.I</u>	4	
II	1	

Table continues

μ (1)(b)(ii)	$Vq(\dots)V$	$V\dots q(\dots)V$
Plato <u>R.III</u>	1	1
ctd <u>IV</u>	1	
<u>V</u>	1	
<u>VI</u>	1	
<u>VII</u>	1	
<u>Tht.</u>	3	
<u>Phdr.</u>	3	
<u>Sph.</u>	1	
<u>Phlb.</u>	4	1
<u>Lg.VII</u>	1	
	<u>56</u>	<u>3</u>

Demosthenes <u>4</u>	1	
<u>18</u>	12	1
<u>21</u>	4	
<u>22</u>	1	
<u>24</u>	1	
<u>27</u>	3	2
<u>30</u>	2	1
<u>33</u>	1	
<u>34</u>	2	
<u>37</u>	1	1
<u>40</u>	3	
<u>41</u>	1	1
<u>45</u>	2	
<u>47</u>	2	
<u>48</u>	4	
<u>49</u>	2	
<u>50</u>	4	1
<u>53</u>	1	
<u>55</u>	1	
<u>57</u>	3	
<u>58</u>	2	
	<u>53</u>	<u>8</u>

(1)(b)(iii)

Demosthenes <u>18</u>		1
<u>27</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>

(2)(a)

	qWV	WqV	$W\dots qV$	WVq	$WV\dots q$ [cf.2.2.96]
Plato <u>Chrm.</u>		1			
<u>Prt.</u>	1				
<u>Ap.</u>	1	2			
<u>Euthd.</u>		1			
<u>Gra.</u>		1			
<u>Phd.</u>		1			
<u>Prm.</u>		1			
<u>Tht.</u>		3	1		
<u>Plt.</u>		<u>1</u>			
	<u>2</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

μ (2)(a)	\underline{qW}	\underline{WqV}	$\underline{W...qV}$	\underline{VWq}	$\underline{VW...q}$
Demosthenes <u>6</u>				1	
<u>18</u>	1	2			
<u>21</u>		1		2	
<u>27</u>		1			
<u>40</u>		5			
<u>46</u>		1			
<u>47</u>	2	2		1	
<u>53</u>				1	
<u>54</u>				1	
<u>57</u>				1	
	$\underline{\bar{3}}$	$\underline{\bar{12}}$	$\underline{\bar{0}}$	$\underline{\bar{7}}$	$\underline{\bar{0}}$

(2)(b)	$\underline{qV:}$	\underline{VqW}	$\underline{V...qW}$	\underline{VWq}	$\underline{VW...q}$
Plato <u>Hp.Mi.</u>				1	
<u>Chrm.</u>	1				
<u>Ion</u>		2			
<u>Prt.</u>	1	1			
<u>Ap.</u>		1		1	
<u>Grg.</u>		1			
<u>Euthd.</u>				1	
<u>Cra.</u>		1			
<u>Hp.Ma.</u>		1			
<u>Smp.</u>		1			
<u>Phd.</u>		4			
<u>R.I</u>	1				
<u>Prm.</u>	$\underline{\bar{1}}$				
	$\underline{\bar{4}}$	$\underline{\bar{12}}$	$\underline{\bar{0}}$	$\underline{\bar{3}}$	$\underline{\bar{0}}$

Demosthenes <u>21</u>		1			
<u>23</u>	1				
<u>28</u>		1			
<u>40</u>		2		4	
<u>42</u>		2			
<u>45</u>	1				
<u>47</u>	1	4			
<u>50</u>		2			
<u>55</u>		1		1	
<u>57</u>		1			
	$\underline{\bar{3}}$	$\underline{\bar{14}}$	$\underline{\bar{0}}$	$\underline{\bar{5}}$	$\underline{\bar{0}}$

(3)(a) (but no (b) follows)

There are no instances of \underline{qW} nor of $\underline{W...q}$, and the only instances of \underline{Wq} have \underline{q} in "first and last possible position." Ordinarily these would be omitted, but as there are no other instances even potentially in this category, they are as follows: ΠΑ.Πρτ.310γ παρὰ τοὺς πόδας μου, Π.5.472α ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον μου, Θτ.1668 εἰς τὰ συγγράμματά μου. Prepositional expressions have been conventionally treated as self-contained "sentences" (see p.2.2.6.) and it is that which puts these expressions under category (3). What makes

them instances of "q in first and last possible position" is Rule XIX: there are in fact no cases of anything like εἰς μου τὴν οἰκίαν (p.2.243). On the other hand compare Rule V (1) μ- (p.2.2.6.) Πλ.Φδ.89β ...καίζειν μου εἰς τὰς τρίχας.

(4)

WqWV Πλ.Απ.23β περὶ μὲν οὖν ὧν οἱ πρῶτοί μου κατήγοροι κατηγόρουν.

VqWV Δημ.40.25 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις αἰνείται μου ἡ μῆτηρ...εὐδοκίμησαι.

VWqV Δημ.40.28 ὥστε σησὶ τὸν πατέρα μου...ἔστισαι, 54 ὄν τρόπον ἀναγκασθεῖς ὁ πατήρ μου ἐποίησατο τούτους.

		Tables of τις.		
(1)(a)	qV	Vq	V...q [cf.2.2.97]	
Thucydides	I	55	9	
	II	44	6	
	III	30	9	
	IV	45	7	
	V	22	7	
	VI	38	13	1
	VII	31	8	1
	VIII	30	6	
		<u>295</u>	<u>65</u>	<u>2</u>
Plato	Hp.Mi.	16	5	
	Chrm.	39	6	
	La.	39	13	
	Ion	12	4	
	Prt.	47	21	1
	Euthphr.	15	5	
	Ap.	44	8	1
	Cri.	13	4	
	Grg.	87	25	
	Men.	24	11	1
	Ly.	34	7	
	Max.	8		
	Euthd.	35	14	1
	Cra.	81	14	1
	Hp.Ma.	30	5	
	Smp.	50	13	
	Phd.	83	21	
	R.I	40	6	
	II	26	5	
	III	29	2	
	IV	29	7	
	V	34	7	
	VI	22	4	1
	VII	23	7	
	VIII	16	1	
	IX	18	3	
	X	26	2	

Table continues

cls (1)(a)	qV	Vq	V...q
Plato <u>Prm.</u>	50	16	1
cld <u>Tht.</u>	109	32	1
<u>Phdr.</u>	41	9	
<u>Sph.</u>	45	24	1
<u>Plt.</u>	38	6	
<u>Phlb.</u>	43	18	1
<u>Ti.</u>	40	17	2
<u>Criti.</u>	9	4	
<u>Lg. I</u>)			
II)	34	18	
III	22	3	
IV	14	6	1
V	22	7	
VI	25	10	2
VII	32	3	2
VIII	21	3	
IX	50	15	1
X	16	7	1
XI	62	15	2
XII	34	18	
	<u>1627</u>	<u>451</u>	<u>20</u>
Demosthenes <u>1</u>	6	3	1
<u>2</u>	12	7	
<u>3</u>	3	4	
<u>4</u>	7	5	1
<u>5</u>	4	6	
<u>6</u>	8	3	
<u>8</u>	20	5	1
<u>9</u>	18	4	
<u>10</u>	15	9	
<u>13</u>	5		1
<u>14</u>	9	2	
<u>15</u>	7	4	
<u>16</u>	5	1	
<u>17</u>	8	1	
<u>18</u>	37	13	1
<u>19</u>	33	24	2
<u>20</u>	60	14	3
<u>21</u>	40	25	2
<u>22</u>	15	8	
<u>23</u>	67	26	1
<u>24</u>	61	14	1
<u>25</u>	15	9	
<u>26</u>	10	2	
<u>27</u>	7	4	
<u>28</u>	2		
<u>29</u>	1	1	
<u>30</u>	3		
<u>31</u>	5		
<u>32</u>	4	1	
<u>33</u>	5	1	

Table continues

$\tau\iota\varsigma$ (1)(a)	αV	Vq	$V\dots q$
Demosthenes <u>34</u>	3	2	
ctd <u>35</u>	10		
<u>36</u>	8	4	
<u>37</u>	6	9	1
<u>38</u>	4	1	1
<u>39</u>	11	3	
<u>40</u>	5	3	
<u>41</u>	5	1	
<u>42</u>	3	2	1
<u>43</u>	7	2	
<u>44</u>	6	3	
<u>45</u>	11	7	
<u>46</u>	4	2	
<u>47</u>	5	1	
<u>48</u>	2		
<u>49</u>	3		
<u>50</u>	6	2	
<u>51</u>	5	2	
<u>52</u>	6	5	
<u>53</u>	2		1
<u>54</u>	3	6	1
<u>55</u>	1	3	
<u>56</u>	4	3	
<u>57</u>	5	1	
<u>58</u>	7	6	
<u>59</u>	8	2	
	<u>634</u>	<u>266</u>	<u>19</u>

(1)(b)(i) $Vq(\dots)V$ $V\dots q(\dots)V$ [cf.2.299]

Thucydides I	1	
II	1	
III	1	
IV	3	
V	7	
VI	2	1
VII	3	
VIII	2	$\frac{1}{2}$
	<u>20</u>	<u>$\frac{1}{2}$</u>

Plato <u>Prt.</u>	1	
<u>Grg.</u>	5	
<u>Men.</u>	1	
<u>Euthd.</u>	1	
<u>Cra.</u>	4	
<u>Smp.</u>	2	2
<u>R.I</u>	6	
II	2	1
III	1	
IV	2	
V	2	
VI	2	
VII	2	

Table continues

Titl	(1)(b)(i)	Vq(....)V	V...q(....)V
Plato	<u>Tht.</u>	12	
ctd	<u>Phdr.</u>	1	1
	<u>Sph.</u>	7	1
	<u>Flt.</u>	4	
	<u>Phlb.</u>	2	2
	<u>Ti.</u>	5	
	<u>Lg. I)</u>	1	1
	<u>II)</u>	2	1
	<u>III</u>	3	
	<u>IV</u>	1	
	<u>VI</u>	2	
	<u>VII</u>	4	
	<u>VIII</u>	2	1
	<u>IX</u>	12	
	<u>X</u>	4	
	<u>XI</u>	4	
	<u>XII</u>	6	
		<u>97</u>	<u>10</u>
Demos	<u>1</u>	1	
	<u>2</u>	1	1
	<u>3</u>	1	
	<u>4</u>	2	
	<u>8</u>	2	
	<u>9</u>	2	
	<u>10</u>	2	
	<u>15</u>		1
	<u>16</u>	1	
	<u>18</u>	3	
	<u>19</u>	8	
	<u>20</u>	2	
	<u>21</u>	6	
	<u>22</u>		1
	<u>23</u>	10	
	<u>24</u>	3	1
	<u>25</u>	2	
	<u>37</u>	1	
	<u>38</u>	1	
	<u>40</u>		1
	<u>47</u>	1	
	<u>51</u>	2	
	<u>54</u>	1	
	<u>58</u>	6	
		<u>58</u>	<u>5</u>
(1)(b)(ii)			
Thucydides	<u>I</u>		1
	<u>III</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Plato	<u>Chrm.</u>	2	
	<u>Euthphr.</u>	1	

Table continues

$\tau\tau\varsigma$ (1)(b)(ii)	$Vq(\dots)V$	$V\dots q(\dots)V$
Plato <u>Grg.</u>	1	
ctd <u>Men.</u>	1	
<u>Ly.</u>		1
<u>Phd.</u>	1	
<u>R.III</u>	2	
IV	1	
VI	3	
IX	2	
X	1	1
<u>Tht.</u>	3	
<u>Phlb.</u>	1	
<u>Lg.VI</u>	2	
IX	1	
XII	1	
	<u>23</u>	<u>2</u>
Demosthenes <u>4.</u>	1	
<u>8</u>	5	
<u>14</u>	1	
<u>19</u>	1	
<u>24</u>	2	1
<u>25</u>	1	
<u>50</u>	1	
	<u>12</u>	<u>1</u>

(1)(b)(iii)

Thucydides II	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>
Plato <u>Prt.</u>	1	
<u>Grg.</u>	1	
<u>R.II</u>	1	
IX	1	
<u>Prm.</u>	2	
<u>Tht.</u>	1	
<u>Phlb.</u>	1	
<u>Ti.</u>		1
<u>Lg.V</u>		1
VII	2	
VIII	1	
IX	1	
	<u>12</u>	<u>2</u>
Demosthenes <u>23</u>		1
<u>24</u>	1	
<u>25</u>	1	
<u>54</u>	1	
	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>

(2)(a)

	qWV	WqV	$W\dots qV$	WVq	$WV\dots q$	[cf.pp.2:2.101 ff.]
Thucydides I	11	18	2	1		
II	15	26	1			

Table continues

τλς (2)(α)	qWV	WqV	W...qV	WVq	WV...q
Thucydides III	18	33	1	1	
ctd. IV	15	21	1	1	
V	22	14		1	
VI	20	21	1	1	
VII	11	29	1	1	
VIII	13	19			
	<u>125</u>	<u>181</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>0</u>
Plato Hp.Mi.	2	4			
Chrm.	2	27	1		
La.	9	18			
Ion	1	4		2	
Prt.	16	45			
Euthphr.	4	14	1		
Ap.	13	21		1	
Cri.	4	7			
Grg.	22	63	4		
Men.	5	31	1		
Ly.	6	20	2		
Mnx.	4	3			
Euthd.	5	32			
Cra.	18	44	1		
Hp.Ma.	5	22			
Smp.	14	24		1	
Phd.	31	70	2		
R.I	5	25	1	1	
II	9	12			
III	11	12	1		
IV	10	35	2		
V	17	22	2	1	
VI	8	16	1	1	
VII	6	18	1		
VIII	10	17			
IX	10	13		1	
X	12	14			
Prm.	15	25	2	2	
Tht.	32	76	1		
Phdr.	24	28	1		
Sph.	18	49	3	12	
Plt.	14	24	2	7	
Phlb.	19	28	2	6	
Ti.	18	17	3	2	2
Criti.	4				
Lg.I)	16	13	1	3	1
II)					
III	7	8	1	4	1
IV	7	13		3	
V	7	7			
VI	12	8	2	4	1
VII	10	12	2	2	
VIII	16	6	1	3	
IX	11	7	2	7	

Table continues

$\tau\iota\varsigma$ (2)(a)	qWV	WqV	$W\dots qV$	WVq	$WV\dots q$
Plato <u>Lg.X</u>	9	10		1	
ctd. <u>XI</u>	16	6		1	
<u>XII</u>	10	9	1		
	<u>524</u>	<u>979</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>65</u>	<u>5</u>
Demosthenes <u>1</u>	2	3		1	
<u>2</u>	3	4			
<u>3</u>	2	2		3	
<u>4</u>	2	3			
<u>5</u>		1			
<u>6</u>	2	2			
<u>8</u>	1	4			
<u>9</u>	2	4	1		
<u>10</u>	3	4		2	
<u>13</u>	2	2			
<u>14</u>		3			
<u>15</u>		1	1		
<u>16</u>		1			
<u>17</u>		2			
<u>18</u>	14	12	1		
<u>19</u>	11	19	2	2	1
<u>20</u>	18	31	1	1	
<u>21</u>	11	16	2	3	
<u>22</u>	3	6			
<u>23</u>	10	13		1	
<u>24</u>	11	15	1	4	
<u>25</u>	2	7			
<u>26</u>	5	1			
<u>27</u>	4	5	2	2	
<u>28</u>	1	2	2		
<u>29</u>	1				
<u>30</u>	2	1	1		
<u>31</u>	1	3			
<u>32</u>		2			
<u>33</u>	1	1			
<u>35</u>	4	5			
<u>36</u>		3			
<u>37</u>		3		1	
<u>38</u>	1	2			
<u>39</u>	2	5			
<u>40</u>	3	2		1	
<u>41</u>		3			
<u>42</u>		1	1		
<u>43</u>	1	3			
<u>44</u>		5			
<u>45</u>	3	5		1	
<u>46</u>		1			
<u>47</u>	1	2			
<u>48</u>	2	11	1		
<u>49</u>		4	1	1	

Table continues

(2)(a)		qWV	WqV	W...qV	WVq	WV...q
Demosthenes	<u>50</u>	1	2			
ctd	<u>51</u>	1	1	1	1	
	<u>52</u>	2				
	<u>53</u>		5			
	<u>54</u>		5		1	
	<u>55</u>	2	1		1	
	<u>56</u>	2	3			
	<u>57</u>	3	1	1	1	
	<u>58</u>	3	6			
	<u>59</u>	2	4	1		
		<u>148</u>	<u>253</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>1</u>
(2)(b)		qWV	VqW	V...qW	VWq	VW...q [cf. 2.2.106. ff.]
Thucydides	I	2	10		1	
	II	1	7	1		
	III	3	6	1	6	
	IV	6	15		4	
	V	2	2		2	
	VI	2	7		3	
	VII	4	14		4	
	VIII	1	7	1	2	
		<u>21</u>	<u>68</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>0</u>
Plato	<u>Hp. Mi.</u>	1	3			
	<u>Chrm.</u>	3	3		5	
	<u>La.</u>	3	3		1	
	<u>Ion</u>		1		1	
	<u>Prt.</u>	1	12		2	
	<u>Euthphr.</u>		2		1	
	<u>Ap.</u>	6	9		2	
	<u>Cri.</u>		1			
	<u>Grg.</u>	4	14	1	2	
	<u>Men.</u>	5	2		4	
	<u>Ly.</u>		1		3	
	<u>Mnx.</u>	2				
	<u>Euthd.</u>	7	2		3	
	<u>Cra.</u>	4	12	2	7	
	<u>Hp. Ma.</u>	1	3		2	
	<u>Smp.</u>	6	7	1	4	
	<u>Pnd.</u>	5	15		7	
	<u>R. I</u>		6		3	
	II	5	1	1		
	III	2	5		1	
	IV	2	1		4	
	V	4	1		1	
	VI		1		2	
	VII	4	2	1		
	VIII		2		1	
	IX	4			1	
	X	2	1		3	
	<u>Prm.</u>	3	5		7	
	<u>Tht.</u>	7	4		10	

Table continues

TLG (2)(b)	<u>qVW</u>	<u>VqW</u>	<u>V...qW</u>	<u>VWq</u>	<u>VW...q</u>
Plato <u>Phdr.</u>	4	12		3	
<u>ctd. Sph.</u>	3	15	1	10	
<u>Plt.</u>	1	14		5	
<u>Phlb.</u>	4	12	1	3	
<u>Pi.</u>	4	9	2	7	
<u>Lg. I)</u>	8	10		2	
<u>II)</u>					
<u>III</u>	8	3		5	
<u>IV</u>	2	11	2	1	1
<u>V</u>	2	4	1	1	
<u>VI</u>	4	5		2	
<u>VII</u>	2	7	1	1	
<u>VIII</u>	1	2		1	1
<u>IX</u>	5	12		3	
<u>X</u>	1	1		7	
<u>XI</u>	4	8	1	2	
<u>XII</u>	5	7		4	
	<u>139</u>	<u>256</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>134</u>	<u>2</u>
Demos thenes <u>1</u>		3	1		
<u>2</u>	2	6	1		
<u>4</u>		3		1	
<u>5</u>		1			
<u>6</u>		2			
<u>8</u>	2	7	1		
<u>9</u>		2	1	2	
<u>10</u>	1	7		1	
<u>13</u>	2			1	
<u>14</u>		3	1	1	
<u>15</u>	1	5		1	
<u>16</u>		3			
<u>17</u>		1			
<u>18</u>	3	10	1	1	
<u>19</u>	7	14	3	5	
<u>20</u>	6	9		3	
<u>21</u>	3	11	2	1	
<u>22</u>		1			
<u>23</u>	11	16	3	2	
<u>24</u>	3	10		3	
<u>25</u>	1	2		1	
<u>26</u>		2			
<u>27</u>	2	1			
<u>28</u>		2			
<u>29</u>		2		1	
<u>30</u>	2	1			
<u>32</u>		1			
<u>34</u>				1	
<u>35</u>	1				
<u>36</u>		1			

Table continues

cls (2)(b)	<u>qVW</u>	<u>VqW</u>	<u>V...qW</u>	<u>VWq</u>	<u>VW...q</u>
Demosthenes <u>37</u>		4			
ctd. <u>38</u>			1	1	
<u>39</u>				1	
<u>40</u>			1		
<u>44</u>		4		1	1
<u>45</u>	2	1		1	
<u>46</u>	1				
<u>47</u>	1	1		1	
<u>48</u>		2			
<u>49</u>		2			
<u>50</u>				1	
<u>51</u>	1	1			
<u>52</u>	3			1	
<u>53</u>		2			
<u>54</u>	1				
<u>55</u>		1			
<u>56</u>		1			
<u>57</u>	3	3		1	
<u>58</u>	2	1			
<u>59</u>	3	1			
	<u>65</u>	<u>150</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>1</u>

(3)(a)	<u>qW</u>	<u>Wq</u>	<u>W...q</u>	[cf.2.2.109]
Thucydides I	4	6		
II		12		
III	1	12		
IV	3	8		
V	3	7		
VI	3	20		
VII	5	9		
VIII	3	6		<u>1</u>
	<u>22</u>	<u>80</u>		<u>1</u>
Plato <u>Hp.Mi.</u>	2	2		
<u>Chrm.</u>	1	6		
<u>La.</u>	5	4		
<u>Ion</u>		6		
<u>Prt.</u>	4	30		
<u>Euthphr.</u>	2	7		
<u>Ap.</u>	3	11		
<u>Cri.</u>	2	2		
<u>Grg.</u>	6	26		1
<u>Men.</u>	2	9		
<u>Ly.</u>	4	5		
<u>Euthd.</u>	1	7		
<u>Cra.</u>	7	17		
<u>Hp.Ma.</u>	2	7		
<u>Smp.</u>	10	13		
<u>Phd.</u>	22	27		1

Table continues

Plato	gW	Wg	W...g
R.I	4	8	
ctd. II	10	7	
III	9	10	
IV	8	21	1
V	7	3	
VI	9	2	
VII	3	6	
VIII	4	6	
IX	7	7	
X	9	10	
Prm.	14	10	
Tht.	19	21	
Phdr.	20	9	
Sph.	13	18	2
Plt.	33	10	1
Phlb.	34	7	
Ti.	19	7	
Criti.	3	1	
Lg. I	14	5	
II	14	11	
III	14	11	
IV	14	11	
V	7	1	
VI	14	2	1
VII	15	11	1
VIII	10	3	2
IX	15	3	
X	13	6	
XI	22	3	
XII	14	5	
	<u>450</u>	<u>403</u>	<u>10</u>
Demosthenes	1	1	
2	2	2	
4		3	
5	3	1	
10	2		
13	1	2	1
14	3	2	
16	1	1	
18	1	3	
19	5	10	
20	8	2	
21	10	8	
22	1	2	
23	5	11	
24	2	2	
25	1	3	

Table continues

ττς (3)(a)	qW	Wq	W...q
Demosthenes 29		1	
ctd 32	1		
33	1	1	
34		1	
35	3	1	
36		1	
37	2	1	
39	1	6	
40		2	
45	1	3	
46		1	
47	1	1	
50	1	2	
53	1	2	
54	1	2	
55		1	
56		6	
58		4	
59		1	
	<u>58</u>	<u>90</u>	<u>1</u>

(3)(b)	Wq(...)W	W...q(...)W [cf. 2.2.111]
Thucydides I	3	
II	3	
III	4	
IV	1	
V	3	
VI	3	
VIII	4	
	<u>21</u>	<u>0</u>
Plato Chrm.	2	
La.	5	
Ion	4	
Prt.	8	
Euthphr.	1	
Ap.	1	
Cri.	1	
Grg.	7	
Men.	4	
Ly.	1	
Euthd.	7	
Cra.	4	
Hp. Ma.	4	
Smp.	1	
Phd.	9	
R. I	2	
II	1	
III	2	1
IV	8	
V	5	
VI	4	
VII	2	

Table continues

PLS	(3)(b)	Wq(...)W	W...q(...)W		
	Plato R.VIII	2			
	ctd. IX	1			
	X	5			
	<u>Prm.</u>	5			
	<u>Tht.</u>	3			
	<u>Phdr.</u>	4			
	<u>Sph.</u>	6	1		
	<u>Plt.</u>	9			
	<u>Phlb.</u>	6			
	<u>Criti.</u>	1	1		
	<u>Lg.I</u>)				
	II)	5			
	III	7	2		
	IV	4			
	V	3			
	VI	1			
	VII	3			
	VIII	1	1		
	IX	1			
	X	4			
	XI	3			
	XII	1			
		<u>138</u>	<u>6</u>		
	Demosthenes 4	2			
	9	1			
	<u>10</u>	1			
	<u>18</u>	2			
	<u>19</u>	2			
	<u>20</u>	1			
	<u>21</u>	5	2		
	<u>24</u>	3			
	<u>25</u>	2			
	<u>35</u>	2			
	<u>36</u>	1			
	<u>46</u>	1			
	<u>48</u>	2			
	<u>49</u>	1			
	<u>50</u>	1			
	<u>52</u>	1			
		<u>28</u>	<u>2</u>		
	(4)(a)(i)	WqWV	VWqW	WVqW	WqVW
	Thucydides I	3	1		
	II	2	1		2
	III	1	2		3
	IV	6			1

Table continues

τλς	(4)(a)(1)	WqWV	VWqW	WVqW	WqVW
Thucydides	V	2	2		1
ctd.	VI	6	1		1
	VII	5	3		
	VIII	6	2		2
		<u>30</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>10</u>
Plato	<u>Hp.Mi.</u>	2			
	<u>Chrm.</u>	2	2		1
	<u>La.</u>	2			1
	<u>Ion</u>				1
	<u>Prt.</u>	2	1		2
	<u>Euthphr.</u>		2		4
	<u>Ap.</u>	3	1		2
	<u>Cri.</u>	2			
	<u>Grg.</u>	8	5		2
	<u>Men.</u>	3			2
	<u>Ly.</u>	4	3		
	<u>Mnx.</u>		1		
	<u>Euthd.</u>	5	2		3
	<u>Cra.</u>	11	3	1	2
	<u>Hp.Ma.</u>	2		1	
	<u>Smp.</u>	5	1		
	<u>Phd.</u>	10	6	1	2
	<u>R.I</u>	5			1
	II		1	1	
	III	5	1		3
	IV	5			1
	V	1			1
	VI	2			2
	VII	5			4
	VIII	1	3		1
	IX	3			2
	X	6	1		3
	<u>Prm.</u>	6	3		2
	<u>Tht.</u>	12	1		2
	<u>Phdr.</u>	15	5	1	4
	<u>Sph.</u>	13	3	3	4
	<u>Plt.</u>	11	1		5
	<u>Phlb.</u>	11	1	3	1
	<u>Ti.</u>	2	3	1	2
	<u>Lg.I</u>)	4	2	2	1
	II)				
	III	5	2		3
	IV	2	1	1	3
	V	1			
	VI	2	3		
	VII	7	2	1	
	VIII	2	2	1	
	IX	2	2	1	1
	X	3	3	1	1

Table continues

$\tau\lambda\varsigma$ (4)(a)(i)	$WqWV$	$VWqW$	$WVqW$	$WqVW$
Plato <u>Lg.</u> XI	3		2	
ctd XII	2			2
	<u>197</u>	<u>3</u> <u>70</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>2</u> <u>71</u>
Demosthenes <u>1</u>		1		
<u>2</u>			1	1
<u>3</u>		1	1	
<u>6</u>	1		1	
<u>9</u>	2	1		
<u>13</u>				1
<u>14</u>	2			1
<u>16</u>	1	1		
<u>17</u>	1	1		
<u>18</u>	5	1		1
<u>19</u>	4	1	1	2
<u>20</u>	5			1
<u>21</u>	2	1		2
<u>22</u>	1		1	
<u>23</u>	3	1	1	2
<u>24</u>	2	2		
<u>25</u>	1	1		2
<u>30</u>				1
<u>31</u>				1
<u>32</u>	1			1
<u>35</u>	2	1		
<u>36</u>		1		
<u>37</u>	1			
<u>39</u>	1			
<u>40</u>				1
<u>41</u>			1	
<u>42</u>	1			
<u>47</u>				1
<u>48</u>	2			
<u>50</u>		1		
<u>52</u>	1			2
<u>54</u>	3			
<u>57</u>	1			
<u>58</u>	1	1		
	<u>44</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>19</u>

(4)(a)(ii)	$VqWV$	$VWqV$	$qVWV$
Thucydides I	1		1
II		2	
III	1	2	
IV	1	1	
V	1		
VI	1	1	

Table continues

Luc (4)(a)(ii)	VqWV	VWqV	qVWV
Thucydides VII	1	3	
ctd. VIII	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
	<u>7</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
Plato <u>Hp.Mi.</u>	1		
<u>Chrm.</u>	2	1	
<u>Prt.</u>	2	2	2
<u>Euthphr.</u>	1		
<u>Ap.</u>			1
<u>Cri.</u>	1		
<u>Grg.</u>	1	2	1
<u>Men.</u>	1		1
<u>Ly.</u>	1		
<u>Euthd.</u>	2	1	
<u>Cra.</u>		1	
<u>Smp.</u>	2		1
<u>Phd.</u>	1	1	2
<u>R.I</u>			1
IV			1
VI	1		2
VII	1	1	
X		1	
<u>Frm.</u>	2		
<u>Tht.</u>		2	2
<u>Phdr.</u>	1	1	
<u>Plt.</u>	2	1	2
<u>Phlh.</u>	2	2	
<u>Lg.I</u>)	1		
II)			
IV	1		
V		1	1
VI			1
VII	2		1
VIII		1	1
IX	1		
X		1	
XII		<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
	<u>29</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>22</u>
Demos thenes <u>1</u>	2		
<u>4</u>		1	
<u>14</u>	1		
<u>18</u>	1		
<u>19</u>	2		
<u>21</u>	2		
<u>23</u>		2	2
<u>37</u>	1		
<u>38</u>		1	
<u>44</u>	1		
<u>47</u>			2

Table continues

τις (4)(a)(ii)	VgWV	VWgV	gWVW
Demosthenes <u>51</u>	1		
<u>52</u>			1
<u>54</u>	1		
<u>56</u>		1	
<u>57</u>	<u>1</u>		
	<u>13</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>

(4)(b)(i) gWVW 0.3.54.4 εἰ τέ τι ἄλλο... ἐγένετο ἐπικίνδυνον... 4.31.2 καὶ γὰρ
τι καὶ ἔρυμα αὐτόθι ἦν παλαιὸν..., 109.4 καὶ τι καὶ Χαλκιδικὸν ἐνι
βραχύ. Πλ.ΙΕ 369β /-ἄει σὺ τινος τοιούτους πλέκεις λόγους, Φδ.70β καὶ τινα
δύναμιν ἔχει καὶ φρόνησιν, Π.3.405α ἄρα μή τι μεῖζον ἔξεις λαβεῖν τεκμήριον;
Φδρ.251α καὶ τι πᾶν τότε ὑπῆλθεν αὐτὸν δειμάτων, 272β-γ εἰ τίς πη ῥῶν καὶ
βραχυτέρα φαίνεται ἐπ' αὐτὴν ὁδός, Φλβ.16α εἰ τις τρόπος ἔστι καὶ μηχανή...
Τι.49β ὥστε τινι πιστῆ/βεβαίῳ χρῆσασθαι λόγῳ, 70β ὡς τις ἄδικος περὶ αὐτὰ
γίνεται πρᾶξις..., Ν.3.682γ ὡς παντάπασί τινα μακρὸν ἀπεῖχον χρόνον..., 698δ καὶ
τινα λόγον... ἀφῆμεν φοβερόν, 4.710δ ἔάν ποτέ τινες δύο ἄρχοντες γένωνται τοιοῦτοι,
5.744γ ἢ τισιν ἄλλοις προσαγορευομένους ὀνόμασιν, 744ε ἢ τινι τύχῃ τοιαύτῃ
κτησάμενος ἄλλῃ..., 6.720β ἢ τινος ἑτέρου τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν ἔχοντος πράγματος,
8.829β καὶ τινος ἄει παιδιὰς μηχανᾶσθαι καλὰς..., 858β ἢ καὶ τινος ἑτέρας ἀρχομένους
συστάσεως, 11.915α ἢ τινι τρόπῳ παραδόντα ἄλλῳ... Δημ.23.142 ἐν δὴ Λαμιάσῳ τινες
ἄνθρωποι γίνονται δύο, 39.16 εἰ τις ἄλλη περὶ τοῦνομα γίγνοιτ' ἢ ληξίς δίκης ἢ
δόξ' ὅλως ἀηδῆς.

WgWVW 0.2.70.3 καὶ ἀργύριόν τι ῥητὸν ἔχοντας ἐφοῦδιον. Πλ.Π.3.403α μεῖζω δέ τινα
καὶ ὀξυτέραν ἔχεις εἰπεῖν ἠδονὴν..., Σρ.229γ ἀγνοίας γούν μέγα τί μοι δοιῶ καὶ
χαλεπὸν ἀφωρισμένον ὄραν εἶδος. Δημ.2.1 ... δαιμονίᾳ τινι καὶ θεῖα παντάπασιν
ἔοικεν εὐεργεσίᾳ, 3.33 ἴσως ἂν, ἴσως/-/τέλειόν τι καὶ μέγα κτήσαισθ' ἀγαθόν,
6.24 ἐν δέ τι κοινὸν... κείνηται φυλακίτηριον, 54.13 ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν οὐ μετρίως
τινας καὶ φάυλας λαβὼν πληγὰς...

W...gWV [cf.2.2.11] Πλ.Κρα.425α ... μέγα ἤδη τι καὶ καλὸν καὶ ὅλον συστήσομεν,
Π.10.608ε καιὸν ἐκάστω τι καὶ ἀγαθὸν λέγεις; Ν.12.959α
βοήθειάν τε αὐτῷ μή τινα μεγάλην εἶναι... Δημ.20.3 καὶ συμμαχούς ἤδη τινος
ἦντιους... ἐπέσθησθ' ἐλέσθαι.

W...gVW [cf.2.2.11] 0.6.70.1 καὶ συνέβη βροντὰς τε ἅμα τινος γενέσθαι καὶ
ἀστραπὰς. Πλ.Π.8.567δ κρηθνας, "... "/δοκεῖς αὐ τινὰς
μοι λέγειν ξενικούς τε καὶ παντοδαπούς. Δημ.32.11 ἐκ τούτων ἕνα//πρεσβευτὴν ἐκ
βουλῆς τινα λαμβάνομεν γνώριμον...

WV...gW [cf. 2.2.112] Πλ.Φλβ.25γ θερμότερον ἐσθραγγόμεθα νυνδὴ πού τι καὶ ψυχρότερον.

WVWg Πλ. Πη.^{281A} πρόσχημα δέ μοι ἐστὶ καὶ ἀρχὴ τοιάδε πρὸ τοῦ λόγου

N.6.753β εἴρεσις αὐτῶν ἔστω τοιάδε τις, 771α ἀρχὴ δὲ ἔστω τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἡμῶν νόμων ἡδε τις, 7.794α παιδία δ' εἰσὶν τοῖς τηλικούτοις αὐτοφυεῖς τινες, 8.844δ ὁπώρας δὲ δὴ χρὴ κοινωνίαν ποιεῖσθαι πάντας τοιάνδε τινα, 12.951α θεωροῦς δὲ ἄλλους ἐκπέμπειν χρεῶν τοιούσδε τινάς.

WVW...g [cf. p. 2.2.112] Πλ. Πη. 10.903β ἐπωδῶν γε μὴν προσδεῖσθαι μοι δοκεῖ μύθων ἔτι
τινῶν.

(4)(b)(ii)WVgV Θ.5.14.4 τῶν τε ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεων ὑπέπτευόν τινες ἀποστήσασθαι
... Πλ. Χρμ. 167ε ἀλλ' ἐπιθυμία δοκεῖ τίς σοι εἶναι; Γργ. 477β οὐκοῦν καὶ ἐν ψυχῇ
πονηρίαν ἡγεῖ τινα εἶναι; 495γ οὐ καὶ ἀνδρείαν νυνδὴ ἔλεγες τινα εἶναι...; Εὐαδ. 734ε
τῶν ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἀπιόντων ἔσθ' ὅτι προσελθῶν τίς μοι... ἔφη..., Π. 1.353δ οὐκοῦν καὶ ἀρετὴν
φαμέν τινα ψυχῆς εἶναι; 5.463γ ἔσθ' ὅσπερ αὐτῶν ἔχοι ἂν τῶν θυμολόγων νομίσαι τινα
ἢ προσειπεῖν ὡς ἀλλότριον; Σφ. 246γ ... γένεσιν ἀντ' οὐσίης φερομένην τινα προσασσασθαι
:σιν, N. 6.758ε ... ἐπιμελητῆς δεῖ τινάς ὑποδεδειγμένους εἶναι, 8.844α ἐὰν... τῶν
ὑποκάτω βλάπτῃ τις μὴ διδοῦς... Δημ. 20.83 τῶν δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀφρημένων τι
φαίνηται.

VgVW Πλ. Χρμ. 167δ δοκεῖ τίς σοι εἶναι τοιοῦτη; Γργ. 464α οὐκοῦν καὶ τούτων οἶε τινα
εἶναι ἐκατέρου εὐεξίαν; Κρα. 420γ πάντα ταῦτα ἐπόμεν' ἄττα φαίνεται τῆς βολῆς
ἀπεικάζματα, 439γ πότερον φάμεν τι εἶναι αὐτὸ καλὸν καὶ..., Φδ. 65δ φαμέν τι εἶναι
δίκαιον αὐτὸ..., Π. 1.352γ δοκεῖ τί σοι εἶναι ἵππου ἔργον; 2.357β ἔμοιγε, "...
"δοκεῖ τι εἶναι τοιοῦτον, Φδρ. 234ε οἶε ἂν τινα ἔχειν εἰπεῖν ἄλλον τῶν Ἑλλήνων...,
243γ εἰ γὰρ ἀκούων τις τύχοι ἡμῶν γεννάδας καὶ πρῶτος..., Σφ. 237γ ἀλλ' εἰ σπουδῆ
δέοι συννοήσαντά τινα ἀπορήνασθαι τῶν ἀπροαπῶν..., N. 8.842α ὁπότεν δὴ μοι δόξη τις
παραπεπτωμέναι καιρός, 10.909α ἐὰν μὲν δοκῇ τις σαρρνεῖν αὐτῶν. Δημ. 18.21 εἰ γὰρ
εἶναι τι δοκῶν τὰ μέλιστ' ἐν τούτοις ἀδίημα, 22.4 εἰ μὲν εὐρών τιν'...//οὔσαν ἀπο-
:λογίαν, 4E.10 ὑπενοοῦμεν γὰρ/-ἤξειν τινάς ἀμφισβητήσοντας καὶ ἑτέρους.

WVWg Πλ. Πη. 4.710α ἐὰν μέλλῃ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπαρχόντων ὄφελος εἶναι τι. 10.910β ἐὰν μὲν...
εἰργασμένος ἐνὴρ ἢ.../ κέκτηται τις.

WV...gV [cf. p. 2.2.112] Πλ. Φλβ. 23δ μῶν οὖν σοι καὶ πέμπτου προσδεῖσαι διακρισίν
τινος δυναμένου;

V...gW [cf. p. 2.2.112] Πλ. Πη. 92.1 γῶν μὲν//μῆδ' ἐς ἐπίνοιάν τινα ἡμῶν ἐλθεῖν.

Πλ. Σμπ. 205β ἀφελόντες γὰρ ἄρα τοῦ ἔρωτος τι εἶδος ὀνομάζομεν...

Σφ. 257δ ἔστι τῆ καλῆ τι θατέρου μόριον ἀντιτιθέμενον.

V...qVW [cf.2.2113] Πλ.Φδρ.260ε ὡςπερ γὰρ αἰοῦειν δοκῶ τινῶν προσιδόντων καὶ διαμαρτυρομένων λόγων...

(4)(b)(iii) VWqVW Πλ.Λυ.216δ δοκεῖ μοι ὡςπερ εἶ τρία ἄττα εἶναι γένη, Π.2.37α ἄρα σοι δοκεῖ τοιόνδε τι εἶναι ἀγαθόν; N.7.800ε τόθ' ἔμειν δέον ἂν εἴη μᾶλλον χοροῦς τινας μεμισθωμένους ὁδοῦς. Δημ.23.74 ...νομίσαι δίκαιόν τιν' εἶναι φόνον.

WVqVW Πλ.Τι.31γ δεσιδὼν γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ δεῖ τινα ἀφοσὶν συναγωγὸν γίνεσθαι.

VWqVW Πλ.Χρμ.172δ ὅτι, "...", ῥαδίως ὠμολογήσαμεν μέγα τι ἀγαθὸν εἶναι..., Λα.196ε ...συγχαρεῖν θηρίον τι οὕτω σοφὸν εἶναι..., Φδρ.256α πρὶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐφευρῶν σικαῖόν τινα ἔρωτα ἐλοιδόρησεν... Δημ.20.1 φῆσει δ' ἀναξίλους τινεas ἀνθρώπους εὐρομένους...ἐκδεδυκέναι..., 56.22 φησὶ γὰρ ἑτέρους τινεas δανειστὰs συγκεχωρημέναι....

WqVWV Θ.6.27.2 καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλο τι οἶδεν ἀσέβητα γενόμενον. Πλ.Γργ.45εγ ὥστε... προὔργιαίτερόν τι γενέσθαι ἄλλο πράττειν, Πρμ.132α μὲν τις ἴσως δοκεῖ ἰδέσθαι... εἶναι... Σφ.235ε ὅσοι γε τῶν μεγάλων τι πλάττουσιν ἔργων ἢ γράφουσιν, Π.6.782γ ἰδέσθαι Ὀρφικοί τινεas λεγόμενοι βίοι ἐγίνοντο..., 10.906β βραχὺ δέ τι καὶ τῆδε ἂν τις τῶν τοιούτων ἐνοικοῦν ἡμῖν σαφὲs ἴδοι.

VWVqW Πλ.Κρα.386β ὥστε μοι δοκεῖν πάνυ πονηροῦς εἶναι τινας ἀνθρώπους....

qVWVW Πλ.Φλβ.15β εἴ τινας δεῖ τοιούτους εἶναι μονάδας ὑπολαμβάνειν..., Π.5.636γ οἴομενοι μὲν ἐκίστοτέ τι καλὸν ὄραν πρόγμα γενόμενον,

VqVWV Πλ.Ν.6.769δ ἄρ' οἶει τινα οὕτως ἀφρονα γεγονέναι νομοθέτην...;

VWVqV Πλ.Ν.7.808γ νῦν μὲν δὴ διαγομένη τοιαύτη τις...ἀνδρείαν ἂν τινα προπαρέναι...

WqVWV Πλ.Π.9.588γ καὶ ἄλλαι τινεas συχνὰ λέγονται ξυμπεφυῦσαι ἰδέσθαι πολλὰ εἰς ἐν γενέσθαι.

VWVWq Πλ.Ν.12.961α ὅτι δεῖ σύλλογον ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ πόλει γίνεσθαι τοιόνδε τινα.

We may now sum up the findings from the above tables.

Truth of the contention that $X...q$ is exceptional. The total of $X...q$ is overall far below that of $...q(...)$ X or of Xq . If one considers particular formulations, $X...q$ is almost always rarer than any corresponding $...q(...)$ X(q)... formulation. There are a few cases in which either $X...q$ is relatively frequent or some $...(\underline{q})(...)$ X(q) formulation is relatively infrequent, with the result that the "regular" and the "exceptional" are near the same frequency. In $\alpha\upsilon\tau$ - (2)(a), p.2.3.12 ff., $W...qV$ in Plato is almost equal to WVq : this is not however so in the corresponding columns of Thucydides and Demosthenes; in (2)(b) p.2.3.14 ff., qVW in Thucydides is almost as rare as $V...qW$, and this is true also of Plato and Demosthenes. In μ - (2)(a), p.2.3.23 ff., qVW in Plato is almost as rare as $W...qV$. In $\tau\zeta$ (2)(a), p.2.3.29 ff., $W...qV$ and WVq in Thucydides are virtually equal, and in the corresponding Plato and Demosthenes columns the same situation is approached. But these points do not contradict the general picture of $X...q$ as exceptional. Nowhere is $X...q$ more frequent than a corresponding $...(\underline{q})(...)$ X(q) formulation; a formulation like $W...qV$ must be considered not merely in relation to one other column in the W - V table, but to the whole of the $(\underline{q})(...)$ X(q) formulations in that table; if to any one column, then to WqV , not to WVq , to which properly corresponds $WV...q$. If any $...(\underline{q})(...)$ X(q) formulation is relatively infrequent, this is a point of quite separate interest from that of $...(\underline{q})(...)$ X(q) versus $X...q$ in general.

Comparison of W and V as X-elements. In the tables which follow, (2)(a) and (2)(b), the W - V and V - W tables, have been combined; in a sentence with one W- and one V- element, the alternatives to, say, WqV are not merely qVW , WVq etc., but also qVW etc. They have also been set out so as readily to compare the frequency not only of, say, WqV with $W...qV$, but also of VWq with WVq etc. The results for each author are given first as absolute figures; then as percentages; in the first set, the totals have no significance in themselves, but it is relative to them that the percentages are expressed in the second set.

(1)(a)	αβγ			μ		νς		
	Th.	Pl.	D.	Pl.	D.	Th.	Pl.	D.
qV	449	1222	488	1042	413	295	1627	634
Vq	553	830	629	452	470	65	451	266
V...q	<u>55</u>	<u>98</u>	<u>142</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>19</u>
	<u>1057</u>	<u>2150</u>	<u>1259</u>	<u>1497</u>	<u>909</u>	<u>362</u>	<u>2098</u>	<u>919</u>

(1)(b)								
VqV	149	359	232	107	104	23	132	73
V...qV	<u>23</u>	<u>66</u>	<u>52</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>7</u>
	<u>172</u>	<u>425</u>	<u>284</u>	<u>112</u>	<u>118</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>146</u>	<u>80</u>

(2)(a+b)								
qWV	22	76	11	2	3	125	524	148
qVW	3	14	2	4	3	21	138	65
WqV	92	270	73	11	12	181	979	247
VqW	29	94	17	12	14	68	253	150
W...qV	5	38	15	1		7	42	20
V...qW	2	10	2			3	16	16
WVq	24	41	16		7	6	63	27
VWq	26	76	34	3	5	22	132	33
WV...q	2	5	1				5	1
VW...q	<u> </u>	<u>3</u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
	<u>205</u>	<u>627</u>	<u>161</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>433</u>	<u>2154</u>	<u>708</u>

(3)(a)								
qW	3	10	1			22	450	58
Wq	14	53	19	(3)		80	403	90
W...q	<u> </u>	<u>4</u>	<u> </u>			<u>1</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>1</u>
	<u>17</u>	<u>67</u>	<u>20</u>			<u>103</u>	<u>870</u>	<u>149</u>

(3)(b)								
WqW	4	15	5			21	138	28
W...qW	<u>4</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>1</u>			<u>21</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>
	<u>4</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>6</u>			<u>21</u>	<u>143</u>	<u>30</u>

(1)(a)(%)	$\alpha\beta\tau-$			$\mu-$			$\tau\zeta$		
	Th.	Pl.	D.	Pl.	D.	Th.	Pl.	D.	
$\underline{q}V$	42.5	56.9	38.8	69.6	45.4	81.5	77.5	69.0	
$V\underline{q}$	53.3	38.6	49.2	30.2	52.7	17.9	21.5	28.9	
$V\dots\underline{q}$	5.2	4.5	11.3	0.2	2.9	0.5	0.95	2.1	

(1)(b)(%)

$V\underline{q}V$	86.6	84.5	81.5	95.5	88.1	88.5	91.0	91.25
$V\dots\underline{q}V$	13.4	15.3	18.3	4.5	11.9	11.5	9.0	8.75

(2)(a+b)(%)

$\underline{q}WV$	10.1	12.1	6.9	6.1	6.8	28.9	24.3	20.3
$\underline{q}VW$	1.5	2.2	1.2	12.1	6.8	4.8	6.4	9.2
$W\underline{q}V$	44.9	43.1	45.3	33.3	27.3	41.8	45.45	34.9
$V\underline{q}W$	14.1	15.0	10.5	36.7	31.8	15.7	11.7	21.2
$W\dots\underline{q}V$	2.4	6.1	3.1	3.0		1.6	1.95	2.8
$V\dots\underline{q}W$	1.0	1.6	1.2			0.7	0.7	2.3
$WV\underline{q}$	11.7	6.5	9.9		15.7	1.4	2.9	3.8
$VW\underline{q}$	12.7	12.1	21.1	9.1	11.4	5.1	6.1	4.8
$WV\dots\underline{q}$	1.0	0.8	0.6				0.2	0.1
$VW\dots\underline{q}$		0.5					0.1	0.1

(3)(a)(%)

$\underline{q}W$	17.6	14.9	5.0			21.4	51.7	38.9
$W\underline{q}$	82.4	79.1	95.0			77.7	46.3	60.4
$W\dots\underline{q}$		6.0				1.0	1.9	0.7

(3)(b)(%)

$W\underline{q}W$	100	100	83.3			100	96.5	93.4
$W\dots\underline{q}W$			16.6				3.4	6.6

In (3)(b) above it happens that in Thucydides and Plato $\alpha\beta\tau-$ and in Thucydides $\tau\zeta$ there are no instances of $W\dots\underline{q}W$; but the numbers of $W\underline{q}W$ are not great either. In general \underline{q} is deferred to points later than directly after W much more rarely than after V . Compare the proportions of $V\underline{q}W:V\dots\underline{q}W$ and $W\underline{q}V:W\dots\underline{q}V$ in $\alpha\beta\tau-$ and $\tau\zeta$. The excess of $V\underline{q}W$ over $V\dots\underline{q}W$ is less than that of $W\underline{q}V$ over $W\dots\underline{q}V$ (but note an oddly high proportion of $W\dots\underline{q}V$ in Plato $\alpha\beta\tau-$). Not only "exceptional"

forms of deferment of q beyond W are less usual than the corresponding V situation. Compare WqV:WVq and VqW:VWq in $\alpha\dot{\upsilon}\tau$ - and $\tau\iota\varsigma$. In $\alpha\dot{\upsilon}\tau$ -, WVq is far rarer than WqV in all authors; in $\tau\iota\varsigma$ the same is true, in fact more so; in $\alpha\dot{\upsilon}\tau$ - VWq is about equal to, or commoner than, VqW; in $\tau\iota\varsigma$ the excess of VqW over VWq is far less than that of WqV over WVq. Compare now the V-only with the W-only tables, (1)(a) and (1)(b) with (3)(a) and (3)(b). Here the situation is not so clear; as between (1)(a) and (3)(a), in $\alpha\dot{\upsilon}\tau$ - the proportion of W...q does seem less than that of V...q, there being none at all of W...q in Thucydides and Demosthenes; Plato on the other hand has a slightly higher proportion of W...q; in $\tau\iota\varsigma$ it would be difficult to assert anything certain. As between (1)(b) and (3)(b), it does seem true that the proportions of W...qW are lower than those of V...qV. And so, overall, q is less commonly deferred beyond W than beyond V.

No useful purpose is served by bringing into consideration comparison of VW...q with VWq or WV...q with WVq, since both these forms of XX...q are in all postpositives very rare indeed. This compares interestingly with the comparative commonness of the V...qW and W...qV types of "exception" and with that of V...qV. Presumably the sum of the instances of any X...qX formulation is to be divided into two groups: those composed by the author as X...q + X and those composed as X... + q(...)X. The former are the true exceptions, but the latter go to swell the statistics of X...qX and cannot readily be separated (cf. p. 2.2.77 ff.).

It has already been mentioned that WVq and VWq are rare enough to be comparable in places, especially in $\tau\iota\varsigma$, with W...qV and V...qW. It seems likely that W...qV and V...qW are to be regarded as only semi-exceptional, and fall into a similar category to WVq and VWq, which should be regarded as only semi-regular. Forms of X...qX are exceptional as regards the leading X, regular as regards the trailing X; while in XXq, q is in regular position in so far as it is a case of Xq, exceptional in so far as it is a case of X...q; X...qX and XXq differ more or less as qX and Xq. One may justify the treatment of X...qX as an exception as against that of XXq as regular: XXq always partakes of the nature of Xq, but many cases of X...qX may have been felt as X...q rather than as qX.

These thoughts may be extended to embrace the rarity of $VW...q$ and $WV...q$. One may account for the proportions of the various formulations thus: the normal formulations are WqV and VqW ; less normal, or occasional, are qWV , qVW , WVq and VWq ; $W...qV$ and $V...qW$ may be regarded as occasional (in so far as qX) or exceptional (in so far as $X...q$); but $WV...q$ and $VW...q$ are fully exceptional, owing their rarity to the fact that the "normal" formulations from which they are a departure are the "occasional" WVq and VWq , whereas $W...qV$, $V...qW$, WVq and VWq are departures from the extremely common WqV and VqW . For $Xq(...)$ versus $X(...)$ Xq , figures have been gathered only for cases where the two elements are of the different types, i.e. WVq and VWq , VVq and WWq being treated as forms of Vq and Wq . But the impression is gained that in any sentence of $(...)X(...)X(...)$ the norm is $Xq(...)$ X and that $qX(...)$ X and $X(...)$ Xq are less common.

Comparison of different postpositives. In comparing W and V as X -elements (p.2.3.44 ff. above), no mention was made of μ -: partly because W is less commonly involved there, but partly because μ - is anomalous by comparison with the "norm" presented by the other two postpositives. It stands out by the unusually high proportion of qVW (in Plato), VqW , and in Demosthenes WVq . Also μ - has an unusually high overall proportion of $V-W$ against $W-V$ ($W-V:V-W$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau$ - 68.9:31.1%, μ - 46.75: 53.2%, $\tau\iota\varsigma$ 72.1:27.9%). This is due in part to the high proportion of VqW already mentioned (cf. p.2.2.6), but also qVW is commoner in μ - than qWV , whereas the reverse is usually the case. On the other hand the high proportion of WVq in Demosthenes seems to be an opposite tendency, though it too is something that differentiates μ - from the other two postpositives. It may be then not so much that there is in μ - a preference for $V-W$ as against $W-V$, but that μ - is felt to be more closely connected in general with V and less with W than the other postpositives; so that qVW is more than usually preferred to qWV , VqW to WqV , WVq to VWq ; with μ - there are almost no simple qW/Wq cases (p.2.3.34).

As between $\alpha\upsilon\tau$ - and $\tau\iota\varsigma$: both prefer $W-V$ to $V-W$; yet in both, VWq is preferred to WVq . This would suggest in both a preference for

putting q in proximity rather to W than to V, explaining why qWV exceeds qVW by a greater proportionate margin than WqV exceeds VqW: it is not merely an expression of preference for W-V over V-W. In line with this, the margin of preference for W...qV over V...qW and for WV...q over VW...q, is comparatively small - it makes no difference to the proximity of q to W. Even in the case of WqV:VqW a considerable component of the margin could result from a preference for Wq, rather than from peninitialism within the phrase (which almost certainly does have some importance) or from general preference for W-V over V-W. On the other hand preference for W-V over V-W is probably not negligible either; verbs do tend to stand late in the sentence (Dover p.25ff.); and in the tables, VqW, though it does exceed WVq, does so by a far smaller margin than qWV exceeds qVW.

And so the overall comparison between μ - and the other two postpositives suggests that $\alpha\dot{\tau}$ - and $\tau\zeta$ have a higher proportion of W-V than V-W, explained partly by simple preference for W-V, but partly by a desire to put q in proximity to W rather than to V, where a W-element is present. In μ - on the other hand the greater proportion of V-W than in the other two seems to result from a desire to place q in proximity to V. But in μ - it would be difficult to assert, in correspondence to the assertion on $\alpha\dot{\tau}$ - and $\tau\zeta$, any genuine preference for V-W over W-V in themselves, apart from the above desire; V-W does not in μ - exceed W-V by much; it is just a little over 50-50; and comparison between qWV:qVW and WVq:VWq is difficult to make conclusively. It seems likely that in all three postpositives there is a tendency towards W-V, which in $\alpha\dot{\tau}$ - and $\tau\zeta$ is reinforced by a wish to put q close to W, but in μ - is diminished by a wish to put q close to V.

Above are some resemblances between $\alpha\dot{\tau}$ - and $\tau\zeta$ and differences from μ -. But there are also differences between $\alpha\dot{\tau}$ - and $\tau\zeta$. The latter has many characteristics which appear to result from peninitialism: qV consistently strongly preferred to Vq (whereas $\alpha\dot{\tau}$ - prefers Vq and μ - is variable); a less strong preference in $\tau\zeta$ than in $\alpha\dot{\tau}$ - for Wq against qW; stronger preference for VqV against V...qV; and possibly for VqW against W...qW, though this is doubtful; an unusually high proportion

of both forms of qXX and small proportion of those of XXq .

Comparison of authors' practice. $\alpha\upsilon\tau$ - (1)(a):- Vq is preferred by Thucydides and Demosthenes, $q(\dots)V$ by

Plato. Demosthenes has a higher proportion of $V\dots q$ than the others.

(1)(b):- In the tables on pp.2.3.44 ff. no significant difference is seen between authors, but the separate totals on pp.2.3.8 ff. do show some possible differences. There appears in (i) to be an increase in $V\dots qV$ in the order Th.:Pl.:Dem., the greater difference being between Thucydides and Plato. In (ii) Demosthenes has a higher proportion than the others of $V\dots qV$. But in both the differences are slight.

(2)(a+b):- In all three authors the commonest formulation is WqV and the rarest $VW\dots q$, and the other formulations are arranged between these extremes in the same order in all three authors, with the following exceptions: whereas in Thucydides and Plato the second commonest is VqW , Demosthenes prefers VWq to that, having VqW only as third preference; and while Thucydides and Demosthenes agree in having VWq as fourth preference, Plato prefers qVW to that. There are also proportionate differences which do not amount to differences in order of preference: Plato has a higher proportion of $W\dots qV$ and a lower of VWq than the others; Demosthenes has a lower proportion of qVW than Thucydides, though in both it is fifth preference. (3)(a):- Only Plato has any $W\dots q$ (but has higher absolute numbers than the others throughout); Demosthenes has hardly any $q(\dots)W$. (4)(b):- absent from Thucydides, though found in small numbers in Plato and Demosthenes, is $WVWq$; absent from Demosthenes, though present in the others, are $VWVq$, $qVWV$, $V\dots qVW$; no formulation found in Thucydides and Demosthenes is absent from Plato; found in Thucydides only is $WVWqW$; only in Plato $WVqV$, (the only one in any quantity), $W\dots qVW$, $WqVWV$, $VWqVW$; only in Demosthenes $VW\dots qV$.

Are there any recognisable tendencies throughout any author? Plato is strong in formulations of qX type, with high proportions of qV , qVW and qVW ; Demosthenes is more given to Wq than the rest, with Wq "the rule" in (3)(a), and high proportions of WqV and VWq , the last being especially distinct; Thucydides tends more towards Vq , with the highest proportion among the three of Vq in (1)(a), and of VqV in (1)(b), while VWq also follows this tendency.

So much for $\alpha\beta\tau$. In μ : (1)(a), Demosthenes has rather more $V...q$, and a much higher proportion of Vq , than Plato. (1)(b): Demosthenes has far more $V...qV$. Beyond this numbers are too small for reliable inference.

In $\pi\zeta$, (1)(a):- Demosthenes seems to have a higher proportion of $V...q$. (2)(a+b):- WqV is in all the first preference, but beyond that differences appear. Thucydides and Plato agree in having qWV as second preference, followed by VqW , but in Demosthenes VqW is slightly more than equal to qWV . Plato and Demosthenes agree in having qVW as fourth preference, but in Thucydides, VWq is equal to it; so that in Thucydides WVq is equal to qVW , in Plato qVW leads slightly, while in Demosthenes it leads by a much wider gap. Plato and Demosthenes agree in having WVq as sixth preference, but to that Thucydides prefers $W...qV$, which in Plato and Demosthenes is seventh. For the rest the authors are in virtual agreement. In qXX and XqX Demosthenes has less of a preference than the others for the $W-V$ formulation, more for the $V-W$. (3)(a):- Thucydides has the highest proportion of Wq , Plato of $W...q$.

Chapter Two ctd: Section Four

Appendix B.

The following is a list of all those sentences in which, as a result of Rule XXV, XXVI or XXVII, q is at once in first and last "possible" position (see p.2.1.4). It is not intended to include sentences in which q, while in first "possible" position, is also in the last because the sentence ends after q or the group of postpositives including q, or in which the remainder of the sentence consists of a subordinate clause (Rule VII) as in ἐστὶν ὁ... The sentences which are collected here are those in which there is one X-element only, and that initial or preceded only by such expressions as, under some Rule or other, preclude q from following them, i.e. from preceding the X-element; Rule XXV, XXVI or XXVII then prohibits q from occurring later than directly after the X-element. This constitutes one class only of the large number of sentences in which q is simultaneously in first and last "possible" position; the others have not been recorded.

The lists of different postpositives are differently divided. In αὐτῶν, which follows, (1) lists sentences beginning simply with Vq...; (2), where V and q are separated by one or more other postpositives of any kind; (3) sentences introduced by one prepositive or quasi-prepositive which αὐτῶν under Rules XVIII, XIX, XX 'cannot' directly follow (with or without other intervening postpositives), (a) καί in Thucydides, (b) ditto in Plato and Demosthenes, (c) other prepositives (exceptions to Rule XX are so common with καί in Thucydides that it is arguable that the Rule does not there apply to καί); (4) sentences introduced by two prepositives or quasi-prepositives, καὶ μή, πῶς οὐ, καὶ πῶς κτλ., (Rule XII), but cases like καὶ εἰ (Rule XI) are included in (3); (5) sentences as in (1)-(4), except that V is not a verb in the ordinary sense (p.2.1.24). In (6) are cases of Wq..., subdivided: (a) W is itself a prepositive: (b) W initial, whether or not accompanied by other postpositives, (c) W preceded by prepositives which q under Rules XVIII, XIX, XX 'cannot' directly follow.

αὐτ· (1) Vq...@.1.31.2 ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἐλθοῦσιν...γενέσθαι... (≅ 72.1, 4.15.1, 15.2, 7.74.1) 121.1 καταθησόμεθα αὐτὸν... 2.76.2 ὑπαγομένου αὐτοῖς... 2.2.3 στερήσεσθαι αὐτοὺς..., 70.3, 96.1 4.32.1, 40.2 5.50.5, 64.1 6.23.3 7.14.3. Πλ.ΙΗ 373α δέου αὐτοῦ... Πρτ.319δ συμβουλευεῖ αὐτοῖς..., 320δ, 321α, 325ε, 339ε· Ευθφρ.3β· Γργ.503α, 505β εἴργειν αὐτὴν δεῖ..., 523γ· Μεν.86α· Μνξ.242γ· 242γ· Ευθδ.274β· Smp.179β, 210γ· Φδ.88α, 103β, 112α· Π.1.330δ· 2.360β, 361γ, 366α· 3.390ε· 7.538γ· 9.587α· 10.608α· Θτ.191δ, 199α· Φδρ.232δ, 264ε (τ)· Σφ.235β. 235γ· Πλτ.272β· Τι.48β· Ν.3.692δ· 6.783β· 11.938β· 12.945α, 969α· Δημ.18.134 χειροτονησάντων αὐτὸν..., 139 δὸτ' αὐτῶ... 19.115, 261· 20.21· 21.175· 23.160 λέγ' αὐτοῖς (≅ 24.64, 37.33, 54.36)· 23.77· 24.79, 103· 25.29· 27.57· 28.2· 32.17· 33.35· 43.33· 44.7, 46· 47.26, 36, 36· 49.16· 50.38· 52.14, 20· 56.18· 58.8 καλούντων αὐτὸν... 59.9, 66, 122.

In Th.I.31.2 above, ἐλθοῦσι γενέσθαι is the equivalent of ἐλθεῖν καὶ γενέσθαι, so that q is in last "possible" position under Rule XXV.

(2) Vq(q...@.1.23.4 ἤρξαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ..., 24.1 προσκοῦσι δ' αὐτὴν..., 44.1 ἐλύοντ' ἂν αὐτοῖς..., 45.3, 53.1, 93.3, 95.5, 107.4, 115.5, 137.3· 2.22.2 ἀνείλοντο μέντοι αὐτοὺς..., 23.2, 52.1, 58.2, 84.1, 85.2, 101.2· 3.51.1, 52.2 92.3· 4.3.2, 16.2, 17.3, 53.3, 68.5, 79.3, 96.3, 96.9, 110.2, 131.2· 5.15.2, 30.2, 30.2, 41.2, 50.3, 46.5, 57.2, 72.1, 76.2, 83.1 ὑπῆρχε δέ τι αὐτοῖς... 6.2.3. 5.1, 35.2, 52.1, 64.1, 67.2, 88.9, 92.1 γίνεσθαι δέ τι αὐτῶν..., 97.4· 7.1.4 (τ), 20.2, 25.4, 65.1, 67.4· 8.6.3, 11.2, 16.3, 32.1, 32.2, 50.3 ... ἅμα λέγει τε αὐτοῖς...καὶ..., 64.4, 69.4, 79.3, 80.2, 84.1, 92.5 ξυνεπελάβοντο δὲ αὐτοῖς... (τ), 98.2, 98.3 (τ), 108.5. Πλ.Χρμ.156δ ἔμαθον δ' αὐτὴν..., Ιων 536α ὀνομάζομεν δὲ αὐτὸ..., Πρτ.309β, 315δ, 318γ, 337α, 343γ, 347ε, Ευθφρ.2β, Απ.20α, Γργ.492δ, 510β φοβοῖτο δήπου ὄν αὐτὸν..., 510γ, Μεν.85γ, 90β, Λυ.207β, Ευθδ.273β, 280γ χρώμεθα δ' αὐτοῖς μή (≅ 280γ, 280δ) 298δ, 306γ, Κρα.383β, 396α (τ), 412γ, ΠΙ 283α, Σμπ.175γ, 176β (τ) 212δ, 217γ, Φδ.60γ (τ), 61δ, 67δ, 70γ, 71β, 76δ, Π.2.359δ, 369γ, 3.394γ, 398α, 4.425β, 5.467γ, 6.490α, 505γ, 7.522γ, 534δ, 538β καὶ πείθεσθαι τε αὐτοῖς..., 8.544δ, 9.588δ, 588δ, 589γ, 10.617β, 619γ, Πρμ.155α, Θτ.190γ, 192α, Πλτ.306ε, Φλβ.48β. Τι.50β δεικνύντας δὴ τινος αὐτῶν..., Ν.4.717β, 720γ, 5.727δ, 741ε, 6.752β, 777δ, 783γ, 7.806δ, 812ε, 9.860ε, 867β, 10.889α, 892β (τ), 898α, 901δ, 905γ, 909γ, 11.919ε, 12.943β, 958γ. Δημ.15.26 εἴχετε δ' αὐτὴν..., 18.89 λέγε δ' αὐτοῖς... (≅ 289, 19.32, 38, 51, 23.28, 37.28, 45.28), 104, 19.210 (τ), 317,

320 ἤνικ' ἔστασίαζε μὲν αὐτῷ... 20.54, 21.4, 23.14, 191, 24.71 λαβὲ δ' αὐτοῖς... (= 27.41), 114, 33.14, 17, 20, 34.25, 37, 37.15, 40.6, 6, 56, 41.3, 47.5 (τ), 50, 57, 69, 49.9, 19 (τ), 50.36, 52.6, 6, 31, 53.12, 54.5, 59.7, 9, 19, 30, 45.

In Euthd.280c bis, 280d and Th.192a, all above, q could not follow μη (Rule XX). In Thuc.VI.92.1 and Pl.Ti. 50b, τι/τινος is a W-element, but does not affect the classification as 'first and last', in view of the convention that adjacent postpositives occupy a single 'position'. Cf. Dem.24.130 in (3)(c) below.

(3) (a) καὶ in Thuc. 1.3.2 καὶ ἐπαγομένων αὐτοῖς..., 19 καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς. 33.4, 134.3: 2.47.3, 74.3, 91.1, 102.6° 3.29.2, 55.3, 100.2° 4.12.1, 12.1, 75.1, 78.1, 88.1, 100.1, 127.2° 5.35.7, 82.4, 84.1° 6.42.2, 72.2, 72.5, 97.1° 7.1.2, 25.4, 42.3, 50.4° 8.5.1, 5.2, 35.4, 39.2, 48.1, 64.1, 66.3 (τ), 69.4, 79.1, 81.1.

(β) καὶ in Pl. & Dem. Πλ.Χρμ.153γ καὶ διηγούμενην αὐτοῖς..., Ευθφρ. 6ε καὶ χρώμενος αὐτῇ..., Γργ. 462α, Ἰνξ. 244α καὶ διαλλάττειν αὐτοῖς//... Κρα. 361γ, 403β, 430ε, Π1 282δ, 286β, 289δ, Φδ. 94ε, Π. 1.336δ, 6.500γ, 511ε, 7.525γ, 9.574γ καὶ καταδουλώσασθαι ἂν αὐτοῖς..., Φδρ. 253α, Φλβ. 17β, Ν. 2.655δ καὶ ἐπαινεῖν αὐτὰ καὶ προσαγορεύειν καλὰ..., 3.680δ, 695γ, 10.897γ. Δημ. 15.15 καὶ παρὸν αὐτοῖς..., 21.102, 22.61, 28.10, 30.35 (τ), 38.14, 40.7, 43.19, 38, 68, 44.10, 45.12, 47.45, 68, 49.12, 26, 50.53, 54.5, 59.15, 27, 29, 31, 31, 88, 121.

In Ἰξ. II 655d above, there are in fact two verbs; but if q were placed after the second, that would infringe Rule VIII. Cf. Ἰξ. XI 927b in (c) below; that is assigned to (c) and not (b) because of the operation of Rule XIII.

(γ) Other prepositives under Rules XVIII-XX. Θ. 4.29.3 ὥστε προσπίπτειν ἂν αὐτοῖς... 5.38.3° 7.26.1 ἐπεὶ ξυνελέγη αὐτῷ ... 36.6 οὐκ οὔσης αὐτοῖς... 8.25.4, 48.5, 84.5 ὁ μὲντοι Δίχας οὔτε ἠρέσατο αὐτοῖς ἔφη τε... Πλ.Πρτ. 311α ὥστε θάρρει καταληφόμεθα αὐτόν//..., 314α, 316δ τοὺς δὲ μεταχειρίζομένους αὐτήν..., 353γ οὐκοῦν ἐροίμεθ' ἂν αὐτοῖς..., Γργ. 501β οὔτε μέλον αὐταῖς..., 516δ, Λυ. 217δ καὶ μὴν παρείη γ' ἂν αὐταῖς..., Ἰνξ. 244δ, Π1 290δ, Σμπ. 184δ τῷ πεποιῶντι αὐτόν... (τ)

192β, 211α, Π.1.334γ, 344δ, 346β, 2.369α, 3.396β, 5.466β, 7.516δ, 8.555γ, 9.588ε, 10.598δ, 621α καὶ γὰρ εἶναι αὐτὸ... , Θτ.146ε, 202β (τ), 203β, Φδρ.255α, 260ε, 271γ, Σφ.232α, 260β μὴ μειγνυμένου μὲν αὐτοῦ... , Πλτ.269γ, 269δ, 282ε, 282ε, 301α, Φλβ. 48ε, Τλ.25α, 72γ, 85δ, Κριτι.119δ, Ν.2.673ε τοῦ κρατεῖν αὐτῶν ἕνεκα, 4.717γ, 6.754α, 763ε, 766γ, 769ε, 772γ, 8.831β, 9.859α (τ), 880γ, 10.893ε, 899δ, 11.927β καὶ τιμῶσιν τε αὐτοὺς εὐμενεῖς εἶναι καὶ ἀτιμάζουσι δυσμενεῖς· 12.948α. Δημ.1.5 τοὺς παραδόντας αὐτῶ... , 4.4, 13.35, 14.45, 17.12, 14, 18.30, 142, 213 ἢ διέντας αὐτοὺς... , 19.117, 21.17, 41, 24.130 εἶτα φείσασθαι τινος αὐτῶν... , 131, 27.17, 33.25 ὥστ' ἐνεδέχετο αὐτῶ... , 37 ἀλλὰ/ο/(/)μαρτυρήσει τις αὐτῶ... , 35.19, 36.10, 40.29 (τ), 43.77, 48.53, 50.55, 52.18, 20, 39, 85, 113, 121 καὶ τῶν μαρτυρεῖν αὐτῶ παρεσιευασμένων· 58.19, οὐκ ἐκτελειότος αὐτῶ... , 31 ὁ ποιησάμενος αὐτὸν υἱόν.

On Dem.24.130 above cf. on Th.VI.92.1 and Pl.Ti.50b in (2) above.
On Lg XI 927b, cf. on (3)(b) preceding.

In (3) above obs. that Thucydides has most cases in καί-sentences, Plato most in sentences beginning with other prepositives; possibly merely the result of difference between narrative and dialogue.

(4) Θ.1.28.1 ὡς οὐ μετὸν αὐτοῖς...· 2.23.1 ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐπέξῃσαν αὐτοῖς...·
5.6.3 ὥστε οὐκ ἂν ἔλαθεν αὐτὸν... (τ), 40.2 εἰ μὴ μείνειν αὐτοῖς... ,
70 καὶ μὴ διασπασθεῖν αὐτοῖς...· 8.10.1 ὅπως μὴ λήσουσιν αὐτοὺς... (τ), Πλ.Γργ. 504ε ὁ μὴ ὄνησει αὐτὸ... , 520γ καὶ μὴ συνδέμενος αὐτῶ... , Μεν.94δ, Φδ.82γ, 88α μὴ οὐ πονεῖν αὐτὴν... , Π.1.341ε, 3.416ε, Πρμ.163ε ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ἔστι γε αὐτῶ... , Θτ.183α (τ), 183β, 187α, Ν.9.876δ. Δημ.25.4 καὶ οὐκ ἔξδν αὐτῶ... , 34.5 ἀλλ' ὡς οὐδ' ἐνήν αὐτῶ... , 36.60 (τ), 38.11, 41.3, 43.50, 44.59, 45.21 πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἀνηρόμην αὐτὴν... , 47.51 καὶ τῶ μὴ ἐθέλειν αὐτὸν... , 80, 50.61, 52.22 ὥστε μήτε παρακαλεῖν αὐτὸν... , 53.13, 58.44 καὶ μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτῶ... , 59.59.

(5) Θ.7.78.5 καὶ ἐκατέρωθεν αὐτοῦ...· Πλ.Λα.187ε ἀνάγκη αὐτῶ//... ,
Γργ.512γ ἱκανὸς γὰρ αὐτῶ... , Μεν.88γ καὶ ἀναγκάϊον αὐτῶ... ,
Ευθδ.273α ὅπισθεν δὲ αὐτοῦ... , 275β ὄνομα δ' αὐτῶ... , Πι 294β ἀνάγκη αὐτοῖς μεγάλους εἶναι, Σμπ.192α τὸ ὅμοιον αὐτοῖς ἀσπαζόμενοι (τ), 204β αἰτία δ' αὐτῶ... (τ), Π.1.351β ἢ ἀνάγκη αὐτῶ... (τ), 2.380α ἐξευρετέον αὐτοῖς... , 5.456β καὶ συγγενεῖς αὐτοῖς... , 7.535β οἰκειότερος γὰρ αὐταῖς... (τ), Πλτ.259α ἔο' οὐκ ἀναγκάϊον αὐτῶ... , 310γ καὶ τῶ τοὺς μὲν προσομοίους αὐτοῖς ἀσπάζεσθαι... ,

Φλβ.56α οὐκοῦν μεστὴ μὲν που αὐτῆς ἀγλητιῆ... (τ). Δημ.2.58 ὁ σύμμαχος αὐτοῖς Θίλιππος, 57.36 Ἰανὸν γὰρ αὐτοῖς..., 44 εὐορκον αὐτοῖς..., 52.15 ὥστε καὶ ἀνεπίφθονον αὐτῷ...·.

In Smn 192A and Plt.310c above, possibly article-adjective-q should be taken in isolation (Rule VI, ὁμοτος having the status of V); if so, both would be omitted from the list since Rule VI rather than XXV would signify.

(6) (α) Πλ.Π.2.361γ ὁπότερος αὐτοῦν εὐδαιμονέστερος, 8.568γ ὅσοιπέρ γε αὐτῶν κομφοί, Θδρ.269γ ὅσον δὲ αὐτοῦ τέτυχη, Φλβ.18ε ὁπότερον αὐτοῦν αἰρετέον, Τι.67β ὅση δ' αὐτῆς ταχεῖα. Η.1.644δ ὅτι ποτ' αὐτῶν ἀμεινον ἢ χειρόν.

(β) Πλ.Κρα.395α σημεῖον δὲ αὐτοῦ ἢ...μονή..., Η.4.426α τόδε αὐτῶν οὐ χαρίεν, 8.552γ τοὺς δὲ...·) ἐνίους μὲν αὐτῶν..., Θτ.205δ μέρη δ' αὐτῆς..., Τι.67ε τὸ δ' ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ...·.

(γ) Θ.5.67.1 καὶ οἱ ἱππῆς αὐτῶν...·. Πλ.Μεν.87α περὶ τῆς ἐντάσεως αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν κύβηλον, Η.Ι 292ε καὶ τῷ πάππῳ αὐτοῦ Αἰσάφ, Η.5.470δ καὶ οὐδέτεροι αὐτῶν φιλοπόλιδες, 7.515α εἰς τὸ καταντικρυθὺ αὐτῶν τοῦ σπηλαίου, 527γ καὶ γὰρ τὰ πάρεργα αὐτοῦ... 10.598δ καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα αὐτῆς Ὀμηρον. Δημ.27.10 τὸ δ' ἔργον αὐτῶν..., 23 καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν..., 33.5 καὶ πολίτης αὐτοῦ Παρμένων, 39.35 τὸν ἀδελφὸν δ' αὐτοῦ Παμφίλον, 57.41 παρὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτῆς Τιμοκράτους...·.

That completes the list of αὐτ-. Observe that Plato alone has instances in (6)(a) and (b).

In the μ- instances which follow below, the identity of the individual X-element is more important than in αὐτ-. The primary division is into (1) V(q)q... and (2) p(q...·)V(q...·), (3) where V is not a verb, and (4) where X is a W-element. Only (1) and (2) are sub-divided; in this case the sub-division is the same in both, into (a) sentences with δοκεῖν, (b) with conversational or courtroom formulae like λέγε μοι, (c) others. In the (a) instances, all with φαίν- instead of δοκ- have been quoted. Sentences with δοκεῖ are much more common in (1) than in (2); this is merely because the prepositively-introduced version of this wording usually has καὶ or ἀλλά· δοκεῖ δέ μοι... is "first and last" but καὶ δοκεῖ μοι... is not, because καὶ μοι... is a perfectly "possible"

position. The same applies to the (b) sentences, the conversational commands and courtroom formulae, where also the usual prepositival version has καί or ἀλλά.

μ (1) V(a)q... (α) δοκεῖν Θ.2.42.2 δοκεῖ δέ μοι... 6.34.2 8.56.3, 64.5 δοκεῖν δέ μοι καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις... Πλ.Χρμ.154α φαίνεται δέ μοι..., 160ε δοκεῖ τοίνυν μοι, "..., "ἀισχύνεσθαι..., 162γ δοκεῖ γάρ μοι..., 166ε, Λα.186γ δοκοῦσι δὴ μοι..., 187δ /-/ δοκεῖς μοι... 192β, 194γ δοκεῖτε τοίνυν μοι..., 197ε, 199α, 200γ, Πρτ.319α, 320γ, 330ε ἐδόξατέ μοι φάναι..., 340α δοκῶ οὖν μοι..., Ευθφρ.12δ φαίνῃ γάρ μοι..., Απ.21γ, Γργ, 453α, 478δ φαίνεται μοι..., 484β, 506β, 518β, Μεν.72δ, 77β, 79α, 89α, 89γ, 96γ, Δυ.207δ, 213δ, 213ε, 216δ, Μνξ.237α, ΙΗ 285β, Κρα.386ε, 395γ, 396δ, 397γ, 397γ φαίνονται μοι..., 399ε, 400γ δοκοῦσι μέντοι μοι... (τ), 401β καταφαίνεται μοι..., 402γ φαίνει τί μοι λέγειν (τ), 413δ φαίνει μοι/-/..., 415β, 415γ, 428β, 428δ, 438β δοκεῖς τί μοι λέγειν/-/, 438ε, Σπκ. 172α, 177δ, 190γ, 194ε, 201ε, 213ε, 217γ, 218γ, Φδ.72α, 78γ, 86δ, 87α, 99δ, 99ε, Π.1.327γ, 328ε, 2.368α, 368β, 368δ, 3.412ε, 4.422γ, 430β, 433β, 5.470β φαίνεται μοι//..., 6.511γ (τ), 7.541β, 541β, 8.547γ, 559δ φαίνεται δέ μοι..., 9.578γ, Πρμ.135ε, Θτ.142γ, 146γ, 151ε, 155γ δοκεῖς γοῦν μοι... (τ), 164γ φαινόμεθά μοι..., 181α, 181β, 197α φαίνεται γάρ μοι..., 205α, 208ε ἐφαίνετό τί μοι λέγεσθαι..., Φδρ.269δ, 279α, Σφ.229δ, ΙΛτ. 282δ, 284δ, Φλβ.25ε φαίνῃ γάρ μοι..., 32β, 38ε (τ), Ν.1.626γ, 626δ, 638γ, 3.680β, 686δ, 7.811γ ἔδοξαν δ' οὖν μοι..., 10.891δ, 893α, 903α, 962γ. Δημ.4.31 δοκεῖτε δέ μοι..., 42 δοκεῖ δέ μοι..., 16.16, 21.75 δοκοῦσι δέ μοι καὶ...πολλοί, 23.74, 36.27.

(1)(β) court etc. formulae Πλ.Απ.32α ἐκούσατέ δὴ μοι..., Κρα.422ε ἀποκρίναι δέ μοι..., Φδ.71δ λέγε δὴ μοι... (τ) (≡ Δημ.32.23, 37.17, 32, 54), Π.10.597ε εἶπε δέ μοι..., Θτ.182α σιόπει δὴ μοι..., 191γ θές δὴ μοι..., Πλτ.263γ φράσον δὴ μοι... Δημ.18.37 λέγε μοι... (≡ 154 (τ), 211, 305, 21.21), 137 κἄλει μοι... (≡ 19.146, 162, 213, 233, 21.82, 93, 107, 121, 174, 25.58, 62, 37.31, 53.25, 57.43, 58.35, 59.47, 48, 54, 84), 19.31 δὸς δέ μοι..., 61 φέρε δὴ μοι... (τ), 165 λαβέ μοι... (≡ 20.92, 115, 127, 23.174, 30.17, 17 (τ), 33.13, 26, 34.15, 37, 36.13, 16, 22, 24, 40 (τ), 48, 37.15, 39.20, 38, 40.35, 41.11, 42.29, 45.61, 46.21, 47.27, 55.21, 27, 58.17), 21.207 λαβέ δὴ μοι... (≡ 33.27, 34.16, 42, 36.25, 37.35 (τ), 45.31 (τ), 48.34 (τ), 54.24 (τ),

57.40, 44, 59.85), 24.144 ἀκούσατέ μου..., 25.58 κάλει δέ μοι...,
40.33 ἀνάγνωθι μοι... (≅ 47.48, 77, 49.42, 43, 61, 50.40), 43.66 ἀνάγνωθι
δέ μοι... (τ) (≅ 56.36), 57.20 κάλει δὴ μοι... (τ) (≅ 23).

(1)(γ) others 0.1.13.1 δηλοῖ δέ μοι... 4.87.3 προσεῖναι δέ τί
μοι... Πλ.Χρμ.157β διδάσκων οὖν με..., Λα.180ε
περιφέρει δέ τίς με..., Πρτ.320δ νείμαντος δέ μου, "...", "...", 361δ
ἤρεσεν οὖν μοι..., Λπ.36β τιμᾶται δ' οὖν μοι..., Λυ.203β δειξας μοι...,
210ε ἐπήλθε γάρ μοι..., Κρα.413β κατεγέλα μου οὗτος ἀκούσας (τ) Π.286α,
286β, 304ε, Σμπ.197γ, 201ε, 213β ἔλλοχῶν αὖ με... κατέκεισο, Φδ.115δ, Π.1.338α,
Πρμ.127α, Θτ.187δ θράττει μέ πως..., Φδρ.228ε ἐκκέκρουκας με..., 279β /-/δοίητέ
μοι..., Τλ.19β προσέοικεν δέ δὴ τινί μοι τοιῦδε..., Ν.8.835δ, Δημ.21.14
ἐπηρεάζων μοι... (τ), 36 ἀπήγγελλέ τρῖνυν τίς μοι..., 191 γεγραφέναι
μέντοι μοι..., 29.5, 30.3 ἐπειδὴ οὖν συναποστερεῖ τέ με..., 8, 31.2, 33.5,
6, 27 ἐδεδίκαστο γάρ ἄν μοι..., 38 εἴρηται μοι..., 36.20 ἔβλαψέ με..., 37.40
ἀναγιγνώσκει μοι... (τ), 38.2 βοηθήσαι μοι... (= 45.1, 54.2), 39.38, 40.4,
13, 47.49, 35 ἀποκριναμένου δέ μοι... (≅ 51, 49.55), 64, 68, 69, 71, 49.19,
50.12, 31 (τ), 37, 40, 47, 47, 53, 56, 58, 53.5, 6, 55.30, 57.2 (≅ 14),
12, 59.12..

In Gra.413b above, q has been taken with the main verb, not the
participle; perhaps it should be taken as common to both, in which case
it is no longer 'first and last'. In Dem.30.3, q 'belongs' exclusively
to the τε member and is precluded by Rule IV from preceding the verb
(see convention under Rule XIII, p.2.1.10 ff); in this case Rule XIII
does not apply. cf Th.IV 85.3 in (4) below.

(2) pV...etc.(α) δοκεῖν 0.4.59.1 τὴν δοκοῦσάν μοι βελτίστην γνώμην
εἶναι. Πλ.Ευθφρ.12β οὐ δοκεῖ μοι...
Κρι.43δ ἀλλὰ δοκεῖ μέν μοι ἤξειν... Δημ.9.19 ὥστ' οὐδὲ δοκεῖ μοι...,
18.220 ὥστ' οὐκ ἐδόκει μοι...

In Cri 43d above Rule IV does not apply; that q 'cannot' precede
the verb depends entirely on Rule XIII, for there is no expressed antithesis
to μέν, and we cannot call q 'common' or otherwise. In Euthphr. 12b and
Dem.18.220, both with οὐ δοκεῖ μοι..., there is a difficulty; these are
'first and last' under Rule XXI, that q does not directly follow οὐ.
But among the exceptions to Rule XXI (p.2.2.49), cases of οὐ μοι with

δοκεῖν are so numerous that it seems that οὐ μοι δοκεῖ is formulaic and οὐ δοκεῖ μοι rare. From this point of view our instances here have q in 'second possible position'; but the lists are drawn up according to the formal wording of the Rules, which makes οὐ μ- exceptional and οὐ δοκεῖ μοι 'first and last'. With other verbs the Rule is perfectly valid.

(2) (β) court etc. formulae Πλ.Ν.10.891β ἀλλὰ δὴ λέγε μοι... (τ).

In Pl.Lg.X 891b above, obs. that though ἀλλά μ- is normal Rule XXI applies to ἀλλὰ δὴ.

(2) (γ) others. Θ.6.16.1 καὶ προσήκει μοι...*. Πλ.Χρμ.155α ἀλλὰ τί οὐκ ἐπέδειξάς μοι..., 169γ καὶ οὔτε συχωρήσαι μοι ἤθελεν..., Απ.38α οὐ πείθεσθέ μοι..., 40α ἦ γὰρ εἰωυῖά μοι μαντιῆ..., 40γ ὅπως οὐκ ἦναντιώθη ἄν μοι..., Γργ.461δ οὐκ ἔξεσταί μοι..., , Ευθδ.302ε οὐκ ἔστιν γάρ μοι..., Κρα.428β ἀλλὰ μὲν δὴ/--//μεμέλημέν τέ μοι... (τ), 433γ ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἀρέσκει γέ με..., Σμπ.184δ ἦ παῦσαι με..., Θτ.151α τὸ γιγνόμενον μοι δαιμόνιον...*. Δημ.18.101 καὶ τίς οὐκ ἄν ἀπέκτεινέν με..., 19.289 οὐδὲ φοβεῖ με..., 33.5 διὰ τὸ εἶναί μοι..., 29 τὴν οὐσάν μοι ἀπολογίαν, 35.3 πρὶν ἢ ἀποδοῦναί μοι... (τ), 40.60 ἦ ὡς οὐ προσήκει μοι..., 45.1 τὰ πεπραγμένα μοι..., 11 περὶ μὲν δὴ τοῦ προκαλεῖσθαι με ἢ μή, 47.33 ὅτι οὐκ ἀποδίδωσί μοι..., 54 τὴν γὰρ οὐσάν μοι ποτε παρασιμεῖν..., 48.21 πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀποδιδόναι μοι..., 44 οὐδ' ἤκουσέ μου...φωνῆν..., 57.2 τὸ προσήκειν μοι..., 6 ὡς ἄρ' οὐχὶ προσήκει μοι...*.

In Th.VI.16.1 above, καὶ is adverbial, and Rule XXI applies. Dem.45.11 above should perhaps not be listed here; Rules VIII, XII and XXI make it a case of 'first and last' even without XXVI, though that is also applicable.

(3) V not a verb Πλ.Γργ.447β φίλος γάρ μοι..., 448δ δηλός γάρ μοι..., 499γ ἀνάγκη μοι... (τ), Ευθδ.297δ κράτιστον οὖν μοι..., Σμπ.194δ ἀναγκαῖον δέ μοι..., Φδ.92ε ἀνάγκη οὖν μοι..., Φλβ.23ε συγγνώμη κού μοι...*. Δημ.19.205 λοιπόν μοι..., 50.38 ἀναγκαῖα δέ μοι..., 54.17 ἀνάγκη γάρ μοι..., 57.46 λοιπόν δέ μοι...*.

(4) Wq Θ.4.85.3 θαυμάζω δὲ) τῇ τε ἀποκλείσει μου...

On the above, cf. on Dem. 30.3 in (1)(c) above.

It is not surprising that Plato has more cases in δοκεῖν (a) sentences than Demosthenes; nor that Demosthenes has many more than Plato in conversation/courtroom formulae (b), for though one might expect Plato to use the conversational variety of the formulae and hence to be equally represented in (b), in fact Plato favours the prepositival form of these formulae, καί μοι λέγε κτλ., which are by definition not represented in this list. More interesting is that outside these formulaic sentences (e.g. (1)(c)) Demosthenes is much more strongly represented than Plato.

In the τις instances which follow, the division adopted is basically the same as in μ- above, (2) containing instances in which V is preceded by a prepositive or quasi-prepositive which q̄ by Rule "cannot" directly follow, and (1) those in which it is not so preceded. But (1) and (2) are differently subdivided. In (1.a) are cases of simple Vq̄..., in (1.b) of Vq̄(q̄...)q̄...; in (2.a) cases of simple pVq̄... (with or without accompanying postpositives (Rule XXIII)), in (2.b) instances in which p is an article (Rule XVIII), in (2.c), those where there is a negative as well as a full prepositive (Rule XIX), and in (2.d) cases which depend on Rule XVII. There are no cases of V-element not a verb in the ordinary sense, and cases where the X-element is W are numbered (3).

τις (1.α) Θ. 6.39.1 φήσει τις...· 7.61.1 ἔστι τῷ...· Πλ. I.E 373γ καλεῖς
τινα...; (≡ Πρτ. 358δ (τ), Ευθδ. 276α, Γργ. 454γ, Κρα. 385β), Λα. 199ε
λέγειν τι/-/..., Ευθφρ. 14ε διδόντα τῷ..., Γργ. 494α πείθω τί σε..., 513γ, Κρα.
397δ ἔοικέ τι//..., Φδ. 60α /-//ἀπαγέτω τις..., Φδρ. 258δ (τ). Δημ. 1.12
φρασάτω τις..., 6.18 πείσεσθαι τι..., 9.36 ἦν τι..., 10.18, 15.22, 16.3,
18.274 ἀδικεῖ τις ἐκῶν, 274 ἐξήμαρτέ τις ἄνων, 19.92, 93, 20.7 (τ), 37.19
ἔχοι τις ἄν...·

In Hp. Mi. 373c above, q̄ may be in W- relation to δρομέα but is more probably object of the verb while the former is its predicate, or vice versa. So also the parenthetically listed instances.

(1.β) Θ.1.138.4 λέγουσι δέ τινες...; 3.81.4, 82.7 ἀντιτιμαρῆσασθαι
 τέ τινα περι κλεινοῦ ἦν... 5.20.2, 6.55.1 γνοίη δ' ἂν
 τις... (= Δημ.24.89, 206), 68.3, 92.1 γίγνεσθαι δέ τι αὐτῶν... Πλ.Λα.182α
 ἔπειτα) ὀνήσει μὲν τι..., 179ε εἰσηγήσατο οὖν τις..., Ἰων 531δ γίγνεται
 δήπου τις..., Λυ.222β λέγοιμεν ἂν τι//-/... (τ), Πλ287γ οὐσί γέ τισι τούτοις...
 (≅ 287δ), 300α ἔχουσιν ἄρα τι τὸ αὐτό, Σμπ.221γ (τ), Π.2.375δ ἴδοι μὲν ἂν
 τις..., 3.412δ, 8.544δ, Θτ.208α, Φλβ.37α ἔστιν γάρ ποῦ τι δοξάζειν... (τ),
 Τι.50β. Δημ.9.23 ἴσχυσαν δέ τι..., 19.67, 20.5 ἔξαπατηθέντας δέ τι...δοῦναι (τ)
 21.36, 23.67, 37.53 μισεῖσθαι μέντοι τινας ἂν...*

In Th.VI.92.1 above, see p.2.4.3. In Phlb.37A, q has been taken
 as predicate of main verb; it could be object of infinitive; similarly in
 Dem.20.5 q probably goes with the participle.

As between (1)(a) and (b) above, the majority of Thucydidean
 cases are in (b), of Demosthenic in (a), while Plato is equally
 divided: Demosthenes is perhaps the more given to asyndeton.

(2.α) Πλ.ΙΕ 369α ἵνα μάθῶν τι ὠφελήσῃ, Λα.188γ καὶ γὰρ ἂν δόξαιμι
 τῷ..., Πρτ.331δ ἄλλὰ μέντοι-/-/προσέοικέν τι..., Κρα.410α ἐπεὶ
 ἔχοι γ' ἂν τις... Πλ 287γ οὐκοῦν ἔστι τι τοῦτο... Δημ.33.37 ἀλλὰ /^ο()μαρτυρήσει
 τις...*

(2.β) Θ.1.70.6 ἔς τὸ πράσσειν τι..., 2.64.4 δὲ δὲ δρᾶν τι...βουλόμενος
 (≅ 3.11.2, 82.1), 7.69.2 πρὸς τὸ δοκεῖν τινι... Πλ.Φδ.68α
 τῆς τοῦ ὄψεσθαι τι ἐκεῖ... (τ), Π.4.437β τὸ ἐφίεσθαι τινος λαβεῖν, Θτ.187δ,
 Ν.12.948δ τὸν λαγχάνοντά τῷ... Δημ.19.299 τοὺς ὑπηρετημίας τι..., 24.3,
 51.12.

In R IV 437b above, q appears to "belong" to the earlier
 infinitive, the later being explanatory.

(2.γ) Πλ.ΙΕ 373δ ἄρ' οὖν οὐ ποιεῖν τί ἐστι..., Ν.1.633γ ὅσα οὐκ ἂν
 παύσαιτό τις...διεξιῶν, Δημ.23.52 ὅθεν γὰρ μηδ' ἐξέπεσέν τις...,
 25.9 ὣν οὐκ ἂν εὐροί τις...

In Lg.I 633c and Dem.25.9 above: οὐκ ἂν τις though a commonly
 found wording ("Induction") is formally an exception to Rule XXIII (p.2.2.57).
 In Lg.I 633c it has been taken that q 'belongs' to the main verb and the
 participle is a predicate.

(2.δ) Πλ.Σμπ.207β τούς μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπους, "... , "οἴοιτ' ἂν τις..., 212γ τὸν δὲ Ἀριστοφάνη λέγειν τι ἐπιχειρεῖν (τ). Δημ.37.49 καὶ τούς μὲν ἄλλους τούς δανειζομένους ἴδοι τις ἂν..., 45.68 ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἀπλῶς//βαδίζουσι καὶ.../καὶ προσέλθοι τις ἂν..., 68 τοῖς δὲ πεπλασμένοις καὶ.../ὀκνήσειέ τις ἂν προσελθεῖν (τ), 50.12 τοῖς δὲ παραμείνασι τῶν ἀρχαίων ναυτῶν ἔδωκά τι...

(3) Πλ.Χρμ.159α καὶ ὁποῖόν τι..., Ευεφρ.14γ οὐχὶ ἐπιστήμην τινα τοῦ..., Κρα.429δ συχνοὶ γὰρ τινες οἱ λέγοντες, Πι 297α οὐμοῦν ἄλλο τι τὸ γιγνόμενον..., Πι.1.339γ τούς δέ τινας οὐκ ὁρθῶς, 2.369δ ἄλλος δέ τις ὑφάντης, 4.438γ ἐπιστήμη δέ τις..., 10.615δ σχεδόν τι αὐτῶν τοὺς πλείστους τυράννους, Θτ.203β φόφος τις μόνον, Σφ.231δ τὸ δέ γε δεύτερον ἔμπορός τις..., Ν.12.964β, 964γ. Δημ.16.16 ἄλλους δέ τινας τῶν Ἀριστῶν.

In R.II 369d above, q is in W-relation to ἄλλος, and they together form the subject to which ὑφάντης is predicate. In Dem.16.16 the convention applies that in the presence of an element in direct agreement, a genitival expression is not a W- but a Y-element (p.2.126).

Note the comparative paucity of τις instances despite the large numbers of this postpositive in general. It is of all four postpositives studied the most frequently accompanied by a W- as well as a V-element, cases which by definition fall outside this set of lists; also with τις pq is very often not "exceptional" but in fact Formulaic (Ch.III, τις-Formulae 1.ff.), so that pXq where q is in 'first possible position' is rarer.

Chapter Three: FormulaeContents

	page
Preamble	3.1.1b
Formulae: $\alpha\nu$	3.2.1
Key	3.2.1
Lists	3.2.4
Summing-up	3.2.130
Formulae: $\tau\iota\zeta$	3.3.1
Key	3.3.1
Lists	3.3.5
Summing-up	3.3.139
Formulae: $\alpha\upsilon\tau$	3.4.1
Key	3.4.1
Lists	3.4.3

Chapter III (Formulae): Section 1

Preamble

The chapter which follows is a tentative list of Formulae, expressions in which a postpositive seems from the point of view of word-order to be more significantly describable as subjoined to some particular word than as in first or second (etc.) 'possible' position. It does not claim to be a complete list of such expressions (though intended to be exhaustive of the instances of each); its purpose is to examine suspected Formulae in the prospect of rejecting those that fall short. Some expressions have been discovered, despite initial impressions, to be so deficient in Formulaism that they have been omitted altogether; but some remain in which Formulaism is doubtful or 'weak' - i.e. while there seems to be some tendency towards Formulaic wording, that order is readily overridden by other influences, so that 'Formulaic' instances are relatively few. By and large, suspicions of Formulaism may continue to be entertained where the number of Formulaic instances is one third or more that of simple Antiformulaic (p.1.1.58); but other criteria are often more important.

It seems to be mainly ἄν and τῆς which enter into expressions which invite the suspicion of Formulaism; the initial impression is that the former most readily enters into Formulaic relationship with adverbs and the latter with adjectives; but on the last point, see also pp.2.1.21 ff., 2.3.44 ff. The emergence of Formulaism requires the constituents to be frequently associated for some other reason at the outset. Hence, since postpositives frequently stand in pen-initial position, there is an expectation that Formulaism will be mainly with words which frequently stand in initial position, and that, having become habitual in that position

Formulaic wording may then be extended to positions in which the Former comes to stand later in the sentence; e.g. the negative $\acute{o}\upsilon$ is predominantly in initial position in Homer, but frequently in later positions in classical prose (Moorhouse p.89 ff.). If, as seems certain, $\acute{o}\upsilon$ has a Formulaic relationship with $\acute{\alpha}\nu$, that may well explain some part of the deferment of $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ from peninitial position (p.1.1.33). It seems useful therefore in listing Formulae, to distinguish between cases with Former initial and medial etc. Apart from any possibility of tracing the origin of a Formula in one position and movement to other positions, the alternative explanations of word-order which potentially vitiate the evidence for Formulaism in individual cases (p.1.1.38) are different in the different positions: in initial position of the Former, mere peninitialism of \underline{g} unaffected by attraction to a particular word; when the Former is peninitial after a prepositive, unit-formation of the pM type (p.1.1.24); when the Former is in medial position, unit-formation of the MM type (p.1.1.24) and colon-formation (p.1.1.27).

Words which frequently stand in initial position are of two types, prepositives and preferential mobiles (Dover, p.26). Since members of the former class rarely depart from initial position, it may in such cases be particularly difficult to distinguish Formulaic attraction of \underline{g} from mere peninitialism (p.1.1.35); hence it is necessary in cases of suspected Formulaism in such a situation to demand a much higher proportion of Formulaic instances to Antiformulaic. Further, it is less possible to test the level of Formulaism in such cases by observing its occurrence in several different positions, and any such Formulae will not help much to explain deferment of postpositives - rather the opposite. Prepositives do occur in medial position (p.1.1.31), but only to a minor extent, and the order $\underline{p}\underline{g}$ seems in such cases to be explicable rather in terms of Rule II (p.2.1.6), especially as this type

of 'deferment' does not seem to affect co-ordinating (as distinct from subordinating) conjunctions. However in a few cases where the proportion of pq to other orders seems particularly high, the expression has been admitted as a Formula, especially if other evidence is available, such as infringements of Rule XIV (pp.1.1.33 , 2.2.28 ff.) or the use of pq where q is otiose.

Whatever the character of the Former, the expressions listed in this chapter each require to be classified in two different ways. In listing the Formulae of any given postpositive, words which are Formers relative to some other are ignored; only πολύς , μᾶλλον and ἥτις are Formers relative to both ἄν and τις . Cases like μᾶλλον ἄν τι would be listed twice as Formula, once under ἄν and once under τις τι ... μᾶλλον ἄν ... would be Formula under ἄν and Antiformula under τις , etc.etc. In a given sentence, a given Former will normally be the only Former (relative to the given postpositive) in that sentence; in that case, what may be called primary classification applies, secondary when the sentence contains more than one Former relative to the given postpositive.

Secondary classification will be described below. As to primary, there are, apart from special cases, three forms of it: (i) for ἄν , (ii) for prepositival Formers with τις , (iii) for mobile Formers with τις . For system (ii) see p. 3.3.5; it is designed to clarify to what extent the wordings Wq , Vq , WqV , VqW etc. attract q away from the Former (p.2.3. 29 ff.). System (iii) (pp.3.3.79 - 80, 84) is a modification of system (i), to which we now proceed. This system is intended mainly to facilitate comparison of Formulaic and Antiformulaic instances with Former initial, peninitial after a prepositive, and medial. Formulaic instances are therefore divided as follows: (a) Former initial, e.g. $\text{οὐκ ἄν ἔγωγε βουλοίμην}$, οὐ γὰρ ἄν ..., πῶς γὰρ ἄν ... (b) Former

peninitial after a prepositive, e.g. καὶ οὐκ ἂν..., ἀλλὰ πῶς ἂν... sentences opening πρὸς γὰρ πολλοῦς ἂν... (πολλ- ἂν being a Formula) would be listed in (a), not (b) because πρὸς, though a prepositive, does not 'introduce' the ἂν-clause; (b) contains instances like καὶ πολλοὶ ἂν..., εἰ πολλάκις ἂν... under τις; on the other hand cases like πρὸς πολλὰ ἅττα πράγματα would be classed in (b), because g 'belongs' to the prepositional phrase (Rule V). To continue with the primary classification, system (i), in (c) the Former is medial, e.g.f. νῦν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν βουλομένη... (d) Former later than the verb; in Formula, as distinct from Antiformula, (d) necessarily implies infringement of Rule XXIV, e.g. R.VII 528a φθονοῖς μὴν οὐδ' ἂν ἄλλῳ. In Antiformula, the same basic system applies, but here by definition the position of g is not fixed and that must be indicated by the system; numerals are used, as follows; (-1) g before the verb (g(...)V), (2) g directly follows the verb ((...)Vg(...)), (3) g later than directly after verb (V...g); the last infringes Rule XXIV. Note that such infringements may occur both in Formula, with (d), and in Antiformula, with (-3). Also since in Antiformula g is not in a fixed position, we may distinguish between cases where g follows the Former (e.g.f. οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ' ἂν βουλομένη) and where it precedes (e.g.f. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἂν (...) οὐ βουλομένη...); this is done by explicit introduction of new paragraphs for the latter case, not by index-marks; the index marks in the latter case belong to the same system, but the selection of characters present differs for definitional reasons from those in the former; e.g. (a), initial Former, is impossible, and (-2), g directly after verb, is possible only in conjunction with (d-), Former later than verb - (b2) and (c2) are confined to cases where g is later than the Former. For examples, especially of Antiformula, see the lists themselves (e.g. p.3.2.9 ff.). The classification is not always carried to that degree of

detail (e.g. μή, p.3.2.26) and occasionally some other system is used, either instead (φαίνω, ὡςπερ, pp.3.2.117, 127), or in addition (καί, p.3.2.48 etc.); in all such cases, the system is explained at that point.

To pass to system (iii), which is a variant of (i), used with mobile Formers under τῆς, the details are given on pp. 3.3.79 - 80 and 84 ff. Note that with mobile Formers under τῆς the classification of the Formula lists is the same as in the ἄν Formula lists, except that (d) is not used, cases with Former later than verb being merged in (c); more important, in Antiformula, a category (d) is introduced and the senses of (b), (c) and (d) differ from (b) and (c) under Formula and from system (i); also, no systematic attempt is made to separate cases of q preceding and following the Former, though in (b) and (c) q does by definition precede the Former. In this system, (a) in Antiformula has the same sense as in Formula, viz. that the Former is initial, e.g.f. ἄλλο τι ποιεῖται, ἄλλο ποιεῖται τι but in both (b) and (c) (the position of the Former being undefined) q is in peninitial position, preceded in (b) by a prepositive, καί τι (...) ἄλλο (...) γίνεταται, and in (c) by a mobile, ἔτι δέ τι καί ἄλλο (...) γίνεταται (or γίνεταται ἄλλο in both); in (d) are instances of q in medial position; thus in (b), (c) and (d) of Antiformula the definition refers to the position not of the Former but of q. The numerals (-1), (-2) and (-3) refer to the number of X-elements in the sentence: (-1) the Former itself is the only X-element, (-2) it is one of two (usually Former and verb), (-3) it is one of three (usually Former, verb and another W-element). The finer details of this classification are difficult to bear in mind and always supplied by the heading in each case.

System (iii) differs from system (i) because τῆς, unlike ἄν, has substantival relationships (pp.2.1.18 ff.), so that

W-elements (often several in one sentence) introduce complexity, and the Former, being a mobile, is itself a W-element. A number of consequences follow. Positioning of the Former later than the verb does not have the same significance as in ἄν because Formulaic wording will give V(...)Fq, i.e. V(...)Wq, a case of Xq, not an infringement of Rule by X...q; the possible presence of multiple W-elements discourages any attempt to classify postverbal position just as in ἄν. Multiple W-elements also themselves require somehow to be acknowledged, for the more X-elements there are the more can the position of q vary, e.g. away from Formulaic order, without infringing Rule XXVII, and q is attracted to X-elements in general. Further, the Former being itself a W-element, the hypothesis that Formulaism originates with initial position of the Former (p.3.1.1) is, as far as concerns mobile Formers relative to τις, overtaken by the considerations of pp.2.1.21 ff. and 23 ff. With ἄν, most Formulae do not have the form Vq (Xq), and Xq and Formulaic wording are usually alternatives; but with mobile Formers in τις, it is likely, Fq being Wq (Xq), that Formulaic order originated as much with the minimal complete utterance (σικρ' ἄττα, τοιδόνδε τι) as with initial position in a longer sentence, for the minimal complete utterance, even of not much found itself, tends to be a mental ingredient in the composition of longer sentences, where it need not appear even in the first place in initial position (observe however that on pp.2.3.29 ff., WqV, where W is not necessarily initial, is the dominant wording). With ἄν the minimal complete utterance in general is Vq (βουλομένην ἄν), not usually a Formulaic combination; οὐκ ἄν as a complete utterance, since q is almost always otiose, is likely to be the result of Formulaism rather than its cause. And so the system used with mobile Formers under τις is mainly designed, as far as Antiformula is concerned, to clarify to what extent Antiformulaic wording results from the

attraction of q to peninitial position (where F is late in the sentence) or to the influence of X -elements other than the Former, whether the verb or other W -elements.

It should be added that the idea that Formulae occur mainly with preferential mobiles (when not with prepositives) does not imply an intention to select preferential mobiles. Rather it is a hypothesis to be tested. It is borne out in so far as $\acute{o}\upsilon$ and $\pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ are both preferential and give particularly strong Formulae; on the other hand $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu$ - and even more $\acute{o}\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$, also preferential (Dover, p.21), are weak in this respect (pp.3.2.114, 131); yet words which frequently stand late in the sentence, like $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$, are only weakly Formulaic (pp.3.2.92, 3.3.150 ff.) and, apart from prepositives, particularly Formulaic expressions in $\tau\iota\varsigma$, such as $\pi\omicron\tau\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\varsigma$ $\tau\iota\varsigma$, are also preferential (but $\sigma\chi\epsilon\delta\acute{o}\nu$?). However, the criterion for considering an expression possibly Formulaic is not an examination of its position in the sentence but simply an at least initial impression that the order Mq is in this case particularly dominant.

That completes the account of 'primary' classification (p.3.1.3); but the average Formula also requires 'secondary' classification, to which we may proceed after making the following distinctions. A sentence may contain more than one Former (in relation to q , whatever that may be). In the case of $\acute{\alpha}\nu$, q itself may be repeated though both instances 'belong' to the same verb; if both cases are subjoined to a Former, that is treated as two separate Formulaic instances each assigned to 'primary' classification; if such a repeated $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ is once subjoined to a Former and once occurs otherwise, it is one case of Formula in 'primary' Formulaic classification and one non-Formulaic (not Antiformulaic) instance assigned elsewhere to whatever category is appropriate; if with a repeated q there are two Formers to neither of which

it is subjoined, that is two instances of Antiformula in 'primary' Formulaic classification. However what concerns 'secondary' classification is that two Formers may occur without repetition of ἄν or in the presence of τις, which is not subject, like ἄν, to otiose repetition. To which Former will q then be subjoined, if any? We may expect q to go with that Former which is 'strongest', in the sense of having the higher ratio of Formula to Antiformula in the 'primary' lists; if (for the sake of argument) the ratio of εἰ τις to εἰ...τι is higher than that of ἄλλο τι το ...τι(...)ἄλλο + ἄλλο...τι, we may expect, on that ground, that εἰ τις ἄλλο will outnumber ('prevail over') εἰ ἄλλο τι, but our expectation could be disappointed. Similarly, if εἰ τις 'prevails over' ἄλλο τι and the latter over τοιοῦτόν τι, we cannot certainly predict that εἰ τις will prevail over τοιοῦτόν τι. To discover what prevails over what in this respect is the purpose of the 'secondary' classification.

To each Former (in 'primary' classification also) a number has been assigned, separately for each postpositive, so that 1 denotes οὐ under ἄν and εἰ under τις; this is underlined if q is subjoined to the Former (Formula, e.g. 1 is οὐκ ἄν in the list of ἄν, εἰ τις under τις) but otherwise not (Antiformula, e.g. 1 is εἰ...τι). Where there is more than one Former, the appropriate numbers are used and that, if any, to which q is subjoined, is underlined; thus οὐκ ἄν τάχα and τάχα οὐκ ἄν are represented by 1+5, τάχα' ἄν οὐ and οὐ τάχα' ἄν by 1+5; whatever the order of the Formers in the sentence, the numbers are in numerical order; if q is subjoined to neither Former, neither number is underlined, e.g. 1+5. The instances are then arranged in the appropriate lists, which are then presented in numerical order.

The following terminology is used: Formula - as already used, instances in which q is subjoined to the (single) Former concerned, e.g. οὐκ ἄν (1 in ἄν), ἄλλο τι (16 in τις);

Antiformula - as already used, instances in which q is not subjoined to the (single) Former concerned, e.g. οὐκ...ἄν, (1 in ἄν), ἄλλο ποιεῖ τι (16 in τις); Formula and Antiformula constitute primary classification; Counterformula - instances in which there occurs the Former treated in the given list, but q is subjoined to some other which is also present, e.g. οὐ μᾶλλον ἄν, μᾶλλον ἄν οὐ in the οὐ -list of ἄν, εἰ ἄλλο τι in the εἰ-list of τις. Anticounterformula - instances in which in the presence of Formers as defined above q is subjoined to the one treated in that list, e.g. οὐκ ἄν μᾶλλον, μᾶλλον οὐκ ἄν in the οὐ-list of ἄν, εἰ τι ἄλλο in the εἰ-list of τις. the Counterformulaic examples above would be numbered 1+14 (in the οὐ -list of ἄν) and 1+16 (in the εἰ-list of τις), the Anticounterformulaic 1+14 and 1+16; Multiple Antiformula - instances in which q is subjoined to neither or none of the two or more Formers present, e.g. 0.4.62.2 ἡ δοκεῖτε// οὐχ ἡσυχίαν μᾶλλον...παῦσαι ἄν..., labelled 1+14. Note that an expression which is Counterformula under one list is Anticounterformula under another (οὐ μᾶλλον ἄν is Counterformula under οὐ, Anticounterformula under μᾶλλον, οὐκ ἄν μᾶλλον Anticounterformula under οὐ, Counterformula under μᾶλλον), while cases of Multiple Antiformula also belong to the lists of both or all the Formers present. Hence the same sets of instances are relevant to more than one list; at second or subsequent points of relevance, reference is made to the page of first citation and no set of instances is cited in detail more than once.

The lists of different Formers are given in numerical order, (1), (2) etc., the numbers having been assigned very roughly according to the degree of 'strength' of the Formulae. Within the lists of any one Former, the order is Formula, Antiformula, Counterformula, Anticounterformula, Multiple Antiformula. The first two are referred to on pp.3.1.3 ff.

as 'primary' classification. In each of the last three, the sets of instances are given in the numerical order of the Formers present other than that which gives its title to the set of lists: in the 1-lists, $1+\underline{2}$, $1+\underline{3}$, $1+\underline{4}$ etc. (Counterformula), $\underline{1}+2$, $\underline{1}+3$, $\underline{1}+4$ etc. (Anticounterformula), $1+2$, $1+3$, $1+4$ etc. (Multiple Antiformula). Within the lists of any given Former, the number corresponding to it is put first in each heading, $\underline{1}+2$, $\underline{1}+3$ etc. (Anticounterformula in the 1-lists), $\underline{2}+1$, $\underline{2}+3$, etc., ditto in the 2-lists, $\underline{3}+1$, $\underline{3}+2$, $\underline{3}+4$ etc., ditto in the 3-lists; $\underline{2}+1$, $\underline{3}+1$ and $\underline{3}+2$ among those mentioned are identical sets of instances to $1+\underline{2}$, $1+\underline{3}$ (Counterformula in the 1-lists) and $2+\underline{3}$ (Counterformula in the 2-lists) and are therefore (as described above) dealt with by back-reference to a previous page, introduced by the phrase ' $\underline{3}+2 = 2+\underline{3}$, p. ...' Where there are more than two Formers present, the other numbers in the heading are innumerical order, $3+\underline{1}+2$, $3+\underline{1}+4$, $3+\underline{1}+5$, $3+\underline{2}+4$, $3+\underline{2}+6$ etc. (all Counterformula in the 3-lists).

For many instances contain more than two Formers, and they cause some complexity. An instance of $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon} + \text{\tau}\acute{\alpha}\chi\text{'}\acute{\alpha}\nu + \mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\text{o}\nu$ is of multiple relevance: $\text{\tau}\acute{\alpha}\chi\text{'}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ prevailing over $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$ and over $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\text{o}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$, and $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}$ and $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\text{o}\nu$ co-occurring with \underline{g} subjoined to neither. It will be headed $1+\underline{5}+14$ in the $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}$ (1-) lists, where numerically it first becomes relevant; and in those lists it will appear twice, once as an instance of Counterformula (a variety of the 'basic type' $1+\underline{5}$, of which in that form there may or may not be any instances), and again as an instance of Multiple Antiformula (a variety of the 'basic type' $1+14$, 'caused' by $\text{\tau}\acute{\alpha}\chi\text{'}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ again there may or may not be instances of the 'basic type' itself). But instances of this combination are relevant also under $\text{\tau}\acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha$ and $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\text{o}\nu$, and so the heading re-appears in the $\text{\tau}\acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha$ (5) list as ' $\underline{5}+1+14 = 1+\underline{5}+14$ ', twice, first as a variety of the 'basic type' $\underline{5}+1$ ($= 1+\underline{5}$), then as a variety of $\underline{5}+14$;

again the same item will appear under $\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ (' $14+1+\underline{5} = 1+\underline{5}+14$ '), first as Counterformula, variety of the 'basic type' $14+\underline{5}$ ($= \underline{5}+14$), then as Multiple Antiformula, variety of $14+1$ ($= 1+14$). Notice that instances such as that will appear under $\omicron\upsilon$ and $\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ once in each case as Counterformula and once as Multiple Antiformula; but under $\tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha$ both appearances are as Anticounterformula. In all places except the first, back-reference is made. (Example fictitious)

Two-number headings, referred to above as representing 'basic types' of Counterformula etc., are usually given paragraph indentation and are followed (without such indentation) by any more complex varieties of that type; but (a) if there is a set of such headings all requiring back-reference and not accompanied by more complex types, they may be gathered in a single paragraph; (b) if more complex instances occur but none of the corresponding 'basic type', the two-number heading, with paragraph indentation, is given in brackets, introducing the more complex instances which then follow in the same paragraph. When instances of any given type are enumerated, i.e. at the first point of relevance, they are given in quotation (unless very numerous) and in any case the Formers represented by the numbers in the heading are underlined in the leading instance.

That completes the account of 'secondary' classification; there remain some points common to both types. Instances of Antiformula or Counterformula (in both of which the given Formula fails to occur though its constituents are present) are listed as evidence of the author's choice to depart from the order of the Formula. But the probability of the alternative wording itself varies. Pl. Ti.26b $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\ \dots\ \omicron\upsilon\kappa\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\ \omicron\lambda\delta\alpha\ \acute{\epsilon}\iota\ \delta\upsilon\nu\alpha\lambda\mu\eta\nu\ \dots$ shows that $\omicron\upsilon\kappa\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$ is a Formula 'strong' enough to impose itself even when $\omicron\upsilon$ and $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ belong not only to different verbs but to different finite-verb clauses; it also infringes Rule II (p.2.2.2). But such instances are

rare; it would be neither practicable nor of much evidential value to enumerate as Antiformula all cases like οὐκ οἶδα εἰ δυνατὸν ἔστιν. And so the example serves to illuminate two considerations: (a) some instances of Formula (or Anticounterformula) are of greater evidential value for the 'strength' of the Formula concerned than are others; (b) some cases in which q and the Former are separated are of less value than others as evidence of an author's choice to reject the Formula, for Formulaic wording is less a real potentiality than in other cases. In fact, to qualify for inclusion as Antiformula (or Counterformula) the Former and q must both 'belong' to the same finite-verb clause. Within that clause, however, room remains for variation in syntactical proximity, for Former and q may 'belong' to the same or different verbs; and since the verbs may be related according to different constructions (participial, various types of infinitival etc.), and the Former and q may separately or together 'belong' to main or subordinate in different ways, and since different Formers have different levels of attraction for q, no attempt has been made to draw distinctions within the finite-verb clause as concerns the inclusion of instances in the Anti- or Counter-formula lists; as a result the Anti- and Counter-formula lists do contain instances in varying degrees subject to objection on the ground of low level of potentiality of alternatives.

The following practices are therefore followed (cf. (a) and (b) above). (a) When a Rule (Ch.II) is infringed as a result of Formulaic or Anticounterformulaic wording (as Ti. 26b above infringes Rule II or Th.VI.75.4 εἴ τι δέ Rule XIV), the instance is considered as of above average value as evidence of Formulaism and marked ! or ?; similarly, when Formulaic or Anticounterformulaic wording is used in the absence of a verb or in some other elliptical way so that q is otiose and results from Formulaism rather than sense, the

sign λ may be used (esp. pp. 3.2.33 ff.); but occasionally ! or ? may be used to mark a case which in some general way is of enhanced significance. (b) In listing Antiformulaic or Counterformulaic instances the convention operates that it is not to be expected that Rules will be broken, and so cases where Formulaic (or Anticounterformulaic) wording would break a Rule have in general been omitted. There are some exceptions: in $\tau\iota\varsigma$, a wording like $\epsilon\iota\tau\iota\varsigma$ ἄρα, $\epsilon\iota\tau\omega$ δέ is listed as a ! instance of $\epsilon\iota\tau\iota\varsigma$ (Formula 1), but wordings like $\epsilon\iota$ ἄρα $\tau\iota\varsigma$, $\epsilon\iota$ δέ $\tau\iota\varsigma$, $\epsilon\iota$ ἄρα... $\tau\iota\varsigma$, $\epsilon\iota$ δέ... $\tau\iota\varsigma$ are listed as Formula (2) and Antiformula (2) (p. 3.3.1 ff.); in sentences opening $\tau\acute{\iota}$ οὐ..., $\pi\omega\varsigma$ οὐ..., although $\pi\omega\varsigma$ ἄν οὐ..., $\tau\acute{\iota}$ ἄν οὐ infringe Rule XII and are labelled ! in the Formula (3) lists of ἄν (Anticounterformula $3+1 = 1+3$), nevertheless cases of $\pi\omega\varsigma$ οὐκ ἄν have not been omitted from the lists of Counterformula $3+1 = 1+3$; similarly, in $\tau\iota\varsigma$, although $\epsilon\iota\tau\iota\varsigma$ μή and $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\tau\iota\varsigma$ μή infringe Rule XII, yet $\epsilon\iota$ μή $\tau\iota\varsigma$ and $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$ μή $\tau\iota\varsigma$ are not omitted ($1+12/1+12$, $2+12/2+12$: note that medial μή does not count as a Former at all, pp. 3.3.1 ff.). There are however cases outside the range of the above convention, where Former and g both 'belong' to the same finite-verb clause and Formulaic wording would not infringe any Rule and yet the latter may seem improbable; such cases may be marked °, °°, or °°°, according to the supposed degree of improbability. It is not however claimed that this has been done consistently and the reader's impression of what is improbable may differ from that of the author. In particular, special negatives cause difficulty. In a case like Πλ. N. 7.797δ οὐ φαύλους τοῦν ἡμᾶς ἄν ἀκροατὰς... ἔχοις, οὐκ ἄν φαύλους... may seem improbable, but it is not clear that there is any essential difference of meaning between 'we would be no mean pupils' and 'we would not be mean pupils' (apart from the fact that 'no mean' is an English idiomatic formula); there seem to be negatives that are special in word-order but nexal in sense, in

so far as the order can be changed while the sense is preserved. The degree of improbability is therefore disputable. Further, it depends in part on the 'strength' of the individual Formula (e.g. μή ἄν seems not to occur where the constituents 'belong' to different verbs, contrast οὐ, p.3.1.11 above) and that is a matter of inference from the lists rather than of impression at the moment of listing (hence the alternative or additional classifications which are given in μή, πῶς κτλ., καί and elsewhere in the ἄν -lists).

Ch.III (Formulae) ctd.: Section 2: ἄν.

List of Formulae

Key to numerical indices.

Where amplification is required, the asterisk * refers to the notes which follow.

number	Former	page
1	*ού	3.2.4
2	*μή	26
3	*πῶς κτλ.	33
4	*καί	45
5	τάχα	60
6	*πλειστ-	63
7	τάχιστα	64
8	ἥμιστα	64
9	*πᾶς	65
10	*ὀρθῶς	79
11	*ἦττον	82
12	μάλιστα	83
13	*δικαίως	87
14	μᾶλλον	90
15	ἴσως	95
17	*πολύς	99
18	*ἠδέως	109
19	*ἐκείν-	112
20	*φαίην	117
21	*καλῶς	124
22	*ὥσπερ	127

(1) Not only οὐ but all compounds thereof, whether with elements that independently are postpositive or mobile, οὐ γάρ, οὐδέ, οὔτε, οὐ ποτε, οὐδαμῶς, οὐδεὶς, κτλ. οὐδ' ἂν εἷς and οὐδεὶς ἄν are treated as equally Formulaic. According to

the principle of p.l.l.7 we would expect compounds with words themselves postpositive to be no less Formulaic than οὐκ ἄν itself; in general this is so, but we must be ready for any minor variations which may appear - e.g. οὐ μὴν ἄν does not occur, any more than μὴν ἄν in the absence of οὐ (Rule XXII). On the other hand, that the Formulaism of οὐκ ἄν should extend to compounds with independently mobile elements, giving οὐδεὶς ἄν κτλ. is a matter of observation rather than expectation.

(2) As in (1) above, not only μή but compounds thereof.

(3) All interrogative words, τίς, πότερον, ἄρα, ποῖος, κτλ., and including μῶν but not οὐκοῦν.

(4) As adverb; not only not in the sense 'and' but not in that of 'both' either (Rule XXII); in the forms κἄν, καὶ γὰρ ἄν, and similar expressions such as καὶ μέντοι ἄν.

(6) Any word of this (superlative) stem, adverb or adjective.

(9) πᾶς, ἅπας (with any ending, as in (6), including adverbs), πάνυ, παντάπασιν, πάντως, παντελῶς but not σύμπας nor any other similar compound.

(10) Including the comparative and superlative forms, ὀρθότερον, ὀρθότατα, but not the adjective.

(11) Including of course ἥσσον, according to authors' usage.

(13) Including the comparative and superlative forms, δικαιότερον, δικαιότατα, but not the adjective.

(17) Any case, number or gender thereof, and whether as noun, adjective or adverb; the superlative πλεῖστ- is treated separately (nr.6) and the comparative πλεῖων does not seem to merit consideration.

(18) Including the comparative and superlative forms, ἥδιον, ἥδιστα, but not the adjective.

(19) Including all numbers and genders and all endings whether as noun, adjective or adverb (e.g. ἐκεῖνος, ἐκεῖ).

(20) Including all persons and numbers thereof, φαίης, φαίη, φαῖεν κτλ., and whether with the φαίημεν type of ending or the other; but not including φήσαιμι κτλ.

(21) Including the comparative and superlative forms κάλλιον, κάλλιστα (or καλλιόνως as the case may be) but not the adjective.

(22) Including καθάπερ, where used.

Ch.III Section 2 (äv Formulae list) ctd.: the instances.

1/1: Former οὐ (p.3.2.1)

Instances of Formula (1) (a) οὐκ ἄν asyndetic 0.5.8.4. Πλ.(Ly.221c
 Ευθφρ.6γ Λυ.216β οὐκ ἄν εἴ γε...⁹
 IM 294δ οὐκ ἄν εἴ γε...⁹, 302α⁹ Ευθδ.272δ, 298β⁹ Σμπ.185ε, 214ε⁹
 Π.1.337γ⁹ 3.402δ οὐκ ἄν εἴ γε...⁹ 6.486γ⁹ 9.585α /⁹/"...
 "οὐκ ἄν...⁹ Πρμ.131β οὐκ ἄν εἴ γε...⁹(τ), 131ε⁹ Θτ.189γ, 201γ⁹
 οὐκ ἄν/-/εἴ γε...⁹ Φδρ.227β⁹ Σφ.255δ οὐκ ἄν εἴ γε...⁹ N.2.
 662α(λ). Δημ.15.13 /⁹/οὐκ ἄν...⁹ 18.241⁹ 27.63 ...έστεφανούτε,
 οὐκ ἄν εἴ γε...⁹(λ)⁹ 27.63⁹ 34.35⁹ 39.21⁹ 43.49⁹ 53.12.
 οὐκ ἄν apodotic Th.II.60.7, 77.5; III.11.5; IV.10.5, 73.3, 78.3,
 126.1; VI.91.3; VII.64.2; VIII.71.1. Pl.Chrm157c; Prt.347d; Ap.
 41b; Grg.481c, 486d; Men.85d, 86d, 89a; Ly.208a, 213e, 221c,
 222a; Hp.Ma.294e, 298a, 299e, 300b, 303e; Cra.396c, 428b; Smp.
 216a; Phd.73a, 99a; R.II 367a; III402d; IV 436c, 436d(t); VII
 524e, 526c; VIII 563c; IX 589e; X 597a, 609a; Prm.136d, 142e,
 155a, 161b, 161e, 164b; Tht.147a, 148b, 154b bis, 185a(verbless),
 193a, 195e, 196c; Phdr.229c, 232d(Lysias?), 245d(t); Phlb.64b;
 Lg.I 637b, 638e; II 660c, 674a; III 699c; V 743a; VI 769b(t),
 769e; VII 817d; IX 875b. Dem.3.5; 9.1; 10.18(t); 18.127, 139,
 159, 174, 233, 243(t), 293; 19.14; 20.85, 143; 21.129, 189, 214;
 22.4, 65, 68, 71; 24.117, 143, 172, 179, 211; 27.56; 30.14, 23;
 33.24; 36.52; 40.23, 56; 44.4, 25(t); 53.25; 56.43; 57.6.
 Nqq 0.1.9.4 οὐκ ἄν οὐν. Πλ.Μεν.73γ οὐκ ἄν δήπου εἴ γε⁹, 93δ
 οὐκ ἄν ἄρα⁹ Ευθδ.306β οὐκ ἄν οὐν⁹ Θτ.162α οὐκ ἄν οὐν. Δημ.24.
 146 οὐκ ἄν οὐν⁹ 27.55 οὐκ ἄν δήπου. οὐ γὰρ ἄν 0.1.68.4⁹
 6.96.1⁹ 7.51.1. Πλ.Ιε 373α⁹ Χρμ.168δ⁹ Λά.186δ⁹ Ιων 530γ⁹ Ηστ.
 322δ, 324β, 349γ, 355δ⁹ Ευθφρ.4β, 7ε⁹ Γργ.487ε, 507α, 517α⁹ Λυ.
 216ε(τ)⁹ IM 290ε⁹, 300α⁹, 300β⁹ Ευθδ.293δ⁹ Κρα.414α, 436γ⁹ Σμπ.
 175δ, 199α, 222γ⁹ Φδ.82γ, 98α, 106α⁹ Π.1.349β, 352γ⁹ 3.408ε⁹ (195c
 5.470δ⁹ 7.516α(λ), 524β⁹ 8.552β οὐ γὰρ ἄν οἱ μὲν...⁹, 554β,
 566γ⁹ Πρμ.145β, 157β, 158α, 160ε, 162δ, 165α⁹ Φδρ.244γ⁹ Φλβ.44α⁹
 Τι.17α, 34γ⁹ Κρι.τι.109β⁹ N.1.634δ⁹ 4.719β⁹ 9.861δ, 881α⁹ 11.
 931δ. Δημ.4.14⁹ 9.45⁹ 15.22⁹ 18.30, 197, 228⁹ 19.51, 58, 100⁹
 20.49⁹ 21.4⁹ 23.74⁹ 27.51⁹ 36.10 οὐ γὰρ ἄν ποτ'επειδή...⁹ 37.
 18 οὐ γὰρ ἄν δήπου...⁹, 56, 57⁹ 39.12⁹ 46.4⁹ 53.2⁹ 54.20⁹ 55.6⁹
 56.37⁹ 57.25 οὐ γὰρ ἄν δήπου εἴ γε...⁹, 48 οὐ γὰρ ἄν δήπου...⁹
 51(τ). οὐτ' ἄν Th.II.89.8; VI.38.1; VII.77.4. Pl.La.
 182b(t); Ap.31d; Grg.457e, 512c; Smp.196e bis; R.IV 425b, 430d;
 Prm.134d bis, 137d, 139e, 147b, 163d(t); Phdr.233d bis (Lysias?);
 Phlb.42e (verbless); Lg.I 628d; IV 710b; V 738e, 742e; VII 806a.
 Dem.3.14; 6.16!, 29; 13.2; 18.293; 21.129(t); 22.17; 27.55; 38.
 14; 45.14; 49.24, 46; 56.23 bis; 57.35 bis. οὐτε γὰρ ἄν In.
 II.89.8. Pl.Chrm.171e; Grg.507e; Men.80e; Smp.177d; Phd.95a; R.
 I 341b; IV 445d; X 611a. Dem.24.146; 49.24. οὐδ' ἄν con-
 junction 0.2.62.1⁹ 4.86.4⁹ 5.5.3(λ)⁹ 6.20.2⁹ Πλ.Λα.196δ⁹ Πρτ.
 Πρτ.328α οὐδέ γ' ἄν οἶμαι εἴ...⁹, 335α⁹ Μεν.92β⁹ Π.10.615δ οὐδ'
 ἄν ἤξει... (τ)⁹ Πρμ.156ε, 160ε, 161β⁹ Φλβ.16β, 28α(λ)(τ), 28ε,

28ε, 64β. Δημ.14.25(τ)· 18.127· 19.51· 21.170, 170, 187· 24.117· 25.51· 27.55· 30.14· 32.17· 57.48. οὐδ' ἄν adverb
 Πλ.Προτ.328α οὐδ' ἄν εἰς (≡ Π.4.429β(λ), 6.502α(λ), Δημ.13.32, 18.69, 94, 19.65, 312, 23.214, 45.26, 58.13(λ))· Κρι.43β οὐ/ο/ οὐδ' ἄν...· Λυ.215β· Γργ.510γ· Κρα.436γ· Π.1.341β οὐδέ γ' ἄν...· 2.379β· 6.487α· Πρμ.147α, 162γ· Θτ.178δ(τ). Δημ.4.2· 6.17· 8.62· 9.5· 10.12, 64· 21.17· 23.194· 27.63· 33.29· 34.2· 47.73 οὐδ' ἄν εἰ...· 58.29. οὐδέ γὰρ ἄν Θ.4.78.4· 7.66.1.
 Πλ.Χρμ.155α οὐδέ γὰρ ἄν που εἰ...· Λπ.17δ οὐδέ γὰρ ἄν δήπου...· 30γ, 32ε· Κρα.386δ· Φδ.108α(τ)· Θτ.183α· Τι.17β. Δημ.20.94, 161. οὐ μέντοι ἄν Πλ.Λυ.208α· ΙΜ 221α· Σμπ.206β.
 misc. qq intervene Πλ.Φδ.70β οὐκ οὖν γ' ἄν...· 108α οὐ γὰρ ποῦ τις ἄν... (τ)· Π.8.554δ οὐκ ἄρ' ἄν... (≡ Πρμ.141α, Θτ.186ε), 558β οὐποτ' ἄν...· Θτ.164ε οὐ τι ἄν...· Ν.5.743β οὐκ οὖν ποτὲ ἄν...· Δημ.19.14 οὐδέ ποτ' ἄν... οὐδεὶς ἄν Pl.Prt.335a; Euthphr.3e; Ly.220c; Euthd.289a; Cra.384b; Phd.107c; R.I 328c, 351a; II 360b; IV 443a (verbless); Prm.158b; Tht.169e, 171c, 190e; Phdr.242e; Sph.256b, 260a; Lg.X 891b(t). Dem.4.1; 5.16, 21; 6.36; 8.31, 71; 9.25; 10.36; 14.2; 18.76; 21.5, 35, 72(t); 23.130, 183; 24.81; 25.45; 27.1, 63; 28.4; 34.36; 39.30; 45.70; 51.6, 9(t); 55.33. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἄν Pl.Euthphr.4e(t); Ap. 38b; Cra.386c; Smp.192c; Sph.232d; Lg.II 663b. Dem.18.47(t); 23.194(t); 24.195; 26.7. misc. mobile cmpds. Πλ.Λπ.35γ οὐδέτεροι γὰρ ἄν...· Γργ.456γ οὐδαμοῦ ἄν... (≡ Π.1.343δ, Δημ.14.28)· Φδρ.241δ οὐκέτ' ἄν... (≡ Δημ.16.15. Δημ.19.116 οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ ἄν...)

Formula (1) is sufficiently numerous to justify some subdivision in addition to the basic (a), (b) and (c); this entails some verbatim quotation; above, cases where the Formula produces an exception to a Rule (Ch.II) have been marked ! or ? (except under the heading Nqq where all instances are exceptions to Rule XIV) and for the most part also quoted; elliptical, verbless, instances, which also are of high Formulaic significance, have been marked '(verbless)' or '(λ)'. For οὐκ ἄν οὖν and the like see pp.2.2.28 ff., for οὐκ ἄν εἰ and the like, Rule XI, pp.2.2.19 ff. On οὐτ' ἄν: prospective οὐτε is listed above only if initial in the sentence as a whole; for others see (b) and (c) below; retrospective οὐτε, being always initial in its own clause, is listed entirely above (cf. Rule VIII, pp.2.1.8 and 11). The heading Nqq refers to οὐκ ἄν directly followed by a postpositival conjunction or similar, i.e. οὐκ ἄν οὖν κτλ. (contrast οὐ γὰρ ἄν, οὐ μέντοι ἄν κτλ.). Among the last-mentioned, οὐποτ' ἄν and οὐδέ ποτ' ἄν

are remarkably rare, while οὐκ ἄν and οὐ γὰρ ἄν contain numerous cases of οὐκ ἄν ποτε and οὐ γὰρ ἄν ποτε. In (a) above, Thucydides has remarkably few instances of asyndetic οὐκ ἄν and none of οὐδεις ἄν or οὐδεις γὰρ ἄν. Of connective οὐδ' ἄν Demosthenes has as many as Plato and of adverbial οὐδ' ἄν even more than he; he also exceeds Plato in οὐδεις ἄν, which therefore increases in the order Thuc.:Pl.:Dem.; yet in οὐδ' ἄν εἰς also (within οὐδ' ἄν adverb) Demosthenes exceeds Plato.

Formula (1) ctd. (b) οὐκ ἄν @.1.122.1 ὅσος (≅ 2.94.1, Πλ.Ν.1.633γ)· 2.83.3 καί (≅ 3.39.5, 4.28.2, 87.1, 99, 5.9.3, 8.103.2, Πλ.Λα.181β, 189α, Πρτ.315ε, 335γ, Κρι.47α, Γργ.495α, 510γ, Μεν.99β, ΙΜ 294α, Κρα.432δ, 440β, Σμπ.182β, Φδ.62ε, 84α, Π.10.606β, Πρμ.132β, 139β, 153ε, Ν.1.627γ, 7.821α, 9.857δ, Δημ.18.30, 21.191, 35.4, 36.19, 43.12, 50.9), 89.4 ἐπέ· 5.6.3 ὥστε (≅ Πλ.ΙΕ 367ε, Κρα.440α, Θτ.143β, Ν.5.730α, Δημ.25.40, 30.10, 33.29, 47.12, 53.2)· 6.35.1 ὅστις (≅ Πλ.Γργ.491ε, Σμπ.179α, Δημ.18.206(τ), 21.199(λ), 38.20(τ))· 7.55.2 ὅς (≅ 8.66.5, Πλ.Γργ.464α, Κρα.433γ, Σμπ.216β, Π.6.510ε, 7.528β, 8.558δ ἄς τε, 10.604α, Ν.1.636α, Δημ.25.9, 29.15 ὃν οὐκ ἄν δήπου...·, 33.34, 40.23 οἱ οὐκ ἄν δήπου...·, 47.28 ὃν δέ). Πλ.ΙΕ 367β ὅτι (≅ 373α, Πρτ.356γ, 361ε, Κρι.45β, Γργ.486α, Μεν.95γ, 95ε, 96β(λ), 97α, ΙΜ 299γ, Π.3.393δ, 5.473ε, Δημ.33.29, 34.9, 35.30, 56.6)· Ιωγ 539ε καίτοι (≅ Θτ.187γ)· Γργ.475ε ἀλλὰ (≅ Μεν.93γ ἀλλὰ οἶει οὐκ ἄν..., Π.1.349β, Φδρ.268δ, Ν.11.931δ, Δημ.18.76, 150, 21.109, 22.14, 49.35, 57.26)· Ευθδ.272δ ὡς (≅ Π.6.500ε, 502α, Τι.50δ, Ν.3.693ε, 4.705β, Δημ.5.15, 54.3), 294β εἶτα· Φδ.101β ἢ (≅ Π.1.349β, Φδρ.249ε, Δημ.18.30)· Φλβ.43δ οὐκ οὖν· Ν.8.828δ οἷος οὐτ' ἄν Πλ.ΙΕ 370β ὡς· Πρτ.310ε ὡς· Απ.31δ καί· Γργ.475ε ὅτι· 486α καί· Π.1.330α ὅτι· Φδρ.233δ ὅτι· Ν.1.373α καί· Δημ.10.39 οὐς· 14.27 ἀλλά(τ)· 18.293 ἀλλά· 27.55 ὅτι· 32.19 καί· 39.22 ὅτι· οὐδ' ἄν @.6.55.3 οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἄν... (≅ Πλ.Ν.1.634γ, Δημ.15.14 οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἄν εἰ...·)· 7.42.3 ἦν· Πλ.Απ.32α ὅτι· Κρα.493ε ἀλλὰ μὴν· Σμπ.183α οἷας, 192γ οἱ, 192ε ὅτι οὐδ' ἄν εἰς (≅ 216ε ὅσον, Δημ.14.1 ὦν(τ), 16.4 οὐκοῦν, 32.9 ὃν, 58.35 παρ' ὧν)· Πρμ.139γ ὥστε· Φδρ.231δ ἦν (Λυσίας;)· Ν.1.637β καί· 8.839γ ὥστε· Δημ.9.54 ὦν· 14.25 ἀλλὰ· 15.11 ὅτι δ'· 16.12 καίτοι (τ)· 18.168 ὡς οὐδ' ἄν εἰ...· 19.142 ὦν· 20.8 οὐς(τ)· 21.16 καί· 22.45 ἃ οὐδ' ἄν εἰ...· 23.183 ὅτι γ' (τ)· 24.7 ἀλλὰ· 113 ψ· 27.48 ὡς· 30.11 ὥστε· 37.47 περὶ ὧν· 50.49 α· 53.15 ὡς· οὐδεις ἄν @.5.32.4 ὡς δέ· 6.24.3 ἦ, 35.1 ὡς· Πλ.ΙΕ 373β ὅτι· Γργ.473ε ἃ, 527α καί οὐδέν γ' ἄν...· Φδρ.279α ὥστε· Δημ.18.235 καί, 268 καί· 19.80 καί· 20.88 οὐς(τ), 138 οἷς· 21.208 περὶ ὧν· 23.162 καί· 27.26 καί(τ)· 35.43 ὅτι· 47.51 ὡς· 50.13 ὡς/οὐδεις ἄν...· 52.27 καί (τ)· 58.24 ὦν.
miscellaneous Πλ.Γργ.460ε ὡς οὐδέποτ' ἄν...· Φδ.72γ καί οὐδαμοῦ ἄν..., 94γ καί οὐποτ' ἄν...· Δημ.20.76 ἃ δ' οὐδαμῶς ἄν...

In (b) above, instances opening with the same prepositive have in οὐκ ἄν been grouped together in brackets after the first occurring; in οὐτ' ἄν, οὐδ' ἄν, κτλ., the prepositive has been named in each case. In distinction from (a) preceding, Thucydides does in (b) have some instances of οὐδεὶς ἄν, but they are few; and, as in (a), Demosthenes exceeds Plato in numbers of οὐδ' ἄν, οὐδεὶς ἄν, οὐδ' ἄν εἶς. If the introductory prepositives are considered, Plato has proportionately very large numbers of καὶ οὐκ ἄν and ὅτι οὐκ ἄν (whereas Thucydides remarkably has no instances of ὅτι at all) and Demosthenes has large numbers of ὅς with οὐδεὶς ἄν and other forms apart from οὐκ ἄν. We now pass to fully medial instances.

Instances of Formula (1) (c) οὐκ ἄν Th.I.11.1, 90.2, 120.1; II. 20.2, 36.4, 60.6, 81.5; III.37.4, 42.2, 53.1(t), 56.2, 61.1, 82.1, 89.5; IV.24.4, 86.5, 108.1, 117.1; V.4.6, 11.1, 68.2, 94; VI.17.8, 19.2, 34.5, 37.2, 96.1; VII.35.2, 62.2; VIII.68.3, 71.1. Pl.Hp.Mi.366b, 376b; Chrm. 164c, 173d, 174d; La.182e, 185e, 193e (verbless); Ion 541c; Prt.312a, 345a, 345b, 347a, 361b; Ap.23d, 30b; Grg.460e, 468e, 469c, 473e, 475c, 496c, 505d, 507e, 516e, 519d; Men.91d, 94c, 96c; Hp.Ma.290e, 291a, 294b, 294e, 296b; Ly.206b, 210a, 215b; Cra.402a, 440b; Smp.201c, 212b, 217e, 219d; Phd.95b, 99b, 100c, 100d, 101e, 103a, 103b(t), 106c; R.I 336e, 344a; II 357c, 367d (verbless); IV 422b, 425c, 440b; V 475d; VI 486b, 490c(t); VII 516c, 521e, 523d, 534d, 539c; X 569d, 569d(verbless), 597a, 603a; Prm.133b, 138b, 139c, 149c, 149d, 154b, 155a, 162a, 164c; Tht.158b, 180c, 185d, 193a, 193b, 195d, 195e, 207a; Sph.224c, 237a, 244d, 248e; Plt.276b, 287d, 292e, 300e; Phlb.12a, 20c, 28a, 30c, 31b, 36d(verbless), 46b, 54e, 56e, 66b; Ti.31a, 89c; Lg.I 625a, 630b, 637b, 638a, 642a, 646c, 648c, 650a; III 679b, 692b; IV 705c, 723b; V 743e; VI 751d(verbless), 757a(t), 766d; VII 804e(verbless), 811d, 821e; VIII 830b; IX 860a, 863c, 870c; X 886c, 888b, 898b, 900a, 904b, 907a; XI 919c, 926b, 928e; XII 968a. Dem.2.8 ; 3.6, 32; 5.14; 6.16; 14.25, 39; 18.13, 101, 219 bis, 232; 19.122; 20.62; 21.199; 22.7(t), 27; 23.99; 24.90, 126; 27.5, 55, 56; 29.7; 34.2; 37.6; 40.10, 45; 43.18(t), 27; 44.16; 45.47; 46.19(verbless); 47.11!, 73, 82; 50.53; 54.27; 55.7! 56.12, 13, 15; 57.59; 59.26, 57. οὐδ' ἄν @.6.34.6.8. 86.5 οὐδ' ἄν εἶς(τ) (≡ Γργ.512ε, 519γ, Σμπ.214δ, Π.2.359β, 374γ, 353d/ 7.516α, Σφ.247γ(τ), Φλβ.18γ, 65δ(λ), Ν.5.744α(λ), Δημ.10.51, 15.14 18.128, 19.180, 20.136, 24.5, 169 οὐδ' ἄν παρ' ἐνός, 26.22, 30. 21, 45.48). Πλ.Iων 536δ οἶμαι δ' οὐδ' ἄν σοὶ δόξαίμι (= Μεν.76ε); Λυ.209ε* Ευθδ.286β, 287δ(τ), 301γ, Κρα.404α, 418δ, Π.2.378α οὐδ' ἄν εἶ...? (≡ Δημ.20.134, 37.16(τ)). 10.596α* Φδρ.235ε(τ)* Ν.1. 647δ* 6.762ε, 781δ* 7.806β. Δημ.14.33* 19.206* 21.72* 22.1, 68*

23.153· 24.1· 25.9(λ)· 30.24· 38.10· 54.36. οὐτ' ἄν
 Th.VII.77.4. Pl.Grg.512c; Smp.178d; Prm.139e, 140c; Tht.144a;
 Phlb.22d(t); Lg.I 628d, 650b; V 742e, 743c. Dem.13.2; 21.129;
 49.46. οὐδεὶς ἄν Θ.6.89.6, 89.6· 8.82.1(τ). Πλ.Χρμ.
 163β· Λα.182β· Απ.30γ· Λυ.215ε· Κρα.428α· Π.2.360γ, 378β· 3.
 422γ ἀμέλει, "... οὐδὲν ἄν... 6.487β· 7.533α· Πρμ.145ε· Θτ.
 209ε· Σφ.230α οὐδὲν ποτ' ἄν· Πλτ.275γ, 285δ· Φλβ.16α(τ), 38α·
 Τι.20β, 30γ οὐδὲν ποτ' ἄν, 31β οὐδὲν ἄν ποτε, 47α· Ν.4.705β· 8.
 836δ, 859δ· 9.875γ. Δημ.6.8· 8.47, 49· 10.20(τ), 24· 14.31, 35·
 15.4, 12· 17.3· 18.68· 19.97, 181, 274· 21.77(τ)· 22.4, 35· 23.
 75, 146· 24.157(λ)· 25.20, 43· 31.5· 39.24(λ)· 43.35· 59.102.
 miscellaneous Πλ.Φδ.106α οὐποτ' ἄν· Π.3.409δ οὐποτ' ἄν· Πρμ.
 138α οὐδαμοῦ ἄν· Φλβ.22δ οὐδέτερον ἄν· Ν.7.792γ οὐκέτι ἄν.
 Δημ.19.53 οὐδέποτ' ἄν (≅ 54.32). ↑ (≅ 61α)

In (c) above, as in (a) and (b) preceding, Demosthenes has fewer cases of οὐκ ἄν than Plato, but approximately equal (i.e. proportionately greater) numbers of οὐδ' ἄν and οὐδεὶς ἄν. Thucydides again has small numbers only of οὐδεὶς ἄν. Comparison of the different forms throughout (a), (b) and (c) reveals that, in Plato, οὐκ ἄν, adverbial οὐδ' ἄν, and οὐδεὶς ἄν all occur more often in medial position than initial (and in οὐκ ἄν by a great majority, Thucydides also showing this tendency in οὐκ ἄν) but in Demosthenes there are in all three expressions approximately equal numbers in initial and medial position; but there is a progression in the order Thuc.:Pl.:Dem. in the overall proportionate numbers of οὐδ' ἄν adverbial and οὐδεὶς ἄν as against οὐκ ἄν. In Demosthenes, those two expressions together approximately equal the numbers of οὐκ ἄν, in Plato they amount to slightly less than one third of those numbers, and in Thucydides to about one sixth.

Formula (1) ctd. (d) Πλ.Π.7.528α φθονοῖς μὴν οὐδ' ἄν ἄλλω· 9.
 589ε οὐκ ἄν αὐτῷ ἐλυσιτέλει οὐδ' ἄν πάμπολυ
 ...λαμβάνειν· Φλβ.64α καὶ οὐκ ἄλλως ἄν ποτε γένοιτο οὐδ' ἄν ἐν·
 Ν.5.743γ εἶεν δὲ οὐκ ἄν ποτε... Δημ.9.13 οἱ ἐποίησαν μὲν
 οὐδὲν ἄν κακόν, 29.2 ἠδίκουν μὲν οὐδ' ἄν οὕτως· 36.49 οὐ γὰρ
 ἄλλο γ' ἔχοις οὐδὲν ἄν ποιῆσαι.

Instances of (d), where the Formulaic expression is later than the verb, infringe Rule XXIV, p.2.2.59.

In (c) above, the Formula, medial in the sentence, is in almost all cases visibly initial in its own phrase, whether it follows an intrusive subordinate clause, vocative or 'he said' (Θ.1.90.2 ὡς δὲ τοῦ βαρβάρου, εἰ αὐτίς ἐπέλθοι, οὐκ ἂν ἔχοντος...), or falls into a recognisable category of Fraenkelian colon-formation (p.l.l.27), as in Th.I.136.4 νομίζων/ἐπὶ τε τῷ παρόντι/οὐκ ἂν ἀπρεπῆ..., or the sentence is simply divided into noun-phrase and verb-phrase, as in Th.I.11.1 τὸ γὰρ ἔρυμα τῷ στρατοπέδῳ/οὐκ ἂν ἐτειχίσαντο. We may now pass to Antiformula.

Instances of Antiformula (1) (aī) οὐ Θ.1.10.1 οὐκ ἀκριβεῖ ἂν τις...χρῶμενος ἀπιστοίη...
 Πλ.Πρτ.330ε οὐχ οὕτως ἂν ἀποκρίναιο; 351β· Γργ.458α οὐκ ἀηδέσ-
 τερον μεντᾶν..., 461ε, 514ε· Λυ.215α· Ευθδ.281γ, 292α(τ)· Π.5.
 477α· Ν.7.797δ οὐ φαύλους τοίνυν... οὐ γὰρ Θ.1.40.3 οὐ
 γὰρ τοῖσδε μόνον ἐπίκουροι ἂν γένοισθε, 73.1 οὐ γὰρ παρὰ διησ-
 ταῖς ἡμῶν...οἱ λόγοι ἂν γίνοντο· 4.87.4 οὐ γὰρ δὴ εἰκότως γ'
 ἂν... Πλ.Χρμ.174α οὐ γὰρ οἶμαι τούτου γ' ἔτι ἂν εἴποις...
 Ευθφρ.14ε· Γργ.455α· IM 297α οὐ γὰρ που...· Λυ.217β(τ)· Κρα.
 401α οὐ γὰρ ἀξιοῦμεν οἷός τ' ἂν εἶναι...· Σμπ.187β οὐ γὰρ δὴ -
 που, 200β· Π.4.429β οὐ γὰρ οἶμαι, "..., "οἱ γε ἄλλοι...· Ν.1.
 643ε οὐ γὰρ ταῦτα ἠγούμενων...ὁ νῦν λόγος ἂν εἴη· 10.887α οὐ
 γὰρ τι βραχὺς ὁ λόγος...ἂν γίνοντο. Δημ.19.81 οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ' ἂν
 ἔδωκ' οὐδενὶ οὐδέν· 23.86 οὐ γὰρ δήπου ἄ.../τᾶν...γράφας τις
 ἔννομ' ἂν εἰρηκῶς εἴη. οὐτε Θ.1.71.6 οὐτε ξυνηθεστέρους
 ἂν...εὐραίμεν· Γργ.486α οὐτ' εἰκός ἂν καὶ πιθανὸν ἂν λάβοις(τ)
 Π.1.330α οὐθ' ὁ μὴ ἐπιεικῆς...εὐκόλος ποτ' ἂν...γένοντο, 331γ·
 Πρμ.153ε· Ν.3.697γ· Δημ.55.7 οὐτε πλέον ἂν ἦν... οὐτε γὰρ
 Θ.1.71.6 οὐτε γὰρ ὅσια ἂν ποιοῦμεν... Πλ.IM 303ε· Δημ.6.29
 οὐτε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἂν ποθ' ὑπέμεινα... οὐτε ἄρα Πλ.Π.5.478γ
 οὐτε ἄρα ἄγνοια οὐτε γνῶσις δόξα ἂν εἴη· Πρμ.140β, 146ε· Θτ.
 210β. οὐδέ conjunction Πλ.Π.2.370ε οὐδέ γ' "..., "σικ-
 ρὰ πόλις ἂν...· 7.533α(τ)· Πρμ.139β οὐδ' αὐ· Ν.4.711δ· 8,835δ
 οὐδ' αὐ· 10.905γ. οὐδέ adverb alone Πλ.Σμπ.221δ οὐδ' εγγυς
 ἂν εὔροι...· Δημ.18.163 οὐδ' ἀναλαβεῖν ἂν ἠδυνήθημεν (τ)· 19.
 96 οὐδ' ὄνομα εἰρήνης ἂν ὑμεῖς ἠνέσχεσθε· 21.169· 24.208 οὐδὲ
 λόγου τυχῶν ἂν...ζημιωθείη (τ), 217 οὐδ' ὀτιοῦν· 25.49· 38.20
 οὐδὲ εἰς. οὐδὲ γὰρ κτλ. Πλ.Φδ.100ε οὐδὲ σὺ ἄρα ἂν...
 Πρμ.146β οὐδ' ἄρα, 146γ οὐδ' ἄρα, 146ε οὐδὲ μὴν, 162δ οὐδὲ μὴν.
 Δημ.23.116 οὐδὲ γὰρ· 45.85 οὐδὲ γὰρ. οὐ μέντοι κτλ.
 Πλ.ΙΕ 367α οὐ μέντοι περὶ ἀριθμὸν...ἂν φεύσαιτο· Χρμ.159δ οὐ
 τοίνυν κατὰ γε τὸ σῶμα ἢ ἡσυχιότης ἂν...εἴη, 161α οὐκ ἄρα σω-
 φροσύνη ἂν εἴη αἰδώς, 162α ἄρα, 170δ ἄρα· Λα.199ε ἄρα· Ν.4.
 704δ τοίνυν· 6.752α οὐκ οὐκ δὴπου. Δημ.19.276 τοίνυν. οὐδεὶς
 (γὰρ κτλ.) Πλ.Φδ.86α οὐδεμία γὰρ μηχανὴ ἂν εἴη...· Πρμ.156ε ἐν
 οὐδενὶ χρόνῳ ἂν εἴη. miscellaneous Πλ.Ν.10.902γ οὐδετέρως
 γὰρ...· Πρμ.146ε οὐδέποτε.

In (al) observe the frequency of οὐκ ἄρα and οὐτ' ἄρα and contrast the paucity of οὐκ ἄρ' ἄν on p.3.2.5 (there are none at all of οὐτ' ἄρ' ἄν); ἄρα seems to repel ἄν from the following position (but notice Phd.100e οὐδὲ σὺ ἄρ' ἄν...). Similar is τοίνυν, for οὐ τοίνυν is unrepresented in the Formula lists; similar also is μήν, but in this case μήν ἄν seems forbidden (Rule XXII, p.2.1.16); the convention of not recording as Antiformulaic cases where the Formulaic wording would infringe a Rule (while Formulaic wording despite the Rule is accepted as of higher significance than others) has not been applied in cases like the above. It has however been applied to cases like Dem.39.23 οὐδὲ γὰρ εἶ τι...τούτους ἄν ἐμίσει, which have been omitted from the Antiformula lists (Rule XI, p.2.1.9). The above (ἄρα, τοίνυν κτλ.) seems to be one type of 'cause' of Antiformulaic wording. Another seems to be a type of unit-formation (obs. the two οὐδεῖς cases), but one in which the negative becomes closely associated with a particular word (without necessarily being special, for the verb itself often seems included in the negation); this is very clear in οὐδέ, but notice also οὐ (e.g. Πρτ.330e οὐχ οὕτως..., N.7.797δ οὐ φαύλους τοίνυν...), and οὐ γάρ, where the emphasized word is often accompanied by γε.

Antiformula (1) ctd. (a2) οὐ Πλ.Π.1.350α οὐχὶ ὁμοίως μὲν...
 πλεομενήσειεν ἄν... 7.515δ οὐκ
 οἶει αὐτὸν ἀπορεῖν τε ἄν... 9.584δ οὐκ ἔγωγε, "... , "ἄλλως
 οἶμαι οἰηθῆναι ἄν... N.5.737α οὐκ εὐπορος... 7.814β οὐ/ε/...
 οὐ γάρ Πλ.Γργ.492ε οὐ γάρ τοι θαυμάζοιμ' ἄν... Μνξ.244δ· Εὐθδ.
 280α οὐ γάρ δήπου... Τλ.56δ· N.1.626δ· 4.712γ οὐ γάρ δη...
 10.886α οὐ γάρ δήποτε εἶποιμ' ἄν... 11.913β· Δημ.15.10· 53.1
 οὐ γάρ δήπου συκοφαντεῖν γε βουλόμενος... οὐτε Πλ.Χρμ.173β
 οὐτε ἰατρὸς οὐτε στρατηγὸς οὐτ' ἄλλος... λανθάνοι ἄν· Π.7.529β·
 Πρμ.155β· N.8.834β· Τλ.48γ οὐτ' αὐτὸς αὐ πείθειν ἑμαυτὸν εἶην
 ἄν δυνατός. Δημ.18.51. οὐτε γάρ Θ.4.126.5. Δημ.24.37·
 51.18. οὐτ' ἄρα Πλ.Πρμ.146ε, 159γ. οὐδὲ conjunction
 Πλ.Γργ.487ε οὐδ' αὐ· Φδ.106α οὐδ' αὐ· Πρμ.156ε οὐδὲ κινεῖτ' ἄν... 20.162
 οὐδέ adverb alone Πλ.Μεν.98δ. Δημ.55.20. οὐδέ γάρ κτλ.
 Θ.7.11.3 γάρ, 42.4 οὐδὲ γάρ ὑπομεῖναι ἄν... Πλ.Μεν.98δ οὐδὲ
 οἱ ἀγαθοὶ φύσει εἶεν ἄν· Πρμ.164α μήν. Δημ.55.20 οὐδὲ πολλα-
 πλάσια γενόμενα... ἐξαρκέσειεν ἄν μοι. (List continues

οὐκ ἄρα κτλ. Πρμ.154β ἄρα, 162δ ἄρα· N.1.646α οὐ μόνον ἄρα...·
 4.708β οὐ τοίνυν. Δημ.14.3 μὴν· 18.316 οὐ μὲν οὖν εἴποι τις
 ἄν...· 19.147 οὐ τοίνυν θαυμάσαιμ' ἄν... (= 38.27)· 45.15 οὐ
 τοίνυν μόνον ἔξ ὧν... οὐδείς (γάρ κτλ.) Πλ.Π.3.395γ οὐδὲν
 δὴ δέοι ἄν... ἄλλο πράττειν· Πρμ.159δ οὐδενί ἄρα τρόπῳ μετέχοι
 ἄν...· Θτ.190γ οὐδείς ἀμφοτέρᾳ γε λέγων... εἴποι ἄν...· Πλτ.
 278ε οὐδὲν δὴ πλημμελοῖμεν ἄν...· Δημ.18.304 οὐδένες... οὔτε...
 οὔτε... miscellaneous Πλ.ΙΜ 299γ οὐδαμῶς.

On (a2) above (Former initial, g follows verb) notice:
Grg.492e (οὐ γάρ) and Dem.19.147 = 38.27 (οὐ τοίνυν); θαυμάζω
 may have some formulaic attraction for g. In (a2) there
 seems to be a smaller proportion of the special and quasi-
 special negative type of Antiformulaic wording mentioned on
 (a1) above, p.3.2.10. It may be that V_g is another 'cause'
 of Antiformulaic wording, which may or may not coincide with
 the others mentioned, thus giving a smaller proportion of the
 others in a category defined by V_g. In addition to the ob-
 servation that οὐκ ἄρα, οὐ τοίνυν, οὐ μὴν κτλ. are unrepresent-
 ed in the corresponding Formula list (or in small numbers),
 comparison of comparable categories in list (a) of Formula
 and (a1) and (a2) of Antiformula shows: Plato tends in gene-
 ral to have a higher proportion of Antiformula than the other
 two authors (οὐ, οὐ γάρ, οὐδέ conjunction, οὐδείς) but has a
 particularly high proportion of Formula in οὔτε γάρ - οὔτε γὰρ
 ἄν is almost a rule. Similarly in Demosthenes there are no
 cases of οὐκ...ἄν or οὐδὲ...ἄν (conjunction) and one only
 of οὐδείς...ἄν despite the particularly large numbers of οὐ-
 δείς ἄν (p.3.2.8); on the other hand he has a high proportion
 of Antiformula in οὐδέ adverb alone - obs. its unit-forming
 propensity in (a1). However what is notable about this For-
 mula is not that there are unit-formations but that there so
 frequently are not where there could be (οὐδ' ἄν εἷς, οὐδ' ἄν
 αὐτός, οὐκ ἄν εἶ γε κτλ.). In (a3), which follows, the Former,
 as elsewhere in (a-), is initial, but g is later than directly
 after the verb.

Antiformula (1) ctd. (a3) Δημ. 6.37 οὐδένα γὰρ βουλομένην ἔγωγ' ἄν...

Negative initial, g later than directly after verb (infringing Rule XXIV); ἔγωγ' ἄν is perhaps a formula itself, but has not been included as such in this chapter, for 'antiformulaic' cases are very numerous. Yet one more case of initial οὐδεις... ἄν in Demosthenes (cf. p.3.2.11).

Antiformula (1) ctd. (b1) Πλ.Χρμ.175γ ὅτου οὐχὶ ἀλογώτερον τοῦτ'...
 Μεν.98γ ἢ οὐ τοῦτ' ἄν εἴη... Π.6.497α
 ἀλλά τοι, "... οὐ τὰ ἐλάχιστα... 8.554β ἢ Φλβ.64α καὶ Ν.2.667α ὅθεν οὐ μόνον... Δημ.51.10 καὶ μὴν οὐ μόνον... οὐτε Πλ.Π.2.380γ ὡς οὐτε ὅσια ἄν λεγόμενα... οὐδέ Θ.2.87.7 ὡστε οὐδὲ καθ' ἑν... οὐδεὶς Πλ.Ν.11.931δ ὡς οὐδέν/ο/τιμιώτερον ἄγαμ' ἄν... Δημ.5.12 καὶ οὐδὲν λήμμ' ἄν οὐδεὶς ἔχοι... 15.16 ὧν οὐδενός... (+ Πλ.Κρι.53δ καὶ οὐκ οἶει ἀσχημον ἄν φανεῖσθαι...)

Antiformula (1) ctd. (b2) οὐ Πλ.Απ.40γ ὅπως οὐκ ἠναντιώθη ἄν μοι... Δημ.24.208 ὅστις οὐχὶ βοηθήσειεν ἄν... 39.29 ὡστε οὐ τῷ χρόνῳ μόνον... οὐτε Πλ.Χρμ.173β καὶ οὐτε τις... φάσκων... Π.5.463δ ὡς οὐτε ὅσια... πράττοντος ἄν... Δημ.24.74 ἀλλ' οὐτε ταῦτα πιήσειεν ἄν... 33.21 ὁ οὐτε ὑμῶν οὐτε... οὐδέ Θ.2.93.3 ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς τολμήσαι ἄν... Πλ.Μεγ.75α ἢ οὐδὲ τούτοις ἔχοις ἄν/-/εἰπεῖν...; Πλτ.299ε καὶ οὐδ' εἰς αὐτοὺς γίγνοιτ' ἄν ποτε. Δημ.20.136 ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐπιχειρήσειεν ἄν 38.21 ὅτι τοίνυν οὐδ' ἀνάσχοισθ' ἄν... 45.48 ὅτι δ' οὐδ' ὑμεῖς... 49.38 οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ τούτου γ' ἐφασάν καταμαρτυρῆσαι ἄν... οὐδεὶς Πλ.Ν. 8.804ε καὶ οὐδὲν φοβηθεῖς...

Excluded from (b2) above are Dem.15.15 οὐ μὴν οὐδ' εἰ... and Πλ.Κρα.436δ οὐ μέντοι ἀλλὰ θαυμάζοιμ' ἄν..., the former on the ground that Rule XI forbids οὐδ' ἄν in this case (but it should perhaps be included under οὐ, for though Rule XI forbids οὐκ ἄν εἰ, καὶ ἄν εἰ, no stated Rule forbids οὐκ ἄν καί, but see also p.3.2.10) the latter on the ground that Rule XXII forbids ἀλλ' ἄν... but cf. Grg.492e etc. in (a2) and p.3.2.11 thereon. In (b-) as in (a-) we see unit-formation in which special or quasi-special negatives 'cause' Antiformulaic order. Also as in (a-), the proportion of this is less in (b2) than in (b1). In many of the V_g cases, the verb directly follows the negative: it is likely to be that which explains the lower proportion of 'unit-formations' made up of negative and a word other than the verb (cf. p.3.2.11). As to comparison with

the (b) instances of Formula (p.3.2.6), Thucydides is here unrepresented under οὐ, despite the large numbers of p οὐκ ἂν.

Antiformula (1) ctd. (c1) οὐ Θ.7.73.2 ...οὐ δοκεῖν ἂν...ἐθελῆσαι.
 Πλ.Π.3.410ε τὸ ἡμέρον οὐχ ἢ φιλό-
 σοφος ἂν ἔχοι φύσις...; 6.488ε ...οὐχ ἠγεῖ ἂν...καλεῖσθαι...;
 493γ ...οὐκ ἄτοπος ἂν σοι δοκεῖ εἶναι...; 7.521γ τοῦτο δὴ//οὐκ
 ὀστράκου ἂν εἶη... Πρμ.148α ...οὐκ ἄλλο ἄλλᾳ.../ἂν πεπονθὸς
 εἶη ὅτ.160δ πῶς ἂν οὖν...οὐκ ἐπιστήμων ἂν εἶην...;(τ) N.2.
 662α ἀνδρεῖος γὰρ δὴ...οὐχ ὁμῖν δοκεῖ...αἰσχροῦς ἂν ζῆν; 666δ
 καὶ οἶδε οὐκ ἄλλην ἂν τινα συναίμεθα...ἄδειν... 3.696δ τὸ μὲν
 δὴ πρόσχημα//οὐ λόγου ἄλλᾳ.../ἄξιον ἂν εἶη 7.806γ ...οὐκ ἄλ-
 λως ἂν... 11.920ε ...οὐ πρόπον ἂν εἶη... Δημ.15.18 ...οὐ
 χαλεπῶς ἂν...ποιήσασθαι νομίζω. οὔτε Πλ.Πρμ.154α καὶ...
 οὔτε πρεσβύτερον οὔτε.../ἂν εἶη Κρα.660β καὶ...οὔτε.../οὔτε
 .../ἂν εἶη. οὔδ' Πλ.ὅτ.162ε ἄξιός οὔδ' ἄξιον ἂν εἶη (τ).
 Δημ.53.3 νῦν δ' οὔδ' διπλάσιόν μοι...ικανὸν ἂν γένοιτο.
 οὔδ' εἰς Θ.2.53.4 τῶν δὲ ἀμαρτημάτων οὔδεις ἐλπίζων...βίους ἂν...
 ἀντιδοῦναι. Πλ.Κρα.421δ ...οὔδ' ἐν θαυμαστὸν ἂν εἶ... (τ) N.8.
 842β ...οὔδεις ἄλλως ἂν λέγοι... 9.855α ...οὔδ' ἐνδὸς τῶν τοιού-
 των...πρόπον ἂν εἶη γίνεσθαι. miscellaneous Θ.6.103.3 ...
 πολέμῳ μὲν οὐκέτι ἐνόμιζον ἂν περιγίνεσθαι 7.40.2 ὡς...οὐκέτι
 οἰόμενοι ἂν...ναυμαχῆσαι. Πλ.N.3.692ε ...τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐδαμῶς
 εὐσχήμονα ἂν κατηγοροῖ.

Antiformula (1) ctd. (c2) οὐ Θ.7.69.2 ὅσα...οὐ πρὸς τὸ δοκεῖν
 ...φυλαξάμενοι εἴποιεν ἂν. Πλ.ΙΕ
 375γ ...οὐ βουλοῦμεθ' ἂν...ἐκτεῖσθαι Φδ.101γ ...οὐκ εὐλαβοῖτο ἂν
 λέγειν; Π.1.331δ ...οὐκ ἐλάχιστον ἔγωγε θεῖον ἂν... 10.619ε
 ...κινδυνεύει...οὐ μόνον...εὐδαιμονεῖν ἂν... Φδρ.268δ ἄλλ'
 ὥσπερ ἂν μουσικὸς...οὐκ ἀγρῶς εἴποι ἂν... Φλβ.34α ...οὐκ ἀπὸ
 τρόπου φθέγγοι ἂν Τι.89ε ...οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου...διαπεράναι τ' ἂν
 N.6.799ε ...οὐκ ἐλάττων...γίγνοιτ' ἂν 7.791γ ...οὐ σμικρὸν
 μόριον...γίγνοιτ' ἂν, 793ε ...οὐ σμικρὰ...γίγνοιτ' ἂν 9.853δ ὧν
 δὴ χάριν οὐκ ἐπὶ χάριν λέγοιμ' ἂν... Δημ.20.57 τοῦτ' δ' οὐ γένοι
 ...κρινόμενον ἴδοι τις ἂν. οὔτε Πλ.Π.4.427α ...οὔτε...
 οὔτε...ῶμην, ἂν δεῖν... Πρμ.157β N.11.930ε γονέων δὲ ἀμελεῖν
 οὔτε θεός οὔτ' .../σύμβουλος ποτε γένοιτ' ἂν... Δημ.21.189 ἐγὼ
 γὰρ...οὔτε φύγοιμ' ἂν... 45.23 οὔτοι δ' οὔτ' ...//ἔχοιεν ἂν...
 οὔδ' Πλ.Λυ.215β ὁ δὲ...δεόμενος οὔδ' ἐτι ἀγαπήν ἂν N.3.692β
 ...οὐδ' ἢ Ἀριστοδμήμου μερὶς ἐσώθη ποτ' ἂν. Δημ.37.8 ἐγὼ δ' οὐδ'
 οὔτως...φεύγοιμ' ἂν δίκην... 40.33 ...οὐδ' κατὰ τῶν...ἀδικούν-
 των ἐπιχειρήσαιτ' ἂν... 44.59 ...οὐδ' ἐδικαστήρια ἦν ἂν...
 οὔδ' εἰς Πλ.Φδ.93ε ...οὐδ' ἐν πλέον...μετέχοι ἂν... Φλβ.65δ οἶμαι
 γὰρ...οὐδ' ἐν...ἀμετρώτερον εὑρεῖν ἂν τινα N.4.708ε πρᾶγμ' οὐδ' ἐν
 γίγνοιτ' ἂν ἐτι 5.731γ τῶν γὰρ...κακῶν οὔδεις οὐδαμοῦ οὐδ' ἐν...
 κερκῆτρο ἂν ποτε. miscellaneous Δημ.15.15 καὶ ταῦτ' οὐδεπώποτ'
 εἶπον ἂν 19.56 τοῦτο τοίνυν οὐδέποθ' ὑμεῖς ὑπεμείνατ' ἂν προσ-
 γράφαι...

Εὐθφρ.7δ οὐκ εἴπερ τι διαφέρονται...διφέρουσι ἂν and N.5.
 733β οὐχ ὡς βουλοῦμεθα ἔχοιμεν ἂν διασαφείν have been omitted

on the ground that Rule XI forbids the Formulaic wording. In Lg. IX 853d χάριν οὐκ ἐπίχαριν, the negative is probably too special to admit Formulaic order; on the other hand, in Lg. VII 791c and 793e (οὐ σμικρ-) Formulaic order is probably possible, and more so in R. I 331d οὐκ ἐλάχιστον. In Th. VII.69.2, the sense 'would not say, if they had taken precautions...' seems perfectly possible. A common cause of Antiformulaic wording seems to be that q and the negative 'belong' to different verbs (e.g. Lg. II 662a, (c1) above); this is rare in the Formula lists, but cf., e.g., Grg. 486d οὐκ ἂν οἴει με...εὐρεῖν. However; Formulaic wording seems particularly unlikely with οὐδέις, as in Th. II.53.4, (c1) above. Comparison with the corresponding Formula list, (c), p.3.2.7, from the point of view of phraseology and authors' practice confirms our impressions from (a) and (b); it is Plato who has most Antiformulaic instances, and Demosthenes, despite the large numbers of ...οὐδέις ἂν, has none of ...οὐδέις...ἂν throughout, this expression is in Demosthenes both particularly numerous and particularly Formulaic. Where a sentence contains more than one case of a given Former (e.g. Lg. V 731c, (c2) οὐδέις, above), it is classified according to the identity and position of the first.

In the above cases of Antiformula (1), pp.3.2.9 ff., the Former precedes q; in those that follow, q precedes; the classification is otherwise the same as above.

Antiformula (1) ctd. q-F (b1) Πλ. Euθδ. 280α ἡ γὰρ ἂν οὐκέτι σοφία εἶη.

(c1) Θ. 2.45.1 καὶ μόλις ἂν...οὐχ ὁμοῖοι ἀλλὰ.../κριθεῖτε· 3. 40.4 ὑμεῖς ἂν οὐ χρεῶν ἄρχοιτε^{οο}· 6. 50.1 ἀπεκρίναντο πόλει μὲν ἂν οὐ δέξασθαι... Πλ. Λυ. 214γ ταύτη μὲν ἂν τοίνυν...οὐκ ἀληθὲς εἶη^ο. Δημ. 20.23 τότε δ' ἂν...οὐδὲν ἔπασχε δεινὸν...

(d1) Πλ. Μεν. 99ε ἀρετὴ ἂν εἶη οὔτε.../ οὔτε... Δημ. 2.17 ἐκ τούτων ἂν τις σκέψαιτ' οὐ χαλεπῶς.

(d2) Θ. 1.71.5 δρῶμεν δ' ἂν ἄδικον οὐδέν· 8. 87.4 διαπολεμῆσαι ἂν ἐπιφανεῖς δήπου οὐκ ἐνδοιαστῶς^{οο} (τ). Πλ. Γργ. 469γ βουλομένη μὲν ἂν ἔγωγε (ctd.)

οὐδέτερα IM 287β ἀκούσας//ἔροιτ' ἄν...οὐ περι...^{οοο}, 299α ὅτι φήσομεν καταγελοῖν ἄν...οὐδεις ὅστις οὐ^ο: Πλατ.304δ εἴη δ' ἄν οὐκ ἄλλη τις(τ).

The signs ^ο, ^{οο}, ^{οοο}, indicate increasing levels of doubt as to whether Formulaic order is possible without changing the sense. In some cases above it seems at first highly unlikely, but is perhaps possible without change of sense if the order of the sentence is otherwise changed to suit.

The following is a numerical summary of the various classes of Formula and Antiformula, omitting those few cases (immediately above) where g precedes the Former.

	(a)			(b)			(c)			(d)	
F Th.	24			19			37				
Pl.	265			93			206			4	
Dem.	<u>158</u>			<u>71</u>			<u>100</u>			<u>3</u>	
	<u>446</u>			<u>183</u>			<u>373</u>			<u>7</u>	
Af	(1)	(2)	t	(1)	(2)	t	(1)	(2)	t	(1)	(2)
Th.	6	3	9	1	1	2	4	1	5		
Pl.	55	36	91	10	6	16	17	20	37		
Dem.	14	14	<u>28</u>	3	8	<u>11</u>	2	8	<u>10</u>		
			<u>128</u>			<u>29</u>			<u>52</u>		

Antiformula is everywhere outnumbered by Formula, but it is least uncommon where the Former is in initial position; (b) therein resembles (c). As to authors' practice, within Formula, Thucydides stands out by his preference for the medial position (c), Demosthenes for initial, (a); as between Formula and Antiformula, Demosthenes has the highest preference for Formula, Plato the highest for Antiformula.

Instances of Counterformula (1+?) 1+3 Πλ.Πρτ.356ε ἄρ' ἄν οὐκ ἐπιστήμη; 356ε καὶ ἄρ' ἄν οὐ μετρητική τις; Γργ.520α ἀλλὰ τί ἄν λέγοις ἀνθρώπων περὶ οὐδενὸς ἀξίων; ^{οο} Θτ.160δ πῶς ἄν οὖν...οὐκ ἐπιστήμων ἄν εἴην...; Σφ.235ε καὶ τί τις ἄν αὐ εἰπῶν...οὐκ ἐξαμάρτοι;(τ) Φλβ.12δ πῶς ἄν τις...οὐκ ἀνόητος φαίνοιτο; Δημ.40.26 διὰ τί ἄν ποτε ὁ πατήρ//τούτους μὲν οὐκ ἔφη... 45.62 τίς ἄν οὖν.../-//οὐκ ἐδέξατο...;

1+4 Πλ.Μεν.87δ τοῦτο μὲν σοι κἂν ἐγὼ ἔχοιμι εἶπεν οὐ
 χειρόν Λάχητος°. Γργ.470γ ἀλλὰ οὐχὶ κἂν παῖς σε ἐλέγ-
 ξειεν... (≡ Λυ.205γ δ οὐχὶ κἂν παῖς εἶποι).

1+5 Πλ.Μεν.87δ τάχ' ἂν εἴη ἡ ἀρετὴ οὐκ ἐπιστήμη τις· Τι.38β
 ...τάχ' ἂν οὐκ εἴη καιρὸς...· IM 298δ ...τάχ' ἂν φανεῖη
 ...οὐκ ἐκτὸς ὄντα...°°

1+5+15 Πλ.Ν.1.645γ φανεῖη δὲ τάχ' ἂν ἴσως...οὐκ ἐπάξιον°°· 3.
 686δ ...ἡμεῖς τάχ' ἂν ἴσως...οὔτε.../οὔτε.../διανοοῦ-
 μεθα· 10.900γ ἀλλὰ οὐδὲν τάχ' ἂν ἴσως εἴη...

1+5+19 Πλ.Ν.7.800α ὥστε τάχ' ἂν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνοι...

1+8 Πλ.Π.2.381α ψυχὴν δὲ οὐ τὴν ἀνδρειοτάτην...ἦμιστ' ἂν
 τι...ταράξειεν.

1+9 Πλ.Πρτ.317γ ὅτου οὐ πάντων ἂν...εἴην· Π.2.379γ οὐδ'
 ἄρα,"...· "ὁ θεός//πάντων ἂν εἴη αἴτιος· Πρμ.147α οὐ
 πάντῃ ἂν ἤδη ἐκφεύγοι...(τ).

1+3+9 Πλ.Ν.1.628γ ἄρα οὖν οὐ...πάντα ἂν...τιθεῖη πᾶς

1+4+9+11 Πλ.IM 302δ ἦ...καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι πᾶσαι ἂν οὐδὲν τούτων
ἦπτον εἶεν καλαί;

1+9+19 Πλ.Ν.7.800α ὥστε...οὐδ' ἐκεῖνοι παντάπασί γ' ἂν ἀφροστώτες
 εἶεν...

1+10 Πλ.Πρτ.338β οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἂν ἔχοι...· Π.5.478ε καὶ οὐδέ-
 τερον εἰλικρινῆς ὀρθῶς ἂν προσαγορευόμενον· 7.534ε
 καὶ οὐκέτι ἄλλο...ὀρθῶς ἂν ἐπιτίθεσθαι· Φλβ.43ε οὐδ' ἄρα...
 ὀρθῶς ἂν...δοξάζοιτο· Ν.3.692ε οὐδ' αὖ...λέγων ὀρθῶς ἂν λέγοι·
 7.822β οὔτε ὀρθῶς ἂν οὔτε.../...προσάπτειν...· 8.834γ ...οὔτε
 ...οὔτε.../ὀρθῶς ἂν νομοθετοῖμεν. Δημ.19.273 νομίζω...οὐ καθ'
 ἐν τι μόνον...ὀρθῶς ἂν ποιεῖν. (Πλ.Σφ.237γ)

1+2+10 Πλ.Π.5.478β ἀλλὰ μὴ ὄν γε οὐχ ἐν τι ἀλλὰ.../ὀρθότατ' ἂν
 προσαγορεύοιτο.

1+3+10 Πλ.Π.9.576α ἄρ' οὖν οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἂν...καλοῖμεν· Σφ.236γ
 ...τέχνην ἀρ' οὐ...ὀρθότατ' ἂν προσαγορεύοιμεν;

(1+11) 1+4+11+19 Πλ.Πλτ.296α ἦ καὶ τοῦτο...οὐδὲν ἦπτον ἂν
ἐκείνου...φαίνοιτο (τ).

1+13 Πλ.Π.5.464ε καὶ μὴν οὐδέ βιαίων γε...δικαίως ἂν
 εἶεν...· Δημ.20.80 ὥστε δικαίως ἂν οὐ μόνον...°°·
 21.156 οὐ χάριν οὐδεμίαν δῆπου δικαίως ἂν τις ἔχοι· 39.33 οὐκ
 ὦν δ' οὐκ ἐπηρεάζου δικαίως ἂν (?).

1+3+13 Δημ.19.133 καὶ τίς οὐ δικαίως ἂν ὑμῖν ἐγκαλέσειε...(τ).

1+3+9+13 Δημ.24.107 ἦ πῶς οὐ κἀκίςτος ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων δικαίως
 ἂν νομίζοιτο;

1+3+13+19 Δημ.57.27 πῶς οὐ δικαίως ἂν ἐγὼ κατ' ἐκεῖνον...εἴην;

1+11+13+19 Δημ.24.159 καὶ δι' ἃ οὐδέν ἦττον ἐκείνου δικαίως ἂν μισοῖτε.

1+14 Πλ.Λυ.217δ ...οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἂν εἶεν...° Π.10.600δ καὶ οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ἂν αὐτῶν ἀντεῖχοντο.

1+3+14 Πλ.Θτ.206α ...ἄρ' οὐ μᾶλλον ἂν ἀποδέξαιο;

1+15 Δημ.23.2 τὴν ἀρχὴν ἴσως ἂν οὐκ ἐξηπάτησθε° 52.31 ...ἴσως ἂν οὐκ ἠδίκησεν...

1+14+15 Πλ.Φδ.78α ἴσως γὰρ ἂν οὐδὲ ῥαδίως εὐροίτε μᾶλλον...

1+15+19 Δημ.52.31 ...ἴσως ἂν οὐκ ἠδίκησεν ἐκεῖνον.

1+17 Θ.3.11.8 οὐ μέντοι ἐπὶ πολύ γ' ἂν...° Πλ.Μνξ.246β πολλὰ γὰρ ἂν ἡμέραι...οὐχ ἱκαναὶ γένοιντο...° Φδ.67ε οὐ πολλὴ ἂν ἀλογία εἴη; (= 68β(τ)).

1+4+9+17 Θ.2.102.3 ἐλπίς δὲ καὶ πάσας οὐκ ἐν πολλῷ τινι ἂν χροῶναι τοῦτο παθεῖν.

1+19 Πλ.Πρμ.160ε οὐδ' ἐκείνω ἂν τι ἦν. Δημ.10.71 οὐ γὰρ ἐκεῖνός γ' ἂν εἴποις (≡ 16.5, 24.60, 196 οὐδ' ἐκεῖν' ἂν ἔχοις εἰπεῖν).

1+9+19 Πλ.Π.4.437γ οὐ πάντα ταῦτα εἰς ἐκεῖνά ποι ἂν θείης...

1+20 Πλ.Π.6.487γ νῦν γὰρ φαίη ἂν τις...οὐκ ἔχειν...°

1+8+20 Πλ.Μεν.99δ ...οὐχ ἥμιστα...φαῖμεν ἂν...εἶναι...° Π.4.436α ...φαίη τις ἂν οὐχ ἥμιστα.

1+3+8+9+20 Πλ.Ν.2.667ε ἄρ' οὖν οὐ πᾶσαν...φαῖμεν ἂν...ἥμιστα προσήκειν°.

1+10+20 Πλ.Ν.7.797γ ...λώβην οὐκ εἶναι μεῖζω φαῖμεν ἂν ὀρθότατα λέγοντες.

1+21 Πλ.Ευθδ.287α ἢ οὐκ ἄρτι ἔφατε...κάλλιστ' ἂν...°

1+3+21 Πλ.Μεν.90δ ἄρ' οὐ πρὸς ταῦτα βλέφαντες καλῶς ἂν πέμπομεν; Π.8.559α ἄρ' οὐ καλῶς ἂν λέγοιμεν;

Instances of Anticounterformula (1+?) 1+2 Θ.1.74.4 οὐδέν ἂν ἔδει...μὴ ἔχοντας...
ναυμαχεῖν°° 2.89.5 ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἠγοῦνται μὴ μέλλοντας...° 93.3 μὴ οὐκ ἂν προαισθῆσθαι. Πλ.Γργ.521δ οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἂν...μὴ ἀδικοῦντ' ἀνθρωπον εἰσαγάγοι°° Φδ.70δ οὐ γὰρ ἂν που...ἐγίγνοντο μὴ οὐσαι...°° Πρμ.147α οὐγ' ἄρ' ἂν μὴ ἐν ἦν°, 163α καὶ μὴν μηδαμῆ γε κινούμενον οὐδαμῆ ἂν ἀλλοιοῖτο° Θτ.155γ μηδέν δὲ ἀπολλύς...οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἐγίγνόμεν...° Σφ.263γ μηδενὸς δέ γε ὦν οὐδ' ἂν λόγος εἴη° Πλτ.281ε ὦν μὴ παραγενομένων οὐκ ἂν...ἐργασθῆ° Ν.7.818β ἄς μὴ τις πράξας...οὐκ ἂν ποτε γένοιτο...° 10.905γ ἦν τις μὴ γιγνώσκων οὐδ' ἂν τύπον ἴδοι ποτέ. Δημ.18.34 ὅτι μὴ κατηγορήσαντος...
(list continues)

οὐδ' ἂν ἐγὼ... ἐποιούμην... 33.29 μὴ γὰρ γενομένης... οὐδ' ἂν ἐγὼ
... ἦν 41.22 ... οὐδ' ἂν εἶς... μὴ... ὁμολογῶν... ποιήσειεν 54.32
... οὐδέ ποτ' ἂν μὴ παθῶν... προειλόμην.

1+2+9 Πλ. Πρμ. 145δ ἔν τινι γὰρ ἐνὶ μὴ ὄν οὐκ ἂν ἔτι που δύναίτο
ἔν γε ἀπασιν εἶναι, 147α οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν οὕτω μὴ ἔν ἦν παντά-
πασιν.

1+2+10 Πλ. Χρμ. 164δ καὶ οὐκ ἂν αἰσχυρθείην μὴ οὐχὶ ὀρθῶς φάναι
εἰρηκέναι^{οο}.

1+3 Πλ. Χρμ. 174δ τί δέ, "... , "οὐκ ἂν αὕτη ὠφελοῖ; Γργ. 192β
ἢ πῶς οὐκ ἂν... (≅ Π. 2.376β, Φδρ. 243γ, Φλβ. 29α, Ν. 1.
648γ, Δημ. 26.24, 34.47, 35.47, 45.21) Λυ. 220γ ἀρὰ ποτε οὐδὲν
ἂν... εἴη... Κρα. 422ε ἀρ οὐκ ἂν... (≅ 423ε, 430ε, IM 292δ, Π. 8.
567ε, Πρμ. 149ε, Σφ. 220β, Ν. 10.895δ, Δημ. 39.31, 50.67) Σμπ.
198β ... τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐξεπλάγη (≅ Σφ. 234δ, Δημ. 18.126, 260(τ), 20.
115, 21.135, 25.33, 32.21, 34.29, 36.20, 45.82, 57.59) Φλβ. 28α
... εἶς τί... τρεῖς οὐκ ἂν ἀσεβοῦμεν; Ν. 2.668γ ... μῶν οὐκ ἂν
σύμπαντες... ὁμολογοῦμεν...; 10.906δ τίσιν οὐκ ἂν δὴ... οὐκ ἂν...
γίγνοιτο...; Δημ. 18.294 τί οὗτος οὐκ ἂν εἴποι; 54.23 τί τοῦ-
τον οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως...; 59.11 ἢ ποῖα αἰσχύνη οὐκ ἂν καὶ.../περι-
πεπτωκῶς ἦν;

1+3+9 Πλ. Φλβ. 63β ... μῶν οὐκ ἂν δέξαισθε οἰκεῖν μετὰ φρονήσεως
πάσης...; Ν. 10.901β κατὰ τίνα ἐπαινοῦντες... οὐκ ἂν παν-
τάπασιν πλημμελοῦμεν; Δημ. 57.44 πῶς οὐκ ἂν οἰκτροτάθ' /- / πάν-
των... πεπονθῶς εἴην;

1+3+11+17 Πλ. Ν. 2.666γ ... ἀρ' οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλοι... ἦτιον αἰσχυρόμενος
οὐκ ἔν πολλοῖς ἀλλ'...^{οο}.

1+3+12 Πλ. IM 284α ... ἀρ' οὐκ ἂν... μάλιστα τιμῶτο;

1+3+13 Πλ. Γργ. 453γ ἀρ' οὐκ ἂν δικαίως σε ἠρόμην; Δημ. 18.101 καὶ
τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀπέκτεινέν με δικαίως; 28.18 τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν...
φθονήσειε δικαίως;

1+3+18 Δημ. 49.53 πότερον... οὐκ ἂν ἠδέως... ἐλάμβανε;

1+3+19 Πλ. Πλτ. 295γ ἀρ' οὐκ ἂν παρ' ἐκεῖνα... Δημ. 18.204 τίς γὰρ
οὐκ ἂν ἀγάσαιτο τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκεῖνων τῆς ἀρετῆς;

1+4 Πλ. Ευθδ. 298α οὐκοῦν καὶ ὁ Χαιρέδημος, "... , "οὐκ ἂν
πατὴρ εἴη(τ)· Κρα. 434β οὐκοῦν ὡσαύτως καὶ ὄνδματα
οὐκ ἂν ποτε ὁμοία γένοιτο...; Π. 7.528β ἔπειτα καὶ γενομένου//
οὐκ ἂν περῶντο... , 518α ... νομίσας γίνεσθαι καὶ περὶ ψυχὴν
// οὐκ ἂν... γελῶ; 10.619ε ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν... πορεύαν οὐκ ἂν χθονίαν
... πορεύεσθαι· Πρμ. 138α καὶ μὴν τοιοῦτόν γε ὄν οὐδαμοῦ ἂν εἴη^{οο}
Σφ. 263α καὶ τοῦτον οὐδ' ἂν εἶς ἄλλως εἴποι...· Ν. 11.925ε ... οὐκ
ἂν ποτε δύναίτο διοικεῖν ἅμα καὶ τὰς... Δημ. 8.24 καὶ γὰρ οὐδ'
ἂν ἄλλως δυναίμην (= 25.14)· 18.68 καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτό γ' οὐδεὶς
ἂν εἴπειν τολμήσαι· 19.214 οὐκ ἂν οἴεσθε καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτ'
ἀγανακτῆσαι...· 49.46 καὶ μὴν ἐνεπισκηφάμενός γε οὗτ' ἂν...

1+4+9+14 next page

1+4+9+14 Πλ.Θτ.172α καὶ οὐκ ἂν πάνυ τολμήσαις φῆσαι//πάντως
μᾶλλον ταῦτα καὶ συνοίσειν^ο.

1+4+10 Πλ.Ν.1.628δ ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ...διανοούμενος οὕτω τις
οὐτ' ἂν ποτε πολιτικὸς γένοιτο ὀρθῶς.

1+4+19 Δημ.51.5 καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ἂν ἐκεῖνὸ γ' ἔχοιεν εἰπεῖν^ο.

1+5 Πλ.Ευθδ.272γ ...τάχα με οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλοιεν... Κρα.402ε
τάχα δὲ οὐκ ἂν... Ν.5.739α τάχα δ' οὐκ ἂν τις προσδέ-
ξαιτο...

1+6 Δημ.27.55 οὐκ ἂν δήπου τὰ μὲν πλεῖστ'...

1+8 Πλ.Π.2.375δ οὐ μεντὰν ἤμιστα...

1+9 Θ.6.37.2 ...μόλις ἂν μοι δοκοῦσιν...οὐκ ἂν παντάπασιν
διαφθαρῆναι. Πλ.Λα.196δ ...οὐκ ἂν πᾶσα ὥς γνοίη· Κρι.
52β οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε τῶν ἄλλων...ἀπάντων... Γργ.510γ καὶ τούτῳ
ἔξ ἄπαντος τοῦ νοῦ οὐκ ἂν ποτε δύναίτο... Μεν.86β ...οὐκ ἂν
πάνυ...διισχυρισάμην (≡ Ευθδ.293ε, Φδ.63γ, Π.4.444α. Δημ.35.
44(τ))· Κρα.412δ οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἄλλως δύνασθαι διὰ τοῦ ὄντος ἵέναι
παντός· Σμπ.196α οὐ γὰρ ἂν οἶός τ' ἦν πάντῃ περιπτύσσεσθαι...
Φδ.94α ...παντελῶς...ἀναρμοστίας οὐ ποτ' ἂν μετὰσχοι^ο· Π.1.
330α ὅτι οὐτ' ἂν ὁ ἐπιεικῆς πάνυ τι ῥαδίως...ἐνέγκοι, 333ε οὐκ
ἂν οὖν/-/πάνυ γέ τι σπουδαῖογ εἴη(τ)· 2.370δ ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν πω
πάνυ γε μέγα τι εἴη· 6.502β ὡς δὲ ἐν παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ πάντων
οὐδ' ἂν εἰς σωθείη· 7.515γ παντάπασιν δὴ, "...οἱ τοιοῦτοι οὐκ
ἂν...νομίζοιεν... Φδρ.234β ...οἶμαι οὐδ' ἂν τὸν ἐρῶντα πρὸς
ἄπαντάς σε κελεύειν... Πλτ.294α ...οὐκ ἂν δύναίτο...πᾶσιν
ἐπιτάττειν· Φλβ.18γ ...οὐδ' ἂν ἐν ἄνευ πάντων αὐτῶν μάθοι, 27ε
οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἠδονῆ πᾶν ἀγαθὸν ἦν, 28α οὐδέ γ' ἂν λύπη πᾶν κακόν·
Τι.26β ἐγὼ γὰρ//οὐκ ἂν οἶδα εἰ, δυναίμην...ἀπαντα...ἀναλαβεῖν·
Ν.1.642α ...ἀνευ...τῆς πάσης οὐκ ἂν...δύναίτο· 2.666γ ...οὐκ
ἂν παντάπασιν...γίγνοιτο... 3.701α οὐδὲν ἂν πάνυ γε δεινὸν
ἦν... 5.745ε ὡς τὰ νῦν...πάντα οὐκ ἂν ποτε...συμπέσοι· 8.
831γ ...πᾶσα ψυχὴ...πάντος οὐκ ἂν δύναίτο... 10.886β ὁ παντά-
πασιν ὑμεῖς...οὐκ ἂν εἰδείητε. Δημ.16.14 ὅτι τῶν πάντων οὐδὲν
ἂν ἀντειπεῖν οἶομαι· 18.159 οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμ'...ἀπάντων εἰπεῖν·
20.58 ἀλλὰ πάντας μὲν οὐδ' ἂν ἐπιχειρήσαιμ' ἐξετάζειν· 21.50 οὐκ
ἂν οἶεσθε...πάντας...ποιήσασθαι, 129 πάντα...οὐδ' ἂν ἐγὼ δυναί-
μην... 22.25 ὅτι...γενέσθαι πάντας...οὐκ ἂν εἴη· 23.135 παν-
τελῶς τούτῳ γ' οὐδὲν ἂν ἠγοῦμαι μελήσαι... 24.59 οὐκ ἂν ἐτ'
εἴης ἐπὶ πᾶσι...τεθηκῶς, 204 καὶ οὐκ ἂν οἶός τ' εἴη πάντας ἐκ-
δύειν...

1+2+9, 1+3+9, above, p.18; 1+4+9+14, above, this page.

1+9+10 Πλ.Ν.12.968ε οὕτω δὴ πάντα...οὐκ ἂν ὀρθῶς γίγνοιτο

1+9+15 Πλ.Γργ.521γ καὶ οὐκ ἂν εἰσαχθεῖς...ὑπὸ πάνυ ἴσως μοχθη-
ροῦ...^ο.

1+9+17 Πλ.Λα.200δ ἂ οὐκ ἂν ἄλλοις πάνυ πολλοῖς ἐθέλοιμι.

1+10 Πλ.Θτ.152δ οὐδ' ἂν τι προσείποις ὀρθῶς... Σφ.238β οὐκ οὐκ οὐκ ἂν ὀρθῶς γε//ἐπιχειροῦμεν... Ν.4.707β τὰς τιμὰς... οὐκ ἂν δύναίτο ὀρθῶς διδόναι τις, 723γ οὐκ ἂν ὀρθῶς λέγοιμεν 9.853δ ...πολίτην... ὀρθῶς οὐτ' ἂν βουλοίμεθα... Δημ.5.12 καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔτ' ὀρθῶς... λογίσαίτο.

1+2+10, above, p.18; 1+4+10, 1+9+10, above, p.19.

1+11 Πλ.Φδ.73β οὐδὲν μεντὰν ἦττον ἀκούοιμι. Δημ.25.39 οὐδὲν ἂν ἦττον εὐροί...

1+3+11+17, above, p.18.

1+11+14 Θ.4.114.4 οὐδ' ἂν... δοκεῖν ἦσσαν ἀλλὰ... μᾶλλον//εὐνοῦς ἂν... γενέσθαι. Πλ.Φλβ.24β ἢ τὸ μᾶλλον τε καὶ ἦττον... τέλος οὐκ ἂν...^ο

χ (1+12) 1+3+12, above, p.18.

1+13 Θ.1.40.1 ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἂν δικαίως αὐτοὺς δέχοισθε Πλ.Απ.33β καὶ τούτων ἐγώ//οὐκ ἂν δικαίως... ὑπέχοιμι... Δημ.48.51 καὶ δικαίως οὐδ' ἂν ὀτιοῦν ἀποδέχοισθε...

1+3+13, above, p.18.

1+14 Θ.5.8.3 οὐκ ἂν ἦγετο μᾶλλον περιγενέσθαι ἢ... 7.64.2 οὐκ ἂν ἐν ἀλλῳ μᾶλλον καιρῷ... Πλ.Ευθδ.278β ...οὐδὲν ἂν μᾶλλον εἰδείη... IM 298β ὅς ἐμοί... οὐδὲν ἂν μᾶλλον ...ἐπιτρέποι... Πλτ.276β ...οὐδεμίᾳ ἂν ἐθελήσειεν... ἑτέρα μᾶλλον... εἶναι... Δημ.15.18 ὡστ' ἐγὼ οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμ' εἰπεῖν μᾶλλον ἦγεῖσθαι συμφέρειν... 34.30 οὐδ' ἂν εἰς σοῦ μᾶλλον...

1+4+9+14, above, p.19; 1+11+14, above, this page.

1+14+19 Πλ.Θτ.166γ ...οὐδὲν τι ἂν μᾶλλον μόνῳ ἐκείνῳ γίγνοιτο.

1+14+20 Πλ.Πρμ.134γ οὐκ ἂν τινα μᾶλλον ἢ.../φαίης...

1+15 Πλ.Μεν.93ε ἴσως οὐκ ἂν Φδ.108δ ...ἴσως οὐδ' ἂν οἶδς τ' εἶην Π.4.422β οὐκ ἂν ἴσως, "..., "ἀμα γε 8.557ε ἴσως γοῦν, "..., "οὐκ ἂν ἀποροῦ, ... Σφ.260δ ...ἴσως οὐκ ἂν μάχαιτο ἔτι Ν.1.634β ...οὐκ ἂν ἴσως εὐποροῖν 7.807β ...ἴσως οὐκ ἂν ποτε γένοιτο. Δημ.21.15 ...οὐκ ἂν ἴσως... φανεῖη, 138 ...ἴσως μὲν οὐκ ἂν ὑβρίζοι.

1+9+15, above, p.19.

1+15+17 Πλ.Π.1.330δ ...ἴσως οὐκ ἂν πολλοὺς πείσαιμι (τ).

1+15+20 Πλ.Π.3.397δ ἀλλ' ἴσως, "..., "οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν ἀρμόττειν φαίης...

1+17 Θ.1.9.4 αὐταὶ δὲ οὐκ ἂν πολλαὶ εἶεν 2.42.2 καὶ οὐκ ἂν πολλοῖς... φανεῖη. Πλ.Ευθδ.5α οὐδέ τῳ ἂν διαφέροι ...τῶν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων Κρι.45α καὶ οὐδὲν ἂν δέοι... πολλοῦ ἀργυροῦ Κρα.403γ οἶει... οὐκ ἂν πολλοὺς ἐκφεύγειν; Σμπ.194γ τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς οὐκ ἂν αἰσχύνοιο Φδ.98β καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἀπεδόμην

(list continues)

πολλοῦ... Π.10.600γ ἀλλ' οἶει//οὐκ ἄρ' ἂν πολλοῦς... Πρμ.137γ
 ἄλλο τι οὐκ ἂν εἶη πολλὰ... 165ε ὥστε οὐδ' ἂν πολλὰ εἶη· Θτ.
 178ε ἢ οὐδεὶς γ' ἂν αὐτῷ διελέγετο διδοῦς πολὺ...^{οο} Φδρ.233δ
 ὅτι οὐτ' ἂν...περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποιούμεθα... Ν.6.771γ ...οὐκ ἂν πο-
 λῦς ἐπιδείξειεν μῦθος. Δημ.19.213 κατὰ πόλλ' οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως...
 44.5 οὐδὲν ἂν δέοι πολλῶν λόγων.

1+3+11+17, 1+9+17, 1+15+17, above, pp.18, 19, 20 resp.

1+18 Θ.5.11.1 οὐδ' ἂν ἠδέως. Πλ.Πρτ.335δ ὡς ἐγὼ οὐδ' ἂν
 ἐνδὸς ἠδίων ἀκούσαιμι.

1+3+18, above, p.18.

1+19 Θ.1.77.3 ἐκείνως δὲ οὐδ' ἂν...ἀντέλεγον... 121.4
 ἐκείνοις οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο διδασχῆ, 143.2 ...οὐδεὶς ἂν
 δέξαιτο...ἐκείνοις ξυναγωνίζεσθαι· 4.78.4 νῦν, τε ἀκόντων ἐκεί-
 νων οὐκ ἂν προελθεῖν, 29.3 ...τὰς ἐκείνων...οὐκ ἂν...εἶναι· 5.
 30.3 ...ὁμόσαντες ἐκείνοις οὐκ ἂν εὐορκεῖν... Πλ.Απ.33ε ὥστε
 οὐκ ἂν ἐκεῖνός γε... Φδ.103β αὐτὰ δὲ ἐκεῖνα οὐκ ἂν... 104δ
 ...ἐκείνη τῇ μορφῇ//οὐδέποτ' ἂν ἔλθοι· Πρμ.134δ οὐτ' ἂν...ἢ ἐκεί-
 νων...δεσπόσειεν, 142β οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐκείνη ἦν ἐκείνου οὐσία (τ),
 142β οὐδ' ἂν ἐκεῖνο...μετεῖχεν· Θτ.156δ ἃ οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἐγένετο
 ἐκατέρου ἐκείνων...ἐλθόντος· Τι.31α καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐτι ἐκείνοιγ...
 Ν.2.669γ οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐκεῖναί γε ἐξάμαρτοιεν... Δημ.1.21 οὐτ'
 ἂν...ἐξήνεγκε...ἐκεῖνος· 5.7 οὐκ ἂν οὕτως οὐτ' ἐκείνου οὐτ' .../
 ἠκούσατε· 6.16 ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἠγοῦμαι...τοῖς ἐκείνων...
 16.18 οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἠγοῦμαι...εἶναι τὸν λόγον πρὸς ἐκείνους· 19.
 153 ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν...εἶχ'... 27.26 οὐκ ἂν κατὰ τὰς ἐκεί-
 νου πονηρίας... 44.48 οὐκ ἂν εἶψαν ἐτι ἐκείνῳ...

1+3+19, 1+4+19, 1+14+19, above, pp.18, 19, 20 resp.

1+20 Πλ.Πρτ.354γ οὐκ ἂν φαῖεν· IM 284γ οὐκ ἂν φαίην,
 ἐγωγε/-/· Θτ.163α ἀλλ' οὐ οἷμαι/-/οὔτε σὺ οὐτ' ἂν
 ἡμεῖς φαῖμεν, 197β ἔχειν μὲν οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν αὐτό, κεντῆσθαι γε
 μὴν φαῖμεν· Ν.3.690γ καίτοι τρυτὸ γε/-/σχεδὸν οὐκ ἂν φαίην
 γίγνεσθαι. Δημ.23.47 οὐκ ἂν οἶμαι φαίη· 39.28 οὐκ ἂν διὰ τοῦ-
 τό γε φαίης.

1+14+20, 1+15+20, above, p.20.

1+21 Πλ.Κρα.435β ...οὐκ ἂν καλῶς ἐτι ἔχοι· Σμπ.194γ, οὐ
 μεντὰν καλῶς ποιούην... Π.1.353α ἀλλ' οὐδενί γ' ἂν
 οἶμαι οὕτω καλῶς.

1+22 Πλ.Π.10.611γ ὥσπερ...οὐκ ἂν...ἴδοιεν.

Instances of Multiple Antiformula (1+?) - see next page.

Instances of Multiple Antiformula (1+?) 1+2 Δημ.5.15 οὐκοῦν
οὔσης...^{οο} προῦντ' ἄν...μῆ

1+2+10, above, p.16.

1+2+19 Πλ.Πρμ.162δ οὐκ ἄρα τὸ ἔν γε μῆ ὄν στρέφεσθαι ἂν δύναίτο
ἐν ἐκεῖνω.

1+3 Πλ.Βυθφρ.14δ ἄρ' οὖν οὐ τό γε ὀρθῶς αἰτεῖν ἂν εἴη...
(≅ Π.5.476γ, 6.487α, 7.515ε, 516ε(τ), 517α, 8.559α;
9.574β, Φδρ.261α, Σφ.220α, Φλβ.36β, Ν.10.892α)· Πρμ.141α ἄρ'
οὖν οὐδὲ ἐν χρόνῳ...δυναίτ' ἄν...· Φλβ.12ε πῶς γὰρ...οὐχ ὁμοι-
ότατον ἂν εἴη; Ν.2.665γ πῶς δ' οὐχ ὁμολογοῦτ' ἄν (τ) (≅ 8.832α,
Δημ.19.71, 23.143, 32.23, 51.4)· Ν.2.671ε μῶν οὐκ ὠφεληθέντες
ἄν... (≅ 3.687β).

1+3+4 Πλ.Π.4.422γ ἄρα γε οὐ καὶ πλείους χειρῶσαιτ' ἄν...· Ν.9.
857ε ἄρ' οὖν οὐ καὶ τοῦτ' ἄν...λέγειν φαίνοιτο; 11.937ε
...πῶς οὐ καὶ τὸ συνδικεῖν ἡμῖν γίγνοιτ' ἄν καλόν; Δημ.20.133
πῶς γὰρ οὐχὶ καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο δεινότατ' ἄν...φανείη;

1+3+4+21 Πλ.Π.5.453α ἄρ' οὐχ οὕτως ἂν κάλλιστα τις ἀρχόμενος
καὶ κάλλιστα τελευτήσειεν;

1+3+8+9+20, 1+3+9, above, pp.17 and 16 resp.

1+3+9 Πλ.Π.3.398γ ἄρ' οὖν οὐ πᾶς ἤδη ἂν εὐροι//; (τ)· Ν.1.640β
ἄρ' οὐ τοῦτ' ἄν παντὶ τρόπῳ ἐπράττομεν; 8.830γ καὶ ἔτι
πάντων...ἄρα γε οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν ἄν...;

1+3+9+13, above, p.16; 1+3+10, ib.

1+3+10 Πλ.Π.8.559γ ...ἄρα γε ὀρθῶς οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα ἂν καλοῦτο;

1+3+13, 1+3+13+19, above, p.16.

1+3+13 Πλ.Σφ.224β ...ἄρ' οὐ τὸ μὲν...δικαιότατα λέγοιτ' ἄν;
Δημ.19.68 πῶς γὰρ οὐχ οὗτοι τοιοῦτοι δικαίως ὑποληφθεῖεν
ἄν; 22.62 πῶς οὐχ ὀτιοῦν ἂν πάθοις δικαίως; 24.95 πῶς οὐχὶ δι-
καίως ὀτιοῦν ἂν πάθοις;

1+3+14, above, p.17.

1+3+14 Πλ.Ν.7.792β ἄρ' οὐκ οἰόμεθα εὐθυμον μᾶλλον τε καὶ.../ἂν
ἐργάζεσθαι; (τ).

1+3+19+20 Πλ.Κρα.430α ἄρ' οὐκ ἄλλο μὲν ἂν φαίης τὸ ὄνομα εἶναι
ἄλλο δὲ ἐκεῖνο//;

1+3+21, above, p.17

1+3+21 Πλ.Ν.3.676α μῶν οὐκ ἐνθένδε τις ἂν αὐτὴν ῥᾶστα τε καὶ
κάλλιστα κατίδοι;

1+4 Πλ.ΙΜ 300ε οὐ καὶ ἐκάτερος ἡμῶν εἴη ἄν; 301α οὐ καὶ
ἀμφοτέρω αὐτῶν τοῦτο πεπόνθοιμεν; Πρμ.145α οὐ καὶ
ἀρχὴν ἂν ἔχοι...; (τ)· Θτ.179α ὅτι καὶ τὸ μέλλον...οὔτε...
οὔτε...κρίνειεν ἄν...· Δημ.24.189 καίτοι καὶ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἀπορήσα-
ιμ' ἂν δεῖξαι.

1+3+4, 1+3+4+21, above p.22; 1+4+9+11, 1+4+11+19, p.16;
1+4+9+17, p.17.

1+4+10 Πλ.Μεν.97β οὐ καὶ οὗτος ἂν ὀρθῶς ἠγγῆτο;

1+4+15 Πλ.Πρτ.335γ ἐπεὶ καὶ ταῦτ' ἂν ἴσως οὐκ ἀηδῶς σου ἠκουον.°

1+4+20 Πλ.Ευθδ.291ε οὐ καὶ σὺ ἂν ταῦτα φαίης; Π.9.589γ οὐ καὶ τὰ... νόμιμα διὰ τὰ τοιαῦτ' ἂν φαίμεν γεγονέναι;

1+8 Πλ.Ν.9.876δ οὐχ ἦκιστα ἐμμελεῖς αὐτοῦς οἴμεθ' ἂν...
γίγνεσθαι...

1+8+20, 1+3+8+9+20, above, p.17.

1+9 Πλ.Λα.182γ ὅτι πάντα... ἀνδρείοτερον ἂν ποιήσειεν οὐκ
ὀλίγω°° Σφ.252β κατὰ πάντα ταῦτα λέγοιεν ἂν οὐδέν'
Φλβ.41α ...οὐ πάνυ πονηρὰς ἂν τις...θεῖη· Ν.5.737β ...οὐκ
ἀνθρώπινος ἂν εἴη...μετὰ...πάσης ἀμαθία; 738α ...πρὸς ἅπαντα...
οὐ πλείους..δύναιτ' ἂν τέμνεσθαι...· 9.853δ ...οὐτ' ἐλπιστὸν πάνυ
τι νοσήσαι ποτ' ἂν. Δημ.21.219 οὐδὲ δύναιτ' ἂν...ἅπαντας...·
41.29 πᾶσιν γὰρ...παραγενόμενοι...οὐκ ἀπέτρεπον ἂν...(τ)· 54.37
ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς οὐχ οἷοί τε γενοίμεθ' ἂν...πάντας ἐξευρεῖν...

1+3+8+9+20, 1+3+9, 1+3+9+13, 1+4+9+17, 1+9+19, above, pp.17, 22,
16, 17 and 17 resp.

1+9+13 Πλ.Ν.12.944β ῥίφασπις μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἐν πᾶσιν ὀνομάζοιτ' ἂν
δικαίως.

1+9+20 Πλ.Ν.10.905δ ἔγωγε οὐ παντάπασιν φαύλως ἂν φαίην ὑμῖν
ἀποδεδεῖχθαι.

1+10 @.1.38.4 τοῖσδ' ἂν μόνοις οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἀπαρῆσκοιμεν°.
Πλ.Ν.5.737γ ...οὐκ ἄλλως ὀρθῶς γίγνοιτ' ἂν, 738ε οὔτε
δίκης ποτὲ τις ἂν...ὀρθῶς τυγχάνοι. Δημ.6.33 καὶ οὐχὶ βουλοί-
μην ἂν εἰκάζειν ὀρθῶς.

1+3+10, above, p.22; 1+4+10, above, this page.

1+10+20, above, p.17.

1+11 Δημ.54.15 ...οὐχ ἦττον...ἀγανακτήσαιμ' ἂν...

1+4+9+11, 1+11+13+19, above, pp.16 and 17 resp.

1+12 @.1.21.1 τοιαῦτα ἂν τις νομίζων μάλιστα//οὐκ ἀμαρτά-
νοι.

1+13 @.2.43.5 οὐ γὰρ...δικαιότερον ἀφειδοῖεν ἂν... Πλ.
Σμπ.182α ἐπεὶ οὐ δῆπου...φόγον ἂν δικαίως φέροι.
Δημ.32.27 οὐκ ὀφλεῖν ἂν δίκην δικαίως ἀλλ' .../...

1+3+13, above, p.22; 1+9+13, above, this page.

1+14 next page

1+14 θ.4.62.2 ἢ δοκεῖτε//οὐχ ἠρυχίαν μᾶλλον, ἢ.../παῦσαι
 ἄν... Πλ.Μεν.78ε οὐδὲν ἀρα μᾶλλον...ἀρετὴ ἄν εἴη.
 Π.1.340β ...οὐδὲν μᾶλλον...δίκαιον ἄν εἴη...

1+3+14, above, p.22.

1+15 Πλ.Ν.1.640α ἡμεῖς...οὐδὲ ἐντυγχάνοντες ἄν ἴσως...
 γνοῖμεν...

1+4+15, 1+2+15, above, pp.23 and 16 resp.

1+17 Πλ.Π.3.388δ ἀλλ' οὐδὲν αἰσχυρόμενος...πολλοὺς...
 θρήνους ἄν ἄδοι... 6.506α οἶμαι...οὐ πολλοῦ τινος
 ἄξιον φύλακα κεντῆσθαι ἄν· θτ.168ε οὐ πολλῶν...ἀμεινον ἄν ἐπ-
 ακολουθήσειε...; Ν.2.674γ ὥστε...οὐδ' ἀμπελώνων ἄν πολλῶν δέ-
 οι... 7.821ε ...σφῶν ἄν νῦν οὐκ ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ δηλώσαι δυνα-
 μην.

1+19 Πλ.Π.3.387δ οὐκ ἀρα ὑπὲρ γ' ἐκείνου/ὀδύροιτ' ἄν...
 Φλβ.23α οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκείνοις ἐτι ἄν ὁμοίως φαίνοιτο
 καλῆ. Δημ.14.28 καὶ φόβος οὐκ ὀλίγος γένοιτ' ἄν ἐκείνῳ...^ο
20.114 ὅτι φήσαμ' ἄν...ἐκείνοις...οὐ τυχεῖν...^{οο} 38.26 ...οὐ
 μόνον κατὰ τοῦτ' ἐκείνων πλεονεκτοῦτεν ἄν... 52.27 κακεῖνος...
 οὐκ εὐθύς ἄν ὠφλήκει;

1+2+19, 1+3+19+20, above, p.22; 1+3+13+19, 1+4+11+19, 1+2+19,
 1+9+19, p.16; 1+11+13+19, 1+15+19, p.17.

1+20 Πλ.Μεν.93γ Θεμιστοκλέα οὐκ ἀγαθὸν ἄν φαίης...; Ευθδ.
 292α οὐ τὴν τροφήν ἄν φαίης...; Π.6.486δ ἀλλ' οὐ
 μὴν...ἄλλοσέ ποι ἄν φαῖμεν ἔλκειν...

1+3+19+20, above, p.22; 1+4+20, 1+9+20, p.23.

1+21 Δημ.20.75 ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἄνθρωπον...οἶμαι τοῦτ' ἄν φῆσαι
καλῶς ἐχειν^ο(τ).

1+3+4+21, 1+3+21, above, p.22.

1+22 Πλ.Πρτ.344γ ὥσπερ οὖν οὐ τὸν κείμενόν τις ἄν κατα-
 βάλοι...

That ends the lists of Counterformula, Anticounterformula and Multiple Antiformula of the Former οὐ. It seems that a certain type of interrogative sentence tends against the wording οὐκ ἄν: see instances in Antiformula, οὐ, (a1), (b1), (c1), pp.3.2.9, 12, 13, Multiple Antiformula 1+4, p.3.2.23, 1+17 and 1+20, above, this page. For comment on the attraction of α to one Former or another where more than one are present, see under the lists of the appropriate Former present, other than οὐ. In general, οὐ prevails over other Formers in attracting

q, but not over $\tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha$; see 1+5 and 1+5, pp.3.2.16 and 19.

Apart from the question of the position of q, the co-occurrence of $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}$ and other Formers in sentences with $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ varies according to author. In the above lists, Thucydides is absent or underrepresented in the combinations of $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}$ with interrogatives (3), $\acute{\omicron}\rho\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ (10), $\acute{\eta}\tau\tau\omicron\nu$ (11), $\acute{\iota}\sigma\omega\varsigma$ (15), $\phi\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu$ (20), $\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ (21), but this is matched by under-representation of Thucydides in the simple Formula/Antiformula lists of these Formers (pp.3.2.33, 79, 82, 95, 117, 124). The combinations with $\tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha$ (5), $\acute{\eta}\kappa\iota\sigma\tau\alpha$ (8) and $\acute{\omega}\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho$ (22) occur only in Plato, but although Thucydides and Demosthenes are underrepresented in the Formula/Antiformula lists of $\tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha$ (p.3.2.60 below), yet $\acute{\eta}\kappa\iota\sigma\tau\alpha$ is common in Thucydides and $\acute{\omega}\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho$ in Demosthenes (pp.3.2.64 and 127 below). Again, despite a fairly high frequency of $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\alpha$ as a Former in Thucydides (p.3.2.63 below), the combination with $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}$ (1+6, p.3.2.19) is rare; though $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\alpha$ (12) is common as a Former in Plato and Demosthenes (p.3.2.83 below), the combination with $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}$ is rare (1+3+12, p.3.2.18; 1+12, p.3.2.23).

The Counterformulaic wording $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\ \kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu$ (1+4) is rare, confined to Plato (p.3.2.16), one case having a special $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}$ and the other two constituting a repetitive phrase - although the simple Formulaic wording $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu$ (4), p.3.2.45 below, is common enough in Thucydides and Demosthenes. Though $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$, 14, p.3.2.90 below, is common in Thucydides and Demosthenes, and likewise $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\ \mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ (1+14, p.3.2.20), yet $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\ \mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$ (1+14, p.3.2.17) is rare and confined to Plato. Plato alone has $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$ (1+9, p.3.2.16), but he also has the largest numbers of 1+9 and 1+9 (pp.3.2.19 and 23) and of the simple Formula and Antiformula, 9 and 9, pp.3.2.65 below. Peculiarly Demosthenic is the phrase $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\ \acute{\iota}\sigma\omega\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$ (1+15, p.3.2.17), though $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\ \acute{\iota}\sigma\omega\varsigma$ (1+15) and the Multiple Antiformula 1+15 (pp.3.2.20 and 24) are common in Plato; similarly $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\ \delta\iota\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$ (1+13, p.3.2.16) is almost confined to Demosthenes, who also has the

majority in Antiformula, 13, p.3.2.87 below. A repetitive phrase also gives Demosthenes the majority in 1+19, οὐκ ἐκεῖν-
 ἄν, p.3.2.17. Repetitive phraseology also appears in 1+3+13,
 p.3.2.22. That ends the account of the Former οὐ.

2/2: Former μή (p.3.2.1).

Instances of Formula (2) (a) Th.II.93.3; V.49.5. Pl.Prt.352c;
 Grg.449c; Mnx.243e(t). Dem.18.
 190, 225; 23.159(t); 25.68.

(b) Pl.Euthd.272a(t); R.VI 487a; IX
 590c; Lg.IX 872d; XII 967b.
 Dem.8.35; 20.126, 161; 21.138(t), 203, 218; 24.154; 25.7; 50.2.

(c) Th.I.139.1; III.11.4; IV.47.2,
 108.5; VI.80.5; VII.29.3. Pl.
 Grg.521c; Mnx.243d, 244c; Cra.414d; Phd.94c(t); Tht.155a; Phdr.
 235b(t), 256a(t); Sph.245d; Ti.19d; Lg.XI 926c(t). Dem.19.313;
 23.159; 54.40 bis.

Instances of Antiformula (2) (a) Θ.4.126.4 μὴ προειδώς τις ἂν
 αὐτοῖς τολμηρότερον προδφέροι-
 το. Πλ.Π.3.391δ μηδέ τιν' ἄλλον... τολμήσαι ἂν..., 412ε μηδενὶ
 τρόπῳ πρᾶξαι ἂν ἐθέλειν· 6.504α μὴ γὰρ μνημονεύων... τὰ λοιπὰ
 ἂν ἦν δίκαιος μὴ ἀκούειν· Πлт.309ε μηδέ τινα ἐπιστήμην... πρὸς
 τοὺς τοιοῦτους ἂν χρῆσθαι ποτε· N.4.711γ μηδεὶς ἡμᾶς πειθέτω/-/
 ...μεταβάλλειν ἂν ποτε πόλιν^{οοο}.

(b) Θ.2.87.3 καὶ μὴ ἀπειρίαν...
 προβαλλομένους... εἰκότως ἂν...
 γενέσθαι· 3.11.2 τῷ μὴ προῦχων ἂν ἐπελθεῖν. Πλ.Πρτ.345β ὅστις
 δὲ μὴ ἰατρὸς ἂν γένοιτο· Π.6.501α τῷ μῆτε ἰδιώτου μῆτε.../ἐθε-
 λῆσαι ἂν ἀφασθαι· N.7.790α πρὸς τῷ μὴ ἐθέλειν ἂν...· 8.839α
 ἐν ἧ μὴ βούλοιο ἂν σοι φύεσθαι... Δημ.19.83 καὶ τὸ μηδέ ποτ'
 ἐλθεῖν ἂν...· 30.23 οὐς μὴ γεγενημένης τῆς δόσεως παραδοῦναι
 μὴ ἐθέλοντες ἠλέγχοντ' ἂν· 50.60 ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι ἂν(τ).

(c) Θ.1.140.4 ὑμῶν δὲ μηδεὶς νομί-
 ση διὰ βραχέος ἂν πολεμεῖν^{οοο}.
 3.11.1 βεβαιότεροι ἂν ἡμῖν ἦσαν μηδὲν νεωτεριεῖν^{οοο}· 6.14.1 νο-
 μίσας//τὸ μὲν λύειν... μὴ μετὰ τοσῶνδ' ἂν μαρτύρων αἰτίαν σχεῖν.
 Πλ.Σμπ.202γ ἢ τολμήσαις ἂν τινα μὴ φάναι...;° Φδ.106δ σχολῆ γὰρ
 ἂν τι ἄλλο φθορὰν μὴ δέχοιτο· 7.519β καὶ ἀνάγκη... μῆτε τοὺς
 ἀπαιδεύτους καὶ.../ἰκανῶς ἂν ποτε πόλιν ἐπιτροπεύσαι...· Φδρ.
 235γ ...αἰσθάνομαι παρὰ ταῦτα ἂν ἔχειν εἰπεῖν ἕτερα μὴ χεῖρω^{οοο}.
 Πлт.301γ καὶ ἀπιστησάντων μηδένα... ἄξιον ἂν γενέσθαι· N.4.709γ
 ...συλλαβέσθαι ἢ μὴ, μέγα πλεονέκτημ' ἐγὼγ' ἂν θείην^{οοο}. Δημ.
 1.21 καὶ φῆσειέ τις ἂν μὴ σιοπῶν...^{οοο}· 18.221 καὶ ἐπεπεῖσμην
 ... μῆτε γράφοντ' ἂν... γράφαι...· 21.212 εἰ δ' οὗτοι... μὴ προοῖντ'
 ἂν...· 22.12 οἶμαι γὰρ ἂν μηδὲν ἀντειπεῖν· 23.135 ὅμως προνο-
 ἱlist continues

θεῖν γ' ἄν μὴ...ἀδικῆσαι^{οοο}.

In Antiformula above, where there are two instances of μὴ neither followed by q, the sentence is classed according to the position of the earlier. There seem to be no instances of μὴ γὰρ ἄν. In Formula, all the Demosthenic cases in (a) have μὴτ' ἄν. Instances marked ^ο, ^{οο}, ^{οοο}, indicate doubt in varying degrees as to whether Formulaic wording is a possibility at all. Some of these are cases of special negative: μὴ ἄν is impossible in (c) Phdr.235c because it means 'That I could say something better', not 'That I could not say anything worse'; on the other hand μὴ ἄν should probably be accepted as possible in (a) Th.I.126.4 and (b) Th.III.11.2, for Rule X (p.2.1.8) does not apply to ἄν, and the latter could mean not only 'the likelihood of attacking on a basis of inferiority' but also '...of not attacking on a basis of superiority'. In fact although the Formula list above outnumbers Antiformula, it seems likely that there are limitations on μὴ^ο as a Former: μὴ ἄν seems not to occur when the negative and q 'belong' to different verbs (contrast Ti.26b οὐκ ἄν οἷδ' εἰ δυναίμην). Consequently the Antiformula list above is somewhat differently constituted from the Formula list. It therefore seems worthwhile to present an alternative classification under the following headings: (1) the sentence or clause is simple or is a case of main-governed (in that order) in which both negative and q belong to main; (2a) main-governed in which both negative and q belong to governed, the negative being initial in the governed group; (2b) ditto, negative being medial in the governed group; (3) main-governed in which the negative belongs to main but q to governed; (4) main-governed in which negative belongs to governed but q to main; (5) governed-main (in that order) in which both negative and q belong to main but, in word-order, at least μὴ precedes governed; (6) governed-main in which negative belongs to governed but q to main; (7a) participial-main in which both negative and q belong to main but, in word-order, at least μὴ

precedes participial; (7b) ditto, both negative and q going in word-order with main; (8) participial-main in which both negative and q belong to participial; (9) participial-main in which the negative belongs to participial, q to main; (10) main-participial in which the negative belongs to participial and q to main. (In the above, main/governed/participial means the group of words 'belonging' to main verb/governed verb/participle respectively.) The letters (a), (b), (c) (or (α), (β), (γ)) within each list indicate the location of the instances in the Formula and Antiformula lists above. In Antiformulaic instances, § indicates a case of q preceding the negative (cf. p.3.2.14 above).

(1) Formula: (a) Θ.2.93.3 μὴ ἂν ποτε...ἐπιπλεύσειαν. Πλ.Πρτ. 352γ μὴ ἂν κρατηθῆναι... Γργ.449γ· Μνξ.243ε (τ); Δημ.18.225· 23.159(τ)· 25.68. (β) Πλ.Ευθδ.272α ὥστε μὴδ' ἂν ἕνα...οὐδὲν τ' εἶναι... (τ)· Π.6.487α· 9.590γ· Ν.9.872δ. Δημ.8.35· 20.161· 21.138(τ)· 24.154. (γ) Πλ.Φδρ.235β ὥστε παρὰ τὰ...εἰρημένα μὴδὲν ἂν ποτε δύνασθαι... (τ)· Σφ.245δ. Δημ.19.313· 54.40.

Antiformula: Pl.R.III 391d, 412e; Plt.309e. (b) Pl.Prt. 345δ; R.VI 501a; Lg.VII 790a; VIII 839a. Dem. 19.83; 50.60(t). (c) Pl.Phd.106d§; Dem.21.212.

(2a) Formula (c) Θ.3.11.4 ...μαρτυρίῳ ἔχρωντο μὴ ἂν...ἄκοντας// ξυστρατεύειν· 4.108.5· 7.29.3. Πλ.Γργ.521γ· Μνξ.243δ, 244γ· Κρα.414δ· Φδ.94γ(τ)· Φδρ.256α(τ)· Τι.19δ. Δημ. 54.40.

Antiformula (c) Pl.R.VII 519b; Plt.301c. Dem.18.211(t); 22.12§.

(2b) Formula (c) Θ.1.139.1 ...προὔλεγον τὸ...φήφισμα καθελοῦσι μὴ ἂν γίνεσθαι πόλεμον· 4.47.2. Πλ.Θτ.155α.

Antiformula (c) Th.VI.14.1. Pl.Phdr.235c§.

(3) Formula (c) Δημ.23.159 καίτοι μὴ νομίζετε μήτ' ἂν...ἀποδέχεσθαι...

Antiformula (a) Pl.Lg.IV 711c. (c) Th.I.140.4.

(4) Antiformula: (c) Th.III.11.1. Pl.Smp.202c; R.VI 504a§. Dem.23.135.

(5) Formula (a) next page

- (5) Formula (a) Δημ. 18.190 μήτ' ἂν εἶπεῖν ἔχοι μηδεῖς... (β) Δημ. 21.218 ἐκ τοῦ μηδέεν ἂν//ἀναλύσαι δύνασθαι. 25.7.
- (6) Antiformula (c) Pl. Lg. IV 709c. Dem. 30.23.
- (7a) Formula (b) Πλ. N. 12.967β ὅπως μήποτ' ἂν ἄφυχα ὄντα... λογισμοῖς ἂν ἐχρῆτο. Δημ. 20.126.
- Antiformula (b) Th. II. 87.3.
- (7b) Formula (c) Πλ. N. 11.926γ ἢ μὴν παρόντα... τὸν νομοθέτην μήποτ' ἂν ἀναγκάσαι πράττειν... (τ).
- (8) Formula (c) Θ. 6.80.5 καὶ τὴν... ἔχθραν μὴ ἂν βραχεῖαν γενομένην διαφυγεῖν...
- (9) Antiformula (a) Th. IV. 126.4. Pl. R. VI 504a. (b) Dem. 30.23.
- (10) Antiformula (c) Dem. 1.21δ.

In the above alternative classification Pl. R. VI 504a and Dem. 30.23 both appear twice (cf. p. 3.2.27); both have two instances of μή. In (5) Formula (b) Dem. 21.218, it is arguable that μηδέεν 'belongs' to the infinitive and the instance should be otherwise classed; but in fact the negative element in μηδέεν 'belongs' to the main verb and only the pronominal element to the infinitive. Th. II. 93.3 is classed in (1) Formula (a) because the verb following μή is in a finite mood, so that μή is initial in the clause; but cf. 7.29.3 καὶ ἀπροσδοκῆτοίς μὴ ἂν ποτέ τινα... ἐπιθέσθαι, which is classed in (2a) because μή is initial merely in an infinitival phrase; the groups of words 'belonging' to main verb and infinitive are often intertwined, but Rules II and VII (pp. 2.1.6 and 7) make finite-verb clauses self-contained to a much greater extent. In this case cf. also: 4.108.5 καὶ ἐπίστευον μηδένα ἂν ἐπὶ σφᾶς βοηθῆσαι. Πλ. Γργ. 521γ ...πιστεύειν μηδ' ἂν ἐν τούτων παθεῖν. It looks as if II. 93.3 is intermediate between ἐπίστευον μὴ ἂν... ἐπιπλεύσαι and οὐκ ἐφοβοῦντο μὴ... ἐπιπλεύσειαν.

The Formula:Antiformula ratios revealed in (1), (2a), (2b), (5), (7a), (7b) and (8) above (where negative and q 'belong' to the same verb) are respectively 19:11, 11:4, 3:2, 3:0, 2:1, 1:0,

and 1:0, in total 40:18; in (3), (4), (6), (9) and (10), where negative and \underline{q} 'belong' to different verbs, they are respectively 1:2, 0:4, 0:2, 0:3, 0:1. It seems to be a general rule that $\mu\eta$ and $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ 'belonging' to different verbs do not appear as $\mu\eta \acute{\alpha}\nu$. The one exception is $\mu\eta\tau' \acute{\alpha}\nu$ in Dem. 23.159, where, significantly, we do not find $\mu\eta \acute{\alpha}\nu$ νομίζετε... It is in (2a) that we find the highest ratio of Formula to Antiformula, not as we might expect, in (1). However, although the overall proportion of Formula is not high, evidence of genuine attraction of \underline{q} to $\mu\eta$ seems furnished by cases like (5) and (7a).

Instances of Counterformula (2+?) $2+1 = 1+2$, $2+1+9 = 1+2+9$,
 $2+1+10 = 1+2+10$, pp. 17-18.

2+3 Πλ. Γργ. 509β τίνα $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ βοήθειαν μη δυνάμενος $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ θρωπος βοήθειν... καταγέλαστος $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ εἶη^{οο}. Π. 5.477α πῶς γὰρ $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ μη ὄν γέ τι γνωσθεῖν;^{οοο} 6.486γ ἄρ' $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ οἶδος τ' εἶη... μη κενὸς εἶναι^{οοο} N. 10.887γ πῶς $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ τις μη θύμῳ λέγοι...^{οο} 46.13 πῶς $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ οὐν μη εἰδῶς ὁ πατήρ... ἔδωκεν $\acute{\alpha}\nu$...^ο.

2+4 Θ. 6.80.5 ἢ κἂν περιγεγόμενοι... τούσδε τε μη αἰσχροῶς... λαβεῖν. Πλ. Απ. 32α μη ὑπελκων δὲ ἅμα κἂν ἀπολοῖμην(τ).

2+5 Πλ. Ν. 11.925ε τούτων δὲ μηδὲν φροντίζειν τάχ' $\acute{\alpha}\nu$... δόξειέν τισιν^{οο}.

2+4+5 Δημ. 23.143 μη γὰρ ὠρισμένου... τάχ' $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ //καὶ... συμβαίη^{οο}.

2+7 Θ. 6.18.7 ...γιγνώσκω πόλιν μη ἀπράγμονα τάχιστ' $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ μοι δοκεῖν... διαφθαρήναι^{οο}.

2+9 Πλ. Φδ. 106δ ...παρὰ πάντων $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ὁμολογηθεῖη... μηδέποτε ἀπόλλυσθαι^ο.

2+9+12 Πλ. Ν. 1.628β ὄν μάλιστα μὲν ἅπας $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ βούλοιτο μητε γενέσθαι...^{οο}.

2+12 Θ. 2.48.3 ἀφ' ὧν $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ τις σκοπῶν//μάλιστα' $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ἔγοι... μη ἀγνοεῖν^{οο}. Πλ. Θτ. 183β εἰ μη ἄρα εἰ τὸ "οὐδ' οὕτως" μάλιστα' $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ αὐτοῖς ἀρμόττοι^{ο(τ)}. Δημ. 47.4 μάλιστα μὲν $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ἠβουλόμην μη ἔχειν...^ο.

(2+14) 2+14+17 Πλ. Σμπ. 218δ ...πολὺ μᾶλλον $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ μη χαριζόμενος... αἰσχυνοῖμην ἢ.... Δημ. 24.171.

(2+18) 2+4+18+19 Θ. 1.90.1 τὰ μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡδίων $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ὀρῶντες μητε ἐκείνους μητε.../... ἔχοντα.

2+17+18 Πλ. Σμπ. 216γ καὶ πολλάκις μὲν ἡδέως $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ἴδοιμι αὐτὸν μη ὄντα...^{οο}.

(2+20) 2+4+20 Πλ.Λυ.218α διὰ ταῦτα δὴ φαίμεν ἂν καὶ τοὺς
...σοφοὺς μηκέτι φιλοσοφεῖν^{οο}.

2+9+17+20 Πλ.Φλβ.38γ πολλάκις ἰδόντι τινὶ μὴ πάνυ σαφῶς...συμ-
βαίνειν...φαίης ἂν...^{οο}.

Instances of Anticounterformula (2+?) 2+4 Θ.2.51.6 καὶ αὐτοὶ...
χρόνον ἐλπίδος τι εἶχον...μηδ' ἂν ὑπ' ἄλλου...διαφθαρῆναι^{οο}.
καὶ ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα

2+4+9+19 Θ.7.6.4 ἐκείνους τε καὶ παντάπασιν ἀπεστερηκέσθαι//
μὴ ἂν...ἀποτείχισαι^{οο}.

2+4+19+21 Θ.5.60.5 νομίζοντες κακεῖνοι μὴ ἂν σφίσι ποτὲ κάλλιον
παράτυχόν...διαπεφευγέσθαι^{οο}.

2+9 Δημ.6.10 κέκρισθε γὰρ...μόνοι τῶν πάντων μηδενὸς ἂν
κέρδους...προέσθαι' 20.117 εἰ δὲ μηδ' ἂν εἰς ἓν ἀπαντι...

2+4+9+19, above, this page.

2+11 Θ.1.76.1 εὖ ἴσμεν μὴ ἂν ἦσσαν...γενομένους...

2+17 Θ.2.11.3 καὶ ἀσφάλεια πολλῇ εἶναι μὴ ἂν ἐλθεῖν...^{οο}

(2+19) 2+4+9+19, 2+4+19+21, above, this page.

(2+21) 2+4+19+21, above, this page.

Instances of Multiple Antiformula (2+?) 2+1 = 1+2, 2+1+10 =
1+2+10, 2+1+19 =
1+2+19, see above, pp.22, 16, 22 resp.

2+3 Πλ.ΙΜ 283δ μῶν μὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι σοῦ βέλτιον ἂν παιδεύ-
σειαν...; Φλβ.27γ...ἀρα μὴ κλημμελοῖσθαι ἂν τι; Δημ.
19.221 τίνος εἶνεκ' ἐγὼ μηδὲν ἡδίκηκότων τούτων κατηγορεῖν ἂν
προειλόμην^{οο}.

2+4 Δημ.25.5 δι' ἃ δ' ἂν καὶ μηδ' ὀτιοῦν ἀδικῶν τις ἔδεισε.

2+4+5, above p.30.

2+4+9+17 Πλ.Θτ.179γ πολλαχῆ / - / καὶ ἄλλη ἂν...ἀλοῖη μὴ πᾶσαν
παντὸς...εἶναι.^{οο}

2+4+18+19, 2+4+20, above p.30 and this page respectively.

2+9 Πλ.Θτ.171ε ...ἐθελῆσαι ἂν φάναι μὴ πᾶν γύναιον...
εἶναι^{οο} N.4.718δ μὴ παντάπασιν ὠμῆς...λαβόμενα ἡμερώ-
τερόν τε ἂν ἀκούειν...^{οο}.

2+1+9 (= 1+2+9) above, p.18; 2+4+9+17, 2+9+17+20, above, this
page.

(2+10) 2+1+10 = 1+2+10, p.18.

2+12 Θ.7.8.2 νομίζων οὕτως ἂν μάλιστα...μηδέν...ἀφανισ-
θεῖσαν...μαθόντας...βουλευσασθαι^{οο}.

2+9+12, above, p.30.

2+14 Δημ.52.25 ὥστε μη προσθέσθαι ἂν...μᾶλλον...

2+15 Δημ.9.13 μη παθεῖν δ' ἐφυλάξαντ' ἂν ἴσως^{οο}.

2+17 Πλ.Ν.3.687δ πολλὰ ὁ πατήρ ἀπεύξαιτ' ἂν...μηδαμῶς...
γίγνεσθαι^{οο}.

2+9+17+20, above p.31; 2+14+17, 2+17+18, above, p.30; 2+4+9+17,
p.31.

(2+19) 2+1+19 = 1+2+19, above, p.22; 2+4+18+19, p.30.

2+22 Πλ.Σφ.230γ ὥσπερ...νενομίκασι μη πρότερον ἂν...^{οο}.

Most of the Counterformula, Anticounterformula and Multiple Antiformula instances above are marked °, °°, or °°, on the ground that significant alternative word-orders seem unlikely, so that the evidential value of the instances is low. This is to some extent due to the principle of page 30 above that μη ἂν is avoided where the two words 'belong' to different verbs. That μη ἂν occurs particularly in the type of sentence called (2a) on p.3.2.30, is illustrated by the majority of cases in Anticounterformula (from which Platonic instances are for some reason absent). That the above principle is due to μη rather than to ἂν is suggested by the contrast with the behaviour of interrogatives (Former (3)) and adverbial καί (Former (4)); the tendency of q 'belonging' to a main verb to be promoted by peninitialism into a preceding participial phrase (in contrast to the pronominal postpositives - see Rule X, p.2.1.8) is illustrated by Grg.509b and Th.VI.80.5 in Counterformula 2+3 and 2+4; in the former, it produces τίν' ἂν, not μη ἂν. In the latter, καί has attracted q into κᾶν though q and negative both 'belong' to the main verb and καί to the participle.

There are no instances of 1+2 to set against those of 1+2 (pp.3.2.17-18); but in view of the principle above-mention-

ed, that tells us little; co-occurrence of οὐ and μή in constructions of the (1) and (2a) types (pp.3.2.27, 30) is not found. That ends the account of μή, Former (2).

3/3, Former πώς κτλ. (p.3.2.1)

Instances of Formula (3) (a) 0.1.143.5 τίνες 6.35.1 τλ. Πλ.
 IE 364γ άρα, 367β τλς ούν, 374γ
 πότερον ούν, 374δ ποτέρους ούν Χρμ.160ε άρ' ούν, 162β τλ ούν,
 167β τλς, 176α πώς γάρ Λα.179β πώς, 179δ τλ, 190β τλν' άν τρό-
 πον, 190β τλν' άν τρόπον, 190δ τλ ούν, 200ε τλ ούν Ιων 540ε τλ
 Πρτ.311γ τλ άν άπεκρίνω (≅ 311γ, 311δ, 312δ, 312δ, 331α, Μεν.
 72β, 72β, Κρα.421γ), 328α τλς, 333α πώς γάρ, 339γ πώς γάρ, 345α
 τλς ούν, 356δ τλς, 356ε άρα, 356ε τλ Ευθφρ.7β άρ' άν ει...?
 Απ.27δ τλς (τ), 32ε άρ' ούν, 41β επί πόσω δ' άν τις... Κρι.46γ
 πώς ούν, 53α τλνι γάρ Γργ.463δ άρ' ούν, 467α πώς άν ούν...?,
 501β τλνα άν αύτή τρόπον..., 509γ τλ ούν, 510δ τλν' άν τρόπον...,
 512ε τλν' άν τρόπον..., 521ε τλ, 522α τλ Μεν.71β πώς, 75γ τλ,
 82γ πόσων, 90β παρ ά τλνας, 92γ πώς ούν IM 283δ τλ δήτα, 288α
 πώς γάρ, 288γ πώς γάρ, 289β τλς γάρ, 296β άρα, 296β πώς γάρ(λ),
 297ε πώς τι άρ' άγ... Λυ.206α ποίός τις ούν άν..., 206γ τλνα,
 209β τλ ποτ' άν ούν...?, 222ε τλ ούν Μγξ.237α τλς ούν Ευθδ.
 279α πώς, 279α άρ' άν ει...?, 280β άρ' ούν, 280γ άρα, 280δ άρα,
 284α πώς γάρ άν; (λ), 288ε άρ' ούν (τ), 302α άρα Κρα.397δ τλ
 ούν, 418α τλ δ', 422ε πώς γάρ άν άλλως; (λ), 429δ πώς γάρ,
 430γ άρα, 432β άρα, 434α άρά ποτ' (τ), 435ε τλς ποτ', 439α πο-
 τέρα, 439ε πώς ούν, 439ε πώς Σμπ.175α ποϋ, 202δ πώς άν ούν...?
 (τ) Φδ.63α τλ γάρ, 64α πώς άν ούν δη...? Π.1.332γ τλ, 337γ τλ,
 337ε πώς γάρ 2.365α ποίός τις άν..., 371ε ποϋ ούν, 372δ τλ
 3.414β τλς άν ούν...? 4.427δ ποϋ ποτ', 429β τλ, 430δ πώς ούν
 5.460α ποϋ άν (λ)(τ), 477ε πώς γάρ 7.515δ τλ, 521δ τλ άν ούν?
 526α τλ, 538α πώς 8.564ε πώς γάρ 9.578α πώς γάρ άν; (λ), 578δ
 τλ γάρ, 578ε έν ποίω άν τινι..., 582α πώς 10.608γ τλ δ', 609β
 πώς γάρ άν; (λ) Πρμ.133γ πώς γάρ, 137γ πώς γάρ άν; (λ), 144β
 πώς γάρ άν δη...? 147γ τλ γάρ άν; (λ)(τ), 153β άρα, 160β τλς ούν,
 162δ άρα, 164γ τλ δη ούν Θτ.146α τλς, 153α τλς ούν, 158β τλ,
 164γ τλ ούν δητα, 173γ τλ γάρ, 188γ πώς ούν, 195γ τλ γάρ Φδρ.
 236ε πώς γάρ, 260γ ποϋόν τλν' άν...(τ), 268β τλ, 273γ πώς δέ,
 274γ άρά γε Σφ.233α πώς ούν άν ποτε..., 233α τλ ποτ' ούν άν...,
 237γ πώς γάρ άν; (λ), 238β πώς ούν, 240δ τλ γάρ, 241α πώς γάρ,
 253ε πώς γάρ Πлт.295α πώς γάρ (τ) Φλβ.26ε πώς γάρ, 35γ τφ γάρ,
 53α πώς ούν (τ) Κριτι.107α τλς N.1.626γ πώς γάρ 2.656γ πώς
 γάρ άν; (λ), 658β τλ άν ει...?, 658γ τλς γάρ, 666δ τλς άν ούν?,
 666δ άρ' άν...(λ), 668δ άρα, 667γ πώς γάρ άν/=/ει...?, 3678δ πώς
 γάρ άν; (λ)(τ), 685β τλν' ούν, 689δ πώς γάρ, 693ε πώς γάρ άν;(λ)
 696γ πώς γάρ άν;(λ), 702α πώς ποτ', 702β τλς ποτ' 4.714δ πώς-
 γάρ άν;(λ), 719β άρα 6.767β τίνες, 770α πώς γάρ άν; (λ) 7.
 791δ τλνα ούν 8.830β άρα, 830α πώς γάρ άν;(λ), 842α τλν' αύτοϋς
 άν τρόπον... 10.901α πώς γάρ άν;(λ), 901γ πώς γάρ άν;(λ), 902β
 (list continues)

902β πῶς γὰρ ἄν;(λ), 902ε πῶς γὰρ ἄν;(λ), 907α πῶς γὰρ ἄν;(λ)·
 12.951γ πῶς οὖν. Δημ.1.24 πῶς· 8.20 πότερ', 23 τί, 75 ἀρα·
 9.68 τίς γάρ· 10.15 τί γάρ (τ), 70 τί· 18.22 τί, 195 τί ἄν εἰς
 212 πῶς, 240 τί· 19.14 πῶς, 24 τίς γάρ, 39 τί (≅ 40 τί, 41 τί,
 48 τί), 66 τίς ἄν οὖν...·(τ), 69 πῶς, 85 πῶς ἄν οὖν...·, 112
 πῶς, 188 τί δέ, 213 τίς γάρ· 21.26 τίς ἄν οὖν...·, 108 τί ἄν
 εἰ...·, 115 ἀρ ἄν εἰ γε...· 22.2 τίς, 2 τίς γάρ (τ), 2 τίς δ'·
 23.11 τίς ἄν τρόπον...·, 58 τίς δέ, 63 τί, 81 πῶς ἄν ἦ...·, 117,
 τίς ἄν εἰ...·, 120 ἀρ ἄν ὦν...· 24.31 τί γάρ (τ), 138 τί ποτ',
 201 τίνος· 25.19 τί γάρ, 21 τί γάρ, 26 πόσην δέ, 32 τίς δέ, 33
 τίς ἄν οὖν...· 27.30 τί γάρ, 47 πῶς οὖν· 28.18 ποτ' δέ, 22
 ποῖός τις ἄν...· 32.17 τί, 21 τίς γάρ· 34.45 τί· 35.26 τί, 42
 πῶς, 44 ἀρα (τ)· 36.11 τί δὴ ποτ' ἄν...·, 48 τί γάρ (τ)· 37.50
 τίς δέ, 54 τί τις ἄν...· 39.10 τί (τ), 21 τί, 26 πῶς, 28 πῶς·
 40.18 τί (τ), 40 τί γάρ (τ), 57 τίνος (τ)· 41.13 πῶς γάρ· 43.
 59 πῶς ἄν οὖν...·, 78 πῶς· 44.48 πῶς ἄν οὖν...· 45.11 τοῦ τις
 ἄν εἶνεκα...·, 34 τίς γάρ (τ), 59 τί, 62 τίς ἄν οὖν...·, 81 εἰς
 τίνα· 48.7 τί· 49.45 πότερα γάρ· 50.35 τίς ἄν οὖν...·, 67 τίς
 51.9 τίς· 54.22 τίς, 33 τί γάρ ἄν;(λ)· 55.19 πῶς ἄν οὖν...·
 57.69 τίνος οὖν· 58.13 τίς γάρ, 45 τί ποτ', 64 τί γάρ· 59.8
 τίς γάρ, 11 τί, 13 τίς γάρ.

Formula (3) ctd. (b) Θ.6.18.1 ὥστε τί, Πλ.ΙΒ, 371ε καὶ πῶς·
 Εὐφφ.15α ἀλλὰ τί δὴ ποτ' ἄν...· Κρι.44γ
 καίτοι τίς· Γργ.491ε ἐπεὶ πῶς· Μεν.96δ ἢ τίς· ΙΜ 300β καὶ πῶς·
 Λυ.214ε ἢ τί· Μνξ.236α καὶ τί· Κρα.423γ ἀλλὰ τίς, 424β ἀλλὰ τίς·
 Σμπ.202β καὶ πῶς· Φδ.82α ἢ ποτ'· Η.1.353γ καὶ πῶς ἄν;(λ)· 5.
 473β καὶ τίνος· 6.492γ ἢ ποῖαν (τ)· 8.522β ἀλλὰ/-/τί· 9.582α
 καὶ πῶς ἄν;(λ)· Πρμ.131α καὶ πῶς ἄν;(λ), 144γ καὶ πῶς· Θτ.186δ
 καὶ πῶς ἄν;(λ), 188γ καὶ πῶς ἄν;(λ)· Φδρ.242δ οὐ τίς (τ)· Σφ.
 224γ καὶ τί τις ἄν...·, 235α καὶ πῶς ἄν;(λ), 249α καὶ τίς· Πλτ.
 304ε καὶ πῶς· Ν.1.639β ἢ πῶς· 2.662α καὶ πῶς· 4.707β καίτοι πῶς·
 12.966α τὸ πῶς, Δημ.3.29 καὶ τί· 6.16 καὶ τίς· 16.8 καὶ τί·
 21.108 καὶ τίς· 23.15 καίτοι πῶς· 24.65 καίτοι τίνος, 90 καί-
 τοι πῶς, 107 καίτοι τίς· 27.57 καὶ τίς, 63 καίτοι τί ποτ'· 37.
 31 καίτοι τίς, 57 εἶτα καὶ πῶς· 39.11 καὶ πότερα, 24 καίτοι τίς·
 40.29 οἷς τίς (≅ 59 ὃ τίς)· 41.14 καίτοι τίνες· 47.30 ὥστε τί(τ)
 (≅ 49.47 ὥστε τί), 66 καίτοι πῶς ἄν εἰ...· (≅ 77)· 49.50 ἐπειτα
 καὶ ἐκ τίνος ἄν...· 53.13 καίτοι τίς...·, 17 ἐπειτα τίς...·(τ),
 32 καίτοι τίς...

Formula (3) ctd. (c) Θ.7.44.1 πῶς. Πλ.Λα.196β τί· Ιων 537γ πό-
 τερος· Πρτ.328α τίς, 330γ τίς, 330γ τίς, 330γ τίς· Απ.41α ἐπὶ
 πόσῳ· Γργ.519δ τί· Μεν.90β τίς· ΙΜ 294β τί· Λυ.215α πῶς· Εὐθδ.
 280β πῶς, 286β πῶς (τ), 286ε πῶς, 296ε πῶς (τ)· Κρα.297ε τί,
 398γ τί, 416α τί· Σμπ.200γ τίς, 202α πῶς, 202α πῶς· Φδ.93ε ἀρα·
 Η.2.379α τίς· 3.412β τί, 412β τί· 4.432β τί ποτ', 439ε ποτέρῳ
 (τ)· Θτ.209δ τί· Φδρ.269γ πῶς καὶ πόθεν· Σφ.251ε τί ποτ'· Πλτ.
 263α πῶς, 272β ἀρα, 283ε ἀρα (τ), 288γ ἀρα· Τι.47β τί· Ν.1.643β
 ἀρα· 2.668δ ἀρα· 3.702β πῶς· 4.717α τὰ ποτ'· 6.751δ πῶς, 776β
 ποῖα· 8.809α πῶς. Δημ.6.13 πῶς· 36.19 τίς, 25 τίς, 44 τίς·
 40.11 τί· 41.7 τί· 43.20 τί, 68 τί· 44.54 πῶς· 54.37 ἀρα· 55.14
 τίς· 57.55 πῶς.

That ends the lists of Formula (3). In (a), cases which through Formulaism infringe a Rule (Ch. II) are marked †; elliptical, verbless, instances are marked (λ). On the infringements, see in particular Rules XI (ἄρ' ἄν εἰ κτλ.) and XIV (πῶς ἄν οὖν κτλ.). As to elliptical instances (which, like exceptions, are of above average evidential value for the Formula) note in particular the following expressions used as complete sentences: πῶς γὰρ ἄν; Euthd. 284a; R. IX 578a; X 609b; Prm. 137c; Sph. 237c; Lg. II 656c; III 678d, 693e, 696c; IV 714d; VI 770a; VIII 833a; X 901a, 901c, 902b, 902e, 907a. καὶ πῶς ἄν; R. I 353c; IX 582a; Prm. 131a; Tht. 186d; Sph. 235a. τί γὰρ ἄν; Prm. 147c. Dem. 54.33. ποῦ ἄν; R. V 468a (†).

Notice also the formula, 'If we were asked, τί ἄν ἀποκρινοίμεθα;' and variants, beginning in Prt.; the last case, Cra. 421c, shows consciousness that this is an old convention.

Overall on the Formula (3) lists, in all authors (including Thucydides, who has remarkably few instances) the great majority of cases are in initial position (contrast οὐκ ἄν, table on p. 3.2.15 above).

It is now possible to compare the different varieties of the Formula, τίς ἄν, τίς γὰρ ἄν, πῶς ἄν, πῶς δ' ἄν κτλ. (Here only words preceding q have been considered, i. e. πῶς ἄν οὖν is treated as a variety of πῶς ἄν.) In the (a), initial, position, τίς ἄν, τί ἄν κτλ. occurs mostly in that simple form (the commonest single class), sometimes as τίς γὰρ ἄν, more rarely as τίς οὖν ἄν, and even more rarely as τίς δ' ἄν. ἄρα appears mostly alone, sometimes as ἄρ' οὖν. πῶς, unlike τίς, mostly occurs as πῶς γὰρ ἄν, sometimes as simple πῶς ἄν, but only rarely as πῶς οὖν ἄν. δέ is overall rare in these combinations. In the (b) list, καὶ τίς, καὶ πῶς, καίτοι τίς, καίτοι πῶς make up the majority; ἀλλά occurs only with τίς, not with πῶς. In the (c), medial, list, the majority of cases are τίς ἄν or πῶς ἄν. ἄρ' ἄν in this postponed position occurs only in Pit., Lg., Dem. 54. The above refers to Formula only; Antiformula follows.

Instances of Antiformula (3) (a1) Θ .1.142.7 πώς δὴ... ἄξιον ἂν
 τι δρῶεν; Πλ.Χρμ.157ε ποῖται
 δύο ρίγκαι... καλλῶ ἂν... γεννήσειαν; Λα.194ε ποῖα σοφία ἀνδρείᾳ
 ἀγ.εῖη; Πρτ.351β ἀρ' οὖν δοκεῖ σοι ἄνθρωπος ἂν... ζῆν...; 352α ἀρ'
 οὖν//τῆδέ πη καταφανές ἂν... γένοιτο; Γργ.478γ ἀρ' οὖν οὕτως ἂν...
 492β τί... αἰσχίον ἢ κάκιον ἂν εἶη...; (τ), 497δ πώς οὖν ταυτὰ ἂν
 εἶη...; 522α πόσον οἶει ἂν ἀναβοῆσαι...; Ευθδ.281γ πότερον δὲ
 ἀνδρεῖος ὦν... ἐλάττω ἂν πράττοι...; 295α τί μείζον ἀγαθὸν αὐτοῦ
 ἂν εὐροίμι; Κρα.430α πότερον γὰρ ἀληθῆ ἂν...; 432γ πότερον...
 Σμπ.176β τί νι τρόπῳ ἂν... Π.1.352ε ἀρ' οὖν... 2.382δ κατὰ τί
 δὴ οὖν... 3.404α ἀρ' οὖν... 4.427β τί οὖν... 6.484β πώς οὖν
 λέγοντες ἂν αὐτοῦ... Πρμ.160γ ἀρα ἐφ' ἐκάστου ἂν δηλοῖ... Θτ.
 144ε πότερον εὐθὺς ἂν... Φδρ.269β πότερον χαλεπῶς ἂν...; 276β
 πότερα σπουδῆ ἂν... Σφ.237γ τί δοκοῦμεν ἂν... καταχρησασθαι;(τ),
 242β τίνα ἀρχὴν τις ἂν ἀρξαιτο... Φλβ.14α ἀρα...; 21α ἀρ' οὖν
 ἔτι τινὸς ἂν σοι προσδεῖν ἦγοῦ; 29δ τίς γὰρ ἀποκρινόμενος ἄλ-
 λως ὑγιαίνων ἂν... φανεῖη; 36γ πώς δ' /- / ἂν εἶεν...; 38δ ἀρ' οὖν,
 42δ πότε δὲ... Ν.1.631α πῆ δὴ οὖν... (τ), 649γ ἀρα 2.663α τί
 γὰρ...; 665δ ποῦ δὴ... 4.709δ τί παρὸν... (τ), 719β τί ποτε...;
 723β τί 5.737γ τίς οὖν δὴ τρόπος... 8.830α ἀρα, 839ε πότερον
 9.858α τίνα τρόπον... 10.888α πώς, 905δ τίνα τρόπον... 12.
 965γ ἀρ' οὖν. Δημ.8.44 τί γὰρ ἄλλο τις ἂν εἶποι;(τ) 19.79
 πότερον γὰρ εὐπορώτερον ἂν δίκην ἔδωκε...; 134 τί παθόντες ἂν...
 δεδωκότες εἶεν; 299 πότερ' οὖν 21.9 τί χρῆ... προσδοκᾶν ἂν ποι-
 εῖν; 109 τί γὰρ... 23.160 ἀρ' οὖν... 32.16 τί... 45.54 ἀρ' οὖν
 55.16 τοῦ ἔνεκ ἂν//... (τ) 56.33 πότερον οὖν...

Antiformula (3) ctd. (a2) Πλ.Λα.185β πώς οὖν//ἐκσοποῦμεν ἂν...;
 Απ.40ε τί μείζον ἀγαθὸν τοῦτου εἶη ἂν;
 Γργ.514α πότερον ἔδει ἂν...; Μεν.78ε πώς γὰρ... ἀρετὴ γένοιτ' ἂν;
 92δ παρὰ τίνας ἀφικόμενος... γένοιτ' ἂν; Λυ.209ε ἀρα εἴη ἂν...;
 Ευθδ.280β ἀρ' οὖν...; 286α πότερον οὖν...; 274δ πότερον πεπεισ-
 μένον ἢ δὴ//δύναισθ' ἂν...; 290α ποῦ οὖν... Σμπ.200β ἀρ' οὖν...
 Π.8.545γ τίνα τρόπον... 9.574β ἀρα Πρμ.157β τί δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις
 προσήκοι ἂν πάσχειν; Σφ.218ε τί δὴτα...; 247δ ἀρα, 261β τί γὰρ...
 Φλβ.56δ πῆ ποτε διορισάμενος ἄλλην τὴν δὲ ἄλλην θείη τις ἂν...;
 64γ τί δὴτα Ν.4.720ε τί ν' ἀρα...; 721ε πότερα... 7.805δ τίνα
 οὖν...; 806δ τίς δὴ τρόπος...; 811β πώς οὖν καὶ τί... 8.836β
 πώς, 836δ τί μέρος...; 837β τί ποτε... 9.860ε τίνα οὖν αὐ τρέ-
 πον... 10.885γ τί οὖν δὴ...; 905δ τίνα τρόπον... 11.919γ τίς
 οὖν δὴ... 12.960ε τίς οὖν δὴ... Δημ.9.18 τίσιν οὖν ὑμεῖς
 κινδυνεύσαιτ' ἂν... 18.64 τῆς ποίας μερίδος...; 201 τίσι δ' ὀφ-
 θαλμοῖς... 19.97 τί ν' ἀνθρώπων ἐλύπησεν ἂν...; 206 τίνα τῶν...
 21.209 τίνος συγγνώμης ἢ... /τυχεῖν ἂν οἶεσθε; 22.14 ἀρ' οὖν...
 23.58 ποῦ δὲ...; 119 πότερ' οὖν...; 121 τί δὲ... 24.217 πόση παρα-
 χῆ... 25.32 τί γὰρ...; 59 τίς οὖν... 31.9 τί... 33.29 τί
 βουλόμενος ἠρνούμην ἂν... 58.46 πότερον, 62 πότερον.

Antiformula (3) ctd. (a1+2) Πλ.Π.2.366β κατὰ τίνα οὖν ἔτι λόγον
 δικαιοσύνην ἂν... αἰροῖμεθ' ἂν...; (τ).

Antiformula (3) ctd. (b1) @.5.92 καὶ πῶς χρήσιμον ἂν συμβαίη...; Πλ.Ευθδ.301α ἀλλὰ τίνα τρόπον... παρα-
 γενομένου τὸ ἕτερον ἕτερον ἂν εἴη; N.9.880ε τοῦ τίνα τρόπον
 ὁμιλεῦντες ἀλλήλοις ἂν φιλοφρόνως οἴκοιεν· 12.965ε ἀλλὰ δὴ πῶς
 τις τοῦτ' ἂν μηχανῶτο; Δημ.23.36 ἢ πῶς δεινότερ' ἂν γράφων...
 110 ὥστε τί βουλόμενος... λαμβάνειν καὶ.../ἂν ἔλοιτο; 24.65 ἢ
 τί ποιεῖν ἂν ὀκνήσαι...; 107 ἢ τί σὺ παθῶν ἂν... εἴης πεπονθώς;
 49.53 καὶ τίνας ἐνεκ' ἂν ποτε...

Antiformula (3) ctd. (b2) Πλ.Χρμ.160δ καὶ ποῖα τις οὔσα... ἀπερ-
 σεῖεν ἂν... Π.2.381β ἀλλ' ἄρα αὐτὸς αὐτὸν μεταβάλλοι ἂν... N.2.
 664α ἢ τί πέλας... ἐργάσαιτο ἂν; 12.951ε ἀλλ' ὁ περὶ τί νοῦς...
 γίγνοιτ' ἂν; Δημ.18.93 οὐ τί γένοιτ' ἂν αἴσιχον; 39.9 ἢ κατὰ
 ποῖον νόμον προσπαραγράφοιτ' ἂν...

Antiformula (3) ctd. (c1) Πλ.Μεν.73β παῖς καὶ.../μῶν ἀκόλαστοι
 ὄντες... ἀγαθοὶ ἂν ποτε γένοιοντο; (τ)
 Λυ.214ε ὀτιοῦν... τίνα ὠφελίαν ἔχειν ἢ τίνα βλάβην ἂν ποιῆσαι
 δύναιτο; N.10.886β τὸ δὲ τί πρὸς τούτοις αἴτιον ἂν/-/εἴη; 12,
 967α τὸ δὲ δὴ πῶς ἔχον ἂν εἴη; Δημ.57.56... τίνα ἄλλον ἂν δύναιτ'
 ἐπιδειῖναι τρόπον...;

Antiformula (3) ctd. (c2) Πλ.N.5.739ε νῦν δ' οὖν ταύτην τίνα
 λέγομεν καὶ πῶς γενομένην ἂν... 12.
 944δ ζημία... τίς ἄρα... Δημ.18.240 τί ἂν οἴεσθε// τί ποιεῖν
 ἂν...

Antiformula (3) ctd. (d2) Πλ.ΙΕ 374γ δέξαιτο δ' ἂν πότερον...;

That ends the lists of Antiformula (3). Numerical sum-
 mary of Formula and Antiformula (ignores (a1+2) and (d2)):

		(a)			(b)			(c)		
F	Th.	2			1			1		
	Pl.	169			33			38		
	Dem.	87			25			12		
Af.		(1)	(2)	t	(1)	(2)	t	(1)	(2)	t
	Th.	1		1	1		1			
	Pl.	44	32	76	3	5	8	4	2	6
	Dem.	11	17	28	5	2	7	1	1	2

The proportion of Formula to Antiformula is high through-
 out. But cf. οὐκ ἄγ, p.3.2.15. This differs from that, in
 that here a far smaller proportion of all instances are in po-
 sitions later than initial. However in both tables the For-
 mula:Antiformula ratios of (b) and (c) are far higher than the

(a) ratios. This supports the hypothesis that the Formula is native to the initial position, subsequently imported as a ready-made expression into the deferred positions, where Anti-formula develops independently.

It has already been remarked above (p.3.2.32) that $\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ ἄν κτλ., unlike $\mu\eta$ ἄν, is not avoided where the two words 'belong' to different verbs. In support, observe the following grammatical situations. (1) The interrogative 'belongs' to the governed or participial group of words, but q to the main:-

Formula: Th.VI.18.1. Pl.Hp.Mi.374d; La.179b, 179d, 190b; Ly.206c, 214e (supply main); Mn.236a; Prt.312d; Grg.509c; Phd.63a; R.II 365b; V 473b; Th.158b; Phdr.269c; Sph.224c; Lg.VI 751d, 776b. Dem.3.29; 18.22, 195; 19.40 (= 41, 48); 35.26; 36.25; 41.7; 47.30 (c= 49.47); 51.9.

Antiformula: Pl.Chrm.160d; Men.92d; Ly.214e; Euthd.301a; R. VI 484b; Prm.157b; Sph.237c; Phlb.56d; Lg.I 631a; II 664a; IV 719b, 723b; VIII 837b; IX 858a, 880e; X 888a. Dem.18.64; 19.134, 206; 21.109; 23.110; 24.65, 107; 33.29; 57.56.

Interesting in both Formula and Antiformula above is Ly. 214e; in the Formulaic instance, q 'belonging' to main appears though Formulaism or peninitialism within the infinitive clause although the main verb itself is supplied from the context; in the Antiformulaic instance, q , though it does not penetrate the figure $\delta\tau\iota\omicron\upsilon\tilde{\nu}$ ὁμοιον ὄψοῦν ὁμοίῳ, nor the unit-formation $\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$ βλάβην, is nevertheless in secondarily peninitial position within this infinitival group to which it does not 'belong'; it also infringes Rule VIII (p.2.2.12). Observe next (2),

where the interrogative 'belongs' to main, q to governed or participial group:- Formula: Pl.Ap.32e. Dem.35.44; 39.24; 45.62; 49.45; 54.37.

Antiformula: Pl.Prt.351b. Dem.19.299; 23.160; 45.54.

That seems to be a particularly Demosthenic grammatical construction. Next is (3); participial-main (in that order), interrogative either 'belongs' to main or is common to both and precedes the participial group:- Formula: Pl.Cra.429d;

R.IV 429b;

list continues

Th.153a; Lg.IV 717a; VIII 830b. Dem.25.33; 37.31.

Antiformula: Pl.Men.73b; Euthd.274d, 281c; R.II 382d; Phlb. 29d, 38d; Lg.II 663a; IV 709d(τ).

In the above lists, the proportion of Antiformula is higher than the overall total indicated by the preceding table (.p.3.2.37), but there nevertheless are plenty cases of Formula. These grammatical circumstances then militate only to a small extent against Formulaic order.

To what extent does attraction of q to the interrogative produce Formulaic order even when q thereby stands between closely related words? Consider the following (in which 'closely related' is of wide meaning, including such as τὸ ἄν βουλόμενος..., τὸ βουλόμενος ἄν...):- Formula: Th.VI.18.1. Pl.La.179b, 190b bis; Prt.330c, 356d; Grg.501b τὸν ἄν τρόπον (c= 510d, 512e, Lg.VII 791d, VIII 842c, Dem.23.11), 509c; Ly.206c; Mnx.237a; Cra.423c; Phd.63a; R.II 365a, 372d; III 414b; V 473b; VI 492c(t); IX 578e; Th.146a, 195c; Sph.224c, 240d, 241a; Lg.I 626c; III 685b, 702b; IV 717a; VI 776b. Dem.10.15; 16.8; 19.14; 23.63; 24.31, 107; 25.32; 35.26; 36.48(t); 40.40; 45.11, 34(t); 47.30 (= 49.47), 50; 50.67; 55.32.

Antiformula: Pl.Chrm.157e, 160d; La.194e; Euthphr.12d; Ap.40e; Men.92d; Ly.214e; Euthd.295a, 301a ἀλλὰ τὶνα τρόπον... (≅ Lg.VI 769e, IX 858a, 860e, 880e); Smp.176b; R.II 366b; VIII 545c; Sph.242b; Plt.276a; Lg.II 664a; IV 709d(t), 719b, 720e; V 737c τὶς οὖν δὴ τρόπος... (≅ 806δ τὶς δὴ τρόπος...); VIII 830c, 836d; XII 960e, 961e. Dem.8.44(t); 18.64, 201; 19.97, 134, 206; 21.209; 23.110; 24.65, 107, 217; 25.59; 33.29; 39.9; 49.53; 55.16; 57.56.

The overall Formula:Antiformula total above is 51:41; that of Demosthenes alone is 17:17; but that of R. is 6:2, while that of Lg. is 7:14. The above layout of Formula and Antiformula lists (pp.3.2.33 ff., 36 ff.) enables comparison of the tendency shown by individual expressions. It emerges that πῶς is about 80% Formulaic, τὶς about 70-75%, ἄρα about 60%, while πότερ- actually has the majority of instances in Antiformula. In Lg., τὶς departs from its usual tendency, with a majority of Antiformulaic instances; ἄρ'οὖν is much more strongly Antiformulaic than simple ἄρα. In the (b) cases, the expression

(ἀλλ' ἄρα is

peculiar to the Antiformula lists; the word $\mu\omega\upsilon\upsilon$ appears once only, in Antiformula (c1). In addition, remember that $\delta\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$ is avoided under Rule XXII and that $\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \delta\eta$ is, at least formally, an exception to Rule XIV. That ends the account of Formula (3) and Antiformula (3). We now pass to Counterformula etc.

Instances of Counterformula (3+?) $3+1 = 1+3$, $3+1+9 = 1+3+9$,
 $3+1+11+17 = 1+3+11+17$,
 $3+1+12 = 1+3+12$, $3+1+13 = 1+3+13$, $3+1+18 = 1+3+18$, $3+1+19 = 1+3+19$;
 all above, p.18.

3+4 Πλ.Θτ.162β ἄρα κἄν...ἐλθὼν/-/...ἀξιοῦς ἄν... Φδρ.
 258ε τίνος μὲν οὖν ἔνεκα κἄν τις...ζῆψ...;

3+9 Δημ.24.57 τί δεινότατον πάντες ἄν ἀκούσαντες φήσαιτε...
 $3+1+9 = 1+3+9$, above, p.16.

3+10 Πλ.Φλβ.27ε ἐν τίνι γένοι...λεγόμενος ὀρθῶς ἄν λέγοιτο;
 Κριτι.111α καὶ κατὰ τί λείφανον...ὀρθῶς ἄν λέγοιτο;
 Ν.2.658δ τίς οὖν ὀρθῶς ἄν...; 7.810γ ἢ τί ποθ' ὑμῖν...προστάξας
ὀρθῶς ἄν τάξειε; Δημ.33.30 πῶς ὀρθῶς ἄν ἐμοὶ δικάζοιτο;

$3+1+10 = 1+3+10$, above, p.16.

3+4+10 Πλ.Π.9.577α ἄρ' οὖν, "... , καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν...προκαλού-
μένος ὀρθῶς ἄν προκαλοῖμην...;

3+10+15+20 Πλ.Φλβ.64γ ἄρ' οὖν...λέγοντες ἴσως ὀρθῶς ἄν...φαῖμεν;

3+12 Δημ.24.57 καὶ τί μάλιστα ἄν ἀπεύξαίθε; (τ).

3+9+12 Δημ.20.157 τί μάλιστα ἄν ἀπευξαίμεθα πάντες;

3+13 Πλ.Ν.3.689α τίς οὖν ἢ μέγιστη δικάως ἄν λέγοιτο
ἀμαθία; 12.962β ἄρα...δικαίως ἄν προσαγορεύοιτο;
 Δημ.39.28 τί σαυτὸν ἔχειν δικάως ἄν θεῖης ὄνομα; 31.9.

$3+1+13 = 1+3+13$, $3+1+9+13 = 1+3+9+13$, $3+1+13+19 = 1+3+13+19$,
 all above, p.16.

3+13+14 Δημ.20.116 τί μᾶλλον//δικαίως ἄν ἀφαιρεθεῖτεν;

3+14 Πλ.Λυ.209δ πότερον τῶ...ὑεῖ//μᾶλλον ἄν...
 Δημ.22.51 τίνος εἵνεκα μᾶλλον ἄν τις ἔλοιτο... (= 24.
 163) 24.53 ποτέροις μᾶλλον ἄν εἰκότως ποιήσαιθ' ὀτιοῦν; 39.15
τί μᾶλλον ἄν...

$3+1+14 = 1+3+14$, above, p.17.

3+13+14 Δημ.19.238 πόσω μᾶλλον ἄν μεσοῖσθε δικάως...;

3+19 Πλ.Φδ.65ε ἄρ' οὖν ἐκεῖνος ἄν...ποιήσειεν...ὅστις...

3+20 Πλ.Π.1.333α ...πρὸς τίνος χρεῖαν...φαίης ἄν χρήσιμον εἶναι; 4.439γ τὲ οὖν, "...", "φαίης τις ἄν...". N.1.641β ...τὲ μέγα τῆ πόλει φαῖμεν ἄν...γίγνεσθαι; 648α καὶ τὲ τοιοῦτον φαῖμεν ἄν...γεγονέναι πῶμα;

3+1+8+9+20 = 1+3+8+9+20, above, p.17.

3+9+20 Πλ.Ν.2.656β ...τὲ μείζον...φαῖμεν ἄν...ἐκ πάσης...γίγνεσθαι;

3+20+21 Πλ.Ν.2.660δ πρότερον αὐτὰ καλλιόνως οὕτως εἶναι φαῖμεν ἄν...

3+21 Πλ.Ιων 531α πρότερον οὖν...κάλλιον ἄν ἐξηγήσατο//; 531β πρότερον σὺ κάλλιον ἄν... Φδρ.274β ...πῆ γιγνόμενον καλῶς ἄν ἔχοι...(τ) Τι.62δ καὶ πῆ καλῶς ἄν ἠγοῦτο λέγειν.

3+1+21 = 1+3+21, above, p.17.

3+4+15+21 Πλ.Φλβ.27γ ἄρ' οὖν ἴσως νῦν//κάλλιον ἄν καὶ τὴν κρῖσιν ἐπιτελεσαίμεθα...;

3+9+12+21 Πλ.Φλβ.61δ ἄρα πᾶσαν...πάση...μειγνύντες τοῦ καλῶς ἄν μάλιστα ἐπιτύχοιμεν;

Instances of Anticounterformula ($\zeta+?$) $\zeta+1 = 1+\zeta$, above, p.15.

$\zeta+2 = 2+\zeta$, above, p.30.

$\zeta+4$ Πλ.Λα.184δ τὲ γὰρ ἄν τις καὶ ποιοῦ; (\cong Φδ.61ε)· Θτ. 202δ τίς γὰρ ἄν καὶ ἔτι...εἴη...; Φλβ.59δ ...πῶς ἄν ποτε...γίγνοιθ'...καὶ ὀτιοῦν; Δημ.23,136 ...τίνος ἄν καὶ λόγον σχολῆ; 32.21 τὲ γὰρ ἄν καὶ ἄλλ' ἐποιοῦμεν; 37.50 ἢ τίς ἄν φήσειεν...καὶ τὸν ἐμόν...εἶναι προσήκειν; 47.29 τὲ γὰρ ἄν καὶ ἀντέλεγον...;

$\zeta+4+14$ Πλ.Γργ.500γ οὐ τὲ ἄν μᾶλλον σπουδάσειέ τις καὶ σμικρότατον νοῦν ἔχων;

$\zeta+9$ Θ.4.59.2 ...τὲ ἄν τις πᾶν...ἐκλέγων...μακρηγοροῖη;^o Πλ.Π.4.437β ἄρ' ἄν οὖν...πάντα...θείης...;^{co} Πлт.299ε περὶ ἅπαντα...τὲ ποτ' ἄν φανεῖη; N.7.811α τὲ δῆποτ' ἄν οὖν περὶ ἁπάντων...

$\zeta+9+10+12$ Πλ.Ν.10,894γ τῶν...μάλιστα...κινήσεων τίν' ἄν προκρίναιμεν ὀρθότατα πασῶν...(τ)^{oo}

$\zeta+9+13$ Θ.3.64.4 τίνες ἄν οὖν...δικαιότερον πᾶσι...μισοῦντο;

$\zeta+10$ Πλ.Γργ.448β τίνα ἄν αὐτὸν ὀρθῶς ἐκαλοῦμεν; 448γ τίνα ἄν καλοῦντες αὐτὸν ὀρθῶς καλοῦμεν; Μεν.91β ...παρὰ τίνας ἄν πέμποντες αὐτὸν ὀρθῶς πέμποιμεν; Μγξ.237α πόθεν ἄν ὀρθῶς ἀρξαίμεθα...;(τ)· Ευθδ.288δ τίνα ποτ' οὖν ἄν κτησάμενοι...ὀρθῶς κτησαίμεθα; N.7.817α τὲ οὖν ἄν...ὀρθῶς ἀποκριναιμέθα...; (list continues)

(3+10) Δημ.18.22 τί ἂν εἰπὼν σέ τις ὀρθῶς προσείποι; 33.34
 πῶς ἂν ὀρθῶς...καταγιγνώσκοιτε;

3+9+10+12, above, p.41

3+12 Πλ.Θτ.2008 τί ἂν αὐτὸ μάλιστα εἰπόντες... Δημ.17.3
 ἐπὶ τίνι ἂν μάλιστα...

3+9+10+12, above, p.41.

3+13 Πλ.Γργ.448β τίνα ἂν αὐτὸν ὀνομάζομεν δικαίως; (τ)° N.
 2.658γ τίς ἂν νικῶ δικαίως; Δημ.21.99 καὶ τίς ἂν
 ταῦτ' ἐλέησειε δικαίως; 33.31 πῶς ἂν δικαίως πιστεύοιτο; 57.
 67 ...πῶς ἂν...δικαιότερον...ἐπιδείξαιμεν;

3+9+13, above, p.41.

3+14 Πλ.Ευθδ.281γ πότερον οὖν ἂν μᾶλλον...πράττοι;(τ)° Τι.
 26ε καὶ τίν ἀν/-/μᾶλλον...μεταλάβοιμεν; Δημ.20.43
 πῶς ἂν ἄνθρωπος μᾶλλον φανερός γένοιτ'... 23.36 πῶς οὖν ἂν τις
μᾶλλον...ἐλεγχθείη...; 36.59 ...ἐν τίνι ἂν μᾶλλον... 43.76 πῶς
 ἂν οὖν μᾶλλον...(τ)° 48.45 ὥστε πῶς ἂν μᾶλλον..., 50 πῶς ἂν οὖν
μᾶλλον...

3+4+14, above, p.41.

3+14+17 Πλ.Π.2.358δ περὶ γὰρ τίνος ἂν μᾶλλον πολλάκις...°

3+17 Πλ.Ευθδ.281β ἄρα γε ἂν ὄναιτο ἄνθρωπος πολλὰ κεντη-
 μένος...°(τ), 291β τὰ μὲν πολλὰ τί ἂν σοι λέγοιμι;

3+14+17, above, this page.

3+18 Πλ.Ευθδ.279ε ...μετὰ ποτέρου ἂν ἥδιον...μετέχοις;
 280α ἀσθενῶν μετὰ ποτέρου ἂν ἥδεως κινδυνεύοις;

3+19 Πλ.Πρτ.309γ καὶ τί ἂν γεγονὸς εἴη περὶ σέ κάκεινον...°°
 Γργ.520α τί δ' ἂν περὶ ἐκείνων λέγοις//; Δημ.23.210
 καίτοι πηλίκον τί ποτ' ἂν στενάξειαν...ἐκεῖνοι...; 41.17 πρὸς
 ἐκεῖνο δὲ τί ἂν λέγοις;

3+20 Πλ.Λα.193γ τί γὰρ ἂν τις ἄλλο φαίη/-/; Ιων537ε τί ἂν
 τὴν μὲν ἑτέραν φαῖμεν εἶναι...; IM 288ε πῶς γὰρ ἂν
φαῖμεν...; Ευθδ.291ε τί οὖν ἂν φαίης...; Κρα.401β τί οὖν ἂν
 τις φαίη...; 424α καὶ τί ἂν φαίης...; Φδ.87α τί οὖν, " ἂν φαίη...
 Π.2.378ε τίνας ἂν φαῖμεν; 7.534β πῶς γὰρ ἂν, "... , " φαίην; Φλβ.
 43δ ἢ πῶς ἂν φαίης...° N.7.789δ τί οὖν ἂν φαῖμεν...;

3+21 Πλ.Ευθδ.275γ ...πῶς ἂν καλῶς...; Π.1.353β ἄρ' ἂν ποτε
 ὄμματα...καλῶς ἀπεργάσαιντο...; Φδρ.231δ ὥστε πῶς ἂν
 ...καλῶς ἔχειν ἠγῆσαιντο...

Instances of Multiple Antiformula - next page.

Instances of Multiple Antiformula (3+?) $3+1 = 1+3$, $3+1+4 = 1+3+4$, $3+1+4+21 = 1+3+4+21$, all p.22 above; $3+1+8+9+20 = 1+3+8+9+20$, p.17; $3+1+9 = 1+3+9$, p.16; $3+1+9 = 1+3+9$, p.22; $3+1+9+13 = 1+3+9+13$, p.16; $3+1+10 = 1+3+10$, p.16; $3+1+10 = 1+3+10$, p.22; $3+1+13 = 1+3+13$, p.16; $3+1+13+19 = 1+3+13+19$, $3+1+14 = 1+3+14$, both p.17; $3+1+14 = 1+3+14$, $3+1+19+20 = 1+3+19+20$, both p.22; $3+1+21 = 1+3+21$, p.17; $3+1+21 = 1+3+21$, p.22.

$3+2 = 2+3$, above, p.31.

$3+4$ Πλ.Λα.182ε τί καὶ δέοι ἄν... Δημ.18.24 τί γὰρ καὶ βουλόμενοι μετεπέμπεσθ' ἄν...; 59.110 τί δὲ καὶ φήσειεν ἄν...;

$3+1+4 = 1+3+4$, $3+1+4+21 = 1+3+4+21$, both p.22.

$3+4+9+14$ Πλ.Λυ.210α ἄρ' οὖν καὶ τάλλα πάντα ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέποι ἄν μᾶλλον ἢ...

$3+4+9+21$ Πλ.Π.4.442β ἄρ' οὖν, "...", "καὶ τοὺς...πολεμίους τούτω ἄν κἀλλιστα φυλαττοίτην ὑπὲρ ἀπάσης...

$3+4+10$, p.40; $3+4+15+21$, p.41.

$3+4+17$ Πλ.Λυ.219δ ἄρα καὶ ἄλλο τι ἄν περὶ πολλοῦ ποιοῖτο;

(3+8) $3+1+8+9+20 = 1+3+8+9+20$, p.17.

$3+9$ Πλ.Ν.5.738α τίς ἀριθμὸς...πάσαις πόλεσιν χρησιμώτατος ἄν εἴη· 7.811β πρὸς τί ποτε...ἀποβλέψας ἄν τὸ μὲν εἴη πάντας μανθάνειν... Δημ.36.55 ἐν τίνος εἰκότως ἄν τρόπου τοῦτον μόνον ἠδὲκει τῶν πάντων (τ).

$3+1+8+9+20 = 1+3+8+9+20$, p.17; $3+1+9 = 1+3+9$, p.18; $3+1+9 = 1+3+9$, p.22; $3+1+9+13 = 1+3+9+13$, p.16.

$3+4+9+14$, $3+4+9+21$, both above, this page.

$3+9+10$ Πλ.Ν.12.962α τίνα θέμενοι στρατηγοὶ σκοπὸν καὶ ἰατρικὴν ὑπηρεσίαν πᾶσα στοχάζοιτ' ἄν...ὀρθῶς.

$3+10$ Pl. Σφ.229α ...μῶν ἄλλην...ὀρθότερον εἶποι τις ἄν; Φλβ.51β ἀληθεῖς δ' αὐτίνας...ὑπολαμβάνων ὀρθῶς τις διανοοῖτ' ἄν; Ν.1.641β συμποσίου δὲ ὀρθῶς παιδαγωγηθέντος τί μέγα...γίγνοιτ' ἄν; ° 4.710γ πῶς δὴ καὶ.../λέγων ἄν τις ὀρθῶς λέγειν αὐτὸν περὶ; °(τ) 8.848β πῶς οὖν δὴ ταῦτα ὀρθότατα νέμοιτ' ἄν; 9.871γ καὶ τίς τρόπος...ὀρθότατα πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἄν γιγνόμενος εἴη; 12.968γ τίς δὲ ὁ τρόπος ἡμῖν γιγνόμενος ὀρθῶς γίγνοιτ' ἄν;

$3+1+10 = 1+3+10$, above, p.22; $3+9+10$, above, this page.

(3+11) $3+1+11+17 = 1+3+11+17$, above, p.18.

(continued)

3+12 Πλ.ΙΕ 366ε πότερον σὺ ἂν μάλιστα ψεύδοιο...; Π.5.
472ε πῆ μάλιστα καὶ...δυνατώτατ' ἂν εἶη;

3+1+12 = 1+3+12, above, p.18.

3+9+12+21, above, p.41.

3+13 Πλ.Κρα.422α πότε...δικαίως παύοιτ' ἂν;

3+1+13 = 1+3+13, above p.18; 3+1+13 = 1+3+13, above, p.22.

3+13+14, above, p.40.

3+13+14 Δημ.18.251 ἄλλα τῷ μᾶλλον...γίγνοιτ' ἂν...δικαίως;

3+14 Πλ.Φλβ.44ε πότερον...οὕτως ἂν μᾶλλον συννοήσαιμεν...;
Ν.1.628β πότερα δὲ...δέξαιτ' ἂν τις μᾶλλον ἢ...

3+4+9+14, p.43; 3+13+14, p.40; 3+13+14, above, this page.

(3+15) 3+4+15+21, above, p.41; 3+10+15+20, above, p.40.

3+17 Πλ.Λυ.219ε ἄρα περὶ πολλοῦ ποιοῖτ' ἂν...

3+1+11+17 = 1+3+11+17, p.18; 3+4+17, above, p.43.

(3+18) 3+1+18 = 1+3+18, p.18.

3+19 Δημ.20.110, τοῦ χάριν ἂν...ἐκεῖνα διώκοιτε; 22.39
τις γάρ ἔτ' ἂν φημίσαιτ' ἐκεῖνων...;

3+1+19 = 1+3+19, p.18; 3+1+13+19 = 1+3+13+19, p.16; 3+1+19+20
= 1+3+19+20, p.22.

3+20 Πλ.Σφ.240α τῷ δῆτα εἶδωλον ἂν φαῖμεν, εἶναι...; Ν.
8.830γ ἢ τῷ ποτε ἄλλο τῆν...μελέτην ἂν τις φαίη γεγον-
ἔναι;

3+1+19+20 = 1+3+19+20, above, p.22.

3+10+15+20, above, p.40.

3+21 Πλ.Π.2.370β πότερον κᾶλλιον πράττοι ἂν τις...; Ν.2.
665δ πῶς δὴ...ἄδον τὰ κᾶλλιστα μέγιστ' ἂν ἐξεργάζοιτο
...^{οοο} 5.730β τὸ δὲ ποῖός τις ὦν αὐτὸς ἂν κᾶλλιστα διαγάγοι;

3+1+21 = 1+3+21, 3+1+4+21 = 1+3+4+21, both p.22 above.

3+4+9+21, above, p.43; 3+20+21, above, p.41.

It emerges from the above lists that where οὐ κτλ. and πῶς κτλ. compete for q, the result is usually οὐκ ἂν, not πῶς ἂν, i.e. 1+3 prevails over 1+3 (pp.3.2.15 and 18). But in competition with other Formers it is πῶς ἂν which tends to prevail. If we count only the instances actually quoted in Coun-

terformula and Anticounterformula above, both in Plato and in Demosthenes the latter is not quite double the former (Thucydides being negligibly represented). In particular cases the evidence is often sparse or ambiguous; but $\pi\omega\zeta$ "av seems to prevail over $\kappa\alpha\upsilon$ ($\underline{3}+4$ over $3+4$), $\pi\alpha\zeta$ "av ($\underline{3}+9$ over $3+9$), $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu$ - "av ($\underline{3}+19$ over $3+19$) and $\varphi\alpha\lambda\eta\nu$ "av ($\underline{3}+20$ over $3+20$). In most items, Plato, who has the overall majority, is the most numerous; but Demosthenes has a particularly high proportion of instances in $\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ and $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu$ - ($\underline{3}+14$, $3+14$, $\underline{3}+19$ and Multiple Antiformula $3+19$). That ends the account of Former 3, the interrogative.

4/4, Former $\kappa\alpha\iota$ (p.3.2.1).

Instances of Formula (4) (a) Th.I.75.4; VI.92.5. Pl.Hp.Mi.363c (c= 365c, La.200e, Dem.32.32, 40.46, 56.44); La.188c; Ap.36a; Cri.43b; Grg.465c, 514d; Men.72c!, 76b, 89b; Cra.430a; Smp.201c; Phd.62b, 106a!; R.I 329b; III 408b! V 473a! (= 579d!), 477a!; Prm.157e; Phdr.258c, 269b; Sph.247e!, 267d!. Dem.10.40; 19.267; 20.79, III; 21.191, 208; 39.17; 51.1; 52.11; 54.12, 23.

(b) Th.II.42.4; III.95.1; V.60.3(t); VIII 94.2. Pl.Chrm.174e; La.196b; Prt.318b, 328a!, 353d!; Grg.469e, 471d; Mnx.236e; Phd.63c; R.VII 515e; Prm.147a; Sph.244a(t), 256b!; Lg.IV 719b. Dem.18.128; 19.209, 282!; 23.137; 30.14!; 54.40, 42.

(c) Th.I.120.2, 142.8; III.83.4; IV.73.3; V.17.1; VI.11.1, 34.2; VII.61.3; VIII.2.1(t). Pl.Chrm.159a; Prt.331d; Grg.461a, 514d!; Men.75b; Ly.209e; Mnx.236a; Euthd.279d; Cra.417a(t); Phd.71b!; Smp.185a!(t); R.IV 427a; X 612c!; Tht.206c(t); Sph.224d!; Lg.I 641c; VII 817c; VIII 841c. Dem.19.66, 300; 21.51; 24.109!, 109; 27.56; 36.42!; 45.12!; 46.11.

(d) Pl.Cra.421d!

All instances marked ! above (exceptions to Rules apparently caused by Formulaic wording) are exceptions to Rule XI of the form $\kappa\alpha\upsilon \epsilon\iota$, except for (d) Cra.421d, which infringes Rule XXIV (V...g); see Ch.II. Thucydides has remarkably large numbers of Formula in the (c), medial, position; the other two prefer the initial position (cf. pp.3.2.15 table).

Instances of Antiformula (4) (a1) Th.VII.21.3. Pl.Prt.331b; Euthphr.11a; Hp.Ma.302a; R. III 398b; IV 431e, 433e, 441a; VIII 544e; Prm.140a, 143d; Phdr. 268d; Sph.239b; Phlb.12b; Lg.II 672a; IV 707a; IX 869b. Dem. 18.9; 44.65.

(a2) Th.VIII.96.4. Pl.Ion 531b, 532b; Euthphr.11a; R.II 369a, 404b; Lg.VIII 842a. Dem.20.67.

(a1+2) Pl.Chrm.174e.

(b1) Th.IV.120.3; V.46.3, 90; VIII. 71.1. Pl.La.184d; Euthphr. 15d; Euthd.299c, 302d; Cra.398a; Smp.197b; R.III 415d; IV 443a; V 471c; Phlb.60b; Lg.III 678e; IV 709c; IX 876d; X 892b. Dem. 18.49; 21.194; 22.2(t); 24.61; 26.7(t); 38.11.

(b2) Pl.Men.74a; Ly.207c, 208e; Mnx.236b; Euthd.285e; R.I 327c; VI 510a; VII 532a; VIII 549b; Tht.171d; Plt.305e; Lg.I 638e; II 663d; V 742e; IX 864c; XI 926b. Dem.10.45; 21.50; 25.28.

(b1+2) Pl.Phd.62c.

(c1) Th.I.70.4; V.16.1(t), 97, 110, 111. Pl.Prt.344d; Ap. 41b; Men.100a; Cra.401c; Phd.106e, 107c; R.IV 430e; Prm.140c, 161e; Tht.209d; Sph.239a; Plt.276a; Lg.IX 874e; X 906b. Dem. 23.86. Pl.Hp.Ma.291b.

(c2) Th.IV.121.2. Pl.Prt.350d; Ap.20c; Prm.161a; Lg.I 633b, 648a; XII 968b. Dem.9.76.

The above instances of Antiformula have not been quoted verbatim, in view of the alternative classification which follows (p.3.2.48 below). In the above, the Former precedes g; in those below, g precedes; the classification is otherwise the same.

Antiformula (4) ctd. (b1) ©.3.47.1 ὅσον ἂν καὶ τοῦτο ἕξαμαστάνοιτε, 59.1. Πλ.Απ.35α ὡστ' ἂν τινα καὶ τῶν ξένων ὑπολαβεῖν... Κρι.45γ. Δημ.21.1 ὅπερ ἂν καὶ ὑμῶν ἕκαστος προείλετο πράξει.

(c1) ©.6.91.2 ὅμως δ' ἂν ξυστραφέντες... καὶ νῦν ἔτι περιγένοιτο(τ) 8.25.5 νομίζοντες// ῥαδίως ἂν καὶ τᾶλλα προχωρήσαι. Πλ.Πρτ.345α οὗτος γὰρ ἂν καὶ κενὸς γένοιτο. Μεν.100α ταῦτόν ἂν καὶ εὐθύς... Π.10.620δ ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ ἂν ἔπραξε καὶ πρώτη λαχοῦσα. N.5.735δ ἀγαπώντως ἂν καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον δράσειεν.

(d1) Πλ.Σμπ.204δ ὧν ἂν εἴη καὶ ὁ ἔρω(τ) Π.4.423β οὐκοῦν... "οὗτος ἂν εἴη καὶ κάλλιστος ὄρος... Δημ.2.6 ...σφόδρ' ἂν ἠγούμην καὶ αὐτὸς...

Antiformula (3) ctd. (d2) Πλ.Πρτ.354δ ἔχοιτε ἄν καὶ ἡμῶν εἶπεῖν·
 Γργ.449δ καὶ ποιῆσαι ἄν καὶ ἄλλον...
 (≅ Ευθδ.272β), 450γ ...περαιννοῖτο ἄν καὶ διὰ σιγῆς, 452β, 452β·
 Ευθδ.303ε· Κρα.431β, 433γ· Φδ.63γ· Π.5.455α· 10.607δ· Ν.3.689δ·
 6.742δ· 7.807β(τ)· 9.872δ· 10.905ε. Δημ.19.40 ἔγραφον δ' ἄν
 καὶ διαρρήδην...· 20.143· 23.5.

That completes the lists of Formula (3) and Antiformula (3). Numerical summary (ignores (a1+2) and (b1+2), where there are two instances of q both preceding and following the verb; figures following + represent cases where the Former follows q):-

	(a)			(b)			(c)			(d)	
F Th.	2			4			9				
Pl.	23			14			18			1	
Dem.	<u>15</u>			<u>7</u>			<u>9</u>			-	
	<u>40</u>			<u>25</u>			<u>36</u>			<u>1</u>	
	(1)	(2)	t	(1)	(2)	t	(1)	(2)	t	(1)	(2)
Af Th.	1	1	2	4+2		4+2	5+2	1	6+2		
Pl.	16	6	22	14+2	16	30+2	15+4	6	21+4	+2	+17
Dem.	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6+1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9+1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>+1</u>	<u>+3</u>
	<u>19</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>26+5</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>43+5</u>	<u>21+6</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>29+6</u>	<u>+3</u>	<u>+20</u>

Former (4), καί, unlike Formers (1) and (3), pp.3.2.15 and 37, is at its most Formulaic when in initial, (a), position; in (d), Antiformula strongly prevails; this category, where the Former follows the verb so that Formulaic wording would infringe Rule XXIV and Antiformulaic gives ...ἄν(...)καί..., is of greater volume than in lists of Formers dealt with above. The inclusion of these instances in Antiformula, here and elsewhere, is an exception to the convention that an instance is not listed as Antiformula where Formulaic wording would infringe a Rule. In positions (a), (b) and (c), but particularly the last, the formulation (1) (q(...)V) prevails over (2) (Vq), but in (d), (2) prevails - i.e. when, in an Antiformulaic instance, the Former is later than the verb, q most often directly follows the verb; contrast οὐ, p.3.2.14. As to authors' preferences, Thucydides differs from the others in having overall

most cases in (c). Demosthenes has a strong preference for Formula in (a) and (c), Plato for Antiformula in (b). But the main impression from the table is that καί is in general less Formulaic than οὐ or πῶς κτλ. (pp.3.2.15 and 37); it seems likely that, like μή (p.3.2.27), Formulaic wording with καί is subject to some limitation. To elucidate this, the following alternative classification has been devised. First, I, instances with καί γάρ in (IA-) καί is nexal, referring to the main verb or the sentence as a whole, in (IB-) it is special, referring to some particular element other than the main verb.

IAi Formula only Πλ.Λα.188γ καί γάρ ἄν δόξαιμι τῷ... (≡ Φδ. 62β). Δημ.21.208 καί γάρ ἄν μαινοίμην (≡ 52.11)

IAiix Formula only Πλ.ΙΕ 363γ καί γάρ ἄν δεινὰ ποιόην (≡ 365γ καί γάρ ἄν δεινὸν εἶη, Λα.200ε, Δημ.32.32, 40.46 καί γάρ ἄν εἶη δεινόν, 56.44). Κρι.43β καί γάρ ἄν/πλημ-μελές εἶη... Δημ.19.267 καί γάρ ἄν καί ὑπερφυές εἶη 20.79 καί γάρ ἄν ἀλογον εἶη 21.191 καί γάρ ἄν ἄθλιος ἦν.

IAiyy Formula Θ.1.75.4 καί γάρ ἄν αἱ ἀποστάσεις πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐγγύ-νοντο. Πλ.Γργ.465γ καί γάρ ἄν τὸ τοῦ Ἀναξαγόρου ἄν πολὺ ἦν.

Antiformula Πλ.Πρμ.140α καί γάρ οὕτω πλείω ἄν πεπόνθοι...

Ευθδ.272β καί γάρ φατον...ποιῆσαι ἄν...

Δημ.20.67 καί γάρ τὰλλ...εὐξαίμην ἄν...

IB Formula Πλ.Μεν.98β καί γάρ ἄν που καί πόδ' ἦν Κρα.430α καί γάρ ἄν καί τοῦτο ἐξαρκούτ' Φδρ.258β καί γάρ ἄν τῆ... ἐπιθυμία...ὄνειδίζοι. Δημ.10.40 καί γάρ ἄν τοῖς τῆς κακώσεως εἶη νόμοις οὕτω γε ἔνοχος.

Antiformula Πλ.Π.4.441α καί γάρ ἐν τοῖς παιδίοις τοῦτό γ' ἄν τις ἴδοι Σφ.239β καί γάρ πάλαι καί τὰ νῦν ἠττη-μένον ἄν εὐροι... Ν.2.672α καί γάρ ἔτι πλείω τις ἄν ἐπεξέλ-θοι... 9.869β καί γάρ αἰκίνας δίκαις...ἔνοχος ἄν γίγνοιτο.

And so, while καί γάρ has fair numbers of Antiformula when special in reference (IB) or when followed by miscellaneous expressions (IAiyy), it is nevertheless Formulaic to the exclusion of Antiformula when the nexal use is directly followed by the verb (IAi) or by an adjective (IAiix), whether δεινόν or some other. In (II), we pass to miscellaneous expressions

like και τούτων.

II Antiformula only Πλ.Θτ.171δ και δητα και νυν άλλο τι φώμεν
 ομολογεῖν ἄν... N.8.842α και τούτων/-/
 ἐγὼ μὲν σοι σφόδρα δεχοίμην ἄν... 10.892β και δη και...τέχ-
 νης ἄν γίγνοιτο.

From the above have been omitted both Lg.III 689d and IV 711b (both και μὴν...) on the ground that μὴν ἄν is avoided under Rule XXII; the same Rule however applies to δη, and τούτων ἄν is also rare (p.3.2.10). In III below, we come to simple καί 'belonging' directly to the same verb as q; in this and following lists the letters (a), (b) and (c) have the same reference as in the table on p.3.2.47, i.e. respectively, initial, peninitial following a prepositive, medial; (d) refers to the position following the verb.

IIIa Formula only Πλ.Απ.36α κἄν ὤφλε...

IIIb Formula Πλ.Γργ.469ε ἐπεὶ κἄν ἐμπρησθεῖη οἰκία... N.4.
 719β ὅτι και ἄν εἴποις.

Antiformula Πλ.Λυ.208ε ἀλλὰ και τυπτοίμην ἄν· Μνξ.236β ἢ
 και μνημονεύσαις ἄν... (≡ Ευθδ.285ε, Π.1.
 372γ, 6.510α). Δημ.10.45 ὡς δὲ και γένοιτ' ἄν... 25.28 ἃ και
 παροξύνειεν ἄν τις.

IIIci Formula Θ.1.142.8 πρὸς...ἐφορμούσας κἄν διακινδυνεύσειαν·
 4.73.3 νυν δὲ κἄν τυχεῖν... Πλ.Χρμ.159α οὐκοῦν
 τοῦτό γε, "...", "///κἄν εἴποις... N.1.641γ ἔτι δὲ κἄν νικῶεν...
 7.817γ σχεδὸν γάρ τοι κἄν μαινοίμεθα...

Antiformula Πλ.Φδ.107γ και ὁ κίνδυνος νυν δη και δόξειεν
 ἄν... Πρμ.161α ...ἕτεροτα και εἴη ἄν

IIIcii Formula Θ.3.83.4 οἱ δὲ καταφρονούντες κἄν προαισθῆσθαι...
 only 6.11.1 και τοι μὲν κατεργασάμενοι κἄν κατά-
 σχοιμεν. Δημ.27.56 οὐκ ἄν ἡγεῖσθ' αὐτὸν κἄν ἐπιδραμεῖν...

In IIIc above, (i) and (ii) respectively distinguish simple from complex sentences. It seems odd that adverbial καί directly preceding the verb (IIIa) should be so rare and lack Antiformulaic wordings entirely; the latter would perhaps be easily mistaken for 'and', but that does not explain the rarity of the Formulaic wording. That refers to the initial position; it is also odd that in the medial position Formula should prevail over Antiformula, to the entire exclusion of the latter

in complex sentences. In the (b) position, peninitial after a prepositive, Antiformula is commoner. In IV, below, we pass to cases where *καί* is special; this class is subdivided according to the identity of the expression following *καί*: (1) οὗτος, (2) personal pronouns, including αὐτός, (3) ἄλλος (4) articular expressions, (5) prepositional expressions other than in above categories, (6) *καί μάλα*, (7) *καί νῦν*, (8) ὅστισοῦν, (9) miscellaneous; as in III above, (a), (b) etc. refer to the position of *καί* in the sentence, as in the table, p.3.2.47.

IV.1a Formula Δημ.54.23 *κἄν τούτους αὐτὸν ἤξειλου.*

Antiformula Πλ.Π.4.431ε *καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ ἂν εἶη...*, 433ε *καὶ ταύτῃ ἄρα πῆ ἢ...πρᾶξις δικαιοσύνη ἂν ὁμολογοῖτο* Φδρ.468δ *καὶ οὗτοι ἂν//...καταγελῶεν.* Δημ.44.65 *καὶ ταύταις ἂν ἐνεμείναμεν.*

IV 1b Formula Πλ.Πρμ.147α *ἢ κἄν οὕτω μετεἵχε...*; Σφ.244α.

Antiformula Θ.3.47.1 *ὅσον ἂν καὶ τοῦτο ἐξαμαρτάνοιτε.* Πλ.Ευθδ.302δ *οὐκοῦν καὶ οὗτοι...* Σμπ.197β *ὥστε καὶ οὗτος...* Π.3.415δ *ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο...* Φλβ.60β *οὐκοῦν καὶ τόδε...*

IV 1c Formula Πλ.Πρτ.331δ *ὥστε...κἄν ταῦτα ἐλέγχοις* Μεγ.75β *ἐγὼ γὰρ κἄν οὕτως...* Μνξ.236α *ὅμως κἄν οὗτος...* Δημ.24.109 *...δοκεῖ//κἄν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι.*

Antiformula Πλ.Σφ.239α *ἐνδὸς γὰρ εἶδει καὶ κατὰ ταύτην ἂν...προσαγορευοῖτο* Ν.9.906β *βραχὺ δέ τι καὶ τῆδε ἂν τις...ἴδοι.* Δημ.23.86 *σαφῶς καὶ παρὰ τοῦτον ἂν εἴρηκώς εἶη...*

IV1d Antiformula only Πλ.Γργ.452β *εἶποιμ' ἂν αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς τοῦτον* Φδ.63γ *διισχυρισάμενην ἂν καὶ τοῦτο.* Δημ.20.143 *γένοιτο γὰρ ἂν καὶ τοῦτο.*

IV 2a Formula Πλ.Γργ.514δ *κἄν ἐγὼ...ἐσκόπουν* Π.1.329β *κἄν ἐγὼ...ἐπεπόνθη*

Antiformula Θ.7.21.3 *καὶ σφᾶς ἂν...ὑποσχεῖν.* Πλ.Πρτ.337β *καὶ ὑπὲρ σοῦ δὲ//ταῦτ' ἂν...ἀποκρινόμεν* Φλβ.12β *καὶ ἡμεῖς σοι...συμμάρτυρες ἂν εἴμεν.* Δημ.18.9 *κἄγὼ περὶ...προβουλεύματος εὐθύς ἂν ἀπελογοῦμην.*

IV 2b Formula Πλ.Λα.196β *καίτοι κἄν ἡμεῖς...* Πρτ.318β *ἐπεὶ κἄν σὺ...* Φδ.63γ *ἢ κἄν ἡμῖν μεταδοίης;*

Antiformula next page.

IV 2b Antiformula Θ.5.46.3 ὅτι καὶ σφεῖς//ἤδη ἄν... Πλ.Λα.
184δ ἢ καὶ σὺ//οὕτως ἄν ποιοῖς; Μεν.74α
οἶον καὶ ἐγὼ σοὶ εἶποιμ' ἄν... Φδ.62γ οὐκοῦν, "..., "καὶ σὺ ἄν...
Δημ.21.1 ὅπερ ἄν καὶ ὑμῶν ἕκαστος...

IV 2c Formula Θ.5.17.1 νομίζων...κἂν αὐτὸς...ἀνεπίληπτος εἶναι.
6.34.4...νομίσαντες//κἂν σφεῖς... 7.61.3 καὶ
τὸ τῆς τύχης κἂν μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐλπίζαντες στήναι 8.2.1 γομίσαντες
κἂν ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἕκαστοι ἐλθεῖν αὐτούς. Πλ.Κρα.417α οὐκοῦν...
κἂν σὺ εὐροῖς...

Antiformula Πλ.Απ.20γ ἐγὼ γοῦν καὶ αὐτὸς... 41β ἐπεὶ
ἐμοίγε καὶ αὐτῷ θαυμαστὴ ἄν εἴη... N.12.
968β συλλήπτωρ γὰρ...καὶ ἐγὼ γιγνομένην ἄν...

IV 2d Antiformula only Πλ.Γργ.452β θαυμάζοιμι ἄν/-/καὶ αὐτὸς.
Δημ.2.6 ...σφόδρ' ἄν ἠγούμην καὶ αὐτὸς...
23.5 ...ἀπώκησ' ἄν()καὶ αὐτὸς.

IV 3b Formula Θ.5.60.3 ἀλλὰ κἂν ἄλλη... Δημ.54.42 ὁ κἂν ἄλλω
τυχὸν συμβαίη.

Antiformula Θ.4.120.3 τοῦ καὶ ἄλλο τι ἄν...ὑπομεῖναι.
Πλ.Ν.4.709γ οὐκοῦν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις...κατὰ
τὸν αὐτὸν ἄν ἔχοι λόγον.

IV 3c Formula Πλ.Θτ.206γ ἀλλὰ δὴ τούτου ἔνεκα κἂν ἄλλαι φανεῖ-
εν...

Antiformula Θ.8.25.5 νομίζοντες//ῥαδίως ἄν καὶ τᾶλλα προ-
χωρήσαι.

IV 3d Antiformula only Πλ.Γργ.449δ καὶ ποιῆσαι ἄν καὶ ἄλλον ῥή-
τορα (≡ Ευθδ.272β) Π.5.455α ...εἶποι ἄν
καὶ ἄλλος.

IV 4a Formula Πλ.Σμπ.201γ κἂν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐνδεῆς εἴη Πρμ.157ε
κἂν τοῦ ὅλου...μετέχοι

Antiformula Θ.8.96.4 καὶ τὰς...ναῦς ἠνάγκασαν ἄν...
Πλ.Ιων 532β καὶ τοὺς...λέγοντας γιγνώσκεις
ἄν... Ευθφρ.11α καὶ τὸ ὅσιον ἄν...ὅσιον ἦν Π.2.369α καὶ τὴν
δικαιοσύνην αὐτῆς ἴδοιμεν ἄν... 8.544ε καὶ αἰ...κατασθευαί...
πέντε ἄν εἴεν.

IV 4b Antiformula only Πλ.Απ.35α ὥστ' ἄν τινα καὶ τῶν ξένων
ὑπελαβεῖν... Κρι.45γ ἄπερ ἄν καὶ οἱ
ἐχθροί, ..σπεύσαιεν Ευθδ.299γ ἢ καὶ τὸν Γηρυόνην ἄν... Κρα.
398α οὐκοῦν καὶ τῶν νῦν οἷσι ἄν φάναι αὐτὸν... Π.5.471γ ὅτι
καὶ τοῖς παιδίοις ἄριστ' ἄν μάχοιντο.

IV 4c Antiformula only Θ.1.70.4 ὑμεῖς δὲ...καὶ τὰ ἔτοῖμα ἂν
βλάψαι· 4.121.2 ἠγούμενοι καὶ τοὺς Ἀθη-
ναίους βοηθῆσαι ἂν...· 5.97 ὥστε...καὶ τὸ ἀσφαλές...διὰ τὸ κατα-
στραφῆναι ἂν κἀπάσχοιτε. Πλ.Πρτ.344δ· Θτ.209δ· Πлт.276α· N.5.
735δ· 9.874ε.

IV 4d Antiformula only Πλ.Σμπ.204β ὧν ἂν εἴη καὶ ὁ ἔρως· Η.10.
607δ δοῖμεν δέ γέ που ἂν καὶ τοῖς...

IV 5a Antiformula only Πλ.Ιων 531β καὶ περὶ τῶν...λεγομένων
εἶναι ἐφιλεῖτο ἂν...· ἠπίστω ἂν...· Εὐθφρ.11α καὶ διὰ τὸ...
Π.3.404β καὶ παρ' ὀμήρου,"..., "τά γε τοι-
αῦτα μάθοι ἂν τις.

IV 5b Formula Θ.8.94.2 ὡς κἂν ἐς δέον παραγένοιτο. Δημ.23.
137 δι' ὃ κἂν παρὰ γνώμην...

Antiformula Πλ.Πлт.305ε οὐκοῦν δὴ καὶ κατὰ τὸ...παράδειγμα
βουλοῦμεθ' ἂν... Δημ.21.50 ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ
τοῖς βαρβάροις εὖ δόξαντ' ἂν ἔχειν

IV 5c Formula Δημ.19.300 ἔτι τοίνυν κἂν ὑπ' ἀνθρωπίνου λογισ-
only μοῦ τοῦτ' ἴδοις· 46.11 ἔτι τοίνυν κἂν...

IV 5d Antiformula only Πλ.Γργ.450γ ...περαίνοιτο ἂν καὶ διὰ
σιγῆς.

IV 6 Antiformula only Πλ.Η.3.398β καὶ μάλα,"..., "οὕτως ἂν
ποιοῦμεν· N.1.648α οἶον...καὶ μάλα εἴχο-
μεν ἂν...· 7.807β γίγνοιτο ἂν καὶ μάλα μετρίως (τ).

IV 7 Antiformula only Θ.6.91.2 ὅμως δ' ἂν...καὶ νῦν ἔτι περι-
γένοιτο. Πλ.Ν.7.807β ὡς καὶ νυνὶ ζη-
τοῦμεν ἂν. Δημ.9.76 καὶ οἶομαι καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἐπανορθωθῆναι ἂν...

IV 8 Formula only Πλ.Π.4.427α ὅτι τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν κἂν ὅστισοῦν
εὗροι. Δημ.54.40 ἀλλὰ κἂν ὀτιοῦν παθῶν...

IV 9a Formula Δημ.39.17 κἂν μάρτυρας...παρεσχόμεν· 51.1 κἂν
ἀνόητος ἦν.

Antiformula Πλ.Ν.4.707α καὶ λέοντες ἂν...ἐθισθεῖεν...
IM 302α καὶ περιττὸς ἂν εἴη...· Πρμ.143δ
καὶ ἔν ἂν εἴη ἕκαστον.

IV 9b Formula Θ.3.95.1 ἢ κἂν βίᾳ προσαχθῆναι. Πλ.Γργ.471δ ᾧ
με καὶ ἂν παῖς ἐξελέγξειε.

Antiformula next page

IV 9b Antiformula Θ.3.59.1 ὅτινι ποτ' ἂν καὶ ἀναξίω συμῆσοι·
 8.71.1 ἢ καὶ αὐτοβοεὶ ἂν... Πλ.Π.8.549β
 οὐκοῦν καὶ... (≅ N.3.678ε)· N.1.638ε ἐπειδὴ καὶ...· 5.742ε ἃ
 καὶ...· 9.864γ ὃ δὴ καὶ... Δημ.18.49 ἐξ ὧν καὶ σαφέστατ'...
 24.61 ὡς καὶ μεγάλ' ἂν...· 26.7 δ' καὶ δεινότατον...

IV 9c Formula Πλ.Γργ.461α ὅτι...κἂν ἀδίκως χρῶτο· Ευθδ.279δ
 τοῦτο δὲ κἂν παῖς γνοίη· N.8.841γ τάχα δ' ἂν//
 κἂν δυοῖν θάτερα ἐπιτελεσαίμεθα...

Antiformula Πλ.Πρτ.345α οὗτος γὰρ ἂν καὶ κακὸς γένοιτο·
 Μεν.100α ταῦτόν ἂν καὶ ἐνθάδε...ἀληθὲς ἂν
 πρᾶγμα εἴη...· IM 291β ἄλλο τι καὶ καλλίων ἂν φανεῖη...· Θδ.
 106ε ἄλλο τι ψυχὴ ἢ//καὶ ἀνώλεθρος ἂν εἴη· Π.4.430ε ὁ γὰρ...
 κρείττων καὶ ἥττων δῆπου ἂν αὐτῷ εἴη· Πρμ.140γ ...τοσοῦτων
 καὶ μερῶν ἂν εἴη, 161ε τῷ δὴ ἐνὶ...καὶ ἰσότητος ἂν μετεῖη...

IV 9d Antiformula only Πλ.Ευθδ.303ε ἀλλὰ δόξαίτε ἂν καὶ τὰ ὑμέ-
 τερα αὐτῶν· Κρα.433γ ἔχοι δ' ἂν τι καὶ
 οὐ προσήκον· Π.4.423β· N.9.872δ· 10.905ε. Δημ.19.40 ἔγραφον
 δ' ἂν καὶ διαρρήδην...

That ends the list of IV, special καί. The miscellaneous category (9) mostly consists of nouns, adjectives and adverbs following καί. The results indicate that κἂν ὀπισθοῦν (8) is entirely Formulaic, καὶ μάλα and καὶ νῦν, (6) and (7), entirely Antiformulaic. Special καί in general tends towards Antiformula; apart from the above, the only category where Antiformula is absent is (5c), medial καί with preposition, but that is balanced by prevalence of Antiformula in (5a). With all other expressions special καί shows either a 50-50 balance of Formula and Antiformula (3b and 3c, ἄλλος) or Antiformulaic prevalence, the latter particularly strong in (2a) and (2b), personal pronouns, (4) the article and (9) miscellaneous. All (d) lists have Antiformula only: clearly καί respects Rule XXIV (εἴποι ἂν καὶ...) far more than Rule XI (κἂν εἶ...). In (V) below, καί is in a special relationship to a verb (A) or verb phrase (B) to which g does not 'belong'; (--i) and (--ii) refer to participial or infinitival relationships respectively; in both, g 'belongs' to the main verb, καί to the subordinate verb; in the solitary case of (--iii) καί 'belongs' to main and g to the subordinate. List follows.

V Ai Formula Πλ.Μεν.76β κἄν κατακεκαλυμμένος τις γνῶση...
 Δημ.19.66 ...οἶμαι κἄν καταλεύσαντας αὐτούς...
 νομίζειν.

Antiformula Θ.5.111 τούτων μὲν καὶ πεπειραμένοις ἂν τι
 γένοιτο.

V Aii Formula Πλ.Χρμ.174ε ἢ κἄν ὑγιαίνειν ποιοῦ...; Δημ.20.111
 κἄν ἀποκτεῖναι βούλεσθαι...

Antiformula Δημ.22.2 ἃ καὶ λέγειν ἂν ὀκνήσειέ τις (τ).

V Bi Formula Θ.2.42.4 ὡς κἄν ἔτι διαφυγῶν αὐτὴν πλουτήσκειν·
 6.92.5 κἄν φίλος ἂν ἱκανῶς ὠφελοῖν. Δημ.18.
 128 ἀλλὰ κἄν ἑτέρου λέγοντος ἐρυθρίασειε· 19.209 ἃ κἄν ἐχθρὸς
 ἔωνημένος ἄνθρωπος εἰπεῖν ἠδυνήθη· 54.12 κἄν ἔμπυος γενόμενος
 διεφθάρην.

Antiformula Θ.5.90 ὄσφ καὶ ἐπὶ μεγίστη τιμωρίᾳ σφαλέντες
 ἂν...γένοισθε. Πλ.Χρμ.174ε καὶ ταύτης δῆπου
 ἂν ἄρχουσα ὠφελῶν ἂν...· Κρα.401γ ἔτι δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὰς θυσίας
 ἂν τις ἐννοήσας ἠγήσαστο...· Π.7.532α ὄν καὶ ὄντα νοητὸν μι-
 μοῦτ' ἂν...· 10.620δ ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ ἂν ἐπραξε καὶ πρώτη λαχούσα·
 Ν.9.876δ ἃ δὴ καὶ φαυλοτέρως ἂν πεπαιδευμένοι δικάσται δύναιν-
 το κατιδεῖν...· 11.926β ὅτε καὶ συμφορὰ...προστάττοντος...
 ἀναγκάζοιτ' ἂν...· Δημ.38.11 οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἂν τις
 αὐτὸ σκοπῶν...ἴδοι...

V Bii Antiformula only Θ.5.110 οἱ δὲ καὶ ἄλλους ἂν ἔχοιεν πέμ-
 φαι. Πλ.Πρτ.350δ ...καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν οἴη-
 θεῖς ἂν εἶναι..., 354δ ἔχοιτε δ' ἂν καὶ ἡμῖν εἰπεῖν· Ευθφρ.15δ
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἂν ἔδεισας παρακινδυνεύειν...· Κρα.431β
 εἴη δ' ἂν καὶ ῥήματα...ποιεῖν· Ν.1.633β· 2.663δ· 6.742β. Δημ.
 21.194 ἢ καὶ γελοῦς εἶναι τὰ νῦν οἶμαι δάκρυ' εἰκότως ἂν αὐτοῦ
 δοκοῖη.

V Biii Antiformula only Πλ.Θτ.171δ καὶ δῆτα καὶ νῦν ἄλλο τι φῶ-
 μεν ὁμολογεῖν ἂν...

Here again Formula κἄν is rare; prevalent only in the in-
 frequent category A (one-mobile verbal phrases), surpassed by
 Antiformula in Bi (participial) and absent from Bii and iii
 (infinitival clauses).

The only category not covered by this alternative classi-
 fication is that of κἄν εἰ· for that, see the ! instances in
 the main list, p.3.2.45. Since κἄν εἰ infringes Rule XI, the
 corresponding καὶ εἰ...ἂν instances have not been separately
 collected. Note however in particular Mnx.236c ὥστε κἄν ὀλί-

γού ει... and Δημ.21.31 νῦν δέ μοι δοκεῖ κᾶν ἀσέβειαν εἶ τις καταγινώσκου..., which, while they do not infringe Rule XI, seem in a similar way to be enhanced evidential value for Formulaism. The existence of the crasis κᾶν itself supports the hypothesis of καὶ ἄν Formulaism, despite the relatively large number of Antiformulaic instances; for κᾶν in the senses 'and' and 'both' see Rule XXII, p.2.2.52.

The overall conclusion from the above alternative classification is that Formula is dominant in the form καὶ γὰρ ἄν directly followed by the verb or an adjective (p.3.2.48), in the form κᾶν directly followed by the verb (3.2.49), but is avoided where καὶ is special (3.2.50 ff.), except with personal pronouns medial in Thucydidean complex sentences, p.3.2.51 (2c), and as κᾶν ὅστισοῦν. The high Formula:Antiformula ratio of the (a) column in the table on p.3.2.47 is due mainly to καὶ γὰρ ἄν and κᾶν εἶ outside these, κᾶν is like οὐκ ἄν in being most Formulaic in deferred positions (obs. in particular IV 2c and 5c, pp.3.2.51-52.) We may now pass to Counterformula etc.

Instances of Counterformula (4+?) $4+1 = 1+4$, $4+1+9+14 = 1+4+9+14$, $4+1+19 = 1+4+19$, see above, pp.18-19.

$4+2 = 2+4$, $4+2+9+19 = 2+4+9+19$, $4+2+19+21 = 2+4+19+21$, see above, p.31.

$4+3 = 3+4$, $4+3+14 = 3+4+14$, see above, p.41.

$4+5$ Θ.6.2.4 τάχα ἄν δὲ καὶ ἄλλως πῶς ἐσπλεύσαντες 7,77.3 τάχα δ' ἄν καὶ λωφῆσειαν. Πλ.Χρμ.169γ καὶ μέ τάχα ἄν ἀποπληρώσαις. Πρτ.313δ τάχα δ' ἄν τινες//καὶ τούτων ἀγνοοῦεν..., 329α καὶ γὰρ//τάχα ἄν καὶ τοιούτους...ἀκούσειαν... Κρα.406β τάχα δ' ἄν καὶ ὡς... Σμπ.221γ ...τάχα ἄν τις καὶ περὶ ἄλλου... Φδ.62α τάχα γὰρ ἄν καὶ ἀκούσαις. Π.2.372ε σιοποῦντες γὰρ καὶ τοιαύτην τάχα ἄν κατέδοιμεν... Φδρ.265β τάχα δ' ἄν καὶ ἄλλοσε παραφερόμενοι. Σφ.216β τάχα οὐκ ἄν καὶ σοὶ... Πлт.279β τάχα γὰρ ἄν ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦτο...

$4+2+5 = 2+4+5$, above, p.30.

$4+5+9$ Δημ.36.55 ὁ μὲν γὰρ περὶ πάντ' ἀδίκος τάχα ἄν//καὶ τοῦτον ἠδύκει...

$4+5+15$ next page.

4+5+15 Θ.6.78.3 τάχ' ἂν ἴσως καὶ τοῖς ἑμοῖς... βουλευθεῖη... φθον-
ησαί. Πλ. Ν.4.704α τάχ' ἂν ἴσως καὶ ὁ κατοικισμὸς...
προσθεῖη... Δημ.45.83 τάχα τολύουν ἂν ἴσως καὶ τοῦτο...

4+6 Θ.4.59.4 ὁ καὶ ἡμῖν... πλείστον ἂν ἄξιον γένοιτο. Πλ.
Λα.183α ...καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων πλείστ' ἂν ἐξεργάζοιτο...
Τι.63β οὐ καὶ πλείστον ἂν ἠθροισμένον εἴη...

4+9 Θ.2.65.3 ...προέγνω καὶ πάνυ ἂν ῥαδίως περιγενέσθαι...
6.10.4 ...καὶ πάνυ ἂν... Πλ.Λα.182β πᾶς γὰρ ἂν...
ἐπιθυμήσειε καὶ τοῦ... μαθήματος^{οο}. Κρα.395δ ...καὶ πᾶς ἂν ἠγή-
σαιτο... Πρμ.158ε καὶ ταύτη πάντ' ἂν εἴη... Φλβ.23α ...παντά-
πασιν ἂν τινα καὶ ἀτιμίαν σχοίη... Ν.7.811β ὁ καὶ πᾶς ἂν μοι
συγχωρήσειεν(τ) 10.900ε καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτως ὁμολογοῖ πᾶς ἂν. Δημ.
21.215 ...καὶ πάντων ἂν μοι... συμβαίη.

4+1+9+11 = 1+4+9+11, above, p.16.

4+10 Πλ.Π.9.577β ὀρθότατ' ἂν, "...", "καὶ ταῦτα προκαλοῦτο"
Πρμ.166γ οὐκοῦν καὶ συλλήβδην... ὀρθῶς ἂν εἴποιμεν.
Δημ.45.25 καὶ τοῦτο//ὀρθῶς ἂν ἐμαρτύρουν

4+3+10 = 3+4+10, above, p.40.

(4+11) 4+1+11+19 = 1+4+11+19, above, p.16.

4+12 Θ.4.80.3 καὶ ἡγούμενοι...//μάλιστα ἂν καὶ ἐπιθέσθαι.
126.5 ...μάχη μάλιστα ἂν καὶ πρόφασιν πορίσειε 6.9.2
μάλιστα γὰρ ἂν... καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως βούλοιο ὀρθοῦσθαι. Πλ.Ν.
2.658γ εἰ τις καὶ θαύματα ἐπιδεικνύς μάλιστα ἂν νικᾶν ἠγοῦτο.
Δημ.45.41 οὕτω καὶ μάλιστα ἂν... φανεῖη... μεμαρτυρηκῶς...

4+12+17 Πλ.Π.4.431β καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰς γε πολλὰς... μάλιστα ἂν τις
εὐροί...^{οο}.

4+13 Πλ.ΙΕ 373α δικαίως δ' ἂν καὶ σὲ παρακαλοῖην.

4+14 Θ.4.19.1 εἴτε καὶ ἐμπολιορμηθέντες μᾶλλον ἂν χειρω-
θεῖεν.

4+15 Πλ.Κρα.413δ ἴσως γὰρ ἂν σε καὶ τὰ ἐπίλοιπα ἐξαπατή-
σαιμι..., 421δ εἴη μὲν οὖν ἴσως ἂν τι τῆ ἀκηδείᾳ καὶ
τοιούτον αὐτῶν Ν.1.633α ἴσως γὰρ ἂν οὕτω χρεῖη διαριθμησασθαι
καὶ περὶ... Δημ.8.77 ἴσως ἂν, ἴσως καὶ νῦν ἐτι βελτίω γένοιτο^{οο}

4+17 Θ.1.6.6 πολλὰ δ' ἂν καὶ ἄλλα τις ἀποδείξειε... Πλ.
Λα.200δ ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐγὼ πολλὰ ἂν ἐθελήσαιμι ποιεῖν...
ΜνΞ.241α καὶ γὰρ τούτων... πολλὰ μὲν ἂν τις ἔχοι διελθεῖν Κρα.
437γ οἶμαι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ἂν τις εὐροί... Σμπ.221γ πολλὰ μὲν
οὖν ἂν τις καὶ ἄλλα ἔχοι... Ν.2.674β καὶ ἄλλα δὲ πάμπολλα ἂν
τις λέγοι//.

4+1+9+17 = 1+4+9+17, above, p.17.

4+18 Πλ.Γργ.494δ φημι τοίνυν καὶ τὸν κινώμενον ἠδέως ἂν βιῶναι, 506β ἀλλὰ μὲν δὴ/~/ και αὐτὸς ἠδέως μὲν ἂν... Π.1.328ε και δὴ καὶ σοῦ ἠδέως ἂν πυθοίμην...^{οο}

4+2+18+19 = 2+4+18+19, above, p.30.

4+14+18 Πλ.Φδ.77δ ...δοκεῖς...ἠδέως ἂν καὶ τοῦτον διαπραγματεύσασθαι...μᾶλλον...

4+19 Πλ.Λα.183α ὅτι παρ' ἐκείνοις ἂν τις τιμηθεῖς...καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων...ἐξεργάζοιτο... Π.7.519β και ἐκεῖνα ἂν...ἑώρα Πρμ.139β και μὴν ταῦτόν γε ἑτέρω ἂν ἐκεῖνο ἂν εἶη^{οοο} N.10.905β ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ...καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων ἂν εἶη. Δημ.20.109 και μὴν περὶ τοῦ...τιμᾶν ἐκεῖν ἂν εἶπειν ἀληθῆς οἶμαι^{οοο}.

4+20 Πλ.Πρτ.331β ...φαίην ἂν καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ὄσιον εἶναι^{οο}.

4+2+20 = 2+4+20, above, p.31.

4+9+12+19+20 Πλ.Ν.7.792ε ...φαίην ἂν δεῖν καὶ τὰς φερούσας ἐν γαστρὶ πασῶν τῶν γυναικῶν μάλιστα θεραπεύειν ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν^{οοο}.

(4+21) 4+3+15+21 = 3+4+15+21, above, p.41.

Instances of Anticounterformula (4+?) $4+1 = 1+4$, p.16; $4+2 = 2+4$, p.30; $4+3 = 3+4$, p.40.

4+5 Πλ.Ν.10.905ε τάχα δὲ κἂν ἀπεικασθεῖεν...

4+9 Πλ.Ιων 534γ κἂν περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων Π.10.596δ ὅτι κἂν αὐτὸς οἶός τ' εἶης πάντα...ποιῆσαι. Δημ.9.14 και γὰρ ἂν ἀβελτερώτατος εἶη πάντων...

4+10 Πλ.Ν.4.709δ οὐκοῦν...κἂν εὐξασθαί που δύναίτο ὀρθῶς.

4+13 Δημ.21.35 ἢ κἂν μεῖζω δοίη δικαίως (τ) 39.40 κἂν οὕτω δικαίως...ἔθεσθε.

4+15 Θ.6.11.3 νῦν μὲν γὰρ κἂν ἔλθοιεν ἴσως... Πλ.Σμπ. 209ε ...//ἴσως κἂν σὺ μυηθείης IM 298β ταῦτα δ' ἴσως //κἂν παραλάθοι... Φδρ.238δ ἴσως γὰρ κἂν ἀποτράποιτο...(τ).

4+17 Πλ.Λα.183β οἷ κἂν αὐτοὶ ὁμολογήσειαν πολλοὺς...^{οοο} N.1.629γ ...κἂν πολὺ φαυλότερος εἶποι...

4+17+19 Θ.1.136.4 καὶ γὰρ ἂν ὑπ' ἐκείνου πολλῶ ἀσθενεστέρου...^{οοο}

4+18 Πλ.Λα.200γ ἐπεὶ κἂν ἐγὼ...ἠδίοτα ἐπιτρέποιμι (τ), 182δ Λάχητος δέ//κἂν αὐτὸς ἠδέως ἀκούσαιοι. Δημ. 21.103 και μοι δοκεῖ κἂν προσγράψαι τοῦθ' ἠδέως.

continued

(4+19), 4+17+19, above, p.57.

4+20 Πλ.Π.3.413γ ...//κάν σὺ φαίνης...

Instances of Multiple Antiformula (4+?) $4+1 = 1+4$, $4+1+3 = 1+3+4$, $4+1+3+21 = 1+3+4+21$, all p.22; $4+1+9+11 = 1+4+9+11$, p.16; $4+1+9+17 = 1+4+9+17$, p.17; $4+1+10 = 1+4+10$, p.23; $4+1+11+19 = 1+4+11+19$, p.16; $4+1+15 = 1+4+15$, $4+1+20 = 1+4+20$, both p.23.

$4+2 = 2+4$, p.31; $4+2+5 = 2+4+5$, p.30; $4+2+9+17 = 2+4+9+17$, p.31; $4+2+18+19 = 2+4+18+19$, p.30; $4+2+20 = 2+4+20$, p.31.

$4+3 = 3+4$, p.43; $4+1+3 = 1+3+4$, $4+1+3+21 = 1+3+4+21$, both p.22; $4+3+9+14 = 3+4+9+14$, $4+3+9+21 = 3+4+9+21$, both p.43; $4+3+10 = 3+4+10$, p.40; $4+3+15+21 = 3+4+15+21$, p.41; $4+3+17 = 3+4+17$, p.43.

4+5 Πλ.Ν.7.805γ τάχα ἦν ἂν τι καὶ ἀντειπεῖν...^{οο}

4+6 Δημ.20.7 καὶ γὰρ τᾶλλα...εὐξαίμην ἂν...εἶναι πλείστα^{οφ}

4+9 Πλ.Ιων.532γ καὶ περὶ...ἀπάντων λέγειν οἶδος τ' ἂν ἦσθα· Κρα.407δ καὶ ταύτη ἂν πανταχῆ...πρέποι... Φδ.64β καὶ συμφάναι ἂν...καὶ πάνυ Π.8.557γ οὕτω καὶ αὕτη πᾶσιν ἦθεσιν... καλλίστη ἂν φαίνοιτο Ν.4.722α καὶ δὴ καὶ περὶ παντὸς νόμου... τοῦτ' ἂν αἰροίμην 7.804δ τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ δὴ καὶ περὶ θηλειῶν ὁ μὲν ἔμδος νόμος ἂν εἴποι πάντα. Δημ.18.16 ...πρὸς ἅπασιν/καὶ τρυτ' ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ καὶ μάλ' εἰκότως ἂν λέγειν 19.173 καίτοι καὶ τᾶλλ' ἂν ἀπαντ' ...ἐπέπρακτο.

$4+1+9+14 = 1+4+9+14$, p.19; $4+1+9+17 = 1+4+9+17$, p.17; $4+2+9+17 = 2+4+9+17$, $4+2+9+19 = 2+4+9+19$, both p.31; $4+3+9+14 = 3+4+9+14$, $4+3+9+21 = 3+4+9+21$, both p.43.

$4+5+9$, above, p.55; $4+9+12+19+20$, above, p.57

4+9+14 Πλ.Φλβ,60ε εἴ τις ἄνευ πάσης ἡδονῆς καὶ τῆς βραχυτάτης δέξαιτ' ἂν φρόνησιν ἔχειν μᾶλλον ἢ...^{οο}.

(4+10) $4+1+10 = 1+4+10$, p.19; $4+1+10 = 1+4+10$, p.23.

4+11 Θ.6.11.2 ...καὶ ἔτι ἂν ἦσσον...γενέσθαι.

$4+1+9+11 = 1+4+9+11$, above, p.16.

4+12 Θ.6.22 ...νομίζετε καὶ λόγω ἂν μάλιστα...εἶναι. Πλ. Θτ.171δ ἢ καὶ ταύτη ἂν μάλιστα...

$4+9+12+19+20$, above, p.57.

4+12+17 Πλ.ΙΜ 284γ ἐπεὶ εὖ ἴσθι//καὶ ἐμὲ ἂν λαβεῖν πολὺ μάλιστα...

4+13 Δημ.15.32 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἂν τις ἔχοι δικαίως αἰτιᾶσθαι· 23.44 ἀλλὰ καὶ δέκηθ' ἂν δικαίως.

4+14 Πλ.Λα.189ε σχεδὸν δέ τι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἶη ἂν· Φλβ.22δ τούτου δὴ πέρι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐτι...διαμαχομένην ἂν...

4+1+9+14 = 1+4+9+14, p.19; 4+3+9+14 = 3+4+9+14, p.43;
4+2+14 = 2+4+14, p.41.

4+9+14, above, p.58; 4+14+18, above, p.57.

4+15 Πλ.Φδρ.262δ ἴσως δὲ καὶ οἱ...προφήται...ἐπιπεπνευκότες ἂν...εἴεν... Δημ.15.34 καὶ τάλλ' ἂν ἴσως... σχοῖη.

4+1+15 = 1+4+15, p.23; 4+3+15+21 = 3+4+15+21, p.41.

4+5+15, above, p.56.

4+15+17 Πλ.Π.8.557γ καὶ ἴσως μὲν,"..., "καὶ ταύτην καλλίστην ἂν πολλοὶ κρίνειαν.

4+17 Πλ.Γργ.472α ἐνίοτε γὰρ ἂν καὶ καταφευδομαρτυρηθεῖη τις ὑπὸ πολλῶν· IM 287β ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ τούτου χαλεπώτερ' ἂν ἐγὼ σε διδάξαιμι· Πρμ.165ε ἐν γὰρ πολλοῖς οὔσιν ἐνεῖη ἂν καὶ ἐν· Πλτ.290ε ἐτι δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολλαχοῦ...εὐροί τις ἂν...· Φλβ.53γ ὡς ἄρα καὶ σύμπασα ἡδονῆ...καὶ ὀλίγη πολλῆς...γίγνοιτ' ἂν^{οοο}· N.6.752γ πολλὴν ἐγωγε ἀσφάλειαν οἶμαι καὶ μετὰ τὸν...χρόνον ἂν γενέσθαι· 11.913β ἐν πολλοῖς γὰρ δὴ λεγόμενον...καὶ περὶ τούτου λέγοιτ' ἂν... Δημ.47.11 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλους ἂν πολλοῦς.

4+2+9+17 = 2+4+9+17, p.31; 4+3+17 = 3+4+17, p.43.

4+12+17, above, p.56; 4+15+17, above, this page; 4+12+17, above, p.58.

4+17+19 Δημ.18.94 οἱ καὶ μεμφάμενοι πολλὰ καὶ δέχαι' ἂν ἐκείνοις...

4+18 Πλ.Ευθφρ.3δ ἀλλὰ καὶ προστιθεῖς ἂν ἠδέεως...· Μεν.84β νῦν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ζητήσειεν ἂν ἠδέεως...

4+19 Πλ.Μεν.98β ἐν δ' οὖν καὶ τοῦτο ἐκείνων θεῖην ἂν...· Ευθδ.284β ὥστ' ἐκεῖνα ποιήσειεν ἂν καὶ ὅστισοῦν...· Π.9.587γ οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡδονῆς τρίτῳ εἰδῶλφ' ἀπ' ἐκείνων εὐνοικοῦ ἂν...; Πρμ.134α οὐκοῦν καὶ ἐπιστήμη...αὐτῆς ἂν ἐκείνης εἶη...; 147γ καὶ τάλλα που ἕτερα ἂν ἐκείνου εἶη· Θτ.143δ τὰ ἐκεῖ ἂν σε καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων ἀνηρώτων· Πλτ.299ε ὥστε ὁ βίος ἂν καὶ νῦν χαλεπὸς εἶς τὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον ἀβλῶτος γίγνοιτ' ἂν...^{οοο}. Δημ.16.18... Ὄρωπὸν ἂν κομίσασθαι καὶ μετ' ἐκείνων· 20.82 καὶ μὴν καὶ κατ' ἐκεῖν' ἀνάξι' ἂν εἶη...πεπονθῶς.

4+1+11+19 = 1+4+11+19, p.16; 4+1+19 = 1+4+19, p.19;

4+2+9+19 = 2+4+9+19, p.31; 4+2+18+19 = 2+4+18+19, p.30; 4+2+19+21 = 2+4+19+21, p.31. 4+9+12+19+20, p.57.

4+17+19, see above, this page.

(4+20) 4+1+20 = 1+4+20, p.23.

(4+21) 4+1+3+21 = 1+3+4+21, p.22; 4+2+19+21 = 2+4+19+21, p.31; 4+3+9+21 = 3+4+9+21, p.43.

4+22 Πλ.ΙΜ 282α ὡσπερ καὶ τὸν Δαίδαλὸν φασί...καταγέλαστον ἂν εἶναι^{οο}.

In general καὶ does not prevail over other Formers in attracting q. Counterformula overall outnumber Anticounterformula and in no item of any worthwhile numbers does Anticounterformula outweigh Counterformula, but Counterformula prevails over Anticounterformula in Formers (1) οὐ, (3) πῶς κτλ., (5) τάχα, (9) πᾶς, (12) μάλιστα (17) πολὺς (19) ἐκεῖν-. As to Multiple Antiformula: this is often approximately equal in numbers to the total of Counterformula and Anticounterformula, but in (5) τάχα, (12) μάλιστα, (15) ἴσως, and (18) ἠδέως, the total of the latter two is notably higher than the numbers in Multiple Antiformula; here q tends to attach itself either to one Former or the other, but usually not καὶ. However in (19) ἐκεῖν-, Multiple Antiformula outweighs the total of the other two, i.e. ἂν avoids ἐκεῖν- as well as καὶ. In conclusion, the form κᾶν, the Rule XI infringement κᾶν εἰ, and the expression καὶ γὰρ ἂν suggest Formulaism, but this is limited to certain circumstances (p.3.2.55) and avoided in general when καὶ is special. That ends the account of Former (4),

5/5, Former τάχα (p.3.2.1).

Instances of Formula (5) (a) Th.I.77.6, 81.1. Pl.Chrm.165a, 172c; La.179d; Ap.34b, 34c!(t); Men.80b; Mn.239c; Smp.194c; R.II 369a (verbless); V 455a; Th.200e; Phdr.265c(t), 257c; Sph.232e(t), 255c(verbless), 257d (verbless); Phlb.22c, 22d bis, 23e; Lg.III 682a; V 739a; VIII 828a (verbless), 831b (verbless), 836c, 841c; IX 854d, 857e (verbless).

(b) Pl.R.IV 435a; Plt.283b; Phlb.13d(t); Lg.VI 783b.

(c) Th.II.35.2; III.44.4; VI.19.2. Pl.Ap.20d, 34b; Euthd.296d (verbless);

list continues

(ctd.) Phd.62d; Th.169e; Phdr.259b, 273c; Sph.218c; Plt.263d, 280b; Phlb.38d; Lg.III 702d; VII 790b; VIII 841e; X 885c, 908c. Dem.23.193; 36.25.

That ends the list of Formula (5). There are no cases of the Former following the verb. So strongly Formulaic is this expression that the only possible instance of Antiformula is Ap.34c τάχ' οὖν τις... αὐθαδέστερον ἄν... σχολῆ (Croiset, follow-in BW); but since this would be the only Antiformulaic instance, Burnet is probably right to follow the indication of TY with τάχ' ἄν οὖν. ἄν οὖν is a fairly common infringement of Rule XIV (p.2.2.29 ff.) and we also find τάχ' ἄν δὲ... in Th. VI.2.4 (see also p.3.2.55). As further evidence of Formulaism there are elliptical instances, marked (verbless) in the above list, in most of which τάχ' ἄν is a complete sentence; in some others (e.g. Euthd.296d οὕτω δὲ τάχ' ἄν) a somewhat longer sentence nevertheless lacks a verb and could make sense without q. We pass now to Counterformula etc.

Instances of Counterformula (5+?) $5+1 = 1+5$, p.19; $5+4 = 4+5$, p.57.

$5+15$ Πλ.Σφ.247δ τάχ' οὖν ἴσως ἄν ἀποροῦεν. N.9.859γ τάχα δὲ ἴσως ἄν γενοίμεθα.

(5+20) $5+15+20$ Πλ.Φλβ.45β τάχα γὰρ ἴσως φαῖμεν ἄν...(τ)

Instances of Anticounterformula (5+?) $5+1 = 1+5$, $5+1+15 = 1+5+15$, $5+1+19 = 1+5+19$, all p.16.

$5+2 = 2+5$, $5+2+4 = 2+4+5$, both p.30.

$5+4 = 4+5$, p.55; $5+2+4 = 2+4+5$, p.30; $5+4+9 = 4+5+9$, p.55.
 $5+4+15 = 4+5+15$, p.56.

(5+9) $5+4+9 = 4+5+9$, p.55.

$5+10$ Πλ.Κρα.430β ...τάχ' ἄν ὀρθῶς λέγοις.

$5+10+15$ Πλ.Ν.2.640ε τάχ' ἄν ὀρθῶς ἴσως μέμφοιτο.

$5+14$ Πλ.Ν.4.708δ ...τάχα ἄν ἐθελήσειε μάλλον.

$5+14+19$ Πλ.Θτ.203ε καὶ τάχα ἄν μάλλον οὕτως ἢ 'κείνως λέγοι°°.

$\underline{5}+15$ @.6.10.4, τάχα δ' ἂν ἴσως//...^(ε) ευνεπιθοῦντο... 34.2
 ὥστε τάχ' ἂν ἴσως νομίσαντες//... ἐθελήσειαν... Πλ.
 Απ.31α ὑμεῖς δ' ἴσως τάχ' ἂν,... ἀποκτείνετε Πлт.290α τάχ' ἂν
ἴσως... Τι.38ε ταῦτα μὲν ἴσως τάχ' ἂν... τύχοι... Ν.1.629α
τάχ' ἂν ἴσως, 645γ φανεῖη δὲ τάχ' ἂν ἴσως... 2.676γ τάχα γὰρ
ἂν ἴσως δελεῖεν... 5.744α καὶ οὕτω τάχ' ἂν ἴσως... ἐκβαίνοι.

$\underline{5}+1+15 = 1+\underline{5}+15$, p.16; $\underline{5}+4+15 = 4+\underline{5}+15$, p.56.

$\underline{5}+10+15$, above, p.61.

($\underline{5}+17$) $\underline{5}+17+18+20+21$ Πλ.Ν.2.658δ ῥαφῶδον δὲ καλῶς... δια-
 τιθέντα τάχ' ἂν... ἠδίστα ἀκούσαντες
 νικᾷν ἂν φαῖμεν κάμπολυ.

($\underline{5}+18$) $\underline{5}+17+18+20+21$, see immediately preceding.

$\underline{5}+19$ Δημ.23.58 ὡς τάχ' ἂν//καὶ τούτων κἀκείνων συμβάντων^{οο}.

$\underline{5}+1+19 = 1+\underline{5}+19$, p.16.

$\underline{5}+14+19$, above, p.61.

$\underline{5}+20$ Πλ.Σφ.260δ τάχα δ' ἂν φαίη...

$\underline{5}+17+18+20+21$, above, this page.

($\underline{5}+21$) $\underline{5}+17+18+20+21$, above, this page.

Instances of Multiple Antiformula (5+?) $5+4 = 4+5$, p.58.

$5+10$ Πλ.Η.5.451γ τάχα δ' οὕτως ἂν ὀρθῶς ἔχοι.

$5+15$ Πλ.Ν.10.885ε καὶ τάχα πειθοῦμεθ' ἂν ἴσως...

$5+15+19$ Δημ.20.18 τάχα τοίνυν ἴσως ἐκεῖνο λέγειν ἂν ἐπιχειρή-
 σειε...

$5+15+20$, above, p.61.

($5+19$) $5+15+19$, above, preceding paragraph.

Both Counterformula and Multiple Antiformula are greatly outnumbered by Anticounterformula; this Former tends to prevail even over οὐ in attracting \underline{q} (pp.3.2.16 and 19); $1+\underline{5}$ and $\underline{1}+5$ are in equal numbers, but it is the former which is accompanied by more complex examples, $1+\underline{5}+15$ and $1+\underline{5}+19$. Note the phrase τάχ' ἂν ἴσως which seems to be a Formula in itself: τάχ' ἂν ἴσως @.6.10.4, 34.2, 78.3. Πλ.Πлт.290α* Ν.1.629α, 645γ* 2.676γ* 3.686δ* 4.704α* 5.744α* 10.900γ. Δημ.45.43.

list continues

τάχ' ἴσως ἂν Πλ.Σφ.247δ N.9.859γ.

τάχα...ἂν ἴσως Πλ.N.10.885ε.

τάχα ἴσως...ἂν... Δημ.20.18.

ἴσως τάχ' ἂν Πλ.Απ.31α Τι.38ε.

τάχ' ἂν...ἴσως ἂν... Πλ.Φλβ.13δ(τ).

There seem to be no cases in the order ἴσως ἂν τάχα.

Lg.I 645c is an infringement of Rule XXIV. That ends the account of Former (5),

6/6, Former πλειστ- (p.3.2.1).

Instances of Formula (6) (a) Th.III.30.4 (= V.9.4, 111.4); VI.49.2.

(b) Th.III.42.4; Dem.23.24.

(c) Th.II.41.1; IV.3.3; V.99. Pl. R.II 374e; V 457d(t).

Instances of Antiformula (6) (c) Πλ.Φδρ.240α ...ἄοικον ὅτι πλεῖστον χρόνον...εὔξαιτ' ἂν γενέσθαι. Δημ.16.5 οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἡμεῖς μετὰ πλείστης ἀδείας εἴημεν.

Instances of Counterformula (6+?) 6+9 Δημ.19.159 ...ἀπάντων ἂν ἐτιμήσατο πλείστου...

6+10 Πλ.N.7.814ε ἧς τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος...ὀρθῶς ἂν προσαγορευόιτο.

Instances of Anticounterformula (6+?) 6+4 = 4+6, above, p.56.

Instances of Multiple Antiformula (6+?) 6+4 = 4+6, above, p.58.

6+9 Πλ.N.6.776γ ...πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων...πλείστην ἀπορίαν παράσχοιτ' ἂν...

(6+10) 6+10+14+17 Πλ.Πλτ.288β καὶ πολλῷ μᾶλλον...τὸ πλεῖστον νομίζοιτ' ἂν ὀρθότερον...

(6+14) 6+10+14+17, see preceding.

(6+17) 6+10+14+17), see preceding.

This seems to be a Thucydidean Formula; he dominates the Formula list, is unrepresented in Antiformula, Counterformula and Multiple Antiformula, while in the other authors Anti-

formula, Counterformula and Multiple Antiformula prevail. In these latter categories, unlike Formula, πλειοστ- is most often in agreement with a noun which accompanies it.

7/7, Former τάχιστα (p.3.2.1).

Instances of Formula (7) (a) Th.II.63.3!; IV.61.7; VI.11.4.
 (b) Th.I.120.4. Pl.Lg.IV 710d.
 Dem.29.5.

There are no instances of (b) (Former peninitial following prepositive); nor are there any instances of Antiformula.

Instances of Counterformula (7+?) (7+12) 7+9+12 Πλ.ΙΕ 366δ
πάντων τάχιστα
 καὶ μάλιστ' ἄν εἴποις...

Instances of Anticounterformula (7+?) 7+2 = 2+7, above, p.30

Instances of Multiple Antiformula (7+?) (7+9) 7+9+12, above,
 this page.

This expression is perhaps not Formulaic at all, for despite a Formula:Antiformula ratio of 6:0, and that one instance only forms an exception, the overall numbers are so small. On the other hand Th.II.63.3 infringes Rule XIV, and it is he also who has the majority of Formulaic instances, and the only Anticounterformulaic. Another Thucydidean Formula.

8/8, Former ἥμιστα (p.3.2.1).

Instances of Formula (8) (a) Pl.Prm.137b.
 (b) Th.III.71.1. Pl.Grg.516c.
 (c) Th.III.24.1(t), 42.6; V.22.2,
 36.1(t).; VI.34.4.

Instances of Antiformula (8) (a) Πλ.θτ.146β ἥμιστα μὲν/--/τὸ
 τοιοῦτον ἄν εἴη ἀγροικόν* N.
 1.645ε ἥμιστα δὴ τότε ἄν...γένοιτο...

(b) Δημ.23.3 ὄν ἄν ἥμισθ'...ὀπίδοισθε
 σθε.

(c) Πλ.Πρτ.361ε καὶ οὕτως ἄν ἥμιστα
 ...

Instances of Counterformula (8+?) $8+1 = 1+8$, above, p.19.

(8+20) $8+1+3+9+20 = 1+3+8+9+20$, $8+1+20 = 1+8+20$, both p.17.

Instances of Anticounterformula (8+?) $8+9$ Πλ.Π.2.382β ... πάντες ἡκιστ' ἂν δέξαιντο.

$8+17$ Πλ.Π.2.381β ταύτη μὲν δὴ ἡκιστ' ἂν πολλὰς μορφὰς ἴσχοι...

Instances of Multiple Antiformula (8+?) $8+1 = 1+8$, p.23;

$8+1+20 = 1+8+20$,

$8+1+3+9+20 = 1+3+8+9+20$, both p.17.

(8+3) $8+1+3+9+20 = 1+3+8+9+20$, p.17.

(8+9) as preceding.

$8+17$ Δημ.23.193 οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἡκισθ' ... τοὺς πολλοὺς ὑμᾶς ἀδικοῖεν.

In this case τὸ Thucydides dominates the Formula list and is unrepresented in the Antiformula list. The overall Formula:Antiformula ratio is not very high, but it is certainly Formulaic in Thucydides. The majority of the Counterformulaic instances (pp.3.2.17 and 19) are οὐχ ἡκιστα, οὐκ ἂν ἡκιστα. Though the Anticounterformulaic instances are in Plato, this, like πλειοστ' ἂν and τάχιστ' ἂν, seems to be a primarily Thucydidean Formula.

9/9, Former πᾶς (p.3.2.1)

Instances of Formula (9) (a) Pl. Euthd. 279a(t), 305a; Smp. 193e; Phd. 79e, 87c; R.I 331c; III 393c; IV 423a; V 471c; Prm. 157c; Tht. 204e; Phlb. 45a; Lg. II 669a; V 728d. Dem. 18.171, 247, 252; 20.26, 79, 135; 21.106; 22.52 (= 24.163); 24.152; 36.44; 58.27.

(b) Th. III.40.7; VI.49.2(t). Pl. La. 182b; Cra. 414d; Phd. 92a; R.I 340e; X 611a; Plt. 302a; Phlb. 58a(t). Dem. 18.305; 19.182; 21.27(t), 114; 22.77 (= 24.185); 24.81, 204; 44.53; 51.12(t).

(c) Th. I.2.2; V.32.3; VI.99.2(t). Pl. Chrm. 173b(t); La. 182c; Grg. 469e; Men. 86c; IM 299a; Euthd. 283d, 303d; Cra. 388e(t); Smp. 185b, 196d, 221e(t); Phd. 72b(t), 90b; R.IV 442d; Prm. 157b; Tht. 206b; Sph. 226e; Plt. 299e; Phlb. 49a; Lg. II 668b; III 690a; XII 957d.

Dem.4.12; 5.17; 8.58 (c= 10.60); 18.5, 200, 214; 19.337; 24.65, 68(t); 38.25; 45.66; 51.19(t).

Formula (9) ctd. (d) Pl.Pl.t.300b; Lg.II 662e; I 648b; X 900e.

- Instances of Antiformula (9) (a1) Πλ.Κρα.415β πᾶν...κακία ἂν εἴη· Π.4.428ε· 9.589α· Θτ. 153δ, 154ε πάνυ μὲν οὖν..., 205γ· Ν.1.649β· 2.665ε· 7.766δ, 808γ· 11.931ε. Δημ.18.17· 19.302· 20.48· 24.147.
- (a2) Πλ.Κρα.405β πάντα...δύναται ἂν· Πλτ.264ε· Φλβ.21β· Τλ.26β· Ν.12.957γ. Δημ.20.67 πάνυ τοίνυν ἀχθολίμην ἂν.
- (b1) Πλ.Φδ.72β ὅτι πάντα...τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆμα ἂν σχολή· Π.5.458β· 9.589β· Φδρ.261ε· Ν.6.751α. Δημ.1.8· 19.312· 23.66· 57.3
- (b2) Πλ.Ευθφρ.9β ἐπεὶ πάνυ γε σαφῶς ἔχοιμι ἂν δεῖξαι...· Ν.6.776δ. Δημ.9.1.
- (c1) Πλ.Χρμ.167β ἄλλο τι...πάντα ταῦτα ἂν εἴη...· Λα.199δ· Λπ. 22β· Γργ.522α· Μεν.79γ· Π.5.471δ· Πρμ.148α· Ν.3.689γ· 6.758δ· 7.796γ, 796γ, 824α· 10.887γ· 11.917α. Δημ.20.123 οἱ μὲν ἀπλᾶ πάνυ καὶ δέκαι ἂν εἴποιεν.
- (a+c1) Πλ.Π.10.608γ πᾶς γὰρ...ὁ χρόνος πρὸς πάντα ὀλίγος πού τις ἂν εἴη.
- (c2) Πλ.Γργ.486β ...κατηγόρου τυχῶν πάνυ φαύλου...ἀποθάνοις ἂν· Φδρ.239ε· Σφ.252δ· Πλτ.268α· Τλ.20β· Ν.1.627γ· 2.670α, 674γ· 3.696δ· 5.747ε· 6.779β· 9.853α, 860α. Δημ.8.28· 10.18· 18.226· 19.7.

In the above, the Former precedes q; in the following, q precedes, but the classification is otherwise the same.

Antiformula (9) ctd. (b1) Πλ.Πρμ.129δ ἀλλ' ἄπερ ἂν πάντες ὁμο- λογοῖεν· Ν.6.777γ πρὸς ἅ τις ἂν πάντα βλέψας...(τ). Δημ.3.13

- (c1) Θ.2.18.4 καὶ ἐδόκουν...ἐπελθόντες ἂν...πάντα...καταλαβεῖν. Πλ.Πρτ. 327γ(τ)· Απ.29γ(π)· Γργ.465δ(τ)· Κρα.432δ, 426α· Ν.3.693α· 6.752α. Δημ.13.9· 17.3· 18.153· 20.147.
- (d1) Θ.4.29.3 ...καταφανῆ ἂν εἶναι πάντα. Πλ.Φλβ.54ε· Ν.5.740β· 9.866α· 10.903ε· 12.950α. Δημ.10.11· 17.3 εἴποιτ' ἂν οἶμαι πάντες(τ)· 24.187.
- (d2) Πλ.Ευθδ.296γ δύνατο ἂν ἅπαντα ἐπίσ- τασθαι· Σμπ.221ε· Π.9.584ε· 10.596δ· Θτ.204β· Φδρ.244β· Σφ.247γ· Ν.6.753ε· 10.901α· 12.958α, 960δ. Δημ.20.106· 23.146.

Verbatim quotation has been minimized in the above lists in view of the alternative classification which follows below.

Numerical summary (ignores (a+c1):

	(a)			(b)			(c)			(d)	
F Th.											
Pl.		14			7			22			4
Dem.		<u>12</u>			<u>10</u>			<u>13</u>			-
		<u>26</u>			<u>19</u>			<u>38</u>			<u>4</u>
	(1)	(2)	t	(1)	(2)	t	(1)	(2)	t	(1)	(2)
Af Th.							+1		+1	+1	
Pl. 11	5	16		5+2	2	7+2	14+7	13	27+7	+5	+11
Dem. <u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>		<u>4+1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>5+1</u>	<u>1+4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5+4</u>	<u>+3</u>	<u>+2</u>
	<u>15</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>9+3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>12+3</u>	<u>15+12</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>32+11</u>	<u>+9</u>	<u>+13</u>

Instances in (d) are rare in Formula because there they infringe Rule XXIV. Cases marked + above are those in which q precedes the Former; there are none under (c2) because they are excluded by definition from that category. By contrast with oú, πῶς καλ. and καί (pp.3.2.15, 37, 47), there is in total not much excess of Formula over Antiformula; but this is made up of great prevalence of Antiformula in Plato but fairly strong prevalence of Formula in Thucydides and Demosthenes (Formula:Antiformula Thuc. 5:2, Pl. 43:75, Dem. 35:25 or approx.). Although the proportion of Formula is low in Plato, it is he who has the four infringements of Rule XXIV due to Formulaic wording (see Formula (d)). Within Plato, Formula is under-represented in 'early' works (especially in the (a) list), while Antiformula is present throughout; but the latter is remarkably over-represented in Lg. (Formula:Antiformula Euthd. 4:1, R. 7:7, Lg. 6:34 or approx.), concentrated in (a1), (c1), (c2), (d1) and (d2) especially. Also under-represented in 'early' Plato is, in Antiformula the wording Vq (2), whereas (1) (qV) is present more or less throughout. Possibly πῶς ἄν is a Formula, obscured somewhat by private developments of Platonic style.

However, it may be suspected, as with μή and καί (pp.3.2.

27, 48) that the Formula and Antiformula lists are constituted of somewhat different types of sentence; perhaps some types are more Formulaic than others. An alternative classification is therefore presented as follows: (A-) πᾶς used as a substantive, unattached to others; (B-) expressions like πάντων μέγιστος (C-) πᾶς as adjective, as in πάντας τούτους, or as adverb with adjective, as in πάνυ σαφῶς. Cases in (A-) may be accompanied by a preposition, but relegated to (D-) are those in which the Former is both governed by a preposition and accompanied by another element as in (C-); here too are some more complex substantive phrases, including combinations of (B-) and (C-). It may be suspected that (B-), (C-) and (D-) make for Antiformulaic wording; cases where that has no further qualification are listed (-i); in (-ii) the potential Antiformulaic force of the category is offset by some other consideration - e.g. in (C-) reverse order of the 'unit', with the Former last, or isolation of the Former from the rest of the unit (unless Formulaic order would then infringe Rule XXIV). The primary division however is according to syntactical context, as explained ad loc. I: simple sentence or main clause to which Former and g both 'belong'.

I (A) Θ.3.40.7 ὡς πρὸ παντὸς ὃν ἐτιμήσασθε... 6.49.2 καὶ κατὰ πάντα ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐκφοβῆσαι. Πλ.Χρμ.173β ἄλλο τι κατὰ τὰς ἐπιστήμας πάντ' ἂν πρᾶττοίτο;(τ) Γργ.469ε οὕτω μὲν πάντες ἂν μέγα δύναιντο Μεν.86γ περὶ τούτου πάνυ ἂν διαμαχομένην. Ευθδ. 279α πᾶς γὰρ ἂν ἡμῖν εἶποι (≅ Φδ.87γ, Π.1.331γ, 340ε) IM 299α τὰ δὲ... πάντες ἂν ἡμῖν μάχονται... Σμπ.185β ὅτι... πᾶν ἂν παντὶ προθυμηθεῖη, 193ε πάνυ ἂν ἐφοβοῦμένην... Φδ.92α καὶ πάνυ ἂν θαυμάζοιμι... Π.4.423α πάντες ἂν ἀμάρτοις, 442δ ὡδε γάρ, " ..., "παντάπασιν ἂν βεβαιωσαίμεθα... Πρμ.157γ παντελῶς ἂν ἔν ἦν Θτ.204ε πᾶν γὰρ ἂν εἶη... Πлт.299ε ... παντελῶς ἂν ἀπόλοιτο... Φλβ.45α πᾶς ἂν σοι ταύτη συγχωροίη... (≅ N.2.668β), 58α ὅτι πᾶς ἂν... γνοίη N.2.669α πάντες μεντᾶν ὡς ἔπος εἶπεῖν... ἐγιγνώσκωμεν N.5.728δ πᾶς ἂν τοῦτό γε νοήσειεν. Δημ.18.247 πάντες ἂν εἶποιεν (≅ 22.52, 24.163), 252 πανταχόθεν μὲν τοῖνυν ἂν τις ἴδοι... 19.182 ὅτι μὲν πάντες ἂν...//δίκην ὑπέχοιεν 20.36 πάντες ἂν ὁμολογήσειαν (≅ 24.81, 204 φήσαίτε) 21.106 ἀπάντων ἂν ἀπεστερήμην... 36.44 πᾶν ἂν ἀγνοήσειας 45.16 ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ κερδαίνειν πᾶν ἂν οὗτος ποιήσειε.

Among the above instances of Formula, observe the repeated idea 'Everyone would say/agree', which occurs in different forms in twelve passages.

I (A) ctd. Antiformula Πλ.Πρτ.327γ ἀλλ' οὖν ἀύληταί γ' ἂν πάν-
τες ἦσαν... (τ)· Κρα.432δ διττὰ γὰρ ἂν
που πάντα γένοιτο· Π.9,589α παντάπασι γὰρ, "... , "ταῦτ' ἂν λέγοι...
10.608γ ... πρὸς πάντα ὀλίγος πού τις ἂν εἶη· Πρμ.129δ ἀλλ' ἄπερ
ἂν πάντες ὁμολογοῖεν, 148α ἅπαν ἅπασιν ὁμοιοῦν ἂν εἶη· Θτ.154ε
πάνυ μὲν οὖν ἐγωγε τοῦτ' ἂν βουλοίμην, 204β ουκοῦν διαφέροι ἂν
τὸ ὅλον τοῦ παντός; 205γ παντάπασι δὴ/-/... συλλαβὴ ἂν εἶη· Σφ.
247γ ἀλλὰ διατείνονται ἂν πᾶν... , 252δ ... παντάπασιν ἴσταιτ' ἂν...
Πλτ.264ε πᾶς μὲν δὴ... διέλοιτ' ἂν... , 268α παντάπασι τῷ λόγῳ δια-
μάχονται ἂν...· Φλβ.21β πάντα γὰρ ἔχοιμ' ἂν...· Τι.26β παντάπασι
θαυμάσαιμ' ἂν...· Ν.1.649β πᾶς ἡμῖν... ταῦτ' ἂν συγχωροῖ· 3.693α
σχεδὸν ἂν ἦδη πάντ' ἦν μεμειγμένα...· 6.776δ ὅτι που πάντες εἶ-
ποιμεν ἂν, 779β ... ὅλω καὶ παντὶ... γίγνοιτ' ἂν...· 12.960δ ὅπῃ
γίγνοιτ' ἂν παντὶ... Δημ.3.13 δι' ἧς ἂν ἅπαντες ἄμεινον πρά-
ξαιμεν· 9.1 καὶ πάντων οἶδ' ὅτι φησάντων γ' ἂν (≅ 19.7)· 13.9 καὶ
εὐπορὰ τις ἂν ἅπασι γένοιτο...· 19.302 παντὶ μὲν γὰρ εἰκότως
ἂν ὀργισθεῖητ'...· 20.67 πάνυ τοίνυν ἀχθούμην ἂν· 23.146 εὖ
οἶδ' ὅτι συμφήσαιτ' ἂν ἅπαντες.

Among the above, R.X 608c begins πᾶς γὰρ... ὁ χρόνος,
from which point of view it would be classed in (C i) below.
Note the Antiformulaic equivalent of 'All would say/agree' in
Prm.129d, Dem.9.1, 19.17, 23.147. The first of these, as
also Dem.3.13, illustrates the attraction of α to peninitial
position following the relative. The expression πάνυ μὲν οὖν,
(Tht.154e), as distinct from πάνυ alone (see the preceding,
Formula,list), probably through its use as a complete utterance,
forms an independent colon. The adverb παντάπασι seems to make
for Antiformulaic wording, as does δὴ (Rule XXII).

I (Bi) Formula Πλ.Σμπ.196δ πάντων ἂν ἀνδρειότατος εἶη. Δημ.
44.53 ὥστε πάντων ἂν δεινότατα πάθοιμεν· 58.27
πάντων ἂν αἴσχιστα... ἐπεπόνθεσαν.

Antiformula Πλ.Π.5.458β ὅτι πάντων εὐφορώτατ' ἂν εἶη
πραχθέντα· Ν.2.674γ ... σχεδὸν ἅπάντων ἐμ-
μετρότατα... γίγνοιτ' ἂν· 5.747ε τούτων δ' αὐ πάντων μέγιστον
διαφέροιεν ἂν...· 12.950α ... βλάβην ἂν φέροι μέγιστην πασῶν.
Δημ.10.11 χρησιμώτατοι γὰρ ἂν ἦσαν ἅπάντων· 57.3 ὅτι πάντων
οἰκτρούτατον πάθος ἡμῖν ἂν συμβαίη.

Lg.XII 950a and Dem.10.11 are included above rather than

in (Bii) below for the reason given on p.3.2.68 above.

I (Bii) Formula Δημ.10.60 ἀνοητότατος πάντων ἂν εἴη.

Antiformula Δημ.20.147 ...ἀτοπώτατον ἂν πάντων συμβαίη.

In the above, unit-formation of Former+superlative would be compatible with Formulaic wording, because the Former follows the superlative.

I (Ci) Formula Πλ.Λα.182β ἀλλὰ πανταχῆ ἂν τρίτη πλεονεκτοῖ·
Ευθδ.303δ ...πάνυ μὲν ἂν ὀλίγοι ἀγαπῶμεν... (≡
Φδ.90β)· Πλτ.300β ...ἀνστρέποι πᾶσαν ἂν πράξιν...· Ν.2.662ε
ζητοῖ που πᾶς ἂν ὁ ἀκούων...

Antiformula Θ.4.29.3 ...καταφανῆ ἂν εἶναι πάντα τὰ ἁμαρ-
τήματα. Πλ.Χρμ.167β ...πάντα ταῦτ' ἂν εἴη...
Απ.22β ...ἅπαντες οἱ παρόντες ἂν βέλτιον ἔλεγον...· Γργ.465δ
...ὁμοῦ ἂν πάντα χρήματα ἐφύρετο... (τ)· Μεν.79γ εἰ...πᾶσα πράξις
ἀρετῆ ἂν εἴη· Κρα.415β πᾶν τὸ κακῶς ἰὼν κακία ἂν εἴη· Συμπ.221ε
...φανεῖται ἂν πάνυ γελοῖοι...· Π.4.428ε πάντων τούτων οὔτοι ἂν
εἴεν...· 9.584ε οὐκοῦν ταῦτα πάσχοι ἂν πάντα...· 10.596δ γενέσ-
θαι ἂν τούτων ἀπάντων ποιητής· Ὀτ.153δ πάντα χρήματ' ἂν διαφθα-
ρεῖη...· Ν.2.670α ...πᾶσά τις ἀμουσία καὶ θαυματουργία γίγνοιτ'
ἂν...· 6.766δ πᾶσα δὲ δήπου πόλις ἀπολις ἂν γίγνοιτο· 7.824α
τούτω δὴ πάντων...· 10.901α ...γίγνοιτ' ἂν ὁ τοιοῦτος πᾶς...
903ε ἢ περ ἂν ἔχοι...ἐπιμελείας θεοῖς τῶν πάντων· 12.958α γίγ-
νοιντ' ἂν τῆ πάσῃ πόλει...· Δημ.18.17 πάντα μὲν τοίνυν τὰ
κατηγορημένα...ἐκ τούτων ἂν τις ἴδοι, 153 ὥσπερ χειμάρρους ἂν
ἅπαν τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμα...· 19.312 ἀλλὰ πάντα ταῦθ' ὑπὸ τῶν βαρ-
βάρων ἂν ἐαλωκέναι. (Πλ.Φλβ.54ε)

Plt.300b and Lg.II 662e in the Formula list above defy both the potential unit-formation and Rule XXIV to produce Formulaic wording; in Antiformula, these other forces prevail.

I (Cii) Formula Πλ.Π.3.393γ πᾶσα ἂν αὐτῷ ἄνευ μιμήσεως ἢ πεί-
ησις γεγονυῖα εἴη· 5.471γ πάντ' ἂν εἴη ἀγαθὰ...
Κρα.414δ πᾶν ἂν παντὶ τις ὄνομα πράγματι συναρμόσειεν· Συμπ.
221ε ὥστε ἄπειρος καὶ ἀνόητος ἄνθρωπος πᾶς ἂν...καταγελάσειεν·
Πρμ.157β ταῦτα δὴ τὰ καθήματα πάντ' ἂν πάσχοι...· Πλτ.302α ὡς
πάντ' ἂν διολέσειε τὰ ταύτη γιγνόμενα· Ν.12.957δ ...τούτων πάν-
των ἂν βᾶσανος εἴη...· Δημ.20.79 τὸν ἅπαντ' ἂν ἀπολώλει χρόνον·
21.27 ταῦτ' εὐ οἶδ' ὅτι πάντ' ἂν ἔλεγον.

Reverse order of the 'unit' or separation of the Former from it do seem to encourage Formulaic wording, provided that does not infringe Rule XXIV. (Cii) Antiformula follows.

I (Cii) ctd. Antiformula Πλ.Κρα.405β πάντα ἐν τι ταῦτα δύναιτ' εἶεν... Π.5.471δ ὅτι ταύτη πάντη ἀμαχοὶ ἂν εἶεν· N.3.689γ ταύτας πάσας ἀμαθίας... ἐγὼ γ' ἂν θεῖην... 6.758δ ταῦτα μὲν οὖν πάντα τὸ δωδέκατον ἂν μέρος... εἶη... Δημ.18.226 ... πάντες ἐγίγνοντ' ἂν οἱ λόγοι· 24.147 παντελῶς γὰρ ἤδη ἀκυρ' ἂν...

Separation of Former from the potential 'unit' or final position of Former in the 'unit' fail in Antiformula above to produce Formulaic wording. In (D-), which follows, the 'units' are more complicated.

I (Di) Antiformula only Πλ.Λα.199δ ... ἡ περὶ πάντων ἀγαθῶν τε καὶ κακῶν... ἀνδρεία ἂν εἶη· Π.9.589β κατὰ πάντα τρόπον δη... ἀληθῆ ἂν λέγοι· Φδρ.261ε ... περὶ πάντα τὰ λεγόμενα μίᾳ τις... αὐτῆ ἂν εἶη· Τι.56γ ἐκ δὲ πάντων ὦν... / ὡδ' ἂν... ἔχοι· N.3.696δ ... ἀνευ πάσης τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς... γίγνεται ἂν...; 5.740β ὡδ' οὖν ἂν... γίγνοιτο περὶ πᾶσαν πόλιν· 6.751α ἀλλὰ μὴν μετὰ γε πάντα τὰ νῦν εἰρημένα σχεδὸν ἂν ἀρχῶν εἶέν σοι καταστάσεις..., 753ε οἷτινες δὲ εἶεν ἂν πρὸς πασῶν τῶν ἀρχῶν γεγονότες· 10.887γ ... ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων τῶν νόμων... προοίμιον ἂν εἶη· 12.957γ πάντων γὰρ μαθημάτων κυριώτατα... γίγνεται ἂν. Δημ.1.8 καὶ πάντων τῶν μετὰ ταῦτ' ἂν ἦτ' ἀπηλλαγμένοι πόρων· 24.187 ὅτι δεινότατ' ἂν πάθοι πάντων ἀνθρώπων.

I (Dii) Formula Δημ.8.58 ἀνοητότατος πάντων ἂν εἶη τῶν ὄντων ἀνθρώπων.

Antiformula Πλ.N.11.931ε πάντων πρὸς θεοφιλῆ μοῦραν κυριώτατα ἀγαλμάτων ἂν κεντήτο.

The Formula:Antiformula ratios of (A-), (B-), (C-) and (D-) above are respectively 35:27, 4:7, 14:27, 1:15, or approx. Incorporation in a substantive phrase does seem to favour Antiformulaic wording, though other influences can to some extent offset that. That ends the list of I, simple sentences and governing clauses. In II, which follows, sentences of the form participial-main (in that order), in which both Former and q 'belong' to main.

II (A) Formula Θ.6.99.2 ... παυομένους... πάντας ἂν... τρέπεσθαι (τ).

Antiformula Θ.2.18.4 καὶ ἐδόκουν... ἐπελθόντες ἂν... πάντα κατάλαβεῖν. Πλ.N.9.866α ... μέτριος ἂν εἶη πάντως.

- II (Ci) Antiformula only Πλ.Τι.20β ...καταστήσαντες τὴν πόλιν ἅπαντ' αὐτῆς τὰ προσήκοντα ἀποδοῦντ' ἄν...
- II (Di) Formula Πλ.Λα.182γ ...φιλοτιμηθεῖς...ἐπὶ πᾶν ἄν τὸ περὶ τὰς στρατηγίας ὀρμήσεις
Antiformula Πλ.Ν.7.808γ ...διαγομένη...πρὸς πᾶσι τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἀνδρεῖαν ἄν τινα...
- II (Dii) Antiformula only Πλ.Ν.1.627γ ὅτι νικῶντων...ἢ τε οἴκλα καὶ ἢ ξυγγένεια αὐτῆ πᾶσα ἤπτων αὐτῆς λέγοιτ' ἄν.

The grammatical context of II above is not much different from that of I, except that q may without infringing any Rule appear within the participial phrase; this does however happen only in Th.II.18.4, and yet the proportion of Formula seems very low. In III, which follows, we have infinitivally complex sentences in which both Former and q 'belong' to the main verb (while part at least of the infinitive clause precedes the main clause - otherwise, under Rule XXIV, the main clause could be treated alone as a simple sentence).

- III (A) Formula Πλ.Ευθδ.283δ οἵτινες τὰ παιδικὰ περὶ παντὸς ἄν ποιήσαιντο ἀπολωλέναι· Θτ.206β ἃ δὴ στοιχεῖα πᾶς ἄν ὁμολογήσειε...λέγεσθαι· Σφ.226ε ...διπλοῦν ὄν πᾶς ἄν ἴδοι· Ν.3.690α ...ἄρχειν...ὄρθον πανταχοῦ ἄν εἶη. Δημ. 5.17 ἀλλὰ σὺς μὲν εἶναι πάντες ἄν βούλοινθ'...· 38.25 ὃ δ' αἰσχρὸν ἅπαντες ἄν εἶναι φήσαιεν.

Antiformula Dem.10.18καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πάντες ἠτιῶντ' ἄν ...βεβιωκέναι.

- III (Ci) Antiformula only Δημ.20.106 ἃς ἀπεύξαιτ' ἄν ἅπας ὁ δῆμος...γενέσθαι.
- III (Cii) Formula only Δημ.18.214 τὰ μὲν καθ' ἕναστ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἀντὶ παντὸς ἄν τιμησαίμην εἶπεῖν τοῦ βίου.

The high proportion of Formula in III (A) is similar to the situation with μή (2a) and (2b), pp.3.2.27 ff.: both Former and q 'belonging' to the same verb in a complex sentence; even more similar is IV, which follows. Here, we have an infinitivally complex sentence in which both Former and q 'belong' to the infinitive.

IV (A) Formula Θ.1.2.2 ... τροφῆς πανταχοῦ ἂν ἡγοῦμενοι ἐπι-
κρατεῖν. Πλ. Ευθδ. 305α πάνυ ἂν σε οἶμαι αἰσ-
χυνθῆναι· Φδ. 79ε πᾶς ἂν μοι δοκεῖ... συγχωρῆσαι. Δημ. 20.135
πάντας ἂν ἡγοῦμαι φῆσαι· 24.152 πάντας ἂν οἶμαι ὁμολογῆσαι.

Antiformula Δημ. 20.48 πάντας γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἡγοῦμαι δικαι-
ότατ' ἂν παθεῖν.

In Formula above observe the indirect form of the idea
'All would say/agree' (pp. 3.2.68-69). In Dem. 20.48, if δι-
καιότατα were thought to be an adverb, the instance would be
classed in Counterformula, 9+13, p. 3.2.76 below.

IV (Bii) Formula only Δημ. 19.337 ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖτ' ἀτοκώτατον
ἀπάντων ἂν ποιῆσαι.

IV (Ci) Formula only Δημ. 24.68 οἶμαι δὴ πάντας ἂν ὑμᾶς ὁμο-
λογῆσαι (τ)· 51.19 ὥστ' οἴονται//σφᾶς
αὐτοὺς πάντ' ἂν τὸν βίον... νομίζεσθαι (τ).

IV (Cii) Formula only Θ. 5.32.3 νομίζοντες ἅπασαν ἂν ἔχειν
Πελοπόννησον. Πλ. Κρα. 388ε νομοθέτης
δέ σοι δοκεῖ πᾶς ἂν εἶναι ἀνὴρ... (τ). Δημ. 18.5 οἶμαι δ' ὑμᾶς
/-/ πάντας ἂν ὁμολογῆσαι...· 24.65 ...δοκεῖ πᾶν ἂν ἐτοίμως ἐρ-
γον ποιῆσαι.

IV (Di) Antiformula only Πλ. Γργ. 522α οὐκοῦν οἶει ἐν πάσῃ ἀπορ-
αῖ ἂν αὐτὸν ἔχεσθαι.

In Dem. 51.19 (Ci) above, q is conjectured by Stahl; but
in view of the high proportion of Formula throughout IV, it
has a good chance of being right. In V, which follows, we
have participially complex sentences in which q 'belongs' to
the main verb but the Former either 'belongs' to the parti-
ciple or is common to both verbs.

V (A) Formula Πλ. Π. 10.611α καὶ πάντα ἂν εἴη τελευτῶντα ἀθάνατα·
Φδ. 72β ὅτι τελευτῶντα πάντ' ἂν... ἀποδείξειε...
Δημ. 18.305 ἀλλὰ πάντες ἂν ὄντες ἐλεύθεροι... ψῆκουν...· 22.77 ἂ
πᾶς τις ἂν εὐ φρονῶν εὐξαιτο... (= 24.185).

Antiformula Πλ. Φδ. 72β ὅτι πάντα τελευτῶντα τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆμα
ἂν σχολῆ· Φδρ. 244β μηκύνοιμεν ἂν δηλα παντὶ
λέγοντες· Ν. 6.752α πλανώμενος γὰρ ἂν ἀπάντη... φαίνοιτο.

V (Ci) next page

V (Ci) Formula Πλ.Φλβ.49α καὶ δὴ πᾶν ἂν τις τὸ τοιοῦ-
τον εἰπὼν...εἴποι... Δημ.4.12 ἄπασιν ἂν τοῖς
πράγμασι τεταραγμένοις ἐπιστάντες//διοικήσαισθε· 18.171 πᾶν-
τες ἂν ὑμεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι...ἀναστάντες...ἐβαδίζετε.

Antiformula Πλ.Ν.1.665ε παντάπασιν που ἀηδῶς τε καὶ.../
ἄδοντες ἀπροθύμως ἂν...ἐργάζονται· 6.777γ
πρὸς ἅ τις ἂν πάντα βλέψας...

V (Cii) Antiformula only Πλ.Ν.9.853α δίκαι δὴ...ἀκόλουθοι
ταῖς...πράξεσιν ἀπάσαις οὔσαι...
γίγνοιτο ἂν... Δημ.17.3 ...ἀρπάζοντας ἂν ὑμᾶς τὰ ὄπλα
πάντα...ὑπομεῖναι...

V (Di) Antiformula only Πλ.Γργ.486β κατηγοροῦ τυχὼν πάνυ φαύ-
λου ἀποθάνοις ἂν.

In V above, the proportion of Antiformula is fairly high, but observe that in Phlb.49a Formulaic wording appears to attract q not only into the participial clause to which it does not 'belong', but away from peninitial position therein (admittedly, δῆ, under Rule XXII, is relevant). In VI, which follows, we have infinitivally complex sentences in which the Former 'belongs' to the infinitive but q to the main verb (contrast III and IV above, in both of which both Former and q 'belong' to the same verb).

VI (A) Formula Δημ.18.200 προδεδωκέναι πάντας ἂν ἔσχεν αἰτίαν.

Antiformula Πλ.Ευθδ.296γ δύναιο ἂν ἅπαντα ἐπίστασθαι·
Φδρ.239ε ...ὄρφανὸν πρὸ παντὸς εὐξαιτ' ἂν
εἶναι...· Ν.7.796γ ἃ δὴ πάντως μιμεῖσθαι πρέπον ἂν εἴη· 11.
917α οὐς αἰδεῖσθαι πᾶσι πάντας πρέπον ἂν εἴη.

VI (Bi) Antiformula only Πλ.Ν.10.860α ...πάντων ἐναντιώτατα
παραγγέλλειν δόξειαν ἂν...

VI (Ci) Antiformula only Πλ.Ευθφρ.9β ἐπεὶ πάνυ γε σαφῶς ἔχοιμι
ἂν δεῖξαι...· Ν.7.796γ ...πᾶσι θεοῖς
προσόδους...κοσμεῖσθαι δέον ἂν εἴη.

VI (Cii) Antiformula only Δημ.8.28 ...ταῦτα πάντα κωλύσαι δύ-
ναίτ' ἂν.

In VI above, a high proportion of Antiformula. Like μὴ ἂν, πᾶς ἂν tends to be avoided where the Former and q 'belong' to different verbs (VI above); also like μὴ ἂν, Formu-

laic wording is particularly prevalent not in simple sentences (where neither is it rare) but in infinitival complexities where both Former and q 'belong' to the same verb (III and IV above: compare (2+) on p.3.2.28). But $\pi\alpha\zeta$ seems to be more Formulaic than $\mu\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$ in participial complexities where the Former 'belongs' to the participle and q to the main verb: contrast V above with (9) on pp.3.2.28 ff. However, in simple sentences (I above, (1) on p.3.2.28) $\pi\alpha\zeta$ is overall less attractive to q than $\text{is}\mu\eta$. In fact, while in types II - VI above the grammatical complexity seems to determine the tendency (e.g. VI almost entirely Antiformulaic whether in (A), (B) or (C)), in I the subdivision into (A), (B) etc. is important, as pointed out on p.3.2.71. In addition, the particular form involved is relevant; examination reveals that while other forms are indecisive, the Formula:Antiformula ratio of $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$ is 9:2, and that $\text{παν}\tau\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\sigma\iota$ (as remarked on p. 3.2.69) tends in the opposite direction. That ends the account of the alternative classification. We pass now to Counterformula etc.

Instances of Counterformula (9+?) $9+\underline{1} = \underline{1}+9$, p.19; $9+\underline{1}+2 = \underline{1}+2+9$, $9+\underline{1}+3 = \underline{1}+3+9$, both p.18; $9+\underline{1}+4+14 = \underline{1}+4+9+14$, $9+\underline{1}+10 = \underline{1}+9+10$, $9+\underline{1}+15 = \underline{1}+9+15$, $9+\underline{1}+17 = \underline{1}+9+17$, all p.19.

$9+\underline{2} = \underline{2}+9$, $9+\underline{2}+4+19 = \underline{2}+4+9+19$, both p.31.

$9+\underline{3} = \underline{3}+9$, $9+\underline{3}+10+12 = \underline{3}+9+10+12$, $9+\underline{3}+13 = \underline{3}+9+13$, all p.41.

$9+\underline{4} = \underline{4}+9$, p.57.

$9+\underline{8} = \underline{8}+9$, p.65.

$9+\underline{10}$ Πλ.Ν.7.821α τὸ δὲ ἔοικεν $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$...τοῦναντίον γιγνόμενον ὀρθῶς ἂν γίγνεσθαι.

$9+\underline{10}+19$ Πλ.Τι.25α ἐκεῖνο δὲ ...παντελῶς ἀληθῶς ὀρθότατ' ἂν λέγοιτο...

$9+\underline{12}$ Πλ.Τι.72ε ...μάλιστα' ἂν αὐτὸ πάντων πρέποι, 75β μάλιστα γὰρ ἂν αὐτὸ πάντων ἔσχεν... N.10.904β ...ἐν τῷ παν- τὶ παρέχοι μάλιστα' ἂν... Δημ.19.67 ...τοῦτο μάλιστα' ἂν εὐδαι- μονίσειεν ἀπάντων* 45.86 ὡς οὖν μάλιστα' ἂν ἅπαντας ὑμᾶς ἠγοῦμαι γινῶναι...

list continues

$9+3+12 = 3+9+12$, p.40; $9+7+12 = 7+9+12$, p.64.

$9+13$ Πλ.Τι.21δ ἡ περὶ μεγίστης, "... , "καὶ.../πασῶν δικαιοδύναται ἂν πράξεως οὐσης... Δημ.33.34 εἰ δὲ...πανταχοῦ δικαιοτέρ' ἂν φαίνοιτο λέγων...

$9+1+3+13 = 1+3+9+13$, p.16.

$9+14$ Πλ.Ν.7.791β ὡς ἅπανα ψυχῆ...μᾶλλον ἂν...ἐθίζοιτο...

$9+17$ Θ.6.31.5 πόλλ' ἂν...εὐρέθη τὰ πάντ' ἔξαγόμενα...

$9+1+4+17 = 1+4+9+17$, p.17

($9+18$) $9+18+19$ Δημ.23.109 οὗς ἴσασιν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἡδίστ' ἂν καὶ τοῦς ἐκείνου φίλους καὶ.../ἀποκτείναντας.

($9+19$) $9+1+19 = 1+9+19$, p.17.

$9+20$ Πλ.Σφ.223α ...πάντες φαῖμεν ἂν... Φλβ.55α ...ἅπαντες φαῖμεν ἂν...

$9+1+3+8+20 = 1+3+8+9+20$, p.17; $9+2+17+20 = 2+9+17+20$, p.31;
 $9+3+20 = 3+9+20$, p.41; $9+4+12+19+20 = 4+9+12+19+20$, p.57.

$9+21$ Πλ.Ν.4.721α ...κινδυνεύουσι...καλῶς ἂν τίθεσθαι... πᾶση πόλει.

$9+3+12+21 = 3+9+12+21$, p.41.

Instances of Anticounterformula ($9+?$) $9+1 = 1+9$, $9+1+3 = 1+3+9$, $9+1+4+11 = 1+4+9+11$, all p.16.

$9+2 = 2+9$, $9+2+12 = 2+9+12$, both p.30.

$9+3 = 3+9$, p.40; $9+1+3 = 1+3+9$, p.16.

$9+4 = 4+9$, p.56; $9+1+4+11 = 1+4+9+11$, p.16.

$9+6 = 6+9$, p.63.

($9+11$) $9+1+4+11 = 1+4+9+11$, p.16.

$9+12$ Πλ.Π.8.557γ παντάπασι δὴ ἂν...μάλιστα' ἐγγίγνοιτο...

$9+2+12 = 2+9+12$, p.30.

$9+13$ Πλ.Ν.10.907β πάντων ἂν τῶν ἀσεβῶν κερῖσθαι δικαιοδύναται...

$9+14$ Πλ.Σμπ.209γ καὶ πᾶς ἂν δέξαιτο...μᾶλλον γεγρονέται...°

Π.1.347δ ὥστε πᾶς ἂν ὁ γιγνώσκων...μᾶλλον ἐλοιτο...
 Δημ.9.31 ὅσφ μᾶλλον...πάντες ἂν ἔφησαν...

9+17 Πλ.Θτ.179α καὶ πᾶς ἂν ὁμολογοῖ...πολλάκις ἀνάγκη
εἶναι...^ο N.8.842γ παντοδαπῶς ἂν καὶ πολλαχόθεν
εἴη. Δημ.21.181 ἀπάντων τοίνυν...πολλῶ δεινότερ' εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι
πάντες ἂν εἶναι φήσειαν...

9+18 Πλ.Κρα.397α πάνυ γὰρ ἂν ἠδέως...

9+19 Πλ.Χρμ.168γ πάντως ἂν που ἐκεῖνό γ' αὐτῶ ὑπάρχοι (τ).
IM 290ε ἢ δὲ χρυσοῦ ἐκεῖνη πάντ' ἂν ταῦτα ποιήσειεν.
N.1.628γ οὕτω πᾶς ἂν ἐθέλοι πρότερον ἢ κείνως...γίγνεσθαι^ο.
Δημ.37.58 ἐκεῖνό γ' οἶμαι πάντας ἂν ὑμᾶς ὁμολογήσαι (= 38.21).
9+1+19 = 1+9+19, p.16.

9+20 Πλ.N.1.648γ φαλή που πᾶς ἂν... 7.791β τοῦτο δέ που
πᾶς ἂν φαλή...

Instances of Multiple Antiformula (9+?) 9+1 = 1+9, p.23;

9+1+3 = 1+3+9,
p.22; 9+1+3+8+20 = 1+3+8+9+20, p.17; 9+1+3+13 = 1+3+9+13,
p.16; 9+1+4+17 = 1+4+9+17, p.17; 9+1+13 = 1+9+13, p.23;
9+1+19 = 1+9+19, p.17; 9+1+20 = 1+9+20, p.23.

9+2 = 2+9, p.31; 9+1+2 = 1+2+9, p.18; 9+2+4+17 = 2+4+9+17,
p.31; 9+2+17+20 = 2+9+17+20, p.31.

9+3 = 3+9, p.43; 9+1+3 = 1+3+9, p.18; 9+1+3 = 1+3+9,
p.22; 9+1+3+8+20 = 1+3+8+9+20, p.17; 9+1+3+13 =
1+3+9+13, p.16; 9+3+4+14 = 3+4+9+14, 9+3+4+21 = 3+4+9+21,
9+3+10 = 3+9+10, all p.43; 9+3+12 = 3+9+12, p.40; 9+3+12+21
= 3+9+12+21, 9+3+20 = 3+9+20, both p.41.

9+4 = 4+9, p.58; 9+1+4+14 = 1+4+9+14, p.19; 9+1+4+17
= 1+4+9+17, p.17; 9+2+4+17 = 2+4+9+17, 9+2+4+19 =
2+4+9+19, both p.31; 9+3+4+14 = 3+4+9+14, 9+3+4+21 = 3+4+9+21,
both p.43; 9+4+12+19+20 = 4+9+12+19+20, p.57; 9+4+14 =
4+9+14, p.58.

9+6 = 6+9, p.63.

(9+7), 9+7+12 = 7+9+12, p.64.

9+10 Πλ.N.8.832γ στασειωτεῖται δὲ πᾶσαι λέγουιντ' ἂν ἐρξό-
τατα.

9+1+10 = 1+9+10, p.19; 9+3+10 = 3+9+10, p.43; 9+2+10+12 =
2+9+10+12, p.41.

9+12 Πλ.Κρα.426ε ...μάλιστα διὰ πάντων ἴοι ἂν· Σφ.237β
καὶ μάλιστα γε δὴ πάντων ὁ λόγος αὐτὸς ἂν δηλώσειε...
N.4.716γ ...πάντων χρημάτων μέτρον ἂν εἴη μάλιστα.

9+2+10+12 = 2+9+10+12, 9+3+12+21 = 3+9+12+21, both p.41;
9+4+12+19+20 = 4+9+12+19+20, p.57.

9+13 Δημ.18.294 οἷς ἂν εἰκότως καὶ δικαίως ἀναθεῖεν
 ἅπαντες· 45.63 δικαίως τοίνυν τούτων ἀπάντων δοῦς
 ἂν δίκην... (τ)· 54.40 ὁ δικαιότερον σοῦ πιστευθεὶς κατὰ πάντα
 (τ)· 57.69 ὥστε πανταχῆ δικαίως καὶ.../ἡμῖν ἂν προσθέμενοι...
 εὐορκοίητε.

9+1+13 = 1+9+13, p.23; 9+3+13 = 3+9+13, p.41.

9+14 Θ.7.73.2 καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἐλπίζειν ἂν... Πλ.
 Π.7.516ε ...πᾶν μᾶλλον πεπονθέναι ἂν δεξασθαι...
 9.579α ἔτι ἂν,"...," οἶμαι μᾶλλον ἐν παντὶ κακοῦ εἴη· Θτ.178α
 ἔτι τοίνυν ἐνθ' ἐνὸς ἂν μᾶλλον πᾶς τις... Δημ.52.33 ἐγὼ
 ὑμᾶς ἂν δεξαίμην ἅπαντα... λαβεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ... 19.165^{οο}.

9+1+4+14 = 1+4+9+14, p.19; 9+3+4+14 = 3+4+9+14, p.43; 9+4+14
 = 4+9+14, p.58.

(9+15) 9+1+15, p.19.

9+17 Πλ.Π.3.394ε πολλῶν ἐφαπτόμενος πάντων ἀποτυγχάνοι
 ἂν· N.8.841γ πολὺ γε μὴν ἄριστα//ἐν πάσαις πόλεσι
 γίγνοιτο ἂν^{οο} 7.788β ...πολλὰ...γιγνόμενα...παντοδαπά...
 ἀπεργάζοιτ' ἂν... Δημ.19.172 εἰ προσλαβὼν γ' ἂν ἀργύριον
 πάνυ πολὺ...^{οο} (Πλ.Π.3.415α ...ὄντες πάντες τὸ μὲν πολὺ...)

9+1+17 = 1+9+17, p.19; 9+2+14+17 = 2+9+14+17, p.31;
 9+2+17+20 = 2+9+17+20, p.31.

9+18 Δημ.8.52 πάντα τοίνυν τάλλ' εἰπὼν ἂν ἠδέως...

(9+19) 9+2+4+19 = 2+4+9+19, p.31; 9+4+12+19+20 =
 4+9+12+19+20, p.57;

9+10+19, p.75; 9+18+19, p.76.

(9+20) 9+1+20 = 1+9+20, p.23.

9+21 Πλ.Π.1.335β πάνυ μὲν οὖν,"...," οὕτως ἂν μοι δοκεῖ
καλῶς λέγεσθαι.

9+3+4+21 = 3+4+9+21, p.43.

That ends the lists of Counterformula (9) etc. The
 Formula πᾶς ἂν appears to prevail over κἂν, μᾶλλον ἂν
 ἐκείν- ἂν - see 1+9/1+9, 9+14/9+14 (few cases), 9+19/9+19,
 though in all Multiple Antiformula is also fairly numerous.
 Formulae which prevail over πᾶς ἂν are οὐκ ἂν, πῶς ἂν κτλ.,
 μάλιστα ἂν, φαίην ἂν - see 1+9/1+9, 3+9/3+9 (few cases),
 9+12/9+12 (ditto), 9+20/20+9 (inc. 9+1+3+8+20 etc.). Whereas
 οὐκ ἂν πᾶς (1+9) occurs in all authors, οὐ πᾶς ἂν (1+9) is

confined to Plato. Multiple Antiformula 9+13 ($\pi\alpha\zeta$, $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma$) is confined to Demosthenes. That ends the account of $\pi\alpha\zeta$, Former (9).

10/10, Former $\delta\omicron\rho\theta\omega\varsigma$ (p.3.2.1).

Instances of Formula (10) (a) Th.I.70.9. Pl.Men.99c(t); Cra. 405c, 408c(t), 417e; R.III 387e, 403e; X 604d(t); Lg.I 627a, 648d. Dem.39.39.

(b) Pl.Hp.Ma.284c; R.II 382b; Plt. 268a.

(c) Pl.Hp.Mi.373c; Euthphr.5e; Ap. 40a; Men.97a; Mnx.244e; Cra. 401c, 406d; Phd.75e; R.III 404e; VIII 562a; IX 581a; Tht.178a; Sph.224a; Plt.283c; Phlb.26e, 34a, 49a, 52c, 59e, 65a; Lg.II 653c, 658e, 664c; III 696e; IV 713c; V 742c, 744d; VI 780c; VII 788a(t); VIII 841e; IX 857e, 869a, 874b, 876a; XI 917c; XII 963a. Dem.23.192.

Instances of Antiformula (10) (a1) Πλ.Ν.10.896γ $\delta\omicron\rho\theta\omega\varsigma$ ἄρα καὶ ...εἰρηκότες ἂν εἴμεν...

Antiformula ctd. (a2) Πλ.Π.4.424δ $\delta\omicron\rho\theta\omega\varsigma$ γάρ, "...", "γίγνεται" ἂν.

(b1) Πλ.Π.1.341ε ἢ $\delta\omicron\rho\theta\omega\varsigma$ σοὶ δοκῶ, "...", "ἂν εἰπέτω..."; 3.410δ καὶ $\delta\omicron\rho\theta\omega\varsigma$ μὲν τραφέν ἀνδρεῖον ἂν εἴη.

(b2) Πλ.Τι.48γ ὡς $\delta\omicron\rho\theta\omega\varsigma$ ἐπιχειροῦμ' ἂν...

(c1) Πλ.Ν.11.932α ... $\delta\omicron\rho\theta\omega\varsigma$ κείμενος ἂν εἴη.

(c2) Πλ.Σφ.230α τὸ δ' οὖν σύμπαν αὐτὸ $\delta\omicron\rho\theta\omega\varsigma$ εἰποὶ τις ἂν... Τι.30α ...ἀποδεχόμενος $\delta\omicron\rho\theta\omega\varsigma$ ἀποδέχεται ἂν. Ν.1.627β ἡττων... $\delta\omicron\rho\theta\omega\varsigma$...λέγεται ἂν... 4.417α ...λεγόμενα $\delta\omicron\rho\theta\omega\varsigma$ φέρονται ἂν; 6.768γ ...ἢ...διαίρεσις ... $\delta\omicron\rho\theta\omega\varsigma$...γίγνεται ἂν... 10.892γ σχεδὸν $\delta\omicron\rho\theta\omega\varsigma$ λέγεται ἂν... 11.914α ... $\delta\omicron\rho\theta\omega\varsigma$ γίγνεται ἂν...

In the above instances of Antiformula, the Former precedes q; in those that follow, q precedes.

Antiformula ctd. (c1) Πλ.ΙΜ 289δ σὺ ἂν $\delta\omicron\rho\theta\omega\varsigma$ ἀπεκέκρισο (τ)' Κρα.404δ ...ἢ θεὸς ἂν $\delta\omicron\rho\theta\omega\varsigma$ καλοῖτο (≡ 405γ, 426γ); Π.5.476β οὗς μόνους ἂν τις $\delta\omicron\rho\theta\omega\varsigma$ προσαγορεύοι... Τι.51β τῆδ' ἂν τις $\delta\omicron\rho\theta\omega\varsigma$ λέγοι. Ν.3.693δ ...λέγων ἂν τις $\delta\omicron\rho\theta\omega\varsigma$ λέγοι. 4.717α ...τοῖς χθονίοις ἂν τις θεοῖς ἄρτια... νέμων $\delta\omicron\rho\theta\omega\varsigma$...τυγχάνοι, 723β ...προσέμιον ἄλλ' οὐ.../ἂν $\delta\omicron\rho\theta\omega\varsigma$ προσαγορεύοιτο εἶναι... 7.815α ...πυρρίχην ἂν τις $\delta\omicron\rho\theta\omega\varsigma$ προσ-

list continues

αγορεύει· 10.907δ οἶος ἂν...ὀρθῶς γίνονται...

Antiformula (10) ctd. (d1) Πλ.Κρα.410γ γὰρ γεννήτειρα ἂν εἴη ὀρθῶς κεκλημένη· Τι.31α ...τὸ δ' ἂν ἀφωμοιωμένον λέγοιτο ὀρθότερον, 77β ζῶον μὲν ἂν...λέγοιτο ὀρθότατα.

(d2) Πλ.Γργ.486α ...προσθεῖ' ἂν ὀρθῶς λόγον, Π.3.402α τὰ δ' αἰσχροῦ φέροι τ' ἂν ὀρθῶς...· N.1.630δ ...λέγοιτ' ἂν ὀρθότατα.

That ends the lists of Formula (10) and Antiformula (10). Thucydides and Demosthenes are virtually unrepresented. In Plato the Formula:Antiformula ratio is 48:30, and the great majority of cases, whether Formula or Antiformula, are in medial position, (c). The expression ὀρθῶς ἂν does not seem to infringe Rule XXIV (see also p.2.2.59). The Formula instances consist mostly of ὀρθῶς ἂν +verb, which rarely appears as a sentence in itself, but in (a) mostly as an apodosis and in (c) as a self-contained phrase late in the sentence, again often in apodotic function (ταῦτα λέγων ὀρθῶς ἂν λέγοι). It may be that what is formulaic is not ὀρθῶς ἂν but the phrase ὀρθῶς + verb. In Antiformula as in Formula the Former is rarely initial or peninitial following a prepositive; in medial position, when the Former precedes q, (c2) greatly outnumbered (c1), but (c2) is quite common when q precedes the Former. Once again, it seems to be that with ὀρθῶς + verb placed late in the sentence, the only alternatives if formulaic wording is to be avoided are either Vq (c2) or...ἂν(...) ὀρθῶς(...). We pass now to Counterformula etc.

Instances of Counterformula (10+?) $10+\underline{1} = \underline{1}+10$, p.20; $10+\underline{1}+2 = \underline{1}+2+10$, p.18;

$10+\underline{1}+4 = \underline{1}+4+10$, $10+\underline{1}+9 = \underline{1}+9+10$, both p.19.

$10+\underline{3} = \underline{3}+10$, $10+\underline{3}+9+12 = \underline{3}+9+10+12$, both p.41.

$10+\underline{4} = \underline{4}+10$, p.57.

$10+\underline{5} = \underline{5}+10$, $10+\underline{5}+15 = \underline{5}+10+15$, both p.61.

10+12 Πλ.N.3.696ε ...μάλιστα ἂν τιμώμενον ὀρθότατα τιμῶτο

10+17 Πλ.N.11.916ε πολλάκις ἂν ὀρθῶς ἔχοι.

10+20 Πλ.Ν.1.625α τοῦτο οὖν φαίμεν ἂν... ὁρθῶς... εἰλη-
φέναι' 8.830α φαίη τις ἂν ὁρθῶς λέγων.

10+1+20 = 1+10+20, above, p.17.

Instances of Anticounterformula (10+) $10+1 = 1+10$, $10+1+2 = 1+2+10$, $10+1+3 = 1+3+10$, all p.16.

(10+2) $10+1+2 = 1+2+10$, p.16.

$10+3 = 3+10$, p.40; $10+1+3 = 1+3+10$, p.16; $10+3+4 = 3+4+10$, $10+3+15+20 = 3+10+15+20$, both p.40.

$10+4 = 4+10$, p.56; $10+3+4 = 3+4+10$, p.40.

$10+6 = 6+10$, p.63.

$10+9 = 9+10$, p.75.

10+12 Πλ.Π.4.434γ καὶ ὁρθότατ' ἂν προσαγορεύοιτο μάλιστα...

(10+15) $10+3+15+20 = 3+10+15+20$, p.40.

10+19 Πλ.Ν.10.874ε ταῦτα μετ' ἐκεῖνα// ὁρθῶς ἂν νομοθετοῦτο.

10+20 Πλ.Π.3.412α τοῦτον ὁρθότατ' ἂν φαίμεν... 4.432α ὥστε ὁρθότατ' ἂν φαίμεν...

$10+3+15+20 = 3+10+15+20$, p.40.

Instances of Multiple Antiformula (10+?) $10+1 = 1+10$, $10+1+3 = 1+3+10$, $10+1+4 = 1+4+10$, all p.23; $10+1+20 = 1+10+20$, p.17.

(10+2) $10+1+2 = 1+2+10$, p.18

$10+3 = 3+10$, p.43; $10+1+3 = 1+3+10$, p.22; $10+3+9 = 3+9+10$, p.43.

(10+4) $10+1+4 = 1+4+10$, p.19; $10+1+4 = 1+4+10$, p.23.

$10+5 = 5+10$, p.62.

(10+6) $10+6+14+17 = 6+10+14+17$, p.63.

$10+9 = 9+10$, p.77; $10+1+9 = 1+9+10$, p.19; $10+3+9 = 3+9+10$, p.43; $10+3+9+12 = 3+9+10+12$, p.41.

(10+12) $10+3+9+12 = 3+9+10+12$, p.41.

(10+14) $10+6+14+17 = 6+10+14+17$, p.63.

(10+17) as preceding

10+19 Πλ.Φλβ.27δ ὥστε ὁρθῶς... μέρος ἐκεῖνον γίνονται' ἂν' N.2.667δ ...κρίνεται' ἂν μόνον ἐκεῖνο ὁρθῶς;

list continues

10+20 Πλ.Π.5.476δ ... γνώμην ἂν ὀρθῶς φαίμεν εἶναι.

Not much of interest can be elicited from the above Counterformula etc. lists. It is surprising that ὀρθῶς ἂν slightly outnumberes οὐκ ἂν ($1+10/1+10$); but not surprising that καὶ ὀρθῶς ἂν slightly outnumberes καὶ ὀρθῶς ($4+10/4+10$); other combinations appear in small numbers only. That ends the account of ὀρθῶς, Former (10)

11/11, Former ἦττον (p.3.2.1).

Instances of Formula (11) (a) Pl.R.VII 518b; Th.148c. Dem. 23.128.

(b) Pl.R.VII 538b.

(c) Th.I.121.3; VI.84.1. Pl.Euthd. 281c bis; Smp.176c, 179a; R.1X

585e. Dem.33.12.

Instances of Antiformula (11) Πλ.Π.5.465α ... ἦττον ἐπὶ μέγους ἂν ἰοὺ στάσεις, 472δ οἷεῖ ἂν οὖν ἦττόν τι... (τ)· N.6.774γ ὕβρις δὲ ἦττον... γίγνοιτο ἂν. Δημ. 58.41 ὅσπερ ἂν ἦττον εξαπατήσειαν...

Co-occurrence of q and this Former is clearly not very common; but the overall proportion of Formula to Antiformula is high. The majority of instances both of Formula and of Antiformula are in medial position, so that the highest proportion of Formula to Antiformula is in initial; cf. ὀρθῶς above, p.3.2.80 and μάλιστα and δικαίως below, pp.3.2.84 and 88.

Instances of Counterformula (11+?) $11+1 = 1+11$, p.20;
 $11+1+3+17 = 1+3+11+17$,
 p.18; $11+1+14 = 1+11+14$, p.20.

$11+2 = 2+11$, p.31.

$(11+13) 11+1+13+19 = 1+11+13+19$, p.17.

Instances of Anticounterformula next page

Anticounterformula (11+) (11+1) 11+1+4+19 = 1+4+11+19, p.16.

(11+4) see preceding.

(11+19) ditto.

Instances of Multiple Antiformula (11+) 11+1 = 1+11, p.23;
 1+4+9+11, p.16; 11+1+13+19 = 1+11+13+19, p.16.

(11+3) 11+1+3+17 = 1+3+11+17, p.18.

11+4 = 4+11, p.58; 11+1+4+9 = 1+4+9+11, p.16.

(11+14) 11+1+14 = 1+11+14, p.20.

11+17 @.7.48.1 λαθεῖν γὰρ ἄν...πολλῶ ἤσσον.

11+1+3+17 = 1+3+11+17, p.18.

(11+19) 11+1+13+19 = 1+11+13+19, p.16.

Anticounterformula is represented by the single instance of 1+4+11+19; clearly in the relatively few cases where this Former co-occurs with others, the result tends not to be ἦτιον ἄν.

12/12, Former μάλιστα (p.3.2.1).

Instances of Formula (12) (a) Th.VI.49.2, 49.2 (verbless),
 34.4. Pl.Mnx.247a(t); R.II
 359b; IX 581a, 587a; Sph.219c. Dem.44.57.

(b) Th.V.73.1. Pl.Hp.Mi.363a; Grg.
 453c; R.III 404c; Prm.135e; Lg.
 VII 792b. Dem.19.316; 20.158.

(c) Th.II.41.1!; III.53.1; IV.17.5,
 19.2; V.9.5, 22.2, 105.4; VI.18.
 6; VII.36.5(t). Pl.Prt.316c(t), 337b, 337c, 361b; Mnx.248c
 bis; R.III 415e; IV 420b, 435e; Prm.137b, 162a; Sph.266a(t);
Ti.27d, 28b, 29e, 56c, 89d. Dem.14.30.

(d) Dem.20.61(t).

Instances of Antiformula (12) (a1) Πλ.Π.2.358δ μάλιστα δ'οἶμαι
 ἄν σοῦ πυθέσθαι...

(a2) Δημ.19.258 μάλιστα ἐξ νῦν...
 γένοιτ' ἄν...

(b1) Πλ.Π.9.577β ἐν οἷς μάλιστα γυμνός ἄν ὀφθεῖη...

(b2) @.3.95.1 καὶ μάλιστα νομίσας...δύνασθαι ἄν...

- (c1) Πλ.Πλτ.309ε ...μάλιστα οὕτω κοινωνεῖν ἂν ἐθελήσειεν· Ν. 6.779β ...μέλειν μὲν μάλιστα...πρέπον ἂν εἶη...
- (c2) Θ.4.13.1 ἀποβάσεως δὲ μάλιστα οὕσης ἔλειν ἂν...(τ). Πλ. Ν.4.717δ ὡς εἰκότως μάλιστα...θυμοῖτ' ἂν...

In the above instances of Antiformula, the Former precedes q; in the following, q precedes.

Antiformula (12) ctd. (b1) Θ.1.33.1 ὡς ἂν μάλιστα...καταθή-
σεσθε· 6.57.3 καὶ ὡς ἂν μάλιστα...
Πλ.Απ.18γ ἐν ἧ ἂν μάλιστα ἐπιστεύσατε· Φδ.82ε ὡς ἂν μάλιστα...
εἶη· Φδρ.239β ὅθεν ἂν μάλιστα ἀνὴρ γίγνοιτο· Ν.6.759β ὅπως ἂν
μάλιστα...εἶη. Δημ.24.79 ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν μάλιστα τὶς...βουλόμενος·
45.19 ὡς ἂν μάλιστα...ἐπίστευσαν.

(c1) Θ.1.22.1 ὡς δ' ἂν ἐδόκουν...μάλιστ' εἶπεῖν· 4.18.4 ...ἐν
τῷ εὐτυχεῖν ἂν μάλιστα καταλύονται· 6.11.4 ἡμεῖς δ' αὐ...
μάλιστα μὲν...ἐκπεπληγμένοι εἶεν... Πλ.Μεν.76γ ἧ ἂν σὺ μά-
λιστα ἀκολουθήσαις· IM 298β ὃν γ' ἂν ἐγὼ μάλιστα αἰσχυνοίμην...
Φδ.115β ὅτι ἂν σοι ποιῶντες...μάλιστα ποιῶμεν· Π.3.412δ καὶ
μὴν τοῦτό γ' ἂν μάλιστα φιλοῖ..., 413γ ἐν οἷς ἂν...μάλιστα ἐπι-
λανθάνοιτο· Ν.3.700β θρήνους δέ τις ἂν αὐτοῦς μάλιστα ἐκάλεσεν.
Δημ.1.7 ὡς ἂν ὑμῖν μάλιστα συμφέροι· 14.2 ὃν ἂν μοι δοκεῖτε
μάλιστα δύνασθαι...παρασκευάσασθαι· 24.156 ὅτι ταύτην ἂν μάλι-
στα προσεῖσατε· 43.12 καὶ οὕτως ἂν μάλιστα...διασώζεσθαι...

(d1) Πλ.Αα.200ε δίκαιον ἂν ἦν ἐμὲ μάλιστα...· Π.1.338δ ἧ ἂν,
κακουργήσαις μάλιστα...· Τι.26ε ὅς...διὰ τὴν οἰκειότητ'
ἂν πρέποι μάλιστα· Ν.6.755γ οἷς πρέπον ἂν εἶη...μάλιστα. Δημ.
6.37 ὡς δ' ἂν ἐξετασθεῖη μάλιστ' ἀκριβῶς· 24.206 γνοίη δ' ἂν τις
οὕτω μάλισθ'...

(d2) Θ.8.47.1 πεῖσαι δ' ἂν ἐνόμιζε μάλιστα... Πλ.Μνξ.248γ,
οὕτως ἀχάριστοι εἶεν ἂν μάλιστα...(τ)· Π.2.359γ εἶη δ'
ἂν ἡ ἐξουσία...μάλιστα· 3.408γ εἶεν δ' ἂν που μάλιστα...· 412δ
κῆδοιτο δέ γ' ἂν τις μάλιστα...

That ends the lists of Formula (12) and Antiformula (12).
Numerical summary:

	(a)		(b)		(c)		(d)	
F Th.	3		1		9			
Pl.	5		5		17			
Dem.	$\frac{1}{9}$		$\frac{2}{8}$		$\frac{1}{27}$		$\frac{1}{1}$	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Af Th.			+2	1	+3	1		+1
Pl.	1		1+3		2+6		+4	+6
D.		1	+2		+4	1	+2	
	$\frac{1}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$\frac{1+7}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$\frac{2+13}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{+6}{1}$	$\frac{+7}{1}$

Figures preceded by + in the above table represent instances in which g precedes the Former. It is unusually Thucydides and Plato who have the higher proportion of Formula to Antiformula; Demosthenes actually has the majority on the Antiformulaic side: contrast e.g. πᾶς, p.3.2.67. Like ἦττον and others above (p.3.2.82) μάλιστα has the majority of all instances in medial position. The verbless instance Th.VI.49.2 μάλιστα δ' ἂν τῷ αὐτίκα κινδύνῳ... and the two exceptions to Rules, Th.II.41.1 καὶ μετὰ χαρίτων μάλιστ' ἂν εὐτραπέλως (Rule VIII, p.2.2.12), which is also verbless, and (d) Dem.20.61 μάθοιτε δὲ τοῦτο μάλιστ' ἂν (Rule XXIV, p.2.2.59) are enhanced evidence of Formulaism. This list also has in Antiformula a larger proportion than usual of sentences in which g precedes the Former. It seems likely that this is due to the large number in relative clauses (especially, but not only, in (b1)), for in such clauses g has an even stronger tendency than elsewhere to be peninitial. Note in particular ὡς ἂν (...) μάλιστα. The expression ὡς ἂν has been admitted as a Formula (22), p.3.2.127; ὡς ἂν has not been so admitted, because where a potential Former is a prepositive, the influence of general peninitialism has to be allowed for; however, a number of verbless instances of ὡς ἂν (...) μάλιστα in the Antiformula list above suggest that ὡς ἂν is indeed a Formula. In the Formula list, the following are in relative clauses: Th.V.9.5; Pl.Hp.Mi.363a, Prt.361b, Grg.453c, R.III 404c, 415e, IV 435e, Prm.135e, Ti.28b, 89d; Dem.14.30, 19.316, 20.158. Analysis of the relative clauses in Formula and Antiformula shows that where ὡς and μάλιστα co-occur with g, ὡς ἂν μάλιστα appears in preference to μάλιστ' ἂν, for there is one instance only of ὡς (...) μάλιστ' ἂν, Pl.Grg.453c; but when the relative is other than ὡς the balance favours μάλιστ' ἂν. It may be that even if ὡς ἂν is not itself a Formula, ὡς ἂν μάλιστα is one (like οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον as the negative of μᾶλλον τι despite the absence of οὐδέν τι - see p.3.3.136). Verbless ὡς ἂν does however occur in the absence

of μάλιστα. We now pass to Counterformula etc.

Instances of Counterformula ($12+?$) ($12+1$) $12+1+3 = 1+3+12$,
p.18.

$$12+3 = 3+12, \text{ p.42}; \quad 12+3+9+10 = 3+9+10+12, \text{ p.41.}$$

$$12+9 = 9+12, \text{ p.76}; \quad 12+2+9 = 2+9+12, \text{ p.30.}$$

$$12+10 = 10+12, \text{ p.81.}$$

$12+20$ Πλ.Φλβ.588 εἰ ταύτην μάλιστα...ἐκτῆσθαι φαῦμεν ἄν.
 $12+4+9+19+20 = 4+9+12+19+20$, p.57.

$$(12+21) \quad 12+3+9+21 = 3+9+12+21, \text{ p.41.}$$

Instances of Anticounterformula ($12+?$) $12+2 = 2+12$, p.30.

$$12+3 = 3+12, \text{ p.40}; \quad 12+3+9 = 3+9+12, \text{ p.40.}$$

$$12+4 = 4+12, \text{ p.56.}$$

$$(12+7) \quad 12+7+9 = 7+9+12, \text{ p.64.}$$

$$12+9 = 9+12, \text{ p.75}; \quad 12+3+9 = 3+9+12, \text{ p.40}; \quad 12+7+9 = 7+9+12, \text{ p.64.}$$

$$12+10 = 10+12, \text{ p.80.}$$

$$(12+17) \quad 12+4+17 = 4+12+17, \text{ p.56.}$$

$12+19$ Πλ.Πρτ.361α ὅτι...μάλιστ' ἄν...γένοιτο ἐκεῖνο...

Instances of Multiple Antiformula ($12+?$) $12+1 = 1+12$, p.23.

$$12+2 = 2+12, \text{ p.32}; \quad 12+2+9 = 2+9+12, \text{ p.30.}$$

$$12+3 = 3+12, \text{ p.44}; \quad 12+1+3 = 1+3+12, \text{ p.20}; \quad 12+3+9+21 = 3+9+12+21, \text{ p.41.}$$

$$12+4 = 4+12, \text{ p.58.}$$

$$12+9 = 9+12, \text{ p.77}; \quad 12+3+9+10 = 3+9+10+12, \text{ p.41};$$

$$12+3+9+21 = 3+9+12+21, \text{ p.41.}$$

$$(12+10) \quad 12+3+9+10 = 3+9+10+12, \text{ p.41.}$$

$$(12+19) \quad 12+4+9+19+20 = 4+9+12+19+20, \text{ p.57.}$$

Of μάλιστα in co-occurrence with οὐ there is only the single instance $1+3+12$, p.3.2.18. It seems possible that Plato prefers $3+12$, τὸ ἄν μάλιστα, Demosthenes $3+12$, τὸ μάλιστ' ἄν. it is not surprising that $4+12$, καὶ μάλιστ' ἄν, is exclusively preferred to καὶν μάλιστα. Apart from that, the only point of interest emerging from the Counterformula etc. lists is that μάλιστ' ἄν prevails 7:2 over πᾶς ἄν, $9+12$ over $9+12$. That ends the account of Former (12), μάλιστα.

13/13, Former δικάως (p.3.2.1).

Instances of Formula (13) (a) Pl.Cra.408b; R.VIII 558d(t);
Phdr.259a; Plt.288c. Dem.18.
209; 22.24; 24.112; 34.40!

(b) Pl.R.X 605a. Dem.24.214; 25.29;
51.7; 56.41.

(c) Th.IV.73.2(t). Pl.Hp.Ma.292b; Mnx.237d; Cra.406c(t),
409c, 410b, 410c; Smp.184d, 193d; R.I 353d; Tht.189c;
Sph.219b, 250a; Plt.288b, 299b; Lg.II 667d; III 689d; IX
860b, 867a; XII 961d, 965d(t). Dem.16.19; 19.90(t), 238;
21.102, 192; 25.30; 26.5, 14; 39.37, 38(t); 44.6; 51.2.

(d) Pl.Plt.289a, 305e; Phlb.30c. Dem.23.185; 24.177(t).

Instances of Antiformula (13) (a1) Πλ.Πλτ.260α δικάως δὴ
μετέχειν ἂν λέγοιτο...

(a2) Πλ.Γργ.454α δικάως//...ἐπανερόμεθ' ἂν...

(b2) Θ.1.122.3 ἐν ᾧ ἢ δικάως δοκοῦμεν ἂν πάσχειν...

(c1) Πλ.Σμπ.184δ ...δικαίως αὐ' ὀτιοῦν ἂν ὑπουργῶν ὑπουργεῖν (τ).

(c2) Πλ.Τι.72β προφῆται δὲ...δικαιότατα ὀνομάζοιεν ἂν...

In the above, the Former precedes g; in the following,
g precedes; the classification is otherwise the same.

(c1) Θ.2.40.3 κράτιστοι δ' ἂν...δικαίως κριθεῖεν. Πλ.Απ.29α
καὶ...τότ' ἂν με δικάως εἰσάγοι... N.6.778ε ...γέλωτ' ἂν
δικαίως...ὄφλοι. Δημ.21.302 ...τὴν μεγίστην ἂν αὐτὸν δικάως
οἶμαι δίκην δοῦναι. 57.3 εἰ...ὄντες ἂν δικάως...γενοῦμεθα...
(τ).

(d1) Πλ.Θτ.209ε τυφλοῦ δὲ παρακλέυσις ἂν καλοῖτο δικαιότερον·
Φδρ.276α οὐ...εἰδῶλον ἂν τι λέγοιτο δικάως. Δημ.1.10
...ἀμελείας ἂν τις θεῖη δικάως· 2.5 ...εἶναι τις ἂν φήσειε
κενὴν δικάως· 21.151 καὶ δίκην ἠντινοῦν ἂν δοίη δικάως(τ).

(d2) Πλ.Ν.1.627α ἐπηρεῖτό τε ἂν δικαιότατα... Δημ.19.131
...ἀπεκτείνειεν ἂν αὐτὸν δικάως· 22.7 ...ἀποφεύγοις ἂν
δικαίως (τ)· 23.144 ...κολάζοιεν ἂν δικάως, 151 τοῦτο παθόντ'
ἂν δικάως· 37.49 ὥστε μισηθείης ἂν δικαιότατ' ἀνθρώπων...· 54.
22 τοῦτον ἐμισεῖτ' ἂν δικάως· 57.45 ἐφ' οἷς ἐλεοῦντ' ἂν δικαι-
ότερον ἢ...

That ends the Formula (13) and Antiformula (13) lists.
Numerical summary follows overpage.

	(a)		(b)		(c)		(d)	
F Th.						1		
Pl.	4		1		20		3	
Dem.	<u>4</u>		<u>4</u>		<u>12</u>		<u>2</u>	
	<u>8</u>		<u>5</u>		<u>23</u>		<u>5</u>	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Af Th.					+1			
Pl.	1	1		1	1+2	1	+2	+1
Dm.	—	—	—	—	<u>+2</u>	—	<u>+3</u>	<u>+7</u>
	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>		<u>1</u>	<u>1+5</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>+5</u>	<u>+8</u>

Figures preceded by + in the above table represent instances in which q precedes the Former. The high proportion of Formula to Antiformula (higher in Plato than in Demosthenes, Thucydides being barely represented), together with the infringements of Rule XIV (Dem. 34.40 $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma$ $\delta\upsilon$ ν $\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$, cf. p.2.2.29) and XXIV (listed in Formula (d) and cf. p.2.2.59) leave little doubt that $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma$ $\delta\upsilon$ ν is Formulaic; the latter infringements in particular are unusually numerous. This expression resembles the other adverbial Formers (cf. p.3.2.82) in that the majority of instances both of Formula and Antiformula are in medial position, (c) and (d). This character it shares with $\delta\omicron\rho\theta\omega\varsigma$, Former (10), not surprisingly, since these words are near synonyms and are often used in a similar way (Κρα.410β ... $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma$ $\delta\upsilon$ ν $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$, cf. p.3.2.80). Shared both with $\delta\omicron\rho\theta\omega\varsigma$ and with $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\alpha$ is the large proportion of instances in which q precedes the Former. There are however instructive differences from both; the cause in $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma$ does not seem, as in $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\alpha$ (p.3.2.85), to be a large number of relative clauses, but rather instances in which the Former follows the verb, despite the fact that this is itself often late in the sentence; hence the large number both of (d) in Formula and of (d1) and (d2) in Antiformula. This differs also however from $\delta\omicron\rho\theta\omega\varsigma$, where the... $\delta\upsilon$ (...) $\delta\omicron\rho\theta\omega\varsigma$ instances mostly consist of (c1) and there are no (d) instances under Formula. The difference seems to be that instances in which

the Former directly follows a late-positioned verb are frequent in $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma$ and rare in $\delta\acute{\omicron}\rho\theta\omega\varsigma$. This usage in $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma$ possibly has some causal connexion with the idiom by which $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma$ forms a separate, pendent, sentence: @.2.64.1 ...μισοῦμαι, οὐ $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma$ Πλ.Θτ.143ε ...πλησιάζουσι, καὶ $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma$ (cf. Grg. 468e, R.497a). In the lists, $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma$ is as numerous in Demosthenes as in Plato, but $\delta\acute{\omicron}\rho\theta\omega\varsigma$ is almost entirely confined to the latter and, despite the frequency of justice as a topic, more than twice as common in his works as $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma$. It seems likely that $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma$ ἄν is the popular idiom and $\delta\acute{\omicron}\rho\theta\omega\varsigma$ ἄν more suited to philosophical language, modelled somewhat in its usage on the other, but less idiomatic and statistically less Formulaic. Counterformula etc. follows.

Instances of Counterformula ($1\bar{3}+?$) $1\bar{3}+1 = 1+1\bar{3}$, p.20;
 $1\bar{3}+1+3 = 1+3+1\bar{3}$, p.18.

$1\bar{3}+2 = 2+1\bar{3}$, p.42; $1\bar{3}+2+9 = 2+9+1\bar{3}$, p.41.

$1\bar{3}+4 = 4+1\bar{3}$, p.57.

($1\bar{3}+14$) $1\bar{3}+3+14 = 3+1\bar{3}+14$, p.40.

$1\bar{3}+15$ Πλ.Κρι.52α ἴσως ἄν μου $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma$ καθάπτοινο...

$1\bar{3}+17$ Πλ.Ν.12.958α ὃ $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma$ εἶη $\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\kappa\iota\varsigma$ ἄν εἰρημένον.

Instances of Anticounterformula ($1\bar{3}+?$) $1\bar{3}+1 = 1+1\bar{3}$, $1\bar{3}+1+3 = 1+3+1\bar{3}$,
 $1\bar{3}+1+3+9 = 1+3+1\bar{3}+19$, all p.16; $1\bar{3}+1+11+19 = 1+11+1\bar{3}+19$, p.17.

$1\bar{3}+3 = 3+1\bar{3}$, p.40; $1\bar{3}+1+3 = 1+3+1\bar{3}$, $1\bar{3}+1+3+9 = 1+3+9+1\bar{3}$,
 $1\bar{3}+1+3+19 = 1+3+1\bar{3}+19$, all p.16; $1\bar{3}+3+14 = 3+1\bar{3}+14$,
p.40.

$1\bar{3}+4 = 4+1\bar{3}$, p.56.

$1\bar{3}+9 = 9+1\bar{3}$, p.76; $1\bar{3}+1+3+9 = 1+3+9+1\bar{3}$, p.16.

($1\bar{3}+11$) $1\bar{3}+1+11+19 = 1+11+1\bar{3}+19$, p.17.

$1\bar{3}+17$ Πλ.Ευθδ.298ε $\pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon$ μέντοι $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$ ἄν...(τ).
Δημ.40.5 ὥστε... $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma$ ἄν ἀδικουμένῳ διὰ $\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$
βοηθήσαιτε.

$1\bar{3}+19$ Πλ.Κρα.398β οὐκοῦν $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\iota\upsilon\omicron$ $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\acute{\omicron}\tau\alpha\tau$ ' ἄν...

$1\bar{3}+1+3+19 = 1+3+1\bar{3}+19$, p.16; $1\bar{3}+1+11+19 = 1+11+1\bar{3}+19$, p.17.

13+20 Πλ.Κρα.422β δικαίως ἂν φαῖμεν... Π.1.352ε οὐκοῦν
δικαίως ἂν...φαῖμεν (τ).

Instances of Multiple Antiformula (13+?) $13+1 = 1+13$, p.23;
 $13+1+3 = 1+3+13$,
p.22; $13+1+9 = 1+9+13$, p.23.

$13+3 = 3+13$, p.44; $13+1+3 = 1+3+13$, p.18; $13+1+3 =$
 $1+3+13$, p.22; $13+3+14 = 3+13+14$, p.40; $13+3+14 =$
 $3+13+14$, p.44.

$13+4 = 4+13$, p.59.

$13+9 = 9+13$, p.78; $13+1+9 = 1+9+13$, p.23; $13+3+9 =$
 $3+9+13$, p.41.

(13+14) $13+3+14 = 3+13+14$, p.44.

13+17 Δημ.21.188 οἷς ὑμεῖς κατὰ πολλὰ δικαιοτέρον πρόσ-
θεισθ' ἂν...

13+19 Δημ.19.313 ὧν ἀποστερωῶν ἐκείνους, οὗτος αὐτοῖς ἂν
...δικαίως νῦν στερηθεῖη' 38.27 ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ἐκλάετ'
ἂν//δικαίως.

In Counterformula etc. above few items have sufficient instances for reliable inference. It is at first sight surprising that δικαίως ἂν outnumbered οὐκ ἂν ($1+13/1+13$), but the individual cases in $1+13$ seem less normal instances of οὐ than those in $1+13$. That ends the account of δικαίως, Former (13).

14/14, Former μάλλον (p.3.2.1).

Instances of Formula (14) (a) Pl.Chrm.176a; Cra.421a; Phd.
93b(t); R.V 469c!; Ti.55d.

(c) Th.I.72.1(t); IV.128.1; V.15.2; VI.34.8, 72.5; VIII.71.1.
Pl.Phdr.232c(t), 278d. Dem.8.49 (= 10.25); 10.36; 15.12;
18.223; 20.151; 23.111; 25.85.

(d) Dem.24.196.

Instances of Antiformula (14) (a1) Πλ.N.6.783γ μάλλον τε
τούς...νόμους ἂν θελήμεν.

(a2) Πλ.Π.4.410δ μάλλον δ' ἐπιτάθην τοῦ δέοντος σκληρόν...γίγ-
νοιτ' ἂν' 8.549β μάλλον αἰεὶ ἀσπάζοιτ' ἂν...

Antiformula (14) ctd. (b1) Πλ.Πλτ.262β καὶ μᾶλλον ἰδέαις ἄν
τις προστυγχάνοι.

(c1) Θ.4.87.5 παῦσαι δὲ μᾶλλον ἑτέρους σπεύδοντες τοὺς πλε-
ους ἄν ἀδικοῦμεν. Πλ.Ν.7.788α ... διδαχῆ τινι μᾶλλον
ἢ.../εἰκυτ' ἄν... φαίνοιτο.

(c2) Θ.5.108 ... μᾶλλον ἠγούμεθ' ἄν... Πλ.Π.7.538α μαντεύομαι
τοῖσιν, "...; "μᾶλλον αὐτὸν τιμᾶν ἄν... N.2.665ε ... ἔτι
μᾶλλον αἰσχύνοιτ' ἄν, 674α ἄλλ' ἔτι μᾶλλον... προσθείμην ἄν.
Δημ.9.15 ὅστις... μᾶλλον ἢ... σκέψαιτ' ἄν.

In the above instances of Antiformula, the Former pre-
cedes q; in those that follow, q precedes, the classification
being otherwise the same.

Antiformula (14) ctd. (b1) Πλ.Κρα.405α ὅτι ἄν μᾶλλον... ἤρμο-
σεν' Π.6.503γ οἷς ἄν τις μᾶλλον...
χρήσαιτο.

(c1) Θ.6.18.2 περὶ αὐτῆς ἄν ταύτης μᾶλλον κινδυνεύοιμεν. Πλ.
Λα.200δ εἴ τι σοῦ ἄν μᾶλλον ὑπακούοι... Πρτ.327βοῖει ἄν
τι, "...; "μᾶλλον/-/,... γίνεσθαι...; Κρα.391α ... ὧδε ἄν μᾶλλον
πεῖθεσθαι N.5.729β ... τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἄν μᾶλλον παρακελεύ-
οιτο.

(d1) Θ.8.48.1 οὕτω γὰρ ἄν πιστεύοι μᾶλλον βασιλέα. Πλ.Π.7.
516δ καὶ ὅτι οὖν ἄν πεπονθέναι μᾶλλον ἢ... (τ) N.1.628α
πρὸς πόλεμον αὐτῆς ἄν... βλέπων... κοσμοῖ μᾶλλον ἢ... 645β
... φανερόν ἄν γιγνοίτο μᾶλλον... 7.800δ τόθ' ἠκείν δέον ἄν
εἶη μᾶλλον...

(d2) Θ.8.96,4 ἢ διέστησεν ἄν ἔτι μᾶλλον... Πλ.ΙΕ 366ε ἢ...
δύναιτ' ἄν σοῦ μᾶλλον ψεύδεσθαι... 375γ ἀλλὰ... δεξαίμεθ'
ἄν μᾶλλον... ἢ... Γργ.456γ πείσειεν ἄν αὐτὸν ἐλέσθαι... μᾶλλον
ἢ... 469β σὺ ἄρα βούλοιο ἄν ἀδικεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ... 469γ ἐλο-
μην ἄν μᾶλλον ἀδικεῖσθαι ἢ... 471δ ... δέξαιτ' ἄν ἄλλος... μᾶλ-
λον ἢ... 474β ἐπεὶ σὺ δέξαιτ' ἄν μᾶλλον... 475δ δέξαιτο ἄν οὖν
σὺ μᾶλλον... 475ε ὅτι... δέξαιτ' ἄν μᾶλλον... Λυ.211ε καὶ βου-
λοίμην ἄν... γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ... Ευθδ.303δ ὅτι αἰσχυνθεῖεν ἄν
μᾶλλον... Κρα.408ε ... γενόμενον ἄν μᾶλλον... Π.10.599β καὶ
εἶναι προθυμοῖτ' ἄν μᾶλλον... Φδρ.228α καίτοι ἐβουλόμην γ' ἄν
μᾶλλον ἢ... N.2.665ε ... αἰσχύνοιτ' ἄν μᾶλλον 7.823α δηλοῦμεν
ἄν//μᾶλλον 9.853γ γένοιτο γοῦν ἄν/-/... μᾶλλον. Δημ.19,297
... φυλάττοισθ' ἄν μᾶλλον εἰκότως ἢ... 25.80 ὄν οἰωνίσαιτ' ἄν
τις μᾶλλον...

That ends the lists of Formula (14) and Antiformula (14).
Numerical summary follows overpage.

		(a)		(b)		(c)		(d)	
F	Th.								
	Pl.	5				6			
	Dem.	—				2			
		<u>5</u>				<u>8</u>		<u>1</u>	
						<u>16</u>		<u>1</u>	
		(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Af	Th.					1+1	1	+1	+1
	Pl.	1	2	1+2		1+4	3	+4	+17
	D.	—	—	—		—	<u>1</u>	—	<u>+2</u>
		<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1+2</u>		<u>2+5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>+5</u>	<u>+20</u>

This is one more in the series of Formers (cf. p. 3.2.82) in which the great majority of both Formula and Antiformula are in medial position; in these cases the (b) list, peninitial following prepositive, is usually particularly deficient, but this is the first case, apart from the overall rare $\tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\iota\sigma\tau\alpha$, (7), p. 3.2.64, in which there are no instances of (b) in Formula at all: $\kappa\alpha\iota \mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu \acute{\alpha}\nu\dots$, $\acute{\omicron}\tau\iota \mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu \acute{\alpha}\nu\dots$ and the like do not occur, and $\kappa\alpha\iota \mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\dots\acute{\alpha}\nu\dots$, $\acute{\omicron} \tau\iota \acute{\alpha}\nu \mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\dots$ are rare. Statistically, evidence for Formulaism is not favorable; in Thucydides numbers of Formula and Antiformula are about equal, in Plato Antiformula is in the great majority, and only in Demosthenes is there a clear majority of Formula; Demosthenes also has the infringement of Rule XXIV, (d) 24. 196 $\kappa\alpha\iota \pi\alpha\rho\omicron\xi\upsilon\nu\epsilon\iota\epsilon \mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu \acute{\alpha}\nu \tau\iota\nu\alpha \mu\iota\sigma\epsilon\iota\nu \acute{\eta}\dots$. Now the great majority of Antiformula cases are not only in the medial position but (+ in the table) have μ preceding the Former, falling in particular into the categories (d1) and (d2): in (c) Demosthenes has the Formula:Antiformula ratio 8:1, in (d) Plato has the ratio 0:21, Demosthenes 1:2 (but remember that in (d) Formulaic instances by definition infringe Rule XXIV). These numerous cases of $\dots\acute{\alpha}\nu(\dots)\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu(\dots)$, particularly numerous in 'early Plato', seem to result not from relative clauses as in $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\alpha$ (p. 3.2.85), nor to the phraseology met in $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma$ (p. 3.2.88), but to a sentence type with verb early and Former fairly late; $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$, whether or not it enters into

the (non-postpositival) formula $\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\ \eta$, tends to be associated rhythmically or mentally with the opening of the following comparative clause rather than the clause to which it grammatically 'belongs'. We now pass to Counterformula etc.

Instances of Counterformula ($14+?$) $14+\underline{1} = \underline{1}+14$, p.20;
 $14+\underline{1}+4+9 = \underline{1}+4+9+14$,
 p.19; $14+\underline{1}+11 = \underline{1}+11+14$, $14+\underline{1}+19 = \underline{1}+14+19$, $14+\underline{1}+20 =$
 $\underline{1}+14+20$, all p.20.

$14+\underline{3} = \underline{3}+14$, p.42; $14+\underline{3}+4 = \underline{3}+4+14$, p.41; $14+\underline{3}+17 =$
 $\underline{3}+14+17$, p.42.

$14+\underline{5} = \underline{5}+14$, $14+\underline{5}+19$, both p.61.

$14+\underline{9} = \underline{9}+14$, p.76.

($14+\underline{13}$) $14+\underline{3}+\underline{13} = \underline{3}+\underline{13}+14$, p.40.

$14+\underline{17}$ Πλ.Πρμ.129ε πολὺ μεντὰν ὥδε μᾶλλον... Δημ.58.18
 πολὺ γ' ἂν/-/...ἐπηνέσατ' ἂν μᾶλλον ἦ...

($14+\underline{18}$) $14+\underline{4}+\underline{18} = \underline{4}+14+\underline{18}$, p.57.

$14+\underline{19}$ Πλ.Χρμ.164γ ἐκείνων ἂν τι ἔγωγε μᾶλλον ἀναθείμην...

Instances of Anticounterformula ($14+?$) $14+\underline{1} = \underline{1}+14$, $14+\underline{1}+\underline{3} =$
 $\underline{1}+\underline{3}+\underline{14}$, both p.17.

($14+\underline{2}$) $14+\underline{2}+\underline{17} = \underline{2}+\underline{14}+\underline{17}$, p.30.

$14+\underline{3} = \underline{3}+\underline{14}$, p.40; $14+\underline{1}+\underline{3} = \underline{1}+\underline{3}+\underline{14}$, p.17; $14+\underline{3}+\underline{13} =$
 $\underline{3}+\underline{13}+\underline{14}$, p.40.

$14+\underline{4} = \underline{4}+\underline{14}$, p.56.

$14+\underline{9} = \underline{9}+\underline{14}$, p.76.

($14+\underline{13}$) $14+\underline{3}+\underline{13} = \underline{3}+\underline{13}+\underline{14}$, p.40.

$14+\underline{15}$ Θ.182.3 καὶ ἴσως ὀρῶντες...μᾶλλον ἂν εἴκοιεν.

$14+\underline{17}$ Πλ.Σμπ.194γ μᾶλλον ἂν αὐτῶν φροντίζοις ἢ τῶν πολλῶν^{οο}
 Δημ.45.63 ...πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἂν εἰκότως κολασθεῖη...(τ).

$14+\underline{2}+\underline{17} = \underline{2}+\underline{14}+\underline{17}$, p.30.

Instances of Multiple Antiformula ($14+?$) $14+\underline{1} = \underline{1}+14$, p.24;
 $14+\underline{1}+\underline{3} =$

$\underline{1}+\underline{3}+14$, p.22.

$14+\underline{2} = \underline{2}+14$, p.32.

list continues

14+3 = 3+14, p.44; 14+1+3 = 1+3+14, p.22; 14+3+4+9 = 3+4+9+14, p.43; 14+3+13 = 3+13+14, p.40; 14+3+13 = 3+13+14, p.44.

14+4 = 4+14, p.59; 14+1+4+9 = 1+4+9+14, p.19; 14+3+4 = 3+4+14, p.41; 14+3+4+9 = 3+4+9+14, p.43; 14+4+9 = 4+9+14, p.58; 14+4+18 = 4+14+18, p.57.

(14+6) 14+6+10+17 = 6+10+14+17, p.63.

14+9 = 9+14, p.78; 14+1+4+9 = 1+4+9+14, p.19; 14+3+4+9 = 3+4+9+14, p.43; 14+4+9 = 4+9+14, p.58.

(14+10) 14+6+10+17 = 6+10+14+17, p.63.

(14+11) 14+1+11 = 1+11+14, p.20.

(14+13) 14+3+13 = 3+13+14, p.44.

14+15 Δημ.16.22 ταῦθ' ὑμεῖς μᾶλλον ἴσως εἰδότες... φοβοῖσθ' ἂν εἰκότως... (τ)°.

14+15+17 Πλ.Ν.1.634δ τὰ δ' οὖν λεγόμενα πρὸς τῶν πολλῶν ἴσως... μᾶλλον ἔχοιμ ἂν...

14+17 Δημ.40.30 ὥστε πολὺ ἦν ἂν μᾶλλον εἰκόδες... (τ).

14+3+17 = 3+14+17, p.42; 14+6+10+17 = 6+10+14+17, p.63; 14+15+17, see above, this page.

14+18 Πλ.Κρα.384α μᾶλλον δε... ἔτι ἂν ἥδιον πυθοῖμην...

14+19 Δημ.20.5 εὔροιτ' ἂν μᾶλλον ἐκεῖνο...

14+1+19 = 1+14+19, p.20; 14+5+19 = 5+14+19, p.61.

(14+20) 14+1+20 = 1+14+20, p.20.

The Counterformula etc. lists show that οὐκ ἂν μᾶλλον prevails over οὐ(...)μᾶλλον ἂν (1+14/1+14 etc.), and πῶς ἂν μᾶλλον marginally over πῶς(...)μᾶλλον ἂν (3+14/3+14 etc.), while κἄν μᾶλλον, unsurprisingly, is excluded in favour of καὶ μᾶλλον ἂν (4+14). Other combinations appear in small numbers only. The propensity of μᾶλλον to enter into non-postpositival Formulae (p.3.2.93) is seen both in Counterformula and Multiple Antiformula: οὐ/οὐδέν (τι) μᾶλλον (cf. p.3.3.136) (1+14/1+14) (despite which 1+14 prevails); τὶ μᾶλλον (3+14, 3+14); πᾶν/παντὸς μᾶλλον (9+14); πολὺ/πολλῷ μᾶλλον (14+17, and the 14+17 set).

15/15 Former ἴσως (p.3.2.1).

Instances of Formula (15) (a) Pl.Prt.312d, 353a; Euthphr.11c; Ap.28b!, 31c!, 37c, 37e, 38b; Cri.50c; Grg.469e, 518c!; Men.75a, 78c; Ly.206c; Euthd.279b; Smp.176c, 200b; R.IV 438a; Phdr.234b!(t); Sph.247e(t). Dem. 3.33; 10.31; 19.89; 23.94; 24.154; 34.46; 52.26; 56.47.

(b) Pl.Ap.32d; Cra.428b; R.V 474a. Dem.10.23.

(c) Pl.Grg.520c; Cra.397b; Phdr.260d; Phlb.13d; Lg.II 662a, 668d; VI 781d; XII 941d. Dem.4.17, 42.

Instances of Antiformula (15) (a1) Πλ.Απ.18α ἴσως μὲν γὰρ χερσῶν, ἴσως δὲ βέλτιον ἂν εἴη. Π.2.368ε ἴσως τοίνυν πλειῶν ἂν δικαιοσύνη... ἐνεῖη... 5,452α ἴσως δὴ, "... γελοῖα ἂν φαίνοιτο..." Θτ.165δ ἴσως δέ γ' /- / πλειῶ ἂν... ἐπαθες... Πлт.282ε ἴσως γὰρ... ἐγκαιρος ἂν... γένοιτο.

(a2) Πλ.Αα.184α ἴσως μὲν εἴη ἂν τι... Γργ.481ε ἴσως εἴποις ἂν... Κρα.432α ἴσως... πάσχοι ἂν... Δημ.23.64 /% / εἴποι τις ἂν.

(b1) Πλ.Σφ.260β ἀλλ' ἴσως τῆδε ἐπόμενος ῥᾶστ' ἂν μάθοις.

(b2) Πλ.Γργ.455γ οἷ ἴσως αἰσχύνοιντ' ἂν...

(c1) Πλ.Π.10.600β ὁ γὰρ Κρεώφυλος /- /, ἴσως, ὁ... ἐταῖρος, τοῦ ὀνόματος ἂν γελοϊότερος ἐτι... φανεῖη Φλβ.24ε τὸ δὲ... ἴσως λεχθέντα... ἱκανῶς ἂν... ἀποφῆναιεν N.8.828α σχεδὸν ἴσως ἡμέτερον ἂν νομοθετεῖν... εἴη.

(c2) Πλ.Θτ.207α ὁ δέ γ' ἴσως οἴοιτ' ἂν... N.1.634γ κατὰ δὲ σμικρὰ ἴσως εὐποροῖην ἂν. Δημ.1.16 τὸ... ἐπιτιμᾶν ἴσως φῆσαι τις ἂν...

In the above instances of Antiformula, the Former precedes q; in those that follow, q precedes, the classification being otherwise the same.

(c1) Πλ.Γργ.465γ ἤδη γὰρ ἂν ἴσως ἀκολουθήσαις Κρα.394γ καὶ ἕτερ' ἂν ἴσως... εὐροίμεν N.9.864δ τούτων δὴ τις ἂν ἴσως πράξειέν τι...

(d1) Δημ.1.7 σφαλεροὶ σύμμαχοι καὶ μέχρι τοῦ ταῦτ' ἂν ἐγνωκότες ἦσαν ἴσως.

(d2) Πλ.Απ.20γ ὑπολάβοι ἂν οὖν τις ὑμῶν ἴσως... 30δ ἀποκτείνει μεντὰν ἴσως... (τ) Γργ.452α εἴποι ἂν ἴσως // N.2.662δ ἐροίμεθ' ἂν ἴσως... 4.721α ἔχοι δ' ἂν πως ἴσως ὡδε. Δημ. 8.71 ἀλλὰ δυνάμενος ἂν ἴσως...

Numerical summary follows overpage.

	(a)		(b)		(c)		(d)	
F Pl.	20		3		8			
Dem.	<u>8</u>		<u>1</u>		<u>2</u>			
	<u>28</u>		<u>4</u>		<u>10</u>			
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Af.Pl.5	2		1	1	3+3	2		+5
D.	<u>1</u>		<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>+1</u>	<u>+1</u>
	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3+3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>+1</u>	<u>+6</u>

On Thucydides, contrast τᾶχα, p.3.2.60; apart from 15+17, p.3.2.98 below, co-occurrence of q and ἴσως seems to appear in Thucydides only in the presence of τᾶχα - see p.3.2.62.

The Former ἴσως is conspicuously different from all those (except perhaps πᾶς (9)) from πλειστ- (6) onwards (cf. p.3.2.82), in that the great majority of Formula instances are in initial, not medial, position. Neither however is it quite like οὐ (1) and πᾶς κτλ. (3) in having the highest proportion of Formula to Antiformula in medial position (a configuration which tended to confirm the hypothesis that the Formula concerned originated in initial position): ἴσως is least Formulaic in medial position. There are also a large number of instances in which q precedes the Former (a character shared with most Formers from πᾶς (9) onwards), but they are not entirely responsible for the high proportion of Antiformula in medial instances, which remains at 50% even after their subtraction. All in all, ἴσως is mainly like the adverbs from ἤτιον (11) onwards except for a peculiar preference for initial position. This leaves open the possibility that the high proportion of Formula is due merely to peninitialism of q coinciding with initial Former. The ! cases are infringements of Rule XIV (p.2.2.29), all however worded ἄν οὐν, and in view of Ap.20c ὑπολάβοι ἄν οὐν... this alone is unreliable evidence of Formulaism. There is however an infringement of Rule XXIV (p.2.2.59), Cra.421d εἴη μὲν οὐν ἴσως ἄν τι..., classed as 4+15, p.3.2.56 above; perhaps also cases like Dem.8.77 (ib.) and 3.33, ἴσως ἄν, ἴσως..., are some evi-

dence of Formulaism. The cases of q preceding the Former suggest a further reason for many Antiformulaic instances. The basic definition of 'postpositive' (p.1.1.41) predicts that a postpositive is rhythmically attached to the preceding mobile, so that a postpositive 'going with' a word to which it 'belongs' (or not) will be suffixed to it; nevertheless in studying μ - we find $\mu\omicron\iota$ 'belonging' to $\delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\tilde{\iota}$ consistently throughout many instances prefixed to the verb while the preceding words are quite various and unrelated; $\mu\omicron\iota \delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\tilde{\iota}$ appears, contrary to the basic definitions, to exist as a formula in its own right, whereby q is more reluctant than we expect to be promoted away from the verb (e.g. Dem.14.4 ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνων μὲν πολλοῖς ἐνδέχασθαι μοι δοκεῖ...). It is possible that this infringement of the definitions is only apparent; that $\mu\omicron\iota \delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\tilde{\iota}$ is enabled to exist as a formula (from whatever positive cause) because $\delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\tilde{\iota}$ is unemphatic, so that the combination has postpositival status (often in the sense of $\omicron\tilde{\iota}\mu\alpha\iota = \kappa\omicron\upsilon$). This hypothesis is supported by instances of $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$ ἴσως in (c1) and (d2) above, especially the former; in Lg.IX 864d it seems that between emphatic $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\nu$ and $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\xi\epsilon\iota\nu$ everything is unemphatic, $\delta\eta\ \tau\iota\varsigma\ \tilde{\alpha}\nu\ \iota\sigma\omega\varsigma$ being a postpositival cluster (cf. p.1.1.11); another such case in the study of $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$ is $\tilde{\alpha}\nu\ \epsilon\tilde{\iota}\eta$. If so, $\tilde{\alpha}\nu\ \iota\sigma\omega\varsigma$ will fall under the rules of purely postpositival word-order relations, like $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \tau\iota\varsigma,\ \tilde{\alpha}\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$, and can perhaps be discounted when considering the number of mobile-postpositive Formulae; on the other hand, since it is within the author's power of choice to treat such an expression as emphatic or otherwise, these unemphatic cases will go to reduce the numbers of the Formula.

Instances of Counterformula ($15+?$) $15+\underline{1} = \underline{1}+15$, p.20; $15+\underline{1}+9 = \underline{1}+9+15$, p.19;
 $15+\underline{1}+17 = \underline{1}+15+17$, $15+\underline{1}+20 = \underline{1}+15+20$, both p.20.

$15+\underline{4} = \underline{4}+15$, p.56.

$15+\underline{5} = \underline{5}+15$, p.62; $15+\underline{1}+\underline{5} = \underline{1}+\underline{5}+15$, p.16; $15+\underline{4}+\underline{5} = \underline{4}+\underline{5}+15$, p.56; $15+\underline{5}+\underline{10} = \underline{5}+\underline{10}+15$, p.61.

(15+10) 15+3+10+20 = 3+10+15+20, p.40.

15+14 = 14+15, p.93.

15+18 Δημ.9.70 πάλαι τις ἠδέως ἂν ἴσως ἐρωτήσων κἀθηται(τ).

15+19 Δημ.20.3 ἀλλὰ/ο/ἐκεῖν' ἂν ἴσως εἴποι... 23.187 ἴσως τοίνυν ἐκεῖν' ἂν τίς μ' ἔροίτο.

15+20 Πλ.Κρι.51γ ..., "φαῖεν ἂν ἴσως οἱ νόμοι, "... Γργ. 452α ..., "φαίη ἂν ἴσως, "/-/... Κρα.422α τὸ δὲ "θοὸν" ἴσως φαῖμεν ἂν... Θτ.165ε ..., "φαίης ἂν ἴσως, "Φλβ.63γ ..., "φαῖεν ἂν ἴσως, "63δ ..., "ἴσως φαῖεν ἂν, "... Ν.5.743α ..., "φαίη τις ἂν ἴσως.

15+5+20 = 5+15+20, p.61.

15+21 Πλ.Κρα.435γ ἐπεὶ ἴσως...κἀλλιστ' ἂν λέγοιτο//.

15+3+4+21 = 3+4+15+21, p.41.

Instances of Anticounterformula (15+?) 15+1 = 1+15, 15+1+14 = 1+14+15, 15+1+19 = 1+15+19, all p.17.

15+4 = 4+15, p.56.

15+5 = 5+15, p.61.

15+13 = 13+15, p.89.

15+17 Θ.2.20.2 ...ἠλπίζεν ἀκμάζοντάς τε νεότητι πολλῆ... ἴσως ἂν ἐπεξελεθεῖν...^{οο}

15+17+20 Πλ.Πρτ.340γ καὶ ἴσως ἂν φαίη...καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ...^{οοο}

15+18 Πλ.Κρι.53δ καὶ ἴσως ἂν ἠδέως...ἀκούοιεν.

(15+19) 15+1+19 = 1+15+19, p.17.

(15+20) 15+17+20 see under 15+17 above.

Instances of Multiple Antiformula (15+?) 15+1 = 1+15, p.24; 15+1+4 = 1+4+15, p.23; 15+1+5 = 1+5+15, p.16.

15+2 = 2+15, p.32.

(15+3) 15+3+4+21 = 3+4+15+21, p.41; 15+3+10+20 = 3+10+15+20, p.40.

15+4 = 4+15, p.59; 15+1+4 = 1+4+15, p.23; 15+3+4+21 = 3+4+15+21, p.41; 15+4+5 = 4+5+15, p.56; 15+4+17 = 4+15+17, p.59.

15+5 = 5+15, 15+5+19 = 5+15+19, both p.62; 15+5+20 = 5+15+20, p.61.

(15+9) 15+1+9 = 1+9+15, p.19.

(15+10) 15+5+10 = 5+10+15, p.61.

15+14 = 14+15, p.94; 15+14+17 = 14+15+17, p.94.

15+17 Πλ.Κρα.433γ τὸ μὲν ἂν πολὺ ἴσως...

15+1+17 = 1+15+17, p.20; 15+4+17 = 4+15+17, p.59; 15+14+17 = 14+15+17, p.94.

15+19 Δημ.14.10 εἰκότως ἂν ἴσως φανεροὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἐγιγνόμεθ'...

15+5+19 = 5+15+19, p.62.

15+20 Πλ.ΙΜ 299α ..., " ἂν ἴσως φαίνη, "...

15+1+20 = 1+15+20, p.20; 15+3+10+20 = 3+10+15+20, p.40.

What emerges from the above Counterformula etc. lists is that: ἴσως ἂν is surpassed by οὐκ ἂν ($1+15/1+15$), by τάχ' ἂν ($5+15/5+15$) and more surprisingly by φαίνη ἂν ($15+20/15+17+20$); to the prevalence of φαίνη ἂν ἴσως, ἴσως φαίνη ἂν, there is one exception only, ἴσως ἂν φαίνη, in a different kind of context.

17/17, Former πολὺς (p.3.2.1).

Instances of Formula (17) (a) Th.I.10.2; IV.29.3. Pl.Prt.

313a, 327c (verbless), 340e; Ap.25b, 37c; Cri.50b; Hp.Ma.300c; Ly.206b; Phd.70a, 99b(t); R.II 374d; V 449c; Tht.171d; Phdr.243c, 275c(t); Sph.239c; Ti.57d, 63a; Lg.VII 818c. Dem.1.1; 2.1; 3.27 (= 20.33, 21.65); 9.60, 68 bis; 10.13; 13.13; 16.2, 18; 18.138; 19.67; 20.163; 21.72; 22.30, 32, 57; 24.61, 70, 194; 36.12; 43.68; 54.44.

(b) Th.VI.10.4. Pl.Chrm.165e; Grg. 487b; Men.95e; Euthd.283d; R.VI 489a; VIII 561e; Prm.137e, 138a; Tht.162e, 164e(t); Lg.II 662c; V 728e. Dem.9.3; 14.34; 18.81, 258; 21.182(t), 214; 22.13, 30; 36.29.

(c) Th.IV.40.2(t); V.105.4; VII.13.1. Pl.Hp.Mi.367a; Prt. 353e; R.VI 505d; VIII 548b; Prm.144a, 158b(t); Phdr.274e; Plt.274b; Lg.IX 853d. Dem.14.31; 18.96; 49.66.

Instances of Antiformula (17) (a1) Θ.6.11.1 διὰ πολλοῦ γέ...

χαλεπῶς ἂν ἄρχειν δυναίμεθα. Πλ.Ευθδ.292β πάλλα δέ που ταῦτ' ἂν εἴη· Π.10.599β πολὺ πρότερον ἐν τοῖς ἐργοῖς ἂν σπουδάσειεν... N.6.781α πολὺ ἄμεινον ἂν ἔχοντα· 7.807ε πάλλα μὲν οὖν...λέγων ἂν τις...φαίνοιτο...

ctd

- Antiformula (17) ctd. (a2) Pl.Phd.93a; Lg.I 627c; XI 922b.
 (b1) Pl.Prt.327c; Smp.216c. Dem.18.160.
 (b2) Dem.18.41.
 (c1) Pl.Prt.358a. Dem.1.1; 4.31; 18.202; 20.148.
 (c2) Th.VI.64.1. Pl.Men.84c; Lg.VI 751b; X 888b, 908e; XII
 968c. Dem.22.14(t).
 (c1+2) Pl.Lg.IV 705b.

In the above instances of Antiformula, the Former precedes q; in those that follow, q precedes; the classification is otherwise the same.

- (b1) Th.I.80.1 (c= Pl.Tht.208c).
 (c1) Th.I.33.2; VI.64.1. Pl.Men.84c; Smp.179a; R.VIII 554e;
Prm.137d; Lg.III 686a, 686e; VII 790a.
 (d1) Th.I.73.4 Pl.Prt.346d (c= Tht.158e); Phlb.51c; Lg.VI
 773c(t). Dem.54.28.
 (d2) Th.IV.29.4; VI.39.1. Pl.R.X 599b; Prm.147d; Lg.I 645c;
 VII 790a

In (c1+2) above, a case in which q occurs twice, both before and after the verb, both preceded by the Former; Th. VI.64.1 and Men.84c are recorded/^{twice}because q occurring twice in the same sentence both follows and precedes the Former, being in the first case after the verb, in the second, before it. Numerical summary (ignores (c1+2)):

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
F Th.	2	1	3	
Pl.	19	12	9	
Dem.	<u>25</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>3</u>	
	<u>46</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>15</u>	
Af	(1) (2)	(1) (2)	(1) (2)	(1) (2)
Th.	1 +1		+2	+1 +2
Pl.	4 3	1+1	2+7 4	+4 +4
D.	— —	<u>1</u> <u>1</u>	<u>4</u> <u>1</u>	<u>+1</u> —
	<u>5</u> <u>3+1</u>	<u>2+1</u> <u>1</u>	<u>6+9</u> <u>5</u>	<u>+6</u> <u>+6</u>

This Former resembles $\iota\omega\zeta$, p.3.2.96 above: as in $\omicron\upsilon$ (1) and $\pi\tilde{\omega}\zeta$ $\kappa\tau\lambda$. (3), the majority of instances

are in initial (a) position, but unlike those Formers πολύς as well as ἵσως is most Formulaic in (a). On the other hand, there is no temptation (as in ἵσως p.3.2.97) to postulate a competing, purely postpositival, formula ἄν πολλ- this, despite the large numbers of instances in which, as in nrs. (9)-(14), q precedes the Former. There are no infringements of Rules resulting from Formulaic wording; there are however two verbless instances, Prt.327c πολλάνικς δ' ἄν φαύλου ἀγαθός and Δημ.9.68 πολλ' ἄν ὤρεται, in both of which the verb is supplied from the preceding clause and πολλ- is an anaphora. The overall Formula:Antiformula ratio is fairly high (highest in Demosthenes, approximately 50:50 in Thucydides). Yet the fact that the expression is most Formulaic in the (a) list suggests that Formulaic wording may be due merely to peninitialism coinciding with initial πολύς. Likewise, we may suspect, as in πᾶς (p.3.2.68), that the Formula and Antiformula lists are constituted of different types of sentence. An alternative classification is therefore presented as follows (approx. as in πᾶς p.3.2.68): (A) πολλ- as substantive, unattached to others; (B) genitival expressions like πολλοῦ ἄξιος, πολλοὶ Ἑλλήνων, πολλῶν μέγιστος (C) expressions like πολλοὶ ἀδελφοί, πολὺ πρότερον, πολλὰ καὶ δίκαια. The primary division, depending on syntactical context, is indicated ad loc. In I, which follows, simple sentences or complex sentences of the form main-subordinate (in that order) in which both Former and q 'belong' to main.

I (A) (a) Πλ.Πρτ.313α πολλὰ ἄν περιεσκεψώ... 327γ πολλάνικς δ' ἄν φαύλου ἀγαθός Π.2.449γ πολλοὶ γὰρ ἄν γένοιεντο Φδρ.243γ πολλοῦ δ' ἄν δεῖν... Τι.57δ πολλ' ἄν εἴη ἐμποδῶν... N.7.818γ πολλοῦ δ' ἄν δεήσειεν... Δημ.10.13 πολλὰ δ' ἄν γένοιτ' 13.13 πολλοῦς δ' ἄν ἀπιστήσαι ὡς... 21.72 πολλὰ γὰρ ἄν ποιήσειεν... 22.30 πολλαχόθεν μὲν τοίνυν ἄν τις ἴδοι... (b) Θ.6.10.4 οὕς πρὸ πολλῶν ἄν ἐτιμήσαντο... Πλ.Πρμ.137ε καὶ πολλὰ ἄν εἴη, 138α καὶ πολλαχοῦ ἄν αὐτοῦ ἄπτοιτο... Θτ.162ε καὶ ἂ οἱ πολλοὶ ἄν ἀποδέχοιντο..., 164ε ἀλλὰ πολλὰ ἄν ἤμυνε N.7.728ε καίτοι πολλοῦς ἄν τοῦτό γε δοκοῦ. (c) Πλ.Π.6.505δ ὡς δίκαια μὲν... πολλοὶ ἄν ἔλοιντο... Πρμ.158β τὰ δ' ἕτερα... πολλὰ που ἄν εἴη.

The letters (a), (b), (c) and (d) refer to the same classes as in the Formula and Antiformula lists above, p.3.2.99 ff. The above are cases of Formula; Antiformula follows.

I (A) Antiformula (a) Πλ.Ευθδ.292β πολλά δέ που ταῦτ' ἄν εἴη.
 (b) Θ.1.80.1 ὅπερ ἄν οἱ πολλοὶ πάθοιεν (≡ Πλ.Θτ.208γ εἴποιεν)· Πλ.Πρτ.327γ καὶ πολλάνις μὲν... φαῦλος ἄν ἀπέβη. Δημ.8.11 ἃ πολλὰ γένοιτ' ἄν... (c) Πλ.Πρτ.358α ταῦτα μὲν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀποκειριμένοι ἄν ἦμεν· Πρμ.137δ ἀμφοτέρως ἄν ἄρα... τὸ ἓν πολλὰ εἴη. (d) Πλ.Πρτ.346δ γελοῖον γὰρ ἄν εἴη πολλαχῆ (≡ Θτ.158ε μεντάν)· Πρμ.147δ ...εἴποις ἄν πολλάνις... Φλβ.51γ οὐχ ὅπερ ἄν ὑπολάβοιεν ἄν οἱ πολλοί· Ν.6.773γ ...θύμων ἄν ἐγείραι πολλοῖς.

I (B) Formula (a) Πλ.Π.2.374δ πολλοῦ ἄν, "... , "τὰ ὄργανα ἦν ἄξια. (b) Πλ.Γργ.487β ὡς πολλοὶ ἄν φῆσαιεν Ἀθηναίων· Ευθδ.283δ καίτοι πολλῶν ἄν ἄξιοι οἱ τοιοῦτοι εἶεν...

Antiformula (c) Πλ.Π.8.554ε ...εὐσχημονέστερος ἄν πολλῶν ...εἴη.

I (C) Formula (a) Πλ.Πρτ.340ε πολλῆ ἄν, "... , "ἀμαθία εἴη...· Απ.25β πολλῆ γὰρ ἄν τις εὐδαιμονία εἴη...· 37γ πολλῆ μεντάν με φιλοφυχία ἔχοι...· ΙΜ 300γ πολλῆ γὰρ ἄν μ' ἔχοι ἀπειρία...· Λυ.206β πολλῆ γὰρ ἄν ἀλογία εἴη· Φδ.70α πολλῆ ἄν εἴη ἐλπίς...· 99β πολλῆ γὰρ ἄν καὶ μακρὰ ῥαθυμία εἴη...· Φδρ.275γ πολλῆς ἄν εὐθειας γέμοι...· Σφ.239γ πολλῆ μεντάν με καὶ ἀτοπος ἔχοι προθυμία... (b) Πλ.Μεν.95ε ὅτι "πολλοὺς ἄν μισθοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ἔφερον"· Π.6.489α ὅτι πολὺ ἄν θαυμαστότερον ἦν...· 8.561ε ὃν πολλοὶ ἄν καὶ πολλαὶ ζηλώσειαν... Δημ.9.3 καὶ πολλοὺς ἄν τις οἰκέτας ἴδοι...· 14.34 ὥστε πολλῶν ἄν χρημάτων//πρίσθαι...· 18.81 ὅτι πολλὰ μὲν ἄν χρήματ' ἔδωκε... (c) Θ.7.13.1 ἦμῖν δ' εἰ πολλῆς ἄν περιουσίας νεῶν... ὑπῆρχε... Πλ.Ν.9.853δ οἰκέται δὲ ἄν... πολλὰ ἄν ἐπιχειρήσειαν τοιαῦτα...

Antiformula (a) Πλ.Π.10.599β πολὺ πρότερον ἔν τοῖς ἔργοις ἄν σπουδάσειεν...· Ν.1.627γ πολλοὶ ἀδελφοί που γένοιτ' ἄν...· 6.781α πολὺ ἄμεινον ἄν ἔχοντα· 11.922β πολλὰ γὰρ ἕκαστοι καὶ.../καὶ.../τιθεῖντ' ἄν... (b) Πλ.Σμπ.216γ ὅτι πολὺ μείζον ἄν ἀχθοίμην... Δημ.18.160 ἃ πολλῶν μὲν εἶνεκ' ἄν εἰκότως ἀκούσαιτέ μου... (c) Πλ.Ν.3.686α καὶ χρόνον τιν' ἄν πολὺν μένειν· 6.751β ...πολὺ μέγισται ταῖς πόλεσι γίνονται ἄν...· 7.790α τὸ γέλωτα ἄν πολὺν ὀφλεῖν· 10.908ε ...πολλὰ μὲν εἶδη γένοιτ' ἄν...· 12.968γ ...μετὰ συνουσίας πολλῆς γίνονται ἄν... Δημ.18.202 ὅτι...μετὰ πολλῆς χάριτος τοῦτ' ἄν... ἐδόθη... (d) Ν.7.790α τὸ... ῥηθὲν γίνονται ἄν πολὺ καὶ ἀφθονον.

In I (A) above, the (a) cases are almost entirely of Formulaic wording; Formula prevails also in (b) and Antiformula is concentrated mostly in (d), probably because in

the last, the Former is put in positions where q is unlikely to follow it. I (B) is almost entirely Formula. In I (C), the proportions are approximately as in (A); but observe that the Formula (a) instances are all members or variants of the same cliché, πολλή ἄν + abstract noun + verb, usually in the sense 'That would be ignorant/lazy/cowardly... of me...'; after unambitious repetition through 'early Plato' this seems to undergo some change and development in 'middle' and 'late.' However, even if the significance of I (C) Formula (a) is reduced because all are variants of one wording, yet Th.VII.13.1 in (c) seems good evidence of Formulaism. In II, which follows, complex sentences of the form participial-main (in that order) in which both Former and q 'belong' to main.

II (A) Formula only Πλ.Π.8.548β ...ἀναλίσκοντες...πολλὰ ἄν
δαπανῶντο Πρμ.144α ...ἀριθμοῦ γε ὄντος
πολλὰ ἄν εἶη...

These have to be kept separate from apodoses preceded by a finite-verb protasis because no Rule forbids q from appearing in the participial clause; but not much emerges. In III, which follows, infinitivally complex sentences in which both Former and q 'belong' to main.

III (C) Formula (c) Πλ.Φδρ.274ε ὃ λόγος πολὺς ἄν εἶη διελεῖν.

Antiformula (c) Θ.1.33.2 ἦν ὑμεῖς ἄν πρὸ πολλῶν χρη-
μάτων. Ἐτιμήσασθε δύναμιν...προσγενέσθαι...

In both cases above the relative pronoun counts as part of the infinitive group. In IV, which follows, infinitivally complex sentences in which both Former and q 'belong' to the infinitive.

IV (A) (a) Δημ.2.1 ἐπὶ πολλῶν μὲν ἄν τις ἰδεῖν/-/δοκεῖ μοι...
16.2 πολλοὺς ἄν οἶμαι...νομίσαι, 18 περὶ πολλῶν δ' ἄν
οἶμαι κίνδυνον ὑμῖν γενέσθαι... (c) Πλ.Πρτ.353ε ...οἶμαι,"
...., "τοὺς πολλοὺς ἄν...ἀποκρίνασθαι.

The IV (A) cases are Formulaic only. IV (B) follows.

IV (B) Formula (c) @.4.40.2 ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ πολλοῦ ἂν ἄξιον εἶναι... Δημ.14.31 ἡγοῦμαι... πολλοὺς ἂν ἔθε-
λῃσαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων...

Antiformula (c) Δημ.1.1 ... ὑπολαμβάνω πολλὰ τῶν... δε-
όντων ἐνίοις ἂν ἐπελεθεῖν εἶπεῖν.

IV (C) Formula (a) @.1.10.1 πολλὴν ἂν οἶμαι ἀπιστίαν... εἶναι...
Δημ.1.1 ἀντὶ πολλῶν ἂν/-/χρημάτων ὑμᾶς ἐλέσθαι
νομίζω.

Antiformula (c) Δημ.4.31 δοκεῖτε δέ μοι πολὺ βέλτιον ἂν
...βουλευέσθαι 20.148 ... πολλὰ καὶ δύναι
ἂν ἔχειν εἶπεῖν οἶμαι...

It seemsthat in IV, above, Formula is preferred in A, but in (B) and (C) the Former must be separated from the genitival or concordant element by something other than q if Formulaic wording is to result. In V, which follows, participially complex sentences in which the Former 'belongs' to the participle (or is common to both) while q 'belongs' to main verb.

V (A) Formula (a) Πλ.Θτ.171δ πολλὰ ἂν ἐμέ τε ἐλέγξας... οἴχοιτο...
Τι.63α πολλάκις ἂν στὰς... προσείποι... Δημ.19.
67 πολλὰ τοίνυν ἂν τις/-/... εὐδαιμονίσας... εὐδαιμονίσεις...
22.32 πολλὰ γὰρ ἂν τὸν δῆμον... ὑπαχθέντ' ἐξαμαρτεῖν. (b) Πλ.N.
2.662γ καὶ πολλ' ἄττ' ἂν... λεγόμενα... πεῖθοιμ'... (c) Πλ.ΙΕ
367α ἢ ὁ μὲν ἀμαθῆς πολλάκις ἂν βουλόμενος... προσείποι...

Antiformula (c) @.6.64.1 τοὺς γὰρ ἂν φιλοῦς... τοὺς ἰπ-
πέας πολλοὺς ὄντας... βλάπτειν ἂν... Πλ.N.
10.888β ... παραγενόμενος αὐτῶν πολλοῖς φράζοιμ' ἂν... (d)
@.4.29.4 λανθάνειν τε ἂν... πολὺ ὄν διαφθειρόμενον 6.39.1 κρῖ-
ναὶ δ' ἂν ἀκούσαντας ἀριστα τοὺς πολλοῦς.

V (C) Formula (a) @.4.29.3 πολλῷ γὰρ ἂν στρατοπέδῳ ἀποβάντι...
βλάπτειν.

Antiformula (c) Πλ.N.3.680ε θαυμάστ' ἂν καὶ πολλὰ κατεργα-
σάμενος εὐδαιμονοῖ 4.705β ... πολλὴν ἐξαγω-
γὴν ἂν παρεχομένη... ἀντεμπίμπλαιτ' ἂν 7.807ε πολλὰ μὲν οὖν
καὶ.../καὶ.../λέγων ἂν τις... φαίνοιτο. (d) Δημ.54.28 τότε
ἂν... ἦκεν ἔχων μάρτυρας πολλοῦς...

In VI, which follows, infinitivally complex sentences in which q belongs to main verb but the Former to the infinitive. Members and variants of the cliché πολλ' ἂν εἶη/τις ἔχοι/

/γίγνοιτο λέγειν/δειξαι... have been marked % and as far as possible bracketed together.

VI (A) Formula (a) % Πλ.Κρι.50β πολλά γὰρ ἂν τις ἔχοι...εἶπεῖν
 (≅ Δημ.3.27 ἔχων (= 20.33, 21.65), 9.60 εἶη,
 68 εἶπεῖν ἔχοιεν, 68 (λ), 18.138 ἔχοιμι, 20.163 ἔχοι, 24.61
 ἔχοι...δεικνύσαι, 194 ἔχοι, 36.12 ἔχοι, 43.68 εἶη, 54.44 εἶπεῖν
 ἔχοιμι). Δημ.22.57 πολλά γὰρ ἂν τις ἴδοι πολλοὺς ἐπιτηδεύουσ
 ὄντας πάσχειν... 24.70 πολλαχόθεν μὲν τείνουσ ἂν τις ἔχοι...
 διδάσκειν... (b) % Πλ.Χρμ.165ε ἂ πολλὰ ἂν τις ἔχοι...δεῖ-
 ξαι... (≅ Δημ.21.215 εἶχε παραμυθήσασθαι, 22.13 ἔχοι). (c)
 % Θ.5.105.4 ...πολλὰ ἂν τις ἔχων εἶπεῖν... (≅ Δημ.18.96 ἐχόν-
 των μνησικακήσαι, 49.66 εἶη λέγειν).

Antiformula (c) Πλ.Σμπ.179α ...τεθνάναι ἂν πολλὰκις
 ἔλοιτο.

VI (C) Formula (b) % Δημ.18.258 καὶ πολλ' ἂν ἔχων ἕτερ' εἶπεῖν...
 (≅ 21.182 καὶ πολλοὺς ἂν ἑτέρους ἔχοιμι λέγειν
 (τ), 22.30 καὶ πόλλ' ἂν εἶχεν//χαλεπώτερα θεῖναι, 36.29 καὶ
 πολλοὺς ἂν ἔχοι τις εἶπεῖν τοιούτους). (c) % Πλ.Πλτ.274β περὶ...
 θηρίων πολλά ἂν καὶ μακρὰ διεξελεθεῖν γίγνοιτο.

Antiformula (a) Θ.6.11.1 διὰ πολλοῦ γε...χαλεπῶς ἂν ἄρ-
 χειν δύναμεθα. Πλ.Μεν.84γ τότε δὲ
 ῥαδίως ἂν καὶ πρὸς πολλοὺς καὶ πολλὰκις ᾤετ' ἂν εὐ λέγειν.
 % Δημ.22.14 ἄλλα πόλλ' ἔχοι τις ἂν εἶπεῖν(τ). Θ.1.73.4
 ἀδυνάτων ἂν ὄντων πρὸς ναῦς πολλὰς...ἐπιβοηθεῖν. Πλ.Γ.10.599β
 καὶ πειρῶτο ἂν πολλὰ καὶ.../ἔργα...καταλιπεῖν. Ν.1.645γ ὁ δοξασ-
 θεῖη μὲν ἂν εἶναι...μῆκος πολὺ...

In VI above, the ἔχειν εἶπεῖν cliché is overwhelmingly on the Formula side, with one Antiformulaic instance only, in (C); the residue is 2:1 Formulaic in (A), 0:5 in (C); at the same time, (A) consists mainly of (a) instances, (C) mainly of (b), (c) and (d) instances; in (C), all the Formulaic instances are members of the cliché. The cliché, the grammar of the Former, and the position of the Former in the sentence are all important. In VII which follows (a class unrepresentative in the πᾶς lists), infinitivally complex sentence in which α belongs to the infinitive, Former to main verb.

VII (A) Antiformula (a) Πλ.Φδ.93α πολλοῦ ἄρα δεῖ...κινηθῆναι
 ἂν...

That ends the alternative classification.

The only Antiformulaic member of the ἔχειν εἰπεῖν cliché is Dem.22.14 ἄλλα πολλ' ἔχοι τις ἂν εἰπεῖν' there in fact one manuscript reads ἄλλα πολλ' ἂν... But editors are probably right to accept the Antiformulaic wording, for, while most instances of the cliché appear in (A), 22.14 is distinctly different from even the few which appear in (C).

Syntactically, VI is the most Formulaic class, which appears to be good evidence of Formulaism, since q and the Former 'belong' to different verbs; but the prevalence of Formula vanishes if we discount the cliché; in I also if we discount the other cliché which appears there the proportion of Formula reduces to about 50:50. This leaves IV as the most reliably Formulaic syntactical class (cf. IV in πᾶς, p.3.2.73 and (2-) in μή, p.3.2.28). As to the grammar of the Former, (A) is more Formulaic than (C); further, with the exception of IV (B) and VI (C), the Formula lists consist predominantly of (a), initial instances, the Antiformula of (b), (c) and (d) (see in particular V). It seems that any given character makes for Formulaic wording if it is consistent with initial position of the Former, but not otherwise. It looks as if the apparent Formulaism of πολλ'- ἂν may be due mainly to pen-initialism of q in the presence of initial πολλ-, reinforced by certain idioms. But a degree of attraction of q to πολύς as an individual word must probably be admitted; evidence lies in the two verbless instances (p.3.2.101); also in the Formulaic instances in (C), especially R.VI 489a, VIII 561e, Th.VII.13.1 (all I (C)), Phdr.274e (III (C)), and those in V (A). A further consideration is that q tends to follow emphatic words and especially those which carry the main point of the sentence; it is within an author's choice to some extent to represent a particular word as emphatic or otherwise, but (unlike say ἴσως, p.3.2.97) πολύς is not a word that can readily be entirely unemphatic; but an example in which it is less emphatic than the word followed by q is perhaps Th.

I.73.4 in VI (C) Antiformula. We may pass now to Counterformula etc.

Instances of Counterformula ($17+?$) $17+\underline{1} = \underline{1}+17$, p.20;
 $17+\underline{1}+\underline{3}+\underline{11} = \underline{1}+\underline{3}+\underline{11}+17$,
 p.18; $17+\underline{1}+9 = \underline{1}+9+17$, p.19; $17+\underline{1}+15 = \underline{1}+\underline{15}+17$, p.20.

$$17+\underline{2} = \underline{2}+17, \text{ p.31.}$$

$$17+\underline{3} = \underline{3}+17, 17+\underline{3}+14 = \underline{3}+14+17, \text{ both p.42.}$$

$$17+\underline{4} = \underline{4}+17, 17+\underline{4}+19 = \underline{4}+17+19, \text{ both p.57.}$$

$$(17+\underline{5}) 17+\underline{5}+18+21 = \underline{5}+17+18+21, \text{ p.62.}$$

$$17+\underline{8} = \underline{8}+17, \text{ p.65.}$$

$$17+\underline{9} = \underline{9}+17, \text{ p.77.}$$

$$(17+\underline{12}) 17+\underline{4}+\underline{12} = \underline{4}+\underline{12}+17, \text{ p.56.}$$

$$17+\underline{13} = \underline{13}+17, \text{ p.89.}$$

$$17+\underline{14} = \underline{14}+17, \text{ p.93; } 17+\underline{2}+\underline{14} = \underline{2}+\underline{14}+17, \text{ p.30.}$$

$$17+\underline{15} = \underline{15}+17, 17+\underline{15}+20 = \underline{15}+17+20, \text{ both p.98.}$$

$$(17+\underline{18}) 17+\underline{2}+\underline{18} = \underline{2}+17+\underline{18}, \text{ p.30.}$$

$17+\underline{20}$ Πλ.Πρμ.134γ φαίης ἄν που//πολὺ αὐτὸ ἀκριβέστερον εἶναι...

$$17+\underline{2}+9+\underline{20} = \underline{2}+9+17+\underline{20}, \text{ p.31.}$$

Instances of Anticounterformula ($17+?$) $17+\underline{1} = \underline{1}+\underline{17}$, $17+\underline{1}+\underline{4}+\underline{9} = \underline{1}+\underline{4}+\underline{9}+\underline{17}$, both p.17.

$$\underline{17}+\underline{4} = \underline{4}+\underline{17}, \text{ p.56; } \underline{17}+\underline{1}+\underline{4}+\underline{9} = \underline{1}+\underline{4}+\underline{9}+\underline{17}, \text{ p.17.}$$

$$\underline{17}+\underline{9} = \underline{9}+\underline{17}, \text{ p.76; } \underline{17}+\underline{1}+\underline{4}+\underline{9} = \underline{1}+\underline{4}+\underline{9}+\underline{17}, \text{ p.17.}$$

$$\underline{17}+\underline{10} = \underline{10}+\underline{17}, \text{ p.80.}$$

$$\underline{17}+\underline{13} = \underline{13}+\underline{17}, \text{ p.89.}$$

$$\underline{17}+\underline{14} = \underline{14}+\underline{17}, \text{ p.93.}$$

$17+\underline{18}$ Πλ.Χρμ.162ε ἔγωγε πολὺ ἄν ἥδιον...σκοποῦμαι...
 Γργ.448δ ἀλλὰ πολὺ ἄν ἥδιον σέ. Δημ.4.51 πολλῶν γὰρ ἄν ἥδιον εἶχον.

$17+\underline{19}$ Πλ.Ευθφρ.5γ καὶ πολὺ ἄν ἡμῶν πρότερον περὶ ἐκεῖνου...
 Φδ.110α ἐκεῖνα δέ...πολὺ ἄν ἔτι πλέον φανεῖται διαφέρειν.

$17+\underline{21}$ Πλ.Π.3.401δ πολὺ γὰρ ἄν,"..., "κάλλιστα οὕτω τραφεῖεν.

Instances of Multiple Antiformula (17+?) 17+1 = 1+17, p.24.

17+2 = 2+17, p.32; 17+2+4+9 = 2+4+9+17, p.31; 17+2+9+20 = 2+9+17+20, p.31; 17+2+14 = 2+14+17, 17+2+18 = 2+17+18, both p.30.

17+3 = 3+17, p.44; 17+1+3+11 = 1+3+11+17, p.18; 17+3+4 = 3+4+17, p.43.

17+4 = 4+17, p.59; 17+2+4+9 = 2+4+9+17, p.31; 17+3+4 = 3+4+17, p.43; 17+4+12 = 4+12+17, p.56; 17+4+15 = 4+15+17, p.59; 17+4+19 = 4+17+19, p.59.

(17+6) 17+6+10+14 = 6+10+14+17, p.63.

17+8 = 8+17, p.65.

17+9 = 9+17, p.78; 17+1+9 = 1+9+17, p.19; 17+2+4+9 = 2+4+9+17, p.31; 17+2+9+20 = 2+9+17+20, p.31.

(17+10) 17+6+10+14 = 6+10+14+17, p.63.

17+11 = 11+17, p.83; 17+1+3+11 = 1+3+11+17, p.18.

(17+12) 17+4+12 = 4+12+17, p.58.

17+13 = 13+17, p.90.

17+14 = 14+17, p.94; 17+3+14 = 3+14+17, p.42; 17+6+10+14 = 6+10+14+17, p.63; 17+14+15 = 14+15+17, p.94.

17+15 = 15+17, p.99; 17+1+15 = 1+15+17, p.20; 17+4+15 = 4+15+17, p.59; 17+14+15 = 14+15+17, p.94.

(17+18) 17+5+18+20+21 = 5+17+18+20+21, p.62.

(17+19) 17+4+19 = 4+17+19, p.59; 17+4+19 = 4+17+19, p.57.

17+20 Πλ.Φδ.87δ ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἂν φαίη...πολλὰ κατατρέβειν·
N.5.742δ ἦνπερ ἂν οἱ πολλοὶ φαίεν...

17+5+18+20+21 = 5+17+18+20+21, p.62; 17+15+20 = 15+17+20, p.98.

(17+21) 17+5+18+20+21 = 5+17+18+20+21, p.62.

There are large numbers of items of Multiple Antiformula (though no item contains many instances). This suggests that πολὺς is often irrelevantly present in sentences which also contain other Formers (as with μάλλον p.3.2.94, and ἐκεῖν-, p.3.2.116 below). It is difficult to determine the boundaries of the relevant and irrelevant: e.g. in Phd.87d (above, this page) Plato could have written ...πόλλ' ἂν φαίη ...κατατρέβειν, without change of sense.

The impression of weak Formulaism is reinforced by the

fact that Counterformula outnumbered Anticounterformula; individual items have few instances, but it is not surprising that οὐκ ἄν prevails over πολὺς ἄν (1+17, 1+17). On the other hand, in certain items πολὺς ἄν prevails: notably over κἄν (4+17, 4+17), which again is not surprising. More interesting is that 17+18 outnumbered 17+18, where note that πολὺς ἄν ἡδίων recalls πολὺς ἄν θαυμαστότερον (I (C), p.3.2.102) and that the same series of expressions continues in 17+19 and 17+21; also N.958a ὁ δὲ δικαίως εἶη πολλὰκις ἄν..., (Rule XXIV.

18/18, Former ἡδέως (p.3.2.1).

Instances of Formula (18) (a) Th.II.49.5. Pl.Prt.318a, 347c; Grg.458a bis; Cra.384a; Phd.57a, 108d(t); Tht.143e, 183d; Ti.19c; Lg.IX 863a. Dem.16.23; 20.129; 25.66; 26.14; 46.27; 49.68; 50.67; 54.1; 56.32; 57.66; 58.45.

(b) Th.VIII.89.1. Pl.Hp.Mi.363a; La.189a; Grg.458a; Ly.204a; Euthd.304c bis; Cra.399c; R.VI 491c. Dem.59.30.

(c) Pl.Ap.39e; MnX.246c; Cra.411a; Phd.70b, 99c, 110b; R.V 470a; VI 487d; Sph.216d. Dem.1.23; 10.32; 18.64, 217; 42.3.

Instances of Antiformula (18) (a2) Δημ.39.21 ἡδέως τοίνυν ἐροίμην ἄν...

(c1) Πλ.Πρτ.361δ μετὰ σοῦ ἄν ἡδιστα...συνδιασκοποῖν· Απ.38δ οἱ ἄν ὑμῶν μὲν ἡδιστα ἦν ἀκούειν· Π.10.608δ σοῦ δ' ἄν ἡδέως ἀκούσαιμι.

(c2) Πλ.Λυ.204β πρῶτον δ' ἡδέως ἀκούσαιμ' ἄν...

(d1) Δημ.19.193 ἂ δ' ἄν αὐτὸς ἀπαγγεῖλαιθ' ἡδέως...

That completes the lists of Formula (18) and Antiformula (18). This Former resembles ἴσως (15) and πολὺς (17) above (cf. p.3.2.100 ff.) in that as in οὐ (1) and πῶς κτλ. (3) the majority of instances are in (a), initial, position, but, unlike those, the proportion of Formula to Antiformula is highest also in (a), not (c); here, Formula is most numerous in (a), Antiformula in (c). Despite that, the overall Formula: Antiformula ratio (indeed, rarity of Antiformula) is so great

that we must accept ἡδέως ἄν as Formulaic. There is one exception to Rule XIV (p.2.2.29), Dem.46.27 ἡδέως ἄν τοίνυν.

In Antiformula, Prt.361d and Ap.38d illustrate the idea that g tends to follow the word which carries the main point. Yet ἡδέως also seems an example of an expression which, having become Formulaic where it is itself the the most emphatic word, continues, still Formulaic, into contexts where it is not: e.g. Ap.39e ταῦτα μὲν ὑμῖν...τοῖς δὲ ἀποψηφισαμένοις ἡδέως ἄν διαλεχθεῖν...

Most, but not all, instances of this expression fall into a cliché of the general sense 'I would gladly ask/hear/know...' These may be classified as follows according to the verb used.

ἀκούω Formula (a) Pl.Cra.384a; Phd.57a, 108d(t); Tht.183d; Ti.19c; Lg.IX 863a. (c) Pl.Phd.70b, 110b; R.V 470a; VI 487d. Dem.10.32.

Antiformula (c1) Pl.Ap.38d; R.X 608d.

πυνθάνομαι Formula (a) Pl.Prt.318a; Tht.143e. Dem.16.23; 49. (only) 68; 50.67; 56.32. (b) Pl.Cra.399c; Hp.Mi.363a; R.VI 491c. (c) Pl.Sph.216d.

ἔρωτάω Formula (a) Pl.Grg.458a. Dem.20.129; 26.14; 46.27; 58.45. (c) Dem.18.64, 217.

Antiformula (a2) Dem.39.21.

Within the limits of the cliché seem also to be: Euθδ. 304γ φιλήκοος μὲν ἔγωγε καὶ ἡδέως ἄν τι μανθάνοιμι, Φδ.99γ ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν...μαθητῆς ὅτουοῦν ἡδιστ' ἄν γενοίμην, Kρα.411α ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ εἶδος ἔγωγε ἡδέως ἄν θεασάμην... The following seems to be intermediate, the verb having a different sense, but the situation otherwise like that of the cliché:

Formula (a) Πλ.Πρτ.347γ ἡδέως ἄν ἐπὶ τέλος ἔλθοιμι...σκοπούμενος· Δημ.57.66 ἡδέως μὲν ἄν ὑμῖν λέγοιμι. (b) Πλ.Λυ.204α ὡν ἡδέως ἄν σοι μεταδιδούμεν· Λα.189α καὶ ἡδιστ' ἄν ἐξεταζοίμην... (c) Πλ.Απ.39ε τοῖς δὲ ἀποψηφισαμένοις ἡδέως ἄν διαλεχθεῖν...· Μνξ.246γ καὶ οἷα νῦν ἡδέως ἄν εἴποιεν ὑμῖν...

Antiformula (c1) Πλ.Πρτ.361δ μετὰ σοῦ ἄν ἡδιστα...συνδιασκοποίην.

The following on the other hand seem to stand outside the cliché:

Formula (a) Θ.2.49.5 ἡδιστα τε, ἂν ἐς... ὕδωρ σφᾶς αὐτοῦς ῥιπ-
τειν. Δημ.54.1 ἡδιστ' ἂν/-/θανάτου κρίνας τουτονί.
(b) Θ.8.89.1 καὶ ἡδέως ἂν ἀπαλλαγέντας πη... Δημ.59.30 ἀλλ'
ἡδέως ἂν αὐτοῖς εἶη... (c) Δημ.1.23 ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸν γε Παίονα...
ἡγεῖσθαι χρῆ αὐτονόμους ἡδίων ἂν... εἶναι... 42.3 ἐγὼ δέ/-/
ἡδιστα μὲν ἂν ἑμαυτὸν εἶδον εὐτυχοῦντα...
Antiformula (dl) Δημ.19.193 ἃ δ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἀπαγγείλαιθ' ἡδέως...

Further good evidence of Formulaism, if such were needed, is provided by Dem.59.30 above, where εἶη seems due to the indirect construction, ἡδέως ἂν the equivalent of an adjective, and the sentence an 'ungrammatical' hybrid of ὅτι ἡδέως ἂν κομίσαιντο and ὅτι ἡδὺ αὐτοῖς εἶη κομίσασθαι.

Instances of Counterformula ($18+?$) $18+\underline{1} = \underline{1}+18$, p.21; $18+\underline{1}+3 = \underline{1}+3+18$, p.18.

$$18+\underline{2} = \underline{2}+18, p.42.$$

$$18+\underline{4} = \underline{4}+18, p.57.$$

$$(18+\underline{5}) 18+\underline{5}+17+20+21 = \underline{5}+17+18+20+21, p.62.$$

$$18+\underline{9} = \underline{9}+18, p.77.$$

$$18+\underline{15} = \underline{15}+18, p.98.$$

$$18+\underline{17} = \underline{17}+18, p.107.$$

$18+\underline{19}$ Πλ.Μεν.86γ οὐ μέντοι) ἀλλ' ἔγωγε ἐκεῖνο ἂν ἡδιστα//
...σκοποῖην... Δημ.20.2 ἀλλ' ἐκεῖν' ἂν ἐροῖμην
ἡδέως αὐτόν.

Instances of Anticounterformula ($18+?$) ($18+2$) $18+2+4+19 = 2+4+18+19$, $18+2+17 = 2+17+18$, both p.30.

$$\underline{18}+4 = 4+\underline{18}, p.57; \underline{18}+2+4+19 = 2+4+\underline{18}+19, p.30; \underline{18}+4+14 = 4+14+\underline{18}, p.57.$$

$$(18+9) \underline{18}+9+19 = 9+\underline{18}+19, p.76.$$

$$(18+14) \underline{18}+4+14 = 4+14+\underline{18}, p.57.$$

$$18+15 = 15+\underline{18}, p.98.$$

$$(18+17) \underline{18}+2+17 = 2+17+\underline{18}, p.30.$$

$$\underline{18}+19 \text{ next page}$$

18+19 Πλ.ΙΕ 363β περί ἐκεῖνου οὖν ἡδέως ἄν//ἀναπυθοῦσιν//.
18+2+4+19 = 2+4+18+19, p.30; 18+9+19 = 9+18+19, p.76.

Instances of Multiple Antiformula (18+?) (18+3) 18+1+3 =
1+3+18, p.18.

18+4 = 4+18, p.59.

18+14 = 14+18, p.102.

(18+17) 18+5+17+20+21 = 5+17+18+20+21, p.62.

(18+20), as preceding.

(18+21), see (18+17) above.

The relatively small numbers of Multiple Antiformula are a further consequence of strong Formulaism (contrast πολὺς, p.3.2.108 above). On the other hand, Counterformula outnumbers Anticounterformula, mainly because οὐκ ἄν ἡδέως and (probably by chance) μετὰ ποτέρου ἄν ἥδιον exist to the exclusion of other wordings (1+18, 3+18). On the other hand it is not surprising that καὶ...ἡδέως ἄν outnumbers κἄν...ἡδέως but rather that the latter is so comparatively common (4+18/4+18); however these cases (p.3.2.57) fit the categories III cii (p.3.2.49) and IV 2c (p.3.2.51), in both of which Formula κἄν prevails over Antiformula καὶ...ἄν. That ends the account of Former (18),

19/19, Former ἐκεῖν- (p.3.2.1).

Instances of Formula (19) (a) Th.I.136.4; IV.126.5; VI.99.2(t).
 Pl.Prm.138e, 146e. Dem.20.111

(t); 37.2; 54.28.

(b) Pl.R.X 597c. Dem.14.33; 20.86(t).

(c) Pl.Chrm.171e.

Instances of Antiformula (19) (a1) Πλ.Φλβ.30γ μετ'ἐκεῖνου τοῦ λόγου ἄν ἐπόμενοι βέλτιον λέγοιμεν.^(τ) Δημ.19.90 ἐκεῖνα δὲ τούτοις ἄν προσῆν.

(a2) Θ.4.29.3 ἐπ'ἐκεῖνοισι γὰρ εἶναι ἄν... Πλ.Π.5.478ε ἐκεῖνο δὲ λέποιτ'ἄν...

(b1) Δημ.22.32 καὶ ἐκεῖνους ἦτοι καταλῦσαι γ'ἄν πειρᾶσθαι...

- (b2) Θ.3.30.2 ἢ ἐκεῖνοί τε ἀνέλπιστοι ἐπιγενέσθαι ἄν...^{οο}
 Δημ.23.164 ὧν ἐκεῖνος ἔφησεν ἄν αὐτῷ φθονεῖν.
- (c1) Πλ.Π.4.434γ ... τοῦναντίον ἐκεῖνου δικαιοσύνη τ' ἄν εἴη...
 9.600δ Ὀμηρον δ' ἄρα οἱ ἐπ' ἐκεῖνου, .. ῥαφιδεῖν ἄν... εἴων.
 Δημ.1.10 ... τῆς παρ' ἐκεῖνου εὐνοίας εὐεργέτημ ἄν ἔγωγε θεῖην
- (c2) Πλ.Π.8.558δ τοῦ φειδωλοῦ ἐκεῖνου... γένοιτ' ἄν... N.9.860δ
 ἄκων οὖν ἐκεῖνῳ φαίνοιτ' ἄν... Δημ.2.4 καὶ μεγάλα/-/κατ'
 ἐκεῖνου φαίνοιτ' ἄν οὐείδη.

In the above instances of Antiformula, the Former precedes q; in those that follow, q precedes; the classification is otherwise the same.

- (b1) Δημ.1.4 ἄς ἄν ἐκεῖνος ποιήσαιτ'...
- (c1) Πλ.Π.7.516γ ὅτι ἐπὶ ταῦτ' ἄν μετ' ἐκεῖνα ἔλθοι Πρμ.139α
 ὅτι ἤδη ἄν ἐν ἐκεῖνῳ εἴη Φλβ.33β οὐκοῦν οὕτως ἄν ἐκεῖνῳ
 γε ὑπάρχοι Τι.31α πάλιν, γὰρ ἄν ἕτερον εἶναι τὸ περὶ ἐκεῖνου
 ὁμοί ζῆον N.1.636ε ... τάναντία ἄν ἐκεῖνῳ ζῆη 7.806β ... ἀνδ-
 ρες ἄν αἱ ἐκεῖνων γυναῖκες φανεῖεν. Δημ.10.23 ... οὕτως ἄν
 ἐκεῖνος φροντίσαι... 19.342 τοὺς ὀτιοῦν ἄν ἐκεῖνῳ ποιήσοντας
 24.127 οἶμαι γὰρ ἔγωγ' ὕπ' αὐτοῦ ἄν ἐκεῖνου... (τ).
- (d1) Πλ.Θτ.210α λόγου γὰρ πρόσληψις τοῦτ' ἄν εἴη κατ' ἐκεῖνον
 Τι.31α οὐ μέρος ἄν εἴτην ἐκεῖνω.
- (d2) Θ.8.46.3 ... ξυγκαταδουλοῦν ἄν σφίσι τε... καὶ ἐκεῖνω^{οοο}.
 Πλ.Πρτ.346γ ἐμπλησθεῖη ἄν ἐκεῖνους μερφόμενος^{οοο} Κρα.
 432δ ... πάθοι ἄν ἐκεῖνα Π.2.365β λέγοι γὰρ ἄν... ἐκεῖνο 7.
 538γ καὶ ζῆν ἄν... κατ' ἐκεῖνους 9.574γ καὶ δουλῶσασθαι ἄν αὐ-
 τοὺς ὑπ' ἐκεῖνοις 10.597γ καὶ εἴη ἄν// ἐκεῖνη Πρμ.155δ καὶ εἴη
 ἄν τι ἐκεῖνῳ καὶ ἐκεῖνου. Δημ.6.3 ὡς δὲ κωλύσαιτ' ἄν ἐκεῖνον
 πράττειν 33.28 αὐτὸς δ' ἑμαυτὸν περιεῖδον ἄν ὑπ' ἐκεῖνου...
 καταλειπόμενον 55.7 ἄλλ' ἀπέφαινεν ἄν ἐκεῖνος...

That completes the Formula (19) and Antiformula (19) lists. Numerical summary:

F	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)				
Th.	3							
Pl.	2	1	1					
D.	3	2	-					
	8	3	1					
Af	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)		
Th.		1		1		+1		
Pl.	1	1			2+6	1	+2	+7
D.	1/2	2	1+1/1+1	1/2	1+3/3+9	1/2	+2	+3/11

The lists of Formula (19) and Antiformula (19) summarized above yield a Formula:Antiformula ratio unfavourable (by comparison with most expressions listed in this chapter) to the hypothesis that ἐκεῖν- ἄν is truly Formulaic. Here again (cf. p.3.2.100 ff.) while a majority of Formulaic instances are in initial position there are many cases in which g precedes the Former and high Formula:Antiformula ratio is confined to initial position. Even if we discount the (d) instances (where Formulaic order would infringe Rule XXIV), and those in which g precedes the Former, the proportion of Formula in medial position is still no greater than 1:5. There are no infringements of Rules due to Formulaic order. All in all, the proportion of 8:4 in initial position has a good chance of being due merely to peninitialism of g in a context of fortuitously initial Former.

The Antiformula instances exhibit many characters which have been considered in above cases (cf. p.3.2.101 ff.) as militating against Formulaic wording: position later than the verb, 'belonging' to a different verb from g, involvement in a noun phrase like αἱ ἐκεῖνων γυναῖκες. There are two of the last mentioned in the Formula list (Prm.146e c= Dem.37.2), but the majority are in Antiformula and the other two characters mentioned appear in Antiformula only. If we discount them, the total of (c1) and (c2) instances in Antiformula reduces to eight; but this has little worthwhile effect on proportions, because of the almost total absence of medial instances in Formula (a unique circumstance in our lists hitherto). A further difference: in the Formula list all instances of the Former are particularly emphatic, bearing in most cases the main point of the sentence, though in Th.I.136.4, R.X 597c, Dem.14.33 and 20.86, no more than a contrast; in Antiformula the majority (excepting (a1) and (a2)) are not particularly emphatic; it seems not so much that g follows ἐκεῖν- when the latter is emphatic as that ἐκεῖν- ἄν is avoided except un-

der certain conditions, which include strong emphasis on the Former, but is not necessarily found even when these conditions are fulfilled.

A clue to the paucity of Formula in medial position: the lists almost totally lack a type of sentence common in other cases; e.g.f. τότε γὰρ ἴσως/ὀρθῶς (ἄν) λέγοιμεν (ἄν), where the Former is initial in a trailing (verb) colon (in Chrm. 171e the Former is initial in what is not much different from a normal main clause). If this were found in Antiformula, we could conclude from its absence in Formula that medial position positively inhibited Formulaic wording; since it is absent from Formula also, that is not so readily to be decided. It seems rather that emphasis is the controlling influence: Formulaic wording results from peninitialism, and so is dependent on initial position of the Former, which is avoided except when that is emphatic.

Instances of Counterformula (19+?) 19+1 = 1+19, p.21; 19+1+3 = 1+3+19, p.18;
 19+1+4 = 1+4+19, p.19; 19+1+14 = 1+14+19, p.20.
 (19+2) 19+2+4+9 = 2+4+9+19, 19+2+4+21 = 2+4+19+21, both p.31.
 19+3 = 3+19, p.42.
 (19+4) 19+4+17 = 4+17+19, p.57.
 19+5 = 5+19, p.62; 19+1+5 = 1+5+19, p.16; 19+5+14 = 5+14+19, p.61.
 19+9 = 9+19, p.77; 19+1+9 = 1+9+19, p.16.
 19+10 = 10+19, p.81.
 (19+11) 19+1+4+11 = 1+4+11+19, p.16.
 19+12 = 12+19, p.86.
 19+13 = 13+19, p.89; 19+1+3+13 = 1+3+13+19, p.16;
 19+1+11+13 = 1+11+13+19, p.17.
 (19+15) 19+1+15 = 1+15+19, p.17.
 19+17 = 17+19, p.107.
 19+18 = 18+19, p.112; 19+2+4+18 = 2+4+18+19, p.30;
 19+9+18 = 9+18+19, p.76.
 (19+20) 19+4+9+12+20 = 4+9+12+19+20, p.57.

Instances of Anticounterformula (19+?) $19+1 = 1+19$, p.17;
 $19+1+9 = 1+9+19$,
 p.17.

$$19+3 = 3+19, \text{ p.41.}$$

$$19+4 = 4+19, \text{ p.58.}$$

$$(19+9) \ 19+1+9 = 1+9+19, \text{ p.17.}$$

$$19+14 = 14+19, \text{ p.93.}$$

$$19+15 = 15+19, \text{ p.98.}$$

$$19+18 = 18+19, \text{ p.111.}$$

Instances of Multiple Antiformula (19+?) $19+1 = 1+19$, p.24;
 $19+1+2 = 1+2+19$,
 p.22; $19+1+3+13 = 1+3+13+19$, p.16; $19+1+3+20 = 1+3+19+20$,
 p.22; $19+1+4+11 = 1+4+11+19$, p.16; $19+1+5 = 1+5+19$, p.16;
 $19+1+9 = 1+9+19$, p.16; $19+1+11+13 = 1+11+13+19$, $19+1+15 =$
 $1+15+19$, both p.17.

$$(19+2) \ 19+1+2 = 1+2+19, \text{ p.22; } 19+2+4+18 = 2+4+18+19, \text{ p.30.}$$

$$19+3 = 3+19, \text{ p.44; } 19+1+3 = 1+3+19, \text{ p.18; } 19+1+3+13 = 1+3+13+19, \text{ p.16; } 19+1+3+20 = 1+3+19+20, \text{ p.22.}$$

$$19+4 = 4+19, \text{ p.59; } 19+1+4 = 1+4+19, \text{ p.19; } 19+1+4+11 = 1+4+11+19, \text{ p.16; } 19+2+4+9 = 2+4+9+19, \text{ p.31; } 19+2+4+18 = 2+4+18+19, \text{ p.30; } 19+2+4+21 = 2+4+19+21, \text{ p.31; } 19+4+9+12+20 = 4+9+12+19+20, \text{ p.57; } 19+4+17 = 4+17+19, \text{ p.59.}$$

$$(19+5) \ 19+5+15 = 5+15+19, \text{ p.62.}$$

$$(19+9) \ 19+2+4+9 = 2+4+9+19, \text{ p.31; } 19+4+9+12+20 = 4+9+12+19+20, \text{ p.57; } 19+9+18 = 9+18+19, \text{ p.76.}$$

$$19+10 = 10+19, \text{ p.81.}$$

$$(19+11) \ 19+1+11+13 = 1+11+13+19, \text{ p.16.}$$

$$(19+12) \ 19+4+9+12+20 = 4+9+12+19+20, \text{ p.57.}$$

$$19+13 = 13+19, \text{ p.90.}$$

$$19+14 = 14+19, \text{ p.94; } 19+1+14 = 1+14+19, \text{ p.20; } 19+5+14 = 5+14+19, \text{ p.61.}$$

$$19+15 = 15+19, \text{ p.99; } 19+5+15 = 5+15+19, \text{ p.62.}$$

$$(19+17) \ 19+4+17 = 4+17+19, \text{ p.59; } 19+4+17 = 4+17+19, \text{ p.57.}$$

$$(19+20) \ 19+1+3+20 = 1+3+19+20, \text{ p.22.}$$

$$(19+21) \ 19+2+4+21 = 2+4+19+21, \text{ p.31.}$$

Μῆ ἄν, τάχ' ἄν, ὀρθῶς ἄν, ἦττον ἄν, μάλιστα ἄν, δικαίως ἄν, πολλ- ἄν and φαίν ἄν all occur (though none frequently)

to the exclusion of ἐκεῖν- ἄν (2+19, 5+19, 10+19, 11+19, 12+19, 13+19, 17+19, 20+19); ἐκεῖν- ἄν does occur with οὐ, πῶς κτλ., καί, πᾶς, μᾶλλον, ἴσως, ἠδέως (1+19, 3+19, 4+19, 9+19, 14+19, 15+19, 18+19) but in most the other Formula prevails in numbers; it is not surprising that καὶ(...)ἐκεῖν- ἄν excludes κἄν ἐκεῖν- (the one instance of 4+19 is καὶ γὰρ ἄν). Multiple Antiformula is very numerous, reinforcing the conclusion that Formulaism is weak or absent.

The Anticounterformula (ἐκεῖν- ἄν) tend to confirm the conclusion that this expression occurs only when the Former is particularly emphatic (e.g. 1+19 Prm.160e οὐδ' ἐκεῖνῳ ἄν τι ἦν). On the other hand Prm.139b (4+19) καὶ μὴν ταύτόν γε ἐτέρω ἐκεῖνο ἄν ἦν has a less emphatic Former and is a case of the sentence-type mentioned on p.3.2.115 above; but that does not alter the impression of its rarity.

All the Demosthenic instances in Anticounterformula are members of one cliché or another: 1+19 10.71 οὐ γὰρ ἐκεῖνὸ γ' ἄν εἴποις \cong 16.5, 24.160, 196, \cong 15+19 20.3 ἐκεῖν' ἄν ἴσως εἴποι· 15+19 23.187 ἴσως τοίνυν ἐκεῖν' ἄν τίς μ' ἔροιτο \cong 18+19 20.2 ἀλλ' ἐκεῖν' ἄν ἐροίμην ἠδέως αὐτόν. That ends the account of (19), Former ἐκεῖν-.

20/20 Former φαίν (p.3.2.1).

In view of Rule XXIV (p.2.2.59 ff.) and the close connexion between q and any verb to which it 'belongs' the prospects may seem poor for treating any Vq as an individual Formula: Vq is bound to occur with all verbs. There is however evidence to suggest it in some cases (e.g. γίγνοιτο ἄν may be Formulaic in Pl.Lg.) and more so in this one. But the standard classification will not serve, though the letters (a), (b), and (c), where they occur, respectively signify as usual initial position of Former, peninitial position after a prepositive, and medial position. (I) φαίν used with

direct speech, (II) otherwise; (II) subdivides into (a), (b), (c) as above, but in (I) all Formulaic instances have Former initial, either in the sentence or at least in the 'he would say' parenthesis. (I) subdivides: (x) with other mobiles which are not part of direct speech, (y) Former itself the only mobile, at least in the parenthesis. Then (x) and (y) subdivide: (i) direct speech both precedes and follows; (ii) follows only; (iii) precedes only.

(I x i) Formula only Πλ.Πρτ.356α ..., " φάλην ἄν ἔγωγε, "...
Φδ.115α ..., " φάλη ἄν ἀνὴρ τραγικός, "...

(I x ii) Formula Πλ.Γργ.452γ φαῖμεν ἄν οὖν πρὸς αὐτόν, "...
Antiformula Πλ.Ν.2.662ε εἶτα μετὰ ταῦτα ἔγωγ' ἄν
φάλην, "...

(I x iii) Formula only Πλ.Πρτ.330γ ..., " φάλην ἄν ἔγωγε ἀπο-
κρινόμενος...; 354ε ..., " φάλην ἄν ἔγωγε.
Φλβ.63γ ..., " φαῖμεν ἄν αὐτὸν νοῦν... ἀνερωτῶντες(τ) Γργ.452γ
..., " φαῖμεν ἄν ἡμεῖς.

(I y i) Formula Πλ.Πρτ.356γ ..., " φάλην ἄν, "... (≅ Ευθρρ.5α,
Απ.30β, Κρι.48α φάλη γ' ἄν τις, Γργ.452β, Φδ,
106β φάλη ἄν τις, Π.4.419α, Ν.3.690δ φαῖμεν, 5.734γ φαῖμεν,
743α ὅτι, " φαῖμεν ἄν, "..., Δημ.13.11 φάλη τις ἄν(τ), 21.89
φάλη τις ἄν).

Antiformula Πλ.Κρι.52δ ..., " ἄν φαῖεν, "...

(I y ii) Formula only Πλ.Κρι.52α φαῖεν γὰρ ἄν ὅτι, "... N.9.
857δ φάλη γὰρ ἄν, "...

(I y iii) Formula only Πλ.Κρι.50β ..., " φάλην ἄν. (≅ 50ε,
Κρα.392γ, Δημ.5.24 φαῖμεν, 13.8 φάλη
τις ἄν, 38.18 φαῖεν).

Pl.Grg.452c, (I x ii) above, infringes Rule XIV (p.2.2.30).
Antiformula is impossible in (I y i) without infringing Rule
XVI (p.2.2.38, where see Cri.52d). In fact (I y) in general
is presented not so much as evidence of Formulaism in the
word-order sense as of frequent repetition of an expression
which may potentially lead to that, as seems to have happened
in (I x), where the persistently initial position of the For-
(mer

seems the consequence of established habit, further reinforcing the order φαίνην ἄν. In (II), which follows, Antiformulaic wording is both less potentially unlikely and in fact more often found.

(II x a) Formula Πλ.Ιων.537ε φαίνης ἄν δήπου τῆ αὐτῆ· Γργ.506ε φαίνην ἄν ἔγωγε· Φλβ.59α φαῖμεν ἄν ταῦτα...;
Antiformula Πλ.Ν.1.629ε φαίη τοῦτ' ἄν που καὶ ὁμολογοῦ.

(II x b) Formula only Πλ.Γργ.512δ ὅτι φαίνης ἄν...· Εὐθδ.282δ ἄλλο τι) ἢ φαίνης ἄν...· 292β ἢ φαίη ἄν τις...· Κρα.429ε οὗτος λέξειεν ἄν...· ἢ φαίη ἄν ταῦτα ἢ...· Π.4.436ε ἀλλὰ φαῖμεν ἄν... (τ)· 10.597β ἢν φαῖμεν ἄν, ὡς ἐγῶμαι...· Θτ.154β ὡς φαίη ἄν... (≡ Ν.6.771δ φαῖμεν, 10.887ε φαῖεν, 12.963β φαίνης)· Ν.9.859γ οἱ δὴ φαῖμεν ἄν...

(II x c) Formula Πλ.Χρμ.167ε ἔρωτα δὲ φαίνης ἄν τινα εἶναι...· Λα.193ε ἔργω μὲν γὰρ//φαίη ἄν τις ἡμᾶς...· Εὐθφρ.9ε ἀλλ' ἔγωγε φαίνην ἄν...· Μεν.96β ...φαίνης ἄν σύ...· 98β ...φαίνην ἄν...· Ψδ.118α ὡς ἡμεῖς φαῖμεν ἄν... (≡ Ν.7.814γ ἐγώ, 8.828δ ἐγώ, Φλβ.15γ γοῦν ἐγώ, 36ε ὡς γ' ἐγώ)· Π.1.351α ...φαίνης ἄν...· 3.416γ ...φαίη ἄν τις γοῦν ἔχων...· 4.425γ φαῖμεν ἄν· 9.589α ...φαίη ἄν...· 2.357γ ταῦτα γὰρ ἐπίπονα φαῖμεν ἄν(τ).

Antiformula Πλ.Λα.193α ...ἀνδρειότερον ἄν φαίνης ἢ...· Μεν.98β ὀλίγα δ' ἄν φαίην· Κρα.430α φοφεῖν ἔγωγ' ἄν φαίην τὸν τοιοῦτον (≡ Π.3.411ε ...ἔγωγ' ἄν τινα φαίην...· Ν.2.673β ...ἔγωγ' ἄν σε φαίην...· Δημ.20.28 ἔγωγ' ἄν φαίην (= 23.164, 45.65))· Π.1.333α πρὸς γε ὑποδημάτων ἄν οἶμαι φαίνης κτῆσιν· 2.360γ καίτοι μέγα τοῦτο τεκμήριον ἄν φαίη τις ὅτι...· 5.476γ ἐγώ γοῦν ἄν, "...· "φαίην ὀνειρώττειν...· Θτ.197γ τρόπον μὲν γὰρ ἄν πού τινα φαῖμεν...· Φδρ.269α ...τὰ πρὸ τραγωδίας ἄν φαίη...· Πλτ.260β ἐμμελῶς ἄν φαῖμεν διηρησθαι· Φλβ.59α τούτων οὐν τι σαφές ἄν φαῖμεν...· γίγνεσθαι; Ν.7.791β ...ἀνδρείας ἄν φαῖμεν...· ἐπιτήδευμα εἶναι...

(II y) 'Formula' Πλ.Γργ.452γ φαίη ἄν· Κρι.48β φαίη γὰρ ἄν· Πρτ.330δ φαῖμεν ἄν, ὡς ἐγῶμαι (≡ 354β φαῖεν, Γργ.454δ φαίνης), 330δ, 350δ, 350ε, 353γ, 354α, 356γ· Φλβ.38γ.

In (II y) above, V_q constitutes the whole sentence; Antiformulaic wording is therefore impossible within the basic definitions. Hence these instances are not in themselves evidence that this expression is Formulaic and in most cases instances in which q is in the only possible position have not been collected at all; in this case, they form part of

the argument. It seems likely that the choice of this expression for 'would say so', 'would agree', 'would say yes' is influenced by the Formulaism of these words in other contexts (cf. on (I y) above).

Where the Former is a verb, Antiformulaic wording with g following the Former must infringe Rule XXIV (p.2.2.59), as does indeed happen in (II x a) Lg.I 629e. But since that Rule is rarely infringed, Formula/Antiformula is virtually reduced to Vg/g(...)V (statistics for which, where g is ἄν, have not been collected even in pp.2.3.1 ff.). In (II x c) Antiformula slightly outnumbered Formula. The best evidence for Formulaism comes from (II x b), where Antiformula is possible but absent; in Grg.512d, Euthd.282d, Cra.429e, R.IV 436e, Antiformula would infringe, if not Rule XXIV, then Rule XXII (pp.2.2.51 ff.), and Lg. IX 859c either one of those Rules or Rule XIV (p.2.2.28 ff.). But the rest of (II x b) is made up of relative clauses; ὅς ἄν... is a very common formulation in such clauses and might be expected to attract g away from the Vg position. In particular, ὡς ἄν is of near-Formula status itself (cf. p.3.2.85 on ὡς ἄν μάλιστα); in (I y i) Dem.13.11, φαίη τις ἄν avoids hiatus; yet where the sense makes τις unavailable, Plato does not resort to ὡς ἄν φαίη (Tht.154b). These ὡς-clauses extend into (II x c) in the form ὡς ἐγὼ/ἡμεῖς φαίην/φαῖμεν ἄν, to which there is again no corresponding type in Antiformula. Observe the cliché φαίην ἄν ἔγωγε, ἔγωγ' ἄν φαίην: ἔγωγ' ἄν was considered as a possible Formula itself but was rejected (cf. perhaps μάλλον τι, οὐδέν τι μάλλον, pp.3.3.133 ff.). In (II x c) a considerable proportion of Antiformula consists of ἔγωγ' ἄν φαίην and minor variants, to which there does correspond Euthphr.9e in Formula; yet Formula has no case of the order φαίην ἄν ἔγωγε, which is nevertheless numerous in (I x); (I x ii) also has one case of ἔγωγ' ἄν φαίην. The conclusion is that φαίην ἄν ἔγωγε occurs where direct speech precedes

(whether or not it also follows), but where direct speech is absent or follows only, ἔγωγ' ἄν φαίνω results. In these expressions with ἔγωγ' ἄν..., no mobile appears between q and φαίνω in fact in all Antiformula cases where q precedes the Former, no mobile so intervenes; in this context cases like R.III 411e ἔγωγ' ἄν τινα φαίνω, N.2.673β ἔγωγ' ἄν σε φαίνω, Π.1.333α ... ἄν οἴμαι φαίνης..., Θτ.197γ ... μὲν γὰρ ἄν ποῦ τινα φαῖμεν..., are particularly interesting; οἴμαι probably has postpositival status as the equivalent of ποῦ, and in R.V 476c ἡ δ' ὄς, like 'parenthetic' ἔφη (cf. p.2.2.36, Rule XV) is possibly itself of postpositival status. It looks as if, like ἄν ἴσως or μοι δοκεῖ (cf. p.3.2.97 and again 2.2.36), ἄν φαίνω is itself of postpositival status also; in all these (II x c) Antiformula instances, the preceding expression bears the main emphasis; by contrast, in (II y) φαίνω itself has a particularly strong emphatic meaning. But although all the instances of the Former in (II x c) Antiformula are unemphatic, not all in the corresponding Formula list are emphatic. We may therefore envisage the following sequence: dialogue style initiates frequent association of this verb (as distinct from λέγειν κτλ.) with q; in sentences as in (I y) qV infringes Rule XV, thus initiating a tendency for initial φαίνω in such parentheses, which tendency affects then sentences as in (I x); hence a leaning towards Vq, which extends into sentences like (II x b) and can also be seen in the Formulaic cases in (II x c); the only serious competition to φαίνω ἄν is then from unemphatic φαίνω which may (but not necessarily) appear in the order ἄν φαίνω (but not ἄν...φαίνω). Demosthenes, in whom the regular optative is φήσαιμι, is represented above only in (I y i) and (I y iii) (not mostly with reported speech but in the sense 'one might say') and in (II x c) Antiformula with the expression ἔγωγ' ἄν φαίνω, which in Demosthenes, but not Plato, stands as a sentence in itself. Demosthenes seems to have adapted this ex-

pression to a somewhat different function; as a free-standing sentence it seems to bear the assentient sense of the (II y) instances; $\varphi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\nu$ may therefore be emphatic, but alternatively the sense may depend upon $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\gamma\epsilon$, as in the Platonic $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\gamma\epsilon$ = 'yes', which properly implies a question 'Do you think...?' That ends the account of Formula (20) and Antiformula (20).

Instances of Counterformula (20+?) $20+1 = 1+20$, p.21;
 $20+1+14 = 1+14+20$,
 $20+1+15 = 1+15+20$, both p.20.
 $20+3 = 3+20$, p.42.
 $20+4 = 4+20$, p.58.
 $20+5 = 5+20$, $20+5+17+18+21 = 5+17+18+20+21$, both p.62.
 $20+9 = 9+20$, p.77.
 $20+10 = 10+20$, p.81; $20+3+10+15 = 3+10+15+20$, p.40.
 $20+13 = 13+20$, p.90.
(20+15) $20+15+17 = 15+17+20$, p.98.

Instances of Anticounterformula (20+?) $20+1 = 1+20$, $20+1+3+8+9 = 1+3+8+9+20$,
 $20+1+8 = 1+8+20$, $20+1+10 = 1+10+20$, all p.17.
(20+2) $20+2+4 = 2+4+20$, $20+2+9+17 = 2+9+17+20$, both p.31
 $20+3 = 3+20$, p.41; $20+1+3+8+9 = 1+3+8+9+20$, p.17;
 $20+3+9 = 3+9+20$, $20+3+21 = 3+20+21$, both p.41.
 $20+4 = 4+20$, p.57; $20+2+4 = 2+4+20$, p.31; $20+4+9+12+19 = 4+9+12+19+20$, p.57.
(20+5) $20+5+15 = 5+15+20$, p.61.
(20+8) $20+1+3+8+9 = 1+3+8+9+20$, $20+1+8 = 1+8+20$, both p.17.
 $20+9 = 9+20$, p.76; $20+1+3+8+9 = 1+3+8+9+20$, p.17;
 $20+2+9+17 = 2+9+17+20$, p.31; $20+3+9 = 3+9+20$, p.41;
 $20+4+9+12+19 = 4+9+12+19+20$, p.57.
 $20+10 = 10+20$, p.81; $20+1+10 = 1+10+20$, p.17.
 $20+12 = 12+20$, p.86; $20+4+9+12+19 = 4+9+12+19+20$, p.57.
 $20+15 = 15+20$, p.98; $20+5+15 = 5+15+20$, p.61.
 $20+17 = 17+20$, p.107; $20+2+9+17 = 2+9+17+20$, p.31.
(20+19) $20+4+9+12+19 = 4+9+12+19+20$, p.57.
(20+21) $20+3+21 = 3+20+21$, p.41.

Instances of Multiple Antiformula (20+?) $20+1 = 1+20$, p.24;
 $20+1+3+19 =$
 $1+3+19+20$, p.22; $20+1+4 = 1+4+20$, $20+1+9 = 1+9+20$, both p.23.
 $20+3 = 3+20$, p.44; $20+1+3+19 = 1+3+19+20$, p.22;
 $20+3+10+15 = 3+10+15+20$, p.40.
(20+4) $20+1+4 = 1+4+20$, p.23.
(20+9) $20+1+9 = 1+9+20$, p.23.
 $20+10 = 10+20$, p.82.
(20+14) $= 20+1+14 = 1+14+20$, p.20.
 $20+15 = 15+20$, p.99; $20+1+15 = 1+15+20$, p.20;
 $20+3+10+15 = 3+10+15+20$, p.40.
 $20+17 = 17+20$, p.108; $20+5+17+18+21 = 5+17+18+20+21$,
p.62; $20+15+17 = 15+17+20$, p.98.
(20+18) $20+5+17+18+21 = 5+17+18+20+21$, p.62.
(20+19) $20+1+3+19 = 1+3+19+20$, p.22.
(20+21) $20+5+17+18+21 = 5+17+18+20+21$, p.62.

Numbers of Multiple Antiformula are comparatively small (contrast e.g. $\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu, \text{πολύς}, \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu-$, pp.3.2.93, 108, 116). It is not surprising that $\omicron\upsilon\kappa \acute{\alpha}\nu$ (...) $\varphi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\varsigma$ outnumber $\omicron\upsilon$ (...) $\varphi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu$ and $\tau\acute{\iota} \acute{\alpha}\nu$ (...) $\varphi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\varsigma \tau\acute{\iota}$ (...) $\varphi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu$ ($1+20/1+20$, $3+20/3+20$); but note that in $1+20$ and $3+20$ there are cases in which q is separated by some distance from the following Former - i.e. Counterformula cases, unlike Antiformula, are not all of $\acute{\alpha}\nu \varphi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta'$ this supports the argument of p.3.2.121; unemphatic $\varphi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\nu$ and the presence of rival Formers militate separately against $\varphi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\nu \acute{\alpha}\nu$. Outside these two items, Anticounterformula is remarkably prevalent; it is not surprising that $\kappa\alpha\iota \varphi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\nu \acute{\alpha}\nu$ outnumber $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu \varphi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\nu$ ($4+20/4+20$); but it is interesting that $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma \varphi\acute{\alpha}\tau\mu\epsilon\nu \acute{\alpha}\nu$ prevails over $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu \varphi\acute{\alpha}\tau\mu\epsilon\nu$ ($9+20/9+20$). Even more interesting is $15+20/15+20$: $\varphi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta \acute{\alpha}\nu \acute{\iota}\sigma\omega\varsigma$ dominates, appearing with direct speech; $\acute{\iota}\sigma\omega\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu \varphi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta$ occurs once, not with direct speech (cf. p.3.2.120-121). Apart from that, departures from $\varphi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\nu \acute{\alpha}\nu \acute{\iota}\sigma\omega\varsigma$ are $\acute{\iota}\sigma\omega\varsigma \varphi\acute{\alpha}\tau\mu\epsilon\nu/\varphi\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\nu \acute{\alpha}\nu$ ($15+20$, p.3.2.98), which go to reinforce the impression of Formulaism (peninitial

position avoided), and ἄν ἵσως φαίη (15+20, p.3.2.99), where both ἵσως and φαίη may be unemphatic (cf. pp.3.2.97, 120 ff.). That ends the account of Former (20), φαίην.

21/21, Former καλῶς (p.3.2.1).

Instances of Formula (21) (a) Pl.Grg.453d; Cra.400b; Smp.180c; Phdr.244a, 271b; Spn.219a; Plt.277a; Phlb.59e; Lg.VI 769a; VII 824a; X 897e, 905c.

(b) Pl.Cri.44d.

(c) Pl.La.190b; Grg.448a, 448b; Men.89e, 90c; Euthd.275a; Smp.217e; Phlb.25b; Lg.VI 766b.

Instances of Antiformula (21) (a1) Pl.Lg.III 696d; X 907d.

(a2) Pl.Plt.262e.

(c2) Th.VIII.2.4.

In the above instances of Antiformula, the Former precedes g; in those that follow, g precedes; the classification is otherwise the same.

(b1) Pl.Lg.190c, 198d; Eythd.274e. Dem.1.21.

(c1) Pl.Prt.353b; Euthd.293a.

(d1) Pl.Lg.II 654b.

(d2) Pl.Cra.390b(t); Lg.III 693e.

Verbatim quotation has been avoided above in view of the alternative classification which appears below. Numerical summary:

F	(a)		(b)		(c)		(d)	
Pl.	<u>12</u>		<u>1</u>		<u>9</u>			
	<u>12</u>		<u>1</u>		<u>9</u>			
Af.	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Th.						1		
Pl.	2	1	+3		+2		+1	+2
Dem.	-	-	+ <u>1</u>		-	-	-	-
	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	+4		+ <u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	+ <u>1</u>	+ <u>2</u>

This expression is virtually confined to Plato; the Formula:Antiformula ratio is high, but there are no infringements of Rules due to Formulaic wording. Many of the Formulaic instances are members of the same repetitive phrasology, and it may be that the high proportion of Formula is due to that rather than general attraction of q to the Former. Hence an alternative classification is offered as follows.

(I) Apart from any postpositives, F (the Former) and V (the verb) make up the whole sentence, so that Formula is FqV, Antiformula FVq; (II) ditto, but with introductory prepositive, Formula being pFqV, Antiformula pqFV or pFVq; (III) F in medial position, but otherwise as before - Formula is ...FqV..., Antiformula ...FV... with q elsewhere; (IV) whatever the position of F, it and V are separated, so that Formula is (...)Fq...V(...); (V) F and q 'belong' to different verbs. These subdivide: (i) V is ἔχειν, (ii) λέγειν, (iii) other.

(I) Formula only (i) Πλ.Σμπ.180γ καλῶς ἂν εἶχε· Σφ.219α καλῶς τοῖνυν ἂν ἔχοι (τ).

(ii) Πλ.Φδρ.244α καλῶς ἂν ἐλέγετο· Ν.7.824α καλῶς ἂν λέγοις· 10.897γ κάλλιστα ἂν λέγοις.

(iii) Πλ.Γργ.453δ καλῶς ἂν σοι ἀπεκρίτο;

(II i) Formula only Πλ.Κρι.44δ καὶ καλῶς ἂν εἶχε.

(II iii) Antiformula only Πλ.Λα.190γ ὅπως ἂν αὐτὸ κάλλιστα κτήσαιτο, 198δ ὅπη ἂν κάλλιστα γένοιτο· Ευθδ.274ε παρ' ὧν ἂν κάλλιστά τις αὐτὸ μάθοι. Δημ.1.21 οὐδ' ὡς ἂν κάλλιστα.

(III) Formula only (i) Πλ.Σμπ.217ε μέχρι μὲν οὖν δὴ δεῦρο τοῦ λόγου καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι...λέγειν.

(ii) Πλ.Γργ.448β ...φάσκοντες...καλῶς ἂν ἐλέγομεν.

(iii) Πλ.Λα.190β ὄντινα τρόπον...κάλλιστ' ἂν κτήσαιτο τις· Μεν.90γ ...πέμποντες...καλῶς ἂν ἐπέμπομεν· Ευθδ.275α ...τῶν νῦν ἀνθρώπων κάλλιστ' ἂν προτρέφατε...

(IV a) Formula only Πλ.Κρα.400β καλῶς ἄρα ἂν τὸ ὄνομα...ἔχοι... Φδρ.271β κάλλιστα γοῦν ἂν//ἔχοι... Πλτ. 277α καλῶς ἂν/-/ἦμῶν ἔχοι.

(IV) continues

(IV ii) Antiformula only Πλ.Ν.10.907δ καλῶς ἡμῖν εἰρημένον ἂν εἶη.

(IV iii) Formula Πλ.Γργ.448α οἶει σὺ κάλλιον ἂν Γοργίου ἀποκρίνασθαι; Μεν.89ε οὐκοῦν...καλῶς ἂν αὐτὸ εἰκάζοντες εἰκάζοιμεν...; Φλβ.59ε καλῶς ἂν τῷ λόγῳ ἀπεικάζοι. Ν.6.766β ὄντιν'...ἡγήται κάλλιστ' ἂν τῶν περὶ παιδείαν ἄρξαι, 769α καλῶς τοίνυν ἂν ἡμῖν ἡ...παιδιὰ...εἶη...πεπαισμένη' 10.905γ καλῶς ἂν σοι ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸς συλλαμβάνοι.

Antiformula Πλ.Πρτ.353β ἢ οἶμαι ἂν ἔγωγε κάλλιστα φανερόν γενέσθαι. Εὐθδ.293α ἧς τυχόντες ἂν καλῶς τὸν...βζον διέλθοιμεν Πλτ.262ε κάλλιον δέ που καὶ.../καὶ.../διαίροῦτ' ἂν' Ν.3.696δ καλῶς τοίνυν γεγονὸς ἂν εἶη.

(V iii) Formula Πλ.Φλβ.25β ...καλῶς ἂν δοκοῦμεν δρᾶν...

Antiformula Θ.8.2.4 λογιζόμενος καλῶς τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ...ἀπηλλάχθαι ἂν... Πλ.Κρα.390β ὅς ἐπίσταίτο ἂν...κάλλιστα ἐπιστατεῖν' Ν.2.654β ...ὀρχεῖσθαι δυνατὸς ἂν εἶη καλῶς.

Sentences with ἔχειν and λέγειν strongly favour Formulaic wording, but probably simply because they occur in sentences which are for other reasons so constructed as to make that easy (and not, that is, in V); on the other hand the strongly Antiformulaic tendency of sentences in (iii) is not necessarily good evidence of general Antiformulaism either; (iii) is quite Formulaic in (I) and (III); in (II iii) Antiformula is due to the attraction of the relative (for ὡς ἂν κάλλιστα cf. on ὡς ἂν μάλιστα, p.3.2.85), which approaches the status of a Counterformula, and in (IV iii) Prt.353b and Euthd.293a seem to be departures from what would otherwise have been 'Counterformulaic' ὅς ἂν (cf. also Cra.390b in (V iii)). At the same time, (III iii) and the Formulaic instances in (IV iii) seem quite good evidence of Formulaism. But despite the overall high proportion of Formula, the expression cannot be called strongly Formulaic.

Instances of Counterformula (21+?) $21+\underline{1} = \underline{1}+21$, p.21.

(21+2) $21+\underline{2}+4+19 = \underline{2}+4+19+21$, p.31.

$21+\underline{2} = \underline{2}+21$, p.42.

list continues

(21+5) $21+5+17+18+20 = 5+17+18+20+21$, p.62.

$21+17 = 17+21$, p.107.

(21+20) $21+3+20 = 3+20+21$, p.41.

Instances of Anticounterformula (21+?) $21+1 = 1+21$, $21+1+3 = 1+3+21$, both p.17.

$21+3 = 3+21$, p.41; $21+1+3 = 1+3+21$, p.17; $21+3+4+15 = 3+4+15+21$, $21+3+9+12 = 3+9+12+21$, both p.41.

(21+4) $21+4+4+15 = 3+4+15+21$, p.41.

$21+9 = 9+21$, p.76; $21+3+9+12 = 3+9+12+21$, p.41.

(21+12) $21+3+9+12 = 3+9+12+21$, p.41.

$21+15 = 15+21$, p.98; $21+3+4+15 = 3+4+15+21$, p.41.

Instances of Multiple Antiformula (21+?) $21+1 = 1+21$, p.24;
 $21+1+3 = 1+3+21$,
 $21+1+3+4 = 1+3+4+21$, both p.22.

$21+3 = 3+21$, p.44; $21+1+3 = 1+3+21$, $21+1+3+4 = 1+3+4+21$,
 both p.22; $21+3+4+9 = 3+4+9+21$, p.43; $21+3+20 = 3+20+21$, p.41.

(21+4) $21+1+3+4 = 1+3+4+21$, p.22; $21+2+4+9 = 2+4+9+21$,
 p.31; $21+3+4+9 = 3+4+9+21$, p.43.

$21+9 = 9+21$, p.78; $21+3+4+9 = 3+4+9+21$, p.43.

(21+17) $21+5+17+18+20 = 5+17+18+20+21$, p.62.

(21+18) as preceding.

(21+19) $21+2+4+19 = 2+4+19+21$, p.31.

(21+20) as (21+17) above.

Little further emerges from the Counterformula etc. lists. The rule seems to be οὐκ ἄν καλῶς but ἄρ' οὐ καλῶς ἄν ($1+21/1+21/1+3+21$) and πῶς ἄν καλῶς but πότερον/πῆ καλῶς ἄν ($3+21/3+21$): cf. p.3.2.39. That ends the account of (21), καλῶς.

22/22, Former ὡσπερ (p.3.2.1).

Since ὡσπερ is a prepositive (cf. εἴ τις pp.3.3.5 ff.) the standard classification is of little significance. Also, where a hypothetical Former is a prepositive, the general pen-initial tendency of q, as distinct from attraction to an indi-

vidual word, has to be considered as the possible cause of the 'Formulaic' instances. Nevertheless there can be little doubt that ὡςπερ ἄν is Formulaic, in view of the rarity of Antiformulaic instances and the high proportion of ὡςπερ ἄν εἰ, which infringes Rule XI (p.2.2.21). The classification is as follows. (I) In the sense 'as', with finite verb; εἰ would injure the sense; (II) the sense 'like', i.e. without finite verb; εἰ may occur idiomatically, for though it is not necessary to the sense neither does it injure it. (II) subdivides: (a) clause consists of participial expression only, (b) of substantive supported by participle, (c) of substantive only. So far εἰ is either absent or idiomatic, the basic sense being 'as'. (III) The basic sense is 'as if' and εἰ is necessary; subdividing, (w) the εἰ-clause is followed by a formal apodosis, so that omission of εἰ would injure grammar and sense; in (x) and (y) there is no apodosis, but in (x) removal of εἰ would make little serious difference to the sense, while in (y) it would seriously damage it. In (III z) are ambiguous cases - a following clause could be taken either as an apodosis or as a new, asyndetic, sentence. (IV) The Former and ἄν 'belong' to different verbs and in fact clauses. In those of the above categories where εἰ may without change of sense be present or absent, the closing numeral (1) refers to cases without εἰ, (2) to cases with it.

I Formula Πλ.Π.1.343β ...ἄλλως...ἢ ὡςπερ ἄν τις...διατεθειή·
Φδρ.268δ ἄλλ' ὡςπερ ἄν μουσικὸς ἐντυχῶν...οὐκ ἀγρίως
εἴποι ἄν ἀλλὰ...

Antiformula Πλ.Ν.4.720α καθάπερ ἰατροῦ δέοιντο ἄν... Δημ.
4.39 ὡςπερ τῶν στρατευμάτων ἀξιώσειέ τις ἄν...

II Formula only (a)(1) Πλ.Θτ.207α ὡςπερ ἄν...ἐρωτηθέντας.
Δημ.19.226 ὡςπερ ἄν παρεστημένος αὐτοῦ.
(2) Δημ.18.214 ὡςπερ ἄν εἰ...ἠγούμενοι.

(b) (1) only Δημ.21.225 ὡςπερ ἄν αὐτῷ τις
ἀδικουμένῳ 49.27 ὡςπερ ἄν ἄλλος τις ἀπο-
τυχῶν 54.42 ὡςπερ ἄν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος παθῶν...

(c) next page.

(c)(1) Δημ.18.298 ὥσπερ ἂν τρυτάνη (ῥέπων(τ)· 19.125 ὥσπερ ἂν ἄλλο τι (≡ 21.117, 39.10, 27). (2) Πλ.Γργ.479α ὥσπερ ἀνείπατος. Δημ.25.48 ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ γεωργός.

III (w) Formula Πλ.Πρτ.327ε εἴθ' ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ ζητοῖς...οὐδ' ἂν εἰς φανεῖν· Γργ.447δ ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ ἐτύγχανον ὦν...ἀπεκρίνατο ἂν... Δημ.20.143 ὅτι ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ τις...ἐπιτάττοι, οὐκ ἂν...δόξαι, οὕτως//...δόξει.

Antiformula Πλ.Πρτ.334δ ὥσπερ οὖν εἰ ἐτύγχανον... ὦν ἂν...

(x) Formula only (1) Πλ.Φδ.87β ἐμοὶ γὰρ δοκεῖ ὁμοίως λέγεσθαι ταῦτα ὥσπερ ἂν τις...εἴποι... (2) Πλ. Απ.23β ...παράδειγμα ποιούμενος ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ εἴποι ὅτι...(τ), 27α ...τὰ ἐναντία λέγειν...ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ εἴποι...(τ)· Κρα.395ε ...οἴκειν ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ τις...βουλούμενος...ὀνομάσειε..., 410β ἴσως οὖν λέγει, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ εἴποι πνευματόρρουν, ἀητόρρουν, 430α ...μάτην...κινουῦντα, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ τι χαλκίον κινήσειε κρούσας· Φδ.109γ ...οἴεσθαι ἂν...οἴκειν ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ τις...οἴκων...οἴοιτο... Δημ.24.73 νόμον εἰσφέρων...ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ τις ἔασας...γράφειε...· 35.28 εἰς φαρῶν λιμένα ὀρμίσασθαι ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ τις εἰς Αἴγινα...ὀρμίσαιτο.

(y) Formula only Πλ.Λα.192α ...λέγω, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ τάχος ἠρώτων...· Πρτ.335ε, 341γ, 346δ· Απ.27ε (τ)· Γργ.474γ, 479α, 518β· Φδ.98γ· Π.7.529δ· 10.616δ· Ν.9. 872γ. Δημ.6.8· 9.30· 21.60· 25.21, 69.

(z) Formula only Γλ.Πρτ.311β ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ ἐπενδείς...εἴ τις σε ἤρετο...τί ἂν ἀπεκρίνω; 318β· Γργ. 451α, 453γ· Συμπ.199δ, 204ε· Π.4.420γ. Δημ.18.194.

IV Antiformula Πλ.Συμπ.217β ἀλλ' ὥσπερ εἰώθει διαλεχθεῖς ἂν μοι καὶ.../ψχετο...

We probably should not expect Formulaic wording in the last instance in any case. All four Antiformulaic instances are in Plato. The Demosthenic instances are most numerous in (II), especially (c); most Platonic in (III) (x), (y), (z), but especially (y). (III) (x) represents contexts in which there is no practical distinction between 'as if one were to say...' and 'just as one might say'; in (y) the latter sense is excluded. Clearly however where the senses do not matter the general practice is to use εἰ, since it seems that ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ is a formula in itself, more Formulaic (contrast (I))

than ὡςπερ ἄν without εἰ.

Instances of Counterformula (22+?) $22+1 = 1+22$, p.21.

Instances of Multiple Antiformula (22+?) $22+1 = 1+22$, p.24.

$22+2 = 2+22$, p.32.

$22+4 = 4+22$, p.60.

Nothing much emerges from Counterformula etc. There are no cases of Anticounterformula. That ends the account of Former (22), ὡςπερ.

Summing up. If we arrange in descending order of proportion of Formula to Antiformula the Formers examined, the result is: τάχα (Former nr.5) 55:0, τάχιστα (7) 6:0, ὡςπερ (22) 51:4, ἠδέως (18) 47:5, οὐ (1) 1009:208, πλειστ- (6) 11:2, ἦττον (11) 12:4, πῶς κτλ. (3) 114:39, καλῶς (21) 22:10, ἦκιστα (8) 8:4, πολύς (17) 83:46, δικαίως (13) 41:23, ὀρθῶς (10) 51:30, ἴσως (15) 42:26, μή (2) 44:29, μάλιστα (12) 45:41, καί (4) 102:134, μᾶλλον (14) 22:43, πᾶς (9) 85:182, ἐκείν- (19) 12:35* φαίην (20) gives 25:2 (with direct speech, not counting cases where Antiformula is impossible by definition) and 14:15 (other). Thus the lowest proportion of Formula is in ἐκείν-, but the reason for judging that expression not after all a Formula was not so much the proportion as the lack of Formulaic instances in medial position (p.3.2.114). In fact the Formula:Antiformula ratio is useful only as a very rough guide: e.g. τάχιστα is certainly less important than τάχα, and because of small numbers its high Formula ratio may be fortuitous; ὡςπερ, a prepositive, may have a high ratio because of mere peninitialism of \underline{q} (until we see the actual instances, with the frequent infringement of Rule XI); φαίην, similarly, is a verb and may owe to that its high Formula ratio. On the other hand, even when the proportion of Formula to Antiformula

/is small

is small there may be independent reasons for accepting an expression as genuinely Formulaic: e.g. in *καί* the form *κάν* and the infringement of Rule XI by *κάν εἶ*, in *πᾶς* the infringements of Rule XXIV. In fact only in the case of *ἐκεῖν* has it been decided that probably no genuinely Formulaic force is present. Cases which were considered and seemed even less Formulaic (e.g. *οὗτος*) have been excluded from the lists. Excluded also are some expressions local to particular works, such as *γίγνοιτο άν*, which seems to be a Formula in Pl.Lg. In fact it seems that in Lg. a force often acting against the listed Formulae is a strong tendency towards *Vq* order in certain verbs, and also a tendency to replace *Vq* with a periphrasis in which *q* is peninitial, such as *πρέπον άν εἴη* for *πρέποι άν*.

In retrospect the expressions investigated may be classified as follows. While *φαίν* and *ὥσπερ* are in different ways unique: among those which it is worth dividing into initial, medial etc. instances, in *οὐ* (p.3.2.15) and *πῶς κτλ.* (p.3.2.37), the overall majority of instances are in initial position, but the highest proportion of Formula to Antiformula is in medial positions; this tends to confirm the hypothesis that Formulaism originated in initial position and already existed when these words were imported into medial positions, Antiformula then developing independently there. To this pattern may also possibly belong *τάχα*: most cases are in initial position, but since there are no Antiformula cases no statement can be made about proportions. Another pattern appears in *μή* (p.3.2.26): majority of instances in medial positions but highest Formula:Antiformula ratio in initial position; less markedly this affects also *καί* (p.3.2.47) and *πᾶς* (p.3.2.67), but is even more strongly present in *ὀρθῶς*, *ἥττον*, *μάλιστα*, *δικαιῶς*, *μᾶλλον* (pp.3.2.80, 82, 84 ff., 88, 92); *ἥκιστα* may be intermediate between the *οὐ* type and the *μή* type; most Formula instances are in medial position, most Antiformula in initial; *τάχιστα*, like *τάχα*, has no Antiformula

instances; its Formulaic instances are equally divided between initial and medial; but in both of these cases (also *πλεῖστ-*) numbers are small and the result probably fortuitous. A distinctly different type is where the majority of instances are initial and the highest Formula ratio is also in initial position: ἴσως, πολύς, ἠδέως, ἐκεῖν-, καλῶς (pp.3.2.96, 100, 109, 113, 124). Antiformula is not usually particularly common in initial position, but is either spread equably between initial and medial or concentrated in medial; hence these two latter above-mentioned classes are explicable in terms of the position of Formulaic wording; in the *μή, ὀρθῶς* κτλ. type most Formulaic instances are medial, in the ἴσως type most are initial; in the former, Formulaism is typical of medial position and may have originated there, in the latter it seems to have originated in initial position but failed to transfer to medial. The last suggests weak Formulaism, which is borne out in ἐκεῖν- but not in ἠδέως or notably in the other cases. This does not correlate to any extent with the occurrence of instances in which *q* precedes the Former; these are by definition Antiformulaic and seem to divide mainly between those caused by relative clauses (p.3.2.85), in (b) and (c) in the lists, and those caused by late or relatively late position of the Former (p.3.2.88), in (c) and (d) in the lists; see in particular *καί, πᾶς, ὀρθῶς, δικαίως, μᾶλλον, ἴσως, πολύς, ἐκεῖν-*. A further cause may be unemphatic status of the Former, associated with the order *ἄν ἴσως, ἄν φαίη,* and possibly even *ἄν ὀρθῶς* (pp.3.2.79-80, 97, 121).

The immediate, superficial, findings of the Counterformula etc. lists may be summarized as follows:

οὐ p.3.2.24 οὐκ ἄν prevails over other Formers in general, but not over τάχα· certain interrogative sentences militate against οὐκ ἄν· οὐ πλεῖστ-, οὐ μάλιστα, οὐ μᾶλλον are rare; οὐκ ἴσως ἄν is Demosthenic, οὐκ ἄν ἴσως Platonic; οὐ δικαίως ἄν is Demosthenic.

πῶς κτλ. p.3.2.44 ff. τίς οὐκ ἄν is normal, but τίς ἄν...οὐ occurs, and even, despite Rule XII, τίς ἄν οὐ· τίς ἄν prevails over κἄν, πᾶς ἄν, ἐκεῖν- ἄν, φαίην ἄν.

καί p.3.2.60 κἄν prevails over no Counterformula.

τάχα p.3.2.62 τάχ'ἄν prevails over all other Formers with which it co-occurs, even οὐ.

πᾶς p.3.2.78 πᾶς ἄν prevails over κἄν, μᾶλλον ἄν, ἐκεῖν- ἄν (all weak Formulae, and the last probably not Formulaic at all); over it prevail οὐκ ἄν, πῶς ἄν, μάλιστα'ἄν, φαίην ἄν.

μάλιστα p.86 μάλιστα'ἄν prevails over πᾶς ἄν.

μᾶλλον p.94 οὐκ ἄν μᾶλλον, πῶς ἄν πᾶλλον, but καί μᾶλλον ἄν enters into non-postpositival formulae, μᾶλλον ἦ, παν- τὸς μᾶλλον κτλ.

ἴσως p.99 οὐκ ἄν ἴσως, τάχ'ἄν ἴσως, φαίην ἄν ἴσως normal.

πολύς p.109 οὐκ ἄν πολλ-, καὶ πολλ- ἄν, πολὺ ἄν ἥδιον normal.

ἠδέως p.112 οὐκ ἄν ἠδέως normal.

ἐκεῖν- p.116 ff. ἐκεῖν- ἄν prevails over no other Formula except κἄν.

φαίην p.123 οὐκ ἄν(...)φαίης, τί ἄν(...)φαίης but καὶ φαίην ἄν, πάντες φαῖμεν ἄν, φαίη ἄν ἴσως.

καλῶς p.127 οὐκ ἄν καλῶς, but ἄρ'οὐ καλῶς ἄν, πῶς ἄν καλῶς but κότερον/πῆ καλῶς ἄν.

Evidence from the relatively high Formula:Antiformula ratios in οὐ, πῶς κτλ., πολύς, is reinforced by their tendency to prevail over other Formulae; despite a relatively high Formula:Antiformula ratio, ἴσως ἄν tends to be frustrated by other Formulae; a relatively low Formula:Antiformula ratio in μάλιστα is to some extent offset by its prevalence over πᾶς ἄν (also, τί ἄν μάλιστα Plato, τί μάλιστα'ἄν Demosthenes, and infringements of Rules); in καί, μᾶλλον, πᾶς, ἐκεῖν-,

the impression of weak Formulaism from the Formula:Antiformula ratio is reinforced by the tendency to be frustrated by other Formulae; in ἐκεῖν- there is nothing to set against that; on the others see comments ad loc.; μάλλον ἄν has less in favour than the other two (and is distinctly less Formulaic than μά- λιστ' ἄν). in πᾶς much depends on accompanying grammar and syntax; κἄν and κἄν εἰ are possibly fossilized relics from an earlier stage of the language.

Chapter III (Formulae) ctd.: Section 3: τις.

List of Formulae.Key to numerical indices.

Where a Former is an adjective, it is to be understood, unless otherwise stated, that all cases and numbers are included, and that g is in agreement; for further detail, see the notes.

number	Former	page
1	εἰ	3.3.5
2	εἰ δέ κτλ.	19
3	εἴαν	27
4	εἴαν δέ κτλ.	39
5	ἦ	44
6	καί	52
7	ἀλλά	56
8	οὐ γάρ	58
9	οὔτε	59
9a	οὐδέ	63
10	μήτε	64
11	μηδέ	66
12	μή	68
13	ποῖος	71
13a	ὁποῖος	73
13b	ποιός	74
13c	οἷος	74
14	ὁ μέν/δέ	75
15	σχεδόν	77
16	ἄλλος	78
17	πᾶς	92
18	τοιούτος	95
19	μέρος	102
20	τοιόσδε	104
21	κλέον	107

number	Former	page
22	βραχύς	3.3.109
23	εἷς	111
24	(ο)μικρός	115
25	μέγας	117
26	τρόπον	120
27	πολύς	125
28	ἕτερος	128
29	μᾶλλον	133
30	οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον	136
31	ἥττον	137

(1) Formula 1 εἶ τις and Antiformula 1 εἰ...τις. This also includes εἶπερ τις/εἶπερ...τις, and generally cases where εἰ is accompanied by "non-connective" postpositives, such as γε, αὖ. For εἰ with "connective" postpositives, see (2) following. Formulaic also under (1) would be instances of εἶ τις περ, εἶ τις γε, εἶ τις αὖ. For εἰ γάρ τις, εἰ δέ τις κτλ. see (2) below; but instances of εἶ τις δέ, εἶ τις γάρ are Formulaic under (1), though εἰ γάρ...τις κτλ. are Antiformulaic under (2).

(2) Formula 2, εἰ γάρ τις κτλ., and Antiformula 2, εἰ γάρ...τις κτλ.: εἰ accompanied by ἄρα, γάρ, δέ, δή, δήτα, οὖν, γοῦν, μέντοι, μέν, μήν, τοίνυν, τε, which are or can be 'connective', i.e. but for them a sentence would be asyndetic (for the inclusion of δή and not e.g. γε see Denniston p.236 ff.). While εἰ γάρ τις and εἰ γάρ...τις appear under (2), εἶ τις γάρ κτλ. appear in (1) above.

(3) and (4) Formula 3 εἰάν τις... and Antiformula 3 εἰάν...τις, Formula 4 εἰάν γάρ τις and Antiformula 4 εἰάν γάρ...τις, thereafter mutatis mutandis as for (1) and (2) above.

(5) In "verbless" phrases only, e.g. Formula 5 ἢ τι ἔργον, Antiformula 5 ἢ ἔργον τι. For more detail see p.3.3.44 below.

(6) and (7), cf. (5) above.

(8), (9), (9a), (10), (11), Formula οὐ γάρ τις, οὔτε τις κτλ., Antiformula οὐ γάρ...τις, οὔτε...τις κτλ. Notice that whereas οὐ γάρ τις, οὔτε τις, μήτε τις seem Formulaic without qualification, οὐδέ τις and μηδέ τις are so only when the negative is a conjunction and not an adverb; in the latter case in fact οὐδέ τις, μηδέ τις are excluded by Rule XXIII, p.2.1.17, as also is μή γάρ τις.

(12) μή τις appears to be Formulaic (a) when μή functions as a relative prepositive (= "lest"), and then in any position, initial, following a prepositive, or "deferred"; (b) when μή functions as a negative (e.g. negative command, conditional clause), but, in this case, only when it is peninitial after a prepositive; thus it is Formulaic, whatever the function, when following a prepositive, εἰ μή τις, καὶ μή τις κτλ. But when it functions as a negative, in positions other than that, so far from being Formulaic, it is in fact excluded under Rule XXIII (cf. (8) above). Thus μή τις is excluded by Rule unless it either means "lest" or is in the position καὶ μή τις, εἰ μή τις κτλ. For this purpose, the interrogatives ἄρα and μῶν are reckoned as prepositives, so that ἄρα μή τις, μῶν μή τις are listed under this Formula. In the particular cases where the prepositive involved is εἰ, εἰ γάρ, εἰάν, εἰάν γάρ, κτλ., i.e. where the prepositive itself is Formulaic with q, εἰ τις μή is classed as 1+12, εἰ μή τις as 1+12, notwithstanding that Rule XII makes εἰ τις μή and the like exceptional. But in instances like εἰ τις...μή..., εἰ...μή τις, εἰ...μή...τις κτλ., the negative, not being directly after the prepositive, is not a Former, and the instance would be classed entirely under εἰ. Cases of εἰ μή...τις are Multiple Antiformula 1+12.

(13), (13a), (13b), (13c): not only ποῖος κτλ. but πόσος, πηλίκος κτλ.

(14) Formula 14, ὁ μὲν τις...ὁ δέ τις (making two instances in that example), Antiformula ὁ μὲν...τις κτλ." only, of course, in the demonstrative function of ὁ and then, seemingly, only with μὲν and δέ.

(15) Formula 15 σχεδόν τι, adverb.

(17) Formula 17 πᾶς τις, πάνυ τι, but not, seemingly, πάντες τινές nor πᾶν τι.

(21) Formula 21 πλέον τι, Antiformula 21 κλέον...τι, confined to that gender and case only.

(23) Formula 23 εἷς τις, μία τις, ἓν τι, Antiformula 23 εἷς...τις κτλ., including all parts of the adjective.

(26) Including the adverbial expressions τρόπον τινά and τρόπῳ τινί, but not the other cases.

(30) οὐδέν/μηδέν τι μᾶλλον appears to be a Formulaic expression in its own right, not merely an Antiformulaic wording of μᾶλλον τι (Formula 29). But its admission as a Formula entails an irregular relationship with Formula 29. The phrase is at once both Formula 30 and relevant under (29) as Counterformula 29+30; any instance of οὐδέν μᾶλλον τι is, under (29), an Anticounterformula, 29+30, and, under (30), a Counterformula, 30+29, where back-reference is made. Departures from the order οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον not involving μᾶλλον τι are simply included under Antiformula 30.

Chapter III (Formulae: τις ctd.): the instances.

1/1, Former ει (pp.3.3.1 and 2)

For the purpose of listing the Formulaic and Antiformulaic usage of words like ἄλλος it is possible to use a classification approximately like that in the case of ἄν above. But with prepositives, such as ει, which are rarely in other than initial position, a different division has been adopted.

The most useful aim seems to be to discover to what extent the attraction of Formulaic pq resists that towards WqV, VqW etc. (cf. Ch.II, Rules XXIV ff. and Appendix A). Hence the prepositival Formers have been treated as follows in the Formula and Antiformula lists. Under Formula, (i) indicates cases of pqV, e.g.f. ει τις (πολλὰ) οἶδεν* (ii) pqWV, ει τις σοφός οἶδεν, (iii) pqVW ει τις οἶδε σοφός, (iv) instances with no Verb but Concord only, pqW, ει τις σοφός, (v) WpqV, σοφός ει τις οἶδεν, (vi) clauses with neither Verb nor Concord, ει τις σοφός (pq0). The last mentioned do occur less infrequently than might be expected, and, like οὐκ ἄν in verbless sentences, are superior evidence of the force of the Formula concerned.

In the Antiformula lists, (v) and (vi) are unnecessary, but (i) to (iv) are used to indicate sentences of types V, WV, VW, and W, respectively; thereafter in Antiformulaic sentences the letters (a), (b) and (c) are used for cases of ...qX, Xq, and X...q, respectively. This gives the following table:-

(ia) ...qV	(ib) Vq	(ic) V...q	WV...q
(iia) ...qWV	(iib1) WqV	(iib2) WVq	(iic1) W...qV (iic2)
(iia) ...qVW	(iib1) VqW	(iib2) VWq	(iic1) V...qW (iic2)
(iva) ...qW	(ivb) Wq	(ivc) W...q	VW...q

These categories are simplified from those in Ch.II Appendix A; e.g. WqV includes WqWV and so on.

The lists also require to mark "multiple q". With τις and especially with εἰ τις two or more instances of the indefinite may be placed directly adjacent. In the Formulae lists these are marked as follows. M ("multiple") marks cases of εἰ τις τι such that both instances of q belong to the current list; m+ indicates cases in which one instance belongs to the current list but the other to another (in εἰ τις τινα λόγον οἶδε, τις will be in the pqV list (i), while τινα will appear in (ii), pqWV; in εἰ τις τινα ἄλλον οἶδε, τις will again appear in (i) but τινα will not be in the Formula list at all but in Anticounterformula 1+16 (also under Former 16 as Counterformula 16+1 = 1+16)); the symbol m marks instances of two or more indefinites adjacent, such that one or more are otherwise absent from the lists because they are words which have not been collected in general, e.g. κου in εἰ πού τις (-περ included, though not an indefinite). In the Antiformula lists, cases where q, if it were in Formulaic position, would be such a multiple instance, as εἰ τις ὁρᾷ τι, are made clear by quotation, as are cases like εἰ ὁρᾷ τις τι.

Instances of Formula (1): (i - qV) Th.I.9.4, 10.3, 67.3m+(t), 73.2, 76.4, 99.1, 132.2m, 136.4!; II.2.4, 5.4, 8.4, 11.3, 35.2, 36.4, 49.7, 63.2, 87.1!; III.12.2, 21.1, 23.2, 26.3, 30.3!, 58.1, 63.2, 67.2!; IV.10.5, 22.3(t), 23.2, 47.3 m m+, 62.2m+, 62.3, 86.3, 92.2, 93.2, 114.5(t), 130.7; V.59.5, 115.2; VI.8.3, 13.1m+, 16.6, 17.4, 24.4!, 27.2, 51.1, 58.2, 70.3, 78.1!, 89.3, 89.3!; VII.10 M, 20.3 (= 33.6), 38.2M, 64.2m+, 75.4 m m+, 75.4!, 82.1, 85.1; VIII.14.3, 20.2, 23.2, 43.2, 69.4m.

Pl.Hp.Mi.366e; Chrm.153d, 159b, 164c, 168c, 173a;

La.182d, 182e, 192e, 192e, 194b, 201b M; Prt.311b (= 311c), 312c, 317c, 318b, 330c, 331c, 332b, 332c!, 336a, 346c, 352a; Euthphr.3d, 7d m, 10c(t); Ap.18d(t), 19a, 19c, 19d, 19e, 21a, 27e, 33a m, 40a, 40d; Cri.45b, 46d, 47d; Grg.451a, 451c, 453a, 461c, 462a, 466a, 468b(t), 468d, 472c, 476b M, 476b, 480b, 481e, 486a, 486b(t), 486c, 502c, 510b, 510c, 520d, 524c; Men.74b, 75a, 97b(t); Hp.Ma.283e m, 288a, 299d, 299d, 301d; Ly.210c, 216e mM, 217d; Inx.242d!, 244e, 246c; Euthd.280d, 287b, 289b; Cra.392c, 387d m, 395e, 398e (Cra. ctd. next page)

407e, , 409e, 421d, 423e, 429e, 430a(t), 432b, 436a; Smp.182e,
 185a, 188e, 194c, 194c, 196b, 199b, 204e, 205e, 211d, 216d, 216e,
 220b, 221b; Phd.69e!, 73c M, 86a, 87b, 87b, 95b, 98c, 100e m+,
 107c, 109c, 109e, 110b, 113d M; R.I 330e M, 331c, 331d m, 337a M,
 337e, 341b; II 360d, 362d, 366c, 366c, 369c, 373c, 378e, 380d m;
 III 394a m (t), 402d, 406b; IV 435e, 439b m. 442e; V 450a, 463b m+,
 465a mM, 476e, 478d; VII 515d, 526a, 526d, 528a M, 529b, 529e;
 IX 579c; X 597a, 596a(t), 599a, 604a, 610b, 615b, 619d; Pfm.128d,
 129e, 133b, 134e, 135b!(t), 138d M, 140a, 146d m+ (t), 157c, 160c;
Tht.144e, 147a, 158b, 163d, 165d, 177d, 184a, 185a!, 188e!(t), 190e,
 191c. 197c. 203a; Phdr.229e, 260d(t), 268a, 268d; Sph.217d, 224d,
 233d, 233e, 236b, 246b m+; Plt 259a m+, 262c, 264b, 267e, 272c m+,
 285c, 296a; Phlb.18a m, 21d, 22e, 45c, 60d, 60e, 61a m+, 64b; Ti.
 19b, 38d, 48a!, 63b, 68b; Criti.119d M, 120a M, 120c m+; Lg.I
 639a, 642c; 646b m, 658a m, 658b, 662b, 668a (t), 668b! m, 668d;
 III 677c, 683b, 684c, 686c!, 686d!, 694b, 699d, 702c; IV 721e;
 VI 769b m, 769e m+, 784a m+; VII 792b, 792b, 792c, 793e, 795c,
 797e, 800b m+, 816e!; VIII 841d; IX 859d, 862a M (ter), 862b M,
 865a; X 918d!; XI 922c, 933a, 936b; XII 951c, 958d, 961c, 962a.

Dem. 2.13 m, 22; 3.26!;

4.12; 5.8, 16, 24;

6.6, 20 M; 8.15, 70, 76; 9.11, 18, 39, 45; 10.70; 13.32; 14.23;
16.2, 4; 17.3; 18.43, 168, 194, 219, 256, 256, 268, 268(t), 277;
19.94, 162 (= 173), 225, 239, 312, 324, 335; 20.9, 53, 54, 88 m+,
134, 138! 143; 21.35!, 48, 74, 105, 159, 172; 22.7 m (t) (= 23.99),
 54 (= 24.166), 57!, 60; 23.12, 47, 58, 82, 96, 97, 97, 97,
 120, 146, 188. 191, 209; 24.26, 44 (= 55, 207), 43, 69, 73, 73,
 114, 116!, 204, 213!; 25.30!, 86!M; 27.22; 30.20; 31.9; 32.4,
 28(t), 32; 33.17, 22; 34.37; 35.28, 29, 35 m, 40, 44 M; 36.10,
 22; 37.16; 38.14; 39.1, 15, 23, 28, 30, 30; 40.3, 5, 41; 41.30;
42.28; 43.5, 76!; 45.16, 17, 54; 47.1, 63, 69; 50.30, 51, 51;
52.10, 24; 53.28; 54.41; 58.34, 45, 70; 59.31!.

Formula (1) ctd.: (ii - gWV) Th. I.10.1, 67.3 m+ (t); II.7.1 m;
 III.12.2, 30.4, 52.4(t), 54.2,
 68.1, 68.1; IV.22.2, 128.4; V.11.1, 18.7, 46.2, 77.3; VI.29.1,
 31.1, 34.6, 50.4; VII.67.3, 77.3, 87.3; VIII.5.3 m, 53.2, 76.2.

Pl. Hp.Mi.364a; Chrm.175b; La.184d,
 185e!(t), 186b; Prt.336c, 353d;

Ap.36d; Cri.54a; Grg.514b m; Mnx.236e; Smp.178d, 194c; R.II 373e,
 373e(t); III 390d m, 411a; IV 425a; V 471d m; VI 505e; VII 537e;
 VIII 559b m; IX 578e, 581d; X 615b; Pfm.133d, 184d, 194b, 196a;
Phdr.257b, 272c m, 272c m, 278a; Plt.259a m+, 261a, 272c m+,
 308c m; Phlb.16a, 35e, 55c m, 61a m+; Ti.70e m; Criti.120c m+;
Lg I 635d; II 654d; III 677e m; III 685c; VI 752d m, 761c m,
 769e m+; VII 806a m; VIII 844b; IX 875c m; X 885e; XII 952b.

Dem. 1.1; 2.1 (c= 3.9, 13.29!, 19.
158, 21.8!, 23.207!, 25.31,

47.16); 3.19 m; 4.35; 10.4; 18.95, 101, 176, 188, 243; 19.91,

103, 138, 147 m; 20.48, 61, 62, 87, 137; $\sqrt{23.64}$, 96; $\frac{22.7}{23.99}$ (= 46, 72, 79, 93), 48, $\frac{73}{26.7}$; $\frac{28.4}{28.4}$ (t); $\frac{31.14}{33.10}$; $\frac{35.40}{45}$; $\frac{39.15}{45.65}$ (t); $\frac{47.79}{55.13}$; $\frac{56.19}{59.41}$.

Formula (1) ctd.: (iii - qV) Th.III.34.4m; IV.47.3 m m+, 62.2m+; V.11.1; VII.20.2m, 38.3, 75.4 m m+; VIII.4m. Pl.Chrm.167d; La.180a, 180d, 194c; Euthphr.2b; Grg.524c, 524c; Men.89e; Mnx.248b; Euthd.289a; Cra.394b, 428a; Phd.62b; R.I 350a; III 411d, Y463b m+; X 607c; Prm.126a; Tht.143d; Sph. 239c; Phlb.58d; Lg.I 634e m+(t), 638e; VI 784a m+; VII 800b m+. Dem.19.66; 20.88 m+, 101, 145; 21.108; 25.38; 27.26; 28.5, 19; 35.36; 45.26; 46.23m; 47.36; 48.46, 47m; 50.30; 52.5, 19(t), 32m; 54.17; 59.11.

(iv - qW) Th.II.13.4. Pl.R.IX 576d; Ti. 69b. Dem.53.27.

(v - WpqV) Th.I.18.3; III.81.2.

Pl.Grg.461c; Ly.205b; Cra.398a; Phd.62c; R.VII 516c; Sph. 246b m+(t); Phlb.24a m; Criti.106b; Lg.I 634e m+(t). Dem.9.61; 19.334; 27.22, 56(t); 42.13; 48.12; 57.12.

(vi - qO) Th.I.17.1(t); IV.62.2.

Pl.Prt.332b, 332b, 332b, 332c; Smp.216e; Lg.III 702c; VII 796d(t). Dem. 24.214.

Instances of Antiformula (1): (ia - qV) Θ.1.80.2 εἰ σωφρόνως τις... ἐκλογίζοιτο. 2.37.2 εἰ καθ' ἡδονὴν τι δοῦν (τ)· 4.62.3 εἰ τις βεβαίως τι πράξειν οἴεται, 86.3 εἰ τις ἰδίᾳ τινα δεδιώς... 6.88.6 ε.48.3 εἰ καὶ τι παραυτίκα ἤχθετο...

Πλ.ΙΕ 366ε εἰ καὶ τις σε ἔροιτο... Λα.

182γ εἰ καὶ τῷ... δοκεῖ... Λυ.216β εἶπερ γε κατὰ τὴν ἐναντιότητά τῷ φίλον ἐστὶ· Ευθδ.278β εἰ καὶ πολλὰ τις... μάθοι, 297γ· Κρα.408ε, 428α τὸ εἰ καὶ τις... καταθεῖη..., 437β(τ)· Φδ. 66δ· Π.7.517δ· Θτ.178α(τ), 202α εἶπερ αὐτὸ ἐκεῖνο μόνον τις ἔρεῖ, 203δ εἶπερ ἀμφοτέρᾳ τις γινώσεται· Φλβ.50β εἰ καὶ τις φιλονοιοῖ· Τι.55γ ἢ δὴ τις εἰ... λογιζόμενος ἀποροῖ...· Ν.3. 684γ εἰ καὶ τις...· 8.839β· 9.860δ εἰ καὶ τις...

Dem.: next page

Antiformula (i) (ia) ctd. Δημ.2.4 εἰ μετ' ἀληθείας τις/-/σκο-
 ποῖτο, 20(τ)° 9.45 εἰ τις ἐν
 Πελοποννήσῳ τινὰς ὠνεῖται...° 15.21° 19.182 εἴπερ ἐπ' ἀργυρῶ
 τι λέγοιεν, 214 εἰ παρ' ἐκείνῳ τοῦς ἐκείνου τις εὐεργέτας κακῶς
 λέγει° 20.125° 21.60, 158° 23.80° 24.48 εἰ καὶ τις..., 58° 31.
 9° 55.21 εἰ καὶ τι...

(ib - Vq) Θ.1.122.2 εἰ καὶ δεινὸν τῷ ἀκοῦσαι
 (τ)° 3.5.2 εἰ προσγένοιτό τι° 7.42.4.

Πλ.Χρμ.161ε εἴπερ τὸ γράφειν πράττειν
 τὸ ἐστίν° Πρτ.328α, 355δ° Γργ.
 476γ, 476γ, 486δ εἴ τις ἀποκτείνει τινά..., 520δ εἴπερ...δύναι-
 τὸ τις..., 521ε° Μεν.80α° Λυ.217γ εἰ ἐθέλοι τις χρώματι τῷ...
 ἀλεῖψαι° IM 301α° Μνξ.239δ° Σμπ.221δ εἰ μὴ ἀρα εἰ//ἀπεικάζοι
 τις αὐτόν (τ)° Φδ.95α εἰ τι ἐξεῖ τις χρήσασθαι...° Π.2.368δ°
 6.505δ° 7.518α° Πρμ.129β, Θτ.163δ εἰ μαθὼν τις τι μεμνημένος
 μὴ οἶδε, 164δ εἰ μαθὼν καὶ μεμνημένος τις τι μὴ ἐπίσταται,
 170γ, 197β εἰ ἱμάτιον πριάμενός τις μὴ φοροῖ (τ)° Σφ.240ε
 εἴπερ ψεύσεται ποτέ τις τι, 246ε, 248δ ὡς τὸ γινώσκειν εἴπερ
 ἔσται ποιεῖν τι, 253γ εἰ συνέχοντ' αὐτ' αὐτ' ἐστίν (τ), 237γ εἰ
 σπουδῆ δέοι συννοήσαντά τινα ἀποφῆνασθαι...° Πλτ.284α° Φλβ.
 43ε° Τι.63α εἰ καὶ...πορευοῖτό τις...° Κριτι.120γ εἰ τις τι
 παραβαίνει αὐτῶν αἰτιῶτό τινα° Ν.1.628δ° 2.657β° 3.693β° 7.
 811α εἰ μέλλει τις...γενέσθαι° 8.837α, 841δ εἰ τις γίγνοιτό
 τινι...° 9.872ε εἰ πατέρα ἀπέκτεινέν ποτέ τις° 12.952β εἰ τινα
 φῆμην τινῶν...νόμων...ἠϋρέν τινὰς ἔχοντας...

Δημ.1.1 εἰ τι χρήσιμον ἔσκεμμένος
 ἦκει τις° 5.15 εἰ καὶ πάνυ φη-
 σὶν τις...° 9.39 εἰ τις εἴληφέν τι° 18.227 εἰ τις ἐλύθησέ τι...
 320° 21.105 εἰ τοιοῦτο...ἀδίκως ἐπάγει τῷ, 170° 22.45° 23.146°
 24.78 εἴπερ...μέλει τι τῆς...° 54.25° 55.4 εἴπερ ἦδῆκει τινά...

(ic - V...q) Πλ.Φδρ.268γ εἰ Σοφοκλεῖ αὐτὸν ἐπελ-
 θῶν καὶ Εὐριπίδῳ τις λέγοι...° Τι.
 88γ εἰ μέλλει δικαίως τις...κεκλησθαι.

(iia - qWV) Θ.3.42.2 εἰ βουλόμενός τι αἰσχρὸν
 πεῖσαι...
 Πλ.Απ.33δ εἴπερ ὑπ' ἑμοῦ τι κακὸν
 ἐπεπόνθεσαν...° Γργ.513β εἰ
 μέλλεις τι γνήσιον ἀπεργάζεσθαι° IM 299δ εἰ μελῶν τις ἠδονῆ...
 ἐστίν° Ν.12.952β εἰ τινα φῆμην τινῶν...νόμων...ἠϋρέν τινὰς ἔχο-
 ντας...

Δημ.30.4 εἰ καὶ τις ὑμῶν...ἡγεῖτ'
 2.28 εἰ δεῖ τι τῶν...εἰπεῖν...

(iib1 - WqV) Θ.6.59.2 εἰ ποθεν ἀσφάλειάν τινα
 ὀρῶη...

Πλ.Χρμ.167γ εἰ σοὶ δοκεῖ ὄφεις τις
 εἶναι° Λα.196α° Πρτ.340ε° Γργ.
 509α° Κρα.387γ εἴπερ καὶ τὸ λέγειν πράξις τις ἐστίν, 439δ° Pl.
 ctd. next page.

Antiformula (1) (iibl ctd.) Σμπ.199δ° Π.1.337β° 2.376γ εἰ μέλλει...
 πρῶτος τις ἔσεσθαι° 4.425δ εἰ που
 τελῶν τινες... εἰσιν...° 10.597α εἰ καὶ τοῦτο ἀμυδρὸν τι τυγχάνει
 ὄν° Θτ.147α εἰ τις ἡμᾶς τῶν φαύλων τι ἔροιτο° Πлт.267ε εἰ τις
 τῶν ἄλλων τῷ ...σύντροφος εἶναι φησι...

Δημ. 20.133 ἄλλ' εἰ... καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖνῳ
 τι δοθέντων ἀφέλοιοντο...°
 21.8(τ) εἰ τις οὖν... τῶν ἰδίων τινος εἶνεκα...° 41.26 εἴπερ ὀφελ-
 ὸς τι... ἐστίν...° 48.23 εἰ πως ἀναβολὴ τις γένοιτο.

(iib2 - WVq) Πλ.Σφ.229β εἰ πῆ κατὰ μέσον αὐτῆς
 τομὴν ἔχει τινα° N.2.662β εἰ
 θεὸς ἡμῖν δολὴ τις συμφωνίαν. Δημ. 20.124 εἰ τῶν πάντων ἀδικησομέν
 τιν'...° 21.221 οὐτ' εἰ ὅλος
 οὐτ'... αὐτῷ συντεύξεταί τις° 24.74 εἰ κρῖσεως ἄξιον ἐργάζονται τι.

(iia - qVW) Πλ.Σφ.242α εἰ τοῦτο τις εἴργει δρᾶν
 ὄντος.

(iibl - VqW) Θ.4.76.5 εἰ καὶ μὴ παραυτίκα νεωτ-
 ερίζοιτο τι τῶν...

Πλ.Χρμ.164α εἰ δοκεῖ τις σοὶ ἰατρὸς
 ...ποιῶν...° Λα.185α° Απ.19δ εἰ
 πῶποτε... ἤκουσέ τις ὑμῶν...° Γργ.515β εἴπερ ἔστιν τι ἔργον...°
 Κρα.393δ° Φδ.90γ° Π.10599γ εἰ ἰατρικὸς ἦν τις αὐτῶν° Σφ.233α εἰ
 πάντα ἐπίστασθαι τινα ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ δυνατόν° Πлт.272γ εἰ τίνᾳ
 τις... ἔχουσα ἤσθετό τι διάφορον...° Φλβ.62β, 66ε(τ)° N.9.857γ
 εἰ κατλάβοι ποτέ τις ἰατρὸς...°, 862β οὐδ' εἰ τις τῷ δίδωσίν τι
 τῶν...

Δημ. 1.11 εἰ συνέβη τι... χρηστόν°
 2.8° 21.6 εἴπερ... τυχεῖν ἐστὶ
 τις συμφορὰ, 26 εἴπερ ἦν τι τούτων ἀληθές° 51.14 εἴπερ ἔσται τι
 τῶν...

(iib2 - VWq) Πλ.Γργ.486ε εἴπερ ἔστι... ἀγαθόν
 τι... Δημ. 36.11(τ) εἰ ἦν
 ἰδία τις ἀφορμή...

(iiicl - V...qW) Πλ.Πρμ.134γ εἴπερ ἔστιν αὐτό τι
 γένος ἐπιστήμης.

(ivb) - Wq) Πλ.Πлт.286δ πλὴν εἰ πάρεργόν τι.

There need be no doubt about the Formulaism of εἰ τις.
 Apart from a high Formula:Antiformula ratio (see tables below)
 there are infringements of Rules, such as numerous cases of
 εἰ τις ἄρα and εἰ τις οὖν (see Rule XIV), and the instances
 called above q0, where the clause contains neither Verb nor
 Concord, and especially Lg. VII 796d, εἰ τινῶν, where pq is the

whole clause. There are also the cases of $\epsilon\dot{\iota} \tau\dot{\iota}\zeta \tau\dot{\iota}$, but these are of less inferential value in view of the occasional occurrence of $\tau\dot{\iota}\zeta \tau\dot{\iota}$ in Antiformulaic position.

Formula:Antiformula ratios are: Thucydides 102:12 ($8\frac{1}{2}:1$), Plato 354:97 (approx. 3.75:1), Demosthenes 211:41 (approx. 5:1). The distribution of instances among \underline{qV} , \underline{Vq} etc. is as follows:-

Formula		Antiformula			
Th. 64	\underline{qV}	Th. 6		Th. 3	
Pl. 256		Pl. 19		Pl. 42	
D. 136		D. 14		D. 12	
<u>453</u>		<u>39</u>		<u>57</u>	
Th. 25	\underline{qWV}	Th. 1	\underline{WqV}	Th. 1	\underline{WVq}
Pl. 55		Pl. 4		Pl. 13	
D. 49		D. 2		D. 4	
<u>129</u>		<u>7</u>		<u>18</u>	<u>2</u>
Th. 8	\underline{qVW}	Th. 1	\underline{VqW}	Th. 1	\underline{VWq}
Pl. 25		Pl. 1		Pl. 13	
D. 21		D. 1		D. 5	
<u>54</u>		<u>1</u>		<u>19</u>	<u>2</u>
Th. 1	\underline{qW}			Th. 1	
Pl. 2				Pl. 1	
D. 1				D. 1	
<u>4</u>				<u>1</u>	

There are also 18 cases of \underline{WpqV} (Th. 2, Pl. 9, D. 7), 10 of \underline{qO} (Th. 2, Pl. 7, D. 1), and (in Plato) one of $\underline{V...qW}$.

These figures should be compared with those for $\underline{qV/Vq}$ etc. in general given in Ch. II Appendix A ($\tau\dot{\iota}\zeta$). The force of the Formulaism of $\epsilon\dot{\iota} \tau\dot{\iota}\zeta$ may be seen as follows. The $\underline{qV}: \underline{Vq}$ ratios in $\epsilon\dot{\iota}$ -clauses are higher than the corresponding ratios in sentences in general; whereas the ratio $\underline{qV}: \underline{Vq}$ in Ch. II Appendix A is $4\frac{1}{2}:1$ (Th.), 3.25:1 (Pl.), $2\frac{1}{2}:1$ (Dem.), in $\epsilon\dot{\iota}$ -clauses the ratio Formulaic $\underline{pq(...):V}$:Antiformulaic \underline{qV} :ditto \underline{Vq} is 24.3:2:1 (Th.), 6.1:0.45:1 (Pl.), 11.4:1.2:1 (Dem.). Not only is $\underline{qV}: \underline{Vq}$ higher in $\epsilon\dot{\iota}$ -clauses than in sentences in general, and $\epsilon\dot{\iota} \tau\dot{\iota}\zeta$ the major constituent of \underline{qV} in such clauses, but the $\epsilon\dot{\iota} \tau\dot{\iota}\zeta : \underline{Vq}$ ratio alone is higher than that of $\underline{qV}: \underline{Vq}$ in general.

Again, whereas in sentences in general WqV is commoner than qWV and in Plato and Demosthenes almost twice as common, in $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ -clauses, qWV far outnumbers WqV and Antiformulaic qWV is less common; much the same applies to $V-W$ sentences.

I now give the numbers of $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ $\tau\iota$ and $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\tau\iota\varsigma\dots\tau\iota$ (M and $m+$ in the Formula lists); it is necessary to table $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ $\tau\iota$ in qV strictly against $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\tau\iota\varsigma\dots\tau\iota$ in other V -only sentences, for instances marked $m+$ (see p.3.3.6) appear in more than one list. (1-1-1 means one instance in each of the three authors, and so on.) Formula qV 8-25-4; Antiformula qV 2-0-1, Vq 0-5-3; Formula:Antiformula in V sentences, 37:11. Formula qWV 1-5-0; Antiformula qWV 0-1-0, WqV 0-2-1, WVq nil; Formula:Antiformula in $W-V$ sentences 6:4. Formula qVW 3-4-1; Antiformula qVW nil, VqW 0-2-0, VWq nil; Formula:Antiformula in $V-W$ sentences, 8:2. There are also two Platonic $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ $\tau\iota$ in $WpqV$. Overall $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ $\tau\iota$: $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\tau\iota\varsigma\dots\tau\iota$ 53:17. And so $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\tau\iota\varsigma$ is not any stronger in attracting to the Formulaic position a further q than is $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ alone in attracting a single one. Contrast the proportions of $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\epsilon\rho$ below. $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\epsilon\rho$ and $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\pi\omicron\upsilon$ ($\kappa\tau\lambda.$) both covered by the symbol m in the Formula list, are here detailed. (υ = $\pi\omicron\upsilon$, ι = $\pi\omicron\iota$, ν = $\pi\omicron\theta\epsilon\nu$, ϵ = $\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon$, η = $\kappa\eta$, $\omega\epsilon$ = $\pi\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon.$)

$\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\pi\omicron\upsilon$ $\tau\iota\varsigma$ $\kappa\tau\lambda.$ $\Theta.2.7.1$ ν^* 4.47.3 $\pi\omicron\upsilon$ $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ $\tau\iota\nu\alpha^*$ 7.20.2 ν ,
75.4 $\tau\iota\nu\acute{\alpha}$ $\pi\omicron\upsilon$ $\tau\iota\varsigma^*$ 8.5.3 $\iota.$ $\Pi\lambda.$ $\text{Ap.}22\alpha$ υ^*
 $\Pi.3.390\delta$ υ^* 4.439 β ϵ^* 5.465 α $\pi\omicron\upsilon$ $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ $\tau\omega$, 471 δ ϵ^* 8.659 β η^*
 $\Phi\lambda\beta.24\alpha$ ϵ , 55 γ η^* $N.2.646\beta$ ϵ , 658 α ϵ^* 6.752 δ η , 769 β ϵ^* 9.
875 γ ϵ . $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\pi\omicron\upsilon\dots\tau\iota\varsigma$ $\kappa\tau\lambda.$ $\Theta.6.59.2$ $\nu.$ $\Pi\lambda.$ $\text{Ap.}19\delta$ $\omega\epsilon^*$ $\Pi.$
4.425 δ υ^* $\Sigma\phi.229\beta$ $\eta.$ $\Delta\eta\mu.48.23$ $\pi\omega\varsigma.$ ($\Theta.5:1$, $\Pi\lambda.13:3$, $\Delta.0:1$)
 $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\epsilon\rho$ $\tau\iota\varsigma$ $\text{Pl.}Euthphr.7d^*$ $\text{Hp.}Ma.283e$; $\text{Ly.}216e$ M ; $\text{Cra.}387d$; $\text{R.}I$
331e; $\text{II}380d$; $\text{Ti.}70e.$ $\text{Dem.}2.13$; 19.147 ; 46.23 ;
48.47; 52.32. $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\epsilon\rho\dots\tau\iota\varsigma$ $\text{Pl.}Chrm.161e$; $\text{Ap.}33d$; $\text{Grg.}468e$,
515b, 520d; $\text{Cra.}387c$; $\text{Prm.}143c$; $\text{Tht.}202a$, 203d; $\text{Sph.}248d.$
 $\text{Dem.}19.182$; 21.6 ; 24.78 ; 51.14 ; $55.4.$ ($\text{Pl.}7:10$, $\text{Dem.}5:5$).
($\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ $\pi\omicron\upsilon$ $\kappa\tau\lambda.$ $\Theta.1.132.2$ υ^* 7.75.4 $\tau\iota\nu\acute{\alpha}$ $\pi\omicron\upsilon$ $\tau\iota\varsigma^*$ 8.69.4 $\nu.$
 $\Pi\lambda.$ $\text{Prg.}514\beta$ $\omega\epsilon^*$ $\Pi.3.394\alpha$ $\omega\epsilon^*$ $\Phi\delta\rho.272\gamma$ η ,
272 γ η^* $\Pi\lambda\tau.308\gamma$ υ^* $\Phi\lambda\beta.18\alpha$ ϵ^* $N.2.668\beta$ $\tau\iota\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$ $\pi\omicron\upsilon^*$ 3.677 ϵ υ^*
6.761 γ υ^* 8.806 α $\epsilon.$ $\Delta\eta\mu.3.19$ ϵ^* 22.7 (= 23.99) $\omega\epsilon^*$ 35.35 $\omega\epsilon.$
 $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\tau\iota\varsigma\dots\pi\omicron\upsilon$ not collected)

With $\pi\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon$, the norm is $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\tau\iota\varsigma$ $\pi\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon$, $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\pi\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon\dots\tau\iota\varsigma$,
not $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\pi\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon$ $\tau\iota\varsigma\dots$

In Thucydides cases of 'multiple' q are particularly common in qVW, and in Plato in qWV. In Demosthenes, cases of εἴπερ are more common in V-W sentences than elsewhere. In Plato, a high proportion of qVW Formulaic sentences have ἔχειν.

Instances of Counterformula (1+?): 1+12 Θ.1.9.4 εἰ μὴ τι καὶ ναυτικὸν εἶχεν. 2.
 98.3 εἰ μὴ τι νόσῳ. 3.2.3 εἰ μὴ τις προκαταλήφεται ἤδη, 11.4, 5.14.4. 6.40.2 εἰ μὴ τι αὐτῶν ἀληθές ἐστίν. 8.53.2, 83.3, 91.2.
 Πλ.Λα.184γ ὥστ' εἰ μὴ τι θαυμαστὸν ὅσον διαφέρει... (≅ Ευθδ.275β, Σφ.237β, IM 287α), 185ε εἰ μὴ τί σοι... ἔργον ἔχοιεν ἐπιδειξάι... Απ.20γ εἰ μὴ τι ἐπραττες ἄλλοιτον... 40γ εἰ μὴ τι ἔμμελλον ἐγὼ ἀγαθὸν πράξειν. Γργ.481γ, 481ε, 519δ. Μεν.86ε εἰ μὴ τι οὐν ἀλλὰ σμικρὸν γε... χάλασον (≅ Π.6.502α(τ), 509γ). IM 297ε εἰ//μὴ τι πάσας... ἀλλ'.../τοῦτου φαῖμεν ἄν... Κρα.429γ(τ). Φδ.58δ, 85δ. Π.5.473α κἂν εἰ μὴ τῷ δοκεῖ (= 9.579δ). 10.613α. Θτ.183γ(τ). Φδρ.228γ. Τι.17β, 57δ, 75α εἰ μὴ ποῦ τινα... Ν.3.679α εἰ μὴ τισιν κατ' ἀρχὰς ἴσως, 683β, 702δ εἰ μὴ τι Μεγίλλω πρόσαντες, 769γ.

Δημ.4.43 εἰ μὴ τις κωλύσει (≅ 10.10).
 19.320. 24.159 εἰ μὴ τινες ἄρα... παρήσαν. 35.45. 45.26 εἰ μὴ τις καὶ παρήν. 46.4 εἰ μὴ τις καὶ... 47.64. 49.15. 50.61. 53.17.

Notice the repetitive idioms κἂν εἰ μὴ τῷ δοκεῖ, εἰ μὴ τι ἀλλὰ..., of which Hp.Ma.297e appears to be a variant, and εἰ μὴ τί σοι διαφέρει, of which Ti.17b and Lg.III 702d, εἰ μὴ τί σοι χαλεπὸν, εἰ μὴ τι Μεγίλλω πρόσαντες, may be variants. Th.VI.40.2 εἰ μὴ τι αὐτῶν ἀληθές ἐστίν seems to mean not "If some of it is untrue" but "If the stories turn out to be a pack of lies". This may be an instance of μὴ τι in the sense "nothing" (= μηδέν) but is perhaps more likely a combination of the idiom οὐδὲν ὕγιές, "something in no wise sound", with the idiom of Thucydidean speeches by which τι αὐτῶν is used instead of αὐτά e.g. VI.92.1 γίγνεσθαι δέ τι αὐτῶν... ἐστίν.

1+12+16 Θ.5.104 εἰ μὴ του ἄλλου.

Πλ.Απ.31α εἰ μὴ τινα ἄλλον... ἐπιπέμφειε... Γργ.462γ εἰ μὴ τι σὺ ἄλλο λέγεις (= 513γ, IM 291α, Ευθδ.301ε, Π.4.430β, Φδρ.235α, ≅ Κρα. 427δ). Σμπ.222ε ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ τι ἄλλο. Πλτ.289α εἰ μὴ τι κάλλιον ἔχομεν ἄλλο θέσθαι.

Δημ.50.16 εἰ μὴ τι ἄλλο.

Notice the repetitive idioms εἰ μὴ τι ἄλλο (of which one instance in each author), and εἰ μὴ τι σὺ ἄλλο λέγεις, of which seven in Plato.

1+12+18 Πλ.Μεν.100α εἰ μὴ τις εἴη τοιοῦτος...

The adjective may be the predicate.

1+12+28 Πλ.Πλτ.279β εἰ μὴ τι πρόχειρον ἕτερον ἔχομεν.

(1+13β) 1+13β+14 Πλ.Φλβ.37γ εἰ καὶ τὸ παράπαν ἡμῖν τὰ μὲν
ἔστι ποι' ἄττα

1+13γ Πλ.Φδρ.274α(τ) εἴπερ οἶδος τέ τις εἴη.

It is doubtful whether this use of οἶδος τε ought to count as a member of the ποῖδος τις suite of Formulae.

1+16 Θ.3.42.3 εἰ ἄλλω τινι ἠγεῖται...δυνατὸν εἶναι...φράσαι°
6.27.2 εἰ τις ἄλλο τι οἶδεν ἀσέβημα γενόμενον

Πλ.Πρτ.329β εἴπερ ἄλλω τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ πειθομένην ἄν, 355α
εἰ πῆ ἔχετε ἄλλο τι φάναι εἶναι...· Ευθδ.304α εἴπερ
ἄλλου του ἐναντίον· Σμπ.200δ, 216ε· Φδ.92α εἰ μοι...ἄλλο ποτέ τι
δόξειεν(τ)· Π.4.443δ καὶ εἰ ἄλλα ἄττα...· Φδρ.268δ εἰ τις οἶεται
τραγῶδαν ἄλλο τι εἶναι...· Σφ.238β εἴπερ γε καὶ ἄλλο τι θετέον...

Δημ.18.43 εἴ τις ἄλλο τι βούλοιο λέγειν· 19.307· 23.
86 εἴπερ καὶ ἄλλος τις· 32.3 εἴπερ ἄλλω τινι πῶποτε πράγματι...
προσέχετε.

1+12+16 Θ.5.111.2 εἰ μὴ ...ἄλλο τι τῶνδε...γνώσεσθε°

(1+17) 1+12+17 Πλ.Φδρ.228β(τ) εἰ μὴ πάνυ τι ἦν μακρὸς· N.8.
831β εἰ μὴ πάνυ τι σμικρὰ.

1+18 Δημ.19.147 εἰ καὶ τοιοῦτό τι τολμήσει λέγειν.

1+20 Πλ.Π.9.589δ εἴπερ τοιόνδε τι γίνεται.

1+20+26 Πλ.Π.3.416δ εἰ τοιόνδε τινα τρόπον δεῖ...

1+23 Πλ.Χρμ.167β εἰ ἔστιν//μὲν τις ἐπιστήμη· Μεν.73δ εἴπερ
 ἔν γέ τι ζητεῖς (≡ Π.4.428α)· Θτ.188ε· Σφ.266ε εἰ
 τὸ φεῦδος...ἔν τι φανεῖη πεφυκός°.

(1+24) 1+23+24 Πλ.Χρμ.154δ εἰ ἔτι αὐτῷ ἐν δὴ τυγχάνει προσὸν
σμικρὸν τι.

(1+25) 1+24+25 Πλ.Ν.4.718δ εἰ καὶ μὴ μέγα τι σμικρὸν δέ...
ἀπεργάσεται°°

1+26 Δημ.20.87 εἰ τινες...λάβοιεν τρόπῳ τινι...

1+27 Πλ.Θτ.184δ εἰ πολλὰ τινες...αἰσθήσεις ἐγκάθηνται

Instances of Anticounterformula (1+?) 1+12 Θ.1.33.3 εἰ τις ὑμῶν
 μὴ οἶεται...°, 72.2
 εἰ τι μὴ ἀποκωλύοι (τ)· 2.5.1 εἰ τι ἄρα μὴ προχωροῖ...°, 60.1
 εἰ τι μὴ ὀρθῶς...χαλεπαίνετε°° (≡ 3.55.4, 7.66.1)· 5.26.2 εἰ τις
 μὴ ἀξιῶσει...° 8.43.2 εἰ τι μὴ ἤρεσκεν...° Πλ.Λα.200β εἰ τι
 αὐτῶν μὴ ἱκανῶς εἴρηται°° (≡ Γργ.458α, 458α, 488α, Φδρ.268β, Πλτ.
 310γ)· Γργ.482δ εἰ τις μὴ φαίη°· Ευθδ.293γ εἰ τι μὴ ἐπίστασαι· Π.
 3.415ε εἰ τις μὴ ἐθέλοι...° Δημ.20.139 εἰ τι μὴ πεπόνθαθ'...
 κανόν· 22.7 εἰ τι πῶποτε μὴ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἐπράχθη°°.

1+12+25 Πλ.Πλτ.289β εἰ τι μὴ μέγα λέληθεν.°°

Here the sign ° indicates instances in which to varying extents it is unlikely that the wording εἰ μὴ τις would be possible consistent with the same meaning. Where the negative is clearly "special" the instances have been marked °° and bracketed into single groups; the single ° marks cases where the negative is special but with the verb, i.e. in the sense "if someone/something...not..." Unmarked are the genuine cases where the order could vary without changing the meaning, i.e. where the sense is "If nothing..." or "Unless..." Then Th.I.72.2 and Dem 20.139 appear the only genuine exceptions to the normal order εἰ μὴ τις..., for which see 1+12 above.

1+14 Πλ.Π.5.463β εἰ τις τινα ἔχει προσειπεῖν...τὸν μὲν...
 τὸν δ'...

1+16 (α) Πλ.ΙΕ 367ε εἴπερ τις ἄλλος ψευδής..., 368α εἴπερ τις καὶ ἄλλος ψευδής... Γργ.453β εἴπερ τις ἄλλος ἄλλω διαλέγεται. Μεν.93γ, 98β° IM 284γ° Πρμ.134γ° N.2.663δ εἴπερ τι καὶ ἄλλο ἐτόλμησεν ἄν...

Δημ.52.2 εἴπερ τι καὶ ἄλλο κώποτε πράγμα... ἐδικάσατε. 24.4 εἴπερ τινι τοῦτο καὶ ἄλλω... εἴρηται (ε).

(β) Θ.1.70.1 εἴπερ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι.

Πλ.Λα.179β εἴπερ τισιν ἄλλοις° Πρτ.352δ° Ευθφρ. 15δ εἴπερ τις ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων (≅ Σμπ.212α)° Φδ. 58δ εἴπερ τις κώποτε καὶ ἄλλος, 63γ, 66α (καὶ), 92γ πρέπει δὲ εἴπερ τῷ ἄλλω...° Π.3.389β° 6.501δ.

Δημ.20.41 εἴπερ τις ἄλλος τῶν...° 24.96 (καὶ)°

(γ) Θ.1.14.3 καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι, 67.3(τ) εἴ τις τι ἄλλο... ἐφη ἠοικῆσθαι 2.17.1, 72.3 καὶ ἄλλο εἴ τι δυνατὸν..., 75.2° 3.35.1° 4.26.5 καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο βρῶμα, 69.3° 5.3.4, 18.8, 35.5, 37.2 καὶ εἴ τινα πρὸς ἄλλον δέοι, 80.1° 6.32.2, 69.3(τ)° 7.21.5 καὶ εἴ του ἄλλου, 18.2.

Πλ.Απ.41β εἴ τις ἄλλος τῶν... ἐτέθνηκεν° Γργ.252ε° Ευθδ.305β° Σμπ.204α, 213γ, 218β(τ), 218δ° Κρα. 407δ περὶ δὲ ἄλλων εἴ τινων βούλει° Φδ.100γ εἴ τὲ ἐστὶν ἄλλο..., 106δ, 118α° Π.7.530ε καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο πρὸς τοῦτοις° 9.579α εἴ τις ἄλλος ἄλλω δεσπόζειν ἀξιοῖ° Φδρ.267δ εἴ τι σὺ ἄλλο ἔχεις εἴπεῖν, 278γ, 278γ° N.5.739β.

Δημ.18.315 καὶ ἄλλον εἴ τινα βούλει (≅ 20.100, 49.3 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλου εἴ του δέοιο)° 19.335 εἴ τις αἰτιός ἐστι καὶ ἄλλος...° 40.49.

(δ) Θ.4.85.5 ὑμεῖς δὲ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐν νῶ ἔχετε...

Πλ.Πρτ.351γ(τ) εἴ τι ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀποβήσεται ἄλλο° Λυ. 206γ καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἔχεις° Φλβ.57ε εἴ τινα πρὸ αὐτῆς ἄλλην κρίναιμεν.

Δημ.8.49 οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' εἴ τις ἄλλος λέγει... (= 10.26)° 18.190° 20.41° 21.6° 39.16° 45.6.

The cases of εἴ τις(...) ἄλλος have been sub-divided above into: (a) and (b), the idiom "If any, certainly X", (a) with verb in the εἴ-clause, (b) verbless; (c) cases of εἴ τις = ὅστις, (d) others. To (a) and (b) there are four cases corresponding in 1+16, p.3.3.14, but clearly 1+16 is dominant; in (c), with or without ἄλλος, εἴ τις seems to be as indissoluble as ὅστις itself. It is in (d) that worthwhile comparison with 1+16 is available.

1+16+28 Πλ.Ευθφρ.8β εἴ τις ἄλλος τῶν θεῶν ἕτερος ἑτέρου διαφέρειται...

1+18 Πλ.Απ.34α εἴ τι ἔχει τοιοῦτον· Γργ.503β εἴ τινα ἔχεις
 ...τοιοῦτον εἰπεῖν^ο, 503δ εἴ τις τοῦτων τοιοῦτος
 γέγονεν^ο· Π.5.477β(τ) εἴ τι τυγχάνει ὄν τοιοῦτον^ο, 479δ εἴ τι
 τοιοῦτον φανεῖη^ο· 8.554γ καὶ εἴ ποῦ τι αὐτοῖς τοιοῦτον συμβαίνει^ο
 9.579α εἴ ποῦ τινα τοιοῦτον λαμβάνοιεν^ο· Φδρ.250δ^ο· Φλβ.15β εἴ
 τινὰς δεῖ τοιαύτας εἶναι μονάδας...^ο· Ν.4.713α(τ) εἴπερ του τοι-
 οῦτου τὴν πόλιν ἔδει ἐπονομάζεσθαι.

Δημ.23.122 εἴ τι τοιοῦτον τυγχάνει^ο ἐψηφισμένοι^ο 24.
 194^ο 52.22^ο 57.48 εἴπερ τι συνῆδει τοιοῦτον, 51.

1+20 Πλ.Σφ.224ε εἴ τινι τοιῷδε προσέοικεν...

1+21 Θ.6.90.1 εἴ τι πλέον οἶδα. Πλ.Κρι.54δ εἴ τι οἶει
 πλέον ποιήσῃν.

1+23 Πλ.Ν.12.961α εἴ τί που...γίγνοιτο...ἐν κάρριον ἀκού-
 σαι...

1+24 Πλ.Κρι.46α εἴ τι καὶ σμικρὸν...ὄφελος ἦν.

1.25 Πλ.Σμπ.213ε εἴ τί ἐστίν ἔκπωμα μέγα· Τι.23α εἴ ποῦ τι
 καλὸν ἢ μέγα γέγονεν...^ο

1+12+25: p.15 above.

1+26 Πλ.Ν.6.752γ εἴπερ τινι τρόπῳ καὶ...γίγνοιτο ὀρθῶς.

1+28 Θ.7.64.2 εἴ τίς τι ἕτερος ἑτέρου προφέρει...^ο

Πλ.Π.4.443β(τ) εἴ τι οὖν ἕτερον ζητεῖς...^ο· Φδ.100ε εἴ
 τίς τινα φαίη...ἕτερον...^ο· Πρμ.146δ εἴ τοῦ τι ἕτερόν
 ἐστίν^ο. Δημ.43.61 εἴ τις ἕτερος ἑτέρου πρότερος...τετελεύτηκεν^ο
 47.28 εἴ τινά φησιν ἕτερον ἔχειν.

1+16+28: p.16 above.

1+29 Θ.2.12.1 εἴ τι ἄρα μᾶλλον ἐνδοτεν.

Πλ.Λα.200δ(τ) εἴ τι σοῦ ἂν μᾶλλον ὑπακούοι...^ο· Φδ.84δ
 εἴ τι μᾶλλον...^ο· Θτ.187β εἴ τι μᾶλλον καθορᾷς.

For Multiple Antiformula see following page.

Instances of Multiple Antiformula (1+?) 1+12 Θ.6.37.1 εἰ μὴ
ὀλίγους τινὰς.

Πλ.Κρι.51ε εἰ μὴ
καλῶς τι ποιούμενο.

Π.6.485ε εἰ μὴ πεπλασμένως ἀλλὰ...φιλοσοφός τις εἴη° 7.531α εἰ
μὴ μάλα γέ τινες ὀλίγοι. Θδρ.261γ εἰ μὴ Γοργίαν Νέστορά τινὰ
κατασκευάζεις° Ὀλβ.56ε εἰ μὴ μονάδα...διαφέρουσάν τις θήσει°
Κριτι.109ε εἰ μὴ σικτεινὰς περὶ ἐκάστων τινὰς ἀκοάς° Ν.7.821δ
εἰ μὴ λέγομέν τι περὶ αὐτῶν ὀρθῶς νῦν.

Δημ.19.116 εἰ μὴ
τούς συναγωνίζ-

ομένους τούτων τινὰς εἶχεν°.

1+12+16: p.14 above.

1+12+16 Πλ.Π.6.497α εἰ μὴ ἔτ' ἄλλο λέγεις τι σύ.

1+12+17: p.14 above.

1+12+25 Πλ.Ν.1.640δ εἰ μὴ κακὸν ἀπεργάσαιτό τι μέγα.

(1+14) 1+13β+14: p.14 above.

(1+16) 1+12+16: p.13 above.

1+12+16: above, this page.

1+18 Δημ.9.11 εἴ τις αὐτὸν αἰτιάζαιτό τι τοιούτων° 37.1
εἰπερ ἐπράχθη τι τοιούτων.

1+12+18: p.14 above.

1+23 Πλ.Πρμ.133β εἰ ἐννείδος ἕκαστον...ἀεὶ τι ἀφοριζόμενος
θήσεις.

1+23+24: p.15 above.

(1+24) 1+24+25: p.15 above.

(1+25) 1+12+25: above, this page.

1+28 Πλ.Πλτ.263δ εἴ που φρόνιμόν ἐστι τι ζῆλον ἕτερον

1+12+28: p.14 above.

1+29 Θ.8.109.1 εἰ θαρνάβατος...δεξάμενος αὐτοὺς κατορθώσει
τι μᾶλλον...

That ends the lists of Counterformula, Anticounterformula
and Multiple Antiformula, under Former (1). Multiple Antiformula

is fairly uncommon, and a frequent cause of it is X_q (V_q or W_q) where the X-element is not a Former (i.e. particularly in the case of V_q).

As between Counterformula and Anticounterformula, the latter is the dominant category, εἴ τις generally prevailing over competing formulations. This is most simply the case in 1/18, 1/28, 1/29, where εἴ τι (τῶ.) τοιοῦτον, εἴ τι (...) ἕτερον, εἴ τι (...) μᾶλλον prevail.

1/16 is more complicated: see p.3.3.16 above. In the εἴπερ and εἴ τις = ὅστις categories, εἴ τις (...) ἄλλος is prevalent; in the miscellaneous category, εἰ (...) ἄλλος τις seems prevalent in Plato, εἴ τις (...) ἄλλος in Demosthenes.

But it is only ρ ninitial μή that seriously infringes the dominance of εἴ τις. Even if we do not discount the non-equivalent instances in 1+12, εἴ μή τις is clearly prevalent over εἴ τις μή. Notice also that 1+12+16 εἰ μή τις (...) ἄλλος prevails almost to the exclusion of 1+12+16, εἰ μή (...) ἄλλος τις.

However, smaller exceptions to the prevalence of εἴ τις are provided by 1+23 and (perhaps) 1+17, εἰ (...) εἶς τις, εἰ (...) πάνυ τι.

2/2, Former εἰ δέ κτλ. (pp.3.3.1 and 2).

The classification here is much as in the case of 1/1, p. 3.3.5-6. But in this case the postpositive connective and any other postpositives accompanying the Former are quoted in each case, and so "multiple q" requires no further indication in the instances of Formula; in cases of Antiformula potential "multiple q" will be seen from the full quotation given. Otherwise the classification is as in 1/1.

Instances of Formula (2): (i - qV) - see next page.

Instances of Formula (2): (i - qV) 0.1.27.1 δέ, 28.2 δέ, 91.4 δέ, 2.41.1 δέ, 4.118.9 δέ, 5.18.11 δέ, 77.8 δέ, 6.2.1 τε, 23.3 δέ, 33.4 δέ, 78.2 τε, 7.71.3 μέν, 8.24.5 δέ, 66.2 δέ.

Πλ.Χρμ.155ε μέν, 169β τε, 169ε γάρ, 172δ άρα Λα.

190ε γάρ, 192α τοίνυν, 195ε τε, 201α δέ, Πρτ.311δ ούν, 312α μέν, 312δ δέ, 328ε μέν, 356α γάρ, Απ.29β δή, 30β δέ, 31β μέν, 33α δέ, 33β τε, 33β δέ, 40ε γάρ, Γργ.454δ γάρ, 502δ δέ, 512α μέν, 512α δέ τις άρα, Μεν.85γ δ'αυτόν τις, ΙΜ 300β άρα(τ), Λυ.222β μέν, Κρα.414δ δ'αύ, 421γ δέ, 425γ μέν, 426β ούν, Συμπ.184ε γάρ, 204δ δέ, Φδ.60δ ούν, 74α τε, 78γ δέ, 84δ γε δή, 95β άρα, 95ε τε, 97γ ούν, 99α δέ, 101δ δέ, 107α δή, Η.1.332γ ούν, 332δ μέν, 4.436γ γάρ, 5.477α δέ δή, 9.522β ούν, 578γ άρα, Πρμ.132δ ούν, Θτ.159α άρα, 160β τε, 184α τε, 184β ούν, Φδρ.234γ δέ(τ), 277δ τε, Σφ. 244δ δέ, 257α δέ, Πλτ.276β δ'ούν, Φλβ.62ε μέν, Τλ.17δ τε, Ν.1. 638γ δή, 648δ τέ τις άρα, 648δ τε, 5.733δ δέ, 6.763β τε, 7.820δ δέ, 8.836γ γάρ, 9.862α τε, 873α δέ, 11.932β τε, 932ε τέ τις άρα.

Δημ.2.20 δέ, 3.19 δέ, 4.29 δέ, 8.20 γάρ, 48 δέ, 9.9 δέ, 76 δέ, 10.24 δέ, 13.18 δέ, 14.33 τοίνυν, 15.23 γάρ τι που, 17.3 δή, 4 μέν, 18.247 τοίνυν, 19.96 γάρ, 233 δέ, 20.5 τοίνυν, 18 δέ, 24 μέν γάρ, 25 δέ, 117 μέν γάρ, 134 γάρ, 164 δέ, 21.69 τε, 154 μέντοι τι ποτ, 22.28 δή, 65 γάρ, 23.47 δή, 24.11 δέ, 53 τοίνυν, 112 μέν, 112 δέ, 113 μέν, 113 δέ, 114 δέ, 152 δή, 172 γάρ, 205 δέ, 208 δέ δή, 25.29 γάρ, 69 τοίνυν, 27.50 δέ, 36.31 γάρ, 39.30 δέ, 43.48 γάρ, 46.12 γάρ, 47.82 δέ, 50.2 μέν γάρ, 52.24 δέ, 56.26 γάρ, 28 δέ. (+ 23.156+ τε δή)

Formula (2) ctd.: (ii - qWV) 0.1.128.7 ούν, 4.50.2 (τ) ούν, 120.2 μέν, 5.79.4 δέ, 79.4 δέ.

Πλ.Απ.33δ τε τινες αὐτῶν, 34δ δή τις ὑμῶν, Μεν.92β τε, 92γ τε

Κρα.394ε τε, Φδ.84γ μέν ούν (τ), 86δ ούν, 88α γάρ, Η.2.364β τε, 5.452ε τε, 10.597γ τε, Φδρ.230α τε, Πλτ.298δ τε, Τλ.51 δ τε, 68δ δέ, 63α γάρ, Ν.2.673ε μέν, 5.743ε δέ, 747γ τε, 6.772γ δέ, 7.796δ δέ, 8.830β δέ, 848δ τε, 9.863β τε, 12.958δ τε

Δημ.2.18 μέν γάρ, 22 δέ τις ὑμῶν, 4.4 δέ τις ὑμῶν, 18.212 μέν, +

20.49 τοίνυν τις ὑμῶν, 21.70 τοίνυν τις ὑμῶν, 100 δέ, 25.20 γάρ τις ὑμῶν, 26.19 δ'οὖν τινι... ὑμῶν (τ).

Formula (2) ctd.: (iii - qVW) 0.2.8.3 τε.

Πλ.Χρμ.168β ούν, Απ.20ε δή, Γργ. 510δ άρα, Μεν.71α γοῦν, 87δ

μέν, Θτ.143ε δή ούν, Φλβ.22β δέ τις ἡμῶν, Ν.3.678δ γάρ που τι (τ), 702β δέ δή, 12.932α δ'οὖν.

Δημ.19.278 τοίνυν, 58.12 μέν.

Formula (2) ctd.: (iv - qW) Πλ.Ν.12.958δ τε. Δημ.2.18 δέ.

(vi - qO) Πλ.Π.3.402δ μέντοι.

(vii - VqW) Πλ.Φλβ.18β τε.

There are no instances of (v - WqV).

Instances of Antiformula (2): (ia - qV) Θ.8.86.6 εἰ δὲ ἐς εὐ-
τέλειάν τι ζυντέτμηται.

Πλ.Λα.184β εἰ μὲν δειλός
τις ὧν οἴοιτο...

195γ εἰ δὲ δεινόν τῷ τοῦτό ἐστιν· Απ.33β (τ) εἰ δὲ τίς φησὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ πώποτε τι μαθεῖν...· Γργ.480ε εἰ ἄρα δεῖ τινα κακῶς ποιεῖν, 522δ μὲν οὖν· Μεν.75γ δὲ δὴ· Πρμ.129β μὲν γάρ, 129γ δέ· Φδρ.270γ εἰ μὲν...δεῖ τι πιθέσθαι· Τι.50α γάρ· Ν.1.634δ εἰ μὲν τοίνυν ὀρθῶς ἢ μὴ τις ἐπιτιμᾷ...· 640ε δέ· 12.952β τε.

Δημ.14.34 εἰ δ' ἄρα παντ-
απασί τις οὕτως οἴ-

εται...· 20.7 εἰ γὰρ φαῦλοι καὶ ἀνάξιοι τινες...εἰσιν...· 113 μὲν γάρ· 23.125 γάρ· 24.69 γάρ· 25.18 εἰ ἄρα δεῖ τινας...ἀφιέναι· 33.25 δ' ἄρα.

(ib - Vq) Θ.2.49.1 εἰ δέ τις καὶ
προῦκαμνέ τι· 3.56.5

(τ) εἰ ἄρα ἡμάρτηται τι· 6.11.4 δέ· 7.44.5 μὲν.

Πλ.Χρμ.165γ εἰ γὰρ δὴ
γινώσκεις γέ τι

ἐστιν· Πρτ.329α εἰ δὲ ἐπανέροιτό τινά τι, 342δ γάρ· Απ.29β εἰ δὴ τῷ σοφώτερός του φαῖν εἶναι· Λυ.204β τε· Σμπ.221ε γάρ· Π.1.335ε ἄρα· 7.515ε δέ· Θτ.159α εἰ ἄρα τι συμβαίνει ὁμοίον τῷ γίνεσθαι...· 160β εἴτε τις εἶναι τι ὀνομάζει· Σφ.259β τε· Φλβ.59α τε, 60δ δέ γε· Ν.1.638γ εἰ δὴ τις ἐκαινέσαντός τινος...· 640δ μὲν· 3.692γ δέ.

Δημ.4.25 εἰ γὰρ ἔροιτό
τις...· 15.27 εἰ δ'

ἄρα καὶ λέγει τις...· 18.72 δέ (τ), 148 μὲν τοίνυν· 20.150 γάρ· 21.40 μὲν τοίνυν, 112 γάρ· 22.4 μὲν· 23.119 δὴ, 138 μὲν γάρ, 143 δέ, 148 μὲν τοίνυν· 24.11 εἰ δέ τις οἴδεν τιν...ἔχοντα...· 25.69 εἰ τοίνυν τις ὀφείλειν τιν ἠτιᾶτο...· 37.58 τοίνυν (≅ 38.21 γάρ)· 44.65 μὲν· 47.4 δ' οὖν· 56.28 εἰ δέ τινες ἀφείκασιν τι...·

(ic - V...q) Θ.2.45.2 εἰ δέ με δεῖ
καὶ γυναικεῖας τι ἀρ-

ετῆς· Πλ.Πρτ.313α εἰ μὲν τὸ σῶμα ἐπιτρέπειν σε εἶδει τῷ...· Απ.39δ εἰ γὰρ οἴεσθε...ἐπισχῆσιν τοῦ ὄνειδίζειν τινα...

Antiformula (2) ctd.: (iia - gWV) Θ.3.66.2 εἰ ἄρα καὶ ἔδοκοῦμέν
τι ἀνεπιεικέστερον πρᾶξαι.

Πλ.Κρα.428β(τ) εἰ μέντοι ἔχεις
τι σὺ κάλλιον τούτων...εἰπ-

εἶν° Π.4.431δ εἰ ἄρα δεῖ τινα πόλιν προσαγορεύειν...° Σφ.243α εἰ
μὲν ἀληθῶς τις ἢ μὴ τούτων εἴρηκε.

(iib1 - WqV) Θ.5.77.6 αἰ δέ κα τῶν ἐκτὸς
Πελοποννάσῳ τις...ἦ...° 6.

29.1 εἰ μὲν τούτων τι εἴργαστο.

Πλ.Απ.27δ εἰ μὲν θεοὶ τινες
εἰσὶν...° Μεν.75γ εἰ μὲν γε

τῶν σοφῶν τις εἴη...° Σμπ.178ε οὖν° Π.1.354γ εἴτε ἀρετὴ τις οὐσα
τυγχάνει° 2.364ε εἴτε τι ἀδίκημά του γέγονεν, 378α δέ° Θτ.205β
γάρ° Τι.21β εἴτε καὶ χάριν τινα...φέρων° Ν.6.770δ εἴτε ἄρρην τις
...οὐσα ἢ φύσις..., 779α δὴ° 12.962ε τ' οὖν.

Δημ.1.27 εἰ δὲ δὴ πόλεμος τις
ἦξει...° 14.4(τ) εἰ μὲν

ἐναργῆς τι γένοιτο...° 18.303 εἰ δ' ἡ δαίμωνος τινος ἢ τύχης ἰσχύς
ἐλυμαίνετο° 19.341° εἴτε γὰρ ἦξει ποτ' εἰς ἀνάγκην τῶν δεόντων τι
ποιεῖν...° 21.142 γάρ, 164 δέ.

(iib2 - WVq) Πλ.Σφ.267ε εἴτε διπλόην ἔν'
ἔχων τινά ἐστιν° Φλβ.13ε δέ

καλ° Ν.10.905γ δέ° 12.962γ εἰ δ' ἔσται τοῦ τοιούτου κενή τις πόλις.
Δημ.23.142 εἰ δὴ τῶν...λεγόντων//ἔγραφέ τις...° 24.11 εἰ δέ τις
οἶδέν τιν'...ἔχοντά τι τῆς πόλεως.

(iia - gVW) Πλ.Π.7.524ε εἰ δ' αἰεὶ τι αὐτῷ
ἄμα ὁράται ἐναντίωμα° Ν.3.

683β εἰ ψῶν/-/τις ἡμῶν ὑπόσχοιτο θεός...

(iib1 - VqW) Πλ.Ευθφρ.12δ εἰ μὲν οὖν σὺ
με ἠρώτας τι τῶν...

Γργ.481β εἰ δὴ καὶ ἔστιν τις χρεῖα° Φδρ.243γ εἰ γὰρ ἀκούων τις
τύχοι ἡμῶν γεννάδας...° Τι.71α εἴτε πη καὶ μεταλαμβάνοι τινος αὐ-
τῶν αἰσθήσεως° Ν.1.640β δέ.

Δημ.4.1 εἰ μὲν ἠρεσκέ τί
μοι τῶν...° 8.49 εἰ μὲν

γὰρ ἐστὶ τις ἐγγυητῆς θεῶν (= 10.24)° 18.21 εἰ γὰρ εἶναι τι δοκοῖη
...ἀδίκημα° 19.238 εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς//ἡδίκηκέ τις ὑμῶν° 21.33
μὲν, 117 μὲν οὖν° 37.2 μὲν οὖν° 56.26 εἰ γὰρ τις ὑμῶν ἀφῆκέν τι
τῶν...

(iib2 - VWq) Πλ.Απ.27δ εἰ δ' αὖ...θεῶν
παῖδες εἰσὶν νόθοι τινες...

Μεν.87γ δέ γε° Πλτ.298β εἰ δὴ ταῦτα διανοηθέντες βουλευσαίμεθα
περὶ αὐτῶν βουλήν τινα°° 300ε εἰ μὲν ἐστὶ βασιλική τις τέχνη...

Δημ.9.76(τ) εἰ δέ τις ἔχει
τούτων τι βέλτιον° 20.

85 εἰ δὴ τὸθ'//ἠξίωσεν...//εὖ ποιῆσαι τούτων τινὰς τῶν...° 29.1
μὲν.

Antiformula (2) (iiib2 - VW \underline{q}) Dem. ctd. 24.35 γάρ (τ), 216 γάρ.
 (iva - \underline{qW}) Πλ.Ν.1.632δ εἴτε καὶ τισιν ἔθεσιν.
 (ivb - \underline{Wq}) Πλ.Κρα.394ε εἴτε καὶ ποιητῆς τις,
 396ε τε· Π.1.351ε τε· Σφ.245ε τε·
 Ν.9.864α τε.

The combination of εἴ with "connective" postpositives is somewhat less strong as a Former than the unaccompanied εἴ. In this case instances of εἴ δέ τις τι are conspicuously absent, with the exceptions of Lg.III 678d (\underline{qVW}), 15.23 and 21.154 (both \underline{qV}) which give us respectively γάρ ποῦ τι, γάρ τί σου, and μέντοι τί ποτε - there are no actual instances of the strict εἴ δέ τις τι κτλ. On the other hand there are instance of multiple \underline{q} in Antiformulaic position: Prt 329a, \underline{Vq} ; there are also several instances (1 Th., 6 Pl., 5 Dem.) of "potential multiple", i.e. instances where \underline{q} if in Formulaic position and not Antiformulaic would be juxtaposed with another instance.

The overall Formula:Antiformula ratios per author are: Th. 20:9, Pl. 109:64, Dem. 63:47; the distribution between \underline{qV} , \underline{Vq} , etc., is as follows:-

Formula		Antiformula			
\underline{qV} Th. 14 Pl. 72 D. 52 <u>138</u>	\underline{qV} Th. 1 Pl. 13 D. 7 <u>16</u>	\underline{Vq} Th. 4 Pl. 16 D. 18 <u>38</u>	$\underline{V\dots q}$ Th. 1 Pl. 2 D. 2 <u>2</u>		
\underline{qVW} Th. 5 Pl. 25 D. 8 <u>38</u>	\underline{qVW} Th. 1 Pl. 3 D. 4 <u>4</u>	\underline{WqV} Th. 2 Pl. 11 D. 6 <u>19</u>	\underline{WVq} Th. 4 Pl. 4 D. 2 <u>6</u>		
\underline{qVW} Th. 1 Pl. 10 D. 2 <u>13</u>	\underline{qVW} Th. 2 Pl. 2 D. 2 <u>2</u>	\underline{VqW} Th. 5 Pl. 5 D. 9 <u>14</u>	\underline{VWq} Th. 4 Pl. 4 D. 5 <u>9</u>		
\underline{qW} Th. 1 Pl. 1 D. 1 <u>2</u>	\underline{qW} Th. 1 Pl. 1 D. 1 <u>1</u>	\underline{Wq} Th. 5 Pl. 5 D. 5 <u>5</u>			

The effect of the Formulaism may be seen by comparing the proportions of qWV Formulaic and WqV Antiformulaic, with the general $qWV:WqV$ proportion in Chapter II Appendix A, p.2.2. 32 ff.

There are variations between authors in formulation preferences: Demosthenes is under-represented in qWV and qVW and over-represented in Vq (slightly) and (more notably) in VqW .

The combination of $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ with "connective" postpositives varies in Formula:Antiformula ratio between one postpositive and another; also different combinations are commoner in different authors. The Formula:Antiformula ratios of the different combinations are as follows, with notes on author peculiarities attached: $\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}$ 12:1 (mainly Plato), $\tau\omicron\lambda\upsilon\nu$ 9:2 (mainly Demosthenes), $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ 64:25 (common in all), $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon$ 31:17 (mainly Plato), $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ 24:19 (rare in Thucydides), $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ 18:16, $\delta\acute{\eta}$ 9:8 (absent from Thucydides), $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\iota$ 1:1, $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$ 6:7 (mainly Plato). It is hardly surprising that $\delta\acute{\eta}$ is not frequent in Thucydides, but the rarity of $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ in Thucydides, at least in sentences with $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$, is so.

Instances of Counterformula (2+?) 2+12 Πλ.Κρα.433γ $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\mu\acute{\eta}$ $\tau\omicron\iota$
καλῶς ἐτέθη.

2+16 Θ.5.65.3 $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon$ καὶ αὐτῷ ἄλλο $\tau\omicron\iota$ ἦ...

Πλ.Πρωτ.361β $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλο $\tau\omicron\iota$ ἦν... Κρα.428γ $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon$
καὶ ἄλλη $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ Μοῦσα... ἐλελήθει (≡ Π.5.462ε) Σμπ.174ε
 $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ δ' ἄλλου $\tau\omicron\iota\nu\delta\varsigma$ ἐνεκα ἠλθεσ' Φδρ.273δ ὥστ' $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ μὲν ἄλλο $\tau\omicron\iota$...
λέγεις Ν.3.684β $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau'$ ἄλλοι $\tau\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$.

Δημ.5.13 $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau'$ ἄλλο $\tau\omicron\iota$ (τ) 22.24 $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλον $\tau\omicron\iota\nu$ '
ἀγῶν... 45.13 ἴν' $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ μὲν ἄλλ' ἄττα... ἦν... 28.22 $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$
δ' ὕμεῖς ἄλλο $\tau\omicron\iota$ γνώσεσθε.

In the above, $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon$ (καὶ) ἄλλο $\tau\omicron\iota$ seems to be a repetitive idiom.

2+16+18 Πλ.Ν.5.747δ εἴτε καὶ φύσις ἄλλη τις τοιαύτη

2+18 Πλ.Μεν.92β εἴτε τις ξένος ἐπιχειρεῖ τοιοῦτόν τι ποι-
εῖν... Κρα.431β εἰ δ' οὖν ἐστὶ τοιαύτη τις διανομή
 ...° Ν.7.791β εἰ δέ γε οὕτως τοιαύτην τινα δύναμιν ἔχει...

Δημ.25.39 εἰ τοίνυν ἄρα καὶ τοιοῦτός τις ἐστὶν ἄνθρω-
 πος...

2+19 Θ.4.36.1 εἰ δὲ βούλονται...δοῦναι τῶν τοξοτῶν μέρος
τι...

(2+24) 2+21+24 Πλ.Κρα.428α εἰ οὖν καὶ σμικρὸν τι οἶδος τ'
εἰ πλέον ποιῆσαι...

2+28 Δημ.25.7(τ) εἰ δ' ἕτερόν τι περιέσται τούτων° 39.2
 εἰ μὲν οὖν ἕτερου τινος οὗτος ἔφη πατὴρ εἶναι.

Instances of Anticounterformula (2+?) 2+12 Θ.2.64.5 εἰ δέ τις
μὴ κέκτηται. Πλ.
 Σφ.250γ εἰ γάρ τι μὴ κινεῖται.

2+16 Θ.2.4.7(τ) εἴτε τι ἄλλο χρήσονται° 3.54.4 εἴτε τι
ἄλλο...ἐγένετο... 5.30.2 εἴτε τι ἄλλο...ἐνόμιζον
ἐλασσοῦσθαι, 46.3 εἰ τέ τι ἄλλο ἐνεκάλουν.

Πλ.Φδ.84γ εἰ μὲν οὖν τι ἄλλο σκοπεῖσθον° Π.1.333ε
εἴτε τινι καὶ ἄλλη° 3.390α εἰ δέ τινα ἄλλην ἡδονὴν
 παρέχεται° Πρμ.138ε εἰ ἄρα τι ἄλλο πείσεται...° Ν.3.698ε εἰ δὴ
 τι ἐκώλυεν ἄλλο αὐτούς.

Δημ.19.246 καὶ, εἰ δὴ τις ἄλλος τῶν...° 48.10 εἰ δὴ
 τις ἄλλος ἐβούλετ'...

2+18 Πλ.Κρι.44ε εἰ γάρ τι τοιοῦτον φοβῆ° Πρμ.160α εἰ γάρ
τι τοιοῦτον πεπονθέναι... Σφ.247δ εἰ δὴ τι τοιοῦ-
 τον πεπόνθασι.

Δημ.13.19 εἰ δέ τις καὶ τοιοῦτός ἐστὶν...

2+19 Πλ.Ν.9.863β εἴτε τι μέρος...

2+22 Πλ.Ν.10.907γ εἰ δέ τι καὶ βραχὺ...

2+24 Πλ.Σφ.247γ εἰ γάρ τι καὶ σμικρὸν...

2+28 Πλ.Λυ.221ε εἰ ἄρα τις ἕτερος ἕτερου προφέρει° Ν.9.
 878ε εἴτε τι μεῖζον ἕτερον τούτων πάσχειν.

Instances of Multiple Antiformula (2+?) 2+12 Θ.4.68.6 εἴτε μὴ
 Πλ.Ν.10.903ε(τ) εἰ μὲν γὰρ μὴ...πλάττοι τις. πέλοισαί τις.

2+16 Θ.7.64.1 εἴτε συμβήσεται τι ἄλλο ἢ...

2+18 Πλ.Γργ.513α εἰ δέ σοι οἴει...παραδώσειν τέχνην τινα
τοιαύτην... Ευθδ.285α εἴτε...ἐμαθήτην φθόρον τινα
 καὶ...τοιοῦτον.

Δημ.23.125 εἰ γὰρ ἐστὶ τῷ δοτέον τι τοιοῦτον.

2+16+18: p.25 above.

(2+21) 2+21+24: p.25 above.

2+22 Θ.7.13.1 εἰ γὰρ ἀφαιρήσομέν τι βραχὺ...

2+28 Δημ.14.10 εἰ μὲν ἕτερος μὲν ἦν τις τρόπος...

With the Former εἰ δέ κτλ. there is a rather smaller proportion of Counterformula, Anticounterformula and Multiple Antiformula instances relative to that of Formula and Antiformula, than with εἰ without δέ κτλ.

By contrast with εἰ (p.3.3.19), co-occurrence with peninitial μὴ is rare in εἰ δέ/γὰρ κτλ. the few cases of εἰ δέ τις μὴ, εἰ δὲ μὴ τις (2+12/2+12) are not worthwhile evidence of any particular tendency.

Again whereas, with the unaccompanied εἰ, εἴ τις is prevalent against other Formers, except for εἰ μὴ τις, εἰ (...), εἴς τις, εἰ (...), πάνυ τι, with εἰ δέ κτλ. Counterformula and Anticounterformula are for the most part at parity. In sentences with εἰ and ἄλλος, εἴτε (...) ἄλλος seems to form a distinct idiom, occurring both with and without verb. In this, Thucydides favours 2+16, Plato 2+16.

3/3, Former εἰάν, see following page.

3/3, Former éd. (pp.3.3.1 and 2).

The classification is as in 1/1, pp.3.3.5-6.

Instances of Formula (3): (i - qV) Th.I.44.1, 44.2, 77.3, 84.2!, 129.1; II.5.6, 12.2, 34.2, 43.5, 74.2; III.43.1; IV.46.3; V.66.4; VI.8.1, 13.1, 18.5, 22; VII.4.4, 14.4, 29.1; VIII.2.1, 18.3, 32.3, 33.1, 58.4, 69.2.

Pl.Hp.Mi.363c bis; Chrm.

167b; La.178a, 181d, 196c, 201a; Prt.322d, 323a, 323b, 323e, 329a, 329e m, 334c, 346b; Euthphr.3c; Ap.33b, 39a; Cri44d, 51b; Grg.453b, 456d, 458c, 458e, 459c, 466e, 467d, 481e, 484c, 487d, 489b, 494e, 499b, 502b, 504d, 506b, 508b, 510b, 515b; Men.70b M, 81d; Hp.Ma.285e, 289a, 291d, 299a; Euthd.273c, 274b, 280e, 299b, 300b, 301d bis; Cra.387a, 397e, 401c, 410b, 423d, 432a, 432c; Smp.184c(t); Phd.65a, 71a, 73a, 73b, 73c m+, 86d, 86e, 96a, 97a, 100c; R.I 331c M, 335e, 338b, 346b; II 370b m+, 379e, 380a; III 389a, 397b, 401d, 401e; IV 419a, 426a, 433e, 445b m; V 467d (= 467e), 468c m+, 469e, 471c, 476c, 479a; VI 494d; VII 525d bis; VIII 549e, 561b, 567a(t); X 575e M (t), 579c, 579e(t), 580d, 587d; Prm.133a, 141a, 142b; Tht.146c, 157b M, 161a, 164b, 180a M, 181c, 188d, 195c, 206b; Phdr.270e M, 274a; Plt.299b; Phlb.55a; Ti.37c m; Criti.107c m+; Lg.I 634e; III 683e, 684d, 691c; IV 711e m, 718c; V 733a, 735c, 742b!, 744e, 746d; VI 755a(t), 757d m, 769a; VIII 843d, 854e; IX 853d, 855b, 856d(t), 862c, 874c, 876c!, 880b; X 907d; XI 914b, 916a, 923b, 924e(t), 926b!, 929c, 932a, 934c, 936c, 936e, 938a, 938c; XII 941c m+, 941d M, 953c m, 954c, 954e M, 955b.

Dem.4.16; 6.16; 8.57, 67;

9.54, 71; 10.29, 70; 14.23, 24, 30; 15.10; 16.24; 17.10; 18.20, 123, 177, 178, 317; 19.6, 133, 213, 252, 286; 20.2, 40, 89 m+, 100 (= 135, 49.67), 143, 156 bis, 159; 21.44, 106, 112, 211; 22.34; 23.7, 11, 25 bis, 26 quater, 27 bis, 30, 36 bis, 38, 39, 41, 43, 48, 50 quinquies, 52, 53, 54, 60, 74, 75 bis, 77, 83, 84, 91, 106, 108, 119, 120, 121, 140, 142, 143, 199, 200, 215 bis, 217 bis, 220; 24.55, 77, 99, 103 bis, 123, 139, 140, 141, 144, 212; 25.99, 100; 26.24; 33.1, 36; 34.36; 37.35; 39.7, 13; 43.7; 44.3, 28; 46.11(t); 48.40; 52.17; 56.10; 58.14; 59.13, 58, 66, 88.

A considerable number of the above instances are repetitive: see p.3.3.32 below.

(ii - qWV) Th.III.46.5; VIII.37.5. Pl.Ap.29e; Grg.469d, 506a; Cra.426b, 432a; Smp.189b, 210a, 214d; Phd.66c, 66d; R.V 460c, 461b; VII 530c; VIII 557e, 561d; X 573b; Prm.145a(t); Phdr.273b; Plt.294c!; Criti.120c m; Lg.VII 817a m; VIII 847d; XI 921d!, 929c, 936b. Dem.9.3; 19.45; 20.89m+; 21.101(t), 224; 23.4m+; 26.11; 35.50; 39.7; 40.15; 56.44(t); 58.52.

In the above instances Grg.469d and Cra.426b are cases of $qV'WV$, where V' is a verb to which q does not 'belong'. In Ly. 211b and Lg.VII 817a, W is $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\nu$, i.e. postpositival itself.

(iii - qVW) Th.III.46.2; V.23.1(t) (c= 23.2). Pl.Ap.25e;
R.I 361b; II 370b m+; V 451b, 468c m+; IX 573d; Th.
 195a; Lg.XII 941c m+, 945b M, 951a(t). Dem.15.7; 20.156!;
 21.118; 23.4 m+.

The symbol M occurs rarely outside (i - qV) because only rarely can a sentence contain two or more postpositives both in formulaic position and both in the same relationship qWV , qVW , or whatever. The conditions are however fulfilled in Lg.XII 945b $\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\tau\iota\epsilon\iota\pi\eta\sigma\kappa\omicron\lambda\iota\delta\omicron\nu\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\nu$, which is qVW for both q . Th.III.46.2 is a case of $qVWV$.

(iv - qW) Dem.23.45 m+

(v - $WpqV$) Th.VI.79.1 Pl.Ap.23b; Cra.417c; Lg.VI 762d m+;
VIII 847a; IX 854e mm+; 879a.

Lg.IX 854e reads $\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\kappa\omicron\tau\epsilon\tau\iota\tau\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu\ldots$

(vi - qO) Dem.23.45 m+

Instances of Antiformula (3) (ia - qV) Θ.5.109 $\alpha\lambda\lambda'\eta\nu\tau\omega\nu\epsilon\rho\gamma\omega\nu$
 $\tau\epsilon\varsigma\delta\upsilon\nu\alpha\mu\epsilon\iota\ldots\pi\rho\omicron\upsilon\chi\eta$.
Πλ.Ap.41ε και εαν δοκωσι τι ειναι· Γργ.460α εανπερ ρητορικον συ
 τινα ποιησης· Μεν.78δ αλλα καν αδελως τις αυτα ποριζηται· Μνξ.
 234γ και εαν πενης τις ων τελευτηση· Ευθδ.301δ και εαν τον χαλ-
 κεια τις αυτον χαλκευη...· Σμπ.184γ και εαν τις εθελη τινα θερα-
 πευειν· Φδ.101α· Π.7.525δ εαν του γνωριζειν ενεκα τις αυτο επι-
 τηδευη· 8.563δ· Πρμ.133α και αν εκεινο τω...η· Σφ.262β καν παντα
 τις εφεξης αυτ ειπη· Πλτ.267β αν εις εν τις αυτο ονομα αγαγειν
 βουληται, 294γ αν τι νεον αρα τω συμβαλνη· Φλβ.33γ· N.1.645ε· 3.
 697β· 5.738β· 6.784ε· 8.845δ· 9.880α(τ)· 10.892γ, 906δ· 11.916β,
 920δ· 924α(τ), 931ε, 12.941α εαν ως πρεσβευτης τις...παραπρεσ-
 βευηται..., 954δ. Δημ.4.11 αν ουτος τι παθη (= 24.101)· 9.39·
 16.2· 18.5, 97, 99(τ), 276, 303(τ)· 20.98, 104 μηδ αν υπο των
 εκεινου τις ακουη παιδων αυτος· 23.217· 24.103, 207· 27.23 (= 28.13)· 46.16· 51.19· 54.17· 58.41..

Antiformula ctd. (ib - Vg) $\Theta.4.13.4$ ἦν ἐσπλήη τις, 19.2 ἦν ἀντ-
 αμυνόμενος τις... μὴ ξυμβῆ. Πλ. Πρτ.
 352γ καὶ εἰς πρὸς γινώσκῃ τις... Γργ.496γ εἰς εὐρωμεν ἄρα ἄτ-
 τα..., 499β κἂν παύων τις σοὶ ἐνδῶ... 524α εἰς ἀπορήτων τι...
 (τ)· Ευθδ.280ε· Κρα.387β εἰς κἂν τι ἐπιχειρήσωμεν, 432α Π.1.
 345α, 346β εἰς ὑγιαίνῃ τις μισθαρῶν, 346β εἰς ἰώμενος τις μισ-
 θαρῆ· Πρμ.164δ· Σφ.293ε(τ)· Πлт.296δ ἢ κἂν πείσας κἂν μὴ πείσας
 τις ὄρῳ... N.5.733α, 742α ἐκπέμπειν τινὰ ἂν δέη... 6.756β,
 761ε, 762β· 7.808ε εἰς ἐξαμαρτάνῃ τις τι τούτων· 8.843δ· 9.855α
 ἂν ἢ τι τῶ... (τ), 857α, 862α, 862γ εἰς τις ἀδικῶν τινὰ κερδαί-
 νειν πολῆ, 864α, 868ε ... εἰς... κτείνῃ τινὰ τις (τ), 874γ, 878γ·
 11.924δ, 937β εἰς τὰ ψευδῆ φῆ τινὰ καταμεμαρτυρηκῆναι, 937γ·
 12.944γ εἰς καταλαμβανόμενος τις... μὴ ἀναστρέφῃ..., 952α(τ),
 952δ, 953β εἰς ἀδικῆ τις..., 954δ(τ). Δημ.4.14 ἂν ἐξ ἀρχῆς
 δοκῶ τινὶ... 10.29 ἂν τι λέγῃ τις· 18.123 εἰς τις ἠδικηκῶς τι
 τυγχάνῃ, 190· 19.314· 20.73, 100 ἂν τις ὑποσχόμενος τι... (= 135,
49.67)· 21.46, 66, 125(τ), 138· 22.22 εἰς ἐπιδεικνύῃ τις
 τι τούτων· 23.26 ἂν τις ἀποκτείνῃ τινὰ, 42, 50 ἂν τις κατα-
 βλάψῃ τινὰ, 50 ἂν τις τύπτῃ τινὰ, 51, 216 εἰς ἐν τῇ τοῦ πεπον-
 θότος λάβῃ τις πατρὶδι· 24.77, 209· 25.53· 37.35 εἰς ἐξ-
 ἄλλῃ τινὰ..., 36, 36 ἄλλῃ κἂν ἄλλο τι ἀδικῆ τις, 59 (= 38.22)·
41.27· 54.33· 58.6 ἂν ἐπέξιών τις μὴ λάβῃ...

(ic - V...g) Πλ.Σμπ.210β καὶ εἰς ἐπεικῆς ὦν τὴν ψυχὴν τις... ἔχη.

(iia - gWV) Πλ.Π.8.560γ καὶ εἰς παρ' οἰκέων τις βοήθεια... ἀφικῆ-
 ται.

(iib1 - WgV) Πλ.Φλβ.37δ ἂν... ὀρθότητι τινὶ τούτων προσγίγνηται·
 Τι.38β ἂν ποτε λύσις τις αὐτῶν γίγνηται· N.11.
 914β ἂν τις τῶν αὐτοῦ τι καταλείπῃ... Δημ.18.112 ἂν
 τῶν ἐγγε' ἀρχόντων τις ὦν τυγχάνῃ· 19.320· 20.5 ἂν ἀξιόδον τινὶ
 εἶδῃτ'...· 39.8.

(iib2) - WVg) Πλ.Ν.4.710α εἰς μέλλῃ... ὄφελος εἶναι τι· 6.766γ· 9.
 864δ ὦν ἂν γίγνηται τι φανερόν...· 11.936ε.

(iia - gWV) - nil.

(iib1 - VgW) $\Theta.7.77.6(\tau)$ ἦν ἀντιλαβόμεθα του φιλλου χωρλου...
 Πλ.Κρα.393γ κἂν ἐκ βασιλέως γίγνηται τι ἔκγονον...
 Φλβ.25β· N.7.808ε εἰς ἐξαμαρτάνῃ τις τι τούτων(τ)· 11.928γ.
 Δημ.8.41 ἂν ποτε συμβῆ τι πταῖσμα (= 10.13)· 18.87, 190 ἂν νῦν
 ἔχει τις δεῖξαι τι βέλτιον· 19.190· 22.22(\tau) εἰς ἐπιδεικνύῃ τις τι
 τούτων· 23.108 εἰς τις ἀποκτείνῃ τινὰ τῶν...

(iib2 - VWg) Πλ.Ν.12.953β εἰς ἀδικῆ τις αὐτῶν τινὰ

The above completes the account of Formula and Antiformula, 3/3. $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\tau\iota\varsigma$ is less strongly Formulaic than $\epsilon\iota\tau\iota\varsigma$ (see table below). It causes fewer infringements of Rules: Rule XIV is broken only by the expression $\eta\nu/\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\tau\iota\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$, which occurs only at Th.I.84.2, Pl.Lg.IX 876c, XI 921d, 926b, Dem.20.166. There is also one case of Vpq, Lg.V 742b. The distribution of instances is as follows:-

Formula		Antiformula			
Th. 26	Th. 1			Th. 2	
qV Pl.164	qV Pl.28			Vq Pl.35	
D. <u>120</u>	D. <u>21</u>			D. <u>31</u>	
<u>310</u>	<u>50</u>			<u>68</u>	
Th. 2	Th.	Th.		Th.	
qWV Pl.26	qWV Pl.1	WqV Pl.3		WVq Pl.4	
D. <u>12</u>	D. <u>I</u>	D. <u>4</u>		D. <u>4</u>	
<u>40</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>7</u>		<u>4</u>	
Th. 3	Th.	Th.1		Th.	
qVW Pl.10	qVW Pl.	VqW Pl.4		VWq Pl.1	
D. <u>4</u>	D. <u>0</u>	D. <u>7</u>		D. <u>I</u>	
<u>17</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>12</u>		<u>I</u>	
Th.					
qW Pl.					
D. <u>1</u>					
<u>I</u>					

The overall Formula: Antiformula ratios are Th.31:4 (7.7:1), Pl. 206:76 (2.7:1), Dem.138:61 (2.2:1). In Thucydides then the level of Formulaism is almost up to that of $\epsilon\iota\tau\iota\varsigma$ (p.3.3.11), but in Plato and Demosthenes below it. The ratios for $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\tau\iota\varsigma$ are approximately comparable with those of $\epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon\tau\iota\varsigma$ (p.3.3.23). It is notable that in $\epsilon\iota\tau\iota\varsigma$, $\epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon\tau\iota\varsigma$ $\kappa\tau\lambda.$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\tau\iota\varsigma$, VqW is a very frequent 'cause' of Antiformulaic wording in V-W sentences, unlike WqV in W-V sentences.

As to $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\tau\iota\varsigma$ $\tau\iota$ $\kappa\tau\lambda.$, as with $\epsilon\iota$ and in contrast to $\epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon$, such expressions do occur, but with $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ a second $\tau\iota\varsigma$ is more likely to be deferred:- The following is a table of M and m+ instances from the Formula list against the corresponding Antiformulaic ($\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\tau\iota\varsigma$... $\tau\iota$) instances. Instances of m (-περ, που $\kappa\tau\lambda.$) are listed separately.

Formula		Antiformula		
Th. qV Pl.14 D. $\frac{1}{15}$		Th. qV Pl.2 D. $\frac{2}{2}$		Th. Vq Pl.1 D. $\frac{8}{9}$
Th. qWV Pl. D. $\frac{2}{2}$	qWV		Th. WqV Pl.2 D. $\frac{2}{2}$	WVq $\bar{0}$
Th. qVW Pl.4 D. $\frac{1}{5}$	qVW		Th. VqW Pl. D. $\frac{4}{4}$	Th. VWq Pl.1 D. $\frac{1}{1}$
Th. qW Pl. D. $\frac{1}{1}$	qW			

It should be remembered that whereas entries labelled M in the Formula list represent sentences with two or more cases of q in Formulaic position both of which are to be classed in the same category, those labelled m+ indicate sentences where one q belongs at that point in the classification and another elsewhere: thus m+ sentences will appear twice in this table. Notice the higher proportion of Antiformula in the table by contrast with εἴ τις, p.3.3.12; also that while in Plato εἰν τις τι is normal and εἰν τις...τι uncommon, the opposite is the case in Demosthenes.

There are instances of εἰνπερ τις at Pl.Prt.329e, R.IV 445b (both qV), but none of εἰνπερ...τις. The wording εἰν ποτέ τις appears at Ti.37c, Lg.IV 711e, VI 757d, XII 953c (all qV) and Lg.VII 817a (qWV); there is also one εἰν ποῦ τις, Criti.120c (qWV). The Antiformulaic εἰνποτε...τις appears at Ti.38b and Dem.8.41 (= 10.13). There are also the following instances of τις τι where both are in Antiformulaic position: Lg.VII 808e, IX 855a, 868e, XII 953b.

In the list of εἰν, there are a number of cases in which the same verb occurs repetitively in such a way as to suggest that the combination may be an independent formula. In in-

investigating this it is useful to take into account the grammatical relations of g, and the following abbreviations will be used:-
 S, g subject of named verb; O, g object of ditto; I, g object of verb subordinate to that named; O2, g object of named verb, but that is itself subordinate (thus ἔάν τι φαίνεται λέγων is I under φαίνομαι, O2 under λέγω); I2, g is object of unexpressed verb subordinate to that named (hence in fact otiose); A, g is adverbial (often otiose). For † (Greek +) see p.1.3.3.

Expressions which give the strongest impression of being independent formulae are those where g in Formulaic position is predominantly A, O, I or I2 rather than S:-

δέη/δέωνται Formula A/O/I 0.1.44.2+ ἦν τι δέη° 8.33.1+.
 Πλ.Π.5.467δ+, 467ε+° 10.575ε+ ἔάν
 τοῦ τι δέωνται° 0τ.181γ+° N.9.847δ ἔάν τινος ἢ τέχνης...δέη...
 Δημ.4.16+° 9.71+° 14.23+° 21.11+° 39.7 ἔάν τι δέη ποιεῖν.

Antiformula I Πλ.Ν.5.742β ἐκπέμπειν τινα ἂν δέη.

δύν- Formula A/I/O2 0.6.22 ἦν τινα ἐκ Πελοποννήσου δυνώμεθα ἢ
 πεῖσαι...° 7.29.1+ ἦν τι δύνηται. Πλ.Λα.
 181δ+ ἂν τι δύνωμαι° N.4.718γ ἂν τι δυνώμεθα...βεβαιώσασθαι.
 Δημ.23.4 ἂν τίς τι καὶ ὑμῶν οἴηται δύνασθαι ποιῆσαι...ἀγαθόν.

S: Dem.23.4, see above.

Antiformula: nil.

βούλ- Formula A/O/I/I2 0.2.12.2+ ἦν τι βούλωνται, 34.2+ ἦν τι
 βούληται° 4.66.4+ Δημ.20.2+ ἔάν τω
 βούληται° 25.99+° 46.41 ἔάν τι προσγράψαι...βουληθῆ° 59.13, 88+.

S Πλ.Απ.33β+ καὶ ἔάν τις βούληται...ἀκούειν...°
 Γργ.458ε+° N.β1.929γ ἔάν τις τῶν πολιτῶν ὑδὲν
 βούληται θεῖσθαι. Δημ.24.139+° 34.36+° 43.7+.

Antiformula S only Πλ.Πλτ.267β ἂν εἰς ἓν τις αὐτὸ ὄνομα
 συναγαγεῖν βουληθῆ. Δημ.18.303.

In the case of δύν- above, numbers would be insufficient alone to suggest an independent formula; but the dominance of A/O/I cases suggests that it is such, and that the single S instance is a consequence of the independent formula in the A/O/I relationship. In βούλ- the A/O/I/I2 instances are confined to the Formulaic order, and the I2 cases, e.g. Dem.20.2, are particularly strong evidence of an independent formula. The Formula S instances are much less remarkable.

We pass now to cases where there is a mixture of O/I instances and S instances, but the evidence for an independent formula rests mainly on the dominance of Formulaic order in both:-

ἔρωτῶ Formula S Πλ.Γργ.453ε+ οὐκοῦν ἐάν τις ἐρωτᾷ ἡμᾶς...
 494ε ἐάν τις σε τὰ ἐχόμενα...πάντα ἐρωτᾷ
 Μεν.70β+ ἐάν τις τι ἔρηται' Φδ.73α' Θτ.195γ+. Δημ.25.100+.
 Ο Πλ.ΙΕ 363γ+ ἐάν τι αὐτὸν ἐρωτᾷς, 363γ+ ἐάν τι
 ἐρωτᾷ σε... Μεν.70β+ Θτ.180α+.

φαίνομαι Formula S Πλ.Φδ.96α ἐάν τί σοι χρήσιμον φαίνεται' Περμ.
 142β' Πλτ.229β' Ν.5.742β+ ἰδιούμενος δὲ ἂν
 τις φαίνεται' 9.854ε πολίτης δὲ ἂν ποτέ τις τι τοιοῦτον ὄρων
 ἀναφανῆ.
 Ι Πλ.Χρμ.167β ἐάν τι...εὐπορώτερος φανῆς...
 Λα.196γ καὶ ἐάν τι φαίνεται λέγων (= Γργ.506α).

Neither of the above have any Antiformulaic instances. With the latter compare:-

δοκῶ Formula S Πλ.Ρ.Ι.338b ἐάν τις μοι δοκῆ εὖ λέγειν' Ν.9.
 855β' 11.938α.

Ι Πλ.Λα.201α ἂν τι δόξω συμβουλευεῖν ὑμῶν' Γργ.
 469δ, 506β ἐάν τί σοι δοκῶ μὴ καλῶς λέγειν
 Κρα.397ε ἂν τί σοι δόξω εἰπεῖν' Π.10.580δ. Δημ.21.118.

Antiformula Ο Δημ.4.14 ἂν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δοκῶ τινι...

Ι Πλ.Απ.41ε καὶ ἐάν δοκῶσι τι εἶναι...
 Δημ.24 καὶ ὑμῶν δοκῆ δεδέσθαι τινα.

It seems likely that ἐάν τι δοκῆ/φαίνεται λέγειν/εἰπεῖν/συμβουλευεῖν is an independent formula, while the S Formulaic instances are simply the direct consequence of the Formulaism of ἐάν τις.

λέγω Formula S Πλ.Πρτ.334γ ἐάν τις μοι μακρὰ λέγη' Φδ.100γ+
 ἐάν τις μοι λέγη' Π.6.494δ' 8.561β+ 10.587δ'
 Ν.1.634ε.

Ο Πλ.Γργ.458γ+ ἐάν τι λέγητε, 510β ἂν τι καλῶς λέγῃς.
 Δημ.9.3' 10.29+ ἂν τις λέγη τις'

Ο2 Πλ.Λα.196γ ἐάν τι φαίνεται λέγων' Γργ.481ε ἐάν
 τι σοῦ λέγοντος...μὴ φῆ... 506α ἂν τι φαίνεται
 λέγων... Δημ.39.13 ἂν τι δοκῶ λέγειν.

Antiformula S Δημ.10.29+ ἂν τι λέγη τις.

Ο Πλ.Σφ.239ε ἐάν ἐν κατόπτροις...λέγῃς τι.

εἰπεῖν Formula S Πλ.Τι.37γ ἂν ποτέ τις αὐτὸ ἄλλο... εἴπη· N.
12.945β· ἂν τις τι εἴπη σοκλιδὸν αὐτῶν.
Δημ.19.252+. O Πλ.Σμπ.189β ἕάν τι γελοῖον εἴπης· N.12.945β.
O2 Πλ.Κρα.397ε ἂν τί σοι δόξω εἰπεῖν.

Antiformula S only Πλ.Σφ.262β κἂν πάντα τις ἐφεξῆς αὐτ'
εἴπη. Δημ.18.276 ὡς ἕάν πρότερός
τις εἴπη...· 19.314 κἂν "...· εἴπη τις· 51.19 ἕάν...· ἔμην τις
εἴπη.

It is not clear whether ἕάν τι φαίνεται λέγων is best regarded as a φαίνομαι/δοκῶ formula or a λέγειν/εἰπεῖν formula. Note that with εἰπεῖν Antiformula S outnumbers Formula S, but that λέγω is Formulaic in all categories.

We pass now to repetitive vocabulary where g is predominant-ly in S grammatical category.

ἀποκτείνω Formula S Δημ.23.26+ ἕάν τις ἀποκτείνῃ, 27+,
30+, 36+, 48+, 50+, 53+, 60+, 75+,
84+, 106+, 215+, 215+, 220+· 23.27+ ἕάν τις ἀποκτείνῃ"...·
"Χαρῖδημον, 34+, 38+, 41+, 50+, 75+, 91+, 119+, 120+, 121+,
142+, 143+, 200+· 23.11+ ἂν τις αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνῃ, 24 ἕάν τις
ἀποκτείνῃ δούς, 26+ ἂν τις ἀποκτείνῃ τινα, 45 ἂν τις τινα τῶν...·
108+ ἂν τις ἀποκτείνῃ τινα τῶν...· 54 ἂν τις ἐν ἄθλοισι ἀποκτείνῃ
τινα, 199+ αὐτὸν ἂν τις ἀποκτείνῃ.

O Δημ.23.45, see above.

Antiformula O Δημ.23.26, 54, 108, see above.

While ἕάν τις ἀποκτείνῃ is no doubt a formula from the wording of laws, its numbers here are fortuitously due to Demosthenes' repeated quotation of the phrase. Compare:-

κτείνω Formula S Πλ.Ν.9.874γ ἕάν τις πατρὶ βοηθῶν... κτείνῃ
τινα. Δημ.23.39 ἕάν τις τὸν ἀνδροφόνον
κτείνῃ ἀπεχόμενον.

Antiformula S Πλ.Ν.9.868ε ἕάν... κτείνῃ τινα τις.
Δημ.23.217 κἂν ἐπὶ τοῦτοις τις κτείνῃ.

O Πλ.Ν.9.847γ, 868ε, see above.

To continue with cases of g mainly S:-

ἵέναι Formula S only Θ.1.44.1 ἕάν τις ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν ἴῃ ἢ...·
5.33.1 ἢν τινες ἴωσιν...· 23.2 καὶ ἢν
τινες ἐς... γῆν ἴωσι...· 6.79.1 τῶν δὲ ἐχθρῶν ἢν τις... ἴῃ·
8.37.5, 58.4. Πλ.Π.3.414ε ἕάν τις ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἴῃ. (= Δημ.18.177).
Antiformula: nil.

In ἐάν τις... (rarely †) we have another documentary formula; it has a variant in ἐάν δέ τις... (rarely †), for which see Formula 4 following. Compare:-

ἐλθεῖν Formula S only Πλ.Ν.7.817α ἐάν ποτέ τινες αὐτῶν ἡμᾶς
ἐλθόντες ἐπανερωτήσωσιν.... Δημ.20.
40 ἐάν τις ἐπ' αὐτ' ἔλθῃ, 166+ κἂν τις ἀρ' ἔλθῃ ποτε καιρός.

The above seems either not an independent formula at all, or at any rate less so than ἴη. The cases which follow are also less certain.

φημί Formula S Πλ.Πρτ.323α ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἄλλαις... ἐάν τις φῆ...
εἶναι. Γργ.499β ἐάν τις ταῦτα φῆ... εἶναι. Π.1.
335ε+ ἐάν τις αὐτὸ φῆ... εἰρηκέναι. 2.379ε† 4.419α+ 5.479α.
Θτ.164β, 206β+.

Ο Πλ.Γργ.481ε ἐάν τι σοῦ λέγοντος... μὴ φῆ...

Antiformula I Πλ.Φδ.101α ἐάν τῆ κεφαλῆ μερίζονά τινα φῆς
εἶναι. Ν.11.937β ἐάν τὰ ψευδῆ φῆ τινα με-
μαρτυρηκέναι.

ἀλίσκομαι Formula S only Θ.4.46.3 ὡστ' ἐάν τις ἀλῶ ἀποδιδράσκων.
Δημ.19.286 23.219+ ἂν τις ἀλῶ φόνου.
24.103+, 103 κἂν τις ἀλοῦς... ἐμβάλλῃ, 144.

Antiformula I Πλ.Ν.12.952δ ἐάν γ'... ἀλῶ πολυπραγμον-
ῶν τι.

Above again we possibly have a documentary formula.

ποιῶ Formula S Πλ.Γργ.466ε+ ἐάν τις ποιῆ... Π.2.380α+ 3.
389α+ 4.445β+ ἐάν περ τις ποιῆ. Ν.9.862γ ἐάν
τις ἀδικῶν τινα κερδαίνειν ποιῆ. Δημ.19.133 ἐάν τις ταῦτα
ποιῆ

Ο Θ.2.74.2+ ἦν τι ποιῶμεν. Πλ.Απ.25ε ἐάν τινα
μοχθηρὸν ποιήσω

Antiformula S Πλ.Ν.4.738β οὐτ' ἂν καινὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τις
ποιῆ...

Ο Πλ.Γργ.460α ἐάν περ ῥητορικὸν σὺ τινα ποιήσης.
Ν.9.862γ, see above.

It is interesting that here the majority of instances have present, not aorist, subjunctive; but this is true for Antiformula as well as Formulaic wording.

ἀδικῶ Formula S Πλ.Ευθδ.273γ+ ἂν τις αὐτὸν ἀδικῆ. Ν.9.862γ
ἂν τις ἀδικῶν τινα... Δημ.8.67+ κἂν τις
ὑμᾶς ἀδικῆ (= 10.70+) 18.123 ἂν τις ἠδικηκῶς τι τυγχάνῃ...
21.224 ἐάν τις ὑμῶν ἀδικούμενος...

ἀδικῶ Formula ctd. O Πλ.Γργ.508β+ εἴαν τι ἀδικῆ. Δημ.33.1+
εἴαν τι ἀδικῶνται...

Antiformula S Πλ.N.12.953β εἴαν ἀδικῆ τις αὐτῶν τινα...
Δημ.19.190 ἀλλ' εἴαν ἀδικοῦντα λάβωσι τιν'
αὐτῶν... 37.36 κἂν ἄλλο τι ἀδικῆ τις...

O Πλ.N.9.862γ, 12953β, Δημ.18.123, see
above.

ἐθέλω Formula S Pl.Euthd. 274β+ εἴαν τις ἐθέλη μανθάνειν· Σμπ.
184γ+ εἴαν τις ἐθέλη, τινα θεραπεύειν· Φδρ.274α+
N.5.733α+ 11.936ε εἴαν τις ἐκῶν μὴ θέλη...

Antiformula S Πλ.N.12.954α φωρᾶν δὲ ἂν ἐθέλη τις...

O Πλ.Σμπ.184γ, see above.

The above cases are possibly independent formulae, but may be merely an indirect consequence of grammatical grouping. S instances are less convincing evidence than O and I cases. But by contrast to them consider the following where there either is no tendency towards Formulaic wording or a positive tendency away from it:-

γίγνομαι Formula S only Πλ.Φδ.66δ εἴαν τις ἡμῖν καὶ σχολὴ γέν-
ηται...; γὰρ ἂν τι χειρόν γίγνηται·
Π.1.346β· 5.460γ. Δημ.19.45.

Antiformula S Pl. Κρα.393γ κἂν ἐν βασιλείᾳ γίγνηται
τι ἔκγονον· Φλβ.25β· Τι.38β ἂν ποτε
λύσις τις αὐτῶν γίγνηται· N.1.645ε· 9.864δ.

O Πλ.N.9.862α οὔτε ἂν μελῶν οὔτε ἂν
ἐλάττων τῶν γίγνηται.

ἦ Formula S Πλ.Κρι.44δ εἴαν τις... διαβεβλημένος ἦ· Γργ.459γ εἴαν
τι ἡμῖν πρὸς λόγου ἦ, 502β· Μεν.81δ· Π.7.530γ· 8.
573δ· Πρμ.141α+ εἴαν τι ἦ ἐν χρόνῳ· Κριτι.107γ ἂν τις τι καὶ
βραχὺ... ἀπομιμῆσθαι δυνατὸς ἦ· N.11.934γ+ μαινόμενος δὲ ἂν τις
ἦ· 12.954γ. Δημ.23.36, 43.

O Πλ.Θτ.195α εἴαν του σμικρὸν ἦ τὸ ψυχάριον.

Antiformula S Πλ.ΜνΞ.234γ καὶ εἴαν κένης ὧν τελευτήσῃ·
Σμπ.210β εἴαν ἐπιεικῆς ὧν τὴν ψυχὴν τις... ἔχη·
Φλβ.33γ εἴαν πρὸς λόγον τι ἦ· N.9.855α ἂν ἦ τι τῶν... περιττεῦον.
Δημ.18.112 ἂν τῶν... ἀρχόντων τις ὧν τύχη 39.8 46.16.

O Πλ.Πρμ.133α ἂν ἐκεῖνός τῶν ὁμοίων ἦ· N.9.855α see
above.

The Antiformula instances in the last case are swelled by cases of participial subordination and it may be that ἐάν τις (...) ἢ is more of an independent formula than ἐάν τις (...) γίννηται.

ὀφλιουάνω Formula S Δημ.21.44 ἂν τις ὀφλῶν...μὴ ἐκτίνη
 O Πλ.Ν.9.856δ ἐάν τινι πατήρ...ὀφλωσι...δίκην.
 Antiformula S Πλ.Ν.9.857α+ ἐάν ὀφλη τις... (= 878γ).
 Δημ.24.103 κἂν ἀστρατείας τις ὀφλη
 O Δημ.25.53+ ἐάν ὀφλη τι...

In this last case the Antiformulaic instances are the more suggestive of an independent formula, if any.

Instances of Counterformula (3+?): 3+12 @.1.65.1 ἦν μὴ τι... γίννηται, 126.1 ἦν μὴ τι ἐσακούωσιν* 5.22.1 ἦν μὴ τινος δικαιότερας...ποιῶνται, 30.1 ἦν μὴ τι...κώλυμα ἦ* 6.47 ἦν μὴ τι...οἷοί τε ὡσιν ὠφελῆσαι...* 7.11.3, 71.7* 8.53.3. Πλ.Πρτ.313δ ἐάν μὴ τις τύχη γυμναστικῶς...ῶν (≡ 313ε), 343δ ἐάν μὴ τις ὑπολάβῃ...* Κρι.53ε ἂν μὴ τινα λυπῆς* Γργ.520ε ἐάν μὴ τις αὐτῷ ἀργύριον διδῶ* Σμπ. 188γ* Π.6.492α* Φδρ.233γ, 273δ* Ν.6.764α ἐάν μὴ τι παραγγέλωσιν... Δημ. 20.119 καὶ τοὺς προγόνους ὀργίζεσθε ἂν μὴ τις φῆ ποιεῖν* 24.89 ἂν μὴ τις ἐκτελεῖ* 50.11* 58.4 ἐάν μὴ τις ἀρα τῶν...βοηθήσῃ(τ).

3+12+16 Πλ.Π.5.470α ἐάν μὴ τι δὴ ὁ θεὸς ἄλλο λέγη.

3+16 Πλ.Π.4.441α ἂν γε τοῦ λογιστικοῦ ἄλλο τι φανῆ* Φλβ. 118 ἂν ἄλλη τις κρείττων τούτων φανῆ. Δημ.2.21 κἂν ῥήγμα κἂν στρέμμα κἂν ἄλλο τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων...* 19.143 κἂν ἄλλος τις ἐπ' αὐτὰ...* 37.36 ἀλλὰ κἂν ἄλλο τι ἀδικῆ τις (τ), 38 ἂν ὅπως ἄλλο τι* 39.9 ἂν ἄλλη τις ἀρχή...

3+18 Πλ.Γργ.454β ἐάν καὶ ὀλίγον ὕστερον τοιοῦτόν τι σε ἀνέρωμαι. Δημ.20.160 μὴδ' ἂν τοιοῦτοί τινες γένωνται.

3+24 Πλ.Κρα.425β καὶ ἂν σμικρόν τι αὐτῶν οἷοί τε ὤμεν κατιδεῖν.

3+12

Instances of Anticounterformula (3+?) Πλ.Σμπ.214ε ἐάν τι μὴ ἀληθές λέγω* Φό.92δ ἐάν τις αὐτοὺς μὴ φυλάττηται* Π.2.377δ ἐάν τις μὴ καλῶς φεῦδῆται* Πλτ.296β ἂν τις ἀρα μὴ πελθῶν...ἀναγκάζῃ...* Ν.11.915α ἐάν τις μὴ θεραπεύῃ* 12.958β. Δημ.1.16 ἐάν τι μὴ κατὰ

γνώμην ἐμβῆ^{οο} 10.52 ἂν τι μὴ νῦν ἐπανορθωσώμεθα 50.57.

3.16 Θ.6.25.2 καὶ ἦν τι ἄλλο...δοκεῖ..., 41.4 καὶ ἦν τι ἄλλο...φαίνεται... 8.63.4 καὶ ἦν τι ἄλλο δέη.
Πλ.Πρτ.325α ἔάν τι καὶ ἄλλο βούληται μανθάνειν, 342γ* Μνε.246δ* Π.8.553δ (τ). Δημ.20.1 κἂν τις ἄλλος...λέγῃ

3+18 Πλ.Σμπ.183γ ἔάν τι ὀρώσι τοιοῦτον γιγνόμενον* Ν.4.710δ ἔάν ποτέ τινες δύο ἄρχοντες γένωνται τοιοῦτοι* 6.762δ τῶν δὲ...ἔάν τις τι δρῶ τοιοῦτον... 9.853γ, 854ε πολιτῆς δὲ ἂν ποτέ τις τι τοιοῦτον δρῶν... Δημ.6.8 ἂν τι τοιοῦτον ἐπιχειρῆ ποιεῖν* 40.54* 59.86.

3+22 Πλ.Κριτι.107γ ἂν τις τι καὶ βραχὺ...ἀπομιμεῖσθαι δυνατός ἦ.

3+23 Πλ.Πλτ.301β οὐκοῦν κἂν τις ἄρα ἐπιστήμων ὄντως ὢν εἶς ἄρχῃ

3+24 Πλ.Ν.3.697δ ἂν τι καὶ σμικρὸν πλέον...ἡγῶνται...

3+24+25 Πλ.Ν.12.941γ ἔάν τις τι κλέπτῃ δημόσιον μέγα ἦ καὶ σμικρὸν^ο.

(3+25) 3+24+25, see preceding paragraph.

3+28 Πλ.Φδ.73γ ἔάν τις τι ἕτερον ἢ ἰδῶν...(Τ)* Ν.8.847β καὶ ἔάν τις αὐτοῦς ἕτερος...

3+29 Πλ.ΙΕ 364ε ἂν τι ἐνθένδε μᾶλλον μάθω* Θτ.192ε ἔάν τι μᾶλλον νῦν ἐπίσῃ.

3+12

Instances of Multiple Antiformula (3+?) Πλ.ΙΕ 372α ἔάν μὴ εἰδῶς τις ἀδικήσῃ* Χρμ.170β ἔάν μὴ προσέπισται τις... Πρτ.329α* Κρα.435β* Π.8.565α ἔάν μὴ μέλιστός τι μεταλαμβάνῃ* 9.592α ἔάν μὴ θεῖα τις συμβῆ τύχη* Θτ.183γ* Ν.1.626β. Δημ.23.218 ἂν μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τιθῆ τις* 44.64 ἔάν μὴ νόμῳ γεγονῶς ἦ τινι* 50.11 ἔάν μὴ μισθὸν τις διδῶ.

(3+16) 3+12+16, see above, p.37.

3+18 Δημ.23.217 ἂν τις πάθῃ τι τοιοῦτον.

3+21 Θ.4.59.2 ἦν οἴηται τι πλέον σχήσειν

3+24 Πλ.Πρτ.329α ἔάν τις καὶ σμικρὸν ἐπανερωτήσῃ τι τῶν...

3+25 Πλ.Απ.20δ μηδ' ἔάν δόξω τι ὑμῖν μέγα λέγειν

3+28 Δημ.10.21 ἕτερον πάλιν ἂν συμβῆ τι.

This ends the lists of Counterformula, Anticounterformula and Multiple Antiformula, Former (3). As with εἴ τις, Anticounterformula prevails over Counterformula. An exception is εἴαν μή τις, which, as with εἴ, is normal, while εἴαν τις μή is less common. With εἴαν-ἄλλος, ἄλλο τι seems normal in Demosthenes while in Thucydides and Plato εἴαν τι ἄλλο is normal; in Plato both cases of 3+16 have verb φανῆ. in Demosthenes, a high proportion of all εἴαν-ἄλλος sentences have κἄν. In Anticounterformula, there seems to be a disproportionately large number of εἴαν τις τι- see 3+18, 3+22, 3+24+25, 3+28. This ends the account of εἴαν.

4/4, Former εἴαν δέ κτλ. (pp.3.3.1 and 2).

On classification, see on 2/2, p.3.3.19 above.

Instances of Formula (4) (i - qV) 0.1.37.4+ δέ που, 70.7 δ' ἄρα
 (τ), 103.1+ δέ, 140.1+ ἄρα
 2.24.1 δέ, 87.9+ δέ τις ἄρα 5.23.6 δέ, 47.2 δέ 6.25.2+ δέ 8.
 18.3+ δέ, 37.3+ δέ, 67.2 δέ. Πλ.Πρτ.335γ+ οὖν Γργ.482ε+ οὖν,
 483α μὲν (≅ 489β μὲν), 522β τε, 527β δέ Κρα.413ε+ οὖν, 433ε+ τε.
 Φδ.60β+ δέ, 80γ μὲν Π.2.379α τέ τις αὐτόν 3.406δ δέ 4.429ε τε.
 5.453δ τε, 461γ+ δέ 6.488ε+ τε 7.529β(τ) τε 10.610γ δέ γε.
 Πρμ.129δ οὖν, 129δ δέ 0τ.181α μὲν Σφ.218α δ' ἄρα Φλβ.23δ+ δέ,
 38ε+ μὲν τις γε αὐτῶ Τλ.54ε+ οὖν Ν.5.740γ+ δέ, 745α+ δέ 6.
 754ε δέ, 765δ+ δέ, 766γ δέ, 767ε+ δέ 8.843β+ δέ, 845β δέ, 845ε
 δέ 9.857β+ δέ, 859β ἄρα, 863ε+ τε, 864ε ἄρα, 865δ δέ, 866α+ δέ,
 866δ? δ' ἄρα (≅ 867γ ἄρα), 868β δέ, 869α δ' ἄρα, 868ε+ δέ, 871α+
 τε, 871δ+ δέ, 872γ δέ, 872δ ἄρα, 873β+ δέ, 878ε+ δέ, 880α μὲν,
 881δ+ δέ 10.907ε+ δέ, 910γ δέ 11.914ε+ δέ, 915γ δέ, 917γ+ δέ,
 918α δέ, 921β δέ, 924α δέ, 925β οὖν δή, 926β δέ, 929δ δέ τις τινα,
 932γ+ δέ, 932δ δέ, 935γ δέ, 935ε+ δέ, 937α δέ τις τινα, 937γ δέ.
 12.943α+ δέ, 943β+ δέ, 946α δέ, 954β δέ, 954β+ δέ, 955γ δέ,
 958γ+ δέ, 958γ+ δέ. Δημ.8.30 μὲν 17.8+ μὲν, 19 δέ 18.307 δέ.
 19.327 δέ 20.50+ τε 23.46 δέ 24.18 δέ, 32+ δέ, 85 γάρ 25.71
 δέ 32.1 δέ 34.4? δέ 41.18 ἄρα 59.17 δέ.

Formula (4) ctd.: (ii - qWV) 0.5.18.4 δέ 8.37.5 δέ, 58.4
 δέ. Πλ.Λυ.211β+ δέ τι αὐτῶν.
 Σμπ.212δ μὲν Φδ.91γ μὲν Η.2.364γ τε 4.437δ μὲν 6.500δ οὖν.
 Ν.1.634γ ἄρα τις ἡμῶν, 646δ ἄρα τινα ἡμῶν 4.706α(τ) τε, 706α(τ)
 τε ἄρα 6.761β τε 8.846β δέ 10.900γ δέ, 909γ δέ 11.915ε δέ,
 921α δή, 923ε δέ, 929δ δέ τις τινα, 930δ δέ 12.953β δέ.
 Δημ.17.18 δέ 21.202 μὲν 23.81 δέ.

Formula (4) ctd. (iii - qVW) Πλ.Κρι.51δ τε° Π.10.609β ἄρα°
 Φδρ.275δ δέ° Ν.6.755γ δέ° τις ἄρα°
 10.907ε δέ° 11.916β δέ°, 928γ δέ° 12.952α δέ°, 953γ δ' οὖν ποτε.
 Δημ.23.91 δέ° 58.11 δέ°.

(iv - qW) Πλ.Ν.11.914γ δέ°, 932δ δέ° 12.947ε
 δέ°. Δημ.21.203 δέ°.

(vi - qO) Πλ.Γργ.489β δέ° Ν.9.889δ δέ°.

Instances of Antiformula (4) (ia - qV) Θ.1.82.2 καὶ ἐὰν μὲν
 ἔσακούωσι τι πρεσβευ-
 ομένων ἡμῶν. Πλ.Ευθφρ.14β ἐὰν μὲν κεχαρισμένα τις ἐπίστ-
 ηται... Κρα.390α ἐὰν τε.../ἐὰν τε ἐν βαρβάρους τις ποιῆ, 400β
 ἐὰν μὲν καὶ σμικρὸν τις παρακλήνη° Π.5.476γ τε° 8.556α γάρ° 10.
 601α τε° Θτ.196β δέ° γε° Ν.6.784β δέ° 7.799β ἂν δὲ παρ' αὐτὰ τίς
 τῷ θεῶν...προσάγη° 11.914β δέ°, 914ε δέ°, 923ε ἐὰν δὲ ὑὸς τῷ
 τελευτήσῃ, 928β δέ° 12.946ε ἐὰν μὲν ἢ τῷ...τετιμημένον, 954δ δέ°.
 Δημ.9.16 τε° 18.307 ἐὰν δέ τις ἰδίᾳ τι λυπήσῃ° 19.228 δ' ἄρα°
 21.44 μὲν, 44 δέ° 22.75 δέ° (≡ 24.183 δέ° (τ))° 23.59 ἂν ἄρα συμ-
 βῆ τι παθεῖν° 41.20 ἐὰν ἄρα τολμᾷ τι βλασφημεῖν.

(ib - Vq) Πλ.Π.2.361β καὶ ἐὰν ἄρα
 σφάλῃται τι° Φδρ.275δ
 ἐὰν δ' ἀνέρη τι (τ)° Πλτ.293δ ἐὰν τέ γε ἀποκτείνοντες τινας...°
 Ν.1.634γ ἂν ἄρα τις...φέξῃ τι (τ)° 5.747β μὲν° 6.755γ ἐὰν δέ
 τις ἄρα δοκῆ τινι, 758γ τε, 764β ἐὰν δ' ἐπιχώριος ὢν τις...
 ἀκοσμή, 767δ δέ°, 767ε ἐὰν δέ τις ἐπαιτιᾶται τινα..., 774β ἐὰν
 δὲ κολῶσιν τινα ἐπιχειρή° 7.808ε ἂν δ' αὐ προστυγχάνων τις μὴ
 κολάζῃ° 9.857α τε, 866α μὲν, 873ε δ' ἄρα° 11.914γ ἐὰν δέ τις
 ἐπαιτιᾶται...ἔχειν τινα..., 914ε ἐὰν δ' ἀφαιρήται τινα..., 916γ
 ἐὰν δὲ ἀνδροφόνον ἀποδῶται τίς τινι..., 924β δὲ δὴ° 12.946δ
 μὲν, 955α δέ°, 956γ ἐὰν δ' ἐγκαλῶν τις...βούληται... Δημ.
 8.32 ἂν μὲν οὖν τὸν αἴτιον εἶπῃ τις, 32. ἂν δὲ τοιοῦτον λέγῃ
τίς° 19.100 μὲν οὖν° 21.32 ἂν μὲν τὸν ἰδιώτην ὄντα τιν'
 αὐτῶν ὑβρίσῃ τίς, 33 μὲν, 183 ἂν δὲ πλούσιος ὢν τις ὑβρίσῃ°
 23.16 ἐὰν γὰρ ἀποκτείνῃ τις..., 41 ἂν δ' ἔξω τούτων κτείνῃ τις,
 59 ἄρα° 51.11 ἐὰν μὲν πένθης ὢν τις...ἀμάρτη.

(ic - V...q) Πλ.Ν.7.798α ἂν ποτ'
 ἄρα ἀναγκασθῆ μετα-
 βάλλειν αὐτὸς... (τ)° 9.879α ἐὰν δὲ ἐκ συνθήκης αἰτιᾶται...
 μηχανὴν εἶναι τις τὸ γεγονός.

Antiformula (4) ctd. (ia - qWV) Πλ.Γργ.469δ ἐὰν γὰρ ἄρα ἐμοὶ
 δόξῃ τινὰ τουτωνί...δεῖν τεθ-
 νάναι° Π.4.423γ ἐὰν τε τῶν φυλάκων τις φαῦλος ἔκγονος γένηται°
 Πλτ.259δ ἄρα° Ν.7.799β ἂν δὲ παρ' αὐτὰ τίς τῷ θεῶν...προσάγη°
 11.916α ἐὰν δέ τις ἰδιώτῃ τι τῶν...ἀποδῶται...

Antiformula (4) ctd.: (iib1 - WqV) Πλ.Ν.5.742β ἰδιώτη δὲ ἂν
 ἀρα ποτε ἀνάγκη τις γίνηται... 6.774ε ἂν δ' ἄρα τύχη τις ἀήθης συμβαίνει, 784β δέ 8.
 845ε ἂν δέ τις ὄφλη φαρμακείαις τισὶ βλάπτων... 9.873ε δέ,
 880γ ἂν δὲ ξένος ἢ τῶν μετοίκων τις τύπη... Δημ.18.99 δέ
 21.183 μὲν.

(iib2 - WVq) Πλ.Φλβ.37δ ἂν δέ γε πονηρὰ
 τούτων/-/προσγίγηται τινι
 Ν.6.776α ἔν γάρ, ..ἂν μὲν πόθος ἐνῆ τις 9.881γ ἂν δ' ἐπιχώριος
 ὁ παρατυγχάνων ἢ τις 10.910γ μὲν.

Antiformula (4) ctd.: (iib1 - VqW) Θ.3.44.2 ἦν τε καὶ ἔχοντάς
 τι ξυγγνώμης... (τ).

Πλ.Τι.44β ἂν μὲν οὖν δὴ καὶ συνεπιλαμβάνηται τις ὀρθὴ τροφή
 Ν.1.631β καὶ ἂν μὲν δέχεται τις... πόλις (τ) 6.758γ τ' αὐ
 8.845α δέ 9.909α ἂν μὲν δοκῆ τις σωφρονεῖν αὐτῶν 11.923δ δέ
 12.943α ἂν δέ τις ἐκλείπει τινι κάκη. Δημ.21.32 ἂν μὲν
 τοίνυν ἰδιώτην ὄντα τιν αὐτῶν ὑβρίση τις, 88 μὲν 27.19 οὖν.

(iib2 - VWq) Πλ.Ν.6.755γ ἂν δέ τις ἄρα
 δοκῆ τινι... ἀμεινον εἶναι
 τῶν προβληθέντων τινος.

Antiformula (4) ctd.: (iva - qW) Πλ.Ν.11.916γ ἂν δὲ ἰδιώτη
 τις ἰδιώτης.

(via - qO) Πλ.Ν.11.916α ἂν μὲν ἰατρῷ
 τις ἢ γυμναστῆ.

There are no instances of Formula (v - WpqV), (vii - VpqW)
 (partly because these tend to appear as λόγος δ' ἂν τις λέγ-
 ηται and the like, which are entered under Formula (3)), nor
 of Antiformula (iia - qVW), (ivb - Wq).

That ends the list of Antiformula (4). ἂν γάρ, δέ κτλ.
 is less strongly Formulaic than ἂν τις. The only infringe-
 ments of Rule XIV are ἂν δέ τις ἄρα at Th.II.87.9 and Lg.VI
 755c. The overall F:Af ratios are:- Th.15:2, Pl.35:15, Lg.
 77:49, Dem.22:24 (Lg. supplies so many instances that in this
 case it is useful to present it separately from the rest of
 Plato). Compare the figures for εἰ, εἰ γάρ, δέ κτλ., ἂν, pp.
 3.3.11, 23, 30. Throughout, Thucydides is the most strongly
 Formulaic; Demosthenes is the least Formulaic, except in εἰ,
 where Plato occupies that position. In εἰ γάρ, δέ κτλ. and
 ἂν γάρ, δέ κτλ., Plato and Demosthenes both have higher proportions
 of Antiformula than in εἰ and ἂν alone; with Thucydides,

this is true of εἰ γάρ/δέ by comparison with εἰ, but under ἔάν γάρ/δέ κτλ., Thucydides' proportion of Formula remains high. Again, while in both εἰ and ἔάν with γάρ/δέ κτλ., Plato and Demosthenes are at their least Formulaic, Antiformulaic wording reaches its peak in Demosthenes ἔάν γάρ/δέ κτλ., where alone does Antiformula outnumber Formula. However, while in Plato the figures with γάρ/δέ κτλ. are comparatively like those with simple εἰ and ἔάν, it is in Demosthenes that the presence of the connective greatly reduces the proportion of Formulaic order.

The following table gives the distribution of instances between qV, Vq etc. In this particular Formula Lg. is so strongly represented that it is useful to table that separately from the rest of Plato.

Formula		Antiformula			
qV	Th. 12 Pl. 25 <u>Lg. 53</u> D. 16 <u>106</u>	qV	Th. 1 Pl. 7 <u>Lg. 8</u> D. 9 <u>25</u>	Vq	Th. 3 Pl. 19 <u>Lg. 10</u> D. 32
qWV	Th. 3 Pl. 6 <u>Lg. 14</u> D. 3 <u>26</u>	qWV	Th. 3 Pl. 2 <u>Lg. 5</u> D. 5	WqV	Th. 6 Pl. 2 <u>Lg. 8</u> D. 4
qVW	Th. 3 Pl. 6 <u>Lg. 2</u> D. 11	qVW	Th. 1 Pl. 1 <u>Lg. 3</u> D. 5	VqW	Th. 1 Pl. 1 <u>Lg. 3</u> D. 1
qW	Th. 3 Pl. 1 <u>Lg. 1</u> D. 4	qW	Th. 1 Pl. 1 <u>Lg. 1</u> D. 1	Wq	Th. 1 Pl. 1 <u>Lg. 1</u> D. 0

Again, as in Formulae (1), (2) and (3) the Antiformulaic VqW is more strongly represented than WqV. In V-W/W-V sentences, the choice is mainly between εἰ/ἔάν (δέ/γάρ) τις λόγος λέγ- and εἰ/ἔάν (δέ/γάρ) λέγεται τις λόγος. One of the peculiarities of Lg. in this list is that it has a relatively high proportion

of the equivalent of $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu \delta\epsilon \lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma \tau\iota\varsigma \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\eta\tau\alpha\iota$. As between Plato and Demosthenes obs. the higher proportion of V_q in the latter; this also is a feature of $Lg.$, as also is the high proportion of W_qV , V_qW .

The Formula:Antiformula ratios of the different combinations, $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$, $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu \delta\epsilon$ κτλ. are as follows; (combinations such as $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}$, $\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu} \delta\eta$, are omitted, as also are $\delta\acute{\epsilon} \kappa\omicron\tau\epsilon$ and $\delta\acute{\epsilon} \tau\iota\varsigma$ where an Antiformula q follows).

	Th.	Pl.	Lg.	Dem.	T
ἄρα	1:0	1:2	6:1	1:3	9:6
γάρ		0:1		1:1	1:2
δέ	11:0	8:1	58:23	16:7	93:31
δή			1:0		
μέν		8:2	2:9	3:6	13:17
τε	0:1	9:4	4:2	1:1	14:8
οὖν		6:0		0:2	6:2

The small numbers of $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ are notable, especially as compared with $\epsilon\acute{\iota} \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$, p.3.3.24 above, which is rare only in Thucydides. Obs. in $Lg.$ the great concentration of $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu \delta\acute{\epsilon}$, due mainly to verbatim detail of proposed laws, which increase the numbers of $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu \delta\acute{\epsilon}$ against those of $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$ simple and $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$. Obs. also that although the proportion of $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu \delta\epsilon \dots \tau\iota\varsigma$ is high in $Lg.$, there we find two instances (VII 799b, XI 916c) of $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu \delta\acute{\epsilon} \tau\iota\varsigma \tau\iota\upsilon\alpha$. The following combinations are also worth listing separately:- $\delta\acute{\epsilon} \kappa\omicron\upsilon \tau\iota\varsigma \Theta.1.37.4$ δ'οὖν ποτέ τις N.12.953γ' ποτ'ἄρα...τις, N.5.742β, 7.798α' δέ τις τινα, N.11.929δ, 937α' δέ τις...τι, N.1.634γ, 6.755γ, 767ε, 8.845ε, 11.914γ, 916α, 12.12.943α' Δημ.18.307. Antiformulaic ... τις τινα is at $Lg.$ 916c, 799b. This ends the account of Formula (4) and Antiformula (4).

Instances of Counterformula (4+?): 4+12 Πλ. N.9.855γ $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ἄρα μή τινες ἐθέλωσιν...

4+16 Πλ. Π.3.389δ $\alpha\upsilon\acute{\nu}$ ἄρα ἄλλον τινα λαμβάνη... N.9.868γ $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu \delta\epsilon$ ἄλλος τις δοῦλος... ἀποκτείνῃ... (τ).

Instances of Anticounterformula (4+?) 4+12 Πλ.Γργ.506α ἐὰν δέ
δοκῶ ὁμολογεῖν...° N.6.774α ἂν δ' ἄρα τις μὴ πελθῆται ἐκῶν.

4+16 Πλ.Πρτ.319γ ἐὰν δέ τις ἄλλος ἐπιχειρῆ...° Π.4.434ε
ἐὰν δέ τι ἄλλο...εμφαίνεται Φδρ.266β ἐὰν τέ τινα
ἄλλον ἠγήσωμαι...° N.11.914δ ἐὰν δέ τινος ἄλλου..., 932δ ἐὰν δέ
τινος ἄλλου τῶν...

4+18 Πλ.Σφ.218β ἂν δ' ἄρα τι τοιοῦτον γίνηται. Δημ.23'57
ἂν δέ τι συμβῆ τοιοῦτον.

4+19 Πλ.Ν.12.955γ ἐὰν δέ τι μέρος...

Instances of Multiple Antiformula (4+?) 4+12 Πλ.Πλτ.296β
πελθῶν τις βιάζεται...?(τ)° N.6.767α ἐὰν δ' ἄρα μὴ ἐν τούτοις τις
...λαμβάνῃ

4+16 Πλ.Λα.†81δ ἐὰν δ' ἔγωγε τι ἄλλο...° N.8.846α ἐὰν δ'
ἔγκλημά τῳ μεῖζον ἄλλῳ πρὸς ἄλλον γίνηται.

4+28 Πλ.Ν.6.754ε ἐὰν δέ τις ἕτερον φαίνεται τι...κεκτημένος.

As with Formers (1) and (3), Anticounterformula seems to prevail over Counterformula. That ends the account of Former (4).

5/5, Former ἦ "verbless" (pp.3.3.1 and 2).

The use of ἦ may be divided into (1) nexal ἦ, introducing a new sentence, (2) 'special' ἦ, introducing a phrase which forms a subordinate part of a larger whole, e.g. La.189a εἰ δὲ νεώτερος ὁ διδάσκων ἔσται ἦ τι ἄλλο τῶν τοιούτων ἔχων, Π.10.599α πότερον...οὐκ αἰσθάνεται...ἦ τι καὶ λέγουσι...; A sub-division of the latter is the 'verbless' phrase, a phrase in which the main content is substantival, though a supplementary verb may be present - e.g. Π.2.382γ ὅταν διὰ μανίαν ἦ τινα ἄνοιαν κακὸν τι ἐπιχειρῶσι πράττειν, 3.405γ ὅτι μὴ τραυμάτων ἕνεκα ἦ τινων νοσημάτων ἐπιπεσόντων. In type (1), the order ἦ τις is not particularly common; in (2) it is less uncommon, but particularly in the 'verbless' phrases it seems common enough for treatment as a Formula. Type (2) and 'verbless' ἦ is not confined to the sense 'or'; it can mean 'either' and 'than' and it can

stand initial in the sentence, provided it introduces not the sentence as a whole but a primarily substantival phrase. Clearly a Formula like ἡ τις cannot be classified like, say, ἄλλος τις, but neither, in view of the confinement to primarily substantive phrases, can we use the same division as in εἰ τις κτλ. The classification which follows is accommodated to the sentence-types which actually occur, arranged as far as possible in correspondence. The same remarks apply to καὶ and ἀλλά, Formers (6) and (7), pp.3.3.52,56 below.

Instances of Formula (5) p_qW! Πλ.Λα.196ε ἡ τινα κάπρον° Π.2.
382γ° 4.431α° Θτ.174δ°
Φδρ.230δ, 242ε, 248ε° Πλτ.261δ, 265ε, 296β° Φλβ.37ε, 51γ° Τλ.
56ε, 84γ° Ν.1.624α° 2.655ε, 667β° 4.704α, 714α, 715γ° 5.727α,
727α, 740γ° 6.759β° 7.770δ° 8.838γ° 11.926γ, 933δ,
934α. Δημ.21.33.
Πλ.Π.3.389γ ἡ τινα τῶν συνναυτ-
ῶν° 9.572α° Φλβ.54ε, 55β° Τλ.
62δ° Ν.2.658δ. Δημ.5.16.

p_qWY Πλ.Πρμ.145β ἡ τινος μεικτοῦ ἐξ
ἀμφοῖν.

p_qW! Πλ.Ν.1.644α ἡ τινα πρὸς ἰσχύον°
4.716γ ἡ ποῦ τις ὡς φασιν ἀνθρ-

ωπος.

All the above are † sentences, in which q "cannot" come later than directly after the W-element (Rule XXVII); in the first paragraph the phrase ends with that element, in the third it continues with a Y-element; in the second paragraph, the W-element includes the article; the last two cases are infringements of Rules V and XI respectively.

Formula (5) ctd. p_qWW Πλ.Φδρ.248δ ἡ τινος οἰκονομικοῦ ἡ χρη-
ματιστικοῦ° Φλβ.22β ἡ τινος ἀνάγκης
οὐκ εὐδαίμονος, 37ε° Ν.11.936ε. Δημ.19.339° 20.61.

p_qYW Πλ.Φδρ.251α ἡ τινα σώματος ἰδέαν° Φλβ.
41γ° Ν.11.935ε.

It is not clear to what extent these are separate categories; they are plain sentences in which the W-element is extended, either by another W-element or by a descriptive phrase which does

not qualify as a W-element.

Formula (5) ctd. pqW...V Πλ.Π.3.405γ ἢ τινων νοσημάτων ἐπιπεσ-
δόντων· φδρ.255γ ἢ τις ἡχώ...ἀλλομένη.

pq...V...W Πλ.Π.9.574δ ἢ τινος ὁφὲ νύκτωρ ἰόν-
τος τοῦ ἱματίου.

In all these the verb is supplementary; in the last q is possessive genitive with the garment.

Formula (5) ctd. pqVY Πλ.Θτ.198ε ἢ τι ἀναγνωσόμενος ὁ γραμματικὸς.

In the last the noun is still the main element.

Formula (5) ctd. pqY Πλ.Κρα.407γ ἢ τινες ὕστερον.

It is not clear how distinct this should be from pqW.

The above are the more typical cases of ἢ τις Formulaic; in the categories which follow it is less clear whether we are dealing with a Formula, but there are some 'Formulaic' instances.

Formula (5) ctd. πότερον...ἢ Πλ.Σφ.219α πότερον ὡς τεχνίτην
αὐτὸν ἢ τινα ἀτεχνον...θῆσομεν;
N.9.867β πότερον ἐκουσλους αὐτοῦς ἢ τινας ὡς ἀκουσλους νομοθετη-
τέον;

The latter above infringes Rule XI. Both seem to be cases of the idiom seen in Lg.740c θήλεις ἢ τινες ἄρρενες, and the postponement of ὡς to be motivated by that phraseology. That idiom is probably also the cause of the Formulaic order; contrast the corresponding Antiformulaic instances, p.48 below.

Formula (5) ctd. ἢ = either Πλ.Π;85555α ἀνταγωνιστῆς...φαῦλος
ἢ τινος νίκης ἢ... Σφ.234β παιδίας
ὁὲ ἔχεις ἢ τι τεχνικώτερον ἢ...; Τλ.83γ καὶ τὸ μὲν...ὄνομα
ἢ τινες ἰατρῶν που...ἐπωνόμασαν ἢ...(τ). Δημ.14.40 δεομένους
ἦτοι τινος ἐκουσλου ἢ ἀκουσλου διαλλακτοῦ.

ἢ = than Πλ.Πλτ.276β μᾶλλον...ἢ τινι τῶν βα-
σιλέων. N.7.802γ μὴ ἐπιτρέποντας
ἀλλ' ἢ τρισιν ὀλίγοις. Δημ.14.3 μᾶλλον ἐκεῖνψ πιστεύοντας ἢ
τρισιν αὐτῶν.

That ends the list of Formula (5).

Instances of Antiformula (5) pWqI Πλ.Γργ.514α ἢ ἀρχὴν τινων·
 Σμπ.203α ἢ χειρουργίας τινος,
 210δ (τ)· Π.3.400γ ἢ τοι συναμφότερον τι· 4.443ε ἢ καὶ πολιτικὸν
 τι· Φδρ.235γ ἢ καὶ συγγραφῶν τινων· Πλτ.261ε· Ν.1.644ε ἢ σμήρ-
 ινθοὶ τινες (ἐνοῦσαι· 4.714α· 6.757δ ἢ καὶ κράτος δήπου τι,
 770δ ἢ μαθημάτων ποτέ τινων· 8.847δ· 10.903α. Δημ.21.148·
 25.52.

Πλ.Ν.8.846α αὐτὸν ἢ τῶν αὐ-
 τοῦ τι. Δημ.20.57 ἢ τῶν
 τοιούτων τι· 21.140· 58.15.

pWqY Πλ.Γργ.455β ἢ τάξεως τινος
 πρὸς πολεμίου· Φδ.80β ἢ
 ἔγγυς τι τούτου· Δημ.58.54 ἢ διαφέρον τι τοῖς ἐμπόροις.

In Lg.I.644e above, the participle, though grammatically in agreement with σμήρινθοι, seems to "belong" in sense not only to that but to its counterpart in the previous clause, so that the immediate ἢ-clause ends with q. The above instances correspond to the pW set in Formula, p.45 above.

Antiformula (5) ctd. pWqW Πλ.Ιων 531β ἢ τῶν μάντεων τις τῶν
 ἀγαθῶν· Γργ.520α ἢ ἔγγυς τι καὶ παρα-
 πλήσιον· Φδρ.248δ· Ν.2.657α· 4.704α ἢ ποταμοῦ τινος... ἐπωνυμία·
 11.915β ἢ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ξένων (τ), 928β ἢ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινι
 πόλεων. Δημ.24.114 ἢ τῶν σκευῶν τι τῶν... (τ)· 25.29, 95.

pWWq Πλ.Φδ.85δ ἢ λόγου θεοῦ τινος.

pYqW Πλ.Γργ.509α ἢ σοῦ τις νεανικώτερος,
 517δ ἢ δημιουργοῦ του αὐτῶν τούτων·
 Π.4.433α ἢ τοι τούτου τι εἶδος, 440ε ἢ λογιστικοῦ τι εἶδος· Ν.
 9.850γ ἢ καὶ τὸ παράπαν διὰ βίου τινα μονήν.

pYWq Πλ.Ιων535β ἢ καὶ τῶν περὶ Ἀνδρομάχην
 ἐλεεινῶν τι· Π.4.425δ ἢ καὶ τὸ παράπαν
 ἀγορανομικὰ ἅττα.

pYqV Πλ.Φδρ.248δ ἢ περὶ σώματος Ἰασίν τινος
 ἔσομένου (τ)· Ν.10.901γ ἢ φαυλός τις
 ὢν.

There is nothing on the Formula side corresponding exactly to pYqV; in the above five classes the boundary between Y- and W-elements is not easy to determine.

Antiformula (5) ctd. pWq...V Πλ.Ν.8.838γ ἢ Μακαρέας τινος
 ἀδελφαῖς μενχθέντας.

pVqI Πλ.Λυ.218δ ἢ ἐνεκά του.

pYqY Πλ.Π.6.493δ ἢ αὐτό τι ἕναστον.

Antiformula (5) ctd. ppqX Πλ.Πλτ.275ε ἢ καὶ τινὰ ἐπιμελητικὴν,
295β· Τι.33γ ἢ καὶ τις ὧν δυνατὸς...
N.3.681δ· 5.738δ· 12.950δ. Δημ.20.123 ἢ καὶ τις πολίτης.

πότερον...ἢ Πλ.Μεν.73ε πότερον ἀρετῆ...
ἢ ἀρετῆ τις; 74γ, 74β.

ἢ = either Θ.4.64.3 οἰκελοὺς οἰκειῶν
ἠσᾶσθαι, ἢ Δωριᾶ τινὰ Δωριῶς
ἢ... Πλ.Γργ.514β οἰκοδόμημα...ἢ τῶν φέλων τι ἢ ἡμέτερον...
Π.1.331β ὀφείλοντα ἢ θεῶ θυσίας τινὰς ἢ...· N.4.709α ἢ γὰρ
πόλεμος τις...ἀνέτρεψε...ἢ...ἀπορία· 8.844α πλὴν δι' οἰκίας ἢ
ἱερῶν τινῶν ἢ...

ἢ = than Θ.2.50.1 ἄλλο τι ὄν ἢ τῶν ξυν-
τρόφων τι. Πλ.Ευθδ.292α

οὐδέν...ἄλλο ἢ ἐπιστήμην τινὰ.

That ends the account of Antiformula (5). There is not entire correspondence between all classes of Formula and Antiformula. It is notable however that that the Formula:Antiformula ratio is higher in pqW/pWq sentences than in those in which larger numbers of elements have to be included. In "verbless phrases" there seem to be no cases of ἢ τις καὶ, while ἢ καὶ τις and ἢ καὶ...τις occur in Antiformulaic sentences (p.47 and above, this page). This is not to say that ἢ τις καὶ does not occur at all - cf. R.VII 540a and X 599a. The three Antiformulaic instances with πότερον, Μεν.73ε, 74c, 74b, seem to have an emphatic use of τις.

Instances of Counterformula (5+?) 5+13 Πλ.N.10.905ε ἢ ποῖός τινες.

5+13α Πλ.Κρα.389β ἢ ὁποιῶσιν τινι.

5+13β Πλ.Π.4.437δ ἢ καὶ ἐνὶ λόγῳ ποιοῦ τινος πάματος

5+16 Θ.3.11.6 ἢ ἄλλῳ τῷ (≅ 5.87, 6.16.3, 65.2, 8.18.1·
Πλ.Χρμ.174α, Λα.192ε, Πρτ.341α, 348δ, 349ε, Ευθφ.6ε,
Απ.41ε, Γργ.454δ, 459β, 489ε, 526γ, Ευθδ.281β, 295β, Μεν.74β,
Φδ.74β, Θτ.184ε· Δημ.1.26, 39.9), 45.7 ἢ ἄλλῳ τῷ δεινῷ.
Πλ.Χρμ.161β ἢ ἄλλου του τῶν σοφῶν· Λα.193β ἢ ἄλλης τινος τέχνης,
195δ ἢ ἄλλῳ τινι δημιουργῷ, 196α ἢ καὶ ἄλλης τινος ἀγωνίας· Ἰων
533β ἢ ἄλλου τινος ἀνδριαντοποιοῦ· Πρτ.322δ ἢ ἄλλης τινος δημι-
ουργικῆς, 329α ἢ ἄλλου τινος τῶν ἱκανῶν εἰπεῖν, 346α ἢ ἄλλο τι
τῶν τοιούτων (≅ 346β, Μεν.72β, Κρα.424ε, Φδ.73β, Π.3.387ε, Πρμ.
160γ(τ), Θτ.182δ, 190δ)· Γργ.456δ ἢ ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν...· 480α ἢ
ἄλλος τις ὧν...· 499δ ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ ἀρετὴν...· 507δ ἢ ἄλλος τις
τῶν...· Μεν.78δ ἢ ἄλλο τι μόριον ἀρετῆς· Λυ.208δ ἢ ἄλλου του

των... Φδ.73δ ἢ ἄλλο τι οἷς... (τ), 92ε ἢ ἄλλη τινι συνθέσει, 103ε ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι ὀ... (τ) Π.1.351γ ἢ ἄλλο τι ἔθνος 6.506β ἢ ἄλλο τι παρὰ ταῦτα 7.530α ἢ ἄλλης τινος συμμετρίας 9.591α ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ δύναμιν 10.597α ἢ ἄλλου τινος χειρτέχνου, 605γ ἢ ἄλλου τινος τῶν... Πρμ.130γ ἢ ἄλλο τι ἀτιμότατόν τε... (τ) Θτ.178β ἢ ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν... (τ), 189δ ἢ ἄλλο τι ἐναντίον, 198γ ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν... ὄσα... N.9.873ε ἢ ζῶον ἄλλο τι. Δημ.9.29 ἢ ἄλλου τινος κακοῦ 19.75 ἢ ἄλλου τινος ἀνθρώπων, 330 ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ δωρεῖάν 24.114 ἢ ἄλλο τι φαυλότατον 58.23 ἢ καὶ τῶν πολιτευομένων ἄλλον τινὰ. (+ Πλ.ΙΜ 301α(τ))

5+16+18 Πλ.Π.4.434β ἢ ἄλλω τῷ τοιούτῳ.

5+16+26 Θ.8.24.6 ἢ ἄλλω τῷ τρόπῳ (= 67.2).

5+18 Πλ.Κρα.404δ ἢ τοιοῦτόν τι Φδ.114δ ἢ τοιαῦτ' ἄττα Φδ.278δ ἢ τοιοῦτόν τι (τ). Δημ.45.21 ἢ τοιοῦτό τι.

5+16+18 Πλ.Ν.12.949γ ἢ τοιούτων τινῶν ἄλλων καινῶν κοσμήσεων...

5+19 Πλ.Μεν.89α ἢ μέρος τι.

5+23 Θ.6.77.1 ἢ ἕνα γέ τινὰ. Πλ.Θτ.203γ ἢ μίαν τινὰ ἰδέαν γεγонуῦσαν συντεθέντων αὐτῶν.

5+28 Πλ.Ν.11.916α ἢ καὶ ἑτέρῳ τινὶ ἀδήλῳ... νοσήματι. Δημ.54.35 ἢ ἕτερόν τι

Instances of Anticounterformula (5+?) 5+16 Πλ.Ευθφρ.5δ ἢ τι ἄλλο τῶν τοιούτων (≡ Π.2.

380α, 4.428γ) Κρα.406ε ἢ τι ἄλλο (≡ Φδ.107α(τ), Π.1.333α, 6.488γ, 10.610ε, Θτ.154γ, 197γ, 209α, Φδρ.255α, 272γ, 273β, 277δ (τ), Δημ.21.134, 23.114, 39.11), 423α ἢ τι ἄλλο τῶν ζῶων Σμπ.183α ἢ τινὰ ἄλλην δύναμιν (τ) Π.1.335ε ἢ τιν' ἄλλον τῶν..., 336α ἢ τινος ἄλλου... οἰομένου... 2.366δ ἢ τινος ἄλλης ἀσθενείας, 369δ ἢ τιν' ἄλλον... θεραπευτήν, 371γ ἢ τις ἄλλος τῶν... δημιουργῶν, 374δ ἢ τι ἄλλο τῶν..., 374δ ἢ τινος ἄλλης μάχης 3.396β ἢ τι ἄλλο τῶν..., 396δ ἢ τινος ἄλλης συμφορᾶς, 416α ἢ τινος ἄλλου κακοῦ ἔθους 4.421δ ἢ τι ἄλλο τῶν... 5.453δ ἢ τινὰ ἄλλην ἀπορον σωτηρίαν, 466β 6.492β ἢ τινὰ ἄλλον κοινόν... σύλλογον, 493δ 7.529ε 10.600α, 603ε ἢ τι ἄλλο ὦν..., 607δ, 613α ἢ τινὶ ἄλλω τῶν... Θτ.143δ ἢ τινὰ ἄλλην φιλοσοφίαν, 161γ ἢ τι ἄλλο ἀτοπώτερον τῶν..., 162δ ἢ τις ἄλλος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, 173δ ἢ τι κοινόν ἄλλο... συνέδριον, 174β Φδρ.256γ, 264β ἢ τι ἄλλο τῶν... Πλτ.295δ ἢ τι καὶ ἄλλο Φλβ.16δ, 39β Τλ.88γ ἢ τινὰ ἄλλην... μελέτην Ν.4.714δ ἢ τινὰ πολιτείαν ἄλλην 6.756α ἢ τινος ἄλλου τῶν... 9.877ε ἢ τινος ἀμαρτήματος ἄλλου τῶν... Δημ.13.34 ἢ τισιν ἄλλοις (τοιούτοις οὖσιν 20.29 ἢ τινος ἄλλου τέλους 21.66 ἢ τις ἄλλος θρασὺς οὕτω... 23.124 45.71 ἢ τινος ἄλλης τέχνης δημιουργόν 54.25.

In the above list of 5+16, references without quotation not in brackets are cases of the standard type ἢ τινος ἄλλης αἰσθήσεως.

5+16+18 Πλ.Θτ.190β ἢ τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτον· Πλτ.263δ ἢ τι τοιοῦτον ἄλλο· N.8.849γ ἢ τινων ἄλλων τοιούτων· 9.872γ ἢ τινος ἕνεκα ἄλλου τοιούτου· 10.884α ἢ τινων ἄλλων τοιούτων κεκοινη- κόντων. Δημ.10.6 ἢ τι φάρμακον ἄλλο τοιοῦτον· 21.5 ἢ τινος ἄλλης αἰτίας...τοιαύτης (τ).

5+16+26 Πλ.Π.5.469β ἢ τινι ἄλλω τρόπῳ. Δημ.20.24 ἢ τιν' ἄλλον//τρόπον.

5+18 Πλ.Φδ.99ε ἢ τινι τοιούτῳ (τ)· Π.10.597δ ἢ τι τοιοῦτον· Θτ.160β ἢ τι τοιοῦτον· Σφ.220γ ἢ τι τοιοῦτον (τ), 243δ ἢ τινε δύο τοιούτῳ· N.9.866ε ἢ τινι τοιούτῳ, 873ε ἢ τι παρά θεῶν τοιοῦτον βέλος ἰόν· 12.934α ἢ τι τοιοῦτον. Δημ.5.14 ἢ τι τοι- οῦτον ἔγκλημα ἰδίον· 23.76 ἢ τι τοιοῦτον.

5+16+18: above, this page.

5+18+26 Πλ.N.10.869γ ἢ τινι τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ.

5+26 Πλ.N.9.868γ ἢ τινι τρόπῳ βιαίῳ.

5+16+26, 5+18+26: above, this page.

5+28 Πλ.Πλτ.262ε ἢ τινας ἑτέρους, 295ε ἢ τις ἕτερος ὁμοιος· N.6.780β ἢ τινος ἑτέρου...ἔχοντος πράγματος· 11.915γ ἢ τινος ἑτέρου τῶν..., 936δ ἢ τιν' ἑτέραν χρεῖαν μὴ σῶφρονα· 12.955α ἢ τινος ἀγῶνος ἑτέρου.

Instances of Multiple Antiformula (5+?) 5+16 Πλ.Φδρ.248ε ἢ τῶν ἄλλος· N.5.742α ἢ καὶ τινος ἀναγκαίας ἄλλης...κηρυκείας περὶ μῆψεῶν τις

5+16+18:

(5+18) 5+16+18: above, p.49.

(5+26) 5+16+26: above, p.49.

5+28 Πλ.N.3.677γ ἢ καὶ σοφίας τινος ἑτέρας.

That ends the lists of Counterformula, Anticounterformula and Multiple Antiformula, Former (5). Observe the paucity of Multiple Antiformula; both ἢ and the vocabulary with which it is commonly coupled are strongly Formula-forming. As between Counterformula and Anticounterformula, where preference can be detected, it seems that Anticounterformula prevails: 5+18, 5+26, 5+28 are normal as against 5+18 etc. With the set(13), (13a) (13b), Anticounterformula prevails, but it would infringe Rule XI/XII if Counterformula occurred. With Former (16), Counter-

formula and Anticounterformula are approximately equal, but this, though the richest category in numbers of instances, is itself only one among several categories. Notice in this set that the norm is ἡ τις ἄλλος (...)/ἡ ἄλλος τις (...), and not ἡ...ἄλλος. In 5+16, not only is there one instance only from Lg., but it is in the less normal form ἡ ζῶον ἄλλο τι (contrast the usual ἡ ἄλλης τινος τέχνης); so also in 5+16, the slightly more numerous cases in Lg. have the two instances ἡ τινα πολιτεῖαν ἄλλην, ἡ τινος ἀμαρτήματος ἄλλου... This raises the question of phraseological differences between dialogues; the following table is to be compared with those in Ch. Two, Appendix A, pp.2.3.34 ff.

	5	5	5+16	5+16	5+28	5+28	overall	ἡ τις	ἡ...τις
Th.		2		6					11
Hp.Mi.									
Chrm.				2					2
Ia.	1			4			1	4	
Ion		2		1					3
Prt.				7					7
Euthphr.				1			1	1	
Ap.				1					1
Cri.									
Grg.		6		8					14
Men.		3		3					7
Hp.Ma.				1					1
Ly.		1		1					2
Euthd.		1		2					3
Mnx.									
Cra.	1		2	1			3	3	
Smp.		1	1				1	1	
Phd.		2	1	3			1	8	
R.I.		1	3	1			3	2	
rell. }	7	6	21	6			29	14	
Prm.	1			2			1	2	
Tht.	2		8	6			12	7	
Phdr.	6		6				12	4	
Sph.	2						4		
Plt.	4	2	1		2		8	3	
Phlb.	7		2				9		
Ti.	4	1	1				5	1	
Criti.									
Lg.	22	19	3	1	4	1	36	22	
Dem.	6	10	9	7		1	19	19	

The column on extreme right is the total not of the three

to the left but of all cases of ἡ τις/ἡ...τις in these lists. It is notable that ἡ τις is absent in Thucydides, rare in "early" Plato, fairly common in "middle" and dominant in parts of "late".

6/6, Former καί "verbless" (pp.3.3,1 and 2).

For introductory remarks, see on ἡ, p.3.3.45 above.

Instances of Formula (6) p_qW Πλ.Φλβ.13γ καί τινας ἐναντίας, 55ε· N.9.855β.

p_qWY Πλ.N.4.720α καί τινες ὑπηρεταί τῶν ἰατρῶν.

The above are † sentences, in which there are two 'possible' positions only for q, none later than directly after W.

Formula (6) ctd. p_qWW Θ.8.73.3 καί τινῶν παρὰ σφίσιν Ἀθηναίων, 83.3 καί τινες καί τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀξίων λόγου ἀνθρώπων. Δημ.5.18· 10.62(τ)· 14.31· 21.215 καί τινος τῶν σφόδρα τοῦτων πλουσίων (τ)

Πλ.Φδ.59α καί τις ἀθή-
της κρᾶσις· Π.2.264γ
καί τινά ὁδὸν μακράν τε...· Πλτ.311α· Φλβ.42δ· N.1.633δ καί τινας δεινὰς θωπέας κολακικάς.

p_qYWW Πλ.Φλβ.30γ καί τις ἐπ' αὐτοῖς αἰτία οὐ φύλη.

p_qWV Πλ.Φλβ.56γ καί τινι προσαγωγῆ κεκομφεμένῳ

The above are clauses of more than one X-element.

Formula (6) ctd. p_qO Θ.1.107.6 καί τι καί τοῦ δήμου καταλύσεως ὑποφίλα.

In the above sentence, containing no X-elements, the occurrence of καί τις καί... (cf. VIII.83.3, p_qWW above) indicates the formulaic nature of that expression (there being no need for q all in the absence of X-elements); cf. καί δὴ καί, καί γάρ τις καί... and "double-καί" sentences in general: Θ.6.61.2 καί γάρ τις καί στρατιᾶ... καί τινά μίαν νύκτα καί κατέδαρθον..., 2.49.5 καί πολλοὶ τοῦτο τῶν ἡμελημένων ἀνθρώπων καί ἔδρασαν... This ends the account of Formula (6). Anti-formula follows overpage.

Instances of Antiformula (6) pWq 0.3.32.3 και τῶν ἄλλων τινας·
 6.29.3° 7.1.2. 0.2.62.4 και
 δειλῶ τινι· 4.25.7 και Λοιρῶν τινες, 98.6° 5.51.1° 8.91.2.
 Πλ.ΙΕ 365ε και φρονήσεως τινος· Συμπ.221ε· Φδ.85ε· Π.4.443γ· Θτ.
 205δ· Φδρ.242δ· Πλτ.308γ. Δημ.2.1 και δύναμιν τινά· 3.30°
 8.73° 13.31° 23.165° 34.8° 39.32.

pWqY 0.2.79.3 και ἐπίκουροι τινες
 μετ' αὐτῶν. Πλ.Π.4.479α
 και ἰδέαν τινά αὐτοῦ κάλλους.

pWq(...)W 0.3.7.4 και φρουρῶν τιν-
 ῶν ὀλίγων. Πλ.Πλτ.
 303γ και Σατυρικόν τινά θλάσον· Φλβ.28δ και φρόνησιν τινά θαυ-
 μαστήν. Δημ.18.271 και φοράν τινά πραγμάτων χαλεπήν.

pWWq 0.3.5.1 και τῶν ἄλλων ὀλίγοι
 τινες συμμαχῶν· 5.25.1 και
 τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῃ πόλεων τινες.
 Δημ.14.24 και πόρου φανεροῦ
 τινος.

pYqW 0.8.25.2 και Τισσαφέρνους τι
 ἐπικουρικόν (τ)· 8.92.5 και
 Ἑρμῶν τις τῶν περιπόλων... ἄρχων (τ). Πλ.Φλβ.13γ και ἀνόμοιοι
 τινες αὐτῶν ἀλλήλαις.

pYWqW 0.1.128.5 και βασιλέως προσ-
 ἦκοντές τινες και συγγενεῖς
 (τ). Πλ.Πρτ.315δ και μετὰ Πausανίου νέον τέ ἐτι μειράκιον.

pWqV 0.3.91.5 και Θηβαίων τινας
 προσβεβηθηκότας.

pVWqW Δημ.20.157 και ὅμοιος φθόνῳ
 τινι και φιλονικίᾳ

As Y-elements without distinction have been treated words which appear "within" the καί-clause though they do not "belong" to it, words which "belong" to that clause but do not form part of the substantive phrase, and words which "belong" to that phrase but do not appear to be either V- or W-elements in relation to q. Th.II.62.4 (pWq) is a sentence of disputable syntax; καί may be adverbial. So also is VIII.92.5 (pYqW): perhaps proper names with τις should count as W-elements, but the confinement of the citations in LSJ (A II 6) to sentences with ἦν suggests not.

As in ἦ (Former (5) above), the main distinction in verbless καί-phrases seems to be between those with one and those with more than one mobile. A notable difference

between $\kappa\alpha\iota$ and η is that whereas with the latter one-mobile phrases provide most of the instances of Formula ($p\bar{q}W:pW\bar{q}$ 37:19), while multi-mobile phrases tend to be Antiformulaic ($p\bar{q}WW:pW\bar{q}W:pWW\bar{q}$ 6:10:1), in $\kappa\alpha\iota$ one-mobile phrases are mainly Antiformulaic ($p\bar{q}W:pW\bar{q}$ 3:22) while Formulaic order (smaller in overall proportion) mainly appears in the multi-mobile phrase ($p\bar{q}WW:pW\bar{q}W:pWW\bar{q}$ 11:4:3).

Instances of Counterformula (6+?) 6+13 Πλ.Σμπ.201ε καὶ ποῖός τις°
N.7.810δ. Δημ.21.143(τ)°
23.20.

6+13β Πλ.Π.4.438γ καὶ ποιά τις.

6+15 Πλ.Πρτ.348γ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
σχεδόν τι...

6+16 Θ.1.95.6 καὶ ἄλλους
τινας μετ' αὐτοῦ...

2.25.1 καὶ ἄλλοι τινες τῶν... (≅ 68.9, 3.64.3° Πλ.Σμπ.212δ,
Φδ.59β, Θτ.156δ° Δημ.50.33), 25.4 καὶ ἄλλοι τινες οἱ..., 100.3
καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα χωρία 4.53.1 καὶ ἄλλους τινας (≅ 6.65.1, 98.1°
Πλ.Πρτ.315γ, 315ε, Σμπ.223β, Π.1.327γ(τ), N.3.700β, 7.821γ°
Δημ.4.24, 22.10, 23.72, 35.31, 53.14). Πλ.Π.1.329α καὶ
ἄλλα ἄττα ἄ... 2.367α καὶ ἄλλος πού τις° Πρμ.129α καὶ τῆ τοι-
ούτῳ αὐ ἄλλο τι ἐναντιόν° N.7.821β καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα ἄστρα μετὰ
τούτων. Δημ.21.124 καὶ ἄλλος τις ἄν.

6+16+18 Πλ.Λα.198α καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα τοιαῦτα.

6+16+27 Θ.4.72.4 καὶ ἄλλους τινας οὐ πολλούς. Πλ.Πρμ.127γ
καὶ ἄλλους τινας μετ' αὐτοῦ πολλούς.

6+18 Πλ.Φδ.86β καὶ τοιούτων τινων° Π.3.398ε. Δημ.20.
131° 21.36, 193, 208 καὶ τοιούτους τινας πλουσίους
καὶ τριηράρχους° 39.2.

6+16+18 Πλ.Ν.7.819β καὶ τοιούτων τινων ἄλλων.

6+18+27 Πλ.Π.2.370δ καὶ τοιοῦτοί τινες πολλοὶ δημιουργοί.

6+19 Θ.1.1.2 καὶ μέρει τινι τῶν βαρβάρων° 4.13.1 καὶ τῆς
ὑστεραίας μέρος τι 8.71.2 καὶ μέρος τι τῶν ὀπλιτῶν
καὶ... Δημ.56.33 καὶ μέρος τι τῶν τόκων, 37 καὶ τῶν τόκων
μέρος τι.

6+20 Πλ.Ν.5.728δ καὶ τοιάσδε τινας

6+23 Πλ.Πρμ.157ε καὶ ἐνός τινος° Πλτ.267δ καὶ μιᾶς τινος
ἀγέλης ἐπιμέλεια.

6+24 Δημ.4.28 καὶ μικρόν τι πρὸς (= 22.60).

(6+27) 6+27+28 Πλ.Πλτ.290β καὶ πολλ' ἄττα ἕτερα... διαπονη-
εῖσθαί τινες ἕτεροι πάνόεινοι(ε)

6+28 Πλ.Σφ.222α καὶ ποταμοὺς ἑτέροισ ἀὺ τινας. Δημ.
42.11 καὶ ἑτέρων τινων.

6+25+27+28 Πλ.Φλβ.51α καὶ μεγάλας ἑτέρας τινας ἅμα καὶ πολλὰς
φαντασθείσας.

Instances of Anticounterformula (6+?) 6+16 Πλ.Π.3.400β καὶ τιν
ἄλλον τροχαῖον.
Δημ.20.84 καὶ τισιν ἄλλοις (\cong 22.38), 131 καὶ τινες ἄλλοι δοῦλοι
καὶ μαστιγῆαι, 132 καὶ τις ἴσως ἄλλος, 21.2 καὶ τινων ἄλλων ὑπὲρ
αὐτοῦ.

6+18 Πλ.Σφ.265α καὶ τισιν ἐν τοιούτοις εἴδεσιν N.3.685ε
καὶ τινι διανοίᾳ τοιαύτη.

6+26 Πλ.Φλβ.12γ καὶ τινὰ τρόπον ἀνομοίου ἀλλήλαις Τι.21ε
καὶ τινὰ τρόπον οἰκείῳ N.6.776γ καὶ τινὰ τρόπον ὁρθ-

ῶς. 6+28 Πλ.Πλτ.258δ καὶ τινες ἕτεραι ταῦτη συγγενεῖς τέχνηαι.
291α καὶ τινὰ ἕτερον πάμπολυ ὄχλον. Δημ.18.319
καὶ τινων ἑτέρων πρότερον γεγενημένων ἀθλητῶν.

Instances of Multiple Antiformula (6+?) (6+16) 6+16+18: above,
p.54.

(6+18) 6+16+18: above, p.54.

6+19 Θ.3.7.4 καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τι μέρος

(6+25) 6+25+27+28: above, this page.

(6+27) 6+16+27: above, p.54; 6+18+27, above, p.54;
6+25+27+28, above, this page.

6+28 Πλ.Ευθδ.297γ καὶ καρκίνῳ τινι ἑτέρῳ σοφιστῇ ἀφιγμένῳ
Πλτ.290β καὶ πολλ' ἄττα ἕτερα... διαπνεύσθαι τινες
ἕτεροι πάνδεινοι.

6+27+28: above, p.54.

That ends the account of Counterformula, Anticounterformula,
and Multiple Antiformula, Former (6). Clearly καὶ τις is
less strongly Formulaic than ἡ τις. There is an infringement
of Rule V by Sph.265a καὶ τισιν ἐν τοιούτοις... But (see table
following) Counterformula contains greater numbers of combinations
and each of the latter generally greater numbers of instances
than Anticounterformula:-

Th.	Pl.	Dem.		Th.	Pl.	Dem.
	2	2	6+ <u>13</u>			
	1		6+ <u>15</u>			
10	15	7	6+ <u>16</u>	<u>6</u> +16	1	5
	4	5	6+ <u>18</u>	<u>6</u> +18	2	
3		2	6+ <u>19</u>			
	1		6+ <u>20</u>			
	2		6+ <u>23</u>			
		2	6+ <u>24</u>			
				<u>6</u> +26	3	
	1		6+ <u>27</u>			
	2	1	6+ <u>28</u>	<u>6</u> +28	2	1

In Formula:Antiformula, it is Plato who has the fairly large numbers of Formula (F:Af Th.3:15, Pl.11:12, Dem.4:10). But in Counterformula:Anticounterformula, Plato is not immune from a strong tendency towards Counterformula. In the sentences with ἄλλος even Plato prefers καὶ ἄλλος τις and it is Demosthenes who has a curiously large number of καὶ τις ἄλλος.

7/7, Former ἀλλά "verbless" (pp.3.3.1 and 3).

For introductory remarks, see on ἦ, p.3.3.45 above.

Instances of Formula (7) $\rho\alpha\omega\iota$ Πλ.Μεν.77γ ἀλλά τινες τῶν κακῶν.
 Κρα.388ε ἀλλά τινος ὀνοματουργοῦ.
 Φδ.68β ἀλλά τις φιλοσώματος. Σφ.216α. Πλτ.292γ. Φλβ.21γ. Ν.7.
 790ε, 818α. 10.899ε.
 $\rho\alpha\gamma\omega$ Πλ.Ν.1.639β ἀλλά τινων σφόδρα
 γυναικῶν. 3.680γ ἀλλά τινα μᾶλλον
 Ἰωνικόν, 696ε ἀλλά τινος μᾶλλον ἀλδῶου σιγῆς. 4.713ε ἀλλά τις
 ἄρχη θνητῶς.
 rest Θ.1.102.4 ἀλλά τινος ὑπόπτου
 γενομένου. Πλ.Φλβ.44α ἀλλά
 τινι δυσχερεῖα φύσεως οὐκ ἀγεννοῦς...; 64ε ἀλλά τις ἀκρατος
 συμπεφορημένη.

Instances of Antiformula (7): following page.

Instances of Antiformula (7) pWqI Πλ.Γργ.483β ἀλλ' ἀνδροπέδου
 τινος ᾧ... Π.3.414γ ἀλλὰ
 Φοινικικόν τι· 7.524γ· 8.554δ· 9.583β, 584α· 10.597α ἀλλὰ κλένην
 τινα· N.7.789β ἀλλὰ καὶ πρεσβύτεροί τινες.

pWqYW Πλ.N.7.819δ ἀλλὰ ὑγνῶν τινῶν
 εἶναι μᾶλλον θρεμμάτων.

rest Πλ.Γργ.401β ἀλλὰ μετεωρο-
 λόγοι καὶ ἀδολέσχει τινες·
 Φδ.104δ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐναντίου τῷ ἀεὶ τινος· Θτ.154α ἀλλὰ μεταξὺ τι
 ἐκάστῳ ἴδιον γεγονός· N.10.889δ ἀλλ' εἶδωλ' ἅττα συγγενῆ εαυτῶν.

As in ἢ and καὶ (pp.3.3.45 and 52 above) the main distinction among the ἀλλά sentences is between one-mobile sentences (pW/pWq) and those with more than one mobile (pWY, pWqY etc.). In the above lists pWqY and pWqYW have been listed in correspondence because both exhibit an idiom which seems characteristic of ἀλλά phrases in Lg.: elements superordinate to the phrase (μᾶλλον, and in two cases a verb) appear within it, and have been regarded as Y-elements. In ἀλλά τις as in ἢ τις and in contrast to καὶ τις, a large proportion of Formulaic instances are in the one-mobile phrases; and there is the same concentration of Formulaic instances in "late" Plato and Lg. and of Antiformulaic in "early" Plato and R.

Instances of Counterformula (7+?) 7+13β Πλ.Π.4.438ε ἀλλὰ ποιοῦ
 τινος·

7+15 Πλ.Γργ.472γ ἀλλὰ σχεδόν
 τι ταῦτα περὶ ὧν...

7+16 Πλ.Πρτ.352β ἀλλ' ἄλλο τι· Φδ.103ε ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλο τι
 ὄ...· Φλβ.20β ἀλλ' ἄλλο τι τρίτον (τ).

7+23 Πλ.Πρμ.157δ ἀλλὰ μίᾳ τινος ἰδέας...

7+28 Πλ.Φδ.74α ἀλλὰ παρὰ ταῦτα πάντα "ἕτερόν τι"· Θτ.188β
 ἀλλ' ἕτερον ἅττα ὧν...· Σφ.250γ ἀλλ' ἕτερον δὴ τι τούτων.

Instances of Anticounterformula (7+?) 7+16 Πλ.Θτ.185γ ἀλλὰ τι
 ἄλλο.

7+18 Πλ.Π.10.597α ἀλλὰ τι τοιοῦτον οἶον...

7+23 Πλ.Π.4.423γ ἀλλὰ τις ἱκανῆ καὶ μίᾳ.

7+25 Πλ.Π.2.378α ἀλλὰ τι μέγα καὶ ἄπορον θῦμα (τ).

8/8, Former οὐ γάρ (pp.3.3.1 and 3).

See also on Rule XXIII, pp.2.2.54 and 57 ff.

Instances of Formula (8) (1) g adverbial, plain Πλ.Χρμ.153γ
 πάντα σαφῶς πεπύσμεθα (τ), 154β οὐ γάρ τι φαῦλος...ἦν, 156α°
 Λα.197α° Σφ.223γ οὐ γάρ τι φαύλης... N.10.887α (τ).

† Πλ.Γργ.492ε οὐ γάρ
 τι θαυμάζοιμ' ἂν
 εἰ... Σμπ.215α οὐ γάρ τι ῥῥῶδιον...καταριθμησαι.

(2) others, plain Δημ.26.16 οὐ γάρ
 δὴ τινες ὑμῶν οὕτως
 ἔχουσι... † Πλ.Φδ.108α οὐ γάρ
 πού τις ἂν διαμάρτοι...

Instances of Antiformula (8) Θ.1.91.7 οὐ γάρ οἶδόν τε εἶναι...
 ὁμοῖόν τι ἢ ἴσον...βουλευέσθαι,
 (≅ 2.44.3 (τ)). Πλ.Λυ.216ε οὐ γάρ ἂν που τῷ κακῷ φίλον ἂν
 τι γίγνοιτο Πρμ.139γ οὐ γάρ ἐνὶ προσήκει ἑτέρω τινος εἶναι°
 Θτ.157α° Φδρ.262δ° Σφ.234α° N.2.655γ° Δημ.24.133 οὐ γάρ
 χρόνον τινα δικαίους ᾤετο δεῖν...εἶναι.

Since all cases of Antiformula are of the category "others" and all instances of g adverbial are confined to Formulaic order, it appears that οὐ γάρ τι is an extension of the formulaism of οὐτι (classified as a block exception to Rule XXIII, p.2.2.57; οὐ (1)); that would perhaps be better classed as a Formula "οὐ (γάρ) τι adverbial", whereupon the two cases of οὐ γάρ τις above could be assigned as exceptions to Rule XXIII along with Phlb.57b and Lg.X 890a; but since οὐτι is undoubtedly both exceptional and formulaic, the decision would perhaps be arbitrary; the Anticounterformulaic instances below yield some justification for the classification actually followed.

Instances of Counterformula (8+?) 8+16 Πλ.Φδ.98α οὐ γάρ ἂν ποτε
 αὐτοῖς αἰτίαν ἐπενεγκεῖν... Δημ.23.140 οὐ γάρ ἄλλο τι ποιεῖ...
 αὐτὸν ᾤμην...ἄλλην τινα

8+27 Πλ.N.4.718δ οὐ γάρ πολλή τις εὐπέτεια...

8+29 Πλ.Φδ.75γ οὐ γάρ περὶ ἴσου νῦν ὁ λόγος μᾶλλον τι ἦ...

Instances of Anticounterformula (8+?) 8+16 Πλ.Πρτ.309γ οὐ γὰρ
 ἐνέτυχες ἄλλω, 319α οὐ γὰρ τι ἄλλο... εἰρήσεται.
 δῆπου τινι καλλίονι

8+24 Πλ.Θτ.169ε οὐ γὰρ τι σμικρὸν παραλλάττει...

Instances of Multiple Antiformula (8+?) Πλ.Λυ.204ε οὐ γὰρ
 8+17 πάνυ, "ἔφη, "τι αὐτοῦ
 τοῦνομα λέγουσιν.

The above case of Multiple Antiformula is also an exception to Rule XV, p.2.2.36. It is possible that "ἔφη is a virtual postpositive, in which case this is admissible as a case of Counterformula, equivalent to οὐ γὰρ πάνυ τι.

The three cases of Anticounterformula perhaps suggest that οὐ γὰρ τι is not merely an extension of the formulaism of οὐτι. In any case there is some interest in considering οὐ γὰρ in relation to other specific vocabulary, Formers such as ἄλλος, which is not so with οὐτι. Hence the latter is best treated as an exception, οὐ γὰρ τι as a Formula.

9/9, Former οὔτε (pp.3.3.1 and 3).

See also on Rule XXIII, p.2.1.17.

οὔτε is like εἰ κτλ. and ἢ κτλ. in being virtually prepositival; but it cannot be classified like either of these groups of Formers. While retrospective οὔτε always stands initial in its own division of the sentence, which can be treated as a sentence in itself, prospective οὔτε may be initial in the wider sentence as a whole, or preceded by a prepositive, or by some words of the sentence common to both οὔτε-clauses. Hence the following classification has been followed: (1) prospective, (2) retrospective; (a) verb or predication common to both οὔτε-clauses, (b) different verb (or...) in different clauses; both (1) and (2) are sub-divided thus into (a) and (b). Prospective cases are then subdivided into those with initial οὔτε, those with οὔτε following a prepositive, and those

with οὔτε "medial" in the sentence as a whole. The idioms οὔτε τις...οὔτε... and οὔτε...οὔτε τις... seem relatively common; in the prospective (1) category, the sign % marks cases of οὔτε τις...οὔτε τις... where the latter is to be sought in the retrospective (2) category; in the latter lists it is to be assumed that οὔτε τις is preceded by a prospective case of οὔτε τις (i.e. those marked % in (1)); where this is not so, the sign @ is used.

- Instances of Formula (9) (1α) Πλ.Γργ.501α οὔτε τι τὴν φύσιν σκεφαμένη...οὔτε τὴν αἰτίαν* Φδρ.238α οὔτε τινα καλὴν οὔτ' ἐπαξίαν κεκληθῆσθαι, 277γ οὔτε τι πρὸς τὸ διδάξαι...%.
- Πλ.Χρμ.173β καὶ οὔτε τις κυβερνήτης φάσκων εἶναι...ἔφαπατῆ
- ἀν...* Π.8.561δ* Ν.4.720γ. Πλ.Λυ.217δ ἀλλὰ παρούσης λευκότητος οὔτε τι λευκαὶ οὔτε μέλαιναί εἰσιν* Απ.23β* Μνε.246δ* Π.5.477β* 10.574ε* Πρμ.149ε%, 166β* Θτ.157β* Σφ.259γ, 259δ(τ)* Ν.2.657α* 4.705γ* 8.834β, 834β%, 840α.
- (1β) Πλ.Λυ.210β οὔτε τις ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέψει... Πλ.Σμπ.214β οὕτως οὔτε τι λέγομεν...%* Πρμ.166β* Φδρ.247γ* Θτ.153γ* Τι.57α%* Ν.10.905γ.
- (2α) Πλ.Πρμ.149ε οὔτε τι ἐλάττω (τ)* Φδρ.277γ οὔτε τι πρὸς τὸ πείσαι* Φλβ.42γ οὔτ' ἂν τις λύπη @, 43β@* Π.5.4664γ@, 477γ* Ν.4.716α@* 8.834β.
- (2β) Πλ.Σμπ.214β οὔτε τι ἄδομεν* Φδ.57α οὔτε τις ξένος ἀφίκεται @, 99γ@* Π.10.604β@* Τι.57α.

- Instances of Antiformula (9) (1α) Θ.2.42.4 τῶνδε δὲ οὔτε πλούτου τις τὴν αἰὶ ἀπόλαυσιν προτιμήσας ἐμαλακίσθη οὔτε...ἐλπίδι.
- (1β) Πλ.Θτ.199γ οὔτε ψευθεῖσσι τινος οὔτε μή. Θ.6.41.2 διαβολὰς μὲν οὐ σῶφρον οὔτε λέγειν τινας... Πλ.Σφ.260δ τὸ γὰρ μὴ ὄν οὔτε διανοεῖσθαί τινα οὔτε λέγειν* Τι.69β τότε γὰρ οὔτε τούτων//τι μετεῖχεν οὔτε...ἦν...* Ν.4.722ε τῶν δὲ...οὐδεὶς πώποτε οὔτ' εἶπέ τι προοίμιον οὔτε...ἐξήνεγκεν...
- (2α) Πλ.Ν.4.736α οὔτ' ἐκλογὴν τινα καθάρσεως @.
- (2β) Θ.7.77.2 οὔτ' εὐτυχίᾳ δοκῶν που ὕστερός του εἶναι...° Πλ.Χρμ.173β οὔτ' ἄλλος οὐδεὶς προσποιούμενός τι εἰδέναι...λανθάνοι ἂν.°
- (3) Πλ.Θτ.160β αὐτὸ δὲ ἐφ' αὐτοῦ τι...οὔτε λεκτέον οὔτε...°°

(3) cfd. N.1.628δ οὕτω τις οὐτ' ἄν ποτε πολιτικὸς γέγοιτο ὀρθῶς οὐτ' αὖ νομοθέτης. Δημ.18.274 οὐτ' ἀδικῶν τις οὐτ' ἑξαμαρτάνων...οὐ κατώρθωσεν.οοο

Instances marked °, °° or °°° have q so distant in grammar from the element to which οὐτε applies as in varying degrees to make it doubtful whether the corresponding Formulaic order is possible at all. In Dem.18.274, Formulaic order would almost certainly have a different meaning. Paragraph (3) contains instances which cannot be fitted into the classification used for Formulaic; in the case of Dem.18.234 this is for the aforementioned reason; in Th.160b and Lg.I 628d doubts about the possibility of Formulaic order are compounded by the problem that q is not either prospective or retrospective. In Th.VII 77.2 and Chrm.173b in (2b), q is unambiguously in the retrospective clause, but unconnected with the elements emphasized by οὐτε. Since τ adverbial often appears repetitively as οὐτε τ...οὐτε τ... with no justification from the point of view of meaning, it seems possible in Th.160b and Lg.I 628d q could appear as οὐτε τς in one or other or both clauses, though this would cause ambiguity; on the other hand it seems probable that, under the influence of οὐτι, adverbial οὐτε τ is more strongly Formulaic than οὐτε τς in general, so that the idiomatic adverbial οὐτε τ...οὐτε τ should be regarded rather as a particularly Formulaic sub-category occurring in ways which should not be expected of οὐτε τς in general.

Formulaism appears strongest in classes (1a) and (2a) (ratio 20:1, 8:1), less so in (1b) and (2b), ratios 7:5, 5:2; what matters then seems not to be the distinction between prospective and retrospective but that between sentences in which a single verb is common to both clauses and those where the verb is different in the two clauses; the latter in fact contains both cases in which the verb itself is the emphatic element differing between the clauses and those where the verb

alters between the clauses but is not the main point (e.g. Smp.214b versus Phd.57a); curiously, the largest single group of Antiformula ((1b) Th.VI.41.2 etc.) consists mainly of the former type. It appears probable that Formulaism is strongest where q is in agreement or a verbal relationship with the element actually emphasized by οὔτε without at the same time relating closely to some other word. Thus in Antiformula (1a) Th.II.42.4, q is unrelated to the emphasized word πλούτου; in (1b) Lg.IV 722e, q is object of the emphasized verbs, but is also in agreement with a noun common to both. In addition, adverbial or Concord relationships are perhaps more favourable towards Formulaism than verbal relations in general (Antiformula (1b) Th.VI.41.2, Sph.260d); alternatively, there may be some bias in favour of οὔτε τι, οὔτε τις and against e.g. οὔτε τινος.

Instances of Counterformula (9+?) 9+16 Πλ.Χρμ.171ε οὔτε...
 ἐπετρέπομεν//ἄλλο τι
 πράττειν°. Πλτ.284γ οὐ γὰρ δὴ δυνατόν γε οὔτε πολιτικόν οὔτε
 ἄλλον τινά τῶν περὶ τὰς πράξεις ἐπιστήμονα...γεγονέναι...

9+17 Πλ.Φδ.57α καὶ γὰρ οὔτε Φλειασίων οὐδεὶς πάνυ τι ἐπι-
 χωριάζει...· Φλβ.63β τὸ...εἶναι...οὔτε πάνυ τι δυν-
 ατόν οὔτε...· Ν.9.853δ ...οὐτ' ἂν βουλοίμεθα οὔτε ἐλπιστόν πάνυ
τι νοσήσαί ποτ' ἂν...(τ)°.

Instances of Anticounterformula (9+?) 9+16 Πλ.Πρτ.320α οὔτε τῷ
 ἄλλῳ παραδίδωσιν°
 Θτ.171γ οὔτε τινὶ ἄλλῳ οὔτε..., 179α ὅτι...οὔτε μάντις οὔτε τις
 ἄλλος...· Φδρ.271β οὔτοι...λεχθήσεται οὔτε τι ἄλλο οὔτε...

Instances of Multiple Antiformula (9+?) 9+26 Πλ.Ν.5.736γ ὡς...
 οὔτε...οὐτ' αὐ
 κινεῖν δυνατόν ἐστὶ τινα τρόπον.
 9+29 Πλ.Θτ.182ε οὔτε
 ἄρα ὄραν προση-
 τέον τι μᾶλλον...οὐδὲ...

The Counterformula, Anticounterformula and Multiple Antiformula lists tend to confirm the conclusions given above on Formula and Antiformula. Clearly, the Formulaism of πάνυ τι resists that of οὔτε τι even when both Formers are in close

proximity, while that of ἄλλο τι does not.

9a/9a, Former οὐδέ connective (pp.3.3.1 and 3)

See also on Rule XXIII, p.2.1.17.

Since οὐδέ, unlike οὐ γάρ, is less dominated by οὐτιadverbial, and, like εἰ κτλ., is prepositival, we may here employ the classification described on p.3.3.5.

Instances of Formula (9a) (i - p_q(...)V) Pl. Ευθφρ.5α+ οὐδέ τι
 ἄν διαφέρῃ... Π.1.
 344ε+ οὐδέ τι φροντίζειν... Πρμ.150β+, 160ε+ οὐδ' ἄν τι ἐλέγετο
 Θτ.152δ+ οὐδ' ἄν τι... Φδρ.252α οὐδέ τινα τοῦ καλοῦ περὶ πλεόν-
 ονος ποιεῖται. (ii - p_qWV) Πλ.Φδ.98β οὐδέ τινας αἴτ-
 τας ἐπαιτιώμενον... Πρμ.
 129δ, 142α, 166α. (iii - p_qVW) Πλ.Π.2.379β οὐδ' ἄν τινος
 εἴη κακοῦ αἴτιον Θτ.
 210γ+ οὐδέ τι οἶδα ὦν... Τι.33γ.
 (iv - p_qW) Πλ.Σμπ.211α+ οὐδέ τις λόγος
 οὐδέ τις ἐπιστήμη (≅ Πρμ.
 142α+ οὐδέ λόγος οὐδέ τις ἐπιστήμη, Φλβ.59β+ οὐδέ τις ἐπιστήμη)
 Πρμ.166α+ N.3.699γ οὐδέ τινες ἄμουσοι βοαὶ πλήθους 4.711β
 οὐδέ τινος παμπόλλου χρόνου (≅ 7.821ε οὐδέ γε...) 10.902δ+,
 906ε+.

Instances of Antiformula (9a) (ia - qV) Pl. Πρμ.160ε οὐδ' ἐκεῖνω
 ἄν τι ἦν.
 (ib) - V_q) Πλ.Μεν.90α οὐδέ δόντος
 τινος.
 (iia - qWV) Δημ.23.131 οὐδέ πρὸς
 ὑμᾶς δι' ἐκεῖνου τι
 φλαυρότερον ἔπραξεν (τ)
 (iibl - W_qV) Θ.1.132.5 οὐδέ τῶν
 εἰλώτων μηνυταῖς
 τισι πιστεύσαντες.

The overall Formula:Antiformula ratio of 22:4 makes the strength of Formulaism clear enough.

Instances of Counterformula (9a+?) (9a+13b) Πλ.Π.4.439α οὐδ'
 ἐνὶ λόγῳ ποιῶν τινος.
 (9a+16) Θ.8.48.4 οὐδ' ἄλλο τι σκοπεῖσθαι ἢ... 92.2 οὐδέ
 ἄλλο τι ἢ... (τ). Πλ.Σμπ.192ε οὐδ' ἄλλο τι ἄν

(τ)
 φανεῖη βουλόμενος (τ) Πρμ.147ε οὐκ ἐπ' ἄλλω) οὐδέ ἄλλο τι (ὀνομάζ-
 εις ἢ... Δημ.21.124 οὐδέ τὸν ἐξεύργοντα... ἄλλο τι χρῆ
 νομίζειν ποιεῖν... (+ Pl.Prτ.358c)

9a+28 Πλ.Ν.12.969α οὐ μικρὸν) οὐδ' ἑτέροις τισι προσφερές
 (ἀν εἴη.

9a+29 Πλ.Π.4.436ε οὐδὲ μᾶλλον τι πείσει ὡς...

Instances of Anticounterformula (9a+?) (9a+16) Πλ.Φδ.93α οὐδέ
 ἄλλο... Πρμ.143ε οὐδέ τι ἄλλο τῶν... Θτ.147β οὐδέ τινα ἄλλην
 τέχνην, 182ε οὐδέ τινα ἄλλην αἴσθησιν μᾶλλον ἢ... (τ).

9a+18 Πλ.Θτ.150δ οὐδέ τί μοί ἐστιν εὖρημα τοιοῦτον...

9a+29 Πλ.Σφ.227α οὐδὲν ἦττον) οὐδέ τι μᾶλλον (τυγχάνει
 μέλον...

There are no instances of Multiple Antiformula. The authors other than Plato are represented only in Antiformula and Counterformula; although the overall Counterformula:Anticounterformula ratio with ἄλλος is 5:4, the Plato instances taken alone give 2:4. This is then a Formula not only peculiar to Plato within this selection of authors, but particularly strong in Plato. The number of instances in Formula (iv - pqW) (to which there are none corresponding in Antiformula), taken together with the contrast between the cases in (9a+16) and those in (9a+16), and the similar contrast between (9a+29) and (9a+29), may suggest that here again we have the tendency towards verbless-phrase Formulaism as in ἦ, καί κτλ. Also the verbless-phrase variety of οὐδέ τις shows a differential concentration in 'late' Plato (contrast Formula (i - pqV) and (iv - pqW)).

10/10, Former μήτε. (pp.3.3.1 and 3).

See also on Rule XXIII, pp.2.1.17.

For classification, see on οὔτε, p.3.3.59 above.

Instances of Formula (10) (1a) Πλ.Απ.22ε μήτε τι σοφὸς ὦν...
 Πλ.Τι.68β ὦν μήτε τινα ἀνάγκην
 μήτε...εἶπεῖν εἴη δυνατός. Ν.2.667δ. 5.740β%.

(1a) ctd. Πλ.Π.2.380β διαμαχετέον...μήτε τινά λέγειν...%° Φλβ.
32ε° N.6.777δ° 7.823δ° 12.944ε τούτω μήτ' ούν τις στρα-
τηγός μήτ' άλλος...χρήσηται...

(1b) Πλ.Φδ.65ε μήτε τιν' ὄφιν παρατιθέμενος μήτε...(τ)° N.10.
913α μήτ' ούν τις τῶν ἐμῶν χρημάτων ἀπτοίτο μηδ' αὐ...

-Πλ.Ν.2.663α ἀλλά τὸ μήτε τινά ἀδικεῖν...

-Πλ.Ν.8.847γ ...μηδενός...χάριν μήτε τις ἀγέτω μήτ' αὐ
...ἐξαγέτω° 12.942β.

(2α) Πλ.Π.2.380β+ μήτε τινά ἀκούειν° Φλβ.58β+ μήτε τινάς
εὐδοκίμίας° N.5.740β+ μήτε τί ποτε ἐλάττους° 12.958ε@.

(2β) Πλ.Γργ.493ε+μήτε τι φροντίζοι@° N.7.798ε+μήτε τις
αὐτοῦς πεῖση...@.

Instances of Antiformula (10) (1α) Θ.1.80.1 ὥστε μήτε ἀπειροῖα
νομίσαντα° ἐπιθυμήσαι τινά...μήτε...
τι ὀξέως ἐπιτελῶσι...° (1β) Θ.1.141.6 ὅταν μήτε βουλευ-
τηρῶ ἐνὶ χρώμενοι παραχρημᾶ
(2α) Πλ.Ν.11.913γ μήτε αὐ πατέρων
τις πατήρ.
(2β) Θ.5.34.2 ὥστε μήτε ἀρχεῖν)
μήτε πριαμένους τι κυρῶς
εἶναι° Πλ.Πλτ.270α μήτ' αὐ δύο τινε θεῶ...στρέφειν αὐτόν (ε).

The prospective Formulaic instance Lg.II 663a ἀλλά τὸ μήτε
τινά ἀδικεῖν... is followed by retrospective μηδ' ὑπό τινος
ἀδικεῖσθαι. Technically that is a case of q in first and last
"possible" position (Rule V) and μήτε τινος would be a un-
ique exception; but the actual wording should perhaps count
as Formulaic, in so far as Th.II.37.1 ὡς ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ ap-
pears to be a member of the formula-system ὡς ἕκαστός τις/τι/
που/πη... (C.Q. N.S.24, p.28 ff.).

The above list should be compared with that of οὔτε p.3.3.
60 above. In this case no category has enough cases of Anti-
formula to be called a concentration, but most cases of Formula
are in (1a), prospective with common verb.

Counterformula: see following page.

- Instances of Counterformula (10+?) 10+16 Θ.1.70.8 και μήτε
οθαι...^ο εορτήν άλλο τι ήγεϊ-
- Instances of Anticounterformula (10+?) 10+16 Πλ.Φδ.65ε μήτε τιν'
έφέλων... άλλην αίσθησιν
- 10+21 Πλ.Σμπ.211β ...μη-
δέν εκείνο μήτε τι
- πλέον μήτε έλαττον γίγνεσθαι...
- 10+24 Πλ.Ν.12.958δ μήτε τι
μέγα μήτε τι
- σμηκρον μνήμα...
- 10+25 Πλ.Ν.12.958δ μήτε τι
μέγα μήτε...
- Instances of Multiple Antiformula (10+?) 10+23 Πλ.Πλτ.301γ
όταν μήτε.../
- μήτε.../πράττη τις εις άρχων.
- 10+24 Δημ.23.1 μήτε
σμηκρον όρωντά
- τι και φαύλον άμάρτημα.
- 10+27 Πλ.Ν.7.792ε
όπως μήτε ήδοναίς
- τισι πολλαίς...προσχρήσεται...μήτε αυ λύπαις.

11/11, Former μηδέ (pp.3.3.1 and 3).

See also on Rule XXIII, p.2.1.17. On classifica-
tion, see on ούδέ, p.3.3.63 above.

- Instances of Formula (11) (i - pqV) Θ.1.9.3 μηδέ τω χείρου
δόςωμεν είναι... Πλ.
Χρμ.175ε+ μηδέ τι σ'ώφελήσει... Θτ.153δ* Ν.12.952γ+ μηδέ τι
βελτίων.
- (ii - pqWV) Πλ.Φδρ.245β μηδέ τις ήμάς
λόγος θορυβείτω... Πλτ.
309ε* Ν.12.942α μηδέ τινος...φυχήν είθίσθαι...
- (iii)-pqVW) Πλ.Πρμ.135β μηδέ τι όρεϊ-
ται είδος...(τ)* Ν.8.
- 829δ,
Πλτ.281β+* Ν.11.916ε+.
- (iv - pqW) Πλ.Φδ.65γ+ μηδέ τις ήδονή*

Antiformula: see following page.

Instances of Antiformula (11) (ia - qV) 0.4.61.6 μηδὲ τοῦτ' ἄλλο τι
 κρῖνας. Πλ.Ν.12.942α μηδέ τινος...φυχήν εἰσέσθαι...αὐτὸν ἐφ'
 αὐτοῦ τι...δρᾶν^{οο}. ii/iibz - XqX) Πλ.Ν.7.823ε μηδ' αὐ...
 9.873γ μηδὲ αἰσχύνης τινος ἀπόρου...μεταλαχῶν.
 (inv - Wq) Πλ.Π.10.597δ μηδὲ
 κλινοποιός τις.

Instances of Counterformula (11+?) 11+16 0.2.49.5 μηδ' ἄλλο τι
 ἢ γυμνοὶ ἀνέχεσθαι.
 6.11.6 μηδὲ λακεδαίμονλους ἄλλο τι ἠγήσασθαι ἢ...

Instances of Anticounterformula (11+?) 11+16 Πλ.Π.3.391δ
 θεοῦ παῖδά τε καὶ ἦρω τολμήσαι ἀν... Πλτ.275ε μηδέ τινος
 ἄλλης πραγματείας.

There are no instances of Multiple Antiformula (11+?). Clearly μηδέ τις is as much of a Formula as the rest of the negative group (8) to (10). The occurrence of a Formulaic instance in Thucydides, I.9.3, points up the rarity of instances outside Plato both Formulaic and Antiformulaic, but especially the former. The Formula:Antiformula ratios of Formers (8) - (11) taken together are: Thuc. 1:8, Plato 92:16, Dem. 0:2; Plato has more instances even of Antiformula than the others, but is alone in having a high proportion of Formula; the same emerges from Anticounterformula:Counterformula, Thuc. 0:5, Plato 16:10, Dem. 0:1. This is illustrated by the fact that whereas all the authors have οὐ γάρ/οὔτε/οὐδέ/μήτε/μηδέ (...) ἄλλο τι, only Plato has also οὐ γάρ τι/οὔτε τι/οὐδέ τι/μήτε τι/μηδέ τι (...) ἄλλο. In Thucydides οὐδ' ἄλλο τι σκοπεῖσθαι ἢ... seems to represent a standard sequence (cf. I.70.6, VI.11.6, VIII.48.4, 92.2); nothing corresponding seems to occur in Anticounterformula; perhaps then Formulaism is low outside Plato mainly because the ingredients of the Formula generally tend not to occur in the same sentence at all, and to the extent that they do so coincide appear in sequences which are not potentially Formulaic.

12/12 Former μή, (A) when relative (= "lest"), (B) when in peninitial position following a prepositive (pp.3.3.1 and 3).

See also on Rule XXIII, p.2.1.17. Here the classification is into (A) and (B) as above followed by subdivision according to the system described on p.3.3.5.

Instances of Formula (12) (A) (i - p_q(...))V @.1.102.3 μή τι//
...νεωτερώσωσι
(≅ 3.75.5+, 4.80.2, 5.14.3, 34.2). Πλ.Πρτ.339γ μή τι λέγοι
(≅ Φδρ.260α+(τ))· Ευθδ.275β μή τις φθῆ...· Απ.30δ+· Κρα.422γ+·
Σμπ.213δ μή τι καὶ νῦν ἐργάσεται· Πρμ.130δ μή τι ἢ...ταυτόν·
Φδρ.242γ· Π.10.609β οὐ γὰρ...μή ποτέ τι ἀπολέση· Ν.8.849α μή
τις ἀδικῆ (≅ 11.932δ+)· 9.861ε μή τοίνυν τις...οἴηται...
Δημ.19.225 μή τις αὐτὸν ἴδῃ...· 39.3 μή τις//...

(ii - p_qWV) @.8.89.2 μή τι...
κατὸν δρᾶσωσι...

Πλ.Πρτ.321α μή τι γένος ἀιστωθεῖη· Γργ.458γ μή τινὰς αὐτῶν
κατέχομεν..., 517γ μή ποτέ τις τῶν νῦν...ἐργάσεται· Κρα.410α·
Φδ.95β, 101α· Θτ.155ε· Φλβ.13α μή τινὰς ἡδονὰς ἡδοναῖς εὐρή-
σομεν ἐναντίας· Π.5.470α μή τι μίασμα ἢ...· 7.530ε μή ποτ'
αὐτῶν τι ἀτελεῖς ἐπιχειρῶσιν ἡμῶν μανθάνειν... Δημ.9.54
μή τι δαιμόνιον...ἐλαύνη· 19.3· 23.103.

(iii - p_qVW) Πλ.Ευθδ.279γ μή τι
παραλελπωμεν τῶν

ἀγαθῶν· Π.9.591ε· Ν.5.729β μή ποτέ τις αὐτὸν ἴδῃ τῶν...· 9.
853δ.

(B) (i - p_q(...))V @.1.23.5 τοῦ μή
τινα ζητήσαι...

(≅ Πλ.Ν.11.925ε, Δημ.23.125(τ), 24.31(τ))· 2.8.4 ᾧ μή τις
αὐτὸς παρέσται, 15.1 καὶ ὁπότε μή τι δεισείαν· 5.9.2 ἵνα μή
τῷ...παράσχη (τ). Πλ.Μεν.86β ἃ μή τις οἶδεν (≅ 86γ, περὶ
οὐ)· ΙΜ 287α ἀτὰρ μή τι κωλύω...; Λυ.208ε μὲν μή τι ἡδίκηκ-
ας...; (≅ Π.6.505γ), 215α ὁ δὲ μή του δεόμενος...· Ευθδ.296α·
Π.6.487α ὃ μή ποτ' ἂν τις...· 9.572α καὶ μή τισιν εἰς ὄργας
ἐλθῶν· Φδ.95ε· Θτ.157δ· Σφ.237ε τὸν δὲ δὴ μή τι λέγοντα· Πλτ.
308ε· Τι.41ε· Ν.2.668α ἢ μή τις...(τ)· 4.715β ὅπως μή ποτέ
τις...· 5.742γ(τ)· 7.818β· 9.872δ. Δημ.23.125 ἵνα μή τι
πάθῃ· 37.21 ἵνα δ'//μή τις οἴηται...

(ii - p_qWV) @.3.71.2 ὅπως μή τις
ἐπιστροφή γένηται·

4.14.2 ᾧ μή τι νι...ἔργῳ παρήν. Πλ.Ευθδ.291α ἀλλ' /-//μή τις
τῶν κτειττόνων...ἐφθέγγετο; Π.3.405α τῆς δὲ...ἀρα μή τι μείζον
ἔξεις λαβεῖν τεκμήριον; Τι.18ε; 74ε, 90ε(τ). Ν.5.737β.

- Instances of Antiformula (12) (A) (ia - qV) Θ.3.60 μή οἱ λαίμαρ-
 δῶσι· 4.41.3 μή...σφίσι τι νεωτερισθῆ, 86.3, 124.4° 8.108.5
 μή ποτε καὶ περὶ σφᾶς τι παρανομήση. Πλ.Χρμ.166δ μή ποτε
 λάθω οἶδμενος μὲν τι εἶδέναι...° Π.4.424γ(τ)· Θτ.143ε μή καὶ
 τῷ δόξω... (ib - Vq) Θ.7.75.7 μή οὐ προ-
 ἰδῶν τις..., 86.4
 μή χρήμασι δὴ πείσας τινὰς//ἀποδρᾶ... Πλ.Ν.8.830δ μή φαίν-
 ηταί τισιν γελοῖα, 848δ μή τις ἀδικῆ τι· 12.952ε μή νεωτερίζη
τίς τι. (ia - qV) Πλ.Π.10.607β μή
 καὶ τινὰ σκληρό-
 τητα...καταγνῶ· Φδ.69γ ἀλλ'εὐλαβηθῶμέν τι πάθος μή πάθωμεν.
 (iib1 - WqV) Θ.4.55.1 μή
 σφίσι νεώτερόν
 τι γένηται, 55.3 μή ποτε αὐθις ξυμπορά τις αὐτοῖς περιτύχη (τ).
 Πλ.Φδ.69β ...μή σκιαγραφία τις ἤ..., 84ε(τ)· Θτ.169γ μή που
 παιδικόν τι λάθωμεν εἶδος...ποιούμενοι.
 (iiib2 - VWq) Πλ.Πλτ.308δ
 μή ποτε...
 συστήσεται πόλιν τινὰ (τ). (B) (ia - qV) Θ.2.65.8 διὰ τὸ
 μή...πρὸς ἠδονὴν
 τι λέγειν· 6.21.1 καὶ μή ἀντιπαράσχωσιν...φίλοι τινες γενό-
 μενοι...°°, 91.4 ὥστε μή περὶ τῆς Σικελίας τις οἰέσθω μόνον
 βουλεύειν. Πλ.Χρμ.170α ἃ τις μή οἶδεν (≡ 175γ)· Ευθδ.298ε
 ἵνα μή πρότερόν τι εἶποι· Σμπ.175β ἐπειδάν τις ἡμῶν μή ἐφεστ-
 ῆκη· Θτ.192α ὧν τι μή αἰσθάνεται...°°· Ν.10.905γ ἣν τις μή γιγνώ-
 σκων...°° Δημ.20.99 ἵνα μή περὶ τούτου τις ἀντιλέγη...
 152. (ib - Vq) Θ.1.49.7 ὥστε μή
 ἐμβάλλειν τινι·
 5.38.1 καὶ μή πολεμήσειν τῷ... (≡ 80.1(τ))· 6.80.1· 7.68.3.
 Πλ.Θτ.201β οἷς μή παρεγένοντό τινες· Φλβ.21β ...μῶν μή δέοι ἄν
 τι; (τ)· Ν.2.668α ἢ μή τις χάρει τῷ. Δημ.44.28 τοῖς μή
 πλεονεκτῆσαί τι βουλομένοις· 54.18 τοῦ μή τιτρωσκομένων τινῶν...
 γίγνεσθαι· 59.39 ὅ τι μή συκοφαντήσας τι λάβοι.
 (iib1 - WqV) Πλ.Πλτ.308ε ὅτι
 μή τις...ἀπεργασό-
 μενος ἡθός τι πρέπον ἀποτελεῖ. (iiib1 - VqW) Θ.8.66.2 ὁ μή
 πάσχων τι
 βλαίον. Πλ.Ιων 538α ὅστις ἂν μή ἔχη τινὰ τέχνην.

It seems likely that the Formulaism of μή τις is influ-
 enced by that of the adverb μήτι (see Rule XXIII, μή, p.2,2.56)
 for while the Formula:Antiformula ratio of μή τι is Th.7:7,
 Pl.20:9, Dem.4:2, that of μή τις and all other forms is Th.
 5:11, Pl.29:13, Dem.3:2. From this it may also be seen that

the Formulaism is generally greater in Plato, as is further illustrated by the following numerical summary. Instances of (A) and (B) are listed in that order, separated by a comma.

Formula	Antiformula	
Th. 5, 4 qV Pl. 12, 20 Dem. <u>2, 3</u> <u>19, 27</u>	Th. 5, 3 qV Pl. 3, 6 Dem. <u>. 2</u> <u>8, 11</u>	Th. 2, 5 Vq Pl. 3, 3 Dem. <u>. 3</u> <u>5, 11</u>
Th. 1, 2 qWV Pl. 10, 6 Dem. <u>3, 8</u> <u>14, 8</u>	Th. 2, qWV Pl. 2, Dem. <u>2, 8</u>	Th. 2, WqV Pl. 3, Dem. <u>5, 1</u>
Th. 3, qVW Pl. 3, Dem. <u>. 3</u>	qVW	Th. , 1 VqW Pl. , 1 Dem. <u>0, 2</u>

Instances of Counterformula ($12+?$) $12+1 = 1+12$, p.15; $12+2 = 2+12$, p.25; $12+3 = 3+12$, p.37; $12+4 = 4+12$, p.44.

$12+16$ Θ.7.44.4 δια τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἄλλῳ τῷ γνωρῶσαι... 8.109.
1 μὴ καὶ ἄλλο τι ἐτι βλάβῃσι... Πλ.Γργ.512δ μὴ καὶ ἄλλο τι... 505β καὶ μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν ἄλλ' ἅττα ποιεῖν... Φδ. 64γ ἄρα μὴ ἄλλο τι... Π.4.442δ μὴ κη ἡμῖν ἀμβλύνεται ἄλλο τι... Πρμ.163γ ἄρα μὴ ἄλλο τι...(τ).

$12+1+16 = 1+12+16$, p.14 above.

($12+17$) $12+1+17 = 1+12+17$, p.14 above.

$12+18$ Δημ.21.129 μὴ... τοιοῦτός τις ἡμῖν λογισμὸς ἐμπέση

$12+27$ Πλ.N.2.655β καὶ ἵνα δὴ μὴ μακρολογῆα πολλή τις γέγνηται...

$12+30$ Πλ.Λυ.220α ἀλλὰ μὴ οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον οὕτω γε... ἔχη.

Instances of Anticounterformula ($12+?$) $12+1 = 1+12$, p.13; $12+1+16 = 1+12+16$, p.13; $12+1+18 = 1+12+18$, p.14; $12+1+28 = 1+12+28$, p.14.

$12+2 = 2+12$, p.24.

$12+3 = 3+12$, p.37; $12+3+16 = 3+12+16$, p.37.

$12+4 = 4+12$, p.43.

$12+16$ Θ.5.69.1 καὶ οὐ μὴ ποτέ τις... ἄλλος ἔλθῃ
 $12+1+16 = 1+12+16$, p.13; $12+3+16 = 3+12+16$, p.37.

(12+18) 12+1+18 = 1+12+18, p.14.

12+21 Θ.7.49.4 μή τι καὶ πλέον εἰδῶς... ἰσχυρίζεται

(12+28) 12+1+28 = 1+12+28, p.14.

Instances of Multiple Antiformula (12+?) 12+1 = 1+12, p.18;

12+1+16, p.14; 12+1+16 = 1+12+16, p.18; 12+1+17 = 1+12+17, p.14; 12+1+25 = 1+12+25, p.18.

12+2 = 2+12, p.26; 12+3 = 3+12, p.38; 12+4 = 4+12, p.44.

(12+16) 12+1+16 = 1+12+16, p.18.

(12+25) 12+1+25 = 1+12+25, p.18.

12+29 Θ.2.22.1 τοῦ μή ὀργῆ τι μάλλον... συνελθόντας ἀμαρτεῖν.

In Counterformula and Anticounterformula, εἰ/ἐάν μή τις prevails over εἰ/ἐάν τις μή (1+12 and 2+12 over 1+12 and 2+12) while εἰ/ἐάν δὲ μή τις and εἰ/ἐάν δέ τις μή (2+12, 4+12, 2+12, 4+12) are rare. In 12+16/12+16, the former, (ἴνα) μή ἄλλο τι, is normal, the latter rare.

13/13 Former ποῖος/πόσος/πηλίκος (pp. 3.3.1 and 3).

Since ποῖος is not, unlike εἰ κτλ, a prepositive, and ποῖός τις is in any case W_q , the classification reverts to that used for ἄν: (a) Former initial, (b) Former preceded by a prepositive, (c) Former medial.

Instances of Formula (13) (a) Πλ.Πρτ.330β ποῖόν τι αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἑκάστον· Εὐθφρ.5γ· Γργ.448ε, 487ε· Μεν.82δ πηλίκη τις... (≅ 83ε, 85α), 86ε· Λυ.206α ποῖός τις οὖν ἄν...· Φδ.61ε· Π.1.328ε(τ)· 2.365α, 369α· 3.398γ ποῖα ἄττα, (414γ ποῖόν τι; ἔφη)· 5.470α· 6.496α ποῖα ἄττα οὖν...· 8.548δ· (9.588β)· Θτ.144δ, 175γ, 181γ ποῖόν τι ποτ' ἄρα..., (191ε(τ)), 196δ ποῖόν τι ποτε...· Φδρ.260γ· Σφ.227γ, (265γ(τ))· Ν.4.715α ποτέροις τισιν...· 5.732ε. Δημ.18.258· 19.245· 28.22· 36. 31· 49.51 πόσον τινα καὶ ποδαπόν; (τ)· 51.21.

(b) Πλ.Χρμ.160δ καὶ ποῖα τις οὔσα...· Μεν.87β εἰ...· Φδ.78β τῷ ποῖῳ τινι ἄρα...· 78β καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ποῖου τινος...,

78β καὶ τῷ πόλῳ τινι οὐ· Π.7.522δ· 8.557α· 9.578ε ἐν πόλῳ ἄν
 τινι...φδβψ (τ)· 10.602γ πρὸς δὲ δὴ ποῖόν τι ἐστι...; 602γ
 τοῦ πολου τινος πέρι...; 618δ καὶ μετὰ πόλας τινος ψυχῆς ἐξέως·
 Σφ.(217α καὶ τὸ ποῖόν τι (≅ 240γ))· N.3.677α τὸ ποῖόν τι...
 (≅ 10.904β)· 10.904β τῆς δὲ γενέσεως τοῦ πολου τινος...
 Δημ.19 (94 ἄλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολαν τινα), 295(τ)· 23.147 περὶ τοῦ
 ποῖόν τιν' ἕκαστον χρῆ νομίζειν, 168 καὶ τοι πηλίκην τινα...
 (≅ 210)· 25.25 τοῦ ποῖός τις εἶναι δόξει.

(c) Πλ.Π.6.496α τοὺς ἀναξίλους...ποῖ' ἄττα φῶμεν γεννᾶν...; 555β
 γενομένη τε ποῖόν τιν' ἔχει (≅ 9.571α)· Σφ.263β· N.1.645δ
 ...ποῖόν τίποτε...; 645δ· 5.730β. Δημ.18.119· 25.82.

In the above lists it may be assumed that the Former is ποῖος unless quoted otherwise. Instances in brackets are cases where the Formulaic wording is present but either the Formula is a complete sentence in itself so that no other position for q is possible or the available positions are limited to one through the operation of a Rule, as in καὶ ποῖός τις Rule XII excludes q from the position following the prepositive. In (b) the number of cases in which the Former is preceded by an article or preposition is surprising; here Rule V is relevant and also XVIII; if the principle of Rule VI is to be applied to articular phrases in general, and not merely verbal ones, then that is a further limitation. But the limits of "possible" variation are of little interest, since, even in the absence of any Rules, there are in this case no Antiformulaic instances at all, unless Dem.49.51 πόσον τινα καὶ ποδαπόν; is to count as such, and in that case ποδαπόν τινα is avoided only at the expense of πόσον τινα, with q in peninitial position in the whole sentence. In Plato, the ratio of (a):(b):(c) is 29:16:7, in Demosthenes 6:6:2

There are no instances of Antiformula (13) or of Counterformula (13+?).

Instances of Anticounterformula (13+?) $\frac{13+5}{13+6} = \frac{5+13}{6+13}$, p.48;
 p.54.

There are no instances of Multiple Antiformula (13+?).

13a/13a Former ὁποῖος κτλ.(pp.3.3.1 and 3).

Since ὁποῖος, unlike ποῖος, but like the other ὁπ- relative words, is a prepositive, it would be possible to use the same classification as for εἰ κτλ. But ὁποῖός τις is no less than ποῖός τις a case of Wq; and for reasons which will become clear below we keep to the same classification as with ποῖος.

Instances of Formula (13a) (a) Θ.3.28.1 ὁποῖον ἂν τι βούλωνται" 7.38.2. Πλ.Λα.180α, 185α ὁποῖοι ἂν τινες...° Πρτ.327α° Γργ.465α ὁποῖ' ἄττα..., 512δ° Μεν.(71β πῶς ἂν ὁποῖόν γέ τι εἶδεῖν;), 97β° Κρα.440α(τ)° Σμπ.194ε, 199β ὁποῖα δ' ἂν τις... (τ)° Φδ.81ε ὁποῖ' ἄττ' ἂν...° Π.1.351α° Θτ.171δ° Ν.8.829γ ὁποῖός τις ἂν...° Δημ.3.32 ὁποῖ' ἄττα γὰρ ἂν... (≅ 13.25)° 22.15, 64 ὁποῖους τινὰς ἂν...° 24.118 ὁποῖον ἂν τι...° 31.9 ὁποῖόν τιν' ἂν...° 45.82 ὁποῖους τινὰς ἂν...° 50.3° 53.24° 57.17 ὁποῖον ἂν τι...°

(b) Πλ.(Χρμ.159α καὶ ὁποῖόν τι ἢ σωφοσύνη)° Γργ.527δ καὶ ὁποῖον ἂν τι...° (Μεν.87β). Δημ.1.28 ὡς ὁποῖ' ἄττ' ἂν...° 5.13(τ)° 25.43° 38.20° 54.15 ὡς ὁποῖός ἂν τις...

(c) Πλ.Θτ.152δ οὐδ' ἂν τι προσείποις ὀρθῶς οὐδ' ὁποιοῦν τι...° Σφ.245δ καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ὁποιοῦν τι δεῖ...°, 247δ λέγω δὴ τὸ καὶ ὁποιοῦν τινὰ κεκτημένον δύναμιν (τ)° Ν.10.904γ ὅπη γὰρ ἂν ἐπιθυμῆ καὶ ὁποῖός τις ὄν... (τ).

In (a) Men.71b, the Formula is an abbreviated form of an indirect question construction, and has therefore been classed in (a), for the Former is initial in the interrogative clause. In (b) Chrm.159a, q is in 'first and last possible position' by Rules XII and XXVII. The expression ὁποιοῦν τι appears by its etymology to be a case of Formula 13a; it is arguable that it should be treated like Men.71b, but it has been classed in (c) partly because it seems no longer to be felt as a prepositive, partly as a means of listing it separately. With ἂν, the order ὁποῖός ἂν τις occurs in Th. III, Pl.La. and Smp., Dem.24 and 57, ὁποῖός τις ἂν in Phd., Lg., Dem. 3, 22, 31, 45.

As with ποῖος, there are no instances of Antiformula, Counterformula or Multiple Antiformula. Anticounterformula follows

Instances of Anticounterformula (13a+) $\underline{13a}+5 = 5+\underline{13a}$, p.48.

13b/13b Former ποιός (pp.3.3.1 and 3).

Here we follow the same classification as in 13 and 13a.

Instances of Formula (13b) (a) Πλ.Π.4.438ε ποιὰ δὴ τις συνέβη...
439α ποιόν τι καὶ δίψος· Σφ.245δ
ποσόν τι γὰρ ὄν... 263α ποιόν δέ γέ τινα φαμεν...· Φλβ.37γ
ποιώ τινε δὲ οὐ γίγνεσθον.

(b) Πλ.Π.4.438β τὰ μὲν ποι' ἄττα... 438δ τῆ ποιὰ τις εἶναι,
438δ οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ ποιοῦ τινος, 438δ τῶν δὲ ποιῶν τινων,
438ε ἀλλὰ τοῦ ποιοῦ τινος προσγενομένου... 439α οὐκοῦν ποιοῦ
μὲν τινος πώματος...· Σφ.262ε οὐκοῦν καὶ ποιόν τινα αὐτὸν εἶναι
δεῖ· Φλβ.32γ ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιὰ τις ἐκατέρα (τ).

(c) Πλ.Π.4.438β ...ποιοῦ τινός ἐστιν, 438δ ...ποιοῦ τινος
καὶ τινός, 438δ καὶ αὐτὴ ποιὰ τις ἐγένετο, 438δ τῶν δὲ...
ποιὰ ἄττα, 439α ...ποιόν τι καὶ δίψος· Θτ.182α τὸ δὲ ποιοῦν ποιόν
τι, 182β ...ἀποτίκτοντα τὰ μὲν ποι' ἄττα γίγνεσθαι...· Κρα.432β.

In the range covered, this Formula is confined entirely to particular passages in Plato. As in 13 and 13a, there are no instances of Antiformula, Counterformula or Multiple Antiformula.

Instances of Anticounterformula (13b+) $\underline{13b}+5 = 5+\underline{13b}$, p.48;
 $\underline{13b}+6 = 6+\underline{13b}$, p.54;
 $\underline{13b}+7 = 7+\underline{13b}$, p.57; $\underline{13b}+9a = 9a+\underline{13b}$, p.63.

(13b+14) $\underline{13b}+1+14 = 1+\underline{13b}+14$, p.14.

13c/13c Former οἶος (pp.3.3.1 and 3).

Instances of Formula (13c) Πλ.Πρτ.313α εἰς οἶον τινα κίνδυνον...
Π.7.515γ οἶα τις ἂν εἴη· Θτ.182γ
οἶα ἄττα ῥεῖ...· Τι.19β οἶόν τι...πεπονθῶς τυγχάνω.

There are no instances of Antiformula, Counterformula or Multiple Antiformula.

Instances of Anticounterformula (13c+) $\underline{13c}+1 = 1+\underline{13c}$, p.14.

The above ends the account of ποιός, ὀποτός, ποιός & οἶος, all of which are Formulaic to the exclusion of any cases of

Antiformula, Counterformula or Multiple Antiformula.

14/14, Former $\acute{\omicron}$ μέν/δέ (pp.3.3.1 and 4).

The demonstrative $\acute{\omicron}$ μέν/δέ forms a W_q relation when in Formulaic order and is also almost always initial in its clause. The following classification has been adopted. (1), with μέν, (2), with δέ. These are then subdivided: (1a), when nothing precedes the μέν-clause; (1b), the μέν-clause is preceded by a prepositival expression; (1c), the μέν-clause is preceded by other material common to both μέν- and δέ-clauses; (2a), the δέ-clause is initial, i.e. not preceded by a μέν-clause; (2b) does not occur; (2c) the δέ-clause is preceded by a corresponding μέν-clause and possibly by other material. The Antiformulaic instances do not fit this classification and there a section (3) has been added, the definition of which will be seen from the instances.

Instances of Formula (14) (1a) Θ .4.113.2 οἱ μέν τινες ὀλίγοι
διαφθείρονται...αὐτῶν. Πλ.
Λυ.211δ ὁ μέν γάρ τις...ἐπιθυμεῖ...ὁ δέ... Κρα.413β ὁ μέν γάρ
τις φησι... Πρμ.138β τὸ μέν γάρ ἂν τι αὐτοῦ...τὸ δέ...

(1b) Πλ.Πρτ.349ε πότερον οὖν, "... τὸ μέν τι... Κρα.430α
ἢ τὸ μέν τι...τὸ δέ... Φδ.99β δι' ὃ δὴ καὶ ὁ μέν τις...
ὁ δέ... Π.4.436γ ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸ μέν τι αὐτοῦ ἔστηκε, τὸ δέ... Θτ.
181ε ἢ τὸ μέν τι...τὸ δέ..., 196α καὶ ὁ μέν τις εἶπεν...ὁ δέ...
Φλβ.36γ ἢ τὰς μέν τινας...τὰς δέ... Ν.5.744β ἀλλ' ὁ μέν τις...
ἀφίξεται...ὁ δέ...

(1c) Θ .2.44.4 διωκόμενοι...οἱ μέν τινες αὐτῶν...ἔρριψαν...
οἱ δέ..., 91.4 ...διώκοντες...αἱ μέν τινες τῶν νεῶν...
ἐπέστησαν...αἱ δέ... 3.20.3 ...ἔμελλον οἱ μέν τινες ἀμαρτήσεσθαι
οἱ δέ... Πλ.Ν.2.658β εἰκός που τὸν μέν τινα ἐπιδεικνύναι...
(τὸν δέ τινα...

(2a) Θ .1.118.2 τὸ δέ τι...ἐξειργόμενοι (τ)· 2.90.6 τὰς δέ
τινας...ἀφείλοντο... 2.70.6, 81.5· 7.48.2(τ).

(2c) Θ .2.21.3 ...ἦσαν...οἱ μέν...) οἱ δέ τινες οὐκ ἔδωκτες·
6.15.1· 8.94.3. Πλ.Πρτ.349ε ...τὸ μέν τι...) τὸ
δέ τι καλὸν· Λυ.206ε· Π.1.339γ· 4.547δ ὅτι τὰ μέν...τὰ δέ...
τὸ δέ τι καὶ αὐτῆς ἔξει ἴδιον· Ν.2.658β εἰκός που τὸν μέν τινα...
τὸν δέ τινα... 4.716α· 10.890γ.

The minority of cases in which q is present in both μέν and

δέ clauses have been indicated in quotation.

Instances of Antiformula (14) (1b) Πλ.Σφ.268α οὐκοῦν τὸν μὲν
ἀπλοῦν μιμητὴν τινα, τὸν

δέ...^{oo}

(1c) Πλ.Γργ.520β σὺ δὲ...τὸ μὲν πάγκαλόν τι οἶε εἶναι...
(τοῦ δὲ...^{ooo} Φλβ.13γ λέγοντος τὰς μὲν εἶναι τινὰς
ἀγαθὰς ἡδονὰς (τὰς δὲ τινὰς...^o

(3) Πλ.Π.4.431α ὡς τι...τὸ μὲν βέλτιον ἔνι, τὸ δὲ...^{ooo}
8.559ε καὶ τινες τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν αἱ μὲν διεφθάρησαν αἱ
δέ...^o 9.584δ νομίζεις τι,"...,"εἶναι τὸ μὲν ἄνω τὸ δὲ...τὸ
δέ...^{oo} N.4.720α καθάπερ ἰατρὸς δέ τις ὁ μὲν οὕτως ὁ δὲ ἐκείνως...
εἶωθε...θεραπεύειν^{oo}.

Most of the above instances of Antiformula are subject in varying degrees to the suspicion that if the word-order were Formulaic the meaning would be different. In (3) in particular q seems to represent the quantity divided by the μὲν- and δέ- clauses, not one of the resulting divisions. Hence the classification of the Antiformulaic instances is not important. As to that of the Formulaic, there are no Thucydidean cases in (1b), which is the most numerous category in Plato, and no Platonic cases in (2a), which is the most numerous category in Thucydides. That is, Plato does not use ὁ δέ τις... not preceded by a corresponding μὲν-clause, and Thucydides does not use ὁ μὲν τις preceded only by a prepositive. Correspondingly there are greater numbers of ὁ δέ τις in Thucydides, of ὁ μὲν τις in Plato.

Instances of Counterformula (14+?) $14+1 = 1+14$, p.15;

(14+13b) $14+1+13b = 1+13b+14$, p.14.

14+23 Πλ.Ν.10.894β ...ἢ μὲν...ἀεὶ μίᾱ τις...

14+16+23 Πλ.Ν.10.894β ἢ δὲ...ἄλλη μίᾱ τις...

Instances of Anticounterformula - following page.

Instances of Anticounterformula (14+?) 14+16 Πλ.Ευθφρ.12α τὸ δὲ
τι καὶ ἄλλο.

14+28 Πλ.Φλβ.13γ λέγοντος τὰς μὲν εἶναι τινὰς ἀγαθὰς ἡδον-
άς) τὰς δὲ τινὰς ἑτέρας αὐτῶν κακὰς.

Instances of Multiple Antiformula (14+?) (14+1) 14+1+13b =
1+13b+14, p. 14

14+16 Pl.Ti.52c ἕως ἂν τι τὸ μὲν ἄλλο ἢ τὸ δὲ ἄλλο.

14+28 Πλ.Ιων.537δ τὴν μὲν ἑτέραν φῆς εἶναι τινα τέχνην.

So ends the account of 14/14.

15/15, Former σχεδόν (pp.3.3.1 and 4).

Since σχεδόν τι is a case of Wq, the classification is that used with 13/13 above.

Instances of Formula (15) (a) 0.3.68.4 δὲ τι· 5.66.4 γάρ τι·
7.33.2 γάρ τι. Πλ.Χρμ.154β
γάρ τι μοι, 164δ γάρ τι· Λα.192γ γάρ τι· Ιων 534δ· Κρι.53β·
Μεν.100α ἂν τι· IM 287α γάρ τι, 288γ, 295δ· Ευθδ.297δ· Κρα.401δ·
Σμπ.201ε γάρ τι, 211β ἂν τι, 221β γάρ τι· Φδ.60β· Η.2.370ε· 3.
407β γέ τι, 415δ γάρ τι· (8.564ε)· Πρμ.128β. Δημ.37.10·
44.16· 47.6 μὲν οὖν τι.

(b) Πλ.Λα.180β ὅτι αὐτοῖς, 192α καί, 199γ ἀλλά· Κρι.46β
ἀλλά· IM 282ε καί· Φδ.63ε ἀλλά(τ), 115α καί· Η.4.
435ε καί· Θτ.143α ὥστε μοι. Δημ.35.36 ἀλλά.

(c) Πλ.Χρμ.166δ ...κοινὸν...σχεδόν τι πᾶσιν...· Λα.188β,
199β ...ἀπεκρίνω σχεδόν τι τρίτον· Ιων 540β τὰ τοι-
αῦτα δὲ λέγεις...σχεδόν τι· Πρτ.333β, 345δ· Ευθφρ.11γ·
Γργ.450δ· Λυ.206ε· Ευθδ.275β· Κρα.393α· Φδ.59α, 118α· Η.1.330β·
2.371β· 3.393β· 6.484δ· Τι.26β· Ν.4.720γ. Δημ.44.14, 31·
46.1· 48.12, 14.

In (a) above any postpositive preceding q is quoted; in (b), all preceding the Former. The expression is unusual in being rare in 'late' Plato - once each in Prm., Tht., Ti., Lg., absent from Sph., Plt., Phlb., but common in early' and 'middle' Plato, including R. and Phd. In Demosthenes it is confined to 35, 37, 44, 46, 47 and 48.

There are no instances of Antiformula. The Formula is frequently associated with certain words, listed as follows.

Where reference is enclosed in brackets, the word concerned precedes the Formula and is perhaps not closely connected with it. Instances with more than one such word and so appearing twice or more in the lists are marked *, **, corresponding to two and three listings respectively.

$\pi\tilde{\alpha}\zeta$ Th.III.68.4; V.66.4; VII.33.2. Pl.Chrm.154b, 166d; La.199c; Ion 534d*; Hp.Ma.295d*; (Phd.59a*); R.III 407b*, (393b*); Tht.143a; Ti.26b. Dem.37.10; (48.12).
 $\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ Pl.Chrm.164d**; La.180b; Prt.345d; Men.100a; Euthd.275b*, 297d**; Hp.Ma.295d**; Cra.401d; Phd.59a*; R.III 393b* (VI 484d*). Dem.35.36; 44.14; (48.12, 14*).
 (ὁ) $\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ Pl.Chrm.164d**; Prt.333b; Euthphr.11c; Euthd.275b*; Cra.393a; (R.VI 484d**); Prm.128b. Dem.46.1; 47.6.
 $\omicron\tilde{\iota}\delta\alpha$ Pl.La.192c; Hp.Ma.288c; Euthd.297d**; Phd.63e. Dem.48.14* (cf. Kri.53β δηλον, II.3.415δ μανθανω, Λα.188β ηπισταμην).
 $\acute{\epsilon}\tilde{\gamma}\omega$ Pl.Chrm.164d**; (Prt.345d*); Euthd.297d**; Smp.201e.

Possibly Kri.46β ὅμοιοι and Γργ.450δ ἴσους should be included in the $\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ list.

Instances of Counterformula (15+?) 15+17 Πλ.Φλβ.23β σχεδὸν δὲ οὐδὲ ῥαδίου πάνυ τι νῦν.

Instances of Anticounterformula (15+?) $\frac{15+6}{15+7} = \frac{6+15}{7+15}$, p.54; p.57.

15+29 Πλ.Λα.189ε σχεδὸν δέ τι καὶ μᾶλλον...εἴη ἄν.

There are no instances of Multiple Antiformula. This ends the account of 15/15.

16/16, Former ἄλλος (pp.3.3.1).

Since this Former is a W-element and not confined to initial position the classification used for εἰ κτλ. is unsuitable; but since it appears with sometimes more than one other X-element, the system used with ἄν is also unsuitable. But in the first place it is convenient to list certain idioms separately.

Elliptic ἄλλο τι used as an interrogative:-

- (a) Initial Πλ.Χρμ.167β ἄλλο τι οὖν, "... , "πάντα ταῦτ' ἂν εἴη, εἰ... , 171α, 173α° Πρτ.353γ τι γάρ, 354δ τι οὖν, 358γ τι οὖν° Ευθφρ.10δ° Γργ.467δ τι οὖν, 470β, 472δ(τ), 475δ τι οὖν, 475ε τι οὖν, 495γ τι οὖν, 503δ ἄ ἂν λέγη ἄλλο τι οὐκ εἰκῆ ἔρεῖ° Μεν.82γ, 84δ τι οὖν, 97α° IM 287δ τι οὖν, 287ε τι οὖν, 291β, 291β, 296β° Ευθδ.276α τι οὖν, 283δ τι οὖν, 284β τι οὖν, 286γ, 287α(τ), 298α τι οὖν (τ), 299β(τ)° Κρα.401β τι οὖν, 436ε° Σμπ.200δ, 200ε(τ), 201α(τ)° Φδ.79β° Η.1.337γ τι οὖν° 2.369δ(τ)° 7.522ε τι οὖν° 9.576γ τι οὖν° Πρμ.137γ, 143β, 158β° Θτ.159γ ἄλλο τι ὅταν..., 159δ, 165ε, 186β(τ), 203γ, 209α ἄλλο τι ᾧ...° Σφ.257ε.
- (c) Medial Πλ.Θτ.171δ καὶ δεῖτα καὶ νῦν ἄλλο τι φῶμεν..., 180γ τὸ δὲ δὴ πρόβλημα ἄλλο τι παρελήφαμεν..., 192δ, 195ε, 198β.

There are no cases of peninitial following a prepositive. Where a postpositival connective is present it is quoted; all such cases in fact with this idiom infringe Rule XIV - we do not find ἄλλο γάρ τι... in this sense. Grg.503d should perhaps be classed in (c), since the subordinate clause is object of the main verb, from which point of view the idiom is medial in the sentence rather than initial in the apodosis; but all certainly medial instances are in Tht.

Idiomatically interrogative ἄλλο τι ἦ...:- Πλ.Απ.24γ ἄλλο τι ἦ περὶ πλεί-
 του ποιῆ...° Κρι.50α, 52δ, 52δ τι οὖν ἦ° Γργ.455β(τ), 481γ, 490β° Μεν.83β° Λυ.222δ(τ)° Ευθδ.281ε, 282δ° Κρα.436β° Φδ.70γ° Η.2.372α° Θτ.154ε. Δημ.23.57 ἄλλο τι ἦ σιγῶντα δεήσει Καρόνημον εἶν αὐτὸν ὑβρίζειν; (+ Ευθδ.284β)

In this last list all following q is part of the ἦ-clause; it does not include cases like Phd.106e ἄλλο τι ψυχῆ ἦ... ἀνώλ-
 εθρος ἂν εἴη, where the ἦ-clause is of limited extent and ἄλλο is the predicate of the verb, which is then a V-element to q; in the list q is in first and last "possible" position. The status of Dem.23.57 is uncertain from this point of view: the ἦ-clause may or may not include the verb.

We now proceed to the main body of Formulaic instances. These have been divided primarily into (a), (b) and (c), initial,

peninitial following prepositive or quasi-prepositive (including "postponed" prepositives), medial. These are subdivided: (-1) the Former (F) is the only X-element, relative to q, in the sentence; (-2) there is one X-element other than F; (-3) there are two or more X-elements other than F. Sub-division beyond this will be explained as necessary.

Instances of Formula (16) (a1.1) F_q only Πλ.Μεν.72β ἄλλω δέ τω.
(a1.2) F_qY Πλ.Π.2.369δ ἄλλος δέ τις ὑφάντης.

(a2.1) F_qV Θ.3.22.8 ἄλλο τι νομίζαντες... εἶναι... Πλ.Λα.185α ἄλλον τινα ζητεῖν· Γργ.502γ ἄλλο τι ἢ λόγοι γίνονται... (≡ Μεν.82δ, 87δ· Φδ.106α(τ), 106ε(τ)· Π.1.332α δὴ τι· 4.421β ἂν τι, 430β τέ τι· 5.470β τι ἂν· 6.485ε μάλλον)· Μεν.87α, 90ε δέ τισι, 93γ τέ τινας· Ευθδ.290δ δὴ τινα· Σμπ.172β γὰρ τις· Φδ.59γ δέ τις· Θτ.187β, 189β τι ἄρα, 190γ δέ τινα· Φλβ.56δ μὲν τινα· Ν.1.639α δέ τις. Δημ.21.218.

(a2.2) F_qW Δημ.16.16 δέ τινας τῶν...· 18.318 δέ τις τῶν...

(a3.1) F_qWV Θ.3.31.1 ἄλλοι δέ τινες τῶν...φυγάδων...ξυμπλέοντες παρήνουν. Πλ.Σμπ.175α τέ τινα, 177α μὲν τισι.

(a3.2) F_qVW Πλ.Πρτ.318δ ἄλλω τῷ συγγενόμενος τῶν...· Ευθφρ.11γ δὴ τινας· Φδ.70δ ἂν του. Δημ.20.106 δέ τινες.

In the (a) lists above, where a connective or similar postpositive is present, it is quoted. In the (b) lists below, the prepositive or quasi-prepositive present is quoted.

(b1.1) pF_q prepositional phrase ending with q Θ.2.24.1 ἐς ἄλλο τι, 24.2, 89.2 3.11.3· 5.79.4· 6.96.3. Πλ.Λα.187ε· Ιων 531γ, 537γ· Πρτ.318ε, 350α, 354β, 354δ, 355δ, 360β, 361ε· Ευθφρ.3δ, 10β, 10δ· ΙΜ 299δ· Ευθδ.285α· Κρα.438ε· Σμπ.188γ· Φδ.115β· Π.1.343β· 3.387γ· 4.429β, 429β· 5.454γ· 8.564α· 9.578α, 590γ· 10.601δ· Πρμ.161α, 162δ· Θτ.177ε· Πλτ.287α, 294δ· Τι.57α· Ν.4.714δ· 6.784α· 10.886γ. Δημ.4.8· 14.32· 16.31· 19.72. 91· 20.80· 23.80, 128· 33.15· 36.30· 40.17· 53.4.

(b1.2) other pF_q where q is last in phrase Θ.1.142.9 ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλο τι (≡ 6.18.6, 33.1· Πλ.Απ.28ε)· Πλ.Πρτ.356α μῶν, 357α ἄρα· Σμπ.173γ ὅταν δέ· Π.1.348ε ὥσπερ. Δημ.21.24 καὶ· 23.60 οὐκ (≡ 45.29). (+Απ.30δ καὶ

(b1.3) pF_qY Πλ.ΙΜ 297α οὐκοῦν ἄλλο τι τὸ γιγνόμενον...· Σμπ. 174ε εἰ δέ· Π.3.393α ὡς· Θτ.204γ ἄρα, 204γ ἢ, 204β ...μῶν, 205δ ἢ οὐν, 206α ...μῶν. Δημ.19.125 ὥσπερ ἂν, 223 ὥσπερ· 21.117 ὥσπερ ἂν· 39.10 ὥσπερ ἂν (τ), 27 ὥσπερ ἂν· 42.8 ὥσπερ· 59.99 καὶ.

Observe "postponed" interrogatives in (b1.3) Tht. above (cf. on ἄλλο τι interrogative, p.3.3.79). In these lists, interrogatives have been regarded as quasi-prepositives for classification purposes; hence cases of, say, ἄρα ἄλλο τι, whether the interrogative is initial, peninitial following a prepositive, or medial, have been put in (b) on the ground that the Former is directly preceded by a quasi-prepositive. Negatives, on the other hand, though accepted as quasi-prepositive when initial or following a prepositive (so that (καὶ) οὐκ ἄλλο τι is in (b), not (a)), have not been so treated when medial (so that ...οὐκ ἄλλο τι is in (c) as an ordinary case of medial ἄλλο). We now continue the (b) Formula lists.

(b2.1.1) pFqV with οὐ/μή... participle Θ.4.126.2 οὐκ ἄλλω τινι κτησάμενοι... ἦ... 6.17.7, 86.1* 7.77.5. Πλ.Θτ.170β.

(b2.1.2) other pFqV Θ.1.29.5 ἕως ἂν ἄλλο τι δόξῃ, 82.4 μὴ γὰρ ἄλλο τι νομίσητε... 3.79.1 ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι νεωτερίσωσι* 4.120.3 τοῦ καὶ* 6.10.5 καὶ. Πλ.Χρμ.167β ἢ οὐκ ἄλλου τινός ἐστιν ἦ...* Ευθφρ.5γ ὅτι καὶ* Κρι.44ε ἢ καὶ* Γργ. 468α ἢ ἄλλ' ἄττα καλεῖς..., 505γ ἀλλά, 505δ ἢ καὶ, 515β ἢ ἄλλου του ἄρα...* Μεν.78γ μή...; Λυ.219ε ...ἄρα καὶ* Ευθδ.281α... μῶν* Κρα.434ε ἢ, 438δ ὅτι* Σμπ.192γ ἀλλά, 203α ὁ δέ* Φδ.57α ἢ, 79β ἢ, 99β ὅτι ἄλλο μὲν τι (τ), 100δ ὅτι οὐκ, 104γ ἀλλά καὶ* Π.1.345β καὶ* 4.427α καὶ μὴν, "... οὐκ..., 436δ ἢ καὶ* 5.455γ ἄρα, 473ε ὅτι οὐκ ἂν (τ), 477ε οὐκ* Πρμ.142γ οὐκοῦν ὡς* Φδρ.245ε μή, 258α ἢ σοι* Σφ.220γ... μῶν, 227γ ὅσα, 228α πότερον, 229α ... μῶν, 265γ ... μῶν* Φλβ.28α ὡστε* Ν.9.861δ ἀλλὰ ἄλλω τινι δὴ ποτε (τ). Δημ.18.51 τοῦς* 22.71 ὁπότε (= 24.179)* 24.5 ... ὡς, 123 ἢ* 49.27 ὡσπερ ἂν ἄλλος τις ἀποτυχῶν, 29 ὡς* 56.28 ἢ. (+Θτ.151ε οὐκ)

In 49.27 in the foregoing, the participle should perhaps be treated as W rather than V, the overall sense of the phrase being substantive.

(b2.2.1) pFqW prepositional Θ.5.51.2 ἐπ' ἄλλη τινι γῆ* 6.53.1 ἐπ' ἄλλους τινας τῶν... Πλ.Χρμ. 158α παρὰ* Λα.187ε ἐν ἄλλω τῷ συλλόγῳ (≡ Γργ.456β, IM 304γ)* Πρτ.350α πρὸς, 354δ εἰς, 354δ πρὸς* Γργ.455β περὶ* Μεν.86α ἐν* IM 298γ ἐν, 304α ἐπὶ, 304δ ὑπὸ τε* Ευθδ.275β ἐπὶ* Φδ.79γ διὰ* Π.5.452δ πρὸς, 452ε πρὸς* 8.556γ ἐν* Φδρ.232β διὰ* Ν.1.644α πρὸς. Δημ.21.33 ἐν* 24.100 ἐν* 35.35 ἐξ (τ), 50 εἰς (τ)* 46.17 μὴ πρὸς ἄλλο δέ τι παράδειγμα... (τ)* 50.1 περὶ* 56.8 εἰς ἄλλο τι καταπλεύσωσιν ἐμπόριον.

(b2.2.2) other pFqW Πλ.Κρα.384δ ὡς ἄλλη τις ὀρθότης ὀνόματος ἢ... Φδ.74δ οἷον ἄλλο τι τῶν... Θτ.161δ μὴ ὅτι, 198γ ἦ. Δημ.13.24 ὡσπερ ἄλλου του τῶν...

(b3.1) pFqWV Θ.1.140.5 καὶ ἄλλο τι μετξον... ἐπιταχθήσεσθε· 8.65.1 καὶ. Πλ.ΙΕ 372α ἦ· Ἰων 536β ἐπειδὴν μὲν· IM 298β ἦ· Φδ.65δ ἦ· Π.1.342α ἦ· 4.428α ὡσπερ τοῖνον· 7.524δ ἦ· Πρμ.131α ἦ. Δημ.18.308 ἦ· 48.2 ἦ· 53.21 ἦ. (+Π.588γ καὶ

(b3.2) pFqVW Πλ.Φδρ.232γ τῶν δὲ ἄλλο τι κεκτημένων ἀγαθόν. Δημ.58.6 ἦ ἄλλο τι ποιεῖν τῶν...

We now procede to the cases of medial ἄλλο. Here, in (c2) and (c3), where F is not the only X-element, the actual order of X and F (XF or FX) seems a more basic division than the character of X (V or W); the headings are therefore (c2a), (c2b), etc., only then subdivided into (c2a.1) etc. This does not apply to (c1).

(c1.1) ...Fq where q is final Πλ.Γργ.481γ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλο τι, 481γ τοῖς δὲ ἄλλο τι (τ)· Φδ. 61ε ἦδη δὲ καὶ ἄλλων τινων. Δημ.20.137 τῷ ὁ' ἴσως ἄλλος τις· 21.220 ὑμῶν δέ γ' ἕκαστον ἄλλος τις.

(c1.2) ...Fq... Πλ.ΙΕ 367δ περὶ ταῦτα οὖν ἀγαθός ἄλλος τις ἦ οὗτος; Πρτ.355α ἦ τὸ κακὸν ἄλλο τι ἦ... (τ)· Ευθδ.286β σὺ δὲ ἄλλου τινος ἄλλου· Κρα.398β· Σφ.228α.

(c2a.1.1.1) ...FqV simple οὐκ ἄλλο Πλ.Χρμ.168δ οἷον ἠ ἀκοή φαμεν οὐκ ἄλλου τινος ἦν... Π.1.345δ· 4.439α(τ), 442δ· 7.515γ· Θτ.160δ· Σφ.257δ.

(c2a.1.1.2) other ...FqV simple Θ.8.8.2 οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἄλλο τι ἐ- γίνωσκεν. Πλ.Χρμ.174δ· Πρτ.348β, 358γ· Ευθφρ.15γ· Γργ.471δ· Μνξ.242δ· Ευθδ.277β· Κρα.390γ, 406γ· Φδ.60δ· Π.4.434δ· 5.452δ, 474α· Πρμ.151ε· Φδρ. 279γ· Ν.7.805γ. Δημ.23.102.

(c2a.1.2.1) ...FqV complex οὐκ ἄλλο Θ.3.30.4 γομίσαντες οὐκ ἄλλο τι εἶναι τὸ..., 56.7. Πλ.Λα.198δ οἷον περὶ τὸ ὑγιεινὸν... οὐκ ἄλλη τις ἦ ἰατρικὴ μία οὐσα ἐφορᾷ...· Φδ.72ε· Θτ.146δ.

(c2a.1.2.2) other ...FqV complex Θ.2.50.1 ... ἐδήλωσε μάλιστα ἄλλο τι ὄν...· 7.44.4. Πλ.Πρτ.348γ, 353δ, 357ε· Γργ.489γ, 496δ· IM 294ε· Λυ.213γ· Φδ. 107α· Π.2.379γ· 4.422ε· 9.584δ· Θτ.201γ, 205β· Φδρ.236α· Ν.6. 782ε. Δημ.3.33· 10.34· 20.37, 39· 21.55· 24.109· 31.11· 34.43(τ)· 39.39 πῶς ὑμῖν ἐστὶν ἄλλο τι πλὴν ἀγῶ λέγω ψηφίσασθαι; 41.15.

Possibly Dem. 39.39 above should have been classed rather as VFq (c2b), for both constructions are possible, ἔστιν ἄλλο τι πλὴν...φηφίσασθαι and φηφίσασθαι ἄλλο τι πλὴν ἄ..., and in fact VFq is less a minority choice in Demosthenes than in Plato (see below). But the alternative construction would possibly have been worded τί ἐστιν ἄλλο rather than πῶς ἐστιν ἄλλο τι. (c2a.2) ...FqW Πλ.Π.4.435β διὰ...ἄλλ' ἅττα πάθη...

Cases of FqW without verb are usually prepositional phrases with the Former directly after the preposition: see (b2.2.1) above. We now proceed to (c2b), XF. There are no Wfq.

(c2b.1.1) VFq with οὐκ ἄλλο Πλ.Χρμ.164ε καὶ λέγει...οὐκ ἄλλο τι ἢ... IM 296ε, 297α° Κρα.413ε° Π.1.338γ° Ιρμ.132δ° Θτ.189ε° Σφ.247ε° Πλτ.304δ.

(c2b.1.2) VFq with καὶ ἄλλο Θ.7.77.4 ἦλθον γάρ που καὶ ἄλλοι τινες...

(c2b.1.3) other VFq Θ.3.38.7 ζητοῦντές τε ἄλλο τι...;(τ).
Πλ.Ν.2.656ε ...καὶ νῦν οὐδ' ἐπινοεῖν ἄλλ' ἅττα ἢ... Δημ.10.22 ἢ πράττειν ἄλλο τι 19.210, 54° 21.4° 24.1.

Now (c3), where a medial F is accompanied by more than one other X-element.

(c3a.1) ...FqVW Πλ.Πρτ.320ε διδοῦς...ἄλλην τιν' αὐτοῖς ἐμμηχανᾶτο δύναμιν... Φδ.76δ ...ἔχεις ἄλλον τιν' εἰπεῖν χρόνον° Π.7.533β ...ἄλλη τις ἐπιχειρεῖ μέθοδος... 9.575β ...ἄλλον τινα δορυφοροῦσι τύραννον.

(c3a.2) ...FqWV Πλ.Γργ.527β ὡς δεῖ ἄλλον τινα βίον ζῆν.
Δημ.17.9 νυνὶ δ' // ἄλλον ἄρα τινα χρόνον ἀναμενεῖτε° 24.153.

(c3b.1) VFqW Πλ.Χρμ.173δ ...εὐρήσεις ἄλλο τι τέλος° Λυ.221δ ...φαίνεται ἄλλη τις αἰτία° Φδ.88δ, 101γ° Ν.5.747δ. Δημ.1.20 λέγουσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλους τινας ἄλλοι πόρους° 34.52 καλῶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλον τινα τῶν...

(c3b.2) WFqV Πλ.Γργ.477β ...κακίαν ἄλλην τινα ἐνορᾶς...

(c3c) VWFq Πλ.Π.7.521β ἔχεις...βίον ἄλλον τινα...° Ν.10.899α
"εχουσα δὲ δυνάμεις ἄλλας τινας ὑπερβαλλούσας...

That ends the list of Formula (16). In all authors, sentences with one X-element other than F are the most numerous; likewise in all authors most cases of Formula are in the position "peninitial following prepositive" (inclusive of prepositional phrases). Thucydides has a disproportionately large number of instances in pFq where q ends the phrase; Demosthenes in pFq... where the phrase continues after q.

In the classification of Antiformula (16) below, the basic division is approximately like that of the Formulaic instances; the primary division is into (a), (b), (c) and (d); (a) the Former (F) is initial (cf. (a) in Formula list above); in (b), (c) and (d), F is not initial; (b) q is peninitial following a prepositive (pq..., contrast pFq in Formula list); (c) q is otherwise peninitial (no comparison with (c) in Formula list); (d) q is fully medial. Thus (b) and (c) comprise all instances where Formulaic wording may have been inhibited by the peninitial tendency; the sub-division of these is much the same in (c) and (d). The figure following the letter is the same as in the Formula list: (-1) F is the only X-element, (-2) F is one of two X-elements, (3) F is one of three X-elements. Following the basic (b1), (c2) etc., the next sub-division is different in (c-) and (d-) from the earlier categories. While (a) requires no sub-division at all (for there is one instance only), (b1) is subdivided into (---.1) prepositional, (---.2) other; (b2) into (---.1), pq is followed by FX, (---.2) by XF; this is further subdivided as X = V (---.1) or X = W (---.2); the same subdivision applies to (b3). But in (c) and (d) a further letter is necessary following the first figure; (c1) and (d1) are few in numbers, but (c2) and (c3), (d2) and (d3) subdivide into (---a) ...qFX (---a.1) and ...qXF (---a.2), which further subdivides as X = V (---a.1) and X = W (---a.2); (---b) Xq(...)F, (---b.1) X = V, (---b.2) X = W. The class (d--) has further peculiar sub-divisions: (d-c) FXq, (d-c.1) where X = V, (d-c.2) where X = W; (d-d) X...qF and

other formulations which infringe Rule XXVII. Thus infringements of this Rule are concentrated in (a) and (d-d).

Instances of Antiformula (16) (a) Δημ.21.185 ἄλλος οὕτως τις ἀναιδής.

(b1.1) $\underline{p}q(\dots)F$ prepositional Πλ.Πρτ.310γ ὑπὸ τινος ἄλλου· Απ. 27δ ἐκ· Συμπ.185γ ὑπὸ, 211α ἐν· Π.9.578α ἐν· Τλ.32γ ὑπὸ (τ)· Ν.8.847γ περὶ. Δημ.24.51 περὶ του καὶ ἄλλου (τ).

(b1.2) other $\underline{p}q(\dots)F$ Πλ.Πρμ.146ε μή τι ἄλλο ἢ...;

(b2.1.1) $\underline{p}q(\dots)FV$ Πλ.Πρτ.348ε ὡςπερ τινες ἄλλοι...εἰσι...· Γργ.488β μή τι ἄλλο λέγεις...; (≡ Θτ.146δ φράσεις (τ)· Φδρ.273α)· ΙΜ 299β ἢ τι καὶ ἄλλο ἐροῦμεν; Λυ.211β ἀλλὰ τι ἄλλο αὐτῷ λέγε· Συμπ.215δ ὅταν μὲν του ἄλλου ἀκούωμεν... Φδ.93α ἢ τι ἄλλο ἐναντιωθῆναι (≡ Π.3.396α· 8.549ε· Θτ.157ε, 201β)· Π.3.393γ ὡς· 6.496γ ἢ γὰρ πού τινι ἄλλῳ ἢ...γέγονεν· 10.603γ μή τι ἄλλο ἦν...; (≡ Πρμ.163δ)· 9.573α ἢ τι ἄλλο οἶει εἶναι...; (τ)· Πρμ.133α ἀλλὰ τι ἄλλο δεῖ ζητεῖν...· Θτ.273γ ἀλλὰ τι ἄλλο ψεύδεσθαι ἐπιχειρῶν...· Ν.12.953β ἢ τιν' ἄλλον ἀδικῆ τις τούτων. Δημ.20.158 τό τιν' αὐτόχειρ' ἄλλον ἄλλου γίνεσθαι.

(b2.1.2) $\underline{p}q(\dots)FW$ Πλ.Φδ.75α ἢ ἐκ τινος ἄλλου τῶν...· Πλτ.305γ μήθ' ὑπὸ τινος ἄλλης ἔχθρας.

(b2.2.1) $\underline{p}q(\dots)VF$ Πλ.Θτ.196β μή τι τότε γίνεται ἄλλο;

There are no instances of (b2.2.2) $\underline{p}q(\dots)WF$. In all the above lists from (b1.1) to (b2.2.1) inclusive, F or X directly follows \underline{q} and F or X directly follows X or F respectively, unless quoted otherwise.

(b3.1.1) $\underline{p}q(\dots)FVX\dots$ Πλ.Π.8.544γ ἢ τινὰ ἄλλην ἔχεις ἰδέαν...; Ν.5.744γ ἢ τισιν ἄλλοις προσαγορευομένους ὀνόμασιν.

(b3.1.2) $\underline{p}q(\dots)FWX\dots$ Πλ.Απ.33γ ὅπερ τίς ποτε καὶ ἄλλη θεῖα μοῖρα...προσέταξε...· Φδ.73γ ἢ τινὰ ἄλλην αἴσθησιν λαβῶν (≡ 76α, 85α· Π.10.615β· Θτ.181δ, 194α, 192δ)· Θτ.183β ἀλλὰ τιν' ἄλλην φωνὴν θετέον· Ν.6.774ε ἢ τις ἄλλη...ἰερουργία...προσήκουσά ἐστίν... (all $\underline{p}q(\dots)FV$).

(b3.2.1) $\underline{p}q(\dots)VFX\dots$ Θ.1.2.2 ὅποτε τις ἐπελθὼν ἄλλος ἀφαιρήσεται.

We now pass to (c...), where \underline{q} is peninitial but not preceded by a prepositive (next page).

(c2a.1.1) $M_q(\dots)FV$ Πλ.Πρτ.330δ σχολῆ μεντ' ἄν τι ἄλλο ὄσιον
εἴη (≅ Λυ.214δ(τ)° Φδ.106δ)° Γργ.458γ
βουλομένους τι καὶ ἄλλο πράττειν.

There are no cases of (c2a.1.2) $M_q(\dots)FW$ nor (c2a.2.--)
 $M_q(\dots)XF$, nor of (c2b.--) $X_q(\dots)F$.

(c3a.2.1) $M_q(\dots)VFX$ Πλ.Π.2.371ε ἔτι δὴ τινες//εἰσὶ καὶ ἄλλοι
διάκονοι.

(c3b.1) $V_q(\dots)F(\dots)$ Πλ.Φδ.80β ἔχομέν τι παρὰ ταῦτα ἄλλο λέγ-
ειν; Πρμ.161δ ἔχεις οὖν τι ἄλλο εἰπεῖν...
Φδρ.234ε οἶει ἄν τινα ἔχειν εἰπεῖν ἄλλον...; Δημ.10.35 ἔστι
τοῖσιν τι πρᾶγμα καὶ ἄλλο (τ)° 19.22 εἶναι μέντοι τι καὶ ἄλλο
διωκημένον αὐτῷ (τ).

(c3b.2) $W_q(\dots)F(\dots)$ Πλ.Πρμ.150β μεῖζον γὰρ ἄν τι εἴη ἄλλο...

That ends the lists of (c--). The formulation $M_q(\dots)FX/$
 XF occurs mainly in (c2--), where there are two X-elements only
(including F), while $X_q(\dots)F$ occurs mainly in (c3--): the ex-
tra X-element takes the place of the initial M in (c2--). In
Grg.458c the initial verb is not an X-element, for q "belongs"
to the infinitive; it is arguable that the same applies to the
complex instances in (c3b.1); in any case, it seems that to a
large extent Antiformulaic sentences with peninitial q not be-
ginning with a prepositive begin either with a verb or with the
σχολῆ idiom. We pass now to (d--), where q is medial.

(d1.2) ... M_qF Πλ.N.8.847β καὶ ἔάν τις αὐτοὺς ἕτερος) ἢ κεῖνο
τινα ἄλλον (ἀδικῶσι).

(d2a.1.1) ... M_qFV Πλ.Γργ.514δ ἢ ἡδὴ τις ἄλλος ἀπηλλάγη...; Ιπ
298γ ...ἔμοιγε...//δοκεῖ τι ἄλλο εἶναι τοῦτο...
Π.5.474ε ...τοῦνομα οἶει τινος ἄλλου ποῖημα εἶναι...; 7.537β
...ὁ χρόνος//ἀδύνατός τι ἄλλο πρᾶξαι.

(d2a.2.1) ... $M_q(\dots)VF$ Πλ.ΙΜ 303ε ἢ σύ τι ἔχεις λέγειν ἄλλο°
Π.7.515α ...οἶει ἄν τι ἑωρακέναι ἄλλο.

When two X-elements of the same type (both V or both W)
occur without the intervention of one of the other type, both
count together as a single element; otherwise Hp.Ma.303e
would appear in (d3--). In Lg.VIII 847b the verb "belongs"
rather to the ἔάν than to the ἢ clause, so that the latter is
"verbless" (hence (-1)), yet is clearly different from the

Counterformulaic ἢ τι ἄλλο, p.3.3.49.

(d2d) X...q Πλ.Ν.9.872α ἐὰν δὲ αὐτόχειρ μὲν μή, βουλευσῆ δὲ θάνατόν τις ἄλλος... Δημ.23.99 ὡς γέγονε καὶ πρότερόν τιςιν ἄλλοις... (both V...qF).

(d3b.1.1) ...VqFX Πλ.Πρτ.354β ἢ ἔχετε τι ἄλλο τέλος λέγειν; Κρα.433β ἢ ζητεῖ τινα ἄλλην.. ὀρθότητα Σφ. 234γ ...προσδοκῶμεν εἶναι τινα ἄλλην τέχνην... Φλβ.58ε καὶ χαλεπὸν... συγχωρήσαί τινα ἄλλην ἐπιστήμην... (all VqFW(V)).

(d3b.1.2) ...VqXF Πλ.Η.1.341δ ἄρ' οὖν... ἔστιν τι συμφέρον ἄλλο... (VqWF).

(d3b.2.1) ...WqFX Θ.2.23.1 ..., ἐδῆθον τῶν δῆμων τινὰς ἄλλους τῶν... Πλ.Φδ.93γ πότερον ἄρμονίαν αὐτῶν τινα ἄλλην καὶ ἀναρμοστίαν; (both (V)WqFW).

(d3b.2.2) ...WqXF Πλ.Γργ.458γ ὥστε... προυργιαίτερόν τι γενέσθαι ἄλλο πράττειν Σφ.238δ ἔτι μεῖζω τινα λέγειν ἄλλην ἔχομεν; Ν.4.714ε καὶ σὺχν' αὐτ' ἦν ἄλλα... 10.895α μὴν ἀρχὴ τις αὐτῶν ἔσται ἄλλη πλήν... (all WqVF(V)).

(d3c.2) FWq Πλ.Φλβ.54γ ἐκάστην δὲ γένεσιν ἄλλην ἄλλης οὐσίας τινος ἐκάστης ἕνεκα γίνεσθαι (FWqV).

(d3d) X...q Δημ.21.141 πάλιν ἄλλον ἴσως τινα τῶν ἠδίκημένων ὀνομάζων. (F...qWV).

The majority of Antiformulaic (as of Formulaic) instances fall in (b-), where q is peninitial after a prepositive, and in (-2-), where there are two X-elements including F. In Pl.Lg. 872a (d2d) the formulation V...q may be due to the treatment of the co-ordination, which is equivalent to ἐὰν δὲ αὐτόχειρ μὲν μή, βουλευσῆ δὲ ἀποκτείνῃ τις... In (b-) observe the numbers of ἢ τι ἄλλο (cf. Formula 5) and μή τι ἄλλο (cf. Formula 12 and Rule XXIII). The strict wording of the definition of Formula 5, "verbless", excludes these instances, but it is to be suspected that the underlying definition is "a primarily substantive phrase, with or without secondary verb", and from that point of view many of these instances should perhaps be classed as 5+16 (p.3.3.49), especially the suite ἢ τινα ἄλλην αἰσθησιν λαβῶν. Similarly μή τι ἄλλο should possibly be classed as 12+16, p.3.3.70: μή τις outside the prescribed conditions of Formulaism (p.3.3.3) is in fact a rarity; but a relatively numerous set of exceptions occur where μή is interro-

gative (p.2.2.56); perhaps " μήinterrogative" should be included as a block exception in the wording of the Rule, in which case μή τις in these cases would be 12+16.

Since F is itself a W-element it is not possible to present a numerical summary in the form used for εἴ τις (p.3.3.11) etc. The Formula:Antiformula ratios are: Thuc.30:3, Plato 219:70, Dem. 65:7. This amounts to 10:1 and 9.2:1 respectively for Thucydides and Demosthenes, 3.1:1 for Plato. These are made up as follows:

Formula	Th.	Pl.	Dem.	Antiformula	Th.	Pl.	Dem.
Fq etc.	2	29	3	F...q(X)			2
pFq etc.	21	119	42	pq(...)F	2	41	2
...Fq etc.	7	70	20	Mq(...)F		8	2
				...Mq(...)F	1	19	
				FXq		1	
				X...qF		1	1

Instances of Counterformula (16+?) $16+1 = 1+16$, p.16 ;
 $16+1+28 = 1+16+28$,
 p.16.

$16+2 = 2+16$, p.25; $16+3 = 3+16$, p.38; $16+4 = 4+16$, p.44.

$16+5 = 5+16$ p.49; $16+5+18 = 5+16+18$, p.50; $16+5+26 = 5+16+26$, p.50.

$16+6 = 6+16$, p.55; $16+7 = 7+16$, p.57; $16+8 = 8+16$, p.59.
 $16+9 = 9+16$, p.62; $16+9a = 9a+16$, p.64; $16+10 = 10+16$,
 p.66; $16+11 = 11+16$, p.67.

$16+12 = 12+16$, p.70; $16+1+12 = 1+12+16$, p.13; $16+3+12 = 3+12+16$, p.37.

$16+14 = 14+16$, p.77.

$16+18$ Δημ.19.294 ἦσαν//τοιούτοις τινες ἄλλοι

$16+5+18 = 5+16+18$, p.49; $16+6+18 = 6+16+18$, p.54.

$16+18+26$ Πλ.Φδ.114α ἢ ἀνόροφόνοι τοιούτω τινι τρόπῳ ἄλλῳ γένωνται.

$16+20$ Πλ.N.12.951α θεωροῦς δὲ ἄλλους ἐκπέμπειν χρῶν τοιούσδε τινας...

(16+23) $16+14+23 = 14+16+23$, p.76.

16+26 Πλ.Κρα.430β οὐκοῦν...τρόπον τινα ἄλλον...· Θτ.152α
τρόπον δέ τινα ἄλλον εἰρηκε...ταῦτα.

Instances of Anticounterformula (16+?) $16+1 = 1+16$, p.14;
 $16+1+12 = 1+12+16$,
p.14.

$16+2 = 2+16$, p.24; $16+2+18 = 2+16+18$, p.25.

$16+3 = 3+16$, p.37; $16+4 = 4+16$, p.43.

$16+5 = 5+16$, p.48; $16+5+18 = 5+16+18$, p.49; $16+5+26 =$
 $5+16+26$, p.49.

$16+6 = 6+16$, p.54; $16+6+18 = 6+16+18$, p.54; $16+6+27 =$
 $6+16+27$, p.54.

$16+7 = 7+16$, p.57; $16+8 = 8+16$, p.58; $16+9 = 9+16$, p.62;
 $16+9a = 9a+16$, p.63; $16+10 = 10+16$, p.66; $16+11 = 11+16$,
p.67.

$16+12 = 12+16$, p.70; $16+1+12 = 1+12+16$, p.14.

16+18 Πλ.Φδ.108β ἢ ἄλλα ἅττα τοιαῦτα εἰργασμένην· Π.4.
430ε καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα τοιαῦτα...λέγεται· Σφ.234δ (τ)
τί γὰρ οὐκ ἂν εἴη ἄλλη τις τοιαύτη τέχνη; Ν.1.630ε ἄλλοι δὲ
ἄλλ' ἅττα τοιαῦτα.

$16+2+18 = 2+16+18$, p.25; $16+5+18 = 5+16+18$, p.49; $16+6+18 =$
 $6+16+18$, p.54.

16+26 Θ.4.116.2 νομίσας ἄλλω τινι τρόπῳ...γενέσθαι. Πλ.
Κρα.422β καὶ δεῖ αὐτῶν ἄλλω τινι τρόπῳ τὴν ὀρθότητα
σκέψασθαι...· Θλβ.40ε ὡς ἄλλον τινα τρόπον...

$16+5+26 = 5+16+26$, p.49.

Instances of Multiple Antiformula (16+?) (16+1) $16+1+12 =$
 $1+12+16$, p.18;

$16+1+12 = 1+12+16$, p.13.

$16+2 = 2+16$, p.26.

(16+3) $16+3+12 = 3+12+16$, p.37.

$16+4 = 4+16$, p.44.

$16+5 = 5+16$, p.50; $16+5+18 = 5+16+18$, p.49;

(16+6) $16+6+18 = 6+16+18$, p.54.

(16+12) $16+1+12 = 1+12+16$, p.18.

$16+14 = 14+16$, p.77; $16+14+23 = 14+16+23$, p.76.

16+18 Πλ.Λα.193γ ἢ ἔν τινι ἄλλῳ τοιοῦτῳ Γργ.501β καὶ εἶναί τινες... τοιαῦται ἄλλαι πραγματεῖαι... N.4. 708β ἢ τιοῖν ἄλλοις τοιοῦτοις παθήμασιν ἀναγκασθῆν· 5.745α ἢ τινι τύχῃ τοιαύτῃ χρησάμενος ἄλλῃ... 9.881δ ἢ τινα τοιαύτην ἄλλην κοινωνίαν κοινωνήσῃ.

16+5+18 = 5+16+18, p.50.

16+26 Πλ.Ν.11.915δ ἢ τινι τρόπῳ παραδόντα ἄλλῳ Φδ.97β ἄλλὰ τιν' ἄλλον τρόπον... φύρω.

16+5+26 = 5+16+26, p.50; 16+18+26, p.88.

(16+28) 16+1+28 = 1+16+28, p.16.

The above ends the lists of Counterformula, Anticounterformula, and Multiple Antiformula, Former 16. Some tendencies may be mentioned: καὶ ἄλλο τι (6+16) prevails over καί τι ἄλλο (6+16), except in Demosthenes, where the latter is fairly numerous; ἀλλ' ἄλλο τι (7+16) prevails over ἀλλά τι ἄλλο (7+16) but the evidence is from Plato alone; π μὴ ἄλλο τι (12+16) prevails over π μὴ τι ἄλλο (12+16), where π is not itself a Former, but εἰ μὴ τι ἄλλο (1+12+16) prevails over εἰ μὴ ἄλλο τι (1+12+16); ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον and ἄλλῳ τινι τρόπῳ prevail over τοιοῦτόν τι ἄλλο and τρόπῳ τινι ἄλλῳ (16+18 and 16+26) over 16+18 and 16+26), but in both cases this results simply from the order of the Formers themselves, q being subjoined to the first in either case.

On the other hand εἴ τι ἄλλο (1+16) surpasses εἰ ἄλλο τι (1+16); εἴαν τι ἄλλο prevails over εἴαν ἄλλο τι, except in Demosthenes, where the latter is normal (contrast 6+16 in previous paragraph); εἴαν δέ τι ἄλλο prevails over εἴαν δέ ἄλλο τι in Plato, the others being unrepresented; the same is true for οὔτε τι ἄλλο.

In Multiple Antiformula, observe the large number of 16+18 due to ἢ τι in primarily substantive phrases; cf. on ἢ τι in Antiformula, p.3.3.87 above. These occur particularly in Lg, and this is interesting in relation to the distribution within Plato of 5+16/5+16, p.3.3.51 above. In this connexion it is interesting to consider also the distribution of

Formula:Antiformula 16:16:-

	Formula			total	Antiformula				
	a	b	c		total	a	b	c	d
<u>Hp.Mi.</u>		1	1	2					
<u>Chrm.</u>		2	4	6					
<u>La.</u>	1	2	1	4					
<u>Ion</u>		3		3					
<u>Prt.</u>	1	12	7	20	4	2	1	1	
<u>Euthphr.</u>	1	4	1	6					
<u>Ap.</u>		2		2	2	2			
<u>Cri.</u>		1		1					
<u>Grg.</u>	1	6	7	14	4	1	1	2	
<u>Men.</u>	6	2		8					
<u>Hp.Ma.</u>		7	3	10	3	1		2	
<u>Ly.</u>		1	2	3	2	1	1		
<u>Mnx.</u>			1	1					
<u>Euthd.</u>	1	3	2	6					
<u>Cra</u>		4	4	8	1				1
<u>Smp.</u>	3	5		8	3	3			
<u>Phd.</u>	4	9	7	20	8	5	2	1	
<u>R I</u>	2	4	2	8	1			1	
rell.)	4	24	15	43	13	9	1	3	
<u>Prm.</u>		4	2	6	9	7	2		
<u>Tht.</u>	3	10	5	18	5	5			
<u>Phdr.</u>		4	2	6	2	1	1		
<u>Sph.</u>		4	3	7	2			2	
<u>Plt.</u>		2	1	3	1	1			
<u>Phlb.</u>	1	1		2	2			2	
<u>Ti.</u>		1		1	1	1			
<u>Criti.</u>									
<u>Lg</u>	1	5	5	11	8	4		4	

Antiformula is absent despite the presence of Formula in Hp.Mi., Chrm., La., Ion, Euthphr., Cri., Men., Mnx., and Euthd., all "early" or "early-middle" dialogues. By contrast, in "late" Plato, Antiformula is never absent where Formula is present. Note also the difference in proportion of Formula and Antiformula between R. and Lg. On the hypothesis that in "early" Plato Formula prevails over Antiformula, there is a shift towards parity later. If we add together those listed from Hp.Mi. to Phd. and from Prm. to Criti. and calculate the average number of instances per 100 Steph. pages, the result is: "early" 23.3:4.8, R. 17.3:4.4, "late" 10.3:5.3, Lg. 3.4:2.3, (all Formula:Antiformula). The proportion of Antiformula is approx-

ately stable, but that of Formula falls steadily, resulting in an increase of Antiformula relative to Formula. In Lg., the proportion of Formula finally falls sharply accompanied by a fall in Antiformula also, leaving the proportion between them nevertheless closer than before to parity.

This fall in the frequency of ἄλλο τι is parallel to the increase of ἦ τι relative to ἦ...τι (p.3.3.51). But ἄλλο τι and ἦ τι are mutually exclusive only if they occur in the same sentence, and in fact although both changes occur the process does not happen simultaneously. While Plt., Phlb., Ti., and Lg agree in having remarkably low levels of ἄλλο τι and high proportions of ἦ τι, and Chrm., La., Ion, Prt., and Euthd. agree in having both high levels of ἄλλο τι and high levels of ἦ...τι, nevertheless R., Tht., Phdr., and Sph. show an overlap - high proportions of ἄλλο τι combined with high proportions of ἦ τι.

Prm. is unusual in both Formulae: in it alone does Antiformula ἄλλο + τι outnumber the Formula, while in ἦ + τι it is under-represented by comparison with R., Tht., and Phdr., and unlike them has more ἦ...τι than ἦ τι. Phd. also is unusual: although in the ratio Formula:Antiformula (16) it is not much different from Smp., R., and Tht., it has a higher rate per 100 pages of ἄλλο + τι and also a higher proportion of ἦ...τι relative to ἦ τι. This ends the account of Formula 16.

17/17, Former πᾶς/πάνυ (pp.3.3.1 and 4).

The expressions πᾶς τις and πάνυ τι are perhaps cases of a single underlying idiom; the latter however is confined to negative sentences, the former with few exceptions to affirmative; hence it is convenient to list them separately.

Sentences with πάνυ τι are classified as follows: (1--) οὐ/μὴ πάνυ τι, (2---) slight variants of that phrase, (3---) other negative sentences; these are subdivided somewhat differently

one from another: (1--) and (2--) divide into (-a-), where the idiom (with negative leading) is initial, (-b-), where it is medial; (3--) divides into (-a-), where the negative is initial or peninitial following a prepositive, (-b-), where it is medial, and (-c-), where the negative follows πάνυ τι instead of preceding. All of these classes are further divided, (--1), where the order is FqV (where V includes any adjective or adverb modified by πάνυ), (--2), where it is VFq. On the other hand πᾶς τις is classified according to the system mainly used hitherto: (a) F initial, (b) peninitial after prepositive, (c) medial; any further division is explained as it occurs.

- Instances of Formula (17) Firstly πάνυ τι: (1a1) Πλ.Λυ. 204δ οὐ πάνυ τι δεινὰ ἐστίν· ^{204δ οὐ} IE 369α οὐ πάνυ τι ἐννοῶ· Kpa. 386α οὐ πάνυ τι μέντοι μοι δοκεῖ..., 436α.
- (1b1) Πλ.Πρτ.321β ἄτε δὴ οὖν οὐ πάνυ τι σοφὸς ὢν...· Euthd. 286ε· Π.4.419α(τ), 432δ(τ)· Θτ. 150γ εἰμὶ δὴ οὖν αὐτὸς μὲν οὐ πάνυ τι σοφὸς..., 176β ἀλλὰ γὰρ/-/οὐ πάνυ τι ῥᾶδιον...(τ)· Σφ. 218ε. Δημ. 48.19 καὶ εὐθὺς μὲν οὐ πάνυ τι ἠνώχλουν...
- (1b2) Πλ.Φδρ.264ε μιμεῖσθαι αὐτὰ ἐπιχειρῶν μὴ πάνυ τι.
- (2a1) Πλ.Π.1,333ε οὐκ ἂν οὖν/-/πάνυ γέ τι σπουδαῖον εἴη...· 4.444α οὐκ ἂν πάνυ τι οἶμαι δόξαίμεν φεῦδεσθαι.
- (3a1) Θ.8. 71.1 οὐδ' ἐν τῷ παρόντι πάνυ τι πιστεύων...(τ). Πλ. Euthphr. 2β οὐδ' αὐτὸς πάνυ τι γιγνώσκω· Π.10.595γ οὐδὲ γὰρ τοι αὐτὸς πάνυ τι συννοῶ...· 1.330α ὅτι οὐτ' ἂν ὁ ἐπιεικῆς πάνυ τι ῥᾶδῶς... ἐνέγκοι.
- (3b1) Δημ. 59.7 ἥ μὲν γὰρ οὐσία οὐδὲ τριῶν ταλάντων πάνυ τι ἦν.
- (3c1) Πλ.Euthd. 279α ἥ οὐ χαλεπὸν... πάνυ τι οὐδὲ τοῦτο εἴδικεν εἶναι...

Prt. 321b and Tht. 176b in (1b1) above are strictly speaking cases of "peninitial following prepositive", but in these cases much intervenes between the initial word and the idiom, and the two do not seem to constitute a worthwhile class. There is some repetitive phraseology: ἐννοῶ, γιγνώσκω, συννοῶ, μανθάνω, Hp.Mi. 369a, Euthphr. 2b, R. X 595c, Euthd. 286e; αὐτὸς, Euthphr. 2b, R. X 595c.

Secondly, πᾶς τις - see next page.

Formula (17) ctd., πᾶς τις: (a) Θ.3.93.2 πᾶς γὰρ τις...θαρ-
σαλέως ἦει 7.70.3 πᾶς τέ
τις//αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἠπεύγετο πρῶτος φαίνεσθαι, 84.3 ἀλλὰ) πᾶς
τέ τις διαβῆναι αὐτὸς πρῶτος βουλόμενος... (all Fq...V)

(b) pFq...V Θ.8.94.1 καὶ πᾶς τις...αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐνόμιζεν...

pFqXV Πλ.Π.10.602γ καὶ πᾶσά τις ταραχῆ δὴλη ἡμῖν ἐνοῦσα...
N.6.762γ. Δημ.22.77 ἂ πᾶς τις ἂν εὖ φρονῶν εὕξαιτο
(= 24.185).

(c)...Fq...V Θ.6.68.2 πῶς οὐ χρῆ...πάντα τινα...ἔχειν...;

...FqV Θ.3.13.7 θρασύτερον γὰρ πᾶς τις προσχωρήσεται 6.
31.5 7.60.2. Πλ.Θτ.178α. Δημ.21.60.

others Θ.2.41.5 καὶ τῶν λειπομένων πάντα τινα εἰκὸς ἐθέλ-
ειν... Πλ.N.2.670α φιλοῦ δ' ἑκατέρῳ πᾶσά τις ἀμουσία
γίγνεται' ἂν... (WFqV, ...FqWV).

Instances of Antiformula (17) Πλ.Λα.182ε μὴ μέντοι τι πάνυ
σπουδαῖον(τ).

The one instance of Antiformula is of πάνυ and textually doubtful; it is also an infringement of Rule XXIII and unique in that category; however the presence of the negative is perhaps evidence in favour of reading τι with TW and not μὴ μέντοι alone with recc. Even if it is correct, q may "belong" to the adjective and not πάνυ, but it is possible that its presence is due to the influence of οὐ/μὴ πάνυ τι.

In πᾶς τις, initial instances are confined to Thucydides (where observe resemblance between VII.70.3 and 84.3), and FqV with nothing between q and V is confined to medial cases. In Dem. 22.77 (= 24.185), I have counted εὖ as part of the participle; the two words together amount perhaps to a W-element.

In addition to the rarity of Antiformula, instances of Counterformula (17+?) are lacking.

Instances of Anticounterformula (17+?) (17+1) 17+1+12 =
1+12+17, p.14.

17+9 = 9+17, p.62.

17+15 = 15+17, p.78.

Instances of Multiple Antiformula (17+?) 17+8 = 8+17, p.59.

All the instances of Anticounterformula and of Multiple Antiformula are of $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\upsilon$, and in all the expression remains associated exclusively with negative sentences. In summary then, in listing $\pi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\ \tau\iota\zeta$ we need consider Formula alone: there is no Antiformula and no occurrence in competition with other Formers. In listing $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\upsilon\ \tau\iota$, there is one instance only of Antiformula, none of Counterformula, but some of Anticounterformula; this Formula then prevails over other Formers when it occurs with them; the one instance even of Multiple Antiformula reduces to Anticounterformula if $\epsilon\phi\eta$ may be treated as a postpositive.

18/18, Former $\tau\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (p.3.3.1).

Here the classification is similar to that in 16/16, p.3.3.80 above: (a--), (b--), and (c--), in Formula, signify initial, peninitial following prepositive, and medial respectively; following that the first numeral, (-1-), (-2-), or (-3-), indicates that F is the only X-element, or is one of two or three respectively; for greater detail see on 16/16 above; here, the smaller number of instances require less detailed subdivision.

Instances of Formula (18) (a1.1) Fq alone $\Pi\lambda.\text{IM } 288\delta\ \tau\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma\text{-}\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\iota\zeta\text{-/-}\ \Theta\tau.$
163ε.

There are no instances of (a1.2) FqY.

(a2.1) FqV $\text{Pl.}\underline{\text{La.}}\ 184\alpha\ \tau\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\text{'}\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\alpha\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\ (\cong\ \Phi\delta.95\delta(\tau), \text{Pl.}6.503\alpha\ (\eta\nu)\ \cdot\ \text{IE } 299\delta\ \cdot\ \text{Pl.}4.444\beta\ \cdot\ \Phi\lambda\beta.38\delta\ \cdot\ \text{N.}12.961\beta\ \tau\acute{\iota}\ \nu\omicron\upsilon.\ \Delta\eta\mu.15.21\ \cdot\ 20.157\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \tau\iota\sigma\iota.$

do. Fq...V $\text{Pl.}\underline{\text{La.}}\ 184\gamma\ \delta\omicron\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ (\cong\ \kappa\rho\alpha.395\epsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\omicron\iota\kappa\epsilon, \text{Pl.}3.414\alpha)\ \cdot\ \Phi\delta.99\epsilon.$

There are no instances of (a2.2) Fq(...).W.

(a3.1) FqWV $\text{Pl.}\underline{\text{La.}}\ 22\beta\ \tau\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\iota}\ \mu\omicron\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\omicron\varsigma\ \dots\ \pi\epsilon\pi\omicron\nu\theta\acute{\omicron}\text{-}\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \cdot\ \text{Eu}\theta\acute{\omicron}.289\beta\ \tau\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\ \cdot\ \text{Pl.}28\alpha.$

(a3.2) FqVW Πλ.Θτ.166β τοιοῦτόν τι οὔσαν πάθος οἶον...
 Δημ.21.139 τοιοῦτοί τινές εἰσι μισθοφόροι...

We now pass to (b--), pFq...

(b1.1) pFq prepositional Πλ.Κρα.389α πρὸς τοιοῦτόν τι δ...
 Π.7.522α πρὸς 9.581ε ἐν Φλβ.41ε ἐν.

There are no cases of (b1.2), non-prepositional pFq, nor of (b1.3), pFqY.

(b2.1) pFqV Πλ.Χρμ.172β ἄρα/-/τοιαῦτ' ἅττα ἐστίν· Πρτ.346α
 ὅταν· Γργ.501ε οὐ Φδ.60α καὶ (τ), 93γ ὅτι Π.7.
 533α ὅτι μὲν δὴ 8.548γ αὕτη μὲν δὴ...καὶ τοιαύτη ἂν τις εἴη,
 552ε ἀλλ' οὖν Θτ.164γ καὶ. Δημ.19.259 τοῦ τοιοῦτόν τι ποι-
 εῖν (= 20.158) 20.3 καὶ, 160 ἂν 21.162 ὥστε (= 65).

In R.VIII 548c above, ἂν "belongs" to the verb, and, like it, is common to both predicates αὕτη and τοιαύτη τις - hence καὶ τοιαύτη τις could have been counted as a verbless phrase; but the order ἂν τις perhaps makes it relevant to consider the verb also.

(b2.1) ctd. pFq...V Πλ.Φδ.86β ὅτι τοιοῦτόν τι μάλιστα ὑπολαμ-
 βάνομεν τὴν ψυχὴν εἶναι.

(b2.2.1) prepositional pFqW Πλ.Σφ.253ε ἐν τοιοῦτῳ τινι τόπῳ.

There are no cases of (b2.2.2), non-prepositional pFqW.

(b3.1) pFqWV Πλ.Ευθδ.259β καὶ τοιαύτης τινος ἐπιστήμης ἐπι-
 βόλους· Ν.12.964δ. Δημ.18.45 καὶ τοιούτου τι
 πάθος πεπονθότων... (cf. (a3.1) Ap.225).

There are no cases of (b3.2) pFqVW. We now pass to (c--), medial cases. There are no cases of (c1-), ...Fq or ...FqY. In (c2-) and (c3-), the letters (--a-) and (--b-) before the second numeral indicate respectively FqX and variants and XFq and variants.

(c2a1.1.1) FqV simple Πλ.Λα.195α ὅτι...τοιοῦτός τις ἐσάνη·
 Πρτ.352α· Απ.21γ· Γργ.526β· Φδ.59α, 66β·
 Π.4.443γ· 5.475δ· 10.616α· Φδρ.273γ. Δημ.23.143(τ), 143.

(c2a1.1.2) FqV complex - see next page.

(c2a1.1.2) FqV complex Πλ.Πρτ.352α δέομαι τοιοῦτόν τι εἶπεῖν·
Γργ.479β, 485ε, 489δ, 501ε· Μεν.80α·
Κρα.395α, 412δ· Φδ.88γ· Π.4.420γ· 9.586γ· Θτ.148β· Φδρ.269γ.
Δημ.8.73· 14.37· 20.105.

(c2a1.2.1) Fq...V simple Πλ.Πρτ.352γ ἄρ' οὖν καὶ σοὶ τοιοῦτόν
τι περὶ αὐτῆς δοκεῖ; Π.3.386α ... τοι-
αῦτ' ἅττα, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀκουστέον...

(c2a1.2.2) Fq...V complex Πλ.ΙΜ 291δ ζητεῖν γὰρ μοι δοκεῖς
τοιοῦτόν τι τὸ καλὸν ἀποκρίνασθαι·
Κρα.407β, 422δ· Φδρ.268α. Δημ.19.80 ἔτι τοίνυν τοιοῦτόν
τι μέλλειν αὐτὸν ἀκούω λέγειν (≡ 42.43, 59.119).

There are no cases of (c2a2), ...Fq(...).W.

(c2b1.1) ...VFq Πλ.Απ.30ε ...δοκεῖ... ἐμὲ προστεθηκέναι τοιοῦ-
τόν τινα, 37β· Μεν.98α· Φδ.70ε· Φδρ.267γ Πρω-
ταγόρεια δέ/-/ οὐκ ἦν μέντοι τοιαῦτ' ἅττα; Σφ.231α· Ν.3.694δ·
12.964δ. Δημ.52.9.

(c2b1.2) ...V...Fq Πλ.Πρτ.313γ φαίνεται γὰρ ἔμοιγε τοιοῦτός
τις, 352β.

(c2b2) WFq Πλ.Απ.21β ἐπὶ ζήτησιν αὐτοῦ τοιαύτην τινα.

(c3a1) ...FqVW Πλ.Χρμ.168β ...φαμέν τοιαύτην τινα ἔχειν δύ-
ναμιν· Σφ.240γ. Δημ.21.141 τάχα τοίνυν καὶ
τοιοῦτός τις ἤξει παρ' ὑμᾶς λόγος· 23.110 ἀκούω τοίνυν αὐτὸν
καὶ τοιοῦτόν τιν' ἔρεῖν λόγον.

(c3a2) ...FqVW Πλ.Χρμ.166α ἔχεις... τοιοῦτόν τι ἔργον δεῖξαι·
Σμπ.180γ· Π.6.498ε(τ).

(c3b1) VFqW Πλ.Μνξ.236ε δεῖ δὴ τοιοῦτου τινος λόγου· Κρα.401β·
Φδ.90δ· Π.3.412α ...δεήσει τοῦ τοιοῦτου τινος αἰ
ἐπιστάτου. Δημ.16.11 ἔστι τοίνυν τοιοῦτός τις λόγος...

(c3b2) WFqV Πλ.Σμπ.176α ...ἔφη λόγου τοιοῦτου τινος κατάρχειν(τ).

(c3b3) VFqV Θ.2.5.5 ὑποτοπήσαντες τοιοῦτόν τι ἔσεσθαι.

(c3b4) WVFq Πλ.Ν.7.808γ νῦν μὲν δὴ διαγομένη τοιαύτη τις... προσ-
παρέχοιτο... (WVFq...V).

That ends the list of Formula (18). Except for II.5.5, this Formula is absent from Thucydides. As with ἄλλος, the majority of Formulaic instances are in (-2-), with two X-elements including F; but unlike ἄλλος, most instances of τοιοῦ-

τὸς τις are in medial position, not pF... Within that tendency, Demosthenes has a disproportionately large number of instances in (b2.1), pFqV, Plato in VFq, (c2b1.1); the various forms of FqV are, as one would expect, the most numerous formulations.

The classification of Antiformula is like that of ἄλλος, p.3.3.84. (a--) contains initial F..., (b--) pq..., (c--) peninitial q preceded by M; (d--) medial q. The following numeral, (b1-) etc., indicates the number of X-elements, including F, up to three or more. Subsequent numerals classify according to the nature and order of X-elements or other considerations as appropriate; in (c--) and (d--) a second letter follows the first numeral: (--a) indicating cases of Yq(...)F, (--b) of Xq(...)F, (--c) of XFq, (--d) of X...q.

Instances of Antiformula (18) There are no cases of (a--), F..., nor of (b1-), pq(...)F.

(b2.1.1) pq(...)FV Πλ.Φδ.63ε τοὺς τι τοιοῦτον ποιοῦντας (≅ N. 9.868ε)· Π.5.470γ ὅταν, 470δ ὅπου ἂν τι· 6.503δ ὅταν τι δέη τοιοῦτον διαπνεῖν· N.10.905β ἢ τι τοιοῦτον πρᾶξαντας(τ) (≅ 11.936β), 901α τῷ τέ. Δημ.20.160 τοῦ 23.9

The complex instance R.VI 503d is probably influenced by the formula δεῖ τι, εἰάν τι δεη, as well as by ὅταν τι.

(b2.1.2) pq(...)FW Δημ.16.4 ἔν τινι τοιοῦτῳ καιρῷ

(b2.2.1) pq(...)VF Πλ.Φδ.108β καί τι πεποιηκυῖαν τοιοῦτον (≅ N.9.869γ πρίν, 12.941β ὅς).

(b3.1.2) pq(...)FWX Πλ.Π.3.387ε ὅταν τις αὐτὸν τοιαύτη συμφορὰ καταλάβῃ· Τι.42γ εἷς τινα τοιαύτην μεταβαλοῖ θήρειον φύσιν.

There are no more cases of (b3-). We now pass to (c--), Mq..., where there are no cases of (c1-).

(c2a1.1) Mq(...)FV Πλ.Κρα.399δ οἷμαί τι τοιοῦτον νοεῖν...(τ).

(c2a2.1) Mq(...)VF Θ.4.83.4 ἅμα δέ τι καὶ εἰρήκεσαν τοιοῦτον...

(c2b1) $Vq(\dots)F$ Θ.8.91.3 ἦν δέ τι καὶ τοιοῦτον... Πλ.Βυθδ.
275α συμβέβηκε γὰρ τι τοιοῦτον... Σμπ.185ε.
Δημ.3.34 συμβαίνει τι τοιοῦτον... 21.60 ἡτυχηκῶς τι καὶ οὗτος
τοιοῦτον...

(c3b1) $Vq(X)F(X)$ Πλ.Χρμ.167β δοκεῖ τίς σοι εἶναι τοιαύτη;
Δημ.23.191 ἔστι τὸννυν τις αὐτοῖς τοιοῦτος
λόγος. ($VqVF$ & $VqFW$).

(c3b2) $Wq(X)F(X)$ Δημ.23.95 παραγωγᾶς δέ τινας τοιαύτας ἐρεῖ
($WqFV$).

That ends the account of (c--); we now pass to (d--),
medial q ; there are no cases of (d1-).

(d2a1.1) ... $MqFV$ Πλ.Ν.9.873ε ὄσα... ἀθλεύοντά τι τοιοῦτον δράσῃ.

(d2a2.1) ... $MqVF$ Πλ.Ν.11.917δ ὁ δὲ ἐὶ φανερός γενόμενός τι
πωλῶν τοιοῦτον. Δημ.21.136 ... ἔμοι τι σύν-
οιδε τοιοῦτον;

(d2b1.1) ... VqF simple Πλ.Απ.22α ἦ μὴν ἐγὼ ἔπαθόν τι τοιοῦτον*
Ἰργ.501ε° Φδ.74δ° Θτ.147δ, 147ε° Ν.4.
721β° 9.869β ὁ δράσας τι τοιοῦτον (≅ 11.932β° Δημ.25.13). οὔτου
Δημ.55.5 καὶ συνέβη τι τοιοῦτον° 20.49 τοῦ δεηθῆναί τινος τοι-

(d2b.1.2) ... VqF complex Pl. Ν.9.872ε καὶ ἔταξεν ἄρα δράσαντί
τι τοιοῦτον... Δημ. 23.67; 189°
57.6.

There are no further cases of (d2-). In (d2b1-) above,
Lg.IX 869b etc. and Dem.20.49 could be classed in (c--), on
the ground that by Rule XVIII q does not directly follow the
article, so that these are cases of "initial" Vq ... But
since (b--) contains a number of cases of pq ... infringing
this Rule, (d--) seems the appropriate position for this group.

(d3a1.1) ... $MqFV$ Πλ.ΙΕ 369β ἀεὶ σὺ τινας τοιοῦτους πλέκεις
λόγους.

(d3b1) ... VqF and variants Θ.1.132.5 ἐν αἷς ὑπονοήσας τι τοι-
οῦτον προσεπεστάλαθαι... Πλ.Χρμ.
167ε ἔρωτα δὲ φαίης ἂν τινα εἶναι τοιοῦτον...; 168α ἀλλ' ἐπι-
στήμην φαμέν τινα εἶναι τοιαύτην...; 168β καὶ ἔχει τινα τοιαύ-
την δύναμιν° Π.2.357β ...δοκεῖ τι εἶναι τοιοῦτον° Σφ.225α ...
εἰκός... ὄνομα λέγειν τι τοιοῦτον τιθεμένους...

(d3b2) ...WqF and variants Πλ.Λυ.218δ μή...λόγοις τισι τοιού-
τοις ἐντετυχήκαμεν... N.12.960δ
ὄπη γίγνοιτ' ἄν...κτῆμά τι τοιοῦτον (τ). Δημ.8.30 καὶ τὸ μὲν
τούτων τινὰς εἶναι τοιοῦτους.

(d3c) FXq and variants Δημ.19.134 τάχα τοίνυν ἕως καὶ τοιοῦ-
τος ἤξει τις λόγος· 22.17 ἀκούω δ' αὖ-
τὸν τοιοῦτον ἐρεῖν τιν' ἐν ὑμῖν λόγον. (τ).

(d3d) X...q Πλ.Κρα.421δ εἴη μὲν οὖν ἕως ἄν τι καὶ τοιοῦτον
αὐτῶν.

In τοιοῦτος, Antiformula, like Formula, differs from both categories in ἄλλος in not having a majority of cases in pq/pFq. But in Antiformula τοιοῦτος, this, (b), category is proportionately less rare than in Formula: pq(...)F is near to equality in numbers with pFq... and with medial cases of Antiformula. The general excess of Formula over Antiformula is due to that in medial instances. Antiformula, like Formula, resembles ἄλλος in having in most instances two X-elements including F; but whereas Formula has a number of cases in Plato with F as the only X-element, there are none such in Antiformula - no πρὸς τι τοιοῦτον opposed to πρὸς τοιοῦτόν τι. The most numerous individual categories are pqFV, ...VqF (as in Formula, FqV, pFqV, ...FqV, VFq).

Instances of Counterformula (18+?) $18+\underline{1} = \underline{1}+18$, p.17; $18+\underline{2} = \underline{2}+18$, p.25; $18+\underline{3} = \underline{3}+18$, p.38; $18+\underline{4} = \underline{4}+18$, p.44.

$18+\underline{5} = \underline{5}+18$, p.50; $18+\underline{5}+16 = \underline{5}+16+18$, p.50; $18+\underline{5}+26 = \underline{5}+18+26$, p.50.

$18+\underline{6} = \underline{6}+18$, p.55; $18+\underline{7} = \underline{7}+18$, p.57; $18+\underline{9a} = \underline{9a}+18$, p.64.

(18+12) $18+1+\underline{12} = 1+\underline{12}+18$, p.14.

$18+\underline{16} = \underline{16}+18$, p.89; $18+2+\underline{16} = 2+\underline{16}+18$, p.25; $18+5+\underline{16} = 5+\underline{16}+18$, p.49; $18+6+\underline{16} = 6+\underline{16}+18$, p.54.

18+26 Πλ.Σμπ.211β ...μετέχοντα τρόπον τινά τοιοῦτον
οἶον... (τ)· N.6.730γ καὶ κατέστη ὅη τρόπῳ τινι
τοιοῦτῳ...

Instances of Anticounterformula (18+) $\frac{18+1}{18+2} = \frac{1+18}{2+18}$, p.14;
 $18+3 = 3+18$, p.37.

$18+5 = 5+18$, p.49; $18+5+16 = 5+16+18$, p.49.

$18+6 = 6+18$, p.54; $18+6+16 = 6+16+18$, p.54; $18+6+27 = 6+18+27$, p.54.

$18+16 = 16+18$, p.88; $18+6+16 = 6+16+18$, p.54; $18+16+26 = 16+18+26$, p.88.

18+22 Δημ.19.14 καὶ τοιοῦτους τινὰς εἶπε βραχεῖς...λόγους.
 (18+26) $18+16+26 = 16+18+26$, p.88.

(18+27) $18+6+27 = 6+18+27$, p.54.

18+28 Πλ.Π.6.487γ ὑπὸ πεπτείας αὐ τοιαύτης τινος ἐτέρως.

Instances of Multiple Antiformula (18+) $18+1 = 1+18$, p.18;
 $1+12+18$, p.14.
 $18+1+12 =$

$18+2 = 2+18$, p.26; $18+2+16 = 2+16+18$, p.25.

$18+3 = 3+18$, p.38.

(18+5) $18+5+16 = 5+16+18$, p.49.

(18+6) $18+6+16 = 6+16+18$, p.54.

$18+16 = 16+18$, p.90; $18+5+16 = 5+16+18$, p.50.

18+23 Πλ.Σμπ.210δ ἕως ἂν...κατέδη τινὰ ἐπιστήμην μὲν τοιαύτην.

18+26 Πλ.Κριτι.112ε καὶ τινὰ τοιαῦτον ἄει τρόπον...διοικούντες.

$18+5+26 = 5+18+26$, p.50.

In the "if" set of Formulae εἴ τις and ἔάν τις τοιοῦτος prevail 15:1 and 9:2 respectively over εἰ/ἔάν τοιοῦτός τις (1/1 and 3/3); but with the intervention of a postpositive connective, the situation is different; there are four each of εἰ δέ τις τοιοῦτος and εἰ δὲ τοιοῦτός τις, while though there are no cases of ἔάν δὲ τοιοῦτός τις, there are only two of ἔάν δέ τις τοιοῦτος. In the "and", "or", "but" set, ἢ τι τοιοῦτον prevails 10:4 over ἢ τοιοῦτόν τι' but with καί, while καὶ τι τοιοῦτον and καὶ τοιοῦτόν τι are in equal (but small) numbers in Plato, in Demosthenes καὶ τοιοῦτόν τι prevails 5:0 over the

other. From οὐ γάρ, οὔτε, οὐδέ, μήτε, μηδέ, the only evidence is Tht.150d οὐδέ τί μοι ἐστὶν εὐρημα τοιοῦτον· so also Men.100a εἰ μή τις εἴη τοιοῦτος is the only evidence for relations with the Former μή. With ἄλλος, ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον prevails over τοιοῦτόν τι ἄλλο, but this depends simply on the order of the Formers themselves. In general, Formula prevails over Antiformula, but, where there is worthwhile evidence, Counterformula prevails over Anticounterformula, except for καὶ τοιοῦτόν τι in Demosthenes. If a table of the Formula:Antiformula ratios in Platonic dialogues is drawn up, the result compares interestingly with that for ἄλλος on p.3.3.91 above: in particular, Prt.6:0, Ap.5:1, Grg.6:1, Cra.7:2, Phd.10:3, R.16:5 (none in Bk.I), Lg.5:13; whereas in Formula, (a), (b) and (c) occur generally, in Antiformula p_q(...)F is confined to Phd., R., and Lg., and M_q(...)F (c) to one each in Chrm., Euthd., Cra. and Smp., while medial, (d), instances occur much more widely, but are particularly numerous in Lg. (and Chrm.).

19/19, Former μέρος (p.3.3.1).

The classification of Formula and Antiformula is approximately that of ἄλλος, p.3.3.80, 84.

Formula (19) (a2.1.1) F_qV(W) participial Θ.2.78.1 μέρος μὲν τι καταλιπόντες... (τ) (= 4.127.2 δέ)· Γ.3.4 μέρος δέ τι πέμφας..., 53.1 (F_qVW).

(a2.2.2) F_q...V indic. Θ.7.30.2 μέρος δέ τι... ἀπ- ὄλετο, 85.4 μέρος δέ τι οὐκ ὀλίγον καὶ ἀπέθανεν (F_qWV).

In view of the small numbers of the above instances, phraseology has been allowed to over-ride the formal classification where it seems more important.

(b1.1) pF_q prepositional Πλ.Π.4.431ε ἐν μέρει τινι (= N.12. 943α).

(b2.1) pF_q(...)V Θ.1.23.3 καὶ μέρος τι φθείρασα. Πλ.Λα.190γ ἀλλὰ μέρους τινος περὶ πρῶτον ἴδωμεν.

- (b2.2.1) pFqW prepositional Θ.6.2.1 ἐν μέρει τινι τῆς χώρας, 98.3 πλὴν μέρους τινος τῶν...
- (b3.1) pFqWV Θ.6.102.1 καὶ μέρος τι αὐτῶν πέμπουσι... Πλ.Ν. 12.948γ ὅτι μέρος τι μὲν φαμὲν ἀνθρώπων... οὐχ ἡγοῦνται... (τ). Δημ.4.45 ὅποι μὲν γὰρ ἂν οἶμαι μέρος τι τῆς πόλεως συναποσταλῆ...
- (c2a) ...Fq(...)V Θ.4.30.1 ὁ διὰ τὴν ὕλην μέρος τι ἐγένετο. Δημ.27.65 ...μέρος τι κάκεινοις ὑπελίπετε.
- (c2b) XFq Πλ.Π.3.392ε ἀλλ' ἀπολαβὼν μέρος τι 4.444β καὶ ἐπανάστασιν μέρους τινος...
- (c3a) ...FqWV Θ.1.101.1 ...μέρος τι τοῦ στρατοῦ πέμπει... 5. 29.1 8.105.3. Πλ.Π.4.429β.
- (c3b) XFqX Θ.1.143.4 ...ἔσται Πελοποννήσου τε μέρος τι τμηθῆναι...; 69.2 3.103.2 ...τρέπουσί τε μέρος τι τοῦ στρατοῦ... 4.56.2 7.11.5, 30.3. Δημ.4.44.
- (c3c) VWFq Θ.3.89.2 ...ἐπῆλθε τῆς πόλεως μέρος τι, 110.2.

In Lg. XII 948c, μέρος τι μὲν... infringes Rule XIV. Observe the following repetitive phraseologies: καταλιπόντες, Θ.2.78.1, 4.127.2 ἀπόλετο/ἀπέθανε, Θ.7.30.2, 85.4 πέμπειν, Θ.1.101.1, 6.102.1, 7.3.4 στρατοῦ/στρατιᾶς/στρατιωτῶν, Θ.1.69.2, 101.1, 3.103.2, 110.2, Δημ.4.44 τῆς πόλεως, Θ.89.2, Δημ.4.45 (cf. Pl.R. IV 429b) ἐν, Θ.6.2.1, Πλ.Π.4.431ε, Ν.12.943α "not the whole but...", Pl.La. 190c, R. III 392e (cf. IV 444b). This Formula is commonest in Thucydides of the three authors and there distributed throughout (Bks. VI and VII having the largest numbers), while in Plato and Demosthenes it is not only few in numbers but of restricted distribution: in Plato to La., R., and Lg., in Demosthenes to 4 and 27. In Thucydides and Demosthenes (as far as the numbers can signify in the latter) the majority of instances are medial, (c), and have three X-elements including F; in Plato (again as far as the numbers show) the majority is in pFq..., (b), and have two X-elements only (including F); correspondingly, Plato alone has instances where F is the only X-element (in (b1.i)); Thucydides is alone in having initial (a) instances. In Plato,

R. alone has more than one instance, including all of those in (c).

Instances of Antiformula (19) (b2) pqFW Πλ.Π.5.460γ ἔν τινι μέρει τῆς πόλεως.

(b3) pqFWV Θ.1.106.1 καὶ τι αὐτῶν μέρος οὐκ ὀλίγον...ἔσέπεσεν...

(d2b) ...XqF Πλ.Σφ.220α κατ'ἑνια τῆς κολυμβητικῆς ἄττα μέρη· Φλβ.28α ὡς παρέχεται τι μέρος...ἀγαθοῦ.

(d3a) WVqF Θ.1.142.4 τῆς μὲν γῆς βλάπτοιεν ἂν τι μέρος...

(d3b) ...XqF Θ.8.99 αἶ καὶ τῆς Χερσονήσου τι μέρος κατέδραμον. Πλ.Σφ.222β ...γίγνεσθον δύο μεγίστω τινὲ μέρει...

(d3d) X...qFX Πλ.Σφ.225α τῆς κτητικῆς ἀγωνιστικῆς τι μέρος...ἦν.

Not only then does Thucydides have the great majority of Formulaic instances, but he has fewer Antiformulaic than Plato. In the latter, three of the five Antiformulaic instances are from Sph.; possibly in Sph.220a (d2b) q should be taken closely with ἑνια, whereupon the instance would belong to (d3d). This is a case where attraction to the pq position is not a main cause of Antiformula; the majority of Antiformulaic instances are in (d--), while the majority of p(q)F(q) instances (b--) are Formulaic even in Plato; in fact both Plato and Thucydides have Formula prevailing 4:1 over Antiformulaic in (b--). In Antiformula as in Formula, Plato has a majority of instances with two X-elements only, whereas in Thucydides the majority (3:0 in fact) have three X-elements. (Classification: p.3.3.84.)

Instances of Counterformula (19+?) $19+2 = 2+19$, p.25; $19+4 = 4+19$, p.44.

$19+24$ Πλ.Π.3.396ε σμικρὸν δέ τι μέρος... N.10.889δ καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς πολιτικῆς σμικρὸν τι μέρος εἶναι φασὶ κοινωνοῦν...

Instances of Anticounterformula (19+?) $19+2 = 2+19$, p.25;
 $19+5 = 5+19$, p.49;

$19+6 = 6+19$, p.54. Continued overpage.

Anticounterformula ctd. 19+24 Δημ.29.4 ἐν μικρῷ μέρει τινι τοῦ παντὸς ὕδατος.

19+27 Θ.4.31.2 μέρος δέ τι οὐ πολὺ... 7.51.2 καὶ ἐπεξελθόντος μέρους τινος οὐ πολλοῦ...

19+29 Θ.2.64.1 ὅτι μέρος τι μᾶλλον ἔτι μισοῦμαι.

Instances of Multiple Antiformula (19+?) 19+6 = 6+19, p.55.

19+24 Pl.Prm.131δ τοῦ ἴσου μέρος ἕκαστον μικρὸν ἀπολαβόν τι... Πλατ.278ε ἐπὶ τι τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ μικρὸν μέρος.

Anticounterformulaic instances (19+?) are confined to Thucydides and Demosthenes. The one case of εἰ δὲ μέρος τι, Th.IV.63.1, should perhaps not count, since εἰ and μέρος are widely separated, as Anticounterformula, but merely as Formula; observe however the relatively large numbers (three Thuc., two Dem.) of καὶ μέρος τι and the three of μέρος τι μικρὸν/οὐ πολὺ (two Thuc., one Dem.); against two of μικρὸν τι μέρος in Plato, who also has two instances, both in Lg., of εἰ/ἐὰν δέ τι μέρος. In Anticounterformula as in Formula Thucydides admits the Formula in initial position, and the occurrence of 19+27 as against 19+24 in Plato is due to Thucydides' putting μέρος first in the phrase, whereas Plato puts it after the other Former.

20/20, Former τοιοῦδε (p.3.3.1).

Once again the classification is approximately that of ἄλλος, p.3.3.80 above; compare also τοιοῦτος, 18/18.

Instances of Formula (20) (a1.1) Fq Πλ.Π.2.379α τοιοῦδε πού τινες," ἦν δ' ἐγώ.

(a2.1) Fq(...)V Θ.6.64.1 τοιοῦδε τι οὖν...μηχανῶνται. Πλ. Πλατ.297δ τοιοῦδε τι δεῖ γὰρ ζητεῖν.

Thuc. VI.64.1 infringes Rule XIV.

(a3.2) FqVW Πλ.Σφ.226β τοιοῦδε τι μεταθέοντας ἴχνος...

(b1.1) pFq prepositional 0.8.50.2 ἐπὶ τοιόνδε τι.

(b2.1) pFq(...)V Πλ.Φδ.78β οὐκοῦν τοιόνδε τι, "...", "δεῖ...ἀνερέσ-
θαι..." Πλ.Π.1.351ε οὐκοῦν 6.487β ἀλλὰ γάρ.

That completes the (a--), initial, and (b--), pFq..., instances; we now pass to (c--), medial instances; there are no instances of (c1-).

(c2a1) ...Fq(...)V 0.2.75.6 ...τοιόνδε τι ἐπινοοῦσι 3.96.1
τῷ δὲ Δημοσθένει τοιόνδε τι οἱ Μεσσήνιοι
παρήνουν 6.46.3. Πλ.Γργ.524β ...τοιόνδε τι λογιζομαι συμ-
βαίνειν Πρμ.156δ ...τοιόνδε τι εἶοικε σημαίνειν (τ) Φλβ.44δ.

All instances of Fq...V above are indicated by quotation. There are no instances of (c2a2) ...Fq(...)W.

(c2b1) V(...)Fq 0.4.46.4 ...μηχανῶνται τοιόνδε τι 5.45.2
μηχανᾶται δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοιόνδε τι ὁ Α.
Πλ.Σμπ.173ε ἦσαν...τοιόνδε τινές 0τ.165β ἔστι δὲ οἶμαι τοιόνδε
τι Φλβ.54β N.4.713γ ἢ δὲ...αἰτία λέγεται τοιάδε τις 6.760ε
τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν εἶναι τοιόνδε τινά 7.800β.

V...Fq is indicated by quotation. In Lg.IV 713c and VI 760e, removal of the article would convert the noun to a W-element and transfer the instance to (c3-).

(c2b2.1) WFq prepositional Πλ.Φδ.111ε διὰ φύσιν τοιόνδε τινά
N.11.929α κατὰ νόμον τοιόνδε τινά.

(c3a1) ...FqVW Πλ.Κριτι.113β ...τοιιάδε τις ἦν ἀρχή... N.12.
941γ ...τοιῶδέ τιμι μαχέσθω νόμω.

(c3b1) VFqW 0.8.84.1 ...ξυνηνέχθη καὶ τοιόσδε τις θόρυβος...
Πλ.Γργ.487γ ...ἐνίκα ἐν ὑμῖν τοιάδε τις δόξα.

(c3b2) WFqV Πλ.Ν.7.805α λογισμὸν δὲ...τοιόνδε τινα ἔχω.

(c3b3) VFqV Πλ.Π.2.357α ἄρα σοι δοκεῖ τοιόνδε τι εἶναι ἀγαθόν;

(c3b4) WV(W)Fq(W) Πλ.ΙΜ 286α πρόσχημα δέ μοι ἔστι καὶ ἀρχή
τοιιάδε τις... N.6.713β αἵρεσις αὐτῶν ἔστω
τοιιάδε τις 8.844δ 10.888α ἔτω δὴ κρόρρησις τοιάδε τις ἄθυμος...
12.961α.

(c3c) VWFq Πλ.Φδ.66β ...ἀνάγκη...παρίστασθαι δόξαν τοιόνδε
τινα... N.11.936β.

It is perhaps to be expected from the tendency of words like τοιόσδε to stand final in a sentence that there should be

so few instances in (a---), Fq... and (b---), pFq..., positions; but in fact a large proportion of the (c---) instances are not in final position, though they do tend to be part of the closing phrase. In both Thucydides and Plato the majority of instances are not only in (c---) but also in (-2-), with one X-element only apart from F itself; in this, τοιόσδε agrees with τοιοῦτος, while both differ from ἄλλος in having (c---) as the majority position; Plato does, however, unlike Thucydides, have a large number in (-3-). While Thucydides is under-represented in τοιοῦτος, Demosthenes is absent from the τοιόσδε Formula list.

A simplified classification suffices for the few instances of Antiformula, which follow. Remember that (c---) in Antiformula represents Mq(...)F peninitial instances, while medial instances are in (d---) (p.3.3.84).

Instances of Antiformula (20) (b2) pq(...)F Πλ.ΙΕ 364γ ἄρ' ἄν τοιόνδε; Κριτι.113γ ἔν τινι τόπῳ τοιῶδε, 120δ ἔκ τινος τοιῶσδε// προφάσεως.

(b3) pq(...)F Θ.2.17.1 καὶ τι καὶ Πυθικοῦ μαντείου ἀκροτελεύ-
τιόν τοιόνδε διεκώλυε. Πλ.Μεν.87α ἄλλ' ὥσπερ
μέν τινα ὑπόθεσιν προὔργου οἶμαι ἔχειν... τοιάνδε.

(c2) Mq(...)F Πλ.Φδ.60ε ἦν γὰρ δὴ ἅττα τοιάδε, 71α ἔστι τι καὶ
τοιόνδε... Φδρ.246δ· Τι.19β προσέειπεν δὲ δὴ
τινὶ μοι τοιῶδε... Ν.9.874ε προρρητέον δὴ τι... τοιόνδε.

(c3) Mq(...)F Πλ.Ευθδ.294γ "/"/"... , "/-/τεκμήριόν τῷ μοι ἐπι-
δεξάτον τοιόνδε.

(d3) ...Mq(...)F Πλ.Ν.11.928α ἔτι δ' ἀπειλή τις ἂν τοιάδε εἴη.

In fact all cases of (c---) and (d---) fall in the class (--a), not only (...)Mq(...)F but with M = X-element. Particularly in Thucydides, Antiformula is much fewer than Formula. But the rarity of peninitial q which is a character of the Formula list (where there are few in (a) and (b)) does not extend to Antiformula; for τοιόσδε differs from the situation in τοιοῦτος in having the great majority of the Antiformula

instances in (b) or (c), $pq...$ or $Xq...$; the one medial case, (d), is itself $M/Xq...$; there are none of FXq nor of $(...)Yq$ $(...)F$.

Instances of Counterformula ($20+?$) $20+1 = 1+20$, p.17.

$20+26$ Πλ.Π.8.555β οὐκοῦν, "... , "μεταβάλλει μὲν τρόπον
τινὰ τοιόνδε..." Τλ.78α.

Instances of Anticounterformula ($20+?$) $20+1 = 1+20$, p.14;
 $20+1+26 = 1+20+26$, p.14.

$20+6 = 6+20$, p.54; $20+16 = 16+20$, p.88.

$20+23$ Πλ.Ν.10.884α ...ἐν εἰρήσῳ τοιόνδε τι νόμιμον...

$20+26$ Πλ.Πλτ.309β ...πειρᾶται τοιόνδε τινα τρόπον συν-
δεῖν..." Ν.2.657γ ...ὀρθὴν εἶναι τοιούδε τινι τρόπῳ
6.762β, 765α° 12.948α.

$20+1+26 = 1+20+26$, p.14.

There are no instances of Multiple Antiformula. Only with τρόπον is there sufficient evidence for comment: τοιόνδε τινὰ τρόπον prevails over τρόπον τινὰ τοιόνδε, but in either case q is peninitial in the phrase and the Formula actually presented is determined by the order of the Formers; contrast however τοιούτος, where τρόπον τινὰ... prevails 2:0. This reflects the general greater degree of Formulaism in τοιού-
δε than in τοιούτος: whereas with the latter Counterformula usually prevails (p.3.3.102), here Anticounterformula is prevalent. Within Plato, τοιούδε seems more typical of "middle-late" works (Smp., Phd., Prm., Tht., Sph., Plt., Criti., Lg); Lg. in fact has a Formula:Antiformula ratio of 11:2, and this impression is supported by the $20+26$ list.

21/21, Former πλέον (pp.3.3.1 and 4).

The classification is approximately that of ἄλλος p.3.3.80 & 84 above.

Instances of Formula (21): see next page.

Instances of Formula (21) (a2) Πλ.Κρα.387γ πλέον τέ τι ποιή-
σει καὶ...

(b1.1) pFq prepositional Θ.3.45.6 ἐπὶ πλέον τι (= Πλ.Πλτ.
305β).

(b2.1) pFqV Πλ.Χρμ.170α ...ἄρα πλέον τι οἷα τ'ἔσται διαιρεῖν;
Απ.19α καὶ Κρα.387α καὶ.

(b3.2) pFqVW Θ.3.69.2 πρὶν δὲ πλέον τι ἐπιβοηθῆσαι...ναυτικόν.

(c2a) ...FqV Θ.2.11.8 Ἀθηναίους δὲ καὶ πλέον τι...εἰκὸς...δρα-
σαι... 5.29.2 νομισαντες πλέον τέ τι εἰδόμενος
μεταστῆναι αὐτοῦς..., 709 ...καὶ πλέον τι..., 7.21.4(τ) 8.99.
Πλ.Λα.195γ ὅτι οἶει τοὺς ἰατροὺς πλέον τι εἰδέναι... Κρα.387δ.

Instances of Antiformula (21) (b2) pqFV Θ.4.78.5 πρὶν τι πλέον
93ε ...ἄρ' ἂν τι πλέον...μετέχοι...
ξυστῆναι... Πλ.Θδ.

(b3) pq(X)F(X) Πλ.Θτ.154γ ὅπως τι μεῖζον ἢ πλέον γίνεται°
Πλτ.259ε ...μῶν τι πλέον ἔργον δώχομεν...;

(c2b) XqF Πλ.Πλτ.262γ ἐπιχειρητέον δέ τι καὶ πλέον...

(d2a) ...YqFV Θ.7.36.2 ὡς ἐκ...ναυμαχίας τι πλέον ἐνεῖδον
σχῆσοντες. Πλ.Π.1.349β ὁ δίκαιος...δοκεῖ τί
σοι ἂν ἐθέλειν πλέον ἔχειν...

In Tht.154c, both adjectives may be predicates of q as subject and Formulaic order less probable, since πλέον would no longer be a W-element. Thucydides is under-represented in Antiformula, but Plato has as much of that as of Formula; we should consider the possibility that this is a Formula only in Thucydides and doubtful perhaps even there. In Formula, as with μέρος, the majority of Thucydidean instances are medial, (c), while in Plato the majority is in (b). It is medial instances of Formula which are least matched by corresponding Antiformula instances - in (b) numbers are approximately equal in Formula and Antiformula.

Instances of Counterformula (21+?) $21+1 = 1+21$, p.17; $21+10 = 10+21$, p.66; $21+12 = 12+21$, p.71 .

(21+24) $21+2+24 = 2+21+24$, p.25.

There are no instances of Anticounterformula (21+?).

Instances of Multiple Antiformula (21+?) (21+2) $21+2+\underline{24} =$
 $2+21+\underline{24}$, p.25.

$21+3 = 3+21$, p.38.

The lack of Anticounterformula may be explicable on the ground that πλέον coincides with few other Formers and those very strongly Formulaic, such as εἶ -- but it cannot but increase our doubts about the Formulaism of πλέον τι.

22/22, Former βραχύς (p.3.3.2).

The classification is approximately that of ἄλλος, pp.80 & 84
 Instances of Formula (22) (a2.1) FqV... 0.6.18.2 βραχὺ ἂν τι
 6 τέ τι. Πλ.Π.6.496β βραχὺ δέ ποῦ τι... προσκτώμεναι... 8.76.
 ἂν ἔλθοι· Φλβ.33α δέ τι· N.10.906β δέ τι (τ).
 ἀτιμάσαν... ἐπ' αὐτὴν

(a3.1) FqWV 0.2.99.5 βραχὺ δέ τι αὐτῶν...κατῴκηται.

(b1) pFq 0.1.140.5 τὸ γὰρ βραχύ τι τοῦτο· 7.2.4 πλὴν κατὰ βραχύ
 τι τὸ...

(b2.1) pFqV Πλ.Π.1.330β ἀλλὰ βραχεῖ γέ τι νι πλεῖω...

(b3.1) pFqWV(W) Πλ.N.3.677α ἐν οἷς βραχύ τι τῶν ἀνθρώπων λελ-
 πεσθαι γένος.

(c1.1) ...Fq Πλ.Τι.51ε ἀνθρώπων δὲ γένος βραχύ τι.

(c2a1) ...FqV 0.1.63.2 οἱ δ'...βοηθοί()//βραχὺ μὲν τι προ-
 ἤλθον... 6.12.1. Πλ.ΙΜ 286γ νυνὶ μέντοι
 βραχύ τί μοι...ἀποκριναί· Π.7.526δ ...καὶ βραχύ τι...· Τι.23β.

(c2b1) VFq Πλ.Π.6.488β καὶ ὄρωντα ὡσαύτως βραχύ τι. Δημ.
 15.22.

(c3a1) ...FqVW Πλ.N.1.641β ὡς ἐνδὸς μὲν βραχύ τι τῆ πόλει
 γίγνοιτ' ἂν ὄφελος.

Most instances (including the single Demosthenic) are in (-2-), with one X-element only (i.e. the verb) other than F itself. In Thucydides the largest single group of instances are in (a--), in Plato, in (c--) (in other Formulae, normally the majority are in (c--), or, if there is author variation,

the Platonic majority is in (b--)). Th.I.63.2, one of the two Thucydidean instances in (c--), should perhaps be counted along with the (a--), initial, instances, for a parenthesis and a subordinate clause so separate the Formula from the earlier part of the main clause as perhaps to make the latter negligible.

- Instances of Antiformula (22) (b2) (pqFW) Πλ.Ν.3.698γ ἔν τινι βραχεῖ χρόνῳ.
 (b3) (pqWV/VF) Θ.4.109.4 καὶ τι καὶ Χαλκιδικὸν ἔνι βραχύ·
 8.80.4 καὶ τις καὶ ναυμαχία βραχεῖα γίγνεται...
 (c3) WqFV Θ.1.117.3 καὶ ναυμαχίαν μὲν τινα βραχεῖαν ἐποίησαν--
 το· 4.103.5 φυλακὴ δὲ τις βραχεῖα καθειστήκει.

Without exception, the Formula instances are of the neuter singular of the Former; with the exception of R.I 330b, all have the form βραχύ· with the exception of Th.II.99.5, Lg.III 677a and possibly Dem.15.22, none has any W-element other than F itself. Whereas in Antiformula, the opposite of all these characters is the norm: only Th.IV.109.4 is neuter βραχύ, and all have a W-element in addition to F. It emerges then from the lists that βραχύ τι is almost exclusively Formulaic (cf. μέρος) but that other forms and uses of this adjective are not Formulaic at all.

Instances of Counterformula (22+?) $22+2 = 2+22$, p.25; $22+3 = 3+22$ p.38; $22+18 = 18+22$, p.101.

There are no instances of Anticounterformula.

Instances of Multiple Antiformula (22+?) $22+2 = 2+22$, p.26.

The lack of Anticounterformula cannot reverse the impression of strong Formulaism presented by the Formula instances. In fact $2+22$ and $3+22$, though both with βραχύ, number only one instance each and that in the form εἶ τι καὶ βραχύ. Multiple Antiformula $2+22$ has one instance, with βραχεῖς.

23/23, Former εἰς (pp.3.3.2 and 4).

Classification approximately as ἄλλος, pp.3.3.80 & 84.

Instances of Formula (23) (a1.2) FqY Πλ.Απ.25β εἰς δέ τις ὁ
διαφθεύρων..., 25β ἢ
τοῦναντίον...εἰς μὲν τις ὁ...οἶδος τ' ὦν... Φλβ.54α μὲν.

(a2.1) FqV Πλ.Πρτ.329α πότερον) ἔν μὲν τί ἐστίν... Θτ.177β
ἔν μὲντοι τι αὐτοῖς συμβέβηκεν· Φδρ.275δ· Σφ.232β
γάρ· Δημ.16.14 ἔν τι καὶ ταῦτ' αἰ βουλομένη πράττειν.

(α3.1) FqWV(W) Πλ.Μεν.72γ ἔν γέ τι εἶδος ταῦτόν ἅπασαι ἔχουσι·
Φδ.111ε· Θτ.202δ μὲντοι τί με· Φδρ.237β δέ τις
αὐτῶν· Δημ.6.24 ἔν δέ τι κοινόν...κέρκτηται φυλακτήριον.

(a3.2) FqVW(V) Πλ.Ευθφρ.6δ ἔν τι ἢ δύο με διδάξαι τῶν... Πρμ.
132α μία τις ἴσως δοκεῖ ἰδέα...εἶναι..., 132γ.

Prt.329a and Ap.25b are included in (a--) instead of (b--)
and (c--) respectively on the ground that q "belongs" peculiarly
to the μὲν-clause in each case.

(b1.1) pFq prepositional Πλ.Π.6.485δ εἰς ἔν τι· Πλτ.293α περὶ·
N.4.705δ πρὸς. Δημ.19.273 οὐ) καθ'
ἔν τι (μόνον).

(b1.2) other pFq Πλ.Πρμ.132γ οὐχ ἑνός τινος, ὁ... Σφ.255β ὡς
ἔν τι· Φλβ.53ε οὐδέν τι ποικίλον...

(b1.3) pFqY .Θ.6.77.1 ἢ ἑνα γέ τινα ἀεί. Πλ.Κρα.422γ ὅτι
μὲν τοῖνον μία γέ τις ἢ ὀρθότης...

(b2.1) pFqV Πλ.Πρτ.329γ ὡς ἔν τι εἴη... Απ.41γ καὶ ἔν τι τοῦτο
διανοεῖσθαι ἀληθές· Π.5.478β ἀλλά... γέ τι· Θτ.188γ
εἰ... γέ τι, 188γ ὁ ἄρα... γέ τι, 189α ὁ δ', 208γ ὦν... γέ τι.

(b2.2.1) pFqW prepositional Θ.6.34.2 ἐξ ἑνός γέ του τρόπου.
Πλ.Π.3.425γ εἰς ἔν τι τέλεον καὶ
νεανικόν· Θτ.184δ.

(b2.2.2) pFqW other Pl.Plτ.287d ὡς ἑνός γέ τινος ὄργανον(τ)· N.11.
916δ ὡς.

In Sph.255b (b1.2), Plτ.267d and Lg.XI 916d (b2.2.2), it
would be possible to ignore ὡς and treat the expression as
part of the larger expression, giving ...FqV and ...FqWV.

(b3.1) pFqWV(W) Πλ.Φδ.110δ ὥστε ἔν τι αὐτῆς εἶδος... ποικίλον
φαντάζεσθαι· Π.4.420β ὅπως· 7.519ε ὅπως· Θτ.
181γ πότερον· Σφ.252ε καὶ μὴν... γε· Φλβ.51δ τὰς ἔν τι καθαρὸν
τείσας μέλος· N.8.828β ὅπως ἄν... γε· 10.885β ἀλλὰ ἔν δὴ τι...

(b3.2) pFqVW Πλ.Ν.4.708γ τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔν τι εἶναι γένος...

(c2a1) ...FqV Πλ.Ιων 531δ ὅταν...λεγόντων εἰς τις...λέγη (≡ 531ε)· Γργ.471ε· Κρα.405β πάντα ἔν τι ταῦτα ὄναιτ' ἄν, 410γ· Π.5.463ε ...συμφωνήσουσιν ἑνός τινος...πράττοντος..., 478β ...οὐχ ἔν τι ἄλλὰ...· Πρμ.144γ γε· Θτ.189α γε bis, 189α ...οὐχ ἔν γέ τι...(τ)· Σφ.237δ γε· Φλβ.32γ, 60α· Τλ.63ε τὸδε γε μὴν ἔν τι διανοητέον... Δημ.25.51 γε.

In Ion 531d and 531e above, the participle has been taken as a genitive absolute.

(c2b1) VFq Πλ.Π.8.548γ διαφανέστατον ὃ ἔν αὐτῇ ἐστὶν ἔν τι μόνον...· Φλβ.12γ ἐστὶ γάρ() ἔν τι· Ν.3.687γ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ κοινὸν ἐπιθύμημα ἔν τι, τὸ...δηλούμενον· 10.894β.

In R.VIII 548c and Lg.III 687c διαφανέστατον and κοινὸν ἐπιθύμημα have been treated as predicates and hence not W-elements. If this is admitted, there are no cases of VWFq nor VWFq.

(c3a1) ...FqVW Πλ.Μεν.74γ ἐπειδὴ...ταῦτα ἑνὶ τινὶ προσαγορεύεις ὀνόματι· Θτ.203ε· Πλτ.282α.

(c3a2) ...FqVW Πλ.Ιε 375δ ἢ οὐκ ἀνάγκη ἔν γέ τι τούτων εἶναι...· Κρα.386ε ...ἔν τι εἶδος...εἰσι..., 387β(τ)· Φδ.85γ δεῖν γὰρ...ἔν γέ τι τούτων διαπράξασθαι· Π.1.329δ· Θτ.205γ· Φδρ.261ε, 265ε· Σφ.260β· Ν.1.639δ. Δημ.20.135 ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν τοῦθ' ἔν τι τῶν αἰσχροῶν ἐστὶν (τ).

(c3b1) VFqW Πλ.Ευθφρ.5δ καὶ ἔχον μίαν τινὰ ἰδέαν...· Φδρ.263δ. Δημ.19.116 ...δυσχεραίνειν ἔφην ἔν τι τῆς εἰσαγγελίας· 44.41 (τ).

(c3b2) WFq(W)V Πλ.Θτ.206γ τριῶν γὰρ ἔν τί μοι δοκεῖ λέγειν· Σφ.260α ...τῶν ὄντων ἔν τι γενῶν εἶναι· Πλτ.267δ· Ν.10.899α τούτων ἔν γέ τι ὄρῳσαν...· 12.959ε γε.

(c3b3) VFqV Πλ.Φλβ.52ε προελόμενοι πρῶτον αὐτῶν ἔν τι σκοπῶμεν. (VWFqV?).

That completes the list of Formula (23). Instances occur in all three authors but leave a great margin between rarity in Thucydides and Demosthenes and frequency in Plato. The fairly common occurrences of F γέ τι are represented among the few Thucydidean and Demosthenic instances as well as in Plato. All Thucydidean Formula instances are in (b--), but otherwise the majority are in (c--) and in (-3-), having two X-elements apart from F itself. The majority are of ἔν τι, but, in contrast with

πλέον and βραχύ, it seems that Formulaism may be spread throughout the declension of the adjective.

Instances of Antiformula (23) (b2.1.1) $p\bar{q}(\dots)FV$ Δημ.21.131 ὅτι
 εἷς διαπράττεται (τ). ἂν τις πρὸς ἓν

(b2.1.2) $p\bar{q}(\dots)FW$ Πλ.Ν.7.805ε
 οἴκησιν. εἷς τινα μίαν

(b3.1.2) $p\bar{q}(\dots)FWX$ Θ.6.61.2 καὶ
 νύκτα καὶ κατέδαρθον... τινα μίαν

(c3b2) $W\bar{q}(\dots)F$ Πλ.Η.10,596α εἶδος γὰρ ποῦ τι ἓν ἕκαστον εἰώ-
 θαμεν τρέσθαι... Σφ.222γ πιθανουργικὴν τινα
 μίαν τέχνην προσειπόντες.

(d2b1) ... $V\bar{q}F$ Πλ.Πρτ.324δ πότερον ἔστι τι ἓν ἢ... Ευσθ.282ε
 ἢ ἔστι τις μίαν...

(d3a1) ... $Y\bar{q}F$ Πλ.Σφ.257ε ἄλλο τι τῶν ὄντων τινὸς ἑνὸς γένους
 ἀφορισθὲν...συμβέβηκεν εἶναι... (τ).

(d3b1) ... $V\bar{q}F$ Πλ.Π.2.370β πότερον κάλλιον πράττοι ἂν τις εἷς
 ὢν...(τ) Σφ.235α ὅτι τῶν...μετεχόντων ἔστι τις
 εἷς (τ) N.1.636α ...οὐ δυνατὸν εἶναι προστάξαι τι πρὸς ἓν σῶ-
 με ἓν ἐπιτήδευμα.

(d3b2) ... $W\bar{q}F$ Πλ.Π.3.414β ...γενναῖόν τι ἓν φερδομένους...

(d3c1) $FV\bar{q}$ Πλ.Φλβ.25α ...μίαν ἐπισημαίνεσθαί τινα φύσιν N.10.
 893δ ὅτε βάσιν ἑνὸς κεντημένα τινὸς κέντρου.

(d3d) $X\dots\bar{q}$ Πλ.Σφ.235β τὸ μὴ οὐ τοῦ γένους εἶναι τοῦ τῶν θαυ-
 ματοποιῶν τις εἷς.

That ends the list of Antiformula (23). In the last instance, the genitive plural preceding \bar{q} could from the point of view of sense be taken as a W-element; but in formal syntax the W-element is γένους, with which \bar{q} is in direct agreement, while the genitive plural is subordinate to that and not close with \bar{q} . Hence $X\dots\bar{q}$ may be taken as virtually $VW\bar{q}F$.

The expression seems certainly enough Formulaic: Formula: Antiformula overall 88:15. Antiformula mainly occurs with medial Former and \bar{q} ; $p\bar{q}\dots$ and $M\bar{q}\dots$ peninitialism seems to have little influence against $\dots F\bar{q}$. The main influence against Formulaic order seems to be sentences of the Form $(\dots)X\bar{q}F$; but

24/24, Former (σ)μικρός (p.3.3.2).

Classification approximately as ἄλλος, p.3.3.80 and 84.

Instances of Formula (24) (a1.2) FqY Πλ.Φλβ.29γ οὐκοῦν)σμι-
κρόν μὲν τι τὸ...

(a2.1) FqV Πλ.Κρα.410α σμικρόν τι παρακλίνοντες· Π.6.490ε δέ·
Θτ.145δ μικρόν δέ τι... (τ)· Φλβ.20γ μικρ' ἄττα τοῖ-
νυν...· Ν.12.941γ μικρόν τι γὰρ ὁ κλέπτων...(τ).

Phlb.20c and Ig.XII 941c above infringe Rule XIV.

(a3.1) FqWV Πλ.Ν.6.769γ σμικρόν τινα χρόνον αὐτῷ πόνος παρα-
μενεῖ πάμπολυς.

(b2.1) pFqV Πλ.Πρτ.328ε πλὴν σμικρόν τί μοι ἐμποδῶν· εὐθρο.
12ε ἀλλὰ σμικροῦ τινὸς ἐτι ἐνδεής εἰμι· Φδ.101β
τὸ σμικρῷ τινὶ μέγαν τινὰ εἶναι· Σφ.261β τὸν καὶ...

(b2.2.1) pFqW prepositional Πλ.Φδ.109β ἐν σμικρῷ τινὶ μορῶ·
Πλτ.297γ περὶ.

(b3.1) pFqWV Πλ.Π.397β ἡ σμικρόν τι διηγῆσεως ἔχουσα· 10.
598β ὅτι.

(b3.2) pFqWV Πλ.Πρμ.127δ καὶ σμικρ' ἄττα ἐτι ἐπακοῦσαι τῶν
γραμμάτων.

(c2a1) ...FqV Πλ.Πρτ.316α ἐτι σμικρ' ἄττα διατρέφαντες..., 329β
νῦν οὖν/-/σμικροῦ τινὸς ἐνδεής εἰμι· Απ.21δ εἶοικα
...σμικρῷ τινὶ...σοφώτερος εἶναι· Γργ.462δ· Σμπ.210γ· Θτ.148γ·
Σφ.242α· Πλτ.259γ ὡς βασιλεὺς ἅπας...σμικρ' ἄττα...οὐναται...

(c2b1) VFq Πλ.Π.9.577γ ὁρῶ, " ἔφη, "σμικρόν γέ τι τοῦτο.

(c3c) WVqF Δημ.38.7 καὶ φανεράν ἐκέκτηντο μικράν τινά.

In all cases where the form is other than σμικρόν
this has been indicated by quotation.

Instances of Antiformula (24) (a2) Δημ.21.171 μικρὰ γὰρ αὕτη
γέ τις ἦν(τ) (F...q)

(a3) Πλ.Ν.7.804β σμικρὰ δὲ ἀληθείας ἄττα μετέχοντες (FWq).

(b2.1.2) pqFW Πλ.Ν.2.663δ οὗ τι καὶ σμικρόν ὄφελος.

(c3b2) WqFV Πλ.Φλβ.36δ λόγον μέντοι τινὰ κινδυνεύομεν οὐ πάνυ
σμικρόν ἐπεγείρειν.

(d3b1) ...WVqF Δημ.2.14 ...μέρις ἐστὶ τις οὐ σμικρά.

(d3b2) ...WqFV Ηλ.Ηπτ.331ε ὥστε ὁμοίον τι μικρὸν ἔχειν.

The above Antiformula list contains two of the rare (a--) type, corresponding to (a--) in Formula, with initial F, so that necessarily either F...g (X...g) or FXg results.

With an overall Formula:Antiformula ratio of 26:6 it seems that we have here a Platonic Formula, the expression being unrepresented in Thucydides and rare in Demosthenes, where Antiformula outnumbers Formula. This Former is similar in sense to βραχύς, and it seems that we are near to the situation in that list. At any rate the Formula list comprises 14 μικρὸν τι (Antiformula 2), five of other neuter singular cases (Antiformula nil), four of μικρ'ἄττα (Antiformula one), and others two (Antiformula three); in Formula, 19 have no W-element other than F itself, while 7 have such an element; in Antiformula, one and five respectively. We should perhaps then say that the Formula is confined to "neuter singular and μικρ'ἄττα, especially where no other W-element is present".

Instances of Counterformula (24+?) $24+1 = 1+24$, p.17; $24+2 = 2+24$, p.25.

$24+3 = 3+24$, p.38; $24+3+25 = 3+24+25$, p.38.

$24+8 = 8+24$, p.59; $24+10 = 10+24$, p.66; $24+19 = 19+24$, p.104.

$24+25$ Ηλ.Ηπτ.287δ ὅσαι γὰρ μικρὸν ἢ μέγα τι δημιουργοῦσι ...ὄργανον.

$24+1+25 = 1+24+25$, p.15.

Instances of Anticounterformula (24+?) (24+1) $24+1+23 = 1+23+24$, p.15.

(24+2) $24+2+21 = 2+21+24$, p.25.

$24+3 = 3+24$, p.37; $24+6 = 6+24$, p.54; $24+19 = 19+24$, p.103a

(24+21) $24+2+21 = 2+21+24$, p.25.

(24+23) $24+1+23 = 1+23+24$, p.15.

Instances of Multiple Antiformula - next page.

Instances of Multiple Antiformula (24+?) (24+1) 24+1+25 =
1+24+25, p.15.

24+3 = 3+24, p.38; 24+10 = 10+24, p.66; 24+19 = 19+24,
p.104.

(24+25) 24+3+25 = 3+24+25, p.38.

Few combinations, whether of Counterformula, Anticounterformula, or Multiple Antiformula, occur in more than one instance, and in many both Counterformula and Anticounterformula occur; however 8+24 οὐ γὰρ τι μικρόν and 10+24 μήτε τι μικρόν each occur once to the exclusion of οὐ γὰρ μικρόν τι, μήτε μικρόν τι, while 3+24, εἴαν τι μικρόν, outnumbers εἴαν μικρόν τι 2:1; on the other hand καὶ μικρόν τι occurs twice to the exclusion of καὶ τι μικρόν.

25/25, Former μέγας (p.3.3.2).

Classification approximately as in ἄλλος p.3.3.80 and 84.

Instances of Formula (25) (a2.1) FqV Πλ.Π.5.449δ μέγα γὰρ τι οἶόμεθα φέρειν...

(a3.1) FqWV Θ.2.89.6 μέγα τι τῆς διανοίας τὸ βέβαιον ἔχοντες...

The participial clause in the preceding instance is one of a series preceding the main verb and the instance could therefore be taken as medial, (c--).

(b2.1) pFqV Πλ.Γργ.494β καὶ μεγάλ' ἄττα τὰ τρήματα εἶναι...
Π.1.329α ὡς Δημ.21.77 μὴ μεγάλου τινὸς ὄντος ὀ...

(b2.2.1) pFqW prepositional Πλ.Φδ.77ε ἐν μεγάλῳ τινὶ πνεύματι.

(b3.1) pFqWV Πλ.Π.7.520δ ὡς μεγάλου τινὸς ἀγαθοῦ ὄντος Φδρ.
277δ καὶ Φλβ.66β ...οὐκ ἂν μέγα τι τῆς ἀληθείας
παρεξέλθοις.

(b3.2) pFqWV Πλ.Πλτ.282β καὶ μεγάλα τινὲ...ἦσθην τέχνα.

(c2a1) ...FqV Πλ.Φδ.101β τὸ μικρῶν τινὶ μέγαν τινὰ εἶναι,
109α ...πάμμεγά τι εἶναι αὐτό Π.2.370δ ἀλλ' οὐκ
ἂν πω πάγου γε μέγα τι εἴη 6.486α ...οἶδόν τε οἶει τούτῳ μέγα τι
δοκεῖν εἶναι τὸν...βίον;

The first three instances in the immediately above list

are open to various doubts: in Phd.101b, q may be the subject and the adjective its predicate, a syntax which does not qualify as a case of Wq; it is however arguable that the word-order is due to Formulaism, whatever the syntax; in 109a, the adjective is one which should not perhaps qualify for admission to this list; in R.II 370d, it is just possible, although πάνυ and μέγα are not in agreement but the former subordinate to the latter, that the adjective is nevertheless in competition with πάνυ for the attachment of q, for οὐ πάνυ τι μέγα would be like the typical instance in Formula (17); if so, this instance should be 17+25.

(c3a1) ...FqVW Πλ.Φδ.62β ...μέγας τέ τις μοι φαίνεται καὶ οὐ
ῥᾶδιος...

(c3a2) (V)FqVW(W) Πλ.Χρμ.172δ ...ὠμολογήσαμεν μέγα τι ἀγαθὸν
εἶναι..., 175ε· Κρα.391δ, 396β· Π.10,601β·
Σφ.229γ ἀγνοίας γούν μέγα τί μοι δοκῶ καὶ ἀφωρισμένον ὄραν
εἶδος.

In the last instance above, the participle has been counted as a W-element.

(c3b1) VFqW Πλ.N.4.711δ ...ἐγγένηται μεγάλας τισὶ δυναστείας.

(c3b2) WFqV Πλ.N.9.878γ αἰσχύνην δὲ μεγάλην τινὰ προσβάλλη.

Instances of Antiformula (25) (b2.1.1) pqFV Πλ.Ευθδ.302β ὡς τι
μέγα σκοπούμενος
(≡ Πρμ.128γ).

(d2b) ...VqF Πλ.Σφ.257β οἷον ὅταν εἴπωμέν τι μὴ μέγα^ο· N.3.
686ε ὅς ἂν ἴδῃ τι μέγα...

(d3d)X...q Πλ.Κρα.425α ...μέγα ἤδη τι καὶ καλὸν καὶ ὅλον συ-
στήσομεν· N.12.959β βοήθειάν τε αὐτῷ μὴ τινα μεγά-
λην εἶναι.

In Antiformula, (d3d) comprises both cases of medial X...q in general and those where X is F, giving F...q; hence, both Cra.425a above and Lg XII 959b; in the latter, μὴ τινα is in that usage which has been counted not as a Formula but as an exception to Rule XXIII (p.2.2.56).

This expression appears to correspond to Formula (24) and

resembles it in Formula:Antiformula ratio (23:6) and in author distribution (rare in Thucydides and Demosthenes). Similarly also μέγα τι dominates the Formula list (10 out of 23, cf. μικρόν τι 14 out of 26) and five other instances are neuter. There are however differences: here, μέγα dominates Antiformula also (5 out of 6); again, most cases in Formula have a W-element other than F itself (15), while in Antiformula most (4) do not; this is the reverse of the proportions in μικρόν.

Instances of Counterformula (25+?) $25+1 = 1+25$, p.17.

$$(25+3) 25+3+24 = 3+24+25, p.38.$$

$$25+7 = 7+25, p.57; 25+10 = 10+25, p.66; 25+23 = 23+25, p.114.$$

25+27 Ηλ.Πρμ.132α ὅταν πολλ' ἄττα μεγάλα δόξῃ...

$$(25+28) 25+6+27+28 = 6+25+27+28, p.55.$$

Instances of Anticounterformula (25+?) (25+1) $\frac{25+1+24}{1+24+25} =$ p.15.

$$25+24 = 24+25, p.116; 25+1+24 = 1+24+25, p.15.$$

Instances of Multiple Antiformula (25+?) (25+1) $25+1+12 =$ p.18.
 $1+12+25,$

$$25+3 = 3+25, p.38.$$

$$(25+6) 25+6+27+28 = 6+25+27+28, p.55.$$

$$(25+12) 25+1+12 = 1+12+25, p.18.$$

$$(25+24) 25+3+24 = 3+24+25, p.38.$$

$$(25+27) 25+6+27+28 = 6+25+27+28, p.55.$$

No single combination occurs in numbers worth remark, but Counterformula outnumbers Anticounterformula overall, despite the high ratio of simple Formula to simple Antiformula.

26/26, Former τρόπον - next page.

26/26, Former τρόπον (pp.3.3.2 and 4).

The basic classification is as in ἄλλος, p.3.3.80,84. In addition, this expression appears frequently, sometimes in association with explicit antithesis, to apologize for or mitigate some emphasized expression in the sentence; these instances have been labelled "special", while those where this either does not exist or is difficult to determine, have been called "other"; in the absence of "special" instances, the "other" are not qualified; "special" instances are divided according as the expression in question precedes ("retrospective") or follows ("prospective") the Formula.

Instances of Formula (26) (a2.1) FqV special prosp. Πλ.Θτ.197γ
 ἄν ποῦ τινα φαίμεν αὐτὸν αὐτὰς ἀεὶ ἔχειν...τρόπον δὲ γ' ἄλλον
 οὐδεμίαν... N.6.767α τρόπον δὲ τινα καὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων αἱ
 κατ'οὐσίαι...εἰσὶν αἰρέσεις. - Δημ.19.256 ἐγὼ δὲ ἀεὶ μὲν...
 τρόπον δὲ τιν' ἡγοῦμαι καὶ τὰ νῦν...ἐνδειγμα γεγονῆσθαι.

other Πλ.Πτ.294α τρόπον
 τινὰ μέντοι δῆλον...

(τ).

That ends the (a--) list. In Tht.197c, ἀεὶ seems the emphasized element; in Plt.294a, there is, if this text is right, an infringement of Rule XIV caused by the Formula.

(b2.1) pFqV special prosp. Πλ.Φδ.69α τῷ τρόπῳ τινὰ δι' ἀκολα-
 σίαν αὐτοῦς σεσωφρονίσθαι Π.8.
 562α ἄρ' οὖν τρόπον τινὰ τὸν αὐτὸν...δημοκρατία γίνεται καὶ...
 10.596ε N.3.700α.

other Πλ.Φλβ.24α ὅτι δὲ τρόπον τινὰ τὸ ἄπειρον
 πόλλ' ἔστι.

(b2.2.1) pFqW prepositional Θ.6.54.4 ἐν τρόπῳ δὲ τινι ἀφανεῖ(τ)

Grammatically the last instance is not a case of adverbial
 τρόπ-ψ/ον but part of a preposition-noun-adjective sequence;
 it is listed here however because the sense is adverbial (= ἄ-
 φανῶς πως) and because the case corresponds to the dative of
 the Formula; similar is VIII.66.2 ἐν τρόπου τινὸς ἐπιτηδείου,
 which though adverbial in sense uses a case different from that
 of

the Formula as defined; similarly, while ἄλλω τινὶ τρόπῳ is listed under 16+26 (as would be ἐν ἄλλῳ κτλ. if it occurred), VI.34.2 ἐξ ἑνός γέ του τρόπου appears simply under Formula 23. It is the result of the definition of the Formula as adverbial that instances with W-element other than F itself do not occur except in these ambiguous cases.

(c2a) ...FqV special prosp. Πλ.Π.7.516γ καὶ ἐκείνων//τρόπον
 τινὰ πάντων αἴτιος· Τι.89β πᾶσα γὰρ
 σύστασις...τρόπον τινὰ τῆ φύσει προσέοικε· Ν.3.699ε οἱ...λόγοι
 τρόπον τινὰ καλῶς εἰσὶν εἰρημένοι.

retro. Πλ.Ευθδ.284γ ἀλλὰ τὰ ὄντα μὲν τρόπον
 τινὰ λέγει, οὐ μέντοι ὡς γε ἔχει·
 Πλτ.272β βούλει δῆτα ἐγὼ σοι τρόπον τινὰ διακρίνω; 291δ· Ν.12.
 944δ ἦν γὰρ ἀνδρὶ ριψάσπιδι τρόπον τινὰ πρέπουσα... Δημ.6.17
 καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης τρόπον τιν' αὐτῷ νῦν γε δὴ συμβαίνει (≡ 10.
 12)· 8.41 καὶ τοῦτ' εἰκότως τρόπον τινὰ πράττει· 18.43 καὶ αὐτοὶ
 τρόπον τιν' ἐκ πολλοῦ πολεμούμενοι, 101 ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τρόπον τινὰ
 τῆς βουλής οὔσης.

other Πλ.Φδ.97α καὶ ἔδοξέ μοι τρόπον τινὰ εὖ ἔχ-
 εῖν... 99ε ἴσως μὲν οὖν//τρόπον τινὰ οὐκ
 ἔοικεν· Π.4.433β τοῦτο...κινδυνεύει τρόπον τινὰ γιγνόμενον ἢ
 δικαιοσύνη εἶναι· Πλτ.307ε ...ἔτοιμοι...ὄντες τρόπον τινὰ ἄγειν
 εἰρήνην.

Phd.97a above should perhaps be listed under special pro-
 spective; in R.IV 433b, the Formula, though closely connected
 with the participle, is not special in the sense here used, be-
 cause within the participial clause it is the Formula itself
 which is the important element. The five Demosthenic instan-
 ces in (c2a) divide into two sets of almost identical instances,
6.17 etc. and the two in 18. The two instances from Lg., de-
 spite classification in different groups, are otherwise fairly
 similar.

(c2b1) VFq special prosp. Πλ.Κρα.405α καὶ δηλοῦν τρόπον τινὰ
 μουσικῆν...· Π.4.432ε ὅτι ἐλέγομεν
 τρόπον τινὰ αὐτό· Τι.41δ ...κατεχεῖτο μίσγων τρόπον μὲν τινὰ
 τὸν αὐτόν, ἀκήρατα δ' οὐκέτι· Ν.10.910β ...ἀπολαύη τῶν ἀσεβῶν
 τρόπον τινὰ δικαίως.

retro. Πλ.Π.6. 495α ὡς ἄρα καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ...μέρη
 //αἴτια τρόπον τινὰ τοῦ...· 10.596δ ὅτι
 κἂν αὐτὸς οἶός τ' εἴης πάντα ταῦτα ποιῆσαι τρόπῳ γέ τινι· Ηομ.
 128α ταῦτόν γὰρ γέγραφε τρόπον τινὰ ὅπερ σύ.

(c2b1) ctd. other Δημ.20.2 καὶ γὰρ εἴρηται τρόπον τινὰ καὶ...

In R.IV 432e the Formula has been taken with αὐτό rather than with the verb; otherwise it may be a case of V...α, if αὐτό is anaphoric.

(c3b1) VFqW Πλ.Τι.50γ ...τυπωθέντα...τρόπον τινὰ δύσφραστον καὶ θαυμαστόν.

Instances of Antiformula (26) (b1.1) pqF Πλ.Πλτ.306β κατὰ δὴ τινὰ τρόπον.

Cf. on Formula, (b2.2.1).

(b2.1.1) pqFV special prosp. Πλ.Ν.3.699β ἐπειδὴ τινὰ τρόπον ταυτὸν ἡμῖν συνεβεβήκει πάθος ὄπερ... Δημ.22.53 καὶ τιν' ἴσως τρόπον εἰκότως οὐκ εὐπορῶν... (= 24.165).

other Πλ.Ν.8.830ε καὶ τινὰ τρόπον δηλοῦ...

(c2a1.1) MqFV special prosp. Πλ.Πλτ.285α μετρήσεως μὲν γὰρ δὴ τινὰ τρόπον πάνθ' ...μετελέγηεν.

other Πλ.Ν.8.838α τὴν δ' αὖ τινὰ τρόπον παντάπασιν ...χαλεπωτάτην.

In the last instances above the adjective has been treated as a V-element; if there were an actual verb, the adjective would have been treated as the element emphasized and the instance called special prosp.

(c2b1) Vq(...)F special prosp. Πλ.Φδ.73γ λέγω δὲ τινὰ τρόπον τόνδε.

other Πλ.Ν.9.853β αἰσχρὸν μὲν δὴ τινὰ τρόπον καὶ νομοθετεῖν...; 853γ αἰσχρὸν μὲν τινὰ τρόπον, 851β κατανομοθετήσει τινὰ τρόπον 12.945ε τεκταινώμεθα δὴ τινὰ τρόπον αὐτῶν τοιάνδε γένεσιν.

In Lg.853b and 853c again, a predicate, being the nearest available element to a verb, is treated as such. In Phd.73c, if we should not read λέγω δὲ τινὰ τρόπον; with Burnet, the co-existence of the indefinite with τόνδε is perhaps to be explained thus: there is an idiom in which (cf. R.VIII 562a (Formula b2.1) and Ti.4ld (Formula c2b1)) τρόπον performs a dual function; in agreement with τινὰ it means 'somehow',

and in simultaneous agreement with τὸν αὐτόν, τόνδε, it means 'in the same way', 'in the following way', the whole in the present case being synonymous with οὕτως τινὰ τρόπον, ...τινὰ τρόπον ταύτη (d2a1, d2b1 below), or to ὡςδε πως, which could be analysed into τρόπον τινὰ τῶδε τῷ τρόπῳ. Hence the element mitigated by τρόπον is sometimes in agreement with it.

(d2a1) ...MqFV special prosp. Πλ.Ν.6.767α δικαστῆς δὲ οὐκ ἄρχων καὶ τινὰ τρόπον ἀρχων...γίγνεται...

retro. Πλ.Φλβ.64γ ...ἴσως ὀρθῶς ἂν τινὰ τρόπον φαίμεν· Ν.2.670γ καὶ ἐκόντας τινὰ τρόπον ἀναγκάζομεν...· 4.718γ ἀλλ' οὕτως τινὰ τρόπον λάβωμεν· 5.746β ...οὐ κακῶς τινὰ τρόπον εἰρημένα· 11.922γ ἀνοήτως γὰρ δὴ καὶ διατεθρυμμένως τινὰ τρόπον ἔχομεν.

(d2b1) ...VqF special prosp. Πλ.Ν.5.735α ...δεῖ διακρίνεσθαι τινὰ τρόπον ταύτη...

retro. Πλ.Ν.5.746β ὡς ἀληθῆ διεξέρχεται τινὰ τρόπον.

other Πλ.Πλτ.306α ...διάφορον εἶναι τινὰ τρόπον...· Ν.9.855ε ὅτι ἂν...ῥηθὲν ἢ μὴ ῥηθὲν ἐπιποθῆ τινὰ τρόπον.

That ends the list of Antiformula (26). This is another expression confined almost entirely to Plato; the Demosthenic instances are not only few but tend towards restriction in phraseology (Formula (c2a)). In Plato, Antiformula is relatively numerous; but the great majority of them are confined to Lg., and further, most either have q peninitial, pq... or Mq... or are of the form (...)VqF - i.e. Antiformula is usually the result either of peninitialism or of the attraction of X-elements other than F itself. The cases of medial ...MqFV are the strongest evidence against the Formula; yet though F can postpone q into the position VFq, there are no cases of FVq

Instances of Counterformula (26+?) - next page.

Instances of Counterformula (26+?) $26+1 = 1+26$, p.17.

$26+5 = 5+26$, p.50; $26+5+16 = 5+16+26$, p.50; $26+5+18 = 5+18+26$, p.50.

$26+6 = 6+26$, p.55.

$26+16 = 16+26$, p.89; $26+5+16 = 5+16+26$, p.49.

(26+18) $26+16+18 = 16+18+26$, p.88.

$26+20 = 20+26$, p.107; $26+1+20 = 1+20+26$, p.14.

$26+23 = 23+26$, p.114.

$26+28$ Πλ.Φλβ.20α καθ' ἕτερόν τινα τρόπον.

Instances of Anticounterformula (26+?) $26+1 = 1+26$, p.15;

$26+16 = 16+26$, p.89;
 $26+18 = 18+26$, p.100; $26+20 = 20+26$, p.107.

Instances of Multiple Antiformula (26+?) (26+1) $26+1+20 = 1+20+26$, p.14 .

(26+5) $26+5+16 = 5+16+26$, p.49 .

$26+9 = 9+26$, p.62 .

$26+16 = 16+26$, p.90 ; $26+5+16 = 5+16+26$, p. 50 ;

$26+16+18 = 16+18+26$, p.88 .

$26+18 = 18+26$, p.101; $26+5+18 = 5+18+26$, p. 50 .

Counterformula outnumbered Anticounterformula. The dative $\tau\rho\acute{o}\pi\omega$, rare in both Formula and Antiformula lists, occurs more frequently where there are multiple Formers (e.g. $1+26$, Dem.20.87 $\epsilon\iota\tau\iota\ \tau\iota\ \nu\epsilon\varsigma\ \dots\ \lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\omicron\iota\epsilon\nu\ \tau\rho\acute{o}\pi\omega\ \tau\iota\ \nu\iota\ \dots$) but is commoner in Counterformula. To consider only combinations with a fair number of instances: $\eta\ \tau\iota\ \nu\iota\ \tau\rho\acute{o}\pi\omega\ \dots$, $\eta\ \tau\iota\ \nu\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega\ \tau\rho\acute{o}\pi\omega$, $\eta\ \tau\iota\ \nu\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\ \tau\rho\acute{o}\pi\omicron\nu$, $\eta\ \tau\iota\ \nu\iota\ \tau\rho\acute{o}\pi\omega\ \tau\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega$ ($5+26$ etc.) make four instances, against nil of $5+26$ etc.; there are three of $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\iota\ \tau\iota\ \nu\alpha\ \tau\rho\acute{o}\pi\omicron\nu$ against nil of $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\iota\ \tau\rho\acute{o}\pi\omicron\nu\ \tau\iota\ \nu\alpha\ \dots$. $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega\ \tau\iota\ \nu\iota\ \tau\rho\acute{o}\pi\omega$, $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\ \tau\iota\ \nu\alpha\ \tau\rho\acute{o}\pi\omicron\nu$, $\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega\ \tau\omega\ \tau\rho\acute{o}\pi\omega$, add up to five instances, against two of $\tau\rho\acute{o}\pi\omicron\nu\ \tau\iota\ \nu\alpha\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$. There the choice between Counterformula and Anticounterformula is determined by the order of the Formers themselves; that is true also of the following - $\tau\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\ \tau\iota\ \nu\alpha\ \tau\rho\acute{o}\pi\omicron\nu$, $\tau\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \tau\iota\ \nu\iota\ \tau\rho\acute{o}\pi\omega$ total five against one each of $\tau\rho\acute{o}\pi\omicron\nu\ \tau\iota\ \nu\alpha\ \tau\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon$, $\tau\rho\acute{o}\pi\omega\ \tau\iota\ \nu\iota\ \tau\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon$, and there are three of $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota\ \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\ \tau\omega\ \tau\rho\acute{o}\pi\omega$ with no alternative order found.

27/27, Former πολύς (p.3.3.2).

The classification is basically as in ἄλλος, p.3.3.80, 84. In addition, the idiom οὐ πολλοί has been treated separately.

Instances of Formula (27) (A) With οὐ (b2.1) pFqV ^{0.6.1,1} _{ὅτι οὐ}
 πολλῶ τινι ὑποδεέστερον... Πλ.Φδ.116β καὶ οὐ πολλὰ ἄττα...
 διελέχθη.
 (b2.2.1) pFqW prepositional ^{0.2.102.3} οὐκ ἐν πολλῶ τινι ἐν
 χρόνῳ Πλ.Ν.3.682β ἀρ' οὖν οὐκ
 ἐν πολλοῖς τισὶ χρόνοις...

The idiom οὐ πολλοί does not necessarily have the negative directly before the Former; in (c3b2) below the idiom is in combination with οὐ πάνυ τι in the present case the resemblance of wording is interesting.

(c2a1) ...FqV Πλ.Γργ.498α οἶμαι ἔγωγε οὐ πολὺ τι διαφέρειν*
 Εὐθδ.271β καὶ τοῦ ἡμετέρου οὐ πολὺ τι τὴν ἡλικί-
 αν διαφέρειν Κριτοβούλου Π.6.484δ οὐ...οὐ πολὺ τι διαφέρει,
 506α οἶμαι...οὐ πολλοῦ τινὸς ἀξιὸν φύλακα κερτῆσθαι Σφ.216γ
 ...κινδυνεύει...οὐ πολὺ τι ῥῆον εἶναι διακρίνειν ἢ...(τ).

In the last instance above the minority reading οὐ πάνυ τι, though in accord with the idiomatic use of πάνυ (see Formula 17 above) does not make sense with a comparative and appears to be a slip due to the attraction of οὐ πάνυ τι ῥῆδιον.

(c2b1)(...)VFq 0.6.51.1 ...ὑπεξήλθον οὐ πολλοί τινες.

(c3a1) ...FqVW Πλ.Μεν.97ε ...οὐ πολλῆς τινὸς ἀξιὸν ἐστὶ τιμῆς

(c3b2) WFqV Πλ.Σφ.218ε καὶ σπουδῆς οὐ πάνυ τι πολλῆς τινὸς ἐπ-
 ἔξιον.

See on (b2.2.1) above.

(B) Other:(a2.1) FqV Πλ.Σφ.251α
 πόλλ' ἄττα ἐπ-
 ονομάζοντες Φλβ.62ε πολὺ τι διαφέρει...(τ).

(α3.1) FqVW Πλ.Απ.25β πολλῆ γὰρ ἂν τις εὐδαιμονία εἴη... Μεν.
 72α γέ τινι Φλβ.58α.

- (b2.1) pFqV Πλ.Ν.4.716β καὶ πολλοῖς τισὶν ἔδοξεν...
- (b3.1) pFqWV Πλ.Π.10.600β ὡς πολλή τις ἀμέλεια... ἦν... (τ)° Ν.
2.661γ καὶ. Δημ.18.159 πλήν° 19.259 καὶ.
- (c2b1) VFq Πλ.Φδ.95γ καὶ... ἔπραττε πολλὰ ἄττα.
- (c3a2) ...FqWV Δημ.37.33 ἐνταυθὶ πόλλ' ἄττα καὶ δεινὰ μοι ἄμ'
ἐγκαλεῖ...
- (c3c) VWFq Πλ.Ν.1.647γ ... ἄφοβον... ποιεῖν φόβων πολλῶν τινῶν.

In Formula, the idiom with οὐ is absent from Demosthenes, the use without it from Thucydides; the idiom does not occur in the initial position Fq... (a--), and the majority of actual occurrences are in medial position, (c--); on the other hand the use without οὐ has most instances equally divided between (a--) and (b--), with fewer in (c--); the latter use also has in most instances three or more X-elements (including F itself), whereas the idiom with οὐ has its majority with two X-elements only (F and the verb).

- Instances of Antiformula (27) (A) With οὐ (c3b1) Vq(X)F(X)
Θ.2.79.4
εἶχον δέ τινας οὐ πολλοὺς πελταστάς... 7.1.4 πέμφειν δέ τιν'
αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχοντο στρατιάν οὐ πολλήν...
- (c3b2) Wq(X)F(X) Θ.8.70.2 καὶ ἄνδρας τέ τινας ἀπέκτειναν οὐ
πολλούς.

Remember that in Antiformula lists (c--) denotes peninitial q in the form Mq... (not pq...); Th.VIII.70.2 is included here because q belongs exclusively to the τε-clause.

- (d3b1) ...VqF and variants Θ.6.94.2 καὶ τῶν Συρακοσίων περι-
τυχόντες τισὶν οὐ πολλοῖς... (τ)
7.82.1 καὶ ἀπεχώρησάν τινες πόλεις οὐ πολλαί.
- (d3b2) ...WqF and variants Θ.6.100.2 καὶ τῶν Ἀργείων τινὲς
αὐτόθι καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐ πολλοὶ
διεφθάρησαν.

- (B) other: (c3b2) WqF etc.
Θ.7.75.5
κατήφειά τέ τις ἅμα καὶ κατάμεμφις... πολλή ἦν.
- (d2b1) ...VqF etc. Πλ.Σμπ.205β ὅτι πόησις ἐστὶ τι πολύ.

- (d3b1) ...VqF and variants Πλ.Κριτι.108β ὥστε τῆς συγγνώμης
δειήσει τινός σοι παμπόλλης.
- (d3b2) ...WqF and variants Πλ.Η.3.686α καὶ χρόνον τιν' ἄν
πολὺν μένειν.

In the idiom οὐ πολλοί the Formula:Antiformula ratios are 3:6 in Thucydides, 9:0 in Plato; in Thucydides all the Antiformula instances have a W-element in addition to F itself, unlike most of the Formulaic, while in Plato the largest single category in Formula is (c2a1), ...FqV. In the use without οὐ the ratios are: Thucydides 0:1, Plato 10:3, Demosthenes 3:0. In Formula, there do occur some cases of XFq (including WFq), but in Antiformula all are of the form Xq(..)F, and there are none of FXq,

Instances of Counterformula (27+?) (27+16) 27+6+16 = 6+16+27,
p.54; (27+18) 27+6+18 =
6+18+27, p.54.

$$27+19 = 19+27, \text{ p.104.}$$

$$(27+28) 27+6+25+28 = 6+25+27+28, \text{ p.55 .}$$

Instances of Anticounterformula (27+?) 27+1 = 1+27, p.15 .

$$(27+6) 27+6+28 = 6+27+28, \text{ p.54 .}$$

$$27+8 = 8+27, \text{ p.58 ; } 27+25 = 25+27, \text{ p.119.}$$

$$(27+28) 27+6+28 = 6+27+28, \text{ p.54 .}$$

Instances of Multiple Antiformula (27+?) (27+6) 27+6+16 =
6+16+27, p.54; ;
27+6+18 = 6+18+27, p.54 ; 27+6+25+28 = 6+25+27+28, p.55 .

$$27+10 = 10+27, \text{ p.66 .}$$

$$(27+25) 27+6+25+28 = 6+25+27+28, \text{ p.55 .}$$

Little of note emerges from the few instances of multiple Formers; there are two instances of μέρος τι οὐ πολύ, 19+27. In phrases beginning with a καὶ which counts as Former(6), q tends to be subjoined not to καὶ nor to πολύς but to any other Former present, e.g. καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς οὐ πολλούς, καὶ τοιοῦτοί τινες πολλοὶ δημιουργοί. But see also one of 6+27+28.

28/28, Former ἕτερος (p.3.3.2).

Classification basically as in ἄλλος, p.3.3.80 and 84.

- Instances of Formula (28) (a2.1) FqV Πλ.Ευθδ.285δ ἕτερον γάρ τι· N.7.822δ δέ τι. Δημ.19.265 ἕτερος δέ τις ἦκεν... Π.4.439β ἄν 20.116.
- (a3.1) FqVW Πλ.Θτ.192α ἕτερόν τι ὧν αἰσθάνεται οἰηθῆναι εἶναι.
- (a3.2) FqVW Πλ.Τι.52γ ἑτέρου δέ τινος ἀεὶ φέρεται φάντασμα.
- (b1.1) pFq prepositional Πλ.Σμπ.211α ἐν ἑτέρῳ τινί (= Πρμ. 145δ)* Σφ.262β πρὸς.
- (b1.3) pFqY Πλ.Φδ.103δ ἀλλ' ἕτερόν τι πυρὸς τὸ θερμὸν καὶ (103δ) ἕτερόν τι χιόνος τὸ ψυχρόν.
- (b2.1) pFqV Πλ.Ιων531ε πότερον ἕτερος μὲν τις... γινώσεται... ἕτερος δὲ... Πρμ.128α ὡς ἕτερόν τι λέγων, 138β οὐκοῦν ἕτερον μὲν ἄν τι εἴη..., 160γ ὅτι ἕτερόν τι λέγοι... Δημ.22.8 ἀλλ' ἕτερ' ἅττα λέγω...

Three of the five instances of pFqV have verb λέγω. Ion 531e and Prm.138b are classed in (b---) rather than (a---) on the ground that q may be common to both clauses and so to be considered in the sentence as a whole.

- (b2.2.1) pFqW prepositional Θ.1.71.4 πρὸς ἑτέραν τινὰ ^{ἀν.} Συμμαχ... λόγον. Πλ.Η.1.642β εἰς ἕτερόν τινα Δημ.55.19 ἀν' ἕτερ' ἅττα τῶν χωρῶν (τ).
- (b2.2.2) other pFqW Πλ.Θτ.188β ἀλλ' ἕτερ' ἅττα ὧν οἶδε.
- (b3.1) pFqVW Δημ.43.7 καὶ ἕτερόν τινα τῶν ἐπιτηδείων... προσλαβόντες.
- (b3.2) pFqVW Δημ.30.36 ἀλλ' ὡσπερ ἑτέρων τινῶν ὄντων... σαφεστέρων ἐλέγχων.
- (b3.3) pFqWW Πλ.Θτ.200β ἐν ἑτέροις τισὶ γελοίοις περιστερεῶσι.
- (c1.1) ...Fq Πλ.Θτ.184δ διὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἑτέρων αὖ τινῶν.
- (c2a1.1) ...FqV simple Δημ.48.20 καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἕτεροὶ τινες ἐλαχον...
- (c2a1.2) ...FqV complex Πλ.Γργ.491γ νῦν δ' αὖ ἕτερόν τι ἦκεις ἔχων· Λυ.222γ καὶ φῶμεν ἕτερόν τι εἶναι τὸ οἰκεῖον... Φδ.76α· Π.5.478α ἐφ' ἑτέρῳ ἄρα ἕτερόν τι δυναμένη... πέφυκεν· Πρμ.158δ· Θτ.189δ ἔστιν ἄρα... ἕτερόν τι ὡς ἕτερον... τίθεσθαι· Πλτ.262α. Δημ.2.25 ὅτι μελλόντων αὐτῶν ἑτέρους τινὰς ἐλπίζόντων πράξειν...

(c2b1) VF_q Πλ.Θτ.153δ ...μη εἶναι αὐτὸ ἕτερόν τι ἔξω..., 193ε, 199α ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὠρισάμεθα ἕτερον μὲν τι τὸ..., ἕτερον δὲ... Σφ.264α ...ἄρ'οἶδόν τε ὀρθῶς εἰπεῖν ἕτερόν τι κλήν...; Th_t.199a: cf. on Ion 531e, (b2.1) above.

(c3a1) ...F_qVW Πλ.Θτ.193β ...οὐκ ἂν οἰηθεῖν ἕτερόν τιν' εἶναι τὴν ἐλπίς... ὦν... (τ). Δημ.32.31 ἐτι τοίνυν ἕτερα τίς ἐσ-

(c3a2) ...F_qVW Πλ.Κρα.438ε τὸ γὰρ που ἕτερον...ἕτερον ἂν τι καὶ ἄλλοτον σημαῖνοι... Πλτ.266β πρὸς δὴ τοῦτοις ἕτερον αὐτὸ τῶν...εὐδοκιμησάντων ἂν/-/ἄρα καιροῦμεν; Φλβ.32δ ἢ τοῦτο μὲν ἑτέρῳ τινὶ τῶν προειρημένων δοτέον ἡμῶν γενῶν(τ)

(c3b1) VF_qW(V) Πλ.Θτ.192α οἰηθῆναι ἕτερόν τι ὦν οἶδεν... Φδρ.236β ...ἐπιχειρήσειν εἰπεῖν...ἕτερόν τι ποιικιλώτερον. Δημ.56.22 φησὶ γὰρ ἑτέροους τινὰς δανειστάς συγκεχωρηκέναι...

In Plato, most instances are in (c--), medial; in Demosthenes, (b--) and (c--) have equal numbers; only Plato has cases of (-1-), where F is the only X-element; in both Plato and Demosthenes the majority is in (-2-), with one X-element, the verb, apart from F, but in Demosthenes the margin between (-2-) and (-3-) is narrow. That ends the list of Formula 28.

Instances of Antiformula (28) (a2.1) FV_q Δημ.3.18 ἕτερος λεγεί τις βελτίω 24. 201 ἑτέροους δ'ἐλεῆσαι τινὰς φῆς;

(a2.3) FY_qX Πλ.Θτ.200β ἑτέραν αὐτὴν οἶεται τινα εἶναι (τ). Δημ.21.101 ἕτερος οὕτοσί τις βέλαιος.

On Dem.21.101 cf. 21.185, ἄλλος Antiformula (a), p.3.3. 85 above; 21.101 οἶον ἐγὼ τις οὕτοσί μέτριος...εἰμί suggests that ἄλλος and ἕτερος in these cases are adverbial while q "belongs" to μέτριος κτλ. In Th_t.200b, q, the predicate of εἶναι is only remotely related to the verb that precedes it, which therefore counts as a Y-element; both instances infringe Rule XXVII.

(b2.1.1) p_qFV Πλ.N.11.933ε ὅσα τις ἂν ἕτερος ἄλλον πημήνη(τ). Δημ.56.2 ὅσα ἂν τις ἐκῶν ἕτερος ἑτέρῳ ὁμολογήση.

(b2.1.2) p_qFW Πλ.Κρα.422β ἐκ τινῶν ἑτέρων ξύγκειται ὀνομάτων.

In accordance with Rule V postpositives "belonging" to a

prepositional phrase are to be classed according to their order within it, the sentence at large being outside the bounds of "regular" variation; in cases like Cra.422b it seems that the order results from treating the phrase as an integral part of the larger sentence; in such cases perhaps the verb should be treated as a V-element; in that case this would become (b3-); cf. (d1d), (d2d) below.

(b2.2.1) p_qVF Πλ.Ν.9.875δ ἢ τι βλάψαντα ἕτερον ἄλλον.

This could mean "having wounded or otherwise harmed someone else"; but in view of the use of ἕτερος ἄλλον as an alternative to reciprocal ἕτερος ἕτερον (XI 933e (b2.1.1), 915d (d2b1)) ἕτερον may here be masculine; if so, the sentence is irrelevant to these lists entirely.

(b2.3) Wp_qF Πλ.Ν.3.700β ᾧδὴν ὡς τινα ἑτέραν.

(b3.1.2) p_qFWX Πλ.Φλβ.58δ ἢ τινα ἑτέραν . . . κυριωτέραν . . . ζητητέον.

(b3.2.2) p_qWFX Πλ.Ν.8.830α ἢ τι τῶν τοιούτων ἕτερον ἀγνωισμάτων ἀθλοῦντας.

(c3a.1.2) M_qFWV Πλ.Σφ.266γ γραφικῆ δέ τιν' ἑτέραν ὁδόν . . . ἀπειργασμένην.

(d1d) . . . F_Yq Πλ.Τι.52γ διὰ ταῦτα ἐν ἑτέρῳ προσήκει τινὶ γίγνεσθαι (τ).

Cf. on (b2.1.2) above; the infinitive is perhaps to be counted as a V-element, but that would not alter the infringement of Rule XXVII, for προσήκει is more remote.

(d2b1) . . . V_qF Πλ.Ν.9.865β ἐὰν δὲ αὐτόχειρ μὲν μή, ἄκων δὲ ἀποκτείνῃ τις ἕτερος ἕτερον* 11.915δ ὅσα δὲ . . . ἀλλάττηται τις ἕτερος ἄλλῳ.

Lg. IX 865b is not classed as Multiple Antiformula 4+28 because ἐὰν δὲ τις would in this sentence infringe Rule XIII; the same applies to IX 872a ἐὰν δὲ αὐτόχειρ μὲν μή, βουλεύσῃ δὲ θάνατόν τις ἄλλος ἑτέρῳ* the present instance supports my suggestion (Antiformula 16, (d2d)) that the order V . . . qW (infringement of Rule XXVII) in 872a is to be explained on the ground that βουλεύσῃ δὲ θάνατόν τις "stands for" βουλεύσει δὲ

ἀποκτείνῃ τις.

(d2b2) ...WqF Πλ.Λυ.220α ἔνεκα φίλου τινὸς ἑτέρου.

(d2d)...X...q Πλ.Πλτ.268δ καθ' ἑτέραν ὁδὸν πορευθῆναι τινα (FWYq).

Cf. on (b2.1.2) and (d1d) above. If the infinitive is admitted as V this becomes (d3c) and ceases to infringe Rule XXVII.

(d3b1.2) ...VqXF Δημ.47.10 ὑπενουῦμεν γάρ/~/ἥξειν τινὰς ἀμφισβητήσοντας...καὶ ἑτέρους.

(d3b2) ...WqF and variants Πλ.N.10.904ε εἰς ἀμείνω τινὰ τόπον ἕτερον.

(d3c1) ...FVq Πλ.Σφ.223γ ἀλλ' ἕτερον εἶναι τι γένος· 227δ πονηρίαν ἕτερον ἀρετῆς ἐν ψυχῇ λέγομέν τι;

(d3c2) ...FWq Πλ.Ευθδ.303δ καὶ τόδε αὖ ἕτερον δημοτικὸν τι...(τ)

(d3d) ...FYq Πλ.Π.1.345β ταῦτ' οὖν καὶ ἕτερος ἴσως τις ἡμῶν πέπονθεν (FYqWV).

The overall Formula:Antiformula ratios are: Thucydides 1:0, Plato 34:17, Demosthenes 10:5. In Plato, the majority of Antiformulaic instances are in (d--), medial, in Demosthenes most are in (a--), F...q. In fact, while in Plato a sentence with initial F is the least likely to be Antiformulaic, in Demosthenes it is in those sentences that most Antiformulaic instances occur((a--) in Plato Formula:Antiformula 5:1, Demosthenes 2:3). In Plato, cases with two or more X-elements other than F itself (-3-) are most likely to be Antiformulaic, least likely are those where F is the only X-element (Formula:Antiformula in (-1-) 6:1, in (-2-) 20:9, in (-3-) 9:8); in Demosthenes, most Antiformulaic instances are in(-2-), Formula:Antiformula (-2-) 6:4, (-3-) 4:1. All in all then, there are about half as many Antiformulaic as Formulaic instances, while in certain categories of sentence, differing according to author, Antiformula is almost as common as Formula; that must give an impression of no more than weak Formulaism. Further, in many lists it has been possible to state that most Antiformulaic instances are due to peninitialism of pq... or Mq... types or to the wording Xq(...)F. But in ἕτερος, though

$p\underline{q}(\dots)F$ is common, the various forms of $F\dots\underline{q}$ outnumber those of $M\underline{q}(\dots)F$ and $X\underline{q}(\dots)F$: there are five each of $FX\underline{q}$ and $FY\underline{q}$. Still however $F\underline{q}$ can postpone \underline{q} away from X more than $X\underline{q}$ from F ; $X\underline{q}F:XF\underline{q}$ 5:4, $F\underline{q}X:FX\underline{q}$ 23:5; but this could be due to the fact that F itself is a W -element, while X -elements other than F include V , which attracts \underline{q} into $V\underline{q}$ less strongly than does W into $W\underline{q}$; contrast also ἄλλοϛ, where $X\underline{q}F:XF\underline{q}$ is 6:17 and $F\underline{q}X:FX\underline{q}$ 70:1. (The above figures refer to sentences with one X -element only apart from F .)

Instances of Counterformula ($28+?$) $28+\underline{1} = \underline{1}+28$, p.17 ;
 $28+\underline{1}+\underline{16} = \underline{1}+\underline{16}+28$,
 p.16 .

$28+\underline{2} = \underline{2}+28$, p.25 ; $28+\underline{3} = \underline{3}+28$, p.38 ; $28+\underline{5} = \underline{5}+28$,
 p.50 ; $28+\underline{6} = \underline{6}+28$, p.55 .

($28+\underline{12}$) $28+\underline{1}+\underline{12} = \underline{1}+\underline{12}+28$, p.14 .

$28+\underline{14} = \underline{14}+28$, p.77 ; $28+\underline{18} = \underline{18}+28$, p.101; $28+\underline{23} = \underline{23}+28$, p.114.

($28+\underline{27}$) $28+\underline{6}+\underline{27} = \underline{6}+\underline{27}+28$, p.54 .

Instances of Anticounterformula ($28+?$) $\underline{28}+\underline{2} = \underline{2}+\underline{28}$, p.26 ;
 $\underline{28}+\underline{5} = \underline{5}+\underline{28}$, p.49 .

$\underline{28}+\underline{6} = \underline{6}+\underline{28}$, p.55 ; $\underline{28}+\underline{6}+\underline{25}+\underline{27} = \underline{6}+\underline{25}+\underline{27}+\underline{28}$, p.55 .

$\underline{28}+\underline{7} = \underline{7}+\underline{28}$, p.57 ; $\underline{28}+\underline{9a} = \underline{9a}+\underline{28}$, p.64 .

($\underline{28}+\underline{25}$) $\underline{28}+\underline{6}+\underline{25}+\underline{27} = \underline{6}+\underline{25}+\underline{27}+\underline{28}$, p.55 .

$\underline{28}+\underline{26} = \underline{26}+\underline{28}$, p.124.

($\underline{28}+\underline{27}$) $\underline{28}+\underline{6}+\underline{25}+\underline{27} = \underline{6}+\underline{25}+\underline{27}+\underline{28}$, p.55 .

Instances of Multiple Antiformula ($28+?$) $28+\underline{1} = \underline{1}+28$, p.18 ;
 $28+\underline{1}+\underline{12} = \underline{1}+\underline{12}+28$,
 p.14 .

$28+\underline{3} = \underline{3}+28$, p.38 ; $28+\underline{4} = \underline{4}+28$, p.44 ; $28+\underline{5} = \underline{5}+28$,
 p.50 .

($28+\underline{6}$) $28+\underline{6}+\underline{27} = \underline{6}+\underline{27}+28$, p.54 .

$28+\underline{14} = \underline{14}+28$, p.77 .

($28+\underline{16}$) $28+\underline{1}+\underline{16} = \underline{1}+\underline{16}+28$, p.16 .

Counterformula outnumbers Anticounterformula. As far

as numbers show, the dominant formulations are εἴ τι ἕτερον, εἰ δέ τι ἕτερον (but εἰ δὲ ἕτερόν τι in Demosthenes), ἔάν τι ἕτερον, ἢ τι ἕτερον. On the other hand ἀλλὰ ἕτερόν τι seems normal. There is also one instance each of τὰς δὲ τινὰς ἐτέρας, τοιαύτης τινὸς ἐτέρας, ἔν τι ἕτερον.

As to distribution between works of Plato, ἕτερος with τις is rare in "early" Plato, is fairly common in "middle" and in "late" is almost as common as ἄλλος (q.v., p.3.3.91), which there becomes less common; notice some Formula:Antiformula ratios:-- Phd.3:0 (ἄλλος 20:8), R.2:1 (51:14), Prm.5:0 (6:9), Th.10:1 (18:5), Sph.2:3 (7:2), Plt.2:1 (3:1), Phlb.1:1 (2:2), Ti.1:1 (1:1), Lg.2:7 (11:8). These figures do not include instances with multiple Formers.

29/29, Former μάλλον (pp.3.3.2 and 4, where see also οὐδέν τι μ.)

The classification is basically as in ἄλλος, p.3.3.80, 84.

Instances of Formula (29) (a2.1) FqV Il.II.8.552β μάλλον τι τὸτ' ἦν ὄφελος.

(b2.1) pFqV Θ.1.49.3 καὶ μάλλον τι πιστεύσαντες...

(c2a1) ...FqV Θ.8.65.2 καὶ αὐτὸν κατ' ἀμφοτέρα() μάλλον τι δι-
έφθειραν. Il.II.1.330ε ... ἐγγυτέρω ὢν τῶν ἐκεῖ
μάλλον τι καθορᾷ αὐτὰ (τ) 7.515δ νῦν δὲ μάλλον τι ἐγγυτέρω...
τετραμμένος... (τ) Σφ.257β τότε μάλλον τί σοι φαινόμεθα... δη-
λοῦν...

It may be argued that in Th.VIII.65.2 and Pl.R.I 331e above the Former is virtually initial, making (a2.1).

(c2b1) VFq Pl.Chrm.160γ οὐδὲ ταύτη σωφροσύνη ἂν εἴη μάλλον τι...
Ti.65γ πρὸς δὲ τούτοις κεχρησθαι μάλλον τι τῶν ἄλ-
λων τραχύτησι...

On οὐδέ, which in Chrm.160c above is adverbial, see (8) on p.3.3.3 above. That ends the list of Formula (29).

Instances of Antiformula (29) -- see next page.

Instances of Antiformula (29) (b2.1.1) p_qFV Ηλ.Π.2.374β ἢ οὖν
 μᾶλλον κήδεσθαι...; 5.479β καὶ μεγάλα...μή τι μᾶλλον...προσ-
 ρηθήσεται; 6.501γ καὶ Ἐτ.209γ μή.

The instances of μή above fall into the category of in-
 terrogative μή, which has been classed as negative μή not
 within the definition of μή as a Former but subject to Rule
 XXIII (q.v. and p.3.3.3 above), of which R.V 479b and Th.
 209c are therefore infringements (p.2.2.56).

(c2a1.1) M_qFV Ηλ.Χρμ.164γ ἐκεῖνων ἂν τι ἔγωγε μᾶλλον ἀναθεῖ-
 σθην· Πρτ.327β οἷεῖ ἂν τι"... , "μᾶλλον...γίγνε-
 σθαι...;

In Prt.327b, the V-element is the infinitive, not the
 governing verb, which is therefore a Y-element.

(d2a1.1) ...M_qFV Θ.1.138,3 καὶ διαφερόντως τι ἐς αὐτὸ μᾶλλον
 ἑτέρου ἀξίος θαυμάσαι· 5.26.5 ...καθ' ἡσυχίαν
 τι αὐτῶν μᾶλλον αἰσθῆσθαι· 7.57,1 οὐ κατὰ δόξην τι μᾶλλον...
 στάντες. Ηλ.Θτ.169β σὺ δὲ κατ' Ἀνταῖον τί μοι μᾶλλον δοκεῖς
 ...δρᾶν.

(d2b1) ...V_qF Θ.4.21.3 καὶ ἐν τῷ τότε δεομένων τι μᾶλλον σπον-
 δῶν.

That ends the list of Antiformula (29). In (d2a1.1) Th.
 V.26.5, if q "belongs" to μᾶλλον, the verb governs the genitive
 αὐτῶν. But since in Thucydides there occurs the idiom τι αὐ-
 τῶν = αὐτά (e.g. VI.92.1?) q may be the object of the verb;
 however, comparison with I.138.3 immediately preceding sug-
 gests that the sentence is properly classified in this list.
 The same comparison also prompts the thought that expressions
 like διαφερόντως τι μᾶλλον may be the adverbial equivalent of
 λόγος τις τοιοῦτος, W_qF, so that all the instances in (d2a1.1)
 above (including even Tht.169b) should be classed as W_qFV,
 (d3b2).

Overall Formula:Antiformula 8:11 (Th.2:4, Pl.6:7).
 Antiformula in this case actually outnumbered Formula. On the
 surface then μᾶλλον τι is even less of a Formula than ἕτερός
 τις. However, one only (a2.1) of the Formula instances has
 initial Former and q peninitial (and so Formula is not due

mainly to peninitialism), while a large proportion of Antiformula does consist of $pg(\dots)F$ (b2.1.1) and of other cases of peninitial g (c2a1.1) (so that Antiformula is largely due to peninitialism); further, of the remainder, (d2a1.1) comprises cases analogous to $\dots WqF$ (see preceding paragraph), and (d2b1) an actual $\dots VqF$. It can then be said that Antiformula is due entirely either to peninitialism or the attraction of the order XqF ; at the same time, $FqV:FVq$ is 6:0, $VqF:VFq$ 1:2.

Instances of Counterformula (29+?) $29+1 = 1+29$, p.17 ;
 $29+2 = 2+29$, p.38 ;
 $29+9a = 9a+29$, p.64 ; $29+15 = 15+29$, p.78 ; $29+19 = 19+29$, p.104.

$29+30 = 30+29$: see 30 below.

Instances of Anticounterformula (29+?) $29+8 = 8+29$, p.58 ;
 $29+9a = 9a+29$, p.64 ;

$29+30$ @.6.82.3 οὐδέν προσήκον μᾶλλον τι ἐκείνους ἡμῶν ἢ.../ἐπιτάσσειν.

Since οὐδέν τι is a rarity except in the expression οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον, the latter has been treated as a Formula in itself (30); it is however at the same time the negation of a potential μᾶλλον τι, hence is mentioned under Counterformula above, though listed independently below; at the same time, in οὐδέν μᾶλλον τι, μᾶλλον τι is actual and negates potential οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον.

Instances of Multiple Antiformula (29+?) $29+1 = 1+29$, p.18 ;
 $29+9 = 9+29$, p.62 .

Counterformula outnumbers Anticounterformula not only in number of combinations but in number of individual instances (there are four of εἴ τι μᾶλλον, two of ἐάν τι μᾶλλον and one each of the other combinations except 29+30). Yet εἴ τι μᾶλλον, ἐάν τι μᾶλλον, οὐδέ τι μᾶλλον, σχεδόν δέ τι καὶ μᾶλλον, μέρος τι μᾶλλον, do not reverse the impression from Antiformula

that exceptions to μάλλον τι are due to peninitialism or Xq or both together; in fact both cases of Multiple Antiformula are of the form p...VqF, εἰ...κατορθώσει τι μάλλον and οὔτε... προσρητέον τι μάλλον...

30/30, Formula οὐδέν τι μάλλον. See pp.3.3.2 and 4.

All instances are of the form WqW(...)V, either initial, preceded by a prepositive, or medial.

(a) WqW(...)V Πλ.Χρμ.175δ ἀλλ' ὅμως... εὐθηκῶν τυχοῦσα ἢ ζήτησις καὶ οὐ σκληρῶν) οὐδέν τι μάλλον εὐρεῖν δύναται... Πρτ.319γ οὐδέν τι μάλλον ἀποδέχονται Γργ.493δ Σμπ.202β οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἑρωτα ἐπειδὴ... ὁμολογεῖς...) μηδέν τι μάλλον οἴου δεῖν... Φδ.104ε Π.1.346β οὐδέν τι μάλλον//... ἔνεκα τούτου καλεῖς μάλλον... Πρμ.147ε Θτ.166γ Πλτ.346β οὐδέν τι μάλλον ἡμῶς ἔδει...

(b) pWqW(...)V Πλ.Λα.195γ ἀλλ' οὐδέν τι μάλλον... ἀνδρεῖος εἰσι δεῖ... Γργ. 457β ἀλλ' οὐδέν τι μάλλον τούτου ἔνεκα Φδ.87δ καὶ... τεύτου ἔνεκα..., 95γ ἀλλὰ γάρ Πρμ.131β Σφ.253α πρὸς τὸ... εἶναι...

(c) ...WqW(...)V Πλ.Λυ.217δ ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδέν τι μάλλον ἂν εἶεν λευκαί πω Π.6.487γ ἐπεὶ τὸ γε ἀληθὲς οὐδέν τι μάλλον ταύτη ἔχειν Θτ.169β Σφ.262β Φδρ.260δ.

In (a) above, although Rule X would permit q to be initial in main following a participial clause, Chrm.175d and those like it, i.e. Phd.104e, Prm.147e and Tht.166c are probably best classed in (a) rather than (c). Notice some repetitive phraseology: ἀλλ' ὅμως, Χρμ.175δ, Λυ.217δ ἔνεκα τούτου, Π.1.346β, Γργ.457β, Φδ.87δ δεῖ, Σμπ.202β, Πλτ.276β, Γργ.457β.

Instances of Antiformula (a) Πλ.Π.5.454δ οὐδέν τι πω φήσομεν μάλλον ἀποδεδειχθαι... 7.540γ μηδέν γάρ τι οἴου με... εἰρηκέναι μάλλον...

Possibly οὐδέν τι... μάλλον should be regarded rather as a variant of Formula than as Antiformula; apart from οὐδέν μάλλον τι, which has been classed as Counterformula, these are the only departures from the order οὐδέν τι μάλλον not involving a further Former.

Instances of Counterformula (30+?) $30+29 = 29+30$, p.135.

Instances of Anticounterformula ($30+?$) $30+12 = 12+30$, p.70 .

There are no instances of Multiple Antiformula.

It is curious that οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον should be more numerous than μᾶλλον τι and as numerous as those exceptions to μᾶλλον τι which are classed as Antiformula (29); for οὐδέν τι unaccompanied by μᾶλλον is not found in these authors (it would class as οὐδ'έν τι, 9a+23, which is not found even in that punctuation), though it does appear in Hdt., e.g. V.65.1 καὶ οὐδέν τι πάντως ἂν ἐξεῖλον τοὺς Πεισιστρατίδας...

31/31, Former ἥττον (pp.3.3.2 and 4).

The classification is basically as in ἄλλος, p.3.3.80, 84.

Instances of Formula (31) (a2.1) FqV Ηλ.Χρμ.174γ ἥττον τι ἢ μὲν ἰατρικῆ...ποιήσει, ἢ δὲ σκυτικῆ...· Ευθδ.286α ἥττον τι ἀντιλέγομεν...; 293γ ἥττον οὖν τι,"...,"οὐκ ἐπιστήμων εἰ; Π.1.337γ ἥττον τι αὐτὸν οἶει ἀποκρίνασθαι...; Θτ.148γ ἥττον τι ἂν οἶει ἀληθῆ τὸνδ' ἐπαινέσαι; Δημ.17.22 ἥττον τι δῆπου παραβεβήκασι... (Π.5.479β 472δ472ε)
(b2.1) pFqV Θ.3.75.2 ὅπως ἦσαν τι ἐν κινήσει ὦσιν... Ηλ.Θτ. 162γ ἢ ἥττον τι οἶει...εἰς θεοὺς ἢ εἰς ἀνθρώπους λέγεσθαι;

There are no instances of Antiformula, Counterformula, Anticounterformula or Multiple Antiformula; that, and the infringement of Rule XIV in Dem.17.22 suggest that this expression, though few in numbers, is Formulaic, despite also the lack of medial, (c--), instances.

There are no cases either of οὐδέν τι ἥττον (cf. above, this page), despite a correspondence in sense between μᾶλλον and ἥττον which does not extend to πλέον, for although the latter and ἥττον are both neuter adjectives, while μᾶλλον is purely adverbial, πλέον appears to denote quantity while

both of the others denote degree.

Again, ἥττον τι may be translated as "somewhat less" or as "any/none (= not any) the less", according as it is used in affirmative statements or, on the other hand, questions or negations. Similarly, μᾶλλον may mean "somewhat more" or "any/none the more". In the sense "none the more" οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον is idiomatic, and it always bears that sense, though the sense can, for particular reasons, be expressed otherwise (Θ.7.57.1 οὐ κατὰ δίκην τι μᾶλλον...ἀλλὰ..., Χρμ.160γ οὐδέ ταύτη...); but, as stated above, οὐδέν τι ἥττον is not used for the corresponding sense. However, μᾶλλον and ἥττον show a different proportion of use in the two senses:-

μᾶλλον negations Formula Pl.Chrm.160c. Antiformula Th.VII.57.1. (1:1)
 questions Formula Pl.R.VIII 552b; Sph.257b. Antiformula Pl.Prt.327b; R.II 374b; V 479b; VI 501c; Tht.209c. (2:5)
 affirmatives Formula Th.I.49.3; VIII.65.2. Pl.R.I 330e; VII 515d; Ti.60c. Antiformula Th.I.138.3; IV.21.3; V.26.5. Pl.Chrm.164c; Tht.169b. (5:5)

ἥττον Formula only, negations Dem.17.22.
 questions Pl.Chrm.174c; Euthd.286a, 293c; R.337c; V 479b; Tht.148c, 162c.
 affirmative Th.III.75.2.

If οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον is listed under Antiformula in the first line of the above list, as it probably should be, the effect of the list is somewhat altered; nevertheless it seems that the affirmative use is rare in ἥττον alternatively, the non-affirmative uses of both words are rare in Thucydides (who also does not use οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον).

There is also some interest in the distribution of all three expressions (29, 30, 31) in Plato. It is in contrast to some other Formulae (e.g. ἕτερος, τρόπον, τοιόσδε, τοιοῦτος) that among the more than 40 instances contained in these three lists none are from Lg., although there are 12 from R.

This is the more interesting as the five possibilities 29, 29, 30, 30, 31 tend all to occur in the same works: only Ti. has an instance (one) of $\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{o}\nu \tau\iota$ without also some of the other expressions in the group; only Euthd. has instances (two) of $\eta\tau\tau\acute{o}\nu \tau\iota$ without also others in the group; all the dialogues with Antiformula 29 also show at least $\acute{o}\dot{\upsilon}\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu \tau\iota \mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{o}\nu$ (Prt.) or more often two or more of the remaining expressions. Only $\acute{o}\dot{\upsilon}\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu \tau\iota \mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{o}\nu$, the most numerous of all, occurs often in a dialogue where others in the set do not (in Grg., Ly., Smp., Phd. (3), Prm.(2), Phdr., Plt.).

Summing up. The expressions selected for examination as Formulae in $\tau\iota\varsigma$ may be divided into prepositives or quasi-prepositives and mobiles; the former category is much more numerous than in $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ and may be subdivided into conditionals ($\epsilon\acute{\iota} \kappa\tau\lambda.$) (1) - (4), co-ordinants ($\eta \kappa\tau\lambda.$) (5) - (7), and negatives ($\acute{o}\dot{\upsilon} \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho \kappa\tau\lambda.$) (8) - (12). These, standing in initial position in the great majority of cases, do not, of course, contribute to the influences tending to defer q from peninitial position; rather the opposite, but it does seem probable that peninitial position of q in such cases is due rather to attraction to an individual word than to peninitialism in general. In both $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ and $\tau\iota\varsigma$ the prepositival Formers show a high Formula:Antiformula ratio, but in $\tau\iota\varsigma$ the mobile Formers have on the average a much higher proportion of Formula than the expressions examined under $\acute{\alpha}\nu$.

In the conditional set: $\epsilon\acute{\iota} \tau\iota\varsigma$, $\epsilon\acute{\iota} \delta\acute{\epsilon}/\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho \kappa\tau\lambda. \tau\iota\varsigma$, $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu \tau\iota\varsigma$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu \delta\acute{\epsilon}/\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho \kappa\tau\lambda. \tau\iota\varsigma$, all have fairly high Formula:Antiformula ratios, but the Formulaism of the latter three is probably to be regarded as a reflexion or consequence of that of $\epsilon\acute{\iota} \tau\iota\varsigma$ and they correspondingly have lower ratios: $\epsilon\acute{\iota} \tau\iota\varsigma$ 667:150, $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu \tau\iota\varsigma$ lower with 355:141; then $\epsilon\acute{\iota} \delta\acute{\epsilon} \kappa\tau\lambda.$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu \delta\acute{\epsilon} \kappa\tau\lambda.$ equal with 190:120, 149:90 respectively. Throughout,

the proportion of Formula is highest in Thucydides and lowest in Demosthenes, except in εἰ τις itself, where Plato has the lowest; in εἰ δέ Demosthenes actually has more Antiformula than Formula.

As we might expect (pp.2.3.25 ff.) the main 'cause' of Antiformula is Vq in V-only sentences, WqV in W-V sentences and VqW in V-W sentences. Less predictable is that qWV and qVW are rare in Antiformulaic sentences (i.e. these wordings are mainly due to and accompanied by εἰ τις and appear under Formula); and that in V-W sentences VqW is much more prevalent than is WqV in W-V sentences. In fact in εἰ (p.3.3.11), εἰ (p.3.3.30) and εἰ δέ (p.3.3.42) VqW is absolutely more numerous than WqV - sentences like εἰ (...) λέγεται τις (...) λόγος outnumber those like εἰ (...) λόγος τις (...) λέγεται (contrast proportions on pp.2.3.29 ff. or as summarized on p.2.3.45); that does not apply to εἰ δέ (p.3.3.23), but the prominence of VqW is seen there from its being commoner in Demosthenes than Formulaic qVW - εἰ δέ (...) λέγεται τις (...) λόγος commoner than εἰ δέ τις (...) λέγεται (...) λόγος. Relevant however to the relative paucity of WqV is that many Wq cases must be listed only in Counterformula (εἰ ἕτερόν τι κτλ.). In fact from the tables on pp.3.3.11, 23, 30 and 42 the totals of both WqV and VWq are depressed relative to VqW (52, 13 resp. against 56) by comparison with p.2.3.45 (1407, 187 against 471). But selective exclusion of many Wq from the Formula and Antiformula tables cannot explain why, for example, WVq in Antiformula should be greater relative to VqW (19, 56) than the same item on p.2.3.45 (96, 471); nor why (above) in εἰ δέ VqW should be commoner than qVW ; obs. also that (p.3.3.42) Lq is less subject to the low level of WqV , which is therefore the more rare elsewhere.

As to relations with other Formers, the prepositival and quasi-prepositival Formers do not, of course, co-occur to any worthwhile extent with each other. In the conditional set,

it is εἰ τις κτλ. that normally prevail over other Formulae; with εἰ in particular, (p.3.3.19), εἰ τι τοιοῦτον (1+18/1+18), εἰ τι ἕτερον (1+28/1+28), εἰ τι μᾶλλον (1+29/1+29) are normal (but ἕτερός τις and μᾶλλον τι seem only weakly Formulaic, p. 3.3.131, 134); εἰ with ἄλλος is more complex; εἰ τις prevails in a particular idiom (p.3.3.16) but outside that εἰ ἄλλος τις is normal in Plato, εἰ τις ἄλλος in Demosthenes. On the other hand, εἰ μή τις prevails over εἰ τις μή (1+12/1+12) - but Rule XII, p.2.1.22, is here relevant; and εἰ εἰς τις, εἰ πάνυ τι seem normal, 1+17, 1+23 (these being particularly strong Formulae, pp.3.3.93-4, 113-4). As to εἰ δέ/γάρ κτλ., it does not occur much with peninitial μή, and in most combinations Counterformula and Anticounterformula seem at parity (so our impressions from the lower proportion of Formula to Antiformula are borne out). With εἰς, Anticounterformula again tends to prevail, e.g. εἰς τι τοιοῦτον normal (3+18/3+18); but with ἄλλος, εἰς τις ἄλλος prevails in Thucydides and Plato, εἰς ἄλλος τις in Demosthenes (contrast εἰ above). In εἰς δέ (contrast εἰ δέ) Anticounterformula prevails, giving εἰς δέ τις ἄλλος, εἰς δέ τι τοιοῦτον, εἰς δέ τι μέρος normal (4+16/4+16, 4+18, 4+19) but all in small numbers; with μή there is insufficient evidence.

The co-ordinant set, verbless ἦ, καί, ἀλλά, have in common a low overall Formula:Antiformula ratio (in descending order ἦ 63:62, ἀλλά 16:13, καί 18:38), and that Plato in each has both the greatest number of occurrences and the highest proportion of Formula (ἦ 57:50, καί 11:12, ἀλλά 15:13) but even that not very high; in fact these conjunction expressions are Formulaic if at all only in 'late' Plato (see in particular p.3.3.51) or in idioms like καί τις καί (p.3.3.52). As to relations with other Formers, Counterformula prevails in καί and ἀλλά: καί τις appears only with ἄλλος (6+16), τοιοῦτος (6+18), τρόπον (6+26), ἕτερος (6+28), but is outnumbered by Counterformula in each (6+16 etc.); Counterformula to the

exclusion of καί τις occurs with ποῖος (etc.) (13) ff., σχεδόν (6+15), μέρος (6+19), τοιόσδε (6+20), εἰς (6+23), μικρόν (6+24), πολὺς (6+27)* in ἄλλά, numbers are small and Counterformula prevails. It seems probable that it is really ἡ τις that is Formulaic, and then in a restricted range.

In the negative set, οὐ γάρ (8), οὔτε (9), οὐδέ (9α), μήτε (10), μηδέ (11) and μή (12), we find again a common character, of having both the highest representation and the highest Formula:Antiformula ratio in Plato; here however the expression while rare in others is clearly Formulaic in Plato; μή being slightly different, the total ratios of the other five are Th.2:10, Pl.100:22, Dem.1:3; in Thucydides and Demosthenes the expressions are not only rare but not Formulaic; in Plato the ratio varies - οὐ γάρ 9:6, οὔτε 40:8, οὐδέ 21:2, μήτε 20:2, μηδέ 10:4. Formula (8) is represented mainly by οὐ γάρ τι, so may be an extension of adverbial οὔτι, listed as an exception to Rule XXIII, p.2.2.57 (see p.3.3.58) and the same influence may affect οὔτε τι (p.3.3.60). On μή, initial μή (= lest) gives a ratio of 33:20 (Th.6:9, Pl.22:11, Dem.5:0), peninitial μή after a prepositive 38:25 (Th.6:9, Pl.29:10, Dem.3:5); here again, there may be some influence from adverbial μήτι (p.3.3.69). As to relations with other Formers the numbers of co-occurrences are mostly too small to be significant; οὐ γάρ τι does not seem to prevail over other Formulae (p.3.3.59), πάνυ τι prevails over οὔτε τι (9+17), p.3.3.62; in οὐδέ the Platonic nature of the Formula is visible in that the other authors are represented only in Counterformula (p.3.3.63-4) but in Plato οὐδέ τι ἄλλο prevails 4:2 over οὐδ' ἄλλο τι (9a+16/9a+16). Similarly in μηδέ Thucydides has two of μηδ' ἄλλο τι, Plato two of μηδέ τι ἄλλο (11+16/11+16), p.3.3.67. In μή, ἄλλος τις prevails over μή τις (12+16, 12+16) while with εἰ etc. εἰ/εἰάν μή τις prevails over εἰ/εἰάν τις μή (1+12/1+12, 3+12/3+12). Only with μήτε does Anticounterformula prevail, giving μήτε τι πλέον (10+21), μήτε τι μικρόν

(10+24), μήτε τι μέγα (10+25), to which nothing corresponds in Counterformula; μήτε τι ἄλλο once in Plato, μήτε ἄλλο τι once in Thucydides (10+16/10+16).

In the mobile set of Formers from ποῖος (13) to ἦττον (31) the ratio of Formulaic to Antiformulaic wording varies but is on average higher than for the expressions examined under ἄν (pp.3.2.130); yet all the mobile Formers are W-elements and the attraction of q to W-elements in general (pp.2.1.18 ff., 2.3.44 ff.) must be allowed for, so that the threshold of rejection as a Formula must probably stand at a higher Formula ratio than with ἄν. However many of the expressions examined have ratios that leave, even so, little doubt but that they are Formulaic. If we arrange the expressions in descending order of Formula:Antiformula, the result is:- ποῖος κτλ. (13 - 13c) 127:0, σχεδόν (15) 60:0, πᾶς (17 Second) 15:0, ἦττον (31) 10:0; πάνυ (17 First) 21:1 οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον (30) 20:2; εἷς (23) 88:15, μικρός (24) 26:6, ὁ μὲν/δέ (14) 31:7, μέρος (19) 31:8, βραχύς (22) 19:5, μέγας (25) 22:6; ἄλλος (16) 284:80, τοιόσδε (20) 35:11, τοιοῦτος (18) 108:39, πολὺς (27) 25:10; ἕτερος (28) 45:23, πλέον (21) 13:7, τρόπον (26) 35:20; μᾶλλον (29) 8:11. The above are divided into ranges according to the ratio. The value for ἄλλος does not include those for idiomatic-interrogative ἄλλο τι ἢ and ἄλλο τι elliptic: they have ratios of 17:0 and 54:0 respectively (p.3.3.79), but in the former q is in first and last 'possible' position (Rule VIII, p.2.1.11, ἄλλο τι being grammatically the main clause) and in the latter, q, despite the absence of the conjunction, remains fixed for a similar reason.

The four items in the first range above show no Antiformulaic instances at all and are absolutely Formulaic. The first is the combined total of ποῖος, ὁποῖος, ποιός and οἷος (13 - 13c). In addition to the lack of Antiformula these

have no Counterformulaic cases; Anticounterformula is represented by expressions like ἢ/καὶ ποῖός τις, οὔτε ποιόν τι, εἰ οἷός τις (see 5+13, 6+13, 5+13a, 5+13b, 6+13b, 7+13b, 9a+13b, 1+13c); since this set of Formers are mostly interrogatives or relatives, Rule XI/XII applies and by analogy affects also ποιός. The Formula seems to be represented in all three authors, but is rare in Thucydides and found mostly in Plato, to whom ποιός τις and οἷός τις are confined. In ποῖος and ὀποῖος the majority of cases are in initial (a) position and it seems likely enough in this case that the Formula originated there, mainly because interrogatives and relatives in general are found only comparatively rarely in medial position and then usually because of an idiomatic sentence-structure (τοὺς...ἀναξίλους ποτ' ἄττα φῶμεν γεννᾶν...);. Next in the list of absolutely Formulaic expressions is σχεδόν τι (15); there seems no obvious reason in this case why q should not occasionally appear in other orders; not only however is Antiformula absent but Counterformula occurs only once and doubtfully in σχεδόν...πάνυ τι (p.3.3.78) while Anticounterformula is represented by καὶ/ἀλλὰ σχεδόν τι and σχεδόν δέ τι καὶ μᾶλλον (5+15, 6+15, 15+29). Comparable with the last is ἥττον τι (31), which, curiously, behaves quite unlike μᾶλλον τι (29); Antiformula is totally lacking and it does not seem to co-occur with other Formers at all; it appears mainly in Plato. Also among the absolutely Formulaic is πᾶς τις (17 Second); it is confined almost entirely to affirmative sentences and has no Antiformulaic cases nor Counterformulaic nor Anticounterformulaic; the majority of instances are in Thucydides (Formula:Antiformula Th.9:0, Pl.4:0, Dem.2:0) and in medial (c) position; Thucydides alone has any in initial position. In the next range, just falling short of absolute Formulaism, is πάνυ τι (17 First); this appears in negative sentences only; it has one (doubtful, p.3.3.94) case of Antiformula, none of Counterformula, but Anticounterformula ap-

pears in expressions like εἰ μὴ πάνυ τι, οὔτε...πάνυ τι, σχεδὸν δὲ...πάνυ τι (1+12+17, 9a+17, 15+17). Almost as near to absolutely Formulaic is οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον (30), of which the two 'Antiformulaic' instances are οὐδέν/μηδέν τι... μᾶλλον, which could be counted as Formulaic, and the one case of Counterformula is οὐδέν...μᾶλλον τι (29+30); the strength of οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον as a Formula is a measure of the weakness of μᾶλλον τι (below); it appears only in Plato and mostly in initial (a) position.

With εἶς τις (23) we come to expressions with a fair number of Antiformulaic instances; the Formula:Antiformula ratio is Th.2:1, Pl.80:13, Dem.6:1; the majority of instances are in medial, but the highest Formula:Antiformula ratio is in initial position; this last however is very frequently the case and of less significance than it would be in ἄν because Antiformula with initial Former must be either F(...)Xq or F...q, and where F is a W-element the latter of these is exceptional under Rule XXVII and the former a minority choice (p.2.3.29 ff., WVq). Note that with εἶς τις, while VqF:VFq is 5:4, FqV:FVq is 26:2; other X-elements do not readily postpone q away from the Former. As in a number of other cases the neuter singular is the particularly Formulaic constituent (56:5), but in this case so also is μῖα (10:1). As to relations with other Formers, Anticounterformula in general prevails, even over εἶ τις: εἶ ἔν τι prevails 5:1 over εἶ τι ἔν (1+23/1+23), ἦ ἔν τι and καὶ ἔν τι each occur twice to the exclusion of the opposite (5+23, 6+23), while ἔν τι μέγα, ἐνὶ γέ τῳ τρόπῳ and ἔν τι ἕτερον prevail 2:0, 3:0 and 1:0 over Counterformula (23+25, 23+26, 23+28); there is however one each of εἰάν τι ἔν and ἀλλά τι ἔν (3+23, 7+23). Also mainly in Plato is (σ)μικρός (24) (Th.0, Pl.25:4, Dem. 1:2); it is mainly μικρόν τι and μικρ' ἅττα that are Formulaic; the greatest number of instances and the highest For-

mula:Antiformula ratio are in medial position; the Counterformula and Anticounterformula lists show no decided tendencies. Particularly similar to the last is μέγας (25), which also is a Platonic Formula (Th.1:0, Pl.20:6, Dem.1:0) with most instances overall in medial position and a respectable Formula:Antiformula ratio also there. But in relations with other Formers Counterformula tends to prevail, giving εἴ τι μέγα, εἰάν τις τι μέγα, ἀλλά τι μέγα, μήτε τι μέγα, ἔν τι μέγα, πόλλ' ἄττα μεγάλα, καὶ μεγάλας ἑτέρας τινᾶς... (1+25, 3+24+25, 7+25, 10+25, 23+25, 25+27, 6+25+27+28), which, though occurring once only each, show the tendency, against the paucity of Anticounterformula. Similar also to μικρός is βραχύς (22), in which also it is the neuter singular βραχύ which seems to be really Formulaic; this however is strongly represented in Thucydides as well as Plato, though more Formulaic in the latter (Th.7:4, Pl.11:1, Dem.1:0); in Antiformula the form βραχύ is almost unrepresented, the majority being βραχεῖα(ν). the majority of Formula is in medial position (because of the Platonic contribution), but the highest Formula ratio is in initial (see however on εἶς p.3.3.145 above). Not unlike βραχύ is μέρος (19), but this is even more Thucydidean a Formula: Th.21:3, Pl.6:5, Dem.3:0; it is not unusual that Plato should have the highest proportion of Antiformula. The greatest numbers of both Formula and Antiformula are medial, there is no Antiformula with Former initial, and only Thucydides has initial cases of Formula. The expression does not occur with εἰ or εἰάν (1, 3) but only with εἰ/εἰάν δέ/ γάρ κτλ. (2, 4); typically it is Thucydides who has one case of εἰ δέ...μέρος τι (2+19) and Plato one each of εἴτε τι μέρος and εἰάν δέ τι μέρος (2+19, 4+19); Plato also has one of ἢ μέρος τι (5+19) but it is Thucydides and Demosthenes who have three and two respectively of καὶ μέρος τι (6+19); Plato has two of μικρόν τι μέρος, Demosthenes one of μικρόν μέρος τι (19+24/19+24); μέρος τι οὐ πολύ and μέρος τι μᾶλλον occur

to the exclusion of the opposite wording (19+27, 19+29); and so relations with other Formers confirm both the strong Formulaism of μέρος τι and its concentration in Thucydides and Demosthenes. The only expression remaining in the εἶς range is ὁ μὲν/δέ (14); it is different from the rest in the range, being confined to initial position (so that Antiformula must be the exceptional and minority formulations X...q and WVq); it is strongly represented in Thucydides, absent from Demosthenes, and Plato has the highest proportion of Antiformula (Th.12:0, Pl.19:7). Nothing significant emerges from the Counterformula etc. lists.

The next range, beginning with non-idiomatic ἄλλος, has a higher proportion of Antiformula, but it is still less than equal to 50% of Formula, less than one third of the total; ἄλλος is one of the commonest of expressions; it is Formulaic throughout the authors, but Plato has both highest numbers and highest proportion of Antiformula (Th.30:3, Pl.219:70, Dem.65:7); the highest Formula:Antiformula ratio (see on εἶς, p.45 above) is with initial Former. There seems little room for doubt that ἄλλος τις is Formulaic; outside Plato the Formula:Antiformula ratio is as high as in the preceding range; the ratio of FqV to FVq (i.e. (...)ἄλλος τι (...) λέγεται: ἄλλο (...) λέγεται τι) is 135:0, but VqF:VFq (λέγεται τι (...) ἄλλο: λέγεται (...) ἄλλο τι) is 10:17; q is attracted to the Former far more than to V-elements (or indeed other W-elements); (this statistic is more revealing than FqV:VqF because that would merely indicate the relative frequency of W-V and V-W, q being peninitial in the phrase X-X - see p.2.3.48). In relations with other Formers ἄλλο τις is frustrated by εἶ τι, εἶάν τι, εἶάν δέ τι, οὔτε τι (1+16/1+16, 3+16/3+16, 4+16/4+16, 9a+16/9a+16) but prevails over καί and ἀλλά (6+16/6+16, 7+16/7+16), but Demosthenes prefers καί τινες ἄλλοι· μὴ ἄλλο τι prevails over μὴ τι ἄλλο (12+16/12+16) but εἶ μὴ τι ἄλλο prevails over εἶ μὴ ἄλλο τι (1+12+16/1+12+16)· ἄλλο τι τοιοῦ-

τον and ἄλλω τινὶ τρόπῳ (16+18/16+18, 16+26/16+26) prevail, but merely because of the normal order of the Formers themselves, q being peninitial in the phrase. By and large ἄλλο τι prevails except over the conditional set of Formers. Next in this range are τοιόσδε and τοιοῦτος, which invite comparison but are somewhat different in the word-order of the Formers themselves; τοιόσδε is absent from Demosthenes and commonest in Plato, though the highest Formula:Antiformula ratio is in Thucydides (Th.8:1, Pl.27:10); the majority of both Formula and Antiformula is in medial position (because τοιόσδε tends to be late in the sentence, often in fact final); correspondingly there are fair numbers of V(...)Fq (as well as Fq(...)V), but FVq (τοιόνδε γίγνεται τι) is not found - all Antiformula are of the form pq(...)F or Mq(...)F, Former late and q early (compare and contrast μάλλον (29) below, which also tends to be late in the sentence but more often than not cannot attract q away from earlier positions). As to relations with other Formers, there is one each of εἴ τι τοιόνδε and εἰ τοιόνδε τι (1+20/1+20), but otherwise Anticounterformula prevails: καὶ τοιόνδε τι, ἄλλους τοιούσδε τινάς, ἐν τοιόνδε τι (6+20, 16+20, 20+23), while τοιόνδε τινὰ τρόπον prevails 5:2 over τρόπον τινὰ τοιόνδε (20+26/20+26). Although the last depends merely on the order of the Formers themselves with q peninitial in the phrase, nevertheless τοιόσδε τις seems undoubtedly Formulaic. From it τοιοῦτος differs; apart from Plato it occurs mainly in Demosthenes, and he also, unusually, has the highest proportion of Antiformula (Th.1:3, Pl.85:26, Dem.22:10). As often, there are large numbers in medial position but the highest proportion of Formula is in initial (cf. on εἶς, p.3.3.145); there are plenty cases of VFq (p.3.3.97) but hardly any of FVq (p.3.3.100, FXq). We should perhaps suspect that the expression has ceased to be Formulaic in Demosthenes; in addition to the fairly high proportion of Antiformula, Demosthenes produces both cases of FVq. This impression is not however borne

out by its relations with other Formers: εἴ τις and εἴαν τις both prevail generally over τοιοῦτός τις, but it is Demosthenes who has the one εἰ τοιοῦτό τι (1+18/1+18, 3+18, 3+18); ἡ τις τοιοῦτος prevails in both authors over ἡ τοιοῦτόν τι, but Demosthenes does use the latter (5+18/5+18); ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον prevails over τοιοῦτόν τι ἄλλο, but that depends merely on the order of the Formers (16+18/16+18); on the other hand καὶ τοιοῦτόν τι prevails over καὶ τι... (6+18/6+18) and particularly in Demosthenes. Remaining in this range is πολὺς (27); this divides into two different usages, (A) οὐ πολὺ τι in Thucydides and Plato, (B) others, mainly in Plato and Demosthenes (A Th.3:6, Pl.9:0, B Th.0:1, Pl.10:3, Dem.3:0). In the (A) usage, the Antiformulaic cases are accompanied by an extra W-element, mostly absent in the Formulaic; in the (B) type XF_q occurs (p.3.3.126 VF_q and VWF_q) but FX_q does not, because all the Antiformulaic cases are X_qF. It therefore seems probable that πολὺς τις is genuinely Formulaic; in relations with other Formers, Anticounterformula prevails against the prepositives, giving one each of εἰ πολλάί τινες, καὶ πόλλ' ἄλλα ἕτερα, οὐ γὰρ πολλή τις (1+27, 6+27+28, 8+27); but with other mobile Formers, the result depends merely on the order of the Formers themselves, πόλλ' ἄλλα μεγάλα (25+27) καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς οὐ πολλούς (6+16+27), καὶ τοιοῦτοί τινες πολλοί (6+18+27), μέρος τι οὐ πολὺ (19+27).

With ἕτερος we come to a range where suspicion of non-Formulaism may readily be entertained; it is mainly represented in Plato and Demosthenes (Th.1:0, Pl.34:17, Dem.10:5); the majority of Formulaic instances are in medial position, but it is unusual in having a fair number of Antiformulaic cases with initial Former (p.3.3.129); Antiformula also has a not negligible number of cases of FX_q and F..._q; yet while F_qX:FX_q is 23:5, X_qF:XF_q is 5:4; it seems that the Former does have some force to attract q, but this is subject to a caution (p.3.3.132). Relations with other Formers reinforce

the impression that Formulaism is weak: Counterformula tends to prevail, giving as normalities εἴ τι ἕτερον, εἰ δέ τι ἕτερον, εἴν τι ἕτερον, ἢ τι ἕτερον (1+28, 2+28, 3+28, 5+28), though ἀλλ' ἕτερόν τι (7+28); other combinations are insignificant. Next in this range is πλέον, which, like τοιόσδε, is absent from Demosthenes and at its most Formulaic in Thucydides (Th.6:2, Pl.7:5); the majority of Platonic instances are in (b), of Thucydidean in (c) (cf. μέρος (19)); most cases of Antiformula are $p\bar{q}(\dots)F$ or $M\bar{q}(\dots)F$; there are no cases either of $X\bar{F}q$ or of $F\bar{X}q$; FqX notably outnumbers XqF , but it is difficult to distinguish in that anything other than that $F-X$ outnumbers $X-F$, q being peninitial in the $X-X$ phrase (p.2.3.48). As to relations with other Formers, there are no Anticounterformulaic cases and the normality is indicated by εἴ τι πλέον, μήτε τι πλέον, μή τι πλέον, εἰ οὖν σμικρόν τι πλέον (1+21, 10+21, 12+21, 2+21+24), all, as cases of $p\bar{q}(\dots)F$ or $W\bar{q}(\dots)F$, comparable with Antiformula; cf. μάλλον below. In τρόπον, which follows, most instances are in Plato, but he also has the highest proportion of Antiformula (Th.1:0, Pl.27:20, Dem.7:2), and this is the more important in that almost all cases of Antiformula are in Laws (Lg.5:15, other Plato 22:5); it seems likely that this is a Formula in ordinary Greek, obscured by private developments in Laws. $FqV:FVq$ 25:0, $VqF:VFq$ 9:8. In relations with other Formers, Counterformula prevails; there are three each of ἢ τινα τρόπον, καί τινα τρόπον, ἐνὶ γέ τῳ τρόπῳ (5+26, 6+26, 23+26), to the exclusion of the opposite wording (instances mostly not in Laws); ἄλλον τινὰ τρόπον and τοιοῦτόν τινα τρόπον outnumber τρόπον τινὰ... (16+26/16+26, 18+26/18+26), but that depends merely on the order of the Formers.

In a class by itself is μάλλον, the only expression examined with more Antiformula than Formula. This expression is absent from Demosthenes, and Antiformula is in the majority in both Thucydides and Plato (Th.2:4, Pl.6:7). Like the

same word in relation to ἄν (p.3.2.90 ff.), like πλέον above, (and compare and contrast τοιόσδε, p.3.3.148) this word tends to stand late in a sentence while q remains peninitial or in an X_q position, X_q(...)F. The proportion of VF_q (p.3.3.134) to V_qF does not seem to depend on a sufficient number of cases. It seems likely that, while μᾶλλον and τι are formulaically associated, this is satisfied by ...τι (...) μᾶλλον no less than by μᾶλλον τι, not giving a Formula in the relevant word-order sense (though μᾶλλον...τι seems not to occur, probably because of the late position). In relations with other Formers εἴ τι μᾶλλον, εἰάν τι μᾶλλον, σχεδόν τι μᾶλλον, μέρος τι μᾶλλον (1+29, 3+29, 15+29, 19+29) constitute the norm, and cf. οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον (30).

The above results may be displayed synoptically by tabling the author or authors in which the Formula-Antiformula total mainly occurs against comment on the location of the highest level of Formulaism. The numbers signify: (1) absolutely Formulaic (cf. p.3.3.143); (2) most Formulaic in Plato; (3) least Formulaic in Plato; (4) most Formulaic in Demosthenes; (5) least Formulaic in Demosthenes; (6) authors do not differ in degree of Formulaism.

	all authors	Thuc.& Pl.	Pl.& Dem.
(1)	σχεδόν	πᾶς	ποῖος, ὁποῖος
(2)	καί, μή B, τοιούτος	βραχύς, οὐ πολύ, μᾶλλον	ἦ
(3)	εἴ, ἄλλος	ὁ μὲν/δέ, μέρος, τοιόσδε, πλέον	τρόπον, πολύς
(4)	μή A	_____	
(5)	εἰ δέ, εἰάν, εἰάν δέ.		
(6)			εἶς, ἕτερος.

On the letters A and B above see p.3.3.68. Obs. that in (3) the Thuc.& Pl. cases are most Formulaic in Thucydides, and the Pl.& Dem. most Formulaic in Demosthenes. With an

an expression reasonably well represented throughout, Thucydides is never the most Formulaic; when Plato is less Formulaic, Thucydides is approximately equal in Formulaism to Demosthenes. In addition to the above, the following are mainly confined to Plato, arranged in descending order of Formula:Antiformula: ποιός, ἥττον, οἶος· πάνυ, μήτε, οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον, οὐδέ· σμικρός, οὔτε, μέγα, μηδέ; οὐ γάρ, ἀλλά.

Ch.III (Formulae) ctd.: Section 4: αὐτ-

List of Formulae

While ἄν and τις seem even on superficial consideration to be words whose position in a sentence is often best defined as following some particular word which they habitually do follow, this does not seem so true of αὐτ-. However in the course of investigation not only does it become clear that αὐτ- very often follows its W-element (pp.2.1.18 ff., 2.3.1 ff.) but in some expressions this order seems to be rarely abandoned. While it is undesirable to treat Wq in general as a Formula (cf. pp.1.1.56), the impression that particular expressions or types of expression differentially attract q seems to justify the hypothesis that Formulaism is at work. Both of the expressions listed as Formulae in this section are of the form Wq:-

- (1) expressions like ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ.
- (2) ἕκαστος αὐτῶν.

The latter requires little further definition, other than that it includes ἕκαστος. Formula (1) consists of simple article-noun-αὐτ-οῦ/ῶν expressions; the precise relation between the genitive and W-element (possessive, partitive etc.) does not matter. Expressions like τὰ ἄλλα αὐτῶν δυσχεράσματα and ἕς τε τὸ ἔσω μέτωπον αὐτοῦ have been excluded on the ground that they offer more than one position within the phrase which could satisfy the tendency to the order Wq and it is not clear which of these would qualify to be called Formulaic (instances like the former count as Wq(...)W in the lists at pp.2.3.17 ff.); on the other hand expressions like οὗτος ὁ τρόπος αὐτοῦ (Formula) and πᾶσαν αὐτῶν τὴν δύναμιν (Antiformula) have been accepted together with others in which genitival or concordant elements appear 'outside' the

article. Even so however the other elements in such a substantial phrase would count as W-elements, and there is some evidence that they do tend to attract q away from following the articular expression itself.

The classification system used for ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ is adaptable with no extra requirements for ἕκαστος. The primary division, as in ἄν and many τις Formulae, is: (a) the Former is initial, (b) peninitial following a prepositive, (c) medial. Since the Former is itself an X-element, the significance of instances in which the Former follows the verb is less than in, say, ἄν' hence such instances here form a subdivision of the (c) list: (c1) ...Wq(V), (c2) (...)VWq. Instances in which q is in first and last 'possible' position, e.g.f. ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ as a complete sentence, are omitted; cases like καὶ ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν, in which q is in first and last 'possible' position by Rules (V, XVIII, XIX, XX), are admitted but enclosed in brackets; however cases like (e.g.f.) καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς αὐτῶν σοφοὺς, where q is in first and last position because, among others, of Rule XXV (the last word not being a W-element, the sense 'and the majority of them wise'), are written without brackets. In (a) the mode of introduction of the sentence is indicated, including A for asyndetic (inc. pendent participial phrases) and α for apodotic; in (b) the prepositive is indicated. Where the Former is in apposition to a preceding expression, as παρῆν δὲ καὶ Παρμένισκος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ, the Formula should perhaps then be treated as a free-standing phrase, i.e. the position of q is more confined than otherwise; such phrases are marked @; but not when the Formula is the leading element in the apposition (ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Παρμένισκος). In Antiformula, the same system of (a), (b) and (c) is used as primary division; but thereafter the sub-division is into W-V and V-W categories as in pp.2.3.1 ff. This may show to what extent e.g. the

attraction of the verb (πάρεστιν αὐτοῦ ὁ πατήρ, VqW) militates against Formulaic order; it also yields comparison in general with the lists on pp.2.3.1 ff.

1/1: Formers like ὁ πατήρ

Instances of Formula (1) (a) 0.1.132.2 τὰ τε ἄλλα αὐτοῦ...·

2.35.2 δέ, 36.3 δέ, 85.4 τε,
87.5 πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὸ...· 3.75.4 τε, 115.3 μὲν γάρ· 4.10.4 τε,
30.2 A, 75.1 γάρ, 104.1 δέ· 5.83.3 γάρ, 114.1 δέ· 6.33.4 α,
54.5 τε α, 72.3 μὲν γάρ· 7.44.8 μὲν, 67.2 τε· 8.63.3 τε.
Πλ.Ευθφρ.11α τὴν μὲν οὐσίαν μοι αὐτοῦ...· Γργ.472γ γάρ, 479β A,
502α A· Ευθδ.283α οὖν· Κρα.385γ τὰ μόρια δ' αὐτοῦ..., 386ε δέ,
402δ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς δὴ αὐτοῦ..., 412δ μὲν· Φδ.80γ μὲν· Π.2.
362δ δέ, 369α α· 4.425ε γάρ· 6.485α α· 7.541α δέ· 8.553ε γοῦν·
10.605β A· Σφ.219ε δέ, 240γ A· Φλβ.23γ δέ γε, 38β δὴ· Τι.61γ
δέ· Κριτι.112β γάρ, 113α γάρ, 113β γάρ· N.2.664β δέ· 3.680δ
A· 6.759δ δέ, 761β A, 776ε τε, 783β τε· 7.818α δέ· 9.863γ μὲν·
11.932ε μὲν, 937δ α. Δημ.15.3 A· 39.32 τὸν ἀδελφὸν δ' αὐ-
τοῦ Πάμφιλον· 40.10 A· 43.27 γάρ· 57.38 δέ· 59.67 τε, 75 δέ,
103 δέ, 115 τε.

(b) 0.1 (3.2 καί), 8.2 ὅτεπερ καί,

(10.2 πρὸς), 37.3 καί, (57.6
ἐπί), 81.6 ἦν, 118.2 καί, (126.10 καί), 126.12 καί· 2 (12.4
ἐς), 59.1 ὡς ἢ τε..., 43.2 ἐν ᾧ, (99.3 καί)· 3.22.7 καί, 23.1
ὡς, (60 πρὸς), (106.1 καί)· 4.10.2 καί μὴ, 18.4 ὡς ἂν, 18.4
διὰ τὸ μὴ, (24.2 ἐς), 40.2 εἰ, (80.1 ἐπί), (93.1 ἐγγύς),
(118.11 καί), 125.1 διὰ τό, 132.3 καί· 5.10.6 καί, (29.1 καί),
67.1 καί, (72.3 καί), (84.3 ἐς)· 6.(23.1 πρὸς), (70.3 ἐς),
75.2 καί τῆς τε..., 84.2 ὡςπερ· 7.17.4 καί, 56.1 καί· 8.
(25.2 καί), 78 καί, (104.5 ἐν). Πλ.Χρμ.158γ καί γάρ,
168δ πρὸς ἦν· Λα.(184α ἐπί τε), (184α παρά)· Πρτ.330α οὐδέ,
(330α οὔτε), (333α καί), 334β ἀλλά, 349β οἶον, 349δ καί τὰ
μὲν· Γργ.448β ἥσπερ, (448β ἦ), 453α καί, (471β καί), 483ε ἦ,
512γ καί· Μεν.87α περὶ, 93ε ἀπερ· Λυ.209ε ἦ· IM (281γ ἦ),
292ε καί, 297β ὅτι· Κρα.(392δ ἦ), (394ε καί), 408γ οὐκοῦν τὸ
μὲν..., (428ε καί), (439α καί)· Σμπ.185δ ἐν τῇ κἀτω γάρ αὐ-
τοῦ..., (190β καί), (201ε ἐπειτα), 216δ ὡς, (221δ καί), 221δ
ὅτι καί, (222γ ἐπί)· Φδ.(59β καί), (59β καί), (60δ οὐδέ), 71δ
καί, 73δ οἷς, (111γ κατὰ)· Π.2.360β καί, (368γ περὶ)· 3.407ε
καί, 412γ ὅτι, (414δ καί)· 5.(454ε καί)· 6.496ε καί, 501δ
ἀλλὰ μὴ, (504α καί)· 7.527γ καί γάρ· 8.554δ καί, 564δ καί τὸ
μὲν· 9.590γ καί· 10.598α καί, 605α καί, 613δ ὅτι, 621δ ἐπειδάν·
Θτ.150β τῷ· Φδρ.237α ἵνα, (246α περὶ), (268α ἦ)· Πлт.(284α
καί), (308δ πρὸς)· Φλβ.17β ὅτι, (31β ὡςπερ)· Τι.(56δ ὑπό),
(57γ ἐν)· N.1.624β καί δὴ καί· 3.693α ἵνα, 683δ εἰάν· 7.(799ε
πρὸς)· 10.909δ ἥς· 11.915γ καί, 924δ εἰάν. Δημ. next page

Δημ.14.39 ἤνπερ ποτε· 18.208 οὐχί, (306 μηδέ)· 19.27 ἵνα
 τὴν//προαίρεσιν αὐτοῦ...· 20.(29 καί), (80 πρός)· 21.(83 καί)·
 22.15 πρὶν· 23.111 οἱ· 24.156 ἵνα· 25.65 ὅτι, 67 ὅτι, (99
 καί)· 27.56 ὅς· 35.(8 καί)· 39.(33 ὑπό)· 40.24 ὡς καί, 41
 διότι· 42.(25 ἔπειτα)· 43.60 ὅτι· 44.22 ὡςπερ, 44 ὅτι· 48.6
 ὅτι· 49.10 καί· 59.38 ἄς· 56.5 καί, 7 καί, (42 καί)· 57.(39
 καί), (41 παρά), (44 καὶ τὴν τῶν...)
 59.99 ἀλλά.

(c1) 0.1.22.4, 24.5, 39.3 τε, 79.20, 82.4, 99.3 τε· 2.13.1,
 29.50, 93.20, 95.20· 3.11.7 τε, 16.2, 30.2, 58.2· 4.2.20,
 31.2, 44.2 ...οἱ πλεῖστοι τε αὐτῶν..., 66.30, 107.30, 129.30·
 5.67.2· 6.15.4, 96.1, 100.1 τε· 8.3.10, 6.3, 46.5, 89.3.
 Πλ.Λα.190β· Ευθφρ.14α· Γργ.481β· Μεν.93δ· Λυ.205γ, 209ε, 214β·
 Κρα.394β, 395α, 395δ, 395ε· Φδ.68ε(τ), 110γ· Π.7.530β· 8.547δ,
 564δ· Πρμ.130ε, 143β· Θτ.160ε, 202β· Φδρ.242ε· Σφ.218δ, 258α,
 260ε· Πλτ.309γ· Τλ.18γ, 35α, 36α, 37ε, 56γ, 60ε, 62α, 63α,
 79δ, 81β, 92α· Ν.1.631ε, 645γ· 3.698ε· 4.704α, 704α· 5.736β·
 11.924γ· 12.948ε. Δημ.14.29, 30· 15.3· 18.160, 204· 19.39·
 21.68, 224(τ)· 24.138· 25.44, 47· 27.29, 29, 34· 35.60· 43.40·
 44.170· 47.530, 580· 49.63, 67· 52.200· 53.70· 58.27· 59.74,
 94, 95, 100.

(c2) 0.1.31.2, 56.2, 90.1 τε, 121.3· 2.65.6· 3.20.3, 52.2,
 112.5· 4.28.5, 42.4, 96.5, 123.4, 126.3· 5.106· 6.79.3·
 8.5.1, 39.3 (= 41.4), 108.5. Πλ.Χρμ.156β· Πρτ.316δ, 330ε·
 Ευθφρ.2γ· Απ.34α· Γργ.453α· Μεν.86α· Μνξ.240β· Ευθδ.271γ,
 276δ· Κρα.392β, 392ε· Σμπ.189δ· Φδ.60α, 76γ, 95α, 99ε· Π.1.
 336ε· 2.376α, 377γ· 3.411δ· 4.433δ· 6.494δ, 509α· 8.550α· 9.
 577δ· 10.607δ· Πρμ.144γ· Θτ.156γ· Φδρ.263ε, 270δ· Πλτ.305ε·
 Φλβ.44δ· Τλ.42α, 51β· Ν.3.702γ· 7.809α· 10.886β· 12.946α.
 Δημ.15.15· 18.14, 36, 43, 252· 19.124, 249, 319· 20.83· 24.31,
 111, 125, 138· 27.7· 35.36· 40.33· 43.33· 47.4· 53.7· 56.19·
 57.39, 69· 59.58, 110.

In (a) of the above Formula instances, the indication
 (for example) δέ means a wording like ὁ δέ πατήρ αὐτοῦ
 those like ὁ πατήρ δέ αὐτοῦ are quoted so as to make that
 clear. In (b), Dem.19.27 is worded ἵνα τὴν ὅτ' ἄδωροδόκητος
 ὑπῆρχε προαίρεσιν αὐτοῦ...ἀναμνησθέντες· perhaps that should
 be omitted on the grounds mentioned on p.3.4.1 above; it has
 been included on the purely formal ground that Rule XV (p.
 2.1.12) leaves no 'possible' position between the article and
 the noun; but for practical purposes the passage is perhaps
 more like ἔς τε τὸ ἔσω μέτωπον αὐτοῦ. Antiformula follows
 overpage.

Instances of Antiformula (1) (a) $W...qV$ @.2.49.7 τῶν γε ἀκρω-
τηρίων ἀντίληψις αὐτοῦ
ἐπεσήμαινεν. Πλ.Μνξ.237α τὴν εὐγένειαν οὖν πρῶτον αὐτῶν ἐγ-
κωμιάζωμεν.

On the above see pp.2.2.86 ff. Section (a) continues.

(a) WVq @.1.138.6 τὰ δὲ ὅστ' ἄφασι κομισθῆναι αὐτοῦ... 5.60.
6 τὰ μέντοι χρήματα ἐδήμευσαν αὐτοῦ.

(b) $pqWV$ @.1.94.2 καὶ αὐτῆς τὰ πολλὰ κατεστρέφοντο 2.21.3
ὡς, 89.5 μὴ δὴ αὐτῶν... 4.14.2 ὅτι περ, 109.5 καὶ
8.45.2 ἵνα αὐτῶν μὴ... Πλ.Γργ.504δ ὅπως ἂν Π.2.405ε ὅτι
4.439β ὅτι Φδρ.265δ εἰ Σφ.250ε καθάπερ ἂν Πлт.257γ πρὶν
ἂν αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἔλθωμεν, 268β ἐφ' ὅσον Ν.9.863β ὅτι περ
ἂν... Δημ.49.61 ὅσοις.

$pqWV$ represents cases of qWV (pp.2.3.12 ff.) in which
W is peninitial following a prepositive so that q directly
follows the same prepositive. In Th.I.94.2, 89.5, IV.109.5,
this results in infringement of Rule XX (p.2.1.16); VIII.45.
2 infringes Rule XII (p.2.1.10) and Πлт.257c Rule V (p.2.1.7);
cause of both infringements and Antiformulaic order seems to
be peninitialism. Section (b) continues.

(b) $pW...q$ Πλ.Σφ.240δ καὶ τὴν τέχνην εἶναι τινα ἀπατητικὴν
αὐτοῦ Ν.11.930α εἰάν ὁ αἰ ψυχαι...

See p.2.2.89. Section (b) continues.

(b) $pW...qV$ @.1.21.1 καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ χρόνου αὐτῶν... ἐκνικη-
κότ' α' 6.102.3 καὶ Πλ.Απ.18δ ὅτι οὐδέ Π.6.503γ
καὶ τὸ βέβαιον ἅπαν αὐτῶν ἐξοίχεται Ἐτ.193ε καὶ Φδρ.257β ἵνα
καὶ ὁ ἐραστὴς ὅδε αὐτοῦ...

See pp.2.2.86 ff. Section (b) continues.

(b) $pW(...)Vq$ @.1.49.5 καὶ μέχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου πλεύσαντες
αὐτῶν 2.4.5 καὶ αἱ θύραι ἀνεψγμέναι ἔτυχον
αὐτοῦ 3.72.3 οὐπερ 5.41.1 καὶ Πλ.Πρτ.331γ εἰ τις Π.5.
471β οὐτε 10.605γ οὐ μέντοι Φδ.71γ καὶ Δημ.44.28 ἀλλὰ
γάρ.

Th.I.49.5 above infringes Rule V (p.2.1.7); we now pass
to (c).

Antiformula (1) ctd. (c) qWV Θ.2.5.5 καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔφασαν αὐτῶν
 τοῦς ἀνδρας ἀποκτενεῖν, 46 τὰ
 δὲ αὐτῶν τοῦς παῖδας... θρέφει· 7.66.3· 8.50.2. Πλ.Μεν.94δ·
 Μνξ.239β· Εὐθδ.286γ· Κρα.390ε, 400δ, 417β ταύτην αὐτοῦ τὴν
 δύναμιν ἐπονομάζων, 422β, 437α· Φδ.65ε· Π.5.476γ· 6.503β ...
 συμφύεσθαι αὐτῆς τὰ μέρη ὀλιγάκις ἐθέλει· 9.591γ· Θτ.156δ,
 180δ· Φδρ.278α· Πλτ.273ε· Ν.2.662δ, 667β· 7.803γ· 10.909δ.
 Δημ.19.237· 58.15.

Cases of qWV with medial W are remarkably numerous;
 among causes are a possible attraction to an alien verb (V',
 cf. p.2.2.67 and 74 ff.), in Th.II.5.5 and others, esp. R.
 VI 503b; peninitialism on the part of q (Th.II.46 and others);
 emphasis on the word preceding q (Phd.65e and others).

(c) W...qV Πλ.Πλτ.292α πάντως τοῦνομα οὐδεὶς αὐτῆς...· Ν.1.
 627γ· 2.668γ σχολῆ τὴν γε ὀρθότητα τῆς βουλήσεως
 ἢ καὶ ἀμαρτίαν αὐτοῦ διαγνώσεται.

See pp.2.2.86 ff. Lg.II 668c has been listed above
 on the assumption that q 'belongs' to the articular expres-
 sion underlined; but it is possible that in this and similar
 cases q 'belongs' to the whole noun complex (cf. Euthphr.14a,
qVW below); if so, they should be excluded from these lists
 on the grounds mentioned on p.3.4.1; this instance is not
 listed in pp.2.2.86 ff. and has been counted as WqV in the
 tables on pp.2.3.12 ff. Section (c) continues.

(c) Wq Πλ.Απ.19β ...τὴν ἀντωμοσίαν δεῖ καταγῶναι αὐτῶν·
 Πρτ.310β· Λυ.204ε· Κρα.424α· Π.3.407δ· Θτ.155ε, 173ε·
 Τλ.39ε. Δημ.54.26.

(c) qVW Θ.8.109.1 καὶ ἐνταῦθα γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐξεπεπτώκεσαν οἱ φρου-
 ροί. Πλ.Εὐθφρ.14α ἀλλ' ὅμως τὸ κεφάλαιον αὐτῶν ἐστὶν
τῆς ἀπεργασίας...· Γργ.516δ ἵνα αὐτοῦ δέκα ἐτῶν μὴ ἀκούσειαν
τῆς φωνῆς· Κρα.404δ, 393ε· Φδ.92δ(τ), 118α· Π.7.529γ· 10.
 600δ· Τλ.56δ. Δημ.27.58 κάσας αὐτοῦ διαλύσω τὰς ἀπολογίας.

The above included qVWV (Gra.393e, Phd.92d, 118a). On
 Dem.27.58 cf. R.VI 503c, (b) pW...qV, p.3.4.5; 'all' in
 these is taken as adverbial. Section (c) continues overpage
 with VqW.

Antiformula (1) (c) ctd. VqW 0.1.138.1 βασιλεὺς δέ//ἐθαύμασε
 τε αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν... 2.42.2,
 86.6, 89.11* 3.13.7, 44.4, 52.2, 62.5* 4.12.1, 52.3* 5.11.1,
 11.1, 72.3* 7.30.2, 36.1, 48.5, 73.1. Πλ.Πρτ.310δ, 343α*
 Απ.22β, 33δ* Κρι.47γ* Γργ.448ε, 463α, 502β* Λυ.223α* Μνε.236γ,
 239δ, 240β* Ευθδ.290γ* Κρα.391β, 398γ* Συμπ.182α, 182γ, 191β*
 Φδ.68δ, 82ε* Π.2.367α* 3.393ε, 396ε* 5.469α, 476β* 6.498α* 7.
 517γ* 8.554γ* Πρμ.143β* Θτ.142γ, 168ε σπουδάσαι αὐτοῦ περὶ
 τὸν λόγον, 178β* Φδρ.247ε, 258γ, 268α* Πлт.257γ, 272β, 311β*
 Φλβ.13β* Κριτι.115α* Ν.1.630ε, 638γ* 2.656β, 657β* 5.737α*
 7.802β* 10.905β. Δημ.22.33* 27.58* 43.83, 84* 59.37.

Tht.168e above infringes Rule V (p.2.1.7); (c) continues.

(c) VqVW 0.2.84.2 ἤλπιζε γὰρ αὐτῶν οὐ μενεῖν τὴν τάξιν. Πλ.
 Λα.186α προθυμούμενοι αὐτοῦν ὅτι ἀρίστας γενέσθαι
 τὰς ψυχάς.

V...qW 0.8.108.4 ἐπαγγέλλας στρατιὰν αὐτῶν τοῖς βελτίσ-
 τοῖς. Πλ.Π.4.440γ οὐκ ἐθέλει πρὸς τοῦτον αὐτοῦ
 ἐγείρεσθαι ὁ θυμὸς* 6.497δ ...δεδηλώκατε μακρὰν καὶ.../αὐτοῦ
 τὴν ἀπόδειξιν* Ν.1.645β δεῖσθαι ὑπηρετῶν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀγωγὴν.

On R.IV 440c above, it has been assumed that the main
 verb is the appropriate one to count as V; but in this case
 as also VI 503b in qWV, p.3.4.6 above, perhaps the infinitive
 is V, as if the other were 'impersonal'. On V...qW, see
 pp.2.2.89 ff. Section (c) continues.

(c) V...qWV Πλ.Π.10.616γ καὶ ἰδεῖν...τὰ ἄκρα αὐτοῦ τῶν δεσμῶν
 τεταμένα.

Cf. on Ig.II 668c, W...qV, p.3.4.6; (c) continues.

(c) qW 0.3.83.3 ἐκ τοῦ πολυτρόπου αὐτῶν τῆς γνώμης* 5.9.6
 ἐν τῷ ἀνειμένῳ αὐτῶν τῆς γνώμης. Πλ.Πρτ.325β ἡ τε
 ζημία...θάνατος αὐτῶν τοῖς παῖσι* Π.1.346β αὕτη γὰρ αὐτῆς ἡ
 δύναμις* 10.615δ σχεδὸν τι αὐτῶν τοὺς πλείστους τυράννους.

On the two Thucydidean instances above, cf. preceding
 paragraph. That ends the lists of Formula and Antiformula.
 Numerical summary:

	(a)	(b)	(1)	(2)	total
F			(c)		
Th.	19	41/22	28/19	19	107
Pl.	35	74/43	44	39	187
Dem.	9	32/19	28/21	24	93
	<u>63</u>	<u>147</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>82</u>	<u>387</u>

table continues

Af	(a)	(b)	(c)	total
Th.	3	12	22	37
Pl.	1	18	95	114
Dem.	—	<u>2</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>
	4	<u>32</u>	<u>124</u>	<u>158</u>

Figures following the oblique (/) in the table above represent in (b) the result of excluding bracketed instances, in (c) of excluding the @, appositional, instances. Antiformulaic wording is very rare (1) with the Former in initial position, (a), (2) in general in Demosthenes; it is proportionately commonest (i) in Plato, (ii) with the Former medial; note that in (c) the total of Antiformula in Plato is greater than that of Formula, whereas in the other two authors Antiformula either falls well short or barely reaches the numbers even of (c1) and (c2) separately. The table should be compared with the figures for corresponding categories on pp.2.3.12 ff., where W includes both ὁ πατήρ and other types of expression. If in tables (2)(a) and (2)(b), we total the W_q cases (W_qV+VW_q) and compare them with the non- W_q cases (qWV, VqW etc.etc.), we obtain a W_q :other ratio of Th.118:87, Pl.346:281, Dem.107:54; Plato has the highest proportion of non- W_q , Demosthenes the least (as in the table immediately above); but in the table above Formula:Antiformula is Th. 107:37, Pl.187:114, Dem.93:9; wordings like ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ are therefore given greater preference than W_q in general. Further, the commonest single wording in our Antiformula lists is $V_q(\dots)W$; now in the tables on pp.2.3.12 ff. this totals 140 against the W_qV+VW_q total of 571, while in our lists above here the 69 instances of V_qW form a far smaller proportion relative to the 387 cases of W_qV+VW_q . Before we pass to Former (2), there are instances of Counterformula etc.

Instance of Counterformula (1+?) 1+2 Πλ.Φλβ.55δ τὰς τοῖνον
ἡγεμονικὰς διαληπτέον
ἐκάστων αὐτῶν χωρίς.

Instance of Anticounterformula (1+?) 1+2 Πλ.Τι.53β ...τὴν διάταξιν
αὐτῶν ἐπιχειρητέον ἐκάσ-
των...δηλοῦν.

2/2, Former ἕκαστος (p.3.4.1).

Instances of Formula (2) (a) Πλ.Πρτ.330α δέ· Γργ.450β Α,
500δ δέ· Φδ.98β οὖν· Π.10.612ε

Α· Ν.10.910α τε.

(b) Θ.7.(67.2 πρόσ). Πλ.Γργ.515δ

ὅτι· IM (295δ πρόσ), 302ε οὐ γάρ·
Φδ.97α ὅτε μὲν· Πρμ.158α εἰ γάρ· Θτ.173γ καί· Φλβ.(25ε ἐπὶ)·
Τι.(48β καί), 54δ οἶον, 87α πρόσ ὃν ἄν· Ν.8.835α οἶα· 12.
946α ὃν ἄν. Δημ.24.133 οὐς· 59.20 ἦν μὲν οὖν,(48 ὡς).

(c1) Πλ.Πρτ.315γ· Γργ.524β· IM 302ε· Φδ.104β, 104β· Π.5.477δ,
478α· 10.614α· Πρμ.141δ, 143γ, 143δ, 143δ· Θτ.175γ,
204δ· Σφ.267δ· Φλβ.18ε· Τι.49ε. Δημ.18.17· 20.23.

(c2) Πλ.Πρτ.353δ· Γργ.487β· Ευθδ.301α, 306ε καί μοι δοκεῖ εἶς
ἕκαστος αὐτῶν...εἶναι· IM 302γ ὅτι τυγχάνοιεν ἑκατέρω
μὲν αὐτῶν εἶναι πεπονθυῖα· Κρα.423ε· Π.1.349δ· 7.523ε· Πρμ.
159δ· Θτ180γ· Φδρ.247α· Σφ.259β· Πλτ.307β· Φλβ.31β· Κριτι.
120β· Ν.7.803α. Δημ.18.265· 20.87, 137· 27.40· 30.30· 44.59.
50.7.

Instances of Antiformula (2) (b) p_qWV Πλ.Σφ.254δ οὐκοῦν αὐτῶν
ἕκαστον...ἐστίν. Δημ.
21.165 ἀλλ' αὐτῶν ἕκαστος...

p_WV_q Πλ.Γργ.506δ ἦτις ἑκάστῳ
ἀποδέδοται αὐτῶν.

p_{FW}_qV Πλ.Πρμ.164δ ἀλλ' ἕκαστος//ὁ ὄγκος αὐτῶν...ἐστίν.

The letter F is used to indicate the Former when it is necessary to distinguish it from other W-elements; otherwise it is represented by W. Both instances in p_qWV above infringe Rule XX: pp.2.2.44 and 46. We pass now to (c).

(c) qWV Θ.6.69.2 καὶ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτῶν ἑκατέρων...προυμάχον-
το... Πλ.Ιων534γ τὰ δὲ ἄλλα φαῦλος αὐτῶν ἑκαστός
ἐστίν· Πρτ.330α· Φδ.78δ· Π.7.520ε· Σφ.247α· Φλβ.19α, 33β, 52ε·
Τι.40β· Ν.7.822α τὴν αὐτὴν γὰρ αὐτῶν ὁδὸν ἕκαστον...διεξέρχε-
ται· 12.957β.

w_qv Πλ.Ν. 7.822β ...ἕκαστον πλαινόμενον αὐτῶν δεῖ ζῆν...

qVW Πλ.Πρτ.330β ποῖόν τι αὐτῶν ἐστίν ἕκαστον;· Κρα.385ε
ἰδίᾳ αὐτῶν ἢ οὐσίᾳ εἶναι ἑκάστῳ· Π.7.523γ δάκτυλος
μὲν που αὐτῶν φαίνεται...ἕκαστος.

Cra.385e above appears to mean 'each of them to have its own essence in its own individual way': ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστος is similar to ὡς ἕκαστος (ISJ ἴδιος VI 2).

Antiformula (2) (c) ctd. V_{qW} 0.7.87.2 ἐδίδοσαν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐκά-
 ποτε ἦν αὐτῶν ἓν καὶ πολλὰ ἐκάτερον. Πλ.Σφ.234α·Φλβ.23ε πῆ
 στφ... Τι.36β· Ν.1.634γ· 2.
 670γ· 3.701ε. Δημ.18.205, 219(τ)· 24.124(τ)· 59.19.

V... qW Πλ.Φλβ.18ε ὡς ἐστὶν ἓν καὶ πολλὰ αὐτῶν ἐκάτερον. Δημ.
 21.170 ἐξεῖναι... ὑβρίζειν αὐτῶν ἐκάστῳ

qW Πλ.Ν.10.903δ κατὰ τὸ πρέπον αὐτῶν ἕκαστον.

W_{qF} Δημ.2.24 καὶ καθ' ἓν αὐτῶν ἕκαστον ἐν μέρει.

W_{qFV} Πλ.Πρμ.165β διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ἐνδὲς αὐτῶν ἐκάστου λαμ-
 βάνεσθαι.

The general classification used above is, apart from F
 (p.3.4.9) the same, with some omissions, as that of Formula
 1, p.3.4.2. As in that case, the numbers of qWV are re-
 markably high; in Plato in fact here they outnumber V_{qW}
 (in Th.VI.69.2 αὐτῶν may be 'self'). Numerical summary:

F	(a)	(b)	(c)		total
			(1)	(2)	
Th.		1/0			1
Pl.	6	12/9	17	16	51
Dem.	—	3/2	2	7	12
	6	16	19	23	64
Af Th.			2		2
Pl.		3	25		28
Dem.		1	5		6
		4	32		36

The overall Formula:Antiformula ratio is distinctly less
 than with Former (1) (p.3.4.8). Against the hypothesis that
 the expression is Formulaic is also the above-noted high pro-
 portion of qWV ; q seems readily attracted (cf. p.3.4.6) into
 a position following an emphatic word. On the other hand
 VW_{q} (Formula, (c2)) is commoner than we expect by comparison
 with the tables on pp.2.3.12 ff, while in (a) and (b) the
 Formula:Antiformula ratio is quite high (cf. pp.3.4.7-8).

Chapter Four: Conclusions.

(I) In general

The prime finding of the study to this point must be that grammatical relations do matter in determining the position of at least that type of postpositive to which belong $\alpha\upsilon\tau-$, $\mu-$, $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ and $\tau\iota\varsigma$ (pp.1.1.12 ff. and 58, contrast 1.1.39 ff. and 2.1.18 ff), due to the discovery that not only $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ (Rule XXIV) but also $\mu-$, $\tau\iota\varsigma$, and even $\alpha\upsilon\tau-$ (Rules XXV ff.) do not come later than directly after 'X-elements', and that cases of (...)X...q are genuinely exceptional (pp.2.3.44 ff.).

Now the definition of 'postpositive' leads to a prediction that ...q...X and ...qX should be indifferent, reducing to a single entity ...q(...)X (p.2.1.21); that is by and large true, except for certain particular expressions such as ... $\mu\omicron\iota$ $\delta\omicron\mu\epsilon\tilde{\iota}$ (p.3.2.97), where the verb itself seems to be of postpositival status, so that the expression falls under the rules of mutual postpositival relations; by Rules XXIV ff., X...q is an exception, and so such cases may be so classed, and the interest emerging therefrom depends on their position in that class (e.g. postponement from the position Xq, whether X is initial or not, seems to depend on the same patterns and forces as postponement from peninitial position - p.2.2.74 and context). Among regular wordings we are thus left, in this particular kind of classification, with ...q(...)X and (...)Xq(...) as alternatives, and with the hypothesis that the ratio between them may be of stylometric interest, a hypothesis which tends to be confirmed by pp.2.3.1 ff.; see for example the percentages on p.2.3.46 and the comparison of authors' practice on pp.2.3.50 ff.

As to variations between different works of the same author: in the tables on pp.2.3.29 ff. ($\tau\iota\varsigma$), if qWV and WqV are reckoned as 100, the ratio between them for the works

Hp.Mi.- Phd. inc. (following the conventional ordering of the tables) is 26.3 : 73.6, for R. 35 : 65, for Prm. - Criti. inc. 36.8 : 63.1, and for Lg. 55 : 45; on pp.2.3.32 ff., a similar set of ratios for $qVW+VqW : VWq$ is, for the same groups as above, 75.8 : 24.2, 74.2 : 25.8, 68.3 : 31.6, 80.1 : 19.8; in the table on pp.2.3.34 ff., the ratio $qW : Wq$ is as follows - Prt. 4:30, Grg. 6:26, Cra. 7:17, Smp. 10:13, Phd. 22:27, R. 70:83, Prm. 14:10, Tht. 19:21, Phdr. 20:9, Sph. 13:18, Plt. 33:10, Phlb. 34:7, Ti. 19:7, Lg. 152:61. It seems that there is within Plato a shift through time away from Wq (and wordings which include it) towards qW (and ditto), but this change occurs at different stages for different expressions. In the table on p.1.1.16, Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides and Demosthenes have a proportion of deferred instances of 16%, 50%, 70% and 72% respectively, while the greatest single difference between Homer and Herodotus is the frequency of Vq ; it seems therefore that the growing tendency for deferment from Homer through Herodotus to Attic prose also continues to grow within Attic, and this is supported by the table on p.2.3.46, where, for instance, under $\alpha\upsilon\tau-$, Demosthenes has the highest proportion of Wq of all three authors, also of VWq , under $\tau\iota\zeta$ the highest proportion of Vq and of WVq , also in all postpositives the highest proportion of $V\dots q$, in which q is necessarily deferred from peninitial position. Plato however runs against this tendency by being more 'conservative' from the point of view of deferment than either Thucydides or Demosthenes on p. 1.1.16, while on p.2.3.46 he often has the highest proportion of early-position wordings such as qV ($\alpha\upsilon\tau-$), qW ($\tau\iota\zeta$), qVW ($\alpha\upsilon\tau-$ & $\tau\iota\zeta$), qWV ($\alpha\upsilon\tau-$); it seems likely that this is related somehow to the above-mentioned shift from Wq to qW . The change within Plato is not mainly due to change through time in underlying Attic usage but to increase in a personal peculiarity of style which already existed at the beginning; that is not to say that it is not stylometrically useful, for such

a change may well be unconscious and not controlled by the author. The matter is not however simple.

If in the corpus of Antipho we count the $qV:Vq$ ratios (cf. pp.2.3.1 ff.) of the four postpositives studied (ignoring sentences with W-elements and those with two or more V-elements unless both or all are on the same side of q), the results are as follows. In Spp. 1, 5, and 6 the ratios are, $\alpha\upsilon\tau$ - 26:55, μ - 42:32, $\alpha\nu$ 87:12, $\tau\iota\zeta$ 37:5; for $\tau\iota\zeta$ this is a far smaller proportion of Vq than in Thucydides, Plato, and Demosthenes (p.2.3.46); no comparison is available for $\alpha\nu$ for μ - as for $\tau\iota\zeta$ there is a high proportion of qV , but not so high as in Plato; for $\alpha\upsilon\tau$ - the proportion of Vq is higher even than in Demosthenes. When we turn to the Tetralogies, the rate of occurrence of μ - and $\tau\iota\zeta$ is lower; in the case of μ - this is probably because in the abstract an accuser has less occasion than a defendant to mention his own situation; the rate of occurrence of $\alpha\nu$ is about the same as in 1, 5 and 6, that of $\alpha\upsilon\tau$ - somewhat higher in the Tetralogies. As to ratios, we find that $\tau\iota\zeta$ and $\alpha\nu$ are about the same as before with 10:0 and 56:9 respectively, but that in $\alpha\upsilon\tau$ - and μ -, especially the former, qV has become almost rare: $\alpha\upsilon\tau$ - 8:59, μ - 11:24. This is perhaps to be regarded as favouring the view that the Tetralogies are by a different author. It is possible, however, that while Xq ratios do change through time either because of change in underlying linguistic usage or to change in an author's style, they may also differ between different styles open to be chosen by the same author at the same time. On the hypothesis that the tendency to the order Vq results from the minimal complete utterance involving a postpositive (p.2.1.23 ff.), it is possible that in a simpler or more naive style there will be more Vq , the minimal complete utterance being incorporated unchanged into the longer sentence; as to Antipho, it could be that the choice of a simpler style redu-

ces ἄν and τις to Formulaic expressions (mostly οὐκ ἄν and εἰ τις), hence to qV, but αὐτ- and μ- (which have few Formulae) to the Vq position. Even in 1, 5 and 6 the proportion of Vq in αὐτ- is peculiarly high (in view of the high proportion of qV in the others).

Miscellaneous There now follow some particular points of interest emerging from Chapters II and III.

Rule I:- p.2.2.1: deferment of 'indefinite' ἄν (i.e., with subjunctive) confined to Laws.

Rule V:- p.2.2.8: deferment of q 'belonging' to a prepositional phrase to a point beyond the end of the phrase is due to assimilation to the wording WVq, except for two cases of preposition-verb-q, in both of which the 'preposition' is ἐντός. p.2.2.9: μ- often appears promoted from its prepositional phrase, but only αὐτ- and τις are exceptional through deferment.

Rule VII:- p.2.2.10-11: δοξάζειν τι ὧν... is 'exceptionally' replaced by δοξάζειν ὧν τι..., but compare ἔστιν ὅστις. See also pp.2.2.14, 26, 34: many 'exceptions' are due to instances where a relative clause as a whole is a W-element to τι, especially in Pl.Tht., and Demosthenes (particularly 20).

Rule X:- p.2.2.17: obs. list of cases in which the convention of taking participle and common element (e.g. subject or object of participle and main) as a single expression breaks down.

Rule XII:- p.2.2.25: conversational/courtroom formula 'Don't heckle me', 'Don't answer that...' habitually breaks Rule.

Rule XIII:- p.2.2.28: ὡς αὐτοῖς οἷ τε (NOT μέν) frequent in Thucydides; εἰάν/ὅταν τις M μέν (NOT τε) in Plato and Demosthenes.

Rule XIV:- next page.

Rule XIV:- p.2.2.28: no exceptions with $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\text{-}$ or $\mu\text{-}$, but frequent with $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ and $\tau\iota\varsigma$ Formulae. p.2.2.32: infringements mostly $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\kappa \acute{\alpha}\nu$, $\pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu$, + $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\nu$, $\delta\acute{\eta}\kappa\omicron\upsilon$, $\epsilon\acute{\iota} \tau\iota\varsigma$, $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron \tau\iota + \acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$, $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\nu \tau\iota\varsigma \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ is found, but not $\acute{\alpha}\nu \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$.

Rule XV:- p.2.2.35, 36: $\dots/\acute{\omega}\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\omicron\iota\kappa\epsilon\nu/\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\text{-}$ a standard exception, also $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\eta, \alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\text{-}$ where $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\eta$ is possibly postpositival.

Rule XX:- p.2.2.44: $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\text{-}$ frequent in Thucydides, elsewhere truly, not merely formally, exceptional. p.2.2.46: $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon} \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho \alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\text{-}$, $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\kappa \acute{\alpha}\nu \alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\text{-}$, $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon} \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho \acute{\alpha}\nu \alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\text{-}$ not very rare (in Demosthenes in fact normal), but $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\kappa \alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\text{-}$ not found at all with postpositival $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\text{-}$. 2.2.47: $\mu\grave{\eta} \alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\text{-}$ not so exceptional as $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\kappa \alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\text{-}$ with intervention of $\tau\iota\varsigma$, induction makes $\mu\grave{\eta} \tau\iota\varsigma \alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\text{-}$ fairly numerous; $\acute{\omicron}\tau' \alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\text{-}$ is confined to Demosthenes.

Rule XXI:- p.2.2.49: $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon} \mu\text{-}$ occurs very frequently in the formula $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon} \mu\omicron\iota \delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}$, which appears both as an independent utterance and as the main clause of a complex sentence; also $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon} \mu\omicron\iota M \delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ not found, for intervention of M produces either $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\kappa M \mu\omicron\iota \delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ or $\delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota} \mu\omicron\iota$ but when no M intervenes, $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon} \delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota} \mu\omicron\iota$ is rare, $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon} \mu\omicron\iota \delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ normal; outside this formula, $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon} \mu\text{-}$ occurs once only, $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\kappa \acute{\alpha}\nu \mu\text{-}$ three times.

Rule XXII:- pp.2.2.51, 53, 54: $\epsilon\acute{\iota} \acute{\alpha}\nu$ not found, though there are cases of $\epsilon\acute{\iota} \tau\iota\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu$, $\epsilon\acute{\iota} \pi\omicron\tau' \acute{\alpha}\nu \acute{\omicron}\tau\iota \acute{\alpha}\nu$ ('that'), $\mu\grave{\eta}\nu \acute{\alpha}\nu$ not found.

Rule XXIII:- p.2.2.55: $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \tau\iota\varsigma$ adverbial confined to expressions like $\epsilon\acute{\iota} \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \tau\iota\varsigma$. p.2.2.56: $\mu\grave{\eta} \tau\iota\varsigma$, which is Formulaic when $\mu\grave{\eta}$ is a relative or negative following a prepositive ($\epsilon\acute{\iota} \mu\grave{\eta} \tau\iota\varsigma \kappa\tau\lambda.$), is otherwise exceptional; the exceptions are confined almost entirely to the adverb $\mu\grave{\eta}\tau\iota$ and $\mu\grave{\eta}$ interrogative, though there fairly frequent. p.2.2.57: $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon} \tau\iota\varsigma$ is exceptional, the exceptions confined almost entirely to $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon} \tau\iota$ adverbial and $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\kappa \acute{\alpha}\nu \tau\iota\varsigma$ (induction); though $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\kappa \acute{\alpha}\nu \tau\iota\varsigma$ is common, $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\kappa \acute{\alpha}\nu \tau\iota$ is not found.

Rule XXV:- pp.2.2.65-6: many cases of V/MqM and MVMq; with V/MqM, compare VMMq, p.2.2.62. 2.2.73: as a cause of deferment from the Vq position, unit-formation is a minority pattern, just as in deferment from peninitial position; but (p.2.2.74) it seems to increase in Demosthenes. p.2.2.73: emphasis-motivated colon-formation as cause of deferment from the Xq' position; cf. also pp.2.2.81 ff., 86 ff., 95 ff., 101 ff., (102 cf. 1.1.31), 106 ff., 109 ff. p.2.2.76: Vq a primary phenomenon but V'q due to patterning resulting from colon-formation. p.2.2.84: in the syntactical structure *παρεῖναι αὐτὸν κελεύω* (and with the verbs in that order), consideration of the exceptions to this Rule together with material in the projected classification by grammatical groups (Glossary) suggests that words 'belonging' to the infinitive either (a) follow it directly, causing an infringement of this Rule (*κροτεῖν τοῖς ἀγκῶσιν αὐτὸν ἤξειουν*) or (b) follow the other verb (*ἐπαίειν αὐτὸν φασὶ περὶ τοῦ πράγματος*), and *κροτεῖν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἀγκῶσιν* is not found. p.2.2.71: Demosthenes has the largest numbers of V...q, mainly due to the categories (2) and (9), i.e. VMq where M is noun, and V(...)V'q (where V' is a verb to which q does not 'belong'); cf. pp.2.2.93 and 98.

Rule XXVI:- p.2.2.94: courtroom formula 'Read the evidence' seems both in αὐτ- and in μ- to produce V...q (...V).

Rule XXVII:- p.2.2.101: while in αὐτ- the emphasis in the pattern W...q(...)V falls on the M following W, in τις it falls mostly on W itself; but in V...q(...)W (p.2.2.106) it is M that is emphasized. p.2.2.112: numerous cases of X-ἦδη - q and X-ἀεὶ - q.

The above completes comment on the Rules. For general summing up of the Formulae, see pp.3.2.130 ff. and 3.3.139 ff.

οὐκ ἄν:- p.3.2.6 ff., 3.2.11: in the order Thucydides, Plato, Demosthenes, there is an increase in the numbers of

οὐδεὶς ἄν and οὐδ' ἄν relative to simple οὐκ ἄν. p.3.2.10: οὐκ ἄρ' ἄν rare. p.3.2.11: despite fairly high general level of Antiformula, Plato is particularly Formulaic in οὕτε γάρ in Demosthenes, οὐδεὶς... ἄν is rare and οὐκ... ἄν and οὐδ'... ἄν absent; but οὐδέ adverbial has high unit-forming propensity, resulting in Antiformula. p.3.2.15: Demosthenes the most Formulaic, Plato the most Antiformulaic. p.3.2.24: 'interrogative οὐ' resists Formulaic order.

μὴ ἄν:- p.2.2.27: no cases of μὴ γὰρ ἄν initial μὴ ἄν in Demosthenes only in the form μὴτ' ἄν. p.3.2.30: μὴ ἄν almost never occurs where the two words 'belong' to different verbs; the Formula:Antiformula ratio is highest where both 'belong' to a subordinate infinitive; cf. p.3.2.32 and contrast next item.

πῶς ἄν κτλ.:- p.3.2.35: τίς ἄν outnumbers τίς γὰρ ἄν (and τίς δ' ἄν is rare), but πῶς γὰρ ἄν outnumbers πῶς ἄν ἄρ' ἄν is fairly rare, and postponed ἄρ' ἄν occurs only in Plt., Lg., and Dem.54. p.3.2.28: πῶς ἄν κτλ is not avoided where Former and q 'belong' to different verbs; a particularly Demosthenic use is where the interrogative 'belongs' to main, q to governed (e.g. 35.44 ἄρ' ἄν οἴεσθε Λάκρικτον... λέγειν); p.3.2.39: of the Formula+Antiformula total, 80% cases of πῶς are Formulaic, of τίς 70 to 75%, of ἄρα 60%, but πότερ- has a majority for Antiformula; the figure for τίς does not apply to Lg., where it has an Antiformulaic majority.

κἄν:- p.3.2.47: Thucydides has most Formulaic instances in medial position, Plato and Demosthenes in initial. p.3.2.55: Formulaic order is prevalent in καὶ γάρ directly followed by the verb or an adjective, in κἄν directly followed by the verb; but Formulaic order is avoided where καί is 'special' (Glossary), except with personal pronouns medial in Thucydidean complex sentences and as κἄν ὅστισοῦν.

τάχ' ἄν:- p.3.2.61: no cases of Antiformula (though some

of Counterformula).

πλεῖστ' ἄν, τάχιστ' ἄν, ἥκιστ' ἄν:- pp.3.2.61 - 65: Thucydidean Formulae.

πᾶς ἄν:- p.3.2.75: Formulaic order is not rare in simple sentences, but is particularly prevalent in infinitival complex sentences where both Former and q 'belong' to same verb, whether main or governed. It is less Formulaic than μὴ ἄν in simple sentences, but more so in participial complexities where q 'belongs' to main and Former to participle. In simple sentences, an important determinant is status as an unaccompanied substantive or as an adjective in agreement, etc.; πᾶν ἄν is particularly Formulaic. p.3.2.78: οὐκ ἄν πᾶς in all authors, οὐ πᾶς ἄν confined to Plato (in whom also occur the infringements of Rules, p.3.2.67).

ὁρθῶς ἄν:- p.3.2.80: confined almost entirely to Plato; not very Formulaic; see also on δικαίως below.

μάλιστα ἄν:- p.3.2.85: many Antiformulaic cases in which q precedes the Former, mainly due to relative clauses, especially ὡς ἄν (...) μάλιστα (But there is probably a tendency also in general to put the Former late in the sentence, which does produce Antiformula, but note also the infringement μάθοιτε δὲ τοῦτο μάλιστα ἄν). p.3.2.86: τί ἄν μάλιστα Plato, τί μάλιστα ἄν Demosthenes.

δικαίως ἄν:- p.3.2.88: many Antiformula cases with q preceding Former, not due to relative clauses (contrast μάλιστα above), but to Former following verb (hence both the infringements in Formula (d) and many Antiformula cases); contrast also ὁρθῶς, which rarely follows verb (q preceding Former in ὁρθῶς is perhaps more comparable with ἄν ἴσως below); δικαίως ἄν frequent in both Plato and Demosthenes.

μᾶλλον ἄν:- p.3.2.92: only Demosthenes has a clear majority of Formula, and he too has the infringement παροξύνει

μᾶλλον ἄν... Many Antiformulaic cases with q preceding Former, due to late position of Former while q remains early; especially with non-postpositival formulae like μᾶλλον ἦ.

ἴσως ἄν:- pp.3.2.96-7: Both most frequent and most Formulaic in initial position. Many Antiformula cases with q preceding Former, due this time to ...ἄν ἴσως... where ἴσως is of postpositival status (cf....μοι δοκεῖ, p.3.2.97 above); this may to some extent affect also ἄν ὀρθῶς, but less so μᾶλλον and μάλιστα, which are likely to be rarely unemphatic.

πολὺς ἄν:- p.3.2.101: many Antiformula cases with q preceding Former, not due to same cause as in ἴσως above (but not readily attributable to any one cause). p.3.2.106: Formula ratio fairly high in simple sentences and very high in complex sentences where q 'belongs' to main and Former to governed; both of these are however dominated by a cliché, respectively πολλῆ ἄν ἀμαθία εἶη and πόλλ' ἄν τις ἔχει λέγειν' if that is ignored, highest Formula ratio is in infinitival complexities in which both q and Former 'belong' to main (cf. μῆ, πᾶς). Formula is reduced by involvement in genitival expressions and agreement with nouns.

ἠδέως ἄν:- p.3.2.109: Antiformulaic order positively rare; most Formula cases in the cliché 'I would gladly ask/hear/know...', but Formula ratio equally high outside the cliché; particularly Formulaic is the peculiarity Dem.59.30 ἀλλ' ἠδέως ἄν αὐτοῖς εἶη...κομίσασθαι.

ἐκεῖν- ἄν:- p.3.2.114: High proportion of Antiformula; only one medial instance of Formula; the 'Formulaic' instances are probably due to mere peninitialism, where initial position of the Former is determined by emphasis. p.3.2.117: all Demosthenic instances in Anticounterformula are clichés.

φαίν ἄν:- pp.3.2.118-9: the Formula seems to begin from the use of parenthetic φαίν ἄν with no accompaniment, or

from initial φαίν in longer parentheses like φαίν ἄν ἔγωγε (for φαίν ἔγωγ' ἄν would infringe Rule XXIV). Best evidence of Formulaism (where more than one position is possible within the Rules) is (p.3.2.120) expressions like ὡς φαίν ἄν, where in fact ὡς ἄν φαίν does not occur. pp.3.2.120-1: φαίν ἄν ἔγωγε where direct speech precedes, where it follows only or speech is indirect, ἔγωγ' ἄν φαίν. The expression ...ἄν φαίν is possibly of postpositival status (cf. ἄν ἴσως above), for all the Antiformula cases have q directly before φαίν or separated only by postpositives.

καλῶς ἄν:- p.3.2.124: Formula increased by clichés with ἔχειν and λέγειν but the residue is also fairly Formulaic.

ὥσπερ ἄν:- pp.3.2.128-9: four cases of Antiformula only, all in Plato. As to distinction between ὥσπερ ἄν and ὥσπερ ἄν εἶ, in some cases εἶ would damage the sense and in others it is necessary to it; but where it is neither necessary nor positively nonsensical, it is normally present; the expression is more Formulaic with than without εἶ, for three of the four Antiformulaic instances have ὥσπερ without εἶ.

Overall on the ἄν-Formulae, observe Antiformula cases in which q precedes the Former, from divers causes: (a) q refuses to leave peninitial position (e.g. ὡς ἄν (...) μάλιστα), (b) Former after verb, where q normally (but not always) refuses to follow it (e.g. δικαίως), (c) postpositival status of Former (e.g. ἄν ἴσως). That completes comment on the ἄν-Formulae.

εἴ τις pp.3.3.10 ff.: cases of εἴ τις ἄρα, εἴ τις οὖν and of εἴ τις without Verb or Concord; the ratio εἴ τις : Vq is higher than qV:Vq in general. p.3.3.12: κἄν εἴ μή τῃ δοκεῖ and εἴ μή τί σοι διαφέρει clichés, also (p.3.3.14) εἴ μή τι ἄλλο and εἴ μή τι σὺ ἄλλο λέγεις: εἴ μή τις prevails over εἴ τις μή, εἴ μή τις ἄλλος over εἴ μή ἄλλος τις.

εἰ δέ/γάρ κτλ.τις:- p.3.3.23-4: no cases of εἰ δέ τίς τι,

etc. (whatever the connective); highest Formula:Antiformula ratio with οὖν, lowest with ἄρα. p.3.3.26: εἴτε τις ἄλλος Thucydides, εἴτε ἄλλος τις Plato.

ἐάν τις:- p.3.3.31: ἐάν τις τι Plato, ἐάν τις...τι Demosthenes. p.3.3.32 ff.: the clichés with the verbs δεῖ/δέομαι, δύναμαι, βούλομαι, ἐρωτῶ, φαίνομαι, λέγω, ἀποκτείνω, ἰέναι, ἐλθεῖν, φημί, ἀλίσκομαι, are particularly Formulaic; less so are δοκῶ, εἶπεῖν, κτείνω, ποιεῖν, ἀδικῶ, ἐθέλω, γίγνομαι, εἶναι, ὀφλισκάνω (but in κτείνω, ποιῶ, ἐθέλω, εἶναι, some Antiformulaic instances of q are preceded by a Formulaic in the same clause). p.3.3.39: ἐάν ἄλλο τι Demosthenes, ἐάν τι ἄλλο Thucydides and Plato; the former avoids hiatus.

ἐάν δέ/γάρ κτλ. τις:- p.3.3.42: it is in Demosthenes that the addition of δέ/γάρ κτλ. greatly reduces the Formulaic ratio in both εἰ and ἐάν. p.3.3.43: Highest Formula ratio with οὖν (cf. above), lowest with μέν (not counting γάρ, which is rare).

ἦ:- p.3.3.48: Formula:Antiformula ratio higher in † sentences than in plain (Glossary). p.3.3.51 ἦ ἄλλο τι in 'barly' Plato, ἦ τι ἄλλο or ἦ τι ἕτερον later.

καί:- p.3.3.54: unlike ἦ above, it is plain cases that are more Formulaic than †. p.3.3.56: Notice καί τις ἄλλος Demosthenic.

ἀλλά:- p.3.3.57: as in ἦ, the Formula cases are mainly †.

οὐ γάρ τις:- p.3.3.58: οὐ γάρ τι seems to be simply the γάρ -form of adverbial οὐ τι, listed in p.2.2.57; but see p. 3.3.59.

οὔτε τις:- p.3.3.61: adverbial οὔτε τι (cf. preceding item) more Formulaic than οὔτε τις in general.

οὐδέ τις:- p.3.3.64: peculiar to Plato.

μηδέ τις:- p.3.3.67: the overall Formula:Antiformula ra-

tio of the negative set of Formulae to this point is Th.1:8, Pl.92:16, Dem.0:2, and Anticounterformula:Counterformula Th.0:5, Pl.16:10, Dem.0:1.

μή:- p.3.3.69: the Formula:Antiformula of adverbial τι with μή is Th.7:7, Pl.20:9, Dem.4:2, of μή τις otherwise Th. 5:11, Pl.29:13, Dem.3:2.

ποῖός τις κτλ.:- p.3.3.71 ff. No cases of Antiformula.

ὁ μὲν/δέ τις:- p.3.3.76: there are some cases which may be Antiformulaic, but none certain. Thucydides has no cases like καὶ ὁ μὲν τις... (the most numerous class in Plato) and Plato has no cases of ὁ δέ τις not preceded by a μὲν-clause, which is the most numerous class in Thucydides.

σχεδόν τι:- p.3.3.77: no Antiformulaic cases; rare in 'late' Plato (cf. below on μᾶλλον τι, οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον, ἥττον τι); frequently associated with πᾶς, οὗτος, (ὁ) αὐτός, οἶδα, ἐγώ.

ἄλλος τις:- p.3.3.79: in the interrogative-elliptic idiom, Rule XIV is always infringed whenever γάρ κτλ. occur - ἄλλο γάρ τι κτλ. is not found in this use; medial ('postponed') interrogative ἄλλο τι is confined to Tht. (cf. ἄρ' ἄν p. 4.1.7 above, and on 3.3.80 see also cases of ...μῶν ἄλλο τι in Tht. with postponed μῶν). p.3.3.84: pFq (καὶ ἄλλο τι κτλ.) is the commonest class in all authors. p.3.3.85: no cases of pq(...)WF (πρὸς τινα πόλιν ἄλλην). p.3.3.90: εἰ μή τι ἄλλο prevails over εἰ μὴ ἄλλο τι, but otherwise p μὴ ἄλλο τι prevails. p.3.3.91: from 'early' to 'late' Plato the Formula:Antiformula ratio changes from strongly Formulaic towards 50:50, while in 'late' the use of ἄλλος decreases.

πᾶς τις/πάνυ τι:- p.3.3.92: Antiformula virtually absent in both cases; the former is almost entirely in affirmative sentences only, the latter in negative only; initial πᾶς τις is confined to Thucydides.

τοιούτός τις:- next page.

τοιούτος τις:- p.3.3.97: almost absent from Thucydides; unlike ἄλλος τις, most Formula cases are in medial position, not pFq, and (p.3.3.100) most Antiformula not in pq(...)F; pFq and pq(...)F are in approximately equal, small, numbers. Where there is one X-element only (i.e. F) Formula always results (but they are few - p.3.3.96 (b.1.1)). p.3.3.101: εἴ τις/ εἰάν τις τοιούτος prevails over εἰ/εἰάν τοιούτος τις, but not when δέ/γάρ κτλ.intervene; καὶ τις τοιούτος is absent from Demosthenes. p.3.3.102: Formula:Antiformula ratio changes from strongly Formulaic in 'early' Plato to strongly Antiformulaic in 'late' (greater change than in ἄλλος).

μέρος τι:- p.3.3.103: distributed throughout Thucydides, in the others rare and restricted; only Thucydides has initial instances, only Plato cases with F as only X-element.

τοιόσδε:- p.3.3.106: Formula absent from Demosthenes; unlike τοιούτος, most Antiformula cases have q peninitial, either as pq(...)F or as Mq(...)F; more Formulaic than τοιούτος.

βραχύς τις:- p.3.3.110: in fact βράχῦ is the Formulaic part.

εἷς τις:- p.3.3.112: Platonic Formula, rare in the others. p.3.3.114: High Formula:Antiformula ratio, especially with ἕν and μία' εἰ ἕν τι prevails over εἴ τι ἕν.

σ μικρός τις:- p.3.3.116: Formulaic mainly in σ μικρόν τι and σ μικρ' ἄττα. Very similar is μέγας τις (p.3.3.119) both in distribution and proportions of Formula and in fact that it is mainly μέγα τι which is Formulaic.

τρόπον τινά:- p.3.3.120: divisible into special prospective, special retrospective, and other, with Formula:Antiformula ratios of respectively 14:7, 12:6, 9:9; mainly Platonic.

πολύς τις:- p.3.3.127: Formulaic mainly in Plato, whether or not with οὔ.

ἕτερός τις:- p.3.3.131: only weakly Formulaic; in Plato, ἕτερος increases from 'early' to 'late', and becomes less Formulaic.

μᾶλλον:- p.3.3.134: Antiformula outnumbered Formula, but is due entirely to $\rho\alpha(\dots)F$ and $\chi\alpha(\dots)F$; slightly more strongly Formulaic than preceding.

οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον:- p.3.3.136: only cases of 'Antiformula' are οὐδέν τι...μᾶλλον.

ἥττον τι: p.3.3.137: No Antiformula. p.3.3.138: μᾶλλον τι, οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον, ἥττον τι (and cf. σχεδόν τι, p.4.1.12 above) typical of 'early-middle' Plato, absent or under-represented in 'late'.

On these last three items notice also that while σχεδόν τι, ἥττον τι, οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον are absolutely Formulaic (virtually no Antiformula), μᾶλλον τι is only weakly Formulaic; again, μάλιστα ἄν and ἥττον ἄν are fairly strongly Formulaic (though the last fairly rare), but μᾶλλον ἄν weak.

Chapter IV (Conclusions) ctd.:

(II) Text.

Textually doubtful instances are marked (t) or (τ) in the lists of Chapters Two and Three; in some cases, the data or findings of the study itself may be of some relevance to resolving these doubts, and the following pages deal with some of them. They are treated according to the order of the post-positives, αὐτ-, μ-, ἄν, τις' each of these author by author in chronological order and each author according to the order given on pp.1.3.10-11 (except that some particularly similar items may be grouped together under the first occurrence). Each item is introduced by page-reference to the point in the study where the passage is listed, followed by identification of the particular list and the numerical reference to the passage; but headings opening with * represent items not listed in the study to this point but which, if a particular reading were adopted, would fall within the list identified. Information on the provenance of readings is taken from the editions listed on p.1.3.11-12.

αὐτ- Thucydides p.2.2.81 Rule XXV (Two)V...g(...)V (4ai)
 2.5.2 ...έποησε βραδύτερον αὐτοὺς
 έλθεῖν codd.: αὐτοὺς βραδύτερον G. Consider here also the following:- Pl.Mnx.243c οἰομένων γὰρ ἤδη αὐτὴν καταπεπολεμησθαι
 TW: αὐτὴν ἤδη F. Phd.77d έπειδὴ γε δεῖ αὐθις αὐτὴν γίνεσθαι
 codd.: αὐτὴν αὐθις B² (transp.)W. Dem.21.40 μὴ τοίνυν έἴτε
 ταῦτ'αὐτὸν λέγειν codd.: αὐτὸν ταῦτα A. All of these fall
 in the list indicated. In each case the former and generally accepted reading is an infringement of Rule XXV, while the latter is the 'regular' Vg(...)V (pp.2.3.10 ff.); editors seem right in accepting the 'exceptional' reading, for it is clear from list (4ai) on p.2.2.81 that V...g(...)V where g is

separated from the preceding (main) verb by a mobile 'belonging' to the following infinitive is a standard idiom though from another point of view a minority pattern; the accepted readings in fact fit even the pattern by which the aforementioned mobile is emphatic or even carries the main point of the infinitive group. It seems likely that the latter reading in each case is a scribal assimilation to the majority pattern $V\bar{q}(\dots)V$.

p.2.2.45 Rule XX $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ -connective 4.121.2 $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\tau\iota$ $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omega$ $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\epsilon\tau\omicron$... codd.: $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\tau\iota$ $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omega$ M. Exceptions of the type $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau$ - are commoner with the conjunction than with the adverb, especially with $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\tau\iota\varsigma$..., and in view of others in this list $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\tau\iota\varsigma$ $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau$ - $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ seems a normal way of introducing $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau$ - into the $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\tau\iota\varsigma$... $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ idiom (which is a particular variety of the 'double- $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ sentence', e.g. $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\delta\eta$ $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$); cf. also IV.5.1 (below, same page, $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ adverbial) $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\tau\iota$ $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$... $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\chi\epsilon\nu$ - but that also is textually doubtful, some manuscripts omitting the second $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$.

p.2.2.79 Rule XXV (Two)V... $\bar{q}(\dots)V$ (1b2) 6.69.3 $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda$ $\tau\iota$ $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron$ $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\phi\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma$ $\rho\acute{\alpha}\theta\omicron\nu$ $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ CG: -όμενοι E, -όμενοις F, -όμενοις ABM; $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ codd.: -ονται leg. vid. Σ. That this is the only Thucydidean instance in (1b2), and the general rarity in Thucydides of V... $\bar{q}(\dots)V$ in the relation participle-main, is a minor confirmation of the view of Dover (in Gomme-Andrewes-Dover A Historical Commentary on Thucydides Vol.V, p.345) that the text is, as conjectured by Haacke, ...-όμενοι... -ονται, in the sense 'in the hope that their (the allies') subjection (to Athens) would weigh less heavily upon them when they had helped them (Athens) make a further conquest'. So interpreted, \bar{q} no longer 'belongs' to the participle, and the sentence becomes ... $\bar{q}V$.

p.2.2.46 Rule XX οὐ 7.66.1 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν αὐτῶν οὕτω προθύμως ἀντελάβροθε: see p.4.2.8 below.

p.2.2.45 Rule XX καὶ adverbial VII.73.1 λέγων ταῦτα ἃ καὶ αὐτῷ ἔδδκει Π¹⁸ BC: καὶ ἃ EM, καὶ ἃ καὶ AF. No reading with καὶ ἃ makes worthwhile sense, nor does any interpretation in which αὐτῷ singular means 'self'. The only means of preserving any manuscript reading seems to be to accept the generally accepted reading (listed first above) with αὐτῷ as post-positive, in the sense 'saying what in fact was his actual opinion', but that would be a quite unparalleled infringement of Rule XX, with q separating 'special' καὶ from its mobile (for though that is found with γάρ, and ἄν in the form κᾶν as in κᾶν ὁστισοῦν κτλ., pp.3.2.48 ff., and even τις, pp.2.2.55, it does not seem to occur with αὐτ-); and even so the sense would have no worthwhile point. The best sense would be to accept ἃ καὶ but read ταῦτα and αὐτοῖς plural as mobile, 'stating the selfsame opinion as they themselves held'.

p.2.2.82 Rule XXV (Two)V...q(...)V (4aii) VIII.8.2 καὶ ἔδοξε πρῶτον ἐς Χίον αὐτοῖς πλεῖν...ἔχοντας... CG Hude: αὐτοῖς ABEFM Jones. In either case the adverb 'belongs' to the infinitive. The latter reading would fall in (One)V...q (7c), p.2.2.66. The dative could be a corruption due to the main verb, the accusative ditto due to the participle, but the latter seems more likely. The dative would give better sense, 'They decided to sail...' than the accusative, 'It was decided that they...' (who?), while the accusative participle would be compatible with a dative pronoun (K-G II.2 p.25). Two(V...q (...)V (4--)) is a larger class than (One)V...q (7-), and in (4aii) there are plenty parallels for the trailing colon opening with a unit-formation, as (πρῶτον ἐς Χίον), whereas there are none in (One)V...q (7-). But to the writer the dative seems right on grounds of sense, (One)V...q (7-) perfectly idiomatic, and the lack of parallel for the unit-formation no great obstacle. Both classifications would be compatible with the necessary emphasis on 'first to Chios'.

p.2.4.2 (2) Vq(q...)q... VIII.92.5 *ἔυνεπελάβοντο δὲ αὐτοῖς ἅμα...* ABEFM (*ἅμα* secl.Hude): ἅμα αὐτοῖς CG. The latter reading would fall in Rule XXV (One)V...q (1), p.2.2.61; although it is 'exceptional' and the former 'regular', it is clear from (One)V...q (1) that the latter is perfectly idiomatic and ἅμα in this position paralleled by III.114.1. The reading of ABEFM could be an assimilation to the normal.

αὐτ-ctd. Plato *p.2.2.61 Rule XXV (One)V...q (2) *Euthd.*290c
ἄτε οὖν χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι
 B Méridier: χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖ αὐτοῖς TW Burnet. The latter reading, although 'exceptional' while the other is 'regular', is not only superior sense in context but paralleled both generally by (One)V...q (2) as a whole and in particular by Th.VIII.90.5 and *R.*VII 520a; cf. also *Cra.*439a (p.1.2.4).

p.2.2.3 Rule II (1) (182) *Kpa.*383β *ἔρωτῶ οὖν αὐτὸν ἐγὼ αὐτῷ πότερον κρατύλος... ὄνομα...* Stallbaum Méridier: εἰ αὐτῷ πότερον BW, εἰ αὐτῷ T Burnet. Stallbaum's reading (adopted 'optimorum librorum auctoritate', but without indication of interpretation) is perhaps right if αὐτῷ is intended as mobile, 'If in his own case...', for that has some point by contrast with ἐκάστῳ τῶν ὄντων, and is paralleled almost immediately by 384a *μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτῷ σοι ὄπη δοκεῖ...* Méridier translates as postpositive, but this is a point on which Budé translators are unreliable. If it is intended as a postpositive, then it is an exception to Rule II of an unparalleled type: otherwise among the exceptions through 'promotion', (1), either q directly follows the verb governing the subordinate clause, or the verb is put after that clause; but in this case the verb precedes and αὐτῷ is not directly after it. There are suspiciously many cases of αὐτ- in this sentence; but αὐτῷ, and indeed interpretation as mobile, are supported further by *Ἰωκράτει* two lines later.

p.2.2.44 Rule XX ἢ Κρα.433ε ἢ αὐτὰ ποιῆσαι edd.: αὐτὸν BTW,
 τὸ b. In this context any αὐτ- must be postpositival,
 'self' not being sense. The editorial correction of the un-
 grammatical reading of BTW not only makes three instances of
 αὐτὰ in as many lines but would be the only case of postposi-
 tival αὐτ- directly following ἢ in all these three authors.
 The text of b seems not only intelligible but more elegant.

*p.2.2.61 Rule XXV (One)V...g (1) Smp.191c μετέθηκέ τε οὖν
 οὕτω αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν...codd.: α.Β, αὐτὰ Paris.
 1810 Steph., del. Rückert, secl.Hug, αὖ Schanz, πάντων cj.
 Usener, αὐτῶν τὰ αἰδοῖα Ficinus, ταῦτ'αὐτῶν Bury. The gene-
 ral manuscript reading fits either (One)V...g (1) as above, or,
 if we count εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν as a W-element, p.2.2.89(Five)V...g
 (...)W (1a), in which case it would be an exception also to
 Rule V (cf. perhaps Phdr.250b, p.2.2.7). The latter is per-
 haps more likely than V...g, for ISJ have no suggestion that
 this verb can take a genitive without accompanying noun; it
 does however seem to be used without expressed object, and in
 that case it could be V...g. In the last case, g would be
 determined phraseologically by the wording of the previous sen-
 tence; but if so it is odd that τὰ αἰδοῖα should be omitted,
 despite the fact that that is unnecessary - we expect either
 both in or both out. It could be that the wording of the pre-
 vious sentence has influenced this one in defiance of grammar,
 but Th.VII.66.1 (q.v. p.4.2.8 below) does not seem sufficient
 to suggest that οὕτως αὐτ- is a Formula. The repetition of
 εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν also seems unnecessary and inelegant. The
 writer suspects that αὐτῶν...εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν is a relic of a
 gloss explaining οὕτω: the sentence is perfectly intelligible
 if reduced even to μετέθηκέ τε οὖν οὕτω, καὶ διὰ τούτων...,
 the last phrase referring to αἰδοῖα recalled by οὕτω. But,
 though that seems reasonably stylish, we must beware of mere
 eradication of peculiarities.

p.2.2.65 Rule XXV (One)V...q (7b) Phd.104e τὸ γὰρ ἐναντιὸν ἀεὶ αὐτῷ ἐπιφέρει: αὐτῷ ἀεὶ TW. This has been classed as above stated on the assumption that, as seems best sense, q 'belongs' to the adjective and ἀεὶ to the verb, 'It always brings to bear what is opposite to it'. And yet within (7b), and indeed (7-) in general, this is an unusual case, for V is an adjective (cf. p.2.1.24) and q is in a position to be readily taken by mistake with the verb; 'exceptional' word-order does not normally cause danger of confusion. If the accepted reading is right, that of TW could be a scribal normalization to produce Vq (as on p.2.4.4, §5); but if that of TW is original, the accepted text could equally be a normalization under the impression that q 'belonged' to verb, not adjective. A degree of genuine uncertainty as to the proper sense makes final judgment impossible. I suspect that either q must be taken with the verb or the reading of TW must be accepted.

p.2.4.4 (5) R.VII 535b οἰκειότερος γὰρ αὐταῖς ὁ κόνος codd.:

ὁ κόνος αὐταῖς Stob. Stobaeus may be merely inaccurate, but here he seems to swim against the current of the usual tendency to normalize in quotation, for while the manuscript reading is perfectly normal, his version is an exception to Rule XXV, and one of a type that does occur, (One)V...q (2), p.2.2.61, and cf. Th.183b, p.2.2.63.

*p.2.2.36 Rule XV (2q) R.VIII 568e πολλῇ αὐτῷ, ἔφη, ἀνάγκη codd.

Burnet Chambry: ἔφη αὐτῷ F. The reading of F would be an exception to Rule XV, but paralleled by several Republic passages in the above-mentioned class. The exception in these cases is possibly due to the treatment of ἔφη as a postpositive, so that, even with the order given in F, q is still peninitial and not seriously separated from πολλῇ (cf. p.3.2.121). Postpositival status also seems to explain the examples given by Dover (p.13); exceptions to Rule XV are genuinely exceptional; that 'vocatives etc. do not affect the order' is not a normal-

ity of Attic prose.

p.2.2.81 Rule XXV (Two)V...q(...)V (4ai) R.X 596e ἀλλὰ φήσεις
οὐκ ἀληθῆ οἶμαι αὐτὸν ποιεῖν...codd.: αὐτὸν οἶμαι.F.
Whichever reading is accepted, q is in the class mentioned, for
οἶμαι is in the postpositival usage (cf. που). The general
manuscript reading could be a scribal normalization in the di-
rection of Vq(...)V, in ignorance of that usage and the true
grammar of the sentence.

*p.2.2.87 Rule XXV (Three)W...q(...)V (1b) R.X 617e πλέον καὶ
ἔλαττον αὐτῆς ἕκαστος ἔξει codd.: ἕκαστος αὐτῆς
(& μετέξει) Clem., om. Theod. Clement may be merely inaccu-
rate or even improving on Plato; but his reading should not
be dismissed without consideration. For while that of the
manuscripts is a normal Wq(...)V, his is the exceptional
W...q(...)V; that is rare elsewhere but peculiarly common
with αὐτ- in Plato (pp.2.3.12 ff.), and this instance fits
(1b), emphasis on the W-element, and the oracular style is
paralleled in particular by Mnx.237a and 237d in that list.

p.2.2.45 Rule XX καὶ connective Phdr.237b καὶ ποτε αὐτὸν αἰτῶν
ἔπειθε...codd.: ἐρῶν B, κειρῶν Winckelmann, λέγων
Richards. In addition to the trouble over the identity of
the participle suspicion is generated by the possibility of
confusion between that and αὐτόν· in addition, this is the
only case in these three authors of καὶ ποτε αὐτ-.

p.2.2.81 Rule XXV (Two)V...q(...)V (4ai) Lg.X 900d ὁμολογοῦμεν
αὐτοῦς ἀγαθοῦς εἶναι codd.: αὐτοῦς om. Eusebii I,
ἀγαθοῦς αὐτοῦς Eusebii ON. Cf. on Th.II.5.2 etc. on p.4.2.1
above. Eusebii ON give the more idiomatic reading and the
others may be a normalization to Vq(...)V.

Demosthenes: see next page.

αὐτ- ctd. Demosthenes *p.2.2.34 Rule XV (1a2) 21.134 ὅτι ἐκ
 τῶν ἄλλων ὧν ἕξης ἄξιός αὐτοῖς
 ἐδόκει εἶναι codd.: αὐτοῖς ἄξιός YP, ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς A. The
 accepted reading (listed first) is regular, as is that of A;
 that of YP is an exception to Rule XV, but paralleled with αὐτ-
 in Demosthenes, as list (1a2), especially 24.36, shows.

p.2.2.18 Rule X (1bx3) (i) 41.22 καὶ οὐ μόνον ὁ Πολύευκτος
 αὐτὰ ἀποθνήσκων ἐνεκεκλήκει AFQD : ἀποθνήσκων ταῦτα
 F γρ. Gernet, ταῦτα S Qγρ. The reading of AFQD is supported
 by comparison with 41.18 in list (1bx3) (unqualified), p.2.2.
 17. The remaining wording of these sentences is different
 enough to suggest that this is a grammatical peculiarity of
 the writer of 41 rather than a scribal assimilation to the
 order used with similar wording.

That (with 21.40, p.4.2.1 above) completes the worthwhile
 textual points under αὐτ- in Demosthenes. Here is an item
 omitted from p.4.2.2:-

p.2.2.46 Rule XX οὐ Θ.7.66.1 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν αὐτῶν οὕτω προθύμως
 ἀντελάβεσθε Π¹⁸ B Hude Bodin-de Romilly: οὕτως αὐτῶν
 cett. Jones-Powell. The first-mentioned reading is an excep-
 tion to Rule XX falling in the class indicated. Such excep-
 tions, though common in Demosthenes, are rare in Thucydides,
 and indeed this is the only case of οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν αὐτ- in the
 list. Further, the reading favoured by Jones and Powell is
 idiomatic (cf. p.1.1.13), g being peninitial within the Rules;
 also, it puts a desirable emphasis on οὕτως, both by having g
 after it (cf. pp.2.2.64 ff.) and by bringing it closer to οὐδέ.

That ends the account of some textual points in αὐτ-.

μ- Plato *p.2.2.93 Rule XXVI (One)V...g Phd.71d λέγε δή μοι
 καὶ σύ B Burnet Robin: καὶ σύ μοι B² (transp.)
 TWY Stob. Here consider also, actually entered in the list
 named, Dem.18.267 παρ' ἄς παράγνωθι καὶ σύ μοι... SV edd.:

δ' ἡμῶν καὶ σὺ γρ. VY , δὴ καὶ σὺ μοι A, δὴ μοι καὶ σὺ Hermog.
 The formulae for 'Read the evidence/decreed...' tend both in
 αὐτ- and in μ- to produce exceptions of the V...g, V...g(...)V
 type - see this list in general and also the comparisons given
 on p.2.2.94. Hence in 18.267 editors seem right to accept
 the main reading of SV; if so, the V...g reading should pro-
 bably also be accepted in Phd.71d.

p.2.2.19 Rule XI (2) μ- Phd 105b καὶ μὴ μοι ὃ ἂν ἐρωτῶ ἀπο-
 κρίνου codd.: μοι μὴ T. The general reading in-
 fringes Rule XI, that of T, XII (cf. p.2.2.25,19). The reading
 of T is tempting because καὶ μοι μὴ seems to be a formulaic
 'exception' used with 'And do not...' in oratorical/conversa-
 tional contexts, including 'And do not answer...'; it would
 also make the negative apply more clearly to the relative
 clause. But none of the exceptions listed under καὶ μοι μὴ,
 p.2.2.25, has a subordinate clause, nor any type of intrusion
 in this position; and the formula seems to belong to a more
 formulaic practical context, that of anticipating audience re-
 action, 'Don't heckle...', rather than to that of conscious,
 precise, instruction. Yet the confusion is possibly due to
 similarity of sound in successive syllables, which could favour
 corruption to the conventional order.

μ- ctd. Demosthenes *p.2.2.49 Rule XXI - οὐ μ- (1) 8.72 οὐδ'
 ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ... S: οὐδέ γέ μοι
 δοκεῖ... vulg. The vulgate reading is perhaps not impossible;
 it would be a member of the formula οὐ μοι δοκεῖ, and οὐδέ γέ
 μοι μέλει... appears at Pl.Grg.505c. That could however be
 οὐδέ γ' ἐμοί..., and there are apparently no other instances of
 οὐ μοι δοκεῖ in Demosthenes, p.2.2.49.

That ends the account of some textual points in μ-.

ἂν: next page

ἄν Thucydides p.3.2.62 Anticounterformula $\Sigma+15$ VI.10.4 τάχα
 δ'ἄν ἴσως... C: ἄν δὲ cett. Editors
 accept the reading of C against that of the remainder. But
 cf. p.2.2.29, Rule XIV (1F5); ἄν δέ, though a rare exception
 to Rule XIV, is paralleled in Thucydides in that list, and
 with τάχ'ἄν, though not with ἴσως following.

ἄν ctd. Plato p.2.2.29 Rule XIV (1F5) Απ.34γ τάχ'ἄν οὖν τις...
 αὐθαδέστερον ἄν...σχοῖη Burnet: τάχα
 νοῦν TY, τάχ'οὖν BW Croiset. See also p.3.2.60 Formula (5) (a).
 The text of Burnet derived from TY is indeed the only instance
 of τάχ'ἄν οὖν in the lists; but ἄν οὖν though an infringement
 of Rule XIV, is very common and often associated with Formulae.
 Further, the reading of BW, if adopted, would be the only ins-
 tance of Antiformula (5), there being no other cases of τάχα...
 ἄν, p.3.2.61.

p.3.2.109 Formula (18) (a) Phd.108d ἠδέως οὖν ἄν... Burnet
 Robin: ἄν οὖν TW. See also pp.2.2.29-30. Cf.
 preceding item: there is no other case of ἠδέως ἄν οὖν, but
 ἄν οὖν is frequent and associated with similar Formulae.

p.2.2.30 Rule XIV (1m) οὖν II.5.472δ οἴει ἄν οὖν... Burnet
 Chambry: οὖν ἄν F. Cf. preceding items: ἄν οὖν is
 usually associated with Formulae, though, as list (1m) shows,
 clearly not always. But the reading ἄν οὖν is favoured by
 the possibility that οἴει ἄν, though not so listed in Ch.III,
 is a Formula: see Th.VII.40.2, Pl.Chrm.156c, La.199d, Prt.327b,
 353b, 353d, Grg.522a, Ap.40d, R.I 341c, II 358d, VI 504e, VII
 515a, Prm.133c, Tht.181e, Phdr.234e, 263c, 267b, Lg.IX 876d,
 Dem.19.299, 22.12, 23.160, 46.19.

p.3.2.79 Formula (10) (a) R.X 604d ὀρθότατα γοῦν ἄν τις...
 codd. Burnet Chambry: γ'ἄν οὖν Stob. bis. Cf. pre-
 ceding items. The latter reading has more in its favour than
 its provenance may suggest: ἄν οὖν tends to be associated with

Formulae, of which ὁρθῶς ἄν is one. Denniston p.449 lists instances of γ'ἄν οὖν and in all of them γε is preceded by a word which is a Former in relation to g, πάνυ or καλῶς; it is likely that the irony of this 'ironical' use depends rather on this associated vocabulary. Though γοῦν ἄν does occur (Gr̄g. 509a, 516a, R.V 476c, VI 501c*, VIII 555b@, Phdr.263c*, Sph. 237e, Lg.III 681d@), sometimes, on the one hand, with adverbs (marked @ above) and, on the other, with words like καλόν (* above), nevertheless our passage is much more like those listed by Denniston.

*p.2.2.30 Rule XIV (lm) ἄρα Πρμ.146δ ἕτερον ἄρα ἄν... codd.

Burnet Diēs: ἄν ἄρα Y. Compare and contrast preceding items: ἄν ἄρα is a rare exception (see (lFl and (lm) only), but ἄρα ἄν is also rare (p.3.2.4, contrast p.3.2.11, and see also Euthphr.14e, R.V 478d, Lg.I 650b). However the fact that ἕτερον ἄν is not a Formula need not count against ἄν ἄρα here, witness ἀμφοτέρως ἄν ἄρα...

p.3.2.15 Antiformula (1) g-F (d2) Plt.304d εἴη δ'ἄν οὐκ ἄλλη

τις B Burnet Diēs: οὐκ ἄν codd. See also p.3.2.8, Formula (1) (d), and p.2.2.59, Rule XXIV (1-) (-1). The majority manuscript reading could be strange word-order (exception to Rule XXIV) caused by scribal assimilation to the Formula οὐκ ἄν. But there are parallels on pp.2.2.59 and 3.2.8 for infringement of that Rule, and one of them is associated with ἄλλος in a similar way; while the reading of B could be scribal assimilation to the pattern Vq.

p.2.2.1 Rule I Lg.V 739c ὅπου τὸ πάλαι λεγόμενον ἄν γίνηται AC:

γίγνοιτο L: -ηται addubitat Wackernagel. Sense and tense-sequence demand subjunctive rather than optative, and the other exceptions to this Rule suggest that in this work medial ἄν with subjunctive is possible.

ἄν ctd. Demosthenes next page.

ἄν ctd. Demosthenes. p.2.2.59 Rule XXIV (1-)(-1) 9.13 οὐ ἐπο-
ησαν μὲν οὐδὲν ἄν κακόν SL

Butcher Croiset: οὐδὲν ἄν αὐτὸν ἐδυνήθησαν ποιῆσαι κακόν vulg.
The accepted reading is an infringement of Rule XXIV; but that
is more idiomatic than the vulgate reading and paralleled not
only by this list in general but in particular by 29.2 immedi-
ately following; in both, the infringement is probably due to
Fraenkelian type E colon-formation - cf. pp.2.2.63-4. Ins-
tance listed also on p.3.2.8, Formula (1) (d).

That ends the account of some textual points in ἄν.

τις Plato p.2.2.9^f Rule XXVII (One)V...g (ii)(-+i) Cra.385a ὁ ἄν θῆ
καλεῖν τις ἕκαστον BW edd.: φῆς καλεῖ T (θῆ
in marg.). The reading of T, corrected to φῆς, would not be
unidiomatic, that word being postpositival (cf. οἶμαι and pp.
2.2.36, 3.2.121). But the established reading is even more
idiomatic in its verbal use, and supported by the existence of
the exception-class (One)V...g (7) (cf. (7c), p.2.2.66).

p.3.3.97 Formula (18) (c3b2) Smp.176a τὸν οὖν Πausανίαν ἔφη
λόγου τοιοῦτου τινὸς κατάρχειν codd. edd.: κατάρχειν
τινὸς Y. The attraction of the Formula τοιοῦτός τις and the
majority pattern WgV (p.2.3.30 ff.) would lead us to expect
corruption towards the established reading rather than that of
Y, which seems idiomatic. Yet in the Antiformula list, the
only cases of FVg (into which the Y reading would fall) are
both in Demosthenes and are variants of a single cliché, and
neither has g last in the sentence, but followed by a further
W-element - (d3c), p.3.3.100.

p.3.3.100 Counterformula 18+26 Smp.211b ...μετέχοντα τρόπον
τινὰ τοιοῦτον... codd.(et Oxy.) edd.: τινα τρόπον
FW. The reading of FW, defying the tendencies both towards
τρόπον τινά and towards τοιοῦτόν τινα, does not seem to result
from scribal assimilation. Although the Antiformula, Counter-

formula and Multiple Antiformula of τρόπον τινά are to a large extent concentrated in 'late' Plato and Laws, we do find in Antiformula Phd.73c λέγω δέ τινα τρόπον τόνδε, and in Multiple Antiformula, 97b ἀλλά τιν' ἄλλον τρόπον...φύρω.

*p.2.2.103 Rule XXVII (Three)W...q(...)V (a3) Phd.73a ὥστε καὶ ταύτη ἀθάνατόν τι ἔοικεν ἢ ψυχὴ εἶναι codd. (et Olympiodorus) Robin: ἀθάνατον ἢ ψυχὴ τι ἔοικεν εἶναι Schanz Burnet. The latter reading would be an exception to this Rule, but (Three)W...q(...)V does occur, and this pattern would suit the emphasis on ἀθάνατον (see p.2.2.103 and context), and does not look like the result of scribal assimilation, which would lead rather in the direction of the main manuscript reading. But if (see Robin's apparatus) Burnet's reading derives not (as he thought) from BW but only from the secondary manuscripts C and D (Schanz), it can hardly have much authority; the closest parallels to it are in (a3), p.2.2.103, but even there, when q is separated from W by the subject of the sentence, it is either αὕτη or a personal pronoun.

p.3.3.70 Counterformula 12+16 Prm.163c ἄρα μὴ ἄλλο τι T Diēs: τι ἄλλο B Burnet. The reading of B would be 12+16; see also 1+12+16, 3+12+16 (references on p.3.3.70). That of T is paralleled by list 12+16 and by Phd.64c in particular, which seems to be the only other instance in these three authors of these four words in association. The only other case of 12+16 is in Thucydides and a quite different wording, while 1+12+16 and 3+12+16 are by definition εἰ/ἐάν μὴ τι ἄλλο. As far as such considerations are valid, the indication is for the reading of T.

p.3.3.65 Antiformula (10) (2b) Plt.270a μῆτ' αὖ δύο τινὲ... codd. Diēs Burnet: τινὲ δύο W Eusebius. The former reading is Antiformula (10), that of W would be Formula (10); there are fairly few instances of Antiformula, but the only other case of μῆτ' αὖ is also Antiformulaic, Lg.XI 913c, while

in no Formulaic instance does another postpositive intervene between μήτε and q. See also οὔτε, pp.3.3.59 ff.

*p.3.3.112 Formula (23) (c2a1) Phlb.13c καὶ τὰ παραδείγματα ἡμᾶς...οὐδέν τι τρώσει Jackson Diès: οὐδέν τι τρώσει codd. Burnet. The manuscript text is not, perhaps, impossible, but is not entirely satisfactory, and Jackson's emendation may be a slight improvement in respect of sense. But not only has it been found unnecessary in this study to propose a Formula οὐδεὶς τις, οὐδέν τι, but such an expression seems, as an idiom in itself, positively rare in these three authors; it would be listed, like οὐδ'έν τι, under Formula (23), but even in that spelling does not seem to occur. Apart from numerous cases of οὐδέν τι μάλλον (pp.3.3.136 ff.), the nearest parallel is Phlb.53e οὐδέν τι ποικίλον, which has the advantage of being in the same work; but a character which may disqualify it is shared with other instances (Hdt.V.65.1 καὶ οὐδέν τι πάντως ἂν ἐξεῖλον..., Democritus fr.187 (Diels-Kranz) ψυχὴν οὐδέν τι ἀμείνω τίθησιν, ps.-Pl.Eryxias 399e ἐγὼ μὲν...οὐδέν τι περιττότερον τῶν ἄλλων...). The best parallel would be the Democritean; but in general (and perhaps even there) the expression is directly followed not by a verb but by an adverb or adjective which is part of the same close-knit phrase; it seems likely that in Phlb.53e and Eryxias 399e q may belong (as in οὐδέν τι μάλλον) primarily to the following element and that οὐδέν τι as an independent expression is rare to vanishing point. But cf. also Alc.II 141c and Epin.982a.

τις ctd. Demosthenes p.2.2.106 Rule XXVII (Four)W(...)V...q
19.192 μικρὸν ἀκούσατέ μου ἔξω
 τι τῆς πρεσβείας ταύτης codd. edd.: τι om. FBQ. W(...)V...q
 is a highly unusual type of exception to to this Rule and the only one in Demosthenes (cf. pp.2.3.30 ff.). But corruption, whether conscious or accidental, is more likely to have caused its omission from such a position than its insertion. Though

g could go in sense with ἔξω, either (but improbably) adverbially or as part of a substantive phrase 'a small point apart from the embassy', yet an indefinite with μικρόν is demanded by the sense. The generally accepted text is the only way of getting g into the sentence without causing either hiatus or a tribrach, if we assume the other words unchanged in order. It also fits the pattern X/MqM (cf. pp.2.2.63, 64 ff., 97).

p.3.3.112 Formula (23) (c3a2) 20.135 ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν τοῦθ' ἔν τι
τῶν αἰσχροῶν ἐστὶ SF vulg. edd.: ἔν τι τοῦτο A.

With either reading the sentence classes as Formula (23) and FqWV. The text of A is the more unusual and hence the more potentially corruptible, and also rhythmically superior, with fewer long syllables adjacent. Further, it suits the pattern by which a word (even a mobile) which is unemphatic in context may be tucked between mutually closely related words of higher relative emphasis (cf. p.1.1.4 ff.); in this case ἔν τι seems to be emphatic (cf. ἔν γ' αἰσχροῶν in the preceding paragraph, and if it were not important αἰσχροῶν alone would suffice here); it also conforms to the tendency by which in such cases the emphasized mobile is often preceded by an introductory preposi-
tive (Pl.Pl_t.267b, Lg.VIII 839b, Th.I.2.6, II.49.5).

p.3.3.16 Antiformula 1+16 (a) 24.4 εἴπερ τινὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἄλλω...
εἴρηται SF edd.: τοῦτο τινὶ (sic) A. The text of A would class as Multiple Antiformula 1+16 (see p.3.3.18), of which it would be the only instance, whereas there are otherwise 15 of 1+16 in Demosthenes (and four of 1+16). If it is argued that because of -περ the sentence should be classed under (2), εἰ δέ/γάρ κτλ., there too there are numerous cases of 2+16, of which two in Demosthenes, and of 2+16, of which four in Demosthenes, but one only of 2+16 Multiple Antiformula, in Thucydides (pp.3.3.24-26).

Chapter IV (Conclusions) ctd.

(III) Platonic spuria and dubia

The Platonic corpus contains works which are either known or suspected to be of non-Platonic authorship. These may be divided into three classes: (a) those condemned in antiquity and modern times; (b) those still very strongly suspected; (c) those suspected less strongly. The material which follows is a provisional list of items of possibly significant difference or similarity in postpositive usage between these works and those accepted as genuinely Platonic. The list is based mainly but not wholly on material presented in the preceding Chapters. For this purpose Budé editions have been used (cf. p.1.3.12) as follows: (a) Tome XIII.iii Dialogues Apocryphes, J. Souilhé, 2me tirage 1962 (for De Justo, De Virtute, Demodocus, Sisyphus, Eryxias, Axiochus); (b) Tome XIII.ii Dialogues Suspects, J. Souilhé, 2me tirage 1962 (for Alcibiades II, Hipparchus, Minos, Amatores, Theages, Clitophon); (c) Alcibiades I appears in Tome I, Hippias Major in II, Epinomis in XI.ii (cf. p.1.3.12). From all these except Hippias Major material has been collected only for the purpose of this comparison; but from that work the overall material has already been presented, so far as appropriate, in Chs.II and III; sufficient opinion seems to favour it to make it of general interest. In what follows, the works are treated in the above order; each item opens with numerical reference and lemma from the work concerned, followed by reference to the page and list in this study which seems relevant for comparison (cf. pp.4.2.1 ff.). Points of comparison not concerning postpositives are omitted.

- (a) (i) De Justo 373d ὥσπερ ἄν ἡμᾶς εἴ τις ἤρετο...: cf. pp.2.2.19 ff. Rule XI, 3.2.127 ff. Formula (22).
The Formula ὥσπερ ἄν in the form ὥσπερ ἄν εἴ infringes Rule XI,

and that is commonly found in Plato; but Plato seems never to put any other word between ἄν and εἰ.

(ii) De Virtute 377c οὐκ ἄν οὖν δικαίως γε ἐξ ὧν...: cf. pp. 2.2.29 Rule XIV οὐκ ἄν οὖν, 3.2.4 Formula (1) Nqq, 3.2.20 Anticounterformula 1+13. Plato does use οὐκ ἄν οὖν (infringement of Rule XIV due to Formula οὐκ ἄν), of which the present instance is the ἄν-form of οὐκ οὖν...γε, cf. 377a. Here however the ἄν is otiose, the sentence being verbless, and though in Plato this Formula does result in otiose uses, it does not seem to happen with οὐκ ἄν οὖν. The sentence seems related to such as Men.73c οὐκ ἄν δήπου εἶ γε... (and cf. also p.2.2.20), but Plato does not seem to use δικαίως in such sentences.

379b καὶ μᾶλλον τι, ἵνα μὴ τι... (= et eo magis, ne...): cf. pp.3.3.68 Formula (12) B, 3.3.133 ff. Formula (29) (b2.1). The Formula ἵνα μὴ τι is not unPlatonic, but Plato would avoid such a sequence for the sake of style; however it is clear from Formula (29) that π μᾶλλον τι in general is absent from Plato and overall rare; καὶ μᾶλλον τι occurs once in Thucydides; the Formula also does not seem to be used by Plato in this verbless manner.

(iii) Demodocus 380b εἰ δέ τις ἐπιστήμη...: cf. p.3.2.21 Formula (2) (iv - qW), and see also p.3.3.8 (iv - qW). Plato does not seem to use verbless if-clauses except where the content is primarily substantival; where it is primarily verbal, as here, we expect the verb to be expressed, giving perhaps εἰ δ'αὖ καὶ ἔστιν τις ἐπιστήμη...

383d μὴ τί γε ἀμφοτέρων: cf. p.2.2.56 Rule XXIII μὴ (1) μῆτι adverbial. This type of expression is common in Demosthenes, but in Plato the nearest comparison is Plt.292e μὴ τι δὴ βασιλῆς γε.

385d next page

385d ἔγωγ' ἄν, εἰπεῖν: cf. pp.3.2.4 Formula (1) (a) asyndetic and Ngq, also 3.2.33 Formula (3) (a). A minimal complete utterance (cf. p.2.1.23) with g verbless and therefore otiose. Otiose g does occur in Plato in expressions like Men.73c (cf. p.4.3.2 above) and Euthd.294a πῶς γὰρ ἄν; (cf. p.3.2.35); we expect verbless g to occur only in Formulae and the combination ἔγωγ' ἄν is common enough in Plato and was considered as a possible Formula and rejected (cf. p.3.2.131); had it occurred with g otiose it would certainly have been retained; but ἔγωγ' ἄν does not seem to occur as a complete utterance in Plato or any of the authors studied. Without g, ἔγωγε is used alone to mean 'yes', and it is frequently combined with g in the expression ἔγωγ' ἄν φαίην, p.3.2.118 ff., esp. 120.

(iv) Sisyphus 388a τὸ μὴ ἐπίστασθαι κομιδῆ μηδέ τι (μηδέν Y, μηδ' ἔτι Z): cf. pp.2.2.102, Rule XXVII (Three)W...g(...)V (a1) and 108 (Five)V...g(...)V (biii); see also Rule XXIII, p.2.2.54. Adverbial μηδέ is never in fact followed directly by g in any of the authors studied. Also, this is a case of Xpq in the form Vpq, and in Plato Xpq occurs with τις only in the patterns W...g(...)V and V...g(...)V, not in (One)V...g (p.2.2.97); and in none of the Xpq cases does a mobile intervene between X and p (i.e. there is no X...pq). Read perhaps μηδέν τι, on which however see p.4.2.14 and pp. 4.3.5 and 14 below (Alcibiades II 141c and Epinomis 982a).

(v) Eryxias 393c ἐγὼ μὲν ἄν, "... , τὸ πλείστου ἄξιον: cf. on Demodocus 385d, p.4.3.3. above. Here is another case of g verbless and hence otiose; in Plato, ἐγὼ ἄν without γε is even less Formulaic than ἔγωγ' ἄν, and does not occur with otiose g.

393c οὐδέεις γ' ἄν οὖν ὅστις οὐχί...: cf. p.2.2.2. Rule II (1c2) and 2.2.29 Rule XIV οὐκ ἄν οὖν. In Plato, none of the ἄν οὖν cases due to Formula (1) (cf. also p.3.2.4) has the negative in the form οὐδέεις as an exception to Rule II, the

nearest parallel is Ti.26b ἐγὼ γάρ/~/οὐκ ἂν οἶδ'εἰ δυναίμην (cf. Dem.45.7). Both that and Eryxias 393c seem due to formulaism, but the latter to a formula which does not so behave in Plato.

394e οὐκουν ἂν... οὐκουν ἂν... 398γ οὐκοῦν, "..., "ἂν...: cf. pp.2.2.36 Rule XV (2-), 3.2.5 Formula (1) (a) misc. qq. When q follows directly, editors do not normally spell οὐκοῦν, and nothing like this is listed on p.2.2.36; but οὐκουν ἂν is paralleled in Phd.70b, Lg.V 743b (p.3.2.5). But in any case this writer is using the expression at a far higher frequency than Plato. See also Rule XXII, p.2.2.53. Since under Rule XV Eryxias 398c has q in earliest 'possible' position, it would count as an exception to Rule XXII.

395e ὅστις ἂν οὐχ ὁμολογήσειε...: cf. pp.2.2.25-6, Rule XII (2b) Infringement of this Rule with ἂν and nexal negative are generally rare in Plato (ἀρ'ἂν οὐ, ἦ γὰρ ἂν οὐ) and in particular there is no ὅστις ἂν οὐ.

400d καὶ σφόδρα πλούσιον φαίμεν εἶναι ἂν: cf. p.2.2.60 Rule XXIV (2). Exceptions of this type are rare in general, but Plato does have two on p.2.2.60, Smp.215d, Lg.X 896d; in both, as here, the verb which q follows is directly after the verb it 'belongs' to; an even closer parallel however (with an infinitive) is Epinomis 986a, where also q 'belongs' to the main verb; also in all except Smp.215d q is thereby in final position.

398c ἢ ἑτέραν τινὰ ἐπιστήμην λαβεῖν, 401δ ἢ ἕτερός τις, 402δ ἢ ἑτέραν τινὰ ἐπιστήμην: cf. pp.3.3.49 ff., Counterformula 5+28, Anticounterformula 5+28, Multiple Antiformula 5+28, 3.3.51 table. In Plato ἄλλος is used throughout, but ἕτερος partly replaces it in the 'later' dialogues; likewise, though not quite simultaneously, ἦ...τι gives way to ἦ τι in primarily substantive phrases. Hence while ἦ ἄλλο τι is normal in

in 'early-middle', there is one case only of ἡ ἕτερος τις (in Lg.), for by then the norm is ἡ τις ἕτερος. Hence (cf. 394e, p.4.3.4 above) the frequency of this expression in Eryxias is far beyond Plato's one instance.

405c μάλιστα δ' ἂν ἴσως...: cf. p.3.2.86, Counterformula, Anti-Counterformula, Multiple Antiformula. Plato does not seem to use both μάλιστα and ἴσως together in ἂν-sentences.

(vi) Axiochus 364c καὶ μοι σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἵνα καὶ τοῦτο εὐσεβηθῆ: cf. pp.2.2.2. ff., Rule II, 2.2.19 Rule XI (1). Plato has no exceptions to Rule II with μ- in the exceptions to Rule XI we find καὶ με ὡς and καὶ με εἰάν, but not καὶ μοι ἵνα (of which καὶ μοι...ἵνα could be regarded as an elaboration).

369a ὡς ἂν συνανηρισμένον...: cf. on Demodocus 385d, Eryxias 393c, p.4.3.3 above. The Formulaic ὡςπερ ἂν and ὡςπερ ἂν εἶ are regularly used without verb, but Plato does not do this with ὡς, though Demosthenes does.

(b) (i) Alcibiades II 138d ἄφρονες δὲ καὶ φρόνιμοι δοκοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι εἶναι τινές σοι: cf. pp. 2.3.42 ff., WVWq etc. As to τινές, this is a case of WVWq. In Plato, sentences in which q follows the last of three or more X-elements are rare: WVWq, six instances, all, except Hippias Major 286a, in Laws; VWVq, two, both in Laws; VWVWq, one, in Laws. We find no WVWVq, possibly because that is an elaboration of the fairly rare WVq, whereas VWVWq is related to VWq (cf. pp.2.3.30 ff., 32 ff.).

141b ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι/-/ κἂν ἄλλον ὄντινοῦν: cf. pp.3.2.48 ff., Formula (4) Alternative classification. Plato does not seem to use κἂν verblessly except in the formula κἂν εἶ.

141c μηθέν γέ τι μέλλων αὐτοῖς χρήσεσθαι: cf. p.4.2.14 Text Phlb.13c, also Sisyphus 388a, p.4.3.3 above; οὐδέν τι,

and μηδέν τι seem to be rare except with a following adjective or adverb in W-relation to q; but see also Epinomis 982a, p.4.3.14 below.

144d ἄτοπον ἄν ἴσως ἄν σοι δόξειεν εἶναι: cf. p.3.2.95, Formula (15). Otiose repetitions of ἄν do so occur in the vicinity of ἴσως, but in Plato always in the order ἴσως ἄν M ἄν.

(ii) Hipparchus 230a οὐτι πᾶν γε, 231γ οὐτι κακόν γε λέγω, 231δ οὐτι τῆ ἀξία γε ἀργύριον χρυσίου: cf. p.2.2.57 Rule XXIII οὐ (1) οὐτι adverb. This curious usage is in fact paralleled by La.192c οὐτι πᾶσα γε, Θτ.168ε ἀλλ' οὐτι σοῦ γε/-/ἄμεινον. But here it occurs at a far higher frequency than anywhere in Plato. Since no other postpositional usage attracts the attention, but the dialogue shows un-Platonic style in some other ways (e.g.225c καὶ ὄρα καὶ χῶρα), the above point perhaps suggests fairly good imitation merely overworking a particular usage.

(iii) Minos 319a μὴ γάρ τι οἴου λίθους μὲν εἶναι ἱεροῦς...: cf. p.2.2.56 Rule XXII μῆ (1) μῆτι adverb and μῆ γάρ τις κτλ. In the last-mentioned category there are in fact no cases with γάρ but only with μέντοι κτλ. This instance is a case of adverbial μῆτι elaborated by γάρ, but there are none listed under μῆτι either: so μὴ γάρ τι is unparalleled in Plato.

319a ὡς αὐτὸν Ὅμηρος τε...ἐγκωμιάζουσι: cf. p.2.2.27 Rule XIII (2) and 2.2.28. This particular expression is common in Thucydides with ὡς = ἐπειδή, but Plato does not use ὡς in that sense, does not put q directly after ὡς = ὅτι (contrast Cra. 396c etc.etc.), and uses ὡς αὐτ- only at La.189e and 190a, where ὡς = as.

(iv) Amatores 134 καὶ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα εἰπόντος...: cf.p.2.2.44 Rule XX καὶconnective. The 'exception' καὶ αὐτ-, very frequent in Thucydides, is fairly rare in Plato,

but among those which do occur is Euthd.275e καὶ αὐτοῦ μεταξύ ταῦτ' ἀλέγοντος...

134b πρὸς μὲν τοῦτον,"..., "κἂν πάνυ ἠδέως διαγωνισαίμην: cf.

pp.3.2.55 ff., Counterformula 4+9, 4+18, Anticounterformula 4+9, 4+18; 3.2.76 ff., Counterformula (9+18), Anticounterformula 9+18. Plato uses both κἂν ἠδέως and καὶ ἠδέως ἄν (p.3.2.57), but though Thucydides uses καὶ πάνυ ἄν (p.3.2.56), κἂν πάνυ (p.3.2.57) does not occur. On p.3.2.77 see 9+18 Cra. 397a πάνυ γὰρ ἄν ἠδέως... But the sentence seems influenced also by Men.86c περὶ τοῦτου πάνυ ἄν διαμαχοίμην, Φλβ.22δ τοῦτου δὴ πέρι καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι πρὸς Φίληβον διαμαχοίμην ἄν...

134e τίνα οὖν ἐρόμενοι ἄν δικαίως ἐροίμεθα;: cf. pp.3.2.40 ff.,

Counterformula 3+13, Anticounterformula 3+13, Multiple Antiformula 3+13. In Plato 3+13 and 3+13 are normal; the above is a case of Multiple Antiformula 3+13, and in the only Platonic case of that, Cra.422a, the wording is Vq, which explains why q follows neither the interrogative nor δικαίως. Admittedly none of these cases is participial.

135a ποῖα δὲ μάλιστα ἄττα τοπάσεις εἶναι...;: cf. pp.2.2.103

Rule XXVII (Three)W...q(...)V (a2) and 3.3.71 ff., Formula (13). The wording is not unlike the cases listed under (Three)W...q(...)V (a2). But in Plato the Formula ποῖός τις has no Antiformulaic or even Counterformulaic instances: the order is always ποῖός τις, ποῖ' ἄττα, and not only in Plato.

136d ἀμφοτέρους ἔγωγ' ἄν: see on Demodocus 385d, p.4.3.3 above.

137c ἢ ἕτερα τις: see on Eryxias 398c etc., p.4.3.4 above.

The mixture of similarity and dissimilarity to Plato exhibited by Amatores suggests to the writer a fairly clever imitation. While the general resemblance is to 'early' Plato (cf. Souilhé, Vol.XIII.ii p.108) the last item suggests Laws.

(v) Theages 126e ἔχοις ἄν οὖν αὐτῷ ὅ τι χρῆο: cf. pp. 2.2.2 Rule II (1b1) and (1b2), 2.2.30 Rule XIV (1X). The exception ἄν οὖν following the verb is paralleled by Ap. 20c etc. But this is also an exception to Rule II, where compare in particular R.V 479c ἔχεις οὖν αὐτοῖς, "... , "ὅ τι χρῆση, Δημ. 59.98 ... οὐκ εἶχον αὐτοῖς ὅ τι χρῆσονται.

Little postpositival usage can be found that is un-Platonic, but the passage 126e is revealed as surprisingly close to something that in undisputedly Platonic works occurs once. This suggests fairly successful imitation. The same is suggested by the fact that the rare infinitival interweavings 122c οὗ ἡμεῖς αὐτὸν οἶδμεθα ἐπιθυμεῖν, 124ε ἀλλὰ καὶ τούσδε μοι οὕτω πειρῶ ἀποκρίνασθαι are paralleled grammatically by Prt. 353a (= 357c) καὶ τί ὑμεῖς αὐτό φατε εἶναι; and Π. 1.349β ἀλλὰ καὶ τόδε μοι πειρῶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις ἀποκρίνασθαι, which are remarkably similar in actual wording and yet occur in undisputedly Platonic works only in those passages.

(vi) Clitophon 409d τελευτῶν ἀπεκρίνατό τις ὧ Σώκρατες μοι τῶν σῶν ἐταίρων: cf. p. 2.2.37 Rule XV

(3). A vocative directly followed by μ, infringing Rule XV. This is revealed as similar to La. 199e λέγειν τί ὧ Σώκρατες μοι δοκεῖς, Φλβ. 54β λέγ' ὧ Πρωταρχέ μοι (obs. also Φλβ. 25β καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τις ὧ Πρωταρχε αὐτῶν... γεγονέναι, 36γ πῶς δ' ὧ Σώκρατες ἄν εἶεν..., 57γ τί ν' οὖν ὧ Πρωταρχε αὐτῷ δίδομεν... - hence we cannot object to Theages 123d τί δ' ἄλλο ὧ Σώκρατες αὐτῇ ὄνομα...). In Clitophon 409d the W-element to τις is after the vocative, something not found in the Platonic cases of μ-directly following the vocative. Yet this seems rather a genuine resemblance to Plato than a difference; unless we were to hold that an imitator is conflating La. 199e with Phlb. 25b. But it seems to the present writer that the line must be drawn between passages like Theages 126c above and those like this. If this is imitation it is entirely successful. Otherwise the only

point of postpositive usage which attracts attention is the following.

410e τὰ δέ τι καὶ φέγω codd. edd., δ'ἔτι Fw: cf. pp.2.1.22 ff., also 3.3.75 ff. Formula (14). This is certainly unparalleled in Plato. In this sentence, the direct object being σε, not only τὰ μὲν...τὰ δέ but also τι are adverbial accusative. It is a corollary of the concept of W-relation (pp.2.1.22 ff.) that not only expressions like λόγος τις, ἄλλο τι count as Wq but also ἄλλως πως, μᾶλλον τι. This in turn explains why, though μάλιστα'άν, μᾶλλον'άν, μᾶλλον τι occur frequently and are considered as Formulae (Ch.III), μάλιστα τι is not only not Formulaic but does not seem to occur at all; it could appear as a fortuitous combination like νῦν τις but the writer has no evidence of this. Hence τὰ δέ τι is ungrammatical, for in the context it cannot but be intended as Wq. The conclusion is not that the usage is un-Platonic but that the text is wrong, for not only grammar but sense are improved by reading τὰ μὲν...τὸ δέ τι, 'lest my praises of you in general should be marred by a criticism'. Cf.Th. I.92 τὰ μάλιστα, not τὸ... As far as concerns postpositive usage, Clitophon could well be Platonic.

(c) (i) Alcibiades I Croiset (Budé Vol.I p.50) believes this is by Plato and explains the relatively low artistic level on the ground that it is an early work, purely Socratic in its views. Clark (loc.cit.) suggests fairly cogently that there is a difference between the first two thirds and the last third; she divides at 125/6, and suggests that the first part is by a pupil of Plato, using Plato's 'early' manner, the last by Plato himself in his middle period.

109e εἴτα ζητῆσαι οὐκ ἂν οἶει με; cf. Sisyphus 387c συμβουλεύειν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἠνάγκαζόν με, Δημ.53.7 ...εἰσενεγκεῖν οὖν αὐτῷ τι ἐκέλευέ με. These three seem to be the only cases in the three authors of infinitive-main-q with μ- in this gramma-

tical relation.

109e (as above), 122b διήλθον δὲ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἄν σοι... προ-
 φήν τε..., 132d εἰς τί βλέποντες... ἐκεῖνό τε ὀρθῶμεν ἅμα
 ἄν..., 135a ὅτι γε ἀπόλοιντο πάντες ἄν: cf. pp.2.2.59 ff.,
 Rule XXIV. Four infringements of Rule XXIV. In Plato
 otherwise the only works with as many as three such exceptions
 are Plt. (three) and Lg. (thirteen, with three in Bk.X); Cra.
Phlb., Lg.I and the whole of Republic have two each, but other-
 wise no dialogue has more than one and in those 'earlier' than
Republic only Cra. and Smp. have any at all. Most such excep-
 tions are 'caused' by VFq where F is a Former (οὐκ ἄν, κἄν,
 ὥσως ἄν, πᾶς ἄν κτλ.). Thus 109e is paralleled by R.VII 528a
 etc. (p.2.2.59), but seems to be the only case, Formulaic or
 otherwise, in a 'Platonic' work in which q is postponed from
 following an infinitive in the order infinitive-main; cf. how-
 ever Dem. 4.42, p.2.2.60. Formulaic also is 135a, but parall-
 eled in Plato only by Plt.300b, Lg.I 648b, II 662e, X 900e.
 The infringements in 122b and 132d on the other hand are like
 nothing recorded under Rule XXIV but resemble rather (One)
 V...q (5) and (10) (6+7), pp.2.2.64 and 70; yet 132d does not
 fully fit (5) either, because postponement of q beyond the ad-
 verb is in fact superfluous to the colon-formation, not a con-
 sequence of it.

124b εἰ μὴ περ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τε ἄν καὶ τέχνη: cf. on Demodocus
 385d, p.4.3.3 above, also on Eryxias 393c, Axiochus 369a,
Alcibiades II 141b, Amatores 136d. If-clauses do not often
 have ἄν in any case, and here it is verbless and therefore
 otiose, without any justification in the form of a Formula or
 even near-Formula as in those cases; εἰ μὴ περ also seems un-
 Platonic.

129b οὕτω μὲν γὰρ ἄν τάχ' εὐροίμεν...: cf. pp.3.2.60 ff.,
 Formula (5). The Formula τάχ' ἄν has no simple Antiformu-
 lula cases (but it does have Counterformula and Multiple Anti-

formula, where see R.V 451c τάχα δ' οὕτως ἂν ὀρθῶς ἔχοι).

It seems worthwhile in the case of Alcibiades I to go somewhat beyond evidence presented in Chs.II and III. I therefore add the following.

124c ὅτινι τρόπῳ ἂν ὅτι βέλτιστοι γενοίμεθα: α in second possible position after ὅστις is rare in Plato otherwise (Euthd.280e† bis, R.V 463c†, Lg.VI 781c) and in particular ὅστις τρόπος ἂν... is excluded in favour of ὅστις ἂν τρόπος... (La.190e, Grg.491b, 520e ὄντιν' ἂν τις τρόπον ὡς βέλτιστος εἴη, R.IV 428d (cj.Ast, om.codd.)).

124c ὅσπερ σοί με οὐκ εἶα... διαλεχθῆναι: an interweaving unparalleled in Plato (nearest is R.I 340c).

126a ὡσπερ ἂν εἰ σύ με ἔροιο: cf. Iwn 538δ εἰ ἔροιδό με, Πρτ. 335ε εἰ δέοιδό μου. But otherwise μ- is in second possible position after εἰ only in Euthphr.9c εἰ ὅτι μάλιστα με... διδάξειεν, which seems significantly different. Nearest parallel is De Justo 372a εἰ σύ με ἔροιο.

However no doubt if we had more genuinely Platonic works we would also find more that is unique. This evidence cannot undermine that which suggests a difference between a part i and a part ii. But the infringements of Rule XXIV in particular blur the point of division and introduce an extra admixture of 'late' characters into part ii (cf. Clark p.233); also the writer of part i seems less successful in mimicking 'early' Plato (where infringements of Rule XXIV are not found, unless we count Cra. as early). Also 132a εὐλαβοῦ οὖν τὴν εὐλάβειαν ἣν λέγω seems no less un-Platonic than 113c μανικὸν γὰρ ἐν νῶ ἔχεις ἐπιχείρημα ἐπιχειρεῖν: cf. Hipparchus 225c καὶ ὥρα καὶ χῶρα.

(ii) Hippias Major 286a πρόσχημα δέ μοί ἐστι καὶ ἀρχὴ τοιάδε τις τοῦ λόγου: p.2.3.42, WVWg. This

pattern of X-elements is quite common in Laws but otherwise in Plato is confined to that work, where its occurrences are similar in vocabulary to this. Cf. on Alcibiades II, p.4.3.5.

291c ἀλλ'εἰ βούλει αὐτῷ ἀποκρίναί... οὐδὲν ὡς ἔοικέ μοι ἀναφανήσεται κάλλιον ὄν...: pp.2.2.35-6, Rule XV (1cii) and (1ciii), also (1--) in general. Postpositives initial in the resumed main clause following a subordinate clause. In Plato otherwise the ὡς ἔοικε form of this infringement is confined to αὐτ-, which rarely so directly follows a subordinate clause except with ὡς ἔοικε (Tht.188c, Lg.VII 800b); while only in Dem.50.60 does μ- so follow a subordinate clause.

297e καὶ γὰρ οὖν δὴ τι καὶ οἶμαι ἄρτι ἠύπορηκέναί: p.2.2.55 Rule XXIII (καὶ connective normal...) and - καὶ γὰρ κτλ. The double- καὶ expressions with τις, such as καὶ τις καὶ and καὶ γὰρ τις καὶ, occur mainly in Thucydides and are represented otherwise in Plato only by Cri.43a καὶ τι καὶ εὐεργέτηται... and Sph.251c; the latter however seems particularly significant, καὶ δὴ τι καὶ πάσσοφον οἰομένοις...ἀνηυρηκέναί, remarkably similar in grammar meaning and sound to our passage. But in Sph. the second καὶ seems far more functional than in Ep.Ma.

297e πῶς τι ἄρ' ἂν ἀγωνιζοίμεθα...: pp.2.2.32 Rule XIV (2π), 3.2.33 Formula (3) (a). The sequence πῶς τι ἄρ' ἂν is unique; but so also is La.206a ποῖός τις οὖν ἂν.

299α μανθάνω, "..., " ἂν ἴσως φαίη...: pp.2.2.38 Rule XVI 3.2.98-9, Counterformula 15+20, Anticounterformula 15+17+20, Multiple Antiformula 15+20. Among the exceptions to Rule XVI, ἂν φαίη is frequent, but this is the only case with ἴσως. Among the variations on the phraseology of these Formulae, φαίην ἂν ἴσως and ἴσως φαίην ἂν go with direct speech, but this is the only case with ἂν ἴσως φαίη (on the other hand ἴσως ἂν φαίη occurs once, but not with direct speech; ἴσως φαίη ἂν occurs twice).

The above points do not seem to constitute a serious departure from Platonic usage. Also, among the postpositival material we find for example 287a εἰ οὖν μή τί σοι διαφέρει (cf. Ευθδ.275β ἀλλ'εἰ μή τι διαφέρει ὑμῖν, Σφ.237β εἰ μή τί σοι διαφέρει), 302α ὅτι μοι χαλεπαίνεις (cf. Ευθδ.295δ ὅτι μοι χαλεπαίνοι..., Φδ.116γ ὅτι μοι χαλεπαίνουσι...): if the writer was an imitator he was more successful (except perhaps in 297e) than the writer(s) of Hipparchus (230a etc.) and Theages (126c) in avoiding the imitation of Platonic rarities (pp.4.3.6,8 above). Yet there are traces of less than Platonic style in the repetitions at 282b-c, ἰδίᾳ ἐπιδείξεις κτλ. and 286α συγκελόμενος... διακελόμενος...

(iii) Epinomis 976b ὅταν τινά τις συννοῆ: cf. pp.3.3.5 ff.,

Formula (1). In Plato otherwise ὅταν τῷ τινά τις is normal; but τινά τις is found with εἰ at Plt.272c εἰ τινά τις ἰδίαν δύναμιν ἔχουσα..., where it avoids elision.

977a δοῦναι δὲ ἅμα καὶ ἀριθμὸν ἡμεῖς γε ὄντως αὐτόν φαμεν: cf.

p.2.2.85 Rule XXV (Two)V...q(...)V (4bz). Cases of (Two)V...q(...)V in this syntactical relation are numerous, but normally the main verb leads, (4a-); cases with infinitive leading are rare in Plato, and in both (Plt.305a and Ti.49a) the words between infinitive and q 'belong' to the infinitive; only in Dem.16.12 (4bz) is there a mixture of infinitival and main clause mobiles between infinitive and q; but in Epinomis 977a the intervening mobiles are not only of divided syntax but are complexly interwoven; that does not happen even with the verbs in the opposite order, p.2.2.84, (4aiv).

977e δόξετε δ' ἂν ἴσως τις...δεῖσθαι: cf. p.2.2.101, Rule XXVII

(Two)V...q(...)V (5). V...q(...)V in this syntactical relation (q subject of both infinitive and main verb) is rare; parallels are Ti.88c and Dem.23.111, in both of which the mobile preceding q 'belongs' to the following infinitive. But

this syntactical relation is fairly rare in any case. See also p.3.2.97: in the order $\dot{\alpha}\nu$ ἴσως, ἴσως seems to be postpositival; if so, τις in Epinomis 977e is merely peninitial within the conventions, Vq_{qqq}...

982a ἦς οὐδέν τι πλεονος ἄν προσδεῖσθαι ποτε: see on Phlb.

13c, p.4.2.14. The combination οὐδέν τι does not seem to exist as an independent expression; it is normally followed by a word capable of standing in W-relation to q. The nearest parallels to this are Democritus fr.187 and Eryxias 399e; perhaps οὐδέν τι + comparative is an analogical extension of οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον.

990a ᾗτινι τρόπῳ τίς τινα μαθήσεται: cf. on Alcibiades I, p.

4.3.11 above. In Plato otherwise, τις in second possible position in ὅστις-clauses of simple syntax is in the position Vq, e.g. Euthphr.12b ὅστις αἰδούμενός τι πρᾶγμα..., N.956a ὃ τι ἄν ἐθέλη τις... in first possible position, q is usually followed by an X-element, but we do also find Grg.520e ὄντιν' ἄν τις τρόπον..., Kra.426a ὅτῳ τις τρόπον..., Phd.89δ ὃ τι ἄν τις μεῖζον..., 107a εἰς ὄντιν' αἰ τις ἄλλον καιρὸν..., so that Epin.990a is unique. (Obs. τίς τινα not in peninitial position is found even in if-clauses: pp.3.3.8 ff., Antiformula (1), Ly.216b.)

990a ὃ τις οὐκ ἄν ποτε δοξάσειεν...: cf. p.2.2.26 Rule XII (2b). While ὅς τι μή seems common, ὃ τις οὐ is not found; cf. on Eryxias 395e, p.4.3.3 above.

The above points however do not seem to be serious departures from Platonic usage; 977a seems in the tradition of the complexities in pp.2.3.19 ff., 41 ff. In examining postpositival usage, we find also the following points which are interestingly and perhaps significantly Platonic.

973b καὶ τινα τρόπον οὐκ ἄτοπον αὐ̄ (≅ 976e καὶ πως οὐκ ἄτοπον αὐ̄): cf. pp.3.3.54 ff, Counterformula and Anticounterformula: καὶ τινα τρόπ- is paralleled by Phlb.12c, Ti.21c, Lg.VI

776c οὐκ ὀρθῶς πως καὶ τινα τρόπον ὀρθῶς (all $\underline{6}+26$); but καὶ τρόπον τινά (which would be $\underline{6}+26$) does not occur.

974b ἢ τινων ἄλλων τοιοῦτων: cf. pp.3.3.49 ff., Anticounterformula $\underline{5}+16$, $\underline{5}+16+18$, $\underline{5}+18$. This case would be $\underline{5}+16+18$, and is typical of Laws and 'late' Plato, whereas $\underline{5}+16+18$ is at R.IV 434b (p.3.3.49).

975a ...συμβῆναι γενόμενον ἄν· 986a ...συνεδόκει λέγεσθαι ποτ' ἄν: cf. p.2.2.60 Rule XXIV (2). Paralleled especially by Lg.X 896d. See also on Eryxias 400d, p.4.3.4 above.

978a ὁ καὶ τάχα γένοιτ' ἄν: cf. on Alcibiades I 129b, p.4.3.10 above. In this case cf. perhaps Lg.VII 805c τάχα ἦν ἄν τι καὶ ἀντειπεῖν (p.3.2.57, Multiple Antiformula 4+5).

980a ἐξ ἀρχῆς δὴ ῥητέον...μάλιστα μὲν ἄν, εἰ δυνάμεθα...: cf. p.3.2.83 Formula (12). See on Alcibiades I 124b, p.4.3.10 above, Demodocus 385d, p.4.3.3. In this case the otiose usage of g is justified by the Formula, paralleled by Lg.VII 792b δῆλον δὴ/--καὶ μάλιστα γ' ἄν, εἰ τις...παρασκευάζοι.

980c ...ἀναγκαῖον//πρῶτον μοι...ἀπεικάζσαι: cf. p.2.2.93 Rule XXVI (One)V...g. Since g is dative and 'belongs' to ἀναγκαῖον as V, this is V...g; since πρῶτον 'belongs' to the infinitive, it fits type (7), V/MqM (cf. (7c), p.2.2.66). But the only cases of μ- listed in that position are Dem.37.1 and 23. But with αὐτ- we find Ti.78a. Compare also however Ap. 18e ...δεῖν πρὸς ἐκείνους πρῶτον μ' ἀπολογήσασθαι and Thuc.VIII. 8.2 (pp.2.2.95, 4.2.3).

982a ὡς δόξειεν ἄν: simple clauses of this wording are Ap.34γ ὡς ἄν δόξαιμι, Π.10.597α ὡς γ' ἄν δόξειεν..., 4.423δ ὡς δόξειεν ἄν τις, Πλτ.280ε ὡς δόξαιμεν ἄν, N.6.781α ὡς δόξειεν ἄν, 12.950β ὡς δοκοῖεν ἄν.

989a ὡς ἄρτι σημαίνειν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων μοι σφόδρα δοκεῖ: cf. Φδρ.267γ τῶν γε μὴν...λόγων κεκρατηκένας τέχνη μοι φαίνεται... (g falling between infinitive and main in that order

normally follows the infinitive directly).

Many of the points listed on pp.4.3.13-14 as differences from Platonic usage are revealed on examination as not seriously distant from that (976b, 977a, 977e), while others seem in numbers and importance to conform to the degree of uniqueness to be found exhibited by occasional cases in any author (982a, both cases in 990a). The points listed on pp.4.3.14-16 arouse suspicion in many cases at first sight but are revealed on examination to be paralleled in Plato and especially 'late' Plato and Laws; nor, unlike Hipparchus 230a, p.4.3.6 and Theages 126c, p.4.3.8, does this look either like imitation of spectacular peculiarities or overworking of the occasional Platonic usage.